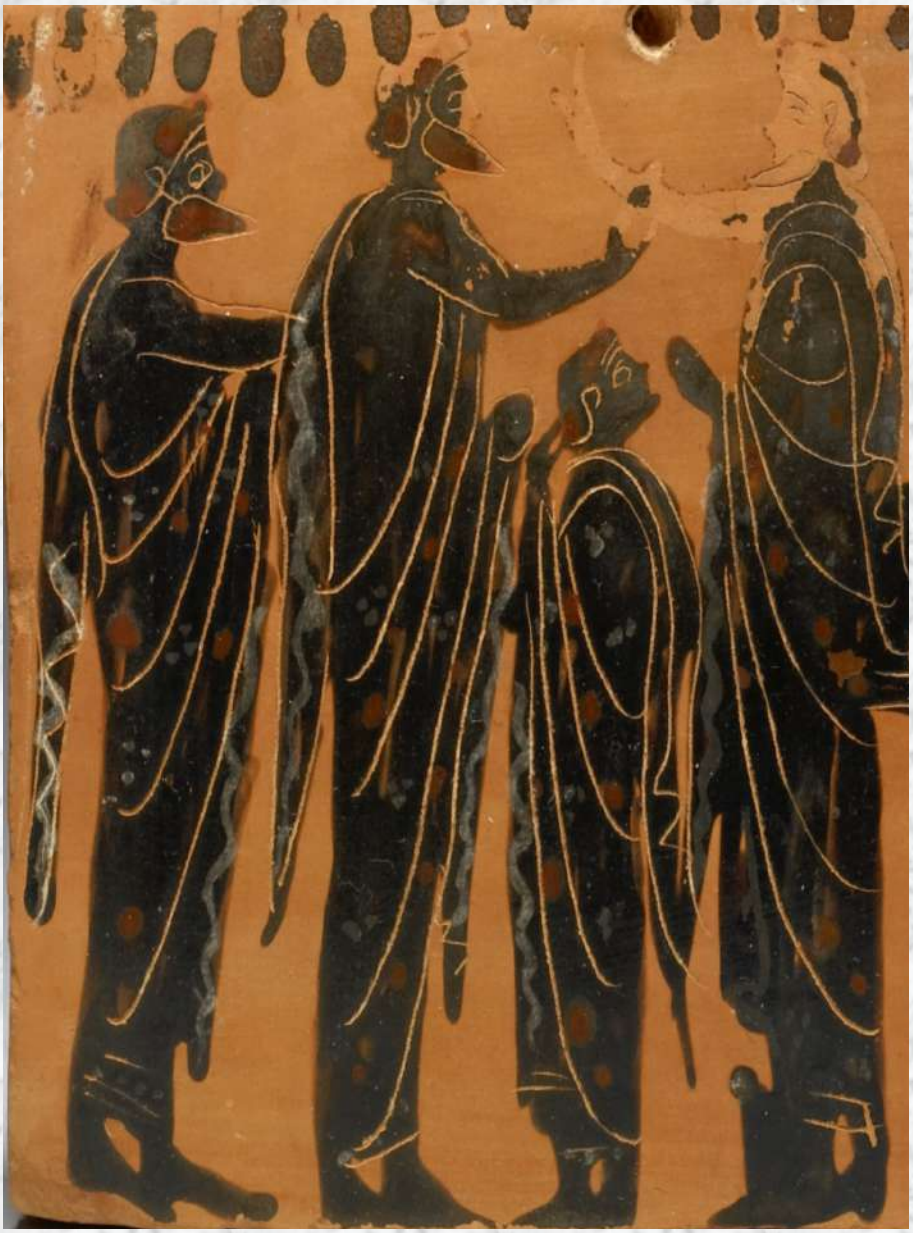
DEMOKRATIA



A GAME OF CITY BUILDING AND DEMOCRACY
IN CLASSICAL ATHENS

FOR 3-5 PLAYERS (PLAYING TIME 60 MINUTES)

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VERSION 1.2

1. INTRODUCTION

It is the year of 480 BC and Athens has been sacked by the Persians. The evacuated people return to a city in ruins. But out of the ashes, a new city will arise, a city built on democracy and destined to become one of the most famous cities in the history. The Golden Age of Athens is about to begin.

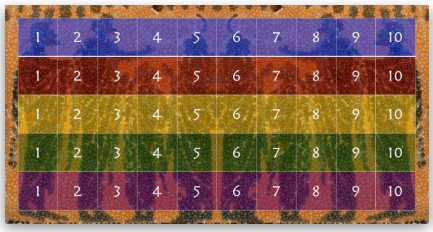
However, the people has hardly gathered again before the unity starts cracking. Tribes stand against tribes and nobles against commoners as everybody seeks to influence the people, to shape the new city, and to take place among the eternal men of Athens.

2. GAME COMPONENTS

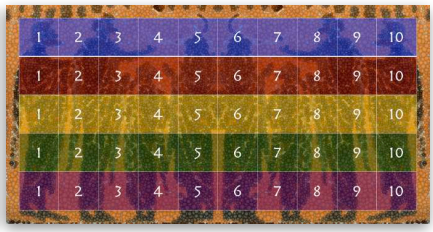
The game consists of the following components:

- 1 Archon tile
- 49 Athens tiles; 1 agora, 7 alleys (3 buildings), 12 streets (2 buildings), 12 turns (2 buildings), 12 crossroads (1 building), and 5 squares (0 buildings)
- 15 vote tiles
- 5 Monument tiles; Academy, Parthenon, Stoa, Theatre, and Wall
- 5 Rhetor tiles; Demosthenes, Pericles, Socrates, Sophocles, and Themistocles
- 1 Ostracism tile and 1 Peloponnesian War tile (optional)
- 1 Noble chart with 5 tribe tracks 1-10.
- 1 Commoner chart with 5 tribe tracks 1-10.
- 2 Game Aide Charts
- 174 citizen discs of 5 different tribes; 40 blue, 40 red, 40 yellow, 30 green, and 24 purple
- 22 white neutral citizen discs
- 5 Noble pawns and 5 Commoner pawns; 1 per color

Noble chart



Commoner chart



Archon

Athens

Vote

Monument

Rhetor

Ostracism

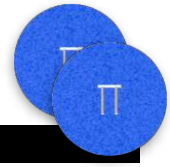
Citizen

Neutral

Pawns

3. GAME OBJECT

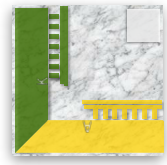
Sample start hand



You play a demagogue of one of the five tribes in Classic Athens. Your goal is to gain the most influence with the most powerful tribe, either among the Nobles in the Assembly or among the Commoners in Athens. You do this by playing your citizen discs (referred to as *citizens*) to the Assembly, to Athens, to a Monument or to a Rhetor. The game ends either through an instant victory or when a demagogue's citizens are exhausted.

4. GAME SETUP

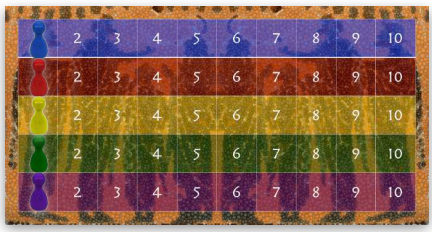
1) Give a random player the **Archon tile**.
2) Locate the **Agora tile** and place it on the middle of the table. This is the starting tile of **Athens**.
3) Use citizens according to the table below. Remove any remaining citizens from the game.
4) The players choose **1 tribe** each and take **2 citizen discs** belonging to that tribe.



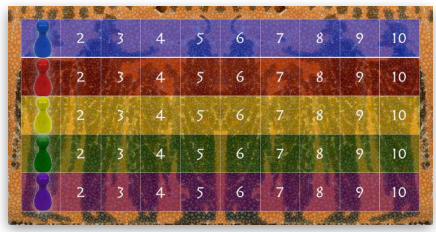
Players	Blue	Red	Yellow	Green	Purple
3	40	40	40	1	1
4	30	30	30	30	1
5	24	24	24	24	24

5) Place **1 citizen** of each tribe on the **Noble chart** on the 1-spaces of their colors.
6) Put the remaining citizens together with the neutral discs citizens in the lid (the *citizen pool*).
7) The players randomly take **3 Athens tiles** each, look at them and keep them face down. Put the remaining Athens tiles in the box (the *Athens pool*) face down.
8) The players randomly take **3 vote tiles** each, look at them and keep them face down. Put aside the rest.
9) Put aside the **5 Monument tiles**, the **5 Rhetor tiles**, and the **1 Ostracism tile**,
10) Place the **1 Peloponnesian tile** in the Athens pool.
11) Place the **5 Noble pawns** on the **Noble chart** on the 1-squares of their colors (on top of the citizens). Place the **5 Commoner pawns** on the **Commoner chart** on the 1-spaces of their colors.

Noble chart



Commoner chart



5. GAME OVERVIEW

Demokratia is played in rounds divided into five phases:

1) **Demagogue**: Argue, negotiate and bribe for your cause.
2) **Vote**: Play secret votes.
3) **Citizen**: Play citizens and activate Monuments and Rhetors.
4) **Assembly**: Reveal votes and distribute new citizens.
5) **Ostracism (optional)**: Vote to temporarily exile a demagogue.

Each round will see a change in the **power** of the different Nobles and Commoners as well as the players' **influence** with them:

Noble power derives from votes and buildings and is tracked on the **Noble chart** (1-10). The more citizens a player has on a Noble's track, the more **Noble influence** they have.

Commoner power derives from connected buildings and is tracked on the **Commoner chart** (1-10). The more citizens a player has on a Commoner's buildings, the more **Commoner influence** they have.

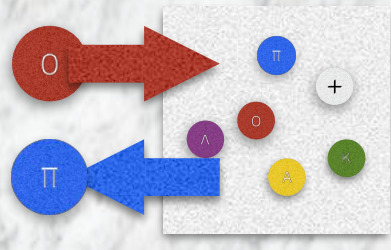
The more power a Noble has, the more new citizens it will generate, and the more influence a player has with it, the greater their share of the new citizens will be.

6. DEMAGOGUE PHASE

In the Demagogue phase, the players may debate with each other regarding which tribe to vote for and which buildings to build.

They may also bribe each other by giving away citizens from their hands, either in this phase or in any other phase (but the bribed player is never forced to do as you want so be careful whom you trust!). A player receiving a citizen in this way exchanges it with a citizen of their own tribe from the citizen pool.

Example: Red starts with neither red votes, nor red buildings, but Blue offers to help her by voting for the red tribe and building a red building. In exchange, Red gives Blue a red citizen from her hand. Blue returns the red citizen to the citizen pool and takes a blue citizen instead.



7. Vote Phase

In the Vote phase, the players choose one of their 3 vote tiles and place it on top of the others face down. Once played, they may look at it but not reveal it or replace it.

Votes in the **white** amphora (+) will **increase** the **Noble power** and votes in the **black** amphora (-) will **decrease** the **Noble power** in the Assembly phase (Chapter 9).

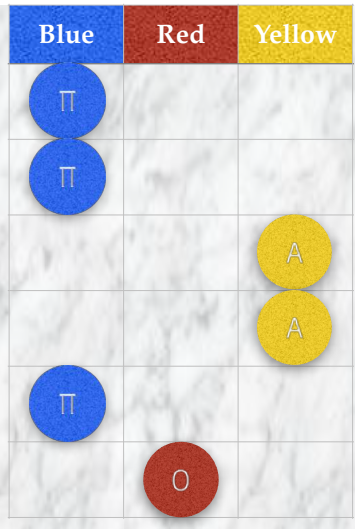
Example: Blue's first vote tile gives the blue Noble +2 influence and her second vote tile gives the blue and the red Nobles +1 influence each. Blue honors her agreement with Red and chooses her second vote tile.

8. Citizen Phase

In the Citizen phase, the players play citizens to different places. The player with the most citizens on the hand takes the Archon tile and plays citizens until another player has more citizens.

Ties are broken in clockwise order, starting with the player currently having the Archon tile. When all players have played their citizens, the Citizen phase ends.

Example: In the first round of a 3 player game, all players have 2 citizens. Blue starts with the Archon tile and also gets 1 citizen from Red. She plays her 1st citizen and, since nobody has more citizens yet, also plays her 2nd citizen. Yellow now has more citizens, takes the Archon tile, and plays her 1st citizen.



Since all players now have 1 citizen, Yellow keeps the Archon tile and plays her 2nd citizen. Blue is next in clockwise order. She takes the Archon tile, plays her 3rd citizen, and gives the Archon tile to Red. Red plays her only citizen and keeps the tile since the phase ends.

Citizens must be played to any of the following places:

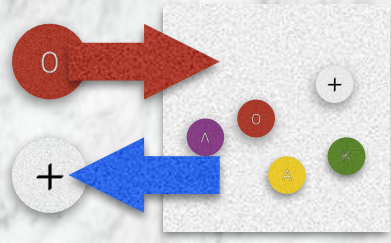
1) A space on the **Noble chart**. This increases the **Noble influence**.
2) An **Athens tile**. This increases the **Noble power** and may increase the **Commoner power** and **Commoner influence** as well.
3) A **Monument tile** or a **Rhetor tile**. This gives certain abilities that may alter the power and influence balance.

Each citizen play will be described in detail.

If, at any time during the round, you are unable to take a new citizen from the citizen pool, the game will end after the round. Take a neutral citizen token instead. It cannot be played but will be used when determining the winner.

Example: In the Demagogue Phase example, if Blue would not have any blue citizens in the citizen pool, she would have taken a neutral citizen instead.

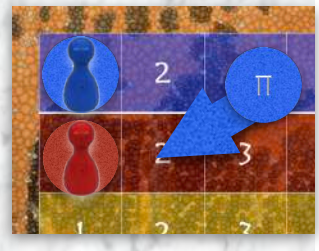
Blue may not play the neutral citizen but keeps it on the hand to the end game scoring.



8.1 ASSEMBLY

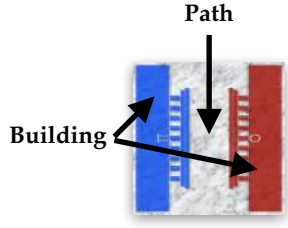
Play a citizen to the leftmost empty space on any tribe track on the **Noble chart**. Citizens may be placed beneath the Noble pawn. This increases the player's Noble influence with that tribe.

Example: Since Blue voted for both the blue tribe and the red tribe, she wants to claim blue and red spaces in the Boule. She already has a blue space (from the setup) and decides to place a citizen on a red space.



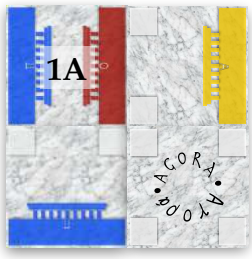
8.2 ATHENS

Play an Athens tile to Athens and plays a citizen to it. The Athens tile must adhere to the following placement rules.



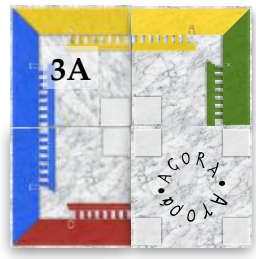
1. It must continue at least one existing **path** and must not block any existing paths.
2. It must **match the colors** of the buildings along all the paths it continues.
   - White and black buildings are wild and match all other colors.
   - The agora and the squares (0 buildings) may not be placed adjacent to each other.
3. It may not be placed so that a road from the **agora** ends in a **dead end** or a **loop**.
4. It may not be placed more than **3 tiles** away from the **agora** (orthogonally or diagonally). This means that Athens will contain up to 7x7 tiles with the agora in the middle.

1A: Illegal, road blocks road from right

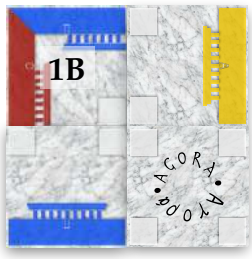


2A: Illegal, blue does not match yellow to the right

3A: Illegal, causes two roads from agora to loop

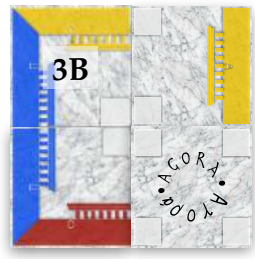


1B: Legal, road continues roads from below & right



2B: Legal, note that purple & yellow "backs" don't match

3B: Legal, both roads from agora continue



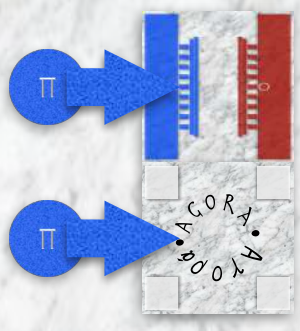
For each building on the Athens tile, increase or decrease the Noble and Commoner power.

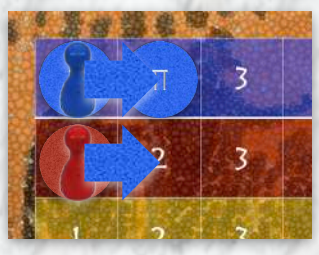
The Noble power increases by 1 step for each matching building and decreases by 1 step for each black building (player's choice but no more than 1 per tribe). White buildings have no effect.

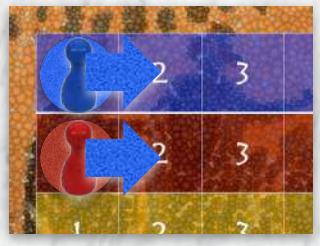
The Commoner power equals the largest group of matching buildings connected by paths. White buildings count for all tribes while black buildings "break" connections.

Afterwards, the player plays **1 citizen** from the **citizen pool** to the **Agora tile** and draws **1 Athens tile** from the **Athens pool**. If the Peloponnesian War tile is drawn, reveal it and draw another.

Example: With a blue seat and a red seat in the Boule, Blue wants to increase the power of both the blue tribe and the red tribe. To do so, places an Athens tile blue and a red building next to the Agora tile.







She places a citizen from the hand on the Athens tile and a citizen from the citizen pool on the Agora tile. This increases both the blue and the red Noble power by 1. It also brings the blue and the red Commoner power to 2 (1 for the Agora tile and 1 for connected blue and red buildings.

8.3 Monuments and Rhetors

Take a **Monument tile** or a **Rhetor tile** not yet taken by a player and place a **citizen** from your hand on it.

A **Monument** have a permanent effect. A **Rhetor** may be **activated** before or after an action, including when it is acquired. Flip activated Rhetors and flip them back at the end of the round. Each Monument and Rhetor will be described in detail.

Monuments

Long Walls: When placing an Athens tile, replace any Athens tile (except the Agora), adhering to placement rules. Return it to the Athens pool and move its citizen to the Agora tile.

Stoa Basileios: After a Rhetor has been activated, remove it from the game and move its citizen to the Agora tile.

Parthenon: After all players have cast their votes, peek at them.

Plato's Academy: When drawing Athens tiles, draw 4 instead of 3.

Theatre of Dionysus: After the votes are revealed, replace any 1 vote with a vote from your hand.

RHETORS

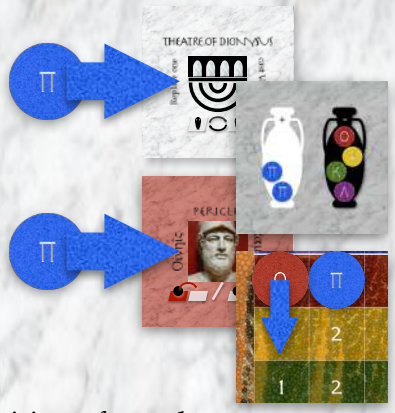
Move any players's rightmost citizen on the Noble chart from 1 space to any empty space. Slide citizens to the left to fill any gaps. The space moved from or to must match the color of the Rhetor.

Demosthenes **Pericles** **Socrates** **Sophocles** **Themistocles**

9. ASSEMBLY PHASE

In the Assembly phase, the players are rewarded new citizens from the Commoners and Nobles.

Example: Blue considers playing her last citizen to a Monument or to a Rhetor to further improve her position.



With the Theatre of Dionysos, she may replace another players' cast vote tile with her own vote tile with 2 blue votes and increase the blue Noble power.

With Pericles, she may remove the red citizen from the red space on the Noble chart to a yellow space and benefit from the red Noble influence herself.

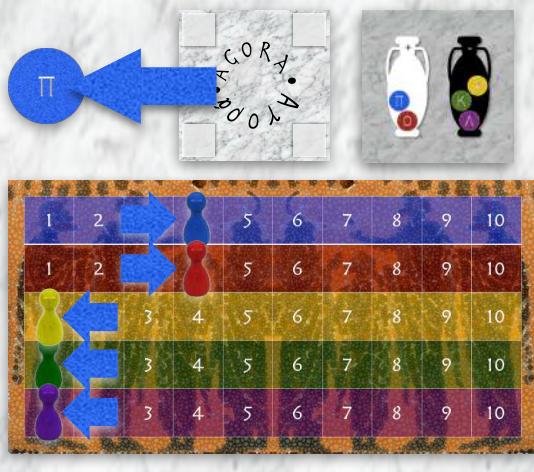
(Blue did not promise Red to let her keep the red space, did she?)

Nobles reward Noble influence. The more power a Noble has, the more citizens it rewards. The more influence a player has, the greater its share of the rewarded citizens. Follow the steps below.

Commoners reward Athens tiles. Simply distribute any citizens on the Agora tile to their respective players. (Most of them were placed here when the players placed Athens tiles.)

1. Collect the 1 top vote tile from each player. Shuffle and reveal them. For each vote in a **white** amphora, move the corresponding Noble pawn **1 space** to the **right**. For each vote in a **black** amphora, one the corresponding Noble pawn **1 space** to the **left**. Pawns cannot move below 1 or above 10.

Example: Blue's Athens tile gave her a citizen from the citizen pool to the Agora tile and she may now take it.



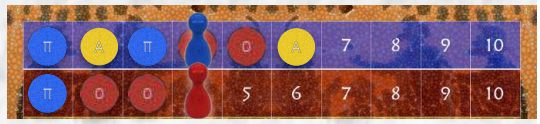
Blue's vote tile increases the blue and the red power by 1. It also decreases the yellow, the green and the purple power by 1.

Blue's has successfully increased the blue and red Noble power as well as her influence with them.

2. For each Noble, reward **citizens** equal to its power. The citizens are rewarded to the players based on their positions on the Noble track from left to right. If any citizens remain, (i.e. the Noble power is greater than the player's total influence), reward the remainder from left to right.

Players are always rewarded citizens of their own color, i.e. Blue only plays with blue citizen discs.

Example: Both the blue and the red Noble power is 4 and will reward 4 citizens each.



Blue, Red and Yellow have 2 influence each with the blue Noble. Since Red and Yellow have the 5th and 6th positions, Blue get 2 citizens and Red and Yellow only 1 each.

Red has 2 influence with the red Noble and Blue only 1. Red gets 2 citizens and Blue 1 citizen. Since Blue has the 1st position, she also gets the 4th citizen.

In the unlikely event that a player ends the Assembly phase with no citizens on the hand, she receives 1 citizen from the citizen pool.

In sum: you get new citizens by
1) accepting bribes from another player (6. Demagogue phase)
2) playing citizens to Athens tiles or (8. Citizen phase)
3) playing citizens to the Noble chart (9. Assembly phase)

10. OSTRACISM (OPTIONAL RULE)

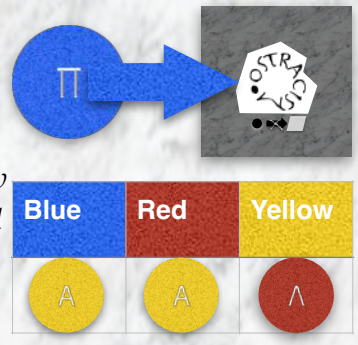
In classical Athens, *ostracism* was used to exile too powerful citizens. Starting with the **Archon** and continuing **clockwise**, a player may call for ostracism by playing a **citizen** to the **Ostracism tile**.

1. The players take **1 citizen** of each other player's color from the **citizen pool**.
   - If a player has the Ostracism tile, do not take citizens of that player's color.
   - If there are not enough citizens in the citizens pool, no ostracism can be called.
2. The players secretly select 1 citizen and reveal it simultaneously.
   - If one player gets more votes than any other, they are **ostracized** and take the tile.
   - If no player gets more votes than any other, there is **no ostracism**.

Return the citizens used to vote to the citizen pool. An ostracized player may not **vote** in the **Vote phase** and must play **every 2nd citizen** directly to the **Agora tile**.

A player may only call for ostracism once per game and only one player may be ostracized each round. An ostracized player keeps the Ostracism tile and may not be ostracized again until another player has been ostracized and taken over the tile.

Example: Blue is falling behind Yellow and decides to spend 1 citizen to call for ostracism. She plays the citizen to the ostracism tile and takes a red and a yellow citizen from the citizen pool. Blue and Red votes Yellow and Yellow votes Red. Yellow is ostracized with 2 to 1.



If Red would have voted Blue, all would have got 1 vote each and none would have been ostracized.

Next round, Yellow may not cast any vote. She has 7 citizens and must play the 2nd, 4th and 6th directly to the Agora tile.

The blue citizen on the Ostracism tile shows that Blue may not call for Ostracism again in the game. The Ostracism tile with Yellow shows that Yellow may not be ostracized until another player has been ostracized.

11. PELOPONNESIAN WAR (OPTIONAL RULE)

"The growth of the power of Athens, and the alarm which this inspired in Sparta, made war inevitable." (Thucydides)

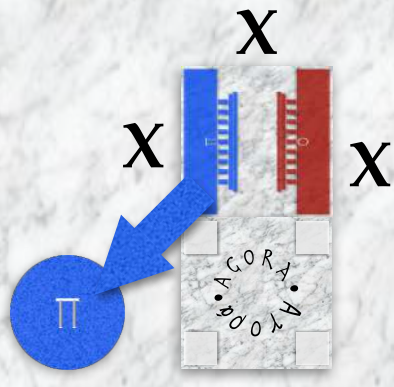
If The Peloponnesian War tile was revealed (see 12. End of round), play out the Peloponnesian War.

1. Starting with the Archon and continuing clockwise, each player must return one of their **citizens** from **Athens** to the **citizen pool** and flip its **Athens tile**. ***Citizens on Athens tiles with black buildings cannot be returned, nor can those Athens tiles be flipped.***
   - A player unable to return a citizen from Athens must return two of their citizens from other locations to the citizen pool.
   - If a player loses their last citizen, they are dishonored and **out of the game**.
   - If Athens loses its last citizen on non-black Athens tiles, Athens falls to its external enemies and **all players lose**.
2. Each colored building on a flipped Athens tile **decreases** the matching **Noble power** with 1.
3. Return the Peloponnesian War tile to the Athens pool **at the beginning of the next round** (i.e. the war cannot take place two rounds in a row).

Citizens may be played to flipped Athens tiles to "rebuild" them and flip them back in the Citizen phase, in which case the matching Noble power increases by 1. New Athens tiles may not be placed adjacent to flipped ones.

Example: At the end of the round, Blue draws the Peloponnesian War tile. Blue reveals it and draws a new.

Before the end of the next round, the Peloponnesian War breaks out. Blue returns a citizen from a blue and a red street and flips the tile. The blue and the red Noble power decreases by 1.



Any player may flip back the Athens tile by playing a citizen there in the Citizen phase and restore the Noble power. Meanwhile, no Athens tiles may be played adjacent to to the flipped tile.

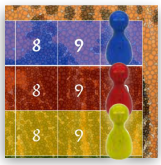
12. END OF ROUND

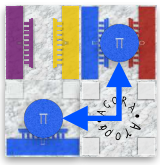
At the end of the round, the players refresh their hands:

1) Collect all vote tiles, shuffle them and give each player **3 vote tiles**.
2) Return all Athens tile to the Athens pool, shuffle them and give each player **3 Athens tiles**. If the Peloponnesian War tile is drawn, reveal it and draw another.
   - If there are not enough Athens tiles for everyone, **reduce the hand size** by 1.
   - If the hand size is 1 and there are still not enough Athens tiles for everyone, the Hegemony Victory is triggered, see 13. End of Game.
3) Flip back any activated **Rhetors** face up.

13. END OF GAME

At the end of the round, also check the following end game conditions in order. If any is true, the game ends immediately.

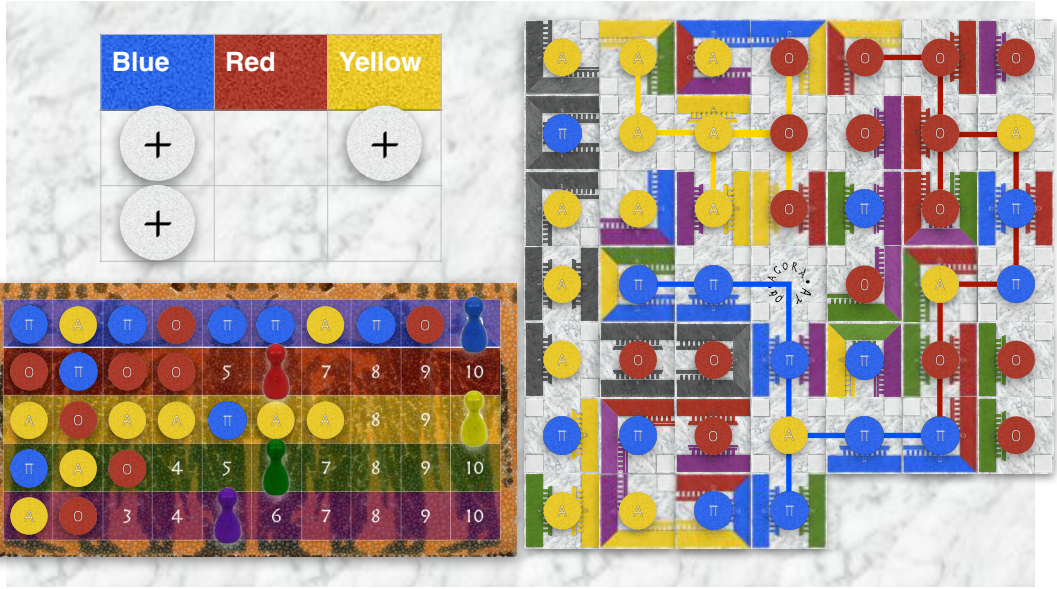




1. **Hegemony Victory:** Of the 49 Athens tiles, less than the player count remains to be placed. Athens subdue all other Greek city states and establishes a hegemony.
2) **Democracy Victory:** One or more players has received **a neutral citizen token**. The democracy survives.
3) **Oligarchy Victory:** One or more Noble has **power 10**. A coup replaces the democracy with an oligarchy.
4) **Tyranny Victory:** One or more Commoner has **power 10**. A revolt replaces the democracy with a tyranny.

The end game condition determines how many victory points (VP) the players get. The player with the most victory points wins.

1. **Hegemony victory:** The players share the victory.
2. **Democracy victory:** Each neutral citizen token gives 1 VP. In case of a tie, the tied players count Oligarchy and Tyranny victory VP.
3. **Oligarchy victory:** Each citizen on the Noble track of the Noble or Nobles with the highest power gives 1 VP. In case of a tie, the tied players count Tyranny victory points.
4. **Tyranny victory:** Each citizen in Athens in the largest group or groups of matching building connected by paths gives 1 VP. In case of a tie, the tied players count Oligarchy victory points.



Example: At the end of a the 3 player game round, the end game conditions are checked.

1) *Hegemony: 46 of the 49 Athens tiles have been placed, i.e. 3 tiles still remain. End game condition not fulfilled.*
2) *Democracy: Blue has 2 neutral citizen tokens and Yellow has 1. End game condition fulfilled.*
3) *Oligarchy: There are 2 Nobles with power 10; blue and yellow. End game condition fulfilled. On the blue and yellow noble tracks, Blue has 5+1 citizen, Yellow has 2+5 citizens and Red has 2+1 citizens.*
4) *Tyranny: There is 1 Commoner in Athens with power 10; red. In the largest group of Athens tiles with red buildings (including the Agora and white building), Blue has 3 citizens, Yellow has 2 citizens and Red has 5 citizens.*

Blue wins a Democracy victory, Yellow an Oligarchy victory and Red a Tyranny victory. Since the game conditions are checked in order, the Democracy victory takes precedence and Blue wins!

14. HISTORICAL NOTES

- Agora: Central spot in Greek city states and center of political life.
- Alexander the Great: King of Macedonia, subdued all Greeks and conquered Persia.
- Archon: Title used in Athens for nine magistrates leading civic, military and religious affairs.
- Boule: Council of citizens, supervised finances, navy, cavalry, religion, building and shipping.
- Citizen: Free man born by Athenian parents (excluding women, slaves and foreigners).
- Demagogue: A leader of the common people who appeals to emotions to gain power.
- Democracy: Political system of Athens where all citizens voted directly on legislation.
- Demosthenes (384–322 BC): Politician and orator, led uprising against Alexander the Great.
- Dialectics: Method of argument for resolving disagreement, used by Socrates in his dialogues.
- Ekklesia: Assembly of all citizens, responsible for declaring wars and electing strategoi.
- New Bouleuterion: Seat of the Boule, replaced the Old Bouleuterion (the Metroon).
- Oligarchy: Political system where the power rests with a small number of people.
- Ostracism: Vote to exile citizens to neutralize potential threats.
- Panathenaic way: Led from the Dipylon gate to the Acropolis via the Agora.
- Parthenon: Temple on Acropolis, construction began by Pericles in 447 BC.
- Peloponnesian War (431–404 BC): War between the Athenian empire and the Spartan league.
- Pericles (495–429 BC): Politician and general, led Athens in the Peloponnesian War.
- Persia: Empire in the East, fought the Greeks in 5th century BC but failed to conquer them.
- Phyle: Tribe, administrative organization of the Athenians, named after mythical heroes.
- Plato's Academy: Founded in the mid-380s, posed problems and solved them with dialectics.
- Polis: City-state consisting of city and dependent territories.
- Prytaneion: Seat of the Prytaneis, located at the Tholos, which was also used for dining.
- Prytaneis: Executives of the Boule, consisted of 50 men of each of the ten phylai.
- Rhetor: Orator, public speaker arguing for a cause.
- Rheotrics: Art that aims to improve the capability to inform, persuade, or motivate.
- Socrates (470/469–399 BC): Philosopher, father of the dialectic method, sentenced to death.
- Stoa Basileios: Headquarter of the King Archon, the site of ostracisms and of Socrates' trial.
- Sophocles (497/6–406/5 BC): Tragedian, elected as one of the ten strategoi, wrote 123 plays.
- Sparta: Military city state and rival to Athens, defeated Athens in the Peloponnesian War.
- Strategoi: Annually elected generals, decided strategy by vote and led armies and fleets.
- Theatre of Dionysus: Originally constructed in the 4th century BC, seated 17 000 spectators.
- Themistocles (524–459 BC): Politician and general, defeated the Persians, ostracized.
- The Four Hundred: Short-lived oligarchy that overthrew the Athenian democracy in 411 BC.
- The Long Walls: Connected Athens to its ports, destroyed by the Spartans 403 BC.
- The Thirty Tyrants: Installed in Athens by Sparta in 404 BC after the Peloponnesian War.
- Tyranny: Political system with absolute rule unrestrained by law or constitution.

GAME PHASES

In the Demagogue phase, the players may debate with each other regarding which tribe to vote for and which buildings to build.

In the Vote phase, the players choose one of their 3 vote tiles and place it on top of the others face down. Once played, they may look at it but not reveal it or replace it.

In the Citizen phase, the players play citizens to different places. The player with the most citizens on the hand takes the Archon tile and plays citizens until another player has more citizens.

Noble Athens Monument or Rhetor

In the Ostracism phase, starting with the Archon and continuing clockwise, a player may call for ostracism by playing a citizen to the Ostracism tile.

In the Peloponnesian War phase, starting with the Archon and continuing clockwise, the players flip returns 1 citizen from Athens to the citizen pool and flip its Athens tile (if the Peloponnesian War tile was revealed)..

In the Assembly phase, the players are rewarded new citizens from the Commoners and Nobles.

At the end of the round, each player returns vote tiles and Athens tiles and draw 3 new ones and flip back Rhetors.

CREDITS

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Special thanks:	My wife Su-San Oh for having to listen to my endless historical and game-technical considerations