

Political Activity and the Organization of Attica in the Fourth Century B.C.

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IT IS GENERALLY BELIEVED that the political organization of Attica introduced by Kleisthenes in the years after 508/7 was maintained unchanged for two hundred years. Most historians hold, with Traill's fundamental study,¹ that the creation and distribution of 139 (?) constitutional demes over thirty *trittyes* and ten *phylai* was upheld from *ca* 500 to 307/6 B.C. and that the number of seats in the *boule* assigned to each deme goes back to Kleisthenes, although the attested quotas are all later than the restoration of the democracy in 403/2.²

An essential aspect of Kleisthenes' reforms was to combine membership in a deme with residence in the deme (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 21.4); but as deme membership was made hereditary, all scholars acknowledge that the original territorial organization of the citizen body must have become increasingly artificial in the course of the classical period. So the student of fourth-century Athenian institutions is faced with two basic questions: (1) to what degree was the original settlement pattern preserved, *i.e.* how many fourth-century citizens happened to reside in the deme to which they belonged? (2) to what degree was the political organization preserved, *i.e.* was the distribution of politically active citizens over the three Attic districts (Asty, Paralia, Mesogaïos) the same in the fourth century as when Kleisthenes created the districts and fixed the bouleutic quotas for all the demes? I shall begin with the second question.

For the relation between deme membership and political activity we have three types of evidence: (a) inscriptions recording *bouleutai* and so the bouleutic quotas, *i.e.* the number of seats in the *boule* assigned to each deme (and accordingly to each of the thirty *trittyes* and

¹ J. S. TRAILL, *The Political Organization of Attica* (*Hesperia* Suppl. 14 [1975], hereafter 'Traill'). In this article I accept Traill's conclusions as to the location of demes and their distribution over *trittyes* and tribes.

² Bouleutic quotas go back to Kleisthenes, *cf.* Traill 103. No attested bouleutic quotas earlier than the fourth century, *cf.* *Athenian Agora* XV 2–56. We have only one prytany dedication from the fifth century, which Traill believes to be incomplete (*Agora* XV 1). On this inscription and *IG* I³ 1040 see *infra* n.10.

three districts); (b) prosopographical information in all sources about citizens acting as *rhetores* and *strategoï*; (c) dicastic *pinakia* recording the names and demotics of citizens who served as jurors. As the bouletic quotas have been discussed frequently, I focus here on the other two types of evidence and their relation to the bouletic quotas.

I have previously published an inventory of 368 citizens attested as proposers, speakers, prosecutors, ambassadors, and generals in the period 403–322.³ The demotic is known (or conjectured) for 211 of these; to this figure we can add 29 proposers and ambassadors for whom fragmentary inscriptions record the demotic but not the name.⁴ A total of 240 citizens is too small a sample for a study of single demes,⁵ but quite sufficient to investigate the distribution of *rhetores* and *strategoï*⁶ over the three districts:

| District | Total | Percentage |
|-----------|-------|------------|
| Asty | 63 | 26% |
| Paralia | 86 | 36% |
| Mesogaios | 91 | 38% |

We have from fourth-century Athens 190 bronze allotment plates.⁷ The *pinakia* were used for two different purposes: the daily sortition

³ “*Rhetores* and *Strategoï* in Fourth-Century Athens,” *GRBS* 24 (1983) 151–80.

⁴ *IG* II² 34.36–37 (Alopekethen, Phrearrios); 140.7 (Eleusinos); 157.5 (Porios); 175.4 (Acharneus); 204.84 (Lamptreus); 205.9, *cf.* *SEG* XIV 51 (Steiries); 207.27 (Euonymus, Acharneus); 220.4–5 (Rhamnousios); 223B.10 (Pambotades); 229.7 (Phrearrios); 244.1 (Aphidnaios); 253.2 (Sphettios); 263.5 (ek Kedon); 276.3 (Potamios); 336.6 (Lakiades); 343.3 (Anagyrasios); 358.8 (307/6?) (Kydathenaieus); 361.7 (Alopekethen); 367.9 (Meliteus); 403.5 (Lakiades); 410.1–2, *cf.* *SEG* XXII 94 (Skambonides); 800, *cf.* *SEG* XXI 289 (Sybarides or Sypalietios); 1128.40 (Phlyeus); 3207.4 (Myrrhinousios); *Hesperia* 3 (1934) 3–4 no. 5 (Thriasios); 8 (1939) 26–27 no. 6 (Anagyrasios); 9 (1940) 327–28 no. 36 (Paianieus). Some of these may be identical with some of the persons for whom we know the full name. The spokesman of *IG* II² 244.1, for example, may be either Kephisophon Kephalionos or Demetrios Euktemonos.

⁵ This is apparent from a survey of attested *rhetores* and *strategoï* from some of the major demes (with five or more *bouleutai*; Traill 67): Acharnai 13, Aphidna 9, Lamptraï (both) 7, Paiania (both) 14, Kydathenaion 5, Eleusis 6, Alopeke 10, Euonymon 5, Anaphlystos 4, Marathon 2, Peiraieus 2, Phrearrioi 2, Phaleron 2, Kephale 2, Aixone 5, Rhamnous 7, Melite 1, Phlya 2, Erchia 6, Xypete 0, Thria 2, Kephisia 5, Pallene 6, Kerameis 4, Anagyrasios 6, Athmonon 0, Myrrhinous 4, Halai (both) 1, Oe 3, Aigilia 0, Sphettos 10, Thorikos 3, Ikarion 1, Hagnous 2, Probalinthos 2, Prospalta 0, Agryle (both) 0.

⁶ If we split up *rhetores* and *strategoï* and record the various activities separately, we get the following percentages. *Rhetores* in the *ecclesia* and in the *boule* (total 132): Asty 23%, Paralia 34%, Mesogaios 43%. Prosecutors, defendants, and *synegoroi* in political public actions (44): Asty 25%, Paralia 43%, Mesogaios 32%. Ambassadors (66): Asty 27%, Paralia 41%, Mesogaios 32%. *Strategoï* (53): Asty 23%, Paralia 47%, Mesogaios 30%.

⁷ See the fundamental study by J. H. Kroll, *Athenian Bronze Allotment Plates* (Cambridge [Mass.] 1972), with the seven more he adds in an article forthcoming in *GRBM* 10.

of jurors and the annual sortition of magistrates. Bronze *pinakia* were used for the sortition of jurors in the second quarter of the fourth century, and for sortition of magistrates in the second and third quarters. I leave out of account the *pinakia* used exclusively for the sortition of magistrates and focus on those dicastic *pinakia* which still attest the deme membership of the jurors: for 86 *dikastai*, recorded on 52 different *pinakia*, the demotic can be read or restored, revealing the following distribution over the three districts:⁸

| District | Total | Percentage |
|-----------|-------|------------|
| Asty | 20 | 23% |
| Paralia | 36 | 42% |
| Mesogaïos | 30 | 35% |

For a proper evaluation of the percentages recorded in these two tables it is important to keep in mind that the three districts were unequal in size and population, as is demonstrated by the bouletic quotas. If we add up the quotas for the various demes as attested in the fourth century and later, the figures are: Asty 130, Paralia 196, Mesogaïos 174 (*cf.* Traill 71). A comparison of all three types of source gives the following percentages for the three districts:

| District | <i>Rhetores</i> and | | |
|-----------|---------------------|------------------|-----------------|
| | <i>Bouleutai</i> | <i>Strategoi</i> | <i>Dikastai</i> |
| Asty | 26% | 26% | 23% |
| Paralia | 39% | 36% | 42% |
| Mesogaïos | 35% | 38% | 35% |

It is significant that the three different types of evidence give almost the same percentages. The correspondence among the figures becomes even more remarkable when we realize that the bouletic quotas, as a source, differ from the other two in important respects. The bouletic quotas, we are told, were fixed by Kleisthenes and do not necessarily reflect the actual political participation in the age of Demosthenes. And in fact quite a number of councillors did not attend the meetings (Dem. 22.36). It is a fair guess that many of those absent were councillors belonging to the Paralia or the Mesogaïos and still living in their demes. Hence the bouletic quotas were, in a way, artificial, and the *bouleutai* attending the meetings may have

⁸ The dicastic *pinakia* are those of Classes I–II (19 *pinakia* with 46 uses as dicastic *pinakia*), IV (17 *pinakia* with 44 uses), and V (36 *pinakia* with 71 uses). The sum is 72 *pinakia* with 161 uses. Of the seven new *pinakia*, 3 are dicastic with 11 uses. The sum of uses is not beyond doubt since some *pinakia* of Classes IV and V were reused as Class VI.

betrayed a very different representation from the three districts. The two other types of source are of a different kind. Both the *rhetores* and *strategoï* and the dicasts were volunteers, and the percentages listed above must reflect the actual political participation of citizens from the three districts (the percentages of course represent deme membership and give no information about residence).

We may assume that in the fourth century the distribution of active *bouleutai* over the three districts was similar to the distribution of *rhetores* and *strategoï* and of dicasts.⁹ Accordingly, as the percentages suggest, the actual distribution of those *bouleutai* who attended a session was probably not very different from the composition of the entire *boule* and the bouletic quotas that were allegedly set by Kleisthenes.

Thus, comparison of the bouletic quotas with the two other types of source indicates that Kleisthenes' political reform was so successful that it insured, for the next 200 years, the same balance among citizens belonging to the three districts. There is an alternative, however: we have no unquestionably attested bouletic quotas earlier

⁹ In my inventory of *rhetores* and *strategoï* I recorded 29 *rhetores* (with known demotic) either as addressing the *boule* or as proposers of decrees in the *boule*. To this figure I can add four men known only by the demotic of the proposer: IG II² 157.5 (Porios), 223B.10 (Pambotades), 361.7 (Alopekethen), 3207.4 (Myrrhinousios). Furthermore, proposers of probouleumatic decrees were probably all *bouleutai* and so to be registered as *rhetores* active in the *boule*. The inventory does not distinguish between probouleumatic and non-probouleumatic decrees; accordingly proposers of probouleumatic decrees whose demotic is known may be listed here (for a full list of the decrees see P. J. Rhodes, *The Athenian Boule* [Oxford 1972] 247–50): Archedemos Archiou Paionides (IG II² 208); Aristophon Aristophanous Azenieus (121, 130); Astyphilos Halaieus (42); Demetrios Euktemonos Aphidnaios (*Syll.*³ 287); Diophantos Thrasy-medous Sphettios (IG II² 106); Diophantos Phrasikleidou Myrrhinousios (243); Euboulides Antiphilou Halimousios (218); Gnathios Probalisios (16, ἔδοξε τῇ βουλῇ); Gnathon Lakiades (*Hesperia* 26 [1957] 207 no. 53); Hegesandros Hegesiou Sounieus (IG II² 123); Hierokleides Timostratou Alopekethen (206); Hieronymos Oikophelous Rhamnousios (415); Hippochares Alopekethen (330); Kallikrates Charapidou Lamp-treus (215); Kallistratos Kallikratous Aphidnaios (107); Kephisodotos ek Kerameon (*Hesperia* 8 [1939] 5ff no. 3); Kephisophon Paianieus (IG II² 1); Lykourgos Lykophronos Boutades (328); Melanopos Lachetos Aixoneus (145); Menites Menonos Kydathe-naieus (*ArchEph* 1971, 137ff); Nothippos Lysiou Diomeieus (IG II² 349); Pandios Sokleous ex Oiou (?) (103); Philotades Philostratou Palleneus (136); Polyeuktos Ky-dantides (410); Polyeuktos Sostratou Sphettios (128); Telemachos Theangelou Achar-neus (*SEG* XVI 52); . . . Aristyllou Keiriades (IG II² 205); . . . Phrearris (229); . . . Lakiades (403). Of these 29 *rhetores* one is also known as the proposer of a decree of the *boule* (Diophantos Phrasikleidou), and we do not know whether Pandios belonged to Oion Kerameikon or Dekeleikon. Hence we have 27 names and demotics. All 60 attested *rhetores* in the *boule* grouped according to the three districts show: Asty 19 (32%), Paralia 16 (27%), Mesogaios (41%). These figures suggest a good distribution over the districts but indicate, if they are reliable, an underrepresentation of the Paralia.

than 403/2,¹⁰ and the ascription of the fourth-century quotas to Kleisthenes rests on an argument from silence. The correspondence between the bouleutic quotas and actual political participation in the fourth century may rather support the opposite view: that the bouleutic quotas were adjusted, say in 403/2, to fit the existing citizen population which differed both in size and in geographical distribution from that of the age of Kleisthenes.

A study of the connection between the bouleutic quotas and the number of citizens in fourth-century Athens may throw more light on this problem. The number of citizens eligible for the *boule* was probably so small that it was only just possible to run the council constitutionally.¹¹ Accordingly citizens were allowed, exceptionally, to serve in the *boule* twice in their lifetime (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 62.3), but the evidence we have indicates that only a small fraction did so.¹² Thus almost all citizens over thirty years of age served one year in the *boule*,¹³ and a fraction of them two years. Now if the number of

¹⁰ Two inscriptions may provide information on quotas in the fifth century. (1) *Agora XV 1* is a dedication set up by the *prytaneis* of Erechtheis in 408/7. The number of names preserved differs in most cases from the known deme quotas: only Kedoï (2) and Upper Agryle (1) agree with the fourth-century quotas. According to the prevailing view, however, no more than 37 names (from the 14 demes) were inscribed on the stone, which thus records only *some prytaneis* and therefore gives no information about quotas. (2) K. J. Davies, *LMC* 4 (1979) 151–55, has argued that *IG I³ 1040* may be a fragment of a list of all 500 *bouleutai*, serving *ca* 420 or earlier. Moreover, he restores the fragment to give four *bouleutai* to Gargettos (Aigeis) and 9 (or 9+?) to (?) Phrearrhioi (Leontis). If Davies is right in all his assumptions, this is evidence that the quota of Gargettos was the same in the fifth century, and possibly also that of Phrearrhioi. In my opinion, however, it is an overstatement that the inscription as restored “strongly suggests that the deme-quotas in the Council did indeed remain unchanged from the fifth century into the fourth” (155). If we take *Agora XV 1* to give the bouleutic quotas of the demes recorded in the fragment, two are the same (Kedoï and Upper Agryle) but the others are different. One or perhaps two known quotas is too small a basis for a general conclusion, especially when both figures require considerable restoration in the fragment.

¹¹ E. Ruschenbusch, “Die soziale Zusammensetzung des Rates der 500 in Athen im 4. Jh.,” *ZPE* 35 (1979) 177–80; “Epheben, Bouleuten und die Bürgerzahl von Athen um 330 v. Chr.,” *ZPE* 41 (1981) 103–05; “Noch einmal die Bürgerzahl Athens um 330 v. Chr.,” *ZPE* 44 (1981) 110–12. For the replies of P. J. Rhodes *cf.* n.12 *infra*.

¹² See P. J. Rhodes, *A Commentary on the Aristotelian Athenaion Politeia* (Oxford 1981) 531, 696, 769; “Ephebi, Bouleutae and the Population of Athens,” *ZPE* 38 (1980) 193 with n.9.

¹³ I make the following assumptions: (a) 21,000 citizens; (b) life expectancy at birth of 20–30 years; (c) annual growth rate of 0–1%. In a population of this type the number of thirty-year-old males constitutes 2.5–2.9% of all males over eighteen: *cf.* A. J. Coale and P. Demeny, *Regional Model Life Tables and Stable Populations* (Princeton 1966), Model West, Mortality levels 2–6, Males. Accordingly the number of male citizens who each year turn thirty in the later fourth century will be 525–610. In order to run the *boule* constitutionally, 500 new candidates are needed each year if all serve once, 250 if all serve twice. As stated *supra*, most probably served only once, and many not

citizens eligible for the *boule* was only slightly larger than the minimum number required to run it, then it follows that the number of citizens in any of the 139 demes was only just sufficient to fill the number of seats in the *boule* assigned to the deme. For a considerable surplus of citizens in one deme would mean that another was underpopulated and could not provide the prescribed number. The epigraphical evidence shows, however, that virtually all the demes did furnish the required number of *bouleutai* each year.¹⁴ It follows that in almost all the demes the number of eligible *demotai* must have closely matched the bouleutic quotas.¹⁵ This perfect correspondence between population and representation in the *boule* in the fourth century would be a miraculous coincidence if the bouleutic quotas had been fixed by Kleisthenes in the late sixth century, and so I conclude that the quotas were probably revised and that those known from fourth-century inscriptions were fixed in connection with the restoration of the democracy in 403/2. It is worth noting that the only prytany inscription extant from the fifth century has different quotas for the demes of Erechtheis, and the figures recorded for the single demes may be the quotas, although probably only two-thirds of the fifty *prytaneis* were inscribed on the stone. But again there is an alternative: the view that the adult male citizens in the fourth century numbered 21,000 is not undisputed,¹⁶ and so it is still possible to ascribe the known bouleutic quotas to Kleisthenes if we presuppose a male citizen body (aged eighteen and over) of 31,000 or even more, eligible as *bouleutai* when they had passed the age of thirty.¹⁷

immediately upon turning thirty but later in life. Given a considerable mortality of men of all ages, a yearly 'class' of 525–610 new thirty-year-old citizens must be very close to the minimum required.

¹⁴ See Traill's Tables of Representation.

¹⁵ The only deme whose size is known is Halimous with three seats in the *boule* (Agora XV 13.10–16, 42.232–35, 43.82:88). In 346/5 the number of *demotai* was 80+, and probably not more than 100 (Dem. 57.10, 15). Consequently, Halimous could fill its three seats only if all *demotai* served once (of 100, three will be aged 30) or if 2/3 served once and 1/3 twice (of 80, two will be aged 30).

¹⁶ This figure is based on Ath. 272c (Ktesikles *FGrHist* 245F1) and Plut. *Phoc.* 28.7 supplemented with Diod. 18.18.4–5 (where *δισμυρίων* has been emended to *μυρίων*). The number 31,000 is based on the ms. reading of Diodoros. See *infra* n.17.

¹⁷ Scholars who follow Gomme in assuming a citizen population of 31,000, of whom ca 14,500 belonged to the 'hoplite class', regularly believe that the *boule* was dominated by citizens of 'hoplite status': A. W. Gomme, *The Population of Athens in the Fifth and Fourth Centuries B.C.* (Oxford 1933) 26; J. A. O. Larsen, *Representative Government in Greek and Roman History* (Berkeley/Los Angeles 1966) 10–11; Rhodes (*supra* n.9) 4–6. But this position is equally difficult to combine with the view that the known bouleutic quotas were fixed by Kleisthenes. If we assume that the 'hoplite class' filled, say, 3/4 of the seats in the *boule*, then the number of candidates required each year is

Apart from the significant correspondence between the bouletic quotas and political activity, the percentages tabulated above reveal another surprising phenomenon: a significant underrepresentation of citizens from the Asty. If we follow the common view that most of the politically active citizens lived near the Agora and the Pnyx and that most citizens still lived in their demes, then more than half, not just a quarter, of the politically active would be members of city demes. This leads us from the question of deme membership to that of deme residence. Why do only about one fourth of all active citizens belong to the city demes? The growth of political activity in the course of the classical period must have led to an increasing overrepresentation in the political assemblies of citizens from the Asty by comparison with the other two districts. In the age of Kleisthenes, when the people and the council met only infrequently, it may have been possible even for citizens of the more remote demes to fulfil their civic duties as councillors and members of the *ecclesia*. In the later fourth century, however, when the *ecclesia* met forty times in a year, the *boule* ca 250, and the *dicasteria* 150–200, it was simply impossible for an Athenian who lived in the Paralia or the Mesogaios to attend more than a few of all the political meetings. No deme in the Paralia and the Mesogaios is closer to the Agora and the Pnyx than ca 12 km., a walk of at least two hours. Consequently, if we assume that most citizens in the age of Demosthenes still lived in their demes, the increasing political activity would necessarily have led to a massive overrepresentation of Athenians belonging to the city demes and to the destruction of the balance in political representation among the three districts. Now the sources testify to a small representation of citizens enrolled in the city demes, and so we must infer (a) that many citizens in the course of the classical period had moved from the countryside to Athens, and (b) that the citizens still living in their ancestral demes came to the city more often than we are used to believe and took an active part in the running of the democratic institutions, both the *ecclesia*, the *boule*, and the *dicasteria*.

375, whereas the number of thirty-year-olds of hoplite status is ca 360–420 (*supra* n.13). Again, if most *bouleutai* served only once, there must have been in almost all the demes an unbelievable correspondence between the quotas fixed by Kleisthenes and the number of eligible *demotai* of hoplite status in the fourth century. The view that Kleisthenes introduced the known bouletic quotas can, in my opinion, be upheld only if we assume (a) that the adult male citizens numbered 31,000 and (b) that all served on the *boule* irrespective of their social status. On this view some demes may have been 'overpopulated' and others 'underpopulated' but still large enough to fill their quotas.

Especially for the *rhetoires* and *strategoï* the constant involvement in politics must have necessitated permanent or at least long-term residence in the urban district from Athens down to the Peiraiæus, or in the rural district belonging to the Asty. This *a priori* assumption receives some support from information about individual political leaders: Demosthenes of Paiania had a house in Peiraiæus and one in Athens (Din. 1.69, Aeschin. 3.209); Phokion of Potamos (?) a house in Melite (Plut. *Phoc.* 18.8); Timotheos of Anaphlystos a house in Peiraiæus (Dem. 49.22, cf. *APF* 510); and Timarchos of Sphettos a house behind the Akropolis (Aeschin. 1.97). Moreover, there is much less evidence to the contrary—that citizens recorded as politically active lived far from Athens, in the Paralia or the Mesogaïos.¹⁸ The dicastic *pinakia* point to the same conclusion: most of those for which the provenience is attested come from graves in the immediate environs of the city, while only a few have been found in the remote demes. Moreover, the last owner of a *pinakion*, buried e.g. in Peiraiæus, is sometimes a demesman from the Paralia or the Mesogaïos.¹⁹ Concerning *rhetoires* and *strategoï* and jurors, however, the prosopographical evidence is too scarce to be of much value for investigating the relation between political activity, deme membership, and deme residence. Far more important are hundreds of tombstones, which however do not testify to political activity but only to the relation between deme membership and residence for the citizen population as a whole. Gomme's is the only published discussion of this type of evidence, based on the inscriptions in *IG II*; in an unpublished paper, Aksel Damsgaard-Madsen has brought the evidence up to date by including the new material in *IG II*² and *SEG I-XXV*.²⁰ Gomme examined 404 citizens of the fourth and third centuries for whom the tombstone and its provenience are known; Damsgaard-Madsen has added 412 more, and his study corroborates the inference drawn by Gomme: tombstones found in the Mesogaïos or the Paralia commemorate almost invariably citizens buried in their ancestral deme, whereas tombstones found in or near Athens record more citizens

¹⁸ E.g. Astyphilos Philagrou Halaieus, a proposer of two decrees of the people but also active in his deme (*IG II*² 1175). There are surprisingly few citizens active both in their deme and in the city as *rhetoires* or *strategoï*. Apart from Astyphilos I can cite only Euboulides Antiphilou Halimousios (Dem. 57.8) and Moirokles Euthydemou (?) Eleusinos (*Hesperia* 8 [1939] 180). This problem will be dealt with by David Whitehead in a forthcoming publication; I should like to thank him for letting me see his typescript.

¹⁹ Cf. Kroll (*supra* n.7) 9 with n.2, 83 with n.21.

²⁰ Gomme (*supra* n.17) 44–45; A. Damsgaard-Madsen, *Befokningbevaegelser pa Attika i klassisk Tid belyst ud fra person-demenavnene pa attiske gravsten fra 4 & 3 arhundrede*, unpublished paper (Arhus 1980).

belonging to the Paralia and the Mesogaïos than to the Asty itself. Thus Gomme's and Damsgaard-Madsen's figures illustrate a migration from the country to the town. A quantification is impossible today, but may perhaps be attempted when the numerous tombstones found all over Attica in the last decades and stored in the museums have been made accessible by publication. A tombstone (with known provenience) is preserved for only a dozen or so of the politically active citizens, but again we have some evidence of *rhetores* and *strategoï* from coastal or inland demes buried in or near Athens,²¹ much less evidence of political leaders buried in their ancestral coastal or inland deme,²² and no evidence of politically active citizens from the Asty buried outside the Athens-Peiraeus area.

Another important aspect is the daily mobility of citizens of an ancient *polis*. In our age of rapid transportation we tend to forget that people in preindustrial societies commonly walked long distances almost daily. As late as *ca* 1900, many workers were accustomed to walk as much as fifteen km. to their place of work, and the same distance back home after a working day of ten hours. Likewise in many agricultural societies a peasant had to walk similar distances between dwelling and field, unless in summer he spent the night in a shed near the field. On this analogy it is easy to believe that Athenian citizens might willingly walk between two and three hours twice a day in order to attend an important political meeting, which normally lasted only a few hours. Moreover, a citizen might combine participation in politics with other activities. Athens was not only the political but also the religious and economic centre of the *polis*. The major festivals must have attracted citizens from all over Attica, and in the Agora the Athenians bought not only manufactured goods but also their daily provision. The diet was based on barley supplemented by wheat; but in the fourth century local production of grain constituted

²¹ Astyphilos Halaieus (*IG* II² 5497 and 5498, found in the 'Theseion'); Epikrates Kephisieus (*IG* II² 6444, found in the Kerameikos); Kallippos Philonos Aixoneus (*IG* II² 5432 and 5433, found in Peiraeus); Kephisophon Paianieus (*IG* II² 7062, found in the 'Theseion'); Melantes Potamios (*IG* II² 7268, found in Athens); Moirokles Kallippou Eleusinius (*IG* II² 6043, found near the Dipylon; the Moirokles referred to by Demosthenes [*PA* 10400] should perhaps be identified with the M. Kallippou Eleusinius recorded on this tombstone rather than with M. Euthydemous Eleusinius [*PA* 10401, *Hesperia* 8 (1939) 180] as I suggested in my inventory); Philon Kallippou Aixoneus (*IG* II² 5450, found near Peiraeus). In some cases a tombstone records the name of an ascendant or descendant of a *rhetor* or *strategos*, e.g. Proxenos Harmodiou Aphidnaïos, the grandfather of Proxenos *PA* 12270 (*IG* II² 5765, found near the Akropolis); the son of Rhinon Charkleos Paianieus (?) (*Agora* XVII 968).

²² Alkimachos Kephisiou Angelethen (*IG* II² 5228, found in Angele, near Markopulon); Kleoboulos Glaukou Acharneus (*SEG* XVI 193, found in Acharnai).

only a fraction of the grain consumed by the population of Attica. Hence most grain was imported and sold to citizens, metics, and slaves coming from all over Attica. Again quantification is impossible, but the importing of grain to Athens is incompatible with the view that the prevailing economic pattern was a kind of subsistence farming. Now meetings of the *ecclesia* were often held before or after a major festival, and a citizen coming from a remote deme may have combined political participation with attending the festival and trading in the market.

The question of daily mobility in *Greek* society needs a proper investigation, but on the basis of these rudimentary observations I may offer a sketch of the possible participation in political life by citizens residing in their ancestral demes. The Asty covers most of the plain between Aigaleos to the northwest and Hymettos to the southeast of Athens. The distance to the Agora or Pnyx from any locality within the Asty district is never more than *ca* eight km. If we draw a circle with the centre in the Pnyx and a radius of 12 km., some of the populous demes in the Mesogaïos and Aixone in the Paralia fall within it.²³ If we extend the radius to 18 km., we include most of the demes of the Paralia to the northwest of Aigaleos and to the south of Hymettos and also the Mesogaïos demes south and west of Pentelikon.²⁴ In the area delimited by the smaller circle one might walk to the Pnyx in at most two to three hours; from the demes within the 18 km. radius, the walk will take no more than 3–4 hours, depending on the routes followed. A tabulation of the bouletic quotas with the attested *rhetores* and *strategoï* whose demes fall within these limits will give a rough idea of the proportion of citizens who could in one day walk to Athens, attend a meeting, and return home:

| Region | Bouletic Quotas | <i>Rhetores</i> and <i>Strategoï</i> |
|--------|--------------------|---|
| Asty | 130 26% | 62 26% |
| 12 km. | 186 37% | 89 38% |
| 18 km. | 308 62% | 164 70% |

Thus about two thirds of all politically active citizens lived either in Athens or no more than four hours' walk distant. But a third or so of

²³ The Mesogaïos demes are Acharnai, Athmonon, Eupyridai, Kropidai, Pallene, Phlya, and Sypalettos.

²⁴ The Paralia demes in question are Anagyrous, Eleusis, Halai Aixonides, Kopros, Kothokidai, Lamptrai, Oe, and Thria. The Mesogaïos demes are Cholleidai, Erchia, Gargettos, Ionidai, Kephisia, Kikynna, Kolonai, Konthyle, Kydantidai, Myrrhinoutta, Oa, Paiania (both), Paionidai, Pelekes, Pergase, Sphettos, Teithras, and Trinemeia.

all fourth-century *rhetores* and *strategoï* belonged to demes outside the larger circle.²⁵ Some of them undoubtedly had moved to Athens, but others were probably still living in their ancestral demes.

How can political activity be combined with residence far from the political centres? This is a complex question, and here I will confine myself to discussing membership in the *boule* for *demotai* from a remote deme, e.g. Anaphlystos. Every year the Anaphlystioi had ten *bouleutai* appointed. Some of the candidates doubtless resided in Athens, such as Konon II, Timotheos II, and Konon III. But given that most and perhaps all citizens had to serve on the *boule* at least once, some of the *bouleutai* representing Anaphlystos, perhaps even a majority of them, must have been local. How did they fulfil their civic duties during their year in office? The Anaphlystioi residing in Athens could of course attend as many of the *ca* 250 meetings of the *boule* as they wished, but those living in Anaphlystos probably stayed away from most meetings, attending only when they happened to be in Athens for other reasons, such as a festival or trade in the Agora. But their uninterrupted presence in Athens may have been requested during the prytany of Antiochis, the tribe to which Anaphlystos belonged. The *prytaneis* were on duty every day. A *trittys ton prytaneon* stayed in the Tholos all the time. The *prytaneis* had common meals, and two-thirds (in ordinary years) or four-fifths (in intercalary) of them had to serve for twenty-four hours as the *epistates ton prytaneon* (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 44.1–3). That the principal duty for a *bouleutes* was to serve as a *prytanis* is indicated both by an illuminating passage in Plato's *Laws* relating to his ideal city Magnesia,²⁶ and by the fact that most of the bouleutic inscriptions are dedications set up by *prytaneis*. I believe that a *prytanis* living in a remote deme probably had to move to Athens and stay with a relative or *demotes* during the prytany allotted to his tribe. During the other nine prytanies his deme was probably represented in the *boule* mostly by *demotai* who had moved to Athens permanently.

Two conclusions can be drawn in summation concerning politically active citizens in fourth-century Athens. (1) Their official distribution

²⁵ In *Folkeforsamlingen* (Copenhagen 1977) 70f I accepted a circle of 20 km. radius, which however gives almost the same figures. For a judicious treatment of the problem cf. R. Osborne, *Town-Country Relations in the Athenian Polis* (Diss. Cambridge 1981) 144–50. See also P. Harding, "In Search of a Polypragmatist," *Classical Contributions: Studies . . . McGregor* (New York 1981) 46–47, and E. Kluwe, "Die soziale Zusammensetzung der athenischen Ekklesia," *Klio* 58 (1976) 298. Harding believes that the Athenians were capable of walking long distances in order to attend political meetings, while Kluwe is more pessimistic; I am inclined to follow Harding.

²⁶ *Leg.* 758B, cf. Rhodes (*supra* n.9) 39.

over the three districts of Asty, Paralia, and Mesogaios matches the distribution of bouleutic quotas so well that it is difficult to believe that the quotas are those fixed by Kleisthenes, and not revised later, say in 403/2. Likewise, if we accept that most citizens above thirty had to serve at least once in the *boule*, then the bouleutic quota assigned each deme must in most cases have matched almost exactly the number of citizens actually eligible, and again it is almost unbelievable that the distribution of eligible citizens over the demes was unchanged from the late sixth century to the late fourth, or that Kleisthenes anticipated the inevitable changes. Either the bouleutic quotas were revised (*e.g.* in 403/2) to match the actual fourth-century population, or there must have been considerably more eligible citizens than we are used to believe, so that all demes, even after considerable changes in population, were still populous enough to fill their number of seats in the *boule*. (2) The number of known *rhetores* and *stratego*i and of jurors attested on dicastic *pinakia* indicates that only a fourth or so of all politically active citizens belonged to the demes in the Asty. This is a strong indicator that there had been a considerable migration from country to city and that many citizens still living in the Paralia and Mesogaios demes not too far from Athens were willing to walk long distances to attend the political assemblies.

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