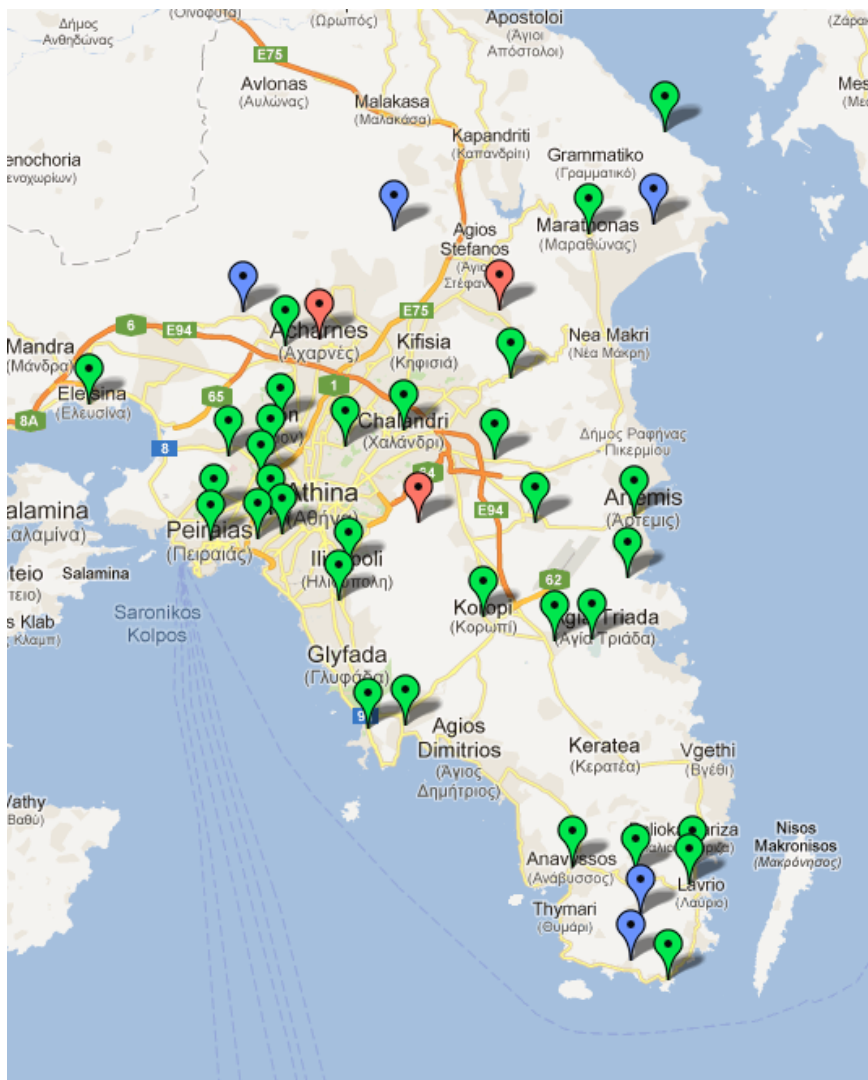


# The demes of Attica and the Peloponnesian War

## A New Archaeological Approach



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## Introduction

### The problem

Among historians studying Classical Attica, there has been much debate concerning its population. Early views on the dispersion and number of Athenians, like those of J. Beloch and A.W. Gomme, have been rejected, to be reinstated or replaced by new theories later on.<sup>1</sup> The discussion has been going on for an extensive period of time and still has not been conclusively settled. However, although historians do not agree on the exact numbers, they all concur that the Peloponnesian War that started in 431 BCE and the plague that first hit Athens in 430 BCE claimed many victims in Attica. According to P.J. Rhodes, the Athenian population was drastically set back: 'In Athens the combined effects of plague and war had reduced the population to about half its pre-war level.'<sup>2</sup> This assertion was probably derived from the more precise estimates made by M.H. Hansen, one of the surprisingly few historians who have tried to calculate the Athenian losses during the Peloponnesian war.<sup>3</sup> He concludes that the Athenian population must have plummeted from about 60,000 adult male citizens in 431 BCE to some 25,000 in ca. 400 BCE.<sup>4</sup>

Furthermore, ancient sources seem to suggest that the demes of Attica were uprooted by the onslaught of war. An example of these sources is Thucydides, who writes that the Athenian citizens carried their property from the country to the city of Athens when the Peloponnesian War broke out. According to Thucydides, the citizens found it hard to move, as most of them had always lived in the country. Not only did they have to leave their houses, to which some had just returned after the evacuations

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<sup>1</sup> A few examples (to be discussed later in this research more extensively): K.J. Beloch, 'Die Bevölkerung Attikas', *Griechische Geschichte III* (Berlin&Leipzig, 1923) and A.W. Gomme, *The Population of Athens in the Fifth and Fourth Centuries B.C.* (Oxford, 1933) both argued for a number of c.a. 30.000 adult males in fourth century Athens. This number was generally accepted until it was challenged by A.H.M. Jones in his *Athenian Democracy* (Oxford, 1957). His estimate of circa 21.000 citizens was still supported in 1981 by E. Ruschenbusch, 'Noch Einmal die Bürgerzahl Athens um 330 v. Chr.', *ZPE* 44 (1981) 110-12. R. Osborne independently made an estimate of 17.250-23.000 adult male citizens in his *Demos: The Discovery of Classical Attika* (Cambridge, 1985) and *Classical Landscape with Figures* (London, 1987). M.H. Hansen disagrees in his *Demography and Democracy* (Gjellerup, 1985). He argues for 30.000 adult male citizens again, supporting his estimate with new evidence.

<sup>2</sup> P.J. Rhodes, *A History of the Classical Greek World: 478-323 BC* (Malden, 2006) 153.

<sup>3</sup> M.H. Hansen, *Three Studies in Athenian Demography* (Copenhagen, 1988) 14-28. The only other serious attempt seems to be B. Strauss' *Athens after the Peloponnesian War* (New York, 1986) 179-82.

<sup>4</sup> Hansen, *Three Studies*, 14-28.

during the Persian War; they also had to leave behind their ancestral temples.<sup>5</sup>

The standard work on migration from ancestral demes is Gomme's *The Population of Athens in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.* Many historians still follow Gomme in his opinion that after the Peloponnesian War, a proportion of the country 'refugees' chose to stay in Athens instead of returning to their homes and farms.<sup>6</sup> This would have entailed a serious blow to Attic communities, weakening them profoundly. Other historians also believe many Athenians did not return to the countryside, but for different reasons. According to them, the Attic countryside was utterly destroyed by war. A striking example of this belief is the following passage from B.W. Henderson's *The great war between Athens and Sparta*:

When war came, invading armies marched into Attica, driving the scared peasants and landowners to take refuge behind the city walls, living on the produce of the countryside, destroying the olive-trees, cutting down the vines, plundering farm and house, and carrying the spoils in triumph home.<sup>7</sup>

In other words, according to this historian, the peasants did not have a home left to return to.<sup>8</sup>

Other scholars, however, argue that the impact of the Peloponnesian War on the settlements of Attica was less dramatic. V.D. Hanson, for example, argues that the Attic countryside recovered quickly after 404 and that it did not lose much of its population to the city permanently.<sup>9</sup> A perhaps more radical view comes from R.

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<sup>5</sup> Thuc. 2.13.2 en Thuc. 2.14.1 - Thuc. 2.14.2. Other sources describe how the Athenians left the countryside for the city as well. In *AthPol* 24.1, Aristides advises the Athenians to abandon their farms and come to the city. The Athenians then follow his advice.

<sup>6</sup> Gomme, *The Population of Attica in the Fifth and Fourth Centuries B.C.*. He is followed by, for example, A. Damsgaard-Madsen, 'Attic funeral inscriptions: their use as historical sources and some preliminary results', in A. Damsgaard-Madsen, E. Christiansen, E. Hallager (eds.), *Studies in Ancient History and Numismatics Presented to Rudi Thomsen* (Aarhus, 1988) 55-68, 66; C.A. Cox, *Household Interests: Property, Marriage Strategies, and Family Dynamics in Ancient Athens* (Princeton, 1998) 52, and N. Jones, *Rural Athens under the Democracy* (Philadelphia, 2004) 54.

<sup>7</sup> B.W. Henderson, *The great war between Athens and Sparta: a companion to the military history of Thucydides* (London, 1927) 15-16.

<sup>8</sup> In addition to Henderson, see for example P.A. Brunt, 'Spartan Policy and Strategy in the Archidamian War', *Phoenix* 9 (1965) 225-280 and D. Kagan, *The Archidamian War* (Ithaca, 1974) 99: 'The Athenians had shown restraint during two invasions. They had permitted their fields and houses to be destroyed without offering battle. Now that all of Attica had been devastated there was little reason for the Spartans to think that future incursions would bring better results.'

<sup>9</sup> V.D. Hanson, *Warfare and Agriculture in Classical Greece* (Berkeley, 1998) 170.

Osborne, who states that the settlement of Attica 'was more or less unchanged from the time of the Persian wars down to the late fourth century'.<sup>10</sup>

What actually happened to the Attic countryside in demographic terms before, during and after the Peloponnesian war does not seem clear at all. Thucydides writes about the abandonment of the countryside, and it seems that most historians follow him. However, they do not agree on the effects of the war on the countryside and on whether the Attic country folk actually returned to their homes after the war. The difference between the destruction described by Henderson and the unchanging countryside described by Osborne is enormous. This dissidence amongst historians raises a lot of interesting questions. What impact did the war have on where and how the Attic population lived? To what degree did the peasants really leave their demes and actually retreat between the Athenian walls? How long did they stay away? Did they return to their homes eventually? More research is needed to provide a satisfactory answer to these questions. By means of a new multidisciplinary approach, I intend to do just that.

### **A new approach**

I aim to answer the following question: to what degree did the Peloponnesian War affect the demes of Attica? To answer this question, I will study the period from ca. 450 BCE to ca. 350 BCE and see if significant changes take place during this period in the countryside of Attica. If so, it needs to be determined if these changes can be attributed to the Peloponnesian War. I have limited the research to ca. 350 BCE, over 50 years after the war ended. The reason for this is not only the limited size of this research, but especially to prevent deductive research: one must refrain from eagerly attributing changes that took place after 350 BCE to a war that ended more than 50 years ago. This is not to say that such later changes due to the war are impossible, however in this research I will focus on the more direct effects on the war on the demes of Attica.

To do this, I will divide my research in two parts. The first part will be a literary study, consisting of three chapters. In chapter one, I will analyse the most important

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<sup>10</sup> Osborne, *Demos: The Discovery of Classical Attika*, 17.



primary sources for the period in question, namely Thucydides' *History of the Peloponnesian War*, Xenophon's *Hellenica* and Aristophanes' *The Acharnians* and *Peace*. Much of the modern research is based on these sources; therefore a clear introduction to them is necessary.

In this research, demography will play a role since some of the modern research I will discuss focuses on calculating the number of Athenians before and after the Peloponnesian War. This form of research can help us form an image of the situation in the countryside of Attica at various times. Therefore, in the second chapter, I will give a short introduction to the field of demography in general and give an example of a model that can be used to calculate the demography of Attica. As with the primary sources, a proper introduction to the field of demography is essential in understanding some of the modern research that will follow in the next chapter.

In the third chapter, I will focus in particular on the demographic scholarship of Attica and its countryside. The two main issues in this chapter will be 1) the debate on how many Athenians there were before and after the war, and 2) the debate on what became of the local population of Attica and its countryside. Relevant literature on the situation in Attica before, during and after the Peloponnesian war will be summarized. I intend to discuss in this chapter some of the most important contributions to the historical debate, so that the different views on the situation in Attica in the period 450-350 BCE will become clear.

This analysis of both ancient literature and modern scholarship will shed some light how much the Peloponnesian War affected the regions of Attica. In this way, the different approaches and views of historians and the models and historical sources on which they base their arguments will be collected in an overview. This overview will make clear what to expect concerning the population of Attica before, during and after the Peloponnesian war: for example, the number of citizens and the amount of devastation to the countryside.

Only through a thorough study of the relevant literature and sources can a clear opinion be formed on the population of Attica in the fifth and fourth century. However, in my opinion, in recent studies the literary source material has been

overemphasized.<sup>11</sup> Therefore, the literary overview created in the first part of my research will be put to the test in the second part.

In the second and main part of my research, I will focus on settlements, graves, and sanctuaries in the period 450-350 BCE. Together they form a source of archaeological evidence that, up until now, has not been collected in a complete corpus. That this kind of archaeological evidence can be extremely valuable is demonstrated, for example, in the work of Andrea Mersch, which focuses on early Greek settlements from 950 BCE onwards; she limited her research until 400 BCE.<sup>12</sup> Bits and pieces of archaeological evidence have been used by scholars to support their existing hypotheses on the effects of the Peloponnesian war on the settlements of Attica. I, however, intend to create an overview of the archaeology of Attica between 450-350 BCE not to provide evidence for an existing theory, but to gain a clear and objective insight into the countryside of Attica during the Peloponnesian war from a new angle. I will process the known sites in Attica that were active or seized to be active in the period 450 – 350 BCE into a catalogue, and see based on the evidence in this catalogue whether the Peloponnesian War caused any fundamental changes in the countryside of Attica or not.

This second part of my research will make a multidisciplinary approach possible: the literary overview created in the first part of my research will be compared with the new corpus of archaeological evidence in the third and final part of this thesis. This is a method that has never been applied to this subject before.

If it is true that the communities of Attica were seriously weakened, it should be visible in the archaeological evidence of local settlements, graves and sanctuaries. Cult activity especially will be an important indicator of the status of the countryside in the period I am investigating, since its importance to the Greeks cannot be underestimated. In Attica, as anywhere else in Classical Greece, religion helped form civic, cultural and religious identities. This happened through the performance of certain rites but also through the fact that these rites related to the participant's territory and mythical past. As Thucydides described, to the population of Attica,

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<sup>11</sup> For example: Rhodes, *A History of the Classical Greek World*, Osborne, *Demos: The Discovery of Classical Attika*, S. Hornblower, *The Greek World, 479-323 BC* (London, 2002).

<sup>12</sup> A. Mersch, *Studien zur Siedlungsgeschichte Attikas von 950-400 v. Chr.* (Frankfurt, 1996).

leaving their local sanctuaries behind would have been extremely painful. Therefore, evidence of cult activity stopping or continuing is very meaningful. For obvious reasons, the presence of graves and houses or even settlements during the period I am discussing will be clear evidence of the abandonment or inhabitation of the countryside as well.

To summarize: in this research, I will create a literary overview of the historical sources and the modern research concerning the population of Attica in 450-350 BCE. I will then examine and process the archaeology of sites in Attica in the period 450-350 BCE into a corpus. Archaeological evidence of local cults, cemeteries and settlements across Attica can provide information as to what areas were abandoned or continued to be inhabited. I will therefore discuss different sites across Attica and search for evidence of active or suddenly inactive cults, settlements and cemeteries. The newly created corpus will be used to compare the archaeological data to the overview of primary sources and current historical views. This new approach will give us fresh insights in the situation in the countryside of Attica in the fifth and fourth century BCE. In this way, a new historical interpretation can be given to the situation in the countryside of Attica before, during and after the Peloponnesian War.

## Part One. The Demography of Attica from 450 to 350 BCE: an overview

### Chapter 1. Primary Sources

Before discussing modern scholarship, three writers who lived during the Peloponnesian War must be introduced. The works of Thucydides (ca. 460 – ca. 395), Xenophon (ca. 430 – 355) and Aristophanes (ca. 446 - ca. 386) are important sources of information for scholars studying the Peloponnesian War. Thucydides' *History of the Peloponnesian War*, Xenophon's *Hellenica* and various plays by Aristophanes, especially *The Acharnians* and *Peace*, provide us with vivid descriptions of the war and its consequences for the inhabitants of Attica. From these sources, we learn in what ways the daily life of the Athenians was disturbed by the war. I have chosen to introduce the authors first, free from interpretations by modern researchers, so that an objective overview of their writings may be created. Interpretations and some commentary on these sources by historians will be discussed in chapter three.

#### Thucydides

##### *Evacuation of the Countryside*

In his *History of the Peloponnesian War*, Thucydides describes the preparations that were made before the Peloponnesians invaded Attica for the first time. Pericles advised the Athenians to take their harvest from their fields and retreat to the city.<sup>13</sup> The Athenians follow his advice and started to evacuate their wives, children, livestock and furniture from the countryside, 'pulling down even the woodwork of the houses themselves'.<sup>14</sup> Thucydides explains that leaving the countryside was hard on the Athenians, since most of them had always lived there: 'they were dejected and aggrieved at having to leave their homes and the temples which had always been

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<sup>13</sup> Thuc. 2.13.2.

<sup>14</sup> Thuc. 2.14.1.

theirs, - relics, inherited from their fathers, of their original form of government – and at the prospect of changing their mode of live, and facing what was nothing less for each of them than forsaking his own town.’<sup>15</sup>

According to Thucydides, there was not much room for the new arrivals in the city: most people had to stay in open areas within the city or in the sanctuaries and shrines. The space between the Long Walls was also full of refugees; they stayed ‘wherever each one could find a place; for the city did not have room for them when they were all together.’<sup>16</sup>

### *The Plague*

A plague broke out in Athens in 430 BCE, probably due to the circumstances within the city walls described above. The Athenians were crammed together, which must have made the spread of the disease much easier. It returned twice, in 429 and 427/6. This plague was an extremely deadly disease:

No pestilence of such extent nor any scourge so destructive of human lives is on record anywhere. For neither were physicians able to cope with the disease, since they at first had to treat it without knowing its nature, the mortality among them being greatest because they were most exposed to it, nor did any other human art avail.<sup>17</sup>

Thucydides, himself a survivor of the disease, describes all the symptoms of the disease and the effects it had on the citizens of Athens. He also states the number of casualties in the army: 4400 hoplites and 300 members of the cavalry.<sup>18</sup> Based on this statement calculations concerning the mortality from the plague can be made, which will be discussed later.

### *Devastation of Attica during the Archidamian War*

During the first phase of the Peloponnesian war, the so-called Archidamian war (431-421 BCE), after Sparta’s king Archidamos II, the Peloponnesians invaded Attica five times; Thucydides describes each invasion. The first invasion took place in 431, when the Peloponnesians arrived in Attica at the town of Oinoe. They waste precious time besieging the city without succeeding, giving the Athenians more time to evacuate the

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<sup>15</sup> Thuc. 2.16.2

<sup>16</sup> Thuc. 2.17.1-3

<sup>17</sup> Thuc. 2.57

<sup>18</sup> Thuc. 3.87.3.

countryside.<sup>19</sup> The first damage was done when the Peloponnesians moved on and ravaged the territory of Eleusis and the Thriasian plain. After a skirmish with the Athenian cavalry they moved on to the deme of Acharnai, staying there 'for a long time' devastating the countryside in an attempt to lure the Athenians out of their city.<sup>20</sup> This ravaging could be observed by the Athenians cooped up inside the city, which was no more than three kilometres (sixteen stadia) removed from Acharnai. According to Thucydides, this caused enormous tension among the citizens:

They gathered in knots and engaged in hot disputes, some urging that they should go out, others opposing this course. Oracle-mongers were chanting oracles of every import, according as each man was disposed to hear them. And the Acharnians [...] insisted most of all upon going out, as it was their land that was being devastated. Thus in every way the city was in a state of irritation'.<sup>21</sup>

Pericles refused to allow intervention but did send out detachments of cavalry. Having failed at luring out the Athenians, the Peloponnesians broke up their camp at Acharnai and ravaged some of the demes between Mt. Parnes and Mt. Brilessus. They then withdrew through Boeotia when they ran out of provisions, ravaging Graike on their way out.<sup>22</sup>

In 430 the Peloponnesians invaded Attica again under the leadership of Archidamos. They began ravaging the countryside and advanced into the Paralos (the southernmost part of the Attic peninsula) all the way to the district of Laureion. They ravaged parts of this district, but eventually retreated because they were afraid of the plague. Still, according to Thucydides, this invasion was the longest of the Archidamian attacks: the Peloponnesians were in Attica for almost forty days and ravaged 'the entire country'.<sup>23</sup>

After this, the Peloponnesians did not return for two years. In his very short description of the third invasion, in 428, Thucydides only tells us that the Peloponnesians made an expedition into Attica, ravaged the land and withdrew when

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<sup>19</sup> Thuc. 2.18

<sup>20</sup> Thuc. 2.19

<sup>21</sup> Thuc. 2.21.3

<sup>22</sup> Thuc. 2.23.1-3

<sup>23</sup> Thuc. 2.57

they ran out of provision.<sup>24</sup> The fourth invasion, in 427, was led by Kleomenes and proved to be very destructive:

And they ravaged the parts of Attica that had been laid waste before, wherever any new growth had sprung up, as well as those that had been left untouched in the former invasions. And this invasion proved more grievous to the Athenians than any except the second; for the enemy [...] went on and on, ravaging most of the country.<sup>25</sup>

The expedition ended when the Peloponnesians ran out of food supplies again. The next invasion, led by Agis, the son of Archidamos, should not actually be called an invasion, for the Peloponnesians had to turn back before reaching Attica because of earthquakes.<sup>26</sup>

The fifth and last invasion was led by Agis and took place in 425. Thucydides is not very specific in his description of this invasion: he only mentions that the Peloponnesians encamped in Attica and ravaged the land.<sup>27</sup> They left after only fifteen days because of food shortage, bad weather and the news that Pylos had been occupied.<sup>28</sup>

### *Devastation of Attica during the Dekeleian War*

Thucydides describes how in the spring of 413 BCE, the Spartans and their allies invaded Attica again under the command of Agis. They first ravaged the plain of Attica and then proceeded to fortify the deme of Dekeleia, making it their major military post. Their reason for fortifying Dekeleia was 'to dominate the plain and the most fertile parts of the country, with a view to devastating them, and it was visible as far as the city of Athens.'<sup>29</sup> According to Thucydides, the occupation of Dekeleia was more harmful than the short invasions of the Archidamian War because it was continuous.<sup>30</sup> The Athenians were deprived of their whole territory year in, year out for the rest of the duration of the war. In addition, the overland supply routes ran through Dekeleia and were now cut off.<sup>31</sup> Raids by the Peloponnesians from their new base resulted in

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<sup>24</sup> Thuc. 3.1

<sup>25</sup> Thuc. 3.26.3-4.

<sup>26</sup> Thuc. 3.89.1

<sup>27</sup> Thuc. 4.2.1.

<sup>28</sup> Thuc. 4.6.1-2.

<sup>29</sup> Thuc. 7.19.1-2.

<sup>30</sup> Thuc. 7.27.4

<sup>31</sup> Thuc. 7.28.1.

damage to property and loss of life, slaves ran away to the enemy and the Athenian sheep and cattle died: 'the Athenians were suffering great damage'.<sup>32</sup>

### *Total number of casualties*

In the case of casualties listed by Thucydides, I will have to make an exception and refer to an existing study instead of discussing the text myself. There are so many references to military losses in Thucydides that it would be unwise to try and list them all while there are excellent overviews created by other scholars. The overview by Hansen in his *Three studies in Athenian Demography* in particular is very accurate.<sup>33</sup> It will be discussed in chapter three.

### Xenophon

The account of Thucydides breaks off in 411 BCE, near the end of the 21<sup>st</sup> year of the war. Xenophon lets his *Hellenica* begin at this very point, in the autumn of 411, and brings the story of the Peloponnesian war to a conclusion. He then continues the history of Greece after the war, ending with the battle of Mantinea in 362 BCE. Before taking a closer look at this work, however, a warning is in order. In general, the *Hellenica* is considered neither accurate nor impartial. There are many omissions in this work and Xenophon's love for the Spartans and hate for the Thebans often result in an unbalanced story. On the other hand, Xenophon is straightforward and never makes direct misstatements. Therefore, despite its shortcomings, the *Hellenica* is still the best source we have for the period that it covers.

From Xenophon, we learn the situation in the countryside of Attica after the war ended. When Athens was defeated in the war, a pro-Spartan oligarchy was installed in the city. They were referred to as 'the oligarchy' or 'the Thirty'. According to Xenophon, in 404 the Tyrants issued a proclamation in which they evicted many rural Athenians from their farms so that they and their friends could seize these estates.<sup>34</sup> Later, they sent out troops to protect the farms in Phyle from plundering and in 403, they captured and executed farmers who were on their way to their farms in

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<sup>32</sup> Thuc. 7.27.4.

<sup>33</sup> Hansen, *Three Studies*, 14-28.

<sup>34</sup> Xen. *Hellenica* 2.4.1



Aixone with provisions.<sup>35</sup> These passages seem to indicate that shortly after the war, some farmers were already active on their lands again.

## Aristophanes

The works of Aristophanes, typical examples of the highly satirical genre of Old Comedy, mock social, intellectual and political life in Athens during the Peloponnesian War. Aristophanes did not have a positive view of the war. In his plays, the joys of peace are often contrasted with the hardships of war. Two plays in particular, *The Acharnians* and *Peace*, contain many references to the consequences of the war for the Athenian citizens. In the plays, characters express their frustration about evacuating into the city and their desire to go home, to the houses they had to leave behind. Other passages in these plays refer to the damage that was done to the Attic countryside during the Archidamian war. Let me summarize these elements in both plays, beginning with Aristophanes' third (and first extant) play *The Acharnians*, produced in 425.

### *The Acharnians*

The play is about an ordinary farmer named Dikaiopolis (literally: 'what is right for the polis' or 'just polis'), who has grown tired of the on-going war and expresses his desire for peace. Sitting on the Pnyx, he waits for the other Athenians to arrive for the assembly and starts to share his thoughts: 'I gaze off to the countryside and pine for peace, loathing the city and yearning for my own deme'.<sup>36</sup> He hates the circumstances in which he is forced to live, describing himself as 'reclining in the garbage by the ramparts!'.<sup>37</sup> The subject of peace, as he predicted beforehand, is not discussed in the assembly that follows. Dikaiopolis, however, manages to obtain a private truce for himself and his family by paying Amphytheos, a man who claims he is the immortal grandson of Triptolemos and Demeter, to arrange it.

Amphytheos actually manages to negotiate the private peace, although he is hindered by elders of the deme Acharnai. When they hear he is carrying a treaty for

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<sup>35</sup> Xen. *Hellenica* 2.4.4 and 2.4.26.

<sup>36</sup> Aristophanes, *Acharnians* 32-33.

<sup>37</sup> Aristophanes, *Acharnians* 71-72.

Dikaiopolis, they yell at him: 'Traitor! Are you bringing treaties when our vines are slashed?'<sup>38</sup> This is of course a reference to the ravaging of the countryside surrounding Acharnai that Thucydides described. More references to the devastation of the countryside are made by the choir of Acharnian farmers. They vow to impale the feet of the Peloponnesians so that they will never do harm to their vines again:

Nor will I ease off, till like a reed  
I impale them in revenge,  
like a stake sharp and painful, up to the hilt,  
so that never again  
will they trample my vines.<sup>39</sup>

Later, Dikaiopolis tells the chorus: 'I too have had vines cut down'.<sup>40</sup> Thus, there are several references in *The Acharnians* to the destructions described by Thucydides.

Everything turns out very well for Dikaiopolis: Amphytheos outruns the elderly Acharnians and delivers the treaty to him. This truce with the Peloponnesians enables him to return to his home in the countryside and to trade with enemy states. He also gets to enjoy things that were previously disrupted by the war, like food, drink and sex. All in all, it is clear that in the play, the benefits of peace contrast positively with the sufferings of wartime. Let us now look Aristophanes' *Peace*, produced in 421.

### *Peace*

In this play, performed just a few days before the ratification of the Peace of Nicias, the hero Trygaeus is tired of the war and flies to heaven on a dung beetle (a parody on Belerophon riding the winged horse Pegasus) to reason with the gods about peace. When he arrives, only Hermes is there. Hermes tells him the gods are fed up with mankind and have moved away; the new resident of heaven is War, who has locked up Peace in a cave. Trygaeus, however, calls on all Greeks to help him free Peace when War is not paying attention. They all start removing the boulders, however, the only ones who make any real progress are the peasants. Trygaeus asks why Peace did not return earlier, and Hermes answers that the Greeks, especially Pericles and Cleon,

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<sup>38</sup> Aristophanes, *Acharnians* 182-3.

<sup>39</sup> Aristophanes, *Acharnians* 231-232. This passage might refer to the habit of hiding traps among the vines in order to protect farmland and make ravaging difficult for the enemy.

<sup>40</sup> Aristophanes, *Acharnians* 512.

would not let her. According to him, only the country folk are innocent, even if they have suffered the most. Peace is given a permanent residence again and her beautiful companions, Opora (Cornucopia) and Theoria (Holiday) come with her. They represent the agricultural fertility, carefree life and sexual enjoyment that are absent during war and return in times of peace. Trygaeus marries Opora and returns to the countryside: all is well again.

As in *The Acharnians*, the longing of villagers to return to the countryside is expressed multiple times in the play. When Trygaeus has brought back Peace, he makes the following announcement:

Attention, people: the farmers may take their farm tools and go home to the country as soon as they like, without spear, sword, and javelin, since our whole world now brims with late-vintage peace. Now everyone raise the paean, and be off to your work in the fields!<sup>41</sup>

The chorus, made up out of farmers, responds in a thankful and happy way:

Ah, day long craved by farmers and righteous people, I'm glad to see you, and ready to greet my vines; and it is my heart's desire, after many a long season, to embrace the fig trees that I planted myself when I was young.<sup>42</sup>

And directly addressing Peace, the chorus continues:

Welcome, welcome! We're so happy, most beloved, that you've come home to us. I'm overcome with longing for you in my amazing desire to head back to the country.<sup>43</sup>

In the following lines, the chorus expresses looking forward to growing vines, figs and other plants on their land again.<sup>44</sup> This expression of desire to return to the countryside and grow crops again is culminated in the marriage between Trygaeus and Opora (Cornucopia). As if the symbolism of this deed is not explicit enough, Hermes tells Trygaeus to 'set up house with her in the countryside and beget yourself a brood of grapes'.<sup>45</sup>

There are also some references to the devastation of the countryside in this play.<sup>46</sup> The most obvious of them is when Trygaeus tells Hermes that the

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<sup>41</sup> Aristophanes, *Peace* 551-555.

<sup>42</sup> Aristophanes, *Peace* 556-9.

<sup>43</sup> Aristophanes, *Peace* 583-6.

<sup>44</sup> Aristophanes, *Peace* 588-600.

<sup>45</sup> Aristophanes, *Peace* 706-8.

<sup>46</sup> See Hanson, *Warfare and Agriculture*, 136-7.

Peloponnesians 'cut down that black fig tree of mine, which I'd planted and nurtured.'<sup>47</sup>

All in all, both *The Acharnians* and *Peace* show the desire of the Athenian farmers for peace, so that they may return to their houses in the countryside. In each of the plays, worries of these farmers about the wellbeing of their land are expressed and they are shown to be both sad and angry at the ravishing by the Peloponnesian invaders.

Now that the primary sources have been discussed, it is time to move on to modern scholarly work. In the next chapter, I will give a short introduction on demography. In chapter three, I will move on to studies on the population and the countryside of Attica.

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<sup>47</sup> Aristophanes, *Peace* 628-9.

## Chapter Two. Demography: Theory and Application to Ancient History

The field of historical demographic study is a vast one. This why I can and will not try to create an overview of all models and theories that exist concerning demography in general demography or even of ancient demography in particular. We will instead have to focus on the elements of demographic theory, studies and models that are most relevant to this research. First, a number of population characteristics and basic factors controlling or affecting demography in general should be pointed out.<sup>48</sup> They are of great importance, since they apply to more specific topics like the demography of Attica as well. The following population characteristics are essential to demographical research:

- **Population size.** This means, of course, the numbers of individuals in a population. In the case of Attica, researchers often focus on its citizen population or sometimes even its male citizen population. In other words: they attempt to calculate the number of (male) Athenian citizens instead of that of all people living in Attica. They choose to do so for a number of reasons. Firstly, the ancient literary texts provide us with much more information on citizens than on other population members. It is therefore possible to use these texts to make an estimate of citizen numbers, but it is very difficult to do the same for other population members. Secondly, the number of metics (resident foreigners) fluctuated constantly according to the economic situation, which makes calculations harder. Thirdly, the number of slaves present in Attica is a widely debated subject. Scholars have estimated anything from 20.000 upwards. Estimating a total population is therefore very difficult, although there are scholars who have tried.<sup>49</sup>
- **Population structure.** This means the categorizing of individuals within the population into certain categories, typically age and sex. When calculating population numbers in Attica, these categories do not matter. However, when

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<sup>48</sup> The order in which I will discuss them was based on A.T. Chamberlain's summary of population characteristics in his *Demography in Archaeology* (Cambridge, 2006) on page 2.

<sup>49</sup> For example, Osborne, *Classical Landscape and Demos*, Hansen, *Three Studies*.

scholars try to estimate the number of male Athenian citizens, they of course have to focus on men who are 18 years or older.

- **Population dynamics.** The growth or decline in the size of population. This is, of course, influenced by a number of factors. Important factors that influenced the population dynamics of Attica between 450 and 350 BCE are, for example, warfare, epidemics and agricultural productivity. An important term within this category is a *stable population*, which is a population in which birth and death rates are constant. Because of this, the population size increases or decreases at a constant rate.<sup>50</sup>
- **Fertility.** This is defined as the number of offspring that is produced by an individual in a given time interval. To be clear, this term does not refer to the physical ability to bear children in contrast to our daily use of the word. The latter is referred to as fecundity within the field of demography. Fertility rates are affected by individual reproductive behaviour in the time they are fecund.<sup>51</sup>
- **Mortality.** The likelihood of death occurring to an individual in a given time interval. This likelihood is not the same at all ages. Mortality is typically high in infants, children and elderly and less high in late adolescence and early adulthood. It also varies with other factors, like sex and status.
- **Migration.** This entails individuals entering or leaving the population by other means than birth or death. When discussing the demography of Attica, migration influences the spread of the population throughout the area. It should be noted that in the case of Classical Athens, emigration of citizens to areas outside of Attica did not affect the citizen population, since these emigrants retained their Athenian citizenship. Immigrants did not affect the citizen population either, since they became metics and not citizens. Emigration outside of Attica does matter, of course, when discussing the resident population instead of the citizen population.

Information about these population characteristics can be revealed through both literary and archaeological evidence, to which I will pay attention in the first and second part of this research respectively. Now that I have elaborated on some key

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<sup>50</sup> A.T. Chamberlain, *Demography in Archaeology* (Cambridge 2006) 26.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibidem*, 35.

terms within the field of demography, let me give a short introduction to the use of demography in the field of ancient history.

Some models and theories used in demographic research are relevant to all periods, while others are only applicable to certain ages. In the field of ancient demography, the problem scholars have faced in the past was determining what models or methods should be used. Until the 1980s, historians studying ancient demography used national statistics relating to European societies in the period 1750-1850. The demographic structure of Europe in the nineteenth century was accepted as a proper model for medieval and ancient societies: B.R. Mitchel's *European Historical Statistics 1750-1970* was a much used work among historians studying the demography of Athens.

Studies since the 1980, however, have shown that the demography of medieval societies differed significantly from that of Europe from the 18<sup>th</sup> century onwards and that the demographic structure of the Roman Empire in the first centuries CE can be compared to that of Europe ca. 1500-1750.<sup>52</sup> In 1985, M.H. Hansen concluded that it was time for Greek historians to stop using the European statistics 1750-1850.<sup>53</sup>

Using data from the new studies on the demography of the Roman empire, Hansen calculated the age distribution for fourth century Greece. According to these studies, life expectancy at birth in the Roman empire was circa 25 years and population growth was slow, probably less than 0,5% per year.<sup>54</sup> Hansen makes the reasonable assumption that the demographic structure of fourth century BCE Greece was basically the same. Knowing the growth rate and mortality level, a model can be used to calculate the age distribution of the population of Greece.<sup>55</sup> The result is the following diagram:

Age	% of all males	% of all males 18-80
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<sup>52</sup> M.W. Flinn, *The European Demographic System 1500-1820* (Baltimore, 1981), M.K. Hopkins, *Death and Renewal* (Cambridge, 1983), B. Frier, 'Roman Life Expectancy: Ulpian's Evidence', *HSCP* 86 (1982), 213-51 and 'Roman Life Expectancy: The Pannonian Evidence', *Phoenix* 37 (1983), 328-44; W.V. Harris, 'The Theoretical Possibility of Extensive Infanticide in the Graeco-Roman World', *CQ* 32 (1982), 114-16.

<sup>53</sup> M.H. Hansen, *Demography and Democracy. The Number of Athenian Citizens in the Fourth Century B.C.* (Herning 1985).

<sup>54</sup> Hansen, *Demography and Democracy*, 10-11 and see footnote 53.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibidem*, 9-13. The model Hansen used is that by A.J. Coale and P. Demeny, *Regional Model Life Tables and Stable Populations* (Princeton, 1966).

18-19	3.85	6.7
18-59	52.47	91.3
18-80+	57.47	100.0
19	1.92	3.3
20-39	31.44	54.7
20-44	37.05	64.5
20-49	41.77	72.7
20-59	48.62	84.6
30	1.57	2.7
40	1.21	2.1
40-49	10.33	18.0
50	0.86	1.5
50-59	6.85	11.9
59	0.51	0.9
60-80+	5.00	8.7

Figure 1. Age distribution diagram.<sup>56</sup>

On this diagram Hansen bases calculations concerning the demography of Attica, while allowing for a margin of error. In a diagram resulting from this particular model, for example, effects of war, epidemics and food shortage are not reflected. In addition, it shows the age distribution of a stable population.<sup>57</sup> This means that emigration is not taken into account. As explained above, emigration is a factor that matters if one wants to calculate the number of Athenians living in Attica instead of the number of Athenian citizens. Hansen has coined the term ‘the shotgun method’ for his approach:

To study ancient history is like hunting hares. The hunter uses a shotgun instead of a rifle. His weapon does not hit the bull’s eye and is not constructed for big game, but the spreading out of the pellets to cover a broader field is very efficient when used against smaller animals. Similarly, the quantifications presented by the ancient historian are never precise but within certain limits they can provide us with extremely valuable information about ancient societies.<sup>58</sup>

Even though the shotgun method or a diagram like the one above is not absolute, Hansen’s new approach allowed for serious demographic analysis for the first time; his use of model life tables in combination with epigraphic and literary evidence has been

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<sup>56</sup> Hansen, *Demography and Democracy*, 12.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibidem*, 9-13.

<sup>58</sup> M.H. Hansen, *The Shotgun Method: the Demography of the Ancient Greek City-State Culture* (Missouri, 2006) 1.



widely influential in the field of Greek history. To gauge the impact of his work, we will now move on to discuss some important research on the demography of Attica.

### Chapter Three. The Demography of Attica: Relevant Studies

After the short introduction on historical demography in the previous section, it is time to focus on two subjects in particular. The first is the scholarship on the demography of Attica. Among historians studying Attica, there has been much debate about the demography of Attica in the fifth and especially the fourth century. I intend to summarize here some of the most important contributions to the debate, in order to make clear what expectations we may have of the demography of Attica.

The second subject is the situation in the countryside of Attica: how were the farmers and their lands affected by the war? I will discuss modern literature on, for example, evacuations and the plundering of the countryside during the war. It is important to create an overview of literature on this subject before moving on to the archaeological evidence.

I will first discuss the demography of Attica in the period 450-431 BCE, in other words: the status of the population of Attica just before the Peloponnesian War. Then, I will move on to the changes that occur in the period 431-403. Finally, the historical debate about demographical changes in the years following the war will be summarized. For the sake of clarity, I will limit this period to the years 403-350.

#### 450-431

##### *Population numbers before the Peloponnesian War*

Historians who estimate the number of Athenian citizens in 431 use the passage in Thucydides on Athenian manpower at the start of the Peloponnesian war. In this passage he tells us that the heavy-armed infantry counted thirteen thousand, and that there were another sixteen thousand who garrisoned the forts and manned the city walls. The cavalry numbered twelve hundred and the bowmen sixteen hundred, and the triremes three hundred.<sup>59</sup> Attempts have been made to calculate the adult male

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<sup>59</sup> Thuc. 2.13.6-8.

population of Athens based on this information by Thucydides. Results lie between 40.000 and 60.000 citizens.<sup>60</sup>

A 'reversed' calculation was made by M.H. Hansen based on several assumptions: 1. When the democracy was restored after the war, it seems to have been run according to the rules. If this is true, a minimum of 25.000 citizens was required to run the *ekklesia*, the *boule* and the *dikasteria*. Therefore, there must have been at least 25.000 citizens in ca. 400 BCE. 2. The population losses reported by Thucydides and Xenophon must be accepted. 3. For the year 432/1, a population number must be found that will fit a citizen population of min. 25.000 in 403 and is compatible with Thucydides' account of Athenian manpower in 431.<sup>61</sup> The result is the table displayed on the next page, in which (a) represents mortality due to major disasters and defeats reported in the sources, (b) an average number of casualties suffered in campaigns and battles which our sources do not report, (c) the number of Athenians sent out as colonists, and (d) the mortality due to other reasons than war and plague. (E) represents the total mortality, which is counterbalanced by the number of Athenians coming of age (F). The total number of citizens is recorded in (G).<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> For example: 40.000 citizens: C. Patterson, *Pericles' Citizenship Law of 451-50 B.C.* (New York, 1981) 66-68. 47.000 citizens: a dated but still much referred to estimate by A.W. Gomme, 'The Athenian Hoplite Force in 431 B.C.', *CQ* 21 (1927) 142-50. 60.000 citizens: Hansen, *Three Studies*, 14-28.

<sup>61</sup> Hansen, *Three Studies*, 26-7.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibidem*, 21, 27.

Year	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(E)	(F)	(G)
431/0		200	500	1,500	-2,200	+1,980	59,780
430/9	6,600 plague	200	1,000	1,495	-9,295	+1,975	52,460
429/8	6,600 plague; 430 Spartolos	200		1,310	-8,540	+1,730	45,650
428/7		200		1,140	-1,340	+1,505	45,815
427/6	6,600 plague	200		1,145	-7,945	+1,510	39,380
426/5		200		985	-1,185	+1,300	39,495
425/4		200		990	-1,190	+1,305	39,610
424/3	1,000 Delion	200		990	-2,190	+1,305	38,725
423/2		200		970	-1,170	+1,280	38,835
422/1	600 Amphipolis	200		970	-1,770	+1,280	38,345
421/0				960	-960	+1,265	38,650
420/9				965	-965	+1,275	38,960
419/8				975	-975	+1,285	39,270
418/7	200 Mantinea			980	-1,180	+1,295	39,385
417/6				985	-985	+1,300	39,700
416/5			500	995	-1,495	+1,310	39,515
415/4				990	-990	+1,305	39,830
414/3				995	-995	+1,315	40,150
413/2	10,000 Sicily	200		1,005	-11,205	+1,325	30,270
412/1		200		755	-955	+1,325	30,640
411/0	500 Eretria	200		765	-1,465	+1,325	30,500
410/9	400 Ephesos, elsewhere	500		765	-1,665	+1,325	30,160
409/8		200		755	-995	+1,325	30,530
408/7		200		765	-965	+1,325	30,890
407/6		200		770	-970	+1,325	31,245
406/5	1,000 Arginoussai	200		780	-1,980	+1,325	30,590
405/4	3,000 Aigospotamoi; 3,000 siege	200		765	-6,965	+1,325	24,950
404/3	1,500 executed; 180 killed	200		625	-2,505	+1,325	23,770

Figure 2. The citizen population of Attica between 431 and 403 BCE according to Hansen.<sup>63</sup>

In my opinion, this study by Hansen is by far the most extensive research available on this subject. However, they should not be readily accepted for this reason: his numbers must of course be taken *cum grano salis* and one must realize that lower estimates have been made as well.

### 431-404/3

#### *Evacuation*

For the ancient Greeks, evacuation from the countryside was a common practice in times of war. In his work *Warfare and Agriculture in Ancient Greece*, V.D. Hanson discusses the details of evacuation.<sup>64</sup> According to him, residents of the countryside

<sup>63</sup> Hansen, *Three Studies*, 27.

<sup>64</sup> Hanson, *Warfare and Agriculture*, 103.

fled into the fortifications of the central polis. They took with them their movable property, like livestock, slaves, food and crops, farm implements and household furnishings. As we have seen, according to Thucydides, even doors and woodwork were taken along.<sup>65</sup> Slaves and animals were not taken into the city, where they would take up space and provisions, but were rather sent somewhere else. Before the first invasion of Archidamos, for example, sheep and oxen were sent over to Euboea.<sup>66</sup> Women and children were evacuated first and, like slaves and cattle, were ideally sent to some place far away from the dangers of war.<sup>67</sup> As described above, we can read in Aristophanes' *The Acharnians* that traps could be left behind, hidden among the crops.

In general, according to Hanson, 'the total losses to ravagers and plunderers were reduced by careful evacuation'.<sup>68</sup> It seems only logical that the farmers evacuated so thoroughly and placed traps in their farmland not only to hinder and injure ravagers, but especially to protect their land from destruction. The reason for this must have been that they wished to return to their land after the war.

### *Casualties*

To my knowledge, only two scholars have attempted to calculate the Athenian casualties during the Peloponnesian War. One of them is B. Strauss, the other is, as we have seen above, M.H. Hansen.<sup>69</sup> I choose to summarize Hansen's study, because it includes more evidence. The table showed above (fig. 2) shows Hansen's estimates of the population of Attica between 431 and 403 BCE. The losses in this table were calculated by estimating a number of factors. First, the plague mortality: based on Thucydides, Hansen argues for a mortality of about a third of all.<sup>70</sup> Second are the losses due to the disastrous expedition to Sicily. Again based on Thucydides, Hansen calculates that some 3000 Athenians must have died in the army. In the fleet, there must have been almost 8,000 casualties when assuming that only 50 men of a ship's crew were Athenian. Therefore, in Hansen's opinion 10,000 is the minimum amount of

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<sup>65</sup> Thuc. 2.14.1.

<sup>66</sup> Thuc. 2.14.1.

<sup>67</sup> Hanson, *Warfare and Agriculture*, 120.

<sup>68</sup> Hanson, *Warfare and Agriculture*, 120.

<sup>69</sup> Strauss, *Athens after the Peloponnesian War*, 179-82; Hansen, *Three studies*.

<sup>70</sup> Hansen, *Three Studies*, 14.

lives lost in Sicily.<sup>71</sup> In addition, other major battles attested in Thucydides resulted in at least 7,000 citizens, with another 200 killed every year in battles, raids, sieges and skirmishes not described by our sources.<sup>72</sup> Emigration affected the number of Athenians in Attica as well, and as far as we can tell from Thucydides, at least 2,000 colonists were sent out with their families during the Peloponnesian War.<sup>73</sup>

If Hansen's calculations are correct, some 43,000 male Athenian citizens died in the Peloponnesian War.

## 403-350 BCE

### *Population numbers after the Peloponnesian War*

The population number of Attica in the fourth century BCE is a much-debated subject, with scholars often arguing for either a 'low' number of around 21.000 or a 'high' number of around 30.000 adult male citizens. The debate dates back to the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, when J. Beloch (1923) and A. W. Gomme (1933) argued for a number of ca. 30.000 adult male citizens in fourth century Athens.<sup>74</sup> This number was accepted during the following decades until it was challenged by A.H.M. Jones in 1957.<sup>75</sup> He argued that there were no more than ca. 21.000 Athenian citizens in the age of Demosthenes. His ideas were widely influential and remained unchallenged for a long time: in a number of studies from 1979 to 1999, Ruschenbusch supports his estimate of 21.000 citizens.<sup>76</sup> Hansen, using new methods to calculate the number of Athenian citizens, argued for a much higher number of ca. 30.000 citizens. He has been highly

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<sup>71</sup> Ibidem, 15-16.

<sup>72</sup> Ibidem, 16-18.

<sup>73</sup> Ibidem, 19.

<sup>74</sup> Beloch, 'Die Bevölkerung Attikas', 386-418; Gomme, *The Population of Athens in the Fifth and Fourth Centuries B.C.*

<sup>75</sup> Jones, *Athenian Democracy*.

<sup>76</sup> Ruschenbusch wrote a significant amount of articles on the subject: E. Ruschenbusch, 'Die Soziale Herkunft der Epheben um 330', *ZPE* 35 (1979) 173-76; 'Epheben, Buleuten und die Bürgerzahl von Athen um 330 v. Chr.', *ZPE* 41 (1981) 103-105, 'Noch Einmal die Bürgerzahl Athens um 330 v. Chr.', *ZPE* 44 (1981) 110-12; 'Zum letzten Mal: die Bürgerzahl Athens im 4. Jh. v. Chr.', *ZPE* 54 (1984) 253-69; 'Doch noch einmal die Bürgerzahl Athens im 4. Jh. v. Chr.', *ZPE* 72 (1988) 139-40; 'Stellungnahme', *ZPE* 75 (1988) 194-96; 'La démographie d'Athènes au IV<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.C.' in Bellancourt-Valdher and Corvisier (eds.), *La démographie historique antique* (Arras, 1999) 91-95.

influential and his estimate has been accepted and is still supported by many scholars.<sup>77</sup> However, there have been recent attempts to lower the number again.<sup>78</sup>

Because there is no space in the current research to discuss all contributions to this debate extensively, I will now make an example out of two works, namely R. Osborne's *Classical Landscape with Figures* and M.H. Hansen's *Demography and Democracy*, to show how the debate concerning the demography of Attica looks from up close. Osborne is a scholar who argues for a 'low' number of around 21.000 adult male citizens. Hansen has been very influential in arguing for a 'high' number of circa 30.000.

In the last two decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, a new trend arose among (especially British) ancient historians.<sup>79</sup> According to them, the agricultural productivity in Classical Attica had been much underrated and simultaneously, annual grain consumption had been overrated. In addition, they argued for low population numbers of Attica. Osborne belongs to this school of historians and puts forward his ideas in his two books, *Demos: The Discovery of Classical Attika* and *Classical Landscape with Figures*.<sup>80</sup> According to him, Athenians were in theory able to sustain themselves largely with their own crops and were not, as previously thought, dependent on imported grain. He estimates that in the Classical period, Attica had the capacity to support a population of around 150.000 and that the total population must have been around that very number.<sup>81</sup>

Osborne deduces from the ancient literary sources (he does not say which ones) that there were some 60.000-80.000 Athenian citizens of both sexes and all

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<sup>77</sup> For an overview of the scholars convinced by Hansen, see his *Studies in the Population of Aigina, Athens and Eritrea* (Copenhagen, 2006) page 20 note 12. The number of 30.000 was recently supported by for example: L.A. Burckhardt, *Bürger und Soldaten. Aspekte der politischen und militärischen Rolle athenischer Bürger im Kriegswesen der 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* (Stuttgart 1996) 39; M. Whitby, 'The Grain Trade of Athens in the Fourth Century BC', in H. Parkins and C. Smith, *Trade, Traders and the Ancient City* (London, 1998) 109-14; P.J. Rhodes and R. Osborne, *Greek Historical Inscriptions 404-323 B.C.* (Oxford, 2003) 454; J. Oulhen, 'La société athénienne', in P. Brulé et al., *Le Monde Grec aux Temps Classiques 2. Nouvelle Clío* (Paris) 257-70.

<sup>78</sup> J.-N. Corvisier, W. Suder, *La population de l'Antiquité classique* (Paris, 2000); L. Gallo, 'Il numero dei Cittadini Ateniesi nell'ultimo trentennio del iv secolo', *Antiquitas* 26 (2002) 33-42; W. Lengauer, 'La qualification d'âge pour les membres de la *boule* athénienne', *Antiquitas* 26 (2002) 43-50.

<sup>79</sup> Examples are: P. Garnsey, 'Grain for Athens', in P. Cartledge and F.D. Harvey (ed.), *Crux. Essays Presented to G.E.M. de Ste Croix on his 75th Birthday* (Exeter, 1985) 62-75, Osborne, *Demos: The Discovery of Classical Attika*; Osborne, *Classical Landscape*.

<sup>80</sup> Osborne, *Demos: The Discovery of Classical Attika*; Osborne, *Classical Landscape*.

<sup>81</sup> Osborne, *Classical Landscape*, 46.

ages.<sup>82</sup> Because some other scholars have estimated the male citizen population instead of the entire citizen population, I will now calculate the number of male Athenian citizens according to Osborne for clarity's sake. This way, different estimates can be compared later on. 60.000-80.000 citizens of both sexes and all ages correspond to ca. 30.000-40.000 males of all ages. We can use the age distribution diagram from Hansen's *Demography and Democracy* I showed earlier to calculate the amount of adult male citizens. The diagram is very reasonable, using a life expectancy of 25,26 years at birth and a population growth of 0,5%. From the diagram we can deduce that 57,5% of all males were aged 18-80+.<sup>83</sup> This would amount to 17.250-23.000 adult male citizens. Although Osborne has not calculated this number himself, it is clear from his estimate of 30.000-40.000 men of all ages that the number of adult male citizens according to him is in the 'lower' range of around 21.000, in this case even a little less.

Hansen does not agree with Osborne's estimate. He calls the estimates of Osborne and of the other scholars arguing that there were some 21.000 Athenian citizens 'impossibly low' and thinks the Athenian democracy could not have functioned with so few citizens.<sup>84</sup> He systematically attacks Osborne's estimates, beginning with the citizen population. Osborne made this easy enough for Hansen, since in a review of Hansen's book *Demography and Democracy*, Osborne (in an apparent change of mind) accepts that the sources relating to fourth-century Athens point to a total of ca. 30.000 adult male citizens and that calculations for the Periclean period based on Thuc. 2.13.6-8 point to a minimum of 40.000 citizens.<sup>85</sup> Calculating backwards to total citizen population numbers, these 30.000-40.000 adult male citizens correspond to 52.000-69.000 male Athenians of all ages and to a total population not of 60.000-80.000, but of 104.000-138.000 citizens (rounded off by Hansen to 100.000-140.000).

Next are the metics. Osborne says their number 'probably never exceeded about 20.000.'<sup>86</sup> However, the population census conducted by Demetrius of Phaleron

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<sup>82</sup> Together with his estimates of some 20.000 metics and 50.000 slaves, there would have been a total population of 130.000-150.000 people in Attica.

<sup>83</sup> Hansen, *Demography and Democracy*, 9-13.

<sup>84</sup> Hansen, *Three Studies*, 10, 26-7.

<sup>85</sup> R. Osborne, Review of M.H. Hansen: *Demography and Democracy* in JHS 107 (1987) 233.

<sup>86</sup> Osborne, *Classical Landscape*, 46.



in around 315 BCE shows that in that period, there must have been ca. 35.000 metics in Attica. Hansen realizes that, since this census only represents the situation in Attica around 315, we should not assume that the same numbers apply to the entire fourth century. Therefore, he looks at the epigraphical evidence available from tombstones dated to the fourth century BCE as well. They suggest that the regular ratio between citizens and metics was at least 3:1. Accordingly, some 100.000-140.000 Athenians correspond to a population of some 33.000-46.000 metics.<sup>87</sup>

The number of slaves, which Osborne puts at ca. 50.000, is hardest to calculate since they were not liable to military service or taxable and therefore never counted. According to Hansen, we cannot deduce a number from the sources we have. However, it is revealed by the often very high estimates of the number of slaves made by the Athenians themselves, that the Athenians thought that there were more slaves than free men. Hansen thus states that if the number of free is set at X, then the number of slaves must be > X. However, he realizes that the number of slaves must have fluctuated. To be on the safe side, he assumes that if the number of free is set at X, the number of slaves must be at least  $\frac{1}{2}X$ . The total free population consisted of citizens (100.000-140.000) + metics (33.000-46.000) and therefore numbered some 133.000-186.000. The number of slaves must accordingly have been between 66.000 and 93.000.<sup>88</sup>

Adding up citizens, metics and slaves, Hansen arrives at a total population number of between 199.000 and 279.000 instead of Osborne's 130.000-150.000. For the sake of clarity, I have created a table with both Osborne's and Hansen's estimates:

	Osborne	Hansen
Citizens	60.000 – 80.000	100.000 – 140.000
Metics	20.000	33.000 – 46.000
Slaves	50.000	66.000 – 93.000
Total	130.000 – 150.000	199.000 – 279.000

Table 3. Population numbers according to Osborne and Hansen

<sup>87</sup> Hansen, *Three Studies*, 10-11.

<sup>88</sup> Hansen, *Three Studies*, 11-12.

According to Hansen, with a population number of at least some 200.000, it would not have been possible for the Athenians to rely on their own production of grain: instead, Athens must have been heavily depending on the import of grain even in good years. This corresponds with the view of P. Garnsey, who in his article 'Grain for Athens' suggested that in the fourth century, in a normal year, Athens had to import grain for about one-half of its population.<sup>89</sup>

Now that different scholarly views on the number of Athenians have been exemplified, we know what to expect: either a low population number like Osborne's, a high number like Hansen's, or a number somewhere in between these two. In part two of this research, we will see if the archaeological evidence can shed some light on the matter. Now, however, it is time to move on to a somewhat less theoretical subject: the situation in the countryside after the war.

### *The devastation of Attica?*

The ancient literary sources discussed in chapter one have led scholars to believe that the invasions during both the Archidamian War and the Dekeleian War led to serious agricultural damage which caused a displacement of farmers for decades.<sup>90</sup> E. David paints a heart-breaking picture:

However, those who suffered most, economically, were the farmers, owners of small or moderate estates, who constituted a kind of agrarian middle class. These social elements, which had previously formed one of the cornerstones of economic stability in Attika and elsewhere, were now faced with difficulties with which, in many cases, they could not cope. Many of them lost all hope of improving the situation in their fields. Some were compelled to sell their estates; others could not even do that, since their land was in such poor condition as a result of devastation caused by the war: as a result they decided to

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<sup>89</sup> Garnsey, 'Grain for Athens', 74.

<sup>90</sup> Agricultural damage: B.W. Henderson, *The great war between Athens and Sparta: a companion to the military history of Thucydides* (London, 1927) 15-16; P.A. Brunt, 'Spartan Policy and Strategy in the Archidamian War', *Phoenix* 9 (1965) 225-280 and D. Kagan, *The Archidamian War* (Ithaca, 1974) 99: 'The Athenians had shown restraint during two invasions. They had permitted their fields and houses to be destroyed without offering battle. Now that all of Attica had been devastated there was little reason for the Spartans to think that future incursions would bring better results.' Displaced farmers: A.W. Gomme, *The Population of Athens in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.* (Oxford, 1933); A. Damsgaard-Madsen, 'Attic funeral inscriptions: their use as historical sources and some preliminary results', in M. Damsgaard-Madsen, E. Christiansen, E. Hallager (eds.), *Studies in Ancient History and Numismatics Presented to Rudi Thomsen* (Aarhus, 1988) 66; C.A. Cox, *Household Interests: Property, Marriage Strategies, and Family Dynamics in Ancient Athens* (Princeton, 1998) 52; N. Jones, *Rural Athens under the Democracy* (Philadelphia, 2004) 54.

abandon it. Those who had tried, in spite of everything, to rehabilitate themselves by means of loans were often hopelessly burdened with debt, and sooner or later, became paupers. After having abandoned, sold, or lost their land, these agrarian elements were to join the ranks of the agricultural or urban proletariat.<sup>91</sup>

Unfortunately, David does not cite any sources whatsoever for this remarkable statement. This idea that the Peloponnesian War was disastrous for Attica and its farmers is, however, still supported by some historians.

Others do not agree.<sup>92</sup> According to V.D. Hanson, Thucydides' account contains too many discrepancies.<sup>93</sup> An obvious example is his statement that *all* of Attica was ravaged during the second Archidamian invasion, only to write about a later invasion that areas that had not been touched in earlier devastations were now ravaged. There is, however, a more remarkable inconsistency according to Hansen. When discussing the Dekeleian occupation in the seventh book of his *History*, Thucydides writes that the invasions during the Archidamian War were 'of short duration' and 'did not prevent the Athenians from making full use of the land during the rest of the year'.<sup>94</sup> In Hansen's opinion, it seems that the serious damage brought on during the Dekeleian occupation made Thucydides realize that the Archidamian invasions had been relatively mild.<sup>95</sup>

Hanson has some doubts concerning the evidence from the plays of Aristophanes as well, saying they are not as contemporary as they seem and do not reflect reality because they were composed some time after Spartan ravagers had left the countryside. According to Hanson, 'the farmer railing on at the loss of his vines or these had become an almost stock figure of comedy in this period'.<sup>96</sup> I do not entirely agree. As we can read in Thucydides, the Archidamian invasions of 430 and 427 were most harmful. *The Acharnians* was produced in the winter of 425 and *Peace* in 421. This means that in the case of *The Acharnians* two, and in the case of *Peace* six years

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<sup>91</sup> E. David, *Aristophanes and Athenian Society* (Leiden, 1984) 3.

<sup>92</sup> For example: Hanson, *Warfare and Agriculture* 131-173; J. Ober, *The Athenian Revolution: Essays on Ancient Greek Democracy and Political Theory* (Princeton, 1996) 72-85; P. Krentz, 'The Strategic Culture of Periclean Athens' in C. Hamilton, P. Krentz (ed.), *Polis and Polemos: Essays on Politics, War, and History in Ancient Greece in Honor of Donald Kagan* (Claremont, 1997) 55-72.

<sup>93</sup> Hanson, *Warfare and Agriculture*, 138.

<sup>94</sup> Thuc. 7.27.4

<sup>95</sup> Hanson, *Warfare and Agriculture*, 139.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibidem*, 140.

had passed between the actual invasions and the writing of the plays, not counting the less harmful devastations. Is it realistic to argue that within only six years after Attica had been invaded, the Athenians had made a joke out of the devastations and a caricature out of the farmers who had their lands damaged?

In an extensive treatment of the subject, Hanson argues that the devastations during the both the Archidamian and the Dekeleian war were not as effective as often thought.<sup>97</sup> He collected literary and epigraphic evidence that, according to him, suggests that olive trees, vines and other crops were not severely damaged because they were commonly available during and after the war. In addition, the Archidamian invasions did not last very long: according to Hanson, they were too short to devastate the entire territory of Attica. The Peloponnesians came early in the year, and after they left the Athenian farmers would have had time to do their farm tasks. During the Dekeleian War, fruit trees and vines survived in large numbers according to Hanson: the real damage lied in the Spartans taking slaves, stock and furnishings. He concludes: 'the citizens who did enter the city during the war must have left their temporary shacks on the conclusion of peace and returned to work in their farms again.'<sup>98</sup>

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<sup>97</sup> Ibidem, 131-173.

<sup>98</sup> Hanson, *Warfare and Agriculture*, 170.

## Part One: Conclusion

In chapter one, the primary sources were discussed. In his account of the Peloponnesian War, Thucydides describes how the countryside of Attica was evacuated and how, as a result, the city of Athens was full of refugees. This made the plague that struck all the more deadly, as is clear from his writings. Thucydides also writes about the damage done to Attica by the Peloponnesians in both the Archidamian and the Dekeleian wars. According to him, of the five invasions during the Archidamian war, two were particularly destructive. However, when describing the devastation of Attica during the Dekeleian war, he seems to realize that the Archidamian invasions were not so bad in comparison. Xenophon, covering a later period of time, describes the hardships of the farmers under The Thirty, which suggests the farmers were in the countryside again directly after the war. Aristophanes' plays contain many references to the on-going war. While there are references to devastations by the enemy, the plays mostly express the farmers' desire for peace, so that they may return to the countryside.

As we have seen in chapter three, the population number before the war laid between some 40.000 and 60.000 and after the war this number plummeted to some 21.000 – 30.000 in the fourth century, depending on if one follows the 'low' or the 'high' estimates. In addition, we have seen that opinions differ on the damage done to the countryside of Attica. Some argue that it was devastated to a serious degree and that this caused the displacement of many farmers, others believe that the damage to the agriculture of Attica was not that extensive and that farmers returned to their lands after the war.

Now, what can we expect based on this literary evidence? Basically, the evidence goes both ways. Thucydides describes the devastations by the Peloponnesians but as we have seen, he also contradicts himself. Aristophanes writes about ravaging by the Spartans but mostly describes the desire of the farmers for peace, which does not relate directly to the status of the countryside of Attica. And if we believe Xenophon, farmers were already back on their lands shortly after the war. The primary evidence is therefore ambiguous, as is the modern research on the

subject. Here too, we see that scholars as always divide themselves in two opposite schools: one school argues for low population numbers, the other for higher ones, one school argues for the devastation of the countryside, while the other thinks the agriculture of Attica was not severely damaged.

This is exactly why more research is necessary and why archaeological material can shed new light on these matters. In the next part of this research, I will collect evidence of cult activity across Attica, supported by evidence of activity in settlements and burial sites. This evidence will show us what really happened in Attica in 450-350 BCE. In this way, it will be possible to compare the literary evidence from the first three chapters to archaeological evidence and see if Attica and its population really sustained much damage, or if the farmers could go about their business as usual.

## Part Two. The Demography of Attica from 450 to 350 BCE: a new archaeological perspective

### Chapter Four. The Archaeology of Attica: Sanctuaries, Settlements and Graves

I will now discuss sanctuaries, settlements and graves in Attica in the period 450 to 350 BCE. I have tried to include as many sites as possible, but have left out locations with evidence that was too obscure (those finds, for example, which could not be dated) in order to create a catalogue without questionable evidence. I have sorted the evidence under the modern names of the town, suburb or area it was found in. When a deme has been connected to this location, I will mention the name of the deme within parentheses.

One of the problems I encountered while creating this corpus is that many archaeological reports were written by Greek archaeologists, and naturally, in the Greek language. Although I am learning, my Greek was not sufficient enough to use these reports as more than sources of very basic information. To solve this problem, I have relied on the summaries of the Greek reports in German by A. Mersch in her *Studien zur Siedlungsgeschichte Attikas*. Naturally, I will refer to both the Greek report and the summary of Mersch when discussing this information.

#### Acharnes (Acharnai)

The modern town of Acharnes is considered to be the location of the deme of Acharnai, not only because of the resemblance in name but also because of visible foundations, walls and graves and the many re-used gravestones from the deme of Acharnai that can be found in the walls of churches in the area.<sup>99</sup> In addition, the distance between Athens and Acharnes matches the distance of 'barely seven miles' between Athens and the deme of Acharnai described by Thucydides (2.21.2).

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<sup>99</sup> J.S. Traill, *Demos and Trittyes: Epigraphical and Topographical Studies in the Organization of Attica* (Toronto, 1986), 133-4.

### Ithakis stin Periochi Lykotrypa – Filadelfeias street

East of the road between Athens and Acharnes, H. Lolling excavated an undisturbed tholos grave in 1979. The finds show that a (possibly heroic) cult was established here in the late Geometric period.<sup>100</sup> Many objects were found in the dromos (entrance passage). They date from late Geometric to Classical times. Both red and black figure pottery was found; however, in his description of the pottery, P. Wolters does not estimate its date.<sup>101</sup> He concludes that the cult stopped in the fifth century because the red figure sherds are the youngest ones found, which to me seems like a peculiar conclusion since red figure pottery was developed around 530 BCE and remained in use until the late third century BCE. Wolters sees no signs of slowly diminishing cult activity but rather observes a sudden stop. He suggests that the cause of the seizure of activity might have been the Peloponnesian war.<sup>102</sup>

### Themistokleous Cemetery

Near Themistokleous street in Acharnes, a cemetery was found. Platonos excavated 27 graves, dating from the seventh century BCE to the third century CE.<sup>103</sup> Among the graves found are two examples of primary cremation. One of the graves dates from the middle of the fifth century BCE and contained a lekythos. The other one dates from the end of the fifth or start of the fourth century and contained a lekythos and a plate. Another grave found was a poros-stone sarcophagus which contained two large lekythos and one small lekythos. The grave was dated to the third quarter of the fifth century BCE. A tile-covered grave was also uncovered. It contained eight lekythoi and an alabastron and can be dated to the second quarter of the fifth century. In the same cemetery, a Doric capital covered a poros-stone chest with a bronze lebes or hydria. It contained ashes and an iron finger ring. These findings were dated to the middle of the fifth century.<sup>104</sup>

### Other graves

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<sup>100</sup> H.G. Lolling, *Das Kuppelgrab bei Menidi* (Athens, 1880).

<sup>101</sup> P. Wolters, 'Vasen aus Menidi II', *JDI* 13 (1898) 103-135.

<sup>102</sup> Wolters, 'Vasen aus Menidi II', 135.

<sup>103</sup> M. Platonos, *ArchDelt* 42 Chronika (1987), 64-67.

<sup>104</sup> M. Platonos, *ArchDelt* 42 Chronika (1987), 64-67; A. Mersch, *Studien zur Siedlungsgeschichte Attikas von 950-400 v. Chr.* (Frankfurt, 1996) 93.



J. Travlos mentions a Classical grave in the north of Acharnai in his *Bildlexikon zur Topographie des Antiken Attika*.<sup>105</sup> However, no specific information or references to any report are provided. At Liosion street, a grave covered with marble plates was found. It contained five lekythoi and five bronze platelets and was dated to the middle of the fifth century.<sup>106</sup> At Dekeleia street, two sarcophagi were found, both dated to the end of the fifth century. One was damaged and contained three lekythoi, the other contained eleven lekythoi.<sup>107</sup> At Filadelfeias – Levkados street, very close to the cult site with the tholos grave, children's graves were found. There were four larnakes, containing lekythoi, a pyxis with lid and a feeding bottle. A grave-amphora contained two black glazed kyathoi, a black glazed pyxis with lid, an idol representing a seated woman and two jugs. These graves were dated to the middle of the fifth century until the first quarter of the fourth century BCE.<sup>108</sup>

### [Agios Konstantinos/Synterina \(Besa?\)](#)

Situated at a peak called Mikro Rimbari near the modern villages of Agios Konstantionos and Synterina (which could be the location of the deme of Besa, according to J.S. Traill) lies the cave of Kitsos, which is known primarily as a Neolithic site.<sup>109</sup> However, finds show that it was known during Mycenaean, Classical, Hellenistic and Roman times as well. The majority of the post-Neolithic finds date from the fifth and fourth centuries BCE. Among the finds are two terracotta statuettes, one probably from the middle of the fifth century and the other from around 440 BCE. Furthermore, two lekythoi were found, one from the third quarter of the fifth century and the other from the end of the century. An askos from circa 430-400 BCE and a bowl from the fourth century BCE were also uncovered. The rest of the finds consist mainly of cups (late fifth and early fourth century), lamps (late fifth century and fourth century), skyphoi (late fifth and early fourth century) and black glazed fragments of kantharoi

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<sup>105</sup> J. Travlos, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie des Antiken Attika* (Tübingen, 1988), 1.

<sup>106</sup> O. Alexandri, *ArchDelt* 29 Chronika (1973/4) 157; Mersch, *Studien zur Siedlungsgeschichte Attikas*, 94.

<sup>107</sup> O. Alexandri, *ArchDelt* 29 Chronika (1973/4) 157-8; Mersch, *Studien zur Siedlungsgeschichte Attikas*, 94.

<sup>108</sup> M. Platonos, *ArchDelt* 42 Chronika (1987) 64; Mersch, *Studien zur Siedlungsgeschichte Attikas*, 94.

<sup>109</sup> Traill, *Demos and Trittyis*, 140.

(mainly fourth century).<sup>110</sup> According to the excavators, it is probable that cult activity took place at this cave. However, it is not mentioned by any of the ancient sources nor have inscriptions or objects of dedication been found, which makes it impossible to identify a specific cult.<sup>111</sup>

### Aigaleo (Ptelea?)

The Aigaleos mountain range divides the plains of Athens and Eleusis. Aigaleo is a municipality west of Athens, southeast of mount Aigaleo. It lies along the Sacred Road and is possibly the site of the Classical deme Ptelea.<sup>112</sup>

#### Oryzomylon – Dimosthenous Street

A cist grave from the fifth century containing a black glazed lekythos and a bronze mirror was found.<sup>113</sup>

#### Thivon Street

Between Aigaleo and the municipality Nikaia, construction workers encountered multiple graves from the Classical period. There were six graves and two sarcophagi which contained remains, as well as four pyrai. In the graves, multiple objects were found: lamps, strigilis-fragments, an iron platelet and a bronze lekythos. Most graves were dated to the second half of the fifth century and the fourth century; however there was also a later grave in which a bronze coin and an unguentarium were found.<sup>114</sup>

#### Cianniston – Psaron – Neston street

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<sup>110</sup> F. Vandenabeele, 'Les périodes post-néolithiques' in: N. Lambert (ed.), *La Grotte Préhistorique de Kitsos (Attique). Missions 1968-1978. Tome I: L'occupation néolithique, les vestiges des temps paléolithiques, de l'antiquité et de l'histoire récente* (Paris, 1981) 429-449.

<sup>111</sup> N. Lambert (ed.), *La Grotte Préhistorique de Kitsos (Attique). Missions 1968-1978. Tome I: L'occupation néolithique, les vestiges des temps paléolithiques, de l'antiquité et de l'histoire récente* (Paris, 1981) 429.

<sup>112</sup> Traill, *Demos and Trittys*, 133.

<sup>113</sup> A. K. Andreiomenou, *ArchDelt* 26 (1971) Chronika 30; Mersch, *Studien zur Siedlungsgeschichte Attikas*, 98.

<sup>114</sup> A.G. Liankouras, *ArchDelt* 27 (1972) Chronika 156-7; Mersch, *Studien zur Siedlungsgeschichte Attikas*, 98-99.

A marble sarcophagus with a well-preserved wooden casket was found. It contained an aryballos-shaped lekythos, an iron and a bronze strigilis and an alabastron fragment. The finds were dated to the end of the fifth century.<sup>115</sup>

#### Sacred Road

Along the sacred road, between late Classical, Hellenistic and early Roman graves, a damaged poros-stone sarcophagus from the end of the fifth century was found. It contained two alabastra, a fragment of a lekythos and clay shoes.<sup>116</sup>

#### Anavyssos (Anaphlysthos)

Anavyssos is a town in East Attica. Because of Strabo's description (9.1.21) and the name resemblance the deme of Anaphlystos is placed in the Anavyssos plain, but no name-bearing inscriptions have as of yet been found. The deme centre is often placed at the Agios Georgios chapel, despite the few archaeological remains there.<sup>117</sup>

#### Palaia Fokaia

Three hundred metres from the coast of the town Palaia Fokaia, that borders on Anavyssos, a sarcophagus was found during the ploughing of a field. It contained ten fine white lekythoi; one of them was attributed by the excavator to the Achilles painter (450-440).<sup>118</sup>

About 925 metres southeast of the church in the modern town of Palaia Fokaia, Lohmann encountered remains of walls and Classical sherds. He thinks the site should be identified as a sanctuary because of its location, on top of a hill, and the high concentration of sherds.<sup>119</sup> Among the finds are a black glazed bolsal from the fifth or fourth century BCE and a fish plate from the fourth quarter of the fifth century BCE. The deme of Anaphlystos could have been located somewhere in this area.<sup>120</sup>

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<sup>115</sup> I. Papachristodoulou, *ArchDelt* 28 (1973) Chronika 48; Mersch, *Studien zur Siedlungsgeschichte Attikas*, 99.

<sup>116</sup> Th. Karagiorga-Stathakopoulou, *ArchDelt* 34 (1979) Chronika 34; Mersch, *Studien zur Siedlungsgeschichte Attikas*, 99.

<sup>117</sup> Mersch, *Studien zur Siedlungsgeschichte Attikas*, 103; Traill, *Demos and Trittys*, 139

<sup>118</sup> I. Kontis, V. Petrakos, *ArchDelt* 16 (1960) Chronika 39; E. Vanderpool, 'News Letters From Greece', *AJA* 65 (1961) 299-303, 300.

<sup>119</sup> H. Lohmann, *Atene. Forschungen zu Siedlungs- und Wirtschaftsstruktur des klassischen Attika* (Cologne, Weimar, Vienna, 1993), 499.

<sup>120</sup> Lohmann, *Atene*, 68.

### Ano Liosia (Kropidai?)

Ano Liosia is a suburb of Athens. In the direction of the neighbouring town of Acharnes as well as south of the town, foundations of walls were found. To these remains, the deme of Kropidai was connected, based on a description by Thucydides (2,19,2).<sup>121</sup> There is no other evidence to make an undisputable identification possible.

The passage in between mount Parnes and mount Aigaleos connects the Thrasian plain with the northern part of the Athenian plain. Archidamos led his troops through this passage in 431, the first year of the Peloponnesian war. An ancient wall runs across this passage, apparently built later (possibly in the second half of the fourth century) to close this passage. The local population calls this wall 'Dema'. Outside of Ana Liosia, 13 metres west of the Dema wall, the foundations of a house were found. The 'Dema house' was dated around 420 BCE; the excavators interpret the building as the house of a rich Attic family.<sup>122</sup>

### Argyroupoli

Argyroupoli is a suburb in the southern part of Athens. In this area, remains of foundations and many grave hills were found. No Classical deme has been connected to the area as of yet.

#### Leoforos Vouliagmenis

Along the part of the major road Leoforos Vouliagmenis that runs through Argyroupoli, many graves were found. Four graves with cremated remains were uncovered; thin layers of gravel covered the floors of the graves and small stones fortified their walls. Vessels from 475 to 425 BCE were found in the graves. Another grave was found nearby; it contained lekythoi from the second half of the fifth century. At the point where the Leoforos Vouliagmenis turns towards Ilioupoli, two larnakes were found. One contained four lekythoi from the second half of the fifth century, the other a black glazed fragment of a pyxis from the same period.<sup>123</sup>

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<sup>121</sup> Mersch, *Studien zur Siedlungsgeschichte Attikas*, 108; Traill, *Demos and Trittyis*, 131.

<sup>122</sup> J.E. Jones, L.H. Sackett, A.J. Graham, 'The Dema House in Attica', *BSA* 57 (1962), 75-114; Travlos, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie des Antiken Attika*, 81; Mersch, *Studien zur Siedlungsgeschichte Attikas*, 109.

<sup>123</sup> *ArchDelt* 21 (1966) Chronika 103-5; A. Liankouras, *ArchDelt* 22 (1967) Chronika 140; I. Tsisrivakos, *ArchDelt* 23 (1968) Chronika 112; Mersch, *Studien zur Siedlungsgeschichte Attikas*, 110.

## 28. Oktovriou – Thukididous Street

A larnax was found here, containing five vessels from the end of the fifth century.<sup>124</sup>

### Artemida (Halai Araphenides)

In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, scholars localized the deme of Halai Araphenides on the east coast of Attica at the modern town of Artemida (known in some of the literature by its older name: Loutsia). This was confirmed by the finding of two decrees by the deme of Halai Araphenides, in 1926 and 1933, and by the discovery of the temple of Artemis Tauropolos in 1930.<sup>125</sup> We know that this sanctuary was linked to the deme of Halai Araphenides from the description of it by Euripides (*Ipigenia in Tauris* 1450-1461). Since almost all sherds found within the temple dated from the late fifth century BCE and the fourth century BCE, the temple was probably constructed in this period. On the south side of the temple, however, clay idols from the sixth and fifth century were found.<sup>126</sup>

### Chaidari (Kettos)

Chaidari is a suburb in the northwestern part of Athens. According to Traill, it could be the location of the deme Kettos.<sup>127</sup> Here, in the modern neighbourhood of Skaramagkas, along the ancient sacred road that connected the city of Athens with Eleusis, lies a sanctuary of Aphrodite. The functioning of this sanctuary is attested from the second half of the fifth century BCE down to the Roman period. It can be easily recognised as a site of interest, since niches were cut out in the Aigaleo mountain slope. In these niches, votives could be placed. The sanctuary has a wall, with an entrance and propylon to the south. Against the west wall, there is a small, almost square temple. Within the sanctuary walls there is also a stoa, and outside the walls to the south there is a building that Travlos identified as a residence for priests. Across the sacred road, there is a building that according to Travlos could possibly be a guard

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<sup>124</sup> A. K. Andreiomenou, *ArchDelt* 26 (1971) Chronika 31; Mersch, *Studien zur Siedlungsgeschichte Attikas*, 111.

<sup>125</sup> Travlos, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie des Antiken Attika*, 211.

<sup>126</sup> Mersch, *Studien zur Siedlungsgeschichte Attikas*, 68, 111.

<sup>127</sup> Traill, *Demos and Trittyis*, 130.

post.<sup>128</sup> It is not clear when the wall and the buildings within were erected. Many votive gifts and some reliefs were found, however, which can be dated. A notable example is a pentelic marble relief, which is displayed at the National Archaeological Museum. It depicts Aphrodite, with a winged Eros standing on her left palm. She is flanked by Demeter and Kore. A suppliant in front of an altar is depicted at the left of the relief. It was dated to 420-410 BCE.<sup>129</sup>

### Chalandri (Phlya)

In the fertile swamp between Tourkovounia hill in the west and mount Hymettos in the east lies the Athenian suburb Chalandri. Grave hills were found in the northeast of the area. Inscriptions that were found here have made the identification of the large Classical deme of Phlya in this area possible.<sup>130</sup>

At Agios Sofia/Evternis Street, construction workers found two lekythoi, a small black glazed olpe and fragments of other vessels. They are probably grave gifts and were dated to the end of the fifth century.<sup>131</sup>

### Dekeleia/Tatoi (Dekeleia)

The Classical deme of Dekeleia, discussed in the first part of this thesis, has been localized north of Athens, in an area formerly named Tatoi. More specifically, it lies northeast of Acharnes and east of Fyli. The old name, Tatoi, is still being used in some cases, the most notable examples being the local airport and the 19<sup>th</sup> century Greek royal family summer palace and cemetery that were built here. The official name of the area, however, has been changed to Dekeleia. Between Katsimidi mountain and Palaiokastro hill, traces of fortifications were found; here a phratry inscription of Dekeleia was uncovered. Grave stones in the area also mention the deme.<sup>132</sup>

#### Palaiokastro hill

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<sup>128</sup> Travlos, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie des Antiken Attika*, 177-178, 184.

<sup>129</sup> National Archaeological Museum, coll. no 1597.

<sup>130</sup> Traill, *Demos and Trittys*, 135.

<sup>131</sup> *ArchDelt* 21 (1966) Chronika 103.

<sup>132</sup> Traill, *Demos and Trittys*, 137; Travlos, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie des Antiken Attika*, 320.

On this hill, the Tatoi Royal Cemetery was created. Here, the remains of a fortification were discovered. An ancient wall was found, as well as foundations of a building and, outside of the fortification, traces of the ancient road connecting Athens to Thebes. There is no consensus on the identification of the remains: Arthur Milchhöfer concluded in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century that it must have been the Spartan fortification at Dekeleia that was discussed in part one.<sup>133</sup> It is certainly located at a strategic position, which would have enabled the Spartans to control the most important road in and out of Attica. However, Theophano Arvanitopoulou identified the hill as the acropolis of Dekeleia.<sup>134</sup> Both interpretations could be correct, as they do not exclude each other. Because of the presence of the Royal Cemetery, there are security arrangements that make it impossible to further investigate and date any remains still present.

### **Dionysos (Ikaria)**

Dionysos, a suburb in northeastern Attica, is the site of the Classical deme of Ikaria.

#### Sanctuary of Dionysos

In 1888, excavations at Dionysos were started by the American School in Athens after an inscription was found in the ruins of an old church named Agios Dionysios. The inscription is a dedication to Dionysos from Kephissios, son of Timarchides from Ikaria.<sup>135</sup> Suspecting that the deme of Ikaria might have been located here, excavations were started, led by Carl D. Buck. Soon, decrees of the Ikarians were found, confirming the location of Ikaria. A sanctuary of Dionysos was found, and in it a temple of Apollo Pythios. The latter could be identified by means of an inscription: 'The Pythion of the Icarians'.<sup>136</sup> The temple of Dionysos has not been definitely identified, although it is possible that the ruins of an unidentified building are in fact its remains. Nearby, parts of an Archaic cult statue of Dionysos were found.<sup>137</sup>

Some architectural remains and objects that were found seem to belong to the Archaic period and the first half of the fifth century, while others belong to the fourth

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<sup>133</sup> A. Milchhöfer, *Karten von Attika. Erläuternder Text* (Berlin, 1881-1891) volume VII-VIII, 3-4.

<sup>134</sup> Th. Arvanitopoulou, *Dekeleia* (Athens, 1958) 15-7.

<sup>135</sup> IG III<sup>2</sup> 4605.

<sup>136</sup> IG II<sup>2</sup> 4976; C.D. Buck, 'Discoveries in the Attic Deme of Ikaria, 1888', *Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens* 5 (1889) 154-181, 175.

<sup>137</sup> Travlos, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie des Antiken Attika*, 85.

century.<sup>138</sup> For example, grave monuments from the fifth century were found: among them were a stele representing an old man with a staff in his left hand and a relief representing a female figure seated in a chair.<sup>139</sup> On the other hand, many fourth-century inscriptions were found. Among them are decrees of the deme of Ikaria, choregic inscriptions and boundary stones. One inscription can according to C.D. Buck be dated between 447 and the beginning of the Peloponnesian War, namely IG I<sup>3</sup> 254.<sup>140</sup> The inscription is a decree relating to the choregia. Many historians have drawn the line at the Peloponnesian War when it comes to dating inscriptions or other evidence, because they simply assume they could not have been made during the war. However, this date is based on the letter-form. According to Buck, the letter-form is that from the last stage of the development of the Attica alphabet. This period falls between 447 and the archontship of Eukleides in 403/2 BCE. Buck then dates the inscription more specifically on the use of a dative in –οισι, of which there are only two examples after 444.<sup>141</sup>

The buildings in the sanctuary can be dated to the fourth century as well, with the exception of the theatre and the building that is possibly the temple of Dionysos. These were built in the late sixth century BCE: a time that is compatible with the arrival of the cult of Dionysos in Attica.

#### Rapentosa hill

A pithos grave was found on Rapentosa hill, west of Dionysos mountain. It contained three lekythoi and three black-glazed cotylai. The finds were dated to the end of the fifth century.<sup>142</sup>

#### Elefsina (Eleusis)

Eleusis, now called Elefsina, lies at the end of the Thirasian Plain, some fourteen miles west of Athens. It was the site of the Eleusinian Mysteries, a cult built around the myth of Demeter's quest for her lost daughter Persephone, who had been abducted by

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<sup>138</sup> Buck, 'Discoveries in the Attic Deme of Ikaria, 1888', *Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens* 5 (1889) 109-115.

<sup>139</sup> Buck, 'Discoveries in the Attic Deme of Ikaria, 1888', 115-116.

<sup>140</sup> Ibidem, 99.

<sup>141</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>142</sup> A. Patrianakou-Iliaki, *ArchDelt* 38 Chronika (1983) 59-60; Mersch, *Studien zur Siedlungsgeschichte Attikas*, 120.



Hades. This cult was not open to the general public, but only to those who were initiated through a traditional ritual and had sworn not to tell outsiders of the secret rites. The cult of Demeter was introduced to Eleusis in the latest period of the Mycenaean age and existed until well into Roman times.<sup>143</sup>

#### Rhetioi bridge

The famous Rhetioi relief, dated to 421 BCE, depicts Demeter pulling her peplos over her left shoulder, followed by Persephone holding torches. A personification of the people of Eleusis is greeted by Athena. The relief has an inscription which concerns the construction of a bridge over the Rheitoi lake.<sup>144</sup> According to the inscription, it was to be constructed from blocks taken from the demolished Archaic Telesterion at Eleusis. The bridge, which was located at the southeastern extremity of the Thriasian Plain towards Athens, was used during the annual procession to Eleusis.<sup>145</sup>

#### Storehouses

The "First Fruits" decree of ca. 422 BCE, which establishes the procedure for offerings to Demeter and Persephone at Eleusis, calls for three storehouses (σποροί) to be built.<sup>146</sup> A triangular area and its structure were dated and identified as one of these storehouses.<sup>147</sup>

#### West Cemetery

During the last three quarters of the fifth century BCE, the west cemetery of Eleusis was used for burials again. Many of the graves that were excavated were larnakes containing the remains of children. The adult burials include both inhumations and cremations; both stone sarcophagi and wooden coffins were used, as well as tile-covered trenches for non-elite burials.

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<sup>143</sup> G.E. Mylonas, *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries* (Princeton, 1974), 49.

<sup>144</sup> IG I<sup>3</sup> 79; M.M. Miles, 'A Reconstruction of the Temple of Nemesis at Rhamnous', *Hesperia* 58 (1989) 133-249, 233.

<sup>145</sup> Mylonas, *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries*, 246.

<sup>146</sup> IG I<sup>3</sup> 78, Miles, 'A Reconstruction of the Temple of Nemesis at Rhamnous', 230.

<sup>147</sup> Mylonas, *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries*, 126.

## Fyli (Phyle)

The deme-site of Phyle has according to Traill been identified with certainty at the modern town of Fyli in the northwestern part of Attica.<sup>148</sup>

### Mount Tamilthi: lamp cave

On the west foot of mount Tamilthi there is a cave, which was excavated in 1900/1. The cave seems to have been used in very early times, for there are finds from the late Helladic period. For many centuries afterward, it was abandoned, until in the beginning of the fifth century BCE a cult of Pan was instated here.<sup>149</sup> The marble reliefs, terracotta statues, graffiti and inscriptions show us, according to Mersch, that the Nymphs were worshipped here during Classical times.<sup>150</sup> A relief with Pan and nymphs from the first half of the fourth century was found. It has been named the 'lamp cave' because many lamps from the Roman period were found here.

### Hilltop near Fyli: fortress

On a steep hill in the southern foothills of mount Parnes, about six kilometres north-northwest of the modern town of Fyli, lies a fortress. It has a ground plan shaped like an irregular oval of circa 100 x 40 metres. Its walls are 275 cm thick and were reinforced by three rectangular towers and one round tower. There were two gates, one in the northeast and one in the southwest. J. Ober dates the fortress to the early fourth century because of the pottery found on the site and because the remains resemble the north wall of Messene, which is from this period. Among the surface finds Ober describes are a spout fragment of an askos which was dated to the fourth quarter of the fifth or first half of the fourth century BCE and three kantharos fragments dated to the second or third quarter of the fourth century. According to Ober, the evidence shows that the fortress was in use during the fourth century.<sup>151</sup> However, both Xenophon and Diodorus tell us that Thrasyboulos overtook this fortress

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<sup>148</sup> Traill, *Demos and Trittys*, 134.

<sup>149</sup> Travlos, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie des Antiken Attika*, 319.

<sup>150</sup> Mersch, *Studien zur Siedlungsgeschichte Attikas*, 177. I have, however, not been able to find this evidence in the archaeological reports. This is possibly because, as I have explained before, they are written in Greek and are therefore not very accessible to me.

<sup>151</sup> J. Ober, 'Pottery and Miscellaneous Artifacts from Fortified Sites in Northern and Western Attica', *Hesperia* 56 (1987) 197-227, 205-7.

at Phyle in 404/403 BCE, which would mean that it must have been built earlier than the fourth century.<sup>152</sup>

## Galatsi

### Tourkovounia hill

The site at the top of Tourkovounia hill in the modern Athenian suburb of Galatsi was active as a cult or residential site during the late Geometric period; however, in the fifth century a cult was (re)instated there. A peribolos was built, which should be dated not later than the third quarter of the fourth century.<sup>153</sup> It is not clear exactly what kind of cult worship took place, however vases with holes in their bottom were found and indicate a chthonic cult.<sup>154</sup> There are multiple finds dating from the end of the fifth century and the beginning of the fourth century, like black glazed pottery. These finds lead H. Lauter, who led the archaeological project at Tourkovounia, to conclude that the site was active during this specific period.<sup>155</sup>

### Papaflessa – Nileos street

On the corner of Papaflessa and Nileos street in Galatsi, three Classical graves were discovered during the construction of a pumping station. One grave was completely destroyed, the other two still had intact cover stones. In one of the intact graves, a pyxis, an aryballos-shaped lekythos and sherds of a third vessel were found.<sup>156</sup> At Dryonidos – Feron street, foundations of a house were found. Next to it a grave was uncovered. It still had a cover stone and it contained three lekythoi. It was dated to the second or third quarter of the fifth century.<sup>157</sup>

## Hymettos

The Hymettos mountain range dominates the Attic landscape. Marble was quarried

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<sup>152</sup> Xen. Hell. 2.4.2-7, Diod. 14.32.

<sup>153</sup> H. Lauter, *Der Kultplatz auf dem Turkovuni, Attische Forschungen 1* (1985) 141.

<sup>154</sup> Mersch, *Studien zur Siedlungsgeschichte Attikas*, 124.

<sup>155</sup> Lauter, *Der Kultplatz auf dem Turkovuni*, 140-41, 155.

<sup>156</sup> A.G. Liankouras, *ArchDelt 27 Chronika* (1972) 153-4; Mersch, *Studien zur Siedlungsgeschichte Attikas*, 123.

<sup>157</sup> V. Kallipolitis, *ArchDelt 19 Chronika* (1964) 71.

here, and the mountain was famous in antiquity for its honey (Paus. 1.32.1). Many cult sites were found in this mountain range.

#### Evzonas

Near the highest point of Hymettos mountain, excavations were undertaken by Blegen and Young. They found much inscribed 7<sup>th</sup>-century pottery. A foundation of what might have been a temple was uncovered; Young gave no possible date for its construction in his archaeological report.<sup>158</sup> The inscribed sherds, however, suggest this was a sanctuary of Zeus. Young is convinced that the site must be the sanctuary of Zeus Ombrios, described by Pausanias (1.32.2). Lamps of the Roman period were also found, proving that the sanctuary was (still or again) active in the time of Pausanias, making the identification more plausible. There is no mention of 5<sup>th</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> century finds in the archaeological report, however.

#### Profitis Ilias

On the hill of Profitis Ilias east of Hymettos, Kotzias led an archaeological project which uncovered two temple foundations, an altar, a well, remains of a temenos wall and sherds.<sup>159</sup> The sherds dated from the second half of the fifth century and later. The first temple was probably constructed in the second half of the fifth century as well, since the construction elements can be dated to this period.<sup>160</sup> The walls of the second temple and the sherds found within suggest it was built in late Classical or Hellenistic times.

#### Hymettos Tower

Four kilometres north of the top of Hymettos, J.R. McCredie found a round construction. He identifies it as a tower and describes it as a solid drum of rubble with an outer face of fieldstones.<sup>161</sup> It is 8,10 m. in diameter and it is preserved to about 1,70 m. above the ground. Around the construction many sherds and glazed roof tiles can be found, which appear to have come from this circular structure and not from other buildings, since there appear to have been no other constructions on the site. Among the finds, which are all late fifth to early fourth century, there was a fragment

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<sup>158</sup> R.S. Young, 'Excavation at Mount Hymettos, 1939', *AJA* 44 (1940) 1-9, p. 3.

<sup>159</sup> N. Ch. Kotzias, *Prakt.* 1949, 51-74; Mersch, *Studien zur Siedlungsgeschichte Attikas*, 132-3.

<sup>160</sup> Mersch, *Studien zur Siedlungsgeschichte Attikas*, 133.

<sup>161</sup> J.R. McCredie, 'Fortified Military Camps in Attica', *Hesperia Suppl.* 11 (1966), 118.

of a kernos, a black-glazed cup and a black-glazed mug.<sup>162</sup> The structure was identified by McCredie as watchtower. It is, however, remarkable that a kernos was found. Typically used to hold offerings, it could indicate the presence of a cult.

#### Other locations on Hymettos

In some of the spurs of Hymettos, sherds were found. On the north slope of Zeze hill, at 659,8 metres, Wickens found four sherds which he dated to the third quarter of the fifth century BCE.<sup>163</sup> The collection of the ASCS contains two fragments from this location as well.<sup>164</sup> On the east slope of Myrteza hill at 287 metres lies the 'wolf cave'. In the cave and in front of its entrance many sherds were found from the late Bronze age, the Classical period and from Roman and Byzantine times. Again, the ASCS has examples in its collection.<sup>165</sup> At the east slope of Korakovouni hill at a height of 540 metres lies another cave, known as the 'lion cave'. There, sherds from the Neolithic period as well as the Bronze Age were found inside the cave, while Classical and later sherds were found in front of it. Among them were many black glazed sherds.<sup>166</sup>

#### Ilion (Cholargos)

Ilion, previously named Nea Liosia, is a suburb in the northwestern part of Athens. Based on a funerary inscription, the Classical deme of Cholargos was identified here.<sup>167</sup> At Agios Georgiou street, graves from the end of the fifth century were found. A larnax stood between two poros-stone sarcophagi. One of them contained four lekythoi, the other two cylindrical pyxides, a black-glazed lekythos and an alabastron.<sup>168</sup>

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<sup>162</sup> McCredie, 'Fortified Military Camps in Attica', 118.

<sup>163</sup> Mersch, *Studien zur Siedlungsgeschichte Attikas*, 133; J.M. Wickens, *The Archaeology and History of Cave Use in Attica from Prehistoric through Late Roman Times II* (Diss. Indiana University, 1986) 149 no. 27.

<sup>164</sup> Inv. no. A 106.

<sup>165</sup> Mersch, *Studien zur Siedlungsgeschichte Attikas*, 133; Wickens, *Cave Use in Attica*, 169 no. 32; ASCS coll. no. A 84.

<sup>166</sup> Mersch, *Studien zur Siedlungsgeschichte Attikas*, 133; Wickens, *Cave Use in Attica*, 175 no. 33.

<sup>167</sup> Traill, *Demos and Trittyes*, 132.

<sup>168</sup> A. Kyriazopoulou, *ArchDelt* 40 (1985) Chronika 50; Mersch, *Studien zur Siedlungsgeschichte Attikas*, 158.

### Ilioupoli (Kedoi)

Ilioupoli is a suburb in the south-southeastern part of Athens, between Leoforos Vouliagmenis in the west and Mount Hymettos in the east. In the south of the area, numerous grave hills were excavated. The Classical deme of Kedoi was possibly located here.<sup>169</sup>

#### Nasiou Alexiou Street

A damaged poros-stone sarcophagus was found here. It contained two black glazed aryballos-shaped lekythoi, a lekanis with lid and a fragment of an undecorated pyxis. The finds were dated to the second half of the fifth century.<sup>170</sup>

### Kallithea

Kallithea is a densely populated municipality south of Athens; no deme has been connected to the remains that were found here.

#### Dimosthenous street

Nine graves from the end of the fifth century were found at Dimosthenous street: two marble sarcophagi, five stone caskets, a poros-stone larnax and a kalpis. Three of the stone graves showed traces of plaster. In the kalpis, parts of a bronze lebes, ashes and two alabastra were found. The stone caskets contained two alabastra, two aryballos-shaped lekythoi, a black glazed lekythos, a damaged bronze mirror, a finger ring, three glass unguentaria and a bronze clasp. In one of the sarcophagi, two small pieces of bone jewellery were found. The other sarcophagus belonged to a child: it contained beads, a clay bench, a doll with red-white paint traces and an alabastron.<sup>171</sup>

#### Ilisou – Kalypsou street

A grave stele from the end of the fifth century was found here.<sup>172</sup>

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<sup>169</sup> Traill, *Demos and Trittyes*, 125.

<sup>170</sup> O. Alexandri, *ArchDelt* 30 (1975) Chronika 35-6; Mersch, *Studien zur Siedlungsgeschichte Attikas*, 134.

<sup>171</sup> L. Kranioti, V. Razaki, *ArchDelt* 34 (1979) Chronika 67-8; Mersch, *Studien zur Siedlungsgeschichte Attikas*, 135.

<sup>172</sup> V. Kallipolitis, *ArchDelt* 19 (1964) Chronika 67.

### Kato Souli (Trikorynthos)

The ancient settlement of Trikorynthos lies near the modern town of Kato Souli, in a swampy area. According to Aristophanes, the area was full of mosquitos (Lys. 1031). Funerary inscriptions and spolia led Traill to identify the deme centre northeast of Kato Souli, although others have argued to connect the fortification remains on Stravoraki to the deme of Trykorinthos.<sup>173</sup>

### Stavrokoraki (alt. 101 m.)

The mountain of Stavrokoraki terminates on the east in a rounded hill above the village of Kato-Souli. There was, according to the observations of McCredie, a ring-wall of 343,5 m. long around the peak, int was 2,40-2,60 m. thick. From the southern corner a narrower wall (2,00 m.) runs for some 95 m. downhill to the southeast. On the north side there is another long wall, 1,90 m. thick. There are two more walls on the west that intersect with the other walls. Yet another wall begins from the northern long wall and runs counter-clockwise around the hill until it vanishes.<sup>174</sup> This large amount of walls is confusing, especially since they are not preserved very well and tracing them is hard. McCredie thinks the basic plan seems to have been that of a fortified acropolis.<sup>175</sup> An entrance could have existed on the southeastern side of the inner circuit. As McCredie notes, the remains could be associated with the deme of Trikorynthos, for it fits well with the sources on the location of this deme (especially Strabo, 9.1.22) and Trykorinthian gravestones have been found near Kato-Souli.<sup>176</sup> He, however, thinks the evidence is inconclusive. Trikorynthos was a member of the Attic tetrapolis: because of this the walls have been dated to the Mycenaian period. McCredie is sceptical of this date, since the archaeological evidence cannot support it. In addition, Mycenaian sherds are not numerous on the site. The pottery ranges from the late Geometric period to the Classical period.<sup>177</sup> Mersch remarks that maybe this was not the deme centre of Trikorynthos, but a sanctuary with a temenos wall.<sup>178</sup>

### Stavrokoraki (alt. 310 m.)

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<sup>173</sup> Traill, *Demos and Trittys*, 138; McCredie, 'Fortified Military Camps in Attica', 40.

<sup>174</sup> McCredie, 'Fortified Military Camps in Attica', 39.

<sup>175</sup> Ibidem, 40.

<sup>176</sup> IG II<sup>2</sup> 7551, 7553, 7549.

<sup>177</sup> McCredie, 'Fortified Military Camps in Attica', 41.

<sup>178</sup> Mersch, *Studien zur Siedlungsgeschichte Attikas*, 137.

At the west end of the summit ridge of Stavrokoraki, at 310 m. altitude, lie the remains of a circular wall from the Classical period. It is six metres in diameter and built out of limestone. It is only preserved to a height of 0.48 m. Lolling suspected it was a watchtower, while Langdon thought it was a signal tower.<sup>179</sup> They agreed on the military function of the structure, however. Lauter does not think this is a logical location for a tower, since strategically better places were very nearby. According to him, a watch- or signal tower at this particular point would not have much use.<sup>180</sup> He rejects the theory that this structure was a tower; there are no roof tiles on the site and very few sherds, which are normally abundant on the site of a tower with military function. He suspects that the structure was in fact the round base of a mountaintop cult statue. This cult might not have demanded imperishable gifts, which according to him explains the lack of sherds.<sup>181</sup>

## Koropi

Koropi is a suburb in the eastern part of Athens. No Classical deme has been connected to the remains found at Koropi.

### V. Konstantinou street

A child's grave from the end of the fifth century was uncovered here; it was severely damaged. A black glazed miniature cotyla, a small jug and a part of a bronze forceps were found.<sup>182</sup> Elsewhere in Koropi, a bronze kalpis was found. It contained bones and fragments of ancient textiles. The fine linen cloth, embroidered in a diaper pattern with a lion in the center of each lozenge, is in a very fragmentary state. The date is possibly the late fifth century BCE.<sup>183</sup>

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<sup>179</sup> H.G. Lolling, 'Topographische Studien I. Zur Topographie von Marathon', *AM* 1 (1876) 67-94, 82; M.K. Langdon, 'Some Attic Walls', *Hesperia suppl.* 19 (1982) 88-219, 95-97.

<sup>180</sup> Lauter, *Der Kultplatz auf dem Turkovuni*, 153.

<sup>181</sup> *Ibidem*, 154.

<sup>182</sup> *ArchDelt* 21 (1966) Chronika 106; Mersch, *Studien zur Siedlungsgeschichte Attikas*, 141.

<sup>183</sup> E. Vanderpool, 'News Letter From Greece', *AJA* 58 (1954) 231-241, 232.



## Lavrion

Lavrion was known in antiquity not only as a settlement, but also as a silver mining area in southeast Attica.<sup>184</sup> The exact layout of Lavrion is unclear, since the antique mining area stretched out from Anavyssos to Sounion. Since the second half of the nineteenth century, the area around the modern town of Lavrion has been mined again.<sup>185</sup>

### Hellenic Defense Systems area

During the construction of the factory of Hellenic Defense Systems at Lavrion, two ancient streets and a large Classical cemetery were found. There were 219 graves in total, of which 161 were plate-covered graves, 46 were casket graves, 9 were vessel graves and 3 were pyrai. They date from the beginning to the end of the fifth century. Many of them were destroyed by the construction work before they could be studied.<sup>186</sup>

The graves were laid out in narrow lines. Younger graves cut across or superimposed the older ones. Nine of the graves were used for multiple burials: the previous remains were simply cleared to the side. Two of these nine graves form an exception: here, multiple bodies were buried together instead of the grave being re-used. In a large grave, two bodies rested while holding hands. In another, two skeletons were embracing. Of the 219 graves, only 43 contained grave gifts. The excavator attributes this to the social status of the deceased.<sup>187</sup>

There are ten graves from the middle of the fifth century: five graves, three caskets, an amphora and one primary cremation. Among the finds are lekythoi, a cotyla, an alabastron, a phiale, a bowl, an amphoriskos, and a skyphos. One grave dates from the period 450-430 BCE and contained a kylix, a lekythos and a pitcher. Two graves were dated to around 425 and contained a salt bowl, lekythoi and a pyxis. Finally, two graves are from the end of the fifth century: two plates and a kantharos were found in the first. In the second, a grave amphora, a phiale was found.<sup>188</sup>

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<sup>184</sup> Paus. 1.1.1.

<sup>185</sup> Mersch, *Studien zur Siedlungsgeschichte Attikas*, 142.

<sup>186</sup> Mersch, *Studien zur Siedlungsgeschichte Attikas*, 143.

<sup>187</sup> M. Salliora-Oikononakou, *ArchDelt* 37 (1982) Chronika 58-9; M. Salliora-Oikononakou, *ArchDelt* 40 (1985) Mel. 90-2; Mersch, *Studien zur Siedlungsgeschichte Attikas*, 143.

<sup>188</sup> Salliora-Oikononakou, *ArchDelt* 37 (1982) Chronika 58-9; M. Salliora-Oikononakou, *ArchDelt* 40 (1985) Mel. 90-2; Mersch, *Studien zur Siedlungsgeschichte Attikas*, 142-146.

## Legrena

On the southeast slope of the hill Palaia Kopraisia in the Legrena plain, H. Lohmann noted remains of walls and stairs as well as a possible base for an altar.<sup>189</sup> Among the finds were black glazed and red-figure pottery, for instance a black-glazed skythos from the fifth century and a black-glazed bowl dated by Lohmann to the second quarter of the fourth century.<sup>190</sup> A lot of household ceramics were found as well, dating from the fifth and fourth centuries. For example, a vessel (possibly an amphora) of orange-brown clay was found and can be dated to the end of the fifth or beginning of the fourth century.<sup>191</sup>

## Marathonas (Oinoe)

Traill identified the deme-site of Oinoe at Marathonas, also known by its old name Ninoi. Both literary sources and the survival of the name made this identification possible.<sup>192</sup> On the northeast slope of Tamburi Gura, about three kilometres west of Marathonas, a cave was discovered in 1958. Masses of pottery were found; a lot of it was Neolithic. Remains of vases from the Bronze age were also found.<sup>193</sup> In the fifth century BCE, the cave was reoccupied and according to Vanderpool it remained in use throughout Classical antiquity.<sup>194</sup> Vases and idols from throughout the fifth century were found.<sup>195</sup>

## Markopoulo Mesogaias

At the modern small city of Markopoulo Mesogaias, to the southeast of Athens, multiple cemeteries were found. They might have belonged to different settlements.<sup>196</sup> In the east of the city, five graves were found. Only two of them were

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<sup>189</sup> Lohmann, *Atene*, 517.

<sup>190</sup> Lohmann, *Atene*, 518.

<sup>191</sup> Lohmann, *Atene*, 518.

<sup>192</sup> Traill, *Demos and Trittys*, 138.

<sup>193</sup> E. Vanderpool, 'News Letter From Greece', *AJA* 62 (1958) 321-325, 321.

<sup>194</sup> Vanderpool, 'News Letter From Greece', 321.

<sup>195</sup> Travlos, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie des Antiken Attika*, 218.

<sup>196</sup> Mersch, *Studien zur Siedlungsgeschichte Attikas*, 152.

not plundered. Two early sixth-century lekanides with animals painted on them, a plate of the mid-sixth century with a representation of Achilles and Penthesileia, two jugs, one showing Helen and Menelaos and the other plain, two platelets with representations of gorgons and eight lekythoi from ca. 420 BCE were found.<sup>197</sup>

### Megala Pefka (Amphitrope?)

Nearby the modern village of Megala Pefka remains of workplaces have been observed. The district around Laureion is rich in silver and several ancient mines and industry quarters can be found. In the case of Megala Pevfa, possibly the site of the deme of Amphitrope, the workplace consists of a washery and furnaces.<sup>198</sup> The washery was left unfinished and the material was not used again for other purposes. Unfortunately, the abandonment of the washery cannot be dated precisely for only superficial surveys have been carried out. The site should however be dated before the beginning of the Hellenistic period. H. Mussche and C. Conophagos suggest that the reason the washery was never used was because it might have been built at the end of the mining period in this area.<sup>199</sup>

### Merenta (Myrrhinous)

Southeast of Markopoulo and north of Merenta mountain, the deme of Myrrhinous was located.<sup>200</sup> There is a small settlement called Merenta here. The ancient deme was identified at the Panagia-church, where a cemetery was found.<sup>201</sup> This cemetery

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<sup>197</sup> 'Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1950', *BCH* 75 (1951) 101-198, 111; J.M. Cook, 'Archaeology in Greece, 1949-1950', *JHS* 71 (1951) 233-253, 237.

<sup>198</sup> J.S. Traill places the deme of Amphitrope at Megalo Pevka, see Traill, *Demos and Trittys* 140. C.W. Eliot identified it near the modern Mitropisi in his *Coastal demes of Attika: a study of the policy of Kleisthenes* (Toronto, 1962).

<sup>199</sup> H. Mussche, C. Conophagos, 'Ore-washing establishments and furnaces at Megala Pevka and Demoliaki' in: H.F. Mussche, J. Bingen, C. Conophagos, J. De Geyter, R. Paepe, G. Vanderven, D. Deraymaeker, *Thorikos 1969. Rapport préliminaire sur la sixième campagne de fouilles. Voorlopig verslag over de zesde opgravingscampagne* (Brussels, 1973) 61-72, 66.

<sup>200</sup> Paus. 1.31.4

<sup>201</sup> Traill, *Demos and Trittys*, 129; Mersch, *Studien zur Siedlungsgeschichte Attikas*, 153.

contained graves mainly dating from the Geometric period to the start of the fifth century.<sup>202</sup>

#### Graves northeast of Panagia church

About one kilometre northeast of the church, three pyrai were discovered. In the first one, an aryballos-shaped lekythos, remains of an iron strigilis and two feeding bottles were found. The second pyre rendered an aryballos and sherds; the third contained an aryballos-shaped lekythos and a piece of bronze. In the vicinity, part of a marble grave stele, a naiskos base, fragments of a marble relief and a naiskos fragment were found. The finds were dated to the end of the fifth and beginning of the fourth century.<sup>203</sup>

#### Merenta mountain

On the west slope of Merenta mountain, at a height of 425 metres, a Classical farm was discovered. Archaic sherds were found here, and the excavators conclude that there was probably an Archaic farm that was replaced with a Classical one.<sup>204</sup>

#### Moschato (Xypete?)

Moschato is a suburb in the southern part of Athens; the area might have belonged to the deme Xypete.<sup>205</sup> In 1970, a temple and cult statue of Kybele were found in Moschato at Chrysostomou Smirnis and Thermopylon street. The temple measured 3,55 x 5 m. and had a pronaos and a cella, in which the cult statue once stood. Both the temple and the statue, of which the head is missing, were dated to the beginning of the fourth century BCE.<sup>206</sup> At Neo Phalero, a votive relief was found that was dated to the end of the fifth century BCE.<sup>207</sup>

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<sup>202</sup> A.K. Orlandos, *Ergon* (1960) 30-2; D. Lazaridis, *AAA* 1 (1968) 31-3; A. Vavritsas, *ArchDelt* 25 (1970) *Chronika* 127-9.

<sup>203</sup> A. Vavritsas, *ArchDelt* 23 (1968) 110-11; R.S.J. Garland, 'A First Catalogue of Attic Peribolos Tombs' *BSA* 77 (1982) 167-8.

<sup>204</sup> E. Smith, H. Lowry, 'A Survey of Mountain-top Sanctuaries in Attica', *American School of Classical Studies at Athens, School Papers* (1954) 27-8.; R. Osborne, *Demos: the Discovery of Classical Attika* (Cambridge, 1985) 191.

<sup>205</sup> Traill, *Demos and Trittys*, 134; Mersch, *Studien zur Siedlungsgeschichte Attikas*, 156.

<sup>206</sup> Travlos, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie des Antiken Attika*, 288.

<sup>207</sup> *Ibidem*.

## Nikaia

Nikaia is a suburb in the northern part of Peiraieus. Several graves were found here; it is not clear to which deme they belonged.

### Spartis – Nikis street

Two graves with funerary gifts from the fifth century were discovered. In the first, six lekythoi, three animal figurines, a figurine of a seated woman, three black glazed vessels, a skyphos and a cup were found. In the second grave, black glazed sherds and two vessels were found.<sup>208</sup>

### Leoforos Thivon – Kresna street

A marble sarcophagus from the end of the fifth century was found. It contained a pyxis with a lid, which still had a bronze handle. Other finds were a lekythos, a black glazed spindle, two bronze clasps and a bronze mirror with handle.<sup>209</sup>

### Patriarchou Ioakim – Filinta street

Four pyrai from the middle of the fifth century were discovered. One of them contained five lekythoi, a black glazed lekane and a piece of bronze.<sup>210</sup>

## Pallini (Pallene)

Pallini is a suburb in the northeast of Athens. Because of the similarity in name and spolia mentioning the Classical deme Pallene, the deme is identified here. However, its specific location has not yet been found.<sup>211</sup> Construction work damaged two walls of a peribolos at Leoforos Marathona – Anthousa street. Sherds of plates and phialai from the end of the fifth century were found, as well as fragments of marble grave sculptures. Later, a fragment of a sarcophagus, a grave and another wall were found.<sup>212</sup>

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<sup>208</sup> A. Liankouras, *ArchDelt* 27 (1972) Chronika 164-5; Mersch, *Studien zur Siedlungsgeschichte Attikas*, 159.

<sup>209</sup> O. Alexandri, *ArchDelt* 31 (1976) Chronika 52; Mersch, *Studien zur Siedlungsgeschichte Attikas*, 159.

<sup>210</sup> I. Papachristodoulou, *ArchDelt* 25 (1970) Chronika 122; Mersch, *Studien zur Siedlungsgeschichte Attikas*, 159.

<sup>211</sup> Traill, *Demos and Trittyes*, 138.

<sup>212</sup> A. Patrianakou-Iliaki, *ArchDelt* 38 (1983) Chronika 59; Mersch, *Studien zur Siedlungsgeschichte Attikas*, 166.

## Peiraias (Peiraieus)

At the modern Athenian suburb of Peiraias, the Classical deme of Peiraieus was located. It functioned as the port city of Classical Athens, as it still does for the modern city.<sup>213</sup> Under Cimon and Pericles, the so-called 'long walls' were constructed between Athens and Peiraieus. They were to guarantee access from the city to the port and vice versa during wartime.

### Kastella hill

Because of the construction of a yacht club on Kastella hill in 1935, an archaeological investigation was conducted here. Remains of a temple, a tower and many walls were uncovered. Three walls were dated to the Archaic period, the other architectural remains date from the fourth century.<sup>214</sup> Based on the finds, which included krateriskoi, marble sculptures, idols and a graffito that says 'Artemidos', the site was identified as the sanctuary of Artemis Mounichias, described by Pausanias (1.4).<sup>215</sup> From the many finds of sculpture and pottery, dating from the stone age to the 4<sup>th</sup> century CE, L. Palaiokrassa concludes that 'an der Stelle des Heiligtums von Munichia wird das leben nie aufgehört haben'.<sup>216</sup> However, none of the finds in her catalogue seem to come from the late fifth or early fourth century.<sup>217</sup>

### Leoforos Iroon Polytechniou

Four cistern backfills were discovered, containing sherds from the end of the fifth century until Roman times. The fragments all belong to water vessels; other finds were parts of marble sculptures and the heads of two clay figures.<sup>218</sup>

### Iasonos – Salaminomachon street

Remains of a building were found. Multiple rooms and doorways were discovered, as well as what was possibly the court of a house. Pottery found among the remains

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<sup>213</sup> Traill, *Demos and Trittyes*, 136.

<sup>214</sup> L. Palaiokrassa, 'Neue Befunde aus dem Heiligtum der Artemis Munichia', *AM* 104 (1989) 1-40, 3.

<sup>215</sup> Mersch, *Studien zur Siedlungsgeschichte Attikas*, 170.

<sup>216</sup> Palaiokrassa, 'Neue Befunde aus dem Heiligtum der Artemis Munichia', 14.

<sup>217</sup> Palaiokrassa, 'Neue Befunde aus dem Heiligtum der Artemis Munichia', 20-40. As a sidenote, I should remark that I used the catalogue in Palaiokrassa's article in *AM*. I did not read her article in *Archaologia* 39 (1991) and sadly not her *To hiero tis Artemidos Mounichias* (Thessaloniki, 1983) either. The reason for this is, again, that these works are written in Greek.

<sup>218</sup> A.G. Liankouras, *ArchDelt* 27 *Chronika* (1972) 175; Mersch, *Studien zur Siedlungsgeschichte Attikas*, 171.

covered a timespan from 450 to 300 BCE. The most sherds were from the second half of the fourth century.<sup>219</sup>

#### Alkiviadou street

Between the remains of a house, excavators found two coin hoards. One consisted of 21 small bronze coins from the first century BCE. The other was a hoard of eleven silver tetradrachmae and eighteen drachmae from the end of the fifth or beginning of the fourth century. Nearby, remains of a street and the foundations of a building were found.<sup>220</sup>

#### Theatrou street

A cistern backfill was excavated. Among the finds were sherds of a black glazed skyphos, a plate that can possibly be dated to the end of the fifth century BCE, and a lamp with an inscription from the third quarter of the fourth century.<sup>221</sup>

#### Omiridou street

A part of a road was uncovered, as well as three rooms of a building to the south of the road and a well. In the ground, three coins (third century BCE, second century BCE and fourth century CE), a cotyla from the end of the fifth century and a lamp and sherds from the fourth century were found.<sup>222</sup>

#### Botasi street

In a cistern, black glazed and simple sherds from the fourth and third centuries BCE were found, as well as many fragments of black glazed phiales from 425 to 325 BCE and clay figures.<sup>223</sup>

#### Various smaller finds

Cistern- and well backfills from the second half of the fifth century were discovered at Kolokotroni – Palaiologou street.<sup>224</sup> At Lekka – Frankiaddon street, remains of a Hellenistic building and two cisterns were uncovered; sherds found in the cisterns

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<sup>219</sup> V. Petrakos, *ArchDelt* 32 Chronika (1977) 36; Mersch, *Studien zur Siedlungsgeschichte Attikas*, 171.

<sup>220</sup> V. Petrakos, *ArchDelt* 32 Chronika (1977) 38; *ArchDelt* 33 Chronika (1978) 49; Mersch, *Studien zur Siedlungsgeschichte Attikas*, 171,

<sup>221</sup> *ArchDelt* 33, Chronika (1978) 43; Mersch, *Studien zur Siedlungsgeschichte Attikas*, 172.

<sup>222</sup> *ArchDelt* 33, Chronika (1978) 48; Mersch, *Studien zur Siedlungsgeschichte Attikas*, 172.

<sup>223</sup> A. Spathatou, *ArchDelt* 35 Chronika (1980) 56; Mersch, *Studien zur Siedlungsgeschichte Attikas*, 172.

<sup>224</sup> A.G. Liankouras, *ArchDelt* 27 Chronika (1972) 171-3; Mersch, *Studien zur Siedlungsgeschichte Attikas*, 171.

dated from the end of the fifth century.<sup>225</sup> At Evangelistrias – Notara street, sherds from the end of the fifth century were found in the ground.<sup>226</sup> Two cisterns and sherds from the end of the fifth and beginning of the fourth century were found at Ionidon street.<sup>227</sup> At Neroion street, sherds from the end of the fifth to the third century were discovered.<sup>228</sup> Plates were found in a quarry backfill at Zosimadon Street. They were dated to about 430-420 BCE.<sup>229</sup> At Evergeton street, remains of walls and sherds from the end of the fifth to the third century were discovered. Finally, at Leoforos Vasileos Georgiou Protou – Karaiskou street, a cistern was excavated. It contained sherds from the end of the fifth to the third century.<sup>230</sup>

### **Penteli Mountain**

#### **Penteli (alt. 1107 m.)**

On the highest peak of Penteli, Smith and Lowry reported finding Classical sherds and tile fragments.<sup>231</sup> The site is near the platform on which according to Pausanias a statue of Athena stood (1.32.2) and can perhaps be connected to it.<sup>232</sup>

#### **Penteli (alt. 800 m.)**

On the southeast hill of Penteli, Papadimitriou excavated a cave. He found votive gifts for a cult of Pan and the Nymphs, as well as two marble reliefs, 26 lamps and four idols. The finds were dated to the fifth century.<sup>233</sup>

#### **Moschou quarry**

At the Moschou quarry at Penteli, a grave covered with marble plates was found. Three aryballos-shaped lekytoi were found near the head of the deceased. The grave was dated to the second half of the fifth century BCE.<sup>234</sup>

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<sup>225</sup> A. Spathatou, *ArchDelt* 35 Chronika (1980) 63; Mersch, *Studien zur Siedlungsgeschichte Attikas*, 172.

<sup>226</sup> V. Petrakos, *ArchDelt* 33 Chronika (1978) 44; Mersch, *Studien zur Siedlungsgeschichte Attikas*, 172.

<sup>227</sup> *ArchDelt* 33, 1978, 44; Mersch, *Studien zur Siedlungsgeschichte Attikas*, 172.

<sup>228</sup> A. Spathatou, *ArchDelt* 35 (1980) Chronika 58-9; Mersch, *Studien zur Siedlungsgeschichte Attikas*, 172.

<sup>229</sup> V. Petrakos, *ArchDelt* 32 (1977) Chronika 36; Mersch, *Studien zur Siedlungsgeschichte Attikas*, 171.

<sup>230</sup> I. Metzger, *ArchDelt* 26 (1971) Mel. 41-3.

<sup>231</sup> E. Smith, H. Lowry, 'A Survey of Mountain-top Sanctuaries in Attica', *American School of Classical Studies at Athens, School Papers* (1954), 15.

<sup>232</sup> M.K. Langdon, 'A Sanctuary of Zeus on Mount Hymettos', *Hesperia Suppl.* 16 (1976) 102.

<sup>233</sup> P. Zoridis, *AEphem* (1977) 4-11; Mersch, *Studien zur Siedlungsgeschichte Attikas*, 173.

<sup>234</sup> V. Kallipolitis, *ArchDelt* 19 Chronika (1964) 72; Mersch, *Studien zur Siedlungsgeschichte Attikas*, 173.



## Peristeri

Peristeri is a suburb in the northwest part of Athens. Here, off Miltiadou street, a poros-stone sarcophagus was found. It contained the remains of a child, fragments of an iron strigilis and nine vessels. The finds were dated to the third quarter of the fifth century.<sup>235</sup> At Anthoupolis, a fragment of a large grave stele was found. It was dated to the late fifth century.<sup>236</sup>

## Rhamnous (Rhamnous)

Because of the extensive remains and the abundant evidence, the location of the deme of Rhamnous can be placed with certainty at a remote location in the northeast of Attica, 39 kilometres northeast of Athens and 12.4 kilometres north-northeast of Marathon.<sup>237</sup> Rhamnous was, and still is, known for its sanctuary of Nemesis, the goddess of revenge and retribution.

### Sanctuary of Nemesis

At the sanctuary of Nemesis, two temples were found. The smallest dates from directly after the battle of Marathon (490), while the other temple was built between circa 425-415.<sup>238</sup> In the smallest temple, a cult statue of Themis was found in the cella. In the other temple stood the cult statue of Nemesis, made by Agorakritos between circa 430-420 BCE.<sup>239</sup> Sherds found at the site date from the Neolithic period until late antiquity.<sup>240</sup>

### Chomatodromos Street

Along the street that runs south from the sanctuary of Nemesis, V. Petrakos excavated

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<sup>235</sup> P. Agalopoulou-Kalliontzi, *ArchDelt* 39 (1984) Chronika 32; Mersch, *Studien zur Siedlungsgeschichte Attikas*, 174.

<sup>236</sup> A.K. Andreiomenou, *ArchDelt* 17 (1961/1962) Chronika 41; Mersch, *Studien zur Siedlungsgeschichte Attikas*, 174.

<sup>237</sup> Traill, *Demos and Trittys*, 138.

<sup>238</sup> H. Knell, *Perikleische Baukunst* (Darmstadt, 1979) 67-9, M.M. Miles, 'A Reconstruction of the Temple of Nemesis at Rhamnous', *Hesperia* 58 (1989) 133-249, 223-34; Travlos, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie des Antiken Attika*, 388.

<sup>239</sup> M.M. Miles, 'A Reconstruction of the Temple of Nemesis at Rhamnous', *Hesperia* 58 (1989) 133-249, 227; Travlos, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie des Antiken Attika*, 397.

<sup>240</sup> E. Theocharaki-Tsitoura, 'Η κεραμική του Ιερού της Νέμεσης στον Ραμνούντα', *Archaologia* 39 (1991) 41-3.

multiple periboloi and graves. Most graves belong to the end of the fifth and the fourth century.<sup>241</sup>

### Sounio (Sounion)

The extensive remains and abundant evidence at the southernmost cape of Attica allow us to place the deme of Sounion in this general location.<sup>242</sup>

#### Temple of Poseidon

Construction of a temple of Poseidon at Sounio was started in 490, but it was destroyed by the Persians before it was completed. From 444 to 440 it was built again, this time in marble contrary to its poros-stone predecessor. After the start of the Peloponnesian War, a wall was built to secure the site.<sup>243</sup> A propylon, a banquet hall, terrace walls and a stoa were built around 420 BCE.<sup>244</sup>

#### Temple of Athena

On the hill ca. 300 metres northeast of the temple of Poseidon, two temples, remains of a temenos wall and an oval peribolos were found. The temenos wall surrounded the cult area: within it are the two temples. The largest measured 11.16 x 16.40 metres; there is discussion about its exact shape.<sup>245</sup> This temple is identified as the temple of Athena Sounias. Its Ionic capitals can be dated to shortly after 450 BCE. A smaller temple in the north of the site measured 5 x 6,80 metres; it was dated to the third quarter of the sixth century because of its Doric capitals. Next to the temple is the oval peribolos, which probably enclosed a tumulus. Within the peribolos are remains of a foundation which could be the site of a hero-cult, possibly that of Phrontis.<sup>246</sup>

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<sup>241</sup> V. Petrakos, *Prakt* (1975), 11-3.

<sup>242</sup> Traill, *Demos and Trittys*, 131.

<sup>243</sup> Travlos, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie des Antiken Attika*, 404.

<sup>244</sup> J.S. Boersma, *Athenian building policy from 561/0 to 405/4 B.C.* (Groningen, 1970) 203; W.B. Dinsmoor, *Sounion* (Keramos Guides, Athens 1971) 25-8.

<sup>245</sup> V. Stais, *AEphem* 1917 181-3; G. Gruben, *Die Tempel der Griechen* (Munich, 1976) 217; W.B. Dinsmoor, *Sounion* (Keramos Guides, Athens 1971) 37-9.

<sup>246</sup> Mersch, *Studien zur Siedlungsgeschichte Attikas*, 190; Travlos, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie des Antiken Attika*, 405.

## Spata

Before construction work started on the new Athens International Airport, Eleftherios Venizelos, the area was excavated on a large scale. In the northwest area of the airport, an ancient road, walls and a Classical cemetery were found. Two poros-stone periboloi were discovered: one of them surrounded poros-stone sarcophagoi, tile-covered graves, vessel graves and a pyre. The burials dated from the fifth and fourth century until Roman times. Within the second peribolos, mainly tile-covered graves from the fifth and fourth century were found.<sup>247</sup>

## Tavros

In the southwestern part of Athens lies the suburb Tavros. The 'long walls' connecting Athens to Peiraieus used to run through this area. A necropolis was discovered in Tavros; no settlements or other remains were found.

### Chrysostomou Smyrnis street, Agios Sofias street, Thrakis street and Koryzi street

North of the 'long walls', a cemetery was excavated. Twenty graves were uncovered, most of them dating from the end of the fifth and beginning of the fourth century. However, earlier and later graves were also present.

In a pyre from the middle of the fifth century, sherds were found. A grave from the same period contained three iron nails and a lekythos. A pyre from ca. 430 contained four lekythoi and an iron nail. In a pyre from 430-410, a kyathos was found. In a grave from ca. 425-410 BCE, sherds of three lekythoi were found. Another pyre from ca. 425-400 contained an aryballos-shaped lekythos. In a grave from ca. 410-400, sherds were found, as well as in a pyra from ca. 410-390. A pyre from 410-380 contained sherds of a jug, a lekane and a cotyla. In a tile-covered grave from ca. 390-360, a strigilis, an alabastron, a lekythos and iron fragments were found near the left hand of the deceased. Finally, a tile-covered grave from the first half of the fourth century was found. The grave contained an alabastron and sherds of a cotyla, lekythos and an amphora.<sup>248</sup>

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<sup>247</sup> G. Steinbauer, *Prakt* (1982), 123-5; Mersch, *Studien zur Siedlungsgeschichte Attikas*, 192.

<sup>248</sup> D. Skilardi, *AAA* 2 (1969), 334-7; D. Skilardi, *AEphem* (1975) 66-8; Mersch, *Studien zur Siedlungsgeschichte Attikas*, 194-5.

## Thorikon (Thorikos)

An important centre for silver mining in Classical times, the deme of Thorikos was located on the east coast of Attica and included Velatouri hill.<sup>249</sup> The site has been excavated by Ghent University, starting in 1960 with H. Mussche, and has been mapped carefully. I will refer to the macro-squares the finds are located in, except in the following case of the Doric structure, which is located outside of the mapped area.

### A Doric temple?

A large Doric structure, west from the main site at Thorikos and ca. 150 metres from the sea, was built in the last quarter of the fifth century. It had 7x14 columns, which were not fluted. According to Travlos, this means that the construction was never completed.<sup>250</sup> Doric capitals from the second half of the fifth century were also found. Travlos thinks the structure had to be a temple, even though the cella was never excavated. According to him, Demeter and Kore were worshipped here, although he gives no reason at all for this rather specific conclusion. An inscription found at the site, however, does seem to point out that a sanctuary of two gods must have been close (IG II2 2600).

### Macro-square C'52, D'51/'52: Necropolis West 4

Since 1963, more than 150 graves were excavated in this area of the archaeological site at Thorikos. Finds date from the Geometric period to Classical times. Carbonized wood and remains of a wooden sarcophagus were found here, with a bronze mirror, lekythoi, pyxis-sherds and a lebes with lid. The finds date from ca. 430-410 BCE. In a depot, a clay pomegranate, two vessels, a pyxis lid, a hydria bottom, two aryballos-shaped lekythoi and part of a bronze strigilis were found. The finds can be dated to the end of the fifth century. In a plate-covered grave from the end of the fifth century, two lekythoi, cups and a fragment of an olpe were found. In a coffin from the same period, a miniature aryballos-shaped lekythos, two lekythoi, a jar, a pyxis and a miniature skyphos were found. A cremation and a bronze urn from the middle of the fourth century were also uncovered.<sup>251</sup>

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<sup>249</sup> Traill, *Demos and Trittys*, 133.

<sup>250</sup> Travlos, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie des Antiken Attika*, 431.

<sup>251</sup> J. Bingen, 'La nécropole ouest 4', H. Mussche e.a., *Thorikos I* (Brussels, 1963) 59-86; J. Bingen, 'L' établissement du IX<sup>e</sup> siècle et les nécropoles du secteur ouest 4', H. Mussche e.a., *Thorikos II* (Brussels, 1964) 25-46; J. Bingen, 'L' établissement géométrique et la nécropole ouest', H. Mussche e.a., *Thorikos*

### Macro-square E'5/'6: Theater Necropolis

South of the theatre, 63 late Archaic and Classical graves were uncovered. Almost all of them were children's burials. In an amphora-grave from the end of the fifth century, a lekane and a cup were found. Two pyrai were also excavated, containing bowls and lekythoi dating to the end of the fifth century. A grave from the end of the fifth or beginning of the fourth century was also excavated: it contained an aryballos-shaped lekythos. Later graves, from the second quarter of the fourth century, were also found. They did not contain grave gifts.<sup>252</sup>

### Macro-square A'51: Cistern I

Since 2010, excavations are being conducted in a large cistern in the industrial quarter of Thorikos.<sup>253</sup> The finds of the 2010 campaign have been published. Among the published finds from the cistern fill are a sherd of a cup from ca. 425-400 BCE and sherds of two craters, one from ca. 450-430 BCE and the other from 430-400 BCE.<sup>254</sup> Most of the evidence is from the fifth century and from the second half of the fourth century: there were less finds from the first half of the fourth century.<sup>255</sup>

### Agios Nikolaos peninsula

Fortification walls of a length of ca. 800 metres were found on the Agios Nikolaos peninsula at Thorikon. According to Xenophon (Hell. 1.2.1), the Athenians fortified Thorikos during the 93<sup>rd</sup> Olympiad (412/411). Mussche, who documented the walls, concludes that this must be the fortification built in 412.<sup>256</sup> The evidence supports this conclusion: most finds date from the end of the fifth and beginning of the fourth century.<sup>257</sup>

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III (Brussels, 1965) 31-56; J. Bingen, 'Les établissements géométriques et la nécropole ouest', in: H. Mussche e.a., *Thorikos IV* (Brussels, 1966/67) 70-118; J. Bingen, 'La nécropole géométrique ouest 4', H. Mussche e.a., *Thorikos VIII* (Ghent, 1984) 72-150; N. Verdélis, H. Mussche, *ArchDelt* 21 (1966), 105-6; Mersch, *Studien zur Siedlungsgeschichte Attikas*, 199-203.

<sup>252</sup> T. Hackens, 'La nécropole au sud du théâtre', H. Mussche e.a., *Thorikos II* (Brussels, 1964) 77-102; Mersch, *Studien zur Siedlungsgeschichte Attikas*, 204-5.

<sup>253</sup> By a team of Ghent University in 2010 and teams of both Ghent University and Utrecht University in 2011. Further fieldwork by teams of both universities is scheduled for 2012. I have participated in the 2011 excavation with the Utrecht University team and will do so in the 2012 project as well.

<sup>254</sup> R.F. Docter (ed.), *Thorikos 10. Reports and Studies* (Ghent, 2011) 78, 81.

<sup>255</sup> *Ibidem*, 118-9.

<sup>256</sup> H. Mussche, 'La forteresse maritime de Thorikos', *BCH* 85 (1961) 176-205, 205.

<sup>257</sup> *Ibidem*, 197-202 and 204.

### Vari/Varkiza (Anagyrous)

Vari is a suburban town in East Attica, part of the municipality Vari-Voula-Vouliagmeni. Varkiza is a small village within the municipality. Based on literary sources, especially Strabo (IX.1.21), the deme of Anagyrous is placed at Vari.<sup>258</sup>

#### Vari

In the southeast part of Vari, three test slots revealed graves in 1961. Graves from the Archaic period as well as from the fifth and fourth century were discovered. A larnax grave with an alabastron and a pyxis from the end of the fifth century was found; in the west corner outside of the larnax were two bronze strigili as well as two choe-vases, a skyphos, a lekythos and a clay bird.<sup>259</sup>

#### Varkiza

On Varkizas hill at 110 metres altitude lies an east-oriented manmade terrace made from rubble. Finds date from the Geometric to the Classical period and lamp fragments show the re-use of the site in Roman times. An altar foundation in the east, which was made out of rubble as well, was also found.<sup>260</sup>

#### Krevati

About three kilometres north of Vari, on the east slope of Hymettos mountain, is a cave at an altitude of about 290 metres. Twelve steps lead to the cave floor four metres below. American archaeologists started excavating the cave systematically in 1901.<sup>261</sup> There are many niches for votive gifts, as well as small altars and cult places, which can be identified by means of inscriptions in the rock. From the inscriptions we can learn that Apollo, Pan, the Nymphs, the Muses and the Charites were worshipped here. Most finds date from the fifth to the third century BCE.<sup>262</sup>

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<sup>258</sup> Traill, *Demos and Trittys*, 126.

<sup>259</sup> A.K. Andreiomenou, *ArchDelt* 17 (1961/1962) Chronika 37-9; Mersch, *Studien zur Siedlungsgeschichte Attikas*, 209-10.

<sup>260</sup> Mersch, *Studien zur Siedlungsgeschichte Attikas*, 216.

<sup>261</sup> C.H. Weller, 'The Cave at Vari. I. Description, Account of Excavation, and History', *AJA* 7 (1903) 263-288.

<sup>262</sup> Mersch, *Studien zur Siedlungsgeschichte Attikas*, 62, 216.

## Voula/Vouliagmeni (Halai Aixonides)

Voula, a southern suburb of Athens, is considered to be the location of the deme Halai Aixonides because of the discovery of the deme-decree IG II<sup>2</sup> 1174.

### Sanctuary of 'Apollon Zoster'

In the area of the current towns of Voula and Vouliagmeni is the site of the deme of Halai Aixonides. In what is now the land of the Astir Vouliagmenis hotel complex, a sanctuary was found that could be identified as the one described by Pausanias (1.31.1): a sanctuary of Apollo on cape Zoster for Apollo, Athena, Artemis and Leto. The temple, 6x10.80 metres, has a cella and an adyton and is surrounded by a peristase. 6.75 m. before the entrance of the temple is an altar in which spolia were used. The construction of the temple took place around 500 BCE, although a cult site probably existed here before.<sup>263</sup> The peristase was built later: the columns can be dated to the middle of the fourth century.

### Ano Voula, Spetson street

The foundations of a small temple (3,17x4,87 m.) with a pronaos and naos were found. Corinthian skyphoi, aryballoi, Classical lamps and mostly female idols were found, dating from the Archaic and Classical periods. Marble votive gifts, among them a mountable foot, were found on the floor of the temple; probably a female (healing?) goddess was worshipped here in Archaic and Classical times.<sup>264</sup>

### Nea Kalymnos

A naiskos (3.50x2.30 m.) was found in which the base for a cult statue could still be seen. A test pit was dug in which sherds of amphorae and Corinthian cotylae were found, dating from the middle of the fifth to the middle of the fourth century.<sup>265</sup>

### Patriarchou Grigoriou Pemptou street

A peribolos was found that surrounded a small temple. About twenty idols and sherds from the fifth and fourth century were found; it was suggested by the excavator that a female goddess was worshipped here.<sup>266</sup>

### Nea Leoforos Athinon-Vouliagmenis

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<sup>263</sup> K. Kourouniotis, *ArchDelt* 11 (1927/1928) 8-10; Mersch, *Studien zur Siedlungsgeschichte Attikas*, 225.

<sup>264</sup> *ArchDelt* 34 (1979) Chronika 77-8; Mersch, *Studien zur Siedlungsgeschichte Attikas*, 226.

<sup>265</sup> I. Andreou, *ArchDelt* 43 (1988) Chronika 73-5; Mersch, *Studien zur Siedlungsgeschichte Attikas*, 226.

<sup>266</sup> *ArchDelt* 33 (1978) Chronika 58; A. Kyriazopoulou, *ArchDelt* 39 (1984) Chronika 36; Mersch, *Studien zur Siedlungsgeschichte Attikas*, 222.

Parts of the Classical settlement of Halai Aixonides were excavated. Streets, foundation walls and three small sanctuaries were found; however, the excavation results have not been published yet. Sherds above ground date from the late fifth and especially fourth century.<sup>267</sup>

#### Kavalas Street

Parallel to the modern street, a peribolos was found that surrounded multiple graves. A grave and a marble sarcophagus from the end of the fifth century both contained sherds, as well as a cremation from the middle of the fifth century. Finally, a cremation from the second half of the fifth century was found, containing five plates, an olpe, an aryballos-shaped lekythos, another lekythos, and a black glazed skyphos.<sup>268</sup>

#### Thessalonikis/Larisis Street

Four graves from the end of the fifth century were found. Among them were a larnax containing two small skyphoi, two small cotylae, eight lekythoi and a cup, as well as a cremation with a black glazed cotyla.<sup>269</sup>

#### Larisis Street

A cemetery was found and 35 graves were uncovered. 30 of them were cremations in pits, two were poros-stone sarcophagi, one a box-grave, one a grave without coffin and another a vessel grave. The graves and gifts, among which were a black glazed aryballos-shaped lekythos and two phiales, were dated to the end of the fifth and beginning of the fourth century.<sup>270</sup>

#### Kalvou/Venezi/Serron street

A peribolos was found which surrounded ten graves from the fifth century. One pyre containing an aryballos and a bronze nail was more specifically dated to the end of the fifth century.<sup>271</sup>

#### Igoumenitsis/Athinon street

32 graves from the fifth and fourth century were found; they did not contain many grave gifts.<sup>272</sup>

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<sup>267</sup> Travlos, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie des Antiken Attika*, 467; Lohmann, *Atene* 129-31; Mersch, *Studien zur Siedlungsgeschichte Attikas*, 222-3.

<sup>268</sup> *ArchDelt* 34 (1979) Chronika 81-3; Mersch, *Studien zur Siedlungsgeschichte Attikas*, 220.

<sup>269</sup> *ArchDelt* 34 (1979) Chronika 83-4; Mersch, *Studien zur Siedlungsgeschichte Attikas*, 220.

<sup>270</sup> *ArchDelt* 34 (1979) Chronika 84-5; Mersch, *Studien zur Siedlungsgeschichte Attikas*, 220.

<sup>271</sup> *ArchDelt* 42 (1987) Chronika 88-9; Mersch, *Studien zur Siedlungsgeschichte Attikas*, 221.



### Kalymnou street

Four graves from the second half of the fifth century were found at Kalymnou street. A larnax in which a child was buried contained a skyphos and a pyxis; outside of it five lekythoi were found. Two pyres were without gifts and a third contained three lekythoi.<sup>273</sup>

### Vravrona (Philaidai)

Brauron, which the Greeks now call Vravrona, was originally a prosperous settlement that flourished between ca. 2000 – ca. 1600 BCE. The town was deserted later in the Mycenaean period, around 1300 BCE.<sup>274</sup> From the eighth century onwards, however, a cult of Artemis started developing and in Classical Greece, Brauron was well known as the sanctuary of Artemis Brauronia. The location of the deme of Philaidai, to which the sanctuary at Brauron belongs, remains as of yet uncertain.

### Sanctuary of Artemis Brauronia

At the famous sanctuary, where Artemis was worshipped as the goddess of procreation and fertility, only parts of the temple fundament, two very damaged column drums and a corner triglyph were found. For this reason, the temple cannot be dated with absolute certainty, although scholars agree based on the surviving evidence that it was probably built near the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> century or in the beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE.<sup>275</sup>

A great Doric stoa in the shape of the Greek letter Π was constructed around 425-417 BCE.<sup>276</sup> Along its west- and north sides, it had square rooms of ca. 6,10 m wide with floor tiles of poros-stone. Along the walls of each room were 11 couches or beds: their wooden feet were fixed with lead into holes in the floor.<sup>277</sup> The first room of the west side was smaller and according to Travlos it may have contained only nine

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<sup>272</sup> M. Kasimi-Soutou, *ArchDelt* 39 (1984), *Chronika* 34; Mersch, *Studien zur Siedlungsgeschichte Attikas*, 221.

<sup>273</sup> A. Liankouras, *ArchDelt* 29 (1973/1974) *Chronika* 64; A. Patrianakou-Iliaki, *ArchDelt* 42 (1987) 84-5; Mersch, *Studien zur Siedlungsgeschichte Attikas*, 222.

<sup>274</sup> I. Papadimitriou, 'The Sanctuary of Artemis at Brauron', *Scientific American* 208 (1963) 111-120, 112.

<sup>275</sup> End 6th century BCE: Papadimitriou, *Prakt* (1948) 86; K. Evstratiou, *Archaologia* 39 (1991) 75.

Beginning of the 5th century: Travlos, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie des Antiken Attika*, 55.

<sup>276</sup> C. Bouras, *Η αναστήλωση της στοάς της βραυρώνος. Τα αρχιτεκτονικά της προβλήματα* (Athens, 1967).

<sup>277</sup> I. Papadimitriou, 'The Sanctuary of Artemis at Brauron', *Scientific American* 208 (1963) 111-120, 118.

couches, whereas the first room on the north side may have served as a treasury.<sup>278</sup> Its west wing was 30 metres long, its north wing 48 metres, and its east wing 63 metres. It had columns more than 3,5 metres high. A bridge crossing the spring that runs through the sanctuary, 9 metres long and 9 metres wide, was also constructed in this period.

Votive gifts found at the site date from the 7<sup>th</sup> to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BCE, although most of them are from the fourth century.<sup>279</sup> A remarkable find is a pentelic marble votive relief, displayed at the Brauron museum. It depicts Zeus, Leto, Apollo And Artemis; most likely Iphigenia was depicted on the missing right part of the relief. It was made in the beginning of the fourth century BCE.<sup>280</sup> Many inscriptions were found as well, like IG I<sup>3</sup> 403/404(i), which mentions the receiving of money from the treasury of Artemis of Brauron. This inscription was dated to 416/5 BCE.

#### Leoforos Vravronos

Next to the street leading from Brauron to Markopoulo, eight graves, six pyrai and remains of a peribolos were found, as well as traces of an old road. Papachristodoulou dated the finds to around 400 BCE.<sup>281</sup>

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<sup>278</sup> Travlos, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie des Antiken Attika*, 55.

<sup>279</sup> Mersch, *Studien zur Siedlungsgeschichte Attikas*, 69.

<sup>280</sup> Brauron Museum, coll. no. 1180.

<sup>281</sup> I. Papachristodoulou, *ArchDelt* 26 Chronika (1971) 37-8; Mersch, *Studien zur Siedlungsgeschichte Attikas*, 113.

## Chapter Five. The Archaeological Evidence: an Analysis

In the previous chapter, I created a corpus of archaeological evidence of sanctuaries, settlements and cemeteries in the period 450-350 BCE. Now, it is time to analyze this data. I have processed all finds into a digital catalogue, which can be found at <http://goo.gl/maps/O5Uc>.<sup>282</sup> This digital catalogue, in the form of an interactive map, can be used in order to easily compare different sites and to create an overview of what evidence was found where.

I have to repeat that, in the corpus as well as in the digital catalogue, I have sorted the evidence under the modern names of the town, suburb or area it was found in. These locations, forty in total, are shown by markers in different colours. A green marker stands for evidence of activity during Peloponnesian War in this particular location, while a red marker indicates the evidence is mixed. A blue marker lets us know that the evidence within this location is not specific enough to categorize it.

Every marker can be clicked: a description of the different sites in the area will then pop up. In the text, coloured markings are used. Evidence of activity during the war is marked green. Evidence of a halt in activity during the war is marked red. When the dating of the evidence is not specific enough, the text is marked yellow. And finally, when there is no sign of a sudden halt during the war, but evidence of activity before or after it is present, the text will be marked blue.

With this map, it is easy to see at a glance how much evidence there is for activity on the countryside during the Peloponnesian War and how much evidence there is for a halt of activity. I will now discuss this last issue.

### Evidence for continued activity during the Peloponnesian War

At Agios Konstantinos, in the Kitsos Cave, pottery from the third quarter and the end of the fifth century was found. At Aigaleo, graves from the same period were uncovered and at Anavyssos, a fish plate from the fourth quarter of the fifth century was found.

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<sup>282</sup> Short URL: <http://goo.gl/maps/Lzny>. Long URL: <https://maps.google.nl/maps/ms?msid=213313298203505122159.0004c379373c01c85bc41&msa=0&ll=38.011312,24.001007&spn=0.93592,2.113495>

At Ana Liosia, a house from around 420 BCE was found; at Argyroupoli, graves from the second half and the end of the fifth century were excavated. At Artemida, sherds from the late fifth century BCE were found and at Chaidari, a marble relief from 420-410 was discovered. At Chalandri, excavators unearthed pottery from the end of the fifth century. At Elefsina, graves from the last three quarters of the fifth century were found and an inscription from 421 describes the construction of a bridge; another inscription from 422 calls for three warehouses to be built. Pottery at a cult site in Galatsi was dated to the end of the fifth century, and at Ilion graves from the same period were found. The same applies to Ilioupoli, Kallithea and Koropi, while at Lavrion two graves were dated around 425 and two others to the end of the fifth century. At Marathonas, a cult was re-established in a cave in the fifth century; it remained in use throughout the century. At Markopoulo Mesogeias, two jugs, two platelets and eight lekythoi from ca. 420 BCE were found, while at Merenta, graves from the end of the fifth century were uncovered. At Moschato, a votive relief was found that was dated to the end of the fifth century, as were a sarcophagus from Nikaia and pottery from Pallini. At Peireaias, cistern backfills, remains of houses and graves were excavated and many of them were dated to the end of the fifth century as well: some finds were dated more specifically within this period. At Penteli, a grave from the second half of the fifth century was excavated and at Peristeri, graves from the third quarter of the fifth century and the late fifth century were found. The temple of Nemesis at Rhamnous was built between circa 425-415 BCE, the cult statue of Nemesis dates from about 430-420 BCE and graves from the end of the fifth century were found. At Sounio, a wall was built after the start of the Peloponnesian War and a propylon, a banquet hall, terrace walls and a stoa were added around 420 BCE. At Spata, many tile-covered graves from the fifth and fourth centuries were found, while at Tavros a cemetery was excavated where many graves could be dated quite accurately: one from 430, one from 430-410, one from 425-410, one from 425-400 and one from 410-400. At Thorikon, a large Doric structure and finds from a cistern as well as many graves and a fortification were dated to the last quarter or end of the fifth century. At Vari / Varkiza and Voula / Vouliagmeni, pottery and graves from the end of the fifth century were found as well. Finally, at Vravra, a stoa was constructed around 425-417 and an inscription was dated to 416/5 BCE.

In all, there are thirty-two locations out of a total of forty that show clear evidence of activity during the end of the fifth century.

### Evidence for a halt of activity during the Peloponnesian War

Amazingly, there are no locations in the corpus that do not contain sites with evidence of activity during the years of the Peloponnesian War. There are, however, some locations which contain mixed evidence or unspecific evidence. Because a lot of locations include various sites in the area they envelop, there are cases where a location has evidence of both a halt of activity at some sites and a continuation of activity at other sites. I will discuss these locations now, under the header 'ambiguous evidence'. After that, I will discuss the locations where the evidence was simply not clear enough, under the header 'other evidence'.

### Ambiguous evidence

There are only three locations which contain contradictory evidence. Let me start with the most ambiguous location in the corpus I assembled. There is only one location that does not contain sites with any clear signs of activity during the years of the Peloponnesian war. This is Fyli, the site of the Classical deme of Phyle. Here, in the Lamp Cave on Mount Tamilthi, a cult of Pan was instated at the beginning of the fifth century BCE. Mersch writes that the reliefs, terracotta figures, graffiti and inscriptions show us that worshipping of the Nymphs took place during Classical times.<sup>283</sup> However, I have not been able to find references to this evidence in the excavation reports. A relief from the first half of the fourth century was found, but I have not come across evidence from the late fifth century. As I explained, however, Greek reports are not very accessible to me and it is possible that I missed references to evidence during the years of the Peloponnesian War. The fortress on a hilltop near Fyli was not built until after the war, in the beginning fourth century. Pottery was found to match this date.

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<sup>283</sup> Mersch, *Studien zur Siedlungsgeschichte Attikas*, 177.

There are other sites with mixed evidence. At Acharnes, a cult at a tholos grave came to a sudden halt. P. Wolters suggests that the cause of the seizure of activity might have been the Peloponnesian war.<sup>284</sup> As we have learned from the sources discussed in chapter one, the deme of Acharnai was occupied during the Archidamian war and its territory was damaged. It certainly seems possible that the Peloponnesians could have been responsible for the sudden halt of the cult at the tholos grave in Acharnai. However, I think only a closer look at the pottery found on the site, especially a more specific dating of this pottery, could give us more certainty on this subject. In addition, the other sites in the area also provide evidence concerning activity during the Peloponnesian war.

At Filadelfeias – Levkados street in Acharnes, very close to the tholos grave, multiple children's graves from the middle of the fifth century until the first quarter of the fourth century were found. And at Themistokleous street, graves from the end of the fifth century were uncovered. Two sarcophagi at Dekeleias street were dated to the same period. In short, the sudden halt of cult activity at the tholos grave is the only sign of a seizure of activity in the area of Acharnes during the war: the other evidence shows us graves from this very period. Three different locations with graves from the end of the fifth century in my opinion show us that burial customs at Acharnes were respected during the war. This could mean that either people still lived here, or came back temporarily just to bury their dead.

At the sanctuary of Dionysos in the modern suburb of Dionysos, there exists a gap between material from the first half of the fifth century and the fourth century BCE. However, in the same area, at Rapentosa hill, a pythos grave with grave gifts from the end of the fifth century was found. Here the evidence poses the same dilemma as that of Acharnes: did people remain in the countryside or did they return to bury their dead?

Perhaps more clear is the evidence found on Hymettos. At Evzonas, there is evidence of a cult in the seventh century: much inscribed 7th-century pottery was found. Lamps of the Roman period were also found, proving that the sanctuary was (still or again) in use by that time. There is no mention of 5th and 4th century finds in

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<sup>284</sup> Wolters, 'Vasen aus Menidi II', 135.

the reports. However, at Profitis Ilias, two temple foundations, an altar, a well, remains of a temenos wall and sherds were found. The sherds dated from the second half of the fifth century and later. The first temple was probably constructed in the second half of the fifth century as well. And elsewhere on Hymettos, remains of a tower and sherds from the late fifth to early fourth century were found. In this case, a gap in evidence from a cult is compensated not by evidence of graves, but by other cult evidence. At Profitis Ilias, cult activity continued and possibly even a temple was built. Additionally, a tower was constructed in the same period elsewhere on Hymettos. From this evidence, we can conclude that if there is indeed no evidence of activity during the war at Evzonas, this does not mean the site was abandoned because of the war: for in another nearby location, cult activity continued.

### Other evidence

Finally, there is a group of locations where the evidence was not specific enough to know whether the sites were active or inactive during the Peloponnesian War. The most important one of these is Dekeleia, where we would like to see some clear evidence because of the role this deme played during the war. Unfortunately, it is not clear if the remains of a Classical fortification are the acropolis of Dekeleia or the fortification of the Peloponnesians that is described in the sources discussed earlier. A specific date of the structure is not given in the reports.

At Kato Souli, the evidence is not dated specifically enough in order for it to provide a clear picture of the situation here during the Peloponnesian War. At a possible fortified acropolis on Stravrokoraki hill, pottery ranges from the late Geometric period to the Classical period. Elsewhere remains of a circular wall, probably a tower, from the Classical period were found. This information is too general to draw any conclusions from. The same applies to Legrena, where at Palaia Kopraisia pottery from the fifth and fourth centuries was found, and to the abandoned washery at Megala Pevka, which cannot be dated precisely: none of the evidence is dated with enough precision to say anything about the site during the Peloponnesian War.

## Part Two: Conclusion

I collected the archaeological evidence of sanctuaries, settlements and cemeteries during the period 450-350 and categorized it under forty different locations in Attica. The results can be observed in the digital catalogue I created.

Of these locations, there were only three with ambiguous evidence: Acharnes, Dionysos and Hymettos. In two of the three cases, it was not clear if people either still lived there, or came back temporarily just to bury their dead. In the third case, there was evidence of both halt of activity and continuation of activity during the war. It is clear, however, that the lack of evidence during the Peloponnesian War at the specific location of Evzonas at Hymettos does not mean the site was abandoned because of the war. We can conclude this because in another nearby location on Hymettos, cult activity continued.

There were only five locations where the evidence was too unclear to base any conclusions on: Dekeleia, Fyli, Kato Souli, Legrena and Megala Pevka. This is a problem that further research can perhaps solve. For now, however, we will have to leave these locations be: they cannot provide us with any definitive evidence on the countryside during the Peloponnesian war.

The other thirty-two locations all showed signs of activity during the Peloponnesian War. Most of the evidence consists of graves and pottery; however, there are many votive reliefs, inscriptions and architectural remains that were found at the sites as well. This evidence shows us that the countryside of Attica was not as empty as some might claim: an issue to be discussed in the next part of this thesis.



## Part Three. A New Historical Interpretation

### Expectations and reality: the primary sources

#### Thucydides

##### *The retreat to Athens*

As we have seen in chapter one of this thesis, the sources paint a lively picture of the situation on the countryside of Attica during the Peloponnesian War. From Thucydides we understand that the countryside was evacuated before the Peloponnesians invaded Attica for the first time. Wives, children, slaves and livestock were brought to safety and even furniture was 'rescued' and brought along to the city of Athens, where the Athenians would stay until the end of the war.

This description of Thucydides seems to in sharp contrast with the archaeological evidence. There are numerous examples of cult activity and even the building of new temples in the Attic countryside. Among the many examples in my catalogue are the stoa and bridge constructed at Vravra around 425-417 BCE, the temple of Nemesis at Rhamnous that was built between circa 425-415 BCE, and the propylon, banquet hall, terrace walls and stoa that were built in Sounio around 420 BCE. In addition, there is not only evidence of cult activity throughout Attica but also of burials and construction of houses or settlements. It seems that, if the Athenians indeed retreated behind the Athenian city walls, they either returned to the countryside soon afterwards or they stayed in the city but returned to their own demes at times when there was no immediate threat from the Spartans.

##### *The Archidamian War*

Thucydides further lets us know that during the first phase of the war, the Archidamian war, the Peloponnesians invaded Attica five times. According to him, during the first invasion, the territory of Eleusis and other parts of the Thriasian Plain were ravaged. They then supposedly moved on to the deme of Acharnai, where they devastated the countryside. During the second and longest invasion, the Spartans advanced into the Paralos (the southernmost part of the Attic peninsula) all the way to the district of

Laureion and ravaged 'the entire country'.<sup>285</sup> Thucydides does not tell us much about the third invasion, but the fourth was, according to him, extremely destructive: in his words, most of the country was ravaged.<sup>286</sup>

As we have seen, Eleusis seems to be far from ravaged or abandoned during this period. Naturally, one has to keep in mind that the Spartans would not harm this or any other sanctuary, since all Greeks shared the same religion. However, no signs of change of any kind are noticeable in the archaeological evidence; something one would expect when the territory of Eleusis supposedly has been 'ravaged'. Instead, things seem to go about as usual: there are inscriptions from 422 and 421 that call for the construction of both a bridge and storehouses, one of which has been found, and in addition, the West Cemetery at Eleusis was continuously active during the last three quarters of the fifth century BCE. Nothing seems to have changed at Eleusis during the first Archidamian invasion.

For the deme of Acharnai, the evidence is a little more complicated: Acharnes is one of the three locations where the evidence was ambiguous. A cult at a tholos grave seems to stop in the fifth century, possibly during or because of the war. However, there is evidence of burials from the middle and end of the fifth century. Thucydides and Aristophanes describe how the Acharneans had to watch helplessly as their homes were being destroyed. The evidence shows us, however, that there were without a doubt, at some point during the Archidamian invasions, Acharneans present at their deme. This is the only explanation for the burials in this period. In addition, the cemetery at Filadelfeias – Levkados street was active from the middle of the fifth century until the first quarter of the fourth century BCE. Burial activity did not stop, which means that either the Acharneans were at their homes or they could go there at regular intervals.

As for the ravaging of the district of Laureion: as can be seen on the interactive map that I created, none of the sites in the district of Laureion show evidence of a halt of any kind of activity during the full length of the war.

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<sup>285</sup> Thuc. 2.57

<sup>286</sup> Thuc. 3.26.3-4.

### *The Dekeleian War*

According to Thucydides, during the Dekeleian War, Spartan presence was continuous. The overland supply routes through Dekeleia were cut off and raids from the Spartan base at Dekeleia did great damage.<sup>287</sup>

There is no direct evidence of Spartan raids in my catalogue. However, at Dionysos, there is a gap between material from the first half of the fifth century and the fourth century BCE. Dionysos, where the Classical deme of Ikaria was located, is the site that lies closest to Dekeleia. Although this lack of evidence could be a coincidence, I feel that one has to consider the possibility that Dionysos suffered under Spartan raids during the Dekeleian war.

### Xenophon

According to Xenophon, in 404 the Tyrants issued a proclamation in which they evicted many rural Athenians from their farms so that they and their friends could seize these estates.<sup>288</sup> Later, the Tyrants sent out troops to protect the farms in Phyle from plundering and captured and executed farmers who were on their way to their farms in Aixone with provisions.<sup>289</sup> This seems to indicate that, although they did not have it good at the time, farmers were present at their demes shortly after the war. As we have seen, the vast majority of the archeological evidence supports this notion. Much evidence from the end of the fifth and beginning of the fourth century was found.

### Aristophanes

In *The Acharnians*, Dikaiopolis is one of the Athenians that has retreated behind the city walls for the duration of the war, and expresses his desire to go home: 'yearning for my own deme'.<sup>290</sup> As we have seen with Thucydides' reference to the same deme, there must have been Acharnians present at their deme during the war. Because only evidence of burials have been found, however, it is impossible to say if they were at Acharnai permanently or for short periods of time.

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<sup>287</sup> Thuc. 7.27.4.

<sup>288</sup> Xen, *Hellenica* 2.4.1

<sup>289</sup> Xen. 2.4.4 and 2.4.26.

<sup>290</sup> Aristophanes, *Acharnians* 32-33.

In the play, the elders of Acharnai and the choir of farmers refer to the ravaging of the countryside. Dikaiopolis later tells the chorus: 'I too have had vines cut down'.<sup>291</sup> And in *Peace*, Trygaeus tells Hermes that the Peloponnesians 'cut down that black fig tree of mine, which I'd planted and nurtured.'<sup>292</sup>

If the countryside of Acharnai was seriously damaged is hard to say, even from the archaeological evidence. However, when the digital catalogue is consulted, it seems that in the direct environment of Acharnes is the so-called 'Dema house' at Ana Liosia, a countryhouse that was built around 420 BCE, probably by a rich Attic family. It does not seem logical for a family to construct a new house if they do not think the situation at the countryside is safe: why would a family build a house only to let it be destroyed a year later? This is, of course, pure speculation. Still, there is evidence of building activity in the direct environment of Acharnai during a time that is described by both Thucydides and Aristophanes as troublesome. Furthermore, according to both sources the citizens should be in the city, not at the countryside at all. The evidence, however, points the other way.

## Expectations and reality: scholarly studies

### *Population numbers*

As we have seen in chapter three, the population number before the war laid between some 40.000 and 60.000 and after the war this number plummeted to some 21.000 – 30.000 in the fourth century, depending on if one follows the 'low' or the 'high' estimates. Based on the archaeological evidence, I am inclined to accept the high population estimates of Hanson, because the demes clearly seem to keep on functioning. The evidence seems to show that the Athenians in the countryside of Attica were burying their dead, worshipping their gods, issuing decrees and adding buildings to their villages and sanctuaries both during and directly after the war. The population of Attica was decimated by war and plague, and it seems that the only way this could happen without it being noticeable in the evidence of activity of local sites is when the population numbers were high to begin with.

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<sup>291</sup> Aristophanes, *Acharnians* 512.

<sup>292</sup> Aristophanes, *Peace* 628-9.

### *Devastation of the countryside*

According to Gomme, a proportion of the country 'refugees' described by Thucydides chose to stay in Athens instead of returning to their homes and farms.<sup>293</sup> Others think the farmers could not even have gone back if they wanted to: according to them, the Attic countryside was utterly destroyed by war.<sup>294</sup>

This picture, painted by some historians and especially by the primary sources, does not seem to match reality, as we have already seen while comparing the descriptions by Thucydides with the archaeological material. I have found no traces whatsoever of houses or settlements being destroyed by war, and there are only three places where there is evidence of a possible halt in activity. It seems very clear from the evidence collected in the corpus that Attica was not destroyed by war at all. Instead, building activity actually continued. One might be so bold to say that based on the archaeological evidence, the demes of Attica grew more than they were destroyed during the war. Furthermore, the evidence indicates the same kind of activity directly after the war, in the beginning of the fourth century. The theory that the farmers of Attica were displaced and did not return to their homes and farms does not seem to apply.

### *'Survival' of the countryside*

V.D. Hanson argues that the devastations during the both the Archidamian and the Dekeleian war were not as effective as often thought. The Peloponnesians came early in the year, and after they left the Athenian farmers would have had time to do their farm tasks. Not much permanent damage could be done to the crops during such short invasions as those of the Archidamian war.

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<sup>293</sup> A.W. Gomme, *The Population of Attica in the Fifth and Fourth Centuries B.C.* (Oxford, 1933). He is followed by, for example, A. Damsgaard-Madsen, 'Attic funeral inscriptions: their use as historical sources and some preliminary results', in A. Damsgaard-Madsen, E. Christiansen, E. Hallager (eds.), *Studies in Ancient History and Numismatics Presented to Rudi Thomsen* (Aarhus, 1988) 55-68, 66; C.A. Cox, *Household Interests: Property, Marriage Strategies, and Family Dynamics in Ancient Athens* (Princeton, 1998) 52, and N. Jones, *Rural Athens under the Democracy* (Philadelphia, 2004) 54.

<sup>294</sup> B.W. Henderson, *The great war between Athens and Sparta: a companion to the military history of Thucydides* (London, 1927) 15-16; P.A. Brunt, 'Spartan Policy and Strategy in the Archidamian War', *Phoenix* 9 (1965) 225-280 and D. Kagan, *The Archidamian War* (Ithaca, 1974) 99: 'The Athenians had shown restraint during two invasions. They had permitted their fields and houses to be destroyed without offering battle. Now that all of Attica had been devastated there was little reason for the Spartans to think that future incursions would bring better results.'

I think that by now, it is clear that based on the archaeological evidence, I will partly agree with Hanson. The 'devastations' described by Thucydides do not seem to have left any scars in the archaeology of Attica, with the possible exception of Dionysos (Ikaria). Here, the Dekeleian war might be responsible for a gap of evidence between the first half of the fifth century and the fourth century BCE. However, there might be entirely different causes to this lack of evidence at Dionysos. Although he defends the notion that the countryside was relatively unharmed by the Peloponnesian war, Hanson does not seem able to decide about what happened to the farmers. He seems to argue that, during the Archidamian war, the farmers had time to work their fields when the invaders had left. I agree with this completely, since evidence all over Attica shows activity on the countryside during the Archidamian war.

The same applies for the Dekeleian war though, a period about which Hanson is more hesitant. He seems to think that during this phase of the war, the citizens retreated to the city again. Afterwards, 'the citizens who did enter the city during the war must have left their temporary shacks on the conclusion of peace and returned to work in their farms again'.<sup>295</sup> The archaeological evidence shows us, though, that even during the Dekeleian war cult, settlement and burial sites in the Attic countryside remained in use. Hanson is confident that even during this phase of the war, the countryside was not extensively damaged: according to him, most of the fruit trees and vines survived the war. Since the archaeological evidence from after the war shows normal activity instead of discontinuation, I tend to agree with Hanson on this matter as well.

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<sup>295</sup> Hanson, *Warfare and Agriculture*, 170.

## Conclusion

Since part three of this thesis is in some ways already a conclusion, I will summarize here the intentions and the outcome of this investigation. I set out to answer the following question: to what degree did the Peloponnesian War affect the demes of Attica? Using a new approach, I hope to have shown that the war did not affect the demes of Attica as thoroughly as the primary sources and many scholars would have us believe.

In the first part of this thesis, I created an overview of the primary sources and the scholarship on the countryside of Attica during 450-350 BCE. I did this so that the reader would be familiar with the material before diving deeper into the matter. However, I especially created the overview so that it could be compared to a new database of evidence, to be created in part two: an archaeological overview.

In the second part, I collected archaeological evidence from sanctuaries, graves and settlements in Attica during the period 450-350 into a corpus. Never before had an overview of the archaeological evidence of Attica during the Peloponnesian War been created. My goal when creating this corpus was not to find evidence to back up any theories, but rather to gain new, clear insights into the matter. Instead of trying to seek evidence for a theory, it was my intention to see only after creating a complete overview if the evidence could be matched to existing theories or not. The results of this archaeological investigation, that were processed into a digital catalogue as well, were surprising: thirty-two of the forty locations that were investigated showed signs of activity during the Peloponnesian War, none had proof of complete discontinuation during the war.

In the third part of this thesis, the literary overview created in the first part was compared to the new corpus of archaeological evidence in the second part. This made a multi-disciplinary approach possible that had never been applied to this subject before. It gave us fresh insights in the situation in the countryside of Attica in the period 450-350 BCE: Thucydides and Aristophanes seem to be wrong about the damage done to Attika by the Peloponnesians, the archaeological evidence seems to favour higher population estimates over lower ones and to discredit theories about the destruction of the Attic countryside. The evidence shows that the demes of Attica

were not uprooted, as scholars often believe. Instead, the evidence paints a very different picture than many would have expected: one of continuation of life at cult sites, settlements and cemeteries in the countryside of Attica during the Peloponnesian War.



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