Mogens Herman Hansen (Ed.)

## The Return of the Polis: The Use and Meanings of the Word *Polis* in Archaic and Classical Sources

Papers from the Copenhagen Polis Centre 8

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## CONVENTIONS

- 1. References to literary texts follow the abbreviations of *OCD*<sup>3</sup> (1996). For references to F. Jacoby's *Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, we print, e.g., Damastes (*FGrHist*) fr. 3.
- 2. References to inscriptions follow the conventions of *SEG*. RO refers to P.J. Rhodes and R. Osborne, *Greek Historical Inscriptions 404–323 BC* (Oxford 2003).
- 3. Periodicals are abbreviated in accordance with the *American Journal of Archaeology* (1991 and 2000 issues)
- 4. Centuries BC are abbreviated C6, C5, C4 = 6th, 5th, 4th century BC.
  - C4e the early 4th century, ca. 400–380 BC
  - C4f the first half of the 4th century BC
  - C4m the mid 4th century, ca. 360–340 BC
  - C4s the second half of the 4th century BC
  - C41 the late 4th century, ca. 320–300 BC

All dates are BC unless otherwise stated.

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

#### 1. The Inventory

*CPCInv.* = M.H. Hansen and T.H. Nielsen, *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis* (Oxford 2004).

#### 2. The Acts Series

*CPCActs* 1=M.H. Hansen (ed.), *The Ancient Greek City-State*. Acts of the Copenhagen Polis Centre 1. Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Historisk-filosofiske Meddelelser 67 (Copenhagen 1993).

*CPCActs* 2=M.H. Hansen (ed.), *Sources for The Ancient Greek City-State*. Acts of the Copenhagen Polis Centre 2. Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Historisk-filosofiske Meddelelser 72 (Copenhagen 1995).

*CPCActs* 3=M.H. Hansen (ed.), *Introduction to an Inventory of Poleis*. Acts of the Copenhagen Polis Centre 3. Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Historisk-filosofiske Meddelelser 74 (Copenhagen 1996).

*CPCActs* 4 = M.H. Hansen (ed.), *The Polis as an Urban Centre and as a Political Community*. Acts of the Copenhagen Polis Centre 4. Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Historisk-filosofiske Meddelelser 75 (Copenhagen 1997). *CPCActs* 5=M.H. Hansen. *Polis and City-State. An Ancient Concept and its Modern Equivalent*. Acts of the Copenhagen Polis Centre 5. Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Historisk-filosofiske Meddelelser 76 (Copenhagen 1998).

*CPCActs* 6=T.H. Nielsen (ed.), *Defining Ancient Arkadia*. Acts of the Copenhagen Polis Centre 6. Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Historisk-filosofiske Meddelelser 78 (Copenhagen 1999).

*CPCActs* 7 = M.H. Hansen (ed.), *The Imaginary Polis*. Acts of the Copenhagen Polis Centre 7. Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Historisk-filosofiske Meddelelser 91 (Copenhagen 2004).

#### 3. The Papers Series

*CPCPapers* 1 = D. Whitehead (ed.), *From Political Architecture to Stephanus Byzantius*. Papers from the Copenhagen Polis Centre 1. *Historia* Einzelschriften 87 (Stuttgart 1994).

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

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

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

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

*CPCPapers* 6=T.H. Nielsen (ed.), *Even More Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis*. Papers from the Copenhagen Polis Centre 6. *Historia* Einzelschriften 1162 (Stuttgart 2002).

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

#### 4. The City-State Cultures Series

*Thirty City-State Cultures* (2000) = M.H. Hansen (ed.), *A Comparative Study of Thirty City-State Cultures*. Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Historisk-filosofiske Skrifter 21 (Copenhagen 2000).

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

### INTRODUCTION

by

#### MOGENS HERMAN HANSEN

The Copenhagen Polis Centre closed down in 2005;<sup>1</sup> so this is, in fact, a posthumous publication or – rather – a posthumous republication of a series of studies that appeared in the 1990s scattered over a number of our publications.

One of the primary aims of the Polis Centre was to produce a comprehensive inventory of all known Archaic and Classical *poleis*, including colonies, attested in contemporary sources. The plan was to compare this inventory with all general references to the nature of the *polis* in the same sources, and then, on the basis of an analysis of both the intension and the extension of the concept, to find out what the Greeks thought a *polis* was, and to compare that with what modern historians think an ancient Greek city-state was. Thus in this part of our work we preferred the *emic* to the *etic* view preferred by some others,<sup>2</sup> and, in all our publications, we have carefully avoided mixing up the two different approaches: the concept of *polis* is an ancient concept and reflects the ancient Greeks' understanding of their own political and social order, whereas the concept of city-state is a modern heuristic concept invented by historians to describe not only the Greek *polis* but also a number of other city-states in Indonesia, and from the Viking city-states in Ireland to the Swahili city-states in Kenya and Tanzania.<sup>3</sup>

Building up our inventory of Archaic and Classical *poleis* we conducted an investigation of the use and meanings of the term  $\pi \delta \lambda_{\iota s}$  in all Archaic and Classical sources. We did it author by author and genre by genre, and most of these individual investigations were published in the *CPCActs* and *CPCPapers* as articles or appendices to articles. They appeared in the years 1994 to 2000. In the course of this period we refined our methods and obtained a clearer picture of how best to describe the different meanings of  $\pi \delta \lambda_{\iota s}$  in accordance with the different contexts in which the word appeared.

In the earlier studies the sources are cited, in the later ones they are quoted, and whenever it was felt necessary the quote is followed by an explanation of why

<sup>1</sup> The Copenhagen Polis Centre was a research institution set up and funded by the Danish National Research Foundation for a ten-year period which expired in September 2003. Our *Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis* was submitted to Oxford University Press in May 2003 and to see it through to publication the Centre was prolonged until the Spring of 2005.

<sup>2</sup> For a clear description of the distinction between an *emic* and an *etic* view, see Trigger (2003) 62–5.

<sup>3</sup> *CPCInv.* 3; Hansen (2000) 12–14.

we think that *polis* in this particular passage is used in the urban or in the political sense-or in both senses simultaneously-and whether the territorial sense is a connotation or perhaps even the principal meaning, with either the urban or the political sense as the connotation. Our investigation is focused on Hellenic poleis to the exclusion of barbarian ones, but it is often difficult to draw the line, and over the years we have changed our minds in a number of cases. Also, the occurrence of the word *polis* in a passage must be interpreted differently according to whether *polis* refers to one or more *poleis* specifically, or is used as a kind of heading under which a number of communities are listed, of which most but not necessarily all were actually *poleis*.<sup>4</sup> A clearer understanding and treatment of these and similar issues emerged in the course of the years and therefore I have felt an obligation to revise and update all the disparate studies and to make all the studies more uniform in the way the evidence is presented and analysed.<sup>5</sup> Four new studies have been added to the revised versions of previously published studies: one about the use of *polis* in the sense of territory or hinterland, and three about *polis* referring to named towns in Aineias the Tactician, in the philosophers, and in the poets.

Some of our colleagues, including some reviewers of our many publications, have found that investigating whether a community is attested as a *polis* in contemporary sources is not the most important question one can ask. It is more important to find out whether, e.g., a *polis* had a mint, or a *bouleuterion*, or an army, whether it was fortified or is attested as party to a treaty, etc. I have two replies.

1. In the Polis Centre we wanted to investigate the concept of *polis*. It is a commonplace, but nevertheless true, that language is the medium in which concepts are expressed and words are the principal traces which ancient concepts have left behind for the modern historian to study. Symbols expressed in painting or sculpture or architecture etc. are important accessories, but it would be unwise to conduct an investigation of an ancient concept without focusing first on the words used to express it and the contexts in which these words appear.<sup>6</sup>

2. We claim that a number of important political activities were characteristic of *poleis* and, taken together, describe the essence of what it was to be a *polis* in the political sense. Of the criteria frequently referred to I can mention: striking coins, possessing a *prytaneion* or a *bouleuterion*, having a *boule* or a board of *strategoi*, being a member of a major league (e.g. the Delian League) or of a federation, being party to a treaty, providing a unit of hoplites for a multipolate army, declaring war or concluding peace, filling the office of *naopoios* or *hieromnemon* in the Amphiktyonic League, bestowing *proxenia* on a foreigner or having *proxenia* bestowed on one of the communities' citizens, appointing a *theorodokos* to host the *theoroi* who were sent out to announce one of the pan-Hellenic festivals, having a citizen as victor in one of the pan-Hellenic games, having a patron god or goddess,

5 The chapters of which Thomas Heine Nielsen is the author or co-author and the list of attestations of *polis* in the sense of state in inscriptions have been revised by the two of us in collaboration. Thomas Heine Nielsen has added the section about Palaiphatos on pages 187–90. I am responsible for the revision of the other chapters.

6 For our views about the possibility and desirability of conducting investigations based on the *etic* view and starting from, e.g., the archaeological evidence, see *CPCInv*. 24–6.

<sup>4</sup> See Hansen (1997).

being perceived as *patris* by the members of the community, being organised as a *demokratia* or being ruled by a tyrant, etc.<sup>7</sup>

But how do we know that it was a characteristic of the *polis*, e.g., to strike coins? There is only one way of finding out: to start with an investigation of the word *polis* and (a) look for sources which assert in general terms that it is a characteristic of the *polis* to strike coins; and (b) build up a corpus of individual communities explicitly attested as *poleis* and then ascertain that a large number of these communities did strike coins, whereas not one single example can be found of coins struck by a *kome* or a *phyle* or any other form of urban settlement or civic subdivision.<sup>8</sup> On the basis of this evidence we can now infer that an urban settlement which struck coins must have been a *polis* and that if it is not called a *polis* in any extant source, it must be due to an accidental loss of relevant sources. Similar investigations must be conducted for all the other characteristics listed above, and out of all these investigations we can establish the extension of the concept of *polis* and draw up a map of the entire Greek *polis* world.

There is one more aspect of the use and meanings of the word *polis* which has been essential for our attempt to draw up in inventory of all the *poleis* which together constituted the ancient Greek city-state culture.

An investigation of the word *polis* shows that it has several meanings and that the two predominant meanings are "town" and "state", with the "hinterland" (of the town) or the "territory" (of the state) as a much less frequently attested third meaning, associated either with the meaning of "town" or with the meaning of "state". In many cases *polis* is used in both senses simultaneously – that is why city-state is such a good rendering of *polis* – but in as many other sources *polis* is used either in the sense of town (often including the hinterland) or in the sense of state (often including the territory).

Now, if *polis* in the sense of town and in the sense of state was often used to denote essentially different objects, it would be a waste of time to draw up an inventory of all *poleis*. Some of the entries would describe a town which was not the centre of a state, and others would describe a state which had no urban centre. The validity of the Polis Centre's enterprise depends on our observation that the different meanings are connected through the reference: with very few exceptions – if any at all – every *polis* town was the urban centre of a *polis* state, and conversely: every *polis* state had an urban centre called a *polis* in the sense of town. This observation is what we have called the *lex Hafniensis de civitate* (described and discussed 13–51 *infra*) and the inverted *lex Hafniensis de civitate* (described and discussed 52–66 *infra*).

<sup>7</sup> For a list of the characteristics of a *polis*, see the Polis Centre's Database Card printed in Hansen (1996) 55–62. Most of these characteristics are discussed in the introduction to *CPCInv*.

<sup>8</sup> See *CPCInv*. 144–49, 1382–9. On 145–6 there is a discussion of criteria for establishing the difference between coins struck by *poleis* and by multipolate islands, federations, alliances, sanctuaries, rulers and mercenary leaders. The overwhelming majority of all Greek coins of the Archaic and Classical periods were struck by *poleis*, but the evidence also shows that far from all *poleis* struck coins, see 149.

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## WAS EVERY *POLIS* TOWN THE CENTRE OF A *POLIS* STATE?

by

#### MOGENS HERMAN HANSEN

This article is a survey of the Copenhagen Polis Centre's investigation of the word *polis* and sums up the conclusions originally stated in a number of articles published in our two series: *CPCActs* and *CPCPapers*,<sup>1</sup> and here reprinted in revised form. On the basis of these studies we have formulated what we call the *lex Hafniensis de civitate*. As set out in Hansen (1996) 28 and 33, it runs as follows: "in Archaic and Classical sources the term *polis* used in the sense of town to denote a named urban centre is applied not just to any urban centre but only to a town which was also the centre of a *polis* in the sense of political community. Thus, the term *polis* has two different *meanings*: town and state; but even when it is used in the sense of town its *reference*, its denotation, seems almost invariably to be what the Greeks called *polis* in the sense of a *koinonia politon politeias* and what we call a city-state." The *lex Hafniensis* applies to Greek *poleis* only. For the use of *polis* in relation to barbarian communities, see 20–2 *infra*.

#### Ι

By way of introduction I shall list the evidence on which our investigation is based and explain the method used in the analysis of this evidence.

1. The *lex Hafniensis* is an observation of how the word *polis* is used in ancient Greek prose down to ca. 300 BC. The whole investigation starts from the universally accepted view (a) that the word *polis* has several different meanings, of which "nucleated settlement" and "political community" are the most common,<sup>2</sup> (b) that in many passages it bears one of these two senses, but not the other, whereas (c) there are many other passages in which the word is used in both senses simultaneously. In some of these passages the principal sense is "political community" and "nucleated

<sup>1</sup> See the list 7–8 *supra*.

<sup>2</sup> For "nucleated settlement" and "political community" as the two principal meanings of *polis*, see Hansen (1998) 17–20, 31–4. For the less common territorial meaning of *polis* (*polis*=city plus hinterland=territory), see 67–72 *infra*. For the rare attestations of *polis* used synonymously with *akropolis*, see Hansen (1996) 34–6 to which I would like to add *I.Ephesos* 1.2, C6; *I.Cret*. III.iii.3B.10–11, C3–C2. For a discussion of attestations in literature of *polis* in the sense of *akropolis*, see Wyse (1904) 476–7.

settlement" is a connotation; in other passages it is just the opposite. The purpose of the investigation is to study the relation between meaning and reference for both the urban sense and the political sense, and to assert that, via the reference, the two different senses can be shown to be much more closely connected than most contemporary ancient historians are prepared to believe.<sup>3</sup>

2. The point of departure has been, in Archaic and Classical texts, to isolate occurrences of *polis* used in the sense of "nucleated settlement";<sup>4</sup> next in all cases in which the reference is to a named and identifiable nucleated settlement to investigate whether this settlement is also attested as a *polis* in the sense of "political community".

3. To be cautious I have spoken so far about "nucleated settlement" *versus* "political community". In the following I shall use "urban centre", "town" and "city" synonymously with "nucleated settlement", and "state" synonymously with "political community". In other studies I have argued (a) that the Hellenic *polis* as an urban centre was indeed what can reasonably be called a "town" or a "city"<sup>5</sup>, and (b) that as a political community it was, in many important respects, what we today call a state.<sup>6</sup> Thus, I find it legitimate to render *polis* by these terms, i.e. "town" or "city", when the word occurs in an urban context, and "state" when the context is political. But let me stress that for the present investigation it makes no difference whether the *polis* was really a city and a state in the usual sense of these terms. The aim of the study is to compare the urban and the political senses of the word *polis* used about Hellenic communities and, via the reference, to demostrate that the two aspects are virtually inseparable.

4. To illustrate how we distinguish between the different senses I find it expedient to list some examples which show that it is possible to isolate occurrences of *polis* (a) used in the urban sense without the political, (b) used in the political sense without the urban, and (c) used in both senses simultaneously.

*Re* (*a*): *polis* in the urban sense is attested, e.g., when a *polis* is opposed to its hinterland (called *chora* or *ge*),<sup>7</sup> when one walks from the *polis* into the fields, or returns from the fields into the town;<sup>8</sup> when the distance from a *polis* is measured in

- 3 It is commonly held that *polis* in the urban sense can denote a nucleated settlement which was *not* the political centre of a city-state: Macan (1908) 156–7; Hampl (1937) 48, see 36 and 46 *infra*; Kahrstedt (1954) 25; Zahrnt (1971) 10 (Thorikos, see 41, 100–1 *infra*) and 221 (Sane, see 122 *infra*); Sakellariou (1989); 158–9; Ste. Croix (1981) 428 (late *poleis*); repeated by Burke (1986) 139; Lévy (1990) 54; Bresson (1993) 222; Rhodes (1995) 97; Bowden (1996) 29; Knoepfler (1997) 401 with note 332; Funke (1997) 179 n. 36; Mertens (2002) 290.
- 4 We include attestations of  $\delta(\pi o \lambda \iota s, \tau \rho(\pi o \lambda \iota s, \tau \epsilon \tau \rho \delta \pi o \lambda \iota s, \pi \epsilon \nu \tau \delta \pi o \lambda \iota s$  and  $\epsilon \xi \delta \pi o \lambda \iota s$ , see the appendix 48–9 *infra*.
- 5 Hansen (1997a) 25–54; (2006b) 62–3, 147 n. 1. For the synonymous use of "town" and "city" in almost all historical studies of urbanism, see Hansen (2000) 25.
- 6 Hansen (1998) 114–23, revised and improved in the French edn. (2001) 167–81 and 211–15; (2002); (2006b) 63–5.
- 7 Dem. 18.203 speaks about the Athenians in 480, οι και την χώραν και την πόλιν ἐκλιπείν ὑπέμειναν εἰς τὰς τριήρεις ἐμβάντες.
- 8 Dem. 47.63: δ δ' Εὕεργος ούτοσὶ εὐθὺς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως . . . ἐλθὼν εἰς ἀγρόν . . . Xen. Hell. 5.4.3: the Theban liberators in 379 πρὸς τὰς πύλας ἦλθον, ὡς δὴ ἐξ ἀγροῦ ἀπιόντες . . . ἐπεὶ δ' εἰσῆλθον εἰς τὴν πόλιν.

stades;<sup>9</sup> when a road leads towards the *polis*;<sup>10</sup> when a house is lying in the *polis*;<sup>11</sup> or the reference is to the higher lying part of the *polis*,<sup>12</sup> or to the watersupply of the *polis*;<sup>13</sup> when a cult festival is celebrated outside the *polis*;<sup>14</sup> when a defence circuit is built around a *polis*;<sup>15</sup> when a *polis* is besieged,<sup>16</sup> or set on fire,<sup>17</sup> or destroyed;<sup>18</sup> when, during a civil war, the state is split up into one faction in control of the town while the other faction is driven out of the town.<sup>19</sup>

*Re* (*b*): *polis* in the political sense is attested when a *polis* passes a law,<sup>20</sup> or takes up a loan,<sup>21</sup> or consults an oracle,<sup>22</sup> etc. In all such cases the term *polis* is used about the acting subject in the same way and in the same contexts in which we use the term state and in almost all translations *polis* is – in my opinion correctly – rendered by "state", "état", "Staat", stato etc.<sup>23</sup> Particularly clear instances of *polis* in the political sense alone are the attestations of *polis* being opposed to *asty*, see, e.g., Thuc. 7.46.1: παρεκομίζοντο τὴν Ἰταλιαν (the Athenian navy) τŵν μὲν πόλεων οὐ δεχομένων aὐτοὺs ἀγορậ οὐδὲ ἄστει...

*Re* (c): polis used in the urban and political senses simultaneously is attested in, e.g., the following four passages: Din. 1.24: πόλις ἀστυγείτων καὶ σύμμαχος ἐκ μέσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀνήρπασται. Here the first adjective qualifies the polis as a city – sc. Athens' neighbour Thebes, which in 335 BC was razed to the ground by Alexander – the second as a state. Xen. Hell. 3.1.13: τῶν οὐκ ὑπηκόων πόλεων προσέλαβεν ἐπιθαλαττιδίας Λάρισάν τε καὶ Άμαξιτὸν καὶ Κολωνάς, ξενικῷ μὲν Ἑλληνικῷ προσβαλοῦσα τοῖς τείχεσιν . . . That the poleis are independent shows that they are political communities; that they are lying on the coast and walled shows that they are urban centres as well. Aen. Tact. 28.1: προνοεῖσθαι δὲ καὶ τάδε

- 9 Ps.-Skylax 33: Άμβρακία πόλις Έλληνίς. ἀπέχει δὲ αὕτη ἀπὸ θαλὰττης στάδια π΄.
- 10 IG IV<sup>2</sup>1 116.20: ἐν τῶι όδῶι τῶι εἰς πόλιν ἀγούσ[αι].
- 11 SEG 43 713.35-6: τὴν οἰκίην [τ]ὴν ἐμ πόλει. I.Cret. IV 72.IV.32: 'τέγανς μèν τὰνς ἐν πόλι.
- 12 Thuc. 4.112.3: Βρασίδας μέν οὖν καὶ τὸ πληθος εὐθὺς ἄνω καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ μετέωρα της πόλεως ἐτράπετο.
- 13 Hdt. 3.60.2: ὅρυγμα . . . ὀρώρυκται . . . δι' οὖ τὸ ὕδωρ ὀχετευόμενον διὰ σωλήνων παραγίνεται εἰς τὴν πόλιν.
- 14 Aen. Tact. 17.2: έορτης γάρ πανδήμου έξω της πόλεως Άργείων γενομένης.
- 15 Thuc. 1.93.1: οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν πόλιν ἐτείχισαν; Syll.<sup>3</sup> 141.4: τειχίξαντας τὰν πόλιν.
- 16 Thuc. 1.116.2: ἐπολιόρκουν (the Athenians) τρισὶ τείχεσι τὴν πόλιν (Samos) καὶ ἐκ θαλάσσης ἅμα.
- 17 Hdt. 8.50.2: δ γὰρ διὰ Βοιωτῶν τραπόμενος στρατὸς ἅμα Ξέρξῃ ἐμπρήσας Θεσπιέων τὴν πόλιν ... ἦκέ τε ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας ...
- 18 Dem. 18.36: τί οὖν συνέβη μετὰ ταῦτ' εὐθύς, οὐκ εἰς μακράν; τοὺς μὲν Φωκέας ἀπολέσθαι καὶ κατασκαφῆναι τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν. Syll.<sup>3</sup> 344.7: ἐὰν δὲ δεῖ κατασκάπτειν τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν πόλιν (Teos).
- 19 Thuc. 1.24.5: ό δήμος αὐτῶν (the Epidamnians) ἐξεδίωξε τοὺς δυνατούς, οἱ δὲ ἐπελθόντες μετὰ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐλήζοντο τοὺς ἐν τῆ πόλει κατά τε γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν. See also SEG 26 1282.4–7: μὴ ἐξεῖνα[ι τ]ῶν στρατηγῶν διαλλάξαι μηθενὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τῆ πόλει ἄνευ τοῦ δήμου τῶ Ἀθηναίων.
- 20 Meiggs-Lewis, GHI 2.1:  $\delta\delta$ '  $\epsilon Fa\delta\epsilon \pi \delta \lambda \iota$  (Dreros, C7).
- 21 I.Locris (Costabile) 2.6:  $\epsilon \chi \rho \eta \sigma a \tau o \eta \pi \delta \lambda is \pi a \rho \tau \hat{\omega} \theta \epsilon \hat{\omega}$ .
- 22 [έ]δοξε ται πόλι είς Δελφούς ἀποστείλα[ι χρησομέ]νους...
- 23 For a long list of activities performed by the *polis* in the political sense, see Hansen (1998) 67–8 (both Athenian and non-Athenian sources cited); (2002) 24–5 (only non-Athenian sources cited).

 $\dot{\epsilon}v$  φόβ $\omega$  οὔσης πόλε $\omega$ ς. πύλας τὰς μèν ἄλλας κεκλεῖσθαι, μίαν δὲ ἀνε $\hat{\omega}\chi$ θαι . . . The polis stricken by fear is a community of citizens, but the reference to the gates indicates that it is also a walled settlement. Hdt. 8.35.1: καὶ γàρ τῶν Πανοπέων τὴν πόλιν ἐνέπρησαν (the Persians) καὶ Δαυλίων καὶ Αἰολιδέων. The polis set on fire is, of course, a town, but the identification of the polis by the city-ethnic instead of the toponym shows that it is also a political community. Three further examples are Hdt. 7.154.2, quoted and discussed *infra* p. 114, Xen. *Hell*. 5.2.11, quoted and discussed 163 *infra*, and *Hell*. Oxy. 21.5, quoted and discussed 180–1 *infra*.<sup>24</sup>

In both literary and epigraphical sources we have isolated all occurrences of *polis* used exclusively in the urban sense, cf. (a) above, as well as all occurrences in which "town" is either the principal meaning with the political and/or territorial meanings as a connotation or, conversely, in which the urban sense is at least a connotation, cf. (c) above. Next we have discarded all occurrences of *polis* in the sense of town used in a general way without reference to any named town, or used about a number of unidentified towns in a region.<sup>25</sup> Thus, we focus exclusively on attestions of the term *polis* being linked to a named locality, such as Syrakousai, Phleious, Pantikapaion or Kyrene.

Herodotos' list of *poleis* fighting in the battle of Salamis is sandwiched between the phrases  $\sigma \upsilon \epsilon \lambda \epsilon \chi \theta \eta \sigma a \nu \tau \epsilon \delta \eta \pi \sigma \lambda \lambda \hat{\omega} \pi \lambda \epsilon \hat{\upsilon} \epsilon s \nu \epsilon s \eta \epsilon \pi \lambda' A \rho \tau \epsilon \mu \sigma \epsilon \hat{\omega} \epsilon \delta \eta \pi \sigma \lambda \lambda \hat{\omega} \pi \lambda \epsilon \hat{\upsilon} \epsilon s \tau \eta \nu \Sigma a \lambda a \mu \hat{\upsilon} a \sigma \upsilon \nu \eta \lambda \theta \sigma \upsilon \delta \sigma \tau \rho a \tau \eta \gamma \sigma \lambda \delta \sigma \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \epsilon \ell \rho \eta \mu \epsilon \nu \omega \nu \pi \sigma \lambda \delta \omega \nu$  (8.42.1) and  $\hat{\omega}_s \delta \epsilon \epsilon s \tau \eta \nu \Sigma a \lambda a \mu \hat{\upsilon} a \sigma \upsilon \nu \eta \lambda \theta \sigma \upsilon \delta \sigma \tau \rho a \tau \eta \gamma \sigma \lambda \delta \sigma \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \epsilon \ell \rho \eta \mu \epsilon \nu \omega \nu \pi \sigma \lambda \delta \omega \nu$  (8.49.1). All the twenty-two communities listed as *poleis* in 8.42–8 happen to be *poleis* in the sense of city-states, see 104 n. 9 *infra*. But in Thucydides' list of Athenian and Spartan allies in the Peloponnesian War the

- 24 For a long list of examples of *polis* used in the urban and political senses simultaneously, see 37 *infra* with n. 57.
- 25 For polis in the sense of town used generally, see Pl. Resp. 369C: πολλούς εἰς μίαν οἴκησιν ἀγείραντες κοινωνοὺς τε καὶ βοηθούς, ταύτῃ τῦ συνοικία ἐθεμεθα πόλιν ὄνομα. For polis signifying a number of unidentified towns, see Aeschin. 2.116: ἀπεφηνάμην (Aischines), ὅτι μοι δοκοίη δίκαιον εἶναι μὴ περιορῶν κατεσκαμμένας τὰς ἐν Βοιωτία πόλεις.
- 26 This point is especially relevant in the case of Ps.-Skylax, see Hansen (1996) 30–2 and infra.

<sup>27</sup> See Hansen (1997b) 9–15.

heading  $\pi \delta \lambda \epsilon_{is} \delta \epsilon \epsilon \kappa \delta \tau \epsilon \rho \sigma_i \tau \delta \sigma \delta \epsilon \epsilon \chi \sigma v \tau \epsilon s \xi v \mu \mu \delta \chi \sigma v s$  (2.9.1) includes a number of *ethne* none of which was a *polis* in the usual sense, e.g. the Boiotians, the Lokrians and the Phokians, see Hansen (1997b) 10.

In the Delphic accounts of contributions to the rebuilding of the temple of Apollo of the year 361/0 all the seven communities listed under the heading  $\tau \dot{a} \delta \epsilon$ πόλεις καὶ ἰδιῶται ἐπάρξαντο (CID II 4A.1–B.29) were actually city-states. But in the so-called Charter of the Second Athenian Naval League the heading  $\mathcal{A}\theta_{\eta\nu\alpha\dot{\iota}\omega\nu}$ πόλεις αίδε σύμμαχοι (IG II<sup>2</sup> 43.79) is followed by a list of 43 city-states, three dynasts, two federations and two splinter communities.<sup>28</sup> From the use of *polis* as a heading it would be a mistake to conclude, e.g., that the three monarchies and two federations listed in IG II<sup>2</sup> 43 were *poleis*, but it would equally be a mistake to take the heading as decisive evidence that the 43 other communities were actually *poleis*. For each and every community this piece of information must be established from other sources in which *polis* is applied specifically to the community in question. From *polis* as a heading we can infer that most of the communities listed were believed to be *poleis*, and sometimes they all were, but we must always be aware of the universal custom: under a term used as a heading to subsume some instances which do not fit the term to perfection.<sup>29</sup> The conclusion is that each occurrence of *polis* must be studied in context. There is no way of laving down a general rule for how to handle this problem, but we have decided that, in the Athenian tribute lists and in the list of members of the Second Athenian League, *polis* must be treated as a mere heading.<sup>30</sup> Thus, if an ethnic or a toponym is recorded in these lists we cannot take it as evidence that the community in question was called a *polis* in the political sense; we can only infer that the community must have been a political unit.

6. As stated above, the investigation is focused on how the word *polis* was used by the Greeks. Usage, however, may vary from author to author, from genre to genre, from place to place, and may change over time. Accordingly the investigation has been carried out as a number of individual studies of the following bodies of texts: Hekataios, Herodotos, Thucydides, Xenophon, fragments of historians, the Attic orators, philosophers (Presocratics, Plato, Aristotle and Theophrastos), Ps.-Skylax, Aineias the Tactician, poetry (lyric and iambic poets and comedy) and inscriptions. Thus, history, rhetoric, philosophy, geography, military literature, iambic and lyric poetry, old and middle Comedy, and documents inscribed on stone are the genres represented in our material.

As appears from the above list, we have left out Homer, Aischylos, Sophokles and Euripides. This is due to the nature of the evidence. Epos and tragedy are genres unfit for our investigation. Almost all the occurrences of named *poleis* in these texts concern the Heroic age and cannot be used as evidence for *polis* status in the Archaic and Classical periods. Both the Homeric poems and the tragedies are extremely important sources for the general and ideological aspects of the concept of *polis*, but of no value for a study of *polis* as a site-classification applied to named

<sup>28</sup> Dreher (1995) 181, 189–91.

<sup>29</sup> For a full discussion of this problem, see Hansen (1997b) 9–11.

<sup>30</sup> For the Athenian tribute lists, see Schuller (1995) 165–70 and CPCInv. 111–14 and 1356–60; for the Charter of the Second Athenian Naval League, see Dreher (1995) 171–200.

historical communities. For our purposes by far the most important poetic sources are Pindar and Bacchylides.

Finally, we have been careful to include as many non-Athenian sources as possible. We are acutely aware of the fact that earlier studies of the ancient Greek *polis* have been based almost exclusively on Athenian sources. In our material the Athenian usage is represented by Thucydides, Xenophon, the orators, Ps.-Skylax (possibly), and some of the inscriptions. The non-Athenian evidence is represented by Hekataios, Herodotos, Aineias the Tactician, Ephoros, Theopompos, the Oxyrhynchus Historian and the bulk of inscriptions.

7.  $\Pi \delta \lambda_{is}$  is in fact the most common of all nouns in ancient Greek. It is no. 40 in a list of the 2,000 most common words and comes before, e.g.,  $d\nu \eta \rho$  (no. 43),  $\lambda \delta \gamma \rho s$ (no. 44) and  $\theta \epsilon \delta s$  (no. 65).<sup>31</sup> In Classical prose there are at least 8,200 attestations of the word *polis*,<sup>32</sup> and in Archaic and Classical inscriptions there are about 1.450, ca. 425 in Attic inscriptions and ca. 1025 in inscriptions found elsewhere. see 73 infra. For reasons explained above and 253-4 infra we have excluded the ca. 1,300 attestations in epic poems and tragedies.<sup>33</sup> On the other hand, some 200 attestations in Pindar, Bacchylides and fragments of lyric and Iambic poets are relevant as well as the over 300 attestations in Aristophanes and fragments of Old and Middle Comedy.<sup>34</sup> Of these altogether over 11,000 occurrences some 10,000 are relevant for our investigation. In the majority of cases *polis* is used in the sense of state. Furthermore, when *polis* is used in the sense of town, the reference is not infrequently to a town in general, or to one or more unnamed Greek towns, or to a named barbarian town, or to one or more unnamed barbarian towns. Subtracting all these passages we are left with close to 1,200 attestations of polis in the sense of town being used about 456 named Greek cities.<sup>35</sup>

8. Having identified and listed all the towns which in a text are explicitly

- 31 Toner (2004).
- 32 Aineias the Tactician 145 occurrences; Aischines: 281 (excluding the letters); Andokides: 116; Antiphon: 36; Aristotle: ca. 600 (including some spurious works, but excluding fragments in which it is uncertain whether the word *polis* comes from Aristotle, see 247 *infra*); Deinarchos: 128; Demosthenes: 1125 (excluding quotes of poetry and spurious documents); Ephoros 12; Hekataios: 30; Herodotos: 469; Hypereides: 95; Isaios: 22; Isokrates: 798; Lykourgos: 126; Lysias: 370; Oxyrhynchos Historian: 29; Plato: 1467 (including the seventh letter, but excluding spurious dialogues and other letters); Ps.-Skylax: 266; Theopompos: 28; Thucydides 849; Xenophon: 1072. Total: 8,171. In the older part of the Hippocratic corpus there are 24 occurrences, of which only one is relevant, i.e. a reference to Phasis at *Aer*. 15; in the fragments of Presocratic philosophers there are fewer than 40 attestations (not all the occurrences listed in the Diels-Kranz index are from fragments quoted *verbatim*).
- 33 There are 319 attestations of πόλις, πτόλις πτολιέθρον in epic, see Schmidt (2004) 1377. I have counted 953 attestations in Aischylos, Sophokles and Euripides but I have no exact count of attestations in fragments of other tragic poets.
- 34 There are 239 attestations in Aristophanes, ca. 100 in fragments of Old and Middle Comedy and another ca. 200 in lyric and iambic poets, see 254 *infra*.
- 35 The distribution is: Aineias the Tactician: 22 attestations of *polis* in the sense of town used about 12 named Greek *poleis*; Demosthenes: 54 attestations of 27 *poleis*; Ephoros: 8 attestations of 7 *poleis*; Hekataios: 21 attestations of 21 *poleis*; Herodotos: 168 attestations of 172 *poleis*; inscriptions to 300 BC: 105 attestations of 51 *poleis*; Isokrates: 33 attestations of 16 *poleis*; Minor Orators: 17 attestations of 10 *poleis*; Oxyrhynchos Historian: 11 attestations of 8 *poleis*;

classified as *poleis* in the urban sense, we proceed by investigating whether these towns are also attested as *poleis* in the sense of state. Sometimes the context shows that *polis*, though used principally in the urban sense, has the political sense as a connotation, see supra 4. Re (c). Mostly, however, polis is used in the urban sense alone, and then the first step is to check whether the town is called *polis* in the political sense elsewhere in the same text. If that is not the case we investigate whether it is called *polis* in the political sense in any other text of the Archaic and Classical periods. If that is not the case we occasionally extend the chronological limit and check whether it is called *polis* in an early Hellenistic source and if it can be reasonably argued that the town had not changed its political status between the Classical and early Hellenistic period. Mostly, however, we prefer a different approach: if there is no attestation of the town being called a *polis* in the political sense in sources of the period ca. 500–300 BC, we adduce other evidence indicating that this settlement was indeed a political as well as an urban centre; and here we focus on political activities which in all sources are frequently attested as being performed by *poleis*, and on characteristics which are closely connected with being a *polis* in the political sense. Of the criteria frequently referred to I can mention: striking coins, possessing a prytaneion or a bouleuterion, having a boule or a board of *strategoi*, having the members described as *politai*, using a city-ethnic (by contrast with a regional ethnic or a sub-ethnic) as the third part of a citizen's name, being perceived as *patris* by the members of the community, being a member of a major league (e.g. the Delian League) or of a federation, being a party to a treaty, providing a unit of hoplites for a multipolate army, declaring war or concluding peace, filling the office of naopoios or hieromnemon in the Amphiktyonic League, bestowing *proxenia* on a foreigner or having *proxenia* bestowed on one of the communities' citizens, appointing a theorodokos to host the theoroi who were sent out to announce one of the pan-Hellenic festivals, having a citizen as victor in one of the pan-Hellenic games, having a patron god or goddess, being included in the Aristotelian collection of 158 politeiai, being a demokratia or being ruled by a tyrant, etc. If the town in question fulfills one or more of these criteria the presumption is that it was believed by the ancient Greeks to have been a *polis* in the political sense too, and that it must be due to the fragmentary preservation of sources that the political sense is unattested in the extant texts.<sup>36</sup>

9. The chronological scope is, by and large, from ca. 500 BC (Hekataios) to ca. 300 BC (the *terminus ante quem* of the inscriptions we have studied). There are very few sources covering the period ca. 650–500 and only one source before ca. 650 BC.<sup>37</sup> Whenever the attestations of *polis* in the urban and in the political

philosophers (Empedokles, Plato, Aristotle, Theophrastos) 23 attestations of 20 *poleis*; poets (elegiac, iambic, lyric, comedy) 46 attestations of 27 *poleis*; Ps.-Skylax: 193 attestations of 212 *poleis*; Theopompos: 11 attestations of 13 *poleis*; Thucydides: 314 attestations of 83 *poleis*; Xenophon, *Anabasis*: 15 attestations of 9 *poleis*; Xen. *Hellenika*: 113 attestations of 67 *poleis*; Xen. *Varia*: 15 attestations of 9 *poleis*.

37 The earlist indisputable attestations of named historical communities called *polis* in the sense

<sup>36</sup> For a list of the types of evidence used to establish that a given community must have been a *polis* in the political sense, see the Polis Centre's Database Card printed in Hansen (1996) 55–62. Most of the criteria are discussed in the introduction to *CPCInv*.

sense come from the same author, they are, of course, contemporaneous. But what happens if the attestation of the urban sense and the attestation of the political sense come from different sources? It is unproblematical if, for example, a *polis* attested in Demosthenes in the sense of town is called *polis* in the political sense by Aischines or Xenophon or Aristotle. But what about a *polis* attested in the urban sense in Herodotos in a 480 BC. context and in the political sense only in a fourth-century inscription or in Demosthenes? Or if the attestation of the urban sense in a fourth-century source has to be matched with coins of the early fifth century? In all such cases other evidence must be taken into account and it is a matter of interpretation whether the gap in time between the attestations of *polis* is of no consequence, or whether we must consider the possibility that the town in question had changed its status between the early fifth and the mid-fourth centuries. This problem is particularly prominent in the treatment of Hekataios because there is virtually no other evidence from ca. 500 BC. In Herodotos a case in point is Naukratis, for which see 42 and 127 *infra*.

10. Not only Greek but also barbarian towns are called *polis* by Greek authors; 11 named barbarian towns are labelled *polis* in Hekataios, 53 in Herodotos, 7 in Thucydides, 22 in Xenophon's *Anabasis* and 63 in Ps-Skylax.<sup>38</sup> Sometimes these towns were actually urban centres of city-states. Thus, the Phoenician city and city-state Sidon is called a *polis* by Herodotos at 3.136.1, and in an Attic honorary decree for king Straton of Sidon the Sidonians are called citizens of Sidon (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 141 = RO 21). Similarly, in Thucydides some Etruscan city-states are referred to as being *poleis* (6.88.6, cf. Arist. *Mir*. 837b32), and so are the Elymean cities Eryx and Egesta (6.2.3). Rome is classified as a *polis* in the urban sense by Ps.-Skylax 5, and in the fourth century BC. Rome was actually a *polis* in the political sense too.

Sometimes the Greek historians and geographers seem – erroneously – to have believed that barbarian towns were *poleis* in the political sense and that the political structure of, e.g., the Persian empire was not essentially different from that of Hellas. In his description of the battle of Salamis, for example, Herodotos tells us that Xerxes ordered a scribe to record the name, patronymic and *polis* of any captain who distinguished himself in the fight (8.90.4); Herodotos seems to assume that every Persian captain belonged to a *polis* and could be identified by his city-ethnic. Similarly, in 7.96.2 he ends his list of all the contingents of the Persian forces with the remark that he will not bother to give the names of all the leaders, first because the leaders of the individual *peoples* (*ethne*) were not worth mentioning, and second because, in each people, there were as many leaders as there were *poleis.*<sup>39</sup> Again,

of "city-state" are Thasos, Sparta and Dreros, all three attested in sources of the mid-seventh century BC. For Thasos, see Archilochos fr. 228, West: *polis* in the sense of community of *astoi*; fr. 13.2: *polis* in the sense of town. For Sparta, see Tyrtaios fr. 4.8, 12.28: *polis* in the sense of community of citizens; fr. 10.3: *polis* in the sense of town. For Dreros, see Meiggs-Lewis, *GHI* 2.1–2, now dated ca. 650 BC (*Nomima* I 81): *polis* in the sense of political community. In literary sources the earliest attestation is Hesiod's use of *polis* in the urban sense at *Op.* 222 applied to, probably, Thespiai.

- 38 Hekataios: 94 infra; Herodotos: 132–3 infra; Thucydides 137n.14 infra; Xenophon: 159–60 infra.
- 39 Hdt. 7.96.2: οὕτε γὰρ ἔθνεος ἑκάστου ἐπάξιοι ἦσαν οἱ ἡγεμόνες, ἐν τε ἔθνεϊ ἑκάστῷ ὅσαι περ πόλιες τοσοῦτοι καὶ ἡγεμόνες ἦσαν.

the political structure of the Persian empire is represented as a plurality of *ethne*, each consisting of a number of *poleis*.

In most cases, however, the Greek authors must have applied the term *polis* to a barbarian urban centre knowing that, on the one hand, it was a nucleated settlement whereas, on the other hand, it was not a political community. Herodotos says that there were twenty thousand *poleis* in Egypt (2.177.1). He may have believed that there were twenty thousand nucleated settlements, but we should not take him to believe that there were twenty thousand self-governing polities. Again, in the *Anabasis* (1.2.14) Xenophon describes the Phrygian town of Tyriaion as a *polis* in the urban sense ( $\pi \delta \lambda u v \ olkov \mu \epsilon v \eta v$ ), but a recently found inscription shows that only in the mid second century BC, by royal rescript, was Tyriaion granted the right to be a fully Hellenised *polis* in the political sense.<sup>40</sup>

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

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

The modern analogy concerns the European concept of state. Since the nineteenth century, Europeans have been in the habit of referring to, e.g., the Bantuspeaking kingdoms in Uganda as "states".<sup>41</sup> Before 1967 these kingdoms were indeed political communities and in some sense it is not wrong to call them states; but they were radically different from European states; the Europeans knew that they were applying their own concept of state to a very different type of community, and it would be misguided in an analysis of the European concept of state to take the labelling of these communities as states as an indication that the term state was used in the same way in European politics and political thought. It would be equally misguided from the Greek habit of calling barbarian towns *poleis* to deduce that the Greeks must have used the term *polis* in the same way when applied to Greek towns.

The conclusion is that we must conduct two separate investigations of the meanings and uses of *polis*, one for Greek communities and one for barbarian, and only afterwards compare the two studies in order to study similarities and differences. It must be added, however, that it is not always easy to distinguish the

<sup>40</sup> Jonnes & Riel (1997), cf. SEG 47 1745.

<sup>41</sup> Steinhart (1978) 143-6.

Greek from the barbarian *poleis*, and some *poleis* were mixed, e.g. the five *poleis* in Athos (Thuc. 4.109.4) and some of the *poleis* in the Thermaic Gulf, *viz.*, Therme (Hecat. fr. 146), Pella and Ichnai (Hdt. 7.123.3). In other cases we are unsure whether some *poleis* in border districts were at all Greek. Apart from Xanthos, the Lykian towns have been excluded. It was only in the Hellenistic period that they became sufficiently Hellenised to count as Hellenic *poleis*, see *CPCInv.* 1138–40. An example of a borderline case which is included in *CPCInv.*, but excluded from this investigation, is Issos (no. 1007), see 44 n. 83 *infra*.

11. Finally, the investigation is based on a number of assumptions stated and substantiated in Hansen (1996) 14–25 and again in the introduction to *CPCInv*. (a) *Polis* was to some extent a loaded term, but there is no reason to assume that the word became a slogan, and its application to named communities seems only very occasionally to have been a bone of contention (*CPCInv*. 27–9). (b) There is no support for the view that the Greeks were inconsistent in their use of the term *polis*. Of course, they were not *wholly* consistent – as far as I know no term in any language has ever been used wholly consistently by any people – but in this case the margin of error seems to be in the range of one per cent (*CPCInv*. 29–30). (c) Comparison of sources from ca. 600 BC with sources from the late fourth century BC shows that – in spite of important changes and developments from the Archaic to the Classical period – the concept of *polis* was essentially the same throughout the period (*CPCInv*. 30–2). (d) The meanings and uses of the term *polis* in Athenian sources is not different from what is found in non-Athenian sources (*CPCInv*. 32–3).

Π

Following the method described above we have investigated the use of the term *polis* in the following authors and bodies of text.

Aen. Tact.	Aineias the Tactician
Dem.	Demosthenes
Hdt.	Herodotos
Hecat.	Hekataios
Hist. (historians)	Ephoros, Theopompos, Hell. Oxy., minor historians
Inscr.	inscriptions to 300 BC
Isoc.	Isokrates
Orat. (minor orators)	Andokides, Aischines, Hypereides, Lykourgos, Deinarchos
Phil. (philosophers)	Empedokles, Plato, Aristotle and Theophrastos
Poet. (poets)	elegiac, iambic and lyric poets; Aristophanes
PsSkylax	Pseudo-Skylax
Thuc.	Thucydides
Xen.	Xenophon

A collocation of all the toponyms studied in these investigations provides us with the following sites called *polis* in the urban sense. For source references see the

individual studies. The reference to the text(s) in which the named community is called *polis* in the urban sense is followed by a sign that indicates to what extent this *polis* town is attested as a *polis* in the political sense. I use the following signs:

- $\pi$ . *Polis* town attested in Archaic/Classical sources as a *polis* in the political sense.
- ( $\pi$ ). Polis used in the urban sense with the political sense as a connotation
- [ $\pi$ ]. Community listed alongside other communities under the heading *polis* used in the political sense.
- $\{\pi\}$ . Polis status indicated by one of the adjectives *pentapolis*, *tetrapolis*, *tripolis* or *dipolis*.
- P. *Polis* town attested in Archaic/Classical sources as performing activities characteristic of a *polis* in the political sense.
- L. Lakedaimonian perioikic community.
- H. Site attested as *polis* in early Hellenistic sources and presumably a *polis* at least in C4s and possibly before that as well.
- U1. Polis town whose political status is unknown
- U2. *Polis* town whose political status is known only from sources of the Hellenistic or Roman periods.
- ? Site-classification problematical and discussed infra

Abai (no. 169)	Hdt., H.
Abdera (no. 640)	Hdt.; Thuc.; Aen. Tact.; PsSkylax, $\pi$ .
Abydos (no. 765)	Hdt.; Xen., $\pi$ .
Achilleion (no. 766)	Hdt., P.
Achilleion (no. 836)	Xen., U1.
Adramyttion (no. 800)	Hdt., P.
Aigaiai (no. 801)	Hdt.; PsSkylax, $\pi$ .
Aige (no. 556)	Hdt., ( $\pi$ ).
Aigeira (no. 230)	Phil., P.
Aigiale (no. 471)	PsSkylax, $\pi$ .
Aigina (no. 358)	Hdt.; Xen.; Dem.; PsSkylax; Poet., $\pi$ .
Aigiroessa (no. 802)	Hdt., $\pi$ .
Aigition (no. 143)	Thuc., ?
Aineia (no. 557)	Hdt.; PsSkylax, ( $\pi$ ).
Ainos (no. 641)	Hdt.; Hist.; PsSkylax, $\pi$ .
Aioleion (no. 558)	Hist., $\pi$ .
Aiolidai (no. 170)	Hdt., ( $\pi$ ).
Airai (no. 837)	Thuc.; PsSkylax (ms. Agra), $\pi$ .
Aitna (no. 8)	Poet., ( $\pi$ ).
Aitolia (p. 574)	Hist., L.
Akanthos (no. 559)	Thuc.; Xen.; PsSkylax, $\pi$ .
Aitna (no. 8)	Poet., ( <i>π</i> ).
Aitolia (p. 574)	Hist., L.

Alebaia (no. 530) Hdt., U2. Aloros (no. 532) Ps.-Skylax, H. Alponos (no. 379) Hdt., H., ? Ps.-Skylax, P. Alyzeia (no. 112) Ambrakia (no. 113) Thuc.; Ps.-Skylax,  $\pi$ . Amphikaia (no. 172) Hdt., H. Thuc.; Isoc.; Dem.; Orat.,  $\pi$ . Amphipolis (no. 553) Amphissa (no. 158) Hdt.; Ps.-Skylax., P. Anaktorion (no. 114) Thuc.; Ps.-Skylax,  $\pi$ . Andros (no. 475) Xen.; Ps.-Skylax,  $\pi$ . Ankon (no. 76) Ps.-Skylax, H. Antandros (no. 767) Hdt.; Thuc.,  $\pi$ . Thuc., L. Anthana (no. 324) Anthedon (no. 200) Hist., H. Hdt., ? Anthele (no. 427) Antikyra (no. 173) Ps.-Skylax, H. Antikyre (no. 428) Hdt., U1. Antissa (no. 794) Hdt. Thuc.; Ps.-Skylax,  $\pi$ . Aphytis (no. 563) Hdt.,  $(\pi)$ . Apollonia (no. 77) Hdt.; Ps.-Skylax,  $\pi$ . Apollonia (no. 545) Xen.; Ps.-Skylax,  $(\pi)$ . Apollonia (no. 627) Dem., U2. Apollonia (no. 682) Hdt.; Aen. Tact.,  $[\pi]$ . Arethousa (no. 546) Ps.-Skylax,  $[\pi]$ . Argilos (no. 554) Hdt.; Thuc.,  $\pi$ . Argos (no. 115) Thuc.; Ps.-Skylax,  $\pi$ . Argos (no. 347) Inscr.; Hdt.; Thuc.; Isoc.; Xen.; Aen. Tact.; Ps.-Skylax, Phil.,  $\pi$ . Arisba (no. 795) Hdt.,  $(\pi)$ . Arkesine (no. 472) Inscr.; Ps.-Skylax,  $\pi$ . Arkesseia (no. 486) Ps.-Skylax,  $\{\pi\}$ Artake (no. 736) Hdt., P. Aspendos (no. 1001) Xen.; Ps.-Skylax,  $\pi$ . Hdt.,  $(\pi)$ . Ass(er)a (no. 564) Ps.-Skylax, P. Astakos (no. 116) Atarneus (no. 803) Xen., Ps.-Skylax, P. Inscr.; Hdt.; Thuc.; Xen.; Hist.; Dem.; Isoc.; Orat.; Athenai (no. 361) Phil.; Poet.,  $\pi$ . Athenai Diades (no. 364) Hist.,  $[\pi]$ . ? Axos (no. 950) Hdt.,  $\pi$ . Barke (no. 1025) Hdt.; Ps.-Skylax,  $\pi$ . Batiai (no. 88) Hist., U2. Becheirias (no. 713) Ps.-Skylax, U1. Belbina (no. 359) Ps.-Skylax, P. Boia (no. 327) Ps.-Skylax, L. Boion (no. 390) Thuc.; Hist.,  $\{\pi\}$ .

$\mathbf{P}_{\text{output}}(\mathbf{p}_{0}, 0)$	Dom + Hist 112
Boucheta (no. 90)	Dem.; Hist., U2.
Boura (no. 233)	Phil., H.
Bouthroton (no. 91)	Hecat., U2.
Brykous (no. 487)	PsSkylax, $\{\pi\}$ .
Byzantion (no. 674)	Hdt.; Xen.; Dem.; Hist.; Poet., $\pi$ .
Chaironeia (no. 201)	Hecat., $\pi$ .
Chaleion (no. 159)	Inscr.; Hecat., $\pi$ .
Chalestre (no. 548)	Hecat. Hdt., U1.
Chalisia (not in <i>CPCInv</i> .)	Hist., U1.
Chalkis (no. 145)	Thuc., $(\pi)$ .
Chalkis (no. 365)	Hecat.; Aen. Tact.; PsSkylax, $\pi$ .
Charadra (no. 175)	Hdt., [ <i>π</i> ].
Charadrous (no. 565)	PsSkylax, U1.
Chersonesos (no. 661)	Hecat.; PsSkylax (Agora), $[\pi]$ .
Chersonesos (no. 695)	Inscr. $\pi$ .
Chios (no. 840)	Inscr.; Hecat.; Hdt.; Thuc.; Xen.; Isoc.; Aen. Tact.;
	PsSkylax; Poet., $\pi$ .
Choirades (no. 714)	Hecat.; PsSkylax, U2.
Chorsiai (no. 202)	Hist., H.
Dardanos (no. 774)	Hdt., <i>π</i> .
Datos (no. 629)	PsSkylax, P.
Daulis (no. 176)	Hdt.; Hist., ( <i>π</i> ).
Delphoi (no. 177)	Hdt.; PsSkylax, $\pi$ .
Dikaia (no. 643)	Hdt.; PsSkylax, P.
Dion (no. 569)	Hdt.; PsSkylax, $[\pi]$ .
Dioskouris (no. 709)	PsSkylax, $\pi$ .
Dreros (no. 956)	Inscr., $\pi$ .
Drymos (no. 178)	Hdt., H.
Dystos (no. 369)	Hist., ?
Echinos (no. 429)	PsSkylax, P.
Eion (no. 630)	Hdt., P., ?
Elateia (no. 94)	Dem.; Hist., U2.
Elateia (no. 180)	Hdt., <i>π</i> .
Eleutherna (no. 957)	Inscr., $\pi$ .
Elis (no. 251)	Xen.; Dem.; PsSkylax, $\pi$ .
Elyros (no. 959)	PsSkylax, P.
Emporion (no. 2)	PsSkylax, P.
Epeion (no. 304)	Hdt.; Xen., π.
Ephesos (no. 844)	Inscr.; Hdt.; Xen.; Hist.; PsSkylax; Poet., $\pi$ .
Ephyra (no. 96)	Thuc., U2.
Epidamnos (no. 79)	Thuc.; PsSkylax, $\pi$ .
Epidauros Limera (no. 329)	PsSkylax, L.
Epidauros (no. 348)	Inscr.; Thuc.; PsSkylax, $\pi$ .
Eresos (no. 796)	Inscr.; Hdt.; Thuc.; PsSkylax, $\pi$ .
Eretria (no. 370)	Inscr.; Hdt.; Thuc.; Dem.; PsSkylax, $\pi$ .
Erineos (no. 391)	Thuc.; Hist., $\{\pi\}$ .
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Erochos (no. 181) Hdt., P. Erythrai (no. 845) Inscr.; Hdt.; Ps.-Skylax, Poet.,  $\pi$ . Euhesperides (no. 1026) Ps.-Skylax, P. Eutaia (no. 270) Xen., U2. Gale(psos) (no. 571) Hecat.; Hdt.,  $(\pi)$ . Gambrion (no. 808) Xen.,  $(\pi)$ . Gargara (no. 775) Hist.,  $\pi$ . Gela(no. 17) Thuc.; Hist.,  $\pi$ . Gergis (no. 777) Xen.,  $(\pi)$ . Gigonos (no. 572) Hdt.,  $(\pi)$ . Gonnos (no. 463) Hdt.,  $\pi$ . Gortyns (no. 960) Inser.,  $\pi$ . Gryneion (no. 809) Hecat.; Hdt.; Xen.,  $\pi$ . Gyenos (no. 710) Ps.-Skvlax. U2. Gytheion (no. 333) Xen., L. Haisa (no. 573) Hdt. (Lisai),  $(\pi)$ . Halieis (no. 349) Ps.-Skylax,  $\pi$ . Inscr.; Ps.-Skylax,  $\pi$ . Halikarnassos (no. 886) Halisarna (no. 810) Xen.,  $(\pi)$ . Halos (no. 435) Dem.,  $(\pi)$ . Hamaxitos (no. 778) Xen.,  $(\pi)$ . Harmene (p. 929) Ps.-Skylax, ? Helike (no. 235) Phil., P. Helisson (no. 273) Inscr.,  $\pi$ ., ? Heloron (no. 18) Ps.-Skylax, H. Henna (no. 19) Inscr., P. Hephaistia (no. 503) Hist.,  $\pi$ . Heraia (no. 274) Xen., P. Heraion Teichos (no. 676) Hdt., H. Herakleia (no. 52) Inscr.,  $\pi$ . Herakleia (no. 80) Ps.-Skylax, P. Herakleia (no. 430) Thuc.; Poet,  $\pi$ . Herakleia (no. 715) Xen.; Ps.-Skylax,  $\pi$ . Herakleion (no. 537) Ps.-Skylax, P. Hermion (no. 350) Ps.-Skylax,  $\pi$ . Hermonassa (no. 697) Hecat.; Hist., U2. Himera (no. 24) Xen.; Aen. Tact.; Ps.-Skylax,  $\pi$ . Histiaia/Oreos (no. 372) Hdt.; Dem.; Ps.-Skylax,  $\pi$ . Holmoi (no. 1006) Ps.-Skylax, P. Ps.-Skylax, P. Homolion (no. 448) Hyampolis (no. 182) Hdt.; Hist., P. Hyele (no. 54) Hdt., P. Ialysos (no. 995) Inscr.; Thuc.; Hist.; Ps.-Skylax,  $\pi$  in C5, ? in C4. Iasonia (no. 716) Ps.-Skylax, U1. Iasos (no. 891) Inscr., Poet.,  $\pi$ . Ichnai (no. 538) Hdt., π.

Idalion (no. 1013) Inscr.,  $\pi$ . Idyros (no. 1002) Ps.-Skylax, P. Ikos (no. 482) Ps.-Skylax,  $[\pi]$ . Xen.; Aen. Tact.; Hist.,  $(\pi)$ . Ilion (no. 779) Imbros (no. 483) Ps.-Skylax,  $\pi$ . Ios (no. 484) Ps.-Skylax,  $\pi$ . Ioulis (no. 491) Inscr.; Ps.-Skylax,  $\pi$ . Ps.-Skylax, P. Issa (no. 491) Itanos (no. 965) Hdt., P. Ithaka (no. 122) Ps.-Skylax, P. Kalauria (no. 360) Ps.-Skylax,  $\pi$ . Xen.; Aen. Tact.; Ps.-Skylax, Phil.,  $\pi$ . Kalchedon (no. 743) Kallipolis (no. 27) Hdt.,  $\pi$ . Kallipolis (no. 744) Ps.-Skylax, P. Kalymna (no. 485) Inser.,  $\pi$ . Kamiros (no. 996) Thuc.; Ps.-Skylax,  $\pi$  in C5, ? in C4. Kampsa (no. 577) Hdt.,  $(\pi)$ . Karambis (no. 717) Ps.-Skylax, U2. Kardia (no. 665) Hdt.: Dem.,  $\pi$ . Karene (no. 813) Hdt., P. Karkinitis (no. 698) Hdt., P. Karoussa (no. 718) Ps.-Skylax, P. Karpathos (no. 489) Ps.-Skylax,  $\{\pi\}$ . Karthaia (no. 492) Ps.-Skylax,  $\pi$ . Karyanda (no. 896) Ps.-Skylax, P. Karystos (no. 373) Ps.-Skylax,  $\pi$ . Kasmenai (no. 29) Hdt., ? Kasthanaie (no. 450) Hdt., U2. Katane (no. 30) Hecat. Thuc.; Hist.,  $\pi$ . Kaunos (no. 898) Hist.; Ps.-Skylax,  $[\pi]$ . Kebren (no. 780) Xen., P. Kedreai (no. 899) Xen.,  $(\pi)$ . Kelenderis (no. 1008) Ps.-Skylax, P. Kerasous (no. 719) Xen.; Ps.-Skylax, P. Kikynethos (no. 451) Ps.-Skylax, U2. Killa (no. 814) Hdt.,  $\pi$ . Kinolis (no. 720) Ps.-Skylax, U1. Kinyps (no. 1027) Ps.-Skylax, U1. Ps.-Skylax,  $\pi$ . Kios (no. 745) Kirrha (no. 183) Orat., ? Hdt.; Thuc.; Aen. Tact.; Ps.-Skylax,  $\pi$ . Klazomenai (no. 847) Kleonai (no. 580) Hdt.; Ps.-Skylax,  $\pi$ . Knidos (no. 903) Thuc. Ps.-Skylax,  $\pi$ . Kokylion (no. 781) Xen.,  $(\pi)$ . Kolonai (no. 782) Xen.,  $\pi$ . Kolophon (no. 848) Inser.; Hdt.; Thuc.,  $\pi$ .