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Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Zentrale, Podbielskiallee 69–71, 14195 Berlin, Tel: +49 30 187711-0

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MERLE K. LANGDON

The Topography of Coastal Erechtheis

Of this Attic trittys three sizable demes need to be located: Anagyrous, Coastal or Lower Lamprai and Upper Lamprai. Fortunately, enough relevant archaeological and epigraphical evidence exists to help render the task easier. Using these data C. W. J. ELIOT¹ confidently argued for the following equations of ancient deme to modern place-name: Anagyrous = Vari, Coastal Lamprai = Kitsi, Upper Lamprai = Lambrika (cf. fig. 4 for location of these and other places mentioned in this study). These associations are not of ELIOT's making but had been previously suggested, but his study served to give formal demonstration to their correctness. With few doubts students of Attic topography have subsequently accepted them. Recently, however, H. LAUTER² has raised questions about the location of Anagyrous and Coastal Lamprai, wishing to place the latter instead of the former deme at Vari. In the present study I hope to show that the traditional placement of the coastal Erechtheid demes should be upheld. Before examining that issue we may first look at a new piece of evidence which substantiates another part of Lauter's article.

As the point of departure for his discussion LAUTER published a rupestrial inscription of one word: OPOC (fig. 1: A). It is now edited as SEG XXXII 230. The inscription is located on the ridge of Kaminia which separates the territory of Halai Aixonides, the deme to its west, from that of the ancient deme at Vari, to its east. LAUTER's interpretation of the inscription as a boundary marker between the two demes is quite plausible, as is his further conjecture that the boundary continued on north following the ridge of the hill. Nevertheless, with only a single inscription LAUTER had to present his argument with some reserve. In December of 1983, I had the good fortune of finding a second boundary marker on Kaminia. LAUTER's interpretation is thus confirmed.

The new boundary marker also reads simply:

OPOC

¹ Coastal Demes of Attika, A Study of the Policy of Kleisthenes, Phoenix Suppl. 5 (Toronto 1962) Chapters 4-5.

² Zwei *Horos*-Inschriften bei Vari. Zu Grenzziehung und Deme-lokalisierung in Südost-Attika, AA 1982, 299-315.

It is located approximately 300 m. north of SEG XXXII 230 (fig. 1: B) and is cut on a flat patch of bedrock in the western half of the level expanse just north of Kaminia's secondary peak of 146 m. Measured on LAUTER's photograph of the ridge³ the new *horos* is located 4.2 cm. to the left of the arrow marking the higher inscription. The lettering of the new inscription (figs. 2–3) is identical to that of the other one except that it is slightly smaller: omicrons 9 and 8 cm. in diameter respectively, rho 12 cm. high, lunate sigma 9 cm. in diameter. The four letters occupy a space of 42 cm. The one difference between the two inscriptions is their orientation. The *horos* found by LAUTER reads from north to south and the letters face west, while the second *horos* reads from south to north and the letters face east.

In repeated visits to the ridge I have not succeeded in discovering any further boundary inscriptions. Others might not have been carved between the two that have been found, as 300 m. is the interval between several of the inscriptions in another set of boundary markers between demes, in southern Attica.⁴ But beyond them, to north and south, the possibility cannot be ruled out that there are or were others. No matter what the original number of *horos* inscriptions on Kaminia was, its suitability as a boundary line has been well argued by LAUTER. The two *horoi* put his argument beyond doubt.⁵

Concerning the date and purpose of the *horoi* on Kaminia LAUTER allows an appropriately generous time frame, from late Classical through Hellenistic times, and he suggests that the *horoi* were inscribed after the settlement of some boundary dispute. Expanding on this discussion G. R. STANTON⁶ advocates an agricultural explanation, suggesting «a new concern in Hellenistic times with the boundaries between areas of value for agriculture or grazing.» Working with only one *horos* on Kaminia he believed that the boundary was labeled in order to inform stockmen living west of the ridge not to let their animals graze east of the border. With the finding of the new Kaminia *horos* oriented the other way round we would have to allow that the labeling signaled a mutual prohibition to inhabitants dwelling on either side of the line, provided that we accept that herds were required to be contained within the spatial limits of the deme of their owner, a proposition which I am not prepared to accept because of the lack of independent evidence for such grazing restrictions in Hellenistic Attica. In my opinion the motive which lay behind the labeling of this boundary is more complex, and I

³ LAUTER, (supra n. 2) 301 fig. 1.

⁴ H. LOHMANN, Atene, eine attische Landgemeinde klassischer Zeit, *Hellenika Jahrbuch für die Freunde Griechenlands* 1983, 98–117, esp. 98–100.

⁵ Even without the inscriptions LAUTER's interpretation of Kaminia makes good sense. It is doubted, apparently without personal inspection, by D. WHITEHEAD, *The Demes of Attica* (Princeton 1986) 29 n. 110. WHITEHEAD's citations of LAUTER's article are marred by the mistaken attribution of it to AAA rather than to AA.

⁶ Some Attic Inscriptions, *BSA* 79 (1984) 298–303.

would like to postpone consideration of the matter until after a discussion of the question regarding what demes in this part of southwest Attica⁷ were served by them. To the west of Kaminia lay Halai Aixonides (hereafter Halai); of this the evidence admits no doubt.⁸ East of the hill, at Vari, should lie Anagyrous, because in his enumeration of the coastal demes Strabo (9.1.21) names that deme next after Halai. Yet apart from Strabo the independent evidence for the location of Anagyrous is not overwhelming, as it is for many other coastal demes. Hence LAUTER questions the correctness of Strabo's deme order at this point, and for other reasons, which will be looked at presently, he suggests that Coastal Lamptraí be placed at Vari. My own review of the evidence leads me to the opposite conclusion, viz. that Anagyrous and Coastal Lamptraí should not be relocated from the respective sites of Vari and Kitsi.

Strabo deserves our attention first because he is the primary source for the location of Anagyrous. LAUTER devotes a good deal of discussion to the geographer in an attempt to discredit him. He charges that Strabo's account of the Attic coast is not based on autopsy but is a selective and none too skillful weaving together of two sources, a periplus and an Atthidographer. The end result, claims LAUTER, is an untrustworthy report that has errors, including possibly the placement of Anagyrous after Halai. Now it is undeniable that at times Strabo made mistakes and that frequently he relied on *periploi* and other written accounts for his narrative. In Greece he confesses to autopsy at only one place, Corinth (8.6.19–23), and briefly mentions one other stop, at the Cycladic island of Gyáros (10.5.3). Since Attica lay between these two points, it is reasonable to believe that he knew its coast firsthand, although he nowhere says that he did. Unfortunately, reticence is a standard feature of the geographer's work. Unless something noteworthy occurred during his visit to a place, he does not mention that he had been there.⁹ So we cannot determine from his text the nature of Strabo's knowledge of the Attic coast. This is not crucial, however, for Strabo should not be on trial here. When a contemporary scholar questions the accuracy of a statement by an ancient author, it is his burden to demonstrate with irrefutable evidence that the charge carries conviction. In the case of Strabo LAUTER has failed to do this. In Strabo's account of the coastal features of Attica (9.1.12–22) 25 Kleisthenic demes are named. Of these the independent testimony of other

⁷ Following tradition LAUTER calls the area here under study southeast Attica. Thorikos is indisputably in southeast Attica. If the Kaminia-Vari area is also part of southeast Attica, then the term is meaningless as a designator of a specific area, since all of Attica south of Athens becomes southeast Attica. In the hope of giving a more correct rendering I label the west coast south of Phaleron as southwest Attica and the east coast south of Brauron as southeast Attica. Both terms thereby gain in specificity.

⁸ ELIOT (supra n. 1) Chapter 3.

⁹ Strabo gives no indication that he ever visited Athens, yet LAWRENCE WADDY, Did Strabo Visit Athens?, AJA 67 (1963) 296–300, makes a convincing case for such a visit.

ancient authors or inscriptions establishes the exact location of 14 demes right where Strabo places them (Eleusis, Thria, Peiraeus, Phaleron, Halimous, Aixone, Halai Aixonides, Sounion, Thorikos, Prasiai, Steiria, Halai Araphenides, Marathon and Rhamnous) and three in the general area of his placement (Anaphlystos, Potamos, Trikorynthos). This leaves five demes whose locations are dependent on the geographer (Korydallos, Anagyrous, Atene, Myrrinoutta and Probalinthos),¹⁰ and three wrongly placed by him (Thorai, Lamptrai and Aigilia).¹¹ Based on these figures the chances are very good that the quintet of demes for whose locations we have no other evidence are correctly placed by Strabo. In the case of Anagyrous, the deme with which we are concerned, Strabo's text is sound, depending neither on textual emendation nor transposition.¹² We may assuredly follow him at this point, keeping Anagyrous at Vari, the next deme site after Halai. LAUTER would have to make a stronger objective case before we felt compelled to jettison Strabo here.

As noted earlier the independent evidence for putting Anagyrous at Vari is not overly abundant. It deserves examination, however, because what there is at least does not come into conflict with Strabo. We may begin by looking at the epigraphical material, which comes closest to having probative value in its own right. Both LAUTER and ELIOT dismissed the evidence of gravestones from the Vari area because the numbers are so small: two gravestones of Anagyrasioi, two of Halieis, one each of demesmen from Euonymon, Aphidna, and Lamptrai, plus one of a woman of Phlya. We may add to these one dedication from Vari which has not hitherto been mentioned in this context, IG II² 4906, a dedication of [A]rcheneos, son of Archemachos. The demotic is not recorded, but identity of the man is not in question. He is Archeneos from Anagyrous.¹³ This increases to three the number of inscriptions of Anagyrasioi found at Vari, still not sufficient to tip the scale decisively. Even so, we have epigraphical evidence for more demesmen of Anagyrous than for members of any other deme except Halai right in the place where Strabo puts Anagyrous. Another dedication should also be mentioned here, SEG XXIII 102, a choregic dedication of Sokrates found in 1954 at Varkiza on the coast south of Vari. Although the *choregos* is named without de-

¹⁰ In this group I acknowledge the two textual corrections to Strabo that are normally made: Ἀθηναίς for Ἀζηνειδῆς and Μυρρινούττα for Μυρρινούς. The former correction is well discussed by ELIOT (supra n. 1), 125–126; the latter by J. TRAILL, *Demos and Trittys: Epigraphical and Topographical Studies in the Organization of Attica* (Toronto 1986) 147.

¹¹ Error is seen because of contradictions within Strabo's own discussion; see ELIOT (supra n. 1) 47–51 for explication of the problem and one solution, TRAILL (supra n. 10) 144–145 for a different solution.

¹² It is misleading for LAUTER (supra n. 2) 308 to write: «Die Ansetzung von Anagyrous östlich der Kaminia im unteren Vari-Tal beruht ... auf dem freilich selbst wieder korrigierten Strabotext.»

¹³ J. KIRCHNER, *Prosopographia Attica* (Berlin 1901–1903) no. 2366.

moti, he is generally agreed to be Sokrates of Anagyrous.¹⁴ Only the slight uncertainty about the identification keeps this inscription from being added to the Anagyrasian total from the area of Vari.¹⁵

The region of Vari has witnessed no lack of archaeological activity. The best known investigation is the excavation conducted early in this century at the cavern known as the Cave of Vari, located high on a spur of Mt. Hymettos just under three kilometers north of the village.¹⁶ The cave's rock carvings, which were visible and known long before the excavation took place, are the most interesting feature of the cave. One of them may provide a link with Anagyrous. This is a seated, headless female figure carved in the round out of the solid rock of the cave. She has been given a variety of names – excavation of the cave provided no evidence – but the most convincing is Kybele. This identification goes back to A. MILCHHOEFER,¹⁷ and in two recent studies on Kybele this identification has been upheld.¹⁸ It is thus possible that the cave is the site of the Metroon at Anagyrous mentioned by Pausanias (1.31.1). But even without this Metroon Strabo and the inscriptions are enough to secure for Vari the deme Anagyrous.

Turning our attention to the two Lamptrai demes we may first examine LAUTER's arguments for placing Coastal Lamptrai instead of Anagyrous at Vari. According to LAUTER the hill of Kiapha Thiti, a fortified Bronze Age acropolis located between Vari and Lambrika, should be regarded as Ur-Lamptrai. In time the surrounding area was settled, especially Kitsi and Vari, which are both geographically part of the system dominated by the acropolis. During the Kleisthenic reorganization the two places were made separate administrative units. Vari became the deme of Coastal (or Lower) Lamptrai and Kitsi became Upper Lamptrai. Lambrika may have been a dependency of the latter deme. All this has the advantage, argues LAUTER, of explaining why the Lamptrai demes were included in the coastal trittys of their phyle. For under the alternative arrangement, Anagyrous at Vari, the deme center of Coastal Lamptrai, at Kitsi, was itself cut off from the sea and remote from the coastal land that it supposedly controlled, Lombarda (one of several variant spellings), the next valley system east of Vari. Giving Vari to Coastal Lamptrai gives that deme the necessary direct contact

¹⁴ KIRCHNER, no. 13 102. See in the original publication of the inscription by M. MITSOS, *Arch. Eph.* (1965) 164–165; also J. DAVIES, *Athenian Propertied Families* (Oxford 1971) 497.

¹⁵ Another inscription from Vari could possibly be counted if a suggestion of D. WHITEHEAD (*supra* n. 5) 409 could be proven. It is IG II² 2852, the dedication of a demarch, Theophilos. WHITEHEAD suggests that he might be identified with KIRCHNER (*supra* n. 13), no. 7127, Theophilos of Anagyrous. As the name is not rare in Attica, WHITEHEAD's suggestion cannot be used to increase the number of known Anagyrasioi from Vari.

¹⁶ For the excavations, see C. WELLER *et al.*, *AJA* 7 (1903) 263–349.

¹⁷ Nymphenrelief aus Athen, *AM* 5 (1880) 217.

¹⁸ M. VERMASEREN, *Corpus Cultus Cybelae Attidisque* II (Leiden 1982) 115 no. 388; F. NAUMANN, *Die Ikonographie der Kybele in der phrygischen und der griechischen Kunst* (Tübingen 1983) 309 no. 120.

with the coast. It also allows the conclusion, in LAUTER's opinion, that Kleisthenes retained the traditional unity of the territory of Ur-Lamptrai by dividing it between the two Lamptrai demes.

What decisively negates LAUTER's reconstruction, I believe, is the number of deme sites in this part of Attica. There are three: at Vari, at Kitsi and at Lambrika.¹⁹ The deme centered at Lambrika controlled the plain there. Likewise, the deme at Vari controlled its plain. To the deme at Kitsi, in addition to its immediate environs, the Lombarda valley must be assigned because it has no deme site of its own. The remoteness between Kitsi and Lombarda should not be overly exaggerated. They are no more remote from each other than, for example, the deme center of Sounion in the upper Agrileza valley is from any of its coast.²⁰ Besides, there is an easy and direct route around the northeast shoulder of Keramoti linking them. ELIOT was correct to see in them the elements of one deme, centered at Kitsi Pigadhi and identified as Lamptrai by a deme decree found there, IG II² 1204. The other half of this divided deme was at Lambrika where IG II² 2967, a dedication by a group of Lamptrians was discovered. Under LAUTER's arrangement, with Lambrika eliminated as a deme site and Upper and Coastal Lamptrai placed respectively at Kitsi and Vari, Anagyrous is left in abeyance with no deme site in the region to which to assign it.²¹ It thus becomes the largest deme in Attica with no site. The other siteless demes are much smaller, with one to three bouleutic representatives compared to Anagyrous' six. In his discussion LAUTER is silent on this problem and provides no alternative for the location of Anagyrous. Its standard location at Vari is decidedly preferable.

As for Ur-Lamptrai, the existence of a Bronze Age principality based at Kiapha Thiti is believable, but its control of both Kitsi and Vari is hard to accept. There is enough Bronze Age material from the area of Vari,²² ranging in date from LH II to LH IIIC, to allow for an independent community there. And in view of the decline in population in the region after the end of the Bronze Age

¹⁹ LAUTER's brief discussion of Lambrika is not sufficient to demote it from the status of a deme site. For the evidence, see ELIOT (*supra* n. 1) 55. The embarrassing dearth of Classical pottery at Lambrika noted by ELIOT has now been somewhat filled in: cf. W. K. PRITCHETT, *Studies in Ancient Greek Topography I* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1965) 138–140.

²⁰ I am well aware that some prefer to locate Sounion's deme center on the coast. Placement inland is based on the findspot of IG II² 1180.

²¹ M. MITSOS, *Arch. Delt.* 20A (1965) 83 proposes a variant: leave Anagyrous at Vari, put Coastal Lamptrai in the Lombarda valley and give Kitsi to a separate Erechtheid deme. The remains which MITSOS cites as a possible deme center in Lombarda are too meager to represent those of a sizable deme like Coastal Lamptrai: cf. ELIOT (*supra* n. 1) 59, mention of site E; H. LAUTER in: *Forschungen und Funde, Festschrift B. Neutsch* (Innsbruck 1980) 284.

²² Most of the material is from Varkiza, on the coast just south of Vari. It is conveniently discussed by M. BENZI, *Ceramica micenea in Attica* (Milan 1975) 193–197. Too late to be included in Benzi are two Mycenaean chamber tombs with LH IIIA–B pottery found on Kaminia: cf. P. THEMELIS, *AAA* 7 (1974) 422–432.

questions arise about how strong the feelings of traditional unity would have been among people who happened to be living at Kitsi and Vari in the time of Kleisthenes.

Mention must also be made of another set of rock-cut boundary inscriptions which figure in the topography of Coastal Erechtheis. They are six in number, spaced at intervals along the crest of a ridge dividing the Lombarda valley from the hinterland to the north. Known since ELIOT's notice of them,²³ they have now been studied by LAUTER and J. TRAILL.²⁴ As a result we are now much closer to a proper understanding of them, although difficulties remain. The inscriptions read ΟΡΨΙΜ, obviously ὄρος, then a word divider, then something shortened to pi-mu. Both LAUTER and TRAILL independently proposed the same expansion of the final two letters, the differences being that for TRAILL the letters stand for π(αραλίας καὶ) μ(εσογαίας), the names of Coastal and Upper (i.e. «Inland») Lamptrai, while for LAUTER they mean Π(αραλίας) Μ(εσογαίας), the trittys districts of Coast and Plain. I find LAUTER's explanation less convincing for two reasons. First, it is difficult for me to believe that the boundary between the Coast and the Plain was formally labeled in this fashion. Since every deme outside the plain of Athens was part of one trittys or the other, there would have been no ambiguity about the territory each trittys included. Secondly, I follow ELIOT in drawing the boundaries of Upper Lamptrai so that they take in the hinterland immediately north of the Lombarda valley.²⁵ If this is correct, it invalidates LAUTER's contention that the ΠΙΜ-*boroi* divide the Coast from the Plain, since the land just north of them was part of a deme belonging to the Coast. This leaves TRAILL's suggestion, which I provisionally accept. The main difficulty with it, as TRAILL himself is aware, is that in no other source is Upper Lamptrai called Lamptrai Mesogaia.²⁶ Yet weighed against the objections to LAUTER's explanation

²³ ELIOT (supra n. 1) 63–64.

²⁴ LAUTER (supra n. 1) 302–304; TRAILL, An Interpretation of Six Rock-Cut Inscriptions in the Attic Deme of Lamptrai, in: Studies in Attic Epigraphy, History and Topography Presented to Eugene Vanderpool, Hesperia Suppl. XIX (Princeton 1982) 162–171.

²⁵ ELIOT (supra n. 1) 137, where his thoughts about the boundaries of Upper Lamptrai are made clear in his discussion of the limits of the coastal trittys of Erechtheis, which he surmises was called Lamptrai.

²⁶ This and other objections are raised by STANTON (supra n. 6) 299–301; also STANTON, The Tribal Reform of Kleisthenes the Alkmeonid, Chiron 14 (1984) 28–29. His complaint that TRAILL's and LAUTER's solutions would be a case of overly severe shortening of place-names may be neutralized by citing several Classical examples: IG II² 1558, l. 48, 50, 67; 1559, l. 94, 99; Hesperia 5 (1936) 401, l. 118, 133. In these cases the extreme truncation is done within contexts which leave no doubt what the shortened forms represent. The pi-mu of the six *boroi* here also have a clear context. With land of the two Lamptrai demes lying on either side of the line made by them the ancient passerby could easily have comprehended what the letters stood for if the inscriptions served as boundary markers. Holding to this idea STANTON's own suggestion is that the inscriptions are to be read ὄρ(ος) Π(α)μ(ωταδών). He gives the Lombarda valley (to him, «the valley running down to Aghia Marina») to Pambotadai and, as with the

this problem of nomenclature seems slight, and TRAILL's comments on the problem go far toward allaying any hesitation about accepting his own interpretation. So we may tentatively accept the ΠΜ-*horoi* as evidence that the Lombarda valley belonged to the deme of Coastal Lamptrai.

In his examination of the ΠΜ-*horoi* TRAILL makes the persuasive suggestion that they are to be connected to events in 307/6 and the creation of the new *phylai*, Antigonis and Demetrias. As part of the ensuing tribal reorganization Upper Lamptrai was transferred to Antigonis. This split prompted the precise marking of the border between that part of Lamptrai which remained in Erechtheis and that part transferred to Antigonis. In conversation TRAILL has convinced me that the Kaminia *horoi* are related to the same circumstance. Whatever deme assignments one adopts for the land around Kaminia there were no transfers there to one of the new *phylai*. But the new reorganization was so important that it could have occasioned a heightened degree of local attention to territory. This new interest seems to have manifested itself in labeled deme boundaries, not only on Kaminia and between the Lamptrai demes but elsewhere in Attica as well.²⁷

Our review of LAUTER has shown that his proposal concerning the location of the coastal Erechtheid demes is based on *a priori* considerations which do not carry conviction. LAUTER concedes this in the end. After presenting his arguments he writes.²⁸ «Für den speziellen Fall des östlich der Kaminia, bei Vari gelegenen Demos ist letztliche Sicherheit ebenfalls nicht zu gewinnen. Er mag Anagyrus gewesen sein, vielleicht aber auch Unter-Lamptrai.» All things taken into consideration, especially Strabo and the epigraphical evidence, the second of his possibilities, that the deme at Vari may have been Coastal Lamptrai, should be excluded.

Have we accounted for all the demes of coastal Erechtheis? Based on present evidence this question cannot be answered. Two small Erechtheid demes, Pambotadai and Kedoi, are frequently introduced into discussions of this trittys and given locations within it, but the absence of appropriate habitation sites presents a great stumbling block to the exercise. There are very slight epigraphical indica-

Kaminia *horoi*, believes that the inscriptions told shepherds to restrain their flocks from crossing the deme boundary. Epigraphically his suggestion is difficult to accept because it posits the practice of arbitrary abbreviatory shortening. Before the Roman era the standard method of curtailment of words in Attic inscriptions was by omission of some sequential group of letters, not random selection with, for example, the first and third letters of a word written but the second omitted. If the ΠΜ-*horoi* were Roman in date, parallels could be found for STANTON's suggested type of shortening: cf. L. THREATTE, *The Grammar of Attic Inscriptions I, Phonology* (Berlin 1980) 102. For points favoring a Classical date of these *horoi*, see TRAILL (supra n. 24) 168 note 21.

²⁷ TRAILL (supra n. 10) 116–118 makes the suggestion anew and with fresh evidence. With luck, and exploration in the right places, more rupestral boundary *horoi* should turn up in the future.

²⁸ LAUTER (supra n. 2) 311.

tions that Pambotadai may belong to the city trittys and Kedoi to the coastal trittys.²⁹ If so, a tempting location for Kedoi would be the series of small, upland valleys north of Vari and west of Lambrika. ELIOT searched them cursorily with no positive results.³⁰ My own more lengthy explorations in the autumn of 1985 were just as negative. These valleys may instead have been ἐσχατιαί of other demes.³¹ Without an available site Kedoi should be kept off the deme map of Attica.³²

Department of Classics
University of Washington
Seattle, Washington 98195
USA

²⁹ For Pambotadai see P. SIEWERT, *Die Trittyen Attikas und die Heeresreform des Kleisthenes*, *Vestigia* 33 (München 1982) 105 note 105. STANTON (supra n. 6) 300–301 shows how fragile its assignment to the city is. J. TRAILL's suggestion to put it at Ayios Demetrios (supra n. 24) 167 note 17 falters on the absence of remains and Strabo's silence. ELIOT (supra n. 1) 61 is persuasive in giving Ayios Demetrios to Coastal Lamptrai. LAUTER (supra n. 2) 308–309 has not read carefully on this point, claiming that ELIOT's arrangement of demes requires assignment of Ayios Demetrios to Thorai. The same misreading shows up in an earlier discussion of LAUTER's, *AA* (1980) 243 note 10. For Kedoi there are two relevant tombstones, *IG II²* 6383 and 6954, whose findspots bring up the possibility of a location in the area of Coastal Lamptrai. Pertaining to 6954 see the interesting remarks of R. ETIENNE, *BCH* 99 (1975) 384 that in certain cases a man may have established residence in his wife's deme.

³⁰ ELIOT (supra n. 1) 58–60.

³¹ Suggestion of TRAILL (supra n. 24) 165 note 10.

³² I wish to thank JOHN TRAILL for helpful counsel, although I have not always had the good sense to follow it. Valuable assistance in preparation of the maps was rendered by MICHAEL WOLFE.

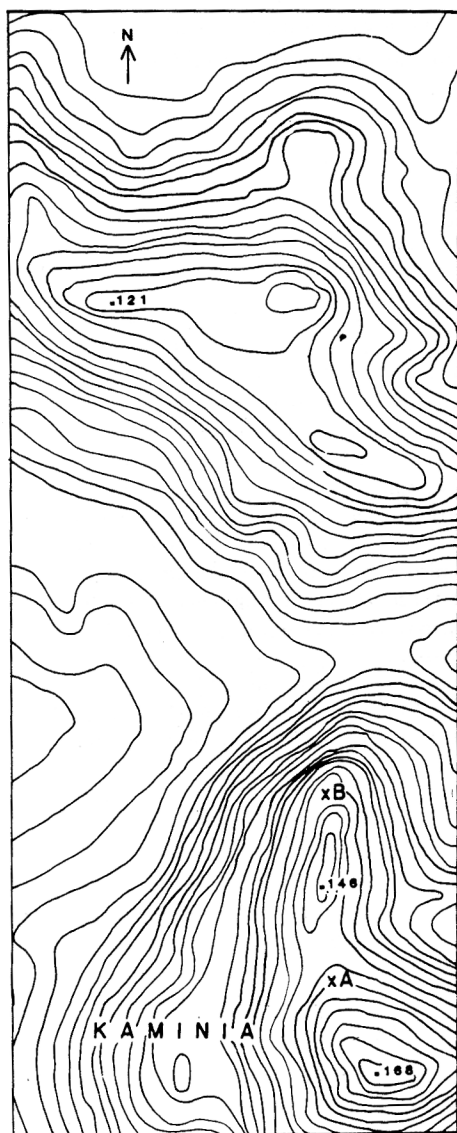


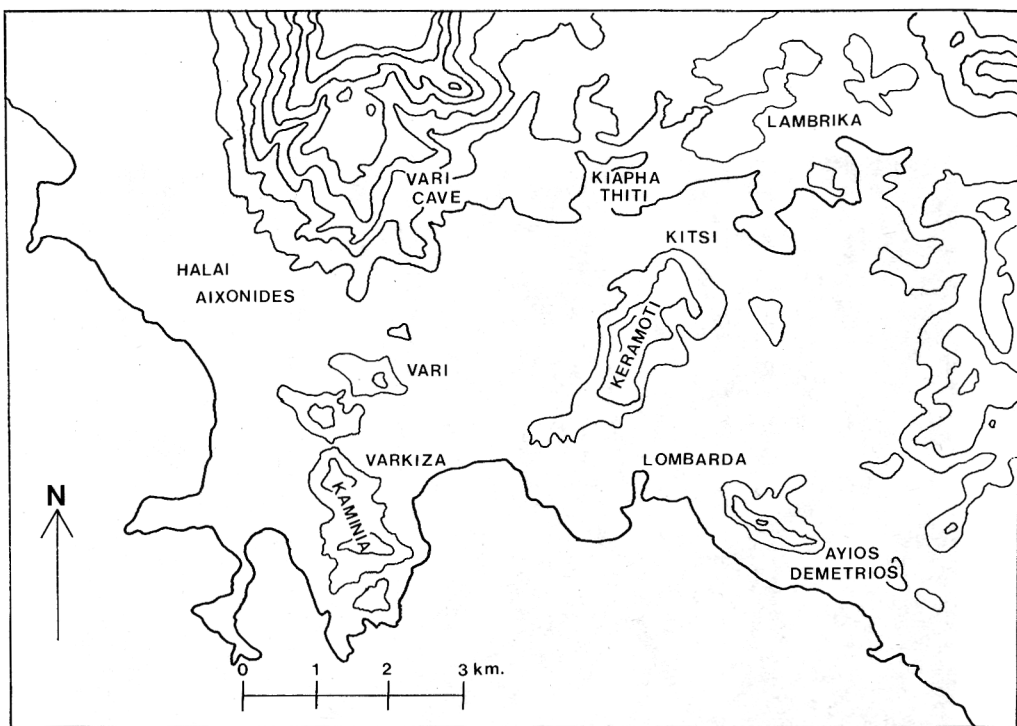
Fig. 1. Scale 1:10,000

Ο Ρ Ο C

Fig. 2



Fig. 3

*Fig. 4*