

THE DEMES OF ERETRIA

(PLATE XXII)

DURING the greater part of classical antiquity Eretria was the most important city of Euboea,¹ and for a considerable period she was the capital of a territory which comprised the whole southern half of the island except for the small plain of Karystos at its tip.² There is a considerable number of inscriptions which list the names of Eretrians of the late fourth and early third centuries B.C. Why they were set up is usually not clear, but it is interesting in any case to know the names of about 3,000 nearly contemporary Eretrians, and for our present purpose it is fortunate that at Eretria, as at Athens, the name of his deme was part of the formal style of the citizen.

Some fifty of the Eretrian demes are known by name (often only in an abbreviated form); there were doubtless more of them,—indeed our knowledge of several depends on a single inscription, and the last important citizen-list to be found provided two new deme-names,—but it seems probable that the names of all the larger ones are among those that have come down to us. No study of the problems connected with these demes has appeared since Ziebarth, who edited the Euboean fascicle³ of *I.G.*, XII, devoted about two pages of his *Notae* to a collection of what was then known of them, and to a discussion of their location. The new inscriptions published in the *Supplement* to *I.G.*, XII, and a new interpretation of *I.G.*, XII, 9, 241, make it worth while to re-examine the whole question.⁴

The demes, with the approximate number of citizens known from each, and the number of men from each to appear in the longer citizen-lists, are set forth in the following table.

¹ Chalkis has generally been considered the more important of the two cities (e.g., by Strabo, 446 ff.). This is not the place to consider the question in detail, especially where it concerns the problematical 8th and 7th centuries, but it may be pointed out in passing that Eretria's territory was probably larger (certainly more small towns and villages were dependent on her than on Chalkis), her sixth century coins are more numerous, she paid a larger tribute to Athens after 425 B.C., and it is clear from the numismatic evidence that she was the leading state in the Euboean League which lasted intermittently from 411/10 B.C. until Roman times. Chalkis suffered a heavy defeat at the hands of the Athenians in 506 B.C., and was subsequently occupied by a large cleruchy; her importance as one of the "fettters of Greece" in Macedonian and Roman times was primarily strategic—like that of Acrocorinth. For views at Eretria see Plate XXII.

² The extent of Eretrian territory, at least during the fifty years on either side of 300 B.C., is fortunately fairly clear. To the south Styra belonged to Eretria (the theory that the deme of this name was homonymous with but distinct from the town is rejected below under Στύρα); so did Zarex, Dystos, Tamynai, Grynychai, and Mt. Kotylaion, the position of all of which is fairly accurately known (for detailed discussion see below under the names of these demes). What is in doubt is how far north and west Eretria's territory extended—whether or not, in short, it included Kyne, and whether it reached the River Lelas. The answer must probably wait on future excavation.

³ Fascicle 9, published in 1916; the *Supplement* to *I.G.*, XII, which appeared in 1939, contains no further topographical discussion.

⁴ A preliminary draft of this paper was read to the Archaeological Institute at its annual meeting in December, 1941.

TABLE OF THE ERETRIAN DEMES

Name ⁶	Number of known demesmen	I.G., XII, 9 numbers and approximate dates of the larger citizen-lists ⁵							Other inscriptions in which the deme appears
		191 330-10	241 320-08	Supp. 555 304-00	245 ± 300	244 c. 280	246 280-75	249 280-75	
Αίγαλ.	35+....	1.....	2? 7	.....	.....	.....	30.....	.....	241 (1), 243 (2), I.G., II ² , 230. ⁸
ἐξ Αίγλεφείρης	8.....	3.....	.....	.....	.....	1.....	.....	4.....	For 249 B 220-240, see p. 134.
Ἀλιφῆθεν	1.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	532 (1).
Ἀμάρυνθος	9.....	.....	.....	.....	1.....	.....	.....	.....	247 (8), 188, I.G., II ² , 230.
ἐξ Ἀσ.	23+....	1.....	12.....	.....	.....	.....	3.....	.....	240 (1), 242 (6+).
Ἀφαρεῦθεν	149+....	13+....	2.....	.....	.....	.....	127.....	.....	210 (1), 243 (6).

⁵ These seven lists carry the names of about 2,300 Eretrians; the largest is 245 (about 860 names), the smallest are 241 and 244 (each about 60 names).

The most firmly datable of them is 245. The lettering of this inscription suggests a date about 300 B.C. (See 'Αρχ. Ἐφ., 1911, pl. 2. Ziebarth would date it a few years later: "*saec. iii ineuntis*"). The orator of the proxeny decree I.G., XII, 9, 200, Ἀρχέλαος Π[ηξιμάχου Οἰνόθεε?] is probably the Ἀρχέλαος Πηξιμάχου Οἶνο of 245 A 49 (see note on Οἶνο. below): the proxeny decree is dated by its letter forms to about 300 B.C. (so Ziebarth—I have no squeeze or photograph). The orator of the proxeny decree I.G., XII, 9, 218, which also may be dated by its letter forms to about 300 B.C. (Ziebarth says "*prioris partis saec. iii*," but it is clear from my squeezes that the lettering is very similar to that of I.G., XII, 9, 210 which certainly dates in or very near 302/1 B.C.), is Αἰσχινάδης Γοργίωνος who also appears in 245 A 278. The polemarch Ἰθαγένης Αἰσχύλου of I.G., XII, 9, 192, which is firmly dated to 308/7 B.C., reappears in 245 B 414. Ἀρίσταρχος Τόλλου Ζαρ. (245 B 201) is probably the father of the ephebe Τόλλος Ἀριστάρχου Δυσ. of 240 line 5—an inscription firmly dated to 308-304 B.C.—in spite of the different demotic (whether this is a mistake of the stone-cutter's or whether, more probably, there is some other explanation: there are about 11 reappearances of the same name in different demes at Eretria, and some 25 instances of reversed names—"father and son"—in different demes as against about 120 cases of "father and son" in the same deme). Finally, 245 cannot be much later than 241, which Ziebarth dates "*saec. iv exeuntis*," for the two inscriptions have 5 coincidences (same name, father's name, and deme) and either two or three examples of reversed names—i. e., sons in 245 of soldiers who appear in 241; 245, then, must date very closely ± 300 B.C.

I.G., XII, Supp. 555, a list of ephebes, must be a little earlier, for two of the ephebes reappear as men in 245 which also contains six of their fathers. 241 is probably earlier still—"saec. iv exeuntis": Ziebarth.

191 may be dated ± 320 B.C. on its lettering, but should not be much earlier than 240 (308-304 B.C.) because Μαντίδης Δυσ. (191 B 18) and Ἀμφαλκος Δυσ. (191 B 32) are probably the Μαντίδης Χορονίκου Δυσ. and Ἀμφαλκος Ἡφαιστίωνος Δυσ. of 240, lines 17 and 18: there are no other occurrences at Eretria of these two unusual names. (191 has usually been dated—by Stavropoulos, Holleaux, Bechtel, etc.—after the Lamian War, but on the erroneous theory that Styra did not until then belong to Eretria: see below under Στύρα.)

TABLE OF THE ERETRIAN DEMES—(*Continued*)

Name	Number of known demesmen	191 330-10	241 320-08	Supp. 555 304-00	245 ± 300	244 c. 280	246 280-75	249 280-75	Other inscriptions in which the deme appears
Βουδιόθεν	c. 111.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	7+....	—.....	101.....	240 (1?), ⁹ 248 (2 or 3).
Γρύγγαι	c. 85.....	5.....	1?.....	—.....	2.....	1.....	46.....	25-7 ¹⁰	213 (1?), ¹¹ 224 (1?), 243 (2), 247 (1).
Δισμαρόθεν	109.....	—.....	1?.....	20.....	86.....	—.....	2.....	—.....	
Δύστος	c. 71.....	c. 63.....	3.....	—.....	1.....	—.....	1.....	—.....	240 (3+).
Έγε.	1.....	1.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	
Έγω.	34.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	1.....	—.....	32.....	—.....	243 (1). ¹²
έξ Ένι.	17.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	16.....	1.....	—.....	—.....	
έξ Έσχ.	7.....	—.....	2.....	—.....	5.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	
Ζάρηξ	288.....	37.....	3.....	24.....	224.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	I.G., II ² , 230 (1-2).
Ίστίαια	149.....	13.....	2.....	—.....	—.....	11.....	2.....	120.....	214 (1), 240 (1).
Καρκινούσιοι	2.....	—.....	—.....	2.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	
Κοτύλαιον	15.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	15.....	
ἀπὸ Κυλ.	59.....	—.....	1.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	57.....	—.....	240 (1).
Κωμαιεῖς	60.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	2.....	—.....	58.....	
Λάκεθεν	117(97?)	—.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	8.....	1.....	102(82?)	240 (2), 248 (3-5).

246 and 249 belong about a generation before the time, between 245 B.C. and 236 B.C., when Σωγένης Δημονόμου Έρετριεύς and Στήσαρχος Εὐφιλήτου Έρετριεύς were proxenoi of the Aitolians (see I.G., IX², I, 1, 25, lines 15 and 19), for the fathers of these men appear in 246 B 61 and 249 B 419. 246 must be earlier than *ca.* 272 when Menedemos (246 B 66) left Eretria (see K. von Fritz on "Menedemos" in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, XV, 788-794). Πεδιεύς Οἰνάργον ἀπὸ Κυ. (246 A 87) is probably the grandson of the man of the same name in 241 line 92. Χαιρίδημος Ἀντιφίλων Πετρ. (246 B 120) is undoubtedly the ephebe of 240 line 6 (308-304 B.C.). Altogether the most suitable date for 246 appears to be 280-75 B.C. In 249 the ephebe Κτυρίας Κτήσωνος (B 80) has the same name as the soldier of 241 line 47 who is probably his grandfather; Κλεσχάρης Κλέωνος Ταμ. (249 B 260) is probably the son of Κλέων Κλεοχά[ρον Ταμ.] 241 line 94, while Ὀνήριμος Ἀμυνάνδρον Βουδ. of 249 B 167 must somehow be the same man as the ephebe Ὀνήριμος Ἀμυνάνδρον Λακ. of 240 line 24, in spite of the difference in the demotics (see also note 51). Thus we arrive at similar dates for 249 and 246. 244 has probable coincidences with both 245 and 249; from the character of the script it is nearer in date to the latter.

⁶ Where the actual name is known it is given; otherwise the demotic form is given, either in full or in the longest abbreviation found.

⁷ See note on I.G., XII, 9, 241, line 79 (below, p. 123).

⁸ See note on Αἰγαλ[ήθεν?] below, p. 133.

⁹ See note on Βουδιόθεν below, p. 134.

¹⁰ See note on Παρθένιον below, p. 145.

¹¹ See note on Γρύγγαι below, p. 135.

¹² See note 62.

TABLE OF THE ERETRIAN DEMES—(*Continued*)

Name	Number of demesmen	191 330-10	241 320-08	<i>Supp.</i> 555 304-00	245 ± 300	244 c. 280	246 280-75	249 280-75	Other inscriptions in which the deme appears
Μινθουντόθεν	30.....	9.....	2.....	—.....	—.....	5.....	—.....	13.....	<i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 230 (1).
ἐγ Μν.	8.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	1.....	—.....	7.....	—.....	
ἐγ Νε.	78.....	1.....	2.....	—.....	73.....	—.....	1.....	—.....	240 (1).
Ξενιαδῶν	2.....	—.....	—.....	2.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	
Οίνο.	56.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	55.....	—.....	1?.....	—.....	200 (1).
Οίχα.	5.....	—.....	2.....	—.....	3.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	
Πανα.	12.....	8.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	240 (1), 247 (3).
Πεν.	1.....	1.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	
Πεο.	1.....	1.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	
Περαεῖς	51.....	—.....	1-2.....	—.....	22.....	1.....	11.....	12.....	243 (1), 247 (3). ¹³
Πετρη.	51.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	1.....	49.....	—.....	240 (1).
ἐκ Πλα.	1.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	1.....	—.....	
Πτέχαι	5.....	2.....	2.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	221 (1).
Ῥαφιεῦθεν	69.....	—.....	1.....	2.....	66.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	
Σπλη.	9.....	1?.....	8.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	<i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 230 (1?).
Στύρα	199.....	70.....	6.....	—.....	85.....	1.....	32.....	—.....	247 (4), <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 230 (1).
Τάμυναι	101.....	—.....	3.....	—.....	—.....	10.....	—.....	83.....	248 (4), 240 (1).
Τεμ.	1.....	1.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	
Τηλειδῶν (ἐκ Τη.)	41.....	—.....	1.....	1.....	39.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	218 (1—without demotic).
Φαλλάριοι	96.....	—.....	—.....	1.....	94.....	—.....	1.....	—.....	
Φηγοεῖς	11.....	7.....	—.....	—.....	2.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	247 (2).
ἐκ Φηραι.	3.....	1.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	1.....	—.....	240 (1).
Φλιεῖς	96.....	—.....	—.....	16.....	67.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	250 (1).
Χοίραι	4.....	1.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	222 (1), 240 (1), <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 230 (1).
ἐκ Χυτ.	17.....	—.....	1.....	—.....	1.....	—.....	14.....	—.....	<i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 230 (1).
ἐξ Ὀνου.	3.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	—.....	2.....	—.....	243 (1).
Ὀρωπός	97.....	—.....	3.....	—.....	—.....	9.....	1.....	77.....	248 (7).
TOTALS	2,398	240	62	68	844	50	422	610	about 100

¹³ In *I.G.*, XII, 9, 247, line 2 appears as Θεόδοτος [Γ]νά[θ]ωνο[s] Περα[.]. The last pair of brackets here is presumably a slip—Kourouniotes does not print them (*Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1911, p. 21, where the line is unfortunately not legible in his photograph), and it would not have been possible to restore the demotic if the end of the line had been completely missing.

THE CERTAIN DEMES

The demes the position of which is established beyond reasonable doubt by modern survivals of both names and remains are only three in number—Dystos, Zarex, and Styra. Five more may, however, be located with practical certainty:

Amarynthos, where there was a great Eretrian temple of Artemis, was certainly in the Eretrian plain a few miles east of the city, although the exact position is in doubt.

Grynchai may be placed with some assurance on the eastern promontory of the Ἐρετρική.

Kotylaion must have been on the slopes of Mt. Kotylaion the position of which is known from Aeschines, III, 86.

Tamynai is certainly to be placed in the neighborhood of Aliveri and Aulonari.

Ptechai is known from *I.G.*, XII, 9, 191 to have contained the great marsh immediately east of Eretria.

For detailed discussion of the position of these demes, see the last section of this paper.

THE FIVE DISTRICTS

I.G., XII, 9, 241 is a list of soldiers inscribed late in the fourth century, with the deme to which each man belonged recorded after his name;¹⁴ it is important for

¹⁴ There is a number of third-century Boeotian inscriptions, lists of hoplites, peltaphoroi, etc., which it is interesting to compare with this Eretrian list: they are perhaps most conveniently available in Michel, *Recueil d'insc. gr.*, nos. 621-639.

A much closer parallel to *I.G.*, XII, 9, 241 is the Corinthian inscription first published by Meritt (*Corinth*, VIII, 1, no. 11), and recently discussed by Dow (*Harv. St. in Cl. Phil.*, LIII, 1942, pp. 89-106). Like 241 this is a list of names divided into groups which are each subdivided into two sections, and as in 241 spaces are left between the groups—in this inscription certainly, and in 241 probably, for later additions. The rubrics in the Corinthian inscription were, as Dow has shown, ΣΙ-Ε, ΣΙ-ΙΙ; ΑΕ-Ε, ΑΕ-ΙΙ; ΚΥ-Ε, ΚΥ-ΙΙ. Whether ΣΙ, ΑΕ, and ΚΥ are local headings (on the Eretrian analogy) or abbreviations of tribal names (as Dow maintains, but see his footnote 16 where he mentions as a possibility that they stand for Λέ(χαιον), Σι(δοῦς) and Κυ(-?)), it seems reasonable to suppose that Ε and ΙΙ stand for heavy and light-armed troops, perhaps for ἐπίλεκτοι and πελτασταί. (There were ἐπίλεκτοι at Athens in the late 4th and 3rd centuries, organized by tribes and commanded by taxiarchs—see Ἀρχ. Δελτ., VIII, 1923, pp. 89-96 and *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, no. 5. The 300 ἐπίλεκτοι of Phlius who defended the city against Agesilaos in 379 may have been chosen for the occasion; but ἐπίλεκτοι was the regular name of the elite troops of the Achaean League—3,000 foot and 300 horse according to Polybios, II, 65, 3—who dedicated a statue of their commander at Olympia in the third century—*Inscr. von Olympia* 297. Ἐπίλεκτοι are known also in Boeotia—these are discussed by Pappadakis in Ἀρχ. Δελτ., VIII, 1923, p. 234—and the Argive and Elean λογάδες and the Arkadian ἐπάριτοι are similar bodies under slightly different names: Busolt has collected the references in *Gr. Staatskunde*, 3rd ed., p. 582, note 2. Corinth may well have given the name to her best troops.)

our present purpose because it divides the demes into groups which are obviously geographical. Unfortunately the stele is broken at the bottom, and the letters are in many places illegible. The stone has been exposed to the weather for half a century since Kourouniotes worked on it, and it is accordingly not surprising that in a few places—notably in the central part of the third column of names—it appears to have become somewhat less legible than it was in 1897. In a few other places it has been possible to correct Ziebarth's readings. It was necessary in any case to renumber the lines as Ziebarth inadvertently omitted to count his own first line, and somewhat anomalously numbered the heading in column 3; it also seemed worth while in this case to number blank lines, thus indicating the amount of space left uninscribed.

The following text is based on two squeezes which Professor Homer Thompson made for me in Eretria on June 16, 1946.

I.G., XII, 9, 241

1	[----- ± 29 -----]	-----]QT[--- 5 ---]
2	[----- ± 23 -----]	----- KAI Σ]TNAPX[ON υν]
	[----- 'Οπλίται]	39 [-----]
	[-----]	78 Σώστρατος Σωκλέους ---]
	[-----]	Ευέλθων Τιμησί[υ ---]
5	[-----]	80 Θεόεργος Δημοστράτου Α[γ.]
	[-----]	Χαιριώνδης 'Αρι[στ]είδου Ταμν
	[-----]	'Αντίπατρος 'Ηρακλείδου Ι[---]
	[-----]	Λύρ[ι]σκος Αθών[ο]ς 'Ραφ.
	[-----]	'Ιπποκύδης Δημονίκου 'Ω[ρω.]
10	[-----]	45 [-----]os Πολυεύκτου Μιν.
	[-----]	85 vacat
	[-----]	vacat
	[-----]	Ψιλοί
	[-----]	Κλέανδρος Κλεω[δ]ώρου Τα.
	[-----]	'Εχε[κράτη]ς Ναικράτου 'Ωρω.
15	[-----]ον Δσ.	50 'Αρχίππος Κλεοτίμου Δυσ.
	[-----]	Δεξιθέος Δεξιμέου Στυ.
	[-----]	vacat
	[-----]	vacat
	[-----]	Ψιλοί
	[-----]	55 'Ιερώνυμος 'Αρχεβίου Δυσ.
	[-----]	Ε[---]μωνος Στυρο.
20	[Δι]οφάνης Τιμοξένου ἐξ ['Α]σ.	95 ['Αρχηγός] 'Α[ρ]χε[φί] ---]
	'Αριστοτέλης 'Επιχαρμίδου ἐξ ['Ε]σ.	[Πολυδ. νης Πολυ ---]
	'Απολλόδωρος Λυρανίου ἐκ Χυ.	[Π]όλ[υ]ς [Τι]μοχάρου Π[---]
	Δήμαρχος Κράτωνος ἐξ 'Ασ.	[Π. κο. ου -----]
	[---]λης 'Ηρακλείδου ἐξ 'Ασ.	[Φι. τ -----]
25	Μν[ησί]στρατος 'Ηρακλείδου ἐξ 'Ασ.	100 [Α -----]
	'Ανδροκλῆς 'Αρίστωνος ἐξ 'Ασ.	[-----]
	'Αριστοφῶν 'Αριστίωνος ἐξ 'Ασ.	[--- ± 6 ---]ς Θάρρωνος [---]
	'Απήμαντος Πρωτίωνος ἐξ 'Ασ.	[-----]ρος ἐχ[-----]
	vacat	
30	vacat	65 Μητρόδωρος 'Αριστομάχου Σπ.
	vacat	Εὐγείτων Θεοδότου Πτε.
		105 vacat
		vacat
		Εὐετηρίδης Παραμόνου Πτ.

If this suggestion is acceptable, and the inscription is really closely similar to 241, its analogy makes it probable that the blank spaces in 241 were left for the inscription of additional names. It is curious that more space should have been left for additions to District I than to the others—perhaps the stonemason discovered after finishing column I that he must leave smaller blanks if he was to get all the names on the stone.

occupied in the first column by about 3 more *ψιλοί*, 6 empty spaces, a heading, and about 20 hoplites. In the second column by approximately 6 more hoplites of Mesochoron, two empty spaces, a heading, some 5 *ψιλοί*, two more empty spaces, a heading for District IV, and about 13 hoplites. At the end of column three there would be room for about 17 more hoplites, two spaces, a heading, and about 10 *ψιλοί*. The numbers in each district would then be as follows:

District I—	25 hoplites and	ca.	9 <i>ψιλοί</i>
“ II—	ca. 33	“ “	6 “
“ III—	ca. 20	“ “	ca. 5 “
“ IV—	ca. 20	“ “	16 “
“ V—	ca. 26	“ “	ca. 10 “

In short, if we assume an addition of about 30 lines (which would occupy some 37 cm.), the five districts will have roughly similar numbers of heavy and light-armed representatives, and the stele will be about 100 cm. high (52 cm. + 37 cm. + an uninscribed space at the bottom) which gives the satisfactory ratio of 1:4½:11. If we assume more lines, the number of hoplites in District II becomes disproportionately large, if fewer, the numbers of the Mesochoron district and of the hoplites of District IV become improbably small. Finally, a restoration with eight districts would require an addition of at least 60 lines and a stele height of some 140 cm. with a ratio of roughly 1:15½, which would be surprising. But the real objection to supposing eight districts is that the known demes of the five districts preserved on the stone seem to cover the *Ἑρετρική* adequately. It may be taken as certain, then, that roughly 30 lines are missing and that there were five districts.¹⁶ These five districts, in the order in which they appear in the inscription, with the demes of the men who appear in each, are as follows:

- I [Name]: ἐξ Ἀσ., Διο., ἐξ Ἑσ., ἐκ Χυτ.
- II [Name]: Δυσ., Ζαρ., Ἴστι., Μινθ., Στυρ.
- III Mesochoron: Ἀφαρ., Πτε., Σπλη.
- IV [Name]: Αἰγ., Ῥαφ., Ταμ., Ὀρω., Π[ερ?], [ἀπὸ Κυ.]
- V [Name]: Οἶχα., ἐγ Ν., ἐκ [Τη.].

Some of the readings and restorations printed above in the text of *I.G.*, XII, 9, 241 require comment:

¹⁶ Ziebarth thought that there were only four, because he was misled by his own restoration of line 94—Κλέων Κλεοχάρ[ου Ἀφαρ.] on which he remarks “*Demotic. suppl. coll.* 246 B 112 Κλέαξ Κλεοχάρου Ἀφαρ.” Now Ἀφαρ. occurs twice among the Μεσοχώρον ὁπλίται at the bottom of col. 2, but the group at the top of col. 3 has, apart from this restoration (and one other: see note on line 91), no deme coincidence with the Mesochoron group, and if it were included in the Mesochoron group, that list would be very much longer than any of the others. The name is better restored (if the reading can be trusted) as Κλέων Κλεοχάρ[ου Ταμ.] comparing 249 B 260 Κλεοχάρης Κλέωνος Ταμ. who was probably this man’s son. There are two other certain Ταμ.’s in group IV.

Line 2. The supplement $\sigma[\nu\alpha\rho\chi[\omicron\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma]]$ would be possible if the last five letters took slightly less space (*circ.* 5 cm.) than the preceding five (which occupy almost 5.5 cm.). But there is no sign of crowding—chi is farther from rho than rho from alpha. Ziebarth, in *I.G.*, XII, *Supp.*, suggests $[\pi\rho\omicron\beta]\omicron\nu[\lambda\omicron\varsigma \text{ -- } \kappa\alpha\iota \text{ -- } \sigma]\nu\nu\alpha\rho\chi[\omicron\nu]$, comparing *I.G.*, XII, 9, 212, 224.

Line 15. As Kourouniotes says in his original publication of the inscription (*Ἑφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1897, p. 148), τὸ δημοτικὸν Δσ. εἶνε βέβαιον.

Line 20. The amount of preserved and apparently unscribed surface favors the restoration $[\text{'A}]\sigma$. rather than $[\text{'E}]\sigma$.

Line 21. The supplement $\xi\zeta [\text{'E}\sigma.]$ which Ziebarth does not incorporate into his text, appears in his index *s.v.* *Ἐπιχαρμίδης*; it is probably based on line 36—there are several pairs of brothers in this inscription—and is probably right.

Line 37. These letters must form part of an otherwise unknown demotic. The fact that no letter follows η , although there is room for several, rules out the supplement $[\text{---- } \xi\zeta \text{ Αἰγλεφε}] \iota\rho\eta(s)$.

Line 42. The ν was omitted from the abbreviation because of lack of space.

Line 44. Ziebarth read EIΘ at the beginning of this line; the stone may have been injured at the break here since he worked on it, for no trace of the letters appears on my squeezes.

Line 79. The only other Eretrian Euclthon is from Αἰγ. No other Eretrian Timesias is known.

Line 80. The deme abbreviation begins Αἰ or Ἀπ; the traces on my squeezes would be taken to favor π , but as there is no room on the stone for $\alpha\pi[\delta \text{ Kv.}]$, Αἰ[γ.] is probably right.

Line 82. The traces on my squeezes of the first letter of the deme abbreviation look more like iota or eta, but these are improbable on general grounds. If, as seems probable, the letter was gamma or pi, the horizontal hasta was unusually shallow. Gamma is less likely than pi, for Grynchai (the only known deme

beginning with gamma) appears in a context which suggests District II in *I.G.*, XII, 9, 191 B—see p. 126 below.

Lines 89 to 100. For the text of these twelve lines I have printed Ziebarth's readings within the brackets and relegated restoration to the notes. Ziebarth's readings may well be correct even where it is now impossible to check them, for here where the surface is worst it is fairly clear that there has been deterioration in the last thirty years or so. Professor Homer Thompson, writing from Athens on June 16, 1946, says of this inscription, "The marble has gone in a curious way; part of the surface is in practically perfect condition, much of it has utterly gone to below letter depth."

Line 91. Although he does not print it in his text, in his notes Ziebarth suggests the supplement $\text{Χαιρέστρατος Χα}[\iota\rho\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu \text{ Ἀφαρ.}]$, comparing 246 B 65. This supplement (like his supplement for line 94 which we have already discussed in note 16) would be awkward for our theory that the districts represented at the bottom of column 2 and at the top of column 3 are different. But Ziebarth might as well have restored $\text{Χαιρέστρατος Χα}[\iota\rho\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu\omicron\nu \text{ Φαλ.}]$ (cf. 245 B 317), or $\text{Χαιρέστρατος Χα}[\iota\rho\acute{\iota}\omega \text{ Λακ.}]$ (cf. 249 B 133), or $\text{Χαιρέστρατος Χα}[\iota\rho\acute{\iota}\gamma\epsilon\nu\omicron\nu \xi\zeta \text{ Ω.}]$ (cf. 246 A 95).

Line 92. Ziebarth restores on the analogy of 246. A 87: $\Pi\epsilon\delta\iota\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma \text{ Οἰνάργων ἀπὸ Κν.}$ As both names are rare at Eretria (Pedieus does not occur otherwise), the supplement seems reasonably certain—if the reading can be trusted—even though 246 is thirty-five or forty years later in date than 241. The two men could, perhaps, be grandfather and grandson.

Line 93. The deme in this line should not be restored as $\epsilon\kappa \text{ Τη.}$ on the basis of 245 B 11: $\Theta\acute{\eta}\rho\iota\pi\pi\omicron\varsigma \text{ Ἀριστολόχου ἐκ Τη.}$ (the only other Eretrian Aristolochos) in view of the fact that $\epsilon\kappa \text{ Τη.}$ was almost certainly one of the demes of District V.

Line 94. See note 16.

Line 96. Cf. 245 A 301: $\Pi\omicron\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\tau\rho\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma \text{ Πολύ- ξένου Περ.}$ (the same name exactly is borne by

an ephebe from Δισμ.—*I.G.*, XII, *Suppl.*, 555, line 163—but Δισ. is in District I).

Line 97. Περ., or Περρ. (Πτερχ., and probably Πανα. too, are in Mesochoron).

Line 107. Ziebarth reads Δαρασί[ου] ὀπλῖται, and this may be right—what I have printed in the text is the most I can make out from my squeezes. I should be inclined to accept Ziebarth's reading if it were not for the fact that there appears to be too much space between iota and omicron for the supplement [ου].

Line 108. Curiously enough it is almost im-

possible to decide between Ziebarth's reading for the beginning of this line: .ΑΙΠΙΔΗ and the one I have printed in which Ziebarth's IP is read as Π and his ΔΗ is read as M. He has, however, at least one letter too few for the space available between M (or ΔΗ) and κοκρατου (the first kappa seems fairly clear).

Line 110. The same man, apparently, recurs in 245 B 168.

Line 114. This supplement is well defended by Ziebarth in the *Addenda Ultima* to *I.G.*, XII, 9.

There is another inscription which perhaps gives us the name of District IV. *I.G.*, XII, 9, 189—the interesting decree, to be dated about 340 B.C. (Wilhelm. 'Εφ. 'Αρχ., 1904, 89 f.), which establishes the Eretrian *Artemiria*—contains in lines 5 and 6 the statement that the games are to be established *τεῖ Μεταξὺ καὶ τεῖ Φυλακεῖ*. These must be districts of the 'Ερετρική,¹⁷ and Ziebarth is surely right in suggesting¹⁸ that *Μεταξύ* and *Μεσόχωρον* are either next to each other or the same district. One of the two districts would obviously be the one which contained the great shrine of Artemis at Amarynthos where the games in question were to be held and the city of Eretria itself; the other is presumably the neighboring district which contained the important town of Tamynai. Amarynthos, where the games were held, must have been almost on the boundary of these two districts, which are then, probably, III Mesochoron (or Metaxy) and IV Phylake.¹⁹

One further inscription may throw some light on the distribution of the demes among the districts. This is *I.G.*, XII, 9, 191, the agreement between Eretria and a certain Chairephanes who was to drain the great marsh just east of the city. The text of the agreement, which is clearly almost complete, occupies the front of the preserved portion of the stele, while the back and one side are occupied by a long list of names of citizens.²⁰ It is noteworthy that the men listed on the back of the stele (B)

¹⁷ Ziehen did not think so. He says (*Leges Graecorum Sacrae*, 254): —quo spectent casus dativi *τεῖ Μεταξὺ καὶ τεῖ Φυλακεῖ* obscurum est. Locos dici putat editor, sed locorum definitiones nudo dativo poni non oportebat; dies potius significari putaverim coll. praesertim proximo dativo *τεῖ πρὸ τῶν 'Αρτεμιρίων* qui ad diem Artemisiis superiorem non referri non potest, nec diebus festis Artemisiorum singulis sua fuisse nomina improbabile, at talia qualia illa fuisse nemo facile credet. This last point seems more telling than his difficulty about the dative.

¹⁸ *I.G.*, XII, 9, p. 163 fin.

¹⁹ It may conceivably be a curious survival that a hill southeast of Aliveri is today, or was until recently, called Phylake. So Papabasileiou in 'Εφ. 'Αρχ., 1905, pp. 18 and 25. Papabasileiou's "hill" becomes a "region" in Ziebarth's publication of the inscription—*I.G.*, XII, 9, 103.

²⁰ It is improbable that the list originally contained the names of *all* the citizens of Eretria, as Ziebarth supposes. Eustratiades' restoration of lines 42-3 (in 'Εφ. 'Αρχ., 1869, pp. 317-32; accepted by Ziebarth), — τοὺς πο[λίτας π]άντας, certainly gives one letter too many in line 43 (and

come on the whole from different demes from those on the side (C). The occurrences of deme names are as follows:

B		C ²¹	
Στυρ.	— 70 times	Ἀφαρ.	— 13-14 times
Δυσ.	— 63 “	Πανα.	— 7-8 “
Ζαρ.	— 35 “	Φη.	— 6 “
Ἰστυ.	— 13 “	Πτεχ.	— 2 “
Μινθ.	— 9 “	Ζαρ.	— 1 or 2 “
Γρυγ.	— 5 “	Σπλ.	— once
ἐξ Αἰγ.	— 3 “	ἐγ Νε.	— “

— τοὺς πολ[ίτας π]άντας would crowd line 42), and in any case seems less likely than some such restoration as --- τοὺς ἀρ[χ]οὺς π]άντας, for even if the *ca.* 230 preserved names are only a third or a quarter of those originally on the stone, they are still too few to be the whole citizen body of Eretria which, since we know roughly 3,000 names from the late 4th and early 3rd centuries, must have numbered at least 2,000.

²¹ As Ziebarth's text of the names above the moulding (the first column of C as he has printed it) pays too little attention to the preserved margins, and is only partially corrected in *I.G.*, XII, *Supp.*, it seems worth while to give the following improved text based on a squeeze. Readers who wish to study it closely, but have no squeeze, may find Eustratiades' careful drawing ('Εφ. Ἀρχ., 1869, pl. 48, facing p. 348) useful, for the letters are by no means evenly spaced, although most of the later lines apparently contained either 14 or 15. Ziebarth's numbers are unfortunately one too low, for he omitted to count the first line.

	[- 3-4 -] Η [--- <i>ca.</i> 9 ---]	10	[K] λυταρχίδης Ι [. .]
	[.] στ[ρα]το [--- <i>ca.</i> 8 ---]		[1-2] ο ἐκ Φηραι. Μεγ[ακ]
	μ α χ ο ς [- - <i>ca.</i> 7 - -]		[λ ῆ] ς Φιλοκλείδ[ο]υ .]
	[X ?] οἰρη. Δη [- - 6-7 - -]		[.] Ιας [. . Κν. Ὀν] φ[οκλ]
5	[1-2] νο. ἐγ Νε [- - 5-6 - -]		[εἰ] δης Μεγακλέ[ο] (υ) ς ΙΙ
	[. .] ος Εὐπολ [- - 3-4 - -]	15	[τ] εχη. Μίργος Ἰπ[πίο] (υ)]
	[2-3] η. Εὐκτείδ[ης] . .]		[Δι] σμαρο. Ἀπόλα[ξίς]
	[2-3] Ζαρη. Καλ[λίας]		[Φι] λοξένου Παν[α. υν]
	[K] αλλιππίδου Ζ[αρη.]		<i>vacat</i>

This text is still unsatisfactory in one or two places. The rasura in line 13 is shallow but definite: the first two letters in it seem to have been erased individually and rather inadequately (they may have been ΣΚ), and no new letters were cut on top of them; the last four are somewhat crowded. I have no restoration to suggest. The lacuna at the end of line 14 seems clearly too short for four letters, and yet there is hardly room for [Πτ] at the beginning of line 15. Ziebarth's restorations of Κάλ[λ]ιπος in line 8 (his line 7) and Ἰπ[π]ωνος in line 15 (his line 14) are both too long—indeed even Ἰπ[πίου] seems too long: perhaps Υ was omitted, both here and in line 14; it certainly was in lines 5 and 11. It should be mentioned that the restoration in line 9 is uncertain, for the initial letter of the abbreviation may be Σ.

My squeeze suggests no significant changes in the names below the moulding (columns 2 and 3 of C in Ziebarth's text) except that in line 18 (Ziebarth's 17) Φη. seems epigraphically as likely to be right as Φα., and more probable on general grounds, while in line 45 (Ziebarth's 44) the beginning of the first stroke of the Μ of Τεμ is clearly visible—and appears in Eustratiades' drawing.

B (Continued)	C (Continued)
Xoi. — once	ἐκ Φη. — once
T[εμ.] — “ (reading uncertain)	Τεμ. — “
Παα. — “ (reading uncertain)	Ἐγε. — “
	Πεο. — “
	Πεν. — “

These two groups are quite distinct except for one (?) misplaced *Zap.*, one *Παα*, and one T[εμ.] (we should also, as will be seen later, expect to find *Xoi.* with the demes in C rather than with those in B).²² Of the 7 demes which occur more than once on face B, 6 are known to have been in District II (for ἐξ Αἰγ. is probably, as will be shown, the little island off Styra). All three known demes of District III Mesochoron occur more than once in C. It seems natural to suppose that B was intended to be a list of men from District II, and C of men from District III. If so, was there room originally for lists of men from I, IV, and V? While the stele may, as far as its proportions go, have been little higher than it now is, it would not be outside the limits of normal variation for it to have been 120 cm. high (this would give a ratio of 1 : 7 $\frac{3}{4}$: 13 $\frac{1}{4}$). It is thus quite possible that there was originally some 25 cm. or about 30 lines more text²³—allowing for an uninscribed space of some 10 cm. at the bottom.²⁴ Thirty lines of names front and back would about double the number of names recorded in the lines some part of which still remains, and the supposition that an attempt was made to list the citizens by districts (though none was made to put fellow-demesmen together) would make it possible to explain the curious character of the preserved list. (It would still be rather strange that III Mesochoron, instead of I or V, was put on the narrow side surface.) If this explanation is accepted, Γρυγ.²⁵ and ἐξ Αἰγ. can be added to the demes of District II, *Παα*, and Φη. to those of District III. It so happens that the positions of Γρυγ. and ἐξ Αἰγ. are otherwise known and fit very well with those of Styra, Dystos, and Zarex which are also in District II.

If an attempt is now made to plot the districts on a map, it is seen that the extent of District II is well defined by Grynchai (unless this deme is in District IV), Dystos, Zarex, ἐξ Αἰγ. and Styra, the position of all of which is known. District III contains one deme the site of which is accurately known—Ptechai where the marsh was situated,

²² The Xo of *Xoi.* (B 5) seems clear, and the iota possible, but the traces supposed to be T[εμ.] and *Παα*. in lines 10 and 12 of side B are uncertain: it is not clear that the T of T[εμ.] is part of a demotic, and the *Παα*. should, at best, be read [Πα]γα. The surface of the stone is in wretched condition, and according to Eustratiades was not very smooth originally. Working on a good squeeze I have been quite unable to read many of the letters read as certain by Ziebarth who, in his notes, gives further readings of Eustratiades' quas neque ille neque ego in lapide a. 1908 Athenis denuo collato dispicere potui.

²³ Lines 35 to 64 (exclusive) of A occupy 25 cm.

²⁴ About 11 cm. were left uninscribed at the bottom of the large catalogue *I.G.*, XII, 9, 245.

²⁵ Note *I.G.*, XII, 9, 241, line 82, and discussion on p. 123 above.

and its name Mesochoron shows that it was central: it probably covered the Eretrian plain between Olympos and Kotylaion. District IV contains Tamynai the site of which is known; this is sufficient to place IV in the plain east of Kotylaion. District V contains ἐγ Νε. If this deme was near the River Nedon mentioned by Lykophron (*Alex.* 374) as being between Τρύχαντα (= Γρύγγαι) and Dirphys, then the district will be in the northerly plain of the Ἑρετρική,²⁶ where two comparatively large streams near each other may compete for the name. Finally, in District I, ἐξ Ἑσχ. may perhaps be completed as ἐξ Ἑσχάτης (so Ziebarth in *I.G.*, XII, 9, p. 164, line 143) and may have been named as the most distant part of the Eretrian domain. The district may then be placed in the extreme south between Styra and Karystos—a position which fits well with the smallness of its demes (except Διο.). If these guesses—for they are little more—about the position of Districts I and V have hit the truth, it will be seen that the order in which the districts appear in 241 is roughly geographical—from south to north. At least the positions of Districts II, III, and IV are reasonably certain.

THE SEPULCHRAL INSCRIPTIONS

Some 600 sepulchral inscriptions are now known from Eretria and Eretrian territory. It would be natural to expect these to throw light on the position of the demes, either by bearing the names of men whose demes are known, or by actually recording the deme of the deceased; in point of fact they are not particularly helpful. There is only one funerary inscription from Eretria in which a deme is recorded, and it is not very useful for it is the only evidence for the existence of that deme—Ἀλιφῆθεν. Sepulchral inscriptions of Eretrians who may be identified with men known from the citizen-lists, or with their sons or fathers, are disappointingly few: the two most convincing of them would locate Styra for us, if that were necessary. In most of the other cases there is no record of where the stone was found.

The following is a selection of the sepulchral inscriptions which seem most likely to be significant; they will at least show the unsatisfactory character of the evidence.

Ἀφαρ. *I.G.*, XII, 9, 729 reads Πανσίας Ἀθηνοκλέων and was found in the eastern cemetery of Eretria; there is no record of the letter-forms. A Πανσίας Ἀθηνοκλέων Ἀφαρ., who is probably the same man, occurs in 246 A 109: neither name is common at Eretria. *I.G.*, XII, 9, 653—a *pila* in the museum at Eretria—carries the name of Κλεοχάρης Κλέακος who may be the son of Κλέαξ Κλεοχάρων Ἀφαρ. (246 B

112). The grave stele of Agasias, son of Demonomos (*I.G.*, XII, 9, 516), which Wilhelm found in a private house at Eretria, and that of his son (?) Demonomos, son of Agasias (*I.G.*, XII, *Supp.* 548—found near Vatheia), who was proxenos of the Aetolians *ca.* 240 B.C., are of some interest here, for the name Demonomos occurs only twice in the citizen-lists and in both cases belongs to a man whose deme is

²⁶ See below under “ἀπὸ Κυλ.” for some slight corroboration of the natural assumption that Districts IV and V were contiguous.

'Αφαρ. *I.G.*, XII, 9, 115, the grave stele of an 'Αφαρ. man, is in a private house at Aliveri—no record of where it was found. The name Hermon on a grave stele built into a house at Eretria²⁷ suggested to Ziebarth relationship to Hermon son of Karterion of 'Αφαρ. (246 A 257), which may be correct; but there is another Hermon known from the citizen-lists—*I.G.*, XII, 9, 245 A 287—and, although his deme is not preserved, 245 is a long list of names which contains no men from 'Αφαρ. Finally, the grave stele of an Apollonios son of Apollodoros was found at Eretria (*I.G.*, XII, 9, 536); there are three known Eretrians of this name, one of them from 'Αφαρ. None of these instances of 'Αφαρ. burials has any real probative value, but the first two at least may give us some slight reason to suppose that this largest of the Mesochoron demes was either near Eretria or included all or part of the city itself.

Zap. *I.G.*, XII, *Supp.*, 531 is an additional indication that the deme *Zap.* was near the modern Zarka (see below under "Ζάρηξ").

Tam. *I.G.*, XII, 9, 133 should be read [Ἀν]-δρωφέ[λης] (see *I.G.*, XII, *Supp.*); it was found near Aulonari. This rare name is borne by five²⁸ Eretrians, four of them from Tamynai. The other is Ἀνδροσθένης Ἀνδρωφέλου Ἀφαρ. As this identical name, and an Andropheles son of Androsthenes, both occur in Tamynai, and as there are no other occurrences of Androsthenes at Eretria, it would seem that the Ἀφαρ. is either a mistake or the name of a man who changed his deme.²⁹ In short, 133 is some reason for supposing that Tamynai should not be placed very far from Aulonari. Other indications point the same way; indeed this inscription is one of several which make it seem better to place Tamynai inland rather than on the coast as Ziebarth does.

It does not seem worth while to mention any of the other sepulchral inscriptions here, although some are suggestive and a few will be referred to later on. It is much to be hoped that more useful ones will be found or excavated in the future.

THE DISTRIBUTION OF ἵππος NAMES AT ERETRIA

Bechtel long ago called attention in a brief article³⁰ to the fact that a particularly large number of Eretrian names use the element ἵππος in their construction, and in explanation pertinently quoted a well-known passage in Aristotle's *Politics*.³¹ He also

²⁷ *I.G.*, XII, 9, 606; no. 356, now in the museum at Eretria, is a heavy *pila* carrying the same name.

²⁸ While five names (name plus father's name) occur in which Andropheles is an element, it is conceivable that there were only two men called Andropheles—thus the three men whose father's name was Andropheles could be brothers, and their father could be one of the other two men called Andropheles. But there may have been three or four or five different men of the name. This difficulty frequently arises; it seems best to assume that such homonymous individuals are distinct unless there is reason to suppose them identical.

²⁹ This latter explanation is more likely, for there are no men from Tamynai in the list in which he occurs.

³⁰ "Das Wort ἵππος in den Eretrischen Personennamen," *Hermes*, 35, 1900, pp. 326-331.

³¹ *Politics*, IV, 3, 1289 b, 36: διόπερ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων χρόνων ὅσαις πόλεσιν ἐν τοῖς ἵπποις ἡ δύναμις ἦν, ὀλιγαρχίαι παρὰ τούτοις ἦσαν. ἔχρωντο δὲ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἵπποις πρὸς τοὺς ἀστυγείτονας, οἷον Ἐρετριεῖς καὶ Χαλκιδεῖς καὶ Μάγνητες οἱ ἐπὶ Μαιάνδρῳ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολλοὶ περὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν.

called attention to the rarity of such names on the "Styrian tablets." Some 464 of these lead tablets, containing about 360 different names, have been found, the great majority of them—about 430—in Styra itself. They appear to date from the fifth century, and although their purpose is uncertain they were probably "publico cuidam usui destinatae."³² The names are many of them peculiar, no doubt because Styra and Karystos were originally Dryopian, not Ionian,³³ and many of them reappear as the names of Styrians, or of men from Ἰοῦτι., Δυστ. or Ζαρ.—i. e., from the southern demes—on the later Eretrian citizen-lists.³⁴ Now it seems reasonable to suppose that if ἱππος names were extremely common at Eretria and almost unknown at Styra (which was an independent city in the fifth century but had become Eretrian territory by the middle of the fourth), the demes near Eretria will show more ἱππος names and those near Styra fewer. About 190 Eretrians are known whose names contain the element ἱππ-. Limiting our investigation (to reduce the element of chance) to demes from which the names of fifty or more citizens are known, and dividing the number of citizens with ἱππος names by the number of known citizens for each deme (to obtain a ratio for comparison) we may construct the following table:

Deme abbreviation	ἱππος names ³⁵	known members	figure for comparison
Ἀφαρ.	20	149	013
Βουδ.	9	111	008
Γρηνγ.	7	85	008
Δισμ.	5	109	0045
Δυστ.	3	71	004
Ζαρ.	17	288	006
Ἰοῦτι.	3	149	002
ἀπὸ Κυλ.	3	59	005
Κωμ.	4	60	003
Λακ.	24 (22)	117 (97)	020 (022) ³⁶

³² Ziebarth on no. 56 in *I.G.*, XII, 9. They are not "*tabellae defixionum*."

³³ Herodotos, VIII, 46 and Pausanias, IV, 34, 11. It is also interesting to notice that the tablets are practically unaffected by the inter-vocalic rhotacism which seems to have been characteristic of the contemporary Eretrian dialect. Unfortunately there are too few of these "rhotacised" names—such as Lyrantias, Onerimos, Kterias, *etc.*—to make statistical treatment convincing.

³⁴ E. g., the name Lysikrates occurs four times on the Styrian tablets and once on an early grave stele found near Styra; its only other occurrence in Euboea is as the father's name of a man whose deme is Στυρ. Similarly, the name Chremylos occurs twice among the Styrian tablets, once on an early inscription at Styra, and once as the name of a man whose deme is Ζαρ., but not otherwise in Euboea.

³⁵ The figures in this column were obtained by counting the names in the index to *I.G.*, XII, 9 and adding those published in *I.G.*, XII, *Supp.*

³⁶ Λακ. has 117 known members if the 20 names in *I.G.*, XII, 9, 249 B 221-240 are included, otherwise 97—see below under Λάκεθεν.

Deme abbreviation	ἵππος names	known members	figure for comparison
ἐγ Νε.	5	78	006
Οἶνο.	7	56	013
Περ.	3	51	006
Πετρ.	3	51	006
Φαφ.	4	69	006
Στυρ.	7	199	0035
Ταμ.	6	101	006
Φαλλ.	7	96	007
Φλι.	11	96	0115
Ὠρωπ.	13	97	013

From this table it is clear that 006 is, roughly, the mean; it is the figure for 6 demes, 8 have more and 6 have less. The demes with the greatest number of names are Λακ. (020), Ἀφαρ. (013), Οἶνο. (013), Ὠρωπ. (013), and Φλι. (012), while those with the fewest are Ἴστι. (002), Στυρ. (0035), Κωμ. (003), and Δύστος (004). If our argument is sound, Λακ., Ἀφαρ., Οἶνο., Ὠρωπ., and Φλι. should be near the city, while Ἴστι., Στυρ., Κωμ., and Δύστος should be southern. The first part of this conclusion it is difficult to test (except that Ἀφαρ. is in III Μεσόχωρον and Ὠρωπ. in IV (Phylake?), but it is satisfactory to notice that of the second group the positions of Styra and Dystos are definitely known and are southern, while of the other two demes there is no evidence for Κωμ., but Ἴστι. appears in *I.G.*, XII, 9, 241 in the same district as Styra and Dystos.

It seems a reasonable conclusion that Λακ., Οἶνο., and Φλι. should be placed in Districts III or IV, and Κωμ. in District II or I.

THE PERSIAN ATTACK ON ERETRIA

Herodotos' account of the Persian landing on the Eretrian coast in 490 B.C. is clear and brief: οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι πλέοντες κατέσχον τὰς νέας τῆς Ἐρετρικῆς χώρας κατὰ Τέμενος καὶ Χοιρέας καὶ Αἰγίλεια, κατασχόντες δὲ εἰς ταῦτα τὰ χωρία, αὐτῖκα ἵππους τε ἐξεβάλλοντο καὶ παρεσκευάζοντο ὥς προσοισόμενοι τοῖσι ἐχθροῖσι. (VI, 101). These places, however, are mentioned nowhere else in ancient literature—even the lexicographers are silent about them. So to remedy our ignorance Τέμενος was changed to Ταμύνας by Valkenaer and Wesseling, and the emendation has been generally accepted.³⁷ Αἰγίλεια is generally altered to the more natural-looking Αἰγίλια³⁸ and then identified with the Αἰγίλη, itself an emendation, of chapter 107:³⁹ τὴν νῆσον τὴν Στυρέων, καλεομένην δὲ Αἰγίλιν (Bechtel; oldest, "Florentine," mss: Αἰγλείην; later,

³⁷ Except by Stein, who kept the mss. readings both here and in VI, 107.

³⁸ There is an Attic deme Αἰγιλιά.

³⁹ Diels in *SB. Ak. Berl.*, 1908, p. 1042, followed by Ziebarth in *I.G.*, XII, 9, p. 164, line 100.

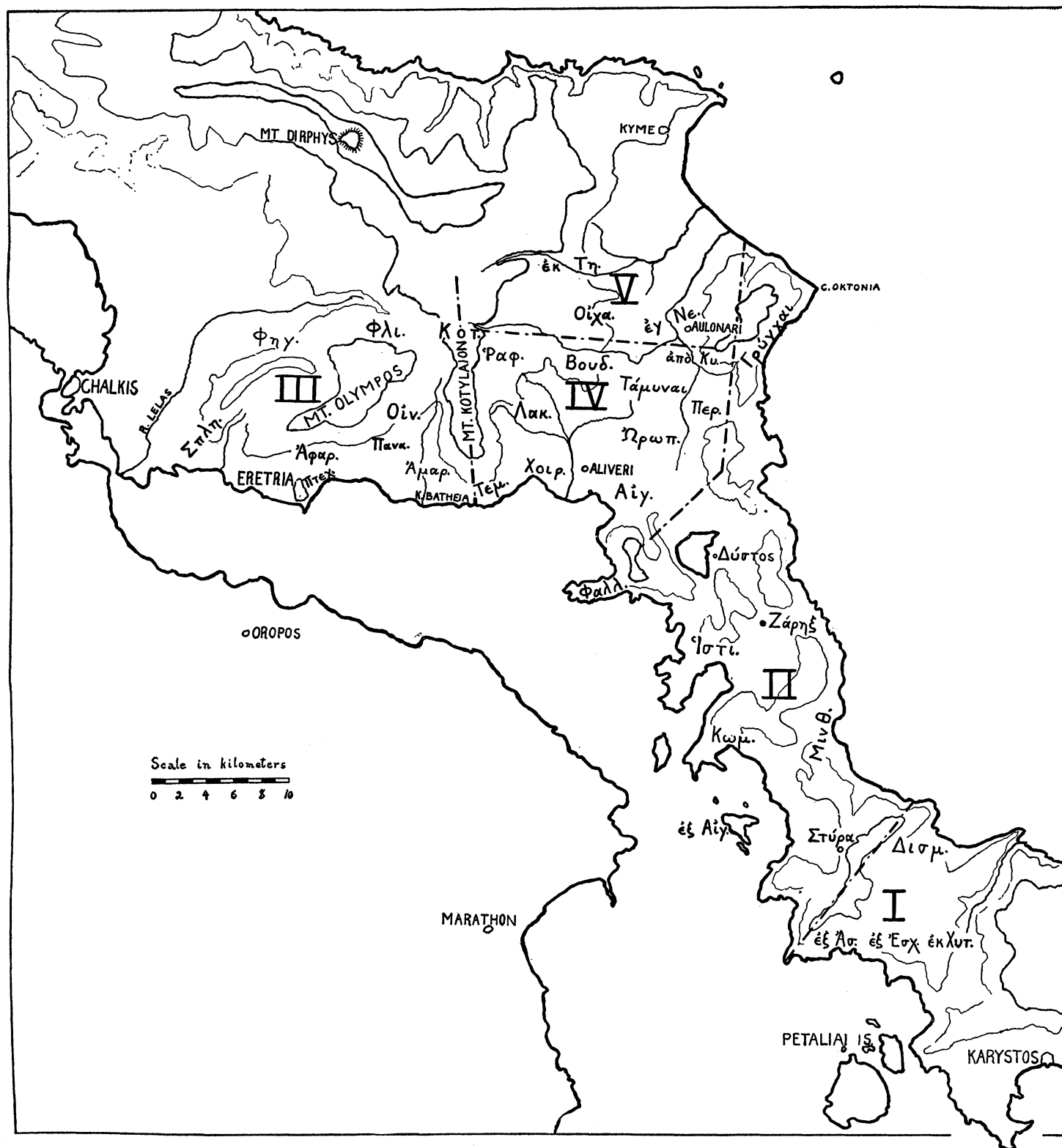


FIG. 1. MAP OF THE ERETRIAN DEMES

The Districts are numbered in the order in which they appear in *I.G.*, XII, 9, 241. The position of the demes within the Districts is in most cases not accurately known.

“Roman,” mss: *Αἰγίλειαν*). These emendations have the disadvantage of making the Persian operations very hard to understand—Tamynai was probably inland rather than on the coast⁴⁰ and the island of the Styrians in the narrows of the Euboean strait is not only an island, but is separated from Eretria by some 25 miles of water, or, if one crosses to the nearby mainland, by some 35 miles of rough country.

Now if the unemended names—*Τέμενος*, *Χοίρεαι*, *Αἰγίλεια* and *Αἰγλείη* are compared with the list of Eretrian demes as they are known from inscriptions, it is seen that there are four deme names or abbreviations which correspond very well: *Τέμ*(*ενος*?), *Χοίρ*(*εαι*?), *Αἰγαλ*(-?) and *Αἰγλεφείρη* (which always appears as *ἐξ Αἰγ.* or as *ἐξ Αἰγλεφείρης* to distinguish it from *Αἰγ.*, *Αἰγα.*, or *Αἰγαλ*). These four demes are probably the four places mentioned by Herodotos.⁴¹ From his account it is clear that the first three were in the same general area, and on the coast; *I.G.*, XII, 9, 241 makes it probable that *Αἰγ.* lay in the plain beyond Mt. Kotylaion which is some ten miles east of Eretria. This then is where the Persians landed their cavalry,⁴² far enough from the city to give them time to get their first troops ashore without opposition, and near enough to attack without a long and fatiguing preliminary march.

The historical conclusion from this topographical argument—that the Persian fleet, or the Eretrian squadron of it, sailed right up the channel past Marathon and landed on a long but unified front in the bay of Aliveri from ten to fifteen miles east

⁴⁰ See below under *Τάμυναι*.

⁴¹ The identification of the abbreviation *Τε[μ.]* in *I.G.*, XII, 9, 191 C 44 (a trace of the first hasta of the M seems clear on my squeeze and actually shows in Eustratiades' careful drawing, but has not been incorporated into the text) with Herodotos' *Τέμενος* was first made by Stavropoulos in *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1895, p. 153, and Eustratiades had identified *Χοίρ.* and *Αἰγ.* with *Χοίρεαι* and *Αἰγίλεια* when he first published the "Agreement with Chairephon" in *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1869, p. 331. Since 1892 *Αἰγλεφείρη* has usually been identified with a place on Mt. Kotylaion where the name is supposed to have survived as *Ἀγλέφιρα* (Wilhelm, *archaol.-epigr. Mitth. Österreich-Ungarn*, XV, p. 117) or *Ἀγλέφαρος* (Papabasilieou, *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1905, p. 25), and then *Αἰγαλ.* is equated with the Styrian island: so Ziebarth in *I.G.*, XII, 9, p. 164. But these identifications should be interchanged because (1) *Αἰγ.* appears in the same district of the *Ἐρετρική* as Tamynai in *I.G.*, XII, 9, 241, and thus cannot be the Styrian island; (2) Herodotos' *Αἰγλείη* corresponds better with *Αἰγλεφείρη* than with *Αἰγαλ.*; (3) *ἐξ Αἰγ.* appears in *I.G.*, XII, 9, 191 B where all the demes appear to be southern. See further the notes on the individual demes, below.

⁴² Whatever opinion one holds about the vexed problem of the Persian cavalry at Marathon (and it may be noted that Wilhelm's restoration of the first Marathon epigram, so ably defended by Jacoby in *Hesperia*, 1945, would, if right, confirm their presence), it is fairly clear that Maurice goes too far when he says ("The Campaign of Marathon," *J.H.S.*, LII, 1932, p. 17): ". . . while there is the statement (VI, 101) that horses were landed in Euboea, that island is so unsuitable for the employment of mounted troops that I believe the horses landed must have been limited to those of superior officers. The Greeks possessed no cavalry. . . . I suggest . . . that Herodotus assumed without strict enquiry that the Persian expedition was provided with an arm which the Greeks particularly feared. . . ." Herodotos has made a point of Darius' preparation of horse transports; to suppose that the present reference is to a few horses only is to take an unnatural sense from the words; and cavalry is the very arm for which the Eretrians were famous. Finally, if our argument is correct, the cavalry were landed on the edge of the Eretrian plain itself—an eminently suitable place for their employment.

of Eretria—seems reasonably certain. It is admittedly a rather minor point; so minor that it seems not to have troubled historians that the Persian cavalry should land all the way from Styra's island to Tamynai, both names depending upon emendation.

THE INDIVIDUAL DEMES

Αἰγαλ(ῆθεν?)⁴³

The abbreviation appears as Αἰγαλ., Αἰγα., or Αἰγ.⁴⁴

The deme is in District IV,⁴⁵ and is probably referred to by Herodotos in VI, 101 as Αἰγίλεια;⁴⁶ if so, it lay on the coast. There is no reason to suppose that it was homonymous with the Attic deme Αἰγυλιά in Antiochis.

This was the deme of the philosopher Menedemos, who appears in *I.G.*, XII, 9, 246 A 66.

The deme is apparently mentioned in *I.G.*, I², 376, line 9 as containing sacred properties leased by the Athenians in the latter part of the 5th century. Raubitschek has published an improved text of this inscription in *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, pp. 28-33; in note 67 on p. 31 he collects a number of references and tentatively

rejects the identification with the Styrian island, but does not really enter into a discussion of the position of the deme.

It is possible that [Αἰ]γα and Αἰ[γα] should be restored in lines 7 and 8 respectively of *I.G.*, II², 230 b (see the improved text given below, p. 145).

ἐξ Αἰγλεφείρης

The abbreviation appears as ἐξ Αἰγ., ἐξ Αἰ., and once (?)—*I.G.*, XII, 9, 191 B 4—as ἐξ Α; the full form also as ἐξ Αἰγλεφείρας.

The deme was probably small, for it has only 7 or 8 known members, although the three citizen-lists in which they appear contain together about 1,000 names. The fewness of its demesmen is natural if the identification with the island of the Styrians, Herodotos' Αἰγλείη⁴⁷ is correct, for that island has an area of

⁴³ For the full form we are unfortunately dependent on *I.G.*, XII, 9, 243, a lost inscription published by Girard in *B.C.H.*, 1878, pp. 277-279, where in lines 8 and 9 Αἰγαλ|[ῆθε] and [Αἰγαλ]ῆθεν should probably be read.

⁴⁴ The abbreviation Α. which appears in *I.G.*, XII, 9, 246 A 104 is probably a mistake: Α[ἰγ.] should be read, for it appears from the small but clear photograph published by Kourouniotes in 'Αρχ. Έφ., 1911, pl. 2 that there is an injury to the surface of the stone immediately after the Α.

⁴⁵ See *I.G.*, XII, 9, 241, line 80. The sepulchral stele of [Ὠ]ρωποκ[λῆς] Εὐθυρ[—?—] built into a house at Magoula four or five miles northeast of Eretria, carries a rare name which has been variously restored as Εὐθυρίτου (*I.G.*, XII, 9, 772), Εὐθυρήτου (*I.G.*, XII, 9 Index s.v.), and Εὐθυρρήτου (*I.G.*, XII, Supp. with the comment "nomen Delphicum, cf. Syll.³ 241, 129"). The second of these seems preferable, for the only Euboean known to have borne any of these three names is Euthyretos the father of Antimenes of Αἰγ. (*I.G.*, XII, 9, 246 A 11). There is no indication of the date of the stele, but if the fathers of Oropokles and Antimenes were identical or related the inscription would suggest that Αἰγ. was probably not far from Magoula. Unfortunately there is little reason to suppose them related, for in more than half of the cases where a name is borne by only two Eretrians whose demes are known, those two men come from different demes. (In this calculation fathers who have the same name have been presumed to be two different men,—see footnote 28 on p. 128,—so that the result is rather too favorable to the chances of identification; the fact that some pairs of rare names in the same deme will belong to different men has a similar influence on the result.) This conclusion was somewhat laborious to establish but may be of general interest to epigraphists, for it shows that men with the same rare name should not be identified on that ground alone even when both are apparently contemporary citizens of a comparatively small city.

⁴⁶ See discussion above, on p. 130.

⁴⁷ Proposed above, p. 132, note 41.

only about one square mile.⁴⁸ The Wilhelm-Papabasileiou identification (see above, p. 132, note 41) with a place on Mt. Kotylaion was based only on the supposed survival of the name, but has been accepted by Geyer⁴⁹ and Ziebarth.

The twenty names listed under a poorly preserved heading in *I.G.*, XII, 9, 249 in which Ziebarth assumed a stonemason's error in order to read ἐ[ξ] Α[ι]γ[λεφ]ε[ίρης], (B 220-240), are more likely to belong to men from Λάκε-θεν.⁵⁰ There is no justification for Ziebarth's restoration.

Ἀλιφῆθεν

This deme is known from a single sepulchral inscription, *I.G.*, XII, 9, 532, which reads Ἀπόληξις | Φανίου | Ἀλιφῆθεν. As the stele is built into the wall of a private house at Eretria, it is probable that it was found in the neighborhood, and we may tentatively assign the deme to District III Mesochoron, or less probably to District IV.

Ἀμάρυνθος

The abbreviation appears as Ἀμαρ. or Ἀμα. (possibly ~~α~~ Ἀμαρυν. in *I.G.*, II², 230 b, line 13).

Strabo (448) says ταύτης (i. e., Eretria) δ' ἐστὶ κώμη ἢ Ἀμάρυνθος ἀφ' ἐπὶ σταδίων τοῦ τείχους, but this exact statement of distance is apparently only one of his numerous errors about Euboea. No considerable remains have been found so near the city; many inscriptions, however, have been found near Κάτω and Ἄνω

Βάθεια five or six miles to the east at the foot of Mt. Kotylaion: as these include six or seven dedications to Artemis, Apollo, and Leto, and fragments of victor lists from the games of some festival, it is reasonable to assume that the great temple of Artemis Amarynthia lay in the vicinity although its remains have not yet been identified. Stephanus Byzantinus, *s.v.* Κοτύλαιον, preserves the information that Mt. Kotylaion was sacred to Artemis (as the Eretrian Mt. Olympus apparently also was—see *I.G.*, XII, 9, 260).

ἐξ Ἀσ.

The abbreviation appears as ἐξ Ἀσ. only (ἐξ Α. in *I.G.*, XII, 9, 191 B 4 is more likely to stand for ἐξ Αἰγ.).

The deme belonged to District I. Indeed 12 of the 17 men of this district in *I.G.*, XII, 9, 241 are from ἐξ Ἀσ.

Ἀφαρεύθεν

The abbreviation appears as Ἀφαρεν., Ἀφαρε., Ἀφαρ., and Ἀφα. The full form also occurs without the final ν.

This large deme belonged to District III Mesochoron, and the evidence of the sepulchral inscriptions (see above, p. 127) suggests that it was in or near Eretria.

Βουδιόθεν

The abbreviation appears as Βουδιο., Βουδι., Βουδ., and Βου. The full form also occurs without the final ν.

⁴⁸ As nearly as can be estimated from the 1:200,000 map of Euboea and Boeotia published by the Greek Tourism Association.

⁴⁹ *Topographie und Geschichte der Insel Euböia*, Berlin, 1903, p. 78.

⁵⁰ Four of them recur, reversed, as names of men from Λακ. in this same inscription, and with 249 B 226 Κλείταρχος Τιμοσθένου compare 248 A 9 Τιμοσ[θ]ένης Κλειτ[—], a Λακ. man. (It should be mentioned, however, that one of the twenty names recurs in Δισμ.—*I.G.*, XII, Supp., 555, l. 32—and two, reversed, recur one in Δισμ. and one in Ζαρ.) Without a squeeze it is difficult to discuss the question, but it may be pointed out that of the scholars who edited the inscription before Ziebarth, Tsountas (in Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1887, p. 100) read Σ. α Γ— here (his majuscule text on p. 90 is slightly different), while Stavropoulos (in Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1895, p. 136) read no letters at all in this line. Ziebarth remarks on his restoration of the heading: “supplevi quia Δημύλος Παραμόνον fuit ἐξ Αἰγ. teste titulo 244 A 21.” But 244 A 21 reads [Δημ?]ύλος Παραμόνον ἐξ Αἰγ.; Παράμονος is the commonest of all Eretrian names, and the lacuna might be filled by Ἀρκ., Ἀστ., Μικ., Σιμ., Φαν, or Φωκ: all of which would give names already attested at Eretria.

This large deme appears curiously late, *I.G.*, XII, 9, 244 (*ca.* 280 B.C.) being the first inscription to list any citizen as from Βουδ. It is remarkable that there is no one from Βουδ. in either of the long lists 245 and 246, which between them carry nearly 1,300 names of men from 31 different demes. It is possible that Βουδ. was not formed until later than most of the other demes.⁵¹

A man from Βουδ. may appear in *I.G.*, XII, 9, 240, but the demotic in line 29, Βίωττος: Εὐβίον: [Β]οῦ. . ., cannot be considered certain. Wilhelm recorded no letters after the name, and Stavropoulos queried his own reading of [Β]οῦ. . . A Βίωττος Εὐβίον occurs in Ὀρωπός in 249 B 108, which is 20-30 years later in date.

In 248 B 22 Ziebarth (in *I.G.*, XII, *Supp.*) restores [Βουδιόθ]εν because the one citizen under this heading is [---]χος Εὐκτημονίδου, and the only other Εὐκτημονίδης known at Eretria is from Βουδ. This suggestion may be strengthened by carrying it a step further. It can be seen from Kourouniotes' photograph (Ἄρχ. Ἐφ., 1911, p. 21), or even from Ziebarth's carefully spaced majuscule text, that if [Βουδιόθ]εν is correct, the deme in line 19 must have had a very short name, for no trace of it shows on the preserved surface: it should not contain more than 7 letters. And it should end in -θεν as all the headings in this inscription apparently did. Now of the twenty Eretrian deme-names which are known in this adverbial

form, only Λάκεθεν is as short as 7 letters.⁵² And it is a reasonable restoration on general grounds, for Λάκεθε comes just before Βουδιόθε on face A of this same inscription, and the names in lines 20 and 21 are both attested for Λακ. Indeed whether [Βουδιόθ]εν is correct or not in line 22, the length of the seven other headings of which some letters remain makes Λάκεθεν—or some unknown deme-name which was equally short—necessary in line 19, for there is no room for a man's name, and no other Eretrian demotic ending in -θεν is at least two letters shorter than 5 or 6 of the others, as this was.

Ziebarth's restoration of line 4 in 248 B—[ἐκ Κοτυλα]ίου must, however, be rejected: there is no reason to suppose that the line contained a heading rather than a man's name, especially as all the other headings in this inscription are of the -θεν form, and in any case the restoration is too short—the lacuna should be filled by 13-15 letters instead of 8.

There is no direct evidence for the deme's position. Papabasileiou (Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1905, p. 27) says that a place Βουδόχη, north of Aliveri, still keeps the name.

Γρύγλαι

The abbreviation appears as Γρυγχη., Γρυν., Γρυγ., and Γρν. The plural of the "ethnic" in the Athenian tribute-quota lists⁵³ is Γρυνχῆς,

⁵¹ If Βουδ. was formed late, and then partly out of territory which had belonged to Λάκεθεν, we could understand the close prosopographical connections of these two demes, and in particular how it is that Ὀνήριμος Ἀμυνάνδρου appears as Λακ. in 240 (*ca.* 305 B.C.) and as Βουδ. in 249 (*ca.* 280 B.C.), while Ἀρέτων Ὀρτυγίνωνος similarly appears as Λακ. in 244 (*ca.* 280? B.C.) and as Βουδ. in 249. But such speculation is dangerous: there are, as has been said, about 9 other instances at Eretria of what appears to be the same man being listed in one inscription with one demotic and in another with another.

⁵² The demotic in *I.G.*, II², 230 b 14 (see revised text of this inscription below, p. 145) -- [.]π[.]ηθεν -- perhaps also qualifies, but it should be noticed that the inscription is Attic and about fifty years earlier. Of the rest, 8 demes are 8 letters long in the -θεν form, 7 are 9 letters long, 2 are 10, and Μυθουντόθεν is 12. This leaves 25 to 30 demes about which we have no direct evidence except that 8 of them have more than 3 letters in the root and so would give a -θεν form more than 7 letters long, while 12 of the others seem always to appear with ἀπό or ἐκ instead of the adverbial form. But we know too little to argue that other short -θεν forms did not exist.

⁵³ See Meritt, Wade-Gery and McGregor, *The Athenian Tribute Lists*, Vol. I, 1939, pp. 256-257.

later Γρυγχῆς; also Βρυγχαιῆς. The Eretrian inscriptions have Γρυγχῆς and Γρυγχῆθεν. The name of the town itself was probably Γρύγχαι (Steph. Byz. gives both Πύγχαι and Τρύγχαι and Lykophron⁵⁴ refers to a mountain called Τρύχαντα which, Geyer suggests, is the vocative of Τρύχας, a variant of the town's name). Geyer makes out a good case⁵⁵ for putting Grynchai in the hilly eastern part of the Ἐρετρικὴ near Cape Oktonia.

If Ziebarth's reading of *I.G.*, XII, 9, 241,

[*Nomen . . .*] μπληθεν Φιλοξένου εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ ἡ βουλὴ ἔπεμψεν μαντείαν
[εἰς Δελφούς ἐρωτῶντων]ων τὸν θεὸν Ἐρετρίων ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐψηφισμένων τοῖ

(in Ziebarth's text the second τ of ἐρωτῶντων was inadvertently omitted—see his Addenda). I unfortunately have no squeeze and am dependent on the poor photograph published by Kourouniotes in *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1911, p. 33, and on an only slightly better one which I took myself in the Chalkis Museum: neither is good enough to provide any check on the reading of the first few letters in line 1. Careful measurements made on both photographs do, however, provide the information that the mid-point of line 1 falls in the π of εἶπεν (a small part of the left edge of the inscribed surface, below the taenia, is preserved and makes the measurement fairly dependable). The letter in line 2 immediately below this π is the ν of θεόν. It is thus reasonable to suppose that there were, in lines 1 and 2, almost the same number of letters on either side of this π and this ν respectively. In line 1 there are 29 letters to the right of π; in line 2 there are 30 letters to the right of ν. In line 1 Ziebarth reads 18 letters left of π (Kourouniotes read 17, omitting the first μ); thus the lacuna should contain about 11 letters. If we restore

line 82 is correct, Grynchai was in District IV: otherwise it seems probable, from the occurrence of its demesmen in *I.G.*, XII, 9, 191 B, that it was in District II: it will be seen from the map that either affiliation is geographically possible.

It is possible that the orator of *I.G.*, XII, 9, 213—a fragmentary but interesting decree about the consultation of an oracle by the state—was a man from Grynchai. The first two lines, as published by Ziebarth, read:

[Ἀστυνόμος Γρ]υγχῆθεν Φιλοξένου (supposing the orator to be the son of Φιλόξενος Ἀστυνόμου Γρυγχῆθεν in 249 B 366, an inscription which is roughly fifty years earlier), we fill the space requirements exactly, and as only the tops of the first letters are preserved, YPX may well have been mistaken for ΜΙΛ, which cannot be restored as part of any known Eretrian demotic. While Philoxenos is not an uncommon name, the son of Astynomos is the only Philoxenos from Grynchai to appear in the citizen-lists. (It may also be pointed out that Ziebarth's restoration of the lacuna in line 2 is about 5 letters too short.)

Δισμαρόθεν

The abbreviation appears as Δισμα., Δισμ., and Δισ.

The deme is in District I, according to *I.G.*, XII, 9, 241, line 15 where the reading is certain. It may be noticed that the other demes of District I, which was presumably south of Styra, were as one would expect small, and that Δισμ.'s prosopographical connections appear to be central rather than southern.⁵⁶ It is unfortunate

⁵⁴ Lykophron, *Alexandra*, 374.

⁵⁵ Fritz Geyer, *Topographie und Geschichte der Insel Euböia*, 1903, pp. 73-74.

⁵⁶ Δισμ. most often shares rare names with Περ., Αἰγ., Ταμ., and Περ.—but little weight can be put on this kind of argument, for membership in a deme may have been at Eretria, as at Athens,

that Δισμ.'s position in District I should depend on a single entry, but even so the chance of a stonecutter's error seems remote.

Δύστος (Plate XXII)

The abbreviation appears as Δυστο., Δυστ., Δυσ., and Δν.

Dystos was one of the most important towns in the Ἑρετρική. There is no doubt about its position, for there are extensive remains,⁵⁷ and a modern village near by preserves the name, as does also a Roman sarcophagus found on the site.⁵⁸ It belonged to District II.

Dystos has been supposed to be a Dryopian foundation because of the ending -στος (cf. Γεραιστός, Κάρυστος, etc.)⁵⁹ and this conclusion is borne out by the "Styrian" character of many of the names of its demesmen.

Curiously enough, neither Dystos nor the neighboring Zarex appears in any of the third-century citizen-lists⁶⁰—an anomaly made all

the more striking by the occurrence of a *single* Dystian among the 860 citizens listed in 245. Men from such southern demes as Styra, Histiaia and "Minth." continue to appear in large numbers. It is hard to believe that this disappearance is entirely due to the fragmentary character of our information,⁶¹ but the explanation is obscure.

Ἐγε.

Known only from *I.G.*, XII, 9, 191 C 27 (Ziebarth's line 26), where the reading seems certain. It is possible (but perhaps improbable) that Ἐγε. is an error for ἐγ Νε. Its occurrence here is perhaps some slight reason to suppose that the deme was in District III.

Ἐγω.

The abbreviation appears only in this form. And the deme is known only from *I.G.*, XII, 9, 246.⁶² Τίμω Τιμοδόρου, whose sepulchral stele

hereditary rather than dependent on where one lived. Several names of Δισμ. men appear also in other demes:

Τιμαρχίδης Τιμοχάρου—Δισμ. in 555 line 6, Ταμ. in 249 B 300 (note also Τίμαρχος Τιμαρχίδου Ζαρ.—245 A 251)

Δημόνικος Δημοτίμου—Δισμ. in 245 B 215 but Ζαρ. in the same inscription, B 71! Note these names reversed in Δισμ. in 555 line 11, and in Λακ.?—see footnote 50, p. 134—in 249 B 238.

Πολύστρατος Πολυξένου—Δισμ. in 555 line 42, Περ. in 245 A 301.

The explanation of this is obscure, but as none of the names is unusual it is possible in these cases that we have to do with different men who happened to have the same name and father's name.

⁵⁷ The results of a brief investigation of them were published by T. Wiegand in "Dystos," *Ath. Mitt.*, XXIV, 1899, pp. 458-467, with a large plan and a number of photographs. It is much to be desired that further excavation should be undertaken here.

⁵⁸ *I.G.*, XII, 9, 88.

⁵⁹ See Fritz Geyer, *Topographie und Geschichte der Insel Euböia*, 1903, p. 111.

⁶⁰ It is, however, quite possible that the orator of the third-century decree published as *I.G.*, XII, *Supp.*, 552, should have his demotic restored as Δυστόθεν, for his father seems to have been called Χορόνικος—a name which appears only twice otherwise at Eretria, once certainly, and the other time probably as that of a man from Δυσ. (See note 5, p. 116.)

⁶¹ But compare Οἶνο., Ῥαφι., Φαλλ., and Φλι.—large demes for which also there is no evidence in the third century.

⁶² Ziebarth's restoration (in *I.G.*, XII, *Supp.*) of line 8 of *I.G.*, XII, 9, 243 (an inscription which is now lost, published by Girard in *B.C.H.*, II, 1878, p. 277) as [Ἀγαθών]μος Ἀριστωνύμου [Ἐγω.], of which he says *supplevi* ex 246 B 24: Ἀριστώννμος Ἀγαθωνύμου Ἐγω., is unacceptable, first because he might equally well have compared 245 B 434: Ἀριστώννμος Κριτοδήμου Οἶν.—Ἀριστώννμος is in any case not an unusual name at Eretria—and secondly because Girard's majuscule copy shows space for only two letters before the -μος. (It is true that in his minuscule text Girard printsμος, but this would make line 8 about four letters longer than line 9, and it is clear that Girard was not using the convention that one dot equals one missing letter.)

was built into a house at Eretria (*I.G.*, XII, 9, 745), may have been related to Τιμίδης Τιμοδώρου Έγω. (*I.G.*, XII, 9, 246 B 90) which is perhaps a slight reason for guessing that the deme may have belonged to District III. *I.G.*, XII, 9, 241, line 103 (see text above, p. 120) is probably to be completed as either Έγ[ω.] or έγ [Μυ]—the deme in question, whichever it is, belongs to District IV.

έξ Ένι.

The abbreviation appears as έξ Ένι. and έξ Έν.

The deme is known only from *I.G.*, XII, 9, 245 and from a restored name in 244 A 39.

The fact that it exclusively shares three rather unusual names—Διονυσοφάνης, Προθυμίδης and Υγαίνων—with Κωμ. is perhaps some slight reason for placing it between Dystos and Styra.

έξ Έσχ.

The abbreviation usually appears as έξ Έσ. (έξ Έσχ. only in *I.G.*, XII, 9, 246 A 331).

The deme is in District I. It was thus probably south of Styra; if so its position would lend color to Ziebarth's guess that it is to be completed as έξ Έσχάτης,⁶³ but this is very uncertain.

Ζάρηξ

The full forms of the demotic are Ζαρήκιοι or Ζαρηκόθεν, the abbreviations Ζαρη., Ζαρ., or Ζα.

The position is certain. Plutarch refers to an Eretrian fort Ζάρητρα (Stavropoulos would emend to Ζάρηκα) at the narrowest part of the island (*Phokion*, 13); and remains have been found near the modern village of Ζάρκα which

preserves the name.⁶⁴ The town was probably originally Dryopian.⁶⁵

Zarex was the largest of the Eretrian demes to judge by the number of demesmen whose names are known. It is curious, as was remarked above under Δύστος, that it appears in none of the citizen-lists later than ca. 300 B.C.

There are about 9 cases in which men from Zarex appear to have sons in other demes (or vice versa), but as in four cases both "father" and "son" appear in the same inscription (245), it is difficult to see any significance in the fact. The demes so connected with Zarex are Δισμ. (3 times), Δύστος, Κωμ., Λακ. (?), έγ Νε., Ταμ., and Φαλλ. (twice).

Ίστίαια

The abbreviation appears as Ίστιαι., Ίστια., Ίστι., Ίστ., and (once) Ίσ., while the whole word is Ίστιαιήθεν, Ίστιαιήθε, Ίστιαήθεν and Ίστιήθεν, or Ίστιαιείς. The deme has the same name as the city on the north coast of the island. Why this should be is obscure, for there is no indication that the Ellopians of the north ever reached the center of the island;⁶⁶ there was also a deme of this name at Athens.

Histiaia was in District II.

Καρκινούσιοι

Known only from *I.G.*, XII, *Supp.* 555 lines 82-84 where two ephebes appear under this heading.

Κοτύλαιον

Known only from *I.G.*, XII, 9, 249⁶⁷ where

⁶³ Ziebarth's reason—that there was a φυλή Έσχατιώτις at Tenos which, according to Strabo, 448, once belonged to Eretria—has lost some of its small relevance with the discovery, from *I.G.*, XII, *Supp.* 555, line 21 Τηλειδών, that εκ Τη. is unlikely to have been an abbreviation for εκ Τήνου.

⁶⁴ See further Schöl. Lykophron, *Alex.*, 373 for Ζάραξ as the name of a mountain in Euboea, and discussions by Stavropoulos in Έφ. Αρχ., 1895, 149, and by Geyer, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

⁶⁵ The names of men from Zarex are often "Styrian" in character; thus Έπίτιμος, Λάκων, Μοφσίδης and Σώτιμος are otherwise known in Euboea only from the "Styrian" tablets; which also contain the name Ζαρεκιάδες.

⁶⁶ Geyer, *op. cit.*, p. 20, seems right in rejecting Nonnus' reference (*Dionysiaca*, XIII, 166) to Χαλκίς, όπισθοκόμων μητρόπολις Έλλοπιών as a confusion between the Ellopians and the Abantes (whom Homer calls όπιθεν κομώντες). See also below under Φαλλάριοι.

⁶⁷ Ziebarth's restoration [εκ Κοτυλα]ίου in 248 B 4 has been rejected above, p. 135.

the heading appears as *Κοτυλαίεις* and as *ἐκ Κοτυλαίου*. The abbreviation *ἐκ Κ.* in 249 B 420 may refer to this deme or may stand for *ἐκ Κωμαιῶν*. This is the only clear instance of ambiguity in the deme abbreviations.

The deme must have been on the slopes of Mt. Kotylaion, and thus it belonged either to District III or to District IV.

ἀπὸ Κυλ.

The abbreviation appears as *ἀπὸ Κυλ.*, *ἀπὸ Κυ.*, and *ἀπὸ Κ.*

Men called *Μνηριπτόλεμος* occur only twice in the citizen-lists, one certainly, and probably both, from *ἀπὸ Κυλ.*⁶⁸ Thus the grave stele of Eudene, daughter of Mneriptolemos, found near Aulonari (*I.G.*, XII, 9, 128, with which compare 124 also found near Aulonari) may indicate that *ἀπὸ Κυλ.* should be placed in this general area. It is possibly significant, too, that the demes with which *ἀπὸ Κυλ.* most often shares rare names are *ἐκ Τη.* and *ἐγ Νε.* which belonged in District V.⁶⁹ As it is known from an almost certain restoration (see the note on line 92 of *I.G.*, XII, 9, 241 on p. 123 above) that *ἀπὸ Κυλ.* belonged in District IV, we may feel fairly safe in placing it in the northern part of the district near Aulonari, and close to the boundary we have assumed for District V.

Κωμαιεῖς

The abbreviation appears as *ἐκ Κωμ.* and as *ἐκ Κω.* *Ἐκ Κ.* in *I.G.*, XII, 9, 249 B 420 may refer to this deme or to Kotylaion.

Stavropoulos' identification of this deme with Kyne is rejected, probably rightly, by Geyer,⁷⁰ and Papabasileiou's identification⁷¹ with a place he calls *Κουμάϊ* on the eastern slope of Eretrian

Olympos *ἐνθα καὶ νῦν ὑπάρχει συνοικισμὸς ἐξ ὀλίγων οἰκῶν ἢ καλυβῶν ποιμενικῶν* is not very convincing. *Κωμ.* shares three rare names with the small deme *ἐξ Ἐν.* (see above, s. v.), but this, if significant at all, is of no assistance in locating it, for the position of *ἐξ Ἐν.* is equally unknown. There is, however, one way of approaching the problem: very few men from *Κωμ.* have "*ἵππος* names," and this seems a fairly good reason for supposing the deme to have been southern. It may be provisionally placed in District II—or, less probably, in District I.

The deme does not appear in any of the lists earlier than ca. 300 B.C.

Λάκεθεν

The abbreviation appears as *Λακε* and *Λακ.* The full form also appears without the final *ν*.

The possibility that the twenty men in *I.G.*, XII, 9, 249 B 221-240 belong to *Λακ.* has been discussed above under *ἐξ Αἰγλεφείρης* (footnote 50).

The close prosopographical connection between *Λακ.* and *Βουδ.* has been considered in footnote 51, and the great frequency with which *ἵππος* names are borne by *Λακ.* demesmen has been discussed on pp. 128 ff. Altogether it seems best to place *Λακ.* in District IV (or III).

Μινθουντόθεν

The abbreviation appears as *Μινθο.*, *Μινθ.*, and *Μιν.* The full form also appears without the *ν*.

The deme is in District II.

ἐγ Μν.

The abbreviation also appears as *ἐγ Μ.* and, once, as *ἀπὸ Μν.*

There is no evidence for the deme's position,

⁶⁸ The demotic in *I.G.*, XII, 9 246 B 189 should probably be restored as *ἀπὸ Κ.*, on the analogy of 246 A 159 (see also line 2) since the deme occurs frequently in this inscription. (It may be noted also that the man in 246 A 93, whose demotic was omitted, was undoubtedly *ἀπὸ Κυλ.* for his father is *Φύλακος Ἀνδροτέλου ἀπὸ Κ.* in line 99.)

⁶⁹ E. g., *Γοργίων* (*ἀπὸ Κυλ.*, *ἐγ Νε.*, and *ἐκ Τη.*), *Λυσιμένης* (*ἀπὸ Κυλ.* and *ἐγ Νε.*), *Ξενότιμος* (*ἀπὸ Κυλ.* and *ἐγ Νε.*), *Νικόβιος* (*ἀπὸ Κυλ.*, *Ἰστ.*, and *ἐκ Τη.*). *Ἀπὸ Κυλ.* also shares a number of rare names with *Ἀφαρ.*

⁷⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 63 and p. 75.

⁷¹ *Ἐφ.* *Ἀρχ.*, 1905, p. 26.

unless line 103 in *I.G.*, XII, 9, 241 (see text above, p. 120) originally read ἐγ [Μν.] (the only other possibility among the known demes is Ἐγ[ω]), in which case it would be in District IV.

ἐγ Νε.

The abbreviation also appears as ἐγ Ν.

There are four ἐγ Νε. names which recur at Eretria only in Ταμ., Βλέπυρος, Πραξίας, Σοφοκλῆς and Φιλοξενίδης and two (see note 69) which recur only as ἀπὸ Κν.; facts which may have no significance or may suggest that the neighbouring positions to which these demes have been assigned on other grounds are probably roughly right. For a possible connection with the River Nedon, see pp. 127, 136.

The deme was in District V.

Ξενιαδῶν

Known only from *I.G.*, *Supp.* 555, lines 23-25 where two ephebes appear under this heading.

Οἶνο.

The abbreviation also appears as Οἶν.

Our knowledge of this deme depends upon a single inscription, *I.G.*, XII, 9, 245, except for Ziebarth's restoration of the first line of *I.G.*, XII, 9, 200—Ἀρχέλαος Ῥ[ἡξιμάχου Οἰνόηθε (or Οἰνόθεν?)]. The restoration is probably right, for it fills the lacuna exactly, only one other Eretrian name beginning with rho occurs in the citizen-lists, and this Archelaos (245 A 49) must have been contemporary with the decree.

The only evidence for the position of Οἶνο. is the large number of its demesmen who have "ἵππος names"; this inclines one to place it in District III or IV.

Οἶχα(λία?)

The abbreviation also appears as Οἶχ.

This deme is very probably the Oichalia,

well-known in Greek legend, which Strabo (448) calls a κώμη τῆς Ἐρετρικῆς, λείψανον τῆς ἀναιρεθείσης πόλεως ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέους and of which Hekataios says ⁷² ἐν Σκίῳ (?) μοίρα τῆς Ἐρετρικῆς εἶναι Οἶχαλίαν.

The deme was in District V, and this is, as we have seen, some reason for placing it north or west of Aulonari. Ulrichs ventured a guess that it might be near Neochorion (about five miles north-west of Aulonari); ⁷³ Mlle. J. Constantinou and M. J. Travlos, who conducted some small excavations near Aulonari in 1942, suggest that Oichalia may have lain on the east slope of the hill called Palaiocastri west of Aulonari where they found many Hellenistic vase fragments and, at a deeper level, early Helladic remains.⁷⁴ Only new inscriptions can settle the question definitely.

Πανα.

The abbreviation also appears as Παν.

There is no evidence for this deme's position except for the fact that most of the demes which occur several times in *I.G.*, XII, 9, 191 C probably belonged to District III (see above, p. 126).

Πεν.

Known only from *I.G.*, XII, 9, 191 C 28 (Ziebarth's line 27) where the reading is certain. Its occurrence here is perhaps some slight reason for supposing that it was in District III (see above, p. 126).

Πεο.

Known only from *I.G.*, XII, 9, 191 C 26 (Ziebarth's line 25) where the reading is practically certain. Its occurrence here is perhaps some slight reason for supposing that it was in District III (see above, p. 126).

⁷² *Ap.* Paus., iv, 2, 3. Geyer discusses what is known of the town from literary sources, *op. cit.*, pp. 77-78.

⁷³ H. N. Ulrichs, *Reisen und Forschungen in Griechenland*, II (1863), p. 245.

⁷⁴ See the brief account of these in *B.C.H.*, 1942-3, p. 327. The excavators' reasons for the suggested identification are not reported.

Περαόθεν

The full heading also appears as *Περαεῖς*; the abbreviated demotic as *Περαο.*, *Περα.*, or *Περ.*

It seems probable that *Περ.* is to be restored as the demotic in either line 96 or line 97 of *I.G.*, XII, 9, 241—see above, pp. 123 f. and also footnote 56, p. 136). If so, the deme was in District IV.⁷⁵

Πετρη.

The abbreviation also appears as *Πετρ.* and as *Πετ.*

Ziebarth placed the deme a few miles north of Dystos where the modern village of *Πετρίες* is supposed to preserve the name and indicate the position. Such identifications are treacherous, but there seems to be no other evidence.

ἐκ Πλα.

Known only from *I.G.*, XII, 9, 246 A 46; the letters are quite clear in Kourouniotis' photograph (*Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1911, pl. 2).

Πτέχαι

The abbreviation appears as *Πτεχη.*, *Πτεχ.*, *Πτε.*, and *Πτ.* The full adverbial form occurs once—*Πτεχῇθεν*—in *I.G.*, XII, 9, 221, a decree of the late third century the proposer of which came from this deme.

This deme is referred to in *I.G.*, XII, 9, 191—the agreement between Eretria and Chairephanes, who was to drain a marsh which is described as being *ἐν Πτέχαις*. As the deme was in District III Mesochoron, there can be little

doubt that the marsh in question was the one which made Eretria so unhealthy that her great philosopher Menedemos found it necessary to spend every evening drinking to ward off its noxious influences, which bred the mosquitoes that defeated King Otho's attempt to make Eretria an important naval base, and which today still lies east of the town, and has invaded the line of the ancient city walls.⁷⁶

Ῥαφιεύθεν

The abbreviation appears as *Ῥαφι.* and as *Ῥαφ.*

The deme belonged to District IV. This fact would fit well with Ziebarth's conjecture that *Κλεογένης Κλεώνδου* whose sepulchral stele (*I.G.*, XII, 9, 111) was found some five miles northwest of Aliveri, belonged to this deme.⁷⁷ Unfortunately *Κλεογένης* is not an uncommon name—it occurs in *Γρύγγαι*, *Δισμ.* and *Φαλλ.* as well as in *Ῥαφ.*—and the only other *Κλεώνδης* is *ἐν Νε.*; so that there seems to be quite as much against the conjecture as for it.

Σπλη.

The abbreviation also appears as *Σπλ.*

The deme belonged to District III—Mesochoron.

Apart from *I.G.*, XII, 9, 241 where 10 demesmen appear, there are only two possible occurrences of this deme. One is in *I.G.*, II², 230 B line 14, where the demotic is perhaps to be restored as *[Σ]π[λ]ῇθεν*—see the revised text of this inscription, below, p. 145. The other is

⁷⁵ It is perhaps worth mentioning that *Περ.* shares unusual names with *Οἶν.* and *Αἶγ.* (*Ἀντίχαρμος*, *Μενέδημος*, *Πολυκρατίδης*), but only twelve demesmen are known and no conclusion can be based on the fact.

⁷⁶ Wiegand, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXIV, 1899, p. 467, identified Ptechai's marsh with that at Dystos—presumably because about a quarter of the Eretrians whose names are preserved as swearing to the agreement came from Dystos—and Geyer (*loc. cit.*, p. 111) calls this identification possible. But as Eustratiades had sensibly remarked long before (*Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1869, p. 326) *ἀν τὴν ἐν Δύστῳ λίμνην ὁ Χαιρεφάνης ἐπαγγέλλετο νὰ ἐξαγάγῃ ὁ λίθος βεβαίως θὰ ἔλεγε τὴν λίμνην τὴν ἐν Δύστῳ οὐχὶ τὴν ἐν Πτέχαις*. It is also to be noticed that the rent is to be paid *τῇ πόλει* (Eretria), the produce is to be sold *ἐν Ἐρετρίᾳ*, and the inscription is to be set up in the temple of Apollo Daphnephoros at Eretria.

⁷⁷ Fort. *Ῥαφ.* ut collatis *Κλεογένης Κλεοχάρου Ῥαφ.* n. 245 A 347 et *Κλεογένης Κλεομέδοντος Ῥαφ.* n. 245 B 354 conjecerim (*I.G.*, XII, *Suppl.*, p. 176). He might also have mentioned *Κλεόμαντις Κλεογένου Γρυγ.* 249 B 365.

in *I.G.*, XII, 9, 191 C line 23 (Ziebarth's line 22) where Ziebarth reads Σπ[λ]. On my squeeze there are clear but curious traces of the letter following lambda: a right angle like that made by the lower half of the left hasta and the beginning of the cross bar of an H. The letter probably was H in spite of the apparent lack of the upper part of the vertical hasta—in any case the restoration Σπ[λ.] seems impossible. Thus either λ was omitted in error, or there was a deme Σπη[—?—].

Στύρα

The abbreviation is Στυρο., Στυρ., Στυ. or Στ. The full form appears to have been Στυρόθεν.⁷⁸

It is not known at what date Styra lost such independence as she enjoyed in the fifth century,⁷⁹ and became part of the Ἐρετρική. It must, however, have been earlier than *ca.* 341, the date of *I.G.*, II², 230, for a Styrian appears (line 17) in the list of Eretrians on fragment b of this inscription (see text below, p. 145).⁸⁰

Zarex and Styra were the two most populous, as far as it is possible to judge, of the Eretrian demes.

Τάμναι

The abbreviation appears as Ταμυν., Ταμν., Ταμ., and Τα. The full form is Ταμύνηθεν (or Ταμύνηθε), or Ταμυνεῖς.

The position of the town has been much discussed;⁸¹ unfortunately none of the fairly numerous references in ancient literature is of much use—the most definite of them is Strabo's remark (448) that Tamynai's temple of Apollo was "πλησίον τοῦ πορθμοῦ." Partly because of this indication, and partly because of Herodotos' supposed mention of Tamynai in VI, 101,⁸² the town is usually placed on the coast near Aliveri. But Strabo is singularly inaccurate about Euboea, and Herodotos' Τέμενος should not be emended to Ταμύνας. The epigraphical evidence is not entirely clear, either, in spite of the fact that six fragments of victor lists from the games held at Tamynai have been found (*I.G.*, XII, 9, 91-95a), as well as a fragment of an early fourth century *lex sacra* from Tamynai's (?) temple of Apollo, and one grave inscription which probably belonged to a man from this deme.⁸³ Of these inscriptions the

⁷⁸ Cf. *I.G.*, XII, 9, 259, line 3, and *I.G.*, II², 230 b, line 18.

⁷⁹ If the town was completely independent it is rather curious that it never issued coins; at least no coins have been identified as Styrian (Eckhel in *Doctrina Numorum Veterum*, II, p. 325, attributes to Styra a bronze coin with a shell-fish type inscribed ΣΤΥ, but he has not been followed in this attribution by later scholars). There are various indications of dependence on Eretria in the fifth century. Eualkides, for instance, the Eretrian general in Ionia in 499/8 B.C., has a Styrian name. And Herodotos lists the 600 Eretrians and Styrians, who fought at Plataea, together, as if they formed a single force (ix, 28). There are, on the other hand, a number of reasons for believing that Styra was actually independent, such as her separate position on the Plataea monument, in the tribute-quota lists, and in Thucydides' list of those who sailed on the Sicilian expedition. The question is complicated and not important for our present purpose.

⁸⁰ Bechtel, in *Hermes*, XXXV, 1900, p. 330, says, of two men in *I.G.*, XII, 9, 191, "diese Styraer sind keine Bürger der autonomen Stadt Styra, sondern Bürger der Stadt Eretria aus dem Demos Styra." But the theory that the town and the deme were merely homonymous, as was apparently the case with the deme and the city called Histiaia, cannot be maintained in view of the close relation between the names on the Styrian tablets and the names of the Eretrian citizens of the deme Styra. For instance, the name Λυσικράτης occurs four times on the Styrian tablets, and once on an early grave stele found near Styra; its only occurrence otherwise in Euboea is as the father's name of an Eretrian whose deme was Στυρ. And Δίμων Δίμωνος appears on a sepulchral stele found at Styra (*I.G.*, XII, 9, 64): the only other instances of the name are two Eretrians both of whom belong to the deme Στυρ.

⁸¹ Geyer summarizes the various arguments, *op. cit.*, pp. 76-77.

⁸² See above, p. 130.

⁸³ Discussed above, p. 128.

victor list which mentions Tamynai by name was found in 1858 in a house near Aliveri: it was thus not *in situ*. The other five related lists and the grave inscription were all found, at different times, near Aulonari, while the *lex sacra* was once built into the church of St. George about five kilometers west of Aulonari. Tamynai should accordingly be looked for rather nearer to Aulonari, which is 8 or 9 miles inland, than to Aliveri, which is about one mile from the strait.⁸⁴ Excavation will probably settle the question definitely at some future date.

The deme was in District IV.

Τέμ(ενος?)

Only one member of this deme is known—the Ἵπποκλέης of *I.G.*, XII, 9, 191 C 44—unless Ziebarth's restoration of line 10 on side B of that inscription be accepted.⁸⁵ It is clear from Herodotos VI, 101⁸⁶ that the deme lay on the coast, and also that it was near Αἶγ.—i. e., in District IV. Stavropoulos suggested (Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1895, p. 153, note 11) that it may have been named from the temenos *par excellence* of the Eretrians, the sanctuary of Artemis at Amarynthos: the fact that there is also a deme called Amarynthos (Ἀμαρ. or Ἀμαρυν. [?]), perhaps makes this theory less likely, although Τέμ. will not

in any case have been far from the sanctuary of Artemis.

Τηλειδών

This is probably the deme which is abbreviated as ἐκ Τη. or ἐκ Τ.

If Ziebarth's highly probable restoration of line 113 of *I.G.*, XII, 9, 241 is correct, the deme was in District V.

The orator of *I.G.*, XII, 9, 218 is undoubtedly identical with Αἰσχινάδης Γοργίωνος ἐκ Τη. (*I.G.*, XII, 9, 245 A 278).

Φαλλάριοι

The abbreviation appears as Φαλλ., Φαλ., and Φα.

Hesychios refers to an ἄκρα τῆς Εὐβοίας called Φάλλα or Φαλάκρα, and Ptolemy mentions a promontory on the north coast called Phalassia. Apparently the name of this deme, like that of the deme Histiaia, derives in some understood way from the north of the island. Under the circumstances the fact that Φαλλ.'s prosopographical connections are closest with Ἴστ.—Εἰθύβιος, Θρασύβουλος, Πάταικος and Φιλόμηλος are names which occur only in these two demes—may be a result of propinquity, and one may guess that Φαλλ. was near Ἴστ. in District II.⁸⁷

⁸⁴ Tamynai's prosopographical connections are closest with ἐγ Νε. (Βλέπυρος, Πραξίας, Σοφοκλῆς, and Φιλοξενίδης are names which occur only in these two demes); if this were any reason to suppose the demes contiguous it would so far be an indication that Tamynai was inland, but no such conclusion can be drawn until more is known of the basis of membership in a deme at Eretria. At Athens such membership was hereditary, and did not depend on domicile.

⁸⁵ See note 22.

⁸⁶ See the discussion of this passage above, p. 130.

⁸⁷ Ziebarth's reading Φα. in *I.G.*, XII, 9, 191 C 18 (his line 17) has been mentioned above, note 21. Only the extreme bottom tip of the first hasta of the second letter is visible, so that it is not clear how much the stroke slanted, and Η seems a possible reading (some of the supposedly vertical strokes in this inscription slant forward a little). If Φα. does appear in this part of the inscription, that is some slight reason for supposing that the deme was in the central rather than the southern part of the Ἐρετρική.

Ὀρωπιάδης Βιόττου Φαλλ. (*I.G.*, XII, 9, 245 B 421) is undoubtedly the man whose family dedication to Artemis, Apollo and Leto was found by the shore near Amarynthos (*I.G.*, XII, 9, 142). This is no indication, however, that the deme should be located in the neighbourhood—no. 140 is a similar dedication by a Zarex family. Artemis Amarynthia clearly attracted dedications from all over the Ἐρετρική.

Φηγοεῖς

The abbreviation occurs as Φηγο., Φηγ., and Φη.

The appearance of members of this deme in *I.G.*, XII, 9, 191, C is some reason for placing it in District III.

ἐκ Φηραι.

The abbreviation also appears as ἐκ Φη.

Φλιεῖς

The abbreviation appears as Φλιευ., Φλιε., and Φλι; the full form appears also as Φλιεῦθεν.

The only evidence for the position of the deme is the large number of "ἵππος-names" among its demesmen: this should mean that it was central.⁸⁸

Χοίρει

The abbreviation appears as Χοιρ. or Χοι; the full form as Χοιρήθεν.

The deme is mentioned by Herodotos, VI, 101 as one of the places where the Persians landed their cavalry before attacking Eretria in 490 B.C. It was thus probably in District IV.⁸⁹ Ziebarth suggests that the village of Κουρούνη of the present δῆμος Κοτυλαίων may preserve the name.

The orator of *I.G.*, XII, 9, 222 was from this deme.

ἐκ Χυτ.

The abbreviation also appears as ἐκ Χυ. and ἐκ Χ.

The deme was in District I.

ἐξ Ὀου.

The abbreviation also appears as ἐξ Ὀ.

There is no indication of its position.

Ὀρωπός

The abbreviation appears as Ὀρωπο., Ὀρωπ., Ὀροπ., Ὀρω., and Ὀρ. The full heading is Ὀρωπόθεν or Ὀρώπιοι. The deme was certainly homonymous with Oropos across the Euboean strait: Stephanus Byzantinus says *s.v.* Ὀρωπός, "ἐστὶ καὶ ἄλλη Εὐβοίας."⁹⁰

The deme was in District IV.⁹¹

DOUBTFUL DEMES

Ἀχερ.

The evidence for this deme is four letters in a single inscription where both reading and interpretation are uncertain. The inscription is *I.G.*, II², 230—an alliance between Athens and Eretria which is probably to be dated in 341/0. There are two separate pieces, which were connected by Wilhelm on the basis of the similarity of the script; one, frag. *a*, carries the text, the other, frag. *b*, carries a list of names with demotics most of which are clearly Eretrian. The readings of frag. *b*, as published in *I.G.*, II²,⁹²

⁸⁸ The fact that its prosopographical connections are closest with Βουδ.—the rare names Βουλαστιδης, Καλλίφημος, and Φανάδης occur only in these two demes—possibly points in the same direction.

⁸⁹ See further note 41.

⁹⁰ The explanation, as with Histiaia, is obscure. It should be noticed that Wilamowitz's theory that Oropos was an Eretrian colony ("Oropos und die Graer," *Hermes*, XXI, 1886, pp. 91-115) is unacceptable in so far as it depends on the occurrence of rhotacism in the dialect of both places, for rhotacism at Eretria is now known probably not to have occurred earlier than the fifth century. I hope to discuss this matter at greater length elsewhere.

⁹¹ Otherwise *I.G.*, XII, 9, 744, a grave stele, carrying the remarkable name Πάνταινος, which was found between Vasilike and Eretria, would incline one to guess that the deme was west of the city, for there is one other Πάνταινος known in Euboea—an Eretrian of the deme Ὀρωπός.

⁹² The text published by Ziebarth in *I.G.*, XII, 9, page 162 is very similar.

may be improved as follows from the squeeze at the Institute for Advanced Study:

I.G., II², 230 b

ΣΤΟΙΧ

- [*Ἀρχων? or 8 spaces] *vacat*
 [ν]ος Ἀρχερ. [-*vacat*?-]
 [Στρατηγ]οί *vacat*
 [ν . . .]μ[έν]ης Χοιρ. [ν ν] *vacat*
 5 [ν Ἀλ]κίας ἐκ Χν. *vacat*
 [ν] Ἱπποσθέν[ης] Μαθ. *vacat*
 ν Ξενότιμος [Αι]γα ν ν ν
 ν Κλέαρχος Αἰ[γα? - *vacat* -]
 ν Φιλίας Ζαρ. ν [-*vacat* -]
 10 Ἱππαρχος Ἀ[.]μο[---]
 ν καὶ οἱ ἵππε[ῖς ν ν] *vacat*
 Ταξίαρχοι *vacat*
 ν Ἐπ[.]ρ[.]γων Ἀ[μ]αρ[ν] *vacat*
 ν Δη[μαρ]χος [Σ]τ[λ]ῆθεν *vacat*
 15 ν Ἐρά[σιπ]πος [.]ιρθεν *vacat*
 ν Δ[η]μο[κρ]άτης Εὐφθην *vacat*
 ν Σ[.]ι [.] . . . Στ[υ]ρόθεν *vacat*
 ἡ βουλὴ [ν ν] *vacat*
vacat

The text of frag. *a* reads in part: ὁμόσαι δὲ τὴν συν[θήκην] Ἑρετριέων τὴν τε βουλὴν | τοὺς πεντεκοσίο[υς καὶ τοὺς στρατηγούς καὶ τὰς] | ἀρχὰς ἀπάσας. Frag. *b* seems to be a list of the Eretrians who swore to the agreement: an archon (?), 6 generals (?), the hipparch and the knights, 5 taxiarchs, and the boule. In line 1 *I.G.*, II, *I.G.*, II², and Ziebarth in *I.G.*, XII, 9, all read ρηφ. There are traces which might be so interpreted above the αχε of line 2; they are, however, very shallow, and seem to be too high to belong to line 1 and too low to belong to a line above that; on the whole I am inclined to think that no letters were inscribed on the preserved surface (about two lines) above line 2. The

question arises, who was the man from Ἀρχερ? The list of Eretrians would seem to be complete unless there was perhaps an archon: there would be room for “ἀρχων” or “ὁ ἀρχων” at the beginning of line 1 where the stone is broken away. As the preserved surface seems to be uninscribed above line 2, this is perhaps the most reasonable hypothesis. If, however, the man from Ἀρχερ could possibly be the last of a list of Athenians who also swore to the agreement, Ἀρχερ would then be the known Attic deme Ἀχερδοῦς, and it would be unnecessary to suppose that there was an otherwise unattested Eretrian deme beginning with those letters. Unfortunately it is impossible to decide the question on the evidence available.

Εὐφθην

This deme abbreviation occurs only in *I.G.*, II², 230 b 16 (see the revised text of the inscription on this page). The last letters are uncertain: Θ (or O), Η (or N), Ν (more likely than T).

—ιρη

See note on line 37 of *I.G.*, XII, 9, 241 (page 123 above).

Παρθένιον

There is known to have been a place of this name in Euboea⁹³ and there may have been an Eretrian deme called Παρθένιον. The only evidence is *I.G.*, XII, 9, 249 B 218⁹⁴ where a single name appears under the heading (?) Παρ-θηνι[---]. As the headings and names inscribed in the triangular space at the top of this side of the inscription are in letters of the same size,⁹⁵ it seems possible that Παρθηνι- may have been part of some name such as Παρθένιος (not

⁹³ Παρθένιον, πόλις Εὐβοίας (Steph. Byz.). The scholiast on Pindar, *Ol.*, VI, 149 refers to a Euboean river called “Parthenios.”

⁹⁴ Ziebarth's restoration of the demotic in *I.G.*, II², 230 b 15 as Π[α]ρθεν is impossible: see revised text on this page.

⁹⁵ ἐπὶ τῆς πλευρᾶς Β . . . τὰ δὲ ἐθνικὰ δὲν εἶναι γεγραμμένα διὰ μεγαλειτέρων ἀλλὰ μόνον δι' ἀραιωτέρων γραμμάτων . . . καὶ τῆς πλευρᾶς δὲ Β οἱ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀετωμάτου στίχοι εἶναι βεβαίως ὑστερώτεροι τῶν ἄλλων (Tsountas, *Ἐφ.* Ἀρχ., 1887, pp. 83-84). I take it that ἀραιωτέρων means “more widely spaced,” but whether or not this applies to the headings in the gable is not clear. In Tsountas' majuscule copy

otherwise known in Euboea) instead of a deme heading—without a squeeze or a photograph it is impossible to tell.

Stavropoulos (followed by Ziebarth) would place the deme on the north-eastern slopes of Kotylaion where the modern village of Partheni seems to preserve the name⁹⁶ and where ancient remains exist.

Σπη[---]

See under “Σπλη,” p. 141.

In recognising the city state as the characteristic Greek political unit historians have been inclined to regard Athens and Sparta as somewhat exceptional in that each possessed a considerable territory. Adcock, for example, says: “The demands of a system, the need for land, turned Lacedaemon into a territorial state but, outside Sparta, Attica is the only part of Greece where any considerable territory was guided constantly by a single will. Compared with the thousand square miles of Attica, the territory controlled by any other Greek city-state was very small. The Boeotian cities apart from Thebes govern on an average about 70 square miles, Sicyon 140, Phlius 70, Corinth 350, the eight cities of Euboea on an average 180, even islands with a single city like Chios little more than 300, and this island is the greatest.”⁹⁹ The extent of Eretrian territory cannot be accurately estimated because of the uncertainty about her western and northern boundaries—the exact line between her territory and that of Karystos is also uncertain. But she probably controlled some 500 square miles (it is about 25 miles from Eretria to the tip of the Grynchai promontory, and a little over 40 miles in a straight line from Eretria to Karystos). Indeed if future excavation should substantially increase our knowledge of Eretria, as it probably will, the city will be of interest partly just because it is, on a smaller scale, in this as in other ways, so similar to Athens.

WILLIAM WALLACE

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE,
UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

the letters of most (but not of all) of the headings are more widely spaced than the names: ΠΑΘΕΝΙ— is spaced as the names are. Neither of the later editors, Stavropoulos and Ziebarth, discusses the question.

⁹⁶ Stavropoulos, *Ἑφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1895, p. 151. Baumeister and Bursian had also made this identification.

⁹⁷ Cf. Σκύθης Εὐφρόνιον ἐκ X. (246 A 47) with Εὐφρόνιος Σκύθων ἐκ Χυτ. (246 A 272).

⁹⁸ The only clear instance of such ambiguity is in *I.G.*, XII, 9, 249 B 420 (see under Κοτύλαιον. And in some cases it is clear that pains were taken to avoid it—e. g., ἐξ Αἰγ. seems always to have been distinguished from Αἰγ. by the addition of ἐξ which continues to be used even when the name is written out in full.

⁹⁹ *C.A.H.*, III, Chapter xxvi, “The Growth of the Greek City State,” p. 698. It may be noticed that the treatment here of Euboea gives a wrong impression; there were in fact only four cities in Euboea, unless one counts small places of doubtful independence which never, for instance, issued coins.

ἐκ Xa.

This deme is known only from *I.G.*, XII, 9, 246 B 156.

It is possible that the A is a stonecutter's error for Y: the chief reason for thinking so is that ἐκ X. is frequently used as an abbreviation for ἐκ Χυτ;⁹⁷ if there had been a deme ἐκ Xa., this form would have produced a kind of ambiguity which seems to have been very carefully avoided in the deme abbreviations.⁹⁸

PLATE XXII



The Acropolis of Eretria from the Harbour



The Harbour of Eretria from the acropolis Dystos



Dystos

Three successive doorways on the acropolis of Dystos