

GEOGRAPHY AND KINSHIP AS POLITICAL INFRASTRUCTURES IN ARCHAIC ATHENS

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Scholars in the humanities must allow for perversity in their materials -- Sterling Dow

In the early 1960's B.R.I. Sealey and D.M. Lewis published groundbreaking studies of early Athenian political history that emphasized a "regionalist" interpretation ("Regionalism in Archaic Athens"; "Cleisthenes and Attica"). This fundamental geographic, or (perhaps the *mot juste*) demographic, mode of analysis has come to have a prominent role in discussions of the internal history of sixth-century Athens. With an acknowledged debt to an earlier study by A. Andrewes, this new approach was clearly in reaction to explanations based on specifically ideological models, that is, those which attempted to find the underlying causes of that century's factionalism in political parties, economic factors, or class-struggle.¹ The new picture which emerged was one of strife between regional groups, united by local loyalties and led by wealthy landowners. Their goal was control of the central government at Athens and with it dominance over their rivals from the other districts of Attika. In many ways this was a simpler and more economical explanation. Gone were the motivations of ideology, which to some at least ran the risk of being little more than anachronistic projections of modern beliefs and practices onto the events of the sixth century, and for which in any case there exists not much substantial evidence.

In their place was now to be found little more than the basic desire of local aristocratic "barons" and their neighbouring retainers to be in power, to predominate in the *politeia*. Characteristic of this view is its most recent formulation by P.J. Rhodes:

The three leaders were all prominent Eupatrids . . . competing for personal ascendancy, who rallied in their support their neighbors and dependents from the localities where their influence was strongest.²

Prima facie, there is something to recommend this interpretation. Our sources speak specifically of regional groups vying for power (*pediakoi*, *paraleis*, *diakrioi* [or *hyperakrioi*], the names for which Aristotle succinctly noted came from the areas each farmed [AP 13.5]); while Kleisthenes' reorganization of the Athenian political structure which marked the culmination of a century of civic strife was clearly conceived and carried out in geographical terms.³

On the other hand, the "regional" hypothesis, attractive as it is, may be, by itself, misleading because it leaves out of consideration other important evidence that complicates the overall picture of political allegiances in this era. Specifically, it does not take adequately into account the powerful ties of fictive kinship (hereafter written as "kinship"), embodied in Ionian phratry and *genos*, whose individual memberships were spread across the map of Attika in the sixth century.⁴ While these groups may not have been political entities *per se*, their strong ties of membership reinforced by distinct loyalties and identities must have been an important factor in any system of politics dominated by personal associations and alliances. It is the contention of this paper that the geographic diversity of the memberships of the various phratries and clans would often have acted to counterbalance and in some cases to override and cancel out the regional loyalties and antagonisms that some, and Sealey in particular, have taken as the fundamental basis of archaic Athenian politics. As a consequence, the politics of this era very likely was far more complex and dynamic than the regionalist hypothesis by itself allows for. Yet just how far we may go in this direction is uncertain because of the limited nature of our evidence for *genos* and phratry membership. Indeed, it is just these limits that elicit some (disturbing) reflections on how we write history.

The wide distribution of *gennetai* across Attika is itself hardly news.

As long ago as 1889 Toepffer wrote:

Gerade das Verhaeltniss der Geschlechter zu den kleisthenischen Demen lehrt aufs deutlichste, dass erstere zur Zeit der neueren Gemeindeordnung sich bereits in eine grössere Anzahl gesonderten Familiengruppen zersplittert hatten, deren einzelne Angehörige über die ganze Landschaft zerstreut wohnten . . . die Spaltung der alten Geschlechter in örtlich getrennte Zweige und Aeste bereits in sehr früher Zeit, jedenfalls lange vor dem Ausgang des sechsten Jahrhunderts v. Chr. zurückgeht.⁵

The evidence for this assertion, though limited, is beyond doubt. As membership in the *genos* and the Kleisthenic deme was in both cases patrilineal, we may use evidence from the fifth century and later to reveal the distribution of *gennētai* in Attika at the end of the sixth century, when Kleisthenes fixed deme membership and made it hereditary. A rehearsal of the basic evidence will be useful here, as it shows very plainly just how widely distributed geographically members of the Athenian *genē* and phratries were in the sixth century and probably earlier. For instance, the Lykomidai were based both at Phlya, the cult centre located in the Pentelikos-Hymettos gap, and at Phrearrioi, Themistokles' homestead.⁶ Philaidai are to be found at Lakiadai, Gargettos, and Brauron, areas of the city, inland, and coast respectively, and perhaps at Sphettos, too.⁷ An inscription of 363/2 places members of the split *genos* of the Salaminioi at Sounion, Epikhephisia, Acharnai, Boutadai, and Agryle; members are also attested for Erchia and Skambonidai.⁸ Once again, city, inland, and coast are represented. Some particularly apposite evidence is provided by [Dem.] Or. 59.61. There seven members of the *genos* Brytidai are mentioned; together they represent six different demes, three from the city (Eroidai, Phalereis, and Lakiadai), two from the coast (Aigialeis and Kephaleis) and one from Mt. Pentelikon (Hekale). This particular evidence is striking as there is great geographic diversity in yet a very small sample. Finally, there is the inscription of the Amyndridai, a *genos* list from the time of Augustus (IG 2² 2338). Despite the late provenance of this document, scholars are agreed that it represents the dispersal of the *gennetes*' ancestors across Attika at the time of Kleisthenes' reforms.⁹ There seems no reason to dispute this claim, even if some of these clansmen's ancestors had been foreigners who became naturalized Athenians.¹⁰ The list, though partial (the stone is broken), is

so extensive that the distorting effects of this possibility are minimized. The Amyndridai provide the greatest number of known fellow-clansmen for Athens; fifty-one *gennētai* spread across twenty-five demes (eleven from the city; twenty-two from the inland; and eighteen from the coast).

The same kind of geographic dispersal seems to have been the cases for the phratries as well.¹¹ Both *genos* and phratry are now acknowledged to have been fictive kinship groups that recruited their members in historical times by agnatic filiation. Andrewes has argued cogently that the Athenian phratries each contained wholly one *genos*, the smaller subdivision, and that these *gennetes* belonged only to one phratry.¹² On this view, even had we no direct evidence for the phratries' membership patterns, the hypothesis that *phrateres* had their residences throughout Attika like the *gennētai*, would hold *a fortiori* if in fact *genē* were wholly included in phratries. As a matter of fact, we do have independent inscriptional evidence that validates this contention. It has long been recognized that IG 2² 2345, containing membership lists of various *thiasoi*, is a phratry register from the mid-fourth century.¹³ As the upper part of the stone is missing, we do not know the name of the phratry itself. Demotics were added to the names of the *thiasotai* sporadically. The following demes were mentioned on the inscription itself: Agryle, Euonymon, Aixone, Halai, Paiania, Kephisia, and Ke[doi?]. In addition, some of the names of *thiasotai* are characteristic of a few demes. Thus, Ferguson suggested the following demes were probably also represented: Ankyle, Hagnous, Pallene, Anagyros, Leukonoe, Acharnai, Erchia, and Atene.¹⁴ Except for the first two, these demes are projected from names, which, according to PA, occur *only* in those demes. Ferguson's conjecture is strengthened by two facts: first, there is considerable overlap of demes for these special names; and secondly, all of the actual *dēmotika* mentioned on the inscription (except for Kephisia) also pertain to these special names. Thus, if we accept Ferguson's conjecture, the geographic distribution for this nameless phratry is extended still further. Finally, Andrewes noted that two of the Agryleis listed on IG 2² 2345, Stratophon and Demophon, also were named on the Souniac inscription discussed above. As both inscriptions are from the mid-fourth century, he felt it highly probable that these homonyms were in fact identical.¹⁵ As in Andrewes' view (the position adopted here) a *genos* was included entirely within a phratry, it follows that the Salaminiotai, to which Stratophon and Demophon belonged, were also members of this phratry. If so, we may add the names of Skambonidai, Sounion, Epikēphesia, and Boutadai as represented in this phratry. The

distribution is quite wide and probably would be wider still, were we able to identify more of the *thiasōtai* by deme.

This brief survey indicates quite clearly that the Attic phratries and clans were spread the length and breadth of Attika.¹⁶ In general the spread is quite remarkable and poses serious problems for the regionalist theory of sixth-century Athenian politics. The reason is that phratry and clan were important social units. Although phratry membership constituted Athenian citizenship before Kleisthenes (and *genē* dominated individual phratries: cf. the Demotionidai inscription, *IG* 2² 1237), it is probably wrong to see either as having political functions *per se*.¹⁷ Scholars have waxed eloquent on their political importance, often contradicting each other, but without substantiating evidence. Thus, in Frost's view, ". . . very few citizens of archaic Athens could conceive of an abstract concept of the state outside the phratries. For them, the collective authority of the phratries was the state."¹⁸ Connor, on the other hand, who is "reluctant to assign any great political significance to the [phratries]," asserts with conviction "that . . . the *genos* must be considered not just as a social unit of some significance but as a vital political unit as well."¹⁹ Cary saw the clans as formidable "states within the state," until their power was crushed by the Peisistratids and Kleisthenes.²⁰ There is in fact no evidence to support these views. The political significance of these groups rested in the fact that they were premier vehicles of association with tightly defined and jealously guarded memberships, providing exclusive identities and loyalties reinforced by social rituals and religious cult practices.²¹ Members of each met at various times of the year at common centres (for the phratries, for instance, at least during the Thargelia and the Apatouria) to perform both secular and religious ceremonies. Such meetings thus offered the opportunity for Athenians from various parts of Attika to develop friendships and promote alliances in the pursuit of common goals, some of them presumably political. Regionalism, then, as a political and social factor would have been lessened in two ways: purely regional loyalties and identities would be broken down, while corresponding suspicions and antagonisms among regions would be overcome by the frequent association of various *gennētai* and *phrateres* from all over Attika. As there may have been as many as 90 to 100 *genē*, and perhaps no fewer phratries, this process would have been multiplied many times.²² To what degree this was the case and just how kinship-loyalties affected political behavior we are unfortunately unable to say. We are in the tanta-

lizing and frustrating position of having enough evidence to conjecture that *genos* and *phratry* association interfered with and often overrode regional loyalties as the basis for political action in the sixth century, without having sufficient specific data to show just what the actual consequences were. No doubt this is the reason why the significance of the geographic distribution of *gennētai* and *phrateres*, though not unknown, has been largely ignored by those who explain archaic Athenian politics on a regionalist basis. Yet to neglect this information is perilous, and a few instances can be displayed where keeping the nature of *genos* and *phratry* in mind would have avoided false conclusions or inaccurate inferences.

The case of Isagoras' kin is a good example. Herodotos tells us (5.66.1): "Isagoras, son of Teisander, was of a distinguished house, but I am not able to describe his ancestry (*ta anakathen*); however, his kin (*syngenees*) sacrifice to Zeus Karios" Noting that another Teisander was the father of the Philaid Hippokleides, Sealey originally concluded, "Presumably Isagoras was a Philaid from the Brauron-district and his opposition to Kleisthenes followed the regionalist pattern."²³ The fallacy here is that not all Philaids came from Brauron: they may have resided in demes as far apart as Sphettos, Gargettos, and Lakiadai as well (see n. 7). Even if Isagoras was in fact a Philaid, it does not follow that he resided at Brauron or that there is anything regional about his quarrel with Kleisthenes. Sealey later withdrew from this position, because Teisander was not an uncommon name, and there were Teisanders who were not Philaids.²⁴ Subsequently Lewis pointed out that *IG* 1² 186 (now *IG* 1³ 253), found at Ikarion on the north-eastern slope of Pentelikon, has reference to a cult deity both as Karios and Ikarios.²⁵ This connection led Lewis to place Isagoras at Ikarion. Noting further that Hekale, which he located near Ikarion on the north slope of Pentelion, was an ancient cult centre which Kleisthenes separated from its neighbouring demes by placing it in the inland *trittys* of Leontis, Lewis conjectured the reason for this anomaly was Kleisthenes' wish to weaken an area associated with his principal antagonist Isagoras. This is regionalist thinking. Sealey was even more blunt:

If Isagoras came from Icaria outside the city plain, he may well have become the leader of men from those eastern districts which had given Peisistratus his earliest and most reliable supporters. Thus, a "regionalist" explanation is available for his rivalry with Cleisthenes.²⁶

Both of these explanations fall apart, however, when it is realized that Herodotos' information does not allow us to fix Isagoras' domicile. *Syngeneis* can be used to speak of *gennētai* or *phrateres* (e.g., Harp. s.v. *gennētai*; Is. 1.27; Xen. *Hell.* 1.7.8), and while such groups would meet and sacrifice at common cult sites (e.g., IG 2² 1237: Dekeleieis at Oion; IG 2² 1241: Dyaleis at Myrrhinous), the evidence adduced above shows that many of their members lived elsewhere, some at a considerable distance. A prime example are the Salaminioi: apparently dispersed, as we saw, throughout Attika, the members of the *genos* had a number of differently located *hiera*, including the Eurysakeion in the city deme of Melite.²⁷ Lewis' shrewd guess that the Ikarieis among whom was counted Isagoras comprised a phratry may well be right; but it is not possible to infer that his man came from Ikarion, even if his *syngeneis* met there to worship [I]karian Zeus: he and many of his conjectured *phrateres* could just as well have come from far different parts of Attika.²⁸

A similar problem in trying to impose a regionalist explanation on the political activity of *genos* members crops up in Lewis' handling of the Philaidai. Disputing the view arising with Wilamowitz that the Philaidai belonged to the party of the *hyperakrioi*, he instead makes them *pedieis* by locating the residence of Miltiades in Lakiadai.²⁹ Lewis' line of reasoning might possibly justify considering Miltiades a *pedieus* but in no way supports his much wider claim that "territorially . . . the case for supposing the Philaids *pedieis* seems strongest" (*ibid.*). As we have seen, this *genos* had members not only in Lakiadai, but also Sphettos, Gargettos, and of course Brauron. Indeed, this fairly wide distribution of the Philaidai geographically illustrates the major thesis of this paper, that kinship ties may well have dampened or even overridden regionalism as the basis for political identity and action in archaic Athens. W.E. Thompson has rung yet another change on the regionalists' fascination with Ikarion and Philaidai. Operating from the unusual premise that the deme Philaidai was a member of the inland *trittys* of Aigeis along with Ikarion, he concludes:

. . . Kleisthenes was using the strength of the Philaidai and the influence of the Brauronian cult to crush the remnants of the strength of Isagoras and his *genos*. In order to achieve his goal Kleisthenes separated Ikarion from its neighbors and placed it in competition with far distant demes, demes with different family loyalties and different cults.³⁰

The enthymeme of this logic is that these *genē* were geographically bounded and commensurate with the demes named after them. This is to confuse geography with kinship. As we have seen, *gennetes* and *phrateres* were distributed throughout Attika, and we have proof of this for the Philaidai. Thus, to put the two demes in the same *trittys* or tribe did not mean putting the two kinship-groups together. Even were we to grant this highly dubious proposition, it is impossible to discern just what the basis of their competition was, in which the Philaidai supposedly could have "crushed" the Ikarieis, as the old cults were independent of Kleisthenes' new system.

Another example can be drawn from Lewis' handling of the Eteoboutadai. It is assumed that the lineal descendants of the leader of the *pedieis*, Lykourgos Aristolaidou (Hdt. 1.59.3), were members both of the *genos* Boutadai (which came to distinguish itself as Eteoboutadai) and of the deme Boutadai, the latter situated about one quarter of a mile to the northwest of the city of Athens.³¹ It is hence no problem for the regionalists to have Lykourgos as leader of the *pedieis*, as he was domiciled on the "plain" of Athens. But, then, Lewis, in noting how Kleisthenes cleverly undermined the influence of groups that had common cults by separating them from their *hiera* through his gerrymandering, observes: "Whether by accident or design, the Boutadai, who held the hereditary priesthood of Erechtheus, were not included in this tribe [Erechtheis], which had a priest of Erechtheus appointed by lot."³² By Boutadai, Lewis of course refers to the *genos*, for it is the *genos* that held the hereditary priesthood. Yet this statement is both misleading and inaccurate. It is inaccurate because there was presumably no way that all the [Eteo]boutadai could have been included in Erechtheis, even had Kleisthenes wished that result, since we may imagine their members were dispersed throughout much of Attika, as is demonstrably the case with other *genē* for which we have information. The statement is misleading because Lewis means to refer not to the [Eteo]boutadai in general as shut out of Erechtheis, but to the specific family of Lykourgos which was resident in the deme Boutadai, part of the tribe Oineis. For that matter, if the *genos* was scattered throughout Attika, some of its members might have found themselves willy-nilly in Erechtheis, because they lived in demes assigned to that tribe. These complaints may seem like quibbling, but their significance emerges when one examines the principal conclusion Lewis draws (p. 37) from his analysis:

The two things which emerge most clearly are an attack on organizations which held a locality by religious ties, some of them in areas attached to political opponents of Cleisthenes, and an attempt

to unify Attika by making men from different areas work and fight together.

As the latter point is one of Lewis' major "regionalist" conclusions, it is worth beginning *hysteron proteron* and pointing out that such a geographic *anamixis* of Attika's citizens to promote unity would hardly have been an innovation, much less a revolutionary change. The territorial diversity of the Ionian *genē*, *phratries*, and tribes must already have been a unifying factor that insured that "men from different areas work[ed] and [fought] together." Lewis cites AP 21 and Arist. *Pol.* 1319b, 19 ff. as evidence that a geographic *anamixis* was Kleisthenes' design. But a closer look at the passages reveals they refer to "mixing up" or combining Athenians of different *kinship* groups, *not* those of different regions: e.g., Arist. *Pol.* 1319b, 23-26: φυλαί τε γὰρ ἕτεραι ποιητέαι πλείους καὶ φρατρίαι . . . καὶ πάντα σοφιστόν ὅπως ἂν ὄτι μάλιστα ἀναμειχῶσι πάντες ἀλλήλοις. Kleisthenes' aim, then, was not to bring men of different regions together (the old Ionian system already provided for that), but to integrate the kinship-groups, while retaining the benefits of geographic admixture that the supplanted system had already offered.

We may now return to the first of Lewis' conclusions which is a restatement of an earlier observation (pp. 34 f.) that the *trittyes* were created to compete with existing local units and to destroy the influence they gained from possessing a common cult in a common area. This contention runs afoul of two specific counter examples. Regarding the Kleisthenic *trittys* of the Epakreis, Lewis had noted, "We do not know the home or domain of Zeus Epakrios, but here again we may suspect that territory is removed from it, and that non-Epakria territory, Erchia, is brought in from the plain below."³³ On Lewis' regionalist view, of course, this is taken to be a case of a Kleisthenic *trittys* breaking up an old cult association. Strikingly, only a year after Lewis made this assertion, G. Daux published his *editio princeps* of the Erchia sacrificial calendar, which undermines his position.³⁴ Specifically, the inscription (from shortly before the mid-fourth century) records a sacrifice by the Erchieis to Zeus Epakrios on Mt. Hymettos (E 58-64: 16 Thargelion). Its placement of the *hieron* concurs with *Et. Mag.* s.v. *Epakrios Zeus*: ἐπ' ἄκρας γὰρ τῶν ὄρων ἰδρύοντο βωμοὺς τῷ Δλί· ὄιον τοῦ Ἰμέττου. Given the conservatism of Athenian cultic practices, there is no reason to consider this sacrifice a novelty. It is likely the Erchieis had long before belonged to the ancient cult group termed Epakreis and continued their worship of its

chief deity on Mt. Hymettos after they became the principal deme of the Kleisthenic *trittys* named after it.³⁵ It is entirely appropriate that the Erchieis worshipped Zeus Epakrios on the heights of Hymettos which dominates the eastern plain where Erchia is situated. The mountain was uninhabited, and Erchia was hardly so far distant as to make it "non-Epakria territory." We do not know the names of any members of the ancient Epakreis, unless Semachidai (itself a puzzle in its own right), and it is quite possible that many of these demes were, like Erchia, situated in the lowlands below the shrine of the deity after whom they called themselves.³⁶ In fact, the geographic spread of some ancient cult-associations may have been quite extensive. That is indicated by a mid-fourth century inscription that listed the *archontes* and *parasitōi* of the League of Athena Pallenis. These are spread over many demes: Gargettos, Acharnai, Pallene, Paiania, Kydantidai, Lamp-treis, Plotheia, Oion, Kolonos, Leukonoie, Anakeia, Kephisia, Aigilieia to be exact.³⁷ Lewis himself was clearly uncomfortable with this evidence.³⁸ The extensive geographic spread represented by the demes of the *archontes* and *parasitōi* (and not all the names are recoverable) makes it clear that Kleisthenes' restructuring of Attika would have necessarily cut across the membership lines of this group, whether he intended that result or not. Thus the sundering of the League need not have been Kleisthenes' design and could have been an unavoidable but unintentional consequence of his plan. It is thus dangerous to claim that the ancient cult groups were narrowly regional in composition and political outlook or that the territorially divisive results of Kleisthenes' reorganization betray their originator's purpose. One might even stand this argument on its head and argue that the diverse composition of the League (and perhaps of the Epakreis) reveals a group that transcended the regional associations too often taken as fundamental in archaic Athenian politics.³⁹ Indeed, there is no particular reason to think that the League was at all regional in tone: after all, its members were persons not demes. One might even suspect that the basis of membership was perhaps kinship much more than geography. Such a conjecture need not entail that the group was a *genos* or a *phratry*, although, given the present state of the evidence, such a possibility is not entirely out of the question.

Aside from these specifics there are more general objections to Lewis' conclusion. For instance, Lewis is not bothered by the fact, which he admits, that the *trittyes* "totally failed to compete with the older local organizations" (ibid.). For him their failure in this regard does not mean they were not *intended* to have importance (ibid.). But it is difficult to see

how Kleisthenes intended any of his new geo-political entities to compete with, weaken, or destroy ancient cult associations. The Eteoboutadai, for instance, were still able to meet and carry out their cult practices in the Erechtheion, where indeed they kept their records for centuries after Kleisthenes' reforms.⁴⁰ As their members presumably came from all over Attika, after as before those reforms, little would have changed for them. It may well have been a nuisance that the Kleisthenic *phyletai* called Erechtheidai now had a state cult of their deity -- and ancestor -- or that residents of Boutadai who did not belong to their clan could try to pass themselves off as *genos*-members.⁴¹ One recalls that Aischines noted with pride that he belonged to the same phratry as the Eteoboutadai (*Or.* 2.147). But the very fact that the Boutadai were annoyed enough because non-*genos* members were pretending association with them that they strengthened their name to Eteoboutadai, shows only the continued vitality of their organization. The confusion was a nuisance, to be sure, but not a political blow.

The same may be said for cult organizations that were local and not based on kinship, such as the League of Athena Pallenis, the Tetrapolis, or the group that participated in the Hekalesia. Though Lewis has shown that some demes that participated in these cults were assigned to different *trittyes* and hence to different tribes, the religious organizations themselves were not weakened.⁴² It seems rather that Kleisthenes' design was to prevent these groups from dominating his new political creations through their prestige. Kinship-groups were dispersed throughout his new tribes because their constituents were already scattered throughout Attika. That objective of dispersal would have been achieved had Kleisthenes merely made his new tribes of solid geographical blocs. It would not, however, have dispersed the local cult organizations: thus, the composition of tribes out of three disparate areas each, city, inland, and coast, with gerrymandering of demes within *trittyes* when necessary. But this manoeuvring was prophylaxis not attack. Cults, whether kinship or local, were not to be weakened but to be prevented from assuming dominance within Kleisthenes' new political frame. This is quite a different emphasis from the purpose Lewis has divined for Kleisthenes' reforms. Finally, it is to be noted that, while under the old Ionian tribal system *genē* and phratries would have belonged to specific tribes and certain of them could have had influence in those tribes, under the new system *gennetes* and *phrateres* would have been distributed across many if not all the tribes. A look at the evidence makes this conclusion abundantly clear. The four demes in which we can locate Philaidai, for instance, belong to Aigeis, Oineis, and

Akamantis. For the two in which we know of Lykomidai the tribes are Kekropis and Leontis. The six known members of Brytadai find themselves in Leontis, Antiochis, Hippothontis, and Akamantis. The Salaminioi were, on the basis of seven names, dispersed among Aigeis, Leontis, Oineis, and Erechtheis. The Amyndridai, of a total of fifty-one identifiable gennetes, were to be found in seven tribes: Kekropis, Pandionis, Aigeis, Erechtheis, Akamantis, Oineis, Antiochis, and Leontis. The brothers of the nameless phratry of IG 2² 2345 (if we make Salaminioi part of it, as Andrewes conjectures, and consider the possible demotics Ferguson suggested) were distributed among all the tribes except Pandionis and Aiantis. These data are revealing because the wide scatter is based on such a small amount of information. Were we better informed, we should expect virtually every *genos* and phratry to be represented in every tribe. The evidence suggests, therefore, that a significant part of Kleisthenes' geo-political reorganization of Attika was precisely to insure that no one *genos* or phratry could dominate any of his new tribes. Again, that objective would not have been an attack upon these kinship-groups *per se*, but a defence against their presumed influence. If so, the hypothesis is strengthened that *genos* and phratry were important associations in archaic Athens which, while not specifically political, yet might have had political significance by virtue of the close relationships that they fostered by their very nature.

The regionalist model of political behaviour pertains not just to archaic Athens; it has also been extended to Athens' pre-history. Scholars have commonly taken the legend of Theseus' *synoikismos* to reflect an actual historical process, the coalition of the diverse areas of Attika under Athens' suzerainty.⁴³ True, our ancient sources treat the Thesean unification in purely geo-political terms.⁴⁴ Yet there is good reason to contest both the ancient sources and their modern interpretation, to question whether the *synoikismos* was principally a territorial process. Of course, one might begin by doubting the method of analyzing myth as a kind of "bad" history, a dim, distorted record of the pre-historical past that none the less reflects a core of historical truth. After all, in the *Entmythologisierung* of the legend of the *synoikismos* to reclaim its supposedly historical substratum scholars have managed to jettison almost all of the myth's main features: that the act occurred in Mycenaean times, that it involved a forced resettlement of Attika's population behind Athens' walls, that it was single or immediate, that Theseus ever lived, or that one man was responsible for unifying Attika. With so much of the legend's primary information thus sacrificed on the altar of historical interpretation, one may well question whether its emphasis on territory as the

basis of unification should remain sacrosanct. Wade-Gery suggested some fifty years ago that the ancients themselves probably lacked any hard information about this mythical event and may have extrapolated their accounts from what they knew of the *synoikia*, a festival which Thucydides and others considered a celebration of the unification.⁴⁵ Wade-Gery's conjecture was shrewd, but can now be shown to be false on the basis of epigraphical fragments of the Athenian sacrificial calendar revised in 399 B.C.⁴⁶ *Inter alia*, the surviving parts of the calendar detail trieteric offerings to be made "every other year" on the fifteenth and sixteenth of Hekatombaion, the latter being the date of the *synoikia*.⁴⁷ In fact, no mention is made of Theseus or geographical union. Instead, remarkably enough, the calendar lists sacrifices to Zeus Phratrios and Athena Phratria copied from the laws of the *phyllobasileis*.⁴⁸ In particular the G(e)leontes are specifically mentioned, as well as one of their *trittyes*, the Leukotainioi. The inscription is both eye-opening and disturbing. Zeus Phratrios and Athena Phratria are incontrovertibly the deities of the phratries: and then there is mention of the Ionian tribes, their kings, and one of their *trittyes*.⁴⁹ This is the realm of the myth of Ionian kinship, according to which all Athenians could claim joint identity as "kin" by tracing their ancestry back through *oikia*, *genos*, phratry, *trittys*, and tribe to a common ancestor, Ion, son of Apollo and Kreusa.⁵⁰ Although the festival is not mentioned on the inscription itself, scholars are agreed that the sacrifices listed here belong to *synoikia*.⁵¹ It is clear, then, that Wade-Gery's suggestion was incorrect: the celebration itself, as described on the sacrificial calendar, gives no information that would have formed the basis of the legend of Theseus' geographic coalition of the regions of Attika. We may say this, even though we have only a partial listing of sacrifices which are themselves trieteric. No doubt the annual offerings were more elaborate. But the laconic style of this fragmentary inscription and of other sacrificial calendars from Attika, which detail only such basic data as deity, type of victim, cost, date and place of sacrifice, and so forth, makes it likely that the now missing text of the annual state sacrifices on these days gave no more information than these particulars. Given the legend, what one expects is some mention of territorial groups as participating in the *synoikia*. Instead we find kinship-organizations. While it is true that the decree of the Skambonidai mentions a sacrifice made by the deme at the *synoikia* on the acropolis (*IG* 1² 188.60-61: χουνοι[κίους]: ἐμ πόλει), no other demes for which we have sacrificial calendars, including those of the Tetrapolis, do so. This seems to have been a regulation pecu-

liar to the Skambonidai themselves, and was not part of a general scheme as Ferguson thought, who suggested on the basis of *IG* 1² 188 alone that Kleisthenes had required the demes to participate in the *synoikia*.⁵² In fact, no adequate explanation has been offered why Ionian kinship-groups and not territorial associations figure so prominently in the sacrificial calendar of the *synoikia*, if the festival has to do, as Thucydides said (2.15.2), with Theseus' *synoikismos*. Some, such as Oliver and Dow, have skirted the issue altogether. Sokolowski tried to see two separate holidays in these proceedings, the first having to do with the Thesean *synoikismos* proper, the latter being a festival called the *metoikia*.⁵³ In doing so, he, of course, gave credence to Plutarch (*Thes.* 24.4) who spoke of a *metoikia* on the sixteenth of Hekatombaion, and he was drawing on a suggestion of Nilsson (made before the discovery of the inscription) that the *synoikia* was "ein Fest der Nachbarschaft wie die Metageitnien aufzufassen," (*RE* IV A, col. 1435, 41 f.).

This solution is unsatisfactory. First, Ferguson and Dow are undoubtedly right that the offerings on the fifteenth are merely a *prothyma* to the festival on the sixteenth.⁵⁴ Secondly, Thucydides speaks of the Athenians carrying out a *ἑορτὴ δημοτελής* to Athena (*τῇ θεῷ*) at the *synoikia*: no mention of Athena is made in the entry for the fifteenth, but she is the recipient of sacrifices on the sixteenth, as Athena Phratria. Thirdly, Sokolowski made sense of the Ionian tribes and phratry deities mentioned under the sixteenth by interpreting phratries and their clan subdivisions as local in character.⁵⁵ He was thus trying to *sōzein ta phainomena*, that is, trying to interpret the festival(s) in question as essentially territorial in character, in line with the legend. As all our evidence now indicates that the Ionian tribes and phratries were neither regional divisions nor even territorially compact, this explanation must fail. Writing a year earlier than Sokolowski and shortly after Oliver's publication of the inscription, Ferguson saw the difficulty of any such solution. Already in 1910 he had shown how geographically dispersed the *phrateres* of *IG* 2² 2345 were.⁵⁶ He thus offered a historical explanation, based on "migration":

. . . we cannot ignore the consideration that the ancestors of what were groups of somewhat scattered people in 508 B.C. may have lived compactly in specified localities at an earlier epoch. Up-country nobles undoubtedly migrated to Athens and less important men doubtless moved from village to village in the long period between the unification of Attika and the creation of the demes;

so that the phratries . . . must have ceased to be locally bounded if they have ever been so bounded.⁵⁷

While not drawing the explicit conclusion, it is clear Ferguson had in mind an explanation as to why the sacrifices of the *synoikia* are conducted by geographically dispersed kinship-groups rather than territorial entities: at the time of the unification of Attika, the phratries and Ionian tribes were "more compactly centered locally"; they were then in a sense territorial units that were amalgamated into a single Athenian state. Appealing as this approach may at first seem, it is no more satisfactory than Sokolowski's explanation. First, the "migration"-theory runs head on into Thucydides' statement (2.16):

For a long time accordingly the Athenians had lived in independent communities throughout Attika. Even after the *synoikismos*, following this mode of existence most Athenians, both those in earliest time and those born afterwards, down until the time of this war, continued to be born and bred in the country.

Thucydides is probably speaking here of at least three generations before the Peloponnesian War. By Greek reckoning that would be about one hundred years, taking us back to the age of the Peisistratids. In fact, given Thucydides' particular language in describing how long the inhabitants of Attika had lived in the same locales, the period should be extended even further back (2.14.2-15.1: *διὰ τὸ αἰεὶ εἰωθῆναι . . . ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῦς διαιτᾶσθαι . . . ἀπὸ τοῦ πάνυ ἀρχαίου . . .* 2.16.2: *καταλείποντες καὶ ἱερὰ δὲ διὰ παντὸς ἦν αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῆς κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖον πολιτείας πάτρια . . .*). If re-settlement was not common in the century before the war, a time of economic expansion and accompanying social change that would have fostered movement, it seems even less likely there was much significant internal migration in the centuries before Kleisthenes' reforms. Perhaps the inalienability of Attic land was a principal factor in inhibiting such relocation.⁵⁸ Nor were Ionian kinsmen in the time of Kleisthenes' reforms only "somewhat scattered," as Ferguson has it. Even our small amount of data shows they were distributed over very diverse areas. Of course, Ferguson omitted the *genos* material from his considerations for two reasons. First, he thought, mistakenly, that members of a single *genos* could be in many different phratries. Secondly, he considered *genē* to be "incommensurate" with phratries: the *genē* were not natural subdivisions of phratries, but clubs and political associations of

prominent men throughout Attika that later adopted a myth of common descent and became dominant in various phratries.⁵⁹ As it now appears that *genē* were restricted to individual phratries, this theory must be rejected. If so, it is highly unlikely that the wide distribution of *gennētai* (and hence now of *phrateres*) can be accounted for by hypothesizing early migration from locally compact areas. In sum, there is nothing regional about these kinship-groups, and the question originally posed still requires an answer: why are geographically diverse kinship-groups involved in a festival that according to legend celebrates regional unification?

What underlies this paradox in part is the virtually ubiquitous and almost never questioned assumption that the central *asty* of Athens established its control over Attika in a series of quantum steps, by direct takeover of large geographic areas one after the other. On this model the various regions resisted assimilation and Athenian dominance, harbouring suspicions and antagonisms against each other and the *asty* and retaining a strong sense of local identity. The result was a tempestuous confederation of geographic areas, whose chief families vied with each other for control of the whole until Kleisthenes' radical reorganization of the state ensured the suzerainty of the men of Athens and the plain that surrounded it. Upon such a view the legend of the *synoikismos* could be seen as mirroring typical regional concerns, and, while not strictly speaking historically accurate, promoting an ideology of geographic amalgamation and unification. A dissident view could be seen as represented in the complaints of Menestheus, in an ancillary legend preserved by Plutarch, that Theseus "had robbed each of the country nobles of his royal office and then shut them up in a single city where he treated them as subjects and slaves," while the common people, though given "a vision of liberty," had "in reality been deprived of their native homes and religions in order that, in place of many good kings of their own blood, they might look obediently to one master . . ." (*Thes.* 31). But it is always dangerous and misleading to rely on myth to reconstitute history, and the fact remains that we have little or no historical evidence from before the sixth century by which to verify this model of the geographic unification of Attika. Given the new indication we have about the *synoikia* as outlined above and our knowledge about the diffusion of kinship-groups in sixth-century Attika (and probably earlier), it is appropriate to present a new thesis about the *synoikismos*. It must be admitted at once that in the absence of verifying evidence, the interpretation to be put forth is purely conjectural. On the other hand, it is neither improbable nor impossible and is offered in the

hopes that it may lead to a profitable reevaluation of early Attic history.

In this interpretation, what eventually provided the social and cultural basis by which to bind together the areas that came to be Attika and on which to build a political commonality were the trans-regional ties of fictive kinship, embodied in phratry and *genos*. That is, it was precisely because *phrateres* and *gennetai* were scattered over the landscape of Attika that their organizations provided an institutional means by which to assert the political unity of Attika. Those ties come to be reinforced and asserted by the central government through a celebration of *synoikia*, "living together," a festival that featured the Ionian tribes, *trittyes*, and phratries and took place on the acropolis of Athens itself. The culmination in myth was to place all Athenians in the same genealogical tree by having them trace, through the eponyms of phratry and tribe, a common descent from a single forefather, Ion. The actual kinship-organizations thus constituted the material basis of this political identity, the myth, its ideological foundation, the infrastructure and suprastructure respectively. The unification of Attika, then, was neither a single event, nor a series of quantum accretions by which Athens swallowed up whole areas such as the Tetrapolis or Eleusis in a fell swoop. The process can be pictured as much more gradual, almost amoeba-like. Involving neither force of arms nor the immediate imposition of political regulations, the influence of the central *asty* extended forth gradually into the outlying districts of Attika, overtaking neighbouring areas deme by deme, exerting ever more control until they were slowly and almost imperceptibly digested into an expanding *politeia*, culturally, socially, and politically. The mechanism by which this process was realized was the kinship-groups of clan and phratry. Unrestricted by agnatic filiation as the sole criterion of induction, as was later the case in classical times, these groups recruited new members from different locales. We may imagine a bilateral process whereby Athenian groups enlisted inhabitants of areas newly under the control of the *asty* or some Athenians themselves reenrolled in kinship-organizations from the newly incorporated ones. The basis for such ties could have been economic, social, or political, now newly formalized as kin-relationships. On this model the phratries and clans vied with each other for new members to ensure their growth, to extend their influence, to broaden their prestige, and to strengthen their power in relation to each other. In time all of Attika would have been crisscrossed by mutually exclusive and competitive kinship-organizations, a force which would have worked to break down regional differences.⁶⁰ To that extent Attika's diverse inhabitants, as the state

gradually expanded, developed identities that transcended geographical barriers. In this way the wide distribution of *phrateres* and *gennētai* across the map of Attika in historical times can be accounted for without positing an unlikely degree of internal resettlement. As long as the Athenian state continued to expand, new families were coopted into clans and phratries, or else whole new kinship-groups entered the *politeia* and themselves attracted constituents. A remnant of this process can perhaps be seen in the fifth- and fourth-century custom whereby naturalized Athenian citizens were enrolled not only in demes but also in phratries.⁶¹ When at last all newcomers in the Athenian state had been recruited into phratries and/or clans, the system was closed, and entrance into these groups was restricted to agnatic filiation. The final step in the process was to unify the disparate and competing kinship-groups into a whole by creating an ideology of social identity and unity through the myth of common descent from Ion for all Athenians, which was at the same time the metaphor of political identity. It was formalized and celebrated in the official state-festival of the *synoikia*, whose celebrants were the inhabitants of Attika in their role as tribesmen and phratry-brothers. It was in this way that the unification of Attika was achieved and represented: all Attika was made one in so far as its inhabitants were united under the common umbrella of fictive kinship, with the various phratries having members in all the different locales. Such a view is in keeping with the Greek conception of a state as politically made up of citizens, that is, people, and not of territory. This description of course, as stated above, is purely conjectural. There is no evidence to support it, as indeed there is none for other theories that try to account for the geographic distribution of the phratries and clans throughout Attika. Yet, if it in some way accurately reflects what happened in the amalgamation of Attika into a single state, it then has the advantage of offering a basis of understanding why the Ionian tribes and phratries played such a surprising role in the *synoikia*; to the apparent exclusion of territorial entities.

What emerges from this discussion is the supposition that kinship-groups played a much more important part than is commonly realized in the history of early Attika. In particular, it tries to draw out the implications of what our evidence about these groups reveals, above all the demographic evidence. But it is precisely the nature of the evidence that requires some further discussion. What we lack above all else is a broad spectrum of information about which important Athenians belonged to which phratries and clans. There are isolated bits of data, but nothing at all adequate enough

to allow us to see how these kinship-ties may have affected specific political activity. As Dow has observed, we must allow for the perversity of our information, such as it is preserved.⁶² The perversity of our information in this case raises a disturbing possibility. Ancient historians labour, of course, at a disadvantage: our data base is small, shrunken, fragmented, and dictated by the caprice of millenia. That entails spinning out hypotheses on very slim evidence and requires sometimes using sources of a quality that historians of modern times might shudder at as fatuous, misinformed, or ridiculously unreliable, not to mention incomplete. None the less, despite these conditions, ancient historians tend to assume that they have enough information to sort out the contradictions, to put the scraps of evidence together into an accurate picture of what happened and of its significance. Ancient history thus requires not only a healthy sense of scepticism and the deductive powers of a Sherlock Holmes, but an unquenchable optimism that enough has been left us, despite the devouring tooth of time, that we can find out what happened and what it meant. But, in fact, that cannot always be the case. Sometimes our evidence will be insufficient to solve the problems ancient history poses us. That is precisely the difficulty I believe we face in trying to make sense of the political activity at Athens in the century before Kleisthenes. Any explanation of that period, be it based on economic factors, class-struggle, foreign policy issues, or above all regionalism, will be inevitably deficient if it leaves out of consideration the role of Ionian tribes, phratries, and clans. The close relationships and associations these organizations must have fostered by their very nature and by their pervasiveness as fundamental structures in the social fabric will have cut across all these other factors and cannot be ignored without seriously distorting our understanding of this period. In the case of the "regionalist" hypothesis this is particularly important. Kinship cut across territorial concerns. Indeed, it may have been (though this is totally unconfirmable) a primary motive factor in the politics of the sixth century.⁶³ At the very least, matters of kinship must not only have complicated the supposed regional rivalries of this era (by working against them) but also have made political activity an arena of conflict between divided loyalties (geography vs. kinship) that were inherently incommensurate with each other and hence could not be bridged. In sum, we should as ancient historians come to grips with the possibility that the real information we need to solve the problem is by and large missing and that this gap in our knowledge has made other data seem more

important than it really is simply because it has survived. What we do know about Athenian kinship-groups for the sixth century is just enough to indicate not only that explanations so far offered for that era's political activity have been incomplete and over-simplified but also that the full answer may always elude us. Such a conclusion may be disappointing, disturbing, even seem nihilistic, but in the end the best interests of history are always served if we realize our limitations.⁶⁴

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NOTES

¹ B.R.I. Sealey, "Regionalism in Archaic Athens," *Historia* 9 (1960) 155-80; D.M. Lewis, "Cleisthenes and Attica," *Historia* 12 (1963) 22-40; A. Andrewes, *The Greek Tyrants* (London 1956) 102-04. Typical of studies influenced by this approach are P.J. Bicknell, "Kleisthenes as Politician; an Exploration," in *Studies in Athenian Politics and Genealogy* (*Historia Einzelschriften* 19, Wiesbaden 1972) 1-53; and W.E. Thompson, "Kleisthenes and Aigeis," *Mnemosyne* 21 (1969) 137-52 (cf. below, p.7). The party model of political activity is found in the ancients themselves: AP 13.3-5; Plut. Sol. 13.1-3 (cf. *Amat.* 763D; *Praec. Ger. R.* 805D-E); Arist. *Pol.* 1305a, 23-4; Dion. Hal. *AR* 1.13.3; Diog. Laert. 1.58. It smacks of late fifth- and fourth-century Athenian political analysis and should be rejected as anachronistic. Cf. R.J. Hopper, "'Plain', 'Shore', and 'Hill' in Early Athens," *BSA* 56 (1961) 189-219, at 194-96. There is a strong component of economic motivation and class struggle in this analysis as well. The class-struggle theory is advocated by CAH 4.60-62 (F.E. Adcock); C. Hignett, *History of the Athenian Constitution* (Oxford 1952) 109-12; and C. Mossé, "Classes sociales et régionalisme à Athènes au début de VI^e siècle," *L'antiquité classique* 33 (1964) 401-13. An economic interpretation is favored by A. French, "Solon and the Megarian Question," *JHS* 57 (1957) 238-46; *The Growth of the Athenian Economy* (London 1964) 25-43; "The Party of Peisistratos," *Greece and Rome* (n.s.) 6 (1959) 46-57; R.J. Hopper (above). J. Holladay, "The

Followers of Peisistratus," *Greece and Rome* 24 (1977) 40-56, critiques these various views and elects an interpretation that borrows something from each, yet still overlooks the importance of fictive-kinship relations.

² P.J. Rhodes, *A Commentary on the Aristotelian Athenaion Politeia* (Oxford 1981) 186. On Sealey's repudiation of other explanations as lacking evidence, see Sealey (at n. 1) 169-71; *A History of the Greek City States* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1976) 126 f.; Cf. Lewis (at n. 1) 37 and nn. 136 and 137 ad loc.

³ On the geographical names and the sources see the thorough study by Hopper (at n. 1) 189-94.

⁴ On the Ionian kinship-model the citizenry (here not restricted necessarily to those with full political rights) was divided into four tribes; each tribe into a number of phratries; each phratry containing a *genos*. All claimed agnatic descent from Ion, son of Kreousa and (in this version) Apollo. By historical times the phratries and clans recruited members by patriliney; phratries included females, *genē* did not; not all *phrateres* were *gennētai*. For the details and the evidence see BS 2.954-964 and my forthcoming article, "Attic Autochthony, Ionian Kinship, and the Basis of Athenian Citizenship." The system is called fictive because it is assumed that in fact the Athenians were not all distant blood relations who could trace their origins back to a common progenitor: cf. W.S. Ferguson, "The Salaminioi of Heptaphylai and Sounion," *Hesperia* 7 (1938) 1-76, at 23-32 (though one should be warned the particulars of his discussion are debatable). On the problems posed by the myth see E. Meyer, *Forschungen zur alten Geschichte*, II: "Zum mittelalterlichen Staat. Adlige und bürgerliche Geschlechter. Apollon patroios. Die Phylen" (Halle 1899) 512-36. For modern anthropological treatment of fictive kinship see the *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, ed. D.L. Sills (New York 1968) VIII s.v. "Kinship" 408-13 (J. Pitt-Rivers). S.C. Humphreys, *Anthropology and the Greeks* (London 1978) 193-208, is very general. It is to be noted that the kinship of these groups is not to be equated with *kedeia* (affination) or the *anchisteia* (which was bilateral). The position of the *genos* in the Ionian kinship structure is still a subject of debate (see n. 11).

⁵ J. Toepffer, *Attische Genealogie* (Berlin 1889) 18 f. Cf. *RE* V, 6 s.v. *Demoi* (von Schoeffer) and BS 2.875.

⁶ Phlya: Plut. *Them.* 1.2; Paus. 1.22.8; 4.7.5, 7; *IG* 2² 3559; Phrearrhioi: Plut. *Them.* 1.1.

⁷ Brauron: Plut. *Sol.* 10.3; Gargettos: Diog. Laert. 10.1; Lakiadai: (if one is inclined to make the Kimonidai Philaids, as Lewis seems to be [at n. 1] 25, citing schol. Pind. *N.* 2.19 and noting that Miltiades may have adopted Stesagoras II [son of Kimon I] because he was also a Philaid) AP 27.3; Plut. *Kim.* 10.2; IG 1² 295.8; Sphettos: from Miltiades PA 10216 (3rd cent.); cf. Bicknell (at n.1) 39.

⁸ The decree: Ferguson (at n.4); Erchia: Pl. *Alk.* 1, 123C; Skambonidai: Pl. *Alk.* 1, 121; cf. Wade-Gery (at n.9) 85.

⁹ E.g., W. Dittenberger, "Die eleusinischen Keryken," *Hermes* 22 (1885) 5; Toepffer (at n.5) 19; 160 f.; W.S. Ferguson, "The Athenian Phratries," CP 5 (1910) 257-84, at 257 ff.; H.T. Wade-Gery, "Eupatridai, Archons, and Areopagus," CQ 25 (1931) 1-11; 77-89 = *Essays in Greek History* (Oxford 1957) 86-115, at 107.

¹⁰ Registration in the *genos* would have involved adoption by a member gennete and hence the taking of his demotic as well. Cf. J.S. Traill, *The Political Reorganization of Attica* (*Hesperia* Supplement XIV, Princeton 1975) 74 n.7. For the distribution of *gennētai* see map 1.

¹¹ The relationships among Ionian tribe, *trittys*, phratry, and *genos* are controversial. Rhodes (at n.2) 68-70 provides a good overview. See also Humphreys (at n.4) 193-201. The position adopted here is by and large that of Andrewes (at n.12). For the distribution of *phrateres* see map 2.

¹² "Philochoros on Phratries," *JHS* 81 (1961) 1-15.

¹³ Ferguson (at n.9) 272 ff.; "The Athenian Law Code and the Old Attic Trittyes," in *Classical Studies Presented to Edward Capps* (Princeton 1936) 153; J. Kirchner, ad IG 2² 2345; A. von Premerstein, "Phratern-Verbände auf einem attischen Hypothekenstein," *AM* 35 (1910) 112 n.2; G. de Sanctis, *Atthis: Storia della Repubblica Ateniese* (2nd ed., Turin 1912) 69; Andrewes (at n.12).

¹⁴ Art. cit. (at n.9) 270-73.

¹⁵ Art. cit. (at n.12) 10. Ferguson (at n.4) 28 n. 7, noticed the homonymy, but as he thought members of a single *genos* might belong to several phratries (p. 28) he did not use this information to extend the range of the phratry of IG 2² 2345.

¹⁶ Scholars have none the less asserted that these groups were tied to locales -- without good reason. Ferguson (at n.14) for instance, attempted to link the nameless phratry of IG 2² 2345 to the Hymettos region. The objections to this view are first, as Ferguson admitted, Kephisia (of the

demes definitely attested on the stone) does not fit this pattern; secondly, if Andrewes is correct (at n. 15) the scatter is much wider on account of inclusion of the Salaminioi; thirdly, Hymettos presents a barrier rather than a unifying influence. C. Hignett (at n. 1) 57, noting that phratries had shrines and *koina* in particular localities (e.g., Dekeleis at Dekeleia: *IG* 2² 1237.41, 53, 67; Dyaleis at Myrrhinous *IG* 2² 1241.4-13), thought they were territorial in character; R. Schlaifer, "The Attic Association of the MESOGEIOI," *CP* 39 (1944) 22-27, who identified the Mesogeioi as a *genos*, centered it just outside the city walls of Athens (p. 24). It need only be pointed out that *genē* and phratries would of course have to have their *koina* located somewhere; that fact alone does not make them "territorial." Cary's blunt assertion that the phratries were territorial divisions is utterly without substantiation (*CAH* 3.583). Nor is Hignett's conjecture (at n. 1, p. 64) cogent that *genē* were originally connected with a particular region because Kleisthenic demes often have names the same as those of patronymic *genos* designations. Lewis (at n. 1) has developed a good case that in many such instances Kleisthenes gave demes these names purposefully to undercut the kinship-groups. It can be admitted that there may well have been a high concentration of gennetes or *phrateres* in a given area just because their principal shrine or *koinon* was there. It does not follow from this probability that *genē* or phratries were local entities (a view that our evidence rejects) or that ". . . on any hypothesis . . . Deme and Phratry had much the same personnel" (H.T. Wade-Gery, "Demotionidai," *Essays in Greek History* [Oxford 1957] 133).

¹⁷ That phratry membership constituted citizenship at Athens before the time of Kleisthenes is commonly asserted: e.g., Rhodes (at n. 2) 69, 76, 258, 496; cf. also Ferguson (at n. 9) ". . . Phratries . . ." 259; Frost (at n. 18); Humphreys (at n. 11) 195. This view is very likely correct, but it need not imply a specifically political function for the phratry. Frost is right in emphasizing that in early Athens there was not yet an abstract differentiation of functions.

¹⁸ "Tribal Politics and the Civic State," *AJAH* 1 (1976) 66-75, at 67.

¹⁹ *The New Politicians of Fifth Century Athens* (Princeton 1971) 11-14, at 14 and n. 17; J.K. Davies, in his review of Connor, *Énomon* 47 (1975) 374-78 notes the lack of supportive evidence.

²⁰ *CAH* 3.582-6, at 586.

²¹ The exclusivity is clearly indicated by the elaborate procedures for entry into *genos* and phratry, the penalties for false admission, and the

detailed rules for appeal: cf. *IG* 2² 1237; *Is. Or.* 12; *Dem. Or.* 43.11-14; *Or.* 57 passim; [*Dem.*] *Or.* 59 passim; *Poll.* 8.107; *Et. Mag.* s.v. *apatouria*; for phratry admissions in general see *Dem. Or.* 39.4, 20; 43.14; 57.54; *Is. Or.* 2.14; 3.73-76; 6.22; 7.15-17; 8.19; 10.8. Andrewes (at n. 12) discusses in detail the continuing battle in the fifth and fourth centuries over *genos* and phratry admission at Athens. Cf. also J.K. Davies, "Athenian Citizenship: the Descent Group and the Alternatives," *CJ* 73 (1977) 109 f. Toepffer (at n. 5) gives the most comprehensive discussion of *genos*-cults; one need merely note the efforts of the *genos* Boutadai to distinguish itself from the deme Boutadai (and other imposters?), discussed below at pp. 8 f., and the altercation between different branches of the Salaminioi (Ferguson at n. 4).

²² On this figure see Connor (at n. 19) 12, referring to Ferguson (at n. 9) 277; see also Andrewes (at n. 12) 14-15.

²³ *Art. cit.* (at n. 1) 172.

²⁴ *Op. cit.* (at n. 2) 149; cf. Lewis (at n. 1) 25-6; Rhodes (at n. 2) 242. Bicknell's continuing efforts to make the connection (at n. 1: 84-88 and "Athenian Politics and Genealogy: Some Pendants" *Historia* 23 [1974] 153 f.) are unconvincing because he does not explain why Herodotos could not find this (obvious) fact out or, if he did, why he covered it up.

²⁵ *Art. cit.* (at n. 1) 25 f. He now believes, however, that the inscription refers to the hero Ikarios (ad *IG* 1³ 253). The inscriptional evidence is not necessary. The ms tradition of Herodotos (DII KARIOI) could easily have dropped an iota: DII[I]KARIOI. That is, Hdt. may have said that Isagoras' *syngeneis* sacrificed to Ikarion Zeus.

²⁶ *Op. cit.* (at n. 2) 149.

²⁷ Ferguson (at n. 4) 3, lines 16-17 and his remarks on pp. 24-27; 54 f.; 67: the Eurysakeion in Melite; Porthmos at Sounion; the Herakleion in Phaleron; Hal[l]ai near Sounion. Both Antisara and Pyrgilion mentioned in lines 86-87 of the decree are unidentified.

²⁸ *Art. cit.* (at n. 1) 32 n. 93. It is to Lewis' credit that he recognizes that Isagoras may not have come from Ikarion (p. 26), although later he reverts to ". . . placing him in Icaria" (p. 32).

²⁹ *Ibid.* 25.

³⁰ *Art. cit.* (at n. 1) 149 f.

³¹ E.g., Toepffer (at n. 5) 117; Lewis (at n. 1) 23; Rhodes (at n. 2) 187; J.K. Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families, 600-300 B.C.* (Oxford 1971) 348.

32 Lewis (at n. 1) 27.

33 Ibid. 32.

34 G. Daux, "La Grande démarchie: un nouveau calendrier sacrificiel d'Attique (Erchia)," *BCH* 87 (1963) 603-34, *pace* Davies (at n. 19) 376, who asserts that this inscription supports Lewis' analysis, but does not explain how.

35 On the ancient Epakria see Strabo 9.1.20 (= Philochoros *FGRHist* 328 F.94); *Et. Mag.* s.v. *epakria khōra*; *Suda* s.v. *epaktria khōra*; Steph. Byz. s.v. *Epakria*. For modern discussions see Solders (at n. 43); Hopper (at n. 1) 217-19; Thompson (at n. 1) 150-52; P.J. Bicknell, "Clisthène et Kytherros," *REG* 89 (1976) 599-603. On the Kleisthenic *trittys* see *IG* 2² 1172.30; 1294; 2490.8 and the authors cited in this note.

36 Semachidai was called part of the Epakria by Philochoros *FGRHist* 328 F. 206. It was, however, a member of Antiochis (*IG* 2² 1750.75; Steph. Byz. s.v. *Semachidai*) and not of Aigeis (to which Plotheia [*IG* 2² 1172] or Erchia belonged). As none of our information about names of *trittyes* comes from literary sources, it has been doubted (see n. 35) that Philochoros was here placing Semachidai in the inland *trittys* of Aigeis; instead, it has been thought, he was referring to the ancient cult-group. The picture is further complicated by a Semacheion (either a mine or a shrine) in south-east Attika (*IG* 2² 1582.53 ff.). I think it likely that Steph. Byz. who cited Philochoros turned a purely geographic reference, e.g., *ep' akrois*, into *tēs Epakrias*, and that Philochoros had in fact not made Semachidai part either of the *trittys* or the cult-group. (It is worth noting that the classical terminology for either entity was Epakreis not Epakria, and we may suppose Philochoros would have used Epakreis if he had been referring to them.)

37 W. Peek, "Attische Inschriften," *AM* 67 (1942) 24-29. Add Pithos from Athen. 234F. For the attested *archontes* and *parasitōi* see map 3.

38 *Art. cit.* (at n. 1) 39, additional note.

39 Both Lewis (at n. 38) and Peek (at n. 37) wished to take the demes of the *archontes* as "a better guide" to the composition of the League (as they are obviously geographically more compact): Gargettos, Acharnai, Pallene, Paiania, Pithos.

40 Plut. *Vit.* X. Or. 843.

41 In fact, Lewis ignored the analysis of R. Schlaifer, "Notes on Athenian Public Cults," *HSCP* 51 (1940) 251-57 ("The Priests of the Eponymi"),

who noted that priests of three of the eponymi came from outside their tribes and concluded that "If the hero was already worshipped in 507 [Schlaifer's date for Kleisthenes' reforms] by a *genos*, the tribe adopted the gentile cult with the sanctuary in which it was celebrated. . . ." Thus, "These gentile priests might or might not be members of the tribe whose eponymus they served." (p. 256). Indeed, Schlaifer interpreted IG 2² 1146 as a decree of the Erechtheidai who were thereby instituting (in the first half of the fourth century) their own tribal priesthood of Erechtheus, changing at that time from the Eteoboutad priestly offices they had used until then. If Schlaifer is correct, Lewis' argument at this point falls apart.

⁴² Art. cit. (at n. 1) 30-34.

⁴³ For recent studies see Sealey (at n. 2) 92-95 and R.A. Padgug, "Eleusis and the Union of Attika," *GRBS* 13 (1972) 135-50, both of which provide bibliographies. See also S. Solders, *Die ausserstädtischen Kulte und Einigung Attikas* (Lund 1931); Hignett (at n. 1) 34-38; *BS* 2.767-78 (esp. 777 n. 4 for the older bibliography).

⁴⁴ E.g., Th. 2.15.1-2; Isok. *Or.* 10.35; Phil. *FGrHist* 328 F. 94 (≅ Strabo 9.1.20); Theoph. *Char.* 26.6; [Dem.] *Or.* 59.75; Plut. *Thes.* 24-5, 32; Mam. Par. *FGrHist* 239 A. 20; Diod. Sic. 4.61.8; Paus. 1.22.3; 1.26.6; 8.2.1; Charax, *FGrHist* 103 F. 43; Anon. *Perig.* *FGrHist* 369 F. 1.

⁴⁵ H.T. Wade-Gery (at n. 9) 9 f. On the *synoikia*: L. Deubner, *Attische Feste* (Berlin 1932) 36-39; H.W. Parke, *Festivals of the Athenians* (London 1977) 30-32. Principal sources: Th. 2.15.1-2; Plut. *Thes.* 24.4; schol. Arist. *Pax* 1019.

⁴⁶ J.H. Oliver, "Greek Inscriptions," *Hesperia* 4 (1935) 5-32, which includes IG 2² 1357; S. Dow, "Greek Inscriptions," *Hesperia* 10 (1941) 31-37. For discussions see principally F. Sokolowski, "Nowy Fragment tzw. Fasti Sacri z Athen," *Eos* 37 (1937) 450-57; S. Dow, "The Law Codes of Athens," *Proc. Massachusetts Hist. Soc.* 71 (1959) 3-37; "The Athenian Calendar of Sacrifices: The Chronology of Nikomakhos' Second Term," *Historia* 9 (1960) 270-93 (with bibliography on pp. 292 f.).

⁴⁷ Plut. *Thes.* 24.4; schol. Arist. *Pax* 1019.

⁴⁸ On this interpretation of the rubric ἐκ τῶν φυλοβασιλικῶν see Dow (at n. 46) ". . . Law Codes . . ." 19-21; the same rubric occurs in IG 2² 1357 a. 6-7 and Dow's fragment E. 44-5 (*ibid.* ". . . Inscriptions . . ." 34).

⁴⁹ Only one Ionian tribe is mentioned by name on the fragments so far found, the G(e)leontes; however, there is mention of the *phylobasileis* in

the plural: Oliver (at n. 46) line 40; *IG* 2² 1357 a. 8: Dow (at n. 46) ". . . Law Code . . ." 34, line 46 (restored). On Zeus Phratrios and Athena Phratria see Ferguson (at n. 4) 28-32. The deities are mentioned, for instance, in the Souniac inscriptions: line 92 (*genos*); *IG* 2² 1237.17 and *passim* (*genos*); *IG* 2² 2344 (*phratry*); *SEG* 3.121.6 ff.; H.A. Thompson, *Hesp.* 6 (1937) 106 f., an altar base [I 3706] inscribed ΔΙΟΣ ΦΠΑΤΡΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΑΘΗΝΑΣ ΦΠΑΤΡΙΑΣ.

⁵⁰ *AP* F. 1 (Arist. F. 381 Rose [3rd ed.]) = Herakl. Pont. *Ep.* 1; schol. Ar. *AV.* 1527; Plato, *Euthyd.* 302C and schol. ad loc.; Harp. s.v. *Apollōn Patrōios*; *AP* 55.3; Hyp. F. 100 (Sauppe); Dem. Phal. *FGrHist* 228 F. 6; Athen. 460B; Arr. *Anab.* 7.29.3; Dem. *Or.* 18.141; Eur. *Ion* 1575 ff. For a convenient summary of the issues involved in this myth of kinship see Rhodes (at n. 2) 66-73.

⁵¹ E.g., in addition to those mentioned in n. 46 see also Parke (at n. 45) and Ferguson (at n. 13).

⁵² *Art. cit.* (at n. 13) 156.

⁵³ Sokolowski (at n. 46) 454.

⁵⁴ Dow (at n. 46) ". . . Law Codes . . ." 22; Ferguson (at n. 13) 155 f.

⁵⁵ *Art. cit.* (at n. 46) 453.

⁵⁶ *Art. cit.* (at n. 9) 270 ff.

⁵⁷ *Art. cit.* (at n. 13) 157. For others who have seen the phratries or *trittyes* as essentially local units see n. 16, and de Sanctis (at n. 13) 59 and *BS* 2.770-1.

⁵⁸ J.V.A. Fine, Horoi: *Studies in Mortgage, Real Security, and Land Tenure*, (*Hesperia* suppl. 9, Princeton 1951).

⁵⁹ *Art. cit.* (at n. 13) 157; (at n. 9) 261-84. His view is essentially that of Meyer (at n. 4) 512 ff.

⁶⁰ This model will be seen to be similar to Meyer's theory (*loc. cit.*) about the development of the *genē*. There are significant differences, however. Meyer saw the *genē* as a separate development from the phratry and as associations of wealthy land-holders and merchants by which to assert their political power. My view is that the clans were always intrinsic (and privileged) subdivisions of the phratries, and that these latter recruited the poor and landless too as supporters and retainers.

⁶¹ E.g., Plut. *Per.* 37; *IG* 2² 103 (= Tod 2. 133); *IG* 2² 237 (= Tod 2.178); *IG* 1² 100 (= *ML* 85); *SEG* 26.83. On the incorporation of non-Athenian clans the case of the Gephyraioi is pertinent: *Suda*, s.v. Gephyris: ξένη καὶ

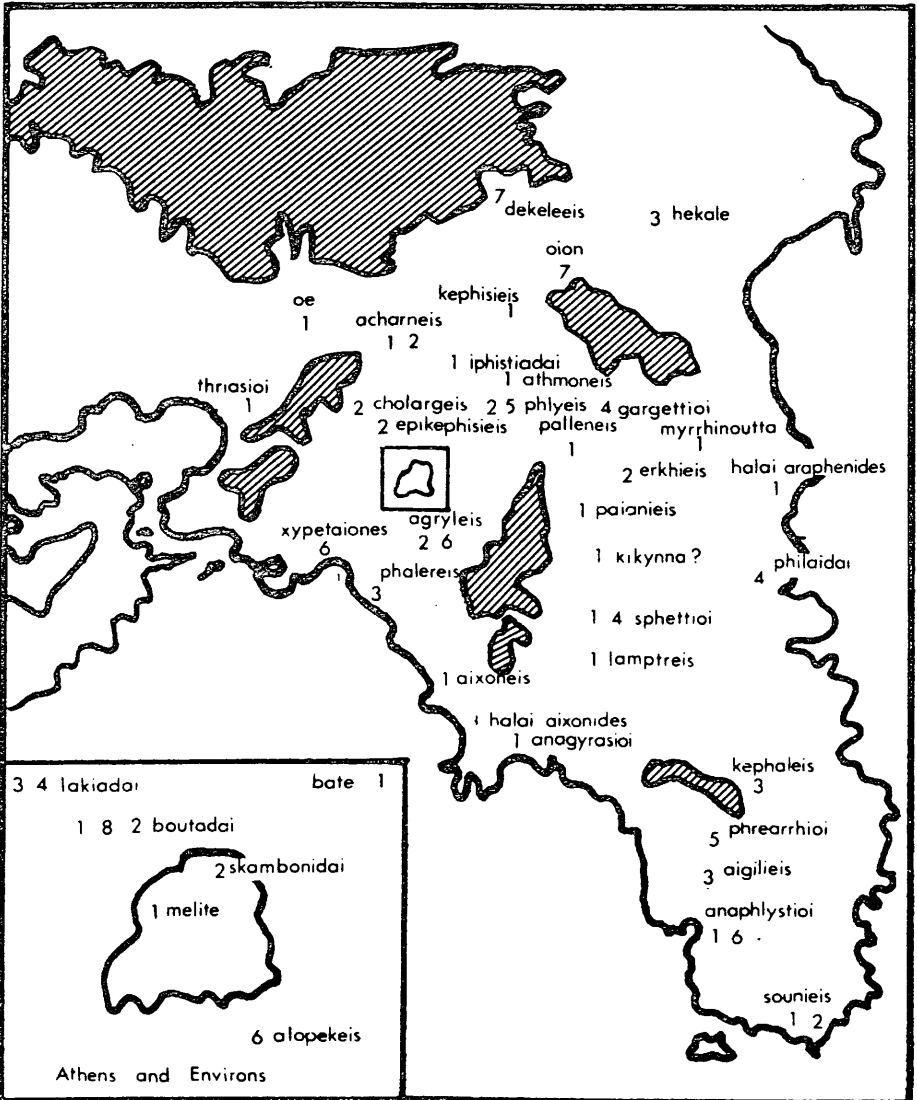
ἐπεΐσακτος. οἱ γὰρ Γεφυραῖοι ξένοι καὶ ἐπήλυδες ὄντες Ἀθήνησιν ᾤκησαν.
Cf. Hdt 5.57,61; Toepffer (at n. 5) 293 ff.

⁶² Dow (at n. 46) ". . . Law Codes . . ." 35 n. 1.

⁶³ It is worth noting that when Peisistratos returned from exile for his third, and successful attempt at tyranny, men both from the city and from the demes (οἳ τε ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος . . . ἄλλοι τε ἐκ τῶν δήμων) joined his camp (Hdt. 1.62.1). These may well have been his kinsmen (that is, *gennētai* and *phrateres*), whose loyalty to Peisistratos transcended regional interests.

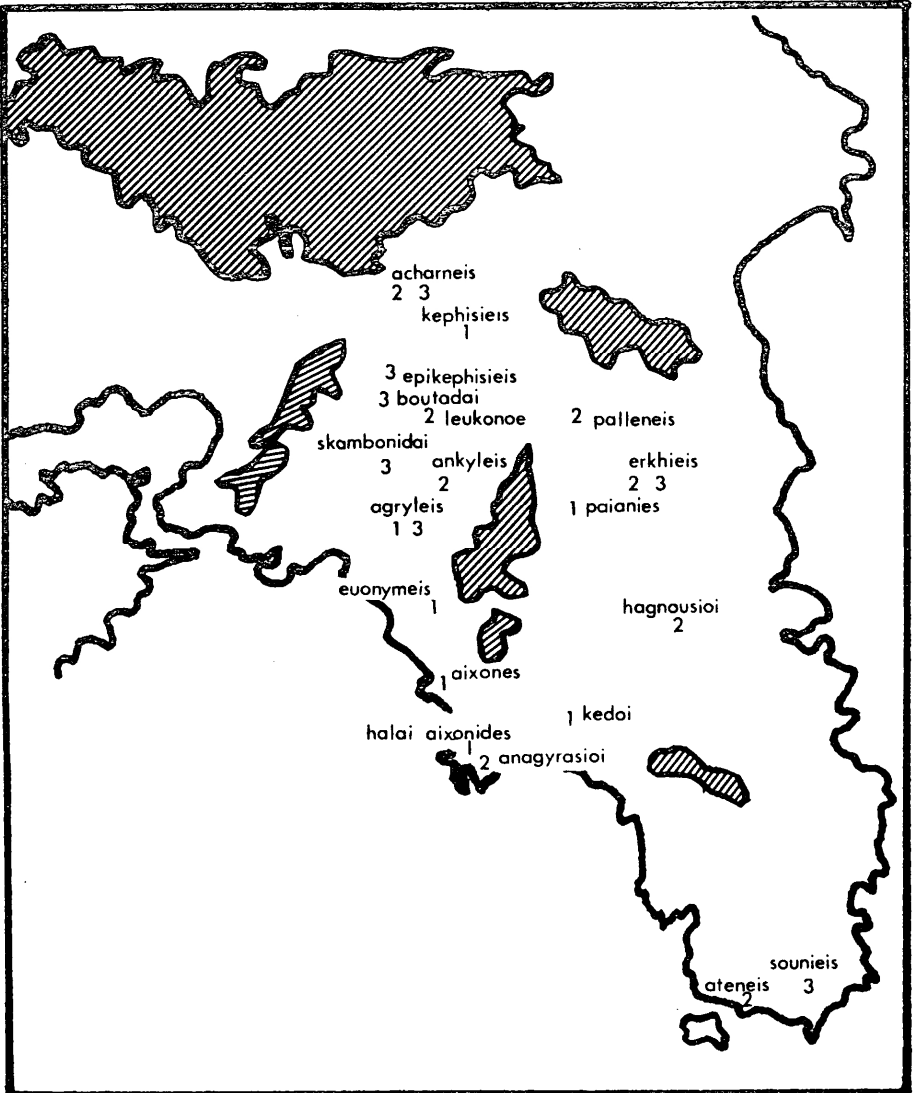
⁶⁴ Holladay (at n. 1) 40, for instance, decries W.G. Forrest's "agnosticism" in *The Emergence of Greek Democracy* (London 1966) 180. The latter was hard pressed to discover a consistent thread in the political struggle between the various regionally named parties and concluded ". . . there is no evidence" with which to reconstruct the motivations of the groups and leaders involved.

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map 1 Distribution of Gennetai in Attica

- | | |
|----------------|----------------|
| 1 amynandridai | 5 lykomidai |
| 2 salaminioi | 6 alkmaionidai |
| 3 brytidai | 7 demotionidai |
| 4 philadai | 8 boutadai |



map 2

Distribution of Phrateres of IG 2² 2345

1 attested on inscription

2 suggested by names attested only for those demes

3 Salaminioi (if this genos is a subdivision of the phratry)

kh

