Athens and the Attic demes

A history of assimilation and integration

by

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Master Thesis Archaeology, 1040X3053Y

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15-06-2012

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Introduction

The political organization of Attica from the period of Kleisthenes onward seems to have been an anomaly in the Greek world at that time. *Poleis* would grow to a certain size and develop their hinterland until a certain degree of infrastructural control was created. The towns outside of the principal *polis* would not grow to a size that would allow them to influence the political establishment in the *polis.* In short, the towns or demes were held short of political and military power by limiting their grounds for expansion. If a *polis* happened to have such a large population that its political power became imbalanced they could launch an expedition to find a suitable location for a colony (Garnsey, 1989, 113). This is not the main reason for the establishment of colonies however since it was mostly competition between aristocrats that fuelled the desire to colonize new territory. These colonies would most of the times have a semi-independent nature but they would always keep strong ties to their mother-city, their main function would have been a new power base for the aristocratic family that founded the new colony. In Attica we see the city of Athens as the principal *polis* from about the seventh century BCE, an anomaly in many aspects because of its sheer size and unique political organization. But the demes of Attica make for another anomaly, some of them actually had the size of small *poleis* and would certainly be able to control and dominate the surrounding landscape. However, they did not.

The reason for this is obviously the dominance of Athens as the only *polis* in Attica. But even though the Athenian institutions cut the demes short of power and self control they did grant them a certain amount of freedom. Many demes, whose size would certainly allow them to achieve the status of a *polis* if they were not located in Attica, had very interesting public buildings, protective walls and a kind of local government of their own. The population of these large demes, where my focus lies, must have somehow been controlled by the Athenian democratic institutions because an escalation of growth would undermine the authority of those institutions itself. The fact that these demes, such as Sounion, Thorikos, Eleusis, Marathon and most certainly Acharnai controlled vast numbers of inhabitants and had their own political centres means that they were no ordinary demes but actually positions of power in Attica. The

duality of these demes, as both powerful outposts for Athenian power and potential strongholds of resistance against it, most likely meant that the Athenians worked to their full potential to control and form these demes after their own planning. Control of what was built and what was not built must have been an important factor of controlling the demes' growth and power by the democratic institutions in Athens.

What my thesis will be about is how Athens became the dominant town in Attica in the Iron Age and how it maintained that position until the time of Alexander the Great (ca. 336 BCE). The main subject will be the social, political, demographic and geographical relationship between the demes of Attica and the democratic institutions that were based in the city of Athens. The Athenian council apparently controlled the building and forming of the other towns of Attica and so defined the political landscape of Attica for over half a millennium. The potential for the larger demes to revolt and take matters into their own hands must have been great during struggles such as the Peloponnesian wars and therefore I will look into it. How the demes themselves could have been without Athenian control on their necks is something we can only make wild guesses about unfortunately. What we can do, however, is create a plausible hypothesis of what would have come to pass if Athens did not gain control over all of Attica. It seems likely that Attica would have become somewhat like Boeotia with a number of *poleis* competing for power instead of a singular united state.

An important part of my information will come from the interpretation of written sources concerning the political organization of Attica. The books of David Whitehead and John S. Traill will be of extreme importance to my thesis since they both concern the issue of the relationship between the Attic demes and the city of Athens. The archaeological remains of both Athens and the demes of Attica will provide me with solid proof of what buildings stood there from the Iron Age onward, or at least that is the idea. Inhabitation of the individual demes can also be traced back by looking at the archaeological remains. At some demes habitation stopped for a few centuries after the downfall of the Mycenaean culture in the twelfth century BCE, but later on they were once again inhabited. Through archaeology we can establish a clear picture of the population of both the demes and the city of Athens in order to theorize about their relation of power.

The period of time that I will cover in my thesis will be from roughly the

twelfth century BCE until the fourth century BCE. Naturally I will provide some of the history of Attica and Athens before the twelfth century BCE because a painting can only be understood properly when looked at it as a whole. The great question that needs to be answered is of course whether and why Athens controlled or guided the evolution and urbanization of the demes of Attica in their shared history. Was there ever any real competition or threat from any of the demes or were the Athenians well in control of their territories? What reasons did the Athenians have for allowing the demes a certain level of self government, and what reasons did they have for restricting the freedom of the demes? Why did the demes never revolt or try to break away from the Athenian state and start a *polis* of their own, or did they? These questions can all be answered by a thorough study of the archaeological and written records in my opinion and therefore I dare to embark on this quest for answers.

First I will summarize the historical events that led from a fractured to a united Attica up until the fourth century BCE when the Macedonians took control of the area. Then I will paint a picture of the rise of Athens from the Mycenaean Period to the fall of the city to the Macedonians. After this I will dedicate a fairly large chapter on a handful of individual demes which, in my opinion, deserve attention. Once I have established a solid introduction concerning the demes, Athens and the history of Attica I will be able to continue my research into the internal relationships in the Attic landscape. I believe this research will yield some interesting answers to my questions and I hope that I will be able to develop a clear opinion concerning the relationships between the Athenian state and her demes through the ages.

When looking at the time-scale that I am using for my research I immediately admit that I will not be able to cover the entirety of the eight-hundred years of history from the Mycenaean Period up until the time of the Macedonian rule. My solution to this problem is simple, I will focus on the sixth and fifth centuries BCE since these are relatively well known to us. Athens was at the highest point of its power in the fifth century and so the control over the demes and their development must have been closer than in any age before or after that century. Besides the fact that Athens had a short Golden Age during the fifth century there are many other very interesting events that took place during those hundred years. The Persian invasions of Greece and the Peloponnesian Wars were extremely important for the people of Attica so their impact should be rather visible to us in the archaeological remains of that time.

Another very important event that took place just before the beginning of the fifth century BCE was of course the reformation of the administration of all of Attica by Kleisthenes, an important Athenian politician of aristocratic descent, in 508/7. These reforms turned the political landscape of Attica into a more cohesive, representative democracy and that is exactly the reason why these reforms are so important for my research. The Kleisthenic reforms granted political power and a certain level of independence to the demes while they simultaneously increased the control that Athens had over the demes by strengthening the administrative system.

The demes of Attica are quite large in number and therefore it would be unwise to consider all of them in an observation and an analysis. Another factor that must be considered is the time span, over six centuries of urban and rural development in Attica need to be taken into account. After the destructive chaos, that marked the end of the Mycenaean Period, had ceased the population of both the Greek mainland and the islands had been severely diminished (Bintliff, 1994, 212). Many a number of towns were completely deserted and most of the important Mycenaean strongholds were utterly wiped from the face of the earth.

Attica showed no different view from the rest of Greece in that it was under-populated and generally chaotic in the ninth century BCE. Despite this fact the history of Attica will show us that the population recovered from its losses and grew back to its old size and above it. At the end of the Mycenaean Period the political landscape of Greece was one of isolated cities and towns that did not have the resources in goods or manpower to extend their rule over other settlements. This can be observed in Attica as well. Despite the sheer size of the area, roughly a thousand square miles, and the pathetic state of its inhabitants in the ninth century BCE, Attica would be united by a single city that would control it for more than five centuries. This would be Athens.

Since the aim of this thesis is to uncover the political, social, geographical and demographic relations between the city of Athens and the towns under her control, we will first look into the general history of Attica. Athens has always filled a unique role in the history of the Greek city-states, from the Classical to the Hellenistic age. The location of the city has undoubtedly supported this position. The city of Athens was originally based around a hill on which the Athenians constructed a stronghold. This stronghold could harbor the population of the city and protect them from any hostile invaders. Athens was not the only strong settlement in Attica though, many more towns with strongholds and a

strong trading position thrived in Attica before Athens gained control over the entire peninsula. Since Attica is relatively well protected from the rest of Greece by its mountainous borders and the sea there was less danger from hostile forces from the outside of Attica. Because of this, a number of towns were able to develop into quite powerful entities, challenging the strength of Athens and slowing down its expansion until the unification of Attica. When exactly this unification took place is partially shrouded in myths and legends since it is attributed to the mythical king Theseus who would have ruled over Athens during the unification. After the unification of Attica it took almost a full century before any form of general registration system came into place. Kleisthenes supposedly was the first to implement a system that divided the demes into groups, *Trittyes* and *Phylae* or *Philai*. Within this system, the demes received an amount of power in the Athenian democracy but the political institutions in the city of Athens would have the final word on all the policies of the state. Quite a number of demes were reasonably large in both size and population, which would normally grant them the title of cities instead of towns if only they would have been located outside of Attica. In order to stay in control over all of Attica Athens naturally had to enforce its laws and regulations over all of the demes, both large and small. The larger demes however received a different treatment than the small ones since they received a certain level of independence and self-government.

To what extent these demes were able to control themselves and how much power they actually wielded in the city of Athens is another matter that I will look into in this thesis. The main focus of this thesis will be the study of a selection of the largest and most important demes of Attica and how their relationship with Athens started and evolved through time. Our starting point in this research will be the end of the Mycenaean Period and the beginning of the Iron Age, roughly the twelfth century BCE. The chaos, that came to be after the downfall of the Mycenaean civilization, also caused a myriad of problems for the inhabitants of Attica and Athens alike and therefore I will also shortly touch upon that part of history. Because of the length of the time-span and the sheer size of the subject a strongly limited observation of eight centuries of rural and urban growth should therefore be considered as the best working method.

Another factor I will look at in the relationship between Athens and her demes in the rural landscape of Attica is religious cults. Did Athens adopt local cults or did it force rural demes to adopt hers instead? Can we state that Athens

strengthened its ties with the countryside and the demes by installing temples and shrines that honoured the same gods and heroes as those inside the city of Athens?

Through time the relationships between Athens and the demes undoubtedly changed since the state of Athens gained or lost power overall or an individual *deme* gained or lost importance. This pattern must have continued through the ages until the time of King Phillipus II of Macedonia in the fourth century BCE. With their defeat at the hands of the Macedonians in 338 BCE at Chaeronea the Greek city-states virtually lost their independence to King Philippus II, the ruler of Macedon. At this time the city of Athens had lost a large share of its importance in the Greek world. It was still considered the birthplace of democracy and respected as an ancient town with an important history but it no longer controlled as vast an empire as it once did in the Classical Age. Athens was now but a shadow of its former self and since the Macedonians took control of Attica the control of Athens over the demes should have faded away. However, since the Macedonian rulers cared little for the local politics of the Greek cities they controlled, Athens was allowed to maintain its control over the demes. But, since the city of Athens was no longer an independent entity at this time this will be the ending of our time-line.

The main source for my thesis will undoubtedly be the book of David Whitehead, *The Demes of Attica*, in which he treats the relations between the demes and Athens as his main subject. One topic that Whitehead does not treat very thoroughly in his book, and that kind of topic is rare there, is the problem of non-technical demes, which are villages that had a sizeable population and size but no representation in the *Boulé* since they were not recognized as official demes. I will try to explain why these settlements were not included in the system of demes and why other, sometimes much smaller, villages did receive the official title of '*deme*'.

Religion and politics were both heavily practised in the Attica of the age of Kleisthenes, but to what extent did these two activities involve the model citizen of Attica and how did they influence him? It seems highly likely that Athens coordinated both religion and politics in order to tighten its control over the rural areas of Attica. But where can we find this control in the demes of Attica other than in written sources from this age? This topic has not been treated quite seriously in the past quarter of a century and therefore I would like to do just that.

I do not intent to rewrite the book of Whitehead as I for one very much appreciate its contents and the writing style of the author. The only intent that I have concerning the book written by David Whitehead is to add my opinions to his and perhaps add some additional information concerning some topics he touched upon only lightly.

I most of all want to find a decent answer to the questions concerning the relationships between the Athenian state and the individual demes of Attica that I posed above. In order to do this I will define what a *deme* was in the Athenian state and how it functioned. Secondly I will delve into the workings of the Athenian state before and after the Kleisthenic reforms in order to find out what exactly changed with these reforms. A short general history of Attica might be fitting as a sort of introduction to the topic, so that is where I start my thesis.

1. A history of Attica and the demes

1.1 Attica, a history

Before we can delve into the matter of the demes and their social, political, geographical and demographic relations with the city of Athens we must look at the history of Attica as a whole. The entire peninsula of Attica is approximately a thousand square miles, sixteen-hundred square kilometers, which would be about the same size as the small country of Luxemburg (Whitehead, 1986, 5). The peninsula was almost entirely protected from any invasions coming from the north since the mountains Kithaeron, Pateras and Parnes blocked the frontier with Boeotia. The open fields of Attica are also mostly protected by mountains or high hills. The plains of Attica are, despite the presence of rivers, not very fertile and the harvest of foodstuffs was probably never enough to feed the population of Attica. Certainly trade and import of food was as important to Attica, and Athens especially, as it was to Rome later on. During crises such as the Peloponnesian Wars, when the rural areas of Attica were occasionally occupied by Spartan armies and the trade routes overseas were interrupted, the production of food certainly diminished and the importance of importing increased.

Alfonso Moreno calculated the amount of people that could be fed by Attic agricultural efforts in his book and he concludes that self sufficiency was far from reality in Attica. According to Moreno only about a third of the total population of Attica could be fed with food that was locally produced which means that each year an enormous amount of food had to be imported from outside of Attica (Moreno, 2007, 32-33). Peter Garnsey confirms these estimates in his book and even states that perhaps only a quarter of the Attic population could be fed with local produce at times (Garnsey, 1989, 96). He also states, however, that it might be very well so that Athens only came to depend on imports from outside of Attica in the fifth century BCE. This would mean that the agricultural production in the Archaic Period must have been enough to feed the Attic population (Garnsey, 1989, 273). Both Garnsey and Moreno refer to a statement from the Athenian politician Demosthenes concerning the import of food into Attica. Demosthenes states that Athens had to important an amount of

food that would feed about half the population for a year. It is unclear, however, if this amount of imported food was necessary every year or even if it concerned a single year. Therefore we can not clearly conclude whether Attica was able to produce enough food to provide for its population annually. There are several examples of Athens receiving or importing food in order to be able to feed the Attic population but there is no reason to believe that imports were necessary every year (Osborne, 1987, 99).

There are only very few sources that indicate what the total number of inhabitants of Attica would be from before the fifth century but estimates run from a number of two-hundred-thousand to a more stunning four-hundred-thousand (Moreno, 2007, 30-31). The amount of actual free men and women of the total number of inhabitants would most likely have been somewhere around fifty percent. The other half of the population would have consisted of *metoikoi* or metics and slaves which formed the largest part of this half. *Metoikoi* were no citizens of Athens but they were allowed to work and trade in both Attica and Athens alike since they formed an important source of manpower and trade for Athens. Slaves were over one third of the entire population of both Athens and Attica but it can be imagined that they formed an even greater percentage of the population in the countryside since that was where the main trade of the time, namely agriculture, was practiced (Loukopoulos, 1973, 11-12; Moreno, 2007, 30).

The earliest settlements in Attica were supposedly founded during the Neolithic, somewhere in the seventh millennium BCE (Loukopoulos, 1973, 9). Either from the migration of Hellenic tribes into Attica or the rise of the already present population there the Mycenaean Period begun in the second millennium BCE with a highpoint in Attic population levels. During the Mycenaean Period (1600-1100 BCE) the Attic landscape was filled with scattered Mycenaean strongholds and villages such as Athens, Eleusis, Thorikos, Brauron and Acharnai (Loukopoulos, 1973, 9). The peninsula of Attica was filled with Mycenaean strongholds which at the time might have been the home to a number of chieftains or *basileis.* There are no indications in the archaeological evidence that these Mycenaean strongholds were united under a single leader or that they formed some sort of hierarchy amongst themselves. Both options are viable possibilities but we can exclude nor choose either since we are virtually clueless in this matter at this point in time.

The main trade of the people of Attica must have been agriculture at this

time, which would be the same for the rest of the Greek world at that time. During the chaos that followed the downfall of the Mycenaean civilization in the twelfth century BCE a great number of settlements disappeared or were abandoned (Whitehead, 1986, 5). This meant a severe reduction of the number of inhabitants of Attica at that time. The main reason for the decline and eventual fall of the Mycenaean civilization is heavily debated among scholars, whereby their theories go from natural disasters to the mass migration or invasion of peoples from outside of Greece (Morris, 1990, 23). Natural disasters such as earthquakes and floods seem hardly likely since clear evidence shows signs of violence in the thirteenth and twelfth century layers of Mycenaean strongholds. The migration of entire peoples, such as the Dorians, into Greece might very well have been the reason for the violent downfall of the Mycenaean society. This, however, is not the subject of the investigation at hand and therefore we will let the shrouds of this particular past remain in place, for now.

As said before, only a small amount of people inhabited Attica during the eleventh century BCE. Despite this fact, some Mycenaean sites remained intact and in use even after the fall of the Mycenaean civilization. One of these sites was Athens (Whitehead, 1986, 5), but it certainly was not the only settlement to survive the violent chaos of the thirteenth and twelfth century. Next to Athens we find clear evidence that places such as Eleusis, Haliki Glyphadas, Marathon, Menidi, Merenda and Thorikos were all inhabited during and after the Mycenaean Period (Whitehead, 1986, 6). Many of these settlements survived because they formed a safe haven for refugees and people that no longer felt safe in their smaller villages. It seems that the larger settlements in Attica remained inhabited during the Greek Dark Age while smaller villages and towns were abandoned, perhaps for safety issues or because of violence that threatened the life of its inhabitants (Whitehead, 1986, 6). After the violence and chaos of the past few centuries the people of Attica remained to live within the safety of their larger settlements. The only sign that Attica was starting to get repopulated was the renewed inhabiting of coastal villages or the founding of new ones. These villages, or hamlets even, provided the inhabitants with the potential of an escape to the sea while inhabitants of villages that would have been situated more inland would not have any way of escaping potential threats to their town (Whitehead, 1986, 6).

The slow process of regrowing the population of Attica dragged on into the eighth century BCE when a population boom can be observed (Whitehead,

1986, 6). Mycenaean sites that were abandoned earlier were once again rebuilt and inhabited in the second half of the eighth century BCE (Whitehead, 1986, 6-7). The main reason why Athens did not join in the overseas colonization frenzy that seems to have gripped the rest of the Greek world at that time was probably because the Athenians were busy colonizing Attica rather than expanding overseas. The fact that Athens was not the only faction competing for land and resources in the area of Attica must have caused quite some conflicts during the period from the ninth until the seventh century BCE. There is little evidence, however, of violence and destruction during this specific period. Due to a lack of research into this matter we can not suggest a rock solid theory concerning this period of time. What we can do at least is propose a theory that is at least plausible due to known historical facts from before and after this period. It seems very likely that the powerful aristocracy of Athens conquered all of Attica during the ninth and perhaps also the eighth century, constantly gaining power by further acquisitions and conquests. The town of Thorikos, famous for its silver mines, for example seems to have been under Athenian control already in the ninth century. The evidence for this comes from Athens rather than Thorikos however. Athenian aristocratic grave gifts of this period are much richer than before, which might indicate that one of the prominent families in Athens gained an interest in Thorikos or took control over the entire town. The rich silver mines of this area must have strengthened the power of any aristocratic family that would control them enormously. There is no solid proof that any Athenian really did control Thorikos at this point but rich Athenian grave gifts seem to indicate that a certain group of aristocratic Athenians did in fact enjoy a steady income of silver at this time (Whitehead, 1986, 9). Whether an Athenian aristocrat did or did not control the silver mines of Thorikos during the ninth century, what is certain is that the prominent aristocratic families of Athens did in fact control all of Attica by the seventh century BCE. There is, naturally, a discussion going on about whether the Athenian aristocratic families conquered Attica through force or arms, economical power or diplomatic effort. To me it seems most likely that the Athenians did in fact conquer Attica by sheer force of arms since violence has always been more present in history than diplomacy or financial take overs (Whitehead, 1986, 9).

During the seventh century the population of Attica apparently grew enough to allow the founding of new settlements in the countryside. This growth is reflected in the expansion of already existing cemeteries and the founding of

new ones outside of the city itself (Morris, 1990, 22). Despite a recession in the early sixth century, visible to us because grave gifts suddenly disappeared in Attic burials (Morris, 1990, 22), the population of Attica grew considerably because of the efforts of both Solon and Peisistratus (Bintliff, 1994, 232). The first individual, Solon, was *archon* in the year 594/3 when he established a number of important laws concerning the Attic economic system, thereby strengthening the economic position of Athenian farmers and enabling them to continue their trade. He abolished debt-bondage and thereby freed a great number of people from being slaves on their own farms (Morris, 1990, 26). Solon apparently also created laws that concerned the demes of Attica. Peisistratus on the other hand was a man of considerably more power in the Athenian realm. Peisistratus was a tyrant who, despite the negative feeling that we have with such a title today, strongly improved Athenian laws concerning trade, personal property and also apparently the demes themselves. There is a discussion concerning the involvement of both Solon and Peisistratus with the demes of Attica. One side of the discussion would grant either Solon or Peisistratus the honour of having established the Bouleutic system as it was after the time of Kleisthenes. When looked at a bit closer, both candidates are well suited for this position of founder of the *deme* system.

However, there is evidence a plenty to make us reconsider the idea that either Solon or Peisistratus ever implemented the *deme* system (Whitehead, 1986, 11). There are for instance no written sources concerning the time and works of Solon that name any individual demes. In fact, there is no mention of something that we might even call a *deme*, when settlements are mentioned they are not mentioned to be part of some administrative system of any sort (Whitehead, 1986, 12-13). For Peisistratus we also have very little proof that would allow us to positively identify him as the father of the system of demes. Written sources that do concern the time of Peisistratus do name some localities or settlements by their name but these towns are not identified as demes or as being part of a greater system (Whitehead, 1986, 14-15). The only way these towns are really identified is as topographical entities, not as independent or dependent settlements.

1.2 The demes of Attica

We do know that the *Boulé,* or council, consisted of four-hundred men originally but after the Kleisthenic reforms a hundred men were added in order to be able

to have an equal representation for all the demes. Each *Phyle*, and there were ten in total, provided fifty men for the *Boulé* whereby each *Phyle* presided the *Boulé* for a month. Each *Phyle* consisted of a group of demes that were individually represented in the *Boulé.* The total number of male citizens in Athens, or in other words the part of the population that was actually allowed to participate in the democracy and the *Boulé*, is estimated at about a steady thirty-thousand. Now if one divides that number by the five-hundred members of the *Boulé* one comes to find out that a single seated man in the *Boulé* represented sixty men for his *deme*. Naturally the actual number of inhabitants for each *deme* is much higher than the number of representatives times sixty since the number that would come from that calculation yields only the amount of male citizens of the proper age in any *deme*. If we want to determine the real number of inhabitants we should add female Athenians, children, slaves and people that were no Athenian citizens at all but lived and worked in Attica nonetheless (Metics or *metoikoi*). So instead of multiplying the number of representatives that were sent to the *Boulé* by sixty we should consider multiplying it by an amount which could be as high as three-hundred. It is very likely that even the number of three-hundred is quite low since the percentage of the total population of Athens and Attica that did consist of male citizens was quite low. We might very well be closer to the truth by increasing the number of three-hundred that we already have and have each member of the *Boulé* represent around four-hundred inhabitants of their *deme*. The biggest problem with this calculation is that we do not know the exact number of slaves, women, children and metics at any given time in the history of Attica since they were never registered. This means that we can not take exact numbers into our calculation of representation so I will use the number of three-hundred as a standard. I might be very much below the real number of people represented by a single member of the *Boulé* so I will from here on consider the number of three-hundred an absolute minimum.

Now to the matter of demes, how would we define a *deme*, if possible? After the Kleisthenic organization of towns of Attica there were supposedly one hundred-thirty-nine demes. This number has been calculated by scholars by using the bouleutic representation quota. By means of this quota we are able to determine the amount of men that were sent from a *deme* to represent it at the *Boulé* in Athens. Since the number of men that were chosen for this representative function was limited by the size of the population of a *deme* we

can calculate the actual size of each *deme* when we know the number of their representatives. For the *deme* of Acharnai for example we know that they sent the most men to the *Boulé*, an astounding number of twenty-two representatives (Jones, 2004, 92). These twenty-two bouleutic representatives indicate that Acharnai must have had a population of at least 6600 people, a gigantic *deme* in the rural landscape of Attica. From this fact alone we do know that Acharnai was the largest of all the demes since no other *deme* reached the number of twenty-two representatives at any time. Of course we also have the report of Thucydides which points out to us that Acharnai was in fact the largest *deme* in terms of population (Jones, 2004, 92-93).

But I, necessarily, digress into mathematics, the subject we would focus on would be the definition of a *deme*. Before the time of Kleisthenes, as said before, there was no notion of individual demes incorporated into an administrative system. So we should suggest that it was actually Kleisthenes that did come up with the idea of granting the villages, towns and hamlets of Attica the title '*deme*'. By doing so Kleisthenes recognized their importance and their historical value. Since most demes were named after their founders by Kleisthenes himself the importance of historical authenticity seems to be evident (Whitehead, 1986, 17, 24-25). Apparently it was impossible to determine the name of a number of demes which therefore were named after their locality. Some demes were also named in honour of a heroic forefather that came from that particular area. Over thirty of these demes seemed to have been named in this particular way and they supposedly received extra attention from Kleisthenes when he worked out his reforms (Traill, 1973, 101). John Traill, who worked vigorously to define the term '*deme*', states in his book that a settlement should live up to two conditions if it was to be considered a *deme* in the technical sense of the word (Whitehead, 1986, 20). The first of these conditions would be a minimal body of citizens, since without this the *deme* would never be important enough to be incorporated into the system. The second condition put up by Traill would be that a *deme* should have representation in the *Boulé* of the city. As we will see that several demes shared their representative envoy to the *Boulé* of Athens this condition seems a bit shaky. To what extent is a *deme* really represented if it has to share a representative with one or more demes? One might argue that an extremely small *deme* that has shared representation in the *Boulé* still has some sort of representation and is officially incorporated in the system of demes. So Traill's conditions are in fact usable to define which

settlements were officially granted the title of '*deme*' and which were not.

But what where the responsibilities of an official *deme* then once it was established? The establishment of the demes by Kleisthenes' hand had a few important reasons, of which one would be administration. The *deme* served as an administrative centre for the inhabitants of that area, it policed and governed the population and took care of the collecting of revenues and levied troops for the Athenian war efforts when necessary (Traill, 1973, 74). All of the demes already existed before the Kleisthenic reforms, although not under the title of demes as such. The Kleisthenic reforms were mostly just a confirmation and organization of that which already was, a complex system of settlements in Attica (Bintliff, 1994, 231)

The local issues were taken care of by the demes who then received their own directions from the *Boulé* and the *Ecclesia,* the assembly, in the city of Athens. But the administrative function of the demes had already existed in some form long before they were officially established by Kleisthenes. The true change that came with the establishment of the one hundred-thirty-nine demes was that of representation in the Athenian democracy. Through the system of *Phylae*, *Trittyes*, demes and the *Boulé* the Athenian male citizens were abled to take part in the daily works of the Athenian democracy. Not every abled male citizen in Attica did actually participate in these daily works of democracy because they lacked interest, time or money. But the people that wanted to participate, provided that they were free male citizens, could participate which created a kind of representative government not seen before in the history of the world (Traill, 1973, XIII, 74). The amount of people attending public debates or meetings of the *Boulé* or the *Ecclesia* was obviously largely from the city of Athens itself since most people that lived in the rural or coastal areas of Attica simply did not have the time or luxury to travel there and back every day.

The ten *Phylae*, or tribes, received honours each year for their services. Each *Phyle* would have a dedication on which the names of the *Bouleutai,* or representatives, were written in order to honour their efforts for their individual *Phyle.* These dedications were made by the *Phylae* themselves but in later times this was made a public service to the individuals that served in the *Boulé*. This first started to become a habit during the Macedonian time in the fourth century BCE. This was also the time that two extra *Phylae* were added to the already existing ten. The number of *Bouleutai* was expanded to six-hundred in order for every *Phyle* to have an even number of fifty representatives in the council (Traill,

1973, XV). Later on in the final quarter of the third century BCE a third *Phyle* was added and the number of *Bouleutai* was again increases by fifty to make it a total of six-hundred and fifty members in total (Traill, 1973, XVI).

1.3 Non-technical demes

The settlements that did have a reasonable population but no representation in the *Boulé* were therefore only demes in the non-technical sense of the word. In ancient and even modern times a number of demes was named beside the usual one hundred-thirty-nine official ones. This number is put at forty-three by W.B. Dinsmoor and V. von Schöffer (Traill, 1973, 81). All of these forty-three demes did not exist as official demes however, and most of them did not exist at all. Every single one of these forty-three demes is a result of corruptions of documents, wrong interpretations, errors in ancient times and misread or miswritten names (Traill, 1973, 83-86). Surely, a number of these towns existed in the Greek world and some even in Attica, but none of them were ever actual demes. For instance, the *deme* of Lamptrai of the tribe of I Erechtheis consisted of several parts, those parts being Upper and Lower Lamptrai. There is, however, apparently a third part to the united *deme* of Lamptrai which would be called Coastal Lamptrai by modern scholars such as W.B. Dinsmoor (Traill, 1973, 86). This was later proven to be nothing but an error in reading the Bouleutic representation numbers. Upper Lamptrai had a meagre five *Bouleutai* while Lower Lamptrai had nine of them. The united total of these two demes would bring the total number of representatives at fourteen which is also the exact same amount as is reserved for the united Lamptrais. It leaves no doubt to us that there were only two parts of Lamptrai and that Coastal Lamptrai was merely another name for either Upper or Lower Lamptrai (Traill, 1973, 86).

A small number of the forty-three places that were named as demes by both ancient and modern scholars did simply not exist as their names were merely misreadings or misinterpretations of names of official demes. A fairly large number, twenty-four in total, can be immediately rejected as a possible Attic *deme* because they do not appear on any official list whatsoever (Traill, 1973, 95). In other cases the name of the, supposedly Attic, *deme* did exist in antiquity but it was located outside of Attica and therefore immediately disqualified for the title of Attic *deme* (Traill, 1973, 86). The rest of the forty-three towns that did exist and were located in Attica, a small number of eight in

total, were allocated to official demes in ancient times since they were too small and unimportant to be official demes (Traill, 1973, 86-87).

1.4 The demes' size, numbers and territories

So we can imagine that a *deme* was an established settlement in the landscape of Attica with enough inhabitants to be recognized as a separate entity. The minimal population size required for the title of *deme* is hardly possible to trace back since it is not so that every *deme* should at least be able to send one envoy to the *Boulé*. It is known to us that some very small demes sent one representative together since they did not have enough inhabitants to sent one each (Whitehead, 1986, 18-19, 23). Since the amount of people in any *deme* that was represented by a single *Bouleutai* was at least three-hundred we could suggest that a town should house at least three-hundred people in order to be considered as a *deme* (Osborne, 1985, 44-45). However, since a number of demes shared representatives and the number of three-hundred must be considered a minimum it remains uncertain how many inhabitants a town should minimally have. The fact that the demes were able to share representation tells us that there was a certain amount of freedom between the demes that allowed them to cooperate when choosing their representatives. Since we know that Acharnai sent the most *Boulé* members, or *Bouleutai*, (twenty-two to be precise) it must have been the largest *deme* in Attica. The second largest *deme* would have been Aphidna with a number of sixteen *Boulé* members (Jones, 2004, 92) and third in line was Kydathenaion with eleven or twelve delegates (Jones, 2004, 100). When added this means that the three biggest demes sent forty-nine representatives to the *Boulé*, almost one tenth of its total number.

　　The total number of demes during the time of Kleisthenes being one hundred-thirty-nine would make the average number of representatives between three and four per *deme*. Naturally, the precise number of demes at the time of the Kleisthenic reforms might have been a few more or less than one hundred-thirty-nine but for good measure I will use this number for the rest of my thesis. With Acharnai being about seven times larger than that average number and Aphidna about four times it seems obvious that there were huge differences in the number of inhabitants per *deme*. The matter concerning the amount of demes being one hundred-thirty-nine or not was discussed by several sources from the ancient past up until early in the twentieth century CE. First of all there

is Strabo who states that there were about a hundred-seventy demes while in other cases he writes that there were in fact one hundred-seventy-four (Whitehead, 1986, 19). Another ancient author, Herodotus, tells us that there were precisely one hundred demes in Attica, divided equally into ten tribes. The fact that we know that some tribes did not have ten demes in them and most of them surely had more than that number immediately weakens Herodotus' statement (Whitehead, 1986, 19). More recent estimates, or calculations since they are quite precise, put the number of demes during the time of the Kleisthenic reforms at one hundred-thirty-nine. The reason for the much higher number of demes in Strabo's writings can be found when one looks at the difference between technical and non-technical demes. The total number of settlements that might have been demes could very well have been the one hundred-seventy of Strabo or more. The officially recognized number of demes, however, is traced back through written sources that directly point out the representation of the demes at the *Boulé*, which brings us to the precise number of one hundred-thirty-nine demes. It is certainly possible that during the Kleisthenic reforms the actual number was one or two off in either direction, but most likely this is not the case since the rest of the fifth and fourth century show no sign of the founding of any new demes. What seems very likely is that the population which was present in Attica during the reforms of Kleisthenes grew considerably in the following centuries. The populations of the individual demes must have had different growth or even decline factors which means that the Bouleutic quotas of 508/7 were no longer balanced in later times (Osborne, 1985, 43). The fact that the Bouleutic quotas were not recalculated every now and then to adjust them to the size of the demes' populations seems logical to me since it would be an almost impossible task to reorganize all of Attica every few years in order to get the correct Bouleutic quotas. We should bear in mind though that the Bouleutic quotas of 508/7 should be seen as representative for the minimum numbers of Attic population at that time while in later times they might not even have been close to representing the true number of people inhabiting any *deme* in Attica (Osborne, 1985, 43)

Since this thesis focuses on those demes with a large population or with a unique importance to the *polis* and the individual features and relationships with Athens of these demes I will not go to deep into the extremely small demes. It is, however, interesting to notice that despite their very small size these demes were still allowed to participate in the Athenian democracy.

1.5 Implications of the Kleisthenic reforms

An important matter concerning the Kleisthenic reforms is the boundaries that were established between the demes in both the rural and the urban areas. There are two options to this case which I will both treat here. Firstly, it could very well have been so that Kleisthenes did not simply redraw the topographical map of Attica but that he simply confirmed what was already very much accepted by all the inhabitants of the peninsula. If this was the case then it would have been unnecessary to add boundaries in the form of *horoi*, which are in essence just stones that indicate a boundary, since they most likely already existed in some form. The fact that we thus far have not found any such thing that could be seen as a *horoi* of some sort from the time of Kleisthenes or before indicates that the boundaries between the demes were in fact not, and forgive me the use of words, cast into stone. So now the second option concerning the topographical order of Attica becomes the obvious choice for us, Kleisthenes must have introduced boundaries between the different demes in order to clearly set them apart of each other. *Horoi* of the time after the reforms have indeed been found which reinforces the previous theory that they did not exist before the Kleisthenic reforms (Whitehead, 1986, 29). It seems unlikely, however, that Kleisthenes simply redrew the entire map of Attica at his own initiative since the Attic landscape was not in any way undeveloped and empty. The largest number of the one hundred-thirty-nine demes in Attica in 508-507 had been there for hundreds of years already and a thorough establishment of boundaries must have been in place, either officially or unofficially (Whitehead, 1986, 27, 30). Then again, there must have been some form of artificial boundaries between demes since the city of Athens itself had a number of five demes within her walls, Koile, Kollytos, Kydathenaion, Melite and Skambonidai (Whitehead, 1986, 26). In the early eighth century, as I will explain in the next chapter, Athens was merely an agglomeration of a number of villages that together formed the city of Athens. During Kleisthenes' time, almost three centuries later, is seems hardly likely that the now fortified city of Athens still held a number of clearly divided villages within her walls (Whitehead, 1986, 26). It seems more likely, even logical, that the five demes within the walls of the city actually were divided by an artificial boundary because they were not separated from each other by natural boundaries like the rural demes.

Another important matter concerning the Kleisthenic reforms would be implementation of the actual reforms. The reforms meant no shocking new way of life for the largest part of the population of Attica but it did entail a lot of registration that had to be done. One has to remember that every single male citizen of Attica had to register at the proper *deme* in order to get a clear picture of the number of representatives that had to be appointed for each *deme* (Whitehead, 1986, 32-33). So then how did the registration take place? Once again there are multiple options possible but I will limit myself to the most logical two possibilities in order to keep a clear view of our main subject. The first option would be that some sort of commissioners would be appointed on the spot and that they would be responsible for the registration of all male citizens of their *deme*. This option seems to indicate a random, chaotic process during the Kleisthenic reforms and therefore it does not strike me as a viable theory. What seems more likely to me would be option number two where it would be the *demarchoi* that ran the registrations in their respective demes. The *demarchoi* were already a functional and official form of representatives long before the reforms so they were firmly established in their demes. This would certainly enable them to enforce the registration process better than a randomly appointed official (Whitehead, 1986, 32). Next to the fact that the *demarchoi* were the obvious choice for the job since they were the official representatives of their demes, there is no source of that time that mentions any other official that had anything to do with any individual demes whatsoever (Whitehead, 1986, 32). The system of demes could only have been put firmly into place once the registration process was fully completed since no division of representation could have been made before the actual number of male citizens was counted. The fact that the number of male citizens in Attica has been put at thirty-thousand leaves me to consider that the registration process took quite some time to finish (Whitehead, 1986, 32-33). After this lengthy process was finished the actual reforms were allowed to take form.

The greatest and probably the most important change in the Kleisthenic reforms was that the representation in the *Boulé* no longer came from the traditional sources, which were the tribal formations within Attica, but rather from the demes themselves directly (Whitehead, 1986, 33). Before the reforms it was common that citizens of Athens were named after their ancestry. Since there were multitudes of similar or even equal ancestral names throughout Attica, the organisation of people in this way became unwieldy. The change that came with

the Kleisthenic reforms was that the citizens of Attica were now to be named after their *deme* rather than their ancestry. It was still usual to identify someone by the name of his father but the official naming would be from the *deme* of birth. If one individual would be born in Acharnai he would keep that *deme*'s name in his official name even when he moved away to another *deme* within Attica (Bintliff, 1994, 235). It was impossible to change the membership of any *deme* by any other way than being adopted by a member of another *deme*. This change of membership did not immediately mean a change in residency because a person could still be living in Acharnai while he was an official *demotai* of Thorikos (Whitehead, 1986, 68). The membership of a *deme* was always inherited from someone's father so the demotic name was as hereditary as the ancestral name (Whitehead, 1986, 67).

Even before the reforms of Kleisthenes the Attic demes were closely tied societies because of their size. Bigger demes would logically have a lot less cohesion than the very small ones since not everyone knew each other as well. If a *deme* constituted of no more than five-hundred souls it would seem obvious that they all did know each other since they lived their entire lives in the same small town (Whitehead, 1986, 69). The institutionalization of the *deme* system apparently was aimed at strengthening this feeling of cohesion ever further because now people would know each other not just by their ancestral name but also by their demotic name. It seems unlikely that the change from ancestral to demotic names happened overnight or was even successful at all over a longer period though. The sources from individuals, such as statues or dedications, do indeed see an increase in the use of the demotic name after the time of Kleisthenes but the usage of the ancestral name in individual sources also increases so this does not prove anything to us (Whitehead, 1986, 70-71). Since the change to the use of demotic names was an official change from the hand of the Athenian constitution one would assume that in official documents and state dedications and buildings the demotic names would immediately have been the sole name that was used there. This was not the case however since the use of the ancestral names apparently was quite a stubborn habit of the Athenians. Since the use of demotic names was officially decreed the official documents used both the ancestral and the demotic names of any individuals named in them (Whitehead, 1986, 71). Female citizens were not usually named in official written or inscribed documents. They also did not get the same demotic names as male citizens if they were ever mentioned at all. Female demotic names

mostly pointed out that the females in question came from a certain *deme* or were married to some male citizen from a certain *deme* instead of simply identifying them as inhabitants of the specific *deme* as it was with the male demotic names (Whitehead, 1986, 78).

Since there were a hundred-thirty-nine demes it must have been much easier to identify and classify people than before with the new demotic names. The fact that representation now came directly from the demes and no longer from the much larger units of the tribes also meant that the voice of each *deme* would be heard in the *Boulé*, theoretically speaking. It seems logical that local politicians would try to let their *deme* benefit as much as possible from any laws that were prepared in the *Boulé*. This, however, does not seem to be the case as most politicians simply chose to follow their own path of fortune in order to gain success in their political lives (Whitehead, 1986, 318).

1.6 Old and new institutions

Before the instalment of the demes as the official support units of the Attic democracy there were other officially recognized and fully functional authorities within the *polis* of Athens. The *naukraris* were in essence the forerunners of the demes for as far as we know to this day. The only thing that we really do know about the *naukraris* is that they functioned as administrative centres in the Attic countryside for the city of Athens. The collection of revenue and the levying of troops for the Athenian army was all taken care of from the *naukraris* (Whitehead, 1986, 34). After the Kleisthenic reforms the demes took over most functions of the *naukraris* but these last ones remained in use, if only at a reduced quantity (Whitehead, 1986, 33). Under the rule of Peisistratus and the Peisistratids there were groups of judges appointed to travel between the settlements of Attica and solve small conflicts between individuals, these conflicts were not allowed to involve fines that ranked higher than a very small amount of money though. This system was abolished during the Kleisthenic reforms since the demes themselves were now allowed to take care of the legal conflicts between their inhabitants (Whitehead, 1986, 36-37). At this point we already see a certain amount of freedom for the individual demes away from the power of the democratic institutions in the city of Athens. Naturally the freedom for the demes was restricted to very small and unimportant legal cases but it still was a form of freedom granted by the Athenian *Ecclesia* and the *Boulé* (Whitehead,

1986, 34).

Another issue concerning politics in Attica is that of the division between rural and urban politics. It seems that the general assumption of the rural, small-scaled, politics as being a learning process for all politicians that wanted to further their career in the city is a misconception. According to David Whitehead the politicians that started out in the more rural areas of Attica, their demes of birth most likely, stayed there instead of moving to the city during a later stage of their political life. Citizens that were born and raised in the city of Athens and went into politics there also stayed at their starting point without the need for a 'learning process' in the rural landscape of Attica (Whitehead, 1986, 318).

1.7 The organization of the demes

The larger demes apparently were centred around a central meeting point which was used for local gatherings. Demes such as Sounion, Eleusis, Peiraieus, Aixone, Besa, Erchia, Halai, Aixonides and Skambonidai all had local assemblies (Jones, 2004, 85-86). The political function of these assemblies is unknown to us but it seems logical that they were meant as a means for the local population to convene and address their local topics of importance. It seems quite unlikely that these central meeting points were used for more important political practices since all real political activities took place in the city of Athens (Jones, 2004, 86). What is certainly interesting is that we do not see Acharnai or Aphidna in the list of demes that had a central meeting point. Of course this could be the case simply because both of these demes are not excavated as of yet. But if they both did not have a central meeting point their sizeable populations must have convened somewhere else, or they simply did not convene at all.

It seems very likely that smaller demes used the central meeting points of other, more larger demes for their meetings. It even seems likely that smaller demes would use the other facilities of larger demes in their vicinity such as the theatres and the sanctuaries (Osborne, 1987, 128). The amount of times that any individual *deme* would convene at one such central meeting point each year is unknown to us, yet is seems likely that since they must have discussed local issues they met more than once a year (Jones, 2004, 87). The matter of the central meeting points is still heavily debated by scholars since no hard evidence has been found as of yet that points us to what their precise function would have been. Another issue concerning the *deme's* central meeting points is the fact that

we do not know whether they were actually used for meetings in the *deme* itself or not (Whitehead, 1986, 87). On the one hand we have no evidence at all that tells us that any meeting of a *deme's* assembly took place in the *deme* itself. The only exception in this case would be the registration of male citizens. From their birth up until their coming of age all male citizens had to regularly be registered at the *deme's* registration. In order to proof that he was indeed fathered by a citizen of Athens the boy/male had to bring relatives or people that knew him well to the *deme's* council which would test his lineage. On the other hand we do have some evidence from the ancient author Demosthenes that a meeting was held in the city of Athens (Whitehead, 1986, 88). It is unclear, however, if this meeting was business as usual or a special occasion which obliged the *deme's* councilmen to travel to Athens. Demosthenes writes about the assembly of the *deme* Halimous convening in the city of Athens but does not mention whether this is a usual exercise or an unusual event. We know that Halimous was located about seven kilometres from Athens so the demesmen must have travelled that distance on every occasion if they always convened in the city. This seems rather unlikely to me since it would take them about an hour to go there and another hour to return home. For a *deme* the size of Halimous, three *Bouleutai* or about nine-hundred people in total, it seems unlikely that their issues necessarily had to be discussed in the city. Then again, Halimous might have lacked the facilities for its inhabitants to convene there so they had to travel to Athens in order to discuss their local issues.

The meeting described by Demosthenes must have been some sort of a special occasion where the demesmen of Halimous travelled to the city in order to convene and address this special matter (Whitehead, 1986, 88). To me it seems very illogical that a *deme* this small would have its meetings in the city, simply because it was an absolute inefficient thing to do. Then again, several scholars argue that any and all meetings from the demes took place in the city of Athens since they were obliged to do it there. This theory is acceptable at first when one considers that Athens had the space and infrastructure to play host to these meetings when they were held in the city. But when looked at quantitatively one should consider that the total amount of one hundred-thirty-nine demes had to convene, perhaps several times a year, in the city. The city of Athens would have been the stage, or host, to hundreds, maybe even thousands of meetings of the demes each year! (Whitehead, 1986, 88). The fact that there are so few written or even inscribed sources that tell us about demes convening

in the city I must dismiss this theory utterly. So if not all assembly meetings of the demes were held in the city we must conclude that some, if not most, of them simply took place in their own *deme*. The size of most demes would have allowed for small-scale meetings on a hillside or another central meeting point. Demes the size of Acharnai or Aphidna could probably not have convened within their own demes since their population was simply too big. While Acharnai housed approximately 6600 inhabitants, Aphidna was inhabited by about 4800 people. I believe there are two alternatives for these demes which would allow them to convene anyway despite their size. Firstly, it could very well have been so that the people of both Acharnai and Aphidna convened in smaller, separate groups that together constituted the entire demes' population. This would certainly make it a lot harder to come to a definite conclusion of the demes' issues but it is a viable option in my opinion.

Another option, and this one seems to be the most likely one of the two to me, was that demes that could not fit their populations on any central meeting points within the *deme* must have convened somewhere in the countryside nearby or in a theatre. The hilly landscape of Attica was also dotted with flat plains that would have allowed a large crowd to gather there and discuss their issues. Hilltops or mountain terraces would also serve this function quite well since their elevation would allow a speaker to be seen by all attendants. Theatres are the most likely place for any *deme* to convene however since they would have been able to seat the largest part of the town's population and the acoustics would have allowed the speaker to be heard by everyone. Concluding I might say that there is no reason not to believe that most, if not all, demes convened in or near their own territories and not in the city of Athens when it concerned ordinary matters. Extraordinary issues or problems could have been discussed in the city but this seems unlikely for routine assemblies (Whitehead, 1986, 90).

The issue of the regularity of the *deme* assemblies is also a troubling matter to us since we lack the proper evidence to provide any certainty concerning this matter (Whitehead, 1986, 90). We do know of a number of *deme* decrees that state business attended at *deme* assemblies and at what time they took place but these decrees are not very clear about the regularity of these assemblies (Whitehead, 1986, 90-91). The Athenian state, and the demes themselves for that matter, apparently did not have some regular meeting schedule for the assemblies. So this means that the demes, or the demarchs,

were able to decide whether and when they would convene. This is an important freedom, apparently granted by the *Ecclesia* and *Boulé* to all demes. I strongly believe that despite the fact that the Athenian democratic institutions did not regulate the frequency of the *deme* assemblies it must have called for extraordinary meetings on special occasions.

Now that we have established an idea on the matter of the location and the frequency, or the lack of it, of the assemblies we should look at the functions of the *deme* assemblies. Who exactly convened and what were the issues they addressed precisely? To answer this we should first look at the requirements that were needed to become an official member of a *deme*. To be enrolled in the *lexiarchikon grammateion*, the list of all *deme*-members, one essentially only had to proof that he was the son of a citizen. In earlier times it would be sufficient to proof that one had the economic capability of arming himself with the weapons of a *hoplite* and wield them to become a citizen of Athens. Since military service was considered both a privilege and an obligation to any citizen it was quite important that one fulfilled his military duties and so these were directly linked to citizenship (Sinclair, 1988, 54-55).

If it was ratified that the prospective male was indeed born of an Athenian citizen then the son was immediately enrolled on the list and he was able to use all his privileges as an Athenian citizen (Whitehead, 1986, 98). In the fourth century this was all that was needed to become an official citizen, the proof of a heritage of citizenship from the father. Some scholars believe this practice was in use before, and even after, the *deme* system was put into place and that it actually stood in place of official city regulations before those came into being (Patterson, 1981, 25-28). The Kleisthenic reforms must have brought some form of general administration to the Athenian *polis* in my opinion so I would disagree with this statement and agree with the alternative suggested by David Whitehead (Whitehead, 1986, 98). The process of actually testing a prospective demesman's heritage was conducted by a group or even all demesmen of the *deme* in question. It seems more likely that the larger demes such as Acharnai and Aphidna did not require all demesmen for this procedure since this would take away a lot of time for all those involved. The demesmen would firstly determine whether the prospective demesman had attained the proper age. From Aristophanes' play 'Wasps' we learn that one of the pleasures of being a juror would have been 'the gazing at the genitals of the youths undergoing their testing' (Whitehead, 1986, 100). From the term juror we might

conclude that there were indeed designated members of the *deme* that would test whether the prospective citizens were of the adequate age (the precise age requirement might have changed over time but it is certain that a prospective demesman had to have an adult body before he could join the ranks of the demesmen). The same group of jurors, or perhaps even another group, would decide if the person in question was a free man and whether his father was a citizen or not. If there was any doubt concerning the freedom of one prospective citizen he could appeal to a jury-court. The demesmen would then choose five representatives to be the accusers in the case (Whitehead, 1986, 101). If the court declared the prospective citizen a free man he is immediately enrolled into the *lexiarchikon grammateion* but if he was not declared free he was sold into slavery (Whitehead, 1986, 102). Finally, after the *deme* had tested its own youth, the *Boulé* would examine the prospective citizens and again test them for their age. If a candidate for citizenship was found to be below the correct age by the *Boulé* the demesmen that had passed him on this test were fined (Whitehead, 1986, 102).

We see here a clear difference in power between the demes and the *Boulé*. The decision of the demesmen to allow a candidate for citizenship could be turned back by the *Boulé* while the exclusion of someone who was tested as of improper age or status by the demesmen could be turned back by the jury-court. Despite the fact that the demes were allowed to test their own candidates for citizenship their decisions were neither decisive nor needed per se. The democratic institutions of the *polis* kept a sharp eye on the entire procedure of allowing citizenship it would seem, thereby ensuring that all citizens had the official approval of the Athenian state and not just of their individual demes. If one would remove the *deme*'s ability to test their own candidates for citizenship the Athenian state would still be entirely capable of doing it by itself. The only value that was added by the tests on *deme*-level was a double check that would increase the certainty that someone was actually a free man of the proper age with a citizen heritage. But, the freedom that allowed the demes to test their own candidates probably created the impression that they were indeed granted some political power by the democratically chosen institutions in Athens. This was, to some extent, the case since the *Boulé* would not intervene in the majority of these trials. Once a member was allowed into the *polis* as an official citizen he immediately gained access to the *deme* assemblies since citizenship equalled *deme* membership. Only in very special and rare cases did the council of

Athens force a *deme* to either accept or reject an individual. The fact that the power of the Athenian *Boulé* could overrule the local council of any *deme*, even in cases like these, clearly indicates that the final word in any case lay in Athens. This seems to be the case in very many aspects of the Athenian political world. Since the sssembly, or *Ecclesia,* was seated in Athens it was manned by all those people that could afford to travel to the city on a daily basis. The inhabitants of the more rural and coastal demes were unable to let their farms or commerce lay silent while they went to Athens in order to participate in the democracy. Payment for participation in the *Ecclesia* was introduced early in the fourth century BCE but it was not sufficient enough to cover one day's pay for farmers or traders (Sinclair, 1988, 22). As a result the *Ecclesia* consisted mostly of people that lived in the near vicinity of the city and were no farmers or merchants, this despite the fact that the *Ecclesia* was open to all citizens of Athens (Sinclair, 1988, 19). Since the assembly held the legislative power and the *Boulé* did not, the balance of power favoured the inhabitants of the *Asty* (the city of Athens and its direct surroundings) and not the majority of the Attic population that lived in the countryside. This effect was somewhat balanced by the fact that a lot of the landed aristocracy that lived in Athens had to protect their rural property. Because of this, the rural areas of Attica were treated fairly well despite the fact that the inhabitants themselves were very underrepresented in the Ecclesia. This was important because the final word on the Athenian policies lay with the *Ecclesia* and not with any other democratic institution (Sinclair, 1988, 19).

There is an important note to be made here concerning the executive powers of the *deme's* assembly and the *deme* officials such as the *demarch*. First of all, the assembly did not have any executive power whatsoever but it functioned more like a advisory organ much like the Roman senate during the Roman Imperial Period. The assembly was merely a gathering of demesmen who wanted to discuss local issues. Of course the assembly did hold the power to appoint the officials that belonged to the *deme* but it did not have the power to dictate the policy of the *deme*. The officials of a *deme*, even the *demarch*, had to put forth any plans they had made in order for them to be ratified by the assembly. Once the plans, or resolutions, were ratified the officials were the ones that saw to their execution within the *deme*. The *Ecclesia* in Athens was the only executive power in the entire *polis* that could create and pass resolutions and execute them in practice. For as far as we know to this day there were no equivalents to the *Ecclesia* in any *deme*, no matter how large or small they were

(Whitehead, 1986, 121). This fact meant that the demes needed individual officials for the execution of their day-to-day business. The works of these officials were limited and controlled by the assemblies though so there were not any positions within the demes with both legislative and executive powers.

A short venture into the function of the most powerful official of a *deme*, the *demarch*, should strengthen my conclusion on this matter I believe. The *demarch*, as the highest administrative official in any *deme* was responsible for the execution of any resolutions that were passed by the assembly. The assembly was only convened when the *demarch* ordered it to be so (Whitehead, 1986, 122), which leads me to believe that this happened quite *ad hoc* from time to time. In times of war the *demarchoi* most likely functioned as military organizers who had to inform the local male citizens that they were called to arms. Since the organization of the army was strongly centred in Athens, where the generals were, it was paramount that there was a decent chain of communication that could mobilize all of Attica as fast as possible in cases of war. It is likely that the demes did not convene at the outbreak of war since that would only cost precious time to all. As we know from Aristophanes' play " The Acharnians" the communication between the urban and rural areas of Attica did not always go as smoothly as desired. In the play the inhabitants of Acharnai come to the city of Athens in order to find out why the urban Athenians allow their lands to be destroyed by the Spartans year after year.

Next to the right to convene the assemblies and execute their resolutions the *demarchoi* also had to take the oath of duty from new officials who were appointed by the assemblies. These duties seem to have been the officially approved duties that came directly from the *polis* itself. All *demarchoi* were bound to fulfil these tasks once they were elected or chosen by fate to serve their *deme*.

It could be so, however, that an individual *deme* decided to add tasks to the function of *demarch*. For instance, it could be expected from a *demarch* to oversee the cutting and erecting of *deme* decrees that were to be cast into stone. In an example from Eleusis it is stated that some exemplary citizens were to be rewarded with crowns for their deeds in the *deme*. In this case the honouring of these exemplary citizens was a local affair without the involvement of Athens. The citizens that were honoured did serve their *deme* in some way that proved to be valuable and so the *deme* itself decided to honour them. The crowns would be presented to them at the next Dionysia festival that was to be

held within the *deme* where the *demarch* would hand them over and honour them (Whitehead, 1986, 123). My first thought concerning the extra duties of a *demarch* was that it probably originated from the smallest of demes who did not have enough qualified people to create a new official function for occasions such as these. The example from Eleusis then severely weakened my assumption since Eleusis is in no way a small *deme*. The reasons for adding new duties to the function of the *demarch* therefore seem to be random and therefore it was a possibility in any *deme*. To me it still seems more logical that a small *deme* would combine several functions in one in order to decrease the number of needed officials.

1.8 Functions of the demes

We noted earlier on that the city of Athens, or the *polis* rather, controlled the enlisting of new members in its citizen-body. A strict control of the Athenian institutions over the affairs that affected the entire *polis* seems logical but did the *Ecclesia* and the *Boulé* extend their power even further than this into the local affairs of the demes? I will try to answer this question by going over the actual functions of the demes and what sort of role the *polis* played in these functions. First of all I should emphasize that not all demes worked in the same fashion, obviously because there was a huge difference between the number of inhabitants per *deme* but also because the demes were allowed to organize themselves in their own ways (Whitehead, 1986, 111). With this I mean to say that any *deme* was permitted to chose the form of its council, honour its demesmen with rewards and inscriptions and the casting into stone of whatever *deme* decrees they judged to be fit for that purpose. This particular fact, that demes could organize themselves in their own preferred ways, does not mean that the *Ecclesia* allowed the creation of councils or boards with executive power within the demes. The only freedom that was granted was that the demes were free to organize their *deme* to their own preferences, a freedom probably only granted because the *Ecclesia* did not intend to reorganize all of the one hundred-thirty-nine demes to a single organizational model.

The demes' official business consisted mostly of honouring demesmen who had proven themselves worthy to the *deme* or the *polis* of Athens as a whole, naturally the economic organization of the *deme* was also a very important aspect of the demes' official business (Whitehead, 1986, 112).

Sometimes, perhaps always, the *deme* decree was inscribed into stone to immortalize the honour that was granted by it. Another function that was played by the demes' assemblies was that of a court of law. Before a case was put before a jury-court the person accused or the accuser could appeal to their *deme*'s court of law in order to settle the affair. The decision of this court would be final and the case would be settled. The fact that the institutions in Athens did not involve themselves into this kind of affairs and allowed the demes to handle them is a little surprising at first. When one delves into Athenian law it becomes more clear though. The local affairs that were dealt with by the demes themselves were in essence private arbitrations since the judges were all volunteers and the case was voluntarily put before the *deme*'s court of law. The Athenian *Ecclesia* or the *Boulé* had nothing to say in these matters since they did not control private cases of arbitration and judgement. Public cases were only brought to the city of Athens when they were of crucial importance and involved homicide or other severe crimes (Whitehead, 1986, 114). We can imagine that courts of law could be held for trials that involved demesmen or inhabitants of the same *deme*. A dispute between members of different demes might have been a problem that could not be solved by a single *deme*, perhaps not even by the demes involved. In this sort of cases I imagine the *Ecclesia* would step in and handle the issue by ordering the *demarchoi* of the involved demes to sort things out or perhaps a court of law consisting of members of a non-involved *deme* would be set up to handle the case.

There are a few other functions for the demes to fulfil in the Athenian democracy. Firstly we should observe that the demes were established for a single purpose, the organizing of the Athenian state as a whole. Running a state works a lot more efficient, if all the towns and settlements are registered and organized according to a single system, pre-Kleisthenic Attica was clearly not organized and coordinated to a single system. After the Kleisthenic reforms, however, Attica turned into a single bureaucratic system that incorporated all existing villages. The fact that a single system made the governing of Attica a lot easier came mostly from the fact that revenues could be collected more efficiently. By revenues I mean the surplus of agricultural or industrial products from the rural and urban demes. Before the time of Kleisthenes there certainly existed registers of the inhabitants of the settlements of Attica but they lacked coherence and coordination which meant that revenues were not as efficient or complete as they could have been. With the organisation of the demes the

Athenian state was able to collect its revenues far more easily since they could now easily track down who owned what precisely and who lived where exactly.

Besides collection of revenue and the organization of local politics the demes had the obligation to regulate expenditure which included the managing of communal lands that belonged to the state (Whitehead, 1986, 114). Festivals and other religious activities were to be organized by the demes in which they took place. In most demes this was only a minor obligation since there were only a few shrines or sanctuaries to a local god or hero. In larger demes with important religious centres such as Eleusis or Sounion the obligation to organize the festivals and cultic feasts must have been much greater.

As a final obligation the demes had to appoint officials for both sacred and secular positions within the Athenian state (Whitehead, 1986, 114). As noted before, the *demarch* was the highest official in any *deme* in Attica as he held full administrative power over the other officials. There are essentially two ways a *deme* official could be chosen for his position, these are election and the drawing of lots or sortition. There is no real clarity as to which form of picking was used more than the other. Both elections and sortitions are attested, in the same *deme* at the exact same time and in multiple cases so it would be unwise to state that one of the two was not in use. David Whitehead proposes in his book that elections were originally the way to choose officials and that sortition was later on imposed by the state in respect of the *demarchoi.*

"we may perhaps perceive two processes at work—one a development over time, the other an administrative principle which emerged once that development had taken place. The likelihood must be that originally all deme official were elected, by election procedures (Whitehead, 1986, 115)."

It seems that he is right in his conclusion since the evidence from the fourth century BCE suggests that appointment by election was a rarity and only used in cases of special need or temporary occasions (Whitehead, 1986, 115). An official naturally had to be born as a free man and a son of a citizen of Athens before he could take up his works. It is known to us that some demes, perhaps all of them, let their officials go through a *dokimasiai.* This meant that the officials would be put through a final round of verification of their rights to stand for the office they were chosen for. It was also possible during such a *dokimasiai* to challenge an individual's right to the office he was chosen for. The objections

against the instatement of the individual that was chosen would have been laid before him and he had to defend himself against them (Whitehead, 1986, 116). The demes had to control and constantly test their own officials for any corruption or mistakes. From an inscription in the *deme* Halai Aixonides we know that the officials had to share their administration each month so it could be checked for any inconsistencies (Whitehead, 1986, 118). If an official was found guilty of theft or the abuse of his office he was penalized by specially appointed officials who had to swear a number of oaths to the *demarch* before they were appointed. Again, the significant difference between most demes, in size and population alike, most likely meant that this procedure did not occur everywhere in Attica. Very small demes might have been content with trying the accused official by a court of law consisting of demesmen, without the need to employ special officials to try the normal officials.

1.9 Material remains from the demes

Besides the above mentioned central meeting points theatres have also been excavated in a number of demes such as, Acharnai, Aixone, Eleusis, Eunonymon, Halai, Araphenides, Ikarion, Peiraieus, Rhamnous and Thorikos (Jones, 2004, 87, 140). Despite the fact that we do not know how often the inhabitants of these demes actually came into these theatres to enjoy musical or theatrical entertainment we do know, by the existence of the theatres, that they did in fact convene for entertaining purposes (Jones, 2004, 87). The theatres could of course also have been used for political purposes since they were probably capable of accommodating a larger crowd than the central meeting points of the demes. This is, however, only a theory since we do not have enough evidence in written texts or archaeological remains to firmly state that this actually happened in the countryside. In Athens itself the theatres were frequently used for political purposes which is a confirmed archaeological and historical fact.

Another important feature of important demes would be the construction of fortresses within or nearby the demes. Concerning the nature of Greek warfare until the beginning of the Peloponnesian Wars it is not surprising to find that very few sites were in fact fortified or protected by a fortress before that time. As the Peloponnesian War dragged along through the last half of the fifth century the Athenians realized they needed to protect Attica against the invasions of the Peloponnesians. At Aphidna, Anagyrous, Atene, Besa, Peiraieus,

Oinoe, Phyle, Thorikos, Eleusis, Rhamnous and Sounion fortifications dating from before or during the Peloponnesian Wars have been identified. Several of these sites might only have been part of a signalling network between Athens and Peiraieus which means they were neither important nor of impressive size. Atene and Anagyrous are possible candidates for this function (Whitehead, 1986, 401-402). At Sounion, Thorikos and Besa the fortifications were erected near the end of the Peloponnesian Wars and there is no mentioning of any strongholds there before that time. It seems that Athens did not reinforce its defence of the demes before the Peloponnesian Wars. This fact has as a consequence that is was very unlikely for Athens to garrison troops near or in demes on a permanent state. Only temporal garrisoning would have been possible by means of military camps and temporary fortifications. No garrisoning at all before the Peloponnesian Wars is also a option, though not quite conceivable. The Athenian army was made up of male citizens who came from the demes after all so it seems highly doubtful to me that they would not be garrisoned both inside and outside of Athens.

A third and final material proof of Athenian influence in the demes would come from the temples and other cultic buildings in my opinion. Religion or spirituality was everywhere in the world of the Greeks and therefore it must have played an important role in the lives of most of them. I assume that the Athenians would force their religious activities upon the demes by installing new cults and building new temples in honour of the gods worshipped by themselves. I will now describe the cultic sites in Attica known to us through the archaeological evidence. Any sites that are from before the seventh century BCE must be seen as original sites since it is not certain what amount of Attica was controlled by Athenians before that time.

We know that new cults were started at Rhamnous and Halai Aixonides, the goddesses Nemesis and Artemis were revered there from somewhere around the year 600 BCE (Van den Eijnde, 2010, 369). From the archaeological evidence we come to understand that the local cults of heroes and gods were no longer practised near the beginning of the sixth century BCE in Eleusis, Anagyros and Thorikos (Van den Eijnde, 2010, 370). Other cults, such as the Artemis cult at Brauron in the east of Attica, were simply taken over and introduced in the city of Athens in the seventh century BCE (Van den Eijnde, 2010, 131-133). The cult of Demeter and Persephone (or Kore) at Eleusis was not stopped by the Athenians but it appears that they stimulated it. Demeter was also brought to the city of Athens and worshipped there from the seventh century BCE onwards (Van

den Eijnde, 2010, 139). At Sounion we see the first emergence of a cult for two gods at the same time somewhere near the end of the eighth century. Both Athena and Poseidon were revered there from that time on (Van den Eijnde, 2010, 249-250). At Thorikos a cult of the dead was started somewhere in the eighth century. The building, or house, that was built for the cultic activities resembled the buildings that were built on multiple locations in Athens for the same cult (Van den Eijnde, 2010, 259-261). In the countryside of Attica, near Aixone and Halai Aixonides a sanctuary for Artemis was built in the seventh century BCE (Van den Eijnde, 2010, 294). It was also near the end of the eighth or the early beginning of the seventh century BCE that temples were first erected in the city of Athens.

Generally speaking we see an enormous increase in cultic activity throughout Attica from the end of the eighth century BCE onward (Morris, 1990, 23). This has led to the assumption that the Athenians finished their conquest of Attica by that time (Travlos, 1988, 52). The united people of Attica now lived in peace and under the protection of the aristocracy of Athens. Surely this would stimulate the flourishing of cultic sites and the construction of temples around Attica. This seems plausible but the decline of religious activity during the late seventh century that is visible all over Attica is then an odd event to explain. The fact remains nonetheless that the Athenians installed several new cults in the demes that were now under their control. Several cults, such as the Artemis cult from Brauron, were brought to the city of Athens and incorporated in the religious system there. At Brauron the sanctuary of Artemis remained in use and was always more important and larger than the Artemis cult in the city of Athens.

My conclusion on this topic will be twofold. Firstly, I strongly believe that the Athenians tried to reinforce its ties with the, perhaps newly, assimilated demes by the establishment or beautification of cults. In another way, the Athenians tried to tie the demes to itself by adopting the local cults. Secondly, I believe that because of the unification of Attica somewhere in the eighth or seventh century BCE the climate for the flourishing of religious activities improved strongly. The huge increase in cultic sites in the eighth century did come to be because of Athenian supremacy in the region but not necessarily by Athenian instigation in my opinion. Besides the fact that the Athenians gained full control of the entire peninsula of Attica at this time the population also grew fast. The founding of new cults was an effect of the growing population of Attica but I believe that the population growth could only have become reality through the

unification of Attica. Without peace it seems hardly likely that Attica would have seen such a growth of its population.

Overall we do not find any evidence of a strict rule of the aristocratic families of Athens in Attica. Few fortifications are built and none of them were of any importance before the Peloponnesian Wars. Sanctuaries sprung up all over Attica from the eighth century onwards but most of them must have come from local initiatives and not from an order out of the city of Athens. Theatres were built or expanded after the Athenian unification of Attica but this might also have been a local initiative instead of a way for the Athenians to reinforce their power over the demes. The idea of the aristocracy of Athens as a controlling elite is severely weakened by this conclusion.

2. The city of Athens

As mentioned earlier Athens already was an established community during the Mycenaean Period, it was, however, nothing more than just a nucleus of villages that clumped together with the *Acropolis* as their stronghold and religious center (Whitehead, 1986, 26). This remained to be so up until at least the eighth century BCE in the Archaic Age. We do know that Athens was a proper city with walls and the like from the year 500 BCE but for almost half a millennium it must have comprised of nothing more than just a handful of villages that together carried the name of Athens. The villages slowly grew in size and population until they reached each others boundaries. At this point the collection of villages was named *Athenai* which is plural because of the multitude of villages that were gathered under its name. At this point the population of the collection of towns must have exceeded that of a normal *polis* by far, not only because of the sheer size of *Athenai* at that time but also because of the high level of urbanization.

How this town eventually succeeded in conquering the entirety of Attica by means of force, diplomacy or trade is a story that has not been told thus far because we do not have enough evidence in both written and archaeological sources. The fact remains, however, that somewhere in the seventh century Athenians were lord and master of all of Attica.

2.1 From oligarchy to democracy

Just before the reforms of Kleisthenes Athens was under the control of both Spartans and Peisistratid tyrants which makes the transformation into a representative democracy quite noteworthy. Eric W. Robinson argues that the change from aristocracy to representative democracy did not come from Kleisthenes alone but mostly from the *demos,* the people of Attica (Robinson, 2004, 96). In the middle of the sixth century BCE the Athenian government, and therefore all of Attica, was ruled by the Peisistratids. The Peisistratids received their name from the founder of the tyranny, Peisistratus himself. The negative notion that we nowadays immediately join to the word 'tyrant' or 'tyranny' is just a general result of the modern free culture we live in today. Tyrannies or tyrants are and were not necessarily bad things but since we recognize them only as an

impediment to our freedom they are marked as 'evil' or 'villainous'. Ancient Greeks did not have a notion of freedom such as ours today so they simply referred to a tyranny when a single person was in charge. Whether this was a good or a bad thing was not really included in the meaning of the word. Since we know that the Peisistratids were responsible for a number of laws and decrees that greatly enhanced the financial position of individual inhabitants of Attica we might say that this tyranny was not so bad at all (Robinson, 2004, 98), from our perspective that is. The financial freedom that was given to the masses did give the Peisistratids the support of the people of Attica but not of the elite.

The elite, the aristocracy of Attica, had no single form of political power during the rule of the Peisistratids and they were aware of the growing financial power of the lower classes. Naturally the elite did not agree with the way Attica was ruled under the Peisistratids and they attempted to resist their rule. In the year 510 BCE the Spartan king Cleomenes I (Robinson, 2004, 96) decided that it was necessary to put an end to the Athenian tyranny by invading Attica and routing Hippias, who was the ruling Peisistratid and a son of Peisistratus (Robinson, 2004, 97). The first Spartan invasion was beaten back but the second attempt to subdue Hippias' forces was successful. As soon as the tyrant left Attica with his family the question rose who would rule Athens after him. Naturally the Spartans desired a government that would support them and obeyed them when needed. An oligarchy of a very select group of rich families would therefore be installed in Athens, the historical events took another way though.

During the time of the Peisistratids Kleisthenes the Alcmaeonid had been an important member of his family. After the fall of the tyranny his star rose even further as he proposed a series of reforms in the *Boulé* that would empower the masses even further and grand them more political rights. Kleisthenes' reforms were stopped though by the actions of Isagoras, another influential member of the Athenian *Boulé* (Robinson, 2004, 97). The Spartan king Cleomenes I was informed of the proposals of Kleisthenes and he decided to march into Attica with an army in order to ensure the loyalty of the Athenians to Sparta. Kleisthenes was exiled from Attica, as were a great number of other influential Athenians that supported his cause. According to Herodotus a total number of over seven hundred families were forced into exile by the Spartan king (Herodotus, 5.72.1). All seemed to be lost for the progressive movement that was accelerated by Kleisthenes when he proposed his reforms.

When Isagoras and Cleomenes went a few steps further in order to gain total control over Attica they overstepped some sensitive boundaries of the Athenian people though. The *Boulé* was to be disbanded and all political power had to be transferred to a body of three-hundred loyalists who would follow the demands of the Spartans to the letter (Robinson, 2004, 99). The *demos*, the Athenian population, did not accept this and besieged Isagoras and Cleomenes who occupied the Acropolis with their troops (Herodotus, 5.72.1-2). Eventually the Spartans negotiated a truce with the Athenians and they left Attica while the Athenians that collaborated with them were executed in Athens. The exiled families, along with Kleisthenes himself, were recalled to Athens by the Athenian population. The proposals that Kleisthenes had put before the *Boulé* before he was exiled were now accepted as official reforms and put into action. The Spartans were not ready to give up on this case yet though and they invaded Attica again in order to try to reestablish an aristocracy under the leadership of Isagoras. The Athenians were not so easily subdued this time and the Spartan forces were routed back towards the Peloponnesos. One could almost envision a parallel between these events and the defense of Revolutionary France after the fall of the monarchy. In both cases the fate of the progression of democracy was at stake, in Attica on a much smaller scale than in France but it might nonetheless have been a conflict with much more importance for the future of democracy.

After the defeat of the Spartans the Athenians established their *polis* as a fully independent entity that could rival the military power of Sparta. Soon Athens would be the most important *polis* in the Greek world. The Athenian democracy would last until the conquest of Greece by the Macedonians in the final quarter of the fourth century BCE, which means it existed for almost two-hundred years straight (Sinclair, 1988, 22).

There is, however, and naturally, a discussion raging among historians about the motives that Kleisthenes might have had with his proposals. Firstly, we should paint a picture of the position of a member of the elite families of Athens during that time. As a member of an aristocratic family the growing power and independence of the masses had to be seen as a danger to the power that was traditionally kept within the aristocracy. The Peisistratid tyranny was a bad time for the Attic elites since they stood powerless at the whims of the tyrants who empowered the masses. Peisistratus himself instilled the masses of Athenian citizens with a sense of political independence by hosting festivals and

construction programmes (Robinson, 2004, 96). The first and foremost goal of the elite after the fall of the Peisistratid tyranny was to regain political power and eliminate the political power of the masses (Robinson, 2004, 100). Kleisthenes, however, did not do any such thing when the proposed his plans to the *Boulé*. He did the contrary of what would be expected of a man of his position, he proposed a further increase of political power for the masses and no increase of power for the elite whatsoever. The reasons Kleisthenes could have had for proposing such progressive, and therefore surprising, reforms are often divided into two opposing categories.

First, there is the idea of Kleisthenes as a pragmatic leader of the aristocracy who choose to side with the *demos* in order to strengthen the power of his own family. Since the *demos* were not really in power or powerful at all before the reforms he proposed himself it seems illogical that Kleisthenes would join forces with the masses. Another view of the persona of Kleisthenes would let him be a completely altruistic prominent aristocrat who felt nothing but good for the poorer masses of Attica. A politician with a vision for the future of democracy and the position of the people of Attica, he would not stick to the traditional course of the elite but stray from it and bring representative democracy to Attica (Robinson, 2004, 100-101).

Both of these views have a core of truth in my opinion, and since it is not certain as to what Kleisthenes true reasoning for his actions was we should accept the fact that he might have been a combination of both views. Naturally, it might have been so that Kleisthenes proposed his reforms simply to gain popular support and overrule the other aristocrats in the Athenian *Boulé*. After the expulsion of the Spartan army from Attica the people of Athens that called him back to the city could very well have forced him to stick to his proposals or even expand them further in their interest. The idea of Kleisthenes as a political puppet for the masses seems far-fetched since the masses were not in any way organized enough to put enough pressure on the shoulders of a prominent aristocrat. It seems more likely that Kleisthenes was indeed a pragmatic politician who wanted to gain more power than his opponents, once he was in control of the situation he probably realized that he would immediately lose all of his reputation and support if he did not put his proposals into action. There is a fine line between all of these theories though and something that is certainly true is that we will never know for sure what moved Kleisthenes in 508/7 BCE.

2.2 The Persian and Peloponnesian Wars

During the Persian Wars Athens had not achieved the status of a kind of pan hellenic city where the culture of all Greeks flourished yet. The main reason for the Persians to march on Athens and burn it to the ground was the aid that Athens gave to the Ionian rebellion against the Persian Empire a few years before 480 BCE. The rebellion failed poorly and the Persians were out for revenge against the Athenians so they invaded Attica. The landscape of Attica was ruined as well because of the Persian invasion, the population evacuated and the settlements destroyed. The Athenians did not spend much time mourning over the destruction of their homes though as they immediately started rebuilding the demes and the city of Athens itself. Since the Persian army was decisively defeated at the battle of Plataiae in 479 BCE the people of Attica were safe again from foreign invasions. The oath of Plataiae forbade the Athenians to rebuild the monuments that were destroyed by the Persian soldiers during the invasion and sacking of Attica but only thirty years after this oath a major building programme under the supervision of Pericles started in all of Attica. From this time (449 BCE) until the beginning of the Peloponnesian Wars the Athenian state flourished like never before with tribute coming in from a number of city-states and allied powers. The power of Athens, however, scared the Peloponnesian city-states, and mostly Sparta, into a hostile attitude which then later on led to the Peloponnesian Wars. The same situation as during the Persian invasion was forced upon the Attic population some fifty years later than that event had happened. At the beginning of the first of the Peloponnesian Wars (Loukopoulos, 1973, 11) mass evacuations into the city of Athens and the destruction of the rural demes by the Spartans must have devastated the local society and production of food and other industries of the demes so much that full recovery was virtually impossible for the rest of the war. Permanent occupation of the countryside was not the case however since the Spartans only remained in Attica for a number of weeks each time they invaded. The longest invasion organized by the Spartans and their allies lasted for only forty days but since it took place in the middle of the harvesting season the agricultural production of Attica was practically reduced to nothing (Osborne, 1987, 13). The economy of Attica was hurt badly repeatedly during the Peloponnesian Wars and this made reconstruction and reorganization a hard task to achieve. Since the Spartan armies were firmly superior to the Athenian men-at-arms it was not

possible for Athens to properly protect the rural demes from the destructive force of the Spartan army.

Near the end of the Peloponnesian Wars the Athenians moved to protect their borders against hostile invaders by creating fortified positions near the frontier with Boeotia and along the coastlines of Attica. By doing this they secured the Attic landscape again but since the population was severely diminished by famines and diseases it was impossible to regain momentum and Athens had to surrender to Sparta and its allies in 404 BCE (Loukopoulos, 1973, 11).

After the loss of the Peloponnesian Wars the Athenian empire was severely weakened and unable to regain its position of most powerful Greek *polis*. Athens surely did try to rebuild its empire through new alliances and treaties but it never became as powerful as the Athenian Empire from before the Peloponnesian Wars. Despite this fact Athens remained a very important player in the political world of the Greeks. The fact that Athens fought back the invading Persians at the beginning of the fifth century BCE gave the *polis* an enormous prestige in the entire sphere of Greek influence. When the Macedonians defeated the combined forces of the Greek *poleis* Athens' power was no more. Macedon took over control of Attica and added demes and *Phylae* to the system in order to permanently stamp its control over the peninsula into history. The *deme* system that came from the hand of Kleisthenes was still in use but after almost two-hundred years the idea of representative democracy was no longer alive in Attica. Later on the Athenians allied themselves with the Romans in order to drive the Macedonians out of Greek lands. This succeeded but instead of being able to return to a sovereign state the Athenians first became clients to the Romans and later on they were assimilated into the Roman Republic together with the rest of Greece.

3. Demes of importance (see Figure 2)

The demes of Attica, one hundred-thirty-nine in total, are too great in number to all be treated here. Therefore I have made a selection of demes that I will use as case studies in order to get an all-round view of the relationships between the demes and the democratic institutions in Athens. I will shortly explain my choices of demes here and then I will follow that up with a description of the selected demes, in alphabetical order of course.

3.1 A selection of demes

The first *deme* I have chosen for further research is Acharnai, and with good reason I believe. Not only was Acharnai the *deme* with the largest population by far, it was also an anomaly in the Attic landscape because of its size and the number of its inhabitants. Acharnai was home to at least 6600 people (since it had 22 *Bouleutai*) which immediately makes this *deme* a unique settlement in Attica. The general view that the Athenians seemed to have had concerning the Acharnians is expressed in 'The Acharnians', a play by Aristophanes. In this play the people of Acharnai are portrayed as simple beings, charcoal-burners and peasants. In another ancient author's writings, those of Pindar, the Acharnians are said to have been very brave people. The *deme* seems to have been an independent entity before it was annexed by Athens. The anomaly of Acharnai therefore certainly needs to be discussed below.

Aixone is the next *deme* that I will further research. Not only was Aixone a *deme* with quite a substantial population of at least 2400 human beings (since it had 8 *Bouleutai*) but it was also located at the coast of Attica, making it a possible trade hub for the Athenians. Despite the fact that Peiraieus was the most important trading port for Athens it can not have been the only port that involved trade in all of Attica. The plains surrounding Aixone were heavily used for agriculture by the inhabitants of Aixone. Because we know that Attica could not provide enough food for its entire population all the time it must have been the case that demes with fertile lands such as Aixone were cultivated to a very large extent (Moreno, 2007, 32). The production of cash crops for export might very well have been an important feature of the landscape surrounding Aixone.

With the profits gained from these export products the people of Attica could afford to import the all important foodstuffs that they needed to survive.

Next I have chosen Aphidna, and not only because it is the second largest *deme* in Attica with a population of at least 4800 souls (since it had 16 *Bouleutai*) but also because Bronze Age remains have been excavated here. This means that the site was most likely also used in Mycenaean times, which then immediately increases its importance to my research. If Aphidna was inhabited during the Mycenaean Period it could very well have been an independent city or a client to a more powerful neighbouring Mycenaean settlement. The relationship between this, already established, settlement and Athens is much more interesting than it would be if Aphidna would have come into existence later on.

My next choice is the *deme* of Eleusis. This *deme* was most certainly already an ancient site when it was annexed by the Athenians. Remains of Bronze Age tombs have been found, as well as a Mycenaean building that could very well have been the first temple to Demeter. Next to the fact that Eleusis was an already established city long before it was taken by the Athenians (Travlos, 1988, 91) it also had another very important feature. The mystery cult of Demeter that was located at Eleusis got an important role in establishing the cultural identity of the people of Attica after the uniting of the peninsula by Athens. The fame of the cult of Demeter spread throughout the Greek world and later it got even more important because the Romans universalized the cult by allowing anyone to be initiated. Initiation was of major importance since the non-initiated were not allowed deep inside the temple and they were absolutely not allowed to join or even observe the rituals that were performed by the initiates. Since Eleusis held such an important function as a major religious centre it seems likely that the relationship between Eleusis and Athens was quite different from other such relationships. Naturally Eleusis was still dependant on Athens and fully under the control of the Athenian government. But the cult of Demeter must have had some freedom in order to organize their festivities and spread their cult as far as they did. This promises to be an interesting *deme*.

Marathon comes next in my research. This *deme* is known for the famous battle that the Athenians fought there against the Persian invaders but it must also have had some other importance. Marathon had quite a large population of a least 3000 people (10 *Bouleutai*) and was surrounded by fertile lands like Aixone. This must have increased its importance to Athens tremendously because of the potential production of food there. Marathon does not seems to

have any further importance next to that of a food producing *deme* so a more or less regular relationship with Athens should be the case here.

Sounion is the next *deme* that I will treat below, and an important one at that. Despite the fact that Sounion did not even belong in the top fifteen of the largest demes it was a very important *deme* for Athens because of its strategic location and the religious centre that was placed there. At Sounion a sanctuary for both Poseidon and Athena was erected, the first appearance of any cult activities point at the seventh century BCE as the starting point for this dual sanctuary. Athena was the goddess of Athens of course, but also of the entire Attic peninsula according to the founding myth. Poseidon held quite some importance to the Athenians also because he was the god of the sea and supported or destroyed sea-faring people at will. At Sounion the largest temple for Poseidon in Attica was erected during the large-scale building programme of Pericles, this was in the second half of the fifth century BCE but before that time smaller buildings functioned as temples for Poseidon. Sounion was not only an important religious site for all of Attica but it was also a vital strategic point for the Athenian fleet. Since Sounion is located at the most southern, and therefore last, piece of Attica it controlled the sea surrounding its cape. Especially during the Peloponnesian Wars this must have been a critically important stronghold to the Athenians. The relationship between Sounion and Athens therefore has to be quite interesting.

The next *deme* of my selection is Thorikos. Thorikos, like Sounion, did not house a large community of people, the religious importance of Thorikos is also negligible however. The main reason for the importance of the *deme* of Thorikos could be found in the silver mines of the area. The income from the mining of the silver apparently yielded over a hundred *talents* to the Athenian treasury each year if all went well (Loukopoulos, 1973, 22). This steady income certainly strengthened the financial position of the Athenians. Thorikos was a city long before it was captured or assimilated by the Athenians, this seems to have been somewhere in the ninth century BCE already since the amount of wealthy grave-gifts in Athens suddenly increases at that time. During the Peloponnesian Wars the income from the silver mines must have been of extreme importance to the Athenians and we might suspect that they kept a sharp eye on that specific *deme* during that period. Next to the silver mines the *deme* of Thorikos does not seem to have been that important for Athens so no extraordinary relationship is to be expected between the two of them.

3.2 The individual demes

3.2.1 Acharnai

Acharnai or Acharnae presents us with an anomaly in the Attic landscape because of its sheer size alone. The *deme* could be found some sixty stadia north of Athens according to Thucydides (Thucydides, 2.21.2; Travlos, 1988, 1) and it was the only inland *deme* of the *Phyle*, or tribe, VI Oineis. The *deme* of Acharnai had a baffling total of twenty-two representatives for the *Boulé* which means the population must have been somewhat more than seven times the average of all the demes. After multiplying the amount of *Bouleutai* with the number of people they represented, three-hundred being our utmost minimum, we can conclude that Acharnai must have had a population of well over six-thousand souls (6600 to be precise, but precise numbers can not be considered realistic in this case). When Thucydides wrote that a number of three-thousand hoplites came from the *deme* Acharnai he must surely have been mistaken since the total population of the town consisted mostly of people that were not fit for military service (Thucydides, 2.19.1). The number of male citizens represented by a single *Bouleutai* is usually put at sixty so the available manpower in Acharnai would have been about twelve-hundred to thirteen-hundred soldiers. The number of Thucydides therefore must have been a exaggeration or it was wrongly copied by those that came after him.

Despite this fact Acharnai still is by far the largest *deme* in Attica while the second largest *deme*, Aphidna, had only sixteen *Bouleutai*. From such a large settlement we should suspect quite some infrastructure and public buildings since Athens must have been quite aware of the importance of the Acharnian *deme*. There is, however, very little evidence to suggest the existence of an extended infrastructure at the site of Acharnai at all. The town might already have existed in the Bronze Age or during Mycenaean times since remains of a Bronze Age settlement have been found near Nemesis which lays close by the site of Acharnai. A Mycenaean *tholos* tomb has been excavated south of Menidi, which supposedly bordered with Acharnai (Hope, 1958/59, 292-294). The borders of the *deme* of Acharnai are attested though so there is no real certainty whether any of these remains really belonged to an early settlement of

Acharnians (Vanderpool, 1965, 166-175, cited by H. Lohmann in Der Neue Pauly).

The archaeological remains that certainly did come from Acharnai point to a very productive society that worked the land in order to harvest agricultural products such as oil and wine. Another important trade in Acharnai must have been that of charcoal-burner since the archaeological remains show evidence of the heavy burning of charcoal in the forests around Acharnai and the Athenian playwright Aristophanes wrote vividly on this subject in his comedy 'Acharnians'. Much evidence for a town centre, or the earlier mentioned central meeting point, is not discovered yet since no excavations whatsoever have been executed there, but we should assume that a town that was multiple times the size of most other demes must have had these features.

One thing we do know about the *deme* of Acharnai comes from Pausanias as he writes about the cults that were located there in his guide of Attica. Both Ares and Athena were revered in Acharnai during his time and there must have been temples in honour of these gods as well (Pausanias, 1.31.6). One thing we know for sure is that the temple of Ares was moved to the Athenian *agora* in the first century BCE but we can not be sure whether this temple was already erected during or before the time of Kleisthenes or even before the Athenian conquest or assimilation of Acharnai. It is surprising to me that such a large *deme* has yielded so little evidence to this day. Not only is it a fascinating anomaly to study but its site is also known to us. The lack of interest of archaeologists in a *deme* such as Acharnai is regrettable since an excavation might yield very interesting evidence which could shed some light on the infrastructure of the demes.

3.2.2 Aixone

The precise location of the ancient *deme* of Aixone is not known to us today, but we can make a fair guess. Through the works of Strabo we know that Aixone must have been on the coast, somewhere between Halimous and Halai Aixonides (Eliot, 1962, 6). The first excavations that took place near Aixone were sparked by the remains of antiquity that apparently lay visibly above the ground. Mycenaean tombs have been discovered in the area, together with some Geometric graves. These clearly indicate that Aixone was inhabited during

Mycenaean times (Eliot, 1962, 17). The fact that Geometric graves are also found in the same area means that the settlement of Aixone must have been inhabited from the Bronze Age onwards. The remains of the ancient village have never been found though so we can not conclude on how that was shaped precisely. Evidence suggests that the village of Aixone might have been spread out quite a bit though since it was located along the coastlines but also a bit more inland (Eliot, 1962, 21). We can draw this conclusion from the fact that cemeteries have been excavated both north and south of where the supposed centre of Aixone must have been (Eliot, 1962, 21). From the fact that the surrounding area was very fitting for farming we can conclude that Aixone was so large because agriculture was practiced quite heavily in the area. This must have been the case since the need for food was strong in Attica all through ancient times since the peninsula could not feed its population with its own produce every single year. A theater has been excavated in Aixone (Jones, 2004, 87, 140) which indicates that the *deme* was of some importance and wealth. Since only ten demes with a theater have been excavated to this date, it seems likely that a settlement had to be quite wealthy and important before a theater was built there. Of course there is also the idea that a lot of demes had simple theaters made out of wood or dug into a hillside which is why we can not find any remains of them. Aixone, as said before, was fairly large. With a representation of eight *Bouleutai* the *deme* must have had at least two, to two and a half, thousand people living within its borders which was the size of a small *polis* in the rest of the Greek world. The usually accepted population for a *polis* is set at 3000 which means that nine demes in Attica had a larger population then an average *polis*, quite an extraordinary idea. Because of the lack of remains uncovered through excavations I can not say much about the importance of Aixone to the Athenian *polis* but what is certain is that it was at least used as a harbor and it provided a fair amount of agricultural products.

3.2.3 Aphidna

The *deme* of Aphidna was, as stated before, the second largest *deme* of Attica when the Kleisthenic reforms took form. With a total of sixteen *Bouleutai* it must have had a population that neared the number of five-thousand souls. This is significantly lower than the number of people that lived in Acharnai but Aphidna

was still about five to six times larger than an average *deme*, which makes it an anomaly. Just as we saw with Acharnai, Aphidna is the only *deme* of the inland *Trittyes* of IX Aiantis (While Acharnai naturally belongs to VI Oineis). On its own Aphidna was responsible for about one third of the *Bouleutai* for the entire *Phyle* of IX Aiantis while another large *deme* in that *Phyle,* Marathon sent about one fifth of the total amount (this would be ten *Bouleutai*). It is no surprise then that the entire *Phyle* of IX Aiantis consisted of no more than six demes, the smallest number of demes in any *Phyle*.

Aphidna was already inhabited in the mid-Helladic Period and it even had its own mythical founding tradition (Hommel, 1939, 330). We know that the *deme* of Aphidna actually consisted of multiple towns that were all grouped under the name Aphidna. Clopidae, Eunostidae, Hyporeia, Perrhidae, Petalidae, Thyrgonidae and Titacidae were all part of the *deme* of Aphidna but apparently a few of these towns achieved the status of *deme* for themselves during the Macedonian period (in 307/6 BCE to be precise) (Traill, 1973, 87-91). The *deme* of Aphidna was part of the ring of fortresses that Athens erected along its borders to protect Attica from foreign invasions during the Peloponnesian Wars (Goette, 1993, 245). In the Mycenaean Period the town of Aphidna seems to have been quite important and powerful as it controlled all of the land surrounding it. As said, it was part of a chain of fortifications and even in the fourth century BCE there still stood a mighty fortress there (Goette, 1993 245). The fact that Aphidna had such a large population could be the reason it was fortified, the people had to be protected.

3.2.4 Eleusis

The *deme* of Eleusis was famous throughout antiquity because of the mystery cult of Demeter that was established in the city. This mystery cult was established, according to myth, by the hand of king Keleos who was first thought the art of agriculture by Demeter herself there (Goette, 1993, 272). I say city here because Eleusis had existed from at least the eighteenth century BCE and was one of the Mycenaean strongholds that controlled the lands of Attica during the Mycenaean Age (Travlos, 1988, 91). It was competing for power with the Athenian families of that time on economic matters and it probably also had a capable military force (Loukoupoulos, 1973, 55-56). After Athens gained control

over Eleusis, by what means we do not know unfortunately, the city became a mere *deme* and lost its independence entirely to the Athenians. Eleusis was and is located some twenty-one kilometers west of Athens.

The first mentioning of the cult of Demeter (and Kore) and the reason for its founding was written down in the sixth century 'Hymn to Demeter' by an unknown author (Loukopoulos, 1973, 55). The cult itself was much more ancient than this hymn and was most likely an evolved family ritual of the local elites, perhaps from as early as the Bronze Age (Loukopoulos, 1973, 55). The Mycenaean *megaron* that has been found below the classical temple to Demeter has been identified as the earliest building dedicated to Demeter (Loukopoulos, 1973, 56). In the Eleusian mystery cult it was forbidden for the non-initiated to enter the temple and join in the festivities. Only those that were initiated, and the initiation process took quite some time and effort, were allowed to fully celebrate the Eleusian mysteries together with their fellow initiates. Emperor Hadrian is probably the most famous person in antiquity to be initiated into the Eleusian mysteries. After his initiation he put a lot of effort into a building programme at Eleusis (Loukopoulos, 1973, 54).

According to Athenian legends the Athenian kings Erechtheus (Welwei, 1992, 39), Theseus and Ion fought and eventually conquered the Eleusians. Pausanias wrote that Eleusis lost its independence somewhere during, what we know as, the Late Helladic Period. More modern writers such as K.W. Welwei agree with this idea and put the conquest of Eleusis by Athens around the fourteenth century BCE (Welwei, 1992, 39) All we know for sure is that the final conquest and annexation of Eleusis by the Athenians happened somewhere during the lifetime of Solon, the date has been set to approximately 600 BCE (Loukopoulos, 1973, 56). Earlier conquest by military or economic means might very well have been going on for centuries so the assimilation of Eleusis might have started as early as the fourteenth century. The reason for the importance of Eleusis is not its rich mineral reserves or the strategic value of its location, as we see at respectively Thorikos and Sounion, but the cult of Demeter. The *deme* of Eleusis, not a city anymore by that time, was large enough to send eleven representatives to the *Boulé*. The total population of Eleusis would then most likely have been at least 3300 people in all which means it housed more people then an average *polis* of that age. This also means that Eleusis was in fact the fourth largest *deme* in Attica when it came to population. It is remarkable that Eleusis got to be so large since the only truly unique aspect of the town came

from the mysteries that were held there each year.

These mysteries were the most important part of the town's existence since they were a strong religious tradition that had lasted for centuries. But the mysteries of Eleusis were not a manifestation of freedom for the Eleusians, on the contrary the Athenians seemingly controlled the entire cultic activities from at least as early as the seventh century BCE (Aristotle, 57.1; Walker, 1986, 112). The office of *árchon epónymos* was created in order to control, among other things, the cult of Demeter in Eleusis, this happened as early as 683/2 BCE. The procession, that was an important part of the mystery cult since it was a part of the initiation process, was strictly controlled by the Athenians (Travlos, 1988, 177-190). Since the cultic activities were under such firm control of the Athenian *polis* one would suspect that the material evidence from Eleusis also shows clear Athenian influence. The most clear sign of Athenian supervision over the Eleusian Mysteries was the fact that there were two different forms of the Mysteries, the Lesser Mysteries and the Greater Mysteries. The Lesser Mysteries were actually held in Athens, this is where the list of candidates for the initiation into the Mystery cult was created. So only with Athenian approval could one make it to the list of people who were to be initiated later on in Eleusis (Goette, 1993, 272).

This expectation appears to be right since there is a clear increase in building activities at Eleusis from at least as early as the sixth century BCE (Welwei, 1992, 241). What we see there might have been the work of Solon, any of the Peisistratids or Kleisthenes. It seems very well possible that Peisistratus or his son Hippias encouraged and stimulated the construction of religious buildings near Eleusis since their general strategy was to create a more cohesive population of Attica. Then again, it might also very well have been the work of Solon or Kleisthenes since they were also in charge of the Athenian state for a while. Whoever might have been the one that ordered the construction programme at Eleusis, one thing that is certain is that the Athenian state regulated this programme. Without the consent of the *Ecclesia* it must have been impossible for Eleusis, a fairly large *deme* as it was, to plan its own construction works. This was naturally also the case because the city of Athens held the state treasury and without funding nothing could be done then and now.

The buildings that once stood in Eleusis are many and lots of them have been excavated by now. The most important construction was of course the sanctuary of Demeter, or the *Telesterion*, which was an ancient building even for Greek standards. The *Telesterion* was enlarged and changed on several

occasions of which most were in the Roman Period. During the time of Peisistratus and Solon in the sixth century the sanctuary to Demeter was enlarged and beautified (Goette, 1993, 275). Inside the sanctuary there was also place for the reverence of other gods beside Demeter or Persephone/Kore. Asklepios and Artemis were honored with temples at Eleusis. The cult for Asklepios, as can be expected, was based around the idea of spiritual healing received from the god at his sanctuary. The *Asklepeion* at Eleusis does not differ from this as it was something of a resting place for sick or disfigured people who came to seek the aid of Asklepios (Goette, 1993, 275).

Eleusis was quite important in Attica and the rest of the Greek world because it housed such an impressive religious center and it was an ancient site with a substantial population.

3.2.5 Marathon

Marathon is best known for the tremendous victory of the Athenian hoplites versus the invading army of the Persian king Xerxes in 490 BCE. Besides the fame gained from this victory Marathon had additional value for the Athenian state. The size of the population of Marathon was considerable since they were represented by ten *Bouleutai*, this would indicate that a number of at least three-thousand people lived in the *deme*. The first settlements in the area of Marathon emerged long before the Mycenaean Period, Neolithic and Early Helladic remains of a settlement have been found near Nea Makri which was located within the *deme* of Marathon (Onasoglou, 1991, 62-66, 1991, cited by H. Lohmann in Der Neue Pauly). Ancient Marathon was not, and this is still nothing more than an assumption today, founded at the same location as the modern village of Marathonas that exists today. We do know that Marathon must have been somewhere in the coastal area of eastern Attica where the land consisted mostly of a flat plain.

As with so many other demes, we do not know the exact location of the *deme* centre, or central meeting point, of Marathon and we should not expect it to be just a single one in my opinion. Since the *deme* Marathon consisted of multiple towns, these being Marathon, Oenoe, Probalinthus and Tricorynthus, we should assume that there also were multiple central meeting points for the population of these settlements. Naturally all four of these towns were grouped

together under the *deme* of Marathon so they had but a single government to look to (Travlos, 1988, 219). Several sanctuaries have been found in the *deme* of Marathon such as the Gymnasium of Heracles and the *Temenos* of Athena. The original building date of these monuments is unknown to us though so it is hard to determine whether they were build by the Athenians after the unification of Attica or before that time.

  The Battle of Marathon of the year 490 BCE was commemorated in both Athens and Marathon because of its tremendous importance for the whole of Attica. The Persian army that invaded Attica landed at the coast near Marathon and intended to march on Athens and burn it to the ground. The Athenian army, not reinforced by their Spartan allies, stood alone against the numerical superior force of the Persians. But the balance of power in this battle was far from equal since the Persians, despite their greater numbers, did not have adequate weaponry or armor to counter the Greek *phalanx.* The heavily armored Greeks crushed the Persians and drove them back to their ships. They could do this because their commander, Miltiades, conceived of a cunning plan to surround the Persian army and force them backwards to the sea. The typical Athenian *hoplite* was armored with bronze or iron chest armor and heavy bracers around his arms. The standard weapon for a *hoplite* at this time was a long pike which he held in his right hand next to his heavy round shield. When the Greeks went into battle they closed ranks and formed the *phalanx*, a tightly packed formation of heavily armored soldiers with long pikes. The first few lines of the *phalanx* would present their pikes to the front, thereby creating an almost impenetrable wall of sharp points that directly faced the enemy. The only known force to ever defeat a well-organized *phalanx* was the Roman legion and that was nearly three-hundred years after the Battle of Marathon. The Persians had quite a different kind of weaponry and armor which worked to the benefit of the Athenians. The Persians carried short swords, bows and short spears, their armor was not as thick or full as the Greek's was and they lacked the mobility of a large cavalry force. The outnumbered Athenians fought the Persians back and lost only one hundred-ninety-two soldiers in the battle while over three-thousand Persians fell near Marathon (Evans, 1993, 279-307). If the Athenians had not succeeded in halting the Persian army their city would have been destroyed. The events of the year 480 BCE prove this since the Persian army again invaded Attica in this year and this time succeeded in burning Athens and the rural demes. Eventually the Persians were driven out of Attica again by the concerted efforts of the Greek

city-states and Athens was allowed to begin rebuilding Attica.

The victory monuments that were dedicated to the Battle of Marathon were many in number. One of them can be found at the *Stoa Poikile* in Athens where the battle is remembered through a painting (Pausanias, 1.15.3). The most important monument to the great victory at Marathon was on the plain of the battle itself though. The fallen Athenian soldiers were not sent back to Athens and buried there, as was the custom in that time, but instead buried near Marathon. All fallen Athenians were buried together in a great burial mound around which later a memorial building was erected (Pausanias, 1.32.3). *Stelae* with names of the fallen were placed on this burial mound that was some nine meters high. It is clear that Athens wanted to show her military victories to any and all who would visit the plain of Marathon. Despite the fact that ten years later the Athenian military failed and almost all of Attica was demolished the focus must have been put on the glory rather than the failure of Athens in its monuments.

Another important monument that was strongly tied to the Athenian victory at Marathon was the cave of Pan. This cave, today known as 'Spileo tou Panos', was located in a hard to reach place at a mountainside (Goette, 1993, 267). It has an entrance of no more than two meters wide and once inside the floor and ceiling get closer and closer as one progresses into the cave. In this cave it is said that Pan used to live at the time of the Battle of Marathon. He supposedly helped the Athenians during the battle by instilling confusion and chaos into the ranks of the Persian army. Sherds from pottery that is clearly of Mycenaean age have been found in the 'Spileo tou Panos' however so we must assume that is has been used as a cultic site for many years before the Battle of Marathon took place. After the battle took place the cult of Pan received more attention from the Athenians though and the importance of the cave grew. Many dedications from the Classical Age have been found, as well as many Christian votive-gifts. Apparently the particular site of the cave, surrounded by wild natural elements, allowed it to be used by any religious conviction (Goette, 1993, 267).

So we find that Marathon had several reasons for its importance. Agricultural activities provided the *polis* of Athens with food while the religious elements of the *deme* turned it into an important cultic site. The victory near Marathon at 490 BCE turned the name of the *deme* into somewhat of a victory monument in itself as it lent prestige to the Athenians who fought off the Persians.

3.2.6 Sounion

The site of Sounion has been inhabited from the third millennium BCE onwards. Proof of this fact can be found in a handful of Helladic graves that were excavated there. Despite the fact that the earliest finds of cultic activity in this area can be traced back to the seventh century BCE the site is already named a sanctuary in Homeric times (Loukopoulos, 1973, 16; Goette, 1993, 203). according to the tale it is here that Menelaos buried his helmsman after the latter got killed by Apollo when their ship rounded the cape of Sounion. It is at this *deme* that the most important rural sanctuary of Attica could be found from the fifth century onwards.

Temples to both Athena and Poseidon were placed at the high points of the rocks from where they dominated the surrounding countryside. Pausanias reported that he could see the large temple of Athena from his ship when he traveled to Attica from Asia Minor. He must have been mistaken though since the site of the temple of Athena was located a bit more inland and it was not visible from the sea because it was not high enough (Goette, 1993, 203). There are several explanations as to how Pausanias could have identified the large temple on the rocks as the temple of Athena while the real temple was originally located some four-hundred meters to the north. Firstly, in Pausanias' time the real temple to Athena was moved to the *Agora* in Athens by the Romans so it was no longer visible at Sounion, the cult to Athena might therefore very well have been relocated to the temple of Poseidon which turns Pausanias' story into something more truthful (Goette, 1993, 203). The mythical story surrounding this sanctuary is strongly tied to the founding myth of Attica. When Poseidon lost the contest over the control of Attica to Athena he was infuriated but the Athenians decided to honor him and place him on equal footing with Athena at Sounion, the most southern place of Attica where the land's last bit meets the sea (Loukopoulos, 1973, 16).

It was only in the fifth century BCE that the Athenians recognized the strategic function of the cape of Sounion and built a fortified position there. This was also in order to protect the population of Sounion from any invading armies during the Peloponnesian Wars. The fort was built on the edge of the land and so the actual *deme*, the village, was located outside the walls of the

fortifications. Other than at Thorikos we see that one temple, the one dedicated to Poseidon, is within the fortifications here so it was protected from any destruction causes by hostiles. The village and the temple to Athena, however, are not inside the walls and they were as vulnerable to attacks as the buildings at Thorikos. Once again we see that the Athenian state rather saved her citizens than her monuments and other buildings. The fact that the temple of Poseidon does lie within the walls can probably be explained by its location at the very southern tip of Attica. The fortifications would have been built on top of the cliff regardless of the position of the temple, it just happened to be standing within the area that was protected by the walls.

Not only were there two important temples to the gods of Attica located at Sounion from the fifth century onwards but the location of the cape also allowed for religious festivals in the honor of Poseidon to be held every four years. Apparently boat races were part of these celebrations since the Athenians kept a special sacred boat that they used in these races (Loukopoulos, 1973, 16). It is at Sounion that king Aegeus threw himself into the sea when he saw the black sails of Theseus' ship when it returned from Crete to Athens. A shrine to the Homeric hero Phrontis was located some distance south from the temple of Athena. This shrine has been linked to Phrontis because a tomb has been found near the temple of Poseidon that is identified as being his last resting place. Tradition therefore states that the *heroon* must have been for Phrontis since his grave was also located at Sounion.

Sounion did not have much of a population. Only four *Bouleutai* were elected or chosen by fate each year. This number gives us the idea that no more than a thousand to fifteen-hundred people lived in the *deme* of Sounion. Despite this small number of inhabitants the *deme* was quite important on both religious and military level since multiple important temples stood there and the sea around the cape would be controlled by the one that controlled Sounion. The fortress that was erected at the very end of the cape did not only provide a shelter for the population of Sounion, it also protected the two docks that were located a bit to the north of the fortress from hostile assaults. These military docks were most likely constructed in order to be able to shelter any Athenian ships against hostile vessels. The Athenians could also use these docks to strike at passing ships from their enemies.

The *deme* of Sounion played a double role in the Athenian *polis* so it seems. Both in military and religious aspects this most southern *deme* of Attica

was a very important site to the Athenians. Besides the sanctuaries and the strategic location Sounion did not have any other significant features.

3.2.7 Thorikos

The site of Thorikos is located on Velatouri Hill which, in essence, consists of two hilltops. In between these hilltops remains from as early as the Neolithic have been found by archaeologists. Other interesting finds are a Mycenaean *tholos* tomb and two tombs from the fifteenth century BCE. These tombs indicate that Thorikos must have been an important site before and during Mycenaean times. The main reason for this fact can very well be found in the silver mines that were located here. The main source of wealth, and therefore power, for the rulers of Thorikos must have come from the income of the silver mines they exploited (Goette, 1993, 216). The settlement at Thorikos seems to have consisted of multiple quarters which were separated from each other by the hilltops they were built on. Besides ordinary houses for the population there was also a washery at Thorikos. This washery was a ingenious construction which allowed the Thorikans to purify the silver ore that they had mined while keeping the loss of water low during the process (Goette, 1993, 217). The town of Thorikos was not enclosed by a wall since the town was in a divided state, there was however a fortress near the coast which was probably used as a point of refuge. This fortress was built during the Peloponnesian Wars when the Athenians decided to establish a fortified border in order to protect their towns from attacks of their enemies. The fact that the fortress was not built around the entire town or even a small fraction of it indicates that the Athenians cared more about the survival of their demesmen than the safekeeping of the buildings in Thorikos. In the case of a raid by hostiles the population of Thorikos would be able to find shelter in the fortress but the silver mines, the washery, the temples and the theater were all vulnerable to the destructive force of the invading enemies. To me, it seems a bit strange that Athens did not protect its silver production against possible threats.

During the fifth century BCE a Doric temple was erected at Thorikos, the '*Telesterion*'. There is no real certainty concerning the god that was revered at this temple but the earlier mentioned 'Hymn to Demeter' might indicate that it was either Demeter or Persephone that was revered here. The hymn points out

that Demeter first came to Attica at the site of Thorikos, a sanctuary in her honor is therefore quite conceivable there. An inscription that might have belonged to the Doric temple was found in Thorikos and it stated that it belonged to "the two goddesses" which might point to the reverence of both Demeter and Persephone here (Goette, 1993, 218). Another temple, this one in the honor of Dionysos, was located next to the theater which I will describe later. It is more or less obvious that a sanctuary for Dionysos would be located next to a place of entertainment since the entire cult of the wine-god was based around the good things in life. Very little remains of this temple today and it is only identifiable by the cuts that were once made in the rocks there (Goette, 1993, 219). Besides the fortress, the temples and the washery there was one building at Thorikos that was more impressive and more interesting than the rest, the theater. This theater was probably originally made out of wood but since there are no remains of that early building we can not be certain that is really did exist. What we do know for certain, and that is because the remains speak for themselves, is that in the sixth century BCE a stone theater was built at Thorikos (Goette, 1993, 218). This theater was later on expanded in the fourth century BCE which indicates that even then enough funds were available to tend to the people's entertainment. This theater might have been used for local assemblies next to its primary function as a building of entertainment. As with all theaters it could seat the largest part of the town's population which would make it an ideal place to convene for local politics and gatherings.

Thorikos was not a very large *deme* compared to giants like Acharnai of Aphidna but it certainly was larger than most other demes. The number of *Bouleutai* varied between five or six since a single *Bouleutai* sometimes was appointed to another *deme* in the tribe V Akamantis. If we take the number of six *Bouleutai* we can conclude that Thorikos must have been inhabited by a number of people between fifteen-hundred and two-thousand. This number is purely based on the amount of *Bouleutai* though and it does not take into account the fact that we know that a great number of slaves were working in the silver mines and industry of Thorikos. Since the slaves are not represented in the Athenian democracy we have no idea of how many actually lived and worked in Attica (Moreno, 2007, 28). Estimates range from about thirty percent of the population to around sixty percent (Loukopolous, 1973, 12).

So we must conclude that Thorikos was quite an important *deme* for the Athenian *polis*. Not only were there several temples located there from the time

of the unification of Attica onwards but the silver mines of the area provided the Athenians with a very considerable income each year.

4. The inequalities between the demes

Table 1. The Attic demes and their Bouleutic representation

Tribe	*Deme*	Bouleutic representation	Notes
I Erechtheis (14)	Upper Agryle	2	
	Lower Agryle	3	
	Anagyrous	6	
	Euonymon	10	
	Kedoi	2	
	Kephisia	6	
	Upper Lamptrai	5	
	Lower Lamptrai	9	
	Pambotadai	1	Shared representation with Sybridai
	Upper Pergase	2	
	Lower Pergase	2	
	Phegous	1	
	Sybridai	1	Shared representation with Pambotadai
	Themakos	1	
II Aigeis (21)	Upper Ankyle	1	
	Lower Ankyle	1	
	Araphen	2	
	Bate	1 or 2	This number varied
	Diomeia	1	
	Erchia	6 or 7	This number varied

	Erikeia	1	
	Gargettos	4	
	Halai Araphenides	5	
	Hestiaia	1	
	Ikarion	4 or 5	This number varied
	Ionidai	1 or 2	This number varied
	Kollytos	3	
	Kolonos	2	
	Kydantidai	1 or 2	This number varied
	Myrrhinoutta	1	
	Otryne	1	
	Phegaia	3 or 4	This number varied
	Philaidai	3	
	Plotheia	1	
	Teithras	4	
III Pandionis (11)	Angele	2 or 3	This number varied
	Konthyle	1	
	Kydathenaion	11 or 12	This number varied
	Kytheros	1 or 2	This number varied
	Myrrhinous	6	
	Oa	4	
	Upper Paiania	1	
	Lower Paiania	11	
	Prasiai	3	
	Probalinthos	5	
	Steiria	3	

IV Leontis (20)	Aithalidai	2	
	Cholleidai	2	
	Deiradiotai	2	
	Eupyridai	2	
	Halimous	3	
	Hekale	1	
	Hybadai	2	
	Kettos	3	
	Kolonai	2	
	Kropidai	1	
	Leukonoion	3	
	Oion Kerameikon	1	
	Paionidai	3	
	Pelekes	2	
	Phrearrhioi	9	
	Upper Potamos	2	
	Lower Potamos	1	
	Potamos Deiradiotes	2	
	Skambonidai	3	
	Sounion	4	
V Akamantis (13)	Cholargos	4	
	Eiresidai	1	
	Eitea	2	
	Hagnous	5	
	Hermos	2	
	Iphistiadai	1	

	Kephale	9	
	Kerameis	6	
	Kikynna	2	
	Poros	3	
	Prospalta	5	
	Sphettos	5	
	Thorikos	5 or 6	This number varied
VI Oineis (13)	Acharnai	22	
	Boutadai	1	
	Epikephisia	1 or 2	This number varied
	Hippotomadai	1	
	Kothokidai	1 or 2	This number varied
	Lakiadai	2	
	Lousia	1	
	Oe	6 or 7	This number varied
	Perithoidai	3	
	Phyle	2	
	Ptelea	1	
	Thria	7	
	Tyrmeidai	0 or 1	This number varied
VII Kekropis (11)	Aixone	8	
	Athmonon	5	
	Daidalidai	1	
	Epieikidai	1	
	Halai Aixonides	6	
	Melite	7	
	Phlya	7	
	Pithos	2 or 3	This number varied

	Sypalettos	2	
	Trinemeia	2	
	Xypete	7	
VIII Hippothontis (17)	Acherdous	1	
	Anakaia	3	
	Auridai	1	
	Azenia	2	
	Dekeleia	4	
	Elaious	1	
	Eleusis	11	
	Eroiadai	1	
	Hamaxanteia	1	
	Keiriadai	2	
	Koile	3	
	Kopros	2	
	Korydallos	1	
	Oinoe	2	
	Oion Dekeleikon	3	
	Peiraieus	9	
	Thymaitadai	2	
IX Aiantis (6)	Aphidna	16	
	Marathon	10	
	Oinoe	4	
	Phaleron	9	
	Rhamnous	8	
	Trikorynthos	3	
X Antiochis (13)	Aigilia	6	

	Alopeke	10	
	Amphitrope	2	
	Anaphlystos	10	
	Atene	3	
	Besa	2	
	Eitea	1 or 2	This number varied
	Eroiadai	1	
	Kolonai	2	
	Krioa	1	
	Pallene	6 or 7	This number varied
	Semachidai	1	
	Thorai	4	

4.1 A list of the Kleisthenic Demes

Table 1 consist of a list of all one hundred-thirty-nine demes of Attica, with the name of their tribe and the number of their Bouleutic representatives. Note that all information herein is derived from John S. Traill's; *The Political Organization of Attica, A study of the demes, trittyes, and phylai, and their representation in the Athenian council*. His estimates are mostly from the fourth century BCE but he assumes that the demes did not undergo any noticeable changes since their establishment during the Kleisthenic reforms in 508/7 BCE. This assumption has been disputed several times since there is no clear evidence that the number of demes was fixed at one hundred-thirty-nine in 508/7 BCE, nor is it clear whether any new demes were added or not. I have also added the total number of demes within each tribe after the tribal name to enhance a clear view. As one can see from the provided list above there were over thirty demes that had the -ai- or -dai- at the end of their names. This can very easily be explained since family names were apparently used to name individual demes during the Kleisthenic reforms or before that (Whitehead, 1986, 25). Some demes share representation with others and some have variable numbers of Bouleutic representatives. This means that they either shared a representative with another *deme* or the estimate is of uncertain height. For example, the *deme* of Tyrmeidai of the tribe VI Oineis had either 0 or 1 representative for the *Boulé*. It seems logical that the

number would be one since the *deme* would otherwise not be in the official list of demes. On the other hand, the number of zero would indicate that Tyrmeidai shared a representative with another *deme* that was in VI Oineis. The sharing of representatives between demes that were not in the same tribe did not seem to be happening, but within the tribes we have enough evidence to suspect that a total of nineteen demes shared their representatives from time to time or permanently.

Table 2. Top fifteen largest *deme* populations

	Deme	*Phyle*/Tribe	Population
1	Acharnai (22)	VI Oineis	6600
2	Aphidna (16)	IX Aiantis	4800
3	Kydathenaion (11-12)	III Pandionis	3300-3600
4	Eleusis (11)	VIII Hippothontis	3300
5	Lower Paiania (11)	III Pandionis	3300
6	Alopeke (10)	X Antiochis	3000
7	Anaphlystos (10)	X Antiochis	3000
8	Euonymon (10)	I Erechtheis	3000
9	Marathon (10)	IX Aiantis	3000
10	Kephale (9)	V Akamantis	2700
11	Lower Lamptria (9)	I Erechtheis	2700
12	Peiraieus (9)	VIII Hippothontis	2700
13	Phaleron (9)	IX Aiantis	2700
14	Phrearrhioi (9)	IV Leontis	2700
15	Aixone (8)	VII Kekropis	2400

4.2 *Deme* populations

I used the information from table 1 to create a top fifteen of the demes with the largest population in table 2. I added the names of the tribes as well and the approximate population size, calculated by multiplying the amount of Bouleutic

representatives with the number of three-hundred. I came to this number by multiplying the number of male citizens that is usually said to be represented by one Bouleutic representative, sixty. Since free Athenians only made up about half of the total population and free male citizens therefore could not have made up more than about fifteen to twenty percent of the total amount of inhabitants of any *deme* it would be unwise to use the number of sixty. Multiplying the number of sixty by five brings us to a more reasonable number of three-hundred inhabitants per Bouleutic representative. The only tribe that does not have any demes that are large enough to make it into the top fifteen is II Aigeis, which is more or less logical since this tribe also has the greatest number of demes grouped in it. The fact that Acharnai is the only *deme* from VI Oineis to make the list is also an obvious notion to make since it is so huge that there is hardly any space left in that tribe for large demes. A short calculation shows that when added, the combined populations of the top fifteen demes equal the number of 49.500 which is exactly thirty-three percent of the total population of Attica. Naturally the total population could also have been 300.000 souls, as it is estimated at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War in 431 BCE (Loukopoulos, 1973, 12). What matters is not the total number of people living in Attica but the fact that the fifteen largest demes provided one third of that number. Since we know that there were one hundred-thirty-nine demes we can calculate that, 15/139= 0,1079, so only slightly more than ten percent of the demes housed about a third of the entire population. It does not come as a surprise then that a great number of demes had only a single representative to send to the *Boulé*. Forty-three demes, almost a third of the number of demes in total, actually had only a single representative. Some of these even shared a member of the *Boulé* as their representation each year. These settlements therefore had between a few hundred and half a thousand inhabitants and were, relatively speaking, extraordinary small compared to the largest of demes. On the other hand, in the rest of the Greek world, *poleis* existed that comprised of no more than half a thousand souls.

Table 3. The relative inequality between the *Trittyes*

	City		Coastal		Inland		Total	
	D	*B*	*D*	*B*	*D*	*B*	*D*	*B*
I Erechtheis	4	16	5	23	5	11	**14**	**50**
II Aigeis	8	11	5	14	8	25	**21**	**50**
III Pandionis	1	12	5	19	5	19	**11**	**50**
IV Leontis	5	13	6	20	9	17	**20**	**50**
V Akamantis	5	14	3	17	5	19	**13**	**50**
VI Oineis	8	11	4	17	1	22	**13**	**50**
VII Kekropis	3	15	2	14	6	21	**11**	**50**
VIII Hippothonthis	6	19	7	20	4	11	**17**	**50**
IX Aiantis	1	9	4	25	1	16	**6**	**50**
X Antiochis	1	10	6	27	6	13	**13**	**50**
Total	**42**	**130**	**47**	**196**	**50**	**174**	**139**	**500**

D= The amount of demes

B= The amount of *Bouleutai*

4.3 Relative inequalities in size and population

As we have seen, Kleisthenes divided the demes up into thirty *Trittyes* which were then distributed into the ten different *Phylai*, or tribes. Each tribe had to consist of three different *Trittyes*, one for the city, one for the coastal areas and one for the inland of Attica. There was, however, a great inequality in size of both the population and therefore the representation between the different *Trittyes* which is clearly shown in table 3 above (Traill, 1975, 71). If one looks at the total number of demes in the city, at the coast and in the inland of Attica one can not help to notice that the city has far less *Bouleutai* than the other two regions. This is not necessarily so because the city *Trittyes* contained far less demes. It is a fact that both the coastal and the inland *Trittyes* had more demes than the city *Trittyes*, but only a small amount more at that. There is only one tribe where the amount of demes in the city is higher than that in the coastal or

inland *Trittyes*, VI Oineis. The amount of city demes in this tribe is even higher than the number of coastal and inland demes combined but this may be for a good reason. The inland *Trittyes* of VI Oineis consists of only one *deme*, which would be Acharnai, which provides twice the amount of *Bouleutai* of the eight city demes in that tribe.

If we allow ourselves to jump into basic mathematics we will find out that for the city *Trittyes* $130/42 \approx 3,09$ and for the coastal *Trittyes* $196/47 \approx 4,17$ and finally for the inland *Trittyes* $174/50 = 3,48$. The number on the right side of these equations shows the average amount of *Bouleutai* per *deme* in the respective *Trittyes*. The information gained from these averages can not be used without looking at it with a more precise eye since we have seen that a single *deme* from the inland *Trittyes* could have a stunning twenty-two *Bouleutai* which certainly increases the individual average quite a bit. In the inland *Trittyes* we see another tribe with only a singular *deme*, IX Aiantis with Aphidna. Since Aphidna is also very large and supports sixteen *Bouleutai* on its own we must conclude that the average number of demes for the inland *Trittyes* is not truly representative for the full picture that we would very much like to have. The coastal *Trittyes* seem to be more or less equal in size and number of demes except for VII Kekropis which has only two coastal demes. The average *Bouleutai* per *deme* seems to be more or less the same for these demes however so we can use the average of about 4,17 *Bouleutai* per *deme* in our further discussions concerning the *Trittyes*.

For the city *Trittyes* there is certainly no such thing as a representative average since there are three separate tribes that have only one city *deme*. These demes, which belong to III Pandionis, IX Aiantis and X Antiochis, have an average Bouleutic representation of more than 10 which is more than three times the average of the total amount of city demes. Therefore we can conclude that the average amount of *Bouleutai* per *deme* for the city *Trittyes* is not usable in any discussion. When looking at the relative size of the *Trittyes* in both the city and the inland regions of Attica we should keep in mind that both averages have been increased quite heavily because of the existence of these huge demes and that the 'normal' demes had a much lower average than can be derived from the average of the total amount of demes in the respective *Trittyes*. This means that the demes in the coastal *Trittyes*, where the average of Bouleutic representatives is quite representative, are even larger in population still when compared to the other two regions. Since the total average of *Bouleutai* for the coastal regions is

fairly higher than the averages of the other regions and, when looked at closely, comparatively even higher still, the coastal demes must have been quite large comparatively.

The reasons for this seem abundant, trade was practiced mostly by water, coastal settlements were relatively safer than inland towns because of the protection of the sea, fishing provided an alternate source of food next to agriculture and the sea was an excellent route of escape for threatened inhabitants of coastal settlements. Settlements near the sea also had to fear for pirate attacks however. There is, however, a detail we should not lose out of our sights when looking at the demes. The demes were not established as topographic entities and not as individual settlements since they all already had certain amounts of land before the Kleisthenic reforms. In essence the reforms beheld nothing more than an official recognition of *deme* names and boundaries. The demes inside the city of Athens had some artificial boundaries between them, since it would otherwise be impossible to determine where one would cross from one *deme* to another (Bintliff, 1994, 235), but they were separated from the other demes outside of Athens by the city walls. The other demes, those in the countryside or the coastal areas of Attica had to be separated by some sort of *horoi*, which pointed out where the borders lay. For large demes, such as Acharnai or Eleusis, which were already inhabited during or before Mycenaean times it seems likely that the population was concentrated in a central settlement but for relatively newer demes this might not have been the case. It is very likely that, especially for the coastal demes, a less concentrated form of settlement could be found in the 'younger' demes. Atene, for example, appears to have had no center at all which leaves us with the question where the demesmen would convene. The fact that the majority of the demes, almost all of them that is, have not been excavated by archaeologists means that we can not be certain on a great number of subjects which includes the placement, or existence even, of central meeting points in the demes.

Since the territory of a *deme* virtually contains nothing more than one *deme* the boundaries indicate where the settlement ends and another settlement begins. But the population of any *deme* could have been spread out quite a bit, certainly if the coastlines or the rural landscape made this inevitable. The reason I say this is because the Bouleutic value of a *deme* might not necessarily have determined the size of the *deme* in square kilometers. Within the city walls, the five demes of Koile, Kollytos, Kydathenaion, Melite and Skambonidai (Whitehead,

1986, 26) must have had relatively small territories. In the case of Kydathenaion this is especially the case since this *deme* held no less than twelve *Bouleutai*. The average coastal *deme*, or inland *deme* for that matter, would have had a much lower number of *Bouleutai* while it very well could have had a much larger territory.

Concluding on this matter I can state that none of the *Trittyes* were in fact equal in size or population. The demes were masterfully joined together in the *phylai* who were equal in the size of their populations but that is the only logic to be discerned in the system of demes, *Trittyes* and *phylai*. The average numbers of *Bouleutai* show to us clearly that the coastal demes were usually larger than the other demes. Naturally there were exceptions such as Acharnai where the population was so great that it was the only *deme* that fit in the *Trittyes* of that *Phyle.* The enormous inequality in size and population between the demes is somewhat explained by the rate of importance of the demes concerned. If a *deme* had one or more factors that stimulated settlement it usually grew larger than a *deme* that did not have these factors. Eleusis, for example, had the cult of mysteries which attracted a lot of Attic people into joining it, because of this the size and importance of the *deme* of Eleusis grew more strongly than for example Daidalidai which had no important aspects whatsoever.

The *Trittyes, Philai* and demes were all artificial constructs of the Kleisthenic reforms since they did not exist whatsoever before these reforms. Before the establishment of the Kleisthenic reforms there were no organizational groups within the Attic population other than the *Genos.* The *Genos* was essentially not much larger than a family with all its branches and only the rich and powerful were members of a *Genos.* The majority of the population simply served one *Genos* or another and was not listed in any organizational system before the Kleisthenic reforms. Before the Kleisthenic reforms there were no ten tribes, or *Philai,* but only four which must have made it a lot more difficult to organize the population of Attica (Osborne, 1987, 128).

A clear influence from the democratic institutions of the city of Athens is absent in the *deme* system since the majority of demes already existed when the Kleisthenic reforms took place. The only immediately noticeable change would be that a fair amount of demes now received official names, all demes received official names in fact but most of these names were already in use for a very long time. The demes that did not have any generally accepted name before the

reforms were now named by Kleisthenes. In essence the newly named demes were forced to accept their given names since there was no such thing as a convention where votes were cast in order to determine what name would be best. In this matter the influence from the Athenian democratic establishment, or Kleisthenes if you will, was very direct and forceful since the decisions were made on a one-sided base and the demes had no influence at all. Naturally, the naming of a *deme* was merely a trivial issue as it derived nor provided any political or real power from a *deme.*

One thing that Kleisthenes did was not immediately visible from the reforms on out. Since he coupled demes from the rural areas, the coastal areas and the urban areas into *Trittyes* he essentially merged all aspects of Attic society into groups that represented the entirety of the population of Attica and not just specific groups or classes. The rural and coastal demes both had more representatives in the *Boulé* but the inhabitants of the urban demes occupied the *Ecclesia* for the largest part. Therefore representation was fairly equal between all three districts but legislative power mostly rested in the hands of the urban dwellers. Since there was a large difference in political convictions between the rural population of Attica and the inhabitants of the urban regions there was always some friction between the two. Farmers formed the middle class in Attica while the urban population mostly consisted of lower class proletarians with much more progressive ideas than the aforementioned farmers which resulted in events such as those portrayed in 'The Acharnians'.

I do believe that I have treated the various aspects of the Athenian *polis* sufficiently by now in order to be able to come to a conclusion concerning the questions I formulated in the introduction to this research. In the conclusion I will try to shape a definitive view on the Athenian democracy and the political, social, geographical and demographic relationships between the city of Athens and the Attic demes.

Conclusion

After having treated the history of Attica, the demes and the city of Athens I will now try to answer the questions that I formulated in the introduction. My study of the system of demes has yielded some interesting answers to my questions since these answers did not correspond with the expectations I had before the research. I expected to find that Athens was something like an imperial power, controlling the demes by installing religious cults and by building fortifications all over Attica. The construction of any buildings in the demes of Attica would have been restricted in this theory and only Athens would have had the authority to authorize any new building programmes. Because of this, Athens would have been able to control the way the demes were shaped and organized. I expected to find that Athens totally controlled the political aspect of life in Attica through the legislative power of the *Ecclesia* and the archons while the demes did not have any political power to wield. Even after the Kleisthenic reformations the demes would have been powerless and suppressed in their freedoms by the Athenian rule in my initial thoughts on the matter.

I will now go through the questions that I formulated in the introduction to this Thesis and describe what I expected the answers to be. After the answers that I expected I will formulate the answers that I have gotten through my research. In this way I want to create a clear view of how my initial ideas differ from the actual facts. To me, this seems to be a good way to determine whether the research has yielded any surprising answers or not.

The first question I asked concerned the potential threat of powerful demes versus the Athenian state. I expected the Attic demes to be nothing more than small villages with a population consisting mostly of peasants and therefore no threat to Athens at all. Not before the unification of Attica and not even after the reforms of Kleisthenes did the demes pose any threat to the power of the democratic institutions in the city of Athens in my initial thoughts. However, as we have seen in chapter 1 and 3 there were some demes that were able to challenge the power of Athens before the unification of Attica. Before the unification of Attica there were some *poleis* within the peninsula that were equal in power to the Athenians. Eleusis seems to have been one of the most important *poleis* in Attica that resisted Athenian rule since myths tell of the wars

between Athenian kings and the city of Eleusis. After the unification of Attica we see no open resistance against Athens anymore from the demes since the Athenian *polis* essentially consisted of nothing more than a collection of demes. Not even during huge crises such as the Persian and Peloponnesian Wars did the demes revolt or join Athens' opponents. No matter how surprising this was to me since I expected at least one case of revolt or secession from an influential and rich aristocrat who would change sides in a conflict, it is clear that the Athenians ruled unchallenged and united from the unification of Attica up until the time of the Macedonian rule. My expectation proved to be quite different from the historical truth since powerful settlements did exist in Attica and they did challenge the power of the Athenians. After the unification of Attica the historical facts are more aligned with my expectations since there was indeed never a threat from any *deme* against the unity of the *polis* of Athens.

The second matter I addressed in the introduction was the level of self-government that was granted to the demes by the Athenian *Ecclesia.* I expected the Athenians to have given some freedoms to the demes by giving them assemblies and local officials which were able to solve local issues without the need of Athenian intervention. The reason for doing this, in my opinion, would be purely pragmatic since it created an idea of freedom for the demes while in Athens overall control was kept at the most important political institutions. Of course Athens itself consisted of a number of demes which together formed the entity *Athenai,* so when I say Athens I essentially mean the *Ecclesia* or the *Boulé*. By letting the demes have their own elected officials and assemblies the demes would be less open to rebellion and secession in my initial opinion. After doing the research on this subject I found that my initial expectations were quite close to the actual historical facts. The Athenian *Ecclesia* did allow the demes to organize themselves and take care of their own affairs when it came to the judgment of individuals. The assemblies of the demes consisted of all the male citizens that lived in the demes and wanted to participate and were not controlled by the *Ecclesia* whatsoever. However, when we look at the process of being recognized as a citizen we find that the Athenian institutions did in fact control the demes' business completely. A man of the right age and lineage was in essence allowed to enter the ranks of citizens of Athens after being tested by his *deme*'s assembly. The Athenian *Boulé* had the definitive word in this matter though since it could overrule the decision of the assembly and keep individuals away from citizenship while it could also turn a decision to reject someone's

application into an acceptation into the citizen-body of Athens.

The representatives that were sent to the *Boulé* by the demes did not, as one might expect, have any particular interest in furthering the interests of their *deme* in Athens. Instead these politicians were more focused on furthering their own political careers in Athens which meant they were, in essence, not tied to their demes but solely a part of the *Boulé*. The *deme* assemblies that chose which men they would sent as representatives to the *Boulé* consisted of male citizens that were generally accepted by the *Boulé* so essentially the entire local assembly was controlled by the Athenian institutions. It seems clear to me that once a person was accepted into the *Boulé* he no longer represented his *deme* or locality except in name. Instead of furthering the needs of his own *deme* he would try to further his political career by allying himself to other politicians. So the *Boulé* had, in essence, no local ties or responsibilities. The local officials such as the *demarch* had some responsibilities, but they all had to answer for their acts to the Athenian *Boulé* after their term had passed.

So it appears as if the *Ecclesia* did give the demes a form of local self-government but instead they controlled the entire political arena of the demes by being the decider on who could join it and who could not. The rural and coastal demes never revolted against the political power of the institutions in Athens such as the *Boulé* and the *Ecclesia* as far as we know today and it seems clear to me why this is. The demes enjoyed some political power on the surface which must have been the reason why they were content with the situation for hundreds of years. The Athenian *polis* did have a representative democracy for sure but it was a democracy directed by the five-hundred members of the Athenian *Boulé* and ruled by the decisions of the Athenian *Ecclesia* which mostly consisted of the inhabitants of the urban demes. Self-government for the demes was in essence a reality on a local level but in extraordinary cases, such as trials concerning homicide, the *Boulé* or the *Ecclesia* were the institutions that made the final decisions. These extraordinary cases were extremely rare though so I should add that there was hardly ever any need for either the *Boulé* or the *Ecclesia* to exercise its power over the local assemblies of the demes.

The next issue in my introduction was the matter of religion and spirituality. To what extent did the Athenians try to create a single cohesive religious entity out of the Attic demes by forcing their beliefs upon them? An entirely different view would have had Athens adopt local cults in order to tie the demes to the city. My first thoughts on this matter where as twofold as the

above mentioned views. I believed Athens to be quite something of an imperial power that desired to tie the demes to itself by forcing the reverence of the Athenian gods upon them. The construction of sanctuaries in the demes would naturally come from the hands of the Athenians as they were the only ones with the authority to begin large constructions. On the other hand, it seemed very logical to me that Athens also incorporated some local cults, possibly from the most powerful of demes, in order to be stronger related to those settlements. The efforts of Athens would purely be motivated by a desire to control and steer the course of the demes of Attica in my expectations.

As we have seen from the research I have done it would seem that my expectations were not very right. The Athenian assembly did in fact build a number of sanctuaries in some of the important demes such as the Poseidon temple at Sounion or enlarged others that already existed such as the *Telesterion* at Eleusis. By doing so the *Ecclesia* established new cults all over Attica that were already practiced in Athens. On the other hand, Athenians did also 'borrow' local cults, such as the one for Artemis from Brauron, and incorporated them into the pantheon of gods that was already worshiped in the city. There they were incorporated into the Athenian pantheon and revered along the other already established gods. In the case of the Artemis cult of Brauron we even see that the Athenians spread this cult further into Attica. The founding of new cults and the building of sanctuaries was most likely a local endeavour however and the only influence from the city of Athens came most likely from the fact that it had enabled a peaceful environment in Attica after the unification of the peninsula. The Athenians did not build new sanctuaries in order to tighten their grip upon the demes since the Athenian *polis* was simply a collection of demes which was governed from a singular center. Local benefactors from the aristocracy must have been much more important factors for the founding of new cults and the erection of new or larger sanctuaries. The idea of the city of Athens as an imperial power which sought to control the villages in its territory has proven to be false since there was essentially no such thing as 'the city of Athens'. The demes within the walls together formed *Athenai,* but they were of no more importance or prominence than the other demes in Attica. The only noticeable difference in power between the rural, coastal and urban demes lay within the *Ecclesia* since that legislative institution was, because of practical reasons, mostly consisting of urban dwellers. Despite the fact that the non-urban population was far larger in number than the urban population it was severely underrepresented

in the *Ecclesia*.

My next question concerned the influence of religious and political activities in the daily life of an average Athenian citizen. The involvement of the model citizen in political and religious affairs was also part of the question. Initially I expected religion to be more important to the daily life of an Athenian citizen than politics, simply because the Attic democracy was not based on a daily participation of all members. Religion on the other hand was everywhere in the ancient Greek world since sacrifices had to be made before harvests, dinners, travels, marriages and so on. I very much expected the average Athenian citizen to be more active in religious activities than in political ones. My expectations proved to be quite right this time. The political impact upon the daily life of an average citizen living in Attica was undoubtedly smaller than the religious impact since politics just were not all around every day. The *deme* assemblies convened from time to time, but probably not more than a few times each month and most likely much less than that. The amount of local issues was likely not so much that a weekly convening of demesmen was necessary. However, this is only a theoretical suggestion since there is no proof of any quantity in *deme* assemblies. And even if we could say that the *deme* assemblies created an impact upon the daily life of a citizen there is still the matter of participation to consider. We can not know for sure whether all eligible male citizens actually participated in the *deme* assemblies. Some might not be able to attend the assembly since they are away from their *deme* on business or on a pilgrimage. Others might not be rich enough to lose the pay of a day's work by traveling to the assembly, this would only apply to the very large demes of course since most demes could be traversed in a few hours at most.

Despite the fact that Athens was a representative democracy from 508/7 BCE onwards its citizens did not routinely participate in the works of that democracy. The *deme* assemblies were more *ad hoc* as we have seen and they held no true political power of their own which virtually means that the average Athenian citizen did not hold very much political power himself. The only people that were surely active in politics were the five-hundred members of the *Boulé* and those that were a member of the *Ecclesia.* The members of the *Boulé* were most likely serving a singular term of one year before they were replaced by another member of their *deme* (Osborne, 1985, 45). This means that each year a number of five-hundred adult Athenian citizens had to be chosen for the *Boulé* which meant they could not fulfill their normal duties in their demes. Surely this

means that a large number of Athenian male citizens participated in the democracy but they did not do so every day or even every year while on a religious or spiritual level all Athenians participated on a regular basis. In religious matters all Athenians high and low most likely participated each day. Most religious practices were likely to be small personal offerings or dedications made by individuals but this means that religion was everywhere and it impacted on everyone every day. In the end most of the Attic males probably served a term in the *Boulé* or in some local assembly or jury-court, which is an incredible achievement for such a large population in such a large territory. But, political affairs did not influence the vast majority of the Athenian male citizens on a regular basis as religion and spirituality did. Despite this fact I believe it is clear that the workings of the Athenian democracy enabled any man who wanted to participate in it to actually do so as long as he was a citizen. This is radically different from any government types that existed before the birth of democracy in Attica.

I now answered all the questions that I formulated in the introduction of this thesis and compared the resulting answers with my initial expectations from before I started this research. I will now summarize my research results and conclude this thesis with a proposal for further research.

The aim of this thesis was to uncover the political, social, geographical and demographic relations between the city of Athens and the Attic demes. I believe I succeeded in uncovering at least a fair bit of all four of these aspects of the relationship since I myself have changed my mind concerning the organization of the Athenian state. The Athenians rose to power after the downfall of the Mycenaean civilization in the twelfth century BCE and dominated the peninsula of Attica for more than five centuries. During this time the villages of Attica were tied to the Athenian state by *deme* assemblies, the *Ecclesia* and the *Boulé*. The Athenian democracy came to be after a breaking point in history where the Athenian people revolted against Spartan control of their city. After the revolt the Athenian popular politician Kleisthenes virtually destroyed the power of the rich Athenian families which together had ruled Attica for centuries by enforcing a series of reforms which granted political power to all male citizens of Attica. This democracy, the first of its kind, did not end up as a great equalizer for the population of Attica since the rich families retained a lot of power in the political establishments of Athens such as the *Ecclesia* since they did not need to be elected to be a member of that institution. It did organize and regulate the

demes of Attica to such a degree that all officially recognized male citizens were able to participate in the democracy. The demes received a limited amount of power in this democracy since all decisions made locally could be overruled by the *Boulé* or the *Ecclesia,* this, however, happened rarely. The Athenian democracy succeeded in making Attica a cohesive and united region since there was never a time that any part of the peninsula revolted or separated itself from the Athenian *polis* after the unification.

The Athenian democracy had many flaws, many set-backs and many opponents but it persisted to exist after it was established by the hand of Kleisthenes in 508/7 BCE up until the time of the Macedonian dominance in the late fourth century BCE because all participants in it were kept satisfied by the division of political power. The *Boulé* perfectly represented the inhabitants of all of Attica and ensured that their issues were prepared for the assembly, the *Ecclesia.* The imbalance in power between the urban demes and the coastal and rural demes in the only legislative power, the *Ecclesia,* was somewhat balanced out by rich and influential individuals within the *Ecclesia* who had interests in the rural and coastal areas of Attica. To conclude, the Athenian democracy did not work as intended by Kleisthenes when he implemented his reforms, but it worked nonetheless. In order to increase our knowledge on the organization of the Athenian state and the role the demes played in that system it is paramount that the demes outside of the city are excavated. Excavating the rural and coastal demes might lead to fascinating finds and it also could allow us to expand our very limited view on the workings of these demes. Archaeologists seem to be unwilling to spend their time and resources into excavating rural and coastal demes as long as their priorities lie within the city of Athens, a regrettable fact in my opinion.

"One might say that cities are founded upon the fields and based on the countryside. From the fields come wheat, barley, grapes, wine, oil: food for men and food for other creatures too. If there were no oxen there would be no ploughing, sowing or planting, no herds of grazing cattle. And there would never have been cities. Once founded cities have been linked to the fortune of the countryside, their prosperity and their demise depends on the countryside." (Libanius of Antioch, cited in Robin Osborne, 1987).

Luke Hendriks

Abstract

In this thesis the political, social, demographical and geographical relationships between the demes of Attica and the city of Athens are investigated. Because of the size of the *polis* and the political organization of it Athens was an anomaly in the ancient world. Democracy was first implemented in Attica in 508/7 and therefore Athens played a unique role in history. The large number of settlements, or demes, that together formed the *polis* of Athens shared political power in the *Ecclesia* and the *Boulé* and although this power was never divided among them equally, the system worked for almost two centuries. Many demes housed larger populations than a normal-sized *polis* outside of Attica did so we must wonder how they were organized and how their size influenced their political power in the *polis* of Athens. Through archaeological remains and written sources the importance of several unique demes is clarified and the balance of power that existed in democratic Athens is confirmed.

   Through research we come to find out that very large demes located in the rural or coastal areas could very well have less political power than a much smaller *deme* within the city-walls of Athens. The reason for this is simple, the *Ecclesia,* or assembly, was the only legislative power in the *polis* and the great majority of its members came from the direct vicinity of the city since they were the only ones able to participate in the democratic processes of the *polis* on a daily basis. The rural and coastal areas of Attica therefore wielded less legislative power despite their superiority in numbers of inhabitants. Through equal representation in the *Boulé* the demes retained a certain amount of power though so the system, that was implemented by Kleisthenes in 508/7, essentially worked.
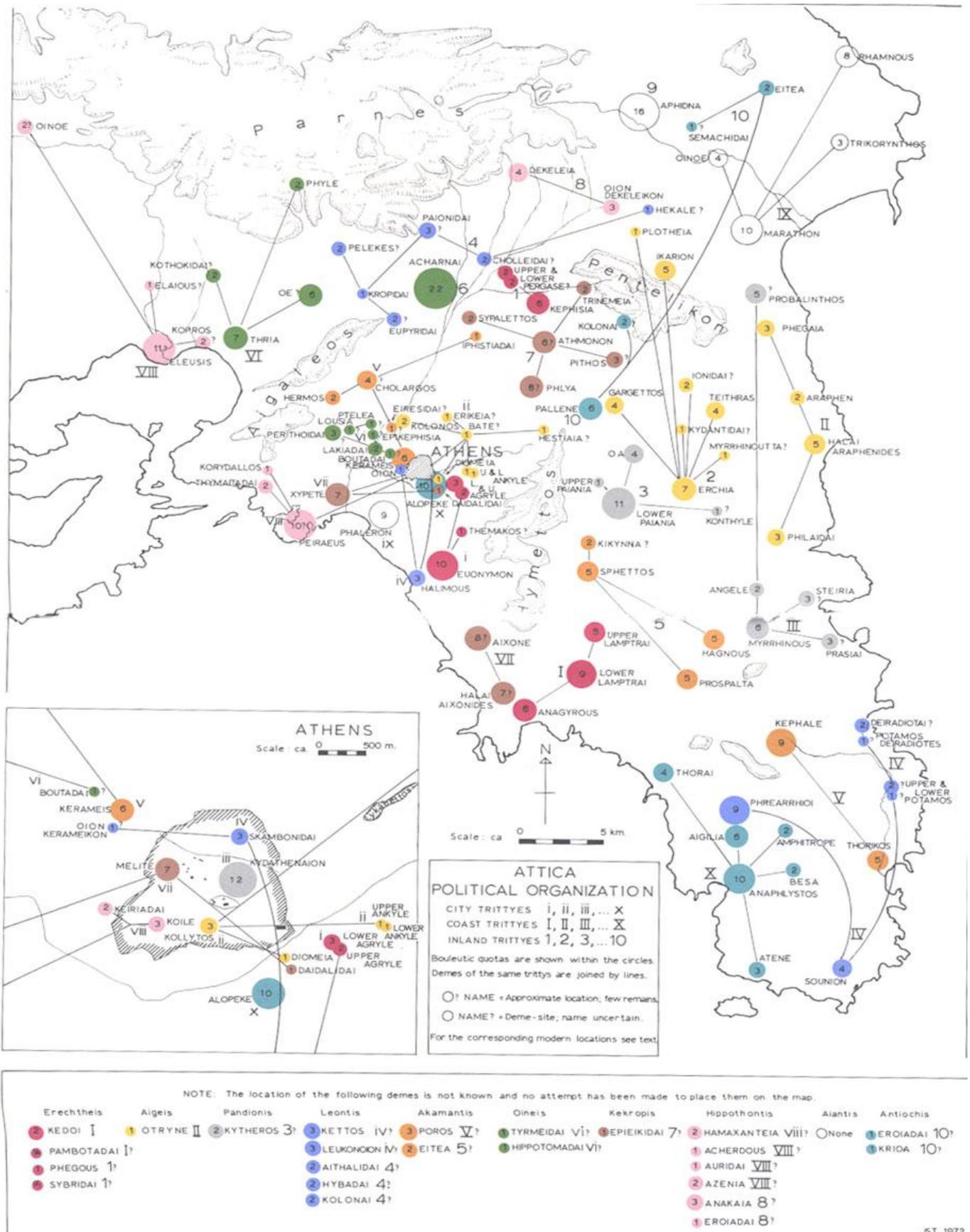
Political maps of Attica

ATTICA

Tanagra
Oropus
Sanctuary of Amphiaraus
RHAMNUS
Boeotia
Oropia
OENOE
APHIDNA
Diacria
TRICORYNTHUS
OENOE
Parnes
HECALE (?)
PHYLE
DECELEA
MARATHON
Lipsydrium
PAEONIDAE
Tetrapolis
ICARIUM
COAST
OE (?)
ACHARNAE
PROBALINTHUS
THRIA
CEPHISIA
Pentelicon
ELEUSIS
Aegaleos
ATHMONUM
Salamis
Corydalus
LEUCONOE (?)
PHLYA
COLONUS
PALLENE
HALAE ARAPHENIDES
LACIADAE
BUTADAE
Athens
CERAMEIS
OA
ERCHIA
Salamis
AGRYLE
Long Walls
ALOPECE
PIRAEUS
Eetionea
XYPETE
Hymettus
PAEANIA
Acte
Munichia
PHALERUM
Brauron
PHILAIDAE
EUONYMUM
SPHETTUS
HALIMUS
AEXONE
MYRRHINUS
HALAE AEXONIDES
LAMPTRAE
ANAGYRUS
HAGNUS
COAST
CEPHALE
Aegina
PHREARRHII
AEGILIA
THORICUS
ANAPHLYSTUS
Maronea
Laurium
SUNIUM

CITY — Cleisthenes' three regions
Boeotia — Region or island
(boundaries are purely schematic)
Parnes — Mountain range
Acte — Towns etc
ACHARNAE — Demes

Land above 200 m

0   10
km

Figure 1. The three regions of Attica after the Kleisthenic reforms.

Figure 2. A map of Attica with a number of demes' locations. Traill (1975) map 2.

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Illustrations

Figure 1. The three regions of Attica after the Kleisthenic reforms.

http://www.utexas.edu/courses/greek606q/gk606qimages2.htm

Figure 2: A map of Attica with a number of demes' locations.

http://www.skidmore.edu/academics/classics/courses/2003fall/hi201/traill3.jpg