

HESPERIA SUPPLEMENT XIV

THE POLITICAL ORGANIZATION OF ATTICA

A STUDY OF THE DEMES, TRITTYES, AND PHYLAI,
AND THEIR REPRESENTATION IN THE ATHENIAN COUNCIL



BY
JOHN S. TRAILL

AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS
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FOR PROFESSOR H. GRANT ROBERTSON

τοὔνεκά με προέηκε διδασκόμεναι τάδε πάντα

PREFACE

The research for the present volume was initiated during the preparation for publication of three Agora bouleutic lists.¹ Their study encouraged, indeed demanded, a re-examination of the whole body of prytany and bouleutic material. These interests, in part, complemented the plans for a final publication in corpus form of the inscriptions from the Athenian Agora Excavations, and the first volume of this series, entitled *Athenian Agora*, XV, *The Athenian Councillors*, Princeton, 1974, was duly completed by Benjamin D. Meritt and myself. Not all the material of my researches, however, seemed suitable for inclusion in *Agora*, XV, which, with the nearly five hundred known Athenian prytany and bouleutic texts, was already a considerable volume. It was therefore decided to publish separately my studies of the organization and composition of the phylai and of the locations, number, and representation of the Attic demes. Since much of the preliminary work had been done during the four years between 1965 and 1970 in which I was a member of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, publication of *The Political Organization of Attica* as a supplemental volume to *Hesperia*, *Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens* seemed appropriate.

Of the many persons who have assisted this work I would like especially to mention Sterling Dow and Harry J. Carroll, Jr. Dow's fundamental study, *Prytaneis, A Study of the Inscriptions Honoring the Athenian Councillors* (*Hesperia*, Supplement I, 1937), has provided an important basis both for the present study and also for *Agora*, XV. Carroll's unpublished dissertation, *Bouleutai, An Epigraphical and Prosopographical Study of the Lists of Athenian Councillors...* (Harvard University, 1954), included new texts of many fourth century prytany and bouleutic inscriptions, together with tables of representation which served as models for the tables published in the present work.

It is a pleasure also to record my warm thanks to the American School of Classical Studies at Athens and its successive directors, Henry S. Robinson and James R. McCredie, to the Agora Excavations, especially the Field Director, T. Leslie Shear, Jr., and the past Secretary of Records, Mrs. Andreou Demoulini, to members of the Greek Archaeological Service, and to the staff of the Epigraphical Museum, especially Markellos Th. Mitsos and Mrs. Dina Peppa-Delmouzou, past

¹ *Hesperia*, XXXV, 1966, pp. 205–240; XXXVII, 1968, pp. 1–24; XXXVIII, 1969, pp. 459–494, and 530. A number of the ideas published in this volume were presented in a preliminary form in the author's dissertation, *Representation in the Athenian Council* (Harvard, 1967, unpublished).

and present director respectively. My gratitude is also due the Canada Council and the Department of the Classics, Harvard University, for fellowships to attend the American School of Classical Studies in Athens and for grants to aid the publication of this volume. I would express special thanks to C. W. J. Eliot for much help and kind criticism, to Marian H. McAllister for skillful editing and careful proofreading, and to the Meriden Gravure Company and William Clowes and Sons, Limited for superior engraving and masterly printing of a most difficult manuscript.

Finally, I would acknowledge an enormous debt to Eugene Vanderpool, who has given me constant help and encouragement and saved me from an untold number of errors, to Homer A. Thompson, who put at my disposal both his own vast knowledge of Attica and the magnificent facilities of the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton, to Benjamin D. Meritt and Lucy Shoe Meritt, whose interest, knowledge, and kindness have been unfailing in correcting manifold errors in the manuscript and in persistent encouragement of the volume through the many stages to final publication, and to Terry-Ellen Cox Traill, who has contributed, directly and indirectly, to almost every page of this study. *Utinam melius esset opus.*

JOHN S. TRAILL

INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY, PRINCETON
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ABBREVIATIONS AND SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Agora*, XV = Meritt, B. D., and Traill, J. S., *Athenian Agora*, XV, *Inscriptions, The Athenian Councillors*, Princeton, 1974; figures in **bold face** in the text (and in parentheses above the Tables of Representation) refer to the inscription numbers of *Agora*, XV
- Agora*, XVI = Woodhead, A. G., *Athenian Agora*, XVI, *The Athenian Decrees*, publication forthcoming
- A.J.A. = *American Journal of Archaeology*
- 'Αρχ. 'Εφ. = 'Αρχαιολογική 'Εφημερίς
- Ath. Mitt.* = *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung*
- B.C.H. = *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*
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- Δελτ. = 'Αρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον
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INTRODUCTION

THE SUBJECT

In the twenty-first chapter of the *Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία* Aristotle describes the four elements essential to Kleisthenes' political organization of Attica:

(1) *πρῶτον μὲν οὖν συνένειμε πάντας εἰς δέκα φυλὰς ἀντὶ τῶν τεττάρων . . .*

(2) *ἔπειτα τὴν βουλὴν πεντακοσίους ἀντὶ τετρακοσίων κατέστησεν, πεντήκοντα ἐξ ἐκάστης φυλῆς . . .*

(3) *διένειμε δὲ καὶ τὴν χώραν κατὰ δῆμους τριάκοντα μέρη, δέκα μὲν τῶν περὶ τὸ ἄστυ, δέκα δὲ τῆς παραλίας, δέκα δὲ τῆς μεσογείου, καὶ ταύτας ἐπονομάσας τριττῦς, ἐκλήρωσεν τρεῖς εἰς τὴν φυλὴν ἐκάστην, ὅπως ἐκάστη μετέχῃ πάντων τῶν τόπων.*

(4) *καὶ δημότας ἐποίησεν ἀλλήλων τοὺς οἰκοῦντας ἐν ἐκάστῳ τῶν δήμων . . .*

These four elements, the Phylai, the Council, the Trittyes, and the Demes, were combined by Kleisthenes to provide perhaps the most important, certainly the most enduring, feature of ancient Athenian democracy, representative government.¹

Representative government in ancient Athens, more precisely representation in the Athenian Council, is the subject of the present study. While it is the hope that some elucidation of the descriptions by Aristotle and by other ancient authors concerning the Athenian system of representation will emerge from this work, its sources are not these authors but rather the nearly five hundred inscriptions pertaining to the prytaneis and bouleutai. These texts, now gathered in *Agora*, XV,² provide a documented account over a period of some seven centuries of an extremely stable and regular system. Year after year the various phylai were honored, or honored themselves, by the setting up of lists of their prytaneis. Occasionally the whole Council was so commemorated and lists of all 500, or in the time of the twelve phylai 600, bouleutai were erected. The names themselves, more than 4,000 councillors, or with patronymics (which were usually inscribed) more than 8,000 persons, represent a considerable cross-section of Athenian prosopography and

¹ For convenience the author of the *Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία* is referred to in this study as Aristotle. On the subject of representation in antiquity the reader is referred to J. A. O. Larsen, *Representative Government in Greek and Roman History*, Berkeley, 1955, with references to other works in the notes, especially pp. 191–192, notes 8 and 9.

² Above, p. v.

constitute a subject worthy of special separate treatment.³ Of concern here, however, are the statistics which these texts provide for the representation of the various demes and trittyes in the Council. It is of great importance that, although the purpose and general format of the monuments might vary somewhat from period to period, the arrangement of the register, that is the section devoted to the lists of names, remained constant. All the representatives of a particular deme were listed together under the respective demotic, thus making readily apparent the quota of representation of a deme on any list.⁴ There are a few texts, admittedly, chiefly from the end of the second and the beginning of the third centuries after Christ in which the demotics did not appear, or if they did appear, they were inscribed in curtailed form beside the individual names, but these are a small exception from a particular period in which there is considerable other evidence for the decline of a long-established system.

THE EVIDENCE

The nearly five hundred prytany and bouleutic inscriptions which appear in *Agora*, XV have been assigned to five periods of Athenian government (see below, p. xvii, Table to Illustrate the Distribution of Texts by Phyle and by Period). Some fifty-six texts have been assigned to the time of the original ten phylai, that is the two-hundred-year period from the institution of Kleisthenes' system at the end of the sixth century to the time of the Macedonian reorganization in 307/6. In reality, however, there are no texts from either the first hundred years or the last ten years (i.e. the regency of Demetrios of Phaleron) of this period, so that the fifty-six inscriptions cover a period of less than one hundred years. The monuments were for the most part private dedications, set up often on the Acropolis. They usually listed

³ The social and economic background of the fourth-century councillors was the subject of a published study by J. Sundwall, "Epigraphische Beiträge zur sozial-politischen Geschichte Athens im Zeitalter des Demosthenes," *Klio*, Beiheft IV, 1906, pp. 1-18, and an unpublished dissertation by H. J. Carroll, Jr. (above, p. v). A limited prosopographical commentary for all periods was included in the Index of *Agora*, XV. A considerable number of councillors appear in J. K. Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families 600-300 B.C.*, Oxford, 1971.

⁴ The deme decree in honor of the bouleutai of Teithras (*Hesperia*, XXXI, 1962, pp. 401-403, no. 3=45) and the private dedication on Salamis by prytaneis of Peiraieus (*I.G.*, II², 1811=479) are special cases and, of course, exceptions to this rule. The prytany registers as a whole differ markedly from other lists of names, such as lists of fallen, ephebes, diaitetai, etc., by their general consistency in format over a long period of time. The Athenian casualty lists have a reasonably regular format with names listed in columns by phylai (and never by their demes), but they belong to only a short period of Athenian history (see D. W. Bradeen, *Athenian Agora*, XVII, *Inscriptions, The Funerary Monuments*, Princeton, 1974, pp. 3-34). The ephebic lists, though numerous and covering a period of time roughly equal to that of the prytany monuments (but with not as even a distribution), vary widely in format even within so limited a period as the fourth century B.C. (see O. W. Reinmuth, *The Ephebic Inscriptions of the Fourth Century B.C.*, *Mnemosyne*, Supplementum XIV, Leiden, 1971). Other types of lists, e.g. diaitetai, klerouchs, etc., are too rare to allow generalizations on format and usually date from a very limited period of Athenian history (for examples, see the *Corpus*).

all fifty prytaneis, although there are a few such dedications which did not include a register of the prytaneis, several others, including the earliest preserved list, of 408/7, which were only partial rosters, and a few which included rosters of all ten tribes or the entire Council. The brief heading on the prytany lists of this period usually records that a particular tribe, or the prytaneis of that tribe, won (*ἐνίκηα*, *νικήσαντες*, etc.) in the contest of prytanies; presumably it excelled the other tribes in the performance of its duties.

In this period the number of texts assigned to a particular phyle varies from as few as three, all of them fragmentary, for Aiantis, to as many as eight, four of them virtually complete, for Pandionis. On the whole the first five phylai are better served in this period than the last five; there are thirteen complete, or nearly complete, rosters of the former, but only two of the latter. The imbalance is probably due only to chance and is to be explained, in part, by the accidental preservation of the first half of one bouleutic list.

In 307/6 the political system of Attica was reorganized following the creation of the two Macedonian phylai. The Council was increased from 500 to 600 members and the setting up of the prytany monuments now became a public concern, funded from the public treasury. The decrees of the Boule and the Demos which voted both the honors to the prytaneis and their officers and the payments to cover the cost of these honors became a regular part of the texts, and henceforth it was not uncommon for several tribes to be so distinguished in the same year. The location of the monuments also was changed and at this time they were placed almost without exception in the Agora, first in the section adjoining the Tholos designated the Prytanikon,⁵ and much later, when the monuments had regularly assumed the form of inscribed herm shafts, in the area in front of the Stoa Basileios known as The Herms.⁶

We have assigned some sixty-nine texts to the eighty-four years belonging to the first period of twelve phylai. Although large sections of three bouleutic lists, apparently the last of this type of monument to be erected in Athens, have been preserved, the majority of the inscriptions are very fragmentary (as many as twenty-two cannot even be identified by phyle) and the distribution both in date and in tribal affiliation is extremely irregular (see Table below, p. xvii). A spate of prytany and bouleutic monuments followed the expulsion of Demetrios of Phaleron; we have one text from 305/4, three, including a bouleutic catalogue, from the following year, and another from 303/2. The number of prytany inscriptions assigned to a single tribe varies from as many as seven (Akamantis and Oineis) to as few as one (Hippothontis, and possibly Demetrias), but again the imbalance is probably due only to the chance of preservation.

⁵ *Agora*, XV, p. 3, note 13.

⁶ T. L. Shear, Jr., *Hesperia*, XL, 1971, pp. 255–256.

With the creation of Ptolemais in 224/3 the Council was once more expanded, this time to 650 members, but there were no changes in the now well-established routine of honoring the prytaneis and their officers. We have assigned some twenty-seven texts to this brief period of twenty-three years in which thirteen phylai existed.

In 201/0 the tribal organization of Kleisthenes passed through the most drastic changes since the inception of the system more than three hundred years earlier. First the two Macedonian phylai were dissolved and the demes which were then affiliated with them returned to their original tribes. The number of phylai now briefly stood at eleven, but there are no prytany documents from the few tumultuous months of this tribal situation, although the important deme-catalogue *I.G.*, II², 2362 has been dated to this period.⁷ The creation of Attalis, however, in the spring of 200 B.C. returned the number of tribes to twelve once again and the Council to 600 members, a tribal arrangement which was to last more than three centuries and endure even the momentous changes in Athenian political life following the conquest of Athens by Sulla in 86 B.C.⁸

As many as one hundred and seventy prytany texts have been assigned to the long second period of twelve phylai. They are not, however, distributed evenly throughout the period; one hundred and ten, or nearly two-thirds of the inscriptions, belong to the one hundred and fourteen years preceding the sack of Sulla, whereas only sixty, or about one-third of the texts, are assigned to the succeeding two hundred and thirteen years. Erechtheis was the most popular phyle and Akamantis the least popular, but again no special significance should be attached to the figures.

In 126/7⁹ of this era the tribal organization of Attica underwent its last transformation with the creation of Hadrianis. The number of phylai now became thirteen, but the individual contingents of prytaneis were reduced from fifty to forty members and the Council itself was regarded as a nominal 500.¹⁰ After a short period in which the monuments were paid for out of an endowment by Claudius Atticus¹¹ private prytany dedications, paid for by a wealthy member of the tribe, once again became the rule and many of these monuments, as mentioned above, took the form of inscribed herms.

⁷ On the sequence of events in this year and the dating of *I.G.*, II², 2362 in particular, see W. K. Pritchett, *T.A.P.A.*, LXXXV, 1954, pp. 159–167.

⁸ Geagan, *Athenian Constitution After Sulla*, *passim*.

⁹ On the date of the creation of Hadrianis, see J. A. Notopoulos, *T.A.P.A.*, LXXVII, 1946, pp. 53–56.

¹⁰ On the size of the individual contingents I follow A. E. Raubitschek (*Γέρας Ἀντωνίου Κεραμοπούλου*, pp. 242–255) and D. J. Geagan (*Athenian Constitution After Sulla*, pp. 95–96), but see now P. J. Rhodes, *The Athenian Boule*, Table A, “The Size of the Post-Hadrianic Lists of Prytanes” (I am indebted to Dr. Rhodes for this reference in advance of the publication of his book).

¹¹ Geagan, *Athenian Constitution After Sulla*, pp. 99–100.

TABLE TO ILLUSTRATE THE DISTRIBUTION OF TEXTS BY PHYLE AND BY PERIOD

	X PHYLAI				XII PHYLAI				XIII PHYLAI				XII PHYLAI				XIII PHYLAI							
PHYLE	Complete/nearly complete pyrtany (boulentic) rosters	Fragmentary pyrtany (boulentic) rosters	Lists with little/no evidence ¹²	Total	Complete/nearly complete pyrtany (boulentic) rosters	Fragmentary pyrtany (boulentic) rosters	Lists with little/no evidence ¹²	Total	Complete/nearly complete lists	Fragmentary lists	Lists with little/no evidence ¹²	Total	Complete/nearly complete lists	Fragmentary lists	Lists with little/no evidence ¹²	Total	Complete/nearly complete lists	Fragmentary lists	Lists with little/no evidence ¹²	Total	Complete/nearly complete lists	Fragmentary lists	Lists with little/no evidence ¹²	Total
Erechtheis	1(1)	3(2)	0	4(3)	1(0)	1(2)	1	3(2)	2	0	1	3	2	5	8	15	0	1	1	1	15	0	1	1
Aigeis	2(1)	1(1)	0	3(2)	2(0)	3(2)	0	5(2)	0	0	0	0	0	2	6 ¹³	8 ¹³	2	9	1	1	8 ¹³	2	9	1
Pandionis	4(1)	2(1)	0	6(2)	0(0)	3(3)	0	3(3)	1	0	0	1	2	2	4 ¹⁴	8 ¹⁴	3	7	4	1	9 ¹⁵	3	7	4
Leontis	1(1)	3(1)	0	4(2)	1(0)	1(3)	0	2(3)	1	0	0	1	1	5	3 ¹⁵	9 ¹⁵	0	7	0	1	6	3	6	3
Akanantis	0(1)	3(1)	0	3(2)	1(1)	3(2)	3	7(3)	0	1	1	2	0	2	2 ¹³	9 ¹³	0	8	3	1	9 ¹³	0	8	3
Oineis	1(0)	2(1)	1	4(1)	0(1)	3(2)	4	7(3)	0	1	1	2	0	7	5 ¹³	11 ¹³	1	8	3	1	14	0	7	1
Kekropis	0(0)	3(3)	1	4(3)	0(0)	3(3)	1	4(3)	0	2	0	2	0	6	4	14	0	7	1	1	8	0	7	1
Hippothontis	0(0)	2(2)	0	2(2)	0(0)	1(3)	0	1(3)	0	0	0	0	3	7	2	8	0	6	2	2	8	0	6	2
Aiantis	0(0)	0(1)	2	2(1)	0(0)	2(3)	2	4(3)	1	0	0	1	0	6	2	8	0	6	2	2	10	2	10	1
Antiochis	1(0)	2(2)	2	5(2)	0(2)	3(1)	0	3(3)	0	0	0	0	2	4	4	10	2	10	1	1	—	—	—	—
Antigonis	—	—	—	—	0(1)	1(1)	3 ¹⁶	4 ¹⁶ (2)	0	1	1	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Demetrias	—	—	—	—	0(0)	1(2)	0 ¹⁶	1 ¹⁶ (2)	0	2	0	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Ptolemais	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0	0	0	0	0	4	3 ¹⁴	7 ¹⁴	0	6	3	3	7 ¹⁴	0	6	3
Attalis	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	7 ¹⁵	9 ¹⁵	1	8	4	1	9 ¹⁵	1	8	4
Hadrianis	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0	13	1	1
Unidentified by Phyle	—	—	14	14	—	—	22	22	—	—	11	11	—	—	56	56	—	—	34	3	—	—	—	—
TOTAL	10(5)	21(15)	20	51(20)	5(5)	25(27)	36	66(32)	5	7	15	27	11	51	108	170	12	96	61	16	—	—	—	—

¹² See Appendix A, below, pp. 104/108.

¹³ The totals for Oineis and/or Kekropis may be one higher and for Aigeis one or two lower (below, pp. 105/106).

¹⁴ The totals for Ptolemais may be one higher and for Pandionis one lower (below, pp. 105/107).

¹⁵ The totals for Attalis may be one higher and for Leontis one lower (below, pp. 105/107).

¹⁶ The totals for Demetrias may be one higher and for Antigonis one lower (below, p. 107).

We have assigned one hundred and sixty-nine texts to the second period of thirteen phylai and they form a fairly regular series from the beginning of the period until about A.D. 231/2. One or two prytany lists may belong after that year but they probably date no later than the middle of the third century after Christ. By the time of the sack of Athens by the Herulians in A.D. 267 the prytany monuments, like so much of the political activity in Athens, had come to an end.

CHAPTER I

THE REPRESENTATION OF THE ORIGINAL TEN PHYLAI

INTRODUCTION TO TABLES OF REPRESENTATION

The ten Tables of Representation for the original ten phylai (Tables I–X) as well as the five additional tables (Tables XI–XV) for the five tribes created after Kleisthenes present the inscriptional record¹ for the representation of the Attic demes in the five documented periods² of ancient bouleutic government. The material is listed approximately in chronological order with the earliest inscriptions on the left and the latest on the right. In addition, summaries are given at the right-hand side of each section (separated from the next section by a double line) for the deme-quotas in the periods of the original ten phylai, i.e. from the end of the sixth century to 308/7 B.C., the first period of twelve phylai, i.e. 307/6 to 224/3, and, where there is sufficient evidence,³ also for the first period of thirteen phylai, i.e. from 223/2 to 201/0. Estimated and doubtful quotas are designated in the summaries, as in the body of the tables, with a question mark and variant quotas in the summaries are shown in parentheses, usually modified with a small superscript letter ^c which refers to a discussion of the individual problems in section C of the accompanying Commentary (below, pp. 14–23). After 200 B.C. the system of regular fixed quotas ceased to function and consequently no summary of quotas can be given for either the second period of twelve phylai, i.e. from 200/199 B.C. to A.D. 126/7, or for the second period of thirteen phylai, i.e. from A.D. 127/8 until the middle of the third century after Christ when the prytany lists come to an end.

Several texts, which were included by Kirchner in the section assigned to bouleutic lists in the *Corpus*, are listed in a special column beside the quota summary for the period of the original ten phylai. One of these inscriptions, *I.G.*, II², 1699

¹ For some slight additional evidence see Appendix A. Other councillors, known usually from their appearance as *ἐπιστάτης προέδρων* or as *συμπρόεδρος* in the regular Athenian decrees, but also from their occurrence in literary sources, have extremely limited value for the study of representation and no attempt has been made to incorporate this evidence here.

² As mentioned above (p. xvi), there are no prytany or bouleutic inscriptions from the brief transitional period of eleven phylai.

³ The quotas of only four phylai, Erechtheis (Table I), Pandionis (Table III), Leontis (Table IV), and Aiantis (Table IX), are well attested in the short first period of thirteen phylai.

(=493), resembles no other regular bouleutic catalogue by listing name and demotic in the same line and has been rejected from consideration as a roster of councillors. Another inscription, which is composed of *I.G.*, II², 1697, 1698, and 2372 (=492),⁴ cannot strictly speaking be a bouleutic list, but it must be closely related, for of the seventeen quotas preserved all are either identical with, or larger than, the attested bouleutic quotas. Indeed, considering that the total representation of these seventeen demes is fifty per cent higher than the corresponding bouleutic total, it is obvious that the original text must have contained approximately seven hundred and fifty names.⁵ A few other texts, whose quotas differ from the bouleutic representation by more than the normal small variations, but not to such a degree as to rule out categorically identification as prytany lists, have been included in the same column and designated *probably not prytaneis*, etc.⁶

The squared brackets, [], surrounding a quota usually signify that the demotic has been completely, or very nearly completely, restored. Sometimes they indicate the restoration of the quota itself, and occasionally of both demotic and quota, but in every case there is supporting evidence, usually physical considerations, etc., for the restoration.⁷ A small superscript plus-sign, +, following a quota indicates that the stone breaks off and that the full quota may have been higher than the number shown. (For the periods in which fixed quotas existed a comparison with the other

⁴ In this discussion I am particularly indebted to the unpublished notes of S. Dow and H. J. Carroll, Jr.

⁵ The relationship between the seventeen quotas attested in the unidentified list and the regular bouleutic quotas is almost strictly proportional. The five demes with one representative in *I.G.*, II², 1697, etc., also have one bouleutes (Sybridai, however, occasionally went unrepresented in the Council; see below, p. 14); the two demes with two representatives either have one bouleutes (Otryne) or two bouleutai (occasionally Kydantidai); the six demes with three representatives in the unidentified list have, in every case, a bouleutic quota of two; the single deme with four, Kollytos, has a bouleutic quota of three; Phegaia, with six demesmen in *I.G.*, II², 1697, etc., varies between three and four bouleutai; and Halai's eight representatives and Anagyrous' nine compare with bouleutic quotas of five and six respectively. The close relationship between the quotas in *I.G.*, II², 1697, 1698, and 2372 and the bouleutic quotas, then, suggests that this catalogue of about 750 demesmen should be identified as a roster of bouleutai and *alternates*. Admittedly, nowhere else are alternates (*ἐπιλαχόντες*) known to have been listed with the regular members of the Council, and the number of such alternates, based on a remark by Aeschines (III, 62), is stated by Harpokration (*s. v.* *ἐπιλαχών*) to have been equal to the number of councillors. J. A. O. Larsen, however, has pointed out the weakness of Harpokration's argument (*Representative Government*, pp. 194–195, note 23) and concluded "it seems very unlikely that the number of alternates chosen numbered 500." Clearly the number of bouleutic alternates may well have been of the order of half the enrollment of the Council. That the figures should be almost precisely proportional to the bouleutic quotas is to be expected. See also below, pp. 78–79, note 16.

⁶ Several of these texts may have been private dedications by a group of phyletai, or partial rosters of prytaneis (where the figures are smaller than the corresponding bouleutic quotas), or lists of prytaneis and others who were not members of the Council (where the figures are larger than the bouleutic quotas).

⁷ One quota, Tyrmeidai's, has been given in *angled brackets*, indicating that the demotic has been corrected by the author (see below, p. 89).

attested quotas for the same deme will usually indicate whether the figure is complete.) An asterisk to the left of such a figure (always one), *1⁺, signifies that the demesman appears in the decrees or citations of the text, but that his official position, usually either secretary or treasurer of the prytaneis, guarantees his membership in the Council and his appearance in the register, were it completely preserved. A double asterisk, **, indicates that the roster was not arranged by demotics according to the usual fashion, but that the demesmen have been identified on prosopographical grounds alone. Almost all such rosters have been dated after the creation of Hadrianis and belong to the second period of thirteen phylai.

References at the top of the Tables are to the publications, usually the *Corpus* or *Hesperia* (IG, H, etc.; for the abbreviations, see "Abbreviations and Selected Bibliography," above, p. x), followed, in parentheses, by the inscription number in *Agora*, XV. The *Hesperia* inscriptions are cited by volume and page, but *not* by the inscription number within each volume. The dates assigned to the texts are generally those which appear in *Agora*, XV. All are B.C., unless designated *p.* (= A.D.). Many of the dates for texts from the Roman period are based on studies by J. A. Notopoulos,⁸ J. H. Oliver,⁹ and A. E. Raubitschek,¹⁰ and differ, sometimes considerably, from those proposed in earlier publications.

At the bottom of each of the tables devoted to the original ten phylai totals are given for the representation of the three trittyes.¹¹ Also listed at the bottom of the tables are figures for the number of councillors and number of demes represented in the complete rosters. The total for councillors is usually fifty, or, in the second period of thirteen phylai, forty,¹² but occasionally in the first two periods of bouleutic government the roster is defective and contains fewer than the expected fifty names. In these few instances (designated with a small superscript letter ^a, and discussed in the Commentary below, section A, pp. 5–6) the register commonly lacks just one councillor, but there are cases in which the deficiency is two, three, or even four bouleutai. For several of the large bouleutic inscriptions, only the bottom of some columns, and not the whole text, has been preserved, but the relative lengths of the columns are readily apparent and from this the general composition of the individual rosters, i.e. the number of councillors and demotics originally present, may be deduced (see below, pp. 77–81). These totals appear in

⁸ "Studies in the Chronology of Athens Under the Empire," *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pp. 1–57.

⁹ "On the Order of the Athenian Catalogues of Aiseitōi," *Harv. Th. Rev.*, XLIII, 1950, pp. 233–235.

¹⁰ "Note on the Post-Hadrianic Boule," *Γένος Ἀντωνίου Κεραμοπούλλου*, Athens, 1953, pp. 242–255.

¹¹ The names of the trittyes are from C. W. J. Eliot, *Coastal Demes*, p. 157 (Professor Eliot has kindly supplied two corrections: Epakria should be in **bold-face** type and Dekeleia in *italics*); see also the discussion by D. M. Lewis, *Historia*, XII, 1963, pp. 27–34. A complete table showing the representation of all thirty trittyes is presented below, p. 72.

¹² See above, p. xvi, note 10. The eponymous has been included in, or excluded from, the figures according to A. E. Raubitschek's argument (*op. cit.*).

parentheses, (), in the tables. Totals, usually modified with a plus-sign, are also given for the number of councillors in the Late Roman rosters which did not include demotics, but totals are not given for other fragmentary lists.

The demes in the first ten charts have been arranged by trittys, with doubtful trittys affiliations denoted by question marks (for a discussion of some of these problems see below, pp. 37–54) and the new tribal affiliations of transferred demes indicated in large Roman letters. The list on the left-hand side of each table comprises the regular constitutional demes of the Kleisthenic political organization. The same list is repeated at the right-hand side of each chart, with the addition, for Akamantis (Table V) and Antiochis (Table X), of several irregular Late Roman demes. The latter were apparently never normal constitutional demes and have not been included in the totals for the number of demes in the period summary column at the bottom of the charts. Problems relating to the numbers and affiliations of the demes, indicated with a small superscript letter ^b in the charts, are discussed in section B of the accompanying Commentary (below, pp. 6–14).

Gomme's figures for the number of known Athenians bearing a particular demotic¹³ are given in parentheses following each deme name at the right-hand side of the tables. No attempt has been made to bring these figures up-to-date by incorporating more recently discovered material,¹⁴ but in one case, Kikynna (where the figure for the spurious Kekropid deme has been combined with that of the well-known Akamantid deme), a correction has been entered. In a few instances, usually involving demes of the same name in separate phylai, where Gomme's figures appear to be quite misleading, they have been specially designated, a plus-sign for figures obviously too high, a minus-sign for figures too low.

The small superscript numbers refer to the notes which appear on pp. 23–24 and deal with specific problems involving individual texts and not relating to the general problems, viz. defective lists, deme affiliations, and quota variations, discussed in sections A, B, and C, respectively, of the Commentary.

Finally, the Map Reference at the extreme right-hand side of Tables I to X refers to the trittys designation on Maps 1–3 at the end of the volume.

¹³ *Population*, pp. 56–65.

¹⁴ A series of figures was in fact prepared using the material from the Agora Excavations and other Attic inscriptions published in *Hesperia*, but it was decided to postpone the publication of such figures until the five volumes of the Agora series devoted to inscriptions (*Athenian Agora*, volumes XV–XIX) had been completed.

COMMENTARY ON TABLES OF REPRESENTATION I-X

A. THE DEFECTIVE LISTS

TABLE I, ERECHTHEIS

The earliest list of Erechtheis (*I.G.*, I², 398 = **1**) was only a partial roster. The total space available for the inscribing of names would accommodate either 38 prytaneis and 13 demotics or 37 prytaneis and 14 demotics (cf. *Agora*, XV, No. 1, comment).

TABLE II, AIGEIS

Aigeis has more defective rosters in the first two periods of bouleutic government than any other phyle. Allowing that the two sections of Ankyle were listed together in the bouleutic list of 335/4 the Aigeid roster is still short two lines, i.e. one name and patronymic (see below, p. 7). Of the four defective prytany rosters, two, viz. *I.G.*, II², 1749 (= **38**) and *Hesperia*, XXX, 1961, p. 32 (= **42**), lack one demesman each. On the former text the blank line under the single prytanis of Ionidai at the bottom of the first column and on the latter the uninscribed line between the sixth councillor of Erchia and the succeeding demotic make these two demes the most likely candidates respectively for the missing names. One of the defective lists from the Macedonian period, *I.G.*, II², 678 (= **85**), now lost, had apparently only forty-five names, although the blank line in Pococke's transcript between the demotic of Kolonos and its single representative may account for a forty-sixth. The other defective Macedonian list, *Hesperia*, XXXVIII, 1969, pp. 418-420, no. 1 (= **89**), has just forty-eight names. A comparison of the quotas on these two inscriptions, however, suggests that the missing demesmen in the former belong one each to Bate, Erchia, Halai, and Ionidai and in the latter to Phegaia and Teithras (cf. *Hesperia*, XXXVIII, 1969, p. 422).

TABLE III, PANDIONIS

The transcripts of Spon and Wheler suggest that *I.G.*, II², 1753 (= **47**) may have listed only forty-six prytaneis, but, because the stone has been lost, it is possible that the explanation for this deficiency lies in faulty copying by the original editors (see below, section C).

TABLE IV, LEONTIS

The Leontid roster in the bouleutic list of 336/5 contains just forty-nine names. The missing councillor, however, belongs very probably to Phrearrhioi, for the last four representatives of this deme were erased and re-inscribed closer together to

allow room for a ninth bouleutes whose name was never inscribed (cf. *Hesperia*, XXX, 1961, p. 47). The register belonging to the prytany list of 222/1 B.C. also is defective. The text, first corrected in *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 78 and revised again in *Agora*, XV, No. 129, could, at most, have contained the names of only forty-seven prytaneis. Comparing the quotas on this inscription with those attested in the preceding period and allowing for an increase in the representation of Phrearrhioi from nine to ten councillors to offset the loss of Hekale to Ptolemais, it becomes clear that the three missing demesmen belong one each to Sounion, Kolonai, and Hybadai.

TABLE VIII, HIPPOTHONTIS

The disposition of the ends of the columns in the bouleutic list of 335/4 indicates that the roster of Hippothontis was two lines short, i.e. either two demes failed to provide their single representatives or, more likely, the roster contained just forty-nine councillors (see below, p. 78). The Hippothontid prytany list dated about 155 B.C. contains only forty-nine names, but the disappearance of fixed quotas in the period after the creation of Attalis does not allow us to identify the deme from which the single prytanis is missing.^{14bis}

B. THE DEMES OF THE ORIGINAL TEN PHYLAI

TABLE I, ERECHTHEIS

Erechtheis in the period of the original ten phylai had fourteen demes, including three split or divided demes, viz. Upper and Lower Agryle, Upper and Coastal or Lower Lamptrai, and Upper and Lower Pergase. Not all fourteen, however, were represented in every year during this first period. Sybridai and Pambotadai, in fact, appear to have taken turns prior to 307/6 in sending one representative to the Council (cf. also section C, below). With the creation of the Macedonian phylai one section of each of Erechtheis' three divided demes was transferred to Antigonis; Lamptrai's contribution was the Upper section, but it is not yet known which parts of Agryle and Pergase were transferred. In 281/0 again an Erechtheid deme, probably Pambotadai, may have been absent from the Council (see section C, below). The transfer of Themakos to Ptolemais in 224/3 brought the number of demes in Erechtheis to ten. In 201/0, however, the total rose briefly to thirteen with the return of the demes which had been transferred to Antigonis. Later in the same year one section of Agryle, again it is uncertain whether Upper or Lower Agryle, went to Attalis, and the number of demes in Erechtheis became twelve. This figure includes Upper and Coastal Lamptrai and Upper and Lower Pergase,

^{14bis} The first column is one line shorter than the others and the missing prytanis may belong to Hamaxanteia, or possibly Dekeleia.

although the two sections of these divided demes are no longer distinguishable, and on the Erechtheid prytany list of *ca.* 40–30 B.C. Pergase and Agryle, as well as Kedoi, had no representation. Like the other phylai, Erechtheis gave one deme, Pambotadai, to Hadrianis.

TABLE II, AIGEIS

Counting separately the two sections of Ankyle, Aigeis had twenty-one demes in the period of the original ten phylai. This is the figure attested by the prytany list of 341/0, although in 343/2 (?), 336/5, and apparently also in 335/4 the two sections of Ankyle were listed together. In fact, the last roster may have had only eighteen demes (see below, p. 78). In addition to Ankyle, Ikarion was also formerly considered a divided deme, but the evidence for the section assigned to Ptolemais is extremely weak and it is better now to leave this deme undivided (see pp. 83–84). With the establishment of the Macedonian tribes three Aigeid demes, comprising one section of Ankyle, perhaps Upper Ankyle (see p. 88, note 54), Gargettos, and Ikarion, were transferred to Antigonis at the same time as Diomeia went to Demetrias. The number of demes remaining in the original phyle now stood at seventeen, i.e. the figure attested by the prytany list of 254/3, although Bate does not appear in the defective roster two years earlier (see section A, above). Kydantidai was transferred to Ptolemais in 224/3 and the number of demes remaining in Aigeis dropped to sixteen. With the dissolution of the Macedonian phylai in 201/0 the four Aigeid demes transferred to Antigonis and Demetrias returned, of course, to their original tribe, but Ikarion after a few months was given to Attalis. The number of demes in Aigeis during the second period of twelve phylai thus totalled nineteen, counting separately Upper and Lower Ankyle, although the two sections are henceforth indistinguishable. With the creation of Hadrianis one Aigeid deme, Phegaia, was transferred to the Roman phyle and the total number of demes remaining in the original tribe fell to eighteen. On the two fully preserved Aigeid prytany lists from this last period, viz. of A.D. 138/9 and 182/3, however, only seven and nine demes respectively had representation.

TABLE III, PANDIONIS

Pandionis in the period of the original ten phylai was composed of eleven demes, counting the two sections of Paiania which are listed separately on at least four of the eight prytany and bouleutic rosters from that period. Three additional demes, viz. Graes, Phegaia, and Kaletea, none of which ever appears in a list of councillors, have been attributed to Pandionis. Each affiliation depends on a single piece of evidence; both Graes and Phegaia occur in the deme-catalogue of 201/0 B.C. and Kaletea depends on two early, and probably faulty, transcripts of an ephobic

list. All three are spurious demes, the first two arising perhaps from an error by a mason, the last from mistaken readings by epigraphists (see below, pp. 82–83/115 and 120, Nos. 14, 31, 17). With the creation of the Macedonian phylai three Pandionid demes, viz. Kydathenaion, Kytheros, and tiny Upper Paiania, were transferred to Antigonis, leaving eight demes, confirmed indirectly by the bouleutic lists of 304/3, 303/2, and 281/0 (see below, p. 79), in the original phyle. This total dropped to seven, i.e. the total attested on the prytany list of 220/19, when Konthyle was given to Ptolemais. The demes presented to Antigonis returned to Pandionis in 201/0 and later that same year Probalinthos was transferred to Attalis. The total number of Pandionid demes now stood at nine. Probably eight demes appeared in the prytany list of 155/4, the two sections of Paiania being henceforth indistinguishable, but only six occurred in the roster of *ca.* 20 B.C. Like the other phylai, Pandionis gave one deme, Oa, to Hadrianis, reducing its total complement to eight demes, six of which (or seven, allowing for two demes Paiania) are attested in the complete list of A.D. 169/70.

TABLE IV, LEONTIS

The number of demes affiliated with Leontis in the period of the original ten phylai totalled twenty, all of which, including three demes named Potamos, viz. Upper Potamos, Lower Potamos, and Potamos Deiradiotes, appear in the prytany list tentatively dated 370/69 B.C. All the Potamioi were grouped together in the bouleutic list of 336/5, but were recorded separately in the catalogue of the following year. Leontis gave three demes, viz. Deiradiotai, the related Potamos Deiradiotes, and Aithalidai, to Antigonis, and two demes, viz. Oion Kerameikon and Lower Potamos, to Demetrias, leaving fifteen demes in the original phyle. This figure is confirmed indirectly by the bouleutic lists of 304/3, 303/2, and 281/0 (see below, p. 79). Hekale went to Ptolemais in 224/3 and the total fell to fourteen, all of which appeared in the prytany roster of 222/1. With the dissolution of the Macedonian phylai and the creation of Attalis the deme figures for Leontis went to nineteen briefly, then eighteen. After 200 B.C. the three Potamos demes were not distinguished and neither they nor Deiradiotai appeared in the prytany list of *ca.* 168 B.C. With the transfer of Skambonidai to Hadrianis the total of Leontid demes, counting three sections of Potamos, fell to seventeen.

TABLE V, AKAMANTIS

The original deme complement of Akamantis numbered thirteen, all of which were present in the bouleutic list of 336/5 and apparently also in the catalogue of the following year. This figure does not include Rhakidai and Kyrteidai, two additional demes attributed to Akamantis. The former is known only from a single citation by

Photios and is almost certainly spurious (see below, pp. 87 and 120, No. 35). Kyrteidai, on the other hand, is very well attested, especially in the ephebic inscriptions of the Late Roman period, but there is no evidence for its existence prior to the middle of the second century after Christ and even then it may not have been a regular Attic deme (see below, pp. 93 and 116, No. 21). Akamantis gave three demes to the Macedonian phylai, Eitea to Antigonis, and Poros and Hagnous to Demetrias, leaving ten demes in the original phyle. This figure is attested indirectly by the prytany list of 305/4 and the bouleutic catalogues of 303/2 and 281/0. With the transfer of Prospalta to Ptolemais, the return of the demes which had been relinquished to Antigonis and Demetrias, and the subsequent donation of one of them, Hagnous, to Attalis, the deme-total for Akamantis went to nine, twelve briefly, finally eleven. Like the other tribes Akamantis surrendered one deme, Eitea, to Hadrianis, bringing the final total, not including Kyrteidai, of constitutional demes in the original phyle to ten. As many as eight of these appear in the prytany list of 167/8, although the roster of the following year contains only five regular demes, or, counting Kyrteidai which occurs only here on a prytany inscription, six Akamantid demes.

TABLE VI, OINEIS

Oineis was composed originally of thirteen demes. Small Tyrmeidai did not have any representation in the Council during 360/59 and either it or one of the numerous other small Oineid demes apparently failed to provide its single bouleutes also in 335/4 (see below, p. 78). To this total of thirteen, scholars have added two additional demes, a second deme Phyle and Perrhidai. The evidence for Phyle B, however, has now been removed by a new restoration and dating of *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 80, no. 13 (see below, pp. 85 and 120, No. 30) and the appearance of Perrhidai, in a unique form, on an Oineid prytany list of the early third century is to be explained, I suggest, by the mason's confusing it with the very small, but legitimate deme Tyrmeidai (see pp. 89, 119, No. 28). Oineis surrendered Hippotomadai, Kothokidai, and Phyle to Demetrias, leaving ten demes in the original tribe during the first period of twelve phylai. This figure is attested directly by the bouleutic list of 303/2 and indirectly by the catalogue of 281/0 (below, p. 79). The transfer of Boutadai to Ptolemais, the return of the three demes given to Demetrias, and the surrender of Tyrmeidai to Attalis and Thria to Hadrianis, left Oineis with deme-totals of nine, twelve briefly, eleven, and ten for the respective periods.

TABLE VII, KEKROPIS

Eleven demes are known with certainty to have been affiliated with Kekropis during the period of the original ten phylai. The relative lengths of the columns in the bouleutic list of 335/4, however, suggest that twelve demes may have had

representation in that year (see below, p. 78). The existence of a second deme Kikynna, homonymous with the well-known deme in Akamantis, would account for this discrepancy, but the evidence for such a deme, a single letter recorded by Chandler in a now lost inscription, is highly insubstantial and Kikynna B has been rejected as spurious (below, p. 115, No. 18). Two additional Kekropid demes are furnished by the possible division of either Trinemeia or Sypalettos. The case for the former, based solely on the appearance of Trinemeia at the bottom of the ephebic roster of Attalis in *I.G.*, II², 1028, at a time, 101/0 B.C., when it was still a well-attested member of Kekropis, is extremely weak and the entry in the ephebic list is now generally regarded by scholars as an *addendum* to the text (see below, pp. 85 and 112, No. 43).

A stronger case may be compiled for a second Sypalettos, utilizing as the primary evidence the fact that the secretary of 146/5 belonged to this deme in a year for which the tribal cycles require a demotic affiliated with Attalis. One deme Sypalettos had a regular and continuous history in Kekropis, and no deme is known to have been divided deliberately after the constitution of Kleisthenes; hence, a divided Sypalettos in 146/5 implies a divided Sypalettos also in the period of the original ten phylai and in the succeeding periods. Scholars, however, have generally rejected Sypalettos as a split deme, preferring to assume an irregularity in the tribal rotation of the secretaries during 146/5 B.C.¹⁵ Their primary evidence, especially the absence of Sypalettos from the complete prytany list of Attalis in 173/2, has hitherto been negative.¹⁶ A more positive argument against the theory of a divided Sypalettos is the manner in which Attalis was formed. Like Ptolemais earlier and Hadrianis later, the Pergamene phyle was organized by taking one deme from each of the tribes existing in 200 B.C., at the time of its formation. Kekropis' contribution was the deme Athmonon and the additional contribution of a section of Sypalettos would upset this regular scheme of composition.

Admittedly, some support for a divided Sypalettos may be derived from a catalogue of names and demotics published as *Hesperia*, XXXIII, 1964, pp. 201–209, no. 53 (= 494). The list includes the demes Melite, Xypete, Daidalidai, Koile, and Sypalettos. The first three of these were affiliated originally with Kekropis and later with Demetrias, the fourth with Hippothontis and later also with Demetrias, and the last has a positive, known affiliation only with Kekropis. If this text is dated after 307/6, then Sypalettos was definitely a divided deme, the Demetriad

¹⁵ See below, p. 85, and note 41.

¹⁶ The statement of the editor of the Attalid prytany list, published as *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, pp. 33–47, no. 6 (= 206), that “the absence of Sypalettos from the register makes the assumption that it was a divided deme now well-nigh untenable” is perhaps too strong, for the prytany lists after 200 B.C. were seldom complete tribal rosters: the Hippothontid roster of *circa* 155, for instance, gave no representation to Thymaitadai, Auridai, Anakaia, and Eroiadai.

section presumably being transferred later to Attalis. The original editor, B. D. Meritt, however, dated the inscription *circa* 321 B.C. and identified it as a list of councillors and identified the demesman of Koile as an officer of the Council. Although we now know from the quotas and other evidence that the list cannot be councillors and we must therefore accept an alternate identification, the dating *circa* 321, based on letter-forms and prosopographical evidence,¹⁷ is probably still sound.

In view of the foregoing argument, then, it would seem best for the present to reject the theory of a divided Sypalettos and to assume an irregularity, perhaps due to an unscribed line, in the vertical spacing of the Kekropid roster of *I.G.*, II², 1700.¹⁸

With the creation of the Macedonian phylai the entire city trittys of Kekropis, viz. Daidalidai, Melite, and Xypete, was transferred to Demetrias, leaving a total of eight demes in the original tribe. The column lengths in the bouleutic lists of 303/2 and 281/0 indicate that the roster of Kekropis was short either one councillor or one demotic during those years (see below, pp. 79–80). If the deficiency is a demotic, then the small deme Epieikidai was almost certainly the unrepresented deme. It cannot have been transferred to one of the Macedonian phylai if Dow's dating of *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, pp. 77–79, no. 31 (= 132) is correct. Like all the other phylai, Kekropis surrendered one deme to each of Ptolemais, Attalis, and Hadrianis, leaving, in the final period of thirteen phylai, eight demes in the original tribe. Only six of them, however, are attested in the complete prytany roster of 177/8.

TABLE VIII, HIPPOTHONTIS

Seventeen demes are known with certainty to have been affiliated with Hippothontis during the period of the original ten phylai. Two of the small demes, perhaps Auridai and Korydallos, may have been absent from the Hippothontid

¹⁷ See Meritt, *op. cit.*, pp. 203–205.

¹⁸ An additional piece of evidence may be interpreted as supporting a divided Sypalettos, if *I.G.*, II², 2375 (= 16) is identified as a list of prytaneis. The representation of Sypalettos, four demesmen, in this text shows an unusual variation for this period from its quota of two bouleutai in *I.G.*, II², 1700 (= 43) of 335/4. In the latter text, however, the sections of each divided deme (with the possible exception of Ankyle, see above, p. 7) were listed separately, for example, *Παιανιεῖς καθύ(περθεν)* in line 71 and *Ποτάμιοι ὑπέν(ερθεν)* in line 99, and it is possible that the entry for Sypalettos in lines 152–155 represents only one section, the other section, with two bouleutai, being inscribed presumably in the upper part of the column. The demotic of Sypalettos is longer than the demotic of either Paiania or Potamos and fills the width of the column leaving no room for a possible “upper/lower” designation the two sections of Pergase in lines 10 and 15 were listed without further specification). Accordingly, the hypothetical two sections of Sypalettos would have been listed together in *I.G.*, II², 2375 (= 16), but separately in *I.G.*, II², 1700 (= 43). Parallels for such a treatment may be found in the other phylai which possess divided demes, viz. Erechtheis, Aigeis, Pandionis, and Leontis.

For additional slight evidence against a divided Sypalettos see below, pp. 78–79, note 16.

roster of 335/4, which is two lines short, but the discrepancy is probably better explained by the absence of one demesman and patronymic (see section A, above, and p. 78, below).

Scholars, however, have assigned five additional demes to Hippothontis: Agriadai, Pol(--), Anakaia B, Amymone, and Sphendale. The first three depend each on a single reading and are almost certainly spurious: Agriadai, which appears in Bekker's edition of *Anecdota Graeca*, is surely in error for Auridai; Pol(--) occurs in a Late Roman ephebic roster of Hippothontis, but it is not clear which regular demotic was intended; and I suggest that Anakaia, the demotic of a thesmothete in Menekrates' year was cut by mistake for Anagyrous (see below, pp. 82 and 113, No. 1, pp. 82 and 120, No. 33, and pp. 81–82 and 113, No. 5). Both Amymone and Sphendale, on the other hand, are well attested, especially in ephebic lists of the second and third centuries after Christ, but neither was probably ever a regular Attic deme, and certainly not before the creation of Hadrianis (see below, pp. 93 and 113, No. 4, and pp. 91–92 and 121, No. 38).

The bouleutic lists of 303/2 certainly, and 281/0 probably, indicate the presence in Hippothontis of fourteen demes. Koile is known positively and Oinoe is shown from indirect evidence (below, p. 27) to have been transferred to Demetrias. A third deme, Auridai or Korydallos, I propose, was transferred to Antigonis (below, p. 27). The formation of Ptolemais drew Oion Dekeleikon from Hippothontis and the number of demes remaining in the latter dropped to thirteen. The Hippothontid Oinoe also passed to Ptolemais, but via Demetrias apparently. With the dissolution of the Macedonian phylai Koile and Auridai or Korydallos (whichever had been transferred) returned to their original tribe and the number of demes in Hippothontis stood briefly at fifteen. The creation of Attalis soon lowered this total to fourteen, all of which appear in the prytany list of 178/7. The complete rosters from about 155 and 135/4 B.C., however, attest only ten and twelve demes respectively. Hippothontis, of course, gave one deme, little Elaious, to Hadrianis.

TABLE IX, AIANTIS

Aiantis in the period of the original ten phylai had a well-known total of six demes: Phaleron, Marathon, Oinoe, Rhamnous, Trikorynthos, and Aphidna. Indeed, this figure seems so certain that it has been taken as the standard for ascertaining the number of demes which were originally present in the other tribal rosters of the great bouleutic lists (below, pp. 78–79).

In addition to these six, however, six other demes, viz. Kykala, Perrhidai, Thyrgonidai, Titakidai, Petalidai, and Psaphis, have been assigned by scholars at various times to Aiantis. Kykala is attested only twice, once as a place name in a fifth-century B.C. poletai inscription and again, six centuries later, in the Aiantid roster of an ephebic list, but it is virtually certain that it was never a regular Attic

deme (see below, pp. 93 and 116, No. 20). Perrhidai, Thyrgonidai, and Titakidai are all mentioned by the lexicographers, usually as being affiliated with Aiantis or as demes which were transferred to Ptolemais. Thyrgonidai certainly, and Perrhidai probably, also appear in the deme-catalogue of 201/0 B.C., and Titakidai is known from two Late Roman ephebic registers and one prytany text. All three so-called *demes*, however, were probably never regular members of the Athenian political organization (see below, pp. 88–90 and 119, No. 28, pp. 88 and 121, No. 41, and pp. 88 and 122, No. 42). Petalidai, authenticated as a place name associated with Aphidna in two fourth-century B.C. property inscriptions, may be restored in the deme-catalogue of 201/0, and reappears as a demotic of Ptolemais on an ephebic list of the second century after Christ, but it too was probably not a regular deme (see below, pp. 90 and 119, No. 29). Finally, Psaphis, the well-known Boeotian town, appears as the demotic of Aiantis in one Late Roman ephebic list and as a demotic or ethnic in two other Attic inscriptions, but again I suggest that it was not a legitimate Athenian deme (below, pp. 92 and 120, No. 34).

Aiantis was the exception of the phylai and provided no demes in 307/6 to either Antigonis or Demetrias. The original figure of six demes is attested directly by the Macedonian councillor lists taken as a whole, and indirectly by the individual lists of 304/3, 303/2, and 281/0. Aiantis, of course, was no exception in the later tribal reorganizations and, like the other phylai, provided one deme to each of Ptolemais, Attalis, and Hadrianis. Its totals of five, four, and three demes in these respective periods are attested by prytany registers from 223/2, *ca.* 190/89, and the middle of the second century after Christ.

TABLE X, ANTIOCHIS

Antiochis in the period of the original ten phylai is known to have been composed of thirteen demes, all of which are attested in the complete prytany roster of 334/3. The disposition of the column-ends in the bouleutic catalogue of the preceding year, however, indicates that the roster of Antiochis is two lines too long, i.e. that it may have contained two additional demes. Both Amphitrope and Semachidai have been proposed by scholars as possible divided demes, but the case for neither is very strong. The evidence for a second Amphitrope is based on a single text in which a series of accounts is assumed to have been inscribed in a regular sequence, but it may be that in this particular inscription one of the accounts was listed out of chronological order (see below, pp. 84–85 and 113, No. 3). The second Semachidai is not known before the late second and the beginning of the third centuries after Christ and is unlikely ever to have been a regular Attic deme (see below, pp. 94–95 and 121, No. 37).

Eight other demes, a second Atene, De(—), Lekkon, Leukopyra, Ergadeis, Phyrhinesioi, Melainai, and Pentele, have also been associated with Antiochis, but

none has any real claim for consideration as a regular deme belonging to the Kleisthenic political organization. Indeed, the first two are now proved non-existent, the result of erroneous readings of inscriptions (see below, pp. 82–83 114, Nos. 6 and 9), and the third, which is known only from a single reference in Hesychios, is also almost certainly spurious (below, pp. 87 and 117, No. 22). Leukopyra, Ergadeis, and Phyrhinesioi appear only on inscriptions from the second and third centuries after Christ and certainly were not regular demes, if ever, before that time (below, pp. 94 and 117, No. 24, pp. 93 and 114, No. 11, and pp. 94 and 120, No. 32). Melainai and Pentele are known as place names earlier, but they too occur as demotics only in the Late Roman period (below, pp. 91 and 118, No. 25, and pp. 92 and 119, No. 27). The extra length of the Antiochid roster in the 335/4 bouleutic list, therefore, probably depends either on an error in the vertical spacing or on the inclusion, within the column, of an additional phyletes or hyperetes.

With the Macedonian reorganization Antiochis surrendered three demes, Atene and Thorai to Demetrias, and Kolonai (see pp. 26–27) to Antigonis, leaving ten demes in the original phyle. This figure is attested directly by the bouleutic list of 303/2 and indirectly by the lists of 304/3 and 281/0. Antiochis contributed one deme, Aigilia, to Ptolemais, the Antiochid Kolonai passing to the same tribe, I believe (below, pp. 26–27), via Antigonis. The return, in 201/0, of Atene and Thorai to their original tribe brought the number of demes in Antiochis briefly to eleven. Later in the same year Atene was transferred to Attalis and the number of demes fell to ten, precisely those ten attested on the prytany register of 169/8. Finally, Besa was surrendered to Hadrianis with the creation of the Roman phyle and Antiochis' complement of Kleisthenic demes decreased to nine. Only five of these appear in the complete prytany register *I.G.*, II², 1783 (=472), but that list also contains two Late Roman demes, Ergadeis and Phyrhinesioi, not counted in our figure for the period.

C. THE QUOTAS OF THE ORIGINAL TEN PHYLAI

TABLE I, ERECHTHEIS

Apart from the earliest list, which shows wide variations from the regular later quotas, the bouleutic material of Erechtheis is remarkably consistent. There are, however, several small quota variations. Pambotadai had one representative and Sybridai none in 336/5, whereas the reverse was true apparently in 367/6, and the relative lengths of the columns in the bouleutic list of 335/4 suggest that one of these demes went unrepresented in that year also. Similarly in the Macedonian period, Pambotadai had one representative in 256/5, but none apparently in 281/0 (*Hesperia*, XXXVIII, 1969, pp. 471–472), although here the deficiency may have been accounted for by one of the larger demes. The same explanation, of course, is possible

for the quota variations in the earlier period, but since no list preserves all fourteen demes and since the attested quotas of the larger demes are entirely consistent, there is no way to tell which larger deme may have accounted for the deficiencies. It is even less certain whether pairs of demes with variant quotas belonged to the same trittys.

The loss of ten bouleutai, occasioned by the transfer of demes from Erechtheis to Antigonis, was offset by increasing the representation of the remaining large demes, viz. Euonymon, Anagyrous, Coastal Lamptrai, and Kephisia. The loss of Themakos' one representative to Ptolemais in the next reorganization was accounted for by increasing the quota of Pambotadai to two bouleutai. After 200 B.C. the prytany registers of Erechtheis show no consistency either within the same period or with reference to the earlier periods in which an orderly system is everywhere apparent.

TABLE II, AIGEIS

In the first two periods of bouleutic government Aigeis shows more variations in the quotas of its demes than any other phyle. The demes and the variant quotas (not all included for the Macedonian period) are as follows:

	PERIOD OF X PHYLAI				PERIOD OF XII PHYLAI		
	343/2?	341/0	336/5	335/4	281/0	256/5	254/3
Bate	2	1	1	1			1
Phegaia	4	3	3		4	3	2+?
Erchia	6	6	6+v			10	11
Ionidai	2	1+?	1			1	2
Ikarion	4	5	5				
Kydantidai	1	2	2	2	2	1	1
Hestiaia		1	1	1	v	1	1

The few variations in the quotas of Erechtheis for the period prior to 307/6 may be explained by theorizing that the smallest demes occasionally, or regularly, shared a seat on the Council. With Aigeis, however, the quota variations clearly involve also several of the larger demes, viz. Phegaia, Erchia, and Ikarion. More significantly perhaps, all the lists so affected in Aigeis are defective (see section A). These considerations suggest that the explanation for the variations in representation is to be found in the inability of a few small demes in certain years to fulfill their quotas, the deficiencies sometimes being ignored, and at other times being counter-balanced by increasing the quotas of the larger demes.¹⁹ Ionidai, for instance, supplied only one councillor in 341/0 and also in 336/5, but provided two in 343/2(?);

¹⁹ If the numbers and distribution of bouleutic alternates is as suggested above (p. 2, note 5), then there is further support for this theory. The small deme Sybridai, which failed to send a representative to the Council in at least one year, has no "alternate" in the list of *circa* 370 B.C. (*I.G.*, II², 1697, etc. = 492).

the first deficiency was ignored and the register contained only forty-nine prytaneis, but in the second case a space was allotted for an increase in the representation of Erchia, although no additional name was actually inscribed. The other pairs of variant Aigeid demes during the period of the original ten phylai would be Ikarion-Bate and Phegaia-Kydantidai, assuming that each pair consisted of one large and one small deme. It is not necessary, however, to assume that the pairs were so drawn up as to consist always in one larger and one smaller deme, nor is it mandatory that the missing prytanis in the 341/0 list be assigned to Ionidai. He could alternatively belong to Erchia (or Phegaia or Bate, etc.), although no space was left here for the name.²⁰ Any combination, therefore, of Erchia, Ikarion, and Kydantidai with Bate, Ionidai, and Phegaia would form satisfactory variant pairs.

Less material and fewer discrepancies obtain in the Macedonian period, but several of the same demes are again involved. Phegaia and Kydantidai each seem to have an additional representative in 281/0, one of them perhaps offsetting the apparent deficiency in Hestiaia's quota. The other quota variations in this period may be explained by the defective registers (see section A). In addition, there is a strong general indication that deme-quotas did not decrease with the Macedonian reorganization (see, pp. 59–60). This suggests for Aigeis that the correct representation of Bate, Kydantidai, Ionidai, and Phegaia during the period of the original ten phylai was one, one, two, and three bouleutai respectively. It follows that the normal quotas of Erchia and Ikarion for the same period were seven and five bouleutai respectively. One of the pairs of variant demes prior to 307/6 probably belonged to the inland trittys, but if Bate has been correctly assigned to the city and Ionidai and Kydantidai do not belong one each to the city and coastal regions (very unlikely), then the other two pairs each involved two trittyes.

The losses in representation, eleven bouleutai, brought about by the transfer of demes from Aigeis in 307/6 B.C. were offset by the addition of four councillors, it appears, to the quotas of its two largest demes, Halai and Erchia, and of one councillor each to the medium-sized Kollytos and the small demes Erikeia and Plotheia. Subsequent to 200 B.C. the figures for a few Aigeid demes, e.g. Diomeia, Erikeia, Araphen, and Otryne, bear some resemblance to their earlier quotas, but

²⁰ J. A. O. Larsen (*Cl. Phil.*, LVII, 1962, pp. 104–108) would reserve judgment on the missing prytanis in both *I.G.*, II², 1749 (=38) and *Hesperia*, XXX, 1961, p. 32 (=42). His theory of a reapportionment of quotas between 350 and 341 B.C. finds some support in the statistics for Oineis, but the material for Erechtheis, Leontis, and Antiochis offers strong argument against any general reapportionment. Even limited to the phyle Aigeis, the theory encounters difficulty in the redating of the *Hesperia* bouleutic list (cf. F. W. Mitchel, "Lycourgan Athens 338–322," Louise Taft Semple Lectures, Cincinnati, 1970, p. 17) and, in my opinion, fails to take account of the most obvious reason for blank lines in prytany and bouleutic registers, viz. to indicate the absence of a name. The only general redistributions of quotas evidenced in our tables were those occasioned by the creation of Antigonis and Demetrias and Ptolemais.

this is likely due to chance, for other figures, e.g. of Erchia, Gargettos, and Myrrhinoutta, show wide variations both within a single period and with relation to the earlier periods of stable representation.

TABLE III, PANDIONIS

There are a number of single-representative variations in the quotas of the Pandionid demes during the period of the original ten phylai. Kydathenaion had eleven prytaneis in *S.E.G.*, XXIII, 87 (=10) and *I.G.*, II², 1751 (=32) (both very probable restorations) and twelve bouleutai in the great catalogue of 336/5, whereas Angele had a complementary variation from three representatives on the first two of these lists to two bouleutai on the last. Kydathenaion and Angele, it may be noted, belonged to different trittyes.

The remaining Pandionid variations come from two stones, *I.G.*, II², 1740 (=12) and 1753 (=47), both now lost. Some, perhaps even all, of these differences may be due to faulty transcripts by early epigraphers or to incorrect restorations by subsequent editors. *I.G.*, II², 1740 was copied by S. A. Koumanoudes more than a century ago. His text, as revised by Löper (whom Kirchner follows closely) gives Myrrhinous an additional demesman over its customary quota of six and omits Kytheros, which normally had two representatives, entirely. Gomme²¹ attempts to alleviate some of these difficulties by restoring Kytheros with one demesman at the bottom of the middle column below four, instead of the usual five, prytaneis from Probalinthos. Gomme's arrangement is slightly more faithful to Koumanoudes' transcript for the number of lines in this column and thus is preferable to the *Corpus* text, but neither solution removes entirely the quota anomalies. The possible pairs of variant demes here would be Kydathenaion-Probalinthos (both large demes and both from the same *τριττὺς τῶν πρυτάνεων*, see below, p. 42) and Myrrhinous-Kytheros (one large and one small deme, but from different trittyes, unless Kytheros belongs to the coast) or Kydathenaion-Kytheros (large and small, but probably not the same trittys) and Myrrhinous-Probalinthos (both large, but from the same geographical trittys).

I.G., II², 1753, copied by Spon and Wheler almost three centuries ago, also presents quota problems, some of which have been resolved recently by S. N. Koumanoudes²² who has studied Wheler's unpublished notes in the British Museum. Koumanoudes' figures, with the exception of the quotas of Oa and Paiania, for which his corrections of the Spon transcript seem too drastic, are given in the Tables of Representation. Oa, regularly with four representatives, has only one in the Spon transcript, and Paiania ten instead of eleven (Lower Paiania alone) or twelve (the two Paiania demes listed together). Kydathenaion has been restored here with

²¹ *Population*, pp. 51–52.

²² *Πολέμων*, VIII, 1965/6, pp. 43–47; cf. *S.E.G.*, XXIII, 89.

twelve representatives, the same quota as in *I.G.*, II², 1740, *Hesperia*, XXX, 1961, p. 32, and in the Macedonian period; Angele has three prytaneis here, and either it or Kydathenaion may have supplied one of the representatives missing from Oa or Paiania.

The quotas of Angele, Myrrhinous, Oa, and Lower Paiania are not directly attested for the first period of twelve phylai, but are based on those quotas known for the short succeeding period of thirteen phylai. Since Pandionis surrendered only the little deme Konthyle to Ptolemais and the resulting loss in representation, probably one bouleutes, was offset evidently by increasing the quota of Steiria from three to four councillors, it seems very likely that the quotas of the other Pandionid demes remained the same before and after the creation of the Egyptian phyle.²³ It follows that Pandionis' loss in representation, approximately fifteen bouleutai, occasioned by the establishment of the Macedonian phylai, was counterbalanced by doubling the quota of Lower Paiania, the largest deme in the tribe, from eleven to twenty-two councillors, and by increasing also the quotas of Angele from two (or three) bouleutai to four, and of Myrrhinous from six to eight. After 200 B.C. the prytany registers of Pandionis show no consistency in their deme representation either within the same period or with reference to the earlier regular quotas.

TABLE IV, LEONTIS

If we allow that the missing demesman in the Leontid roster of 336/5 belongs, as seems likely (section A, above), to Phrearrhioi, then there is only one attested variation in the quotas of this tribe during the period of the original ten phylai. Deiradiotai had one representative in a fragmentary prytany list from the early fourth century B.C. (*Δελτ.*, XXV, 1970, p. 84 = **13a**) but two representatives in a prytany list of 370/69(?) and in the bouleutic catalogue of 336/5. There must have been a complementary variation in the quota of another Leontid deme, unless of course the list was defective, but we cannot tell which particular deme.

In the Macedonian period there are a pair of quota variations. Kettos, according to a very probable restoration, had four councillors in a list dated after 255 B.C., but only three in *I.G.*, II², 2382 (= **74**) dated a little earlier in the same century, whereas Hybadai had only one representative in the former list, but two in the bouleutic catalogue of 304/3 B.C. (it does not appear in the small fragment *I.G.*, II², 2382). The trittys assignment of both these small demes is uncertain, but to the best of my knowledge they belonged to different sections.

Leontis' surrender of eight bouleutai to the Macedonian phylai was offset by increasing the quotas of four medium-sized demes, viz. Leukonoion, Skambonidai, Sounion, and Cholleidai. The last-mentioned deme more than doubled its representa-

²³ Cf. *Hesperia*, XXXVIII, 1969, pp. 428-429 (= **130**), and below, p. 62.

tion, increasing its quota from two to five bouleutai. As discussed above (section A), the loss of Hekale's one councillor to Ptolemais was counterbalanced apparently by increasing the quota of Phrearrhioi.

TABLE V, AKAMANTIS

There is one quota variation in Akamantis during the period of the original ten phylai. Thorikos had six representatives on a prytany fragment dated about 340 B.C., but only five in the bouleutic list of 336/5. There is not enough of the prytany inscription preserved to indicate which deme compensated for this change.

As many as six Akamantid demes, viz. Kephale, Sphettos, Cholargos, Thorikos(?), Kikynna, and Eiresidai, increased their representation (all of them more or less in proportion to their size) to counterbalance the loss of ten bouleutai to the Macedonian phylai. In the periods after 200 B.C. the rosters of Akamantis show wide variations in deme representation from year to year, e.g. A.D. 167/8 and 168/9, and few of the figures bear any resemblance to the regular quotas of the earlier periods.

TABLE VI, OINEIS

Tyrmeidai sent no representative to the Council in 360/59 B.C. and either it or one of the other minute Oineid demes was probably missing also from the Council in 335/4 (section B, above). As was suggested as a possible explanation for the varying quotas of Sybridai and Pambotadai, Tyrmeidai may have shared a councillor, possibly with Epikhephisia, which had two representatives in 360/59 but only one about 330 B.C. and also in the lists from the Macedonian period, or with Hippotomadai, which obviously numbered among the smallest Attic demes. In fact, that the three councillors of Tyrmeidai on the Hellenistic bouleutic lists all belonged to the same family²⁴ suggests either that one family exercised a considerable control over the representation of its deme or, more likely, that there was a shortage of candidates in Tyrmeidai during this period.²⁵ Epikhephisia, Hippotomadai, and Tyrmeidai, it may be noted, probably all belonged to the city trittys.

If the Oineid list of about 330 B.C. (*I.G.*, II², 2438 = 48) has been correctly identified as a prytany roster, then, in addition to the variation in the quota of Epikhephisia just mentioned, there were complementary variations in the quotas of Oe and Kothokidai (one large and one small deme, but both probably from the same trittys). The variant pairs in this list, of course, might alternatively be Oe-Epikhe-

²⁴ Cf. *Hesperia*, XXXV, 1966, p. 228, line 235, and comment, p. 237; XXXVII, 1968, p. 13, line 125h, who probably = *Καλλίστρατος* who was husband of *Γλυκέρα Τλήσωνος Τυρμείδου θυγάτηρ* (*I.G.*, II², 7578 = *P.A.*, 8183, cf. 3038); and XXXVIII, 1969, p. 477, line 123, and comment, p. 488.

²⁵ Cf. Eitea in Antiochis, below, p. 22, with note 30.

phisia (again one large and one small deme, but from different trittyes) and Kothokidai-unidentified deme. And, if Perrhidai was really intended in the Oineid list of the early third century (above, section B), there must have been a complementary variation in the quota of another deme of this phyle during the Macedonian period, for Perrhidai certainly had no representation in 303/2 and 281/0.

In addition to an increase in the quota of Lakiadai from two to three councillors, the two largest demes in Oineis, Acharnai and Thria, both apparently increased their representation in 307/6 to offset the loss of five bouleutai to Demetrias. The individual representation of the last two demes is not known precisely for the period after 307/6, but the spacing in the bouleutic list of 303/2 indicates that combined they had a total of thirty-three bouleutai and the division was probably twenty-five and eight or twenty-four and nine.²⁶

TABLE VII, KEKROPIS

Due to the sparsity of evidence for Kekropis the quotas of the three large demes, Aixone, Athmonon, and Phlya, in the period of the original ten phylai and in the succeeding Macedonian period, must depend on estimates. Even the quota of Melite is not absolutely certain. It had seven bouleutai regularly in the first period of twelve phylai and, since no deme is known positively to have decreased its representation with the creation of Antigonis and Demetrias and since the large city deme Melite would hardly have had less than seven bouleutai originally, this was probably its quota also prior to 307/6. New, albeit tentative, readings in *I.G.*, II², 2377 (see *Agora*, XV, No. 20) would tend to confirm this judgment, and would suggest a quota of one representative for Epieikidai.

Two quota variations, one from each of the first two periods, are apparent in Kekropis. Pithos had two representatives in a prytany list from the middle of the fourth century B.C., but three councillors in the bouleutic catalogue of 335/4. And Epieikidai, as noted above (section B), may have varied between zero and one representative in the Macedonian period. There must, of course, have been complementary variations in the quotas of two other demes to counterbalance these differences. If *Hesperia*, XXXIII, 1964, no. 53 (= 494) is, in fact, to be identified as a list of councillors, then it presents serious discrepancies in three of the four quotas attested, but, in view of other manifest difficulties in this text, it seems preferable either to identify it as a list of ephebes or to leave it among the unassigned inscriptions of Kekropis (section B, above).

Halai is known to have increased its representation by four bouleutai and Pithos by one with the reapportionment in 307/6, and the quotas of the other small Kekropid demes appear to have passed into the Macedonian period unchanged.

²⁶ Cf. *Hesperia*, XXXVII, 1968, p. 9.

Consequently, the remaining ten bouleutai which this phyle lost due to the transfer of demes to Demetrias must have been offset by increasing the representation of the three large demes, Aixone, Athmonon, and Phlya, and I suggest that the increases were four, four, and two bouleutai respectively. After 200 B.C. the representation of the Kekropid demes shows little consistency either within the same period or with reference to the quotas of the earlier periods.

TABLE VIII, HIPPOTHONTIS

The bouleutic material relating to Hippothontis is extremely sparse for the period of the original ten phylai and many of its quotas can be given only as estimates. Fortunately, however, the new Agora bouleutic inscriptions have supplied a fairly complete picture of the Hippothontid quotas in the Macedonian period. Further, inasmuch as this tribe suffered few losses (perhaps six bouleutai) in 307/6 (during which reorganization there were only minimal quota changes) the figures from the first period of twelve phylai appear to furnish a good indication of the quotas in the preceding period. Eroiadai is known positively to have increased its representation from one to two bouleutai in 307/6, and, if we may judge from the treatment of similar situations in the other phylai, the remaining quota increases were probably confined to the larger demes, Peiraieus, Eleusis, and Dekeleia. The quotas then of Koile, Peiraieus, Thymaitadai, Acherdous, Eleusis, Kopros,^{26bis} and Oion in the period of the original ten phylai are based on their respective representation in the following period. For Dekeleia the reverse is true and the quota prior to 307/6 has been used to estimate its representation in the Macedonian period.

There is one possible quota variation in Hippothontis during the periods of proportional representation. Dekeleia had four councillors in *I.G.*, II², 2377 (= 20) from about the middle of the fourth century B.C., but as many as six or more in Kirchner's edition of *I.G.*, II², 1700, the bouleutic list of 335/4. In the latter case the demotic was restored on what seemed a plausible prosopographical identification, viz. Thrasykles in line 172 as brother of Thrasylos of Dekeleia who was choregos in 320/19 (*I.G.*, II², 3056), but Thrasykles is also known in Eleusis at this time, as trierarch before 325/4 B.C.,²⁷ and Euthydemos in the preceding line may just as easily be identified with Euthydemos of Eleusis who was priest of Asklepios in 355/4.²⁸ Phokiades, the next entry after Thrasykles, also is a name known in Eleusis

^{26bis} The representation of Kopros in *I.G.*, II², 1698, etc. would confirm a bouleutic quota of two during the first period of ten phylai (see above, p. 2, note 5).

²⁷ *I.G.*, II², 1629, line 821, and 1631, lines 156–157, 181 = *P.A.*, 7322. The father's name, Thrasylos, also is known in Eleusis (*P.A.*, 7342, and *S.E.G.*, XXI, 754).

²⁸ *I.G.*, II², 47, line 24; 4962, lines 11–12. For other members of the same family see *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 178–180. For the date of the priesthood see *Chronology of Hellenistic Athens*, p. 74.

(*I.G.*, II², 6051 = *P.A.*, 15065). On this basis, then, lines 178–189 of *Agora*, XV, No. 43 (= *I.G.*, II², 1700, lines 166–177) have been assigned to Eleusis and the apparent anomaly in the quota of Dekeleia removed.

The material belonging to the period immediately after 200 B.C. is extensive and illustrates convincingly the complete breakdown in the system of regular fixed quotas.

TABLE IX, AIANTIS

None of the six Aiantid quotas is directly attested in the period of the original ten phylai,²⁹ but the fact that this phyle lost no bouleutai to either Antigonis or Demetrias, coupled with the general conservatism of the Athenian system of representative government, assures one that the quotas for the Macedonian period hold true also for the time previous to 307/6. Admittedly, even in the Macedonian period only five of the six quotas are directly attested, but their total of forty bouleutai leaves no doubt but that the quota of the remaining deme, Marathon, was indeed ten.

The loss to Aiantis of sixteen bouleutai when Aphidna was transferred to Ptolemais was counterbalanced by increasing, more or less proportionately, the quotas of all five remaining demes. After 200 B.C. there is only a small amount of material, but it is sufficient to indicate little consistency in deme representation and only the slightest resemblance to quotas of the earlier periods of bouleutic government.

TABLE X, ANTIOCHIS

There is one obvious variation in the Antiochid deme quotas for the period of the original ten phylai. Eitea had two representatives in 335/4, but only one in the following year, whereas Pallene had a complementary variation from six to seven councillors in the same two years. The inconsistency is perhaps to be explained by an insufficiency of Eiteans available to hold the office of councillor. Such a theory may derive some support from the fact that the same man or members of the same family repeatedly held Eitean councillorships on the bouleutic lists of the Macedonian period.³⁰ Both the large deme Pallene and the very small deme Eitea, it should be noted, belonged to the same trittys.

There is an additional variation in the deme quotas of Antiochis if *I.G.*, II², 2407 (= 55) is correctly identified as a list of prytaneis and correctly dated to the

²⁹ *I.G.*, II², 2423 (= 46) has nine councillors under the demotic of Phaleron, but the stone breaks off at this point leaving the complete quota in doubt.

³⁰ Cf. *Hesperia*, XXXV, 1966, p. 229, line 314; XXXVII, 1968, p. 15, lines 234–235, and comment, p. 22; XXXVIII, 1969, p. 481, lines 271–272, and comment, p. 492. On the parallel of Tyrmeidai see above, p. 19, with note 24. The two demes named Eitea (the other was originally assigned to Akamantis) were both very small judging from their total number of known citizens, fifty-two, in Gomme.

period of the original ten phylai,³¹ for Alopeke in this text³² has its Macedonian quota of twelve representatives, whereas in 334/3 B.C. it had only ten.

The losses, probably nine bouleutai, occasioned by the transfer of three Antiochid demes to the Macedonian phylai, were offset by increasing the quotas of the four large demes, Alopeke, Aigilia, Anaphlystos, and Pallene, and of the two small demes, Amphitrope and Krioia.

The material from after 200 B.C. is extensive for Antiochis and once again illustrates the complete cessation of the regular fixed quotas.

NOTES TO TABLES OF REPRESENTATION³³

- 1 TABLE I, ERECHTHEIS: The full quota of Euonymon in *Hesperia*, XXX, 1961, pp. 218–219, no. 15 (=141) was almost certainly twelve councillors, see *Agora*, XV, No. 141.
- 2 TABLE II, AIGEIS: The single representative of Erchia was inscribed, with his demotic in the same line as his name, within the roster of Gargettos in *I.G.*, II², 1765 (=331).
- 3 The four lines erased from the top of the roster of Gargettos in *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 48–49, no. 11 (=406) are counted in the figures as two names and two patronymics. The Secretary of the Bouleutai, who appears at the end of the register, is also included in the figure for Gargettos.
- 4 TABLE III, PANDIONIS: The restorations of the quota of Kydathenaion and the demotic and quota of Angele in *Hesperia*, Supplement I, pp. 186–191, no. 116 (=293) are uncertain. The demotic of Oa may be substituted for that of Angele, and Kydathenaion may have had eight representatives and Angele (or Oa) one, see *Hesperia*, Supplement I, p. 188, lines 71–72.
- 5 The Secretary of the Bouleutai is included in the figure for Paiania in *I.G.*, II², 1773 (=369); his demotic is known from *I.G.*, II², 1776 (=378), line 19.
- 6 The Secretary of the Bouleutai, who appears under the two representatives of Myrrhinous, has arbitrarily been included in the figure for this deme in *I.G.*, II², 1776 (=378). Since it was customary in this period to list this official, when he was a prytanis, at the bottom of the register irrespective of demotic, he may well belong to a Pandionid deme other than Myrrhinous, viz. Paiania (cf. [Δι]ονυσόδωρος ὁ Πα[ανιεύς], ephebe ca. A.D. 160, *I.G.*, II², 2081, line 24).
- 7 TABLE IV, LEONTIS AND TABLE XV, HADRIANIS: The demotic in *I.G.*, II², 1833 (=487) may be restored as either Aithalidai (Leontis) or Daidalidai (Hadrianis).
- 8 TABLE V, AKAMANTIS: The figure for Kerameis in *I.G.*, II², 1774 (=371) includes the Secretary of the Bouleutai, Zenon, son of Zenon, who is now better assigned to Kyrteidai (below, p. 93).
- 9 TABLE VI, OINEIS: The restoration of the demotic of Acharnai in *Hesperia*, XXX, 1961, pp. 260–261, no. 69 (=54) is very uncertain. The inscription may alternatively be assigned to Demetrias (with some demotic other than Acharnai) and be dated *post* 307/6.
- 10 The roster of *I.G.*, II², 1801 (=482) appears to be complete with seven names. The remaining thirty-three prytaneis, including possibly additional Phylasioi, may have been inscribed on another face of the monument.
- 11 TABLE VII, KEKROPIS: The quotas of Daidalidai, Pithos, and Trinemeia in *I.G.*, II², 2384 (=18) have been derived from an unpublished fragment (E.M. 12431) belonging to the same inscription.

³¹ Cf. *Hesperia*, XXXVIII, 1969, p. 530, but the prosopography, lettering, orthography and appearance of the deme Kolonai forbid a dating after 307/6 B.C., as suggested there (cf. *Agora*, XV, No. 55, comment).

³² For the restoration of this demotic see D. M. Lewis, *B.S.A.*, L, 1955, pp. 13–14.

³³ These Notes, intended as ancillary to the Tables of Representation, could not for technical reasons be included in the same plates as the Tables.

- 12 The Secretary of the Bouleutai, who appears at the end of the register below the second representative of Sypalettos, has been included in the figure for this deme in *I.G.*, II², 1782 (= **398**). He could well belong to a different deme, see Note 6, above.
- 13 TABLE VIII, HIPPOTHONTIS: Eleusis in the Macedonian period may have had a quota several higher than the ten representatives suggested for it in *Hesperia*, XXXVIII, 1969, p. 489. There is a misprint in the quota summary column for the period 307/6–224/3. The figure for Eleusis should read: 13? (not 12).
- 14 TABLE X, ANTIOCHIS: The roster of *I.G.*, II², 1817 (= **466**) is complete, but since demotics were not used in this list (see above, p. xiv) I cannot tell the precise representation of the various demes. The total figure for Pallene was undoubtedly much higher than the four listed here, which have been identified from other prosopographical references.
- 15 The Secretary of the Bouleutai, who appears under the single representative of Krioia, has been arbitrarily included in the figure for this deme in *I.G.*, II², 1783 (= **472**). He may well belong to another Antiochid deme, see Note 6, above.
- 16 TABLE XIV, ATTALIS: The Secretary of the Bouleutai, Hagnos, son of Hagnos, the Younger, appears under the single representative of Tyrmeidai in *I.G.*, II², 1794 (= **402**), but he is undoubtedly the son of Hagnos who was a prytanis for Athmonon in the same list (line 51) and he has been included in the figure for this deme.

CHAPTER II

THE REPRESENTATION OF THE FIVE LATER PHYLAI

INTRODUCTION TO TABLES OF REPRESENTATION XI-XV

The format of the Tables of Representation for the five later phylai (below) follows closely that used for the original ten phylai; for details see above, pp. 1–4. There are, however, a few changes. After 307/6 the significance of the trittys, at least in respect to the new phylai, declined enormously and it appears to have been of no consideration in the formation of these later tribes.¹ Accordingly, the section dealing with trittys-totals has been deleted from the Tables of Representation XI–XV and the demes have been listed not by trittys, but by the official order of the phylai to which they were formerly affiliated, and two columns for this purpose have been added to the charts. The former quota, or quotas, have also been listed in a special column beside the deme names.

The column of Map References has also been omitted from these tables. For demes which were transferred to the later phylai these references may be found in Tables I to X and the three specially created later demes, viz. Berenikidai, Apollonieis, and Antinoeis, do not appear on the Maps. As in Tables I–X, Gomme's figures have been used for the number of known citizens in the various demes. For the divided demes transferred to the later phylai, however, the figures cited have been determined arbitrarily on the basis of the relative bouleutic quotas of the two sections prior to 307/6 B.C. They have, of course, no value as an independent criterion for judging the relative sizes of the sections.

The format of the Commentary has been altered slightly from that of Chapter I because there are no defective lists from the five later phylai to discuss. Section A has therefore become *The Organization and Composition of the Five Later Phylai*. Section B becomes *The Quotas of the Five Later Phylai*.

¹ See W. K. Pritchett, *Five Tribes*, pp. 27–29, with references cited in notes 56–63. On the purpose of the trittyses, see, more recently, D. M. Lewis, *Historia*, XII, 1963, pp. 34–36.

COMMENTARY ON TABLES OF REPRESENTATION XI-XV

A. THE ORGANIZATION AND COMPOSITION OF THE FIVE LATER PHYLAI

TABLES XI AND XII, ANTIGONIS AND DEMETRIAS

It has long been known that in 307/6 no new demes were created, but rather that Antigonis and Demetrias were composed entirely of demes transferred from the original ten phylai.² The bouleutic list of 281/0 suggests further that each of these new tribes consisted very probably of fifteen demes (see below, p. 79). It was also demonstrated some years ago that Antigonis was formed of demes taken primarily from the first four of the original ten phylai, while Demetrias' demes came mostly from the last six, Aiantis excepted.³ From the new inscriptions it appears that the proportion for both groups was twelve-out-of-fifteen, i.e. twelve of Antigonis' demes came from the first four phylai and three came from the last six, and vice versa for Demetrias (see below, p. 28, Table Illustrating the Organization of the Macedonian Phylai).

Of even greater significance, however, is the clear record which is now evident of the elaborate design conceived in the bouleutic reorganization of 307/6. The Macedonian phylai were created by taking three demes from each of the original ten phylai, with the exception of the smallest tribe, Aiantis, which provided no demes, and the two largest (in respect to the number of demes), Aigeis and Leontis, which together made up for Aiantis by giving four and five demes respectively. This rule-of-three⁴ appears to have been one of the basic principles in the organization of Antigonis and Demetrias. Erechtheis, Aigeis, Pandionis, and Leontis each surrendered three demes to the first Macedonian phyle; Oineis and Kekropis each gave three demes to the second; and Akamantis, Antiochis, and apparently also Hippothontis, each provided three demes, one for Antigonis and two for Demetrias.

The assignments of Kolonai and Auridai or Korydallos to Antigonis and Oinoe to Demetrias are new. Kolonai's absence from the roster of Antiochis in 303/2 indicated that it might have been transferred to one of the Macedonian phylai,⁵ and

² Dinsmoor, *Archons*, p. 450.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ This phrase and several points in the following discussion I owe to the unpublished notes of S. Dow. The choice of three demes per phyle appears to have been rooted, at least in theory, to the idea of the trittys; that is, the intention may have been to organize the two Macedonian phylai by taking one deme from each of the thirty Attic trittyes. But if this were the theory, the practice was far otherwise, for Erechtheis was the only phyle which certainly provided one deme from each of its three trittyes. Pandionis, Akamantis, and Hippothontis may also have done so, since our knowledge of the trittys affiliations of Kytheros, Eitea, and Auridai (if this deme were transferred) is most uncertain, but the other phylai clearly did not.

⁵ See *Hesperia*, XXXVII, 1968, p. 8.

this indication was confirmed both from a study of the principle by which Ptolemais was formed and, more important, from the identification of *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, no. 12 (= 91) as belonging to a prytany list of Antigonis. The treasurer in this text came from Kolonai⁶ and the secretary (he may now be so identified) from Lamptrai. That the Antiochid Kolonai should now be assigned positively to Ptolemais is instructive, for it indicates that the Egyptian phyle did indeed take deme(s) from the Macedonian.⁷ Furthermore, the manner in which Attalis and Hadrianis were formed, i.e. by taking one deme from each of the tribes existing at the time (below, pp. 30–31), suggests that Ptolemais may have been formed in an identical fashion. As it stands, Ptolemais was composed of one regular deme from each phyle with two exceptions: apparently Demetrias provided none and Hippothontis two demes, Oion and Oinoe. Oion has a well-established affiliation with Hippothontis during the first period of twelve phylai,⁸ but nothing is known concerning the tribal affiliation of Oinoe in the same period, and I suggest that it may have belonged to Demetrias.

The relative lengths of the columns in the bouleutic lists of 303/2 and 281/0 B.C. indicate that the roster of Hippothontis had only fourteen demes. The transfer of Koile and now Oinoe to the Macedonian phylai still leaves Hippothontis with fifteen demes, but the tribal affiliations of Auridai, Korydallos, and even Dekeleia in this period are as yet unknown, and I suggest that either Auridai or Korydallos was transferred to Antigonis. It may be, of course, that one of them simply failed to send a representative to the Council in 303/2 and also in 281/0, as I suspect was the case with Epieikidai (cf. above, p. 11), but the transfer of an additional deme from Hippothontis suits the apparent pattern of a three-deme contribution per phyle. That the additional deme should go to Antigonis is necessary, for Demetrias already has fifteen demes, while Antigonis has only fourteen.

Five other demes, four of them divided demes, have been suggested as possible members of either Antigonis or Demetrias. The evidence for the assignment is in every case weak and I have rejected all five from affiliation with the Macedonian phylai: Epieikidai (above, p. 11) appears to have remained in Kekropis, and the other four, Sypalettos B (see pp. 10–11), Anakaia B (see pp. 81–82), Amphitrope B (see pp. 84–85), and Semachidai B (see pp. 94–95), I suggest are all spurious.⁹

⁶ Epicharmos, son of Kallistratides, appears to be related to Epicharinos, who was representative of the Antiochid Kolonai in 334/3 B.C. (*I.G.*, II², 1750, line 68 = 44, line 63).

⁷ This contravenes a long-accepted view that the Macedonian phylai gave no demes to Ptolemais; cf. Dinsmoor, *Archons*, p. 451, where the origin of this theory is traced to W. Dittenberger, *Hermes*, II, 1875, p. 398.

⁸ The secretary *κατὰ πρυτανείαν* in 228/7 (*Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 74, no. 29 = 120), a symproedros in 305/4 (*I.G.*, II², 797; cf. *Hesperia*, XXXII, 1963, p. 358), and an ephebe in 258/7 (*Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 112, no. 20, line 59) all bore this demotic and belonged to Hippothontis.

⁹ I do not even discuss the possible assignment of Phegaia B, which has long been rejected both as a member of one of the Macedonian phylai (Pritchett, *Five Tribes*, p. 8) and even as a legitimate Attic deme (see below, p. 120, No. 31).

TABLE ILLUSTRATING THE ORGANIZATION OF THE MACEDONIAN PHYLAI

ORIGINAL PHYLE	DEMES TRANSFERRED TO TO			BOULEUTAI TRANSFERRED TO TO			TOTAL	GOMME'S FIGURES	TOTAL	GOMME'S FIGURES	TRANSFERRED DEMES	GOMME'S FIGURES AFTER DEMES	PHYLE
	ANTIGONIS	DEMETRIAS	TOTAL	ANTIGONIS	DEMETRIAS	TOTAL							
Erechtheis	3	—	3	10	—	10	10	1312	1087**	1312	1087**	1087**	Erechtheis
Aigeis	3	1	4	10/9 (*14)	1	11/10 (*15)	11/10 (*15)	1540	1188**	1540	1188**	1188**	Aigeis
Pandionis	3	—	3	15/14 (*15)	—	15/14 (*15)	15/14 (*15)	1223	834**	1223	834**	834**	Pandionis
Leontis	3	2	5	6	2 (*3)	8 (*9)	8 (*9)	1502	1161**	1502	1161**	1161**	Leontis
Akamantis	1	2	3	2	8	10	10	1149	980	1149	980	980	Akamantis
Oineis	—	3	3	—	5 (*9)	5 (*9)	5 (*9)	1125	973	1125	973	973	Oineis
Kekropis	—	3	3	—	15	15	15	1314	932	1314	932	932	Kekropis
Hippothontis	1	2	3	1?	5?	6?	6?	1077	903	1077	903	903	Hippothontis
Aiantis	—	—	0	—	—	0	0	979	979	979	979	979	Aiantis
Antiochis	1	2	3	2	7 (*9)	9 (*11)	9 (*11)	1058	933	1058	933	933	Antiochis
								—	1192**	—	1192**	1192**	Antigonis
								—	1117**	—	1117**	1117**	Demetrias
TOTAL	15	15	30	46/44 (*50)	43 (*50)	89/87 (*100)	89/87 (*100)	12279	12279	12279	12279	12279	TOTAL

* = Quota increased in 307/6. ** = Figures for divided demes estimated according to original bouleutic quotas. / = Variant quota.

Of the six legitimate divided demes (see below, Appendix D, pp. 123–128) one section of each was transferred to Antigonis, viz. the upper sections of Paiania and Lamptraí, Potamos Deiradiotes, one section of Ankyle, presumably the upper part, and one section, again perhaps upper, of Agryle and Pergase. Potamos was a special divided deme with three sections, so that, in addition to the portion identified as Potamos Deiradiotes, which was transferred to Antigonis, Lower Potamos was assigned to Demetrias.¹⁰

With the dissolution of the Macedonian phylai in 200 B.C. all demes, except of course the two which were transferred to Ptolemais, returned, at least briefly, to their original tribes.

TABLE XIII, PTOLEMAIS

Ptolemais was formed in 224/3¹¹ by taking one regular deme from each pre-existing phyle and by then adding a thirteenth member, the new deme Berenikidai, created in honor of Berenice, wife of Ptolemy III Euergetes after whom the phyle itself was named.¹² That each of the twelve phylai, including Antigonis and Demetrias, should have contributed one, and only one, deme to Ptolemais appears to be contrary, in one respect, to the generally accepted scholarly opinion on the subject,¹³ and in another, to the facts themselves. Pritchett,¹⁴ relying on his thorough study of the deme-catalogue *I.G.*, II², 2362, but citing other material as well, suggested that Ptolemais may have been composed of as many as twenty-four demes (to which figure we may now add a twenty-fifth, Oion Dekeleikon from Hippothontis¹⁵) with original tribal affiliation as follows: one deme from each of Erechtheis, Pandionis,

¹⁰ We learn from the prosopography that the section which remained in Leontis was Upper Potamos, for Laches, a representative of Leontis in 303/2 (*Hesperia*, XXXVII, 1968, p. 11, line 17 = 62, line 26) certainly belongs to the same family (he is probably a son) as the prytanis for Upper Potamos in *I.G.*, II², 1742, line 18 (= 13, line 18; cf. *Hesperia*, XXXVII, 1968, p. 17, comment on lines 15–17, where *Lower Potamos* should be read for *Upper Potamos*). Kirchner had long pointed out that the prosopography also indicated that the Potamos deme in Antigonis was Potamos Deiradiotes (*Rh. Mus.*, LXI, 1906, p. 350; cf. *I.G.*, II², 488, with note to line 5). The deme transferred to Demetrias thus can only be Lower Potamos. To Dinsmoor's argument (*Archons*, p. 448) that Deiradiotai should be assigned to the same phyle as the closely related Potamos Deiradiotes, viz. Antigonis, we may add the observation that by our own count we have already assigned fifteen demes to Demetrias, thus making it very unlikely that Deiradiotai also belongs to the same tribe.

¹¹ The most recent discussion of this date is by B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia*, XXXVIII, 1969, p. 441.

¹² Βερενικίδαι· ὁ δῆμος ἀπὸ Βερενίκης τῆς τοῦ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Εὐεργέτου γυναικός. τὸν μὲν <γὰρ> ἄνδρα τῇ φυλῇ, τὴν δὲ γυναῖκα τῷ δήμῳ ἐπωνύμους ἐποίησαν, Cramer, *Anecd. Par.*, IV, p. 180, reference cited by J. Kirchner, *P.A.*, II, p. 526, note 1. For the location of Berenikidai see W. K. Pritchett, *Five Tribes*, p. 30, note 64. More significant, probably, than the finding places of *I.G.*, II², 5868 and 5888 (Mandra and Eleusis respectively) is the fact that *I.G.*, II², 1221, apparently a deme-decree and also found at Eleusis, has a spokesman who belonged to Berenikidai. (Sponsors, without exception, belonged to the deme passing the decree.)

¹³ See above, p. 27, note 7.

¹⁴ *Five Tribes*, pp. 23–32.

¹⁵ See *Hesperia*, XXXIV, 1965, p. 91.

Leontis, Akamantis, Oineis (two demes, if Perrhidai is included), Kekropis, and Hippothontis; two demes from Aigeis; four demes (three, if Perrhidai is excluded) from Aiantis; five from Antiochis; and six demes with unknown previous tribal affiliation. One of these, Ikarion, may quickly be dismissed, for it is now virtually certain that no such deme was ever affiliated with Ptolemais and the traces in line 53 of *I.G.*, II², 2362 which Pritchett restored as Ikaria I interpret as belonging to Perrhidai (see below, p. 84). Although it may be granted that many, or even all, of the remaining twenty-three or twenty-four¹⁶ demes once appeared in the Ptolemaid roster of the great deme-catalogue, I deny that all necessarily were regular Attic demes in the year 201/0 B.C. In fact, two of the demes attributed to Ptolemais, Akyia and Semachidai B, are unknown prior to about the middle of the second century after Christ and are unlikely to have been regular members of this phyle four centuries earlier (see below, pp. 93 and 94–95). Five others, viz. Hyporeia, Petalidai, Thyrgonidai, Perrhidai, and Titakidai, are known to have been located in, or associated with Aphidna and, despite the appearance of several of them in *I.G.*, II², 2362, are unlikely to have been regular independent demes, if ever, prior to the Late Roman period (see below, pp. 88–90). An additional four, viz. Melainai, Pentele, Klopidae, and Eunostidai, occur as early place names, but again I suggest they were not legitimate Athenian demes before the creation of Hadrianis in the second century after Christ (see below, pp. 90–92); their appearance in the deme list—and Klopidae and Eunostidai have both been read in the preserved fragment—was probably through association with regular constitutional demes (see below, p. 87). The removal of these eleven irregular demes leaves a total roster in Ptolemais of thirteen legitimate demes, twelve of which are well known and well attested from the fifth century B.C. on, and the thirteenth is the obviously recent and specially created Berenikidai. The twelve regular demes were affiliated one with each of the twelve phylai existing at the time when Ptolemais was created, Kolonai and Oinoe passing to the Egyptian phyle from Antigonis and Demetrias respectively (see above, pp. 26–27). The organization of Ptolemais thus forms an exact parallel with the later and better known formations of Attalis and Hadrianis (see following sections). Like the other tribes, the Egyptian phyle, of course, gave one deme to each of these later phylai when they were formed.

TABLE XIV, ATTALIS

Now that Ankyle and Sypalettos have been rejected from belonging to Attalis and Oion is seen to have been transferred from Ptolemais and not taken directly

¹⁶ If we allow the substitution of Oion Dekteikon for Ikaria B we may still keep Pritchett's total of twenty-four demes in the roster of Ptolemais. It may be, however, that several of the demes originally listed in *I.G.*, II², 2362 were different from those which have later been ascribed to Ptolemais (see below, pp. 98–100, and p. 132, Appendix E).

from Hippothontis,¹⁷ it becomes clear that Attalis was formed by taking one deme from each of the phylai existing in the spring of 200 B.C. and by then adding one new deme, Apollonieis, created in honor of Apollonis, wife of Attalos I of Pergamum. More than three centuries later when Hadrianis was created Attalis furnished one deme to the Roman tribe.

TABLE XV, HADRIANIS

The organization of Hadrianis was similar to that of Ptolemais and Attalis: one deme was taken from each of the pre-existing twelve phylai, to which a thirteenth deme, Antinoeis, established in honor of Hadrian's favorite, Antinoos, was shortly after added.¹⁸

B. THE QUOTAS OF THE FIVE LATER PHYLAI

TABLES XI AND XII, ANTIGONIS AND DEMETRIAS

Along with the choice of demes transferred to Antigonis and Demetrias the bouleutic representation seems also to have received careful consideration. The number of bouleutai surrendered by each of the original ten phylai (see above, p. 28, Table Illustrating the Organization of the Macedonian Phylai) evidently formed units of approximately five, ten, or fifteen (or zero for Aiantis). The deme contingents of two of the phylai, Aigeis and Oineis, are known with certainty to have increased their representation on being transferred, but even these increases, viz. approximately five bouleutai each, accord with the units just mentioned. Of more importance, however, is the observation that the phylai appear to have provided bouleutai roughly according to their population. Just as the two tribes with the largest number of demes were observed to have made an extra contribution above the normal three demes to account for Aiantis' deficiency, so the phylai which we judge, on the basis of Gomme's figures¹⁹ (supported, in part, by several fourth-century

¹⁷ For the rejection of Ankyle see G. A. Stamires, *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, p. 47. On Sypalettos, Trinemeia, and Oion Dekeleikon, see above, pp. 10–11 and 30–31, notes 16 and 18.

¹⁸ It was added presumably after the death and apotheosis of Antinoos, i.e. A.D. 130 (cf. P. Graindor, *Athènes sous Hadrien*, pp. 80–81, and W. K. Pritchett, *Five Tribes*, p. 37). Antinoeis may have been located in the new section of Athens founded by Hadrian (cf. P. Graindor, *loc. cit.*, and W. K. Pritchett, *op. cit.*, p. 38, note 8).

¹⁹ The order of the phylai according to Gomme's figures: Aigeis (1540), Leontis (1502), Kekropis (1314, with no Kikynneis), Erechtheis (1312), Pandionis (1223), Akamantis (1149, with all demesmen of Kikynna), Oineis (1125), Hippothontis (1077), Antiochis (1058), and Aiantis (979). Leontis undoubtedly, and Aigeis and Erechtheis probably, appear higher in this list than they should (see below, p. 65) and Antiochis and Pandionis may occur too low, but even disregarding these considerations the general relationship between the figures for the number of known citizens in the phylai and the bouleutic contributions to Antigonis and Demetrias is, I believe, still clear.

ephebic lists²⁰), to have been among the largest, viz. Kekropis and Pandionis, and hence probably over-represented in 308/7, appear to have made the largest contributions, i.e. approximately fifteen bouleutai each. Erechtheis, Aigeis, Leontis, Akamantis, and Antiochis, which apparently were among the medium-sized phylai in 308/7, surrendered about ten bouleutai each. The slightly smaller Oineis and Hippothontis provided about five bouleutai each, while Aiantis, obviously the smallest tribe in every sense, of course gave none. In general, the adjustments of 307/6 appear to have made the phylai more nearly equal in size.²¹ Although we have no direct information concerning this aspect of the Kleisthenian organization, it is the general belief of scholars that for the efficient working of government roughly

²⁰ Estimating the ephebic enrollments in the fourth century B.C. is a notorious problem. The most recent discussion, by O. W. Reinmuth (*The Ephebic Inscriptions of the Fourth Century B.C.*, *Mnemosyne*, Suppl. XIV, Leiden, 1971, *passim*), is not, in my opinion, entirely successful. Reinmuth's argument that the profile sketched on *I.G.*, II², 2976 indicates Pandionis had an enrollment of 30–32 ephebes in 333/2 (*op. cit.*, pp. 22–23) seems particularly suspect: "The outline of the chin, neck and shoulders for a bust sketch continued on the same scale would roughly yield space for 19–20 lines above the lower edge of the uninscribed lines. This would provide space for a prescript of one line and for a total of 30–32 names with deme captions. . . ." But (1) there is no evidence that it was a sketch of a bust: it may have been only the head, or the entire body, or part of the body (Meritt, *A.J.P.*, LXVI, 1945, p. 236, note 5, a reference cited by Reinmuth, says only ". . . there may have been more (i.e. than the head) of the human form portrayed"); (2) even if it were such a sketch, there is no evidence that the bottom of it rested on the topmost preserved part of the stele; and (3) even assuming that it was a sketch of a bust and that it rested on the topmost preserved part of the stele, there is no evidence that the stele's full height was preserved at the time the sketch was incised. Reinmuth's figure for the enrollment of Kekropis in the same year (from an unpublished inscription) is also suspect: he gives the number as 52 (p. 16), but 48 (p. 107), but this is only a minor discrepancy. If we disregard this obviously questionable total for Pandionis, the other figures for ephebic enrollments in the fourth century afford some support for my judgment concerning the relative sizes of the phylai prior to the formation of Antigonis and Demetrias (numbers in parentheses are from Ch. Pélékidis, *Histoire de l'éphébie attique des origines à 31 avant Jésus-Christ*, Paris, 1962). *I.G.*, II², 1156 lists the total contribution of Kekropis in 334/3 as about 42 ephebes (43–45). *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, pp. 59–66, no. 8, and *Πρακτικά*, 1954 (1957), p. 69 from the following year give Leontis and Kekropis about 44 (35) and 48 or 52 (45) ephebes respectively. Two other texts, *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII, pp. 273–278 and *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1918, pp. 73–100, list the number of ephebes in Oineis *ca.* 330 as about 56 (55) and in Leontis in 324/3(?) as 62 (62). If we accept Pélékidis' suggestion (*op. cit.*, p. 284) that the low figure for Leontis in the earlier list is to be explained both by a fallen birth rate, due to extensive Athenian military maneuvers abroad in the years 353–351, and by the fact that 352/1 was a hollow year, and if we pro-rate the earlier lists on the basis of 62 ephebes for Leontis in 324/3(?) we arrive at a figure of about 59–73 (76–80) ephebes annually for Kekropis. The figures thus obtained, viz. Leontis 62, Oineis *ca.* 56 (55), and Kekropis 59–73 (76–80) are in accord with my judgment concerning the relative sizes of these phylai on the basis of the reorganization of 307/6. According to Reinmuth's figures (*op. cit.*, pp. 103–105), incidentally, the ephebic enrollments of Erechtheis, Akamantis, and Aigeis immediately after 307/6 appear to have been nearly equal.

²¹ Sundwall employs this argument in reverse, judging the relative sizes of the phylai on the assumption that the reorganization of 307/6 made the phylai more nearly equal in size (cf. *Klio*, Beiheft IV, pp. 90–91). On the reapportionments relative to the demes and trittyes, see below, pp. 64–72.

equal phylai were necessary,²² and it seems clear that there would be little point in attempting to render them more nearly equal in 307/6 if they had not been so created two centuries earlier.

Of the thirty demes transferred to the Macedonian phylai, only Gargettos, Ikarion, Lower Potamos, and Phyle positively, and Atene and Thorai possibly, increased their quotas of representation. Since about a third of all Attic demes increased their representation in 307/6 (below, p. 58), a slightly smaller proportion of the demes transferred than of those which remained in their original phylai appear to have been affected by the reapportionment of quotas, but the difference is probably of no significance.

There are no observable variations in the quotas of the demes assigned to the Macedonian tribes within the first period of twelve phylai.

TABLE XIII, PTOLEMAIS

No prytany or bouleutic lists are preserved from the first period of thirteen phylai to illustrate *directly* the quotas of the Ptolemaid demes. There is, however, an important piece of *indirect* evidence: it is the observation that the quotas of the twelve regular demes transferred to Ptolemais appear to total, for the period prior to 224/3, forty-nine bouleutai, allowing apparently a quota of one bouleutes for the new deme Berenikidai. If this figure is not simply a coincidence,²³ it indicates a close parallel between the formation of Ptolemais and the earlier formation of the Macedonian phylai, viz. that, in being transferred, no demes suffered a loss in representation and few (none in Ptolemais) increased their representation (see below, pp. 59–60). It also constitutes a further proof that the eleven irregular demes of Ptolemais were indeed *irregular*, i.e. unconstitutional, at least in the first period of thirteen phylai, for they appear to have had no representation in the Council.

Where there is evidence the representation of the Ptolemaid demes in the second periods of twelve and thirteen phylai shows little consistency from year to year and only the slightest resemblance to quotas of earlier periods.²⁴

TABLE XIV, ATTALIS

Although the quotas of many of the future Attalid demes in the first period of thirteen phylai, prior to their transfer, must depend on estimates, these estimates

²² But see W. E. Thompson, "Three Thousand Acharnian Hoplites," *Historia*, XIII, 1964, pp. 400–413.

²³ The quotas of Phlya and Oinoe, it should be noted, are based on estimates, and Kydantidai's quota varied between one and two bouleutai both in the period of the original ten phylai and also in the Macedonian period. (The last had two demesmen, however, in the unidentified list *I.G.*, II², 1697, etc., a representation which would correspond to a bouleutic quota of one; see above, p. 2).

²⁴ Kydantidai's representation of one demesman in 97/6 is probably only a coincidence, for the system of fixed regular quotas had long broken down by this period.

suggest a total representation of about fifty bouleutai. If this total is again not merely a coincidence,²⁵ it offers a close parallel with the formation of Ptolemais, viz. that the quotas of the demes transferred were neither increased nor decreased but were taken over unchanged from the preceding period. If true, this is significant for two reasons. It would indicate that the demes were chosen to form Ptolemais and Attalis almost solely on the basis of their quotas, and it would show that the system of fixed quotas ended *after*, and not simultaneously with, the reorganization of 200 B.C. The breakdown, however, could not have taken place much later than 200, for the representation of the Erechtheid demes by 193/2 bears little resemblance to the third-century quotas.

TABLE XV, HADRIANIS

The system of proportional representation had ended long before the creation of Hadrianis and we cannot therefore speak of *quotas* with reference to the representation of demes in the second period of thirteen phylai. What evidence we do have for the representation of the Hadrianid demes, and there is only a meager amount, shows little resemblance to the earlier established quotas and no consistency within the period, i.e. the second period of thirteen phylai.

²⁵ Cf. above, p. 33. Because of the number of estimated quotas there is a greater chance of coincidence in the total for Attalis than for Ptolemais.

CHAPTER III

THE BOULEUTIC ORGANIZATION OF THE ORIGINAL TEN PHYLAI

INTRODUCTION TO MAPS AND TO CONSPECTUS OF DEME LOCATIONS

The Maps¹ (Maps 1 and 2) attempt to indicate schematically the political organization of Attica in the period of the original ten phylai. The basic scheme is as follows: demes are indicated by circles on the map, each circle being drawn of a size roughly corresponding to its quota of representation in the Council.² Demes belonging to the same trittys are connected by lines, usually to the largest member of the trittys, but sometimes, where the demes are more nearly equal in size, drawn to the most central or most conveniently located member. The quotas of representation, i.e. the number of bouleutai a particular deme sent annually to the Council in the period of the original ten phylai, are shown within the circles (a question mark following the figure means the quota is estimated or uncertain). These quotas and the evidence for them are given in the Tables of Representation I–X together with other pertinent information. The trittyes are numbered according to the official order of the phylai, small Roman numerals for the ten city trittyes, capital Roman numerals for the ten coastal members, and large Arabic numerals for the ten trittyes belonging to the inland area. In addition, to illustrate more clearly the tribal arrangement the demes of each phyle in Map 1 have been assigned a different color, and the three Attic sections in Map 2 have been shaded differently, the city trittyes left white, the coastal trittyes shaded lightly, and the inland trittyes shaded heavily.³

¹ The maps were begun at the suggestion of E. Vanderpool and follow a scheme originated and tried on an earlier unpublished version by J. H. Young.

² Particularly apparent here is the schematic nature of the maps whose format, per se, eschews the difficult, or rather impossible, task of defining precise deme and trittys boundaries. Accordingly, the area defined by a circle bears little relation to the total territory administered by a deme or to the definitive boundaries of its province. On the basic question of the geographical significance of the demes see below, pp. 73–74.

³ Again the lines of demarcation are purely schematic and not geographic, although Hymettos and Aigaleos obviously formed the western and eastern (or northeastern) boundaries respectively of the city section.

The Maps are served by a Conspectus of Deme Locations divided by phyle into ten Topographical Tables (pp. 37–54) which list the trittyes, the locations according, where possible, to the modern place names,⁴ and a brief summary of the evidence for the locations with references to works in which that evidence has been presented.⁵ Accompanying each table are notes on some of the topographical questions involved.

Not all the Attic demes have been located with the same degree of certainty. The locations, therefore, have been classified into four general categories, both on the Maps and in the Topographical Tables, according to these criteria:

1. CERTAIN OR PROBABLE LOCATION = No Question Mark on Map (76 demes)

This usually means a deme-site,⁶ i.e. considerable ancient remains and epigraphical (especially a deme-decree) or literary evidence to identify it. Sometimes the ancient remains are slight, but there is sufficient literary or epigraphical evidence to define the location fairly closely. Occasionally the general location is known with certainty, e.g. Sounion or Marathon, but there is an embarrassment of remains; in these cases what seems the most probable place for the deme center has been suggested.

2. GENERAL OR APPROXIMATE LOCATION = Question Mark Following Circle but not the Name (21 demes)

In these instances there are usually few archaeological remains, i.e. no deme-site, but there is evidence from a literary source to give a general or approximate location. Sometimes there is slight supporting evidence, e.g. the survival of the name in a nearby region. For all the demes in this category, the modern place name given in the tables must be treated, if it is not already apparent from the designation, as only the general area to which the deme should belong.

⁴ Almost all these place names appear on the *Karten von Attika*. The few which do not, e.g. Kallistiri, may be found on the *Χάρτης Ἀττικῆς* ('*Οδηγὸς τῆς Ἀττικῆς*'), *Ἐλευθερουδάκης*, Athens, 1923. Panepistemioupolis [see Upper and Lower Potamos] is of too recent date to appear on either map.

⁵ This is intended only as the briefest reference, usually to a familiar work such as *I.G.*, the *R.E.*, or to the Text of the *Karten von Attika*. The references point to evidence for the deme-site, for the identification, and, occasionally, for both.

⁶ The majority of the demes in the city trittyes, including probably some within the city walls, were geographically separated communities and hence easily discernible deme-sites. Even, however, those non-separate, adjacent communities (i.e. most demes within the walls or immediately outside them), which had contiguous habitation (e.g. Kollytos and Melite, see Strabo, I, 4, 7), and for which it is difficult to speak of specific deme-sites, must nevertheless be regarded as being located with certainty or a large degree of probability.

3. POSSIBLE LOCATION = Question Mark Following Name but not the Circle (18 demes)

This usually means a deme-site, but there is little evidence, either literary or epigraphical, to identify it. Several criteria have been employed, however, in pairing name and site: (a) the deme is usually known to belong either certainly or probably to the trittys in question;⁷ (b) the relative size of the deme as evidenced by the bouleutic quota compares well with the preserved archaeological remains; and (c) occasionally a very slight suggestion has been offered by the literary sources. Obviously, the probability of the correct association of deme and deme-site is increased where the trittys has few unlocated demes and also few available deme-sites, e.g. Akamantis inland (5), and is decreased where the trittys possesses a large number of unlocated demes and available deme-sites, e.g. Hippothontis coast (VIII).

4. UNKNOWN LOCATION = Demes Listed According to Phyle in Box at Bottom of Map (24 demes)

In these cases there is little or no evidence for the location of the deme. Occasionally the trittys affiliation may be known and/or there may even be a slight suggestion, either from literature or archaeology, for the location. Some of these demes might have been placed on the map and their locations specially marked as *tentative*, i.e. with a question mark following both name and circle. In the majority of cases, however, even the trittys affiliation, based, where all else fails, on the deme groupings in the prytany registers (see the notes to Topographical Tables), must be considered tentative. The provisional nature of these affiliations has been indicated by a question mark beside the trittys designations. The bouleutic quotas, however, of all these demes are known or may be estimated and they have been recorded beside the deme names in circles of the appropriate size.

CONSPECTUS OF DEME LOCATIONS

TOPOGRAPHICAL TABLE I ERECHTHEIS

TRITTYS	DEME	LOCATION	EVIDENCE FOR LOCATION
City	Upper Agryle	Both SW of	Probable location, based on literary evidence (Harp. s.v. Ἀρδηττός, Strabo, IX, 1, 24) and the property-inscription I.G., II ² , 2776 (lines 58–59 = <i>Hesperia</i> , XLI, 1972, p. 70); cf. <i>R.E.</i> , s.v. Agryle and <i>Karten von Attika</i> , Text, II, pp. 23, 28.
City	Lower Agryle	Ardeittos	

⁷ A knowledge of the trittys affiliations of the demes is obviously not so important in the few cases in which there exists the possibility of contiguous trittytes within the same phyle, viz. the coastal and inland sections of Aigeis, Pandionis, and perhaps also of Akamantis and Aiantis, as in the majority of cases in which the trittytes were not contiguous.

TRITTYS	DEME	LOCATION	EVIDENCE FOR LOCATION
City	Euonymon	Trachones	Probable location, based chiefly on the findspots of <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 6195, etc.; cf. Milchhöfer, <i>Demennordnung</i> , pp. 11–12, and <i>R.E.</i> , s.v. Halai.
City ⁸	Themakos	Kara	Deme-site (findspot of deme-decree <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 1212), name uncertain, possibly to be identified as Themakos, the general location of which is suggested by Andokides (<i>De Myst.</i> , I, 17); cf. Kirsten, <i>Atti terzo Congr.</i> , p. 166.
Coast	Anagyrous	Vari	Deme-site, identified with virtual certainty as Anagyrous from Strabo (IX, 1, 21) combined with other evidence; cf. Eliot, <i>Coastal Demes</i> , pp. 35–46.
Coast? ⁹	Kedoi	Unknown	Little evidence for location; trittys assignment tentative from the findspot of <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 6383 (Lambrika); cf. Eliot, <i>Coastal Demes</i> , pp. 58–59, note 31.
Coast	Upper Lamptraí	Lambrika	Both deme-sites, almost certainly to be identified as Upper and Coastal (or Lower) Lamptraí respectively; cf. Eliot, <i>Coastal Demes</i> , pp. 47–61.
Coast	Coastal Lamptraí	Kitsi	
Coast? ⁹	Pambotadai	Unknown	Little evidence for location; trittys assignment tentative.
Inland	Kephisia	Kephisia	Deme-site, identified with certainty as Kephisia from literary sources, the survival of the name, and a recently discovered deme-decree (cf. <i>Δελτ.</i> , XXI, 1966, <i>Χρὸν.</i> , p. 106, and XXIV, 1969, <i>Μελ.</i> , pp. 6–7).
Inland	Upper Pergase	Both near	General location, suggested from reference in Aristophanes (<i>Equites</i> , 321); cf. Kirchner, <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 7205, and <i>R.E.</i> , s.v. Pergase.
Inland	Lower Pergase	Chelidonou	
Inland? ⁹	Phegous	Unknown	Little evidence for location; trittys assignment tentative.
Inland? ⁹	Sybridai	Unknown	Little evidence for location; trittys assignment tentative from association with Siberus (or Syverus) river (cf. Pliny, <i>Nat. Hist.</i> , XXXVII, 114, where the text may be corrupt) the location of which is also unknown but most likely belongs to the inland trittys (cf. <i>R.E.</i> , Suppl. X, s.v. Sybridai).

⁸ The city section of Erechtheis may represent a compact trittys; the supposition would receive further support were Themakos assigned with more certainty to the deme-site of Kara.

⁹ There is very little evidence for the trittys affiliation of most of the small demes of Erechtheis. Even the councillor and deme lists, which usually offer some suggestions in this respect, totally fail us for this phyle. A recent attempt by W. E. Thompson (*Hesperia*, XXXIX, 1970, p. 66) to find a pattern in one of these lists, the bouleutic catalogue of 336/5(?), does not appear entirely convincing for Erechtheis. The assumed scheme, i.e. that the seven lines of the coastal trittys at the bottom of the

TOPOGRAPHICAL TABLE II AIGEIS

TRITTYS	DEME	LOCATION	EVIDENCE FOR LOCATION
City	Upper Ankyle	Both NE of	Probable location, based on literary evidence (Alkiphron, III, 43) and the property inscription <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 2776, lines 57–59 = <i>Hesperia</i> , XLI, 1972, p. 70; cf. <i>R.E.</i> , s.v. Ankyle; <i>Karten von Attika</i> , Text, II, p. 28.
City	Lower Ankyle	Ardettos	
City ¹⁰	Bate	Ambelokipi	Deme-site (for remains cf. <i>Δελτ.</i> , XX, 1965, <i>Χρον.</i> , pp. 103–107; <i>B.C.H.</i> , XVIII, 1894, pp. 483–490; XCII, 1968, pp. 72–75), name uncertain, possible location for Bate; cf. Philippson, <i>Griech. Landschaften</i> , I, part 3, p. 889.
City	Diomeia	Near Diomeian gate, SE of city walls	Probable location, based on association with Herakleion in Kynosarges (cf. Stephanos Byz., s.v. <i>Κυνόσαργες</i> ; cf. J. Travlos, <i>Ἀρχ. Ἀνάλ.</i> <i>Ἀθ.</i> , III, 1970, pp. 6–13.
City? ¹⁰	Erikeia	Kypseli	Deme-site (findspot of deme-decree <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 1215), name uncertain, possible location for Erikeia, assigned to the city tentatively from the evidence of the prytany lists; cf. <i>R.E.</i> , s.v. Erikeia.
City	Hestiaia	Tsako	Deme-site (cf. Leake, <i>Demi</i> , p. 47), name uncertain, possible location for Hestiaia, which is associated with Ankyle by Harpokration (s.v. <i>Τρικέφαλος</i>).

first column belong with the fourteen lines of the same trittys at the bottom of the second, is contrary to the usual custom, both ancient and modern, of reading to the bottom of one column and continuing with the top of the next. That the columns of the various rosters on this inscription are unequal in length is better explained by the fact that the masons, as a rule in this early period, began each column with a demotic. Nor do any other lists of this phyle (viz. *I.G.*, I², 398 = **1**; *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 233, no. 43 = **14**; XXXV, 1966, p. 228 = **61**; XXXVIII, 1969, p. 474 = **72**; Suppl. I, pp. 44 and 46, no. 9 = **86**; etc.), taking into consideration the trittys assignments of the already well-located demes, show a consistent pattern of arrangement in this respect. The list seemingly most reliable, viz. the demecatalogue of 200 B.C., has Euonymon obviously out of place. Even more disconcerting, the earliest prytany register, *I.G.*, I², 398, in which one might expect greater attention to grouping according to trittys, has the largest number of apparent exceptions. Only the Erechtheid roster on *I.G.*, II², 1700 = **43**, an inscription which W. E. Thompson has shown (*Mnemosyne*, XXII, 1969, pp. 137–138, note 2) pays little regard to trittys groupings, may show a consistent pattern, but this list preserves only four demotics and the trittys affiliation of one of them is still very tentative.

¹⁰ Erikeia and Bate have both been assigned to the city because of the apparent trittys groupings on the councillor and deme lists (viz. *Hesperia*, XXX, 1961, p. 32 = **42**; XXXVIII, 1969, pp. 419–420 = **89**; *I.G.*, II², 2362; and, for Bate only, *I.G.*, II², 1749 = **38**), and, in addition for the latter, because of the supposed survival of the name in a modern area of Athens known as *Βάθεια*. (Cf. K. E. Bires, *Τοπωνυμικά τῶν Ἀθηνῶν*, Athens, 1945, p. 245, s.v. *Βάθεια*. [I owe this reference to C. W. J. Eliot.]) While questioning the connection between *Βατή* and *Βάθεια* and rejecting the latter as a possible site, I have kept both Bate and Erikeia tentatively in the city trittys, placing them provisionally at Ambelokipi and at Kypseli. Both these places have greater claim than *Βάθεια* (despite the contention of A. A. Papagianopoulos-Palaos, *Πολέμων*, IV, 1949, pp. 80, and 139–140) as ancient centers of habitation.

TRITTYS	DEME	LOCATION	EVIDENCE FOR LOCATION
City	Kollytos	S of Acropolis and Areopagus	General location known with certainty from Strabo (I, 4, 7), specific location indicated by a boundary reference in the Attic Stelai; cf. <i>Hesperia</i> , XXII, 1953, p. 271, and <i>B.S.A.</i> , L, 1955, p. 16, with note 40.
City	Kolonos	Kolonos	Deme-site, identified with certainty from abundant literary evidence; cf. <i>B.S.A.</i> , L, 1955, pp. 12-17.
Coast	Araphen	Site W of Raphina	Deme-site, identified with certainty from association with Halai Araphenides; cf. <i>R.E.</i> , s.vv. Araphen, Halai.
Coast	Halai Araphenides	Loutsa, W of Tauropolos Temple	Deme-site, identified with certainty from deme-decrees; cf. <i>Πρακτικά</i> , 1956, pp. 87-89; <i>Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.</i> , 1925-26, pp. 168-177, and 1932, <i>Χρον.</i> , pp. 30-32; <i>Ἔργον</i> , 1957, pp. 24-25; <i>Πρακτικά</i> , 1957, pp. 45-47.
Coast ¹¹	Otryne	Unknown	Little evidence for location; generally assigned to coast from a passage in Athenaios (VII, 309e) where fish are discussed.
Coast	Phegaia	Ierotsakouli ¹²	General location suggested from a reference in Stephanos of Byzantium (s.v. <i>Ἀλαί</i>), a more certain location indicated by the findspots of two gravestones listing Phegaia, see note 12, below.

¹¹ Those councillor and deme lists which appear to pay some attention to trittys grouping place Otryne either obviously with the city demes (*Hesperia*, XXXVIII, 1969, p. 420=89, which may have been arranged according to trittys, if we allow that the demes at the bottom of the third column were left over from columns one and two) or between the city and inland demes (*I.G.*, II², 2362; and *Hesperia*, XXX, 1961, p. 32=42). Hence, it could belong to either trittys, but not to the coast, to which it has been assigned from the reference to fish in Athenaios. W. E. Thompson (*Mnemosyne*, XXII, 1969, pp. 144-145, note 13) has attempted to resolve the difficulty by suggesting that the fish in question, the *κώβιος*, may be a fresh-water species, allowing a location for Otryne in the city, but, though possible, this is hardly the natural or obvious interpretation of the passage. Moreover, by Thompson's own theory for the shifting of contingents to form *τριττύες τῶν πρυτάνεων* (*ibid.*, p. 147) a city location is unnecessary, for Otryne may just as easily have been a coastal enclave which lent its membership to the city.

¹² Of these two gravestones listing Phegaia, one, the crown of a naiskos, was found *εἰς Ἀγ. Ἀνδρέαν* N. Μάκρης (M. Th. Mitsos, *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1950-51, p. 51, no. 39). The other, a stele bearing the name [Π]υθάγγελος [Π]υθοδώρου Φηγαίου (G. Soteriades, *Πρακτικά*, 1935, pp. 122-124; cf. *Πυθόδωρος Φηγαίεύς*, councillor in 336/5 B.C., *Hesperia*, XXX, 1961, p. 32, line 76=42), was found at a place called Kako Melissi by Soteriades, *παραπλεύρως καὶ βορειότερα ὀλίγον τοῦ λεγομένου Μεγάλου Μετόχι, εἰς δὲ μεταβαίνει τις ἀπὸ τὸ 30^{ον} χιλιόμετρον τῆς ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν ἀμαξίτης κατ' εὐθείαν πρὸς δυσμὰς πρὸς τὸ βουνόν*. More recently, the discovery at Draphi of a third grave marker belonging to a demesman of Phegaia led to the suggestion that Draphi was Phegaia (*B.C.H.*, LXXX, 1956, pp. 246-247), but the remains at that site seem too slight to belong to a deme with three representatives (*B.C.H.*, LXXXIX, 1965, p. 26). On the other hand, the identification of Draphi as Ionidai, like the association of two other deme-sites, Kato Charvati and Vouvra, with Kydantidai and Myrrhinoutta, must be considered very provisional, since even the trittys affiliation of these demes, determined from the councillor lists, is unsure. The probability of the correct identification of the sites, however, is increased somewhat from

TRITYYS	DEME	LOCATION	EVIDENCE FOR LOCATION
Coast ¹³	Philaidai	Site W of Brauron	General location known from literary sources (cf. Suda, s.v. ἄρκτος; Schol. Aristophanes, <i>Aves</i> , 873, etc.); probable location at the deme-site near the Christian basilica (cf. <i>Πρακτικά</i> , 1951, pp. 53–76).
Inland	Erchia	Site S of Spata	Deme-site, identified with certainty by the discovery of a <i>lex sacra</i> belonging to Erchia; cf. <i>B.C.H.</i> , LXXXIX, 1965, pp. 21–26.
Inland	Gargettos	Ieraka	Deme-site, identified with certainty by discovery of a deme-decree; cf. <i>Ath. Mitt.</i> , LXVII, 1942, pp. 7–8, no. 5; <i>Πολέμων</i> , IV, 1949, pp. 10–16.
Inland	Ikarion	Dionysio	Deme-site, identified with certainty from discovery of deme-decrees (<i>I.G.</i> , I ² , 186, 187; II ² , 1178, 1179).
Inland?	Ionidai	Draphi ¹²	Deme-site, name uncertain, possible location for Ionidai; cf. <i>B.C.H.</i> , LXXXIX, 1965, pp. 24–26; <i>R.E.</i> , Suppl. X, s.v. Ionidai.
Inland?	Kydantidai	Kato Charvati ¹²	Deme-site, name uncertain, possible location for Kydantidai; cf. <i>B.C.H.</i> , LXXXIX, 1965, pp. 24–26.
Inland?	Myrrhinoutta	Site near Vourva	Deme-site, name uncertain, possible location for Myrrhinoutta; cf. <i>B.C.H.</i> , LXXXIX, 1965, pp. 24–26.
Inland	Plotheia	Site S of Stamata	Deme-site, identified with certainty from discovery of dedications belonging to Plotheians; cf. <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 4607, 4885, etc.; <i>R.E.</i> , s.v. Plotheia.
Inland ¹³	Teithras	Pikermi	Deme-site, identified with certainty from discovery of deme-decrees and dedications of Teithrasians; cf. <i>Ath. Mitt.</i> , XLIX, 1924, pp. 1–13; <i>Hesperia</i> , XXXI, 1962, pp. 401–402.

the fact that the coastal and inland sections of Aigeis were contiguous, the obvious geographical division being between the two sections of the inland area which were clearly separated by Mount Pentelikon. See now E. Vanderpool, "The Attic Deme Phegaia," *Mélanges Daux*, 1974.

¹³ W. E. Thompson has recently questioned the traditional assignments of Philaidai to the coast and Teithras to the inland trittys (*Mnemosyne*, XXII, 1969, pp. 145–149, cf. D. M. Lewis, *Historia*, XII, 1963, p. 28). The former deme appears in two lists (*I.G.*, II², 1749=38, and *Hesperia*, XXX, 1961, p. 32=42) in the company of inland demes, and on one list (*Hesperia*, XXXVIII, 1969, p. 420=89) between inland and city demes, while the latter appears on the same three lists respectively as follows: between two coastal demes, between a coastal and a city deme, and with inland demes. Admittedly, for some Aigeid sites there is little to choose topographically between the inland and coastal trittyes (since the two sections were contiguous), but W. E. Thompson's attempts to relocate Philaidai seem both desperate (the most likely site is neither of the two he discusses), and, by his own theory of *τριτῦες τῶν πρωτάνων*, unnecessary. Moreover, the topographical suggestions of the councillor lists, obviously ambiguous for Teithras, and only provisional at best for other demes (see Probalinthos, below), are particularly suspect for this phyle, since there is no list which does not have at least one deme obviously out of topographical order.

TOPOGRAPHICAL TABLE III PANDIONIS

TRITTYS ¹⁴	DEME	LOCATION	EVIDENCE FOR LOCATION
City	Kydathenaion	N of Acropolis	Assigned with certainty to the city (cf. <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 1748=26, etc.), generally placed north of the Acropolis; cf. Judeich, <i>Topographie</i> ² , p. 172; <i>R.E.</i> , s.v. Kydathenaion.
Coast	Angele	Angelisi	General location known with certainty from the survival of the name, and the discovery of the grave marker <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 5230; cf. <i>Karten von Attika</i> , Text, III–VI, p. 11.
Coast	Myrrhinous	Merenda	Deme-site, identified with certainty from discovery of deme-decrees (<i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 1182, 1183); cf. J. G. Frazer, <i>Pausanias</i> , II, pp. 412–413; <i>Χαριστήριον Ὁρλάνδου</i> , III, pp. 281–299.
Coast	Prasiai	Prasas	General location known with certainty from literary sources (Strabo, IX, 1, 22; Thucydides, VIII, 95, 1; etc.), the survival of the name, and the discovery of grave and mortgage stones of Prasians (<i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 2497, 7286); cf. <i>R.E.</i> , s.v. Prasiai; Frazer, <i>Pausanias</i> , II, pp. 403–405; and <i>Hesperia</i> , Suppl. XI, p. 2, with note 10.
Coast	Probalinthos	Near Nea Makri	General location known with certainty from literary sources and the findspots of a number of grave markers of Probalinthians; cf. <i>R.E.</i> , s.v. Probalinthos; <i>A.J.A.</i> , LXX, 1966, p. 321, note 7.

¹⁴ As W. E. Thompson has recently pointed out (*Historia*, XV, 1966, pp. 4–5, 7), the councillor lists of Pandionis do appear to pay attention to the trittys affiliations of the demes. One of these registers, viz. *I.G.*, II², 1748=26, in fact, actually preserves two trittys headings, the only known appearance of such designations on these lists. There are, however, some serious qualifications to the generally consistent pattern on the Pandionid registers. Probalinthos, for instance, located near Nea Makri in an obviously divided coastal trittys, generally appears (or is restored) on the prytany inscriptions in the company of Kydathenaion, which was very probably the only member of the Pandionid city trittys (cf. *S.E.G.*, XXIII, 87=10; *I.G.*, II², 1751=32; *Hesperia*, XXX, 1961, p. 32=42; the only exception being *I.G.*, II², 1753=47, where it appears, as it should, with the other coastal demes). It may have *lent* its membership to the city section in order to make up more nearly equal *τριττύες τῶν πρυτάνεων* (Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 7), but there is no question that this original member of the Marathonian tetrapolis ever belonged to the city topographically. A more serious violation, however, comes from the usually (in this respect) reliable deme-catalogue of 200 B.C. (*I.G.*, II², 2362), which preserves the last part of the roster of Pandionis, where Oa, unless it is an *addendum*, is obviously out of place, being separated from the other members of the inland trittys (see below, pp. 82, note 26, and 99, note 92). In fact, even the Pandionid roster in the *Hesperia* bouleutic list of 336/5 makes topographical sense only to a very understanding reader, for, as in the case of Erechtheis (see above, pp. 38–39, note 9), one is asked to read the two columns together, i.e. thirteen lines at the top of column one go with seventeen lines at the top of column two to form Pandionis inland, while six lines at the bottom of column one and twenty-one at the bottom of column two belong to the coastal trittys. If this is grouping the demes according to trittys, the arrangement is hardly normal, natural, or obvious.

TRITTYS	DEME	LOCATION	EVIDENCE FOR LOCATION
Coast	Steiria	W of Porto Raphti	General location known with certainty from Strabo (IX, 1, 22) and the findspots of a number of grave markers of Steirians (cf. Kirchner, <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 7464); a more precise location may be suggested from the findspot of some ancient architectural fragments, cf. <i>Ath. Mitt.</i> , LII, 1927, pp. 163–165.
Inland	Konthyle	SE of Spata	General location, suggested by the findspot of the Kallisto stele (<i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 6533; cf. <i>Ath. Mitt.</i> , XII, 1887, p. 91).
Inland? ¹⁵	Kytheros	Unknown	Little evidence for location; trittys assignment tentative.
Inland	Oa	Papangelaki	General location suggested from the findspot of the grave monument <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 7820 (cf. <i>Ath. Mitt.</i> , XVII, 1892, p. 370).
Inland	Upper Paiania	Site N of Liopesi	Deme-site, almost certainly to be identified as Upper Paiania; cf. <i>Karten von Attika</i> , Text, II, p. 31; <i>A.J.A.</i> , LXXI, 1967, p. 311 (Map).
Inland	Lower Paiania	Site at E outskirts of Liopesi	Deme-site near the Christian basilica, very probably to be identified as Lower Paiania; for location cf. 'Αρχ. 'Εφ., 1956, <i>Χρον.</i> , pp. 27–31.

TOPOGRAPHICAL TABLE IV LEONTIS

TRITTYS ¹⁶	DEME	LOCATION	EVIDENCE FOR LOCATION
City	Halimous	Site N of Ag. Kosmas	Deme-site, identified with certainty from discovery of a deme-decree; cf. <i>B.S.A.</i> , XXIV, 1919–21, pp. 151–160.
City?	Kettos	Unknown	Little evidence for location; trittys assignment tentative from prytany inscriptions; sometimes assigned to inland trittys; cf. <i>R.E.</i> , Suppl. X, s.v. Kettos.

¹⁵ Gomme (*Population*, p. 53, note 2) assigns Kytheros provisionally to the city trittys on the evidence of *I.G.*, II², 1753 (=47), where it and Kydathenaion ought to belong to the missing column, and on the evidence of his own restoration of *I.G.*, II², 1740 (=12), in which he assumes Kytheros appeared at the bottom of the second column below Kydathenaion and Probalinthos. By the same reasoning, however, the lists *S.E.G.*, XXIII, 87 (=10), *I.G.*, II², 1751 (=32), and *Hesperia*, XXX, 1961, p. 32 (=42) might suggest a coastal affiliation.

¹⁶ Among the original ten phylai Leontis appears to have been distinguished in having all three of its trittyes divided. Admittedly, of the Leontid city demes only Halimous and Skambonidai are located with great probability and Upper and Lower Potamos (see note 18, below) with considerably less probability, but their widely separated locations definitely indicate a divided trittys. If Oion Kerameikon and Leukonoion were located with more certainty near the Kerameikos and at Peristeri respectively (see following note), the trittys would appear even more divided. The coastal trittys was obviously divided with demes located near Olympos, Sounion, and Daskalio. The widely flung inland trittys, stretching along the foot of Parnes from at least as far east as Mygdaleza to Kropidai in the west, is very strange in appearance and can scarcely be considered compact (see now W. E. Thompson, "The Deme in Kleisthenes' Reforms," *Symbolae Osloenses*, XLVI, 1971, pp. 77–78).

TRITTYS	DEME	LOCATION	EVIDENCE FOR LOCATION
City?	Leukonoion	Unknown, possibly Peristeri	Trittys assignment tentative from slight literary evidence, supported by prytany inscriptions and perhaps <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 2818; possible location at Peristeri suggested by the finding place of a base (<i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 4674) and a marble lekythos (<i>Δελτ.</i> , XX, 1965, <i>Χρονικά</i> , p. 121); for name cf. A. E. Raubitschek, <i>Dedications</i> , no. 112.
City? ¹⁷	Oion Kerameikon	Near Kerameis	General location suggested from the association of the names Kerameis/Kerameikon and the analogy of other modified demotics, e.g. Oion Dekeleikon.
City	Skambonidai	N part of city	Probable location, based chiefly on the finding place of the deme-decree <i>I.G.</i> , I ² , 188; cf. <i>R.E.</i> , s.v. Skambonidai; Judeich, <i>Topographie</i> ² , p. 172.
Coast	Deiradiotai	Daskalio	Deme-site, probably to be identified as Deiradiotai from the grave and mortgage stones found in the area (<i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 2650, 5965) and the obvious connection with Potamos; cf. <i>R.E.</i> , s.v. Deirades.
Coast	Potamos Deiradiotes	River valley N of Thorikos	General location of at least one Potamos deme known with certainty from Strabo (IX, 1, 22); for identification of the deme as Potamos Deiradiotes cf. Deiradiotai, above, and <i>R.E.</i> , s.v. Potamos.
Coast ¹⁸	Upper Potamos	Both Spiliazeza on	Once generally assumed to have been included

¹⁷ Oion Kerameikon is usually assigned to the city from the obvious association in name with the Kerameikos. The arrangement of some deme and councillor lists of Leontis (*I.G.*, II², 1742=13; *I.G.*, II², 2362; *Hesperia*, XXX, 1961, p. 33=42; but not *I.G.*, II², 1700=43), however, indicates that Oion belongs with the inland demes. Hence, it has been argued that Kerameikon is a general modifier with little or no connection with Kerameis/Kerameikos (see W. E. Thompson, *Hesperia*, XXXIX, 1970, p. 65). Some support for this interpretation may be derived from the reference in Harpokration, s.v. *Οἶον*, where the sites of the demes Oion are described as *μηδαμῶς οἰκητόν τόπον ἔχειν*. On the other hand, while the name Kerameikon could be a general modifier, unlike Dekeleikon, Aixonides, Araphenides, and Deiradiotes (the other four known "modified" demes), and while in the case of each of these parallels the associated deme, i.e. Dekeleia, Aixone, Araphen, and Deiradiotai, belongs to the same phyle as the modified one (whereas Kerameis was affiliated with a different phyle, viz. Akamantis, from that of Oion Kerameikon), still the analogy, particularly of Oion Dekeleikon, is extremely cogent and a close connection between Oion Kerameikon and Kerameis appears inevitable. Oion Kerameikon, located near Kerameis and the Kerameikos, would of course present another obvious enclave (a common occurrence, especially in the city and especially in this phyle) and as such could have lent its membership to another trittys (see above, p. 42, note 14), thereby providing an explanation for its inclusion with the inland demes in some of the councillor lists.

¹⁸ Upper and Lower Potamos, along with Potamos Deiradiotes, have been assigned to the coastal trittys in the Tables of Representation and located in the valley north of Thorikos on the Maps. The grave and mortgage stones of Deiradiotans found at Daskalio and the remark of Strabo that the deme of the Potamioi was located between Thorikos and Prasia fixes the site of Potamos Deiradiotes somewhere in the river valley north of Thorikos. Scholars, however, have generally assumed that Strabo was referring to all three Potamos demes and two items may be cited in support of this interpretation. The

TRITTYS	DEME	LOCATION	EVIDENCE FOR LOCATION
Coast ¹⁸	Lower Potamos	maps, now better in city trittys at Panepistemiou-polis	with Potamos Deiradiotes by Strabo in his reference to Potamioi (IX, 1, 22), hence the location in the fertile valley north of Thorikos, cf. <i>Karten von Attika</i> , Text, III–VI, pp. 25–26; preferably located now in the city from prytany inscriptions and the finding place of one gravestone, cf. <i>R.E.</i> , s.v. Potamos, and <i>Δελτ.</i> , XXV, 1970, <i>Χρονικά</i> , p. 123.
Coast	Phrearrhioi	Olympos	Deme-site, probably to be identified as Phrearrhioi from the discovery of a <i>lex sacra</i> mentioning Phrearrhians; cf. <i>Hesperia</i> , XXXIX, 1970, pp. 50–53.
Coast	Sounion	Upper Agrileza valley	Extensive remains and abundant evidence for general location; probable location of the deme center based on the findspot of the deme-decree <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 1180 (cf. <i>Ath. Mitt.</i> , XIX, 1894, p. 241).
Inland?	Aithalidai	Unknown	Little evidence for location; trittys assignment tentative from prytany lists and perhaps <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 2818.

first item is an argument from analogy. While homonymous demes belonged to different phylai and, where locations are known, were widely separated, divided demes without exception belonged to the same phylai and had close geographical locations (see Appendix D). The three Potamos demes all belonged to the same phyle and as such might naturally be considered a divided deme of three parts, all of which should be located in the same area. The second and more important item in support of a coastal location for Upper and Lower Potamos is furnished by the bouleutic list of 336/5 in which the combined representation of the three Potamos demes, five bouleutai, was arranged under a single demotic (*Ποτάμιοι*) and listed in the company of the other coastal demes (cf. W. E. Thompson, *Historia*, XV, 1966, p. 10). The prytany list published in *Δελτίον*, XXV, 1970, p. 84, no. 1 (= 13a), however, cannot at this point be used as corroborative evidence, for the stone seems to have been broken just at the end of the last iota of *Ποτάμιοι* and below the first representative of this deme.

On the other hand, the prytany register *I.G.*, II², 1742 (= 13) separates Upper and Lower Potamos from Potamos Deiradiotes, grouping the latter with the coastal demes and the former with five demes all of which, with the exception of Cholleidai (generally assigned to the inland area—see following note), have been located with varying degrees of certainty in the city. Two Potamos demes appear in *I.G.*, II², 2362 in a series commencing with Skambonidai and terminating with Halimous (both belonging to the city), but the modifier of neither Potamos deme is preserved. To be sure, *one* deme has to be either Upper or Lower, and the pair is most naturally interpreted as Upper *and* Lower. (I have examined the stone in line 36 [Corpus numeration], but cannot confirm the traces of delta seen by D. Laing and W. E. Thompson as reported by the latter in *Mnemosyne*, XXII, 1969, pp. 138–139, note 1.) In any case, there is a problem in the Leontid register of *I.G.*, II², 2362, for one of the coastal demes, either Sounion or Potamos Deiradiotes, has been separated from the other demes of its trittys (Kirchner restores Sounion in line 41 of his text, but he could just as easily have inserted Potamos Deiradiotes). Thus, the deme and councillor lists, though not unanimous, do favor a city assignment for Upper and Lower Potamos. The Leontid city demes, with locations near Agios Kosmas, in the northern part of the city proper, and perhaps near Peristeri and the Kerameikos, were obviously widely scattered (see note 17, above) and offer no impediment to the most probable city location for the Potamioi, viz. the upper

TRITTYS	DEME	LOCATION	EVIDENCE FOR LOCATION
Inland ^{18bis}	Cholleidai	Site S of Tatoi airport	Deme-site (cf. <i>Χαριστήριον Ὁρλάνδου</i> , I, pp. 174–175), possibly to be identified as Cholleidai, the general location of which is known from Aristophanes, <i>Acharnians</i> , 406.
Inland	Eupyridai	Near Kamatero	General location suggested from reference in Stephanos Byz. (s.v. <i>Εὐρυρίδαι</i>) and the find-spot (Church of the Forty Martyrs) of <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 6146; cf. <i>R.E.</i> , s.v. Eupyridai.
Inland	Hekale	Mygdaleza ¹⁹	Deme-site (cf. <i>Karten von Attika</i> , Text, III–VI, 58), possibly to be identified as Hekale, the general location of which is known from literary sources.
Inland?	Hybadai	Unknown	Little evidence for location; trittys assignment tentative from prytany lists; cf. <i>R.E.</i> , Suppl. X, s.v. Hybadai.

Ilissos valley (cf. E. Meyer, *R.E.*, s.v. Potamos). That at least one Potamos deme belonged to the city finds corroboration in a passage of Pausanias (I, 31, 3) in which the location of the grave of Ion is described as *ἐν Ποταμοῖς ἐστὶ τῆς χώρας*; this phrase *τῆς χώρας*, as pointed out by C. W. J. Eliot (*Coastal Demes*, p. 149, note 26) implies a natural contrast with Potamioi not in the country, i.e. city Potamioi. (This interpretation has been countered by W. E. Thompson [*Historia*, XV, 1966, pp. 9–10] who, in discussing this passage and Pausanias' use elsewhere of *τῆς χώρας*, contends that the phrase has no such implication, but Thompson's argument seems weak and his interpretation unnatural.) Of more importance, however, in corroborating a city location for Upper and Lower Potamos has been the recent discovery at Panepistemioupolis in the upper Ilissos valley of the gravestone of one Potamian (cf. *Δελτ.*, XXV, 1970, *Χρονικά*, p. 123).

Returning to the Strabo passage referred to at the beginning of this note, it may be observed that strictly speaking Strabo makes reference to a single deme, viz. Potamos Deiradiotes, and not to all three Potamos demes, although it must be admitted that by this author's time divided demes were not apparently distinguished. Finally, Harpokration's remark (s.v. *Ποταμός*) that the Potamioi were known for the ease with which they enrolled new citizens (*ἐκωμωδοῦντο δὲ ὡς ῥαδίως δεχόμενοι τοὺς παρεγγράπτους, ὥς ἄλλοι τε δηλοῦσι καὶ Μένανδρος ἐν Διδύμας*), far from revealing which of the three Potamos demes was in question, might apply equally well to a coastal as to a city location.

^{18bis} I have followed the traditional assignment of Cholleidai to the inland trittys despite the contention of Löper and Gomme that on the basis of the groupings of the councillor lists it should be assigned to the city (*Population*, p. 59; cf. *Historia*, XV, 1966, p. 9). In *I.G.*, II², 1742 (= 13) Cholleidai appears at the bottom of the first column which contains the city demes (cf. preceding note), but it may have been deliberately placed there by the mason in order to provide a more symmetrical arrangement of the register. In *Hesperia*, XXX, 1961, p. 33 (= 42) Cholleidai occurs between the city and inland demes (accepting Aithalidai as one of the latter) and might of course belong to either group. In *I.G.*, II², 2382 (= 74) Cholleidai appears after Kettos and Leukonoion and before Skambonidai, but too little of this text is preserved to be certain that it was arranged according to trittyes and inscriptions from this period generally were not so arranged. In the deme-catalogue *I.G.*, II², 2362 Cholleidai was not listed with the "city" demes.

¹⁹ Koukounari, an alternate suggestion for the location of Hekale, really ought to belong to a member of the Marathonian Tetrapolis, judging from the discovery there of the cult inscription *I.G.*, II², 1358.

TRITTYS	DEME	LOCATION	EVIDENCE FOR LOCATION
Inland?	Kolonai	Unknown	Little evidence for location; trittys assignment tentative from prytany lists; for a possible general location cf. <i>Hesperia</i> , XXXIX, 1970, pp. 64-65.
Inland	Kropidai	Site W of Ano Liosia	Deme-site (some sherds, unpublished), suitable to description in Thucydides (II, 19) and to be identified very probably as Kropidai.
Inland	Paionidai	At foot of Parnes, N of Menidi ²⁰	General location known with certainty from literary sources (Herodotos, V, 62; Aristotle, <i>Ath. Pol.</i> 19, etc.); cf. <i>Karten von Attika</i> , Text, VII-VIII, p. 7.
Inland	Pelekes	Site near Chasia	Deme-site (cf. <i>Ath. Mitt.</i> , XLIX, 1924, pp. 157-159), possible location for Pelekes, the general location of which is suggested from a reference in Stephanos Byz. (s.v. <i>Εὐρυπιδαι</i>); cf. Kirsten, <i>Atti terzo congr.</i> , p. 170.

TOPOGRAPHICAL TABLE V AKAMANTIS

TRITTYS	DEME	LOCATION	EVIDENCE FOR LOCATION
City	Cholargos	Near Kato Liosia	General location suggested from literary sources (Menander, <i>Dyskolos</i> , 33, etc.) and the findspot of the grave marker <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 7768; cf. <i>R.E.</i> , s.v. Cholargos.
City	Eiresidai	W of Kolonos	General location suggested from a reference in Diogenes Laertius (III, 41) and the findspot of one grave marker (cf. <i>Πρακτικά</i> , 1963, p. 8).
City	Hermos	Chaidari	Probable location, based on literary evidence (Plutarch, <i>Phocion</i> , 22, etc.) and the findspots of a number of grave markers (cf. Kirchner, <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 6072); cf. <i>R.E.</i> , s.v. Hermos.
City	Iphistiadai	Site SW of Herakleion	Deme-site, identified with certainty from a reference in Diogenes Laertius (III, 41) and the discovery of a boundary stone belonging to the Herakleion (cf. <i>Ath. Mitt.</i> , LI, 1926, pp. 21-25).
City	Kerameis	NW of Dipylon	General location known with certainty from association with the Kerameikos; for Kerameikos, cf. R. E. Wycherley, <i>Athenian Agora</i> , III, pp. 221-224.
Coast	Kephale	E of Keratea	Deme-site, with extensive remains in the region of Keratea (cf. <i>Arch. Anz.</i> , 1963, cols. 455-498), identified with certainty as Kephale; probable location of deme center east of Keratea.

²⁰ The best discussion of the location of Paionidai is by C. W. J. Eliot in an unpublished paper (1953) at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, "Leipsydriion—An Attic Fort on Parnes;" referred to by J. R. McCredie, *Fortified Military Camps of Attica*, *Hesperia*, Suppl. XI, 1966, p. 58, note 103.

TRITTYS	DEME	LOCATION	EVIDENCE FOR LOCATION
Coast? ²¹	Poros	Unknown	Little evidence for location; trittys assignment tentative from prytany lists and <i>Thorikos</i> , V, 1968, pp. 149–150; often assigned to the city trittys.
Coast	Thorikos	Thorikos	Deme-site, extensive remains and abundant evidence for certain identification; cf. <i>R.E.</i> , s.v. Thorikos.
Inland? ²¹	Eitea	Unknown	Little evidence for location; trittys assignment very tentative.
Inland	Hagnous	Dankla	Deme-site (cf. <i>Karten von Attika</i> , Text, III–VI, pp. 10–11), to be identified very probably as Hagnous (cf. <i>Ath. Mitt.</i> , XVII, 1892, p. 399), which is known to belong to this region from the findspots of a number of grave markers (cf. Kirchner, <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 5259); cf. <i>R.E.</i> , s.v. Agnus.
Inland	Kikynna	Chalidou	Deme-site (cf. <i>Karten von Attika</i> , Text, II, p. 32), possible location for Kikynna, assigned to the inland trittys from slight literary evidence; cf. <i>R.E.</i> , s.v. Kikynna.
Inland	Prospalta	Site NW of Kalyvia	Deme-site (cf. <i>Karten von Attika</i> , Text, III–VI, p. 12), identified with certainty from a number of grave markers (cf. Kirchner, <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 7306); cf. <i>R.E.</i> , s.v. Prospalta.
Inland	Sphettos	NW of Koropi, below Christos Chapel	Deme-site, identified with certainty from the discovery of a dedication by Sphettians (cf. <i>B.C.H.</i> , XCIII, 1969, pp. 56–71).

TOPOGRAPHICAL TABLE VI OINEIS

TRITTYS	DEME	LOCATION	EVIDENCE FOR LOCATION
City	Boutadai	NW of Kerameis	Assigned to the city on the basis of the literary connection with Eteoboutadai (cf. Harpokration, s.v. <i>Σκίπων</i> , etc.), generally placed along the Sacred Way near Lakiadai and the Kephisos; cf. <i>R.E.</i> , s.v. Butadai; Judeich, <i>Topographie</i> ² , p. 174.

²¹ In both the bouleutic catalogue of 336/5 and the deme list *I.G.*, II², 2362 Eitea appears between the city and inland demes and might well belong to either section. Poros, on the other hand, occurs between the coastal and city demes in the first of these two lists, but does not appear on the preserved part of the second, which presumably contains all the city demes. Unfortunately, both of these demes were transferred to the Macedonian phylai, with the result that the prytany list of 305/4 B.C. (*Hesperia*, Suppl. I, pp. 31–36, no. 1 = 58), arranged according to trittys, is of no help in determining their trittys affiliation.

TRITTYS	DEME	LOCATION	EVIDENCE FOR LOCATION
City	Epikēphisia	Kēphisos valley, near Lakiadai	General location, determined from patent etymology of the name and the findspot (Dipylon) of the deme-decree <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 1205; cf. <i>R.E.</i> , s.v. Epikēphisia.
City? ²²	Hippotomadai	Unknown	Little evidence for location; trittys assignment very tentative; cf. <i>R.E.</i> , Suppl. X, s.v. Hippotomadai.
City	Lakiadai	Sacred Way, E of Kēphisos	Location known with certainty from Pausanias (I, 37, 2); cf. <i>Karten von Attika</i> , Text, II, p. 16; <i>R.E.</i> , s.v. Lakiadai.
City	Lousia	Kēphisos valley, W of Athens	General location, suggested from slight literary evidence and the findspot of the grave marker <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 6756 and the reference in <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 1672, line 195; cf. <i>R.E.</i> , s.v. Lusia; Judeich, <i>Topographie</i> ² , p. 174.
City	Perithoidai	Kēphisos valley, W of Athens	General location, suggested from slight literary evidence and the findspot of the grave marker <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 7219; cf. <i>R.E.</i> , s.v. Perithoidai; <i>Karten von Attika</i> , Text, II, p. 16.
City	Ptelea	Kēphisos valley, W of Athens	General location, tentatively suggested from the findspot of a grave marker (cf. <i>Hesperia</i> , XXXV, 1966, p. 280, no. 7); cf. <i>R.E.</i> , s.v. Ptelea 2.
City?	Tyrmeidai	Unknown	Little evidence for location; trittys assignment tentative; cf. <i>R.E.</i> , Suppl. X, s.v. Tyrmeidai.
Coast	Kothokidai	Ag. Ioannes, N of Aspropyrgos	Deme-site (cf. <i>Karten von Attika</i> , Text, VII–VIII, p. 23), possible location for Kothokidai, the general location of which is suggested by the findspot (Goritsa) of the gravestone <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 6481.
Coast	Oe	Site NE of Aspropyrgos, at foot of Kalistiri	Deme-site (cf. Philippson, <i>Griech. Landschaften</i> , I, part 3, p. 861, note 1 ²³), suitable for Oe, the general location of which is suggested by Sophocles (<i>Oedipus at Kolonos</i> , 1059ff.).

²² The compact appearance of the city trittys discernible from Map 1 may be somewhat deceptive, since only a very few of the Oineid city demes have been located with any certainty. The slight evidence we have, however, suggests that most (if not all) of these small communities belong in the Kēphisos valley, west of Athens. Hippotomadai has also been assigned very tentatively to the city trittys, but the evidence for this affiliation is very slight; it appears on *I.G.*, II², 1745 (= 17) in the company of the small demes which certainly or probably belong to the city, but it must be added, in caution, that the deme Phyle, a member of the coastal trittys, also appears in the same group. Indeed, there was a tendency in the prytany lists, perhaps for convenience, to group together the tiny demes irrespective of trittys.

²³ Kirsten's location of Oe is in accord with the remains shown on the *Karten von Attika*, Blatt VI (no description in text), but his reference to Wrede's article in *R.E.* is entirely misleading (Philippson, *loc. cit.*).

TRITTYS	DEME	LOCATION	EVIDENCE FOR LOCATION
Coast	Phyle	Phyle	Deme-site NE of fortress, identified with certainty; cf. <i>R.E.</i> , s.v. Phyle 2.
Coast	Thria	Site SE of Aspropyrgos	Deme-site (cf. <i>Karten von Attika</i> , Text, II, p. 48; VII, pp. 22, 24), probably to be identified as Thria, the general location of which is known from gravestones (cf. Kirchner, <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 6266) and abundant literary evidence; cf. <i>R.E.</i> , s.vv. Thria, <i>Θριάσιον πεδίον</i> .
Inland	Acharnai	Menidi or site SW of Menidi	Abundant literary evidence for the general location, supported by strong epigraphical evidence, i.e. the deme-decree <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 1207 and a number of grave markers (cf. Kirchner, <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 5787); for two possible precise locations cf. <i>Χαριστήριον Ὁρλάνδου</i> , I, pp. 172–173, note 9.

TOPOGRAPHICAL TABLE VII KEKROPIS

TRITTYS	DEME	LOCATION	EVIDENCE FOR LOCATION
City ²⁴	Daidalidai	N of Alopeke	General location suggested with reference to Alopeke (cf. Topographical Table X, below) in poletai inscription (<i>Hesperia</i> , X, 1941, pp. 14ff., no. 1, lines 10–12); cf. also <i>R.E.</i> , s.v. Daidalidai.
City ²⁴	Melite	W of Agora	General location known with certainty from literary sources (e.g. Strabo, I, 4, 7, etc.), supported by strong archaeological evidence for a more exact location; cf. <i>Δελτ.</i> , XIX, 1964, <i>Μελ.</i> , pp. 26–36.
City ²⁴	Xypete	NE of Peiraieus	Location known with certainty from the discovery of dedications by members of Xypete and other material from the sanctuary of Herakles Tetrakomos; cf. <i>Πολέμων</i> , I, 1929, pp. 44–52, 107–111, 232–237; III, 1947–48, pp. 17–21; VII, 1958–59, pp. 62–64.
Coast	Aixone	Glyphada	Deme-site, identified with certainty as Aixone from the discovery of the deme-decrees <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 2492, etc.; cf. 1196, 1198, 1200; Eliot, <i>Coastal Demes</i> , pp. 6–24.
Coast	Halai Aixonides	Palaiochori, near Voula	Deme-site, identified with certainty from the discovery of the deme-decree <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 1174, etc.; cf. Eliot, <i>Coastal Demes</i> , pp. 25–34.
Inland	Athmonon	Amarousion	Deme-site, identified with certainty from the discovery of the deme-decree <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 1203 and a number of grave markers (cf. Kirchner, <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 5338); cf. <i>R.E.</i> , s.v. Athmonon and Frazer, <i>Pausanias</i> , II, pp. 413–414.

²⁴ The locations of Melite and Xypete are certain and show per se that the city trittys of Kekropis was not compact. The probable location of Daidalidai confirms this conclusion.

TRITTYS	DEME	LOCATION	EVIDENCE FOR LOCATION
Inland?	Epieikidai	Unknown	Little evidence for location; trittys assignment very tentative; possibly belongs to the city; cf. <i>R.E.</i> , s.v. Epieikidai.
Inland	Phlya	Chalandri	General location suggested from reference in the property inscription <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 2776, lines 48–49 (= <i>Hesperia</i> , XLI, 1972, p. 70) and the findspot (Chalandri) of the grave monument <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 7716; cf. <i>R.E.</i> , s.v. Phlya; Frazer, <i>Pausanias</i> , II, pp. 411–412.
Inland	Pithos	NE of Chalandri near Frankish monastery	General location suggested from reference in Athenaios (VI, 234ff.); remains near the Frankish monastery (cf. <i>Karten von Attika</i> , Blatt V) indicate tentative location for Pithos; cf. Milchhöfer, <i>Demenordnung</i> , p. 31; <i>R.E.</i> , s.v. Πίθος 2.
Inland	Sypalettos	Kukuvaones	Deme-site, identified with certainty by the discovery of the deme-decree <i>I.G.</i> , I ² , 189; cf. <i>R.E.</i> , s.v. Sypalettos.
Inland	Trinemeia	Kokkinaras	General location at the source of the Kephisos known from Strabo (IX, 1, 24); possible location at Kokkinaras, cf. <i>Ath. Mitt.</i> , XVII, 1892, p. 413.

TOPOGRAPHICAL TABLE VIII HIPPOTHONTIS

TRITTYS ²⁵	DEME	LOCATION	EVIDENCE FOR LOCATION
City?	Hamaxanteia	Unknown	Little evidence for location; trittys assignment very tentative.
City	Keiriadai	W of Pnyx, outside city walls	Location known with certainty from literary sources (cf. Bekker, <i>Anecdota Graeca</i> , I, p. 219, s.v. <i>Βάραθρον</i>); cf. <i>R.E.</i> , s.v. Keiriadai.
City	Koile	SW of Pnyx	Location known with certainty from literary sources (Marcellinus, <i>vit. Thucy.</i> , 17, 55, etc.) and the obvious topographical meaning of name; cf. <i>R.E.</i> , s.v. Koile.

²⁵ The prytany and bouleutic lists, sometimes helpful in suggesting trittys affiliations, are too fragmentary in the case of Hippothontis to be of any use for its seven unlocated demes. Both *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, pp. 56–57, no. 5 (= 11) and Suppl. I, p. 61, no. 19 (= 109) group Eroiadai with city demes, but neither inscription is well enough preserved to offer any certainty that it was strictly arranged according to trittyes and the latter dates from a period when prytany lists were not usually so arranged. The city is the best known area of the three Hippothontid trittyes and the locations of the five well-established demes of this phyle which belong here show that this section was clearly divided. The coastal trittys, stretching from Eleusis to Oinoe, is extremely large in area and possesses a number of possible deme-sites in addition to the one east of Magoula, which has been provisionally identified as Elaious. Mandra, Erineia (Ag. Georgios, see J. R. McCredie, *Hesperia*, Suppl. XI, pp. 85–87), Kokkini, the site north of Plakoto, and Palaiokoundoura are all suitable for a small deme and it is probable that the majority of the unlocated Hippothontid demes belong to this trittys, although I hesitate to make specific assignments. The inland section, to which Dekeleia and Oion Dekeleikon are assigned with certainty, is both large and fertile enough to have supported several additional small communities and it is probable that one or two of the remaining unlocated Hippothontid demes belong here.

TRITTYS	DEME	LOCATION	EVIDENCE FOR LOCATION
City	Korydallos	SE of Aigaleos	General location known with certainty from Strabo (IX, 1, 14); for the remains and their probable identification as the site of Korydallos cf. <i>Karten von Attika</i> , Text, II, pp. 11ff.
City	Peiraeus	Munychia	Deme-site, extensive remains and abundant evidence, both literary and archaeological, for identification.
City	Thymaitadai	Keratsini	Deme-site (cf. <i>Karten von Attika</i> , Text, II, p. 10), identified with certainty from literary sources; cf. <i>R.E.</i> , s.v. Thymaitadai.
Coast?	Acherdous	Unknown	Little evidence for location; trittys assignment tentative.
Coast?	Auridai	Unknown	Little evidence for location; trittys assignment very tentative.
Coast?	Azenia	Unknown	Little evidence for location; trittys assignment tentative; often assigned to the coast from the reference in Strabo, IX, 1, 21, but the reading there is certainly in error for Atene (for references, cf. Eliot, <i>Coastal Demes</i> , pp. 125-126).
Coast?	Elaious	Site E of Magoula	Deme-site, name uncertain, provisionally suggested as possible location for Elaious on basis of patent etymology of name; cf. $\Delta\epsilon\lambda\tau.$, XXIII, 1968, <i>Μελ.</i> , pp. 6-7.
Coast	Eleusis	Eleusis	Deme-site, extensive remains and abundant evidence, both literary and archaeological, for identification.
Coast	Kopros	E of Eleusis	General location, suggested from the findspot of the grave monument belonging to members of Kopros; cf. <i>Hesperia</i> , XXII, 1953, pp. 175-176.
Coast	Oinoe	Myopolis	Deme-site, identified with great probability as Oinoe from abundant literary evidence (e.g. Thucydides, II, 18; Strabo, VIII, 6, 16, etc.); cf. <i>Karten von Attika</i> , Text, VII-VIII, pp. 16-17, IX, p. 35; <i>R.E.</i> , Suppl. VIII, s.v. Oinoe, and A. Gallina, <i>Enciclopedia dell'Arte Antica</i> V (Rome, 1963), p. 628, s.v. Oinoe.
Inland?	Anakaia	Unknown	Little evidence for location; trittys assignment tentative.
Inland?	Eroiadai	Unknown	Little evidence for location; trittys assignment very tentative; sometimes assigned to the city.
Inland	Dekeleia	Near Tatoi	Abundant literary and archaeological evidence for general location; a more precise probable location in the vicinity of the stables of the Royal Estate at Tatoi is suggested by the findspot of the phratry inscription <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 1237; cf. <i>Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.</i> , 1883, p. 68.
Inland	Oion Dekeleikon	Bogiati	Deme-site (cf. <i>Karten von Attika</i> , Text, III-VI, pp. 58-59), very probably to be identified as Oion Dekeleikon; cf. Kirchner, <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 6990.

TOPOGRAPHICAL TABLE IX AIANTIS

TRITTYS	DEME	LOCATION	EVIDENCE FOR LOCATION
City ²⁶	Phaleron	Near Old Phaleron	Abundant literary evidence for general location (e.g. Strabo, IX, 1, 21, etc.); precise location unknown, but probably somewhat inland from the coast.
Coast	Marathon	SE of Vrana	Abundant literary evidence for general location and extensive remains at several points in the plain; probable location of deme center suggested by the discovery of walls of ancient houses, cf. <i>A.J.A.</i> , LXX, 1966, pp. 319-323.
Coast	Oinoe	Ninnoi	Deme-site, identified with certainty from literary sources and the survival of the name; cf. <i>R.E.</i> , Suppl. VIII, s.v. Oinoe.
Coast	Rhamnous	Rhamnous	Deme-site, extensive remains and abundant evidence for certain identification.
Coast	Trikorynthos	NE of Kato Souli	Deme-site (cf. <i>Karten von Attika</i> , Text, III-VI, p. 49), probable location for Trikorinthos, the general location of which is known with certainty from abundant literary evidence (Strabo, IX, 1, 22, etc.); cf. <i>Hesperia</i> , XXXV, 1966, p. 104 (Map).
Inland ²⁶	Aphidna	Kottroni	Deme-site (cf. <i>Karten von Attika</i> , Text, III-VI, p. 60), identified with certainty from abundant literary evidence; cf. <i>R.E.</i> , s.v. Aphidna.

TOPOGRAPHICAL TABLE X ANTIOCHIS

TRITTYS	DEME	LOCATION	EVIDENCE FOR LOCATION
City ²⁷	Alopeke	Katsipodi	General location known from literary sources, i.e. Herodotos, V, 63 (cf. above, Topographical Table II, s.v. Diomeia) and Aeschines, <i>con. Timarch.</i> , 99; probable location at Katsipodi, cf. <i>Ath. Mitt.</i> , XX, 1895, p. 507, etc.
Coast	Aigilia	Ag. Panteleimon	Deme-site (cf. Eliot, <i>Coastal Demes</i> , pp. 106-107), probably to be identified as Aigilia, cf. <i>Hesperia</i> , XXXIX, 1970, pp. 50-53.

²⁶ Both Phaleron and Aphidna were single-deme trittys. The latter, located at Kottroni, appears to have contained within its territory a number of small settlements which may have become independent demes in the later periods of Athenian history (see below, pp. 87-91).

²⁷ Alopeke apparently was the only deme belonging to the city trittys. Krioia is sometimes assigned to the city (e.g. Gomme, *Population*, p. 65, with a question mark), but it seems slightly more probable that it belonged to the inland trittys. In the prytany list *I.G.*, II², 1750 (= 44) Krioia appears, separated by one uninscribed line, under the roster of Alopeke, but above the group of small demes, Kolonai, Eitea, Eroiadai, and Semachidai, two of which definitely, and the others possibly, belonged to the inland section. Though it is by no means certain that every deme on this inscription was arranged according to trittys (small demes appear often to have been grouped together for convenience and

TRITTYS	DEME	LOCATION	EVIDENCE FOR LOCATION
Coast	Amphitrope	Metropisi ^{27bis}	Approximate location, based primarily on apparent survival of name; cf. Eliot, <i>Coastal Demes</i> pp. 110–116.
Coast	Anaphlystos	Ag. Georgios	Deme-site, identified from references in literary sources and mining leases very probably as Anaphlystos, cf. Eliot, <i>Coastal Demes</i> , pp. 75–109.
Coast	Atene	Charaka	Deme-site, identified very probably as Atene from the emended text of Strabo (IX, 1, 21; cf. above, Topographical Table VIII, s.v. Azenia); cf. Eliot, <i>Coastal Demes</i> , pp. 125–131.
Coast	Besa	Synterina	Deme-site, identified from references in literary sources and mining leases very probably as Besa, cf. Eliot, <i>Coastal Demes</i> , pp. 117–124.
Coast	Thorai	Phoinikia	Deme-site, identified from Strabo very probably as Thorai; cf. Eliot, <i>Coastal Demes</i> , pp. 65–68.
Inland ²⁸	Eitea	Grammatiko	Deme-site, identified with certainty as Eitea from discovery of deme-decree; cf. Δελτ., XXV, 1970, pp. 204–216.
Inland?	Eroiadai	Unknown	Little evidence for location; trittys assignment tentative from prytany inscriptions.
Inland?	Kolonai	Near Mendeli Monastery	Tentative location; cf. <i>Hesperia</i> , XXXIX, 1970, pp. 64–65, and below, p. 92; for the ancient remains cf. <i>Karten von Attika</i> , Text, III–VI, pp. 33–34.
Inland? ²⁷	Krioia	Unknown	Little evidence for location; trittys assignment tentative; sometimes assigned to the city.
Inland	Pallene	Stavros	Deme-site, identified with certainty as Pallene from the discovery of a cult inscription; cf. <i>Ath. Mitt.</i> , LXVII, 1942, pp. 24–29.
Inland ²⁸	Semachidai	Kalenzi	Deme-site, suitable location for Semachidai, said to be in the Epakria by Philochoros (Stephanos Byz., s.v. Σημαχίδαι); cf. Δελτ., XXV, 1970, pp. 204–216.

TOPOGRAPHICAL CONCLUSION

Although the compact trittys was obviously the general rule of the Kleisthenic political organization, there is now no question but that the divided trittys did

irrespective of trittys, especially at the bottom of the last column in prytany lists, see above, p. 49, note 22), I have tentatively assumed so and assigned all these small demes to the inland section.

^{27bis} The location of Amphitrope at Ari on the maps should be corrected.

²⁸ The recent discovery of a deme-decree of Eitea at Grammatiko (see A. G. Kalogeropoulou and E. Vanderpool, Δελτ., XXV, 1970, pp. 204–216), supported by Philochoros' remark in Stephanos of Byzantium that Semachidai was located in the Epakria, makes the inland section of Antiochis one of the most obviously divided of the trittyes. Most, or perhaps even all, of the other small demes of this phyle, for which the trittys assignment has been made provisionally to the inland area (see note 27, above), could well belong to the same region as Eitea and Semachidai.

exist.²⁹ In fact, all three sections show examples: Pandionis (III) and Leontis (IV) in the coastal region; Aigeis (2), Leontis (4), and Antiochis (10) among the inland trittyes; and at least Leontis (iv), Kekropis (vii), and Hippothontis (viii) in the city area were certainly or probably divided. And it is very likely, especially in the city section, where the trittyes were obviously much more artificial arrangements than in either of the other two regions, that there would be additional examples if the precise location of more demes were known.

In fact, the city trittyes, admittedly less studied and less well known than either their coastal or inland counterparts,³⁰ appear to have been treated in an even more special manner. Whereas in the latter two regions no topographical pattern is at all apparent in the relationship of trittys to phyle, i.e. coastal Erechtheis (I) is located between coastal Kekropis (VII) and Antiochis (X), and inland Leontis (4) is located far from inland Pandionis (3) and Akamantis (5), but close to inland Erechtheis (1), Oineis (6), and Hippothontis (8), etc., the city trittyes, on the other hand, examined from the official order of the phylai, appear to follow roughly a counter-clockwise arrangement around the city (I consider only the major deme or group of demes in the case of a divided trittys).³¹ Erechtheis (i) is located to the southeast of the city, Aigeis (ii) to the east and northeast, Pandionis (iii) and Leontis (iv, considering only Skambonidai) to the north of the Acropolis, Akamantis (v, omitting Iphistiadai) and Oineis (vi) to the northwest, Kekropis (vii, omitting Daidalidai) to the west, Hippothontis (viii) and Aiantis (ix) to the southwest, and Antiochis (x) to the south. One factor which facilitated such an organization of the city region was the number of single-deme trittyes in the area. Phaleron (Aiantis, ix) certainly was one, and Kydathenaion (Pandionis, iii), and Alopeke (Antiochis, x) probably were others. Outside the city there were only two such trittyes, both inland: Acharnai (Oineis, 6) and Aphidna (Aiantis, 9).

²⁹ See also D. M. Lewis, *Historia*, XII, 1963, pp. 35–36, and W. E. Thompson, *Historia*, XIII, 1964, pp. 405–406.

³⁰ R. S. Young (*Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pp. 140–143) has provided some evidence to show that the main roads formed boundaries for several of the city demes.

³¹ The scheme was outlined by A. Milchhöfer (*Demienordnung*, p. 45, with references) and has been discussed most recently by E. Kirsten (*Atti terzo Congr.*, p. 159).

CHAPTER IV

REPRESENTATION IN THE ATHENIAN COUNCIL, CONCLUSION

THE PERIODS OF FIXED QUOTAS

The original system of representative government, as established by Kleisthenes, continued to function for some three hundred years on a broad general basis of representation according to population.¹ There are nonetheless, according to contemporary ideas on representative government, a number of apparent anomalies in the Athenian system. The conservative nature of the Kleisthenic organization is apparent not only from the long period during which the demes and phylai, and to a lesser extent trittyes, continued to fulfill their important role in Athenian government, but also from the more detailed system of fixed quotas which may now be seen to have remained unchanged throughout each of the first three periods of bouleutic government. There is no evidence for a single general reapportionment of quotas within the period of the original ten phylai, within the first period of twelve phylai, or within the first period of thirteen phylai,² although there are, admittedly, a number of small quota-variations within the first two of these periods. Most of these variations have been discussed individually in Section C of the Introduction to the Tables of Representation (above, pp. 14–23), but their numbers, including variations in the later periods, are tabulated below (see columns designated V = variations, in Table to Illustrate the Consistency of Deme Quotas, p. 57). The number of concurrences, i.e. occasions in which a particular quota is confirmed, are also listed in the same table (columns designated C). The totals are most convincing. Of the more than two-hundred and fifty instances in which there is an opportunity to compare a quota within the first three periods, there are only thirty-seven examples of a variation. Moreover with one exception, Alopeke, which may have varied by

¹ This is the *opinio communis* of scholars (see references, W. K. Pritchett, *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 235, note 25).

² On the possible reapportionment *circa* 340 B.C. recently proposed by J. A. O. Larsen, see above, p. 16, note 20.

TABLE TO ILLUSTRATE THE CONSISTENCY OF DEME QUOTAS

PHYLE	X PHYLAI <i>fin. s. VI—</i> 308/7		XII PHYLAI 307/6— 224/3		XIII PHYLAI 223/2— 201/0		XII PHYLAI 200/199— 126/7 <i>p.</i>		XIII PHYLAI 127/8 <i>p.</i> — <i>s. III p.</i>	
	C	V	C	V	C	V	C	V	C	V
Erechtheis	16 ³	2	7	0 ⁴	6	0	4	12	0	0
Aigeis	43	6	20 ⁵	4 ⁵	0	0	0	0	3	13
Pandionis	36	7	1	0	0	0	1	7	5	11
Leontis	28	2 ⁶	12	2 ⁶	0	0	0	5	1	2
Akamantis	7	2 ⁷	8	0	0	0	0	0	2	15
Oineis	1	4 ⁸	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Kekropis	0	2 ⁹	3	2 ¹⁰	0	0	1	3	3	9
Hippothontis	1	0	8	0	0	0	6	31	0	2 ¹¹
Aiantis	0	0	3	0	0	0	1	5	0	0
Antiochis	5	4 ¹²	10	0	0	0	2	12	7	12
Antigonis	—	—	1	0	0	0	—	—	—	—
Demetrias	—	—	4	0	2	0	—	—	—	—
Ptolemais	—	—	—	—	0	0	0	0	0	0
Attalis	—	—	—	—	—	—	0	0	0	1
Hadrianis	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2 ¹³	5
TOTAL	137	29	84	8	8	0	15	75	23	72

CONCURRENCES (C)=Total number of times quotas are confirmed, i.e. doubly attested (exceptions: (1) prytany and bouleutic lists of same year and (2) quotas of zero are not recorded).

VARIATIONS (V)=Total number of instances a differing representation is attested.

³ The evidence from the incomplete list of 408/7 has not been included under either Concurrences or Variations.

⁴ If the bouleutic list of 281/0 is short one demotic and not simply one representative in the Erechtheid roster, then two additional Variations should be included here.

⁵ The missing prytaneis from the lists of 256/5 and 254/3 should probably be assigned as outlined in *Hesperia*, XXXVIII, 1969, p. 422 (cf. above, p. 5), but, with the exception of Kolonos, the quota of which seems certain, the evidence has not been included here. Two possible Variations in the Aigeid quotas of 281/0 (below, p. 81), on the other hand, are included.

⁶ Two additional Variations have been included to account for the variant quotas of Kettos in *I.G.*, II², 2434 (=88), and Deiradiotai in *Δελτ.*, XXV, 1970, p. 84 (=13a).

⁷ An additional Variation has been included to account for the variant quota of Thorikos in the prytany list of ca. 340 B.C.

⁸ An additional Variation has been included for Tyrmeidai, which probably had a quota of one.

⁹ One additional Variation has been included to account for the variant quota of Pithos in *I.G.*, II², 1700 (=43) and 2384, etc. (=18).

¹⁰ The two Variations are based on the assumption that Epieikidai normally had a quota of one representative in the Macedonian period (see below, p. 80).

¹¹ These Variations depend on the assumption that the list of Peiraiæus in *I.G.*, II², 1811 (=479) is complete.

¹² One additional Variation has been included here to compensate for the possible variation in the quota of Alopeke from ten to twelve representatives.

¹³ The uninscribed lines in *I.G.*, II², 1793 (=397) may have been intended for additional representatives, one to each of Elaious and Eitea, but the evidence has been included here under Concurrences.

two bouleutai,¹⁴ every variation involves only a single bouleutes. The majority of these fluctuations appear to have been *ad hoc* adjustments to particular situations, i.e. the occasional failure of some small demes to fulfill their quotas. Others may be due to a pre-arranged and more regular scheme whereby a small deme shared a seat on the Council with another deme (see above, pp. 14 and 19). It is true that our evidence is stronger for the first two periods than for the third, but throughout the years from the time of the earliest texts until the end of the third century B.C. the picture is consistent; a quota once established remained fixed until the phylai themselves were reorganized. Since the population of a number of demes clearly varied, and for some demes varied considerably,¹⁵ over the years, then, clearly, if this system ran solely on the basis of representation according to population, there ought to be attested in each period numerous, and occasionally large, changes, rather than the few, invariably small, and temporary fluctuations in the deme-quotas.¹⁶

THE REAPPORTIONMENT OF 307/6 B.C.

The inconsistency between fixed quotas and representation according to population does not appear to have been alleviated to any great extent on the two occasions in which there were general reapportionments, viz. 307/6 and 224/3. Indeed, the quota changes in these two years show curious anomalies of their own.

The quotas of nearly fifty demes, or more than one-third of those in existence at the time, were altered in the reorganization of 307/6. Almost every trittys, with the exception of the three in Aiantis and the large single-deme city trittys of Pandionis, was involved (Map 3, Political Reorganization of Attica in 307/6). Yet in what would seem *prima facie* an obvious occasion to remedy abuses in the ratio of representation to population which had crept into the system over a period of two

¹⁴ See above, pp. 22–23. There are two additional exceptions if *I.G.*, II², 2375 (= 16) is identified positively as a prytany list and the six bouleutai assigned to Eleusis in *Agora*, XV, No. 43 belong in fact to Dekeleia (as restored by Kirchner, *I.G.*, II², 1700; cf. above, pp. 21–22), but neither of these texts need necessarily involve a variation of more than two representatives.

¹⁵ Such variations would occur, for example, because of losses during a plague or a war (Gomme, *Population*, p. 50). Judging from the number of known citizens, demes such as Amphytropē, Ankylē, Atene, Kerameis, Kolonos, Pergase, Plotheia, Poros, Teithras, and Thorai show a sharp decline in population during the Roman period. Azenia, on the other hand, increased enormously in population during the second and first centuries before Christ, and by the Roman period Berenikidai, Besa, Gargettos, Kephisia, Pallene, and Phlya (to take only a few examples) had also shown large population increases. Changes in the relative populations of the Attic demes, though perhaps not always of the magnitude of the examples just cited, undoubtedly occurred also in the earlier periods.

¹⁶ The alternative, a regular reassignment of citizens to demes, is a theory absolutely without support, though I have suggested below (p. 75) that small demes must have found some means to maintain a minimal citizen-body.

centuries, ninety demes, or about two-thirds of the total, remained with quotas unchanged.

TABLE OF QUOTA CHANGES, THE REORGANIZATION OF 307/6 B.C.

ORIGINAL QUOTA	INCREASE OF 1 BOULEUTES	INCREASE OF 2 BOULEUTAI	INCREASE OF 3 BOULEUTAI	INCREASE OF 4 BOULEUTAI	INCREASE OF 11 BOULEUTAI
1	Pambotadai/ Sybridai I Erikeia II Plotheia II Lower Potamos IV, XII Eiresidai V Eroiadai VIII Krioa X				
2	Upper? Agryle I Upper? Pergase I Kikynna V Lakiadai VI Amphitrope X	Angele III	Cholleidai IV	Phyle VI, XII	
3	Kollytos II Skambonidai IV Pithos VII Atene? X, XII	Leukonoion IV			
4	Thorai? X, XII	Sounion IV Cholargos V Dekeleia? VIII	Gargettos II, XI		
5	Ikarion II, XI Thorikos V	Sphettos V		Halai II	
6	Aigilia X	Anagyrous I Kephisia I Myrrhinous III	Pallene X	Erchia II Athmonon? VII Halai VII	
7	Thria? VI	Phlya? VII			
8				Aixone? VII	
9	Lower Lamptrai I Peiraieus? VIII		Kephale V		
10	Anaphlystos X	Euonymon I Alopeke? X			
11		Eleusis? VIII			Lower Paiania III
22			Acharnai? VI		
TOTAL DEMES	24	13	5	6	1
TOTAL INCREASE IN BOULEUTAI	24	26	15	24	11

In fact, when the actual changes of 307/6 are subjected to scrutiny an even more blatant inconsistency appears. Of the nearly fifty demes which altered their quotas with the creation of Antigonis and Demetrias *there is not a single certain*

*example of a decreased quota.*¹⁷ While it would be unreasonable to expect a large number of quota decreases at a time when the Council itself was enlarged by one hundred members, still it is difficult to comprehend why there are not at least a few well-attested examples of decreased quotas. Attempts to enroll new citizens notwithstanding,¹⁸ some demes certainly declined in population over the years,¹⁹ and if, as I have suggested (above, pp. 31–33), the reapportionments of 307/6 were made according to population in respect at least to the phylai (and perhaps also in respect to a number of demes, see below, p. 66), there ought then to have been others which decreased their representation in the Council. Although our knowledge is weak on such questions as when, how, why, and to what extent demes might enroll new citizens, still it seems clear that in 307/6, and probably also in 224/3, the quota changes were not made solely for the purpose of correcting imbalances in the proportion of representation to population (see below, p. 66).

Those changes which did take place in 307/6 were not on the whole radical. Twenty-four demes, i.e. about half the total number affected, increased their representation by a single bouleutes (see above, p. 59, Table of Quota Changes, The Reorganization of 307/6 B.C.). Another thirteen demes increased their quotas by two representatives; five demes by three, six demes by four, and one deme, Lower Paiania, evidently by as many as eleven bouleutai, thus doubling its original representation. Several of the smaller demes, e.g. Plotheia, Krioia, and perhaps Angele, also appear to have doubled their representation, and a few of the medium-sized demes, e.g. Gargettos, Halai Araphenides, and Erchia, increased their quotas substantially, but the most remarkable changes were the increases recorded by Cholleidai (from two to five bouleutai) and Phyle (from two to six bouleutai).

MAP ILLUSTRATING CHANGES IN 307/6 B.C.

The Map (Map 3) presents schematically the changes the political organization of Attica underwent in 307/6. While it is well known that many Athenian citizens by 307/6 no longer lived in the demes of their forefathers, it still seems pertinent to illustrate the changes with reference to the topography. The demes which increased their representation are underlined on the Map and the quota increases are recorded beside the deme names, e.g. +2 for Sounion. The demes which were transferred to

¹⁷ Three demes, Bate, Kydantidai, and Epikhephisia, may have decreased their quotas from two to one bouleutes, but the possible decrease in each case is probably better explained as a quota variation. All three varied between one and two bouleutai during the period of the original ten phylai, and, in addition for Kydantidai, also during the Macedonian period (see above, pp. 2, note 5, 15–16, and 19–20).

¹⁸ Such may be the explanation of the remark in Harpokration directed against the Potamioi (above, p. 46, note 18).

¹⁹ See note 15, above, p. 58.

the Macedonian phylai are also indicated on the Map, by super-imposing squares on the circles for Antigonis and triangles on the circles for Demetrias.

THE REAPPORTIONMENT OF 224/3 B.C.

Our knowledge of the quota changes in 307/6, with the exception of several demes in Kekropis, is fairly complete, but for 224/3 we have only a partial picture. The changes, so far as known, substantiate and parallel the changes of the earlier reorganization. Nine demes are known to have increased their quotas during the reapportionments of 224/3 accounting for twenty-four new bouleutai, a ratio which suggests that probably less than twenty-five demes accounted for the increase of fifty representatives on the Council. And, just as in 307/6, no deme is known to have decreased its representation in 224/3. Thirty-four demes are attested as not changing their quotas when Ptolemais was created, and another thirteen, i.e. those demes transferred to Ptolemais and Epieikidai, probably did not change either (see above, p. 33). Furthermore, the treatment of the demes in Erechtheis and Leontis suggests, by analogy, that the other phylai which surrendered only a few bouleutai to Ptolemais, viz. Antigonis, Demetrias, Aigeis, Oineis, and Hippothontis, also underwent only the minimal amount of change, probably just one or two deme-quotas, in this reorganization. It is interesting also to note that of the nine demes attested as increasing their quotas in 224/3, the majority (seven) underwent no change in 307/6. In fact, of the total of fifty-six demes whose quotas in the period 224/3–201/0 are known, thirty or more than half, maintain their same quota throughout the first three periods of representative government. If these quotas remained without change for some two hundred years despite two reorganizations of the phylai it seems highly probable that the quotas we have for the fourth century are indeed those of the original organization of Kleisthenes.

THE QUOTAS AFTER 200 B.C.

The greatest anomaly in the Athenian method of representation is the complete collapse of the quota-system following the creation of Attalis. If my judgment that the attested and estimated quotas of the demes about to be transferred to Attalis totaled fifty bouleutai is valid, then it is reasonable to suggest that the system of fixed quotas did not deteriorate until *after* Attalis was created (see above, p. 34). Admittedly, it was very shortly after, for the quotas of Erechtheis in 193/2 bear little resemblance to those attested prior to 200 B.C. and there is ample documentation later in the second century to show how widely the quotas of the Hippothontid demes varied from year to year.²¹ There are a few concurrences in the quotas both

²¹ Cf. W. K. Pritchett, *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, pp. 125–126.

TABLE OF KNOWN QUOTAS, THE REORGANIZATION OF 224/3 B.C.

QUOTAS CHANGED			QUOTAS UNCHANGED			PROBABLE ²⁰	
INCREASE	DEME	QUOTA		CERTAIN	QUOTA		QUOTA
		XII	(X) PHYLAI		XII	(X) PHYLAI	
1	Pambotadai I	1	(1/0)	DEME	DEME	DEME	PHYLAI
1	Steiria III	3	(3)*	Phegous I	Phegous I	Themakos I	1 (1*)
1	Phrearrhioi IV	9	(9)*	Kropidai IV	Kropidai IV	Kydantidai II	1/2 (1*/2)
1	Pithos VII	4	(3/2)	Sybridai I	Sybridai I	Konthyle III	1 (1*)
				Diomeia II, XII	Diomeia II, XII	Hekale IV	1 (1*)
2	Oinoe IX	4	([4])*	Oion Kerameikon	Oion Kerameikon	Boutadai VI	1 (1*)
3	Marathon IX	10	([10])*	IV, XII	IV, XII	Epielkidai VII	1? (1)*?
3	Trikorynthos IX	3	([3])*	Hippotomadai	Hippotomadai	Kolonai X, XI	[2] (2*)
				VI, XII	VI, XII	Oinoe VIII, XII	[2] ([2])*
				Kedoi I	Kedoi I	Oion VIII	[3] ([3])*
4	Phaleron IX	9	(9)*	Hybadai IV	Hybadai IV	Prosipalta V	5 (5*)
4	Rhamnous IX	8	([8])*	Eupyridai IV	Eupyridai IV	Aigilia X	7 (6)
				Kolonai IV	Kolonai IV	Phlya VII	[9] ([7])
				Pelekes IV	Pelekes IV	Aphidna IX	16 (16)*
				Upper Potamos IV	Upper Potamos IV	TOTAL DEMES: 13, 11 of them (*) un- changed in reorganization of 307/6	
				Lower Potamos	Lower Potamos		
				IV, XII	IV, XII		
				Kothokidai	Kothokidai		
				VI, XII	VI, XII		
				Prasiai III	Prasiai III		
				Halimous IV	Halimous IV		
				Kettos IV	Kettos IV		
				Paionidai IV	Paionidai IV		
				Upper? Agryle I	Upper? Agryle I		
				Upper? Pergase I	Upper? Pergase I		
				Angele III	Angele III		
				Oa III	Oa III		
				Skambonidai IV	Skambonidai IV		
TOTAL DEMES AFFECTED: 9, 7 of them (*) un- changed in reorganization of 307/6				[4]	(2/3)		
TOTAL INCREASE IN BOULEUTAI: 20				4	(4*)		
				4	(3)		

Probalinthos III	5	(5*)
Leukonoion IV	5	(3)
Cholleidai IV	5	(2)
Sounion	6	(4)
Kerameis V	6	(6*)
Anagyrous I	8	(6)
Kephisia I	8	(6)
Myrrhinous III	[8]	(6)
Coastal Lamptrai I	10	(9)
Euonymon I	12	(10)
Lower Paiania III	[22]	(11)

TOTAL DEMES: 34, 19 of them (*) unchanged in reorganization of 307/6

²⁰ It is very likely that a large number of other demes, especially from Antigonis, Demetrias, Aigeis, Akamantis, Oineis, Kekropis, Hippothontis, and Antiochis, also passed into the Ptolemaic period with quotas unchanged (see above, p. 61).

of the period immediately following 200 B.C. and also in the succeeding second period of thirteen phylai (see Table, above, p. 57) which may be vestiges of the earlier system but are more likely due only to chance. In the second period of twelve phylai fifteen concurrences correspond to seventy-five variations, and in the following period, twenty-three concurrences correspond to at least seventy variations. Moreover, the variations in representation after 200 B.C. are of a totally different nature from those prior to that year. Of the one hundred and forty-seven variations attested in the second periods of twelve and thirteen phylai, forty-six, or less than one-third, are (or could be) by one bouleutes. The others are (or must be) by a larger number, some by as many as ten, twelve, fourteen, fifteen, and one apparently by twenty-nine bouleutai. Compare this with the thirty-six variations by a single bouleutes and one by two bouleutai in the three periods prior to 200 B.C.! The average variation in the second period of twelve phylai is greater than four bouleutai, and in the second period of thirteen phylai, greater than three. The reader is referred to the individual charts, at the end of this volume, which will illustrate how radically quotas varied from year to year and from one period to another during these last centuries of bouleutic government. Possibly in these periods the councillors were simply chosen by lot from the whole phyle. Whatever may be the reason, many demes, including even large ones such as Kephale (twelve representatives in the Macedonian period) occasionally went unrepresented, whereas other demes which were formerly small, such as Azenia (two representatives prior to 200 B.C.), have twenty-one or even more councillors in a single year.

Whatever the method employed in selecting the prytaneis, the elaborate system of demes and phylai²² continued uninterrupted through these later periods, although membership in the Council itself was reduced and a number of semi-official new demes made their appearance after the creation of Hadrianis (see below, pp. 87–95).

THE RELATIVE SIZES OF THE DEMES AND TRITTYES

We turn now to consider one further question relating to representation in the Athenian Council: the relative sizes of the demes, trittyes, and phylai.

The bouleutic quotas have long been accepted as the best indication of the general relative sizes of these political units, but even the system of bouleutic representation, as I have attempted to point out, was subject to strange inconsistencies. An independent criterion is provided by Gomme's figures for the number

²² By 307/6 the trittyes had lost most political significance and they were of no concern in the formation of the later phylai (see above, p. 25, with note 1, and below, p. 99). On the change in the method of selecting prytaneis in the Roman period see P. Graindor, *Athènes sous Auguste*, p. 109 and Geagan, *Athenian Constitution After Sulla*, p. 75.

of known Athenian citizens in the various demes, trittyes, and phylai. These figures, based primarily on Kirchner's *Prosopographia Attica*, encompassing a period of some six centuries, and subject of course to all the vagaries of chance preservation, are obviously inferior to the bouleutic quotas as a reflection of the relative sizes of the Athenian political units, but they do nevertheless provide an important confirmation²³ of the conclusions I have drawn from the prytany and bouleutic material, particularly with respect to the reapportionments of 307/6 and 224/3.

THE RELATIVE SIZES OF THE DEMES

There is an obvious and reasonably close general relationship between Gomme's figures and the bouleutic quotas of the Attic demes (see below, pp. 67–70, Table, The Relative Sizes of the Attic Demes). The largest deme in representation, Acharnai, has the largest number of known citizens, and the smallest demes in number of known citizens, viz. Tyrmeidai, Daidalidai, Epieikidai, Korydallos, and Hippotomadaï, have the minimal bouleutic representation of one councillor.

There are, however, a number of discrepancies, the most serious of which involve the homonymous demes Oion.²⁴ Gomme assigned one hundred and forty names to the tiny Oion Kerameikon (one representative in the Council), but only eighteen names to the medium-sized Oion Dekeleikon (three bouleutai). In such cases his rule was to distribute "the whole number between the phylae in the same proportion as the known numbers,"²⁵ but the distribution sometimes depends on considerable chance. Sixty-eight demesmen (counting patronymics) of Oion Kerameikon are listed in *I.G.*, II², 2461, a fragment of what was probably once a complete roster of Leontid *phyletai* dating just prior to the time of Augustus (near the end of the period covered by *Prosopographia Attica*).²⁶ Although the figures for Eupyridai, and, to a lesser extent, Cholleidai and Aithalidai as well as the whole tribal roster of Leontis itself (above, p. 31, note 19), are disproportionately large because of this text, none is affected so much as Oion and no such similar document exists for any other phyle. Disregarding the evidence of *I.G.*, II², 2461, there are four known demesmen of Oion Kerameikon in *P.A.* and five of Oion Dekeleikon, figures which are at least a good deal more in keeping with the relative bouleutic representation of these two

²³ Thucydides, II, 20, gives us an independent basis for judging Acharnai the largest of the Attic demes (see W. E. Thompson, *op. cit.*, below, p. 71, note 31). The only other independent evidence for the size of an Attic deme is Demosthenes' client's statement (LVII, 9) that Halimous had seventy-three citizens at a *διαφήφους* held in Athens, a figure which may reflect understatement on Demosthenes' client's part (cf. Gomme, *Population*, p. 55) but is not totally inconsistent with a figure of seventy-nine known *demotai* and a representation of three councillors.

²⁴ Cf. *Hesperia*, XXXV, 1966, p. 221.

²⁵ *Population*, p. 56.

²⁶ For the date of *I.G.*, II², 2461, see S. Dow, *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 191, note 1. O. W. Reinmuth suggests a date slightly earlier, about 50/49 B.C. (*B.C.H.*, XC, 1966, pp. 96–97 = *S.E.G.*, XXIII, 92).

demes. The figures for the two demes Halai and the two Oinoe also seem to have been distorted similarly, although not to the same extent as the Oion demes (see above, p. 4). The peculiarities of chance undoubtedly account for a number of other discrepancies between Gomme's figures and the bouleutic quotas, but it is relatively certain that they do not account for all such abnormalities.²⁷

A number of demes show a considerably higher rank according to Gomme's figures than according to their bouleutic quotas. Some of these, e.g. Paiania, Alopeke, Kephisia, Pallene, Sphettos, Cholleidai, Phyle, Krioia, and Plotheia, may have become under-represented even by 307/6, or, e.g. Marathon and Rhamnous, by 224/3, and this under-representation presumably was the reason for their increased quotas (for further possible instances see Table, below, pp. 67–70; ostensibly under-represented demes are listed at the top of the quota groupings). Two of the examples just cited, Paiania and Phyle, however, increase their quotas out of all proportion to their size according to Gomme's figures. Other demes which appear to have been under-represented according to the "population" totals, e.g. Melite, Ankyle, Sypalettos, Otryne, Myrrhinoutta, Acherdous, Iphistiadai, etc., record no increases either in 307/6, or, where known, in 224/3. On the other hand, a number of demes whose bouleutic rank compares favorably with Gomme's figures (these appear in the middle of the quota groupings in the Table, below) unexpectedly increase their representation in 307/6, e.g. Euonymon, Ikarion, Pergase, Erikeia, the Hippothontid Eroiadai, and Eiresidai, or in 224/3, e.g. Phrearrhioi and Phaleron.

The very fact that no demes decreased their quotas in 307/6, and probably also in 224/3, indicates that the demes which were over-represented at the end of the period of the original ten phylai or the first period of the twelve phylai remained so in the succeeding period(s). A number of the demes which show a higher rank according to their bouleutic quota than according to Gomme's figure may belong to this class, e.g. Aphidna, Teithras, Anakaia, Poros, Trinemeia, Besa, Thymaitadai, and Pelekes (for additional examples see Table, below; apparently-over-represented demes appear at the bottom of the quota groupings). The most anomalous among these are the demes which increase their quotas, even though from Gomme's figures we should judge them already to have been over-represented, for example, Kephale, Aigilia, and Agryle.

²⁷ Instances in which there is some question concerning either Gomme's figure or the bouleutic quota are not generally considered in the discussion which follows.

TABLE: THE RELATIVE SIZES OF THE DEMES

QUOTA	RANK	DEME	GOMME'S ²⁸ FIGURE	RANK	DEME ²⁹ RATIO	PHYLE ³⁰ RATIO	CHANGE 307/6	CHANGE 224/3
22	1	Acharnai	452	1	20.5	22.5	+3?	?
16	2	Aphidna	229	11	14.3	19.6	0	0
14		Lamptraí (both)	391		(see Coastal and Upper Lamptraí)			
12		Paiania (both)	377		(see Lower and Upper Paiania)			
12?	3	Kydathenaion	295	3	24.6	24.5	0	?
11	4	Lower Paiania	(346)	2	31.5	24.5	+11	0
11?	4	Eleusis	198	16	18.0	21.5	+2?	?
10	6	Alopeke	255	5	25.5	21.2	+2?	?
10	6	Euonymon	227	12	22.7	26.2	+2	0
10	6	Anaphlystos	172	21	17.2	21.2	+1	?
9	9	Coastal Lamptraí	(251)	6	27.9	26.2	+1	0
9	9	Marathon	247	8	27.4	19.6	0	+3
9?	9	Peiraeus	235	10	26.1	21.5	+1?	?
9	9	Phrearrhioi	191	18	21.2	30.0	0	+1
9	9	Phaleron	168	22	18.7	19.6	0	+4
9	9	Kephale	130	33	14.4	23.0	+3	?
8?	15	Aixone	237	9	29.6	26.3	+4?	?
8	15	Rhamnous	203	14	25.4	19.6	0	+4
7	17	Melite	257	4	36.7	26.3	0	?
7?	17	Phlya	224	13	32.0	26.3	+2?	0?
7?	17	Erchia	202	15	28.9	30.8	+4	?
7	17	Xypete	108	38	15.4	26.3	0	?
7	17	Thria	101	41	14.4	22.5	+1?	?
6	22	Kephisia	250	7	41.7	26.2	+2	0
6	22	Pallene	187	19	31.2	21.2	+3	?
6	22	Kerameis	151	25	25.2	23.0	0	0
6	22	Anagyrous	142	26	23.7	26.2	+2	0
6?	22	Athmonon	141	27	23.5	26.3	+4?	?
6	22	Myrrhinous	136	31	22.7	24.5	+2	0
6	22	Halai Aixonides	119—	36—	19.8—	26.3	+4	?
6	22	Oe	105	40	17.5	22.5	0	?
6	22	Aigilia	93	47	15.5	21.2	+1	0
5	31	Halai Araphenides	195+	17+	39.0+	30.8	+4	?
5	31	Sphettos	178	20	35.6	23.0	+2	?
5	31	Upper Lamptraí	(140)	28	28.0	26.2	0	?
5	31	Thorikos	134	32	26.8	23.0	+1	?
5?	31	Ikarion	128	34	25.6	30.8	+1?	?
5	31	Hagnous	99	42	19.8	23.0	0	?
5	31	Probalinthos	91	48	18.2	24.5	0	0
5	31	Prospalta	90	50	18.0	23.0	0	0
5		Agryle (both)	83		(see Lower and Upper Agryle)			
4	39	Sounion	154	23	38.5	30.0	+2	0

²⁸ The figures for the divided demes (indicated in parentheses) have been computed arbitrarily on the basis of the relative bouleutic quotas of the two sections. For an explanation of the plus and minus signs beside Gomme's Figure, Rank, and Deme Ratio see above, p. 4, and discussion, pp. 65–66.

²⁹ Deme Ratio = Gomme's Figure divided by Bouleutic Quota.

³⁰ Phyle Ratio = Gomme's Figure for the Phyle divided by the Phyle Quota, i.e. 50.

TABLE: THE RELATIVE SIZES OF THE DEMES—(contd.)

QUOTA	RANK	DEME	GOMME'S ²⁸ FIGURE	RANK	DEME ²⁹ RATIO	PHYLE ³⁰ RATIO	CHANGE 307/6	CHANGE 224/3
4	39	Gargettos	138	30	34.5	30.8	+3?	?
4	39	Cholargos	123	35	30.8	23.0	+2	?
4		Pergase (both)	71		(see Upper and Lower Pergase)			
4	39	Oa	67	63	16.8	24.5	0	0
4	39	Dekeleia	64	64	16.0	21.5	+2?	?
4	39	Teithras	55	73	13.8	30.8	0	?
4	39	Thorai	55	73	13.8	21.2	+1?	?
4	39	Oinoe (IX)	36—	99—	9.0—	19.6	0	+2
3	47	Leukonoion	153	24	51.0	30.0	+2	0
3	47	Kollytos	106	39	35.3	30.8	+1	?
3	47	Trikorynthos	96	45	32.0	19.6	0	+3
3	47	Philaidai	91	48	30.3	30.8	0	?
3	47	Pithos	82	53	27.3	26.3	+1	+1
3	47	Skambonidai	79	54	26.3	30.0	+1	0
3	47	Halimous	79	54	26.3	30.0	0	0
3	47	Koile	78	56	26.0	21.5	0	?
3	47	Steiria	74	57	24.7	24.5	0	+1
3	47	Perithoidai	69	61	23.0	22.5	0	?
3?	47	Phegaia	68	62	22.7	30.8	0	?
3	47	Paionidai	59	69	19.7	30.0	0	0
3	47	Kettos	55	73	18.3	30.0	0	0
3		Potamioi (U. & L.)	51		(see Upper Potamos and Lower Potamos)			
3	47	Lower Agryle	(50)	78	16.6	26.2	0	?
3	47	Atene	47	81	15.7	21.2	+1?	?
3	47	Anakaia	39	93	13.0	21.5	0	?
3	47	Poros	38	96	12.7	23.0	0	?
3	47	Prasiai	35	103	11.7	24.5	0	0
3	47	Oion Dekeleikon	18—	133—	6.0—	21.5	0	0
2	66	Cholleidai	110+	37+	55.0+	30.0	+3	0
2		Ankyle (both)	98+		(see Upper Ankyle and Lower Ankyle)			
2	66	Eupyridai	97+	43+	48.5+	30.0	0	0
2	66	Lakiadai	97	43	48.5	22.5	+1	?
2	66	Aithalidai	94+	46+	47.0+	30.0	0	?
2	66	Phyle	83	51	42.5	22.5	+4	?
2	66	Sypalettos	83	51	42.5	26.3	0	?
2	66	Amphitrope	73	58	36.3	21.2	+1	?
2?	66	Oinoe (VIII)	72+	59+	36.0+	21.5	0?	0?
2	66	Azenia	71	60	35.5	21.5	0	?
2	66	Hamaxanteia	64	64	32.0	21.5	0	?
2	66	Kytheros	63	66	31.5	24.5	0	?
2?	66	Angele	61	67	30.5	24.5	+2	0
2	66	Kikynna	59	69	29.5	23.0	+1	?
2	66	Kolonos	58	71	29.0	30.8	0	?
2	66	Kothokidai	57	72	28.5	22.5	0	0
2	66	Deiradiotai	55	73	27.5	30.0	0?	?

²⁸ The figures for the divided demes (indicated in parentheses) have been computed arbitrarily on the basis of the relative bouleutic quotas of the two sections. For an explanation of the plus and minus signs beside Gomme's Figure, Rank, and Deme Ratio see above, p. 4, and discussion, pp. 65–66.

²⁹ Deme Ratio=Gomme's Figure divided by Bouleutic Quota.

³⁰ Phyle Ratio=Gomme's Figure for the Phyle divided by the Phyle Quota, i.e. 50.

TABLE: THE RELATIVE SIZES OF THE DEMES—(contd.)

QUOTA	RANK	DEME	GOMME'S ²⁸ FIGURE	RANK	DEME ²⁹ RATIO	PHYLE ³⁰ RATIO	CHANGE 307/6	CHANGE 224/3
2	66	Hermos	54	77	27.0	23.0	0	?
2	66	Araphen	47	81	23.5	30.8	0	?
2	66	Kedoi	44	87	22.0	26.2	0	0
2	66	Kopros	41	91	20.5	21.5	0	?
2	66	Keiriadai	39	93	19.5	21.5	0	?
2	66	Hybadai	36	99	18.0	30.0	0	0
2	66	Upper Pergase	(36)	99	18.0	26.2	+1	0
2	66	Lower Pergase	(35)	103	17.5	26.2	0	?
2	66	Potamioi Deiradiotai	35	103	17.5	30.0	0?	?
2	66	Upper Potamos	(34)	107	17.0	30.0	0	0
2	66	Upper Agryle	(33)	108	16.5	26.2	+1	0
2	66	Eitea (V)	32	109	16.0	23.0	0?	?
2?	66	Ionidai	30	111	15.0	30.8	0	?
2	66	Trinemeia	29	114	14.5	26.3	0?	?
2	66	Besa	28	115	14.0	21.2	0	?
2	66	Thymaitadai	26	117	13.0	21.5	0	?
2	66	Pelekes	24	119	12.0	30.0	0	0
2	66	Kolonai (IV)	23	122	11.5	30.0	0	0
2	66	Kolonai (X)	23	122	11.5	21.2	0	0
2	66	Eitea (X)	20	132	10.0	21.2	0	?
1	102	Oion Kerameikon	140+	28+	140.0+	30.0	0	0
1	102	Otryne	60	68	60.0	30.8	0	?
1	102	Pambotadai/ Sybridai	34 } 22 }	106 } 127 }	56.0+ }	26.2 }	+1+	+1
1	102	Upper Ankyle	(49)+	79+	49.0+	30.8	0	?
1	102	Lower Ankyle	(49)+	79+	49.0+	30.8	0	?
1	102	Myrrhinoutta	47	81	47.0	30.8	0	?
1	102	Krioa	47	81	47.0	21.2	+1	?
1	102	Plotheia	46	85	46.0	30.8	+1	?
1?	102	Bate	45	86	45.0	30.8	0	?
1?	102	Kydantidai	44	87	44.0	30.8	0	0?
1	102	Acherdous	43	89	43.0	21.5	0	?
1	102	Epikhephisia	42	90	42.0	22.5	0	?
1	102	Iphistiadai	40	92	40.0	23.0	0	?
1	102	Kropidai	39	93	39.0	30.0	0	0
1	102	Diomeia	37	97	37.0	30.8	0	0
1	102	Semachidai	37	97	37.0	21.2	0	?
1	102	Boutadai	36	99	36.0	22.5	0	0
1	102	Upper Paiania	(31)	110	31.0	24.5	0	?
1	102	Elaious	30	111	30.0	21.5	0	?
1	102	Lousia	30	111	30.0	22.5	0	?
1	102	Hekale	28	115	28.0	30.0	0	0
1	102	Themakos	25	118	25.0	26.2	0	0
1	102	Konthyle	24	119	24.0	24.5	0	0

²⁸ The figures for the divided demes (indicated in parentheses) have been computed arbitrarily on the basis of the relative bouleutic quotas of the two sections. For an explanation of the plus and minus signs beside Gomme's Figure, Rank, and Deme Ratio see above, p. 4, and discussion, pp. 65-66.

²⁹ Deme Ratio=Gomme's Figure divided by the Bouleutic Quota.

³⁰ Phyle Ratio=Gomme's Figure for the Phyle divided by the Phyle Quota, i.e. 50.

TABLE: THE RELATIVE SIZES OF THE DEMES—(contd.)

QUOTA	RANK	DEME	GOMME'S ²⁸ FIGURE	RANK	DEME ²⁹ RATIO	PHYLE ³⁰ RATIO	CHANGE 307/6	CHANGE 224/3
1?	102	Auridai	24	119	24.0	21.5	0?	?
1	102	Erikeia	23	122	23.0	30.8	+1	0
1	102	Phegous	23	122	23.0	26.2	0	0
1	102	Ptelea	23	122	23.0	22.5	0	?
1	102	Hestiaia	22	127	22.0	30.8	0	?
1	102	Eroiadai (VIII)	21	129	21.0	21.5	+1	?
1	102	Eiroiadai (X)	21	129	21.0	21.2	0	?
1	102	Eresidai	21	129	21.0	23.0	+1	0
1?	102	Tyrmeidai	18	133	18.0	22.5	0?	?
1	102	Lower Potamos	(17)	135	17.0	30.0	+1	0
1	102	Daidalidai	17	135	17.0	26.3	0	?
1	102	Epieikidai	17	135	17.0	26.3	0	0?
1?	102	Korydallos	14	138	14.0	21.5	0?	?
1	102	Hippotomadai	12	139	12.0	22.5	0	0

All that I may say in summary is that the reapportionments occasioned by the creation of Antigonis and Demetrias, and later by the creation of Ptolemais, appear to have remedied, to a degree, imbalances in the ratio of representation to apparent relative size of some demes, but they were not executed solely with this intent, for all instances of over-representation certainly, and a number of cases of under-representation probably, were totally ignored, and a few instances of over-representation may have been aggravated by further increasing the quotas.

THE RELATIVE SIZES OF THE TRITTYES

There can be no doubt that many of the trittyes, as created by Kleisthenes, were unequal in representation, as well as size. Coastal Antiochis (see Tables of Representation and Maps 1 and 2) had at least twenty-seven representatives, coastal Aiantis and perhaps also inland Aigeis twenty-five, and Oineis inland twenty-two, whereas the city section of Aiantis was represented by only nine councillors, and Hippothontis inland and Antiochis in the city probably had only one or two more. Admittedly the trittys assignment of about twenty-five Attic demes must be considered only tentative and the quotas of some others, with known locations, are based only on estimates, but fortunately the quotas of the former are all small (one to three representatives) and the number of the latter are few (about a dozen).

²⁸ The figures for the divided demes (indicated in parentheses) have been computed arbitrarily on the basis of the relative bouleutic quotas of the two sections. For an explanation of the plus and minus signs beside Gomme's Figure, Rank, and Deme Ratio see above, p. 4, and discussion, pp. 65-66.

²⁹ Deme Ratio=Gomme's Figure divided by Bouleutic Quota.

³⁰ Phyle Ratio=Gomme's Figure for the Phyle divided by the Phyle Quota, i.e. 50.

Consequently the margin of error in the figures for the representation of the trittyes in the Tables below is smaller than at first may seem apparent.³¹

The three sections, city, coast, and inland, as a whole were obviously far from equal in representation. The city had considerably less representation in the Council than either of the other two regions and the coastal section apparently had slightly more representation than its inland counterpart. The changes in 307/6 did little to alleviate, indeed they seem to have aggravated the imbalance between the representation of the city and the representation of the other two regions, although by favoring the inland area slightly more than the coast, they did diminish the difference in representation between these two sections.

THE RELATIVE SIZES OF THE TRITTYES: TABLE 1

	CITY		COAST		INLAND	
	DEMES	BOULEUTAI	DEMES	BOULEUTAI	DEMES	BOULEUTAI
Erechtheis	4	16	5	23 (22)	5	11 (12)
Aigeis	8	11	5	14	8	25 ³²
Pandionis	1	12 (11)	5	19 (20)	5	19
Leontis	5	13	6	20	9	17
Akamantis	5	14	3	17	5	19
Oineis	8	11	4	17	1	22
Kekropis	3	15	2	14?	6	21?
Hippothontis	6	19	7?	20?	4?	11?
Aiantis	1	9	4	25	1	16
Antiochis	1	10	6	27	6	13
TOTAL	42	130 (129)	47	196	50	174 (175)

³¹ The implication of the differing sizes of the trittyes with reference to Aristotle's statement that Kleisthenes assigned the trittyes to the phylai by lot has been the subject of much recent discussion, particularly by C. W. J. Eliot (*Coastal Demes*, pp. 136–147, and *Phoenix*, XXII, 1968, pp. 3–17) and W. E. Thompson (*Historia*, XIII, 1964, pp. 400–413). Eliot questions the validity of Aristotle's statement, on the grounds that the unrestricted use of the lot by Kleisthenes would have allowed the possibility of phylai unequal in size. Thompson defends Aristotle, arguing that a certain amount of inequality in the sizes of the phylai would have been tolerated. Certainly, *precisely* equal phylai were neither demanded by nor necessary to the Athenian governmental system. Still, the possibility of one phyle being forty-two per cent larger or thirty-two per cent smaller than the norm, as our figures allow (a 1/100 probability for each), would appear intolerable. On the other hand, Aristotle does not state that the use of the lot was *unrestricted*. Indeed, it was *restricted*, at least to the extent that the trittyes were selected from three groups, and there may have been additional restrictions not mentioned by Aristotle. It is also possible that there were some complementary adjustments in the relative sizes and compositions of the trittyes *after* they had been assigned to their phylai.

³² The figures enclosed in the box are from the two contiguous trittyes for which there is some doubt concerning the affiliations of the demes, and therefore the apportionment of the quotas of representation. If Upper and Lower Potamos are assigned to the city (above, p. 45, with note 18) the figures will read: Leontis city 7 demes, 16 bouleutai, Leontis coast 4 demes, 17 bouleutai. The totals will read: city, 44 demes, 133 (132) bouleutai, coast, 45 demes, 194 bouleutai.

The trittyes, being composed of demes, naturally reflect, although less distinctly, the general relationships discussed above with respect to the demes. The larger trittyes in representation generally have the larger numbers of known citizens and the smaller trittyes the lesser numbers of citizens, although there are many exceptions, including the very largest trittys, which ranks only tenth in "population." The trittyes were admittedly of sharply diminished importance after 307/6 and while it is possible several apparently-under-represented sections enjoyed an increase in representation, no overall pattern is discernible in the changes either of that year or of 224/3.

THE RELATIVE SIZES OF THE TRITTYES: TABLE 2

ORIGINAL QUOTA	RANK	TRITTYS	GOMME'S FIGURE	RANK	TRITTYS ³³ RATIO	PHYLE ³⁴ RATIO	CHANGE ³⁵ 307/6	CHANGE ³⁵ 224/3
27	1	X Coast	468	10	17.3	21.2	+5?	?
25	2	II Inland	690	1	27.6	30.8	+9	?
25	2	IX Coast	600	3	24.0	19.6	0	+12
23 (22)	4	I Coast	611	2	26.6	26.2	+3	+1
22	5	VI Inland	452	14	20.5	22.5	+3	?
21?	6	VII Inland	576	4	27.4	26.3	+7?	?
20	7	IV Coast	486	8	24.3	30.0	+3	+1
20	7	VIII Coast	479+	9	24.0+	21.5	+2?	?
19 (20)	9	III Coast	397	15	20.9	24.5	+4	+1
19	10	III Inland	531	5	27.9	24.5	+11	0
19	10	V Inland	458	12	24.1	23.0	+3	?
19	10	VIII City	456	13	24.0	21.5	+1?	?
17	13	IV Inland	510	6	30.0	30.0	+3	0
17	13	VI Coast	346	21	20.4	22.5	+5	?
17	13	V Coast	302	25	17.8	23.0	+4	?
16	16	I City	335	22	20.9	26.2	+3	0
16	16	IX Inland	229	28	14.3	19.6	0	0
15	18	VII City	382	18	25.5	26.3	0	?
14	19	II Coast	461+	11+	32.9+	30.8	+4	?
14	19	V City	389	16	27.8	23.0	+3	?
14?	19	VII Coast	356-	20-	25.4-	26.3	+8?	?
13	22	IV City	506+	7+	38.9+	30.0	+3	0
13	22	X Inland	335	22	25.8	21.2	+4	?
12 (11)	24	III City	295	26	24.6	24.5	+0	0
11 (12)	25	I Inland	366	19	33.3	26.2	+4	0
11	26	II City	389+	1+6	35.4+	30.8	+2	?
11	26	VI City	327	24	29.7	22.5	+1	?
11	26	VIII Inland	142-	30-	12.9-	21.5	+3?	?
10	29	X City	255	27	25.5	21.2	+2	?
9	30	IX City	168	29	18.7	19.6	0	+4

³³ Trittys Ratio = Gomme's Figure divided by the Original Quota.

³⁴ Phyle Ratio = Gomme's Figure for the phyle divided by the Phyle Quota, i.e. 50.

³⁵ Figures are given as if the demes which were transferred to Antigonis, Demetrias, and Ptolemais had remained in their original phylai. For the significance of the signs + and - beside the figures, see above, pp. 4 and 65-66. The figures for IV Coast and IV City should probably be adjusted (see note 32 above).

CHAPTER V

THE ATTIC DEMES

THE CONSTITUTIONAL DEMES¹

Two important questions may now be considered: How should an Attic deme be defined? How many Attic demes were there?

The Greek word *demos* can, of course, refer simply to a township or village,² but it has a technical and specific reference in Attica³ to the political unit associated with the reforms of Kleisthenes. Strangely enough, it is often (we might say usually) the former sense which the ancient writers have in mind, even when they refer in particular to the *Attic demoi*. Stephanos of Byzantium, for example, calls Brauron and Kynosarges, both of which were never special units of Kleisthenes' political organization, *demoi* and he even cites a *demotic* for the latter. "When Herodotus uses the term *δημος*," writes C. W. J. Eliot,⁴ "he usually means 'a village' rather than a political division." We must be extremely wary, then, of accepting as Kleisthenes' demes every name which the ancient authors, particularly the lexicographers, designate an *Attic deme*.⁵

Although the demes in most cases were probably natural geographical units (for possible exceptions see below, p. 101) and in every case must have had some topographical reference point for the centering of local government and the keeping of the official deme register (*τὸ ληξιαρχικὸν γραμματεῖον*), in the political or constitutional sense (a subject on which the ancient authors are generally silent) the demes were in fact defined by a single technical and non-topographical criterion: the sharing by a group of people (we need not say citizens, for their citizenship depended on it) of a common demotic.⁶ After the time of Kleisthenes every Athenian,

¹ I owe this phrase to a reference in C. W. J. Eliot, *Coastal Demes*, p. 152, but as will be seen below my definition and use of it are quite different from his.

² Cf. L.S.J.⁹, s.v. *δημος* IV.

³ Next to Attica, the demes of Eretria are probably best known (see W. Wallace, "The Demes of Eretria," *Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, pp. 115–146), but demes were also employed in the political organization of Keos, Kalymna, Kos, Rhodes, and other states (see *R.E.*, *Δῆμοι*, cols. 34, 123–131).

⁴ *Coastal Demes*, p. 79.

⁵ In the discussion which follows in this chapter I have *italicized* the word *deme(s)* when I feel it refers specifically to, or includes, non-constitutional demes.

⁶ Both D. M. Lewis (*Historia*, XII, 1963, pp. 22–40, and *Gnomon*, XXXV, 1963, p. 724) and W. E.

regardless of his domicile, bore one and only one demotic, almost invariably his father's,⁷ which he obtained on being enrolled in the deme register after completing his eighteenth year. Though a citizen might move from deme to deme, residence, or even the ownership of property in a deme, did not qualify him for service either in the local government⁸ or in the common Council. Only the possession of the demotic, which had no residence requirement, conferred these privileges.

The functions of the constitutional deme were both regional, in the policing and administering of its locality, and national, in providing representatives (among other responsibilities) to attend the Athenian Council.⁹ Both of these functions necessitated a body of demotai.

Evidence for the local functioning of the demes, e.g. deme-decrees, though extremely important, is unfortunately very limited,¹⁰ but evidence for representa-

Thompson (*Symbolae Osloenses*, XLVI, 1971, pp. 72–79), in opposition to Eliot, have stressed the non-topographical aspects of Kleisthenes' demes, but in support of Eliot's contention concerning deme boundaries it may be pointed out that property is often listed in inscriptions with reference to the demes and that all the territory of Attica, with a few exceptions, must have been associated theoretically, if not actually, with one deme or another.

⁷ Adoption was rare and naturalization, at least prior to Late Roman times, apparently rarer still. On the latter, see A. Billheimer, *Naturalization in Athenian Law and Practice*, Gettysburg, 1922. On the former see references in *O.C.D.*², s.v. Adoption, Greek.

⁸ The listing of *καὶ τοῖς οἰκοῦσιν τῶν πολιτῶν Παμνοῦντι* along with *Παμνοσίοις* in J. Pouilloux, *La Forteresse de Rhamnonte*, p. 208, no. 17 (cf. p. 120, no. 8, and p. 130, no. 15, lines 48–51) should be regarded as a special case, for Rhamnons was one of the few demes to include a fortified acropolis within its borders, and in addition to numerous deme-decrees, it was the finding place of many decrees by soldiers in garrison (cf. Pouilloux, *op. cit.*, pp. 118–119, no. 7; p. 123, no. 10; p. 124, no. 11; p. 128, no. 13, etc.). Compare also the parallel for Eleusis: [ἐδ]οξεν Ἐλευσ[ινί]ων [τῶι δήμῳ καὶ] Ἀθηναίο[ις] [τοῖς ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ] (I.G., II², 1191, lines 3–5).

That many Athenians in the fourth century still lived in the demes of their forefathers is attested time and again in the orators and for Halimous is specifically stated by Demosthenes (LVII, 10; cf. Gomme, *Population*, pp. 45–47, and R. V. Cram, *De Vicis Atticis*, summary in *Harv. Stud. Clas. Phil.*, XXVIII, 1917, p. 225). The *enkteitikon* tax was a deterrent to the ownership of property in another deme and would reinforce Athenian conservatism in this respect (see W. S. Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, p. 375, note 1, but cf. Gomme, *Population*, pp. 45–47).

⁹ On both the local and national functions of the Attic demes, see *R.E.*, *Δῆμοι*, cols. 9–27, and 27–30, respectively.

¹⁰ There are decrees extant for about twenty-five demes. A partial list (for many entries I am indebted to E. Vanderpool) would include: Acharnai (I.G., II², 1207; S.E.G., XXI, 519); Aixone (I.G., II², 1196–1202, 2492; *Ath. Mitt.*, LXVI, 1941, p. 218); Athmonon (I.G., II², 1203); Berenikidai? (I.G., II², 1221); Cholargos (I.G., II², 1184); Eitea in Antiochis (Δελτ., XXV, 1970, pp. 204–216); Eleusis (I.G., I², 183–185; II², 1185–1194, 1218, 1219, 1220?; *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 177); Epikhephisia (I.G., II², 1205); Gargettos (*Ath. Mitt.*, LXVII, 1942, pp. 7–8, no. 5 = Πολέμων, IV, 1949, pp. 10–16); Halai Aixionides (I.G., II², 1174–1175; S.E.G., XII, 52; Δελτ., XI, 1927–8, pp. 40–43, nos. 4–7, cf. *Ath. Mitt.*, LXVII, 1942, pp. 8–10, nos. 6–8); Halai Araphenides (Ἀρχ. Ἐφ., 1925–6, pp. 168–177, cf. Πρακτικά, 1956, pp. 87–89; Πολέμων, I, pp. 227–232 = Ἀρχ. Ἐφ., 1932, Χρονικά, pp. 30–32, cf. Πρακτικά, 1956, pp. 87–89; Ἔργον, 1957, pp. 24–25 = Πρακτικά, 1957, pp. 45–47); Halimous (B.S.A., XXIV, 1919–21, pp. 151–160 = S.E.G., II, 7); Ikarion (I.G., I², 186–187; II², 1178–1179); Kephisia (Δελτ., XXI, 1966,

tion in the Council and for bodies of demotai is more prevalent and I apply these two elements as criteria in determining which were the constitutional demes and how many they were.

FIRST REQUISITE: A MINIMAL BODY OF CITIZENS

Any deme simply to exist and perpetuate itself, not to mention the more important factors of executing the business of local government and of providing representatives (and alternates¹¹) for the common Council (one must bear in mind the limitation, rigorously enforced except in the Late Roman period, of tenure to two non-consecutive terms per citizen in his lifetime), required a citizen-body of a minimal size. We do not know how small demes continued to function (some, such as Eitea in Antiochis, may have had difficulty, above, p. 22), but they did, even into Late Roman times. That every such citizen-body should be known to us seems guaranteed both by the nature and also by the quantity of the evidence preserved. Kirchner, in his *Prosopographia Attica*, which is based on both the literature and the inscriptions, lists the names of all Athenians known to him for the period from the ten-year archons until the time of Augustus, a total, including *Addenda*, of more than 16,000 names. A large proportion of these people are identified by demotic and have been grouped into one hundred and twenty-seven deme classifications in the *Conspectus Demotarum* at the end of volume II. The smallest group of names numbers ten and belongs to Hippotomadai, a deme which judging also from its representation of one bouleutes annually was among the smallest (see above, p. 70). With a sample of such magnitude and from such varied sources the assumption seems justified that every deme which was in reality a constitutional deme ought to have a body of known demotai. Indeed, the fairness of this judgment is confirmed by the fact that although Sundwall in his *Nachträge*

Χρονικά, p. 106, cf. XXIV, 1969, pp. 6–7); Kollytos (*I.G.*, II², 1195); Kydathenaion (see *Agora*, XVI = I 5212); Lamptrai (*I.G.*, II², 1204); Melite (*S.E.G.*, XXII, 116; see *Agora*, XVI); Myrrhinous (*I.G.*, II², 1182–1183); Peiraeus (*I.G.*, II², 1176–1177, 1214; *Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 44–46, no. 33); Plotheia (*I.G.*, II², 1172); Rhamnous (*I.G.*, II², 1217–1218; *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1953, pp. 131–136 = Pouilloux, no. 17; *Ἑλληνικά*, III, 1930, pp. 153–162 = Pouilloux, no. 15; *S.E.G.*, XXII, 120; XXIV, 154); Skambonidai (*I.G.*, I², 188); Sounion (*I.G.*, II², 1180–1181; *Ath. Mitt.*, LIX, 1934, pp. 35–39 = *S.E.G.*, X, 10); Sypalettos (*I.G.*, I², 189); Teithras (*Ath. Mitt.*, XLIX, 1924, pp. 1–13 = *S.E.G.*, XXIV, 151–153; *Hesperia*, XXXI, 1962, pp. 401–403 = *S.E.G.*, XXI, 520); unidentified: *I.G.*, II², 1212 (perhaps Themakos?); *I.G.*, II², 1215 (perhaps Erikeia?); *I.G.*, II², 1173, 1208–1209, 1210 (perhaps Anagyrous?), 1211, 1213, 1216; *S.E.G.*, XXI, 521; *S.E.G.*, XIV, 81. *Leges sacrae* are known for Erchia (*B.C.H.*, LXXXVII, 1963, pp. 603–634), Pallene (*Ath. Mitt.*, LXVII, 1942, pp. 24–29, no. 26), and Phrearrhioi (*Hesperia*, XXXIX, 1970, pp. 50–53); dedications for Plotheia (*I.G.*, II², 4607, 4885), Sphettos (*B.C.H.*, XCIII, 1969, pp. 56–71), and Halai Aixonides (*I.G.*, II², 3091) are also extant. It is worth noting that deme-decrees are comparatively rare after the end of the fourth century B.C. and virtually unknown after the end of the following century.

¹¹ See above, p. 2, and note 5.

zur Prosopographia Attica, published in 1910, and the Excavations of the Athenian Agora, conducted by the American School from 1931 to the present, have given us the names of thousands of Athenians (the Excavations alone have given us over 8,000 names, including incidentally, seven additional Hippotomadians), they have not added, for the period covered by *P.A.*, a single demotic to those listed by Kirchner.¹² The one hundred and twenty-seven classifications in Kirchner's *Conspectus*, allowing that eleven demotics, i.e. the homonymous and divided demes (see pp. 123–128), do double service, and one demotic, Potamios, does triple service, and that the deme Kolonos has been grouped with the two demes Kolonai, make a total of one hundred and forty-one different demes: one hundred and thirty-nine (shown in Maps 1, 2, and 3) for the period of the original ten phylai, plus two specially created later demes, Berenikidai, established with the new tribe Ptolemais in 224/3, and Apollonieis, formed at the same time as the new phyle Attalis in 201/0. Kirchner does not include material from the period after Augustus, but if he had, there would be one additional later deme, Antinoeis, established as a special honorary deme in the last phyle, Hadrianis. Thus, a total of one hundred and thirty-nine, or, including the three later demes, one hundred and forty-two demes (listed in Appendix B, below, pp. 109–112) fulfill the first requisite, a body of known citizens.¹³

¹² There is one doubtful exception, Perrheidai (*Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 36, no. 3, line 11), but even it disappears, if we adopt the suggestion discussed below (p. 89), that it was inscribed here in error for Tyrmeidai.

¹³ The indices of the *Corpus* may be considered here. *I.G.*, I² (the only Attic volume of the *editio minor* for which an Index has yet been published) lists a total of ninety-six Attic *demes*, one of which, Kykala, should be rejected, for it was a place name and not a constitutional deme. At least another seven appear in the texts but are omitted from the index which is not exhaustive. The possibility of homonymous and divided demes raises the total to one hundred and fifteen candidates, leaving only twenty-four (from what I presume to have been the original total of one hundred and thirty-nine demes) unaccounted for. The omission of these is probably due only to the sparseness of the epigraphical material, for in the first volume of the *Corpus* there are less than five hundred citizens identified by demotic. Moreover, a number of the missing demes are attested either in literary references which probably or certainly depend on fifth-century sources or in fifth-century inscriptions discovered since the publication of *I.G.*, I². The index of *I.G.*, II (fasc. 4) attests, allowing for the divided demes, all one hundred and forty-one demes which I define as *constitutional* for this period (only Antinoeis, which was created after the period covered by this volume, is absent), but it also includes a number of *demes* which I regard as non-constitutional. The index of *I.G.*, II, 5 fails to attest less than ten of my Athenian constitutional demes, which seems remarkable in view of the small number of texts included in the volume. From my total of one hundred and forty-two constitutional demes for the Late Roman period, the index of *I.G.*, III (fasc. 2) leaves unattested only Kydantidai, the Aigeid Halai, Ptolemaid Oinoe, Hippothontid Eroiadai, and Attalid Agryle (Kolonos in Aigeis appears with the Leontid and Ptolemaid demes Kolonai), but Kydantidai has subsequently been discovered on an Agora inscription dated A.D. 168/9 (cf. *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, p. 78=372) and a number of the references grouped with the Kekropid Halai, Hadrianid Oinoe, Antiochid Eroiadai, and Erechtheid Agryle, though not tribally identified, may in fact refer to their homonymous and as then unattested (with tribal affiliation) counterparts. The index of *I.G.*, III, however, also includes a number of additional *demes* which I would classify as *Late Roman*, but not *constitutional*, *demes* (cf. below, p. 87).

SECOND REQUISITE: REPRESENTATION IN THE COUNCIL

(a) DIRECT EVIDENCE

More essential to my definition of a constitutional deme, however, is evidence that it functioned in government, or, specifically, that it had representation in the Council. The sample of material here is not so large as for the previous criterion; there are about forty complete, or nearly complete, and about one hundred and fifty partially preserved registers for the period covered by Kirchner (see above, p. xvii, Table to Illustrate the Distribution of Texts by Phyle and by Period). Nor is the sample so varied as I should like; lists for Kekropis and Ptolemais are particularly scarce. Still, and this is most important, the results obtained by applying this criterion are identical to those determined in the preceding section; the prytany and bouleutic lists attest directly one hundred and twenty-eight demotics for the period covered by *Prosopographia Attica*.¹⁴ The one hundred and twenty-eight demotics (allowing that Kolonos in *P.A.* is listed with Kolonai) are precisely those, and no others, of Kirchner's *Conspectus*. Further, because of the special designations Upper (*καθ' ὑπερθεῖν*), Lower (*ὑπὲρθεῖν*), etc., and double listings, either within the same roster or in different rosters,¹⁵ it may be ascertained that there were six pairs of homonymous demes and six sets of divided demes (see below, Appendix D, pp. 123–128; Potamos was divided three ways), in all a total of one hundred and forty-one, that is, the one hundred and thirty-nine original demes, plus Berenikidai and Apollonieis. The prytany lists also attest Antinoeis, but it belongs to a period after that covered by *P.A.* and must, accordingly, be excluded from the comparison here.

(b) INDIRECT EVIDENCE

The indirect evidence pertains only to the question of the number of demes and not to their identification. It is of two varieties: (1) the regular manner in which the five later phylai were formed reveals the number of constitutional demes which composed each of these tribes; and (2) even when a bouleutic list is not completely preserved the relative lengths of the columns may provide an indication of the total number of demotics present in the complete list (Aiantis, with a well-known roster of six demes, is usually taken as the reference for comparing the other rosters). The

¹⁴ Because of the virtual non-existence of Ptolemaid prytany lists from the first period of thirteen and the second period of twelve phylai Berenikidai is not actually attested as providing councillors prior to the creation of Hadrianis, but it is well known from the year 222/1 B.C. on as the demotic of many government officials, including the herald and the flutist in *prytany inscriptions* and the spokesman of one deme-decree, almost certainly of Berenikidai (cf. above, p. 74, note 10, and p. 29, note 12). It was obviously, from the time Ptolemais was established, a regular Athenian constitutional deme.

¹⁵ An example of the former: *I.G.*, II², 1749 = 38, lines 68 and 72; an example of the latter: *Hesperia*, XXXV, 1966, p. 224, line 34, and p. 226, line 145 = 61, lines 34 and 185.

evidence for (1) has been set forth fully above (pp. 26–34), but for (2) has been presented only *passim* in the Commentaries on the Tables of Representation and I therefore provide a more comprehensive treatment here.

The relative lengths of the columns in the bouleutic list of 335/4 (*I.G.*, II², 1700 = 43) suggests a composition as follows:

PHYLE	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X
NAMES	50	49?	50	50	50	50	50	49?	50	50
PATRONYMICS	50	49?	50	50	50	50	50	49?	50	50
DEMOTICS	13	20?	11	20	13	12	11 + 1 <i>vacat?</i>	17?	6	13 + 2 <i>vacat?</i>
TOTAL	113	118	111	120	113	112	112	115	106	115

There are several small discrepancies between these figures and the totals for the numbers of demes indicated by requisites one and two (a). All are probably due to special circumstances either in the arrangement of this text or in the composition of the Council in 335/4. One very small deme from Erechtheis (I) and Oineis (VI) (cf. above, pp. 14–19) apparently failed to send a representative in this year. Pambotadai and Sybridai in the former and Tyrmeidai in the latter are known from other lists to have been absent occasionally from the Council. Their representation, in these instances, was shared with other demes in their phylai. The rosters of Hippothontis (VIII) and Aigeis (II) are two and three lines short respectively (see above, pp. 11–12 and 17), but it is unlikely that as many as two or three demes failed to send a representative in a single year (we have no parallel for the absence of more than one demotic from a tribal roster prior to 200 B.C.). Probably both rosters lack one name and patronymic (= two lines, the father's name being inscribed in a separate line from the bouleutes'), and, in addition for Aigeis, the two sections of Ankyle may have been listed together. There are a number of parallels both for the omission of names from prytany and bouleutic lists (cf. above, pp. 3 and 5–6) and also for the grouping of the several sections of the divided demes under a single demotic (above, p. 11, note 18), but, generally, uninscribed lines were left for the missing names, and in this inscription in particular the other divided demes were listed individually by their separate sections. More anomalous are the additional lines indicated in the rosters of Kekropis (VII) and Antiochis (X) (see above, pp. 9–11 and 13). Perhaps uninscribed spaces (not intended for missing bouleutai) were left in these columns, or officials of the phylai were included with the fifty councillors, but the circumstances are most unusual. The total number of demes recorded in *I.G.*, II², 1700, therefore, may have been as high as 136, with only three small demes failing to have individual representation.¹⁶

¹⁶ In the list of names which I have tentatively identified as a catalogue of bouleutai and alternates from about 370 B.C. (*I.G.*, II², 1697, etc. = 492; see above, p. 2, with note 5) column II ended apparently six lines below column III. These two columns, with the rosters of Pandionis and Leontis (II) and

The bouleutic lists from the Macedonian period also provide some indication of the number of constitutional demes composing the various phylai. The catalogue of 304/3 shows that the roster of Leontis had seven demes more than the roster of Pandionis, confirming what we know from the direct evidence, viz. that Pandionis and Leontis had eight and fifteen demes respectively in this period.

The more informative bouleutic list of 303/2 suggests the following compositions for the phylai:

PHYLE	STELE I				STELE II							
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII
BOULEUTAI		Not Preserved				50	50	50	50	50	50	50
DEMOTICS					8	15	10	10	50 } <i>or</i> { 49 7 } { 8	14	6	10
TOTAL					58	65	60	60	57	57	64	60

The one discrepancy with the known number of regular demes arises in the roster of Kekropis (IX), indicating that either Epieikidai sent no representative or the column contained only forty-nine bouleutai.

The catalogue of 281/0 is the most informative of the three from the Macedonian period. It prescribes the following tribal compositions:¹⁷

PHYLE	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
HEADING	Antigonis	Demetrias	Erechtheis	Aigeis	Pandionis	Leontis
BOULEUTAI	50	50	50 } <i>or</i> { 49	50 + $\frac{1}{2}$ <i>vacat</i>	50	50
DEMOTICS	15	15	10 } { 11	17	8	15
SERVANT	1		1	1	1	
SPACE BETWEEN ROSTERS		1	$\frac{1}{2}$		$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$
PHYLE	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII
HEADING	Akamantis	Oineis	Kekropis	Hippothontis	Aiantis	Antiochis
BOULEUTAI	50	50	50 } <i>or</i> { 49	50	50	50 + 1 <i>vacat</i>
DEMOTICS	10	10	7 } { 8	14	6	10
SERVANT	1?	1			1	1
TOTAL	127?	127	118 $\frac{1}{2}$	132 $\frac{1}{2}$	116 $\frac{1}{2}$	127 $\frac{1}{2}$

Akamantis and Oineis (III), should have contained thirty-one and twenty-six (a difference of five) demotics respectively, but there are too many uncertainties concerning this text to attach great significance to this observation or this discrepancy. It is worth noting, however, in the same list that if Anaphlystos, which should appear immediately under the tribal heading of Antiochis in column V, contained its expected (for this text) complement of fifteen representatives (i.e. its regular quota of ten, plus five alternates), then the difference in the lengths of the rosters of Kekropis and Aiantis amounts to five lines or precisely the difference in the number of known demes in the two phylai.

¹⁷ The table is a revised version of that published in *Hesperia*, XXXVIII, 1969, p. 471. The corrections, based on more recently discovered material, affect the rosters of Aigeis, Hippothontis, and Antiochis. The prytany list of 254/3 B.C. (*Hesperia*, XXXVIII, 1969, pp. 419–420 = 89) has shown

The rosters of Kekropis (again in the Macedonian period) and Erechtheis were apparently each short of either one demotic (probably Epieikidai in the former and Sybridai or Pambotadai in the latter) or one bouleutes. Since the roster of Aigeis appears to end six lines below that of Erechtheis (assuming the quota of Erikeia was complete with its normal complement of two representatives and the uninscribed half-line below Hestiaia was intended for a single councillor from this deme), one might naturally deduce that these two phylai had their expected contingents of seventeen and eleven demes respectively (and, because the rosters of Antigonis and Demetrias end five lines below Erechtheis, that these two tribes had sixteen demes each), but the arrangement of the rosters dictated by the preservation of the bottoms of columns two through six will not allow such a deduction. The second column ended eight and one-half lines below the third column and one-half line above the sixth. The rosters of Erechtheis and Kekropis in column three, therefore, must each be lacking one line; and the Macedonian phylai in the upper first and second columns must each be composed of fifteen demes. Moreover, in order to account for the length of column six we must assume one uninscribed line (not intended for a bouleutes) in the roster of either Leontis or Antiochis. One uninscribed line appears above the demotic of Anaphlystos, and, although on another occasion I have suggested that it probably was intended for a ninth representative of Pallene,¹⁸ it is possible that Pallene's quota was already complete at eight and that an additional demesman should be assigned, in 281/0, to the quota of either Alopeke or Aigilia.

Because of the uncertainty concerning the termination of both the Aigeid and Hippothontid rosters in the same bouleutic list the fourth column forms a special problem. If, as suggested, Erechtheis had either just ten demotics or forty-nine bouleutai in 281/0, and Aigeis had its expected representation of fifty bouleutai and seventeen demotics, then the tribal roster of the latter must be one line longer than the last line preserved on fragment I-K-O. A single additional line, however, is unlikely, for the quota of Erikeia is complete with two representatives and the minimal supplement would be one demotic and one bouleutes. The roster of Aigeis, then, probably contained one uninscribed line (not intended for a councillor). An uninscribed line (in reality a half-line, but the significance is the same) is evident under the demotic of Hestiaia, and although it has been assumed that this line was intended for the normal one representative of this deme,¹⁹ it may be that Hestiaia's

conclusively that Bate was not transferred to one of the Macedonian phylai (once proposed because of its absence from the defective register of *I.G.*, II², 678 = 85) and that Aigeis had, in fact, a full complement of seventeen demes in the period after 307/6. It is also now known that Antiochis had ten demes and Hippothontis very probably fourteen in the Macedonian period (see above, pp. 12 and 14).

¹⁸ *Hesperia*, XXXVIII, 1969, pp. 491-492.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 484.

quota was already accounted for by one of the other Aigeid demes, viz. perhaps either Kydantidai or Phegaia, both of which had in 281/0 one additional bouleutes over their usual representation. The complete list, then, must have contained at least 137 demes, and all 139 may even have been recorded.

THE STANDARD LISTS OF DEMES

There is one problem, however. If each of these 139 demes (or 142, with the three later demes) meets the two criteria of a body of known citizens and evidence of functioning in the Athenian government, how is one to explain those additional *demes* which appear in the standard lists but do not satisfy these requisites?

Two deme lists are now commonly cited: that of V. von Schöffer²⁰ in the Pauly-Wissowa and that of W. B. Dinsmoor in *The Archons of Athens*.²¹ Von Schöffer included 166 separately numbered demes, with four dependent listings, all 170 attested on inscriptions, and nine supplemental *demes* for which there is no inscriptional evidence; a total of 179 *demes*. Dinsmoor has 177, four of which, all divided demes, are not in the *R.E.* lists, and since the publication of *Archons* two additional divided demes have been proposed. The grand total of all possible candidates from these sources comes to 185, that is, the original 139, the three later constitutional demes,²² plus 43 other names which have, at one point or another, been considered by scholars as Attic *demes*. None of these forty-three should, in my opinion, be included among the constitutional demes of Kleisthenes' political organization and I propose to dispose of them as follows.

THE SPURIOUS DEMES

NON-EXISTENT, OCCURRENCE DUE SOLELY TO ERROR (16 *demes*)

(a) ERROR IN ANTIQUITY

Anakaia B (p. 113, No. 5). The existence of a second deme Anakaia, affiliated with Demetrias, is based on the appearance of this demotic in the list of thesmothetai for the year 220/19 (*I.G.*, II², 1706, line 76). Affiliation with Hippothontis, to which one section of Anakaia is known with certainty to have belonged in this period, would necessitate both double representation on the Board of Archons and a violation of the rule requiring the rotation of the phylai of the thesmothetai. But the thesmothetes in question, Elpistos, bears an extremely rare name, known otherwise only twice in Attica, once as an ephebe of Akamantis in A.D. 254/5 and on another

²⁰ *R.E.*, *Δῆμοι*, cols. 35–122.

²¹ Appendix B, pp. 444–447.

²² Antinoeis does not appear in Dinsmoor's list which ostensibly ends with the second period of twelve phylai, although several demes such as Akyiaia, unknown until even later than Antinoeis in the second century after Christ, are included.

occasion as a demesman of Anagyrous in an undated gravestone (*I.G.*, II², 5620). I suggest that the thesmothetes is related to, if he is not identical with, the latter, Elpistos of Anagyrous. The demotic of Anagyrous, which belonged to Erechtheis in 220/19 (phyle III), is precisely what is required in the thesmothetic list and it is very possible that the mason cut the letters ANAKAI by mistake for ANAGYP.²³

Phegaieis B (p. 120, No. 31) and *Graes* (p. 115, No. 14) occur in the Pandionid roster of the *deme*-catalogue *I.G.*, II², 2362 (lines 29 and 30) probably also owing to errors in antiquity. The deme Phegaia is known otherwise only in Aigeis,²⁴ and Graes, whether or not it be identified with the Boeotian town Graia, has no other association with the deme structure of Attica. It is now well established that this *deme*-catalogue was never completed,²⁵ and it is possible that both of these readings represent uncorrected errors by the ancient mason or secretary.²⁶

Pol(--) (p. 120, No. 33), which appears as a curtailed demotic in a Late Roman list of Hippothontid ephebes, probably also represents some form of error, although, at first sight, it would not seem to be the obvious confusion, i.e. with ΠΕΙΡ, for epsilon in this inscription has the straight-line archaizing form and would not easily be confused with omikron (one cannot, of course, speak for the mason's copy).

(b) ERROR IN TRANSMISSION OF MANUSCRIPT

Agriadai (p. 113, No. 1) occurs in a list of demes, described as belonging to Hippothontis, in Bekker's *Anecdota Graeca*, but it is almost certainly a corruption of Auridai.²⁷

(c) ERROR OF SCHOLARSHIP, MISREADING OF TEXT

De(--) (p. 114, No. 9). The reading of this demotic in an ephebic roster of Antiochis was subsequently corrected by Kirchner to the more regular Λε(υκοπυρεύς) (*I.G.*, II², 2103, line 162).

Salamis (p. 120, No. 36). Salamis was tentatively proposed by Schöffer as a restoration of one of the Ptolemaid *demes* in the great catalogue of 201/0 (*I.G.*, II²,

²³ The error may have originated in cursive script in the mason's copy. On other such errors attributable to the use of cursive script in the copy see, most recently, B. D. Meritt, *Epigraphica*, XXXII, 1970, pp. 3–6.

²⁴ Cf. S. Dow, *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 189, and E. Vanderpool, *B.C.H.*, LXXXIX, 1965, p. 26.

²⁵ W. K. Pritchett, *T.A.P.A.*, LXXXV, 1954, pp. 159–167.

²⁶ Graes may have been inscribed in error for Prasies, as suggested by Löper (*Ath. Mitt.*, XVII, 1892, p. 372), or because of confusion with Oaes in the following line (i.e. the mason's copy may have contained omikron, subsequently corrected to omega, the latter letter perhaps resembling pi-rho in careless cursive script). Phegaieis is even more difficult to explain. If it was not simply transferred from the roster of Aigeis, one may speculate that it may have arisen from confusion with the last part of Kydathenaieis.

²⁷ Cf. *R.E.*, Δῆμοι, col. 122.

2362, line 51), but the reading as sigma of the first of the two letters preserved was rejected by Pritchett.²⁸ The letters ΣΑΛΑ, it should also be noted, appear within a group of regular demotics (although the text is not arranged by phylai) in one Late Roman ephebic list (*I.G.*, II², 2020, line 32), but other non-constitutional *demes*, in addition to a number of ethnics, are well known particularly in the ephebic catalogues of this period.

Kaletea (p. 115, No. 17). The existence of this *deme* depends on a single source, Pococke's reading of line 57 in *I.G.*, II², 1077 (=460), a prytany list of Pandionis dated 209/10. Fourmont read only the first and last parts of the *demotic* and provided a slightly different spacing for the missing internal letters, but Kaleteus was kept by both A. Boeckh (*C.I.G.*, 353) and W. Dittenberger (*I.G.*, III, 10). Kirchner corrected the line, somewhat violently perhaps, from the earlier editions to read a prytanis' name, and while we may not accept his particular restoration (which he set in question marks), we may assume that the original transcripts represent an error.²⁹

Kikynna B (p. 115, No. 18). Kikynneis is the obvious restoration of the demotic in Chandler's copy of *I.G.*, II², 1927 (line 37), but, although one deme Kikynna is well known in Akamantis, no such homonymous deme is otherwise attested in Kekropis. Dow has suggested very plausibly that the demotic of Athmonon was intended here.³⁰ The error, which involves the first preserved letter only, is more probably due to Chandler than to the ancient mason.

Atene B (p. 114, No. 6). A divided Atene, with one section (well attested) in Demetrias and another (only here) remaining in Antiochis, was posited to obviate double representation in the Board of Archons during Menekrates' year (*I.G.*, II², 1706, line 73 = *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pl. XIV, line 93), but Meritt's reading in this text of the polemarch's deme as Azenia (and not Atene) has resolved the difficulty and removed the evidence for the existence of Atene B.³¹

Ikarion B (p. 115, No. 16). One deme of this name³² was a well-attested member of Aigeis, later Antigonis, and afterwards Attalis. A second *deme* Ikarion was assigned to Ptolemais on the basis of three readings: (1) ΙΚΑ in *I.G.*, II², 2107, line 24, later corrected by Mitsos to ΕΚΑ;³³ (2) <᾽Ικ>αρ<ι>εύς in *I.G.*, II², 2442, line 5, a highly questionable correction by Koehler of Fourmont's *Ταρσεύς*;³⁴ and (3) [᾽Ικα]-

²⁸ *T.A.P.A.*, LXXXV, 1954, pp. 165–166.

²⁹ I can make out only traces of letters in this line on the Princeton squeeze and I read nothing with certainty. Καλ[^{ca.} 3] Εύσ[---] (the text of *Agora*, XV, No. 460, line 79) is close to Fourmont's transcript.

³⁰ *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 188. The prosopographical evidence, as yet, has provided no help.

³¹ *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, p. 21.

³² On the form of the name see D. M. Lewis, *B.S.A.*, LI, 1956, p. 172. Part of Lewis' remark was anticipated by Frazer, *Pausanias*, II, p. 461.

³³ *B.C.H.*, LXXIII, 1949, p. 356 = *S.E.G.*, XII, 120, line 23.

³⁴ *R.E.*, *Δῆμοι*, cols. 69–70; D. M. Lewis, *B.S.A.*, LI, 1956, p. 172.

ρ[α] in *I.G.*, II², 2362, line 53, as read by W. K. Pritchett,³⁵ but whereas Pritchett's reading of rho followed by "the upper part of a vertical stroke which may be original" is probably correct, his restoration, in my opinion, is incorrect, for Perrhidai also suits these traces,³⁶ has been assigned with certainty to Ptolemais, and is more naturally associated with a group of names which include Thyrgonidai and Hyporeia (see below, p. 98). Ikarion B can safely be rejected from consideration as an Attic deme.

(d) ERROR IN SCHOLARSHIP, MISINTERPRETATION OF TEXT

Amphitrope B (p. 113, No. 3). Amphitrope occurs as the demotic of the ἐπιστάτης πρυτάνεων in *I.G.*, II², 1492, line 96. The succeeding entries in this text (lines 97–125) belong to the tenth and twelfth prytanies in 306/5, held by Oineis and Antiochis respectively. Consequently, it has been argued that the demotic in line 96 cannot belong to Antiochis, but rather that Amphitrope was a divided deme, one section remaining in Antiochis (well attested) and the other section being transferred (only here) either to Antigonis (Kirchner, *et al.*), which held the ninth prytany in 306/5, or to Demetrias (Dinsmoor³⁷), which held the seventh in the same year. The alternative proposed by Bates, that the entry which ends in line 96 should be assigned to 307/6 (when Antiochis held the sixth prytany), is unlikely, for although that year was one of considerable disruption in the regular processes of Athenian government this disturbance will scarcely explain an interval of sixteen prytanies extending well into the following year. There is another possible explanation, however. Dinsmoor, in *The Archons of Athens*, noted that the accounts in *I.G.*, II², 1492 did not follow each other prytany by prytany. We may pursue this argument further and suggest that the entry for Oineis, i.e. the tenth prytany (lines 97–112, which includes a reference to, but not a regular entry for, Akamantis, which held the eleventh prytany), is listed out of order. Although not common, there are parallels for such irregularities in the listing of Athenian accounts, e.g. *I.G.*, I², 302, lines 56–58, and 304, lines 84–85.³⁸ The entry for Antiochis in lines 112–124 of *I.G.*, II², 1492, it

³⁵ *T.A.P.A.*, LXXXV, 1954, pp. 166–167.

³⁶ It also suits the π reported in the first letter-space by Rangabé and Ross and "the diagonal of what may be an alpha" reported by Pritchett in his earlier discussion of this inscription (*Five Tribes*, p. 25). Pritchett's restoration of Ikaria cannot, in any case, be right, since we now know that the deme was properly called Ikarion. I note also that a trace of the first rho may be visible on the photograph of the squeeze published by Pritchett (*T.A.P.A.*, LXXXV, 1954, pl. II).

³⁷ *Archons*, p. 447. Pritchett (*Five Tribes*, p. 10) argued that the evidence did not admit a decision between Antigonis and Demetrias and this conclusion was accepted by Dinsmoor (*A.J.P.*, LXI, 1940, pp. 460–461, note 5).

³⁸ I am indebted to B. D. Meritt for pointing out to me these two parallels. Another possibility is that Antiochis in 306/5 was listed for both prytany IX and prytany XII: cf. the parallels in 329/8 when Antiochis was recorded as holding prytanies I and II (*I.G.*, II², 1672, lines 1–2, 37) and in 303/2 when Kekropis was named for both prytany VIII and prytany IX (B. D. Meritt, *Ἀρχ. Ἀνάλ. ἐξ Ἀθ.*, V, 1972, pp. 292–293).

should be noted, mentions no epistates and appears to be incomplete. Some confirmation of the theory that Amphitrope was an undivided deme may be derived from the prosopography. Of names ending in -lides (the lambda seems assured from Koehler's majuscule text)—and surprisingly there were not many such which were common in Attica—only Euboulides is known in Amphitrope, as father of Arkesilas, councillor for *Antiochis* in 281/0.³⁹ If we accept this tentative restoration, then the epistates in *I.G.*, II², 1492, line 96 must belong to the same family as, if he is not identical to, the father of the councillor some twenty-five years later and Amphitrope B at once disappears as a separate deme.

Phyle B (p. 120, No. 30) was posited by B. D. Meritt on the basis of the inscription published as *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, no. 13, where the first letter, phi, of the secretary's demotic is preserved and the tribal cycles require a deme from Oineis. This text, however, does not belong to 298/7, as proposed by the original editor, but to 295/4, and the secretary's deme is Phaleron, appropriate, as phyle XI in this period, for the regular tribal cycles (see below, pp. 129–132, Appendix E).

Sypalettos B (p. 121, No. 40). Sypalettos was considered, but immediately rejected, by W. B. Dinsmoor⁴⁰ as a possible divided deme in order to allow the secretary of 146/5 to belong to the phyle Attalis, as demanded by the secretary cycles. Some support for such a suggestion may be derived indirectly from two fourth-century prytany and bouleutic lists, but the overwhelming evidence is against a divided Sypalettos (see above, pp. 10–11).⁴¹

Trinemeia B (p. 122, No. 43). One deme Trinemeia had a well-established history in Kekropis throughout the known periods of Athenian bouleutic government. The case for a second deme of this name, i.e. a divided Trinemeia, is based on the appearance of this demotic at the bottom of an ephebic roster of Attalis (*I.G.*, II², 1028, line 143). It has long been pointed out,⁴² however, that this is the last Athenian name in the list and it may have been omitted from the Kekropid roster and inserted here as an *addendum*. The slight support that the theory of a divided Trinemeia might receive from the relative lengths of the columns in the bouleutic list of 335/4 (see above, p. 10) is more than offset by the clear principle of the organization of Attalis, which unquestionably denies the presence of the deme Trinemeia.

³⁹ *Hesperia*, XXXVIII, 1969, p. 481, line 266 (= 72, line 255).

⁴⁰ *The Athenian Archon List in the Light of Recent Discoveries*, p. 177, note 39.

⁴¹ The argument that Attalos II, who was a known Sypalettian, should belong to the phyle established in his honor (Hadrian was a demesman of Besa in Hadrianis and Ptolemy V Epiphanes, grandson of Ptolemy III Euergetes, was a member of Ptolemais) was refuted by Pritchett (*Five Tribes*, p. 36, note 13), who pointed out that Ariarathes, a close relative of Attalos, belonged to Sypalettos in Kekropis. Scholars generally have denied a split Sypalettos, see W. B. Dinsmoor, *loc. cit.*, B. D. Meritt, *Athenian Year*, p. 228, and G. A. Stamires, *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, p. 47.

⁴² See references in W. K. Pritchett, *Five Tribes*, pp. 35–36.

Coastal Lamptrai (p. 117, No. 23). That Coastal Lamptrai was merely an alternate name for Lower Lamptrai is made clear by Harpokration⁴³ and is accepted by all modern scholars. If further confirmation were needed, it may be found in the quotas: Upper Lamptrai had five representatives, Coastal Lamptrai nine, and all demes named Lamptrai together fourteen (see Table of Representation I, below).

EXISTENT, PLACE NAMES BUT NOT CONSTITUTIONAL DEMES (8 *demes*)

In addition to Agriadai, which I have discussed above (p. 82), Schöffer lists eight *demes* which are unattested on the inscriptions but were known to the lexicographers.⁴⁴ At least one certainly, and others probably, were Attic place names,⁴⁵ but none has any known citizens, viz. demotai. Not only the lexicographers, but also the inscriptions, especially the poletai texts, mention a large number of Attic place names. Many were mining communities,⁴⁶ tiny isolated villages, etc., too small no doubt for independent representation in the Council. Although none of these names is ever designated a *deme* in the inscriptions, it is possible that they might be so regarded, especially by later writers. One of the names in the *R.E.* list, Gephyreis, bears a striking resemblance to the well-known Athenian *genos*, Gephyraioi,⁴⁷ and at least two of the others, viz. Rhakidai and Echelidai, may have been names of hitherto unknown Athenian *gene*.⁴⁸ The fact that the last name has a well-defined location is not surprising, for the *gene* were regularly attached to cults, and in this respect at least had a fixed topographical reference point.⁴⁹ All the names in this list, however, may safely be removed from consideration as Athenian constitutional demes.

Chastieis (p. 114, No. 7) and *Chelidonia* (p. 119, No. 8) are both not necessarily even Attic.

⁴³ *S.v.* Λαμπτρῆις.

⁴⁴ The list is far from complete, for, as mentioned above (p. 73), Brauron and Kynosarges were called *demes* by Stephanos of Byzantium and there are a number of others.

⁴⁵ As pointed out, several of them may not necessarily have been Attic, but it is likely that they all were, for although the lexicographers and ancient authors may not have been referring to the political units when they mentioned *demoi* (above, p. 73) they were almost invariably referring at least to Attica.

⁴⁶ See, for example, the list in M. Crosby, "The Leases of the Laureion Mines," *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, pp. 308–310.

⁴⁷ The reference is supported by a passage in Suda, see Appendix C, p. 115, below.

⁴⁸ On the Athenian *gene* see J. Töppfer, *Attische Genealogie*, *passim*. The list provided by P. MacKendrick, *The Athenian Aristocracy 399 to 31 B.C.* (Martin Classical Lectures, XXIII, Oberlin College, 1969), pp. 97–105, is quite incomplete. Pyrrhakidai was an Athenian *genos*, see note 52, below.

⁴⁹ Cf., for example, the well-established centers of the two branches of the Salaminioi in the decrees published by W. S. Ferguson, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, pp. 1–76.

Echelidai (p. 114, No. 10) has a location, closely defined by Stephanos of Byzantium, within the constitutional deme of Xypete.⁵⁰

Gephyreis (p. 115, No. 13) has a general location known from the *Etymologicum Magnum*.

Lekkon (p. 117, No. 22) is assigned to Antiochis by Hesychios.⁵¹

Oisia (p. 118, No. 26) is grouped with Kephisia and Lousia in Arcadius as an example of an oxytonic name ending in alpha. No other oxytonic Attic deme name ending in alpha, viz. *Πρασιά*, *Στειριά*, *Αἰγυλιά* and *Ἰκαριά*,⁵² indeed no other Attic deme name, bears any resemblance to *Oisia*.

Rhakidai (p. 120, No. 35) is assigned to Akamantis by Photios.

Sporgilos (p. 121, No. 39) also appears as a *demotic*, Sporgilios, in Stephanos of Byzantium.

THE LATE ROMAN *DEMES*^{52bis}

LATE ROMAN *DEMES* ASSOCIATED WITH CONSTITUTIONAL DEMES (11 *demes*)

(a) ASSOCIATION WITH APHIDNA

By far the most common association of the Late Roman *demes* was with Aphidna. I attribute to the administration of this large Attic deme as many as seven (there undoubtedly were more) small communities, a number of which had attained, at least by the second century after Christ, a measure of independent *deme* status.

Hyporeia (p. 115, No. 15) occurs a number of times in a fourth-century B.C. inscription (*I.G.*, II², 1594) where property is described as being located *Ἀφιδν ἐν Ὑπωρείαι*. Later it appears in the Ptolemaid roster of the great *deme*-catalogue of 200 B.C. and, much later, as the *demotic* of two ephebes on an inscription dated A.D. 155/6. Hyporeia has also been suggested by B. D. Meritt as the *demotic* of the secretary in 246/5,⁵³ whose tribal affiliation must be Aigeis. There are great difficulties, however, in Meritt's proposal, chief among them the facts that (1) Hyporeia was probably never a legitimate constitutional deme, certainly not in this period,

⁵⁰ For the location of the sanctuary of Herakles Tetrakomos see references, above, p. 50, *s.v.* Xypete, and I. Papademetriou, *Γέρας Ἀ. Κεραμοπούλλου*, pp. 294–302.

⁵¹ The reading is daggered in M. Schmidt's edition. Lekkon may be related to Leukopyra, also listed by Hesychios.

⁵² The feminine and neuter plural demes are discussed by D. M. Lewis, *B.S.A.*, L, 1955, p. 13, and LI, 1956, p. 172. Rhakidai may be in error for Pyrrakidai, see *Hermes*, XXVIII, 1893, pp. 627–628.

^{52bis} *Late Roman* may appear a misnomer in some instances, especially when applied to names attested in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. I use the term, however, to emphasize the period of their prominence, see below, p. 95, with note 78.

⁵³ *The Classical Tradition, Literary and Historical Studies in Honor of Harry Caplan*, Cornell, 1966, pp. 31–42, with references to the earlier publications, especially *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, p. 11, where the suggestion was first advanced.

when it was apparently a dependent community of Aphidna, and (2) Hyporeia, like Aphidna, undoubtedly had a tribal affiliation with Aiantis, and later Ptolemais, but not with Aigeis. The second point is strengthened, if, as proposed below, we remove the analogy of the triple transfer of Perrhidai.⁵⁴

Thyrgonidai (p. 121, No. 41), described by Harpokration as being transferred, along with Aphidna, Perrhidai, and Titakidai, from Aiantis (quoting Nicander), and as belonging to Ptolemais (quoting Demetrios Skepsios), also appears in the Ptolemaid roster of *I.G.*, II², 2362, in a group which includes Hyporeia, Eunostidai, Klopidae, and Perrhidai. Like Hyporeia, Petalidai, and probably the other demes in the group, Thyrgonidai was no doubt a very small community within the constitutional deme Aphidna.

Titakidai (p. 122, No. 42). In addition to the reference by Harpokration in the passage just cited, Titakidai is also mentioned by Stephanos of Byzantium, who assigns it to Antiochis, but Stephanos is not at all reliable in such assignments generally and confirms our suspicion of error in this particular instance by connecting the eponymous founder of Titakidai with Aphidna. Titakidai occurs as a demotic in one Ptolemaid prytany register, in two ephebic rosters (both of Ptolemais) and in three gravestones, all six of these inscriptions dating from the second and third centuries after Christ. Undoubtedly Titakidai also was a small community within the regular deme Aphidna.

Perrhidai (p. 119, No. 28). In addition to the reference by Harpokration in the passage cited above, Perrhidai is mentioned by both Stephanos of Byzantium, who

⁵⁴ The alternatives to Hyporeia (for the demotic of the secretary in 246/5) hitherto proposed have been either to assume a stonecutter's error or to restore the demotic Hybades. Hybadei belonged to Leontis and its restoration here necessitates a second break, within two years, in the secretary cycles. Moreover, as Meritt has shown (*op. cit.*, pp. 38–41), Hybades provides a far less suitable length of line than Hyporeieus (of course, Hybades followed by an interval of three spaces would also give the longer line, and Meritt himself has argued that such an uninscribed space is possible in decrees of this period, *Hesperia*, XXXII, 1963, p. 427). There is another possibility, however, which deserves consideration, and that is the restoration of the demotic as Lower Ankyle. Lower Ankyle (like its twin, Upper Ankyle, which I assume was the section transferred to Antigonis in 307/6) was at least a legitimate constitutional deme belonging to Aigeis, the phyle required by the regular tribal cycles for the secretary in 246/5. Admittedly, the special designations *καθύπερθε(ν)* and *ὑπένερθε(ν)* were not regularly used when these demotics were cited in inscriptions, but they do appear on a number of prytany, bouleutic, and ephebic lists from the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. and also in the *deme*-catalogue of 201/0 (see Appendix D, below, pp. 123–128). On these occasions it was obviously felt necessary to keep the individual sections of the divided demes distinct (they were, after all, like the homonymous demes, independent constitutional demes, each section having its own specific quota of representation in the Council). I suggest that similar circumstances might account for such a specific designation here, viz. that it was felt necessary, near the beginning of this third-century tribal cycle, at a time when one section of Ankyle belonged to Antigonis, to mark clearly that the secretary came from Aigeis. We know also from Harpokration (*s.v.* *Λαμπρρεῖς*) that Athenians occasionally specified which section of a divided deme they belonged to, and there exists in the same author a parallel for the inverted order posited here: *Ἀρδηττός . . . πρὸς τῷ δήμῳ τῷ ὑπένερθεν Ἀγρυλίων*.

describes it as a *deme* in Aphidna, and Hesychios, who attributes it to Antiochis. But Stephanos cannot be referring to Perrhidai as a constitutional deme, since no regular Attic deme was located within another,⁵⁵ and Hesychios is certainly incorrect in his tribal affiliation, for there is no other evidence that Perrhidai was ever connected with Antiochis. The lexicographers, as I have already noted, often made such errors of deme identification and/or tribal affiliation. Perrheidai (the first letter is not preserved, and the spelling of the vowel is epsilon-iota in contrast to the regular iota elsewhere) appears as a demotic in a list of names identified by Dow as prytaneis (*Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 36, no. 3, line 11 = 68, line 25). A number of difficulties in this text have already been pointed out by Dow himself and by other scholars,⁵⁶ but the chief problem, I believe, is that Perrhidai had no known citizens, other than the prytanis and his father in this text, and was therefore never a regular Attic deme, certainly not in this period when it was obviously a dependent community within the constitutional deme Aphidna. The appearance of such a *deme* on a prytany list would be unparalleled, at least prior to the second century after Christ. Moreover, its proposed association with Oineis is out of all order, for Perrhidai, as far as we know, was transferred directly, like its associated communities and the parent deme Aphidna, from Aiantis to Ptolemais. C. W. J. Eliot has suggested the possibility of restoring a demotic of Oineis in the *Hesperia* prytany list, and although one should never lightly invoke the theory of a stonecutter's error, this is surely the most likely solution here.⁵⁷ The mason, or the secretary who prepared the mason's copy, might easily have confused the small and relatively unknown deme of Tyrmeidai with the tiny community located within Aphidna but known separately as Perrhidai. In cursive script the two names could appear very similar. This, of course, is only a theory, but there is one additional piece of evidence which may be presented in its support. In discussing the *deme* Ikarion B (above, p. 84) I pointed out that *I.G.*, II², 2362, line 53 should be read as Perrhidai and not Ikaria, as Pritchett had proposed. Furthermore, the preserved letters and traces, as reported by Pritchett and other epigraphers,⁵⁸ indicate that the spelling was the *Perrhidai*

⁵⁵ Kirchner logically deduced that Aphidna in this phrase must be the trittys name. Eliot (*Coastal Demes*, pp. 152–153) rightly rejected the basic assumption of Kirchner's argument, viz. that Perrhidai was an independent deme in the fourth century B.C., but he was incorrect, in my opinion, in dating this *deme's* formation to 307/6, for we now know that no demes were created in that year (and only one, Berenikidai, was established in the reorganization of 224/3). I think it very possible (contrary to Eliot, *ibid.*, note 43) that Hesychios, in referring to Perrhidai, is using *δημος* in a non-Kleisthenic sense.

⁵⁶ S. Dow, *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 38; W. K. Pritchett, *A.J.P.*, LX, 1939, pp. 258–259; B. D. Meritt in *The Classical Tradition*, Ithaca (New York), 1966, p. 33; Eliot, *Coastal Demes*, p. 152, note 37.

⁵⁷ *Coastal Demes*, p. 152, note 37. For even more blatant confusion of demotics see S. Dow, *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 100, with note 1, and *Hesperia*, XXXVIII, 1969, p. 427 (= 130), lines 132–133, where *Κηφισιέα* was cut in error for *Φαληρέα*.

⁵⁸ I believe I can make out on the Princeton squeeze (but it may be only my "mind-driven eye") the slanting stroke once read by Pritchett, as well as traces of what would be the first rho of Perrhidai. I note that Gell's transcript of *I.G.*, II², 6481, line 2 could be restored [*Π*]επρίδου, cf. Kirchner, *loc. cit.*

(iota alone) known from the lexicographers, not the supposed [*P*]errheidai (epsilon-iota) from the *Hesperia* prytany inscription. I conclude, therefore, that there was no *deme* Perrheidai, that the community was called *Perrhidai*, and that the text of *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 36, no. 3, line 11 was cut in error for Tyrmeidai.

Petalidai (p. 119, No. 29). Two inscriptions from the middle of the fourth century describe property as being located 'Αφιδ ἐν Πεταλίδωι and 'Αφίδνησι ἐν Πεταλιδῶν. These phrases immediately invite comparison with Hyporeia (see above, p. 87), and no doubt Petalidai, Hyporeia, Perrhidai, etc., were all small communities within Aphidna. With Perrhidai restored in line 53 of *I.G.*, II², 2362, only Pentele and Petalidai, which begin pi-epsilon, are available in Ptolemais for the restoration in line 52. Pentele was affiliated originally with Antiochis, but Petalidai, as just mentioned, was located in Aphidna and would naturally belong with Thyrgonidai, Hyporeia, Perrhidai, etc. which appear in this very section of the *deme*-catalogue. On this basis, then, I suggest the restoration of Petalidai in line 52 of *I.G.*, II², 2362.⁵⁹ Two ephebes of Ptolemais, both obviously from the same family, bear this *demotic* near the middle of the second century after Christ.

Eunostidai (p. 114, No. 12) first occurs in the Ptolemaid roster of the *deme*-catalogue, inscribed immediately below Hyporeia and in the same group as Perrhidai and Petalidai (if my restorations are correct). It next appears nearly a century later, in 108/7, as the *demotic* of Xenokleides, father of one Pamphile who helped prepare the peplos for Athena.⁶⁰ In Late Roman times it reappears as the *demotic* of two ephebes belonging to Ptolemais. It is only an inference, based mainly⁶¹ on the grouping in the *deme*-catalogue, but it is at least possible that Eunostidai was also a small community associated with the constitutional *deme* Aphidna (see below, p. 98).

Klopidae (p. 116, No. 19) makes its first appearance in the *Knights* of Aristophanes (line 79) where it is generally explained by scholiasts and commentators, on the basis of the well-known Attic *demotic* Kropidae, as a deliberate humorous invention by the author. ΚΛΩΠΙΑ[---] occurs as a place name in the fourth-century property inscription *I.G.*, II², 1602,⁶² and is assumed by scholars to be the earliest inscriptional reference to Klopidae. The name has also been read by Pritchett in the *deme*-catalogue of 201/0,⁶³ in which it appears immediately below Thyrgonidai. More than three centuries later it reappears as the *demotic* of two ephebes, of two

⁵⁹ There may be a trace of the vertical stroke which could belong to tau still preserved in the third letter-space in this line, but again I cannot be sure of the reading.

⁶⁰ *I.G.*, II², 1036, line 37; the reading is by C. A. Hutton, *B.S.A.*, XXI, 1914-16, p. 159.

⁶¹ See pp. 98-100, for a discussion of the arrangement of the *deme*-catalogue. The father of one of the ephebes, it may be pointed out, bore the name Onasos, which is known a little earlier in Aphidna (*I.G.*, II², 1755, line 14 = *Agora*, XV, No. 275; *I.G.*, II², 8178).

⁶² The lambda in the text (cf. *S.E.G.*, XXI, 577) is assumed to be an uncompleted delta.

⁶³ *T.A.P.A.*, LXXXV, 1954, p. 167.

prytaneis of Ptolemais,⁶⁴ and of the exegete of Pythian Apollo. On the basis of its appearance in *I.G.*, II², 2362 in the company of several other communities which certainly or probably were associated with Aphidna, Klopidae also is tentatively affiliated with this constitutional deme and is assigned to Aiantis for the period prior to 224/3.

(b) ASSOCIATION WITH OINOE

Melainai (p. 118, No. 25) is mentioned in the fourth-century property inscription *I.G.*, II², 1602 (in the same text with Klopidae), but does not reappear on inscriptions until the Late Roman period, when it occurs on a gravestone and in a Ptolemaid ephebic list. In contrast, however, to the meager references in inscriptions, there is a rich source of material concerning Melainai in the lexicographers and ancient authors. The name, despite slight variations in spelling, has an assured legendary connection with Melanthos and the festival of the Apatouria and a geographical association with Oinoe and Panakton.⁶⁵ Oinoe and Melainai were both members of Ptolemais, transferred to that phyle apparently from Demetrias (see above, p. 27), and since each phyle contributed only one constitutional deme to Ptolemais, and Oinoe was the contribution of its phyle Hippothontis, it is virtually certain that Melainai was not a regular Kleisthenic deme, but rather probably a dependent community within the territory of Oinoe. Stephanos' attribution of Melainai to Antiochis is clearly in error.

(c) POSSIBLE ASSOCIATION WITH DEKELEIA

Sphendale (p. 121, No. 38) is mentioned by Herodotos as one of the points along Mardonios' march from the Megarid to Tanagra via Dekeleia; presumably it was located between the last two.⁶⁶ Sphendale is also described by Stephanos of Byzantium as a *deme* belonging to Hippothontis and it appears on two Late Roman inscriptions, on one as the *demotic* of a Hippothontid ephebe,^{66bis} and on the other as the *demotic* of two protengraphoi who bear the unusual and non-Attic names Sotimianos and Seilianos. Clearly Sphendale was a small community near the

⁶⁴ *Hesperia*, XXXIII, 1964, p. 211, no. 66; the text has been restudied and redated to about A.D. 175, see *Agora*, XV, No. 392.

⁶⁵ For a discussion of the literary evidence concerning the location of Panakton, see *Karten von Attika*, Text, VII–VIII, pp. 15–18; on the identification see L. Chandler, *J.H.S.*, XLVI, 1926, pp. 6–8. The fort of Korynos was suggested by Sarres as the location of Melainai, but see J. R. McCredie, *Hesperia*, Suppl. XI, 1966, pp. 83–84.

⁶⁶ On the location of Sphendale see *Karten von Attika*, Text, IX, p. 27, and *J.H.S.*, XLVI, 1926, pp. 3–4.

^{66bis} In a fragment of *I.G.*, II², 2061, etc. (see M. Th. Mitsos, *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1950–51, pp. 33–37, no. 17), as yet unpublished.

Boeotian border associated with one of the constitutional demes in the trittys to which Dekeleia, Oion Dekeleikon, and possibly also Anakaia, belonged.

(d) POSSIBLE ASSOCIATION WITH KOLONAI

Pentele (p. 119, No. 27), the well-known quarrying center, occurs on a large number of fifth-century inscriptions as a place name, but is rejected by most scholars as a Kleisthenic deme.⁶⁷ Although Stephanos of Byzantium assigns it to Antiochis, it appears as a *demotic* of Ptolemais on three Late Roman ephebic catalogues. It also occurs on two other Late Roman ephebic lists in which the phyle is not specified. If we are to trust Stephanos' attribution, then Pentele ought to have been associated with one of the two constitutional demes from Antiochis which were later affiliated with Ptolemais, viz. Aigilia and Kolonai, the latter having been transferred first to Antigonis and then to the Egyptian phyle. Any topographical connection between Pentele, located at the monastery Mendeli,⁶⁸ and Aigilia is out of the question, but the location of Kolonai is uncertain and it has been assigned, at least by one scholar,⁶⁹ to the region of Pentele. On this basis, then, I would advance the suggestion that Pentele was originally a dependent community within the area of the constitutional deme Kolonai, and that by Late Roman times it had attained a measure of autonomy as an independent *deme*.

(e) POSSIBLE ASSOCIATION WITH RHAMNOUS

Psaphis (p. 120, No. 34), the well-known Boeotian town located near Oropos,⁷⁰ appears on three Late Roman inscriptions, once as the *demotic* of an Aiantid ephebe, and on the other two occasions as the *demotic* or *ethnic* of two protengraphoi and a dedicator to Apollo Gephyraios.⁷¹ Undoubtedly Psaphis was never a regular Attic deme, but its inclusion in the Athenian tribal organization, as indicated by the single Aiantid ephebic list, suggests that it may have been associated unofficially with the nearest constitutional deme, viz. Rhamnous.

LATE ROMAN *DEMES* WITH UNKNOWN CONSTITUTIONAL ASSOCIATION (8 *demes*)

There are eight additional Late Roman *demes*, all of which have no known location and, as yet, no association with any of the constitutional demes. Only one, Kykala, is attested (as a reference in a property inscription) prior to the second century after Christ, and only one, Leukopyra, is mentioned by the lexicographers.

⁶⁷ For references see Pritchett, *Five Tribes*, p. 31, note 68.

⁶⁸ On the location see *Karten von Attika*, Text, III–VI, pp. 33–34.

⁶⁹ W. E. Thompson, *Hesperia*, XXXIX, 1970, p. 65. I take issue with one point of Thompson's reasoning: Pallene did not lie at the foot of Pentelikon, but at the northern tip of Hymettos.

⁷⁰ See, for example, Strabo, IX, 1, 22, and, on its location and history, E. Meyer, *R.E.*, s.v. Psaphis.

⁷¹ The choice of Apollo *Gephyraios* may have topographical significance, see below, p. 115, No. 13.

Akyaia (p. 113, No. 2). Three ephebes of Ptolemais, two of them obviously from the same family, bear this *demotic* about the middle of the second century after Christ; one of the ephebes reappears about a half dozen years later as a hypophronistes. Another *demesman* was Secretary of the Boule and Demos in A.D. 168/9. One may speculate on the earlier history of Akyaia, as also on the earlier histories of the other seven demes treated in this section, but that it was not a regular constitutional deme is clear.

Amymone (p. 113, No. 4) appears as a *demotic* on three ephebic lists, on two of which it is identified with the phyle Hippothontis, and also on one gravestone, all dating from the second or third centuries after Christ.

Ergadeis (p. 114, No. 11) occurs as a *demotic* of Antiochis in one prytany catalogue, in one unidentified list, and in three ephebic rosters. The earliest of the ephebic inscriptions is dated to the year A.D. 126/7, just at the time the phyle Hadrianis was being established; another belongs about A.D. 166/7 and lists as belonging to Ergadeis two unusual and non-Attic names, Bakchylos and Beithynikos. Etymology is sometimes employed to suggest a Laureion location for this deme,⁷² but *ἐργαστήρια*, if this indeed provides the correct derivation for Ergadeis, could also belong to the city as well as to a mining area, and both the inland and coastal trittyes of Antiochis included mines or quarries.

Kykala (p. 116, No. 20) occurs only twice, once as a place name in a property inscription dating from the fifth century B.C., and a second time, nearly six centuries later, as the *demotic* of an Aiantid ephebe in A.D. 163/4. The tribal affiliation with Aiantis in the second century after Christ precludes any possible association with Aphidna, to which we have assigned so many other small communities.

Kyrteidai (p. 116, No. 21). Described (with slightly differing spelling⁷³) by Hesychios as a *deme* belonging to Akamantis, Kyrteidai is well known from the Late Roman inscriptions, chiefly the ephebic lists, but also one prytany catalogue, *I.G.*, II², 1775 (=373), in which it has two representatives. The second of these councillors, Zenon, son of a homonymous father, is almost certainly to be identified with the Secretary of the Bouleutai in the Akamantid prytany list of the preceding year (*I.G.*, II², 1774=371, A.D. 167/8), in which he appears at the end of the register (the regular position for this officer in this period) below the single representative of Kerameis. It may be noted in passing that Kyrteidai does not appear in the earlier of these prytany lists, nor Kerameis in the later, and it is possible (following the parallel

⁷² R. Löper, *Ath. Mitt.*, XVII, 1892, p. 422; A. Milchhöfer, *R.E.*, s.v. Ergadeis. On the meaning of *ἐργαστήριον* as "cistern/washing-table complex" see R. J. Hopper, *B.S.A.*, LXIII, 1968, p. 324. Alternately, it may be derived from *Ἀργαδῆς*, one of the four Ionic phylai (cf. L.S.J.⁹, s.v. *ἐργάδεις*, citing manuscript readings from Plutarch, *Solon*, 23).

⁷³ *Κυρτιάδαι*; the curtailed form KYPTI in the ephebic list *I.G.*, II², 2086, line 87, however, probably stands for *Κυρτιάδαι*.

of the *demes* discussed in the preceding section) that Kyrteidai was originally a dependent community of Kerameis or of another Akamantid deme.⁷⁴

Leukopyra (p. 117, No. 24). Described by Hesychios as a *deme* of Antiochis, Leukopyra is also well known as a *demotic* from one occurrence in an Antiochid prytany list (*I.G.*, II², 1781, line 33 = **380**; the reading and interpretation of the letters lambda-epsilon-sigma, however, are open to question and these letters may in fact belong to a name) and six occurrences, representing at most three families, in ephebic rosters of Antiochis. All of the inscriptions have been dated later than the middle of the second century after Christ.

Phyrrhinesioi or *Phyrhnesioi* (p. 120, No. 32) appears as a *demotic* in as many as four prytany registers of Antiochis, all of them dating from either the second or third century after Christ. One of the prytaneis, Eulogos, son of Kleonymos, from the text dated after A.D. 216, occurs in an ephebic list of about twenty-five years earlier in which the ephebes were not given demotics although they were arranged by phylai.⁷⁵ The *demotic* of Phyrrhinesioi, however, does occur in two other ephebic lists, both dating from the Late Roman period. In one of these the Antiochid tribal affiliation is made clear.

Semachidai B (p. 121, No. 37). One Semachidai had a well-known continuous history in Antiochis and has at last been located with much probability in the "Epakria," as suggested by Philochoros.⁷⁶ A second Semachidai (the ending is not actually preserved, but it is naturally assumed to have been identical with the Antiochid demotic) is known only from the Late Roman period, as the *demotic* of two Ptolemaid ephebes, one of whom bears the unusual name Dareios. The two Semachidai (if indeed there were two such demes, and the evidence for the Ptolemaid section is not simply the result of error in the inscribing of the ephebic lists) are generally assumed to have been sections of a divided deme. If this is true, then the division, like that of the other divided demes, ought to date from the original organization of Attica by Kleisthenes, but whereas each section of Agryle, Pergase, Ankyle, Lamptraí, Paiania, and Potamos (the other divided demes) has a long and well-attested individual history and the two sections together have at least two representatives in the Council, only one deme Semachidai, and that with a single

⁷⁴ Kirsten, I note, assigns Kyrteidai to the city (*Atti terzo Congr.*, p. 166), but on what grounds I do not know; he classifies the assignment as *unsicher*. It is more commonly placed in the coastal trittys (cf. *R.E.*, s.v. *Κυρτεῖδαι*, and H.-G. Buchholz, *Arch. Anz.*, 1963, col. 497), but the evidence for this assignment, the supposed etymological connection with *κυρτεῖς* and *κύρτος*, is weak.

⁷⁵ On the circumstances and significance of the omission of demotics in the ephebic texts there has been much discussion and wide difference of opinion; cf. J. A. Notopoulos, *A.J.P.*, LXIX, 1948, pp. 415–417; O. W. Reinmuth, *T.A.P.A.*, LXXIX, 1948, pp. 211–231; XC, 1959, pp. 209–223; XCIII, 1962, pp. 374–388; and S. Dow, *Harv. Stud. Cl. Phil.*, LXIII, 1958, pp. 423–436; *T.A.P.A.*, XCI, 1960, pp. 381–409. These discussions, however, deal largely with isolated omissions, and not, as in the present case, with texts in which all names are listed without demotic.

⁷⁶ Above, p. 54.

councillor, is attested prior to the Late Roman period. Moreover, the manner in which Ptolemais was organized indicates very strongly that Semachidai B was not a regular constitutional deme, at least not in 224/3 B.C. The theory of a divided deme is therefore rejected and Semachidai B is assumed to be another Late Roman deme.⁷⁷

CONCLUSION

THE SPURIOUS AND LATE ROMAN DEMES

In conclusion, I suggest that a large number of names which have previously been considered by Schöffer, Dinsmoor, and other scholars as Attic *demes* have no basis for inclusion in the class of Kleisthenic or later constitutional demes. Of the forty-three additional *demes* I have discussed, twenty-four, or more than half, may be rejected outright; they appear on no prytany or bouleutic list and they have nothing even approaching what could be called a body of known citizens. Indeed, a significant number of the *demes* in this class are purely fictitious, the result of error, ancient or modern, or of misinterpretation. A sizable number of others, however, nineteen to be precise, are reasonably well known, chiefly from inscriptions of the second and third centuries after Christ,⁷⁸ i.e. subsequent to the formation of Hadrianis, but also occasionally from citations in the authors. None has a large body of citizens, but several have a half dozen, and one, Kyrteidai, has perhaps as many as two dozen (counting patronymics) known members. Six of these *demes* even occur as *demotics* in prytany catalogues, indicating that they had representation in the Athenian Council and thereby fulfilled, in the second period of thirteen phylai, the second of my criteria for consideration as constitutional demes. The majority of these Late Roman *demes* are attested, either from property inscriptions or references in the lexicographers and other authors, formerly as place names, and it is probable that if we had more evidence all would turn out to have had earlier histories. The tribal affiliations are mainly with Hippothontis, Antiochis, and especially Aiantis and, later, Ptolemais; where locations are known, they are

⁷⁷ The reference to a Semacheion in the mining inscription *I.G.*, II², 1582 (lines 53–54; ἡ ὁδὸς ἣ ἔξω τοῦ Ῥαγῶνος ἐπὶ Λαύρεον φέρουσα καὶ τὸ Σημάχειον) has been taken by Solders and Gomme (references: W. K. Pritchett, *Five Tribes*, p. 32, note 71) as evidence for the location of the Antiochid deme Semachidai in the Laureion region. If Semacheion were more certainly identified as a place name (see Pritchett, *loc. cit.*), this location would be most attractive, since it would leave Semachidai-in-the-Epakria to be identified with the Late Roman *deme* Semachidai B and to belong to the same region, near Aphidna, and to the same phyle, Ptolemais, as the other Late Roman *demes*, Thyrgonidai, Titakidai, Perrhidai, etc.

⁷⁸ All of the *demes* classified as “Late Roman,” with two exceptions, are attested in inscriptions from the second and third centuries after Christ. Perrhidai and Thyrgonidai are not directly attested in this period, but because of their obviously close associations with other “Late Roman *demes*” they have been so classified.

generally in northern Attica near the Boeotian border (one certainly, and several others possibly, were Boeotian towns). In a number of cases, it is known or suspected that they were located within a regular constitutional deme, particularly Aphidna; in a few other instances I have hypothesized or suggested such affiliations; but in all cases I conclude that for political purposes they were originally dependent on the legitimate Kleisthenic demes. Their appearance, chiefly in the Late Roman ephebic rosters, but also on prytany catalogues, on dedications, and on grave monuments, was probably a matter of local pride and their status as constitutional demes never official. By the second and third centuries after Christ the long-established system of Kleisthenes was perceptibly weakening, as evidenced by the reduction of tribal membership in the Council from fifty to forty representatives,⁷⁹ by the waiving of the rule on the number of councillorships a citizen might hold,⁸⁰ by the decline, or even disappearance, of several Kleisthenic demes,⁸¹ and by the absence of demotics from a significant number of the prytany and ephebic lists.⁸² It is possible, indeed it is to be expected, in these late and declining days of Athenian history that some communities, which in earlier years would have been assigned to one of the constitutional demes, attained a measure, either officially or, more likely, unofficially, of independent deme status.⁸³ Just as the breakdown in the system of fixed bouleutic quotas had come many centuries earlier, shortly after the establishment of the second period of twelve phylai, now, shortly after the initiation of the second period of thirteen phylai, a more serious breakdown occurred in the political organization of Attica.

THE NUMBER OF ATTIC DEMES: THE ANCIENT SOURCES

Two ancient sources are commonly quoted with respect to the number of Attic demes. Herodotos (V, 69) states:

δέκα τε δὴ φυλάρχους ἀντὶ τεσσέρων ἐποίησε [ὁ Κλεισθένης], δέκα δὲ καὶ τοὺς δήμους κατένειμε ἐς τὰς φυλάς.

These words were once employed as evidence for a total of one hundred Attic demes, ten in each phyle, but with the studies of Milchhöfer and Löper came the realization

⁷⁹ See above, p. xvi, and note 10.

⁸⁰ See D. J. Geagan, *Athenian Constitution After Sulla*, p. 75.

⁸¹ See above, p. 58, note 15.

⁸² See above, pp. xv and 3 for the omission of demotics in the prytany lists; for the ephebic texts see references, above, note 77.

⁸³ Shifts in population cannot have been the only cause, for the population composition of Attica must have been changing throughout history. Certainly fashion, as indicated by the rapidly rising number of Athenians in the second and third centuries after Christ who obtained Roman citizenship and imitated Roman ways, played an important role in the decline of the traditional Athenian bouleutic organization. The decline in the Kleisthenic system was matched by an increasing interest in the pre-Kleisthenic phratries and *gene*, see J. H. Oliver, *Hesperia*, Suppl. XIII, 1970, p. 47 and *passim*.

that the system of Kleisthenes embodied more than one hundred demes and that one of the phylai, Aiantis, had significantly fewer than ten. Consequently, Herodotos' use of *δέκα* in reference to the number of demes has for some time now been generally accepted as distributive, i.e. Kleisthenes assigned the demes to the phylai in ten groups.⁸⁴

The other ancient author generally referred to on the subject, Strabo (IX, 1, 16), provides a less ambiguous answer. Strabo cites Hegesias:

οὗτος [ὁ Ἡγησίας] μὲν οὖν ἐνὸς ἐμνήσθη τῶν ἐν ἀκροπόλει σημείων· Πολέμων δ' ὁ περιγηγητὴς τέτταρα βιβλία συνέγραψε περὶ τῶν ἀναθημάτων τῶν ἐν ἀκροπόλει. τὸ δ' ἀνάλογον συμβαίνει καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῆς πόλεως μερῶν καὶ τῆς χώρας· Ἐλευσινὰ τε εἰπὼν ἓνα τῶν ἑκατὸν ἑβδομήκοντα δήμων, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τεττάρων, ὥς φασιν, οὐδένα τῶν ἄλλων ὠνόμακεν.

To Strabo and his source the total number of Attic demes was one hundred and seventy, or one hundred and seventy-four. The differing totals likely reflect two traditions and are particularly significant in indicating that even in antiquity there was some uncertainty concerning the number of Attic demes.⁸⁵ By Strabo's time (and also by Polemon's, but not Hegesias'⁸⁶) two new constitutional demes, viz. Berenikidai and Apollonieis, had, of course, been added to Kleisthenes' total, but a large discrepancy still remains between my figure of one hundred and forty-one and Strabo's total of one hundred and seventy (or one hundred and seventy-four). This discrepancy is to be explained, I believe, only by the assumption that Strabo and his source were referring to Attic *demes* as villages and not as the political units of Kleisthenes' organization.⁸⁷

Support for this interpretation may be found in the use of *δῆμοι* not only by

⁸⁴ See, for example, the discussion by J. E. Sandys, Aristotle, *Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία*, ed. 2, 1912, p. 84. The emendation *δέκαχα* by Lolling has been accepted by many editors.

⁸⁵ The uncertainty undoubtedly was derived from the fact that the number itself was not significant (cf. Sandys' remark, *loc. cit.*, "To Cleisthenes, however, the exact number of the demes was immaterial; the unit of his reorganisation of the tribes was not the deme but the group of demes, the Trittys."). The demes were the most natural, but least noteworthy aspect of the Kleisthenic system. The trittyes and the phylai, on the other hand, were the more artificial and significant features of the organization, and their numbers were of course all-important. For discussions of the number of fifth-century demes see references, Pritchett, *Five Tribes*, p. 27, note 55. On the dates of these sources see *R.E.*, s.vv. Polemon 8 and Hegesias 13.

⁸⁶ The passage quoted, however, requires some elucidation. The reference to Polemon must be complete with *ἐν ἀκροπόλει*, for the following sentence can refer logically only to Hegesias' cursive account of Attica; the introductory *δέ*, as well as the repeated mention of Eleusis, confirms this. There is nothing in the words of Strabo, however, to compel the attribution of the figure for the number of demes to Hegesias, and the source of the *additional four* is certainly general, as the words *ὥς φασιν* naturally imply. *Addendum*: I note that I have been anticipated in this interpretation by G. C. Richards, *Class. Rev.*, X, 1896, pp. 383–384.

⁸⁷ A corruption of the figure in the tradition is, of course, possible, but this should not be the first assumption here.

the ancient authors in general (see above, p. 73) but also by Strabo himself, who completes his summary of the Attic demes (which began with the passage quoted above) as follows:⁸⁸

κάμψαντι δὲ τὴν κατὰ τὸ Σούνιον ἄκραν ἀξιόλογος δῆμος Σούνιον, εἶτα Θόρικος, εἶτα Ποταμὸς δῆμος οὕτω καλούμενος, ἐξ οὗ οἱ ἄνδρες Ποτάμιοι, εἶτα Πρασία, Στειριά, Βραυρών, ὅπου τὸ τῆς Βραυρωνίας Ἀρτεμίδος ἱερόν, [Ἄλαι Ἀραφή]νίδες, ὅπου τὸ τῆς Ταυροπόλου, Μυρρινουῖς, Προβάλινθος, Μαραθῶν, κτλ.

The appearance of Brauron, never a Kleisthenic deme, in a list which includes Prasiai, Steiria, Halai, Myrrhinous, Probalinthos, etc., all regular Athenian constitutional demes, is a strong confirmation that Strabo certainly, and his source probably, were considering demes only in the general sense of towns or communities and not in the technical sense of political units.⁸⁹

THE DEME-CATALOGUE *I.G.*, II², 2362

I turn now to consider the great *deme* list *I.G.*, II², 2362, which is probably the chief evidence supporting Strabo's figure of one hundred and seventy, or one hundred and seventy-four, Attic *demes*. In 201/0 B.C., after the dissolution of the Macedonian phylai and before the creation of Attalis and the initiation of the long second period of twelve phylai, a list was drawn up which was intended (it was never completed) to include all the demes which I have defined as constitutional, and, in addition, in the roster of Ptolemais at least, a number of other names which I have characterized as Late Roman *demes*.⁹⁰

This roster of Ptolemais merits closer scrutiny. The last three lines, above the tribal heading of Akamantis, cannot now be read, but traces of the preceding seven lines are still clearly in evidence. The first of these, Thyrgonidai, the second last, Hyporeia, and also the line immediately above Hyporeia, Perrhidai (according to my restoration), were names affiliated with, or actually located within, Aphidna, and it is reasonable to assume that the remainder of these place names were also associated with Aphidna.⁹¹ Indeed, Aphidna probably headed this section of the list.

⁸⁸ IX, 1, 22.

⁸⁹ Strabo, as the narrative makes clear, was interested in the demes as villages and not as political units; his discussion relates to their historical, topographical, and mythological, but not their constitutional, significance.

⁹⁰ For the appearance of Graes and Phegaieis in the roster of Pandionis, which I have attributed to error, see above, p. 82.

⁹¹ The chief objection to this theory is the restoration by Pritchett and Schebelew of Phlya in line 51 (see *T.A.P.A.*, LXXXV, 1954, pp. 165–166), but the traces in the third letter-space in this line do not, in my opinion, resemble upsilon. Nicander's list in Harpokration was, after all, probably far from complete, and this name may belong to a community as yet unknown in Aphidna. *Phaneros* may have

Such an arrangement is reasonable in the *deme*-catalogue of 201/0, for it is obvious that the demes of several of the phylai in this inscription have been grouped with some care, apparently by *τριττύες τῶν πρυτάνεων*.⁹² This no doubt was also the official or semi-official scheme of listing the demes in some of the fourth- and third-century registers.⁹³ For the post-Kleisthenic phylai, on the other hand, if we may judge by the bouleutic list of 304/3 and several of the prytany lists belonging to the early years of Antigonis and Demetrias, the general rule was to list the demes according to the official order of the tribes from which they had been transferred. For example, the roster of Antigonis in the bouleutic list just cited begins with the three demes contributed by Erechtheis, continues with the three from Aigeis and Pandionis respectively, then several of the Leontid demes, before the stone breaks off. The roster of Demetrias in the same inscription is arranged in a similar manner, with the exception of Xypete and several of the small demes transferred from the last phylai, which must have been listed out of place.⁹⁴ A similar arrangement for the demes of Ptolemais seems probable on the great catalogue of 201/0: Aphidna and its dependent communities, which appear near the bottom of the Ptolemaid roster in *I.G.*, II², 2362, originally belonged to Aiantis, the second-last phyle, prior to 224/3. Furthermore, if we trust Lolling's readings (and they are generally reliable⁹⁵), then we, with Kirchner, should restore Aigilia in line 56 of the *deme*-catalogue. The last

been just such a community: see *I.G.*, II², 1594, line 40, [ἐτέρᾳ ἐσχ]ατιὰ Ἀφιδνῶν ὑπὸ τῷ Φανερῷ. *I.G.*, II², 2362, line 51 might thus be restored: [Φ]α[νερὸς?]. More probably, however, Phaneros is simply a topographical reference and not a community.

⁹² On *τριττύες τῶν πρυτάνεων* see W. E. Thompson, *Historia*, XV, 1966, pp. 1–10. The Akamantid roster in *I.G.*, II², 2362 (as far as preserved) makes perfect sense according to Thompson's theory: the first five names belong to the city and are followed by Eitea (the location of which is unknown but could be either city or inland) and two inland demes. The Leontid roster also can be construed to make good sense, if we allow (1) that one of the coastal demes has been listed out of order (only one deme, either Potamos or, as in Kirchner's text, Sounion, can be restored in line 41), (2) two Potamos demes were assigned to the city *τριττύς τῶν πρυτάνεων*, and (3) Oion Kerameikon was assigned to the inland *τριττύς τῶν πρυτάνεων* (see above, pp. 44–46). In the Pandionid roster Oa is obviously out of place, regardless of what was intended in lines 29 and 30. The roster of Aigeis also appears to be arranged by trittys, granted that Otryne belongs with the city demes, either from its location or from the lending of its membership to the city *τριττύς τῶν πρυτάνεων*. Only one roster, Erechtheis, fails to accord with Thompson's theory, unless the composition of the *τριττύες τῶν πρυτάνεων* for this phyle varied widely from year to year; Euonymon, Pergase, and probably Kephisia, at least, were listed out of order in *I.G.*, II², 2362. See above, pp. 38–39, note 9, 40–41, notes 11, 13, and 42, note 14, and now P. J. Rhodes, *Historia*, XX, 1971, p. 403.

⁹³ See W. E. Thompson, *loc. cit.*, and now, P. J. Rhodes, *loc. cit.*

⁹⁴ It should also be pointed out, however, that, in contrast to the treatment of the rosters of Antigonis and Demetrias, the rosters of the original phylai in the lists of 304/3, 303/2, and 281/0 were not arranged according to any obvious scheme; they were certainly not arranged by trittys.

⁹⁵ Pritchett, who accepts none of the readings in this line (*T.A.P.A.*, LXXXV, 1954, p. 167), has, on other occasions, stoutly defended the general reliability of Lolling's readings.

two lines,⁹⁶ below Aigilia, in the roster of Ptolemais might belong to Semachidai B (accepting the suggestion above, p. 95, note 77) and Berenikidai, or to Kolonai and Pentele, if Kolonai, in 201/0, was regarded as a contribution of Antiochis to which it was originally affiliated, and not as a direct donation of Antigonis to Ptolemais.

It appears, then, that the small communities associated with Aphidna (and perhaps some communities affiliated with other Attic demes) were considered by the year 201/0 as deserving individual listing in the *deme*-catalogue, although this, in itself, does not indicate their existence as separate constitutional demes. The total number of entries in *I.G.*, II², 2362, if it had been completed, would obviously have been greater than the one hundred and forty constitutional demes then in existence, but it is unlikely to have been as high as the one hundred and seventy (or one hundred and seventy-four) recorded by Strabo, for, with the exception of the Ptolemaid communities just mentioned and Graes and Phegaieis in Pandionis, the rosters include only the regular Kleisthenic demes. The *deme*-catalogue thus offers only slight support for Strabo's figure for the number of Attic *demes* and no support for considering as constitutional those *demes* over and above my total (for this period) of one hundred and forty (see below, Appendix E, p. 132, note 3).

The catalogue *I.G.*, II², 2362 gives rise to another field of inquiry which concerns deme nomenclature. Some demes (Pergase, Bate, Potamos, Kettos, etc.) appear in the list as proper nouns, while others (Pambotadai, Paionidai, Pelekes, Koloneis, Cholargeis, etc.) appear in the plural form of the adjective, i.e. the plural of the demotic, even though several of them, Cholargeis for instance, have a well-known nominal form. The particular choice, where there is one, is probably of no significance in the *deme*-catalogue, but it is significant, I think, that in the inscriptions generally, in the lexicographers, and in the ancient authors, only one form, usually the familiar plural patronymic ending in -idai,⁹⁷ is chosen for some demes. The often obvious connection of such demes with early Athenian history and legend is not necessarily an argument for their early origin (the tribal names, after all, imply an ancient existence, but all ten, as is well known, were instituted in the time of Kleisthenes), still, a number of them must belong to the distant Athenian past, for they are identical with, or closely related to, well-established Athenian *gene* with long pre-Kleisthenic histories; Philaidai, Paionidai, Ionidai, and Boutadai are several examples,⁹⁸ and there would undoubtedly be more, were our knowledge

⁹⁶ Pittakys' reading of Πρ[ο]σπαλτα] in line 57 has been accepted by no recent editor.

⁹⁷ Some of the demes in -idai have, of course, nominal forms, e.g. Konthyle and Konthylidai. A few others ending in -oi, e.g. Phrearrhioi, appear to be plurals, but may in fact be derived from locatives, (cf. Φρέαρροι, Stephanos Byz., Hesychios). Kerameis, and the two later demes Apollonieis and Antinoeis, are the only constitutional demes ending in -eis for which no proper deme name is known. It is significant that all three legitimate later demes exist as deme names only in the plural form of their demotic.

⁹⁸ Cf. J. Toepffer, *Attische Genealogie*, s.vv.

greater concerning the early Athenian *gene*.⁹⁹ The majority of the Athenian demes, places such as Marathon, Sounion, Trikorynthos, Probalinthos, Sphettos, Peiraieus, and Eleusis, have a long history as Attic communities (several of them, from their names and the evidence of archaeology, undoubtedly date from the earliest periods of habitation in Attica). These demes, of course, were, where possible, undoubtedly taken unchanged into the Kleisthenic system. But a number of others, perhaps as many as thirty, i.e. the -idai demes (all of them, judging from their representation, very small communities often with unknown or very tentative locations, e.g. Sybridai, Pambotadai, Tyrmeidai, and Hippotomadai), surely represent demes specially organized by Kleisthenes.¹⁰⁰ Many of them undoubtedly were adopted from *gene* and other associations whose resident members perhaps were concentrated in particular areas.¹⁰¹ Outside the city these demes could be used to unite groups of very small and perhaps isolated communities into political units of minimal size so as to facilitate a regular form of representation, while inside the city they might serve to break up the more densely populated areas into distinct citizen-bodies. All, even the latter, of course must have had a geographical reference point for the centering of deme government, for which purpose the well-established cult centers associated with the *gene* and other societies would be ideal.

Some support for this theory may be derived from the well-known passage in Aristotle's *'Αθηναίων Πολιτεία* (XXI, 5)¹⁰² which describes the naming of Kleisthenes' demes:

προσηγόρευσε δὲ τῶν δήμων τοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν τόπων, τοὺς δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν κτισάντων· οὐ γὰρ ἅπαντες ὑπῆρχον ἔτι τοῖς τόποις.

Τοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν τόπων were the well-known demes, such as Marathon, Sounion, Eleusis, etc., already long in existence. For what other reason would Kleisthenes have kept both the confusing homonymous demes and probably also the divided demes? *Τοὺς δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν κτισάντων* were the newly constituted demes, i.e. the majority of the demes with the patronymic ending, most of which, like the Kleisthenic tribal names, had an eponymous *κτίστης*. A number of these no doubt were artificial

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 315–316.

¹⁰⁰ A version of this theory was advanced at least as early as George Grote (long before the discovery of Aristotle's *'Αθηναίων Πολιτεία*); see his *History of Greece*, London, 1846–56, vol III, part II, ch. X. The list should include (bouleutic representation in parentheses; demes with unknown or uncertain location in *italics*): *Pambotadai* (1/0); *Sybridai* (1/0); *Philaidai* (3); *Ionidai* (2/1); *Kydantidai* (1/2); *Skambonidai* (3); *Aithalidai* (2); *Cholleidai* (2); *Eupyridai* (2); *Hybadai* (2); *Kropidai* (1); *Paionidai* (3); *Eiresidai* (1); *Iphistiadai* (1); *Boutadai* (1); *Hippotomadai* (1); *Lakiadai* (2); *Perithoidai* (3); *Tyrmeidai* (1/0); *Kothokidai* (1/2); *Epieikidai* (1); *Daidalidai* (1); *Keiriadai* (2); *Thymaitadai* (2); *Auridai* (1?); *Eroiadai* VIII (1); *Eroiadai* X (1); *Semachidai* (1).

¹⁰¹ Note, however, the obstacles which the larger religious organizations presented to the Kleisthenic reforms, see D. M. Lewis, *Historia*, XII, 1963, pp. 33–34.

¹⁰² See D. M. Lewis, *ibid.*, pp. 26–27.

TABLE: THE NUMBER OF ATHENIAN CONSTITUTIONAL DEMES

	X PHYLAI <i>fn. s. VI-308/7</i>	XII PHYLAI 307/6-224/3	XIII PHYLAI 223/2-201/0	XI PHYLAI 200 B.C.	XII PHYLAI 200/199-126/7	XIII PHYLAI 127/8-s. III <i>p.</i>
Erechtheis	14	11	10	13	12	11
Aigeis	21	17	16	20	19	18
Pandionis	11	8	7	10	9	8
Leontis	20	15	14	19	18	17
Akamantis	13	10	9	12	11	10
Oineis	13	10	9	12	11	10
Kekropis	11	8	7	10	9	8
Hippothontis	17	14	13	15	14	13
Aiantis	6	6	5	5	4	3
Antiochis	13	10	9	11	10	9
Antigonis	—	15	14	—	—	—
Demetrias	—	15	14	—	—	—
Ptolemais	—	—	12+1	13	12	11
Attalis	—	—	—	—	11+1	11
Hadrianis	—	—	—	—	—	12+1
TOTAL	139	139	140	140	141	142

entities, not natural geographical communities: as stated in the *Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία*, οὐ γὰρ ἅπαντες ὑπῆρχον ἔτι τοῖς τόποις, “for no longer did all the demes correspond to the places.”

THE CONSTITUTIONAL DEMES, A SUMMARY

Just as I argued that the conservatism of the system of representation expressed in the regularity of the fourth- and third-century B.C. quotas suggested strongly that these quotas belonged to the original political organization of Kleisthenes, so I think the manner in which the later phylai were created, a further indication of the same Athenian conservatism, confirms the definition of the Athenian constitutional demes just offered. Antigonis, established in honor of Antigonos Monophthalmos, and Demetrias, created in honor of Antigonos' son, Demetrios Poliorketes, were formed by taking three demes from each of the existing phylai, with the exception of the smallest, Aiantis, which provided none, and the largest of the phylai (in demes), Aigeis and Leontis, which provided four and five respectively to make up for Aiantis. But no new demes were created in 307/6. Ptolemais, established in honor of Ptolemy III Euergetes, was formed by taking one deme from each of the twelve phylai existing in 224/3 and adding one new deme, Berenikidai, created in honor of the ruler's consort, Berenice. Attalis, established in honor of Attalos I of Pergamum, was formed in a similar fashion, viz. by taking one deme from each of the twelve phylai existing in 200 B.C., and adding one new deme, Apollonieis, named after the ruler's consort. Similarly, the last phyle, Hadrianis, was formed by taking one deme from each of the twelve phylai existing in 126/7 and adding, shortly after, a new deme, Antinoeis, established in honor of the ruler's favorite, Antinoos. These three demes, Berenikidai, Apollonieis, and Antinoeis, were the only constitutional demes deliberately created after the original political organization of Kleisthenes and each was established only under the special circumstances of the creation of a new tribe. It is likely that we shall yet discover more unofficial Late Roman *demes* and perhaps even additional divided demes will be proposed by scholars, but it is very improbable that we shall discover yet a new deme from the political organization of Kleisthenes.

APPENDIX A

PRYTANY INSCRIPTIONS WITH LITTLE OR NO EVIDENCE FOR REPRESENTATION

INSCRIPTIONS IDENTIFIED BY PHYLE

The following one hundred and three prytany inscriptions, although identified by phyle, preserve little evidence for representation and have not been included in the Tables of Representation (below, I–XV).¹

TABLE I ERECHTHEIS

Agora, XV

- 98** = *Hesperia*, XXXIII, 1964, pp. 171–173, no. 26; *S.E.G.*, XXI, 384; *ca. a.* 250 *a.*; (*1⁺ Kephisia)
- 133** = *Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 10–11, no. 13; *ca. a.* 215 *a.*; (*1⁺ Kephisia)
- 162** = *Hesperia*, XXXIII, 1964, pp. 184–185, no. 35; *S.E.G.*, XXI, 423; *init. saec.* II *a.*; (*1⁺ Kephisia)
- 220** = *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, pp. 142–146, no. 79; XV, 1946, pp. 140–142, no. 3; XXVI, 1957, pp. 74–77; *S.E.G.*, XVI, 96; *a.* 164/3 *a.*
- 231** = *Hesperia*, XXXIII, 1964, pp. 191–192, no. 40; *S.E.G.*, XXI, 462; *ca. med. saec.* II *a.*; (*1⁺ Lamptraia)
- 238** = *I.G.*, II², 967; *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 153, no. 85; *a.* 145/4 *a.*
- 239** = *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, pp. 153–155, no. 86; *a.* 145/4 *a.*
- 249** = *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 163–164, no. 9; *a.* 125/4 *a.*
- 252** = *I.G.*, II², 1004; *a.* 122/1 *a.*
- 254** = *I.G.*, II², 989; *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, pp. 162–165, no. 96; XXVI, 1957, pp. 25–28, no. 1; *S.E.G.*, XVI, 100; *a.* 104/3 *a.*; (*1⁺ Pergase)
- 344** = *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, p. 376, no. 29; *S.E.G.*, XII, 103; *saec.* II *p.*

TABLE II AGEIS

Agora, XV

- 153** = *Hesperia*, XXXIII, 1964, pp. 189–190, no. 38; *S.E.G.*, XXI, 425; *init. saec.* II *a.*; (*1⁺ Erchia)
- 160** = *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, pp. 93–94, no. 43; *init. saec.* II *a.*; (*1⁺ Philaidai)
- 180** = *Hesperia*, XL, 1971, pp. 308–311, no. 9; *a.* 184/3 *a.*; (or Oineis)
- 222** = *I.G.*, II², 952; *a.* 161/0 *a.*; (*1⁺ Kolonos, *1⁺ Philaidai)
- 235**, *saec.* II *a.*; (1⁺ Gargettos); (or Kekropis, 1⁺ Sypalettos)
- 266** = *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pp. 30–31, no. 14; *a.* 64/3 *a.* (?); (*1⁺ Plotheia)
- 335** = *I.G.*, II², 1771; *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pp. 37–38, no. 22; *a.* 138/9–150/1 *p.*

¹ For precise figures on the distribution of texts by phyle see above, p. xvii, Table, and for the symbol *1⁺, p. 3.

TABLE III PANDIONIS

Agora, XV

- 208 = *Hesperia*, XXXVI, 1967, pp. 233–234, no. 43; *S.E.G.*, XXIV, 174; *a.* 172/1 *a.*; (or Ptolemais)
 253 = *Hesperia*, XXXII, 1963, pp. 22–23, no. 23; *S.E.G.*, XXI, 478; *a.* 118/7 *a.*
 265 = *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pp. 26–30, no. 13; *a.* 74/3–63/2 *a.*, but not 64/3; (*1+ Paiania)
 277 = *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, pp. 226–228, no. 54A; *Hesperia*, XXXIII, 1964, p. 197, no. 48; *S.E.G.*,
 XXI, 491; *ca. med. saec.* I *a.*
 361 = *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, pp. 48–49, no. 16; *ca. a.* 159/60 *p. vel paullo ante*
 363 = *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 49, no. 17; *ca. a.* 160/1 *p.*
 381 = *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 31, no. 1; *a.* 169/70 *p. vel paullo post*
 385 = *I.G.*, II², 1777; *paullo post a.* 170/1 *p.*

TABLE IV LEONTIS

Agora, XV

- 167 = *Athenian Year*, pp. 195–200, no. 3; *S.E.G.*, XXI, 440; *a.* 193/2 *a.*
 282 = *I.G.*, II², 3502; *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, pp. 175–176, no. 107; *ca. a.* 45–30 *a.*; (*1+ Oion)
 317 = *Hesperia*, XXXVI, 1967, pp. 240–241, no. 50; *S.E.G.*, XXIV, 186; *aet. Rom.*; (1+ Oion);
 (or Attalis)

TABLE V AKAMANTIS

Agora, XV

- 70 = *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, pp. 38–39, no. 4; *ca. a.* 290–275 *a.*
 77 = *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, pp. 39–42, no. 5; *a.* 280–275 *a.*; (*1+ Iphistiadai)
 81 = *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pp. 2–3, no. 2; XXXII, 1963, p. 7, no. 7; *S.E.G.*, XXI, 372; *a.* 267/6 *a.*
 131 = *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, pp. 146–147, no. 7; *ca. a.* 220 *a.*; (assignment to Akamantis uncertain)
 184 = *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, pp. 246–247, no. 49; XXVI, 1957, pp. 66–67, no. 18; *S.E.G.*, XVI, 86;
a. 182/1 *a.*
 186 = *I.G.*, II², 864; *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, pp. 95–96, no. 46; *Chronology of Hellenistic Athens*, pp. 111–
 113; *a.* 181/0 *a.*; (*1+ Sphettos)
 269 = *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, pp. 64–66, no. 17; *a.* 53/2 *a.*
 270 = *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 40–41, no. 8; *a.* 53/2 *a.*
 379 = *I.G.*, II², 1778; *a.* 169/70 *p.*
 433 = *Hesperia*, XXXII, 1963, p. 38, no. 35B; *S.E.G.*, XXI, 676; *fin. saec.* II *p.*; (assignment to
 Akamantis uncertain)
 475 = *I.G.*, II², 1823; *post ca. a.* 217 *p.*

TABLE VI OINEIS

Agora, XV

- 41 = *I.G.*, II², 2833; *a.* 339/8 *a.*
 80 = *Athenian Year*, pp. 192–194, no. 1; *S.E.G.*, XXI, 369; *a.* 271/0 *a.*
 83 = *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, pp. 52–54, no. 11; *ca. a.* 260 *a.*; (*1+ Lousia, *1+ Thria)
 87 = *I.G.*, II², 702; *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, pp. 63–64, no. 21; *a.* 256/5 *a.*
 110 = *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 500–503, no. 15; Suppl. I, pp. 65–66, no. 22; *ca. a.* 243–237 *a.*
 147 = *I.G.*, II², 915; *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, pp. 89–91, no. 40; XVII, 1948, pp. 14–16, no. 6; XXVI,
 1957, pp. 243–246, no. 96; *S.E.G.*, XVII, 29; *Hesperia*, XXXIII, 1964, p. 180, no. 30;
S.E.G., XXI, 405; *a.* 203/2 *a.*; (*1+ Oe, *1+ Acharnai)
 180 = *Hesperia*, XL, 1971, pp. 308–311, no. 9; *a.* 184/3 *a.*; (or Aigeis)
 215 = *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, pp. 133–135, no. 72; *a.* 167/6 *a.*
 268 = *I.G.*, II², 1049; *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, pp. 170–171, no. 101; *a.* 57/6 *a.*; (*1+ Phyle)

- 394**=*I.G.*, II², 1787; *a.* 175/6 *p.*
404=*Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, p. 179, no. 83; *ca. a.* 180 *p.*
444=*I.G.*, II², 1804; *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pp. 64–65; *ca. a.* 197/8–199/200 *p.*

TABLE VII KEKROPIS

Agora, XV

- 35**=*Hesperia*, X, 1941, p. 40, no. 7; *a.* 343/2 *a.*
120=*Hesperia*, Suppl. I, pp. 73–76, no. 29; *a.* 228/7 *a.*; (*1+ Phlya)
165=*Hesperia*, Suppl. I, pp. 86–88, no. 38; *a.* 197/6 *a.*
173=*Hesperia*, Suppl. I, pp. 91–92, no. 41; XXVI, 1957, pp. 63–64, no. 17; *S.E.G.*, XVI, 81; *a.* 189/8 *a.*; (*1+ Pithos)
181=*Hesperia*, X, 1941, pp. 277–279, no. 74; *a.* 184/3 *a.*; (*1+ Sypalettos)
199=*Hesperia*, Suppl. I, pp. 126–127, no. 69; XXVI, 1957, pp. 68–69, no. 20; *S.E.G.*, XVI, 89; *a.* 175/4 *a.*
235, *saec.* II *a.*; (1+ Sypalettos); (or Aigeis, 1+ Gargettos)
315=*Hesperia*, XXXVI, 1967, pp. 239–240, no. 49; *S.E.G.*, XXIV, 182; *saec.* I/II *p.*; (*1+ Melite)
429=*Hesperia*, XXIX, 1960, pp. 34–36, no. 42A, *ante fin. saec.* II *p.* (the assignment to Kekropis is uncertain)
461=*Hesperia*, XI, 1942, pp. 67–68, no. 33; *a.* 213/4–219/20 *p.*
462=*Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 69, no. 34; *a.* 213/4–219/20 *p.*; (the assignment to Kekropis is uncertain)

TABLE VIII HIPPOTHONTIS

Agora, XV

- 219**=*Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, pp. 72–77, no. 22; *S.E.G.*, XVI, 95; *a.* 164/3 *a.*
250=*I.G.*, II², 1003; *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 165; *a.* 125/4 *a.*
251=*Hesperia*, Suppl. I, pp. 158–160, no. 92; *a.* 124/3 *a.*; (assignment to Hippothontis uncertain)
291=*Hesperia*, Suppl. I, pp. 185–186, no. 115; *a.* 21/0 *a.*
327=*Hesperia*, XXXII, 1963, pp. 73–74, no. 1A; *S.E.G.*, XXI, 604; *a.* 132/3–137/8 *p.*

TABLE IX AIANTIS

Agora, XV

- 40**=*Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 461–464, no. 9; *a.* 339/8 *a.*
51=*Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, p. 39, no. 25; *a.* 325/4 *a.*
71=*Hesperia*, IX, 1940, pp. 84–85, no. 15; *a.* 283/2 *a.*
121=*A.J.P.*, LXIII, 1942, p. 422; *a.* 226/5 *a.*
202=*Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, pp. 71–72, no. 21; *S.E.G.*, XVI, 90; *a.* 174/3 *a.*
289a=*Hesperia*, Suppl. I, pp. 183–185, no. 114, frag. B; *ca. a.* 25 *a.*; (1+ Phaleron)
324=*Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, pp. 213–214, no. 61; *S.E.G.*, XVII, 35; *ante a. fere* 138 *p.*
328=*Hesperia*, XXXII, 1963, pp. 73–74, no. 1B; *S.E.G.*, XXI, 604; *a.* 132/3–137/8 *p.*

TABLE X ANTIOCHIS

Agora, XV

- 2**=*Hesperia*, XXIX, 1960, pp. 36–37, no. 44; *S.E.G.*, XIX, 150; *a.* 393/2 *a.*
28=*Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 93, no. 13; *saec.* IV *a.*
171=*Chronology of Hellenistic Athens*, pp. 121–123; *a.* 190/89 *a.*; (*1+ Alopeke)
177; *a.* 188/7 *a.*

- 204**=*Hesperia*, Suppl. I, pp. 127–129, no. 70; *ca. a.* 176/5–170/69 *a.*; (*1+ Semachidai) (assignment to Antiochis not certain)
301=*Hesperia*, XXXIII, 1964, pp. 198–199, no. 50; *S.E.G.*, XXI, 497; *fin. saec.* I *a.*; (*1+ Besa)
390=*I.G.*, II², 1831; *a.* 174/5 *p.*(?) (dated now 182/3, see *φόρος*, *Tribute to Benjamin D. Meritt*, 1974, pp. 150–155, with Addendum)

TABLES XI AND XII, ANTIGONIS AND DEMETRIAS

Agora, XV

- 57**=*Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, p. 208, no. 55; *S.E.G.*, XVII, 64; *post a.* 307/6 *a.*; (Antigonis or Demetrias)
84=*Hesperia*, XXXII, 1963, pp. 7–10, no. 8; *S.E.G.*, XXI, 376; *a.* 257/6 *a.*; (*1+ Gargettos); (Antigonis)
91=*Hesperia*, Suppl. I, pp. 54–55, no. 12; *med. saec.* III *a.*; (*1+ Lamptrai, *1+ Kolonai); (Antigonis)
135=*Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, pp. 236–239, no. 7; *S.E.G.*, XIV, 68; *a.* 214/3 *a.*; (*1+ Paiania); (Antigonis)

TABLE XIII PTOLEMAIS

Agora, XV

- 172**=*Chronology of Hellenistic Athens*, pp. 123–125; *a.* 190/89 *a.*
185=*Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 148, no. 83; *ca. a.* 181/0 *a.*
208=*Hesperia*, XXXVI, 1967, pp. 233–234, no. 43; *S.E.G.*, XXIV, 174; *a.* 172/1 *a.*; (or Pandionis)
221=*I.G.*, II², 972; *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, pp. 146–147, no. 80; *a.* 164/3 *a.*; (*1+ Aigilia)
325=*Hesperia*, XXXIII, 1964, pp. 219–220, no. 64; *S.E.G.*, XXI, 744; *post a.* 126/7 *p.*; (*1+ Phlya)
326=*I.G.*, II², 1762; *a.* 131/2 *p.*
360=*Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, p. 175, no. 77; *ca. a.* 160–170 *p.*

TABLE XIV ATTALIS

Agora, XV

- 176**=*Hesperia*, Suppl. I, pp. 109–110, no. 53; *a.* 188/7 *a.*; (*1+ Atene)
183=*I.G.*, II², 902; *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, pp. 111–112, no. 55; *a.* 182/1 *a.*
213=*Hesperia*, Suppl. I, pp. 141–142, no. 78; *a.* 168/7 *a.*; (*1+ Sounion, *1+ Atene)
232=*I.G.*, II², 921; *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 126, no. 68; *ca. med. saec.* II *a.*; (*1+ Probalinthos)
246=*I.G.*, II², 977; *Hesperia*, X, 1941, pp. 282–283, no. 77; *a.* 131/0 *a.*; (*1+ Probalinthos, *1+ Sounion)
313=*Hesperia*, XI, 1942, pp. 37–40, no. 8; *saec.* I/II *p.*; (*1+ Sounion, *1+ Hagnous)
314=*Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 40, no. 9; *saec.* I/II *p.*
317=*Hesperia*, XXXVI, 1967, pp. 240–241, no. 50; *S.E.G.*, XXIV, 186; *aet. Rom.*; (1+ Oion); (or Leontis)
329=*I.G.*, II², 1763; *ca. a.* 132/3 *p.*
367=*Hesperia*, XII, 1943, pp. 76–78, no. 23; *a.* 165/6 *p.*; (*1+ Athmonon)
405=*I.G.*, II², 1791, *a.* 181/2 *p.*
455=*Hesperia*, XXX, 1961, pp. 288–289, no. 181; *S.E.G.*, XXI, 615; *Hesperia*, XXXIV, 1965, p. 97, no. 7; *S.E.G.*, XXII, 140; *fin. saec.* II *p.*

TABLE XV HADRIANIS

Agora, XV

- 353**=*I.G.*, II², 1773a; *post med. saec.* II *p.*

INSCRIPTIONS NOT IDENTIFIED BY PHYLE

The reader is referred to *Agora*, XV, *passim*, for the one hundred and thirty-seven prytany and bouleutic inscriptions which have not been identified by phyle and preserve little or no evidence for representation.²

² They have been included above, p. xvii, in the Table to Illustrate the Distribution of Texts by Phyle and by Period.

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL DEMES AND ASSIGNMENT TO THEIR PHYLA¹

No.	DEME	X PHYLA <i>fr. s. VI-308/7</i>	XII PHYLA <i>307/6-224/3</i>	XIII PHYLA <i>223/2-201/0</i>	XI PHYLA <i>201-200</i>	XII PHYLA <i>200/199-126/7</i>	XIII PHYLA <i>127/8-s. III p.</i>	TABLES
1	Acharnai	Oineis	id.	id.	id.	id.	id.	VI
2	Acherdous	Hippothontis	id.	id.	id.	id.	id.	VIII
3	Upper Agryle	Erechtheis	id.	id.	id.	id.	id.	I
4	Lower Agryle	Erechtheis	Antigonis	id.	Erechtheis	Attalis	id.	I, XI, XIV
5	Aigilia	Antiochis	id.	Ptolemais	id.	id.	id.	X, XIII
6	Aithalidai	Leontis	Antigonis	id.	Leontis	id.	id.	IV, XI
7	Aixone	Kekropis	id.	id.	id.	id.	id.	VII
8	Alopeke	Antiochis	id.	id.	id.	id.	id.	X
9	Amphitrope	Antiochis	id.	id.	id.	id.	id.	X
10	Anagyrous	Erechtheis	id.	id.	id.	id.	id.	I
11	Anakaia	Hippothontis	id.	id.	id.	id.	id.	VIII
12	Anaphlystos	Antiochis	id.	id.	id.	id.	id.	X
13	Angele	Pandionis	id.	id.	id.	id.	id.	III
14	Upper Ankyle	Aigeis	Antigonis	id.	Aigeis	id.	id.	II, XI
15	Lower Ankyle	Aigeis	id.	id.	id.	id.	id.	II
16	Antioeis	—	—	—	—	—	Hadrianis	XV
17	Aphidna	Aiantis	id.	Ptolemais	id.	id.	Hadrianis	IX, XIII, XV
18	Apollonieis	—	—	—	—	Attalis	id.	XIV
19	Araphen	Aigeis	id.	id.	id.	id.	id.	II
20	Atene	Antiochis	Demetrias	id.	Antiochis	Attalis	id.	X, XII, XIV
21	Athmonon	Kekropis	id.	id.	id.	Attalis	id.	VII, XIV
22	Auridai	Hippothontis	Antigonis ²	id.	Hippothontis	id.	id.	VIII, XI
23	Azenia	Hippothontis	id.	id.	id.	id.	id.	VIII
24	Bate	Aigeis	id.	id.	id.	id.	id.	II
25	Berenikidai	—	—	Ptolemais	id.	id.	id.	XIII
26	Besa	Antiochis	id.	id.	id.	id.	id.	X, XV
27	Boutadai	Oineis	id.	Ptolemais	id.	id.	id.	VI, XIII
28	Cholargos	Akamantis	id.	id.	id.	id.	id.	V
29	Cholleidai	Leontis	id.	id.	id.	id.	id.	IV
30	Daidalidai	Kekropis	Demetrias	id.	Kekropis	id.	Hadrianis	VII, XII, XV

¹ This table is based on W. B. Dinsmoor, *The Archons of Athens in the Hellenistic Age*, Appendix B, pp. 444-447, but the Late Roman and Spurious Demes have been treated separately, below, pp. 113-122.

² Either Auridai or Korydallos was in all likelihood transferred to Antigonis (see above, pp. 26-27).

APPENDIX B—(contd.)

No.	DEME	X PHYLAI <i>fin. s. VI-308/7</i>	XII PHYLAI 307/6-224/3	XIII PHYLAI 223/2-201/0	XI PHYLAI 201-200	XII PHYLAI 200/199-126/7	XIII PHYLAI 127/8-s. III <i>p.</i>	TABLES
31	Deiradiotai	Leontis	Antigonis	id.	Leontis	id.	id.	IV, XI
32	Dekeleia	Hippothontis	id.	id.	id.	id.	id.	VIII
33	Diomeia	Aigeis	Demetrias	id.	Aigeis	id.	id.	II, XII
34	Eiresidai	Akamantis	id.	id.	id.	id.	id.	V
35	Eitea	Akamantis	Antigonis	id.	Akamantis	id.	id.	V, XI, XV
36	Eitea	Antiochis	id.	id.	id.	id.	id.	X
37	Elaious	Hippothontis	id.	id.	id.	id.	id.	VIII, XV
38	Eleusis	Hippothontis	id.	id.	id.	id.	id.	VIII
39	Epieikidai	Kekropis	id.	id.	id.	id.	id.	VII
40	Epikephisia	Oineis	id.	id.	id.	id.	id.	VI
41	Erchia	Aigeis	id.	id.	id.	id.	id.	II
42	Erikeia	Aigeis	id.	id.	id.	id.	id.	II
43	Eroiadai	Hippothontis	id.	id.	id.	id.	id.	VIII
44	Eroiadai	Antiochis	id.	id.	id.	id.	id.	X
45	Euonymon	Erechtheis	id.	id.	id.	id.	id.	I
46	Eupyridai	Leontis	id.	id.	id.	id.	id.	IV
47	Gargettos	Aigeis	Antigonis	id.	Aigeis	id.	id.	II, XI
48	Hagnous	Akamantis	Demetrias	id.	Akamantis	Attalis	id.	V, XII, XIV
49	Halai Aixonides	Kekropis	id.	id.	id.	id.	id.	VII
50	Halai Araphenides	Aigeis	id.	id.	id.	id.	id.	II
51	Halimous	Leontis	id.	id.	id.	id.	id.	IV
52	Hamaxanteia	Hippothontis	id.	id.	id.	id.	id.	VIII
53	Hekale	Leontis	id.	Ptolemais	id.	id.	id.	IV
54	Hermos	Akamantis	id.	id.	id.	id.	id.	V
55	Hestiaia	Aigeis	id.	id.	id.	id.	id.	II
56	Hippotomadaï	Oineis	Demetrias	id.	Oineis	id.	id.	VI, XII
57	Hybadai	Leontis	id.	id.	id.	id.	id.	IV
58	Ikarion	Aigeis	Antigonis	id.	Aigeis	Attalis	id.	II, XI, XIV
59	Ionidai	Aigeis	id.	id.	id.	id.	id.	II
60	Iphistiadai	Akamantis	id.	id.	id.	id.	id.	V
61	Kedoi	Erechtheis	id.	id.	id.	id.	id.	I
62	Keiriadai	Hippothontis	id.	id.	id.	id.	id.	VIII
63	Kephale	Akamantis	id.	id.	id.	id.	id.	V
64	Kephisia	Erechtheis	id.	id.	id.	id.	id.	I
65	Kerameis	Akamantis	id.	id.	id.	id.	id.	V
66	Kettos	Leontis	id.	id.	id.	id.	id.	IV
67	Kikynna	Akamantis	id.	id.	id.	id.	id.	V
68	Koile	Hippothontis	Demetrias	id.	Hippothontis	id.	id.	VIII, XII
69	Kollytos	Aigeis	id.	id.	id.	id.	id.	II
70	Kolonai	Leontis	id.	id.	id.	id.	id.	IV

APPENDIX B—(contd.)

No.	DEME	X PHYLAI <i>fn. s. VI-308/7</i>	XII PHYLAI 307/6-224/3	XIII PHYLAI 223/2-201/0	XI PHYLAI 201-200	XII PHYLAI 200/199-126/7	XIII PHYLAI 127/8-s. III <i>p.</i>	TABLES
71	Kolonai	Antiochis	Antigonis	Ptolemais	id.	id.	id.	X, XI, XIII
72	Kolonos	Aigeis	id.	id.	id.	id.	id.	II
73	Konthyle	Pandionis	id.	Ptolemais	id.	id.	id.	III, XIII
74	Kopros	Hippothontis	id.	id.	id.	id.	id.	VIII
75	Korydallos	Hippothontis	id. ²	id.	id.	Attalis	id.	VIII
76	Kothokidai	Oineis	Demetrias	id.	Oineis	id.	id.	VI, XII
77	Krioa	Antiochis	id.	id.	id.	id.	id.	X
78	Kropidai	Leontis	id.	id.	id.	id.	id.	IV
79	Kydantidai	Aigeis	id.	Ptolemais	id.	id.	id.	II
80	Kydatheiaion	Pandionis	Antigonis	id.	Pandionis	id.	id.	III, XI
81	Kytheros	Pandionis	Antigonis	id.	Pandionis	id.	id.	III, XI
82	Lakiadai	Oineis	id.	id.	id.	id.	id.	VI
83	Upper Lamptrai	Erechtheis	Antigonis	id.	Erechtheis	id.	id.	I
84	Coastal Lamptrai	Erechtheis	id.	id.	id.	id.	id.	I
85	Leukonoion	Leontis	id.	id.	id.	id.	id.	IV
86	Lousia	Oineis	id.	id.	id.	id.	id.	VI
87	Marathon	Aiantis	id.	id.	id.	id.	id.	IX
88	Melite	Kekropis	Demetrias	id.	Kekropis	id.	id.	VII, XII
89	Myrrinous	Pandionis	id.	id.	id.	id.	id.	III
90	Myrrhinoutta	Aigeis	id.	id.	id.	id.	id.	II
91	Oa	Pandionis	id.	id.	id.	id.	Hadrianis	III, XV
92	Oe	Oineis	id.	id.	id.	id.	id.	VI
93	Oinoe	Hippothontis	Demetrias	Ptolemais	id.	id.	id.	VIII, XII, XIII
94	Oinoe	Aiantis	id.	id.	id.	Attalis	Hadrianis	IX, XIV, XV
95	Oion Dekeleikon	Hippothontis	id.	Ptolemais	id.	Attalis	id.	VIII, XIII, XIV
96	Oion Kerameikon	Leontis	Demetrias	id.	Leontis	id.	id.	IV, XII
97	Otryne	Aigeis	id.	id.	id.	id.	id.	II
98	Upper Paiania	Pandionis	Antigonis	id.	Pandionis	id.	id.	III, XI
99	Lower Paiania	Pandionis	id.	id.	id.	id.	id.	III
100	Paionidai	Leontis	id.	id.	id.	id.	id.	IV
101	Pallene	Antiochis	id.	id.	id.	id.	id.	X
102	Pambotadai	Erechtheis	id.	id.	id.	id.	Hadrianis	I, XV
103	Peiraieus	Hippothontis	id.	id.	id.	id.	id.	VIII
104	Pelekes	Leontis	id.	id.	id.	id.	id.	IV
105	Upper Pergase	Erechtheis	id.	id.	id.	id.	id.	I
106	Lower Pergase	Erechtheis	Antigonis	id.	Erechtheis	id.	id.	I, XI
107	Perithoidai	Oineis	id.	id.	id.	id.	id.	VI
108	Phaleron	Aiantis	id.	id.	id.	id.	id.	IX

APPENDIX B—(contd.)

No.	DEME	X PHYLAI <i>fn. s. VI-308/7</i>	XII PHYLAI 307/6-224/3	XIII PHYLAI 223/2-201/0	XI PHYLAI 201-200	XII PHYLAI 200/199-126/7	XIII PHYLAI 127/8-s. III <i>p.</i>	TABLES
109	Phegaia	Aigeis	id.	id.	id.	id.	Hadrianis	II, XV
110	Phegous	Erechtheis	id.	id.	id.	id.	id.	I
111	Philaiai	Aigeis	id.	id.	id.	id.	id.	II
112	Phlya	Kekropis	id.	Ptolemais	id.	id.	id.	VII, XIII
113	Phrearrhioi	Leontis	id.	id.	id.	id.	id.	IV
114	Phyle	Oineis	Demetrias	id.	Oineis	id.	id.	VI, XII
115	Pithos	Kekropis	id.	id.	id.	id.	id.	VII
116	Plotheia	Aigeis	id.	id.	id.	id.	id.	II
117	Poros	Akamantis	Demetrias	id.	Akamantis	id.	id.	V, XII
118	Upper Potamos	Leontis	id.	id.	id.	id.	id.	IV
119	Lower Potamos	Leontis	Demetrias	id.	Leontis	id.	id.	IV, XII
120	Potamos							
	Deiradiotes	Leontis	Antigonis	id.	Leontis	id.	id.	IV, XI
121	Prasiai	Pandionis	id.	id.	id.	id.	id.	III
122	Probalinthos	Pandionis	id.	id.	id.	Attalis	id.	III
123	Prospalta	Akamantis	id.	Ptolemais	id.	id.	id.	V, XIII
124	Ptelea	Oineis	id.	id.	id.	id.	id.	VI
125	Rhamnous	Aiantis	id.	id.	id.	id.	id.	IX
126	Semachidai	Antiochis	id.	id.	id.	id.	id.	X
127	Skambonidai	Leontis	id.	id.	id.	id.	Hadrianis	IV, XV
128	Sounion	Leontis	id.	id.	id.	Attalis	id.	IV, XIV
129	Sphetos	Akamantis	id.	id.	id.	id.	id.	V
130	Steiria	Pandionis	id.	id.	id.	id.	id.	III
131	Sybridai	Erechtheis	id.	id.	id.	id.	id.	I
132	Sypalettos	Kekropis	id.	id.	id.	id.	id.	VII
133	Teithras	Aigeis	id.	id.	id.	id.	id.	II
134	Themakos	Erechtheis	id.	Ptolemais	id.	id.	id.	I, XIII
135	Thorai	Antiochis	Demetrias	id.	Antiochis	id.	id.	X, XII
136	Thorikos	Akamantis	id.	id.	id.	id.	id.	V
137	Thria	Oineis	id.	id.	id.	id.	id.	VI, XV
138	Thymaitadai	Hippothontis	id.	id.	id.	id.	Hadrianis	VIII
139	Triakorynthos	Aiantis	id.	id.	id.	id.	id.	IX, XV
140	Trinemeia	Kekropis	id.	id.	id.	id.	id.	VII
141	Tyrneidai	Oineis	id.	id.	id.	Attalis	id.	VI, XIV
142	Xypete	Kekropis	Demetrias	id.	Kekropis	id.	id.	VII, XII

No.	DEME	SOURCE	PHYLE	DATE	CLASS	REFERENCES <i>R.E. Archons</i> H SXIV
1	Agriadaí	'Αζήνια καὶ 'Αμαξάντεια καὶ 'Ανακαία, ἐν δὲ 'Αχέρειδος καὶ 'Αγριάδαι, δῆμοι. τὰ πάντα 'Ἰντροβουωντίδος, I. Bekker, <i>Anecdota Graeca</i> , I, p. 348	Hippothontis		Spurious	S 1 — 82
2	Akyaia	Εὐρυχίδης ὁ 'Ακουα[εύς] Κράτερος ὁ 'Ακου[αεύς], epebebes, <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 2049, lines 52-53 Κράτερος ὁ 'Ακουαεύς, hypsochronistes, <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 2059, line 68 'Επαφρόδιτος Κρατέρου 'Ακυ, epebe, <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 2067, line 75 'Αγνος Συμβόρου 'Ακ[υαεύς], Secretary of the Boule and Demos, <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 1775, line 44 = 373, cf. <i>Hesperia</i> , XI, 1942, p. 50, no. 18, line 16	Ptolemais	142/3 147/8 vel <i>paullo post</i> 154/5 168/9	Late Roman	12 444 93
3	Amphitrope B	ἐπιστάτης] π[ρ]οτ[α]ρ[εων] ---] λίθου 'Αμφύτ[ρ]οιπ[ρ]θεν, <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 1492, lines 95-96 (97-112 belong to Oineis, prytany X, and 112-124 to Antiochis, prytany XII in 306/5)	Antigonis or Demetrias	306/5	Spurious	— 444 84
4	Amymone	[--- 'Αμυ]μωνεύς [--- 'Α]μυμωνεύς, epebebes, <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 2226, lines 50-51; [---] 'Αμυμωνε[εύς], Δελτ., XXV, 1970, p. 185, no. 1, line 29 Τροφίμος Διοφάντου 'Αμυ, protengraphos, <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 2046, line 17 [---] Πρωτο[--- 'Αμυ]μοναεύς, <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 5604, gravestone 'Επίγονος ὁ 'Αμυμ, epebe, <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 2207, line 25	Hippothontis	221/2 <i>paullo ante</i> 140 p. s. II p. <i>init. s. III p.</i>	Late Roman	18 444 93
5	Anakaia B	[?]Ε]πιστος 'Ανακαί, thesmothetes, <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 1706, line 76	Demetrias	220/19	Spurious	— 444 81

APPENDIX C—(contd.)

No.	DEME	SOURCE	PHYLE	DATE	CLASS	REFERENCES	
						R.E. <i>Archons</i>	H SXIV
6	Atene B	[π]ολ Κλεομέδων Ἀττην, <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 1706, line 73 (corrected to Ἀζην, <i>Hesperia</i> , XVII, 1948, p. 21)	Antiochis	220/19	Spurious	—	444 — 83
7	Chastieis	Χαστιά· τὸν ἀπὸ δῆμου. Χαστιεῖς, ὄνομα δῆμου, Hesybios	Unknown		Spurious	S 8	444 86
8	Chelidonia	τὸ Χελιδονιά δῆμος, Arcadius, ed. Barker, p. 99	Unknown		Spurious	S 9	444 86
9	De — —	Σωτήριος Δε, ephebe, <i>I.G.</i> , III, 1138, line 41, corrected by Kirchner to Σωτήριχος Δε (υκο-πυρεῖς), <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 2103, line 162	Antiochis	173/4	Spurious	39a	— 82
10	Echelidai	Ἐχελίδαί, δῆμος τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἀπὸ ἔλους τόπου μετὰ τὸν ὄντος τοῦ Πειραιέως καὶ τοῦ τετρακλίου Ἡρακλείου ὁ δημότης Ἐχελίδης, Stephanos Byz., ed. Meineke (cf. <i>Elym. Magnum</i> , Ἐχελος· ἥρως παρ' Ἀθηναίους τιμώμενος καὶ δῆμος Ἀττικῆς Ἐχελίδαί ἀπὸ τοῦ κειμένου ἔλους τῷ τόπῳ).	Unknown		Spurious	S 3	444 87
11	Ergadeis	Σωτήρ Ζωσίμου Ἐργαδ, ephebe, <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 2076, line 17	Antiochis	126/7	Late Roman	49	445 93
		Βαχυλῶ[ς — —] Ἐργαδεῖς Βειβυνοῦς Ὑμεναίου Ἐργαδεῖς, ephebes, <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 2094, lines 19, 21	Antiochis	ca. 166/7			
		Εὐδός ὁ Ἐργαδεῖς, ephebe, <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 2097, line 240	Antiochis	169/70			
		Ἐργαδεῖς Ἀθηνόδωρος Εἰ ε ε, prytanis, <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 1783, lines 47–48 = 472	Antiochis	221/2			
		Ἐργαδεῖς [— — —], <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 2486, line 62	Antiochis	med. s. III p.			
12	Eunostidai	Εὐνοστίδαι, <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 2362, line 55	Ptolemais	201/0	Late Roman	56	445 90
		Παμφίλη Ξενοκ[εῖδο]ν Εὐνοστίδου, prepared peplos for Athena, <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 1036, line 37, as read by C. A. Hutton, <i>B.S.A.</i> , XXI, 1914–16, p. 159	Ptolemais	108/7			
		Διονυσόδωρος ὁ Εὐν, ephebe, <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 2067, line 76	Ptolemais	154/5			
		Διονύσιος Ὀνιάσου Εὐ, ephebe, <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 2103, line 113	Ptolemais	173/4			

APPENDIX C—(contd.)

No.	DEME	SOURCE	PHYLE	DATE	CLASS	REFERENCES	
						R.E.	Archons H SXIV
13	Gephyreis	Γεφυρεῖς, δῆμος Ἀττικὸς . . . εἰρηται ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔχειν γέφυραν, δι' ἧς ἐπὶ Ἑλευσῖνα κατεύειν οἱ μύσται, <i>Etyim. Magnum</i> , ed. Gaisford (cf. Suda, Γεφυρίς, ξένη καὶ ἐπείσκατος· οἱ γὰρ Γεφυραῖοι, κτλ.)	Unknown		Spurious	S 2	445 87
14	Graes	Γραῆς, <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 2362, line 30	Pandionis	201/0	Spurious	36	445 82
15	Hyporeia	[ἀπέδοτο ἐσχά]τιαν Ἀφιδν ἐν Ὑπωρείαι[ι] [ἐτέρα ἐσχά]τιαν ἐν Ὑπωρείαι [ἐτέρα ἐσχά]τιαν Ἀφιδν ἐν Ὑπωρείαι [ἐτέρα ἐσχά]τιαν Ἀφιδν ἐν Ὑπωρείαι [ἐτέρα ἐσχά]τιαν Ἀφιδν ἐν Ὑπωρείαι, <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 1594, lines 29, 31, 33, 35, 37, 39 Ὑπωρεί[αι], <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 2362, line 54 [-----]δήμιον Ὑπ[ωπειεύς?], secretary κατὰ πρωτανείαν, as restored by B. D. Meritt, <i>Hesperia</i> , XVII, 1948, p. 11, line 2 [.....]νικος Ὁ Ὑπω [.....] Ἐ]λπωρεί Ὑπω, protengraphoi, <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 2068, lines 46, 47	Aiantis	med. s. IV a.	Late Roman	153	445 87
16	Ikarion B	[Ἰκα]ρ[ι]α[ι], <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 2362, line 53, as read by W. K. Pritchett, <i>T.A.P.A.</i> , LXXXV, 1954, pp. 166–167, corrected here to [Ἰε]ρ[ι]δ[ι]α[ι] [Ἀ]ρροδείας Ἀθροδάρου Ἰκα, ephebe, <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 2107, line 24, corrected to Ἐκα by M. Th. Mitsos, <i>B.C.H.</i> , LXXIII, 1949, p. 356 [Ἰο]λέμιων Πολέμιανος Ὑκαρ<ι>εύς, <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 2442, line 5, as emended by Koehler	Ptolemais Aigeis	201/0 246/5 155/6	Spurious	—	445 83
17	Kaletea	ΚΑΛΕΤΕΕΥΣ, Pococke; ΚΑΛ . . . ΕΥΣ, Fourmont, corrected to Κάλ[ι]στ[ι]ς? Εὐσ[εβίου]? by Kirchner, <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 1077, line 57	Pandionis	209/10	Spurious	68a	445 83
18	Kikynna B	Κ[ικυν]νείς Νικόστρατος Θ<ε>ο<ζ>οτ[ι]δ[ι]ου Εὐκράτης Πολυκράτους, <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 1927, lines 37–41, as read by Chandler; the text probably should be corrected to Ἀ[θμο]νείς, see <i>Ath. Mitt.</i> , XVII, 1892, p. 409, note 2, p. 414, note 1 and <i>Hesperia</i> , III, 1934, p. 188.	Kekropis	post med. s. IV a.	Spurious	76	445 83

APPENDIX C—(contd.)

No.	DEME	SOURCE	PHYLE	DATE	CLASS	R.E.	REFERENCES	
							<i>Archons</i>	H SXIV
19	Klōpidai	ὁ δὲ νοῦς ἐν Κλωπιδῶν, Aristophanes, <i>Equites</i> , 79 (cf. schol. ἐναλλαγὴ στοιχείου, τοῦ ρ εἰς τὸ λ. Κρωπιδαι γὰρ δῆμος τῆς Λεοντιδὸς φυλῆς. ἔπαιξεν οὖν παρὰ τὸ κλέπτειν) Κλωπι <δ> [ὦν - - -] Ἀντ[- - -] ἀπ[έδοτο - -], <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 1602, lines 18-20; <i>lapis KASΠIA</i> , <i>S.E.G.</i> , XXI, 577 [Κ]ω[πιδαι], <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 2362, line 50, as restored by W. K. Fritchett, <i>T.A.P.A.</i> , LXXXV, 1954, p. 167 <i>Δημήτριος Μαξί Κλω</i> , ephebe, <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 2041, line 14; cf. Φιλούμενος <i>Μαξί</i> , <i>ibid.</i> , line 15 <i>Μάξιμος Προδοκίμου Κλω</i> , ephebe, <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 2067, line 64 <i>Κλωπιδαι</i> [Α]ντ <i>Μάξιμος</i> [Α]κίν <i>Θρεπτός</i> , prytaneis, <i>Hesperia</i> , XXXIII, 1964, p. 221, no. 66, lines 19-21 = 392 <i>Τί Φιλάουον</i> [. Κ]ωπιδην, exegete of Pythian Apollo, <i>Hesperia</i> , XXVIII, 1959, p. 284, no. 12, line 8	Ptolemais	424/3	Late Roman	77	445	90
				<i>fin. s. IV a.</i>				
			Ptolemais	201/0				
			Ptolemais	128/9				
			Ptolemais	154/5				
			Ptolemais	<i>ca. 175 p.</i>				
				<i>ca. 175-185 p.</i>				
20	Kykala	ὀργαίδης] τὸ ἥμιον τῆς εἰνὸς τῶν Πυθ[ί]ο κ]αι διανόμο τὸ ἀπὸ [- - -] [τὸ δὲ ἄλλ]ο ἥμιον ἐν Κυκάλει, <i>I.G.</i> , I ² , 325, lines 18-20 Κλ' <i>Ἀθηνίων Κυκαλεύς</i> , ephebe, <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 2086, line 169	Aiantis	414/3	Late Roman	92	445	93
21	Kyrteidai	<i>Κυρτιάδαι</i> : δῆμος τῆς 'Ακαμαντίδος φυλῆς, Hesychios <i>Καλλύμαχος Ζωσ[ί]μο]ν Κυρτεί</i> <i>Εὐκαρπος</i> Ὁ <i>Κυρ[τεί]</i> , ephebes, <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 2052, lines 66-67 <i>Ζήνων</i> Ὁ <i>Κυρ[τείδης]</i> , <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 2474, line 10, as read by M. Th. Mitsos, <i>B.C.H.</i> , LXXIV, 1950, p. 222 = <i>S.E.G.</i> , XII, 141 <i>Κυρτείδα</i> 'Αγάθων <i>Φοίβου</i> <i>Ζήνων</i> Ὁ, prytaneis, <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 1775, lines 54-56 = 373 (for <i>Ζήνων</i> see above, <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 2474, and 1774, line 59 = 371) 'Ελεύθερος Ὁ <i>Κυρτείδ</i> , gymnasiarch, <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 2086, line 13; 'Ελεύθερος Ὁ <i>Κυρτείδης</i> ,	Akamantis	163/4	Late Roman	93	445	93
			Akamantis	145/6				
				<i>med. s. II p.</i>				
			Akamantis	168/9				
				163/4				

APPENDIX C—(contd.)

No.	DEME	SOURCE	PHYLE	DATE	CLASS	R.E.	REFERENCES
21	Kyrteidai— (contd.)	sopronistes, <i>ibid.</i> , line 118; Ἐλεῖθερος Ὁ Κυρ, systremmarch, I.G., II ² , 2087, lines 6 and 26; Ἐλεῖθερος Ὁ Κυρ, sopronistes, <i>ibid.</i> , line 60 Ἀντώνιος Θάλλος Κυρρί, ephēbe, I.G., II ² , 2086, line 87 [---]ου Κυρ [--- Μηνογ]ένους Κυ, ephēbes, I.G., II ² , 2212, lines 3–4 (part of I.G., II ² , 2134, cf. Πολέμεων, IV, 1949, p. 24, no. 4) Ἀρίστιππος Ὁ Κυρτείδης Ἀγάθων Ὁ Κυρ-τείδης, ephēbes, I.G., II ² , 2193, lines 80–81; Ᾱρίστ.]ππος [Ο] Κυρ Ᾱγάθ]ων Ὁ Κυρ, I.G., II ² , 2194, lines 22–23 Ἐπάνοδος καὶ Πίστο[s] οἱ Μηνογένους Κυρ-τεΐδαι, . . . Εὐτακτος Μηνογένους, . . . Ἀρ-τεμῆς Μηνογένους Κυρτεί Ἱεροκλῆς Μηρογένους Κυρτεί, ephēbes and systrem-marchs, I.G., II ² , 2208, lines 97–98, 108, 111–112 Εὐέλπιτος Κυ[r]τείδης Διόφαντος Κυ[r]-τείδης], ephēbes, I.G., II ² , 2229, lines 5–6 Λέκον· δημος Ἀντιοχίδος φυλῆς, Hesyehios δὸς δ' εἰσι Λαμπραι, αἱ μὲν παράλαι, αἱ δὲ καθύπερθεν Ἀριστοφάνης Ἀμφιάρεω Ἀλαμπ-τρεις ἐγωγε τῶν κάτω”, Harpokration, s.v. Λαμπτρεις Λαμπτρῆς πάραλοι, Hesperiā, XI, 1942, p. 233, no. 43, line 34 = 14 [Λαμπτρῆς πάραλοι, I.G., II ² , 1952, line 12	Akamantis Akamantis Akamantis Akamantis Antiochis Erechtheis Erechtheis	163/4 <i>fin. s. II p.</i> 205/6 212/3 <i>ca.</i> 220 p. 367/6 <i>ante med.</i> <i>s. IV a.</i>	= Lower Lamptrai	S 4 96a	87 86
22	Lekkon						
23	Coastal Lamptrai						
24	Leukopyra	Λευκοπύρα· τῆς Ἀντιοχίδος φυλῆς δημος, Hesyehios Εὐρυχίδης Σωτηράχου Λευκο Ἑλπίνικος Σωτηράχου Λευκο, ephēbes, I.G., II ² , 2067, lines 177–178 Σωτήριχος Ὁ Λε, ephēbe, I.G., II ² , 2103, line 162	Antiochis Antiochis Antiochis	 154/5 173/4	Late Roman	98	446 94

APPENDIX C—(contd.)

No.	DEME	SOURCE	PHYLE	DATE	CLASS	REFERENCES
27	Pentele	<i>Πεντελή, δῆμος Ἀντιοχίδος φυλῆς. ὁ δημότης Πεντεληθεύς</i>, Stephanos Byz. <i>λιθοτόμοις Πε[ντελήθεν] λιθοαγογίας Πε- [ντελήθεν], I.G., I², 347, lines 36–37</i> <i>[λιθο]τόμοις Πεντε[λήθεν] [λι- θοαγογίας Π]εντελή[θεν], I.G., I², 348, lines 70, 74</i> cf. also <i>I.G., I², 349, lines 20, 23, etc.</i> <i>Εὐέλπιστος</i> <i>Πεν</i> , protengraphos, <i>I.G., II², 2044, line 88</i> <i>Θεμισῶν Εὐελπίστου Πεντε</i> , ephebe, <i>I.G., II², 2097, line 77</i> <i>Λουκ Κορν Τελεσφόρος Πεντ</i> , hyposophonistes, <i>I.G., II², 2208, line 24</i>	Antiochis	439/8 438/7 437/6 etc. 139/40 169/70 212/3	Late Roman	118 446 92
28	Perrhidai	<i>Νικάωδρος</i> ... ἐν τῷ περὶ δῆμων “μετετέθησάν” φησιν “ἐξ Αἰαντίδος Ἀφιδναῖοι, Περρίδαι, Τιτακίδαί, Θυργωνίδαί”, Harpokra- tion, s.v. <i>Θυργωνίδαί</i> <i>Περρίδαι</i> τῆς Ἀττικῆς δῆμος ἐν Ἀφιδναῖς, Hesychios. <i>Περρίδαι</i> , δῆμος τῆς Ἀντιοχίδος φυλῆς. ὁ δημότης ἐκ Περρίδων, εἰς Περρίδων, ἐν Περ- ριδῶν, Stephanos Byz. <i>[Π]ερριδαί [...ῶ...]ος Καλλικλέ, prytanis, Hesperia</i> , Suppl. I, p. 36, no. 3, lines 11–12 = 68, corrected here to [Τ] <υ>ρ <μ>εῖδαι? <i>[Πε]ρριδ[αι], I.G., II², 2362, line 53, as read here (see Appendix E)</i>	Aiantis Aiantis Antiochis Oineis Ptolemais	ca. 290–280 201/0	Late Roman	122 446 88
29	Petalidai	<i>[ἀπέδο]το ἑσχατιῶν Ἀφιδ ἐν Πεταλιδ[ωι] [ἔτερο]ν χωρίον Ἀφιδ ἐν Πεταλιδωι, I.G., II², 1594, lines 46, 48</i> <i>χω[ρί]ον Ἀφιδνησι ἐν Πεταλιδῶν, Hesperia, V, 1936, p. 402, no. 10, lines 154–155</i> <i>Ἐπικτήτος Πεταλί Εὐβουλίδης Ἐπικτήτου Πετα</i> , ephebes, <i>I.G., II², 2050, lines 75–76</i>	Aiantis Aiantis Ptolemais	med. s. IV a. pauilo post 348/7 143/4 or 144/5	Late Roman	123 446 90

APPENDIX C—(contd.)

No.	DEME	SOURCE	PHYLE	DATE	CLASS	REFERENCES	
						R.E. <i>Archons</i>	H SXIV
30	Phyle B	[ἐπὶ Μηνησιδήμου ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς . . .] [. . . τῆς ἐνάτης] πρ[ι]νταίνεας ἦν] [.]νους Φ[υλῆς] ἔγραμ[μα], as restored in <i>Hesperia</i> , IX, 1940, p. 80, no. 13, lines 1–3; corrected here to [ἐπὶ Νικοστράτου ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς Δ] [μηνησιάρχου ἐνάτης] πρ[ι]νταίνεας ἦν Δ] [ωρόδεος Ἀριστο . . .]νους Φ[υλῆς] ἔγρ[αμ]μα	Oineis	298/7	Spurious	—	85
31	Phegaia B	Φηγαίεες, <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 2362, line 29	Pandionis	201/0	Spurious	156	446 82
32	Phyrrhinesioi	Φυρρήνσιοι Φῶλ Διονύσιος, prytanis, <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 1764A, lines 33–34 = 333 Φυρρήσιοι Ὑγείωνος Ἀρχιμήδους, <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 1792, lines 50–51 = 423 Ἐρμείας Κλεωνύμου Φυρν, ephebe, <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 2130, line 195 Κλεόπαιρος Κλεωνύμου Φυρρήσιος, agonothes, <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 2133, line 12 [Φυρν]νῆσιον [– –]κλε[– –], prytanis, <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 1818, lines 23–24 = 467 Φυρρηνῆσιοι Εὐλόγος Κλεωνύμου], prytanis, <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 1783, lines 49–50 = 472 (cf. <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 2132, line 58) Κώντος Ζήθου Πολ., ephebe, <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 2067, line 147	Antiochis Antiochis Antiochis Antiochis	138/9 <i>ca.</i> 192/3 192/3 <i>paullo post</i> 192/3 <i>paullo ante</i> 220 <i>p.</i> <i>post</i> 216 <i>p.</i>	162 156 162 162	Late Roman	446 82 446 94
33	Pol – –	Κώντος Ζήθου Πολ., ephebe, <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 2067, line 147	Hippothontis	154/5	Spurious	127	446 82
34	Psaphis	[. . .]ος Ὁ Ψαφ[. . .]μος ΘαλΨαφ, proten-graphoi, <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 2068, lines 43–44 Ἀρίστην Ὁ Ψαφί, ephebe, <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 2130, line 191 Ἀπόλλων Γεφυραῖω ΚλΨ Θησεύς Ψαφιάδης, <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 4813 Ῥακίδα: δῆμος Ἀκαμαντίδος, Photios, <i>Lexicon</i> , ed. Porson	Antiochis Antiochis Aiantis	155/6 192/3 s. II–III <i>p.</i>	Late Roman	165 165	446 92
35	Rhakitai	Ῥακίδα: δῆμος Ἀκαμαντίδος, Photios, <i>Lexicon</i> , ed. Porson	Akamantis		Spurious	S 6	446 87
36	Salamis	Σα[λαμίς?], <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 2362, line 51, as restored by V. von Schöffer (<i>R.E.</i> , loc. cit.); restored as [Φ][μεῖς] by W. K. Pritchett (<i>T.A.P.A.</i> , LXXXV, 1954, pp. 165–166), and left un-restored here as [·]ε[– – –] Κυδικλῆς Ζω Σαλα, ephebe, <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 2020, line 32	Ptolemais	201/0	Spurious	137a	— 82

ca. 110 *p.*
vel paullo p.

APPENDIX C—(contd.)

No.	DEME	SOURCE	PHYLE	DATE	CLASS	R.E. <i>Archons</i>	REFERENCES
37	Semachidai B	Δα[ρεῖ]λος <Εὐ>νόμου Σημα, ephebe, <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 2086, line 82 (cf. <i>Δαρεῖος Εὐνόμου Σημαχ. I.G.</i> , II ² , 2087, line 53) Θεόφιλος Θηραμέν Σημα, ephebe, <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 2193, line 73 [Θεόφ]ιλος Θηραμέ Σημ., ephebe <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 2194, line 14 οὕτω δὴ ὅπως ἐπορεύετο [ὁ Μαρδόνιος ἀπὸ τῆς Μεγαρίδος] διὰ Σεκελῆς· οἱ γὰρ βοιωτάρχα μετεπέμψαντο τοὺς προσχώρους τῶν Ἀσωπίων, οὗτοι δὲ αὐτῷ τὴν ὁδὸν ἡγέοντο ἐς Σφενδαλεάς, ἐνθεύτην δὲ ἐς Τάναγραν, Herodotos, IX, 15 Σφενδαλῆς· δῆμος τῆς Ἀττικῆς, Hesychios Σφενδαλή, δῆμος Ἰπποθωντίδος φυλῆς. ὁ δημότης Σφενδαλεὺς. τὰ τοπικὰ Σφενδαλήθεν, Σφενδαλήδε, Σφενδαλήσαν, Stephanos Byz. Σωτμικανὸς Καλ Σφε Σειλανὸς Καλ Σφε, protengraphoi, <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 2068, lines 97–98 Σπόργιλος, δῆμος Ἀττικός. ὁ δημότης Σποργίλος, Stephanos Byz.	Ptolemais	163/4	Late Roman	138 446	94
38	Sphendale	οὕτω δὴ ὅπως ἐπορεύετο [ὁ Μαρδόνιος ἀπὸ τῆς Μεγαρίδος] διὰ Σεκελῆς· οἱ γὰρ βοιωτάρχα μετεπέμψαντο τοὺς προσχώρους τῶν Ἀσωπίων, οὗτοι δὲ αὐτῷ τὴν ὁδὸν ἡγέοντο ἐς Σφενδαλεάς, ἐνθεύτην δὲ ἐς Τάναγραν, Herodotos, IX, 15 Σφενδαλῆς· δῆμος τῆς Ἀττικῆς, Hesychios Σφενδαλή, δῆμος Ἰπποθωντίδος φυλῆς. ὁ δημότης Σφενδαλεὺς. τὰ τοπικὰ Σφενδαλήθεν, Σφενδαλήδε, Σφενδαλήσαν, Stephanos Byz. Σωτμικανὸς Καλ Σφε Σειλανὸς Καλ Σφε, protengraphoi, <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 2068, lines 97–98 Σπόργιλος, δῆμος Ἀττικός. ὁ δημότης Σποργίλος, Stephanos Byz.	Hippothontis(?)	a. 479 a.	Late Roman	144 447	91
39	Sporgilos	οὕτω δὴ ὅπως ἐπορεύετο [ὁ Μαρδόνιος ἀπὸ τῆς Μεγαρίδος] διὰ Σεκελῆς· οἱ γὰρ βοιωτάρχα μετεπέμψαντο τοὺς προσχώρους τῶν Ἀσωπίων, οὗτοι δὲ αὐτῷ τὴν ὁδὸν ἡγέοντο ἐς Σφενδαλεάς, ἐνθεύτην δὲ ἐς Τάναγραν, Herodotos, IX, 15 Σφενδαλῆς· δῆμος τῆς Ἀττικῆς, Hesychios Σφενδαλή, δῆμος Ἰπποθωντίδος φυλῆς. ὁ δημότης Σφενδαλεὺς. τὰ τοπικὰ Σφενδαλήθεν, Σφενδαλήδε, Σφενδαλήσαν, Stephanos Byz. Σωτμικανὸς Καλ Σφε Σειλανὸς Καλ Σφε, protengraphoi, <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 2068, lines 97–98 Σπόργιλος, δῆμος Ἀττικός. ὁ δημότης Σποργίλος, Stephanos Byz.	Unknown		Spurious	S 7 447	87
40	Sypalettos B	ἐπὶ Ἐπικράτου ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς Λεωντίδος ἑκτῆς πρυτανείας ἦ(ι) Ξε[ῖ]ν – – – Συναλήττιος ἑγραμμάτευν, κτλ., <i>Insc. de Delos</i> , 1504, lines 50–51; deme of secretary κατά πρυτανείαν should be phyle XII	Attalis	146/5	Spurious	—	85
41	Thyrgonidai	Θυργωνίδα· Ἰσαῖος ἐν τῷ πρὸς Νικοκλέα. Νικάνδρος ὁ Θυατειρηνὸς ἐν τῷ περὶ τῶν δῆμων “μετετέθησαν” φησὶν “ἐξ Αἰαντίδος Ἀφιδναίων, Περρίδαι, Τιτακίδαί, Θυργωνίδαί.” φησὶ δὲ καὶ Δημήτριος ὁ Σκῆψιος ἐν β’ Διακόσμου τῆς Πτολεμαίδος φυλῆς τὸν δῆμον εἶναι, Harpokration, ed. Dindorf Θυργωνίδης· δῆμος τῆς Ἀττικῆς, Hesychios Θυ[ργωνίδα], <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 2362, line 49 ... οἱ δὲ Τιτακίδαί καὶ Θυργωνίδαί φρατρίαί τινες καὶ γένη ἄδοξα, <i>Etyim. Magnum</i> , s.v. Τιτακίδαί	Aiantis Ptolemais		Late Roman	64 447	88

APPENDIX C—(contd.)							
NO.	DEME	SOURCE	PHYLE	DATE	CLASS	REFERENCES	
42	Titakidai	Νίκανδρος . . . ἐν τῷ περὶ τῶν δῆμων "μετετέθη- σάν" φησαν "ἐξ Αἰαντίδος Ἀφιδναῖοι, Περ- ρίδαι, Τητακίδαι, Θυργωνίδαι," Harpokration, s.v. Θυργωνίδαι Τητακίδαι, δῆμος τῆς Ἀντιοχίδος φυλῆς, ἀπὸ Τητακοῦ τοῦ προδόντος Ἀφίδνας τοῖς Διο- σκούροις. ὁ δημότης Τητακίδης, Stephanos Byz. Τητακίδαι: δῆμός ἐστι τῆς Αἰαντίδος φυλῆς· μήποτε δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Τητακοῦ ὠνόμασται, οὗ μνημονεύει Ἡρόδοτος. (τὰς [Ἀφίδνας] δὴ Τητακὸς ἐὼν αὐτόχθων καταπροδιδοῖ Τυνδα- ρίδῃσι, IX, 73.) τὸ δὲ Τητακίδαι καὶ Θυργωνίδαι, φρατρικάι τινές καὶ γένη ἀδοξα. εἰς γὰρ εὐτέλειαν ἐκωμῶδοντο· οὐχὶ δὲ δῆμοι, ὥς τινες οἰόνται, <i>Etyim. Magnum</i> Ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῦ Τητακί, ephebe, I.G., II ² , 2050, line 74 Ἄρριος Ζεῦξις Τητα, ephebe, I.G., II ² , 2067, line 63 Τητακίδαι Ἀρ[ρ]ίος Ζεῦξις, prytanis, <i>Hesperia</i> , XI, 1942, p. 50, no. 18, lines 13-14 (cf. XII, 1943, pp. 78-79, no. 24) = 372 Ἀρ[ρ]ίσταρχος Ἀγαθάρχου Τητακίδης, I.G., II ² , 7540, gravestone Φιλοκράτης Ἀριστολάου Τητακίδης, I.G., II ² , 7541, gravestone [----- Τητακίδης, [Παρ]θέμιον Λέοντος Τη(τακίδου), <i>Agora</i> , XVII, no. 319, grave- stone	Aiantis	Late Roman	147	447	88
			Antiochis				
			Aiantis				
			Ptolemais	143/4 or 144/5 154/5			
			Ptolemais	168/9			
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s. II-III p.

APPENDIX D

THE HOMONYMOUS AND DIVIDED DEMES

Among the regular constitutional demes belonging to the original political organization of Attica there were six pairs of homonymous and six sets of divided demes. Five of the latter also consisted of pairs, but the sixth, Potamos, was composed of three parts.¹ The two demes of each homonymous pair merely bore the same name and had no political or geographical connection; they belonged to different phylai and their locations were usually widely separated (for actual locations see above, pp. 40–54). The distribution of the twelve homonymous demes for the period of the original ten phylai was as follows: Aigeis 1, Leontis 2, Akamantis 1, Kekropis 1, Hippothontis 3, Aiantis 1, and Antiochis 3. Each set of divided demes, on the other hand, belonged to the same phyle, and where their precise locations are known, i.e. for Lamptraí, Paiania, and Potamos (see above, pp. 38, 43, 44), they were obviously very closely related geographically. They had individual fixed bouleutic quotas, however, and were, to all intents, independent constitutional demes dating from the Kleisthenic political organization of Attica. The original tribal distribution, which may not be due to chance, was as follows: Erechtheis, 3 pairs, Aigeis, Pandionis, and Leontis, 1 pair each. With the Macedonian reorganization one section of each divided deme was transferred to Antigonis. Potamos, which had three parts, surrendered a second section to Demetrias. These changes were undoubtedly deliberate (see above, p. 29). In 201/0 the transferred divided demes all returned to their original phylai, but later in that same year, with the formation of Attalis, one section of Agryle was assigned to the Pergamene phyle. Prior to 307/6 the separate sections of the divided demes could be distinguished by the addition (common only in the prytany and bouleutic lists) of special modifiers, “Upper” (*καθύπερθεν*), “Lower” (*ὑπένερθεν*), or in the case of Lamptraí, “Coastal” (*πάραλοι*) and Potamos, “Deiradiotes”; occasionally they may be detected by the obvious duplication of a demotic in a prytany or bouleutic register. In the Macedonian period (and for Agryle also after 200 B.C.) the divided demes, like the homonymous demes in all periods, make themselves apparent only by their simultaneous affiliation with two (or in the case of Potamos, three) different phylai. Several additional divided demes

¹ With Upper and Lower Potamos assigned to the city, as now seems preferable (above, p. 44, with note 18) there are seven sets of homonymous demes (i.e. [Upper/Lower] Potamos are homonymous with Potamos [Deiradiotes]).

have been proposed, on similar grounds, but the evidence in every case is weak, and all have been dismissed as *spurious* or *Late Roman demes* (see pp. 81–86 and 94–95).

THE HOMONYMOUS DEMES

1. HALAI

There were two demes of this name, Halai Araphenides and Halai Aixonides; cf. Stephanos of Byzantium *s.v.* Ἀλαὶ Ἀραφηνίδες καὶ Ἀλαὶ Αἰξωνίδες· δῆμοι, ὁ μὲν τῆς Αἰγίδος, ὁ δ' Αἰξωνεύς τῆς Κεκροπίδος φυλῆς. ἐκατέρου ὁ δημότης ἄνευ τοῦ ἰ Ἀλαεύς, . . . ἔστι δὲ ὁ δῆμος τῆς Ἀραφηνίδος μεταξὺ Φηγέως (Φηγαίεως correxit O. Müller) τοῦ πρὸς Μαραθῶνι καὶ Βραυρῶνος, αἱ δ' Αἰξωνίδες ἐγγὺς τοῦ ἁστεος. ἔστι καὶ λίμνη ἐκ θαλάσσης. . . . Strabo also gives the full forms: Ἀλαεῖς οἱ Αἰξωνικοί (IX, 1, 21) and [Ἀλαὶ Ἀραφηνίδες (IX, 1, 22). Throughout their history Halai Aixonides (B 49)² remained in Kekropis and Halai Araphenides (B 50) in Aigeis.

2. OION

The two demes of this name were Oion Dekeleikon and Oion Kerameikon; cf. Harpokration *s.v.* Οἶον· Ἰσαῖος ἐν τῷ περὶ ποιήσεως. δῆμοί εἰσιν ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ διττοὶ οὐδετέρως λεγόμενοι, καλοῦνται δὲ Οἶον. κεκληθῆναι δὲ φησιν οὕτω Φιλόχορος ἐν τῇ γ' διὰ τὸ μηδαμῶς οἰκητὸν τόπον ἔχειν, ἀλλὰ μεμονῶσθαι· τὸ γὰρ μόνον οἶον ἐκάλουν οἱ ἀρχαῖοι. ἔστι δὲ τὸ μὲν Κεραμεικὸν Οἶον τῆς Λεοντίδος φυλῆς, τὸ δὲ Δεκελεικὸν τῆς Ἰπποθωντίδος, ὡς Διόδωρος. οἱ δὲ δημόται ἐκατέρωθεν ἐλέγοντο ἐξ Οἶου. . . . Oion Dekeleikon (B 95) belonged originally to Hippothontis, but was later transferred to Ptolemais, and later still, to Attalis. Oion Kerameikon (B 96) was affiliated with Leontis in all periods except those of the Macedonian phylai, when it was assigned to Demetrias.

3. EITEA

There were two demes of this name, although the *modifiers* are not known and the lexicographers mention only Eitea in Akamantis. The Akamantid deme (B 35) was transferred to Antigonis during the periods of the Macedonian phylai, after which it returned to its original tribe and much later was assigned to Hadrianis. The Antiochid deme (B 36) has a continuous history in its original phyle.

4. OINOE

Again the *modifiers* are unknown and the lexicographers mention only the Hippothontid deme. Oinoe in Hippothontis (B 93) was transferred to Demetrias and later, according to the suggestion above (pp. 26–27), to Ptolemais. The Aiantid deme of the same name (B 94) went first to Attalis and afterwards to Hadrianis.

² Numbers in parentheses refer to Appendix B.

5. KOLONAI

Even the basic name is uncertain, but probably both the Leontid and Antiochid demes were called Kolonai (cf. D. M. Lewis, *B.S.A.*, L, 1955, pp. 12–17, and W. E. Thompson, *Hesperia*, XXXIX, 1970, pp. 64–65); cf. Kallimachos, *Hekale*, frag. 300, ed. Pfeiffer: ἔκ με Κολωνάων τις ὁμέστιον ἤγαγε δήμου | τῶν ἐτέρων. The Leontid deme (B 70) had a continuous history in its original phyle, but the Antiochid Kolonai (B 71) was transferred to Antigonis (see above, pp. 26–27), and thence to Ptolemais.

6. EROIADAI

There were two demes of this name, although again the *modifiers* are not known and the lexicographers mention only Eroiadai in Hippothontis. Both the Hippothontid (B 43) and Antiochid (B 44) demes have continuous histories in their original phylai.

THE DIVIDED DEMES

7. AGRYLE

The two sections were named Upper (B 3) and Lower (B 4); for Upper Agryle cf. *I.G.*, I², 398, line 6 (=1, line 11) of 408/7, Ἀγρυλεῆς καθύπ, and *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 233, no. 43, line 28 (=14, line 28) of 367/6, Ἀγρυλειῆς καθύπερθεν (the Lower section in the same text, line 46, is listed simply Ἀγρυλεῆς); for Lower Agryle cf. Harpokration, *s.v.* Ἀρδηττός· τόπος Ἀθήνησιν ὑπὲρ τὸ στάδιον τὸ Παναθηναϊκόν, πρὸς τῷ δήμῳ τῷ ὑπένερθεν Ἀγρυλέων, *I.G.*, I², 398, line 16 (=1, line 24) of 408/7, Ἀγρυλῆς ὑπένε[ρθεν], and *I.G.*, II², 2362, line 5 of 201/0, [Ἀγρυλῆ ὑπέ]νε[ρ]. It is not known which section was listed in *I.G.*, II², 1697, line 23 (=492, line 24), but it was undoubtedly one or the other, since the divided demes were listed individually in this text (cf. *I.G.*, II², 1697, line 5=492, line 6). The two sections, with a total representation of five bouleutai, were listed together in *Hesperia*, XXX, 1961, p. 31, lines 16–21 (=42). One section of Agryle was transferred to Antigonis in 307/6, although prosopographical information has, as yet, been of no help in identifying the deme as Upper or Lower Agryle. This deme returned, at least briefly, to Erechtheis in 201/0, but later that year part of Agryle (again it is uncertain which section) was transferred to Attalis. Agryle is the only deme which remained obviously divided, i.e. with each section in a different phyle, after 200 B.C.: cf. Hesychios, *s.v.* Ἀγρυλῆ· δῆμος τῆς Ἐρεχθίδος φυλῆς, καὶ τῆς Ἀτταλίδος.

8. LAMPTRAI

The two sections were named Upper Lamptrai and Coastal, or Lower Lamptrai; cf. Harpokration, *s.v.* Λαμπτρεῖς· . . . δύο δ' εἰσὶ Λαμπτραί, αἱ μὲν παράλιναι, αἱ δὲ καθύπερ-

θεν Ἀριστοφάνης Ἀμφιάρεω “Λαμπτρέυς ἔγωγε τῶν κάτω” and Hesychios, s.v. Λαμπρὰ καθύπερθεν καὶ Λαμπρὰ ὑπένερθεν· δῆμοι Λαμπραὶ Ἀθήνησιν· αἱ μὲν παράλιοι, αἱ δὲ καθύπερθεν. For the upper section cf. *I.G.*, I², 398 (=1), line 3 from 408/7 B.C., Λα[μπτρῆς] κα[θ]ύπ, *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 233, no. 43 (=14), line 53 from 367/6 B.C., Λαμπτρῆς καθύπερθεν, *I.G.*, II², 1877, from before 350 B.C., Θουκουδίδης Λαμπτ καθύ, and *I.G.*, II², 2362, line 7, from 201/0 B.C., [Λαμπ]τραὶ καθύπερ. For the coastal or lower section cf. *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 233, no. 43 (=14), line 34, Λαμπτρῆς παράλιοι, *I.G.*, II², 1952, line 12, [Λαμπτρ]ῆς παράλιοι, and *I.G.*, II², 2362, line 8, [Λαμπ]τραὶ ὑπένερ. The two sections, with a total representation of fourteen bouleutai, were listed together in *Hesperia*, XXX, 1961, p. 31 (=42) and perhaps also in *Hesperia*, XLI, 1972, p. 428, no. 60 (=21), but were listed individually, apparently, in *I.G.*, II², 1700 (=43). Upper Lamptrai (B 83) was transferred to Antigonis in 307/6 but returned to its original phyle in 201/0 B.C. Coastal Lamptrai (B 84) had a continuous history in Erechtheis.

9. PERGASE

The two sections were named Upper (B 105) and Lower Pergase (B 106). For Upper Pergase cf. *I.G.*, I², 398, line 21 (=1, line 30), Περγασῆς καθύ[περ]ρ[ε]ν, *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 233, no. 43 (=14), line 31, Περγασῆς καθύπερθεν, and *I.G.*, II², 2362, line 12, [Π]εργασῆ καθύπερ. For Lower Pergase, cf. *I.G.*, II², 1697, line 5 (=492, line 6), Περγασῆς ὑ[πένερ]θεν, and *I.G.*, II², 2362, line 13, Περγασῆ ὑπένερθ. The two sections were listed separately in *I.G.*, II², 1700 (lines 10 and 15=43, lines 11 and 16), but without the special designations “Upper” and “Lower”. Prosopographical information, however, indicates that the first was Lower Pergase and the second Upper Pergase, but the evidence will not yet allow us to identify which section was transferred to Antigonis in 307/6. That part, of course, returned to Erechtheis in 201/0, and was not distinguished in the succeeding periods from the other section which remained throughout its history in its original phyle.

10. ANKYLE

It has been tentatively suggested (above, p. 88, note 54) that the initial upsilon from the demotic of the secretary in 246/5 may belong to the first letter of Lower (ὑπένερθεν) Ankyle. Nowhere else are the special designations of either section of this deme actually preserved, although they are presumed to have been the regular “Upper” and “Lower” forms and are so restored in *I.G.*, II², 2362, lines 18 and 19. The two sections of Ankyle were also listed separately, both being designated simply Ἀγκυλῆθεν, in *I.G.*, II², 1749 (=38), lines 68 and 72, but they were grouped together apparently in *I.G.*, II², 1700 (see above, p. 78). We cannot tell which section appeared in *I.G.*, II², 1697, line 38 (=492, line 39), where the

stone has been broken off, but that it was a single section is clear both from the analogy of the treatment of Pergase in the same text and also from the quota preserved (cf. above, p. 2, note 5). After 307/6 one section of Ankyle, perhaps Upper Ankyle (B 14), was assigned to Antigonis, where it kept its original quota of a single representative; the other section (B 15) remained throughout its history in Aigeis.

11. PAIANIA

The two sections were named Upper Paiania and Lower Paiania, cf. Harpokration, *s.vv.* *Παιανιείς καὶ Παιονίδαι*. . . . εἰσὶ δὲ διττοὶ δῆμοι *Παιανιέων τῆς Πανδιονίδος φυλῆς*, οὓς Διόδωρος καλεῖσθαι φησι *Παιανίαν καθύπερθεν καὶ Παιανίαν ὑπένερθεν*· ὁμοίως δ' ἐκατέρου τῶν δῆμων τὸν δημότην καλεῖσθαι φησι *Παιανιέα*. διαφέρουσι δὲ οὗτοι τῶν *Παιονιδῶν*. . . For the upper section cf. *I.G.*, II², 1740, line 44 (= **12**, line 55) from the first half of the fourth century B.C., [*Π*]αιανιῆς καθύπερθεν (the lower section in the same inscription is designated only *Παιανιῆς*), *I.G.*, II², 1748, line 15 (= **26**, line 7) from 348/7 B.C., [*Π*]αιανιῆς καθύπερθεν, and *I.G.*, II², 1700, line 71 (= **43**, line 75) from 335/4 B.C., *Παιανιείς καθύπερθεν*. The designation is restored in **15**, line 22 (a new reading of *I.G.*, II², 2370, line 13). For the lower section cf. *I.G.*, II², 1748, line 17 (= **26**, line 9), [*Παιανι*]ῆς ὑπ[έ]νερθεν. The two sections, with a total representation of twelve bouleutai, were listed together in *S.E.G.*, XXIII, 87, lines 2–14 (= **10**, lines 1–13), *Hesperia*, XXX, 1961, p. 32, lines 134–146 (= **42**, lines 135–147), and *I.G.*, II², 1751, lines 3–15 (= **32**, lines 4–16). In the case of the last inscription prosopographical evidence indicates that Autokrates, son of Aischias, the last Paianian listed, was the single representative of the upper section, so that, although the two demotics were not inscribed separately, some distinction was observed in the listing of the members of the two sections. It is uncertain whether Upper and Lower Paiania were listed together also in *I.G.*, II², 1753 (= **47**), but the arrangement cannot have been identical to that in *I.G.*, II², 1751, since the prosopographical evidence indicates that the last Paianian in the former list belonged to Lower Paiania. For the period from 307/6 to 201/0 Upper Paiania (B 98) belonged to Antigonis; Lower Paiania (B 99) remained throughout its history in Pandionis.

12. POTAMOS

There were three sections of this deme, named Upper Potamos, Lower Potamos, and Potamos Deiradiotes. For the upper deme cf. *I.G.*, II², 1742 (= **13**), line 17 from 370/69(?) B.C., *Ποτάμιοι καθύπερθεν*, *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 63, lines 30–31, [*Ποτάμιοι*] καθύπερθεν, and *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1918, p. 75 (= O. W. Reinmuth, *Ephebic Inscriptions of the Fourth Century B.C.*, p. 58, no. 15), col. II, line 13, of ca. 324/3, *Ποτάμιοι καθύπερθεν*.

For the lower deme cf. *I.G.*, II², 1742 (= **13**), line 22, [Π]οτάμιοι ὑπέν, *I.G.*, II², 1700, line 99 (= **43**, line 104) from 335/4 B.C., Ποτάμιοι ὑπέν, and Ἀρχ. Ἐφ., 1918, p. 75, col. II, line 7, Ποτάμιοι ὑπένερθεν, *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 63, line 32, Ποτάμιοι ὑπέ[νε]ρθ[εν], Agora Inv. 7447, from ca. 335 B.C., Ποτάμιοι ὑπένερθεν. For Upper and Lower Potamos cf. Schol. Hom. *Iliad*, XXIV, 545, . . . καὶ παρ' Ἀθηναίοις γάρ εἰσι δύο δῆμοι Ποτάμιοι ὧν ὁ μὲν καθύπερθεν, ὁ δὲ ὑπένερθεν ὀνομάζεται. For Potamos Deiradiotes cf. Ἀρχ. Ἐφ., 1918, p. 75, col. II, line 17, Ποτάμιοι Δειραδιῶται, Agora Inv. 7447, Ποτάμιοι Δ[ε]ιραδιῶται, and *I.G.*, II², 1752, line 26 (= **52**, line 28) from ca. 325 B.C., Ποτάμιοι Δ[ε]ιραδιῶται. The Deiradiotid Potamos is listed separately in *I.G.*, II², 1742, line 71 (= **13**, line 71) following Deiradiotai, but without special designation. Two Potamos demes appear in *I.G.*, II², 2362, lines 35 and 36, but the modifiers apparently were not given (see above, p. 45). All three Potamos demes, with a total representation of five bouleutai, were listed together in *Hesperia*, XXX, 1961, p. 33, lines 203–208 (= **42**, lines 204–209) and perhaps also in Δελτ., XXV, 1970, p. 84, no. 1 (= **13a**, line 18.) For the period from 307/6 to 201/0 B.C. Potamos Deiradiotes (B 120) belonged to Antigonis and Lower Potamos (B 119) to Demetrias; Upper Potamos (B 118) remained throughout its history in Leontis.

APPENDIX E

TWO EMENDED INSCRIPTIONS

1 Fragment of Hymettian marble (I 4812; see also *Agora*, XVI), broken on all sides, found on May 6, 1937 near the surface under Acropolis Street and east of the Post-Herulian wall (T 24–25). The fragment was associated by E. Schweigert with *I.G.*, II², 643 and the combined text published by B. D. Meritt in *Hesperia*, X, 1941, pp. 80–82, no. 13. Meritt restored the secretary's demotic, from which only one letter, initial phi, was preserved, as $\Phi[\nu\lambda\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota\omicron\varsigma]$, and dated the inscription on the basis of the secretary cycles to 298/7, i.e. the archonship of Mnesidemus. The calendar equation was restored as for an ordinary year, although the sequence of ordinary and intercalary years from 299/8–295/4 (the beginning of the eighth Metonic cycle) 00I0I required a deviation in 298/7 and 297/6 from the regular pattern 0I00I. The anomaly was later discussed by Meritt in *Hesperia*, XXXVIII, 1969, pp. 107–113 ("Metonic Intercalations in Athens") and a new calendar equation was offered which rendered 298/7 an intercalary year and established a regular sequence of years for the beginning of the Metonic cycle (nothing being known concerning the calendrical nature of 297/6, it was presumed to have been an ordinary year). The basis of the revised restoration of *Agora* I 4812 and interpretation of 298/7 as an intercalary year was the observation that "three years later, in Elaphebolion of 295/4, precisely the same equation occurs. . . ." The equations in *I.G.*, II², 646 and 647, the only evidence for the calendrical nature of 295/4, had already been studied by Meritt (*Athenian Year*, pp. 26–33, where the restorations, reprinted in *Hesperia*, XXXVIII, 1969, were first advanced). But, in addition to the coincidence that decrees should be preserved which were proposed on precisely the same day three years apart in years with precisely the same calendrical abnormalities, there was an even greater anomaly, the division of the deme Phyle. The argument, as logically proposed by Meritt, ran as follows: the secretary in 298/7 must belong to Oineis; Phyle was the only Oineid deme beginning with phi; but Phyle was transferred to Demetrias in 307/6; hence, Phyle must have been a divided deme in the Macedonian period. I have already noted, however, that no deme was divided specially in 307/6. Further, there was no other evidence for two demes of this name either before or after the creation of the Macedonian tribes; indeed, the great bouleutic lists from the first period of twelve phylai indicated that Phyle was

not a member of Oineis. Of more significance, the demotic and several letters from the name of the ἐπιστάτης προέδρων in *I.G.*, II², 646 were found to be identical with those preserved in *Hesperia*, X, 1941, no. 13 and the whole name may now be restored from *I.G.*, II², 1623, lines 249–250, viz. Antimachos, son of Antinos, of Acharnai (*P.A.*, 1122), who was trierarch *ante* 334/3 B.C.

Hesperia, X, no. 13, then, belongs to 295/4 and was a decree proposed on the same day (and perhaps by the same spokesman; we have traces of only one letter of his name in the Agora inscription) as *I.G.*, II², 646 and 647. The secretary's demotic, of course, was Phaleron, from tribe XI in this period, correct for the secretarial cycles. That his father's name, viz. probably Aristophanes, Aristomenes, or Aristogenes (prosopographical evidence offers no assistance for identification, but Kirchner's Aristomachos is certainly wrong), in the genitive should have ended in omikron-upsilon-sigma in the *Hesperia* text, but simply omikron-upsilon in *I.G.*, II², 647 is of little concern, for the interchange of second- and third-declension endings was extremely common, especially in inscriptions of this period.¹ The prytanizing tribe in these three decrees of 295/4 was of course Demetrias, although the restoration in line 2 of *I.G.*, II², 643 (*Hesperia*, X, 1941, p. 81, and below, line 12) at first created a slight problem, for the spacing appeared to require the restoration of either Leontis or Aiantis.²

a. 295/4 a.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 29

[ἐπὶ Νικοστράτου ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς Δ]
 [ημητριάδος ἐνάτης] πρ[υτανείας ἥι Δ]
 [ωρόθεος Ἀριστο. !]νους Φ[αληρεὺς ἐγ]
 [ραμμάτευεν· Ἐλαφ]βολιῶν[ο]ς ἐνά[τει]
 5 [ἰσταμένου πέμπτει] καὶ εἰκοστε[ῖ τῇ]
 [ς πρυτανείας· ἐκκλη]σία κυρία· τῶ[ν πρ]
 [οέδρων ἐπεψήφισεν Ἀ]ντίμαχος Ἀ[ντί]
 [νου Ἀχαρνέως καὶ συμπρ]όεδροι· [ἔδοξ]
 [εν τῷ δήμῳ]. [.]
 10 [. εἶπεν — — — — —]

lacuna

[— — — — — δοῦναι δὲ τοὺς]
 [πρυτάνει]ς τῶν Δημητριάδος περὶ π
 ολιτείας αὐτ[ῶν τὴν ψήφον τῷ δήμῳ]
 εἰς τ[ὴν] ἐπιούσαν ἐκ[κλησίαν· ἀναγρά]

¹ Meisterhans, *Grammatik der attischen Inschriften*³, p. 135.

² I am indebted to B. D. Meritt for the solution proposed here.

- 15 ψαι δ[ε] τόδε τὸ ψήφισμ[α τὸν γραμματέ]
 α τὸν [κα]τὰ πρυτανείαν ἐν [στήλει λιθ]
 [ί]νει καὶ στήσαι τὴν στήλην [ἐν ἀκροπ]
 [ό]λε[ι] παρὰ τὴν ἑτέραν στήλην [ἐν ἡι οί]
 [πρ]ότ[ε]ρον τὴν πολιτείαν λα[βόντες τ]
 20 [ὦν . . .]ίων ἀναγεγραμμένοι [εἰσίν· εἰ]
 [ς δ]ὲ τ[ῆ]ν ἀναγραφὴν τῆς στήλης δ[οῦναι τ]
 [ὄν εἰ]ξ[ε]τ[αστὴν καὶ τοὺς τριττ[υάρχου]
 [ς ΔΔ]Δ δραχμάς

*in corona**in corona*

ὁ δῆμος
 Ἀριστόλαν

ὁ δῆμος
 Σώστρατον

1a I.G., II², 646, lines 1–8 may accordingly be restored:

a. 295/4 a.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 30

- [Θ ε] ο [ί]
 [ἐπὶ Νικοστράτ]ου ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῇ[ς Δη]
 [μητριάδος ἐνάτ]της πρυτανείας· Ἐλ[αφη]
 [βολιῶνος ἐνάτ]τει ἵσταμένου, πέμπ[τ]ε[ι]
 5 [καὶ εἰκοστῇ τῇ]ς πρυτανείας· ἐκκλ[η]σί
 [α κυρία· τῶν προ]έδρων ἐπειψήφισεν [Ἀ]ντ
 [ίμαχος Ἀντίνο]υ Ἀχαρνέως καὶ συμ[π]ρό
 [εδροι· ἔδοξεν τ]ῶι δῆμωι· Γόργος Φρ[υ]νί
 [.]ς εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ Ἡρόδωρ
 [ος κτλ see *Corpus*]

1b I.G., II², 647 may be restored:

a. 295/4 a.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 23

- [ἐπὶ Νι]κοστράτου ἄρχοντος [ε]
 [πὶ τῇς] Δημητ[ρ]ιάδος ἐνάτ[η]ς π
 [ρυταν]είας ἡ[ι] Δωρόθεος Ἀρ[ισ]
 [το· ἴ]νου Φαληρεὺς ἐγρα[μμάτ]
 5 [ευεν· Ἐ]λαφ[η]β[ο]λιῶνος ἐ[νάτ]τει
 [ἵσταμ]ένο[υ, πέμπ]τει καὶ εἰκο
 [στεῖ τῇς πρυτα]ν[ε]ί[ας ἐκκλ]ησ
 [ία κυρία· τῶν προέ]δ[ρων ἐπειψή]

[ιζειν Ἀντίμαχος Ἀντίνου Ἀχα]

[ρνεὺς καὶ συμπρόεδροι κτλ]

lacuna

2 Large fragment from a Pentelic marble stele (E.M. 8037), broken on the right and at the bottom,³ published by Kirchner as *I.G.*, II², 2362. Lines 49–56, which were also treated by W. K. Pritchett,⁴ are given here with revised readings and/or restorations in lines 51, 52, 53, and 56 (see above, pp. 84, 89, 90, and 98–100).

<i>a.</i> 201/0 <i>a.</i>	Cols. I and II (lines 1–48):	Col. III
		<i>lacuna</i>
		[Πτολεμαίῖδος]
		<i>lacuna</i>
		[᾽Αφιδνα]?
	see <i>Corpus</i>	<i>lacuna</i>
		49 Θυ[ργωνίδαι]
		50 [Κ]λω[πίδαι]
		[.]α[– – –]
		Πε[ταλίδαι?]
		[Πε]ρρίδ[αι]
		᾽Υπώρει[α]
		55 Εὐνοστίδαι
		Αἰ[γυλι]εῖς
		[– – –]
		[– – –]
		[᾽Ακαμαν]τίδος
		lines 57–65:
		see <i>Corpus</i>

³ For a description of the surface of the stone, see W. K. Pritchett, *T.A.P.A.*, LXXXV, 1954, pp. 160–161. I do not understand Pritchett's (*Five Tribes*, p. 24) estimate of the number of lines in each column as forty-two. A heading probably appeared across the top of the inscription, but the roster of Erechtheis would be complete with the addition of one deme, Kephisia, under the tribal rubric (Kirchner, line 2) and the other tribal rubrics surely would *not* have been repeated at the top of the continuing columns. Four columns of forty-one lines each would allow for the inscribing of: 11 tribal headings, 140 regular demes, the 2 spurious *demes*, Phegaia and Graes, in Pandionis, and 11 irregular "Late Roman" *demes* in the roster of Ptolemais, in all a total of 153 *demes*.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 159–167. For a possible restoration of line 51, see above, pp. 98–99, note 91.

ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA TO MAPS AND TABLES OF REPRESENTATION

Due to delays with the original printer more than two years elapsed between the time of the printing of the plates (Maps and Tables of Representation) and the printing of the text. This interval has occasioned a number of *addenda* and *corrigenda*.

TABLE I ERECHTHEIS: H 41.4 No. 60 (21), for No. 60 read now p. 429.

TABLE II AIGEIS: H 4, p. 48 (406) should now be dated 171/2 (see *Φόρος, Tribute to Benjamin D. Meritt*, 1974, pp. 150–155, with *Addendum*).

TABLE III PANDIONIS: H 33, p. 223 (437), read 4⁺ for Kydathenaion (rather than 5⁺).

TABLE IV LEONTIS: Upper and Lower Potamos should now probably be classed with the city demes (see above, pp. 44–46, with note 18) and the “population” and trittys totals changed accordingly.

The discovery on April 12, 1973, in the Agora Excavations of a prytany decree and list of Leontis dating from about 335 B.C. adds the following statistics to TABLE IV: Kettos 3, Oion Kerameikon 1, Upper Potamos 2, Lower Potamos 1, Skambonidai 3, Potamioi Deiradiotai 2, Phrearrhioi 9, Sounion 4, Aithalidai 2, Eupyridai 2, Hekale 1, Hybadai 2, Kropidai 1, Pelekes 1⁺. The arrangement of the register, which is clearly *not* according to trittys, is as follows: in column I, Skambonidai, Lower Potamos, Kropidai, Oion, Eupyridai, Potamioi Deiradiotai, Aithalidai, Hybadai, and the demotic and one name from Phrearrhioi, in column II, the rest of Phrearrhioi, Upper Potamos, Sounion, Hekale, Kettos, and Pelekes. The new figures add 13 additional concurrences and no variations to the first column of statistics in the table on p. 57. I am grateful to J. H. Kroll for drawing my attention to this inscription and to T. Leslie Shear, Jr., Field Director of the Agora Excavations, for permission to make these references in advance of the publication.

H 26, p. 213 (408) should be dated 180/1 (*loc. cit.*, above, note on TABLE II AIGEIS).

H 40, p. 316 (399) is now better dated *fin. s.* II *vel init. s.* III *p.* (see E. Kapetanopoulos, *Δελτ.*, XXVI, 1971, pp. 289–290, note 26).

TABLE V AKAMANTIS: Text and date should read: H 11, pp. 43–44 (359), *ca.* 160–170 *p.*

TABLE VI OINEIS: IG, II², 1812, H 11, p. 65 (452) should be dated 183/4 (*loc. cit.*, above, note on TABLE II AIGEIS).

TABLE VII KEKROPIS: H 33, p. 201 (494), quotas should read: Daidalidai 1ⁿ, Melite 9⁺4ⁿ, Sypalettos 1⁺3ⁿ.

IG, II², 2467, H SI No. 110 (290), the representation of Melite should read: ?30⁺ (instead of 31?).

Quota of Pithos in summary column for first period of ten phylai should read: 3(2).

IG, II², 1788, H 4, p. 44, H 11, p. 55 (387) should be dated 182/3 (*loc. cit.*, above, note on TABLE II AIGEIS).

TABLE VIII HIPPOTHONTIS: Quota of Eleusis in summary column for first period of twelve phylai should read: 13? (not 12).

TABLE X ANTIOCHIS: H 30, p. 253 (321) should now be dated *ca.* 138 *p.* (see E. Kapetanopoulos, *Δελτ.*, XXVI, 1971, p. 295, note 60).

H 16, p. 179 (383) should be dated 174/5 (*loc. cit.*, above, note on TABLE II AIGEIS).

TABLE XI ANTIGONIS: Gomme's figure for Upper Ankyle should read: (49). The "Lower" designation of both Agryle and Pergase deserves a question mark.

TABLE XIII PTOLEMAIS: Phyla, Former Quota, *fin.* s. VI 308/7 should read: 7? (not 6?).

TABLE XIV ATTALIS: Former Phyle, Order 223/2–200 should read: Order 201–200.

IG, II², 1794 (402) should be dated 181/2 (*loc. cit.*, above, note on TABLE II AIGEIS).

H 40.4 No. 62 (402a) should read: H 41, p. 431 (402a).

TABLE XV HADRIANIS: IG, II², 1833 (487), read [2⁺] for the representation of Daidalidai.

IG, II², 1795 (407) should be dated 180/1 (*loc. cit.*, above, note on TABLE II AIGEIS).

MAPS 1–3: Upper and Lower Potamos are now probably better located in the upper Ilissos valley at Panepistemioupolis (see above, pp. 44–46, with note 18). Leukonoion should be located tentatively at Peristeri (above, p. 44) and Amphitrope should be moved north from Ari to Metropisi (above, p. 54). These changes, together with the assignment of Oion Kerameikon to the class of unlocated demes in the box at the bottom of the maps, have been incorporated in a revised version of Map 2 which is to be distributed separately from this volume by the Publications Committee of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. This revised version of Map 2 employs three colors for the deme circles of the three sections and obviates thereby the suggestion of regional boundaries in the version published in this volume. Again (see above, p. 35, note 3) I stress that the lines of demarcation on Map 2 below are purely schematic and have no reference to what may or may not have been the actual regional boundaries in antiquity.

For consistency with the text, Peiraeus in the Maps and Table VIII of the Tables of Representation should be spelled Peiraieus.

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TABLES OF REPRESENTATION

NOTE: The small superscript letters, a, b, and c, refer to the corresponding sections of the Commentary, A, B, C in Chapter I, and A and B in Chapter II. The superscript numerals refer to Notes to Tables of Representation in Chapter I.

		X Phylai									XII		
Trittys	Deme	(Gomme's figure)	IG I ² 398 (1), 408/7	H 36, p 225 (6), 381/0	H 11, p 233 (14), 367/6	H 4.4 No 60 (21), ca. 350	H 26, p 217 (29), s IV	H 30, p 31 (42), 336/5	IG II ² 1700 (43), 335/4	IG II ² 1697, etc (492), ca. 370 bouleutai + alternates?	QUOTA fin s VI - 308/7	H 35, p 226 (61), 304/3	H 38, p 474 (72), 281/0
City	Upper Agryle (83)		2		2			15		2+	2	[3]	
City	Lower Agryle		1		3						3	ANTIGONIS ^b	
City	Euonymon (227)		2+	2+	[10]		2+	10			10	12	
City	Themakos (25)				1			1	1	1	1	1	
Coast	Anagyrous (142)		3 ^v	6	6			6		9	6	8	
Coast	Kedoi (44)		2		2			2			2	2	
Coast	Upper Lamptraí (391)		3+		5	4+		14			5	ANTIGONIS	
Coast	Coast Lamptraí				9						9	3+	
Coast?	Pambotadai (34)				[0] ^f			1	[1]		1(0) ^f		
Inland	Kephisia (250)		2+v		6			6		[3+]	6		
Inland	Upper Pergase (71)		1 ^v		2				2	3	2		
Inland	Lower Pergase		1 ^v +		[2]			4	2		2	ANTIGONIS ^b	
Inland?	Phegous (23)				[1]			1	1	1	1	1	
Inland?	Sybridai (22)				[1]?			0	[0] ^f	1	0(1) ^f	1	
TRITTYS TOTALS													
City	Name? (335)				16			16			16		
Coast	Name? (611)				22			23			23(22)		
Inland	Kephisia?(366)				12			11			11(12)		
ERECHTHEIS (1312)													
TOTAL COUNCILLORS			(38) ^a	50			50	(50)			50	(50)	
TOTAL DEMES			(13) ^a	13 ^c			13	(13) ^f			14	(10)	

XIII Phylai			XII Phylai							XIII Phylai		
IG II ² 913, H SI no 37 (137), ca. 211/0-202/1		QUOTA 223/2-200	H 40, p 311 (158), init s II H SI 47, 67 ; H 32, p 17 (168), 193/2 IG II ² 1048, H SI 113 (281), 43/2 H 33, p 216 (285), ca. 40- 30 IG II ² 1757, H SI no 106, (286), ca. 40-30 H 36, p 239 (299), fin s I IG II ² 1759 (312), 96/7 p NO QUOTAS 200 s -126/7 p							H 11, p 63 (468), ca. 220 p NO QUOTAS 127/8 p - s III p		
H 30, p 219 (141), fin s III												
3	3	3	1 ⁺ ATTALIS	*1 ⁺	2	0	2				Upper Agryle Lower Agryle	
12	11 ⁺	12	[7]			3	1 ⁺	2			Euonymon	
PTOLEMAIS											Themakos	
8	8	8	2	2		5		1 ⁺			Anagyrous	
2		2	1	3	3 ⁺	0					Kedoi	
10	10	10	[13]	*1 ⁺		13		18		11 ⁺	Upper Lamptraib Coast Lamptraib	
2	2	2		1	[8 ⁺]	6				HADRIANIS	Pambotadai	
8		8				21		13			Kephisia	
3		3		13		0					Upper Pergase ^b Lower Pergase	
1	1	1				1					Phegous	
1	1	1		3	1 ⁺	1	1				Sybridai	
15		15				3					City	
22		22				24					Coast	
13		13				23					Inland	
50	(50)	50				50		50		40	COUNCILLORS	
10	(10)	10				7		12 ^b		11 ^b	DEMES	

Trittys Deme		(Gomme's figure)							
		IG II ² 1747 (36), 343/	IG II ² 1749 (38), 341/	H 30, p 32 (42), 336/5	IG II ² 1700 (43), 335/	H 31, p 402 (45), 331/	IG II ² 1697, 2372, etc 370, <u>bouleutai</u> + <u>alte</u> IG II ² 2388, <u>med s IV</u> , probably not prytaneis	QUOTA fin s VI - 308/7	H 35, p 226 (61), 304/ IG II ² 656, H SI no 2
City	Upper Ankyle (98) ⁺	12	1	12	1[2] ^b	1		1	ANTIGONIS ^b
City	Lower Ankyle		1					1	[1]
City	Bate (45)	2	1	1	1			1(2 ^f)	[1 ⁺]
City	Diomeia (37)	[1]	1	1	1			1	DEMETRIAS
City?	Erikeia (23)	[1]	1	1	1	1 ⁺		1	
City	Mestiaia (22)	[1]	1	1	1			1	[1]
City	Kollytos (106)	3	3	3		[4]	2	3	
City	Kolonos (58)	2	2	2				2	2
Coast	Araphen (47)	2	2	2		3	3	2	
Coast	Halai Araphenides (195) ⁺	5	5	5		[8]		5	
Coast	Otryne (60)	[1]	1	1	1	2		1	[1]
Coast	Phegaia (68)	4	3	3		6		3(4 ^f)	[2 ⁺] [?]
Coast	Philaidai (91)	3	3	3				3	
Inland	Erchia (202)	[6]	6	6 ⁺ ^v				7(6 ^f)	
Inland	Gargettos (138)	4	4	4			4 ⁺	4	ANTIGONIS
Inland	Ikarion (128)	[4]	5	5		6 ⁺	1	5(4 ^f)	ANTIGONIS ^b
Inland?	Ionidai (30)	2	1 ⁺ ^v [?]	1				2(1 ^f)	
Inland?	Kydantidai (44)	1	2	2	2	2		1(2 ^f)	
Inland?	Myrrhinoutta (47)	[1]	1	1				1	
Inland	Plotheia (46)	1	1	1	1			1	
Inland	Teithras (55)	[4]	4	4		4		4	
TRITTYS TOTALS									
City	Name? (389)	12	11	11				11(12)	
Coast	Name? (461)	15	14	14				14(15)	
Inland	Epakria (690)	23	24 ⁺ ^v [?]	24 ⁺ ^v				25(23)	
AIGEIS (1540)									
TOTAL COUNCILLORS		50	49 ^a	49 ^a	(49) ^a			50	
TOTAL DEMES		20	21	20	(20) ^b			21	

TABLE III PANDIONIS

			X Phylai							XII					
Trittys	Deme	(Gomme's figure)	SEG XXIII, 87 (10), <u>init s IV</u>	IG II ² 1740 (12), <u>ca. 400-350</u>	IG II ² 2370 (15), <u>ca. 360</u>	IG II ² 1748 (26), <u>348/7</u>	IG II ² 1751 (32), <u>post med s IV</u>	H 30, p 32 (42), <u>336/5</u>	IG II ² 1700 (43), <u>335/4</u>	IG II ² 1753 (47), <u>ca. 330</u>	QUOTA <u>fin s VI</u> -308/7	H 35, p 227 (61), <u>304/3</u>	H 37, p 11 (62), <u>303/2</u>	H 38, p 475 (72), <u>281/0</u>	
City	Kydathenaion (295)		[11]	12	9 ⁺		[11]	12	[12 [?]]	12(11) ^c		ANTIGONIS			
Coast	Angele (61)		3	3			3	2	3	2(3) ^f					
Coast	Myrrhinous (136)		[6]	7 [?]			[6]	6	6	6		[5 ⁺]			
Coast	Prasiai (35)		[3]	[3]	[3 ⁺]		3	3	[3]	3				[3]	
Coast	Probalinthos (91)		5	[4] [?]			5	5	5	[5]	5	5			
Coast	Steiria (74)		3	[3]			3	3	3	3	3	3		[3]	
Inland	Konthyle (24)		1	1			1	1	1	1					
Inland?	Kytheros (63)		2	[1]			2	2	2	2(1) ^f		ANTIGONIS			
Inland	Oa (67)		4	4	3 ⁺		4	4	1 ⁺ ?	4					
Inland	Upper Paiania (377)		[12]	1	1	1 ⁺	[12]	12	1	1		ANTIGONIS			
Inland	Lower Paiania		11		4 ⁺				10	11					
TRITTYS TOTALS															
City	Kydathenaion? (295)		11	12			11	12	12 [?]	12(11)					
Coast	Myrrhinous (397)		20	20			20	19	20	19(20)					
Inland	Paiania (531)		19	18			19	19	14 ⁺ ?	19(18)					
PANDIONIS (1223)															
TOTAL COUNCILLORS			50	50			50	50 (50)	46 ^a	50		(50) (50) (50)			
TOTAL DEMES			10	11			10	10 (11)	10	11		(8) (8) (8)			

TABLE III PANDIONIS

XIII Phylai		XII Phylai			XIII Phylai													
H 38, p 426 (130), 220/19	QUOTA 223/2-200	H SI no 84 (225), 155/4	H 15, p 227 (258), ca. 100	IG II ² 1050, H SI no 97 (264), ca. 30/79	H SI 116 (293), ca. 20	NO QUOTAS 200 a -126/7 p	H 34, p 96 (318), aet Rom	H 11, p 48 (362), ca. 160 p	IG II ² 1772 (364), 162/3 p	IG II ² 1773 (369), 166/7 p	H 11, p 54 (376), ca. 168 p	IG II ² 1776 (378), 169/70 p	H 16, p 176 (384), ca. 150-190 p	H 33, p 223 (437), fin s II p	IG II ² 1077 (460), 209/10 p	IG II ² 1826 (477), post 217 p	NO QUOTAS 127/8 p - s III p	Deme
		13			[7] ^a		3 ⁺	9 ⁺		14	[8 ⁺]	10		5 ⁺	4	1 ⁺		Kydath
4	4	2			[2] ^a		1			1		2						Angele
8	8	[7]			1							3 ^b	4 ⁺					Myrrhi
3	3	[1]								1		1						Prasia
5	5	ATTALIS																Probal
4	4	2	12 ⁺	12				4 ⁺	4			4	9		4	9 ⁺		Steiri
PTOLEMAIS																		Konthy
		6			2		1											Kyther
4	4	[3]					HADRIANIS											Oa
22	22	16	6 ⁺	26				8 ⁺	20 ⁵			20		12 ⁺	[32]?	15 ⁺		Upper Lower
0	0	13		7?						14		10			4			City
24	24	12		15?						6		10			4			Coast
26	26	25		28						20		20			32			Inland
50	50	50		50	50					40		40			40		40	COUNCI
7	7	8		6	9 ^b					5		6			3		8 ^b	DEMES

		(Gomme's figure)											
Trittys Deme		Δελτ 25, p 84 (13a), IG II ² 1742 (13), 37	IG II ² 1744 (23), <u>med</u>	H 30, p 33 (42), 336	IG II ² 1700 (43), 335	IG II ² 1752 (52), <u>ca</u>	IG II ² 2410 (56), <u>s 1 rejected</u>	QUOTA fin s VI - 308	H 35, p 227 (61), 301	H 37, p 11 (62), 303	H 38, p 475 (72), 281		
City	Halimous (79)	3		3	3		1+	3	3				
City?	Kettos (55)	3		3			3	3					
City?	Leukonoion (153)	3		3				3					
City	Oion Kerameikon (140)+	1		1	1			1	DEMETRIAS				
City	Skambonidai (79)	3		3				3					
Coast	Deiradiotai (55)	1 2		2		1+		2	ANTIGONIS				
Coast	Potamioi Deiradiotai (35)	} 1+ 2		} 5		2		2	ANTIGONIS				
Coast	Upper Potamos (51)		2			2		2	2				
Coast	Lower Potamos (51)	1			1	1		1	DEMETRIAS				
Coast	Phrearrhioi (191)	8+ 9	6+	8+v		7+		9	[1+]				
Coast	Sounion (154)	4 4		4		4		4					
Inland?	Aithalidai (94)	2		2				2	ANTIGONIS				
Inland	Cholleidai (110)	2		2	2		6?	2					
Inland	Eupyridai (97)	2		2	2	[2]		2	2				
Inland	Hekale (28)	1		1				1	1	1	1		
Inland?	Hybadai (36)	2		2				2	2				
Inland?	Kolonai (23)	2		2	2			2	2		2		
Inland	Kropidai (39)	1		1				1	1	1	1		
Inland	Paionidai (59)	3		3				3	3				
Inland	Pelekes (24)	2		2				2	2		[2]		
TRITTYS TOTALS													
City	Skambonidai (506)	13		13				13					
Coast	Phrearrhioi (486)	20		19+v				20					
Inland	Hekale? (510)	17		17				17					
LEONTIS (1502)													
TOTAL COUNCILLORS		50		49+v ^a (50)				50	(50)	(50)	(50)		
TOTAL DEMES		20		18 (20)				20	(15)	(15)	(15)		

IG II ² 848, H SI no 222/1	QUOTA 223/2 - 200	H SI no 63 (164), s 1 IG II ² 899, H SI no 182 (179), 185/4 IG II ² 918, H SI no ca 168 H 36, p 236 (256), f IG II ² 1754, H SI no ca 50 SEG 18, 53 (307), inf	NO QUOTAS 200 a - 12	IG II ² 1760, 1761 (30) med s II p H 3, p 54 (370), ca 1 H 26, p 213 (408), 18 H 26, p 214 (421), ar II p IG II ² 1806a (426), 1 H 40, p 316 (399), 17 IG II ² 1833 (487), s	NO QUOTAS 127/8 p - s	Deme
[3]	3	2 ⁺ 2		2 ⁺ [1 ⁺] #3 ⁺		Halimous
[3]	3	[2] 1				Kettos
5	5	5		8		Leukonoion
		1 ⁺ 4 #1 ⁺			7 #1 ⁺	Oion Kerameikora
4	4	[1 ⁺] 1		HADRIANIS		Skambonidai
		1				Deiradiotai
		0				Potamioi Deiradiotai
2	2	} 0 } [1 ⁺]				Upper Potamos ^b Lower Potamos
10	10	3 6 ⁺		1 2	#1 ⁺	Phrearrhioi
5	6	ATTALIS				Sounion
		1 ⁺ 5 4			1 1 [2 ⁺] ⁷	Aithalidai
5	5	9 4			1 ⁺	Cholleidai
2	2	3 [1 ⁺] #2 ⁺		6 ⁺ 1 ⁺	#2 ⁺	Eupyridai
PTOLEMAIS						Hekale
1	2	1				Hybadai
1	2			1		Kolonai
1	1	2		2 ⁺		Kropidai
3	3	10			#2 ⁺	Paionidai
[2]	2	2			1	Pelekes
15	15	14				City
17	18	4				Coast
15	17	32				Inland
47 ^a	50	50 13 ⁺	50		20 ⁺	COUNCILLORS
14	14	14	18 ^b			DEMES

Trittys Deme		(Gomme's figure)		IG II ² 1741 (8), 378/7 H 26, p 236 (39), ca. 340 H 30, p 33 (42), 336/5 IG II ² 1700 (43), 335/4 IG II ² 2397, 2423, etc. (46), ca. 330 IG II ² 2410 (56), s IV-III, <u>probably not prytaneis</u>		QUOTA fin s VI - 308/7	H SI no 1 (58), 305/4 H 35, p 227 (61), 304/3 H 37, p 11 (62), 303/2 H 38, p 476 (72), 281/0 H SI no 17 (97), ca. 260-240			
City	Cholargos (123)		4			4	[3 ⁺]	[5 ⁺]	6	
City	Eiresidai (21)		1	1		1		2		
City	Hermos (54)		2	2		2		2		
City	Iphistiadai (40)		1		1	1		[1]		
City	Kerameis (151)		6		7 ⁺ ?	6				
Coast	Kephale (130)		9			9	12	10 ⁺	11 ⁺	8 ⁺
Coast?	Poros (38)		3	3		3	DEMETRIAS			
Coast	Thorikos (134)	[3 ⁺]	6	5	3?	5(6) ^c	6			1 ⁺
Inland?	Eitea (32)		2			2	ANTIGONIS			
Inland	Hagnous (99)	4 ⁺	5			5	DEMETRIAS			
Inland	Kikynna (59)		2		2	2	[3]	3	3	
Inland	Prospalta (90)	[5]?	5	5		5	5	5	5	
Inland	Sphettos (178)		5			5	[7]	7	7	7
TRITTYS TOTALS										
City	Cholargos (389)		14			14	[17]			
Coast	Thorikos (302)		17			17	18			
Inland	Sphettos (458)		19			19	[15]			
AKAMANTIS (1149)										
TOTAL COUNCILLORS			50	(50)		50	(50)	(50)	(50)	
TOTAL DEMES			13	(13)		13	(10)	(10)	(10)	

H 9, p 117 (128), 223/2	QUOTA 223/2-200	H SI no 45 (198), ca. 200-150	H SI no 76 (223), 160/59?	NO QUOTAS 200 s -126/7 p	H 11, pp 43-44 (358), ca. 146-165 p	IG II ² 1774 (371), 167/8 p	IG II ² 1775 (373), 168/9 p	H 32, p 38 (432), fin s II p	H 36, p 92 (435), fin s II p	H 36, p 92 (436), fin s II p	IG II ² 1820 (440), fin s II p	IG II ² 1821 (441), fin s II p	IG II ² 3680 (453), ca. 200-205 p	NO QUOTAS 127/8 p - s III p	Deme	
*1 ⁺	6	1 ⁺	5 ?1 ⁺	ATTALIS	[7] 7 4 5	[5] 4 1 2	4 3	[3] 1 3 1 ⁺	HADRIANIS	1 2	12 17 28	2 ^b	4 ⁺	[29 ⁺]	*1 ⁺	Cholargos Eiresidai Hermos Iphistiadai Kerameis Kephale Poros Thorikos Eitea Hagnous Kikynna Prospalta Sphettos Kyrteidai ^b
1 ⁺																City Coast Inland
*1 ⁺																
	50			50		40	40					8 ⁺	40			COUNCILLORS
	9			11 ^b		8	6						10 ^b			DEMES

Trittys	Deme	(Gomme's figure)	IG II ² 1745 (17), 360/59	IG II ² 1700 (43), 335/4	IG II ² 2438 (48), <u>ca.</u> 330	H 30, p 261 (54), <u>ca.</u> 321	IG II ² 1698, etc. (492), <u>ca.</u> 370 <u>bouleutai</u> + <u>alternates</u> ?	QUOTA <u>fin</u> s VI - 308/7	H 35, p 228 (61), 304/3	H 37, p 12 (62), 303/2	H SI no 3 (68), <u>ca.</u> 290-280	H 38, p 476 (72), 281/0	H 32, p 13 (117), <u>ca.</u> 230	H 33, p 179 (124), <u>ca.</u> 225
City	Boutadai (36)		1	1 ⁺				1		1		1		
City	Epikhephisia (42)		2	1				1(2) ^c		1		1		1 ⁺
City?	Hippotomadai (12)		1					1	DEMETRIAS					
City	Lakiadai (97)		2					2		3		3		
City	Lousia (30)		1				1	1		1		1		
City	Perithoidai (69)		3	3				3		3				
City	Ptelea (23)		1					1		1		1		
City?	Tyrmeidai (18)		0					1(0) ^c	1	1	<1> ^b	1		
Coast	Kothokidai (57)		2	1				2(1) ^c	DEMETRIAS					
Coast	Oe (105)		6	7				6(7) ^c	2 ⁺	6	[6 ⁺]			
Coast	Phyle (83)		2		1 ⁺		3	2	DEMETRIAS					
Coast	Thria (101)		7				4 ⁺	7		[8]	[2 ⁺]			1 ⁺
Inland	Acharnai (452)		22		[2 ⁺] ⁹	17 ⁺	22			[25]	[10 ⁺]			
TRITTYS TOTALS														
City	Lakiadai (327)		11					11		11				
Coast	Thria (346)		17					17		14				
Inland	Pedion (452)		22					22		25				
OINEIS (1125)														
TOTAL COUNCILLORS			50	(50)				50		50		(50)		
TOTAL DEMES			12	(12) ^b				13		10		(10)		

[illegible]

		X Phylai				XII								
Trittys	Deme	(Gomme's figure)	IG II ² 1743 (7), ca 390-360	IG II ² 2384 (18), med s IV	IG II ² 2377 (20), ca 360-340	H 29, p 39 (31), post med s IV	IG II ² 1700 (43), 335/4	H 33, p 168, IG II ² 2397, 2423 (46), ca 330	IG II ² 2375 (16), ante med s IV, possible prytany list H 33, p 201 (494), ca. 321, probably not prytaneis	QUOTA fin s VI - 308/7	H 35, p 228 (61), 304/3	H 37, p 13 (62), 303/2	H SI no 7 (65), init s III	H 38, p 477 (72), 281/0
City	Daidalidai (17)		[1+] ¹¹		1			1	1	1	DEMETRIAS			
City	Melite (257)		5+	[7]				9	7	7	DEMETRIAS			
City	Xypete (108)		[3+]	[6+]? 7				3	7	7	DEMETRIAS			
Coast	Aixone (237)							6+	8?	8?		1+		
Coast	Halai Aixonides (119)-		4+		6				6	6	10	[10]		[10]
Inland	Athmonon (141)								6?	6?				
Inland?	Epieikidai (17)			[1]?					1	1		[0] ^b		[0]
Inland	Phlya (224)		2+				5+		7?	7?				
Inland	Pithos (82)			2 ⁿ	3				2(3) ^c	2(3) ^c		4		
Inland	Sypalettos (83)			2+	2			4	1	2		2		
Inland	Trinemeia (29)			1+ ¹¹					2?	2?		2		2
TRITTYS TOTALS														
City	Melite? (382)									15				
Coast	Aixone? (356)									14?				
Inland	Name? (576)									21?				
KEKROPIS (1314)														
TOTAL COUNCILLORS					(50)					50		(50)		(50)
TOTAL DEMES					(11 ^{+v?} ^b)					11		(7) ^b		(7)

XIII Phylai		XII Phylai		XIII Phylai		
H SI no 31 (132), ca. 215		H SI no 61 (209), ca 180-160		H 15, p 238 (348), s II p		
H 30, p 220 (151), ca 200		H SI no 89, H 13, p 258 (248), ca 128		IG II ² 1788, H 4, p 44, H 11, p 55 (387), 174/5 p		
QUOTA 223/2 - 200		H 17, p 25 (261), 95/4		IG II ² 1782 (398), 177/8 p		
		H SI no 109 (288), ca 30/29		H 26, p 248 (400), ca 180 p		
		IG II ² 2467, H SI no 110 (290), ca 29/8-22/1		H 16, p 181 (401), ca 180 p		
		H 26, p 247 (292), 21/0		IG II ² 1798 (420), 190/1 p		
		NO QUOTAS 200 a - 126/7 p		IG II ² 1790 (427), ca 197 p		
				H 29, p 34 (430), ante fin s II p		
				H 30, p 255 (457), init s III p		
				NO QUOTAS 127/8 p - s III p		
					Deme	
1+ [10]?		2		HADRIANIS	Daidal	
		12+ 31? 3		*1+ 27 [1+]	Melite	
		7 2+ 3			Xypete	
		1+		6 1	Aixone	
		[6+]?	2	5 5	Halai	
		ATTALIS		#[2+]	Athmon	
1		[2]	2	1	Epieik	
PTOLEMAIS					Phlya	
5	5			1 3	Pithos	
1+		*1+ 1		1+ 3 ²	Sypale	
2+				1 2+	Trinem	
				27	City	
				6	Coast	
				7	Inland	
	50		50	40	12+	COUNCI
	7		9 ^b	6		DEMES

Trittys Deme		(Gomme's figure)		H 15, p 228 (9), <u>ca.</u> 400-3	H 9, p 57 (11), <u>ca.</u> 400-35	IG II ² 2377 (20), <u>ca.</u> 360-	IG II ² 1700 (43), 335/4	IG II ² 1698, etc. (492), <u>ca.</u> <u>bouleutai</u> + <u>alternates?</u>	IG II ² 1699 (493), 343/2, <u>bouleutai</u>	QUOTA fin s VI -308/7	H 35, p 230 (61), 304/3	H 37, p 13 (62), 303/2	H 38, p 478 (72), 281/0	H 15, p 153 (109), <u>ca.</u> 240
City?	Hamaxanteia (64)		2 ⁺							2	2		2	2
City	Keiriadai (39)		2					3		2			2	2
City	Koile (78)									3 ^c	DEMETRIAS			
City	Korydallos (14)									1?				
City	Peiraeus (235)									9 ^c	10		[6 ⁺]	
City	Thymaitadai (26)	1 ⁺	[2]							2	2			
Coast?	Acherdous (43)									1 ^c	1		1	
Coast?	Auridai (24)									1?	ANTIGONIS? ^b			
Coast?	Azenia (71)		2					[3]?		2	2		2	
Coast?	Elaious (30)		1							1	1		1 ⁺	
Coast	Eleusis (198)						[6 ⁺] ^c ?	3 ⁺	11 ^c				[10 ⁺] ¹⁸	
Coast	Kopros (41)							3	2		2		2	
Coast	Oinoe (72)+								2?		DEMETRIAS ^b			
Inland?	Anakaia (39)		3	3				4 ⁺	3				3	[3]?
Inland?	Eroiadai (21)		1						1 ⁺	1	2		2	
Inland	Dekeleia (64)		4						4 ⁺	4				
Inland	Oion Dekeleikon (18)-								3 ^c	3 ⁺				
TRITTYS TOTALS														
City	Peiraeus (456)									19				
Coast	Eleusis (479)									20				
Inland	Dekeleia? (142)									11				
HIPPOTHONTIS (1077)														
TOTAL COUNCILLORS						(49?) ^a				50	(50)		(50)	
TOTAL DEMES						(17) ^b				17	(14)		?(14) ^b	

<u>H</u> 30, p 260 (157), <u>init s</u> <u>IG</u> II ² 914, <u>H</u> SI no 60 (19 <u>paullo ante</u> 178/7 <u>H</u> SI no 64 (194), 178/7 <u>H</u> 23, p 239 (195), <u>ca.</u> 178 <u>H</u> 9, p 120 (205), 176/5-16 <u>H</u> 9, p 123 (226), <u>ca.</u> 155 <u>H</u> 21, p 361 (243), 135/4 (245), <u>most med s</u> II <u>H</u> 12, p 57 (278), <u>med s</u> I <u>H</u> 36, p 237 (280), <u>ca.</u> 50-					NO QUOTAS 200 a -126/7 p	<u>H</u> 12, p 60 (336), 138/9-15 <u>IG</u> II ² 1808 (395), <u>ca.</u> 170 <u>aut</u> 187 p <u>IG</u> II ² 1809 (396), <u>ca.</u> 170 <u>aut</u> 187 p <u>IG</u> II ² 1819 (458), <u>init s</u> <u>IG</u> II ² 1811 (479), <u>post</u> 21 <u>IG</u> II ² 1816 (465), <u>paullo</u> <u>220/1 p</u> <u>H</u> 40, p 321 (448), <u>ca.</u> 205 NO QUOTAS 127/8 p - s III	Deme
1	5	[5 ⁺]	8	5			Hamaxanteia
	1		2	4			Keiriadai
[1 ⁺]	4		6	4	4	1 ⁺ 2 ⁺ [1 ⁺] 2 ⁺	Koile
ATTALIS							Korydallos
7 ⁺	8		4	15	10 2 ⁺	10 ⁺ [1 ⁺] 7 ⁺ 6 ⁺ ? *[1 ⁺]*3 ⁺	Peiraeus
	3				1		Thymaitadai
	8		6 ⁺	3	2		Acherdous
	4				5		Auridai
	2		6	5	6 16 ⁺ 21 ⁺	14 5 ⁺ 10 ⁺ *6 ⁺	Azenia
	5			1	4	HADRIANIS	Elaious
	6		8	6	5		Eleusis
2	1			1			Kopros
IS							Oinoe
	1		3		2		Anakaia
	1				2		Eroiadai
	1			4			Dekeleia
IS ATTALIS							Oion Dekele:
	21		29	24			City
	26		16	22			Coast
	3		4	4			Inland
	50		49	50	50	6 ⁺ 25 ⁺ 40	COUNCILLORS
	14		10	12	14 ^b	13 ^b	DEMES

TABLE IX AIANTIS

		X Phylai		XII Phylai						X
		IG II ² 1700 (43), 335/4	IG II ² 2397, 2423, etc (46), ca 330	QUOTA fin s VI - 308/7	H 16, p 184, H 29, p 53, H 33, p 169 (59), 304/3	H 35, p 228 (61), 304/3	H 37, p 14 (62), 303/2	H 38, p 479 (72), 281/0	H SI no 24 (113), ca 240- 230	QUOTA 307/6 - 224/3
Trittys	Deme (Gomme's figure)									
City	Phaleron (168)	9 ⁺	9 ^c		[9]	9	9	[6 ⁺]		9
Coast	Marathon (247)		16 ^f		3 ⁺	[3 ⁺]		[2 ⁺]	1 ⁺	10
Coast	Oinoe (36)-		4 ^f		4	[4]		4		4
Coast	Rhamnous (203)		8 ^f		[3 ⁺]	[3 ⁺]	8	8		8
Coast	Trikorynthos (96)		3 ^f					[3]		3
Inland	Aphidna (229)		16 ^c		16	16		[10 ⁺]		16
TRITTYS TOTALS										
City	Phaleron? (168)		9			9				9
Coast	Tetrapolis (582)		25			(25)				25
Inland	Aphidna? (229)		16			16				16
AIANTIS (979)										
TOTAL COUNCILLORS		(50)	50		(50)	(50)	(50)	(50)		50
TOTAL DEMES		(6)	6		(6)	(6)	(6)	(6)		6

TABLE IX AIANTIS

XII Phylai						XIII Phylai						Deme		
<u>H</u> SI no 48, <u>H</u> 40, p 313 (170), <u>ca</u> 190/89	<u>H</u> 3, p 21, <u>H</u> SI no 73 (216), 166/5	<u>H</u> 3, p 54, <u>H</u> SI no 98 (267), <u>ante</u> 60	<u>IG</u> II ² 1756, <u>H</u> SI no 102 (273), <u>ca</u> 50	<u>H</u> SI no 114 (289), <u>ca</u> 30-20	<u>IG</u> II ² 1073, 1074, <u>H</u> SI no 121 (322), <u>ca</u> 120 <u>p</u>	NO QUOTAS 200 <u>a</u> - 126/7 <u>p</u>	<u>IG</u> II ² 1767 (340), <u>med</u> <u>s</u> II <u>p</u>	<u>H</u> 33, p 222 (347), <u>s</u> II <u>p</u>	<u>IG</u> II ² 1806 (424), 194/5? <u>p</u>	<u>IG</u> II ² 1813 (446), <u>ca</u> 200 <u>p</u>	<u>IG</u> II ² 1814 (450), <u>ca</u> 200- 205 <u>p</u>	<u>IG</u> II ² 1834a (489), <u>init</u> <u>s</u> III <u>p</u>	NO QUOTAS 127/8 <u>p</u> - <u>s</u> III <u>p</u>	
17	*1+	8	8	[5+]	9+		4							Phaleron
1+					[29]		[7+] 6+	[13+] [15+] [13+] 9+						Marathon
ATTALIS							HADRIANIS							Oinoe
[16+] [21+]			4+		7		3							Rhamnous
8		7	[7 ⁺]?				HADRIANIS							Trikorynt.
							HADRIANIS							Aphidna
														City
														Coast
														Inland
						50							40	COUNCILLO
						4 ^b							3 ^b	DEMES

Trittys Deme (Gomme's figure)		H 36, p 226 (22), <u>ca. med</u> <u>s IV</u>	IG II ² 1700 (43), 335/4	IG II ² 1750 (44), 334/3	IG II ² 2357, 2423, etc. (46), <u>ca.</u> 340-317	IG II ² 2407 (55), <u>ca.</u> 321 <u>perhaps not prytaneis</u>	IG II ² 1698, etc. (492), <u>ca.</u> <u>bouleutai + alternates?</u>	QUOTA <u>fin</u> s VI -308/7	H 35, p 225 (61), 304/3	H 37, p 14, IG II ² 2412 (62), 303/2	H 38, p 480 (72), 281/0	IG II ² 674 (78), 273/2	H SI no 20 (100), <u>ca.</u> 250
City	Alopeke (255)			10	[9 ⁺]	[12] ^c ?		10		12	5 ⁺		
Coast	Aigillia (93)			6				6		7			[4 ⁺]
Coast	Amphitrope (73)			2				2	1 ⁺	3	3		3
Coast	Anaphlystos (172)			10	10 ⁺	[10 ⁺]	[11 ⁺]	10	11	1 ⁺	11	[3 ⁺]	
Coast	Atene (47)			3		[3] [?]		3	DEMETRIAS				
Coast	Besa (28)			2				2		2			
Coast	Thorai (55)	4		4				4	DEMETRIAS				
Inland	Eitea (20)	1 ⁺	2	1		[2] [?]		2(1) ^c	2	2	2		
Inland?	Eroiadai (21)			1		[1] [?]	[1 ⁺]	1	1	1	1		
Inland	Kolonai (23)	[3]		2		1 ⁺		2	ANTIGONIS ^b				
Inland?	Krioa (47)			1				1		2	2		
Inland	Pallene (187)		6	7				6(7) ^c			8 ⁺ ^y	[3 ⁺]	
Inland	Semachidai (37)			1		[1] [?]		1	. 1	1	1		
TRITTYS TOTALS													
City	Alopeke (255)			10				10		12			
Coast	Anaphlystos (468)			27				27		23 [?]			
Inland	Pallene (335)			13				13		15 [?]			
ANTIOCHIS (1058)													
TOTAL COUNCILLORS				(50 ⁺ ^{2y?}) ^b 50				50		(50)(50)			
TOTAL DEMES				(13) ^b 13				13		(10)(10)			

[illegible]

TABLE XI ANTIGONIS

Former Phyle	Order $\overline{11n}$ is VI - 308/7	Trittys	Deme	(Gomme's figure)	Former Quota	XII Phylai			XIII Phylai	Deme	
Erechtheis	I	City	Lower Agryle (50)		3	H 2, p 499 (60), 304/3	H 35, p 224 (61), 304/3	H 38, p 473 (72), 281/0	QUOTA 307/6 - 224/3	H 26, p 59 (138), ca 210/9-201/0	QUOTA 223/2 - 200
Erechtheis	I	Coast	Upper Lamptraí (140)		5	5 ⁺	5		5		
Erechtheis	I	Inland	Lower Pergase (35)		2	[2]	2		2	1 ⁺	
Aigeis	II	City	Upper Ankyle (40)		1		1		1		
Aigeis	II	Inland	Gargettos (138)		4		6 ⁺		7?	3 ⁺	
Aigeis	II	Inland	Ikarion (128)		5(4)		6		6	1 ⁺	
Pandionis	III	City	Kydathenaion (295)		12(11)		12		12		
Pandionis	III	Inland?	Kytheros (63)		2		2		2		
Pandionis	III	Inland	Upper Paiania (31)		1		1		1		
Leontis	IV	Inland?	Aithalidai (94)		2		2		2		
Leontis	IV	Coast	Deiradiotai (55)		2				2		
Leontis	IV	Coast	Potamos Deiradiotes (35)		2		1 ⁺		2		
Akamantis	V	Inland?	Eitea (32)		2				2		
Hippothontis	VIII	Coast?	Auridai? ^a (24)		1?				1		
Antiochis	X	Inland	Kolonai ^a (23)		2				2		PTOLEMAIS

TABLE XII DEMETRIAS

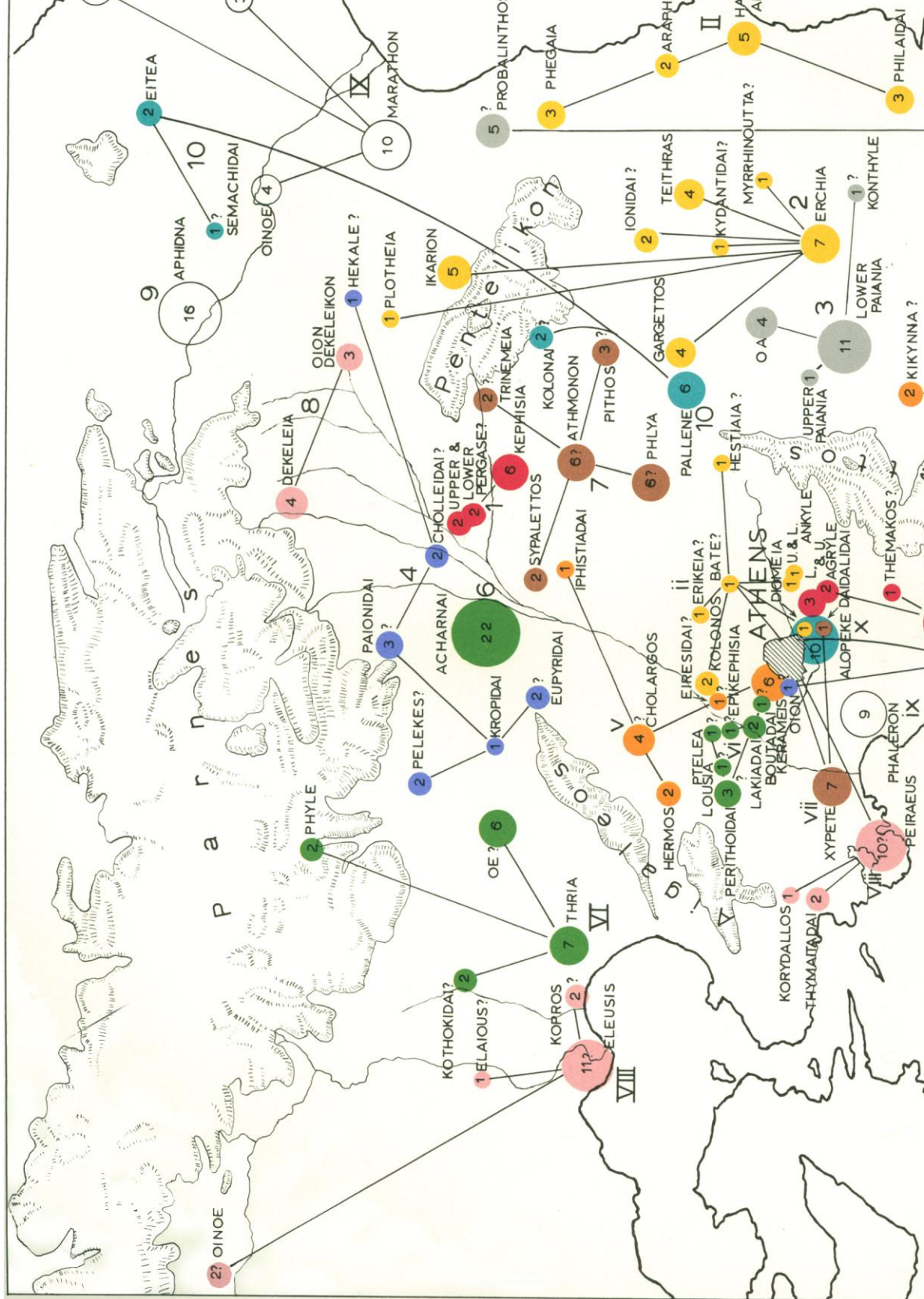
Former Phyle	Order $\overline{\text{fln}}$ \equiv VI - 308/7	Trittys Deme	(Gomme's figure)	Former Quota	XII Phylai		XIII Phylai		Deme
Aigeis	II	City	Diomeia (37)	1	$\overline{\text{H}}$ 35, p 225 (61), 304/3	$\overline{\text{H}}$ 10, p 273 (105), $\overline{\text{med}}$ \equiv III	$\overline{\text{IG}}$ II ² 2437 (125), $\overline{\text{post}}$ 225	$\overline{\text{H}}$ 9, p 77 (140), $\overline{\text{fln}}$ \equiv III	1
Leontis	IV	City	Oion Kerameikon (140)+	1		1	1	1	Oion Kerameikon
Leontis	IV	Coast	Lower Potamos (17)	1			2	2	Lower Potamos
Akamantis	V	Inland	Hagnous (99)	5	5	[5+]		4+	Hagnous
Akamantis	V	Coast?	Poros (38)	3	[3]				Poros
Oineis	VI	City?	Hippotomadai (12)	1	1	1	1	1	Hippotomadai
Oineis	VI	Coast	Kothokidai (57)	2	2		2	2	Kothokidai
Oineis	VI	Coast	Phyle (83)	2	6	[6]	4+		Phyle
Kekropis	VII	City	Daidalidai (17)	1	1	1	1		Daidalidai
Kekropis	VII	City	Melite (257)	7	7	7			Melite
Kekropis	VII	City	Xypete (108)	7					Xypete
Hippothontis	VIII	City	Koile (78)	3	2+	3			Koile
Hippothontis	VIII	Coast	Oinoe? ² (72)+	2?				PTOLEMAIS	Oinoe?
Antiochis	X	Coast	Atene (47)	3					Atene

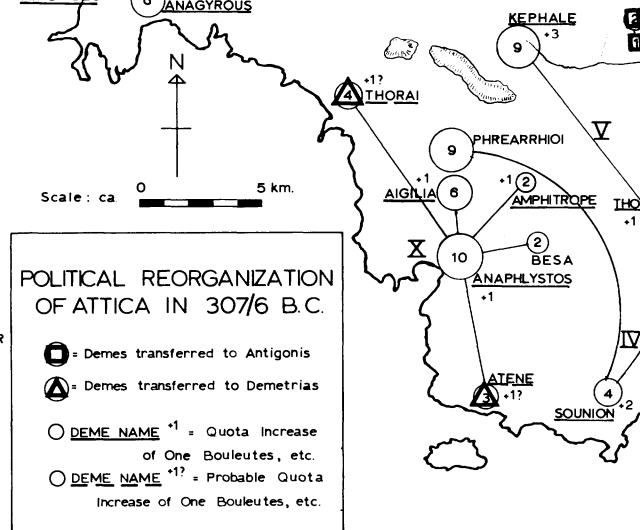
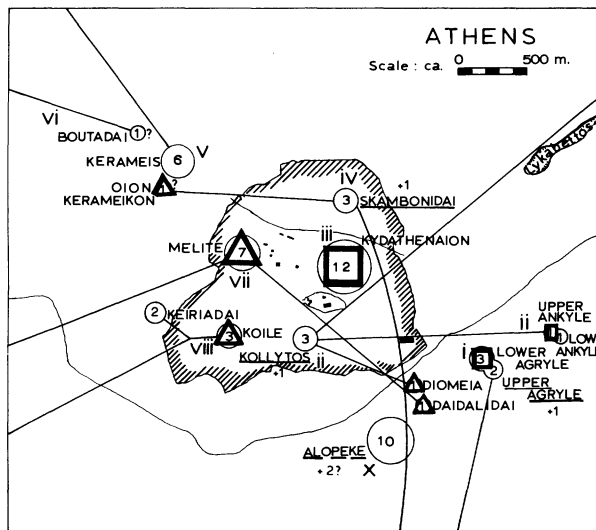
TABLE XV HADRIANIS

Former Phyle	Order 200 ie - 126/7 p	Tritty's	Deme	(Gomme's figure)
Erechtheis	I	Coast?	Pambotadai (34)	
Aigeis	II	Coast	Phegaia (68)	
Pandionis	III	Inland	Oa (67)	
Leontis	IV	City	Skambonidai (79)	
Ptolemais	V	Inland	Aphidna (229)	
Akamantis	VI	Inland?	Eitea (32)	
Oineis	VII	Coast	Thria (101)	
Kekropis	VIII	City	Daidalidai (17)	
Hippothontis	IX	Coast?	Elaious (30)	
Aiantis	X	Coast	Trikorynthos (96)	
Antiochis	XI	Coast	Besa (28)	
Attalis	XII	Coast	Oinoe (36)-	
New		City?	Antinoeis	
TOTAL COUNCILLORS				
TOTAL DEMES				

MAPS 1 - 3

MAP 1





Erechtheis	Aigeis	Pandionis	Leontis	Akamantis	Oineis	Kekropis	Hippothontis	Aiantis
② KEDO I	① OTRYNE II	② KYTHEROS 3?	③ KETTOS IV?	④ APOROS V?	① TYRMEIDAI VI?	① EPIEIKIDAI 7?	② HAMAXANTEIA VIII?	○ None
④ PAMBOTADAI I?			② LEUKONOON IV?	② EITEA 5?	④ HIPPIOTOMADAI VI?		① ACHERDOUS VIII?	
① PHEGOS 1?			② AITHALIDAI 4?				① AURIDAI VIII?	
④ SYBRIDAI 1?			② HYBADAI 4?				② AZENIA VIII?	
+1			② KOLONAI 4?				③ ANAKAIA 8?	
							+1 ① EROIADAI 8?	

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