

# IG I<sup>3</sup> 1055 B AND THE BOUNDARY OF MELITE AND KOLLYTOS

## ABSTRACT

Two rupestal horoi found on the Hill of the Nymphs in Athens, *IG I<sup>3</sup> 1055 A* (*ῥόπος : Διός* [retrograde with reversed sigmas]) and *B* (*ῥόπος*), are not a single boustrophedon text as usually edited. Investigation of the possibility that *B* marked a deme boundary, prefaced by a discussion of deme formation and territoriality, yields evidence that the ancient street that passed south of horos B on its route from the Agora to the saddle between the Hill of the Nymphs and the Pnyx divided the urban demes of Melite and Kollytos. This argument challenges the traditional view that the Pnyx was in Melite. The study concludes with an approximation of the full extent of Melite.

## *IG I<sup>3</sup> 1055 B*

In 1835 Kyriakos S. Pittakis published the first edition of two Archaic rupestal horoi (*IG I<sup>3</sup> 1055 A: ῥόπος : Διός* [retrograde with reversed sigmas] and *IG I<sup>3</sup> 1055 B: ῥόπος*) that he had found four years earlier near the midpoint of the south edge of the northeast spur of the Hill of the Nymphs in western Athens (Figs. 1–3).<sup>1</sup> On the plateau of this bedrock spur are rock-cuttings noted by topographers and archaeologists of the 19th century as remnants of

1. Pittakis 1835, pp. 460–461; the two inscriptions are referred to in the present study as horos A and horos B.

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All translations are those of the author, unless otherwise noted.

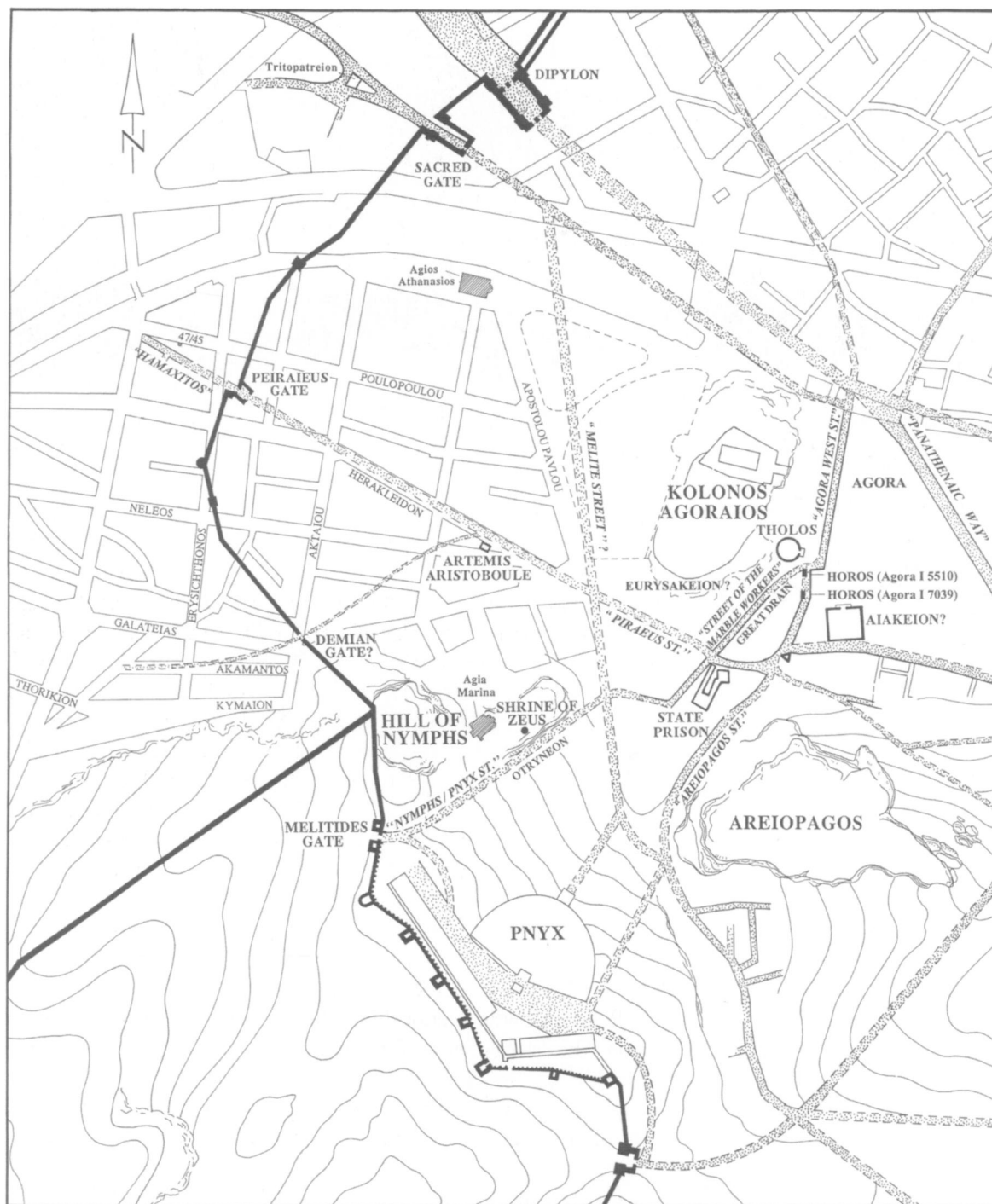


Figure 1. Western Athens.  
A. Hooton, Agora Excavations



Figure 2. Athens (1931) from the west; northeast spur of the Hill of the Nymphs in the foreground.  
Photo courtesy Agora Excavations

the shrine of Zeus referred to by horos A.<sup>2</sup> In antiquity visitors approached this shrine from an adjacent road, dubbed here “Nymphs/Pnyx Street” (Fig. 1), via a crude rock-cut stairway (Fig. 3:C) up to the plateau of the spur and then a path (Fig. 3:D) with treads cut in its surface leading from east to west up the south edge of the spur. The two inscriptions are located on the north side of this path about 12 m west of stairway C; horos B lies 2.0 m north of the rock-cut path D, and horos A, directly behind and parallel to it, another 1.39 m to the north. Both inscriptions were cut facing south with the obvious intention that they be read from path D. Beginning with Pittakis’s *editio princeps*, the two inscriptions have had a substantial editorial tradition, but one that has left many questions unanswered and problems unsolved. As I was preparing a complete epigraphical study of horoi A and B for publication elsewhere, the question of the relationship of the two inscriptions loomed distinctly enough to warrant separate treatment here. Could they be explained in a common context, or did horos B have a separate purpose, and, finally, was that purpose to mark the boundary between the demes Melite and Kollytos?

Relevant to the relationship of horoi A and B is the question of their dating. The dating of horos A in prior publications has ranged widely in the 6th and 5th centuries B.C.<sup>3</sup> Its general appearance (Fig. 4) puts it among the oldest horoi published in *IG I*<sup>3</sup>, but we can rule out C. E. Ritchie’s suggested upper and lower bars of a closed heta (Θ)<sup>4</sup> as natural fissures parallel with

2. E.g., Pittakis 1852, p. 683; Milchhöfer 1885, p. 153; Wachsmuth 1890, pp. 255–256. Judeich (1931, p. 398) and Wycherley (1978, p. 188) note the shrine but refer to no evidence beyond the horoi.

3. For a 6th-century date, see Harrison 1890, p. 108; Judeich 1931, p. 398; Ervin 1959, p. 156; Wycherley 1978,

p. 188; Ritchie 1984, p. 540; Lazaridou 2002, p. 40. For 6th/5th century, see *IG I*<sup>3</sup> 1055 A and B. For the early 5th century, see Meritt, Lethen, and Stamires 1957, p. 91, no. 37.

4. I follow *LSAG* in using the term “heta” to differentiate the early Attic letter H for the *spiritus asper* from Ionic H (eta) for the long-*e* vowel.

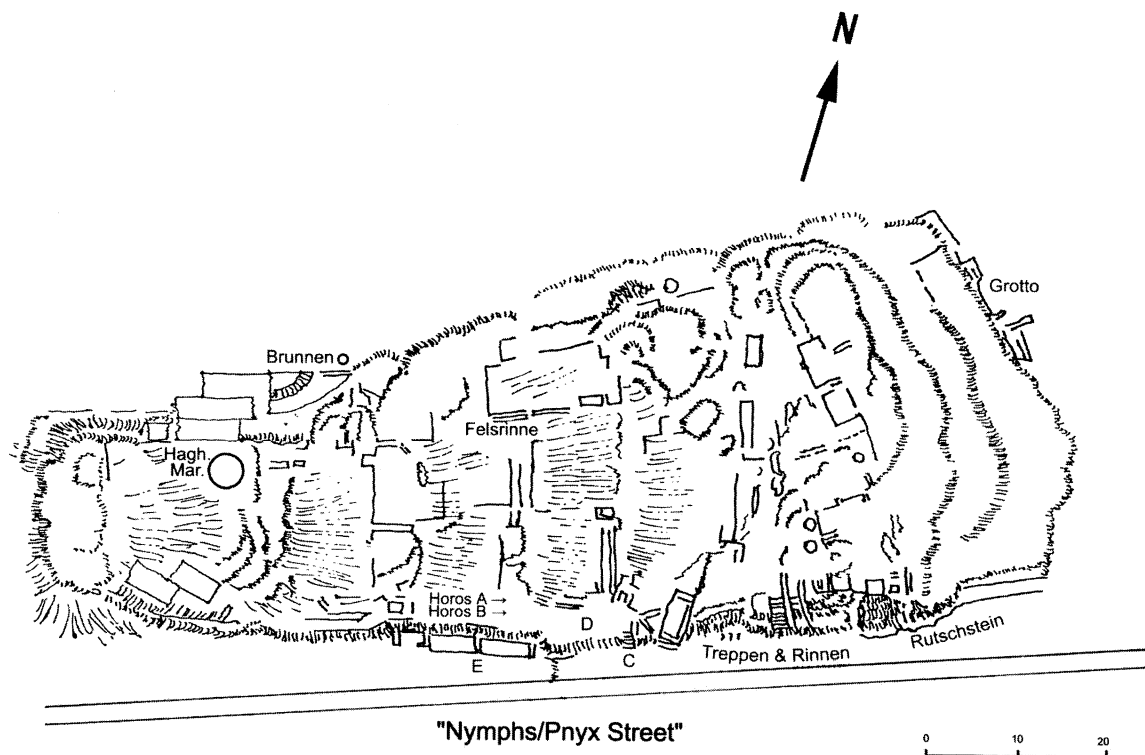


Figure 3. Northeast spur of the Hill of the Nymphs. After J. Schmidt, in Curtius 1868, pl. 7, with additions by G. V. Lalonde

others above and below the letter, and thus we are not obliged to date horos A before the early third quarter of the 6th century, when Attic inscriptions seem to have fully adopted the open  $H = h$ .<sup>5</sup> The evidence that tailed rho first appears in the last years of the 6th century or, at least, in the very early part of the 5th century is helpful for an approximate anterior date,<sup>6</sup> but setting the lower chronological limits of both tailed rho and three-barred sigma is a matter of continuing, intense debate.<sup>7</sup> Nor does the right-to-left direction of horos A indicate an earlier date than B, as the old idea that Attic writing evolved from retrograde to boustrophedon to orthograde was refuted long ago by L. H. Jeffery.<sup>8</sup>

While letter forms are by themselves a very fallible means of dating inscriptions, except on a broad scale, reliably dated texts with lettering comparable to that of horos A may provide an approximate date. Particularly noteworthy parallels are the Archaic horoi of the Athenian Agora (Fig. 5). When a second in situ horos of the Agora came to light in 1967 (*Agora* XIX, H26 [I 7039] = *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 1088), Homer Thompson noted that the date of ca. 500 B.C. that was proposed for the horos found in situ in 1938 (*Agora* XIX, H25 [I 5510] = *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 1087) on the basis of pottery in its

5. Ritchie 1984, p. 540, TA 112, suppl. fig. 13 (here he correctly drew the supposed horizontal top bar as oblique and rounded); for enclosed heta, see *LSAG*, p. 66, Attic heta, type 1, and p. 66 for the Attic adoption of the  $H = h$ .

6. *LSAG*, p. 67; see also Jeffery 1948, p. 88, commentary on no. 66

(*Agora* I 2470, fr. a, c [= *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 231, fr. a, c]), pl. 29:a, c; p. 102; Vanderpool 1942, pp. 329–333, fig. 3 (= *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 2 [ca. 500 B.C.]).

7. Central to the polemic is whether the Athenian Standards Decree (*IG* I<sup>3</sup> 1453; see, e.g., *SEG* XLVIII 58) and the Egesta Decree (*IG* I<sup>3</sup> 11; see, e.g., *SEG* XLVIII 55) are to be dated about

the middle of the 5th century or in its last quarter. The recent articles of Henry (2001) and Mattingly (1999) support those respective positions and can serve to recapitulate the debate and its bibliography. See, most recently, Matthaïou 2004.

8. *LSAG*, pp. 43–50.

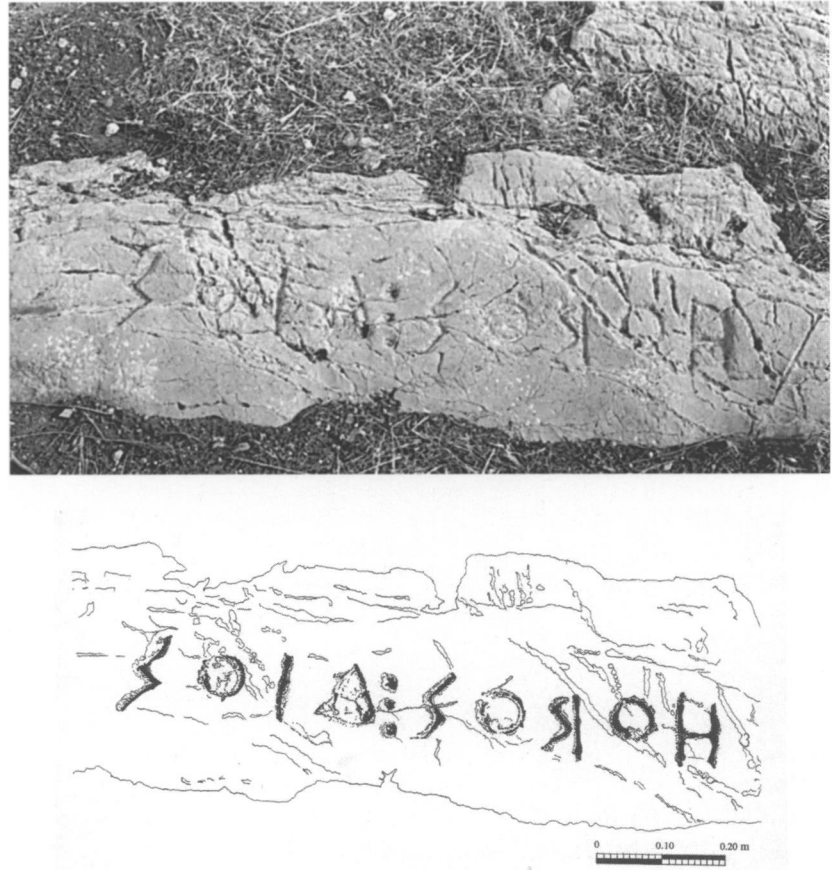


Figure 4. Horos A (IG I³ 1055 A).

Photo and drawing G. V. Lalonde

setting trench could establish the dating for the whole series, that is, not long before the end of the 6th century.<sup>9</sup> John Papadopoulos has recently noted that a reliable dating of relevant pottery deposits is still in question and that the letter forms of the Agora horoi could allow a date as late as shortly after 480 B.C., when he has argued that the Classical Agora was founded.<sup>10</sup> The letter forms could conceivably be that late, but as T. L. Shear noted in 1939, the next layer of road metal above the level through which the horos was set contained ostraka of Themistokles and Hippokrates that may have belonged, according to Thompson and Wycherley, to the ostracism of 482 B.C.<sup>11</sup>

I suggested in an earlier treatment of these horoi that if they are associated with a law of Kleisthenes forbidding *atimoi* to enter the Agora (Dem. 24.60; Andoc. 1.71.76), then the earlier dating may be more attractive.<sup>12</sup> To be sure, the letters of the Agora horoi are somewhat smaller and

9. Shear 1939, pp. 205–206 (mentions only the layer of road metal containing ostraka above the ground level contemporary with the planting of horos I 5510; see below and n. 11); Thompson 1968, p. 63; *Agora* XIV, p. 117 (Thompson and Wycherley on late-6th-century pottery in the setting

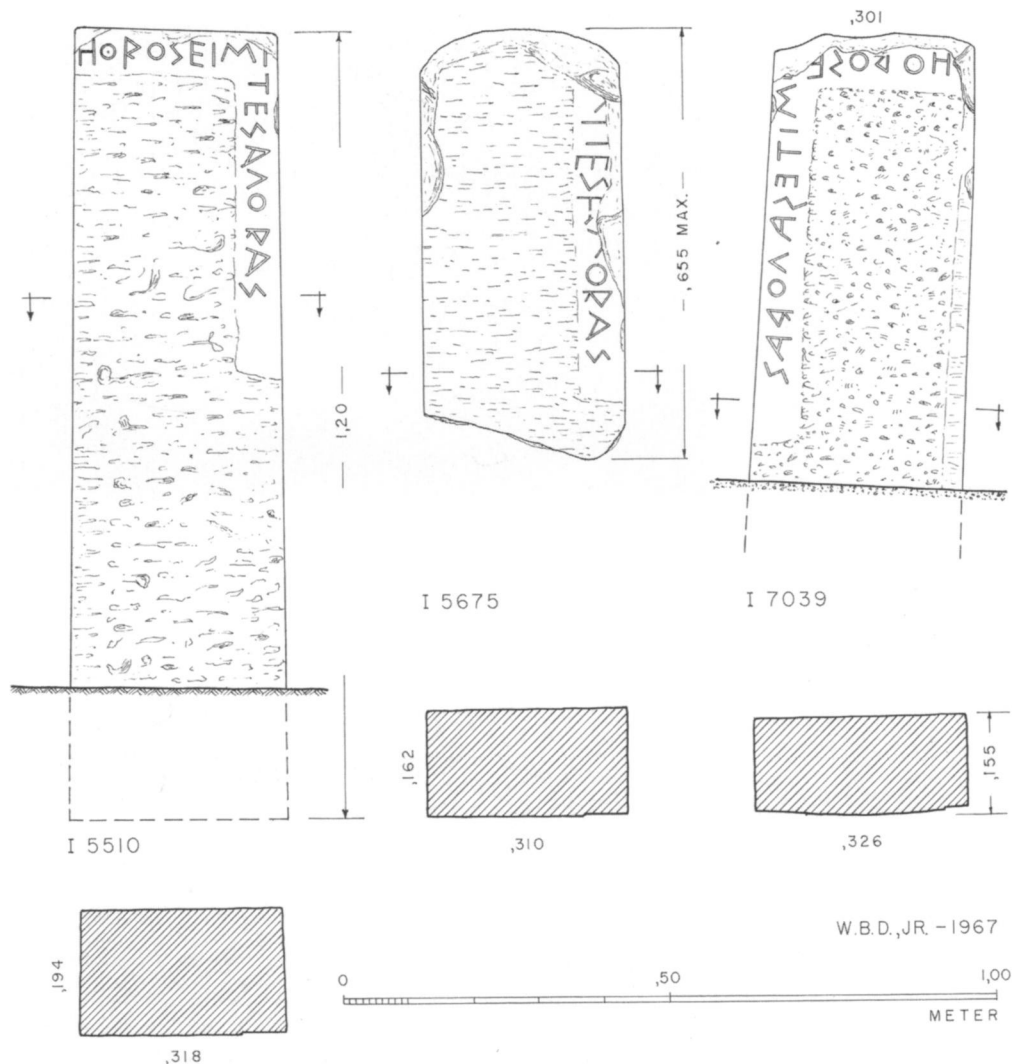
trench); the datings by Shear (1978) and Camp (1994) closely approximate that of Thompson.

10. Papadopoulos 2003, pp. 289–291 and nn. 112–113.

11. *Agora* XIV, p. 117.

12. *Agora* XIX, pp. 10–11, and pp. 27–28, H25–27, pl. 2; see Hansen

1976, pp. 78–80 and n. 27, for the suggestion that Classical *atimia* in the legal sense of the deprivation of rights rather than the older outlawry and exile may be associated with the abolition of tyranny and the reforms of Kleisthenes.



**Figure 5. Horoi of the Athenian Agora.** W. B. Dinsmoor Jr., *Agora Excavations*

closer together than those of horos A, but this may stem in part from the greater length of the Agora texts and their schematic limitation to the upper margin and part of one lateral margin of the front face. More importantly, the Agora horoi texts have in common with horos A three-barred sigma, rho with angular loop and tail, and omicrons smaller than the other letters; Agora I 7039 (Fig. 5, right) also has the retrograde direction and one reversed sigma. In sum, on the basis of horos A's letter forms and their similarity to those of the horoi of the Agora, it seems reasonable to date horos A to the very late 6th or very early 5th century B.C.

With the exception of just two scholars, all who have treated both horoi A and B—including, of course, all who have considered them a boustrophedon text (see below)—date them as one.<sup>13</sup> It must be noted, however, that the two texts differ considerably in style and script. Horos B (Fig. 6) not only has rougher, larger lettering and a left-to-right direction,

13. Exceptions: Threatte (1980, p. 53), without giving dates, noted that the style of the lettering indicates a different dating for the two texts;

Ritchie (1984, p. 166) dated horos B to the "first half of the fifth century B.C." on the basis of tailed rho and three-barred sigma, but these forms were

used also in the late 6th century and possibly in the late 5th century (see above, nn. 6–7).



Figure 6. Horos B (*IG I<sup>3</sup> 1055 B*).

Photo and drawing G. V. Lalonde

but also differs from A in the rounded loop of rho, the closer junction of the loop and tail of rho to the vertical, the proportionally larger size of the omicrons, the less-extended sigma, and the closer spacing of letters. These differences indicate that horos B was carved according to a different design, and very probably at a different time, but they do not indicate a significant chronological distinction. The brevity and eroded state of horos B make comparison with other inscriptions difficult, and, given the uncertain lower date of tailed rho and three-barred sigma, it seems wise to put no narrower chronological limits on horos B than the late 6th to the late 5th century B.C. Thus, even though the similarity of the Agora horoi suggests a date early in that period for horos A, and it is quite possible that B is considerably later, in the end it is impossible to be sure of a chronological difference.

Despite the enduring notion that A and B together constitute a boustrophedon text,<sup>14</sup> there are ample reasons to conclude that A and B are not boustrophedon: (1) it is inherently difficult to classify two inscribed lines in

14. In 1852 Pittakis gave the two horoi separate numbers but wrote, “εἰσὶν αὐταὶ τοῦ τρόπου τοῦ Βουστροφηδὸν καλουμένου” (Pittakis 1852, p. 683, no. 1134). Hiller von Gaertringen, in *IG I<sup>2</sup> 863*, while not using the

term “boustrophedon,” employed its standard indicators: a single inscription number, opposing arrows for the two texts, and a reference to them in the commentary as “v. 1” and “v. 2.” Most recently, the editors of *IG I<sup>3</sup> 1055* dis-

tinguished the two horoi by the letters A and B but still treated them under a single number, placed a period at the end of B as if the two horoi were a single inscription, and printed the two texts with opposed arrows.

different styles and letter forms on two ridges of rock nearly a meter and a half apart as boustrophedon, at least in the usual sense of the term, and even if the two inscriptions were cut in the same style, that would not make them a boustrophedon text; (2) albeit the use of boustrophedon was conservatively prolonged in some religious texts, it is nonetheless rare after 540, and, as noted above, tailed rho definitely puts A and B no earlier than the late years of the 6th century;<sup>15</sup> (3) A and B as a boustrophedon text would be similar to the redundant use of the word *hópos* on a stele, the rare occurrences of which are anomalous and not associated with shrines;<sup>16</sup> (4) if A and B were in the same locations on separate stelai, they would hardly be considered a boustrophedon inscription; (5) A and B lack the syntactic continuity typical of a boustrophedon text; (6) a boustrophedon *horos* inscription would be unparalleled in Attic epigraphy;<sup>17</sup> and finally (7), if a boustrophedon inscription had been wanted, it could have been cut, with some compromise in letter size, on the single superior surface where A is located. For these reasons, I suggest that Adolf Kirchhoff was uniquely correct among all *Corpus* editors in publishing the two *horoi* under separate numbers (*IG* I 504 and 505) and not as boustrophedon.

There is no cogent dissent from the view of the distinguished topographers and archaeologists cited above that *horos* A marked a shrine of Zeus on the plateau of this bedrock spur.<sup>18</sup> The single-word *horos* B is not so easily explained. Epigraphists have occasionally treated the *horos* of Zeus (A) alone, but nearly all who deal with both A and B take them both without commentary or question as having the single context of the shrine of Zeus.<sup>19</sup> Given, however, that *horoi* A and B are not a boustrophedon inscription, the logical next question is whether B can be considered in a single context with A or as something quite separate. To this there is no easy or definitive answer, in part because the inscribed word “*horos*” by itself in the Late Archaic or Early Classical period could have one of several meanings and refer to any number of things. It could mean “boundary,” “boundary marker,” or “domain,” and a *horos*, with any number of words, could identify a domain and simply its general proximity rather than a precise boundary.<sup>20</sup>

Still, considering the proximity of the two texts, their lack of clear chronological distinction, their nearly parallel axes, and their similar orientation to a reader on the adjacent path (Fig. 3:D), it makes sense to consider first whether the purpose of *horos* B was related to that of A. Both inscriptions, for example, may have marked the shrine of Zeus, but the simply worded *horos* B was conceivably cut first, and the more fully

15. Jeffery 1948, p. 86.

16. *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2569; *Agora* XIX, p. 32, H49, pl. 4 (ῥος twice on the same stone); *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2693 (use of stone for consecutive security *horoi*).

17. Threatte (1980, p. 55) shows that the *horos* *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 862 (= *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 1068) is not boustrophedon; as for *horoi* A and B, he refers to them (p. 53) as “a rock-cut *horos*,” but his dating of them

(above, n. 13) precludes a boustrophedon text.

18. Nonetheless, a popular opinion in the modern neighborhood that the cuttings of the spur are remnants of ancient houses is echoed occasionally in scholarship: e.g., in Lauter-Bufe and Lauter 1971, where no notice is taken of the *horos* of Zeus, and in Goette 2001, p. 57, where the *horoi* are

conjectured to mark a place struck by lightning.

19. Ritchie’s (1984, pp. 167, 542) statement that both *horoi* probably identified the same shrine of Zeus is closest to a consideration that they may have had separate purposes.

20. See *Agora* XIX, p. 5 and nn. 1, 2.



worded A added later for specificity. Marking a shrine with the single word “horos” would be uncommon but not unique.<sup>21</sup> A second possibility is that B was cut in order to give visitors coming up the South Path (Fig. 3:D) a general notice of the shrine before the more specific *ῥόπος Διός*. The two horoi are close enough together, however, that they come into view at virtually the same time. In another single-context scenario, horos B could have had the more general purpose of marking the outer limits of the entire shrine, while horos A designated the approach to its inner sanctum farther north on the plateau of the spur.

Although none of these possibilities can be proven, each of them conforms to the rule that horos texts usually face the reader outward from the domain to which they refer. This would not be true of another possible explanation of horoi A and B in a single context, namely, that A marked the shrine in all its sacred elements to the north, while B differentiated those things immediately to the south—the adjacent path up the spur (Fig. 3:D) and the rock-cut rooms below to the south along Nymphs/Pnyx Street (Fig. 3:E)—as profane.<sup>22</sup> Nevertheless, the common arrangement of outward-facing horoi could logically have been suspended in this case, for if horos B in its present location faced to the north then one would have intruded on what was likely the sacred ground in order to read it right side up.

Because of the obviously different styling and lettering of horoi A and B and their possible redundancy in such proximity to one another, we must consider also the possibility that B had a purpose independent of A and the shrine of Zeus. Athenians sometimes used such simple horoi to mark the boundary or location of public or private land or structures. If horos B had been a simple property marker unrelated to the shrine of Zeus, it might have delimited the rock-cut rooms (Fig. 3:E) immediately to the south below the edge of the spur. In that case it might have been more logical to inscribe it on the spur just above those rooms, with the letters facing north so as to be read from path D, although the surface of the rock is very rugged in that location. Such single-word horoi have also been found at or around a tomb or burial precinct,<sup>23</sup> but there is no evidence remotely close to horos B of Archaic rock-cut burials of the sort discovered at the east foot of the Pnyx and at many other places in these western Athenian hills.

An anonymous *Hesperia* reviewer suggested that I consider whether B might have marked property encumbered as security for debt. This seems at least a possibility, but its consideration requires more than a brief explanation. Even though the earliest literary reference to security horoi

21. See *Agora* XIX, p. 22, H2, pl. 1, for the rediscovered one of two stelai (the second is lost) inscribed simply *ῥόπος*, which Dörpfeld (1892, p. 91) found by a shrine on the southwest side of the Areiopagos and dated to the 6th century B.C. on the basis of letter forms and masonry (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2507). The dating is controversial (cf. Meritt 1967, pp. 98–99, no. 30, pl. 28; *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2507; *IG* I<sup>3</sup>, p. 729 and the note on “Succincti Termini”). See also Lalonde 1980,

p. 101, for speculation that a dislocated [*ῥ*]όπος from the Agora excavations (I 2618; *Agora* XIX, H43) might have come from a hero shrine beneath the terrace of the Agora’s Middle Stoa (*SEG* XXX 37 and *IG* I<sup>3</sup>, p. 729, report the association as stronger than speculation); see Goette 1995, pp. 235–237, for the abbreviated horoi (HO) marking an apparent shrine at Panagia Thiti in rural Attica; also *Corinth* XVIII.3, pp. 200–201, for two inscribed

stelai (OPF) in situ at the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore. Although these last two markers do not identify the sanctuary by name, they apparently delimited the sacral area of its dining rooms from the stairway that ran beside them.

22. Cf. Lazaridou 2002, p. 40.

23. E.g., Charitonides 1961, pp. 31–32, fig. 53; pp. 67–70, figs. 116, 117.

is in Isaïos (6.36) in 364 B.C., and the earliest extant, dated example of an inscribed security horos (*IG II<sup>2</sup> 2654*) is from 363/2 B.C., scholars have long debated whether property was alienable from a *genos* and thus usable as security before the 4th century. The early favored view was essentially that of Gustave Glotz, who argued that the use of real security went back at least to the early 6th century, a view that trusts that the Aristotelian school (*Ath. Pol.* 11–12; see also *Plut. Sol.* 15.3–5) was correct in interpreting Solon's claim to have freed the land from slavery by uprooting horoi as a statement that he gave the "Sixth-parters" (*hektemoroi*) relief from their debts (*seisachtheia*) and removed the security markers from their land: Γῆ μέλαινα, τῆς ἐγὼ ποτε ἴσθους ἀνεῖλον πολλαχῇ πεπηγότας, ἰ πρόσθεν δὲ δουλεύουσα, νῦν ἐλευθέρη: "Black Earth, from which I once pulled up horoi planted everywhere, before enslaved, now free."<sup>24</sup> The opponents of this view see it as anachronistic. Prominent among these was J. V. A. Fine, who associated the first use of *genos* land as security with the debt and dispossession attendant upon the Peloponnesian War.<sup>25</sup>

If real property was in fact used for debt security in the Archaic and Early Classical periods, then that property must have been marked either by perishable horoi, perhaps made of wood, or by yet unrecognized stone markers of simpler text than the later ὅρος οἰκίας πεπραμένης ἐπὶ λύσει and the like. We cannot utterly preclude the possibility of horos B as a security marker on the grounds that to us it is too uninformative, for it might have implied a detailed written agreement between debtor and creditor, as was explicitly the case in a number of the later multiverbal security horoi.<sup>26</sup> It is conceivable, then, that B was an early security marker pertaining to one or more of the rock-cut shoplike rooms to the south (Fig. 3:E), but the case is tenuous. In fact, to return to the question of Solon's horoi, the latest round of scholarship not only interprets them as boundary stones rather than security markers but also sees Solon's claim of their removal as poetic metaphor, in one view standing for the removal of *stasis* (discord) between the disparate socioeconomic classes, and in another for the freeing of the subjugated *hektemoroi*, who, like boundary stones, had been bound to the land.<sup>27</sup>

Finally, a possible independent purpose of horos B was to mark the ancient road (Nymphs/Pnyx Street) that skirted the south side of the spur as a deme boundary, which in this region of the city could only be the shared border of Melite and Kollytos. An immediate objection to this proposition may be that the horos is rather far removed from the street, but a possible counterclaim is that the intervening rock-cut rooms (Fig. 3:E) may have prevented a closer juxtaposition. Then again, we might expect the marker of an urban deme boundary, even if it referred to the nearby Nymphs/Pnyx Street, to give us more information than just "horos," or at least to have some recognizable parallels among the urban demes. Although rural Attica has yielded several series of simple horoi from the 4th century or later that are viewed by a number of scholars as deme boundary markers,<sup>28</sup> within the innermost territory of the ancient *asty* there is not a single inscription that is demonstrably a deme boundary stone, and, in fact, horos B is the only known inscription within that area that is rupestral and limited to the word "horos." Although the inner urban area has yielded a fair number of one-word horoi inscribed on stelai, only four were in situ, one marking a shrine and three marking graves.<sup>29</sup>

24. *IE<sup>2</sup>* vol. 2, Solon, fr. 36, lines 5–6. See Glotz 1904, pp. 325–349; Finley 1951, p. 28; Guarducci 1974, p. 233; Rhodes 1981, pp. 88–97, 125–130, 169–179.

25. Fine 1951, pp. 167–208.

26. *Agora* XIX, p. 18 and n. 109.

27. See, respectively, Harris 1997 and Gallo 1999, sources that may serve also to recapitulate the history and bibliography of this debate.

28. See Traill 1986, pp. 116–122.

29. Shrine southwest of the Areiopagos: *IG II<sup>2</sup> 2507*; Meritt 1967, pp. 98–99; *Agora* XIX, p. 22, H2. Tombs in the area of Syntagma Square: Charitonides 1961, pp. 31–32, fig. 53; pp. 67–70, figs. 116, 117.

In the end, the case for *IG I<sup>3</sup> 1055 B* as a deme boundary marker is, at least from the evidence of its immediate context, inconclusive. Nevertheless, the investigation of this possibility led me to considerable other evidence that the road in question, throughout its southwestward course from the Agora to some point beyond the saddle of the Hill of the Nymphs and the Pnyx, did in fact divide Melite to the north and west from Kollytos to the south and east. Later in this study, I will raise the subject of horos B again, with the suggestion that it was a special marker cut by the Meliteans to emphasize their authority over the precinct of Zeus and other shrines within their territory.

## THE TERRITORIALITY OF URBAN DEMES

No discussion of Attic deme boundaries, even the single common boundary of two inner urban demes, can ignore the ongoing debate as to whether the fundamental political units of the Kleisthenic constitution were, simply put, territories separated from one another by boundaries (the “artificial” model), or only borderless administrative units (the “natural” model).<sup>30</sup> This dichotomy is, of course, too neat, because no proponent of the artificial model has been able to prove that the Kleisthenic demes were from the beginning precisely defined territories, and most who favor the natural model allow that the demarch occasionally had responsibilities that required his knowing that landed property was in his deme and not in that of another demarch. The case for a close and stable boundary of Melite and Kollytos therefore requires some prefatory argument that demes in general, and the central urban demes in particular, were at some time, possibly from the beginning, units of territory surrounded by boundaries that were contiguous with those of other demes or of exclusive polis domains, such as the Agora.<sup>31</sup>

My research finds no claimant to the proposition that the Kleisthenic demes received their original membership with no regard to territoriality, that is, that anyone qualified for citizenship could enroll in any deme he wished. As C. W. J. Eliot noted, Herodotos usually used the word *δημος* to refer to a village and not a political division, and many Kleisthenic

30. The fundamental modern work on the organization of the Attic demes is Traill 1975, esp. pp. 73–103; a later comprehensive treatment of the demes is Whitehead 1986a.

31. The thorniness of the question of the initial and continued form of the demes can be measured by the eminence of the scholars who have argued opposing views from virtually the same body of evidence. Typical of the 19th and early 20th centuries was Bernard Haussoullier's (1884, p. 2 and nn. 3–4) view of territorial demes thoroughly surveyed, recorded, and marked by horoi. This view stemmed in part from

Haussoullier's interpretation of inscribed trittys markers as parallels for deme boundary markers (Haussoullier cited *IG I* 517, 518; for the current array and interpretation of these markers, see Siewert 1982, pp. 10–16; Traill 1986, pp. 93–113; *Agora* XIX, pp. 14–16, 29–31). Just four years after Haussoullier's treatise, his view seemed corroborated by a passage in the newly discovered *Athenaion Politeia* (21.4.22–24; text of F. G. Kenyon, Oxford 1920): διένειμε δὲ καὶ τὴν χώραν κατὰ δήμους τριάκοντα μέρη, δέκα μὲν τῶν περὶ τὸ ἄστυ, δέκα δὲ τῆς παραλίας, δέκα δὲ τῆς μεσογείου (“[Kleisthenes] divided

the land by demes into 30 parts, 10 throughout the *asty*, 10 of the shore, and 10 of the midland.”). In recent decades, and on the basis of accumulating archaeological evidence, significant expressions of support for some extent of the “territorial model” of demes have appeared in Eliot 1962, pp. 3–4 and passim; Traill 1975, pp. 73–75 and n. 6; Siewert 1982; Langdon 1985; Traill 1986, pp. 116–122; Lohmann 1993, vol. 1, pp. 57–59. Prominent advocates of the “administrative model” have been W. E. Thompson (1971), Andrewes (1977), Whitehead (1986a, pp. 27–30), and Lambert (1998, pp. 7–8 and n. 24).

demes took their names from villages.<sup>32</sup> It is fairly inferred from this that, with some variation for the divided demes and probably the inner urban demes, the administrative nuclei of the demes were individual villages or clusters of villages. Moreover, intended mixing of the citizens among the new trittyes and tribes would only have succeeded if the demes drew their membership, for the most part, from the territory around these nuclei. Even David Whitehead, recently the foremost spokesman for the natural model, has noted that “in and immediately after 508/7, naturally, all *Eleusinioi* lived in Eleusis, all *Skambonidai* in (and as) Skambonidai, and so on,”<sup>33</sup> and has written of the creation of the demes as a kind of centripetal process in which all individuals registered at villages or towns that were the traditional centers of their areas.<sup>34</sup>

Since deme membership descended unchanged in the male line, it is most economical to define a deme “in the political and constitutional sense . . . by a single technical and non-topographical criterion: the sharing by a group of people of a common demotic.”<sup>35</sup> There is, however, ample reason for also believing, with Eliot and Traill, that the demes had territorial boundaries early, and that the territory of Attica, with some exceptions (probably the Acropolis, Agora, and Pnyx, and possibly, as will be suggested below, the public streets and roads), “must have been associated theoretically, if not actually, with one deme or another.”<sup>36</sup>

Among the strongest evidence that demes had territorial limits are the epigraphical testimonia of the functions of the demes and of their single chief magistrates, the demarchs, both in their own service and in that of the larger polis.<sup>37</sup> There is no direct evidence of these specific duties before the second quarter of the 5th century B.C., but, if we can credit the claim of *Ath. Pol.* 21.5, that Kleisthenes created the demarchs, it is plausible, even if not provable, that some of the responsibilities cited here went back to the formation of the constitution.<sup>38</sup> Especially pertinent to the question of territoriality are the demarchic duties that concerned residency and landed property within the deme, matters that were subject to change and therefore could hardly have been carried out without official, recorded reference to delimited territory. We can begin with ἐγκτητικόν, a tax on land within the deme owned by a nonmember or nonresident of the deme. Since Piraeus’s grant of exemption from ἐγκτητικόν to Kallidamas of Cholleidai (*IG II<sup>2</sup>* 1214, lines 26–28 [ca. 300–250 B.C.]) is the sole extant reference to this tax by name, Whitehead rightly rejected a traditional assumption

32. Eliot 1962, p. 79.

33. Whitehead 1986a, p. 75.

34. Whitehead 1986a, pp. 23–30.

35. Traill 1975, p. 73.

36. Traill 1975, pp. 73–74, n. 6;

Eliot 1962, pp. 3–4.

37. Many needs of Athenian polis administration were necessarily delegated to the demarchs, because, as Aristotle implies in *Pol.* 1264a6–11, it would have been impossible for central polis offices and magistrates to manage

effectively all the subsidiary business of state. Fundamental proof of this division of labor is that the polis did not even keep a comprehensive list of citizens, but, at least as early as the third quarter of the 5th century (see *IG I<sup>3</sup>* 138, line 6), and probably from the initiation of the Kleisthenic reforms, relied on the demes to provide their respective ληξιαρχικά γραμματεῖα when needed; see Traill 1975, p. 73.

38. Here we note demarchic duties

mainly in finance and law, but we will treat religious duties below in relation to the shrines in the deme Melite. For a full account of the demarch’s duties, see Whitehead 1986a, pp. 121–139 and Faraguna 1997. Faraguna, however, departs radically from Whitehead, arguing that cadastral registries are implicit in the office of the demarch and presuppose a high degree of initial territorial organization.

that all demes levied it, but he also allowed that the 4th-century grants of ἀτέλεια by the Eleusinians to resident Theban benefactors (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1185, lines 4–5; 1186, lines 25–26) and to Athenian nondemesmen (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1187, lines 16–17; 1188, lines 28–30), and by Coastal Lamptrai (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1204, lines 11–12) to its honorand conceivably imply ἐγκτητικόν or something like it.<sup>39</sup> Although there is no evidence that ἐγκτητικόν was universal, it strains the argument from silence in the other direction to suggest that this tax and a consequent specificity about boundaries were unique to the deme of Piraeus.<sup>40</sup>

Further evidence of deme territoriality is the official formula for identifying metics (metic's name + οἰκῶν ἐν + name of a deme) used for the collection of a poll tax (μετοίκιον), the granting of concessions, and various other official accounts involving resident aliens.<sup>41</sup> The verb οἰκέω clearly denotes residence and not just political enrollment. The works of Clerc and Hommel exemplify the long-held opinion that the οἰκῶν ἐν designation for metics went back to the time of Kleisthenes.<sup>42</sup> Whitehead, while allowing that demes officially recognized, registered, and kept records on metics as a separate class with legal *locus standi* dating from the reforms of Kleisthenes or, as a corollary of those reforms, from the early 5th century, has nevertheless argued that the relatively late appearance of the οἰκῶν ἐν formula in its “embryonic form” in 414/3 (*IG* I<sup>3</sup> 421, col. 1, fr. b, line 33) is not just an evidentiary accident.<sup>43</sup> Since documentary evidence of Athenian politics is relatively plentiful for about four decades before that time, he may be right, but the practice may have predated the formula.

The only alternative to an initial but changeable enrollment of metics by residence would seem to be that for about a century metics were, like citizens, fixed to the deme of their original ancestral registration, but that this system was given up as late as 414/3 in favor of reckoning by current domicile. The only argument for such a hypothesis is *ex silentio*, but, more than that, metics did not figure in the constitutional objectives, such as a permanent broad scattering of demes and demesmen among the trittyes and tribes and the maintenance of a stable quota of representatives of the demes to the Athenian Boule, objectives on which the inherited enrollment of demesmen was predicated. To sum up, there is no certainty about the metic's early relation to the deme, but the equally plausible, and more

39. Whitehead 1986a, p. 76, n. 38; p. 150.

40. Jones (1999, p. 59) argued from examination of a squeeze of *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2623 (ὅρος Π[ει]ραίων [χώρ]ας. *rasura*) that its third line should be restored as γᾶς and that it was set up specifically to enforce the collection of an ἐγκτητικόν unique to Piraeus. Recently Lambert (2004) has rebutted Jones's epigraphy, noting that γᾶ is unparalleled in Attic prose and that an autopsy of the stone shows the following text: ὅρος Πειραίων | [- up to 3–4 -]ΑΣ|. | - - - ?]. Lambert restores the third line tenta-

tively as [οἰκί]ας<sup>v</sup> or [ῶ], and concludes that “this inscription, therefore, would appear to have nothing to do with boundaries or territories, agoras or ‘land’ of demes.” Cf. *SEG* XLIX 175, XLVIII 164, XLVII 193.

41. The formula οἰκῶν ἐν: *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 475–476; *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1553–1578, 1654, 1672–1673, 1951; Lewis 1959, 1968; see Whitehead 1977, pp. 31–32, supplemented by 1986a, pp. 81–83, and 1986b, pp. 148–154; μετοίκιον: *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 106, lines 6–7; 107, line 3; *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 61, lines 10–11; 211, line 5; 237, lines 25–26; 545, lines 11–13; Whitehead 1977,

pp. 75–77; Henry 1983, pp. 244–245; Heisserer and Moysey 1986, line 7 and commentary; Whitehead (1977, p. 7) may be right that “resident alien” is “tired translationese” for μέτοικος, but his preferred “immigrant” is confusing, as not all metics were immigrants and not all immigrants were metics.

42. Clerc 1893, pp. 339–340; *RE* XV, 1932, cols. 1413–1458, s.v. *Metoikoi* (H. Hommel).

43. Whitehead 1977, pp. 31–32, 145.

economical, hypothesis is that a metic's business with the polis and the deme was from the beginning of the Kleisthenic constitution administered by, and according to, the deme in which he resided, and that the formula οἰκῶν ἐν was later adopted as an official expression of that traditional practice.

Also apropos of metics and early deme territoriality is the provision in a *lex sacra* of Skambonidai that its metics are to have a part in the local sacrifices (*IG I<sup>3</sup> 244*, Face C, lines 8–9: τοῖς μετοίκ[ος λαχ]ῆν). As Whitehead has noted in this instance, “as well as the obvious intrinsic importance of this early [ca. 460 B.C.] example of a deme's having decided upon such a concession, the provision demonstrates not merely that the deme recognizes the presence of metics but also that it commands *a means of determining which of them were living in Skambonidai and not elsewhere* [my emphasis].”<sup>44</sup> Surely the demarch's precise knowledge of the deme's territorial limits would have been necessary, albeit not sufficient, for that means of determination. This responsibility of the demarch would have been particularly critical in the urban demes—such as Melite and Kollytos—where the metic population was concentrated.<sup>45</sup>

Further evidence of the territorial distinction of demes can be drawn from the demarch's collection for the polis of εἰσφορά, the tax usually levied for war on all property-owning free residents, citizen and metic (*Dem. 22.61*). Presumably the citizen could have registered all his property, regardless of its location, in his deme of ancestral membership, but again the levy on metics was likely assigned to the deme in which they resided. The few extant and rather late decrees honoring metics who paid εἰσφορά (*IG II<sup>2</sup> 421, 554, 715*) probably do not imply that metics were normally exempt from this tax, although the paucity of evidence may indicate that there were not many metic landholders.<sup>46</sup> The demarch also imposed λειτουργία (required public service financed by individuals with estates of superior valuation), and in a decree of the deme of Ikarion from the third quarter of the 5th century B.C. the allusion to residency, if correctly restored in stoichedon, in a provision for choosing tragic *choregoi* from *demotai* and from persons residing in the deme (*IG I<sup>3</sup> 254*, lines 3–4: [. . .] τῶν δεμῶν καὶ τῶν Ἰκα[ριοῖ οἰκόντων δύο] τῶν ἀχρεγέτων), implies awareness of the deme's territorial extent. The same reasoning applies to the demarch's supervision of ἀντίδοσις (legal challenge of λειτουργία or εἰσφορά) and issuance of ἀπογραφή (declared assessment of property as a basis for payment of taxes, delinquent debts, or legal confiscations), the latter attested at least as early as the confiscations from the profaners of the Hermai and Mysteries (415–413 B.C.) and the Thirty Tyrants (402/1 B.C.).<sup>47</sup>

Finally, a duty of the demarch that has particular implications for the territoriality of demes is found in the Athenian law quoted in Pseudo-Demosthenes 43.57–58, by which the demarch is required under pain of a 1,000-drachma fine—and in default of relatives or, in the case of slaves, masters—to pick up and bury any corpse in the deme within the day of the death.<sup>48</sup> The wording of this polis-wide law, “in the deme,” and the stated objective of purifying the land corroborates the previously noted suggestion of Eliot and Traill that the territory of Attica was for the most part associated with one deme or another. Lambert, generally a proponent of the

44. Whitehead 1986a, p. 81.

45. In Whitehead's survey (1986a, p. 83) Melite has the highest number (75) of attested metics; in general, see Wilamowitz-Möllerndorff 1887, pp. 116–124.

46. So Whitehead (1977, p. 78), who adds that the earliest testimony of metics paying εἰσφορά is the statement of Lysias (12.20) that he and his brother contributed greatly.

47. Whitehead 1986a, p. 131 and n. 64; Walbank 1982, pp. 95–96.

48. I am grateful to the anonymous *Hesperia* reviewer who suggested pursuing this point.

“natural” formation of demes, agrees, but with a chronological qualification, noting that the community responsibility for burial was carried out by the deme rather than the phratry because by the time this law was passed (he dated it to the late 5th or early 4th century),<sup>49</sup> “the demarch, unlike the phratriarch, was responsible for a tract of territory as well as a group of persons.”<sup>50</sup> Whitehead, while giving considerable attention to this demarchic responsibility and noting that it was an anti-pollution measure, is silent about its territorial implications for the demes. One might infer, however, that it would at least fall under those practical purposes for which he seems to allow some late calculation of a deme’s geographical extent.<sup>51</sup>

Granted that the testimonia cited above are sporadic or unique, still, in the aggregate, they make a strong case that the Attic demes were contiguous territories as well as administrative units. Moreover, even though none of these cases is dated before the second quarter of the 5th century B.C., it must be kept in mind that for the first four to five decades under the Kleisthenic constitution we have very little extant detailed epigraphical evidence of Athenian politics in general, let alone of the demes. Therefore, although claims about the territoriality of demes in these early decades must be tentative, it seems very hard, as even the strong proponents of “natural” demes show, to infer from this lack of direct evidence that demes were even at the outset purely administrative units with no need for territorial boundaries. In any formulation of the natural or artificial models of deme formation it is difficult to conceive of distinctions of residency among demes without territorial boundaries.

It is more probable that the answer to the question of deme formation lies somewhere between the theoretical poles of purely administrative units and of distinct and contiguous territorial units (the “divided” demes notwithstanding) with all of their internal real estate surveyed and recorded. It would seem a reasonable compromise of the general territorial model to postulate an initial determination of at least the outer territorial limits of demes and their citizen memberships, with the data concerning other inhabitants and interior domains being gathered and recorded piecemeal as the duties of demarchs required them.<sup>52</sup> In this more evolutionary model, the polis would have assigned political business to the demes as it recognized that their territoriality allowed them to conduct this business more precisely and efficiently than the traditional gentilitial and political groups.

The preceding conclusion leaves unanswered the question of *how* the demarchs marked or otherwise kept track of these territorial distinctions, especially from the time of Kleisthenes to well into the 4th century, when

49. Humphreys (1980, p. 98), with reference to the Great Plague, suggests a date ca. 430 B.C.

50. Lambert 1998, p. 227 and n. 121; elsewhere in the same work Lambert notes (pp. 314–319) that in a Poletai account found in the Agora excavations (*SEG* XII 100, lines 25–29) Isarchos may have been acting as demarch of Xypete in recouping

30 drachmas from the estate of the condemned Theosebes for the expense of burying the latter’s parents.

51. Whitehead 1986a, pp. 137–138, 258–259 (burial); p. 29 and n. 111 (calculations of deme boundaries).

52. Whitehead (1986a, p. 27 and n. 102) fairly criticized Lauter (1982, esp. p. 305) for positing an initial cartographical survey of several years,

but less fairly Eliot (1962, pp. 146–147), who, while showing that some key elements in the Kleisthenic reforms were as late as 501 B.C., noted that the duration and chronology of the survey is hard to calculate, and that the organizers may have made use of pre-Kleisthenic censal and cadastral surveys.

the earliest claimed deme horoi have been dated, or later, with the possible creation of *horismoi*, putative archival records of deme limits.<sup>53</sup> The Attic countryside has yielded numerous series of abbreviated or single-word rupestral horoi that, in part because of their distance from population centers and their alignment on ridges or saddles over extensive terrain, have won considerable scholarly acceptance as deme boundary markers.<sup>54</sup> Many of these inscriptions use the lunate sigma, which first appears in the 4th century B.C., and Traill has speculated that as deme boundary markers they may have been occasioned by the Macedonian reorganization of Attica in 307/6 B.C.<sup>55</sup> Lunate sigma is most common, however, in the Roman era, and there continues to be shifting opinion and debate about the age and function of the growing number of discovered rural Attic one-word horoi.<sup>56</sup>

The question of how the outer limits of rural demes were marked or recorded and which of the series of rural horoi might have served this purpose is necessarily complex and, as the discovery of archaeological evidence continues, will warrant investigative and theoretical study for a long time to come. Here and now we will put aside that question and, as a prelude to the discussion of Melite and Kollytos, turn our attention to the delimiting of urban demes, and specifically those in the interior of the city.

If, as proponents of the artificial model believe, geographical boundaries were necessary for the function of the demarchs in the rural and coastal demes of Attica, a fortiori the greater density of population in the inner *asty* made official deme boundaries essential. Whitehead, while eschewing any compromise of the “natural” formation of the demes even in the city,<sup>57</sup> made the important point that the demes of the *asty* do call for consideration as three different types: those in the inner populated center of Athens, such as Melite and Kollytos, those in the immediate “suburbs,” such as Keiriadai and Kerameis, and those outer-city demes centered in villages in open country, the last having a character and mode of formation no different from the demes of the shore and interior.<sup>58</sup> The rest of this article is concerned mainly with the innermost of the demes in that tripartite scheme, and only incidentally with those in the suburbs. As Whitehead has noted, the archaeological evidence that 8th-century Athens was a cluster of distinct villages says little about urban Athens of

53. A possible reference to polis records of deme territory comes in a scholion to Ar. *Av.* 997 (Μελίτη γὰρ ἅπαν ἐκεῖνο, ὡς ἐν τοῖς Ὅρισμοῖς γέγραπται τῆς πόλεως, “for that whole thing is Melite, as is written in the boundary records of the polis”), but there is doubt that these records were earlier than the 3rd century (Lewis 1955, p. 17, n. 48); Jacoby (*FGrH* IIIb II, p. 402) suggested that the *horismoi* may have been a book written as late as the 1st century B.C. about sections of the city and not about demes. As will be seen below, the full text of this scholion is quite unreliable. Finley (1951, pp. 14 and nn. 19, 27) saw virtually no evidence for a public

cadastre of private property; I once considered (*Agora* XIX, pp. 20–21) that the demise of security horoi in the early 2nd century B.C. may have followed such a cadastre.

54. See, e.g., Eliot 1962, esp. pp. 1–2; Traill 1975, p. 73, n. 6; Langdon 1985; Traill 1986, pp. 116–122; Lohmann 1993, vol. 1, pp. 57–59.

55. Traill 1986, p. 118.

56. See, e.g., Goette 1994; also Langdon 1999 on the 19 horoi found on Alepovouni.

57. See Whitehead's (1986a, pp. 24–25) criticism of the majority, including some proponents of “natural” rural demes, who see the creation of the urban demes as artificial (Young 1951,

p. 141; Eliot 1962, p. 3; Lewis 1963, p. 27; Andrewes 1977, pp. 243–244; Murray 1980, p. 255; Rhodes 1981, p. 254).

58. Whitehead 1986a, pp. 25–26; it is noteworthy in this regard that even the outer area of the *asty* has yielded horoi that are possibly markers of later deme boundaries; see Traill 1986, pp. 117, 119–120, no. 4, for the suggestion that the pair of single-word horoi (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2521) that Christopher Wordsworth first noted on Lykabettos and Σχιστὴ Πέτρα (the latter probably lost to quarrying) may have marked a boundary of land assigned to the tribe Antigonis from Kydathenaion, the most extensive urban deme.



the late 6th century,<sup>59</sup> and perhaps he was right that Andrewes begged the question when he wrote that at the time of Kleisthenes, “the area within the city wall was not an agglomeration of distinguishable villages,” thus implying that inner urban demes were formed in an area that had become a fair continuum of domestic, industrial, political, and religious domains intersected by streets and roads and extending outward from the focal precinct of the Agora as far as the Archaic city wall and probably beyond.<sup>60</sup> Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that little more than two decades after Kleisthenes’ reforms, the placement of the Themistoklean city wall suggests an Athenian urban population considerably larger than that served by any estimated extent of the Archaic wall.<sup>61</sup>

To this day many factors complicate the question of the demographic shape of Archaic Athens: the literary evidence is later and sketchy; much of the ancient city has not been excavated; there is no comprehensive survey of findings at the Archaic level; the evidence of the 8th and 7th centuries consists mainly of graves and wells; and the 6th and early 5th centuries, while showing significant sacred and civil architecture of the Peisistratids and the early democracy, have not been closely studied for their residential patterns.<sup>62</sup> Nevertheless, if Papadopoulos is right that the creation of the Classical Agora, whether in the late 6th or early 5th century, was possible because the area was before that a loose conglomeration of Iron Age cemeteries and ceramic industries, then it is quite possible that at the time of Kleisthenes there were other unsettled spaces among the populated areas of the Archaic city. This may particularly have been the case west and northwest of the Acropolis when the main focus of city life was still to the southeast (Thuc. 2.15.3–6) and before Themistokles as archon in 493/2 began to move maritime activity from Phaleron Bay to the ports of Piraeus (Thuc. 1.93.3–7).<sup>63</sup> Even if there were closely settled expanses of inner Athens at the time of Kleisthenes, the new urban demes could have drawn their names and locations from what were earlier separate population centers, villages, or *komai*—“proto-demes.”<sup>64</sup> Although we have no direct evidence of the basis on which boundaries of inner urban demes were created and stabilized, they would have had to be devised along some logical lines analogous to the marked ridgelines and saddles where horoi have been identified as markers of the late rural and coastal demes.

Some scholars have inferred that the traditional streets and roads of the urban region would have best served this purpose.<sup>65</sup> Even W. E. Thompson,

59. Whitehead 1986a, p. 6 and n. 11, pp. 26–27.

60. Whitehead 1986a, p. 26; Andrewes 1977, pp. 243–244.

61. For a dating of the Archaic city wall to ca. 560 B.C., see Vanderpool 1974; for that wall in general and a later dating to the Peisistratid period, see Weir 1995. In either case, the structure of the Archaic city wall could hypothetically have been the outer limit of the inner urban demes, but the location of the wall is much disputed. Judeich (1931, pp. 62, 120, and plan IV) put it at the crest of the western hills, and

Travlos (1960, pp. 33–34, 40–42; *Athens*, p. 8, fig. 5) in the valley between those hills and the Areiopagos. More persuasive is Winter’s (1982) argument from defensibility and the location of Archaic burials that it skirted the west ends of the Acropolis and Areiopagos, but it is hardly plausible that the inner urban demes could have been confined to so little territory. In the end it must be said that we should not expect political divisions to correspond with city walls, the placement of which is a matter of defensibility in terms of terrain and population.

62. For summaries of Archaic Athenian topography and monuments, see Judeich 1931, pp. 60–70; Camp 2001, pp. 22–47.

63. Papadopoulos 2003, especially his topographical summary, pp. 271–316.

64. See Whitehead 1986a, p. 27, n. 98 and the reference to Isocrates’ remark (7.46) that the Archaic lawgivers of Athens divided “the city by *komai* and the country by demes.”

65. E.g., Langdon 1985, pp. 12–13; *Agora* XIX, pp. 13–14, 29.

in his seminal argument for purely administrative demes, admitted that the demes of the *asty* initially needed particular lines such as rivers and roads to determine the first registry of urban demesmen, although he added that the boundaries could then have been dispensed with and forgotten.<sup>66</sup> Even if the roadways were first seen as simply the most efficient route between significant points, since they avoided natural and man-made obstacles in the intervening terrain, this does not defeat the hypothesis that Kleisthenes adopted existing streets or, where vacant space allowed, the addition of new streets as urban deme boundaries. In fact, such a hypothesis is bolstered by both logic and inference from indirect evidence. Since the courses of streets tend not to change without deliberate initiative, those serving as deme borders would have been easily retained in the collective memory of the community and thus would have had stability even without the benefit of horoi or archival records.<sup>67</sup> Moreover, existing streets and roads, as public property, would have been the logical choice for deme boundaries because they could have been put to that use without the expropriation or disturbance of other domains, public or private.

Of 21 certain Attic horoi of streets and roads, mainly from the Athens region, nine are inscribed simply ὁδοῦ or ὄρος ὁδοῦ, thus not identifying the roadways by name but maintaining their official limits.<sup>68</sup> The strict delimitation of streets from other domains is explicit in several horoi found in Piraeus, one of them in situ, which refer both to the street and the adjacent property.<sup>69</sup> At least as early as the 5th century, the Athenian Poletai officially recorded the location of confiscated properties with reference to streets.<sup>70</sup> One of the duties of the ten Athenian Astynomoi, five in the upper city and five in Piraeus, was to keep streets free of encroachment ([Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 50.2), probably in part to maintain their function as boundaries.<sup>71</sup> If, as seems likely, this jurisdiction of the Astynomoi implies that the streets were not deme territory, but were, like the Agora, in the direct and sole purview of the polis, then Andrewes's point that streets united rather than divided people loses cogency.<sup>72</sup>

66. Thompson 1971, p. 75; Langdon 1985 is a strong rejoinder to Thompson's article.

67. The longevity of the course of streets and roads, and therefore their reliability as boundaries, is well illustrated in the archaeology of Britain, where great numbers of routes, both urban and rural, have not changed since Roman rule.

68. Athens: *IG I<sup>3</sup>* 1093, 1094, 1094bis, 1095, 1096; *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 2624, 2626; *SEG XLI* 13; *Agora XIX*, H32–H35; Piraeus: *IG I<sup>3</sup>* 1109–1114; Eleusis: *IG I<sup>3</sup>* 1116; *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 2625; Panormos (Laureion region): *SEG LI* 157; horoi inscribed simply ὁδοῦ or ὄρος ὁδοῦ: *IG I<sup>3</sup>* 1093, 1094, 1094bis, 1114; *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 2625, 2626; *SEG LI* 157; *Agora XIX*, H32, H35.

69. *IG I<sup>3</sup>* 1109–1113; *Agora XIX*, p. 13 and nn. 66–71; *IG I<sup>3</sup>* 1116 from Eleusis was probably another example, but a key part of the text is lost; see *Agora XIX*, pp. 10–11, 27, H25, H26, and above, Fig. 1, for the two in situ horoi of the Agora that delimited the civil precinct from the street that passed through it; also *Agora XIX*, pp. 11–13, 28, H30, H31, for the six horoi stelai of the Kerameikos that either delimited the district of Kerameikos from the street that ran through it or designated the street as Kerameikos.

70. See, e.g., *Agora XIX*, pp. 57–143, and, for a specific instance, see below, p. 106. Similarly, roads were used widely in the Greek world as points of reference in boundary regulations and agreements (e.g., *SEG XL* 542,

Mygdonia, 4th century B.C.; XXXIX 1123, Mylasa, 2nd century B.C.).

71. See *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 380, lines 16–23; *Syll.<sup>3</sup>* 313, n. 6. Cf. in the wider Greek world *SEG XLII* 785, Thasos, ca. 470–460 B.C.; *OGIS* 483; *SEG XIII* 521, Pergamon, 2nd century B.C.

72. Andrewes 1977, p. 244, n. 1; the linear function of roads unites people, but Andrewes was clearly referring to their lateral function. An amplification of Langdon's (1985, pp. 12–13) analogy of the delimiting of modern French political districts is an instructive parallel to Athenian streets as polis-administered boundaries that divided urban demes. American state codes are also analogous, and even more precise than Athenian law in setting the midline of streets and

## THE BOUNDARY OF MELITE AND KOLLYTOS

With this background we can now return to the proposition that the street from the Agora to the crest of the Nymphs/Pnyx saddle was the boundary of Kollytos and Melite. As a first step, we should deal with a controversial observation of Eratosthenes (quoted in Strabo 1.4.7) about the boundary of these two demes—an observation made as an analogy to the boundaries of continents, which geographers argue about without agreed-upon criteria. Here, with no particular evidence to the contrary, we assume that Strabo's understanding and communication of Eratosthenes is accurate, although that was not always the case:

μη ὄντων γὰρ ἀκριβῶν ὄρων καθάπερ Κολλυτοῦ καὶ Μελίτης, οἷον στηλῶν ἢ περιβόλων, τοῦτο μὲν ἔχειν φάναι ἡμᾶς, ὅτι τουτὶ μὲν ἐστὶ Κολλυτός, τουτὶ δὲ Μελίτη, τοὺς ὄρους (δὲ) μὴ ἔχειν εἰπεῖν.<sup>73</sup>

If there are no precise horoi, as in the case of Kollytos and Melite, such as stelai or enclosure walls, we can say this: "This is Kollytos, that is Melite." We cannot, however, point to the horoi.

The beginning of this passage is usually translated, as here, as a present particular condition, with καθάπερ introducing an actual instance. In this translation, the ambiguity of the word ὅροι is deliberately maintained. Translating it as "boundaries," as is sometimes done,<sup>74</sup> must be wrong, because boundaries cannot be equated with stelai or enclosure walls. Eratosthenes must have meant by ὅροι "boundary markers," or simply "markers." Thus, if this is a present general condition, it does not imply that Kollytos and Melite do not have boundaries, but that their boundaries do not have precise markers. It is reasonable to conclude then that, lacking such precise markers as stelai and enclosure walls, one could distinguish the two demes by some less exact means.

In conceiving of a means of delimiting Melite from Kollytos that was less exact than stelai or enclosure walls, it makes good sense to fall back on our arguments above for the use of streets, roads, and prominent and permanent features of the cityscape for the determination of urban deme boundaries. These features would allow one to say, "This is Kollytos, that is Melite," without being able to cite markers as precise as stelai and enclosure walls. This interpretation of the passage, however, runs counter to that of three distinguished scholars of Greek, W. M. Leake, Rodney S. Young, and W. Kendrick Pritchett, who inferred from this passage that there were horoi inscribed "This is Kollytos" and "This is Melite." It is grammatically conceivable that Eratosthenes intended here a mixed condition with a present contrary-to-fact protasis ("if there were no precise horoi,") a

roads as the official boundaries of townships or wards. This precision, however, is merely for administrative purposes, for the American citizen is not allowed to reside or build along these streets out to the legal boundary or even on a margin of right-of-way

on either side of the street. Here the position of the residents is somewhat comparable to that of the demesmen of ancient Athens, as state and county officers are to the Astynomoi, and their record offices to the putative *horismoi*.

73. The text is the Budé edition

of G. Aujac, Paris 1969, who accepts in the last clause the δέ of MSS a and B<sup>2</sup>.

74. E.g., in the Loeb edition of Strabo, trans. H. L. Jones, London 1917.

present general apodosis (“we are able to say”), and the use of *καθάπερ* to introduce Kollytos and Melite as a hypothetical example (“for instance, Kollytos and Melite”).<sup>75</sup> In that case the inference of Leake, Young, and Pritchett, that Kollytos and Melite shared a boundary marked by inscribed *horoi*, would be correct.

Either of the preceding interpretations would fit the wider context of Eratosthenes’ macrogeography. He presents the case of Kollytos and Melite as an analogy to his immediately preceding point that it is futile to quibble about the division of the continents. All geographers have a rough idea of the continents, but without an agreed mode of marking their boundaries—as it is, some use rivers and call the continents islands, others use isthmuses and call them peninsulas—they are as the Athenians. They can say “This is Asia” and “This is Europe,” but they argue over the fine points of delimiting them. After the analogy of Kollytos and Melite, Eratosthenes, according to Strabo, then reemphasizes his point with historical examples of the perennial disputes of the Argives and the Lakedaimonians over Thyrea, and the Athenians and the Boiotians over Oropos.<sup>76</sup> There is no tradition about such contention between Kollytos and Melite, but we do not have all the evidence, and I suggest below that Melite may have used *horos* B and another rupestral marker to emphasize its claim to shrines on its own side of the border with Kollytos.

However Strabo’s quotation of the geographical views of Eratosthenes is construed, it leaves no doubt that Melite and Kollytos were contiguous. The location of their common boundary, however, is quite another matter. Few exact boundaries of urban demes are known or even argued, but a number of modern maps and commentaries suggest the general location of demes.<sup>77</sup> Virtually all of these sources agree that Melite was west and southwest of the Agora, but they vary somewhat about Kollytos: some limit it to the area south of the Areiopagos and the Acropolis, while others add to that the area directly south of the Agora. Before David M. Lewis refuted the long-held belief that Kolonos Agoraios was a deme, inclusion in Melite of the Pnyx and, according to some, even the Mouseion was considered essential to accommodate its status as one of the most populated of the urban demes.<sup>78</sup> Lewis’s finding, however, has apparently effected no shift of opinion about the southern extent of Melite.

75. Leake 1841, vol. 2, p. 442, n. 3; Young 1951, p. 140, n. 12; Pritchett 1953, p. 276; in opposing these scholars, Thompson (1971, p. 74) rightly pointed out that *καθάπερ* is normally used to introduce actual instances, but the use here is possibly irregular.

76. Strabo himself in the following chapter (1.4.8) intimates that he is uncertain of Eratosthenes’ meaning (*ἢ τοῦτο λέγει*), for he castigates him for inconsistency in stressing the practicality of *horoi* in the cases of Kollytos, Melite, Thyrea, and Oropos, but dis-

missing as superfluous the attempts to determine the boundaries of the continents. Eratosthenes’ point was, however, that determining the division of the continents would not be a matter of useless disputation if the geographers had an agreed set of *ἀκριβοὶ ὅροι* instead of quibbling over rivers and isthmuses.

77. Judeich 1931, pp. 165–175, fig. 14 and plan I; Kirsten and Kraiker 1967, p. 97, fig. 21; Traill 1975, pp. 37–55, map 1, inset; Siewert 1982; Langdon 1985, pp. 11–15; Traill 1986,

pp. 123–144, map (end page), inset.

78. Lewis 1955, pp. 12–17. For the 4th century and following, the substantial data of bouleutic quotas (Traill 1975, p. 67; 1986, pp. 125–140 and map), ephebic rosters (Reinmuth 1971, pp. 5–10, no. 2; Gomme 1933, p. 67; Hansen 1986, pp. 77–79), funerary inscriptions (Hansen et al. 1990, p. 33, table 9), and metic residences (Whitehead 1986a, p. 83) indicate that Melite was at least second to Kydathenaion in population.

We will return to the specific question of the Pnyx below, but the first step in the argument of our hypothesis of the boundary of Melite and Kollytos must be to establish with some certainty the full extent and course of the road proposed as that boundary. For this, there is good archaeological, epigraphical, and literary evidence that has not previously been synthesized in its entirety.

Young, excavating the so-called Industrial District southwest of the Agora intermittently from 1939 to 1949, uncovered much of the initial course of this road farther down from the Hill of the Nymphs, where it branched off from the Agora's west street (hereafter, "Agora West Street"; see Fig. 1) about 20 m southeast of the Tholos—at the horos of the Agora found in situ in 1938 (Agora I 5510).<sup>79</sup> From that point it followed the line of the Great Drain southwestward for about 170 m, in a stretch that Young called the "Street of the Marble Workers" (Fig. 1).<sup>80</sup> Just after passing the northwest side of the poros complex identified by Vanderpool and on the Agora plan as the State Prison,<sup>81</sup> the road jogged about 60 m directly west before it crossed the main street from the northwest (Young's "Melite Street") and turned southwestward up the valley between the Hill of the Nymphs and the Pnyx. In this last stretch (Nymphs/Pnyx Street) it passed the south flank of the northeast spur of the Hill of the Nymphs, with its horos B, before continuing over the saddle in the Nymphs-Pnyx ridge and exiting the city through the gate toward the north end of the Diateichisma, at least when that wall existed.<sup>82</sup>

In his excavation report of 1951 Young carefully pondered whether his Industrial District and the land farther south and southwest were in the deme Melite or Kollytos. He conjectured that the area was probably in Melite, but he was not so specific as to question the judgment of Köhler and Judeich that the merger and continuation of his own Areiopagos and Melite Streets southward into the valley between the Areiopagos and the Pnyx were the στενωπός . . . Κολλυτός ("a narrows called Kollytos"), said by the 4th-century rhetorician Himerios (*Or.* 31.63–65 = *Phot. Bibl.* cod. 243) to be in the very middle of the city, to give its name to the deme through which it ran, and to serve as an agora.<sup>83</sup>

79. *Agora* XIX, H25.

80. Young 1951, pp. 137–147 and fig. 3.

81. Vanderpool 1980, but cf. Crosby 1951; Koumanoudis 1984; Hunter 1998, pp. 319–323.

82. The traces of this gate have been obliterated by quarrying. See Fig. 1, "Melitides Gate," which is the designation of Travlos (*Athens*, pp. 161, 168–169, fig. 219, Gate XV). The Melitides Gate was said by rather late ancient sources (Marcellin. *Vita Thucydidis* 17 and 55; Paus. 1.23.9) to be near Koile, where the tombs of Kimon and Thucydides the historian could be seen. These sources, with their mention of impor-

tant historical figures of the 5th century, may have been derived from earlier testimonia that the Melitides Gate was in the original Themistoklean city wall, which in the 5th century looped out considerably southwest of the line of the later Diateichisma (see Judeich 1931, p. 140 and plans I:B–D/5–7, IV; Wycherley 1978, p. 12). Judeich (1931, p. 140 and plan I:C 7), for example, tentatively located the Melitides Gate farther south along this Themistoklean loop toward the Hill of the Muses, but his placement was doubtless influenced by his belief that the deme Melite extended as far south as to include the Pnyx. If the name Melitides was trans-

ferred from the gate in the Themistoklean city wall to the corresponding gate in the Diateichisma, there is no evidence of it.

83. Young 1951, p. 140; Köhler 1872, p. 112; Judeich 1931, p. 169, n. 1. Stroud (1998, p. 89, n. 10) has recently reminded us of Judeich's (1931, p. 169) observation that the aphorism of Plutarch, *Mor.* 601B, that not all Athenians were wealthy (οὐδὲ γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι πάντες κατοικοῦσι Κολλυτόν: "For certainly all Athenians do not live in Kollytos") is well reflected in the grand houses excavated on the western and southwestern slopes of the Areiopagos.

Two years after Young's article appeared, Pritchett published among fragments of the Attic Stelai a notice (stele VI, lines 13–15 = *IG I*<sup>3</sup> 426, lines 5–8) of the confiscation from one of the Hermokopidai of a house described as being in Kollytos and bordered on one side by the Agora and on the other, according to Pritchett's restoration, by the Ai[άκειον], the shrine of Aiakos. Joining this evidence with the testimony of Himerios about Kollytos and that of Herodotos (5.89.3) that shortly after the reforms of Kleisthenes the Athenians marked out a shrine of Aiakos ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς, Pritchett concluded that the Aiakeion should be sought at the southwest corner of the Agora.<sup>84</sup> Against Pritchett's Aiakeion, both Lewis and Eliot suggested the restoration of Ai[άντειον] on the grounds that there was probably a cult-place of Aias together with that of his son Eurysakes on the Kolonos Agoraios.<sup>85</sup> Ronald Stroud, however, in his recent *editio princeps* of the inscribed Athenian grain-tax law of 374/3 B.C. (Agora I 7557), confirmed Wycherley's earlier consideration that the only two mentions of an Aianteion in Athenian inscriptions (*IG II*<sup>2</sup> 1008, line 87; Agora I 286, decree V, lines 140–141) may well have referred to the shrine of Aias in Salamis and thus leave us with no clear evidence of such a shrine in Athens, either by itself or as another name for the Eurysakeion.<sup>86</sup> Moreover, and more to our point, Stroud presents significant new evidence supporting Pritchett's restoration as well as an identification of the Aiakeion (where the law says the grain was to be brought, stored, and sold) as the large, nearly square structure by the southwestern boundary of the Agora, previously identified as the Heliiaia or simply the Rectangular Peribolos.<sup>87</sup> Textual details in the grain-tax law, as Stroud shows, are suited to the chronology, architectural form, size, and location of this building. In short, it is hard to disagree with Stroud's summation that his evidence, while circumstantial, "is, however, better evidence than that used in support of all previous identifications of the building." His Aiakeion does lie south of the more southerly Agora horos (*Agora* XIX, H26 [I 7039]) found in situ in 1967 (see Fig. 1), and, with reference to that marker, he proposes that among the houses excavated a little south of the east-west line of the horos and northwest of the proposed Aiakeion was the confiscated house referred to in the Attic Stelai as being in Kollytos between the Aiakeion and the Agora.<sup>88</sup>

84. Pritchett 1953, p. 276; his conjunction of Kollytos with the southwest part of the Agora has found other adherents: Traill 1986, p. 126 and map; Stroud 1998, pp. 86–90. W. E. Thompson's (1970, p. 67) counter to Pritchett, that Kollytos bordered the north side of Melite near the northwest corner of the Agora, is unique and ignores Pritchett's attention to the Ai[άκειον] and Himerios's στενωπὸς . . . Κολλυτὸς.

85. Lewis 1955, p. 16, n. 40; for Eliot, see *Agora* III, p. 49. No structure has been found or identified as the Eurysakeion, but its approximate location seems assured by ancient testimo-

nia that it was in Melite and by the discovery on or near the southern part of the Kolonos Agoraios of fragments of stelai inscribed with documents of the *genos* Salaminioi and the *phyle* Aiantis that include provisions for the erection of those stelai in the Eurysakeion; see Ferguson 1938; *Agora* III, pp. 90–93; *Agora* XIV, pp. 40–41, 171, 228; *SEG* XLVII 146*bis*; Malouchou-Dailiana 1998, p. 75, no. 324; *SEG* XLVIII 264; on the *genos* Salaminioi, see Parker 1996, pp. 308–316.

86. Stroud 1998, pp. 89–90; Wycherley, *Agora* III, p. 91.

87. Stroud 1998, esp. pp. 85–108;

Pritchett 1953, p. 276; cf. J. McK. Camp II in *Agora* XXVIII, pp. 99–103, for the Rectangular Peribolos as a probable court of law; earlier, Thompson 1954, pp. 33–39; *Agora* XIV, pp. 62–65; Camp 1986, pp. 46–47; Camp 1990, pp. 180–181.

88. Stroud 1998, p. 94 (summation), 95–96, fig. 5; excavated houses: *Agora* XIV, pp. 173–177; Camp 1990, pp. 56–58; it had not been certain heretofore that the southerly (*Agora* I 7039) of the two standing boundary stones of the Agora marked its southern limit, but that is a clear corollary of Stroud's conclusion.

It can now be seen how the preceding scholarship, culminating with Stroud's argument, fits my proposition about the street boundary of Kollytos and Melite as it proceeds from the southwest corner of the Agora (see Fig. 1).<sup>89</sup> There Agora West Street at its southern end divides into two branches at the point of the northerly Agora horos (Agora I 5510), about 20 m southeast of the Tholos. The eastern branch continues south by southwest, passing the southerly horos of the Agora (Agora I 7039) and becoming Young's Areiopagos Street, which continues around the west end of its namesake hill. The western of the two streets branching from the Agora diverges gradually from its eastern counterpart, heading directly southwest as Young's Street of the Marble Workers and passing Vanderpool's State Prison before turning westward up to the Hill of the Nymphs as Nymphs/Pnyx Street. If Stroud is right that the confiscated house in Kollytos was one of those excavated in the tongue of land formed by the divergence of these two streets, then the easterly of the two routes, Young's Areiopagos Street, is ruled out as the deme boundary, for it lies entirely within Kollytos.<sup>90</sup> Tentatively then, the sole remaining road as a candidate for the deme boundary is Young's Street of the Marble Workers, which radiates from the Agora, neatly dividing Kollytos to the east (with Stroud's confiscated house and Aiakeion) and Melite to the west with its Eurysakeion.

The attentive fieldwork of Young seems to support the choice of boundaries presented above. He suggested that one of the streets of his excavation was chosen by Kleisthenes as a deme boundary—obviously that between Kollytos and Melite. Although Young did not commit himself to a specific street, his later description of the stratigraphy at a point in the Street of the Marble Workers is telling: "The westward branch of the Street of the Marble Workers continued in use from Archaic through late Roman times. A cut made in its filling at the bend in its course [about 180 m southwest of the Agora] revealed six successive layers of road metal, of which the uppermost produced fourth century B.C. [*sic*] sherds, the lowest sherds of the late sixth or early fifth century. Beneath lay a layer of soft red earth which evidently predated the use of this area as a street and which contained sherds of the sixth century."<sup>91</sup> This chronology strongly suggests that the Street of the Marble Workers was laid, or at least regraded, about the time of Kleisthenes' reform to connect the Agora with Nymphs/Pnyx Street.<sup>92</sup> Furthermore, since the horoi of the Agora, as noted above, are themselves arguably Kleisthenic in date and purpose, it does not seem far-fetched to suggest that the delimiting of the Agora with horoi, and of the

89. For a more detailed plan of the area, see Stroud 1998, p. 96, fig. 5.

90. Stroud 1998, p. 95 and fig. 5.

91. Young 1951, p. 162.

92. If the Street of the Marble Workers was first created at this time, the area must not have been well populated. This is not implausible, since the creation of the Classical Agora nearby, whether one accepts its tradi-

tional Kleisthenic dating or the post-Salamis dating of Papadopoulos (2003, p. 285), supplanted the earlier use of a much larger tract of land. Whether the Nymphs/Pnyx route over the saddle of these hills was already a full-fledged road before this time is uncertain. At this gap through the western hills there was probably always at least a footpath, but it certainly would have become a road for pedestrians and pack animals

by the very late 6th or early 5th century B.C., when there was a great increase in traffic on roads to and from the west and northwest region of the city as the Athenians created the Classical Agora and shifted their chief harbor from Phaleron to Piraeus (Papadopoulos [2003, p. 285] would date both events after the Battle of Salamis).

demes Kollytos and Melite with the Street of the Marble Workers, which exited the Agora at one of its horoi, were of a piece in the Kleisthenic program of political boundaries.<sup>93</sup>

Further indirect evidence that this street was the deme boundary lies in another entry in the confiscation records of the Poletai. The relevant passage from Agora I 1749 is ἐργαστήρια δύο ἐ[μ Μελίτη] . . . νοτό: ἡ ὁ[δὸς ἡ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἡρακλ]εῖο τοῦ Ἀλεξικάκου εἰς ἀγο[ρὰν φέρουσα] (“two workshops in Melite . . . bounded on the south by the road leading from the Shrine of Herakles Alexikakos to the Agora”).<sup>94</sup> Wycherley concluded that the road described here was the extension of Young’s Street of the Marble Workers up the south flank of the Hill of the Nymphs as what we have called Nymphs/Pnyx Street, and that the Herakleion was near this road as it passed between the Hill of the Nymphs and the Pnyx. As I have argued in an earlier publication,<sup>95</sup> Wycherley’s general location of the Herakleion can be further refined to agree with Pittakis’s more exact placement of it on the upper tier of the northeast spur of the Hill of the Nymphs.<sup>96</sup> Wycherley was certainly correct that Nymphs/Pnyx Street and the Street of the Marble Workers were continuous segments of a single road, for, after exiting the Agora, the line of this thoroughfare was unbroken, and it alone ascended the draw between the Hill of the Nymphs and the Pnyx.<sup>97</sup> Moreover, by describing the road with reference to two of its widely separated points, the Herakleion in Melite and the Agora, this official text shows that, although this road crossed Young’s Piraeus and Melite Streets on its route, it was thought of as an integral line radiating from the Agora, and thus would be a logical deme boundary.<sup>98</sup>

Since we cannot be sure that horos B marked Nymphs/Pnyx Street as a deme boundary, or that the Herakleion was in the shrine of Zeus, the burden of proof for this boundary shifts significantly to the question raised briefly above: In what deme was the Pnyx? The significance of this question lies in the fact that Nymphs/Pnyx Street is the only exit road from the city in the area between the Hill of the Nymphs and the Pnyx. In other words, if the Pnyx was not in Melite, or surrounded by Melite, then Nymphs/Pnyx Street is the only road that could have been the south boundary of Melite.

93. On the dating and purpose of the horoi of the Agora, see above, pp. 86–88, and *Agora* XIX, pp. 10–11.

94. For Agora I 1749, see Meritt 1936, pp. 393–413, no. 10, Face A, col. 4, lines 105–109; *Agora* XIX, p. 114, P26, lines 450–454; although no trace of the name Melite survives on the fragment, its restoration is not a case of explaining *ignotum per ignotius*, but is virtually certain for a number of reasons: (1) it is the only urban deme name that fits the stoichedon pattern, presuming the rest of the restoration is correct; (2) Herakles Alexikakos, whose shrine was by all accounts in Melite, is

mentioned in proximity; and (3) in confiscation documents, the mention of the location is formulaic after entries of real property.

95. Lalonde 2006, pp. 86–93.

96. Wycherley 1959, pp. 67–68; 1978, p. 187; Pittakis 1835, p. 461.

97. Young (1951, p. 161) recorded that at the point where the Street of the Marble Workers turned west to mount the slope of the Hill of the Nymphs it had another branch as old as the Geometric period that may have continued southward up the valley between the Areiopagos and the Pnyx. This branch, however, could not have been a deme

boundary, for, as Young noted (p. 136, fig. 1), it was built over with houses in the 5th and 4th centuries B.C.

98. The Agora, with its Altar of the Twelve Gods, is recognized in ancient sources (Hdt. 2.7; *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2640) and modern scholarship (*Agora* XIV, pp. 192–193; Wycherley 1962, p. 9; Siewert 1982, p. 55) as the hub from which main roads radiated; as such, it was probably exclusive of all demes and therefore formed the inner boundary of the urban demes that surrounded it; so Siewert 1982, pp. 56–57; Langdon 1985, p. 12.



It is a long-standing tradition of scholarship that the Pnyx was in Melite. A first step in the argument against that tradition is to allow that at least the east and north slopes of the Hill of the Nymphs were in Melite. Most modern topographers agree with this, even though the southernmost certain monument of the deme is the shrine of Artemis Aristoboule founded by Themistokles (Plut. *Them.* 22; *Mor.* 869C–D) and unearthed in 1956 about 150 m north of the summit and northeast spur of the Hill of the Nymphs (see Fig. 1).<sup>99</sup> But the belief that the Pnyx was in Melite was largely rooted in the further belief, prominent up to the mid-1950s, that Kolonos Agoraios and Kerameikos were demes, and thus that the area of Melite, as one of the most populous of the urban demes, must have extended quite far south.<sup>100</sup> But Lewis, as noted above, showed conclusively in 1955 that Kolonos Agoraios was not itself a deme but an area within the deme of Melite, and it is now widely accepted that the Kerameikos horoi marked not a deme but either the public district of the Kerameikos or the street adjacent to the horoi.<sup>101</sup> In short, Melite extended much farther to the east and north than was once thought, although its northern boundary is not known precisely. A reasonable guess is that in the north it bordered the deme Skambonidai on the line of the Panathenaic Way from the Dipylon to the Agora.<sup>102</sup> In any case, Lewis's finding at least allows the possibility that Melite could accommodate its population without extending as far south as the Pnyx or the Mouseion.

Despite the much greater extent now allowed to eastern and northern Melite, and despite the abandonment of hypotheses that were concomitant with the Pnyx's being in Melite, such as the location of Otto Walter's Heraikleion and Homer Thompson's Thesmophorion, the long-standing belief that the Pnyx was within Melite has continued unchallenged.<sup>103</sup> If this belief hangs by any ancient evidence, it is the thin thread of a scholion to Aristophanes, *Aves* 997 (Philochoros of Athens, *FGrH* 328 F122), a text in which the generally reliable Philochoros is introduced to test claims of earlier writers, but a text that is still difficult to read and suspect by any reading:

[10] Φησὶ δὲ Καλλίστρατος ἐν Κολωνῶι ἀνάνθημά τι εἶναι  
αὐτοῦ | ἀστρολογικόν . . . ὁ δὲ Φιλόχορος ἐν Κολωνῶι μὲν αὐτὸν  
οὐδὲν θεῖναι λέγει, ἐπὶ Ἀψεύδους [15] δὲ <τοῦ> πρὸ Πυθοδώρου  
ἡλιοτρόπιον ἐν τῇ νῦν οὔσῃ ἐκκλησίαι | πρὸς τῶι τείχει τῶι ἐν  
τῇ Πνυκί. μήποτε οὖν τὸ χωρίον (φασὶ τινες) | ἐκεῖνο πᾶν, ὧι

99. See Threpsiades and Vanderpool 1965, pp. 31–33; the shrine's control by the deme rests on the discovery of a decree of Melite (*SEG* XXII 116) of about 330 B.C. honoring its prominent demesman Neoptolemos (*APF* 10652), apparently for his restoration of the shrine; see also Frost 1980, pp. 184–185.

100. On the Pnyx in Melite, see Young 1951, p. 140; Judeich 1931, p. 169 and n. 1; Wilamowitz-Möllerndorff 1880, p. 148; on the population of

the demes and of Melite in particular, see above, n. 78.

101. *Agora* XIX, pp. 11–13; Brueckner 1914, p. 91; Ohly 1965, pp. 327–328; see, most recently, the lengthy argument of Papadopoulos (2003, especially chap. 5) that the Kerameikos (Potters' Quarter) was originally north of the Areiopagos but moved northwestward with the founding of the Classical Agora.

102. So Langdon 1985, p. 12 and n. 21; Siewert (1982, p. 29, n. 140),

however, envisioned a strip of the deme Kerameis extending inward from the Dipylon to the Agora, which is consistent with his later argument (1999, p. 3) that the district and its horoi were to some extent identified with the deme Kerameis.

103. Walter 1915, pp. 97–98, followed by Judeich (1931, pp. 396–397); Thompson 1936, pp. 156–192; cf. Thompson and Scranton 1943, p. 295; on the location of the Thesmophorion of Melite, see Clinton 1996, pp. 123–125.

περιλαμβάνεται καὶ ἡ Πνύξ, Κολωνός ἐστιν, ὁ ἕτερος ὁ μίσθιος ἢ λεγόμενος· οὕτως μέρος τι νῦν σύνηθες γέγονε τὸ Κολωνὸν καλεῖν τὸ ὅπισθεν ἢ τῆς Μακρᾶς Στοᾶς. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστι· Μελίτη γὰρ ἅπαν ἐκεῖνο, ὡς ἐν τοῖς Ὅρισι[20]μοῖς γέγραπται τῆς πόλεως.<sup>104</sup>

Kallistratos says that a certain astronomical monument in Kolonos is his [Meton's] . . . but Philochoros says that he [Meton] set up nothing in Kolonos, but that in the archonship of Apseudes [433/2 B.C.], the one before Pythodoros, he set up a heliotropion in the present *ekklesia* by the wall in the Pnyx. And so perhaps, some say, that whole place, in which is included also the Pnyx, is Kolonos, the other [Kolonos], the so-called hiring place. Thus it has now become customary to call a certain part the Kolonon, namely the part behind the Makra Stoa. But it is not; for that whole thing is Melite, as is written in the boundary records of the polis.

This text, like many scholia, is cobbled together with little coherence from a number of earlier commentaries, and modern attempts at emendation seem only to complicate its problems. Foremost among the difficulties here is an apparent confusion of the deme Kolonos, the Kolonos Agoraios, and perhaps other Kolonoi.<sup>105</sup> The scholiast allows the possibility of Kallistratos's claim that Meton set up an astronomical apparatus in Kolonos, but then he (the scholiast) indicates that he finds nothing in Philochoros to the effect that Meton set up anything there, and he, or perhaps Philochoros, asserts that Meton actually set up a heliotropion in the contemporary *ekklesia* by the wall in the Pnyx. The disagreement may have derived from a confusion of the Kolonos Agoraios with Kolonos Hippios, the deme of Sophocles, and a tradition that Meton installed devices on both the Pnyx and the Kolonos (perhaps Agoraios).<sup>106</sup> In any case, this confusion seems to have given rise to a popular claim (line 16: φασί τινες) that Kolonos extended west and southwest of the Agora as far as the Pnyx. The

104. The text printed here is that of *FGrH*, except for Dobree's emendation of οὐ ἕτερος in line 17, where I retain ὁ ἕτερος of codex V. See also Jacoby's commentary and notes (*FGrH* IIIb 1, pp. 496–497; IIIb 2, pp. 401–403) on this fragment of Philochoros, where the difficulties of the scholiast's text are made clear in greater detail.

105. Note the scholiast's alternating use and nonuse of the definite article with Κολων-, both here and further on in the same scholion (as quoted below in n. 106). Even if these variants are inconsistent vestiges of a distinction in the scholiast's sources between the Kolonos Agoraios and Kolonos (Hippios) the deme, this seems to have been lost on the scholiast. It also does not explain the neuter article in line 18

(τὸ Κολωνόν)—in the second instance, the dative (below, n. 106: τῷ Κολωνῷ) leaves the gender uncertain. Since τὸ Κολωνόν seems otherwise unattested, perhaps the only recourse in a text as prickly as this one is to view it as an error for τὸν Κολωνόν.

Philochoros discussed several Kolonoi (and perhaps the two Attic demes called Kolonai) in his third book (*FGrH* 328 F26; see also IIIb 2, p. 401); cf. *FGrH* IIIb 2, p. 402, for Jacoby's idea that the subject of the scholion and the *horismoi* may have been regions of the city rather than demes; this nearly led him (p. 403) to anticipate Lewis's finding about Kolonos Agoraios, as he considered that Aris-tophanes may have meant by Kolonos a quarter of the town and not a deme.

106. Further on, the same scholion

suggests the possibility on the basis of a passage in the *Monotropos* (414 B.C.) of the comic poet Phrynichos (Kock 1880, p. 376, fr. 21, probably derived from Hypothesis 1 to Ar. *Av.* and the *didaskaliai*) that Meton installed a fountain or statue or astronomical instrument on the Kolonos Agoraios in addition to his device on the Pnyx: see Dübner [1877] 1969, scholion to *Av.* 997, p. 233: ἴσως δὲ ἐν Κολωνῷ κρήνην τινὰ κατεσκευάσατο. φησὶν ὁ Φρύνιχος Μονοτρόπῳ “τίς δ' ἐστὶν ὁ μετὰ ταῦτα ταύτης φροντιῶν; Μέτων ὁ Λευκονοεὺς, ὁ τὰς κρήνας ἄγων.” καθεῖται δὲ καὶ ὁ Μονότροπος ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Χαβρίου, ὡς εἴρηται. Ἄλλως, ἴσως ἐν τῷ Κολωνῷ κρήνην τινὰ κατεμηχανήσατο, ἢ ἄγαλμα, ἢ ἀνάθημα ἀστρολογικὸν κατεσκευάσατο αὐτῷ.

scholion, however, perhaps again deriving from Philochoros, contradicts this, clarifying that the Kolonos meant is the other Kolonos,<sup>107</sup> the hiring place, the area behind the Makra Stoa (that is, Kolonos Agoraios and not Kolonos Hippios), and that not only that area but also as far as the Pnyx is Melite—assuming that there is any grammatical coherence here, and that the final ἅπαν ἐκεῖνο refers not to οὕτως μέρος τι κτλ., but to the earlier ἐκεῖνο πᾶν.<sup>108</sup> Thus this crabbed text seems rightly to imply what is now clear to us from Lewis's scholarship, that the Kolonos Agoraios was in Melite, but it is also the sole ancient testimony invoked by scholars up to our own era that Melite extended south far enough to embrace the Pnyx.<sup>109</sup> Moreover, Jacoby may have been right that the root discussion in the scholion was not about demes at all.

In any case, one may readily put up against that scholion a passage of the sober, early, and learned Tertullian (*De anim.* 20) on the supposed effects of environmental factors on the inherited character of local peoples:

Nam et hic etiam de locis interest. Thebis hebetes et brutos nasci relatum est, Athenis sapiendi dicendique acutissimos; ubi penes Colyttum pueri mense citius eloquuntur praecoca lingua.<sup>110</sup>

For in this matter even locale makes a difference. At Thebes it is said that the people are born obtuse and irrational, at Athens, very keen at comprehension and expression; and there in the deme Kollytos the children are so precocious in language that they learn to talk a month sooner.

Here, for the purposes of argument, we must accept the logical but erroneous Lamarckianism and interpret this remark about children in Kollytos as an allusion to the rhetorical influence of the *Ekklesia*. So Judeich understood it, but, believing that the Pnyx was in Melite, he strained the passage to mean that Kollytos was in a main area of traffic in the vicinity of the Pnyx.<sup>111</sup> But surely Tertullian's point was that the Pnyx was in Kollytos or, if the assembly-place, like the Agora, was separate from the demes (the Pnyx

107. This apposition is the point of keeping the MS reading ὁ ἕτερος instead of Dobree's οὗ ἕτερος in line 17. The latter phraseology, in making ὁ μίσθιος Κολωνός as well as the Pnyx part of another Kolonos, seems unduly complicating.

108. The distinction of this Kolonos as Agoraios by the qualifier "the so-called hiring-place" is confirmed by the scholia and lexicographies apparently based on earlier commentators who noted Hyperides' reference (Blass 1894, fr. 8) to hirelings as *Kolonetai*; see *Agora* III, pp. 91–92, no. 251; p. 99, no. 286; Lambert 1997, p. 295, n. 11.

For location of the Makra Stoa "in Kerameikos," see *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 968, line 14;

also *Agora* III, p. 21, no. 3, for Wycherley's note that this stoa was probably "one of those along the road from the Dipylon to the agora, on the south, where [in accord with the scholion to *Ar. Av.* 997] it would have the Kolonos Agoraios behind it."

109. E.g., Dunbar 1995, p. 554. If there is need to emphasize further the unreliability of scholiasts on demes, one need not look far, for a scholion (to Aeschin. 1.125) is also the sole direct testimony that Kolonos Agoraios was a deme.

110. Edition of J. H. Waszink, Amsterdam 1947. Tertullian probably borrowed the comparison of Thebans and Athenians from Cicero (*Fat.* 4.7).

The story about Kollytos survives nowhere else in the ancient tradition of environmental influences on the soul and mind. Some translators read *mense* of *mense citius* as the ablative of comparison ("sooner than a month"), but my translation of the ablative of degree of difference may be preferred for making the statement less outlandish. I thank Ioannis Evrigenis for providing me with Waszink's text, and Molly Richardson for calling my attention to some of the textual difficulties.

111. Judeich 1931, p. 169, n. 1. Less likely is Waszink's notion (n. 110, above) of Kollytos in this context as an allusion to Plato's deme and birthplace (Diog. Laert. 3.3).

did have its own horoi; e.g., *IG I<sup>3</sup> 1092*),<sup>112</sup> largely embraced by Kollytos. Otherwise, the saying should have been about children in Melite.

Before quitting the subject of Melite and Kollytos, we return to the simple horos B (*hópos*) on the northeast spur of the Hill of the Nymphs and consider one other possible function, that is, that horos B may have been a deme marker in a sense apart from the official polis-wide program of Kleisthenic divisions at the end of the 6th century B.C. The demesmen of Melite themselves may have cut horos B to emphasize to all visitors to the shrine of Zeus, and thus preclude any dispute, that this temenos and all those northward to its other boundaries were within the control of the deme.<sup>113</sup> Subsequent to, and independent of, this hypothesis, Eugenio Lanzillotta published a remarkably parallel idea, namely, that the shrine at the summit of the Hill of the Nymphs (Fig. 1), and therefore also just north of the proposed deme boundary of Melite, did not belong to the Nymphs and Demos, but that its rupestral horos (*IG I<sup>3</sup> 1065: ἱερὸν | Νυμφ[ῶ]ν Δέμο*), roughly contemporary with horos B, meant a “shrine of Nymphs of the deme,” with the intent of asserting a territorial claim.<sup>114</sup> Although horos B lacks the word *δέμο*, the proximity of the horos of Zeus may have helped to clarify Melite’s territorial purpose in the simple marker.

Melite’s purpose in marking its territorial claims at key shrines near its boundary with Kollytos was very likely to emphasize its possession of these prestigious and valuable religious resources. Unlike rural demes, which had land for plowing, pasture, and minerals as well as religious *temenê*, the inner urban demes had their greatest public resource in cults. At least four other shrines of specific gods or heroes besides those of the Zeus of horos A and the Nymphs at the summit of their namesake hill are known to have been in Melite, and three of these shrines (Fig. 1: the Eurysakeion, the Hephaisteion, and the temple of Artemis Aristoboule) have been discovered or are otherwise convincingly located north of the deme boundary proposed here. The fourth is that of Herakles Alexikakos, probably located, where Pittakis first suggested, on the northeast spur of the Hill of the Nymphs, within, or adjacent to, the precinct of Zeus.<sup>115</sup> In the case of the shrine of Artemis, although its founder Themistokles, a resident of Melite, was not a member of the deme, there is direct epigraphical evidence that by about 330 B.C. the precinct was administered by the Melitean demesmen.<sup>116</sup>

112. Horos of the Pnyx, ca. mid-5th century B.C.; see Travlos, *Athens*, pp. 466–467, fig. 588.

113. Cf. Traill’s somewhat analogous suggestion (1982, esp. p. 168), that the precise division by inscribed horoi of Erechtheid and Antigonid Lamprai was necessitated by the establishment of the Macedonian *phylai* of Athens in the late 4th century B.C.

114. Lanzillotta 2000, p. 499: “che lo ἱερὸν sia dedicato alle Ninfe del popolo o alle Ninfe del demo, inteso come ripartizione territoriale. Ambedue le letture sono accettabili, come pure rico-

nosce la Kron [1979], e tuttavia appare preferibile la seconda, per la consolidata attestazione dei culti del demo.” Lanzillotta argues that the Nymphs and their concern with fertility and childbirth have nothing in common with the politics of the Athenian demos or the personified Demos, that there is no parallel for such a connection, and that Demos as a heroized cult figure, often and appropriately with Grace or the Graces, is attested only from the 4th century on; see also P. Gauthier in *BullÉp* 2001, p. 505, no. 149. I thank R. S. Stroud for calling this article to my attention. We

should add that Parker earlier (1996, p. 233) noted that the combination of Nymphs and demos was unusual and suspected that the shrine may not have been “of,” but owned by, the demos (i.e., of the Athenians).

115. Pittakis 1835, p. 461; also Lalonde 2006, pp. 86–93.

116. See above, p. 107, n. 99. Since this shrine of Artemis was founded after the institutions of Kleisthenes, and Themistokles was a strong supporter of demotic politics, the shrine may well have come under deme control from its beginning.

Two other shrines very likely in Melite that have been excavated but remain anonymous are the small *hieron* discovered by Thompson and Scranton on the northwest slope of the Hill of the Nymphs and, further to the north, the apparent shrine on the site of the old Church of Agios Athanasios Kourkouris (Fig. 1) on Heptakhalkou Street, just west of the Theseion Metro Station.<sup>117</sup>

The dating of horos B and that of the Nymphs' shrine, as interpreted above, suggest that the deme Melite had some early interest and authority regarding the cults and shrines within its boundaries. Some of this authority probably originated with Kleisthenes' reforms, but there is also evidence that other demotic control evolved later. The role of the *phratritiai* in the Apaturia and Thargelia festivals and in the cults of Zeus Phratrios and Athena Phratritia, as well as details of the cultic activity of phratrities and their subgroups, give some credence to the Aristotelian claim (*Ath. Pol.* 21.6) that Kleisthenes left sacrificial matters to the *phratritiai* and *genê* in accordance with ancestral customs,<sup>118</sup> but, at least for the reason that some of the old gentilitial groups would have had territorial roots that were outside or overlapped the deme boundaries, the demarchy from its inception must have had some of the administrative role in religion that we see in later evidence, especially that of the 4th century.<sup>119</sup>

In state decrees as well as those of the demes there is evidence that the demarch's religious duties gradually increased, often not replacing but merging with those of older cult functionaries and laws. For example, we read of such a merger in Demosthenes 57.46–48, 62, where the priest of Herakles in the deme Halimous is said to be appointed by lot from a list of “best-born” (εὐγενέστατοι) candidates nominated by the deme assembly. *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 204, a state decree of 352/1 B.C., orders (lines 16–23) that from then on, various polis officials “whom the law prescribes in each instance” and demarchs should see to the permanent care of all shrines. A decree of the demesmen of Piraeus (*IG II<sup>2</sup>* 1177) stipulates that the incumbent demarch along with the priestess is to see to the proper use of the deme's Thesmophorion and to impose fines for illegal wood-gathering

117. Thompson and Scranton 1943, p. 381, app. B. For the Church of Agios Athanasios, see Mommsen [1868] 1977, pp. 49–50, n. 47; Biris 1940, p. 51, no. 90; Travlos 1960, pl. X (following p. 192). Some of the arched and rectangular niches cut into the facets of the rock on which stands the old chapel of Hosios Athanasios may be the work of devotees of the Christian holy man, but I thank Kevin Glowacki (pers. comm.) for sharing with me his opinion that most of the niches are ancient and that one of them has a setting in the bottom surface for a tenon, a common feature of Classical votive niches.

118. On phratry religion and its

post-Kleisthenic survival, see Lambert 1998, chap. 6; here Lambert clearly lays to rest the idea of Wade-Gery (1933) that the phratry survived as the religious antipode of the secular deme. Note particularly pp. 224–225, for Lambert's consideration of the possibility that the *Ath. Pol.* meant in part that the Kleisthenic reforms had the indirect effect of transferring some cults of the phratrities and their subgroups to the demes; see also Kearns 1985, pp. 204–205; 1989, pp. 755–777; and Whitehead 1986a, pp. 176–222. This scholarship, along with Lambert 1998, chap. 8, counters the earlier view (see, for example, Lewis 1963, p. 37) that Kleisthenes broke up the old local

political coalitions by undermining the religious institutions that held them together, a view that relied heavily on Aristotle's theoretical rule (*Pol.* 1319b), with some reference to Kleisthenes, that “private religious rites should be reduced to a few public ones.”

119. On the subject of religion in the demes, I have benefited especially from the following: Mikalson 1977; Osborne 1985, pp. 154–189; Whitehead 1986a, pp. 176–222 (in general), 163–169 (cult finance), 127–128, 134–137 (religious duties of the demarchs); as Whitehead notes (1986a, p. 176, n. 1), the *loci classici* on deme religion, especially sacrifice, are Arist. *Eth. Nic.* 1160a.14–25, and Pl. *Lach.* 187d–e.

according to “the ancient laws on the subject.”<sup>120</sup> The demarchy, from the time of its institution, certainly would have been responsible for seeing that only those eligible partook of the *hiera* of deme festivals and sacrifices or those of the polis conducted by and within the deme. Keeping in mind that the evidence of deme inscriptions is mostly scattered and late, and that every internal practice of one deme may not be that of the others, we may still cite these isolated extant documents as suggestive of wider practice.

The suggested territorial imperative of the deme over its local shrines, cults, and festivals was motivated not only by interest in divine favor and the political prestige of these religious institutions, but also by what these institutions did for the deme's economy. Whitehead neatly summarizes the deme's interest in religious finance thus: “The cost of cult—upkeep of temples and shrines, offerings of regular sacrifices, celebration of recurrent festivals—surely represented, for any deme, the major object of regular expenditure, and indeed the fundamental *raison d'être* of the budget as a whole.”<sup>121</sup> Evidence of this is the fact that the extant *leges sacrae* and *fasti sacri* of Attic demes are less the rules and schedules of ritual than accounts of the personnel and finances of sacrifices and offerings, accounts that run into the hundreds of drachmas annually for single demes.<sup>122</sup> For the 59 sacrifices listed in the sacred calendar of the deme of Erchia (*SEG XXI* 541) the total cost is approximately 547 drachmas, and all but five of those sacrifices took place in Erchia itself. A decree of about 400 B.C. from the deme of Plotheia lists cult outlays, including the demarch's budget, totaling 22,100 drachmas, an amount so large that it was certainly not expenditure but rather the total capital investment in loans and the leasing of deme lands, the interest from which would have supported the deme's cult budget.<sup>123</sup>

Melite, being a heavily populated inner urban deme, would, unlike Plotheia, have had little real property to lease. Like Erchia, it would have raised religious funds through *leitourgiai* and other forms of taxation, but, being in the heavily populated inner city with a large traffic in sacrifices, its numerous shrines would themselves have generated some of the funds for their own function and maintenance as well as material benefits for the deme. For example, if the demarch himself was making sacrifice, a duty attested in at least six deme inscriptions, he was often in charge of distributing the meat of sacrifice and was the recipient of perquisites (*gera*) such as the skins of the sacrificial animals.<sup>124</sup>

While the great part of these extant records concerns the deme's own expenditures on shrines and rituals, beyond these, and more to the point

120. For elaboration of this and other evidence, see Whitehead 1986a, pp. 127–128, 134–137, with notes.

121. Whitehead 1986a, pp. 163–164.

122. On the sacral calendars and laws as practical accounts, see Jameson 1965, pp. 155–156; for a summary study of the sacred calendars of the Attic demes, see Verbanck-Piérard 1998.

123. See Finley 1951, pp. 284–285,

n. 39, for a summary of the debate about the meaning of the figures in this decree; Haussoullier (1884, p. 64) estimated from these investments a yield of 12 percent or 1,812 drachmas after discounting capital expenditure for the shrine of Herakles.

124. See Whitehead 1986a, p. 128 and nn. 40–49, for a summary of the ritual duties of the demarch and their financing. On the various expenses of

sacrifice, see Sokolowski 1954; Burkert 1985, pp. 95–97; Rosivach 1994, pp. 68–142. For the extent and direction of deme cult expenditures, see Mikalson 1977, pp. 424–435. Dow (1965, pp. 206–207) suggested that in the Erchia calendar (*SEG XXI* 541) the unusual granting of *gera* to the *kêryx* (col. E, lines 54–58) *καθάπερ ὁ δῆμαρχος* meant that the demarch was the normal recipient.

of popular cults and shrines like those of Zeus or the Nymphs on this hill in Melite,<sup>125</sup> individuals and small groups must have spent, and offered in their sacrifices, a great deal that has gone unrecorded but might be loosely projected from extant votives, analogous inventories, and *leges sacrae* of the polis and demes. In the case of these “private” sacrifices, the deme itself probably profited from sale of victims, bloodless offerings, and wood fuel, the sale of the services of *mageiroi* to slaughter and cook sacrificial animals, the collection of shares of the sacrificial meat and bloodless offerings, the *gera*, and, at least relatively late in the evolution of Greek cults, the receipt of monetary fees and other gifts. Obviously such expenditures by the individuals and small groups would have been more modest on the average than those of the deme and other large corporations, but in the aggregate they must have been considerable.<sup>126</sup>

The deme of Melite was always a territory bordered by other territorial demes, but in the short period from the Kleisthenic reforms to the mid-5th century it became also the neighbor of great polis institutions such as the Agora, the Pnyx, and the Themistoklean city wall. Although it probably took pride in its proximity to the central greatness of Athens, as Robert Parker has said, “in many respects the religious life of a deme can be seen as that of a mini πόλις, closely comparable on a small scale to that of Athens itself.”<sup>127</sup> In this sense, Melite’s own communal highlight as a deme must have been its collective shrines and cults, and it is quite plausible, though admittedly uncertain, that the purpose of rupestral horos B and that of the shrine of the Nymphs was to emphasize its territoriality, thereby distinguishing its religious resources from those of Kollytos and marking its identity as a polis within the polis.

## THE EXTENT OF MELITE

Although the foregoing discussion has not involved all the boundaries of Melite and Kollytos, it has included enough information about the other boundaries of Melite that it may be useful to present the evidence for the full configuration of that deme. Lewis’s definitive striking of Kolonos Agoraios from the list of demes showed that the eastern border of Melite was virtually coextensive with the west side of the Agora. Without any hard evidence, but again with the premise that major roads radiating from the city center served as boundaries of the inner urban demes, a good tentative placement of Melite’s northern limit, perhaps bordering Skambonidai, is the line of the Panathenaic Way from the Agora out to, or through, the Dipylon Gate.<sup>128</sup> Langdon’s preference for an outer border of the central

125. Elsewhere (Lalonde 2006, pp. 40–80), I have argued from dedications to Zeus Meilichios found in the vicinity of the Hill of the Nymphs and the Agora that this popular god of purification and individual and familial welfare was the chief deity of the shrine marked by horos A. Having a cult of

purification, the shrine of Zeus would have been frequented not only by demesmen, but also resident and visiting citizens of other demes, metics, foreigners, and perhaps even slaves.

126. Much of the research of Rosivach (1994, pp. 68–142) on the economics of supplying and acquiring

victims for public sacrifice is applicable to sacrifices by small family groups and individuals; for fees and contributions paid to cults, see *LSCG* 69, lines 20–24; Petropoulou 1981, pp. 53–54; Sourvinou-Inwood 1988, pp. 263–264.

127. Parker 1987, p. 137.

128. Siewert 1982, p. 42.

urban demes at the Themistoklean city wall may correspond to fact in some cases, including that of Melite,<sup>129</sup> but a general rule to that effect raises questions of chronology and purpose. Even if the inner urban demes took their territories and names from what were once separate communities, the topography of Athenian streets and natural features was, as noted above, complex enough at the end of the 6th century for these divisions to have been made by Kleisthenes himself.

We have no evidence that the city deme boundaries were reset in 479 B.C. to match the new city wall, and, to be sure, the new wall could not have been made to fit political boundaries, for its purpose was defense, and the main criteria in siting a defensible city wall in Archaic or Classical Greece were manpower and terrain. Still, as suggested above, Melite may have been one of those urban demes whose outer boundary was coincidentally on or close to the Themistoklean circuit. I hinted above, in the discussion of the Melitides Gate, at the difficulty of determining the outer extent of the proposed southern boundary of Melite southwest of the saddle between the Hill of the Nymphs and the Pnyx. The Diateichisma, as a construction of the 4th century or later, is out of the question, unless that wall coincidentally sat on the deme boundary. The limited evidence of the original Themistoklean city wall in the area between the Long Walls to Piraeus suggests that it looped out considerably farther southwest than the Diateichisma.<sup>130</sup> If the southern street boundary of Melite went that far beyond the crest of the hills, it probably bordered Koile as well as Kollytos on the south.

Although we cannot be precise about how far Melite extended to the west, there is a complex of evidence that its western flank was contiguous with the deme Keiriadai in the area shortly west and northwest of the Hill of the Nymphs. One testimonium, from at least as early as the 2nd century A.D. (*Lexica Segueriana*), associates Keiriadai with Athens's place of execution, describing the *barathron* as a pit in Keiriadai into which the Athenians cast those condemned to death.<sup>131</sup> Some Classical writers bear out the implication of this phraseology, that casting into the *barathron* was not always just to exhibit the corpse and deprive it of burial, but was also sometimes a mode of execution, and that the site was therefore a rocky precipice of some kind.<sup>132</sup> Two other ancient sources bring into closer focus the location of the *barathron* and thus the approximate boundary of Melite and Keiriadai. Plutarch wrote (*Them.* 22; *Mor.* 869C–D) that Themistokles founded the temple of Artemis Aristoboule near his house in Melite, “where now the δήμιοι throw out the bodies of those put to death.” Since this Artemision has been excavated and securely identified (Fig. 1),<sup>133</sup>

129. Langdon 1985, p. 11.

130. See Judeich 1931, plan I:B–C/5–6, where, however, many of the lines are tentative.

131. Bekker 1814, p. 219, s.v. Βάραθρον: Ἀθήνησι δὲ ἦν ὄρυγμά τι ἐν Κειριαδῶν δήμῳ τῆς Οἰνιΐδος φυλῆς [Thalheim (see below): vielmehr τῆς Ἰπποθοωντίδος], εἰς ὃ τοὺς ἐπὶ θανάτῳ καταγνοσθέντας ἐνέβαλλον. Cf. Harp.,

s.v. βάραθρον and ὄρυγμα. For the *barathron* in general, see *RE* II, 1896, col. 2853, s.v. βάραθρον (T. Thalheim).

132. E.g., Xen. *Hell.* 1.7.20: εἰς τὸ καταγνοσθῆναι ἀδικεῖν, ἀποθανεῖν εἰς τὸ βάραθρον ἐμβληθέντα. Thucydides (2.67), using the less parochial term φάραγγα, indicates that the corpses of heinous criminals executed in other ways were also cast into the *barathron*

(ἀπέκτειναν πάντας καὶ ἐς φάραγγα ἐσέβαλον)—unless the historian intended *hysteron-proteron*. Either sequence might be implied in the common idiom for handing one over to the executioner, παραδοῦναι τῷ ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρύγματος (e.g., Lycurg. 121; Din. 1.62).

133. See above, p. 107 and n. 99.



we can be quite certain that Plutarch meant that they cast the bodies out beyond the city gate that Judeich postulated from wheel ruts running perpendicular to the line of the Themistoklean city wall about 240 m south of the Piraeus Gate and just northwest of the Hill of the Nymphs. Judeich tentatively identified this gate (Fig. 1) as the Δημίασι πύλαι (“Executioner’s Gate”) mentioned by Hesychius.<sup>134</sup> This location fits neatly the other piece of evidence from Classical literature, a paradigmatic scene in Plato (*Resp.* 439e), where outside the north Long Wall on the road from Piraeus, Leontios feasts his eyes on the corpses of executed criminals.<sup>135</sup> Plutarch’s use of the word “now” (vūv), his mention of Melite rather than Keiriadai, and the different terms, ὄρυγμα and βάραθρον, should not, I think, lead us, as it has some late antique and modern writers, to see two successive execution places, an early one in Keiriadai and a later one in Melite.<sup>136</sup> If use of the *barathron* survived to Plutarch’s time—and there is little evidence of that beyond his use of vūv—it seems more likely, especially now with our knowledge of the exact location of the temple of Artemis Aristoboule, that Plutarch was simply being elliptical in his observation, meaning that Themistokles’ house was in Melite by the temple of Artemis, and that the *barathron* was not much farther out, but beyond the “Demian Gate” and in Keiriadai.

If the public exposure of corpses was, in addition to sheer punishment, an expression of civil authority intended to deter crime, then the *barathron* would have been located, as the story of Leontios suggests, near the well-frequented road leading to a city gate. As Stroud has shown with regard to the transportation of grain from Piraeus to the upper city, this road outside the north Long Wall was the *hamaxitos* (Fig. 1), or carriage road, which was the most level and certainly the most heavily trafficked route. It avoided the western hills of Athens and divided into several branches that entered the city through various gates, including the Demian, in the northwest section of the city wall.<sup>137</sup> With all this evidence, it remains only to look in the vicinity for a suitable rocky precipice. The south to west sides of the Hill of the Nymphs are quite precipitous, but the construction of the north Long Wall (ca. 460 B.C.) would have made that area inaccessible to anyone coming up the *hamaxitos* from Piraeus or going down that road through the Demian Gate. A larger but less steep rocky declivity more than

134. Judeich 1931, p. 140 and plan I:C 5 (“Henker Thor?”); Travlos, *Athens*, p. 159; Hesychius (s.v. Δημίασι πύλαις) is the only source for a gate of this name, but he associates it only with prostitutes and denies that Δημίασι is a mistake for Διομήσι. The relation of the shrine of Artemis and, approximately 150 m along a road to the southwest, the Demian Gate can be seen in Travlos, *Athens*, pp. 168–169, fig. 219, Gate I and reference 244.

135. Since Leontios’s journey was from Piraeus, Plato’s phrase ὑπὸ τὸ βόρειον τεῖχος ἐκτός clearly refers to the northern Long Wall, and not the

northern part of the Themistoklean city wall.

136. See, for example, Thalheim (above, n. 131); late ancient testimonia to this view are the scholion to Ar. *Plut.* 431 and *Suda*, s.v. μητρορύρτης. These sources see, in addition to the *barathron* of historical sources, a primitive χάσμα . . . φρεατῶδες that the Athenians filled in as partial atonement for killing a Phrygian priest of the Mother goddess there. This story has all of the trappings of etiological folklore: the grisly details that this ὄρυγμα was like a dark well and had hooks at the top and bottom; that the Phrygian had come to initiate

the women in the rites of the eastern Mother or to prophesy that Demeter was coming to look for Kore; and the absurdity that the Bouleuterion/Metroon was erected on the site of this old *barathron* as the shrine of the Phrygian Mother (see also Poll. 3.11). If there was any relocation of the *barathron*, it was likely intended to keep its pollution outside the city, and therefore the move would have been in the opposite direction, from an earlier place outside the Archaic city wall to a farther place beyond the Themistoklean wall.

137. Stroud 1998, pp. 104–107, fig. 7; Papadopoulos 2003, p. 287.

100 m west of the Hill of the Nymphs has been identified by several early modern topographers as the *barathron*, and it fits the evidence well enough, being quite visible from the *hamaxitos* from Piraeus and not far outside the Demian Gate.<sup>138</sup> So, to relate this evidence to the deme boundaries, it indicates that the dividing line of Melite and Keiriadai would have been near, but not necessarily on, the line of the Themistoklean city wall.

We can close, then, with a brief recapitulation of the approximate configuration and extent of Melite. Its shape was roughly that of an isosceles trapezoid with its nonparallel sides diverging from the Agora, one from its southwest corner over the Nymphs/Pnyx saddle, the other from its northwest corner out the Panathenaic Way. The shorter parallel side was contiguous and practically coextensive with the west side of the Agora, while the longer western side was perhaps roughly parallel and proximate to the Themistoklean city wall but not necessarily on its line. All of this area, with the exception of the road to the Dipylon Gate, would fit Demosthenes' observation (54.7) that the drunken Ktesios, son of Konon, went "from the Agora up toward Melite."

138. Curtius and Kaupert 1878, p. 18; Wachsmuth 1874, pp. 349–350 and plan (end page); 1890, p. 265; Judeich 1931, plan I:B–C 5. The drop-off of the terrain here is still visible even beneath the construction of the modern city, and it is not at odds with the term ὄρυγμα, as it may have been an old quarry.

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