

The Hellenic *Polis*¹

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All other city-state cultures are dwarfed by the ancient Greek city-state, which the Hellenes themselves called *polis*.³ There were altogether some 1,500 *poleis*,⁴ ca. 800 in Hellas (including Macedon, Thrace and the west coast of Asia Minor),⁵ and ca. 700 founded as “colonies”⁶ along the coasts of the Mediterranean and the Black Sea and in Asia west of the river Indus.⁷

The Greek *poleis* stretched from Emporion in Spain to Ai Khanoum in northern Afghanistan;⁸ and from Olbia near the mouth of the river Bug to Kyrene in Libya. Almost all the *poleis* emerged or were founded in the period ca. 750-200 B.C., and in the 6th century A.D. many of them still existed not just as towns, but actually as city-states. Thus, the Hellenic city-state culture lasted some twelve hundred years, a span of time surpassed only by the Sumerian and Babylonian city-states (Mieroop [1997] 6).

In population too there is no other city-state culture to match the Greeks. It is impossible to give exact figures; but an educated guess is that, in the 3rd century A.D., “the Greek-speaking city now provided the primary form of identity for perhaps 30 million people” (Millar [1993] 254).

The enormous size of the Hellenic city-state culture – in space, in time, in population, and in number of *poleis* – must inevitably give rise to a preliminary consideration: is it really legitimate to treat the ca. 1,500 Hellenic *poleis* as belonging to one and the same city-state culture? and to allow this culture to have a life span of more than a millennium? Historians take the unity of the Greek *polis* world for granted, but are divided over its duration.

The Unity of All Hellenic Poleis

In a 4th-century B.C. geographical treatise – erroneously ascribed to the 6th-century B.C. geographer Skylax of Karyanda – are listed some 733 toponyms.⁹ Most of these toponyms are explicitly or implicitly

classified as *poleis*. The description takes the form of a voyage which starts from the Pillars of Hercules (Gibraltar) and moves along the coast of Spain, France, Italy and Illyria until the beginning of Hellas proper at the river Acheron in southern Epeiros (Chapters 1-33). Then the author proceeds along the coast of Hellas until the estuary of the Peneios river in northern Thessaly (Chapters 34-65). And finally he travels along the coasts of Macedon, Thrace, Skythia, Asia Minor, Syria, Egypt, Libya and North Africa back to the Pillars of Hercules, where the voyage ends (Chapters 66-112). In his classification of sites, Pseudo-Skylax distinguishes between Greek and non-Greek *poleis*. In chapters 1-33 and 66-112 a Hellenic city is repeatedly called a *polis Hellenis*, e.g. Emporion in Spain (2) and Torone in Chalkidike (66), whereas *polis* alone is the common designation of a non-Greek/barbarian city, e.g. Rome (5). In the chapters describing Hellas itself, all cities are just called *polis*, the adjective *Hellenis* being omitted as superfluous. The list of Greek *poleis* is far from exhaustive (and does not pretend to be); but the treatise is based on the belief that, in addition to the *poleis* in Greece itself, Hellenic *poleis* comprise all the Greek settlements both in the Mediterranean and in the Pontic region. The distinction between Hellenic and barbarian *poleis*,¹⁰ and the feeling that all Hellenic *poleis* belonged together, is confirmed by all other texts¹¹ and can be traced back to the oldest Greek historical geographer, Hekataios, of whose treatise only a few fragments are preserved.¹²

Unlike many other city-state cultures the Greek *poleis* were not clustered together in one large region and united by communication over land. In this respect they resembled the Phoenician city-states or the Malay city-states. Apart from many of the Hellenistic settlements in the former Persian empire, almost all Greek *poleis* lay near the sea or by the sea, “like frogs round a pond”, in Plato’s vivid phrase (*Phd.* 109B); and his picture is confirmed by Pseudo-



Fig. 1. Greek colonies mentioned in this chapter. For Sicily and South Italy, see *infra* 144.

Skylax: he lists the *poleis* as they are situated along the coasts, and his account is only occasionally interrupted by the phrase: “there are also some other inland *poleis*” (34, 35, 36, 46, 61, 63, 64).¹³ In the modern world, sea is experienced as a separating and land as a uniting factor. In the ancient world communication by sea united people whereas communication over land was slow and difficult (Ehrenberg [1973] 36). The Hellenes were a seafaring people, and, after *polis*, *limen* (harbour) is the most common site-classification in Pseudo-Skylax.¹⁴ With classical Sparta as a notorious exception, the Greek *polis* was certainly not a society of stay-at-homes, suffering from xenophobia. On the contrary the Hellenes were on the move all the time. (a) The constant foundation of new *poleis* – both inside and outside Hellas – is attested from the mid 8th to the late 3rd century B.C.¹⁵ Many colonies were later reinforced by contingents of new colonists both from the *metropolis* and from other *poleis* as well. And many colonies were themselves the founders of secondary colonies within the same region.¹⁶ Although most colonies (*apoikiai*) were politically independent of their mother cities, there were strong religious and cultural bonds between *apoikia* and *metropolis* which entailed constant communication.¹⁷ (b) Individually, many Greeks moved their residence from one *polis* to another. In addition to citizens and their slaves, every Greek *polis* accommodated a sizable contingent of free foreigners who had taken up residence, sometimes for a couple of years, sometimes for good.¹⁸ (c) Especially in the late Classical and Hellenistic periods many Greeks served as mercenaries in foreign armies.¹⁹ (d) Inter-regional trade, and especially maritime trade, was an essential characteristic of Hellenic culture²⁰ and necessitated by the remarkable degree of urbanisation, another important aspect of city-state cultures. (e) Finally, apart from trade, a number of other non-commercial activities made travel a pursuit in which many Greeks were repeatedly engaged (Casson [1974] 65-94). The great oracles at, e.g., Delphi were consulted by people who had often travelled for weeks to obtain the God’s answer.²¹ And Hellenes in large numbers gathered together during the pan-Hellenic festivals. The Olympic Games were attended by, possibly, as many as 40,000 to 50,000 spectators.²²

The constant and intense intercommunication between the Hellenes in the Mediterranean world made it possible for those who settled outside Hellas itself to cling stubbornly to their ethnic identity, including the belief that as Hellenes they were different from and superior to the surrounding barbarians.²³ True, the

colonists were sometimes men who married local women;²⁴ but the Greeks described all non-Greeks as people speaking unintelligible languages (*barbarophonoi*) and seem hardly ever to have bothered to learn other languages,²⁵ and it was the wives and the slaves who – over time – adopted their husbands’ and masters’ language and culture. Conversely, there are not many examples of Greek settlers abroad who adopted the language and culture of the local population and, eventually, gave up speaking Greek and feeling like Greeks.²⁶

So, in spite of the enormous distance from Spain to Afghanistan, the Hellenes were conscious of being one single people who, in the words of Herodotus (8.144.3), shared (a) a common descent, (b) a common language, (c) common sanctuaries and cults and (d) common customs.

(re a) The common descent of all Hellenes was – of course – an invention in the disguise of a myth. Like many peoples before and after, the Hellenes believed that the human race had once been destroyed by the Gods, that the only surviving family was that of Deukalion and that all Hellenes were descended from his son Hellen.²⁷ Though purely mythical, this belief in a common origin must not be underrated. On the other hand, it must be stressed that the Greeks did not think they were a superior *race*. When the Greeks boasted that they were physically and mentally superior to barbarians, their explanation was linked with *climate* and *environment*: the temperate climate of Hellas was the best place in the world for fostering people who combined intelligence with spirit.²⁸

(re b) Given the wide distribution of the Greek language there were remarkably few dialects, and relatively small differences between the dialects.²⁹ The, admittedly restricted, evidence we possess indicates that any Greek was intelligible to any other Greek.³⁰ In the *Anabasis* Xenophon tells the story about the prince Kyros who in 401 B.C. hired some 10,000 Greek mercenaries and headed for Persepolis to overthrow his brother, the king of Persia. The mercenaries came from many different *poleis* and spoke several different dialects; but at army meetings each speaker addressed his fellow soldiers in his own dialect unassisted by interpreters who, on the other hand, are mentioned when the Greeks had to communicate with Persians and other barbarian peoples.³¹ Similarly, in an Athenian courtroom a stranger could speak his own dialect and expect to be understood by the jurors.³² In Archaic and Classical sources “there is almost no evidence that local dialect ever formed a barrier to communication” (Hainsworth [1982] 865). The only evi-



Fig. 2. Map of Sicily and South Italy.

dence to the contrary is Thucydides's description of the Eurytanes, a tribe in upper Aitolia who were "extremely difficult to understand and lived on raw meat" (Thuc. 3.94.5). In spite of the foundation of new colonies east of Hellas, the Greeks after Alexander experienced a remarkable linguistic convergence. In the course of the Hellenistic period all Greeks adopted a common written language, a combination of the Attic and Ionic dialects, called *koine*, the "common" (i.e. language), and even as spoken language the dialects seem to have been replaced by or at least supplemented with some kind of standard Greek.³³

(re c) The common sanctuaries were partly the oracles consulted by all Greeks (Dodone, Delphi, Didyma, Lebadeia, Abai and Oropos)(Burkert [1985] 114-18), and partly the sanctuaries which arranged

pan-Hellenic competitions in sport, music, drama and recitation (Olympia, Delphi, Isthmia and Nemea) (Morgan [1993] 18-44). Herodotos' reference to common cults shows that "the cult practices and pantheons current among different communities have enough in common to be seen as essentially one system, and were generally understood as such by the Greeks".³⁴

(re d) Common customs can cover anything from the reading of the Homeric poems to the use of coins and the construction of peripteral temples. In this context one example must suffice: to have competitions in sports was a distinguishing mark of Greek civilisation, something in which the Greeks differed from all their neighbours.³⁵ Conversely, the Olympic Games and the other stephanitic games were institutions which united all Greeks. The games were pan-Hel-

lenic which meant both that they were open to all Hellenes and, on the other hand, that participation in the contests was conditional on being Hellenic, and a victor was proclaimed as a citizen of his *polis* as well as in his own right.³⁶ An examination of the names of all known victors shows that 177 out of 736 came from *poleis* outside Hellas proper (Moretti [1959] 59-198).

To conclude: the universal belief that all Hellenes were one people fully justifies the belief – held by the Hellenes themselves as well as by modern historians – that all the Hellenic *poleis* belonged to one and the same city-state culture: as aptly put by the poet Poseidippos: “there is only one Hellas, but there are many *poleis*” (fr. 30, *PCG*). It does not follow, however, that the *polis* was a specific Hellenic institution, one that separated Greeks from barbarians. Such a view is sometimes advocated by modern historians,³⁷ but with one notable exception – Aristotle – it was not what the Greeks themselves believed. True, Aristotle’s basic view is that the *polis* is peculiar to Hellenic civilisation and that in this respect there was a gulf between the Greeks and the others (Hansen [1996d] 203-5). But the gulf is rather between Aristotle and our other sources. In Herodotos, Thucydides and Xenophon we hear about hundreds of barbarian *poleis*, often in the sense of city rather than state, but sometimes obviously in the sense of political community.³⁸ Of course, to use the term *polis* about a barbarian town was often as misleading as it was, e.g., to identify the Scythian god Geitosyros with Apollon (Hdt. 4.59); but the language and concepts used by the historians do not convey the impression that the Greeks themselves felt *polis* to be one of the essential differences between Greeks and barbarians. Freedom and *autonomia* yes, they were values that distinguished Greeks from barbarians (Momigliano [1979] 139-51), but not the *polis* as such, and in this context we must remember that, down to the late Classical period, *autonomia* was not a defining characteristic of the Greek *polis*, and that many *poleis* were dependencies without *autonomia* (Hansen in *CPCPapers* 2 [1995c] 21-43).

The Lifespan of the Hellenic Polis

The chronology of the *polis* is still hotly debated. Can the *polis* be traced back to the Mycenaean period (ca. 1550-1100 B.C.), or did it emerge in the Geometric period (ca. 900-700 B.C.)? And if one prefers the latter view, did it emerge as early as the ninth century B.C. or as late as ca. 700 B.C.? Scholars are still divided over these issues and even more over the

question of when the *polis* came to an end. Some historians place the decline of the *polis* in the 4th century B.C. and its fall in the years after 338 B.C. The prevailing view, which I endorse, is that it persisted through the Hellenistic and Roman periods and disappeared in late antiquity only after a long decline which lasted several centuries. The disappearance of the *polis* was gradual and imperceptible, just as its emergence had been.

THE ORIGIN OF THE *POLIS*. For the origin of the Greek city-state we have three different types of evidence: (a) the linguistic evidence obtained by a comparative study of related words in other Indo-European languages, (b) the literary and epigraphical evidence of the 8th to 6th centuries, and (c) the physical remains of early settlements.

The linguistic evidence. The study of the etymology of the term *polis* is extremely important, since by extrapolation it takes us back to a period before the earliest written sources we have. First it should be noted that the early variant form of *polis*, namely *ptolis*, is probably attested in the Mycenaean Linear-B tablets in the form *po-to-ri-jo*. But, alas, *po-to-ri-jo* is not attested as a noun, only as (part of) a personal name,³⁹ and we have no clue to what *po-to-ri-jo* may have meant in Mycenaean Greek.

A comparison with other Indo-European languages yields better results. The Greek word *polis* is related etymologically to Old Indian *pūr*, Lithuanian *pilis* and Latvian *pils*.⁴⁰ 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.⁴¹

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: both in literary and epigraphical texts of the Archaic and Classical periods *polis* is occasionally used synonymously with *akropolis* in the sense of “citadel”. But whereas *akropolis* could designate both an eminence used as a settlement and a fortified place devoid of human habitation, *polis* used synonymously with *akropolis* seems always to have denoted a small defensible hilltop *settlement*,⁴² and not just a hilltop *fortification*. Remains of such fortified settlements, dating from the period ca. 1000-800 B.C., have been found in Zagora on Andros, in Dreros and Anavlochos on Crete, and in several other sites of the Proto-Geometric and Geometric periods.⁴³ We shall never know for sure, but it is not an unreasonable guess that such hilltop settlements were called *poleis* by their

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

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

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

It is still debated whether the origins of the *polis* in this sense can be traced all the way back to the Mycenaean period.⁴⁴ I prefer to follow those who believe that discontinuity overrides continuity.⁴⁵ The palace-centred Mycenaean communities in Knossos, Pylos, Mycenae, Thebes and Athens must not be seen as, essentially, a type of *polis* which in the Dark Ages dwindled to insignificance, but reappeared in the 9th and 8th centuries. The *polis* seems to have emerged in the Geometric period (900-700 B.C.) not by devolution in consequence of the breakdown of Mycenaean society, but in connection with an upsurge in population, wealth and civilisation. Furthermore, urbanisation and state-formation seem to have developed interdependently. Consequently, to answer the question: when did the (classical) *polis* emerge? we have to work backwards from ca. 500 B.C. and as far back as our sources go.

The written sources. In my opinion, the earliest indisputable attestations of named communities called *poleis* in the sense of “city-state” are Thasos (attested in Archilochos),⁴⁶ Sparta (attested in Tyrtaios),⁴⁷ and

Dreros on Crete (attested in the oldest Greek law preserved on stone).⁴⁸ In these sources *polis* is referred to both as a political community and as an urban centre, and as a political community it is a community of citizens.⁴⁹ All three sources are from the mid 7th century and point to a *terminus ante quem* of ca. 650 for the *polis* as a city-state.

What, then, about Homer? *Pace* Finley and others, who held that no trace of the (classical) *polis* could be found in the Homeric poems,⁵⁰ it is now generally believed and convincingly argued that *polis* in the sense of political community is amply attested both in the *Iliad* and in the *Odyssey*.⁵¹ A 6th-century Greek audience listening to a performance of the poems would have had no difficulty in recognising Phaiakian Scheria as a colony founded by Nausithoos (*Od.* 6.7-10, 262-72) and the two *poleis* depicted on the shield of Achilles (*Il.* 18.490-540) as contemporary walled cities.

The problem is that it is impossible to date the Homeric poems precisely. Comparative studies show that orally transmitted epic poems are constantly reformulated and undergo substantial changes until they are “frozen” by being committed to writing.⁵² Next, in their fixed form they are like a coin-board: the latest coin dates from a few years before it was buried whereas the oldest may have been struck centuries earlier. Similarly, the events and the societies described in an orally transmitted epic poem belong to different strata and constitute a strange mixture of old and new. Let me adduce just one example, usually passed over in silence.⁵³ The “Homeric city” is adorned with palaces⁵⁴ and, occasionally, with temples.⁵⁵ The palaces are to some extent reminiscent of those excavated in Pylos, Mycenae and Tiryns.⁵⁶ Such palaces disappeared at the end of the Bronze Age (ca. 1200-1100 B.C.) and the oldest known palace in a Greek *polis* is that of Dionysios I in Syracuse, erected just before 400 B.C.⁵⁷ Conversely, temples are unknown in the Mycenaean world but are the most conspicuous type of monumental architecture from ca. 700 B.C. onwards.⁵⁸ References to temples are rare in the Homeric poems, but they are mentioned in descriptions of Troy and the city on Scheria. Thus, it is unlikely that any early *polis* had both a palace and a temple inside its walls, and it would be pointless to look for a historical site which matches the “Homeric City”. We must read Homer as poetry.⁵⁹ In many ways the poems mirror society of the 8th-7th centuries; the occasional mention of temples is just one such example. But the “Homeric *polis*” also includes reminiscences of walled Bronze Age palaces, weapons

and war chariots used in the Mycenaean period,⁶⁰ a vague knowledge about the great urban centres in the Near Eastern empires, and a city in a wonderland imagined by the poet(s) of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. To disentangle these four elements is a very difficult task which I prefer to avoid.

Consequently, we cannot expect the Homeric poems to present us with a coherent picture of the political organisation of the societies described in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. In the *Iliad* Book 2 the composition of Agamemnon's army and the origin of each individual contingent are described in a long passage called the *Catalogue of Ships* (*Il.* 2.484-759). These verses contain the highest concentration of named *p(t)oleis* in the Homeric poems. But the *poleis* listed are not city-states. The toponyms classified as *poleis* or *ptoliethra* are towns in "territorial states" ruled by kings or princes. Thus, Crete is an island with one hundred *poleis* all ruled by Idomeneus (*Il.* 2.645-52). Furthermore, a close study of all the settlements enumerated in the *Catalogue of Ships* reveals that, with some notable exceptions, it reflects Greece in the Mycenaean period rather than in the Geometric or the Archaic period.⁶¹ Conversely, the notable exceptions show that it is not a true picture of the Mycenaean world.⁶² On the other hand, the *poleis* depicted on the shield of Achilles and the description of the Phaiakian *polis* Scheria must reflect the social and political structure of Hellas in the Geometric or early Archaic periods.

To make matters worse: we cannot even fix a *terminus ante quem*, since we do not know when the Homeric poems were written down. Some ancient historians are tempted to adopt Barry Powell's suggestion that a man living on Euboia ca. 800-750 B.C. created the Greek alphabet out of the Phoenician with the express purpose of writing down the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.⁶³ A much lower date is suggested by Minna Skafte Jensen, who argues that the Homeric poems were written down for the first time in Athens in the mid-6th century in connection with the Peisistratid reform of the pan-Athenaic festival (Jensen [1980] 96-171).

Summing up, I prefer to suspend judgment on the so-called Homeric Society⁶⁴ and, for the same reason, I refrain from using the Hesiodic poems which were also transmitted orally until they were written down, we do not know when. My cautious conclusion is that, as far as the written sources go, the essential characteristics of the classical *polis* can be traced back to a *terminus ante quem* of ca. 650 B.C.

The *archaeology of Greece*, on the other hand, has

made great strides in recent years and the remains of urban centres may take us a step forward, or, rather, further back. Several early settlements have been excavated in the Aegean islands: Zagora on Andros, Emporio on Chios, and Lefkandi on Euboia, just to mention three of the most prominent. Most of them are small hilltop settlements protected by a fortification wall. They flourished in the so-called dark centuries (ca. 1000-800 B.C.) and were all abandoned ca. 700 B.C. (Snodgrass [1991] 7-9). Were such settlements the centres of early *poleis*? If *polis* is taken in the sense of a smallish settlement and/or stronghold the answer is probably "yes", see above. But if *polis* is taken in its classical sense of a town which was the centre of a self-governing political community, the answer is a *non liquet*. There are no traces of securely identifiable political architecture antedating ca. 550,⁶⁵ and the archaeological evidence cannot provide us with information about the political organisation of these early nucleated settlements. We have no idea about how Zagora was governed. It may have been a small self-governing community, or a subdivision of another political community, e.g., Lefkandi, or it may have controlled the whole of Andros.

Yet a study of the Greek colonies, especially the western colonies, may provide us with a clue. The traditional view is that the formation of the *polis* preceded colonisation (Graham [1982] 159). In recent years this view has been challenged by the opposite hypothesis: that the *polis* emerged or at least developed in consequence of colonisation, and that it is the emergence of the *polis* in the colonies that influenced *polis* formation in the homeland.⁶⁶ Urbanisation, the opposition between the Greek settlers and the native foreigners, and the conscious introduction of common laws and new political institutions are features that are central to the concept of the *polis*, and all may have developed in the colonies before they became prominent in Hellas itself. Now, in the Greek colonies in Sicily and Southern Italy, urban centres of remarkable size can be traced back to their foundation in the second half of the 8th century,⁶⁷ or at least to a period shortly after their foundation. Obvious examples are Syracuse and Megara Hyblaia.⁶⁸ Furthermore, each colony is attested as a self-governing political community as far back as our written sources go, i.e. in the late 6th century. Combining the archaeological evidence of urban centres from the late 8th century with the reasonable assumption that each of these colonies was founded or soon emerged as a self-governing political community, the inference is that the *polis* in its classical sense of "city-state" can be traced back to

ca. 734 B.C. when Syracuse was founded by some Corinthians headed by an aristocrat called Archias. It does not necessarily follow that Corinth too was a *polis* at that time. The founding of, e.g., Syracuse may well have been a private enterprise organised by Archias, rather than a political enterprise warranted by a decision made by the Corinthian *polis*.⁶⁹ It is worth noting, e.g., that the district of Achaia in the northern Peloponnese was very active in colonisation in the 8th century, but did not develop *poleis* internally until much later, probably not before ca. 500 B.C.⁷⁰ As clusters of villages Corinth, Argos and Athens can be traced back to the late Geometric period (Morris [1991] 33), but we do not know when they became *poleis* in the political sense of the term.

THE END OF THE *POLIS*. It is still a common view that the independent Greek *polis* flourished in the Archaic and Classical periods, but was crushed by the Macedonians and disappeared in the second half of the 4th century. The turning point is often pinned down to the battle of Chaironeia,⁷¹ and from some accounts one gets the impression that the *polis* in the sense of city-state perished on the day the battle was fought, i.e. on 2 August 338 B.C. A collection of the available evidence, however, shows that the independent city-state declined at least a century before Chaironeia, and that independence (*autonomia*) never was an indispensable characteristic of the *polis*⁷² whereas the *polis*, i.e. the political community of citizens united in the running of their city's institutions, continued to exist throughout the Hellenistic and Roman periods;⁷³ and that is now, I think, the prevailing view.

The dissociation of the concept of *polis* from the concept of *autonomia* (Hansen [1995c]) is supported by the observation that the concept of *autonomia* seems to have emerged as late as ca. 450 B.C. (Ostwald [1982] 14-26), i.e. at least two hundred years later than the concept of the *polis*. One might object that most *poleis* were independent before ca. 450, and that the concept was explicitly formulated only after *autonomia* began to come under threat by the mid-fifth century when the Delian League was transformed into an Athenian Empire. The problem with this explanation is that dependent *poleis* are amply attested in the Archaic and early Classical periods. From the mid-seventh century onwards all the Greek *poleis* along the coast of Asia Minor were first under Lydian and then under Persian rule, and won independence only in the 470s after the Greek victories in the Persian War. In the sixth century the Corinthian

colonies along the western coast of Greece were dependencies ruled by relatives of the Corinthian tyrants. The three secondary colonies founded by Syracuse in the course of the 7th century B.C. were dependencies of Syracuse. And all the perioikic *poleis* in Lakadaimon and Messenia, some 50-100 *poleis* altogether, had been reduced to dependent status before 600 B.C.

There can be no doubt, however, that the number of dependent *poleis* was considerably increased in the course of the fifth and fourth centuries. During the period ca. 450-350 B.C. many *poleis* were deprived of their *autonomia* by being members of the Delian or the Peloponnesian League and being exposed to the imperialistic aspirations of the two hegemonic *poleis*: Athens and Sparta; and during the same period hundreds of other *poleis* changed their status from being independent states to being constituent states of a confederacy that regularly comprised all the *poleis* within a region. By the mid-fourth century we find federal states in Boiotia, Phokis, Lokris, Euboia, Thessaly, Epeiros, Aitolia, Akarnania, Achaia and Arkadia. Furthermore, many *poleis* along the coast of Asia Minor had once again become subject to the king of Persia, as they had been in the period before the Persian Wars.⁷⁴ There is no historical atlas which includes a map of Greece ca. 350 B.C. showing which *poleis* were still independent and which had become dependencies, either by being dominated by one of the hegemonic cities or the king of Persia or by being a member of a confederation. Such a map would reveal that when Macedon under Philip II (360-36) began to manifest itself as a great power, the independent city-state was no longer the typical form of *polis*. What disappeared with the rise of Macedon in the second half of the 4th century was not the *polis* but the hegemonic *polis* such as Athens, Sparta or Thebes. The other *poleis* could not necessarily tell the difference between having been dominated by Athens or the king of Persia and, again, being dominated by the king of Macedon or some other Hellenistic monarch.⁷⁵ Thus the *polis* (i.e. the small political community of citizens living in or around an urban centre and united in running its political institutions) survived the end of the Classical period, and though the independent city-state had declined long before the defeat at Chaironeia, the *polis* – as the Greeks themselves understood the term and the concept – persisted and prospered throughout the Hellenistic and Roman periods. During the Hellenistic period the typical *polis* seems to have been a democracy which had its *autonomia* (in the now restricted sense of self-govern-

ment rather than true independence) established or confirmed by royal rescript.⁷⁶ During the Roman Imperial period oligarchy replaced democracy; the focus of the political organisation became the council (*boule*) instead of the assembly (*ekklesia*) and the city was now governed by a local aristocracy which filled all important magistracies.⁷⁷ Still the *polis* was a self-governing community centred on a town. The end of the Greek *polis* began in the late 3rd century A.D. when Diocletian (284-305) created a centralised bureaucracy that crushed most of what was left of local self-government (Jones [1940] 85).⁷⁸ In the West what remained of urban life succumbed after the invasion of the Germanic peoples in the 5th century. But in the East the Greek *polis* persevered for more than a century, and here the demise of the *polis* was to a considerable extent caused by rise of the Christian Church and its bishops (Saradi-Mendelovici [1988] 365-401). The Bishops joined the imperial bureaucracy in undermining the self-government of the *poleis*; and the Church attacked the pagan urban institutions and urged its members to keep away from the *agora*, which, on the other hand, the pagan authors praised as the centre of urban life.⁷⁹ Furthermore, *polis* religion had implied that each *polis* had its individual cults and its own pantheon. The pagan gods and their cults were now replaced by a divinity which did not allow of local individuality. Yet, the decline of the *polis* was a slow process, and *polis* was still an important political concept in the reign of Justinian (529-65). Procopius, for example, tells us how in 533 A.D. a small African village by imperial decree was turned into a *polis* in the political sense.⁸⁰ However, “with the close of Justinian’s legislation the history of the city as an institution abruptly ceases. When the last remnants of civic autonomy disappeared we do not know: the titles which regulate the constitution of the cities were not struck out of the Code till the great revision under Leo the Wise. But they cannot have long survived Justinian.”⁸¹

The Rise and Fall of Poleis

EMERGENCE. A new *polis* emerged either by natural growth or by foundation. Most *poleis* in Hellas itself seem to have emerged by natural growth, usually a slow and imperceptible process so that it is impossible to trace when and how the people of a given community became conscious of being a *polis*. Furthermore, apart from the regions in Western Greece, the majority of *poleis* in Hellas itself were formed in the Archaic period, and many had emerged so early that the *polis*

had not yet become a key concept in political thought or the dominant form of organisation in political life. An additional and even more troubling difficulty is that lack of sources prevents us from tracing the origin and early history of any of the hundreds of communities which in authors and inscriptions of the 5th and 4th centuries are attested as fully-fledged *poleis* with a long history. It is worth noting, however, that we often have a foundation myth. In a way typical of ancient Greek thought the emergence of a *polis* is never ascribed to natural growth but invariably to a (mythical) foundation act. Thus, the Thebans and the Athenians of the Classical period believed that their *poleis* had been founded a millennium earlier by Kadmos and Theseus, respectively.⁸² By the invention of a mythical founder, the self-grown *poleis* of Hellas came to resemble colonies which could often trace their origin back to a historical foundation act.⁸³

It is more surprising that the formation of *poleis* by growth is equally unattested during the Classical period when the concept of *polis* was well established and when there were a number of characteristics by which a village or a municipality was distinguished from a *polis*: by having a victor in one of the pan-Hellenic games, by appointing a *theorodokos* (host) to receive *theoroi* (ambassadors sent out to announce a pan-Hellenic festival), by becoming a member of an alliance, by being a signatory to a peace treaty, by setting up a mint, by acquiring *promanteia* in Delphi, etc.⁸⁴ Some of these criteria might even have equalled the recognition of a community as a *polis*.⁸⁵ Both in the Hellenistic and in the Roman periods a community could acquire the status of *polis* by, respectively, a royal rescript or a decree of the emperor,⁸⁶ or, again by the will of the emperor, a community could be struck off the list of *poleis*.⁸⁷ We have reasons to believe that the 5th and 4th centuries B.C. are the period when the *polis* became the prevailing form of settlement and political organisation in the regions of Epeiros, Aitolia and Akarnania.⁸⁸ Nevertheless, even in the large corpus of sources relating to the 4th century, there is not one single attested instance of the formal creation or recognition of a pre-existing community as becoming, from now on, a *polis*.

Foundation of a *polis* took place either by colonisation or by synoikism. Colonisation involved (long-distance) emigration of settlers from their place of origin to a new site; thus, Kyrene was founded in Libya in ca. 630 B.C. by settlers from Thera.⁸⁹ Synoikism, on the other hand, involved migration from the countryside into an urban centre, either a new one created by the synoikism (Megalopolis founded in

368 B.C.), or an already existing one, re-enforced by the synoikism (Thebes in ca. 431 B.C.).⁹⁰ Most *poleis* outside Hellas were colonies, but some seem to have emerged by natural growth, e.g. Torone on Sithonia (Papadopoulos [1996] 160). Conversely, very few *poleis* in Hellas were created by colonisation⁹¹ whereas quite a few arose out of a synoikism.⁹² Sometimes colonisation was combined with synoikism (one example is the foundation in 426 B.C. of Herakleia in Oitaia).⁹³ Colonisation and synoikism did not always involve the creation of a new *polis*. Sometimes a pre-existing *polis* was reinforced by the sending of additional settlers, cf. e.g., the sending of, allegedly, 60,000 new colonists to Syracuse in 341/0,⁹⁴ and sometimes a pre-existing *polis* was reinforced by the absorption of new settlers from the countryside or from neighbouring *poleis*, cf. e.g. the synoikism of Halikarnassos carried out by Mausolos in ca. 370 B.C.⁹⁵

DISAPPEARANCE.⁹⁶ Numerous studies have been devoted to *polis* formation, whereas the opposite phenomenon, namely the disappearance of *poleis*, though an important issue too, is one of the neglected problems of Greek history. According to whether the *polis* is seen as a city or as a state, we can distinguish between two basic types: (A) a *polis* disappears as a political community (but may persist as a nucleated settlement); (B) a *polis* disappears both as a political and as an urban centre by the population being killed, moved or sold into slavery, an annihilation of the *polis* which is sometimes combined with the physical destruction of the urban centre. The following variants are frequently attested: (1) Destruction by which all men are killed, whereas women and children are sold into slavery. The Greeks called it *andrapodismos* (enslaving). It was very common, and prominent examples are the *andrapodismos* of Skione in 421, Melos in 416, and Olynthos in 348. (2) The whole population of a *polis* is moved by force to another *polis*. Thus, the inhabitants of Megara Hyblaia were moved to Syracuse in 483 (without any resettlement); the inhabitants of Kamarina were moved to Syracuse in 484, but in this case Kamarina was refounded as a *polis* in ca. 461. (3) The population of a *polis* is dispersed over a number of villages (*dioikismos*). Smyrna was exposed to *dioikismos* in ca. 545, Mantinea in 385, and all the twenty-two Phokian *poleis* in 346. (4) A *polis* disappears when the whole population emigrates and founds a *polis* in a different place. In ca. 650 the Kolophonians moved their *polis* from Ionia in Asia Minor to Siris in southern Italy. Apparently Kolophon was a deserted place for some years,

but it was soon resettled. (5) A *polis* disappears by the whole population joining in a synoikism of another *polis*. Thus, in Boiotia, the small *poleis* Skolos, Skaphai, Hysiai, Erythrai disappeared for about a generation by being synoikised with Thebes in ca. 431. (6) A *polis* has its status changed from *polis* to *kome*, *vel sim*. One example is Pallantion in Arkadia. It was definitely a *polis* in the Classical period, but a *kome* in the late Hellenistic and Roman periods, until it regained its status as *polis* by imperial decree. (7) A *polis* disappears because of a cataclysm or a similar catastrophe. Thus, in 373 B.C. a major earthquake was followed by a flood which swallowed up Helike in Achaia.

If emergence and disappearance of *poleis* are matched the result is a constantly changing picture. A large number of new *poleis* were created during the two great waves of colonisation: in the Archaic period several hundred *poleis* were founded in the Mediterranean and in the Pontic region. In the Hellenistic period several hundred more *poleis* were founded in the former Persian empire (*supra* n. 7). In Hellas, on the other hand, there is a notable decrease in the regions bordering the Aegaeon, whereas new *poleis* appear in the north-western regions of Hellas, e.g., Kassope in Epeiros.⁹⁷ On Euboia, for example, the number of *poleis* dropped from ca. twelve in the Archaic period to four in the fourth century B.C. and later (Knoepfler [1997] 352). In Arkadia a number of *poleis* disappeared in 368 in consequence of the foundation of Megalopolis by a synoikism of some twenty to forty small communities (Nielsen [1996] 310-20). Other large *poleis* created by synoikism in the Hellenistic period were Thessalonike (316 B.C.) and Demetrias (294 B.C.).⁹⁸ One important point emerges with unerring certainty: the Hellenic world remained a world of *poleis*, and no attempt was ever made to unite all the city-states and create one large territorial state like that created in the 19th century. To the Greek mind such an idea was as remote as, e.g., the abolition of slavery.⁹⁹ The emergence of larger political units took the form of hegemonic leagues (which were soon broken up again) or, more importantly, of federations.¹⁰⁰ This was undoubtedly because a federal state composed of *poleis* was compatible with the persistence of the *polis* as the essential political unit.¹⁰¹ At regional level smaller *poleis* were often swallowed up by the larger ones; but the result of such a fusion, called synoikism, was still one (large) *polis*, not a territorial state in our sense. Hegemonic *poleis*, however, might outgrow the size of a proper *polis*. The possession of Lakedaimon and Messenia made Sparta

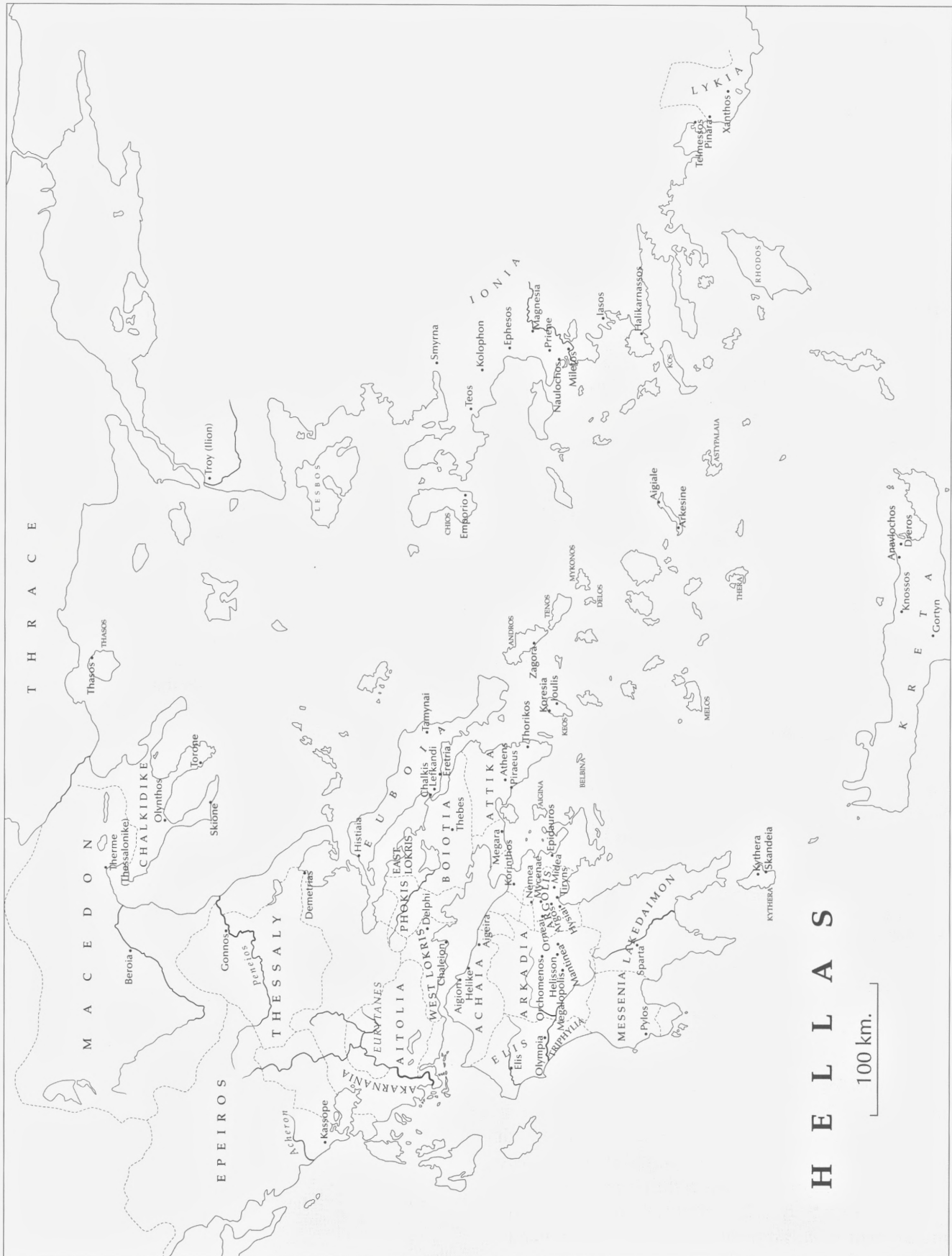


Fig.2. Map of Hellas. For Boiotia, see *infra* 158.

a *polis* with a territory of 8,000 km²; during the reign of Dionysios I (405-367) Syracuse sometimes ruled the eastern half of Sicily, altogether more than 10,000 km²; and Kyrene came to dominate a territory of over 4,000 km². In all three cases the *polis* was ruled from the centre; institutions and political organisation persisted unaffected by the enormous size of the territory; and the territory was dotted with dependent *poleis* (see *infra* 155).

What was a *Polis*?

An Investigation of the Concept

After my long discussion of the rise and fall of *poleis* it is time to ask: what was a *polis*? The answer to this question depends on whether we choose to look upon the ancient Greek city-state from a modern historian's point of view, or to investigate what the ancient Greeks themselves thought a *polis* was. In this context I want to adopt the second approach¹⁰² and, since an obvious way of investigating an ancient concept is to examine the words used about it, I will begin by asking: what does the word *polis* mean? And what does it denote?

The Greeks were conscious of using *polis* in more than one sense and some sources explicitly point out that the word has two basic meanings, *viz.*, (1) settlement and (2) community.¹⁰³ As a settlement, a *polis* consisted of houses; as a community it was made up of human beings.¹⁰⁴ So a local and physical sense of the term was differentiated from a personal and social one. But not every settlement and every community was a *polis*. In the sense of settlement a *polis* was primarily a nucleated settlement, and in the sense of community it was a political community.¹⁰⁵

A study of all occurrences of the term *polis* and of words used synonymously with *polis* shows that both the local and the personal sense were used in a number of different meanings. (1) In the local and physical sense of settlement, *polis* was used (a) synonymously with *akropolis* to denote a small and often fortified hilltop settlement; (b) synonymously with *asty* to denote an urban centre; and (c) synonymously with *ge* or *chora* to denote a territory (composed of a town plus its hinterland). (2) In the personal sense of community, *polis* was used (a) synonymously with *politai* to denote the citizen body; (b) synonymously with *ekklesia vel sim.* to denote the people's assembly or some other body of government; and (c) synonymously with *koinonia* to denote a political community in a more abstract sense.¹⁰⁶

Not all these different meanings are equally impor-

tant and equally well attested. (Re 1a) The original sense of stronghold (*akropolis*) is already rare in Archaic texts and, apart from some frozen formulas,¹⁰⁷ it disappears in the course of 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*.¹⁰⁸ (Re 1b) Attestations of *polis* in the sense of town or city are very common and in some authors they constitute over 50% of all occurrences.¹⁰⁹ (Re 1c) Passages in which country or territory is the principal sense of *polis* constitute fewer than 2% of all occurrences in sources down to the end of the 4th century, and even fewer in later sources.¹¹⁰ (Re 2a-c) The three different variations of *polis* in the sense of (political) community are very close and are indeed just different aspects of one concept:¹¹¹ in (2a) and (2b) the *polis* is understood in a concrete, in (2c) in an abstract sense, just as we use the term *state* sometimes about the body politic, sometimes about the government, and sometimes about a permanent public power above both ruler and ruled.¹¹² The various senses do, of course, overlap, and especially so when *polis* is used as a generic term or a heading or is opposed to other terms such as *chora* or *ge*.¹¹³

It has always been stressed – and rightly so – that an ancient Greek city was inseparably connected with its countryside, and *chora* (country)¹¹⁴ is indeed the term most often juxtaposed with the term *polis*.¹¹⁵ But the opposition is used in several different meanings according to whether *polis* is used in the sense of town or state and whether *chora* is used in the sense of hinterland or territory. (a) When *polis* is conceived as a state (which, geographically, comprised a town and its hinterland) the term *chora* denotes the territory (of which the *polis* [i.e. the town] was a part); (b) but when the term *polis* is used in its urbanistic sense *chora* usually denotes the countryside or the hinterland and is opposed to the *polis*. Thus, (c) in the sense of state *polis* can be used as the generic term for *chora* (hinterland) plus *polis* (town), whereas, (d) in the sense of territory, *chora* can be used as the generic term for *polis* (town) plus *chora* (hinterland).¹¹⁶ This rather complex use of what linguists sometimes call semantic marking¹¹⁷ can be illustrated in the following way:

<i>polis</i> (state)		<i>chora</i> (territory)	
<i>polis</i> (town)	<i>chora</i> (hinterland)	<i>polis</i> (town)	<i>chora</i> (hinterland)

The use of the antonyms *polis* and *chora* reveals an important difference between the ancient and the

modern concept of state. The words for an urban centre and its hinterland form a pair of antonyms in most modern European languages just as they did in ancient Greek, e.g. city/country (English), Stadt/Land (German), cité/pays (French), by/land (Danish) etc. In ancient Greek it was the word for city (*polis*) which came to denote the political community, whereas in modern European languages it is invariably the word for country which is also used synonymously with state (Hansen in *CPCActs* 1 [1993] 15). In ancient Greece a war was always waged between two *poleis*, never between *chorai*,¹¹⁸ and the word *polis* was used in all contexts where we today use the word state (Hansen in *CPCActs* 5 [1998] 67-8). In the modern world, on the other hand, it is the word country which is used in all such cases, never city. The most likely explanation of this phenomenon is that most *poleis* had one urban centre only which was also the political centre of the community, whereas in the Middle Ages, when the modern European nations emerged, a state had no political centre and no capital. The king and his court moved from castle to castle and from town to town.¹¹⁹ Consequently it was impossible to connect the political institutions with any particular locality, and the nation could only be connected with the whole country as such.

If we move from connotation to denotation, an inspection of all occurrences shows that, in the sense of territory, *polis* almost invariably denotes the town and hinterland of a *polis* (in the political sense), and only exceptionally a whole region or some other large tract of land. Again, in the sense of political community it almost invariably denotes a city-state, and hardly ever a federation of *poleis* or a large monarchy or an empire.¹²⁰ *Polis* denoting large political communities is attested almost exclusively when the term is used as a heading or as a generic term denoting a large number of political communities, most of which were *poleis* in the sense of city-states whereas a few were what we would call territorial states or nation states.¹²¹ Thus, in more than 98% of all occurrences *polis* is used either in the sense of nucleated settlement to denote what we call a town or a city or in the sense of political community to denote what we call a state, or the two senses are combined and indistinguishable¹²² in which case city-state is by far the best rendering, and not a misnomer as it has become fashionable to say.¹²³

On the other hand, not every nucleated settlement could be called a *polis*. In contemporary society we distinguish between larger settlements, called cities or towns, versus smaller settlements, called villages or

hamlets. Similarly, in ancient Greek *polis* or *asty* was used about larger urban centres,¹²⁴ whereas a small nucleated centre was called a *kome*.¹²⁵ Again, not every political community was called a *polis*. Larger *poleis* had civic subdivisions based on either a territorial or a gentilicial organisation of the citizen body, or a combination of both (Jones [1987] 4-10): the Euboian *polis* Eretria, for example, was composed of ca. 60 territorially based municipalities (*demoi*), and at the same time the citizen body was divided into six tribes (*phylai*).¹²⁶ The *demoi* and *phylai* were to some extent political units, but only in control of what we would call local government, see *infra* p. 33. A *polis* had to be a self-governing community (but not necessarily autonomous in the sense of independent) (Hansen in *CPCPapers* 2 [1995c] 21-43).

Finally, the urban and the political aspects of the *polis* coincide almost to perfection: when *polis* is used in the sense of town, it is not used about just any town but only about an urban centre which is also the centre of the *polis* in the sense of political community.¹²⁷ Conversely, when *polis* is used in the sense of political community, it seems always invariably to denote a community centred on a town which is called a *polis* in the urban sense.¹²⁸ Thus, the word *polis* has two distinct meanings, but, with very few exceptions, the reference is to a self-governing political community centred on a town. This view is in conflict with two common assumptions, namely (a) that there were *polis* communities which did not have an urban centre,¹²⁹ and (b) that a town called *polis* in the urban sense was not necessarily a *polis* in the political sense too.¹³⁰ My contention is that every *polis* town was the urban centre of a *polis* state, and that every *polis* state was centred on a *polis* town.

The notion of the *polis* as a community of citizens centred on a city is also reflected in the way the Greeks named their *poleis*. Today we use toponyms denoting a whole country as names of states whereas the Greeks almost invariably called their *poleis* by an "ethnic" (from Greek: *ethnikon*, i.e. an adjective derived from a toponym and used in the masculine as a noun to designate the people rather than the place).¹³¹ Thus treaties were concluded and wars fought between, for example, the Thebans (*Thebaioi*) and the Athenians (*Athenaioi*), not between Thebes (*Thebai*) and Athens (*Athenai*).¹³² Furthermore, in the singular this kind of ethnic was regularly used by every citizen of the *polis* in question as a kind of hereditary surname to be added to his first name and patronymic, especially when he had to be mentioned side by side with citizens from other *poleis*. Thus, the

full name of an Olympic victor was, e.g., *Aristion Theophileos Epidaurios* (Aristion, son of Theophiles, of Epidaurus).¹³³ To use toponyms and adjectives derived from toponyms as personal names indicating a person's place of habitation or origin is fairly common in our civilisation (e.g. London and Walsh), but the Greeks are probably unique in having used habitation names as an indication of status rather than habitation, namely the status of citizen of a *polis*.¹³⁴ Finally, the urban character of the *polis* community is also noticeable in the names of *poleis* and their citizens: in the masculine singular as a name the ethnic denotes a citizen of a *polis* and in the masculine plural it denotes the *polis* itself.¹³⁵ But the ethnic is related to and mostly derived from a toponym which designates the urban centre of the *polis* rather than its territory (Gschntzer [1955] 121-8). Thus the ethnic Milesios is derived from Miletos, the toponym denoting the urban centre, whereas the territory of Miletos is mostly called *he Milesia* (sc. *ge* or *chora*). The only modern European states named after their capital and not after the whole country are Andorra, Luxembourg, Monaco and San Marino, and they are, essentially, city-states like the ancient Greek *poleis*.¹³⁶

The investigation of the concept of *polis* shows that it had several different aspects of which two were particularly important: as an economic and social entity the *polis* was a type of town, but as a political community it was a type of state. I shall here describe both aspects in some detail and start with the *polis* town.

The Polis as an Urban Centre¹³⁷

Citizens versus Townsmen. One important difference between the *polis* as a town¹³⁸ and as a state is linked to the question: who were members of the *polis*? Although the ancient Greeks showed a tendency towards clustering together in towns,¹³⁹ it is a curious fact that they never coined a word to denote the urban population – like our “townsman” in English or “Städter” in German or “citadin” in French. The term *polites* (citizen) is almost invariably linked to the concept of *polis* in the political sense. The word designates the adult male citizen and is only very exceptionally used in the sense of townsman.¹⁴⁰ The word *asty* (“town” or “city”) is often used synonymously with *polis* in the urban sense,¹⁴¹ yet, in both Archaic and Classical sources the derivative *astos* (“man of the *asty*”) is never attested in the sense of townsman¹⁴² but invariably used about citizens and almost synonymously with *polites*, see *infra* page 166. Thus, the Greeks never invented a specific term for the popula-

tion of the *polis* in its urban sense,¹⁴³ to match *polites* or *astos* which in the plural came to denote the body of citizens.¹⁴⁴

Polis versus Chora (The Settlement Pattern). In modern studies of the settlement pattern of historical societies a distinction is usually made between three forms of habitation: first-order sites (major urban centres); second-order sites (small nucleated settlements) and third-order sites (isolated farmsteads).¹⁴⁵ In all investigations towns and villages are grouped together as nucleated settlements and opposed to isolated farmsteads, which are seen as the characteristic form of dispersed settlement.¹⁴⁶

The traditional view found in almost all studies of the *polis* until about a generation ago was that the Greeks lived in nucleated settlements, either towns or villages, and that dispersed settlement in farmsteads was virtually unknown (Finley [1981a] 3-5). But archaeological surveys of selected stretches of the Greek countryside have changed our understanding of ancient Greek society in many respects,¹⁴⁷ and the two most important insights have been (a) that many more people than traditionally believed must have lived in the countryside and not in the *polis*,¹⁴⁸ and (b) that in some parts of Archaic and especially Classical Greece many of those who inhabited the countryside lived dispersed in isolated farmsteads and not nucleated in villages.¹⁴⁹

Modern archaeological analysis operates with a fairly fixed and simple terminology for first-, second- and third-order sites, sc. city/town, village/hamlet and farm/farmstead, whereas a discussion of ancient Greek terms is either avoided or confined to a historical section. If, however, we shift the focus from the archaeological evidence to the written sources and ask how the ancient Greeks perceived their own settlement pattern we are faced with a different understanding both of the distinction between nucleated and dispersed settlement and of the different types of nucleated settlement. The ancient Greeks had a fully developed terminology for the first-order sites only, namely *polis* or, synonymously, *polisma* or *asty*. For second-order sites they had the terms *kome* (“village” which in the Archaic and Classical periods is surprisingly rare and restricted to certain parts of the Greek world)¹⁵⁰ and *demos* (a word which means “people” but often denotes a village); finally, for third-order sites they had no term at all but only a number of words which in proper context denoted what we call a farm or a farmstead.¹⁵¹ Furthermore, the sources show that the ancient Greeks opposed settlement in the *polis* to settlement in the *chora*, but did not distinguish

habitation in villages from habitation in isolated farmsteads.¹⁵²

Thus, for the ancient Greeks themselves the social and political aspects of community life mattered more than the settlement pattern, and therefore they separated those who lived in the countryside (in villages or farmsteads) from those who lived in the urban centre, and they devoted almost all attention to the *polis* itself. To live in *komai* without any urban centre was seen as an old form of habitation (Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.7), which antedated the *polis* (Arist. *Pol.* 1252b10-30) or, in contemporary society, as an old-fashioned form of habitation surviving in marginal and backward regions of Hellas (Thuc. 3.94.4). True, the archaeological evidence of the Archaic and Classical periods reveals that in many regions numerous villages and hamlets existed alongside the larger *poleis*.¹⁵³ Yet, even including second-order settlements attested in the archaeological record, there is in many regions a surprisingly large number of *poleis*. In Boiotia the *poleis* constitute over a third of all attested nucleated settlements, in Arkadia about 50-70%; In Triphylia, East Lokris and Chalkidike the *poleis* even outnumber smaller settlements; and in Phokis and West Lokris there are hardly any nucleated settlements to be found apart from the *poleis*.¹⁵⁴ Attika was exceptional in having over one hundred nucleated centres of which only one was a *polis*. Regions settled in *poleis* with none or very few villages between the *poleis*¹⁵⁵ seem to be the rule rather than the exception. In this respect there is a very sharp contrast indeed between ancient Greece and Greece of the 19th and 20th centuries with its five-digit number of villages and hamlets as against a comparatively small number of towns.¹⁵⁶ At first sight, this may seem odd, but the study of first- and second-order settlements in other city-state cultures indicates that, in such civilisations, there are comparatively fewer second-order settlements than in macro-states,¹⁵⁷ in which case there is nothing exceptional about the Hellenic settlement pattern in the Archaic and Classical periods.

The inference is, on the one hand, that the Greeks had a skewed view of their own settlement pattern, one that favoured the urban centre, sc. the *polis*, at the expense of settlements in the countryside, either nucleated or dispersed. On the other hand, on the Greek mainland villages were probably not as numerous as an Athenocentric view of Greek history has made us believe. In the Hellenistic and Roman periods, however, the picture changed. There is a much larger number of settlements classified as *komai* especially in the eastern part of the Greek world, and

they occur both in the epigraphical and in the literary sources, especially in Strabo and Pausanias.¹⁵⁸

The Size of a Polis. The Greek *polis* was a Lilliput and that goes both for the size of its territory, the size of its urban centre, and the number of its inhabitants.

(1) The smallest of all *poleis* was the island of Belbina south of Attika with an area of 8 km². Many *poleis* had a territory of less than 25 km². The Chalkidic peninsula covered some 4,000 km² divided between ca. 60 *poleis*, corresponding to a mean of 66.6 km² (Flensted-Jensen [1998]). Aigina was a populous and powerful *polis* controlling an island of only 85 km². Corinth possessed a hinterland of some 900 km², and very few *poleis* had a territory of over 1,000 km². Sparta and Athens were indeed exceptional in having subdued a whole region, namely Lakedaimon (8,000 km²) and Attika (2,500 km²). Kyrene had a hinterland of ca. 1750 km² but ruled a number of dependent *poleis* and controlled a territory of over 4,000 km² (Laronde [1987] 285-93).

(2) The evidence about population size is scarce. For some *poleis* we have information about the number of adult male citizens or, more frequently, the size of a city's armed forces. But we are usually left in the dark not only about the numbers of free foreigners¹⁵⁹ and slaves but also about the proportion of the population settled in the urban centre as against those who lived in the countryside, either nucleated in small villages or scattered in farmsteads. For this study I have selected two small *poleis*, viz., Koresia on Keos and Plataiai in Boiotia, one large *polis*, viz., Olynthos in Chalkidike, and one very large *polis*, viz., Kyrene in Libya.

The island of Keos was divided between four *poleis* of which the smallest was Koresia with a territory of ca. 15 km².¹⁶⁰ A fourth-century list of citizens from Ioulis and Koresia,¹⁶¹ though probably those of military age only, points to a total of some 230 adult male Koresian citizens, corresponding to ca. 1,000 citizens of both sexes and all ages. Including some foreigners and slaves, the total population has been estimated at a maximum of ca. 1,300 persons. A survey of most of Koresia's territory shows that only a fraction of the population lived in the countryside whereas at least 75% of the residents of the *polis*, i.e. ca. 1,000 individuals, must have lived in the town.

Plataiai is repeatedly described as a small town;¹⁶² Herodotos tells us that, at the battle of Plataiai in 479, the Plataians mustered 600 hoplites (Hdt. 9.28.6),¹⁶³ an army figure which seems to imply a citizen population amounting to some 7,500 persons to which must be added an unknown number of metics and slaves.

Some of Plataiai's 600 hoplites, however, may have come from the city's dependencies, and others may have lived in farmsteads spread out over the countryside. But we have one piece of evidence which enables us to calculate the urban population. In the spring of 431 B.C. the Peloponnesian War was opened with a nocturnal attack on Plataiai carried out by some 300-400 Theban soldiers, and from Thucydides' detailed account of the incident (2.2-6) we can infer that the Plataian urban population must have totalled at least some 2,000 persons, and probably more. As the walls enclosed an area of some 10 hectares (Fossey [1987] 102-6), the number of inhabitants per hectare can be fixed at over 200, and in this case with more confidence than in most other similar calculations.¹⁶⁴

Of the *poleis* described as great in ancient texts Olynthos is the one whose urban centre is best known both because it has been excavated and because it had a thoroughly planned system of streets and *insulae*, each subdivided into six or eight or ten individual plots, each with a house. A circuit of walls, erected in 432 B.C., enclosed both the old part of the town to the south-west and a much larger new town east and north of the old town. As reconstructed the new grid-planned quarters had more than 500 houses, and it seems reasonable to assume that there were at least 100 more houses in the old part of the town (Hoepfner & Schwandner [1986] 32-6). If the number of persons living in a house is set at 8 (Hansen [1997a] 74 n. 154), the population amounts to some 4,800 altogether. After 379 B.C. a major *proasteion* (suburb) was built outside the eastern wall. We do not know how far east it extended, but it may have doubled the size of the town. Busolt rated fourth-century Olynthos as one of the few *poleis* with more than 10,000 adult male citizens.¹⁶⁵ He may be right, but as a town Olynthos cannot have had more than ca. 5,000 inhabitants in the period 432-380 B.C. and it probably had less than 10,000 in the years 379-348.

Kyrene in Libya had city walls which in the fourth century enclosed an area of ca. 750 ha. It is estimated that about a third of this was inhabited (Laronde [1987] 71-6, 342). Rating the number of persons per ha of inhabited space at 200, Kyrene must have had an urban population of ca. 50,000 persons. I suspect that Athens, Miletos and Syracuse are the only other Classical Greek cities of that size. Later both Alexandria and Antiocheia were cities inhabited by a six-digit number of persons.

The evidence so far collected indicates that even a small *polis* town had a population amounting to

1,000-2,000 persons, whereas very few *poleis* were larger than Olynthos with its ca. 5,000-10,000 inhabitants. In some of the small city-states almost everybody lived in the city, and in *poleis* in which scattered settlements are attested there was still a sizeable urban centre. In my opinion, there is no escape from Finley's view that "the Graeco-Roman world was more urbanised than any other society before the modern era" (Finley [1981a] 20). But let me add two modifications. (a) An exceptionally large urban population is one of the characteristics of a city-state culture and is found in many other city-state cultures as well, see *infra* 614. (b) Finley's view presupposes a general agreement about what is meant by the terms "urbanisation" and "city".

The Polis and Max Weber's account of the Ancient City

What is a city? or rather – in a historical context – what is the so-called pre-industrial city? As was explained in the introduction, I adopt Max Weber's description¹⁶⁶ according to which, I repeat, a city is a nucleated settlement in which the houses are built so densely that they often stand wall to wall. As to size, a city differs from a village in that the inhabitants are too many to know one another. The concept of the city has two different aspects: it is both an economic and a political-administrative community. As an economic community, the city is centred on a market, in which the inhabitants satisfy an essential part of their daily needs by buying goods which the residents have either produced themselves or bought from others for the purpose of sale in the market. Again from the economic point of view cities are of two different sorts, *viz.*, consumer-cities *versus* producer cities. In the consumer-city the whole economy of the city is geared towards serving the interests of a ruling class of consumers, e.g. a prince and his court or a bureaucracy of magistrates, or a class of (large) landowners living in the city. By contrast the driving force in the producer city is centred on craftsmen and traders who also become the rulers of the city. As a political-administrative community the city possesses a territory and has a municipal government (Weber [1921/1972] 727-9, 732). Next, according to Weber the ancient city in the western world was economically a *Konsumentenstadt* and politically what he calls a *Stadtgemeinde* with the following characteristics: (1) it had a defence circuit and/or a castle; (2) it had a market; (3) it had lawcourts and laws of its own; (4) it was a political community; and (5) it was in possession

of at least partial autonomy. Finally, in his description of the relation between town and hinterland Weber contrasts the ancient and the medieval city and argues that in ancient cities a substantial number of the townsmen were farmers who cultivated the hinterland, whereas in the medieval city, there was a sharp divide between the rural population who were farmers and the urban population who were engaged in crafts and trade.¹⁶⁷

Now, what happens if one compares Weber's model of the ancient city with recent accounts of the Greek *polis* in the Archaic and Classical periods? On six counts at least there is a noticeable gap between Weber's ideal type and the views advanced today by ancient historians.

(a) In contradistinction to Weber's link between the urban and the political aspects of the ancient and medieval city, there is a trend in modern scholarship to minimise the urban aspect of the ancient Greek city-state and to dissociate the concept of *polis* in the sense of state from the concept of *polis* in the sense of town.¹⁶⁸

(b) In recent scholarship the ancient Greek *polis* is almost invariably described as a face-to-face society¹⁶⁹ whereas Weber insists that a nucleated settlement in which everybody knows everybody else is a village and not a city. One of the essential aspects of the city is precisely that it is too big to be a face-to-face society.

(c) Weber's description of the ancient *polis* as a consumer-city has been questioned by scholars who argue that manufacture was an important element in the ancient economy.

(d) Weber sees the *Ackerbürger* as one of the characteristics of the ancient city, whereas modern historians tend to infer from the numerous farmers who lived in the urban centre that, in the proper sense of the term, urbanisation was unknown in ancient Greece.

(e) Today the prevailing view is that the economy of the average *polis* was based on subsistence farming (see *infra* 159), whereas Weber's model requires that the townsmen acquire a substantial amount of the necessities of life in the local market.

(f) A defence circuit and/or castle is an essential aspect of Weber's ideal type; but today historians emphasise instead that the construction of city walls was a relatively late phenomenon, and that many *poleis* never had a fortified akropolis or a wall around the urban centre.

If the ancient historians are right, Weber's model of the ancient city fits only a dozen or so of the 1,200-

1,500 Greek *poleis*, viz, Akragas, Argos, Athens, Corinth, Kyrene, Miletos, Syracuse, Thebes, and a few others, and must accordingly be dismissed as inapplicable.¹⁷⁰ On the other hand, it may be the ancient historians who on these six counts have exaggerated or misrepresented certain trends, in which case Weber's ideal type can still be upheld as the most valuable model we have seen so far.¹⁷¹

(Re a) *The Dissociation of the Political and the Urban Aspects of the Polis* is based on three claims: (1) many *poleis* did not have an urban centre at all;¹⁷² (2) for *poleis* which did have an urban centre it is claimed that, with a few exceptions such as Athens, Thebes, Corinth etc., this centre does not deserve to be called a city (Finley [1963] 45); (3) both in Greece and in the colonies *polis*-formation in the sense of state-formation took place ca. 700 B.C. or perhaps even earlier, whereas urbanisation was so slow that it would be misleading to speak of cities in the urban sense before the late sixth century.¹⁷³

(1) Sparta is the example almost inevitably adduced by historians who hold that a *polis* did not necessarily have an urban centre.¹⁷⁴ It is true that Sparta had no walls before the Hellenistic period and that it consisted of four villages; but it was in fact a conurbation with once as many as 8,000 *Spartiatai* (Hdt. 7.234.2) and their families settled in an area of some 3 square kilometres, and in our sources Sparta is repeatedly called both an *asty* (Hdt. 7.220.4) and a *polis* in the urban sense (Thuc. 1.134.1).¹⁷⁵

The evidence so far collected and surveyed in the Copenhagen Polis Centre points to two conclusions. First, in the Classical period, every *polis* (in the sense of state) was centred on a *polis* (in the sense of town); and second, every town called *polis* was the centre of a *polis* community.

Classical Boiotia is an illustration of the first conclusion. Here we have evidence for nineteen communities which either indisputably or almost certainly were *poleis* in the political sense of the term. Every one had an urban centre;¹⁷⁶ some of them were undeniably very small. In Chorsiai¹⁷⁷ and Siphai¹⁷⁸ the residential area enclosed by the walls has been estimated at ca. 3 hectares, and in both cases the number of inhabitants must have totalled some hundred persons only, to whom must be added some settled outside the walls. But in the fifth century Plataiai, considered a small *polis*, had an urban population of over 2,000 persons, and most of the other *poleis* were considerably larger. Urbanisation and *polis* formation in other regions seems to fit the picture I have drawn of Boiotia in the Classical period.



Fig. 3. Boiotia in the 4th century B.C.

The second conclusion is based on the following observation: “in Archaic and Classical sources the term *polis* used in the sense of town to denote a named urban centre is not applied to just 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* seems almost invariably to be what the Greeks called *polis* in the sense of a community of citizens about their political institutions (a *koinonia politon politeias* as Aristotle says) and what we call a city-state”.¹⁷⁹

(2) The most famous assertion of the view that most urban centres do not deserve to be called cities comes from Moses Finley’s book *The Ancient Greeks*, in which he notes that “the inhabitants of the ‘city’ of Mantinea were the owners of landed estates, who preferred to live together in the centre, away from their farms, in a style visible as far back as the Homeric poems and which had nothing else to do with city-life” (Finley [1963] 45; [1981a] 20-1). The Greek *poleis* “were not cities at all, though they all possessed civic centres” and “urbanization was unknown in Greece.”¹⁸⁰ Yet, Mantinea was an urban centre with, probably, over 10,000 inhabitants,¹⁸¹ and many of the citizen farmers must have frequented the *agora* for

purposes of trade and not just to attend a political meeting or to have a chat with their fellow citizens.

(3) In Hellas in the early Archaic period there may have been *poleis* in the political sense in which a *polis* in the urban sense did not emerge until ca. 500 B.C. or even later. But they are not easy to identify.¹⁸² Most sites are neither excavated nor surveyed well enough to allow us to conclude that there was no urban centre or that the known urban settlement goes back to, say, 500 B.C. but no further.¹⁸³ And if for a given *polis* it can be established that nucleated habitation is later than the Archaic period,¹⁸⁴ we usually lack literary or epigraphical evidence to show that the settlement in question had been a *polis* in the political sense in the seventh and sixth centuries, i.e. *before* it became a *polis* in the urban sense. To the best of my knowledge there is not one *unquestionable* example of a settlement which is *explicitly* attested as a *polis* before it developed an urban centre. Furthermore, recent excavations indicate that urbanisation emerged much earlier than usually believed, see *infra* 161.

(Re b) *The Polis as a Face-to-Face Society*. According to Weber a city differs from a village by being so big that an inhabitant can no longer be acquainted with all the other inhabitants. At first sight this distinguishing mark of the city seems to be incompatible

both with Aristotle's (*Pol.* 1326b16) and Plato's (*Lg.* 738E) requirement that a *polis* must not be so large that the citizens can no longer know one another, and with modern historians' description of the *polis* as a face-to-face society.¹⁸⁵ The opposition between the two views fades away, however, when we remember that Aristotle and Plato are thinking of the citizens of an (ideal) *polis* – i.e. the adult male citizens who meet a moderate census qualification – whereas Weber's description applies to all the inhabitants of a city.¹⁸⁶ On the other hand, some *poleis* were so small that not only the full citizens, but all inhabitants would be acquainted and in such cases, according to Weber's criterion, the settlement would be a village rather than a city.

(Re c) *The Polis as a Consumer-City*. Weber's and Finley's notion of the *polis* as a consumer-city has recently been challenged. From the indisputable fact that wealthy citizens must have needed huge sums in cash, e.g. to discharge liturgies and to pay their *eisphora*, it has been argued first that manufacture for the market must have played a significant role not only in Athens but also in smaller *poleis* such as Teos, and second that the required amount of exchange cannot have been achieved without a high degree of monetisation.¹⁸⁷ I agree; but it is worth noting that the criticism is aimed at Finley whereas Weber is not even mentioned; and it was indeed Finley who connected the concept of the consumer-city with the, alleged, insignificance of trade in the market and production for sale. He seems to have overlooked that trade is just as important in the consumer-city as in the producer city. Only, the emphasis is different. According to Weber a *Produzentenstadt* is dominated by the producers who manufacture for the market and promote trade in order to sell their products. A *Konsumentenstadt*, on the other hand, is dominated by the consumers who must have producers to provide them with what they do not produce themselves. So in this case, too, trade and manufacture for the market are essential factors in order to provide the consumers with the goods they want to buy. Thus, the recent emphasis on manufacture for the market in the ancient Greek city does not invalidate Weber's view that the economy of the ancient city was geared towards satisfying consumer interests whereas the medieval city was governed by producers and promoted their interests.¹⁸⁸ One ancient source which strongly supports Weber's analysis is Perikles' funeral oration, in which he praises Athens as the city in which one can obtain whatever one's heart desires in the form of goods imported from all over the world.¹⁸⁹ Comparing this

passage with the prevailing ideology in medieval and modern western societies I find it striking that Perikles prefers to praise Athens for having imported commodities from near and far instead of praising the Athenian products for being the best one can get and so good that they can be obtained all over the world. By describing the ancient Greek *polis* as a consumer-city Weber has, in my opinion, focused on an essential aspect of the ideology of the ancient city. To show that market economy and monetisation were more important in ancient Greece than Haasebrook and Finley were prepared to believe is not the same as showing that producer interests were the driving forces behind the ancient economy.

(Re d) *Ackerbürger*. It is undoubtedly true that a fraction, often even a large fraction, of a town's inhabitants were *Ackerbürger*, i.e. farmers who lived in the city but worked in their fields, which were sometimes even far removed from the urban centre.¹⁹⁰ Weber regards this characteristic as one of the essential differences between the ancient and the medieval city;¹⁹¹ and he may be right if the focus is the medieval Italian city-states (Waley [1978] 55-69). But north of the Alps most cities were in this respect very much like the ancient Greek cities, and had the same close link between city and countryside which was an important aspect of the *polis*.¹⁹² Furthermore, in his general discussion of the relation between *Stadt* and *Landwirtschaft*, Weber had no difficulty in combining the concept of the citizen farmer with the concept of the city and emphasises that many *Ackerbürger* produced for the market;¹⁹³ but when he contrasts the ancient and the medieval city he assumes first that almost everybody in an ancient city was an *Ackerbürger* (which is a gross exaggeration) and second that the prevalence of citizen farmers points to a subsistence economy (thereby contradicting his own general view that *Ackerbürger* may produce for the market).¹⁹⁴ In the rest of his treatise, however, he takes it for granted that the Greek *poleis* were *Städte*, and he must accordingly have assumed that, by and large, they conformed to his ideal type and to the essential requirement that a city must have a market in order to be a true city. Perhaps following Weber's specific remarks about the *Ackerbürger* in an ancient city, Finley¹⁹⁵ and after him many historians have taken the presence of a considerable number of citizen farmers to imply the absence of urbanisation in the proper sense of the term.¹⁹⁶

(Re e) *Subsistence Economy versus Market Economy*. From the fact that a substantial number of the townsmen were farmers it has become customary

to infer that, with a few exceptions such as e.g. Athens, Corinth and Miletos, the town's economy was basically a subsistence economy.¹⁹⁷ Yet, against this primitivistic view stand not only the observations mentioned Re (c) *supra*, but also the testimony of, e.g., Plato and Aristotle. Plato takes division of labour and exchange of goods to be the driving forces behind *polis* formation, a view endorsed by Xenophon too; and Aristotle asserts that the most indispensable of all officials are the market inspectors (*agoranomoi*); they are found in every *polis* because trade in the market (*agora*) is an essential aspect of *polis* life.¹⁹⁸ Many citizen farmers, or *Ackerbürger* to speak in Weberian terms, must have produced a surplus of agricultural products which they must have brought to the local *agora* and exchanged for other commodities produced by the city's other inhabitants. Furthermore, some citizen farmers may have specialised in one or two types of crop, in which case they must have produced a surplus which they could exchange in the market not only for manufactured artifacts but also for the agricultural products they might need themselves. In Aristophanes' *Ecclesiazusae* 817ff. we hear about the citizen farmer who carried his wine to the market in order to sell it and to buy flour. There is no indication that he was doing something exceptional. Thus, apart from all those citizens and metics who had no land to cultivate, we must assume that some of the citizen farmers did not even grow enough grain to feed their own household but had to buy it in the market in exchange for, e.g., wine, vegetables, figs or a sheep. Furthermore, numerous inscriptions from all parts of the Greek world testify to an accumulation of capital which is incompatible with a subsistence economy.¹⁹⁹ Other sources show that import of grain was essential not only for Athens, the largest of all *poleis*, or for Aigina, an island much too small to feed its sizeable population,²⁰⁰ but also for a small *polis* such as Boiotian Anthedon which had an urban centre of modest size and a territory of less than 100 km² (Heraclides Creticus 23 [GGM I p. 104]). I conclude that not only large *poleis*, but also middle-sized and even small *poleis* fulfilled the Weberian requirement that, in a proper city, the inhabitants buy a sizeable part of their daily provisions in the market.

(Re f) *The Polis and its Walls*. In the Archaic period *poleis* protected by walls and towers were few and far between, and today historians agree that it would be a mistake to take a circuit of walls to be one of the defining characteristics of the Archaic *polis*.²⁰¹ Nevertheless in our earliest written sources the defence circuit is one of the most common characteristics of a

polis. The "Homeric city" is enclosed with steep walls and beautiful towers. Other Archaic sources use adjectives such as well-towered as an obvious epithet to a *polis*; and the Archaic lyric poet Alkaios has the following description of what a *polis* is: "cities (*poleis*) are not stones or timbers or the craft of builders; but wherever there are men who know to defend themselves, there are walls and cities."²⁰² Here the personal sense of the word *polis* is emphasised at the expense of the urban sense, but the antithetical way of expressing the view reveals that others might prefer to describe a *polis* as a walled city. As far back as our written sources go, walls seem to be a part of the *concept* of the *polis*. Furthermore, the physical reality behind the concept changed in the course of the Classical period. In the fourth century almost every *polis* had a wall, and for a *polis* not to be protected by a defense circuit was exceptional²⁰³ and regarded as old-fashioned.²⁰⁴

An Assessment of Max Weber's Antike Stadt as a Model for the Greek Polis. The conclusion of this investigation is that, *pace* Finley, Weber's *antike Stadt* as an ideal type is a very valuable model when applied to the *polis* of the fifth and fourth centuries. It was indeed Finley who brought Weber's work to the attention of ancient historians, but because of his more "primitivistic" view of the ancient economy it was Finley too who argued that Weber's *Idealtypus* or "model" of *die antike Stadt* did not fit the over one thousand middle-sized and small *poleis*. The investigations conducted in the Polis Centre indicate that Weber's ideal type of city does fit even small *poleis*: the classical *polis* (in the sense of state) was a self-governing (but not necessarily independent) political community invariably centred on a *polis* (in the sense of town). Many *poleis* were so big that it was impossible for all inhabitants to know one another, whereas in most cases the number of adult male full citizens was small enough to allow the *polis* (in the political sense) to be a face-to-face society. A considerable number of townsmen were farmers who had their home in the city but their fields in the hinterland (*Ackerbürger*). The town was enclosed by a defence circuit and centred on an *agora* in which the inhabitants supplied themselves with a substantial part of the necessities of life, often produced in the hinterland but sometimes imported from abroad.

So much for the *polis* of the Classical period. When we move back to ca. 600 B.C. the picture must be drawn differently. Most towns were not walled; they probably had an *agora*, but it seems to have been used for political meetings only and there is no evidence

for the *agora* as a market place.²⁰⁵ Towns were so small that all the inhabitants must have known one another, and many *poleis* (in the political sense) may not yet have possessed an urban centre so big that a Greek of the Classical period would think of it as a *polis* and a modern historian would classify it as a town. Thus, in many places the essential link between the *polis* as a state and the *polis* as a town may not yet have existed. In a number of larger settlements, however, it probably did, and it is unwarranted to assume that a typical *polis* of the early seventh century was a small territorial state without a proper urban centre.²⁰⁶

The concept of *polis* in the sense of town is already apparent ca. 600 B.C. The fragment of Alkaios (quoted *supra* 160) 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 other poets as well as from the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.²⁰⁷ There can be no doubt that the Homeric poems were widely recited ca. 600 B.C. Some of the elements mentioned above may be reminiscences of walled Bronze Age palaces, or based on a vague knowledge about the great walled towns in the Near Eastern empires, but I can see no escape from the inference that the Hellenic *polis* as an urban walled town existed as a well-established *concept* among the Hellenes ca. 600 B.C. and probably earlier than that.

What, then, about the physical remains of Archaic towns? Among ancient historians and archaeologists it has become common to claim that the formation of the *polis* as a political community preceded the formation of the *polis* as an urban centre. Ian Morris, for example, holds that “if we want to draw a line between ‘city’ and ‘non-city’ stages it would probably be in the late sixth century. The rise of the polis and the rise of the city were anything but synonymous” (Morris [1991] 40) ... “and if we wished to pinpoint the transition to state-hood it would be around 700” (p. 43). Thus, almost two centuries separate state-formation from city-formation. Similarly, although he does not suggest a precise date for state-formation, Frank Kolb believes, like Morris, that in Greece the formation of “cities” or “towns” cannot be pushed further back than the late sixth century B.C. (Kolb [1984] 72).

Combining the written evidence with the prevailing view of the emergence of urbanisation in Greece, we are left with the impression that the concept of *polis* in the sense of town antedated the actual urbanisation process by at least a century, if not more. And we will have to assume that the development of the meaning

of the word *polis* was: stronghold – state – town, rather than: stronghold – town – state (Hansen in *CPCActs* 4 [1997a] 40-1). That is, of course, not impossible, but strange, and a new look at the evidence seems advisable. A downdating of the concept of *polis* in the sense of town to, e.g., ca. 500 B.C. is out of the question, whereas, in the archaeological record, there are some clues which indicate an updating of town formation in Greece by one to two centuries.

The recent German excavations of Miletos seem to show that the site in the early 7th century was a walled town with, perhaps, a five-digit number of inhabitants.²⁰⁸ It has long been known that Smyrna must have been an impressive walled urban settlement in the 8th century.²⁰⁹ And there is no reason to assume that these two sites were the only early Greek cities along the coast of Asia Minor. The Swiss excavations of Eretria have unearthed an urban centre which grew up rapidly in the course of the second half of the 8th century so that Eretria by ca. 700 B.C. was a sizeable city.²¹⁰ On the Greek mainland the clusters of villages at Athens, Corinth and Argos either were or became proper conurbations by the turn of the eighth century.²¹¹ And in Sicily the urban history of Syracuse and Megara Hyblaia can be traced back beyond 700 B.C., whereas Naxos grew to be a town in the early seventh century.²¹²

Among ancient historians and archaeologists there has been a tendency to hold that one cannot speak about urbanisation until a cluster of close-set villages has condensed into one solid urban centre.²¹³ But the Greeks themselves thought that a cluster of villages was a *polis* in the urban sense, a *polis kata komas oikoumene*.²¹⁴ It was perhaps an old-fashioned form of *polis*, but still a *polis*, or an *asty*, and must, in my opinion, be acknowledged as an “urbanised settlement”, if only for the fact that often several thousand persons were living in nucleated settlements all within an area of 1-3 km².

Given the limited range of the archaeological record,²¹⁵ one ought perhaps to avoid all generalisations and abstain from dating the emergence of urbanisation in the Greek world. But if one ventures to come up with some kind of generalisation, the evidence suggests that the emergence of urbanisation should be moved back at least to the early seventh century,²¹⁶ perhaps even further, in which case there is no longer any reason to assume that state-formation preceded urbanisation by one to two centuries. The two processes seem to be contemporaneous and to go hand in hand, see *infra* 610.

The Greeks' Own Idea of the Polis as an Urban

Centre. What kind of urban centre did a Greek of the Classical period picture to himself when he heard the word *polis*?²¹⁷ A *polis* (in the sense of urban centre) was a town which was also the political centre of a *polis* (in the sense of state), and there are very few attestations of urban settlements which were called a *polis* without being the centre of a self-governing *polis* community.²¹⁸ It follows that in most *poleis* (in the sense of state) there was only one urban settlement which was called *polis*. Such a *polis* had a hinterland, called *chora*²¹⁹ or *ge*²²⁰, and a *polis* lying on the coast would have a harbour, called *limen*²²¹ or *epineion*²²² often including an *emporion*, i.e. a special market for foreign trade.²²³ The port of a large inland *polis* could itself be a major urban settlement which occasionally was considered a *polis* in the urban sense,²²⁴ and could be a *polis* in the political sense too.²²⁵

Almost all *poleis* were enclosed by a circuit wall, which in most cases must have been the line of demarcation between the *polis* (in the sense of town) and its *chora* (in the sense of hinterland). Of the other urban settlements inside the territory of a large *polis* some were centres of civic subdivisions, but some were just centres of habitation and local trade without any political institutions at all.²²⁶ Some of the larger *poleis*, however, succeeded in dominating or subduing some of the neighbouring *poleis*, and if these dependencies were allowed to persist as *poleis* in the political sense, their urban centre would also be called a *polis*,²²⁷ and the hegemonic *polis* would be the true first-order settlement and at the same time the power centre of a hierarchical network of *poleis*.

Even very small *poleis* seem to have had a four digit number of inhabitants, *supra* 157, and the population of a *polis* was often so numerous that the inhabitants did not know one another.²²⁸

As a town the *polis* was first of all a centre of habitation, and through excavation or survey archaeologists have come to distinguish between two different types of nucleated settlement: (A) a small settlement, often placed on an eminence, which was extended downhill and grew to become a proper town, and (B) a cluster of closely set villages which eventually were merged into a conurbation with a defense circuit enclosing the entire settlement.²²⁹ In towns of type (A) the eminence (*akropolis*) was often walled and clearly distinguished from the habitation quarters below.²³⁰ The *akropolis* was sometimes reserved for monumentalised sanctuaries and other public buildings,²³¹ but sometimes had room for habitation as well.²³² To have an *akropolis* was not a characteristic confined to *poleis* of type (A). Many *poleis* of type (B) possessed

a proper *akropolis* close to or as a part of the conurbation, e.g., Corinth, Argos and Athens.

The most urgent need of the *polis* as a habitation centre was a sufficient supply of fresh water, and as a specific type of public monumental architecture many *poleis* were adorned with one or more fountain houses where the inhabitants could supplement the water drawn from wells in private houses.²³³

Every *polis* was divided into publicly owned quarters, used for walls, streets, harbours, and all kinds of monumental architecture, as against privately owned habitation quarters, used for (mostly) fairly simple family houses (Jameson [1990] 171-95). Mansions and palaces were virtually unknown before the late Classical and Hellenistic periods, and that goes even for *poleis* governed by a tyrant.²³⁴

Habitation quarters were often irregular with crooked streets and haphazardly arranged houses, but in the Classical period an astonishing number of towns had adopted the centralised planning of streets and habitation quarters which erroneously has been ascribed to Hippodamos of Miletos, the fifth-century architect of the Peiraieus (Martin [1974] 221-52). To have a town organised in accordance with a rigid plan can be traced back to the colonies founded by the Greeks in Sicily in the late 8th century.²³⁵ And during the Archaic and Classical periods a constantly growing number of *poleis*, first outside and later in Hellas itself, were organised in accordance with a rectangular street plan. But even more important than having the streets laid out in rectangular fashion was the habit of having the rectangular blocks framed by the streets subdivided into lots of equal size, mostly 8 or 10 or 12 lots per block, and standardising the houses constructed on the lots;²³⁶ they were a kind of ancient terrace houses not too far removed from what is known from some parts of some modern European cities. The degree of town planning and rationalisation practised in the so-called Hippodamian *poleis* was as astonishing as the degree of planning and rationalisation practised in the artificial subdivision of the citizen body in e.g. *phylai*, *phratriai* and *hekatostyes* etc. (Murray in *CPCActs* 4 [1997] 493-504), or as astonishing as the rigorous planning and rationalisation practised in the running of the political institutions (Hansen [1991] 314, 319-20).

Apart from being a centre of habitation, the *polis* was a centre of (a) political institutions, (b) cults, (c) defence, (d) industry and trade and (e) education and entertainment.²³⁷

Re (a). As a political centre the *polis* accommodated all the central political institutions and the

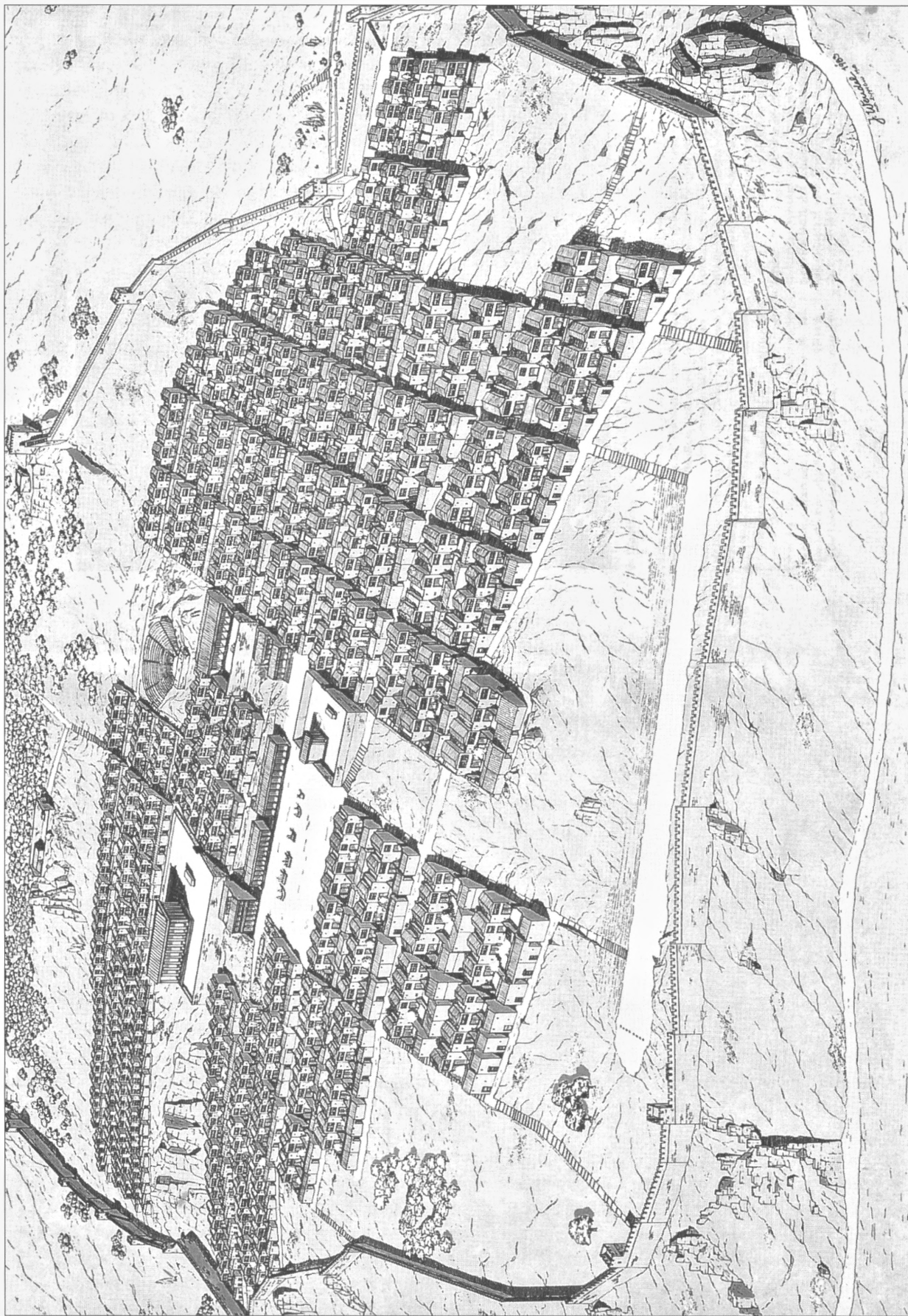


Fig. 4. Priene ca. 300 B.C. The temple to the left is that of Athena. The monumental buildings in front of the theatre are first the *gymnasion*, then the *bouleuterion* and the *prytaneion*, and then again – next to the *agora* – the temple of Zeus. The north side of the *agora* is flanked by a *stoa*. It is doubtful whether all houses were terrace houses as indicated here. Drawing by J. Wendel 1983.

buildings in which they resided: first virtually every *polis* seems to have had a *prytaneion* with a dining room in which the chief magistrates of the *polis* hosted prominent guests, and with an eternal flame burning on the altar of Hestia and symbolising the eternal life of the *polis*.²³⁸ Secondly there was a *bouleuterion*, in which the council (*boule*) held its meetings,²³⁹ and thirdly a number of *archeia*, i.e. offices for the various (boards of) magistrates.²⁴⁰ For some unknown reason specific lawcourts (*dikasteria*) are only exceptionally mentioned in our sources whereas it is not infrequently recorded that various public buildings erected for other purposes could be used as law courts.²⁴¹ Similarly, only few *poleis* had a separate meeting place (*ekklesiasterion*) for the people's assembly (*ekklesia*),²⁴² whereas there are quite a few references to assemblies of the people being held in the theatre.²⁴³ In the Archaic and Classical periods the public political buildings were small and undistinguished and monumental political architecture began to appear only in the fourth century.²⁴⁴ Furthermore, the *agora* was no longer seen as the institutionalised political centre of the *polis* where assemblies were held but rather as the social and economic centre of the town.²⁴⁵

(Re b). As a centre of public cult the *polis* housed a number of sanctuaries,²⁴⁶ some with monumental buildings such as temples²⁴⁷ and theatres.²⁴⁸ Until a generation ago the prevailing view was that almost all the major public sanctuaries were erected within the walls of the *polis*,²⁴⁹ and that the temples were typically placed on the akropolis. This view has been considerably modified in two respects: (a) many of the major sanctuaries were either sub-urban or extra-urban. The sub-urban sanctuaries were placed in the immediate vicinity of the town, the extra-urban were often situated right on the threshold of the territory, almost as a demarcation of the territory (de Polignac [1995] 21-5, 33-41). (b) As time went on new cities had their urban sanctuaries interspersed between the habitation blocks and no longer erected on the akropolis (Martin [1951] 253-5). Sanctuaries of Athene, Apollon and Aphrodite are typically found inside the walls whereas sanctuaries of Zeus, Demeter, Hera and Poseidon are often situated in the hinterland (Schachter [1992] 1-57). Correspondingly, festivals connected with the urban sanctuaries were celebrated in the *polis* (Aen. Tact. 10.4), whereas festivals for the gods who had their temples in the countryside were celebrated in the *chora* (Aen. Tact. 17.1).

(Re c). As a centre of defence the *polis* was a town whose walls could protect its inhabitants as well as the

rest of the population,²⁵⁰ and inside the walls was enough open space to accommodate the rural population for as long as the enemy occupied and pillaged the countryside.²⁵¹ Towns with an akropolis often had a double defence system: one wall protecting the akropolis, and one the lower city.²⁵² In the fourth century almost every *polis* had a town wall (*teichos*), or at least a walled akropolis. Not just in poetry but in reality a defence circuit had become an essential aspect of the town (Ducrey [1995] 253-5), just as it was in the Middle Ages. But there is an important difference in the function: in the medieval town the sharp division between city and country began at the gates. They were guarded all the time and closed during the night. Furthermore, customs dues were often exacted on all goods which passed the gates (Bertelli [1978] 41-4). In the ancient Greek city, walls were erected for defence purposes only; the gates were guarded in time of war (e.g. Aen. Tact. 28.1-4); but in peacetime anyone could pass freely during daylight hours,²⁵³ and, though at night the gates were probably shut, they seem not to have been guarded and people could still get in and out.²⁵⁴ Thus, in contradistinction to what happened in the Middle Ages, the walls around an ancient Greek *polis* did *not* become a barrier between the town and its countryside. On the other hand, they gradually became an essential feature of the *polis*, and if the focus is the *polis* of the Classical period, it is not misleading to take the walls to be one of the elements of the ideal type.

(Re d). As an economic association the centre of the *polis* was the market place (*agora*),²⁵⁵ the other centre was often a harbour (*limen*), and in sources dealing with the economy of the *polis*, the *agora* and the *limen* are often juxtaposed.²⁵⁶ Every *polis* had an *agora*,²⁵⁷ which in Archaic and early Classical towns was just an open square marked off with boundary stones (*horoi*).²⁵⁸ A *polis* might have an *emporion*, i.e. a market reserved for foreign trade (Hansen in *CPC Papers* 4 [1997d] 83-105). In the Homeric poems and in some Archaic poets the *agora* is described as the place where the people had the sessions of the assembly.²⁵⁹ In the Classical period all traces of the *agora* as an assembly place have vanished and the *agora* was now primarily the market place. Shops and booths were erected,²⁶⁰ many of a temporary nature.²⁶¹ An *agora* was often adorned with a *stoa* (a roofed colonnade).²⁶² Later, and especially in *poleis* with a grid plan, the *agora* was flanked with two²⁶³ or even three *stoai*,²⁶⁴ some of which were used for shops.²⁶⁵

(Re e). As a centre of education and entertainment the *polis* was the place where the schools for children

were found.²⁶⁶ The more advanced education of adults was often connected with the *gymnasia*,²⁶⁷ which, however, were primarily centres for sports and military training.²⁶⁸ In the Archaic and early Classical periods *gymnasia* were usually placed outside the *polis*,²⁶⁹ but in the course of the late Classical and Hellenistic periods the *gymnasion* was moved inside the walls²⁷⁰ and became perhaps the most important public building²⁷¹ housing what was now the most important institution in the *polis*, viz. the *ephebeia*, i.e. the education and military training of young citizens.

Of entertainments, often connected with the major religious festivals, the two most spectacular types were competitions in sports, conducted in a *palaistra*,²⁷² a *stadion*²⁷³ or a *hippodromos*,²⁷⁴ often connected with a *gymnasion*,²⁷⁵ and drama, performed in the theatre.²⁷⁶ In the Archaic and early Classical periods both the *gymnasion* (with *palaistra*, *stadion* and *hippodromos*)²⁷⁷ and the theatre²⁷⁸ were simple constructions which in most *poleis* have left no traces whatsoever, but all three types of building were monumentalised in the course of the late fifth and fourth centuries.

The Polis as a Political Community

An obvious place to look for a description of *polis* in its sense of community is in Aristotle's *Politics* and especially Books 1 and 3 (Hansen [1996d] 196-203). Here we find a profound discussion of the *polis* and its parts and, on almost all counts, Aristotle's comprehensive analysis agrees with the picture we can put together from scattered pieces of information in other contemporary sources, Athenian as well as non-Athenian. In Book 1 Aristotle offers a socio-economic description of the emergence of the *polis* and the units of which it is composed: a number of households (*oikiai*) grow to become a settlement (*kome*) and, again, a number of settlements combine to form a conurbation (*polis*) (1252a24-53a39). The diachronic perspective is speculative, but the three-tier organisation of the *polis* is a well-attested fact. From this point of view the basic unit is the household (*oikia*) composed of husband, wife, children and slave(s) (1253b2-7). In Book 3 Aristotle changes his approach and offers a description of the political structure of the *polis*. Now he argues that a *polis* is a community (*koinonia*) of citizens (*politai*) about the running and organisation of its political institutions (*politeia*) (1274b32-76b15). The *polis* as a socio-economic unit has been treated above; in this section I shall focus on

Aristotle's definition of the *polis* as a *koinonia politon politeias* (1276b1).

The term *koinonia* shows that, for Aristotle, a *polis* is not primarily a settlement, but a community. Next, it is a community of *politai*, i.e. of adult male citizens to the exclusion of their wives, children and slaves plus all free foreigners who happen to live in the settlement (1275a7-8; 1326a18-20). The specification that the members of the *polis* are the full citizens only confirms that in this context *polis* is explicitly detached from its sense of "town" or "nucleated settlement": the *polis*-town includes the women, children, slaves and foreigners but they are all excluded from the *polis* in the sense of a "community of *politai*". The third element of Aristotle's definition concerns the field of action which unites the community of citizens, and that is the *politeia*. The word *politeia* means literally "citizenship" but from this primary sense it developed two secondary meanings: (a) in a very concrete sense *politeia* designates the body of citizens as opposed to all non-citizens; (b) in a more abstract sense it designates the structure of the body of citizens and is, traditionally and in my opinion correctly, rendered "constitution" or "form of government".²⁷⁹ A contemporary political scientist might prefer "political system". In Aristotelian terms the *politeia* in the sense of body politic is the "matter" of the *polis* (1325b39-26a5) whereas the *politeia* in the sense of constitution is its "form" (1276b2-11). Apart from the opposition between form and matter, which is peculiar to Aristotelian philosophy, the analysis of the concepts of *polis*, *polites* and *politeia* presented above is corroborated by all other sources, Athenian as well as non-Athenian. And the consistent use in all sources of *polis*, *polites* and *politeia* as three closely intertwined concepts shows that the core of the concept of *polis* was the citizens in their capacity as members of the political institutions.²⁸⁰

If we ask for a more specific description of what a *politeia* is we learn that it is "the structure of a *polis*' political institutions (*archai*) and, in particular, of the supreme body of government" (1278b8-10).²⁸¹ But the structure of the political institutions differs from *polis* to *polis* and according to whether the supreme body of government is one person only, or a minority, or the majority of the citizens, *politeiai* can be subdivided into three types: monarchy, oligarchy and democracy.²⁸² In a monarchy supreme power rests with a king or tyrant, in oligarchy with a ruling class of aristocrats and/or wealthy citizens who have monopolised access to all (major) offices, whereas in a democracy the common people (*demos*) – who con-

stitute the majority of all citizens – exercise their rule directly through a popular assembly in which every citizen has the right to speak and to vote. This basic tripartition of *politeiai* is found in all sources, literary as well as epigraphical,²⁸³ and leads to the question: if there are three different forms of *politeia*, and if the *politeia* is the structure of the *polis*, did the Greeks believe, too, that there were three essentially different forms of *polis*?

To elucidate this problem we must move from the *politeia* as the structure of the *polis* to *politeia* in the sense of “citizenship” or “citizen body”. In the ancient Greek world citizenship was, essentially, what it has become once again in this century, i.e. the legally defined hereditary membership of an individual in a state whereby the member (in the modern world called a citizen or a national) acquires political, social and economic privileges which a non-citizen member of the community does not enjoy, or enjoys only partially. As a rule, a person is a citizen of one state only (Pierson [1996] 27-30). In ancient Greece the corresponding terms used were *politeia* to denote citizenship itself, and *polites* to denote the citizen if the emphasis was on a citizen’s exercise of his political rights,²⁸⁴ whereas *astos* (masculine)²⁸⁵ and *aste* (feminine)²⁸⁶ were commonly used to denote a person of citizen birth. As a rule a person was a *polites* of one *polis* only.²⁸⁷

Again, Aristotle concurs with this double aspect of citizenship, saying that, in practice, citizenship is defined as being born from citizens (1275b22-4), whereas, functionally, citizenship is defined by participating in the running of the political institutions of one’s *polis* (1275a22-33). In a democracy the two definitions coincide, whereas in oligarchies the functional definition is restricted to those natural-born citizens who also fulfil a census qualification,²⁸⁸ and in a monarchy in the strict sense of the term, the monarch is the only person who is a citizen in the functional sense.²⁸⁹ Since a *polis* is a community of citizens (1274b41) (from which non-citizens are excluded) the *polis* par excellence must be the democratically governed *polis* (1275b5-6), whereas oligarchies and, especially, monarchies are not *poleis* to the same extent insofar as not only non-citizens, but also some citizens are excluded from participation in those institutions which constitute the core of the *polis*. From the fourth century B.C. and onwards there is an undeniable trend to associate the concept of *polis* with the concept of democracy;²⁹⁰ but it must not be overemphasised. Most oligarchic *poleis* had a popular assembly.²⁹¹ Its powers were, of course, limited, but it

was usually open to all citizens so that it was the holding of (major) offices only which was restricted to those who passed the census qualification. Similarly, tyrants often convened all citizens to a meeting of the assembly,²⁹² and in many cases their power lasted no longer than they could rely on the acclamation of the people. Conversely, even democracies could impose restrictions on access to offices.²⁹³ In political thought we sometimes meet the view that a tyrannically governed *polis* is not a *polis* in the true sense.²⁹⁴ But usually tyrannies are seen as full-scale *poleis* and that goes invariably for oligarchies. Thus, irrespective of its type of *politeia*, the typical *polis* had at least some political institutions in which all citizens were entitled to participate whereas non-citizens were excluded, and, with variations, most *poleis* had roughly similar political institutions, viz., a popular assembly (*ekklesia*), a council (*boule*), a senate (*gerousia*), boards of magistrates (*archai*), and specific law courts (*dikasteria*), to be found especially in *poleis* in which the administration of justice was not left to the *archai*. One example is the moderate oligarchic constitution of Kyrene. It was inscribed in, probably, 322 B.C. and happens to be the oldest surviving written constitution in the world. The sections about the political institutions prescribe that the citizens are all those born from citizens in Kyrene and in the dependent *poleis* founded by Kyrene. Full citizen rights, however, are restricted to a body politic (*politeuma*) of 10,000 *politai* who fulfil a census requirement of 2,000 *drachmai*; the basic political institutions are: a popular assembly to which all 10,000 *politai* have access; a council (*boule*) manned with 500 citizens selected by lot for 2 years; a senate (*gerousia*) manned with 101 citizens elected for life by the *ekklesia*; various boards of officials of which the most important is a board of 5 generals (*strategoï*) elected by the assembly to assist the ruler of Egypt, Ptolemaios, who is *strategos* for life; councillors, senators and officials are to be over 50 years of age. Administration of justice in capital cases rests with the *boule*, the *gerousia* and 1,500 citizens selected by lot from among the 10,000.²⁹⁵

When we move from the institutions themselves to the tasks they performed the best one can do is probably to present a survey of the contents of the decisions made in assemblies and councils and carried into effect by the officials. Some decisions concern the political institutions themselves, such as rules about meetings of the assembly, elections or appointment by lot of officials, and instructions about the tasks they have to perform. Some decisions concern

penal law, private law and the administration of justice. Some decisions are citizenship decrees and the bestowal of honours on citizens as well as foreigners. Such decrees are particularly well represented in epigraphical sources because they were usually published on stone. Some decisions are declarations of war and peace, alliances, repair of the city walls, defence of the country and mobilisation of armies. Some decisions concern the organisation and financing of religious festivals, including large religious calendars which list all the festival days during a year. Some decisions concern the provision of grain to citizens. Some decisions concern the imposition of taxes and customs as well as loans taken up or repaid by the *polis*.²⁹⁶

From the matters regulated by the public it is apparent that the *polis* as a community was not only a political organisation; it was also a military organisation, a religious organisation, a social and educational organisation, and an economic organisation. From a modern point of view it is tempting to interpret the political organisation as a means through which the *polis* organised its defence, its religion, its economy and the social life of its citizens. But such an approach would only lead us astray. For many Greeks political activity was a positive value and participation in the decision-making process an end in itself, and not just a means to self-advancement or the achievement of some other purpose.²⁹⁷ According to Aristotle, man is a political animal, or – more precisely – a *polis* animal (a *zoon politikon*, *Pol.* 1253a1-4), and the very stuff of human life at its most basic level is involvement in the institutions of one's *polis* (1326b5-9). Political culture was the essence of the *polis* and “religious and social institutions were not autonomous but were continuously being adapted to conform to the needs of *polis* organization” (Murray [1996] 1205-6).

(a) *The Polis as a Military Organisation.* The principal civic duty incumbent on a citizen was to defend his *polis* and fight in its army. Every *polis* had its own army, and armies mobilised by leagues or federations were composed of contingents from the individual *poleis*. The *polis* was – here as everywhere – the basic social unit.²⁹⁸ The core of a city's armed forces was the heavy-armed infantry, the hoplites, who fought in close mass formation (called a *phalanx*), supported on the wings by cavalry and light-armed soldiers.²⁹⁹ The citizen soldiers had to provide their own equipment³⁰⁰ whereby a link was established between social groups and types of military service: the upper class served in the cavalry, or joined the middle class as hoplites; the lower class served as light-armed soldiers in the army

or as marines and rowers in the fleet.³⁰¹ The backbone of the hoplite *phalanx* was the middle class citizens, many of whom were farmers (Raaflaub [1997a] 53), but it must not be forgotten that numerous artisans and traders too had to do hoplite service.

The connection between the hoplite and the citizen was so close that in some *poleis* citizenship was restricted to those who served as hoplites in the army. In some of these *poleis* citizenship was even restricted to citizens of military age so that a citizen lost his political rights when, probably at the age of sixty, he had to leave the army. In other *poleis*, however, the veterans were allowed to retain their political rights.³⁰² In Aristotle's *Politics* we are told that this type of constitution, though now rare, had been more common in the Archaic period and that it originally was considered to be a kind of democracy (1297b24-5). Sparta – presumably described as a democracy in its only surviving constitutional document from ca. 7th century B.C.³⁰³ – seems to have been a *polis* of this type (Murray [1993] 159-80). It has often been suggested that the emergence of the hoplite *phalanx* – now dated to ca. 750 B.C. (Hanson [1991] 63-84) – was closely connected with the emergence of the *polis*, and that the development of mass fighting in close formation went hand in hand with the development of a political community ruled by a decision-making citizen body of hoplite farmers.³⁰⁴

In the classical democratic *polis* political rights were extended to all of citizen birth so that not only hoplites but also light-armed soldiers and rowers in the fleet became citizens in the political sense of the term. Also, by ca. 500 B.C. a clear-cut distinction between citizens and metics had developed, but middle class metics had to serve as hoplites in the *phalanx* side by side with the citizen soldiers.³⁰⁵ Thus, the identification of hoplites with citizens gradually lapsed. And a further dissociation of the military and the political aspect of the *polis* took place in the course of the Classical and Hellenistic periods when citizen armies were increasingly supplemented with or even replaced by mercenaries.³⁰⁶

(b) *The Polis as a Religious Organisation.* Since Fustel de Coulanges ([1864] 280-1 *et passim*) it has commonly been claimed that religion was the dominant aspect of community life. “The *polis* provided the central framework in which Greek religion operated.” Conversely, “religion provided the framework and the symbolic focus of the *polis*. Religion was the very centre of the Greek *polis*.”³⁰⁷ In my opinion, this holistic view of the *polis* is skewed, and it is particularly the second proposition that I find misleading.

The opposition between the sacred and the secular is well attested in the sources and a clear distinction between sacred and public money is attested in inscriptions (Migeotte [1998]), e.g. in the 4th-3rd century bronze tablets from Epizephyrian Lokris, all recording money which the *polis* borrowed from the sanctuary of Zeus Olympios and repaid to the sanctuary (Costabile [1992] 113-4). To draw the line between the sacred and the secular was as easy – or, rather, as difficult – as it was in the Middle Ages and still is. There was and has always been an overlap.³⁰⁸ Religion was indeed extremely important, but constituted one aspect of *polis* life only, and not necessarily the focal one, which was the *polis* as a community of *politai*.

Both as a political and as a military organisation the *polis* was a male society from which women were excluded.³⁰⁹ Female citizens possessed citizen status and transmitted citizen status to their children, but they did not possess citizenship themselves. They were *astai*, but not *politai* (see *supra* 154). Religion was different. Here women took part in the rites and cults both of their household and of the *polis* itself (Just [1989] 23). There were some cults from which women were excluded,³¹⁰ but similarly there were others from which men were excluded, e.g. the *Thesmophoria*.³¹¹ Most goddesses were served by priestesses rather than by priests (Holderman [1985] 299-330). In religion women were insiders, they joined in the performance of many rituals, and even possessed an official status (Kearns [1996b] 1624-5).

Next, as one of four groups of *polis* officials Aristotle lists priests and persons in charge of sanctuaries and sacred property (Arist. *Pol.* 1322b18-22). But in larger *poleis*, e.g. Athens, the priests (*hierais*) and priestesses (*hieraias*) who performed the sacrifices and rituals were not technically *polis* officials (*archai*) (Hansen [1991] 63), and to have officials who were both priests and in charge of sanctuaries and sacred property was characteristic of small *poleis* only (Arist. *Pol.* 1322b22-5). In larger *poleis* the officials in charge of sanctuaries and cults were responsible for the administration of the sanctuaries, the temples and the valuables they contained, but not for the rites performed at the sanctuaries. Writing about what is commonly called *polis* religion, Walter Burkert draws attention to “the missing professionals, the ‘charismatic virtuosi’ as *manteis* (prophets) and *kathartai* (purifiers), life-long specialists prominent at every sacrifice, at every crisis and especially in the case of war. But they are marginalized in the *polis*, and not at all well organized” (Burkert [1992] 534). Finally, a

sanctuary was sacrosanct and functioned as a place of refuge (Sinn [1993]). A person who escaped into a sanctuary or held on to an altar was protected against violence not only from his personal enemies, but also from officials. Even when the suppliant was a criminal, the authority of the *polis* stopped at the threshold of the temple.³¹² But if the *polis* authorities violated the *asylon*, as sometimes happened, there was no one to punish them but the gods. These observations reveal two important aspects of Greek religion: on the one hand, *polis* religion was not necessarily the core of the *polis*. On the other hand, there was no institutionalised and organised religious sphere distinct from and, sometimes, opposed to the *polis* sphere. In the Greek world there was nothing like the Medieval opposition between two competing power organisations: the Crown and the Church.

The essence of *polis* religion was prayers and animal sacrifice performed by priests at annual or monthly festivals organised by *polis* officials at public cost and attended by all members of the community (Zaidman & Schmitt-Pantel [1992] 102-11). The *polis* festivals were indeed the most spectacular aspect of Greek religion; but we must not forget that there were private cults as well, some performed by individuals, some by private organisations.³¹³ It suffices here to mention an inscription from Halikarnassos in which a priestess is instructed to perform both private and public sacrifices, including a monthly sacrifice on behalf of the *polis*, for which she is paid one *drachma* by the *polis*.³¹⁴ In any sanctuary many of the sacrifices were made, and many of the votive offerings donated by individuals – both citizens and foreigners – and on their own initiative (Jost [1992] 262-80).

To conclude, *polis* religion was religion (a) used by the *polis* itself, or (b) organised by the *polis*, or (c) directly created by and related to the *polis* and its institutions. In fact, “*polis* religion” has conveniently been subsumed under those three headings.³¹⁵ (re a) Every communal activity was accompanied by religious acts; thus a meeting of the people’s assembly in Athens was opened with a sacrifice, a prayer and a curse.³¹⁶ (re b) Both gods and heroes were worshipped publicly by the whole community in connection with the large festivals, which were organised by the *polis* and usually attended by all the *polis*’ inhabitants (not just the citizens). (re c) As the *polis* developed, new cults were set up which were directly and specifically connected with the *polis*’ political institutions: most *poleis* had a specific patron god or goddess;³¹⁷ many of the *polis*’ symbols were connected with its tutelary deity; and the annual festival for the patron deity was

one of the grandest. In the council house there was, typically, a cult for Zeus or Athena with the epithet Boulaios (-aia).³¹⁸ Similarly, abstract political concepts were sometimes deified: in Athens the democratic constitution was represented as a goddess, Demokratia, to whom the *strategoï* made annual sacrifices.³¹⁹ Homonoia, Concord, was another personified deity worshipped in many *poleis*, especially in the Hellenistic and Roman periods (Thériault [1996]). Deification of the *polis* itself, however, is not attested until the Hellenistic period when, e.g., the sculptor Eutychedes created the cult image of Antiocheia in the shape of Tyche with a turret crown on her head and her right foot on the river god Orontes (Balty [1981] 840-51). The closest we get to a cult of the *polis* as such is the public cult of Hestia, the goddess of the (public) hearth, placed in a building which in most *poleis* was called the *prytaneion*. The focus of the cult was a hearth with an eternal flame which was meant to symbolise the eternal life of the *polis* (Miller [1978]).

(d) *The Polis as a Social and Educational Organisation.*³²⁰ The traditional and still predominant picture of the ancient Greek *polis* is that it was a fusion of state and society and controlled all aspects of human life: law, religion, family, education, production, trade and every kind of social relations, so that our word “state” is only a one-sided and limited translation of *polis*.³²¹ This view is a curious mixture of ideal and actuality: it fits mainly the ideal states described in Plato’s *Republic* and *Laws* and the last two books of Aristotle’s *Politics*. But those Utopias were expressly written to commend to the Greeks how a city-state *ought* to be governed, and with their sharp criticism of contemporary *poleis* Plato and Aristotle are united in showing what a long distance there is between Utopia and actuality.³²² When we turn from philosophy to history we have to admit that no statement can be made about the *polis* as such. Because of the nature of our sources it must be narrowed down to an examination of the two oversized *poleis* in classical Greece, *viz.* Athens and Sparta, and the result of such an examination is that the two *poleis* are, in this respect, opposed.

There can be no doubt that the traditional view fits the Spartan *polis*. Sparta had public education, public regulation of marriage and family life, public restrictions on production and trade, and an enforced system of commensality incumbent on all male citizens aged between 20 and 60.³²³ The Spartan political system was compared to the discipline in a camp (Pl. *Lg.* 666Dff; Plut. *Lycurg.* 24.1). Its most prominent feature was, allegedly, obedience to the magistrates and

the laws (Xen. *Lac. Pol.* 8.1). Virtue was considered a public duty and its negligence in any matter was a punishable offence.³²⁴ The complete fusion of the Spartan state with Spartan society squares well with the fact that Sparta is almost the only existing *polis* that found favour in the eyes of the philosophers.³²⁵

The Athenian democrats took the opposite view: they found the Spartan way of life intolerable and incompatible with their own democratic values.³²⁶ They distinguished a public sphere from a private sphere.³²⁷ The public sphere was identified with the *polis* sphere, and the *polis* sphere was, first of all, a *political* sphere. Yet, the *polis* did not regulate all matters, but only a limited range of social activities, mostly connected with the political aspects of the community. Matters such as education, industry, agriculture and trade were left to private enterprise (Hansen [1987] 118). To some extent they were, of course, regulated by law (*nomos*),³²⁸ just as they are in modern societies, but regulation by law was less restrictive than in most modern states. Furthermore, all these topics were not much debated in the *ekklesia*, and they are hardly ever dealt with in any of the many hundred preserved Athenian decrees (*psephismata*) (Hansen [1987] 108-18). As long as the citizens complied with the laws, they were allowed to do as they pleased.³²⁹ Also, the Athenians were regularly allowed to think and say what they liked about anything.³³⁰

(e) *The Polis as an Economic Organisation.* Conceived as a community of citizens the *polis* was only to a small extent an economic organisation. The right to own landed property was confined to citizens;³³¹ yet – Sparta and perhaps some other *poleis* excepted – foreigners and slaves took part in trade and crafts side by side with citizens and often on the same footing.³³² To a large extent the *polis* involved itself in the economic life of the people only to collect taxes from them and to ensure that a citizen could get his daily bread at an affordable price; otherwise, trade and production were only tangential to the real matters with which the *polis* concerned itself and were not among the activities monopolised by the citizens. The adult male citizens isolated themselves from female citizens, foreigners and slaves whenever they sat in the Assembly, in the Council, or in the Courts; and for a non-citizen it was a punishable offence to participate in a political meeting. Yet every day, when the political meetings were over, citizen, metic and slave went off to work side by side as artisans, traders or farmers: in the economic sphere the stranger was part of the society, though in the political sphere he was not. In this respect there was a fundamental difference

between ancient Greece and, for example, the Italian city-states of the Middle Ages. In the latter the right to work at a craft or trade was a political right reserved to the citizens just as much as the right to participate in politics, and the political institutions were built directly upon the economic organization of the guilds and associations. Recent research has done nothing to undermine what Max Weber asserted in 1921: the citizen of an ancient city-state was *homo politicus*, whereas the citizen of a medieval city-state was *homo economicus* ([1920/1972] 805-6).

To conclude: the sweeping statement that the ancient Greek *polis* was a fusion of state and society is, in any case, a false generalisation. It is true for Sparta, but false for Athens. Again Sparta seems, in the Classical period at least, to have been the exception and Athens much closer to what we can expect to have been the case in other *poleis*, at least in democratically governed *poleis* (Hansen in *CPCActs* 5 [1998] 98-106). The presumption is, however, that Sparta and *poleis* organised like Sparta, though exceptional, were *poleis* to the same degree as Athens and *poleis* organised like Athens. Thus, whether a given *polis* was a fusion of state and society or separated state from society is irrelevant for its status as a *polis*, but is, of course, relevant for the modern historian's discussion of whether it was a state or, to be more precise, a state in the modern liberal-democratic sense.

The Relation between Poleis

I have repeatedly emphasised the perpetual and intense interaction between all the *poleis* caused by migrations, trade, and social activities; but it still remains to treat the political relations between *poleis* both in times of war and in times of peace.

Diplomatic relations between *poleis* were not maintained by permanent ambassadors but by envoys (*presbeis*) sent, whenever needed, to negotiate, e.g., a truce or the terms of peace or an alliance or the settlement of a dispute (Adcock & Mosley [1975]). The pan-Hellenic festivals were announced in the *poleis* by other envoys (*theoroi*) who had to admonish all the participating *poleis* to respect the sacred truce during the festival (Perlman in *CPCActs* 2 [1995] 113-64). In addition to the sending out of envoys, a whole network of personal relations between prominent persons in the various *poleis* was developed through institutionalised guest-friendship (*xenia*, Herman [1987]), later connected with the political structure through the institution called *proxenia*: the city of Eretria, for example, would pass a decree whereby a citizen of

Taras became the *proxenos* (host and protector) of any Eretrian citizen who happened to visit Taras.³³³

War between *poleis* was endemic; during the Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic periods wars were constantly fought between *poleis* and alliances of *poleis*, and for each and every *polis* war was the norm and peace the exception (de Romilly [1968] 207-20). Longer periods of peace were only experienced under the Roman principate. During the first three centuries A.D. the Hellenic *poleis*, except some near the frontiers, enjoyed the *Pax Romana*, and accordingly could afford to neglect their walls and defences (Jones [1940] 236, 256).

Many wars were fought between neighbouring *poleis*, e.g., the arch-enemies Sparta and Argos, others between alliances of *poleis*, e.g. the Peloponnesian War (431-404) between the Delian League led by Athens and the Peloponnesian League led by Sparta. The constant wars resulted sometimes in the destruction and annihilation of *poleis* (see page 150 *supra*), sometimes in their subjugation, in which case a conquered *polis* could be deprived of its self-government and reduced to being a civic subdivision of the conquering *polis*; thus Mycenae, Tiryns, Orneai, Midea and Hysiai were all conquered by Argos in the period 468-416 B.C. and transformed from *poleis* into *komai*.³³⁴ But often the conquered city-states were allowed to retain their status of *poleis* and became dependencies (*poleis hyphekooi*) instead of mere municipalities. All the perioikic cities of Lakadaimon are one example (Shipley in *CPCActs* 4 [1997]), and another is the Persian conquest under Kyros the Great (558-530) of the Greek *poleis* along the coast of Asia Minor.

The wars also resulted in alliances being made between *poleis*. The Corinthian War (395-386) was triggered off by an alliance between Athens, Thebes, Argos and Corinth against Sparta.³³⁵ Larger and more permanent alliances took the form of leagues with separate institutions set up for the purpose of organising and financing the league's armed forces and campaigns. The most famous are undoubtedly the Peloponnesian League (ca. 550-366 B.C.)³³⁶ and the Delian League (478-404 B.C.).³³⁷ Both leagues were increasingly dominated by the hegemonic *polis*, Sparta and Athens respectively, and both changed their character from being originally alliances of independent *poleis* to becoming almost small "empires" (*archai*) whose members were reduced by Athens and Sparta to the status of dependent *poleis* without *autonomia*. One further step towards larger political units than the *polis* was the creation of federations of

poleis, usually formed by the unification of all *poleis* in a region. The oldest known federal state is the East Lokrian, and from the fourth century onwards about a third of all *poleis* in Hellas were members of a federation.³³⁸

So both the subjugation of *poleis* and the formation of leagues and alliances entailed that more and more *poleis* became dependencies and, in the Hellenistic period, almost every *polis* was a dependency.³³⁹ However, dependent *poleis* existed in many different shapes and sizes. The most common types were (a) small *poleis* subdued by a larger neighbouring *polis*, (b) colonies still dependent on their *metropolis*, (c) the *poleis* along the coast of Asia Minor when under Persian rule, (d) members of a regional federation, (e) members of the Delian and Peloponnesian Leagues in their developed and imperialistic form, (f) all the *poleis* in the Hellenistic monarchies and under Roman rule which had had their status of *polis* confirmed by royal rescript or imperial decree and thereby had retained their self-government.³⁴⁰

To conclude: from beginning to end the *poleis* did not form a network of independent peer polities,³⁴¹ but a complicated hierarchy of self-governing communities with other types of permanent political communities both above and below *polis* level: above the *polis* were, first of all, the federations each normally embracing all the *poleis* within a region (e.g. Boiotia, Phokis). Below the *polis* was a network of civic subdivisions: *phylai* (tribes), *demoi* and *komai* (municipalities), *phratriai* and *gene* (brotherhoods and clans, originally kinship groups but later just artificial subdivisions of the body politic).³⁴²

One illustration of this hierarchy is the Boiotian federation which, above *polis* level, had a set of federal institutions, meticulously described in a historical work of the early fourth century B.C. (*Hell. Oxy.* 19, Chambers).³⁴³ The only truly independent *polis* was Thebes which, in addition to being the leading member of the federation (Thuc. 4.91.1; *Hell. Oxy.* 19.3), preserved its capacity to enter into relations with other *poleis* (*Staatsverträge* nos. 273, 277, 283, 345). Beneath Thebes were a number of *poleis*, e.g. Thespiiai, which, being member states of the federation, provided magistrates and councillors to the federal government and contingents to the federal army (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3-4). Beneath these *poleis* were a number of small *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; thus, Chorsiai (*SEG* 24 361), Siphai (Thuc. 4.76.1), Eutresis and Thisbai

(*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3) were *poleis* depending on Thespiiai. Finally, in the hinterland of Thespiiai there were several second-order settlements of which at least one, viz. Askra, was a *kome* (Hes. *Op.* 639-40 & 222; Arist. fr. 580, Gigon).

The federal institutions were in charge of foreign policy, defence and coinage,³⁴⁴ and included a federal court (Larsen [1955] 38). In the Chalkidic federation we hear also about the right of a citizen from one *polis* to marry a woman of citizen status from another *polis*, and to own landed property in other member *poleis*.³⁴⁵ A further development was a genuine federal citizenship so that each *polites* was a citizen of his *polis* as well as of the federation as such.³⁴⁶

Conclusion

The Hellenic city-state culture consisted of some 1,500 *poleis*, half of them situated in Hellas itself, whereas the other half were emigré communities. Most *poleis* in Hellas had grown spontaneously, but several were founded by synoikism. The colonies were founded by emigration from Hellas or from other colonies.

Each *polis* was a small self-governing (but not necessarily *autonomos* or independent) community of citizens (*politai*) who alongside free foreigners and slaves inhabited and controlled a territory consisting of a fortified urban centre (also called *polis*) and its hinterland (called *chora* or *ge*).

Citizenship was hereditary in the male line, and citizens were discernible from non-citizens by having a city-ethnic and/or a sub-ethnic as the last part of their full name. The name of the *polis* was the city-ethnic in the plural. In oligarchies the citizen body was subdivided into the body politic (*politeuma*) consisting of those who fulfilled a census requirement and monopolised the positions of power, as against citizens by birth only who, however, in many cases would be admitted to the popular assembly and have access to minor offices.

The *polis* was both a political, a military, a religious and an economic community. In the political sphere citizens were strictly isolated from foreigners and slaves and united in political decision-making (involving a general assembly and a *boule* meeting in a *bouleuterion*), and in the administration of the community (involving elected officials [*archai*] and lawcourts [*dikasteria*]). The form of government was either democratic, oligarchical or monarchical. In most democracies participation in the political institutions was open to all male citizens; in oligarchies it

was restricted by a census requirement, and in tyrannies the political institutions were maintained but their powers were reduced to little more than a formality by the concentration of power in the hands of the ruler.

The *polis* was not only a political community. It was also the nucleated centre of a political community. Every *polis* was centred on a town (*polis*) and, conversely, every town called *polis* was the political centre of a *polis* state. The sources show that Weber's ideal type of city does fit even small *poleis*: many *poleis* were so big that it was impossible for all inhabitants to know one another, whereas in most cases the number of adult male full citizens was small enough to allow the *polis* (in the political sense) to be a face-to-face society. A considerable number of townsmen were farmers who had their home in the city but their fields in the hinterland (*Ackerbürger*). The town was enclosed by a defence circuit and centred on an *agora* in which the inhabitants supplied themselves with a substantial part of the necessities of life, often produced in the hinterland but sometimes imported from abroad.

For further clarification I shall comment on some of the key words used above.

Small – The essential factor determining the size of a *polis* was the number of citizens. Ideally a *polis* ought to be so small that all adult male full citizens (but not all inhabitants) would know one another. A *polis* with 1-2,000 citizens was considered to be a small *polis*, whereas a *myriandros polis* (a *polis* with 10,000 full citizens) was the model of a large *polis*.³⁴⁷

Territory – Whereas a territory is an essential element in the modern concept of state, it was a less important aspect of the ancient *polis* than the people (*hoi politai*);³⁴⁸ but the frequent use of exile as a penalty is enough to show that every *polis* had a territory, sometimes marked with *horoi* (boundary stones). The concept of a *polis* consisting of citizens not possessing a territory, the *polis ohne Territorium*, is basically misleading.³⁴⁹ For most *poleis* the territory was no larger than the immediate hinterland of the *polis* town. Many *poleis* had a territory of 25 km² or less, very few had one of over 500 km².

Self-governing – The self-government of a *polis* must be contrasted with the activities and powers exercised by civic subdivisions such as a *phyle* (tribe), a *kome* (village), or a *demos* (municipality): like a *polis* (dependent or independent) a civic subdivision could have its own sanctuaries, with temples and a theatre, its own cults and its own festivals. It had its own assembly, in which both laws (*nomoi*) and decrees (*psephismata*) could be passed and taxes and

liturgies imposed; there were separate local magistrates and a local court. But, in contradistinction to a *polis* (dependent or independent), a civic subdivision had no *prytaneion*, no *bouleuterion* and no *boule*; its members were citizens of the *polis* of which the subdivision was a part, and were not citizens of the civic subdivision as such; a local assembly had no right to pass citizenship decrees and proxeny decrees; and a local court could impose fines but was not empowered to pass a sentence of death or exile. A civic subdivision did not have its own coins, and it had no right to send out envoys or to enter into relations with foreign states. The members of a civic subdivision could form a unit of the army of the *polis*, but would not operate as a separate army.³⁵⁰

Autonomos – The concept of *polis* must be dissociated from the concept of independence, sc. *autonomia*. In the Archaic and Classical periods hundreds of *poleis* were dependencies (*poleis hypekooi*) without *autonomia*. The close ideological connection between the concepts of *polis* and *autonomia* became prominent with the King's Peace of 386, and gained ground in the following period in which *autonomia* lost its affinity with independence and became increasingly compatible with dependent status. The history of the *autonomos polis* does not end with the battle of Chaironeia in 338, that is where it begins; and during the Hellenistic period *autonomia* (in the restricted sense of self-government) became an essential, perhaps even indispensable feature of the *polis*.³⁵¹

Independent/dependent – The concept of the dependent *polis* comprises a whole range of different categories.³⁵² In this context it suffices to mention a few of the more important types. (a) All the perioikic communities in Lakadaimon and Messenia were dependent *poleis* from the 7th century until the Spartan defeats in the 4th century.³⁵³ (b) All the *poleis* along the coast of Asia Minor were dependencies ruled by the king of Persia from ca. 540 to 470 B.C. and again from 386 to 334 B.C.³⁵⁴ (c) At the outbreak of The Peloponnesian War in 431 B.C. all the members of the Delian League had been reduced to dependent status (*poleis hypekooi*) except Lesbos and Chios.³⁵⁵ (d) *poleis* usually lost their *autonomia* when they became members of a confederacy and, conversely, we are told that Orchomenos regained its *autonomia* in 395 when it broke away from the Boiotian Federation.³⁵⁶

Population – The population of a *polis* was divided into three clearly differentiated groups: citizens, foreigners, and slaves.³⁵⁷ The division shows that the *polis* was a society based on "orders" rather than "classes", for the tripartition was by legal status, i.e.

was based on privileges, or otherwise protected by law.³⁵⁸ Membership of a group was typically inherited, and the groups were ordered hierarchically, in that by means of a constitutive act in due form a slave could become a free foreigner (by manumission) or a foreigner a citizen (by a citizenship decree), while, on the other hand, a citizen could be penalised with loss of privilege (*atimia*) by which he forfeited all his rights and was virtually thrust out of the community, and a foreigner could, for certain offences, be punished by being sold as a slave. The citizens were the privileged order, which by law had the monopoly of landed property and political power; the foreigners were the underprivileged order of free people often making a living by crafts, trade and services; the slaves were the unprivileged order, whose only right protected by law was that they could not be killed with impunity (and the purpose of that regulation was undoubtedly to protect the master's property rather than the slave's life).

Community of citizens – As a *political and military community* the *polis* was an exclusive male society. Foreigners and slaves lived in the *polis* without being members of the *polis*. Foreigners were excluded from the political assemblies, but in the army they fought alongside the citizens, and so did – sometimes – the slaves.³⁵⁹ In the religious sphere female citizens were active alongside the men, and most goddesses were served by priestesses. Both foreigners and slaves were admitted to many of the common cults and festivals. A cult which seems to be characteristic of the *polis* in contradistinction to other forms of community was that of Hestia in a *prytaneion* in which an eternal flame symbolised the life of the *polis*. On the other hand, when the *polis* is viewed as an *economic association*, the focus was on the urban aspects of the concept; female citizens, foreigners and slaves were again treated as insiders rather than outsiders, and the unit was the *oikia* rather than the *polites* (the adult male citizen).

The full citizens (in oligarchies those who pass the census requirement) were, ideally, equals, and united in decision-making, in defence and in celebration of the *polis* pantheon. In reality, however, the *polis* was, essentially, a divided society: not only was it based on the fundamental distinction between citizens and non-citizens; many *poleis* were also marred by constant conflicts between opposing groups within the citizen body: in democracies between rich and poor full citizens, in oligarchies between the wealthy full citizens who had monopolised political powers and the poor who were citizens by birth only. These conflicts often resulted in civil war (*stasis*). *Stasis* was as endemic in

the Greek *polis* as war between *poleis*, and both the poor and the wealthy citizens were often prepared to co-operate with their equals in other *poleis* and sacrifice the independence of their own *polis* in order to get the upper hand of the opposing group (Gehrke [1985] 359).

Notes

1. *Conventions*. (1) References to ancient authors follow the abbreviations of *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (*OCD*³) (3rd edn. Oxford 1996). For references to Jacoby's *Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* (Leiden 1954-64) I print e.g. Ephoros (*FGrHist* 70) fr. 39. (2) References to inscriptions follow the latest standard editions, conventions being the ones of *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* (*SEG*) Index 36-45 (Amsterdam 1999) 677-88. (3) Citations of modern works follow the abbreviations of *American Journal of Archaeology* 95 (1991) 1-16. (4) References to The Polis Centre's two series are as follows: *CPCActs* 1-6 = Acts of the Copenhagen Polis Centre. Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Historisk-filosofiske Meddelelser 67 (1993), 72 (1995), 74 (1996), 75 (1997), 76 (1998), 78 (1999). *CPCPapers* 1-5 = Papers from The Copenhagen Polis Centre. *Historia Einzelschriften* 87 (1994), 95 (1995), 108 (1996), 117 (1997), 138 (2000). Thus, *CPCActs* 1 (1993) = M.H. Hansen (ed.), *The Ancient Greek City-State*; *CPCActs* 2 (1995) = M.H. Hansen (ed.), *Sources for the Ancient Greek City-State*; *CPCActs* 3 (1996) = M.H. Hansen (ed.), *Introduction to an Inventory of Poleis*; *CPCActs* 4 (1997) = M.H. Hansen (ed.), *The Polis as an Urban Centre and as a Political Community*; *CPCActs* 5 (1998) = M.H. Hansen, *Polis and City-State. An Ancient Concept and Its Modern Equivalent*; *CPCActs* 6 (1999) = Th. Heine Nielsen & J. Roy (eds.), *Defining Ancient Arkadia*; *CPCPapers* 1 (1994) = D. Whitehead (ed.), *From Political Architecture to Stephanus Byzantius*; *CPCPapers* 2 (1995) = M.H. Hansen and K. Raaflaub (eds.), *Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis*; *CPCPapers* 3 (1996) = M.H. Hansen and K. Raaflaub (eds.), *More Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis*; *CPCPapers* 4 (1997) = Th. Heine Nielsen (ed.), *Yet More Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis*. *CPCPapers* 5 (2000) = P. Flensted-Jensen, *Further Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis*.

In the notes dates B.C. are abbreviated C6, C5, C4, = 6th, 5th, 4th Century B.C.; e = early; f = first half; s = second half; l = late.

2. For valuable observations and comments I would like to thank Dr. Oswyn Murray, Prof. Robert Parker and Prof. Dr. Michael Wörle.
3. Hansen in *CPCActs* 5 (1998) 17-34. *Poleis* is the plural form of *polis*, see *infra* pp. 152-3.
4. Hansen in *CPCPapers* 1 (1994) 14.
5. The only investigation is Ruschenbusch (1985). Ruschenbusch's own estimate is ca. 750, but, taking *polis* to be an independent community, he excludes, e.g., all the perioikic *poleis* in Lakadaimon, Messenia and Elis. For *perioikos* see *infra* n. 18. Also, of the *poleis* in Asia Minor he includes only those recorded in the Athenian Tribute Lists, although there was a considerable number of especially inland Greek *poleis* which never joined the Delian League.

6. The Greek word is *apoikia* for which “emigrant community” would be a better rendering than “colony”. But the traditional rendering “colony” is acceptable if only we avoid all comparisons with the Roman *colonia*, and use “colony” in its modern sense of “a country or an area settled and controlled by people from another country, sometimes by force” (*Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary of Current English* [1995] s.v.).
7. Graham (1982) 160-2 lists 139 colonies founded between ca. 800 and 500 B.C. But he does not claim that his list is exhaustive. Tscherikower (1927) lists 298 Greek cities founded in the Hellenistic period. There is no survey of the much smaller number of Greek colonies founded in the Classical period. For the Hellenistic settlements in Europe, the islands and Asia Minor, see now Cohen (1995).
8. A Hellenistic city on the bank of the Oxos river excavated by the French Archaeological Mission. Its Greek name is unknown and the identification with Alexandria Oxiana has been rejected by Fraser (1996) 154-6.
9. Flensted-Jensen & Hansen in *CPCPapers* 3 (1996) 143.
10. Hdt. 3.139.1; Thuc. 7.80.2; Xen. *Anab.* 7.1.29; Pl. *Cri.* 53A.
11. E.g. Pl. *Phd.* 109B quoted *infra* page 2; Hdt. 8.144.2 discussed *infra* page 2.
12. Hekataios (*FGrHist* 1) fr. 146 refers to Therme as a *polis* of Hellenic Thracians, opposed to Chalastre, a *polis* of Thracians. So the distinction between Hellenic and non-Hellenic *poleis* can be traced back to Hekataios, but note that Hekataios does not explicitly describe the non-Hellenic *poleis* as “barbarian”, see *infra* n. 23.
13. This feature alone is enough to show that Pseudo-Skylax’s treatise is not a *periplous* (a navigation manual) in the technical sense, but a geographical treatise composed like a *periplous*, because that was the most practical way of presenting a survey of *poleis*.
14. Flensted-Jensen & Hansen in *CPCPapers* 3 (1996) 143-6.
15. The two big waves are (a) the foundation of *poleis* in the Mediterranean and Pontic, ca. 750-500 B.C.; (b) the foundation of colonies in the former Persian empire, 331-ca. 200 B.C., see *supra* n. 7.
16. Thus Syracuse, founded in 733 B.C. by the Corinthians was itself the *metropolis* of three other Sicilian colonies: Akrai (founded 663 B.C.), Kasmenai (founded 643 B.C.) and Kamarina (founded 598 B.C.) (Thuc. 6.5.2-3), cf. Di Vita (1956) 177-205.
17. Graham (1964) 71-217. On colonies dependent on their *metropolis*, see *infra* page 148 (4).
18. A (free) foreigner is in Greek a *xenos*; in some *poleis*, e.g. Athens, resident and long term free foreigners are called *metoikoi* (metics); in other *poleis*, e.g. Sparta, the term is *peri-oikos*, in Kos it is *paroikos*. According to Aristotle (*Pol.* 1326a18-20; 1275a7-12) every *polis* had a sizable contingent of *metoikoi* and *xenoi*. See Gauthier (1988) 23-46.
19. Parke (1933); Bettalli (1995); McKechnie (1989) 79-100; Griffith (1934).
20. For many years the prevailing view, advocated especially by Moses Finley, was that trade and especially long distance trade was fairly insignificant in the Greek world. This “primitivistic” orthodoxy was still endorsed by Hopkins (1983) x-xiv, and critically summarised by Perkins (1997) 1-15. As she demonstrates, the tide has turned and the importance of long-distance seaborne commerce is, once again, emphasised. See, e.g., Cartledge (1996) 1535-7; Garnsey (1999) 29-33. For a harbinger, see Isager & Hansen (1975) 50-2.
21. *F. Delphes* II page 84; *Revue de philologie, de littérature et d’histoire anciennes* 44 (1920) 274, see Poulsen (1924) 43.
22. Finley (1981b) 7-8. The figure is probably based on the fact that the fourth-century B.C. *stadion* had a seating capacity of ca. 45,000, see Yalouris (1995) 15.
23. Barbarian-speaking Karians are referred to as early as Homer (*barbarophonoi*, *Il.* 2.867), but the distinction between Hellenes and barbarians became a prominent feature of Greek culture only after the Persian Wars, see Thuc. 1.6.6; Eur. *Iph. Aul.* 1400 quoted by Aristotle at *Pol.* 1252b8-9: “it is proper that Greeks rule barbarians”, cf. Isoc. 5.124. Plat. *Pol.* 262D: the population of the world subdivided into *Hellenes* and *barbaroi*, cf. Pl. *Menexenos* 245D. See Hall (1989); Cartledge (1993) 36-62.
24. Explicitly claimed by Herodotos in connection with Miletos (Hdt. 1.146.2-3); the prevalence of Italic dress ornaments in the earliest colonial graves of Pithekoussai strongly suggests mixed marriages, see Coldstream (1993) 89-107. Graham (1980-1) 293-314, however, argues that mixed marriages were exceptional and that in most cases the Greek male colonists must have been accompanied by Greek women.
25. Momigliano (1977) 12-14. One exception is Timesitheos of Trapezous who knew the language of the Mossynoikeans and was the interpreter used by Xenophon in 400 B.C., *Anab.* 5.4.2-4. According to Arrian *Anab.* 6.30.3 Peukestas was the only Macedonian general and governor who cared to learn Persian.
26. One example is found in Strabo, who at 6.1.2 claims that Magna Graecia had become completely barbarised, except Taras, Rhegion and Neapolis. See also Hdt. 4.108.2 about the Gelonoi in Skythia and Arr. *Anab.* 1.26.4 about the Pamphylians in Side.
27. Hall (1997) 40-51; Fowler (1998) 9-14.
28. Hippoc. *Aer.* 23-4; Pl. *Resp.* 435E; Arist. *Pol.* 1327b18-32.
29. Hainsworth (1968) 62-76; Morpurgo Davies (1987) 7-28; Hall (1997) 153-81.
30. Hdt. 1.58.1; Thuc. 1.3.4; Xanthos (*FGrHist* 765) fr. 16; Poseidippus fr. 30.3, *PCG*.
31. The army is addressed by, e.g. an Arkadian (6.1.30), a Lakedaimonian (3.2.1) and, apparently, a Lydian who speaks the Boiotian dialect (3.1.26). For interpreters see, e.g., *Anab.* 1.2.17; 5.4.4-5.
32. Pl. *Apol.* 17D as interpreted by Morpurgo Davies (1987) 12.
33. Palmer (1980) 174-93. See, however, Ste Croix (1981) 16: “the great majority of the peasants of the East Greek and even some of the townsmen habitually spoke not Greek but the old native tongues” with the reference to *Act. Apost.* 14.11.
34. Schachter (2000); Kearns (1996a) 1300.
35. Sansone (1988) 6. For a more cautious and balanced statement of this view, see Pleket (1996) 508. The difference between the Greeks and the others is vindicated by Golden (1998) 28-33.
36. Robert (1967) 14-32; Hansen in *CPCActs* 3 (1996a) 65 n. 50.
37. Glotz (1928) 34; Giovannini (1971) 87; von Lübtow (1972) 108; Mossé & Schnapp-Gourbeillon (1990) 119; Cartledge (1993) 4.
38. Barbarian *poleis* in Herodotos (e.g. Pteria in Kappadokia 1.76.2); Thucydides (e.g. Etruscan *poleis* 6.88.6); Xenophon (e.g. *poleis* in Phrygia *Hell.* 4.1.1); Ps.-Skylax (e.g. eight Libyan *poleis* § 21). For the exceptional use in Aischylos’ tragedy *The Persians* of *polis* referring to the Persian Empire, see *infra* note 120.

39. KN As 1517,12, cf. Thumb & Scherer (1959) 335 §337 13a; Morpurgo Davies (1963) 262.
40. Frisk (1970) 576-7; Monier-Williams (1899) 635: "púr, f. a rampart, wall, stronghold, fortress, castle, city, town." See Strunk (1970) 2.
41. It is misleading when Benveniste (1973) 298 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", and since many of these cities were actually states I would not preclude that the word may take on the sense of "state" or "political community" as well. In Lithuanian *pilis* has developed "palace" and not "town" as its secondary meaning.
42. Phokylides fr. 4, Diehl: "a small *polis*, well settled on the top of a hill, is better than stupid Ninive"; Thuc. 2.15.6, see Hansen in *CPCActs* 5 (1998) 35.
43. Snodgrass (1991) 8; Novicki (1992) 53-76.
44. For the Mycenaean origin of the Greek *polis*, see Thomas (1981) 32-5 and van Effenterre (1985) 27-8 *et passim*.
45. E.g. Snodgrass (1980) 28-32 and his review of van Effenterre (1985) in *CR* 36 (1986) 263-5.
46. Archilochos fr. 228, West; *polis* in the sense of community of citizens (*astoi*): fr. 13.2, in the sense of town: fr. 49.7.
47. Tyrtaios fr. 4.4, West; *polis* in the sense of town (fr. 10.3); in the sense of community (fr. 4.8, 12.28) of citizens (*demotas andras* and *demou plethos* in fr. 4.5 & 9).
48. Meiggs-Lewis, *GHI* 2.1-2, now dated ca. 650 B.C., *Nomima* 1.81, 650-600 in Koerner (1993) no. 90.
49. The distinction between citizens and non-citizens is attested, e.g., in Draco's law on homicide (Meiggs-Lewis, *GHI* 86.28-9, ca. 624 B.C.) and in a law from Gortyn (*I.Cret.* 4.13, *Nomima* 1.1, late 7th. cent. B.C.).
50. Finley (1956) 35; Austin & Vidal-Naquet (1977) 40.
51. Murray (1993) 63; Morris (1986) 100-4; Raaflaub in *CPCActs* 1 (1993) 46-59; and (1997b) 624-48.
52. Lord (1962) 188-93; Bennet (1997) 513
53. It is striking that, emphasising the Iron Age aspects of the poems, Morris & Powell (1997) have no mention of "Homeric" palaces and temples. For palaces we must go back to Wace (1962) 489-97.
54. *Il.* 6.242ff (palace of Priam); *Od.* 1.365 (palace of Odysseus); *Od.* 3.387ff (palace of Nestor); *Od.* 4.20ff (palace of Menelaos); *Od.* 7.81ff (Palace of Alkinoos).
55. *Il.* 1.39; 5.446; 7.83 (temple of Apollo in Troy); *Il.* 6.297-300 (temple of Athena in Troy); *Od.* 6.10 (temples of the gods in Scheria).
56. Wace (1962) 490; Pöhlmann (1992) 191-2. Both the Mycenaean remains and the Homeric "Halls" (*domata*) are so magnificent that the traditional designation of them as "palaces" seems well chosen. For a perhaps exaggerated emphasis on the purely imagined character of the Homeric king's house, see Dalby (1995) 273-8. For an attempt to reconcile the Homeric "palaces" with remains of Iron Age residences, see Ainian (1997) 363-8.
57. Hansen & Fischer-Hansen in *CPCPapers* 1 (1994) 25-30.
58. For some "primitive temples" antedating 700 B.C., see Lawrence (1996) 61-5.
59. Judiciously emphasised by Scully (1990) 2-3.
60. Greenhalgh (1973) 7-18; Ducrey (1986) 38-41.
61. Hope Simpson & Lazenby (1970) 153-71.
62. The most disturbing problem is lack of correspondence between Nestor's realm as described in *Il.* 2.591-602 and the evidence of the Linear B tablets found in the palace at Ano Englianos, discussed by Hope Simpson & Lazenby (1970) 155-6.
63. Powell (1991) adducing as possible analogies (11-2), e.g., Wulfila's invention of Gothic script ca. 400 B.C. The epigraphic evidence, however, indicates that a much better analogy is, e.g., the Nordic runes. They were invented in the first century A.D. but it took many centuries before they were used for longer texts.
64. See also the judicious and cautious approach in Baurain (1997) 403.
65. Hansen & Fischer-Hansen in *CPCPapers* 1 (1994) 30, 35-6, 42-4, 75, 81. It is still debated whether the large apsidal peripteral building excavated in Lefkandi (ca. 1000 B.C.) was a chieftain's house or an early temple, see Lawrence (1996) 62.
66. Malkin (1987) 12 followed by Hansen in *CPCPapers* 1 (1994) 15-6.
67. Reasonably reliable foundation dates of many of the western colonies, not always matching the foundation dates reported by Thucydides at 6.2-6, are now established by archaeological evidence alone, and there is no reason to suspect a circular argument, i.e. that archaeologists base the chronology of proto-Corinthian pottery on Thucydides' foundation dates, whereas historians argue that Thucydides' dates are corroborated by the Protokorinthian pottery found in the colonies, see van Compernelle (1992) 774-80; Morris (1996).
68. Fischer-Hansen in *CPCActs* 3 (1996) 334-51.
69. Graham (1964) 7, 220, followed by Osborne (1998) 251-69.
70. Morgan & Hall in *CPCActs* 3 (1996) 164-232.
71. Cf., e.g., Thomas (1981) 40; Bengtson (1977) 286, 295; Green (1990) 53, 56, 80, 220 etc. and, most recently: Cawkwell (1996) 98 and *passim*.
72. Hansen in *CPCActs* 5 (1998) 205 with n. 32.
73. Gauthier (1993) and Millar in *CPCActs* 1 (1993) 211-31 and 232-60; Davies (1984) 304-20; Gruen (1993) 339-54; Ward-Perkins (1998) 371-410.
74. Hansen in *CPCPapers* 2 (1995c) 36-8.
75. Hansen in *CPCActs* 1 (1993) 21.
76. E.g. *OGIS* 229.9-16. Davies (1984) 306; Gauthier in *CPCActs* 1 (1993) 217-25; Quass (1979) 37-52.
77. Ward-Perkins (1998) 371-82; Jones (1964) 712-66.
78. One example is Menander Rhetor's treatise on how to praise a *polis*, composed ca. 300 A.D. The urban aspects of the *polis* are emphasised; but when it comes to the political achievements and the constitution of the *polis* Menander admits that there is no longer much to be said here, because all Roman *poleis* are now governed by one [*polis*], sc. Rome! (360.10-6; 363.10-4).
79. *Lib. Or.* 11.266; see Saradi-Mendelovici (1988) 374-401.
80. Procop. *Aed.* 6.6.8-16, see s.v. *Brachodes akra* in *RE* 3.1 (1899) 806.
81. Jones (1940). For *polis*, *komopolis* and *kastron* denoting towns in the Byzantine period, see Haldon (1999) 1, 11-4.
82. Kadmos as the founder of the Theban *polis*: Pherekydes (*FGRHist* 3) fr. 41d; Paus. 9.5.2. Gantz (1993) 467-73; Schachter (1985) 145-53; Theseus as the founder of the Athenian *polis*: Thuc. 2.15.1-2.
83. Leschhorn (1984); for Asia Minor, see Scheer (1993).
84. For these indications of *polis* status, see Hansen in *CPCActs* 3 (1996a) 12-13 and 55-62, nos. 15, 16, 23, 34, 40, 41. — A *theorodokos* is a citizen appointed by the *polis* to host the *theoroi*

- during their stay in the *polis*. – *Promanteia* is the privilege of consulting the oracle before others.
85. The Peace of Nikias of 421 B.C. includes one clause (Thuc. 5.18.6) which amounts to the *re*-establishment of three *poleis*, but neither this treaty nor any other known treaty of the Archaic and Classical periods prescribes the creation of a new *polis*.
 86. By royal rescript issued by Eumenes II of Pergamon (197-59 B.C.) Toriaion was made a *polis* and granted the right to have its own constitution (*politeia*) and laws (*nomoi*) and a *gymnasion*, *EA* 29 (1997) 1-29. Pallantion was made a *polis* by Antoninus Pius: Hansen in *CPCPapers* 2 (1995d) 71 note 103. Paus. 8.43.1. See also Schuler (1998) 25.
 87. Under Julianus (361-3 A.D.) Kaisareia in Kappadokia was struck off the list of *poleis* (Lib. *Or.* 16.14).
 88. Aitolia: Funke in *CPCActs* 4 (1997) 145-88; Akarnania: Gehrke (1994/5) 41-8; Epeiros: Dakaris (1972).
 89. Meiggs-Lewis, *GHI* 5, Chamoux (1953) 69-127.
 90. Demand (1990) 83-5; (Thebes), 118-8 (Megalopolis).
 91. One example is Naupaktos which ca. 500-475 B.C. was reinforced by new colonists from Opountian Lokris (Meiggs-Lewis, *GHI* 20). Another is the island Astypalaia which was colonised by Epidaurus (*Syll*³ 357.2) and, perhaps, Megara (Ps.-Scymnus 551).
 92. E.g. Megalopolis founded in 368 (Diod. 15.72.4; 15.94.1-3; Paus. 8.27.1-8). On synoikism, see Moggi (1976).
 93. Thuc. 3.92-3, Hornblower (1991) 501-8.
 94. Plut. *Tim.* 23.4-6, the number is incredibly high, but a significant extension of Syracuse to the north during the 4th century B.C. is archaeologically attested, see Talbert (1974) 146-7.
 95. Kallisthenes (*FGrHist* 124) fr. 25. Hornblower (1982) 78-105.
 96. For a detailed account with source references, see Hansen in *CPCPapers* 4 (1997c) 29-37.
 97. In ca. 370 B.C. the Kassopians are referred to as a tribe settled in villages (*kata komas*, Ps.-Skylax 31), but in the Epidaurian list of *theorodokoi* of 360 B.C. Kassope is listed as a city (*IG* IV³ 95.25). See Hoepfner & Schwandner (1986) 75-140.
 98. Thessalonike: Strabo 7 fr. 21; Demetrias: Plut. *Demetrios* 53.7.
 99. At *Pol.* 1327b32, however, Aristotle notes that the Hellenic race, if united under one constitution (*politeia*), would be strong enough to rule the world. But to have one *politeia* does not necessarily imply to be one *polis*. Aristotle may be thinking of a kind of federal constitution, cf. the collection of 158 Aristotelian *politeiai* which include several of federations, e.g. the *politeia* of the Aitolians (fr. 476, Gigon), the Akarnanians (fr. 477), the Arkadians (fr. 487-8), the Boiotians (fr. 489), and the Thessalians (fr. 502-5). The most ambitious attempt to create a large political unit beyond *polis* level was the abortive plan, suggested by Thales in ca. 545 B.C., to unite all Ionian *poleis* and form one large political unit with its centre at Teos (Hdt. 1.170.3).
 100. Larsen (1968); Beck (1997).
 101. Arist. *Pol.* 1261a29 with Hansen in *CPCActs* 6 (1999a).
 102. Hansen in *CPCActs* 3 (1996a) 7-14. For a similar approach see also Lévy (1990) 53-67; Sakellariou (1989).
 103. Arist. *Pol.* 1276a17-27; Pl. *Def.* 415C; Kleanthes in Stob. *Flor.* 2.7; *Etym. Magn.* 680.1-4, see Hansen in *CPCActs* 5 (1998) 17-20.
 104. A *polis* consists of houses (Arist. *Oec.* 1343a10), or of persons (Thuc. 7.77.7).
 105. Nucleated settlement: Ps.-Skylax 33 *et passim*; political community: Arist. *Pol.* 1274b41; 1276b1-3.
 106. 1a: Thuc. 2.15.6; 1b: Dem. 18.215-6; 1c: Din. 1.77; 2a: Arist. *Pol.* 1274b41; 2b: *SEG* 43 310.1-4; 2c: Pl. *Resp.* 371B. See Hansen in *CPCActs* 5 (1998) 20-5.
 107. *IG* XII 1 677.13-9. Hansen in *CPCActs* 3 (1996a) 34-6.
 108. Plut. *Pelop.* 18.1; Paus. 1.26.6.
 109. Sc. in Herodotos and (of course) in Aeneas Tacticus and Ps.-Skylax. See Hansen in *CPCPapers* 5 (2000) 178-9.
 110. Hansen in *CPCActs* 5 (1998) 31, 54 with note 239.
 111. Compare Xen. *Hell.* 2.3.35 with Lys. 24.22-3 and Pl. *Cri.* 50C. See Hansen in *CPCActs* 5 (1998) 56-73.
 112. Hansen in *CPCActs* 5 (1998) 36-42. For the view that “state” is a defensible and even recommendable rendering of *polis* in senses (2a-c), see *CPCActs* 5 (1998) 114-23.
 113. For *polis* used as a generic term or heading, see Hansen in *CPCPapers* 4 (1997b).
 114. *Ge* is often used about the hinterland or the territory in the same sense as *chora*, cf. e.g. Thuc. 2.71.2 and 72.3.
 115. Osborne (1987) 9 (quoting Louis Robert); Snodgrass (1990) 113. Wallace-Hadrill (1991) xv.
 116. (a): Arist. *Pol.* 1303b7-10; (b): Pl. *Lg.* 745B; (c): Aen. Tact. 15.9-10; (d): *Syll.*³ 147.3-7. The sources are quoted in Greek and in translation by Hansen in *CPCActs* 4 (1997a) 17-20.
 117. Lyons (1977) 307-8. Cf., e.g. the antonyms “day” and “night”. “Day” can denote both the twenty-four hour period and the daytime as opposed to the night hours, whereas “night” invariably means the dark hours between sunset and sunrise.
 118. For the rare use of *chora* in the sense of “country” or “state” see e.g. Arist. *Pol.* 1327a32.
 119. See. e.g. *Magna Carta* section 8: “That common pleas shall not follow the court of the lord king, but shall be assigned in some fixed place” and *The Laud Chronicle* (1104): In this year [1103] at Christmas the king held his court at Westminster, and at Easter at Winchester, and at Whitsun again at Westminster.
 120. *Polis* in the sense of territory: *ICret* IV 144.9 (Gortyn); Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.49, Hansen in *CPCActs* 3 (1996a) 36-8 and *CPCActs* 5 (1998) 22, 26, 31-32, 53-6; *polis* in the sense of country or region: Krateros (*FGrHist* 342) fr. 18 (Egypt); Eur. *Ion* 294 (cf. Harp. s.v. *Keioi*) (Euboia), Hansen in *CPCActs* 5 (1998) 124-32; *polis* in the sense of city-state *passim*, Hansen in *CPCPapers* 5 (2000) 173-215. *Polis* in the sense of federation (Arist. fr. 498, Rose), large monarchy (Diod. 7.16) or empire (Aesch. *Pers.* 511-2), Hansen in *CPCActs* 5 (1998) 124-32.
 121. Thuc. 2.9.1-2; *IG* II² 43, Hansen in *CPCPapers* 4 (1997b) 9-15. As against some ten thousand attestations in Archaic and Classical sources of *polis* denoting a city and/or a city-state, there are about a score of occurrences of *polis* used about macro-states, most of them in poetry, e.g. Aischylos’ use of *polis* denoting Persia in *Persae* 213, 511-2, 682, 715, 781. See Hansen in *CPCActs* 5 (1998) 124-32.
 122. Thuc. 4.49.1, Hansen in *CPCActs* 5 (1998) 32-3.
 123. Finley (1963) 45; Kolb (1984) 59; Runciman (1990) 348, see Hansen in *CPCActs* 5 (1998) 15-6.
 124. *IG* XII 5 872.3 (*polis*) & 5 (*asty*), Hansen in *CPCActs* 4 (1997a) 58-60.
 125. Isoc. 15.299, Hansen in *CPCPapers* 2 (1995d) 61-3.
 126. Knoepfler in *CPCActs* 4 (1997) 355-8, 389-92.
 127. Hansen in *CPCActs* 3 (1996a) 28-34 and in *CPCPapers* 5 (2000) 173-215.
 128. Hansen in *CPCActs* 4 (1997a) 34-42
 129. See most recently Demand (1996) 99.
 130. Hampl (1939b) 48; Zahrt (1971) 10; Lévy (1990) 54.
 131. Dem. 23.41, see Hansen in *CPCPapers* 3 (1996d) 191-5.

132. For the exceptional use of the toponym to denote the city-state see Hansen in *CPCActs* 3 (1996a) 28 & 38; Whitehead (1996) 1-11.
133. *IvO* 165; Paus. 6.13.6, P. Fraser in *CPCActs* 2 (1995) 64-90; Hansen, in *CPCPapers* 3 (1996c) 176-81.
134. Dittenberger (1907) 15; Hansen in *CPCPapers* 3 (1996c) 191.
135. *Milesioi* (*Milet* I 3 137.3 = *Staatsverträge* 3 409); *Hippostratos Hippodemou Milesios* (*Milet* I 2 10.1-2).
136. See *Introduction* page 19 with note 89.
137. This part of my article is a condensed and revised version of my contribution in *CPCActs* 4 (1997a) 9-86.
138. In the following I try to render *polis* by “town” when it is used in the urban sense and by “city” or “city-state” when it is used in its political sense. In the long section about Max Weber, however, I follow the traditional terminology and speak of “the ancient city” etc. Although the urban and economic aspects are of primary importance for Weber’s analysis, it would ring false to speak of “Weber’s concept of the ancient town”. Thus, “town” and “city” are often used synonymously.
139. Finley (1987-9) 304; Jameson (1990) 173; Burford (1993) 57-8. For a different view, see Hanson (1995) 51-60, emphasising the importance of the rural homestead farmers.
140. Hom. *Od.* 7.131; Pl. *Resp.* 370C.
141. The town of Thebes, for example, is called *asty* at Dem. 18.215 but *polis* in the following section. The Lykian towns Xanthos, Pinara and Telmessos are referred to as three *aste* at SEG 39 1414.5 (C4e) but called three *poleis* in line 24.
142. Liddell-Scott-Jones, *A Greek English Lexicon* s.v. *astos* has: “townsman, citizen, *Il.* 11.242; *Od.* 13.192 etc.” but in both lines the sense is “compatriot” rather than “townsman” and I know of no other attestation of *astos* in the sense of townsman.
143. The closest one can get is phrases such as *hoi en tei polei (enoikountes)*, see Hansen in *CPCActs* 4 (1997a) 12.
144. Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 26.4 (*politai*), 42.1 (*astoi*, Perikles’ citizenship law of 451 B.C.); *AJPh* 56 (1935) 358-72 no. 1 lines 28-9 (*politai*, Kolophon 311-06 B.C.); *IG* XII 9 192.8: (*politai*, Eretria, 308/7 B.C.); *Syll.*³ 1037.7: (*astoi*, Miletos ca. 300 B.C.).
145. Pečírka (1973) 115; Jameson, Runnels & van Andel (1994) 249, 375, 383; Shipley (1994) 218-9. Sometimes a distinction is made between smaller towns and larger cities, see, e.g., Shipley (1994) 222-3. A similar distinction can be made between smaller hamlets and larger villages, see, e.g., Jameson, Runnels & van Andel (1994) 252.
146. Pečírka (1973) 115; Renfrew & Wagstaff (1982) 251; Finley (1987-9) 304; Snodgrass (1990) 127-8; Jameson, Runnels & van Andel (1994) 249, 253-4.
147. The Cambridge/Bradford survey of Boiotia, for which see Snodgrass (1990) 113-36. The survey of northern Keos: Cherry, Davis & Mantzourani (1991). The survey of Southern Argolis: Jameson, Runnels & van Andel (1994). The Methana Survey: Mee & Forbes (1997). The Kyaneai survey in Lykia: Kolb (1995).
148. Jameson, Runnels & van Andel (1994); Schuler (1998).
149. Pečírka (1973) 113-47; Snodgrass (1987-9) 53-70; J. Roy *et al.* (1988) 179-82. Forsén & Forsén in *CPCPapers* 4 (1997) 163-76.
150. Hansen in *CPCPapers* 2 (1995d) 51-2. Whereas 447 urban centres are explicitly called *polis* in Archaic and Classical sources (Hansen in *CPCPapers* 5 [1999] 179, 201), there are only some 30 known localities which are explicitly called *kome* in Archaic and Classical texts (*CPCPapers* 2 [1995d] 65-8). For the Hellenistic period, see Schuler (1998) 22-32.
151. E.g. *Chorion* (place), *oikia* (house), *agros* (field), *aule* (court). See Pritchett (1956) 261-9.
152. The sources are discussed in *CPCActs* 4 (1997a) 24-5.
153. Jameson, Runnels, & van Andel (1994) 373-400, 415-538.
154. For Boiotia, see Hansen in *CPCActs* 3 (1996b) 77-8; for Chalkidike, see Flensted-Jensen (1998) 30-3; for Arkadia, Triphylia, and eastern Lokris, see Nielsen’s forthcoming inventories of *poleis*; for Phokis and western Lokris, see Rousset (1999) 54-9.
155. Cherry, Davis & Mantzourani (1991) 337-40.
156. Cherry, Davis & Mantzourani (1991) 383-402.
157. Stone (1997) 22, 26. See also Maisels (1990) 12-3, 253-61, 266-70 who suggests distinguishing between village-states (non-urbanised, often Asian, macro-states) and city-states as opposed types of state.
158. See the impressive study by Schuler (1998) with a survey of the epigraphical evidence pp. 291-7.
159. One exception is Thuc. 2.13.7 where metic hoplites are explicitly mentioned.
160. Cherry, Davis & Mantzourani (1991) 236-7, 278, 337-8.
161. *IG* XII.5 609, cf. Ruschenbusch (1982) 175-88.
162. Thuc. 2.77.2; Isoc. 14.13; Poseidippos (fr. 29, C3e).
163. The tradition that the Plataians in 490 sent 1,000 men to assist the Athenians is late and unreliable (Nepos *Milt.* 5).
164. *CPCActs* 4 (1997a) 27-8. The only other population figure we have is Thucydides’ piece of information that 400 Plataians of military age remained in the town when it was besieged in the years 429-7 (Thuc. 2.78.3). But many were sent off to Athens before the siege began and we cannot be sure that the population had dropped significantly since 479.
165. Busolt (1920) 168. For Olynthos as a city with 10,000 citizens, a *myriandros polis*, see Diod. 32.4.2.
166. Thanks to Moses Finley, the Weberian ideas about what a city is – or rather was – play a prominent part in the ongoing discussion of urbanisation in antiquity: Finley (1981a) 3-23; (1985) 88-103; (1987-9) 303-13; Bruhns (1985) 255-73; Bruhns & Nippel (1987-9) 29-50; Bruhns (1996) 1276-9. See also Kolb (1984) 12-4; Wallace-Hadrill (1991) xvii; Snodgrass (1991) 2.
167. *Konsumentenstadt*: 742, 752; *Stadtgemeinde*: 736; *Ackerbürgerstädte*: 730.
168. The dissociation of the urban from the political aspect of the *polis* has been carried to its extreme by, e.g., Morris (1997). In this general account of the Greek *polis* as a city-state he treats the *polis* as a type of state ranging between a citizen-state and an agro-literate state (98b and *passim*). He discusses elites and characteristics of citizenship, and emphasises (95a, 102B) that “in many areas there was a shift in the sixth century B.C. away from residence in nucleated villages towards dispersed settlement in rural farmstead” (95a, 102b). Apart from a casual reference to emigrants settling in “new cities around the western Mediterranean and Black Sea” (94b) there is nothing in the chapter to show that the *polis* had anything to do with urbanisation and urban form, and the only mention of towns is on page 103b where we are told that “By 200 B.C., people were drifting back to the towns, breaking up the dispersed classical settlement pattern.” – As set out in my text, I take the opposite line and prefer to argue that the urban aspect of the *polis* was as important as the political and that the two aspects were inextricably intertwined.

169. Laslett (1956) 162; Finley (1983) 28-9. It is, however, commonly emphasised that Athens was too big to be a face-to-face society, and was – in this respect – different from the “standard” *polis*, see most recently Cohen (1997) 97-124.
170. Finley criticised Weber’s model of the Greek *polis* for being based on Athens, “whereas everything we know about Greek history indicates that Athens was an exceptional *polis*” (Finley [1985] 94); but, as Philippe Gauthier has pointed out: “M.I. Finley lui même n’a-t-il pas le plus souvent extrapolé à partir de l’exemple athénien?” Gauthier (1987-9) 188.
171. On the models developed by Childe (1950), Sjöberg (1960) Bairoch (1988) and others, see Introduction 12.
172. See, e.g., Starr (1977) 98; Kolb (1984) 59, 66; Runciman (1990) 348; Demand (1996) 99.
173. Kolb (1984) 72; Morris (1991) 26, 40, 50; Hodkinson & Hodkinson (1981) 287; Schuler (1998) 18.
174. Welwei (1983) 16; Kolb (1984) 59, 67; Demand (1996) 99.
175. Hansen in *CPCActs* 4 (1997a) 34-5. For Sparta as a town see also Cartledge (1998) 40-2.
176. Akraiphia, Anthedon, Chaironeia, Chorsiai, Haliartos, Hyettos, Kopai, Koroneia, Lebadeia, Mykalessos, Orchomenos, Oropos, Pharai, Plataiai, Siphai, Tanagra, Thebai, Thespiiai, Thisbai. See Hansen in *CPCActs* 3 (1996b) 78-112.
177. Büsing & Büsing-Kolbe (1972) 79-87. The habitation area has been estimated at 1.7-4.5 ha by Bintliff (1991) 202.
178. Schwandner (1977) 519-25.
179. The *Lex Hafniensis*, *CPCActs* 3 (1996a) 33 and *CPCPapers* 5 (2000) 173-215, see *supra* pages 152-3.
180. Finley (1963) 45; Osborne (1987) 194.
181. The fourth-century city walls enclosed an area of 124 ha. On the assumption that 50% of this area only was used for habitation and that the population density was no more than 150 persons per ha., the result is 9,300 inhabitants. If the population density was the same as in Plataiai, i.e. a minimum of 200 per ha., the urban population of Mantinea must have been ca. 12,400.
182. One possible example is Tiryns in the Archaic period. It was probably a *polis* in the political sense, see Gehrke (1993) 54-6. No remains of an urban centre have been found, and it has been argued that it did not have one, see Koerner (1985) 452-7. But the argument from silence is rejected as inadmissible by Morgan & Coulton in *CPCActs* 4 (1997) 93.
183. Of the ca. 800 sites to be included in the Polis’ Centre’s inventory of Archaic and Classical *poleis* “barely 10% have been investigated to any significant extent (and even this varies greatly)”, Morgan & Coulton in *CPCActs* 4 (1997) 87.
184. As for example in the case of all the *poleis* of Achaia, see Morgan and Hall in *CPCActs* 3 (1996) 169-93 with a conclusion on p. 193.
185. Laslett (1956) 162; Finley (1983) 28-9.
186. One has to admit, however, that the *myriandros polis*, the ideal large *polis* with 10,000 citizens, must have been too big to be a face-to-face society even in the restricted sense. For the *myriandros polis*, see *infra* 172.
187. Osborne (1991) 119-45, especially 122, 133-6, 141-2. For Teos see Meiggs-Lewis, *GHI* 30. Same line of argument in Isager & Skydsgaard (1992) 200. A liturgy was an obligation by which rich citizens were required to undertake work for the *polis* at their own expense. An *eisphora* was a property tax.
188. Bruhns (1985) 265. See also Whittaker (1995) 9-26.
189. Thuc. 2.38.2: “Because of the size of our city, everything can be imported from all over the earth, with the result that we have no more special enjoyment of our native goods than of the goods of the rest of mankind” (translated by P. J. Rhodes). Perikles’ eulogy of Athens from the consumer’s point of view is repeated in many other sources: Ps.-Xen. *Ath. Pol.* 2.7; Her-mippus fr. 43; Isoc. 4.42, 45; In Xen. *Hipparch.* 4.7 we learn that “all cities always welcome those who import something”.
190. For a survey of the sources see Hansen in *CPCActs* 4 (1996a) 45-6.
191. Weber (1921/1972) 731: “Wir werden sehen, dass der antike Stadtbürger vollen Rechts, im Gegensatz zum mittelalterlichen, ursprünglich geradezu dadurch charakterisiert war: dass er einen Kleros, fundus (in Israel: chelek), ein volles Ackerlos, welches ihn ernährte, sein eigen nannte: der antike Vollbürger ist ‘Ackerbürger’.”
192. Hertz (1989) 72-92; Bairoch (1988) 15-6; Sandström (1996).
193. Weber (1921/1972) 730: “Es gab und gibt ‘Ackerbürgerstädte’, d.h. Orte, welche als Stätten des Marktverkehrs und Sitz der typischen städtischen Gewerbe sich von dem Durchschnitt der Dörfer weit entfernen, in denen aber eine breite Schicht ansässiger Bürger ihren Bedarf an Nahrungsmitteln eigentwirtschaftlich decken und sogar auch für den Absatz produzieren.”
194. Weber (1921/1972) 731: “Wenn wir heute den typischen ‘Städter’ im ganzen mit Recht als einen Menschen ansehen, der seinem eigenen Nahrungsmittelbedarf *nicht* auf eigenem Ackerboden deckt, so gilt für die Masse der typischen Städte (*Poleis*) des Altertums ursprünglich gerade das Gegenteil.”
195. See Finley (1981a) 15 and 20, connecting the concept of the *Ackerbürgerstadt* with the concept of the *Konsumentenstadt*. That this is a misinterpretation of Max Weber has been argued persuasively by Bruhns (1985) 256-9 and (1996) 1277-8.
196. Finley (1963) 45; Osborne (1987) 194: “Urbanization was unknown in Greece. European urbanization took off, before the industrial revolution, when it became possible to invest in areas other than land, and when the peasant was forced into the market.”
197. Finley (1973) 138; Kolb (1984) 74-5; Davies (1992) 19-20.
198. Pl. *Resp.* 369B-374E, cf. Schofield in *CPCActs* 1 (1993) 183-96. In *Soph.* 223D Plato claims that foreign trade (*emporike*) is of the same size and importance as local trade (*kapelike*); Xen. *Cyrop.* 8.2.5; Arist. *Pol.* 1321B12-18, cf. Hansen in *CPCActs* 4 (1997a) 47-51.
199. One example is the huge Kolophonian inscription of ca. 310 B.C. in which ca. 850 citizens and some metics provide a total of some 265,000-300,000 drachmas for the repair of the defence circuit, see Migeotte (1992) No. 69, 220-3. For other examples see also Migeotte (1994).
200. See Figueira (1981) 22 suggesting a population of ca. 40,000 for Aigina, whereas the island, on his calculations, could support only ca. 4,000 at subsistence level.
201. Snodgrass (1991) 9; Ducrey in *CPCActs* 2 (1995) 254.
202. Alkaios fr. 426, Lobel & Page: ... “the opinion once stated by Alkaios, the poet, that cities are not stone or timber or the work of carpenters, but both walls and cities are to be found wherever there are men who know how to defend themselves”. See also Hom. *Il.* 18.518; *Od.* 6.9, 262-3; Hes. *Scut.* 270. On the walled *polis* in the Homeric poems, see Scully (1990) 41-53.
203. Ducrey in *CPCActs* 2 (1995) 255. In the fourth century B.C. the two large unwallied *poleis* were Sparta (Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.28) and Elis (Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.27), not contradicted by 3.2.30 if one accepts Dindorf’s emendation of the text.

204. Arist. *Pol.* 1330b32-5, contradicting the view expressed by Plato at *Lg.* 778Dff.
205. The earliest evidence for the *agora* as a market is a provision about trade in slaves in the law code of Gortyn (*I. Cret.* IV 72 Col. 7.10-1) and a reference in Hom. *Epigrammata* 14.5 of unknown date. Hes. fr. 302.5, Merkelbach & West.
206. See, e.g., Starr (1977) 98; Kolb (1984) 59, 66; Demand (1996) 99.
207. Scully (1990) 41-53; Raaflaub in *CPCActs* 1: 46-59.
208. V. von Graeve's report in *AJA* 100 (1995) 237-8: "the early archaic settlement is estimated at 4,000 houses together with an industrial area represented this season by further excavation of a large and well preserved kiln." Assuming that the early archaic town was as large as the later town, the total area amounts to ca. 110 ha. Even assuming that almost all the 110 ha were used for habitation, it is, I think, without parallel in the Greek world to have 4,000 houses squeezed into 110 ha. I do not doubt, however, that early Miletos was an impressive city and many times larger than supposed before the impressive results of the new excavations.
209. Nicholls (1958-9) 35-137. The defence wall enclosed an area of ca. 18 ha. But there are traces of extensive extramural habitation of the seventh century.
210. The later walls enclose an area of ca. 70 ha. The excavations suggest that perhaps as much as a half of that was inhabited in the late 8th and early 7th centuries. Remains of a defence wall of ca. 700 B.C. have been found. Whether they enclosed the entire city is still a moot point. See Altherr-Charon & Bérard (1980) 229-49; Ainian (1987) 1-24.
211. Lang (1996) 152-63, no. 1: Athen; 165-73, no. 4: Korinth; 174-77, no 6: Argos.
212. Di Vita (1981) 63-79; Fischer-Hansen in *CPCActs* 3 (1996) 334-5 (Syracuse), 337-9 (Naxos), 345 (Megara Hyblaia).
213. Roebuck (1972) 105-7, 114-6, 125-7.
214. Thuc. 1.5.1; 1.10.2, see Hansen in *CPCActs* 4 (1997a) 35 and in *CPCPapers* 2 (1995d) 55.
215. In *CPCActs* 4 (1997) 87, C. Morgan and J. Coulton note that of the ca. 800-1000 *poleis* to be included in the Polis Centre's inventory "barely 10% have been investigated to any significant extent."
216. See now the impressive study by Franziska Lang (1996), especially 56-57 about *Siedlungsgrößen*.
217. In the following section the two principal sources used are the 4th-century treatise on the siege of *poleis* by Aeneias the Tactician and the early 3rd-century account of cities by Herakleides of Crete. See also the excellent description of the "Durschnittspolis" in Winterling (1991) 205-11.
218. For the very few possible exceptions, altogether 20 out of 384 attestations, see Hansen in *CPCActs* 3 (2000) 195-202.
219. Aen. Tact. *Prooem.* 1; 7.1; 15.9.
220. Thuc. 2.71.1; 3.106.2; Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.4; *Syll.*³ 37-8.B.15 (Teos, C5).
221. Aen. Tact. 8.2; Thuc. 3.72.3; Arist. *Pol.* 1327a32ff; Ps.-Skylax 13, 34 etc.; *IG IX*² 717.4 (Chaleion, C5).
222. Arist. *Pol.* 1327a32ff; Hellanicus (*FGrHist* 4) fr. 75; Theopomp. (*FGrHist* 115) fr. 53; Thuc. 1.30.2; 2.84.5.
223. Aigina (Dem. 23.211), Alexandria (Arist. *Oec.* 1352a30), Bosporos = Pantikapaion (Dem. 34.34); Byzantion (Theopomp. [*FGrHist*] fr. 62), Chalkis (Heraclid. 28); Histiaia (*IG XII* 9 1186.29); Salamis on Cyprus (Isoc. 9.47); Corinth (Thuc. 1.13.5); Miletos (*Milet* 140.32); Phasis (Hippoc. *De Aere Aquis et Locis* 15) and Rhodos (Dem. 56.47), see Hansen in *CPCPapers* 4 (1997d) 83-105.
224. E.g. Skandeia, the port of Kythera, called *polis* in the urban sense at Thuc. 4.54.1, see Hansen in *CPCActs* 2 (1995a) 43-4.
225. Naulochos, the port of Priene, is called a *polis* in the urban sense at *I. Priene* 1.6 but seems to have been a *polis* in the political sense too, see Hansen in *CPCActs* 2 (1995a) 44.
226. Hansen in *CPCPapers* 2 (1995d) 61-71; Gschnitzer (1991) 429, 434ff.
227. Helisson, a dependency of Mantinea, is called *polis* in the urban sense at *SEG* 37 340.6-7; Mykalessos, a dependency of Tanagra, is called *polis* in the urban sense at Thuc. 7.29.3.
228. Aen. Tact. 4.5; 39.5, see *supra* 157 and Winterling (1991) 206.
229. This typology is invented and developed by Snodgrass (1987-9) 56-64 and (1990) 130-1. Examples of type (A) are: Haliartos in Boiotia, Eretria on Euboia, Aigeira and Aigion in Achaia. Examples of type (B) are Thespiiai in Boiotia, Sparta, Athens and Argos; see also Morgan & Coulton in *CPCActs* 4 (1997) 124.
230. E.g. in Thebes, see Symeonoglou (1985) 117-22.
231. Orchomenos in Arkadia, see Osborne (1987) 118-9. Cf., however, Jost in *CPCActs* 6 (1999) 240 n. 51.
232. As, e.g., in Thebes, see Fossey (1987) 204.
233. Crouch (1993). On fountain houses see Wycherley (1967) 198-209.
234. Hansen & Fischer-Hansen in *CPCPapers* 1 (1994) 25-30.
235. Fischer-Hansen in *CPCActs* 3 (1996) 317-73.
236. Hoepfner & Schwandner (1986). The principal written sources are: Aesch. *Supp.* 954-8; Pl. *Lg.* 779B and Arist. *Pol.* 1330b21-31; see also Heraclid. 1. On the passage from Aristotle see Gehrke (1989) 58-68. On the Aischylos passage see Rösler (1989) 109-14) and on the passage from Plato's *Laws* see Hansen (1989) 14, 113.
237. For short surveys of public buildings in a Greek *polis* see Wycherley (1967); Müller-Wiener (1988); Martin (1974) 253-86.
238. Hdt. 3.57.3-4; Thuc. 2.15.2; Aen. Tact. 10.4; Arist. *Mund.* 400b19. See Miller (1978); Hansen & Fischer-Hansen in *CPCPapers* 1 (1994) 30-7.
239. Hdt. 1.170.3; Thuc. 2.15.2; Aen. Tact. 10.4; Dem. 10.53. Gneisz (1990); Hansen & Fischer-Hansen in *CPCPapers* 1 (1994) 37-44.
240. Aen. Tact. 22.4; Arist. *Mund.* 400b16; Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.58; Lys. 9.9; Dem. 10.53. Hansen & Fischer-Hansen in *CPCPapers* 1 (1994) 79-80.
241. Arist. *Mund.* 400b16; Plut. *Tim.* 22.2, see Hansen & Fischer-Hansen in *CPCPapers* 1 (1994) 76-9.
242. *Syll.*³ 218.6-10 (Olbia, C4), see Hansen & Fischer-Hansen (1994) 53-75.
243. E.g. Plut. *Mor.* 799E-F (Thebes before 362 B.C.), see Hansen & Fischer-Hansen in *CPCPapers* 1 (1994) 48-53.
244. Hansen & Fischer-Hansen in *CPCPapers* 1 (1994) 85.
245. Hansen in *CPCActs* 4 (1997a) 60-1.
246. Meiggs-Lewis, *GHI* 93.3 (Lykia); Thuc. 2.71.2 (Plataiai); Migeotte (1992) 69.9-21 (Kolophon, 311-6 B.C.). Schachter (1992); Marinatos & Hägg (1993).
247. Thuc. 1.10.1-2; Heraclid. 28; Aen. Tact. 10.15; 31.15. Gruben (1986).
248. Heraclid. 1, 28; Aen. Tact. 1.9; 3.5; 22.4. Rosetto & Sartorio (1994-6).
249. Ehrenberg (1969) 28; Welwei (1883) 15.

250. Lawrence (1979); Wokalek (1973); Ducrey in *CPCActs* 2 (1995) 245-56.
251. Thuc. 2.17.1; Aen. Tact. 1.9; 2.2; 2.7; Xen. *Vect.* 2.6.
252. Wokalek (1973) nos. 3 (Iasos); 4 (Miletos); 8 (Melie); 22 (Argos); 24 (Athens); 38 (Gonnos).
253. When in 413 Dieitrephes made his surprise attack on Mykalessos the gates were open and apparently unguarded (Thuc. 7.29.3). Similarly, Xenophon tells us at *Hell.* 5.4.20 that in 378 when Sphodrias made his surprise attack on the Peiraieus there were no gates to protect the town.
254. From Andokides' account of the mutilation of the Hermai it is apparent that Diokleides could pass the gates around midnight and start his walk to the Laureion mines (Andoc. 1.38).
255. Hdt. 1.153; Heraclid. 28; Ar. *Eq.* 1009; *Eccl.* 819; Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 51.3; Arist. *Pol.* 1278a25-6 (Thebes); 1321b12; Dem. 21.22; 57.30-1; Hdt. 3.43.2; Lys. 1.8; Pl. *Com.* fr. 190; Pl. *Apol.* 17.C; *Resp.* 371B-D; Theophr. *Char.* 6.10; 22.7; Thuc. 3.72-4; 8.95.4; Xen. *Hell.* 3.4.17; *Symp.* 4.41; 8.21; *I.Cret.* IV 72 col. 7.10-1 (Gortyn, C5f); *IG XII 9* 189.34-5 (Eretria, C4s); *Syll.*³ 344.95-7 (Teos ca. 303 B.C.); *Syll.*³ 354.6 (Ephesos, ca. 300 B.C.); *I.Priene* 81.6 (Priene, ca. 200 B.C.); *I.Magnesia* 98.62 (Magnesia, ca. 200 B.C.).
256. Thuc. 3.72.3; Dem. 1.22; Xen. *Hiero* 11.2; Theopomp. (*FGrHist* 115) fr. 62; Pl. *Resp.* 425D; Arist. *Oec.* 1346b19. The Megarians excluded from the Athenian *agora* and *limen*: Thuc. 1.139.1; 1.144.2; Ephoros (*FGrHist* 70) fr. 196.
257. Meiggs-Lewis, *GHI* 45 (10): the decree enforcing the use of Athenian coins prescribes that a copy of the decree be set up in the *agora* in every allied *polis*.
258. Ar. *Ach.* 719; *IG I*³ 1087-90.
259. Hom. *Il.* 18.497; *Od.* 2.7; 6.266; 8.5. Raaflaub in *CPCActs* 1 (1993) 54-5.
260. Aen. Tact. 30.1;7; Migeotte (1992) 69.26-7 (Kolophon, 311-306 B.C.).
261. Dem. 18.169 (Athens).
262. Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.29 (Thebes), Coulton (1976).
263. Heraclides Creticus 23 (Anthedon).
264. Heraclides Creticus 28 (Chalkis).
265. *IG XII 2* 14; *SEG* 26.878; 34 850, see Coulton (1976) 10-1.
266. Thuc. 7.29.5 (Mykalessos); Hdt. 6.27.2 (Chios); Paus. 6.9.6 (Astypalaia).
267. Pl. *Euthydemus* 271C; Theophr. *Char.* 5.7.
268. Xen. *Hell.* 3.4.16-8; *Ages.* 1.26-7 (Ephesos).
269. Aen. Tact. 23.6; *I.Cret.* IV 64 (Gortyn); Heraclid. 1 (Athens); Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.27 (Elis); Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.25 (Thebes).
270. Heraclid. 28 (Chalkis); Arist. *Oec.* 1346b18 (Byzantion).
271. E.g. *SEG* 27 261 (Gymnasiarchal law from Beroia, 2nd century B.C.); cf. Delorme (1960) 93-230.
272. See *Sammelbuch* vol. 1 p. 30 no. 355, Naukratis.
273. Alexis fr. 272.
274. A hippodrome is attested already in Homer *Il.* 23.330, but not again until the 4th century: Aeschin. 3.88 (Tamynai); Dem. 47.53, 76; Xen. *Hipp.* 3.1.5 (Athens); Xen. *Hell.* 3.4.16 (Ephesos); Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.30 (Sparta); Plat. *Criti.* 117C (Atlantis).
275. Ant. 3.β.3.
276. The oldest attestations of theatres in Greek literature are Hdt. 6.67.3 (Sparta) and Thuc. 8.93.1 (Mounichia in the Piraeus).
277. Müller-Wiener (1988) 166-8.
278. The only known Archaic theatre is that in Thorikos (Phase 1: 525-480). In Metapontion there is a circular auditorium which may have been used as a theatre (phase I: late 7th cent; phase II: mid 6th cent.; phase III: 500-475). Theatres of the fifth century have been found in Argos, Athens, Chaironeia, Ikarion, Isthmia, Corinth and Syracuse. See Frederiksen (1997).
279. *Politeia* in the sense of citizenship (*IG IV* 615), or in the sense of body politic (Arist. *Pol.* 1297b12-3), or in the sense of constitution (*Hell. Oxy.* 18.3, Chambers), see Hansen in *CPC Papers* 1 (1994b) 95-7.
280. E.g. Aeschin. 3.8, see Hansen in *CPCActs* 5 (1998) 133 with note 631.
281. *Archai* "offices" is here explicitly used in its very broad sense of any law-making and law-enforcing institution. The passage is analysed by Hansen in *CPC Papers* 1 (1994b) 91-8.
282. Arist. *Pol.* 1279a22-80a6. Each basic form is subdivided into a positive and a negative variant, so that there are altogether 6 different types.
283. Pind. *Pyth.* 2.86-8; Hdt. 3.80-2; Xen. *Mem.* 4.6.12; Pl. *Pol.* 291C-92A; *Lg.* 712C; *I. Kalym.* 12.21-2. See de Romilly (1959) 81-9; Bleicken (1979) 148-72.
284. *IG IV* 841.12, see Lévy (1985) 53-66.
285. Solon fr. 4.6; Anac. *Anth. Gr.* 6.143-3-4; Dem. 57.46. *Polites* and *astos* juxtaposed in Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 26.4.
286. For *aste*, see *Syll.*³ 1015.6-7 (Halikarnassos, 3rd cent. B.C.); *Egypt. I. Metr.* 33.1 (Naukratis). The feminine form *politiss* is sometimes used of females of citizen birth, see Arist. *Pol.* 1275b33, 1278a28; *IG XII 7* 386.21 (Aigiale, C3); *IG V 2* 268B.31 (*politiss apo genous*, Mantinea, C1); *I. Kos* 178.6 (Kos, C3). For Athens, see Mossé (1985) 77-9. There is, I think, no attestation of *politiss* signifying a female citizen exercising citizen rights.
287. Citizens of a *polis* which founded a colony acquired citizen rights in the colony but lost *politeia* in their *polis* of origin, see Graham (1964) 111, 117. Most persons were citizens of one *polis* only, but double citizenship was not unknown, see Busolt (1920) 229-30 and Hansen in *CPCActs* 5 (1998) 115 with n. 586. To have double citizenship became extremely common in the course of the Hellenistic period.
288. Arist. *Pol.* 1292a39-41; 1293a12-7; 1320b25-6, 1308a2ff.
289. Arist. *Pol.* 1284a3, 1287a8-12, 1295a17-21.
290. Arist. *Pol.* 1286b20-2; *IG XII 9* 192.4-5; see Quass (1979) and Gauthier (1993) 217-25.
291. Some oligarchies had no assembly (Arist. *Pol.* 1275b7) but many had (1298b26-38). Known oligarchies with an assembly include Sparta (Plut. *Lyc.* 6) and Thebes (Hdt. 5.79.1). The typical Cretan *polis* seems to have had an *ekklisia* with restricted powers (Arist. *Pol.* 1272a10-2). For the powers of the Spartan Assembly, see Andrewes (1966) 8-17.
292. Diod. 14.64.5 and Arist. *Oec.* 1349a34 show that meetings of the assembly in Syracuse were still convened under the tyranny of Dionysios I. Meetings of the assembly continued under Peisistratos: Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 16.8 with Rhodes (1981) 218-9.
293. In Athens access to offices and jury service was reserved for citizens over thirty so that citizens between eighteen and thirty, altogether a third of all citizens, had restricted political rights: they had access to the assembly, but were excluded from participating in administration and jurisdiction, see Hansen (1991) 89.
294. Hansen in *CPCActs* 5 (1998) n. 352.
295. *SEG* 9 1, translated in Austin (1981) no. 264.
296. See Hansen in *CPCActs* 5 (1998) 67-68; *idem* (1987) 108-18.
297. Murray (1990) 6, 18-22. Hansen (1991) 314.
298. See, e.g., Herodotos' description of the Greek army at Plataiai

- in 479 B.C. (Hdt. 9.28, Meiggs-Lewis, *GHI* 27), or Thucydides' description of the Boiotian army at Delion in 424 B.C. (Thuc. 4.93.3-4).
299. Hanson (1989); Pritchett (1985) 1-93.
300. *IG* I³ 1.8-10.
301. Arist. *Pol.* 1321a5-14.
302. Arist. *Pol.* 1279b2-4; 1297b1-16; Thuc. 8.97.1.
303. Plut. *Lyc.* 6.2, see Hornblower (1992) 1-2; Hansen (1999b).
304. Most recently by Raaflaub (1997) 53-7, emphasising the gradual development and the constant interaction of the military and political aspects.
305. Thuc. 2.13.7; 2.31.1-2, see Whitehead (1977) 82-6.
306. Aen. Tact. 13.1-4; Dem. 1.19-22.
307. Sourvinou-Inwood (1990) 322; Kearns (1996a) 1300.
308. See, for example, the common and widespread distinction between sacred property, public property and private property: *IG* V.2 6A.37-42; Arist. *Pol.* 1267b33-4.
309. Vidal-Naquet (1983) 26; Bruhns (1994) 79-83. In almost all sources the exclusion of women from politics and armed forces is taken for granted, and therefore not explicitly prohibited. For Athens see the shocking idea "to hand over the *polis* to the women" and give them political rights (Ar. *Eccl.* 210) or to allow them to join in the defence of the *polis* (Pl. *Resp.* 451C-57C). The explicit exclusion of women from the *prytaneion* of the *polis* is attested, e.g., for Naukratis (Ath. 150A). Again, although there are numerous honorific decrees for women (e.g. *IG* XII 7 36, Amorgos C2), it is extremely rare to find citizenship among the privileges bestowed on a female honorand. One example is the poet Aristodama of Smyrna (C3). In Chalaia she is honoured with *proxenia*, and her brother with *politeia* (F. Delphes III 145) but in Lamia she obtains herself both *proxenia* and *politeia* (*Syll*³ 532). Another example is the Molossians' grant of citizenship to Philista, the wife of Antimachos, during the reign of Neoptolemos (C4) (*AE* [1956/1959] 3). For the (slightly) extended rights of women in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, see Bremen (1996).
310. "Women were sometimes excluded from the cults of Poseidon, Zeus, and Ares, all emphatically masculine gods" (Parker [1983] 85). For the exclusion of women from the cult of Poseidon see, e.g., *Syll*³ 1024.9 = *LSCG* 96, Mykonos ca. 200 B.C.
311. The most widespread Greek festival and the principal form of the Demeter cult, celebrated by (married) women of citizen status. See Burkert (1985) 242-6.
312. In ca. 632 B.C. Kylon attempted to set himself up as the tyrant of Athens. He escaped and his followers took refuge at an altar on the akropolis. Although they were manifestly guilty of treason, it was considered a sacrilege and a pollution of the whole city when the Athenian archons had them dragged away from the altar and executed (Thuc. 1.126.10-1). The Spartan officials did not dare to have Pausanias killed in the temple of the goddess of the Brazen House (Thuc. 1.134.1-2).
313. Aleshire (1994) discusses the distinction in Athens between state cults and private ones.
314. *Syll*³ 1015, Halikarnassos, 3rd century B.C.
315. Burkert in *CPCPapers* 2 (1995) 202.
316. Aeschin. 1.23 with scholia. Hansen (1987) 90.
317. E.g. *IG* XII 8 356 (6th century B.C.) where Dionysos and Herakles are commemorated as the protectors of the *polis* Thasos. See Cole in *CPCActs* 2 (1995) 292-325, noting that some *poleis* had no identifiable patron divinity whereas others had several.
318. McDonald (1943) 115, 132, 135-7, 167, 179, 200, 279-83.
319. *IG* II² 1496.131-2, 140-1. Raubitschek (1962) 238-44.
320. Hansen in *CPCActs* 5 (1998) 84-106.
321. A view advocated already by Constant (1819) 495, and still maintained by, e.g., Finley (1963) 49-50.
322. Pl. *Resp.* 544A; *Ep.* 326A; Arist. *Pol.* 1260b34-5.
323. Xen. *Lac. Pol. passim*, see, e.g., Powell (1988) 214-62.
324. Xen. *Lac. Pol.* 10, with the difference between Sparta and other *poleis* stressed in section 4.
325. E.g. Pl. *Cri.* 52E; *Resp.* 544C; Arist. *Pol.* 1269a29-71b19, see also 1288b41-89a1; 1293b16-8; 1296a18-21. We must not forget, however, that both Plato and Aristotle took a very critical view of many Spartan institutions; Aristotle's account in Book 2 of this allegedly well-ordered *polis* amounts to one long series of points of criticism. The philosophers' principal reservation is that Spartan society is one-eyed and focused on the military aspects of human life (Pl. *Lach.* 182E; Arist. *Pol.* 1271b2-3; 1324b7-9; 1333b12-35; 1334a40-b4; 1338b9-14). But in spite of the frequent strictures passed on Sparta by Plato and Aristotle, their basic view seems to be that it is better to be one-eyed than blind. For an illuminating account of Plato and Aristotle's view of Sparta, see Rawson (1969) 61-80.
326. Thuc. 2.39.2; Dem. 20.105-8;
327. Musti (1985) 7-17; Hansen in *CPCActs* 5 (1998) 86-91.
328. One example is the laws about schools. In the speech *Against Timarchos* Aischines quotes some laws about the age of children sent to school, the number of children in a class, opening hours of schools and sports centres, etc. (Aeschin. 1.9-11); for laws about schools see also Pl. *Cri.* 50C-E.
329. To live as one likes is cherished by the Athenian democrats as a fundamental ideal (Thuc. 2.37.2; 7.69.2; Lys. 26.5; Dem. 10.4; 25.25) and it is dismissed as a democratic vice by the critics of popular rule (Pl. *Resp.* 557B-58C; *Lg.* 701B-C; *Def.* 412D; Isoc. 7.20, 37; 12.131; Theopomp. [*FGrHist* 115] fr. 62). Cf. also Arist. *Pol.* 1317b11-7; 1310a32; 1316b24; 1318b39-40; 1319b30.
330. Dover (1988) II, 135-58; Hansen (1995b) 19-21. The possibility and actual occurrence of restrictions are emphasised by Mulgan (1984) 15.
331. Hennig (1994) and (1999) 592-6.
332. *IG* I³ 475-6, Austin & Vidal-Naquet (1977) no. 73.
333. Meiggs-Lewis, *GHI* 82, 411 B.C. Marek (1984).
334. Paus. 8.27.1, see Demand (1990) 59-61; Piérart in *CPCActs* 4 (1997) 333-7; Hall (1995) 577-613.
335. Diod. 14.82.1 = *Staatsverträge* no. 225.
336. Ste Croix (1972) 96-124; Lendon (1994).
337. Meiggs (1972); Schuller (1974).
338. Larsen (1968); Beck (1997).
339. Orth (1977) 179-80; Gauthier in *CPCActs* 1 (1993) 212.
340. Hansen in *CPCPapers* 2 (1995c) 34-8, *CPCPapers* 4 (1997c) 29-37.
341. *Pace* the model developed in Renfrew & Cherry (1986).
342. Jones (1987); for the subdivisions as artificial entities see Cordano (1992) 91; Murray in *CPCActs* 4 (1997) 495-7, and other examples listed by Hansen in *CPCPapers* 3 (1996) 170 n. 11.
343. Hansen in *CPCActs* 3 (1996b) 77-8. For a description of the federal institutions, see Salmon (1978).
344. Note, however, that, alongside the federal mint, the member *poleis* of the Boiotian federal state kept the right to strike coins in the name of the *polis*, see Hansen in *CPCActs* 2 (1995a) 20-1.
345. Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.19.
346. Beck (1997) 174-9.

347. Hansen in *CPCActs* 4 (1997a) 29; Schaefer (1961) 292-317.
 348. Hansen in *CPCActs* 5 (1998) 53-6.
 349. A concept developed by Hampl (1939a) 1-60, but now rejected by most historians, see Sakellariou (1989) 80-4 and Hansen in *CPCActs* 5 (1998) 55.
 350. Hansen in *CPCPapers* 4 (1997c) 31.
 351. Gauthier in *CPCActs* 1 (1993) 212; Hansen in *CPCPapers* 2 (1995c) 41-3.
 352. For a survey of all the types see Hansen in *CPCPapers* 4 (1997c) 29-30.
 353. E.g. Kythera (Thuc. 4.54; Shipley in *CPCActs* 4 [1997]).
 354. Xen. *Hell.* 5.1.31, see Jehne (1994) 31-47.
 355. Thuc. 7.57.3-5, see Hansen in *CPCPapers* 2 (1995c) 28-33.
 356. Andoc. 3.13, 20, see Hansen in *CPCPapers* 3 (1996e) 130, 133.
 357. Ps.Xen. *Ath. Pol.* 1.12; Arist. *Pol.* 1326a18-20; Aen. *Tact.* 10.5.
 358. Austin & Vidal-Naquet (1977) 103-6.
 359. Welwei (1974), (1977); Hunt (1998); Graham (1998).

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