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## METICS IN ATHENS

**Summary:** At present we are aware of 8209 inhabitants of Attica who were of foreign origin (*metoikoi*), slaves, or freemen. The places of origin of 7367 are known. The foreign inhabitants of Attica were from 380 different cities or territories, but, in the 5th century B.C., the geographic horizon was largely limited to the member states of the Delian League and the states closest to Attica. Of those *metoikoi* whose occupations we know, comparatively few were craftsmen or traders (9.2%), and a much larger proportion practised intellectual occupations, as artists (18.4%) and orators, philosophers, poets (21%). The Athenians were encouraged to accept the *metoikoi* by the short-term profit expected from the poll-tax (*metoikion*) and the housing-rents.

**Key words:** *metoikos*, foreign inhabitants, Attica, Delian League, *metoikion*.

In Book Eight of the *Republic* (562e–563a), Socrates gives his explanation of how it is that tyrannies come to be. The primary cause is the marked tendency of democratic systems to collapse into anarchy. The failure of discipline affects not only the relations of the citizens with the leaders of the state, but makes itself felt in the family and even in the behaviour of household animals (dogs, horses, asses). Socrates goes on to take a quick but nasty stab at the metics: in such a situation of anarchy, even a metic will think himself the equal of a citizen. Pseudo-Xenophon complains that in Athens one is not allowed to chastise another man's slave or a metic with a thrashing, first of all, because it is almost impossible to tell them apart by their clothing from the free citizens, second, since the Athenians are in need of the trades they practice, and so permit isegoria even to slaves against free men, and metics against citizens (1. 10–12). So Socrates' words are, apparently, not exceptional: they provide an accurate picture of what Athenians really thought about the foreigners living in their midst. One might, however, find it at least curious that Plato mentions metics in the same breath with household beasts of burden, Pseudo-Xenophon with slaves.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> WHITEHEAD, D.: *The Ideology of the Athenian Metic*. Cambridge, 1977 gives detailed information on the legal status of metics in Athens. The first occurrence of the word *metoikos* in Athens is IG I<sup>2</sup> 188=IG I<sup>3</sup> 244, 10 (460 B.C.). The inscription makes detailed provisions about the participation of metics in official sacrifices in their deme of residence. "It is terminologically more correct to define metics not as 'quasi-burghers', but as 'anti-citizens'". TREISTER, M. J.: *The Role of Metal in Ancient Greek History*. Leiden–New York–Köln, 1996, 92.

Though this might not be surprising in itself, it is without doubt an act of gross rudeness for Socrates to give voice to these views in the house of Polemarchos and Cephalus, the rich metics from Syracuse. As is clear from the first book of the *Republic*, Socrates has the deepest respect and admiration for old Cephalus; so it is clear that it was not his hatred for his hosts that provoked him to say what he said. Plato seems to have forgotten for a moment that the dialogue is taking place in the home of a family of Athenian metics, who gave a friendly invitation to Socrates and his friends, and to have written what the train of thought required without regard for the location and time of the action. Which is to say that the metics, although they performed vital services to the Athenian state in the army and fleet, in fulfilment of liturgies, and – unlike the citizens – in the payment of taxes, were, as a social group, treated with the contempt reserved for all non-citizens. Not, I would emphasize, as individuals, since Socrates (and Plato) has the deepest personal respect for Cephalus, or even Lysias.

But let us turn back for a moment to the words of Pseudo-Xenophon: the Athenian state has need of the metics for the wide range of crafts they practice and for their role in trade and shipping (1,12). Modern accounts are in strong agreement on the role of the metics. Jochen Bleicken wrote in his *Die athenische Demokratie* (Paderborn, 1994, 86): “Bereits im 6. Jahrhundert hatte die offizielle Politik mehrfach Fremde ermuntert, sich in Attika niederzulassen; das Ziel war dabei vor allem gewesen, möglichst viele tüchtige Handwerker zu bekommen. Neben dem Handwerk war auch der Handel ein für Metöken typischer Berufsweig”. These lines are in fact so typical of the scholarly consensus that they could be copied, more or less verbatim, out of any study. The Athenians encouraged metics to settle in Athens because they were in need of a large body of craftsmen and traders. Old Cephalus comes to mind, whom Pericles himself persuaded to settle in Athens (Lysias 12,4). With the arms trade on the upswing during the Peloponnesian War, Cephalus was able significantly to increase the family fortune to which his father had done some damage (Plato, *Rep.* 330b); the Thirty confiscated from the family’s shield factory 700 shields, 120 slaves, and a large quantity of gold, silver, and copper, not to mention the 3 silver talents, 400 Cyzicean staters, one hundred darics and four silver goblets they found in the home of Kephalos’ son, Lysias (Lysias 12, 11). Even after such losses, the money the family had invested abroad allowed the exiled Lysias to support the rebel democrats with 2000 drachmas and 200 shields (Plut. *Mor.* 835F). At the beginning of the third century, on Ceos, a shield cost 20 drachmas (cf. IG XII, 5, 647, 28–31), so the 200 shields came to 4000 drachmas – that is to say, the support offered by the exiled Lysias to the democrats amounted to one talent (6000 dr), equivalent to the sum paid by Mykonos, Seriphos, or Imbros to the Delian League in 441 B.C. Thus we can conclude that the capital resources of the wealthiest Athenian metics far outdid that of the majority of states in the Delian League (71% of member states paid a tax of one talent or less).<sup>2</sup> We do not, however, have even the slightest idea of the relative proportion of the metic population of Athens made up by the

<sup>2</sup> NIXON, L.–PRICE, S.: The Size and Resources of Greek Cities. *The Greek City from Homer to Alexander*. Ed. by O. MURRAY and S. PRICE. Oxford, 1990, 143.

wealthiest class, to which Kephalos belonged, and the less fortunate; nor do we know how many metics actually lived in Athens. Demetrios of Phaleron carried out a census in Athens between 317 and 307 B.C., according to which there were 10,000 metics to 21,000 (or 31,000) citizens (Athenaeus, 6, 272C). In 431 B.C. 3,000 metics did military service as hoplites, but a large number were also employed in the light infantry and the fleet (Thuc. 2, 31,3; 4, 90, 1). Estimates place the number of metics during the Peloponnesian War at about 7,000 (Bleicken, 472). If we accept these figures, the proportion of metics with a hoplite census was 43%; that is to say 57% were not only much poorer than Kephalos, but were in fact no wealthier than the Athenian citizen thetes. The question presents itself: was the prospect of 4,000 impoverished foreign craftsmen and traders settling in Athens really all that very attractive to the Athenians, when they themselves were exporting thousands of their own thetes to apoikiai like Brea or to the cleruchies, to free themselves of the burden of their poorer fellows. What can we learn, apart from the generalities cited above, about the origins of individual metics and their activities in Athens?

At the present time we know of 8209 inhabitants of Attica who were of foreign origin (metics), freedmen, or slaves.<sup>3</sup> Of these, we know the place of origin of 7367 inhabitants, and the fragmentary place of origin of a further 23. The foreigners living in Athens came from 380 different cities or territories. The territories at times include cities that appear independently on the list (as, for example, Kition in Cyprus); for this reason the larger territorial units are only mentioned if we do not know the more precise data of origin (for example, only those inhabitants of Kition are mentioned among the Cypriots of whom we do not know that they were from Kition). Osborne’s lexicon of names also includes the Hellenistic and Roman periods; hence I list the foreigners resident in Athens not only by city, but also the number who lived there before the end of the fifth century.

It is striking, that Athens drew foreigners from so many backgrounds and in such varying proportions. Until the end of the fifth century we know of 337 names, 4.5% of the total (7367). In the Hellenistic and Roman periods people from the huge, international metropolitan centres were especially fond of Athens as a place of residence; a fair number of these cities did not even exist in the fifth century.

City	Total	6th–5th century B.C.
Miletus	2012	7
Herakleia	618	–
Antiocheia	558	–
Roma	146	–

<sup>3</sup> OSBORNE, M. J.–BYRNE, S. G.: *The Foreign Residents of Athens. An Annex to the Lexicon of Greek Personal Names: Attica*. Leuven, 1996. Missing from the Lexicon are those foreign visitors who just happened to be in Athens at time of death, received burial there only by chance, and cannot by any means be treated as *metics*. The best example is Silenos, son of Phokos, of Rhegion, ambassador to Athens in 433/432 B.C. (IG I<sup>3</sup> 53), who died and was buried there (IG I<sup>2</sup> 1178). The inscription is, naturally enough, a very rare case: not only was his home country recorded, but also the official decree recording the occasion of his visit there.

Ankyra	124	–
Salamis	113	6
Thrace (territory)	109	8
Alexandreia	105	–
Sinope	103	–
Laodikeia	97	–
Thebae	93	2
Megara	87	7

For the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. we find an entirely different ranking, with other cities taking a greater proportion of the whole:

City	6th–5th century B.C.	Total
Ceos	15	25
Plataiai	14	78
Samos	11	44
Thrace (territory)	8	109
Miletos	7	2012
Megara	7	87
Syrakusai	7	31
Thasos	7	19
Aigina	6	79
Torone	6	10
Karia (territory)	6	7

While in the Hellenistic and Roman periods the cities that provided the majority of the foreign metics were scattered over North Africa and Asia Minor, and even Italy, the geographic horizon in the fifth century was, for the most part, limited to the member states of the Delian League and the countries closest to Attica (Megara, Corinth, etc.). Syracuse was the most distant point of origin, but it is a well known fact that Athens maintained close and important ties with Sicily in the fifth century. Athens kept up close cooperation with the former states of the Delian League even after the League was no longer an active political force. This is shown by the fact that foreign settlers arrived to Athens from no less than 105 earlier members of the League.<sup>4</sup> The Delian League had a total of 349 member states; it is clear that the in-

<sup>4</sup> Abdera, Abydos, Aigai, Aigina, Ainia, Ainos, Akanthos, Halikarnassos, Andros, Antandros, Apollonia, Aspendos, Assos, Astakos, Astypalaia, Aphytis, Byzantion, Galepsos, Gargara, Dardanos, Daunion, Delos, Eretria, Erythrai, Hestiaia, Ephesos, Zeleia, Herakleia, Hephaistia, Thasos, Thera, Iasos, Ikos, Ilion, Imbros, Iulis, Karthaia, Karine, Karyanda, Karystos, Kaunos, Keos, Kimolia, Kios, Klazomenai, Kleonai, Knidos, Kolophon, Kyzikos, Kythera, Kythnos, Kyme, Kos, Lampsakos, Larsa, Lesbos, Lemnos, Maroneia, Methone, Mende, Mesembria, Methymna, Melos, Miletos, Miletupolis, Mylasa, Myrina, Naxos, Nasos, Neapolis, Olynthos, Parion, Paros, Peparethos, Pergamos, Perinthos, Petra, Pitane, Plataia, Poteidaia, Priene, Prokonnesos, Rhodes, Rhoiteion, Salamis, Samothrake, Samos, Seriphos, Selymbria, Sestos, Sigeion, Siphnos, Skepsis, Skione, Stageira, Tenedos, Teos, Tenos, Torone, Tyras, Phaselis, Phokaia, Chalkedon, Chalkis, Chios.

habitants of 30% if the former member states showed a greater willingness to move to Athens than the citizens of all the other states put together since of the 7367 foreigners of known origin who lived in Athens, 3851 came from former states of the League (true, Miletos alone provided 27.3% of all foreigners of known origin).

We know virtually nothing about the economic activity of foreigners in Athens in the 6th–5th centuries (see detailed remarks in notes below). Certain territories were typically sources of slaves (Thrace: 7; Caria: 4; Lydia: 1; Macedonia: 1; Scythia: 2; Crete: 1; Amykla of Sparta, Alcibiades' nurse, can probably be included here),<sup>5</sup> others provided sculptors (Eleutherai: 2; Paros: 2; Samos: 1), painters (Samos: 1), woodcarvers (Phrygia: 1). Hippodamus of Miletus was an architect, Cephalos of Syracuse and his three sons the owners of a shield factory. Hermaios of Egypt and Melantas of Eresos were wool-carders, Sosinos of Gortyn a blacksmith, Hermaios of Egypt was a fishmonger. Thirty-two foreigners are known to have served in the fleet (3 from Aigi-- , 2 from Aphytus, 1 Thasian, 11 Ceans, 1 from Kimolia, 2 from Kyth-- , 3 Naxians, 2 Rhodians, a Samian, one from Samothrace, one Siphnian, a Cherronesian, 2 Chians and one man from Oropus).<sup>6</sup> Pythion of Megara was killed as a metic fighting for Athens in 446/5 B.C. Batrachos of Oreos was *paredros* and an informer for the Thirty,<sup>7</sup> Heracleides of Clazomenai held several offices, but only after he had received Athenian citizenship. Phanosthenes of Andros and Apollodorus of Cyzicus both held the office of Strategus after they won the citizenship. Timotheus of Zakynthus and Mynniskos of Chalcis were actors. Acestor of Mysia earned his living as a playwright, as did Susarion of Megara and Diocles of Phleius; Hegemon of Thasos was a parodist; Ion of Ephesus a rhapsode; and Philiskos of Miletus, the disciple of Isocrates, and Isaeus of Chalcis were both orators. Ion of Chios was a poet and universal genius, Astyphilos of Poseidonia a seer. Ariston of Argos was an *auletes*, as were Chairis and Pronomos of Thebes, and Epikles of Hermione a *cithara* virtuoso. Protagoras of Abdera, Phaidon of Elis and Anaxagoras of Klazomenai were philosophers. Chrysilla of Corinth and many of her fellow professionals won popularity as *hetairai*. Hippias of Thasos and Xenophon of Curion were executed as murderers. Finally the Athenians also imported three contract killers: Apollodorus of Megara, Thrasybulos of Calydon, and Aristodikos of Tanagra.

Intellectual occupations are strongly over-represented in the list. This has two explanations. First of all, we do not know the occupations of those metics of whom only a name and place of origin was preserved on their tombstones; also the direct literary tradition (orators, historians) is obviously biased towards the intellectual,

<sup>5</sup> It was fashionable among Athenian aristocrats to keep a Spartan nurse, Plut., *Lyc.* 16, 3; Plut. *Alc.* 1, 2.

<sup>6</sup> The high number of sailors is explained by the finding of an inscription dated to about 405 B.C. (IG I<sup>3</sup> 1032). The dating is disputed, but it is clear that it was made at the end of the fifth century and not around the beginning of the fourth. The inscription lists the crews of eight triremes, giving surprisingly exact figures as to their composition. It has no resemblance, either in appearance or provenance (Acropolis) to the lists of war dead, so it is probably a simple list of the sailors on duty there, or perhaps a collective *ex voto* (e.g. giving thanks for having survived Aegospotamoi). "*Octo triremes hic recensitas esse monstravit Laing. Locus inventionis et catalogi forma certe dissuadent, ne mortuorum catalogum hic videamus, id quod voluit Funke.*" IG I<sup>3</sup> vol. 2, p. 692.

<sup>7</sup> Athenaeus 329C; Lysias 6, 45; 12, 48.

political and economic elite. It is curious all the same that we know about Cephalus the wealthy entrepreneur not because of his economic activity, but because his son, the famous orator Lysias, remembers him and his other son Polemarchus, murdered by the Thirty, and because Plato, who knew Cephalus perhaps through Lysias, immortalized the old man in the first book of his *Republic*.

Even taking these uncertainties into account, that is to say: (1) the unavoidable over-representation of the intelligentsia, (2) the large number of sailors, explained by the chance finding of IG I/3 1032, (3) the lack of information on the activities of traders and craftsmen, and (4) the inclusion of slaves on steles recording property confiscations, it is still of interest to compile the statistics by category:

Trader, craftsman:	7	9.2%
Soldier, sailor:	33	43.4%
Artist (musician, actor, sculptor, painter)	14	18.4%
Intellectual (orator, writer, philosopher, politician, seer)	16	21%
Hetaira, murderer, assassin:	6	7.9%
	76	100%

Even taking the smallness of the sample (93 of the 337 foreigners of known provenance, that is to say 27.6% of the total) into account, the high proportion of sailors among foreigners at the time of the Peloponnesian war is not unexpected or without explanation (Ps.-Xenophon tells us that metics has an important role in manning the fleet, 1, 12); nor is the fact that Athens, the metropolis of the Greek world at the time, exercised a fascination for underworld elements: hetairai and criminals. There is yet another category of resident aliens that I have not included in the list of occupations (since it is not in fact an occupation at all), but which explains why certain individuals came to live in Athens: these are the political refugees who arrived in Athens during the war (e.g. the five refugees who arrived from Byzantium after 408 B.C.). They probably in fact made up a much higher proportion of resident foreigners, and after 404 B.C. they were joined by thousands of refugee citizens from the cleruchies, the families of some of whom had been abroad for generations and who, therefore, despite their possession of citizen's rights, did not feel at home in Athens.<sup>8</sup>

It would seem that the metics were as socially stratified a group as the Athenian citizens themselves. They carried on diverse trades and occupations, with the exception of agriculture, as they were barred from ownership of real estate. Their economic status was just as diverse: the income of an industrial capitalist, a sophist, a smith, a wool-carder, or the prostitute on the wharf would have been quite different. Their home countries of origin also varied, although non-Greeks were very scarce. All of this makes it clear why we know of no single case when metics tried to

<sup>8</sup> There were very few non-Greeks among Athenian metics. On the Greek concept of the foreigner, see DIHLE, A.: *Die Griechen und die Fremden*. München, 1994, esp. pp. 7–53.

organize themselves and give expression to their common interests over and against the citizens.

One question remains: why did the Athenians think that the presence of such a heterogeneous mass of foreign metics in their state was in their interest? Metics, as opposed to Athenian citizens, had to pay the poll-tax (*metoikion*), 12 drachmas per year per man, and 6 for a woman.<sup>9</sup> If we do not count the women who had a separate income, this tax on metics, was not overly vexing in itself, resulted – if we assume a metic population of 7,000 – in an income of 14 talents/year; 20 talents if we count 10,000. The metics rented, since they were not permitted to own real-estate. If we calculate a modest average rent of only 5 drachmas, this meant an annual income for those Athenians who rented out their houses (this meant 7–10,000 houses!), of 70–100 talents/year. This money is of great importance because, as we have seen, at the time of Demetrius of Phaleron's census about one metic for every two citizens lived in Attica; that is to say, the rent paid by metics amounted to 28.5 dr. per citizen, on top of which came the *metoikion*, the liturgies they had to perform, and their military strength, which made up a third of the Athenian field army.

It seems that it was not so much the industrial and mercantile activity of the metics that was attractive to the Athenians, but rather the direct profit expected from their presence. Also, as Xenophon tells us in the *Poroi* (2,1), metics were not paid day-wages, *misthos*, for any activity, as were Athenian citizens. Not counting the liturgies, this yearly profit of min. 84, max. 120 talents, for which they had to do absolutely nothing, was enough to persuade the Athenian citizen body not only that it was not in their interest to beat up metics in the street, but that they should even be given isegoria. On the basis of the figures cited above, it perhaps becomes easier to understand the causes of the philoxenia of the Athenians, so highly praised by Thucydides.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Euboulos, fr. 85 (KASSEL–AUSTIN), earlier 87, Harpokr. 203, 15 (s. v. μετοίκιον) “μέτοικος μὲν ἔστιν ὁ ἐξ ἐτέρας πόλεως μετοικῶν ἐν ἐτέρῃ καὶ μὴ πρὸς ὀλίγον ὥς ξένος ἐπιδημῶν, ἀλλὰ τὴν οἰκησιν αὐτόθι κατακτησάμενος. ἐδίδοντο δὲ ὑπ’ αὐτῶν καθ’ ἑκάστον ἔτος δραχμαὶ ιβ’, ὕπερ ὀνόμαστο μετοίκιον, ὥς δηλοῖ Εὐβούλος ἐν τῇ Πλαγγόνι, Ἰσαῖος δ’ ἐν τῷ κατ’ Ἑλπαγόρου καὶ Δημοφάνους ὑποσημαίνει ὅτι ὁ μὲν ἀνὴρ ιβ’ δραχμὰς ἐτέλει μετοίκιον, ἡ δὲ γυνὴ ζ’, καὶ ὅτι τοῦ υἱοῦ τελοῦντος ἡ μήτηρ οὐκ ἐτέλει· μὴ τελοῦντος δ’ ἐκείνου αὐτὴ τελεῖ. ὅτι δὲ καὶ οἱ δοῦλοι ἀφθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν δεσποτῶν ἐτέλεον τὸ μετοίκιον, ἄλλοι τε τῶν κῶμικῶν δεδηλώκασι καὶ Ἀριστομένης”. cf. WHITEHEAD, *op. cit.* (note 1), 75. WHITEHEAD, *op. cit.* (note 1), 7–9, believes that the interpretation of Aristophanes of Byzantium is more credible since according to him a foreigner resident for only a short time was called a *parepidemos* and did not have to pay the *metoikion*. We do not know how long this “short time” was, but a period of a month figures in the treaty between Chaleion in Locri and Oiantheia; after that the *metawoikos* fell under local jurisdiction. IG IX 1/2 717. 450 B.C. According to IG II<sup>2</sup> 141 (c. 360 B.C.) foreigners, from the time of their arrival, and independent of the duration of their stay, had to pay the foreigners’ tax, the *eisphora*, unless exempted.

<sup>10</sup> Thuk. 2. 39. 1: “τὴν τε γὰρ πόλιν κοινὴν παρέχουσαν καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτε ξενηλασίαις ἀπειργασμένη τινα ἢ μαθήματος ἢ θεάματος...”.

SUPPLEMENT

PROVENANCES OF FOREIGNERS LIVING IN ATHENS

City	Total	6th–5th century B.C.
Abdera	6	2
Abydos	2	2
Abonou Teichos	2	—
Ankyra	124	—
Adana	2	—
Adramyteion	17	—
Athamania	1	—
Aigai	5	2
Aigi <sup>11</sup>	3	3
Aigina	79	6
Aigosthena	2	-
Aigyptos <sup>12</sup>	9	3
Ailia	1	—
Ainia	7	—
Ainos	39	—
Aitolia	17	—
Akanthos	2	—
Akarnania	9	—
Alabanda	2	—
Alexandreia	105	—
Halikarnassos	16	—
Aliphera	2	—
Amaseia	7	—
Amastris	4	—
Ambrakia	5	—
Amisos	55	—
Ammanitai	2	—
Amphipolis	27	—
Amphissa	2	—
Andros <sup>13</sup>	15	4
Anemios <sup>14</sup>	1	—
Anthedon	3	—
Antandros	2	—

<sup>11</sup> IG I<sup>3</sup> 1032.  
<sup>12</sup> Athen. 227a; IG I<sup>3</sup> 1341 bis. MERITT, B. D.: The Inscriptions. *Hesperia*, 3, 1934, 87.  
<sup>13</sup> IG I<sup>3</sup> 182, 1, 14; Xen.: *Hell.* 1, 5; Athen. 506a; Plat.: *Ion.* 541d.  
<sup>14</sup> Ethnikon, see OSBORNE, *op. cit.* (note 3), VII. Cf. Anemios, Karmites, Kothaios, Kolchos, Ktaenites, Malieus, Mallotes, Neseibene, Oneseinos, Pakaleus, Peeleus, Rhagianos, Skaphlikos, Skousaios, Solios, S--reus.



City	Total	6th–5th century B.C.
Antiocheia	558	—
Apameia	59	—
Apollonia	16	—
Arados	7	—
Araxa	1	—
Arabia	7	—
Argos <sup>15</sup>	43	4
Ariaratheia	2	—
Arkadia	8	—
Armenia	10	—
Asia	1	—
Asine	1	—
Askalon	11	—
Aspendos	9	—
Assos	1	—
Assyria	2	—
Astakos	2	—
Astypalaia	2	—
Augousta	1	—
Aphrodisias	4	—
Aphytis <sup>16</sup>	4	2
Achaiia	14	—
Achradous	1	—
Babylon	3	—
Beroia	2	—
Berytos	16	—
Bithynia	5	—
Boiotia	27	—
Borysthenes	2	—
Bosporos	13	—
Brentesion	3	—
Byzantion <sup>17</sup>	30	5
Gadara	7	—
Galatia	16	—
Galepsos	2	—
Gargara	1	—
Gela	5	—
Gerasa	4	—
Gerenia	3	—

<sup>15</sup> PAGE, D. L.: *Further Greek Epigrams*. Cambridge 1981, 39–40; IG I<sup>3</sup> 858.

<sup>16</sup> IG I<sup>3</sup> 1032.

<sup>17</sup> Xen.: *Hell.* 1, 3, 18.

City	Total	6th–5th century B.C.
Gortyn <sup>18</sup>	6	1
Damaskos	10	–
Dardanos	11	–
Daunion	1	–
Delphoi	5	–
Delos <sup>19</sup>	4	1
Demetrias	4	–
Dorion	7	–
Edessa	2	–
Elateia	3	–
Elea	5	–
Eleutherai <sup>20</sup>	4	4
Eleutherna	2	–
Epidamnos	6	–
Epidauros	10	–
Eresos <sup>21</sup>	8	3
Eretria <sup>22</sup>	20	1
Hermione <sup>23</sup>	9	1
Erythrai <sup>24</sup>	7	1
Hestiaia	2	–
Eumeneia	4	–
Eusebeia	2	–
Ephesos <sup>25</sup>	53	1
Zakynthos <sup>26</sup>	1	1 (?)
Zeleia	2	–
Elis <sup>27</sup>	13	1
Emathia	1	–
Epeiros	27	–
Heraia	1	–
Herakleia	618	–
Herakleoupolis	2	–
Hephaistia	2	–
Thasos <sup>28</sup>	19	7

<sup>18</sup> IG I<sup>3</sup> 1349 bis.  
<sup>19</sup> IG I<sup>3</sup> 1349.  
<sup>20</sup> IG I<sup>3</sup> 511; 892; IG I<sup>3</sup> 892; IG I<sup>3</sup> 1162, 97.  
<sup>21</sup> Diog. Laert. 5, 36; IG II<sup>2</sup> 8491.  
<sup>22</sup> RAUBITSCHKE, A. E.: Megakles, geh nicht nach Eretria! *ZPE*, 100, 1994, 381–382.  
<sup>23</sup> Plut.: *Them.* 5, 3.  
<sup>24</sup> IG II<sup>2</sup> 8501 a.  
<sup>25</sup> Plat.: *Ion.* 530 a.  
<sup>26</sup> *TrGF* 4, 52. T 48.  
<sup>27</sup> Diog. Laert. 2, 105.  
<sup>28</sup> IG I<sup>3</sup> 1032; Arist. *Poet.* 1448a; Athen. 40e; 698c; IG I<sup>3</sup> 1373; 1374; Lys. 13, 54.

City	Total	6th–5th century B.C.
Theangela	7	–
Thespeia	19	1
Thesprotia	1	–
Thessalia	31	1
Thessalonike	6	–
Thebe <sup>29</sup>	93	2
Thera	3	1
Thisbe	3	–
Thourioi	4	–
Thrake <sup>30</sup>	109	8
Thyateira	5	–
Iasos	2	–
Hieropolis	4	–
Hierosolyma	1	–
Ikaros	1	–
Ikos	2	–
Ilion	5	–
Imbros	1	1
Iope	3	–
Ioudaia	2	–
Ioulis	2	–
Histiaia	3	–
Istros	7	–
Italia	4	–
Ichnai	2	–
Kalamai	2	–
Kallatis	8	–
Kalydon <sup>31</sup>	3	1
Kalchedon	8	–
Kampos	1	–
Kappadokia	7	–
Kapria	1	–
Kardia	3	–
Karthaia	2	–
Karia <sup>32</sup>	7	6
Karine <sup>33</sup>	1	1
Karmites	2	–
Karyanda	1	–

<sup>29</sup> OSBORNE, *op. cit.* (note 3) 105.  
<sup>30</sup> Herod. 6, 39, 2; Plut. *Kimon.* 4, 1.  
<sup>31</sup> IG I<sup>3</sup> 102; Lys. 13, 71; Lyk. *Leokr.* 112.  
<sup>32</sup> IG I<sup>3</sup> 1344; IG I<sup>3</sup> 421; 422; 427.  
<sup>33</sup> *FGrH* 84 F 2.

City	Total	6th–5th century B.C.
Karyneia	2	–
Karystos	81	–
Karchedon	5	–
Kassandraia	23	–
Kastolos	2	–
Katre	2	–
Kaunos	2	–
Keos <sup>34</sup>	25	15
Kelainai	1	–
Kerkina	2	–
Kerkyra	9	–
Ke--	3	–
Kibyra	3	–
Kilikia	4	–
Kimolia <sup>35</sup>	1	1
Kios	28	–
Kition	16	1
Klazomenai <sup>36</sup>	13	3
Kleonai	3	–
Knidos	12	2
Knossos	4	–
Kothaios	1	–
Kolophon	7	2
Kolchos	4	–
Kommagene	2	–
Korinthos <sup>37</sup>	68	2
Koroneia	8	–
Kourion <sup>38</sup>	2	1
Krete <sup>39</sup>	32	1
Kromna	2	–
Ktaenites	2	–
Kydonia	4	–
Kyzikos <sup>40</sup>	32	2
Kyth-- <sup>41</sup>	2	2
Kythera	7	–

<sup>34</sup> IG I<sup>3</sup> 1032.  
<sup>35</sup> IG I<sup>3</sup> 1032.  
<sup>36</sup> Hegesibulos; Anaxagoras; Herakleides (*AP* 41, 3).  
<sup>37</sup> Ath. 436f; IG I<sup>3</sup> 1348.  
<sup>38</sup> Lys. 13,54.  
<sup>39</sup> IG I<sup>3</sup> 422.  
<sup>40</sup> Apollodoros (Plat.: *Ion.* 541C; Athen. 506a; Ael. *VH.* 14, 5); Leodamas (*Hesperia*, 14, 1947, 262).  
<sup>41</sup> IG I<sup>3</sup> 1032.

City	Total	6th–5th century B.C.
Kythnos	4	–
Kyme	3	–
Kyn--	1	–
Kynos	1	–
Kypros	7	2
Kyrene	41	–
Kyrrhos	4	–
Kos	9	–
Lakedaimon <sup>42</sup>	27	4
Lamia	3	–
Lampsakos	12	3
Laodikeia	97	–
Lappa	4	–
Larisa	8	–
Lesbos	3	1
Leukania	6	–
Leukas	4	–
Lemnos	7	3
Libye	4	–
Lipara	4	–
Lokris	21	–
Lydia <sup>43</sup>	2	1
Lykaonia	1	–
Lykia	11	–
Lysimacheia	31	–
M--	2	–
Ma--	2	–
Magnesia	30	–
Maiotai	10	–
Makedon <sup>44</sup>	43	1
Makrones	1	–
Malieus	3	–
Mallotes	9	–
Mantineia	10	–
Marathos	1	–
Marion	2	–
Marisa	2	–
Maroneia	27	–
Massalia	12	–

<sup>42</sup> Amykla (Plut. *Alc.* 1, 2.). Not *metoikoi* but Spartan soldiers: Xen. *Hell.* 2, 4, 33; IG II<sup>2</sup> 11678.  
<sup>43</sup> Phanes was a slave (IG I<sup>3</sup> 427, 10).  
<sup>44</sup> Polyxene was a slave (IG I<sup>3</sup> 422, 79).

City	Total	6th–5th century B.C.
Megale polis	7	–
Megara <sup>45</sup>	87	7
Methana	4	–
Methone	3	1
Meliboia	1	–
Melitaia	6	–
Mende	7	–
Mesembria	5	–
Messenia	21	1
Metapontion	4	1
Media	14	–
Methymna	4	–
Melos	3	–
Miletos <sup>46</sup>	2012	7
Miletupolis	2	–
Molossia	2	–
Myes	2	–
Mylasa	4	–
Myrina	4	–
Mysia <sup>47</sup>	9	1
Mytilene	20	2
Naxos <sup>48</sup>	13	5
Nasos <sup>49</sup>	1	1
Naukratis	6	2
Naupaktos	3	–
Neapolis	13	–
Nea	1	–
Neseibene	1	–
Nik---	4	–
Nikaia	9	–
Nikomedeia	38	–
Odessos	1	–
Olynthos	37	1
Oneseinos	2	–
Opus	5	1
Oroanda	6	–

<sup>45</sup> Apollodoros (IG I<sup>3</sup> 102; Lys. 7, 4; 13, 71; Lykurg.: *Leokrat.* 112); Pythion (IG I<sup>3</sup> 1353); Susarion (*PCG* 7, 661–663).  
<sup>46</sup> Hippodamos; Euryphón; Aspasia; Axiochos; Philiskos (*Suda* f 360); Athenagoras; Alkmeon (IG II<sup>2</sup> 9381).  
<sup>47</sup> Akestor (*TrGF* 1, 143, no. 25).  
<sup>48</sup> IG I<sup>3</sup> 1357; IG I<sup>3</sup> 1032.  
<sup>49</sup> Alkibios (IG I<sup>3</sup> 666).

City	Total	6th–5th century B.C.
Orchomenos	10	2
Pagai	3	—
Paionia	2	—
<i>Pakaleus</i>	2	—
Palous	5	2
Pannonia <sup>50</sup>	1	—
Parion	3	—
Paros <sup>51</sup>	5	2
Patrai	5	—
Paphos	7	—
Paphlagonia	6	—
<i>Peeleus</i>	2	—
Pella	2	—
Pellana	3	—
Peparethos <sup>52</sup>	2	2
Pergamos	42	—
Perinthos	16	—
Perrhaibos	1	—
Persai	3	—
Petra	1	—
Peuke	2	—
Pelous	1	—
Pisidia	12	—
Pitane	2	—
Pi..ma--	1	—
Plataia <sup>53</sup>	79	14
Polyrrhenia	6	—
Pompeioupolis	1	—
Pontos	3	—
Poseidonia <sup>54</sup>	1	1
Potidaia	2	—
Priene	2	1
Prokonnesos <sup>55</sup>	10	2
Prousia	6	—
Ptolemais	27	—
<i>Rhagianos</i>	1	—
Rhegion	4	—

<sup>50</sup> Daphnos (IG II<sup>2</sup> 10042).  
<sup>51</sup> Ariston (IG I<sup>3</sup> 1208; 1211; 1261; 1269); Euphron (IG I<sup>3</sup> 856; 857; 1018).  
<sup>52</sup> IG I<sup>3</sup> 1032.  
<sup>53</sup> Thuk. 3, 20.  
<sup>54</sup> Astyphilos (Plut.: *Kimon*. 18, 3).  
<sup>55</sup> Hekatokles; Molpothemis (IG I<sup>3</sup> 1364).

City	Total	6th–5th century B.C.
Rhithymnia	2	–
Rhodos <sup>56</sup>	28	2
Rhoiteion	1	–
Roma	146	–
S--	1	–
Sais	2	–
Salamis	113	6
Salamis (Kypros)	14	–
Samareia	8	–
Samothrake <sup>57</sup>	4	1
Samos <sup>58</sup>	44	11
Sardis	23	–
Sarmatai	3	–
Selge	7	–
Seleukeia	20	–
Seriphos	3	–
Selymbria <sup>59</sup>	4	3
Sestos	7	–
Sigeion	1	–
Side	5	–
Sidon	62	–
Sikelia <sup>60</sup>	17	1
Sikyon <sup>61</sup>	52	1
Sinope	103	–
Siphnos <sup>62</sup>	8	1
Skarpheia	1	–
Skaphlikos	10	–
Skepsis	2	–
Skione	4	–
Skousaios	2	–
Skythai <sup>63</sup>	2	2
Skyros	5	–
Smyrna	15	–
Soloi	24	–
Solios	3	–

<sup>56</sup> IG I<sup>3</sup> 1032.  
<sup>57</sup> Satyros (IG I<sup>3</sup> 1032).  
<sup>58</sup> Philergos (IG I<sup>3</sup> 763; 1365); Agatharchos (Vitruvius 7. *praef.* 11; Plut.: *Alk.* 16).  
<sup>59</sup> Dionysios; Pythagores (IG I<sup>3</sup> 1154).  
<sup>60</sup> Xenikos (IG I<sup>3</sup> 1369 bis).  
<sup>61</sup> IG I<sup>3</sup> 741.  
<sup>62</sup> Sogenes (IG I<sup>3</sup> 1032).  
<sup>63</sup> Slaves (IG I<sup>3</sup> 422; 427).



City	Total	6th–5th century B.C.
Stageira <sup>64</sup>	1	1
Sticheleion	2	–
Stratonikeia	3	–
Synnada	7	–
Syrakusai <sup>65</sup>	31	7
Syria	7	–
S--reus	2	–
T--	2	–
Tanagra <sup>66</sup>	23	1
Taras	7	–
Tarsos	46	–
Tauromenion	1	–
Tegea <sup>67</sup>	4	1
Tenea	2	–
Tenedos	3	–
Terina	2	–
Termessos	8	–
Teos <sup>68</sup>	8	2
Temnos	3	–
Tenos	5	–
Tibarnia	1	–
Tithoraia	2	–
Tios	8	1
Tolophon	1	–
Tolosa	1	–
Torone <sup>69</sup>	10	6
Trallis	10	–
Tripolis	3	–
Triphylia	2	–
Troizen	9	–
Troas	9	–
Tyana	6	–
Tyrakinai	1	–
Tyras	1	–
Tyros	18	–
Hypaipa	1	–
Phanoteus	2	–

<sup>64</sup> Hérostratos (IG I<sup>3</sup> 1370).  
<sup>65</sup> Kephalos, Euthydemos, Lysias, Polemarchos (Lys. 13; 14).  
<sup>66</sup> Plut.: *Per.* 10, 7; *AP* 25, 4.  
<sup>67</sup> Lisas (IG I<sup>3</sup> 1371 bis).  
<sup>68</sup> Kaletor; Euxenos (IG I<sup>3</sup> 1372).  
<sup>69</sup> IG I<sup>3</sup> 1377; 1378; 1379.

City	Total	6th–5th century B.C.
Pharsalos <sup>70</sup>	3	3
Phaselis <sup>71</sup>	11	2
Pheneos	3	–
Philadelpheia	1	–
Philippoi	1	–
Phleius <sup>72</sup>	5	1
Phoinike	4	–
Pholoe	2	1
Phrygia <sup>73</sup>	14	1
Phokaia	9	–
Phokis	14	–
Chaironeia	4	–
Chalkedon	1	–
Chalkis <sup>74</sup>	19	3
Cherronesos <sup>75</sup>	7	3
Chios <sup>76</sup>	15	4
Oreos <sup>77</sup>	9	1
Oropos <sup>78</sup>	36	1
	7367	337

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<sup>70</sup> Menekleides; Menon; Thukydides (*Agora* XXV 643–646, OSBORNE, M. J.: *Naturalization*. II.  
<sup>71</sup> Iatrokles; Athenodotos (IG I<sup>3</sup> 1360; I<sup>2</sup> 1047)  
<sup>72</sup> Diokles (Suda d 1155).  
<sup>73</sup> Mannes (IG I<sup>3</sup> 1361).  
<sup>74</sup> Isaios; Diagoras; Mynniskos (OSBORNE, *op. cit.* (note 3), 316).  
<sup>75</sup> IG I<sup>3</sup> 1032; Naukles; Herakleitos (IG I<sup>3</sup> 1301).  
<sup>76</sup> Ion, the poet; two sailors (IG I<sup>3</sup> 1032); Hephaistes (IG I<sup>3</sup> 1345)  
<sup>77</sup> Batrachos (Archippos fr. 27).  
<sup>78</sup> Philonichos (IG I<sup>3</sup> 1032).