# NOTES ON ATTIC DEMES

### **KOLONAI**

IN his definitive article on the subject David Lewis concluded that Kolonos Hippios was a deme of Aigeis, that Kolonos Agoraios was not a deme at all, and that there were two demes named Kolone and/or Kolonai, which belonged to Leontis and Antiochis.<sup>1</sup> Evidence is now available which seems to establish that both of these demes were in fact called Kolonai. A recently discovered fragment of the Attic Stelai mentions a πύργος ἐγ Κολοναῖς.<sup>2</sup> As Meritt notes,<sup>3</sup> this may be an overseas holding, or Kolonai may be an Attic deme. More important is the evidence of the scholium to line 501 of Aristophanes' Ranae.4 Of Xanthias, dressed as Herakles, Dionysos says μὰ Δί ἀλλ ἀληθῶς οὖκ Μελίτης μαστιγίας, on which the scholiast comments as follows: Ἐπεὶ εἴ γε ὄντως ἐπὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα ἀνέφερε, τί μᾶλλον εἶπε τὸ ἐκ Μελίτης καὶ μὴ ἐξ ἄλλου δήμου; Πανταχοῦ γὰρ Ἡράκλεια ἐπιφανῆ. Σύνηθές τε οὐχ οὕτω λέγειν ἐπὶ θεῶν, οὑκ Μελίτης, ἀλλ' ὁ ἐν Μελίτη, ὡς καὶ Ζεὺς ὁ ἐν Ὀλυμπία, ἐπὶ δὲ ἀνθρώπων ἐκ Μελίτης, ἐξ Οἴου, ἐκ Κολωνῶν (ἐξ Οἴου Vat. 3 ἐξ ἰοῦς V ; ἐκ κολωνῶν V ἐκ Κοθώνων Θ έκ Κοθωκιδών Dindorf έκ Κηδών Valckenaer). Of course names are often misspelled in manuscripts, but there is no sound reason for rejecting the reading of the Venetus in favor of Dindorf's conjecture, which has prevailed for so long. Instead we should accept it as a fact that one of the demes of Leontis or Antiochis was named Kolonai.

If we do, we shall be able to interpret correctly a fragment of Kallimachos' *Hekale* (300 Pfeiffer):

ἄκ με Κολωνάων τις δμέστιον ἤγαγε δήμου τῶν ἐτέρων.

Wilamowitz translates this as, "jemand aus dem Demos des andern Kolonai nahm mich an seinen Herd mit." <sup>5</sup> There are, then, two demes named Kolonai. Kallimachos does not mean Kolonos, for the scene of his poem is Mt. Pentelikon and the area that was to become the deme Hekale. <sup>6</sup> The Kolonos Agoraios was in the city and the Kolonos Hippios not far from it, <sup>7</sup> but the Kolone or Kolonai of Leontis belonged to

- <sup>1</sup> B.S.A., L, 1955, pp. 12-17.
- <sup>2</sup> Hesperia, XXXV, 1966, p. 84; Hesperia, XXXVI, 1967, pp. 84-86.
- <sup>8</sup> Hesperia, XXXVI, 1967, p. 85.
- <sup>4</sup> I follow the modern edition by Jacob Schuringa, Scholia Vetera ad Aristophanis Ranas Codicis Ven. Marc. 474, Groningen and Batavia, 1945.
  - <sup>5</sup> Hermes, XXII, 1887, p. 123, note 1.
  - <sup>6</sup> Cf. especially fragments 253, 260, 272, 308, and 349 Pfeiffer.
  - <sup>7</sup> Harpokration and Suidas, s.v. Κολωνέτας, Pollux, VII, 132-133, Thucydides, VIII, 67, 2.

the same trittys as Hekale,<sup>8</sup> and the Kolone or Kolonai of Antiochis belonged to the same trittys as Pallene, which lay at the foot of Pentelikon.<sup>9</sup> Thus, in all probability there were two demes named Kolonai, both in the general vicinity of Pentelikon.

#### **HALIMOUS**

With few exceptions the demes of a trittys were neighbors. Halimous is considered one of these exceptions 10 since it was situated near the south coast of Attika, 11 while (apart from the urban deme Skambonidai) the other demes of the city trittys of Leontis to which it belonged apparently lay in the plain of Athens, north and west of the city. Actually this view rests on the supposed location of two and only two demes, Oion Kerameikon and Kolonos Hippios, for there is no evidence that any of the other city demes of Leontis was located in the plain.<sup>12</sup> Now that Lewis has shown that Kolonos Hippios belonged to Aigeis,18 the view that Halimous was an enclave depends entirely on the location of Oion. Epigraphical evidence, however, clearly indicates that Oion was not a city deme. In the great list of demes from the period of the Eleven Phylai Oion appears with the inland demes,14 and the same thing is true in the fourth century prytany lists.<sup>15</sup> We should, therefore, abandon the simplistic notion that Oion Kerameikon was located near the Kerameikos.<sup>16</sup> Perhaps it was situated along a main road to the Kerameikos or is not to be connected with the Kerameikos at all. In any event, if we deny that Oion belonged to the city trittys of Leontis, there is no longer any evidence that the demes of this trittys were located in the plain. In fact it would be perfectly possible that these demes lay to the south of the city between Skambonidai and Halimous, as Löper suggested long ago, 17 so that Halimous would not be an enclave.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. *Historia*, XV, 1966, pp. 3-4.

 $^{9}$  Cf. the commentary of  $I.\overline{G}$ , II<sup>2</sup>, 1750. The site of Pallene is to be inferred from Herodotos, I, 62, 3.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Ernst Kirsten apud Alfred Philippson, Die Griechischen Landschaften, I, 3, 1952, p. 984 and D. M. Lewis, Historia, XII, 1963, pp. 32-33. Kirsten assigns Halimous to the inland trittys, Lewis (correctly) to the city trittys.

<sup>11</sup> Štrabo, IX, 1, 21.

<sup>12</sup> Kirsten, Atti del terzo congresso internazionale di epigrafia greca e latina, Rome, 1959, pp. 166-167, locates both Kolonos Hippios and Oion in the city trittys. Except for Skambonidai there is virtually no evidence at all for the other demes of this trittys, Leukonoion, Kettioi, and (possibly) Potamos.

<sup>18</sup> B.S.A., L, 1955, pp. 12-17.

<sup>14</sup> I.G., II<sup>2</sup>, 2362.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. *Historia*, XV, 1966, pp. 3-4.

<sup>16</sup> According to Wilamowitz, Aristoteles und Athen, II, 1893, p. 156, Oion means καλύβια. The modern town called Καλύβια Θορικοῦ or Καλύβια τῆς Λαυρεωτικῆς is more than ten miles from Laurion.

<sup>17</sup> Ath. Mitt., XVII, 1892, pp. 376-392. If his suggestion is correct, then the possible Alkmeonid Megakleides of Leukonoion, who appears in I.G., I², 368 (of the year 426/5), would belong to the same area as the other Alkmeonidai; cf. Historia, XII, 1963, p. 23.

## THE DEMES OF ERECHTHEIS

Only about half of the demes of this phyle can be located with any degree of confidence: Kephisia belonged to the inland trittys, Anagyrous and Lamptrai to the coast, and Euonymon and Agryle to the city. Relying on these demes as a guide, we can, I suggest, interpret the arrangement of the demes in the bouleutai list published in *Hesperia* by S. Charitonides several years ago. The demes are listed in two columns in the following order:

Euonymon Kephisia
Kedoi Pergase
Agryle Themakos
Pambotadai Phegous
Anagyrous Lamptrai

Eliot has concluded that there were only two coastal demes in this phyle,<sup>21</sup> and we find them listed at the bottom of each column.<sup>22</sup> The upper portion of the left column contains Euonymon and Agryle, which belonged to the city trittys, while in the upper half of the right column we have Kephisia from the inland trittys. Thus it is likely that this list is arranged strictly on the basis of the Kleisthenic trittyes. If so, Euonymon, Kedoi, Agryle, and Pambotadai all belonged to the city trittys, and Kephisia, Pergase, Themakos, and Phegous all to the inland trittys.<sup>23</sup>

#### KOLLYTOS

According to Strabo Kollytos and Melite were adjoining demes, and we know from the scholia to Aristophanes that Melite bordered the Agora on the west.<sup>24</sup> We now have epigraphical evidence for the location of Kollytos:<sup>25</sup>

- <sup>18</sup> Strabo, IX, 1, 21.
- <sup>19</sup> For Euonymon cf. I.G., II<sup>2</sup>, 6158, 6167, 6182, 6195, and 6201. For Agryle cf. Harpokration, s.v. 'Αρδηττόs and I.G., II<sup>2</sup>, 2776, lines 57-59. These two demes lay to the south and east of Athens near Hymettos.
  - <sup>20</sup> Hesperia, XXX, 1961, pp. 31-33.
  - <sup>21</sup> Coastal Demes of Attika, 1962, p. 58, note 31.
- <sup>22</sup> In the same inscription the inland demes of Pandionis occupy the top of two columns; cf. *Historia*, XV, 1966, pp. 4-5.
- <sup>28</sup> This arrangement does not contradict anything we know of the smaller demes of this phyle Aristophanes, *Equites*, line 321, seems to imply that Demosthenes was traveling between Aphidna and Athens *via* Pergase, which would then be in the inland trittys. And a site south of Kephisia for Themakos would suit the reference in Andokides, I, 17, to a profanation of the mysteries. Stephanus Byzantinus, *s.v.* 'Αλαὶ 'Αραφηνίδεs, locates Phegous between Halai and Marathon, but this is surely a mistake for Phegaia. There is no secure evidence for the location of Kedoi or Pambotadai.
  - <sup>24</sup> Scholium to the Aves, 997; Strabo, I, 4, 65.
- <sup>25</sup> Cf. *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, p. 271. I print the text suggested by Lewis, *B.S.A.*, L, 1955, p. 16, note 40.

[οἰκ]ία ἐν Κολλυτοι hê[ι γεῖτον] ἐκ το ἐπὶ θάτερα τὸ Αἰ[----] καὶ hε ἀγορά.

The demes Kollytos and Melite, then, both adjoined the Agora and must have bordered each other to the northwest or southwest of it. In publishing this fragment of the Attic Stelai Pritchett says that Kollytos "must now be located in part north of the gap between the Pnyx and the Areopagus." 26 He does not consider the possibility that Kollytos lay to the north of the Agora. Clearly the unstated assumption is that the Agora was included in the deme Kerameis, for, if this deme encompassed the Agora, it must have run all the way from the slopes of the Acropolis through the Dipylon and beyond, thereby forming the northern boundary of Melite. Several ancient authors do in fact equate the Agora with the Kerameikos,27 but the Kerameikos (just like the Kolonos Agoraios) is the name of a neighborhood, and these authors are not thinking in terms of the official boundaries of the deme Kerameis. Wycherley has concluded that "although it was in Kerameikos, the agora within its formal boundaries may possibly have been demarcated as neutral ground, not belonging to Kerameis or to any particular deme." 28 Consequently, we cannot be sure of the boundaries of the deme Kerameis so that it is still possible that Melite touched Kollytos at the northwest corner of the Agora.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Hesperia, XXII, 1953, p. 276.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> For the meaning of Kerameikos cf. R. E. Wycherley, The Athenian Agora, III, Literary and Epigraphical Testimonia, Princeton, 1957, pp. 221-224.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Op. cit., p. 221.