

DIAKRIS, THE INLAND TRITTYS OF LEONTIS

(PLATE 32)

WHILE in Athens during the summer of 1975 I had the opportunity to study a new prytany list of Leontis published by P. A. Pantos in *Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερίς*, 1973, pp. 180-185, no. 3, pls. 87a, 88β.¹ This inscription, part of a Pentelic marble base inscribed on the front and right side, must join on its broken left side a smaller fragment published by S. N. Koumanoudes in *Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον* 25, 1970, pp. 84-85, no. 1 (no photograph), of which a revised text appeared in Meritt and Traill, *The Athenian Agora*, XV, *Inscriptions: The Athenian Councillors*, Princeton 1974, no. 13a.² A combined text with improvements in readings and over-all dating is offered here. The document provides the name of the inland trittys of Leontis, Diakris, and prompts a re-examination of the composition and representation of the trittyes of Leontis and of the other phylai during the 4th century B.C. An appendix discusses the identification of the Potamos demes in the Macedonian period.

¹ At present the inscription is stored in the *apothēke* of the Third Ephoreia in the Library of Hadrian and bears the number M. 741. Special thanks are due Miss O. Alexandri, ephor, and her kind staff for facilitating study of the stone. I wish also to thank the following scholars: E. Vanderpool, who first drew my attention to this inscription, C. W. J. Eliot, who helped with topographical problems, and D. M. Lewis, who made several improvements in the Greek text and suggested the correction dealt with in the Appendix. The financial assistance of a Canada Council Research Grant enabling me to spend the summer of 1975 in Greece is gratefully acknowledged.

² I was unable to find this stone after several mornings of searching. A preliminary discussion of revisions of the text in *Agora* XV, no. 13a appears in *Phoenix* 29, 1975, pp. 386-387, nos. 3-5, where the association of *Ἀρχ'Εφ*, 1973, pp. 180-185, no. 3 is noted.

THE PRYTANEIS OF LEONTIS

a. 371/0 a.		Front
	Front	Col. II
	Col. I	
	[Φρεάρριοι]	Σκα[μβωνίδαι]
	[-----] δίκo	Λεωκράτης Ἴπποκράτος
	[...] πο[...] δ[-----] ήμο	Ἵπεράνθης Ἀταρ<β>ίωνος
	[Ἀ] πολλόδ[...] ος Κηφι] σοκλέος	Δωσίθεος Ἀντιγένης 25
5	[M] ελυσία[ς - ^{ca. 7} -] έλος	Λευκονοής
	[K] ηδείδη[ς ------] vacat	Θέωρος Μνησιστράτο
	[Σ] ωσίας Δ[- ^{ca. 6} -]ς	Καλλικράτης Παμφίλο
	[Π] εισίθε[ος Εὐ] ξιθέο (?)	Ἀριστομήδης Μέτωνος
	[Ξ] ενοφῶ[ν Τεί?] σιδος	Κήττιοι 30
10	[Σ] μι[κ] ρ[ίας Εὐ] ριπίδο	Φιλοκράτης Ἀμφιτελίδο
	[Σ] ον[ι] ής	Μελανκόμας Ἱεροκ[λ] έο[ς]
	Φιλόνω[ς Ἀ] μεινονίκο	Εὐβολος Λυσίο
	Τιμόθεος Ἴπ[πο] στράτο	Ποτάμιοι καθύπερ[θεν]
	Ἀλέξιππος Ἐπιγένης	Δημοκλές Ἀντι[κλ] έος 35
15	Πολυχάρμυχος Παταίκο	Φιλόξενος Λυσιστράτο
	[Δ] ειραδιῶτ[αι]	Ποτάμιοι ὑπένερθε[ν]
	[- ^{ca. 11} -] ρ[- ¹¹ -] ο	Θέλιος Ἴπποκλέος
	[Ἐ] ρμόδωρος [Σ] τρά[τ]ωνος	[X] ολλήιδαι
	Ποτάμιοι [Δειραδιῶται]	Ἐπικράτης Εὐκλέος 40
20	[...] ωρος Παν[-----]	[------]
	[-----]	[Ἀλινόσιοι]
		<Line 24: lapis Ἀταρφίωνος>

	Front	Right Side
	Col. III	Col. IV
	Ἀπόλη[ξ]ις Ἀπ[-----]ο	50 [Λεωντίδος πρυτάνες vel sim.]
	Ξενοπέιθης Ξενοκλέος	ἐπὶ Φ[ρασικλείδο]
45	Χαρίσανδρος Ἐξηκέστο	Διακρίς
	[vacat?] vacat	Πήληκες
	0.14 m. to line 49	Ἀλεξίμαχος Χα[ρίνου]
	surface worn	55 Χάριθος Ἀμφίω[νος]
	[corona?]	Ἵβάδαι
	lines 47-48 <i>exempli gratia</i>	Χαρικλές Σωσίο
	[Λεωντὶς ένίκα]	Πολυκράτης Λυσαν[--]
	[πρυτανεύουσα]	ἐξ Οἴο
49	ἐπὶ [Φρα]σικλείδο	60 Φανόστρατος Στρα[τίο]
		Κολωνής
		Πρωτόμαχος Πυθο[--]
		[- ^{ca. 4} -]ος Ἀρξίλλο

Right Side

Col. V

[Ἑκαλειῆς]

65 [-----]

[Κρωπίδαι]

[-----]

[Παιονίδαι]

[-----]

70 [-----]

[-----]

[Εὐπυρίδαι]

[-----]

[-----]

75 [Αἰθαλίδαι]

[-----]

[-----]

The demes have been listed
in this column in the order
of *Agora* XV, no. 13.

 COMMENTARY ³

Line 8. The bottom stroke of xi, the lower half of iota, and the right half of theta in the patronymic are indicated by dotted letters. Other readings and restorations are possible, but if those suggested here are correct the prytanis may be identified as the brother of [Κη]φισόδ[...ος Ε]ὐξίθεο[υ] Φρεάρρι[ος] who was epimelete of the dockyards after 349/8 B.C. (*I.G.* II², 1620, lines 50-51).

Line 10. The prytanis may be identified with the grandfather of Σμυκρίας Ἐπι[^{ca. 3-4}-----ο]υ who was ephebe for Phrearrhioi about 325 B.C. in a text from the Amphiareion first published by B. Leonardos, *Ἀρχ'Εφ*, 1918, p. 75, col. I, line 18. The inscription was republished by O. Reinmuth, *The Ephebic Inscriptions of the Fourth Century B.C. (Mnemosyne, Suppl. XIV, Leiden, 1971)*, pp. 58-82, no. 15, in which the two dotted letters of the patronymic appear, probably inadvertently, undotted and precisely three letters are indicated as missing from the patronymic: *sic* Σμυκρίας Ἐπι[...ο]υ. (I note only two other significant changes in Reinmuth's text from Leonardos' *editio princeps*: Αἰσχίνου in col. I, line 27 [repeated in the index], surely in error for Leonardos' Αἰσχίνου, and the restoration Σῶ[σο]υ in col. II, line 22, which Leonardos leaves unrestored.) Although I cannot verify it from the photographs published by Leonardos and Reinmuth, I suggest that the name of the ephebe's father was probably Euripides and that col. I, line 18 of the ephebic inscription

³ This epigraphical and prosopographical commentary supplements and amends *Ἀρχ'Εφ* 1973, pp. 182-184 and *Δελτ* 25, 1970, pp. 84-85. The larger fragment was studied on several occasions in direct sunlight and with water and powdered charcoal.

may be read Σμικρίας Εἰρη[πίδο]ν. For the date of this document see D. M. Lewis, *ClassRev* 23, 1973, p. 255 (corrective of Reinmuth's date). The restoration of the patronymic of the prytanis as Smikronides, suggested in *Phoenix* 29, 1975, p. 386, no. 3, is here rejected.

Line 12. Only the right stroke of mu is preserved. The restoration of the patronymic in *Agora* XV, no. 13a, line 12 is confirmed.

Line 13. The first two letters of the patronymic are both dotted in Koumanoudes' text. Other names, such as Timostratos, may be possible.

Line 15. The restoration of the name as Polycharmides in *Agora* XV, no. 13a, line 15 is to be rejected (cf. *Phoenix* 29, 1975, p. 387, no. 5).

Lines 17-18. The new fragment indicates that one representative of Deiradiotai was omitted in Koumanoudes' text (the table and note 6 in *Hesperia*, Suppl. XIV, p. 57 should be corrected accordingly). Since [Ε]ρμόδωρος nicely fills the space before [Σ]τρά[τ]ωνος, it is assumed that line 17 was omitted. The vertical stroke and right top of tau, followed by the upper round part of rho, are preserved in the patronymic. The similarity of the names Straton and Stratonides suggests that the prytanis may be a descendant, perhaps a grandson, of Phrynichos, son of Stratonides, of Deiradiotai (*P.A.* 15011).

Line 19. Since Upper and Lower Potamos are listed in column II, this deme must be Deiradiotian Potamos (correct *Hesperia*, Suppl. XIV, p. 45, note 18). The modifier may have been omitted, as in *Agora* XV, no. 13, line 71, or included, as in *Agora* XV, no. 52, line 28.

Line 22. Sigma and kappa in the demotic are certain.

Line 24. No name Atarphion is known and phi must have been cut in error for beta. The father of the prytanis here may be identified with Atarbion who is listed among the members of Leontis who died in Sicily in 413 B.C. (*Hesperia* 12, 1943, p. 46, frag. L, line 71 = *S.E.G.* X, 424, col. III, line 71). The name Atarbion is attested only twice elsewhere in Attic prosopography, once, without demotic or ethnic, on a sculptured marble lekythos from the middle of the 4th century B.C. (*I.G.* II², 10997) and on another occasion as a prytanis of Acharnai in 360/59 (*Agora* XV, no. 17, line 52 = *I.G.* II², 1745). The name Hyperanthes also is very rare in Athens (see J. K. Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families*, Oxford 1971, 13905) and the only Hyperanthes identified by demotic appears in Acharnai as trierarch in 374/3 B.C. (*I.G.* II², 1606, line 8; cf. Davies, *loc. cit.*). I suggest that these two Acharnians are related to the prytanis Hyperanthes with demotic changed through adoption or marriage.

Line 25. A man of the same name, probably grandson of the prytanis, was ephebe about 325 B.C. (Ἀρχ᾽Εφ, 1918, p. 75, col. II, line 11 = O. W. Reinmuth, *op. cit.* [comment on line 10], p. 58, col. II, line 11).

Line 28. The father of the prytanis is unlikely to have been the father of Epikrates in *I.G.* II², 4414, since Kirchner's dating of the latter text to the end of the 4th century is confirmed, or rather slightly lowered, by the appearance of [Κράτ]ης Παμφίλου Λε[υκονοι]εύς as μισθοστής in 285/4 B.C. (*I.G.* II², 1682, lines 20-21). The family is well attested at the beginning of the 3rd century before Christ (*I.G.* II², 1682, lines 21-22; 1683, lines 8-9; 4674).

Line 31. A brother served as prytanis perhaps in the following year, *I.G.* II², 1742, lines 4-5 = *Agora* XV, no. 13, lines 4-5; for discussion of date, cf. *ibid.*, commentary. The discovery of the new prytany list of Leontis illustrates the hazards of such dating. At the same time the fact that no prytanis served both in the new list and also in *Agora* XV, no. 13 offers a slight confirmation of the dating of the latter in 370/69 B.C.

Line 32. Both mus in the name are sure. Melankomas is new to Attic prosopography, but Melanopides appears twice later in this deme (*Agora* XV, no. 42, line 225, and no. 88, line 25; the latter text is probably better restored with 3 Κήντιοι and 10 Φρεάρριοι). A faint trace of kappa is preserved in the patronymic.

Line 33. This man cannot be a brother, although he may be an ancestor, of *I.G.* II², 2382, line 6, since the latter text must be dated to the end of the 3rd century B.C. (cf. *Agora* XV, no. 74, comment).

Line 34. Rho is preserved, as is also part of epsilon preceding it.

Lines 35-36. The prytanis in line 35 may be a son of Ἀντικλῆς Φιλοξένου Ποτάμιος in *I.G.* II², 1932, line 17, an inscription dated about 380 B.C. by J. K. Davies (*op. cit.* [comment on line 24], 1073). If this relationship is correct, then it is unlikely that Philoxenos in line 36 was father of Antikles, i. e. that grandfather and grandson both served as councillors in the same year.

Line 37. The last epsilon in the demotic is preserved.

Line 38. The name Thelios is new in Attic prosopography.

Line 39. The reading of the demotic as Cholleidai, not Aithalidai, is new and certain. This deme had a quota of two representatives and there is room for a second prytanis and the demotic of Halimous at the bottom of the column.

Line 40. For the name Epikrates in Cholleidai see *P.A.* 4915 (= *I.G.* II², 7802) and 4916 (= *I.G.* II², 2461, line 122).

Lines 42-45. The quota of three prytaneis restricts the choice of demotic to either Παιονίδαι or Ἀλιμώσιοι. None of the names is known in Paionidai, but Charisandros of Halimous, probably a descendant of the prytanis in line 45, was *hoplomachos* in 246/5 B.C. (*I.G.* II², 766, line 10, demotic from *Hesperia* 2, 1933, p. 159). Halimous, a deme of the city trittys, is properly listed in the same column as the other city demes (see comment, below, on the arrangement of the register). The reading in line 43 is new.

Lines 46-49. In line 46 the uninscribed surface of the stone is preserved directly below the last six letters of the patronymic in the preceding line. Below line 46 and continuing down almost to line 49, i. e. for about 0.14 m., the surface of the stone has been lost. The damage, however, is not deep and if this surface was once inscribed it is difficult to believe that every letter should now have disappeared. I examined the stone repeatedly, particularly in the section just under line 46, and no sure trace of a letter was discernable.

The lettering in line 49 is larger (0.010 m.) and more widely spaced than the lettering elsewhere in the inscription (0.007 m.). Judging from this observation and from the preserved letters it should belong to an archon-dating formula which commonly appeared, together with a title identifying the victorious phyle, at the top of prytany lists from the 4th century B.C. There is no space here, however, above the register for such a heading (cf. *Agora* XV, no. 10). Of ἐπί the top, bottom, and vertical strokes of epsilon, both verticals of pi, and the top portion of iota are preserved. The top slanting stroke of sigma is visible and the name should accordingly be restored as [Φρα]σκευίδο, which is appropriate for the spacing in this line (there are three letter spaces between iota in the preposition and sigma in the name). The first letter (restored) of the archon's name is, of course, confirmed by line 51. The archon cannot, in any case, be Charikleides (363/2), as suggested by the original editor, since Charikles of Leukonoion, epistates and a member of the boule in 363/2 (*I.G.* II², 110, line 5), was not listed here in the roster of Leukonoion. Furthermore, if *Hesperia* 16, 1947, pp. 150-151, no. 41 is correctly identified as a list of victorious phylai, Aigeis made the dedication in 363/2.

A typical formula for a prytany dedication of the early 4th century is given, *exempli gratia*, in lines 47-48 (cf. *Agora* XV, nos. 2, 3, 4, 8). If these lines appeared in the text (as noted above, no trace of the lettering has been preserved), they must have been widely spaced since directly above the eight preserved letters of the name in line 49 the uninscribed surface of the stone is in evidence for approximately one centimeter. A wreath, or similar decoration, is suggested for the middle space of the column.

Lines 50-51. Above line 51 there is room for an additional line, again restored *exempli gratia*.

The lettering in line 51 is of the same height as the lettering elsewhere in this inscription, excepting line 49 noted above, but it is more widely spaced, indicating a heading. The four letters clearly preserved in line 51 occupy the same space as six letters in the following line. The interlineations, however, in this column are half again as much as those on the front of the monument, i. e. 14 lines in column IV occupy the same vertical space as 21 lines in columns I and II. Allowing for 5 missing demotics and 9 missing prytaneis, column V, to the right of column IV, would also have had 14 lines and the arrangement of the right side of the monument would have appeared symmetrical and planned. The demotics in column IV, it may be noted, intrude about one half a letter space into the left margin; those on the front are in perfect alignment with the names of the prytaneis.

Line 52. The reading *Διακρίς* is the most important contribution of this inscription. It must, of course, be the name of the inland trittys of Leontis. The last three letters are sure. The arms of the kappa and part of the vertical ⁴ are clearly visible on one of my squeezes (Plate 32), as also the base and part of the right slanting stroke of delta and the upper part of iota and the right slanting stroke of alpha. For the form *Διακρίς*, as opposed to *Διακρία*, see Pollux, VIII, 109:

καὶ αἱ φυλαὶ τέως μὲν ἐπὶ Κέκροπος ἦσαν τέτταρες, Κεκροπὶς Αὐτό-
χθων Ἀκταία Παραλία, ἐπὶ δὲ Κραναοῦ μετωνομάσθησαν Κραναῖς
Ἀτθίς Μεσόγαια Διακρίς, ἐπὶ δὲ Ἐριχθονίου Διὰς Ἀθηναῖς Ποσειδω-
νιὰς Ἑφαιστίας, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν Ἴωνος παίδων ἐπὶ Ἐρεχθέως Τελέοντες
Ὀπλητες Αἰγικόρεις Ἀργάδεις.

Δ[ιακρίον] may now be restored in the Agora trittys inscription published in *Hesperia* 9, 1940, p. 54, no. 2, in which B. D. Meritt read the first letter as delta (dotted).^{4bis} *Διακρίον* is two letters longer than the six-letter spacing posited by Meritt, but the spacing in the Agora inscription is not precisely stichedon. Lambda, for instance, in line 3 is very narrow and placed close to the following epsilon. Eight letters, two of which were iota, could have been inscribed in the available space, especially if kappa at the end of the first line and rho at the beginning of the second were relatively thin. Figure 1, I believe, presents a natural spacing of the missing letters.⁵

The Athenians called *Διακριοί*, who correspond to the place name *Διακρία* (better now *Διακρίς*), are well known in the ancient authors and subsequent lexicographers and the problems of their location and relationship to the *Ἐπακρεῖς* (place name *Ἐπακρία*) and *ὑπεράκριοι* have long frustrated historical scholars. I do not wish to elaborate at length on this notorious *controversia*, but a few remarks are in order.⁶

⁴ This kappa is identical in shape to the kappa in the line below.

^{4bis} C. W. J. Eliot, who carefully examined the stone some years ago, assures me that the traces of an apparent delta visible in the photograph (*loc. cit.*) lie below the original surface of the stone. Since they are correctly disposed and perfectly positioned for delta in *Διακρίον*, weathering must have etched the original strokes and so preserved these traces.

⁵ On the subject of letter spacing in archaic Athenian inscriptions I consider the remarks of E. Harrison, *GrRomByzSt* 12, 1971, pp. 15-16, particularly apt.

⁶ It is the basic assumption of the following argument that the Kleisthenic reorganization did not do utter violence to pre-existing topographical nomenclature. The province of a reference such as Tetrapolis might be narrowed, or widened, or altered to an extent, but it would not be transferred from one section of Attica to another widely separated location: the name of a southern region would not suddenly find itself in the north. The Kleisthenic modification of the pre-existing topographical organizations is discussed by D. M. Lewis, *Historia* 12, 1963, pp. 22-40. His suggestion (*ibid.*, p. 29) that Pedieis was an earlier name for the Lakiadaí trittys I do not find convincing.

Philochoros, quoted by Stephanos of Byzantium, informs us that Semachidai, a deme of Antiochis, was located in the Epakria.⁷ The recent discovery at Grammatiko of a deme decree of Eitea (which, from the locations of the respective trittyes, can only be the Antiochid Eitea) consequently proves that Eitea and, hence, Semachidai were members of a northern section of a divided inland trittys of Antiochis.⁸ The section south of Pentelikon included the deme Pallene

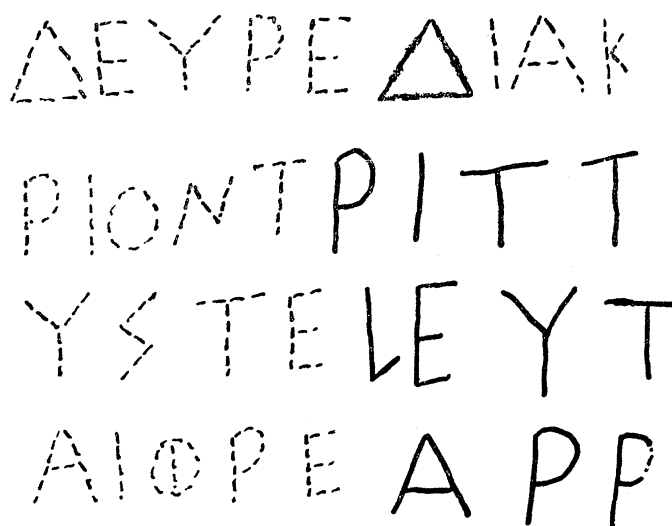


FIG. 1.

which gave its name to the whole trittys.⁹ E. Vanderpool, in his discussion of the topographical implications of the finding place of this deme decree,¹⁰ has pointed out that at least the definition of Epakria in Bekker, *Anecdota Graeca*,¹¹ is appropriate to a segment of inland Antiochis north of Pentelikon.

The inland trittys of Aigeis, like Antiochis, was divided, having demes both south (Erchia, Gargettos) and north (Ikarion, Plotheia) of Pentelikon. The citizens of this trittys in all likelihood bore the name Ἐπακρείς¹² judging from the combined references of *I.G.* II², 1172 and 2490;¹³ the

⁷ *S.v.* Σημαχίδαι; see Traill, *Hesperia*, Suppl. XIV, *The Political Organization of Attica*, Princeton 1975, p. 54, and pp. 94-95, with note 77. Philochoros' Semachidai must be in northern Attica, whether it be identified with the "Late Roman *deme*" of Ptolemais, or, more probably, with the well-known constitutional deme of Antiochis.

⁸ A. G. Kalogeropoulou and E. Vanderpool, *Δελτ* 25, 1970, pp. 204-218.

⁹ *Hesperia* 9, 1940, pp. 55-56, no. 4.

¹⁰ *Op. cit.* (footnote 8 above), pp. 215-216.

¹¹ P. 259: Ἐπακρία· ὄνομα χώρας πλησίον τετραπόλεως κειμένης. Cf. C. W. J. Eliot, *Coastal Demes of Attika* (*Phoenix*, Suppl. V, Toronto 1962), p. 157, note 1.

¹² Note here, as elsewhere, the trittyes in the Kleisthenic organization are properly groups of people, not geographical areas.

¹³ W. E. Thompson (*Mnemosyne* 22, 1969, pp. 150-152) has argued that the reference to Epakreis in *I.G.* II², 1172, line 30, *viz.* ἡ ἐς Πλωθέας ἡ ἐς Ἐπακρέα[ς ἡ Ἀ]θηναίος, may be to a pre-Kleisthenic cult organization and that the identification of Ἐπακρέων τριττύο[ς] in *I.G.* II², 2490, line 8 as belonging to Aigeis is consequently by no means secure. The inland trittys of Aiantis, consisting of the single constitutional deme Aphidna and its dependent communities (see *Hesperia*, Suppl. XIV,

people Ἐπακρεῖς would correspond to the place Ἐπακρία. The trittys of one phyle, however, cannot include demes from the trittys of another and the meaning of Epakria in Philochoros' reference must differ from the meaning of Epakria in Kleisthenes' organization. If a common denominator is to be sought, it would appear to be geographically the territory north of Pentelikon which included the demes Ikarion, Plotheia, Semachidai, and Eitea.

Diakris, the inland trittys of Leontis, stretched along the foot of Parnes from at least Mygdaleza (Hekale) in the east to Kropidai in the west.¹⁴ The location of the better-known Διακρία, which I take to be an alternate form of Διακρεῖς based on the analogy of Ἐπακρία, has hitherto been determined from two sources: Hesychios, Διακρεῖς καὶ ἡ χώρα Διακρία, ἡ ἀπὸ Πάρνηθος εἰς βαλυλῶνος, and Bekker, *Anecdota Graeca*, p. 242, Διακρία· τόπος Ἀττικῆς ὑπὸ Βρανῶνα Ἐλευσίνιον Δῆμητρος καὶ Φερεφάττης ἱερόν. Both passages are obviously corrupt and I have no suggestion for the correction of the latter. The Hesychios passage is generally purported to contain a corruption of Brauron and Lewis would utilize Bekker to support this accepted emendation.¹⁵ Brauron is well known as the home of Peisistratos, but the Peisistratids found support in other areas of Attica, for example, the region near Marathon, the site of Peisistratos' landing in 546 and Hippias' return in 490 B.C. P. N. Ure suggested an alternative emendation of the Hesychios passage,¹⁶ correcting εἰς βαλυλῶνος to εἰς Ἄλωνα, but although the emendation was palaeographically sound, Ure's identification with Avlon in south Attica was patently absurd and has generally been rightly rejected. However, another much better known Avlon, the valley between Agriliki and Kotroni in northeast Attica, would make good sense as the eastern boundary of a trittys which included the deme Hekale at Mygdaleza.¹⁷

Diakris, then, is the area adjacent to the foothills of Parnes, contiguous with, but generally to the west of Epakria, the ring of highlands stretching north from Pentelikon to the Boiotian border.¹⁸

p. 87-81, and D. M. Lewis, in M. L. Finlay [Ed.], *Problèmes de la terre en Grèce ancienne*, Paris 1973, pp. 192-193, 205), belongs to a region appropriate at least to Bekker's definition of Epakria and must accordingly be considered a possible alternative candidate; cf. references, footnotes 11, above, and 78, below.

¹⁴ *Hesperia*, Suppl. XIV, p. 43, note 16. It is perhaps worth remarking that Diakris included the deme Paionidai, which was closely associated geographically with the Alkmaionid fort of Leipsydion, within its territory and that Diakris was also contiguous with, and nearly surrounded, inland Oineis, i. e. Pedieis (cf. footnote 6 above); see *Hesperia*, Suppl. XIV, p. 47, with note 20, and map 1.

¹⁵ *Loc. cit.* (footnote 6 above), p. 24, note 20.

¹⁶ *Origin of Tyranny*, p. 312; discussed by Lewis, *loc. cit.* (footnote 6 above), p. 24, note 20.

¹⁷ For a description of the Valley of Avlona see A. Milchhöfer, *Text to Karten von Attica*, Heft III-VI, pp. 41-43; for the name, *ibid.*, Heft IX, p. 28, note *: ". . . Auch das Thal Avlona bei Marathon wird einen antiken Namen bewahrt haben." The Valley of Avlona itself would properly belong to the coastal trittys of Aiantis (Tetrapolis), as also Koukounari, the findspot of the cult inscription I.G. II², 1358 (cf. *Hesperia*, Suppl. XIV, p. 46, note 19), but as a well-known place name it could consequently be used to define the eastern boundary of a neighboring trittys.

¹⁸ I have not discussed Ὑπεράκριοι. Lewis, *op cit.* (footnote 6 above), p. 23, explains *Hyperakrioi* as "the men beyond the hills, outside the Parnes-Pentelikon-Hymettos ring" (for *Parnes* he must mean *Aigaleos*). This region would include Diakris and Epakria as defined in this article, but it would also include most of the Kleisthenic inland and coastal trittyes, much too large a territory. The *Hyperakrioi* mentioned by Herodotos are commonly identified with the Diakrioi of the Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία; cf. R. Sealey, *Essays in Greek Politics*, New York [1967], p. 16, ". . . Διάκριοι (in *Athenaion Politeia*) can be explained away due to speculation under the influence of the deme-name Diakria . . ." (where we ought to substitute *trittys-name* for *deme-name*). I see no reason topographically why "men beyond the heights" (presumably Aigaleos-Pentelikon) could not be identified with *Diakrioi*, "men along the heights" (presumably the foothills of Parnes) if this is the correct meaning of Diakris (Pape suggests "Godesberg").

Line 54. The new reading is confirmed by prosopographical evidence. The father *Xapīvos* Ἀλεξιμάχων Πύργης, was treasurer of Athena in 418/7 B.C. (*I.G.* I², 283, line 130; cf. 267, line 90) and Aleximachos himself was lessee of a mine in 367/6 B.C. (*Hesperia* 10, 1941, p. 17, no. 1, lines 78-79). Assuming either a fairly long life or a slightly larger than normal generation gap we may identify the same Aleximachos with the proposer of a motion to the proedroi in 346/5 B.C. (*P.A.* 545).

Line 55. The name Charithos is new in Attic prosopography, and may perhaps have been cut in error for Charinos or Charisos.

Line 57. Sosias, son of Sosiades, of Hybadai, councillor in 304/3 B.C. (*Agora* XV, no. 61, line 290 = *Hesperia* 35, 1966, p. 227, line 187) is undoubtedly a descendant.

Line 60. This prytanis belongs to a well-known family (cf. J. K. Davies, *op. cit.* [comment on line 24], 2921) and is presumably to be identified with one of the sons of Stratios II (Davies, *ibid.*, IX; stemma, Table V).

Line 62. If this prytanis served shortly after the minimal age and had a son relatively late in life, he may be identified with the father of Aischylos who was ephebe about 324 B.C. (Ἀρχῆφ, 1918, p. 75, col. III, line 13 = O. W. Reinmuth, *op. cit.* [comment on line 10], p. 58, col. III, line 13).

Line 63. The name Arxillos is new in Attic prosopography, although Arxilla has already been attested (*I.G.* II², 12947).

ARRANGEMENT OF THE REGISTER

The new prytany list clearly was arranged by trittys. Phrearrhioi, serving both as demotic and name of the coastal trittys, headed the first column in which the three other coastal demes were also listed. Likewise, Skambonidai did double service as demotic and trittys name at the top of column II, the register of the urban demes continuing over to the beginning of the third column. The register in column IV on the right side of the base began with Diakris, the name of the inland trittys discussed in the commentary on line 52, above. A fifth column, now lost, to the right of column IV would have accommodated the remainder of the inland demes.¹⁹

In arrangement the new prytany list closely resembles another Leontid prytany inscription, *Agora* XV, no. 13 = *I.G.* II², 1742, perhaps from the following year.²⁰ Although the latter does not have trittys headings (the roster of Phrearrhioi appeared at the top of the column of coastal demes, but Skambonidai was the fifth demotic in its respective column), it has been considered by a number of scholars to have been arranged according to trittys.²¹ The demes in the two lists, with their representation, appear as follows:

¹⁹ The maximum preserved width of the right side is *ca.* 0.20 m. A round hole in the floor of the deep cutting in the top of the block, 0.055 m. in diameter and *ca.* 0.19 m. from the front of the base, suggests a total width of *ca.* 0.44 m. for the monument, a dimension of perfectly consistent with the proposed two-column arrangement on the right side.

²⁰ Dated by B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 16, 1947, p. 151; see comment on line 31, above.

²¹ R. Löper, *AthMitt* 17, 1892, pp. 376-392; accepted conditionally by A. W. Gomme, *The Population of Athens in the Fifth and Fourth Centuries B.C.*, Oxford 1933, p. 59; W. E. Thompson, *Historia* 15, 1966, pp. 8-10, and *Mnemosyne* 22, 1969, pp. 138-139.

'Αρχ'Εφ, 1973, pp. 180-185 + *Agora* XV, no. 13a

a. 371/0 a.

Col. I	Col. II	Col. III	Col. IV	Col. V
Phrearrhioi 9	Skambonidai 3	Halimous	Pelex 2	[Hekale 1]
Sounion 4	Leukonoion 3	(cont'd) 3	Hybadai 2	[Kropidai 1]
Deiradiotai 2	Kettos 3	TOTAL 17	Oion 1	[Paionidai 3]
Potamioi	Upper Potamos 2		Kolonai 2	[Eupyridai 2]
Deiradiotai 2	Lower Potamos 1			[Aithalidai 2]
TOTAL 17	Cholleidai 2			[TOTAL 16]
	Halimous			

Agora XV, no. 13 = *I.G.* II², 1742

a. 370/69 (?) a.

Col. I	Col. II	Col. III
Kettos 3	Phrearrhioi 9	Pelex 2
Halimous 3	Sounion 4	Hybadai 2
Upper Potamos 2	Deiradiotai 2	Oion 1
Lower Potamos 1	Potamioi Deiradiotai 2	Hekale 1
Skambonidai 3	TOTAL 17	Kropidai 1
Leukonoion 3		Paionidai 3
Cholleidai 2		Eupyridai 2
TOTAL 17		Aithalidai 2
		Kolonai 2
		TOTAL 16

The city, coastal, and inland groups of demes, as well as the individual quotas, are identical in the two lists. It may be noted, in addition, that the four coastal demes and the first three inland demes were inscribed in precisely the same order. The totals for the representation of the three trittyes are as follows: city, 17; coast, 17; inland, 16. These figures offer the nearest whole-number mathematical division of 50 by 3.

Trittys headings are extant on only one other prytany register, *Agora* XV, no. 26 = *I.G.* II², 1748, a fragment of a Pandionid list dated 348/7: Παιανιέων τριττύς (col. I) and Κ[υδαθηναίων τριττύς] (col. II): [Μυρρινουσίων τριττύς] is restored in col. III. Unfortunately, it cannot be determined whether Probalinthos was listed with the coastal demes in column three, i. e. its proper Kleisthenic trittys (cf. *Agora* XV, no. 47), or in the same column with Kydathenaion, where it normally appeared in the Pandionid lists of the 4th century B.C., i. e. in *Agora* XV, nos. 10, 12, 32, and 42, which were otherwise arranged according to the Kleisthenic trittyes and in which each of the three groups of demes was headed by the deme-trittys homonym. In other words, are the trittys designations in *Agora* XV, no. 26 the true designations of Kleisthenes, i. e. the topographical trittyes, or are they τριττύες τῶν πρυτάνεων,²² i. e.

²² This theory was formulated by W. E. Thompson, *opp. citt.*, footnote 21 above, and discussed by P. J. Rhodes, *Historia* 20, 1971, pp. 385-404.

Kleisthenic trittyes modified in the later 5th or early 4th century so as to form approximately equal thirds for the regular rotation of duties in the Tholos and for other, including military, purposes?

The same question asked of the Pandionid list may be asked with respect to the trittys groupings in the new register of Leontis and in *Agora* XV, no. 13. Are these lists grouped strictly according to the trittyes of Kleisthenes or are there exceptions, i. e. demes listed out of topographical order so as to form approximately equal *τριττύες τῶν πρυτάνεων*? With respect to the trittys groupings in *Agora* XV, no. 13, discussion has hitherto focused on the problematical locations of Upper and Lower Potamos, Oion, and Cholleidai. At last there seems a consensus of scholarly opinion favoring a city location in the upper Ilissos valley for the split Potamos demes.²³ The new prytany inscription supports this conclusion. With regard to Oion, Harpokration designates the Leontid deme *Kerameikon* in contrast to the Hippothontid Oion *Dekeleikon* and I have argued in *Hesperia*, Suppl. XIV²⁴ that the natural interpretation of *Kerameikon* implies relationship with the deme Kerameis. The modifier, of course, might be general²⁵ and would have to be so for the location of Oion in the inland geographical trittys far removed from the city deme Kerameis.

Were it not for the appearance of Cholleidai among the city demes, confirming identical groupings in *Agora* XV, no. 13, the topographical evidence of the new prytany inscription would be unquestioned. As the deme of Dikaiopolis in Aristophanes' *Acharnians* Cholleidai demands a site far to the north of the city.²⁶ A location, therefore, in the inland trittys of Leontis along the foothills of Parnes ideally suits the literary evidence. On the other hand, the demes of the city trittys in this phyle were widely scattered: Halimous far to the south of the city; Skambonidai probably in the city proper, or at least not far distant; the Potamos demes in the upper Ilissos valley to the northeast of the city; and Leukonoion perhaps at Peristeri to the northwest. The placing of Cholleidai in the most northerly part of the city section, however, makes an already severely divided trittys even more disparate, and, more anomalous still, makes the city and inland trittys of Leontis strangely contiguous. Existing evidence shows no other city trittys contiguous with its inland or coastal counterpart.²⁷ It seems preferable for the present, therefore,

²³ E. Vanderpool, in H. Mussche, *et al.* (Edd.), *Miscellanea Graeca*, I, *Thorikos and the Laureion in Archaic and Classical Times*, Ghent 1975, p. 24; E. Meyer, *R.E.*, s. v. "Potamos"; W. E. Thompson, *Mnemosyne* 22, 1969, no. 138-139; *Hesperia*, Suppl. XIV, pp. 44-46, note 18.

²⁴ *Hesperia*, Suppl. XIV, p. 44, note 17. In the second edition of map 2 I relegated Oion to the class of unlocated demes (cf. *ibid.*, p. 134).

²⁵ See W. E. Thompson, *Hesperia* 39, 1970, p. 65.

²⁶ *Acharnians*, 406. The evidence is not overpowering: Dikaiopolis, except for this reference, would be assigned to Acharnai (*ibid.*, 33-34), and one scholiast suggests that Χολλῆδος in line 406 was chosen for the sake of a pun on χολός. C. W. J. Eliot has drawn my attention to Leake's location of Cholleidai near the cave of Pan on Hymettos (*The Topography of Athens and the Demi*. 2. *The Demi of Attica*, 2nd ed., London 1841, p. 59), but the argument cannot be maintained in view of Kirchner's revised text of *I.G.* I², 784/785.

²⁷ A number of tiny unlocated demes probably belong to the city section, but it is very unlikely

to follow the evidence of Aristophanes and consider Cholleidai an inland deme which was listed with the city demes in *Agora* XV, no. 13 and in the new prytany inscription. This suggestion finds slight confirmation from the fact that Cholleidai in the Leontid roster of the great deme catalogue of 200 B.C.²⁸ was omitted from the list of city demes.²⁹

The trittys headings, then, in the new text probably, and in the Pandionid list (discussed above) possibly, do not refer strictly to the Kleisthenic trittyes, but rather to modified *trittyes of prytaneis* (τριττύες τῶν πρυτάνεων) revealed in the disposition of demes in other prytany and bouleutic inscriptions of the 4th century B.C.³⁰

REPRESENTATION OF THE TRITTYES IN OTHER PHYLAI DURING THE 4TH CENTURY B.C.

The indisputable evidence of two prytany registers that the trittyes of Leontis, whether Kleisthenic topographical trittyes or, more probably, later modified *trittyes of prytaneis*, each had a representation as near as possible to a third of 50³¹ prompts a re-examination of extant bouleutic material with a view to observing similar representations in the other phylai.³² Certainty in such investigation is of course impossible since the trittys affiliations of about twenty-five small demes and the representation quotas of half a dozen large demes are still unknown. These problems affect two phylai in particular, Kekropis (unknown quotas) and Hippothontis (unknown trittys affiliations), but for the remaining seven phylai some evaluation is possible.

Akamantis is the only phyle other than Leontis possessing topographical trittyes with representation approaching 16 or 17 bouleutai. Pandionis and Aiantis have single-deme enclaves, whose representation if transferred to the smallest respective trittys would form *trittyes of prytaneis* of 16 or 17 members. Antiochis and Aigeis also possessed enclaves, but these enclaves consisted of more than a single deme and the transfer of representation necessary to form *trittyes of prytaneis* in these phylai (if they were indeed formed) would be more complicated than in Pandionis and Aiantis. *Trittyes of prytaneis* can be established in Erechtheis only at the cost of

that their locations, when they become known, will be such as to facilitate contiguous trittyes between the city and inland or city and coastal regions.

²⁸ *I.G.* II², 2362; discussed by Rhodes, *loc. cit.* (footnote 22 above), p. 403; cf. *Hesperia*, Suppl. XIV, pp. 43-47 for the trittys assignment of the Leontid demes, and p. 45, note 18 for *I.G.* II², 2362, line 36.

²⁹ *Hesperia*, Suppl. XIV, p. 46, note 18bis. *I.G.* II², 2362 lists out of place or omits one of the Leontid demes. Oion appears with the inland demes just before the text breaks off.

³⁰ Thompson and Rhodes, *loc. cit.*, footnotes 21 and 22 above.

³¹ With Cholleidai assigned to the city and Oion to the inland trittys the figures are city, 17; coast, 17; inland, 16. With Cholleidai inland and Oion city the totals are city, 16; coast, 17; inland, 17. Perhaps the assignment of these demes varied with the intent of alternating the representation of the respective trittyes between 16 and 17; cf. the discussion of Pandionis, below.

³² In the following discussion some repetition of arguments made by Thompson and Rhodes (*opp. cit.*, footnotes 21 and 22 above) is unavoidable.

positing the transfer of representation by a coastal deme (not an enclave) to the inland trittys. Finally, in Oineis the inland trittys, consisting of the single deme Acharnai with 22 representatives, presents a very obvious obstacle to the formation of nearly equal *trittyes of prytaneis*. Particular problems are treated in the following discussion phyle by phyle.

Akamantis (V). The coastal trittys, assuming the affiliation of Poros, had 17 bouleutai in 336/5 (*Agora* XV, no. 42). Its representation may have been 18 in another list from the same period (*Agora* XV, no. 39), in which Thorikos had six bouleutai, but the text is fragmentary and a decrease in Kephale's quota may be posited to compensate for this variation in representation. The trittys affiliation of Eitea is not yet known. In *Hesperia*, Suppl. XIV I assigned it provisionally to the inland region pointing out that the slight evidence of one councillor list (*Agora* XV, no. 42) and the deme catalogue of 200 B.C. (*I.G.* II², 2362) was ambiguous between a city and inland affiliation.³³ Its assignment to the city would give the following totals for the three trittyes: city 16, coast 17, inland 17.

Pandionis (III). Probalinthos, an obvious enclave in the coastal trittys, was inscribed below the city deme Kydathenaion in one bouleutic and three prytany rosters of Pandionis.³⁴ The quota of Kydathenaion varied between 11 and 12 representatives and consequently a city *trittys of prytaneis* composed of this deme and Probalinthos fluctuated between 16 and 17 bouleutai.³⁵ In one Pandionid register, *Agora* XV, no. 12, Kytheros has been restored in the same column as Kydathenaion and Probalinthos, although in three other inscriptions Kytheros appears with the coastal demes.³⁶ In *Hesperia*, Suppl. XIV I assigned it provisionally to the inland region,³⁷ as its trittys affiliation was then (and still is) unknown. With Kytheros numbered among the coastal demes and Probalinthos assigned to the city *trittys of prytaneis*

³³ *Hesperia*, Suppl. XIV, p. 48, with note 21.

³⁴ Above, p. 98. The arrangement of the Pandionid roster in *Agora* XV, no. 42 is unusual: the inland demes appear at the top of both column I and column II (cf. footnote 51, below).

³⁵ In *Agora* XV, no. 12 (= *I.G.* II², 1740) Kydathenaion has 12 prytaneis and Probalinthos has been assigned 4 representatives, making a total of 16 prytaneis. Kytheros with one representative was tentatively restored at the bottom of the same column, but there is considerable doubt as to the validity of this restoration (see the following footnote).

³⁶ *Agora* XV, nos. 10, 32, 42. The restoration of Kytheros in *Agora* XV, no. 12 follows Gomme's suggestion (*op. cit.* [footnote 21 above] pp. 51-52, note 2), but the disposition of the text in this now lost inscription is most uncertain and Kytheros may have been omitted in Koumanoudes' transcript of column I (cf. *Hesperia*, Suppl. XIV, p. 17). The position of Kytheros in *Agora* XV, no. 47 (= *I.G.* II², 1753) is likewise difficult now to ascertain (see footnote 38, below).

³⁷ P. 43, with note 15. P. J. Bicknell (*Mnemosyne* 28, 1975, p. 60) suggests locating Kytheros at the deme site near Vourva, to which I assigned Myrrhinoutta in *Hesperia*, Suppl. XIV, p. 41. The latter deme, I now believe, should belong to the coastal trittys of Aigeis, along with Phegaia, Araphen, Halai Araphenides, Philaidai, and probably also Otryne (see below, p. 103). Kytheros, accordingly, may provisionally be assigned to the deme site near Vourva, a location more appropriate to the coastal trittys of Pandionis than to either the inland trittys of the same phyle (as proposed by Bicknell, *op. cit.*, p. 58) or the coastal trittys of Aigeis (see *Hesperia*, Suppl. XIV, map 1, and N. G. L. Hammond, *Classical Atlas* [Noyes Press, 1979], map 9a).

the representation of the Pandionid *trittyes of prytaneis* in four *Agora* XV lists stands (with corrections) as follows:³⁸

	no. 10 <i>ca.</i> 390-375	no. 12 <i>ca.</i> 400-350	no. 32 <i>post</i> 350	no. 42 336/5
city	16	17?	16	17
coast	17	16	17	16
inland	17	17	17	17

The fluctuations between 16 and 17 in the city and coastal totals depend on corresponding fluctuations in the deme-quotas.³⁹ These latter variations, which are never attested with certainty at more than one representative, may have been established to allow the corresponding trittys total to vary between the maximal and minimal whole-number thirds of 50. While not all the deme-quota fluctuations can be so explained (see Akamantis, above, and Oineis, below), many do fit this pattern (see also Antiochis and perhaps Aigeis, below).

Aiantis (IX). The quotas of Aiantis in the period of the ten phylai must be inferred from the Macedonian period inasmuch as there exist only two fragmentary lists of this phyle prior to 307/6. Since Aiantis, however, underwent no changes with the formation of Antigonis and Demetrias, these inferred figures appear reliable.⁴⁰ Aphidna alone comprised a trittys of 16 bouleutai. The coastal trittys, including the obvious enclave Rhamnous (8 councillors), had a total of 25 bouleutai. Rhamnous and Phaleron, accordingly, could have formed a city *trittys of prytaneis* of 17 councillors, leaving the coastal segment a total also of 17.

³⁸ Several of the totals, of course, depend on restorations. The highly problematical *Agora* XV, no. 47 (= *I.G.* II², 1753) has not been included in the table. The disposition of the demes according to the tentative version published by Meritt and Traill is as follows:

Col. I	Col. II	Col. III
10 Paiania (Lower?)	3 Angeleis	[12 (?) Kydathenaieis]
1 Konthylides	6 Myrrhinousioi	[2 (?) Kytherrioi]
4 (?) Oaeis	3 Steirieis	[1 (?) Upper Paianieus?]
3 (?) Prasieis	5 [Probalisioi]	

Column I contained the three inland demes and the coastal deme Praisai, but the contingents of Paiania (10), Oa (1), and Prasiai (2) are all deficient according to the transcript of Spon and Wheler. Perhaps only Lower Paiania was listed in column I and Upper Paiania appeared in column III, but even so Lower Paiania's quota is still one short of its normal eleven prytaneis. The coastal demes continue in column II and Probalinthos (with 5 councillors) is a very probable restoration at the bottom of this column; a member of the coastal trittys geographically, it normally appeared in the same column as Kydathenaion (cf. above, p. 98). Kydathenaion and Kytheros have not yet been accounted for and it is assumed that they were inscribed in a third column lost before the time of Spon and Wheler. It must be cautioned, however, that the transmitted text is patently full of error and improbability and no great confidence may be held in the tentative disposition of *Agora* XV, no. 47 (cf. *Hesperia*, Suppl. XIV, pp. 17-18; in Table of Representation III, Kytheros' 2 prytaneis should be shown in restoration brackets). The same groups of demes taken from *Agora* XV, nos. 10, 12, 32, and 42 and applied to no. 47 would bear totals as follows: "city", 17; "coast", 17; and "inland", 16.

³⁹ See *Hesperia*, Suppl. XIV, pp. 17-18.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 22, with note 29.

Aigeis (II). Aigeis, the most difficult of the phylai to assess with respect to political organization, possessed the largest number of demes, many of which were tiny and are still either unlocated or only provisionally located, and the largest number of variant quotas.⁴¹ Its contiguous inland and coastal trittyes further augment the problems of assigning affiliations to the demes. Finally, the inland trittys had a very obvious enclave, Ikarion and Plotheia, located north of Pentelikon. These two demes were inscribed in *Agora* XV, nos. 38 and 42 with the roster of city demes, whereas in the same two lists the city deme Diomeia appears with the coastal demes, and Teithras and Philaidai have exchanged places from what would seem their proper, i. e. topographical, trittyes (Teithras, located at a distance from the sea, would presumably belong to the inland trittys, and Philaidai, located near the sea, ought to belong to the coastal section).⁴² The trittys affiliation of Myrrhinoutta is not known, but this deme is better assigned to the coastal trittys than to the inland section as suggested in *Hesperia*, Suppl. XIV.⁴³ Otryne is normally placed in the coastal region from a remark by Athenaios, but again the councillor lists, this time supported by the deme catalogue *I.G.* II², 2362, indicate a city affiliation.⁴⁴ With the assignments thus far inferred from *Agora* XV, nos. 38 and 42, the three Aigeid trittyes of *prytaneis* had representation as follows: "city" 17, "coast" 16, "inland" 17.

There is, however, one additional disconcerting fact in these inscriptions of Aigeis. The city deme Ankyle was inscribed between the "coastal" and "city" demes in *Agora* XV, no. 42 and would presumably belong to the "city" group, but in *Agora* XV, no. 38 the two sections of Ankyle, along with Diomedia, were inscribed at the bottom of the "coastal" column, and Thompson assigned all three to the coastal trittys of *prytaneis*.⁴⁵ Such an assignment, however, vitiates a basic assumption of the theory of trittyes of *prytaneis*, namely, that the three groups of demes should have nearly equal total representation. Ankyle's presence would allow the coastal τριτὺς τῶν πρυτάνεων 18 councillors and leave the city only 15. The discrepancy will be even greater if one employs the quotas of *Agora* XV, no. 36 (not arranged according to trittys), in which, following the deme-quotas restored by Gomme,⁴⁶ the "city", "coast" (including Ankyle), and "inland" trittyes of *prytaneis* would have the following representation respectively: 15, 19, and 16. With Ankyle in the city trittys of *prytaneis* the corresponding totals would be 17, 17, and 16. Furthermore, the fluctuations in the quotas of Bate, Phegaia, Ikarion, and Kydan-

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 15-16.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 41, with note 13. The contiguity of the inland and coastal trittyes in this phyle presents obvious problems to the assignment of deme affiliations (*ibid.*, and p. 71, with note 32).

⁴³ P. 41. The argument that Strabo (IX, 1, 22) should be corrected from Μυρρινούδος to Μυρρινούττα and thence utilized as evidence for the location of the latter is not wholly impressive (see Thompson, *Mnemosyne* 22, 1969, p. 144, note 7). Strabo's list of demes along the west coast of Attica has Thorai and Lamptrai out of order.

⁴⁴ Thompson, *ibid.*, pp. 144-145, note 13; cf. *Hesperia*, Suppl. XIV, p. 40, with note 11.

⁴⁵ *Op. cit.* (footnote 43 above), pp. 147-148.

⁴⁶ *Op. cit.* (footnote 21 above), p. 57.

tidai (but not Erchia and Ionidai which belonged to the same trittys)⁴⁷ might be attributed to the intention to alternate the representation of the three *trittyes of prytaneis* between 16 and 17 councillors. With Ankyle assigned to the coastal *trittys of prytaneis* no such argument may be made.

Antiochis (X). Eitea and Semachidai in the land north of Pentelikon formed a clear enclave in the inland trittys of Antiochis.⁴⁸ Together with Kolonai, located near the quarries at Pentele,⁴⁹ and Eroiadai and Krioia, the locations of which are not yet known, these five demes were inscribed under the roster of Alopeke (separated by an uninscribed line) in the same column of *Agora* XV, no. 44. Their total representation, including Alopeke, was 16 councillors. The middle column of the inscription was occupied by the inland deme Pallene and the two coastal demes Aigilia and Thorai; their total representation was 17. Unlike Probalinthos in Pandionis and Rhamnous in Aiantis, Aigilia and Thorai can hardly be regarded as an enclave, but the coastal trittys of Antiochis with 27 bouleutai was the largest of the Kleisthenic trittyes and, if in the late 5th or early 4th century nearly equal *trittyes of prytaneis* were considered necessary, the representation of these demes may have been shifted. The total representation of the coastal demes in column I of the same inscription was 17. Part of the roster of Antiochis, in which Eitea had two councillors and Pallene six, from the bouleutic list of the preceding year is preserved (*Agora* XV, no. 43 = *I.G.* II², 1700). The totals for the assumed *trittyes of prytaneis* in 335/4 were, therefore, probably city, 17; coast, 17; and inland, 16. Again there is the possible explanation that the fluctuations in the deme-quotas were intended to alternate the representation of the "trittyes" between 16 and 17 councillors.

Erechtheis (I). Euonymon⁵⁰ and the two Agryle demes gave the city a representation of 15 bouleutai. If one or two of the tiny unlocated Erechtheid demes also belonged to the city its total representation would have been approximately 16 or 17 councillors. Anagyrous and the two Lamptrai demes together accounted for 20 coastal bouleutai, too many for an approximate "third". The inland trittys, on the other hand, to which Kephisia and Upper and Lower Pergase have been assigned, could not have had many more than 10 representatives. The roster of Erechtheis in *Agora* XV, no. 42 makes little sense in terms of Kleisthenic trittyes,⁵¹ but approxi-

⁴⁷ *Hesperia*, Suppl. XIV, pp. 15-16. Larsen's argument that there is no variation in the quotas of Erchia and Ionidai is discussed and rejected, *ibid.*, note 20.

⁴⁸ See above, p. 100.

⁴⁹ *Hesperia*, Suppl. XIV, pp. 54 and 92.

⁵⁰ The location of this deme near the early Christian church at Trachones must be regarded as certain. The deme probably straddled the old road, recently replaced by a new airport road a short distance to the east (see J. M. Geroulanos, *AthMitt* 88, 1973, Beil. 1). The deme has been identified from the discovery of the gravestones *I.G.* II², 6158, 6182, and 6195, and this identification is now confirmed by the recent discovery of a theater; only a large deme could have possessed such a theater, and of the large city demes only Euonymon had not previously been located with certainty. The site had a long history throughout antiquity and is extremely rich in archaeological finds which have been very ably excavated by Mr. Geroulanos (*op. cit.*, pp. 1-54).

⁵¹ See *Hesperia*, Suppl. XIV, pp. 38-39, note 9, with reference to Thompson's discussion in *Hesperia* 39, 1970, p. 66. The arrangement of the Pandionid roster in the same inscription (cf.

mately equal *trittyes of prytaneis* may be formed by assigning Kedoi, listed between Euonymon and Agryle at the top of column I, to the city, and Pambotadai and Anagyrous at the bottom of the same column, along with Kephisia and Pergase at the top of column II, to the inland *trittys of prytaneis*, leaving Themakos, Phegous, and Lamptraï at the bottom of column II for the coastal section. Anagyrous, of course, certainly a member of the Kleisthenic coastal trittys, was anything but an enclave, and the slight evidence that otherwise exists for the locations of Kedoi and Themakos suggests geographical locations different from the affiliations posited here; nevertheless, the *trittyes of prytaneis* outlined here would allow representations of 17, 17, and 16 for the "city", "coastal", and "inland" sections respectively. Sybridai was not present in *Agora* XV, no. 42, nor is its trittys known, and consequently a relationship between its fluctuations in quota and the representation of the *trittyes of prytaneis* posited above cannot be conjectured. Pambotadai, with which Sybridai apparently alternated a single representative on the Council, appears in *Agora* XV, no. 42 in a *trittys of prytaneis* of 17 bouleutai.⁵²

Oineis (VI). To form nearly equal *trittyes of prytaneis* Acharnai's 22 bouleutai would have to be divided. Although Acharnai may have had several centers of population,⁵³ there is no evidence that it was a split deme, by which the formation of *trittyes of prytaneis* might have been facilitated.^{53 bis} The Kleisthenic coastal trittys had 17 bouleutai, but Phyle was widely separated geographically from its fellow demes and was listed in *Agora* XV, no. 17 within a group of city demes. The complementary variations in the quotas of Oe and Kothokidai recorded by *Agora* XV, nos. 17 and 48 are between demes of the same topographical trittys and cannot at present be related to a 16/17 alternation in the representation of *trittyes of prytaneis* observed in the statistics of several phylai.

Kekropis (VII). The location of only Epieikidai is unknown. The new reading of this demotic between Melite and Xypete (restored) in *Agora* XV, no. 20 might be taken as a slight suggestion that this tiny deme belonged to the city.⁵⁴ Including

footnote 34 above) might be argued as a parallel for Thompson's suggested arrangement, but the *trittyes of prytaneis* so formed are anything but nearly equal in representation: city, 18; coast, 20; and inland, 12.

⁵² The Erechtheid roster in *I.G.* II², 2362 makes no sense in terms of either Kleisthenic trittyes or the *trittyes of prytaneis* outlined here, but it may be noted that if Kephisia is restored in the first line of the list (where it surely belongs) and that if Themakos, now transferred to Ptolemais, is assigned to the group of five demes at the bottom of the roster (lines 11-15), and if the other demes are given their original quotas, the first four demes, beginning with Kephisia, have a total representation of 17, the next four demes, beginning with Upper Lamptraï, have a representation of 17 or 16, and the last five demes, beginning with Euonymon, have a total of 16 or 17 prytaneis. Perhaps, in the case of Erechtheis, the composition of the *trittyes of prytaneis* could vary from year to year.

⁵³ Two alternate sites are given in *Hesperia*, Suppl. XIV, p. 50. Although Acharnai was not technically a divided deme, it may have occupied both of these sites and, after the fashion of Aphidna, held a number of smaller communities within its local jurisdiction.

^{53 bis} The fact that the inland trittys was called Pedieis and not Acharneis may be of significance.

⁵⁴ It is of course unproved that this inscription was listed strictly according to trittyes; cf. the roster of Hippothontis discussed in footnote 56 below.

Epieikidai, the city section would reach a total of 16 councillors. The quotas of Aixone, Athmonon, and Phlya were estimated in *Hesperia*, Suppl. XIV at 8(?), 6(?), and 7(?).⁵⁵ Phlya must have had at least 5 bouleutai from the evidence of *Agora* XV, no. 46. A revision of these estimated quotas or the transfer of the membership of one of the small inland demes to the coastal section would be necessary to form approximately equal *trittyes of prytaneis*.

Hippothontis (VIII). The trittys affiliations of seven small demes in this phyle are still unknown,⁵⁶ and the quotas of as many as eleven demes have been estimated or inferred from figures for the Macedonian period. One of the quotas estimated in *Hesperia*, Suppl. XIV, that of Auridai, is now confirmed from a new *Agora* inscription (I 7198, publication forthcoming in *Hesperia*). The same inscription indicates that the quota of Hamaxanteia was one, and not two bouleutai as suggested in *Hesperia*, Suppl. XIV.⁵⁷ Since the affiliation of Hamaxanteia is anything but certain and the quota of Peiraieus for the period of the ten phylai is an estimate, it is possible that the city had a representation of 17 bouleutai. It is very probable, however, from the geographical size and the number of unidentified deme sites⁵⁸ that the coastal trittys had more than 16 or 17 representatives and would presumably have been required to have lent some of its membership to the inland section in order to form nearly equal *trittyes of prytaneis*.

TRITTYES AND THE MACEDONIAN PHYLAI

The trittyes may have played a larger role in the organization of Antigonis and Demetrias than I granted in *Hesperia*, Suppl. XIV,⁵⁹ especially if we consider the possible *trittyes of prytaneis*. If Kytheros is assigned to the coast⁶⁰ and Lower Potamos, not Deiradiotian Potamos, was transferred to Antigonis,⁶¹ then not only

⁵⁵ See p. 20 and Table of Representation VII. The representation of Halai Aixonides and Phlya in the maps should be corrected to 6 and 7(?) respectively.

⁵⁶ The roster of Hippothontis in *Agora* XV, no. 20 begins with the following demes: Azenia, Anakaia, Dekeleia, Elaious, and Hamaxanteia. Of these, only Dekeleia has a known trittys affiliation, inland: Anakaia has also been assigned to the inland section, Azenia and Elaious to the coastal trittys, and Hamaxanteia to the city section, all very provisionally, in *Hesperia*, Suppl. XIV, pp. 51-52. As noted above (footnote 54) it is unproved that *Agora* XV, no. 20 was listed according to trittyes.

⁵⁷ Table of Representation VIII. The new inscription I 7198 has the following arrangement: *lacuna*, Anakaia, Azenia, Hamaxanteia, Auridai, and Acherdous at the bottom of column I; *lacuna*, Kopros, and Elaious at the bottom of column II. Again it can neither be proved nor disproved that the inscription was arranged according to trittyes. The grouping of Anakaia, Azenia, and Hamaxanteia is similar to that in *Agora* XV, no. 20 (see preceding note), but the disposition of Elaious is quite dissimilar. The documentation of the quota of Hamaxanteia as one in I 7198 indicates that *Agora* XV, no. 20, line 42 should be read [^Αχερδο]ύσιο[ι].

⁵⁸ *Hesperia*, Suppl. XIV, p. 51, note 25.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 26, note 4.

⁶⁰ See above, p. 101.

⁶¹ See below, p. 108.

Erechtheis but also Pandionis and Leontis surrendered one deme from each trittys to Antigonis. Aigeis' contribution to Antigonis was one part of Ankyle, a city deme topographically, but perhaps a member of the coastal *trittys of prytaneis*,⁶² the inland deme Gargettos, and Ikarion, inland topographically, but city according to the apparent *trittyes of prytaneis*. If Eitea in Akamantis was a city deme and Poros belonged to the coast, then Akamantis also relinquished one deme from each trittys, Eitea to Antigonis, and Poros and Hagnous to Demetrias.⁶³ Similarly, Antiochis gave Kolonai, assumed to be a member of the city *trittyes of prytaneis*, to Antigonis and the coastal demes Atene and Thorai to Demetrias, the last possibly a part of an inland *trittys of prytaneis*. No trittys pattern is apparent in the other deme contributions to the Macedonian phylai, except that Kekropis relinquished three city demes, all to Demetrias.

APPENDIX: THE IDENTIFICATION OF THE POTAMOS DEMES IN THE MACEDONIAN PERIOD

D. M. Lewis has drawn to my attention an error in my argument concerning the attribution of the Attic demes Potamos during the Macedonian period. In *Hesperia*, Suppl. XIV, p. 29, note 10 I stated that Kirchner had assigned Deiradiotid Potamos to Antigonis (*Rh. Mus.* 61, 1906, p. 350) on the basis of prosopography. Kirchner's argument was in fact not founded on prosopographical information but rather on the mistaken identification of Deiradiotian Potamos with the deme Deiradiotai. There is thus no direct evidence for the identification of the Macedonian Potamos demes.

There is, however, some indirect evidence which may now be considered. That Antigonis and Demetrias each received one Potamos deme (no further identification) is known with certainty from the witness of *Agora* XV, no. 61, line 77 and no. 125, line 5 respectively, and, in addition for Antigonis, *I.G.* II², 488, lines 5-6. That the choice is limited to Lower Potamos and Deiradiotian Potamos is made clear from a prosopographical connection in this period between Leontis and Upper Potamos.⁶⁴ The identification of the Antigonid deme as Potamos Deiradiotes can be based only on Dinsmoor's argument that Deiradiotian Potamos should have been assigned to the same phyle as the *closely related* Deiradiotai.⁶⁵ The latter, on the evidence of *I.G.* II², 1706, line 85 (= *Hesperia* 2, 1933, pl. XIV, line 105), was certainly transferred to one of the Macedonian phylai,⁶⁶ and that phyle I have further identified as Antigonis on the grounds that Demetrias already had its full complement of demes without Deiradiotai.⁶⁷

⁶² See above, pp. 103-104.

⁶³ See above, p. 101.

⁶⁴ *Hesperia*, Suppl. XIV, p. 29, note 10. Δάχης X[αρίνου] was prytanis for Upper Potamos in a new inscription from the Agora dated in the 330's (I 7447, publication forthcoming in *Hesperia*; discovery noted in *Hesperia*, Suppl. XIV, p. 133).

⁶⁵ The *Archons of Athens in the Hellenistic Age*, Cambridge 1931, p. 448. At the time of Dinsmoor's study *I.G.* II², 2437 had not yet been identified as a list of prytaneis and the question had not been complicated with the assignment of another Potamos deme to Demetrias; see W. K. Pritchett, *The Five Tribes After Kleisthenes*, Baltimore 1943, pp. 5-6.

⁶⁶ Dinsmoor, *loc. cit.* (footnote 65 above); Deiradiotai *must* belong to one of the Macedonian phylai since no demotic from Akamantis (VII) will suit the letters preserved in *I.G.* II², 1706, line 86. Nor will any demotic in Erechtheis (III) suit these letters, and of possible combinations of phylai for lines 85 and 86 probability certainly favors Antigonis in line 85.

⁶⁷ *Loc. cit.*, footnote 64 above.

But *close relationship* seems to have played little role in the organization of the Macedonian phylai. The divided demes were obviously closely related geographically,⁶⁸ yet of each divided deme, one and only one section was transferred to the Macedonian phylai. When I submitted the manuscript of *The Political Organization of Attica* for publication I believed Potamos to have been a divided deme in the coastal trittys with three sections, two of which were surrendered in 307/6. Subsequently I altered my opinion preferring a location for Upper and Lower Potamos in the city trittys and making these two demes homonymous with Deiradiotian Potamos.⁶⁹ I did not at that time, however, realize the implications of this alteration on my argument that "one section of each divided deme was assigned to Antigonis,"⁷⁰ a statement which I still believe true. Of the six known divided demes five certainly relinquished one portion of Antigonis, *viz.* Upper Paiania, Coastal Lamptraí, and one section (it is uncertain which) of Agryle, Pergase, and Ankyle.⁷¹ It is reasonable therefore to identify the Antigonid Potamos with a section of the divided deme, *viz.* Lower Potamos. Each divided deme, without exception, will have given one part to the first Macedonian phyle. The Demetriad deme, accordingly, will be Potamos Deiradiotes.⁷²

A further argument in support of this conclusion is apparent from the bouleutic quotas. If Potamos in Demetrias is identified with Deiradiotian Potamos it had two councillors both in the period of the ten phylai and also in the succeeding Macedonian period.⁷³ Lower Potamos' quota was one bouletes prior to 307/6, and if identified with the Antigonid deme, its quota may have been one also after 307/6. The figure depends on a single fragmentary piece of evidence, *Agora* XV, no. 61, fragment *I.G.* II², 2413, which is broken just below a single representative of Potamos (line 78).⁷⁴ Its quota, of course, may have been higher than one, but probability favors one. Of the thirty demes transferred to Antigonis and Demetrias only three are documented as having increased their quotas.⁷⁵ Another two or three demes possibly, or probably,

⁶⁸ This can be proved for Lamptraí and Paiania, but is an obvious *a priori* assumption for the other divided demes.

⁶⁹ Above, p. 99, with note 23.

⁷⁰ *Hesperia*, Suppl. XIV, p. 29.

⁷¹ In *Hesperia*, Suppl. XIV, p. 88, note 54 I suggested that the deme of the secretary in 246/5 B.C. might have been *Lower* Ankyle of the phyle Aigeis. Upper Ankyle accordingly would have been the deme transferred to Antigonis. This was a desperate attempt at a solution to a notorious crux in the secretarial cycles. The evidence of a new cavalry tablet from the *Agora* (*Hesperia* 46, 1977, p. 121, no. 54) reveals a clear break in the secretarial cycle of 247/6 and the attempt to provide a secretary from Aigeis in the following year is no longer necessary. The solution proposed in *Hesperia*, Suppl. XIV, p. 88, note 54 is therefore to be rejected and the identification of the Aigeid and Antigonid sections of Ankyle left undetermined.

⁷² Of the seven pairs of homonymous demes (not geographically contiguous), one Eitea and one Kolonai went to Antigonis and one Oion and one Oinoe were transferred to Demetrias. Potamos Deiradiotes, homonymous with Upper/Lower Potamos, as discussed in the Appendix, also went to Demetrias. The two other pairs of homonymous demes, Halai and Eroiaí, remained in their original phylai.

⁷³ The evidence for the Macedonian period is *Agora* XV, no. 125 (= *I.G.* II², 2437), lines 5-7, dated by Meritt and Traill after 225 B.C. On the basis of the hand S. V. Tracy (*GrRomByzSt* 14, 1973, p. 191) would suggest a date between 273/2 and 240/39, i.e. in the first period of the twelve phylai.

⁷⁴ The text should indicate a *lacuna* between lines 55 and 56 and the fragment containing lines 56-78 should be identified as *I.G.* II², 2413.

⁷⁵ In *Hesperia*, Suppl. XIV, pp. 33 and 59, Lower Potamos should now be omitted from the lists of demes with increased quotas. Hamaxanteia (footnote 57 above) will take Lower Potamos' place in the table on p. 59.

increased their quotas, but not more than six or seven demes at most could have gained enlarged representation in 307/6. Accordingly the Demetriad Potamos (2 councillors) should be identified with Potamos Deiradiotes (2 councillors) and the Antigonid Potamos (probably 1 councillor) with Lower Potamos (1 councillor).⁷⁶

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ADDENDUM

The suggestion was offered in the above discussion (pp. 98 and 99) that the system of Kleisthenes sustained a substantial reorganization at the end of the 5th or at the beginning of the 4th century B.C. in order to establish, or re-establish, *trittyes of prytaneis* as nearly equal as possible. It is, however, most astonishing that such a profound revolution should have gone unnoticed in our extant historical records,⁷⁷ for the hypothetical reorganization runs entirely contrary to the otherwise ultraconservative treatment of the system of Kleisthenes by succeeding generations of Athenians (see, for example, *Hesperia*, Suppl. XIV, chap. IV, *passim*). Subsequent to the completion of this article, it occurred to me that the 4th century *trittyes of prytaneis* may in fact reflect the original organization, both political and military, of Kleisthenes. At the very least this interpretation will mean that the traditional concept of trittyes composed entirely of demes from the city, coast, or inland sections, the simplest interpretation of 'Αθ. Πολ. 21. 4, will have to be modified, while the validity of the 'Αθ. Πολ. declaration that Kleisthenes assigned the trittyes to the phylai by lot, a proposition which has already received much scholarly criticism (see, for example, *Hesperia*, Suppl. XIV, p. 71, note 31), must be seriously impugned.⁷⁸ Finally, the traditional, strictly literal interpretation of the Kleisthenic application of existing designations, such as Tetrapolis, and possibly Tetrakomoi,⁷⁹ anomalies under any circumstances, must be thoroughly reconsidered.

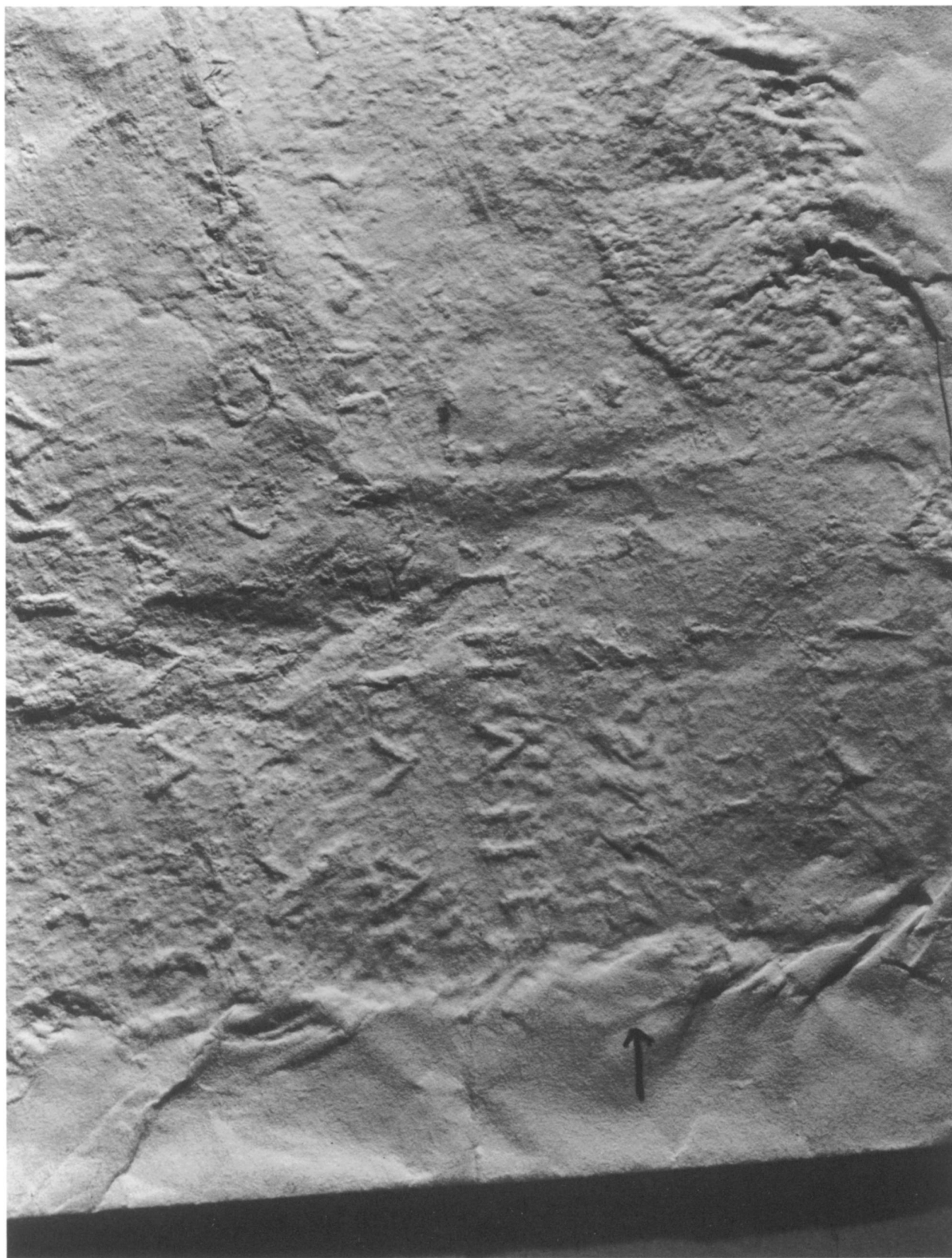
⁷⁶ The deficiency in *Hesperia*, Suppl. XIV, Table of Representation XI caused by lowering the quota of Potamos from 2 to 1 could be offset by increasing the quota of Ikarion from 7(?) to 8(?). Of course it is possible that one of the following demes, Deiradiotai, Eitea, Auridai (if that deme was transferred), or Kolonai (or even Potamos for that matter) increased its quota by one after transfer to Antigonis, since these quotas are not yet documented in the Macedonian period.

⁷⁷ The appearance of the first prytany lists at about this time might be construed as evidence for the establishment of a new order.

⁷⁸ As a possible defense of the 'Αθ. Πολ. text it may be suggested that the 30 general or "core" regions, as denoted by the trittys names, were assigned to the 10 phylai by lot, and that the modifications, as evidenced by enclaves, transferred demes, etc., necessary to form trittyes and phylai nearly equal in population, were implemented after allotment. If so, I would prefer assigning the name Epakria (Epakreis) to inland Aiantis (= Aphidna, including dependent communities) a very suitable interpretation of the Philochoros and *Anecdota Graeca* passages referred to in footnotes 9 and 11 above, rather than to inland Aigeis (see footnote 13, above).

⁷⁹ See D. M. Lewis, *Historia* 12, 1963, p. 33, and P. J. Bicknell, *Antichthon* 7, 1973, pp. 1-4. The objection to Lewis' suggestion that Tetrakomoi was the earlier name of the city trittyes of Hippothontis on the grounds that the trittys consisted of more than four demes loses much force if Tetrapolis was applied to a trittys of three demes. I do not consider that the first half of these respective compounds has any more literal significance in the Kleisthenic application than the second half; *demoi*, not *komoi* and *poleis* were, after all, the proper constitutional units.

N.B. M. B. Wallace has pointed out to me that my use above of the controversial term *trittyes of prytaneis*, with the implication of 'Αθ. Πολ. and its interpreters, may mislead, and I would now prefer an expression such as *modified geographical trittyes*.



JOHN S. TRAILL: DIAKRIS, THE INLAND TRITTYS OF LEONTIS