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Public Organization in Ancient Greece:

A Documentary Study

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To Berkeley
with thanks

Table of Contents

Preface xvii
Abbreviations xxi
Introduction 1

Chapter I: Mainland Greece 27

Attika and Euboia

§1 Athens 28
§1.1 The Pre-Kleisthenic Organization 28
§1.2 The Kleisthenic Organization: Statewide Functions.... 31
§1.21 General 31
§1.22 Deliberative and Legislative Bodies 39
§1.23 Executive Officers 42
§1.24 Administration of Justice 42
§1.25 Accounting and Financial Administration 44
§1.26 Administration of the City 46
§1.27 Liturgies 48
§1.28 Administration of Religion 51
§1.29 Military Organization 53
§1.3 The Kleisthenic Organization: Internal Organization of Units 58
§1.31 General 58
§1.32 Phylai 58
§1.33 *Trittyes* 60
§1.34 Demes 61
§1.4 Appendix: Documents of the Internally Organized Phylai, *Trittyes,* and Demes 65
§2 Salamis 72
§3 Aigina 73
§4-6 Euboia 73
§4 Chalkis 73
§5 Eretria 73
§6 Histiaia (later Oreos) 77

Boiotia

§7 Orchomenos 78

Thessaly

§8 Metropolis 79
§9 Krannon 80
§10 Atrax 80

§11 Phyattos 80
§12 Larissa 81
§13 Argoura 81

Ozolian Lokris

§14 Delphi 82

Chapter II: The Dorian Peloponnese 92

§1 Megara 94
§2 Corinth 97
§3 Sikyon 103
§4 Phleious 106
§5 Epidauros 107
§6 Troizen 111
§7 Argos 112
§8 Sparta 118

Chapter III: The Non-Dorian Peloponnese 129

Achaia

§1 Dyme 130

Arkadia

§2 Mantinea 132
§3 Megalopolis 135
§4 Theisoa 138
§5 Phigaleia 139
§6 Tegea 139

Elis

§7 Elis 142

Messenia

§8 Messene 146
§9 Thouria 149
§10 Andania 149

Chapter IV: The Northwest, Magna Graecia, and Sicily 154

The Northwest

§1 Issa 155
§2 Epidamnos 156
§3 Dimale (or Dimallon) 157

§4 Apollonia 157
§5 Kerkyra 159

Magna Graecia

§6 Taras 161
§7 Herakleia 162
§8 Sybaris, region of 164
§9 Thourioi 165
§10 Terina 167
§11 Kaulonia? 168
§12 Lokroi Epizephyrioi 168
§13 Rhegion 170

Sicily

§14 Messene 170
§15 Aluntium? 171
§16 Halaisa 171
§17 Lilybaion 171
§18 Akragas 171
§19 Akrai 172
§20 Syracuse 173
§21 Tauromenion 176

Chapter V: The Aegean Islands 181

The Northern Aegean

§1 Thasos 184
§2 Samothrake 186
§3-7 Athenian Cleruchies and Possessions 186
§3 Imbros 186
§4 Lemnos 187
§5 Skyros 188
§6 Peparethos 188
§7 Skiathos 188

Lesbos, Chios, and Samos

§8-11 Lesbos 188
§8 Mytilene 188
§9 Methymna 189
§10 Antissa 188
§11 Eresos 188
§12 Chios 191
§13 Samos 195

The Ionian Kyklades

§14-16 Keos 202
§14 The Federal State 203
§15 Ioulis 204
§16 Karthaia 206
§17 Andros 206
§18 Tenos 207
§19 Syros 211
§20 Delos 211
§21 Naxos 213
§22 Aigiale (Amorgos) 213
§23 Ios 214

The Dorian Islands (with Kyrene)

§24 Melos 214
§25 Thera 215
§26 Kyrene 216
§27-39 Krete 219
§27 Rhithymna 222
§28 Axos 223
§29 Gortyn 223
§30 Lebena 226
§31 Knossos 226
§32 Lyttos 227
§33 Dreros 228
§34 Olous 229
§35 Lato 229
§36 Malla 230
§37 Oleros 230
§38 Hierapytna 230
§39 Praisos 231
§40 Kalymna 231
§41 Kos 236
§42-52 Rhodes 242
§42 The Synoecized State 243
§43 Ialysos 244
§44 Kameiros 245
§45 Lindos 248
§46-52 The Rhodian Peraia and Islands 250
§46 Kedreai 250
§47 Tymnos 250
§48 Phoinix 251
§49 Syme 251

§50 Telos 252
§51 Chalke 252
§52 Karpathos 252

Chapter VI: Makedonia, Thrake, the Black Sea, and Propontis 265

Makedonia

§1 Poteidaia (later Kassandreia) 266
§2 Thessalonike 267
§3 Beroia 268
§4 Stoboi 269

Thrake

§5 Traianopolis 270
§6 Pautalia 270
§7 Serdike 270
§8 Philippopolis 270
§9 Hadrianopolis 274
§10 Augusta Traiana 274
§11 Nikopolis-on-Ister 274
§12 Markianopolis 274

The Black Sea

§13 Anchialos 274
§14 Odessos 275
§15 Dionysopolis (earlier Krounoi) 276
§16 Kallatis 276
§17 Tomoi 276
§18 Istros 278
§19 Sebastopolis (earlier Dioskourias) 280
§20 Amisos 280
§21 Amastris 280
§22 Tieion 281
§23 Herakleia-on-Pontos 281

Propontis

§24 Kalchedon 283
§25 Byzantion 284
§26 Salymbria 285
§27 Perinthos 286
§28 Kyzikos 287
§29 Kios 290

Chapter VII: Asia Minor: The Western Seaboard 295

The Troad

§1 Lampsakos 298
§2 Ilion 298
§3 Skepsis 300

Aiolis

§4 Kyme 301
§5 Temnos 302
§6 Smyrna 302

Ionia

§7 Phokaia 303
§8 Erythrai 303
§9 Teos 306
§10 Kolophon 310
§11 Ephesos 311
§12 Pygela 315
§13 Magnesia-on-Maiandros 315
§14 Priene 317
§15 Herakleia-on-Latmos 320
§16 Miletos 320

Karia

§17 Amyzon 327
§18 Alinda 327
§19-21 Mylasa (with Olymos and Labraunda) 328
§19 Mylasa 328
§20 Olymos 330
§21 Labraunda 331
§22 Iasos 332
§23 Halikarnassos 334
§24 Theangela 334
§25 Plataseis 335
§26 Stratonikeia 335
§27 Kys 336
§28 Aphrodisias 336
§29 Antiocheia-on-Maiandros 336

Chapter VIII: Asia Minor: The Hellenized Interior 344

Bithynia

§1 Claudiopolis (earlier Bithynion) 348
§2 Prousias-on-Hypios 348
§3 Nikomedeia 350

§4 Nikaia 352
§5 Prousa 352

Mysia

§6 Pergamon 353
§7 Elaia 355

Lydia

§8 Magnesia-on-Sipylos 355
§9 Sardeis 355
§10 Philadelpheia 358
§11 Nysa 358
§12 Seleukeia (earlier Tralleis) 360
§13 Saittai 360

Phrygia

§14 Dorylaion 360
§15 Nakoleia 362
§16 Amorion 362
§17 Aizanoi 362
§18 Akmoneia 363
§19 Bria 363
§20 Eumeneia 363
§21 Hierapolis 365
§22 Laodikeia-on-Lykos 367
§23 Apollonia (later Sozopolis) 368

Pisidia

§24 Amblada 368
§25 Vasada 369
§26 Termessos 369

Kibyratis

§27 Kibyra 370

Lykia

§28 Kadyanda 371

Pamphylia

§29 Perge 372
§30 Sillyon 372
§31 Aspendos 373
§32 Side 373
§33 Antalya, region of 374
§34 unknown city-state 374

Lykaonia

§35 Lystra 374
§36 Ikonion 375
§37 Laodikeia Katakekaumene 376

Galatia

§38 Pessinous 376
§39 Ankyra 376

Map 1 385
Map 2 386

Analytical Indexes
Index I. Units 387
A. Listing of Public Units 387
B. Classification of Public Units 388
1. Kinship or Other Familial 388
2. Territorial 388
3. Numerically Designated 388
4. "Associations" 388
5. Military 388
Index II. Statewide Functions of Public Organizations 389
A. Affiliation with Public Unit(s) 389
B. Enrollment in Public Unit(s) 389
C. Official Orders and Cycles 389
D. Organs of Government 389
E. Administration of Justice 390
F. Financial Administration and Accounting 391
G. Secretarial Functions 391
H. Practice of Religion 391
I. Agonal Activities 392
J. Public Administrative Functions 393
K. Colonization 394
L. Military Organization 394
Index III. Internal Organization of Public Units 396
A. Documents 396
B. Constitutions 396
C. Officers 396
D. Assemblies 398
E. Internal Procedures 399
F. Conferral of Honors 399
G. Property Holdings 400
H. Financial Administration and Resources 400
I. Religious Aspects 402

Καὶ τόδε Φωκυλίδεω· πόλις ἐν σκοπέλῳ κατὰ κόσμον
οἰκεῦσα σμικρὴ κρέσσων Νίνου ἀφραινούσης.

Phokylides of Miletos

Preface

The particularism of ancient Greek civilization is a timeworn—and unimpeachable—motif of many a general account of the subject. Hardly a "nation" in any meaningful sense of that term, Greece before the rise of the imperial hegemonies remained an assortment of so many autonomous city-states. But the admonition, however salutary, may not have gone far enough. It is a matter of historical record that many states evolved out of, or were by deliberate act synoecized from, a plurality of pre-existing settlements. How can it be assumed that the same people who continually resisted the combination of states into a "nation" readily permitted the absorption of these settlements by a monolithic central government? It cannot be assumed. The principal underlying premise of the present work is the persistence of the local community. But particularism within the state itself might, and certainly did, jeopardize its stability. The solution was, I shall argue, the creation of a new set of artificial local communities—a public social organization—which might neutralize, if it could not obliterate, the effects of the lingering lines of division. The avowed, and more visible, purpose of the new communities was to provide the apparatus for the administration of the state's business—and that they did. But this public administrative role is inseparable from, and arguably secondary to, the concurrent functioning of these same bodies as self-sustaining independent associations.

The subject is not a new one. The standard handbook accounts of Gilbert and of Busolt-Swoboda and the pertinent articles in the *Real-encyclopädie* contain information and references concerning the organizations of numerous cities, but in many cases these accounts, often sketchy to begin with, have been rendered obsolete by subsequent epigraphic discoveries. The earliest modern monographic treatment, E. Szanto's *Die griechischen Phylen,* isolated for particular scrutiny the one unit, the phyle, the distribution of which might justify the assumption of an inheritance from prehistoric times. Szanto's attempt to recover the original nature of the phyle, as well as similar speculative work by Meyer, Beloch, and others, had the effect of focussing scholars' attention on the beginnings, rather than on the actual attested operation, of the organizations. Were the phylai remnants of ancient kinship groups? Or did they descend ultimately from some early division of society by occupational affiliation, as certain ancient writers thought? Or did they grow out of a division of conquered territory following the descent of the Greeks into Greece? And so on. In recent years, however, Roussel's review of this literature has resulted in the valuable, though largely negative, conclusion that the contemporary documen-

tation for the phylai fails, on the whole, to validate any of these theories. Thanks to Roussel, we are now at liberty to direct our efforts towards a positive evaluation of that documentation. Roussel himself has made a start, but often his discussions of individual states are deeply embedded within the context of his destructive critique of the earlier scholarship; there are also many omissions, not only of individual sources, but also, on occasion, of entire states. My primary objective, accordingly, has been to assemble and analyze, on a state-by-state basis, the positive and explicit record for public organization preserved in contemporary sources. Only on this basis will it be possible to advance our understanding of the actual operation of the ancient Greek city-state.

On any accounting, this is a large undertaking, and in order to realize my objective, certain restrictions and concessions have proved necessary. The first is geographical. Although my principal interest has been in the Greek Homeland—that is, in the region to which these public organizations are native, I have extended the study to the areas of Greek colonization and, as well, to areas, principally the interior of Asia Minor, where elements of the native organizations are found in the context of a general Hellenization of public institutions. Nonetheless, I have not, following Szanto's example, included Syria, Arabia, or Egypt on the grounds that only some of the vocabulary, but little of the substance, of the Greek models was actually transmitted to these regions—a process already observable in fairly advanced form among the organizations of Asia Minor. Nor has it been possible, within the region so limited, to investigate every relevant or potentially relevant body of evidence. Theoretically, every public act of a state so organized might be conditioned, directly or indirectly, by the operation of its administrative units; if territorially partitioned, all its lands and structures belonged to one unit or the other; and the careers of its citizens could, ideally, be viewed in the light of their respective affiliations. The subject is endlessly ramifying. Necessity, therefore, has dictated the summary treatment or outright exclusion of matters not directly bearing upon the structure, disposition, or functioning of the organizations, viz. the physical record, particularly occupation sites certainly or possibly linked to a deme, *kome,* or other center; the cultic affinities of divine or heroic eponyms; the circumstances surrounding the creation of units in honor of kings, dynasts, etc.; the prosopographical implications of lists of citizens (or similar documents) arranged by public unit; the notoriously complex historical settings of epochal reforms at Sparta, Argos, Miletos, and elsewhere; and so on. These restrictions, and still others, will be in evidence in my treatment of Athens. So abundant is the documentation that only a skeletal outline, supported by minimal citation of documentary sources, has been fea-

sible. Yet, without Athens, the study would not only have been deprived of its best understood individual case. It is the Kleisthenic organization which, again and again, provides the crucial insight into the deeper purpose of what I have called the "public social organization."

With these limitations in mind, I have subtitled my work *A Documentary Study.* Throughout, with the exception of Athens, it has been my goal to cite, or otherwise account for, all contemporary documentation of public organization. References to the secondary literature are far from exhaustive, though I have done my best to include all more recent discussions dealing directly with the subject. In the case of Athens, again, economy has prevented the citation of much pertinent—and valuable—scholarship; but for the interested reader, fortunately, P. J. Rhodes' recent commentary on the Aristotelian *Constitution of the Athenians* provides abundant information on all relevant subjects touched on in that work.

The typescript initially submitted to the publisher was, except for the section on Athens, completed late in 1981; soon thereafter, Athens was added. Following unavoidable delays, the text was revised in late 1985 and early 1986. Among other changes, recent epigraphic publications have been incorporated, but no attempt has been made to respond to studies of more comprehensive scope.

During the lengthy period of the book's production, I have incurred more than one debt of gratitude. The greatest is to Ronald Stroud. He first drew my attention to the need for a study of this kind, supervised my University of California dissertation on the organizations of the Dorian states, and, since then, has advanced the enterprise with constructive criticism, sound advice, and encouragement—not to mention the example set by his own meticulous and wide-ranging scholarship. To W. Kendrick Pritchett I am very grateful for putting at my disposal his valuable detailed notes on a later draft. Raphael Sealey's 1960 paper on regionalism in archaic Athens and the discussion of this topic in his Berkeley seminar have greatly influenced my perception of the political role of the organizations. In Athens, I benefited from contact with two authorities on the Attic demes, C. W. J. Eliot and Eugene Vanderpool. To Sterling Dow I remain grateful for scrutiny of two earlier papers dealing with particular aspects of the larger subject. Christian Habicht generously made available valuable additions and corrections on a wide range of topics. To Homer Thompson I am thankful for discussion of archaeological evidence relating to the organization of Athens. For answering questions, or supplying information, regarding regions or states outside Athens, I also thank Eugene Borza (Makedonia), Colin Edmonson (Megara), P. Herrmann (Miletos), Ch. Kritzas (Argos), Joyce M. Reynolds

(Aphrodisias), and J. R. Wiseman (Corinth); and, for illuminating discussion of a general nature, Walter Donlan and R. M. Errington. Scholarly audiences on more than one occasion responded with valuable criticism, instructive parallels, or productive questioning; in particular, I thank the American School of Classical Studies, the Department of Classics, University of Cincinnati, and the Department of History, University of Pittsburgh. At all stages, I have been aided and supported by my wife, Marilyn, and, more recently, by our children—each in their own way.

Institutional support, finally, is also gratefully acknowledged. Two years' study in Greece was funded by a Fulbright Fellowship (1973-1974) and by the Eugene Vanderpool Fellowship of the American School of Classical Studies, Athens (1974-1975). Research during the summer of 1978 was facilitated by a University of Pittsburgh Third Term Research Grant, Type I. Full time work during the winter term of 1979 was made possible by an American Council of Learned Societies Fellowship for Recent Recipients of the Ph.D.

Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania
February 27, 1986

Abbreviations

Authors and titles of ancient texts are cited either in full or by easily understood abbreviations.

Titles of periodicals are abbreviated in accordance with the practice of *L'Année philologique,* except for the customary substitution of *AJP* for *AJPh, CP* for *CPh,* etc.

Regarding the secondary literature in general, my policy has been, where specialized studies limited to a particular state or region are concerned, to provide full references within the appropriate section. Works of comprehensive scope, however, have been cited throughout by author's last name and/or an abbreviated title. Excepting epigraphic collections, these are:

Busolt, *Staatskunde*	G. Busolt, *Griechische Staatskunde,* I (Munich 1920), II, bearbeitet von H. Swoboda (Munich 1926)
FGrH	F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* (Berlin and Leyden 1923—)
FHG	K. Müller, *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum* (Paris 1841-1883)
Francotte	H. Francotte, *La Polis grecque* (Paderborn 1907)
Frisk	H. Frisk, *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch,* I-III (Heidelberg 1960-1972)
Gilbert	G. Gilbert, *Handbuch der griechischen Staatsaltertümer,* II (Leipzig 1885)
Graham, *CMCAG*	A. H. Graham, *Colony and Mother City in Ancient Greece* (Manchester 1964)
Guarducci, *L'Istituzione*	M. Guarducci, *L'Istituzione della fratria nella Grecia antica e nelle colonie greche d'Italia,* I: *MAL* ser. 6, vol. 6 (1937) 5-103; II: *MAL* ser. 6, vol. 8 (1938) 65-137
Jeffery, *LSAG*	L. H. Jeffery, *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece* (Oxford 1961)
Latte	K. Latte, "Phyle 1)," *RE* 20.1 (1941) 994-1011
Liebenam	W. Liebenam, *Städteverwaltung im römischen Kaiserreiche* (Leipzig 1900)
Magie, *RRAM*	D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor,* I, II (Princeton 1950)
Moggi, *I Sinecismi*	M. Moggi, *I Sinecismi interstatali greci,* I (Pisa 1976)

OCD[2]	*The Oxford Classical Dictionary,* 2nd. ed., ed. by N. G. L. Hammond and H. H. Scullard (Oxford 1970)
PECS	*The Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites* (Princeton 1976)
RE	*Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* (Stuttgart 1894—)
Robert, *Bull. Ép.*	J. and L. Robert, *Bulletin épigraphique,* in *REG* 51 (1938)—
Robert, *Hellenica*	L. Robert, *Hellenica,* I-XIII (Paris 1940-1965)
Robert, *OMS*	L. Robert, *Opera Minora Selecta,* I-IV (Amsterdam 1969-1974)
Roussel	D. Roussel, *Tribu et cité* (Paris 1976)
Szanto	E. Szanto, *Die griechischen Phylen, SB Wien* 144, no. 5 (1901) [= *Ausgewählte Abhandlungen* (Tübingen 1906) 216-288, 419]
Wilhelm, *Akademieschriften*	A. Wilhelm, *Akademieschriften zur griechischen Inschriftenkunde,* I-III (Leipzig 1974)

Collections of inscriptions are regularly cited by editor's last name and/or abbreviated titles:

Buck	C. D. Buck, *The Greek Dialects* (Chicago and London 1955)
CIG	*Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum,* I-IV, ed. A. Boeckh et al. (Berlin 1828-1877)
CIL	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum,* I-XVI, ed. T. Mommsen (Berlin 1863—)
IBM	*The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum,* I-IV (Oxford 1874-1916)
IC	*Inscriptiones Creticae,* I-IV, ed. M. Guarducci (Rome 1935-1950)
IG	*Inscriptiones Graecae,* various editors (Berlin 1873—)
IGBR	*Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria Repertae,* I-IV, ed. G. Mihailov (Sophia 1956-1970)
IGRR	*Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes,* I, III, IV, ed. R. Cagnat et al. (Paris 1911-1927)
IGSII	*Inscriptiones Graecae Siciliae et Infimae Italiae ad Ius Pertinentes,* ed. V. Arangio-Ruiz and A. Olivieri (Mediolani 1925)

IGSK	*Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien,* various editors (Bonn 1972—)
ILS	H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae* (Berlin 1892-1916)
Le Bas-Waddington	P. Le Bas and W. H. Waddington, *Inscriptions grecques et latines recueillies en Asie mineure* (Paris 1870)
Maier, *Mauerbauinschriften*	F. G. Maier, *Griechische Mauerbauinschriften,* I [*Vestigia* 1] (Heidelberg 1959)
MAMA	*Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua,* I-VIII, various editors (London 1928-1962)
Meiggs-Lewis	R. Meiggs and D. Lewis, *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century B.C.* (Oxford 1969)
Michel	C. Michel, *Recueil d'inscriptions grecques* (Brussels 1900)
Moretti, *IAG*	L. Moretti, *Iscrizioni agonistiche greche,* I (Rome 1953)
Moretti, *ISE*	L. Moretti, *Iscrizioni storiche ellenistiche,* I-II (Florence 1967-1975)
Nouveau Choix	Institut F. Courby, *Nouveau choix d'inscriptions grecques...* (Paris 1971)
OGIS	*Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae,* I-II, ed. W. Dittenberger (Leipzig 1903-1905)
Pleket	H. W. Pleket, *Epigraphica,* I-II (Leiden 1964-1969)
Pouilloux, *Choix*	J. Pouilloux, *Choix d'inscriptions grecques* (Paris 1960)
Prott, *LGS*	*Leges Graecorum Sacrae e Titulis Collectae,* I, ed. I. de Prott (Leipzig 1896)
RIJG	R. Dareste, B. Haussoulier, and T. Reinach, *Recueil des inscriptions juridiques grecques,* I-II (Paris 1891-1904)
Schwyzer	E. Schwyzer, *Dialectorum Graecarum Exempla Epigraphica Potiora* (Leipzig 1923)
SEG	*Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum,* continuing series, various editors (Leiden 1923—)
SGDI	*Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften,* ed. H. Collitz, F. Bechtel, et al., I-IV (Göttingen, 1884-1915)
SIG[1,2,3]	*Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum,* I-IV, ed. W. Dittenberger (Leipzig 1915-1924 [3rd ed.])

Sokolowski, *LSAM*	F. Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées de l'Asie mineure* (Paris 1955)
Sokolowski, *LSCG*	F. Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées des cités grecques* (Paris 1969)
Sokolowski, *LSCG Suppl.*	F. Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées des cités grecques. Supplement* (Paris 1962)
Staatsverträge	*Die Staatsverträge des Altertums,* II² ed. H. Bengtson (Munich and Berlin 1975), III ed. H. Schmitt (Munich 1969)
TAM	*Tituli Asiae Minoris,* various editors (Vienna 1901—)
TDGIS	*Tituli ad Dialectos Graecas Illustrandas Selecti,* II, ed. J. B. Hainsworth (Leiden 1972)
Tod	M. N. Tod, *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions,* I-II (Oxford 1933-1948)
Welles, *RCHP*	C. B. Welles, *Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Period* (New Haven 1934)
Ziehen, *LGS*	*Leges Graecorum Sacrae e Titulis Collectae,* II, ed. L. Ziehen (Leipzig 1906)

Introduction

The subject of this work is the public organizations of the ancient Greek city-states. By "public organization" I refer specifically, and exclusively, to that apparatus of units, whether of territory or population, through which the state conducted its business.

By definition, membership in an organization devoted to public business was open to *citizens, and only citizens.* Thus at Athens, to take the best documented example, every citizen belonged to a deme, hence also to the *trittys* and the phyle of which his deme was a component; the exclusion of foreigners is illustrated by the invariable practice of including in grants of citizenship enrollment in a deme, phratry, and phyle. Inspection of the record, furthermore, has revealed certain other persistent traits not bound up in the definition itself. One of these is a high degree of *permanence.* Again, the case of Athens, where the organization instituted by Kleisthenes before the end of the sixth century survived well into the Roman Imperial period, affords a not untypical example. Public business, in general, was conducted, not by ad hoc arrangement, but through the machinery of an apparatus which outlived any of its specific applications. Another trait is *general applicability.* Administrative structures were not as a rule customized according to the task to be performed. The same apparatus was employed across the whole range of governmental activity—legislation, the judiciary, financial administration, religion, the armed forces, and so on.[1]

The public organizations so defined and characterized did not of course exhaust all existing groups of citizens. Associations of various kinds, some of them probably coterminous with the citizen population and certainly no less permanent than the public units, were part of the fabric of every *polis* society. These, given the general absence of public function, I have for the purposes of the present study categorized as "private." Yet the line separating "public" and "private" was not absolute. As we shall see, private associations of the "kinship" type do play a minor, though historically significant, role in the administration of the state's business. Nonetheless, that role, however interpreted, remains anomalous, and for this reason, except where a public function is actually recorded, the kinship groups have been excluded.

Definition of the subject according to function has, in the event, proved both reasonable and productive. Reasonable because the definition embraces the well known organizations of such states as Athens, Sparta, Thourioi, Kos, Ephesos, Pergamon, etc., which have always been regarded, albeit under a variety of terminology, as constituting

a distinct phenomenon. Productive because, as we shall see, the isolation of the units defined as public from those that are not prepares the way for valuable insights into the nature of the evolving city-state. But this does not mean that the implementation of the definition has proved a straightforward, simple matter. The fact is, for many Greek states insufficient evidence is available to identify, in isolation from external indicators, the components of its public organization. Often, for example, we have only the technical terms (e.g. phyle, deme) or proper names (e.g. Erechtheis, Marathon) of the units, with little or no idea of the nature of the actual functioning. Therefore, I have, in dealing with the many poorly documented states, been compelled to proceed on the basis of analogy. A unit known to have performed a public function in one or more states I assume, hypothetically, might have done so in others; conversely, units without such known function in amply documented states I assume, hypothetically, also lacked the function, in the absence of positive indicators, elsewhere. Thus the Athenian case alone justifies the inclusion of all occurrences of the phyle, *trittys,* and deme, regardless of the scarcity of information about those units in the state in question. Because, too, the Athenian record is silent *vis à vis* public roles for a host of associations of various types, we have a strong argument in favor of their omission elsewhere. Secondly, and more generally, I have tentatively included *any* segment of a state's territory or citizen population, despite the lack of an attested public function, provided that there are no negative indicators (e.g. kinship status). Without this relaxation of the definition, a number of divisions, unique to a particular state, would have been excluded—e.g. the *μέρος* at Lindos (5 §45), the *οἴη* at Chios (5 §12), the *πεντακονταρχία* at Istros (6 §18), the *συνέδριον* at Nysa (8 §11). Everything we know about the Greek city-states favors a high incidence of particularism.

The definition, supplemented by these working assumptions, has resulted in the amassing of evidence pertaining to about two hundred states. The analysis of this material brings into play a number of specialized terms; and much of the following introductory discussion is devoted to their explication. Beyond that, I have attempted a general account of the nature and evolution of public organization from its earliest documented beginnings to its decline. Although illustrated by references to specific cases, it is offered as a general model for Greece as a whole—not as an explanation for every development in every individual organization. For an idea of what progress has been made at the local level, the reader is referred to my discussions; and, for symptoms of regional trends, to the introductions to the several chapters.

STATEWIDE FUNCTIONS VS. INTERNAL ORGANIZATION

Thus far the units of organization under consideration have been defined simply with reference to their public function, without more precise indication of their activity. In fact, that activity, as has long been recognized, had a dual aspect. In its more conspicuous and, to us, more familiar role, the public organization facilitated the distribution of the obligations and benefits of citizenship. By apportioning the state's business among its segments, the claims of both administrative advantage and equity might be served. These *statewide* or *external* functions, which pervade every department of public activity, have been tabulated in Index II under the following rubrics: A. affiliation with public unit(s); B. enrollment in public unit(s); C. official orders and cycles; D. organs of government; E. administration of justice; F. financial administration and accounting; G. secretarial functions; H. practice of religion; I. agonal activities; J. public administrative functions; K. colonization; L. military organization. Taken together, the tabulations exhaust what is known from positive, explicit testimony of all city-state affairs insofar as they were conducted through the machinery of the public organization.[2]

Entirely independent of the statewide applications was the functioning of the public units as self-sufficient *internally organized associations.* Though formally recognized by modern commentators, this aspect of our subject has never received sustained attention. Collection and analysis of the pertinent testimony, however, have revealed the internal organization of public units to be a widespread and persistent phenomenon. To be sure, there are some conspicuous gaps in the record (see, for example, the introductions to Chapters 2, 3, and 4), but there is a plausible explanation: unlike the acts of the central government, those of the public unit *qua* association might not with such regularity have been permanently recorded on stone; and, even if they were, their display in a scattering of local centers would have worked against their preservation—or discovery. Chronologically, the preserved documents are heavily concentrated in the late Classical and Hellenistic periods, with a sharp decline—both quantitatively and qualitatively—in later periods. As will be seen, the creation, enduring health, and, finally, demise of these associations played a vital role in the varying fortunes of the public organizations. Again, as with the statewide functions, the results of my analyses have been tabulated. Index III is arranged according to the following rubrics: A. documents; B. constitutions; C. officers; D. assemblies; E. internal procedures; F. conferral of honors; G. property holdings; H. financial administration and resources; I. religious aspects.[3]

So scattered in place and time are these data that any attempt to combine them in a continuous narrative would seem a dubious undertaking at best. For an indication, however, of the range of possibilities within a single state, one could do no better than to survey the record of statewide functions and internal organization in Kleisthenic Athens (1 §1.2 and 3).

DISPOSITION OR PRINCIPLE OF ORGANIZATION

Examination of the record in the light of our definition has resulted in the finding that a total of thirty-four different units at one time or place or another performed a public function. These units may be classified initially according to their disposition or principle of organization. Broadly speaking, the various types produced by the classification may be reduced to two main categories: "territorial" and "personal." Actually, even this distinction probably proved merely technical in practice, if, as suggested below, affiliation was always transmitted by heredity. In that case, over time, territorial units will also have come to approximate personal associations. Nevertheless, units originally defined according to place of residence will have maintained their cohesion for generations; and for this reason, among others, it is worthwhile to retain the traditional categories.

Territorial Units

Territorialism is unquestionably an innovative feature of Greek public organizations.[4] Below, the traditional view that the Attic-Ionic and Dorian phylai alone of known public units of the historical period antedated the dispersion of the Greeks to their historical centers is reaffirmed. In each and every instance, with one possible exception, no good evidence has been found in support of the supposition of a territorial disposition. Szanto's hypothesis, in particular, that the tripartite Dorian division originally represented a "Bodenteilung" has not been found to be corroborated by the texts he adduced from Argos (2 §7), Dyme (3 §1), Issa (4 §1), and Rhodes (5 §42-52).[5] Only at Epidauros (2 §5), which did not play a part in Szanto's analysis, is a territorial disposition even arguable. But the fact that one of the three, Pamphyloi, had by this date passed out of existence suggests, at the same time, that the Epidaurian organization had already undergone substantial modification.

Public units may be recognized as territorial by various means. The principal classes of indicator are:

(i) Often, the disposition of a unit is signaled by the term by which it is designated. Index I.B.2 lists the units originating in territorial

entities: ἄμφοδον, δῆμος, κτοίνα, κωμαρχία, κώμη, οἴη, πύργος?, τόνος, χῶρος, and ὠβά.

(ii) An upper tier unit of unknown disposition, which is known to have wholly contained as segments subunits of indubitable territorial disposition, must itself be territorial. Thus, for example, the phylai and *trittyes* of Kleisthenic Athens (1 §1.21: demes); the phylai of Epidauros (2 §5: units of unknown designation); the phylai of Greater Rhodes, Ialysos, Kameiros, and Lindos (5 §42-45: demes); the phylai of Traianopolis (6 §5: *komai*); and the phylai and *komarchiai* of Philippopolis (6 §8: *komai*).

Conversely, a lower tier segment of a known territorial unit must itself be territorial. Thus, with high probability, the Half-Eighths, the presumable subdivisions of the eight phylai at Corinth (2 §2).

(iii) Sometimes a unit's proper name, in the absence of the technical term, provides the telltale clue. Thus, at Epidauros (2 §5), units of unknown designation bear names such as Μεσογαΐς and Οἴσεια ἔνερθεν. For similar cases, see Tauromenion (4 §21), Ioulis (5 §15), and Karthaia (5 §16).

(iv) Paralleling the designation of metics at Athens, persons (in the latter case, expressly said to be a citizen) at Nikomedeia (8 §3) and Nikaia (8 §4) are identified, in place of the usual adjectival demotic, etc., by the phrases οἰκῶν ἐν φυλῇ Αὐρηλιανῇ vel sim. Similarly, parcels of land, buildings, and so on are sometimes localized by reference to a public unit. Besides the well known examples from Athens, at Tenos (5 §18) the locution ἐν Ἡρακλειδῶν refers with certainty to the phyle Herakleidai.

(v) Territorial disposition has often been alleged in states where the phylai (in particular) bear divine names corresponding to the state's principal cults; each unit, it is argued, will have been centered upon the appropriate sanctuary. Loosely speaking, the hypothesis is applicable to Kleisthenic Athens, where, as a matter of fact, the territorial phylai maintained shrines on the Akropolis (1 §1.34). The theory seems to have arisen initially in connection with the late synoecized foundations of the non-Dorian Peloponnese; the analyses of the present work, however, have resulted in a mixed verdict (see Chapter 3, introduction). Elsewhere, the names of units in many states will have corresponded to local cults, but on present evidence the inference of territorial disposition would not appear warranted.

(vi) Finally, in a few instances public units are recognized as territorial on the basis of explicit literary testimony. The disposition of the phylai of Elis (3 §7) is guaranteed by Pausanias' report (5.9.6) that the loss of demes to foreign invaders resulted in the reduction of the principal units from twelve to eight. A division of "the citizens into

eight phylai and of the city into eight parts" ascribed to Corinth by the *Souda* (2 §2) has with reason been taken to indicate a single territorial organization. Less straightforward are Homer's lines concerning Rhodes (5 §42-52) and Pausanias' comment (7.5.12) about the third phyle of Erythrai (7 §8).

From the identification of a public unit as "territorial" it does not strictly follow, as modern usage would lead one to suppose, that it was a precisely defined area limited by exact boundaries. In opposition to this prevailing assumption, W. E. Thompson has argued, with reference to Athens, that the Kleisthenic deme actually comprised a center—that is, not a block, but a point, on the map.[6] At the time of the creation of the demes, each citizen would have registered in the center to which he knew, or believed, he belonged. Thereafter, the "deme," because, as all are agreed, its membership comprised the descendants in the male line of the original registrants, could fairly be described as a personal association with a regional center—no mappable parcel of territory need at any time be assumed. Among other arguments, Thompson adduced the absence of boundary markers for phylai, *trittyes,* and demes, despite the frequent use of such monuments for a host of other purposes. What light, if any, does the study of states outside Athens throw on the question? Markers of various types bearing the name of a public unit have been collected from a number of states (Index III.G.5), but in not a single instance can a case be made that the marker's function was to define a boundary of the unit itself. Yet, at the same time, it is appropriate to ask just how likely the existence of such markers is in the first place. To delineate adequately even a portion of the 139 demes of Attika would have required a truly vast number of stones, each inscribed with a minimum of two texts. Comparably large numbers of territorial units are found at Eretria (1 §5), Histiaia (1 §6), Epidauros (2 §5), Argos (2 §7), among others. What would have necessitated so large an expenditure of funds and effort? Would not natural features (streams, ridges, peaks, etc.), man-made fixtures (roads, spring houses, wells, barns, etc.) or property lines have sufficed? Boundaries defined according to such landmarks might have been simply, and permanently, established. The argument from the absence of *horoi* does not in the final analysis appear to carry great weight.

Quite apart from the question of the existence of boundaries, there is the matter of the determination of affiliation. Again, transmission by heredity in the male line is a rule of wide applicability to units of all dispositions (see below). Regardless of place of residence, one retained the affiliation of his ancestors. What demonstrable counter-instances we do find are no earlier than the first century A.D.: see

Miletos (7 §16: deme); Nikomedeia (8 §3), Nikaia (8 §4), Kibyra (8 §27), and Kadyanda (8 §28) (all phylai).

Personal Units

All other public units, not territorial, may be assigned to the "personal" category. Since affiliations, regardless of the principle of organization, were transmitted hereditarily, thereby creating theoretically indistinguishable "associations," the term "personal" may justifiably be considered no more than a synonym for "non-territorial." Ultimately, the varying classes of public unit differed essentially only in terms of the basis on which their memberships were originally constituted.

The process of categorizing the personal units begins, obviously, with the elimination of those units technically designated by territorial terms (i.e. Index I.B.2). The remainder fall into four classes defined by the nature of *their* technical designation: "numerically-designated," "associations," "military," and "kinship" (Index I.B.1, 3-5) and one other, defined by proper names, "Landsmannschaftlich." Units from any of these classes might, as a purely formal possibility, be found to have been disposed territorially. But, in actual practice, only a single subdivision of one of the classes provides positive examples: the "partitive" numerically-designated units (Index I.B.3.b)—and even among these only for the Kleisthenic Third (1 §1.21) and the Corinthian Half-Eighth (2 §2) is the disposition certain or probable.

Nor, though otherwise personal, are the five classes entirely mutually exclusive. This is because they reflect different aspects of organization, more than one of which may be present in the selfsame unit—namely, technical designation (phyle, Thousand, etc.), proper names (Aiolis, Athenaioi, etc.), and, conceivably, given sufficient evidence, the observed composition of the unit's membership.[7] Hybrids do occur. There are, for example, several cases of *Landsmannschaftlich* numerical units: Hundreds? at Kalchedon (6 §24) and Thousands at Ephesos (7 §11), Erythrai (7 §8), Methymna (5 §9), and Samos (5 §13). Numerical designation is also combined with a plural patronymic proper name indicative of a kinship orientation in the Hundreds of Samos (5 §13) and Thousands of Kos (5 §41). At Gortyn (5 §29), the one likely candidate for a military unit, the *startos,* is closely linked by external testimony to the *genos,* or clan. Even territorial units, such as the demes of Athens (1 §1.21) and of Kos (5 §41), acquire names of patronymic type. Hybridization as widespread and persistent as this points to efforts to reconcile, or combine, competing principles of arrangement—probably, as I shall suggest, at the expense of kinship

or other familial associations. But let us resume by first considering the, as it were, ideal types in isolation:

Landsmannschaftlich. The first class, the most easily defined, consists of what Busolt called the "Landsmannschaftlich" units.[8] By this term he referred to those units, found with greatest frequency in colonial states, whose members were actually, or at least claimed to be, of a common place of origin. Early, incontestable examples are the organizations, known in whole or part from literary accounts, of Kyrene (5 §26), Thourioi (4 §9), and Ephesos (7 §11). Elsewhere, our only clues are those afforded by the proper names of the units themselves: e.g. Methymna (5 §9), Samos (5 §13: post-restoration Thousands), Krete (5 §27-39 passim), Lindos (5 §45: phyle Argeia and deme Argos), Beroia (6 §3), Kalchedon (6 §24: Hundreds): Perinthos (6 §27), Prousias-on-Hypios (8 §2), Pergamon (8 §6), Eumeneia (8 §20), and Laodikeia-on-Lykos (8 §22). To be distinguished from these presumed cases of actual migration are those involving synoecized states—that is, where the place of origin has itself become part of the new state. The point is well illustrated by the phylai of Metropolis (1 §8: Onthyreis), Megalopolis (3 §3: the later organization), and Ioulis (5 §15: Koresioi). Such cases are, however, exceptions to the prevailing tendency, save where indivisible territorial nuclei were concerned (i.e. the rural demes of Attika), to use the upper levels of an organization to create new "communities" cutting across such lines of division as were the inevitable product of synoecisms (see further, below).

To what extent were *Landsmannschaftlich* designations literally significant? The suspicion has been aired that on occasion, if not in the majority of cases, the proper names merely commemorate some detail of a city's foundation legend and so convey nothing certain concerning the actual composition of the units' memberships.[9] Simply on the basis of general probabilities, this is likely to have been true where late reorganizations of very old cities were at question. And, while specific information bearing on the question is nearly everywhere lacking, one corroborating example can be adduced: at Kalymna (5 §40), a Classical organization of phylai with conspicuously "Asian" proper names is supplanted by the second century by the Dorian Dymanes, Hylleis, and Pamphyloi. Either one set of names or the other could not have been entirely literally significant. We are entitled, therefore, to accept only with some hesitation the claims implicit in the names of the *Landsmannschaftlich* units, particularly those of later origin.

If a unit constituted on the basis of the common place of origin of its members were to be defined territorially, the unit would amount to a "ghetto." To the best of my knowledge, no such community can be demonstrated to have existed. The patently commemorative phyle Argeia and deme Argos of Lindos (5 §45) hardly constitute instances.

Since *Landsmannschaftlich* units, by their very names, announce a personal mode of organization, they should all be assumed to have been independent of place of residence until proven otherwise.

Numerically designated. Mention has already been made of the distinction, not in every instance easy to ascertain, between "collective" and "partitive" units with numerical designations. On the basis of my analyses, I have concluded that every such technical term is always one or the other; a given unit is not "collective" in one city, but "partitive" in another. To the former category (Index I.B.3.a) belong the Five, Thirty, Fifty (cf. the *pentekontarchia*), Hundred, and Thousand. To the latter (loc. cit., b), the Third, Ninth, and Half-Eighth.[10] Regarding disposition, "partitive" units may be either territorial or personal, although only the *trittys,* provided I have reconstructed correctly the earlier Athenian organization, provides an illustration: personal before Kleisthenes, the Thirds were transformed into "third parts" of territorial phylai under the democracy (1 §1.1 and 21). No "collective" unit, however, despite the occasional claim to the contrary, can be shown to have been territorial—nor should we expect so much, if the terminology itself provides any clues. Are we, then, entitled to regard the Thirty, Fifty, Hundred, etc. as personal associations constituted, originally or for all time, on the basis of the numbers of their memberships?

The answer must be strongly qualified. There are unmistakable signs that the "collective" terms did not always retain, if they ever possessed, their notional significance. At Sicilian Akrai (4 §19), the Thirties are known with certainty to have numbered nine; if the term is literally significant, a total citizen population of 270 is implied. Yet this figure is, I argue, too small for Akrai at the time the pertinent documents were composed. At Corinth (2 §2), a similar problem arises in connection with the same unit, although here the reconstruction in which the problem originates must be admitted to be somewhat speculative. At Kos (5 §41), the selfsame units were designated Thousands and Ninths. Unless an absolutely stable citizen population is assumed, for how long could the integrity of both terms have been maintained? But the crowning illustration is provided by Herakleia-on-Pontos (6 §23), where a reform of the early fourth century reported by Aeneas Tacticus allegedly resulted in the replacement of four by sixty *hekatostyes.* While it is probable that one or the other number is corrupt, on any reading or emendation the *hekatostys* could not have been *either* a literal Hundredth *or* Hundred both before and after the change. Since, however, the Herakleian reform involved the substitution of a larger for a smaller number of units (as the text now stands, at least), and since at both Akrai and Corinth the numbers implied by the known or inferred numbers of units are too small, it may be hypothesized that

such terminology generally dated to periods earlier than our evidence—in the case of a colony, perhaps to the foundation—when the population would have been smaller and the numerical terminology, accordingly, literally accurate. Analogously with the (hereditary) territorial units, the names of the numerically designated units would have been meaningful upon their creation, but, with the passage of time, have departed from the original basis of organization. As with, for example, the Kleisthenic demes, attention to the integrity of a technical term yielded to a greater concern with the maintenance of an association transmitted from previous generations.

A reconstruction of this kind would bring with it an added benefit. It would help us to understand how, on Kos (5 §41), the Thousands could be designated by patronymic personal names—or how, even more strikingly, the Hundreds of post-restoration Samos (5 §13) could not only bear such names but even be officially designated by the term *genos,* "clan," in the enrollment clauses of citizenship decrees. "Numerically-designated" units might not, at least in some states, have differed substantially from other personally disposed associations.

"*Associations.*" Within this small residual class (Index I.B.4) are grouped the *symmoria, synedrion,* and *synnome.* No evidence opposes the assumption that all three were of personal disposition. Regarding the *synnome,* see my arguments against its being a subdivision of the territorial phyle at Kameiros (5 §44).

"*Military.*" Despite the widespread applications of the public organization to the administration of the armed forces (Index II.L), only one unit, the *startos,* exampled at Gortyn (5 §29) and Lyttos (5 §32), is actually so designated. Evidence from Gortyn puts a personal disposition beyond question. For an additional possible candidate, compare the *naukraria* at pre-Kleisthenic Athens (1 §1.1).

"*Kinship*" *or other familial.* Because the public organization has been defined according to function, groups normally (and correctly) regarded as extra-governmental may, by virtue of a single minor public role, qualify for inclusion. This is the case with the so-called kinship units (Index I.B.1)—*diagonia*?, *genos, hetairia, oikos, patra* (or *patria*), *syngeneia,* and *phratria* (vel sim.).[11] The classification depends solely upon the evident meanings of these terms, without implying anything regarding the origins, structure, or activity, etc. of the associations themselves. Nonetheless, to it, as we shall see, corresponds a consistent, and historically significant, pattern of participation in government.

DETERMINATION OF AFFILIATION

Not surprisingly in view of the generally fragmentary state of the record, the nature of the procedure for determining affiliation with a

public unit can be reconstructed only in a few cases. But, where sufficient evidence is available, hereditary transmission in the male line is the rule: thus Athens (1 §1.21), Kalymna (5 §40), and Kos (5 §41)—to mention only very well documented examples. For the vast majority of states, owing to lack of information about appropriately related individuals, no judgment one way or another is possible. Beginning in late Hellenistic times, however, we find in territorial organizations, as will be observed below, the linking of affiliation with place of residence. For certain or arguable examples, see Miletos (7 §16), Nikomedeia (8 §3), Nikaia (8 §4), Kibyra (8 §27), and Kadyanda (8 §28). With due acknowledgment of the pitiful state of our record, one might posit a general movement from purely personal organization (i.e. the Dorian and Attic-Ionic phylai) to territorial organization with hereditary affiliation to, finally, a rigid territorialism based on place of residence. But why, in the final stage, the abandonment of traditional practice? Possibly because hereditary affiliation in combination with the movement of citizens out of the units of their affiliation had resulted, over the centuries, in the loss of territorial cohesion to the extent that the practical administrative advantages of such a disposition were negated. Units established under the new plan would have been free of this complication—permanently. Alternatively, and more hypothetically, there may have occurred a concurrent loss of interest in applying a rule of descent to public organization.

EARLY DEVELOPMENT

Because the traditional public organization, as just described, was inextricably linked to the city-state, it is reasonable to ask whether any of its elements can be traced to the era of the formation of these states during the Dark Age. In fact, of the over thirty units for which a public function is attested over the Greek world (Index I.A), only one, the phyle, is sufficiently widely distributed so as to make certain such an early origin.[12] It occurs in all regions in which public units of any title or description are known; and in no instance, despite occasional claims to the contrary, is it possible to demonstrate its absence.[13] If not the institution itself, then at least the word φυλή must antedate the dispersal of the Greeks to their historical centers. The identification of the prehistoric phylai, furthermore, must, as always recognized, be confined to two sets of divisions, which alone are found to overstep narrow regional boundaries, the Attic-Ionic and Dorian phylai. The former comprises the four "Old Attic" units, Geleontes, Argadeis, Aigikoreis, and Hopletes. They are found at Athens before (and after) Kleisthenes (1 §1.1) and, among the ill-documented Aegean islands, on Thasos (5 §1) and Delos (5 §20). With the addition of the specifically "Ionic" Boreis and Oinopes, a sixfold

division occurs along the Asia Minor seaboard at Erythrai, Teos, Kolophon, Ephesos, and Miletos (7 §8, 9, 10, 11, 16). Samos (5 §13), too, probably observed the division at an early date; in any case, three of the units eventually appear at her colony, Perinthos (6 §27). Principally due to the colonial activity of the Milesians, the organization was widely distributed over the Black Sea region: Anchialos?, Odessos, Krounoi, Tomoi, Istros, and Kyzikos (6 §13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 28).[14] Similarly widely dispersed are the Dorian Dymanes, Hylleis, and Pamphyloi. The triad persists, even into the Imperial age, at several Peloponnesian centers: Megara, Sikyon, Epidauros, Troizen, Argos, and Sparta (2 §1, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8). Corinth (2 §2) should probably be included, since traces of the organization are found within her colonial territory in the west: Issa, Kerkyra, Akragas, and possibly Syracuse (4 §1, 5, 18, 20; and see Chapter 4, introduction). To the east and south, the Dorian phylai are attested in the island communities Thera (5 §25), Krete (5 §27-39 passim), Kalymna (5 § 40), and Kos (5 §41); and, on the mainland opposite, at Kedreai (5 §46), Halikarnassos (7 §23), and possibly Theangela (7 §24).[15] Negatively, no evidence has materialized in support of a native "Aiolic" organization—or any other of pre-Migration origin.

These are the sources to which Greek public organization in all its manifestations must be traced—whether by a process of transmission, or development, or imitation. Needless to say, this is a story of great complexity. Two hundred city-states are in question, and no simple formulas could possibly be wholly satisfactory in so many varied sets of circumstances. Nonetheless, several aspects of the evolution of the organizations lend themselves to general characterization.

Are we able, first of all, to identify the setting of the pioneering innovations upon the inherited systems of phylai? With the admission of much uncertainty, not to mention acknowledgment of countless gaps in our record, we are. The Dorian states of the Peloponnese (Chapter 2) yield the telltale clues. There, conforming to a clear pattern, the original triadic division underwent expansion through the addition of new phylai containing local pre- and/or non-Dorian population elements—thus Sikyon, Epidauros, Troizen, and Argos (2 §3, 5, 6, 7). At Corinth (2 §2), a distinctive organization of eight territorial phylai entirely supplanted the old units; at the same time, or perhaps somewhat later, equally artificial divisions called Half-Eighths and Thirties, were added as lower tiers. At Megara (2 §1), the phylai remained unaltered, but the numerical unit, the Hundred, though not attested until the third century, must have been an early innovation to judge from its appearance in several Megarian colonies (6 §23-26). While Sparta's Dorian phylai, too, escape modification, at least one substan-

tive public statewide function, the deployment of the armed forces, was transferred to the territorially-defined *obai,* or villages (2 §8).

Nearly all these innovations are attributable to a single historical epoch—the Age of the Tyrants. Generally speaking, the success of these revolutionary movements had meant the enfranchisement of large numbers of outsiders, many arguably not even of Dorian stock—thereby placing an intolerable strain upon the existing organizations. Not merely new units, but wholly new types of organization were needed. Territorialism, designation by numerals, and, in varying forms, *Landsmannschaftlich* arrangements all make their earliest recorded appearances. Beyond the Peloponnese, at Dorian Kyrene (5 §26), the last-mentioned innovation was introduced under similar circumstances. Whether other Dorian states experienced such changes under their tyrants is, owing to the absence of suitably early evidence, unknown.

What of the Attic-Ionic phylai? At Chios (5 §12), a strong case has been made for the introduction of a new phyle under the tyrant Polyteknos. But at Athens (1 §1.1), according to Aristotle's account, Solon found, and left undisturbed, an organization comprising the Old Attic units, *trittyes,* and *naukrariai.* And, later, the tyrant Peisistratos, contrary to the trend set by the Dorian innovators, apparently followed Solon's precedent. An explanation is at hand. Unlike the mixed Peloponnesian populations, the Athenians, spared overthrow or invasion in earlier times, could, and did, claim to be indigenous. Furthermore, because the four phylai appear to have been widely distributed over mainland Greece at an early date,[16] affiliation with them might have been universal among free persons. That is, as far as the phylai were concerned, there were no outsiders. Thus the factor prompting the reforming activity of the Dorian tyrants would have been absent. The major change awaited the more complex set of circumstances of the time of Kleisthenes.

Expansion, accompanied by the introduction of the new principles of organization, revolutionized the existing three- and fourfold inherited divisions. Where statewide functioning was concerned, opportunities were opened up for the development of a more effective administration of public business. But this is only part of the story. Neither the enfranchisement of non-citizens, nor the demands of governmental administration, nor the two in combination, can account for the full record of innovation. For, if not under the tyrants, then not long thereafter, these same units begin to acquire the traits of self-sustaining associations. By no calculation, as I argue below, is this development to be explained as a necessary outgrowth of public organization. But in order to understand the phenomenon, we will need to scrutinize more carefully the process of evolution, since, after the

tyrants, reforms steadily increased in sophistication. Accordingly, I have attempted a categorization of the principal types of innovation. Arranged in approximate ascending order of complexity, they are:

CLASSIFICATION OF TYPES OF INNOVATION

Alteration of Names or Terminology

Renaming of units without substantial change. At Sikyon, according to Herodotos' famous account (2 §3), the tyrant Kleisthenes substituted opprobrious titles for the traditional Dorian Dymanes, Hylleis, and Pamphyloi. Much later, after the tyranny had ended, the old names were restored.

Addition of new name to old. On occasion a unit may acquire a new designation and thereafter be known by a "double" name. See Nysa (8 §11) and Ikonion (8 §36).

Equation of terms. Under this rubric is grouped, most simply, the use of two terms to designate a single unit: thus the "*genos* and Hundred" at Samos (5 §13) and (involving two numerical designations, one collective, the other partitive) the Thousand and Ninth at Kos (5 §41). Elsewhere, a given unit undergoes change of terminology in time: the Spartan *oba* acquired the designation phyle (2 §8) and, apparently by governmental act, the phylai of Olymos were renamed *syngeneiai* (7 §20). Such a process or act may in fact lie behind the double nomenclature at Samos.

Expansion of an Existing Organization

Addition of single units. The early examples, as already noted, involve the addition of one, or two, phylai to the inherited Attic-Ionic and Dorian organizations. In later times, numerous occurrences may be deduced from the proper names of units, particularly where historical eponyms are concerned. Thus, at Athens (1 §1.21), the five post-Kleisthenic phylai Antigonis, Demetrias, Ptolemais, Attalis, Hadrianis, and the three honorary demes, Berenikidai, Apollonieis, and Antinoeis. At Pergamon (8 §6), a new phyle was created by state decree to honor the prominent citizen Diodoros Pasparos. In the Athenian case, the new phylai were created by combining demes taken from already existing phylai. Elsewhere, the addition follows upon the acquisition of new territory or new citizens. There are several examples of the former: e.g. the phyle Koresioi at Ioulis (5 §15), the deme Kalymna at Kos (5 §41), and numerous demes of Greater Rhodes (5 §42-52). The latter is exemplified by, besides the Dorian Peloponnesian states, the addition of "Roman" phylai at Messene (3 §8) and, in the East, at Odessos, Tomoi, Istros (6 §14, 17, 18), and Aphrodisias (7 §28).

Addition of a new tier. Although a necessary occurrence wherever a division below the phylai is found, the circumstances of the innovation are seldom recorded. For Athens (1 §1.21), we have Aristotle's account of Kleisthenes' creation of the new *trittyes,* and of the demes, which replaced the *naukrariai.*

Assimilation of units of the social organization. Resembling in effect the equation at Samos (5 §13) of the Hundred and Clan (see above), this phenomenon occurs with certainty or high probability at Argos (2 §7), Syracuse (4 §20), Thasos (5 §1), and Chios (5 §12). In all four cases, the social unit, viz. the *patra* (Thasos) or phratry (all others), appears to have become a segmental subdivision of the (public) phyle. For arguments against such subdivision, see Tenos (5 §18: phratry) and Kalymna (5 §40: *syngeneia*).

Contraction of an Existing Organization

Loss of single units. The only documented example is, again, from Kleisthenic Athens (1 §1.21): the abolition of the Makedonian phylai Antigonis and Demetrias. At Epidauros (2 §5), the Pamphyloi are missing from a fourfold organization of phylai including the Dymanes and Hylleis. (But speculations regarding the loss of one or more of the Dorian phylai in certain Kretan cities [5 §27-39] depend upon the silence of a lacunose record.) Hardly to be classified as an "innovation," Elis is reported to have lost a number of her territorial phylai and demes to enemy invasion (3 §7). There are undoubtedly additional cases, but, given the nature of our documentation, it is a phenomenon difficult to demonstrate.

Loss of a tier. I know of no example where it is certain that, with the loss of the division, the remainder of the organization remained unchanged.

Retrenchment. By this term I intend more substantial contraction, which nonetheless falls short of wholesale reform. The generally fragmentary record renders speculations about changes of this kind particularly hazardous. The one arguable instance is from Perinthos (6 §27), where Geleontes, Boreis, and Aigikoreis (all partially restored) stand alongside four innovating units in what appears to be a complete roster of the phylai. (At Miletos [7 §16], however, the old suggestion of a similar halving of the Attic-Ionic phylai was long ago precluded by the appearance of one of the missing phylai in another inscription.)

Rearrangement of an Existing Organization

Demotion. On occasion, a principal unit may, with the retention of its name, undergo demotion to the next lower tier. The assured examples involve the Attic-Ionic phylai, which appear as *chiliastyes* at

Samos (5 §13) and Ephesos (7 §11). In the latter case, Argadeis, Boreis, Geleontes, and possibly Aigikoreis subdivide a single phyle, Epheseis. At Kolophon (7 §10), I have conjecturally identified Geleontes as a *chiliastys,* as well. But the identification of the same group as a *patra* at Thasos (5 §1) is unlikely. No instance of the demotion of a Dorian, or other, phyle is known.

Subdivision of a unit, accompanied by numerical designation. Rather than demote an existing unit, reformers might instead split it into multiple segments. Thereafter, each segment would bear the name of the original whole, distinguished from the others by the addition of a numeral. Such a process would appear to have produced the First Pasthemidai, a Thousand at Kos (5 §41). Additional likely candidates are provided by the lower tiers of the later organizations of Chios (5 §12). In post-restoration Samos (5 §13), the Thousands might be designated, e.g., "the greater (sc. Thousand) of the Euboians" or "the lesser (sc. Thousand) of the Epidaurians"—possibly embodying the principle in a somewhat different form.[17]

Rearrangement of an existing tier. At Herakleia-on-Pontos (6 §23), according to a literary account, an early fourth century reform increased the Hundreds from four to sixty. Although corruption of one or the other (or both) of the numerals is probable, the circumstances of the change point to a reorganization of major significance.

Alteration of the principle of organization. Change of this magnitude generally involves either the substitution of a wholly new organization or at least the addition of a new tier. At Corinth (2 §2), the presumed original organization was the personal Dorian phylai; territorialism was introduced through the creation of an artificial system of innovating phylai and Half-Eighths. A similar change may have occurred at Axos on Krete (5 §28). Argos (2 §7) added territorial organization through the institutionalization of the *komai,* while leaving the phylai and *phatrai,* so far as we are informed, unaltered. Kleisthenes substituted territorial for personal *trittyes* (1 §1.1 and 21), but this cannot count as an instance since, despite the retention of the technical term, the units themselves were new. In fact, there appears to be only one arguable example: the possible alteration of Epidauros' Dorian phylai to a territorial disposition (2 §5).

Introduction of "Intermediate Distribution" of Units

By this expression I refer to the use of an intermediate division to distribute units, or clusters of units, differentially over an upper tier. The one assured example is provided by Kleisthenic Athens (1 §1.21). That organization was based upon the segregation of the demes into three regions, City, Coast, and Inland. The demes of each region were

grouped into ten *trittyes,* and each of the ten phylai comprised three *trittyes,* one from each of the three regions. Whether a scheme of this kind was ever, before or after Kleisthenes, put into operation elsewhere is open to question. Since it is the *trittys* that effects the distribution, its occurrence elsewhere might be taken as a positive indicator. At Delos (5 §20), however, the presence of one of the Old Attic phylai in combination with the *triktyes* rather suggests as an exemplar the pre-Kleisthenic organization of Attika (1 §1.1)—which, to judge from Aristotle's discussion (*AP* 21.2-6), was not constructed along the same lines as its successor. Positively, the phylai of Federal Keos (5 §14) are plausibly thought to have consisted of a *trittys* of *choroi* from each of the three cities of the state's territory. Elsewhere, Kleisthenic-style organizations have been proposed even in the absence of the term *trittys.* For Eretria (1 §5), I have speculated that the (five?) *choroi,* of which the demes were constituents, corresponded to the Athenian regions City, Coast, and Inland; each phyle will have consisted of a number of demes from each *choros.* At Kameiros (5 §44), I have proposed that the documented allocation of the demes among the principal units (certainly phylai) points to representation in each of the main island, Peraia, and Dependent Islands. Still more conjecturally, scholars have championed the cause of Corinth (2 §2) and of Kyrene (5 §26)—in the latter case, the distribution will have been along social, not territorial, lines. Since the creation of both these organizations antedated the reform of Kleisthenes, the confirmation of either hypothesis would require a major reappraisal of the originality of the Athenian's work.

THE NEW COMMUNITIES

Through innovations of these kinds the public organizations attained the generally high degree of distinctiveness we find in our predominately late Classical and Hellenistic sources. So great, in fact, is the variety of arrangements that any attempt at classification would inevitably result in an excessively numerous, and therefore unilluminating, array of categories. The significant field for comparison and generalization is, again, the region, or, where movements of population are involved, metropolis and colony, home government and cleruchy, etc. Nevertheless, certain pervasive trends are discernible, and must be acknowledged: growth (despite the occasional loss of units); increasing numbers of units through the addition of lower, or the segmentation of existing, tiers; and the introduction of territorial disposition. Taken together, these developments might be understood as responses to the mounting administrative demands of the city-state. As the state grew, so did its public organization. More numerous units might facilitate the creation of larger boards, of cycles of greater length, of divisions

of responsibility and privilege not possible if, as before, only three or four units had been available for use. Territorial arrangements made for the administration or, equally, for the representation, of a state's lands irrespective of urban, rural, coastal or other distinguishing and potentially disruptive geographical or demographic differences. In sum, a more sophisticated, flexible, and effective instrument for the operation of government had evolved.

But the demands of statewide administration alone do not, by themselves, account for the full record of innovation. The nature of the problem may be easily apprehended by a survey of the attested statewide functions of public units catalogued in Index II. The record reveals, on the whole, an overwhelming preference for the use of the phyle. To take the best documented specific example, Athens, the securely attested statewide applications of the Kleisthenic *trittyes* and demes are, when measured against the all-pervading presence of the phylai, insignificant (see 1. §1.21). Parallel cases from elsewhere in Greece could quickly be amassed. What few exceptions appear, moreover, are susceptible to explanation. Thus the Samian phylai (5 §13), because they numbered only two, were of little administrative utility; accordingly, the burden of statewide administrative duties was transferred to the next lower tier, the Thousands. At Sparta (2 §8), the phylai were rivaled, and eventually survived, by the territorial *obai* possibly because the Dorian units, personally disposed and closed to non-Dorians, could not accommodate additions to the citizen population. The list might be extended—but to no great length, because the exceptions are few. Negatively put, the practical result was the nearly consistent absence of recorded public functions for tiers below the phylai. The trend takes no account of disposition. As in the case of the Athenian demes, we see little elsewhere of the territorial nuclei (or, where "intermediate distribution" is present or suspected, of the *trittys* or other middle tier). Except for the Samian Thousands, collective numerical units—particularly the smaller Hundred and Fifty—are scarcely recorded. *Landsmannschaftlich* organization hardly enters into the account, since in actual practice it is almost entirely confined to phylai. Again, those "kinship" associations whose existence was recognized in public contexts were nonetheless excluded, with only few exceptions, from the transaction of public business. For what reason, then, have these same units been incorporated in the public organizations?

The answer is simply that their importance was not confined to the performance of statewide functions. What, then, was their importance? Any reply must begin with our remaining documentation of these units—the record of their internal organization tabulated in Index III. Taken as a whole, the tabulation reveals the operation of self-sustaining

associations from the Classical through the Hellenistic periods. Among, furthermore, the multifarious details of their internal administration, a striking feature stands out: their fundamentally sacral outlook. The Kleisthenic phylai and demes (at least in one case, Rhamnous) exemplify the central element of a religious association—the recognition and cult observance of the eponym of the unit (1 §1.32 and 34). The picture is completed by the scattered, but unambiguous, traits of religious orientation (Index III.I): the naming of units after a god, hero, or deified human; sacred laws or other regulations; officers bearing varying religious titles; funds reserved for religious purposes; control of or access to sanctuaries and other sacred structures of fixtures; and a host of functions and activities of a religious nature. The parallelism with the private association is further reinforced, too, by the apparently universal practice among public associations of transmitting affiliation by heredity in the male line. To be sure, this is a composite reconstruction, but it is one with observable corroboration in particular instances. Mention has already been made of the absorption of *patrai* or phratries by the phyle as segmental subdivisions at Argos (2 §7), Syracuse (4 §20), Thasos (5 §1), and Chios (5 §12). This could not have occurred unless the public unit had already acquired some of the principal characteristics of a private association. At Samos (5 §13), the equation of the *genos* with the presumably public Hundred should probably be given the same explanation. Moreover, the process could operate in the reverse direction. At Sparta (2 §8), the originally territorial *obai* developed so far along the lines of personal associations that, at length, with the apparent demise of the Dymanes, Hylleis, and Pamphyloi, they themselves came to be officially designated "phylai." Still more to the point, the phylai of Olymos (7 §20), upon incorporation into the sympolity of Mylasa, were, according to the express acknowledgment of a state decree, renamed "*syngeneiai*." In such cases as these, we see the trend carried to its ultimate conclusion.

The emergence and flourishing of these "public associations" (let us call them) is so widespread and persistent that it cannot be separated from the question of the general evolution of the public organization. Again, the development went far beyond any conceivable demands presented by statewide administration. Had only governmental applications been at question, we should have seen simpler, single-tier organizations with far fewer total numbers of units. At Athens, the symmories and the "sections" A-K are two convenient illustrations of the options available. Elsewhere, likewise, the military organization might go its own way and develop a system of units for its exclusive use. Yet in none of these instances, although citizens alone are in question, is there a trace of the formation of an internal structure within the unit. That is, the creation of a public administrative system

devoid of associational features was from early on a live possibility. The internal development of the traditional public units, accordingly, could not have been an accidental, unforeseen outgrowth of a bureaucratic structure devoted solely to statewide functions. To the contrary, such development is often amply documented for those very units for which, in the same periods, few public applications, or none at all, are known: e.g. the demes of Athens (1 §1.34), the *komai* of Argos (2 §7), the Thousands of Methymna (5 §9), the demes of Kos (5 §41), and so on. Surely, too, this is only the tip of the iceberg. For nearly three quarters of the demes of Athens, for example, we have not a single internal document (see 1 §1.4); for only one of the many Argive *komai,* viz. Mykenai, have we even a single text (2 §7). Yet no one, on this basis, would conclude that all the others were not internally organized.

A clue as to the purpose underlying these phenomena can be obtained from consideration of the varying dispositions of the units. By and large, we encounter a pronounced artificiality, in that the public units consistently fail to conform to the lines of pre-existing communities. The point applies irrespective of the principle of organization. To take a leading example of the territorial class, Lewis showed how certain of the Kleisthenic *trittyes* were laid out so as to divide powerful regional groupings. Within the *trittys,* too, some of the demes were given patronymic names duplicating those of certain prominent familial associations. Thereby the membership of the public association came into open competition with the homonymous counterpart in the social organization.[18] No less, the artificiality of the numerical units is patent. The Thousand, Hundred, Fifty—as well as the fractional segments of other divisions, e.g. the Third or Half-Eighth—must have been initially constituted on some wholly arbitrary basis. The extreme to which the idea might be carried is illustrated in a rather different way at Italian Herakleia (4 §7), where units of unknown designation were named after the familiar objects Box, Shield, Tripod, etc. Needless to say, the same might be said of the extreme degree of multi-tier segmentation exemplified, say, by later Chios (5 §12); an edifice of this complexity could not have corresponded to actual lines of division of the contemporary society. The *Landsmannschaftlich* units, however, might be thought an exception. Did they not fossilize existing societal boundaries? Yes, but with a difference. The original members of these groups were, or were regarded as, later, or alien, accretions to the general community.

The characterization of public units as failing to coincide with previously existing pluralities is further supported by the attested treatment of the kinship associations. Recognition by the state assumes various forms. As we have seen, the associations might be equated with public units (e.g. the *genos* and Hundred at Samos [5 §13]), or

be assimilated to them as wholly contained subdivisions (e.g. Argos [2 §7], Syracuse [4 §20]), or, most elaborately, be given a public technical designation, then undergo division and receive an additional, numerical designation (thus the Thousand First Pasthemidai at Kos [5 §41]). Thereby, the kinship groups were, in varying degrees, formally absorbed into the public organizational structure. Elsewhere, in the absence of such evidence, recognition is signaled by the performance of a public function. Yet, what, once the data are assembled, is the impact of that public functioning? In the overwhelming majority of cases, the association's role is confined to inclusion in the enrollment formulas of citizenship decrees. For this, the likeliest explanation is that the state has recognized affiliation with a kinship association as a necessary condition of citizenship—itself probably an outgrowth of the state's reliance on the association's admission procedures to settle questions of legitimacy and majority. The residue is of trifling significance. At Argos (2 §7), the *phratrikon* comes into use in place of the *phyletikon,* and a casualty list arranged *kata phylas* is further broken down by *phatrai*; at Syracuse (4 §20), the names of both phylai and their subdivisions, the phratries, appear on a series of catapult bullets. But in the record of substantive public function (Index II), these kinship associations are not otherwise to be found. The state's recognition had gone no further than the formal acknowledgment of a necessary link between membership in such an association and the attainment of citizenship.

Against the hypothesis, on the other hand, might be cited the widespread institutionalization of villages as *demoi, komai,* etc. Were these not natural, rather than artificial, components of the state? Yes—but there are mitigating factors. For one, a village, in contrast, say, to a regional religious association, necessarily, when institutionalized, came to include all its citizen inhabitants, regardless of class, occupational, or other differences. Secondly, as I have emphasized, it was to the principal division of phylai, not to the lower tiers, that the burden of statewide functions fell. That is, given a continuing loyalty to the local center, it could not easily produce an impact on the operation of government. The potential for disruption, in sum, was small.

Through the dismemberment or, more simply, the exclusion of existing unions, a city-state free of political divisiveness became a possibility. But the phenomenon of the local community ran too deep to be supplanted root and branch by the monolithic community of the *polis.* The solution was the creation of the "new communities." At once, they afforded the apparatus for the conduct of the state's business and, as internally organized associations, satisfied the need for face-to-face fellowship in a politically innocuous manner. We do learn, on occasion, of state regulation of the public associations,[19] but was it

really necessary? Their very artificiality—of title, disposition, and membership—guaranteed their ineffectiveness in the political sphere. The Kleisthenic phyle, comprising demesmen from the City, Coast, and Inland regions, is but a single, conspicuous illustration. If, for all that, an imbalance developed, reform was always possible. Thus at Herakleia-on-Pontos (6 §23), Aeneas Tacticus tells us, the concentration of oligarchs in certain of the Hundreds prompted an increase in the number of units, "in order that the rich be spread among them for both guard-duty and other tasks."

The key, then, to the formation, and ongoing stability, of the city-state was the successful integration of the ideal of the local community. This might be accomplished provided that the "new communities" were successful in neutralizing regional, cult-centered, or other loyalties with the potential for divisive impact. Nonetheless, the consequence of the effective use of this strategy was inevitably a high degree of fragmentation. Paradoxically, the price the city-state paid for its stability was the creation of a new plurality—which, though politically inert, of necessity guaranteed its continuing disunity.

DECLINE

In view of this divided purpose, it comes as no surprise that the mounting needs of the city-state could not in every instance be satisfied through modification of the public organization. So much is clear from the recorded instances of exceptions to the prevailing application of the organization to some particular department of public business, or, in some instances, of the bypassing of the organization altogether. Because it has not been possible within the scope of the present work to evaluate fully the negative record, I must confine myself to a few well known cases from Athens:

(i) violation of representation *kata phylas* in the composition of certain boards—financial (1 §1.25), religious (1 §1.28), and military (1 §1.29). Also relevant here are departures from regular cyclical rotation in posts held by single individuals.

(ii) wholesale bypassing of the public organizational apparatus. An example is the failure of the tragic *choregoi* ever to be selected by phyle (1 §1.27). Several full-fledged boards, including some whose numbers coincided with that of the phylai, were also certainly or probably selected ἐξ ἁπάντων.[20]

(iii) the creation of the system of symmories, supplementing the liturgical *trierarchia*.[21] Evidence adduced in support of the view that the trierarchs were once selected *kata phylas* is, however, open to alternative interpretation (1 §1.27).

(iv) the creation, and application to statewide procedures, of the system of "sections" A through K.[22]

Taken together, violations or exceptions of this sort point to a continuing pressure to relax, or even to abandon altogether, the limitations imposed by the public organization. Motivation certainly varied in individual cases. Segmentation of the citizen body might, from the state's point of view, obstruct the selection of the able; or, from the individual citizen's point of view, unfairly deny a coveted privilege to the deserving. So, due to occasional extreme circumstances, a few isolated divergences might be expected, particularly in a state like Athens, where so many different instances of the application of the organization are recorded. But these divergences are not only relatively numerous. They are also persistent—indeed, they steadily escalate in severity—and, still more importantly, they engage functions vital to the well-being of the state. We are at liberty to ask, then, why the public units were not abandoned altogether, at Athens or elsewhere, as an instrument for the administration of statewide business. Or, to look at the matter from the perspective of our subject, why did the public organization endure as long as it did?

To speak of "conservatism"—religious or otherwise—in this context would only move the question back one notch. Why were the Greeks, generally speaking, "conservative" where public organization was concerned? Why did change, when it occurred, often tend to be gradual—e.g. the addition or subtraction of single units, the demotion or division (rather than abolition) of existing units, assimilation or equation, and so on? There is an answer. Because the components of these organizations were independently functioning associations. When the membership of a unit possessed, by reason of its internal structure, a measure of cohesion and solidarity, it could not so easily be deprived of its role in statewide public administration. Abolition of these "public associations" in any significant number would have bordered on the unthinkable. Just as the creation of the internally organized units had facilitated the stabilization of deeply divided societies, so now their presence inhibited the introduction of other, more efficient or otherwise more desirable modes of administration.

Conversely, when the public organizations finally did go into decline, are the "public associations" in any way to be implicated? To be sure, external political realities were permanently to alter the character of the formerly autonomous city-states. Given such circumstances, the state of health of a phyle association would have no bearing upon the fortunes of the military or financial boards on which it was represented. Nonetheless, to the extent that business did continue as usual, vigorous associational activity might, as before, have retarded the unraveling of the statewide system. Yet what general trends can be made out point uniformly to irreversible decline:

(i) deterioration of tiers below the phylai. At Athens (1 §1.2), the

trittyes begin disappearing from the record following the reorganization of 307/6; the demes proved more durable, but they, too, diminish in visibility as associations around ca. 250 (see 1 §1.33 and 34). Generally, where lower level divisions are known to have existed, they are seldom observed after late Hellenistic times. Analogously, in the case of late foundations, phylai were often the only units ever instituted. Regions characterized by single-tier organization are the non-Dorian Peloponnese (Chapter 3); Makedonia, Thrake, the Black Sea, and Propontis—excepting Megarian colonies, where the Hundreds enjoyed a long history (Chapter 6); and the Hellenized interior of Asia Minor (Chapter 8).

(ii) abandonment of hereditary transmission of affiliation in favor of determination of affiliation by place of residence. The known or arguable examples, all of Imperial date, are: Miletos (7 §16: deme); Nikomedeia (8 §3), Nikaia (8 §4), Kibyra (8 §27), and Kadyanda (8 §28) (all phylai). Given the nature of the phenomenon, a fuller record than we have might reveal many additional instances. Obviously, the development severely compromised any possibility of maintaining continuity within the association.

(iii) a marked increase in simultaneous, sometimes identical acts by all the units of a given tier—especially phylai. Particularly conspicuous are the *en masse* conferral of honors upon a common benefactor or public personage. Notable examples are found at Megara (2 §1), Argos (2 §7), and a host of Asia Minor states, particularly of the interior (Chapters 7 and 8, with introductions). On occasion, the expected directive from some governmental authority is in evidence; for a particularly illuminating example, see Sebastopolis (6 §19).

(iv) generally, the internal organization of *all* units falls off sharply, both in terms of numbers of texts and, where texts are present, in terms of the significance of the documented activity.

What is the explanation? No simple answer, yet again, is possible. Still, we may isolate one factor, which, even by itself, might have been sufficient to precipitate the decline. That is the exclusive restriction of membership to citizens. The attraction of the explanation is that, as a sweeping generality, private associations reaching to every class of Mediterranean non-citizen society—foreigners, women, slaves—are now seen flourishing alongside the decaying structure of the Greek public social organizations. Did the presence of these associations contribute to the erosion of their public counterparts? Perhaps so, but the investigation of this question must await a study of its own.

NOTES

1. Some notable exceptions, and their possible significance, will be taken up in due course.
2. The evaluation of the *negative* record, that is of all instances in which an absence of

connection with the public organization can be demonstrated, might prove valuable, but would result in the expansion of this work beyond reasonable limits. To consider all merely *implicit* evidence, that is where a connection with the public organization is possible, likely, or probable, but not demonstrable, as, say, in the case of agreement between the number of a board of magistrates and the number of units, would serve only to weaken the analysis of the *explicit* record as a scholarly tool. My objective is to assemble what is known of public organization with certainty, and on that basis others may apply my results to the elucidation of the unknown. The only major exceptions to this policy will be found in connection with the Kleisthenic organization of Athens.

3. My policy regarding the admission of evidence has been, again, to restrict the inquiry to the positive and explicit record (see above, with note 2).

4. For a general discussion, see Busolt, *Staatskunde* 262-272.

5. Szanto, 1-26.

6. W. E. Thompson, "The Deme in Kleisthenes' Reforms," *Symbolae Osloenses* 46 (1971) 72-79.

7. Thus, at Kalymna (5 §40), to take an obvious example, lists of demesmen are broken down into smaller registers by phylai. Since the Kalymnian demes were certainly territorial, the phylai, which cut across them, must have been personal in disposition. Elsewhere, details about affiliations lead to similar conclusions.

8. Busolt, *Staatskunde* 132-133, 256.

9. Thus Roussel, 299-304 (on Kyrene and Thourioi).

10. Whether the *μέρος* and *στοῖχος*, each with a single attestation, also belong here, is doubtful.

11. At Lindos (5 §45), the *diagonia*, I have argued, stood wholly outside the public organization. At Gortyn (5 §29), the practice of "tribal endogamy" within the *pyla* might be taken as indicating "kinship" status, but the phenomenon is isolated. Elsewhere, and even at Gortyn in later times, the phylai are without a trace of such orientation.

12. Again, consideration of the origins and, prior to the beginnings of the contemporary documentation, the nature of the phyle lies outside the scope of the present study. For an excellent survey, and critique, see Roussel, 161-191.

13. See, for example, Thasos (5 §1) and Byzantion (6 §25).

14. For general discussion of the phylai of pre-Kleisthenic Athens and of the other Ionian states, with citation of the earlier literature, see Roussel, 193-220.

15. The phylai of the Dorian states are discussed, with citation of the earlier literature, by Roussel, 221-263.

16. For the evidence that the four phylai were in place in Attika—and elsewhere in metropolitan Greece—at the time of the Great Migrations, see M. Sakellariou, "Les Tribus ioniennes-attiques," in *Europa: Studien . . . E. Grumach* (Berlin 1967) 294-302: 299-301.

17. At Kerkyra (4 §5) and Miletos (7 §16) segments of the principal unit were numbered "First," "Second," and so on, but there is no reason to suspect in either case that they are the result of the subdivision of some larger body. The numerals "One" and "Two," which appear on a series of markers at Corinth (2 §2), may well not have been connected with the public organization.

18. D. M. Lewis, "Cleisthenes and Attica," *Historia* 12 (1963) 22-40.

19. At Index III.B are collected instances of the association of "laws" (*νόμοι*) with the public units of various states. Several of them, because they pertain to a crown or other distinction conferred by the unit in question, probably involve the law, not of the unit, but of the state. Sometimes, too, decrees of units are expressly said to require ratification by the state: e.g. Kos (5 §41: deme), Karpathos (5 §52: *ktoina*). For the Athenian law restricting the award and announcement of crowns, including those conferred by phylai and demes, see Aischines, 3.41, 44, 45.

20. The boards in question may be easily identified by inspection of the data assembled by M. H. Hansen, "Seven Hundred *Archai* in Classical Athens," *GRBS* 21 (1980) 151-173.

21. For a recent, detailed discussion, see P. J. Rhodes, *A Commentary on the Aristotelian Athenaion Politeia* (Oxford 1981) 679-682.

22. See Rhodes (above, note 21) 689-691, citing J. H. Kroll, *Athenian Bronze Allotment Plates* (Cambridge, Mass., 1972) 51-56, 91-94.

Chapter I Mainland Greece

Of the mainland public organizations, the best documented and understood by far is, of course, that of Athens (§1). At the time of Solon's legislation, according to Aristotle's *Constitution of the Athenians,* a three-tier system, comprising the four Old Attic phylai, twelve *trittyes,* and forty-eight *naukrariai,* was already in use. The phylai and Thirds appear to have been disposed personally, and, if so, were accordingly cut across by the certainly territorial naukraries (§1.1). But at the end of the sixth century, Kleisthenes carried out a drastic reform whereby an exclusively territorial segmented system of ten phylai, thirty *trittyes,* and perhaps 139 demes was instituted. The new Thirds served to distribute demes of each of three geographical regions, City, Coast, and Inland, over all ten principal divisions—the earliest, and only assured, example of "intermediate distribution." The reformed organization endured essentially unchanged, except for the occasional addition or subtraction of units, down through the third century A.D. The copious record of its statewide and internal functioning testifies, far better than that of any other state, to the wide range of possible applications of the public apparatus (§1.2).

From Athens the four Old Attic phylai had, on the traditional view, been transmitted by the Great Migrations to the Aegean islands (Chapter 5) and the Asia Minor seaboard (Chapter 7). In a much later age, and under official government auspices, Athenians were settled abroad in cleruchies, thereby retaining unlike other colonists the citizenship, hence also the public affiliations, of Athens. Two examples of the phenomenon are afforded by Salamis (§2) and Aigina (§3). Cleruchies are also known or thought to have been established at Euboian Chalkis (§4) and Histiaia (§6), but the attested arrangements in both places are relatively late and, except for the technical use of the term "deme," bear little similarity to the Kleisthenic model. Eretria (§5), though not a cleruchy, may nonetheless have adopted from Athens the structural principle of "intermediate distribution."

Elsewhere in the region, viz. Boiotian Orchomenos (§7), Thessaly (§8-13), and Ozolian Lokris (§14), what evidence we have is post-Classical. Apparently, as is usually maintained, the phyle—the only attested public unit—was not a native institution; and when borrowings occurred, they occurred late, in accordance with the generally arrested development of the region.

Internal organization is unevenly recorded. The Kleisthenic phylai and demes (§1.32 and 34) provide some of the best documented examples of public associations. Elsewhere, however, only statewide functions are known.

§1 Athens

§1.1 *The Pre-Kleisthenic Organization*[1]

Before the reforms of Kleisthenes, the Athenian state had been administered through an organization coinciding, at its two higher levels, with the terminology of its successor. At *AP* 8.3, Aristotle describes the arrangements found (and left intact) by Solon: "there were four phylai as before and four *phylobasileis.* And out of each phyle had been apportioned three *trittyes* and twelve *naukrariai*—to each (sc. phyle)." Elsewhere, in connection with the reforms of Kleisthenes, Aristotle adds (21.5) that Kleisthenes created the demes in place of the naukraries.[2] Combination of the passages prompts the assumption that the organization Aristotle had in mind was, like Kleisthenes', territorial at each level—phylai containing *trittyes,* and *trittyes*—admittedly not stated in so many words—containing naukraries. But a quite different structure was envisioned by certain early commentators (fr. 3 Kenyon). Expressly citing Aristotle, they identified the twelve *trittyes* as phratries and alleged that each consisted of thirty *gene,* each *genos* in turn numbering thirty men. The Patmos scholiast compares the system to a calendar of four seasons (the phylai), twelve months (the *trittyes* = phratries), and three hundred sixty days (the *gene*). Nothing is said about naukraries. Are we able to choose between, or improve upon, these two fundamentally opposed characterizations of the pre-Kleisthenic organization?

Turning to the remaining record, we may at once identify the four phylai as the Old Attic Geleontes, Argadeis, Aigikoreis, and Hopletes.[3] The Geleontes appear in a fragment of the Law Code of Nikomachos from the end of the fifth century (see below). Named with the phyle, and possibly its subdivision, is the *trittys* Leukotainioi, or "Wearers of White Headbands." The naukraries, spottily documented regarding function (see below), are also represented by only a single proper name, viz. Κωλιάς.[4] Since Kolias happens to be an established Attic toponym, and in view of Aristotle's subsequent statement (*AP* 21.5) that Kleisthenes "created the [certainly territorial] demes in place of the naukraries," it is attractive to see them as territorial entities. If so, the wholes of which the naukraries were parts, the phylai and *trittyes,* would also have been territorial in disposition. Yet this implication hardly conforms to one's expectations. Elsewhere, the Old Attic phylai give no appearance of being territorial; indeed, at Perinthos (6 §27) and Kyzikos (6 §28) they stand alongside innovating phylai of patently personal denomination. Nor do the names of the phylai (above all if, as believed even in antiquity, ultimately descending from occupational

groups) or of the *trittys* of Geleontes mentioned in the Law Code point in any obvious way to localization within fixed boundaries.[5] Might *AP* 8.3. be in error regarding the disposition of the phylai and *trittyes*? Kleidemos asserted, *FGrH* 323 F 8, that, with Kleisthenes' creation of the ten phylai, the people were "arranged in fifty parts, which they called *naukrariai*." The statement is supported by Herodotos' report (6.89 with 132) that ca. 491 Athens possessed fifty ships (prior to acquiring another twenty from Corinth); on both etymological and substantive grounds it is likely that ships were in some connection the business of the naukraries. The certainty that the *demoi* came into existence with the new phylai and *trittyes* presents no serious difficulty, although, if we follow Kleidemos, we are compelled to reject *AP*'s claim (21.5) that the demes *replaced* the naukraries—arguably a natural, but unhistorical, inference from a fragmentary record. The existence of Kleisthenic naukraries subdividing the ten phylai would, accordingly, open up the possibility of a retrojection by Aristotle to Solonian times. Possibly naukraries existed before Solon, but did not, as Aristotle inferred, subdivide either phylai or *trittyes*. Claims concerning the latter two divisions, however, might have been securely founded, since information about them had survived, if nowhere else, in the Law Code of Nikomachos.

Probability, therefore, favors an organization consisting of the four personally disposed phylai, subdivided by twelve *trittyes*, three to each phyle, with both divisions cut across by an unknown number of territorial *naukrariai*. The statements of the ancient commentators, though setting out aright, err, as external evidence shows, in identifying the *trittyes* as phratries and, worse yet, in positing thirty constituent *gene* for each *trittys*. The intrusion of the phratry and the *genos*, in combination with the absence of any mention of the *naukraria*, point to a concern, not with the constitutional apparatus, which is the *AP*'s subject, but with the social organization.[6]

Turning to the statewide functioning of the organization, we confront a skimpy, though widely representative, record. Concerning the principal division, legislation attributed to Drakon by *AP* 4.3 called for the establishment of a Council of 401 "chosen by lot from the citizenbody." But since the constitution portrayed in this passage is usually regarded as late propagandistic invention, there is little point in pressing the possibility of a connection with the four phylai. Solon's Council of 400, however, is expressly stated by Aristotle, *AP* 8.4, to have been constituted of one hundred members from each phyle. Solon is also claimed, *AP* 8.1, to have observed κλήρωσις ἐκ προκρίτων, or allotment from previously nominated candidates. Applied to the archonship, each phyle nominated ten men, and from the forty candidates the nine officers were allotted. According to Herodotos, 5.69.2, Kleis-

thenes "made the *phylarchoi* ten instead of four;" since the post-Kleisthenic board represented the phylai (see §1.29), it is a reasonable inference that its predecessor did as well, although its association with the cavalry has been questioned. Additional candidates are the board of eight Treasurers of Athena named in a decree dated ca. 550?, *IG* I² 393. Again, to judge from post-Kleisthenic practice (see §1.25), representation of the phylai, in this instance two to each, is probable.

Early in the fourth century, Nikomachos' Law Code—described by one of its editors as a "new publication of the sacred laws of Solon"—called for the Geleontes, or rather its constituent *trittys* Leukotainioi, to receive certain portions of sacrificial meats. This is the earliest example of the widely attested role played by public units in statewide religious activities: see Index II.H.3. Elsewhere in the Code occurs the phrase ἐκ τῶν φυλοβασιλικῶν. Previously taken to refer to a "treasury" of the phyle-kings, the words were shown by S. Dow to designate instead the ancient body of laws (?) of the kings, upon which Nikomachos had drawn.[7] The *phylobasileis* themselves, who numbered four (*AP* 8.3), were traced (along with the four phylai) to the time of Ion, the reputed first settler of Attika (*AP* 41.2). Under Solon, they were charged with important judicial responsibilities,[8] but by the time of Aristotle only vestiges remained (*AP* 57.4). Whatever powers the kings possessed as the heads of the internal organizations of their phylai have left no trace in the extant record.

Regarding the functioning, statewide or internal, of the twelve *trittyes,* nothing is known beyond the reference to the sacrificial portions accorded the Leukotainioi in Nikomachos' Law Code.[9]

As for the *naukrariai* and their officers, the *naukraroi* (*AP* 8.3), an assortment of notices presents problems of interpretation. To judge from the terms themselves, one would suppose an original association with ships; and such a function is indicated by a lexicographical notice testifying that "each *naukraria* supplied two horsemen and one ship. . . ."[10] But so narrow a competence has appeared to many irreconcilable with the broader powers implied by Herodotos' reference, made in his account of the attempted *coup d'état* of Kylon, to "the *prytaneis* of the *naukraroi*, who at that time ruled (ἔνεμον) Athens" (5.71.2; cf. Thucydides, 1.126.8). However, an attractive emendation of Herodotos' text proposed by B. Jordan transforms the *prytaneis* into the officers "who collected the revenues (ἐνέμοντο) of Athens." Accordingly, the *naukrariai* become the taxation districts for which they were responsible.[11] With reference to Solon's time, Aristotle writes (*AP* 8.3) of the board of *naukraroi*'s jurisdiction over receipts and expenditures, and cites laws of Solon no longer in use empowering the *naukraroi* "to exact monies" and "to make disbursements from the naukraric fund." (Regarding still later practice, Androtion, *FGrH* 324

F 36, identified *τὰ ναυκραρικά* as the source of traveling expenses given by the *kolakretai* to embassies visiting Delphi.) Powers of these kinds could, according to Jordan's arguments, have grown out of a more primitive arrangement devoted to the raising of capital for the financing of ships—and horses?—for public use.

§1.2 *The Kleisthenic Organization: Statewide Functions*

§1.21 General

According to the accounts given by Herodotos, 5.66.2, 69.1-2, and, more fully, by Aristotle, *AP* 21, Kleisthenes, having become leader of the people, in the archonship of Isagoras, viz. 508/7, carried out a major reform of the public organization. Although modern historians disagree about the political setting of the reform, the change, when measured against the record of gradual evolution in evidence elsewhere, was dramatically abrupt. Nonetheless, the previously existing organization was not, for all the revolutionary character of the new, entirely abandoned. As noted above (§1.1), the Old Attic phylai and *trittyes* survived to reappear in the Law Code of Nikomachos at the end of the fifth century, and Kleidemos (contra *AP* 21.5) ascribed to the time after Kleisthenes the division of the population into fifty *naukrariai*—possibly identical with the units found and left intact by Solon. For additional examples of such vestigial organizations, see Kerkyra (4 §5) and Miletos (7 §16).

Regarding the components and disposition of the new arrangement, by far the most detailed account is that of *AP* 21.2-6:

> . . . (2) now, first he distributed all the citizens into ten instead of the four phylai, wishing to mix (them) up, in order that more partake of the citizenship; . . . (3) And next he established the Council of Five Hundred (in place of the Four Hundred), fifty from each phyle, whereas previously there had been one hundred (from each phyle) [see §1.22]. . . . (4) And he also distributed the land into thirty parts by demes, ten from the region of the city (*τῶν περὶ τὸ ἄστυ*), ten from that of the coast (*τῆς παραλίας*), and ten from that of the interior (*τῆς μεσογείου*); and, designating these (sc. "parts") *trittyes,* he allotted three to each phyle, in order that each partake of all the regions (*πάντων τῶν τόπων*). . . . (5) And he also established *demarchoi* [see §1.34] having the same competence as the earlier *naukraroi,* for he created the demes in place of the *naukrariai.* And he called the demes in some cases after the names of their places, in others after the names of their founders, for not all [sc. of the founders?] were still attached to their places. (6) But he allowed each (group) to retain its clans, phratries, and priesthoods in accordance with ancestral custom (*τὰ γένη καὶ τὰς φρατρίας καὶ τὰς ἱερωσύνας . . . κατὰ τὰ πάτρια*). And to the phylai he assigned

ten *archegetai,* which the Pythia had selected from a previously nominated group of one hundred.

To proceed directly to the disposition of the new organization, we are presented here with the only secure example of the intermediate distribution of units. That is, according to the text, each of the ten phylai comprised three *trittyes* of demes, one *trittys* of demes from the City, one from the Coast, and one from the Inland. Thus the "Thirds" served to distribute demes of each of the three regions over all ten principal divisions. Not only internally consistent but also plausible in terms of the regional character of Athens' earlier political history, Aristotle's account had, until recently, provided the basis for the detailed reconstruction of the organization. This line of research culminated in the publication of J. S. Traill's *The Political Organization of Attica, Hesperia Supplement* XIV (Princeton 1975). Already, however, it had been noticed by W. E. Thompson that certain fourth century lists of *bouleutai* (see §1.22) incorporated recurrent groups of demes, each containing a third part (viz. sixteen or seventeen) of the phyle's fifty representatives. These Thompson identified as the *τριττύες τῶν πρυτάνεων* mentioned by Aristotle, *AP* 44.1, in connection with the procedure of the Council of Five Hundred.[1] Next, Traill himself took the decisive step by proposing that these *trittyes* were one and the same with the original Kleisthenic *trittyes.*[2] The proposal was subsequently adopted and elaborated in P. Siewert's 1982 study of the *trittyes.*[3] More speculative claims apart, the upshot of Siewert's research is that we must abandon our conception, rooted ultimately in Aristotle's text, of the *trittys* as a neat parcel of territory, for Thompson's *trittyes* often include demes widely separated from the nucleus. The existence of such "enclaves" had long been recognized, but they now clutter Siewert's "Karte 4" with disturbing frequency. Thompson had explained these irregularities as due to the need to produce equal thirds for the administration of the Council. But if the *trittyes* of the prytany lists are the only *trittyes* that ever existed, a more far-reaching explanation must be produced—Siewert's view is that Kleisthenes' purpose was to assign demes to *trittyes* in a way that would facilitate emergency mobilizations of the Athenian army. Be that as it may, it is at least clear that Aristotle's text, though correct in its essentials, can no longer be understood to indicate the existence of neatly segregated parcels of territory.

Below are set out the phylai, *trittyes,* and demes according to the affiliations determined by Siewert. For the five post-Kleisthenic phylai, I have followed Traill.[4] The phylai are numbered according to the

official order of precedence (on which, see immediately below), but the listing of the demes within each *trittys* is alphabetical.

Erechtheis I

city *trittys:* name?	coast *trittys:* name?	inland *trittys:* name?
Upper Agryle	Upper Lamptrai	Anagyrous
Lower Agryle	Coastal Lamptrai	Kephisia
Euonymon	Phegous	Pambotadai
Kedoi	Themakos	Upper Pergase
		Lower Pergase

trittys unknown: Sybridai

Aigeis II

city *trittys:* name?	coast *trittys:* name?	inland *trittys:* Epakreis
Upper Ankyle	Araphen	Erchia
Lower Ankyle	Diomeia	Gargettos
Bate	Halai Araphenides	Ionidai
Erikeia	Myrrhinoutta	Kydantidai
Hestiaia	Phegaia	Philaidai
Ikarion	Teithras	
Kollytos		
Kolonos		
Otryne		
Plotheia		

Pandionis III

city *trittys:* Kydathenaion	coast *trittys:* Myrrhinous	inland *trittys:* Paiania
Kydathenaion	Angele	Konthyle
Probalinthos	Kytheros	Oa
	Myrrhinous	Upper Paiania
	Prasiai	Lower Paiania
	Steiria	

Leontis IV

city *trittys:* Skambonidai	coast *trittys:* Phrearrhioi	inland *trittys:* Diakris
Cholleidai	Deiradiotai	Aithalidai
Halimous	Potamos Deiradiotes	Eupyridai
Kettos	Phrearrhioi	Hekale
Leukonoion	Sounion	Hybadai
Upper Potamos		Kolonai
Lower Potamos		Kropidai
Skambonidai		Oion Kerameikon
		Paionidai
		Pelekes

Akamantis V

city *trittys:* Kerameis
- Cholargos
- Eiresidai
- Eitea
- Hermos
- Iphistiadai
- Kerameis

coast *trittys:* Thorikos
- Kephale
- Poros
- Thorikos

inland *trittys:* Sphettos
- Hagnous
- Kikynna
- Prospalta
- Sphettos

Oineis VI

city *trittys:* Lakiadai
- Boutadai
- Epikephisia
- Hippotomadai
- Lakiadai
- Lousia
- Perithoidai
- Ptelea

coast *trittys:* Thria
- Kothokidai
- Oe
- Phyle
- Thria

inland *trittys:* Pedieis
- Acharnai

trittys unknown
- Tyrmeidai

Kekropis VII

city *trittys:* name?
- Daidalidai
- Epieikidai
- Melite
- Xypete

coast *trittys:* name?
- Aixone
- Halai Aixonides

inland *trittys:* name?
- Athmonon
- Phlya
- Pithos
- Sypalettos
- Trinemeia

Hippothontis VIII

city *trittys:* Peiraieus
- Eroiadai
- Keiriadai
- Koile
- Korydallos
- Peiraieus
- Thymaitadai

coast *trittys:* Eleusis
- Elaious
- Eleusis
- Kopros
- Oinoe

inland *trittys:* name?
- Dekeleia
- Oion Dekeleikon

trittys unknown:
- Acherdous
- Anakaia
- Auridai
- Azenia
- Hamaxanteia

Aiantis IX

city *trittys:* name?
- Phaleron

coast *trittys:* Tetrapolis
- Marathon
- Oinoe
- Rhamnous
- Trikorynthos

inland *trittys:* name?
- Aphidna

Antiochis X

city *trittys:* Alopeke	coast *trittys:* name?	inland *trittys:* Pallene
Alopeke	Amphitrope	Aigilia
Eitea	Anaphlystos	Pallene
Eroiadai	Atene	Thorai
Kolonai	Besa	
Krioa		
Semachidai		

In 307/6, following the expulsion from Athens of Demetrios of Phaleron, two new phylai were created and named after the Makedonian liberator, Demetrios Poliorketes, and his father, Antigonos I. Both phylai were constituted exclusively of demes transferred from the ten existing phylai, Antigonis drawing primarily upon the first four phylai, Demetrias upon the last six, Aiantis (IX) excepted. The new phylai were placed at the head of the official order. (With each deme is given its previous phyle and *trittys* affiliation.)

Antigonis I	Demetrias II
Lower Agryle (I city)	Atene (X coast)
Aithalidai (IV inland)	Daidalidai (VII city)
Upper Ankyle (II city)	Diomeia (II coast)
Auridai (VIII *trittys*?)	Hagnous (V inland)
Deiradiotai (IV coast)	Hippotomadai (VI city)
Eitea (V city)	Koile (VIII city)
Gargettos (II inland)	Kothokidai (VI coast)
Ikarion (II city)	Melite (VII city)
Kolonai (X city)	Oinoe (VIII coast)
Kydathenaion (III city)	Oion Kerameikon (IV inland)
Kytheros (III coast)	Phyle (VI coast)
Upper Lamptrai (I coast)	Poros (V coast)
Lower Pergase (I inland)	Potamos Deiradiotes (IV coast)
Upper Paiania (III inland)	Lower Potamos (IV city)
	Thorai (X inland)
	Xypete (VII city)

The thirteenth phyle, Ptolemais, named in honor of Ptolemy III Euergetes, was created in 224/3 out of thirteen demes, one from each of the existing twelve phylai, and a new deme, Berenikidai, honoring Ptolemy's wife, Berenike. But whereas Antigonis and Demetrias had been placed at the head of the official order, Ptolemais assumed the seventh, central position between Leontis and Akamantis. (The phyle affiliations reflect the addition of Antigonis [I] and Demetrias [II].)

Ptolemais VII (later V)

Aigilia (XII inland)	Kydantidai (IV inland)
Aphidna (XI inland)	Oinoe (II coast)
Boutadai (VIII city)	Oion Dekeleikon (X inland)
Hekale (VI inland)	Phlya (IX inland)
Kolonai (I city)	Prospalta (VII inland)
Konthyle (V inland)	Themakos (III coast)

Berenikidai (new deme: *trittys* unknown)

At the end of the third century, the Athenians' anger with Philip V caused them, in 201/0, to abolish both "Makedonian" phylai, Antigonis I and Demetrias II, and to return to their original phylai the demes of which they had been composed. But the resulting system of eleven phylai lasted no more than a few months, for shortly after the outbreak of war with Philip the action taken on the Athenians' behalf by King Attalos I of Pergamon prompted them to create and name in his honor a new, twelfth phyle, Attalis. Again, as with Ptolemais, the new phyle was constituted of existing demes, on Traill's analysis one from each of the eleven phylai, plus a new, twelfth deme, Apollonieis, honoring Attalos' wife, Apollonis. In the official order, Attalis was placed at the end in the twelfth position. (The phyle affiliations pertain to the order of the eleven phylai, reflecting both the intrusion of Ptolemais [now V] and the demise of Antigonis [I] and Demetrias [II].)

Attalis XII

Lower Agryle (I city)	Oinoe (X coast)
Atene (XI coast)	Oion Dekeleikon (V inland)
Athmonon (VIII inland)	Probalinthos (III city)
Hagnous (VI inland)	Sounion (IV coast)
Ikarion (II city)	Tyrmeidai (VII *trittys*?)
Korydallos (IX city)	

Apollonieis (new deme: *trittys* unknown)

This second twelvefold arrangement underwent no further alteration until A.D. 124/5, when the city honored its great benefactor, the Emperor Hadrian, by the institution of a new phyle, Hadrianis. In conformity with previous practice, a single deme was taken from each of the twelve phylai; and, after a short interval, in A.D. 130, a new deme, Antinoeis, was created in honor of the Emperor's apotheosized companion, Antinous. Hadrianis was placed seventh in the official order, between Akamantis and Oineis. The thirteen phylai endured for the remainder of the life of the organization. (The phyle affiliations pertain to the later twelvefold division.)

Hadrianis VII

Aphidna (V inland)	Oinoe (XII coast)
Besa (XI coast)	Pambotadai (I inland)
Daidalidai (VIII city)	Phegaia (II coast)
Eitea (VI city)	Skambonidai (IV city)
Elaious (IX coast)	Thria (VII coast)
Oa (III inland)	Trikorynthos (X coast)

Antinoeis (new deme: *trittys* unknown)

Ultimately, the basis for the roles played by these units in public activities resided in the fact that, after Kleisthenes, citizenship was coterminous with deme membership, hence also with membership in the *trittyes* and phylai of which the demes were constituents. Procedure pertaining to the entry into citizen status speaks for itself on this point. According to *AP* 42.1, sons of demesmen, upon attaining the age of eighteen, were presented by their fathers to the membership of the deme. If majority and legitimacy could be demonstrated, they were "enrolled among the *demotai*"—that is, their names were added to the *ληξιαρχικὰ γραμματεῖα*; thereafter, the presence of one's name on these lists constituted proof of citizenship.[5] Beyond the fact of enrollment, citizen status was signaled, in keeping with a practice attributed by Aristotle (*AP* 21.4) to Kleisthenes, by appending to the given name, in place of or in addition to the father's name, the *demotikon,* or designation of deme affiliation. Non-Athenians, too, might be granted citizenship by decree of the Boule and Demos, and such grants were usually attended by enrollment in "phyle, deme, and phratry."[6] By implication, in the absence of such affiliations, access to the privileges of citizenship could not be gained.

Since, then, all citizens were by definition members of phylai, *trittyes,* and demes, it was natural that, wherever appropriate, these units be utilized for administrative purposes. In actual practice, however, the great majority of recorded applications pertain to the principal division alone, although there are signs that both the *trittyes* and demes in earlier times played substantial roles. This generalization may, in brief compass, be supported by references to the following account:[7]

Regarding the *trittyes,* statewide applications are few and largely speculative. Siewert's hypothesis that the Thirds were originally constituted with a view to mobilizations of the military forces (§1.21 and 29) is at present beyond proof; nor does the allied hypothesis, that each phyle fell into three *lochoi,* each headed by a *lochagos,* rest upon good evidence (§1.29). But a strong case has been made for the mustering of naval crews by *trittys,* at least in the fourth century (§1.29). The position depends in part upon the interpretation of a series of "*trittys*-markers" found in Peiraieus; another, similar series from the

civic center has been plausibly connected with the procedure of ostracism (§1.22) and with the distribution of grain (§1.26).[8] "*Trittyes* of the *prytaneis*" figure in the internal administration of the Council of 500 (§1.21, 22). As for boards, Aischines speaks of officers chosen by "the phylai, *trittyes,* and demes" to handle public funds, citing as examples boards of trench-diggers (§1.26) and trireme-builders (§1.29). Elsewhere, boards, or groups, of thirty—none expressly constituted by *trittys*—are: the Thirty Tyrants (§1.23), the thirty *dikastai* (§1.24), the *logistai* of the fifth century (§1.25), the *euthynoi* (with their *paredroi*) (§1.25), the earlier *athlothetai* (§1.26), and the candidates for the ten *sophronistai* of the Ephebic College (§1.29). Representation of the *trittyes* by the thirty *συλλογεῖς τοῦ δήμου*, however, is in at least one instance precluded (§1.22). The *trittyarchoi,* reserved for treatment under internal organization (§1.33), may at one time have exercised significant statewide authority.

A similar scattering of applications is recorded for the demes. Besides their fundamental role in the matter of citizenship (§1.21), the demes consistently provided the basis for the membership quotas of the Council of 500 (§1.22). Probably geared to these same quotas were the extraordinary five hundred *nomothetai* of 403 (§1.24) and the permanent corps of guards (of the docks?) (§1.29). The extent to which the demes were represented on statewide boards is quite uncertain. The late fifth century tokens linking the *poletai* to the demes (§1.26) may be a vestige of general practice prior to the time when, on Aristotle's evidence (*AP* 62.1), all officers except the Councillors and the Guards began to be selected from the whole phyle. Aischines' statement (3.30; see above) alleging the selection of officers to handle public funds "by the phylai, *trittyes,* and demes" is not documented beyond his own examples of trench-digging (§1.26) and trireme-building (§1.29). Statewide functions are otherwise confined to the gathering of names in connection with the *proeisphora* (§1.25), the administration of oaths (§1.26), the organization of certain religious festivals (§1.28), and the mustering of soldiers (§1.29).

Whenever public business was conducted in accordance with the units, a problem arose. In what order of precedence would the units, or their representatives, perform their function? The problem was solved through the institution of an official, fixed order. While only scant documentary support for the ordering of the *trittyes* and demes has been adduced, the official ordering of the phylai is pervasive.[9] The order applied when all the phylai were engaged simultaneously, as, for example, in the mustering of the hoplite phalanx; the same principle is at work in the composition of lists and catalogues *kata phylas.* When, however, the phylai were engaged serially, procedure might be varied by reversing the order; or, more drastically, by abandoning it altogether

in favor of a "sortition cycle," whereby the units took their turns in a sequence determined by lot. Cycles of these types, thanks largely to the pioneering work of W. S. Ferguson, have been found to operate in a number of official posts: the secretary of the Boule (§1.22), the board of *archontes* (§1.23), the secretaries of certain financial boards (§1.25), and various priesthoods (§1.28).[10]

In accordance with the policy set out in the Preface, the following account of the statewide functions is limited to positive and (with a few exceptions) explicit instances of linkage with the public organization.

§1.22 Deliberative and Legislative Bodies

From the time of the enfranchisement of the *ekklesia,* the legislative machinery seems to have been bicameral, with the smaller, representative organ serving a probouleutic function for the general assembly of all Athenian citizens.

In the case of the Areopagos, the question of the relation of the membership to the public divisions really does not arise. Since the council consisted of former archons (*AP* 3.6), who were selected by phylai (§1.23), approximately uniform composition *kata phylas* would have obtained at any given time. Perhaps significantly, then, the catalogue of Areopagitai from the Eleusinion republished by Geagan, dated to the beginning of the third century A.D., is arranged according to phylai.[1] That this division of the membership extended to the actual operation of the body, e.g. seating or voting, may be part of the point of Cicero's phrase *Athenis in numero iudicum atque Areopagitarum, certa tribu, certo numero, . . .* (*pro Balbo,* 12.30)—that is, they sat (or voted, etc.) by phylai (*tribu*), in the official order (*numero*).[2]

Passing over the probably fictitious Boule of 401 ascribed to Drakon (*AP* 4.3), we find that the Solonian Boule of 400 was constituted *kata phylas,* one hundred from each of the Old Attic phylai (*AP* 8.4). (At the end of the fifth century, the Boule of 400 of the constitution "for the present" was to be drawn, not from the Old Attic, but from the Kleisthenic, phylai, forty from each: *AP* 31.1.) Under the democracy, the successor to Solon's Council was, of course, the Five Hundred. According to Aristotle's statement (*AP* 43.2, cf. 21.3), this Council consisted of fifty members, selected by lot, from each phyle. Actually, the fifth represented the sum of the quotas of the phyle's constituent demes. More or less proportional to population, these quotas remained relatively fixed over lengthy periods of time. When a phyle was added or subtracted, however, the size of the membership was allowed to fluctuate, initially in increments of fifty; since the number of demes hardly varied, corresponding adjustments had to be made in the system of quotas. The establishment of the greater part of the quotas in all

periods is one of the principal contributions of the study of J. S. Traill already cited.[3]

Forming a standing committee of the Boule of 500 were the πρυτάνεις, comprising the fifty councillors of a given phyle. According to a sequence determined by lot, the several phylai took turns in constituting the committee, each serving for a single *prytaneia,* or one-tenth (or one-twelfth, etc.) part of the counciliar year (*AP* 43.2). Citation of the phyle in prytany in the form, e.g. ἐπὶ τῆς Αἰγεΐδος πρώτης πρυτανείας (*IG* II² 337) is a regular component of the developed preamble of Athenian decrees. Not revealed by this formula is the fact that, in the actual functioning of the committee, the *prytaneis* themselves were further divided. Aristotle testifies that the ἐπιστάτης, or foreman, of the *prytaneis* was obligated to remain in the Tholos with a τριττὺς τῶν πρυτάνεων (*AP* 44.1). Scholars disagree regarding the relation of this *trittys* to the geographical segment of the Kleisthenic public organization (§1.21). For the over five hundred inscriptions pertaining to the operation of the *prytaneis,* see B. D. Meritt and J. S. Traill, *The Athenian Agora* XV: *The Inscriptions: The Athenian Councillors* (Princeton 1974).[4]

Between 403/2 and 379/8 the prytany system was supplemented by the addition of a second board, the πρόεδροι. At each meeting of the Boule or Ekklesia, these were chosen by lot by the foreman of the *prytaneis* from the other members of the Boule, one from each phyle except that to which the current *prytaneis* belonged. Then, from these nine he chose by lot an ἐπιστάτης for the *proedroi* themselves (*AP* 44.2). Assuming some of the powers formerly held by the *prytaneis,* the board is regularly cited, with the prytany, in the preambles of Athenian decrees. With the addition or subtraction of phylai, the number of *proedroi* grew or declined, again with the omission of the prytanizing phyle.[5]

Seating of the Council κατὰ γράμμα ("by letter") began in 410/9 according to a statement of Philochoros, *FGrH* 328 F 140. No evidence, however, links such "letters" with the public organization—unlikely in any event since Philochoros testifies that an individual's "letter" was determined by lot.

Until the year 368/7 or slightly later, the Secretary of the Council served for a single prytany (and was accordingly called the γραμματεὺς κατὰ πρυτανείαν). The appointment was made in such a way that the Secretary was drawn from all ten phylai, but never from the same phyle as that in prytany, during a given civil year. But from 363/2, with the change from election to sortition, the office was annual; and, from 356/5 onwards, with interruptions, rotated among the phylai according to the official order. During the immediately preceding decade, viz. 366/5 to 357/6, Ferguson suggested, on less

secure grounds, that the post had been held by the ten phylai in a random order determined by lot.[6]

Turning to the *ekklesia,* we find hints that voting, if only where ballots were used, was conducted by phylai. At least Xenophon states, in connection with the trial of the Arginousai generals, that "all Athenians cast votes *kata phylas*" (*Hellenika,* 1.7.9). Some, on the basis of Aristotle's statement that the nine *proedroi* "determine the results of the voting" (*AP* 44.3), imagine seating and voting by phylai, but the absence of a tenth officer renders such a reconstruction unlikely. According to Pollux, 8.104, six λεξίαρχοι, charged with checking those seeking admission against the ekklesiastic registers, were assisted by "thirty men." These, in turn, have been plausibly identified with the thirty συλλογεῖς τοῦ δήμου. But the further inference that the latter board represented the *trittyes* appears precluded by a document of 341/0, *IG* II^2 1749, showing that two of the three *syllogeis* of Aigeis of the same year were drawn from the same *trittys* (the Inland). Seating, in any event, is known on occasion to have been by choice, and a few instances of the clustering of political sympathizers are recorded. On these and other grounds, there is little attraction to the view that the cuttings found by the excavators of the Pnyx were meant to receive certain of the so-called "*trittys*-markers." Whatever divisions obtained in the Assembly were probably, like those of the Boule, arbitrary with respect to the public units.[7]

Xenophon's remark, if taken strictly in connection with the casting of votes, would recall procedure for a special type of assembly, the ostracism. According to Philochoros, *FGrH* 328 F 30, "the Agora was fenced off, leaving ten entrances through which the voters passed *kata phylas* and cast their *ostraka.*" Presiding over the proceedings were "the nine *archontes* and the Boule"—a panel probably consisting of the nine officers with their secretary plus an equal number of councillors from each of the ten phylai. Like the lexiarchs and their thirty assistants in the Assembly, their function presumably included ascertaining the identification—i.e. the phyle affiliation—of all who approached the "entrances." Philochoros does not tell us how the "entrances" were defined, but Raubitschek has (in this instance) attractively adduced the series of "*trittys*-markers" discovered in the Agora. All are datable within the period during which ostracism was practiced, viz. 488/7 to ca. 417.[8]

Besides the Pnyx and (for ostracisms) the Agora, assemblies were also held in the Theater of Dionysos and in the theater at Peiraieus. Since the auditoriums of both were divided into twelve *kerkides,* seating *kata phylas* would have been facilitated after the creation of Antigonis and Demetrias in 307/6. But at present no evidence is at hand linking the sections to the phylai.

§1.23 Executive Officers

The chief magistrates at Athens were the nine *archontes.* According to *AP*'s account, Solon replaced appointment by the Areopagos with appointment by lot from forty candidates previously nominated by the four phylai, ten by each (8.1-2); later (under the tyranny?), they were elected directly. After Kleisthenes, beginning in 487/6, they were appointed *kata phylas* by lot from 500 candidates previously nominated by the demes (22.5). By Aristotle's day, the nine officers and a tenth member, the secretary, were chosen by lot "κατὰ μέρος from each phyle" (*AP* 55.1). The phrase left in Greek probably refers, with Rhodes, to the practice of assigning different posts within the board to different phylai in rotation.[1]

Fundamentally similar in function to the *archontes* were the Thirty Tyrants, who afford the only certain instance of a ruling oligarchy selected according to a public division. According to a recent discussion, the Thirty represented the ten phylai, three to each, but almost certainly did not, as once believed, represent the thirty *trittyes.*[2] For a possible parallel, compare at Epidauros (2 §5) the One Hundred Eighty, thought by some to have been drawn from the three Dorian phylai.

Boards of ten chosen on an ad hoc basis appear at various times, notably during the turbulent revolutionary period ca. 411 to 403.[3] Possibly pertinent here are the *phylarchoi* set over the phylai by the five *ephoroi* in 405 (Lysias, 12.43-44). For boards of phylarchs with executive powers, see Index II.D.2.h.

§1.24 Administration of Justice

Every Athenian court, it is often said, ideally constituted a microcosm of the Demos. If true, we might further expect to find in the courts a reflection of the Demos' internal divisions. To what extent does the record show this to have been the case? Before Aristotle, the only probable candidates are the thirty *dikastai.* Prior to the board's enlargement to forty (see below), it might have represented not only the phylai but the *trittyes* as well. But otherwise, before Aristotle, the record is silent. Despite claims to the contrary, the pool of 6,000 jurors cannot be shown to have been constituted *kata phylas,* nor is there reason to suppose that any of the courts drawn from the pool consisted entirely of members of the same phyle.[1] Similarly, the presiding magistrates, except for the incidental fact that many happened to be appointed *kata phylas,* e.g. the *archontes* and *strategoi,* are not known to have been subject to restraints imposed by the public organization.

For later times, a more consistent linkage to public administrative units is illustrated by the *AP* and by a few forensic and epigraphic sources. To begin, in addition to regular magistrates with judicial

powers, several boards are certain or likely to have been selected *kata phylas:*

διαιτηταί. Comprising all Athenians in their sixtieth year, the arbitrators presumably did not represent the phylai in equal numbers (hence the variation from three to sixteen in *IG* II² 1926: 325/4). At the same time, the mention in a literary source of "those arbitrating Oineis and Erechtheis" ([Dem.] 47.12), points to assignment to particular phylai. Moreover, as Rhodes argues (*AP* 53.5, comm.), the example of an Aiantid arbitrating the Pandionid Demosthenes' suit against the Erechtheid Meidias (Dem. 21.83, cf. 68) is consistent with the assumption that that assignment was to cases involving phylai other than that of the arbitrator. For possibly similar procedure, see on the Forty, below.

εἰσαγωγεῖς. Five, each one for two phylai: *AP* 52.2. Five (including the *grammateus* but excluding the [one?] *syngrammateus* [?]) at *IG* I² 63 (425/4). References to "six introducers" have been restored in *Hesperia* 6 (1937) 457-460, no. 7 (after 167/6) and 460-461, no. 8 (= 3 [1934] 42-43, no. 31: after 167/6) on the assumption that an additional member was added to the board with the increase of the phylai to twelve.

οἱ ἕνδεκα. While Aristotle merely states, *AP* 52.1, that the Eleven were appointed by lot, Pollux, 8.102, adds that they were drawn "one from each phyle, and a *grammateus* was counted with them." But since the board already existed under Solon (*AP* 7.3), there may in fact have been no connection with Kleisthenes' phylai.

κατήγοροι. Ten at Deinarchos, *Against Aristogeiton* 6.

συνήγοροι. see §1.25. For the possible judicial function, see Rhodes, *AP* 54.2, comm.

οἱ τετταράκοντα. Originally instituted by Peisistratos (*AP* 16.5), abolished, then established again in 453/2 (*AP* 26.3), the *δικασταὶ κατὰ δήμους* were increased to forty after the fall of the Thirty Tyrants (*AP* 53.1). Selected by lot, four from each phyle, the dikasts were probably assigned to phylai other than their own: see *AP* 53.2 with Rhodes' commentary and, for an example, Lysias 23.2.

οἱ τριάκοντα. See above.

According to *AP* 59.7, 63.1, the selection by lot of the jurors for the law courts was conducted *kata phylas* by the nine *archontes* and the secretary of the *thesmothetai*, each performing the allotment for his own phyle. From these, on the morning of each day on which cases were to be tried, a further selection was made of those who would actually serve in a particular court. To this end, use was made of a highly elaborate procedure involving multiple stages of allotment. The net result was that an equal number of jurors from each phyle

was assigned to each courtroom.[2] Among additional details pertaining to the phylai, Aristotle's account (*AP* 63-69) goes on to mention the selection from ten men representing the phylai a water-clock attendant (ὁ ἐπὶ τὸ ὕδωρ) and four vote-counters (οἱ ἐπὶ τὰς ψήφους) (66.2); the remaining five were placed in charge of the disbursal of pay to the jurors *kata phylas* following the proceedings (66.3). The presence of "the man in charge of the water," in combination with Aristotle's discussion of the *klepsydrai*, or clocks, themselves (67.2-5), invites consideration of an actual surviving *klepsydra* found in the Agora and dated ca. 400.[3] The pot bears two inscriptions. The one, XX, indicates a capacity of two χόες; the clock's function, therefore, might have been to time the second speeches in public cases involving stated numbers of drachmai (*AP* 67.2). The second inscription reads 'Αντιοχ[ίδος]. What is the nature of the association with the phyle?[4] Possibly there were ten such clocks, each to be used by the attendant of the appropriate affiliation. Alternatively, as was suggested in the initial publication, the clock was designed to regulate the introduction of public cases before the Boule or Ekklesia by the *prytaneis* of the presiding phyle; or, still again, to monitor proceedings before the members of the Forty assigned to hear the cases pertaining to a particular phyle (see above).[5]

Serving in a broadly legal, rather than judicial, capacity were the five hundred νομοθέται elected by the demes in 403: Andokides, 1.84. Presumably, the number from each deme was determined by its bouleutic quota (§1.22).

§1.25 Accounting and Financial Administration

By Aristotle's day officials charged with the receiving, recording, or auditing of state funds typically numbered ten (or a multiple thereof) and were chosen by lot according to phylai:

ἀποδέκται. Ten, selected by lot according to phylai: *AP* 48.1.

εὔθυνοι. Ten, selected by lot, one from each phyle (along with two *paredroi* each): *AP* 48.4.

λογισταί ("accountants"). Numbering thirty in the fifth century (e.g. *IG* I³ 52 [= I² 91/92; Meiggs-Lewis 58: 434/3], lines 7-8), the board may have represented the *trittyes*.

λογισταί ("reckoners"). Numbering ten at the time of the *AP*, the members were selected by lot (along with a single *synegoros* each), presumably according to phylai: *AP* 54.2. For the distinction from the foregoing, see Rhodes, *AP* 48.3, comm.

λογισταί (of the Boule). Ten, selected by lot by the Boule from its own membership: *AP* 48.3.

πάρεδροι. Twenty, selected by lot, two from each phyle: *AP* 48.4. See on the *euthynoi*, above.

συνήγοροι. Ten, selected by lot: *AP* 54.2. See on the *logistai* ("reckoners"), above.

τριττύαρχοι. Presumably representing the *trittyes*, these officers were charged with the expenses for inscriptions, etc. See below, §1.33.

By contrast, certain other financial officers depart from the conditions of selection prevailing in the preceding examples. Aristotle at *AP* 43.1 cites among the exceptions to the general rule of the allotment of public officials the *ταμίας στρατιωτικῶν* and *επὶ τὸ θεωρικόν* (a board of ten?), who were elected by show of hands. In the case of the Hellenotamiai (below), both the mode of selection and the extent of representation of the public organization are in doubt:

Ἑλληνοταμίαι. Ten at the time of their creation in 478/7, the Treasurers of the Delian Confederacy had been increased to twenty by the year 410/9 (*IG* I³ 375 [= I² 304a]). Election by show of hands is probably to be assumed in connection with the recorded infractions of representation *kata phylas*.[1]

ταμίαι τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς (title varies). Perhaps earlier eight in number representing the four Old Attic phylai (*IG* I² 393: ca. 550?), the Treasurers of Athena reappear after Kleisthenes as a board of ten. At the beginning of 406/5, amalgamation with the Treasurers of the Other Gods (see below) results in the formation of a single board of ten (see *IG* II² 1370-1406: 1382 = I³ 342; 1383 = I³ 341). By the beginning of 385/4, however, the two boards were reestablished (see *IG* II² 1407-1444), only to recombine once again by 341 in a second single board of ten (thus, e.g., *IG* II² 1455-1492). Aristotle reports that "the Treasurers of Athena" (i.e. this later combined college) were ten in number and selected by lot, one from (each) phyle (*AP* 47.1).

ταμίαι τῶν θεῶν or *τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν*. Created in 435/4 (*IG* I³ 52 [= I² 91], the board undergoes combination with and separation from the Treasurers of Athena as described above. For the independent board restored by 385, see *IG* II² 1445-1454, with no. 1445 preserving fragmentarily the registers of names, in the official order, for 376/5 and 375/4.

For all three boards, scholars, beginning with Ferguson, have acknowledged the operation of cycles pertaining to the phyle of the secretary.[2]

According to Demosthenes, 50.8, a state decree called for members of the Boule to report the names of those paying the *proeisphora*—both of the *δημόται* and of the *ἐγκεκτημένοι*. For examples of the collection or solicitation of funds according to public units, see Index II.F.2.

§1.26 Administration of the City

Public projects or services of all kinds might be administered through the units of the civic apparatus, but what indications we have are largely confined to boards of appropriately titled officers. Instances of the mobilization of the general citizenbody by phyle, *trittys,* or deme are few. In a speech of the year 330, Aischines alludes to the practice of assigning to the phylai the digging of ditches or the building of triremes (3.30). An actual example is afforded by a decree of 307/6 concerning the rebuilding of Athens' walls, *IG* II^2 463 (= Maier, *Mauerbauinschriften* 11). The division of the work into ten sections (line 7) presumably conformed to the still operational ten phylai. Xenophon envisaged a plan, never realized, for the mining of Laurion by teams of slaves distributed among the ten phylai (*Poroi,* 4.30-31). According to Raubitschek's hypothesis, the so-called "*trittys*-markers" from the Agora were employed for the distribution of grain among the citizenbody.[1] A decree preserved by Andokides (1.97) ordered all Athenians to take an oath "by phylai and by demes."

Reflecting the geographical distribution of Athenian public activity, four of the boards were divided between the *asty* and Peiraieus: viz. *agoranomoi, astynomoi, metronomoi,* and *sitophylakes.* Compare "the upper city" and "the city of the sea" of Kretan Lyttos (5 §32).

ἀγορανόμοι. Ten, selected by lot, five for the *asty,* five for Peiraieus: *AP* 51.1.

ἀθλοθέται. Ten, selected by lot, one from each phyle: *AP* 60.1. Much earlier, an inscription from Marathon dated 490-480, *IG* I^3 3, calls for thirty *athlothetai,* three from each phyle, to supervise the Games of Herakles. If, as seems likely, the board represented the (thirty) *trittyes,* this will be the earliest recorded application of the intermediate division. Compare also the five *athlothetai,* without affiliations, at Raubitschek, *DAA* 326 (= *IG* I^2 463 + 475), interpreted by C. Gallavotti, *RAL* 31 (1976) 234-235.

ἀστυνόμοι. Ten, five for the *asty,* five for Peiraieus: *AP* 50.2. Restored references to "five *astynomoi εἰς πόλιν*" occur in *Hesperia* 6 (1937) 457-460, no. 7 (after 167/6); and 460-461, no. 8 (= *Hesperia* 3 [1934] 42-43, no. 31: after 167/6).

γεωνόμοι (for the colony at Brea). Ten, one from each phyle: *IG* I^3 46 (= I^2 45; Meiggs-Lewis 49) (ca. 445).

ἐμπορίου ἐπιμεληταί. Ten, selected by lot: *AP* 51.4. Cf. *BCH* 90 (1966) 727, 731, no. 2 (196/5).

ἐπιμεληταὶ τῶν νεωρίων. Ten, selected by lot (?), one from each phyle: *IG* II^2 1607 (373/2; with commentary on line 1) and 1623 (boards of 334/3 and 333/2).

[ἐπιστάται] ἀργυροκοπίῳ. Ten, one from each phyle, listed in reverse official order: *Hesperia* 32 (1963) 31-32, no. 29 (before 356/5?). The additional representative of Leontis is probably a secretary.

μετρονόμοι. Ten, selected by lot, five for the *asty*, five for Peiraieus: *AP* 51.2. The five Athenian members of the board (and their two secretaries) for the year 222/1 are recorded at *Hesperia* 37 (1968) 73-76. For the number, see Rhodes, *AP* comm. ad loc.

ὁδοποιοί. Five, selected by lot: *AP* 54.1. Possibly each represented two phylai; for instances of this, see the *eisagogeis* (§1.24), *choregoi* for the Thargelia (§1.27), and the *amphiktyones* for Delos (§1.28).

πωληταί. Appointment *kata phylas* through the demes is arguably the procedure underlying a group of clay tokens of the late fifth century, *Hesperia* 20 (1951) 51-52 (see the remarks of Rhodes, *AP* 62.1, comm.). According to Aristotle, *AP* 47.2, the board numbered ten and was selected by lot, one from each phyle. No explanation is at hand for an earlier text, *Hesperia* 10 (1941) 14-27, no. 1 (= *Nouveau Choix* 26) (367/6), recording a complete list of *poletai:* while from different phylai, the board is only eight in number. In an inscription of the early second century, *Hesperia* 15 (1946) 187-188, no. 33, a board of twelve was restored in accordance with the then-existing twelve phylai.

σιτοφύλακες. According to Aristotle, *AP* 51.3, whereas the board had once numbered ten, five for the *asty*, five for Peiraieus, in his own day there were twenty for the *asty*, fifteen for Peiraieus. Reversion to the earlier scheme, however, is perhaps discernible in the boards of five and five listed in a document of the year 239/8, *Hesperia* 6 (1937) 444-448, no. 2; as the editor observed, the addition of a secretary to each board would bring the numbers into agreement with the then-existing twelve phylai. Similar boards were restored at *Hesperia* 13 (1944) 243-246, no. 8 (ca. 300); 30 (1961) 225-226, no. 23 (init. s. II) and 226, no. 24 (init. s. II). See, further, Rhodes, *AP* comm. ad loc.

σιτῶναι. Texts of the third century show, or can be restored to show, a board of twelve constituted *kata phylas: Hesperia* 23 (1954) 296-306, no. 183 (271/0); *IG* II^2 792 (252/1).

ταφροποιοί. According to Aischines, 3.30, when the phylai were assigned τάφρους ἐξεργάζεσθαι, the public monies were handled by officers "whom the phylai and the *trittyes* and the *demoi* select from their own number . . ."

τειχοποιοί. Selected by the phylai to administer work upon the walls, according to Aischines, 3.27 and 31 (cf. 30). A series of inscriptions of the first decade of the fourth century records the accounts of the *teichopoioi* chosen by individual phylai: *IG* II^2 1658 (394/3: Aigeis), 1659 (394/3: phyle?), 1660 (393/2: Pandionis), 1661 (393/2: Oineis), 1664 (394/3: phyle?) (nos. 1658-1661 = Maier, *Mauerbauinschriften* 3-6).

§1.27 Liturgies

In the fifth and fourth centuries and, after the long hiatus inaugurated by Demetrios of Phaleron, in restored form under the Empire, compulsory public services were regularly imposed upon wealthier Athenians. On the assumption that wealth was uniformly distributed throughout the public organization, its units might provide a suitable basis for the equitable assignment of these burdensome privileges. But the symmory system of taxation early on underscored the fallacy of the assumption; and, in any case, the particularly onerous *choregia*, in cases where three (or, for a time, five) individuals per year were in question, functioned independently of the public apparatus. A division of the population into units, however few or many, might impede the selection of the deserving.[1]

For instances elsewhere of the collection or solicitation of funds or services according to public units, see Index II.F.2.

γυμνασιαρχία. For the gymnasiarchy, each phyle selected a single individual to represent it in a single festival of that year.[2] To date, our testimony connects the liturgy with the festivals Hephaistia, Greater and Lesser Panathenaia, and Promethia.[3] These were the *ἑορταὶ λαμπάδες*, so named because they featured torch races among relay teams of men or boys fielded by the phylai.[4] Nominated by his phyle, the gymnasiarch's duties included the preparation of his phyle's team of *lampadophoroi*.[5] For the Panathenaia, a further association of the gymnasiarch with the *εὐανδρία*, or physical-fitness competition, is probable. The event was certainly contested among phylai (*IG* II² 2311 [ca. 400-350], line 75); and the dedicator of *IG* II² 3022 (med. s. IV) claims victories [*ἀνδράσι λαμπ*]*άδι καὶ ε*[*ὐ*]/[*ανδρ*]*ίαι* [*Πα*]*ναθήναια*. Did he serve as gymnasiarch of his phyle for both events?[6]

Still another event on the Panathenaic program was contested *kata phylas*, but indication of a connection with the gymnasiarchy is lacking. The list *IG* II² 2311 [ca. 400-350] records prizes awarded to winning phylai not only in the *λαμπάς* (line 76; see app. crit.) and *εὐανδρία* (line 75) but also in the *νεῶν ἁμίλλης* (lines 78-79). Much later, in the second century, teams of *phyletai* may be entertained as a possibility, for the lists of victors *IG* II² 2314-2317 frequently identify citizens as members of a particular phyle. Some such circumstance must be found to explain the absence of the otherwise expected *demotikon*. Elsewhere, at the Theseia, around mid-second century lists of victors, *IG* II² 956-965, cite two events contested by phylai, the *εὐανδρία* and *εὐοπλία* (or "display of arms"). Pitting against each other contingents of *hippeis* and *epilektoi* fielded by the phylai (cf. 956, lines 11-13), the events were manifestly of a military character. For

all, it is a natural, though unproved, assumption that expenses were met by the holders of a liturgy, most likely the gymnasiarchy.

ἑστίασις. References to the *hestiasis,* or banqueting of the phyle, in literary sources (e.g. Dem. 20.21 [with Schol. Patm.], 21.156, 39.7; Athenaios, 5.185 C) show that this was an annual liturgy borne by single individuals nominated by their phylai. The banquets are attested for both the Dionysia and Panathenaia.

[ε]ὐταξία. According to a catalogue of names dated "after 330," *IG* II² 417, a liturgy (see line 4) of uncertain nature called the *eutaxia* was filled annually by two men from each phyle. The festival (or festivals) to which the liturgy pertained are not known.

τριηραρχία. According to B. Jordan, representation of the phylai in the fifth century is illustrated by Nikias' addressing his trierarchs by (father's name, given name, and) phyle (Thucydides, 7.69.2) and by the general practice of including names of trierarchs under phyle rubrics in lists of casualties: e.g. *IG* I² 950 (lines 3, 42), 951 (lines 8, 34), and *Hesperia* 33 (1964) 43-55, no. 15 (lines 22, 24, 26, 28). But compare *IG* I² 953, line 3, where a trierarch is named in the line immediately *above* the rubric Erechtheis (I). Denying a connection with the organization of the trierarchies, the Thucydides commentators posit an allusion to the eponymous hero of each phyle as "a paradigm of valour," aptly adducing the catalogue of the *eponymoi* at Demosthenes 60.27-31.[7]

χορηγία. Procedure for the provision of choruses might be expected to be uniform among all competitions requiring a chorus. But in fact practice varied markedly from one genre to another and sometimes, within the genre, from one festival to another.[8]

Concerning the tragic contests, the selection of *choregoi* appears never to have been brought into relation with the public organization. At least Aristotle reports, *AP* 56.3, that in his day the archon eponymous appointed as *choregoi* for the tragic productions at the Great Dionysia "the three richest men from all Athenians." Arrangements for comedy were another matter. In the same passage, Aristotle states that, whereas earlier five *choregoi* had been appointed (sc. from the richest Athenians) by the archon, these were now provided by the phylai.[9] Presumably, one *choregos* was appointed by two phylai acting in concert (compare procedure for the Thargelia, below) or by single phylai according to some scheme of rotation. When, later, in the Hellenistic period, the number of comic poets stood at six, we are probably to imagine realignment of procedure in conformity with the increase of the phylai to twelve in 307/6.[10] For all periods, in any event, only the selection of the *choregos* is in question. No evidence supports the notion that the *choreutai* themselves (as was true of the dithyramb) were drawn from the *choregos*' phyle.

All other testimony pertains to the lyric competitions staged at the Great Dionysia, Thargelia, Panathenaia, and, on one interpretation of a disputed document, the Hephaistia and Promethia. For each, choruses of men and of boys were funded by *choregoi,* who were selected *kata phylas* and who recruited their *choreutai* from their own phylai.

Arrangements at the Great Dionysia are documented early by the Fasti, *IG* II^2 2318.[11] Though lost for the earliest years, these begin with an entry for 473/2, the first preserved notation of a victory by the chorus of a phyle coming under the year 460/59. Editors have variously restored the initial date of the register; among other possibilities, the victories were first recorded under Kleisthenes. Before breaking off, the Fasti take the lyric contests down to 329/8; not long afterwards, probably in 316/5, the *choregoi* were supplanted under Demetrios by state-appointed and funded *agonothetai.* Nonetheless, the phylai continue under public subsidy to provide men's and boys' choruses well into the second century. Later, after the introduction of some organizational modifications—including the reinstitution of the *choregia*—dithyrambic contests among the phylai are sporadically documented until close to A.D. 200.[12]

Before Demetrios' reform, *choregoi* were selected two from each of the ten phylai, one for the men's, the other for the boys', chorus.[13] Just how the selection was made is not precisely known, but an incident of the year 349 described by Demosthenes provides some hints. According to the account, a *choregos* had not been selected from Pandionis by the time of the Assembly at which the chief archon was required by law to allot flutists to the choruses. The archon and the *epimeletai* of the phyle, Demosthenes says, thereupon engaged in mutual accusations, when the orator himself stepped forward and promised to serve as *choregos* voluntarily.[14] From this it was inferred by Pickard-Cambridge that the usual procedure was for the *epimeletai* to bring forward nominees, and from the nominees the archon would make the actual selection.[15] At all events, the *choregos,* once appointed and having received his poet and flutist, recruited the chorus, fifty strong, from his own phyle.[16]

The judging of the lyric, as well as of the dramatic, competitions of the Great Dionysia also brought the phylai into play. From a pool of candidates provided severally by the phylai, ten citizens, selected by lot one from each phyle, rated the performances, with the opinions of five (drawn, again, by lot from the ten) deciding the outcome of all the contests.[17]

A dithyrambic victory at the Great Dionysia belonged in the first instance to the phyle. But the tripod awarded to the phyle as a prize was actually dedicated by the *choregos,* at his own expense, sometimes atop impressive monuments such as those of Lysikrates (*IG* II^2 3042:

334) and Thrasyllos (*IG* II^2 3056: 319). Dedicatory inscriptions affixed to these monuments, normally carrying the name of the phyle, the identification of the type of chorus (men's or boys'), the names of the *choregos, didaskalos,* and sometimes the flutist, are extant for as early as 476 and thereafter, at intervals, document the institution down to the end of the second century A.D.[18]

Arrangements at the Thargelia appear to have been similar to those of the Great Dionysia except for the major difference, noted by Aristotle, *AP* 56.3, and reflected in numerous dedications, that the *choregoi* numbered only ten, five for men's, five for boys', choruses, each *choregos* representing two phylai. According to a speech of Antiphon of the year 412 (?), *On the Choreutes,* 11 (cf. 13), the one phyle, Erechtheis, appointed the *choregos,* to whom the second, Kekropis, was assigned by lot. In time, however, pairing by allotment was abandoned, for the epigraphic record reveals frequent conjunctions of the same two phylai, suggesting that they regularly cooperated in providing the single *choregos.* Except for the citation of two phylai, these dedicatory inscriptions, extant from the fifth and (with much greater frequency) the fourth century, resemble those pertaining to the Great Dionysia.[19]

For the other festivals, documentation is scarcely so straightforward. A decree of the phyle Pandionis, *IG* II^2 1138, honors one Nikias for his victories as *choregos* τοῖς παισί at the Dionysia and ἀνδράσιν at the Thargelia, then calls for the inscription of the decree on a stone stele. In the future, the names of any who either in the archonship of Eukleides (i.e. the present year) or thereafter "wins the παῖδες or ανδρες at the Dionysia, Thargelia, Promethia, or Hephaistia" are to be added. For the latter two festivals, accordingly, some have inferred the existence of dithyrambic competitions among choruses assembled by the phylai. Davies, however, has aired the possibility that the events in question are in fact torch races, which independent evidence associates with both Promethia and Hephaistia. If correct, the theory would require us to understand the term *choregos* in its admittedly well documented more general sense.[20] Similarly, regarding still another festival, Demosthenes' statement (21.156), ". . . I served as *choregos* at the Panathenaia," might have nothing to do with lyric choruses.

For the other instances of dramatic and lyric contests administered according to public units—entirely confined to Kos (5 §41) and Rhodes (5 §42-52)—see Index II.I.1 and 2.

§1.28 Administration of Religion

Religious offices, like others, could be brought into relation with the public organization either, in the case of single officers, by observance of cyclical rotation among the units or, in the case of boards, by the

principle of one-to-one representation. Several examples of priesthoods of the first type were discovered through the pioneering work of W. S. Ferguson; and subsequent study, notably by S. V. Tracy, has added still others. Some of these cycles follow the official order of the phylai; some exemplify the sortition cycle, the order within each cycle being determined by lot.[1] Regarding the boards, among the many panels attested the following certainly or with high probability represented the phylai:

ἀθλοθέται. See §1.26

ἀμφικτύονες of Delos. A board of five (plus a secretary and five Andrians) served quinquennially from 374/3 (*IG* II² 1635 [= Tod II 125; *I.Delos* 98]; after 367, with the loss of the Andrians, the board became annual (*I.Delos* 100, 103, 104). Because the board of 374/3 represented phylai VI-X in the official order, it is possible that two boards of five, drawn from the two halves of the official order, alternated in office: see W. S. Ferguson, *CR* 15 (1901) 38-40.

ἐπιμεληταί (for the Great Dionysia). According to Aristotle, *AP* 56.4, these officers, though numbering ten, had previously been elected; by his own day, the board was chosen by lot, one from each phyle. But procedure was to change again, for the ten listed in a text honoring the archon of 282/1, *IG* II² 668, represent only eight of the then-existing twelve phylai. Still later, in a text of 186/5, *IG* II² 896, another board is described as "elected" and, although, at twenty-four, in numerical congruence with the twelve phylai, does not represent them uniformly *kata phylas*. Cf. *AP* 30.2 (constitution of 5,000).

ἱεροποιοί . . . οἱ ἐπὶ τὰ ἐκθύματα καλούμενοι. Ten, selected by lot: *AP* 54.6.

ἱεροποιοί . . . οἱ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν καλούμενοι. Ten, selected by lot: *AP* 54.7.

ἱεροποιοί (miscellaneous boards). A decree of 421/0, *IG* I³ 82 (= I² 84), calls for the selection by lot of two boards of ten *hieropoioi* to administer the Hephaistia, one from the *dikastai* (lines 17-18), the other from the Boule (lines 21-23), both constituted "one from each phyle." Cf. the fragmentary decree *IG* I³ 161 (= II² 38) (435-405), lines 2-4 (restored) and *AP* 30.2 (constitution of 5,000).

ἱερῶν ἐπισκευασταί. Ten, selected by lot: *AP* 50.1.

Beyond the selection of officers, evidence for the role played by the public organization in religious activity is spotty at best. In the state funeral of 431/0 for Athenians who fell in the first year of the Peloponnesian War, each phyle (i.e. regiment; see §1.29) was represented by its own cypress coffin (Thucydides, 2.34.3). According to the fragmentary *IG* I³ 136 (= Sokolowski, *LSCG* Suppl. 6) (413/2?) regulating the rites of Bendis, celebrants (?) *τῆς φυλῆς ἑκάστε/ς* were to offer

sacrifice (lines 5-6). From Eleusis, a state decree dated ca. 422?, *IG* I³ 78 (= I² 76), calls for the demarchs to collect first fruits κατὰ τὸς δέμος (lines 8-9); afterwards, a register is to be compiled of the amounts received from the demarchs "according to each deme" (lines 26-28). Similarly, accounts for the year 329/8 refer to the "totals of first fruits of grain to (the) two goddesses of each phyle" (*IG* II² 1672, lines 263-271). An Eleusinian *lex sacra* of the first century regarding the mystic procession, *Hesperia* 10 (1941) 65-72, no. 31 (= Sokolowski, *LSCG* Suppl. 15), alludes to the "phylai" and "each of the phylai" (?) in obscure contexts (lines 16, 17), but possibly with reference to contingents of celebrants. At the Panathenaia, the demes provided the apparatus for the distribution of the *theorikon* (Dem. 44.37) and of sacrificial meats (*IG* II² 334 [ca. 335/4], lines 25-27); just conceivably, organization *kata phylas* lurks behind lists, arranged by phylai, of *ergastinai, IG* II² 1942 and 1943 (both ca. 100), and of "the *parthenoi* who wove the *peplos* of Athena," *IG* II² 1034 (99/8) and 1036 (108/7). To an unknown major festival, but probably that of Amphiaros at Oropos, pertain regulations mentioning "phylai" in an uncertain context (line 11), M. B. Walbank, *Studies . . . Vanderpool* (*Hesperia Suppl.* XIX: Princeton 1982) (329/8?). Possibly, as the editor suggests (p. 176), competitors "from the phylai (i.e. Athenian citizens) and from abroad" are at question. Processions led by the demarch, but not ascribed to any particular festival, are attested by ancient scholarly sources.[2]

§1.29 The Military Organization

Within the military organization are found a number of exceptions to the prevailing pattern of representation and, where the selection of officers is at question, to the use of allotment. The administration of the department most vital to the state's well-being could not be allowed to be impeded by (militarily speaking) arbitrary divisions of the population or by the luck of the draw. Nonetheless, while election of officers by show of hands remains the general practice even under the democracy, representation of the public units is never entirely abandoned. Indeed, our documentation suggests that it never ceased to be the rule to which, under extraordinary circumstances, an exception could on occasion be made. For the role played by public units in the military establishments of other Greek states, see Index II.L.

Regarding the pre-Kleisthenic armed forces, nothing certain is known of any use of the phylai, *trittyes,* or *naukrariai* (see §1.1). Recent claims that either the *gene* or phratries performed a military function lack cogent evidential support.[1] After Kleisthenes, the phylai are the operative units. While the *trittyes* are much less in evidence, Siewert has argued that they were laid out by Kleisthenes specifically in order

to facilitate mobilizations (see §1.21).[2] Besides providing the basis for the selection of the guards of the docks (see below), the demes also figured in the mustering, if not the actual deployment, of troops.[3]

The Ephebic College. In its heyday, the primary function of the *ephebeia* was to prepare young Athenians for military service; and so it was natural that its organization, like that of the armed forces themselves, should have conformed in its main lines to the public administrative divisions.

According to the account given in *AP* 42, Athenian males upon reaching the age of eighteen were required to register in their demes; afterwards, their age and status, free or otherwise, were subjected to scrutiny by the deme itself, the courts, and the Boule. The scrutiny completed, the fathers of the new ephebes next assembled *kata phylas* (presumably the *agorai* of the several phylai: §1.32), took oaths, and selected from those over forty years of age three men "most fit to take charge of the ephebes." Possibly, the three represented the *trittyes* of each phyle. From these candidates the Demos elected by show of hands a σωφρονιστής for each phyle and, "from the other Athenians," a single κοσμητής to preside over the entire class. Together, these officers, Aristotle continues, directed, with the aid of παιδοτρίβαι and διδάσκαλοι, the instruction and provisioning of the ephebes. Throughout, the recruits took their meals by phylai in συσσίτια, or common messes.[4]

No other officers are mentioned by Aristotle, but from contemporary inscriptions we learn of ephebic ταξίαρχοι, one from each phyle, and, below the taxiarchs, λοχαγοί, representing the phylai in varying numbers. Long believed to be identical with the officers of the same titles in the army (cf. *AP* 61.3, and see below), both are now known to have been "cadet" officers—that is, ephebes themselves placed in command of their respective contingents.[5] The omission comports with Aristotle's interest throughout the *AP* in statewide administration at the expense of internal arrangements.

With the decline of the *ephebeia* soon after the date of Aristotle's publication, the epigraphic record, while continuing unabated, is thereafter confined to lists of the year's ephebes arranged *kata phylas.* Some of the lists, of later Imperial date, reflect the revival of certain elements of the Classical organization under Hadrian.[6]

The Army. Except for the fact of the existence of the polemarch, nothing is known of the organization of the hoplites or other foot soldiers during the time of the Old Attic phylai. But post-Kleisthenic evidence reveals much concerning the relations of officers and contingents of the reformed public apparatus.

In 501/0, after the legislation of Kleisthenes, "they started to select στρατηγοί *kata phylas,* one from each phyle," reports Aristotle, *AP*

22.2. Nonetheless, the polemarch remainded "leader of the entire army," while the generals presumably commanded the regiments comprising the soldiers of their respective phylai. But this arrangement soon underwent alteration, for in 487/6 the polemarch along with the other archons began to be selected by lot, and in due course actual command of the forces came to reside with the generals, who continued to be elected by show of hands. Elevation of the generals also contributed to the loosening of the connection with the regiments, since the rule of strict representation *kata phylas* evidently came to be perceived as an unwelcome and unnecessary impediment to the selection of the most desirable candidates. Hence in 441/0 occurs the first recorded instance of representation of a single phyle by more than one general—a phenomenon thereafter to recur with comparative frequency. Aristotle even goes so far as to say, *AP* 61.1, that in his day the ten generals were elected from the entire population. The chronological limits given by Rhodes for the abandonment of "the tribal basis of election" are 357/6 and 323/2. Before the change, however, scholars generally favor an intermediate phase, when representation *kata phylas* remained the rule, with occasional relaxations to accommodate the election of individuals of extraordinary popularity without prejudice to the candidature of others from their phylai.[7]

While the generals exercised collegial leadership of the armed forces as a whole or, beginning in the fourth century, were systematically assigned to specific spheres of duty (*AP* 61.1), the army maintained its basic organization according to phylai or, as the regiments were also known, τάξεις.[8] Regimental command was now wielded by officers called ταξίαρχοι. Elected by show of hands, one from each phyle (*AP* 61.3), the taxiarchs probably came into existence, or prominence, in the wake of the elevation of the generals to the supreme command. Nonetheless, their selection, no less than that of the generals, labored under the impediments imposed by representation *kata phylas*; and their affiliations might, and on occasion did, diverge from one-to-one correspondence with the units.[9]

Among the responsibilities of the taxiarch was the maintenance of a catalogue of the *phyletai* of his regiment, compiled from the lexiarchic registers of the demes.[10] Passages in the orators hint that the demes retained a degree of solidarity within the regiment.[11] Besides their appearances in literary sources, the τάξεις (or φυλαί) are impressively documented by a long series of lists of the fallen, traceable to as early as the battle of Marathon (Pausanias, 1.32.3, cf. 1.29.4). Typically, the lists are arranged *kata phylas* according to the official order. For the parallels outside Athens, see Index II.L.6.a.[12]

The Cavalry. According to Aristotle, *AP* 49.2, the ἱππεῖς were enrolled by ten καταλογεῖς, elected by show of hands, presumably

kata phylas. The resulting catalogues may have resembled those of the taxiarchs, since the cavalry was, like the foot soldiery, mustered and deployed according to the phylai (see below). While overall command was exercised by two ἵππαρχοι elected "from all Athenians," each taking five [or, later, six] phylai (*AP* 61.4; Xen., *Hipp.* 3.11), the individual squadrons came under the leadership of ten [later, twelve] phylarchs, elected by show of hands one from each phyle (*AP* 61.5).[13] Still, there is once more evidence, in this instance explicit, that the commanders (like their counterparts, the taxiarchs) did not always represent the phylai on a strictly one-to-one basis. A text of the year 282/1 recording the conferral of honors by the state and the *hippeis* on two hipparchs and eleven phylarchs, *AD* 18 (1963) 103-109, no. 1, reads in part: "and they (sc. the hipparchs and phylarchs) also took care that phylarchs (be appointed?) for all phylai and the law preventing any man who wishes to be phylarch from all the *hippeis* be dissolved." Apparently, the innovation looks to the future, for the eleven phylarchs listed in the text represent eleven different phylai (all except Aigeis), given in the official order. But the strain imposed by uniform representation *kata phylas* had proved too great, and henceforth divergences were to be permitted.[14]

A detachment of cavalrymen was designated a φυλή,[15] and this disposition is reflected in other aspects of the cavalry's functioning. The elite ἐπίλεκτοι may be identified in documents as members of a particular phyle—and, as such, may even pass decrees in their own names.[16] In the ἀνθιππασία, or cavalry display, the detachments of horsemen competed against one another in the Hippodrome under the command of their hipparchs and phylarchs.[17] Another illustration is afforded by two series of lead tablets from the Kerameikos and Agora, both dating to the third century (but before the introduction of the thirteenth phyle in 224/3). Besides recording data concerning the color, value, etc. of cavalry horses, the tablets cite the owners' names, sometimes accompanied by their phyle.[18] Evidently, since the demotic would normally be expected to be used if mere citizen status were at issue, the affiliations pertain to the catalogues compiled, presumably *kata phylas,* by the *katalogeis.*

The Navy. General command of the Athenian naval forces in the fifth and fourth centuries was entrusted to the *strategoi* and, in a way not clearly indicated by our sources, to the taxiarchs (on both, see above). Subordinate departments of naval administration, however, were entirely independent of the ground forces, with a prominent role being played by boards. Some of these were linked directly to the public organization:

ἀρχιτέκτονες. Elected by the Demos in Aristotle's time (*AP* 46.1), the board numbers five in a naval document of 356/5, *IG* II² 1612,

lines 151-213. Jordan suggested that election was *kata phylas,* but in the absence of demotics in the document certainty is impossible.[19]

ἐπιμεληταὶ τῶν νεωρίων. Ten, one from each phyle: *IG* II² 1607 (373/2; with commentary on line 1) and 1623 (boards of 334/3 and 333/2).

τριήραρχοι. See §1.27.

τριηροποιοί. Ten, elected by the Boule from its own number: *AP* 46.1. See the boards listed in *IG* II² 1604-1632 passim (377/6 to ca. 323/2). In a speech of the year 330, Aischines states (3.30) that when the phylai were ordered to build triremes, officials were chosen by "the phylai and the *trittyes* and the *demoi* from their own numbers" in order to administer the public funds. If these are the *trieropoioi*, it may be, as Jordan has suggested, that the orator refers to the Boule in terms of its constituent divisions.[20]

φρουροὶ νεωρίων. According to Aristotle, the guards of the docks numbered five hundred (*AP* 24.3) and were selected by lot by the demes (*AP* 62.1). Because the *bouleutai*—the only other state officers selected by the demes in Aristotle's day (*AP* 62.1)—were of the same number, it is likely that each deme provided guards equal to its quota of representatives on the Council of Five Hundred.

Representation of the public units in the naval administration did not end with these boards of officers. That in both the fifth and fourth centuries Athenian crews were regularly conscripted and mustered by *trittyes* was inferred by Jordan from a combination of the "*trittys*-markers" from Peiraieus (see §1.21, with note 8) and a passage from Demosthenes, 14.22-23.[21] According to the orator's plan for the mobilization of Athenian naval forces, the docks would be divided into ten sections, one for each phyle; each section, in turn, would be divided in thirds, one for each *trittys*. Some such arrangement may also have obtained for the *ἐπιβάται*, or "marines," if Jordan is right in finding significance in the grouping of these Athenians by deme in the naval list *IG* II² 1951 (init. s. IV).[22]

Athenian triremes are known to have borne the names of phylai: Antigonis, Demetrias, and Ptolemais as well as five of the ten Kleisthenic phylai are thus far exampled. This practice perhaps accounts, as Jordan hypothesized, for the unique delegation to a phyle—Oineis—of responsibility for the care of a ship: *IG* I³ 153 (= I² 73) (ca. 440-425). Perhaps the ship is the (unattested) trireme of the same name? Similarly the "ten ships of the taxiarchs," which figure in the battle of Arginousai (Xen., *Hell.* 1.6.29 and 35), may have been the ten triremes named in honor of the phylai, each commanded by its respective taxiarch.[23]

§1.3 *The Kleisthenic Organization: Internal Organization of the Units*

§1.31 General

Besides their roles in the carrying out of statewide business, the units of a public organization could, and in the case of Kleisthenic Athens certainly did, function as self-contained, internally organized associations. Indeed, the phenomenon is so well documented that coverage has had to be restricted in subject matter and depth of detail to a level commensurate with the remainder of the study. For a listing, hopefully complete, of the documents of the internally organized phylai, *trittyes,* and demes, see the Appendix (§1.4).

§1.32 Phylai

The direct testimony for the internal arrangements of the phylai is mostly confined to inscriptions dated between the archonship of Eukleides (403/2) and the end of the third century, and to fourth century forensic texts. A few of the inscriptions belong to the second century B.C. and a very few others, after a long hiatus, to the second century A.D. By far the great majority of the epigraphic documents are decrees, usually honorific in content, whereas only isolated examples occur of catalogues, contracts, dedications, honorary inscriptions other than decrees, leases, etc. (see §1.4). Taken together, the testimony reveals a general uniformity of structure and function throughout the several phylai—a state of affairs perhaps best understood in light of the fact that several, if not indeed all, of the phylai were headquartered on or near the Akropolis. By contrast, the administrative and religious centers of the demes were of necessity spread widely over the City, Coast, and Inland regions.

At the head of the association stood the ἐπιμεληταί, three in number, one from each *trittys,* and selected for annual terms.[1] As seen in several of the inscriptions, the board's powers extended over much of the range of the phyle's internal functioning. Performing specialized tasks were the ταμίας (also known to have been annual), γραμματεύς, and, in the judicial sphere, a σύνδικος (or σύνδικοι) charged with representing the phyle in legal matters.[2] Since, except for the occasional ad hoc appointment,[3] no other secular office occurs amidst a rather substantial record, it is likely that "caretakers," "treasurer," "secretary," and "advocate(s)" shared identical nomenclature, were subject to similar regulations, and performed comparable functions from phyle to phyle.

Among the multifarious duties of the *epimeletai* was that of convening, and presiding over, the ἀγορά, or assembly. To judge from isolated examples, the meetings occurred on fixed days on the Akropolis

in Athens. Votes, on occasion secret, were taken concerning the association's business; and elections were held not only for the officers of the corporation, but also for the extraordinary statewide *taphropoioi, teichopoioi,* and *trieropoioi* (see §1.26 and 1.29) and for the liturgical *gymnasiarchoi, hestiatores,* and *choregoi* (see §1.27). Possibly, too, it was at these meetings that the fathers of each year's ephebic recruits assembled "by phylai" and selected candidates for the post of *sophronistes,* the chief ephebic officer of the phyle (see §1.29).[4]

Of the many surviving decrees coming out of the *agorai,* many, again, conferred honors on benefactors—often the phyle's own *choregoi,* once its (ephebic) *sophronistes* (§1.27, 29). Typically, the honors include "praise" and "crown," sometimes attended by an official announcement.[5] Sporadic attestations occur of the conferral of a statue, of a dedication in the benefactor's name, of a sacrifice (or funds to expend thereon), and of a grant of *ateleia,* or exemption from public financial burdens.[6] For parallels from other states, see Index III.F.2.

Internal procedure is otherwise only spottily documented. Judicial capacity is implied by a reference in a speech to the "condemnation" (καταγνῶναι) of a member by Leontis and by the imposition by Akamantis of a fine of 1,000 drachmas upon any person who contravenes its decree.[7] The party prosecuted by Leontis was also fined and eventually brought into a state court, where the *phyletai* made a deposition (μαρτυρία) in their own names.[8] In the third century, Hippothontis on one occasion appended to the usual injunction that the *epimeletai* inscribe the decree a clause directing them to render account "to the phyle."[9] A decree of Erechtheis, *IG* II^2 1165 (ca. 300-250), orders that a member from Lamptrai, in recognition of his sponsorship of a *psephisma* regarding the policing of the phyle's lands and other properties, be praised and crowned. Furthermore, his daughter, who will become an *epikleros* upon her father's death, is to pass into the custody of the phyle. Except for a somewhat different case at fifth century Gortyn (5 §29), there is no other example of the assumption of such a role, plainly appropriate to a kinship association of some kind, by a public unit. That it could happen at all testifies to the continuing invasion of the private sector by the public administrative organization.

The awarding of crowns, the imposing of fines, etc. bespeak corporate financial resources and transactions. Such are amply documented. According to the Demosthenic speech just cited, Leontis took action when a member, Theokrines, failed to pay a fine to the eponymous hero of the phyle—i.e. to its treasury. A state decree of 342/1 (?), *Hesperia* 5 (1936) 393-413, no. 10, reveals that, after the *tamias* of Aiantis failed to turn over certain funds owed to it, the phyle confiscated his property and sold it (at an auction?) (lines 153-185).[10] A

horos stone, *IG* II² 2670 (s. IV?), lists among the creditors from whom a loan has been secured by a parcel of land (χωρίον) the Kekropidai (and, as well, the deme Phlya). The decree of Erechtheis already cited attests κτήματα, and χωρία marked by *horoi;* a decree of Antiochis, a τέμενος "on Lemnos" as well as property (?) at Oropos "distributed to the phylai."[11] Rental properties belonging to an unknown phyle are documented by one third century inscription, and possibly οἰκίαι, houses, again of an unknown phyle, by another.[12] Formal treasuries are explicitly recorded for Erechtheis, Kekropis, and Antiochis.[13] Expenditures therefrom include moneys allocated for awards (crowns, statues, etc.), for sacrifices, and for the publication of decrees—the latter two items expressly funded by decree.[14]

Taking their names from the "eponymous" heroes, or *archegetai* ("founders"), designated by the priestess at Delphi on the occasion of Kleisthenes' reform (*AP* 21.6), the phylai were first and foremost religious associations, and in this area our record is appropriately abundant. Each eponymous is known (or can be assumed) to have possessed a sanctuary, with a concentration on the Akropolis, where three, possibly four, of the shrines are believed to have been situated.[15] Evidence exists, too, for graves of the heroes, including a *horos* marking the σᾶμα of the eponym of Oineis.[16] Sometime after the mid-fourth century the heroes were commemorated collectively by the erection in the Agora of a series of ten bronze statues atop an enclosed podium. The monument, modified at intervals to reflect the addition or subtraction of phylai, remained standing well into the Imperial period.[17] For an analogous literary portrait, one may turn to the catalogue of the eponyms incorporated in Demosthenes' funeral oration, 60.27-31. Regarding administration, the cults were headed by a ἱερεύς, usually, though not invariably, selected from the phyle of the eponym.[18] Ritual observance may have varied from phyle to phyle, but epigraphic sources appear to cite only the usual *thysia.*[19] Again, a strong impression is left of uniformity of internal structure among the phylai in all periods.[20]

§1.33 *Trittyes*

The thirty *trittyes* are scarcely documented as internally organized associations. The earliest possible candidate for such testimony is the well known *lex sacra* attributed by some to Tetrapolis, the coastal *trittys* of Aiantis, *IG* I³ 255 (= I² 190), dated ca. 430. Granting the correctness of the attribution, it remains unclear in what relation to the *trittys* (line A 9) stood the ἱερεύς (B 6, restored) and the ἱέρεια (B 11, 14-15, 16-17, 20-21?) and whether the several cults and sanctuaries occurring throughout were in whole or part within the exclusive domain of the association. Perhaps less problematic is the later fragment of a contract of some kind, *IG* II² 2490 (ante med. s. IV), which

closes, in preserved text, "of the *trittys* Epakreis"—i.e. the inland *trittys* of Aigeis. It may be inferred that the foregoing references to real estate holdings (line 5, restored) and to funds (3; 6-7, to be received by the *trittyarchoi*?) pertain to the division's own internal resources. Elsewhere, viz. *IG* II^2 1172 (ca. 400 vel paulo ante), this very *trittys* is with certainty represented as a possible recipient from the deme Plotheia of money to finance its (the *trittys*') ἱερά (lines 28-30). Only marginally relevant here, however, is the practice seen in state decrees ca. 300 of charging the *trittyarchoi* with the payment of expenses for inscriptions and honorary statues, since the funds in question belonged not to a *trittys* but to the state.[1] At best, we may find in the officer the chief executive of the association. But this fact, and our other few data scarcely justify comparison with the richly documented phylai and demes.

§1.34 Demes

The operation of the internally organized demes is illustrated over the full range of evidence, viz. accounts, catalogues, contracts, decrees, dedications, honorary inscriptions, leases, and sacred laws. In contrast with the case of the phylai, several of the texts are dated earlier than the archonship of Eukleides, a few even before ca. 450. Additional information is provided by literary sources, particularly the orators. All in all, again in contrast with the phylai, a strong impression is left of particularism—reflecting no doubt the independent origins and, in many instances, continuing isolation of the demes from the urban center.

Registration in a deme constituted the fundamental requirement for Athenian citizenship. Brought before the demesmen upon turning eighteen by his father, the candidate underwent scrutiny of his majority and legitimacy (*AP* 42.1-2). If successful, and barring any subsequent successful challenges to his membership, the new demesman might thereafter transmit his affiliation to his descendants in the male line.[1]

From a score of demes we have literary and epigraphic references to the δήμαρχος, the chief executive officer. His powers and functions, when compiled from all sources, are found to extend widely over the full range of the deme's corporate functioning. Lesser officers perform duties comparable to those observed in the phylai (§1.32), while at the same time evidencing a richer variety of nomenclature and greater compartmentalization of function. Thus, in the sphere of accounting and finance, the phylai made do with a single officer, the *tamias*. The same title is widely attested among the demes. At Eleusis and Skambonidai, however, we find an εὔθυνος ("examiner"); at Myrrhinous, he is assisted by a λογιστής ("accountant"), at Halai Aixonides and Thorikos, by πάρεδροι ("assessors"). From Peiraieus, we hear of a

board of ἐπιτιμηταί, or "estimators."[2] Secretarial posts include not only the γραμματεύς at Acharnai and Halai Aixonides but also, at Myrrhinous, an ἀντιγραφεύς, and, at Rhamnous, ἐπιμεληταί ("caretakers") charged with assisting the demarch in the publication of a decree.[3] Unknown among the phylai, the κῆρυξ, or herald, occurs in a half dozen demes. As for judicial or legal officials, Aixone's σύνδικοι are, to be sure, paralleled by the single functionary with this title of the phyle Antiochis. But elsewhere are encountered, unique to the demes, the κατήγοροι ("accusers") at Epikephisia, the νομοφύλακες ("guardians of the laws") at Rhamnous, ὁρισταί ("boundary officers") at Peiraieus, and συνήγοροι ("judges") at Eleusis and Myrrhinous.[4] Special circumstances, finally, might, as with the phylai, lead to the appointment of individuals or boards on an ad hoc basis.[5]

Mirroring procedure at the state level, officers of the demes were required to undergo a δοκιμασία, or scrutiny, before entering office; to take an oath of good conduct; and, upon leaving office, to present their accounts for audit.[6]

Coinciding with the practice of the phylai, demesmen met in ἀγοραί, or assemblies, to transact communal business.[7] Some idea of the wide range of such business (when the demes are considered in the aggregate) is conveyed by the varied categories, listed above, of surviving documents—hence the passage of decrees, the formulation of leases and other contracts, the rendering of accounts for official functions of the association, the regulation of the deme's religious calendar, and so on. From the specific content of the decrees, and from literary texts, procedures of a more detailed kind are in evidence: the election of officers, the administering of oaths, arbitration (ἐπιτροπή), trials, the imposition of fines, and the hearing of appeals to the deme's decisions (ἔφεσις).[8] To these presumably ongoing, general procedures may be added the extraordinary review of the membership rolls (διαψήφισις) of the year 346/5.[9] Even this bare list, when measured against the corresponding records of the phylai and *trittyes,* leaves little doubt but that it was in the deme that citizens found the focus of their public communal activity.

Among the particular official acts coming out the deme assemblies, the great bulk consist of the conferral of honors and awards. Of these, "praise" and "crown," and the announcement thereof, are so frequently recorded as not to require citation.[10] Illustrating my point about particularism, however, are, first, outright "gifts" (δωρεαί: Aixone and Eleusis) or, what amounted to the same thing, exemption from taxation (ἀτέλεια: Eleusis, Coastal Lamptrai, Plotheia) or, specifically, from the payment of the ἐγκτητικόν, or tax on non-demesmen resident in the deme (Peiraieus).[11] Demes with theaters might confer awards of

προεδρία, or privileged seating (Aixone, Eleusis, Halai Araphenides, Myrrhinous, Peiraieus, Rhamnous).[12] Two examples are known of the erection of a statue (Melite, Sphettos), one of the award of a dedication (*ἀνάθημα*) by an unknown deme, in the awardee's honor.[13] Uniquely, Peiraieus inducts an honorand into the *triakas,* or Thirty, of his choice; the unit, certainly not as elsewhere (see Index I.A. 28) a public division, is best understood with Dittenberger as a sacral society of some kind. In the same inscription, the deme grants the privilege of "joint feasting" (*συνεστιᾶσθαι*) "with the Peiraieis in all their rites" as well as a portion of the victims at their public sacrifices. The latter award is paralleled in similar documents from several other demes.[14]

Not surprisingly in view of the substantial resources implied by some of these *timia,* the demes are known in several cases to have held considerable amounts of property. To restrict ourselves (again) solely to the explicit "internal" documentation, we find, first, in no fewer than seven demes an *agora*—presumably the site of the assemblies already discussed (Eleusis, Erchia, Halai Aixonides, Marathon, Peiraieus, Skambonidai, Sounion).[15] Buildings, all presumably communally owned and operated, are the *dikasteria* (Aixone, Epikephisia, Peiraieus), *gymnasium* (Eleusis), *palaistra*? (Kephisia), theaters (Acharnai, Aixone, Eleusis, Peiraieus). To these might be added an assortment of other structures—e.g. fountains, bridges, lounges, and so on—owned or at least controlled by the association.[16] The stelai so frequently inscribed and erected in some public place by order of the deme's decree must also have been conspicuous features of the civic centers. Whether, stone copies apart, the existence of an "archive" is to be inferred from the maintenance of lexiarchic registers and other records is uncertain.

Besides those devoted to the demesmen's use, the association's properties—real estate, buildings, etc.—might be rented out on terms specified in a *locatio.*[17] The deme might also issue loans from its funds; in a few cases, the *horoi* which marked the encumbered properties have survived.[18] Other sources of income were internal, such as the voluntary contributions by private persons (in most cases known to be or presumably demesmen) or, possibly not voluntary, those expected of occupants of the deme's magistracies. Occasionally, financing involved the imposition of liturgies—thus Eleusis and Halai Araphenides. Mimicking practice at the state level, in one deme at least, Ikarion, relief could be sought through the procedure of *ἀντίδοσις*, or "exchange of properties." Mention has been made of the *ἐγκτητικόν*, or tax on non-demesmen resident in the deme. Fines, and even the sale of theater tickets, are also recorded.[19]

From the funds accumulated by these means, expenditures of varying kinds were authorized. Besides the outlays for the inscription and

erection of stelai and for the performance of sacrifices frequently encountered in decrees, we learn of disbursals to officers, appropriations for construction, payment by the deme on its own leases or rentals, and the submission of taxes imposed on the associations' properties by the central government.[20]

To judge from the epigraphic record, much of the typical deme's financial resources must have been devoted to the maintenance of its cults. Indeed, in the case of three demes, Eleusis, Halai Aixonides, and Rhamnous, references are found to special funds earmarked exclusively for religious use. Accordingly, the decrees sometimes, as just noted, specify an appropriation for a sacrifice; and recent work on the several *leges sacrae* of the demes has pointed up a major preoccupation with the costs of the religious rituals.[21] We can thus begin to appreciate the economic dimension of the varied facilities devoted to the operation of the communally organized cults. Foremost among these, of course, were the sanctuaries themselves—so many examples are known from documents alone that the presence of a *hieron* of some kind may be assumed to have been universal. Most often, the sanctuary is mentioned at the close of a decree as the site where the inscribed stele is to be erected. But from other documentary contexts, and particularly the sacred laws, details can be culled regarding their physical components, administration, and functions.[22]

The operation of the cults involved not only the availability of funds and the formalization of ritual in publicly accessible regulations. Another vital ingredient was the appointment of appropriately empowered officers. Among the often attested ἱερεῖς and ἱέρειαι one, the ἱερεὺς ἥρω ἀρχηγέτου of Rhamnous, may be identified as the priest of the eponymous of the deme. We also often learn of boards designated by various titles—viz. ἄρχουσαι (Cholargos), ἱερομνημόνες (Cholargos, Eleusis, Melite), ἱεροποιοί (Aixone, Halai Araphenides, Upper Paiania, Phrearrhioi, Rhamnous, Skambonidai), κώμαρχοι (Xypete), μεράρχαι (Athmonon), and σωφρονισταί (Aixone). Mention may be made in this context, finally, of the χορηγοί—again, evidently imitating the procedure of the central government (§1.27)—at Aixone, Halai Araphenides, Ikarion, and elsewhere.[23]

The *agones* of the demes, above all those incorporated in the Rural Dionysia, are the best known but by no means the only such communally organized religious activities. Conforming to the pattern established in the preceding discussion, the record is remarkably rich in its variety of title and function. The one exception is the omnipresent *thysia*—we have epigraphic attestations in more than a score of demes. The ἑορτή is documented at Cholargos, Eleusis, Ikarion, Peiraieus, and an unknown deme. Rituals recorded for a single deme abound: ἱεροποιία (Halimous), πανηγυρίς (Eleusis), παννυχίς (Aixone),

πυρριχή (Halai Araphenides), and χοαί (unknown deme). This is to say nothing of the extraordinary assortment of cult divinities, which might exceed forty in a single deme (Erchia), or of the detailed procedures of ritual preserved in the extensive *leges sacrae.* It is in this diversity, if anywhere, that we may find proof of the considerable degree of independence enjoyed by these associations, not only from the central authority but from one another as well.[24]

§1.4 *Appendix: Documents of the Internally Organized Phylai,* Trittyes, *and Demes*

Listed here are documents officially promulgated by the phylai, *trittyes,* and demes functioning as internally organized associations. The texts are grouped according to the categories observed in Index III.A ("documents"). Excluded are texts (such as dedications), which, even though coming to us in the name of an individual or group of individuals of stated phyle, *trittys,* or deme affiliation, do not recognizably represent acts of the unit *qua* association. The phylai are listed according to their official order (the Kleisthenic units) or order of creation (the post-Kleisthenic units); the *trittyes* according to the order of their phylai; the demes according to the numbered alphabetical roster of Traill, *Political Organization,* pp. 109-112.

Phylai

I Erechtheis

decrees: *IG* II² 1146 (ante med. s. IV); 1147 (ante med. s. IV); 1150 (ante med. s. IV); 1165 (ca. 300-250)

II Aigeis

decrees: *Hesperia* 29 (1960) 78-80, no. 155 (but see C. Habicht, *MDAI*[*A*] 76 [1961] 141-143) (ca. 160)

dedication: herm dedicated by the phyle: Andokides, 1.62; Aischines, 1.125; cf. Plutarch, *Alk.* 21.3 (415 or earlier)

III Pandionis

decrees: *IG* II² 1138 (another copy: 1139) (p.p. 403/2); *Hesperia* 22 (1953) 177, no. 1 (p.p. 403/2); *IG* II² 1140 (386/5); 1144 (init. s. IV); 1148 (ante med. s. IV); *Hesperia* 32 (1963) 41, no. 42 (ante med s. IV); *IG* II² 1152 (fin. s. IV); 1157 (326/5); 1159 (303/2); 1160 (ca. 300); 1167 (s. III)

dedications: *Hesperia* 11 (1942) 341-343, no. 1 (fin. s. V); *IG* II² 2828 (by *hiereus* of Pandion) (med. s. IV); cf. *Hesperia* 4 (1935) 55, no. 17 (ca. 350-300)

IV Leontis

decrees: *Hesperia* 9 (1940) 59-66, no. 8: (i) of Leontis; (ii) of *lochagoi* of Leontis (333/2); 15 (1946) 189, no. 35 (= 3 [1934] 43-44, no. 32)? (ca. 325)

dedication: *IG* II² 2818 (by *epimeletai*) (357/6)

V Akamantis

decrees: *AE* 1965, pp. 131-136 (= S. Dow, *Studies*... *Brendel* [Mainz 1976] 81-84): two decrees: i (361/0) and ii (334/3 [Dow]); *Hesperia* 17 (1948) 114-136, no. 68 (303/2) (but see G. Woodhead, *Studies*... *Edson* [Thessaloniki 1981] 357-367; *IG* II² 1166 (ca. 300-250)

dedication: *Hesperia* 28 (1959) 121-126 (by taxiarch and *lochagoi*) (334/3-307/6)

VI Oineis

tombstone: *Hesperia* 11 (1942) 240-241, no. 45 (of eponymous?) (s. IV)

VII Kekropis

decrees: *IG* II² 1141 (= *Hesperia* 10 [1941] 263-265, no. 67 (376/5); 1143 (init. s. IV); 1145 (of Kekropis?) (post 353/2?); 1155 (339/8); 1156 (334/3); 1158 (of Kekropis?) (post med. s. IV); *SEG* 2.8 (s. IV)

dedication: *IG* II² 2837 (329/8)

ὅρος: *IG* II² 2670 (s. IV)

VIII Hippothontis

catalogue: *Hesperia* 11 (1942) 75-78, no. 39 (med. s. II p.)

decrees: *IG* II² 1149 (ante med. s. IV); 1153 (med. s. IV): 1163 (ca. 288/7)

IX Aiantis

decrees: *IG* II² 1151 (med. s. IV); 1250 (of *lampadephoroi*) (post med. s. IV); *Hesperia* 7 (1938) 94-96, no. 15 (327/6); 15 (1946) 189, no. 35 (of Aiantidai?) (ca. 325)

X Antiochis

decrees: *AD* 8 (1923) 98-100, no. 4 (of *hippeis* of phyle) (ca. 330); 89-96, no. 3 (of elder *epilektoi* of phyle) (ca. 330); 85-89, no. 1 (of phyle) (303/2) (= *SEG* 3.115-117)

(VII) Ptolemais

decree: *Hesperia* 32 (1963) 14-15, no. 13 (init. s. II)

(XII) Attalis

honorary inscriptions (other than decrees): *IG* II² 1170 (of Attalis?) (s. II); *Hesperia* 47 (1978) 315-317, no. 35 (ca. 180 p.)

identity of phyle unknown

contracts: *IG* II² 1168.11, 25 (s. III?)

decrees: *IG* II² 1142 (init. s. IV); 1154 (med. s. IV); *Hesperia* 3 (1934) 43-44, no. 32 (ca. 325); 4 (1935) 41-42, no. 9 (fin. s. IV); 30 (1961) 8, no. 1 (fin. s. IV); *IG* II² 1161 (fin. s. IV); 1162 (fin. s. IV); *Hesperia* 9 (1940) 111-112, no. 21 (init. s. III); *IG* II² 1164 (init. s. III); 1168 (s. III?); 1169 (s. III); 1171 (s. II)

dedications: *IG* II² 2842 (by *epimeletai*) (321/0 aut 318/7); 2843 (319/8); 2890 (aet. Imp.)?

lease: cf. *IG* II² 1168 (s. III?)

sacred law: *IG* II² 1356 (init. s. IV)

Trittyes

Epakreis (Aigeis II Inland)

contract?: *IG* II² 2490 (ante med. s. IV)

dedication: *AE* 1980 (1982) 94, no. α (ca. 350-300)?

Tetrapolis (Aiantis IX Coast)

sacred law: *IG* I³ 255 (= I² 190) (ca. 430)?

Demes

1. Acharnai

decrees: L. Robert, *Études épigraphiques et philologiques* (Paris 1938) 293-296 (= G. Daux, *Studies*... *Orlandos* I [Athens 1964] 87-90 (= *SEG* 21.519) (s. IV); *IG* II² 1206 (fin. s. IV); 1207 (fin. s. IV)

dedication: *IG* II² 2953 (aet. Aug.)

2. Acherdous 3. Upper Agryle 4. Lower Agryle
5. Aigilia 6. Aithalidai
7. Aixone

decrees: *IG* II² 1196 (ca. 335-330); 1197 (ca. 330); 1198 (326/5); 1199 (ca. 325/4); 1200 (317/6); 1201 (317-307); 1202 (313/2); *MDAI(A)* 66 (1941) 218-219, no. 1 (313/2)

lease: *IG* II² 2492 (346/5)

8. Alopeke 9. Amphitrope
10. Anagyrous

decrees: *IG* II² 1210? (Traill, *Political Organization*, p. 74 note 10) (fin. s. IV): 1212? (Eliot, *Coastal Demes*, p. 36) (fin. s. IV)

11. Anakaia 12. Anaphlystos 13. Angele
14. Upper Ankyle 15. Lower Ankyle 16. Antinoeis
17. Aphidna 18. Apollonieis 19. Araphen
20. Atene
21. Athmonon

decrees: *IG* II² 1156.52-63 (334/3 aut p. p.); 1203 (325/4)

22. Auridai 23. Azenia 24. Bate
25. Berenikidai
decree: *IG* II² 1221? (Traill, *Political Organization,* p. 74 note 10) (ca. 200)
26. Besa 27. Boutadai
28. Cholargos
decree: *IG* II² 1184 (decree?) (334/3)
29. Cholleidai 30. Daidalidai 31. Deiradiotai
32. Dekeleia 33. Diomeia 34. Eiresidai
35. Eitea (Akamantis): see 36. Eitea (Antiochis)
36. Eitea (Antiochis)
decree: *AD* 25 (1970) 204-214 (P. J. Bicknell, *Historia* 27 [1978] 369-374, assigns to Eitea in Akamantis)
37. Elaious
38. Eleusis
decrees: *IG* I³ 251 (= I² 183) (ca. 445); I² 185 (+ 185a?) (decree? Eleusis?) (date?); II² 1185 (med. s. IV); 1186 (med. s. IV); 1188 (med. s. IV); 1189 (334/3); 1156.45-51 (334/3); *REG* 91 (1978) 289-306 (i, ii) (332/1); *IG* II² 1190 (post med. s. IV); 1191 (321/0); 1187 (319/8: *SEG* 22.118); 1192 (fin. s. IV); 1193 (fin. s. IV); *Hesperia* 8 (1939) 177-180 (incorporates *IG* II² 1194 and 1274) (ca. 300); *IG* II² 1218 (med. s. III); 1219 (+ 1288: *SEG* 22.127) (med. s. III); 1299.51-80 (post 236/5; 1220 (decree? Eleusis?) (ca. 200-150)
dedication: *IG* II² 2971 k (ca. 315/4)
lease: *IG* II² 2500 (fin. s. IV)
sacred law: *IG* II² 1363 (of deme?) (init. s. III?)
39. Epieikidai
dedication: *IG* II² 2837 (329/8)
40. Epikephisia
decree: *IG* II² 1205 (fin. s. IV)
41. Erchia
decree: *IG* II² 1213? (see P. J. Bicknell, *REG* 89 [1976] 599-603) (s. IV)
sacred law: *BCH* 87 (1963) 603-634 (*SEG* 27.6) (ca. 375-350)
42. Erikeia
decree: *IG* II² 1215? (Traill, *Political Organization,* p. 74 note 10)
43. Eroiadai (Hippothontis)
44. Eroiadai (Antiochis)
45. Euonymon
46. Eupyridai
47. Gargettos
decree: *MDAI(A)* 67 (1942) 7-8, no. 5 (ca. 350-300)
48. Hagnous

49. Halai Aixonides

accounts: *AE* 1938, pp. 23-25 (fin. s. V)

decrees: *IG* II² 1174 (367/6 aut p. p.); 1175 (ca. 360); *AD* 11 (1927-1928) 40-41, no. 4 (fin. s. IV); 41-42, no. 5 (fin. s. IV); 42-43, no. 6 (ca. 350-300); 43, no. 7 (part of no. 6?) (= *MDAI*[*A*] 67 [1942] 8-10, nos. 6-8)

dedications: *AD* 11 (1927-1928) 37-38, no. 1 (fin. s. VI); 22-26 (= *SEG* 10.328a, b, c) (ca. 500); 38-39, no. 2 (init. s. IV); *IG* II² 2820 (ca. 360-350)

honorary inscription: *AD* 11 (1927-1928) 39, no. 3 (med. s. IV)

ὅρος: *IG* II² 2761 b (ca. 362/1)

50. Halai Araphenides

decrees: *AE* 1925-1926, pp. 168-177 (med. s. IV); *AE* 1932 *Chron.*, pp. 30-32 (ca. med. s. IV ante 325)

51. Halimous

decree: *ABSA* 24 (1919-1921) 151-160 (ca. 330-325)

52. Hamaxanteia 53. Hekale

54. Hermos

lease: *IG* II² 2493 (339/8)

55. Hestiaia 56. Hippotomadai 57. Hybadai

58. Ikarion

accounts: *IG* I³ 253 (= I² 186) (ca. 450-425)

decrees: *IG* I³ 254 (= I² 187) (ca. 440-415?); II² 1178 (ante med.s. IV); 1179 (med. s. IV); *Hesperia* 17 (1948) 142-143, no. 3 (ca. 330)

59. Ionidai 60. Iphistiadai 61. Kedoi

62. Keiriadai 63. Kephale

64. Kephisia

decree: *AD* 21 (1966) *Chron.*, p. 106, no. 12 (= *AD* 24 [1969] 6-7) (s. IV)

65. Kerameis

ὅρος: *Hesperia* Suppl. 9 (1951) 23 (= Finley, no. 67 A)

66. Kettos 67. Kikynna 68. Koile

69. Kollytos

decree: *IG* II² 1195 (post med. s. IV)

70. Kolonai (Leontis)

71. Kolonai (Antiochis)

72. Kolonos 73. Konthyle 74. Kopros

75. Korydallos 76. Kothokidai 77. Krioa

78. Kropidai 79. Kydantidai 80. Kydathenaion

81. Kytheros

decree: *IG* II² 1213? (see P. J. Bicknell, *REG* 89 [1976] 599-603)

lease: *IG* II² 2496 (post med. s. IV)
82. Lakiadai
83. Upper Lamptrai
dedication: *IG* II² 2967 (med. s. IV)
84. Coastal Lamptrai
decree: *IG* II² 1204 (fin. s. IV)
85. Leukonoion 86. Lousia
87. Marathon
sacred law: *IG* II² 1358 (Marathonian Tetrapolis) (ca. 400-350)
88. Melite
decrees: *IG* I³ 243.72-136 (ca. 480-450); *AD* 19 (1964) 31-33, no. 1, lines 6-27 (ca. 330); *Hesperia* 11 (1942) 265-274, no. 51 (init. s. II)
dedication: *AD* 19 (1964) 31-33, no. 1, lines 1-5 (ca. 330).
89. Myrrhinous
decrees: *IG* II² 1182 (med. s. IV); 1183 (post 340)
90. Myrrhinoutta 91. Oa 92. Oe
93. Oinoe (Hippothontis)
94. Oinoe (Aiantis)
sacred law: *IG* II² 1358 (Marathonian Tetrapolis) (ca. 400-350)
95. Oion Dekeleikon
96. Oion Kerameikon
97. Otryne
98. Upper Paiania
decree: *IG* I³ 250, A 1-14 (ca. 450-430)
sacred law: *IG* I³ 250, A 15-36, B (ca. 450-430)
99. Lower Paiania 100. Paionidai
101. Pallene
sacred law: *MDAI(A)* 67 (1942) 24-29, no. 26 (date?)
102. Pambotadai
103. Peiraieus
contract: *IG* II² 1176.1-24 (ca. 360)
decrees: *IG* II² 1176.25-33 (ca. 360); 1177 (med. s. IV); *Hesperia* 3 (1934) 44-46, no. 33 (init. s. III); *IG* II² 1214 (ca. 300-250)
lease: *IG* II² 2498 (321/0)
ὅρος: *IG* II² 2623 (date?)
104. Peleke 105. Upper Pergase 106. Lower Pergase
107. Perithoidai 108. Phaleron 109. Phegaia
110. Phegone 111. Philaidai
112. Phlya
ὅρος: *IG* II² 2670 (s. IV)
113. Phrearrhioi

sacred law: *Hesperia* 39 (1970) 47-53 (ca. med. s. III)

114. Phyle 115. Pithos

116. Plotheia

decree: *IG* I³ 258 (= II² 1172) (ca. 420)

117. Poros

118. Upper Potamos

119. Lower Potamos

120. Potamos Deiradiotes

121. Prasiai

dedication: *Hesperia* 31 (1962) 54, no. 137 (fin. s. IV)

leases: *IG* II² 2497 (post med. s. IV); *Hesperia* 31 (1962) 54-56, no. 138 (post med. s. IV).

122. Probalinthos

sacred law: *IG* II² 1358 (Marathonian Tetrapolis) (ca. 400-350)

123. Prospalta

ὅρος: *IG* II² 2635 (date?)

124. Ptelea

125. Rhamnous

general: J. Pouilloux, *La Forteresse de Rhamnounte,* Paris 1954

accounts: *IG* I³ 248 (= Pouilloux, no. 35) (ca. 450-440)

decrees: *AD* 22A (1962) 38-52 (ca. 264/3); *IG* II² 1217 (= Pouilloux, no. 6) (262/1); *PAAH* 1958, p. 32 (*SEG* 22.120) (ca. med. s. III); *Hellenika* 3 (1930) 153-162 (= Pouilloux, no. 15; *Choix,* no. 19) (236/5); *AE* 1953, pp. 130-136, no. 3 (= Pouilloux, no. 19) (225); *IG* II² 1313 (= Pouilloux, no. 22) (fin. s. III)

honorary inscription: *IG* II² 3467 (= Pouilloux, no. 8) (s. III/II)

126. Semachidai

127. Skambonidai

sacred law: *IG* I³ 244 (= I² 188) (ca. 460)

128. Sounion

decrees: cf. *IG* I³ 8 (ca. 460-450); II² 1180 (med. s. IV); 1181 (331/0)

129. Sphettos

dedication: *BCH* 93 (1969) 56-71 (ca. 315/4)

130. Steiria 131. Sybridai

132. Sypalettos

decree: *IG* I³ 245 (law?) (ca. 470-460)

133. Teithras

decrees: *MDAI(A)* 49 (1924) 1-13 (three decrees: *SEG* 24.151-153) (ca. med. s. IV); *Hesperia* 31 (1962) 401-403, no. 3 (331/0 or 330/29)

leases: *MDAI(A)* 49 (1924) 1-13 (see above); cf. *Hesperia* 35 (1966) 277-279, no. 4 (post med. s. IV)

sacred law: *Hesperia* 30 (1961) 293-297, no. 1 (ca. 400-350)

134. Themakos

decree: *IG* II² 1212? (Traill, *Political Organization,* p. 74 note 10)

135. Thorai

136. Thorikos

sacred law: E. Vanderpool, in *Thorikos and the Laurion in Archaic and Classical Times. Miscellanea Graeca* I (Ghent 1975) 33-41 (= G. Dunst, *ZPE* 25 [1977] 243-264: *SEG* 26.136) (Thorikos?) (ca. 400-350)

137. Thria

lease: *IG* II² 2500 (fin. s. IV)

138. Thymaitadai

139. Trikorynthos

sacred law: *IG* II² 1358 (Marathonian Tetrapolis) (ca. 400-350)

140. Trinemeia 141. Tyrmeidai

142. Xypete

dedication: *IG* II² 3103 (330/29)

identity of deme unknown

catalogue: *IG* II² 2394 (340/39 aut 313/2)

decrees: *IG* II² 1173 (ante med. s. IV); 1208 (see Traill, *Political Organization;* p. 74 note 10) (post med. s. IV); 1209 (post 319); 1210 (fin. s. IV); 1211 (fin. s. IV); 1212 (fin. s. IV); 1215 (init. s. III); 1216 (s. III); *Hesperia* 23 (1954) 242-243, no. 15 (264/3); 32 (1963) 12-13, no. 10 (med. s. III)

dedications: *IG* II² 2965 (ca. 400-350); 2843 (319/8)

sacred laws: *IG* II² 1356 (init. s. IV)?; 1362 (cf. lines 4, 15) (fin. s. IV)

§2 Salamis

A possession of Athens from the time of Solon or Peisistratos, the island acquired the status of a cleruchy at an uncertain date, perhaps shortly after the reforms of Kleisthenes.[1] Be that as it may, documents of the Hellenistic period, *IG* II² 1225 (= Michel 158; *OGIS* I 220) (ca. 250), cf. 1226 (s. III), 1227 (= Michel 159) (131/0), and 1228 (116/5), show members of "the Demos of Salaminians" using Athenian demotics. This is the practice of cleruchs elsewhere: see Aigina (§3); Imbros, Lemnos, Skyros, Peparethos, and Skiathos (5 §3-7); Samos (5 §13); Melos (5 §24); and Poteidaia (6 §1).

§3 Aigina

IG IV 72, a gravestone of uncertain provenience (both Aigina and Salamis are reported as the place of discovery), carries the nomen, patronymic, and the Athenian demotic Lamptreus. On the assumption that a cleruch is at question, the editor, M. Fraenkel, declared that the inscription must be earlier than 405, the year in which the island was restored by Lysander. For other instances of the retention of Athenian affiliations by cleruchs, see on Salamis (§2), where the examples are assembled.

A citizenship decree dated 158-144, *IG* IV 1 (= Michel 340; *OGIS* I 329), calls in lines 43-44 for the honorand to enroll himself "in phyle and deme, whichever he wishes." Although highly likely, Attic influence cannot be demonstrated.[1]

§4-6 Euboia

§4 *Chalkis*

An inscription of Imperial date, *IG* XII 9, no. 946, records honors conferred by the Boule and Demos on "the λαμπάδα[ρχ]ος of the phyle 'Αβαντίς" in recognition of his taking the *proteion* in the torch-race for phylai (τῆς [κατὰ]/φῦλον λαμπάδος) in a quadrennial festival. For the several other examples of such races among teams fielded by public units, see Index II.I.5.b.vi.

The name Abantis is to be associated with the Abantes, a prehistoric people said to have originated at Abai in Phokis, whence they migrated to Euboia. Antiquarians later reported that at one time all of Euboia had once been called Abantis.[1] On this basis, the phyle was placed in the *Landsmannschaftlich* class by Busolt, on the assumption that its members were, or claimed to be, literal descendants of these primordial settlers.[2] But it is equally likely that the name is merely commemorative and signifies nothing regarding the real or supposed ethnic background of its membership.

A second public unit, the deme, is attested by an inscription of third century date from Delphi, *Fouilles de Delphes* III 1, no. 424, a grant of honors by the Delphians to Delphion, son of [Kl]eochares, δήμου/ΛΙ[.]ΛΙων (lines 1-2). For the name of the deme E. Bourget suggested the restoration Αἰ[γ]αίων, i.e. Aigaioi, the people of Aigai. Strabo reports the existence of an Aigai on the Euboian coast opposite Halai in Boiotia; and it could well be, as Bourget conjectures, that the town had at some point been annexed by Chalkis.[3]

§5 *Eretria*

By far the earliest of the Euboian documents, a proxeny decree dated by Wallace to the first third of the fifth century, *IG* XII suppl., no.

549,[1] is headed by a preamble which reads: "Decreed by the Boule, and by the Demos sitting in regular session; the phyle Mekisstis was serving as the monthly panel (Μ̄εκισστ̣[ίδ]/ος φυλε̄ς: [ἐ]πιμε̄ν[ι]ευούρε̄ς); on the fourteenth of the month Heraion" (lines 1-8). Evidently, as at Athens and elsewhere (see Index II.D.5), the civil year was apportioned into monthly, or quasi-monthly, segments over which the phylai took turns presiding. Because the panel is said "to serve for a month," its members might be designated by some form of this verb. And in fact, much later, two lists of ephebes, *IG* XII suppl., no. 555 (s. III in.), are headed by preambles citing the archon, secretary, and eight ἐπιμηνιεύοντες. But the absence of the phyle can only raise doubts as to the pertinence of these boards to bouleutic procedure.

Below the phylai, the territory of Eretria was parceled into a large number of geographical units. Totaling over fifty, the names attested to date occur in the great majority of cases as the affiliation appended to the nomen and patronymic, or nomen alone, of Eretrian citizens. Exceptionally, the two lists of ephebes mentioned above, as well as *IG* XII 9, nos. 248 + 251 (ca. 300),[2] 249 (s. III), and 250 (s. III), are broken down into registers, each headed by one of the names as a rubric. Regarding the identification, there can be little doubt but that the pertinent technical term is δῆμος, since *demarchoi* occur in three different sources: once in a decree of the Boule and Demos, *IG* XII 9, no. 189 (= *SGDI* 5315; Ziehen, *LGS* II 88) (ca. 340), two other times in documents from Tamynai, no. 90 (= *SGDI* 5314; Ziehen, *LGS* II 87; Sokolowski, *LSCG* 91) (s. IV in.), and Amarynthos, no. 139 (s. I)—both among the toponymic public affiliations. Still a third division, also, like the deme, territorial, is documented—the χῶρος. The one incontestable occurrence is provided by the state decree just mentioned, no. 189; a second has been restored by emendation of Cyriacus' copy of no. 192 (= Michel 343; *SIG*² 277) (308/7);[3] a third, as noted below, depends upon the restoration of an enrollment clause in a citizenship decree, *BCH* 78 (1954) 316-322, no. 1 (= *Staatsverträge* II 232) (init. s. IV).

The segmental relation of the demes to the *choroi* is illustrated with high probability by a list of names, no. 241 (s. IV ex.). Soldiers, classed as *hoplitai* and *psiloi,* are grouped under several comprehensive headings. Each name is accompanied by the affiliation, but a given deme is confined to just one of the headings. These, according to Wallace's analysis,[4] originally numbered five, although only two are preserved, in one case fragmentarily, on the stone. The distribution of the demes revealed, furthermore, that the list observed a general south-to-north progression over the Eretrike—reflected in Wallace's use of the numerals I through V. Finally, the one fully preserved heading, Μεσο-

χώρου ὁπλῖται, invited comparison with the otherwise inexplicable phrase τεῖ Μεταξὺ καὶ Φυλακεῖ, which is embedded in the regulations for the festival Artemisia contained in the state decree, no. 189. If Μεσοχώρου and ἡ Μεταξύ are the same entity, then Φυλακή provides one of the headings missing from the list. Hence the following disposition of the document:

I name?
II name?
III Μεσοχώρου (or ἡ Μεταξύ)
IV ἡ Φυλακή
V Λαρασί[ου]?[5]

In the apparent absence of a *terminus technicus,* Wallace labeled the groupings of demes "Districts." But it is at once obvious from Wallace's own reconstruction that χῶρος is applicable to them, since "Mid-Choros" occupies the central position among the five.[6] This striking point of agreement carries far greater weight than the fact that in its only other occurrences in public contexts, at Federal Keos (5 §14) and Thera (5 §25), the *choros* appears to be the unit, not an intermediate grouping of units.[7]

On Wallace's analysis of *IG* XII 9, no. 241, many of the demes can be allocated to their *choroi.* More recently, Cairns has argued for an analogous interpretation of no. 244 (ca. 300), which he believes is a list of demesmen from *choroi* II and IV.[8] But the affiliations of many of the demes are either questionable or altogether unknown, and so the following alphabetical listing, based on Wallace's study and incorporating more recent findings, omits them entirely.[9]

Αἰγαλ(ῆθεν?)
ἐξ Αἰγλεφείρης
'Αλιφῆθεν
'Αμάρυνθος
ἐξ 'Ασ.
'Αφαρεῦθεν
Βουδιόθεν
Γρύγχαι
Δισμαρόθεν
Δύστος
'Εγε.
'Εγω.
ἐξ 'Ενι.
ἐξ 'Εσχ.
Ζάρηξ
'Ιστίαια
Καρκινούσιοι
Κοτύλαιον
ἀπὸ Κυλ.
Κωμαιεῖς
Λάκεθεν
Μινθουντόθεν
ἐγ Μυ.
ἐγ Νε.
Ξενιαδῶν
Οἰνο.
Οἰχα(λία?)
Πανα.
Πεν.
Πεο.
Περαόθεν
Πέτρη
ἐκ Πλα.
Πτέχαι
'Ραφιεῦθεν
'Ραφ.
Σπλη.
Στύρα
Τάμυναι
Τέμ(ενος?)
Τηλειδῶν
Φαλλάριοι
Φα.
Φηγοεῖς
Φη.

ἐκ Φηραι.	Χοίρεαι	ἐξ Ὠου.
Φλιεῖς	ἐκ Χυτ.	Ὠρωπός

doubtful items

Ἀχερ.	[---]ιρη	Σπη[---]
Εὐφῦηυ	Παρθένιον	ἐκ Χα.

We must now ask how the *choroi* and their constituent demes were related to the phylai. The answer depends upon the determination of the principle of organization of the phylai. Our only potential clues are provided by the one preserved proper name, Mekisstis (see above). Its probable associations, adduced by Wallace, with Makistos, a mountain of Euboia of uncertain location, and with Mekiston, a deme of Histiaia (§6), are both suggestive of a territorial disposition. At the same time, it is entirely possible that all three names descend from some common source, not itself a toponym, such as the legendary figure Mekisteus.[10] In this case, any disposition is possible. Nonetheless, we may consider the alternatives. If personal, the phylai will have cut across the territorial units, members of each phyle having affiliations with many or all *choroi* and demes. If territorial, a problem arises, for could the phylai have been so few as to contain only five *choroi*?[11] Barring the unprecedented and inherently unlikely possibility of the subdivision of the *choroi* into phylai, there is only one satisfactory solution, namely that each (territorial) phyle comprised a number of demes drawn from each of the five *choroi.* In Athenian terms, the *choroi* would have corresponded to the regional divisions, City, Coast, and Inland (1 §1.21). But this must remain purely speculative until additional evidence is forthcoming regarding the nature of the phylai.[12]

Evidence for the statewide functions of the three tiers goes no further than the record just reviewed. The phylai supply the executive committees corresponding to the Athenian *prytaneis,* but, perhaps significantly, do not figure in the cataloguing of citizen soldiers. The *choroi* are charged by the state with the provision of sacrificial victims for the Artemisia (as also for the Heraia) (*IG* XII 9, no. 189, lines 25-31). Probably all the units are meant since the central authority is both founding and directing the festival; the illusive phrase *τεῖ Μεταξὺ καὶ τεῖ Φυλακεῖ* (line 6) is less likely (with Cairns) to signify a limitation of the participants to just two *choroi* than to specify its location(s).[13] Another religious role is prescribed for (all?) the *choroi* in no. 192, if Lewis' emendation of line 10 is accepted. Whether no.

244 in fact records contributions for "religious events organized jointly by two of the 'Districts' and involving the Demes," as Cairns would have it, is questionable on more than one point.[14] The list no. 241, certainly, is of a military character. The isopolity treaty with Keos, *BCH* 78 (1954) 316-322, no. 1, calls, with regard to the induction of Keians into the Eretrian citizenbody, for the generals φυλὴν κ[αί .⁵. δό]/[ντων αὐτῶι ἐν] ὧι ἂμ μέλληι πολιτεύ[εσθαι ---] (lines 4-5). Although either δῆμον or χῶρον would fit the space, since the deme was a segment of the *choros,* only it, the deme, would automatically determine the affiliation with the unit not included in the formula.[15] Undisputed indications about the demes are confined to the duties attested for the demarchs. The single demarch (of Tamynai?) must administer an oath in accordance with a *lex sacra* (no. 90).[16] A list of victors from Amarynthos, no. 139, is headed (following citation of the state's eponymous polemarch) by the names of two demarchs; unless a collegial office is assumed, at least two demes must be involved in the organization of the festival. Joint cooperation by the demarchs (of the demes of Metaxy and Phalake?) is also indicated by the decree regarding the Artemisia; here, at the state's direction, they are to stage a competition and conduct a procession in the Agora (no. 189, lines 23-24, 34-37).

§6 *Histiaia (later Oreos)*

An isopolity treaty with Federal Keos (5 §14), dated to the mid-fourth century, *IG* XII 5, no. 594 (= *IG* XII 9, p. 169; *SIG*³ 172; Tod II 141; *Staatsverträge* II² 287), details the procedure for the enrollment of the citizens of one state in the public organization of the other. A Kean "wishing to be a citizen in Histiaia or in its *chora*" is to present himself before the generals, who are to "register the phyle and *demos* of whoever intends to be a citizen" (7-11). A century earlier, *demoi* had figured in the Athenian decree concerning the Histiaians, *IG* I³ 41 (= I² 40/41) (446/5);[1] it may be that the use of this term, if not the territorial administrative units themselves, is to be traced to Athens' intervention.[2]

No Histiaian phyle is known by name. But citizens of various status are regularly designated by nomen, patronymic, and a third name, often recognizably toponymic and presumably, therefore, the *demotikon: IG* XII 9, nos. 1186 (232-220?) (*archontes*); 1187 + XII suppl., p. 198 (= Michel 659; *SIG*² 494) (ca. 265) (*archontes*); 1188 (s. IV) (citizens); 1189 (= Michel 830) (s. II ex.) (contributors); and XII suppl., no. 686 (n.d.) (*privatus*). These documents, supplemented by literary testimony, afforded the basis for the list compiled by E. Zie-

barth, *IG* XII 9, p. 170. Six new demes were added by F. Cairns' edition of a duplicate copy of no. 1189 in *ZPE* 54 (1984) 133-144.

Ἀθῆναι (or Ἀθηναῖοι, Ἀθηνῖται)	Ἴριστος (or Εἴριστος)	Παλλήνη
Διάδες	Κεῶνδαι	Πίνον (or Πίννον)
Ἀκαΐδαι	Κλείμακαι	Ποσείδιον
Ἀμφιθόη	Κύμβρος	Πρωτεῖον
Ἄνω Λόφος	Μαίονες	Σημῶνδαι
Δῖον	ἐκ Μαλαρασίου	Σθενν(ε)ίδαι
Εἰλύμνιον	Μαυσεῖδαι	Σιδοῦς
Εἰριεῖς	ἐκ Μελαττόνων	Τιλάδαι
Ἕρμαρος	Μήκιστον	Τυδεία
Ἀφ' Ἡραίου	Νάπη	Χρεμμεῖδαι
Θύα (or Θύια)	Ὀρόβιαι	

Given the relatively small body of documents and the fact that several of the names occur only once or twice, it is obvious that the total number of demes may have been much larger.[3] But the *chora* of Histiaia was extensive; Demosthenes states (23.213: 352 B.C.) that in his day the Oreitai occupied no less than a quarter of the territory of Euboia. Perhaps the complete excavation of the site at Orei will one day help fill out what is in all likelihood a fragmentary picture.

BOIOTIA

§7 Orchomenos

For Orchomenos alone have we evidence of a public organization, and its value is to say the least problematic. Writing in the second century A.D., Pausanias, recounting the early legends of the city, mentions one Eteokles. "According to the citizens" the son of the river god Kephisos, on becoming king he "allowed the land to have the name of Andreus—the first settler of Orchomenos—but at the same time established two phylai, the one Kephisias, the other with himself as eponym" (9.34.9-10). Although the setting of the passage is (of course) the legendary past, it still might be thought that two phylai, Κηφισιάς and *Ἐτεοκλῆς, and perhaps others as well, were in existence in the traveler's day. Pausanias' source could have been, as for the lineage of Eteokles, the contemporary report of Orchomenian citizens. The two eponyms are themselves unobjectionable, in fact normal, for a reformed organization; and even if Pausanias' words be taken to indicate only two phylai—an admittedly unusually small number—there is at least the assured parallel of a similar bipartite division on Samos (5 §13).

Over against such a reconstruction must be considered the negative indications of the corpus of Boiotian inscriptions. Not a single recognizable public division of any kind is to be found in a body of 3,000 texts, viz. *IG* VII, nos. 504-3472. Many, including two from Orchomenos, nos. 3166 and 3167 (both s. III?), are honorary inscriptions preserving intact the lists of *timia* conferred upon the honorand. Elsewhere such lists commonly include clauses calling for induction into some or all of the components of the public organization. Though an argument from silence, it is one that must be accorded respect. The same does not apply, however, to the *Hellenika Oxyrhynchia,* chapter 16.2. Touching on the local governments of the cities comprising the Boiotian Confederacy, the text states that each government possessed four *boulai,* or councils, each of which served a probouleutic function for the other three. Here it cannot fairly be said that the context demands mention of phylai (as plausible as that might be in view of their frequent representation in councils elsewhere: Index II.D.4.b); and in any event what obtained for the relatively short life of the Confederacy in the fifth and early fourth centuries need have no bearing on preceding or subsequent periods.[1]

Were it not, then, for the absence of the enrollment clauses in Boiotian inscriptions, we should be prepared to accept Pausanias' text at face value. From other passages it is clear that he grasped the significance of the word φυλή as a technical term for a division of a citizenbody;[2] and this fact, in combination with his express citation of contemporary reports, suggests strongly that he is describing a system of phylai which was operational in his own day. At all events, it would be unwise to endorse Szanto's dismissal of the passage as mere mythology.[3]

THESSALY

Evidence for the public organizations of Thessalian city-states is confined to a few inscriptions, all but one dated to the third century. Phylai, but no other divisions, are recorded at Metropolis, Krannon, Atrax, Phayttos, Larissa, and Argoura. While the eponyms might in one or two cases be of early origin, nothing stands in the way of accepting Szanto's suggestion that the phylai themselves were comparatively late innovations.[1]

§8 Metropolis

Metropolis came into existence at some time before 360 with the consolidation of three insignificant towns. At a later time, a number of others were added.[1] Among the later additions was Onthyrion. The name provides the key to the understanding of an honorary decree

found in the vicinity of Krannon, C. Habicht, *Klio* 52 (1970) 139-147. Since the phyle in which the honorands chose to be enrolled is named Ὀνθυρεῖς, it is reasonable to infer, with Habicht, that the decree belongs to Metropolis and that, further, the phyle represents, on the *Landsmannschaftlich* principle of organization, the descendants of Onthyrion's population at the time of its incorporation. Presumably the other constituent cities, on Strabo's evidence numbering at least five, were similarly represented by phylai of their own. For all we are to assume that the disposition was personal. Those townsmen who actually established residence in the newly created city will presumably not have found themselves in quarters corresponding to their places of origin.

Concerning the functions of the Metropolitan phylai a hint is provided by Strabo's statement, 9.5.17 (437-438), that "one of the synoecized towns" transmitted to Metropolis the ἔθος Ὀνθούριον—identified by the author as a sacrifice to Aphrodite.[2] Since the town in question must be Onthyrion, the cult at Metropolis was assumedly maintained by the phyle Onthyreis. Habicht's further inference that the Metropolitan phylai generally were organized around individual sanctuaries is consistent with this evidence and otherwise unobjectionable, provided that such orientation not be taken to imply a territorial disposition.

§9 Krannon

Two honorary inscriptions of the third century, *IG* IX 2, nos. 458 and 459, call for the enrollment of the honorand in the phyle of his choice. In no. 458 the enrollment formula is followed by the clause "he chose to be 'A[---]λάουν" (lines 9-10). For suggested restorations of the phyle's name (here, of course, in the genitive plural), see F. Hiller von Gaertringen, *IG* loc. cit.

§10 Atrax

A citizenship decree dated ca. 230-200 first fully published by B. Helly, *ZPE* 51 (1983) 157-161, includes a clause enrolling the honorand in the phyle of his choice. The name of the phyle so chosen reads (in the genitive): Ἀ̣ὐρογιώνδων (lines 7-9). In the text of a second decree, presumably of the same date, op. cit., 161-162, Helly has restored an identical clause enjoining enrollment in a phyle (lines 3-4). By coincidence, the name of the phyle is, again, Αὐρογιώνδων.

§11 Phyattos

An honorary decree of the third century, *IG* IX 2, no. 489, calls for the honorand to be enrolled in the phyle of his choice (line a 18).

§12 Larissa

Clauses granting to individuals membership in the phyle of their choice occur in two honorary decrees, *IG* IX 2, no. 513 (s. III) and K. I. Gallis, *Ancient Macedonia* II (Thessaloniki 1977) 33-43 (ca. 218/7 aut p.p.). In the former text, the phyle chosen is given as Βοᾶτες, a name evidently built upon the word for "cattle." Busolt accordingly suggested an early origin.[1] But, quite apart from the possibility of an archaization, the supposed earliness of the name tells us nothing about the time at which it became attached to the public unit.

Mass enrollment of new citizens in the Larissan phylai is attested by a third document, an exchange of letters between the city and Philip V dealing with the Larissans' request of Makedon for more settlers to help make up for losses in recent wars, *IG* IX 2, no. 517.[2] Philip responds by ruling that, rather than introduce new citizens from abroad, citizenship should be granted to non-Larissan Thessalians and other Greeks already resident in the city (lines 3-9). The Larissans comply by decreeing "that *politeia* be granted to all Thessalian and Greek residents, to them and their descendants; and that they have all the other *timia* belonging to Larissans, each choosing a phyle, whichever he wants" (lines 17-20).[3]

§13 Argoura

A fragment of a citizenship decree of the early second century assigned to Argoura by B. Helly, *ZPE* 35 (1979) 241-253, calls for the honorand, in heavily restored text, to be enrolled in the phyle of his choice. The phyle so chosen is Σ[----] (line 2).

OZOLIAN LOKRIS

Evidence for the Dorian phyle Dymanes might be adduced from three sources. An inscription from Physkos of the third century, *IG* IX 1², no. 666, is inscribed over an earlier text: one can still read the letters ΔΥΜΑ. Two *manumissiones* from Delphi from the period 170-157/6, *SGDI* 1842 and 1851, cite one Philonikos Δυμᾶν as *agonothetes* and "guarantor according to the law," respectively. Regarding both latter examples, it was noted by the editor, however, that Δυμᾶν should not denote a phyle because such an addition would be "quite against the rule"—presumably that obtaining in the manumission decrees. Rather, he suggests, it is an *ethnikon.* Similarly, Lerat has characterized the Lokrian "Dymanes" as an as yet unlocated "ethnic name."[1]

§14 Delphi

The public organization of the *polis* of Delphi is documented by a series of regulations for the festival Eumeneia, *Fouilles de Delphes* III 3, no. 238 (= *SIG*[3] 671 A; Pouilloux, *Choix* 11; Sokolowski, *LSCG* Suppl. 44) (160/59). The text records instructions for the staging of a *lampadedromia,* or torch-race, among teams of ten runners drawn from the phylai. Primary responsibility for the fielding of each team of *lampadistai* falls upon the ἀγεμών of the phyle. He is to register the runners and is subject to a fine, payable to the state, in the event of his failure to present a team (lines 8-13). Further penalties may be incurred by registered *lampadistai* unwilling to participate; here, too, a fine is indicated, payable, however, not to the state, but "privately" (ἰδίαι) to the ἀγεμών and the other *lampadistai* (16-18). Following the race, the victorious phyle is to take (from the funds allocated for the festival, lines 1-2?) ten staters "for the *thysia*" (21-21), presumably a sacrifice connected with the statewide celebration of the Eumeneia.

NOTES

§1 Athens

§1.1 The Pre-Kleisthenic Organization

1. For a recent discussion, annotated with bibliographic references, see P. J. Rhodes, *A Commentary on the Aristotelian Athenaion Politeia* (Oxford 1981) 66-73. Hereafter, this work will be cited as "Rhodes, *AP* comm."

2. At 21.3, Aristotle comments that Kleisthenes did not create twelve, instead of ten, phylai, "in order that he not end up making a division according to the twelve previously-existing *trittyes*; for there were twelve *trittyes* comprised by four phylai, so that the mixture of the population would not have resulted." It might be inferred that the old *trittyes* did not each draw upon city, coast, and inland (see 21.4, and below, §1.21), but even this information would not allow us to define their disposition more exactly.

3. Cf. Herodotos, 5.66.2; Euripides, *Ion,* 1575-1581; Pollux, 8.109.

4. *Lex. Seg.* 275. 20; Photios, s.v.

5. For the phylai as occupational, see Plutarch, *Solon* 23.4; Strabo, 8.7.1 (383). The name Leukotainioi is most closely paralleled at Corinth (2 §2) by the phyle Kynophaloi ("Wearers of Dogskin Caps"), which, unexpectedly, appears to be territorial. But the name is preserved only in a lexicographer, and the disposition depends upon inference and combination.

6. Public functions for the phratry and *genos* at any date are narrowly circumscribed or non-existent. For the inclusion of the phratry in the clause enrolling new citizens in "phyle, phratry, and deme," see below §1.21. For an attempt, in my opinion unsuccessful, to demonstrate an early military function for the *gene,* see J. H. Oliver, *Hesperia* 49 (1980) 30-56.

7. For the text, see J. H. Oliver, *Hesperia* 4 (1935) 5-32, nos. 1 and 2 (= Sokolowski, *LSCG* 10) (shortly after 403/2). For the phrase, see p. 21, lines 33-34, 45-46; p. 23 (= *IG* II[2] 1357 a), lines 6-7; and, for Dow's interpretation, "The Law Code of Athens," *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* 71 (1953-1957) 3-36: 15-21.

8. Plutarch, *Solon* 19.3.

9. For the most detailed study of the old *trittyes,* see W. S. Ferguson, "The Athenian Law Code and the Old Attic Trittyes," *Studies . . . E. Capps* (Princeton 1936) 144-158.

10. Pollux, 8.108; *Lex. Seg.* 283.20-21.

11. B. Jordan, "Herodotos 5.71.2 and the Naukraroi of Athens," *CSCA* 3 (1970) 153-175.

§1.2 The Kleisthenic Organization

§1.21 General

1. W. E. Thompson, Τριττὺς τῶν πρυτάνεων, *Historia* 15 (1966) 1-10. See also, more recently, P. J. Rhodes, Τριττὺς τῶν πρυτάνεων, *Historia* 20 (1971) 385-404; and *The Athenian Boule* (Oxford 1972) 23-25.

2. *Hesperia* 47 (1978) 109.

3. P. Siewert, *Die Trittyen Attikas und die Heeresreform des Kleisthenes, Vestigia* 33 (Munich 1982).

4. Traill, *Political Organization,* 25-34. For an alphabetical list of the demes, see Appendix B, pp. 109-112. The list is incorporated in the Appendix to the present section (§1.4).

5. Cf. *IG* I^3 138 (= I^2 79; ante 434), lines 5-6; Isaios, 7.27; Dem., 39.4-5; [Dem.], 44.35.

6. The citizenship decrees have been collected, edited, and annotated by M. J. Osborne, *Naturalization in Athens* I-IV (Brussels 1981-1985).

7. The only earlier full account is that of Busolt, *Staatskunde* 971-974.

8. G. Lalonde, the editor of the forthcoming *Agora* volume on the *horoi,* categorizes the markers as "simple" (i.e. name of *trittys* only) and "complex" (i.e. indicating a dividing point between *trittyes*) types. To the "simple" class belong *IG* I^2 883 and 884; and *Hesperia* 30 (1961) 265, no. 82 (ca. 450) and 9 (1940) 53-54, no. 1 (fin. s. V), the latter two known to have been discovered in the Agora. To the "complex" class belong, from the Agora, *Hesperia* 8 (1939) 50-51, no. 16; 9 (1940) 54, no. 2 (= 47 [1978] 94-95); 55, no. 3; 55-56, no. 4 (all med. s. V); and 30 (1961) 264, no. 81 (ca. 450); from the Akropolis, *IG* I^2 885; and, from Peiraieus, *IG* I^2 897-901.

9. For an account of the Athenian, and other Greek, official orders of precedence, see my "The Order of the Dorian Phylai," *CP* 75 (1980) 197-215. For a listing of the states in question, see Index II.C.

10. Too numerous to be cited, the principal publications concerning the cycles are compiled and discussed by W. B. Dinsmoor, *The Athenian Archon List in the Light of Recent Discoveries* (New York 1939) 3-14, and by S. Follet, *Athènes au IIe et au IIIe siècle* (Paris 1976) 1-4.

§1.22 Deliberative and Legislative Bodies

1. Geagan, *Athenian Constitution,* Appendix III (pp. 163-186). The fragments include *IG* II^2 1999, 2003, and 2339 A.

2. For fuller discussion of the passage, see J. H. Oliver, "Civic Status in Roman Athens: Cicero, *Pro Balbo* 12.30," *GRBS* 22 (1981) 83-88 (= *Civic Tradition and Roman Athens,* 56-61).

3. Traill's study follows the quotas through their demise under the early Empire. For detailed examination of various aspects of the Boule after Sulla, see Geagan, *Athenian Constitution,* 74; 75 with note 57; 92-103.

4. For more recent discoveries, see J. S. Traill, *Hesperia* 47 (1978) 269-331, nos. 1-40; 51 (1982) 197-235, nos. 1-35 passim; 52 (1983) 303-304.

5. Aischines, 1.33-34, cites a law ordering one phyle to *προεδρεύειν* over the Assembly; at 3.4, he alludes to "*ἡ προεδρεύουσα φυλή*, the tenth part of the *polis.*" For the interpretation of these passages with reference to a division of the auditorium of the Pnyx, period III, see M. H. Hansen, *GRBS* 23 (1982) 244-248. On the preambles of decrees containing lists of *symproedroi,* see S. Dow, *Hesperia* 32 (1963) 335-365. For the *proedroi* after Sulla, see Geagan, *Athenian Constitution,* 113.

6. W. S. Ferguson, *The Athenian Secretaries* (Ithaca 1898) 14-27, 32-38. For detailed discussion, see further P. J. Rhodes, *The Athenian Boule* (Oxford 1972) 134-141; *AP* 54.3-5, comm. (pp. 599-605).

7. Evidence for arrangements on the Pnyx has been assembled and persuasively analyzed by M. H. Hansen, "How Did the Athenian Ecclesia Vote?," *GRBS* 18 (1977) 123-137; and "The Athenian *Ecclesia* and the Assembly-Place on the Pnyx," *GRBS* 23 (1982) 241-249. In part III of the latter article, Hansen questions the traditional view that the auditorium of the Pnyx in its third period was divided into ten sections, one for each of the phylai. Beddings, designed to hold markers, are instead explained as intended to delimit an area on both sides of the *bema,* to be occupied by "the presiding phyle" (see above, note 5).

8. A. E. Raubitschek, "The Gates in the Agora," *AJA* 60 (1956) 279-282.

§1.23 Executive Officers

1. *AP* 55.1, comm. (pp. 613-614), where examples and the literature are cited.

2. D. Whitehead, "The Tribes of the Thirty Tyrants," *JHS* 100 (1980) 208-212. For an example of the listing of the tyrants in the official order according to phylai, see M. B. Walbank, "The Confiscation and Sale by the *poletai* in 402-401 B.C. of the Property of the Thirty Tyrants," *Hesperia* 51 (1982) 74-98.

3. See, for example, *AP* 29-40 passim.

§1.24 Administration of Justice

1. For discussion of these views, with references to the appropriate earlier literature, see G. Gilbert, *The Constitutional Antiquities of Sparta and Athens* (English trans.: London 1895) 394.

2. Rhodes, *AP* 66.2, comm. (p. 716).
3. S. Young, "An Athenian Clepsydra," *Hesperia* 8 (1939) 274-284.
4. The water-clock is associated with the Aristotelian passage by H. A. Thompson and R. E. Wycherley, *The Athenian Agora* XIV: *The Agora of Athens* (Princeton 1972) 55; but no attempt is made to explain the presence of the name of the phyle.
5. See reference above, note 3. Certain of the other judicial boards might also be considered as possibilities.

§1.25 Accounting and Financial Administration
1. See W. K. Pritchett, *The Choiseul Marble* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1970) 108-116.
2. See above, §1.21, note 10.

§1.26 Administration of the City
1. A. E. Raubitschek, "The Gates in the Agora," *AJA* 60 (1956) 279-282.

§1.27 Liturgies
1. For detailed discussion of the "cyclic" liturgies, with particular attention to the role of the public units, see J. K. Davies, "Demosthenes on Liturgies: a Note," *JHS* 87 (1967) 33-40.
2. For the gymnasiarchy as liturgy, see Andokides, 1.132; Isokrates, 16.35; Isaios, 6.60; Demosthenes, 20.21, 39.7. For the single gymnasiarch from each phyle, see especially Demosthenes, 4.36 and the hypothesis to Demosthenes, 21 (p. 510). The assignment of gymnasiarchs to single festivals is seen in *IG* I³ 82 (= I² 84) (421/0), line 35; cf. *IG* II² 3024 (post med. s. IV).
3. Hephaistia: Andokides, 1.132; *IG* II² 3201 (346/5). Panathenaia: *IG* II² 3023 (338/7). Promethia: *IG* I² 82 (= I² 84) (421/0), line 37; Lysias, 21.3; Isaios, 7.36.
4. All three festivals: Polemon, ap. Harpokration, s.v. λαμπάς; schol. on Aristophanes, *Frogs* 131. Panathenaia only: Herodotos, 6.105.3; Patmos scholiast on Demosthenes, 57.43; *Lex. Seg.* 228.7.
5. For the association of the torch race with the gymnasiarchy, see Isaios, 6.60; *IG* II² 1250 (post med. s. IV). For its association with liturgies, see Aristotle, *Politics* 5.7.11 (1309 A); Ps.-Andokides, 4.42.
6. Epigraphic dedications by gymnasiarchs include *IG* II² 3017-3024 (all s. IV) and *Hesperia* 26 (1957) 217, no. 70 (med. s. IV).
7. B. Jordan, *The Athenian Navy in the Classical Period* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1975) 63-65. A. W. Gomme et al., *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides* 4 (Oxford 1970) 446 (on 7.69.2).
8. Fuller accounts of the subject may be found in A. Pickard-Cambridge, *Dithyramb, Tragedy and Comedy* 2nd. ed. revised by T. B. L. Webster (Oxford 1962); and *idem, The Dramatic Festivals of Athens,* 2nd. ed. revised by J. Gould and D. M. Lewis (Oxford 1968). Many of the relevant documents may be found in A. Wilhelm, *Urkunden dramatischer Aufführungen in Athen,* Vienna 1906, and in H. J. Mette, *Urkunden dramatischer Aufführungen in Griechenland* (Berlin and New York 1977). For the post-Sullan period, see Geagan, *Athenian Constitution,* 136-138.
9. During the Peloponnesian War, three comedies were produced each year at the Great Dionysia; before and after the War, five: Pickard-Cambridge 1968 (above, note 8) 83.
10. For the increase to six, see Pickard-Cambridge 1968 (above, note 8) 83 with note 5, citing *IG* II² 2323 (s. II).
11. For more recent texts, see Pickard-Cambridge 1968 (above, note 8) 101-107, and Mette (above, note 8) 1-42.
12. For the details, see Pickard-Cambridge 1968 (above, note 8) 74 (later arrangements) and 103-104 (terminal dates of the Fasti).
13. *AP* 56.3; schol. on Aischines, 1.10. The assumption of the provision of both a boys' and a men's chorus by *each* phyle—which cannot be shown on the basis of either of the literary sources just cited—is prompted by epigraphic evidence, viz. *IG* II² 2318 (under the year 333/2) and 3061 (s. IV), showing the same phyle winning both events in the same year: Pickard-Cambridge 1968 (above, note 8) 75, note 1.
14. 21.13. That the reference is not to the *epimeletai* chosen by lot from all the phylai (*AP* 56.4; below, §1.28) is shown by the use of the singular in Demosthenes' phrase τῶν ἐπιμελητῶν τῆς φυλῆς.
15. Pickard-Cambridge 1968 (above, note 8) 75-77.
16. Pickard-Cambridge 1962 (above, note 8) 36; 1968 (above, note 8) 77-78.
17. Pickard-Cambridge 1968 (above, note 8) 95-98.
18. Lysias, 4.3 (phyle as victor); Plutarch, *Lives of Ten Orators* 835 b (Andokides the *choregos*). Documentary sources include *IG* I² 673, 768-772 (all pre 403/2); II² 3027-3062 (all s. IV); 3073-

3089 (dedications of *agonothetai*); 3110-3121 (*incerta*); 3157 (s. I p.; festival?). More recently published examples include: *Hesperia* 8 (1939) 48-50, no. 15 (ca. 440); 23 (1954) 249-250, no. 28 (fin. s. V); 36 (1967) 93-94, no. 21 (ca. 375); 12 (1943) 52-55, no. 12 (337/6); 29 (1960) 39-40, no. 49 (334/3); 57, no. 83 (s. IV). For detailed discussion of the monuments, see P. Amandry, *BCH* 100 (1976) 15-93.

19. Thus, for example, *IG* I² 770 (date?); II² 3063-3072 (all s. IV); *Hesperia* 29 (1960) 85-86, no. 165 (= *IG* II² 3064: 384/3). For collections of texts, with valuable discussion, see in addition S. N. Koumanoudes, *AD* 25.1 (1970) 143-149; and P. Amandry, *BCH* 101 (1977) 165-202.

20. Davies (above, note 1) 35-36.

§1.28 Administration of Religion

1. See above, §1.21, note 10.

2. The old view that the πυρριχισταί ("Pyrrhic Choruses") were conducted *kata phylas* rests upon a misconstrual of Isaios, 5.36. See W. Wyse, *The Speeches of Isaeus* (Cambridge 1904), ad loc., for the details.

§1.29 The Military Organization

1. For the *gene* as early military units, see J. H. Oliver, "From *Gennetai* to *Curiales*," *Hesperia* 49 (1980) 30-56 (= *Civic Tradition and Roman Athens*, 1-33); for the phratry in a similar capacity, see F. J. Frost, "The Athenian Military before Cleisthenes," *Historia* 33 (1984) 283-294.

2. P. J. Bicknell, *Studies in Athenian Politics and Genealogy, Historia Einzelschrift* 19 (Wiesbaden 1972) 21 with note 67, proposed that each Kleisthenic *trittys* fielded a λόχος of 300 men; and that the commanders of the *trittys*, the *trittyarchos* and λοχαγός, corresponded in function to the commanders of the phyle, the general and taxiarch, respectively. But the reconstruction is not necessitated by the passages adduced in its support: Herodotos, 9.21.3; Thucydides, 6.100.1 (see Syracuse, 4 §20); and Plato, *Republic* 5.19 (475 A).

3. Lysias, 16.14, 31.15; Isaios, 2.42; cf. Ps.-Lysias, 20.23.

4. Rhodes, *AP* 42.3 comm., collects epigraphic passages linking *didaskaloi* with particular phylai. But, since their numbers vary and, in one instance, *Hesperia* 9 (1940) 59-66, no. 8 (333/2), one of two *didaskaloi* of Leontis is a non-Athenian, the other not a member of the phyle, it is better not to regard them as officers of the association *per se*.

5. For the taxiarchs, see F. Mitchell, *TAPA* 92 (1961) 347-357; for the *lochagoi*, B. Leonardos, *AE* 1918, pp. 73-100.

6. E.g. *IG* II² 1006, 1008, 1009, 1011, 1027-1032, 1039-1043 (all between 122/1 and 38/7); 1960-2291 passim (all catalogues; 128/7 to s. III p.).

7. For the evidence supporting this summary, with references to the literature, see Rhodes, *AP* 61.1 comm. (pp. 677-678). For an up-to-date list of generals down to ca. 300, see J. K. Davies, *Wealth and Power of Wealth* (New York 1981) 156-166.

8. For phylai as regiments, see Thucydides, 8.92.4; Lysias, 13.79; Isaios, 2.42; Demosthenes, 39.17. Detachments deployed *kata phylas* are attested epigraphically at *IG* I² 1085 (446/5); 97 (416); II² 1155 (339/8); and *Hesperia* 23 (1954) 287-296, no. 182 (271/0), line 13.

9. Two taxiarchs belonging to a single phyle, Leontis, occur in the list of fallen *Agora* XVII, no. 23 (409), lines 111-114. Eventually, as with the generals, the officers ceased to be correlated with the regiments; a document of the year 271/0, *Hesperia* 23 (1954) 287-296, no. 182, sets the number of taxiarchs at ten, although the phylai had numbered twelve since 307/6. For a list of taxiarchs down to 300, see Davies (above, note 7) 151-152.

10. Pollux, 8.115. For additional details, and discussion, see B. Jordan, *The Athenian Navy in the Classical Period* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1975) 131-132.

11. See above, note 3.

12. For Athenian examples, see, e.g., *IG* I² 927-968 passim (all before 403/2); *Hesperia* 14 (1945) 93-94, no. 7 (431-423); 12 (1943) 37-48, no. 8 (ca. 413?); 10 (1941) 284-295, no. 78 (403/2); *IG* II² 5221 (394/3); *Hesperia* 2 (1933) 151-155, no. 3 (ca. 375-350).

13. For a list of hipparchs down to ca. 300, see Davies (above, note 7) 154-155. Regular representation of the phylai by the phylarchs is illustrated by the following whole or fragmentary catalogues: *Hesperia* 8 (1939) 3-5, no. 2 (373/2): eight names under phyle rubrics; 9 (1940) 57-58, no. 6 (s. IV): three in official order; *AD* 18 (1963) 109-111, no. 2 (286-261): twelve in official order. For a list of phylarchs down to ca. 300, see Davies (above, note 7) 152-154.

14. For another cavalry official possibly selected *kata phylas*, see *Hesperia* 6 (1937) 460-461, no. 8 (= 3 [1934] 42-43, no. 31) (med. s. II), lines 14-15: [γραμμ]ατευς ἱππάρχοις φυ[λετῶν]/[εἰ]ληχώς.

15. Lysias, 15.5; 16.15; *IG* II² 2965 (ca. 400-350).

16. The *epilektoi* of Kekropis: *Hesperia* 4 (1935) 35-39, no. 5 (318/7); a decree of the elder *epilektoi* of Antiochis: *AD* 8 (1923) 89-96 no. 2 (s. IV?). Cf. *IG* II² 1209 (post 319), decree of an unknown deme praising its *epilektoi.*

17. For a recent discussion of the *anthipassia,* with references to ancient sources and the secondary literature, see E. Vanderpool, *Hesperia* 43 (1974) 311-313, where two new texts, both of the late fourth or early third century, are published. One, 312-313, no. 1, records honors conferred by the Boule and Demos upon a man from Lamptrai for his victory in the Olympieia with the cavalry of Erechtheis; the second, 313, no. 2, concerns a victory at the Great Panathenaia. Both texts refer only to hipparchs, not phylarchs. But see *IG* II² 3130 (med. s. IV) and 3079 (282/1), where the victor is a phylarch.

18. Kerameikos: K. Braun, *MDAI(A)* 85 (1970) 198-269. Agora: J. H. Kroll, *Hesperia* 46 (1977) 83-140. For the so-called "tribal series," see Kroll, 92-95.

19. Jordan (above, note 10) 53.

20. Jordan (above, note 10) 47.

21. Jordan (above, note 10) 101-102, 228-229.

22. Jordan (above, note 10) 196.

23. Jordan (above, note 10) 164-166.

§1.3 The Kleisthenic Organization: Internal Organization of the Units

§1.32 Phylai

1. Three, one from each *trittys: IG* II² 2818 (357/6: Leontis); *Hesperia* 32 (1963) 41, no. 42 (ante med. s. IV: Pandionis); *IG* II² 1151 (med. s. IV: Aiantis); *Hesperia* 5 (1936) 393-413, no. 10, lines 167-170 (346/5); 1152 (fin. s. IV: Pandionis). *IG* II² 2812 (init. s. IV) is probably, as Kirchner suggested, a dedication by the three officers of Pandionis. If, however, the three persons named at the close of the dedication no. 2824 (340/39?) are indeed *epimeletai* (not a necessary restoration), they will not have represented their phyle, Aigeis, by *trittyes.* Annual terms are indicated at *IG* II² 1157 (326/5: Pandionis); 1164? (init. s. III: unknown phyle); 1165 (ca. 300-250: Erechtheis). Cf. no. 2842 (321/0 or 318/7: unknown phyle).

2. *Tamias: IG* II² 2824 (340/39; Aigeis; annual); *Hesperia* 17 (1948) 114-136, no. 68 (303/2: Akamantis); *IG* II² 1158 (post med. s. IV: Kekropis?); 1168 (s. III?: unknown phyle). *Grammateus: Hesperia* 9 (1940) 59-66, no. 8 (333/2: Leontis), line II.4; 17 (1948) 114-136, no. 68 (303/2: Akamantis); *IG* II² 1158? (post med. s. IV: Kekropis?); *SEG* 2.8 (s. IV: Kekropis). *Syndikos: AD* 8 (1923) 98-100, no. 4 (ca. 350-330: Antiochis); cf. Demosthenes, 23.206 (no particular phyle; plural).

3. *AD* 8 (1923) 98-100, no. 4 (ca. 350-330: Antiochis); *Hesperia* 32 (1963) 14-15, no. 13 (init. s. II: Ptolemais).

4. Meeting on fixed day: *IG* II² 1140 (386/5: Pandionis). A decree of 337 called for meetings of the phylai to be held on the second and third days of Skirophorion (Aischines, 3.27). Meeting on Akropolis with secret vote: *IG* II² 1141 (376/5: Kekropis). Meetings: *AD* 8 (1923) 98-100, no. 4 (ca. 350-330: Antiochis); *IG* II² 1165 (ca. 300-250: Erechtheis). The term *agora* is absent in II² 1149 (ante med. s. IV: Hippothontis) and at [Dem.], 58.17-18. Cf. ταῖς ἀ[γορ]αῖς at *AP* 48.4, with Rhodes' commentary. For the choosing of the *teichopoioi* and treasurers in the *agora,* see Aischines, 3.27; that the selection of the other officers was so conducted is a natural inference.

5. Many examples. Announcements are specified at *IG* II² 1149 (ante med. s. IV: Hippothontis) and 1161 (fin. s. IV: unknown phyle).

6. Statue: *SEG* 2.8 (s. IV: Kekropis); *Hesperia* 32 (1963) 14-15, no. 13 (init. s. II: Ptolemais; restored). Ἀνάθεμα in name of benefactor: *Hesperia* 9 (1940) 59-66, no. 8 (333/2: Leontis). Sacrifice: *Hesperia* 32 (1963) 41, no. 42 (ante med. s. IV: Pandionis). *Ateleia: IG* II² 1140 (386/5: Pandionis; "from all liturgies"); *AE* 1965, pp. 131-136 (i) (361/0: Akamantis; "from encyclic liturgies for three years"); *IG* II² 1147 (ante med. s. IV: Erechtheis; "from encyclic liturgies for two years").

7. [Dem.], 58.15; *AE* 1965, pp. 131-136 (i).

8. [Dem.], 58.15.

9. *IG* II² 1163 (284/3).

10. For the interpretation, see M. I. Finley, *Studies in Land and Credit in Ancient Athens 500-200 B.C.* (New Brunswick 1952) 93-94.

11. *AD* 8 (1923) 86-89, no. 1 (303/2).

12. *IG* II² 1168 (s. III?); 1164 (init. s. III). The former document employs the technical terms συγγραφαί (line 11) and συνθῆκαι (25, restored). The latter term is clear at *IG* II² 1165 (ca. 300-250: Erechtheis), line 21.

13. *IG* II² 1165 (ca. 300-250: Erechtheis); 1158 (post med. s. IV: Kekropis?; restored); *AD* 8 (1923) 86-89, no. 1 (303/2: Antiochis).

14. Expenditure on sacrifices: *IG* II² 1146 (ante med. s. IV: Erechtheis; see comm. on line 9); 1152 (fin. s. IV: Pandionis). On inscriptions: 1148 (ante med. s. IV: Pandionis); *Hesperia* 9 (1940) 59-66, no. 8 (333/2: Leontis), lines II.5-7; *IG* II² 1163 (284/3: Hippothontis).

15. The cults have been studied by U. Kron, *Die zehn attischen Phylenheroen* (Berlin 1976). A more recent addition to the record is the "ten inscribed *kylikes* of the *eponymoi*" cited by a catalogue of the contents of the shrine of an anonymous hero, S. I. Rotroff, *Hesperia* 47 (1978) 196-209 (post 328/7); the editor argues that in the fourth century there existed "a common cult of the ten Eponymoi . . ." (p. 208). Evidence for the locations of the shrines is also assembled by Rotroff at p. 205, note 46. Another addition is E. B. Harrison, "The Iconography of the Eponymous Heroes on the Parthenon and in the Agora," *Essays . . . Margaret Thompson* (Wetteren 1975) 71-85.

16. See W. K. Pritchett, *Hesperia* 11 (1942) 240-241, no. 45 (s. IV). At p. 241, note 40, Pritchett cites literature concerned with the graves of Kekrops and Erechtheus.

17. See T. L. Shear, Jr., *Hesperia* 39 (1970) 145-222; Rhodes, *AP* 21.6, comm. (p. 259).

18. On the priesthood, see the work of Kron (above, note 15). For a listing of the priests attested by prytany inscriptions between ca. 260 B.C. and A.D. 194/5 (?), see B. D. Meritt and J. S. Traill, *Agora* XV: *The Athenian Councillors* (Princeton 1974) 12-14, where peculiarities of representation are cited and discussed.

19. Of Erechtheis: *IG* II² 1146 (ante med. s. IV; restored); 1150 (ante med. s. IV); 1165 (ca. 300-250). Of Pandionis: *Hesperia* 32 (1963) 41, no. 42 (ante med. s. IV); *IG* II² 1152 (fin. s. IV). Of Akamantis: *Hesperia* 17 (1948) 114-136, no. 68 (303/2); *IG* II² 1166 (ca. 300-250).

20. Not to be associated with the cult of the eponym is the board of ten *hieropoioi* who "celebrated the mysteries at Eleusis," according to a prytany document of Aigeis, *IG* II² 1749 (341/0), lines 80-84. Much later, ἱερομνημόνες is restored as the rubric of a catalogue of names of Hippothontis, *Hesperia* 11 (1942) 75-78, no. 39 (med. s. II p.).

§1.33 *Trittyes*

1. For the trittyarchs, see *IG* II² 641 (299/8), 643 (299/8), 646 (295/4), 722 (init. s. III); *Hesperia* 11 (1942) 278-280, no. 53 (301/0); 9 (1940) 80-83, no. 13 (298/7); 29 (1960) 7-8, no. 9 (init. s. III). Literary attestations include Aischines, 3.30 and (of doubtful value) Plato, *Republic* 5.19 (475 A).

§1.34 Demes

1. For detailed discussion, see Rhodes, *AP* 42.1-2 comm. (pp. 493-505).

2. *Euthynos* alone: *REG* 91 (1978) 289-306 (ii) (332/1: Eleusis); I³ 244 B (ca. 460: Skambonidai); II² 1216 a (s. III: unknown deme). *Euthynos* and *logistes: IG* II² 1183 (post 340: Myrrhinous). *Euthynos* and *paredroi:* 1174 (367/6: Halai Aixonides); *SEG* 26.136 (ca. 400-350: Thorikos). *Epitimetai: IG* II² 1176 (ca. 360: Peiraieus).

3. *Grammateus: IG* II² 1206 (fin. s. IV: Acharnai); *AE* 1938, pp. 23-25 (fin. s. V: Halai Aixonides). *Antigrapheus: IG* II² 1182 (med. s. IV: Myrrhinous). *Epimeletai: Hellenika* 3 (1930) 153-162 (236/5: Rhamnous).

4. *Syndikoi* of Aixone: *IG* II² 1196 (ca. 335-330), 1197 (ca. 330). *Kategoroi:* 1205 (fin. s. IV: Epikephisia); cf. Aischines, 1.114; *AP* 42.1. *Nomophylakes: IG* II² 1311 (fin. s. III: Rhamnous). *Horistai:* 1177 (med. s. IV: Peiraieus). *Synegoros/oi: REG* 91 (1978) 289-306 (ii) (332/1: Eleusis); *IG* II² 1183 (post 340: Myrrhinous).

5. Examples from the following demes have been noted: Acharnai, Aixone, Cholargos, Eleusis, Halai Aixonides, Myrrhinous, Rhamnous, Sounion, and Teithras.

6. *Dokimasia:* Demosthenes, 57.25, 46, (Halimous). Oath: *IG* II² 1183 (post 340: Myrrhinous); I³ 244 (= I² 188) (ca. 460: Skambonidai). *Euthynai:* II² 1199 (ca. 325/4: Aixone); 1174 (367/6: Halai Aixonides); I³ 243 (ca. 480-450: Melite; restored in 130-131); II² 1183 (post 340: Myrrhinous); *SEG* 26.136 (ca. 400-350: Thorikos).

7. *Agorai: IG* II² 1202 (313/2: Aixone); *REG* 91 (1978) 289-306 (ii) (332/1: Eleusis); *IG* II² 2493 (ca. 339/8: Hermos); I³ 250 (ca. 450-430: Upper Paiania). Demosthenes records assemblies of Halimous (57, passim) and of Otryne (44.36). For the *agora* as public square, see below, with note 14.

8. Election of officers (ἀρχαιρεσίαι): Isaios, 7.28.

Oaths: of officers: see above, note 6; others: *IG* II² 1196 (ca. 335-330: Aixone); I³ 254 (ca. 440-415?: Ikarion); *SEG* 26.136 (ca. 400-350: Thorikos); Isaios, 7.28 (deme?); Demosthenes, 57.9, 26, 61 (Halimous); Aischines, 1.78 (deme?); *AP* 42.1.

Arbitration: *IG* II² 1196 (ca. 335-330: Aixone). Trials: 1196 (ca. 335-330: Aixone); 1205 (fin. s. IV: Epikephesia); 1177 (med. s. IV: Peiraieus). Fines: *REG* 91 (1978) 289-306 (ii) (332/1); *Hesperia* 8 (1939) 177-180 (ca. 300); *IG* II² 2500 (fin. s. IV) (all Eleusis); I³ 254 (ca. 440-415?: Ikarion); II² 1183 (post 340: Myrrhinous); I³ 250 (ca. 450-430: Upper Paiania); II² 1177 (med. s. IV), 2498 (321/0) (both Peiraieus); *Hesperia* 31 (1962) 54-56, no. 138 (ca. 350-300); *IG* II²

2497 (post med. s. IV) (both Prasiai); I^3 245 (ca. 470-460: Sypalettos). Appeal: *IG* II^2 1183 (post 340: Myrrhinous).

9. Review of membership roles: Demosthenes, 57 passim (Halimous), Isaios, 12 passim (Erchia), etc.

10. For the state law regarding the award and announcement of crowns, including those awarded by phylai and demes, see Aischines, 3.41, 44, 45.

11. *Doreai: IG* II^2 1197 (ca. 330: Aixone); 1191 (321/0); *Hesperia* 8 (1939) 177-180 (ca. 300) (both Eleusis). *Ateleia: IG* II^2 1185-1188 (med. s. IV: Eleusis); 1204 (fin. s. IV: Coastal Lamptrai); cf. I^3 258 (= II^2 1172) (ca. 420: Plotheia). Exemption from *enktetikon:* II^2 1214 (ca. 300-250: Peiraieus).

12. *Proedria: IG* II^2 1197 (ca. 330: Aixone); 1176 (ca. 360), 1185-1187, 1189, 1192-1193 (med. s. IV-fin. s. IV), 1214 (ca. 300-250); *Hesperia* 8 (1939) 177-180 (ca. 300) (all Peiraieus); *AE* 1925-1926, pp. 168-177 (med. s. IV), *AE* 1932 *Chron.*, pp. 30-32 (ca. med. s. IV ante 325) (both Halai Araphenides); *IG* II^2 1182 (med. s. IV: Myrrhinous); *SEG* 22.120 (ca. med. s. III: Rhamnous); *IG* II^2 1210 (restored: fin. s. IV; unknown deme).

13. Statue: *Hesperia* 11 (1942) 265-274, no. 51 (init. s. II: Melite); *BCH* 93 (1969) 56-71 (fin. s. IV: Sphettos). *Anathema: IG* II^2 1208 (post med. s. IV: unknown deme).

14. *IG* II^2 1214 (ca. 300-250). Other grants of sacrificial portions: 1198 (326/5: Aixone); 1186 (med. s. IV), 1187 (med. s. IV) (both Eleusis); *AE* 1925-1926, pp. 168-177 (med. s. IV); *AE* 1932 *Chron.*, pp. 30-32 (ca. med. s. IV ante 325) (both Halai Araphenides); *IG* II^2 1204 (fin. s. IV: Coastal Lamptrai).

15. *Agora: IG* II^2 1188, line 33 (restored; med. s. IV); 2500, lines 2 (restored), 5 (fin. s. IV) (both Eleusis); *BCH* 87 (1963) 603-634, E 50-51 (375-350: Erchia); *IG* II^2 1174 (367/6: Halai Aixonides); 1358 (ca. 400-350: Marathon); 1176 (ca. 360: Peiraieus); I^3 244 A, lines 9, 20-21, C 9-10 (ca. 460: Skambonidai); II^2 1180 (med. s. IV: Sounion). For the meetings, see above, note 7, where the example from Eleusis is instructive in that the *demotai* are said to "ἀγοράζειν in the Theseion."

16. *Dikasteria: IG* II^2 1196 (ca. 335-330: Aixone); 1205 (fin. s. IV: Epikephisia); 1177 (med. s. IV: Peiraieus).

Gymnasium: IG II^2 1299, line 54? (post 236/5: Eleusis). *Palaistra: AD* 24 (1969) 6-7, line 5 (restored; date?: Kephisia).

Theater: *IG* II^2 1206, lines 6-7 (restored; fin. s. IV: Acharnai); 1197 (ca. 330), 1198 (326/5), 1202 (313/2) (all Aixone); 1185 (med. s. IV), 1187 (med. s. IV), 1192 (fin. s. IV) (all Eleusis); 1176 (ca. 360), 1214 (ca. 300-250) (both Peiraieus). Examples of the award of *proedria*, implying the existence of a theater of some kind, are collected above, note 12. On the Rural Dionysia, see A. Pickard-Cambridge, *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens*, 2nd. ed. (Oxford 1968) 42-56, especially pp. 52-54, where the theaters at Thorikos, Rhamnous, Ikarion, and Peiraieus are briefly discussed.

Miscellaneous structures: *IG* II^2 2492, line 23 (345/4: *lesche* in Aixone); 1191, line 21 (321/0: bridge in Eleusis); 1220, line 2 (ca. 200-150: *krene* in Eleusis?); *SEG* 28.103 (i, ii) (332/1: quarries in Eleusis); *AD* 24 (1969) 6-7, line 4 (s. IV: *krene* in Kephisia); *Hesperia* 31 (1962) 54-56, no. 138 (ca. 350-300: fixtures of house in Prasiai); etc.

17. Lands: *IG* II^2 1196 (ca. 335-330), 2492 (346/5) (both Aixone); 2498 (321/0: Peiraieus); 2497 (post med. s. IV); *Hesperia* 31 (1962) 54-56, no. 138 (ca. 350-300) (both Prasiai); *SEG* 24.151 (ca. med. s. IV: Teithras).

18. Lending at interest: *IG* II^2 1183 (post 340: Myrrhinous); I^3 258 (= II^2 1172) (ca. 420: Plotheia).

Horos stones: *IG* II^2 2761 b (ca. 362/1: Halai Aixonides); 2670 (date?: Phlya). Cf. 2492, lines 23-24 (345/4: Aixone); 1183, line 29 (post 340: Myrrhinous).

19. Contributions by *privati: REG* 91 (1978) 289-306 (i) (332/1), *IG* II^2 1191 (321/0) (both Eleusis); *AD* 24 (1969) 6-7 (date?: Kephisia); *Hellenika* 3 (1930) 153-162 (236/5: Rhamnous; non-member); *IG* II^2 1215 (init. s. III: unknown deme); *SEG* 24.153 (ca. med. s. IV: Teithras).

Liturgies: *IG* II^2 1191 (321/0: Eleusis); *AE* 1932 *Chron.*, pp. 30-32 (ca. med. s. IV ante 325: Halai Araphenides). From Isaios we learn of two specific liturgies, both corresponding to statewide practice (see §1.27; for *choregoi* of the demes, see below): the gymnasiarchy (2.42) and *hestiasis* of the wives of the demesmen at the Thesmophoria (3.80). Cf. 6.64. *Antidosis: IG* I^3 254 (= I^2 187) (ca. 440-415?: Ikarion).

Tax on non-demesmen: *IG* II^2 1214 (ca. 300-250: Peiraieus).

Fines: see above, note 8.

Theater tickets: *IG* II^2 1206 (fin. s. IV: Acharnai); 1176 (ca. 360: Peiraieus).

20. Disbursals to officers: *IG* I^3 258 (= II^2 1172) (ca. 420: Plotheia).

Appropriation for construction: *SEG* 21.519 (s. IV: Acharnai); *Hesperia* 3 (1934) 44-46, no. 33, lines 9-10, 21-22 (?) (init. s. III: Peiraieus); *Hesperia* 32 (1963) 12-13, no. 10? (med. s. III: unknown deme).

Leases or rentals: *IG* II² 2500 (fin. s. IV: Eleusis).

Taxation: *IG* II² 2492, lines 24-27 (345/4: Aixone); 2498, lines 6-7 (321/0: Peiraieus); 2500, lines 7-8 (fin. s. IV: Thria). In all three cases the deme undertakes to assume responsibility for taxes on lands which it is renting.

21. For the calendars, see the appropriate entries in the Appendix, §1.4. Among S. Dow's studies on the subject, see above all "Six Athenian Sacrificial Calendars," *BCH* 92 (1968) 170-186.

22. No up-to-date, systematic study of the deme cults exists. For the present, one must continue to consult B. Haussoullier, *La Vie municipale en Attique* (Paris 1883) 151-173.

23. Priest of eponymous at Rhamnous: *IG* II² 2849 d-e (s. IV). *Archousai:* II² 1184 (334/3: Cholargos). *Hieromnemones:* preceding inscription (Cholargos); *REG* 91 (1978) 289-306 (ii) (332/1) (Eleusis); *IG* I³ 243 (ca. 480-450), lines 31-32 (Melite). *Komarchoi: IG* II² 3103 (330/29: Xypete). *Merarchai:* 1203 (325/4: Athmonon). *Sophronistai:* 1199 (ca. 325/4: Aixone). *Choregoi:* 1198 (326/5), 1200 (317/6) (both Aixone); *AE* 1932 *Chron.*, pp. 30-32 (ca. med. s. IV ante 325: Halai Araphenides); *IG* I³ 254 (= I² 187) (ca. 440-415?), II² 1178 (ante med. s. IV) (both Ikarion). For discussion, with citation of additional sources of information, see Pickard-Cambridge (above, note 16) 45-51.

24. *Heorte: IG* II² 1184 (post 340: Cholargos); *REG* 91 (1978) 289-306 (ii) (332/1: Eleusis); *IG* I³ 254 (= I² 187) (ca. 440-415?); II² 1178 (ante med. s. IV) (both Ikarion); 1177 (med. s. IV: Peiraieus); 1173 (ante med. s. IV); 1211 (fin. s. IV) (both unknown deme). *Hieropoiia: ABSA* 24 (1919-1921) 151-160 (ca. 330-325: Halimous). *Panegyris: IG* II² 1191 (321/0: Eleusis). *Pannychis:* II² 1199 (ca. 325/4: Aixone). *Pyrriche: AE* 1932 *Chron.*, pp. 30-32 (ca. med. s. IV ante 325: Halai Araphenides). *Choai: IG* II² 1211 B (fin. s. IV: unknown deme).

§2 Salamis

1. For a concise summary of the evidence bearing on the question of the date of the establishment of the cleruchy, see A. J. Graham, *Colony and Mother City in Ancient Greece* (Manchester 1964) 168, note 6.

§3 Aigina

1. Such influence is suggested by Szanto, 26.

§4 Chalkis

1. For the ancient sources see "Abantes," *Der kleine Pauly* I (Stuttgart 1964) 2-3.

2. Busolt, *Staatskunde* 133, note 1.

3. Strabo, 8.7.4 (386), 9.2.13 (405). In addition, Stephanos of Byzantion, s.v., gives Aigai as an older name for Karystos.

§5 Eretria

1. For earlier publications of the text, see W. Peek, *MDAI(A)* 59 (1934) 73-77, no. 27; and W. Wallace, *Hesperia* 5 (1936) 273-284.

2. See F. Cairns, "*IG* XII 9, 248 and *IG* XII 9, 251," *ZPE* 52 (1983) 122-124.

3. By D. M. Lewis, *ABSA* 57 (1962) 2.

4. W. Wallace, "The Demes of Eretria," *Hesperia* 16 (1947) 115-146: 119-122. At p. 131, Wallace's findings are illustrated by a sketch map.

5. Thus Ziebarth, *IG* XII 9, no. 241, line 77. Wallace (above, note 4) 124 comments that this reading could not be confirmed by his squeezes; in his own text, line 107 (p. 121), he prints the proper name as [.]Λ[.]ασι[².. or ³].

6. Since the completion of my research, this finding as been independently established by F. Cairns, "*IG* XII 9, 244 and the Demes and Districts of Eretria," *ZPE* 54 (1984) 156-164: 163.

7. Ziebarth, *IG* XII 9, p. 163.108-110, had suggested that the *choroi* were either the same as, or territorial units smaller than, the demes. The latter arrangement, though at least avoiding the duplication of terminology, is no more compatible with our understanding of the rubric "Mid-Choros."

8. Work cited above, note 6.

9. For the *demotika*, see *IG* XII 9, nos. 191 (= *SGDI* 5311) (s. IV), 210 (= *SIG*² 185; Michel 344) (302 aut p.p.), 213 (s. III ex.), 214, 221 (s. III ex.), 240 (= Michel 640; *SGDI* 5312) (s. IV), 241 (s. IV ex.), 242, 243, 244 (s. III in.), 245 (s. III in.), 246, 247, 252, and 532 (the only sepulchral example). Several of the texts are improved at *IG* XII suppl., pp. 177-183. For the omission of the patronymic, and the occasional inversion of the patronymic and *demotikon*, see Ziebarth, *IG* XII 9, p. 163.112-129. For the lists compiled *kata demous*, see the text above, with

note 2. For the non-epigraphic testimony, with discussion, see Ziebarth, *IG* XII 9, pp. 164-165; Wallace (above, note 4) 133-146.

10. The mountain Makistos: Aischylos, *Agamemnon* 289; the deme Mekiston: *IG* XII 9, no. 1189, lines 31 and 32; the personal name Mekistodoros: *IG* XII 9, no. 245, line a 82; the hero Mekisteus: Apollodoros, 3.6.3. For Wallace's comments, see *Hesperia* 5 (1936) 279-280.

11. The fact that the phylai served as "monthly panels" (see above) invites the assumption of twelve units. But caution is indicated by practice at Akragas (4 §18), where Hylleis—one of presumably only three phylai—appears in a preamble as the "presiding" phyle.

12. For the sake of completeness mention should be made of the article of N. M. Kontoleon, *οἱ Ἀειναῦται τῆς Ἐρετρίας*, *AE* 1963 (1965) 1-45. The author attempts to show that the phylai numbered three, viz. the certainly identified Mekisstis; a second, unknown phyle; and a third, the principal subject of the paper, the Aeinautai. Let it suffice to say that the case for the public status of the Aeinautai is wholly without foundation.

13. Cairns (above, note 6) 162, where, however, the precise sense of the phrase is not specified. Ziehen, on *LGS* II 88, had doubted that the dative without a preposition could indicate place, preferring instead, on analogy with the patently temporal phrase in line 7 (*τεῖ πρὸ τῶν Ἀρτεμιρίων*), a reference to particular days of the festival. But the names of Attic demes are often so used; and the latter explanation is hard to square, as he concedes, with the content of the two names—above all, I should think, of Phylake. At all events, if the place, rather places, are indicated, there is no reason to posit the exclusion of Eretrians from outside the two *choroi*.

14. See above, note 13, where the evidence of no. 189, adduced by Cairns in support of his interpretation, is given a quite different reading. Besides, the fact that no. 241 lists only members of Districts II and IV does not, as Cairns claims, necessarily suggest "a joint religious purpose." Nor does the Athenian "part-parallel" of the Thargelia strengthen his case, since the uniform division of five choruses among ten phylai, two to each phyle (§1.27), could not be duplicated by pairing among the five Eretrian *choroi*.

15. Nonetheless, the alternative restoration was preferred by D. M. Lewis, *ABSA* 57 (1962) 3 (but see his note 23).

16. For the reading, see the *IG* text, with Ziebarth's note.

§6 Histiaia (later Oreos)

1. The decree has been studied recently by M. F. McGregor, "Athens and Hestiaia," *Studies . . . Vanderpool, Hesperia Suppl.* XIX (Princeton 1982) 101-111. McGregor cites the present passage in support of the statement that "Athenian institutions are to be the model" (p. 110).

2. The process would have been facilitated by removal of the city to Oreos and by the arrival of a new population of Athenian *apoikoi*. Excepting the cleruchies, in no other case where Athenian influence is certain or suspected do conditions extreme as these obtain.

3. The same point is made by Cairns on the basis of the harvest of new deme names from the duplicate copy of *IG* XII 9, no. 1189 (p. 144).

BOIOTIA

§7 Orchomenos

1. According to ch. 11.3, at least ten *poleis* enjoyed some form of local government. The terminal dates of the Confederacy are 447-386.

2. See, for example, on Tegea (3 §6) and Elis (3 §7).

3. Szanto, 37-38.

THESSALY

1. Szanto, 38.

§8 Metropolis

1. Strabo, 9.5.17 (437-438). For the date of the synoecism, see *SIG*[3] 239 E 32; F. Stählin, "Metropolis 1)," *RE* 15.2 (1932) 1491-1494: 1491.

2. For the manuscripts' reading ONOYPION (vel sim.), the correction is provided by the text of Rhianos, *FGrH* 265 F 24. The cult and a sanctuary of Aphrodite at Metropolis are further indicated by *IG* IX 2, no. 1231, line 24 (s. II ex.).

§12 Larissa

1. Busolt, *Staatskunde* 271-272. The additional claim that the name Boates must because of its form ("Namensbildung") be referred to the neighboring Magnetes I find equally questionable.

2. = Michel 41; *SGDI* 345; Schwyzer 590; *SIG*³ 543; Buck 32. For the date, 217 or 216, see C. Habicht, *Archaia Makedonia* I (Thessaloniki 1970) 274-275.

3. On the reading and interpretation of the last clause, see E. Schwyzer, *RhM* 73 (1924) 429-431, no. 6.

OZOLIAN LOKRIS

1. L. Lerat, *Les Locriens de l'ouest* I (Paris 1952) 28-29.

Chapter II The Dorian Peloponnese

An advantage to treating the Dorian states of the Greek Homeland as a group is that all are known or can be presumed to have started out with the same, single-tier organization, the inherited phylai Dymanes, Hylleis, and Pamphyloi. Accordingly, any and all variations from this model must necessarily be regarded as local innovations of one kind or another. The pattern that emerges is addition to, or (in one instance) wholesale replacement of, the Dorian phylai by new units containing local pre- and/or non-Dorian elements. Sometimes, the process included the creation of lower-level units of either the "numerical" or territorial types. By and large, these changes, particularly those affecting the principal division, are with certainty or high probability to be attributed to the tyrants, who created new phylai in order to accommodate their newly enfranchised followings. The introduction of territorialism, too, may at least begin with the tyrants, if, as seems to have been true at Corinth (§2), their constituencies found themselves concentrated in outlying districts; in this case, considerations of administrative advantage would favor compact regional divisions over amorphous or far-flung personal groupings.

Regarding the phylai, expansion through addition is the rule. Paradeigmatic is the famous reform of the Sikyonian tyrant Kleisthenes, to whom Herodotos attributes the creation of a fourth phyle Archelaoi, or Rulers of the People, "named after his own *arche*" (§3). At Epidauros (§5) the replacement of the Pamphyloi by two innovating units is probably the work of the tyrant Prokles, but whether the four phylai, as a fragmentary record seems to suggest, were converted to territorial units (elsewhere unprecedented for Dorian phylai) must remain for the time being problematic. For both Troizen (§6) and Argos (§7) a single innovating phyle is documented, although in the latter case what chronological indications we have obviate the suggestion that the new unit received full enfranchisement under the tyrant Pheidon.

Departing from the dominant pattern is, at the one extreme, the introduction at Corinth (§2) of a wholly new system of eight territorial phylai subdivided by units called *hemiogdoa*, or Half-Eighths. Almost certainly the work of the Kypselid tyranny, the reformed organization, or at least some of its most striking features, was subsequently exported to colonial Apollonia (4 §4), Kerkyra (4 §5) and eventually, by way of Syracuse, Akrai (4 §19). The apparent abolition, root and branch, of the inherited phylai can only be understood in the context of a sharp political decline of the local Dorian populations.

At the other extreme, in two cities, Megara (§1) and Sparta (§8), the three Dorian phylai underwent no detectable modification, at least

in name. Yet, at Sparta it is probable that at least one major function, the mustering of the hoplite regiments, was transferred from the phylai to the more recently institutionalized *obai,* or villages. Possibly, then, the old phylai were for the time being allowed to atrophy in favor of a more efficient territorial system. By the Imperial period, in any event, it is the *obai,* not the Dymanes, Hylleis, and Pamphyloi, that have found a place in our epigraphic record. Again, these innovations began early, possibly with the reforms of Lykourgos—that is, they belong to the context of social and political upheavals that elsewhere in the region ended in tyranny.

Paralleling these developments was the widespread creation of lower-level divisions in answer to the growing complexity of the city-state. Some of these new units were of "numerical" designation, viz. the *hekatostys* or Hundred at Megara (§1), the *pentekostys* or Fifty at Argos (§7) and Sparta (§8), the *triakas* or Thirty at Corinth (§2), and the *pempas* or Five at Phleious (§4). All are likely to have been (as translated) collective, not partitive, terms; the one assured partitive example is the *hemiogdoön* or Half-Eighth of Corinth (§2). Since the only recorded functions for these units are of a military nature, it may be that all arose out of a need for a more effective administrative apparatus than the large and perhaps cumbersome phylai could provide. Whether the same motive lay behind the institutionalizing of the second major class of units, the territorial, is questionable, for the only such unit known to have performed a military function is (again) the Spartan *oba* (§8). The other attested regional divisions are the *kome* at Argos (§7) and Troizen? (§6); numerous units of unknown designation at Epidauros (§5); and (yet again) the Corinthian *hemiogdoön* (§2).

Despite this impressive array of units and subunits, their known functions are, outside the military sphere, only very scantily documented. At the statewide level, the one recurring tendency is the representation of public divisions in the various deliberative and legislative bodies; certain or probable examples are the Boule at Corinth (§2) and Epidauros (§5), the Eighty at Argos (§7), and the Assembly of Lykourgan Sparta (§8). A wider range of applications might be revealed by a more abundant record, but the apparent divergences from organization *kata phylas* in the armies of Megara (§1), Argos (§7), and Sparta (§8) betoken the same weakening of the principle more clearly documented at Athens (1 §1.29).

Even less well understood are the internal arrangements. The only significant illustrations are afforded by the *komai* of Argos (§7) and the *obai* of Sparta (§8)—both from evidence of the later Hellenistic period. Whether, or to what extent, this is a representative record, or

is due to accidental factors connected with the evidence, is impossible to say.

Under Roman rule the phylai of four of the eight organizations studied here are known to have been active. Since in all cases except Corinth, which had suffered total destruction and then been refounded, the Imperial organizations bear at least a superficial resemblance to their Classical predecessors, one might be tempted to imagine continuous survival. But in at least one instance, Megara (§1), this was certainly not the case, for there Hadrian is expressly recorded as "the founder and lawgiver and supporter" not only of the Hadrianidai but of the Dorian phylai as well. At all events, whether survivals or revivals, the attested activities of the phylai are in all but one instance entirely confined to the conferral of honors upon some dignitary: see Megara (§1), Corinth (§2), Argos (§7), and Sparta (§8). The exception is Sparta, where the *obai* (now also known as "phylai") take part in an annual "ball-game" competition, from the records of which we are given a glimpse of a highly distinctive corps of internal officials.

§1 Megara

The Dorian phylai are attested in the Classical period; alongside them, in the Hellenistic, appears a lower level unit, the *hekatostys,* or Hundred. But the presence of both divisions at a much earlier date is strongly suggested by the certain existence of three phylai at the Megarian colony Herakleia-on-Pontos (6 §23) and by the documented or probable existence of the *hekatostys* not only at Herakleia but also at Megarian Kalchedon, Byzantion, and Salymbria (6 §24-26). In Imperial times, Hadrian founded a fourth phyle, of which he himself was the eponym, the *Ἀδριανίδαι.*

Of the two Classical documents, one, a boundary stone of fifth century date found at Megara, published in 1898 and now apparently lost, bears the inscription "Of Zeus Milichios Panphylos."[1] Although no decisive objection can be brought against the view that the second epithet refers to the Dorian phyle Pamphyloi, it is at least as likely that it means "of all the phylai (or φῦλα)," for a similar title, Pamphylaia, is attached to Artemis at Epidauros (§5) at a time when the Pamphyloi were with certainty no longer in existence. A different kind of ambiguity surrounds the second text, an unpublished list of names tentatively dated by its prospective editor, C. Edmonson, to ca. 430. Arranged according to the names of the three phylai in the pan-Dorian official order, Dymanes, Hylleis, Pamphyloi, the list probably records losses from a military engagement (cf. Index II.L.6.a); if so, it might be inferred that the phylai played some part in the deployment of the Megarian armed forces.[2] But the picture is complicated by the fact

that at times the Megarian *strategoi* numbered five, later six—which hardly encourages the assumption of three regiments based on the phylai.[3] Possibly, then, the use of the phylai as rubrics, if indeed connected with the military organization, represents an earlier, thus far unattested deployment.[4]

To the mid-third century belongs a document recording an arbitration by Megara of a territorial dispute between Epidauros and Corinth, *IG* IV^2 1, no. 71.[5] Following the statement of the decision, the names of the Megarian *dikastai* are listed under the three phylai in the pan-Dorian official order (lines 31-85). The names total 151: fifty Hylleis, fifty-one Pamphyloi, and fifty Dymanes. There follow in lines 85-96 thirty-one "*τερμαστῆρες*—or boundary commissioners—of the same *dikastai,*" ten Hylleis, eleven Pamphyloi, and ten Dymanes, all but one of whom are repeated from the lists of the *dikastai.*[6] While this second list lacks the use of the phylai as headings, the names are nonetheless grouped by phylai and the groups are arranged in the same pan-Dorian sequence. Concerning the extra *dikastes* and *termaster* accorded the Pamphyloi, doubtless in order to preclude the possibility of a tie vote, we have no way of knowing why the privilege fell to that particular phyle, although no special significance in such a matter need be suspected.

From a chapter in Plutarch's *Greek Questions,* §17 (295 B), possibly derived ultimately from Aristotle's *Constitution of the Megarians,*[7] additional inferences might be drawn concerning the components and history of the organization. "In ancient times," Plutarch says, "the Megarid was settled *κατὰ κώμας*, with the *politai* distributed into five parts (*εἰς πέντε μέρη*). They were called Heraeis, Piraeis, Megareis, Kynosoureis, and Tripodiskioi." By a scholar in search of a Megarian organization, this text might naturally be taken to indicate the existence of a formal fivefold territorial partition of the Megarid. Cutting across the personal tripartite system of phylai, the territorial division could then be invoked as the basis for the documented boards of five *strategoi* (mentioned above), *damiourgoi,* and *polemarchoi*—magistracies of such importance that it would seem to follow that the *komai,* not the phylai, served as the principal framework for the conduct of Megarian affairs.[8]

Although this is a natural and constitutionally plausible reconstruction, it is nonetheless subject to grave objections. Chronologically, in the first place, it is evident that the historical setting envisaged by Plutarch is not the (to him) more recent past but a far more remote time prior to the synoecism of the Megarid. Scattered settlements *kata komas* typically preceded the creation of many a polis, as is well known. That Plutarch (or perhaps his source) should have used the term *politai* anachronistically in such a context should neither cause surprise nor

raise doubts as to his fundamental meaning. Plainly, he is saying "What is now known as the Megarid used to consist of a plurality of communities." What connection, then, might so primitive a set of conditions necessarily have had with the institutions of historical times?[9] Besides, Plutarch's text apart, what little is known or may be guessed concerning the locations of the five *komai* hardly recommends them as workable units for the administration of the Megarid.[10] Nor is the assumption that the *komai* possessed at any time a constitutional status free from objection. While elsewhere the word is sometimes used as a technical term to designate units comparable to the "deme" (see Index I.A.11), there is no reason to believe that the same usage obtained at Megara. To be sure, its single occurrence in the epigraphic corpus, *IG* VII 1, line 18 (time of Demetrios Poliorketes), reveals that the plural *κῶμαι* designated, in explicit contrast with the *polis,* the towns of the dependent countryside. Among these was, as the specific content of the text implies, Aigosthena. But because the town does not appear in Plutarch's list, it is all the more difficult to regard the fivefold division by *komai* as historical. Nor does the inscription—or any other ancient reference to the Megarian *komai*—give the slightest hint that these were units of governmental administration.[11] The possibility must be left open that the agreement between Plutarch's five *komai* and the fivefold magistracies is entirely coincidental.

There remains a final candidate for public division, and that is the *hekatostys,* attested by a record of a loan from Epidauros, *IG* IV^2 1, no. 42, dated ca. 221/0. At the end of the text stand the names of a number of witnesses, of which one is the Megarian Dionysios, son of Pasion, *ἑκατοστὺς Κυνοσουρί*[ς] (lines 18-20). At once the proper name puts one in mind of Plutarch's *Κυνοσουρεῖς*, but the identification of the *komai* as *hekatostyes* would seem incompatible with both possible notional meanings of the term, viz. "Hundred" or "One-Hundredth." On the assumption of five *komai,* five hundred is obviously far too low a number for Megara's citizen population (or even for males of military age, to cite the one other possibility); and, equally obviously, Hundredths could at no time have been so few as five.[12] But "Dog's Tail" is popular as a toponym, especially in the Peloponnese,[13] and so independent origins for *kome* and *hekatostys* can be considered an entirely satisfactory possibility. At all events, the identification of a citizen by *hekatostys* may be taken as indicating the unit's official constitutional status.[14]

Following a hiatus of several centuries the three Megarian phylai, now augmented by a fourth, the Hadrianidai, resurface as the dedicators of a number of honorary statues. Five of these belong to a single series honoring the Emperor Hadrian and Sabina, *IG* VII, 70-74, all dated to the year A.D. 136/7 by their citations of the proconsul Julius

Candidus.[15] In three of the five texts, the Emperor is honored by the Dymanes (no. 70), the Hadrianidai (no. 72), and by a phyle whose name is lost (no. 71); in the two others, Sabina, by the Pamphyloi (no. 73) and Hadrianidai (no. 74). Presumably the complete series comprised eight statues all together, each of the four phylai dedicating a statue of Emperor and wife. The sixth surviving base, *IG* VII, 101, records the dedication of a statue of Tyrannion son of Nision by the Hadrianidai, not, however, at the instigation of a magistrate but "out of its own funds." This is welcome evidence of the financial independence of the Greek organizations under the Empire.

Of interest, too, is the reference to Hadrian as *τὸν ἑαυτῶν κτίστην καὶ νομοθέτην καὶ τροφέα* (nos. 70-72) not only in the dedication of the Hadrianidai but in those of two other phylai as well. It is to be expected of course that in some sense, even if only a change of name were involved, the Emperor would be "the founder," perhaps even the "lawgiver" and "benefactor," of the phyle that bears his name. But that the other phylai should repeat the claim provides conclusive evidence that in at least one major Greek state the public organization had in late Hellenistic or early Imperial times passed entirely out of existence.[16] When precisely the refoundation occurred and under what circumstances is not known with certainty, but the most likely occasion would be the first tour of Greece, A.D. 124-126, when, probably in 124, Hadrian visited Megara and inaugurated the rebuilding of the Temple of Apollo. The reputed "savior and supporter of his own Greece," Hadrian might naturally have extended his revival of Greek institutions to the antique organizations.[17]

§2 Corinth

Despite the absence of any direct testimony for the Dymanes, Hylleis, and Pamphyloi, their early presence is virtually guaranteed by the near certain existence of a tripartite division at Syracuse (4 §20) and by the unambiguous documentation of the Hylleis at Kerkyra (4 §5), both early Corinthian foundations. Whether or not, however, as some scholars have suggested, a fourth phyle was added, as at Sikyon (§3), Epidauros (two new phylai: §5), Troizen (§6), and Argos (§7), in order to accommodate the non-Dorian population, cannot be determined.[1]

What evidence we do have pertains to an innovating arrangement, presumably the successor to the Dorian phylai. The key testimony is provided by a notice in the *Souda,* s.v. *πάντα ὀκτώ*: "All Things in Eights"—evidently a proverbial expression attached to Corinth—some explained as arising from the fact that "Aletes, when synoecizing the Corinthians in accordance with an oracle, made the *politai* into eight phylai and the *polis* into eight parts." Although ambiguous in more

than one respect, the statement is best interpreted as indicating a single principal division of eight territorial phylai. Of the eight, one is preserved in a second lexicographical entry, Hesychios, s.v. Κυνόφαλοι, where this strange compound name, evidently meaning something like "Wearers of Dogskin Helmets," is glossed as "Corinthians, a phyle."[2] So much appears assured. But the extent to which progress can be made in identifying other phylai and in determining the existence and nature of lower level divisions depends upon the approach we adopt to the remaining, far less explicit documentation.

Of these additional texts, four are of undisputed Corinthian origin and, because of their general formal similarity, can be treated as a group. Of the four, the most extensive is a list of names, broken at top, bottom, and right, and dated by its letter-forms to the latter half of the fourth century: *Corinth* VIII 1, no. 11. Identified with high probability as a list of casualties by S. Dow, the text falls into a number of separate registers, each headed by a rubric consisting of two letters, a dash, and a single third letter. The preserved rubrics are: Σ̣Ι̣-Π, ΛΕ-Ε, ΛΕ-Π, and ΚΥ-F (lines 6, 15, 20, 26). Comparable in disposition, next, are the first lines of three markers found in the vicinity of the eastern city circuit wall and dated, again on the basis of lettering, to the mid-fifth century. The complete texts, as edited by R. S. Stroud, *CSCA* 1 (1968) 233-242, follow:

SEG 25.331a	*SEG* 25.331b	*SEG* 25.332
ΛΕΠ̣	ΣΙΠ	ΣΥF
⊦ΕΝ̣	⊦ΕΝ	ΔΥΟ

If we may, for present purposes, disregard the numerals ἕν and δύο, it is clear, as Stroud saw, that, despite the (to the ancient reader, insignificant) absence of the dash after the second letter, the markers are of a piece with the organization reflected in the list of names. What, then, is the nature of that organization?

According to the view maintained by the editors of these documents (as well as by others), the symbols designate, in whole or part, the arrangements attested by the *Souda*. The specific link is provided by the two-letter element ΚΥ (list, line 26), referred by F. Hiller von Gaertringen to the phyle Κυνόφαλοι preserved in Hesychios (above). Thus the three different initial two letter combinations contributed by the list, viz. Σ̣Ι̣, ΛΕ, and ΚΥ, plus, from marker *SEG* 25.332, ΣΥ, would bring to four the known number of the eight phylai. For the third letter, too, reference of some kind to the public organization would naturally be expected, but on this point scholarly opinion has differed. Special attention, however, should be accorded Stroud's speculation, based upon the fact that the third letters thus far attested total

three, namely E, F, and Π, that the territory of Corinth had been partitioned into three geographical regions—possibly comprising the *polis,* land north, and land south of the Isthmos. Analogously to the Kleisthenic organization of Attika, each phyle will have comprised three geographically distinct "trittyes" (or the like). With reference to the *Souda,* again, each "trittys" might be associated with one of the "parts" on the understanding that the notice refers to those eight (of a total of twenty-four) "parts" that comprised the *polis* region. Thus KY-F would for example designate phyle Kynophaloi, "trittys" (i.e. "part") F.[3]

Speculations such as these are plausible, and it must be admitted that no serious objection, on internal grounds alone, could be made. However, other evidence exists that is, I have argued, decisive against the assignment of the documents to the arrangements attested in the *Souda* and by Hesychios. I refer to an honorary decree of the late fourth or early third century found on Delos but, despite the survival of the text *in toto,* of unstated authorship. As I have shown at length, the decree is almost without question of Corinthian origin.[4] Following a preamble, a general characterization of the two honorands' services to the state (both are Athenians), and a catalogue of the *timia* conferred upon them, the text concludes with instructions to allot the honorands into the public organization and, immediately thereafter, a statement of the results of that allotment:

20 ... τὰν δὲ
βουλὰν διακλαρῶσαι εἰς
ἡμιόγδοον καὶ τριακάδα
καὶ φυλὰν καὶ φάτραν· Διεκλα-
ρώθην· ἡμιογδόου νν ΑΣ νν F
25 [ἀ]ρχαίας νν φυλᾶς νν 'Αορέων·
[φ]άτρας νν Ομακχιάδας.

According to my own detailed analysis, which need not be reproduced here, these lines should be interpreted: "And let the Boule allot them into *hemiogdoön* and *triakas* and phyle and phratry. They were allotted: *hemiogdoön* AΣ, *triakas* F; 'old' phyle Aoreis, 'old' phratry (H)omakchiadai."[5]

The implications of this text, once its identification as Corinthian is accepted, are plainly at odds with the reconstructions reviewed above. The symbols AΣ and F, far from designating (as expected) the phyle and some subdivision (such as, on Stroud's reconstruction, the "trittys"), instead denote the previously unknown units *hemiogdoön* and *triakas.* The name of the phyle, on the contrary, is not in the decree represented by an abbreviation but spelled out in full. We have, then,

wholly sufficient grounds for proposing a new reading of the list and markers whereby the two-letter elements, corresponding to AΣ of the decree, all denote *hemiogdoa;* and the single, third letters, corresponding to the *digamma* of the decree, all denote *triakades.* At the same time, the content of the *Souda*'s notice remains in its essentials unchallenged; indeed, the phyle Aoreis may with assurance be regarded as a component of the principal eightfold division. But the *rapprochement* between Hesychios' phyle Kynophaloi and the abbreviation from the list, KY, never before questioned, must now be jettisoned as merely coincidental. It is not to the phylai, but to their subdivisions (or, if not subdivisions, lower-level components of the population) that our epigraphic testimony refers.[6]

So much would appear to follow necessarily from the attribution of the decree to Corinth, but further detail regarding the number, disposition, and interrelationships of the several units can be won only through intensive analysis. My own study has resulted in what I believe to be a satisfactory reconstruction. At the head of the organization stood, again, the eight phylai, each falling into two divisions, the *hemiogdoa,* or Half-Eighths. Like the phylai of which they were components, the sixteen *hemiogdoa* were probably territorial divisions of the Corinthia. The inference is given some additional support by the possible completion of four of the five known abbreviations as AS(ai), LE(chaion), SI(dous), and SY(kousia)—all communities or places known to have been dependent on Corinth. By contrast, the *triakades,* or Thirties, although, as the documents would appear to imply, subdivisions of the *hemiogdoa,* were in all likelihood personal in organization. Each probably represented a notional body of thirty members, without reference, so far as is known, to place of domicile. Unfortunately, the three attested single-letter symbols by which the *triakades* of a given *hemiogdoön* were designated resist attempts at explanation. Even so, the inference that the Thirty constituted the basic unit of the structure can hardly be questioned.

This leaves the *phatra,* or phratry, which might, on the strength of its occurrence amidst the phylai, *hemiogdoa,* and *triakades,* be regarded as a public unit as well. But in the absence of positive testimony in favor of such an assumption, it is better to leave open the possibility, suggested by the practice of other states, that while membership in the *phatra* had come to be a necessary condition of citizenship, the association itself remained within the private sphere.[7]

Even with the relegation of the *phatra* to the status of private association, three public units remain; and it would be helpful if we could discover distinctions in function that might help make comprehensible the simultaneous operation of so elaborate a structure. Luckily, hints in this direction are provided by our few documents and a

literary source. On the one hand, because it is generally agreed that the list and the markers served a military purpose, it should follow that the *hemiogdoa* and *triakades,* which alone appear on these monuments, are essentially military in nature. Concerning the phylai, on the other, we have from Nikolaos of Damaskos, *FGrH* 90 F 60, the statement that immediately following the fall of the Kypselid tyranny the Demos established a new Boule based on a unit called the *oktas.* Presumably, the "Eight" was connected in some way with the eightfold principal division. These data are consistent with the supposition that the *hemiogdoa* and *triakades* complemented the bouleutic (and other unattested civilian?) functions of the phylai. Such a division of function is also made attractive by the use of the adjective [ἀ]ρχαίας in the decree to distinguish the "old" phyle and phratry from the more recent innovations, the *hemiogdoön* and *triakas.* The creation of the numerically designated units, that is to say, might have come about at a time when the existing organization of phylai alone no longer sufficed to meet the multifarious demands of public administration.[8]

We must now confront the larger question of the historical circumstances of the creation of the innovating organization as a whole. Briefly, the problem amounts to a choice among three possible candidates, viz. the Bakchiad aristocracy, the Kypselid tyranny, and the constitutional oligarchy that succeeded the tyranny. Of the three, the relevant evidence, direct and circumstantial, overwhelmingly favors the tyrants as the authors of a reform replacing the (again, not directly attested) Dorian tripartite division with the eight phylai. Coming to power at the head of a constituency that was at least in part non-Dorian, Kypselos—or, later, his sons—might well be expected to empower that constituency by the creation of new phylai. Both Aoreis—probably to be connected with an early, pre-Dorian king, Aoris, at nearby Phleious—and Kynophaloi, a self-consciously non-aristocratic title, would have suited such a program. At the same time, the interest ascribed to the tyrants in the out-lying countryside could have provoked the adoption of territorialism in place of the presumably personal disposition of the Dorian phylai. Conferring separate status upon the regions situated outside the *asty,* such units would have afforded, besides administrative utility, proportional political representation in all statewide applications of the organization.

Ascription of the reform to the tyranny would, furthermore, have the advantage of jibing with the character and setting of arrangements at two Corinthian colonies, Kerkyra and Apollonia. At Kerkyra (4 §5) there occurred at some time before ca. 500 a reform whereby the Dorian tripartite division was replaced by new phylai (?) and a series of subdivisions designated by ordinal numerical adjectives. Among the phylai (?) were Awores and Makchidai. The likelihood of a connection

with the Corinthian Aoreis and (phratry) (H)omakchiadai, along with the favorable chronology, prompts ascription of the Kerkyraian reform to the Kypselid domination of the island under Nikolaos and Psammetikos. At Apollonia (4 §4), too, we find a unit named Machiadai and, although no numerically designated subdivisions are known, a use of abbreviations comparable to those of the Corinthian documents under review. Apollonia is known to have been colonized by still another Kypselid, Periander, and nothing stands in the way of tracing these arrangements to the time of the original settlement.

Whether or not, finally, the reform at Corinth brought with it the institution of the *hemiogdoa* and *triakades* is a question to which no sure answer is possible on present evidence. We know, again, that their creation postdated that of the (presumably, eight) phylai, and a *terminus ante quem*—a weak one, as concerns the Kypselid tyranny—of ca. 450 is given by the markers, leaving a full century (at least) for subsequent developments. We must be content with the likelihood that the reform was of an essentially military purpose and probably designed to make good deficiencies occasioned by reliance on the phylai as the sole public divisions.[9]

With the refoundation of Corinth as a Roman colony in 44, a new organization was instituted consisting, so far as we are informed, of an unknown number of *tribus*. To date, a total of eleven *tribus* are documented by Latin inscriptions from the site. (Primary references are to A. B. West, *Corinth* VIII 2 [Princeton 1931], and to J. H. Kent, *Corinth* VIII 3 [Princeton 1966].)[10]

Agrippia	VIII 2, no. 110 (soon after A.D. 31?); VIII 3, no. 154 (reign of Tiberius)
Atia	VIII 2, no. 86
Aurelia	
AṾreliae	VIII 2, no. 90
AVREḶỊAE	VIII 2, no. 97
Calpurnia	VIII 2, no. 68 (A.D. 54 or 55)
Claudia	J. R. Wiseman, *Hesperia* 41 (1972) 37, note 90
dOMỊṬỊA	VIII 3, no. 249
Hostilia	VIII 3, no. 349 (= VIII 2, no. 109)
Livia	VIII 3, no. 258
MẠNEIA	VIII 2, no. 56 (ca. A.D. 135)
VAṬ(inia)	VIII 3, no. 222
Vinicia	VIII 2, no. 16

A final *tribus,* represented in Greek as φυλῆς Αἰ(---), has been found in a text of uncertain purpose of the third century A.D.: see J. R. Wiseman, *Corinth and Rome I: 228 B.C.-A.D. 267, ANRW* VII 1 (Berlin 1979) 497, note 221 [498]. Wiseman posits a *tribus AE*(*lia*) added—or renamed—during the time of Hadrian.[11]

Nearly all the Latin names can, as editors note, be referred to relatives or associates of either the founder of the colony, Julius Caesar, or Augustus. The latter examples possibly result from the renaming of some of the *tribus* following the battle of Actium.[12]

Regarding functions, the content of all the Latin texts is, where sufficiently preserved for a determination, honorific, with the *tribules tribus* (or simply the *tribus*) honoring, or having honored on its behalf, some individual. In one instance, Vinicia honors M. Agrippa, who is called *patronus.* What, then, of Agrippa's relation to the *tribus* Agrippia? Dean may have been correct in suggesting that Agrippa was patron of the entire colony—hence of all its *tribus;* in that case, our inscription may be but one of a series erected by each of the tribes at the order of the local Senate.[13] For a parallel within the region, see Megara (§1), where not only Hadrianidai but (at least) two other phylai as well honor Hadrian, "their own founder. . . ." The Corinthian evidence itself preserves one assured instance of the same individual's receiving identical accolades from two or more *tribus: Corinth* VIII 2, nos. 86 and 90. Such multiple awards are typical of Greek organizations under the Empire.

As for internal organization, the only detail that can be culled from the texts is the existence of a *curio,* possibly, as West suggested, placed in the charge of the *sacra* of his *tribus: Corinth* VIII 2, no. 56.

For other Roman *coloniae* with phylai or *tribus,* see Lystra and Ikonion in Lykaonia (8 §35-36). For a *municipium,* see Lilybaion (4 §17).

§3 Sikyon

Ancient testimony regarding the Sikyonian public organization is for all practical purposes confined to a famous passage in Herodotos concerning the reforms of the tyrant Kleisthenes. Three such reforms are cited, each, in the author's estimation, occasioned by the tyrant's hatred for Argos. First, Kleisthenes halted public performances of the Homeric poems because they continually glorified Argos and Argives. Secondly, he banned the cult of Adrastos because he was an Argive and replaced it with that of Melanippos—the murderer of Adrastos' brother and son-in-law. And thirdly, "concerning the phylai of the Dorians, in order that they not be the same for the Sikyonians and the Argives, he changed their names. Here most of all he ridiculed

the Sikyonians. For, changing their eponyms to 'swine' and 'ass' ⟨and 'pig'⟩ he tacked on these [i.e. the old] endings, except for his own phyle, to which he affixed a name derived from his own *arche.* These were called the Archelaoi, the others Hyatai, Oneatai, and Choireatai. These names of the phylai the Sikyonians observed both during Kleisthenes' rule and, after his death, for another sixty years. But afterwards they changed them to Hylleis and Pamphyloi and Dymanatai, and to these they added a fourth called Aigialeis, whose eponym they made Aigialeus son of Adrastos" (5.67-68).

Of the number of questions to which the passage gives rise not the least is that of the very historicity of the alleged renaming of the phylai. Some have flatly denied that so outlandish a scheme could ever have been carried through. Others, though granting the possibility that the reform occurred, refuse to believe that such contemptuous nomenclature could have remained in use, as Herodotos claims, for sixty years after the death of Kleisthenes. Perhaps, then, the argument continues, Herodotos has somehow misunderstood the actual nature of the reform. Macan, followed by Szanto, suggested that the names in fact represent localities, specifically "localizations of the Dorian phylai."[1] Alternatively, as others have suggested, the names do indeed pertain to animals, but not with a view, as Herodotos has mistakenly inferred, to derision or ridicule; instead the eponyms might be compared to the "totems" of certain aboriginal primitive societies.[2] Or again, to cite a compromise solution, the official names were in fact, *pace* Herodotos, retained, while the "terms of contempt" retailed in our account are "nicknames" arising "from some bitter jest of the tyrant."[3] Undoubtedly still other explanations could be—or have been—thought of.[4] But are they necessary? To be sure, no parallel is to be found—either for the specific names themselves or for the character of the reform as Herodotos describes it. Even so, the absence of such a parallel in what is in any event a very fragmentary record hardly constitutes adequate grounds for wholesale rejection of the account. The record for Greek public organization abounds in unique phenomena of all kinds. Rather than to devise our own hypotheses of perhaps even greater improbability, it seems wiser simply to accept Herodotos' factual account at face value and frankly admit that we do not have sufficient grounds for making either a positive or negative judgment on its historicity.

Internal consistency is, however, another matter, and on this head serious doubts arise concerning the motives given for the reform. The case for Kleisthenes' anti-Argive bias could not have been stated more emphatically, yet it is difficult to see how, on Herodotos' own accounting, such bias could have exhausted the intent of the tyrant. The author himself tells us that "the people of Sikyon had always regarded Adrastos with the highest reverence;" and that the renaming of the

phylai had resulted in the humiliation of the Sikyonians. Surely it is reasonable to assume that the effects of the changes upon the home population played a part in Kleisthenes' thinking. Since, further, only the phylai of the Dorians received objectionable eponyms, it follows that it was they, and no others, who were the actual victims of the humiliation. True, *Argive* Dorians might also have been (remotely) slighted, but certainly the achievement of such an effect could have represented only an ancillary objective. Why or how Herodotos might have failed to see this we do not know, but the facts of his account point to anti-Dorian, not anti-Argive, animus, at least as concerns the phylai.[5] The interpretation would of course be helped by any independent testimony for non-Dorian origins or orientation on the part of the Orthagorid dynasty, but none of a substantial nature to my knowledge exists.[6] Nonetheless, given the state of the evidence, this hardly constitutes an objection, certainly not a decisive one.

If the reform of the phylai was, as it appears, motivated by anti-Dorian sentiment, it might well be that the changing of the names masks some more substantial alteration in the nature of the public apparatus. Mention has already been made of the theory that the phylai underwent a change from personal to territorial disposition. But there is no good evidence for such a view, and, besides, the supposition of so drastic a reform would be hard to reconcile with Herodotos' statement, presumably accurate, that at a later time the traditional titles were reestablished. In fact the one change of substance indicated by the text is the creation of Kleisthenes' own phyle, Archelaoi or "Rulers of the People." To be sure Herodotos does not say in so many words that a fourth phyle had not previously existed, but it is difficult to imagine what would have been, before the tyranny, the constituency of such an extra-Dorian phyle. Elsewhere it is precisely the tyrants who first bring non-Dorian elements to power and affect their enfranchisement. At Sikyon the adoption of the tendentious title "Archelaoi" might have coincided with the triumph of such a faction; surely they were not called by this name prior to Kleisthenes' ascendancy. Significant, too, is the fact that later, when the tyranny fell out of power, the fourth phyle was given a new name, which, on Herodotos' evidence, the tyranny would have found most unwelcome. Again, since Adrastos is involved, the renaming may have been carried out with a view to reconciliation with Argos, as Griffin has suggested.[7] But for the parties primarily concerned, the Sikyonians, the change meant that the tyrants' non-Dorian constituency now ceased to be officially designated "Rulers of the People." Hereby, perhaps, the Sikyonians did their most to undo the Orthagorids' principal constitutional innovation.

Thus far the interpretation has proceeded on the basis of the text of Herodotos generally accepted by previous commentators. Bicknell,

however, has called that text into question on a point of pivotal significance. Namely, instead of adopting the usual supplement ⟨καὶ χοίρου⟩ in order to square the list of eponyms with that of the four new names of the phylai, which follows, he prefers to seclude from the names the words ἕτεροι δὲ Χοιρεᾶται. As a consequence, not four, but three, phylai, the Dorian triad, are initially at issue; and of these one—which one is uncertain—will have been the phyle of Kleisthenes renamed Archelaoi. If accepted, Bicknell's text would require the jettisoning of all traditional interpretations.[8]

According to a late lexicographical source of unknown reliability, I. Bekker, *Lex. Seg.* II 790. 30-31, "the Sikyonians, arranging and counting themselves *kata phylas,* established a sanctuary of Zeus Stoichadeus." Coming in explanation of the statement that the word στοῖχος meant "number" among the ancients, it is conceivable that the notice descends from some more detailed account of the organization.

§4 Phleious

According to a mythological tradition, Chthonophyle, daughter of Sikyon, was the wife of Phlias, son of Dionysos;[1] another version makes her the mother of Phlias or Phlious by Dionysos.[2] K. O. Müller concluded that Chthonophyle may reflect the existence at Phleious of a phyle of indigenous people complementing the (assumed) three phylai of Dorians.[3] With far greater likelihood, however, the second element of the compound name is non-technical—as appears to be true of many other such names terminating in -φυλη or -φυλος—with the whole meaning simply "she of the race (i.e. φῦλον) of the earth."[4]

No less dubious is a claim based upon Xenophon's account of an assault upon Phleious by a force of exiles and their allies in 369. "When they had climbed up and had found the posts of the guards undefended, they pursued the day-guards, who numbered ten (for from each πεμπάς was always left behind one day-guard) . . ." (*Hell.* 7.2.6). E. Meyer argued that the *pempades,* or Fifths, represented a fivefold division of the Phleiasian citizenry corresponding to phylai; since, however, the number of units implied by Xenophon fails to agree with such a division, there must previously have occurred a reform whereby the number had been increased from five to ten.[5] But it may be objected that, first, numerical substantives in -άς are usually collective, not partitive, in sense;[6] and that, secondly, nothing in Xenophon's text gives the slightest hint that the *pempades* were anything other than military units. Probability rather favors assumption of ten Fives, the relation of which to any Phleiasian phylai remains unknown.

Finally, the public divisions attested by a decree found on Delos I have attributed not, with L. Robert, to Phleious, but to Corinth (§2).

§5 Epidauros

From a body of epigraphic evidence ranging in date from ca. 370 to 146 we learn of a system of four phylai, viz. the Dorian Dymanes and Hylleis and the local Epidaurian Azantioi and Hysminatai.[1] Since at least during the period of the documentation it is certain that the phylai comprised only these four, some explanation must be found for the absence of the third Dorian unit, the Pamphyloi; for its earlier existence is guaranteed by the occurrence of all three phylai at Kalymna (5 §40) and Kos (5 §41), both traditionally regarded as colonies of Epidauros (e.g. Herodotos, 7.99.2-3). The loss of the inherited phyle, and the addition of the two others, are, I will suggest, to be dated to the tyranny of Prokles. Accordingly, the cult title Pamphylaia borne by Artemis in a dedication of the second century, *IG* IV^2 1, no. 503 (= *SGDI* 3334), unless a particularly tenacious survival, is better understood in the sense "of all the phylai (or φῦλα)."[2]

Below and evidently subdividing the phylai was a second level of organization, of uncertain identification, represented by a group of close to forty substantives, all feminine and singular in grammatical form and occurring in a wide range of contexts. Below I reproduce the list compiled by F. Hiller von Gaertringen, *IG* IV^2 1, pp. 166-167 (fragmentary names are omitted):

Ἀγριάς	Λασιηΐς	Ῥωπιταΐς
Ἀλαμαΐς	Μελκιδών	Σελεγεΐς
Ἀλχμεΐς	Μεσογαΐς	Σινιάς
Ἀναιάς	Μιλτιάς	Στρατῖτις
Ἀφυλωνία	Μυσιάς	Τανταλίς
Βούνοια	Ναυπλιάς	Τειχιάς
Βρυαντίνα	Ναυφεΐς	Τενιάς
Δεξελιάς	Νυμφαΐς	Τιτρεΐς
Δωριμαχίς	Οἴσεια ἔνερθεν	Ὑσιδριάς
Ἐριλαΐς	Οἴσεια ὕπερθεν	Ὑσμιναία
Ἰσαρνιάς	Παγασίνα	Φραγιάς
Κολωναία	Πιεριάς	
Κωλεΐς	Πολιτάς	

Concerning the identification of these units there continues to be fundamental disagreement among commentators, but unnecessarily so. Keil, arguing that, since the names are uniformly of feminine gender, they must modify some (unexpressed) feminine substantive, found

among several possible candidates only *phratria* to be free of serious difficulty.[3] An identical conclusion was reached by N. Pharaklas in his 1972 volume in the *Ancient Greek Cities* series.[4] But shortly after Keil had written, cursory inspection of the names had already convinced Szanto that they denoted territorial entities of some kind; and, although he did not offer an alternative identification of the unit, on the fundamental point he was surely correct.[5] About Μεσογαῖς and Οἴσεια ἔνερθεν and ὕπερθεν, certainly, there can be no doubt; and others, such as Βούνοια, Κωλεῖς, Ναυπλιάς, Πιεριάς, Πολιτάς, and Τειχιάς, though not necessarily toponymic, at least appear to refer to some general or specific geographical feature. Still others, notably Ἀγριάς and Ἀναιάς, occur in contexts that imply a territorial disposition.[6] Among the remainder, while some are recognizably mythological (e.g. Σινιάς, Ταντα̃λίς), there is a conspicuous absence of patronymic forms. Szanto's general characterization of the units as territorial may be taken as assured.

Consideration of the relation of these units, so understood, to the phylai, however, surprisingly presents an awkward difficulty. On the usual model as exemplified by the organization of, say, Dorian Kalymna (5 §40), the phylai, as personal groupings, will have cut across, that is, have had members in many or all of, the territorial units. But an obstruction is presented by the frequent citation in the preambles of decrees, following the month and day, of boards of *katalogoi;* presumably, like the Athenian *prytaneis* (1 §1.22), they succeeded one another in a regular, periodic sequence and so might be included in the official dating formula. Invariably, the board in question is identified by the unit, but on occasion, for no apparent reason, by the phyle as well. On the expected model, the formulation ἐπ[ὶ καταλόγων β]ουλᾶς . . ., Δ[υ]μάνων Βουνοίας might naturally be taken to indicate that the *katalogoi* were drawn from the Dymanes who resided in Bounoia, implying that the board represented only a fourth part of the unit, while at other times the board might be drawn from the Hylleis, Azantioi, or Hysminatai of Bounoia.[7] But, if so, why do not *all* the formulas include citation of the phyle? Or, if it is supposed that only certain, presumably larger units were subject to apportionment by phylai, why is the same unit sometimes cited with its phyle, at other times not?[8] Barring outright inconsistency in procedure, the one straightforward reply would be that the units *subdivided* the phylai. In this case, the unit by itself would be sufficient to identify the board, while the phyle of which it was a constituent might or might not be given according to the whim to the secretary. But are we prepared to accept the Dymanes and Hylleis as territorial divisions? Parallel transformations of personal organizations elsewhere show that such a development is within the range of possibility. Against such a conclusion

is the entire remaining record of the Dorian phylai (where, that is, information on the point is available) and, as well, the likelihood, as I shall show, that at the time of the institution of the Azantioi and Hysminatai the names of all four phylai were bona fide ethnic denominations.

Were a territorial subdivision at issue, we might expect the whole-and-part relationship of phyle and unit to be reflected in their known affiliations. With one exception, these are confined to a series of honorary decrees, *IG* IV^2 1, no. 96 (fin. s. IV- init. s. III). They are:

Δυμᾶνες	Ὑλλεῖς
Βούνοια (51-52)	none
Ἀζάντιοι	Ὑσμινᾶται
Μιλτιάς (72)	Πιεριάς[9]
Παγασίνα (47)	Ὑσμιναία?[10]

Cursory inspection reveals no necessary or even significant link. True, the attribution of Hysminaia to Hysminatai, though conjectural, is hardly questionable. But the alleged localization of the two Dorian phylai in the town and of the two others in the countryside must remain beyond demonstration.[11] Even if Bounoia, affiliated with Dymanes, has something to do with a βουνός, or hill, that hill need not have belonged to the *asty.*[12] If, on the other hand, the Azantioi were really non-Dorian, this phyle might justifiably be regarded as "rural," given the possible associations of Miltias with "red earth" (μίλτος, ruddle) and of Pagasina with a farmer's term for "earth."[13] We are walking on very thin ice. What is urgently needed is a detailed study of all the unit names, particularly with a view to uncovering just such significant associations with the four phylai.

Returning to the documents, let us review the less problematic evidence for the functions of the organization. Mention has been made of the rotation of the presidency of the Council among boards of *katalogoi* representing (again) the territorial units and (in some uncertain fashion) the four phylai. Whether this rotation followed a regular sequence among the phylai, or even among the units, is not ascertainable from our small body of evidence, although it is at least clear that the boards' presidencies served to date decrees, building accounts, and other financial documents.[14] Among state magistracies, the four *epistatai,* entrusted with the direction of certain of the projects of the Epidaurian building program, were selected one from each phyle, as shown by their frequent appearance in statements of receipt.[15] Another officer, in this case with a military function, the *phrourarchos,* might conceivably have been selected according to a cycle of phylai,

for an early building account, *IG* IV^2 1, no. 102, is dated by citation of that officer, including, uniquely, his affiliation, [Ὑσ]/μινάτας (lines 9-10). Of a different order is the import of a grave stele commemorating the dead in an action "on the Isthmos" in 146, *IG* IV^2 1, no. 28. Somewhat fewer than half the 156 entries are grouped according to the four phylai,[16] but, in view of counter-instances elsewhere, it would be rash to conclude that the use of phylai as rubrics necessarily mirrors contemporary arrangements in the field.[17] Finally, a passage in the Hymns of Isyllos, *IG* IV^2 1, no. 128 (= *SGDI* 3342) (ca. 280), envisions the marshalling *kata phylas* of "the best men of the city of Epidauros" (lines 14-15) for a procession to the Asklepieion, suggesting that the phylai played a significant role in statewide cultic activity.

The question of the historical circumstances under which this developed organization came into existence has never received sustained attention, yet there are, I believe, sufficient clues as to justify a tentative reconstruction. To be explained is the (presumed) loss of the Pamphyloi and the appearance in its place of the innovating Azantioi and Hysminatai. The two developments were in all probability simultaneous. That a tripartite division—which can only have been the Dorian phylai—had once been in use is consistent with Plutarch's report (*Greek Questions* 1: 291 D-E) of an oligarchy of One Hundred Eighty. From them, he says, were chosen the *bouleutai*, known locally as *artynoi,* or "governors." If, as Halliday proposed, the oligarchy represented the phylai uniformly, their number is far more likely to have been three than four. Although no date for these arrangements is given or implied by Plutarch, so restrictive a franchise suggests an early setting, probably, as Halliday argued, prior to the establishment of the Epidaurian tyranny.[18]

If this admittedly speculative chain of reasoning is accepted, a case can be made for crediting the change to the tyranny. Of the two new phylai, Azantioi, as has previously been noticed, bears a striking resemblance to the name of an Arkadian *ethnos,* the Azanes.[19] Now, Prokles, the tyrant, is expressly said by Heraclides Ponticus (fr. 144 Wehrli) to have married Eristheneia, whose father, Aristokrates, and brother, Aristomedes, "together ruled almost all of Arkadia." Plainly a connection of this kind could not have been entirely without a political aspect. Possibly non-citizen Arkadians had played a role in bringing Prokles to power; if so, their subsequent enfranchisement through the creation of an appropriately named phyle would have been a suitable reward. Or, alternatively, the name Azantioi might have been merely honorific, drawing attention to the tyranny's intimate association with the Arkadian royal house. The latter type of explanation would seem to apply to Hysminatai, or "Warriors," a name

entirely without "ethnic" connotations of any kind. It might, accordingly, have designated a mixture of elements from the tyranny's following or even, as well, some or all of the now defunct Dorian aggregation, the Pamphyloi.[20] Territorialism, too, might have made its first appearance now, if not in the localization of the phylai, then in the creation of the units, but this is a possibility that is at present untestable. At all events, the Dorian monopoly of government, whether or not embodied in the One Hundred Eighty, had now been reduced by one-half at the level of the principal public division.

§6 Troizen

According to a fragmentary and probably corrupt citation of Kallimachos preserved in Stephanos of Byzantion, s.v. 'Αλικαρνασσός (fr. 703 Pfeiffer), "Anthes migrated (to Halikarnassos) from Troizen, taking τὴν Δύμαιναν φυλήν." Some have found here evidence that in the period of the Great Migrations overseas settlements were independently founded by the Dorian phylai.[1] Against the inference, however, is the unanimous testimony of later times that the phylai of the colonizing state acted in concert (see Index II.K.2)—not to mention the possibility that Stephanos' notice transmits only part of Kallimachos' original statement.[2] But at least the notice guarantees the existence at Troizen of the Dymanes. Additionally, the Hylleis may be added from (again) Stephanos, s.v., and possibly from an honorary decree of the early third century, *IG* IV 750+, line 8 (restored in a very uncertain context). Another phyle, Σχελιάδαι, finally, occurs in the enrollment clause of a citizenship decree tentatively dated to 369, *IG* IV 748+ (= Michel 176; *SIG*[3] 473). Unique in our record, the group, on analogy with "fourth" phylai elsewhere in the region, presumably contained the non-Dorian citizen population.[3]

For any possible information concerning the lower levels of the Troizenian organization we are entirely dependent upon a list of contributors towards the fortification of the city, *IG* IV 757 (= *SGDI* 3364),[4] dated by Fraenkel on the evidence of Polybios to 146. Pursuant to a decree of the Achaian League, certain private properties are to be made available for the project. The bulk of the text records the resulting decrees of a number of bodies of varying description: (i) exclusively religious groups (A 10-11; B 8, 14, 27, 39); (ii) πατριῶται (or "members of *patriai*") (B 6, 15-16, 17, 20-21, 25-26, 28, 34-35, 37, 41); (iii) plural patronymics in -ι(α)δαι and -εις (A 26; B 19, 24, 29-30, 32); and (iv) κῶμαι or villages (A 33, 35). Which, if any, of these groups possessed a public status? No clear answer, certainly not a positive one, seems possible. Some have noted that one of the patronymic groups, Amphineis, appears to contain a number of the *patriai*.

A striking parallel can be cited at Kameiros on Rhodes (5 §44), where a group called Amphineis, with near certainty to be identified as a *synnome,* comprised a number of units designated *patriai.*[5] But even on the (I think, doubtful) assumption that some substantial connection obtains here,[6] it is unlikely, as I show, that the Rhodian units enjoyed public status—certainly our documents give us no reason to think that they did. Never in fact does the *patria* (nor, for that matter, the *patra* or *synnome*), despite its occasional appearance in formulas of enrollment (see Index I.A.16, 26), give evidence of a public function of any substance. Of the remaining Troizenian groups, only for the *kome* might a positive case be made on the assumption that the "villages" played a role comparable to that at Argos (§7) and elsewhere (see Index I.A.11).

§7 Argos

The public status of three tiers of organization is indicated by a clause from a citizenship decree of the third century calling for enrollment "in *phyla* and *phatra* and *pentekostys* . . ." (see below). A fourth, the *kome,* though not included in the clause, is indubitably of like status. While a number of questions of chronology remain unresolved, it is at least certain that in and around the time of the citizenship decree all four divisions were in simultaneous operation.[1]

At an early date the Dorian phylai were supplemented by a fourth unit, the Ὑρνάθιοι. Commentators refer the name to Hyrnatho, who is usually characterized as an indigenous goddess or heroine artificially grafted onto the stemma of the Dorian Temenos.[2] A pre- and/or non-Dorian membership for the fourth phyle would make good sense alongside parallel developments at Sikyon (§3), Epidauros (§5), and Troizen (§6). But any hope of determining with precision the circumstances of its institution is frustrated by our uncertainty as to the time the change took place. Two lists of *damiourgoi* (the chief magistrates before the democracy) dated to the second quarter (?) and about the middle of the sixth century comprise nine and six names respectively; scholars agree in inferring that as late as ca. 550 the fourth phyle had not yet been accorded full political status, if indeed it had even come into existence by this time.[3] Lower than this *terminus post quem* by a good century stands our earliest evidence for the fourfold division, an inscribed base from the Heraion, *IG* IV 517 (= Buck 82; Michel 861; Schwyzer 96[1]). Bearing the names of four *hiaromnamones,* each identified by phyletikon, the text has been dated by Jeffery, *LSAG* 164-165; 170, no. 32, on epigraphic grounds to ca. 460-450 (?). Still, even within these broad limits it is not possible to fit the most promising candidate for the author of the reform, Pheidon. Portrayed as a cham-

pion of the inhabitants of the Argolid outside the Dorian ascendancy, Pheidon was credited by Tomlinson with "the first introduction of this non-Dorian tribe into the political life of Argos."[4] Since no calculation for Pheidon's activity brings him down as far as ca. 550, it would have to be assumed either that the reform was soon undone (so Tomlinson) or, I think, with greater likelihood that it consisted only in the creation, but not the full political enfranchisement, of the Hyrnathioi. No such qualifications, on the other hand, are needed in the case of Hammond's suggestion that the innovation belongs to a democratic program instituted following the Battle of Sepeia ca. 494, although here too there is a total absence of specific evidential support.[5]

Documentation pertaining to a second unit with public status, the *phatra,* indicates reforming activity of a different type somewhat later than the above developments. Convincingly associated with some thirty or so patronymic formations which occur regularly with Argive personal names,[6] the phratry has been shown to have replaced the phyle as the unit by which a person's citizen status was validated around 450.[7] While the circumstances of the change are not recorded, the simple fact that the *phatrai* were so more numerous suggests a response to a need for greater precision in the official designation of Argive citizens. But what of the fact that the phratry, a traditional kinship association, has in this unique instance replaced a public unit as the standard official affiliation? Obviously such a change could not have been carried out unless all citizens were, or now became, *phrateres.* As it happens, so much is indicated by a catalogue of casualties of the late fifth or early fourth century. Here, the individual lists, each headed by the name of a phyle, are further broken down by phratry.[8] The conclusion that all *phyletai* are also *phrateres* is inescapable. But does any of this suggest a public role of substance for the phratry, a finding that would directly contradict a central contention of the present work? Not in the case of the catalogue of casualties, since at the time of its publication it is highly probable that the principal division of the military in use in the field was provided not by the (four) phylai, but by the (five) *lochoi* (see further, below). Nor does the official status of the *phratrikon,* though elsewhere unexampled, really mark a significant departure from the widespread practice of enrolling new citizens in the phratries—of which Argos, again, provides an instance. All in all, there is no reason to suspect that, in the public sphere, membership in a phratry served any purpose beyond the satisfaction of a necessary condition of citizenship.

A citizenship decree of the third century (before 251), Schwyzer 90, calls upon the generals to enroll the honorand "in phyla and *phatra* and *pentekostys,* whichever he himself chooses." Elsewhere unattested for Argos, the *pentekostys* is of uncertain nature and relation to the

other Argive public units. Formally, a *pentekostys* might be either a Fiftieth or a Fifty, and both interpretations have been championed, without conclusive result.[9] Regarding the principle of organization, the designation of *pentekostyes* by plural patronymic names at Kos (5 §41) illustrates the possibility of a personal disposition, but there are at present no grounds for associating the Argive *pentekostys* with any of the patronymics just reviewed.[10] No more so, with any of the toponyms, which commentators have generally (and correctly) reserved for the securely attested term, *kome* (see below).[11] Within the region, however, the Spartan *pentekostyes* are unquestioned military units (§8). Since the organization under review is already equipped with phylai, their subdivisions, the *phatrai,* and the territorial units, the *komai,* it would be attractive to suppose a similar arrangement at Argos.[12] Such a conclusion would have the further advantage of helping to explain the presence of the generals as the authorities charged with the enrollment by our decree.

The only term recorded for a territorial unit is κώμη, used to designate Mykenai, a dependency of Argos, in decrees of the Mykenaians dated ca. 200 (see below). Since Μυκάνα occurs among the place-names that, alongside the *phratrikon,* frequently identify Argive citizens' names in official contexts, it is a reasonable inference that the term is technical and applicable to them all. Unfortunately, since, with the exception of the decrees, attestations are confined to these *kometika,* we are utterly without information regarding any statewide functions of the villages. The *komai* thus identified as public units are:[13]

Ἀράχνας	Κολωνός	Πρόσυμνα
Ἀρκωΐς	Λαγαρία	Σκληρίς
Ἀσάμι̣[νθος]	Λύρκειον	Σόλυμνα
Ἀσίνα	Μάνσητος	Στιχέλειον
Ἐλαιϝών	Μυκάνα	Σφυρηΐς
Ἐρύνειον	Πα[---]	Ὑσέα ἄνω
Ζάραξ	Παιονίς	Φολυγάς
Καλουρίς	Παλλάς	
Κεραμίς	Παρῶραι	[---]ιο[.]ις
Κερκάς	Πεδίον	[---]καιον
Κλεωναί	Ποιμωνίς	[---]λο[.]
Κοίλα	Πολεμεία	[---]νις
Κολουρίς	Ποσίδαον	.EP.IAIO.

The relation of the *kome* to the *phatra* may be deduced from the patterns of their occurrences in the identification formulas. Members of the same *phatra* sometimes belong to different *komai,* thereby eliminating the possibility that the former were contained by the latter.[14]

Regarding the converse, there is as yet no evidence that members of a given *kome* bore different *phratrika.*[15] What is the likelihood that all the citizens of a village belonged to the same phratry? The way to the probable answer is shown by the several instances of homonymous *kome* and *phatra:* Κερκάς and Κερκάδες, Σφυρηΐς and Σφυρηΐδαι, Φολυγάς and Φολυγάδαι, etc.[16] Presumably some substantive connection obtained between village and association. Thus, it may well be that, where one or the other of these homonymous units is found as the only affiliation in an identification formula, this is a shorthand expression for, e.g. *phatra* Kerkades, *kome* Kerkas.[17] But the several documented instances of an individual of a given *phatra* being affiliated with other than the homonymous *kome,* and *vice versa,* rather point to dispersion away from an original base.[18] Since the *phatra* is documented as a constitutional entity long before the *kome,*[19] it is attractive to imagine a state of affairs comparable to that obtaining in Athens at the time of Kleisthenes' reforms (1 §1.21). That is, within the period when the members of, say, Pholygadai, had already become widely dispersed, the state created, at their original center, a *kome* Pholygas, whose members will have only partially coincided with those of the *phatra.* Were our fund of evidence to increase, accordingly, we should well expect to find *kometai* affiliated with different *phatrai.*

We are left, then, with the disposition of the four phylai to consider. From an account ascribed to Sokrates of Argos, *FGrH* 310 F 6, of the seizure by a Spartan army of "the Pamphyliakon" it has been inferred that the city was partitioned into "quarters" corresponding to the four phylai.[20] But with equal probability the Pamphyliakon might have been a sanctuary or building or space not connected with the places of residences of the Pamphyloi—not to mention the possibility that the word relates not to that phyle, but rather to something held in common by "all the phylai."[21] At all events, since we now know that the phylai were subdivided by the phratries, which are bound to have been personal associations, the matter has been put beyond doubt.

With no fewer than four different units in the public sphere, it comes as a disappointment that only for the phyle have we substantive information concerning functions, although it is at least clear that this unit's range of operation was not narrowly limited. Regarding military arrangements, the famous Tanagra stele, *IG* I² 931-932 (= *SGDI* 3266; Jeffery, *LSAG* 164; 169, no. 30; Meiggs-Lewis 36), records the Argive dead from the battle of 458/7. Of the rubrics, one, Ϝυλλεῆς, is preserved at the head of the left-hand column (line 3). At a somewhat later date, viz. ca. 415 to ca. 385, another such list, already mentioned, follows a similar format except for the use of the *phatrai* to subdivide the register of each phyle. Such documents are usually taken as a

reflection of the actual deployment of the army in the field, but at least in the case of the latter text this is unlikely to have been true since, according to Thucydides' report (5.59.5, 72.4), at Mantinea in 418 five Argive *lochoi* took the field under the command of five *strategoi.* Because, in order to reconcile the contrary indications of the evidence, not one but two reforms would have to be posited, I am inclined to assume that at Argos, as at Megara (§1), the disposition of the hoplite regiments and the format of their lists of fallen did not coincide.[22] Whether or not the same applies to the cavalry is uncertain. In a dedication of the fourth or third century by the Argive *ilarchai, IG* IV 487 (= *SGDI* 3282; Michel 1065) and 488 (= *SGDI* 3319), each is affiliated with one of the four phylai. Possibly, as Wörrle emphasizes, the cavalry, always distinguished by an unusual conservatism, had not kept pace with developments occurring in other departments of the military organization.[23]

When the phylai finally do with certainty play a military role, it is under unusual, extemporaneous circumstances. On the eve of an impending assault on the city, probably in connection with the party strife erupting soon after Leuktra in 370,[24] Aeneas Tacticus reports, 11.8-10, that the Demos devised a plan to have "all Argives assemble in arms, each in his own phyle;" the purpose was to ensure that "the rich not be able, by congregating in the same place, to join in the assault with the foreigners, but rather, since they would be scattered among the phylai, be few among many phyletai." Plainly these arrangements have nothing to do with the organization of the army; indeed, Aeneas' discussion leaves the impression that they were exceptional even for the manning of the city fortifications. For a similar case, see Herakleia-on-Pontos (6 §23).

Even less straightforward are what clues we have concerning constitutional usages. Rotation of the presidency of the Haliaia (ἀρήτευε ὁ δεῖνα) among the phylai is conceivably reflected in the use of the *phyletikon* to designate this officer in decrees of the fifth century: *BCH* 77 (1953) 395-397, no. 3 (= *LSAG* 162; 169, no. 22 [ca. 475?]) and Meiggs-Lewis 42 (= Schwyzer 83; *SIG*³ 56; Guarducci, *IC* I, Cnosus no. 4; Tylisus no. 1; Buck 85; *LSAG* 165; 170, no. 39: ca. 460-450?), lines 43-44. Later, however, beginning with the rider attached to the last-mentioned decree, lines 44-48, we find the president and secretary of the Boule and movers of decrees alternatively identified by *phatra, kome,* or both together.[25] That some system of representation or rotation lurks behind this inconsistent usage seems unlikely. Nor, quite apart from their officers, is there reason to suspect that the Haliaia and the Boule were themselves constituted according to public unit. The numbers involved, however, do favor an association of another Argive deliberative body, the Eighty, with the four phylai.[26] Numerical

congruence is also the basis, as noted, for the assumption of a connection between the lists of nine and six *damiourgoi* and the three Dorian phylai prior to the enfranchisement of the Hyrnathioi.

In the religious sphere, an isolated reference to τοὶ Ὑλ(λ)ῆς occurs in uncertain context in a *lex sacra* of the second quarter of the sixth century (?), *IG* IV 506 (= *LSAG* 158; 168, no. 9; q.v. for the date). But the boards of *hiaromnamones* are certain to have represented the four phylai, at first directly (*IG* IV 517; see above), later indirectly through their constituent *phatrai* (e.g. *IG* IV 530).[27]

Turning to internal organization, our only documentary evidence of relevant date concerns the *komai,* in particular Mykenai around the beginning of the second century. Two decrees confer honors on benefactors: *IG* IV 497 and C. A. Boethius, *ABSA* 25 (1921-23) 408-428; a third sets up regulations for the use of an endowment: *IG* IV 498. Terming itself the κώμα (498; *ABSA*) or the κωμέται (497; 498), the association publishes its decrees in the name of the ἁλιαία τελεία of the Mykenaians (497; *ABSA*). The preambles of all three texts cite the president (ἀρήτευε) of the δαμιοργοί, presumably an executive board of the organization. Both assembly and board, as well as the formulaic language, bear the distinctive stamp of the state government. Subordinate officials are the [τα]μίας and γροφεύς (498).

The honors conferred on benefactors include, besides their recognition as *euergetai* (497; *ABSA*), *proedria* at the Dionysia (ibid.). According to one of the decrees, "the partnership in the ἀγῶνες that the *kome* stages" (partly restored) is to be renewed with the Lakedaimonians, with the ἀγωνοθέτης (of the Dionysia, restored) and the *damiorgoi* sharing the responsibility for superintendence (*ABSA*). Funding originates in one instance in the interest earned from an endowment (498). Management of this endowment involved in some uncertain manner an oath (line 6) and, in the event of malversation, judicial proceedings (lines 7-8). Besides the theater implied by the grant of *proedria,* properties of the *kome* mentioned are confined to the *stele* and, if the restoration is correct, to a ἱαρόν (*ABSA*).

The decision to renew the κοινωνία with the Lakedaimonians affords a very rare example of a public unit's independently maintaining relations with a foreign power. For the other instances, see Naxos (5 §21) and Kos (5 §41).

All the foregoing discussion pertains to arrangements of the Archaic, Classical, and Hellenistic periods. After ca. 200 the sources fall silent until early in the Imperial age when the ancient phylai surface again as the authors of a number of honorary inscriptions: *IG* IV 596 (= *SGDI* 3294), 597, 598 (= *SGDI* 3292), 599, 600 (= *SGDI* 3295), 601 (= *SGDI* 3296), and 602. While in each text the phylai act individually, two texts record similar accolades for the same honorand in the names

of both the Pamphylai (599) and the Hyrnathioi (600). Since this honorand is expressly termed "benefactor of the city" (600), it is probable that, as elsewhere, all the phylai have acted in concert. In the majority of cases, in fact, the honorand has conferred his benefits on the entire community (596, 597, 600, 602), although once the phyle cites "the benefactions to itself" (598). Patronage of a single phyle may also be the point of the phrase *τὸν ἴδιον προστάτην* attached to a public benefactor by the Hyrnathioi (602; cf. 603).

§8 Sparta

According to Plutarch, *Lykourgos* 6, a Spartan *rhetra,* identified by the author as an oracle obtained from Delphi, prescribed a legislative procedure whereby a Senate of thirty would prepare the agenda for meetings of the Spartan Assembly. Of uncertain relation to this larger purpose is the participial element (of which either Lykourgos or the Spartan Demos might be the subject): *φυλὰς φυλάξαντα καὶ ὠβὰς ὠβάξαντα.* At the minimum, it is agreed by all that both the phylai and the *obai,* or "villages," are components of the citizen population. Elsewhere, deliberative and legislative bodies of various kinds are known at later dates to have been arranged according to public unit (almost invariably the phyle: see Index II.D.4), so it may well be, as others have suggested, that part of the intent is to establish procedure for the Assembly. But, if so, how much of this is new? Is the previous existence of the phylai and *obai* assumed? If it is, is the one division or the other, or both, now being empowered constitutionally for the first time?[1]

Although fully satisfactory answers to these questions are not obtainable on present evidence, much of importance about both phylai and *obai* can be ascertained from our few additional sources. First, the (in any case hardly dubitable) existence of the phylai at an early date is shown by Herodotos' report, 4.148, that the Spartan Theras, when settling Thera, drew his colonists "from the phylai." Since Thera's historical phylai are known to have been the Dymanes, Hylleis, and Pamphyloi (5 §25), it follows that these were also Sparta's. Thus the words *φυλὰς φυλάξαντα* cannot mean "create phylai." That they no more refer to a *change* of phylai is indicated, further, by a fragmentary poem of Tyrtaios, fr. 19 West, depicting a fighting force, probably (but not certainly) Spartan, as "fencing itself with hollow shields, singly Pamphyloi, Hylleis, and [Dymanes], brandishing man-killing spears in their hands . . ." Because elsewhere Tyrtaios reveals knowledge of the *Rhetra,* his phylai should reflect conditions later than the reform, provided that it is assumed that the fragment pertains to military arrangements in the poet's own day.[2]

By parity of reasoning the parallel expression ὠβὰς ὠβάξαντα need not indicate anything regarding the creation or a major revision of the names or numbers of the *obai.* So much would appear confirmed by the remaining record. Epigraphic sources of late Hellenistic and Imperial date (see below) name a total of five *obai,* Amyklaieoi, Kynoureis, Limnaieis, Neopol(e)itai, and Pitanatai. Of these Kynoureis, Limnaieis, and Pitanatai correspond to three of the four *komai,* or "villages," that comprised Sparta proper; the fourth, Mesoa, may be assumed to be absent owing to accident of preservation.[3] The Amyklaieoi must, of course, be the *oba* of Amyklai, the village located in the Eurotas Valley a short distance south of Sparta and incorporated into the Spartan state ca. 750. Neopoleitai, which appears to have differed in that it corresponds to no specific locale, is, as the name implies and by common scholarly consent, an innovation probably no earlier than the third century (see below). Thus five *obai,* the town quarters plus Amyklai, would appear guaranteed before the time of the *Rhetra;* and the only assured addition comes centuries afterwards. Attempts have been made to lengthen the list, but on evidence so questionable as hardly to merit full rehearsal here.[4] That no additional units crop up in the Imperial texts must at any rate be considered a strong *prima facie* argument against major gaps in our earlier record.

Five *obai* make for an attractive reconstruction of the military organization of the early fifth century. According to a statement of Herodotos, 9.53.2-3, at Plataia in 479 the Spartans fielded a "*lochos* of Pitana." Since the *lochoi* are known from a passage in Aristotle to have at some point numbered five, there is much to recommend the suggestion that each regiment was drawn from one of the five territorial districts. But there are complications. Thucydides in a famous passage, 1.20.3, with patent reference to Herodotos (whom, however, he does not cite by name), denies that "a Pitanate *lochos*" ever existed. Nor is such mentioned by Aristotle in his list of the names of the regiments; indeed, the list reveals only one coincidence with the five *obai,* viz. the Mesoate. But the hypothesis can be saved, H. T. Wade-Gery saw, if it is assumed that Aristotle in every instance save one provides only "nicknames" for the *lochoi;* and if, accordingly, it is further assumed that Thucydides' point turns—or should have turned—on the nomenclature, not the existence, of the *lochos* of Pitana.[5]

By such arguments we arrive at a Classical organization of five *obai,* viz. Kynosoura, Limna, Mesoa, and Pitana, making up Sparta proper, and a fifth, Amyklai. As territorial divisions, the *obai* were cut across by the personal associations, the phylai Dymanes, Hylleis, and Pamphyloi. Since, as emphasized, neither the creation nor the alteration of either set of units is at question, it is probable (to return to our initial question) that the meaning of our clause is not, as Plutarch

interpreted, "to divide and distribute the population into sections" (loc. cit.). Rather, the *Rhetra* calls for the convening of a regular popular assembly with the citizens arranged according to already existing units of population (phylai) and territory (*obai*). Doubtless this meant that the Dymanes, Hylleis, and Pamphyloi of, say, Pitana would marshal themselves by phyle, and so on for the other four *obai.* The clause might also refer, albeit cryptically, to the enfranchisement of all *phyletai* and *obatai,* but the attraction of this assumption would depend upon one's view of the general scope of the Lykourgan reform. At least, however, if the privilege of attending the Assembly is assumed to have been extended to all—and only to—citizens, it would follow that both phylai and *obai* were coterminous with the citizen class.

Most remaining evidence for public arrangements in Classical Sparta pertains to the military organization. Mention has been made of the five obal *lochoi,* one of which, the Pitanate, provides the earliest recorded appearance of the unit, at Plataia in 479. The time of their creation was necessarily later than the poem of Tyrtaios, mentioned above, revealing the existence of the three phyle regiments; if this poem in fact postdates the *Rhetra,* the change to the new system could not have been the work of Lykourgos. Still, at least a motive for the reform may be ascertained since, as observed by Forrest, members of a given *oba,* in contrast to the members of a phyle, will have lived in close proximity to one another, thereby facilitating the training and mustering of the regiments.[6] But subsequent evidence leaves the impression that this straightforward arrangement did not endure for long: the *lochoi* were increased to six, then to still larger numbers, and Classical sources attest to the existence of a bewildering array of other units, of uncertain or disputed relation to the *lochos:* the *mora, enomotia, pentekostys,* and *triakas.* Although both the latter two occur elsewhere in contexts not of a military nature, there is no reason to suspect a general public role at Sparta.[7] Rather, it is probable that here—as in all likelihood at Megara (§1) and Argos (§7)—the army had gradually abandoned all ties with the strictly public divisions in favor of other, more efficient or sophisticated arrangements of its own.

Substantive functions of the phylai are otherwise confined to Herodotos' statement (4.145.5) that the Spartans, upon their incorporation of the Minyans, "parceled out to them land and distributed them ἐς φυλάς;" and to a notice in Plutarch's *Lykourgos,* 16.1, that the elders of the *phyletai* scrutinized the newborn Spartiate infants at the Lesche. As for the *obai,* representation may be reflected in the existence of several fivefold boards.[8]

So stood Spartan public arrangements near the end of the fifth century. Succeeding ages, however, see, despite the retention of the organization's official nomenclature, drastic alterations of its substance.

Not paralleled to such a degree in any other state, these changes amount to a transformation of the territorial *obai* into purely personal associations, resulting in their acquiring the alternative identifying technical term "phyle." Meanwhile, the true phylai, the Dymanes, Hylleis, and Pamphyloi, disappear from the record altogether.

The initial phase of the process is to be traced to the creation of the sixth *oba,* Neopolitai, "New Citizens." Although the unit is not attested until the Imperial period, the innovation has been ascribed with plausibility to Kleomenes III. In 227, the king is reported by Plutarch to have "filled out the citizenbody with the finest of the *perioikoi* and brought the hoplite force to 4,000."[9] Such new citizens will presumably not immediately, simply as a consequence of their enfranchisement, have removed their residences to the city or to Amyklai, but will in most cases have continued to inhabit the *perioikis.* If, then, all Spartiatai were to have an obal affiliation, the simplest solution, short of conferring obal status on all perioikic towns in which the newly enfranchised happened to reside, would have been to create a single *oba* for all. This way, too, the numerical superiority of the older units would be guaranteed regardless of disparities in the size of actual memberships. But the crucial development, at least for our analysis, was the creation of a unit officially termed *oba,* which nonetheless was not defined with reference to territory.

Such a body could with equal reason have been placed alongside the Dymanes, Hylleis, and Pamphyloi. Not only was it not, but the three latter associations appear to pass out of existence entirely. Why? The answer is to be found, I believe, in connection with the outsiders—not only *perioikoi* but *hypomeiones* and foreigners as well—admitted to the citizenbody by Kleomenes. To the extent that these new citizens were of other than Dorian origin, the designations "Dymans," "Hylleus," and "Pamphylos" would have lost their constitutional integrity—whether the newcomers falsely acquired Dorian affiliations or simply remained outside the phyle-organization. But the same would not have applied in the case of the *obai,* since establishment of the appropriate residence was by itself sufficient to place the new Spartiate on equal footing with existing citizens. Nonetheless, a process potentially affecting the disposition of the *obai* with the passage of time was the inevitable gradual relocation of their memberships. On the assumption that obal affiliation was hereditary, the result would have been the general diminution of the units' territorial cohesion. Or, to put it another way, with time the memberships of the *obai* probably came to approximate personal associations possessing no strong connection with their original village centers. A probable specific illustration of the process is afforded by the *Mesoatas* who became *epimeletes* of Amyklai; presumably this man, though nominally affil-

iated with Mesoa, resided in the (relatively) distant village he administered.[10] After the passage of centuries, the *obai* would not have differed essentially from the phylai. Under these circumstances, one or the other division might be regarded as superfluous, surely, in this instance, the less meaningful Dymanes, Hylleis, and Pamphyloi. Along such lines, perhaps, we can understand the unparalleled double designation of the Kynoureis and Limnaeis in Imperial inscriptions as both *obai* and phylai, while, at the same time, no citation of any of the Dorian phylai occurs in a relatively copious record.[11] In other states, two entirely separate but coterminous organizations are known to have coexisted for comparatively lengthy periods of time.[12] Sparta diverges from the pattern in that she allows the lesser organization to pass out of existence while salvaging its nomenclature and illogically attaching it to the survivor.

Whatever the precise nature of the process, the *obai* remained in late Hellenistic times vigorous corporations, to judge from two decrees, *IG* V 1, no. 26 (= Michel 182; *SGDI* 4516; Schwyzer 23; *SIG*[3] 932) (s. II aut I) and no. 27 (s. I?). Of the two, the former, a decree of the Amyklaieoi, is preserved entire, and presents a picture of a well developed internal structure. Headed by citation of the three *δογματογράφοι*, or "drafters of decrees," presumably (unlike the state's eponymous named in line 4) officers of the *oba,* the decree honors the Amyklaians' three *ἔφοροι* of the preceding year for their meritorious service.[13] Recalling practice at the Argive *kome* of Mykenai (§7), these local ephors of course imitate the nomenclature of the state government. The honorands are to be praised (*ἐπαινέσαι*) and are to receive for life a *μερίς*, or sacrificial portion, at each *προστροπά*—evidently a periodic religious ceremony of the *oba.* Praise alone is to be accorded their *grammateus,* another officer of the association. Responsible for the engraving and erection of a stone stele bearing the decree in the sanctuary of Alexandra (known from Pausanias, 3.19.6, to have stood in Amyklai town) and for rendering an account of the expenses incurred are *τοὺς* (*ἐπὶ ταῦτα*) *καταστα*ϑ*έντες* (lines 13, 16-17). If not merely ad hoc appointees, these might include the *tamias* largely restored (line 28) in the very fragmentary second decree, of an unknown *oba,* no. 27. This document also subsumes under "all the *τ*[*ίμια*] of the *oba*" *σ*ε̣*ίτησιν ἐ*[*ν τῷ*]/[*πρυτανείῳ - - τᾶ*]*ς ὠβ*̣*ᾶ*[*ς*] (lines 19-20). If sound, the restoration would add a public, communal building. Finally, both the presence of the *tamias* in the second decree and the undertaking by the *oba* in the first to "pay the expense" (line 15) point to an independent financial capacity.

A possible statewide function of the Hellenistic *obai* is indicated by two *tegulae* found near the walls of the city inscribed *Πιτανατᾶν*, *IG* V 1, no. 917. Dated to the third century, the inscriptions may

pertain to the section of the wall assigned to the *oba,* as Wace suggested.[14] For the only close parallel, see Sardeis (8 §9), where tiles from the Temple of Artemis bear abbreviations of the names of phylai (?).

What, if anything, of this organization survived into the Imperial period cannot be determined, for our documentation is severely limited in scope. Now interchangeably termed "phyle," the *oba* provides the affiliation of citizens, e.g. Κονοουρεύς (*IG* V 1, no. 566) and Πιτανάτης (nos. 472, 663). Otherwise, the record consists largely of the well known "ball-game" inscriptions, *IG* V 1, nos. 674 (= *SGDI* 4478), 675-677, 678 (= *SGDI* 4467), 679 (= *SGDI* 4469), 680-688 (plus no. 834?), all falling within the chronological range ca. 70-75 to 212 A.D. (or later). With one exception, no. 678, where it appears that the competition had been held within a single unit, all the inscriptions commemorate the victory by the winning *oba* in an (annual) statewide competition. Headed by citation of the state's eponymous *patronomos,* several of the inscriptions name two officers of uncertain function, the βίδεος (or βίδυος) and the διαβέτης. Both, unless statewide officers representing the *obai,* may have belonged to their internal organizations: the βίδεοι number six in late Hellenistic and Imperial inscriptions; and two *cursus* of the early second century A.D., *IG* V 1, nos. 32 (A 2, B 5-6) and 34 (2-3, restored), include the διαβέτης Λιμναέων. Often named, too, is the πρέσβυς; the πρέσβυς τῆς Λιμναέων φυλῆς honored by the *polis* in no. 564 practically guarantees the status of obal official. Exceptionally, one text, no. 682, has been restored to cite alternately the [ἐπιμελη]τοῦ or [προστά]του "of the phyle."[15]

Outside the context of the ball games, the *cursus* of a citizen lauded by the *polis,* no. 480 (= *SGDI* 4481), mentions "the honors given by the phyle Konooureis" (lines 9-11).

NOTES

§1 Megara

1. G. C. Richards, *JHS* 18 (1898) 332 (fifth century). Richards wrote that S. P. Lambros had reported upon "a boundary stone inscription from Megara of the fifth century . . . at a meeting of the German Institute." The possibility that the stone is lost was suggested by Jeffery, *LSAG* 138, no. 12.

2. For the rubrics Edmonson (*per litt.*) reads [Δυμᾶνες] (line 1); Ϝυλλῆς (line 8); [Π]άμφυλοι (line 14); and, at line 26, an addition: [---]νὶ Ϝυλλεύς. For the "pan-Dorian order," see my "The Order of the Dorian Phylai," *CP* 75 (1980) 197-215.

3. For the boards of five and six *strategoi,* the chronology of which has been debated, see K. Hanell, *Megarische Studien* (Lund 1934) 138-140; and, more recently, R. P. Legon, *Megara* (Ithaca and London 1981) 48, note 23.

4. Alternatively, as at Athens (1 §1.29), the regiments continued to be based on the phylai, while the number of generals fluctuated—in this case, grew—according to need.

5. = *SGDI* 3025; Michel 20; *RIJG* I 342-349, no. 16; *SIG*³ 471; Schwyzer 157; Buck 99.

6. F. Hiller von Gaertringen, *IG* IV² 1, ad loc.

7. On the attribution to Aristotle, see K. Giesen, "Plutarchs Quaestiones Graecae und Aristoteles' Politien," *Philologus* 60 (1901) 446-471; and, for a more recent statement, K. Ziegler,

"Plutarchos," *RE* 21.1 (1951) 636-962: 862-863. The passage is not included in V. Rose's collection of the fragments of the *politeia* of Megara, *Aristotelis qui ferebantur librorum fragmenta* (Stuttgart 1886) 550 (p. 340).

8. For the generals, see above, note 3. The other boards are attested epigraphically at *IG* VII 41 (242-223) (*damiourgoi*) and 27-28 (223-192) (*polemarchoi*). For the assumption of a formal fivefold territorial partition of the Megarid, see Szanto, 18; N. G. L. Hammond, *ABSA* 49 (1954) 95; and Legon (above, note 3) 48-55. For the connection with the boards of magistrates, see Busolt, *Staatskunde* 257; Hanell (above, note 3) 139; and Legon (above, note 3) 47-48.

9. Conversely, Legon (above, note 3) 47-48 denies that this division of the Megarid reflects pre-Dorian conditions, while maintaining that the *komai* played a constitutional role in historical times.

10. For what little is known of the locations of the *komai*, see Legon (above, note 3) 49-53. On the most likely assignment of four of the five, a vacuum remains in the eastern region, which Legon hypothetically fills by placing within it the ill-attested Kynosoura.

11. Legon (above, note 3) 47-48 argues from Aristotle, *Poetics* 3 (1448 A) that "the Megarians did indeed equate their *komai* with the Athenian demes." But the passage implies or suggests nothing regarding any possible constitutional functions of the former that might approximate those of the Kleisthenic units. Not all Attic *demoi* became constitutional demes; Aristotle is simply saying that the Megarians used the term *kome* to designate an outlying "village."

12. The association of *kome* and *hekatostys* by Legon (above, note 3) 48, note 23, is simply asserted without acknowledgment of this difficulty.

13. For examples, see the articles "Kynosoura 1-5)," *RE* 12.1 (1924) 36-37.

14. Legon (above, note 3) 48, note 23, glosses *hekatostys* as a "century," on the assumption (again) of its association with the *kome*. But the only evidence favoring a military function for the latter is the hypothetical link with the (five) generals.

15. For the date, see E. Groag, *Die römischen Reichsbeamten von Achaia bis auf Diokletian* (Vienna 1939) 69-70.

16. For a possible parallel within the region, see Corinth (§2) ad fin.

17. For the rebuilding of the Temple of Apollo, see Pausanias, 1.42.5. For the Emperor as σωτῆρι ῥυσαμένῳ καὶ θρέψαντι τὴν ἑαυτοῦ Ἑλλάδα, see the dedication by "the Greeks congregating at Plataia," *SIG*³ 835A, lines 1-3. On both topics, see the discussion of W. Weber, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Hadrianus* (Leipzig 1907) 180-181, and 195-196.

§2 Corinth

1. See Nicholas F. Jones, "The Civic Organization of Corinth," *TAPA* 110 (1980) 161-193: 187. Throughout I offer only a simplified version of the argument of this more detailed study, which should be consulted for all references.

Space does not permit consideration of either G. Bockisch, "Kypselos und die Bakchiaden," *Klio* 64 (1982) 51-66, or J. B. Salmon, *Wealthy Corinth* (Oxford 1984) 413-419 (Appendix I. "The Corinthian Local Tribes"). At some future date, I hope to comment upon Dr. Salmon's reconstruction in detail.

2. Jones (above, note 1) 162, 177-178.
3. Jones (above, note 1) 162-165.
4. Jones (above, note 1) 165-172.
5. Jones (above, note 1) 172-175.
6. Jones (above, note 1) 175-177.
7. Jones (above, note 1) 177-185.
8. Jones (above, note 1) 185-186.
9. Jones (above, note 1) 187-193.

10. Actual readings for the names of the *tribus* are given only where there could be doubt regarding the identity of the eponym. For the identification of Claudia as a *tribus*, see J. Wiseman, *Hesperia* 41 (1972) 37, note 90.

11. For additional details on the Greek text, see Jones (above, note 1) 175.

12. On the eponyms, see West's and Kent's commentaries. For the suggestion of a renaming of some of the *tribus* after Actium, see *Corinth* VIII 2, no. 16, commentary.

13. See *Corinth* VIII 2, no. 16, commentary. For another *patronus*, in this case of Maneia, see *Corinth* VIII 2, no. 56 (ca. A.D. 135).

§3 Sikyon

1. R. W. Macan, *Herodotus: the Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Books* (London 1895) 210, 211, on 5.68. In support of his theory Macan cites the interpretation of the Aigialeis as "the non-Dorian population 'along shore.' " See also Szanto, 15-16. Of course the hypothesis requires us to associate the Aigialeis with Kleisthenes' organization, despite the fact that Herodotos explicitly says that this phyle did not come into existence until the reinstitution of the Dorian names.

2. Macan (above, note 1) loc. cit. See further A. B. Cook, *JHS* 14 (1894) 169.

3. J. B. Bury, *A History of Greece* I (London 1902) 164 ff., followed by W. W. How and J. Wells, *A Commentary on Herodotus* II (Oxford 1912) 35, on 5.68.1.

4. For example, R. Halliday, "Orthagoriscus," *CR* 38 (1924) 15, sees the new names, which he concedes are derisive, as a reaction to provocation on the part of the Dorian ruling class.

5. Thus A. Andrewes, *The Greek Tyrants* (London 1956) 59.

6. For recent discussion of the origins and composition of the Orthagorids, see H. Rudolph, "Die ältere Tyrannis in Sikyon," *Chiron* 1 (1971) 75-83; and G. Bockisch, "Zur sozialen und ethnischen Herkunft der Tyrannen von Sikyon," *Klio* 58 (1976) 527-534.

7. A Griffin, *Sikyon* (Oxford 1982) 51, 60-61.

8. P. J. Bicknell, "Herodotos 5.68 and the Racial Policy of Kleisthenes of Sikyon," *GRBS* 23 (1982) 193-201. Let two objections to the proposed text be briefly noted here. First, the secluded phyle name is unlikely to have been a gloss on the preceding name, Hyatai (p. 196), since Herodotos himself provides the eponyms, making any such explanation unnecessary. Secondly, even if the presence of a gloss could be justified, what would have been the point of adducing—or concocting—the unparalleled name Choireatai? Surely this is to explain the *obscurum per obscurius.*

§4 Phleious

1. Pausanias, 2.6.6; cf. 2.12.6.

2. Schol. on Apollonios of Rhodes, 1.115; Stephanos of Byzantion, s.v. Φλιοῦς.

3. *Die Dorier* II² (Breslau 1844) 54, note 6. Müller's interpretation was subsequently adopted by E. Meyer, "Phleius," *RE* 20.1 (1941) 282.

4. For lists of such compound proper-names, see F. Dornseiff and B. Hansen, *Rückläufiges Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen* (Berlin 1957) pp. 55 (-φυλη) and 260 (-φυλος).

5. Meyer (above, note 3) 287.

6. As shown by L. Robert, *Hellenika* 5 (Paris 1948) 10-12. For *pempas,* however, the partitive sense is in fact attested for Miletos: *SIG*³ 57, lines 35 and 39.

§5 Epidauros

1. *IG* IV² 1, nos. 28+ (146); 96 (fin. s. IV-init. s. III); 102 (= *SGDI* 3325; Michel 584) (ca. 370); 103+ (ca. 360/350-330); 106 (ca. 330-320); 108 (ca. 330-320); A. Burford, *ABSA* 61 (1966) 296-300, no. 14 (ca. 330-320). For the building accounts, *IG* IV² 1, nos. 102, 103+, 106, and 108, the texts cited and their dates are those of Burford, op. cit., 254-339.

2. The connection with the Pamphyloi is assumed by Höfer, "Pamphylaia," in Roscher's *Lexikon* III 1, 1347; B. Keil, *MDAI(A)* 20 (1895) 29-30; Szanto, 17; and Kruse, "Pamphylaia," *RE* 18.3 (1949) 354. For the suggested alternative interpretation, compare, with L. R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States* 2 (Oxford 1896) 464, the title Pandemos of Aphrodite. For Zeus Panphylos at Megara and the Pamphyliakon at Argos, see my discussions, §1, 7.

3. B. Keil, *MDAI(A)* 20 (1895) 31-33.

4. *Archaies Hellenikes Poleis XII: Epidauria* (Athens 1972) 25.

5. Szanto, 17-18 with note 36.

6. *IG* IV² 1, no. 75, line 13; 71, lines 15-18.

7. For references, see *IG* IV² 1, Index IV, pp. 166-167, s.v. (Δᾶμοι?), where all the citations, save no. 71, lines 16 and 17, pertain to the *katalogoi.* On occasion, e.g. nos. 42, 54, 58, the board is represented by a single individual.

8. Thus, e.g., Miltias with the phyle at *IG* IV² 1, no. 96, line 72, without at no. 103, line 68; Bounoia with the phyle at no. 96, lines 51-52, without at no. 103, lines 101, 109. No such examples occur, however, within the proxeny decrees, no 96, where all but one of the collocations are found (see below).

9. At *IG* IV² 1, no. 103, line 63, Hiller von Gaertringen prints nomen and affiliation as [E]ὑρυμήδης Πιεριάδος Ὑσμιναίας, thereby juxtaposing two of the units, which, on the assumption that a citizen can have only one affiliation, is impossible. The simplest remedy is to assume that the latter is in error for the nominative singular phyletikon Ὑσμινάτας. If so, this would be our only such unit-and-phyle combination outside the proxeny decrees, but no other explanation for the text is at hand.

10. The only ground for the association is verbal similarity; nowhere are the unit and phyle conjoined.

11. The passage from Plutarch cited below, *Greek Questions* 1 (291 D-E), contrasts the citizen elite of 180, from whom the *artynoi* (glossed as *bouleutai*) were chosen, with "most of the *demos,*" who lived in the countryside and were called Dusty Feet. But nothing is implied regarding the distribution of Dorians and non-Dorians between town and country. For the positive interpretation, however, see W. Halliday, *The Greek Questions of Plutarch* (Oxford 1928) 39-41.

12. So Halliday (above, note 11) 39-41.

13. Hesychios, s.v. *παγάς· γῆ τις ὑπὸ τῶν γεωργῶν.*

14. *IG* IV² 1, no. 42 (ca. 221/0), lines 15-16; and, among the texts cited in note 1, nos. 96 passim; 103, lines 57 and 120-121; 106 and 108 passim.

15. *IG* IV² 1, nos. 102, 103, 106, 108.

16. The rubrics occur at lines 3, 10, 25, 47, with an additional Hysminatas appended at lines 163-164. The remaining names fall under the heading "Achaians and *synoikoi*" (line 59). For the true reading of line 25, *Ἀζάτιοι*, i.e. *Ἀζά(ν)τιοι*, instead of the name printed in the text, *Λεκάτιοι*, see the addendum, p. 143 (on no. 28).

17. See on Megara (§1), Argos (§7), and Sparta (§8); and, outside the region, Kos (5 §41).

18. W. Halliday, "The Alleged Existence of a Hyrnathian Tribe at Epidauros," *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology* 10 (1923) 27-32: 31, where the point is made that 60 (and 600) are "favorite figures in oligarchical constitutions." By contrast, Gilbert II, 86, had placed the oligarchy after the tyranny.

19. Thus K. Latte, *Gnomon* 7 (1931) 115; J. Wackernagel, in M. Nilsson, *Homer and Mycenae* (London 1933) 178, note 1; and M. Nilsson, *Cults, Myths, Oracles, and Politics in Ancient Greece* (Lund 1951) 74.

20. The name Hysminatai itself does not, however, *pace* K. Latte, *Gnomon* 7 (1931) 115, reveal a non-Dorian association. The fact that the known occurrences of *ὑσμίνη*, "battle," are for the most part confined to epic does not preclude non-literary usages in other dialects, including Doric. For discussion of the term, with references, see H. Trümpy, *Kriegerische Fachausdrücke im griechischen Epos* (Basel 1950) 162-165, no. 12. The etymology is accepted by Frisk II, 974, s.v.

§6 Troizen

1. E.g. by K. J. Müller, *Die Dorier* II² (Breslau 1844) 72.

2. On the text and interpretation of Stephanos' notice, see the discussion of G. L. Huxley, *GRBS* 6 (1965) 213-214. None of Huxley's findings, unfortunately, aids us in the understanding of Kallimachos' point.

3. The form *Σχελιάδας* was first correctly interpreted by Szanto, 17, as nominative singular in agreement with the subject. B. Keil, *MDAI(A)* 20 (1895) 29-30, had previously suggested emendation to *Σχελιάδος*, genitive singular feminine of a supposed **Σχελιάς*.

4. The stone has recently been studied by F. J. Frost, "Skyllaieis, a District of Troizenia," *AJA* 84 (1980) 186-188.

5. E.g. by A. Andrewes, *ABSA* 52 (1957) 32-33.

6. Amphineis also occurs in northwest Greece as a tribal name of some kind: L. Robert, *Hellenica* 10 (1955) 284. See also P. Calligas, *ABSA* 66 (1971) 89 with note 59. Descent from a common source might accordingly be entertained as a possibility.

§7 Argos

1. For a recent, fully documented study of the Argive public organization, see M. Wörrle, *Untersuchungen zur Verfassungsgeschichte von Argos im 5. Jahrhundert vor Christus* (Diss. Erlangen 1964) 11-31. Earlier comprehensive treatments include H. Francotte, "L'Organisation de la cité d'Argos," *Musée Belge* 13 (1909) 321-324; and M. Mitsos, *Πολιτικὴ ἱστορία τοῦ Ἄργους* (Athens 1945).

2. Besides the documentary sources cited below, one or more of the four phylai figure in Herodotos, 5.68 (the three Dorian phylai in existence at the time of the reform of Kleisthenes at Sikyon [§3]); Ephoros, *FGrH* 70 F 15 (= Stephanos of Byzantion, s.v. *Δυμᾶνες*) (all four phylai, but Argos not mentioned); Stephanos of Byzantion, s.v. *Ὑλλεῖς* (Hylleis). For the fourth phyle, see Gilbert II, 77; Busolt, *Staatskunde*, 131; K. Latte, "Phyle 1)," RE 20.1 (1941) 994-1011: 998; Wörrle (above, note 1) 11. The suggestion that Aristotle's phrase, *Politics* 5.2.8 (1303 A): *καὶ ἐν Ἄργει τῶν ἐν τῇ ἑβδόμῃ . . .*, be filled out sc. *φυλῇ* lacks the support of any evidence for a phyle beyond the four attested.

3. The dates are those of Jeffery, *LSAG* 156-158, 168, no. 7 and 168, no. 8 (= Sokolowski, *LSCG* Suppl. 27). In her catalogue, the latter text is also dated "c. 575-550?" For the view that the *damiourgoi* represent the phylai, see e.g. N. G. L. Hammond, "An Early Inscription at Argos," *CQ* 54 (1960) 33-36: 36.

4. R. A. Tomlinson, *Argos and the Argolid* (Ithaca 1972) 188-189; cf. 86, 183.

5. Hammond (above, note 3) 36, note 1. So also Wörrle (above, note 1) 12.

6. For the names, see Guarducci, *L'Istituzione* II, 87-89; Mitsos (above, note 1) 66 with note 5; P. Amandry, *Hesperia* 21 (1952) 216-219; P. Charneux, *BCH* 82 (1958) 1-15; and, the best synoptic treatment to date, Wörrle (above, note 1) 17-18, 23-25 (with a list of the names at 17, note 32). For more recent additions, see M. Piérart and J.-P. Thalmann, *BCH* Suppl. 6 (1980) 255-273; M. Piérart, *BCH* 105 (1981) 611-613 (on the catalogue of fallen cited below, note 8); 106 (1982) 124; and R. S. Stroud, *Hesperia* 53 (1984) 193-216. Two very valuable recent

discussions are M. Piérart, "Phratries et 'kômai' d'Argos," *BCH* 107 (1983) 269-275; and P. Charneux, "Phratries et kômai d'Argos," *BCH* 108 (1984) 207-227.

7. Thus argues Wörrle (above, note 1) 16-17, 19-20.

8. Ch. Kritzas, Κατάλογος Πεσόντων ἀπὸ τὸ Ἄργος in ΣΤΗΛΗ: Τόμος εἰς Μνήμην Νικολάου Κοντολέοντος (Athens 1979) 497-510. For discussion of the date of the list, see pp. 509-510, where the author establishes the outside limits as 416 and 388/7.

9. For the literature, see Wörrle (above, note 1) 26-31. The case is complicated because, unlike *trittys* at one extreme, or *chiliastys* at the other, both partitive and collective senses would make for reasonable political divisions. For further valuable discussion, see L. Robert, *Hellenica* 5 (Paris 1948) 10-12.

10. To be sure, while none of the patronymic forms is expressly identified as pertaining to a *phatra*, the fact that both the *phatra* and the *pentekostys* stand in the enrollment formula shows their contemporaneity. Moreover, in no instance does more than one patronymic stand with an Argive's name. It is more likely that all are to be associated with the *phatra* than all, or any, with the *pentekostys*.

11. The attempt by M. Piérart, *BCH* 107 (1983) 269-275, to identify the toponyms as *pentekostyes* has been convincingly refuted by P. Charneux, *BCH* 108 (1984) 207-227.

12. Compare, within the region, Megara (§1), where, besides the phylai, we find *komai* (not certified constitutional units, however) and *hekatostyes*, which need not, as sometimes alleged, have been identified or otherwise associated with one another.

13. For the great majority of the examples, references may be found in P. Charneux, *BCH* 108 (1984) 216-220, with citations of the earlier literature. In the table on p. 217, Kolonos is classed as a *phatra*, despite Charneux' earlier statement, *BCH* 107 (1983) 265. For Kolouris, see R. S. Stroud, *Hesperia* 53 (1984) 193-216, lines 3-4 (with p. 199 and note 17). For Asaminthos (?) and "Parôrai," see Charneux, *BCH* 107 (1983) 264.

14. M. Piérart, *BCH* 107 (1983) 271; P. Charneux, *BCH* 108 (1984) 220.

15. Piérart (above, note 14) 271-272.

16. For a full, recent discussion, see Piérart (above, note 14) 272-273.

17. P. Charneux, *BCH* 108 (1984) 221.

18. Wörrle (above, note 1) 25 with note 61.

19. According to M. Piérart, *BCH* 107 (1983) 273 with note 26, the earliest datable inscription attesting the place-name is *IG* XII 3, no. 1259, which belongs to the years immediately following 338/7. For the replacement of the *phyletikon* by the *phratrikon* ca. 450, see above.

20. The excerpt is preserved by Plutarch, *mulierum virtutes* 4 (245 E).

21. Compare the attestation of Artemis Pamphylaia at Epidauros (§5) at a time long after the Pamphyloi had ceased to exist.

22. Before the publication of the later list of fallen by Kritzas, it was reasonable to assume that a reform had occurred whereby four phyle-regiments were replaced by the *lochoi:* thus Wörrle (above, note 1) 29, followed by Gomme-Andrewes-Dover, *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides* IV (Oxford 1970) 123.

23. Wörrle (above, note 1) 29, note 76.

24. A period of party-strife, the *skytalismos* (Diodoros, 15.57.3-58), followed soon after the battle of Leuktra: A. Hug, *Aeneas von Stymphalos* (Zurich 1877) 6 and Wörrle (above, note 1) 21, cautiously. H. Swoboda, with less likelihood, proposed an "earlier time" which he did not specify: *Hermes* 53 (1918) 96, note 2.

25. For a listing and tabulation of the relevant documents, see P. Charneux, *BCH* 108 (1984) 216-219.

26. For discussion of the Eighty, with references, see Wörrle (above, note 1) 56-61.

27. For additional references and discussion on this point, see Wörrle (above, note 1) 19.

§8 Sparta

1. Limitations of space have permitted only a bald statement of my own interpretation, with minimal citation of the secondary literature. Readers may consult, besides the brief discussion of Szanto, 12-13, and the fuller, more up-to-date chapter in Roussel II, ch. 2, pp. 233-245, the following specialized treatments of the subject: L. Pareti, "Le tribù personali e le tribù locali a Sparta," *RAL* 19 (1910) 457-473; M. A. Levi, "Studi Spartani, II: phylai e obai," *RIL* 96 (1962) 500-512; and, most recently, K.-W. Welwei-Bochum, "Die spartanische Phylenordnung im Spiegel der Grossen Rhetra und des Tyrtaios," *Gymnasium* 86 (1979) 178-196.

Possible references to the phyle Dymanes occur in papyrus fragments of Alkman and the commentary thereon: see F. D. Harvey, "Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 2390 and Early Spartan History," *JHS* 87 (1967) 62-73; for the texts, see *P.Oxy.* 24.2388, fr. 5 (Alkman 4, fr. 5 Page); 2389, fr. 35; 2390, fr. 2 (Alkman 5, fr. 2 Page); 2391, fr. 21 (b) (Alkman 6, fr. 21 [b] Page); 29.2506, fr. 5 (Alkman 10 [b] Page). Two of the three eponyms figure in Pindar, *Pyth.* 1.119-125 (see the scholiast on 1.121a). The scholiast on Aristophanes, *Ploutos* 385, ineptly commenting on the

personal name Pamphilos, mistakenly records the phylai "in Lakedaimon" as Pamphileis, Dymeneis, and Doreis. Herodotos' description of the Aigeidai as a phyle, 4.149, is evidently nontechnical. For Hesychios, s.v. Δύμη ἐν Σπάρτῃ φυλὴ καὶ τόπος, I have at present no explanation.

2. For the text of Tyrtaios, see M. L. West, *Iambi et Elegi Graeci* II (Oxford 1972) 160-161, Tyrtaeus 19. The view that the lines in question refer not to the Spartan force, but to the enemy has been maintained by W. Den Boer, *Laconian Studies* (Amsterdam 1954) 173, note 1, although the problem remains that if the reference is instead to Messenians, they should not, at this early date, be expected to be marshalled according to the Dorian phylai (cf. 3 §8-10). For the view that Tyrtaios' lines allude not to the present or foreseeable future, but the distant past, see most recently N. G. L. Hammond, *JHS* 70 (1950) 51-52, where it is argued that the reference is to "the invasion of the Peloponnese by the three Dorian tribes who are mentioned elsewhere in this connexion." This position was, however, rightly questioned by A. Erasmus, *PACA* 4 (1961) 7, who prefers instead the assumption that Tyrtaios has in mind the First Messenian War, which would naturally be before people's minds on the eve of a second such conflict.

3. For a convenient summary of the evidence, with valuable discussion, see V. Ehrenberg, "Obai," *RE* 17.2 (1937) 1693-1704. The subject has been reopened by M. Negri, ΩΒΑΣ ΩΒΑΞΑΝΤΑ, *Acme* 31 (1978) 253-260.

4. For the arguments in favor of the existence of an *oba* Arkaloi/a, see A. J. Beattie, "An Early Laconian Lex Sacra," *CQ* 45 (1951) 46-58. Beattie's case, however, depends upon the interpretation of a transcription of a lost stone from the notebooks of Fourmont, *IG* V 1, no. 722, and, even leaving aside all questions regarding the reliability of the copyist, is subject to a number of grave objections. G. L. Huxley, *Early Sparta* (London 1962) 48, accepting Beattie's new *oba,* adduced a fragment of the Hellenistic historian Demetrios of Skepsis preserved by Athenaios, 4.139 D, to show that the *obai* in fact totaled nine; but the passage, which concerns the accommodations at the Spartan festival Karneia, says nothing about *obai,* and so is of questionable relevance.

5. Aristotle, fr. 541 Rose. For Wade-Gery's discussion, see "The Spartan Rhetra in Plutarch, *Lycurgus* VI," *CQ* 38 (1944) 117-123: 119-121. Recently, Thucydides' statement has been defended in detail by D. H. Kelly, "Thucydides and Herodotus on the Pitanate *Lochos,*" *GRBS* 22 (1981) 31-38.

6. W. G. Forrest, *A History of Sparta* (London 1968) 42-46.

7. For the attribution of the ἐνωμοτίας καὶ τριηκάδας καὶ συσσίτια to Lykourgos, see Herodotos, 1.65.5. Except for the number of members of the Gerousia (see above), thirty does not figure elsewhere in Spartan public arrangements. For the other units, with full citation of sources and discussion, see J. K. Anderson, *Military Theory and Practice in the Age of Xenophon* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1970) 225-251.

8. Cf. the five *agathoergoi* at Herodotos, 1.67.5; and other fivefold commissions at Thucydides, 5.19.2; Xen., *Hell.* 2.4.38; and Ar., *AP* 38.4.

9. Plutarch, *Agis and Kleomenes* 11.2. For the ascription to Kleomenes, see L. Pareti, *Storia di Sparta Archaica* I (Florence 1920) 175; so also, A. J. Toynbee, *Some Problems of Greek History* (London 1969) 261-262. For an alternative choice, Nabis, see V. Ehrenberg, "Nabis," *RE* 16.2 (1935) 1471-1482: 1472.

10. *IG* V 1, no. 515 (= *SGDI* 4520) (Imperial): Δαμάτριον Ἀριστάνδρου Μεσο[άταν],/ ἐπιμελητὴν Ἀμυκ[λῶν] γενόμενον (1-2). The honors are conferred by foreigners resident ἐν [Ἀμύ]κλ[α]ις (8). The authenticity of the text has been questioned by A. J. S. Spawforth, "*Fourmontiana. IG* V 1, 515: Another Forgery 'from Amyklai,'" *ABSA* 71 (1976) 139-145.

11. *Obai* as phylai in inscriptions: Kynoureis: *IG* V 1, no 480 (= *SGDI* 4481); Limnaeis: no. 564. For similar equations in the lexicographical sources, which never associate any of the five (or six) names with the term *oba,* see Hesychios, s.v. Κυνόσουρα, s.v. Πιτανάτης στρατός; Stephanos of Byzantion, s.v. Μεσσόα; Photios, s.v. Κυνόσουρα.

12. See, e.g., Athens (1 §1.21), Kerkyra (4 §5), Miletos (7 §16).

13. The relation to the ephors of the ὥϝαρχος (Hesychios, s.v.), if the title is indeed to be associated with Sparta, is uncertain.

14. A. B. Wace, *ABSA* 13 (1906-1907) 42, no. 61.

15. For the restoration of the *epimeletes,* see M. N. Tod, *ABSA* 10 (1904) 67-68; of the *prostates,* A. Woodward, *ABSA* 43 (1948) 248. The latter is also restored by Woodward at *ABSA* 43 (1948) 246-248 (= *IG* V 1, nos. 172+173+174+175): πρ[οστά]την δὲ τῆς/[φυλῆς. . .]. For the ὥϝαρχος, see above, note 13.

Chapter III The Non-Dorian Peloponnese

The major non-Dorian states of the Peloponnese for which evidence on public organization is available constitute a meaningful group because all were created, usually through synoecism, in the late Archaic and Classical periods. Because, too, the absence of traditional arrangements meant that founders were given a relatively free hand in devising new organizations, these states provide a promising opportunity to see just what were the guiding objectives of contemporary public administration.

Strabo comments (8.3.2: 336-337) that most of the places in the Peloponnese occurring in Homer the poet named, not as cities, but as regions, each composed of several aggregates of communities (*συστήματα δήμων ἔχουσαν ἑκάστην πλείω*), out of which the well known *poleis* were later synoecized. He lists seven instances: Elis (*ἐκ πολλῶν δήμων*), Mantinea (five *demoi*), Tegea (nine), Heraia (nine), Aigion (seven or eight), Patrai (seven), and Dyme (eight). The use of the term *δῆμος* immediately opens up the possibility that some or all of these communities were eventually formalized as "constitutional" demes. The same applies to the *κῶμαι, πόλεις*, and so on elsewhere identified as components of the new states. In fact, a positive case can be made only for Elis (§7), where some or all of the public demes, headed by *damiorgoi,* may have corresponded to the *demoi* out of which the unified territorial state was created in 471/0. Elsewhere, the only securely attested public divisions are phylai, but in no instance can these be equated with the components of a synoecized state. The phylai are certainly less numerous than the village constituents of Megalopolis (§3), Tegea (§6), and probably Dyme (§1). That the numbers correspond at Mantinea (§2) might well be due to mere coincidence. Moreover, in all these states except Megalopolis (where, at least in the later organization, it is certain that some of the phylai comprised regional groupings of villages) the villages were not, on the other hand, so many as to justify regarding them as lower level units subdividing, or below, the phylai. Nor, except, probably, at Megalopolis (§3) and, conjecturally, at Dyme (§1), do the proper names of the phylai appear to commemorate pre-synoecism entities. The conclusion appears inescapable that, in general, Strabo and other writers' use of the terms *δῆμος, κώμη*, etc. is non-technical.[1]

We are left with the phyle as the only securely documented public unit in the region. Szanto, correctly observing that, unlike the Dorians centuries earlier, these Peloponnesians had not inherited a traditional personal organization, maintained that in general they had, upon the foundation of the synoecized states, established territorial phylai cen-

tered on a sanctuary.[2] Invoked in connection with the Arkadian cities, the hypothesis is also applicable to the other known organizations, in Achaia (§1), Elis (§7), and Messenia (§8-10). Will the reconstruction sustain scrutiny?

Regarding the proposed sacral orientation of the phylai, at the minimum it can be said that nearly all the attested names allude to deities. Many of the deities, in turn, are known to have received some manner of recognition in the city in question, usually in the form of a sanctuary. Perhaps the best such cases can be made for Tegea (§6), and above all for Mantinea (§2), where an inscription found near the shrine of Poseidon Hippios supports the sanctuary's association with the phyle Posoidaia. Doubtful are Dyme (§1), where two of the at least three phylai are of topographic denomination; Megalopolis (§3), where the later organization included two ethnographic units and where in any case the known or probable locations of the corresponding cult centers permit no easy mapping of the phylai; and Messene (§8), where information on the requisite sanctuaries escapes us entirely. Nonetheless, the record is admittedly skimpy, and in no instance can a solid negative case be built.

Szanto's theory also demands territorial disposition, and here strong evidence is afforded by the formulations 'Επ' 'Αθαναίαν at Tegea (§6) and (less certainly) 'Επ' 'Αλέας at Mantinea (§2). As for Elis (§7), where unfortunately no names at all are preserved, Pausanias' report that loss of territory in the 360's caused a reduction of the phylai from twelve to eight puts the question beyond doubt. Two of the phylai of Dyme (§1) may have enshrined an ancient division between town and country, although this is far from certain. Negatively, the personal disposition of at least one phyle, the Romaioi, appears unavoidable at Messene (§8). Nor need we assume that, where the phylai were territorial, affiliation was dependent upon place of domicile; certainly the arguments advanced in favor of such a procedure at Tegea (§6) are not cogent.

In sum, while the components of the synoecisms appear generally to have played no part in city-state administration, the phylai, except in the case of Elis the only known public units, may in some instances, as Szanto believed, have been territorial entities centered on public sanctuaries.

Internal organization of public units is scarcely attested. For the single example, the conferral of honors (?) on a benefactor, see Messene (§8).

ACHAIA

§1 Dyme

Synoecized from eight *demoi* late in the Archaic period, Dyme alone of the Twelve Cities of Achaia provides information on public orga-

nization.[1] An inscription of the third century recording the conferral of citizenship upon certain ἔποι[κοι] (1-2) or resident aliens, *SIG*[3] 531 (= *SGDI* 1614), ends with instructions for the allotment of the new citizens into the phylai and a (partially preserved) statement of the privileges pertaining to such membership. Since demes are not included, they presumably played no role in the public administration. Lines 29-33 read as follows:

. . . διακλαρωσάν-
30 [τω αἱ συναρ]χίαι ὡς ἰσότατα ἐπὶ τὰς φυλάς, καὶ λα-
[χόντω ἐπὶ τὰν] ΣΠΑΤΙΔΑ, ἐπὶ τὰν Δυμαίαν, ἐπὶ τὰν Θεσμι-
[αίαν· καὶ κοινω]νεόντω θεοκολιᾶν, ἂν ἁ πόλις καθιστᾶι, ἐν
[τᾶι φυλᾶι τᾶι] ἑαυτῶν καὶ ἀρχείων . . .

. . . let the magistrates distribute them by lot as evenly as possible into the phylai; and let them be placed by lot in Spatis, in Dymaia, in Thesmi[aia]; and let them [i.e. the newly enrolled citizens] partake of the priesthoods, which the city establishes, in his own phyle, and of the offices. . .

Regarding the disposition of the phylai, clues are afforded by Stephanos of Byzantion, s.v. Δύμη: "the *chora* [of Dyme] long ago used to be called Dyme, and the *polis* Stratos; but later both the *polis* and the *chora* were named Dyme." On the assumption that the phyle Dymaia had taken its name from the old name for the *chora,* Fick reasonably suggested that the stone's spelling of the first-mentioned phyle, "Spatis," was in error for "Stratis," and speculated that the old name for the *polis* had similarly left its imprint on the public organization.[2] Busolt inferred further that the phylai were territorial without, however, going so far as to venture that the two phylai, Dymaia, and S(tr)atis, actually perpetuated the prehistoric disposition.[3] Yet such an arrangement might be paralleled by the probable division between town and country formalized by the two phylai of Hellenistic Samos (5 §13). Specifically, also, a town phyle S(tr)atis might receive support elsewhere: for the naming of a phyle after an old name of the city, compare Eumolpias at Philippopolis (6 §8); and for a phyle bearing a name homonymous with the current name of the city, compare the (W)axioi at Axos (5 §28), Bereike at Beroia (6 §3), and Ephesioi at Ephesos (7 §11).

Although complicating matters, the presence of the third phyle need not cause us to abandon a territorial arrangement altogether. Restoring Θεσμι[αία], Fick referred the title to *thesmophoros,* the well known epithet of Demeter. But the cult, though documented throughout Achaia, is not attested for Dyme.[4] Perhaps, then, equal weight should be given to the suggestion of a connection with Apollo: called Thesmios in nearby Elis,[5] a sanctuary of the god at Dyme is guaranteed by an

inscription, *SGDI* 1615, lines 15-16. In either event, a phyle centered on a sanctuary would accord with the general territorial scheme championed for these synoecized states by Szanto.

Whether Dyme's phylai numbered only three, however, is open to question. Szanto, on the basis of his characterization of our inscription as Dorian, assumed, erroneously, that the three "Dymaian" phylai were in reality the Dorian phylai. Following a putative Dorian conquest of Achaia, they had, he believed, acquired the local names attested in two instances by Stephanos.[6] Apart from the fact, noted by Busolt, that the Achaians were not Dorian,[7] even the evidence of the inscription is subject to reevaluation. Following the mandate to the magistrates to distribute the newly enfranchised through the phylai, the phylai into which the allotment will be made are given by name. On its face, this added clause, as usually interpreted, makes no sense: the stele stood in Dyme, and presumably the townsmen already knew the names of their own phylai. The clause must have had some more specific purpose. The most reasonable inference would be that there were more than three phylai, and that for reasons unknown to us the enrollment of the new citizens was to be restricted to just those cited in the text. Comparable restrictions are to be found in the citizenship decrees of Miletos (7 §16)[8] and Amyzon in Karia (7 §17).

Admittedly speculative, the assumption of a larger number of phylai would fit well with Körner's proposal that Stratos, in contrast to the impression left by Stephanos, actually is the name of one of Dyme's eight pre-synoecism *demoi*.[9] Such is certainly the case with Paleia, also, like Stratos, anciently attested as an old name for Dyme (Strabo, 8.7.5: 387; Pausanias, 7.17.6). Since the *demoi* are themselves without known administrative functions, they are available candidates for the system of phylai of the synoecized state. Dymaia might yet designate (some part of) the *chora;* and Thesmi[aia], again, a unit centered on a sanctuary.[10]

ARKADIA

§2 Mantinea

Reported by Strabo (8.3.2: 337) to have been synoecized from five *demoi,* Mantinea, after siding with Sparta's enemies, was eventually compelled by that state, following the King's Peace, to dismantle her walls and revert to *komai,* or villages. Only in the aftermath of Leuktra, probably in 370, was the city reconstituted.[1] At once arise a host of problems. Among them is the question of the status not only of Strabo's *demoi,* but also of the *komai,* also numbering five and so presumably identical with the *demoi,* into which the city was reportedly dioecized.[2] For the *demoi,* an official public status was proposed by Bölte.[3] But

the *kome,* too, enjoys such status elsewhere (see Index I.A., s.v.), including at nearby Argos (2 §7). Either *demos* or *kome,* clearly, might have been the technical term in use. At all events, positive evidence for a public fivefold division is abundant: five *damiourgoi* (*IG* V 2, no. 1: s. IV); two lists of five dedicators (no. 278: s. IV); and a corpus of *tesserae,* allegedly falling into five groups: according to one interpretation, the tokens were used to assign citizens to their seating-places in the theater for meetings of the Assembly (no. 323).[4]

While all these examples might be associated with either term, there is still a third, though unidentifiable, candidate. It is attested by a list of names, *IG* V 2, no. 271, dated on internal evidence to the mid-fourth century and so probably pertaining to the second city of Mantinea.[5] Preserved entire, the list is arranged under the following five rubrics: Ἐπαλέας (or Ἐπ' Ἀλέας: see below), Ἐνυαλίας, Ὁπλοδμίας, Π[ο]σοιδαίας, Ϝανακισίας (lines 1, 5, 10, 14, 19). Since all the names are of the feminine gender and singular, "phyle" is the natural, though not absolutely inevitable, identification.

Noting the coincidence in number between the phylai (?) and the components of the first (and, presumably, the second) synoecism, Szanto and Busolt supposed that each in some sense corresponded to one of the "Komen," and, as the content of the names suggested, was designated with reference to a sanctuary situated within its territory.[6] But association of the phylai with either the *demoi* or the *komai* is doubtful, since none of the five names has been plausibly linked with any of the known settlements.[7]

Alternatively, Fougères, while conceding the probability of a sacral orientation, observed that each of the divine eponyms was associated with warfare by the Mantinean tradition. Perhaps, then, one function of the phylai was the defense of the new fortification wall, each unit being responsible for the stretch falling within its territory.[8] Though possible,[9] the theory is without positive evidential support. Indeed, apart from the absence of indications for the localization of two of the phylai, in one instance, that of Posoidaia, a good case can be made for placing the center in or near a sanctuary *outside* the city wall (see below). Thus the antithesis between urban phylai and rural *demoi/komai* proposed by Fougères is scarcely tenable. If territorially defined, the phylai probably extended over the whole of the Mantinike, standing in some as yet unknown relation to the village nuclei.

Here follows what information we have bearing directly upon the cultic orientation of the phylai and upon their possible territorial disposition. For fuller accounts, see G. Fougères, *Mantinée et l'Arcadie orientale* (Paris 1898) 286-301; and Bölte, "Mantinea," *RE* 14.2 (1930) 1290-1344: 1331-1344.

ΕΠΑΛΕΑ. Since all the rubrics in the list appear to be feminine genitive singular, 'Επαλέα would on analogy with the other four names be the expected nominative form. But an alternative rendering in the form of a prepositional phrase, 'Επ' 'Αλέας, is given by Szanto.[10] In its support one could adduce an assured similar usage (here in the accusative) at Tegea (§6), the phyle 'Επ' 'Αθάναιαν. The point is important, for on the latter reading the name would offer evidence suggestive of a territorial phyle centered "on (the sanctuary of) Alea." Unfortunately, it is not possible to decide in favor of one or the other.

For the cult of Alea at Mantinea, see *IG* V 2, no. 262 (s. V), with references to the *hieron* at lines 22, 25, 32. Pausanias, writing in the early Imperial period, mentions a *hieron* and *agalma* of the (presumably syncretized) Athena Alea (8.9.6). Neither sanctuary has thus far been identified.

'Ενναλία. Neither Enyalios nor Ares is elsewhere attested for Mantinea.

'Οπλοδμία. Not otherwise known at Mantinea, the name appears in a slightly different form in the epithet of Zeus Hoplosmios, whose cult is attributed to Arkadia by Aristotle, *Parts of Animals* 3.10 (673 a) and specifically to Methydrion, a town in the territory of Megalopolis to the west of Mantinea, by a decree of the Achaian League dated ca. 234/3, *IG* V 2, no. 344, lines 17-21. Elsewhere in the Peloponnese, viz. Argos, Elis, and Triphylia, the epithet is attached to Hera, possibly also, at Argos, to Athena: see, for references, A. B. Cook, *Zeus* II 1 (Cambridge 1925) 288, note 5 (290-291). As for Mantinea, while literary and epigraphic sources testify to the existence of several cults of Zeus (Thucydides, 5.47.11; Pausanias, 8.9.2, 12.1; *IG* V 2, nos. 270, 288) and one of Hera (Pausanias, 8.9.2-3), in no instance is there any reason to suspect the absorption of or syncretism with a cult of Hoplodmios/a.[11]

Π[ο]σοιδαία. According to Polybios (9.8.11, cf. 9.34.10; 11.11.4, 6; 12.6, 14.1) and Pausanias (8.10.2, cf. 8.8.2), a sanctuary of Poseidon stood six or seven stades south of the town on the road to Tegea. These reports have been confirmed by the discovery of a manumission dated by the priest of Poseidon, *IG* V 2, no. 277 (cf. nos. 274-276, 342a), and of other relics at a site, still unexcavated, some 1300m. from the city walls.[12] The possibility of a substantial connection, furthermore, between the sanctuary and the phyle Posoidaia was opened up by Ronald Stroud's discovery of a list of names under the rubric Ποσοιδαία (see W. K. Pritchett, *Studies in Ancient Greek Topography* II [Berkeley and Los Angeles] 50-53). Although not found, as Pritchett believed, at the sanctuary, its actual provenience 250-300m. from, but still to the south of, the fortification[13] might nonetheless fall within a territorial phyle centered on the sanctuary. For the date, around mid-

fourth century and so roughly contemporary with the list *IG* V 2, no. 271, see H. Solin, "Bemerkungen zu einer mantineischen Namenliste," *ZPE* 14 (1974) 270-276.

Φανακισία. Except for a possible numismatic depiction, the Anakes are otherwise unattested in Arkadia.[14] A sanctuary of the Dioskouroi is mentioned by Pausanias, 8.9.2, without indication, however, of its specific location.

From the above discussion it follows that, while there are no grounds for contesting the association of any of the five phylai with Greek deities, only three of the five can be linked to an attested Mantinean cult; and of these three, for only one, Posoidaia, can the situation of an appropriate sanctuary be established. But the case for Posoidaia is strengthened by the epigraphic evidence possibly associating the phyle with the sanctuary. The assumption of a territorial disposition, however, appears questionable except for the possible implications of the rubric (as rendered by Szanto) 'Επ' 'Αλέας. We remain a long way from the mapping of the phylai proposed by Fougères.[15]

§3 Megalopolis

Founded not long after the battle of Leuktra in 371 but in any case before the battle of Mantinea in 362, Megalopolis was created through the synoecism of forty Arkadian *poleis.* As catalogued by Pausanias, 8.27.3-4, the towns fell into seven regional groupings: Mainalos (ten towns), Eutresioi (six), Aigytai (six), Parrhasioi (eight), Kynourioi (four), Orchomenos (three), Tripolis (three). By contrast, Diodoros' report, 15.72.4, is confined to "twenty *komai* of the Arkadians named Manalioi and Parrhasioi;" but since it is in near agreement with the corresponding information given by Pausanias, it is preferable to regard it as an abbreviated version of the fuller roster than to emend the numeral to the higher figure.[1] At all events, for none of the towns (or "villages") is there evidence of a statewide administrative role. A text illustrating the internal functioning of Theisoa is cited below (§4).

For the public organization our principal information comes from the theater, constructed not long after the synoecism. The final phase of building appears to have been the addition of a *proedria,* or front row of benches, before the orchestra.[2] Eight of the nine benches bear inscriptions on the front and back faces of their backrests, falling into three classes. The first, the earliest, consists of a single text (once given in full, twice abbreviated), inscribed on the front faces of the backrests of the first, fifth, and ninth chairs, commemorating the dedication by one Antiochos, who had served as *agonothetes,* "of all the *thronoi* and the gutter" (*IG* V 2, no. 450). Much later, probably, as their editor Hiller von Gaertringen estimated on the basis of the lettering, at the

end of the third or the beginning of the second century, the backs of the second through seventh chairs were inscribed with new texts, while the first, eighth, and ninth were left blank (*IG* V 2, no. 451):

I vacat
II Ἀρκαδισίας
III Ἀπ[ο]λλωνίας
IV Παναθαναίας
V Ἡρακλείας
VI Πανίας
VII [Λυ]καίας
VIII vacat
IX vacat

Finally, about the time of Hadrian (again, Hiller's estimate based on the lettering) the front faces of the third through seventh chairs received the third group of inscriptions, the other four again being left blank (*IG* V 2, no. 452):

I vacat
II vacat
III φυλὴ Μαιναλίων
IV φυ Λυκαειτῶν
V φυλῆς Παρρασίων
VI φυ Πανιατῶν
VII φυ Ἀπολλωνιατῶν
VIII vacat
IX vacat

From the fact that the nine benches are positioned severally before the nine *kerkides,* or blocks, of the auditorium, it is generally assumed that the purpose of the second and third groups of inscriptions was to designate the seating sections of the phylai.[3] Plainly it is not a question of the dedication of the benches, since this had already been accomplished by Antiochos, and at no later time was any effort made to erase or otherwise modify his inscriptions. Perhaps the one difficulty worth mentioning concerns the use intended for those *kerkides* without a corresponding inscription. But the fact that these end seats doubtless afforded poorer viewing invites the assumption that they were occupied only when the central sections were filled, or else that they were turned over to non-citizen members of the audience.[4] For the several other known instances of seating in stadia or theaters according to public unit, see Index II.I.4.

Given, then, the validity of this view of the purpose of the inscriptions, we are entitled to interpret in its light a "tessera" of fourth or third century date, *IG* V 2, no. 468. On side A it bears a name with patronymic, and on side B the words *Λυκαία/τρίτου*. Perhaps, as Kastriotes suggested, we have a ticket entitling the bearer, whose name stands on side A, to sit in the third section—that is, above the second *diazoma*—of the *kerkis* of Lykaia.[5] This proper name is alone consistent with, and provides the first two letters of, the name inscribed on the back of the seventh bench.[6] At once a crucial lacuna is filled, and the existence of the first group of phylai at some appreciable interval prior to the engraving of their names on the benches is assured. Ascription of these first attested phylai to the synoecism can be regarded as verging on certainty.

Far less clear, however, is this system's principle of organization. To be sure, all the names of the phylai allude to some god or hero. In this respect Apollonia, Herakleia, Panathenaia, and Pania are self-explanatory. By analogy, Lykaia could derive from Lykaios, the well-established epithet of Zeus;[7] and Arkadisia, far from designating with Richards a "mixed body of Arkadians," from the name of the Arkadian eponymous hero Arkas.[8] Furthermore, for all the deities just mentioned except (surely by accident of preservation) Arkas, cult observance of some kind at Megalopolis is specifically reported by Pausanias.[9] Even so, we are not entitled to conclude with Szanto that the phylai partitioned the city on a territorial basis since, so far as Pausanias' topographical notations inform us, the several sanctuaries provide no foundation for the supposition of urban "quarters" or anything like them.[10] Nor could such an organization convincingly be extended to include the regional groupings of towns that participated in the synoecism (see above). For only one of the six deities is there reason to suspect such a special territorial association—Apollo, under the cult title Parrhasios (also Pythios), possessed a sanctuary on the east side of Mt. Lykaios (Pausanias, 8.38.8). Yet, when, with the creation of the new organization, the phyle Parrhasioi was instituted, the presumably entirely distinct Apollonias, now Apolloniatai, continued to coexist alongside it; plainly the Parrhasians and the phyle of Apollo were two entirely different groups. In fact the names would appear, if anything, to be generally Arkadian in scope. "Panathenaia" in particular, I venture to guess, might allude to the no fewer than twelve cult titles of Athena known to have been current in Arkadia.[11] Hence the phyle is unlikely to have had especially strong ties with this or that region, with this or that community. Admittedly, even such phylai as these could be territorial if, for example, the object was to weaken existing sectional loyalties by avoiding eponyms with particular local affinities. But with no less probability the same purpose could be equally well

achieved by the institution of personal units whereby members of the phyle Herakleia, say, would be found residing in all forty towns of the synoecism. In themselves, the names remain altogether ambiguous.

Regarding the nature of the arrangement of the second organization, attested by the final group of inscriptions, we are on more solid ground, although the extent of departure from the previous system is uncertain. With the reduction from six to five phylai and the retention, with alteration of the terminations, of three of the previously existing names, two new phylai were added, Mainalioi and Parrhasioi.[12] Designating the two principal contributors to the synoecism—together they account for a total of eighteen of the forty towns—and, perhaps not coincidentally, the only contributors mentioned by Diodoros, the new phylai must, as Szanto argued, have been of personal composition. The Mainalians and Parrhasians who had left their villages to reside in Megalopolis town will presumably not have made up blocks of clearly defined, segregated neighborhoods. Note is to be taken, too, of the new "personal" masculine plurals Apolloniatai, Lykaeitai, and Paniatai. Evidently for some good reason, these have replaced the older feminine singular forms. Are we entitled to find in this otherwise unnecessary change in nomenclature some indirect evidence for the territorial disposition of the earlier system assumed by Szanto?

Whatever the nature of the reform, some attempt must be made to ascertain its specific circumstances. Both the latter set of theater-inscriptions and our one other piece of evidence for that organization—a text recording honors conferred by the polis on a man whose sister accepted the expense "on behalf of the phyle Lykaeitai," *IG* V 2, no. 464, of the second or third century A.D.—are removed by at least three hundred years from the latest evidence for the earlier organization. During this interval, however, occurred, as Szanto noted, the destruction of Megalopolis by Kleomenes in 223; shortly thereafter, following serious internal disputes, a new set of laws was drawn up and finally ratified in 217 under the guidance of Aratos.[13] Among the disputing parties had been, according to Polybios' account (5.93), those who wished to reduce the extent of the city's walls and who demanded from the rich one-third of their estates. Accordingly, the new laws probably incorporated changes of some magnitude. But the narrative of Polybios is not sufficiently detailed to warrant speculation regarding any specific innovations of the new organization, if indeed it came into existence at this time.

§4 Theisoa

Located some distance northwest of Megalopolis, Theisoa was counted by Pausanias, 8.27.4, among the cities of Orchomenos taking

part in the synoecism. A citizenship decree of the third or early second century, *IG* V 2, no. 510, includes a clause (lines 4-5) calling for the honorand to "enter (ἕρπειν) whichever *phatra* he wishes." A *phatra,* the Lykoatai, is found at Megalopolis as the author of an honorary decree, *IG* V 2, no. 446, (s. I), but the text reveals no trace of public function for the association. A role comparable to the Athenian phratry, normally included in the enrollment clauses of that state's citizenship decrees, is likely.

§5 Phigalea

Situated in the extreme southwest corner of Arkadia, Phigalea stood outside the circle of towns incorporated in the synoecism of Megalopolis. In an undated inscription in very fragmentary condition but clearly of a religious nature (a calendar of sacrifices?), *IG* V 2, no. 421, occurs the phrase: [...] ἑκάστα φυλὰ τα[...] (line 9, read by Foucart). A similar phrase may have stood in line 3 (see Hiller von Gaertringen, ad loc.).

§6 Tegea

"The people of Tegea," Pausanias says (8.53.6), "have statues of Aguieus, four in number, one set up by each phyle. And the phylai bear the names Klareotis, Hippothoitis, Apolloniatis, and Athaneatis." Their names expressed in masculine plural form, the same four phylai are earlier attested by a total of eight inscriptions: *IG* V 2, nos. 6, 36, 38-41, 173 and 174.[1] Together, the sources point to the survival of the organization over half a millennium.

Again on Pausanias' authority (8.45.1), the Tegeans anciently dwelled κατὰ δήμους in eight settlements; later, a ninth δῆμος was added.[2] Since, however, as elsewhere in the region, there is no indication that the demes enjoyed a constitutional status, it is tempting to reserve this administrative roll for the phylai. On Szanto's formulation, the phylai constituted quarters of the city, each being centered on, and taking its name from, a temple situated within it.[3] Pausanias himself, however, provides somewhat ambiguous testimony on this point, for, when commenting in passing on the names of the phylai, he adds "they [i.e. Klareotis and Hippothoitis; the others are omitted as self-explanatory] are called after the *kleros,* or lot, that Arkas cast to apportion the land among his sons and after Hippothoös the son of Kerkyon" (8.53.6). Plainly in this passage the writer is not expressing awareness of any such sacral orientation of the phylai: neither name he cites is expressly associated with a sanctuary, and in the case of Klareotis no connection with any deity whatever is stated or implied. To make matters worse, only a few sentences later Pausanias comments

that the "lofty place, on which stand the greater number of the Tegeans' altars, is called 'of Zeus Klarios'—and it is plain that the god received this epithet from the *kleros* cast for the sons of Arkas" (8.53.9). If this hill formed the nucleus of Klareotis—and no better candidate is available—the fact obviously failed to leave an impression on our traveler. Nonetheless, this hardly represents a decisive objection; and there is still some point in reviewing the case for each of the four phylai.

Κλαρεῶτις. Because the phyle invariably appears in the inscriptions as Κραριῶται, there is adequate basis for Solmsen's rejection of Pausanias' etymology in favor of *Κρᾱ́ριος, i.e. Κᾰραιός, hence "Zeus of the κάρᾱ, or Height."[4] The "lofty place" is probably to be identified either with the prominence Omertsaousi situated some 1,500m. north of the Agora and directly east of Haghios Sostis, the probable location of the akropolis; or with Haghios Sostis itself. Both heights appear to have stood outside the city circuit wall.[5]

Ἱπποθοῖτις. In the inscriptions Ἱπποθοῖται, our only additional clue regarding the phyle is provided by Pausanias' statement, 8.45.7, that Skopas' sculpture for the east pediment of the Temple of Alea, a portrayal of the Kalydonian boar hunt, included an Hippothoös.

Ἀπολλωνιᾶτις. A temple of Apollo and "a gilded statue," mentioned by Pausanias, 8.53.7, can be located in the approximate area of the Agora, near the center of the space encircled by the city wall, (see *IG* V 2, no. 83 [time of Augustus], with commentary). A second sanctuary, of Apollo Pythios, lay to the northeast of the city, about a stade to the left off the road to Argos, according to Pausanias' account, 8.54.5. The precise location may be that of a site "three-quarters of an hour east of the ancient city."[6] In the epigraphic texts the phyle appears as Ἀπολλωνιᾶται.

Ἀθανεᾶτις. Termed ἐπ' Ἀθαναίαν in the inscriptions, the name of the phyle of Athena must, it seems, be construed in a territorial sense. Whether the preposition is to be given the specific force of "up to," "on," "towards," or even "in (the sanctuary of) Athena," it is difficult to find for it a meaning compatible with a personal disposition. Besides the famous Temple of Athena Alea at Piali southwest of the Agora, a Temple of Athena Poliatis, mentioned by Pausanias, 8.47.5, has been located by modern commentators on Tegea's akropolis at Haghios Sostis to the northwest of the Agora.[7] Possibly, however, as has been suggested, the name "Piali" preserves an ancient, though unattested, ἐπὶ Ἀλέαν. This locution, in turn, might have developed out of the use of Ἐπ' Ἀθαναίαν to designate the area in the vicinity of the Temple. If so, both the attribution to Athena Alea and the hypothesis of a territorial disposition would receive some additional support.[8]

Taken together these data permit, but of course do not necessitate, a reconstruction of a fourfold territorial division of the area of the ancient city. The most likely configuration would be Klareotis (north), Apolloniatis (Agora and/or east), Athaneatis (south: Athena Alea), and Hippothoitis (for which there is no indication, west).[9] Whatever the specifics, a regional arrangement appears guaranteed by the form of 'Επ' 'Αθαναίαν. Besides, Pausanias' spellings, evidently taken directly from the four statues of Aguieus, all show, in contrast with the masculine plural substantives, the non-personal feminine singular adjectival form elsewhere with certainty attached to territorial phylai.[10] Further excavation may one day change the specific assignments; but the general character of the organization seems assured.

From this finding it does not follow that the phylai were merely "quarters" set up for solely administrative purposes. Such a "strong" territorialism was claimed by Szanto on the basis of the catalogue of names, *IG* V 2, no. 36 (= Michel 888; *SGDI* 1231). Grouped by phylai, the names are further divided into separate registers of *politai* and *metoikoi.* Since at Athens, metics, debarred from the membership in demes enjoyed only by citizens, were regularly designated with reference to their deme of domicile (e.g. οἰκῶν ἐν Πειραιεῖ),[11] the absence of such designations for the metics in the Tegean catalogue indicates, in Szanto's opinion, that they had been granted full membership in a phyle without qualification. On what basis? Because Tegean *metoikoi* are manifestly not *politai,* presumably by virtue of their place of residence in this or that "quarter." By the same token, citizens too will have changed their affiliations as they migrated from one phyle to another. If the phylai were not thus "strongly" territorial, what would be the nature of the metics' association therewith?

But the argument is open to objection. Even if we assume the appropriateness of the Athenian *metoikia* to Tegean affairs (which is far from proved), the fact that in our text the *politai* and *metoikoi* are placed under separate rubrics is obviously consistent with the assumption that the two (sets of) lists were meant to be interpreted differently. Possibly, whereas in the case of citizens the affiliation was understood to be inheritable and not necessarily indicative of place of residence, in the case of resident aliens, not membership, only place of residence was intended. To knowledgeable (Tegean) readers, the single words "*politai*" and "*metoikoi*" would have told the whole story—and, as well, have spared the letter-cutter unnecessarily lengthy rubrics or other additions. To be sure, the phylai were almost certainly territorial; but that membership was determined under conditions unlike those obtaining, for example, in Athens remains to be demonstrated.

Despite this negative finding, the catalogue is of paramount positive significance, for it provides the only assured example in the Greek world of a rotating order of the phylai. Of uncertain nature and extent, the document follows a principal division by years, each marked by the name of an annual priest. Beneath each priest's name are grouped the four phylai and (again) their individual registers of *politai* and *metoikoi.* Inspection will show that in each of the six partially or wholly preserved registers the same order, namely . . . ἐπ' Ἀθαναίαν, Κραριῶται, Ἀπολλωνιᾶται, Ἱπποθοῖται, ἐπ Ἀθαναίαν . . ., is observed with the point of departure rotating forward one phyle each year. Not enough of the inscription is preserved, however, to determine which phyle stood first in the static order, if such existed. The same order, furthermore, is observed in all other extant catalogues, save *IG* V 2, no. 40 (= *SGDI* 1247), of unknown nature. This one exception does not, however, invalidate the certain observance of the rotating order in no. 36.[12]

Otherwise all further clues are confined to what can be inferred from the functions of the surviving documents. No. 36, of the third century, had once been associated with a caption, patently of Hadrianic or later date, introducing a list of Olympian victors at Tegea, *IG* V 2, no. 37. But now that the association can no longer be maintained, its purpose is quite unknown, as is that of no. 38 (= *SGDI* 1246), which has a similar format.[13] Nos. 39, 40 (= *SGDI* 1247), and 41 are all catalogues introduced by the words οἵδε ἔλαχον αἶσαν ἐφ' ἱερεῖ. Evidently, these persons had received by lot "shares" (of sacrificial meats?) or, with less likelihood, had achieved their "destiny," i.e. died, during the tenure of a certain (the annual?) priest.[14] Assured lists of dead are nos. 173 and 174, the former headed by an epigram alluding to an engagement with the Spartans. Nonetheless, the inference that the Tegean military was deployed according to the phylai appears inconsistent with the attested boards of six and eleven Tegean *strategoi* and must remain an unconfirmed supposition.[15] Finally, in no. 6 (= Michel 585; *SGDI* 1222), a record of accounts of the fourth century, occur two references to the phyle ἐπ' Ἀθαναίαν in quite uncertain contexts (lines 83, 89).

ELIS

§7 Elis

Among a scattering of literary sources documenting the public organization, by far the most informative is a passage in Pausanias, 5.9.4-6. Tracing the history of the Hellanodikai, the traveler correlates the changing number of the board with concomitant changes in the number of Elean phylai. Each such epoch is provided with an Olympiad date,

ample indication of the authority not only of Pausanias' chronology but also of his appended comments on the phylai. A somewhat abbreviated paraphrase will facilitate discussion:[1]

(4) The regulations for the judges were not the same in the beginning as those observed now. Iphitos served as sole judge, and likewise, after Iphitos, the successors of Oxylos. But in the 50th Olympiad (580), two were appointed . . . and for a long time after this the number of judges remained two. (5) But in the 75th Olympiad (480), they appointed nine Hellanodikai. . . . In the second Olympiad after this (i.e. Ol. 77, viz. 472), the tenth umpire was added. In the 103rd Olympiad (368), the Eleans had twelve phylai and one Hellanodikes (was chosen) from each phyle. (6) But, hard pressed in war by the Arkadians, they lost part of their land and all the *demoi* that were in the detached region; and so in the 104th Olympiad (364) the number of phylai was reduced to eight and the Hellanodikai were chosen equal in number to the phylai. In the 108th Olympiad (348), they went back again to ten men, and this has remained the number down to our own day.

Phylai are first cited by Pausanias for the year 368; and it might reasonably be inferred that, on his evidence, the absence of such citation prior to this date implies that the correlation between phylai and Hellanodikai did not obtain. But a fragment of Hellanikos (cited below) guarantees the existence of ten phylai before or during the author's lifetime, that is, at the very least, prior to the 103rd Olympiad (368), when Pausanias testifies the phylai numbered twelve. How far back can the existence of phylai be pushed? Unfortunately, the possibility of further progress is compromised by the manifest corruption of the number of the Olympiad with which the author associates the introduction of the nine Hellanodikai—the 25th (680), hence the 27th (672) for the addition of the tenth umpire. Among other possibilities,[2] Busolt, accepting the emendation of 75th (480) and 77th (472) Olympiads, argued for the existence over this period of nine phylai corresponding to the nine Hellanodikai. Allegedly organized "gentilitially" in contrast to their territorial successors, these phylai were claimed to have formed the basis for the Gerousia of Ninety attested by Aristotle (*Politics,* 5.5.8: 1306 A).[3] Although plausible, the reconstruction is rendered somewhat superfluous by the presence in Elis at this time of *patriai* and *geneai.*[4] Either set of associations might have performed the functions attributed to the nine hypothetical phylai.[5]

For the 77th Olympiad, when the tenth umpire was added, Pausanias again fails to mention the phylai. But their probable existence, ten in number, at this time is indicated by the statement of Hellanikos, *FGrH* 4 F 113, that "at first there were two, in the end ten Hellanodikai, for so many were the phylai of the Eleans and there was one Hellanodikes from each."[6] Since the change to twelve phylai had occurred by

420, and thereafter the tenfold arrangement is not again attested (see below), it is reasonable to conclude that the addition of the tenth Hellanodikes attended the creation of a system of ten phylai. This event, as Szanto and others have maintained, could have coincided with the synoecism of Elis, independently dated by Diodoros, 11.54.1, to the year 471/0.[7] Since, furthermore, according to Strabo's testimony (8.3.2: 337), the new state drew upon the perioikic communities, it is probable that, as Pausanias certifies was the case in 368, the new phylai were founded on a territorial basis with demes as subdivisions. It is a final temptation to include, with Szanto, the creation of the Boule of 500, mentioned in a legislative capacity in a law dated epigraphically to the end of the sixth century.[8] Taken together, the elements of the program do, as Szanto insists, put one in mind of the Athenian constitution; and although it is quite true that the essential structural innovation of the Kleisthenic organization, the *trittys*-arrangement, is not found at Elis, there is in fact no more appropriate model—if a model must indeed be produced—than the Attic attested at this early date.

By 420 the new constitution had already undergone alteration, for in that year, according to Thucydides, 5.47.9, the oath ratifying the treaty among Athens, Argos, Mantinea, and Elis was to be taken at Elis by "the *demiourgoi* and the Six Hundred." The latter body, presumably, was an enlarged version of the Boule of 500. But the inference that the enlargement, whenever it occurred, attended an increase of the number of phylai to twelve has not, however, been drawn by previous scholars, apparently on the assumption that Pausanias indicates that this change did not occur until 368.[9] But this is to miss the writer's point entirely. Pausanias cites the record for the 103rd Olympiad only in order to introduce the dramatic reduction in the numbers of the phylai and Hellanodikai in the following Olympiad; and because, of course, his source materials were arranged by Olympiad dates, the nearest previous data pertained to the year 368. Nothing in his citation for this year implies or suggests that a change had occurred; he is merely describing the state of affairs that obtained at that time. For the history of the public organization of Elis, the 103rd Olympiad is on the present record a date of no demonstrable significance.[10]

At some time during the following four-year period, the Eleans gave up to the Arkadians a parcel of their territory large enough to require a reduction of their phylai from twelve to eight. The most suitable historical setting is, as Beloch argued, the loss in 365 of all but one of the cities of Akroreia, perhaps also of other lands not mentioned in our sources.[11] Again, the territorial disposition is unmistakably indicated. At the same time, however, it should not be inferred that

membership in such phylai was necessarily determined by place of residence. No incompatibility is to be imagined between the existence of a territorial unit and the supposition that affiliation with that unit was transmitted by heredity without regard to place of residence.[12] Pausanias recounts the loss, not of population, but of territory.

Finally, in the 108th Olympiad, Pausanias concludes, the Hellanodikai returned to ten and remained at that number until his own day. The claim appears sound, for it is independently confirmed by two other late writers, Aristodemos of Elis, *FGrH* 414 F 2, and Philostratos, *Life of Apollonios of Tyana* 3.30. But the inference, found in nearly every modern commentator,[13] that the phylai also returned to a tenfold arrangement is not only not justified by the text but is even expressly contradicted by Pausanias himself. At 5.16.7, he states in connection with the Sixteen Women that "the Eleans are *now* divided into eight phylai and choose two Women from each." Once the reduction had been made to eight in the mid-fourth century, the organization evidently endured, so far as we are informed, without major alteration until the time of Pausanias' writing some time in the second century A.D.

What of the *demoi* lost between 368 and 364? Elis is reported to have been synoecized ἐκ πολλῶν δήμων or, presumably synonymously, ἐκ τῶν περιοικίδων (Strabo, 8.3.2: 336-337) or, again, simply from "several small *poleis*" (Diodoros, 11.54.1). Naturally, some or all of the *demoi* might have coincided with these pre-synoecism settlements, yet of the 49 towns mentioned by ancient literary sources only Orthia (Pausanias, 5.16.6) and, if we accept Baladié's restoration, ⟨'A⟩γριάδες (Strabo, 8.3.2: 337) are, to my knowledge, actually designated by the term δῆμος.[14] And about these candidates we have no information at all regarding constitutional status. Officers called *demiourgoi,* however, are likened by a lexicographer to the Athenian demarchs, and it has been suggested that the Elean δαμιοργοί, alone of attested examples, fit this characterization.[15] But there is little to recommend Gilbert's purely speculative identification of the board—the δαμιοργία—with Aristotle's Gerousia of Ninety (above), although it can at least be said that archaeological investigation has revealed a sufficient number of sites.[16] At the same time, a substantially lower figure might be inferred conjecturally from a series of single letters and ligatures that accompany names of cult personnel of Olympia in documents from the period 36 B.C. to A.D. 265.[17] Too numerous for the phylai, their probable range is consistent with the assumption that they designate demes numbering on the order of three or four—but not many more—for each of the eight (then-existing) phylai.[18]

§8-10 Messenia

According to the legendary tradition, Messenia, following the Dorian conquest of the Peloponnesos, fell to the lot of Kresphontes, whose youngest son, Aipytos, afterwards gave his name to the Messenian royal house. Subsequently conquered by Sparta in the First and Second Messenian Wars, the population was reduced to helotry and, despite repeated revolts, remained in this condition until 369. In that year, with the assistance of Epaminondas, Messenia finally recovered her independence, and a new capital, Messene, was founded. To Messene and two other Messenian communities, Thouria and Andania, pertains such documentation for public organization as we have, mostly of the late Hellenistic and early Imperial periods.

§8 Messene

The principal document is the record of an extraordinary tax imposed upon the inhabitants of Messene by the Romans, *IG* V 1, no. 1433, now dated by Giovannini to the time of Gaius or Claudius.[1] Preserved in its entirety, the text opens with the assessments, levied at the rate of eight obols the mina, for various categories of taxpayers. At the head of the list stand six phylai (compare, for the term, lines 8 and 11):

[Κρεσφον]τ̣ίδος
[Δαϊφοντί]δ̣ος
'Αρ̣[ιστομ]α̣χίδος
'Υλλίδος
Κλεολαΐας

Following Kleolaia's assessment appear various, presumably non-citizen categories, beginning in line 8 with: *ξένων σὺν τοῖς τετιμαμένοις ἐν τᾶι φυλᾶι 'Ρωμαίοις.*

At the end of the document, in lines 40-43, are recorded the corresponding arrears in payment of the tax under similar, in this case completely preserved, rubrics. (Line 40a, inadvertently omitted in the printing of the *IG* text, can be found in the *addenda et corrigenda,* p. 311.)

Κρεσφοντίδος
Δαϊφοντίδος
'Αριστομαχίδος
'Υλλίδος
Κλεολαΐας

From these lists of phylai and assessments and arrears (here omitted) appended to them some important inferences can be drawn. First, the names themselves are of patent historical relevance to the Messenian state. Hyllos, Kleodaios,[2] Aristomachos, and Kresphontes represent, in that order, the direct line of descent from Herakles to Kresphontes' son Aipytos. Daiphontes, descended from another wife of Herakles', is connected to the Messenian line by his marriage to Hyrnetho, daughter of Kresphontes' brother Temenos. For the fivefold division (excluding, of course, the Romaioi), Wilhelm adduced Ephoros' account, *FGrH* 70 F 116 (= Strabo, 8.4.7: 361), that Kresphontes, upon his acquisition of Messenia, divided it into five *poleis*.[3] But the *rapprochement* would appear to be favored only by the coincidence in number. Also negatively, the failure of the lists, while in agreement with each other, to correspond to the genealogical sequence tends to diminish the possibility that they preserve an official order, although it is to be noted that a partially preserved catalogue from Thouria (§9) gives two of the names in the same relative position.

Regarding the sixth phyle, while many public organizations surviving into, or revived under, the Roman Empire, will presumably have admitted naturalized Romans, a phyle specifically called "Romaioi" is not elsewhere exampled in the Greek Homeland.[4] For the eastern parallels, see Odessos, Tomoi, Istros (6 §14, 17, 18), and Aphrodisias (7 §28).

Problematic, too, is the matter of the disposition of the phylai. Given the presence of the Romaioi, it is probable that they are all personal associations, although the possibility remains that the "Greek" phylai had started out five centuries earlier as territorial divisions. Such a regional system might have proved useful for undertakings such as the present tax assessment, but our text provides no hints in this direction. Nor, to consider another line of argument favoring territorialism, can an appropriate cult center be cited for any of the five eponyms, despite the lengthy catalogue of shrines at Pausanias, 4.31.4-33.3.[5] That these phylai were focused upon sanctuaries would accordingly appear open to question.

The merely formal arrangement of public documents *kata phylas* is common practice, but in this case it is possible that we are dealing with something more than a secretarial convention. Why are the assessments and arrears set out according to phylai? Possibly they simply provide a convenient device for breaking down an unmanageably large sum. Alternatively, a degree of central organization is to be assumed, whereby, say, the tax might have been paid in a lump sum in anticipation of reimbursal by the membership. At the same time, a formal treasury is improbable, since in that event we should not expect the relatively small arrears the text documents for each phyle. At the very

least, lists of members must be assumed, but even this, when set alongside the largely ceremonial content of most other Imperial documentation, is welcome evidence that the public units had not ceased to function as corporate entities.

However slight might have been the procedural role of the phylai, one remains struck by the unexpectedly wide range among the several assessments: they vary from a low of 106 to a high of 261 talents, a ratio of nearly two and one-half times.[6] Since all property was to be taxed at the same rate, it necessarily follows that certain of the phylai were considerably wealthier than others. This finding provides a corrective to the assumption, natural enough in itself but rarely supported by explicit ancient evidence, that the phylai of a state represented equal fractions of population, territory, property, etc. Even if we allow for a substantial migration of membership over the four centuries from the time of the foundation of the city, it is unlikely that the five Greek phylai were ever even roughly equal in respect to their holdings of property.

Just what ramifications such disparities might have had for the representation of Messenians in government are unknown. In an honorary decree of the late fourth or third century, *IG* V 1, no. 1425 (Michel 186; Schwyzer 69; *SGDI* 4640), the genitive singular of Daiphontis is appended to the mover's name; but any significance such affiliation might have had in constitutional terms is not ascertainable.[7] Less obscurely, the honors (?) conferred on some benefactor by Hyllis, *IG* V 1, no. 1459 (n.d.), certainly represent the internal functioning of the phyle.[8]

Regarding the history of the organization, the natural supposition that the five phylai date from the foundation in 369 was opposed by Szanto on the ground that Thouria, which shared with Messene the phylai Daiphontis and Aristomachis (§9), was not incorporated into the Messenian state until Philip II's intervention in 338. Only at this time, Szanto argued, was the organization created and simultaneously extended to Thouria and other parts of Messenia.[9] But the reconstruction leaves a period of thirty years during which we must assume the existence of some earlier, entirely unknown organization—or else none at all—at Messene, a possible but uneconomical hypothesis. It is simpler to surmise with Roebuck that the phylai were instituted in the capital at the time of the refoundation and subsequently established at Thouria upon its incorporation.[10]

[Still another phyle, Οὐπησία, has been claimed for Messene, but on wholly fallacious grounds. For a full discussion of the problem, with references, see J. and L. Robert, *Bull. Ép.* 1966, no. 202.]

§9 Thouria

A list of *tritirenes,* or ephebes serving their third year, *IG* V 1, no. 1386 (= Michel 613; *SGDI* 4678), of the second century, opens with registers of Δαϊφοντίς (line 3) and 'Αριστομαχίς (line 12) before breaking off after line 17. Observing the same relative order attested for these phylai at Messene, the organization was in all probability borrowed directly from the capital with Thouria's admission to the Messenian national state in 338 (see above, §8). For other lists of ephebes arranged *kata phylas,* see Index II.L.3.c.

§10 Andania

IG V 1, no. 1390 (= Ziehen, *LGS* II 58; Michel 694; Schwyzer 74; *SGDI* 4689; *SIG*³ 736; Sokolowski, *LSCG* 65), the famous document relating to the Mysteries of Andania, of the year 92/1, opens with instructions for binding the priests and priestesses by oath. Should any decline to take the oath, the secretary is to impose a fine and to select by lot a replacement "from the same phyle" (lines 6-7). Such representation of sacred officers *kata phylas* is widely attested in all periods: see Index II.H.1. Elsewhere in the document, boards of five (45ff.) and ten (116ff.) open up the possibility that, as at Thouria (§9), the organization of the capital, itself fivefold, had been extended to Andania.

NOTES

1. Quite a different conclusion was reached by R. Baladié, *Strabo, Géographie* V (Paris 1978) 219, who characterizes the σύστημα δήμων as "un véritable État avec un gouvernement et des assemblées communes. . . ." Whatever may be true regarding the use of these (and related) terms in other times and places, nothing in the record under review lends support to such a characterization.
2. Szanto, 29-30, 32, 34-35.

§1 Dyme

1. For the synoecism the ancient source is Strabo, 8.3.2 (337). For the date and speculations on historical circumstances, see R. Körner, "Die staatliche Entwicklung in Alt-Achaia," *Klio* 56 (1974) 457-495: 469; and Moggi, *I sinecisme* I, 121-125, no. 20.
2. A. Fick, *Bezzenberger Beiträge* 5 (1880) 321, no. 2.
3. Busolt, *Staatskunde* 270 with note 4.
4. See above, note 2. For cults of Demeter in Achaia, see O. Kern, "Demeter," *RE* 4 (1901) 2713-2764: 2727-2728.
5. For the Elean Apollo Thermios, interpreted as Thesmios, see Pausanias, 5.15.7. Rhotacism in Elean Greek is discussed by Buck, 60.1 (p. 56) and by Schwyzer, *Griechische Grammatik* I 92 and 410.
6. Szanto, 20.
7. Busolt, *Staatskunde* 207, note 4.
8. For the Milesian citizenship decrees calling for allotment into phylai, "whichever the *demos* designates," see *Milet* I 3, nos. 37d, 143, and 146. At no. 33d, line 4, the occurrence in a very fragmentary context of the phrase "three phylai"—the Milesian phylai numbered six, later twelve—is consistent with an interpretation similar to that offered here.
9. Körner (above, note 1) 469.
10. Compare the mixture of names among the later phylai at nearby Megalopolis (§3).

§2 Mantinea

1. For a recent, detailed discussion of these events see Stephen and Hilary Hodkinson, "Mantineia and the Mantinike: Settlement and Society in a Greek Polis," *ABSA* 76 (1981) 239-296: 256-261. The earlier comprehensive study of Mantinea is Gustave Fougères, *Mantinée et l'Arcadie orientale* (Paris 1898); the events in question are treated at pages 372-469. The literary texts and extensive bibliographical references are collected by Moggi, *I Sinecismi* I, 140-156, no. 24.

2. The archaeological and literary evidence for individual settlements is reviewed by Hodkinson and Hodkinson (above, note 1) 246-261. The question of the relation of the *demoi* and the *komai* is complicated by the fact that Xenophon, *Hell.* 5.2.7, against the other literary sources, states that the city was dioecized into four, not five, *komai.*

3. Thus Bölte, "Mantinea," *RE* 14.2 (1930) 1290-1344: 1311-1312, 1316-1318.

4. Since the connection between the *tesserae* and public units of any description is quite conjectural, I refrain from detailed discussion. The most recent treatment is that of M. Amit, *Great and Small Poleis* (Brussels 1973) 141-147. Following Svoronos, Τὰ πήλινα εἰσιτήρια τοῦ Θεάτρου τῆς Μαντινείας, *Journal International d'Archéologie Numismatique* 3 (1900) 197-228, Amit accepts a three-phase grouping of the *tesserae* (nos. 1-19: 425-385; nos. 20-21: 370-340; nos. 22-107: ca. 226; but cf. p. 142, note 80), and a fivefold classification (presumably applicable in all periods) by shape, each shape corresponding to one of the five demes (an opinion already hesitantly advanced by Fougères [above, note 1, 533] with reference to either demes or phylai). Each completely preserved and legible *tessera* of the third period bears on one side a person's name (usually with patronymic), on the other a single letter, all twenty-five letters of the alphabet (including digamma) being exampled. Since, furthermore, different shapes are sometimes found in combination with a given letter, it is likely that each shape (i.e. deme or phyle) was originally represented by all twenty-five letters. Next, building upon Fougères' identification of the *tesserae* as entry-tokens, Svoronos suggested a connection between a troublesome inscription from the theater, ΜΕ Η (Fougères, p. 169), and Aristotle's statement, *Politics* 6.2.2 (1318 B), that the Mantinean magistrates are chosen not by the people but by τινες αἱρετοὶ κατὰ μέρος ἐκ πάντων. Not Μεθ(υδριέων) (Fougères), but μέρος η' might be the correct interpretation; if so, the electors mentioned by Aristotle will have sat in sections (μέρη) marked by the inscription and by other inscribed letters found in the course of the excavation (on which see Fougères, *BCH* 14 [1890] 249). Accordingly, bearers of the *tesserae* will have been assigned to the section designated by the single letter, each section (again) comprising members of all five demes or phylai represented by the varying shapes of token. Svoronos' belief that only the αἱρετοί were issued *tesserae* and admitted to the theater must give way to Amit's proposal that these privileges were extended to all citizens. All citizens possessed the power to deliberate (Aristotle, loc. cit.), and, on Amit's calculation, the theater was sufficiently large to accommodate the probable citizen population of 3,000. At such plenary meetings, the αἱρετοί will have been chosen for the election of magistrates.

Oddly, Amit nowhere considers the possibility, already aired by Fougères (above), that it is to the phylai, not the demes, that the five types of *tesserae* correspond. This, however, must remain the preferred interpretation until evidence surfaces indicating a constitutional role for the demes (or *komai*). For an idea of some of the strictly epigraphic difficulties entailed in the analysis, see Hiller's comments, *IG* ad loc.

5. = Michel 614; Schwyzer 662; *SGDI* 1203. The assignment of the text by Fougères (above, note 1, 287 note 3) to the year 362 and his assumption that the same system of phylai existed prior to 371, though historically plausible, are without specific evidential support.

6. Szanto, 30-31; Busolt, *Staatskunde* 268-269. Neither scholar unambiguously states that the phylai were identical with the "villages."

7. For the names, see Fougères (above, note 1) 127-129; Bölte (above, note 3) 1309-1311, 1311-1312; Hodkinson and Hodkinson (above, note 1) 246-265.

8. Fougères (above, note 1) 300-301.

9. Compare, for example, the military functions proposed for the *hemiogdoa* and *triakades* at Corinth (2 §2), and the certain or likely functions of the *amphoda* (Index I.A.1) and *pyrgoi* (Index I.A.20).

10. Szanto, 30.

11. That the minor deity in fact eventually became an *epiklesis* of Zeus is regarded as very likely by Bölte (above, note 3) 1337.

12. Fougères (above, note 1) 103-106.

13. Hodkinson and Hodkinson (above, note 1) 295 with note 174. It is to be borne in mind that our principal inscription, *IG* V 2, no. 271, pertaining to all five phylai, was also found in this general area, as the Hodkinsons note (294-295).

14. Bölte (above, note 3) 1333.

15. Fougères (above, note 1) 163, note 1.

§3 Megalopolis

1. In fact, manuscript L reads μ'—providing some support for the emendation τετταράκοντα (Dindorf, Bekker). For discussion of the towns participating in the synoecism, see v. Hiller, "Megala polis," *RE* 15.1 (1931) 127-140: 130-132; and, on all its aspects, Moggi, *I Sinecismi* I, 293-325, no. 45.

2. On the theater seats, see G. C. Richards, in E. A. Gardner et al., *Excavations at Megalopolis 1890-1891, The Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies Supplementary Papers* no. 1 (London 1892) 122-126. Brief mention of the inscriptions is made by O. A. W. Dilke, *ABSA* 43 (1948) 183; cf. 45 (1950) 47-48.

3. Thus Richards (above, note 2) 126; Dilke, *ABSA* 43 (1948) 183.

4. Richards (above, note 2, 126) notes the facts but offers no explanation. There may be something to his point, however, that the reduction from six to five phylai might reflect the declining population of Megalopolis (compare, for example, the proposal put before Aratos to reduce the extent of the city's walls [Polybios, 5.93; discussed below]. On the size and population of the city, see J. B. Bury, "The Double City of Megalopolis," *JHS* 18 [1898] 15-22).

5. Διεθνὴς ἐφημερὶς τῆς νομισματικῆς ἀρχαιολογίας 3 (1900) 57 (*non vidi*). Compare the *tesserae,* with certainty to be associated with seating arrangements in the theater at Mantinea (§2). The numeral τρίτου on the present token may correspond to the single letters (i.e. numerals) on the reverses of the Mantinean pieces.

6. Thus invalidating Richards' proposed ['Hρ]αία[ς]. The present reading he does, however, suggest as a possibility. Szanto, 33, accepting Richards' restoration, refers the *tessera,* which he dates on the basis of letter-forms to the second century, to Lykaeitai of the later organization. Quite apart from the question of the date (on which, see Hiller, *IG,* loc. cit.), the difference in the spelling of the two names cannot be ignored.

7. Pausanias, 8.30.2, mentions a shrine of Zeus Lykaios in the Agora.

8. Richards (above, note 2) 124. I follow Szanto, 32.

9. Pausanias, 8.30.2-31.9 passim. For epigraphic attestations, see *IG* V 2, Index VI ("Res sacrae"), s.vv. Further details can be found in J. G. Frazer, *Pausanias's Description of Greece* 4 (Cambridge 1898) 326-330.

10. Szanto, 32. For an attempt at reconstruction of the Agora, in which were located the several shrines or images just alluded to, see Frazer (above, note 9) 320-326. The virtual impossibility of any such mapping of the six phylai was conceded by Richards (above, note 2, 125), who nonetheless assumed territorial units centered on sanctuaries on the strength of the better-documented organizations elsewhere in Arkadia under review in this chapter.

11. See the list in *IG* V 2, Index VI, p. 173, s.v. "Athana."

12. Szanto, 33, refers Lykaeitai to the Lykaia included by Pausanias, 8.27.3, among the synoecizing towns. But it hardly seems possible that a single town should have enjoyed such status alongside Mainalioi and Parrhasioi. We must continue to follow Foucart, Le Bas II 331b, in viewing the name as an altered form of the earlier phyle Lykaia, still with reference to the cult of Zeus Lykaios.

13. Szanto, 34.

§6 Tegea

1. For the alternation between the two styles of designation compare, besides Athens, the well-documented case of Tenos (5 §18: note 5).

2. 8.45.1. Their names are Gareatai, Phylakeis, Karyatai, Korytheis, Potachidai, Oiatai, Manthyreis, Echeuetheis, and (the addition) Apheidantes. Both the term "deme" and the number are confirmed by Strabo's brief reference to the synoecism, 8.3.2 (337); see also Moggi, *I Sinecismi* I, 131-139, no. 23. For discussion of the location and antiquities of the settlements, see V. Bérard, "Tégée et la Tégéatide," *BCH* 16 (1892) 529-549, 17 (1893) 1-24; and F. Hiller von Gaertringen, "Tegea," *RE* 5.1 (1934) 107-118: 111-112. Korytheis is briefly described by W. K. Pritchett, *Studies in Ancient Greek Topography* III (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1980) 80-81.

3. Szanto, 29-30, with references to the earlier literature.

4. F. Solmsen, *RhM* 53 (1898) 157-158.

5. For a map of the region, see V. Bérard, *BCH* 16 (1892), Plate XIII. For the identification with Omertsaousi, see Bérard, 541-543; and Hiller von Gaertringen (above, note 2) 111. J. G. Frazer, Pausanias' *Description of Greece* 4 (London 1898) 442, on. 8.53.9, opts for Haghios Sostis.

6. On the site and attribution to Apollo Pythios, see K. A. Rhomaios, *BCH* 36 (1912) 358.

7. Hiller von Gaertringen (above, note 2) 111; W. Fuchs, "Tegea," *PECS,* p. 890.

8. So V. Bérard, *BCH* 13 (1889) 281; and later, with admission of complications, at *BCH* 17 (1893) 1-2.

9. A similar arrangement, though based on a necessarily less plentiful store of evidence, was suggested by V. Bérard, *BCH* 16 (1892) 549, with Plate XIII.

10. Again (see above, note 1), the two styles of designation may have been in use simultaneously.

11. For a defense of this, the traditional view of the designation of metics, see D. Whitehead, *The Ideology of the Athenian Metic* (Cambridge 1977) 72-75.

12. For a general treatment of the official orders of precedence of public units, see my "The Order of the Dorian Phylai," *CP* 75 (1981) 197-215.

13. For the details, see Hiller von Gaertringen's comments, *IG* ad locc.

14. The first interpretation is that of Hoffmann; the latter that of Arbanitopullus (see comm. on *IG* V 2, no. 40). For the rare, exclusively Arkadian use of ἐπί with the dative to denote time during which, see *LSJ*[9] s.v., B.II.3.

15. Six *strategoi* at *IG* V 2, no. 116 (s. III); eleven at *IG* V 2, no. 11 (before 228). In the very fragmentary no. 12 (s. III), however, Hiller von Gaertringen conjectured there stood fourfold boards of both *strategoi* (Index IV 3, p. 171) and *prostatai* (comm. ad loc.).

§7 Elis

1. My text is that of M. Rocha-Pereira, *Pausaniae Graeciae Descriptio* II (Teubner: Berlin 1977), although, as noted below, I prefer an alternative emendation of the Olympiad dates in section (5).

2. Formally, the contradiction might be removed by emending the foregoing date in section 4 to an Olympiad preceding Olympiad 25: see the commentary of H. Hitzig and H. Bluemner, *Pausaniae Graeciae Descriptio* II 1 (Leipzig 1901) 218-219 (cf. 316), and J. G. Frazer, *Pausanias's Description of Greece* 1 (London 1898) 584 and 3 (London 1898) 489, for discussion and proposed remedies. Since, however, Hellanikos, *FGrH* 4 F 113, expressly links the number of the (ten) Hellanodikai to the (ten) phylai, it is better to bring the date implied for the institution of the latter—672—down to the time of the Classical city-state by emending the first numeral in section (5). The emendation to πέμπτῃ . . . καὶ ἑβδομηκοστῇ, apparently first suggested by K. O. Müller, "Die Phylen von Elis und Pisa," *RhM* 2 (1934) 167-181: 168 note 3, I prefer on the historical ground that it permits association of the creation of the ten phylai with the synoecism. Some editors, however, print πέμπτῃ . . . ἐνενηκοστῇ, which is favored by palaeographical considerations and the internal logic of the passage. I hope to treat the problem in greater detail elsewhere.

3. G. Busolt, *Die Lakedaimonier und ihre Bundgenossen* 1 (Leipzig 1878) 180; *Forschungen zur griechischen Geschichte* 1 (Breslau 1880) 63.

4. W. Dittenberger and K. Purgold, *Olympia* 5: *Die Inschriften von Olympia* (Berlin 1896) 3-8, no. 2 (= *SGDI* 1152; Schwyzer 409; Buck 61). Jeffery, *LSAG* 220, no. 15 (Pl. 43), dates the plaque ca. 475-450 B.C.?

5. Thus Szanto, 36.

6. According to the manuscripts of the scholia on Pindar, *Ol.* 3.22a, where the citation of Hellanikos (and Aristodemos) appears, the first numeral stands as ι̅β̅, which is patently incompatible with Pausanias' account. Boeckh proposed the emendation β̅, which I accept and translate. For other remedies, see Jacoby's apparatus. Fortunately, this point does not affect the resolution of the larger difficulty of the existence and chronology of the ten phylai.

7. Szanto, 35-36; Busolt, *Staatskunde* 270.

8. *Inschriften von Olympia* (above, note 4) 18-20, no. 7 (Ziehen, *LGS* II 61; Michel 196; Schwyzer 412; *SGDI* 1156; Buck 64). Jeffery, *LSAG* 220 (cf. 218), no. 5 (Pl. 42), dates the text ca. 500 B.C.? Based as it is upon the style of the lettering alone, this date cannot, in my estimation, be taken as so precise as to preclude association with the reform of 471/0.

9. Thus Busolt, *Staatskunde* 270; Swoboda, "Elis," *RE* 5 (1905) 2368-2432: 2429. Roussel, 295, acknowledges the increase to twelve phylai prior to 420, but does not deal with Pausanias' notice for 368.

10. For a discussion of possible constitutional activity around this date, however, see S. Dušanić, *Recueil travaux Fac. Philosophie Belgrade* 11 (1970) 49-64 (*non vidi;* I owe this reference to J. and L. Robert, *Bull. Ép.* 1971, no. 328).

11. K. J. Beloch, *RFIC* 4 (1876) 234, citing Xenophon, *Hell.* 7.4.14.

12. The contrary assumption may lie at the heart of Roussel's difficulty in accepting Pausanias' account at face value. Instead, he prefers to allege that Pausanias, observing a territorial system in use in the second century A.D., anachronistically retrojected it to the era of the free Greek city-state, with the nature of which it is incompatible (*Tribu et Cité,* 295).

13. E.g., Philippson (above, note 9) 2429; Szanto, 35; Busolt, *Staatskunde* 270.

14. For the number of towns named in literary sources, see N. Yalouris, "The City-State of Elis," *Ekistics* 33 (1972) 95-96. For a general account of the synoecism, see E. Curtius, "Der Synoikismos von Elis," *SB Berlin* 1895, 793-806; Moggi, *I Sinecismi* I, 157-166, no. 25; and Roussel, 291-296.

15. Thus v. Schoeffer, "Demiurgoi," *RE* 4 (1901) 2856-2862: 2859-2860, following Gilbert II, 101 with note 1. Hesychios, s.v. δημιουργός reads in part: . . . καὶ παρὰ τοῖς Δωριεῦσιν οἱ ἄρχοντες, τὰ δημόσια πράττοντες, ὥσπερ Ἀθήνησιν οἱ δήμαρχοι.

16. Yalouris (above, note 14), 96, counts 120 settlements plus another 160 sites known from isolated surface finds.

17. For references to the texts, see *Inschriften von Olympia* (above, note 4), Index II, col. 837.

18. The identification offered by Dittenberger and Purgold, "Phylen," must be rejected on simply numerical grounds. Tabulation shows a total of fourteen different single letters and seven ligatures, giving twenty-one symbols all together. Since, however, four of the symbols occur only once, a figure that is increased to eight if symbols confined to a single inscription are included, it is likely that others remain unattested. At the same time, a not-too-distant upper limit would appear imposed by the multiple occurrences—the highest is thirteen—of certain of the symbols over a variety of texts; and also by the relatively low number of ligatures (indicating that the full complement did not much exceed the number of single letters actually in use).

§8 Messene

1. A. Giovannini, *Rome et la circulation monétaire en Grèce au IIe siècle avant Jésus-Christ* (Basel 1978) 115-122.

2. For discussion of the spelling of the phyle, Κλεολαΐα, on the inscription vs. that of the eponym, Κλεοδάϊος, elsewhere, see A. Wilhelm, "Urkunden aus Messene," *JÖAI* 17 (1914) 1-120: 53-54. In the end, Wilhelm opts for incomplete carving of *delta* in both lines 6 and 43.

3. Wilhelm (above, note 2) 52. On the division into the cities, and their subsequent reconsolidation by Stenyklaros, see further Moggi, *I Sinecismi* I, 9-11, no. 4.

4. In line 8 I understand the Greek to mean "(the assessment) of foreigners with (i.e. including) those assessed in the phyle Romaioi" (in the list of arrears, by contrast, the entry for the *xenoi*, line 44, says nothing about the phyle Romaioi). Those *not* assessed are dealt with in lines 14-15. Not all foreigners—in fact only Romans—will have belonged to a phyle. Wilhelm (above, note 2), 54, however, interprets "noch eine sechste Phyle der Fremden, der auch Römer zugeteilt sind."

5. See the list of "Kulte" in Ernst Meyer, "Messenien," *RE Suppl.* 15 (1978) 155-289: 284-288. Except for the "summoning" of Kresphontes in 369 (Pausanias, 4.27.6) and a priest of the same who dates an inscription of the second century A.D., *IG* V 1, no. 1469, the record of the cultic observance of the five eponyms is blank.

6. The low, Daiphontis (line 2), the high, Kleolaia (line 6). The text should be consulted for the complete citations of the amounts.

7. A lower chronology, second or first century B.C., is suggested by C. A. Roebuck, *A History of Messenia from 369 to 146 B.C.* (Chicago 1941) 60, note 10; 115, note 30, on the basis of the calendric notation in line 3. For the genitive singular of the phyle, Δαϊφοντ[ΐ]δ/ος, the apparatus records the variant reading, Δαϊφοντ[ΐ]δ[α]ς, masculine nominative singular.

8. Kolbe included this text under *tituli honorarii mulierum*, presumably on the assumption that Ὑλλίς is the name of a woman, the honorand. Yet his comment reveals his belief that the name designates a phyle and, not the honorand, but the honoring party.

9. Szanto, 28-29.

10. Roebuck (above, note 7) 113-114 with note 25.

Chapter IV The Northwest, Magna Graecia, and Sicily

Many of the colonizers of western Greece were of Dorian origin, and some of their settlements even as late as the third or second century still retain the old tripartite division of phylai. The Dymanes, Hylleis, and Pamphyloi, or at least one member of them, are recorded at Issa (§1), Kerkyra (§5), and Akragas (§18). They are also possible candidates for the threefold systems of uncertain identification at Lokroi Epizephyrioi (§12), Akrai (§19), and Syracuse (§20)—all three states with established Dorian connections.

By and large, however, the old division gave way to innovating arrangements, of which the one certainly identifiable major source of inspiration is Corinth (2 §2). Bakchiad Kerkyra (§5) and Periander's foundation Apollonia (§4) both received, almost certainly under the influence of the Kypselids, new organizations resembling in more than one aspect the eightfold organization introduced at home by the tyrants. At Akrai (§19), a secondary colony from Syracuse, the *triakas,* or Thirty, elsewhere only rarely encountered (see Index I.A.28), is surely to be connected with the unit's earlier appearance in the mother city. Exceptionally, however, Syracuse (§20) retained into late Hellenistic times a threefold division presumably inherited from the Bakchiad colonizers. Besides Corinth, the "panhellenic" public arrangements of Thourioi (§9), founded in 444/3, are believed by some to reveal the hand of another mainland power, Athens. But more recent analyses of the tenfold system of phylai described by Diodoros tend to discredit such claims. Instead, the Thourian case stands out as one of the earliest, and most straightforward, examples of the *Landsmannschaftlich* principle of organization.

By far the most striking and widespread innovation of the western region, however, is one for which no obvious exemplar is at hand. In the inscriptions of no fewer than fourteen of these twenty-one states (§4, 6-8, 10-13, 15-17, 19-21) abbreviations of two or occasionally more letters, indubitably indicating a public affiliation of some kind, are found attached to personal names. Although it has not proved possible in any instance positively to identify the entity so designated, the correlations between the abbreviations and local toponyms at Lokroi (§12), and Tauromenion (§21) suggest that some, if not all, such denominations refer to lower level territorial units, probably "demes" or something like them. More difficult is the question of the source of the convention. Did it spread locally from state to state? Or are we to assume a common, external model? The latter approach is favored by the fact that the one state most active in the region, Corinth, also

affords the earliest—ca. 450—examples of the use of such abbreviations in mainland Greece (see 2 §2). At least in the cases of Kerkyra (§5) and Syracuse (§20), her colonies antedate the earliest western instance, from the area of Sybaris (§8). But the assumption of a Corinthian model is weakened by the absence of the usage at Kerkyra and by the very late date of the testimony from Apollonia (§4) and Syracuse. Besides, evidence of local particularism is present in the tendency in Italy for the abbreviation to precede the name (§7, 8, 10, 11, 12; but compare §6, 13), in Sicily to follow (§15, 16, 17, 19, 21; but compare §20). It may well be that the role played by Corinth amounted to providing an initial stimulus and nothing more.

Abbreviated affiliations apart, divisions below the phylai are explicitly exemplified by the ordinal numerical designations at Kerkyra (§5), the object-names at Herakleia (§7), and the *triakas* at Akrai (§19). Each represents in varying degrees the tendency towards schematism characteristic of the democratization of the archaic organizations.

Internal organization of public units is scarcely recorded. The only arguable example is provided by honors conferred in the name of the members of the *tribus* of Juppiter Augustus during the reign of Commodus at Lilybaion (§17).

THE NORTHWEST

§1 Issa

Kerkyra Melaina, an island in the central Adriatic and the site of an early Knidian settlement,[1] received at some point in the third century another colony from the neighboring, larger island, Issa. Among the evidence for the latter foundation is a decree of the people of Issa confirming arrangements for the distribution of the colony's lands, *SIG*[3] 141.[2] At the close of the decree is a partly preserved catalogue of "those who took possession of the land and walled the city," that is, of the first settlers. The names are arranged in three columns under the rubrics, from left to right, [Δυμᾶ]νες, [Ὑλλεῖς], and Πάμφυλοι (line 18).[3] Issa, having acquired the Dorian phylai from her (still unknown) mother city, was now by an identical process transmitting them to her own colony.[4]

No further discussion would be necessary were it not for the fact that a much larger claim has been made for the text. Szanto proposed that a substantial connection obtained between its content, namely the conditions governing the distribution of the plots of land, and the arrangement of the names of the first settlers according to their phylai. Because, he argued, a prohibition on alienation of land—documented from Aristotle not for Issa, but for Sparta—would tend to keep property within the group, it must have been part of the purpose of the

decree to maintain on the whole the respective holdings of the three phylai as established at the time of the foundation. The argument is critical for Szanto because it provides support for his theory that upon the Dorians' occupation of Greece the phylai had served as "eine traditionell festgehaltene Art der Bodeneinteilung." That is, the method implicit in the division of the lands of this third century colony reflects, however distantly, the original Dorian occupation of Greece.[5]

There is a sense of course in which Szanto's thesis is undoubtedly valid, but it is a validity of trivial significance: since every colonist did indeed belong to one of the three phylai and since, given a prohibition on alienation, property would tend to stay within the phyle, the initially established lines of division would naturally tend to be preserved intact. However, what the decree does not show is that attention was given to the phylai *per se* with regard to the distribution or continuing disposition of the colony's lands. To the contrary, whereas the text is quite explicit in distinguishing the first settlers (lines 3-4, 17) from those who were to follow later (lines 9-10), and in stating to what lands the two classes were entitled, no allusion whatsoever is made to the phylai. Clearly, it is in the maintenance of the respective privileges and obligations of the former two groups that the burden of the decree is to be found. If similar importance had been attached to the preservation of the claims of the phylai *qua* phylai, we should expect to find stipulations to that effect in the text.

With far greater likelihood the arrangement of the names of the list is incidental to the content of the decree. Unless, as is possible, the rubrics served some merely secretarial purpose, the real significance of the phylai is perhaps to be found in connection with the process of selection of the colonists. Whether participation in the venture was viewed as a privilege or a burden, it is likely that a need was felt to draw upon the home population in an equitable manner, and, as the explicit evidence of other states suggests, the phylai would have provided a suitable means to that end. See Index II.K.1 (officers, selected by phylai, charged with the distribution of land or houses) and 2 (division of colonists according to units of mother city).

§2 Epidamnos

At *Politics* 5.1.6 (1301 B), Aristotle remarks in connection with partial changes of constitution that at Epidamnos "they established a Boule in place of the *phylarchoi.*" As the context shows, the change was regarded by the author as a relaxation of a narrowly oligarchical arrangement. Gilbert plausibly suggested that prior to the reform the heads of the phylai had served as a "Staatsrath" to the highest magistrate who, although surviving the reform, would now have to answer

to a body of wider composition.[1] Examples of phylarchs functioning as boards can be adduced from Kyzikos (6 §28), Kyme? (7 §4), Prousias-on-Hypios (8 §2) and Nikomedeia (8 §3). Probable, too, is Gilbert's identification of the phylai as the Dorian tripartite division.[2] Founded in 626 or 625 by Kerkyraians under the leadership of a Corinthian *oikistes* very likely drawn from the Bakchiad family,[3] Epidamnos will presumably have received Kerkyra's organization. The latter probably continued to conform to the traditional model until the time of the Kypselid tyranny (§5).

§3 Dimale (or Dimallon)

Located in southern Albania some distance northeast of ancient Apollonia, the site of Dimale (or Dimallon) was not identified until the 1960's. In a dedication from the site of Hellenistic date, B. Dautaj, *Studime Historike* 19 (1965) fasc. 2, 93-105, Pl. F, it was proposed by J. and L. Robert (*Bull. Ép.* 1967, no. 346) that the participial form [-φυ]λαρχήσα[ς], with reference to the dedicator, be restored in line 3.

§4 Apollonia

Since the foundation of Apollonia about 600 by Kerkyraian colonists under Corinthian leadership falls in the region of Periander, the colony's constitution might be expected to reflect the major reform by the tyrants of the organization of the mother city (2 §2).[1] Accordingly we are not surprised to find, instead of the Dorian phylai, possible evidence for an innovating organization in a dedication to Aphrodite of the second century (?), E. Homann-Wedeking, *AA* (1942) 371. Here, the names of six *hieromnamones* (including the secretary) are followed by a two- or four-letter element: ΔΙ or ΛΙ, ΠΟ, ΑΡ, ΠΟΛΟ, ΙΠ, and ΛΕ (lines 5-10).[2] Because each of the elements can begin a Greek word, it is likely that they are abbreviations; but if they refer, as is highly probable, to some public unit, its identity is uncertain. The assumption, however, that an entire organization is represented would, in view of the relatively small number of abbreviations, strongly favor phylai or (equally possibly) some component of the phylai representing the larger bodies on a one-to-one basis. Alternatively, if the entire organization is not represented, almost any identification of the units could be defended. Can any further progress be made towards identification?

Appeal to external evidence has been essayed but not, in my estimation, with success. An honorary inscription of Imperial date, E. Derenne, *Albania* 3 (1928) 40-41, no. 6, reads:

'Ανδρίωνα Ποδᾶ
Μαχιαδᾶν
Γοργίας καὶ "Ιππαρχος
οἱ ἀδελφοί

L. Robert, following Derenne, proposed that the letters interpreted above as the name, in the genitive case, of the honorand's father, Podas, be combined with line 2 to form a single word. This way, the group with which Andrion was affiliated, the Podamachiadai, could be referred to the abbreviation ΠΟ in the dedication.[3] But Robert's reading is, for at least two reasons, unacceptable. For one, it does violence to the natural and seemingly deliberate arrangement of the words in lines of text; on Robert's interpretation, the single word Podamachiadai would more naturally have been entirely confined to the second line. Secondly, the reading would require that not only Andrion but also his brothers, the dedicators, be left without a patronymic. Were it not for the assured existence of the abbreviation ΠΟ, it is doubtful that Robert's hypothesis could seriously be entertained.

A second *rapprochement* was suggested by Robert between the abbreviation ΛΕ and an identical abbreviation at Corinth (2 §2), for which, however, he offered no definite identification.[4] But the equation would be rendered unlikely by the acceptance of my interpretation of the Corinthian unit as a *hemiogdoön*, or Half-Eighth, and of my specific referral of the abbreviation ΛΕ to the port town Lechaion. Both peculiar to the metropolis, neither the term nor the proper name would have traveled easily to the colony. It is also to be noted that, whatever interpretation is given the Corinthian evidence, there is no further agreement among the remaining abbreviations, five Apollonian, four Corinthian. From a statistical standpoint, accordingly, it is easier to see the one agreement as due to simple coincidence.

Notwithstanding these negative findings and the failure to find the desired identification, we may at least be confident that the use in the dedication of abbreviations to designate what are likely public units of some type reflects the practice of the mother city. Outside Western Greece, comparable examples are rare and none is so early as the Corinthian.[5] To this can be added, too, a probable particular—and significant—point of agreement, namely that between the Kerkyraian Machiadai and the Corinthian *phatra* (H)omakchiadai.[6] Both borrowings are plausibly traced to the very foundation of the colony by Kypselid tyrants—it was the tyrants, I have argued, who were the architects of the great reform of the public organization of Corinth. Still, of course, with sources as late as these, the possibility of delayed transmission cannot be excluded.

§5 Kerkyra

Since the foundation of Kerkyra, like that of Syracuse (§20), dates to the era of the Bakchiad aristocracy, it would be reasonable to expect to find her organization similarly headed by the three Dorian phylai. The expectation appears at first glance to be met. In an inscription of the second century, *IG* IX 1, no. 694 (= *SGDI* 3206), two benefactors, a man and a woman, are identified by the adjectival *phyletika* ('Υλ)λεύς and 'Υλλίς (lines 2-7).[1] But the natural inference that the Hylleis, and with them the Dymanes and Pamphyloi, had survived intact into the Hellenistic period is rendered suspect by the assured existence at the beginning of the fifth century of a quite different set of divisions (and subdivisions). Our task, then, will be either to find some way of combining the bodies of evidence or else, as will be suggested, to deal with the possibility of the simultaneous existence of two organizations.

For the Classical organization, the principal sources are a number of lead plaques bearing records of loans, P. Calligas, "An Inscribed Lead Plaque from Korkyra," *ABSA* 66 (1971) 79-94. Throughout, the creditor (but not, for some reason, the debtor) is identified according to his affiliation with two groups, the one designated by a proper name, the other by a feminine ordinal adjective. Evidently contemporary, all the texts were dated by Calligas on the basis of their lettering to ca. 500.[2] A similar formulation occurs in another inscription, probably Hellenistic, *IG* IX 1, no. 695 (= Michel 1348; *SGDI* 3213).[3] The combinations of proper name and ordinal thus far attested are as follows:

'Αϝορō̄ν (vel sim.)	
δευτέρας	Calligas, 81, no. 4+
πέμπτας	Calligas, 81, nos. 3+, no. 5+
hεβδέμ[ας]	Calligas, 81, no. 8(a)
'Ạνθẹ[ι]ας	
ϝέκτας	Calligas, 80, no. 2+
Φιλοξẹ[νō]ν	
[πεμπ(τ)]ας	Calligas, 79-80, no. 1
Μαχχιδᾱν	
δεκάτας	*IG* IX 1, no. 695

To Calligas we are indebted for the identification of the proper name as that of the major group, of the ordinal as that of the minor group or subdivision. Specific nomenclature for the units is, however, wanting, unless one were willing to go as far afield as Miletos (7 §16), where the only really precisely parallel formulation is to be found in the

'Αργαδέων πρώτη and 'Οπλήθων δεοτέρη. By analogy, the Kerkyraian Aworai/oi, Makkhidai, etc. would be, like the Milesian Argadeis and Hoplethes, phylai, while the minor division, if the most likely candidate for the Milesian "First" or "Second" were to be considered, might be the *chiliastys* or Thousand. The latter identification, however, would seem unlikely for Kerkyra, for even a small number of phylai (and we have at least four), if divided at least ten times each (*IG* IX 1, 695 above), would generate an impossibly large number of literal Thousands. Accordingly, *hekatostys* (Hundred) or any of a number of other smaller units might be thought more likely.

Regarding the origins of the innovating organization, our principal clues are provided by the names of the phylai (as I shall now term them), though even here we are faced with much uncertainty. Both the readings "Antheia" and "Philoxenoi" are, as Calligas' own texts (and, in the former case, his second thoughts) suggest, highly questionable, neither being sufficiently established to merit further analysis.[4] By contrast, both the Aworai/oi and Makchidai point to a link of some kind with the mother city Corinth (2 §2), where a decree of the late fourth or early third century attests the phyle Aoreis and the phatra (H)omakchiadai. Since, further, the phyle Aoreis (at the very least) probably came into existence with a major reform of the organization under the Kypselid tyranny, it is natural to attribute the institution of the Kerkyraian Aworai/oi, and with it the remainder of the organization, to the later years of the tyranny, when Periander governed the island through his son Nikolaos, later through his grandson Psammetikos.[5] Indeed, since the plaques guarantee a *terminus ante quem* of ca. 500, there is hardly any alternative.

Returning, then, to the problem posed at the outset, we must attempt to understand how, once such a reform had been carried out, the Hylleis could reappear in a document of the second century. For Calligas, the evident contemporaneity of the Dorian phylai with the new units led to the seemingly reasonable conclusion that they were components of a single organization. Citing the theory that at Corinth the three Dorian phylai had been increased to four, and that these four were again divided in order to create the attested eightfold arrangement, he supposed that a similar gradual increase had occurred in the colony. Of the eight putative Kerkyraian phylai our present evidence, accordingly, would establish the identities of seven.[6] But this approach is rendered unlikely, if not entirely untenable, by two counterarguments. From a purely statistical standpoint, first, it is possibly not coincidental that not one of the six plaques preserving the name of a phyle can be read or restored to refer to any of the Dorian phylai. It should follow, contrary to Calligas' reasoning, that affiliation with a Dorian phyle (if such existed) played no part in the composition of

these documents. Secondly, the very notion of an expansion of the Dorian division is not only unsupported by any real evidence for the alleged evolution of the eightfold Corinthian organization, but also runs counter to a tendency among Dorian states either to preserve the inherited organization relatively intact or to replace it with any entirely new arrangement. Only on Krete (5 §27-39), where special circumstances might well have obtained, are possible exceptions to be found. In the present case the local (and/or Corinthian) titles together with the numerically designated subdivisions similarly point to some such thorough-going revision, begun from the ground up. Though not impossible, Calligas' reconstruction must at the least be regarded as highly conjectural.

One other possible explanation remains, and that is that there were in fact two Kerkyraian organizations, entirely distinct and, it may be conjectured, confined to separate functions or spheres. Such a conclusion should not be met with resistance. The simultaneous operation of two organizations is unambiguously established for Athens (1 §1.1 and 21) and, less certainly, Miletos (7 §16); and at Athens enough is known of the vestigial powers of the Old Attic phylai for us to see how their activities did not duplicate, but complemented, those of the Kleisthenic system. The extent and nature of the Kerkyraian Dorian phylai remain obscure, but the presumption of their existence alongside the innovating organization cannot reasonably be called into question.

MAGNA GRAECIA

§6 Taras

Two lead leaves from a tomb, *IG* XIV 668 (= *SGDI* 4616: fin. s. IV aut s. III?), carry a total of thirty-nine names, of which thirty-six are preserved entire. Of the thirty-six all but three lack modification of any kind. The three exceptions are:

Ζωπύρα Μαχαν	I 13
Ἰστ[ι]αῖος Ὀλ	II 4
Ἰστιαῖος Λι	II 17

Theoretically, it is possible that in all three examples we have abbreviated patronymics, but this would be unusual and (I should think) unwelcome in a funerary context. It is more likely that the abbreviations represent affiliations of some kind. Kaibel proposed the identification "tribus."[1] Obviously, with a sample this small, almost any candidate would be free of objection.[2] What of the abbreviations' function? The recurrence of a single nomen, each with a distinct denomination, suggests that it was to distinguish homonyms. What is to be done with the third example, however, is not clear.[3]

§7 Herakleia

Belonging to late in the fourth century, the celebrated Herakleia Tables, *IG* XIV 645,[1] our sole sources for the public organization, record the work of two boards of *horistai,* or boundary-officers, assigned the task of surveying and partitioning the sacred precincts of Dionysos and Athena Polias. Of interest here are the double denominations preceding many, but not all, of the names of the various magistrates and private persons mentioned in the two texts. These consist, first, of a two-letter element, which, since all examples can begin a Greek word, is undoubtedly an abbreviation; and, second, of the name, spelled out in full, of a common object. Abbreviation and object-name occur invariably in conjunction with (a) the boards of five *horistai* (I 3-7; 96-98 [the same five names and denominations repeated]) and of three *horistai* (II 2-5 [the first three names and denominations only, again repeated]); (b) two different pairs of *polianomoi,* or civic magistrates, (I 95-96, 165-166); (c) four lessees of temple lands and their guarantors (I 179-186); and, finally, (d) the secretary (I 187). Both are lacking for the eponymous ephor (I 1, 95, 122, 165; II 1), private individuals in possession of some of the lands in question (e.g. I 14, 168), and the surveyor, a citizen of Naples (I 187). As commentators explain, the presence or absence of the denominations may serve to distinguish those who are directly responsible for the transactions from those who are not; the surveyor, who is certainly a responsible party, is excepted because he is not a Herakleian.[2]

Below follows a list of the attested examples, grouped by the abbreviations in alphabetical order:

*h*A	ἄνθεμα	I 166
*h*A	ἔμβολος	I 166, 181-182
AI	πέλτα	I 5, 97; II 4-5
AΛ	λωτήριον	I 184
AΣ	βότρυς	I 95
FE	ἄνθεμον	I 96
FE	γυῖον	I 183, 187
FE	τρίπους	I 3, 96; II 2
KN	θρῖναξ	I 5, 98
KN	σφαιρωτῆρες	I 184
ME	ἐπιστύλιον	I 6, 98
ME	κιβώτιον	I 180, 181
ΠE	καρυκεῖον	I 4, 97; II 3

The invariable, though restricted, use of the denominations in conjunction with the names of Herakleians all of whom may be presumed

to be citizens prompts the inference that they denote groupings of the population of some kind. That two different groupings are in question is indicated by the occurrence of varying combinations of abbreviation and object-name. That, further, the abbreviation denotes the larger unit, the object-name its smaller subdivision, is shown by the fact that, while a given abbreviation may be followed by up to three different object-names, the latter are confined to a single affiliation. Thus to the major group ME belong the minor groups designated ἐπιστύλιον and κιβώτιον, neither of which occurs in conjunction with any other abbreviation. The finding is consistent, it may be added, with the relative numbers of different denominations recorded for the two types, eight (abbreviation) and thirteen (object-name), although this statistic in isolation might equally be due to an unrepresentative sample of the evidence.[3]

Scholars have exercised much ingenuity in searching for identifications for the symbols, the majority inclining to view the smaller units at least as associations based on kinship. It has been noted, for example, that the denomination ME κιβώτιον is shared by two men, Bormion and Arkas, sons of Philotas, who, as lessee and guarantor of the same parcel of land, are with near certainty to be regarded as brothers (I 180, 181).[4] But these are scarcely adequate grounds for labeling the smaller—*a fortiori* the larger—unit "family," "gens," or "phratry," as commentators have suggested.[5] Even a territorially defined division would be expected to include a great many persons of common parentage. Besides, two other individuals whose fathers bear the same name—though not in this instance linked by participation in the same contract—while sharing the same principal group, belong to different minor groups (I 166, 181-182). Nor has much progress been made through appeal to external evidence. Kaibel noted the similarity of some of the object-names to the stampings on the handles of Knidian and Rhodian amphoras; but it is questionable whether the guilds of *mercatores* they represent can tell us anything about our Herakleians.[6] More plausibly, Curtius suggested that the object-names refer to the coats-of-arms of noble "houses."[7] Wolters, drawing attention to the contrasting affiliations of the putative brothers just mentioned, argued that they describe the personal seals of individuals—thereby the responsible parties affixed their "signatures" to the documents.[8] Although both these explanations fail to account adequately for the larger, principal division denoted by the abbreviation, they do have one solid piece of real evidence in their favor. A signet ring found in a grave of the fourth century bears the image of a *caduceus,* which commentators have linked with the denomination ΠΕ καρυκεῖον.[9] It would be perverse to deny the possibility of some kind of connection. At the same time, however, we are brought no closer to understanding

the nature of the affiliation, private or public, individual or group, that such a symbol, whether inscribed on stone or imprinted by a ring, might represent.

Turning from the object-names to the abbreviations, it is obvious that they can hardly be distinguished from the symbols in use throughout Western Greece under review in this chapter. The possibility of a strictly public function should accordingly be considered. "Phyle" has in fact been proposed as the identification, not at all improbably if it is assumed that the eight attested examples are close to the total number.[10] However, such an assumption is rendered suspect by the fact that among the seven preserved affiliations of lessees and guarantors (I 179-186)—presumably a random sample of the organization—are found six different abbreviations (the one repetition occurs in the case of brothers); and of the six, one does not recur elsewhere in the document (viz. ΑΛ). Obviously, still others may remain unattested. Furthermore, if these are phylai and if the phylai are the principal division, it would follow that the board of five *horistai,* though all designated by different denominations, would not represent the entire organization; worse yet, the one pair of *polianomoi* designated by the same abbreviation (I 165-166, cf. 95-96) would be drawn from a unit no greater than one-eighth of the citizen population. To be sure, parallels might be found (e.g. the fivefold boards at Athens, 1 §1.26), but such evidence as the Tables provide hardly points unambiguously to the identification "phyle."[11]

We are thus left without a secure identification for either object-name or abbreviation. Still, the public character of the Tables stands out; and, despite the claims made for the object-names, there is no compelling reason for finding in them private associations of any description. A signet ring bearing the symbol of a public unit would admittedly be unique—but so are the denominations with which we are asked to associate it. "Box," "Shield," "Tripod," and the like, once dissociated from family coats-of-arms, could instead be interpreted as representing a reaction in an extreme form to the cardinal principle of kinship association: not a common ancestor but an everyday object would serve as the group's focal point.[12]

§8 Sybaris, region of

By far the earliest of the western sources under discussion, a bronze tablet found in a sanctuary not far from the site of Sybaris and dated to the late seventh or early sixth century, carries a dedication by an Olympic victor. At lines 1-2, his name reads ΔΟ Κλεόμβροτος/ὁ Δεξιλάϝō.[1] Among other interpretations proposed by scholars for the initial two-letter element, Pugliese Carratelli suggested a shortened

form of the word δῶμα—signifying the aedicula that constituted the object of the dedication.[2] But this view was shown to be improbable on a number of counts by Guarducci. She offered the alternative suggestion that the letters are an abbreviation of a kind comparable to those under review here.[3] As in many (but by no means all) attested examples, there are two letters and they precede the name of the person presumably designated. Only the context of the usage is new, but given the extent of our testimony this could hardly be considered an objection.[4]

§9 Thourioi

Settled by colonists of mixed origins under Athenian leadership in 444/3, Thourioi provides at once one of the earliest (second only to Kyrene: 5 §26) and clearest examples of a *Landsmannschaftlich* public organization. According to our sole source on the colony's arrangements, Diodoros, 12.11.3:

> Establishing a democratic government, they divided the citizens into ten phylai, and they attached to all (the phylai) appellations ἐκ τῶν ἐθνῶν. The three (consisting) of those (sc. ἔθνη) collected from the Peloponnesos they named Ἀρκάς, Ἀχαΐς, and Ἠλεία; the same number (consisting) of the kindred peoples (ὁμοεθνῶν) outside (the Peloponnesos), Βοιωτία, Ἀμφικτυονίς, and Δωρίς; and the remaining four (consisting) of the other classes (γενῶν), Ἰάς, Ἀθηναΐς, Εὐβοΐς, and Νησιῶτις.

Scrutiny of the names of the phylai shows Diodoros' characterization of them in terms of *ethne* or *gene* to be somewhat lacking in precision. While all the names reflect a fundamental classification according to origin—most designating either a region or its people or both—in at least two cases the phyle is defined along specifically *political* lines. Hence, in the first group, alongside the ethnic-regional Arkas[1] and Achais, Eleia differs in that the entity to which it refers, Elis, had in the later 470s been synoecized as a monolithic, constitutionally defined city-state (3 §7). Similarly, in the second group, alongside Boiotia, Amphiktyonis of course could not designate either a single region or its people, but is perhaps best understood with Ehrenberg as comprising colonists from states of the Delphic Amphiktyony not contained in some other phyle.[2] Doris, since it is classified as "outside the Peloponnesos," was evidently taken by Diodoros to refer to the small district of this name in Central Greece; but a wider membership, easily justified with reference to the ancient belief that Doris was the homeland of the Dorians, seems preferable, since otherwise the Peloponnesian and Isthmian Dorians are left entirely unrepresented.[3] Doris itself, if in fact participating in the colony, would then have been included

in Amphiktyonis. Of the third group, all four phylai represent what would in both ancient and modern parlance be called the "Ionian" region (and people)—Eubois,[4] Nesiotis, and Ias[5] covering Euboia, the Islands, and either Ionia proper or, on analogy with Doris, all remaining Ionian states. Athenais, finally, like Eleia, denotes a political entity, viz. synoecized Attika and its (Athenian) citizens.[6]

With these adjustments in Diodoros' characterization of the ten phylai we may, then, accept the factual content of his account. More difficult to resolve is a controversy surrounding a political aspect of the Thourian organization; to the extent that it brings into play the names of the phylai as just established, it may be briefly reopened here. Ehrenberg, in one camp, argued that, despite the ostensible "panhellenic" composition of the phylai, the organization had been constituted in such a way as to ensure "the outstanding position of the Athenians." To support this view he offered the observation that, except for Eleia (see above), "only one of the ten names derives from a city, and that is the Athenais." Thus a single city controlled an entire phyle by itself, while other powerful states, among them Athens' rivals, were relegated to positions of lesser influence as components of the remaining "collective" phylai: e.g. both Spartan and Corinthian colonists belonged to the same, single phyle Doris. At the same time, the Athenian Empire was represented by no fewer than three additional phylai, Eubois, Nesiotis, and Ias; these, with the men of Athens, formed "a united and homogeneous body." Thereby was guaranteed "the idea of a Panhellenic leadership of Athens."[7]

Such a view of Athens' intentions would, if true, greatly affect our conception of her imperial policy in the 440's, but as a matter of fact more recent opinion has tended to discredit Ehrenberg's position.[8] While Athenais did indeed, it has been objected, represent a single state, the fact remains that all Athenians were confined to that phyle, and that that phyle in the final analysis was only one of ten. In all departments of government constituted with reference to the phylai, the influence of Athenais could not have exceeded that of any other single phyle. As for Athens' allies, it is a moot point whether or not the Athenians could have controlled the colonists—not the states—represented in the Euboian, Island, and Ionian phylai. As Kagan has argued, resentment felt towards Athens as a consequence of the growing severity of her imperial rule could have led to resistance to Athenian attempts to assert superiority. The status of Athens' Peloponnesian adversaries, too, may be innocent of Athenian manipulation on the supposition, again argued by Kagan, that these states were so grouped in "collective" phylai simply because they did not send many colonists: Sparta may have had no excess population, and Corinth would not have seemed to many less attractive that the uncertainties of resettle-

ment in Italy.[9] So far as the details of Diodoros' account of the organization inform us, there is no basis for suspecting the undue influence of political motives on its composition or subsequent functioning.

How were the phylai disposed? If, as now appears to be the case, the phylai literally adhered to the *Landsmannschaftlich* principle, with each group confined to its own phyle, territorial boundaries would have imposed a second, unnecessary, and probably unworkable limitation on the memberships.[10] Besides, the laying-out of the town on a rectangular grid would have satisfied any need for a division of the urban center; Diodoros mentions that the *στενωποί* thus created were filled with houses (12.10.7). Possible parallels are at hand in the *τόνοι* of Tenos (5 §18) and, more remotely, in the *ἄμφοδα* and *πύργοι* of certain Asian cities (Index I.A.1, 20). These districts, overlapped in each case by phylai, probably served specific administrative functions connected with the urban center or its fortifications. We may confidently dismiss, therefore, the unsupported speculation that the grid of streets described by Diodoros formed twelve blocks of land, ten apportioned to the phylai, one to the former Sybarite population, and one to various public uses.[11]

§10 Terina

In the text of a will inscribed on a bronze plaque and dated to the fourth century, *IGSII* 21,[1] occur a number of abbreviations, no more than two letters in length and, where certainly associated with a personal name, invariably preceding the nomen.[2] According to the *IGSII* text, they read as follows:[3]

A[---]	(line 14)	ΠΗ	(line 16)
Ḳ I	(line 14)	Π̣Ο	(line 1)
Ṃ[---]	(line 5)	Ṭ I	(line 15)
ΞΑ	(lines 6, 13)	ΩΛ	(line 13)
[---]α̣	(line 5)		

Except for three, possibly four, instances, the abbreviations are found in a list of names at the end of the document headed by a rubric restored alternatively by editors as 'Ε[*πάκοοι*], 'Ε[*πιμεληταί*], 'Ε[*πίτροποι*], etc. (13-16).[4] At line 6, the siglum occurs in a context that would seem to require a quite different interpretation: *τὸ*] *δὲ ἥμισον. τᾶς Ξα. Νικύλι Ἰστιαίω*. Since the article-and-abbreviation group plainly does not belong to the following (masculine dative singular) nomen, it must adhere to the preceding words, "the half." Half of what? Comparetti suggested *τᾶς Ξα*. sc. *γᾶς* or *χώρας*, viz.

the place where the plot to be inherited by Nikoules was situated. A similar restoration was offered by Comparetti in two of the other exceptional passages in lines 1 and 5.[5] Of interest here is the fact that one of the abbreviations so interpreted, Ξα., recurs in the list of names in line 13. It follows that if indeed the abbreviations denote, as elsewhere in Western Greece, units of the public organization, these units were with a high degree of probability of a territorial disposition.

§11 Kaulonia?

Similar in form to the text from Terina discussed above (§10), a *donatio* of the early fifth century, *IGSII* 20, attributed by Comparetti to Kaulonia, records a bequest made in the presence of [πρ]όξενοι or witnesses.[1] The names of the *damiourgos* (?), cited in the prescript (line 1), and of at least two of the [πρ]όξενοι are preceded by two- and three-letter denominations.[2] All the nomina lack the patronymic.

ΠΕ	line 1
ΔΥ	line 6
[---]ν̣	line 7
ΞΑΝ	line 8

At present, no evidence is available that might bear on the identification of the entities to which these denominations refer.[3]

§12 Lokroi Epizephyrioi

Lokroi provides the most clearly understood example of the use of abbreviated denominations. We owe this circumstance to the survival of an archive from the Temple of Zeus Olympios consisting of thirty-nine bronze tablets dating to in and around the time of Pyrrhos: A. De Franciscis, *Stato e società in Locri Epizefiri* (*L' archivio dell' Olympieion Locrese*) (Naples 1972).[1] Throughout the texts, nomina (sometimes with, sometimes without the patronymic) are regularly preceded by three-letter abbreviations, the great majority occurring in connection with various boards of magistrates. Since all the boards number three, and since a given abbreviation always stands in the same relative position in its group of three, it may be concluded, with Lewis, that the citizen body fell into three divisions, and that to each belonged a number of the units denoted by the abbreviations. Adherence to the same position within the group, furthermore, points to the observance of a standard order of precedence among the principal divisions.[2] Below are listed the thirty-two abbreviations grouped according to their affiliation:

I	II	III
1. Ανα	Αστ	Αγκ
2. Ανξ	Βοω	Αγφ (= Αγα)[3]
3. Γαψ	Δυσ	Αλα
4. Ευρ	Κρα	Αλχ
5. Θρα	Κυλ	Γαγ
6. Κοβ	Μνα	Λογ
7. Λακ	Σκα	Πετ
8. Ομβ	Σωτ	Προ
9. Σκι	Τηλ	Πυρ
10. Τυν	Τιω	Στρ
11. Ψαθ		Φαω

For the identification of the three main divisions the obvious, and scarcely contestable, candidate is "phyle," suggested by Lewis.[4] The nature of the abbreviations themselves is not quite so clear, but the fairly consistent pattern of correlation with toponyms from the Lokrian orbit makes more likely the identification "deme," proposed by De Franciscis and accepted by Lewis, than the supposition of a personal group with strong local connections.[5] Problematic, too, are the numbers of the attested units, viz. eleven, ten, and eleven—a curiously uneven and asymmetrical configuration that tempted Lewis to suggest (before the tablets had been even half published) that undetected duplications in "phylai" I and III might cloak a uniform tenfold division.[6] But now, with the full publication of the archive, such duplications would seem to be obviated by the relatively high frequency of recurrence of the abbreviations.[7] Perhaps the explanation is to be found in the supposition of "demes" of varying size. If the "phylai" were designed to be equal in terms of territory or population (or both), the actual number of units might have had to be adjusted accordingly. Athens (1 §1.21) provides a clear example of how such a situation might arise.

No fewer than nine boards of three magistrates were constituted and filled on the basis of a one-to-one representation of the "phylai." To what extent, if at all, rotation in office among the "demes" was practiced cannot, however, for want of sufficient evidence be determined. The nine boards are:[8]

ἐπισκευαστῆρες	λογιστῆρες
ἐπιστάται	πολέμαρχοι
ἰαρομνάμονες ἐπὶ θησαυρῶι	πρόβουλοι
ἰαρομνάμονες ἐπὶ σίτωι	πρόδικοι
τοιχοποιοί	

The case of the eponymous, possibly to be identified with De Franciscis as the *kosmopolis,*[9] differs in that, when cited (as always, where sufficient text is preserved) at the head of the tablet, the formula used is "abbreviation ἐπί nomen (patronymic)." Such citation is made in order to identify the year, as shown by the explicit, fuller formulations elsewhere in the texts, e.g. ἐκ τῶ ἐνιαυτῶ τῶ Θρα-- ἐπὶ Ἡρακλήτω (no. 1, lines 2-3).[10] As it happens, sufficient numbers of tablets and internal clues were available for De Franciscis to prove the operation of a cycle in the office among the three "phylai."[11] But whether or not, as Lewis suggested might be the case, there existed a cycle in which all the "demes" named a year before any recurred remains undeterminable.[12]

§13 Rhegion

Four different abbreviations are known, in each case occurring immediately after the patronymic. In one instance, *IG* XIV 612 (= Michel 555; *SGDI* 4258; *SIG*[3] 715: s. II), the individual is named in an official, governmental capacity; in the others, nos. 614, 615, 616 (all n.d.), as either the giver or recipient of honors.

Αμ	*IG* XIV 616, lines 1, 6
Ἰερ	616, line 2
Τειο	614, line 2; 615, line 8
Χιωι	612, line 1

The abbreviation in no. 612 follows the name of the *prostates* of the Boule in the prescript of a decree of the Halia. This fact, however, although suggesting that the usage is of a public nature, provides no clue as to the specific identification. Neither "tribus," suggested by Kaibel,[1] nor "deme," a second attractive candidate, can be said to be required by the context. But it is likely that all four examples are of the same order; and this assumption would, in combination with the low frequency of repetition, somewhat favor a smaller unit.[2]

SICILY

§14 Messene

Thucydides, in the course of his account of Athenian operations in Sicily in the summer of 426, mentions a force of Messenians on garrison at Mylai comprising two phylai (3.90.2). For the phyle as a division of the military organization, see Index II.L.2.m.

§15 Aluntium?

In an inscription found at the modern Santo Fratello and perhaps, with Kaibel, to be referred to the ancient Aluntium, *IG* XIV 359 (n.d.), the Damos honors one Andron, son of Thrasias Λ[.]β. The abbreviation was restored as Λ[α]β by Kaibel on the basis of the occurrence of this denomination in the Akraian inscription, *IG* XIV 217, line 9. But Akrai (§19) lay on the other side of the island, and unless the provenience of the present inscription be questioned, there is no good reason to assume the identity of the two abbreviations.

§16 Halaisa

Honors conferred by the Damos, G. Scibona, *Kokalos* 17 (1971) 11-13, no. 2, cite the honorand as [---] 'Απολλοδώρου Σαλ Λαπίρωνα. The same abbreviation is found at Akrai (§19) in the southeast region of the island, but there are as yet no grounds for viewing the coincidence as significant.

§17 Lilybaion

Acquired by Rome at the end of the First Punic War in 241, Lilybaion's later arrangements are attested by Latin inscriptions of Imperial date. Two, belonging to the same year at the end of the second or the beginning of the third century A.D., *CIL* X 7206 and 7233 (= *ILS* 6770b and a), record honors in the name of the *XII trib(us)*, and the third, *CIL* X 7237 (= *ILS* 6770), of the reign of Commodus, honors in the name of the *tribules trib(us) Iovis Aug(usti) pecunia sua.* Although the name of the "tribe of Juppiter Augustus" must of course represent an Imperial innovation, it has been maintained by F. Sartori that the twelvefold division descends from the phylai of the earlier, pre-Roman settlement.[1]

An honorary inscription of Imperial date, *IG* XIV 277 (= *CIL* X 7240), names as honorand M. Οὐαλέριον Διογνήτου/Μηγα υἱὸν Χόρτωνα (lines 2-3). A second text, no. 273 (from Mazara), probably names the same man, again as honorand, with the abbreviation restored as [M]η[γ]αν (line 3). Conceivably, this is one of the *tribus,* but a lower-level unit is no less likely.

§18 Akragas

From Akragas, founded ca. 581 by Dorian colonists from Gela and Rhodes, an honorary decree of the third century (but no later than 210), *IG* XIV 952 (= Buck 106; Michel 553; Schwyzer 307; *SGDI* 4245), includes in its preamble the citation προεδρευούσας τᾶς φυλᾶς/τῶν 'Υλλέων (lines 4-5). Evidently the phylai alternated in

the presidency, possibly in a monthly or, as at Athens, quasi-monthly rotation. If the Dymanes, Hylleis, and Pamphyloi were the only phylai, the easiest assumption would be a monthly cycle with each phyle serving a total of four times during the year. Whether the phylai succeeded one another according to a fixed order or, again as at Athens, in a sequence determined by lot remains an open question.

§19 Akrai

For the organization of Akrai, founded from Dorian Syracuse in 664, our chief sources are three dedications to Aphrodite of the third or second century. At the conclusion of each are listed, among other dedicators, the *triakadarchoi,* or Archons of the Thirties. Though one text, *IG* XIV 209, is fragmentary, the others, nos. 211 and 212, are sufficiently preserved to show that in both cases these officers numbered nine. Furthermore, since another dedication of about the same date, no. 208, attests six *prostatai,* it may reasonably be inferred, with Kaibel, that both boards represent a threefold principal division of phylai, in all probability the Dymanes, Hylleis, and Pamphyloi.[1]

Difficulties arise, however, once it is assumed, as parallel usages suggest, that to each *triakadarchos* corresponded a single *triakas.* Numerical substantives in -ας are, where a determination is possible, usually collective in sense.[2] It should follow that the Thirties of Akrai totalled two hundred and seventy individuals. But even on the (undoubtedly correct) assumption that membership was restricted to adult male citizens, this figure still seems much too small for a city of the dimensions indicated by archaeological investigation.[3] Accordingly an adjustment of some kind would seem to be in order. One very real possibility would be that the Thirties dated to the foundation, when they did in fact literally contain thirty citizens but later, with growth of population, expanded beyond their nominal enrollments. Alternatively, the units may represent not the full citizen population but some subclass of it such as, for example, those of military age or, as suggested by the fact that in all three inscriptions under discussion the lists of dedicators are headed by the two *agoranomoi* or Clerks of the Market, individuals performing some specialized administrative function.[4] Either explanation, or both in combination, would allow for the assumption of a far more substantial citizen roster.

A second lower-level division is probably indicated by several instances of a naming-form, which, with one, possibly two, exceptions, always immediately follows the patronymic genitive. Two examples are written out in full; the others are seemingly abbreviations. References are given both to *IG* and to L. Bernabò Brea, *Akrai* (Catania 1956).[5]

	IG XIV	Bernabò Brea, *Akrai*
Ạ[λ̣]β or Λαβ	(see Λαβ)	no. 2, line 9
AN		no. 3, line 9
ANAY		no. 3, line 3
K[..]?	210, line 3	(rejects)
Καννεύς	217, line 40	no. 2
Κρα(σερῖνος)	217, line 42	no. 2
Λαβ	217, line 9	no. 2
Μορφιανός	217, line 3	no. 2
Νητ(ῖνος)	217, line 19	no. 2
Πε	217, line 23	no. 2
Σαλ	212, line 4	no. 8

From the external evidence collected by Kaibel it is clear that his identification "pagus" is generally correct.[6] That these villages were probably relatively numerous is indicated, further, by the fact that none of the names occurs more than a single time. Why, however, the usage is confined to just these few inscriptions, and even in them is employed only haphazardly, is not entirely clear. But if we omit the doubtful instance in no. 210, it is perhaps significant that of the remaining examples no fewer than four occur in the cases of individuals with homonymous fathers.[7] That is, the village-affiliation, while not mandatory even in state documents, might have been used on occasion to prevent confusion among citizens with identical names. Such a conclusion would not of course affect the possibility that the villages enjoyed an official constitutional status.

Historically, whereas the (three?) phylai and the territorial units are in no way exceptional, the presence of the Thirties at once suggests derivation from Corinth by way of Syracuse, Corinth's colony and Akrai's mother city. But this unit is not attested by the scant testimony for the latter state's public arrangements, nor is there other evidence available that might prompt speculation on the circumstances of such a transmission.

§20 Syracuse

At Kerkyra, according to the account given above (§5), the Bakchiad colonizers instituted the Dorian phylai; only later, probably during the domination of the Kypselid tyranny, was a second, specifically "Corinthian" organization superimposed. Similarly for Syracuse, also a Bakchiad foundation of possibly somewhat earlier date, what little evidence we have points to the continuing functioning of a system of three phylai, presumably the Dorian triad, well into the Hellenistic period. One such indication is found in the preference for multiples

of three within the military organization. From Thucydides we learn of boards of three and fifteen generals and of an elite hoplite corps of six hundred, and from Livy (with perhaps less certain significance) of the fifteen bodyguards attached to the late third century King Hieronymos.[1] Indirectly, at Akrai (§19), an early Syracusan foundation, boards of *prostatai* and *triakadarchoi* numbering six and nine respectively are arguably geared to a tripartite division inherited from the mother city.[2] Finally, and still more problematically, there is the testimony of a number of catapult bullets attributed convincingly by Kaibel to the Sicilians raised by Rome to suppress the slave rebellion of 104-100. Some of these bear inscriptions, which, where preserved entire, comprise three elements: (i) the word "phyle," usually abbreviated and preceded by an abbreviated ordinal adjective or, in one instance, a numeral; (ii) the word "phatria," again abbreviated and followed by a proper name, itself invariably abbreviated; and (iii) a personal name with patronymic. The assignment of the bullets to Syracuse was advanced by Kaibel chiefly on the strength of recorded proveniences, and this conclusion later received some qualified support from W. Hüttl's prosopographical study of the personal names.[3] The following phyle and phratry combinations are attested:

φυλά	*φατρία*	*IG* XIV, 2407, nos. 10-16, 18-19
πρώτα	'Εγκ(...)	10
δευτέρα	Α[...?]	15
	'Αλτρι(...)	11
	Δυν(...)	Guarducci, *L'Istituzione* II, 128, XXXV, no. 9
	Και(...)	11a (p. viii)
	Λακυν(...)	13
	Πλε(...)	14
β'	[---]	16
τρίτα	'Ασια(...)	Guarducci, *L'Istituzione* II, 127, XXXV, no. 7 (= *IG*, no. 18)
	Κατηλ(...)	12
	[---]	19

This evidence is of sufficient quantity to make virtually certain the inference that the phylai in question number three and only three. Accident of preservation might account for the uneven distribution among the phylai of the attested phratries but surely could not reasonably be invoked to explain the failure of a fourth or other phyle to appear. Less secure is the identification of the phylai as the Dymanes,

Hylleis, and Pamphyloi, but a point in its favor is afforded by their designation by ordinal adjectives. Elsewhere I have argued on entirely independent evidence that the Dorian phylai, wherever retained, observed a common, "pan-Dorian" order of precedence. If it is assumed that this order of precedence was generally known, the numerical adjective would suffice to identify the phyle in question.[4]

With regard to the major historical claim of the present work, it is of further interest that the bullets reveal the phratries, in origin components of the "kinship" organization, to be subdivisions of the phylai. Since the manufacture of catapult bullets falls within the public sphere, it is evident that it is the phratries, not the phylai, that have undergone the assimilation. This evidence illustrates, then, in a specific way how the earlier antagonism that I have postulated between "private" and "public" organizations might be resolved, in this case in favor of the latter.

It remains to assemble such scattered evidence as we have for the functions of the Syracusan organization. Above, mention was made of the possible representation of the phylai on the boards of generals and in an elite squadron of hoplites. We may add Thucydides' statement, made in the account of troop movements in and around Syracuse in 415, that "the Syracusans, leaving behind one phyle as a guard for their counter-wall, withdrew into the city" (6.100.1). While the use of the phylai as military divisions, well attested elsewhere, requires no comment, it is notable that this "guard," nominally one-third of a very large army, was subsequently defeated by a rather small Athenian force. This has prompted the suggestion that Thucydides uses the term "phyle" to refer not to an entire regiment, but to a contingent thereof, perhaps a single age-group.[5] At any event, we learn elsewhere that Syracusan soldiers were conscripted from lists of citizens arranged *kata phylas*. Normally housed outside the city in the sanctuary of Olympian Zeus, the tablets (σανίδες) fell into the hands of the Athenians, according to Plutarch, *Nikias* 14.5-6, while being brought to town by ship "for the scrutiny and cataloguing of those of military age." Two centuries later in 212, during the siege of Syracuse, a distribution of wine was made, according to Livy 25.23.13-14, "to all the people *per tribus*;" such a procedure might easily have brought the tablets into play, if they still existed, particularly with a view to preventing multiple allotments. Still another century later, again, during the Second Slave War, the catapult bullets were manufactured, apparently under official Roman direction, bearing designations of phyle and phratry. Perhaps the inscriptions related to a quota of production for each of the units, or, with less likelihood, to their actual use. But on the whole the supposition that they are Syracusan would

fit neatly into the overall pattern of military applications of the public organization.

§21 Tauromenion

Abbreviations appended to personal names, invariably following the patronymic, occur in abundance in a number of documents inscribed in Imperial times but, as their content shows, of Hellenistic origin. Confined to public contexts, the abbreviations make haphazard appearances in lists of *strategoi, IG* XIV 421 (= *SGDI* 5219), and of gymnasiarchs, *IG* XIV 422 (= *SGDI* 5220; *IGSII* 4); are found in one set of accounts appended to the names of certain financial officers, *IG* XIV 423 (= *SGDI* 5221; *IGSII* 12); and are regularly given with the name of a monthly officer whose title, of uncertain identification, is abbreviated *πρ*.[1] To date, over thirty different examples are known, but this, in view of the relatively low frequency of occurrence, is probably somewhat below the full number. The following list is based upon Kaibel's edition, *IG* XIV, published in 1890.[2] Except where square brackets are present, the abbreviations may be presumed to be complete.

'Α[---]	'Ιππ	Πιπρε̣[3]
'Αλκ	Κ	Σακ
'Αρεθ	Καλ	Σπαρ
'Ασ	Μαν	Σπαρτ
'Ασιν	Οἰν	Ταν
'Ασσιτ	Οἰτ	Ταυ
'Αχαι(ο)	Οἰτ(.) Τιρκ(?)	Τιρκ [see Οἰτ]
Δαμ	'Ομ	Χα[λ]
Δεξ	Παμ	Χαλκ
Εἰδ	Παρ	[.](λ)κ
[Ε]ἰδ[ο]μ	Πεα	
'Ιδομ	Πελ	

Despite the presence of several probable duplications, the number of different denominations must still be high, and this fact in combination with their exclusive use in association with the names of state officers suggests that they denote some lower-level unit. If, as proposed by Manganaro,[4] some are related to local toponymns, "deme" (or the like) would be a suitable identification.

NOTES

§1 Issa

1. For the date of, and sources for, the Knidian colony, see R. L. Beaumont, "Greek Influence in the Adriatic Sea before the Fourth Century B.C.," *JHS* 56 (1936) 159-204: 173-175.

2. *SB Wien* 175 no. 1 (1913) 3-18, no. 15; Maier, *Mauerbauinschriften* 57. For the date, see G. Woodhead, "The 'Adriatic Empire' of Dionysius I of Syracuse," *Klio* 52 (1970) 503-512: 508-509, citing D. Rendić-Miočević, *Archaeologia Iugoslavica* 6 (1965) 77-80.

3. Thus conforming to the official order of the Dorian phylai: see my "The Order of the Dorian Phylai," *CP* 75 (1980) 197-215: 208.

4. For the refutation of the earlier, prevailing view that Issa had been colonized in the fourth century by Dionysios I of Syracuse, see Woodhead (above, note 2) 503-512.

5. Szanto, 5-6.

§2 Epidamnos

1. Gilbert II, 236-237. Little is added by the discussions of either W. L. Newman, *The Politics of Aristotle* 4 (Oxford 1902) 287-288; or F. Gschnitzer, "Phylarchos," *RE Suppl.* 11 (1968) 1067-1090: 1081.

2. Gilbert II, 236.

3. Thucydides, 1.24.2. For the date and interpretation, see A. W. Gomme, *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides* 1 (Oxford 1956) 159.

§4 Apollonia

1. For the date of the colony, see R. van Compernolle, *AC* 22 (1953) 50-64.

2. J. and L. Robert, *Bull. Ep.* 1944, no. 119b, publish a text from Homann-Wedeking's photograph (op. cit., p. 380, fig. 43). At line 6, they print "Πο (ou Πιο)." My own impression from the photograph is that the first reading is the more likely; the "iota" appears merely to be a slight scar on the stone, not a deliberate stroke. If ΠΟ is read, the second syllable of ΠΟΛΟ (line 8) could be understood to have been added to prevent ambiguity. The abbreviations, that is, would regularly have been two letters in length.

3. *Hellenica* 11-12 (1960) 563 note 1.

4. *Hellenica* 11-12 (1960) 563 note 1, citing the list, *SEG* 25.329, lines 15 and 20 (to which can now be added *SEG* 25.331a, line 1). Robert further suggests the possibility of a connection between the Apollonian ΔΙ or ΛΙ, line 5, and the abbreviation at line 6 of the Corinthian list. For the latter text he refers to the *editio princeps, Corinth* VIII 1, no. 11, where B. D. Meritt prints Δ̣Ι̣-Π. This reading was, however, corrected by S. Dow, *HSCP* 53 (1942) 93, 95, to Σ̣Ι̣-Π, with the final comment: "Delta is barely admissible."

5. For the Corinthian evidence see, again, 2 §2. The earliest abbreviated names occur on markers dated by their letter-forms to ca. 450.

6. At Corinthian Kerkyra (§5) we find another evident descendent of the *phatra* in the major political unit Makchidai.

§5 Kerkyra

1. On the history of the text, and for an account of the emendations affecting the present passage, see Dittenberger, *IG* IX 1, loc. cit.

I omit from consideration the possibility that the "*phyletika,*" far from denoting the public unit Hylleis, in fact refer to the Illyrian *ethnos* variously named in Greek sources Hylloi, Hyllees, and Hyllatoi. Situated on a peninsula called the Hyllis or Hyllike (see [Apollodoros of Athens], *FGrH* 244 F 322; and Timaios, *FGrH* 566 F 77), identified by modern scholars with the Promontory of Deiomedes, the present Cape Planka on the Yugoslavian coast south of Sibenik (see the maps in J. J. Wilkes, *Dalmatia* [Cambridge, Mass. 1969] 2, 222, end), the tribe was ideally located to work an early influence on the Greek settlement at Kerkyra. Some such influence should probably be invoked to explain the name Hyllaikos, attached to one of the harbors of the town (Thucydides, 3.72.3, 81.2; Hyllikos in Apollonios of Rhodes, *Argonautika* 4.1125) and, as well, the mythical Hyllos, son of Herakles and the Kerkyraian nymph Melite (Apollonios, *Argonautika* 4.522-551).

Mention should also be made of the Phaiakian Dymas at *Odyssey* 6.22. Given the identification of Scheria with Kerkyra, the name might be taken as reflecting the island's historical public organization. However, Dyma(n)s, in addition to its role as the singular of Dymanes, is also a perfectly proper Dorian personal name, e.g. at Thera, *IG* XII 3, no. 550.

2. Calligas, 84.

3. For the reading and interpretation of the text, previously misconstrued by Dittenberger, *IG* IX 1, loc. cit., see D. Comparetti, *ASAA* 2 (1916) 262-265; and Calligas, 87 with note 43.

4. At p. 93, addendum, Calligas states that his reading of the name "Antheia" is "doubtful." For "Philoxenoi" no parallel is to be found among attested names of public units; and, in view of the fact that all the letters of the second half of the compound are either dotted or restored, this name too might be reconsidered in the light of a fresh examination of the text.

5. Herodotos, 3.48-49; Nikolaos of Damaskos, *FGrH* 90 F 59.

6. Calligas, 88, citing the reconstruction of the early Corinthian organization by S. Dow, *HSCP* 53 (1942) 98-106.

§6 Taras

1. *IG* XIV, Index X B, p. 747.

2. The claim of P. Wuilleumier, *Tarente des origines à la conquête romaine* (Paris 1939) 174, that ΟΛ and ΛΙ represent "un groupement topographique" is without foundation. The remainder of his discussion of "désignation," 174-176, is entirely dependent on external evidence, particularly the Herakleia Tables (§7).

3. Although no hint is given in Kaibel's commentary that text I, in which Zopyra's name occurs, might be incomplete, thus leaving open the possibility of a homonym in the immediate context, it is possible that a second Zopyra was inscribed on still another such text from the same tomb. Alternatively, the abbreviation might distinguish her from another woman, living or, if dead, not buried in the same sepulcher.

§7 Herakleia

1. = *RIJG* I 193-234, no. 12; Schwyzer 62; *SGDI* 4629; *IGSII* 1; Buck 79.

2. Thus *RIJG* I 226.

3. This reconstruction, based on Kaibel's analysis, *IG* XIV, p. 174, assumes a difference between ἄνθεμον (I 96) and ἄνθεμα (I 166). Certainly if, as has been suggested, these names correspond to coats-of-arms, or to other pictorial representations, they are not to be equated.

4. Kaibel, *IG* XIV, p. 174.

5. "Family:" Buck 79; "gens:" Kaibel, *IG* XIV, p. 174; Schwyzer 62; "phratry" (of the larger unit): Kaibel and Schwyzer, ad locc.

6. Kaibel, *IG* XIV, p. 174.

7. E. Curtius, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen* II (Berlin 1899) 95-96.

8. P. Wolters, "Loco Sigilli," in *Mélanges Perrot* (Paris 1903) 333-340: 337-340.

9. F. G. Lo Porto, "Ricerche archeologiche in Heraclea di Lucania," *Bolletino d'Arte* 46 (1961) 143.

10. Thus all the editors listed above, note 1.

11. I see no point in discussing the one other possibility suggested by scholars, viz. ὠβά, since its supposed presence at Taras depends on the assumption of a transmission from Sparta (2 §8), where alone it is attested.

12. For a modern discussion of these same problems, see F. Sartori, in *MDAI(R) Ergänzungsheft* 11 (1967) 64-66; and A. Uguzzoni and F. Ghinatti, *Le tavole greche di Eraclea* (Rome 1968) 125-132.

§8 Sybaris, region of

1. M. W. Stoop and G. Pugliese Carratelli, "Tabella con iscrizione arcaica," *ASMG* 6-7 (1965-1966) 14-21.

2. G. Pugliese Carratelli, "La dedica di Kleombrotos e le sigle preposte a nomi in epigrafi italiote," *ASMG* 6-7 (1965-1966) 209-214.

3. M. Guraducci, "Sulla tabella bronzea iscritta di Francavilla Marittima," *RAL* 20 (1965) 392-395.

4. Another explanation for the letters is that offered by S. Ferri, *SCO* 46 (1965) 319-320, who suggests an abbreviation, without punctuation, for Διὸς Ὀλυμπιῶ. For criticism, see J. and L. Robert, *Bull. Ép.* 1967, no. 697.

§9 Thourioi

1. Compare at Megalopolis (3 §3) the phyle Ἀρκαδισία, a pan-Arkadian unit with the legendary founder Arkas as its eponym.

2. Thus V. Ehrenberg, "The Foundation of Thurii," *AJP* 69 (1948) 149-170: 158-159.

3. So Ehrenberg (above, note 2) 158.

4. Compare at Pergamon (8 §6) the phyle Εὐβοΐς (post 129) and at Samos (5 §13) the *chiliastys* Εὐβοέων ἡ μείζω (post 321).

5. A phyle Ἰάς is also found at Laodikeia-on-Lykos (8 §22), but is attested no earlier than ca. A.D. 225. For a putative Ἰάς at Miletos (7 §16), see M. Piérart, "La 'sixième tribu' de Milet," *BCH* 102 (1978) 563-564.

6. Names of units built on "Athena" are common elsewhere, but wherever a determination is possible they refer, with only one exception, to the goddess, not to the city-state. The exception is the *chiliastys* Ἀθηναῖοι on Samos (5 §13).

7. Ehrenberg (above, note 2) 158-159.

8. See, in particular, D. Kagan, *The Outbreak of the Peloponnesian War* (Ithaca and London 1969) 154-169; and, by far the fullest recent treatment, N. K. Rutter, "Diodorus and the Foundation of Thurii," *Historia* 22 (1973) 155-176.

9. Kagan (above, note 8) 163. Cf. Rutter (above, note 8) 166.

10. The only restriction of which we learn on choice of place of domicile was informally imposed by "the former Sybarites," who allotted the land near the *polis* to themselves and the more distant land to new arrivals (Diodoros, 12.11.1).

11. Thus speculated P. Lavedan, *Histoire de l'architecture urbaine* (Paris 1926) 137, followed by R. Martin, *L'Urbanisme dans la Grèce* (Paris 1956) 45. Roussel, who cites these authorities, states, 306, that even if such a territorial system had been set up on the arrival of the first colonists, membership in the phylai would have been determined thereafter not by place of residence, but by birth. But, in fact, we have no explicit evidence bearing on the latter claim.

§10 Terina

1. D. Comparetti, *ASAA* 2 (1916) 237-245; Schwyzer 436(3).

2. Against Arangio-Ruiz and Olivieri, I follow Comparetti's view that the abbreviations follow rather than precede their nomina. A glance at his text (above, note 1, 238) will show that in line 13, if this were not the case, insufficient room would remain for the first name and its (preceding) abbreviation—an objection that would still hold even if ἐ[πιμε]/[ληταί were rejected in favor of a shorter title (see below with note 4). The editors of *IGSII* base their punctuation solely upon analogy with the similar text from Kaulonia ? (§11).

3. With Comparetti (above, note 1), 240, I agree in taking ETAN in line 16 as an (abbreviated) patronymic; as he explains, it might have served to distinguish the bearer from another person of the same name and "titolo."

4. For 'E[πάκοοι], see K. Latte, *Gnomon* 3 (1927) 373-374; for the others, Comparetti (above, note 1) 240-241.

5. Comparetti (above, note 1) 238, 239-240. This leaves only the dotted alpha in line 5; but insufficient context is preserved to determine whether it is part of an abbreviation.

§11 Kaulonia ?

1. D. Comparetti, *ASAA* 2 (1916) 224-229; Jeffery, *LSAG* 258-259, no. 29 (Pl. 50). Jeffery dates the text ca. 475 B.C.?

2. From line 7 I have added the dotted nu immediately preceding the complete name Φίλιππος; on analogy with the order of words in the remainder of the text, it might belong to an abbreviation.

3. In lines 2-3 Comparetti (above, note 1, 226-227) restores διαιτεῖ ha/[φυλὰ ἐπ' Αὐ]λόνα, comparing the phyle ἐπ' 'Αθαναίαν at Tegea (3 §6) and an old name for Kaulonia, Αὐλών. Needless to say, this conjecture hardly merits further comment.

§12 Lokroi Epizephyrioi

1. The texts had previously been published in a number of installments in the journal *Klearchos*, but in the preparation of the final publication many substantial changes in reading and interpretation were introduced by the editor: see J. and L. Robert, *Bull. Ép.* 1973, no. 564.

2. D. Lewis, "Preliminary Notes on the Locri Archive," *Klio* 52 (1970) 247-253: 248-251.

3. For the mistaken inscription of Αγα for Αγφ in tablet no. 8, see De Franciscis, ad loc. and p. 99.

4. Lewis (above, note 2) 248-251.

5. Lewis (above, note 2) 250-251; De Franciscis, 100-101.

6. Lewis (above, note 2) 250.

7. The one likely possible exception would seem to be Αλα (III), which has only a single occurrence; additional evidence might show its identity with a (syncopated?) Αλχ in the same "phyle:" see also De Franciscis, 99. But even so, no such reduction seems possible for "phyle" I: only two sigla begin with the same letter, viz. Ανα and Ανξ, but these occur in five and three tablets respectively, so letterer's error does not appear entertainable (cf. Lewis [above, note 2] 250).

8. For references to the tablets, see De Franciscis, Index, 196-199; for discussion of the various boards, 133-142 (civic offices), 143-158 (sanctuary of Zeus Olympios).

9. De Franciscis, 135-136.

10. Other such uses of the eponym within the body of the text occur in tablets nos. 4, 8, 9, 23, 30, 31, 34.

11. At p. 81 De Franciscis reconstructs the cycle over a seven-year period, 281-275.

12. De Franciscis, 84.

§13 Rhegion

1. *IG* XIV, Index X B, p. 747.

2. Two of the abbreviations occur twice, but in both cases the individuals who share the denomination are clearly related to each other, in one instance (nos. 614 and 615) possibly as brother and sister, in the other (no. 616) possibly as father and son.

§17 Lilybaion

1. "Le dodici tribù di Lilibeo," *Kokalos* 3 (1957) 38-60. For examples of "local tribes" in Roman *coloniae* and *municipia,* and of the substitution of *tribus* for the phylai of a Greek or Hellenized state, see B. Levick, "Two Inscriptions from Pisidian Antioch," *Anatolian Studies* 15 (1965) 53-62: 54-59 (with 54, note 18 on Lilybaion); and *Roman Colonies in Southern Asia Minor* (Oxford 1967) 77-78.

§19 Akrai

1. *IG* XIV, p. 29. For *IG* XIV 209, 211, and 212, see *SGDI* 3240, 3241, and 3242; and L. Bernabò Brea, *Akrai* (Catania 1956) nos. 7, 6, and 8.

2. For examples, with discussion, see Schwyzer, *Grammatik* I 596-597; and, with specific reference to the *triakas,* L. Robert, *Hellenica* 5 (1948) 11-12.

3. On the site in general, see Bernabò Brea (above, note 1); and, for a convenient summary, G. Voza, "Akrai," *PECS,* 26-27. To mention only one easily quantifiable example, the theater as reconstructed by Bernabò Brea, tavola A, could, on my calculation, have seated at least five hundred—and even this figure might have been far exceeded by the actual number of citizens.

4. For this suggestion I am indebted to Kaibel, *IG* XIV, p. 29, although I do not agree that the texts necessarily indicate, as he states, that the *triakadarchoi* were "subject" to the *agoranomoi.*

5. For the evidence supporting the filling-out of the abbreviations in *IG* XIV 217, lines 19 and 42, see Kaibel's commentary. Besides the questionable example in *IG* XIV 210, line 3, Bernabò Brea, *Akrai* no. 3, line 3 provides a certain instance of the absence of the patronymic (alongside its presence in line 9). For the *IG* texts nos. 210, 212, and 217, see *SGDI* 3243, 3242, 3246; and, for 217, *IGSII* 3.

6. See his commentaries and the Index X B, p. 747. Bernabò Brea (above, note 1) 155, broaches the possibility that the two examples in his no. 3 designate *φατρίαι.*

7. *IG* XIV 212, line 4; 217, lines 3, 23, 40.

§20 Syracuse

1. Thucydides, 6.73.1 (three generals), 6.72.4 (fifteen generals); 6.96.3, 7.43.4 (cf. Diodoros, 11.76.2; Polyainos, 1.43.1) (elite corps); Livy, 24.4.5 (guards of Hieronymos). For the few exceptions to the (apparent) tripartite arrangement of the military organization, and on the whole subject, see W. Hüttl, *Verfassungsgeschichte von Syrakus* (Prague 1929) 33.

2. *IG* XIV 208 (six *prostatai*); 209?, 211, 212 (nine *triakadarchoi*), all dating to the late third century. Other similarities with the Syracusan constitution are listed and discussed by G. Kaibel, *IG* XIV, p. 29.

3. Kaibel, *IG* XIV, 2407 comm.; Hüttl (above, note 1) 34, note 14. Three of the eleven (some only partly) preserved names are attested at Syracuse. That, however, as many as four can be claimed for Tauromenion suggests the possibility of an alternative attribution.

4. See Nicholas F. Jones, "The Order of the Dorian Phylai," *Classical Philology* 75 (1980) 197-215.

5. The precise size of the Athenian force is not stated, although it is clear that, as Hüttl observed (above, note 1) 33 note 6, Beloch's estimate of 300 is probably too small. Certainly, at any rate, we do not have here, as Beloch argued, grounds for disputing the finding that the Syracusan phylai numbered three. The suggestion that Thucydides refers to a contingent was made by A. W. Gomme, A. Andrewes, and K. J. Dover, *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides* 4 (Oxford 1970) 374.

§21 Tauromenion

1. *IG* XIV 425 (= *SGDI* 5223; *IGSII* 5), 426 (= *SGDI* 5224; *IGSII* 6), 427 (= *SGDI* 5225; *IGSII* 7), 428 (= *SGDI* 5226; *IGSII* 9), 429 (= *SGDI* 5227; *IGSII* 10), 430 (= *SGDI* 5228; *IGSII* 8).

On the vexed question of the identification of the officer designated *πρ.*, see Kaibel, *IG* XIV, Index XI A, p. 748 (*πρύτανις* or *προάγορος*); F. Sartori, *Athenaeum* 32 (1954) 356-383: 377-378 (*προστάτης*); G. Manganaro, *Archaeologia Classica* 15 (1963) 13-31 (*πράκτωρ*); and, all favoring *προάγορος*, F. Sartori, *Kokalos* 7 (1961) 3-16; G. Manganaro, *Kokalos* 9 (1963) 205-220; and T. Ardizzone, *Kokalos* 13 (1967) 155-176.

2. For references, consult Kaibel's Index X B, p. 747. Throughout, there are numerous problems of text and orthography with which, given the scope of the present work, it would be inappropriate to deal now. In several instances, however, I have reproduced an abbreviation on the basis of Kaibel's text in preference to the emended or interpretative version of the Index.

3. See *IGSII* 12 (= *IG* XIV 423), II, 1, for *Οἰτ. Τιρκ.* (Dittenberger-Hiller).

4. G. Manganaro, "Iscrizioni latine e greche del nuove edificio teatrale di Taormina," *Cronache di Archeologia e Storia dell' Arte* 3 (1964) 60 (*non vidi*).

Chapter V The Aegean Islands

The Aegean islands lay directly in the path of the Great Migrations whereby the earlier organizations of the Asia Minor seaboard (Chapter 7) were transmitted from the Homeland. Nonetheless, the island organizations preserve only slight traces of that transmission. Again, as was found to be true of Boiotia (1 §7) and Thessaly (1 §8-13), no "Aiolic" phylai are detectable. To the contrary, the phyle Aiolis at Methymna (§9) rather points to a self-conscious archaization. Elsewhere, on Lesbos (§8-11) and (to look ahead) among the Aiolic coastal settlements Kyme, Temnos, and Smyrna (7 §4-6), no positive evidence whatever surfaces. Regarding the many Ionian islands, only Thasos (§1), Samos (§13), and Delos (§20) reveal the functioning of the Attic-Ionic phylai, and in each instance it is certain or probable that the old organization has undergone substantial modification. Colonists from Sparta brought the Dorian phylai to Thera (§25), whence they were conveyed to Kyrene (§26), only to be replaced in the mid-sixth century by a sophisticated *Landsmannschaftlich* organization. On Krete (§27-39), by contrast, with only one incontestable exception (Axos, §28), reformers did not replace the Dorian phylai outright but added to them new units evidently comprising various non-Dorian citizen groups. But even after the additional positive examples from Kalymna (§40), Kos (§41), and (Rhodian) Kedreai (§46) are taken into consideration, the record of survival is overwhelmed by the documented effects of revolutionary reform.

Examination of the innovating organizations has uncovered a medley of styles of arrangement. Several bring into play either duplication or various degrees of imitation of some element of the Kleisthenic organization of Athens. In the northern Aegean, the islands Imbros, Lemnos, and, off the Magnesian coast, Skyros, Peparethos, and Skiathos (§3-7) came into Athenian possession at an early date, with the result that any indigenous organizations were entirely supplanted (at least in our record) by the phylai and demes of the Athenian settlers. At Melos (§24), our single source has been assigned to the period of the Athenian occupation following the destruction of the island's population in 416. The rich Samian testimony (§13) is punctuated in the fourth century by documents pertaining to her cleruchy. An additional possible vestige of a cleruchy is afforded by the apparently technical use of the term "deme" on Naxos (§21). Elsewhere, not direct importation, but imitation is in question. The (modified) Old Attic phyle Argadis and *triktyes* of Delos (§20) at once recall pre-Kleisthenic Athens (1 §1.1), but major uncertainties regarding the main lines of the organization prohibit positive ascription. For Federal Keos (§14),

on the most likely reconstruction each phyle will have comprised three *trittyes* (themselves consisting of units called *choroi*), one from each of the three cities of the island. At Kameiros (§44), too, a similar scheme whereby demes of Rhodes proper, the Peraia, and the Dependent Islands were distributed across the three phylai appears until now to have gone undetected. Negatively, strong objections have been lodged against the suggestions of such intermediate distributions at Kyrene (§26) and Kos (§41). What remaining signs of influence we have are confined to the several attestations of the term *demos* at Aigiale (§22), Rhodes (§42-45), Kalymna (§40), and Kos (§41); and, in the latter two organizations, of the chief executive officer, the *demarchos.*

Though striking, these Attic parallels account for only a small share of the innovation within the island region. Variety, however, is the rule and, except at the highest level of generalization, the sorts of localized trends perceptible elsewhere are lacking. *Landsmannschaftlich* organization appears early at Kyrene (§26), to be conspicuously exemplified later at Methymna (§9), Samos (§13), Krete (§27-39 passim), and Kalymna? (§40). Numerically-designated units, so characteristic of the Asia Minor coastal region (Chapter 7), appear sporadically: τριττύς at Federal Keos (§14) and Delos (§20), τριακάς at Kos (§41), πεντηκοστύς at Rhithymna (§27) and Kos (§41), εκατοστύς at Samos (§13), and χιλιαστύς at Methymna (§9), Samos (§13), and, again, Kos (§41). Territorialism is in several cases betrayed by technical designation, though the extent to which the unit in question actually performed a public role is sometimes doubtful: thus the κτοίνα, possible forerunner of the deme, in the Rhodian sphere (§42-52 passim), the κώμη and μέρος at Lindos (§45), the οἴη of Chios (§12), the τόνοι, which subdivide (?) one of the territorial phylai of Tenos (§18), the χῶροι of Federal Keos (§14) and Thera (§25), and unidentified territorial units at Ioulis (§15) and Karthaia (§16). The Kean *choroi* were probably, as already mentioned, grouped in *trittyes* for intermediate distribution among the territorial phylai. The demes of synoecized Rhodes (§42) extended from the main island over the dependent coastal and island regions; each of the statewide phylai, Ialysia, Kameiris, and Lindia, probably originally comprised a geographically appropriate selection from the entire territory. For both states, we can document instances in which the organizations of formerly independent towns brought into these constellations have continued to function concurrently with the federal apparatus.

Additional features might be tabulated, but to little purpose, since tabulations need not reflect the profound transformations undergone by individual organizations. In fact, abrupt development at the local level, if anything, characterizes the island region. Reorganization is

frequently encountered; in some instances—e.g. Chios (§12), Samos (§13), Kyrene (§26), and possibly Kalymna (§40)—as many as three phases of development are known or can be inferred. Among the mechanisms of change is, at Samos (§13; cf. Thasos [§1]), demotion of the Ionic phyle to *chiliastys*—a procedure more widely documented on the coast opposite (Chapter 7). At Chios (§12), units of the social organization (genos? phratry?) appear to have been assimilated to the principal division (of phylai?) through a process of segmentation and designation by ordinal and cardinal numerals. Samos' post-restoration reformed organization (§13) comprises phylai, Thousands, Hundreds, with the latter alternatively termed *gene*—that is, here too, as at Chios, social and constitutional unit are fully assimilated. Kos (§41) organizes herself by phylai, Thousands (also called Ninths), Fifties, Thirties, and demes. What of the Koan social organization? It appears in part to have been absorbed by the numerically designated units, some of which are known to have carried proper names of patronymic form. Additional examples might be adduced, but the main lines of development are clear enough. Existing associations are regularized, arbitrarily numbered and labeled, then attached to the public phylai as segments—and thereby thrown open to all citizens. The substance of the process is undoubtedly to be found elsewhere in Greece, but nowhere has it left more telling clues in the record of public organization.

At the same time, the prevailing trend towards schematization and assimilation did not go entirely unopposed. Amidst several examples of the enrollment of new citizens in kinship associations are two, at Thasos (§1) and Andros (§17), where the completion of the procedure is subject to the honorand's "persuading" the association in question—*patra* and *phratria,* respectively. At Aigiale (§22) and Kalymna (§40), the usual procedure is modified in order to allow the honorand to enter the unit—the phyle or *syngeneia*—of which a relative was a member. Together, these perturbations betoken a degree of resistance on the part of private associations—or, in the case of the Aigialean phyle, private interests within the public organization. Perhaps in this light we are to view the unparalleled state of affairs at Gortyn (§29), where, as late as the Great Code, endogamy within the *phyla* is still observed. However that may be, these examples remain isolated and hardly effect our assessment of the direction of the development of public organization elsewhere in the region.

Probably significantly in connection with all of this, internal arrangements are abundantly documented. Particularly good examples are the phylai and Thousands of Methymna (§9), the phyle (?) Klytidai of Chios (§12), the Kleisthenic phylai of the Samian cleruchy (§13), the phylai of Tenos (§18), and the phylai and demes of Kos (§41). Virtually all this documentation falls within the late Classical and

Hellenistic periods—the very time when the reformed organizations came into being and, thereafter, functioned. The record mirrors the effective operation of the reformers' newly created public social organization.

THE NORTHERN AEGEAN

§1 Thasos

In three Thasian citizenship decrees of the third and second centuries, *IG* XII 8, no. 267 + XII suppl. p. 154 (= Michel 354, *SGDI* 5464), *IG* XII suppl. nos. 355 (= Pouilloux, *Choix* 33) and 362, a clause occurs or can be restored which calls for the honorands to enter "whichever *patra* they (can) persuade": *ἰέναι δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ εἰς πάτρην ἣν ἂν πείθωσιν* (no. 355). Since no other public unit—such as the phyle—is cited, it is sometimes assumed that no other existed.[1] This inference is open to the objection, however, that, if the *patrai* subdivided some larger group, there would be no need, once the *patra* was determined, to deliberate concerning, or in a publication declare the identity of, the latter. There is also, as we shall see, a strong hint from another quarter of the existence of phylai.

Regarding the unusual use of the verb "persuade" in a context in which a word signifying choice or allotment is normal, the probable explanation is that the *patrai,* despite their appearance in this public setting, were in fact private associations, over which the state could not exert final authority in matters of admission to membership. This would be all the more true in the case of foreigners, who *a fortiori* could make no claim whatever to initiation into this or that particular body. The fact that in the one other known instance of such a usage, at Andros (§17), where in place of *πείθειν* the compound *προσπείθεσθαι* (or possibly *προσσπένδεσθαι*) is employed, the body in question, the phratry, is incontestably a private association, lends substantial support to the interpretation.

Consistent with this view of the essentially private nature of the *patrai* is the evidence of a number of inscriptions—stelai, boundary markers, and wall blocks—found in the sanctuary at Evraiokastro. Dated to the latter half of the fifth and the beginning of the fourth centuries, five of the texts (nos. 1-4, 9) consist of a plural patronymic name in the genitive case and, also in the genitive, the name of a divinity, viz. Zeus or (in one example, no. 9) the Nymphai, which in each instance is modified, usually alongside a primary epithet, by the adjective *Patroios.* This adjective, the editor has maintained, is technical and means "of the *patra*"—thereby identifying the groups designated by the patronymic names.[2] By analogy, two other inscriptions (nos. 5,

8), similar except for the fact that the deity is not called "Patroios," can be given the same interpretation. References to the seven texts as edited by C. Rolley, "Le Sanctuaire des dieux Patrôoi et le Thesmophorion de Thasos," *BCH* 89 (1965) 441-483, follow:

Ἀμφωτερίδαι	449, no. 9
Ἀνχιαλίδαι	442-444, no. 2
Γελέοντες οἷς μέτεστιν ...	449, no. 8
Νεοφαντίδαι	444-445, no. 3
Πηλείδαι	445-446, no. 4
Πριαμίδαι	447, no. 5
Φαστάδαι	441-442, no. 1

That six of the seven names, whatever their precise import, would suit private associations is evident. But doubts arise concerning the "Geleontes for whom there is right of participation in (the cult of) Artemis Orthosia." Two interrelated, but logically separable questions arise. First, are the Geleontes, as we might expect, a true phyle; or, as their presence among *patrai* might suggest, have they been "demoted" to a lower-level unit, a process that finds sure parallels at Ephesos (7 §11) and Samos (§13)? Secondly, whatever the status of the Geleontes, is the relative clause limitative or non-limitative? According to how we answer these questions, several contrasting identifications of the group are formally possible. Fortunately, on the second point a positive reply in favor of a limiting clause would appear defensible, for if the clause did not limit there would presumably be no more reason so to describe the Geleontes than any of the other six groups; if *all* Geleontes were intended to be designated we should have, as in the remaining texts, simply "Artemis Orthosia" in the genitive case. From this it follows that *if* the group so qualified is a *patra*, then the Geleontes as a whole must be some larger unit, for which, in the absence of other evidence, the most reasonable candidate for identification would be "phyle." Why a specific name should not have been given to this subsection of the Geleontes we do not know, but alongside the patently late and fictional content of the other titles an irregularity of this kind would not be surprising.[3] We are entitled to expect a uniform level of organization among the groups corresponding to the homogeneity in date, provenience, and (evidently) function among the texts. Such uniformity remains an assumption, to be sure, but an assumption that could only be overturned by explicit documentary evidence to the contrary.[4]

The conclusion that the cultists of Artemis Orthosia of the Geleontes comprised a *patra* amounts to identifying the latter as a subdivision of the phyle. This identification would, in turn, explain the absence of

the phyle in the enrollment formulas reviewed above. For a similar case, involving the phyle and the *phatra,* see Argos 2 §7.

§2 Samothrake

According to the account of Diodoros, 5.48.1:

> Saon, the son, some say, of Zeus and Nymphe or, as others say, of Hermes and Rhene, gathered together the peoples who were living in scattered settlements; and, establishing laws, he himself took the name Saon after the island, but the population he distributed into five phylai, which he named after his own sons (*τὸ δὲ πλῆθος εἰς πέντε φυλὰς διανείμαντα τῶν ἰδίων υἱῶν ἐπωνύμους αὐτὰς ποιῆσαι*).

Whatever its value as literal history, the story could well represent an aetiology for an actual public organization similar to that, for example, recorded for the pre-Kleisthenic phylai of Athens (1 §1.1).[1] Although the organization's disposition is not indicated, the absence of any hint of correspondence between the "settlements" and the phylai could reflect the imposition of an artificial arrangement upon the island's habitation pattern. But without the names of the eponymous "sons"—or help from epigraphic or other sources—there is little point in pursuing such speculation further.

§3-7 Athenian Cleruchies and Possessions

The islands lying along the shipping lanes between Greece and the Black Sea were of vital importance to Athens. By the early fifth century, several of them had come into her possession and so remained, with only infrequent interruptions, well into the Imperial period. The precise status of the islands is not always determinable, but on the whole, as regards public organization, such evidence as we have is largely confined to cleruchies: Imbros, Lemnos (though possibly a colony of some kind at the time of an early inscription), and Skyros (§3-5). Peparethos and Skiathos (§6-7), in the period of our documentation, were outright possessions of Athens. For all, the only public units (and related institutions) attested are those of Kleisthenic Athens. Similar arrangements are documented for Salamis (1 §2), Aigina (1 §3), Samos (§13), Melos (§24), and Poteidaia (6 §1).

§3 *Imbros*

To the period of the cleruchy established early in the fourth century (see on Lemnos §4, below) belong all Imbrian documents attesting public organization, invariably that of Kleisthenic Athens. References are twice made to phylai, once in the preamble of a decree citing the

prytany of Erechtheis, *IG* XII 8, no. 47 (= Michel 156) (318-307; cf. no. 48); the second time in a list of twenty names, without patronymic, grouped in pairs under the ten phylai in their official order, *IG* XII 8, no. 63 (352/1). The names in the latter document may, as Wilamowitz suggested,[1] be of *bouleutai* (cf. no. 145), but why only twenty—presumably not the full number—should have been catalogued is quite unclear. Accordingly, the nature of the document should remain with Fredrich an open question.[2] Other texts ranging in date from the early fourth century to the first century A.D. show the regular use of patronymic and Attic demotic: *IG* XII 8, nos. 46, 48, 51, 53, 67, 68, 71-73, 76, 77, 79, 89, 94-114.

§4 *Lemnos*

Seized by Miltiades in all likelihood at the time of the Ionian Revolt, Lemnos, although clearly a possession of Athens, is at first of uncertain status.[1] The question turns in part upon the interpretation of an inscription from Hephaistia dated by its lettering "saec. VI/V a. Chr.," *IG* XII suppl., no. 337 (= *IG* I^2 948 note), which carries a list of names under the heading Hippothontis. The Kleisthenic unit should imply the presence of Athenian citizens; and from the use of the phyle on the stone as a rubric, not to mention the very formality of the fact of publication, it might further be inferred that these citizens enjoyed official governmental patronage—hence (in part) the case for an early cleruchy.[2] But it has been rejoined that colonies, while autonomous states, can and sometimes do adopt the public divisions of their mother cities.[3] Athough no such example can be adduced for Athens, it is true that her phylai later appear in states, viz. Miletos (7 §16), Priene (7 §14), and Alinda in Karia (7 §18), for which even colonial status is out of the question. That the same may have obtained in actual colonies is accordingly a possibility that cannot conclusively be dismissed. However that may be, around mid-century, on Meiggs' showing, a cleruchy is almost certainly established—or reestablished. To it pertain two inscriptions set up in Athens in the early years of the Peloponnesian War, *IG* I^2 947 and 948, carrying lists of "Lemnians from Myrina" and "Lemnians" respectively, each arranged according to the Kleisthenic phylai.[4]

Following the loss of the war by Athens, Lemnos, along with Imbros and Skyros, were surrendered to the Spartans, only to be recovered soon after Knidos in 394. Again, Athenian cleruchs occupy all three islands.[5] Pertaining to the reinaugurated Kleisthenic organization are: *IG* XII 8, nos. 3-38 passim; II^2 1223, 1224 (cf. 1222) (s. IV-s. I p.); S. Accame, *ASAA* 3-5 (1941-1943) 75-105, nos. 1-25 passim; G. Susini, *ASAA* 30-32 (1952-1954) 317-340: 321-322, no. 3 (ca. 250); and S.

Follet, *ASAA* 52-53 (1974-1975) 309-312 (s. II vel III p.). Noteworthy is the citation in the preambles of decrees of the phyle in prytany: *IG* XII 8, no. 5 (= Michel 161) (med. s. IV), Accame, nos. 2 (after 307/6), 4 (ca. 250), and 6 (s. I). While the composition of a board of four *hieromnemones* plus a secretary is inconsistent with representation of the phylai (Accame, no. 1: fin. s. V-init. s. IV), much later a catalogue of *ἱεροποιοί* honored by the Council is arranged *kata phylas* (Accame, no. 6: s. I). Demotics are in evidence down to the second or third century A.D.

In the year 307/6, the number of phylai at Athens was increased from ten to twelve (1 §1.21). According to Accame's analysis, two texts, no. 2 (decree with a list of *proedroi*) and no. 4 (decree with preamble), although later than this year, continue to observe the old tenfold division. The phenomenon needs further study.

§5 *Skyros*

Nomen, patronymic, and Attic demotic occur with regularity in inscriptions of Hellenistic and Roman date: *IG* XII 8, nos. 666 + XII suppl., p. 172 (= *SIG*[1] 383, Michel 165), 669, 671, 673-675; XII suppl., no. 521. All these examples postdate the establishment of the cleruchy early in the fourth century (see on Lemnos §4, above).

§6 *Peparethos*

Inscriptions from the island, a possession of Athens, include two documents of Hadrianic date, *IG* XII 8, nos. 645 and 661, attesting the use of Attic demotics with nomen and patronymic.

§7 *Skiathos*

Three inscriptions from the island, likewise an Athenian holding, contain examples of the Attic demotic following the nomen and patronymic: *IG* XII 8, nos. 631? (n.d.), 633 + *IG* XII suppl., p. 172 (A.D. 125/6), and 638 (n.d.).

LESBOS, CHIOS, AND SAMOS

§8-11 Lesbos: Mytilene, Methymna, Antissa, Eresos

A treaty concluded during the first third of the second century among Mytilene, Methymna, Antissa, and Eresos, *IG* XII suppl., no. 136 (= *IG* XI 4, no. 1064), calls for the formation of an *isopoliteia* whereby a citizen of any of the four cities might acquire citizenship in any of the others. According to L. Robert's restoration of the fragmentary line b 27, a person wishing to avail himself of this privilege is to "get himself enrolled with the generals and allotted into whichever

phyle he wishes."[1] From this it would follow that phylai were present in all four states.

§9 *Methymna*

All remaining documents, none datable earlier than the reign of Ptolemy Philopator (viz. *IG* XII 2, no. 498), pertain to Methymna and illustrate the functioning of the phylai and of a smaller unit, the *chellestys* or Thousand.[1] The attested names of these groups are as follows (primary references are to *IG* XII 2):

phylai	
Αἰολίς	no. 505 (= Michel 362)
chellestyes	
Ἐρυθραῖοι	no. 515 + *IG* XII suppl., p. 32 (= *SGDI* 278)
Πρωτεῖς	nos. 498 + *IG* XII suppl., p. 30 (= *SGDI* 276; *OGIS* I 78+; Michel 360; Schwyzer 630); 500 + *IG* XII suppl., p. 30
Σκυρ[έ]ων?	no. 504 + *IG* XII suppl., p. 30[2]
Φωκεῖς	nos. 502 + *IG* XII suppl., p. 30; 503 (= *SGDI* 277)
name not preserved	no. 501

Aiolis is probably, as Busolt surmised,[3] a late innovation. Its name may reflect a conscious effort to contrast the Aiolic population with other, perhaps indigenous or more recently arriving, elements, which presumably would have been accommodated in the remaining (unknown) phylai. Of the *chellestyes,* three are arguably of the *Landsmannschaftlich* variety. For Erythraioi, Hiller adduced the Boiotian city Erythrai, reputedly the metropolis of Ionian Erythrai;[4] perhaps significantly, *chiliastyes* are well attested at the latter city (8 §14). The Skyreis—or Skyrioi?—might descend from immigrants from Skyros, hence Hiller's stab in the dark *"(a Cimone expulsorum?)."*[5] What role Phokis might have played in Methymna's earlier history is quite uncertain. By contrast, Proteis, if properly associated by Hiller with πρωτεύς ("first"),[6] would be paralleled by comparably designated units elsewhere, particularly the "first" phylai at Traianopolis (6 §5), Istros (6 §18), and Dorylaion (8 §14).

The number of phylai and *chellestyes,* and how the two divisions were related to each other, is not known. A limit upon the number of *chellestyes,* if literal Thousands, would be imposed by the size of the population, but no independent evidence on this point is available.[7]

From *IG* XII 2, no. 505, a decree of the phyle Aiolis, a number of significant details can be gleaned concerning this body's internal organization. The phyle honors one Aristophanes, son of Aristophon, for his service as φυλάρχης (4,13, 21). Possibly this is the office to which the eponymous named in the preamble (1) should be referred; at the beginning of line 2, his title has been restored by Paton as [ἄρχοντος (?) τοῦ] κοινοῦ. Recognized for his unstinting generosity (5), Aristophanes may have helped defray expenses for ceremonies such as those at which his own honors will be conferred. Each year, on the fifth of Apollonios, for the rest of his life, the phyle will bestow a crown of gold at the temple of Athena, with the κῆρυξ (presumably an officer of the phyle) making the announcement (9-15). The ἐπιμήνιοι are to present him with a female sheep ἀπὸ τῶν μισθουμένων ἱερείων, which he is to sacrifice to Athena "for the health and safety of the *symphyletai*" (15-18). The ceremony will be performed both on the fifth, and "in the σύνοδος after the σπονδαί," a second announcement from the herald specifying a double share of the sacrifice (δι[μοιρ]ίᾳ [μη]λέᾳ; 18-23). Still again, Aristophanes is to be crowned "on the other days on which the *koinon* is assembled . . ." (23-24). References to "the lawful crown" (14-15, 22-23) open up the possibility that the organization was regulated by its own νόμοι, unless of course it is Methymna's laws that are meant.

A similar picture is given of the internal arrangements of the *chellestyes* by decrees of the *koina* of the Phokeis (*IG* XII 2, nos. 502, 503), Proteis (nos. 498, 500), and Skyreis (no. 504), which, since they are of like purpose, scope, and wording, may be treated collectively. Headed by preambles including citation of the state's eponymous *prytanis,* each of the decrees honors the χελληστυάρχας for distinguished service to the *chellestys,* specifying the honorand's successful completion of his duties, among them sacrifices for which in several cases (nos. 498, 502-504) it is stated that he met the expenses out of his own funds. The crowning (and attendant announcement) are to take place either (as in the case of the phyle) "after the drink-offerings at each meeting" for the rest of his life (500) or on a host of other occasions, primarily religious in nature (498, 502, 503, 504). Besides the crown, the honors include praise (504), variously described portions of sacrificial meats (498, 500, 502) for the honorand (and his descendants [498, 503, 504]), σίτ[ησι]/[ἐν Πρω?]τείω (500), and an εἴκων γράπτα (500, 502-504). A probable relic of the last-mentioned is the base, no. 515, which bears an inscription recording honors conferred by Erythraioi on its chellestyarch. Responsibility for the announcement rests in one instance with the current chellestyarch in cooperation with [τ]οῖς κε[λεύσταις] (500), in another with [τῶ κάρ]υκος alone (502). The decree is to be inscribed (500, 502); according to one text (500),

the erection of the stele, and of the εἴκων, is delegated to a committee of three, whose names are appended at the close of the decree. Again, as with the phyle, references to the "laws," whether regarding sacrifices performed by the chellestyarch (498) or the crown (502 [restored], 503), may indicate the existence of constitutions distinct from that of the state.

Taken together, the details of the functioning of the Methymnian phylai and *chellestyes* create an impression of a vigorous corporate life. Administratively and perhaps legally independent, these associations periodically assembled in *synodoi* and on the occasion of festal holidays when, among other activities, formal recognition could be made of the munificence of past holders of the chief magistracy. That this recognition could be expressed in such lavish forms testifies to the substantial financial resources at their disposal.

§12 Chios

The famous "Constitution of Chios," Meiggs-Lewis no. 8, reveals the existence ca. 575-550 of a popular council (βόλη . . . ἡ δημοσίη) drawn "fifty from each phyle" (ἀπὸ φυλῆς).[1] Among many instances of such representation (see Index II.D.4.b), this is the earliest attested by a document. The Athenian Councils of 401 and 400 (1 §1.22), the Council of *oktades* at Corinth (2 §2), and the *bouleutai* representing the One Hundred Eighty at Epidauros (2 §5) are all known from literary sources of varying degrees of trustworthiness. But, apart from the date, the Chian text tells us little regarding the public organization. We cannot, for example, even be sure whether these phylai are the Attic-Ionic hexad or reflect some later development of that (presumed) original arrangement.[2]

The latter alternative, however, is strongly favored by a fragmentary list of the first quarter of the fourth century, *ABSA* 55 (1960) 178-179, no. 5.[3] Although broken along the left-hand edge with the result that the first letters of nearly all the names have been lost, it is clear that groups at three levels of organization are represented: at the top of the stone (i) [.....] Πολυτεκ[ν---], below which stood, in the genitive case, (ii) the intermediate groups [...]μητιδέων, [Ἐ]κκυνέων, [....]κ̣ρ̣ατ̣ε̣ω̣[ν] (lines 2, 6, 10); and, finally, (iii) the units in the nominative and (as far as the text survives) six in number. Since all the units have the usual patronymic termination -ιδαι or (like the intermediate divisions) the alternative form in -εις, they are best identified as γένη—a class of association of which we have a documented example around the mid-fourth century.[4] Other testimony discussed below suggests that the three preserved middle-tier groupings are phratries. This leaves the most comprehensive division at the head of

the list, for which, if it indeed embraced a number of phratries, no other label is available than "phyle." To this "phyle of Polyteknos" (vel sim.), finally, can be added with Forrest from other sources further candidates for the principal division: the Kaukaseis,[5] the Oinopidai,[6] and, also comprising a plurality of phratries, the Klytidai. As two inscriptions shortly to be discussed reveal, the Klytidai were active late in the fourth century when these very arrangements were in the process of undergoing substantial revision.[7]

Since the "phyle of Polyteknos" probably, as Forrest argues,[8] commemorates the eighth century Chian tyrant of that name, it is likely that this innovating organization owes its creation to an era of popular reaction to aristocratic domination, presumably under the tyranny itself—that is, well before the publication of the "Constitution of Chios." Like the council drawn from the phylai, the three-tier system of divisions was truly "popular," indeed radically so. It subordinated both the "phratries" and "gene" to a principal grouping that elsewhere is nearly always an artificial constellation, its origins and substance wholly independent of genuine (or even quasi-) kinship associations. Only at Argos (2 §7), Syracuse (4 §20), and Thasos (§1) is there evidence that the phylai contained such associations as integral components—in two cases, phratries; in the third (Thasos), *patrai.* If, of course, our "phyle" were one of the Attic-Ionic hexad, it might be possible to argue, as some in other contexts have done, that the principal division itself, as the sum of its parts, partook of a kinship orientation. But this is far from the case; the eponymy of Polyteknos obviates any such approach to the problem. What we would instead appear to have before us is the result of a drastic reform involving the institution of universal enrollment in the "phratries" and "gene," and the combination of these expanded units into "phylai." Such a radical redrawing of the lines of the state's socio-political institutions might well have ended in the publication of an ancestor of our document, the purpose of which could have been to represent in tabular form the affiliations of the "gene" with the "phratries" and of both with the newly-created (?) "phylai."

In the second half of the fourth century the operation of one of the principal divisions, the Klytidai, is illustrated by two documents, one, Michel 1359 (= *SGDI* 5661; ca. 350), a lease by the group of some of its properties, the other, *SIG*[3] 987 (= Ziehen, *LGS* II 112; Michel 997; Sokolowski, *LSCG* 118: ca. 335), a series of decrees concerning the administration of its cult. Together, the texts reveal an internal organization of complexity and real substance. The chief officer, to whom (as well as to the Klytidai) rents are to be paid, was called ὁ ἄρχων (Michel 1359, line 7). Below him stood οἱ [ἐπι]μεληταί, who are made responsible for the engraving and erection of a stone stele

(*SIG*[3] 987, lines 36-41). The γνῶμαι, or decrees, of the body are sanctioned by fines, and the violator is subject to "the curses contained in the νόμοι" (35-36)—evidently with reference to a permanent constitution. The laws are cited specifically in connection with "the common house" and the ground attached to it, within the *temenos* of the Klytidai (24-31). To these properties can be added from the lease "ancestral" land and its fixtures, a building of unspecified function, a grove and the timber that stands on it, a swamp and a harbor—over all of which the Klytidai exercise ownership or control (Michel 1359, passim). Besides the temenos itself, cult activity is indicated throughout the decrees by references to *thysiai* and to τὰ (πατρῶια) ἱερά. The fines are payable to Zeus Patroios, presumably the chief divinity of the association.

Arbitrators concerning expenditures on the leased property are to be the Klytidai; concerning τὰ ἔργα, τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν οἴην (Michel 1359, lines 44-46). Etymologically related to ὠβά, a territorial unit at Sparta (2 §8), the latter term must designate something like a "village."[9] But, while it is a likely inference that the properties of the Klytidai lay within the Chian "village," it is quite uncertain whether it, like its Spartan counterpart, should qualify as a genuine public unit.

Important as these details are, the chief value of the documents lies not in them but in the development within the organization attested by *SIG*[3] 987. Actually comprising three separate decrees, the text chronicles successive stages in the transfer of the group's cults from the exclusive control of private individuals—evidently a minority—to the entirety of the membership. The first decree calls for the construction of a *koinos oikos,* a "common house," in the *temenos* of the Klytidai, into which are to be moved from the private houses "the common *hiera*" (2-10). In the second, consideration is given to the question whether the *hiera* defined as "common" should reside as before in the "private houses" and be transferred to the common house only on the actual day of the *thysia* or should be placed permanently in the house. The latter alternative prevailed. Finally, the third decree ordains the common use of the house and property attached to it by all Klytidai, specifically prohibiting such use by "any individual phratry" (φρατρίαν δὲ μηδὲ ἰδιώτη[ν]/[μ]ηθένα, 28-29). That is to say, to draw an important inference from the text, the transferral of the *hiera* from the private houses to the common house was simultaneously attended by the transferral of authority over those *hiera* from "individual phratries" to the general body of Klytidai at large.

This is a conclusion of some moment, for it affords strong specific support for the contention that public organizations arose in rivalry with private associations and, though non-exclusive and (upon their creation) arbitrarily constituted, nonetheless adopted some of the fun-

damental features of the very groups with which they were in competition. At Chios, certain of the phratries had traditionally maintained a monopoly on cult that extended even to the literal confinement of the sacred utensils within their own houses. Now that monopoly is broken and the cults transferred to neutral ground where they are placed in the custody of a more comprehensive aggregate of phratries, of which some, by implication, had previously been denied such privileges. At once the larger group has usurped what in all probability had been the most coveted prerogative of the privileged phratries, while at the same time, far from abolishing or (so far as we are informed) altering their practices, actually preserving intact those practices for its own purposes.

The principal weakness in the reconstruction is, of course, the absence of a technical designation for the greater Klytidai. Still, it remains true that phylai are segmented by phratries at Argos (2 §7) and Syracuse (4 §20), and that no other term is ever so used.[10] By the same token, if the Klytidai were found not to be a phyle (elsewhere always of public orientation), the interpretation would, in the absence of additional corroborating evidence, have to be abandoned.

Nomenclature apart, it is clear that the evolution of these Chian associations did not end here. From four lists similar in form to that discussed above, *ABSA* 55 (1960) 172-174, nos. 1-4, evidence for still another reform is at hand. According to Forrest's analysis, the new system embraced no fewer than four distinct levels of organization: (i) at the top, two (thus far known) principal groups, Totteidai and Chalazoi; (ii) a major subdivision into groups designated πρῶτοι, δεύτεροι, and possibly τρίτοι and so on; (iii) a further subdivision into units denoted by the single letters alpha, beta, gamma, and so on; and, finally, (iv) the units, variously designated by traditional patronymics or, far more often, by the plural masculine article with the genitive of a personal name.[11] On the whole, the new arrangement is pervaded by an unparalleled schematism and artificiality. Yet the survival of the (few) patronymics do permit (with Forrest) the identification of the units as *gene.* This, on analogy with the earlier list, should mean that the topmost division, separated by two levels of organization, was one of phylai: no other nomenclature is available and, certainly, the supposition of still another division above the Totteidai and Chalazoi is unimaginable. But what has happened to the phratries? Two answers are possible. Either they are present in the lists, bearing designations "first," "second," or alpha, beta, etc., in which case they would seemingly have lost all vestiges of their former orientation; or they are not present, in which case they presumably would have been expelled from the organization altogether. On either explanation, it would be evident

that the process already perceptible in the Klytidai decrees has now been taken several steps further.[12]

Possible historical settings for this more recent reform were explored by Forrest.[13] While conceding the many uncertainties imposed by the small body of evidence and by the necessity of dating the documents by their lettering, he suggested that it had been carried out in 332 in response to Alexander the Great's instructions to the Chians to restore their exiles and establish a democracy (Michel 33 = Tod, II 192). The appointment of *nomographoi* "to write and correct the laws such that nothing impede the democracy or the return of the exiles" might well have occasioned the creation of a new public organization. Presumably, not only exiles but also all those previously excluded from the privileges of such membership would have been accorded access.[14]

§13 Samos

The Samian civic organization has three principal phases of development: the earlier city-state; the period of the Athenian cleruchy, 366/5–322 or 321; and the subsequent history of the island through the early Roman Empire.

Within the period of the earliest arrangements falls, first, the report of Herodotos, 3.26.1, that a polis called Oasis, seven days distant from Egyptian Thebes, was held by "Samians said to be τῆς Αἰσχριωνίης φυλῆς." This statement has sometimes been taken to indicate the existence of an (otherwise unattested) public unit, but the author's use of the term "phyle" is on occasion demonstrably non-technical, so it would be unwise to insist upon the stricter usage here.[1] Of greater value is the fact that at Perinthos (6 §27), a colony of Samos traditionally founded in the year 601, the attested phylai include the Old Attic Aigikoreis and Geleontes and the Ionic Boreis, from which it is reasonable to conclude that the full sixfold organization had been inherited from the mother city.[2] Further support for this inference might be sought from a group of fifth century *horoi* of the sanctuaries of Athena Ἀθηνῶν μεδέουσα, of Ion, and of the Eponymoi, the latter two both Ἀθήνηθεν. Widely believed to have been erected by Athens, following her conquest of the island in 439, to mark the lands of specifically Athenian cults, the inscriptions were reinterpreted by J. P. Barron, who argued that they were of Samian, not Athenian, origin. In particular, given the presence of Ion, the "eponymoi" are less likely to be (as always thought) the ten heroes of the Kleisthenic phylai than the sons of Ion, the namesakes of their Old Attic predecessors. There is no reason to doubt that these phylai, though supplanted at Athens, were still current in Samos at the time of the erection of the *horoi*.[3] Perhaps so. But there is a problem. Eponymoi "from

Athens" could not have included the two Ionic additions, Oinopes and Boreis. Yet the former appears in Samos after the expulsion of the cleruchy as a *chiliastys* (see below); and the latter is recorded at Perinthos (6 §27), a Samian colony. No Ionian state at which the Old Attic phylai are present is in any case known to have lacked the two Ionic additions. If Barron is correct, the sanctuary of the Eponymoi belonged to only four of six phylai—a most unlikely hypothesis.

With the capture of Samos by the Athenians in 366/5, the Samian citizen body was driven into exile and replaced by an Athenian cleruchy, which occupied the island until 322 or early 321, when Perdikkas, acting on an order given by Alexander before his death, restored it to its former inhabitants. In the meantime Samos had, in the words of a contemporary orator, functioned as a "canal from Athens"[4]—that is, as an extension of the Athenian state and its institutions including, necessarily, its public arrangements. The expectation is borne out by a record of the transfer of the inventory of the Temple of Hera from one board of *tamiai* to its successor, Michel 832 (= *SGDI* 5702; 346/5).[5] The members of the two boards, numbering ten each, are identified by Athenian demotics and are listed in the official order of the Kleisthenic phylai.[6] Presiding over the Boule in the Heraion are nine *proedroi* from nine phylai: one who "puts the question" (ἐπεψήφιζε, 10, 42; ἐπεστάτει by error, 61[7]) plus eight *symproedroi,* who are listed in the official order. Here a significant departure from Athenian practice occurs in that one committee (9-12) includes a representative of the phyle (a Μελι(τεύς), Kekropis, line 11) which is currently in prytany (8-9).[8] Regarding dating, the year of the transaction is given by both the Samian (1, 56) and Athenian (1-2) archon; in the second passage (56-57), the formula continues with month and day followed by the equation ἐπὶ τῆς/Πανδιονίδος πέμπτης πρυτανείας, μιᾷ καὶ τριακοστεῖ (the first citation of the archon in lines 1-2 lacks the month and day, but the equation follows in lines 8-9). The two archons are also used to identify the (earlier) board of *tamiai* (Samian: 4-5, 58; Athenian: 5).[9]

Complementing these statewide functions is a document identified as a decree of Pandionis by its editor, G. Klaffenbach, *MDAI(A)* 51 (1926) 36-38, no. 5. Given the correctness of the identification, the text represents our sole surviving record of an internally organized public unit in an Athenian cleruchy. Moved by a member of Kydathenaion—a deme of Pandionis down to 308/7—the decree enjoins the repayment by certain parties (possibly but not necessarily *phyletai*) of loans and the interest accrued on them. Their truancy threatens to interrupt sacrifices "to Pandion and the [gods]," and endangers τὰ κοινὰ τῆς φυλῆς (4-5). They are to make good the loan, with interest, within a year after the (presumably current) archonship (the name is

lost); failure to do so will result in their being disfranchised by [...τοὺς ἐπ]ιμελητὰς τῆς φυλῆς (5-9). At the close, the engraving of the document on a stone stele is ordered, at which point the text fails. Altogether, then, a vigorous and substantial organization of the type the Athenian evidence would lead us to expect.

To date, according to Cargill's estimate, the names of about sixty "apparent kleruchs" are known, of which approximately two-thirds come from Michel 832, reviewed above.[10] Far greater numbers than these, however, would be needed to make workable a government based in part, as at Athens, on one hundred thirty-nine demes. We know, for example, of a Samian Boule with *prytaneiai* and committees of *proedroi* representing the phylai. But could the cleruch population have sustained a system of bouleutic deme quotas? Indeed, nearly every question prompted by the Athenian model remains unanswered. For the still less communicative records of other cleruchies (or possessions), see Salamis (1 §2), Aigina (1 §3), Imbros, Lemnos, Skyros, Peparethos and Skiathos (§ 3-7), Melos (§24), and Poteidaia (6 §1).

The expulsion of the Athenian cleruchy and the restoration of the former Samian population by Perdikkas occasioned still another rearrangement of the public apparatus. Although the documentation of this third, and last, Samian organization continues down to at least the second century A.D.,[11] the great bulk of it belongs to the time following the restoration, when the new Samian government proceeded to confer grants of citizenship upon a large number of foreigners, who either during the period of exile had assisted the expatriated Samians or thereafter had continued to benefit the Samian state. Typically these decrees, for the elucidation of which we are above all indebted to C. Habicht, include a sortition-formula enjoining allotment of the honorand into phyle, *chiliastys, hekatostys,* and *genos;* in two cases (quoted below), the actual outcome of the allotment is given at the end of the text.[12] The remaining evidence, which varies greatly in chronology and content, adds a few proper names and something concerning the statewide and internal operation of the units. It will be convenient to begin by assessing the evidence for each of the divisions.

Phylai. For the principal unit three names are known; two occur early, the third not until very late:

Ἀστυπαλαιεῖς	*MDAI(A)* 51 (1926) 33-34, no. 3 (A.D. 118)
Δημητριεῖς	*MDAI(A)* 44 (1919) 8-9, no. 5K (after 306)
Χησιεῖς	*MDAI(A)* 44 (1919) 16-20, no. 7 (fin. s. IV); Michel 901 (s. II);[13] *MDAI(A)* 51 (1926) 33-34 (= *RhM* 22 [1867] 324-325) (ca. A.D. 118)

That not all three names were in use simultaneously is shown by a second century document (discussed below), *SIG*[3] 976. At that time the phylai with certainty numbered only two. The dates of the documents would suggest that these two were Demetrieis and Chesieis. Either one, viz., Demetrieis, was replaced by (or renamed) Astypalaieis at some time before A.D. 118, or a third phyle, Astypalaieis, was subsequently added at some time later than *SIG*[3] 976. But the picture is complicated by the statement attributed to Themistagoras, *FHG* IV 152, no. 1: "Prokles and Tembrion sent a colony to Samos, established a partnership with the Karian inhabitants, settled along the Chesios River, and distributed the *polis* into two phylai; one they named Chesia after the Chesios River situated next to the *polis,* the other Astypalaia after the ancient *asty* there."[14] To be sure, a unit bearing the name "Old Townsmen" is not necessarily of such high antiquity; and in any event, as we have seen, a strong case can be made for the existence of the Attic-Ionic phylai prior to the establishment of the Athenian cleruchy. Still, the report of two agrees with the second century document and so is unlikely to be entirely without historical basis. Accordingly, it is probable that the new phylai instituted upon the restoration were Chesieis and Astypalaieis. Thereafter, as I hope to show at length elsewhere, Demetrieis—whether a new phyle or merely a new name remains unclear—will have been established at some point during Samos' occupation by the forces of Demetrios Poliorketes (and Antigonos) in the late fourth and early third centuries, only to be retired a short time later under the tyranny of Douris.

From Themistagoras' notice, it might be inferred that the two phylai he mentions were territorially disposed. The referent proposed for Astypalaia could hardly be disputed; the name recalls the unit Πολιτάς at Epidauros (2 §5), the phyle ἐκ Πόλεως at Tenos (§18), and the deme Καταπολ(ε)ίτιοι at Miletos (7 §16), all probably or certainly territorial.[15] The case of Chesieis is less obvious since the name, in one form or another, occurs widely, particularly as a toponym: viz. a promontory, a river, a "town of Ionia," or simply a "place."[16] Conceivably, the very fact of the name's varied distribution might prompt the hypothesis that Chesieis, in contrast to the phyle coinciding with the "Old City," comprised the *chora* of the island.[17] The distinction between "town" and "country" is fundamental to the Greek city-state; and while it is true that no other known public organization can be shown to have observed it in quite this way, it is equally true that no other public organization is known to have had only two principal divisions. The two novelties might, in other words, help to explain each other.

Chiliastyes. From two of the citizenship decrees and a decree of a *chiliastys* we learn the names of three of the Thousands:

χιλιαστὺν ΕΓ[---]/[6-7] τὴν μείζω	*MDAI(A)* 44 (1919) 8-9, no. 5K (after 306), with revised readings by G. Dunst, *Philologus* 110 (1966) 308
[---τ]οῖς χιλιαστῆρσι Ἐπιδαυρίων [τῆς ἐλάσ]/σω τοῖς ἀναβαίνουσιν εἰς Ἑλικώνιον	*BCH* 59 (1935) 477-486, no. 3, revised by Dunst, op. cit., 307-309
Οἴνωπες	*MDAI(A)* 44 (1919) 16-20, no. 7 (ca. 306)

To these were added by L. Robert, *BCH* 59 (1935) 482-483 (= *OMS* II 751-752), with great probability, from V. Theophaneides, *AD* 9 (1924-1925) 95-104, no. 1:

Ἀθηναῖοι	Εὐβοέων ἡ μείζω[18]
Ἁλαιεῖς	Κασταλεῖς
	[---]ικαλεῖς

Overall, the names fall into two distinct categories. Oinopes, of course, coincides with one of the two Ionic additions to the four Old Attic phylai. Since, as we have seen, part of this expanded organization appears at Perinthos, a Samian colony, it is likely that all six phylai were present in the mother city at the time of the colonization. To judge from the parallel evidence at Kolophon (7 §10), Ephesos (7 §11), and possibly Thasos (§1), the Oinopes represent a relic of that organization, now demoted to a Thousand. The remainder all belong to the *Landsmannschaftlich* class, presumably reflecting claims about the places of origin of various elements of the citizen population.[19] Groups of this kind might not be expected to fit neatly into units actually numbering one thousand. But the very likelihood of disparities of number could help to explain the use of the designations "the greater" and "the lesser," provided that their object was to distinguish a larger number of, say, Euboians from a smaller number of Epidaurians. If, however, distinctions within a given group were intended, the basis for the variation in nomenclature is not apparent. For both types, finally, if, as the names seem to demand, the Thousands were of personal disposition, they could not have been subdivisions of the phylai, if, as I have argued, the latter were territorial.[20]

Hekatostyes. The Hundreds would be expected to be one-tenth segments of the Thousands, thereby partaking of the larger unit's personal disposition. This inference is borne out by the apparent equation of the *hekatostyes* with the *gene* (see below).

Gene. Normally the sortition-injunctions end with the *genos.* In two instances, quoted below, the name of the unit is preserved; and from other sources can be added a few patronymic names of similar type.[21] But while nothing about these names is out of the ordinary, it is clear that the clans have undergone a profound transformation, so profound in fact that they can no longer fairly be termed "kinship" units. So much is indicated, first, by the mere practice of allotting into them persons who, far from possessing a bona fide claim to membership, were in some cases not even of Samian origin.[22] Secondly, as the two sortition-results prove, the post-restoration *genos* could also be denoted by the term *hekatostys*—a fact that immediately signals the artificiality of the unit's origins and definition:

MDAI(A) 44 (1919) 8-9, no. 5K, lines 35-38: *Ἔλα/[χον φυ]λὴν Δημητριεῖς, χιλιαστὺν ΕΓ[---]/[6-7] τὴν μείζω, ἑκατοστὺν [καὶ]/[γέ]νος [...]αρνικίδαι.*

MDAI(A) 44 (1919) 16-20, no. 7, lines 35-36: *Ἔλαχε φυλὴν Χησιεῖς, χιλιαστὺς Οἴνωπες,/γένος καὶ ἑκατοστὺς Ἑλανδρίδαι.*

What, now, can be said of the functions, statewide and internal, of these four (or rather, three) divisions? The phylai are found outside sortition-formulas in only three relatively minor capacities: viz. to provide the basis for the selection of two officers, *οἱ ἐπὶ σίτου*, charged with the purchase and distribution of the state's grain supply (*SIG*[3] 976: s. II; see further below); to serve to identify Samian victors in the festival of Hera (Michel 910: s. II);[23] and, lastly, similarly to identify holders of the *neopoiia* in two early Imperial lists.[24] Even less well known are the *hekatostyes,* since they are entirely without attested activity. The patronymic names—attached, again, to the Hundreds as well as to the *gene*—occur in contexts which convey nothing of the functions of the units under either designation.[25]

With the *chiliastyes,* however, the situation is quite different. Relating to the Thousands generally is a set of regulations proposed by the (Samian state's) *[νομο]γράφοι*, or "law-writers," Sokolowski, *LSCG* 122 (= Michel 710; *SIG*[3] 1043; Ziehen, *LGS* II 115) (s. III). The regulations concern the activity of *[...τοὺ]ς ἀποδεικνυμένους ὑπὸ τῶν χιλιαστήρων ἐπιμηνίους τῆς/[θυσίας καὶ τ]ῆς συνόδου τῆς ἐν Ἑλικωνίωι γινομένης* (2-3). By the plural *chiliasteres* is intended, as Dittenberger explains,[26] the members of any given *chiliastys;* that is, the state is here legislating policy for the *epimenioi* ("monthly officers") of all the Thousands.[27] If in town they are to perform their duties; if away, either deputies or volunteers may take their places. Any party who fails to comply will be fined by the

nomographoi (?) and "his fellow *epimenioi.*" External control of this sort is not at all in evidence, however, in a second document, a decree of [...τ]οῖς χιλιαστῆρσι Ἐπιδαυρίων [τῆς ἐλάσ]/σω τοῖς ἀναβαίνουσιν εἰς Ἑλικώνιον, L. Robert, *BCH* 59 (1935) 477-486, no. 3 (= *OMS* II 746-755), revised by G. Dunst, *Philologus* 110 (1966) 307-309 (s. II). The group's title I would render as "the *chiliasteres* of the lesser (sc. *chiliastys*) of Epidaurians who ascend to (the) Helikonion;" that is, they are one among the Thousands, all of which sacrifice (?) and meet at the Helikonion, regulated in the earlier document.[28] Passed in the group's *ekklesia,* the decree acknowledges a member's *epidosis,* or endowment, for the funding of an annual *thysia.* The sacrifice is to take place at the *heroön*—itself built or equipped by the honorand. After a lacuna, the text resumes αὐτοῦ μυσταὶ καὶ σύνοδος (9)—possibly "a meeting of initiates" in conjunction with the sacrifice. Concerning his benefactions the honorand has made a declaration (Robert) "both at the *neopoeion* and at the *eisagogion* in the presence of the μελεδωνοί appointed by ourselves" (10-11). The reference to these "administrators" (partially restored from *SIG*³ 976, below) provides a hint that individual *chiliastyes* functioned as independent associations free from direct interference by the state.

At the same time, the Thousands figure importantly at the statewide level. Our source is the famous decree concerning the purchase and free distribution of grain, *SIG*³ 976 (s. II).[29] Briefly, preliminary arrangements are to be made in an assembly in the theater, where the *prytaneis* are to seat the citizens [κα]/τὰ χιλιαστὺν, "having made markers (σημεῖα) and defined an area (τ[όπον]) for each of the *chiliastyes*" (3-6). Any person failing to sit in his proper area is to be fined (6-8). During the assembly, the nomination and election (of the μελεδωνοί, who are among the officers administrating the program) are to be conducted ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῶν χιλιαστήρων—that is, each Thousand nominates and elects independently of the others (10-11). The assembled *chiliastyes* are also to review the deposits and guarantors for the loans from the fund, the interest from which will be used to purchase the grain (11-13).

Besides the *meledonoi,* the people are also to appoint (at a different meeting) two ἐπὶ τοῦ σίτου, one from each of the two phylai (37-42). That the *meledonoi* similarly numbered one per *chiliastys,* however, is not indicated by the text; in fact, a number greater than one per unit is guaranteed by the preceding inscription, where τῶν . . . μελ[ε]δ[ωνῶν] are attested for a single Thousand (line 10). We do learn from the present text that the *chiliasteres* might reappoint the same man *meledonos* for up to five consecutive years (63-64).

Financial arrangements are the principal burden of the document, and the role played by the *chiliastyes* is crucial. Irregularities in pay-

ments of interest to the fund by borrowers are to be rectified by the *chiliastyes* (64-68). Once the interest payments are received, the *chiliastyes* are to transfer the funds to the ἐπὶ τοῦ σίτου; should they fail to do this, the *chiliasteres* are not to receive their grain (68-71). If a *meledonos* misappropriates funds, then, besides other penalties, the auditors are to register his property as forfeit to his *chiliastys,* and his *chiliasteres,* who appointed him, are not to receive their grain (76-81). However, should the *chiliasteres* make a deposit in lieu of payments not received from *meledonos* or borrower, they are to be given their grain from the time of the deposit (81-85)

With the arrival of the grain, it is to be distributed to the citizens κατὰ χιλιαστύν by the two ἐπὶ τοῦ σίτου (52-55) (see Index II.J.3). These officers are also to compile a record of each month's distribution, "writing κατὰ χιλιαστύν and adding the names of the recipients" (60-63) (see Index II.G.2).

Taken together, the evidence for the internal and statewide functions of the Thousands shows that they served as the primary operative units of the Samian state. The phylai, numbering only two, were probably too few to possess a corporate cohesion or be of much administrative utility. And the *gene,* now (following the restoration) identified with the Hundreds and thrown open to all citizens, are known to have played a public role only in that membership in them represented a necessary condition of citizenship.

THE IONIAN KYKLADES

§14-16 Keos

Classical Keos knew four principal cities, Ioulis, Karthaia, Koresia, and Poiessa. At various times, and under various circumstances, the cities act cooperatively with one another—or are at least regarded by outsiders as a single entity, the "Keioi." For present purposes, it will suffice to mention the "federal constitution," which, on D. M. Lewis' analysis, came into existence in the course of the revolt of Euboia from Athens in 411 (Thucydides, 8.95) and was in any case operative in 377. In that year, the charter of the Second Athenian League, *IG* II^2 43, though listing Poiessa as an individual member, groups Ioulis, Karthaia, and Koresia under the rubric Κείων (82, 119-122). Two decades later, at the outbreak of the Social War, an Athenian decree, *IG* II^2 404, formally ordered the dissolution of the union. Thereafter, following varying fortunes (which need not concern us here), the four *poleis* were reduced to two when, by the time of Strabo (64/3—A.D. 21 or later), Poiessa was absorbed by Karthaia, and Koresia by Ioulis (10.5.6: 486).[1]

§14 *The Federal State*

Two treaties of isopolity, both found at Ioulis (evidently, therefore, the capital), attest a three-tier organization for the Federal State. One, concluded with Eretria, *BCH* 78 (1954) 316-322, no. 1 (= *Staatsverträge* II 232), is dated on epigraphical grounds to the early fourth century. The instructions for the enrollment of an Eretrian in the citizen body of Keos read: *οἱ δὲ θεσμοφύλακες δόντω[ν]/[αὐτῶι φυλὴ]ν καὶ τριττὺν καὶ χῶρον* (lines 8-9). The other, concluded with Histiaia, *IG* XII 5(1), no. 594 (= *IG* XII 9, p. 169; *SGDI* 5403; *SIG*[3] 172; Tod II 141; *Staatsverträge* II 287), though possibly of somewhat later date, appears to have contained a nearly identical injunction: *οἱ [δὲ θεσμοφύλακες]/[δό]ντων φυλὴγ καὶ τριττὺν [καὶ χῶρον αὐτῶι]* (lines 5-6).[1] Each of the clauses, as can be seen, provides the basis for the restoration of the other. Both the appropriate chronology and the references simply to "Keioi" throughout both texts assure the ascription to the Federation.

The suitability of this system of phylai, *trittyes,* and *choroi* to Federal Keos was noted by Szanto, who on independent evidence had argued for a *sympoliteia* of Ioulis, Karthaia, and Poiessa.[2] Lewis favored the omission of Poiessa, principally on the strength of the League Charter, *IG* II[2] 43 (above).[3] Either arrangement would permit the assumption (with Szanto and Lewis) that the territories of the three cities were apportioned into equal numbers of *trittyes,* with a phyle consisting of three *trittyes,* one from each city. Each *trittys* would have comprised a number of *choroi.* In Athenian terms, the cities would correspond to City, Coast, and Plain; the *trittyes* to *trittyes;* and the *choroi* to demes. True, the reconstruction is not necessitated by the evidence; but the case for the federation of three cities is strong, and, if an Attic style organization is not assumed, what realistic configuration for the *trittyes* can be found for this comparatively small state?

How such an organization would have been related to the local organizations of the three cities, or whether the latter even existed during the period of the Federation, are questions for which no certain answer is possible, since what evidence we have for Ioulis and Karthaia (see below) is no earlier than the end of the fourth century. It is quite possible that, with the dissolution of the Federation, the statewide units ceased to exist altogether. But if they lived on, a problem is presented by the attestation of phylai at Ioulis (§15) and Karthaia (§16). Szanto, in a rather confused discussion, correctly observed that, on his reconstruction, enrollment in Federal phyle and *trittys* would have sufficed to determine the identity of the city with which the new citizen would be affiliated—hence the enrollment clauses in the two decrees reviewed above. Yet this observation does not entail the equation of Federal

phyle and city phyle, as Szanto claims; *ex hypothesi* the two could not be coterminous.[4] If anything, the Federal *trittyes* might locally have been termed "phylai," and the Federal *choroi* might have coincided with the entities denoted by the "demotica" and place names documented at Ioulis and Karthaia.

Whatever its disposition, the Federal organization remains by any standard quite elaborate, indeed unnaturally so for so small an island, and it is therefore appropriate to look abroad for its source of inspiration. Athens, in view of the presence of the *trittys,* might be thought likely (with Szanto), but the fact remains that the existence of the Federation cannot be demonstrated at any time when the island is known to have been under Athenian control. Lewis, accordingly, looked to Eretria, whose constitutional affinities with Keos are well established, and supposed that when in 411 the Euboian cities revolted from Athens, Eretria, at the head of the movement, "took steps to guard her southern approaches by setting up a unified state in Keos with institutions modeled on hers and sympathizers in control."[5] A specific point in favor of the hypothesis, already noted by Dunant and Thomopoulos, is that the term *choros,* only very rarely documented as a public unit, is securely attested as Eretrian.[6] But against it, on Lewis' own account, is the apparent absence at Eretria of a *trittys*-arrangement. This leads to the additional hypothesis that "a leaf had been taken from the Athenian book and a *trittys*-system introduced."[7] Such a borrowing, supposedly undertaken during the very act of revolt from Athens, is difficult to conceive. Nonetheless, the theory could be helped if, as I have argued on independent evidence (1 §5), the Eretrian organization, which without question comprised three levels of organization, did in fact distribute the units through the phylai in a manner comparable to the Kleisthenic arrangement. But the troublesome difficulty would still remain that (on our reconstruction) *choros* at Eretria designates not, as on Keos, the unit, but the intermediate level corresponding to the Attic *trittys.* The Eretrian model, accordingly, no less than the Athenian, must remain for the time being wholly conjectural.

§15 *Ioulis*

A fragmentary decree concerning an *epidosis,* or public endowment, for the construction of fortification walls, Maier, *Mauerbauinschriften* 38 (= *BCH* 78 [1954] 322-326, no. 2), of the late fourth or third century, calls for publication of τοὺς δὲ ἐπιδόντας τῶν [..]/[..]ων καὶ τῶν φυλῶν καὶ τῶν [ἄλ]/[λω?]ν κοινείῳν (15-17).[1] The ocurrence here of phylai and associations is puzzling, since the preceding list of classes of potential contributors, so far as it is preserved,[2] and

the register of actual contributors preserved entire at the end of the document are confined to individuals. For an example of what our register might be expected to look like, see Troizen (2 §6). The suggestion that the lacuna in lines 15 and 16 be filled τῶν [ἰδι]/[ωτ]ῶν (Woodhead, *SEG* 14.532), though plausible, still leaves our problem unsolved. Possibly, to try another approach, the terms which stand in lines 15-17 do not designate associations *qua* associations but rather serve to signal the status of their memberships. After all, the Greek reads "to register *the contributors of* the . . . and of the phylai and of the . . . *koineia.*" For the use of the term φυλή to identify "citizens," there is a possible parallel at Iasos (7 §22). The other two classes of association might have coincided with "the citizen women" and "those residing in the city"—neither likely to be *phyletai*—restored in lines 1-4.[3]

Candidates for the phylai are forthcoming from a list, dated no later than the end of the fourth century, *IG* XII 5(1), no. 609 + XII 5(2), pp. 333-334 (= *SGDI* 5408). According to Ruschenbusch's analysis, the list originally contained seven registers headed by rubrics, of which the first, fifth, sixth, and seventh are preserved: Λεῶιδαι (col. I, line 1), Ὑλιχίδαι (III, 102), Θ[υ]σσίδαι (IV, 141), and Κορήσιοι (IV, 175).[4] Seven is a reasonable number for phylai, even for a small state; on nearby Tenos (§18), for example, we find no fewer than twelve. That three of the four names are of patronymic form suggests that the phylai would have been of personal disposition, although, of course, similarly named territorial units can be adduced from Athens and elsewhere.[5] The fourth name, Koresioi, must be referred to Koresia, which, again, by Strabo's time had been absorbed by Ioulis (see above). Indeed, Ruschenbusch argues that the registers originally contained the entire citizen populations of both *poleis;* accordingly, the Koresioi would provide the unique example of the wholesale transformation of a city into a phyle. Presumably only those who were Koresian citizens at the time of the merger, and their descendants, belonged to the unit—another argument in favor of a personal disposition. The only impediment to the interpretation is the fact, squarely faced by Ruschenbusch, that the list predates evidence of Koresia's continued independence in the third and second centuries. Ruschenbusch, therefore, posits an otherwise unattested earlier "politische Gemeinschaft."[6]

Evidence for units below the phylai is confined to three so-called "demotica" once wrongly taken as Attic but now correctly understood, thanks to Wilhelm, to be local Kean: ἐκ Κολωνέων (*IG* XII 5[1], no. 634: time of Augustus); ἐξ Οἴου (no. 635: n.d.), and Παλληνεύς (nos. 631 [= *SIG*[3] 855; init. s. II p.]; 636 [n.d.]; both restored).[7] Villages within the territory of Ioulis might, as I have suggested, have been coterminous with the *choroi* of the Federal system. But the assumption

that they possessed a constitutional status is undercut somewhat by the solitary occurrence of a *phyletikon,* Ὑλιχίδης, to identify a Kean on a stele (?) of uncertain nature and date, no. 637.

§16 *Karthaia*

Citizenship decrees of the third century, *IG* XII 5(1), nos. 528 (+ *IG* XII suppl., p. 113; Michel 403), 540 (= Michel 404), 541 (see *SEG* 14.543), and XII 5(2), no. 1061, call for the enrollment of the honorands in the phyle and *oikos* of their choice.[1] The nature of the *oikos,* or House, unexampled elsewhere in Greek public organization, is far from clear. The word itself suggests a kinship association such as, to mention familiar examples, the phratry or genos. The former identification was argued by Guarducci, citing from the famous Athenian "Demotionid" decrees the "House of Dekeleians," which she, following Wade-Gery, equated with the decreeing *phrateres.*[2] Be that as it may, the enrollment of new citizens in a kinship association of any description or title would comport with a widely attested practice—without implying, however, as argued throughout the present work, that such groups actually served as components of the public administrative apparatus. So far as we are informed, membership in the House represented only a necessary condition of citizenship. There is no reason to doubt that the association maintained intact its presumable private orientation.[3]

No territorial unit is attested, but mention should nonetheless be made of the some thirty or so place names that occur in Karthaian inscriptions. For a list, see *IG* XII 5, Index III, pp. 357-358, s.v. ΚΑΡΘΑΙΑ. These localities, if components of the public organization, might, as already mentioned, have been identical with the *choroi* of the Federal constitution.[4] No less speculatively, we might find in them the *oikoi,* if there is anything to the etymological link with Latin *vici.*[5]

§17 Andros

Provision for induction into phyle and phratry is made in five honorary inscriptions of the third or second century: *IG* XII 5(1), nos. 716, 717+ (= Michel 397), 720 (all three with improved texts at *IG* XII suppl., p. 120), *IG* XII suppl., nos. 246, 248 D IV. In each a clause is found that reads, or can be restored to read, as follows: *ἐξεῖναι δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ φυλῆς γενέσθαι ἧς ἂν βούλωνται καὶ φρατρίας ἧς ἂν προσπείσωνται* (or *προσσπεί[σωνται]*: *IG* XII suppl., no. 248 D IV).[1]

The formula is remarkable in that different procedures are prescribed for the two units. In the case of the phyle, we have the familiar choice by the honorand. Regarding the phratry, more than one interpretation

is possible. Wilhelm took the verb as a compound of πρό and σπένδομαι, with reference to a σπονδή performed during the process of enrollment in the phratry.[2] Definitely more probable is Hiller's (later) analysis as the compound πρός + πείθομαι, although he himself did not supply the appropriate supporting parallels.[3] For the simple (active) verb πείθειν in a clause calling for enrollment in a *patra,* see Thasos (§1). The prefix προσ- occurs not infrequently in these clauses with verbs of writing, registering, etc., evidently with the sense "to be *added to* a list:" Samos (§13), Tenos (§18), Byzantion (6 §25), Skepsis (7 §3), Plataseis (7 §25).[4] The present compound combines the two notions of persuasion and addition to the register of members.

The rationale behind the variation in procedure is a matter for speculation. Possibly, the phylai, if artificially created units, observed no real or even pretended ties of blood relation among their memberships; in this case, there could be no objection when an outsider, now a citizen, chose to be enrolled in this or that phyle. By contrast, the phratries, if observing such ties, might decline to admit new members—above all individuals from other states—who presumably could make no valid claim to be *phrateres.* Hence the need for the honorand to "persuade" the membership. If this is the correct interpretation, these clauses will have continued to recognize, still in the Hellenistic period, the fundamental difference between private and public institutions.

§18 Tenos

Eleven phylai are attested by epigraphic evidence of the fourth (or early third) to the first centuries, chiefly *phyletika* and enrollment formulas.[1] Eleven would of course be an unwieldy number for purposes of public administration—indeed, the only known elevenfold organization is the short-lived arrangement of 201-200 at Athens (1 §1.21). Commentators generally agree that the full complement was twelve, a number strongly supported by the several known colleges of three, four, and six magistrates, through which twelve phylai could have rotated in a regular manner.[2]

Regarding disposition, we are fortunate in having unusually detailed and explicit evidence linking the phylai with Tenian toponyms or otherwise suggesting organization on a territorial basis. Although some of this evidence is ambiguous in that even a unit of personal disposition might be named with reference to a locality, the formulation ἐν Ἡρακλειδῶν (see below), which directly incorporates the phyle's name, is, I think, decisive. At the same time, affiliation may nonetheless have been transmitted hereditarily, regardless of the place of domicile. In the catalogue of sales of real estate, *IG* XII 5(2), no. 872,[3] the neighbors of a particular plot are an Ἐσχατιώ[της] and an [Ἡρακλείδης]

(line 23; the latter restoration guaranteed from line 17); unless the plot lay on, or was contiguous with, a boundary, at least one of these parties no longer resided within the phyle of his affiliation. Below are set out the pertinent details. For fuller references, additional *realia,* and speculations regarding eponyms, see F. Hiller von Gaertringen, *IG* XII 5(2), pp. xxxiii-xxxiv; and Fiehn, "Tenos 1)," *RE* II 5.1 (1934) 507-532: 508, 510.

Γυραιεῖς. With certainty to be associated with Mt. Gyras in the southeast region of the island.

Δονακεῖς. Regional, as suggested by *IG* XII 5(2), no. 872, line 3: ε[ν]/[Δ]ονακέα[ι]. Derivation of the name from Greek δόναξ, "reed," would permit localization of the phyle in north-central Tenos, in the vicinity of the swampy plain of Livada. Compare also the phyle Donokeioi, itself probably territorial in disposition, at Axos on Krete (§28).

'Ελειθυαιεῖς. Compare, at *IG* XII 5(2), no. 872, lines 102, 104, 107, 120: ἐν 'Ελειθυαίωι. Both Eleithyaion and the phyle might have been centered on a Temple of Eileithyia, the existence of which is implied by the mention of a priest of the goddess at *IG* XII 5(2), no. 944 (s. I p.).

'Εσχατιῶται. Probably from Greek ἔσχατος, hence "those living farthest (from the city)." Hiller noted that the extreme western part of the island, opposite Andros, was in his day called "Εξω Μέρι.

'Ηρακλεῖδαι. Territorial disposition is demonstrated at *IG* XII 5(2), no. 872, line 68, where the phrase ἐν 'Ηρακλειδῶν is used to specify the location of a property.

Θεστιεῖς or Θεστιάδαι. No clues available as to disposition.

Θρυήσιοι. If linked to Greek θρύον, "rush," as suggested by Hiller, perhaps, like Donakeis, another swampy area.

'Ιακινθεῖς. Territorial, as strongly suggested by ἐν 'Ιακίνθωι, *IG* XII 5(2), no. 872, lines 49, 50?, 115, 117; and [---ἐ]ν Οἴωι 'Ιακινθι-κ[ῶι---], no. 877, line 8 (restored at no. 873, line 6). Another phyle of Hyakinthos has been restored in a document from Lyttos on Krete (§32).

Κλυμενεῖς. No clues available as to disposition.

ἐκ Πόλεως. Probably to be identified with the ἄστυ, which was ringed by walls (see *IG* XII 5[2], no. 898, lines 6-10).[4] For the τόνοι of the ἄστυ, see the discussion below.

Σησταΐδαι. No clues available as to disposition.

In the great majority of cases, these names occur as *phyletika* appended to names of Tenian citizens.[5] Twice, the citizen is the orator of a decree (*IG* XII 5[2], nos. 818, 819: both s. II); twice, the recipient of honors (nos. 818; 952 [n.d.]). Of greater constitutional import is the list of *archontes, IG* XII suppl., no. 312 (ca. 300-280 [II-IV], ca. 200-

150 [I]). Serving for one year (lines 3-4), the officers in (the earlier) columns II-III (and IV?) are designated by nomen alone; in the later column, I, the nomen, with patronymic, is followed by the phyle. The existence of a cycle appears precluded by the recurrence of Eleithyais with only three other phylai intervening (lines 71, 82). The fuller identification also prevails in a series of texts, *IG* XII 5(2), nos. 895-909, XII suppl., no. 315 (= nos. 896 + 898), none dated earlier than the first century, in which the ἄρχων, usually accompanied by the ἀρχίς, heads brief chronicles of the events of his (their) year in office. Again, no evidence of a cycle is at hand; in fact, in the only examples in which both phylai are preserved, *IG* XII suppl., no. 315, *archon* and *archis* have different affiliations.

To the phylai must be accommodated a secondary division of the town of Tenos proper. In the catalogue of sales, *IG* XII 5(2), no. 872, properties in the ἄστυ are more precisely located with respect to their numbered τόνος: "second" (line 25), "third" (110), "fifth" (36), "sixth" (44-45, 72), and "seventh" (6, 122-123). The term τόνος, best referred to the intransitive use of the verb τείνειν to denote geographical extension (*LSJ*[9] s.v., B I), suggests the drawing of boundaries; and, further, the differentiation of the units by ordinal numerals alone prompts the inference that these boundaries were of an artificial character. Accordingly, there is much to be said for Hiller's proposal that the τόνοι were defined by the streets of a Hippodamian grid system.[6] But whatever the nature of the scheme, a problem remains, and that is the relation of the ἄστυ, and its τόνοι, to the phyle ἐκ Πόλεως. Hiller assumed that they were coterminous.[7] This is certainly more plausible than to suppose that the town was, as in the Kleisthenic partition of Attika, distributed among the other phylai as well. Such a plan seems definitely precluded in any case by the unambiguous links, reviewed above, between certain of the phylai and specific localities elsewhere on the island. If, on the other hand, Hiller's identification is correct, we must suppose that the entire town was confined to a single one-twelfth of the public organization—an arrangement which, on its face, could only have created serious imbalances in the distribution of the functions of government.

The one other entity that might be considered a candidate for public status is the phratry. It invariably attends the phyle in the surviving enrollment formulas: *IG* XII 5(2), nos. 798-848 passim (s. IV aut III—s. II). Presumably on this basis Hiller declared that the phratries were subdivisions of the phylai.[8] But such a reconstruction cannot be reconciled with the phyle's demonstrable territorial disposition. A clue as to the phratry's actual status is afforded by its uniform absence from all statements of affiliation. Since the phyle, unless itself a subdivision, could not determine membership in this or that phratry, it

is unlikely that the latter was a component of the Tenian public organization. Perhaps enrollment in a phratry as a prerequisite to citizenship represented a survival from an earlier age of domination by private associations, and for this reason alone continued to be included among the distinctions granted foreigners in awards of citizenship. Certainly we encounter no trace of public functions for the Tenian phratries.

It is also for the phylai alone that we have any information on internal arrangements, this in the form of a series of decrees, of virtually identical content, of the *koina* of the Herakleidai (*IG* XII 5[2], no. 863), Hiakintheis (no. 864), Eleithyaeis (no. 865), and Donakeis (no. 866). Dated to the second century, the decrees, each moved by a board of officers called *archontes,* after calling upon the priest of Asklepios to praise and crown the Tenian honorands, grant to them (and their descendants) "participation in the phyle, its properties, its sacrifices, and everything else."[9] While the "sacrifices," so frequently encountered elsewhere as an activity of the later phylai, require no comment, at least one example of the "properties"—only rarely documented for public units outside Athens—is provided by a passage in the catalogue of sales cited above, *IG* XII 5(2), no. 872. The text records the sale of a stone wall by two Herakleidai and the phyle Herakleidai, acting corporately, itself (line 66). Proceeds from such transactions presumably contributed to the "revenues," out of which the *archontes* are instructed at the conclusion of the present documents to draw the funds necessary for the engraving and erection of two stelai bearing the decrees. Finally, this financial function of the *archontes,* in combination with their role as movers of the decrees, justifies our regarding them as the chief executive officers of the phylai.

Concerning the history of the organization, there are no solid indicators aside from the weak *terminus ante quem* provided by the documents. Szanto, however, assumed without argument that the system of twelve territorial phylai was modeled upon the organization of Athens.[10] The Attic phylai first grew to twelve in 307/6—early enough to accommodate the earliest Tenian evidence. But, granting the absence of chronological objection, the theory has little to recommend it. Twelvefold divisions were popular elsewhere in Greece, hence no particular significance should be attached to the agreement of the two systems on this point. Differences are discernible as well. The Kleisthenic phylai all had kings, heroes, or dynasts as eponyms—hardly what the studies of Hiller and Fiehn showed to be the case for Tenos. Where, too, are the *trittyes* and demes? Candidates for the latter Szanto gratuitously suggested might be found among those Tenian toponyms not accounted for by the phylai.[11] But the term "deme" is not attested for Tenos and, in any event, there would have been little use for still

another level of division on so small an island already partitioned into twelve regional units and, in the town proper, into at least seven *τόνοι*. Plainly, the case for Athenian inspiration is entirely without foundation.

§19 Syros

A fragmentary inscription of uncertain date, *IG* XII 5(1), no. 654 (= *SIG*[2] 680), concerns a running competition—probably, as Stephanos suggested, a *lampadedromia,* or torch race—among the Syrian phylai.[1] The preserved text specifies (in part) the penalties for infraction of certain previously mentioned, but lost, regulations. Briefly, if the wrongdoer is a slave, on the day following the commission of the offence he is to be scourged publicly in the Agora by "two men, whomever the wronged phylai choose from among their own number;" also, his master must pay a fine. If, on the other hand, the wrongdoer is a free man, whether one of the runners themselves (or one of the others?), he is to pay a fine, be sacrilegious and accursed, and [.....*ἀπ*]*οδιδόσθω* [...] *τῶ*[*ν ἑ*]*τέρων δύο φυλῶν* (lines 2-11). For the known examples of torch races among teams representing public units, see Index II.I.5.b.vi. The participation by the phylai, however, in the administering of penalties is to my knowledge without precise parallel.

Since the number of the phylai, three, is guaranteed, it follows that the four Old Attic phylai, if ever present, had previously been abolished or reduced in number by reform.

§20 Delos

Alone of the Ionian Kyklades, Delos is know with certainty to have observed the traditional Old Attic fourfold division of phylai.[1] An inscription dated no later than the first half of the third century, *IG* XI 4, no. 1155, records a dedication by a *λαμπαδαρχήσας*, ending with the words *'Αργαδεῖς ἐνίκων*. Evidently here, as elsewhere, the phylai competed in the relay torch race (see Index II.I.5.b.vi). The same phyle occurs in a fragmentary decree of the early second century, *IG* XI 4, no. 1026, line 3: [---]*σαι τὰς φυλὰς ἐν τῆι ἐκκλησίαι*. The surrounding text is too fragmentary to permit restoration; but for the convening of an assembly by phylai there are parallels: see Index II.D.4.d. In the final line (5) stands the name of one of "the phylai," *'Αργαδίς*; the editor suggested the name occupied the third position in what was originally a left to right listing of all four Old Attic phylai.[2] That the original number was in any case four is favored by de Schoeffer's observation that this was the number of the board of *hieropoioi,* which he supposed represented the phylai (cf. Index II.H.1.k).[3] For

the unusual feminine adjectival form in -ίς (sc. φυλή), compare Βορεΐς (for Βορεῖς) at Perinthos (6 §27).

Below, and subdividing, the phylai stood the *trittyes,* each headed by its own τρικτύαρχος. The relation of *trittyes* to phylai is suggested by the phrase τρικτυάρχων δὲ τῆς φυλῆς, *Inscriptions de Délos* 422, B 127 (a. 179). From this we may infer that a number of τρικτύες belonged to each phyle and, since τρικτύς is believed to be a variant spelling of τριττύς,[4] that the number was three, giving twelve *trittyes,* and twelve trittyarchs, for the entire organization. But these entirely natural inferences are not clearly reflected in the epigraphic record. To begin, only three *trittyes* are with certainty known by name.[5] One is ἡ τριττὺς ἡ Μαψιχιδῶν (e.g. *IG* XI 2, no. 199, A 12: a. 275). The other two are Θυεστάδαι and Ὠκυνεῖδαι, which are frequently conjoined in the Delian accounts and which are identifiable as *trittyes* of a single phyle by the passage, mentioned above, in which the entry of their *phiale* is followed by citation of their two "trittyarchs of the phyle." But what of the third *trittys* of that phyle? That there were in fact three is shown by the solitary citation of *three* trittyarchs elsewhere in the same accounts (B 54-55), although, again, Thyestadai and Okyneidai are unattended by a third *trittys.* The Mapsichidai are of course possible candidates, but the *trittyes* of three other phylai are still to be accounted for. Obviously, the main lines of this organization are as yet only very imperfectly understood.

A citizenship decree of the first half of the third century or later, *IG* XI 4, no. 547, permits the honorands to enroll themselves in whichever *phratra* they wish (12-13). For additional examples of such enrollment in the phratry, see Andros (§17), Tenos (§18), and Index I.A.30 passim.

There is slight evidence that the *trittyes* were to a degree internally organized, at least for financial purposes. In the accounts of the Delian *hieropoioi,* all three known *trittyes* figure as dedicators of *phialai.* At *IG* XI 2, no. 199, A 12 (a. 275), the *trittys* Mapsichidai is recorded to have made a payment of interest. Under Athenian rule, an agreement to rent the same group's *synoikia* is preserved at *Inscriptions de Délos* 1416, B I, 74-79 (a. 157/6). Still other examples might be adduced from published Delian inscriptions.[6]

For this two-tier organization, there is only one suitable exemplar—if one is needed: pre-Kleisthenic Athens (1 §1.1). Since both Athenian phylai and *trittyes* remained functional as late as the fourth century, transmission might have occurred even after Kleisthenes' reforms. Speculation of this kind cannot be pursued further, however, within the confines of the present work.

§21 Naxos

Dated to the third century, a decree of the Αὐλώνιοι, *IG* XII 5(1), no. 36 (= Michel 410; *SIG*[3] 520), concerns "persons seized ἐκ τοῦ δήμου by the Aitolians." Their release for ransom had been secured by five individuals who sailed to the mainland δημοσίως (lines 1-13). Since the stone was found in a region of the island called Αὐλωνίτσα, it occurred to the editor, F. Hiller von Gaertringen, that the "demos" in question might not be the Naxian state, but a deme in the narrower sense—namely Αὐλώνιοι.[1] If correct (and I see no ready alternative), the explanation would require us to suppose that the deme had independently bargained with the Aitolians on its own authority.

Since Naxos had once been occupied by an Athenian cleruchy, it is possible that the technical use of the term "deme" is a survival from that time.

§22 Aigiale (Amorgos)

Of the three principal settlements on ancient Amorgos, viz. Aigiale, Arkesine, and Minoa, what evidence we have for public organization, all of Hellenistic date, relates to Aigiale, attesting an organization of phylai and demes.

Of pivotal significance is an honorary inscription dated no later than the first century, *IG* XII 7, no. 392 (= Michel 385; *SIG*[2] 472).[1] One Serapion of Seleukeia, the son of a citizen mother, is granted all the rights of Aigialean citizenship, including induction into a phyle: ἐπικεκληρῶσθαι δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν συνγενῶν φυλὴν τὴν Βασιλειτῶν καλουμένην· (lines 16-19). Paralleled at Kalymna (§40), this formula was evidently prompted by the unusual circumstance that one of the honorand's parents already possessed the citizenship. Thus it simultaneously enjoins allotment into a phyle and specifies that the allotted phyle is to be that "of his relatives" (i.e. on his mother's side). Caught between the integrity of the process of sortition and the evident need to see the honorand share his kinsmen's public affiliation, the authorities have opted for a none-too-convincing compromise. We cannot be sure how the *epiklerosis* was conducted, but restriction of the field to a single candidate, viz. Basileitai, would have technically satisfied the requirement of the injunction.[2]

With the aid of this text it is possible, further, to recognize tentatively three other phylai in the proper adjectival forms appended to the names of movers and of *epistatai* cited in the preambles of two decrees of the Boule and Demos. In each case, the appended element appears, like Basileitai, to be formed upon a personal name and terminates in the first declension ending -της.[3]

'Αλσίτης *IG* XII 7, no. 386 (= Michel 384; *SGDI* 5314; *SIG*[3] 521) (s. III), line 4; no. 389 (= *SGDI* 5368) (ca. 200-150), line 1

Κοσυλλίτης *IG* XII 7, no. 386, line 2.

Φημιοικίτης *IG* XII 7, no. 389, lines 2-3.

An Aigialean text of the late second century, *IG* XII 7, no. 515 (+ *IG* XII suppl., p. 146; *IGRR* IV 1000), calls for the secretary to enter in the public record "the name of each borrower πατρόθεν καὶ τοῦ δήμου" (lines 14-16). Since the inscription relates exclusively to the affairs of Aigiale, Hiller von Gaertringen reasonably concluded that the second term might be taken as evidence for the existence of demes not of the island as a whole, but of Aigiale herself.[4] That any or all three of the adjectival forms discussed above designate such demes (as Attic usage would suggest) remains a possibility, though personal eponyms for units of territory, while not without precedent, would be highly unusual.[5]

Finally, in this same inscription mention is made of τὰ φυλετικά (21). The context, as Ruppel notes,[6] suggests funds of some kind, perhaps even treasuries of the phylai. For treasuries of public units, see Index III.H.3.

§23 Ios

No direct testimony for the public organization of Ios survives, but the existence of the fourfold Old Attic division was alleged by P. Graindor. Publishing a decree of the fourth century now known as *IG* XII 5(2), no. 1004 (= *OGIS* II 773), he argued from the citation of four πρόεδροι in lines 1 and 2 that they, like the πρόεδροι of Athens (1 §1.22), directly represented phylai.[1] But now the picture is complicated by the subsequent discovery of another decree, *IG* XII suppl., no. 171, of the latter half of the third century, in which an ἐπιστάτης is cited *in addition to* the four-man board (thus to be restored also, *IG* XII 5, no. 1011: fin. s. III). We should consequently have to assume, on Graindor's theory, either a fifth phyle or else, in order to save the fourfold division, a fifth πρόεδρος selected ἐξ ἁπάντων.[2] Beyond this point, plainly, there would be little advantage in carrying speculation.

THE DORIAN ISLANDS (WITH KYRENE)

§24 Melos

Seized by Athens in 416 and repopulated with a cleruchy,[1] Melos remained in her possession until the end of the Peloponnesian War in

404. To this period has been assigned a sepulchral monument, *IG* XII 3, no. 1187, on which the deceased, one Ἐπόνφες Ἀθεναῖος, is identified as of the phyle Pandionis and deme Kytheros.[2] Because the name Eponphes appears to be of Melian origin, the editor, F. Hiller von Gaertringen, was led to conclude that he had been among those islanders who had betrayed their state to the Athenians (Thucydides, 5.116.3) and who, conjecturally, had subsequently been rewarded with Athenian citizenship. The chief merit of the explanation is that it would help account for the presence of Ἀθηναῖος. To my knowledge, the ethnic is not used of cleruchs, at least not within the cleruchy. For these, the simple *demotikon* or, rarely, as in the present case, both *demotikon* and *phyletikon* (see Poteidaia, 6 §1) suffice. Eponphes would appear to be at once a naturalized citizen and cleruch.

§25 Thera

According to Herodotos' account, the Spartan Theras, when colonizing Thera, then called Kalliste, drew his colonists "from the phylai" (4.148.1). These should of course be the three Dorian phylai, to judge from their certain presence at Sparta at least as early as Tyrtaios (2 §8).[1] At all events, the traditional organization is shown to be in use on the island in Classical times by two rock-cut inscriptions located near the Temple of Apollo Karneios and dated by Hiller von Gaertringen by their lettering to the fourth century (or somewhat later). Marking places where the phylai assembled to observe a cult of the Nymphai, one, *IG* XII 3, no. 378,[2] names the Hylleis with certainty, the other, no. 377,[3] restored on analogy with no. 378, the Dymanes. The Pamphyloi are possibly represented in a list of names of early Imperial date engraved on a wall near the Gymnasium, *IG* XII 3, no. 626. One appears to be a monogram of the letters pi, phi, upsilon, and lambda: hence either Π(αμφύλων) φυλ(ή) (Hiller) or, more likely, simply Π(άμ)φυλ(οι).[4]

The existence of a second level of organization is indicated by Herodotos' statement that the Therans, when mounting the colony for Kyrene, "decreed" (ἔαδε) that men be selected by lot "from all the *choroi*, which were seven in number" (4.153). That the *choroi* represent official components of the public organization is strongly suggested, first, by the author's explicit citation of a decree of the state.[5] Secondly, *choros* is attested with certainty as a public unit at both Eretria (1 §5) and Federal Keos (§14). Regarding disposition, the fact that the number of the units, seven, is not a multiple of three suggests that the phylai, as expected, were personal in organization, their memberships cutting across the boundaries of the seven territorial districts. None of the *choroi* can be identified as to name, but good candidates are the

known Theran toponyms Eleusis, Melainai, Oia, and (of course) Thera.[6] If the case for Thera town could be made, there might be some basis for Jeffery's conjecture, made in connection with her analysis of the reform of Demonax at Kyrene (§26), that the other six *choroi,* arranged around it, constituted a *perioikis.*[7] But as it is the theory must for the present remain beyond demonstration.

§26 Kyrene

The Theran colonists dispatched to the new settlement at Kyrene had according to Herodotos' account been drawn "from all the *choroi,* which were seven in number" (4.153). If, as I have argued (§25), these *choroi* comprised an official partition of all Theran territory, it is likely that the colonists uniformly represented those other units, the three Dorian phylai, which probably cut across them.

During the reign of Battos III—about the middle of the sixth century—Kyrene, Herodotos tells us (4.159-161), tottered on the brink of revolution. A principal cause of the troubles was the great influx during the reign of Battos II of colonists from all of Greece, who had proceeded to appropriate large tracts of land from the neighboring Libyans. War with the dispossessed Libyans (and their Egyptian allies), accompanied by dissension within the Kyrenaian royal house, followed, and when the throne passed from Battos' son Arkesilaos to the lame Battos III, the Kyrenaians, at the advice of Delphi, called in a mediator, the Mantinean Demonax. After surveying the situation, Demonax "made them (the Kyrenaians) τριφύλους, disposing them in the following manner: of Therans and the *perioikoi* he made one *moira,* of Peloponnesians and Kretans another, and of all (the) islanders a third" (4.161.3). τριφύλους I take (following all commentators) to indicate "three phylai," each of which might naturally be expected to correspond to one of the three *moirai.* There of course had been three phylai previously, but the new system innovated in that membership, originally confined to Theran Dorians, was now extended to include those more recent arrivals from Greece whose presence had precipitated the chain of crises.

To this straightforward reading an alternative was offered by L. H. Jeffery. She suggested that Herodotos' Greek could permit the assumption that the phylai and *moirai,* far from being identical, in fact cut across one another, each phyle comprising a part (or "*trittys*") of each *moira,* hence a cross section of the entire citizen population. Otherwise, she argued, the elite caste of descendants of the original Theran settlers, if confined to a single phyle, could have maintained their social distinction by continuing to isolate themselves from the others. What, in other words, was later to become the outstanding

feature of Kleisthenes' reorganization of Attika would have been anticipated by half a century, with the difference that, while Kleisthenes' "mixture" was geographical, Demonax will have built his system along strictly social lines.[1]

Jeffery's theory, though ingenious, can only be regarded as conjectural. Plainly, as she herself is ready to concede, the reading is not in the least demanded by Herodotos' text. Nor, at a more substantial level, would it even be fair to say that so radical a departure from the existing arrangement would have been required by the situation Herodotos describes. No mention is made in the text of friction between Theran and non-Theran Greeks, only of the colonists' difficulties with the indigenous peoples and of trouble within the monarchy. True, neither the Libyans nor the royal family, so far as we are told, were affected by the inauguration of the new political organization (on the Libyans, however, see below), but the creation of the new phylai could, indeed must, have been related in some substantial way to the crises recounted by the author. The fact that the nature of this connection seems to have escaped Herodotos'—and so our—attention, does not justify positing a controversy for which there is no evidence in the narrative. The new organization marked a great advance in that it meant the enfranchisement of large numbers—at least two of three phylai—of the Greek population. Whatever its relation to the situation confronted by Demonax, it need not be embellished through the addition of a scheme of social integration.

Even with the acceptance of the *communis opinio,* however, it is by no means obvious just how the three *moirai* mentioned by Herodotos were defined. Clear enough is the (third) *moira* of islanders. It probably included, as aptly observed by Jeffery, such groups as the Lindians who are recorded to have "settled Kyrene with Battos,"[2] but excluded the Kretans who, though islanders, were combined with the Peloponnesians in the second *moira* possibly because, again as Jeffery explains, Krete was traditionally believed to have been colonized from Sparta.[3] Thus two groups of Greeks organized according to place of origin, i.e. on the familiar *Landsmannschaftlich* principle of organization. But who were "the *perioikoi*" with whom the Theraioi—unquestionably the descendants of the original colonists—were grouped in the first *moira*? How and Wells[4] commented that "original settlers retain their priority and the right to hold serfs (*perioikoi*)," but neither specified who these "serfs" might have been nor considered Herodotos' plain implication that they, no less than the "Theraioi," were enfranchised. This step was taken, however, by Busolt,[5] who supposed the *perioikoi* to be Libyans admitted to full citizenship. Yet, while squaring well with the setting of the constitutional crisis, Busolt's solution has been correctly opposed by both Chamoux and Jeffery on the ground

that non-Greeks would not have been admitted to full citizenship and that, in any case, the Libyans would have made most improbable *symphyletai* of the Theraioi.[6] Much is to be said, accordingly, for Jeffery's novel suggestion that the first *moira* comprised the descendants of the colonists from Thera town and its *perioikis.* While preserving the patently Greek character of the remainder of the organization, this formulation would at the same time confer on the first *moira* the same homogeneity of membership evident in the other two divisions. The *perioikoi,* too, would be descendants of Therans and, as was true of the other units, would be defined with reference to their former (not their current) status. To suppose, in connection with this last point, that a Kyrenaian *perioikis* is meant would damage this symmetry, not to mention the fact, well brought out by Jeffery, that on this reading we should expect Herodotos to have said, not "Therans and *perioikoi,*" but "Kyrenaians" or "*astoi*" (or the like) and "*perioikoi.*" All that can be said against the interpretation—and in view of the state of our evidence it is not a serious objection—is that we have as yet no real evidence for a *perioikis* on Thera (see §25).

Demonax' legislation, however favorable to the Greek population, did not bring with it democracy. That was a later development. Our principal evidence is a passage in Aristotle, *Politics* 6.2.11 (1319 B):

> For such democracy are useful also the kinds of arrangements to which Kleisthenes at Athens resorted when he wanted to strengthen the democracy and in the case of Kyrene those who established the *demos.* For different and more numerous *phylai* and *phratriai* must be created, and the private cults must be brought together into a few public ones, and every contrivance must be employed to combine as much as possible all elements of the population and to disband the previously existing associations.

Just when the change occurred is not recorded, but a probable time is ca. 440 when the Battiad monarchy came to an end with the deposition of Arkesilaos IV.[7] Problematic, too, is the question of the extent to which the reforms cited apply to Athens, to Kyrene, or to both, since only the conclusive elimination of Athens on a particular point would prove applicability to Kyrene. At it happens, only the creation of "more numerous phratries" and perhaps the consolidation and making public of the cults might fit this category, and even they have been debated.[8] With regard to Kyrene we must simply confess that the details of the reform are not recoverable. Nonetheless, whatever their specific content, the measures were probably radical in character. Aristotle describes a reaction by the "nobles" against the excesses of the democracy (*Politics,* 6.2.10 [1319 B]). This event might conveniently be placed sometime before ca. 401 when, according to Diodoros,

14.34.4-6, five hundred of the "most powerful" were slain in a violent civil conflict. The eventual outcome was a negotiated settlement and, presumably, a new constitution. Oligarchic resistance, though initially successful, had proved relatively short-lived.

To these developments must somehow be related a final source, the famous "Foundation" decree, Meiggs-Lewis 5, dated by its lettering to the fourth century. Equal citizenship is granted to Therans resident in Kyrene in accordance with the original Oath of the First Settlers, which the document purports to reproduce *ipsissimis verbis.* Conjoined with the grant but probably best understood as actually included within it is the clause: *κ̣α̣ὶ̣ κατασταῦμεν ἐς φυλὰν καὶ πάτραν ἔς θε ἐννῆα ἑταιρήας* (lines 15-16). Evidently certain Kyrenaians had been denied *isa politeia* through their exclusion from one, or two, or all three of these bodies. Not the existence, only the accessibility, of the phylai, *patrai,* and nine *hetaireai* would seem to be at issue. Of the three, the *patra* is otherwise unattested for Kyrene, while the *hetairea* occurs in an (uncertain) sacral context at Thera and so may be a legacy from the foundation.[9] If, as one would expect of a "fatherhood" and a "comradeship," these were private associations, the state has recognized them to the extent that membership—as well as in the phylai—would hereafter constitute a necessary condition of "equal citizenship."[10]

§27-39 Krete

To Homer Krete was an island of "many men, innumerable, ninety cities—one tongue mixed with another" (*Odyssey* 19.173-175). Something of the same impression is conveyed by the at least twenty different phylai distributed among the thirteen public organizations thus far documented by the island's rich epigraphic record. By and large this evidence is restricted to central and eastern Krete, although an Hesychian gloss defining the "Hylees" as "the Kydonioi in Krete" might in some confused way reflect the presence of the Dorian Hylleis in the far west.[1] Below the phylai only two lower-level units, for which a public function is attested or likely, occur. One, the *pentakostys,* attested at Rhithymna (§27), is elsewhere known only at Argos (2 §7), Sparta? (2 §8), and Kos (§41); the last mentioned state may be its proximate source, as the editor of our single document speculates. The other, the *startos,* found at Gortyn (§29) and Lyttos (§32), is, however, unknown abroad, suggesting a local origin, perhaps in the military organization (see on Gortyn, §29). For the sake of completeness, mention should also be made of the *hetaireia,* which appears alongside the *pentakostys* at Rhithymna (§27) and elsewhere on the island. Usually

equated with the phratry, the association is without a trace of public function here or in other Greek states, save nearby Kyrene (§26).[2]

It is to the phylai, then, that we must turn if we expect to learn anything of a general nature about the Kretan organizations. To facilitate discussion, I have, by way of supplementing the treatments of the individual states, illustrated the distribution of the phylai among the organizations in Table 1.[3]

Some of these names seem to reflect patterns of early settlement that, if they did not extend over the entire island, were certainly not limited to single city-states. Concerning the Dorian Dymanes, Hylleis, and Pamphyloi no comment is required in this regard except to observe that, while all three phylai are attested, they are never all found in a single place—only at Hierapytna (§38) and possibly Olous (§34) in fact do we find as many as two. Once thought significant by scholars in search of evidence for separate migrations of the phylai, it will become clear enough from the discussions of the documentation that the uneven distribution of these, and presumably certain of the other, names is attributable to accident of preservation. Not so easily determinable, however, is the composition of those other phylai that in some cases are, like their Dorian counterparts, shared among two or more organizations. But considerable progress was made by Maiuri's detailed study of the Kretan *onomastikon.* The names of the phylai were found to reveal connections of one kind or another with the Argolid and Isthmos (Aischeis, Echanoreis), the "Aiolic-Achaian" region (Ainaones, Aithaleis), and Rhodes (Kamiris).[4] Given the even approximate validity of these assignations, the resulting historical reconstruction would show substantial numbers of pre- or non-Dorian Greeks dispersing over the island, eventually achieving an accommodation with the Dorians formalized in the institution of organizations of appropriately named phylai. The Peloponnesian practice of adding a fourth phyle to the Dorian tripartite division has simply been carried further in order to include a numerically more substantial and, from city to city, more homogeneous "foreign" population.[5]

To the extent that these phylai, Dorian and non-Dorian, reflect the actual ethnic make-up of their memberships, the principle of organization should be "personal," that is without regard to place of domicile. A contrary conclusion, however, was drawn by Szanto, citing the adjective used by Homer at *Odyssey* 19.177 to describe the Dorians of Krete, τριχάϊκες. Following an interpretation ascribed in antiquity to Hesiod, he referred the term to a threefold division of the land.[6] But the etymology has been challenged, successfully I believe, by (among others) H. Frisk, who offers in its place a derivation from words for "hair" and "propel," hence "hair-shaking."[7] With the disappearance, accordingly, of the only external evidence for a territorial

Table 1: Distribution of the Kretan Phylai

	Axos	Dreros	Gortyn	Hierapytna	Knossos	Lato	Lebena	Lyttos	Malla	Oleros	Olous	Praisos
1. Αἰθαλεῖς		X	X		X				X			
2. Αἰνάωνες			?				X					
3. Αἰσχεῖς						X						
4. Απ[..]υμα[---]			X									
5. 'Αρχήια (vel sim.)			X		X		X	X				
6. Αὐτολῆται			X				X					
7. Δεκ[---]			X									
8. Δίφυλοι								X				
9. Δονόκειοι	X											
10. Δυμᾶνες			X	X				X			X	
11. 'Εχανορεῖς					?	X						
12. Γάξιοι	X											
13. Καμιρίς				X								
14. Λατόσιοι	X											
15. Πάμφυλοι				X	X					X		
16. Συνανεῖς						X						
17. ['Υ]α(κ)ύνθιοι								X				
18. 'Υλλεῖς	?					X						
19. Φαρκαρίς												X
20. [---]τιδᾶν	X											

arrangement, we are thrown back on the documents, and here we shall find in at least one instance, that of Gortyn (§29), incontrovertible corroboration of the expected personal disposition. Presumably other states for which, like Gortyn, the Dorian and other "ethnic" phylai are exclusively attested, were similarly organized. At Axos (§28) alone do we find a likely exception in the three phylai, unique to Krete, Donokeioi, Waxioi, and Latosioi. None has any evident ethnic significance and for each a territorial reference can plausibly be maintained. To judge from the names, this state provides the sole Kretan example of that sort of wholesale innovation which was to typify many of the new public organizations of the Greek world.

For the Kretan states in general, the great bulk of the documentary evidence consists of formulas from the preambles of decrees in which citation is made of the annual boards of *kosmoi,* the chief magistrates. Presumably serving in a fixed, or at least generally known, sequence in office, the boards are invariably specified as belonging to a particular group, e.g. *ἐπὶ τῶν Δυμάνων κοσμιόντων*. The identification of the groups as phylai is guaranteed by the presence among them of the Dymanes, Hylleis, and Pamphyloi, and by, in one instance, the express use of the term of the Pharkaris at Praisos (§39).

While no example of the formula has been dated before ca. 350 (Gortyn, §29), *πυλαί* appear much earlier in constitutional settings at Gortyn (§29), Dreros (§33), and Lato (or Dattalla?; §35). Around mid-fifth century, the Gortynian Law Code (§29) reveals a strong internal organization in the form of a rule of "tribal endogamy."

§27 *Rhithymna*

A plaque of the third or second century, published by G. Manganaro in *Antichità cretesi, Studi in onore di Doro Levi* II (Catane 1978) 43-50, reads *Πρειγιστεύσας Σόαρχος Παιθεμίδα Τριβάλις καὶ ἁ πεντηκοστὺς ἀπὸ Διοσκώρων, ἑταιρήια ἁ Στρυφίδα καὶ Ὑρταίω, τῶ ναῶ ἐπεμελήθεν*. Registering their tendance of "the temple," the parties comprise a *preigistos,* or Councillor (?), "the *pentekostys* from (the) Dioskouroi," and "the *hetaireia* of Stryphidas and Hyrtaios." The *pentekostys,* or Fifty, is attested elsewhere in the region only at Kos (§41), which Manganaro identifies as the source of the present unit; its occurrence as a military detachment at Sparta (2 §8), however, remains suggestive. Documented widely on the island (see, for example, Lyttos, §32), the *hetaireia* is known to enter the public sphere only at Kyrene (§26). The status of both in our text is quite uncertain.

§28 *Axos*

A sacred law of the end of the fourth century, probably a copy of an earlier text, G. Manganaro, *Historia* 15 (1966) 11-18 (= Sokolowski, *LSCG* 145), prescribes a ritual which is to take place in the presence of five *kosmoi* καὶ φυλαῖς Fα[ξί]ων, Δονοκείῳ[ν], Λατοσ[ί]ω[ν....]ων (lines 10-13). The construction is apparently comitative dative, meaning "with the phylai in attendance." For the final, only partially preserved name, Manganaro suggested as a possibility [Ὑλλέ]ων, but the restoration is recommended only by the fact that the name is short enough to fit the lacuna. Nonetheless, it is at least certain that the number of phylai named is four, although nothing in the text precludes the possibility—which appears to be realized in another, later document (below)—that there were other phylai as well, excluded, for reasons unknown, from the ritual.

Concerning the organization's disposition vital clues are afforded by the names. For each, a territorial interpretation is likely or at least possible. The Waxioi might be the inhabitants of the "città alta," specifically the area of the cliffs from which Axos took its name. Similarly, the Latosioi might be the phyle centered on an (unattested) sanctuary of Lato; one may cite as parallels the Latosioi (not, however, a phyle) and their Latosion at Gortyn (*IC* IV, Gortyn nos. 58, 78). The Donokeioi, recalling the certainly territorial Donakeis at Tenos (§18), might have occupied a place rich in reeds (cf. Greek δόναξ), possibly along the stream once called Mylopotamos. Hylleis, on the other hand, could not easily fit into such a scheme, but there is, again, no compelling reason to regard Manganaro's restoration as correct. Less easily dismissed is a fragmentary dating formula of the late third or early second century, *IC* II, Axos no. 28: [---]τιδᾶν κοσμιόντ[ων --] (line 1). Whatever the stem of the name, the patronymic form is certain; and analogous uses of the formula at other Kretan states leave no doubt that the unit is a phyle. If Manganaro's territorial system is accepted, we would have a relatively rare example, paralleled at Athens and elsewhere, of the designation of (the membership of) a territorial unit by patronymic name.[1]

§29 *Gortyn*

Six phylai are known from dating formulas occurring in inscriptions dated from the middle of the fourth to the middle of the first century.

phyle	*IC* IV, Gortyn
Αἰθαλεῖς (or Αἰθελεῖς)	nos. 167 (237 vel 236); 184 (= *SGDI* 5022) (not earlier than 200-150); 259 (= *SGDI* IV 4, 1035-1036, no. 8; Schwyzer 185) (ca. 200-150).

[---Αἰ]ν̣α̣ώνων	no. 196 (= *IG* XII 5, no. 867; XII suppl., p. 136) (ca. 200-150).
Απ̣[..]υμα[--]	no. 236 (ca. 350-250).
'Αρχήια	no. 233 (= *SGDI* 5007; Schwyzer 184) (s. III); no. 186 B (= Michel 17; *SGDI* 5018 a; Schwyzer 186) (ca. 200-150)
Αὐτολῆται	no. 261 (ca. 150-50)
Δεκ̣[---]	no. 171 (= *SGDI* 5023; *Staatsverträge* III 576) (s. III)
Δυμᾶνες	nos. 165 (s. III); 182 (= *SGDI* 5016) (ca. 200-150); 197 (= Michel 439; *SGDI* 5146; *IG* XII 3, no. 254+ [XII 3 suppl., p. 279; XII suppl., p. 83]) (ca. 200-150)

The name Ainaones, restored with near certainty on the strength of its assured occurrence at Lebena (§30), Gortyn's port city, was linked by Maiuri to the Ainianes, a Thessalian people, and so could, like Aithaleis (see on Dreros, §33), be cited as evidence of an "Aeolic-Achaean" pre-Dorian population element.[1] For the two fragmentary names, neither of which can be referred to any attested phyle, no explanation has thus far been found. Autoletai, too, remains unexplained, although the fact that it, like Ainaones, occurs elsewhere only at Lebena, leaves open the possibility of a special relevance to Gortyn.[2]

The phyle appears early at Gortyn, first in two fragments of very uncertain context, *IC* IV, Gortyn nos. 19 (= *SGDI* 4975) (mid-seventh to late sixth century), and 104 (= *SGDI* 4988) (ca. 480-450). Somewhat later, in the Great Code, *IC* IV, Gortyn no. 72, dated by Jeffery to mid-fifth century (?), the πυλά plays a prominent role in the regulations regarding the marriage of heiresses (VII 15—IX 24). Briefly stated, that role amounts to a near absolute prohibition on such marriage—and so on transferral of ownership of the heiress' estate—outside the *pyla*. Only in the absence of any willing groom within the membership, is the woman permitted to marry "whomever she can"—presumably outside the *pyla* (VIII 13-20). The procedure, reminiscent of the institution called by anthropologists "tribal endogamy," is without parallel among the nearly two hundred known Greek phyle organizations. To be sure, at Athens the phyle Erechtheis on one occasion commands its *epistatai* to "take care of" the heiress-daughter of a member (and benefactor) (*IG* II² 1165: ca. 300-250); but in this case nothing is said or implied regarding any restrictions on future marriage, within or outside the phyle. For Gortyn, the conclusion seems inescapable that the memberships of the phylai as late as the mid-fifth

century retained (or had reacquired) a significant degree of internal solidarity. Willetts aptly asks why, when the state has superseded the authority of the phylai and when the rights of citizenship have been extended to all *phyletai,* the right of marriage to an heiress is still restricted to members of her phyle. For him, "the most likely explanation is that the tribal divisions of land were still preserved."[3] This recalls Szanto's hypothesis that the Dorians had upon their arrival at their historical centers partitioned their settlements *kata phylas;* accordingly, the purpose of the Gortynian regulation may have been to maintain the integrity of these original arrangements.[4] But the historicity of such a partitioning of lands has never been demonstrated for any Kretan (or other Greek) city; and, besides, we now know that the Dorians of Gortyn shared the community with at least five other phylai.

Nor, at the same time, should we go to the opposite extreme and attempt to explain the evidence away. Roussel argued that endogamy within the *pyla* could not have been observed on the basis of a treaty of isopolity between Hierapytna and Praisos of the early second century permitting intermarriage (ἐπιγαμία) among all ἔμφυλοι of the two states.[5] Rejecting (correctly, I think) Willett's view that the *emphyloi* are the "tribal kinfolk," i.e. people belonging to the same phyle in the two states, in favor of their being simply "citizens," he errs in assuming that the same freedom had obtained in a third state two or three centuries earlier.[6] True, such a restriction could only, as Roussel further observes, have impeded mobility within the larger community, but we are not at liberty to impose our own notions of utility upon the ancient record. Our text must be allowed to speak for itself; and it speaks clearly: the fifth century Gortynian phylai were in some substantial sense genuine personal associations. Only the purpose of our regulations, whether the maintenance of divisions of property or otherwise, remains to be explained.[7]

Another unit that performed a public function is known at Gortyn, and that is the σταρτός, which appears to have been segmentally related to the *pyla.* At lines V 4-6 of the Code—and possibly also, by restoration, in a somewhat later inscription, *IC* IV, Gortyn no. 142 (= *SGDI* 5005)—occurs the clause ἄι ὄκ' ὁ Αἰθ[α]λεὺς (σ)ταρτὸς εκόσμιον οἰ σὺν Κύ[λ]λ̣ōι, with apparent reference to the known Gortynian phyle, the Aithaleis. Taken by itself, the Greek should mean "when the *startos* of the Aithaleis, specifically Kyllos and his colleagues, served as *kosmoi.*" What, then, is the *startos*? Functionally, it may have been nothing more than the sum of the *kosmoi,* as De Sanctis suggested.[8] But the evident affinity of the term to the Greek στρατός, "army," reinforced by the Hesychian gloss Σταρτοί· αἱ τάξεις τοῦ πλήθους, points to at least a military origin. Another, social aspect is discernible in Aristotle's statement, *Politics* 2.7.5 (1272

A), that the *kosmoi* were chosen, "not from all, but from certain γένη."[9] This, in conjunction with our formula, suggests the identity, or close association, of the *startos* and *genos.* Possibly, then, the evidence can be combined on the hypothesis that at an early date an aristocratic elite of exclusive clans dominated the *startoi,* or regiments, of their phylai. The assumption of such regiments is easy, for the arrangement of lists of fallen and other documentation shows that armies organized *kata phylas* were popular at least in the Greek Homeland: see Index II.L.2.M. Later, with the development of constitutional government, these clans might have extended their preeminence to monopolization of the chief magistracy. Every *pyla* had its *startos*; and as the magistracy rotated among the *pylai,* from it were drawn the *kosmoi.*[10]

§30 *Lebena*

From dating formulas occurring in documents from the third to the second or first century we learn of the following phylai:

phyle	*IC* I, Lebena
Αἰνάωνες	no. 6 (s. II/I)
'Αρχήια (or 'Αρχεία)	nos. 8 (s. II); 38 (n.d.)
Αὐτολῆται	no. 5 (s. II/I)
[---]νάων	no. 4, A 1 (n.d.)
[---]έων	no. 4, B 1 (n.d.)

During the period of this documentation Lebena served as the port of Gortyn. In Gortynian inscriptions, the Autoletai are securely attested and the Ainaones restored with a high degree of probability; on the import of both names, see our discussion of the Gortynian organization (§29). Archeia is treated under Knossos (§31).

§31 *Knossos*

Four phylai are attested by dating formulas in documents ranging from the later third (?) to the late second century:

phyle	*IC*
Αἰθαλεῖς	IV, Gortyn no. 197 (= Michel 439; *SGDI* 5146; *IG* XII 3, no. 254+ [XII 3 suppl., p. 279; XII suppl., p. 83]) (ca. 200); I, Lato no. 3 (= *SGDI* IV 4, 1034-1035, no. 5; Schwyzer 195) (s. II)
'Αρχήια	I, Cnosos no. 10 (= Kern, *IMM* 67; *SGDI* 5155) (s. III ex. vel s. II in.)

E[...]/[...ων]	IV, Gortyn no. 182 (= *SGDI* 5016) (ca. 200-150)
Πάμφυλοι	IV, Gortyn no. 181 (= *SGDI* 5015) (ca. 200-150); I, Cnosos no. 14 (s. II)

The name Aithaleis is discussed under Dreros (§33). For Archeia, also found at Lebena (§30) and Lyttos (§32), the probable explanation is that the name alludes to the cult figure Archos, whose *temenos* is mentioned in another Knossan inscription, *IC* I, Cnosos no. 4, line 7.[1] Less likely is the suggestion that the word is a common noun signifying simply the "magistracy."[2] For the fragmentary name Halbherr proposed the restoration 'E[χανορέων],[3] a phyle securely attested at Lato (§35) and evidently of (pre-Dorian) Argive origins.

§32 *Lyttos*

Of the four phylai attested by the dating formulas, one, Diphyloi, occurs in two texts in which the preambles distinguish between "the upper city" and "the city on the sea;" for each a separate date—including citation of the board of *kosmoi* of the phyle—is given. The Diphyloi's board is cited once for the upper city, the other time for the city on the sea. Unfortunately, the name of the phyle providing the second board is lost in both cases. Two interpretations are possible. Either one board, representing a single phyle, served for both cities, but the events in question occurred at different times in the two places, when different boards were in office. Or, there were two boards, each representing a different phyle, serving simultaneously, one for each city. (Neither would correspond, at Athens [1 §1.26], to the single boards, comprising one member from each phyle, which were divided [not always equally] between *asty* and Peiraieus.) No light is shed by the other texts, since in them no distinction is made between the two cities.

phyle	*IC* I, Lyttos
'Αρχήα	no. 12 (n.d.)
Δίφυλοι	no. 9 (= *IG* II² 1135; *SGDI* 5147) (111/110); H. van Effenterre and M. Bougrat, Κρητικὰ Χρονικά 21 (1969) 32, note 36 (fin. s. II)
Δυμᾶνες	no. 8 (= *SGDI* IV 4, 1037, no. 15; *Staatsverträge* III 486) (April/May 250)
['Y]α(κ)υνθίων	no. 13 (n.d.)

On the eponym of the phyle Archea, see Knossos (§31). Diphyloi, elsewhere unknown, probably denotes, like "Pamphyloi," an amalgam

of previously existing groups, but unfortunately no evidence is at hand that might shed light on the nature of the union. For Hyakinthioi—granting the correctness of De Sanctis' restoration—one may cite as a parallel the phyle with the same eponym at Tenos (§18) and, less distantly (with Guarducci), the month Bakinthion at Lato and Malla.

Something more about the organization can be won from a document of the second or third century A.D., *IC* I, Lyttos no. 11 (= *IGRR* I 1010), which deals in its preserved part with the funding of two public festivals. Each year the *protokosmos* or the *epimeloumenos* (sc. ἐπιμελητής, Guarducci) is to make distributions for the (festival) Theo(da)isia "from the donations that the *startoi* receive" (cf. lines 1-3) and on the Kalends of May "from the funds given to the phylai" (lines 3-9). Evidently, *startoi* and phylai merely provide the organizational apparatus for the collection and allotment of the monies; for, in the event of a shortfall, the officers are to make good the difference at their own expense (lines 9-14). For the collection or solicitation of funds (or services) according to public unit, see Index II.F.2; for their distribution, II.F.3. Less clear is the status of the *startos.* At Gortyn (§29), it was suggested, the σταρτός constituted an elite segment of the phyle from which the *kosmoi* were drawn. Nothing here is in conflict with that interpretation; the privileged might well be expected to contribute to two treasuries. But, obviously, the assumption of any similarity between the Gortynian and Lyttian organizations must, given the gulf in time separating the sources, be considered hazardous at best.[1]

§33 *Dreros*

A fragment of a law of the middle or second half of the seventh century, H. van Effenterre, *BCH* 70 (1946) 590-597, no. 2 (= Jeffery, *LSAG* 315, no. 1d), opens πόλι ἔϝαδε διαλήσασι πυλᾶσι. Following the words "Decreed by the polis," the participle modifying "pylai" (i.e. "phylai") is of doubtful meaning. Either of the two renderings thus far suggested, viz. "(the *pylai*) having expressed their wills severally" or "(the *pylai*) having been consulted," would point to a constitutional function for the phylai at a very early date.[1] For instances of the consultation of, or ratification by, phylai in the legislative process, see Index II.D.3.

An ephebic oath of the late third or early second century, *IC* I, Dreros no. 1,[2] is dated by the *kosmoi* of the Αἰθαλεῖς. The name, found also at Gortyn (§29), Knossos (§31), and Malla (§36), has been referred to the adjective αἰθαλέος, "smoky," or, as suggested by Maiuri, to an apokope of *Αἰγιθαλεῖς, with the meaning "Sucklers of Goats." However that may be, occurrences of forms of the name

abroad prompt speculation that the Aithaleis were of "Aiolic" and/or "Achaian" origins and so a component of the pre-Dorian population of the island.[3]

§34 *Olous*

Two fragmentary names of phylai are preserved in dating formulas from inscriptions of the second century. For the possible attribution to Olous of the Aithaleis, see on Lato, §35, note 1.

phyle	*IC* I
Δυμᾶνες	H. van Effenterre and M. Bougrat, Κρητικὰ Χρονικά 21 (1969) 32, note 36 (fin. s. II)
Π[αμφύλων]	Olus no. 8 (s. II)
[----]ων	Lyttus no. 9 (= *IG* II² 1135; *SGDI* 5147) (111/10)

§35 *Lato*

The names of four phylai are preserved in dating formulas from documents dated from the second half of the third century to ca. 100:[1]

phyle	*IC* I, Lato
Αἰσχεῖς	nos. 29 (= *SGDI* 5080) (fin. s. III/init. s. II); 30 (fin. s. III/init. s. II); *BCH* 62 (1938) 405-408, no. 4 (ca. 120?).
Ἐχανορεῖς	nos. 25 (= Michel 1182; *SGDI* 5076) (ca. fin. s. II), 31 (ca. 100)[2]
Συνανεῖς	J. Bousquet, *BCH* 62 (1938) 389-395, no. 1 (s. II)
Ὑλλεῖς	nos. 26 (= *SGDI* IV 4, 1041-1042, no. 30) (ca. 116/5), 32 (= *SGDI* 5077) (fin. s. II); P. Ducrey, *BCH* 93 (1969) 841-843, no. 1 (fin. s. II); K. Davaras, *AE* 1980 (1982) 36, no. 3 (fin. s. II)
fragmentary	nos. 28 (= *SGDI* 5081 a) (n.d.), 34 (= *SGDI* 5078) (s. II); H. van Effenterre and M. Bougrat, Κρητικὰ Χρονικά 21 (1969) 9-53, line 3

Both Aischeis and Echanoreis were referred by Maiuri to "elements of Argive immigration," by which he evidently meant pre-Dorian arrivals from the mainland. Aischeis he specifically connected with the "phyle" of Samians in Egypt called Αἰσχριωνίη mentioned by Herodotos (3.26.1; see §13), and inferred that the Kretan and Egyptian groups shared a common descent from the original colonizers from

Samos, namely pre-Dorian Ionians from Epidauros as well as "Achaians" (Mykenaians?) from Phleious.[3] Echanoreis could be linked, he suggested, with Euchanor of the early heroic legend of the Isthmos region (e.g. Homer, *Iliad* 13.663-664; Pausanias, 1.43.5).[4] For Synaneis, Bousquet was unable to adduce illustrative material. That none of these names is attested as a phyle elsewhere on the island (save the conjectural restoration of Echanoreis in an inscription from Knossos, §31) might also be thought suggestive of a particular pattern of such mainland influences on Krete, but in view of the state of our record this fact could just as well be due to accident of preservation. These pre-Dorians were, so far as the names of the phylai inform us, no less likely to have been distributed over the entire island than the widely encountered Dymanes, Hylleis, and Pamphyloi.

An inscribed bronze plate dated to around 500, L. H. Jeffery and A. Morpurgo-Davies, *Kadmos* 9 (1970) 118-154, records a resolution of the Dataleis conferring certain privileges on the *poinikastas,* one Spensitheos. The privileges are pledged in the name of the *polis,* ἀπὸ πυλᾶν πέντε ἀπ' ἑκάστας (1-2)—apparently meaning, as the editors suggest, five representatives from each of the phylai. The point may be to contrast with the state at large a council or other fraction of the citizen body drawn uniformly from the public organization; for parallels, see Dreros (§33) and, further afield, the examples assembled in Index II.D.3. Regarding the identity of the *polis,* Jeffery and Morpurgo-Davies assigned the text on epigraphic grounds to "the Lyttos-Afrati area" (p. 122). Both van Effenterre and Beattie, however, preferred association of "the Dataleis" with the Dattalla known to have been a dependency of Lato in the second century, the former assuming that that dependence also obtained at the time of our inscription, the latter that Dattalla was still an independent city.[5]

§36 *Malla*

A dating formula in an inscription of the second century, *IC* I, Malla no. 3 (= Michel 448; *SGDI* 5101), attests the phyle Αἰθαλεῖς.

§37 *Oleros*

The Pamphyloi, attested in a dating formula in a text of the late second or early first century, *IC* III, Oleros no.1 (= *SGDI* 5102), belong to the public organization of Hierapytna (§38).

§38 *Hierapytna*

From dating formulas in texts of the second (or possibly, in one instance, the first) century, we learn of three phylai:[1]

phyle	*IC* III
Δυμᾶνες	Hierapytna no. 9 (= *SGDI* 5045) (s. II)
Καμιρίς	Dictaeum Fanum no. 1 (= *SGDI* IV 4, 1038, no. 21; Schwyzer 200) (145-132)
Πάμφυλοι	Oleros no. 1 (= *SGDI* 5102) (s. II ex. vel I in.). For the attribution to Hierapytna, see Guarducci's commentary.

The name Kamiris, found only here, undoubtedly commemorates the fact, preserved in Stephanos of Byzantion, s.v. Ἱεράπυτνα, that the city had once been named Kamiros. An early Rhodian presence is further suggested by the name of the port of Lato, Kamara, and, in myth, by Kameiro, daughter of Pandareos from (Kretan) Milatos (Pausanias 10.30.2). The phyle might have comprised a stratum of the citizen population claiming descent from Rhodian colonists. The name is otherwise remarkable in that it provides one of only two Kretan examples (for the other, see Praisos §39) of the feminine adjectival form in -ίς (sc. φυλή) sometimes used, e.g., in Kleisthenic Athens, to designate an artificial territorial unit. However, Maiuri's inference that our phyle is of a similar type is rendered unlikely by the contemporary existence alongside it of the traditional Dymanes and Pamphyloi.[2]

A treaty of isopolity with Praisos, *IC* III, Hierapytna no. 4 (= Michel 16; *SGDI* 5040) (init. s. II), includes the restriction that the privileges of joint citizenship should be extended only to "those who are ἔμφυλοι in their own city" (line 15). This probably means, as Roussel argues, not "of the same phyle (in both states)," but simply "belonging to a phyle," i.e. of citizen status.[3]

§39 *Praisos*

A decree of the early third century, *IC* III, Praesos no. 8, is dated by the *kosmoi* of the phyle Φαρκαρίς. The name was referred conjecturally by Guarducci to the verb φράσσειν ("to fence in") or, alternatively, to the Thessalian name Φαρκαδών, in neither case with obvious point.

For the isopolity treaty with Hierapytna, with its restriction of the joint citizenship to "those who are ἔμφυλοι in their own city," see Hierapytna (§38).

§40 Kalymna

Ancient traditions variously trace Kalymna's Dorian population to Thettalos, the son of Herakles; to settlers from Epidauros; or, presumably somewhat later, to settlers from Kos.[1] Whatever combination of these (or other) accounts may represent the truth, the island's Dorian

population was established early, and it may be surmised that these Kalymnians, no less than their ancestors at Epidauros (2 §5) or Kos (§41), observed the traditional tripartite division. Oddly, however, when our first evidence appears in the late fourth or early third century, an entirely different organization is in place; only after its apparent demise near the end of the third century, do the Dorian phylai surface for the first time. Two explanations for the record are possible. The Dorian phylai may have been in continuous existence from the beginning and were overlaid at some uncertain point by the second, innovating organization: dual systems of just this type are known at Athens (1 §1.21), Kerkyra (4 §5), and, less certainly, Miletos (7 §16). Alternatively, as I will suggest may have been the case, the Dorian triad, having fallen into disuse, was revived upon Kalymna's incorporation by her more powerful neighbor, Kos, around the end of the third century.

Comprising both phylai and demes, the earlier organization is known largely from the preserved enrollment formulas—all but two explicitly indicating sortition—from a long series of citizenship decrees.[2] According to Klaffenbach's analysis, two chronologically distinct procedures are attested by the formulas; in the earlier, only the phyle is present, in the later, both the phyle and the deme.[3] Since, however, two of the known phylai occur both early and late, it is unlikely that the difference in procedure reflects a substantial alteration in the public organization.[4] In all, at least five phylai and at least seven demes are attested, yet without indication in either case that we have the full number. Throughout, primary references are to M. Segre, *Tituli Calymnii, ASAA* 22-23 (1944-1945).

phylai

Θευγενίδαι	nos. 19 A and C (A = *IBM* II 277; *SGDI* 3571f; C = *IBM* II 271; *SGDI* 3587b); 20; 34 A (= *IBM* II 237; Michel 420; *SGDI* 3577a); 36 (= *IBM* II 242; Michel 421; *SGDI* 3565)
Ἱππασίδαι	nos. 31 (lines 38-39: Ἱ̣π̣[πα]/[σ]ίδας); 39 (= *IBM* II 254; *SGDI* 3564b) (lines 3-4: Ἱππασι/[δᾶν])
Κυδρηλεῖοι	nos. 28 (= *IBM* II 233; Michel 418; *SGDI* 3574); 29 (= *IBM* II 232; *SGDI* 3573); 30 (= *IBM* II 234; *SGDI* 3570; Schwyzer 247); 34 B (= *IBM* II 237; Michel 420; *SGDI* 3577b); 53 (= *SGDI* 3572)
Περφίδαι	nos. 8; 18 (line 16: Περ{ι}φιδᾶν); 41 (= *IBM* II 253; *SGDI* 3579) (line 6: [Περφ]ιδ̣[ᾶν])

[---]γιδᾶν	no. 50 (= *IBM* II 278; *SGDI* 3559)
[---]δᾷν	no. 57 (= *IBM* II 236; *SGDI* 3576)
	demes
Ἀμφιπέτραι	nos. 28 (= *IBM* II 233; Michel 418; *SGDI* 3574); 29 (= *IBM* II 232; *SGDI* 3573); cf. no. 38 (line 12: Ἀν[---])
ΑΝΛΥ[.]ΝΑΝ	no. 41 (= *IBM* II 253; *SGDI* 3579); cf. no. 38 (line 12: Ἀν[---])
Μέσον	no. 53 (= *SGDI* 3572); cf. no. 34 B (= *IBM* II 237; Michel 420; *SGDI* 3577b) (line 38: [Μ]έσου)
δάμου Περαιῶτα	no. 30 (= *IBM* II 234; *SGDI* 3570; Schwyzer 247)
Ποθαίων	nos. 8; 34 A (= *IBM* II 237; Michel 420; *SGDI* 3577a); 36 (= *IBM* II 242; Michel 421; *SGDI* 3565)
Σκαλιῶδαι	nos. 55 B (= *IBM* II 249a; *SGDI* 3566b) (lines 8-9: Σκα/[λιωδᾶν]); 57 (= *IBM* II 236; *SGDI* 3576) (line 13: [Σ]καλιω[δ]ᾶν).
[---]ειτᾶν	no. 39 (= *IBM* II 254: *SGDI* 3564b)

Besides the phyle and deme no other public unit is securely indicated, although a case has been made for the συγγένεια on the basis of its solitary occurrence in a citizenship decree, no. 21 (= *IBM* II 238; Michel 419; *SGDI* 3555) (ca. 300-250). Here, a πρόγονος, or stepson, is granted membership in "the phyle and *syngeneia* of which his father, Agoranax, is also a member" (11-14). Busolt, Guarducci, and Segre, solely on the basis of this formula, asserted the relationship of phyle and *syngeneia* to be one of whole and part—implying that the segment partook of the indubitably public character of the phyle.[5] But by no means is such a relationship necessitated by the juxtaposition of the terms in the formula. Probably a private association equivalent to the (general Greek) phratry,[6] the *syngeneia*'s presence is surely to be connected with the unusual circumstances of the honorand. Because the father was already (presumably) a citizen, his son, if he was to be made a citizen himself, would naturally be expected to acquire the same (hereditary) affiliations. In the case of foreigners (the normal recipients of such awards), the question of membership in a *syngeneia*, to judge from the remaining decrees, did not arise. For a similar grant, see Aigiale (§22).

Concerning the disposition of the organization, the combination in the recorded results of the allotments of the phyle Kydreleioi with the demes Amphipetrai, Meson, and Peraiotai; and of the deme Pothaia with the phylai Perphidai and Theugenidai shows that the two divisions cut across one another. Since demes can only have been territorial (further proven in any case by the patently geographical import of the names Amphipetrai, Meson, and Peraiotai), the phylai will have been personal associations, a finding consonant with these units' uniformly masculine plural terminations.[7] Both phyle and deme, moreover, afford examples of names of patronymic type, thus illustrating once again—and strikingly so in the case of the deme Skaliodai—the application of a convention of kinship organization to the public administrative apparatus.

Additional clues might be sought in the content of the names of the units. The locations of several of the demes, particularly of those with names alluding to some geographical feature, have been at least approximately established, as have those of the three demes that succeeded the present organization late in the third century (see below).[8] Concerning the phylai, while Hippasidai and Theugenidai are probably Greek, both Kydreleioi and Perphidai were identified as Asiatic by Segre, who attributed to them Karian and other "indigenous" (i.e. non-Greek) origins respectively.[9] This last finding is of some moment, for these same Kalymnians either simultaneously belonged to the Dorian phylai or, if the latter did not coexist with, but succeeded, the present organization, at some later point acquired the new affiliation—or at least were the ancestors of others who did so. Plainly, either the one set of names or the other—or both—cannot be taken as literally denoting the ethnic composition of its membership. Thus perhaps as early as the fourth century, at least some of the Kalymnian phylai were constituted on the strength of claims to descent which can only be characterized as fictive.

Traces of internal organization are confined, first, to references to the *damarchoi,* who are ordered by decree to implement, at least in part, the honors bestowed by the state (nos. XIII, XIV, both from Kos),[10] and, secondly, to mention of "the annual prayers in the rites of the demes" in no. 31 (lines 34-35: . . . ἐν το[ῖς]/[ἱερ]οῖς τῶν δάμ[ων]). All three texts belong to the third century.

With the appearance of the new documentation, we find that the Kalymnian organization has been transformed almost beyond recognition. Not only is the traditional Dorian triad of phylai in use, but the previously existing system of demes, which were at least seven in number, has also given way to another threefold division, Ὄρκατος, Πάνορμος, and Πόθαια. The survival of Pothaia—I assume the identity of the earlier Ποθαῖων (the only attested form; neuter?) and

the later Πόθαια (feminine singular)—is significant, for it proves that at the deme-level the one organization succeeded the other. Two concurrently functioning systems would presumably not have shared a component. Finally, as the ensuing discussion will show and as the identical numbers of the two sets of units in any case demand, personal phylai and territorial demes cut across one another as in the earlier arrangement.

In contrast to the series of citizenship decrees of the earlier period, our sources for the second organization consist almost exclusively of fragments of catalogues of names. Several preserve entries giving the individual's phyle and deme (nos. 88-96 passim); another is simply arranged under the demes as rubrics (no. 85).[11] Despite this limitation of subject-matter, the catalogues provide the basis for two major findings, one bearing on procedure, the other on the circumstances in which the new organization came into existence.

The procedural point involves two texts, no. 88 (= *SGDI* 3593) and no. 89 AB. Both observe a principal division by demes. Each deme-list is divided, in turn, into separate registers for the phylai. To abbreviate an argument given in detail elsewhere,[12] the former catalogue, no. 88, provides incontrovertible evidence of a fixed order of the phylai, which, from one deme-list to the next, is rotated forward one phyle. No. 89 AB, although preserved only for the deme Panormos, attests a single instance of an order consistent with that in no. 88. Below I set out the scheme of no. 88, with the third and final list, that of Orkatos, restored in conformity with the hypothesis.

Pothaia	*Panormos*	[*Orkatos*]
[Pamphyloi]	Hylleis	[Dymanes]
Dymanes	Pamphyloi	[Hylleis]
Hylleis	[Dymanes]	[Pamphyloi]

Besides its importance for our understanding of Kalymnian institutions, the perception of a rotating order has the added value of shedding light upon similar documents from other Dorian states. In these, one example alone excepted,[13] the names of the phylai are given in the same relative sequence—namely, that observed in the catalogues above—but with points of departure that differ from one text to another, sometimes, as at Kalymna, among nearly contemporary texts from the same state. On the basis of the Kalymnian evidence, accordingly, I have concluded that the Dorians observed a common, official order, which could, as a means of ensuring equality of status, be rotated such that, in a given list, catalogue, etc., any of the three might hold first position. This way, the practice of Dorian Greeks can

be understood in terms of procedure known to have obtained at Athens and elsewhere (see Index II.C).

Secondly, and historically, certain other features of the lists show, as has long been realized, that by the time of their composition Kalymna's status had declined to that of a dependency of Kos. The earliest list, no. 85, includes a number of citizens whose names recur in a document from Kos without any indication that they are Kalymnian; that is to say, these residents of Kalymna were for the purposes of the Koan state indistinguishable from (other) Koan citizens.[14] In no. 88, for each Kalymnian listed is given, alongside specific information regarding parentage, the year and month of birth, the year being designated by the name of an eponymous official. As Paton realized, these officials are the Koan *monarchoi.*[15] Both documents scholars have referred to the ὁμοπολιτεία, or "common government," established, dissolved, then reestablished, under circumstances still not entirely understood, around the end of the third century.[16] In practical terms, the *homopoliteia* meant the extension to her smaller neighbor of Kos' constitutional arrangements, including, we may conjecture, the traditional Dorian phylai, which are well documented for Kos (§41) by this time. Their institution will have occasioned, at the same time, the reduction in the number of territorial demes. With respect to the Koan state as a whole, Kalymna herself became a δᾶμος.[17] The retention by the island, while a deme of Kos, of its own organization is paralleled by the arrangements of a second Koan deme, Isthmos (§41).

§41 Kos

Like nearby Rhodes four decades earlier, in 366/5 the island of Kos underwent a synoecism and new capital city, Kos, was established at its eastern end opposite the mainland.[1] Documented only by sources postdating the synoecism, the known public divisions comprise two distinct levels of organization: that of the Koan state as a whole, and that of the demes. Recalling later Kalymna (§40), the deme Isthmos was itself segmented by its own local phylai. Such overlapping organizations are also found at Keos (§14-16), Mylasa (with Labraunda: 7 §19 and 21), and Rhodes (§42-45).

To the period following the synoecism belong our earliest sources for the statewide organization, a number of extensive fragments of *leges sacrae*. Throughout, conspicuous roles are prescribed for the Dymanes, Hylleis, and Pamphyloi. One fragment of a calendar, Paton-Hicks 39, calls for sacrifices *kata phylas* by the Hylleis "at the Herakleion," by the Dymanes "at Anaxilia," and by the Pamphyleis "in Eitea at the Damatrion," thereby providing explicit confirmation of the sacral orientation of the principal divisions.[2] A second document,

probably from the same code, Paton-Hicks 37, details an elaborate ritual for the festival of Zeus Polieus. The three phylai and their subdivisions, the χιλιαστύες, or Thousands, also termed ἐνάται, or Ninths (see below), are to observe a complicated procedure for the selection of a sacrificial ox.[3] A third text, perhaps the earliest of all, Paton-Hicks 40 B, may, if correctly restored by Herzog, mention "the *choros* of the boys of the Pamphyleis;" but the passage is too heavily restored to warrant further attention.[4] Assured references to the phylai in agonistic settings occur in two somewhat later lists of victors, Paton-Hicks 45 A and B (= *SGDI* 3643) (s. III) and Herzog, *KFF* 13 (s. III), although, again, specific details are largely the product of restoration. Thus, in the former inscription, with a given phyle are expressly affiliated the χοραγ[ὸς παιδῶν ἐν]/τᾷ πομπᾷ (A 6-7), the χοραγὸς κυκ[λικοῦ χορ]/[ο](ῦ) (A 8-9), the ἐπιμελητὰς κωμ[ῳδῶν] (A 10), and the [χ]οραγὸς [παιδῶν] (B 2-3). The second text is even more lacunose; and Herzog prints only a few unconnected partly restored individual words. For the parallel evidence, see Index II.I.

Elsewhere our information concerning the statewide functioning of the Dymanes, Hylleis, and Pamphyloi is limited to their possible representation on boards numbering three or a multiple of three: the ἱεροποιοί (Paton-Hicks 388 [= *SGDI* 3709], but the boards in no. 370 [= *SGDI* 3708] and *SGDI* 3736 [in any case, numbering eight] contain several members closely related to each other), the ἀγορανόμοι (unpublished: board of three), and ad hoc commissions of three.[5] To administer and record oaths of loyalty on the occasion of the incorporation by Kos of her neighbor Kalymna (§40), a decree orders the selection of two ὁρκωταί "from each phyle" and a secretary "for each phyle"—in both cases with reference to the Koan organization.[6] The later board of generals might be thought to number three, one from each phyle, on the basis of an Imperial dedication, Paton-Hicks 65 (= *SGDI* 3654); but a convincing case for a board of five in the light of a fresh examination of the inscription has been made by Sherwin-White.[7]

Mention has been made of the *chiliastyes,* or Thousands. These, as explicitly indicated by the text of Paton-Hicks 37, not only subdivided the three phylai, three to each, but also, because they were nine in number, could be designated by another name, *enatai,* or Ninths.[8] Additionally, the *lex* stipulates near its beginning: ". . . and let the *hieropoioi* and *karykes* proceed by *chiliastyes,* driving nine oxen, an ox from each *enata,* [ἐ]ξ Ạ[....]ἑων καὶ Πασ̣θ̣ε̣μιδ̣ᾶν π̣ρ̣ά̣των καὶ Ṇ[οσ]τ̣ι̣δ̣ᾶ̣ν̣'" (lines 4-6). Sherwin-White argued that, since only three proper names appear, while the immediately following text goes on to deal with all three phylai, each phyle will have contained the same

three, homonymous *enatai* (= *chiliastyes*). Because, further, two of the three, Pasthemidai and Nostidai, figure elsewhere (*SIG*[3] 928: s. III) as independent entities, the Ninths must have served to distribute the groups over the three phylai—much as the *trittyes* distributed demes of the three regions over the Kleisthenic phylai of Athens.[9] But problems arise. With regard to the text, why are the *First* Pasthemidai alone cited? Do they belong to all three phylai? What of the Second Pasthemidai, or other subdivisions? What, too, of the implication that *all* Koans were members of just these three groups? The alternative is to regard the Ninths as comprising only a fraction of the membership of each phyle—but this would do violence to the very meaning of the term ἐνάτα. We are compelled to conclude that, for whatever reason, only three of the nine were cited by name.

Phylai and Thousands by no means exhaust the roster of Koan statewide public units. Two citizenship decrees, *ASAA* 22-23 (1944-1945), no. 74 (= *IBM* II 247; *SGDI* 3611) (s. III) and Herzog, *Heilige Gesetze,* p. 42 (unpublished: time of Ptolemy I or II), call for the allotment of the honorand "into phyle, *triakas,* and *pentekostys.*"[10] The latter two units occur, in the same sequence, in clauses of two sacred laws stipulating that a priesthood be reserved for members of a certain combination of *triakas* and *pentekostys*: αὔτα [ἁ ἰαρε]/ ωσύνα τριακάδ[ος ἔστω.....δᾶν, πεντηκοστύος Ἰ]ππιαδᾶν: Herzog, *Heilige Gesetze* 5 A (= Paton-Hicks 40 B; *IBM* IV 568; *SGDI* 3639; Prott, *LGS* I 8; *LSCG* 156: ca. 300-250), lines 16-17; ἁ ἱερωσύνα ταύτ[α ἔστω τριακάδος.[12-14]...πεντηκοσ]/τύος Πολλωνδᾶν: 8 A (= *LSCG* 154: ca. 300-250), lines 34-35. To judge from lexical and linguistic evidence, these units should be rendered "Thirty" and "Fifty."[11] What is their relation to the phyle and the Thousand? Herzog, assuming a parallelism with the Samian phylai, *chiliastyes, hekatostyes,* and *gene,* argued for a monolithic four-tier organization of three phylai, nine *chiliastyes* (= *enatai*), ninety *triakades* (each one thirtieth of a phyle), and one-hundred eighty *pentekostyes.*[12] Apart from errors in the characterization of the Samian organization,[13] the reconstruction is also suspect in that the *triakas* is taken to be a thirtieth—a meaning lacking an assured attestation.[14] The fractional *triakas* also figures in the account of Sherwin-White. She refines the reconstruction by explicitly asserting the segmental subdivision of the units in the order phyle, *chiliastys, triakas,* and *pentekostys.*[15] About the relation of the phyle and *chiliastys* there can be no doubt. But the "constitutent order" of the *triakas* and *pentekostys* is made to depend solely upon the enrollment formulas and *leges sacrae* just cited. Clearly, however, this conclusion does not follow from either of the two sets of documents, as numerous counter-examples show.[16] We are thus at liberty to regard the *triakas* as a Thirty and to conclude that it bore

no constituent relationship to the Fifty; nor need we suppose that either was wholly contained by the phyle or Thousand. Independent Thirties and Fifties would explain, moreover, why *both* affiliations are stipulated in the *leges sacrae*—a fact Sherwin-White does not satisfactorily explain.[17] Also, if membership in the Fifty would determine affiliations with the higher level (segmental) divisions, why in the one of the three citizenship decrees preserving the result of the allotment is that unit not given instead of the phyle alone?[18] The disposition of the organization in its lower levels, it must be admitted, remains quite uncertain.

Cutting across these indubitably personal groupings was a final set of divisions, the demes. Thanks to the detailed studies of Paton and Hicks, Herzog, Modona, and Sherwin-White, we have in most cases at least a general idea of where the units were situated on the island.[19] A major uncertainty is posed by Daphnous, identified as a Koan deme by Stephanos but otherwise undocumented.[20] Aigelioi, early on a separate entity, was later combined with Antimachidai and Archiadai in a joint deme.[21] The existence of a deme Peletai, restored in an inscription of the third century, has been denied by Sherwin-White.[22] Technically, the list should be extended to include Kalymna (§40). At the end of the third century, the island became a Koan deme and, while sharing Kos' three Dorian phylai, contributed three demes of her own, Orkatos, Panormos, and Pothaia. Still other demes may remain unattested. The roster is as follows:

Αἰγήλιοι	Δαφνοῦς
Ἀλασαρνῖται	Ἱππιῶται
Ἀλέντιοι	Ἰσθμιῶται
Ἀντιμαχίδαι, Ἀρχιάδαι, Αἰγήλιοι	Φυξιῶται
[Πεληταί]	

Throughout our study we have encountered public units of all types internally organized as associations. The Koan case is remarkable in that at least two of the demes were not merely internally organized but, concurrently with the operation of the state's phylai, actually were segmented by systems of phylai of their own. For local parallels, see the Rhodian Peraia and Islands (§46-52). The assured Koan example is afforded by Isthmos' phylai, Theadai, Kyniadai, and Melainadai. Of similar status would appear to be ἁ φυλὴ [.]αμψε̣ι̣[δ]ᾶν—a phyle of neither the Koan state nor Isthmos. But the absence of a recorded provenience for the stone forestalls any attempt to suggest to what deme it might have belonged.

The phylai of Isthmos are expressly documented by two principal texts: a catalogue of demesmen eligible for the *monarchia*, a vestigial

office descending from before the synoecism, *ASAA* 41-42 (1963-1964) 165-181, nos. IX-XVIII; and, the more informative, an extensive decree, 161-163, no. 6. Praising a benefactor (A 6) and establishing regulations for the use of his gift "to those who are entitled to membership in the Theadai, Kyniadai, and Melainadai" (A 3-5, partly restored), the decree reveals a complex, self-sustaining organization not unlike that of the other demes or of the statewide phylai (on both, see below). Evidently regulated by *nomoi* (A 10) and possessing a treasury (A 14; B passim), the corporation is headed by the *demarchos.* Besides serving as judge (A 28-31), the demarch may, in the event that the ἀρχεύων's choice of successor chooses another in his place, call for an election (A 16-21). To the ἀρχεύων falls the responsibility for the holding of the *thysiai* of the deme, or rather of the phylai (A 7, 27, 39; B 3), and for the staging of the *hypodoche,* or reception, for which he must render an account (A 21-24). Misuse of the benefactor's donation may end in a trial before (again) the demarch. The verdict in such a case will be reached by a vote of the demesmen, and the penalties will consist of fines payable to "the ancestral gods whose *thysia* it is," one fifth part going to the accuser; the demarch, too, if found guilty of malversation, may be fined as well (A 24-38).

From these, and other, sources, it is arguable that Isthmos, like Halasarna, enjoyed a certain superiority among the Koan demes. Besides favoritism in the allocation of sacred funds and in the choice of site for the display of *leges sacrae,*[23] one must instance Isthmos' remarkable independent sponsorship of a *theoria* to Delos: *IG* XI 2, no. 287, B 45 (ca. 250). Foreign ventures of this kind by a public unit are practically unheard of; for other attested cases, see Argos (2 §7: *kome*) and Naxos (5 §21: deme).

To what extent demes other than Isthmos were similarly organized by their own systems of phylai is open to question. Mention has been made of the phyle [.]αμψε̣ι̣[δ]ᾶν—presumably that of a second, unknown deme. Certain other texts come to us in the name of a "phyle" or "*phyletai,*" while providing no unambiguous clues as to the organization—statewide or that of an individual deme—to which they pertain. Nonetheless, even with these problematic items set aside, we are well informed about the demes by a bountiful store of decrees, dedications, honorary inscriptions, statue bases, tombstones, altars, and a *lex sacra.*[24] Organizationally, to begin, one deme, Halentioi, was, like Isthmos, headed by a demarch, while for another, Halasarna, a plentiful record reveals no demarch but, apparently in his place, a board of three ναπόαι.[25] Below the executive stood boards of ταμίαι, ἱεροταμίαι, [κά]ρυκες; and, exclusively in the religious sphere, ἱεροποιοί and a single ἱερεύς.[26] Ad hoc boards of three thrice appear.[27] Because the many decrees are uniformly honorific, we are particularly well

informed in this area. Besides the customary praise, crown (often of gold), and announcement, honors (τιμαί, τίμια) comprise portraits (ἀνδριάς, εἰκών), "participation in all the ἱερά . . . ," and the titles τὸν ἑαυτοῦ σωτῆρα καὶ εὐεργέταν (of Emperor Claudius) and the (for public organization) unusual δήμου θυγατήρ and δάμου υ[ἱός].[28] Financial arrangements at once embrace the acceptance of contributions of officers and the deme's contributions towards the perquisites (?) of statewide priests participating in the deme's rites and even the deme's lending funds to the state (as well as to other parties).[29] Judicially, the deme Halasarna may, like Isthmos, put its officers, in this case the *napoiai,* on trial.[30] The vote favoring or opposing the conferral of honors is in one instance recorded.[31] And, again as at Isthmos, the sacral orientation is conspicuous. Functions comprise, in addition to the familiar *thysiai,* a ὑποδοχά (reception) and a πανήγυρις of Hera. Sacral fixtures range from the ἱερόν of Isthmos and the ναός dedicated to an unknown deme to statues of divinities, altars, a βᾶμα (pedestal), an ἱλαστήριον (propitiatory monument?), various σάματα, and stelai erected in sanctuaries.[32]

To place the final tessera in this complex mosaic, we turn to the internal organizations of the statewide phylai. Unfortunately, we are almost entirely dependent upon texts the pertinence of which to the Dymanes, Hylleis, and Pamphyloi is, as noted, subject to doubt. The one straightforward example is the citation φυλαρχή[σ]αντά [τε φιλο]/τείμως φυλῆς (Π)α[μφυλέ]/ων in an Imperial *cursus,* Paton-Hicks 108. Paton-Hicks 384 (= Michel 428; Schwyzer 254; *SGDI* 3720: s. III sive II) carries a decree of "the *phyletai,*" passed by a unanimous vote (lines 19-20), honoring with praise and crown an ἀρχεύων for his exemplary holding of the group's *thysiai* and *hypodoche.* Because the decree is subject to ratification (12-13), the phrase τὸν στέφ[ανον] τὸν κατὰ τὸν νόμον (16) probably refers not to internal but to statewide regulations.[33] Belonging with certainty to the phyle is the *tamias* charged with awarding the crown (15-16). Mention is made, too, of "the ancestral altars," next to which the honorand may, should he desire, erect a stele inscribed with the decree (16-19). Another, roughly contemporary text, Paton-Hicks 44 (= Michel 1300; Schwyzer 255; *SGDI* 3642: fin. s. III), records the crowning of the ἀρχεύσαντες for their sacrifices to the Nymphs and reception of "the *phyletai.*" By far the richest in detail are the well known decree and catalogue of "the phylai possessing the right to participate in the rites of Apollo and Halasarna," Paton-Hicks 367-368 (s. III/II).[34] The arguments advanced against the identification of these phylai as local Halasarnan appear to me decisive—thereby leaving only one alternative, that they are the Dorian phylai.[35] The decree establishes procedure for the composition and use of a fresh register of persons eligible

for the ἱερά, in order to facilitate their identification by those "holding the reception" (7-17). Applicants actually in town are to register themselves; those away are to be registered by the ἐπίτροποι or, otherwise, are to register themselves upon their return. All are to provide phyle, mother's name, and mother's father's name (20-37)—hence the catalogue, no. 368.[36] Announcement of the *apographa* is to be made by the ναποῖαι "at the Herakleia, when the *phyletai* are about to recline (κλείνεσθαι)" and "at the meeting (ἐν τῶι συλλόγωι)" (44-53). Announcements and registration are to continue through the completion of the παναγύρ̣ε̣ι̣[ς] (53-60). Besides publicizing in the (Koan) Agora, they (the *napoiai*) are to set out the decree εἰς λεύκωμα "in the *damos*" (60-72). Once the names, too, have been entered on the whitened board, the appropriate officers may, with reference to it, dispense sacrificial portions and conduct allotments for the priesthood (77-95). The cost of the eventual inscription of decree and register on a stone stele is to be met by the *napoiai* "from the funds belonging to the gods," but they are to render account only "after the other expenses" (104-110). Any officer failing to obey the decree must pay a fine of 500 drachmas to Apollo (110-114).

§42-52 Rhodes

According to a passage in the Homeric Catalogue of the Ships (*Iliad* 2.653-670), the Rhodian Tlepolemos brought to Troy nine ships of Rhodians, "who dwelt all round Rhodes in three divisions (διὰ τρίχα), Lindos, Ialysos, and white-shining Kameiros" (655-656). Clearly, the division by three refers not to public units, but to the three places of habitation. But Homer goes on to say of these same people before the Trojan War: τριχθὰ δὲ ὤκηθεν καταφυλαδόν (668). These words have been taken to mean "they settled in threes according to phylai," presumably with reference to the Dymanes, Hylleis, and Pamphyloi. Now, either each phyle had settled one of the three cities,[1] or the entire body of colonists had been divided into thirds without respect to the phylai so that all three were represented in each of the cities. Against the former reading, however, stands the virtual absence of evidence for the activity of single phylai in colonial ventures of any kind.[2] No such difficulty arises with the alternative interpretation, except for the general objection, lodged by Andrewes, that the compound καταφυλαδόν may not incorporate the term φυλή in its familiar, constitutional sense. The Classical φυλή is entirely absent from Homer, and what few occurrences there are of the related word φῦλον appear to be of either wider or narrower reference. In no instance is the designation of a public institution even arguable.[3] Still, a unique usage cannot be ruled out simply on the ground that it is unique. The assumption

of a reference to phylai would have the advantage of giving greater point to καταφυλαδόν: whereas "by groups" in combination with τριχθά would approach redundancy, "according to phylai" would specify the sense in which the expression "by threes" is to be understood.[4]

§42 *The Synoecized State*

Whatever be made of the Homeric evidence, the earliest documented arrangements bear the stamp of wholesale reform. Synoecized in 408/7, the formerly autonomous city-states now comprise a single constitutional entity, the Rhodian State, with headquarters in the new capital city of Rhodos. But the three old centers have retained an administrative function, for each now forms the focal point of one of the three statewide phylai, Ialysia, Kam(e)iris, and Lindia (or Lindos). Disposed territorially, the phylai fell into an undetermined, but fairly large, number of demes. About two-thirds of the demes thus far attested, attributed to all three phylai, were situated on the island itself. Several others, similarly linked to all three phylai, belong to the Peraia. A few demes representing the Dependent Islands have been assigned to the phylai centered on Kameiros and Lindos. Because only the twelve demes of the main island attached to Lindos are fully known by name, we are not in a position to map the phylai with precision. Nonetheless, concerning the broad lines of the organization there can be little, if any, room for variation.[1]

Functionally, the Greater Rhodian organization is represented by only two, widely disparate roles. One is documented by the lists of the eponymous priests of Halios. Shown to reflect a procedure of "triennial rule," three groups of demes, corresponding to the three phylai, alternated in tenure of the priesthood in the sequence Ialysia, Kameiris, Lindia. The heads of two columns are preserved: the one was dated by Morricone to extend from 408 to 369, the other from 333 or 327 to 300 or 294.[2] All remaining documents refer, or can be assumed to refer, to statewide festivals in which the phylai competed with one another in various contests.[3] Throughout, the phylai are represented by one of two officers, the phylarch and the "gymnasiarch of the phyle," or, probably the holder of a liturgy rather than an officer, by the *choregos.* Typically, these individuals associate themselves with the victories cited; less often, the victor is the phyle itself. The events cover a wide range, without any discernible correlation with this or that officer, except for the restriction of the *choregos* to lyric and dramatic competitions. The attested contests are the εὐανδρία, or physical fitness competition;[4] the λαμπάς, or relay torch race;[5] tragedy, comedy, and satyr plays;[6] lyric poetry for both men and boys;

and possibly an event for flutists.[7] Even allowing for the probability that activities of this kind are under certain circumstances more likely to be commemorated on stone than others, it is evident that we are dealing with a particularly conspicuous application of the organization. Support for the inference is forthcoming from an inscription of the first century (or later), *IG* XII 1, no. 127 (= *SGDI* 4108), documenting the imitation of the public arrangements by a private association of theatrical performers. Their victories, dated by the presiding *agonothetes,* are catalogued in the names of the phylai Basileis, Nikasioneis, and Olympeis and of their respective phylarchs and gymnasiarchs. The text itself reveals that these "phylai"—in fact nothing more than groups of members—acquired their names from persons entitled "benefactor" and/or "founder" of the *koinon.*[8] For agonistic organization, the state afforded the most appropriate exemplar.

Such is the record that exhausts our knowledge of the Greater Rhodian public apparatus. But alongside, or rather within, it, the three ancient centers retained local organizations of their own. Apparently coinciding in extent with the statewide phylai Ialysia, Kameiris, and Lindia, these organizations are certain to have comprised phylai, probably three in number in each case, and, as their wholly contained segments, the corresponding third part of all Rhodian demes. Still other divisions as well have been claimed, but all are subject to doubt. Contrary to recent opinion, the *synnomai* and *patrai* of Kameiros and the *synnomai, patrai,* and *diagoniai* of Lindos were probably wholly private associations not directly connected with the public organizations. The *meros* and *kome* of Lindos, though hardly private in orientation, are known from only a single attestation. Still less straightforward is the case of the widely documented *ktoina,* a division unique to the Rhodian orbit. Scholars generally regard it as an early territorial unit that suffered loss of its constitutional status with the synoecism in 408/7 and was thereafter restricted in function to the performance of certain traditional religious ceremonies. Just possibly, as some have suggested, the *ktoinai* were the forerunners of the demes, but the coexistence of *both* units after 408/7 makes this somewhat unlikely.[9] Nevertheless, an early public role of some nature is probable, and for this reason I have included the *ktoina* in the following discussions.

[Besides the many demes allocated to the three local organizations, the following remain of unknown or disputed affiliation: Κεδρεᾶται (see §46), Λωσσεῖς, and Ὑγασσεῖς.][10]

§43 *Ialysos*

In the seventh Olympian, Pindar associates the victor, Diagoras of Rhodes, with a group called Eratidai (line 93), described by the scho-

liasts as either a "phyle on Rhodes" or a "*phatria.*"[1] The former term could be restored in an honorary inscription from Rhodes of the first century (?), F. Hiller von Gaertringen and S. Saridakis, *MDAI(A)* 25 (1900) 109-110, no. 108. The text cites the honorand's εὐεργεσίας [------]ν τᾶν Ἐρατιδᾶν (line 11). If Saridakis' report of a lacuna of six letter-spaces is correct, the phrase [ἐς φυλὰ]ν becomes an obvious candidate. An additional letter-space would permit either [ἐς φάτρα]ν or (a third possibility) [ἐς πάτρα]ν.

Eleven demes have been assigned to Ialysos—nine to Rhodes and two to the Peraia. No candidate from among the Dependent Islands is yet forthcoming.[2]

Rhodes: Ἀστυπαλαιεῖς, Βρυγινδάριοι, Δαματριεῖς, Ἰστάνιοι, Νεοπολῖται, Πολῖται, Ποντωρεῖς, Σιβύθιοι, Ὑπερεγκεῖς

Peraia: Ἐριναεῖς, Κρυασσεῖς

Statewide functioning of the demes is confined in all but two instances to the *demotikon* appended to citizens' names. *IG* XII 1, nos. 13 and 14 are lists of citizens arranged under the names of demes as rubrics, Astypalaieis (no. 13) and Hyperenkeis (no. 14).

A possible vestige of a *ktoina* is preserved in a funerary inscription of the first century, *IG* XII 1, no. 157. The *cursus* includes the award of a golden crown ὑπὸ Ματίων κτοινετᾶν ἐρανιστᾶν Φιλοκρατείων (lines 9-10).

§44 *Kameiros*

Designated δᾶμοι, the territorial units were distributed over Rhodes proper, the Peraia, and the Dependent Islands. Observing the same principle at work in the state (§42) and Lindian (§45) organizations, the demes fell into three groups, among which the *damiourgos,* the chief magistrate of Kameiros, rotated according to a regular cycle. In contrast to the Lindian case, however, eligibility was not confined to demesmen of the island. Indeed, one of the three groups, "Tribe 1" on Fraser's analysis, is known to have comprised demes from all three regions.[1] If the groups are truly phylai—for the principal unit named Althaimenis, discussed below, there is no alternative identification—then it is evident that an arrangement similar to that of Kleisthenic Athens (1 §1.2) may be in force.

Thanks to the detailed work of Hiller von Gaertringen, Meyer, Blinkenberg, and Pugliese Carratelli, all but six of the demes have been assigned to their regions. (I omit here reference to the affiliations with "Tribes" 1, 2, and 3 postulated by Fraser.)[2]

Rhodes: Ἄριοι, Κυμισαλεῖς, Λέλιοι or Λέριοι, Παλαιοπολῖται, Ῥογκίδαι, Σιλύριοι

Peraia: Βυβάσσιοι, Εὐθηνῖται, Θυσσανούντιοι, Τλῶιοι (see §48), Τύμνιοι (see §47)

Islands: Χαλκῆται (see §51), Τῆλος? (see §50)

Rhodes or Peraia: Ἀμνίστιοι, Εὐριάδαι, Ἡριεῖς, Λοξίδαι, Πλάριοι, Φαγαῖοι

Two other units are named in an honorary text, *Tituli Camirenses* 88 (n.d.). The honorand is thus described: [τειμαθεῖσαν---]... / [--- καὶ ὑπὸ τᾶν σ]υννομᾶν καὶ πατρᾶν τᾶν ἐν / [Καμείρῳ πάσαι]ς ταῖς τιμαῖς (lines 2-4). As far as the fragmentary text goes, no mention is made of phylai or demes. What, then, are we to make of the *synnomai* and *patrai?* Are they, too, to be recognized as public divisions?

An answer—not, I believe, the correct one—has been suggested on the basis of a list of associations of the early third century, *IG* XII 1, 695 (= *IBM* II 352; Schwyzer 282; *SGDI* 4120). Of unknown purpose, the list documents three tiers of organization. At the lowest level stands the only division identified by name, the *patra.* All are agreed, however, that the intermediate divisions must be *synnomai* (the inscription cited above hardly leaves any doubt) and the uppermost division, represented by Althaimenis (line 19), phylai. It is at first glance attractive, then, to imagine three internesting groups of units, the *patrai* wholly contained by *synnomai,* the *synnomai* wholly contained by phylai. And, in fact, this is among the major conclusions of Andrewes' important analysis of the document.[3] But there are problems. First, since the phylai are without question territorial, it follows on this reading that the *synnomai* and *patrai* were similarly subject to territorial restrictions—a most unexpected development for nominally personal associations, particularly at this (relatively) late date. Andrewes assumes a high degree of regional cohesion; but if, as he himself argues, those *patrai* bearing patronymic names are of Classical or earlier origins, it is an assumption most difficult to accept. Such groups would, by ca. 300, have become widely dispersed. No less serious, secondly, is the problem of what to do with the demes. Andrewes does not include them in his reconstruction, but plainly no analysis of the organization as territorial can ignore them.

Both difficulties vanish, however, once we abandon the assumption that the phylai were linked segmentally to the *synnomai* and *patrai.* Sundering the units would in the first place be supported by the contrasting character of their known functions: the *damiourgoi* are selected according to phyle and deme, whereas honors are conferred by *synnomai* and *patrai.* Possibly, then, the former units constituted

the public organization, while the latter, personal in disposition and not related to the territorial divisions in any particular way, belonged to the private sphere. But what of the list? An answer is at hand, which cannot, however, for want of space be set out in detail here. Briefly, the key to the meaning of the document is to be found in the repetitions of the names of both *synnomai* and of *patrai.* These recur from one section of the list to another—and so presumably from one phyle to another. Andrewes found in these repetitions homonymous, discrete units resulting from the dispersal of once-coherent kinship associations followed later by renewed localization. But it is also possible that no such regrouping ever took place and that all occurrences of the same name designate the same association. Part of the purpose of the list, then, might have been to show for each territorial phyle the *synnomai* and *patrai* whose members happened to dwell within it. In more familiar terms, at Athens such a document might correlate the memberships of the *gene* with the public territorial divisions, the phylai, *trittyes,* and demes (cf. *IG* II^2 2338-2340).

Returning to the genuinely public phylai and demes, we find only slight indications of statewide functions. The operation of the principle of "triennial rule" among the three groups of demes, here identified as phylai, has been mentioned. The demes themselves appear frequently—and exclusively—as *demotika,* once in an abbreviated form that recalls practice elsewhere in Greece (*IG* XII [1], no. 10).

The only trace of internal organization is afforded by a list of contributors of the second century, G. Pugliese Carratelli, *ASAA* 1-2 (1939-1940) 149-150, no. 4. Confined, so far as the text is preserved, to *koina,* the list includes the ['E]*υριαδᾶν δαμετᾶν κοινόν* (line 4) and the *koina* of Loxidai, Amnistioi, and Boulidai (lines 7, 8, 9, all partially restored). While the latter three names occur elsewhere as *demotika,* the possibility must be left open, in the absence of the term *δᾶμος,* that one or more are really private associations homonymous with the deme in which they were centered.

Surprisingly in view of this result, documents of post-Classical date discovered within Kameiran territory reveal something of the nature and functioning of the *ktoina.* Territorial disposition is demonstrated by a list of gifts to a private association, *IG* XII 1, no. 736 (s. III), among which is *ἄλλον τόπον / ἐν τᾶι κτοίναι* (lines 9-10). Elsewhere in the document the toponym *ἐν* 'Ρογκ[ύ?]ω[ι] occurs in a context (line 4) suggestive that it is the name of the unit—if so, perhaps we have the predecessor of the deme Rhonkidai. That the *ktoinai* extended beyond Rhodes proper to the Peraia and to a Dependent Island, Chalke (§51), is shown by a well known decree of Kameiros of about the same date, no. 694 (= *IBM* II 351; Michel 433; *SGDI* 4118; *SIG*^{3} 339; Schwyzer 281; Buck 95; *Tituli Camirenses* 109). Ordering the com-

pilation of a register of all the *ktoinai* (Chalke, however, will participate only voluntarily), the decree calls upon the *ktoinai* severally to elect a *mastros* "in the holiest shrine in the *ktoina*" in accordance with the law of the Rhodians. Thereafter, the *mastroi* are to assemble at Kameiros in the Temple of Athena in order to "inspect all the public (?) *hiera* of the Kameirans." Internal sacral arrangements again figure in a very fragmentary text restored as a decree of a *ktoina,* no. 746 (s. II). Honoring a benefactor for his support of the association's sacrifices, the decree confers praise and a crown, to be awarded ἐ[ν τ]ῶι ἔπειτα συλλό[γωι---] (lines 5-6).

§45 *Lindos*

As for Kameiros (§44), a distinction, consistent with but not demanded by our documentation, may be made between the "public" and "social" organizations. The former in this case comprised the phylai and demes; the latter, *synnomai, patrai* and, unique to Lindos, *diagoniai.* For none of these associations do we find a trace of a public function—nor is one to be suspected.[1] Indeed, more likely candidates are provided by an unusual text, *IG* XII 1, no. 128 (n.d.), which reads in full: μέρος Λιμήν, κώμα Ἄφεσις, κωμάρχας Ἀριστόβιος γ' Δρυΐτας. Despite the absence of an indication of the stone's function, the "Harbor Section" and the village look like administrative entities. The *kome,* at least, elsewhere figures as a public unit (see Index I.A.11); and the presence of the officer points to a degree of internal organization. But what of the village's relation to the deme? Since there was a deme named Druitai (see below), Aristobios' affiliation might be taken as a clue, but the question is complicated by the existence of an homonymous *patra* (no. 88, line 6). Nonetheless, the very formality of the text betokens official status of some kind.

Despite the ambiguous case of the Druitai, the identification of the demes is facilitated by the occurrence of the term δᾶμος with three of the groups—Brasioi, Lindopolitai, and Nettidai (see below)—with which Lindian citizens are officially affiliated. Comprehending the demes as segments was a threefold principal division. The existence of the division is implied by the cyclical rotation of the priesthood of Athena Lindia among three groups of the twelve demes of the Rhodian island.[2] If these three groups are, as commentators suggest, phylai, then one will have been Argeia, the phyle for which the priest of Athena Lindia claimed victory as *choregos* in comedy (*Lindos* I 199: 165). The preservation of this name is fortunate, since with it can be associated nearly certainly the deme Argeioi. The remaining eleven Rhodian demes may then be affiliated with the three phylai, here

arbitrarily numbered I, II, and III, in accordance with their relative sequence in the cycle of priests:

I (= Ἀργεία)	II	III
Ἀργεῖοι	Κλάσιοι	Πεδιεῖς
Πάγιοι	Νεττίδαι	Βράσιοι
Λινδοπολῖται	Λαδάρμιοι	Καττάβιοι
Βουλίδαι	Καμύνδιοι	Δρυΐται

Why the priesthood was confined to the main island is unclear, but there can be little doubt that the system of demes, and so the phylai of which they were constituents, were extended to the Peraia and the Dependent Islands. Among the Peraian demes, scholars have recognized as Lindian: Ἄμιοι, Κασαρεῖς, and Φύσκιοι. As for the Islands, Fraser and Bean classified as demes of Lindos the three cities of Karpathos (see §52), Ἀρκασειεῖς, Βρυκούντιοι, and Καρπαθιοπολῖται.

Statewide functions are, in the case of the phylai, indicated only in the cycle and agonistic text just mentioned. The latter points to a competition among phylai analogous to that at the state level (§42). The demes, again, provide the primary affiliation for citizens; in one instance, *IG* XII 1, no. 764 (s. III), their names serve as rubrics for a long catalogue of contributors. Much later, instructions for the compilation of just such a list πατριαστὶ καὶ δάμου are preserved in *Lindos* 419 (A.D. 22), lines 51, 73-74. Besides the priestly cycle, the demes were also represented by local officials called *mastroi,* for a document of the year 27, *Lindos* 378, catalogues the incumbents κατὰ δάμους.

Internally, the demes act in concert or individually. Honorands are simultaneously crowned ὑπὸ τῶν δάμων τῶν ἐν Λινδίᾳ πόλει: *Lindos* 347 (= *SIG*[3] 765) (42) and 349 (38). Elsewhere, honors—praise, crown, or εἰκών—are conferred *separatim: IG* XII 1, no. 88 (= *IBM* II 345) (Lindopolitai: n.d.); *Lindos* 146 ([Lindopolitai]: same honorand as in foregoing text: ca. 200), 216 (Nettidai: before 154), 384 d (Brasioi: 9), 391 (Nettidai: A.D. 10), 392 a (Lindopolitai: ca. A.D. 10) and b *bis* (Nettidai? Lindopolitai?: ca. A.D. 10), 420 a and b (Lindopolitai: A.D. 23), and 421 (Nettidai: A.D. 25-30).

To be excluded from candidacy as public units are the three bodies, Autochthones, Haliadai, and Telcheines, which appear, designated as phylai, in the Chronicle of the Temple of Athena Lindia, *Lindos* 2, B, chapter XV (99). Each of the phylai is recorded to have dedicated to Athena a plaque bearing a representation of a *phylarchos* and nine runners "in archaic style" and an inscription identifying the donor

and citing the victory. In one instance (viz. the plaque of the Telcheines) the name of the *lampadarchos* was appended. At once our suspicions are aroused. The names do not resemble those of phylai elsewhere; nor, in any event, do they leave room for Argeia, operational as recently as the year 165 (above). The conclusion that the phylai are not historical is encouraged, furthermore, by the fact that at the time of the Chronicle's composition, the plaques, as the text acknowledges, were no longer in existence. On the other hand, the threefold division might reflect the actual disposition of either the Greater Rhodian or the Lindian organization or of both; and not only the phylarch but also the torch race among teams fielded by the phylai have the ring of authentic detail. Accordingly, one might be tempted to salvage the historicity of the notice by characterizing Autochthones etc. as "nicknames" of the official designations. But the absence of obvious correlations would tend to undercut any such approach.

§46-52 *The Rhodian Peraia and Islands*

Several of the demes of the synoecized state are known to have possessed their own, apparently local organizations. At Kedreai (§46) and Telos (§50), we encounter phylai, which, so far as can be determined, were not those of either Greater Rhodes or of any of the three island centers. At Syme (§49), the extension of the phylai of Kameiros appears likely.

Inscriptions from five of the seven demes (or parts of demes) reveal the continuing functioning of *ktoinai* (see §42).

§46 *Kedreai*

The *cursus* of an honorary inscription of the early second century, A. Maiuri, *ASAA* 4-5 (1921-1922) 479-480, no. 33 (= Fraser and Bean, *RP&I* 45-46, no. 42; *Nouveau Choix* 30), includes the distinction "crowned with a gold crown ὑπὸ φυλετᾶν Δυμά[ν]ων" (lines 6-7). Because Kedreai did not come under Rhodian domination until after the synoecism, scholars have questioned the absence of known Rhodian phylai. Perhaps the statewide organization did not come into existence simultaneously with the synoecism, thereby leaving time for the presumed Rhodian Dorian phylai to be transmitted to the town upon its acquisition. But this seems unlikely on its face. With greater probability, the Dorian phylai are a purely local organization.

§47 *Tymnos*

A decree of the *koinon* of the Tymnians, Fraser and Bean, *RP&I* 39-40, no. 26 (= Sokolowski, *LSCG* suppl., 111) (s. I), concerns the

use of the association's facilities by [τοὶ] προθύοντες περί τε τὰν κτοίναν καὶ περὶ τὸν [δᾶ]/[μο]ν—"those sacrificing on behalf of the *ktoina* and the deme" (?) (line 5).[1] Provision for the enforcement of the regulations follows in lines 8-13. Those entitled to obstruct a person contravening the decree are "the *hierothytas,* the *damosios,* and any other who wishes of τῶν συν/[δ]αμετᾶν" (15-16). Taken together, the two passages assure the simultaneous functioning of *ktoina* and *demos* in the same community. (For the use of κοινόν for a deme, see, e.g., Kameiros [§44].)

[An inscription found at Tymnos, *ASAA* 4-5 (1921-1922) 483-485, no. 37, was identified by its editor, A. Maiuri, as a decree of the Tymnians. At line 37 Maiuri read 'Υλλέων in a fragmentary context. Reexamination of the stone by S. Accame, *Clara Rhodos* 9 (1938) 209-229, however, not only revealed that the decree was actually Lindian but also eliminated the reference to the Hylleis.]

§48 *Phoinix*

In an inscription from the site, *SGDI* 4264, τὸ κοινὸν τᾶς πτοίνας (i.e. the *ktoina*) honors and crowns its archon (ἄρξαντα...τὸ δεύτερον). He had rebuilt at his own expense the ἀνδρών, or "men's quarters." Both the officer and the mention of communal property are noteworthy as evidence for internal organization. Evidently the center of the deme Tloioi, Phoinix was, like Tymnos, attached to Kameiros (§44).

§49 *Syme*

Probably incorporated before the synoecism, Syme was thought by Bean and Fraser to have formed only part of a deme, on their analysis Lindian Kasareis (§45).[1] Evidence for public organization is confined to two late texts. One, *IG* XII 3, no. 6 (fin. s. I), records a *cursus* including the award of crowns by two different *ktoinai.* The other, *IG* XII 3 suppl., no. 1270, is a decree of a *koinon,* identified by Guarducci as a *ktoina* on the strength of a reference to "the *ktoinetai*" elsewhere in the text (line A 13). Although the identification cannot, I believe, be accepted, the *ktoinetai* do appear to be associated with the Temple of Athena, with the repair of which the decree is concerned.[2]

A fragment of a catalogue, W. Peek, *ASAW* 62, 1 (Berlin 1969) 12-13, no. 10, coincides in part with the catalogue of phylai (?), *synnomai* (?), and *patrai* from Kameiros, *IG* XII 1, no. 695, discussed above (§44). For reasons given there, it is unlikely that either the *synnome* or *patra* is a public unit. But if phylai played a part in the Syme document, they presumably would have been those of Kameiros, not, as argued on other evidence by Fraser and Bean, Lindos.[3]

§50 *Telos*

Of unknown purpose, an inscription of the second century, *IG* XII 3, no. 38 (= Schwyzer 299; G. Susini, *ASAA* 25-26 [1963-1964] 271), reads φυλᾶς/'Απόλλωνος. Although the name could easily be a local innovation, a possible external source of inspiration is Kos, where "the phyle possessing the right of participation in the rites of Apollo" can almost certainly be identified as the Dymanes (§41). Telos, in any event within the Dorian sphere, is known to have come under Koan influence at some time during the fourth century.[1]

If, by the date of the inscription, the island had already become a Rhodian deme (attached to Kameiros [§44], according to Fraser and Bean,)[2] we should have again, as with Kedreai (§46), overlapping dual organizations.

§51 *Chalke*

A deme of Kameiros, Chalke's *ktoinai* figure in the decree *IG* XII 1, no. 694, discussed above (§44).

§52 *Karpathos*

"The *ktoina* of Potidaeis" in collaboration with the Damos of Karpathos honors Trajan in an inscription, *IG* XII 1, no. 978, which is reported to have been found at the site identified as the ancient Potidaion. Details of the internal workings of this *ktoina* at an earlier time are preserved in an honorary decree of the mid-second century, *Lindos* I, pp. 1009-1010 (= M. Segre, *RFIC* 11 [1933] 379-382 + *IG* XII 1, no. 1033 [= Michel 437; Maier, *Mauerbauinschriften* 50]). A decree of the *ktoina* on the motion of the *hierothytai* (lines 1-2), the text honors a Karpathiopolitas who, αἱρεθεὶς δ[ὲ] ὑπὸ [τᾶς κτοίνας επιστάτας]/[ὲ]φ' ἔτη δύο (6-7), performed vital services when Rhodes was at war with the Kretans. The honors comprise praise, a gold crown, and an invitation ἐπὶ ξένια εἰς τὸ ἱεροθυτεῖο[ν] (34-40). Two stelai are to be erected, one, the present stone, at Potidaion in the shrine of Athena Lindia (41-46). Expenses for crown and stelai are to be met by the *tamias* (46-48). Nevertheless, the impression created to this point of corporate independence proves illusory. A single ad hoc appointee must issue a request to confer the crown and set up the stelai ἐν τῶι σύμπαντι/[δ]άμωι (50-51). The dependency of the association is manifest.[1]

The three Karpathian *poleis,* Arkaseia, Brykous, and Karpathos, were held by Fraser and Bean to have been demes of Lindos during the Hellenistic and Roman periods.[2]

NOTES

§1 Thasos

1. Busolt, *Staatskunde* 133, note 6 [134]; C. Rolley, *BCH* 89 (1965) 460.
2. The meaning of *Patroios* is discussed in detail by Rolley (above, note 1) 458-459.
3. For what little can be said regarding the sense and origins of the names, see Rolley (above, note 1) 460-461; and, for additional comment, J. and L. Robert, *Bull. Ép.* 1967, no. 452.
4. As an additional possible attestation of the phyle, Rolley (above, note 1) 461, note 9 [462], cites Pouilloux, *Recherches* I, p. 329, no. 124 bis: Γελ[.....] Ἀρτέμιδι.

§2 Samothrake

1. Euripides, *Ion* 1571-1581.

§3 Imbros

1. According to C. Fredrich, *IG*, loc. cit.
2. *IG*, loc. cit.

§4 Lemnos

1. For a summary of the controversy, see A. J. Graham, *Colony and Mother City in Ancient Greece* (New York 1964) 167-192.
2. Thus, in somewhat different form, V. Ehrenberg, *Aspects of the Ancient World* (Oxford and New York 1946) 135-136.
3. So H. Berve, *Miltiades, Hermes Einzelschrift* 2 (Berlin 1937) 51-52.
4. I follow R. Meiggs, *The Athenian Empire* (Oxford 1972) 424-425.
5. Recovery of Lemnos, Imbros, and Skyros by the spring of 392 is indicated by Xenophon, *Hell.* 4.8.15. For the fourth century (and later) cleruchies, see Graham (above, note 1) loc. cit.

§8-11 Lesbos

1. For the *isopoliteia*, and the restoration of line b 27, see Robert's discussions, *REG* 38 (1925) 38-40 (= *OMS* II 730-732) and *REG* 40 (1927) 219 (= *OMS* I 209).

§9 Methymna

1. Ptolemy's reign, 222-205, is the only fixed date we have for the dating of the documents under review. For a discussion of the chronology of nos. 500, 502, 503, and 504, leading to the conclusion that they, with no. 498, are separated by no more than a century, see H. Pistorius, *Beiträge zur Geschichte von Lesbos im vierten Jahrhundert v. Chr.* (Bonn 1913) 156-158.
2. The reading of the name is in doubt. At *IG* XII suppl., p. 30, Hiller cites the "*ectypum* et apographum Peekii": ΑΣΤΥΡΣΥΝ i.e. *τ*]/*ᾶς Τυρίων* (non *Σκυρίων*) *στεφά*[*νοι* (?). But the genitive case of the article would not fit the context; for the correct nominative construction, see no. 503, line 11. *Σκυρίων* is indeed the expected spelling of the ethnic of Skyros, but it is the third declension form that is printed in Paton's text.
3. Busolt, *Staatskunde* 259-260, with 260, note 1.
4. *IG* XII suppl., p. 69, lines 68-69. For the Boiotian town, see Philippson, "Erythrai 3)," *RE* 6 (1907) 590.
5. *IG* XII suppl., p. 69, lines 70-71.
6. *IG* XII suppl., p. 69, lines 69-70.
7. K. J. Beloch, *Die Bevölkerung der griechisch-römischen Welt* (Leipzig 1886) 235, conceded that the existence of three named *chellestyes*—the fourth had not yet been discovered—constituted the only evidence for Methymna's population. The statement of H.-G. Buchholz, *Methymna* (Mainz am Rhein 1975) 159, that the population of 4,000 implied by the Thousands already known exceeds the estimate of 2,000-3,000 calculated by Beloch is quite misleading.

§12 Chios

1. = *SGDI* IV, pp. 873-875, no. 50; Schwyzer 687; Jeffery, *LSAG* 343, no. 41 (Pl. 65). The unusual phrase *ἀπὸ φυλῆς* also occurs in a fourth century document from Iasos (7 §22), where, however, its meaning cannot be "from each phyle."
2. L. H. Jeffery, "The Courts of Justice in Archaic Chios," *ABSA* 51 (1956) 157-167: 166, acknowledging the view that Chios, like her neighbor Erythrai, had three phylai, cites in its support a Chian board of fifteen (Schwyzer 688). But it is not entirely certain that three is the correct number for Erythrai (see 7 §8) and, in any case, the board is equally good evidence for a fivefold division.
3. For the interpretation of this and the other relevant inscriptions, I follow W. G. Forrest, "The Tribal Organization of Chios," *ABSA* 55 (1960) 172-189. For additional discussion of the wider context, see J. L. O'Neil, "The Constitution of Chios in the Fifth Century B.C.," *Talanta* 10-11 (1978-1979) 66-73.

4. Michel 708 (= *SGDI* 5663; Ziehen, *LGS* II 113; *SIG*³ 1013; Schwyzer 695; Sokolowski, *LSCG* 119) (s. IV).

5. *SGDI* 5654 (ca. 450-425); Forrest (above, note 3) 187-188, no. (3). At 188, note 72, Forrest suggests reading γνώμην φυλα̣[..] in line 2.

6. Forrest (above, note 3) 188-189. In line 2 he suggests as a possibility the restoration [φ]υλέων. The inscription is dated "late fifth century."

7. Inclusion of the Klytidai in this earlier organization, however, must remain conjectural. As Forrest observes (above, note 3, 179 note 34), the epigraphic evidence is not sufficient to prove that either or both of the inscriptions do not in fact belong to a second reformed organization introduced ca. 330 (on which, see below).

8. Forrest (above, note 3) 179. On the tyranny of Polyteknos, see Hippias of Erythrai, *FGrH* 421 F 1.

9. See V. Ehrenberg, "Obai," *RE* 17.2 (1937) 1693-1704: 1693; and Frisk, II, s.v.

10. Earlier scholars had proposed as the identification of the body both "phratry" and "genos" (for references to the literature, see Dittenberger on *SIG*³ 987). The conclusion reached here was anticipated by M. P. Nilsson, *Cults, Myths, Oracles, and Politics in Ancient Greece* (New York 1951) 151, note 5. For possible attestations of the word φυλή in fifth century inscriptions, see above, notes 5 and 6.

11. The lists, at least three of which were cut by the same hand, were dated by Forrest (above, note 3, 174), again on the basis of the letter-forms, to ca. 330-320. The postscripts added on nos. 2 and 4 by a later hand are assigned to the second century. For no. 1, see also Michel 1144.

12. Under the circumstances, one might also expect to find that a change had been made to a territorial disposition, but arguments from the find spots of the inscriptions such as those of Forrest (above, note 3, 176) must be regarded as wholly conjectural.

13. Forrest (above, note 3) 180-181.

14. If Forrest is correct in his dating of the postscripts on nos. 2 and 4 (see note 11, above), the organization will have endured into the seond century, at least.

§13 Samos

1. The non-technical usage occurs at 4.149.1 and 2, both times with reference to the Aigeidai at Sparta. Szanto, 51-54, accepting the phyle as a public unit, combined it with the two phylai, Chesia and Astypalaia, attested by Themistagoras (see below), in order to produce a threefold principal division. However, the two phylai are not documented before the end of the fourth century, and in any event probably did not exist prior to the expulsion of the Athenian cleruchy (see below). Szanto's belief that the phylai numbered three depends on a misreading of Herodotos, 3.39.2; surely the point is that Polykrates divided the *polis* in three parts in order to give one part to each of his two sons and keep one himself—nothing is said about phylai. Besides, the organization of Samian Perinthos prompts the inference that the mother city observed the traditional sixfold Attic-Ionic division at the time of the colony's establishment (see below). Szanto's assumption that such a transmission did not occur is entirely gratuitous.

2. The inference is rejected by Szanto. See above, note 1.

3. J. P. Barron, "Religious Propaganda of the Delian League," *JHS* 84 (1964) 35-48: 38-41. For the Eponymoi, see also Michel 780.

4. Demades, apud Athenaios 3.99 D: τὴν δὲ Σάμον ἀπορρῶγα τῆς πόλεως.

5. Published earlier with detailed commentary by C. Curtius, *Inschriften und Studien zur Geschichte von Samos* (Lübeck 1877) 10-22, no. 6. A more recent edition, with brief notes, is that of D. Ohly, "Die Göttin und ihre Basis," *MDAI(A)* 68 (1953) 25-50: 46-49, Anh. 7.

6. The board listed at lines 2-4 has only nine names. As Curtius explains (above, note 5, 13), the representative of Aiantis IX has been omitted by error.

7. Curtius (above, note 5) 14 with note 35.

8. *AP* 44.2 (see 1 §1.22).

9. Space does not permit consideration of other features, or idiosyncracies, of the text not directly related to the public organization. See Curtius (above, note 5) passim.

10. J. Cargill, "*IG* II² 1 and the Athenian Kleruchy on Samos," *GRBS* 24 (1983) 321-332: 326. The list of cleruchs, *IG* II² 1952 (ante med. s. IV), was referred to Samos by E. Schweigert, "The Athenian Cleruchy on Samos," *AJP* 61 (1940) 194-198 (doubt, however, is expressed by Cargill, 326 note 14).

11. Space does not permit discussion of the historical circumstances of the change to the new system. Still valuable is H. Swoboda, "Zur Verfassungsgeschichte von Samos," *Festschrift für Otto Benndorf* (Vienna 1898) 250-255.

12. A partial list of the decrees, some much later than the restoration, would include: Michel 366 (= *SIG*³ 312; *SGDI* 5698), 367 (= *SIG*³ 333), 368, 369; O. Kern, *Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Maeander* (Berlin 1900) no. 103; E. Fabricius, *MDAI(A)* 9 (1884) 194-195, a; 195-

196, b; M. Schede, "Aus dem Heraion von Samos," *MDAI(A)* 44 (1919) 1-46 passim; C. Habicht, "Samische Volksbeschlüsse der Hellenistischen Zeit," *MDAI(A)* 72 (1957) 152-274; "Hellenistische Inschriften aus dem Heraion von Samos," *MDAI(A)* 87 (1972) 191-228: 196-210, nos. 2-8. In many of the decrees the sortition formula is not preserved.

13. This inscription has been republished by G. Dunst, "Die Siegerliste der samischen Heraia," *ZPE* 1 (1967) 225-239. The list of victors includes some names followed by a non-Samian ethnic (e.g. of Tralleis, Miletos, etc.), four others by the *phyletikon* Χησιεύς, and a considerable number by no modifier at all. The Chesieis comprise two individuals titled λαμπαδάρχης (4-5, 7), a winner of "the *didaskaloi* of the *kitharistai*" (5), and a winner of "the *poietai* of the new *satyroi*" (8). The problems connected with the organization of the *lampadedromia*, treated at length by Dunst, cannot be reopened here. For instances of this, and other, events contested among teams fielded by public units, see Index II.I.5.b.

The absence of an Astypalaieus among four Chesieis, though not statistically significant, is nonetheless striking in view of the fact that the Heraia was a Samian festival. The possibility, however, that the eight persons who are without either an ethnic or a *phyletikon* are in fact members of the phyle appears ruled out if one of them, Soton, is the same man who is elsewhere in the document identified as a Chesieus (7).

14. I follow the editors' corrections of the mss. Σχήσιον, Σχησίαν, Σχησίου.

15. The *hekatostys* (?) Πολια(τήας) vel sim. at Kalchedon (6 §24) is probably, on analogy with the other units, of personal disposition.

16. Promontory Χησίον: Schol. Kallimachos, *Hymn to Artemis* 228 (Pfeiffer II, 65, line 161; cf. Schol. Nikander, *Alexipharmika* 151); river Χήσιος: Themistagoras, loc. cit.; Pliny, *NH* 5.135; Χήσιον· Ἰωνίας πολίχνιον: Apollodoros, *FGrH* 244 F 2.

17. Decisive for this interpretation is the point made by T. Wiegand and U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *SB Berlin* 1904, p. 931, that the scholiast on Nikander (above, note 16) places the promontory Chesion on the massif Kerketion (mod. Kerki) at the far western end of the island. Localization of the phyle in or near the Classical capital city appears untenable. The further comment of the scholiast that "Chesieis first settled on Samos, and then Astypaleis," I take to be learned speculation based ultimately on the names of the two phylai. The statement of Roussel, 212, that the Chesieis might have comprised "métèques ou des 'indigènes' " is without support from our texts; certainly the names of Samians using the *phyletikon* reveal no trace of such status.

18. For the corrected reading, and the explanation of the grammar, see G. Dunst, "Zu einer samischen Inschrift," *Philologus* 110 (1966) 307-311.

19. For discussion of evidence bearing on the background of some of the names, see L. Robert, *BCH* 59 (1935) 480-483 (= *OMS* II 749-752).

20. Phylai subdivided by *chiliastyes, hekatostyes,* and *gene* are assumed by Bürchner, "Samos 4)," *RE* II 1 (1920) 2162-2218: 2205; phylai subdivided by *chiliastyes,* by Roussel, 212.

21. For a list of the names, and their sources, see M. Schede, *MDAI(A)* 44 (1919) 20.

22. For other instances of the *genos* in enrollment formulas, see Kolophon (7 §10) and Pygela (7 §12).

23. On this text, see above, note 13.

24. *MDAI(A)* 51 (1926) 33-34 (cited above).

25. See above, note 21.

26. *SIG*³ 1043, commentary.

27. That all the Thousands are at question is further indicated by references to "their own" and "his own" *chiliasteres* in lines 5 and 6.

28. Since this individual Thousand defines itself with reference to the very sanctuary (and possibly the same ritual observance) which serve to identify the *epimenioi* of *all* the Thousands in the previous document, the possibility is opened up that the units engage in parallel uniform activities. For another possible instance of this, see Istros (6 §18).

29. Originally published by T. Wiegand and U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, "Ein Gesetz von Samos über die Beschaffung von Brotkorn aus öffentlichen Mitteln," *SB Berlin* 1904, pp. 917-931. Since its appearance in Pouilloux, *Choix* 34, it has been reedited by G. Thür and C. Koch, "Prozessrechtlicher Kommentar zum 'Getreidegesetz' aus Samos," *Anzeiger der phil.-hist. Klasse der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 118 (1981), So. 5; their text I have followed throughout.

§14-16 Keos

1. D. M. Lewis, "The Federal Constitution of Keos," *ABSA* 57 (1962) 1-4. Evidence possibly indicating the existence of a federal structure prior to the revolt of Euboia is discussed on p. 2. Below, I express doubt regarding details of Lewis' reconstruction.

§14 The Federal State

1. For the restoration of the text, see C. Dunant and J. Thomopoulos, "Inscriptions de Céos," *BCH* 78 (1954) 316-348: 319.

2. E. Szanto, *Die griechische Bürgerrecht* (Freiburg 1892) 138-140.

3. D. M. Lewis, "The Federal Constitution of Keos," *ABSA* 57 (1962) 1-4: 1-2.

4. Szanto, 49.

5. Lewis (above, note 3) 3.

6. Dunant and Thomopoulos (above, note 1) 318. The one other occurrence of the *choros* as a public unit is at Thera (§25).

7. Lewis (above, note 3) 3.

§15 Ioulis

1. With the *BCH* editors, C. Dunant and J. Thomopoulos, against Maier, I assume that the words quoted are part of the direct object of [ἀνα]/γραψάτω (15-16). According to Maier's punctuation, the passage, set off by half stops, does not include a verb.

2. [.....τῶν]/[πο]λιτῶν καὶ τῶν πολιτ[ίδων καὶ]/[τῶν ἄλλων τῶ]ν ἐν τεῖ πόλει κα[τοι]/[κούντων].... (1-4).

3. See above, note 2. The name of a woman may lie concealed in line 27.

4. E. Ruschenbusch, "*IG* XII 5, 609. Eine Bürgerliste von Iulis und Koresia auf Keos," *ZPE* 48 (1982) 175-188.

5. Mention may be made here of the observation of F. Halbherr, *MDAI(A)* 9 (1884) 319-323, that Simonides was said by Kallimachos, fr. 222 Pfeiffer (= fr. 77 Schneider), to be a descendant (νέπους) of a Hyllichos; while at the head of the register of Hylichidai stands Leoprepes, a homonym of Simonides' father (III, 103). Thus Kallimachos claims for the poet descent from the phyle's eponym. We are at liberty to infer the family's continuing membership in the phyle over a period of several generations at least. Of course, since the line might well have maintained residence in the same general location for many years, the phyle could still have been territorial.

For examples of territorial units with names of patronymic form, see Athens (1 §1.21) and, within the region, Tenos (§18), Axos (§28), Kalymna (§40), and Kos (§41).

6. Ruschenbusch (above, note 4) 178-179.

7. A. Wilhelm, "Attische Demotika auf Keos," *Anz. Wien* (1947) 30-41 (= *Akademieschriften* III 116-127).

§16 Karthaia

1. Actually, in three of the texts (*IG* XII 5, nos. 528, 540, 1061) the clause "whichever they wish" immediately follows, and, strictly speaking, applies only to, the phyle; while in the fourth (no. 541), it follows (as restored) the second unit, *oikos*. Precisely because of this variation, and in the absence of any indication of an alternative procedure (e.g. allotment), I assume that the honorands were granted the privilege of choosing both phyle and *oikos*.

2. M. Guarducci, *RFIC* 63 (1936) 504-506; *L'Istituzione* I, 60. For Wade-Gery's views, see "Studies in the Structure of Attic Society: I. Demotionidai," *CQ* 25 (1931) 129-143. For the "Demotionid" decrees, consult *IG* II^2 1237. The identification is also assumed by Szanto, 49.

3. Busolt, *Staatskunde* 267, declares that the *oikoi* could not be "Geschlechter" on the ground that new citizens would not in that case be allowed to choose the unit in which they were to be enrolled; a similar position is taken by Guarducci, *L'Istituzione* I, 60. But this objection is decisively undercut by the fact that honorands are enrolled by allotment in the *genos* not only at Samos (§13), where special circumstances (alluded to by Guarducci) obtained, but also at Kolophon (7 §10) and Pygela (7 §12).

4. The names derive from *IG* XII 5(2), nos. 544, 1075-1078. Hiller's discussion, p. xxx, isolates several which are unlikely to have been public units, whether *choroi* or (as Pridik supposed) *demoi*.

5. As apparently suggested by Busolt, *Staatskunde* 267.

§17 Andros

1. The only significant variation among the texts is the use in *IG* XII suppl., no. 248, of the phrase [ἐξο]νσία...ἔστω in place of the infinitive ἐξεῖναι. The improved texts at *IG* XII suppl., p. 120, where the clause of enrollment is concerned, reflect the work of T. Sauciuc, *Andros* (Vienna 1914) 98, note 2.

2. A. Wilhelm, *GGA* 1898, p. 231.

3. *IG* XII suppl., p. 120. For Hiller's earlier interpretation, based upon the texts printed in *IG* XII 5(2), nos. 716, 717, 720, see his commentary on no. 716.

4. Unfortunately, space has not permitted direct quotation of all these clauses, although, of course, full references have been given.

§18 Tenos

1. The earliest dated text is *IG* XII 5(2), no. 873 (fourth or early third century). References to the *phyletika* and formulas follow. Twelve phylai were counted by Szanto, 48, accepting the reading of Newton at *IBM* II 377 (= *IG* XII 5[2], no. 872), line 20, Φυκαΐδος. Hiller corrected the text to Γυραΐδος.

2. E.g., Hiller von Gaertringen, *IG* XII 5(2), p. XXXIII (for the boards of magistrates, see Index IV 3, pp. 362-363); Busolt, *Staatskunde* 268; and Fiehn, "Tenos 1)," *RE* 19 (1934) 507-532: 510.

3. = *IBM* II 377; *RIJG* I 7; *SGDI* 5492; Michel 1387.

4. Thus Hiller von Gaertringen, *IG* XII 5(2), p. XXXIII (1516.1). Francotte, 145-146, identified the πόλις as the phyle, and the ἄστυ as "la ville"—thereby correctly distinguishing between personal association and territorial entity. Even so, the membership of the phyle may initially have been determined with reference to residence within or outside the town.

5. The *phyletikon* varies in form. Typical are Ἰακινθεύς (*IG* XII 5[2], no. 872, line 26), Ἰακινθίς (line 46; feminine singular), and φυλῆς Ὑακινθίδος (no. 898, line 12). Exceptional are Ἡρακλειδῶν (no. 872, lines 48, 50, etc.) and φυλῆς Ἡρακλειδῶν (lines 40, 65?, 66).

6. *IG* XII 5(2), p. XXXIII. So also Busolt, *Staatskunde* 268.

7. See above, with note 4.

8. *IG* XII 5(2), p. XXXIII. So also Francotte, 146, and Fiehn (above, note 2) 510. This view is also opposed by Busolt, *Staatskunde* 268, note 1.

9. ...μετουσίαν τῆς φυ/λῆς τῆς Ἰακινθέων καὶ χρημάτων καὶ θυσιῶν καὶ τῶν αλλω[ν]/πάντων (no. 864, lines 21-23).

10. Szanto, 48-49.

11. Szanto, 48. For a list of the place-names, see *IG* XII 5(2), Index III, p. 359, s.v. ΤΗΝΟΣ.

§19 Syros

1. K. Stephanos, Ἐπιγραφαὶ τῆς Νήσου Εὔρου, Ἀθήναιον 3 (1874) 643 ff., no. 9.

§20 Delos

1. For a speculative reconstruction at another state, however, see Ios (§23).

2. On possibly significant ordering of the Attic phylai, see N. F. Jones, *CP* 75 (1980) 199-200.

3. V. de Schoeffer, *De Deli insulae rebus* (Berlin 1889) 109.

4. Frisk, II, s.v. τριττύς.

5. Two other possible candidates, Θεανδρίδαι and Πυρρακίδαι, are considered by P. Roussel, *Délos, Colonie athénienne* (Paris 1916) 158 with notes 5 and 6.

6. A systematic examination of the Delian *corpora*, which are still not indexed, has not been possible.

§21 Naxos

1. *IG* XII 5, Index IV.2, p. 361. So also R. Herbst, "Naxos 5)," *RE* 16.2 (1935) 2079-2095: 2091.

§22 Aigiale (Amorgos)

1. Discovered at Arkesine, the text was mistakenly assigned to that city by Szanto, 51. The decisive arguments in favor of Aigiale, however, had already been set out by S. Reinach, *BCH* 8 (1884) 444-447, no. 10.

2. No other satisfactory explanation has thus far been offered. W. Ruppel, "Zur Verfassung und Verwaltung der amorginischen Städte," *Klio* 21 (1927) 314-339: 332, note 4, suggested that the sortition was intended to be confined to the deme (on which, see below), which he regarded as a subdivision of the phyle (in this case, if I understand his argument, of Basileitai). But no mention is made of demes in the formula; nor is there any reason to suppose that the demes—if specifically Aigialean demes existed—subdivided the phylai.

3. On the identification I follow Ruppel (above, note 2) 332; and Hiller von Gaertringen, *IG* XII 7, Index III, p. 136.

4. See *IG* XII 7, Index III, p. 136.

5. Compare at Athens (1 §1.21), in addition to the many patronymic deme names, the late Antinoeis, Apollonieis, and Berenikidai.

6. Ruppel (above, note 2) 332.

§23 Ios

1. *BCH* 27 (1903) 394-400: 394. Of course, according to the Athenian arrangement the tenth (prytanizing) phyle was not represented on the board (see Aristotle, *AP* 44.2), but the theory might nonetheless hold despite the imperfect analogy.

2. Since in neither of the third century texts are all the names preserved, one cannot preclude the possibility that the ἐπιστάτης was one of the members of the board of four.

§24 Melos

1. For the case for the cleruchy, based in part on the very document under review, see A. J. Graham, *Colony And Mother City in Ancient Greece* (New York 1964) 173-174.

2. For the date, see the *editio princeps* of T. Homolle, *BCH* 1 (1877) 44-49.

§25 Thera

1. Herodotos' added detail that the colonists sailed in *three* thirty-oared ships might also be thought to bear positively on the identification, but such indications as this can obviously not be pressed far.

2. = *IG* XII 3 suppl., 1313; *IG* XII suppl., p. 86; Ziehen, *LGS* II 1, no. 125; *SGDI* 4742; Schwyzer 222; Sokolowski, *LSCG* 132.

3. = *IG* XII 3 suppl., 1313; *IG* XII suppl., p. 86; Ziehen, *LGS* II 1, no. 126; *SGDI* 4741. Line 1: [Δυμ]άν[ω]ν. A graffito, *IG* XII 3, no. 550, names a Δυμάν, but there is no reason to connect the name with the phyle.

4. Roussel, 260, fails to mention this text, while dismissing the Dymanes and Hylleis as "des associations cultuelles portant les noms toujours prestigieux des anciennes phylai doriennes" and observing that Herodotos may have used the word φυλή in a non-technical sense. Thereby he justifies the conclusion that "on ignore tout de l'organisation de cette Cité."

5. The argument would be strengthened were it possible to restore a reference to the *choroi* in the Kyrene foundation decree, Meiggs-Lewis 5, regarded by some scholars as genuine and independent of Herodotos' account. G. Oliverio, *RFIC* 56 (1928) 222-232, proposed the restoration in lines 28-30: καταλ[έ]/γεσθαί τ]ε ἀπὸ τῶν χώρων ἁπάντων] τοὺς ἡβῶντας, καὶ τῶν [ἄλ/λ]ων Θηραίων ἐλευθέρους, κτλ. But this and other remedies cited by Meiggs-Lewis, including that of J. H. Oliver, *GRBS* 7 (1966) 25-29, are eliminated by P. M. Fraser's new readings in line 29. For these, see Meiggs-Lewis and (with an improved estimate of the number of lost letters) S. Dušanić, *Chiron* 8 (1978) 56-57.

6. Thus F. Hiller von Gaertringen, *Die Insel Thera* I (Berlin 1899) 308.

7. L. H. Jeffery, "The Pact of the First Settlers at Cyrene," *Historia* 10 (1961) 139-147: 143.

§26 Kyrene

1. L. H. Jeffery, "The Pact of the First Settlers at Cyrene," *Historia* 10 (1961) 139-147: 142-144. The reconstruction is received with favor by Roussel, 300-301.

2. Jeffery (above, note 1) 142, note 9, citing the Lindian Chronicle, ch. 17 (= *FGrH* 532 B-C 17).

3. Jeffery (above, note 1) 142-143.

4. W. W. How and J. Wells, *A Commentary on Herodotos* I (Oxford 1912) 355 (on 4.161.3).

5. G. Busolt, *Griechische Geschichte* I (Gotha 1893) 490, note 2.

6. F. Chamoux, *Cyrène sous la monarchie des Battiades* (Paris 1953) 221-225; Jeffery (above, note 1) 143.

7. Thus, in brief, A. J. Graham and B. H. Warmington, "Cyrene," *OCD*[2] 307.

8. See, for example, the discussion of W. L. Newman, *The Politics of Aristotle* 4 (Oxford 1902) 522-523.

9. *IG* XII 3, no. 450b, line 3.

10. A possible reference to the (three) phylai at about this time occurs in the well known "oracle of Apollo," Sokolowski, *LSCG Suppl.*, 115 (= Solmsen-Fraenkel, 39; Buck 115) (fin. s. IV), §19: "Third suppliant, a homicide. One shall make intercession to the tribunal of the three cities and the three tribes (ἐς [τρι]/πολίαν καὶ τριφυλίαν)" (Buck). Sokolowski suggests that the members of the tribunal were recruited from the three phylai. Compare Herodotos (above).

§27-39 Krete

1. s.v. Ὑλεες· οἱ ἐν Κρήτῃ Κυδώνιοι. A possible attestation of the Hylleis at Amnisos has been detected in the inscription *PAAH* 1936, p. 86, no. 4, line 3, by K. Davaras, *AE* 1980 (1982) 36, with note 5.

2. For a collection of sources for the Kretan *hetairia*, and brief discussion, see M. Guarducci, "Note di antichità cretesi," *Historia* 9 (1935) 436-445: I, 436-443.

3. For references, details of interpretation, and fragmentary names that add nothing of substance to the present list, see the discussions of the individual organizations.

4. A. Maiuri, "Studi sull' onomastica cretese," I, *RAL* V 19 (1910) 329-363, II, 20 (1911) 631-675. The names under review here are discussed at II, 662-672. More recently, the question has been reopened by E. Kirsten, "Vordorische Griechen in den Dorier-Poleis Kretas,?" Πεπραγμένα τοῦ Β' Διεθνοῦς Κρητολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου, II (Athens 1968) 61-72: 63-65.

5. This straightforward approach was called into question by Roussel, 257, 259-260, who prefers to see the names as deriving from traditions, local cults, and ties between Kretan cities or between Kretan cities and foreign peoples. Yet any of these might, in turn, commemorate prehistoric population movements.

6. Szanto, 8-9. Hesiod, fr. 233 Merkelbach-West (= Rzach 191): *τριχάϊκες ... 'Ησίοδος δὲ διὰ τὸ τριχῆι αὐτοὺς οἰκῆσαι· "πάντες δὲ τριχάϊκες καλέονται/οὕνεκα τρισσὴν γαῖαν ἑκὰς πάτρης ἐδάσαντο."*

7. Frisk, II, s.v. Others, however, have defended the sense of Hesiod's etymology (though not its specific detail), by derivation from *τρεῖς* and *οἰκεῖν*; but in that case, as Frisk observes, the expected form would be **τρί-ϝῖκες*.

§28 Axos

1. Compare, within the region, the examples at Tenos (§18), Kalymna (§40), and Kos (§41).

§29 Gortyn

1. A. Maiuri, "Studi sull' onomastica cretese," II, *RAL* 20 (1911) 631-675: 666-668.

2. I find no comment on the name in the works of either Maiuri (above, note 1) or Guarducci (*IC*, loc. cit.).

3. R. F. Willetts, *The Law Code of Gortyn* (Berlin 1967) 11 (see also, on the heiress, 23-27). The same line is taken in the author's earlier *Aristocratic Society in Ancient Crete* (London 1955) 27-28, and 69-84 (on the heiress).

4. Szanto, 21-22. In order to save the theory of a tripartite division of the land among the Dorian phylai, Szanto must categorize the other groups as either *startoi* (e.g., Aithaleis; see below) or as a "Geschlecht" or a "Sippe" (e.g. Echanoreis, securely attested only at Lato, §35). But that at least one of the groups other than the Dorian triad, viz. Pharkaris, was in fact a phyle is certain (see Praisos, §39). The theory is also opposed by Roussel, 258-259, on the *a priori* ground that such a practice would render life in the community "impossible." Nor can the question be decided by reference to the Code's allowance for inheritance by daughters, whereby property might pass into (her) new family (IV 23—VI 1 = Meiggs-Lewis 41), since these regulations may assume endogamy within the phyle.

5. Roussel, 258. For the treaty, see *IC* III, Hierapytna no. 4 (init. s. II); and below, §38 and §39.

6. Willetts 1955 (above, note 3) 27.

7. Roussel, 258. Another possibility is that the purpose of the regulation was to prevent intermarriage between a citizen elite (the *phyletai*) and members of lower classes; but if this were so, there would be no reason to restrict an heiress to marriage within *her own* phyle (as Roussel, 259, observes).

8. G. De Sanctis, "The Startus in Cretan Inscriptions," *AJA* 5 (1901) 319-327. For additional discussion of the unit, see M. Guarducci, "Note di antichità cretesi," *Historia* 9 (1935) 436-445: II, 443-445; *IC* IV, Gortyn no. 80 with commentary; and Meiggs-Lewis 41 with commentary.

9. The correctness of Aristotle's claim has been questioned on the ground that only phylai, never *gene*, appear among the formulas naming the boards of *kosmoi*, by S. Spyridakis, "Aristotle on the Election of Kosmoi," *PP* 24 (1969) 265-268. But Aristotle's statement is consistent with the assumption that in practice the selection was made only from certain *gene* within each phyle, as noted by G. Huxley, "Crete in Aristotle's *Politics*," *GRBS* 12 (1971) 505-515: 510-511.

10. The *σταρταγέτας* attested at *IC* IV, Gortyn no. 80, is presumably a functionary of the *startos*. For discussion, see the bibliography cited above, note 8.

§31 Knossos

1. F. Bechtel, "Der kretische Phylenname *'Αρχήια*," *GGN* (1920) 251ff.

2. Thus Guarducci, *IC* IV, Gortyn no. 186, commentary, p. 270. Such an expression would be otiose following the use of the term "*kosmoi*."

3. F. Halbherr, *MAAL* 1 (1889) 45-50, 53-56.

§32 Lyttos

1. For the interpretation of the inscription, Guarducci compares an excerpt from Dosiades, *FHG* IV, p. 399 (ap. Athenaios, 4.143 A-D). The Lyttians are said to contribute to common *syssitia*, "each rendering a tithe of his crop to the *hetairia*, and to the revenues of the city that the leaders of the city distribute to the houses of each." Roughly comparable procedures are clearly in question, but it is doubtful how far the comparison can be pressed, since Dosiades mentions neither *startoi* nor phylai.

§33 Dreros

1. For the details, see van Effenterre, op. cit., p. 592.

2. = Michel 23; *SGDI* 4952; *SIG*³ 527; Schwyzer 193; Buck 120; *Staatsverträge* III 584.

3. A. Maiuri, "Studi sull' onomastica cretese," II, *RAL* 20 (1911) 631-675: 663-666. Maiuri's specific reconstruction of the transmission of the name, however, from Thessaly to Euboia to Chios to Krete, I find no less hypothetical than his proposed etymology.

§35 Lato

1. At *IC* I, Lato no. 3, the dating formula cites the *kosmoi* for Knossos, Lato, and Olous, but only for Knossos is the phyle—Aithaleis—named. Guarducci raises the question whether Aithaleis might not have been the presiding phyle for the other two cities as well. Thereby, only a single citation of the name, for the first named city, would have been required. Although it is unlikely that three cities should by chance simultaneously be in the presidency of the same phyle, the suggestion should be left open as a possibility until a better explanation for the admittedly puzzling absence of the two phylai can be found.

2. This phyle has also been wholly restored in three other texts: *BCH* 62 (1938) 399-405, no. 3, as restored by H. van Effenterre, *REA* 45 (1943) 38; H. van Effenterre and M. Bougrat, Κρητικὰ Χρονικά 21 (1969) 11-15, line 4; 28-29, line 2.

3. A. Maiuri, "Studi sull' onomastica cretese," II, *RAL* 20 (1911) 631-675: 668-670.

4. Maiuri (above, note 3) 670.

5. H. van Effenterre, *BCH* 97 (1973) 31-46: 35-36; A. J. Beattie, *Kadmos* 14 (1975) 8-47: 12-13; 20-21.

§38 Hierapytna

1. On the basis of the text of *IC* III, Hierapytna no. 8 (s. I), Guarducci assumes the existence of a *gens* [Ἐτεανορίδαι]. Although the term γένος occurs at line 9, there is no reason to suppose that this name ever stood in the text.

2. A. Maiuri, "Studi sull' onomastica cretese," II, *RAL* 20 (1911) 631-675: 671. I fail to see the connection between the feminine singular form and "the prevalence of non-Dorian elements" suggested by R. F. Willetts, *The Law Code of Gortyn* (Berlin 1967) 6.

3. Roussel, 258 with note 12.

§40 Kalymna

1. Thettalos: Diodoros of Sicily, 5.54.1; settlers from Epidauros: Herodotos, 7.99.2-3; settlers from Kos: Diodoros, 5.54.3. These and other historical testimonia on the history of the island are collected and discussed by M. Segre, "Tituli Calymnii," *ASAA* 22-23 (1944-1945) 1-34.

2. Segre (above, note 1), nos. 1-72 passim. The two exceptions are nos. 17 (= *IBM* II 261; *SGDI* 3582) and 21. In the former, the verb indicating the nature of the enrollment procedure is not preserved. On the latter, see further below.

3. G. Klaffenbach, rev. of Segre (above, note 1), *Gnomon* 25 (1953) 453-461: 458-459.

4. Namely, Perphidai (nos. 18 [phyle only]; 8 and 41? [phyle and deme]) and Theugenidai (nos. 19 and 20 [phyle only]; 34 A and 36 [phyle and deme]).

5. Busolt, *Staatskunde* 259; Guarducci, *L'Istituzione* II, p. 100; Segre, p. 41.

6. For the identification, see Guarducci, *L'Istituzione* II, p. 100. An alternative equation, *genos*, has frequently been suggested: for references, see Guarducci's note 5.

7. Both Busolt and Guarducci (references above, note 5) regarded the phylai as territorial and made the demes their subdivisions. The correct interrelationship of the earlier phylai and demes was first noted by Segre, p. 41.

8. See M. Dubois, *BCH* 8 (1884) 40-41; Segre, 41-42; G. E. Bean and J. M. Cook, "The Carian Coast III," *ABSA* 52 (1957) 127-133; 131-133.

9. Segre, 41. Segre's additional argument that these phylai are Asiatic in character because they were subdivided by *syngeneiai* is invalidated by the observation made above that our single source does not necessarily indicate a whole and part relation between phyle and *syngeneia*.

10. The single *damarchos* occurring in nos. 69 (= *IBM* II 321; *SGDI* 3610) (p.p. 25 a.), 111 (s. I p.), 112 (Imperial), and 120 (s. I a./p.) was, at the time of these documents, an administrative officer of the entire *damos* without discernible connection with the demes (see Segre on no. 111).

11. The residue comprises a wholly restored reference to the deme of the Panormioi in a state decree (no. 68: s. II-I), a restored *demotikon* Πα[νόρμιον] (no. 83: s. I), and the record of a manumission ἐν Πανόρμωι (no. 205).

12. "The Order of the Dorian Phylai," *CP* 75 (1980) 197-215.

13. The exception is from Kos (§41). I have offered a (partial) explanation based upon the probable role played by the larger island in the dramatic transformation of Kalymna's organization. See (above, note 12) 210-212.

14. See Segre, no. 85 commentary, with references to the earlier work of Newton, Paton, and others.

15. For Paton's discussion, see W. R. Paton and E. L. Hicks, *The Inscriptions of Cos* (Oxford 1891) 352-354. Segre on no. 88 provides additional commentary.

16. For a recent detailed account of the *homopoliteia,* see S. M. Sherwin-White, *Ancient Cos* (Göttingen 1978) 124-129.

17. For the "deme" of Kalymna, see Segre no. 219 (s. II-I).

§41 Kos

1. Throughout, references are made in abbreviated form to the following works: W. R. Paton and E. L. Hicks, *The Inscriptions of Cos* (Oxford 1891); R. Herzog, *Koische Forschungen und Funde* (Leipzig 1899); idem, *Heilige Gesetze von Kos, Abhandlungen Berlin* 1928, no. 6; A. Maiuri, *Nuova silloge epigrapfica Rodi e Cos* (Florence 1925); A. N. Modona, *L'Isola di Coo nell' antichità classica* (Rhodes 1933); G. Pugliese Carratelli, "Il damos Coo di Isthmos," *ASAA* 41-42 (1963-1964) 147-202; S. M. Sherwin-White, *Ancient Cos* (Göttingen 1978). For the synoecism, see Sherwin-White, 40-81.

2. = *SGDI* 3638; Prott, *LGS* I 7; Michel 718; *SIG*³ 1027; Schwyzer 251 C; Herzog, *Heilige Gesetze* 3; Sokolowski, *LSCG* 151 C.

3. = *SGDI* 3635; Prott, *LGS* I 5; Michel 716; *SIG*³ 1025; Schwyzer 251 A; Buck 108; Herzog, *Heilige Gesetze* 1; Sokolowski, *LSCG* 151 A.

4. Herzog, *Heilige Gesetze* 5 B, lines 6-7. Earlier editions include *IBM* IV 2, no. 968; Prott, *LGS* I 8 A; *SGDI* 3639; Sokolowski, *LSCG* 156 B.

5. For the unpublished text attesting the *agoranomoi,* see Sherwin-White, 212, note 242. For the ad hoc boards, see Sherwin-White, 202-203, citing (203, note 172) an unpublished inscription; M. Segre, *Aevum* 9 (1935) 254-255; and G. Pugliese Carratelli, *ASAA* 41-42 (1963-1964) 173. The commission in Paton-Hicks 9 belongs to an (unknown) deme and thus might represent local, not the statewide, phylai.

6. M. Segre, *ASAA* 22-23 (1944-1945) no. XII (= Hainsworth, *TDGIS* II 57), lines 1-4. The text continues "... and to choose for Kalymna one (sc. ὁρκωτής) from each phyle and (a) secretary for these" (4-5)—presumably with reference to the Kalymnian organization (§40).

7. Sherwin-White, 206 with note 193. A board of five generals in the second or first century appears guaranteed by Paton-Hicks 27 (= *SGDI* 3627; Ziehen, *LGS* II 133; *SIG*³ 1012; Sokolowski, *LSCG* 166), lines 2-5.

8. For a detailed exposition, see Sherwin-White, 158-161. She refutes the view of Francotte, 126, that each phyle was divided into nine Ninths, three to each Thousand—hence twenty-seven Ninths in all.

9. Sherwin-White, 159-162.

10. A fragment of a third such text has been published by J. Benedum, *ZPE* 27 (1977) 229-235, no. 1 (s. III). Only the beginning of the clause of result is preserved: ἔλαχε φυλη[---] (line 5). The apparent absence of sufficient space for a *triakas* and *pentekostys* is striking.

11. For the *triakas,* see L. Robert, *Hellenica* 5 (Paris 1948) 11-12; and below, note 14. For the *pentekostys,* see Index I.A.19.

12. *Heilige Gesetze,* 42-43.

13. Herzog states, falsely, that (i) Herodotos, 3.39 shows the establishment of three phylai by Polykrates; and (ii) that the citizenship decrees (commencing with the expulsion of the Athenian cleruchy late in the fourth century) reveal the *hekatostyes* and *gene* to be distinct divisions. See §13.

14. None of the evidence adduced by Sherwin-White, 162 with note 44, in support of the fractional meaning carries weight. The fact that the term could be used to designate the thirtieth day of the month (Hesychios, s.v.) does not "show its dual use both as a group of thirty days and as the thirtieth part of the month," as she claims. Both parts of the inference depend upon the assumption of a month of exactly thirty days—hardly what Greek calendric practice would lead us to believe. The twenties of the month were called the εἰκάδες, but it does not follow from this that εἰκάς means either a group of twenty (although, from other evidence, we know this to be true) or a twentieth part.

15. Sherwin-White, 155, 163.

16. Enrollment formulas: e.g. "phyle, deme, and phratry" (Athens, 1 §1.21), "*hemiogdoön* and *triakas* and *phyla* and *phatra*" (Corinth, 2 §2); and "phyle and deme" (Kalymna, §40).

17. Sherwin-White, 156.

18. See above, note 10.

19. Paton and Hicks, 212-213; Herzog, *KFF* 164-170; *Heilige Gesetze* 44-45; Modona, 22-27; Sherwin-White, 58-63, 182-183.

20. Stephanos of Byzantion, s.v. Δαφνοῦς.

21. Sherwin-White, 60-61.

22. Sherwin-White, 61, note 163.

23. For the dispensing of funds by the state's *tamiai* to Isthmos and Halasarna, see *Heilige Gesetze* 5 B, lines 23-25 (restored). For the setting up of copies of regulations in the two demes, see no. 8 A, lines 17-18 (restored). In no. 15, lines 16-22 (= no. 16, 5-14), instructions are set

out for the selection of *epimenioi* "from each deme," and for the distribution of funds to them by the *tamiai;* but the restorations are far too extensive to permit inferences regarding the roles or relative importance of the demes originally listed by name.

24. Arranged by deme, the documents are:

Αἰγήλιοι:

decree: J. Benedum, *ZPE* 25 (1977) 270-272, no. 2 (ca. 200)

Ἁλασαρνῖται:

catalogue: R. Herzog, *SB Berlin* 1901, 481-483, no. 3 (s. III?)

decrees: R. Herzog, *SB Berlin* 1901, 472-478, no. 1 (= *SIG*³ 568) (ca. 200); 478-480, no. 2 (s. III); 483-493 (= Sokolowski, *LSCG* 174) (A.D. 18); Herzog, *KFF* 210 (= *REG* 9 [1896] 419, no. 7) (s. III-II); *SIG*³ 569 (= Maier, *Mauerbauinschriften* 46: ca. 201); G. Pugliese Carratelli, *ASAA* 41-42 (1963-1964) 154 (cf. Herzog, *Heilige Gesetze,* p. 49) (unpublished: n. d.); 156-157 (cf. Herzog, *Heilige Gesetze,* p. 44; L. Robert, *REA* 65 [1963] 305, note 3; Sherwin-White, 268-269, no. 6) (unpublished: s. II?); Maiuri, *Nuova silloge* 674 (non ante s. I); J. Benedum, *ZPE* 25 (1977) 275-276, no. 5 (Imperial); W. R. Paton, *REG* 9 (1896) 418-419, no. 6 (n.d.)

dedications and honors: Paton-Hicks 371 (= *SGDI* 3710) (n.d.); 372 (= *SGDI* 3711) (n.d.); 373 (= *SGDI* 3712) (time of Nero); Herzog, *KFF* 186 (n.d.); 222 (time of Julius Caesar); 223 (21-12 a.); R. Herzog, *SB Berlin* 1901, 493, no. 5 (reign of Gaius); 493-494, no. 6 (reign of Claudius); 494, no. 7 (s. I a./p.); W. R. Paton, *REG* 9 (1896) 420-421, no. 8 (Imperial)

sepulchral: Paton-Hicks 374 (= *SGDI* 3713) (n.d.); Herzog, *KFF* 224 (Imperial?)

Ἀλέντιοι

decree: Paton-Hicks 344 (= *SGDI* 3698; *IGRR* IV 1087) (reign of Augustus)

dedication: Paton-Hicks 347 (= *SGDI* 3702) (Imperial)

Ἀντιμαχίδαι, Ἀρχιάδαι, Αἰγήλιοι

honors: Paton-Hicks 393 (= *SGDI* 3724) (reign of Claudius); 394 (= *SGDI* 3725) (s. II p.); Herzog, *KFF* 218 (n.d.)

Ἱππιῶται

decree: G. Pugliese Carratelli, *PP* 13 (1958) 418-419 (= Herzog, *KFF* 198) (s. II p.)

dedications and honors: Paton-Hicks 361 (Imperial); 362 (Imperial); Herzog, *KFF* 176 (time of Nero); 177 (n.d.); W. R. Paton, *REG* 19 (1896) 418, no. 5 (time of Severi) (but see Herzog, *KFF* 197)

Ἰσθμιῶται

decrees: G. Pugliese Carratelli, *ASAA* 41-42 (1963-1964) 161-165, nos. VI-VIII (s. III-II ?); 181, no. XIX?

dedications and honors: Paton-Hicks 409 (= *SGDI* 3740) (ca. A.D. 74); 410 (= *SGDI* 3739) (A.D. 74); 411 (= *SGDI* 3737; *IGRR* IV 1104; *ASAA* 41-42 (1963-1964) 182, no. XXII) (Imperial); 412 (= *SGDI* 3738) (Imperial); 413 (reign of Geta); 414 (= 411?: Imperial); G. Pugliese Carratelli, *ASAA* 41-42 (1963-1964) 182, no. XXIII (Imperial); 201-202, no. XXVII (provenience unknown; ca. 205)

catalogues: G. Pugliese Carratelli, *ASAA* 41-42 (1963-1964) 165-175, no. IX; 175-176, no. X (= Paton-Hicks 405; *SGDI* 3734); 176-181, nos. XI-XVIII (all ca. 200?)

leges sacrae: G. Pugliese Carratelli, *ASAA* 41-42 (1963-1964) 158, no. 1 (= Paton-Hicks 401; *SGDI* 3731; Prott, *LGS* I 10) (s. III); 158-159, no. 2 (= *IBM* II 339 and 339a; Paton-Hicks 402; *SGDI* 3732; Prott, *LGS* I 11) (s. III); 159, no. 3 (= *IBM* II 339; Paton-Hicks 403; *SGDI* 3733; Prott, *LGS* I 12) (s. IV in.); 159-161, no. 4 (s. III in.); 161, no. 5 (= Paton-Hicks 437) (date?)

sepulchral: Paton-Hicks 416 (= *SGDI* 3741) (n.d.) Cf. Paton-Hicks 418.

Φυξιῶται

dedication: Herzog, *KFF* 197 (= W. R. Paton, *REG* 9 [1896] 418, no. 5) (A.D. 211/12)

sepulchral: Paton-Hicks 327 (= *SGDI* 3693) (n.d.); 328 (= *SGDI* 3694) (n.d.)

deme not identified

decrees: Paton-Hicks 9 (= *IBM* II 337) (s. II-I); 383 (s. III)?; J. Benedum, *ZPE* 25 (1977) 274-275, no. 4 (s. III)? Cf. Paton-Hicks 382 (= Michel 1004; *SGDI* 3718) (s. III).

dedication: Paton-Hicks 371a (n.d.)

25. Demarch of Halentioi: Paton-Hicks 344, 347? The officer also appears in no. 9, but the deme to which the document pertains is unknown. The *napoiai* of Halasarna figure in many of the documents of the deme listed above, note 24. For discussion, see Sherwin-White, 182-183.

26. *Tamiai:* Paton-Hicks 9 (unknown deme). *Hierotamiai* (two): no. 383 (unknown deme). *Karykes:* Paton-Hicks 403 (Isthmos). *Hieropoioi: SB Berlin* no. 3 (Halasarna); Paton-Hicks 370 (Halasarna); no. 383 (unknown deme). *Hiereus:* Paton-Hicks 383 (unknown deme).

27. See above, note 5.

28. Praise and crown: passim. Both, with announcement: *SB Berlin* no. 2 (Halasarna). Statue: Paton-Hicks 394 (Antimachidai, Aigelioi, and Archidai); *KFF* 218 (same deme). Portrait: Paton-Hicks 409 and 418 (Isthmos); *KFF* 223 (Halasarna). Participation: *ASAA* 41-42 (1963-1964) 156-157 (Halasarna). Savior and Benefactor: *SB Berlin* no. 5 (Halasarna). Daughter of Deme: *PP* 13 (1958) 418-419 (Hippiotai). Son of Deme: *REG* 9 (1896) 420-421, no. 8 (Halasarna).

29. Contributions of officers: Paton-Hicks 383 (unknown deme). Deme's contributions; deme's lending to *polis* and others: ibid.

30. *REG* 9 (1896) 418-419.

31. *REA* 65 (1963) 305, note 3 (Halasarna).

32. Sacrifices: Paton-Hicks 383 (unknown deme). Reception: ibid. Festival of Hera: *PP* 13 (1958) 418-419 (Hippiotai). Shrine of Isthmos: Paton-Hicks 411. Temple: no. 371 a. Statues: no. 372 (Halasarna), etc. Altars: *KFF* 222, 224 (Halasarna). Pedestal: Paton-Hicks 412 (Isthmos). Propitiatory monument: no. 347 (Halentioi). Tombstones: nos. 327, 328 (Phyxiotai), etc. Stelai: *SIG*^{3} 569 (Halasarna).

33. For a contrasting interpretation, see Sherwin-White, 183-184.

34. = Michel 1003; *SGDI* 3705; Ziehen, *LGS* I 130; *SIG*^{3} 1023; Schwyzer 253; *ASAA* 41-42 (1963-1964) 183-187, no. 26 A (decree); *SGDI* 3706; *ASAA* 41-42 (1963-1964) 187-201, no. 26 B (catalogue).

35. Sherwin-White, 157, note 26.

36. For the explanation for the absence of references to phylai in the catalogue, see Paton's commentary, p. 237.

§42-52 Rhodes

1. Thus, e.g., Busolt, *Staatskunde* 130-131; Francotee, 195, note 1. Szanto, 9-11, takes the interpretation further by supposing that the settlement by the phylai was on a territorial basis. The supposition is then adduced in support of his general theory that the Dorian phylai everywhere originated in a tripartite division of lands occupied by the Dorian settlers. But, quite apart from the lack of real evidence, it is procedurally unsound to argue, as he does (10), from the much later territorial arrangement of the Synoecized State (§42).

2. See Index II.K.2, and compare the discussion of Halikarnassos (7 §23).

3. A. Andrewes, "Phratries in Homer," *Hermes* 89 (1961) 129-140: 132-133.

4. Nor can the difficulty be resolved by appeal to the organizations of states with known Rhodian connections. Akragas, where the Hylleis are attested in the second century (4 §18), was a joint Rhodian-Kretan settlement, but since the Dorian system is securely documented in a number of Kretan cities (5 §27-39), it is impossible to isolate the Rhodian contribution. Kedreai (§46) had come within Rhodian control by the Hellenistic period, but the Dymanes found there in the second century might equally well have descended from the time of the foundation.

§42 The Synoecized State

1. For general accounts of the state system, see F. Hiller von Gaertringen, "Rhodes," *RE Suppl.* 5 (1931) 731-840: 746-754 (with a sketch map, 754); P. M. Fraser and G. E. Bean, *The Rhodian Peraea and Islands* (Oxford 1954) (hereafter *RP&I*); G. Pugliese Carratelli, "Sui damoi e le phylai di Rodi," *SCO* 2 (1953) 69-78; "Ancora sui *damoi* di Rodi," *SCO* 6 (1957) 62-75. Concerning the historical circumstances surrounding the creation of the new state and its organization, see G. Pugliese Carratelli, "Alessandro e la costituzione Rodia," *PP* 11 (1949) 154-171; "La formazione dello stato Rodio," *SCO* 1 (1951) 77-88; and P. M. Fraser, "Alexander and the Rhodian Constitution," *PP* 7 (1952) 192-206.

2. L. Morricone, *ASAA* 27-29 (1949-1951) 351-380.

3. Texts including a reference to one or more of the three state phylai are: *IG* XII 1, no. 125 (time of Augustus), no. 830 (= *Lindos* no. 420 B: A.D. 23); *Lindos* nos. 696 AB (ca. 330); 222 (ca. 150); 707 (ca. 40-30); *Clara Rhodos* 2 (1932) 215-216, no. 55 (s. II/I); 202, no. 34 (late Imperial); A. Maiuri, *Nuova silloge epigrafica di Rodi e Cos* (Florence 1925) 32, no. 19 (ca. 225: *Lindos*, p. 359); *ASAA* 30-32 (1952-1954) 267-269, nos. 18, 19 AB (ca. 200-150); *ASAA* 27-29 (1949-1951) 209-210, no. 63 AB. Texts of similar type, in which, however, the name of a phyle is not preserved, are: *Clara Rhodos* 2 (1932) 193-194, no. 21 (s. II); 196, no. 24 (s. II); 190-192, no. 19 (ca. 100); 192-193, no. 20 (init. s. I); Maiuri, *Nuova silloge*, 19-29, no. 18; *ASAA* 30-32 (1952-1954) 262, no. 6 (n.d.); 278, no. 40 (n.d.); *Hermes* 36 (1901) 440-443, no. 1 (s. II). For most of these I have given the most accessible publication; many have been republished elsewhere, but space does not permit full citation of all such references. For pertinent quotation of nearly all the texts, see Pugliese Carratelli 1953 (above, note 1) 75-76.

4. Maiuri, *Nuova silloge* 29-32, no. 19 (ca. 225).

5. Source cited above, note 4.

6. Tragedy and satyr plays at *ASAA* 27-29 (1949-1951) 209-210, no. 63 AB (n.d.); tragedy alone at *IG* XII 1, no. 125 (time of Augustus); *auletai, tragoidoi,* and *komoidoi* at *Hermes* 36 (1901) 440-443, no. 1 (s. II).

7. *Paides* at *Lindos* no. 696 AB (ca. 330); *Clara Rhodos* 2 (1932) 215-216, no. 55 (s. II/I); etc.; *andres* at *ASAA* 30-32 (1952-1954) 262, no. 6 (n.d.). Since in the inscription cited above, note 6, the "flutists" are mentioned alongside tragic and comic performers, I take this as a reference to a separate competition.

8. For the eponyms and their interrelationships, see Hiller von Gaertringen, *IG* XII 1, loc. cit.

9. P. M. Fraser, *PP* 7 (1952) 205-206. For fuller discussions of the *ktoinai* than can be presented here, see Gilbert II, 181-182; Francotte, 197-202; Busolt, *Staatskunde* 150 with note 3. M. Guarducci, "Note di antichità Rodie, I: le *ktoinai,* II: le *synnomai,*" *Historia* 8 (1935) 420-435: 420-430, collects all occurrences of the unit and considers the question of its nature; A. Momigliano, "Note sulla storia di Rodi," *RFIC* 14 (1936) 49-63: 57-60, explores the historical background of the decree *IG* XII 1, no. 694, regarding the Kameiran *ktoinai* (see below, §44).

10. For the identification and allocation of the demes, see, besides the works listed above, note 1, F. Hiller von Gaertringen, "Die Demen der rhodischen Städte," *MDAI(A)* 41 (1917) 171-184.

§43 Ialysos

1. See A. B. Drachmann, ed., *Scholia vetera in Pindari carmina* I (Leipzig 1903) 235: "phyle" at line 172b, d; "phratry" at 172c.

2. See above, The Synoecized State (§42), notes 1 and 10.

§44 Kameiros

1. For the text, see G. Jocopi, *Clara Rhodos* 6-7 (1932) 370-384, no. 2a-h. The operation in the document of the principle of "triennial rule" was first noticed by J. Benediktsson, *Chronologie de deux listes de prêtres Kamiréens* (Copenhagen 1940) 10, note 1., and developed further by P. M. Fraser, "The Tribal-Cycles of Eponymous Priests at Lindos and Kamiros," *Eranos* 51 (1953) 23-47: 39-40. The earliest dated entry is for the year 279, but Benediktsson argued strongly that the list began in 406 (contemporaneously with the Lindian catalogue) and probably continued as far down as the beginning of the first century (op. cit., pp. 13-16).

2. For bibliography on the demes, see above, The Synoecized State (§42), note 1.

3. A. Andrewes, "The Patrai of Kamiros," *ABSA* 52 (1957) 30-37.

§45 Lindos

1. For a contrasting view, see A. Andrewes, *ABSA* 52 (1957) 34-35.

2. Discovered by C. Blinkenberg, the operation of the "triennial rule" was subsequently developed by P. M. Fraser, "The Tribal-Cycles of Eponymous Priests at Lindos and Kamiros," *Eranos* 51 (1953) 23-47. For the twelve demes, see *Lindos* 347 (= *SIG*³ 765), 349, and 378 (all discussed below). The list's inception was dated to 408 by Kinch (*Lindos,* pp. 91-95), to 406 by Blinkenberg (*Lindos,* p. 97), followed by Fraser (41, note 2).

§47 Tymnos

1. For a contrasting restoration of the passage, see F. Sokolowski, "On the Lex Sacra of Tymnos," *TAPA* 87 (1956) 47-50, where, in place of "the deme," he proposes τὸ̣ν [γᾶ]/[μο]ν.

§49 Syme

1. Fraser and Bean, *RP&I* 139-141.

2. M. Guarducci, *Historia* 8 (1935) 423, no. 7. Since the *koinon* is expressly defined as "those resident in Syme," i.e. originating in places other than Syme itself, it is difficult to see how such persons might have constituted what other examples show (e.g. at Karpathos, §52) to have been a territorially-based unit. That it was the *ktoinetai* who summoned the prospective benefactor to the *ekklesia* (of the *ktoina*?) (line 13) by no means implies that this body must be identical with the originators of the decree.

3. Fraser and Bean, *RP&I* 139-141, where, in the absence of a demotic Symaios, they suggest Syme formed part of Lindian Kasareis, situated on the mainland opposite.

§50 Telos

1. For the evidence, see Fraser and Bean, *RP&I* 146.

2. Fraser and Bean, *RP&I* 147, with note 1.

§52 Karpathos

1. For discussion of Potidaion and the *ktoina,* see Bürchner, "Karpathos," *RE* 10 (1919) 2000-2004: 2003.

2. Fraser and Bean, *RP&I* 144, with note 2.

Chapter VI Makedonia, Thrake, the Black Sea, and Propontis

The earliest traces of public organization in Makedonia come from the late fifth century *epoikia* at Poteidaia (§1), where names on tombstones are accompanied by Athenian phyle and demotic; evidence definitely relating to the short-lived cleruchy of 361-356, however, is lacking. Regarding native organizations, a passage in Aristotle just possibly refers to Poteidaian *demoi,* with which an enigmatic "demotic" from the later refoundation, Kassandreia, might be linked. The deme is also attested by a lexicographer for another foundation of Kassander, Thessalonike (§2). Here, too, as at Beroia (§3) and Stoboi (§4), phylai are documented by inscriptions of Imperial date, although several, to judge from the content of their names, might be of considerably earlier origin.

For Thrake, a small body of epigraphic texts, none of which can be dated earlier than the Imperial period, attests phylai (or else *phylarchoi*) at a total of eight states. Generally, the eponyms of the phylai, where known, are a Greco-Roman or local deity—a pattern familiar among innovating organizations elsewhere. The only arguable exceptions are from Philippopolis (§8), where the possibility that three of the names of the phylai have topographical reference strengthens an already strong case for a territorial disposition; for these phylai almost certainly comprised as subdivisions the manifestly territorial *komarchiai,* themselves aggregates of *komai,* or villages. The phylai of Traianopolis (§5) may have been similarly constituted of *komai.* Whether or not the other organizations were also territorial cannot be determined, but the widespread attestation of the *phylarchos* (§6, 8, 9, 12) suggests a general uniformity of structure.

Settlements along the shores of the Propontis and Black Sea received organizations at an early date, in several of the known instances from the great Ionian colonizer Miletos (7 §16): viz. Kyzikos (§28), Odessos (§14), Krounoi (later Dionysopolis, §15), Tomoi (§17), and Istros (§18). These organizations typically comprised seven phylai, the four "Old Attic," the two Ionian additions, and—a late local innovation—either a single phyle called variously Ῥωμαῖοι (Odessos, Istros) or Ῥωμεῖς (Tomoi), or, at Kyzikos, two phylai named Ἰουλεῖς and Σεβαστεῖς. (With the latter may be compared Σεβαστηεῖς, the only known phyle at Amisos, §20.) The addition of the eighth phyle at Kyzikos may have resulted from a need for a number commensurate with twelve- and twenty-four month cycles in the presidency of the Council. Inferences regarding the memberships of these "Roman"

phylai, however, must take into account evidence from Tomoi that at least one non-Roman citizen was enrolled in Romeis.

At Anchialos (§13), a secondary Milesian colony, remnants of the "Old Attic" phylai have been detected in an innovating fourfold organization. Assured components of the enlarged Attic-Ionic hexad survive at Samian Perinthos (§27) in two successive organizations, the earlier distinguished by additional phylai of the *Landsmannschaftlich* type, the later by the innovating use of ordinal numerals to designate all the units.

Elsewhere in the region, colonies of Dorian Megara (2 §1), Herakleia (§23), Kalchedon (§24), Byzantion (§25), and Salymbria (§26), inherit from their mother city the *hekatostys.* Probably a segment of the phyle (see §23, 24, 25), the *hekatostys* is, except for the enigmatic *pentakontarchia* at Istros (§18), the only known lower-level division among the cities of the Propontis and Black Sea.

Internal organization is frequently implicit in the conferral of honors. For an excellent example of more substantial activity, see Istros (§18).

MAKEDONIA

§1 Poteidaia (later Kassandreia)

Documentary evidence of the affiliations of the Athenian *epoikoi* settled at Poteidaia following its capitulation in 429 is provided by a number of inscribed tombstones discovered in the area of the town. In two examples the deceased is identified by demotic alone; in the others by both demotic and the phyle in the genitive case:

D. M. Robinson, *TAPA* 69 (1938) 58-59, no. 11 (fin. s. V):

[Σ]ουνιεύς/[Λ]εωντίδος

A. Rhomiopoulou, *AAA* 7 (1974) 190-198 (fin. s. V vel init. s. IV):

Λαμπτράθεν	191-192, no. 2
Παλλήνηθεν	ibid.
Τειθράσιος Αἰγηΐδος	191, no. 1
[Ἀ]ντιοχίδος: Ἀλοπεκῆθεν	192, no. 3
Οἰνηΐδος...[Λα]κιάδης	192-193, no. 4

The presence of the phyle alongside the demotic, only rarely encountered in Athens itself, is documented for at least one other Athenian overseas settlement, probably a cleruchy, Melos (5 §24). Possibly the explanation is to be sought in the artificiality of the extension of nominally territorial nomenclature to foreign soil, where recall of the many phyle-deme affiliations would have proved difficult. That, instead,

a point of procedure lay behind the usage, though not unthinkable, is not suggested by any available evidence.

Following the loss of the Peloponnesian War and the departure of the *epoikoi,* an Athenian presence was again established, in 361, in the form of a cleruchy; it was to remain until 356. To this period we could assign a dikast's ticket found at Olynthos if, as Robinson suggested might be true, it had been brought by an Athenian from Poteidaia. Belonging at different times to demesmen from Anagyrous and Phlya, there are however no grounds for supposing that it could actually have been put to use in the cleruchy.[1]

Possibly relating to either the *epoikia* or the cleruchy, but in any case of doubtful significance, is a remark of Aristotle that, on the occasion of an *eisphora,* the Athenians resident in Poteidaia ordered all to register their properties, *μὴ ἀθρόας εἰς τὸν αὑτοῦ δῆμον ἕκαστον, ἀλλὰ κατὰ κτῆμα ἐν ᾧ τόπῳ ἕκαστον εἴη* (*Oec.* II ii 5, 1347 A). If, as van Groningen argued, the tax was directed at wealthy native Poteidaians, not at the Athenians themselves, it should follow that the demes in question are also Poteidaian.[2] Presumably, then, we are dealing with the cleruchy, since upon the surrender of the city in 429 the Poteidaians are reported to have departed en masse.[3] Alternatively, the reference is to the *epoikia* and the parties taxed, and their demes, are Athenian. But, if so, must we not attribute a rather high degree of internal organization to these transplanted Kleisthenic *demoi*?[4]

In a decree dated to the years 286-281, and so postdating the refoundation of Poteidaia as Kassandreia, *SIG*[3] 380 (=Michel 323), to the mover's name (with patronymic) is appended the word *Ἱπ(π)ο/λυτεύς* (lines 2-3). Dittenberger saw here evidence of a "*tribus,*" but another possibility, viz. "deme," cannot be excluded: at Thessalonike (§2), also a foundation of Kassander, the deme is attested with certainty. Identification apart, the name "Hippolyteis" remains obscure. Possibly it is a relic of the Athenian presence, or, just conceivably, is to be connected with the long-established cult of Poseidon.[5]

§2 Thessalonike

Four phylai are attested by inscriptions ranging in date from the Hellenistic period (?) to the third century A.D. References are to *IG* X 2 (1).

Ἀντιγονίς	no. 184 (ca. A.D. 225)
Ἀσκληπιάς	no. 183 (ca. A.D. 225); no. 265 (Hellenisticae vel ineuntis Romanae aetatis?)

Γναϊάς	no. 278 (s. II/III p.)
Διονυσιάς	no. 185 (ca. A.D. 225)

Three of the inscriptions (nos. 183, 184, 185) honor the same person, and so undoubtedly represent the simultaneous conferral of the accolade by the entire organization. No. 265 is a stone, now lost, which carried the inscription, of unknown purpose, φυλὴ 'Α[σ]κληπιά[ς]. In the partially preserved no. 278, the title of the priest of Alexander (in the nominative) is followed by the words, set off by folia, φυλὴ Γναϊάς. Honors conferred, or dedications, in the name of the phyle, are possible in both cases.

Of the names, Antigonis was referred by Edson to Antigonos Gonatas, although, since the creation of the phyle may have taken place after his death, nothing could be deduced regarding the earlier history of the organization.[1] Gnaias, however, for which Edson (loc. cit.) ruled out any association with the Latin *Gnaeus,* resists explanation.

According to notices in Stephanos of Byzantion, there were *demoi* of Thessalonike named Βουκεφαλῖται[2] and Κεκροπίς, the latter having the demotic Κεκρόπιοι.[3] Recalling the case of the deme (?) Hippolyteis at Kassandreia (§1), Kekropis suggests Athenian inspiration, though, again, no obvious line of transmission is at hand. If Boukephalitai commemorates Alexander's war horse, it is unlikely to have been the creation of Kassander; as Edson suggests, it may be late, perhaps a symptom of the adulation of Alexander characteristic, for instance, of the age of the Severi.[4]

§3 Beroia

Four phylai are thus far known from inscriptions of Imperial date:

'Α[---]	Beroia Museum catalogue no. Λ 264 (s. I p.?)
Βερεική	P. Touratsoglou, *Ancient Macedonia* 2 (Thessalonike 1977) 481-486, no. α (s. I p.)[1]
Παιονίς	*AA* (1942) 176-177, no. 11 (Pl. 44) (s. II vel III p.)
Πευκαστηκή	*RA* 37 (1900) 489-490, no. 131 (= *AD* 2 [1916] 148-150, no. 4)[2]

The phylai Bereike and Peukasteke honor individuals on their own authority. The name Paionis (not expressly identified as a phyle) appears at the end of a text headed by the (presumably primary) honoring party, *οἱ σύνεδροι*;[3] possibly the other phylai erected identical monuments with their own names similarly appended. Standing at the

beginning of the fourth text in the nominative, the phyle 'A[---] in all likelihood confers honors as well.

Regarding internal organization, the monument of Bereike was erected with the cooperation of (δι') an *epimeletes* and *grammateus,* both presumably officers of the phyle. The former post probably also lies hidden in the verb ἐπεμελήθη at the close of Peukasteke's inscription.

Of the names, Bereike was reasonably referred to the name of the city by Touratsoglou, aptly citing the similar Amastrias at Amastris (§21) and Axioi at Axos (5 §28). Still other examples could be added.[4] Paionis, by contrast, is probably to be connected with Paionia, a region situated to the north of Makedonia and very likely a major source of Beroia's population.[5] Peukasteke, too, might be placed in the *Landsmannschaftlich* category in view of the name's probable Balkan and Epirote connections, as Touratsoglou suggests.[6] Still, the possibility remains that Edson was correct in finding the eponym in the well-known Makedonian general Peukestas, who came from the nearby town of Mieza.[7] Along the same lines, Touratsoglou proposed, among many other possibilities, the restoration 'A[ντιγονίς] with reference to Gonatas, the eponym of the phyle of that name at Thessalonike (§2).[8] However, the assumption of historical eponyms, except for the weak *terminus non ante quem* they provide, implies nothing regarding the date of the creation of the organization, since there remains the possibility of a late commemoration.[9]

§4 Stoboi

Excavation of the theater, on which construction began no earlier than the first century A.D., has revealed a large number of inscriptions in the cavea. Among them have been recognized the names of five phylai. Earlier discoveries were described and analyzed by B. Saria, "Die Inschriften des Theaters von Stobi," *JÖAI* 32 (1940) 5-34. For more recent additions, see J. Wiseman and D. Mano-Zissi, *AJA* 75 (1971) 402; and, for general accounts, J. Wiseman, *Stobi: a Guide to the Excavations* (Belgrade 1973) 69-74, and E. Gebhard, "The Theater at Stobi: a Summary," in *Studies in the Antiquities of Stobi* III (Titov Veles 1981) 13-27. Pending final publication of the inscriptions, I merely list the names of the phylai:

Μαρτία
[Μερκ]ουρία
Οὐαλερία
Οὐηβία
Τερεντ[ῖ]α

§5 Traianopolis

An inscription of the time of Septimius Severus, Ch. Avezou and Ch. Picard, *BCH* 37 (1913) 147-153, no. 5 (cf. *IGRR* I 828), records the erection of milestones by various Thrakian villages. Following a preamble, the editors restore in lines 2-5: [ἡ πρώτη Τραϊανου?]πόλεως φυλὴ/[ἀνέστησεν ἀρ]ξαμένη ἀπὸ ταύ/[της τῆς στή]λης τὰ ἑξῆς μεί/[λια·---]. The (restored) use of the ordinal adjective with the phyle is paralleled in the region at Istros (§18) and Perinthos (§27) as well as in several states of Asia Minor.[1] If, further, the editors are correct in restoring the term κῶμαι in lines 7 and 12, it would follow from the run of the text that these villages constituted components of the phyle, a territorial arrangement securely attested at nearby Philippopolis (§8). In any case, the carrying out of public works projects of this kind by phylai is only seldom attested; for what parallels there are, see Index II.J.2.

§6 Pautalia

An inscription found in the sanctuary on the hill Hisarlâka, *IGBR* IV 2077, carries a list of names headed by the words Ἀγα[θῇ τ]ύ(χῃ) φυλῆς Ἡρακ(λ)ηΐδος (lines 1-3). As Mihailov notes, the question of the disposition of the unit cannot on present evidence be answered. The chief officer is attested by a dedication to Asklepios and Hygeia from the Asklepieion at modern Glava Panega, *IGBR* II 544; the dedicator terms himself φύλαρχος Παυταλιώτης. Other dedications from the Asklepieion, three to Asklepios, *IGBR* II 512, 516, 517 (= *IGRR* I 1400), and one to Artemis, *IGBR* II 564, are also in the name of a single phylarch, but without indication of the city.

§7 Serdike

The discovery of "eine Phyleninschrift" is reported by B. Gerov, "Zur inneren Organisation des römischen Thrakiens," in *Studia in Honorem Veselini Beševliev* (Sophia 1978) 475-485: 483, note 55.

§8 Philippopolis

Documented by abundant epigraphic testimony, the organization of Philippopolis and of its adjacent territory is known to have extended to at least three levels, at the head of which stood the phylai.[1] To date seven, possibly eight, names of phylai are attested. References, unless otherwise specified, are to *IGBR* III (1).

Ἀρτεμεισιάς	902 (= *CIG* II 2047; *IGRR* I 710) (A.D. 163-164); 903 (= *CIG* II 2048; *IGRR* I 730 = 1484) (Imperial); L. Botušarova, *Archeologia* 2 (1968) 49-50, no. 3 (another copy of the immediately preceding text); Botušarova, 47-49, no. 2 (Imperial); 1445 (Imperial)
Ἀσκληπιάς	914 (Imperial)
Ἑβρηΐς	1473 (= *IGRR* I 721 = 1473) (A.D. 222-235)
φυλὴ Εὐμόλποιο	1023 (Imperial)
Ἡρακληΐς	894 (= *IGRR* I 731) (Imperial); 1036 (n.d.)
Κενδρισεῖς	886 (= *CIG* II 2049; *IGRR* I 727) (Imperial); 887? (Imperial)
Ῥοδοπηΐς	1401 (= *IGRR* I 709) (ca. A.D. 155); 887? (Imperial)
[---φυλη---]/πεις	887 (Imperial)
φυ̣[λη-----]	888 (Imperial)

Cursory inspection of these names reveals considerable variety in the selection of eponyms. Conforming to widespread practice, three of the phylai, Artemeisias, Asklepias, and Herakleis, commemorate Greek deities. By contrast, Kendriseis must be referred to Kendrisos, a local divinity attached to or equated with Apollo at Philippopolis.[2] The "phyle of Eumolpos," too, might have a divine eponym, namely the Eleusinian Eumolpos, although a less remote reference is suggested by Ammianus Marcellinus' testimony (22.2.2) that Eumolpias was an old name for Philippopolis.[3] The latter *rapprochement* would open up the possibility that the phyle was geographically centered in, or confined by, the town proper (on this point, see below). Accordingly, the two remaining units, Hebreis and Rhodopeis, ostensibly named after the local topographical features the Hebros River, which flowed through the city, and the Rhodope massif, which bounded the region on the south, might also have been territorially disposed. Yet ambiguity lurks here, too, for, as Gschnitzer noted, Hebreis and Rhodopeis might equally be referred not to the river and mountain themselves, but to their eponymous deities.[4]

Given such uncertainties, substantive inferences from the names are hazardous. Gerov, for example, imagined a threefold division of the phylai among Greek immigrants, Thrakians in the city, and "die thrakische Umwelt." Because the phylai are demonstrably territorial (see below), it would follow that Greeks and Thrakians occupied, at least at the time of the creation of the organization, distinct quarters of the city.[5] But this view depends upon the assumption that the names of

the phylai, whatever their origin, literally designate, or otherwise identify, their memberships. This might have been the case for the specifically ethnic denominations encountered in the *Landsmannschaftlich* organizations, but hardly need be true of these phylai.

On what basis are we entitled to regard the phylai as territorial? Gerov cited the "stela" (now lost), *IGBR* III (1) 1036, which reads "*horoi* of (the) phyle Herakleis," interpreting it as a boundary of the phyle itself. But, apart from the fact that on such a stone we would expect to find mention of the second, bordering phyle as well, a quite different interpretation is prompted by a second marker, *IGBR* III (1) 1401: "*horoi* of (the) meadows of (the) phyle Rhodopeis."[6] Not the boundary of Herakleis itself, but of some property corporately owned by the phyle, might have been marked by no. 1036.

The final resolution of these doubts depends upon the establishment of the relation of the phylai to the other two known divisions, both certainly territorial, the *komarchia* and the *kome*. That the *komarchia* embraced a plurality of *komai,* and that it was, further, subject to the authority of the phylarch is shown by *IGBR* III (1) 1474. Headed "For the Good Luck of (the) *komarchia* Eitrizene," the inscription records the thanks given by the *kometai* E(it)rizenoi, the *kometai* Geizagerenoi, and the *kometai* Bdekurenoi to a certain phylarch. In a similar text, no. 1445, two groups of *kometai* thank the phylarch for "his upright, seemly, and lawful administration among us"; this, and the fact that the phyle Artemeisias replaces the *komarchia* in the heading, open up the further possibility that the phyle and *komarchia* were identical. But this solution is precluded by a final text, no. 1473, recording the thanks conferred by two *komarchiai,* on behalf of two groups of *kometai,* upon the phylarch of (the) phyle Hebreis. Plainly in this instance two *komarchiai* fell under the jurisdiction of a single phylarch. Hence the proper sphere of the phylarch, his phyle, embraced a number of *komarchiai,* themselves aggregates of *komai.* Exceptionally, the phyle Artemeisias (no. 1445) was constituted directly of *komai,* without intermediate groupings into *komarchiai.*

How much further the analysis can be taken is uncertain. Gschnitzer noted that whereas all (three) inscriptions mentioning phylarchs were found in the surrounding countryside, the remaining, relatively voluminous documentation originated in the town proper. From this he inferred that in fact membership in the phylai had been restricted to residents in the city, while the administrative competence of the phylarchs had been artificially extended to the *komarchiai* (and their component *komai*) of the "territorium Philippopolis."[7] Such an hypothesis, however, does not strike me as welcome if it is to imply either that all citizens were confined to the town or that not all citizens

belonged to a phyle. The proveniences of only three inscriptions are in any case too slight a foundation on which to build the theory. Perhaps, also, for reasons unknown to us, the phylarchs' duties were weighted in favor of rural, rather than urban, administration. Such a circumstance would by itself be sufficient to explain the distribution of the inscriptions.[8]

Regarding the functioning of the organization, phylai honor individuals (*IGBR* III [1] 886, 887; Botušarova, no. 2), in one instance "in accordance with the decree of the Boule and Demos of the Metropolis" (no. 888, as restored)—a probable indication of a diminished autonomy of the units. In another example, the phyle honors a *koinon* of "hunters," most likely gladiators (no. 894). Alternatively, individuals might erect a monument on behalf of the Emperors Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus "for the sacred phyle Artemeisias" (no. 902). This same unit, according to another text, no. 903, honors a benefactor who "equipped the couches with bases for the sacred phyle Artemeisias ἀντὶ τῆς πολιτείας." This last phrase demonstrates at once corporate ownership of property by the phyle and, uniquely, the apparent capacity of the phyle to decide, or at least to play a role in deciding, questions of citizenship. Still again, Artemeisias awards an honorand with an εἰκών and προεδρία (Botušarova, no. 2). Two final texts, a column inscribed on two of its faces κρατίστη φυλή and Ἀσκληπιάς (no. 914) and the verse epitaph, no. 1023, identifying the deceased as "of the phyle Εὐμόλποιο," reveal nothing of significance.

Concerning officers, the record unfortunately provides scarcely more than titles. Mention has already been made of the post of phylarch. Three inscriptions recording honors conferred by, or on behalf of, phylai close with citation of an ἐπιμελούμενος (no. 894) or ἐπιμελητεύων (nos. 902, 903: same phyle, same man). Presumably charged with the construction of the monument, the officer may be compared with the ἐπιμελητής encountered elsewhere. In two of these same documents citation is made of the ἐκδικῶν (no. 902) and of the ἐγγδικῶν (no. 903; possibly the same as the foregoing); if officers of their phylai, the only parallel to be found is the ἐκδικῶν at Dorylaion (8 §14).

Regarding the history of the organization we have no definite clues. However, the fact that some of the names of the phylai appear elsewhere in Hellenistic and Roman contexts is surely no reason to deny, with Gerov, the possibility that the phylai descend from the foundation by Philip II.[9]

§9 Hadrianopolis

Individual phylarchs are the authors of dedications discovered within the "territorium Hadrianopolis" (but not at the city itself): *IGBR* III (2) 1803, 1830.

§10 Augusta Traiana

One Cl(audius) Dometis dedicates a column in commemoration of his priesthood to τῇ ἱερᾳ φυλῇ Ἀρη[ΐ]δι: *IGBR* III (2) 1603.

§11 Nikopolis-on-Ister

In two Imperial epitaphs the deceased are identified as members of the phylai Ἀπολλωνιάς, *IGBR* II 692, and Καπιτωλείνη, *IGBR* II 690 (= *IGRR* I 590 = 1431); the latter (unique) name is probably best referred, on analogy with the frequent divine eponyms of phylai throughout Thrake, to Jupiter Capitolinus. A third inscription, engraved on an altar, *IGBR* II 685, reads (in its entirety) Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ/φυλῆς/Ἀθηναΐδος, and presumably records the dedication by the phyle.

§12 Markianopolis

The word φύλα[ρχος---] appears in an uncertain context: *IGBR* II 799.

BLACK SEA

§13 Anchialos

The sponsors of a dedication of Flavian or later date, *IGBR* I² 370 (= *IGRR* I 767), are given as the [φ]υλα[ὶ] Εγελῆς καὶ Ἡρωὶς καὶ Βα/[κχὶ?]ς καὶ Τονζ[ῆὶ](ς) (lines 3-4). That these four phylai represent the entire organization is probable inasmuch as the dedication ("of statues of the gods") is recorded to have been made "in accordance with the oracles of Lord Apollo Kolophonios"—presumably procured in connection with some matter of concern to the entire community.[1] Any of the four names might be restored in a fragmentary dedication of an altar, *IGBR* I² 373 (= *CIG* II 2052b: post A.D. 212); at line 4, the word "phyle" in the dative case stands in an uncertain syntactical relation to the whole.[2]

Of the names, Egeleis has been referred to the Attic-Ionic Geleontes by Gerov; in addition to the verbal similarity of the two names, Egeleis is one of four phylai and stands in first position in the inscription.[3] If correct, the equation would allow the dating of at least one phyle, and of the fourfold division, to the pre-Roman period. By contrast, Tonzeis and Herois reflect Thrakian influences. The former commemorates the

Tonzos, the river lying near the western boundary of Anchialos' territory; the latter owes its name to the Thrakian Rider God, rendered Heros in the *interpretatio Graeca.*[4] The remaining phyle, if correctly restored, might, as Gerov suggests, derive from the cult of Bacchus, to which a Thrakian origin was ascribed in antiquity.[5]

From the modern town of Ajtos comes an inscription, *IGBR* III (2) 1841, carrying a dedication by one Herakleides: *δισ/[φύλαρχος καὶ φι]λότειμος* (lines 3-4). The former term was conjecturally restored by J. and L. Robert, *Bull. Ép.* 1963, no. 156, comparing a similar conjunction of the two titles at Tomoi (§17).

§14 Odessos

The Milesian colony of Odessos is represented by two late epigraphic sources. One, *IGBR* I² 47 bis, a list of ephebes of the year A.D. 221, provides a full roster of phylai. Below the heading "These are the *Ἑρμεῖς* of the phylai" (line 1) stands a series of seven figures—with an Apollo interposed between the fourth and fifth—labeled from left to right: *Οἰνώπων, Βορέων, Ῥωμαίων, Γελεόντων, Ἀργαδέων, Αἰγικορέων, Ὁπλέων* (sic) (line 2). Agreeing with the scattered testimony of Milesian Tomoi (§17) and Istros (§18) and consistent with the still unidentified "seven phylai" of Dionysopolis (Krounoi) (§15), the names, except for the later addition, Romaioi, presumably descended from the foundation in the sixth century. At the same time, the arrangement provides valuable evidence for an official order of the Old Attic phylai, namely Geleontes-Argadeis-Aigikoreis-Hopletes. With allowance made for variations from state to state in the placement of the independently added Oinopes and Boreis, the sequence is in accord with the fragmentary evidence from the rest of Greece.[1] Thus the Old Attic tradition no less than the Dorian (see my discussion under Kalymna, 5 §40) appears to have preserved traces of an original ordering of the inherited phylai.

Regarding the membership of the organization, the absence of "die ländliche thrakische Bevölkerung" among the catalogue of ephebes was noted by Gerov.[2] When, or if, such persons entered the phylai is not known. Immigrants, however, as well as Roman citizens, might be enrolled in the Romaioi, if we grant the relevance of a text from Tomoi (§17) adduced by Mihailov.[3]

In the second inscription, *IGBR* I² 63 bis, the Boule and Demos honor a man whose accomplishments include *ἀποπληρώσαντα φυλαῖς τε καὶ στέμασιν τὰ ἐξ ἔθους* (lines 17-18). I take this to refer to the funding of traditional feasts for the phylai and for certain private associations.[4] For the attested instances of public dinners organized *kata phylas,* see Index II.H.3.

§15 Dionysopolis (earlier Krounoi)

The name Krounoi is generally attached to the later, known site of Dionysopolis located on the east coast just north of Odessos,[1] but there is no evidence to confirm the suspicion that she too, like Odessos, was colonized from Miletos.[2] Nevertheless, an inscription of Imperial date found at Dionysopolis, *IGBR* I² 15 ter (= 30), records the "distributions" (restored) made to, among others, "the seven phylai" (lines 1-3). These are probably identical with the seven phylai of Odessos (§14), viz. the traditional sixfold Ionian division plus the later addition, the "Romans."

§16 Kallatis

A fragment of an inscribed gravestone of the second or third century A.D., G. Točilescu, *AEMO* 6 (1882) 9-10, no. 15, reads in line 2, as restored by Th. Gomperz, [---φυ]λῆ Αἰγικ[ορέων---]. But, the provenience of the stone was not recorded, and its attribution by Točilescu to Kallatis is open to question on the ground that an Ionian phyle would be out of place in a colony of Herakleia-on-Pontos, herself a colony of (Dorian) Megara.[1] Later, Regling assigned the text to Tomoi (§17) on the strength of the attested presence there of "die Phyle Aigikoreis."[2] Yet, as Piérart has recently observed, at Tomoi this phyle occurs only in the form Αἰκορεῖς; and for this, and other reasons, he rejected Regling's attribution.[3] For the present, the question must remain open.

§17 Tomoi

Founded from Miletos, probably in the sixth century, Tomoi, like Odessos (§14), Istros (§18), and in all probability Krounoi (§15), possessed in later times an organization of seven phylai—the six Attic-Ionic units plus the added "Roman" phyle. Because the attestation is piecemeal, however, the possibility of an eighth or other phyle cannot be ruled out. For texts published before 1961, the primary reference is to the comprehensive study of I. Stoian, "Contribution à l'étude des tribus de Tomis," *Studii Clasice* 3 (1961) 175-202 (= *Tomitana* [Bucharest 1962] 56-74, in Romanian).[1]

Αἰκορεῖς	Stoian II 1 (= *IBM* II 178) (Imperial); II 2 (Imperial); II 3 (Imperial). For II 4, see on Kallatis, §16.
Ἀργαδεῖς	Stoian II 1 (= Michel 1289) (not before ca. 100-50); I 2 (= *IGRR* I 634) (A.D. 130-138); I 3 (s. II p.)

Βορεῖς	I. Stoian, *Dacia* 10 (1966) 347-356 (fin. s. II-init. s. III p.)
Γελέοντες	E. Doruţiu-Boilă, *Studii Clasice* 12 (1970) 117-126, no. 1 (Imperial); no. 2 (= G. Poenaru-Bordea, *Noi monumente epigrafice din Scythia Minor* [Constanza 1964] 117, no. 2) (Imperial). *I. Scythia Minor* V 132 is assigned to Istros (§18).
Οἴνωπες	Stoian IV 1 (s. III p.); V. Barbu, *Dacia* 7 (1963) 1-15 (ca. 150-200 p.)
Ὅπλειτες/Ὅπλητες	Stoian III 1 (Imperial); III 2 (= I. Stoian, *Studii Clasice* 1 [1959] 105-113; A. Slabotzky, *Studii Clasice* 17 [1977] 117-138) (fin. s. II-init. s. III p.)
Ῥωμεῖς	Stoian VI 1 (=*IBM* II 177; *IGRR* I 648) (fin s. II p.)
unidentified	Stoian V 1 (fin. s. III p.)

No other division is attested; nor, since on a half-score tombstones (and one dedication) the only affiliation given is that of the phyle, is the existence of one to be suspected.[2] The disposition of the phylai, too, remains obscure, despite the attempt by Parvan on highly speculative grounds to demonstrate a territorial arrangement.[3]

Amidst a relatively rich documentation, the functions indicated for the phylai are nonetheless few. Phylai honor individuals: Argadeis, their phylarch with a crown (Stoian I 1); on another occasion, "their own *prostates*" (Stoian I 2). The Aikoreis consecrate (an altar?) in their own name (Stoian II 3); in two other cases, individuals dedicate on behalf of Hopleites (Stoian III 1) or Boreis (*Dacia* 10 [1966] 347-356). Altogether, one is left with the impression of largely ceremonial activity.

Regarding the officers of the internally organized phylai, we learn of the *phylarchos*[4] and *grammateus*,[5] which require no comment. A single, fragmentary text, if correctly restored, refers to "the *gymnasiarchos* of the Demos and of the phyle."[6] For parallels, see Index III.C.8. Still more problematic are some of the titles documented by the dedicatory text Stoian III 1: [Ἀγαθ]ῆι τύχηι/ὁ προστάτης καὶ δισφύλαρχος καὶ φιλότειμος καὶ ἐπιμεληθεὶς τοῦ οἴκου Ἀπατούριος/Εὐελπίστου τοῦ Ποσειδωνίου τοῦ προστάτου καὶ ἀγαθῶν εὐεργέτη/ἀνέστησεν φιλοτειμίαν θεούς ἐπηκόους/φυλῆ Ὁπλείτων ὑπὲρ δισφυλαρχίας. Since the dedication is expressly made "for the phyle of Hopleites,"[7] it is possible

that some, if not all, of the titles pertain to the operation of that body. Hardly the "président" as Parvan thought, the *prostates* is better understood with Stoian as the "patron" of the phyle.[8] The adjective *philot(e)imos* in such contexts commemorates, according to Wilhelm, the performance of some *philotimia.*[9] The phrase ἀγαθῶν εὐεργέτης probably represents the conferral by the phyle of a similar accolade. Something more substantial, finally, might be found in the post of "Caretaker of the House;" for examples of such properties held by public units, see Index III.G.2.[10]

Enrollment in the phylai was presumably limited to citizens of Tomoi. But one of these, Τειμοκράτης Ἀλεξάνδρου, γένι Νικομηδεὺς ὁ κὲ Τομίτης, claims membership in the φυλὴ Ῥωμέων along with his wife, Ὀλπία Κάστα, and son, Οὔλπιος Μαρτῖνος, both also φυλῆς Ῥωμέων (Stoian VI 1). Mihailov inferred that, in Teimokrates' case, membership in the phyle had been extended to include non-Roman citizens, thereby confuting Stoian's characterization of the Romeis as a *conventus civium Romanorum.*[11]

§18 Istros

Three, possibly four, of the Attic-Ionic phylai and a later addition, the Romaioi, are attested for this seventh century Milesian colony by epigraphic texts of Hellenistic and Imperial date. References, unless otherwise specified, are to D. M. Pippidi, *Inscriptiones Scythiae Minoris Graecae et Latinae* I (Bucharest 1983).

Αἰγικορεῖς	no. 333 (s. III p.)
Ἀργαδεῖς	no. 334 (s. III p.)
Βορεῖς	nos. 97 (Imperial); 191 (line 2: [τῆς Βορέω]ν φυλῆς) (s.I a. vel s.I p.)
Γελέοντες	E. Doruţiu-Boilă, *Inscriptiones Scythiae Minoris Graecae et Latinae* V (Bucharest 1980) no. 132 (attributed to Istros by G. Mihailov, at *SEG* 30.849) (s.II p.?)
Ῥωμαῖοι	nos. 142 (s.III p.); 415 (s.III p.)

The existence in the second century A.D. of a subdivision of the phyle appears to be indicated by a laudatory decree, no. 57. The honorand is praised for distributing an οἰνοπό[σ]ιον to τοῖς . . . ἐ[ν] ταῖς φυλαῖς κατὰ πεντηκονταρ/χίαν διανενεμημ[έ]νοις (30-33). Unique in the record of public organization, the πεντηκονταρχία may be compared with the more common πεντηκοστύς, although the presence of the element -αρχία remains puzzling. At Philippopolis (§8), a subdivision of the phyle, the κωμαρχία, comprised a number

of κῶμαι. Could the Istrian πεντηκονταρχία have been a subdivision of the phyle containing (a conventional?) fifty citizens?

The phylai operate at the statewide level, but our record reveals only ceremonial activity. Besides the decree just cited mentioning the distribution of wine, another, of much earlier date, no. 54 (s.I), praises a man who honored the gods and the city with festivals, processions, and φυλῶν ἐπιδόσεσιν (22-24). For a close parallel for the endowment of the phylai by a private person, see Ilion (7 §2).

Several other texts concern the internal functioning of the phylai. Two altars of the third century A.D. bear inscriptions in the name of the Argadeis (no. 334) and Aigikoreis (no. 333). The latter text specifies that the dedication was made ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων, testifying to independent financial resources. It concludes with the dating formula ἐπὶ ἀρχῆς/ Σκαπούλα Ν[ι]/κολάου, which may (with Pippidi) refer to the unit's own φύλαρχος (for the board of ἐπίσκοποι, see below). Of unknown nature are no. 97, a stone (a dedication?) inscribed Βορέω[ν]; and no. 415, a fragment reading in lines 3-4 [φυλὴ] Ῥωμαίω[ν]/ πρώτη (see further, below). The Boreis appear again in the caption of a list of names, no. 191: Οἵδε/[τῆς Βορέω]ν φυλῆς εὐεργέται μετὰ τὴν δευτέραν κτίσιν τῆς πόλεως. But the nature of the benefaction performed by the members of the phyle "after the second foundation of the city" is not specified in the document.[1]

Internal organization is more clearly documented by a final decree, no. 58 (s.II). Strangely, the decreeing party is not a single phyle, but "the phylai" (10-11). Since the honorand is praised for his benefactions πρὸς τοὺς πολίτ/[ας] (14-15)—rather than to a single phyle—we are at liberty to infer that the decree came out of an assembly of all the citizens sitting *kata phylas.* Such an assembly would resemble the σύνοδος of Anthesterion 12 (18, 22, 26, 28; cf. τὴν συναγωγὴν, 7), on the occasion of which the honors are annually to be renewed. Since only a single meeting, and a single set of honors, are mentioned, σύνοδοι of individual phylai cannot be entertained. Nonetheless, the details of procedure resemble those of single units elsewhere: a sacrifice (θύσαντες, 17), a gold crown (19-21), and announcement (ἀναγο/ [ρε]ύσεως, 22-23)—all overseen by the ἐπίσκοποι chosen each year (23-24, 29), a board of officers unique among internally organized units. Further, at the meetings the honorand and his descendants are to be accorded the same perquisites (τὰ γέρα) as the priests (of the phylai?, 26-27). Persons who propose that the meeting be canceled or that the ἐπίσκοποι not perform τὰ ἱερά must pay a fine to the phylai and be [ἱερόσ]υλοι (27-32). Funds (χρήματα, 3) and "income accruing from (an endowment?) given by him (sc. the honorand)" (8-10) will, in addition to the fines, have sustained these seemingly lavish gatherings. Whether their location, finally, was the Samothrakion

where the inscribed *telamon* was to be erected (32-34) cannot be determined.[2]

Conforming to practice elsewhere in the Greek East, Istrian citizens were identified by phyle alone, despite the presence of a subdivision, the πεντηκονταρχία: no. 142. If correctly attributed to Istros, a gravestone of the second century A.D., *I. Scythiae Minoris* V 132, provides an additional example.

The formulation [φυλή] Ῥωμαίω[ν]/πρώτη, no. 415 (s.III p.), is paralleled in the region at Traianopolis (§5) and Perinthos (§27).

§19 Sebastopolis (earlier Dioskourias)

From this probable Milesian foundation on the east coast north of Phasis an inscription of the time of Hadrian, *OGIS* II 529 (= *IGRR* III 115), records honors for one M. Antonius Rufus, reading at lines 26-30: "Often while living and (now) dead the polis of the Sebastopoleitai has honored (him) by the erection of the statues κατὰ φυλήν. And his daughter, Antonia Maxima, set up the statues at her own expense."[1] Series of statues erected in the names of a state's several phylai are of course not uncommon, particularly in the Imperial period. But what is of special interest here is the fact that the authorization and funding of the monuments are expressly attributed not to the phylai, but to the polis and a relative of the honorand, respectively. This means that if, as seems entirely reasonable, each statue of Rufus stood upon a base carrying a dedication in the name of a Sebastopolitan phyle, we should not have been able, except for the survival of the present inscription, to infer that the actual role played by the phyle was purely passive and perfunctory. Thus, in the general absence of such evidence from other states, this text will be of vital importance in understanding the possible circumstances of the erection of similar monuments elsewhere and, more generally, in assessing the very integrity of public organization under Roman Imperial rule.

§20 Amisos

The phyle Σεβαστηεῖς is cited as the affiliation of the deceased in an epitaph of the third century A.D., J. G. C. Anderson, F. Cumont, and H. Grégoire, *Studia Pontica* III (Brussels 1910) 9, no. 3b. Unique in form, the name is referred by the editors to Augustus, "fondateur de la liberté d'Amisos."

§21 Amastris

Four phylai are attested by as many inscriptions of the Imperial period. Two reveal only an indirect and seemingly passive role on the

part of the public unit. The Boule and Demos confer honors upon a public figure, but the monument itself is set up by a third party (who describes the honorand as "his own friend") ὑπὲρ φυλῆς Διοσκουριάδος (E. Kalinka, *JÖAI* 28 [1933] Beiblatt 70-71, no. 18 = *IGRR* III 87). A second, fragmentary text—to the extent that it is preserved, of a similar type—ends with the dedication ὑπὲρ φυλῆς Ἀμ[α]/στριάδος (Kalinka, 71-72, no. 19). A sacral orientation of a third phyle is indicated by the dedication of an altar by ἡ ἱερὰ καὶ φιλοσέβαστος φυλὴ Δημητριάς, although the concluding phrase, δ[ι]ὰ Ζωΐλου Γοργίου καὶ Χρυσοῦτος, shows that an individual, not the phyle itself, bore the expense (Kalinka, 68-69, no. 16). For the fourth phyle, however, a treasury of some kind is implied by the inscription on a sarcophagus prohibiting disturbance of the grave, Kalinka, 82, no. 39. It ends, according to A. Wilhelm's restoration, with the statement that violators will pay a fine [τῇ φυλῇ μ]ου Ἀσ[κ]ληπιά[δ]ι (*GGN* III 5 [1939] 126-128 = *Akademieschriften* III 58-60).[1]

Of the names, Amastrias certainly commemorates Amastris, Queen of Herakleia and founder of Amastris in the early fourth century. Asklepias, Demetrias, and Dioskourias are presumably to be connected with local cults.

§22 Tieion

From this Milesian foundation on the Euxine coast just west of Amastris, a fragmentary dedication of Imperial date is made ὑπὲρ φυλῆ[ς---] (line 4): L. Robert, *Études anatoliennes* (Paris 1937) 286, no. 10. As Robert notes, the phrase "on behalf of (the) phyle" recalls usage at Amastris (§21); and it may be that in it we have a relic of Tieion's participation in the latter city's *sympoliteia* early in the fourth century.[1] No phyle from Tieion, however, is known by name.[2]

§23 Herakleia-on-Pontos

The organization of Herakleia, founded ca. 560 by Megarian and Boiotian colonists, figures in an unusually explicit—and perplexing—passage in Aeneas Tacticus. At Argos (2 §7), we are told, on one occasion the citizen population was ordered to assemble by phylai for the defense of the city. The author then turns to a similar situation at Herakleia (11.10a-11):

Similarly at Herakleia-on-Pontos, when there was a democracy and the rich were conspiring against the *demos* and about to attack, the leaders of the *demos,* learning in advance what was to happen, there being three phylai and four *hekatostyes* (οὐσῶν αὐτοῖς τριῶν φυλῶν καὶ τεσσάρων ἑκατοσ-

τύων), persuaded the people that there be sixty *hekatostyes,* in order that the rich be spread among them for both guard-duty and the other tasks (καὶ εἰς τὰς φυλακὰς καὶ εἰς τὰς ἄλλας λειτουργίας). Thus here, too, it happened that the rich were scattered and in each of the *hekatostyes* found themselves to be few among many supporters of the *demos*. . . .

While the general sense of the passage is clear enough, much doubt surrounds the assertion that, prior to the redistribution, the organization comprised three phylai and four *hekatostyes.* Three phylai cause no surprise of course; in the absence of other evidence, they may tentatively be identified as the Dorian Dymanes, Hylleis, and Pamphyloi, inherited from Megara.[1] But the simultaneous existence of only four *hekatostyes* has been questioned by nearly every commentator.[2] To cite only the principal objections: (i) the assumption of only four units is incompatible with the interpretation of *hekatostys* as either a Hundredth or a Hundred, unless, in the latter case, an unusually small population is assumed for fourth century Herakleia;[3] (ii) given three phylai, there would be little point in a second division of the population into four parts, whatever the disposition of the two sets of units; and (iii) so few units could not, without great violence to existing arrangements, be increased to as many as sixty. For such reasons as these, there is much to be said in favor of various proposed emendations of the text, e.g. τριῶν φυλῶν καὶ ⟨τριάκοντα⟩ ἑκατοστύων (Haase) or τριῶν φυλῶν καὶ τεσσάρων ⟨ἑκάστης⟩ ἑκατοστύων (Lange)—to cite two representative examples.[4] To these I would add as a further possibility τριῶν φυλῶν καὶ τεσσάρων ⟨καὶ εἴκοσιν⟩ ἑκατοστύων, with reference to Kalchedon, another Megarian colony, where inscriptions demonstrate the existence of at least two phylai subdivided by eight and seven *hekatostyes* (§24). Twenty-four such units at Herakleia would (i) give an acceptable number of Hundreds; (ii) be of some use alongside the principal division into three phylai; and (iii) provide a credible basis for the subsequent increase of their number to sixty.

Whatever the specific remedy for Aeneas' text, two inferences of somewhat wider application would seem to follow. First, neither before nor after the reform could the word *hekatostys* have had a partitive meaning—a finding of no small consequence for the interpretation of similar terminology, in the absence of sufficient information, elsewhere. Secondly, the simple fact of the reform cautions against *any* assumption of rigidity of structure where numerical terminology is concerned. Thus, the passage stands as the most valuable corrective we have of the schematism characteristic of many discussions of these numerically-designated public units.

Finally, the three phylai, if Dorian, and the *hekatostyes,* whatever their original number, are with high probability to be traced to the participation in the foundation of the colony by Megara, where both divisions are found in the Classical period (2 §1). The attempted *coup d'état* that occasioned the increase of the Hundreds is fairly securely dated ca. 370,[5] still early enough to place this among the very earliest testimony we have for the region. The later history of the organization is entirely unknown.

PROPONTIS

§24 Kalchedon

In two honorary inscriptions of the Hellenistic period the αἰσιμνῶντες, the executive committee of the Council serving for one month, crown their ἀγεμών. The greater part of both documents consists of a list of names comprising the ἀγεμών, the αἰσιμνῶντες, and, in the completely preserved text, the secretary of the Boule and Demos. Usually, but not always, the nomen and patronymic are followed by a third proper name. Though frequently abbreviated, this denomination, where given in full, is always feminine genitive singular.[1] References are to R. Merkelbach et al., *Die Inschriften von Kalchedon, IGSK* 20 (Bonn 1980).

	no. 6 (= *SGDI* 3053)
line 4	Πολια(τήας) (ἀγεμών)
5	Δρο( )
6	Διάσ(πιδος)
7	Π[α]ρτε( )
8	Πολ(ιατήας)
9	Ποτ̣τωι( )
10	Ποττωι( )
11	Παρτε( )
12	'Ολιδν(ήας?)
13	'Ηρα(κλήας?)
14	Α[---]
15?	(the secretary?)

	no. 7 (= *CIG* II 3794; *SGDI* 3054; Schwyzer 169)
line 9	Πολητήας (ἀγεμών)
10	Καλλιχορεατ(ήας)
11	'Ιππωνήας
12	Τριάσπιδος
13	Σειρο( )
14	'Ατθίδος
15	none
16	'Ασωποδω(ρήας)
17	none
18-19	(the secretary)

Analysis of the lists was first undertaken by Boeckh. Aware of the existence of only one of the two texts, no. 7, in which the names, if the ἀγεμών and secretary are included, total ten, he formulated the (as we now know) erroneous hypothesis that the board represented an organization of ten phylai, each contributing one member to each month's presiding committee.[2] But the subsequent publication of the second document added new denominations to the list. Besides, if the

ἀγεμών and secretary(?) are again counted, the board numbered twelve members, thereby rendering the hypothesis untenable. Plainly, not the phylai but some lower-level division is at question. The most likely candidate is *hekatostys,* proposed by Hanell on the strength of that unit's appearance at Megara (2 §1), Kalchedon's mother city, and at the other Megarian foundations Byzantion (§25) and Herakleia-on-Pontos (§23).[3] Each of the names, accordingly, could be interpreted as adjectival, modifying the understood substantive ἑκατοστύος. If so, it is at once clear that each of the two known committees might itself represent a phyle, presiding, as at Athens and other states, over the Council in a (in this case) monthly rotation.[4]

Assumption of the identification *hekatostys* would, moreover, provide a valuable (though ambiguous) clue regarding the overall dimensions of the organization. As the attested uses of the parallel term *trittys* show, a *hekatostys* might, lexically speaking, be either a Hundred or a Hundredth.[5] If a Hundred, each phyle would have comprised about one thousand (presumably adult male citizen) members, and the number of phylai would depend upon the (at present unknown) total number of citizens. If a Hundredth, an average of eight units per phyle[6] would work out to twelve or thirteen principal divisions—a large but by no means unlikely number; twelve, in fact, would have provided a suitable basis for monthly boards of αἰσιμνῶντες. There is unfortunately on present evidence no means available for choosing between the two interpretations.

Turning to the names, we encounter difficulties of text and reference bearing on the disposition of the organization.[7] Procedurally, it is notable that if we are really dealing with two different "phylai," it is surprising that both ἀγεμόνες apparently belong to the same *hekatostys*—"of the Polis." Possibly, each "phyle" had its own city-*hekatostys*—suggesting a regional representation for each phyle akin to that found in Athens (1 §1.21). For the evident repetitions in no. 6 (lines 4 and 8, 7 and 11, 9 and 10), I see no explanation other than that the memberships of some *hekatostyes* were appreciably larger than those of others, and were represented on the boards accordingly. Finally, in the content of the names we might find evidence of a *Landsmannschaftlich* principle of organization, if we follow Hanell in associating Atthis and Kallichoreat(ea) (i.e. Eleusis) with Attika and Asopodo(rea) with Boiotia.[8]

§25 Byzantion

Founded in the seventh century from Megara (2 §1), Byzantion continued in Hellenistic and early Imperial times to observe the distinctive public division of her mother city, the *hekatostys.* Three citi-

zenship decrees include a formula (varying in wording from text to text) calling for the honorand to be enrolled in the *hekatostys* of his choice: *SIG*[3] 645 (= Michel 535; *SGDI* 3751) (ca. 172), lines V 60-61; A. Rehm, *Milet* I 3 (Berlin 1914) 375-378, no. 153 (s.II); and *CIG* II 2060 (= *SGDI* 3059) (reign of Tiberius or Gaius). That only one division, and not the phyle, is specified is unusual; but by no means does it follow, despite Szanto's claim to the contrary,[1] that the phyle—or other larger public body—did not exist. Obviously, selection of the *hekatostys* would automatically determine the affiliation with any larger unit of which it was a component. The presence of phylai, in particular, must be left open as a possibility.

Thanks to the efforts of J. and L. Robert, we can now with some confidence assign to the *hekatostyes* five proper names from texts all but one of which (the first cited below) had previously been attributed to Kalchedon (§24). The attributions had not been made without reason. As at Kalchedon, except where abbreviated (again, the first cited example), the denomination is feminine genitive singular (hence sc. ἑκατοστύος) and follows immediately the nomen and patronymic (at *SGDI* 3053 note, however, Bechtel provides no information on these points). Where the monument is sufficiently described (again, excepting *SGDI* 3053 note), all the denominations but one are seen to belong to the name of the deceased on grave epitaphs; the Roberts cite Philokterea from "une stèle des mystes de Dionysos."

Εἰσι( )	*Bull. Ép.* 1962, no. 196; L. Robert, in N. Fıratlı and L. Robert, *Les Stèles funéraires de Byzance Gréco-Romaine* (Paris 1964) 159-160.[2]

For the proveniences of the following inscriptions, see *Bull. Ép.* 1959, no. 252.

Καλλιχορίς	J. Mordtmann, *MDAI(A)* 10 (1885) 19, no. 6
Κεφαλήα	F. Bechtel, *SGDI* 3053 note
Κρατεινήα	F. Bechtel, *SGDI* 3053 note; A. Müfit, *AA* (1931) 175
Φιλοκτερέα	unpublished (*Bull. Ép.*, loc. cit.)
Φιλοκτερήα	A. Müfit, *AA* (1931) 174 (for the reading, see *Bull. Ép.*, loc. cit.)

§26 Salymbria

In an inscription of early Imperial date, G. Seure, *BCH* 36 (1912) 558-562, no. 14, the word Βαθωνήας occurs in a fragmentary context. L. Robert, *Hellenica* 2 (Paris 1946) 61-64, no. 3, compared the proper names for *hekatostyes* documented at Megarian Kalchedon (§24) [and,

No lower tier is expressly documented, but the existence of a subdivision of the phylai has been inferred from a peculiar formula. The prescripts of certain decrees record the name of the mover in the form, e.g., Ἀπολλώνιος Δημητρίου Ἀργαδεὺς μέσης ἐπὶ Θεμιστώνακτος εἶπεν (*SIG*[3] 799 = *IGRR* IV 146); elsewhere, similar formulas give as the phyle Aigikoreis (*CIG* II 3657 = Michel 537: s. I; and *IGRR* IV 144 [Imperial]) and Oinopes (*SIG*[3] 798 = *IGRR* IV 145). In all the examples, the nomen and patronymic are followed by the *phyletikon,* the word μέσης, and the name of the eponymous in the genitive construction with ἐπί. Discussion of the unique μέσης has resulted in the hypothesis (among others) that, since the term follows immediately upon the *phyletikon,* it might designate the "middle" of three subdivisions, Boeckh[2] suggesting sc. τριττύος, Bilabel[3] offering the more appropriate (for an Asian state) sc. χιλιαστύος. But both proposals are open to the (admittedly easy) objection that among three instances it is surprising that neither the first nor the third division occurs, not to mention the oddity of the supposed use of μέσος in the sense "second of three."[4] Whatever the term denotes, it is unlikely to have had anything to do with any such division of the Kyzikene phylai.[5]

Of the remaining documents, the great majority pertain to the *prytaneis,* an executive committee of the Boule composed of a nominal fifty members from one, later two, phylai.[6] Given the uncertain condition of the texts in their present published form, it will be appropriate, pending the completion of the new corpus, merely to indicate generally the complex nature of this evidence. By far the earliest source is a decree of the fourth century, Michel 533. The preamble begins: [Ἔδοξε]ν τῶι δήμωι. Ἀργαδεῖς (ἐ)πρυ[τ]άνε[υον./Δημήτ]ριος Διονύσο ἐπεστάτει (1-2).[7] If we assume the existence of just six phylai, then, on the monthly scheme shown by later texts, either each phyle served for a two month period or for a single month twice a year. When, in the Imperial period, after the addition of Iouleis and Sebasteis, the record resumes, individual phylai are still serving for a single month.[8] From the time of Hadrian, however, other documents show the prytany to be held by pairs of phylai, always in the same combinations, again for a single month.[9] The two phylai together supplied the members of the committee. Hasluck suggested that this was a modification of the single phyle system, intended to apportion an equal number of months in a given year to each phyle.[10] Instead of serving twice in three years, each phyle would now, with its co-*prytaneis* from a second phyle, serve thrice in the course of a single year. Gschnitzer, however, noted a pattern in the monthly distribution of single phyle and paired phylai *prytaneis.* Pairs are confined to the consecutive months Apatoureon (VIII), Poseideon (IX), and Lenaion

φυλῆς τετάρτης Εὐανθίδος	idem, op. cit., 109, no. 4 (post A.D. 212)
φυλῆς Εὐανθίδος	idem, op.cit., 109-110, no. 5 (post A.D. 212)
φυλῆς πένπτης Βορεΐδος	idem, *JÖAI* 23 (1926) Beiblatt 202, no. 163 (post A.D. 212)[4]
φυλῆς ἕκτης	idem, *JÖAI* 1 (1898) Beiblatt 112-113, no. 10 (no later than s. III p.)
ἑβδόμης φυλῆς	G. Seure, *BCH* 36 (1912) 624, no. 81 (ca. s. V p.)
φυλῆς ἐνάτης	idem, op. cit., 625-628, no. 82
φυλῆς/[.]	E. Kalinka, *JÖAI* 23 (1926) Beiblatt 175-176, no. 125

Since Βορεΐς stands in the same (viz. fifth) position originally occupied by Βωρεῖς in the earlier organization, it is tempting to imagine a process of development rather than the wholesale replacement of one set of phylai by the other. But Euanthis is new, standing, moreover, in the slot previously filled by Geleontes. Further evidence of change is indicated by the appearance of the third declension feminine termination -ίς (sc. φιλή) in place of the earlier masculine plural nominal forms. Since, finally, the number of phylai has grown to at least nine, it is probable that we are dealing with a full-scale overhaul of the public apparatus.

For the change from Βορεῖς to Βορεΐς, there is a parallel in Ἀργαδίς (for Ἀργαδεῖς) at Delos (5 §20).[5] Elsewhere, when additions are made to the inherited organization, the names of the old phylai retain their original form.[6] Euanthis was referred by Seure to Euanthes, variously an *epiklesis* of Dionysos, his son, and, most pertinently here, the father of Maron, eponym of Thrakian Maroneia.[7] Compare, at Anchialos (§13), the restored phyle-name Βα/[κχί]ς.

§28 Kyzikos

Epigraphic sources from the fourth century B.C. to the third century A.D. reveal the apparently continuous functioning of the sixfold Attic-Ionic phylai. Two additions were made in the Roman period, Sebasteis and Iouleis:[1]

Αἰγικορεῖς	Ἰουλεῖς
Ἀργαδεῖς	Οἴνωπες
Βωρεῖς	Ὅπλητες
Γελέοντες	Σεβαστεῖς

jointly by the phylarchs and again, probably significantly, the *strategoi,* Michel 1224 (s. II). Together these two boards seem to have pooled their civil and military powers in a collegial chief magistracy of the Kyzikene state.[17]

That, in contrast to this statewide function, the phylai assembled and issued decrees is shown by the occurrence, again in a list of *prytaneis, JHS* 22 (1902) 204-207, no. 13 (time of Hadrian), of the formula *κατὰ τὰ δόξαντα τῇ φυλῇ* (line 19); but its uncertain relationship to the context unfortunately leaves the content of such enactments obscure. Elsewhere, internal financial resources are indicated by a fragmentary text, cited by Hasluck but never edited, seemingly showing *οἱ Αἰγικόραι*, presumably to be identified with the Aigikoreis, corporately in debt to an unknown party.[18] The same phyle, finally, is given as the affiliation of the deceased in a sepulchral inscription, probably Imperial, E. Schwertheim, *Die Inschriften von Kyzikos und Umgebung, IGSK* 18 (Bonn 1980) no. 544.

§29 Kios

In two similar sepulchral inscriptions from this Milesian colony, H. Lechat and G. Radet, *BCH* 12 (1888) 201-202, no. 2; and G. Mendel, *BCH* 24 (1900) 376-377, no. 23, the former almost certainly later than the reign of Alexander Severus, the owner is identified as the phylarch of the phyle *Ἡρακλεῶτις*.[1]

NOTES

§1 Poteidaia (later Kassandreia)

1. D. M. Robinson, *Excavations at Olynthus,* vol. 10 (Baltimore 1941) 500-502: 500. The *pinakion* is assigned by J. H. Kroll, *Athenian Bronze Allotment Plates* (Cambridge, Mass. 1972), to his Class I or II (pp. 113-116, no. 7), although, however classed, the earliest possible date for the introduction of the bronze tickets is 388 (p. 5), thereby precluding any connection with the *epoikia.* See also S. Dow, *BCH* 87 (1963) 669-671.
2. B. A. van Groningen, *Aristote, Le second livre de l'Économique* (Leiden 1933) 76-80. Nothing is said here regarding the identification of the demes.
3. Thucydides, 2.70.3; Diodoros, 12.46.6-7.
4. Van Groningen, (above, note 2) 80, argues for the earlier dating. But this is inconsistent with his view that it was primarily Poteidaians who were subject to taxation since, again, few, if any, of these (least of all the wealthy) remained in the city. If the reference is to the *epoikia,* the demes must be Kleisthenic.
5. For the cult of Poseidon, see E. Meyer, "Poteidaia 1)," *RE Suppl.* 10 (1965) 616-639: 627-628 (Poteidaia), 635 (Kassandreia).

§2 Thessalonike

1. *IG,* loc. cit., and *CP* 53 (1958) 62, note 8, where the candidacy of Antigonos I is dismissed.
2. s.v. *Βουκεφάλεια.*
3. s.v. *Κεκροπία.* At *SIG*³ 380, note 3, Dittenberger proposed that Stephanos' *demos* is really a "tribus," but on no good authority.
4. C. Edson, *CP* 53 (1958) 62, note 8.

§3 Beroia

1. Consideration of alternate forms of the adjective leads Touratsoglou (485) to accept the reading of the stone. Nonetheless, J. and L. Robert, *Bull. Ép.* 1978, no. 276, print *Βερενική*; for a defense of the transmitted text, see G. Daux, *BCH* 105 (1981) 589 (on *SEG* 27.262).

(X); single phylai to the months, nearly consecutive, Artemision (XII), Thargelion (II), and Kalamaion (III). Perhaps, accordingly, were the full record available, prytanies would be found to be assigned to individual phylai for (the same) eight months of the year, then paired for the remaining four months. Not two stages of development, but a single elaborate procedure would be represented by our epigraphic documents.[11]

In the fourth century decree, Michel 533, the preamble includes citation of the ἐπιστάτης; possibly he corresponds to the officer of that title selected from the *prytaneis* each day at Athens (1 §1.22). We also learn from Imperial documents of a πρυτανιάρχης, a unique officer of unknown relation to the *epistates.*[12]

Following their month in prytany, the ex-*prytaneis* presided over the κάλλιον, identified by Hasluck as the precinct of the Eleusinian goddesses. The prytaniarch remained as chief officer, under the title ἄρχων τοῦ καλλίου.[13]

CIG II 3665, datable to not long after the reign of Marcus Aurelius (A.D. 161-180), lists the ephebes by phylai. The text is noteworthy in that the preserved rubrics help to establish what is, I have maintained, a canonical order of the Attic phylai. On the surviving fragment, as reported by Boeckh, the left-hand column begins Geleontes, Argadeis, Aigikoreis (lines 13, 26, 47), followed by a gap of uncertain length; the second begins Oinopes, Hopletes (lines 13, 32) before breaking off. Whatever may have been the disposition of Boreis, Iouleis, and Sebasteis, the sequence Geleontes—Argadeis—Aigikoreis—Hopletes agrees with the documentary evidence of other states, thereby strengthening considerably the case for an inherited order.[14] To what extent, if any, however, the convention was reflected in procedure, whether connected with the ephebes, *prytaneis,* or other public institutions, cannot be ascertained.[15]

At the head of the phylai stood the φύλαρχοι, who, as shown by Michel 1224 (s. II), represented the six phylai on a one-to-one basis. Such representation probably continued after the addition of the Iouleis and Sebasteis, for a record of grants of citizenship of the second or third century A.D., F. W. Hasluck, *JHS* 23 (1903) 83, no. 30, is dated by citation of the phylarch of a single phyle. Accordingly, those Imperial lists of *prytaneis* showing more than one phylarch for a given phyle are probably best understood, with Hasluck, on the assumption that the title was retained by ex-phylarchs as a kind of distinction.[16] At the same time, the officers as a group served a corporate function, a role illustrated in the first half of the fourth century by a contract recording the letting out of the construction of a tower by the phylarchs, *strategoi,* and the *teichopoios,* Michel 596 (= *SGDI* 5524; Maier, *Mauerbauinschriften* 59) (s. II); and, much later, by a dedication made

3. *IGBR* ad loc., citing *IGRR* I 648. References may be found here to the earlier belief that the phyle was limited to Roman citizens.

4. For στέμα (i.e. στέμμα) in the sense of "*collegium,*" see Mihailov's commentary, where he cites F. Chapouthier, *BCH* 48 (1924) 287-292, no. A, and 49 (1925) 239-242.

§15 Dionysopolis (earlier Krounoi)

1. On the identification I follow C. Danoff, "Pontos Euxeinos," *RE* Suppl. 9 (1962) 866-1175: 1077. For a contrasting opinion, see L. Robert, *RPh* 33 (1959) 196-199.

2. For discussion on this point, see F. Bilabel, *Die ionische Kolonisation, Philologus Supplementband* XIV, 1 (Leipzig 1920) 15-16.

§16 Kallatis

1. Szanto, 58, accepted Točilescu's assignment in the belief that the Ionian Boreis could similarly be claimed for the mother city, Herakleia. But now that the grounds for this belief have been shown to be erroneous (§23), no impediment to reconsideration of the provenience remains.

2. B. Pick, K. Regling, *Die antiken Münzen von Dacien und Moesien* II 1 (Berlin 1910) 590, note 2. I owe this reference to I. Stoian, *Studii Clasice* 3 (1961) 183-184, no. II 4.

3. M. Piérart, "Athènes et Milet," *Museum Helveticum* 40 (1983) 1-18: 15-17.

§17 Tomoi

1. A more recent discussion, supplementing and correcting Stoian's, is E. Doruţiu-Boilă, "Triburile la Tomis în epoca Romană," *Studii Clasice* 12 (1970) 117-126 (in Romanian, with a French summary).

2. Stoian I 3; II 1, 2, 3 (dedication), 4 (from Tomoi?); III 2; IV 1; VI 1; *Dacia* 7 (1963) 1-15; *Studii Clasice* 12 (1970) 117-126, no. 1, no. 2. *I. Scythia Minor* V 132 may belong to Istros (§18).

3. *Dacia* 1 (1924) 275-276. It is sufficient to observe that what is true of Philippopolis (§8), where the phylai are certainly territorial, need tell us nothing about Tomoi.

4. Stoian I 1; III 1 (δισφύλαρχος, δισφυλαρχία); V 1 bis; 2?; *Dacia* 10 (1966) 10, note 55 (= *AEMO* 11 [1887] 51, no. 70).

5. Stoian I 3 (as interpreted by Stoian, p. 202). If, however, the reference to the phyle serves only to identify the deceased, there would be no need to connect with it the participle γραμματεύσας. At Stoian V 1, I take [οἱ γρα]μματεῖς to be the honoring party and not necessarily connected with the phyle.

6. Stoian V 1.

7. For the dative φυλῇ instead of the previously read nominative, see L. Robert, *Revue archéologique* VI 2 (1933) 144-145 (= *OMS* III 1599-1600).

8. Stoian III 1 (p. 186 note 3), citing F. Poland, *Geschichte des griechischen Vereinswesen* (Leipzig 1909) 365.

9. A. Wilhelm, *Anz. Wien* 1928, pp. 137-142 (= *Akademieschriften* II 225-230).

10. For discussion of other difficulties with the text, not touched upon here, see V. Parvan, *Dacia* 1 (1924) 273-279.

11. G. Mihailov, *IGBR* I² 47 bis (p. 111).

§18 Istros

1. The very fragmentary no. 408 reads in line 7: φυλη[---]. Just conceivably, it belongs to this group of texts.

2. Two other decrees have been thought to be decrees of "the phylai." No. 49 was originally published by D. M. Pippidi, *Studii Clasice* 7 (1965) 193-194, no. 7, with the suggested restoration in lines 8-9: [---φ]υλάς *v.* δεδ/[όχθαι ταῖς φυλαῖς---]. I. Stoian, in publishing what is now fr. b of no. 59, *SCIV* 18 (1967) 235-242, proposed that line 1 be restored: [δεδόχθαι τοῖς φυλεταῖς or τῆι φυλῆι Αἰγικορέων or Ἀργαδέων or Βορέων], with corresponding references to "the phyle" restored in lines 4 and 7. Later, L. Robert observed, *Studii Clasice* 10 (1968) 78, that, if phylai were at question, the fact that the decree was to be displayed in the gymnasium (9-10) would seem to demand "l'ensemble des tribus." Now, with the combination of the two fragments, the decree is seen to belong to the *neoi* (line 12).

§19 Sebastopolis (earlier Dioskourias)

1. . . . καὶ ζῶντα πολλάκις ἡ Σεβαστοπολειτῶν/πόλις καὶ τελευτήσαντα ἐτείμησεν τῆι τῶν/ἀνδριάντων κατὰ φυλὴν ἀναθέσει. ἀνέ/θηκεν δὲ τοὺς ἀνδριάντας ἀπὸ τ[ῶ]ν ἐα[υ]/τῆς θυγάτηρ αὐτοῦ Ἀντωνία Μαξίμα.

§21 Amastris

1. For the ἄμφοδα, or "quarters," see L. Robert, *A travers l'Asie mineure* (Paris 1980) 151-163.

2. For the reading, see C. Edson, *CP* 53 (1958) 62, note 8.

3. The name appears a second time, again in the nominative, "auf dem Sims der rechten Seite" (loc. cit.).

4. P. 485. Other phylai bearing some form of the name of their cities are Dymaia at Dyme (3 §1), Ephesioi at Ephesos (7 §11), and Εὐμόλποιο at Philippopolis (§8).

5. Touratsoglou, 484.

6. Pp. 483-484.

7. C. Edson, *CP* 53 (1958) 62, note 8. Peukestas' opposition to Antigonos, noted by Touratsoglou, 484, note 7, will have been less of a factor if, as is entirely possible, the phyle was a late creation.

8. Touratsoglou, 485.

9. *Contra* Touratsoglou, 486, who dates the organization on these grounds to the Hellenistic period.

§5 Traianopolis

1. See Dorylaion (8 §14), Hierapolis (8 §21), and Ankyra (8 §39). Cf. Bithynion-Claudiopolis (8 §1), Nakoleia (8 §15), and Sillyon (8 §30).

§8 Philippopolis

1. The organization has received repeated attention from B. Gerov: "Die Einteilung der städtischen Territorien im römischen Thrakien in regiones (χῶραι), Phylen und Komarchien," *Akten des VI. internationalen Kongresses für gr. und lat. Epigraphik, Vestigia* 17 (München 1972), 492-494; "Zum Problem der thrakischen Dorfgemeinde," *Eirene* 14 (1976) 31-80; and, most fully, "Zur inneren Organisation des römischen Thrakiens," in *Studia in honorem Veselini Beševliev* (Sophia 1978) 475-485. For references concerning, and discussion of, the *regiones* and *strategiai,* which lie outside the scope of the present work, the reader should consult the 1978 publication.

2. See, for example, *IGBR* III (1) 917-919, 921, 998, 1002.

3. This possibility is not given sufficient consideration by Gerov, whose preference for the Eleusinian connection is not supported by detailed argument (see Gerov 1978 [above, note 1] 478 with note 25, and 482 with note 48).

4. F. Gschnitzer, "Phylarchos," *RE Suppl.* XI (1968) 1067-1090: 1085.

5. Gerov 1978 (above, note 1) 478-479.

6. Cf. Gschnitzer (above, note 4) 1085. The latter text was first correctly interpreted by L. Robert, *Études epigraphiques et philologiques* (Paris 1938) 223-226. No. 1036 was taken as marking the boundary of the phyle by Gerov 1978 (above, note 1) 481.

7. Gschnitzer (above, note 4) 1084-1085.

8. In this connection it may be significant that inscriptions attesting phylarchs of other Thrakian states likewise were discovered in outlying areas: see §6 and 9. Gerov 1978 (above, note 1) 479, goes too far in attempting to break down the distinction between "town" and "country" prompted by the proveniences of the inscriptions. The fact that the only text mentioning the phyle Hebreis, *IGBR* III 1473, was found at Hisar(ja) is not balanced by the fact that the Hebros flows through the city. Likewise, against no. 1401 from Jagodovo, the *horoi* of the meadows of Rhodopeis, cannot be set no. 887 from the city, since the latter preserves only [---]πεις of the name of the phyle.

9. Gerov 1978 (above, note 1) 478.

§13 Anchialos

1. On this point I follow the editor, Mihailov.

2. According to Mihailov's commentary, the name of the phyle originally stood at the beginning of (the following) line 5, just before the mention of "the altar" in the accusative. Very likely Aurelios Polychronios, nominative in line 2, dedicated the monument "for" or "on behalf of" (his) phyle, a procedure not uncommon among these Imperial texts (cf. Philippopolis, §8).

3. B. Gerov, "Zur inneren Organisation des römischen Thrakiens," in *Studia in honorem Veselini Beševliev* (Sophia 1978) 475-485: 483. For the order of the Old Attic phylai, see N. F. Jones, "The Order of the Dorian Phylai," *CP* 75 (1980) 197-215: 199-200.

4. Gerov (above, note 3) 483, note 62.

5. Gerov (above, note 3) 483, note 62. The Roberts' comments, *Bull. Ép.* 1974, no. 150, on this and the preceding name apply only to the (Greek) origins of the names; they may, at the same time, have a local Thrakian reference.

§14 Odessos

1. See N. F. Jones, "The Order of the Dorian Phylai," *CP* 75 (1980) 197-215: 199-200.

2. B. Gerov, "Zur inneren Organisation des römischen Thrakiens," in *Studia in honorem Veselini Beševliev* (Sophia 1978) 475-485: 480, note 39.

§28 Kyzikos

1. For the sources, see the discussion, with notes, below. Not included there is an ephebe with the affiliation Ὁπλήτων in a list from Pergamon, H. Hepding, *MDAI(A)* 35 (1910) 432-436, no. 19, col. 1, line 12 (for the attribution to Kyzikos, see p. 435).

2. Commentary on *CIG* II 3657 (p. 915).

3. F. Bilabel, *Die ionische Kolonisation, Philologus Supplementband* XIV, 1 (Leipzig 1920) 123.

4. I find no parallel usage among the examples collected in *LSJ*[9] s.v.

5. Alternative explanations have been offered. The editor of *IGRR* IV 145 suggests μέσης (ἐκκλησίας), or the second meeting, between the first and the third, all held under the presidency of Menophon (whose name is constructed in the genitive with ἐπί). F. W. Hasluck, *Cyzicus* (Cambridge 1910) 251, proposed that *μέσης (nominative singular, first declension) designates a "middle-man" who introduced the motion on behalf of a second party, its actual originator (thus the preamble, for example, of *IGRR* IV 145).

6. For the texts, see below, with notes 8 and 9. I omit here discussion of the numbers of *prytaneis* per phyle, which, at the time of J. H. Mordtmann's writing, *MDAI(A)* 6 (1881) 40-55, varied between 42 and 51 (p. 48). A still higher figure, 58, is documented at *JHS* 22 (1902) 204-207, no. 13.

7. This text is to be preferred to Michel's Ἀργαδεὶς (ἐ)πρυ[τ]άνε[υεν.---]. No such form of the phyle's name is attested (cf., however, Ἀργαδίς at Delos, 5 §20); and, in any event, the later texts all have the plural.

8. Thus *CIG* II 3663 (Aigikoreis, month Kalamaion); J. H. Mordtmann, *MDAI(A)* 6 (1881) 42-43, no. 1 b (= *IGRR* IV 155) (Sebasteis, Thargelion); 44-45, no. 2, I (Hopletes, Kalamaion); 45-46, no. 2, II b (Aigikoreis, Artemision). The only candidate for a Hellenistic list is Mordtmann's 45, no. 2, II a, identified as pre-Roman, possibly from the time of the Mithridatic Wars (p. 47).

9. Thus *CIG* II 3661 ([Ὁπλητες] καὶ Οἴνωπες, Apatoureon); 3664 ([Ὁπλητες καὶ Οἴνωπες], [Apatoureon]; Argadeis and Geleontes, Poseideon; Boreis and Aigikoreis, Lenaion); J. H. Mordtmann, *MDAI(A)* 16 (1891) 437-440, front side, I ([---] καὶ Οἴνωπες, Poseideon), II (Argadeis and Geleontes, [Lenaion]), back side, II ([---καὶ] Ἰουλεῖς, Poseideon), III (Argadeis and Geleontes, month?); T. Wiegand, *MDAI(A)* 26 (1901) 121-125 (= *IGRR* IV 153) (Sebasteis and Iouleis, Apatoureon).

10. Hasluck (above, note 5) 250-254.

11. F. Gschnitzer, "Prytanis 7)," *RE* Suppl. 13 (1973) 730-815: 791-792, with references to earlier bibliography. On the Kyzikene months I follow A. E. Samuel, *Greek and Roman Chronology* (Munich 1972) 116.

12. Hasluck (above, note 5) 252.

13. Hasluck (above, note 5) 213, 252.

14. For a full discussion, see my "The Order of the Dorian Phylai," *CP* 75 (1980) 197-215: 199-200. Elsewhere, the clearest example of the Old Attic order is at Odessos (§14).

15. Regarding the *prytaneis,* inspection of the phyle and month combinations in notes 8 and 9 above will show that no fixed cycle, invariably assigning a given phyle to the same month, was observed. Possibly the sequence was determined by sortition.

16. Two phylarchs in the same phyle at, e.g. *CIG* II 3663, lines B 2, 5; and 3664, I 62 and 63. See Hasluck (above, note 5) 250-251.

17. Thus, most recently, F. Gschnitzer, "Phylarchos 5)," *RE* Suppl. 11 (1968) 1067-1090: 1081-1082. Boards of phylarchs enjoy similar statewide powers at Epidamnos (4 §2), Nikomedeia (8 §3), Prousias-on-Hypios (8 §2), and possibly Kyme (7 §4).

18. Hasluck (above, note 5) 265, note 2.

§29 Kios

1. Lechat and Radet, loc. cit., had originally restored in lines 1 and 2: φύλαρχος [τῆς]/ Ἡρακλεωτίδο[ς]; but Mendel, loc. cit., proposed an analogy with his own complete text the equally acceptable restoration of [φυλῆς].

§22 Tieion

1. For Tieion, and her relation to Amastris, see Magie, *RRAM* II 1193-1194 notes 28 and 29. According to Strabo, 12.3.10 (544), Tieion "quickly revolted" from the *koinonia*.

2. Beloch sought to explain the presence of the Boreis at Herakleia-on-Pontos, a Megarian foundation, by proposing that the phyle had been borrowed from Tieion. The proposal was correctly characterized as uncertain by Rüge, "Tieion," *RE* II 6.1 (1936) 856-862: 857. At all events, the inscription attesting the Boreis has been shown by L. Robert to have originated, not in Herakleia-on-Pontos, but in Herakleia-Perinthos (see §27).

§23 Herakleia-on-Pontos

1. So K. Hanell, *Megarische Studien* (Lund 1934) 141, and others. But the inference is disputed by S. M. Burstein, *Outpost of Hellenism: the Emergence of Heraclea on the Black Sea* (Berkeley 1974) 21, on the ground that since Herakleia had two groups of founders, Megarian and Boiotian, the colony's organization should not have favored one over the other, namely, in the present instance, Megara. However, Burstein's alternative suggestion that the three phylai might better be identified as Megaris, Thebais, and Dionysias (the latter two, of course, of possible Boiotian origin) since these names occur among the twelve known phylai of Prousias-on-Hypios (earlier Kieros) (8 §2), itself regarded by Burstein as a colony of Herakleia, is wholly speculative.

2. An exception is Burstein (above, note 1) 21-22.

3. This consequence is accepted by Burstein (above, note 1) 110, note 102. There is, however, no independent evidence for the size of the original settlement.

4. For these and other remedies, see *Aeneae Tactici de obsidione toleranda commentarius*, ed. R. Schoene (Leipzig 1911) 25.

5. For the date, see Burstein (above, note 1) 125, note 62.

§24 Kalchedon

1. For similar denominations attested by inscriptions previously attributed to Kalchedon, see Byzantion §25.

2. *CIG* II 3794 commentary. Boeckh's count of ten includes both the two αἰσιμνῶντες in lines 15 and 17 and the secretary in lines 18-19, for none of whom an affiliation was inscribed.

3. K. Hanell, *Megarische Studien* (Lund 1934) 144.

4. Space does not permit the full analysis required by these documents, and which I hope to undertake elsewhere at some future date.

5. The term *trittys* in public contexts is never demonstrably collective (i.e. "a group of three"), but for examples in other types of discourse, see *LSJ*[9] s.v.

6. In no. 6 I count eight units (assuming repetitions in lines 4 and 8, 7 and 11, 9 and 10); in no. 7, seven (assuming that the persons named in lines 15 and 17 shared the affiliation of the preceding name).

7. The fullest discussion of the names remains that of Hanell (above, note 3) 143. His list, however, includes names now assigned to Byzantion §25.

8. Hanell (above, note 3) 143.

§25 Byzantion

1. Szanto, 20.

2. A different interpretation is offered by G. Daux, *BCH* 94 (1970) 599-600, 103 (1979) 465-467. He regards the text as a dedication by a woman to Isis, viz. Ἐπικράτη Διονυσίου Εἶσι.

§27 Perinthos

1. For the corrected readings of the names of the phylai Geleontes, Boreis, and Aigikoreis, see J. Mordtmann, *RA* 36 (1878) (2) 302-303 (and cf. *MDAI[A]* 6 [1881] 48-49).

2. Though speculative, such reasoning seems preferable to Szanto's contention, 53-54, that the unattested Attic-Ionic phylai had been absent from the beginning.

3. Recently republished in the mistaken belief that it was a new text by Z. Taşlıklıoğlu, *Trakya'da epigrafiya araştırmaları* (Istanbul 1971): see J. and L. Robert, *Bull. Ép.* 1972, no. 286.

4. This inscription was once mistakenly attributed to Herakleia-on-Pontos as a result of confusion with the later name of Perinthos, also Herakleia. The true provenience was demonstrated by L. Robert, *RPh* 62 (1936) 113-117 (= *OMS* II 1192-1196).

5. At Anchialos (§13), if Εγελῆς really does descend from Geleontes, we would have a partial parallel. At Messene (3 §8), the name of the phyle Ὑλλίς is based directly on Hyllos; no connection with Hylleis is to be entertained (the same phyle occurs at Theangela in Karia, 7 §24).

6. Thus at Hierapytna (5 §38), Δυμᾶνες and Πάμφυλοι stand alongside Καμιρίς.

7. G. Seure, *RA* 20 II (1912) 256-258, no. 40. For references, see also Escher, "Euanthes 1)," *RE* 6 (1909) 845-846.

Eponyms are drawn from local historical traditions at Lampsakos (§1), Phokaia (§7), Pygela (§12), and Labraunda (§21). Indigenous divinities surface at Mylasa (§19), Olymos (§20), and Labraunda (§21). Also in Karia, Plataseis (§25) and Stratonikeia (§26) substitute the names of contemporary *privati;* some of these, to judge from the explicit example of Kibyra (8 §27; cf. Termessos [8 §26]), were the current heads of their associations.

Such variety in the designation of units reflects the differences in place, time, and circumstance characteristic of this heterogeneous region. Cities transformed the traditional apparatus, or created a new one where none had previously existed, in accordance with prevailing conditions. But there are exceptions to this generalization. The most conspicuous are afforded by those organizations which appear to have been fashioned in imitation of the Kleisthenic partition of Attika (1 §1.21). At Priene (§14), the ten phylai may have duplicated exactly their Athenian counterparts, at least in name. The same may have been true at Miletos (§16) prior to the addition of two (or more?) non-Kleisthenic phylai to what eventually became a twelvefold organization. But the Milesian demes bear local names and were demonstrably not, as at Athens, subdivisions of the phylai. From Alinda in Karia (§18) we have the isolated occurrence of the phyle Erechtheis. What is remarkable here is that these organizations incorporate eponyms peculiar to a foreign state. Elsewhere, the phenomenon is unknown, except where metropolis and colony are in question, as, for example, within the region, in the case of Phokaia (§7) and Lampsakos (§1).

The extent to which foreign intervention (if, indeed, it is here that the explanation is to be found) affected not only the designation but also the structural lines of these organizations is uncertain. The unexpected disposition of the Milesian demes with respect to the phylai has just been mentioned. The deme is also found at Stratonikeia (§26), but all detail escapes us. What of the numerically-designated units? The *chiliastys,* or Thousand, occurs in the Ionian states Erythrai (§8), Kolophon? (§10), Ephesos (§11), and Miletos (§16); outside the region, it is found at (Aiolic) Methymna (5 §9) and (Dorian) Kos (5 §41) as well as at Samos (5 §13). If not an Ionian, at least an Asian origin would appear tenable. Yet the distribution of the similar *hekatostys,* or Hundred, urges caution. Although attested at (Phokaian) Lampsakos (§1), the presence of the unit both at Megara (2 §1) and at a string of Megarian colonies (6 §23-26) makes a mainland origin all but certain. While undeniably characteristic of the Ionian region, the *chiliastys* may be conjecturally regarded as the innovation of some as yet unknown colonizing state.

However this may be, the numerically designated units undeniably played an instrumental role in the growth of the Ionian organizations.

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Chapter VII Asia Minor: The Western Seaboard

No less than the Aegean Islands (Chapter 5), the Greek settlements along the western coast of Asia Minor might be expected to preserve traces of the Great Migrations from the Homeland. In the northern regions of the Troad (§1-3) and Aiolis (§4-6), however, an inherited "Aiolic" organization again fails to materialize. But to the south, in Ionia, the Old Attic Geleontes, Argadeis, Aigikoreis, and Hopletes, with the two "Ionian" additions, Boreis and Oinopes, are widely attested in one form or another down into Imperial times: Erythrai (§8), Teos (§9), Kolophon (§10), Ephesos (§11), and Miletos (§16). Nonetheless, in contrast with the scant record of the Ionian island region (5 §14-23), it is obvious that, despite the retention of the traditional names, some of these same organizations have undergone substantial modifications. At Ephesos (§11), four of the six surface as *chiliastyes,* or Thousands, subdividing the Epheseis, one of a system of five innovating phylai. A similar disposition is likely at Kolophon (§10), possible at Erythrai (§8). Presumably, the inherited units were thus "demoted" in order to confine the original colonial elite to a single phyle, while the organization was expanded through the addition of new phylai (and *chiliastyes,* etc.) containing previously disfranchised population elements.[1] Still farther to the south, Karian Halikarnassos (§23) received the Dorian Dymanes, if we may credit a lexicographer's notice that the founder brought "the Dymaina phyle" from Troizen. At Theangela (§24), however, there is no reason to associate the phyle Hyllis with the traditional Dorian Hylleis. For the secure attestation of the Dymanes at coastal Kedreai, see the discussion of the Rhodian Peraia, 5 §46.

Over against this slender record may be set an abundance of innovating units, which by and large conform to well established types. *Landsmannschaftlich* phylai are conspicuous at Ephesos (§11), while at Miletos (§16) both a phyle and a deme may commemorate ties with Boiotia. Whether, or to what extent, the "Roman" phyle at Aphrodisias (§28) adheres to the same principle of organization is not ascertainable. Gods or heroes serve as eponyms not infrequently, as at Smyrna (§6), Magnesia-on-Maiandros (§13), Miletos (§16), and Kys (§27). Analogously, phylai preserve the names of dynasts at Ilion (§2), Erythrai (§8), Kolophon (§10), Magnesia-on-Maiandros (§13), and Antiocheia-on-Maiandros (§29). Ephesos (§11), however, affords the only examples of phylai named after Roman emperors, a practice of widespread attestation in the Hellenized interior (chapter 8). Elsewhere, not "international," but local designations of various kinds are to the fore.

Eponyms are drawn from local historical traditions at Lampsakos (§1), Phokaia (§7), Pygela (§12), and Labraunda (§21). Indigenous divinities surface at Mylasa (§19), Olymos (§20), and Labraunda (§21). Also in Karia, Plataseis (§25) and Stratonikeia (§26) substitute the names of contemporary *privati;* some of these, to judge from the explicit example of Kibyra (8 §27; cf. Termessos [8 §26]), were the current heads of their associations.

Such variety in the designation of units reflects the differences in place, time, and circumstance characteristic of this heterogeneous region. Cities transformed the traditional apparatus, or created a new one where none had previously existed, in accordance with prevailing conditions. But there are exceptions to this generalization. The most conspicuous are afforded by those organizations which appear to have been fashioned in imitation of the Kleisthenic partition of Attika (1 §1.21). At Priene (§14), the ten phylai may have duplicated exactly their Athenian counterparts, at least in name. The same may have been true at Miletos (§16) prior to the addition of two (or more?) non-Kleisthenic phylai to what eventually became a twelvefold organization. But the Milesian demes bear local names and were demonstrably not, as at Athens, subdivisions of the phylai. From Alinda in Karia (§18) we have the isolated occurrence of the phyle Erechtheis. What is remarkable here is that these organizations incorporate eponyms peculiar to a foreign state. Elsewhere, the phenomenon is unknown, except where metropolis and colony are in question, as, for example, within the region, in the case of Phokaia (§7) and Lampsakos (§1).

The extent to which foreign intervention (if, indeed, it is here that the explanation is to be found) affected not only the designation but also the structural lines of these organizations is uncertain. The unexpected disposition of the Milesian demes with respect to the phylai has just been mentioned. The deme is also found at Stratonikeia (§26), but all detail escapes us. What of the numerically-designated units? The *chiliastys,* or Thousand, occurs in the Ionian states Erythrai (§8), Kolophon? (§10), Ephesos (§11), and Miletos (§16); outside the region, it is found at (Aiolic) Methymna (5 §9) and (Dorian) Kos (5 §41) as well as at Samos (5 §13). If not an Ionian, at least an Asian origin would appear tenable. Yet the distribution of the similar *hekatostys,* or Hundred, urges caution. Although attested at (Phokaian) Lampsakos (§1), the presence of the unit both at Megara (2 §1) and at a string of Megarian colonies (6 §23-26) makes a mainland origin all but certain. While undeniably characteristic of the Ionian region, the *chiliastys* may be conjecturally regarded as the innovation of some as yet unknown colonizing state.

However this may be, the numerically designated units undeniably played an instrumental role in the growth of the Ionian organizations.

Some have sought the ultimate rationale for the Thousands in the demands of military organization, but the present survey has revealed no corroborating evidence.[2] In fact, the record of statewide functions for these units is virtually blank. What clues we do have are confined to Ephesos (§11), where the names of the *chiliastyes,* in combination with their attested affiliations with this or that phyle, prompt the hypothesis, already argued by Roebuck, that the Thousands served as the instruments for the "extension of political participation in the state to alien groups."[3] Through enrollment in a *chiliastys,* the newly enfranchised gained access to the privileges of citizenship. Viewed in this light, the Ephesian units would recall the demes instituted by Kleisthenes at Athens (1 §1.21). The comparison may also help explain the absence of public functions, since at Athens not the very numerous and variously sized demes, but the more uniform phylai provided the main apparatus for public activity. Analogously, the enrollment of new citizens in the *genos*—another characteristic of the Ionian region—at Erythrai (§8), Kolophon (§10), Pygela (§12), and Samos (5 §13) possibly went no further than the provision of an official affiliation—at least no substantive public functions are attested. Except for the possibly exclusively administrative *amphoda,* or Blocks, and *pyrgoi,* or Towers, at Smyrna (§6) and Stratonikeia (§26) (at Teos [§9], the *pyrgoi* appear to be of a quite different nature), lower-level divisions may never have undergone significant functional development.

Whether the same may be said of the internal arrangements of these units is no less difficult to determine. The sole examples of developed associations are at Teos (§9), where the identification of the *symmoria* as a public unit is problematic, and at Mylasa, Olymos, and Labraunda (§19-21), where the locally designated phylai may have stood outside the mainstream of regional trends. Elsewhere, the record is largely silent, even where, as at Ephesos (§11) and Miletos (§16), epigraphic material is plentiful. Although accident of survival or discovery must remain a possibility, it is tempting to see this silence in the context of certain striking developments within these same organizations. At Miletos (§16), for one, we encounter in the Imperial period a violation of the expected hereditary transmission of affiliation—a sure sign of the weakening of the phyle as an association. In other states, notably Magnesia (§13) and Priene (§14), divisions below the phylai are probably altogether absent. Alternatively, the designation of phylai by the names of individuals in Karian states (§21, 25, 26) points to their withdrawal from the public sphere. And where internal activity of otherwise conventional units is attested, there are frequent signs of financial dependence on private donors or public funds (§1, 2, 4, 9, 11, 14). All in all, a strong impression is left of the erosion of the public unit *qua* association—a pattern destined to emerge still more

clearly in our study of the organizations of the Hellenized interior (Chapter 8).

THE TROAD

§1 Lampsakos

Phylai and *hekatostyes,* or Hundreds, figure repeatedly though in large part obscurely in a very fragmentary inscription of the second century regulating the celebration of the Asklepieia, P. Frisch, *Die Inschriften von Lampsakos, IGSK* 6 (Bonn 1978) no. 9 (= *CIG* II 3641b; Sokolowski, *LSAM* 8).[1] Following a reference devoid of context to "each *hekatostys*" (lines 1-2), the text details a procedure for the funding of the festival whereby "the men"—probably bankers—are to transfer "from the revenue" to the ἐπιμήνιοι a fixed sum for each citizen. To be distinguished from "the *epimenioi* of the Boule" cited (again, in obscure context) in a later passage (85), these priests, more fully identified as "the *epimenioi* of the Asklepieia" at line 28, were annually succeeded in office by others whom they themselves had designated—if the text has been correctly restored—"each, one from his own phyle" (6-8). Besides funding, the decree also calls for the preparation of an ἀπογραφή, or register, of those eligible to participate in the rites. The *epimenioi* are to receive from the secretary of the city a list of "all the citizens written κατὰ φυλάς καὶ ἑκατοστῦς."[2] From the list, in a manner left unclear by the poor condition of the text, the register is to be composed (35-51, with much detail omitted). Whatever the procedure, from the preserved text it is a likely inference that, since the official citizen lists cited only the phyle and Hundred, these were in fact the sole components of the Lampsakene organization. Accordingly, a citizenship decree dated ca. 170, Frisch no. 6, calls, in fragmentary context, for enrollment in the *hekatostys.*[3]

A base of the Imperial period, Frisch no. 10 (= *IGRR* IV 181), bears an inscription recording the erection of the statue "of its own phylarch" by the phyle Περικλεῖδαι. The same phyle has been restored in an inscription from Lampsakos' mother city, Phokaia (§7), where, according to Pausanias (7.3.10), there was an early king named Periklos.

Mention should finally be made of the κωμάρχαι, documented by a single text, Frisch no. 9, line 66. Insufficient evidence is at hand to judge the merit of the editor's speculation (p. 156) that the κῶμαι constituted still another division of the state.

§2 Ilion

A decree of the year 281 honoring Seleukos I Nikator, P. Frisch, *Die Inschriften von Ilion, IGSK* 3 (Bonn 1975) no. 31 (= *OGIS* I 212),

calls for the inauguration of a number of public festivities in the king's honor including, in heavily restored text, the following:

[ἐν ᾗι δ'ἡμέραι ἡ θυσία συν]τελεῖται τοῦ ἀρχηγοῦ τοῦ
[γένους αὐτοῦ 'Απόλλωνος, πομπ]εύειμ μὲν τὰς δώδεκα
15 [φύλας βοὶ ? ----------] καὶ τὰς ἐχεχειρίας εἶ-
[ναι ἐφ' ὅλον τὸν μῆν]α· καὶ δίδοσθαι τοῖς φυ-
[λάρχαις εἰς τὰ θύματα ὅσο]ν καὶ ἐν τῆι τῆς 'Αθηνᾶς
[θυσίαι δίδοται ----------]ι ἡ σύνοδος τοῦ δήμου

And on the day on which the sacrifice to Apollo, the founder of his (Seleukos') house, is performed, the twelve phylai are to parade with an ox . . . ; and there is to be given to the phylarchs for the victims so much as is given in the sacrifice to Athena . . .

The reference to "phylai" in line 15 depends entirely upon (Dittenberger's) restoration, but it is a likely one in light of the immediately preceding occurrence (in the appropriate gender) of the words "the twelve"—a popular number for phylai, above all in Asia Minor.[1] But what is to be said about the source of the funds to be given to the phylarchs? Fortunately, more substantial information is provided by a decree of the second century regarding a festival of Athena, Frisch no. 52 (= *CIG* II 3599; Michel 731; Sokolowski, *LSAM* 9). Here the source of funding is identified as the interest accruing from a large endowment given to the state by a private citizen and now devoted, by decree of the Boule and Demos, to the festival (5-12). Each year the bankers are to turn over a set sum per phyle, drawn from the income, "to the phylarchs to be chosen from each phyle" (17-20). The "procession and sacrifice" (17) are then prescribed in detail (as restored, in paraphrase):

. . . they are to parade with a cow and a billy goat, have the cakes brought forward, and carry out everything else regarding the procession in accordance with ancestral custom. Each of the phylarchs is to attend the cow led by themselves (i.e. by their *phyletai*), inscribing (the name of his phyle?) for the cow, and to see that the animals are sacrificed first to Zeus Polieus. And (the phylarchs?) are to put on a dinner and render an account of the expense (21-25).[2]

For similar processions conducted κατὰ φυλάς, see Epidauros (2 §5) and Kos (5 §41).

Roughly contemporary with these *leges sacrae* are several citizenship decrees. All but one call for the enrollment of the honorand(s) in a phyle, "whichever he chooses," vel sim.: Frisch nos. 24 (ca. 300), 25 (init. s. III), 53 (s. II), and 67 (s. III vel II); a fifth, no. 34 (275-269?),

calls for enrollment in the phratry as well as in the phyle, both (again) of the honorand's choosing.[3] The reason or reasons for the variation are not readily ascertainable: no chronological distinction can be made; all the honorands are of similar, non-Ilian status (no. 67 is insufficiently preserved for determination); and, except for this one difference, the clauses are otherwise essentially alike. Conceivably, as appears to be true of a few anomalous formulas from Athens, no procedural significance is to be sought. Alternatively, we might suppose that membership in a phratry, even if universally possessed by all Ilian natives, was of no consequence for the actual implementation of citizenship. Rather it was affiliation with a phyle, as the express wording of two of the enrollment formulas shows, that gave access to the privileges of *politeia*.[4] Accordingly, the phratry could be, and evidently on occasion was, dispensed with altogether in grants of citizenship to non-Ilians.

The names of three of the phylai are preserved in a series of honorary inscriptions dated "after A.D. 69." Since in each a single phyle honors the same person with identical wording, the entire organization was probably originally represented. The phylai are Ἀτταλίς (Frisch no. 121 = *CIG* II 3616; *IGRR* IV 216), Ἀλεξανδρίς (no. 122 = *CIG* II 3615), and Πανθωΐς (no. 123 = *CIG* II 3617).[5] Evidently a survival from Hellenistic times, Attalis is nonetheless ambiguous in that, although Attalos I is the most likely eponym, his two homonymous successors cannot definitely be eliminated.[6] Panthois, however, should allude to Panthoös, the Trojan elder of the *Iliad* and *Aeneid*—at least no other candidate is forthcoming.[7] This raises the possibility that Alexandris commemorates, not the Makedonian king (as the record of his lavish attention to Ilion might be taken to indicate), but the Trojan Paris, also known as Alexandros.[8]

§3 Skepsis

The enrollment formula of a citizenship decree published by F. Judeich, in *Beiträge zur alten Geschichte und Geographie, Festschrift für Heinrich Kiepert* (Berlin 1898) 225-240, was restored to read ... καὶ ἐπὶ φυ[λὴν προσεγγ]/[ραφῆ]ναι ἣν ἂν θέλ[ηι...] (3-4). Speculative in any event, the restoration of the infinitive is rendered doubtful by a partially preserved clause in a decree, G. E. Bean, in J. M. Cook, *The Troad* (Oxford 1973) 399-400, no. 13: καὶ κατα-χωρι[σ----τοὺς πρυ]/τάνεις (6-7). Possibly, therefore, Judeich's text should be restored [...καταχωρ]/[ισθῆ]ναι. . . .[1]

§4 Kyme

Indications of the role played by the phylai in later Hellenistic Kyme are afforded by an extensive document recording honors for Archippe, daughter of Dikaiogenes, H. Engelmann, *Die Inschriften von Kyme, IGSK* 5 (Bonn 1976) no. 13. Dated by J. and L. Robert to shortly after the formation of the province of Asia,[1] the document comprises five decrees. The second and third, both entitled "decree concerning the sacrifices for the phylai . . ." (lines 21, 57), deal in detail with arrangements for the two public celebrations underwritten by the honorand. The phylai are to receive severally either food and drink (II 42-46) or a fixed sum of cash (III 74) as their share of the distribution. Similarly, an allusion to a distribution *κατὰ φ[ύλαις ἐν τᾷ]/ ἀγόρᾳ ἐκ προγράφας* has been restored in R. Hodot, *Getty Museum Journal* 10 (1982) 165-180 (= *Epigraphica Anatolica* 1 [1983] 33-37), lines 43-44 (between 5 and 2 B.C.).[2]

Mention is also made in both decrees of the phylarchs. Along with the *strategoi* and the *synedroi,* they put the motion to honor Archippe before the Boule (22-23, 59-60). Engelmann inferred that the phylarchs were reckoned among the standing members of that body.[3] It might be further conjectured that, since presumably all the phylarchs are at question, the phylai themselves were somehow directly and uniformly represented in the Boule, but there is at present no means of determining just what the nature of that representation might have been.

Enrollment by sortition in the phyle and phratry is called for by a decree, H. Malay, *Epigraphica Anatolica* 2 (1983) 1-16, no. 1, lines 108-109 (after 133).

Finally, the existence of a second public division has been inferred from the occurrence of two adjectival forms, *Νωρακεῖος* and *Τυκαλλεύς* (or **Τυκαλλεῖος/-ηος*).[4] Both follow the names and patronymics of individuals expressly identified as Kymaian citizens. Because neither word, in any form, is known to recur elsewhere in our sources, the identification of the division, if such it is, is open to conjecture. "Phyle" and "deme" have been proposed.[5] But one could with equal plausibility add a candidate well attested in the Greek East, including at an Aiolian state, Methymna (5 §9), *chiliastys.* The one stumbling block for all these identifications, however, is the fact that in the recently published citizenship decree (above), the only public unit present in the enrollment clause is the phyle. If a lower-level division existed, we should expect to find it here.

§5 Temnos

A citizenship decree of the third century, L. Robert, *BCH* 57 (1933) 492-498, no. 1 (= *OMS* I 436-442), includes an enrollment clause that, as restored by the editor, calls for the allotment of the honorand in the phyle of his choice (lines 11-13). For the apparently inconsistent combination of the process of sortition with choice by the enrollee, compare the similar formulas at Magnesia-on-Maiandros (§13). The anomaly is lacking in the decree confirming an *isopoliteia* between Temnos and Teos, P. Herrmann, *MDAI(I)* 29 (1979) 242-249 (fin. s. III-init. s. II). Here, any citizen of Teos who wishes to be allotted into a phyle is to be so allotted by the *timouchoi* (lines 17-19).

§6 Smyrna

A treaty of isopolity concluded between Smyrna and Magnesia-on-Sipylos, *CIG* II 3137 (= Michel 19; *SIG*[1] 171; *OGIS* I 229; *Staatsverträge* III 492),[1] dated soon after 243 (?) by Schmitt (*OGIS*), opens with a decree of the people of Smyrna (lines 1-33). Afterwards, are recorded *inter alia* specific instructions concerning the allotment of Magnesians into their phylai. Detailed to an unusual degree, these call, on Smyrna's side, for the compilation of lists of all Magnesians eligible for the award of citizenship (34-51 passim). With their completion, the examiners are to allot into the phylai all the registered persons and record their names on the κληρωτήρια, or allotment machines (51-53).[2] For all those thus recorded there is to be full participation in the rights and privileges of Smyrnaian citizenship (53). An oath to be administered to the people of Smyrna will bind them to the enfranchisement of all eligible Magnesians and to their assignment to phylai, "whichever they receive by lot" (75).

No division other than the phyle occurs in the instructions for allotment, and the assumption that none existed is encouraged by the invariable citation of the phyle alone in statements of affiliation. Six different phylai are attested by six texts, all dating from the Imperial period. In each, the person identified is the owner of the tomb to which the inscription refers. Primary references are to G. Petzl, *Die Inschriften von Smyrna* I, *IGSK* 23 (Bonn 1982).

Ἀλβηΐς	no. 201
Ἀμμωνίς	no. 196 (= *CIG* II 3264; *IBM* IV 1029)
Ἀρτημεισιάς	no. 199 (= *CIG* II 3266)
Θησσηΐς	no. 200
Λητωΐς	no. 198
Μητροΐς	no. 197

Of the names all but the first certainly or probably allude to deities (viz. Zeus, Ammon, Artemis, Leto, and Kybele?) or a hero (Theseus). The last mentioned was associated by L. Robert with the ancient tradition that Theseus was the founder of Smyrna.[3] Albeis, for which no comparative material is at hand, remains of doubtful significance.[4]

In a fragmentary inscription, identified by its most recent editor as a letter of a Roman magistrate, G. Petzl, *ZPE* 9 (1972) 61-64, no. 1 (with further improvements at *ZPE* 13 [1974] 120-121, no. 2), the words ἐξ ἑκάστης φυλῆς occur in an uncertain context.[5]

Pertaining to what in all probability was a territorial division for purely military purposes is an inscription of uncertain date, *SIG*³ 961. It reads: "those in the ἄμφοδον are to be stationed from the πύργος of Agathe Tyche to that of Eueteria." Commentators take the *amphoda* to be blocks of houses surrounded by streets (ὅδοι) on all sides (ἀμφί); citizens resident within the blocks were to be made responsible for the guarding, maintenance, and so on of the stretch of wall defined by the two towers. For a similar arrangement, see Stratonikeia in Karia (§26). For the *pyrgos* as a public unit, see Teos (§9).

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§7 Phokaia

Three phylai are attested by two inscriptions of Flavian or later date and by a notice in Hesychios. The one inscription, *CIG* II 3415 (= *IGRR* IV 1325), records honors for a public official by ἡ Τευθαδέων φυλή; the other, *CIG* II 3414 + add. (p. 1126) (= *IGRR* IV 1326), honors conferred by a woman on her husband, who has the affiliation τῆς [---]λειδῶν [φ]υ[λῆ]ς. The name Teuthadeis was regarded by Roebuck as non-Greek.[1] The restoration of the name [Περικ]λειδῶν in the latter text is supported by Pausanias' inclusion (7.3.10) of a Periklos among the three Kodridai imported from Erythrai and Teos (to bolster Phokaia's request for admission to the Panionion), and by the certain occurrence of a phyle Perikleidai at a Phokaian colony, Lampsakos (§1). The third phyle comes from the lexicographer's identification of Ἀβαρνεύς as a "phyle of the Phokaians." With this datum one may associate Ephoros' statement, *FGrH* 70 F 46, that the Phokaian colony Abarnos took its name ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν Φωκ⟨α⟩ίδι Ἀβαρνίδος. Though conceivably the name of a (territorial?) phyle itself, Ephoros' Abarnis might also be taken as a region within the Phokaid.

§8 Erythrai

Three levels of organization, phylai, *chiliastyes,* and *gene,* are attested by sources ranging in date from the Classical period to the second

century A.D. The following proper names are known (primary references are to H. Engelmann and R. Merkelbach, *Die Inschriften von Erythrai und Klazomenai* I, *IGSK* [Bonn 1972]):

phylai

Νυσα[ιίς]	no. 113 (= *IG* XII 5[2], no. 871) (s. I), line 15
[Νυ]σαιίς	ibid., line 11
Χαλκίς	Pausanias, 7.5.12 (fl. ca. A.D. 150)

chiliastyes

Πεπρώιοι	E. Varınlıoğlu, *ZPE* 38 (1980) 153-154, no. 2 (non ante s. I)
[Πε]πρώιοι	no. 81 (ca. 100 aut p.p.)
Χαλκιδεῖς	no. 41 (s. II)[1]

uncertain

[Ἀ]ργαδεῖς	no. 153 (s. V aut init. IV)

For the disposition of the organization, our one solid clue is afforded by Pausanias' statement, 7.5.12, that "the Erythraians have a region (χώρα), Chalkis,[2] from which the third of their phylai took its name; and there is in Chalkis a headland extending into the sea, and on it are salt-water baths, the most beneficial for people among the baths in Ionia." Taken at face value, the traveler's words imply the existence of a phyle strictly homonymous with the region.[3] In the absence of contrary indications, it is a likely, though not necessary, inference that the Erythraian phylai were arranged on a territorial basis. If, further, Pausanias' expression "the third" means "one of three," and does not—to mention an admittedly remote possibility—refer to the place of the phyle in an official order of precedence, there would remain only one name as yet unattested.[4]

Whether the *chiliastyes* were territorial units or, as suggested by the very term "Thousand" and consistently with the plural masculine terminations of the two attested names, of personal disposition is not easy to say. A group called Peproioi, not identified (as in the later sources cited above) as a *chiliastys,* figures in a text of the fifth or first half of the fourth century, Engelmann-Merkelbach no. 17, where they are seen to be in control of certain swamp lands. The editors state: "Diese Chiliastys war eine Landgemeinde, in deren Besitz ein grosses Sumpfgebiet war." Apart from the uncertainty regarding the status of the group at this early date, we must leave open the possibility of a purely personal association, whose land holdings played no part in its principle of organization. Similarly troublesome, too, is the case of the Chalkideis. Among the several occurrences in the region of toponyms

formed on Χαλκιδ-,[5] mention is made in an Erythraian catalogue of streets, Engelmann-Merkelbach no. 151 (= *SGDI* 5690) (ca. 340), of a "Harbor of the Chalkideis," where the Thousand could be localized as a territorial unit. Such a conclusion would permit the assumption that this *chiliastys* was a component of the (probably territorial) phyle Chalkis. But, again, the mere association of a unit's name with a particular locale does not constitute proof that that unit was a geographical entity or that membership in it was, or ever had been, determined by place of residence. The question of the disposition of the Erythraian Thousands must continue to remain open.

The picture is complicated still further by the possible occurrence in a record of auction, Engelmann-Merkelbach no. 153, of the name Argadeis, unfortunately unattended by any indication of its status (line 18). Elsewhere in the region normally a component of the traditional sixfold Attic-Ionic organization, the phyle would seem out of place here as the sole companion of Nysaiis and Chalkis. But the date of the source, viz. fifth or early fourth century, would permit the assumption of the existence of the Attic-Ionic phylai prior to the creation of the innovating tripartite division attested by Pausanias and the late inscriptions. Chronologically, the hypothesis would be consistent with the ascription of Nysaiis by L. Robert to the dynastic personal name Nysa, which was borne by more than one eastern queen or princess in the Hellenistic period.[6] Alternatively, it might be supposed that even as early as the fifth century Argadeis had (along with the other Attic-Ionic phylai?) been "demoted" to the status of *chiliastys,* a process clearly illustrated at Kolophon (§10), Ephesos (§11), and Samos (5 §13). In that event, the old groups will have continued to live on as lower-level components below the later, innovating phylai.

Functionally, the record for Erythrai presents little that is surprising. A decree of the mid-fifth century concerning (in part) the policing of magistrates, Engelmann-Merkelbach no. 2 (= *SGDI* 879-882; Schwyzer 701), calls for constitution of a court, with the jurors to be drawn "from the phylai, nine men from each" (A, 13-16). These same phylai might also have provided the basis for the selection by lot of the Boule of 120 mandated by a nearly contemporary decree of Athens, Engelmann-Merklebach no. 4 (= *IG* I^3 14; I^2 10; Tod I, 29; Meiggs-Lewis 40) (453/2?). In the latter case, the assumption of six Attic-Ionic phylai would make for uniform representation; possibly the court numbered sixty, with six magistrates (?) from six phylai serving *ex officio.* From the fourth century, a fragment of a citizenship decree, Engelmann-Merkelbach no. 14, appears to permit choice of phyle by the honorand. A much later decree honoring jurors and secretaries provided Erythrai by Tenos (and by other states, the names of which are not known), Engelmann-Merkelbach no. 113 (= *IG* XII 5 [2], no.

871) (s. I), records the allotment of all parties into the phyle Nysaiis (10-11, 14-15). Quite obscure, however, is a plaque (?) of the first century A.D. bearing the single word "phyle," Engelmann-Merkelbach no. 171; the editors' suggestion that it is an "Ehrung durch die Phyle" is a possible but by no means compelling interpretation.

Concerning the *chiliastyes,* the Chalkideis honor one Hekatonymos, son of Platon, in an inscription of the second century, Engelmann-Merkelbach no. 41. Somewhat later, the Peproioi, with their λαμπαδάρχης, are twice recorded as victors in the relay torch race (sources cited above), a role elsewhere played by the phylai alone (see Index II.I.5.b.vi).

In contrast with the evidence for allotment into phylai just reviewed, a decree of Classical date, E. Varınlıoğlu, *ZPE* 44 (1981) 45-47, no. 1, allows the honorand to become a citizen, if he wishes, and to enter the *genos* of his choice (15-17). Confined to the region, induction in the *genos* is paralleled at Kolophon (§10), Pygela (§12), and Samos (5 §13).

§9 Teos

For the phylai of Teos our only secure evidence consists of two undated inscriptions, *CIG* II 3078 and 3079. The first records the award of a crown by the phyle Geleontes; the second preserves only the honoring parties, the *neoi,* the *epheboi,* and, again, the phyle Geleontes. Another reference to phylai has been restored in the late fourth century letters of Antigonos to the people of Teos regarding the projected joining of that city with Lebedos, *SIG*[3] 344 (= Michel 34; Welles, *RCHW* 3-4) (ca. 303). At their conclusion, the text reads "those who are to enumerate and give the houses to the settlers are to be chosen in the first *ekklesia* παρ' ἑκάσ[της φυλῆς] (125-126). For the procedure, compare at Athens the selection *kata phylas* of the γεονόμοι, or land-distributors, for the colony of Brea (*IG* I[3] 46 = I[2] 45; Meiggs-Lewis 49) (ca. 445).

More numerous than the phylai could possibly have been but of unknown relationship to them were the συμμορίαι, elsewhere documented only at Nysa (8 §11). Assured examples are ἡ [Ἀ]λτύλου συμμορία: *BCH* 4 (1880) 175-176, no. 35 (= Guarducci, *L'Istituzione* 26: s. II); and ἡ Ἐχίνου συμμορία: *CIG* II 3065 (= Michel 1006; Guarducci, *L'Istituzione* 24) and 3066 (= Michel 1007; Guarducci, *L'Istituzione* 25), both of the second century. Since in the last-mentioned inscription, furthermore, the *symmoria* is also called Ἐχινάδαι (line 29), it has been suspected, correctly I think, that a host of other patronymic names (nearly all of which occur in conjunction with another candidate for public unit, the *pyrgos*) likewise belong to *sym-*

moriai.[1] To date these patronymics total twenty-eight examples, confined to just three documents: *CIG* II 3064 (date ?); *BCH* 4 (1880) 168, no. 22 (= Michel 807?) (date ?); and ibid., 174-175, no. 34 (Imperial).

Concerning the organization and activities of the *symmoriai* we are well informed by the two decrees of the Echinadai, *CIG* II 3065 and 3066 (above). Similar in form and content, the decrees honor four *προστάται*, the annually appointed officers of the *koinon.* Functioning as a board, the officers were, so far as the present texts inform us, concerned primarily with the staging of sacrifices (*θυσίαι*) and of the reception (*ὑποδοχή*) for the membership of the *symmoria.* The honors comprise the familiar praise, crown, and announcement after the libations—the last-mentioned the responsibility of the current year's *prostatai.* Both texts emphasize that during the honorands' tenure the festivities incurred no expense for the *symmoria;* and, in the same vein, state or imply that they themselves have agreed to meet all expenses occasioned by the honors. A lack of corporate funds might be inferred. Nor is this impression altered much by the reference in both texts to "the altar of the *symmoria,*" next to which the stone stelai bearing the decrees and crowns are to be placed. If other properties of the association existed, no mention is made of them. Nonetheless, a more or less formal structure is indicated by the presence of a board of officers, by the official stamp borne by "the decree of the *koinon,*" by that decree's publication on stone stelai, and, finally, by the annual proclamation at the reception. The whole edifice may have been defined by its own laws, unless it is to the state that the expression *κατὰ τὸν νόμον*, applied to the performance of sacrifices (3066, line 8), pertains.

Some additional detail is added by an extensive decree honoring Antiochos the Great, P. Herrmann, *Anadolu* 9 (1965) 29-160. The text, *inter alia,* calls for a city-wide celebration in the king's honor: "Each of the *symmoriai* is to prepare on its own *τόπος*, next to the altar of the *symmoria,* one (altar) of King Antiochos the Great and of his sister, Queen Laodike, and to perform upon it the sacrifice." Following instructions for the priest of the king to preside over all ceremonies conducted "by the *symmoriai,*" the stewards (of the state) are to transfer from the public treasury to the *prostatai* of the *symmoriai* the funds required, computed on the basis of a register (*ἀπογραφή*) of the number of people to be attending the festival (II 7-22). Again, the financial dependence of the associations is evident. Mention is also made of the altar, in this instance expressly located within the *symmoria*'s *τόπος*—presumably a corporately held property of some kind. A physical relic of one such facility may well be preserved in an undated inscription, *BCH* 4 (1880) 168, no. 22, reading in full: *Ἀπόλλωνος/ Κουρέου/Πολλιδῶν/καὶ [Φ]αινιαδῶν.* That the two associations

are *symmoriai* is strongly suggested by the occurrence of Πολλίδης among the patronymics in *CIG* II 3064 (at line 20). If, as the editors suggested, the block is a boundary marker, it could have served to designate these *symmoriai*'s sacred τόπος.

Of determinable relationship to the *symmoriai* but of much disputed nature are, finally, the πύργοι, or "towers." With only one exception, citation is made immediately after the nomen and before the patronymic designation of the *symmoria,* e.g., Πάρμις, τοῦ Σθενέλου πύργου, Χαλκίδειος (*CIG* II 3064, line 26). In the one exceptional example, *CIG* II 3081 (= *IGRR* IV 1569) (Imperial), the patronymic is lacking after citation of "the tower of Philaios." All remaining occurrences are confined to *BCH* 4 (1880) 174-175, no. 34 (Imperial) (again, "the tower of Philaios") and to *CIG* II 3064 (= Michel 666; *SGDI* 5635) (n.d.). In the latter text, a list of names, twenty-nine wholly or partly preserved entries attest twenty-seven different *pyrgoi,* none occurring twice. Critical for determining the relation of the *pyrgos* to the *symmoria* is the fact that the patronymic Bruskides occurs once with "the tower of Sintys" (line 24), once with "the tower of Merades" (line 31), showing that the *pyrgoi* did not contain the *symmoriai.* Conversely, with one and the same tower, viz. of Philaios, are associated both a Kydonides (*BCH* [1880] 174-175, no. 34) and a Philaides (*CIG* II 3064, line 9). Nonetheless, the last-mentioned example illustrates the special relationship obtaining between those towers upon whose namesake is formed a homonymous patronymic. All told, *CIG* II 3064 affords a dozen examples of this homonymity.[2] Since, moreover, a patronymic with a corresponding tower is never associated with any other tower, it is worth suggesting that the Bruskidai are found in two towers precisely because the *symmoria* did not have a homonymous tower of its own in which to be concentrated. But members of a *symmoria* with its own tower tend to stay within it.[3]

What, then, were these towers? Boeckh ventured comparison with the Athenian demes, aptly adducing those few named after individuals or families.[4] With the evident meaning of πύργος in mind, Scheffler proposed that they were quarters of the town bearing the names of the literal towers of the circuit wall.[5] Following this lead, Francotte cited Aristotle, *Politics* 7.10.8 (1331 A), where the philosopher advises that, since the citizens must at all events be distributed into συσσίτια and the walls must be divided at opportune places into φυλακτήρια and πύργοι, some of the messes be organized at the guardposts. Over time, these will have declined to the status of cult associations—the condition of the Teian *pyrgoi,* in his estimation, by the date of our inscriptions.[6] Béquignon advanced the interpretation still further by adducing the parallel documents from Smyrna (§6) and Stratonikeia (§26), where alone the *pyrgos* may play the role of a public unit, and

by citing a passage from Aeneas Tacticus, 3.1-5. Aeneas, recalling Aristotle, proposes a division of the walls into sections corresponding to the division of the citizen body into phylai. Each phyle was to be responsible for its section and was to be under the leadership of a ῥυμάρχης ("street-commander"). Applying this organization to Teos, Béquignon posited a commander-in-chief of the fortifications, below whom the individual tower-commanders (Aeneas' ῥυμάρχαι) will have been ranked. Accordingly, our primary document, *CIG* II 3064, Béquignon interprets as a register, set out year by year, of these hypothetical commanders-in-chief.[7]

Béquignon's reconstruction is praiseworthy in that it attempts to account for a disturbing peculiarity of the document. Throughout, at symmetrically-arranged intervals, occur gaps marked ἄναρχον or ἄναρχα δύο or [τ]έσ[σ]ε[ρ]α.[8] Earlier, the gaps had been acknowledged by Boeckh (followed by Francotte). Supplying ἔτος with ἄναρχον, he proposed that the names were those of "annual eponymous archons"—again leaving, as with his positing of units resembling Athenian demes, the key term πύργος unaccounted for. Béquignon's theory, too, however, has come under fire. Among other objections, Ruge argued that the number of "anarchies"—no fewer than ten within forty years—was too high for a senior official of any description and that, on the assumption that the commander-in-chief was chosen on the basis of merit, we should expect some repetition of *pyrgos*-affiliations, when in fact there is none. Besides, the alleged naming of the towers of the fortification is undercut, he observed, by an epigraphic reference, *SGDI* 5636 (n.d.), to indubitable literal πυργοί, to which no name is attached.[9] And what would the function of such a military organization have been in the early Imperial period?[10]

Ruge's own positive case, prompted by *obiter dicta* of E. Meyer and Wilamowitz, that the *pyrgoi,* far from having anything to do with fortifications, were really country-estates, was later developed by Hunt.[11] Assembling evidence favoring the intended sense of πύργος, Hunt identified the names in *CIG* II 3064 as the estates' current owners. But even if we grant that πύργος can designate "estate," I seriously doubt whether ἄναρχον, without modification, could be used, as Hunt argues, of such an estate to mean "vacant" or "without an owner." Would ten of forty estates in any case be likely to be thus "vacant"?[12] Besides, *CIG* II 3064 is a list, not of *pyrgoi,* but of persons affiliated with a *pyrgos;* whereas the suggested meaning of ἄναρχον presupposes a complete listing of all the "estates." The list cannot be both at the same time. But the hypothesis that annual officers (of any description) are in question, with vacant years duly recorded, is free of this complication.

More important for our purposes than the actual nature of the *pyrgoi* is the probability that, because they on occasion provide part of a citizen's official affiliation, they constituted segments of the Teian state. Membership in a *symmoria* is also an element of these same citizens' affiliations, and at least one public function is exemplified in the city-wide celebration in honor of Antiochos. *Pyrgos* and *symmoria* may well, therefore, have complemented one another as overlapping territorial and personal divisions below the phylai.[13]

§10 Kolophon

A fragment of a marble stele preserving parts of two lines from the end of an inscription, B. D. Meritt, *AJP* 56 (1935) 380-381, no. 6, reads as follows:

[-----ἐκ]ληρώθη δὲ ὑπὸ τῶμ̣ [-------]
Γελέοντας καὶ φυλὴν Σελευ̣κ̣[-----]
vacat

Meritt finds here evidence of two phylai, one the Old Attic Geleontes, the other named after a Seleukos, whom he identifies as Seleukos I Nikator. But this view cannot be squared with the singular form of the verb "was allotted." It leaves no doubt that there was only a single honorand and consequently only one phyle into which the allotment was made. Since the order of words guarantees the phyle Σελευ̣κ̣ [---], we have no choice but to conclude that the Geleontes represent a different level of organization. What is its identification? At nearby Ephesos (§11), the phylai from at least the late fourth century fell into *chiliastyes,* or Thousands; and, of the six known such units of the phyle Epheseis, four bore names of the Attic-Ionic phylai—Argadeis, Boreis, Geleontes, and Oinopes. Similarly, at Samos (5 §13), a *chiliastys* Oinopes is attested by a document dated ca. 306. Less straightforward is the case of Thasos (5 §1), where the Geleontes occur in a context of inscriptions suggesting the identification *patra.* Nonetheless, the Ephesian and Samian examples are not only secure but also apt both chronologically and in terms of the close proximity of the two states to Kolophon. On their basis, accordingly, we might provisionally restore a reference to the *chiliastys* in line 1. At the same time, I fill out the name of the phyle in conformity with the feminine singular form known at Magnesia-on-Maiandros (§13), Nysa (8 §11), and Hierapolis (8 §21):

[-----ἐκ]ληρώθη δὲ ὑπὸ τῶμ̣[----- εἰς χιλιαστὺν]
Γελέοντας καὶ φυλὴν Σελευ̣κ̣[ίδα].

Solid as this approach may seem, its specific result is not supported by the corresponding passages in two other Kolophonian citizenship decrees, the one earlier, the other possibly later than the fragment just discussed: Meritt, op. cit., 377-379, no. 3 (ca. 334); and T. Macridy-Bey and C. Picard, *BCH* 39 (1915) 36-37 (ca. 250-200).[1] In these decrees, the honorand (and, in the former example, his descendants) are either to be members of, or enter into, the *genos* of their choice. With the *gene,* further, can be associated, following L. Robert, a number of proper names, all but one patronymic in form, used to distinguish homonyms in a list of contributors of the year 334, Meritt, op. cit., 359-372, no. 1.[2] To attempt to harmonize our three enrollment formulas, however, by supposing that Geleontes were of like status and, accordingly, by restoring γένος at the end of line 1 of the fragment, would entail an excessive diminution in size and status for a group that had once comprised no less than one-sixth of the entire citizen population of Kolophon. For this reason, *chiliastys* seems the better choice. If so, the organization of phylai, *chiliastyes,* and *gene* will have an exact parallel at Erythrai (§8), where also, perhaps significantly, there is an example of enrollment in the *genos* of the honorand's choice.

§11 Ephesos

An organization of phylai and constituent *chiliastyes,* or Thousands, is abundantly documented by a literary source preserved in a lexicographer and by a great fund of inscriptions dating from the fifth or early fourth century down to the time of the Antonine emperors. According to the literary source, Ephoros, *FGrH* 70 F 126, Βέννα was "one phyle of the five at Ephesos, of which the *phyletai* (are called) Βενναῖοι." Stephanos appended to the extract an historical note: "Because of Androklos, the founder of Ephesos. 'This man, going to the aid of the Prienians, perished, and many Ephesians with him. Now, the surviving Ephesians revolted against the sons of Androklos and, wishing to have help, took colonists from Teos and Karene (to use) against them. From these, two of the five phylai at Ephesos take their names. For those in Βέννα (are called) Βενναῖοι, and those in Εὐώνυμον [of Attika][1] (are called) Εὐώνυμοι. But those whom they found at Ephesos in the beginning they say are Ἐφέσιοι, while they call the later arrivals Τήϊοι and Καρηνεῖοι.' "[2] With this information agrees an early Imperial list of *neopoiai* arranged *kata phylas, Ephesos* V, 1578a (= *IBM* III 578).[3] The rubrics, probably adhering to an official order,[4] are: φυλῆς Ἐφεσέων, [Σ]εβαστῆς, Τήϊο[ι], Καρηναῖοι, Εὐώνυμοι, and Βεμβιναῖοι. Thus Σεβαστή is the first of the Imperial additions; later came Ἀδριανή and Ἀντωνεινιανή.

The names of nearly half a hundred *chiliastyes* are preserved, and in the great majority of cases the phyle-affiliation is known.[5] The tabulation below builds upon the most recent similar presentation by Knibbe, which it corrects and brings up to date.[6]

The Greek Organization

Φυλὴ Ἐφεσέων	Φυλὴ Τηΐων	Φυλὴ Καρηναίων
1. Ἀργαδεῖς	1. Εὐρυπόμπηοι	1. Ἀγροίτεοι
2. Βωρεῖς	2. Ἐχεπτολέμειοι	2. Ἀλθαιμένεοι
3. Γελέοντες	3. Ἡγητόρειοι	3. Ἀλχημένιοι
4. Λεβέδιοι	4. Καστλαῖοι (Κάσθλιοι)	4. Κλαυδιεῖς
5. Οἴνωπες	5. Σπερχύλεοι	5. Κρεόντεοι
6. Σαλαμίνιοι		6. Πεῖοι
		7. Χηλώνεοι

Φυλὴ Εὐωνύμων	Φυλὴ Βεμβιναίων
1. Γλαύκεοι	1. Αἰγώτεοι
2. Ἐχύρεοι	2. Ἀλκμεώνεοι
3. Λεαγόρεοι	3. Βρέτανοι
4. Πελάσγηοι	4. Νίκεοι
5. Πολυότρεοι	
6. Πολυόχεοι	
7. Σιμώνειοι	

The Imperial Additions

Φυλὴ Σεβαστή	Φυλὴ Ἀδριανή	Φυλὴ Ἀντωνεινιανή
1. Δρουσιεῖς	1. Φιλορώμαιοι	1. Παιανεῖς
2. Νερωνιεῖς		
3. Λαράνδηοι		
4. [---]μηοι		

chiliastyes of unknown affiliation

1. Αἰγικ[ορεῖς]	4. Ἀφροδεισιεῖς	7. Κυδ[.....]ος
2. Ἀνδρο[---]	5. Ἰουλιεῖς	8. Σμυρναῖοι
3. Ἀνχεσεῖς	6. Καισαρεῖς	9. Τιβεριεῖς

When Knibbe last wrote on this subject, in 1981, he maintained, as in his previous publications, that the number of *chiliastyes* per phyle did not in any case exceed six, and that six was in fact the fixed, regular number. As a consequence of very recent discoveries, however, it is clear that the hexadic scheme must be abandoned. The principal new find is a series of citizenship decrees from the later fourth century, *JÖAI* 53 (1981-1982) 130-132, no. 137. The document provides the affiliation of Κρεόντεοι (Karenaioi), the names and affiliations of Πολυότρεοι and Πολυόχεοι (both Euonymoi), and the affiliation of Πελάσγηοι (again, Euonymoi).[7] (Two additional, unaffiliated *chi-*

liastyes, 'Ανδρο[---] and Κυδ[.....], are attested, respectively, at 128, no. 133 [n.d.] and 136, no. 147 [n.d.].) Together, the new material increases to seven the Thousands of two phylai, Karenaioi and Euonymoi. Nor is this all. Knibbe himself reports that a fresh examination of *Ephesos* III, 906 resulted in the possible reading of a *chiliastys* as Αἰγικ[ορεύς] (line 18).[8] With four of the six Attic-Ionic phylai, now demoted to *chiliastyes,* already ascribed to just one phyle, Epheseis, it would be perverse to deny that Aigikoreis—and, presumably, Hopletes, still unattested[9]—belong here too, giving seven (or eight) Thousands in this phyle.

Of the remaining unaffiliated Thousands, Knibbe noted that four, 'Ανχεσεῖς (Anchises?), 'Αφροδεισιεῖς (Venus?), 'Ιουλιεῖς, and Καισαρεῖς, would fit naturally into the phyle Sebaste, particularly if the latter originated in the time of Augustus. Since, however, four different *chiliastyes* were already securely assigned to the phyle, Knibbe adopted the expedient of assuming that the "two undoubtedly non-Augustan" *chiliastyes,* Λαράνδηοι and [---]μηοι, were identical with two of the other six, but now renamed. Hence his tabulation shows two phylai Sebastai, an earlier (I), and a later (II), version.[10] But now that two, probably three, phylai are known to have had at least seven Thousands, there is no reason why Sebaste should not have had eight, simultaneously. The Tiberieis (?) might belong here as well—at least a Julio-Claudian unit makes less sense as a component of either of the two known later Imperial additions.

Future discoveries may further alter our appraisal of the detailed arrangement of the organization. Not only may new Thousands (or later phylai?) be uncovered, but also positive evidence may surface showing that certain Thousands changed their names, or were given new affiliations,[11] thereby increasing, or decreasing, the number of units within the affected phylai.

Measured against the great bulk of the epigraphic documentation, the attested statewide roles of the phylai and *chiliastyes* are surprisingly few. From the fifth or early fourth century, citizenship decrees call for the allotment of honorands into phyle and *chiliastys;* the frequently preserved clauses of result are our major source for the affiliations discussed above. Curiously, among the distinctions listed in a *cursus* of the time of Hadrian, *Ephesos* III, 712B, stands καὶ κληρώσαν[τα ἐκ πασῶν]/τῶν φυλῶν πολείτ[ας---] (16-17). Possibly, the reference is to a process of allotment similar to that used at Miletos (§16) for the selection of the *prophetai.* Elsewhere, members of the colleges of κουρῆτες are identified by *chiliastys;* although the members typically number six, representation of the (six) phylai did not obtain.[12] Such representation does apply, however, in the case of the twelve νεωποῖαι, who are known during the early Imperial period to have been drawn

uniformly from the five Greek phylai and Sebaste.[13] Representation of a kind also figures in the famous foundation of C. Vibius Salutaris, *Ephesos* Ia, 27 (= *IBM* III [2] 481 + 728 + 749; IV 481; Laum, *Stiftungen* II, 74) (A.D. 104). The bequest specifies the dedication of many statues including, in the name of each of the six phylai, a likeness of Artemis, another of a historical personnage, and a third of the phyle itself (lines 28-31, 176-197, 202-207). The bases for these statues have survived (*Ephesos* Ia, 28-33: A.D. 104), as well as bases from a somewhat later series, also funded by the bequest (nos. 36a-d: A.D. 107/108–109/110).[14] In addition to the statues, Salutaris also left instructions for the distribution to the public of interest accumulating on the endowment. Entrusted with the administration of the funds, the phylarchs were to dispense to their *phyletai* a stipulated sum (246-252).

The division of the seating of the theater involved the marking of sections *kata phylas.* Inscribed on the back sides of the earlier series of statue bases from the Salutaris bequest just mentioned, and so dating to or soon after A.D. 104, the first set identifies the places of five of the six phylai: *Ephesos* VI, 2083c-g. Compare the inscribed front and back faces of the *proedria* at Megalopolis (3 §3). A second set is represented by two markers for the same phyle, Bembinaioi, VI, 2084 ("Quader") and 2085 ("Platte").[15]

Turning to the internal functioning of the phylai and *chiliastyes,* we find that the record is altogether blank. The one possible exception is an inscription of Imperial date, D. Knibbe and B. İplikçioğlu, *JÖAI* 55 (1984) 114-115, inv. no. 4180. Following the heading φυ(λῆς) Τηΐων and three names (presumably of members of the phyle), the fragmentary crucial lines read: Τοῦ στρώματ[ος---]/βυβλιοθήκη [---] (5-6). The editors inferred that the phyle had undertaken the construction or repair of a pavement in the vicinity of the Library of Celsus. They conjectured, further, that the Teioi were but one of several (three?) phylai selected by lot for the project. Perhaps so. But the independent undertaking of a major building program by a phyle, at its own expense, is exampled at Sardeis in the second century A.D. (8 §9); and, even if, as the editors argue from the probable arrangement of the intact text, more than one phyle is involved, there is still no need to assume the state's supervision.

Regarding the history of the organization, we have already cited the informative passage from Stephanos and have alluded to the three successive additions to the phylai during the Imperial period. Another epochal change came with the demotion to Thousands of the Attic-Ionic phylai, a process paralleled at Kolophon (§10) and Samos (5 §13) (cf. Thasos, 5 §1). Detailed discussion of these developments, however, lies outside the scope of the present work, above all because it would involve the analysis of the many *chiliastys*-names in the light

of Ephesian history, institutions, and prosopography—a major undertaking in itself. It must suffice to cite the principal discussions of the subject published to date.[16]

§12 Pygela

At some time during the fourth century, probably before 323, Pygela renewed a treaty of isopolity with Miletos: A. Rehm, *Milet* I 3 (Berlin 1914) no. 142 (= *Staatsverträge* 453). At lines 17-18, the very fragmentary text ends with instructions for the enrollment of new citizens, applicable to both parties: *τοὺς δὲ πρυτάνεις[ς ἐπικληρῶσαι]/[εἰς τὰς] φυλὰς τοὺ[ς ἀπογραψομένους---]*. The restorations are supported, as concerns Pygela, by a citizenship decree from around the turn of the century, J. Keil, *JÖAI* 23 (1926) Beiblatt, 73-90 (ca. 310-ca. 290). The text ends with the following sortition injunction and result: *ἐπικληρῶσαι δὲ τοὺς πρυτάνεις εἰς φυλὴν καὶ γένος. Ἔλαχε φυλῆς Ἀγαμεμνονίδος, γένος Εὐρίδης*. The one difference, the absence in the treaty of the *genos,* might be explained on the assumption that, because at Miletos (§16) new citizens were enrolled only in a phyle, the treaty confines itself to the unit common to the procedures of the two parties. Enrollment in the *genos,* in fact, is recorded elsewhere only at Erythrai (§8), Kolophon (§10), and Samos (5 §13).

For the name of the phyle, Keil cites Strabo's notice, 14.1.20 (639), that the town was founded by Agamemnon.[1]

§13 Magnesia-on-Maiandros

Founded by Aiolians from Thessalian Magnesia, the city occupied a still unknown site until 400/399 when, under the direction of the Spartan Thibron, it was moved to a new location under Mt. Thorax.[1] From this later city inscriptions ranging in date from the late fourth or early third century (no. 2) to the reign of Hadrian (no. 116) attest ten of what was probably at some point a system of twelve phylai. Primary references are to O. Kern, *Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Maeander* (Berlin 1900).

Ἀπολλωνιάς	no. 4 (= *SGDI* 5738) (ca. 250)
Ἀρηΐς	no. 9 (ca. 300-250)
Ἀτταλίς	nos. 89 (init. s. II), 98 (= *SGDI* 5746; *SIG*³ 589; Sokolowski, *LSAM* 32) (init. s. II)
Ἀφροδισιάς	no. 11 (ca. 300-250)
Διάς	nos. 5 (= *SGDI* 5739) (post 281?), 10 (ca. 300-250), 14 (fin. s. III), 111 (s. I)

Ἑρμῆς	nos. 6 (= *SGDI* 5740) (ca. 300-250), 10 (ca. 300-250)
Ἑστιάς	no. 110a (= *SGDI* 5749) (init. s. I)
Ἱστιάς	no. 2 (= *SGDI* 5737) (s. IV/III)
Ἡφαιστιάς	no. 110b (= *SGDI* 5749) (init. s. I)
Ποσειδ[ωνιάς]	no. 90 (= *SGDI* 5741: fin. s. III)
Σελευκίς	no. 5 (= *SGDI* 5739) (post 281?)
[---δ]ο[ς]	no. 13 (ca. 300-250)

Twelvefold systems of phylai are sometimes assumed without sufficient evidence, but in the case of Magnesia a persuasive argument is available. Except for the dynastic Attalis and Seleukis, all the names allude to deities traditionally included among the Twelve Olympians.[2] Moreover, a decree of the beginning of the second century, no. 98, calls for the *stephanephoros,* on the occasion of the festival of Zeus Sosipolis, "while leading the procession, to conduct images of all the Twelve Gods in the finest raiments, and to plant a *tholos* in the agora at the altar of the Twelve Gods" (41-44). Accordingly, the existence of all twelve appropriately named phylai at some time appears likely. Since, however, the phyle Attalis is restored with near certainty in the preamble of this same decree,[3] it follows that it, and probably Seleukis as well, had previously replaced members of, rather than been added to, the original organization. The gradual accretion of new units, as seen for example at Athens, is not to be assumed in the case of Magnesia.[4] So, of the four remaining names—presumably Ἀθηναΐς, Ἀρτεμισιάς, Δημητριάς, and Ἡραΐς, vel sim.—two are accounted for by the renamed units, the two others remain unattested.

The eponym of Attalis was identified as Attalos I by Hansen[5] (compare, within the region, Ilion [§2]); that of Seleukis as Seleukos I Nikator by Habicht[6] (compare, within the region, Kolophon [§10]).

Since phylai as numerous as these can fulfill the functions assigned to lower-level divisions in other states, the need for additional tiers of organization might well not arise. That such was the case at Magnesia is suggested by a series of citizenship decrees falling between the late fourth and mid-third centuries, nos. 2, 4, 5, 9, 10, 12. The decrees invariably enjoin allotment into the phyle of the honorand's choice; no other unit occurs, either in the injunction or in the preserved clauses recording the result of the allotment (nos. 5, 9, 10). Similarly, an isolated example of the identification of a citizen by public affiliation, no. 111 (s. I), cites the phyle alone. Single-tier organization was to become, as we shall see, the prevailing pattern throughout much of Asia Minor.

Further indication of the role played by the phylai in the constitutional sphere is afforded by prescripts heading documents between the late fourth (no. 2) and the beginning of the second century (no. 98). Normally following citation of the eponymous magistrate, month, and day, the "presidency" of a given phyle is registered by a finite or participial form of the verb *προεδρεύειν*, immediately followed, in turn, by the name of the *ἐπιστάτης* of the *πρόεδροι* (nos. 2, 4-6, 9-11, 13-15, 89, 90, 98). Presumably the phylai rotated in the chairmanship of the Boule on a timetable that, if twelve phylai are assumed, was of a monthly or quasi-monthly character. Akin to the variously titled executive committees of the council from many quarters of the Greek world (see Index II.D.5), officers called *proedroi* are known to have served a similar function at Akragas (4 §18) and possibly Ios (5 §23). At Athens (1 §1.22), of course, the *proedroi,* introduced at some time between 403/2 and 378/7, though assuming in part the work load of the *prytaneis* and headed, as at Magnesia, by an *epistates,* were drawn from all the phylai except the one in prytany.

Less clear is the status of two boards of *χειροκρίται*, or vote-tellers, catalogued in a document of the beginning of the first century, no. 110 (= *SGDI* 5749). Following citation of the eponymous magistrate and month, the one list, *a,* entitled *χειροκρίται φυλῆς Ἑστιάδος*, registers twelve names, with one, *ὁ καὶ καθεσταμένος πρόβουλος*, standing first. The other, *b,* entitled (following eponymous and month) *χειροκρίται φυλῆς Ἡφαιστιάδος*, though inscribed to the right of list *a* on the same stone, has only ten names, and none is designated *proboulos.* The significance of the variations is not apparent. Kern attributes to list *b* a later and more hurried script, but this might just as well be due to a change of hand as to the passage of time; and so no reform, certainly none affecting the public organization, need be suspected. Elsewhere, a *proboulos* makes one other appearance, in an honorary inscription of the first century, no. 111; the dedicator, the bearer of the title, is identified as of the phyle Dias. Kern naturally compared the officer of the *cheirokritai* of Hestias (no. 110, list *a*).

A decree of the Gerousia of the time of Hadrian concerning the donation of oil to the city, no. 116 (= *SGDI* 5748), twice cites contributions by "each phyle of the Caesar's *ἑστία*" (lines 52, 57). Again, as elsewhere, we have evidence of the simultaneous and uniform functioning of the phylai in the Imperial period.

§14 Priene

Originally founded on a still-unknown site at the mouth of the Maiandros by Aipytos, grandson of Kodros, and the Theban Philotas, the city was moved to the foot of Mt. Mykale facing Miletos at some

time in the fourth century.[1] To the later city pertains all our documentation for public organization. Beginning no later than ca. 270-262, seven phylai, all identical with phylai of the unreformed Kleisthenic organization of Athens (1 §1.21), are attested. That the phylai were, as expected, ten in number, is shown by an inscription of the year 84: F. Hiller von Gaertringen, *Die Inschriften von Priene* (Berlin 1906) no. 114, line 26.

Of the seven phylai, three are explicitly identified as such (all primary references are to Hiller's corpus):

Αἰγεῖς	no. 182 (s. III)
Λεων[τ]ίς	no. 248 (ca. s. I)
Πανδ[ιονίς]	no. 249 (= *IBM* III 439) (s. III)

The four others appear in prescripts where, in the place of a Prienian citizen, an Attic hero, in each case corresponding to the eponym of an Athenian phyle, is cited as the *stephanephoros,* Priene's chief magistrate:

Αἴας	no. 108 (post 129), line 79
Ἀκάμας	nos. 18 (= *IBM* III 415; Michel 481; *OGIS* I 215) (ca. 270-262), line 28; 21 (= *IBM* III 416) (ca. 270-262), line 9
Ἱπποθών	nos. 18, line 20; 108, line 51
Κέκροψ	no. 108, line 89

No lower-level division is known, nor does the existence of such appear likely in view of the fact that a clause from a citizenship decree dated soon after 300, no. 12, calls for allotment of the honorand into phyle alone (line 21; cf. line 31). Similarly, the dedicator of a marble table, no. 182 (s. III), identifies himself as "of the phyle Aigeis." Given the relatively small size of the city, ten units would probably have sufficed for most administrative purposes.[2] Certainly there are no good grounds for assuming the existence of *trittyes* or demes, as the Attic exemplar might prompt us to do.

On the Kleisthenic model, the Prienian phylai might also be expected to serve as the basis for the composition of the organs of government. Our only clue to this effect is the fact that the dedicator from Aigeis commemorated his term as *agoranomos* (no. 182). At Athens, the *agoranomoi,* numbering ten, were drawn from the phylai (1 §1.26). Possibly, the same obtained for their Prienian counterparts, whose number, however, is not known.[3] With regard to the eponymous *stephanephoria,* it has been noted that on several occasions the post was

occupied by an Attic hero, certainly the namesake of a phyle, a practice also extended to Apollo (no. 44 = *IBM* III 419 [s. II], lines 31-32), Zeus (no. 141 [s. I p.?], lines 1, 2, 3), and Telon, a local hero, (no. 108 [post 129], lines 31, 39, 41). In these years, as commentators explain,[4] no citizen could be found who was willing (or able) to assume the burdens of the office; these, instead, devolved upon a god (i.e. his temple) or, evidently, a phyle. No inference should be drawn, however, of a regular representation by the phylai in the *stephanephoria,* since their participation, no less than that of the temples, would appear to have been on a purely ad hoc basis.[5]

Whatever the extent of their constitutional applications, the phylai without question played an important role in Priene's public festivities. A decree calling for a general celebration of the freeing of the city from the tyranny of Hieron, no. 11 (ca. 297), includes the provision that all citizens *καὶ ἄγειν ἑορτὴν Σωτήρ[ια, καὶ πανηγυριάζειν]/ κατὰ φυλὰς ἡμέρας δύο* . . . (29-30). Somewhat later, a second decree enjoining the worship of Lysimachos, no. 14 (= *IBM* III 401) (ca. 286), orders the chief administrator, in preparation for the birthday celebration, "to give to the *ἱεροποιοί* of the phylai for the sacrificial victims as much money as is given for the Panathenaia" (23-26, partly restored). Here, unlike in the previous example, it is explicitly stated that the Prienian treasury is to bear the actual expense of the festivities. By contrast, documents of the first century reveal the phylai as beneficiaries of private largess. An inscription honoring one Krates, no. 111 (init. s. I), appears in a very fragmentary passage to cite his entertaining (in the Bianteion?) all the citizens (?) *kata phylas* (245-246, 270). Two of the decrees honoring Aulos Aimilios Zosimos, both dated after the year 84, declare that the honorand "pledged . . . to dine all the citizens *kata phylas* (no. 113, lines 42-43) and "dined the ten phylai at his own expense" (no. 114, line 26). Taken together, these passages illustrate what was indubitably an important facet of the functioning of the phylai. But to what extent, if at all, it predominated over other activities cannot even be approximately determined, given the probably misleading impression left by the exclusively epigraphic record.

Concerning internal arrangements our only sure clues are provided by two honorary inscriptions. "The Leontis phyle," no. 248 (s. I), and "the *phyletai* of (the) Pandionis phyle," no. 249 (s. III), cite the "excellence" and "loyalty" of their benefactors. The "*hieropoioi* of the phylai" from no. 14 (ca. 286) might be either internal officers or statewide officers appointed *kata phylas.*[6] Financial resources of some kind are implicit in the assumption of the *stephanephoria,* despite the contemporary record of external funding for public celebrations.[7]

Looking back over these scattered particulars, the degree of adherence to the ostensible Athenian model does not impress us.[8] Assured departures are marked by the enrollment of new citizens by sortition (rather than by choice), by the identification of citizens by phyle (rather than by deme), and, again, by the absence of units below the phylai. Nonetheless, the mere presence of Kleisthenic phylai, in conjunction with tenfold division, demands explanation.

Although all the documentation belongs to the later city, leaving open the possibility that it was on the occasion of its foundation that the new organization assumed the place of the presumed Attic-Ionic phylai, it is not at all clear just what the circumstances of that new foundation were. Some scholars have maintained that when Athens, responding to the death of King Maussolos in 353, sent new cleruchs the following year to Samos, she at the same time directed or otherwise participated in the relocation of the Prienians to the new site.[9] The great attraction of such a reconstruction is that it offers an acceptable context for the apparently wholesale adoption by Priene of a second state's phylai—an occurrence all the more striking because those phylai bore names representing the second state's local, indeed (save Aias) indigenous heroes. By contrast, others have preferred to see Maussolos himself as the principal mover,[10] although even on this view the decisive Athenian intervention may nonetheless have occurred later. Still others downdate the refoundation to Alexander's celebrated visit to the city in 334.[11] But whatever the occasion, some powerful motivation must be discovered for the Prienians' decision to compromise their self-identity in such an ostentatious manner.

§15 Herakleia-on-Latmos

A treaty of isopolity with Miletos of the year 180 (?), A. Rehm, *Milet* I 3 (Berlin 1914) no. 150, contains detailed procedures for mutual enrollment in the two organizations. Herakleians desiring Milesian citizenship are to register with the designated authorities, giving "their own names, that of the phyle to which they belong, and those of any wives and children." Afterwards, through an *epiklerosis* the applicants will "get themselves allotted individually into each of the phylai" (43-50). Conversely, Milesians desiring Herakleian citizenship are to follow a similar procedure of enrollment, at the conclusion of which "the *prytaneis* are to conduct their *epiklerosis* in a like manner . . ." (53-57).

§16 Miletos

The case of Miletos is unusual in that our documents, if correctly dated, indicate the simultaneous functioning of two organizations in

the latter part of the fifth century. As at Athens (1 §1), where the Old Attic phylai long survived the reforms of Kleisthenes, the Milesian Attic-Ionic phylai may have remained in use a half century or more after the introduction of the new organization. True to the analogy, the latter was loosely modeled upon that of Kleisthenic Attika. The simultaneous operation of two statewide organizations is also a possibility at Kerkyra (4 §5).

For the Attic-Ionic phylai, our primary source is a decree of the *μολποί* dated 450/49, A. Rehm, *Milet* III 1 (Berlin 1914) no. 133 (= Schwyzer 726; *SGDI* 5495; *SIG*[3] 57; Sokolowski, *LSAM* 50). The prescript records the names of the *αἰσυμνῶν*, or president, of the society and of his five *προσέταιροι*, or colleagues, one of Οἴνωπες, two of Ὀπλῆθες, and two of Βωρεῖς.[1] On the natural assumption that the president is a member of the first mentioned and (apparently) underrepresented Oinopes, we have a board of six, two provided by each of three phylai. Some, on this basis, have suspected that this was their actual number.[2] Would not all phylai have been represented on the board? Since, however, as will be seen, at least one other phyle, not cited here, was in existence later in the century, it is preferable to posit the entire Attic-Ionic hexadic division and to assume that the board was drawn from two groups of the phylai in alternate terms.[3] Additional support for the inference might be found in possible instances of sixfold organization elsewhere in the constitution,[4] in the presence of all six phylai at Milesian colonies,[5] and, generally, in the tendency of all states, where any of the six is present, to retain the entire organization.[6]

Two other documents, of comparable type and date, may be considered together:

Ἀργαδέων πρώτη	T. Wiegand, *SB Berlin* 1904, p. 85 (init. s. V)[7]
Ὀπλήθων δεοτέρης	G. Dunst, *Forschungen und Fortschritte* 35 (1965) 272-273 (ca. 400)

The locutions "First of Argadeis" and "Second of Hopletes" at once put one in mind of subdivisions of the phylai, but, if so, their identification is unclear. Formally, the closest—indeed, exact—parallels are found at Kerkyra (4 §5), where, at the beginning of the fifth century, an unknown number of innovating phylai are subdivided by similarly designated units ranging all the way to "Tenth," e.g. Ἀϝορῶν πέμπτα. No clue, however, is available regarding the units' identification. Closer to home, in a half-dozen island and Ionian organizations, including nearby Erythrai (§8), Kolophon ? (§10), Ephesos (§11), and

Samos (5 §13), we encounter the χιλιαστύς. With the exception of the ἑκατοστύς at Samos, this is the only well attested unit in the region of the required feminine gender. The Samian case is the most illuminating, since, among other functions, in the second century the Thousands afforded the organizational basis for assemblies of the citizenbody in the theater.[8] The Milesian "horosartiger Stein" published by Wiegand came from Miletos' theater and could hardly have had any function other than to mark areas of seating.[9] (Unfortunately, the second inscription, which stands on the back side of a statue group dating from the end of the sixth century, is—beyond "Milet"—of unknown provenience.[10] Dunst suggests that it is a τόπος-marker designating "den Standort" of the unit.) Though not proved, the identification Thousand is highly likely.

How many units were there? If each phyle had a "First" and a "Second," a possible basis for the selection of the board of *molpoi* would be at hand. Dunst found two per phyle attractive, since, if the phylai numbered six, the twelvefold division might have been incorporated in the later twelve phylai (see below).[11] Already, Rehm, writing in ignorance of our two inscriptions, had proposed that the new phylai had been formed through the halving of the old.[12] But Rehm's (and Dunst's) hypothesis runs aground on the manifest contemporaneity of the two organizations late in the fifth century. In fact, only if we assume the correctness of the identification Thousand is a limiting element at hand—namely, the term itself. If literally significant, a low number of Thousands is plainly needed. Indeed, two per phyle, hence twelve, might appear too many in light of Beloch's estimate that the citizenbody at the time of the Peloponnesian War numbered about 4,000.[13] To save the literal signification of χιλιαστύς, we must assume that the Thousands included as members citizens' wives and children—an hypothesis which cannot, in the absence of information about memberships, be tested.

At some point well before the inscribing of the text published by Dunst (viz. ca. 400), and possibly no later than 437/6, a second organization came into existence.[14] Four sets of units appear in public contexts: phylai, *demoi, patriai,* and *phatriai.* Since, however, the latter two occur only in statements of affiliation, it is probable that they, like comparable associations elsewhere, were wholly private in orientation; and that membership in them, while mandatory for citizens, was otherwise without consequence in the public sphere. Let us first consider *seriatim* the evidence for each unit, next their interrelationships, and finally what little is known of the public roles of the phylai and demes.[15]

Phylai. From inscriptions of Imperial date, we learn that the Milesian phylai at that time numbered twelve (*Didyma* II, nos. 269, 270, 288).

At present, a total of nine phylai are known by name from documents as early as 437/6:[16]

Αἰαντίς	*Milet* I 7, no. 271 (ca. 100)
Ἀκαμαντίς	*Didyma* II 257 (s. I?)
[Ἀκα]μ̣αντίς	Milet inv. no. 273 (s. IV)[17]
Ἀσωπ̣ίς	*Didyma* II 463 (= *CIG* II 2855) (ca. 180/79)
[Ἐρε]χθηΐς	Milet inv. no. 484 (n.d.)[18]
Θησηΐς	*Didyma* II 256 (init. aet. Imp.)
Κεκροπίς	Sokolowski, *LSAM* 45 (= *SGDI* 5496) (380/79)
Λεοντίς	P. Herrmann, *Klio* 52 (1970) 163-173 (437/6?)
Οἰνηΐς	*Didyma* II 228 (s. I)
Πανδιονίς	*Didyma* II 228 (s. I)

Of the nine names, seven duplicate phylai of the original tenfold Kleisthenic organization of Athens (1 §1.21). Theseis, like the phyle Thesseis at Smyrna (§6), probably originated in a belief in an early contact with Athens; in Miletos' case, the notion that the Milesians were colonists of the Athenians was held, on Herodotos' authority (5.97.2), to have been current at the time of the Ionian Revolt.[19] Similarly, Asopis has been associated with the Boiotian river Asopos, hence with a putative Theban participation in the colonization of Miletos; the deme Plataieis, if correctly connected with the Boiotian city (see below), may point in the same direction.[20] But neither tradition, however ancient, provides any clues regarding the circumstances of the creation of the two non-Kleisthenic units. Nonetheless, since the organization's origins without question predate the first additions to the Athenian tenfold division in 307/6, it is likely that the Milesian phylai, like their exemplars, numbered ten.[21] An original ten phylai is also favored by the Milesians' imitation of the prytany-system, and by the fact that, of the four prytanizing phylai thus far attested, all are Kleisthenic (see below). The date of the addition of the eleventh and twelfth phylai remains a matter for speculation.

Demoi. A large number of inscriptions, ranging between the third and the first century, attest five, possibly as many as seven, demes. With the exception of a series of *horos*-stones "of the *temenos* of Argaseis" (*Didyma* II 66-69), all occurrences are confined to statements of affiliation. (All references are to *Didyma* II).

Ἀργασεῖς	66-69, 214, 227, 230, 232, 250, 259, 320
Καταπολ(ε)ίτιοι	221, 228, 235, 266
Λέριοι	215, 231, 232, 236, 253, 262, 283, 287, 325, 342, 345, 415

[Πάτ?]νιοι	231 III, line 4
Πλαταιεῖς or Πλατεεῖς	215, 227-229, 254, 256
Τ(ε)ιχιεσσεῖς	228, 229, 231, 257, 275
ΗΙ/ΤΕΩΝ	228 II, lines 5-6
[Πι]τεων?	Le Bas III 242
⟨Πλ⟩[α]/τεῶν	B. Haussoullier, *RPh* 21 (1897) 39, note 8

Such progress has been made by scholars in determining the locations of these demes that all but one or two can now be regarded as conclusively established. Lerioi, to begin with a straightforward case, must designate the demesmen of the island of Leros, a possession of Miletos' from the early fifth century at the latest.[22] If the restoration yielding Patnioi is correct (it has, with justice, been doubted),[23] Patmos will have been a second island deme. The Teichiesseis are the demesmen of Teichioussa, placed by L. Robert at Duğanbeleni near Kazıklı—a finding independently arrived at by G. E. Bean and J. Cook.[24] The location of Argaseis is established by the *horos*-stones (see above), found in place on the southern coast of the Milesian peninsula.[25] About Katapol(e)itioi, however, there must be less certainty. The deme might be thought to have consisted of "newly enfranchised citizens," on the assumption that the prefix κατα- signals inferior status. But would such a group have been relegated to its own deme, in the territorial sense of that term? Greater credence can be placed in L. Robert's assignment to the city and its immediate environs (from κατὰ πόλιν?, he asks)—a conjecture supported by the assured occurrence of similarly disposed units in other cities.[26] Next, Plataieis was connected by Haussoullier, not implausibly, with the Boiotian city, partly on the strength of the (problematic) existence of the phyle Asopis (see above).[27] But Robert objected that the name does not occur in the expected form, and offered as an alternative the association of the deme with the "flat space" of the plateau between Miletos and the southern coast.[28] This leaves, finally, the apparently corrupt name in *Didyma* II 228, lines 5-6. Although possibly an error for some form of "Plataiai" (as Haussoullier thought), an error of this magnitude is not easily accounted for. Consequently, it is wiser to leave open the possibility of the existence of still another deme.

On a conservative count, therefore, the known *demoi* number six. Since, moreover, multiple occurrences are significantly high in five of the six cases—twelve times (Argaseis and Lerioi), six (Plataieis), five (Teichiesseis), four (Katapol(e)itioi)—it is likely that we are not far from the full complement. Indeed, on Robert's assignment of boundaries to the five securely attested units (he excludes Patnioi), all known

Milesian territory would be encompassed.[29] The conclusion that the demes were so few raises the awkward question—to which we shall return presently—of their relation to the twelve- (or ten-) fold division by phylai.

Patriai. Attested by inscriptions of dates comparable to those attesting the demes, the *patria* occupies the third position in the statements of affiliation. Sixteen texts document nine, possibly ten, different names. All references are to *Didyma* II.

Αθρ[---] or 'Αθη[---]	241	Νειλεΐδαι	229
"Αφυλοι	320	Ποσιδεῖς	292
'Εκαιτάδαι	214, 266	Φιλοστίδαι	259, 345
Εὐσ[---]	231	[---]σονίδαι	342
Λαιανδρίδαι	353	[---]τίδαι	202
πατριᾶς	231, 275		

Phratriai. In the final position stands the phratry, immediately following the *patria* in four of the texts cited above:

Πελαγονίδαι	229
Ταπασίδαι	266
Τυλονίδαι	342
φρήτρας	214

With the names, numbers, and frequency of occurrence of the four sets of units in mind, we may now turn to the question of their interrelationships. One sure clue is provided by the documented affiliation of members of the *patria* Philostidai with two different demes, Lerioi (*Didyma* II 345) and Argaseis (no. 259). This suggests that the *patriai* were (as expected) personally disposed, with memberships extending across the boundaries of the territorial demes. What, next, of the *patriai* and *phratriai*? The answer is provided by the fact that the phratry, when given, is invariably followed by the *patria;* whereas in the many statements of affiliation in which the *patria* appears, no citation is made of the phratry. The easiest explanation is that the *patria* was the smaller and was wholly contained within the (larger) phratry. On the assumption that the interrelationships were generally known, full identification would be achieved by citation of the *patria,* but not of the *phratria,* alone.

What, finally, was the relation of the phylai to the remainder of the organization? Surprisingly, even after ascertaining the disposition of the other three units, no easy answer presents itself. Nine phylai, again, are known by name; and in the Imperial period it is certain that the number stood at twelve. At the same time what appears to be a fairly

complete record reveals with certainty only five, in no case more than seven, demes. Plainly the Kleisthenic model, followed in the naming of the phylai and possibly as well in the very adoption of the term "deme," has no application here. Nor is it conceivable that the phylai, given the universal practice of placing them at the head of the public organization, were subdivisions of the demes. Perhaps, therefore, the demes represented the sole territorial unit, and the phylai, personally disposed, cut across them. If the corrupt (?) deme name in *Didyma* II 228, lines 5-6, really represents (as Haussoullier thought) Plataieis, then this deme would have been affiliated with Pandionis as well as with Theseis (nos. 256).[30]

Another respect in which the Milesian demes diverged from their Athenian counterparts is evident in Rehm's analysis of a family of *stephanephoroi* during the second half of the first century. In three successive generations, sons in the male line are affiliated with Argaseis, Lerioi, and Plataieis. The first change might be explained by the individual's recorded adoption by a person outside the family. But no such explanation, based on evidence, is available for the second change. If Rehm was correct in his suspicion that membership in a deme at this date depended upon one's place of residence, we would have here a rare exception to the hereditary transmission of affiliation in public units.[31]

Regarding the functions of the "Kleisthenic" organization, our earliest testimony consists of the preambles of decrees citing the presidencies of Leontis (437/6?), Kekropis (380/79), Akamantis (s. IV), and Erechtheis (n.d.). No closer approximation to Athenian practice than this is recorded. At a later date, it is into the phyle that new citizens were allotted by decree of the state: *Milet* I 3, nos. 33d? (s. II), 37d (s. II), 141 (228), 142 (ante 323?), 143 (212/11), 146 (209/08), and 150 (180?). Still later begin the lists of *προφῆται* and *ὑδροφόροι* of the Temple of Apollo at Didyma; with their names occur the many statements of affiliation just reviewed. In an isolated example, *Milet* I 7, no. 271 (ca. 100), a person in a list of contributors is identified by phyle, presumably in order to distinguish him from a homonym. The *prophetai,* further, were, if we follow Rehm, Robert, and Piérart, selected by a two-stage procedure comparable to the Athenian *κλήρωσις ἐκ προκρίτων*. From five candidates, each designated by lot by one of the five demes, the single officer will have been chosen in a second allotment.[32] Three of the *prophetai* have left *cursus* of Imperial date. Among other distinctions, these include "sitting all the citizens down and dining the twelve phylai on separate days" (*Didyma* II, nos. 269, 270, 288, each partly restored). Possibly the twelve phylai may be found in a Hellenistic epitaph in verse, *Didyma* II, no. 537 (ca. 200). Following upon a reference to the "spear

bearing phylai in bands (comprising) all the phratries" (7), the poem continues: πρῶται δ' ἐκ φυλ̣[ῶν δυ]οκαίδεκα παῖδες . . . (12).

Turning to the internal organization of the units, we find an even sparser documentation. The *horoi* marking the temenos of Argaseis, *Didyma* II, nos. 66-69 (s. III), presumably pertain to a sanctuary of the deme. The sole example of an office is provided by a woman; her *cursus* of the third century A.D., *Didyma* II, no. 325, includes her service as phylarch. An inventory of dedications to Apollo, *Didyma* II, no. 463 (= *CIG* II 2855) (ca. 179), cites a κανοῦν (i.e. basket) φυλῆς τῆς 'Ασω/π̣ίδος (20-21).

KARIA

§17 Amyzon

A late Hellenistic decree conferring citizenship, J. and L. Robert, *Fouilles d'Amyzon en Carie* I (Paris 1983) 212-215, no. 26, includes a uniquely informative clause calling for the enrollment of the honorands in the phylai: . . . οἱ δὲ πρυτά̣[νεις]/οἱ πρυτανεύοντες ἐπικληρωσάτωσαν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ φυλὰς τὰ[ς]/ἐλαχίστας τρεῖς παραχρῆμα μερίσαντες τὰ ὀνόματα εἰς ἑκάσ[την]/φυλήν (6-9). The limitation of the field to "the smallest phylai," presumably in order to alleviate irregularities in membership, may provide the explanation for the isolated phrase τρε̣ῖς φυλας[---] in a similar decree from Miletos (§16), *Milet* I 3, no. 33d (s. II), line 5; and, similarly, for the otherwise puzzling stipulation of three phylai by name in a decree, also calling for allotment, from Dyme in Achaia (3 §1), *SIG*³ 531 (s. III). Additionally, the phrase μερίσαντες . . . φυλήν resembles the language of a second Milesian decree, *Milet* I 3, no. 150 (180?), ἐπικληρουμένων αὐτῶν πρὸς μέρος ἐφ' ἑκάστην φυλήν (49-50), although here the object would seem to be to point a contrast with the earlier formula: ". . . into whichever phylai the Demos designates."

§18 Alinda

Dated to 202 and assigned to Alinda by its editor, a decree awarding citizenship, *BCH* 58 (1934) 291-298, no. 1, includes a clause ordering allotment of the honorands, ἐπικληρῶσαι δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ εἰς/[φυ]λὴν καὶ συνγ[ένειαν]. At length, follows the statement of the result: [---ἔ]λαχε φυλῆς 'Ερεχθηΐδος. Why the second unit is not cited in the result is not known; to my knowledge, there is no exact parallel. The phyle Erechtheis provides a rare example, alongside others from Priene (§14) and Miletos (§16), of the evident borrowing of names from the Kleisthenic organization of Athens (1 §1.21).

§19-21 Mylasa (with Olymos and Labraunda)

One of the principal non-Greek cities of Karia, Mylasa consolidated her power in late Hellenistic times by formalizing her domination of the surrounding region through a series of sympolities with some of the weaker cities of the neighborhood.[1] These arrangements apparently included the dismantling of the organizations of the lesser partners. Olymos (§20) presents a striking illustration of the process, for her own three phylai were, according to the express wording of two Olymian documents, renamed *syngeneiai.* It is natural to connect the change of designation with the formation of the union, and to see the loss of phylai as a consequence of the loss of autonomy. No comparable parallel is at hand. But the transformation from "public" to "private" orientation can, I think, be rendered comprehensible on the assumption that the Olymian phylai shared the elaborate and, most significantly, cult-based internal organization of the well-documented phylai of Mylasa (§19). The subtraction of purely public functions from such bodies would have left associations not dissimilar to the social unit characteristic of the Mylasian region.[2] At Labraunda (§21), however, the situation differed. Together with the phylai, almost certainly those of Mylasa, there existed an independent local organization. These or similar arrangements might have obtained at Hydasos, where meager testimony shows the duplication of the names of both Mylasian and Olymian *syngeneiai.*[3] But these associations were, again, of an essentially cultic nature. Generally, it is to be assumed that the three Mylasian phylai, for which alone substantial public functions are attested, had been extended throughout the sympolity, absorbing the constitutional powers of the formerly independent organizations.

§19 *Mylasa*

Three decrees of the fourth century, *SIG*[3] 167 (= *CIG* II 2691 c, d, e; Le Bas-Waddington 377-379; Michel 471; *SGDI* 5753; Schwyzer 746; Tod II, 138) (367/6, 361/0, 355/4), are each prefaced by the formula: *ἔδοξε Μυλασεῦσιν, ἐκκλησίης κυρίης γενομένης, καὶ ἐπεκύρωσαν αἱ τρεῖς φυλαί.* The ratification of a decree already passed by the *ekklesia* might be taken as an indication that the three phylai represented only a fraction of the Mylasian citizen body. Yet, since all citizens belonged to a phyle (as implied by an isopolity treaty; see below), on what basis would "the three phylai" have been distinguished from the others?[1] More likely, the three were the full complement (this is, in any case, just the number known by name), and the ratification merely marked the final stage of the legislative process.[2] For a possible parallel of much earlier date, see on Dreros (5 §33). Conceivably, the object was that the phylai would convene in separate

assemblies and render independent judgments on the acts of the full citizen body.

A second public appearance of the phylai is provided by an isopolity treaty with Miletos of the year 209/8, *Milet* I 3, no. 146 (= *Staatsverträge* III 539). Mylasians enrolling at Miletos are called upon to state their father's name and "of which phyle they are" (lines 33-35). By contrast, the formulas from Mylasian decrees enjoining enrollment in the citizenbody name not only the phyle but the *syngeneia* and *patra* as well: Le Bas-Waddington 334 and 360.[3] In one instance, *BCH* 22 (1898) 399, no. 47, only the *syngeneia* and *patra* occur. Taken in combination, the first and fourth texts leave the impression, reinforced by the wording of Le Bas-Waddington 334,[4] of a sundering of function between the phylai on the one hand, and the *syngeneia* and *patra* on the other. Possibly, the phylai sufficed for all public needs, while membership in the lesser, private associations was of importance only as a necessary condition of citizenship.

At the same time, the phylai were, like their counterparts in the social organization, vigorous corporations of a fundamentally religious character. Copious documentation of the late Hellenistic period illustrates the internal arrangements of three phylai—with virtual certainty to be identified with the three phylai of the fourth century decrees—namely, the Κονοδωρκονδεῖς, Ὀτωρκονδεῖς, and Ὑαρβεσυταί. Probably due to accident of preservation, the Konodorkondeis and Hyarbesytai are each represented by only a single inscription, while the great bulk of the material, chiefly honorary decrees and contracts regarding the purchase and lease of real estate, makes Otorkondeis one of the best known of all Greek public units.[5]

The Otorkondeis, and presumably the other two phylai as well, convened their own *ekklesia* and issued decrees in their own name.[6] Among these were frequent grants of honors, including praise, a crown of gold, a statue (once mounted upon an altar), a portion of all victims sacrificed by the phyle, and the publicizing of the honors through either an inscription or a formal announcement.[7] Administering these and other official acts were a number of officers. Evidently the chief executive, the ἄρχων figures as the eponymous in the single decree of the Hyarbesytai.[8] The others are the boards of ταμίαι and οἰκονόμοι of the Otorkondeis and Hyarbesytai (where their numbers are recorded, they are always two), and the single ἐγλογιστής of Otorkondeis.[9] The purchase of real estate for the Otorkondeis fell to the boards of κτηματῶναι, who vary in number from two to five and so, given the nature of their activity, were probably selected on an ad hoc basis.[10] In the honorary decrees, several other offices occur, usually in the rehearsal of the honorand's *cursus,* but only these are expressly identified as belonging to, or representative of, the phylai.[11]

Behind the administrative apparatus stood an impressive array of material resources. Expenses incurred in the implementation of honors are several times referred to "the revenues" (*αἱ πρόσοδοι*) of the phyle.[12] Evidence of overextension in this area is perhaps indicated by the decree of the Hyarbesytai. All *phyletai* honored by the phyle must thenceforth dedicate to Zeus of the Hyarbesytai a silver *poterion* or *phiale* worth one hundred drachmas; while those from another phyle so honored must dedicate three *poteria* or *phialai* of the same value.[13] Indeed, contributions by individuals, to judge from the honorary texts, comprised a major source of income; in one instance, a member is lauded for his promise of funds towards the construction of a stoa by the phyle.[14] Presumably by such means the sanctuaries of the phylai, with their substantial architectural fixtures, were helped to come into being.[15] Real estate, particularly that attached to the sanctuary of Zeus Osogos of the Otorkondeis, afforded another source of income, as the inscribed contracts of the phyle repeatedly affirm.[16] Less importantly, the Hyarbesytai impose fines, payable to the temple, upon violators of their decree.[17]

Amidst all these details, a fundamental fact stands out, and that is the unusual prominence enjoyed by the phylai in the ongoing affairs of the Mylasian state. Each phyle maintained a cult; in the case of the Otorkondeis, we can be sure that the cult was one of major stature. Apparently, these festivals, sacrifices, and other sacral activities[18] were not obscure, merely local affairs. Similarly, the citizens praised and rewarded by the phylai are more than merely loyal or energetic *phyletai;* they are often lauded for services to the polis as well as to the phyle.[19] Indeed, in more than one instance a successful state office holder had, prior to his selection, been "deemed worthy" by his phyle.[20] In the centrality of the phylai may lie part of the explanation for the curious procedure of ratification of the assembly's decrees with which we began.

§20 *Olymos*

Mention is twice made in inscriptions from Olymos of units "previously called phylai but now called *syngeneiai,*" once with reference to the Μωσσεῖς alone (Le Bas-Waddington 338, line 11), the other time with reference to the full complement of *syngeneiai,* Μωσσεῖς, Κυβιμεῖς, and Κανδηβεῖς (no. 339 [= Michel 476; Sokolowski, *LSAM* 58], lines 8-9). Neither text has been exactly dated. Since, however, the groups appear in other, presumably later texts identified simply as *syngeneiai* without allusion to their former status, commentators are probably correct in assuming that both belong to the period shortly after the conclusion of the sympolity with Mylasa. Among the later texts one, Le Bas-Waddington 323-324, adds a fourth *syngeneia,*

Σοαωνεῖς, to the three cited in no. 339. But it would be unwise to infer that at some time subsequent to the publication of no. 339 a fourth phyle was created, only immediately to be demoted to *syngeneia.*[1] The number of these associations attested at Olymos now well exceeds four;[2] and although it is unclear why in no. 323-324 only Soaoneis appears alongside the former three phylai, there is no reason to assume that all have undergone such change of status.

A complication is introduced by another document, probably a decree of Mylasa, Le Bas-Waddington 334. Instructions appear to be given for the enrollment of the people of Olymos and Labraunda (also a dependency of Mylasa, see §21) "in the phylai, *syngeneiai,* and *patrai*" (line 3). Of what state(s) are these phylai? According to the prevailing interpretation, the text postdates the formation of the sympolity, and the phylai are those of Mylasa (and hence, by extension, of her dependencies). By contrast, the (former) phylai elsewhere cited bear an Olymian stamp, for two of the three names are similar to toponyms of the region,[3] suggesting centers of local concentration. Szanto's inference, however, that the units were disposed territorially is quite without foundation.[4]

As was found to be true of the Mylasian phylai (§19), finally, a vigorous corporate life is indicated by our two sources for the three *syngeneiai* previously called phylai. To the Mosseis is attributed the ownership of lands (Le Bas-Waddington 338, line 11); and to all three, religious observances (of uncertain nature, due to the lacunose text) and, of paramount importance, "private revenues" (no. 339, line 10).

§21 *Labraunda*

Situated a few miles north of Mylasa, the sanctuary of Zeus at Labraunda was of disputed possession when, in the year 220, Mylasian ambassadors pled their city's right to the shrine before Philip V. According to the Makedonian king's account of the interview preserved in a letter to the Mylasians, J. Crampa, *Labraunda* III 1, part I (Lund 1969) no. 5, the ambassadors' case included the point that "those living in the *hieron* are our citizens, are distributed in (our) phylai, and observe the same laws, . . ." (31-33). Accordingly, these phylai are the three known from epigraphic sources from Mylasa (§19), viz. Konodorkondeis, Otorkondeis, and Hyarbesytai. Above (§20), too, mention was made of the enrollment formula in a decree, probably of Mylasa, calling for induction of (Olymians and) Labraundians "in phylai, *syngeneiai,* and *patrai*"—again, at least in the case of the phylai, with reference to the common Mylasian organization. Presumably, this document marks the formal induction of the two communities into the public organization of Mylasa.

Over against these findings, a decree of "the priest Korris and the *syngeneis* of Korris," of the second half of the third century, *Labraunda* III 1, no. 11 (compare the similar but less fully preserved no. 12), reveals the existence of an independent Labraundian organization. Following grants to the honorand of numerous privileges, including *politeia,* comes the formula "and let him participate in the *hiera* and in everything else of the φυλῆς/[Ἰβα]νώλλιος" (lines 10-11). For the assignment of an honorand to a particular unit, compare the similar examples from Aigiale (5 §22) and Kalymna (5 §40). The eponym of the phyle was restored by Crampa with reference to the father of two Mylasians prominent at the time of the Ionian Revolt (see Herodotos, 5.37.1, 121). Since the inhabitants of the village were already by the year 220 members of the phylai of Mylasa (above), it is probable that the two organizations were in existence simultaneously.

§22 Iasos

Public functions are recorded for phylai, and, in a single enrollment formula, for the *patria.* Of the phylai, two names are attested (primary references are to W. Blümel, *Die Inschriften von Iasos* I and II, *IGSK* 28.1 and 2 [Bonn 1985]):

Ἐπικρεῖδαι	no. 238 (n.d.)
[---]ληΐς[1]	no. 5 (time of Antiochos III)

Despite the usual scattering of source materials, we are well informed on a point of procedure by a decree of the third (possibly the fourth) century, no. 20 (= Michel 466), concerning the disbursal of ekklesiastic pay. To facilitate comprehension, I translate portions of the (in places) heavily restored text:[2]

[Decreed by the Boule and Demos. Motion of the *prytaneis.* Concerning the matters brought forward by the *neopoiai,* asking] (1) how and when they are supposed to disburse the ekklesiastic pay . . . [six names (of the *prytaneis*?), in part restored] . . . The (5) *prytaneis* [restored] and the *neopoiai,* on the first day of each month, are to take 180 drachmas as ekklesiastic pay; but the others, on the sixth of each month, three obols. And for the meetings of the *ekklesia* they are to set out at sunrise a measuring jar full of water . . . ; (10) . . . and they are to release the water with the rising of the sun. And the *neopoiai* are to take seats; and beside each there is to be set a box sealed by the *prostatai,* each having an opening a finger in length and no greater than a bean in width. And let there be inscribed on the box the name of the phyle; (15) and let each of those entering the *ekklesia* give a tally to the *neopoias* of his own phyle, having inscribed upon it his own name with patronymic. . . .

Let the *neopoias* put (it) into the box; and let the names with patronymic be written. . . . .tally. . . . . .(20) the seals of the boxes. . . . . .of the box.

Of the three boards of officers mentioned in the text, only one, the *neopoiai,* is expressly made representative of the phylai. For the parallels, see Samos (5 §13) and Ephesos (§11). The number of the *prytaneis,* too, is set at six by a document of the fourth century (no. 1); and it may be to this board that the six men listed in lines 2-4 of our decree belong. But it is not quite certain that the phylai as well were of that number, as is sometimes supposed.[3]

Except for the well attested arrangements at Athens for the disbursal of pay to jurors (1 §1.24), the procedure itself is without parallel.

A reference to the phyle occurs in a second decree, no. 1 (= Michel 460; *SGDI* 5515; *SIG*[3] 169) (ca. 367/6–353/2), calling for the banishment, and confiscation of the property, of persons apprehended in a conspiracy against Maussolos. Of interest here is the catalogue of those who administered the sale of the confiscated goods. Following a number of lists of boards of officers, the catalogue concludes with a final group of thirty-four names introduced by the heading *οἵδε ἀπὸ φυλῆς* (lines 18-19). What is the significance of this heading? Plainly the names constitute a distinct category, for there are only two coincidences of name between the list and the remainder of the document.[4] But the expected uniform representation of the phylai appears precluded both by the wording of our phrase and by the simple fact that thirty-four persons could not be evenly distributed over six—or any other small number of—phylai. Nor can much be said for the suggestion that a single phyle is at question. In the absence of the definite article, not to mention a proper name, the words *ἀπὸ φυλῆς* simply cannot bear this meaning.[5] I am therefore inclined to take the phrase in the sense "from (a) phyle," signifying membership in a phyle and, accordingly, citizen as opposed to non-citizen status.

Such a coterminous relation between *phyletai* and *politai* is implied by two extant citizenship decrees. The earlier, of the end of the fourth century, no. 47 (= Michel 464), orders the *neopoiai κατατάξαι αὐτὸν εἰς φυλὴν καὶ πατριήν* (line 4). Attested only here in a public context for Iasos (elsewhere, see Troizen, 2 §6; and Miletos, §16), the lesser division is absent from the clause of a similar decree of the second century, no. 51 (= Michel 470): *ἐπικληρῶσαι δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ ἐπὶ φυλὴν ἐν τοῖς ἐννόμοις χρόνοις* (29-30). Exampled only once elsewhere,[6] the change in procedure, in this case from "assignment" to "allotment," betokens a reform of some consequence. Possibly, the reform also involved the restriction of the enrollment to the phyle alone.[7]

The internal functioning of the Iasian phylai is illustrated by a fragmentary decree, no. 5. "The *phyletai*" are called upon to offer prayers for the well-being of King Antiochos III, his wife Laodike, their children, and the city of Iasos. Following a suggestion of L. Robert, it may be possible to recognize part of the name of the decreeing phyle in the letters [---]/ληΐδος (genitive singular) in line 12.[8] An undated inscription, no. 238, records a dedication by the phyle Epikreidai "to the *Theoi Soteres* and the *Demos*."

§23 Halikarnassos

According to a notice in Stephanos of Byzantion, s.v. Ἁλικαρνασσός, Kallimachos (fr. 703 Pfeiffer) wrote that "Anthes led the colony from Troizen, taking τὴν Δύμαιναν φυλήν." On this basis, it was supposed by K. O. Müller that of the three Dorian phylai only the Dymanes emigrated to Halikarnassos.[1] Such an independent settlement by a single phyle would, however, be without secure parallel. Where evidence is available, the invariable practice is for the colonizing state to draw upon all the phylai.[2] In the absence of any more reliable indication of just what it was that Kallimachos wrote, and of his authority for so writing, it is best, therefore, not to press the meaning of the quotation.[3]

A citizenship decree of the third century, *ASAA* 4-5 (1921-1922) 465-466, no. 5, orders [---τοὺς δὲ ἐξετ]αστὰς προγράψαι αὐτὸν/ [---τ]ῆς φυλῆς, ἣν ἂν βούληται (15-16). Since by the fifth century, Halikarnassos had lost practically all vestiges of her Dorian heritage, acquiring Ionian institutions instead,[4] it is quite possible that these Hellenistic phylai were not the Dorian triad presumably introduced at the foundation.

§24 Theangela

New citizens are allotted into the phyle in three Hellenistic decrees. The most fully preserved, Ç. Şahin and H. Engelmann, *ZPE* 34 (1979) 213-215, no. 2 (s. I), gives both the injunction and the result: καὶ ἐπικληρῶσαι αὐτὸν ἐπὶ φυλήν·/... ἐπεκληρώ/θη κ̣α̣ὶ ἔλαχεν φυλὴν Ὑλλίδα (14-16). The name of the phyle does, as the editors note, recall the traditional Dorian division Hylleis, but the presence of a phyle Hyllis at another state, Messene (3 §8), cautions against identification. There, although Hyllos, son of Herakles, is with certainty (as for Hylleis) the eponym, the phyle is a component of an innovating organization created no earlier than the foundation in the fourth century.

The second text, *IG* XI 4, no. 1054b (s. III), preserves a nearly identical injunction. The third, *ZPE* 25 (1977) 229-235, no. 1 (s. III),

preserves only a fragment of the statement of result: . . . ἔλαχε φυλῆ[ς *sive* -ν . . . 8-10] (line 4). For the phyle, a name longer than Hyllis is required.

§25 Plataseis

To be identified with the Roberts as the Pladasseis of the Athenian tribute lists, Plataseis was at a later date incorporated in a larger community, probably the confederacy of Pisye.[1] Possibly on this occasion, a decree, J. Crampa, *Labraunda* III 2, part II (Stockholm 1972) no. 42, implemented an earlier decision rendered by the general Eupolemos. That decision had, in turn, confirmed a decree conferring citizenship and other privileges upon one Dion "and his descendants" (lines 8-18). Dion's son, Diokles, subsequently approached the general in order to secure the extension of the decree's terms to himself. Although the substance of the present decree (dated ca. 300-250) is lost, the text does state that Eupolemos' decision had been given ἐγ Κοβολοδωου φυλῆι (line 3). For the phrase, compare the similar formulation at nearby Stratonikeia (§26) and see J. and L. Robert, *Bull. Ép.* 1973, no. 408 (pp. 420-421).

For additional instances of phylai incorporating the name of an individual, a convention apparently confined to southwestern Asia Minor, see Stratonikeia (§26), Termessos (8 §26), and Kibyra (8 §27).[2]

Lastly, the original decree of the Plataseis of 341-334 includes an unexceptionable clause calling for the enrollment of the honorand: ἐξέστω δὲ/αὐτῷι καὶ εἰς φυλὴν προσγράφεσθαι ἣν ἂν βούληται (17-18).

§26 Stratonikeia

A decree of the middle of the second century, M. Çetin Şahin, *Die Inschriften von Stratonikeia* II 1, *IGSK* 22.1 (Bonn 1982), no. 1039 (= Michel 477; *IGRR* IV 247),[1] calls for the bestowal of citizenship and allotment "into phyle and demos" (lines 18-19). The former unit figures in a somewhat later dedication to Hekate by the Demos, no. 510, of the year 38. The object of the dedication is τὴν ἱερὰν χώραν τῆς Ἑκάτης τὴν/οὖσαν ἔν τε Ἀλωσσῶι καὶ Κορόλ/λου φυλῆι (lines 3-5). Plainly, the phyle must be a territorial entity, although it is surprising that the location was not pinpointed more closely by citation of the appropriate deme.[2] The deme does play a role, however, in an Imperial inscription listing the accomplishments of two *privati*, no. 701. On one occasion, they made a distribution to each of the citizens in the theater, ἕκαστον δῆμον ἐκ τῶν /δέλτων καλέσαντες (6-8). Presumably, all citizens' names had been entered on the tablets, grouped by deme; for the parallel instances of such

lists, see Index II.G.2. That the citizens had also assembled in the theater *kata demous,* each deme confined to its own seating area, though not implied, is certainly possible (see Index II.I.6 for examples of such seating by phylai and *chiliastyes*).

For the purposes of defence against enemy attack, the city was partitioned into sectors. An inscription of the end of the third century, no. 1003, defines one such sector by reference to topographic features. Another, no. 1004, specifies a δεύτερος [π]ύρ[γ]ος and two ἄμφοδα. One of the latter bears a proper name. For the stationing of the men of an *amphodon* from one *pyrgos* to another, each bearing a proper name, see Smyrna (§6). For the *pyrgos* as a probable public unit, see Teos (§9).[3]

The internal organization of a "deme," Koraza, is reputedly illustrated by the decree Michel 478 (s. II).

§27 Kys

An inscription recording burial and honors by the Demos, *BCH* 11 (1887) 310, no. 4, identifies the deceased as "of the phyle Ἡρακληΐς."

§28 Aphrodisias

The phyle Ῥωμαΐς is twice cited as the affiliation of Attalos Adrastos, priest of Herakles, at *MAMA* VIII 413, lines (a) 6, (d) 11. In the same inscription, mention is made of Attalos' promise to construct a dining-hall for the entertainment of "the Boule, the Diakosiaprotoi, the Gerousia, and the remaining citizens *kata phylas*" (lines [d] 10-25). A second text, honors for Tib. Claudius Aurelius Ktesias and his family, *MAMA* VIII 497, cites their establishment of a fund for "perpetual distributions and crownings for the Boule and the Demos and the phylai and *prokleroi*" (lines 5-8). Both texts illustrate, as so often in the Imperial period, the use of the phylai for organizing the entertainment of the general body of citizens.

The "Roman" phyle occurs only here within the region. For phylai of similar designation elsewhere, see Messene (3 §8); and, in the Black Sea region, Odessos, Tomoi, and Istros (6 §14, 17, 18).

§29 Antiocheia-on-Maiandros

The existence of a phyle Ἀντιοχίς is reported by Stephanos of Byzantion, s.v. Ἀντιόχεια.

NOTES

1. For a detailed treatment, particularly with regard to historical developments, of the Ionian organizations, see C. Roebuck, "Tribal Organization in Ionia," *TAPA* 92 (1961) 495-507. For the view just cited, see p. 504.

2. For Roebuck's formulation of the hypothesis, see the work cited above (note 1) 503.
3. Roebuck (above, note 1) 504.

§1 Lampsakos

1. Throughout I follow Frisch's text, which incorporates the efforts of Boeckh, Kalinka, Kiepert, and others; see Frisch, p. 57, for references.

2. At the beginning of line 49, Frisch prints [?κα]θ' αὐτὴν κατὰ φυλάς.... Since the ἀπογραφή is still being discussed, it is possible that this is a *simplex* version of the full formulation ("by phylai and *hekatostyes*") in line 40.

3. In lines 16 and 17, Frisch reproduces the text restored by A. Wilhelm, *JÖAI* 18 (1915) Beiblatt, pp. 16-21, Pl. 6: ... εἰς ἑκατοσ[τὺν]/[καὶ χιλιαστὺν καὶ γένος, ...]. For this collocation of units there are partial—but no exact—parallels from a number of Asia Minor states (Wilhelm cites Byzantion, Ephesos, Herakleia-on-Pontos, and Samos). But no parallel from another state, even an exact one, need dictate for Lampsakos; nor is the restoration commended by the absence of the phyle.

§2 Ilion

1. Certain or probable twelvefold organizations occur in Asia Minor at Magnesia-on-Maiandros (§13), Miletos (§16), Prousias-on-Hypios (8 §2), Akmoneia (8 §18), Laodikeia-on-Lykos (8 §22), Lystra (8 § 35), and Ankyra (8 §39).

2. For the reading πρ[ό]βατα, "animals," instead of π[έμμ]ατα, "cakes," in line 24, see J. and L. Robert, *Bull. Ép.* 1976, no. 566 (p. 521).

3. Frisch no. 24 (= Michel 527; *SIG*³ 355; *IG* XII suppl., p. 68), 25 (= Michel 524; *RIJG* II 25-57, no. 22; *OGIS* I 218), 34 (= *CIG* II 3596; Michel 526; *SIG*¹ 157; *OGIS* I 220).

4. Frisch no. 24, lines 12-14; no. 25, lines 30-31.

5. In a fourth text, Frisch no. 124 (= *CIG* II 3618) (Imperial), the name of the phyle—assumed by Frisch to be the honoring party in line 1—is not preserved.

6. As noted by Frisch, on no. 121 (p. 224), Attalos I treated Ilion humanely in return for loyalty to him (Polybios, 5.78.6). For gifts to Ilion from either Attalos II or III, see Frisch no. 42 (= *CIG* II 3605) (s. II).

7. *Iliad* 3.146 (cf. 16.806-809); *Aeneid* 2.138 ff.

8. Alexander's benefactions to Ilion: Strabo, 13.1.26 (593). The suggestion of an allusion to Alexander-Paris is made by Frisch, on no. 122 (p. 225).

§3 Skepsis

1. Forms of the verb καταχωρίζειν also occur in enrollment formulas at Smyrna (§6: *CIG* II 3137, line 75), Seleukeia-Tralles (8 §12), and Aspendos (8 §31).

§4 Kyme

1. *Bull. Ép.* 1968, nos. 444-445 (pp. 504-506).

2. The restoration is rejected by J. and L. Robert, *Bull. Ép.* 1983, no. 323.

3. On line 22 (p. 34).

4. Both are found in a bilingual inscription, Engelmann no. 17 (27 B.C.). Νωρακεῖος (line 24) is restored in the Latin version as *No*[*race*(*us*)] (12); the wholly preserved Latin *Tucalleus* (14) is restored in the Greek version as [Τυκαλ]/[λέως...] (26-27), both genitive singular. The alternative, longer Greek rendering of the latter was suggested by Hodot, 180, note 130. Another Νωρακεῖος occurs in Engelmann no. 32 (n.d.).

5. For some of the identifications proposed in the earlier literature, with references, see J. and L. Robert, *Bull. Ép.* 1973, no. 371.

§6 Smyrna

1. = T. Ihnken, *Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Sipylos, IGSK* 8 (Bonn 1978) no. 1.

2. The allotment machines are the subject of a detailed study by S. Dow, "Aristotle, the Kleroteria, and the Courts," *HSCP* 50 (1939) 1-34. The present text is discussed on p. 13, where useful comparisons are made with the far better known Athenian procedures.

3. L. Robert, *Gnomon* 31 (1959) 673 (= *OMS* III 1638).

4. Reminiscent of, but with no discernible relation to, the present name are the phylai Ἀλιβαλίς at Sardeis (8 §9) and Ἀλιβαντίς, which occurs in a fictitious context in Lucian's *Menippos* or *Nekyomanteia*, ch. 20.

5. For the editor's conjecture regarding the sense, see *ZPE* 9 (1972) 64, on lines 10-11.

§7 Phokaia

1. C. Roebuck, "Tribal Organization in Ionia," *TAPA* 92 (1961) 495-507: 501.

§8 Erythrai

1. This inscription was discovered not at Erythrai but on Chios, yet continues to be assigned to the former state by most scholars on the strength of a report, recorded by W. Vischer, *RhM* 22 (1867) 326, that it had shortly before been transported "from the ruins of Erythrai to Chios." For a summary of modern opinion on the question, see G. Dunst, *SB Berlin* 1960, no. 1, pp. 23-24. I concur with W. G. Forrest, *ABSA* 55 (1960) 175, note 12, that Vischer's claim must be accepted until positive evidence for Chian origin can be produced.

2. According to M. H. Rocha-Pereira's edition (Teubner: Leipzig 1977), the manuscripts give the following adjectival variants for the first occurrence of the name: Χαλκίας, Χαλκῖτις, and Χαλκίτις. Since, however, the ensuing appearance of the name, Χαλκίδος (gentive singular), is without reported variant, I take the spelling printed by Rocha-Pereira (and reproduced here) as assured.

3. By contrast, L. Bürchner, "Chalkis," *RE* 3 (1899) 2090, imputes to Pausanias the existence of "die Chalkideis, eine Phyle der Erythräer;" and E. Szanto, "Chiliastys," *RE* 3 (1899) 2277, alleges that Pausanias "von einer Phyle der Chalkidier in Erythrai spricht." Besides, the form Χαλκίς is supported by the similar feminine singular form of the unquestioned phyle Νυσαιίς.

4. The existence of three, and only three, phylai was inferred from Pausanias' text by Szanto, 61; Busolt, *Staatskunde* 259, note 6 [260], with citation of boards, etc. commensurate with three; and by Roussel, 212-213, who also cites the boards.

5. For the others, see Engelmann-Merkelbach, pp. 142-143 (on no. 41).

6. Apud Engelmann-Merkelbach, p. 207 (on no. 113, lines 11 and 15). A second possibility, that the name is "Dionysiac" (and, therefore, possibly earlier?), is also considered.

§9 Teos

1. The doubt expressed by Ruge, "Teos," *RE* 19 (1934) 539-570: 553-554, does not reflect any real difficulty with the evidence. By chance, it must be assumed, Echinadai do not occur in the extensive *CIG* II 3064; otherwise, the identification of the many patronymics preserved there would be beyond question.

2. I count twelve cases of agreement against thirteen of non-agreement. In five other cases, the text is too fragmentary to permit a determination.

3. The point is perhaps strengthened by the case of two brothers, sons by birth of the same father but adopted by different persons, who nonetheless share the same *pyrgos: CIG* II 3081 (= *IGRR* IV 1569) (Imperial) and *BCH* 4 (1880) 174-175, no. 34 (already cited). Unless adopted by citizens of the same tower, they retained the affiliation of their birth. (Since only in the latter text is the patronymic preserved, nothing can be said regarding the *symmoria*.)

4. *CIG* II 3064 comm., pp. 650-652.

5. C. Scheffler, *De rebus Teiorum* (Leipzig 1882) 35.

6. Francotte, 137-138.

7. Y. Béquignon, "Les 'pyrgoi' de Teos," *RA* V 28 (1928) 185-208: 192-202.

8. That is, four ἄναρχα occupy the central line of the text (18); two, the fifth line before and after the center (13, 23); and one, the second line before and after these (11, 25). No explanation has yet been found for this symmetry.

9. Since, however, the inscription concerns the construction of the towers, it is conceivable that the names, if such existed, were not to be conferred until later.

10. See Ruge (above, note 1) 555-556.

11. D. W. S. Hunt, "Feudal Survivals in Ionia," *JHS* 67 (1947) 68-76.

12. Hunt (above, note 11) 71. Hunt deduces the sense "vacant," not from independent evidence, but from his own interpretation, adding: ". . . and we should assume that they [the estates] had gone out of cultivation, perhaps on the extinction of the family, or possibly were merely in dispute or owned by a minor."

13. The existence ca. 303 of κῶμαι and of ἐπαύλια ἔξω τῶν τῆς πόλεως ὅρων is illustrated by Michel 34, but there is no reason to suspect that either enjoyed a constitutional status.

§10 Kolophon

1. For the date of Meritt no. 6, our only clue is provided by the presence of a Seleukos as the eponym of the phyle. If Seleukos I is assumed to be the most likely candidate, the institution (or renaming) of the phyle would not have occurred until after the overthrow of Lysimachos in 281, when much of Asia Minor came into Seleukos' hands (thus Meritt). Preference for any of Nikator's homonymous successors would move this date down; and, of course, even if Nikator is the eponym, the document could well be much later than 281.

2. L. Robert, *RPh* III 10 (1936) 163-164 (= *OMS* II 1242-1243).

§11 Ephesos

1. I take the words τῆς Ἀττικῆς to be an intrusive gloss originating in a commentator's (correct) notation that a *deme* at Athens bore the same name.

2. In his commentary on the passage, Jacoby denies that Ephoros is the source for anything more than the initial identification of the name Benna. The source or sources of the remainder of the notice remain unknown.

3. H. Vetters, D. Knibbe, R. Merkelbach, H. Engelmann, et al., *Die Inschriften von Ephesos* I-VIII, *IGSK* 11-17 (Bonn 1979-1984).

4. For the same order, through Karenaioi, see *JÖAI* 53 (1981-1982) 120, no. 108 (s. I p.).

5. Given the great bulk of the documentation, it has not been possible to cite all the texts attesting the names and affiliations of the *chiliastyes,* nor to enter into variations in the spellings of the names, problems with readings or restorations, etc.

6. D. Knibbe, *Forschungen in Ephesos* IX.1.1: *Der Staatsmarkt, Die Inschriften des Prytaneions* (Bad Vöslau-Baden, 1981) 107-109 (VIII.2) and 177 (Nachtrag). Earlier tabulations had appeared in "Neue ephesische Chiliastyen," *JÖAI* 46 (1961-1963) Beiblatt 19-32; and "Ephesos," A.III.3 ("Phylen und Chiliastyen"), *RE Suppl.* XII (1970) 276-277 [278]. Of earlier work, still valuable are the discussions of E. L. Hicks, *IBM* III, pp. 68-71 ("On the Ephesian Tribes and Thousands"); and of J. Keil, "Die ephesischen Chiliastyen," *JÖAI* 16 (1913) 245-248.

7. Pelasgeoi had previously been assigned to Bembinaioi by Knibbe 1981 (above, note 6) 109, note 259. Here he cites, presumably in support of the affiliation, Keil's remarks (above, note 6) 247, note 12. In fact, Keil gives good reasons for dissociating the *chiliastys* from Bembinaioi and placing it in the phyle of Simoneioi, viz. Euonymoi.

8. Knibbe 1981 (above, note 6) 109, note 261.

9. For only a single state, Perinthos (6 §27), is there good reason to suspect the loss of one or more of the Attic-Ionic phylai while the remainder of the organization is retained.

10. Knibbe 1981 (above, note 6) 107-109.

11. A probable example of changed affiliation is adduced by D. Knibbe and B. İplikçioğlu, *JÖAI* 53 (1981-1982) 120, no. 108. If the restoration Κλα[υδιεύς] (line 4) is correct, this Thousand will have been moved from Sebaste (the present text) to Karenaioi (*Ephesos* VII, 4331: s. II p.).

12. Thus *Ephesos* IV, 1005 (s. I p.) and 1006 (post 41 A.D.). No. 1026 (105-120 A.D.) is too fragmentary to permit a determination.

13. Membership in a phyle, in a *chiliastys,* or in both, is indicated frequently in the inscriptions relating to the *neopoiai,* e.g. *Ephesos* III, 940-969; V, 1565-1590 B passim; VII, 4330. For a fragment of a list of *neopoiai,* two per phyle, each identified by *chiliastys,* and with the phylai ranged in the official order (through Karenaioi), see *JÖAI* 53 (1981-1982) 120, no. 108 (s. I p.).

14. The texts of the earlier series are also accessible as: *IBM* III, nos. 594 + 684 (= no. 30); *OGIS* II 480 (= no. 29); *CIL* III 2, no. 6065 (= no. 30); III Suppl., 12252 (= no. 30), 14195.5-10, 12 (nos. 29-33); Dessau, *ILS* II 1, nos. 7194 (= no. 29), 7194c (= no. 28), 7195 (= no. 33).

15. *Ephesos* II, 534, a "weisser Marmorquader," bears a text of similar format, viz. φυλῆς/ Καρηναίων. Although entitled "Platz der Phyle der Karenaioi," the lemma contains no reference to the theater.

16. Besides the studies listed in note 6 above, see M. Sakellariou, Συμβολή στήν Ἱστορία τοῦ Φυλετικοῦ Συστήματος τῆς Ἐφέσου, *Hellenika* 15 (1957) 220-231.

§12 Pygela

1. Keil, op. cit., p. 71.

§13 Magnesia-on-Maiandros

1. Sources on the history of the city are collected by Kern, v-xviii. For Thibron's work, see Diodoros, 14.36.3. For a recent statement on the yet-undiscovered earlier city, see G. E. Bean, "Magnesia ad Maeandrum," *PECS,* p. 544.

2. As noted by O. Kern, *Hermes* 36 (1901) 512.

3. Line 3: [Ἄττα]λίδος. None of the other attested names, nor any name, still unattested, commemorating one of the Twelve Olympians, will fit these remains.

4. Szanto, 62, also favors the assumption that the phylai originally numbered twelve and were named after the Twelve Gods. In particular, he notes the absence of an Ἀθηναΐς and a Ἡραΐς. Because he mentions only two unattested phylai, he presumably believed that Attalis and Seleukis represented new names only, rather than additions to the existing organization.

5. E. V. Hansen, *The Attalids of Pergamon* (Ithaca 1947) 412.

6. C. Habicht, *Gottmenschentum und griechische Städte* (Munich 1956) 154.

§14 Priene

1. The historical testimonia are collected by Hiller von Gaertringen, pp. 191-224 (nos. 401-578). The first founders are recorded by Pausanias, 7.2.10 (no. 407) and Strabo, 14.1.3. (633) (no. 406). See also, more recently, G. Kleiner, "Priene," *RE Suppl.* IX (1962) 1181-1221.

2. Thus argues A. Asboeck, *Das Staatswesen von Priene* (Diss. München 1913) 71. He notes that the state's territory, though not small, contained little useful or thickly populated land. Under the Delian League, Priene's tribute was only one talent: see *ATL* I, 388-389. The small size of the city is also stressed by Kleiner (above, note 1) 1185.

3. Perhaps significantly, the phyle is not cited in the similar dedications by *agoranomoi,* nos. 179, 180, 183 (cf. also, nos. 246, line 16; 360, lines 1-2).

4. E.g. Asboeck (above, note 2) 70. For a general discussion of the phenomenon, see L. Robert, "Divinités éponymes," *Hellenica* 2 (1946) 61-64.

5. If no. 141 is actually a fragment of a list of *stephanephoroi,* as Hiller believed, then "Zeus" will have filled the post in three consecutive years. Hiller also attributed to Zeus the frequent citations of the tenure of "the god" (comm. ad loc.).

6. The parallel evidence does not resolve the difficulty. At Athens, *hieropoioi* are attested both in a statewide capacity (1 §1.28) and as officers of a deme (§1.34). Similarly, also, at Kos (5 §41).

7. The "Phylenkassen" hypostasized by Asboeck (above, note 2), 70, are purely conjectural. It might well be that large contributions by a few wealthy *phyletai* alone are at issue.

8. That the *strategoi* were appointed *kata phylas* is claimed by Asboeck (above, note 2) 71, but utterly without evidential support. The generals are never directly linked to the phylai; nor is their number, despite frequent citation of the office in the inscriptions, known.

9. E.g. F. Hiller von Gaertringen, *Die Inschriften von Priene,* p. xi; K. Regling, *Die Münzen von Priene* (Berlin 1927) 2; Kleiner (above, note 1) 1187. Cf. U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *GGA* 176 (1914) 81, note 1 (= *Kleine Schriften* 5 [1] 435, note 1).

10. E.g. G. E. Bean, "Priene," *PECS,* p. 737.

11. Thus Asboeck (above, note 2) 1-4. More recently, the position has been reargued by D. van Berchem, "Alexandre et la restauration de Priène," *MH* 27 (1970) 198-205. For criticism, see J. and L. Robert, *Bull. Ép.* 1971, no. 581.

§16 Miletos

1. In line 3, for Βωρέων the stone (a first century copy of the fifth century original: *SGDI*) reads ΒΩΡΒΩΝ. For the transposition of the aspiration in Ὁπλῆθες, see A. Thumb, *Handbuch der griechischen Dialekte,* second ed. revised by A. Scherer, II (Heidelberg 1959) 266, §26; and Buck, 59-60, §65.

2. Thus Roussel, 211. Nowhere in his discussion, however, does he acknowledge the existence of the Argadeis, attested by a fifth century inscription (see below). His hypothesis of a reform at Miletos after the foundation of Kyzikos (6 §28), where all six phylai are documented, and before the composition of the present text is made of whole cloth.

3. Alternating terms were proposed by Wilamowitz, the inscription's first editor, at *SB Berlin* 1904, pp. 619-640: 622. For a possible parallel, compare at Athens (1 §1.26) the ὁδοποιοί, who numbered five under the ten phylai.

4. Thus A. Rehm, *Milet* I 3 (Berlin 1914) 283, note 2, cites the boards of six *tamiai* and six *prytaneis,* only to dismiss them on chronological grounds—they postdate the introduction of the later organization—as evidence for the "Ureinteilung." But his assumption that the sixfold board of *molpoi* itself originally represented six phylai is wholly without basis in fact. So also Busolt, *Staatskunde* 257.

5. Thus Kyzikos (6 §28), Odessos (6 §14), Krounoi (later Dionysopolis) (6 §15), Tomoi (6 §17), and Istros (6 §18).

6. The only probable exception is the earlier known organization of Perinthos (6 §27), where, I have argued, with the addition of a number of innovating phylai, the Attic-Ionic hexad was halved, leaving only the attested Aigikoreis, Geleontes, and Boreis. The hypothesis is attractive because the division affected the four Attic and the two Ionic units equally. No such symmetry is present in the Milesian case.

7. Dunst (reference under the immediately following text) proposes that the second word be restored as πρώτη[ς], in line with the construction in the other text. This was shown to be impossible by J. and L. Robert, *Bull. Ép.* 1964, no. 444. Regarding the date, Wiegand had classified the inscription as Hellenistic, but later Rehm, *Milet* I 3 (Berlin 1914) 283, placed it in the early fifth century. Dunst (273, note 17) termed Wiegand's opinion "ein Lapsus." Since, however, according to the Roberts, "le style de la gravure et la forme des lettres" of the two texts are very similar, either Rehm's date or Dunst's placing of the second inscription ca. 400, or both, must be significantly in error. See also note 14, below.

8. Contrast Ephesos (§11), where seating in the theater is by phylai. In fact, all other attested seating arrangements by public unit are *kata phylas* (see Index II.I.6), with the exception of Stratonikeia (§26), where the units in question are *demoi.*

9. Rehm's field notes are quoted by N. Ehrhardt, *Milet und seine Kolonien* (Frankfurt am Main-Bern-New York 1984) 390, note 77. There, while giving the find-place in the theater as

"2½ m. über dem Orchestraboden," the excavator states that the stone perhaps came "von der Stadtbefestigung?/Aufstellungsort der A.II."

10. For the find-place, see Dunst, 273, note 1.

11. Dunst, 272.

12. Rehm (above, note 4) 283, note 2.

13. K. J. Beloch, *Die Bevölkerung der griechisch-römischen Welt* (Leipzig 1886) 228-229.

14. Everything depends upon the dating of the inscriptions, and at present we are far from unanimity. The year 437/6 is P. Herrmann's date for the decree passed during the prytany of Leontis, but a chronology as low as 402/1 remains possible. See his discussion, "Zu den Beziehungen zwischen Athen und Milet im 5. Jahrhundert," *Klio* 52 (1970) 163-173. Recently, much of the evidence under review here has been examined in detail by M. Piérart, "Athènes et Milet, I. Tribus et dèmes milésiens," *MH* 40 (1983) 1-18. Future work is promised, including a fresh discussion of the date of the Argadeis and Hopletes inscriptions (4, note 25) and a narrowing of the introduction of the Kleisthenic system to the third quarter of the fifth century (5, with note 28). Also recent, and valuable for the period, are: H.-J. Gehrke, "Zur Geschichte Milets in der Mitte des 5. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.," *Historia* 29 (1980) 17-31; and H. B. Mattingly, "The Athenian Decree for Miletos (*IG* I², 22 = *ATL* II, D 11): a Postscript," *Historia* 30 (1981) 113-117.

15. The earlier collection of the material is that of B. Haussoullier, "Dèmes et tribus, patries et phratries de Milet," *RPh* II 21 (1897) 38-49, where, however, no distinction is made between the two organizations. The best modern summaries are the studies of Ehrhardt (above, note 9) and of Piérart (above, note 14) already cited.

16. I omit the phyle 'Ιάς, read in the funerary inscription of a Milesian, found on Leukas, by G. Daux, *BCH* 101 (1977) 345, no. 6. For the alternative interpretation (the word is the name of the wife or mother of the deceased), see M. Piérart, "La 'sixième tribu' de Milet," *BCH* 102 (1978) 563-564—in fact, the phyle would have been the ninth—with the Roberts' comment, *Bull. Ép.* 1978, no. 247. To Daux' defense of his position, *BCH* 103 (1979) 461-462, Piérart responds again in his 1983 publication (above, note 14) 8, no. 50.

17. I owe this reference to Ehrhardt (above, note 9) 381, note 9 [382].

18. See note 17, above.

19. For the fullest discussion of the tradition, see M. Sakellariou, *La Migration grecque en Ionie* (Athens 1958) 39-44. There is additional comment by Piérart (above, note 14) 6-7.

20. Scholarly opinion is assembled and discussed by Piérart (above, note 14) 6-8.

21. Roussel, 296, assumes that the original phylai numbered ten, but includes among them Theseis, which is not attested until the Imperial period! He goes on to imagine, on no evidence whatsoever, that later the Milesians changed the names of their phylai in order to honor foreign sovereigns or states. In fact, if the Milesians started with the ten Kleisthenic phylai (the only reasonable assumption, given the present record), only two additions are required to account for the later twelvefold organization, and these could well have been Asopis and Theseis. No renamings or other changes need be assumed.

22. For the island's relations with Miletos, see J. L. Benson, *Ancient Leros* (Durham, North Carolina 1963) 45-51.

23. By L. Robert, for one, is his review of *Didyma* II: *Gnomon* 31 (1959) 657-674 (= *OMS* II 1622-1639): 673.

24. L. Robert, "Une épigramme de Carie," *RPh* 31 (1957) 7-22; "Une épigramme de Carie. Note additionnelle," *RPh* 32 (1958) 54-66 (= *OMS* I 373-388, 389-401). G. E. Bean, *Anatolian Studies* 7 (1957) 24; Bean, with J. Cook, *ABSA* 56 (1961) 90-101.

25. Thus L. Robert 1958 (above, note 24) 65, note 1; cf. 1959 (above, note 23) 673.

26. Robert 1958 (above, note 24) 65, note 1.

27. Haussoullier (above, note 15) 47-48.

28. Robert 1958 (above, note 24) 65, note 1.

29. Robert 1959 (above, note 23) 673. In further support of the hypothesis of just five demes, Robert adduced the phrase πέμπτος κληρωθείς from *Didyma* II 214 B (see below on the election of the *prophetes*).

30. Haussoullier (above, note 15) 39, no. 8.

31. A Rehm, *Didyma* II 229 (p. 171). For a more recent presentation of the same material, see Piérart 1983 (above, note 14) 13-14.

32. A Rehm, *Didyma* II 214 B (p. 162); Robert 1959 (above, note 23) 664; Piérart 1983 (above, note 14) 10-12.

§19-21 Mylasa (with Olymos and Labraunda)

1. Magie, *RRAM* I 85-86, II 907-908 (references to the liteature). For a fuller account, see Ruge, "Olymos," *RE* 17.2 (1937) 2510-2519.

2. For some outstanding examples, with illuminating discussion, see L. Robert, *Le Sanctuaire de Sinuri près de Mylasa* I (Paris 1945). For the entire Karian region, see Guarducci, *L'Istituzione* II, 100-105; and A. Laumonier, *Les Cultes indigènes en Carie* (Paris 1958) passim.

3. As shown by L. Robert, *AJA* 39 (1935) 338-340.

§19 Mylasa

1. Boeckh, *CIG* II 2691 c, d, e, (+ p. 473), proposed that the decrees of the urban citizens (i.e. the Mylasians) had been ratified by three rural phylai. For a decisive refutation of this view, see Le Bas-Waddington, ad loc.

2. Cf. Guarducci, *L'Istituzione* II, 101, note 1.

3. For the identification of no. 334 as a decree of Mylasa, see below on Olymos (§20). Line 3 in no. 360 preserves only *ἐπὶ τὰς φυλὰς καὶ συ[νγενείας---]*; for the additional restoration of the *patrai*, rendering the formula identical to that in line 3 of no. 334, see C. Diehl and G. Cousin, *BCH* 10 (1886) 310.

4. Following the beginning of the clause "Since (the) Olymeis and Labrandeis . . . ," all three units are named in what remains of the formula in line 3. Thereafter, the preserved text refers, first, to the phylai alone (4-7), next, to the *syngeneiai* and *patrai* alone (8-13).

5. Hyarbesytai: Michel 725 (= *SIG*^{2} 226; Sokolowski, *LSAM* 62) (fin. s. II).

Konodorkondeis: L. Robert, *AJA* 39 (1935) 335-337. At p. 336, Robert recognizes in Le Bas-Waddington 429 a candidate for a decree of the same phyle honoring a gymnasiarch.

Otorkondeis: Le Bas-Waddington 403 (= *CIG* II 2693 c), 404, 405 (= Michel 474: s. II), 406, 407 (= *CIG* II 2693 d; Michel 475: s. II), 408 (= Michel 473: s. II), 409-413, 414 (= *CIG* II 2693 f), 415, 416 (= *CIG* II 2693 e; *SGDI* 5754), 417, 418; A. Hauvette-Besnault and M. Dubois, *BCH* 5 (1881) 107-119, no. 11 (= Le Bas-Waddington 416; improved at *BCH* 12 [1888] 29-31); G. Cousin and C. Diehl, *BCH* 12 (1888) 16-18, no. 5; 18-20, no. 6 (= Le Bas-Waddington 401); 20-21, no. 7; 21-25, no. 8; 25-31, no. 9; A. Laumonier, *BCH* 58 (1934) 321-326, no. 7b; E. Hula and E. Szanto, *SB Wien* 132 (1894) 13, no. 3; 16-17, no. 10.

Phyle not identified: *BCH* 5 (1881) 101-105, no. 6.

6. Le Bas-Waddington 404, 416, 417.

7. Honors (*τειμαί*): *BCH* 12 (1888) 16-18, no. 5, line 6. Praise (*ἐπηνῆσθαι*): *AJA* 39 (1935) 335-337; Le Bas-Waddington 403, 405, 407, 408. Crown (*χρυσοῦς στέφανος*: not of gold in no. 407): *AJA*, loc. cit.; Le Bas-Waddington 403, 405, 407, 408, 411, 412-413; *SB Wien* 132 (1894) 13, no. 3. Statue (*εἰκών*): *AJA*, loc. cit. (on the altar); Le Bas-Waddington 408, 411, 412-413; *SB Wien*, loc. cit. Portion (*μερίς*): *AJA*, loc. cit.; cf. *SB Wien*, loc. cit. Inscription (*ἐπιγραφή*): *AJA*, loc. cit.; Le Bas-Waddington 408; cf. Michel 725. Announcement (*ἀνακηρῦξαι*): Le Bas-Waddington 411.

8. Michel 725.

9. *Tamiai:* Michel 725; Le Bas-Waddington 404, 409, 414, 416-418; *BCH* 5 (1881) 107-119, no. 11, C 12-13; *BCH* 12 (1888) 16-18, no. 5; 18-20, no. 6. *Oikonomoi:* Michel 725; Le Bas-Waddington 404. *Eklogistes:* Le Bas-Waddington 405.

10. *Ktematonai:* Le Bas-Waddington 414, 415, 416; *BCH* 5 (1881) 107-119, no. 11; *BCH* 12 (1888) 21-25, no. 8.

11. See below, note 19.

12. Le Bas-Waddington 403, 405, 411; *BCH* 5 (1881) 107-119, no. 11, C 17-18 (cf. 14-15).

13. Michel 725.

14. Le Bas-Waddington 408.

15. For additional references to the structures in the sanctuaries, see Michel 725; Le Bas-Waddington 403, 405, 408, 411.

16. Le Bas-Waddington 414, 414-418; *BCH* 5 (1881) 107-119, no. 11; *BCH* 12 (1888) 21-25, no. 8; 25-31, no. 9; *SB Wien* 132 (1894) 16-17, no. 10.

17. Michel 725.

18. Sacrifices (*θυσίαι*): *AJA*, loc. cit.; *SB Wien* 132 (1894) 13, no. 3. Festival (Taurophonia): Le Bas-Waddington 404. *Ἀγών* to Zeus Osogos: Le Bas-Waddington 411.

19. See especially Le Bas-Waddington 403, 406-409, 411.

20. E.g., Le Bas-Waddington 406 (partly restored), 407.

§20 Olymos

1. Thus A. Laumonier, *BCH* (1934) 325, note 2. The assumption of four phylai had been made by Le Bas-Waddington, p. 99.

2. The examples known by 1934, totaling at least nine, are collected by Laumonier (above, note 1) 325-326.

3. For the comparative evidence, see Ruge, "Olymos," *RE* 17.2 (1937) 2510-2520: 2512.

4. Szanto, 67. Szanto's consequent belief that the associations here identified as *syngeneiai* were in fact demes was decisively refuted by L. Robert, *AJA* 39 (1935) 336-337.

§22 Iasos

1. The first editors of the text, D. Levi and G. Pugliese Carratelli, *ASAA* 23-24 (1961-1962) 578, no. 5, had suggested the restoration [βασι]/ληΐδος (lines 11-12). This was rejected in favor of a name of a phyle of the type 'Ηρακληΐς by L. Robert, *REA* 65 (1963) 308, note 10 (= *OMS* III 1503).

2. Not every restoration is reflected in the translation. The concerned reader must consult Blümel's text.

3. E.g. by E. L. Hicks, *JHS* 8 (1887) 106; Swoboda, *Volksbeschlüsse* 72. Szanto, 69, suggested four phylai as a possibility, citing the fourfold boards of *archontes* and *tamiai* in this same document.

4. Namely, at lines 8 and 27; 22 and 50. Either or both coincidences might be due to duplication of function or to mere homonymity.

5. At Chios (5 §12), the same words occur in the law of ca. 575-550, Meiggs-Lewis 8, where they are taken, in connection with the membership of a Boule, to mean "from each phyle."

6. At Kolophon (§10), enrollment in the *genos* of the honorand's choice gives way to allotment into phyle (and *chiliastys*?).

7. The combination of the two changes might be explained on the assumption that certain of the *patriai* were more exclusive than others. The difficulty could be avoided as long as the authorities assigned honorands to their units, but this would cease to be the case once sortition was introduced. At Ilion (§2), the presence or absence of the phratry in the formulas does not correspond to any alteration in procedure.

8. See above, note 1.

§23 Halikarnassos

1. *Die Dorier* II (Breslau 1844) 72.

2. For the known colonies founded *kata phylas*, see Index II.K.2. The reasons given by Szanto, 8, for rejecting Müller's hypothesis are not cogent. We do not know that Anthes was himself a member of the Dymanes; the association between the Dymanes and Apollo, whose cult was observed in the Triopion, is ill-founded; and the supposition that the Dorian phylai had by the time of Halikarnassos' (late) foundation become "gentilizische Verbände" tells us nothing regarding the participation of the Hylleis and Pamphyloi. Roussel, 228, suggests that by the historical period, among other, innovating phylai, only one of the Dorian phylai, Dymanes, remained, and that this fact gave rise to the tradition.

3. For a thorough analysis of Stephanos' notice, see G. Huxley, "On Stephanus of Byzantium, s.v. 'Αλικαρνασσός," *GRBS* 6 (1965) 213-214.

4. For a modern collection of the evidence, see G. E. Bean and J. M. Cook, "The Halicarnassus Peninsula," *ABSA* 50 (1955) 85-171: 95-97.

§25 Plataseis

1. J. and L. Robert, *Bull. Ép.* 1961, no. 673. For the incorporation in the confederacy, see Crampa's corpus (cited below), pp. 43, 45.

2. For the affinities of the present name, see Crampa's commentary, p. 45.

§26 Stratonikeia

1. = R. Merkelbach, *Die Inschriften von Assos, IGSK* 4 (Bonn 1976) no. 8.

2. However, the possibility that Halossos is itself a deme cannot be excluded.

3. For discussion of these texts, see A. Wilhelm, *Beiträge zur griechischen Inschriftenkunde* (Vienna 1909) 183-187; *Akademieschriften* II 160-161, no. 13; 191-192; and, the most important study, L. Robert, *Études anatoliennes* (Paris 1937) 523-538.

Chapter VIII Asia Minor: The Hellenized Interior

Removed from the coastal region, the states grouped in this chapter tended to be of later foundation or at least Hellenization. Without exception, the epigraphic documentation is no earlier than the Hellenistic era, with a clear majority of the organizations known only from Imperial testimony. Nonetheless, in some cases signs of a considerably earlier evolution are at hand. At Prousias-on-Hypios (§2), Pergamon (§6), Eumeneia (§20), and Laodikeia-on-Lykos (§22), phylai of the *Landsmannschaftlich* class might be traced to the foundation or to early Greek contact, although there always remains the possibility of more recent commemoration. At Sillyon (§30), the name of a phyle has been thought to reveal an early formation; at Philadelpheia (§10), pre-Greek origins have been claimed for the guilds designated by the term phyle in Imperial times; and at Ankyra (§39) and Sardeis (§9), non-Greek names for phylai are plausible candidates for survivals of indigenous population elements. Yet in none of these instances can the early institution of the phylai themselves be demonstrated. Exceptionally, Herodotos' report of a phyle Asias at Sardeis (§9) is strikingly corroborated by early Imperial epigraphic evidence. Since the historian expressly identifies Asias as a φυλή, it is likely that the organization in some form descended from the fifth century.

Given the general lateness of the organizations, it comes as no surprise that no trace is to be found of the traditional Dorian or Ionic divisions. Innovation is instead the rule, with a considerable variety of types attested. The aforementioned examples of the *Landsmannschaftlich* class reflect, again, facts or beliefs concerning the origins of the Greek population in a variety of homeland regions. By contrast, other names are patently of local derivation and probably mark the incorporation into the citizen community of indigenous groups: thus, for example, at Nikomedeia (§3), Sardeis (§9), Hierapolis (§21), and Kadyanda (§28). Also of strictly local significance are the several cases of the eponymy of a private citizen. At Pergamon (§6), the individual is the recipient of honors by decree of the state; at Kibyra (§27), at least two phylai bear the names of their current *epimeletai.* Termessos (§26) provides a third instance; and, outside the region, Karian Plataseis (7 §25) and Stratonikeia (7 §26), still others. Alternatively, a territorial unit might take its name from a conspicuous topographical feature, whether an architectural landmark, as at Side (§32), or a local river, as at Nakoleia (§15). Most numerous and widespread of all are the examples of the familiar divine or heroic eponym (passim) and, closely related to these, phylai named after local dynasts (e.g. §1?, 2,

20?, and 21) and Roman emperors, or members of their families. The Imperial eponyms range from the as many as ten occurrences of a phyle Σεβαστή (§1, 4, 11, 14, 22? [see note 1], 25, 38, and 39), Σεβαστηνή (§2), or Αὐγοῦστα (§36) to the phyle Αὐρηλιανή at Nikaia (§4). Such are the major classes, although, as noted at the close, a few highly idiosyncratic anomalies remain to be accounted for.

The phylai bearing names of historical persons, presumably created during or soon after the eponym's lifetime, provide the clearest indications of the more or less continuous development of these organizations. Of this, the chronologically accurate sequences of phylai named after Imperial personages at Prousias-on-Hypios (§2) and Ankyra (§39) represent the best illustrations. Telltale signs of another kind are afforded by the double-named phylai at Nysa (§11) and Ikonion (§36). These point to modification of existing arrangements, rather than replacement or (probably the commonest procedure) addition, as a mode of development. Whatever the mechanism, the result was in several cases the growth of organizations of numerous phylai simultaneously representing a variety of the innovative types just reviewed: see especially Prousias (§2), Nikomedeia (§3), Pergamon (§6), Sardeis (§9), Eumeneia (§20), Hierapolis (§21), Laodikeia-on-Lykos (§22), and Ankyra (§39).

To what extent these large organizations resembled one another in structure is difficult to say. Twelvefold division is often alleged (see §18, 21, 22, 35), but the only secure examples are to be found at Prousias (§2) and Ankyra (§39). The full number stood at only seven at Philadelpheia (§10), and Pergamon's phylai may at some time have exceeded twelve (§6). But the numbers are generally large, and this fact may help to explain the nearly complete absence of lower-level divisions. At Nysa (§11), the record of a distribution "by phylai and *synedria* and *symmoriai*" may indicate three tiers of organization. Amblada in Pisidia (§24) provides the only other candidates in the form of the enigmatic Ambrosia, Arete, and Mother of the Gates. Elsewhere, we find only phylai, and it is strongly to be suspected that they themselves constituted the basic units of organization.

The disposition of units at all levels remains, as is usually the case, in question, but the occurrence of several territorial systems may be indicative of a more general tendency. At Side (§32), and possibly Amblada (§24), again, units are named after architectural features; at Nakoleia (§15), after a river. Elsewhere, not only are the phylai territorial, but the affiliation is also known or likely to have changed with the change of domicile from one unit to another: Nikomedeia (§3), Nikaia (§4), Kibyra (§27), and Kadyanda (§28). These examples, along with a similar case at Miletos (7 §16), exhaust, I believe, the evidence for "strong" territorialism among the public organizations of the Greek

world. Not hereditary connection, but place of residence had, at least in these few states, come to be the decisive consideration.

This is not the only sign of the decay of the norms of Greek public organization. The fact that, in general, the political realities of Hellenistic and Imperial Asia Minor barred the way to the traditional governmental activities of autonomous states could only be reflected in the record of the statewide functions of public units. What evidence we do have for such functions is generally not only widely scattered but politically innocuous as well: a public celebration at Pergamon (§6), the production of roof tiles at Sardeis (§9), and the division of seating in the stadium at Saittai (§13) and in the theater at Kibyra (§27)—all according to phylai. Statewide boards of magistrates selected by public unit are unknown, unless we include, at Prousias (§2) and Nikomedeia (§3), the boards of *phylarchoi*. Less innocuously, the inscribing of the name of a phyle on a tower at Perge (§29) may indicate a military function; and a dikast's ticket from an unknown state in Pamphylia (§34) just possibly implicates the association with which the bearer is affiliated. At Laodikeia-on-Lykos (§22), the Boule appears to have followed the familiar model of representation by phylai, but it is questionable whether the same inference should be drawn from the less explicit evidence from Bria (§19), a state near Antalya (§33), and Ankyra (the phyle Ἱερὰ Βουλαία: §39). Given the relative abundance of epigraphic evidence, this not an impressive record for as many as thirty-nine states.

Not surprisingly, then, and as the apparent departures from the rule of hereditary affiliation might in any case have suggested, internal organization of public units is not very much in evidence. The one conspicuous exception is Sardeis (§9), where as late as the second century A.D. a phyle proclaims that it undertook the construction of a large complex of buildings out of its own funds. Elsewhere, property holdings—in the few instances that they are documented—are of little significance. Regarding officers, we do encounter a scattering of titles, including the elsewhere widely attested phylarch (§2, 3, 8, 9, 14, 17, 20, 37), *epimeletes* (§14, 15, 18, 27, 39), and *grammateus* (§14, 15). Yet their attested functions are largely ceremonial. No meeting, election, or taking of a vote occurs anywhere in the record. Nor is funding by a unit documented beyond the perfunctory outlays for inscriptions, statues, and other honors—possibly prompted, of course, by the honorand's still more substantial generosity. In a few cases not the phyle, but some other party, meets the expense of honors bestowed in the phyle's name (§1, 6 ad fin., 11). Nor does the evidence for cultic orientation, elsewhere often the focal point of associational activity, go much beyond the divine and heroic eponyms. Accordingly, it may

be conjectured that significant internal organization, so amply documented for the coastal region, proceeded no further, and that the public unit *qua* association did not figure in the general Hellenization of the institutions of the Asian interior.

But the story cannot end with the conclusion that the activities of the phylai were for the most part ceremonial. For, in the case of a dozen states (§2, 3, cf. 10, 11, 14, 18, 26, 27, 32, 35, 36, cf. 37, 39) we have two or more texts, each in the name of a single phyle, honoring the same person, usually, except for the name of the phyle, with identical wording. This appears to be a development of a simpler practice, in evidence at Prousias (§2) and Ankyra (§39) and possibly at Akmoneia (§18), Laodikeia (§ 22), and Lystra (§35), whereby the entire organization erected a single monument. The change to multiple texts seems in one instance to have been motivated by a desire for individuality, since in the series from Dorylaion (§14) no two texts are the same. Regardless of the degree of uniformity, the suspicion naturally arises that in the case of isolated bestowals of honors by single phylai we are merely dealing with chance survivals from similar mass accolades. What is the explanation for so many instances of united action? The probable answer is not far to seek. At Akmoneia (§18), honors are conferred in the names of the Boule, the Demos, the Gerousia, and a single phyle. The presumption that the other phylai, similarly acting on the state's directive, erected identical inscriptions of their own is inevitable. This is precisely the situation explicitly documented in an inscription of the time of Hadrian from Sebastopolis on the Black Sea (6 §19). Within the region, honors are conferred by single phylai acting in accordance with the decisions of governmental bodies at Philadelpheia (§10), Eumeneia (§20), Sillyon (§30), and Side (§32). It may seriously be questioned whether these phylai were capable of any significant independent undertaking whatsoever.

With the general decline in both statewide and internal functioning, the very organizational structures themselves became subject to deterioration. Perhaps in this light we can understand the several unparalleled uses of the term φυλή within the region: at Sardeis (§9), the phyle Leontioi has been identified as a Hellenized "tribe" of Jews; at Philadelpheia (§10), the two known phylai appear to be guilds; at Apollonia (§23), a circus faction may be so designated; and at Lystra (§35), one phyle is expressly named "Sacred Thiasos." Taken singly, one or more of these might be accommodated within the larger framework of Greek public organization. But together, in the aggregate, they point to a general collapse of its guiding assumptions.

BITHYNIA

§1 Claudiopolis (earlier Bithynion)

Dedications to the Emperor Hadrian of the year A.D. 134 are made in the names of the phylai Apollonis, *IGRR* III 72 (= *CIG* II 3802; Le Bas-Waddington 1183), and Sebaste, *IGRR* III 1424. The latter also confers honors upon a private individual in an inscription probably contemporary with the dedications, F. K. Dörner, *Denkschriften Ak. Wien* 75, no. 1 (1952) 41, no. 83.

The dedication by Apollonis was once taken as evidence for an official order of the phylai on the strength of the (majuscule) version of the text published by Boeckh, φυλὴ ι' Ἀπολλωνίς (i.e. Tenth). In accord with "la copie communiquée à Le Bas," this was altered to φυλὴ α' Ἀπολλωνίς in Le Bas-Waddington and, later, in *IGRR* with the comment "tribus prima." Rediscovery of the stone, however, showed iota to be the correct reading (see Dörner, op. cit., 41-42, no. 84).[1] At the same time, the assured spelling of the subject φυλῆι Σεβαστῆι in Dörner's no. 83 led the editor reasonably to ask whether numerals were at question at all: the iota should not follow both words and, in any case, the same phyle appears in *IGRR* III 1424 without trace of such a numeral. Besides, is not the tenth position in the supposed order now occupied by Apollonis? There could hardly be any doubt but that the iota belongs to the well known *koine* form of the first declension nominative termination.[2]

In Dörner no. 83, Sebaste confers its honors ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων, presumably an indication of the existence of independent finances. By contrast, in *IGRR* III 1424, although the same phyle appears in the nominative as the dedicator (line 9), the actual expenses are met by a private individual and his five sons (ἀναθέντων ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων). Which is the more representative procedure for the Bithynian phylai cannot be determined.

Apollonis, referred to the god Apollo by Szanto,[3] was thought by Magie to have been named after the wife of Attalos I and mother of Attalos II and Eumenes II.[4] Ἀπολλωνιάς is the name elsewhere encountered for the phyle of Apollo (Magnesia-on-Maiandros, 7 §13; Pergamon, §6; Dorylaion, §14; Kadyanda, §28). For the two other occurrences of Ἀπολλωνίς, at Nysa (§11) and Laodikeia-on-Lykos (§22), both interpretations have been defended. In the present case, our uncertainty regarding the city's relations with the Pergamene kingdom renders the choice still more problematic.[5]

§2 Prousias-on-Hypios

From a number of honorary inscriptions of the late second and third centuries A.D. a complete system of twelve phylai is known in some

detail. While a few of these texts come to us in the names of only one,[1] or two,[2] phylai, the great majority represent, or may be restored as representing, the entire organization. In these latter examples, the twelve phylai (with their *phylarchoi,* two to each phyle) are listed at the close of honors for the year's πρῶτος ἄρχων. Presumably, then, the phylarchs themselves were also annual officers. With only few exceptions, the names appear in the following format:[3]

Σεβαστηνή	Τιβεριανή
Θηβαΐς	Προυσιάς
Γερμανική	Ἁδριανή
Σαβινιανή	Μεγαρίς
Φαυστιανή	Ἰουλιανή
Διονυσιάς	Ἀντωνιανή

Study of the names has yielded some important, though not entirely unambiguous, clues for the historical development of the organization. Megaris and Thebais might be referred to the foundation of the city, under its former name Kieros, from Herakleia, herself a joint Megarian-Boiotian settlement.[4] If so, they are possibly, as *Landsmannschaftlich* units, survivals from the period of independence.[5] Dionysias has been associated with Thebais, but with equal likelihood Dörner adduced the occurrence of the god's name in certain Bithynian calendars.[6] Prousias is almost certainly early, for if it commemorates (as I think it must) Prousias I, under whom Kieros was brought into the territory of Bithynia and renamed Prousias, continuous existence from the time of, or soon after, the refoundation is likely. Thus at least three, possibly four, of the phylai would appear to antedate the Roman conquest.[7]

Of the remaining names, all Imperial, Sebastene (a unique variation on the common Sebaste), Tiberiane, Hadriane, Sabiniane, and Phaustiane (whether the eponym is the Elder or Younger Faustina is uncertain) require no exegesis. Germanike, attested too early to commemorate Caracalla ("Germanicus Maximus"), might refer to any of a number of personages officially titled Germanicus; Dörner suggested the elder son of Drusus.[8] Iouliane might honor either the Julian house generally or a specific individual, perhaps Caesar himself, who visited the court of Nikomedes in 81/0.[9] No less ambiguous, finally, is Antoniane. Either an Antonine (despite Dörner's claim to the contrary) or, as has been suggested, the triumvir Marcus Antonius—among other individuals—are possible candidates.[10]

The difficulties acknowledged, it remains of interest that on one selection of eponyms—Dörner's—a chronological pattern is discernible in the arrangement of the phylai in the honorary inscriptions. Whereas earlier scholars had assumed that the sequence proceeded

down the left-hand column, then down the right, Dörner observed that a left-to-right horizontal reading would yield the historically appropriate order Augustus-Tiberius-x-x-Germanicus-Hadrian-Sabina-x-Faustina.[11] For the position of Iouliane and Antoniane he had no satisfactory explanation, but it is obvious that, if they honor Caesar and Antony, they would in a rotation of the sequence immediately precede the phyle of Augustus. Possibly, propriety ordained that the Sebastene occupy the first position in the static order,[12] but in any "cycle" of the phylai the historically significant names would follow one another in chronological progression.

The twelve phylai, as noted, are usually represented in the honorary texts by twenty-four phylarchs, two to each phyle. Gschnitzer suggested that the officers comprised a board, headed by the *πρῶτος ἄρχων*, and that the board constituted the highest ruling or representative *collegium* of the city.[13] For an assured example of such a board in the region, see Nikomedeia (§3) and, elsewhere, Kyzikos (6 §28), Kyme? (7 §4), and Epidamnos (4 §2).

§3 Nikomedeia

Nine phylai, but no lower level division, are attested by epigraphic sources of Imperial date. Primary references are to F. K. Dörner, *TAM* IV, fasc. 1 (Vienna 1978).[1]

Ἀδριανή[2]	no. 40
Ἀντωνιανή	no. 329
Ἀσκληπιοῦ	*MAMA* III 263
Βαραδενδρομιανοί[3]	no. 100
Δία	no. 366
Δ[ίας---]	no. 327
Ἱερά	no. 258, lines 2 and 8
Πετρόζετοι	no. 60 (A.D. 98/99)
Πλωτεινιανή	no. 238
Ποσειδωνιάς	nos. 260 (= *CIG* II 3774); 299 (= *CIG* II 3775)
[Π]ο[σει]δ⟨ω⟩νιάς	no. 223 (= *CIG* II 3776)
[Ποσειδω]νιάς	no. 167

The "strong" territorial disposition of the organization is shown with certainty by the phrase *οἰκῶν ἐν φυλῇ Πετροζέτοις*, paralleled in the region at Nikaia (§4; see for discussion). A complication, however, is presented by the existence of *ἡ κώμη τῆς Πεντεφυλῆς* (no. 269). "Five phylai" within a single village, because so numerous, would

certainly have been personal, not territorial, in character. But the name could equally well allude to φῦλα, or "tribes," of various origin in a non-technical sense; or, if formed on the constitutional term φυλή, to an earlier, non-territorial organization. Vestiges of such φῦλα or φυλαί might be found in the local Asian names Baradendromianoi and Petrozetoi, which, unlike the others, have masculine plural "personal" terminations.[4]

Citation is made of several officers. The ἄρξας, nos. 40, 238, 260, 329?, and phylarch, nos. 42 (= *CIG* II 3773; *IGRR* III 7), 167, 205, 223 (= *CIG* II 3776), 258, 299, are, since they never occur in the same context, probably identical. Once attested is the γραμματεύς of the phyle Dia, no. 366. The remaining examples pertain to [οἱ φ]ύλαρχοι, who, as a group, honor a dignitary in no. 42.[5] Of the five different titles implied in lines 7-14, two, the γραμμ[ατεύς] and the αργυροταμίας, are sufficiently preserved for identification. For another possible instance of such a board of phylarchs, see Prousias-on-Hypios (§2), with the other examples assembled there.

Regarding corporately-held properties, while a dedication of an altar "on behalf of (the) phylai," no. 93, means little, another text, no. 100, records the granting by the *phylitai* (sic) of Baradendromianoi of "the *topos* for the (celebration) of festivals," evidently with reference to land owned by the unit.[6] Elsewhere, a treasury of substantial proportions is implied by a sepulchral inscription, no. 258. The owner, a former phylarch of Hiera, ordains that any violator of the tomb must pay a fine of 11,000 *denaria* to the polis and 10,500 *denaria* "to the phyle Hiera."

What further clues we have are confined to the names, for the most part of determinable meaning. Alluding to specific cults are Ἀσκληπιοῦ, Δία, Ποσειδωνιάς, and possibly Ἱερά. The last-mentioned name might, as J. and L. Robert have suggested, refer to the goddess Demeter.[7] Of apparently local origin and significance are the Baradendromianoi and Petrozetoi, both elsewhere unknown as public units. This leaves the phylai named in honor of members of the Imperial family, which alone provide indications of historical development. Hadriane was explained by Şahin as marking an expression of thanks for the Emperor's assistance to the city following a severe earthquake in the year A.D. 120. Ploteiniane, too, might be traced to this time, since, after Trajan's death in A.D. 117, Plotina received high honors from Hadrian, ending with her consecration ca. A.D. 121/2.[8] Finally, Ἀντωνιανή probably represents the contracted form of Ἀντωνινιανή, although it remains uncertain which of the Emperors so called the phyle will have commemorated.[9]

§4 Nikaia

Phylai disposed on a territorial basis, with membership determined by place of domicile, are unmistakably indicated by two epitaphs of Imperial date. In the one, S. Şahin, *Katalog der antiken Inschriften des Museums von Isnik* (*Nikaia*) I, *IGSK* 9 (Bonn 1979), no. 578, the builder of the tomb describes himself as ὑκῶν ἐν φυλῇ Σεβαστῇ. In the other, no. 554, one Aurelius Spoudasis Νικεεύ[ς], also the builder, is similarly designated οἰκῶν ἐν φυλῇ Αὐρηλιανῇ. The phyle Aureliane also honors a priest of the Emperor cult in an inscription dated to the end of the third century A.D., no. 64.[1] A third phyle, Dionysias, has been found in the isolated word Διονυσιάδος in a *cursus* dating from the reign of Hadrian, no. 56 (= Dessau, *ILS* 8867).[2]

The phrase "resident in phyle so-and-so" is unusual, the only parallel formulation occurring at nearby Nikomedeia (§3). At Athens (1 §1), a similar phrase is used to denote the deme of residence of metics. Because they were not citizens, they lacked the demotic, which passed by heredity in the male line regardless of place of domicile.[3] By analogy, the fact that at Nikaia the phrase is attached to the name of a man explicitly identified as a citizen (no. 554) should mean that the affiliation was not inheritable but could and did change with change of residence.[4]

Inscription no. 554 was discovered "eine Stunde westlich von Iznik. . . ." Dörner inferred that Aureliane could only have been a phyle of the countryside, not of the city proper.[5] This is of course not impossible, but against the inference is the fact that the same phyle's honorary inscription, no. 64, was discovered built into the city wall, presumably no great distance from the place of its original use. Concerning Sebaste, the precise original location of the epitaph, no. 578, appears not to be known.[6] Plainly, we are without even an approximate idea of the boundaries of these two phylai. Nor would the distinction between urban and rural phylai appear to be justified by this record.

The one clue concerning the history of the organization is provided by the name of the phyle Aureliane. Fredrich traced the creation of the unit to the year A.D. 272 when Aurelian, on the march against Palmyra, lingered in Bithynia.[7]

§5 Prousa

Ἡ φυλὴ Ἀντωνεῖνα honors one P. Aelius Neoptolemos, "its own *euergetes,*" paying for the monument "from its own funds," Le Bas-Waddington 1111. Though unique in form, the name of the phyle is best compared with the elsewhere-attested Ἀντωνεινιανή (Ephesos, 7 §11) and Ἀντωνιανή (Prousias-on-Hypios, §2; Nikomedeia, §3) and referred with them to an Antonine emperor: see J. and L. Robert, *Bull. Ép.* 1974, no. 577.

§6 Pergamon

Phylai are attested by hundreds of fragments of lists, almost certainly all of ephebes. Discovered in the excavation of the Gymnasium, all date to the period from the creation of the Roman province of Asia down to the end of the first century:[1] H. von Prott and W. Kolbe, *MDAI(A)* 27 (1902) 106-133, nos. 113-160 (no. 115 = M. Fraenkel, *Die Inschriften von Pergamon* II [Berlin 1895] 567 A; no. 127 = II 567 B; no. 132 = II 316; no. 135 = II 566); W. Kolbe, *MDAI(A)* 32 (1907) 415-469, nos. 272-405; P. Jacobsthal, *MDAI(A)* 33 (1908) 384-400, nos. 6-23 (no. 6 = *IGRR* IV 482); H. Hepding, *MDAI(A)* 35 (1910) 422-436, nos. 11-19. With little variation, the names—all singular and of feminine gender—stand in the genitive case immediately following the patronymic:

Ἀθηναΐς	Ἀτταλίς	Εὐμένεια (-ηα)	Μακαρίς
Αἰολίς	Διοδωρίς	Θηβαΐς	Πελοπίς
Ἀπολλωνιάς	Δωρίς[2]	Καδμηΐς	Τηλεφίς
Ἀσκληπιάς	Εὐβοΐς	Κριτωνίς	Φιλεταιρίς

Despite this large assortment of names, the most striking feature of the list is the absence of a unit seemingly guaranteed by an honorary inscription now dated between the years 86 and 69, *IGRR* IV 292.[3] By decree of the Boule and Demos, the distinguished Pergamene Diodoros, son of Herodes, Pasparos, is paid the signal honor of having a phyle created in his own name: *γενέσθαι δὲ καὶ φυλὴν αὐτοῦ ἐπώνυμον συγγενικὴν προσ/[ηγ]ορίαν [ἔ]χουσαν Πασπαρηίδα* (lines 36-37). The new phyle is to have the "hereditary appellation" Πασπαρηΐς. To deny that this means that the "appellation" was intended to be the name of the phyle would be perverse. Yet, amidst plentiful documentation, Πασπαρηΐς does not occur. Early editors, however, noted the presence of the phyle Diodoris and suggested that, after the passage of the decree, it was decided to depart from the original plan and to form the "appellation" on the nomen.[4] Diodoris, in any case, stands out among the gods, heroes, kings, and places that comprise the other eponyms and so demands an explanation itself. Why the change was made has yet to be explained, but it might well have something to do with the probable associations of the original choice for the name. According to Hesychios, s.v., Πασπάριος was an epithet of Apollo "among the Parians and Pergamenes." Obviously, a phyle Πασπαρηΐς, though intended to refer to Diodoros, might under these circumstances have called to the minds of many Pergamenes the local cult of Apollo. The problem would have been com-

pounded by the presence of the phyle Apollonias. With Diodoris, however, there could hardly be any ambiguity.[5]

What is the precise sense, and point, of *συγγενικὴν προσ[ηγ]ορίαν*? Hepding noted that the adjective, in association with the term *φυλή*, offered support for the theory that "the phylai were really *syngeneiai.*"[6] Since the word *syngeneia,* by its very derivation, points to a claim to descent from a common ancestor, Hepding's observation, if valid, would seriously challenge the view, argued throughout the present work, that neither the phyle nor any other segment of the *polis* that performed a substantial public function ever gives evidence of such an orientation. But the reading will not withstand scrutiny. The connection between the phyle and the adjective *συγγενικήν* is loose at best. Also, the adjective's supposed reference to the *terminus technicus συγγένεια* is forced. Besides, is not the point of our phrase that *Πασπαρηΐς* would be an "hereditary appellation"? That is, that Pasparos (in contrast to Diodoros) passed from generation to generation in the honorand's family? Descendants, even if not named Diodoros, would enjoy a special association with the new phyle.[7]

Fifteen phylai are currently known, and the large quantity of material from the Gymnasium should signify that the total number could not have been much higher. The question remains whether even the fifteen ever functioned simultaneously as a single system. As many as thirteen occur together in a single inscription, H. Hepding, *MDAI(A)* 35 (1910) 432-436, no. 19, col. I, but these thirteen include Diodoris, Attalis, Eumeneia, and Philetairis. Certainly the first-mentioned and possibly all four represent additions to an existing system rather than mere changes of name. Consequently, as few as ten phylai might plausibly be envisioned for the original organization, new units being added when the occasion of an extraordinary accolade, accession, or death demanded. But the circumstances under which such an organization might have come into existence remain, except for the weak *terminus ante quem* provided by the inscriptions, obscure.[8]

Turning, next, to the names, we find a medley of types. Their very diversity leaves quite uncertain the organization's disposition.[9] To the *Landsmannschaftlich* class belong at least seven examples, apparently reflecting traditions of early Greek contact with the region. Eubois and Thebais (and with the latter probably Kadmeis) allude in all likelihood to the Great Migrations.[10] Aiolis, if not simply "the phyle of the Aiolians," might commemorate Aiolos, the early leader of Greek colonists to the Asiatic coast.[11] The eponym of Makaris, accordingly, would be Makar or Makareus, Aiolos' son and the Thessalian founder-hero of Lesbos—the legend might easily have spread to the mainland opposite.[12] Similarly, Telephis perhaps recalls Telephos' exodus from Arkadia "into Asia;"[13] and, conversely, Pelopis, the Peloponnesian

hero's mythical origins in Phrygia.[14] Doris, in content comparable to Aiolis, remains subject to explanation as an abbreviation of (Διο)δωρίς.[15] Conforming to another well known type are three others, Apollonias, Asklepias, and Athenais, all presumably alluding to Pergamene cults. To them might be added Kritonis, which has been linked to a local hero.[16] The remainder commemorate the reigns of Pergamene kings (Philetairis, Attalis, and Eumeneia) and, again, the achievements of a prominent citizen (Diodoris).

Finally, a much discussed decree, once attributed to the port city of Elaia, M. Fraenkel, *Die Inschriften von Pergamon* II (Berlin 1895) no. 246 (= Michel 515; *OGIS* I 332), welcomes Attalos III on his return from a victorious campaign and sets out *inter alia* detailed instructions for a public celebration: "And the day on which he [Attalos] arrives in the city is to be sacred; and the citizens are to sacrifice in a mass *kata phylas* with the phylarchs furnishing the victims; and there is to be given to each phyle for the victims twenty drachmas from sacred and civic revenues . . ." (lines 38-42).[17] For the other known examples of such public sacrifices conducted by units, see Index II.H.3.

§7 Elaia

See Pergamon (§6) above, final paragraph.

LYDIA

§8 Magnesia-on-Sipylos

A small fragment of an honorary (?) inscription with lettering of the second century, T. Ihnten, *Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Sipylos, IGSK* 8 (Bonn 1978) no. 5 (= *CIG* II 3409), preserves the citation of a single phylarch in a genitive participial construction.[1]

§9 Sardeis

A passage from Herodotos and a number of inscriptions of Hellenistic and Imperial date attest the names of ten phylai. (Primary references to inscriptions, unless otherwise indicated, pertain to W. H. Buckler and D. M. Robinson, *Sardis* VII: *Greek and Latin Inscriptions,* part I, Leyden 1932):

Ἀλιβαλ[ίς]	no. 127 (ca. 45-35?)
Ἀσιάς	Herodotos, 4.45.3; Herrmann, *Denkschriften Ak. Wien* 77, no. 1 (1959) 7, no. 4; 7-8, no. 5 (from the same monument: Imperial)
Διονυσιάς	no. 12 (ca. A.D. 150); no. 126 (s. I)

Λεόντιοι	L. Robert, *Nouvelles inscriptions de Sardes* (Paris 1964) 45-47, no. 6 (post A.D. 212?)
Μασδ[ν]ίς	no. 125 (ca. 100-75)[1]
Μερμνάς	no. 124 (init. s. I)
φυ. Μορ(...?)	no. 186 §15
Πελοπίς	Sardis inv. no. IN 62.41 (before 133 [or 100])[2]
φυ. Συλ(...?)	no. 186 §9, 10
Τυμωλίς	no. 34 (= *CIG* II 3451; *IGRR* IV 1503) (reign of Tiberius)
Τμωλίς	G.M.A. Hanfmann and N. H. Ramage, *Sculpture from Sardis: the Finds through 1975* (Cambridge, Mass. and London 1978) 146, no. 211 (Hellenistic?)

With the exception of Leontioi (see below), all the names have been shown, or are suspected, to be of local, "Asian" origin.[3] Attempting to settle a dispute concerning the derivation, Greek or Lydian, of the name of the continent of Asia, Herodotos defends as the eponym the Lydian Ἀσίης, son of Kotys and grandson of Manes, "after whom," he adds, "the phyle at Sardeis was called Ἀσιάς" (4.45.3). Dionysias, paralleled at Prousias-on-Hypios (§2), may represent, as Hanfmann suggests, the "Lydian equivalent" *Bakivalis*.[4] The restoration Μασδ[ν]ίς, in preference to the Μασδ[υ]ίς (or Μασδ[ω]ίς) of the *Sardis* VII editors, was argued by Robert with reference to numerous local onomastic parallels.[5] Mermnas, of course, alludes to the ancient Lydian/Sardian royal house. Pelopis, which also occurs as a phyle at Pergamon (§6), probably reflects the tradition tracing Pelops' origins to Phrygia.[6] Tymolis bears some uncertain relation to either the Tymolos River, the nearby town of the same name, or (most likely) their common eponym. But Alibalis and the conjecturally filled-out Συλ(ειάς) and Μορ(στάς) must remain for the present doubtful, although their local affinities can hardly be questioned.[7]

Leontioi, known from a statement of affiliation in a single votive inscription from the synagogue, is exceptional with regard to both the form and content of the name. Robert, adducing the frequent associations of the name Leontios and of the lion with Jews and Judaism, identified the phyle as "une adaptation hellénisante de la tribu de Juda."[8] Even if we grant the correctness of this conclusion, the crucial question remains: Were the Leontioi also a phyle in the constitutional sense?[9] After all, such a unit would not differ materially from the *Landsmannschaftlich* phylai frequently encountered elsewhere. Jews attain Sardian citizenship, even membership on the Council.[10] Why,

then, should they not have participated in government as a discrete segment of the public organization? Dogmatic replies one way or the other would only beg one of the central questions posed by the present study. Sadly, the record for statewide functions of the Sardian phylai is too slender to permit an informed reply.

Of the known functions, only one example, strictly speaking, belongs to the statewide category. Inscribed imbrex tiles found in the excavation of the Temple of Artemis, no. 186, might, if correctly linked to the public organization, indicate in the three cited instances the contribution of labor or financial support or both on the part of the phylai in question.[11] All other evidence represents the internal activity of the associations. Honors are conferred upon a tribune by a phyle, the name of which is not preserved (no. 56); and upon the Emperor Hadrian by Tymolis "from its own funds" (no. 34). The latter may be one of a series of similar monuments erected by each of the phylai, as the editors suggest. Funerary inscriptions identifying the deceased by phyle account for a half dozen attestations: lids of urns (no. 124; Sardis inv. no. IN 62.41), cinerary vases (nos. 125-127), and the grave monument published by Herrmann (nos. 4 and 5). The earlier attestation of Tymolis occurs on a marble drum: near the top stands the inscription φυλῆς Τμωλίδος; below, a sculptured relief of the river god Tmolos. Also architectural, but on a vastly higher order of magnitude, is the final source, no. 12, which reads: "the phyle Dionysias built for itself with its own funds the stoa and the exedra with the two-storey storage room therein and with a second storage room underground in the adjoining garden belonging to the phyle." The independent undertaking of a project of such dimensions by a single phyle is paralleled in the region only at Mylasa (7 §19), where the phyle Otorkondeis solicits funds for the construction of a stoa in the sanctuary of Zeus Otogos. Yet, however rare, the evidence speaks clearly. Around mid-second century A.D., the Sardian phylai enjoyed substantial material independence.

The inscription honoring the tribune, no. 56, closes: ἐπιμεληθέντων Θεοφίλου τοῦ/ Ἀλεξάνδρου τορευτοῦ, φυλαρχοῦντος/ Κλάρου τοῦ Παπίου. Because the initial participle is plural, the phylarch may have been cited only for his part in the "superintendance" of the monument. But, if the phylarch was an annual officer, his name may have been included to date the text as well, as the editors suggest.

Historically, the Sardian case is of great importance, for the evidence of Herodotos shows the existence in the fifth century of a phyle not elsewhere attested until the Imperial period.[12]

§10 Philadelpheia

CIG II 3422 (= Le Bas-Waddington 648; *IGRR* IV 1632) records the conferral of honors. The benefactions had included the establishing of endowments . . .φυλαῖς ἑπτὰ ταῖς ἑστακύαις/τοὺς ἀνδριάντας πρὸς δηνάρια χείλια, . . ." ("for [the] seven phylai, which erected the statues valued at one thousand *denaria*") (18-19, 25-27). The honoring party, presumably one of the seven, is ἡ ἱερὰ φυλὴ τῶν ἐριουργῶν (28). In a second text, Le Bas-Waddington 656, Flavius Aurelius Hephaistion is lauded in accordance with the decree of the Boule and Demos by ἡ ἱερὰ φυλὴ τῶν σκυτέων. Among organizations documented by contemporary sources, the only parallel—an inexact one—comes from Rhodes (5 §42), where an inscription of the first century reveals a theatrical troupe internally organized by phylai. Yet these phylai manifestly play no part in any known Rhodian organization. What are we to make of the examples from Philadelpheia?

Though divergent in other respects, scholarly opinion is at one in characterizing our phylai as "guilds." Ramsay argued that city organization by division into guilds had originated in the pre-Greek era and in some locales survived into Classical times, either as the sole classification of citizens (as at Philadelpheia), or alongside a later, Greek organization by phylai.[1] Szanto, while not addressing the (in any case, imponderable) question of origins,[2] denied that the term φυλή signified "eine staatliche Unterabteilung;" instead, the phylai were "Zünfte," which resembled phylai to the extent that they formed their own "Stadtviertel" and together made up "das Volk."[3] Jones, however, went further in claiming that in some cities, including Philadelpheia, the public organizations were based on the guilds, with citizenship accordingly confined to their memberships.[4] But this position gives rise to the difficulty, recognized by Magie, that non-guildsmen would be without the franchise.[5] Besides, elsewhere, e.g. Smyrna (7 §6), Ephesos (7 §11), Akmoneia (§18), and Laodikeia-on-Lykos (§22), guilds and phylai are found coexisting alongside one another.[6] By chance, perhaps, the true public organization of Philadelpheia is unattested. Yet the fact remains that the word φυλή is used to denote these associations. Their documented activities, the erection of statues and the conferral of honors, are widely paralleled by indubitably public phylai elsewhere. We must leave open the possibility that government, such as it was, devolved upon the seven "guilds," and that the transfer of authority was marked by the transfer of the appropriate technical terminology.

§11 Nysa

A series of decrees of the reign of Antoninus Pius (A.D. 137-161) praising T. Aelius Alkibiades, M. Clerc, *BCH* 9 (1885) 124-131, cites

the honorand's distribution of gifts *κατὰ φυλὰς καὶ συ[ν]/έδρια καὶ συμμορίας* (lines B 23-25). Regarding the *synedrion,* elsewhere attested as a public unit, and the *symmoria,* which plays a public role at Teos (7 §9), no further details are at hand. Of the phylai, however, other inscriptions of Imperial date provide the following names:

Ἀγριππηΐς Ἀντιοχίς	W. Kubitschek and W. Reichel, *AAWW* 30 (1893) 92-93, no. 1
Γερμανι⟨κὶ⟩ς[1] *Σελευκίς*	G. Perrot, *RA* 31 (1876) 282-283, no. 13
Καισάρηος	*CIG* II 2947
Ὀκταβία [Ἀ]πολλωνίς[2]	*CIG* II 2948
Σεβαστὴ Ἀθηναΐς	W. M. Ramsay, *BCH* 7 (1883) 269-270, no. 13

The last three texts cited are, except for the phyle, identical. Each phyle honors P. Aelius Alkibiades, *cubicularius Hadriani.*[3] To a different category belong the other two inscriptions, also identical except for the phyle. One Antonius Agathemeros dedicates, on a column, "the Eros . . . to the *πατρίς* and the phyle." Presumably all the Nysan phylai were originally represented by both sets of monuments.

Recalling the phyle *Ha[d]riana Herculana* at Ikonion in Lykaonia (§36), the double denominations of the phylai provide sure evidence, as commentators have noticed, of a major epoch in the organization's development. To the earlier arrangement probably belong Antiochis, with certainty to be referred to Antiochos I, the founder of Nysa;[4] Seleukis, which in all likelihood commemorates Seleukos I, Antiochos' father and founder of the Seleukid house; and both Athenais and [A]pollonis, the latter, like the former, as argued by L. Robert, to be associated with local cult—not with the Attalid queen, Apollonis.[5] Names such as these point to a Hellenistic origin for the earlier organization.[6] By contrast, of the remaining names—*Καισάρηος* and the four prefixed additions—all save *Γερμανι⟨κί⟩ς* can with high probability be linked to the reign of Augustus. If it is assumed that the Augustan names came into use at the same time, somewhat narrower chronological limits for the remodeling of the phylai are ascertainable. The creation of Sebaste cannot have been earlier than the year 27; and Agrippeis and Oktabia presumably predate, or follow soon upon, the deaths of Agrippa and of Octavia, Augustus' sister, in 12 and 11.[7] Perhaps, then, as Boeckh suggested, the new names reflect the Emperor's activity in the neighborhood in 26, when nearby Tralleis, stricken by an earthquake, was assisted by Rome.[8] A phyle Germanikis,

necessarily of considerably later date, might have had any of a number of Imperial eponyms. At Prousias-on-Hypios (§2), it has been suggested that the phyle Γερμανική alludes to the elder son of Drusus.

§12 Seleukeia (earlier Tralleis)

Seleukeia, earlier Tralleis, entered into isopolity with Miletos in 212/211 according to a treaty, *Milet* I 3, no. 143 (= *Staatsverträge* III 537). The document sets out procedures for reciprocal enrollment in the two organizations. Seleukeian citizens, when presenting themselves at Miletos, are to give their name, father's name, and phyle (lines 25-27). Milesians applying for enrollment at Seleukeia are to be assigned to the phyle of their choice (59-60). The name of a single phyle is preserved in a fragmentary citizenship decree, A. E. Kontoleon, *BCH* 10 (1886) 516, no. 4 (n.d.). The decree ends with a statement of the result of the allotment: Ἔλαχε φυλὴ Περιληΐς (lines 5-6).

§13 Saittai

In the stadium, still only partially exposed to view, certain of the seats at a point near a gangway are inscribed with the words φυ(λῆς) Ἀσκληπιάδος and φυ(λῆς) Διονυσιάδος. Presumably other seats, as excavation may one day confirm, bear the names of other phylai. Although division of the cavea by public unit is relatively common in theaters (see Index II.I.6), I know of no other example involving a stadium. For the texts, with discussion, see P. Herrmann, "Ergebnisse einer Reise in Nordostlydien," *Denkschriften Ak. Wien* 80 (1962) 13.

PHRYGIA

§14 Dorylaion

Eight inscriptions of the early third century A.D., each in the name of a different phyle, honor the same (deceased) dignitary, C. Voconius Aelius Stratonicus Acamantius. The eight phylai are:[1]

φυλὴ Ἀκερσεκόμου (= Ἀπολλωνιάς)	*IGRR* IV 527 (= A. Koerte, *MDAI*[*A*] 20 [1895] 16)
φ[υλὴ] Ἀρτεμισιάς[2]	A. Koerte, *MDAI*(*A*) 25 (1900) 425-426, no. 42
φυλέται οἱ Δείας εἶναι ἀγαλλόμενοι	A. Koerte, *GGA* 159 (1897) 400-401, no. 45
φυλῶν ἡ πρώτη Μητρωάς	A. Koerte, *GGA* 159 (1897) 400, no. 44

φυλέται οἱ Παφίης	T. Preger, *MDAI(A)* 19 (1894) 309, no. 5
Ποσειδῶνος φυλή	A. Koerte, *GGA* 159 (1897) 400, no. 46
Σεβαστὴ φυλή	*IGRR* IV 526 (= T. Preger, *MDAI*[*A*] 19 [1894] 308-309, no. 4)
φυλὴ Σεραπιάς	*IGRR* IV 525

All alluding to a divinity, the names present some peculiarities. The unique 'Ακερσεκόμου ("of the one with unshorn hair")[3] and Παφίης ("of the Paphian")[4] are well known epithets of Apollo and Aphrodite; appearing in versified texts, they are appropriate poetic synonyms for the usual titles 'Απολλωνιάς and 'Αφροδισιάς. For the same reason, the "phyle of Poseidon" may in fact represent Ποσειδωνιάς. Δεία is paralleled by Δία at Nikomedeia (§3), but the adjectival Διάς, exampled at Magnesia-on-Maiandros (7 §13), remains a possibility.[5] Μητρωάς, recalling the phyle Μητροΐς at Smyrna (7 §6), terms itself "the first of the phylai," possibly with reference to an official order of precedence: the phyle of Mother Earth would be a suitable candidate to head the list.[6] Neither the relative positions, nor even the total number, of the remaining phylai, however, can at present be determined. Σεραπιάς, finally, is noteworthy as the only public unit known to be named in honor of this very popular divinity.

References are made throughout the texts to members serving in one administrative capacity or another, and in some cases a regular office is certain or to be suspected. The φυλαρχῶν διὰ βίου of Deia—the only phylarch cited—is without question one such officer.[7] Twice a single γραμματεύων is named (Metroas, Serapias), in another instance, two (Deia). Four of the texts record the names of individuals designated by forms of the verb ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, either finite (phyle 'Ακερσεκόμου) or participial (Artemisias, Deia, and Metroas). Elsewhere a single person, the phyle Metroas appoints two ἐπιμεληθέντες. Secretary and Caretaker undoubtedly correspond to the regular titles γραμματεύς and ἐπιμελητής in use in other states. This leaves the ἐκδικῶν, who is merely cited without indication of function in the text of Serapias. If in fact an officer of the phyle, the post would seem to be paralleled only in a (similarly uncommunicative) text from Philippopolis (6 §8).

Although the texts vary widely in content and phrasing, four (viz. of the phylai Deia, Metroas, of Poseidon, and Sebaste) agree in mentioning the εἰκών furnished by the phyle in honor of the deceased. Presumably, all the phylai were so represented, with the statues standing in a group at the honorand's tomb. Even so, the striking individual

character of the inscriptions remains, serving as a reminder that unanimity of purpose or action by a state's public units need not necessarily indicate a total absence of independent expression.

§15 Nakoleia

An inscription of Imperial date, *MAMA* V 204, records the conferral of honors by the φυλὴ ι' Παρθε̣ν[ιάς]. The interpretation expressed in this word division requires us to regard Parthenias as the Tenth in an official order of the Nakoleian phylai. However, the solitary attestation of just this "numeral," iota, gives rise to the suspicion that the letter is really part of the nominative termination of the preceding word, i.e. φυλήι. For an assured example of this *koine* orthography, see Bithynion-Claudiopolis (§1), and, for another, ambiguous as in the present case, Sillyon (§30).

The recipient of the phyle's accolade is described as "their own γραμματεύς and εὐεργέτης," the former an official post, the latter possibly recalling an earlier official bestowal of the title by the association. The text closes with citation of the ἐπιμελετεύων [τῆς] φυλῆς, evidently an ἐπιμελητής, another officer, here entrusted with the production and erection of the monument.

The phyle takes its name from the Parthenios River, on which the city was situated.

§16 Amorion

A φυλὴ Διός is reported, without reference to a publication, by W. M. Ramsay, *JHS* 38 (1918) 185, note 145.

§17 Aizanoi

Two phylai honor a public dignitary in identical inscriptions:

Ἀδρι[ανή]	W. Günther, *Istanbuler Forschungen* 26 (1976) 111-115
Ἡρακλεάς	*IGRR* IV 586 (= *CIG* III 3831 a 13; Le Bas-Waddington 842)

The former text ends with a clause indicating that the person superintending (ἐπιμεληθέντος) was the phylarch. The latter text breaks off part way through the first word: ἐπιμεληθέν/[τος---]. In a third text, a small fragment, Le Bas-Waddington 880 (= *CIG* III 3841, i), the (entire) clause (with the addition of a second name) is alone preserved.

§18 Akmoneia

Two phylai are attested in honorary inscriptions of Imperial date:

[Ἀρτε]μεισιάς	*IGRR* IV 642
[Ἀρ]τ[ε]μι[σ]ιάδος	W. M. Ramsay, *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* (Oxford 1895 and 1897) 641, no. 532
Ἀσκληπιάς	*MAMA* VI 266 (= *CIG* III 3858 d; Ramsay, *Cities* 640, no. 531; *IGRR* IV 653)

Of the three texts, the second and third record honors by the πατρίς for the same man, T. Flavius Priscus Vibianus, the two phylai individually assuming the burden of the erection of the monument. Presumably, the other, unknown Akmoneian phylai similarly participated.

In the first inscription, honors are conferred "by general decree" in the names of "the Boule, the Demos, the Gerousia, and (the) phyle Artemeisias." Again, a series of texts representing all the phylai is to be assumed.

The texts honoring Vibianus close with citation of the ἐπιμεληθείς, who may be an officer entitled ἐπιμελητής.

An inscription from a "great tomb" consisting of several fragments, *MAMA* VI 254,[1] may, as restored, honor Nero, with the honoring parties including "twelve phylai." Wholly conjectural, the restoration is nonetheless consistent with the evidence just reviewed.

§19 Bria

A very fragmentary inscription of the late second or early third century A.D., probably sepulchral, J. G. C. Anderson, *JHS* 17 (1897) 416-417, no. 18, consists largely of a *cursus* of distinctions. Among them is εὐ/[δοξοτάτου β]ουλευτοῦ/[φυλῆς β'?---] (lines 4-6). The restoration hardly merits further attention.

§20 Eumeneia

Eight phylai can be read or restored in a number of sepulchral and honorary texts of Imperial date:

Ἀδριανίς	W. M. Ramsay, *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* (Oxford 1895 and 1897) 522-523, no. 364 (= *JRS* 16 [1926] 80-82, no. 204)
Ἀθηναΐς	Ramsay, *Cities* 379, no. 208 (= *CIG* II 3902 d)
Ἀπολλωνίς	W. M. Calder, *Anatolian Studies* 5 (1955) 38

Ἀργειάς	T. Drew-Bear, *Nouvelles inscriptions de Phrygie* (Zutphen 1978) 79-80, no. 11 (= Ramsay, *Cities* 378, no. 206); Drew-Bear, op. cit., 87-89, no. 21 (= Ramsay, *Cities* 379, no. 207); Ramsay, *Cities* 530, no. 378
Ἀρτεμεισιάς	Drew-Bear, op. cit., 70-72, no. 4; 73-74, no. 6. (reign of Caracalla)
[Δημ]ητριάς	Drew-Bear, op. cit., 72-73, no. 5 (= W. H. Buckler, W. M. Calder, and C. W. M. Cox, *JRS* 16 [1926] 71, no. 196)
Διονυσιάς?	*MAMA* IV 335 (restored by Drew-Bear, op. cit., 71-72)
Ἡραῖς	Drew-Bear, op. cit., 106-107, no. 45 (= Ramsay, *Cities* 519, no. 357); Ramsay, *Cities* 519, no. 358; *MAMA* IV 358

Regarding the names, the phylai of Athena, Artemis, Demeter, Dionysias, and Hera are of self-evident reference. More particularly, both the last-mentioned example and Argeias probably allude to the claim, implicit in the phrase Ἀχαιοὶ Εὐμενεῖς, of ultimate descent from the people of Argos.[1] The likelihood that the foundation legend is to be associated with Hadrian's establishment of the Panhellenion suggests, further, that both phylai, as well as Hadrianis itself, were instituted in the time of, or soon after, his reign.[2] Apollonis, notwithstanding the presence of five unquestioned divine eponyms, conceivably commemorates not Apollo (for which, elsewhere, the form in use is frequently Apollonias), but Apollonis, mother of Attalos II, the founder of Eumeneia.[3] If so, in this phyle there would be reason to believe that we have a survival of the original organization.

With three exceptions, the attestations are accounted for by sepulchral inscriptions identifying the owner(s) by phyle. Of the exceptions, one, Drew-Bear no. 6, is a statue base inscribed with honors conferred on a Eumeneian, in accordance with the decree of the Boule and Demos, by ἡ ἱερωτάτη φυλὴ Ἀρτεμεισιάς. The two others, Drew-Bear nos. 4 and 5, also statue bases, carry nearly identical accolades for the same patron in the names of ἡ ἱερωτάτη Ἀρτεμεισιάς and ἡ ἱερωτάτη καὶ φιλοσέβαστος φυλὴ Δημητριάς. Presumably, as suggested by Drew-Bear, similar statues with appropriate inscriptions were erected by the other phylai—in all likelihood at the direction of the Boule and Demos.[4]

In Drew-Bear no. 5, just mentioned, citation is made of the phylarch, by whom the statue was erected. No other officer is known, unless, following Boeckh's punctuation of *CIG* III 3902 d (= Ramsay, *Cities* 379, no. 208), the term σημειογράφος ("shorthand writer") be taken

not with the preceding proper name, but closely with the words "of the phyle Athenais."

§21 Hierapolis

Excavation of the theater, constructed in the late second or early third century A.D., has brought to light a series of inscriptions apportioning the seating among the city's phylai. According to the report published by Kolb in 1974,[1] the inscriptions then known are distributed by section (*κερκίς*) and row as follows:

section and row	phylai
1	(unexcavated)
2, row 13	φυλῆς Εὐμεν[ίδος]
3, row 11	φυ[λ]ῆς Ṣελęυ[κίδος]
row 13	[φ]ṵλῆς [Λα]οδ[ικίδ]ος
4, row 11	φṵλ[ῆς] 'Aτ[τ]αλίδος
row 13	φυλῆς [.2-3]ṵα[.]ọλ[---]
5, row 2	πρώ(της) [φυλῆς 'Απο]λλωνιάδος
row 21	πṛώ(της) φυλῆς 'Απολλω[νιάδος]
6, row 11	[φ]ṵλῆς [Στρατο]ṵικίδ[ος]
7	(no inscription found)
8, row 11	φυλῆς ΣΕΙΛΑ[---]?
9, row 13	φυλῆς ['Αντι]οχίδος

From the fact that in each of the better preserved sections at least one inscription was found in combination with the presence of two different phylai in both the third and fourth sections, it is a virtually certain inference that, as Kolb saw, the first and seventh sections would, if fully known, add at least two more, bringing the total number to eleven. Kolb ventured that the organization was in fact twelvefold, citing Sartori's discussion of this common, widespread division.[2] But the doubling of phylai in the third and fourth sections suggests the possibility of a symmetrical disposition in the sixth and seventh opposite, giving not twelve, but thirteen phylai.[3] Accordingly, it seems best, pending the completion of the excavation, to withhold final judgment on the number of divisions.

Occupying the central, fifth section, presumably the best seating, was the "first phyle Apollonias." The ordinal probably pertains, as Kolb suggests, to an official order, although, as he concedes, the arrangement of the other phylai reveals no hint of ranking elsewhere in the organization.[4] For similar isolated occurrences of the "first" phyle, see Traianopolis (6 §5) and, within the region, Dorylaion (§14).

A detailed study of the names of the phylai was undertaken by Kolb, and for present purposes it is sufficient merely to cite the results of his research. Certainly, the major finding was his realization that the dynastic names [Ἀντι]οχίς, [Λα]οδ[ικίς], Ṣελęυ[κίς], and perhaps [Στρατο]ṇικίς (depending upon the identity of the eponym), if correctly restored, prove that Hierapolis was a Seleukid, not (as some had previously thought) an Attalid foundation. Seleukis Kolb associates with the creator of the dynasty, Seleukos I Nikator (rather than with any of his less distinguished successors); Laodikis, with his mother Laodike. These phylai will have come into existence upon the founding of the city by either Antiochos I or II, after whom, in turn, will have been named Antiochis. To these might be added Stratonikis, if its eponym is not Stratonike, wife of Eumenes II and (later) Attalos II, but the wife of the same name of Seleukos I and Antiochos I. For Apollonias, too, a Seleukid origin is likely if, following Robert, we refer the name not to Apollonis, wife of Attalos I, but to Apollo Pythios. The divinity often plays the role of *archegetes* in Seleukid foundations.[5]

By contrast, Attalis, Eumenis, and possibly Stratonikis (see above), must postdate the battle of Magnesia in 190, after which Hierapolis passed into Pergamene control. Among possible candidates for the former two phylai Kolb prefers Attalos I and Eumenes I on the strength of Hansen's observation that Attalid kings were normally deified immediately following their deaths.[6] Since Eumenes had died in 241, Attalos in 197, the names of the two dynasts will have been available for immediate use by the new Pergamene colonists. Except for the possible later addition of an Attalid Stratonikis, the organization as we have it may have reached completion still early in the second century.

The two remaining, very fragmentary names (section 4, row 13; section 8, row 11) are compatible neither with any of the other phylai from the theater nor with any recognizable dynastic or divine eponym.[7] Accordingly, one might reasonably suggest that both are of local origin and significance. Such "local" phylai have long been suspected to lurk in three funerary texts, all of the fourth century A.D. or later, W. Judeich, in C. Humann et al., *Alterthümer von Hierapolis* (Berlin 1898) 97, no. 70; 100-101, no. 81; and 175, no., 344.[8] In each the owner of the tomb is identified by a feminine singular proper name in the genitive case:

Μαιλου[ῖ]δος	no. 70
Μαμωλήδος Ἱερα[πολείτῃ]	no. 81
Μοταλίδος	no. 344

None of the three, Kolb noted, can be reconciled with either of the fragmentary phylai from the theater.[9] There of course remains the possibility—a remote one—that just these names were originally inscribed in unexcavated or damaged sections of the cavea. But a more probable explanation is prompted by the fact that the epitaphs postdate the inscriptions from the theater—on Kolb's showing, contemporary with the building's construction[10]—by at least a century. This opens up the possibility of a reform whereby new phylai might have been added or old phylai given new names. The Attalid names demonstrate the possibility of such additions or modifications at an earlier date; and it could well be that by the time of the later Empire the relics of Hellenistic dynasts (and of their wives) counted for little in Roman Phrygia. Since in one instance, no. 81, the citizen status of the affiliated person is explicitly indicated, we should continue, with Judeich and others, to regard the names, patently of local origin, as designations of three, in all probability later, phylai.[11] Meanwhile, the two phylai from the theater remain unexplicated.

§22 Laodikeia-on-Lykos

Five phylai are at present known from inscriptions of Imperial date:[1]

Ἀθηναΐς	W. M. Ramsay, *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* (Oxford 1895 and 1897) 542-543, no. 409 (ca. A.D. 220-250)
Ἀπολλωνίς	Ramsay, *Cities* 74, no. 7
Ἀτ[τ]αλίς	*MAMA* VI 17 (= J. G. C. Anderson, *JHS* 17 [1897] 408-409, no. 10)
Ἰάς	*MAMA* VI 18 (ca. A.D. 225)
Λαοδικίς	Ramsay, *Cities* 75, no. 9

That the total number of phylai stood at twelve has been conjectured in the restoration of still another inscription, *CIG* III 3938 (= *IGRR* IV 863; Ramsay, *Cities* 74, no. 8), by W. H. Buckler, *JHS* 56 (1936) 78-79, no. 1. Here the honoring party appears as: α[ἰ τῆς νε]/ῳκόρου [μητροπό] / [λεως] τῆ[ς] Ἀσίας/Λαοδ(ι)καίων / [πόλεως δώδεκα?] / [φυλαί]. Were it not for the preservation of the alpha interpreted by Buckler as the initial letter of the definite article, it is obvious that the restoration would be entirely without support from Chisull's copy (*CIG*, loc. cit.).

Regarding functions, twice the phyle is cited with the name of the owner of a tomb, as often in Asia Minor (Ramsay, *Cities* nos. 9 and 409). All remaining testimony pertains to the Laodikeian Council. A

statue base preserves the name of a dedicator (or honoring party) as "the Attalis phyle of the *bouleutai.*" Elsewhere, "the phyle Apollonis of the Boule" and "the Ias phyle of the *bouleutai*" are cited in sepulchral inscriptions as the recipients of *stephanotika,* or endowments earmarked for the annual decoration of the grave. Lastly, the erection of Attalis' statue was undertaken by "the πρύτανις of the phyle" (op. cit., lines 4-8). Together, these details reveal an imitation of earlier Greek constitutional practice with respect to the composition of the Boule by phylai and to the regular rotation of the presidency of the body among the several contingents of *phyletai,* here, as at Athens and other places, called *prytaneis.*[2]

Of the names, Laodikis probably dates to the foundation by Antiochos II (261-246), taking its name from his wife Laodike, after whom the city itself was called.[3] Ias might be of similar antiquity if, as Robert has argued, it recalls the Ionian origins of a segment of the population.[4] By contrast, Attalis can only date from the acquisition of the city by Pergamon in 188, although this does not necessitate that Apollonis refer, as some commentators have assumed, to Apollonis, wife of Attalos I and mother of Eumenes II. Rather, as suggested by Robert, it might with equal likelihood be associated with the cult of Apollo, the traditional *archegetes* of Seleukid foundations.[5] Similarly, Athenais probably alludes to the divinity, although the possibility remains that it, like Ias, somehow embodies a fact or belief regarding early colonists, in this case from Athens.[6]

§23 Apollonia (later Sozopolis)

Two identical inscriptions probably postdating the Constitutio Antoniana, J. G. C. Anderson, *JHS* 18 (1898) 98, no. 39, name as the builders of the monument two sons of one Alexander, whose affiliation is given as . . . πολιτε(υομένου) φυλῆς Βενέτων. What is the status of this phyle? Anderson suggested that these Βένετοι are the "Blue Faction" of the Roman circus. I know of no comparable ancient use of the term φυλή, although, perhaps significantly, δῆμος, as Cameron has shown, does eventually acquire just this meaning.[1] Alternatively, Anderson referred the phyle to "the Thrako-Illyrian name Βένετοι."

PISIDIA

§24 Amblada

From honorary inscriptions of Imperial date we learn of phylai and of a lesser unit, very likely a subdivision. That even this much can be established we owe largely to the perceptive analysis of J. and L. Robert. Showing how the one fairly explicit text, A. S. Hall, *Anatolian Studies* 18 (1968) 79, no. 26, could be used as a model for the inter-

pretation of the two others, they reconstruct the relevant words of the preambles as follows:[1]

Φ. Ἡρακλέους δεκανοὶ δ' Ἀμβροσίας	Φ. Ἡρακλέ-ως δ' Ἀρετῆς	Φ. Ἄρεως δ' Μη-τρὸς Πυλέας
(Hall, op. cit., 79, no. 26)	(Hall, op. cit., 79-80, no. 27)	(J. Keil, *Denkmäler aus Lykaonien, Pamphylien, und Isaurien* [Vienna 1935] no. 77)

According to the Roberts' reconstruction, the honoring parties are in all three texts the four *dekanoi,* who are once named by title, in the two other cases simply designated by the numeral delta. The phyle, if in the genitive, will be the phyle of their affiliation; if in the dative, the phyle "for which" they bestowed the honors. Styled by the Roberts *decuriones quattuorviri,* the boards are affiliated with Ambrosia, Arete, and Mother of the Gates. The first may allude to Ambrosia, the nurse of Dionysos and so appropriate to a city famous for its medicinal wine. The second is of uncertain reference and significance. The third possibly recalls the cult of a local Earth divinity protecting some gate of the city.[2] This last identification might suggest, as the Roberts note, a unit organized on a territorial basis. In that case, since both Ambrosia and Arete are associated with the ph(yle) of Herakles, the phylai might have been still larger territorial entities, which wholly comprehended the units.

§25 Vasada

On a fortified akropolis situated near Dereköy and in all probability lying within the territory of ancient Vasada was found an altar bearing the inscription Φυλῆς Σεβαστῆς: J. Jüthner, F. Knoll, K. Patsch, H. Swoboda, *Vorläufiger Bericht über eine archäologische Expedition nach Kleinasien* (Prague 1903) 19.

§26 Termessos

Four phylai, each designated by a non-Greek personal eponym, occur, in all but one instance as the honoring parties in laudatory inscriptions. Three of the texts are identical dedications of statues of Hadrian, *TAM* II 1, nos. 38, 39, and 40, each in the name of a different phyle (viz. nos. 38 and 39; in no. 40 the phyle is lost) and so probably representing the simultaneous act of the entire organization. In two others, nos. 57 and 121, a priest of Apollo (no. 121) and his wife (no. 57) are honored by individual phylai. Exceptionally, no. 864 is an

inscription on the lintel of the doorway of a building, reading Φυλῆς Ορβλητος.

phyle (eponym in genitive)	*TAM* II 1
Ἰδαλωγβάσιος	38 (= *IGRR* III 428; Lanckoronski II, no. 45)[1] (A.D. 129-138); 57 (= Lanckoronski II, no. 10) (Imperial)
Μαραμοτου	121 (Imperial)
Μερλαστου	39 (A.D. 129-138)
Ορβλητος	864 (= Lanckoronski II, no. 15) (n.d.)
phyle not preserved	40 (= *IGRR* III 427; Lanckoronski II, no. 50) (A.D. 129-138)

In no. 121, the honorand is called τὸν ἀρχιφυλέτην. Glossed *princeps tribus* in the *TAM* commentary, the distinction "best of the *phyletai*" probably alludes to the grounds for the phyle's decision to honor one of its members.

Study of the eponyms of the phylai has shown them in three of four cases to be personal names.[2] For Μαραμοτου no specific comparative material has been adduced by editors. For other examples of phylai with such personal eponyms, see Plataseis (7 §25), Stratonikeia (7 §26), and Kibyra (§27).

KIBYRATIS

§27 Kibyra

Seven statue bases dated to the year A.D. 73, E. Petersen and F. von Luschan, *Reisen im südwestlichen Kleinasien* II (Vienna 1889) 187-189, nos. 242-248, carry inscriptions recording the bestowal of honors by five individual phylai. Two dignitaries—brothers—are involved, and up to three of the phylai have erected a separate statue for each. Placed in the theater, the statues appeared to be connected in some way with the division of the seating area (the number of known phylai, for example, corresponds to the number of *kerkides* below the *diazoma*), but problems of detail remained that could not be solved.[1] Regarded by the editors as the full number, the five phylai are:[2]

Σ[ίμου?] Πανκράτου	242 a (= *CIG* III 4380 a; LeBas-Waddington 1213 A; *IGRR* IV 915 a)
Πλάτωνος Καλλικλέους [τρί]ς	243, 248
Μουσαίου Κάστορος	244 (restored), 246

Σιμόρκου [υἱοῦ] Τιβερίου Σιμόρκου 247
Καλλικλέους Τιβερίου Σιμόρκου υἱοῦ 245

Paralleled elsewhere at Plataseis (7 §25), Stratonikeia (7 §26), and Termessos (§26), all the phylai bear the names of private individuals. These eponyms are likely to have been, as the editors argue, "zeitige Vorsteher" (or the like) since in two cases, nos. 243 and 245, the eponym himself is cited as the ἐπιμεληθείς responsible for the erection of the statue.[3] For this reason no particular significance is to be ascribed to the fact, noted by Keil, that the father of the eponym of the phyle Σ[ίμου?] Πανκράτου shares the name of an early dynast of Kibyra (Polybios, 30.9.14).[4] Presumably, as these "Vorsteher" came and went, the phylai modified their official designations accordingly.

Two of the eponyms, Simorkos and Kallikles, are, as the editors further observed, almost certainly brothers; and, possibly, Platon, son of Kallikles, is related to the latter in some way. From such evident consanguinity it was inferred that the phylai were disposed territorially.[5] But the inference is valid only if we preclude certain unusual circumstances. Conceivably, for example, the organization had been instituted during Simorkos' and Kallikles' lifetimes, when the two no longer shared a common domicile; since at least the *names* of the phylai are recent, this is by no means a farfetched possibility. On the other hand, if we accept the editors' judgment that in the five we have the full number (or anything like it), we can definitely rule out phylai reduced to the dimensions of individual *oikoi,* each headed by its own *kyrios.* These are the principal divisions of the citizenbody; if hereditary affiliation obtained, brothers should belong to the same phyle. Unless the organization is of recent origin, the conclusion that it was characterized by strict territorialism, with affiliation changing with change of domicile, appears inescapable. For a similar case, see Kadyanda (§28).

LYKIA

§28 Kadyanda

At least four phylai are attested by a number of late Hellenistic and Imperial inscriptions. Individuals are identified, following the nomen, patronymic, and usually the *ethnikon,* by phyle. With two exceptions, the parties so identified are the recipients of honors bestowed by the Boule and Demos: *TAM* II 2, nos. 661, 663, 664, and 666. In no. 674, both the honoring party (a *privatus*) and the honorand bear the designation. In no. 650, a list of contributors, the formula is reduced to φ(υλή) plus a one- or two-letter abbreviation of the phyle.

Ἀπολλωνιάς	661 (= *IGRR* III 516), 663, 664, 666
Ἡλιάς	674
Φ. Η.	650 I b, III b (non multo a. Chr. n.)
Ἱεραορίς	674 (ca. 100)
Φ. ΙΕ.	650 I b, III b
Φ. Π.	650 III b

The phylai of Apollo and of Helios are of self-evident reference. Hieraoris remains enigmatic, although the form of the name can be compared with Heberdey and Kalinka to that of the toponym Chrysaoris.[1] For the single letter abbreviation Π, editors have yet to suggest a specific referent.

In no. 674, Artemon, son of Artemon, of the phyle Helias honors Ornepeimis, son of Kinduopras, of the phyle Hieraoris, "his own brother." Of Greek and Lykian parentage respectively, one of the two, as commentators have observed, has presumably been adopted into the other's family.[2] Because, however, the adopted son's affiliation is manifestly still not in agreement with that of his brother, nor, therefore, with that of his adoptive father, it is likely that that affiliation was not normally inherited. If it were, then a son, upon adoption, would join the phyle of his new (legal) father. Consequently, the possibility is opened up that the phylai were disposed territorially in the strict sense, with affiliation rigidly determined by place of domicile, without regard to family connection. For a similar case, see Kibyra (§27).

PAMPHYLIA

§29 Perge

On a tower of the city wall stands an inscription, φυλὴ Ἑρμοῦ: K. Lanckoronski, G. Niemann, E. Petersen, *Les Villes de la Pamphylie et de la Pisidie* (Paris 1890-1893) 175, no. 42. The inscription probably served to designate that segment of the fortification for which the phyle of Hermes was responsible for defense, maintenance, etc.[1] For the parallels, see Index II.L.4.

A dedication to Hadrian, G. E. Bean, *JHS* 69 (1949) 75, no. 2, is made in the name of the φυλὴ Ἡφαίστου.

§30 Sillyon

In an inscription of Imperial date, *IGRR* III 801, the Gerousia and Demos honor one Menodora, daughter of Megakles, but credit for the erection of the statue is given, according to the *IGRR* text, to the φυλὴ ι' Μεαλειτίδων. On this reading, the iota is an ordinal numeral, "tenth," attached to the word "phyle" and so indicating its relative position in an official order of precedence.[1] But no other numeral—

or phyle—is attested, and in view of the similar occurrences of isolated tenth phylai at Bithynion-Claudiopolis (§1) and Nakoleia (§15), it is far more likely that the iota belongs to the nominative termination of φυλή.[2]

Regarding the name, Lanckoronski assumed the loss of gamma between vowels—hence an original Μεγαλειτίδαι (from μέγας, stem μεγαλ-).[3] Brixhe's claim, however, that because such loss of gamma occurs no later than the Hellenistic period, the organization of which the phyle Mealeitidai was a part must date to or before this time is invalid. There is no reason why the linguistic change should not have affected the eponym, or a patronymic based on that eponym, prior to the institution of the public unit.[4]

§31 Aspendos

An honorary inscription of the Hellenistic period, A. Wilhelm, *SB Wien* 179, 4 (1915) 60-62, no. 2, confers citizenship upon a number of public benefactors. Part of the clause permitting enrollment of the honorands in the public organization is preserved: ἐὰν δέ/[τι]ς αὐτῶν βούληται, καταχωρι[σθ]/[ῆν]αι εἰς φυλ[ήν...] (lines 15-17).

§32 Side

Evidence for the organization of Side has been found in a number of honorary inscriptions, all of Imperial date. The honoring parties are identified as the Gerousiai of the Βωμεῖτα[ι] ("Altar"),[1] of the Μέγα Συνέργιον ("Great Guild"),[2] of the Μεγαλοπυλεῖται ("Great Gates"),[3] and of the Τετραπολεῖται ("Quadriga").[4] From these names it is evident that the "Senates" represent territorial entities of some kind centered on conspicuous topographical landmarks of the city. Thanks to the combined efforts of E. Bosch, J. and L. Robert, and G. E. Bean, three of the four known "quarters" have been located with a fair degree of certainty.[5] Whether or not other such units remain to be discovered it is not possible to say, since the volume of evidence is insufficient to make significant the frequency of occurrence of the attested names. Questionable, too, is the very extrapolation from the existence of the Gerousiai to that of corresponding phylai, for in none of our texts has the latter term been preserved in whole or part.[6] Nonetheless, it is hardly to be doubted that the Senates, even if not in fact designated phylai, comprise an organization comparable to those elsewhere in Asia Minor under review here.[7]

Among the persons honored are Bryonianus Lollianus and his wife Quirinia Patra, on whom nearly identical accolades are separately conferred by three and two of the Senates, respectively.[8] Presumably,

similar monuments were erected by each unit of the organization. In two other texts—not as yet known to belong to such multiple awards—the Senate acts in accordance with the "common decree" or "judgment" of the city of Side.[9] Possibly, then, the parallel awards, too, were the product not of independent action by the Senates, but of an initiative handed down from above by the state government.

§33 Antalya, region of

An inscription incised on a medallion now in Smyrna, but probably acquired in the region of Antalya, was interpreted by Robert as follows: Κλεοχάρης / Ὀνητίμου / φυ(λῆς) Ἀθηνᾶς/β' β'.[1] Whatever might have been the function of the object, Robert was very likely correct in finding in the inscription a statement of the individual's affiliation. No explanation is at hand for the two beta's in the final line, but the possibility that they refer to an official order of precedence (i.e. the second phyle) or to a subdivision cannot conclusively be ruled out.[2]

§34 unknown city-state

A dikast's ticket of the third or second century and of unknown provenience but identified as Pamphylian on the basis of internal linguistic features, C. Brixhe, *BCH* 90 (1966) 653-663, carries name, father's name, grandfather's name, and the word Λυκομιτιρας. The last item the editor interpreted as the singular of the common Greek Λυκομητίδαι. Brixhe's identification of this group as a phyle or deme, however, is questionable, since there are no good grounds for the elimination of those "kinship" bodies commonly designated by names of patronymic form.

LYKAONIA

§35 Lystra

Possible evidence for phylai in this Augustan *colonia* presents difficulties at nearly every turn. A text inscribed on an altar dated no earlier than the third century A.D., *MAMA* V 3, states that the Apollo depicted on the monument is dedicated (?) to τῆ φυ[λῆ] / [Ἱ]ερῶ Θιάσω. Because this is the only example of a phyle called a *thiasos,* it is quite possible, given the late date of the document, that we are dealing with a private association of some kind. In a second, laudatory inscription no earlier than the second or third century A.D., *IGRR* III 1483, the honoring parties are αἱ φυλαὶ τῆς κολωνείας: yet the original editor's assignment to Lystra has been reasonably questioned in favor of Ikonion (§36).[1] But if "the phylai of the colony" really do

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belong to Lystra, one might adduce the text in support of Ramsay's restoration of *XII* [*tribus*] as the honoring parties in a fragmentary inscription of early Imperial date, *CIL* III *Suppl.* 14400 a. Nonetheless, the restoration has been doubted, first by Ramsay himself, more recently by Levick.[2] It is quite possible, then, that the Greek public organization, if such ever in fact existed, is entirely undocumented.

§36 Ikonion

Recognized as a *polis* by Greeks as early as the time of Xenophon, Ikonion was refounded as a Roman colony by Augustus, and still later was reorganized under Hadrian.[1] It is to the Roman colony that our few sources for phylai pertain. These may include the honors in the name of *αἱ φυλαὶ τῆς κολωνείας*, referred by one scholar to Ikonion in preference to Lystra (see §35).

Three, possibly four, phylai and *tribus* figure as the honoring parties in brief laudatory inscriptions. Two honor a single person, possibly the Emperor, in a single text, T. Wiegand, *MDAI(A)* 30 (1905) 325-326, no. 2, each phyle citing the name of its current *προστάτης*, the same title in use at nearby Laodikeia (§37).[2] These are:

φυλὴ Ἀθηνᾶς Π[ολιάδος?]
φυλὴ Αὐγοῦστα

From two additional, Latin inscriptions honoring the same woman, one Claudia Eupatra Herois, we learn of one *tribus* with a double denomination, Wiegand, 324-325, no. 1, and of another of which only the initial letter is preserved, *CIL* III *Suppl.* 14399 b (as restored by Wiegand, 325):

tribus Ha[d]riana Herculana[3]
tribus A[---]

Given the equation of *φυλή* and *tribus,* the number of attested units is probably four.[4] This was taken to be the full complement by Ramsay on the strength of his highly conjectural restoration and interpretation of the expression "the four *στέμματα* of the colony" (*CIG* III 3995 b).[5] This is quite improbable.[6] Greater faith can be placed in the content of the names, studied most recently by Mitchell.[7] Comparing the phyle of Herakles at Amblada (§24), Mitchell sees the *tribus . . . Herculana* as reflecting local cult and so comprising "at least part of the native population." By contrast, the phyle of Athena P[olias?] is probably the product of Greek, specifically Athenian, influence. A third tradition is represented by the phyle Augousta. With it one may associate the

φυλαὶ Σεβασταί common to several Asia Minor cities, and the *tribus Ha[d]riana* . . . , each in all likelihood to be traced to its respective Imperial intervention. For the double denomination, possibly the result of a reform of the organization, compare the similar formulations at Nysa in Lydia (§11).

§37 Laodikeia Katakekaumene

One Aeilius Naevius Epagathos, the son of a freedman of either Marcus Aurelius or Commodus, is the recipient of honors in commemoration of his service as phylarch (and gymnasiarch): *MAMA* I 22 a (pp. 15-16). The same man, following his tenure as *agoranomos,* is honored in another text, *MAMA* I 22 (= *CIG* III 3990 b), by *οἱ προστ[άτ]αι φυ/λῶν* Σ[---], who term Aelius *τὸν ἑ/αυτῶν [πα]τρῶνα/καὶ εὐ[ργ]έτην* (lines 5-9). The relation of the phylarch to the *prostates* is unclear. Besides its occurrence at nearby Ikonion (§36), the latter stands alongside the phylarch at Tomoi (6 §17), where he is understood by some to be the "patron" of the phyle. But in the present case, that meaning appears eliminated by the application of that very term to the person honored by the *prostatai.* Possibly, then, a distinction is to be made between a statewide officer, the phylarch, and the chief executive of the internally organized phyle, the *prostates.*

Still more troublesome is the presence in *MAMA* I 22, following the words "the *prostatai* of (the) phylai," of the single letter and lacuna Σ[---]. The *MAMA* editor restored Σ[*εβ*.], i.e. Σ*εβ*(*αστῶν*), "of the phylai Sebastai." Though not inconceivable, the application of a single proper name to two or more, needless to say to all, of the phylai of a state is without parallel. Earlier, Ramsay, suspecting an error in Hamilton's copy, had suggested a numeral giving the total number of phylai.[1] But this is rendered unlikely by the absence of the definite article. Possibly, then, we should think of a word belonging to "the *prostatai*"?

GALATIA

§38 Pessinous

The existence of a phyle Σ*εβαστή* is reported by S. Mitchell, *Historia* 28 (1979) 424, with note 100, citing an unpublished inscription included by I. W. Macpherson in a Cambridge doctoral dissertation, *New Evidence for the Historical Geography of Galatia* (1958) no. 4.

§39 Ankyra

"The twelve phylai" bestow honors on an individual in an inscription probably to be dated ca. A.D. 124, *IGRR* III 208. From a host of

other texts, all of Imperial date, we learn both the proper names (in one instance, only fragmentarily preserved) and the ordinal numerals borne by all twelve.[1]

number		name	date of creation *(terminus non ante quem)*
1.	α′	Μαρουραγηνή	
2.	β′	Παρακαληνή	
3.	γ′	Μηνοριζειτῶν	
4.	δ′	Ἱερμηνή	
5.	ε′	Διὸς Τραπεζῶν	
6.	ς′	Σεβαστή	Augustus: 25 B.C.-A.D. 14
7.	ζ′	[---]μένη	
8.	η′	Κλαυδία Ἀθηναία	Claudius: A.D. 41-54
9.	ϑ′	Ἱερὰ Βουλαία	
10.	ι′	Νέρου[α]	Nerva: A.D. 96-98
11.	ια′	Νέα Ὀλυμπιάς	Hadrian: A.D. 117-138
12.	ιβ′	Διὸς Ταηνῶν	

Within this roster of names there are some obvious signs of development of the organization. Namely, whereas the first five phylai are patently of indigenous reference, those from Sebaste on tend to reveal general Greco-Roman or else demonstrably late origin. Indeed, of the final seven, the four commemorating Roman emperors would appear to have been added in chronological sequence presumably during or not long after the reigns of their eponyms. Alternatively, we might be dealing with mere changes of name, but in the absence of appropriate testimony this can only be regarded as a theoretical, untestable possibility. New names on their face should herald additions—as they do without question in a host of other organizations.[2] If this assumption is granted, it follows, further, that either the territory or population of Ankyra, or both, underwent twofold expansion in the course of perhaps no more than a century. Territorial phylai, hence a territorial expansion, have been championed on the ground that the termination -ηνη of three of the indigenous names (viz. 1st, 2nd, 4th) represents the "Aegean" toponymic suffix.[3] But even if this argument were to be rejected, we should still be left with a comparable growth of the citizen population.

The attested public role of the phylai is confined to the conferral of honors, in many cases by a single phyle acting (so far as can be ascertained) on its own initiative. But collective accolades include both the honors conferred in the name of "the twelve phylai" cited above and, conforming to another familiar pattern, two sets of individual texts, virtually identical except for the name of the phyle, each honoring a single dignitary. Of the two presumed original series of twelve, five

honoring Ti. Iulius Iustus Iunianus,[4] six, T. Flavius Gaianus,[5] survive. Both series have been dated to the time of Caracalla and, in contrast to the earlier, single monument in the name of the entire organization, have been cited as an example of the trend towards "meaningless grandiosity and exaggeration."[6] At the same time, the simultaneous publication of identical texts by all the phylai leaves an impression, here as elsewhere in the Imperial period, of an absence of real independence within the municipal organization.

Of the officers of the phylai, both the phylarchs and the ἐπιμελούμενοι—presumably to be identified as ἐπιμεληταί—are typical of internally organized public units. Unique to Ankyra, however, is the ἀστυνόμος. Mitchell speculates that the officer was appointed by his (territorial) phyle to carry out duties within the appropriate quarter of the city.[7] At Athens (1 §1.26), the board of *astynomoi* represented the phylai, but these were statewide officers whose functioning, so far as we are informed, was not thus limited. Rare, too, is the [ἀγ]ων/ο[θέτην φ]υλῆς Σεβασ[τῆς], a title ascribed to the honorand in *IGRR* III 195 (= *CIG* III 4031), and paralleled precisely only at Argos (2 §7).[8]

A distinction rather than an office, the title πατὴρ τῆς φυλῆς has been restored by Mitchell, 80-81, no. 11 (cf. 79, no. 10, with commentary). For other accolades pertaining to public units, see Index III.F.1.

NOTES

§1 Bithynion-Claudiopolis

1. Dörner also corrects the date to A.D. 134.
2. See, further, J. and L. Robert, *Bull. Ép.* 1953, no. 194.
3. Szanto, 63. The name of the phyle is incorrectly given as φυλὴ α' Ἀπόλλωνος.
4. Magie, *RRAM* II, 760 (note 56).
5. See Magie's discussion (above, note 4).

§2 Prousias-on-Hypios

1. *IGRR* III 55 and 69 (= 1419; Le Bas-Waddington 1178). Both phylai honor individuals: in the former case, Ἀντωνιανή, "its own *euergetes;*" in the latter, Σεβαστηνή, a public official, who erects the statue (ἀνδριάς) at his own expense (ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων).
2. F. K. Dörner, *Denkschriften Ak. Wien* 75, no. 1 (1952) 13-14, no. 5.
3. *IGRR* III 60, 64 (= Le Bas-Waddington 1176), 65, 67 (= 1418), 68 (= Le Bas-Waddington 1177), 1421-1423; G. Mendel, *BCH* 25 (1901) 76-78, no. 209; 80-82, no. 211; 82-83, no. 213; 83, no. 213 bis; Dörner (above, note 2) 10-13, no. 4.
4. That Kieros was in fact a foundation of Herakleia's has been strongly maintained by L. Robert, *À travers l'Asie Mineure* (Paris 1980) 61-62. Doubts had been expressed by Reinach (*Recueil*, 602), Magie (*RRAM* I, 307 [with note 21, at II, p. 1190]), and Dörner, "Prusias ad Hypium," *RE* 23 (1957) 1128-1148: 1135. The names of the phylai of Herakleia herself (6 §23) are not known.
5. Compare, for example, the similarly-named phylai of Thourioi (4 §9), instituted upon the foundation in 444/3.
6. For the association, see Szanto, 64, and Magie, *RRAM* II, 1190 (note 21). Dörner (above, note 4) 1137 is followed by Robert (above, note 4) 62, note 366. For the month names, see A. E. Samuel, *Greek and Roman Chronology* (Munich 1972) 287, where, however, Dionysios is not cited specifically for Prousias.
7. There is no warrant, however, for the inference that, prior to the Roman conquest, four and only four phylai were in existence, as assumed, for example, by N. Fıratlı, "Prusias ad

Hypium," *PECS*, p. 741. The substitution of Imperial for earlier names remains a possibility for any, perhaps all, of the remaining eight phylai.

8. Dörner (above, note 4) 1137-1138.

9. For Caesar's visit, see Magie, *RRAM* II, 1200 (note 47). This occasion is not cited by Dörner, who assumes the more general allusion.

10. Dörner (above, note 4) 1138. The contention that the name Ἀντωνιανή—as opposed to Ἀντωνινιανή—could not refer to an Antonine has been refuted by J. and L. Robert, *Bull. Ép.* 1974, no. 577 (p. 300). The shorter form also occurs at Nikomedeia, §3.

11. Dörner (above, note 4) 1137.

12. At Ephesos (7 §11), Sebaste stands second, giving place only to Epheseis. At Dorylaion (§14), the order is headed, not by Sebaste, but by φυλῶν ἡ πρώτη Μητρωάς. Neither example, of course, need dictate for Prousias.

13. F. Gschnitzer, "Phylarchos," *RE Suppl.* 11 (1968) 1067-1090: 1083. See also Dörner (above, note 4) 1138-1140. Both these authorities should be consulted for discussion of the troublesome formula οἱ ᾑρημένοι τῆς ὁμονοίας εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτοῦ φύλαρχοι (vel sim.), by which the catalogue of phylai is often introduced.

§3 Nikomedeia

1. It is uncertain whether this list should also include the φυλὴ Λακκηνῶν, cited in a record of public donations of the year A.D. 134/5, *TAM* IV (1), no. 18, line 8. Earlier Dörner had queried, *Inschriften und Denkmäler aus Bithynien, Istanbuler Forschungen* 14 (1941) 42, whether the two words actually belong together. The names of other contributing groups, in this and other inscriptions, though similar in form, are never termed phylai. On the other hand, his citation of a sepulchral text, now *TAM* IV (1), no. 328, ordering payment of a fine to the polis and Lakkenoi, is inconclusive, since another, similar text, discovered since he wrote, no. 258, indubitably shows a phyle in just the position occupied by Lakkenoi.

2. Line 3: . . . τῆς Ἀδριανῆ[ς φυλῆς---]. Other identifications of "the Hadriane" are possible, e.g. the *gerousia* mentioned in the text, or even the city itself: see J. and L. Robert, *Bull. Ép.* 1974, no. 572.

3. For the reading of the phyle's name, see J. and L. Robert, *Bull. Ép.* 1974, no. 580.

4. This argument assumes as a possibility that, with a change from personal to territorial disposition, the Asian names retained their original form. Just such a process is observable at Athens, 1 §1.21, where, with Kleisthenes' reform, some of the new demes acquired patronymic personal names.

5. At *IGRR* III 7, the editor identifies the honorand, [---]⟨ἄρ⟩χοντος τὸν α' τόπον (line 3, *TAM*), as the πρῶτος ἄρχων. This is the officer honored by boards of phylarchs at Prousias-on-Hypios (§2).

6. The interpretation of the text, following the initial publication, was substantially advanced by J. and L. Robert, *Bull. Ép.* 1974, no. 580. See also, more recently, S. Şahin, *ZPE* 18 (1975) 48 (addenda).

7. *Bull. Ép.* 1974, no. 573.

8. S. Şahin, *Neufunde von antiken Inschriften in Nikomedeia (Izmit) und in der Umgebung der Stadt*, Diss. Münster 1974, p. 158.

9. Thus Dörner, *TAM* IV (1), no. 329. The identity of the two names was established by J. and L. Robert, *Bull. Ép.* 1974, no. 577. Other possible eponyms, viz. M. Antonius, Antonia the Elder, and L. Antonius Naso, procurator in Bithynia under Vespasian, are discussed by Şahin (above, note 8) 159. The contracted form also occurs at Prousias-on-Hypios (§2); the longer form at Ephesos (7 §11). See, also, Nikaia (§4).

§4 Nikaia

1. The statue, however, is erected, not by the phyle, but by a *privatus* (lines 6-8).

2. Line 8, as restored by Şahin, reads: [καὶ ἀγωνοθέτην---]Διονυσιάδος[---].

3. For a modern discussion of Athenian practice, see D. Whitehead, *The Ideology of the Athenian Metic* (Cambridge 1977) 72-75. See, also, on Tegea (3 §6).

4. For an actual example of change of affiliation within the male line, see Miletos, 7 §16. Here not territorial phylai, but demes, are in question.

5. F. K. Dörner, *Inschriften und Denkmäler aus Bithynien, Istanbuler Forschungen* 14 (1941) 42-43.

6. Şahin, loc. cit.: "Der Stein stammt aus der Umgebung von Iznik . . ."

7. C. Fredrich, *MDAI(A)* 30 (1905) 412-413, no. 2.

§6 Pergamon

1. For the identification of the lists as ephebic, and the chronology, see P. Jacobsthal, *MDAI(A)* 33 (1908) 384-385.

2. This name has a single occurrence, at *MDAI(A)* 35 (1910) 427, no. 13, line 6. But the editor, H. Hepding, takes it as an abbreviation for (Διο)δωρίς, found, in its full form, at *MDAI(A)* 35 (1910) 432-436, no. 19, line I, 5; and 422-425, no. 11, line II, 7. Against Hepding's interpretation are: (i) the fact that the name makes sense as it stands; for a phyle Δωρίς, see Thourioi, 4 §9; (ii) the presence in the organization of *Landsmannschaftlich* phylai, including Aiolis. The stone's reading should be retained.

3. For the date, see C. P. Jones, "Diodoros Pasparos and the Nikephoria of Pergamon," *Chiron* 4 (1974) 183-205: 193.

4. P. Jacobsthal, *MDAI(A)* 33 (1908) 385-386; followed by H. Hepding, *MDAI(A)* 33 (1910) 425.

5. With regard to the choice of "Diodoros" as the eponym, it is also pertinent to note that according to the same decree, lines 39-40, the Pergamenes undertook to establish a *temenos* in (the district) Philetaireia, to be called the Διοδω⟨δω⟩ρεῖον.

6. H. Hepding, *MDAI(A)* 32 (1907) 253. Hepding attributes the theory to Szanto, but his citation of *Die griechischen Phylen* includes no page reference. Szanto, of course, could not have treated the present passage in this work, since the inscription was not published until 1907.

7. Unfortunately, relevant prosopographical data cannot be adduced in support of these speculations.

8. The arguments of W. Kolbe, *MDAI(A)* 32 (1907) 467, in favor of a pre-Attalid organization are not validated by the evidence here under review. The "earliness" of the content of some of the names of the phylai (see below) need imply nothing as to their actual date of institution.

9. A territorial arrangement has been alleged, but on no good grounds. The "Plateia of the Paspareitai" mentioned in a contemporary inscription, *MDAI(A)* 27 (1902) 101, no. 102, was taken by Hepding to be within "der Bezirk dieser Phyle" (*MDAI[A]* 32 [1907] 243, 253; *Philologus* 88 [1933] 94 with note 25), but now that the search for the phyle Paspareis has been suspended, this reconstruction need no longer be entertained. Alternatively, the Plateia might be associated with the cult of Apollo Pasparios (see above) or even directly with Diodoros himself. Let me also cite the argument of H. von Prott and W. Kolbe, *MDAI(A)* 27 (1902) 114-115, that Demetrios of Skepsis' statement, apud Athenaios 15.697 d-e (= fr. 6 Gaede), that Attalos I established Ktesiphon as "judge of royal affairs περὶ τὴν Αἰολίδα" refers to the phyle Aiolis. Plainly, it is to the Aiolis in the larger, geographical sense that the phrase pertains.

10. Denied by Kolbe (above, note 8) in favor of the explanation that the three phylai were an outgrowth of Greek vassalage established in the region by the Persians early in the fifth century. This hypothesis is not supported by any direct evidence pertaining to the phylai.

11. See the article "Aiolos 1)," in W. H. Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie* I (Leipzig 1884-1890) 192 (thus Kolbe, above, note 8).

12. Strabo, 8.3.31 (356) (thus Kolbe, above, note 8).

13. Pausanias, 1.4.6 (cf. 5.13.3) (thus Kolbe, above, note 8).

14. Strabo, 7.7.1 (321) (thus Kolbe, above, note 8).

15. See above, note 2.

16. Thus H. von Prott and W. Kolbe (above, note 9) 114.

17. For an exhaustive discussion of the evidence bearing on the origin of the decree, with a verdict in favor of Pergamon, see L. Robert, *BCH* 108 (1984) 472-489, no. 32.1.

§8 Magnesia-on-Sipylos

1. For an honorary text closing with such a citation, see, from the region, Sardeis (§9), ad fin. (no. 56).

§9 Sardeis

1. For the restoration of the name with nu, see below, with note 5.

2. I owe this reference to G. M. A. Hanfmann, *Sardis, from Prehistoric to Roman Times* (Cambridge, Mass. and London 1983) 111 with no. 30 (p. 259); see also 86 with note 42 (pp. 247-248).

3. As noted, most recently, by Hanfmann (above, note 2) 86, who further confines the eponyms to "Lydian mythical heroes or gods." Tymolis, at least, however, remains ambiguous, and the namesakes of others are still to be identified.

4. Hanfmann (above, note 2) 86.

5. L. Robert, *Études anatoliennes* (Paris 1937) 155-158.

6. Strabo, 7.7.1 (321).

7. For the cited interpretation of the two abbreviated names, see on no. 186 in *Sardis* VII. Alibalis might be compared with the phyle Ἀλβηΐς at Smyrna (7 §6) and with the fictitious phyle Ἀλιβαντίς in Lucian's *Menippos* or *Nekyomanteia*, ch. 20.

8. L. Robert, *Nouvelles inscriptions de Sardes* (Paris 1964) 45-48, no. 6. For criticism of an attempt to find in the words φυλῆς Λεοντίνων an allusion to Leon, putative father of the person affiliated, see J. and L. Robert, *Bull. Ép.* 1969, no. 53.

9. Robert (above, note 8) 46, appears to represent as mutually exclusive alternatives "une tribu de la ville de Sardes" and "une 'tribu' dans la communauté juive."

10. Robert (above, note 8) 56-57.

11. For the one close parallel, catapult bullets inscribed with the names of phylai and phratries, see Syracuse (4 §20).

12. From the "native Lydian names" of the phylai, Hanfmann (above, note 2) 86, concludes that "it appears very likely that the tribal divisions (*phylai*) reflect some sort of pre-Hellenistic Lydian social organization." Perhaps so; but nothing can be inferred regarding the antiquity of the phylai themselves.

§10 Philadelpheia

1. W. M. Ramsay, *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* (Oxford 1895 and 1897) 105-106.

2. As noted by T. R. S. Broughton, *AJP* 62 (1941) 106, our evidence is much too late to support speculation about conditions obtaining during the pre-Greek era.

3. Szanto, 65-66.

4. A. H. M. Jones, *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces,* 2nd ed. (Oxford 1971) 38, 54; *The Greek City* (Oxford 1940) 44, 162.

5. *RRAM* II, 1008 (note 49).

6. For the guilds in these cities, see Ramsay (above, note 1) 105 with note 2. Ramsay's denial of the existence of phylai at Akmoneia and Smyrna was invalidated by subsequent epigraphic discoveries.

§11 Nysa

1. All printed texts, beginning with Perrot's *editio princeps,* give the spelling Γερμανίς. The loss of the two letters, by letterer's or copyist's error, is assumed by L. Robert, in J. Des Gagniers et al., *Laodicée du Lycos: le Nymphé* (Quebec and Paris 1969) 256, note 10.

2. The possibility that the second element of the name should be restored Π[ω]λλ[ι]ωνίς—i.e. C. Asinius Pollio—was aired by Boeckh, on *CIG* II 2947.

3. See *PIR*² A 134.

4. Stephanos of Byzantion, s.v. Ἀντιόχεια. See, further, Magie, *RRAM* I, 128 with note 27 (pp. 989-991).

5. Robert (above, note 1) 296-297 with note 6 (p. 296).

6. Compare, for example, the phylai of nearby Magnesia-on-Maiandros (7 §13).

7. The chronological implications of the names are also discussed by F. Hiller von Gaertringen, in W. v. Diest, *Nysa ad Maeandrum* (Berlin 1913) 68.

8. Commentary on *CIG* II 2947.

§14 Dorylaion

1. These texts are collected and discussed by J. Weiss, "Zur Gründungssage von Dorylaion," *JÖAI* 16 (1913) Beiblatt, 71-76. For earlier bibliography, see col. 72, note 6.

2. The name of the phyle is incorrectly spelled in the text reproduced by Weiss (above, note 1) col. 73, no. 8.

3. For Apollo Ἀκερσεκόμης, see, for example, the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo,* 134; Pindar, *Pyth.* 3.14.

4. There remains the formal possibility, however, that the transmitted spelling of the name represents Παφιῆς, i.e. Παφιεῖς, as noted by Preger, loc. cit. For the designation of Aphrodite as ἡ Παφίη, see (with *LSJ*⁹, s.v.) *A.P.* 5.30; 93.

5. For alternative possible eponyms not connected with Zeus, see, for example, the compilation of Escher, "Dia," nos. 11-17, *RE* 5.1 (1903) 299-300. For the representation of long ι by ει in late inscriptions, see Buck, 27, section 21. Still another formulation, φυλὴ Διός, occurs at Amorion (§16) and at Ankyra (§39).

6. For other isolated "first" phylai, see Traianopolis (?) (6 §5) and, within the region, Hierapolis (§21).

7. The phylarch "for life" is possibly paralleled at Kyzikos (6 §28), where lists of *prytaneis* sometimes reveal more than the one phylarch per phyle guaranteed by other sources.

§18 Akmoneia

1. Fragment (a) = Ramsay, *Cities* 643, no. 540; *IGRR* IV 637; fragment (b) = *CIG* III 3860 h; Le Bas-Waddington 750; Ramsay, *Cities* 647, no. 552; *IGRR* IV 647.

§20 Eumeneia

1. See on this tradition the valuable discussion of Drew-Bear, op. cit., p. 67, citing the work, published and unpublished, of L. Robert. The phrase "Achaian Eumeneians" occurs in Drew-Bear's no. 2, lines 2-4 (p. 67).

2. As suggested by Ramsay, *Cities* 371-372. No visit to Eumeneia by the Emperor, however, is recorded.

3. At Seleukid foundations, however, both Apollonis and Apollonias have been referred to Apollo, the traditional *archegetes*. See Hierapolis (§21), Laodikeia-on-Lykos (§22).

4. Op. cit., p. 72.

§21 Hierapolis

1. F. Kolb, "Zur Geschichte der Stadt Hierapolis in Phrygien: die Phyleninschriften im Theater," *ZPE* 15 (1974) 255-270.

2. Kolb (above, note 1) 267. F. Sartori, "Le dodici tribù di Lilibeo," *Kokalos* 3 (1957) 38-60.

3. One notes the apparently arbitrary vacillation between rows 11 and 13 in the placement of the inscription in sections for which at present only a single phyle is indicated (viz. sections 2, 6, 8, 9). Since, however, in sections 3 and 4, in each of which two phylai were accommodated, it is precisely on rows 11 and 13 that the inscriptions were placed, one might expect to find in a section in which row 11 is known to be inscribed another inscription at row 13, and vice versa. Section 4 sat two phylai. Was the same true of section 6, for which only one phyle is recorded, directly opposite?

4. Kolb (above, note 1) 262, 267.

5. For the names, with discussion of additional possible eponyms not cited here, see Kolb (above, note 1) passim. For L. Robert's derivation of Apollonias from Apollo, see J. Des Gagniers et al., *Laodicée du Lycos: le Nymphé* (Quebec and Paris 1969) 295-296.

6. Kolb (above, note 1) 258, citing E.V. Hansen, *The Attalids of Pergamon* (Ithaca 1947) 455.

7. For Kolb's discussions, see (above, note 1) 261, no. 5; 265, no. 9. In the latter case, he suggests the possibility of a local name.

8. For the date, see Judeich on no. 81 (p. 101).

9. Kolb (above, note 1) 258.

10. Kolb (above, note 1) 257.

11. For references to the views of earlier scholars on the names, see Kolb (above, note 1) 257-258, with notes 20-23.

§22 Laodikeia-on-Lykos

1. A sixth phyle, Σεβαστή, has been claimed on the strength of a restoration of *IGRR* IV 859 by W. H. Buckler, *JHS* 56 (1936) 78: [....νομο-?]/γρα[φ]ῆ[σαν-]/[τ]α ἐν φ[υλῆ]/ Σεβασ[τῆ, . . .]. But this wording is rendered doubtful by both the absence of the definite article with φυλή (compare the practice in the securely attested examples) and by the assumption of an unparalleled *nomographos* of the phyle. For an alternative restoration, see L. Robert, in J. Des Gagniers et al., *Laodicée du Lycos: le Nymphé* (Quebec and Paris 1969) 288-289.

2. For additional testimony regarding the *prytaneis*, see *IBM* III 421 and S. Wide, *MDAI(A)* 20 (1895) 207-209, no. 1. The one major difficulty for the interpretation is presented by the single *prytanis* of Attalis. If not simply one member of his phyle's board, he might conceivably be either his phyle's representative on a statewide college of *prytaneis* or an officer of the phyle's internal organization. For the former, compare Iasos (7 §22); for the latter, there is no parallel.

3. Stephanos of Byzantion, s.v. Ἀντιόχεια.

4. Robert (above, note 1) 330-331. A phyle Ias is securely attested at Thourioi (4 §9) and has been claimed, on no good grounds, for Miletos (7 §16; see note 16).

5. Robert (above, note 1) 296-297 (so, earlier, Szanto, 63). The contrary view had been taken by Magie, *RRAM* I, 127.

6. Robert (above, note 1) 331.

§23 Apollonia (later Sozopolis)

1. Alan Cameron, *Circus Factions* (Oxford 1976) 24-44.

§24 Amblada

1. *Bull. Ép.* 1969, no. 576 (pp. 523-525).

2. Compare at Side (§32) the Gerousia of the Megalopyleitai ("Great Gates").

§26 Termessos

1. = K. Lanckoronski et al., *Les Villes de la Pamphylie et de la Pisidie* II (Paris 1890-1893).

2. See Lanckoronski (above, note 1) II, 209, no. 15, commentary; and *TAM* II 1, loc. cit., commentaries.

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§27 Kibyra

1. Petersen and von Luschan, 188. Among other difficulties, the arrangement of the several statues within the series, as represented by the editors, shows the two statues of one phyle (phyle no. "II") separated by the statues of at least two others (nos. "III" and "IV").

2. The term φυλή is here omitted. In nos. 243 and 245, I have given the fuller form of the name indicated by the citation of the ἐπιμεληθείς (on which, see below).

3. Petersen and von Luschan, 188.

4. Petersen and von Luschan, 188.

5. Petersen and von Luschan, 187; 188: "Benannt nach ihren zeitigen Vorstehern, scheinen dieselben [sc. die Phylen] örtliche zu sein, da wenigstens die Vorsteher der vierten and fünften Brüder sind."

§28 Kadyanda

1. R. Heberdey and E. Kalinka, *Bericht über zwei Reisen im südwestlichen Kleinasien, Denkschriften Ak. Wien* 45, no. 1 (1897) 55.

2. Thus E. Kalinka, *TAM* II 2, ad loc. By contrast, Swoboda, at Szanto 70, note 229, states that the brothers have different phylai because "one of the two came into another phyle through adoption." This argument assumes that the two were natural brothers and that one was adopted out of their father's phyle; the patronymics, in that case, will refer to the current fathers (one natural, one adoptive). In fact, the distribution of Greek and Lykian names suggests that it is the natural fathers who are named, and that the term ἀδελ[φ]όν alludes to their relationship following an adoption.

§29 Perge

1. Thus L. Robert, *Hellenica* 7 (1949) 196.

§30 Sillyon

1. For an assured example of a "tenth" phyle designated by this numeral, see Ankyra (§39).

2. For the incontrovertible instance, with fuller discussion, see Bithynion-Claudiopolis (§1).

3. K. Lanckoronski et al., *Les Villes de la Pamphylie et de la Pisidie* I (Paris 1890-1893), on no. 97 (p. 182). The present text is no. 59 (p. 196). For additional examples, see Buck, 62.3 (p. 59).

4. C. Brixhe, *BCH* 90 (1966) 661.

§32 Side

1. A. M. Mansel, E. Bosch, and J. Inan, *1947 senesi Side kazılarına dair önrapor (Vorläufiger Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Side im Jahre 1947), Türk Tarih kurumu yayınlarından* series 5, no. 11 (Ankara 1951), part III, "Die Inschriften" by E. Bosch. The reference to the Bomeitai in line 9 was discovered by J. and L. Robert, *Bull. Ép.* 1951, no. 219 a. For another fragment of the same stone, see G. E. Bean, *Side kitabeleri (The Inscriptions of Side), Türk Tarih kurumu yayınlarından* series 5, no. 20 (Ankara 1965) 28-29, no. 119.

2. *IGRR* III 810 (= Le Bas-Waddington 1385).

3. *IGRR* III 811 (= K. Lanckoronski et al., *Les Villes de la Pamphylie et la Pisidie* I [Paris 1890-1893], 191-192, no. 107); Bean (above, note 1) 26, no. 116.

4. Bosch (above, note 1) 48-50, no. 1; 50-52, no. 2; 54-58, no. 6; 58-60, no. 7.

5. For the tentative localization of Bomeitai in the vicinity of an early Byzantine (or late Roman Imperial?) altar found to the side of a colonnaded street near the theater, see J. and L. Robert, *Bull. Ép.* 1951, no. 219 a. For the assignment of Megalopyleitai to the northern area of the city, see Bosch (above, note 1) 57 and Bean (above, note 1) 26 (on no. 116). For the placement of Tetrapoleitai in the environs of the same colonnaded street mentioned above, again near the theater, see Bosch (above, note 1) 57-58. (Possible overlapping here with Bomeitai?). In each case the conclusion is based upon the find places of the inscriptions in combination with the appropriate monumental archaeological evidence. But the provenience of *IGRR* III 810, which alone attests the "Great Guild," is, as Bosch notes (above, note 1) 58, unknown.

6. In *IGRR* III 811, the term φυλή, attached to the Megalopyleitai, is wholly restored. Elsewhere, γερουσία can be read in whole or part.

7. Apart from signs of territorial disposition in several states, the closest parallel is provided by the unit (?) called "Mother of the Gates" at Amblada (§24).

8. Bryonianus: *IGRR* III 811; Bosch (above, note 1) 54-58, no. 6; 61-62, no. 9. Quirinia: *IGRR* III 810; Bosch, 58-60, no. 7.

9. Bosch (above, note 1) 48-50, no. 1; 50-52, no. 2.

§33 Antalya, region of

1. L. Robert, *Hellenica* 7 (1949) 194-196.

2. For the earlier and (as Robert shows) surely mistaken interpretation: "Fu(lvius) (vel sim.) Athenas, son of Fulvius Athenas;" and for Robert's own tentative suggestion of a possible abbreviation B(*ουλή*), see his discussion (above, note 1), especially 196, note 10.

§35 Lystra

1. The stone was found at Baiyat, on the road between Lystra and Ikonion, according to H. S. Cronin, *JHS* 24 (1904) 113, no. 150. For the attribution to Ikonion, see W. M. Calder, *MAMA* VIII 3, commentary.

2. For Ramsay's restoration, see *JHS* 24 (1904) 115, no. 158. For his retraction in favor of *XII* [*vici*], see *The Social Basis of Roman Power* (Aberdeen 1941) 184, no. 170. B. Levick, *Anatolian Studies* 15 (1965) 56-57, airs the suggestion that the stone was a *milliarium* positioned twelve miles from the *colonia.*

§36 Ikonion

1. For a full discussion of the colony, see S. Mitchell, "Iconium and Ninica, Two Double Communities in Roman Asia Minor," *Historia* 28 (1979) 409-438.

2. Because, in the present case, the name appears in the genitive, he is presumably the eponymous.

3. The rendering of this name by Ramsay (reference below, note 5) as a phyle 'Αδριανὴ 'Ηρακλέους, though not impossible, is without documentary support.

4. The restoration *A*[*ugusta*], suggested by Wiegand, is obviously a stab in the dark.

5. W. M. Ramsay, *JHS* 38 (1918) 182-186, no. 24.

6. Not only is the suggested interpretation of the term *στέμμα* as denoting a phyle without parallel. In a text from Odessos (6 §14), phylai and *stemmata* stand alongside one another, thereby precluding the possibility that they are to be identified. The reference to "the colony," too, depends upon restoration of Hamilton's copy. Finally, the citation of a single *prostates* in lines 4-5 is difficult to reconcile with the assumed presence of all four phylai, since the Greek text just reviewed shows that each had its own officer.

7. Mitchell (above, note 1) 424-425.

§37 Laodikeia Katakekaumene

1. W. M. Ramsay, *JHS* 38 (1918) 186.

§39 Ankyra

1. The sources for the phylai and for the following discussion thereof are collected by E. Bosch, *Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Ankara im Altertum, Türk Tarih kurumu yayınlarından* series 7, no. 46, Ankara 1967. The phylai had previously been the subject of a special study by Bosch in *Anadolu Araştırmaları* I (Ankara 1955) 57-67. For the most recent discoveries, some of which bear on the present discussion, see S. Mitchell, "R.E.C.A.M. Notes and Studies No. 1: Inscriptions of Ancyra," *Anatolian Studies* 26 (1977) 63-103. Mitchell's revised list of the phylai, reproduced here, appears on pp. 80-81.

2. E.g. Athens (1 §1.21); the Dorian Peloponnesian states Megara, Sikyon, Troizen, and Argos (2 §1, 3, 6, and 7); and, within the region, Pergamon (§6).

3. For the fullest such account, see Bosch 1955 (above, note 1) 57-67 and 1967 (above, note 1) 142-147. Both the territorial disposition of the phylai and the consequent implication of phenomenal growth of the city are accepted by Mitchell (above, note 1) 78, 81.

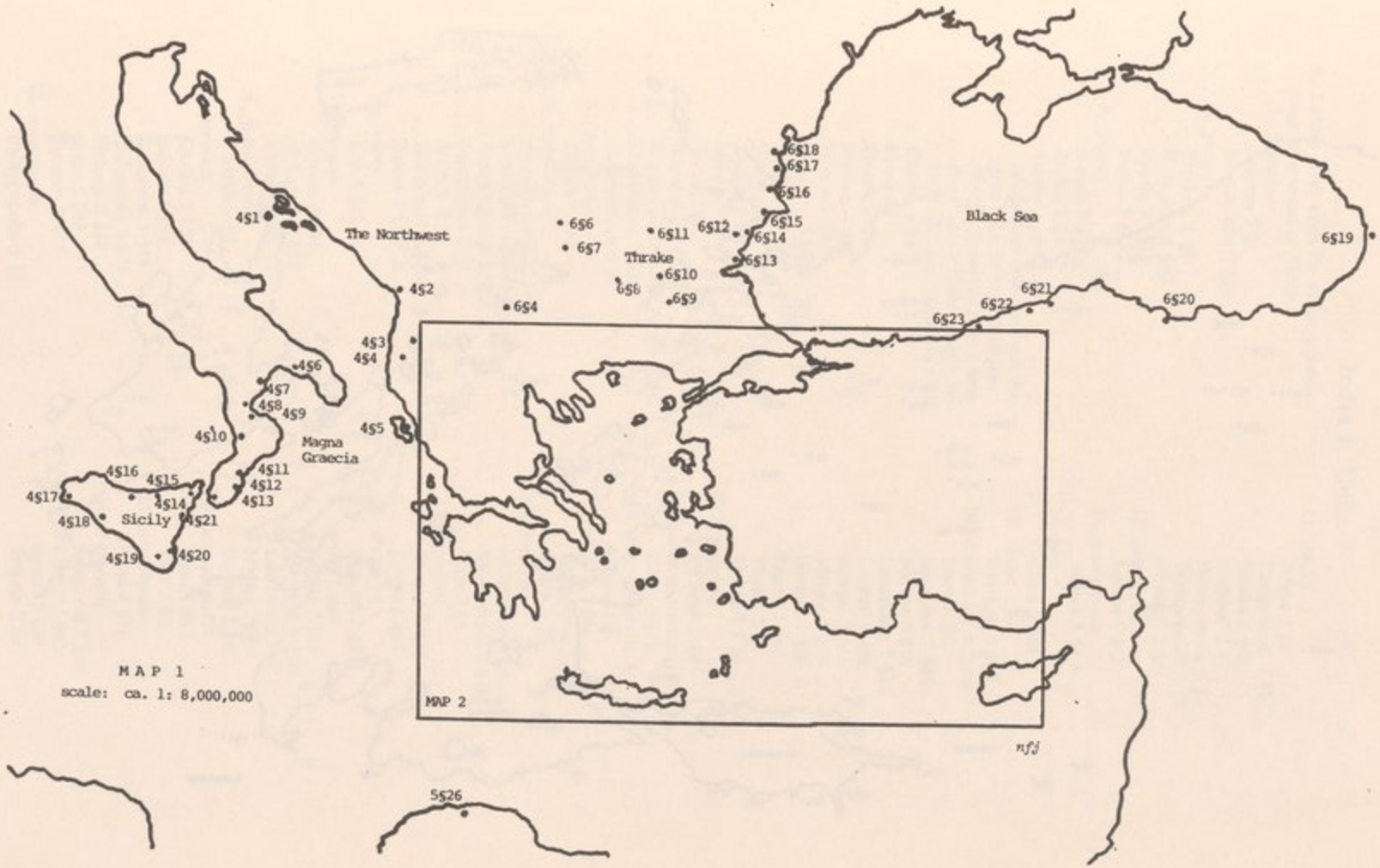
4. Bosch 1967 (above, note 1) nos. 255-258; Mitchell (above, note 1) 72-73, no. 6.

5. Bosch 1967 (above, note 1) nos. 249-253; Mitchell (above, note 1) 73-75, no. 7.

6. Mitchell (above, note 1) 73.

7. Mitchell (above, note 1) 78.

8. Cf. also Nikaia (§4), note 2.



MAP 1
scale: ca. 1: 8,000,000

MAP 2

scale: ca. 1: 2,500,000

Index I: Units

A. Listing of all units for which a public usage is attested or likely

1. ἄμφοδον
   - Smyrna 7 §6
   - Stratonikeia 7 §26
2. γένος
   - Erythrai 7 §8
   - Kolophon 7 §10
   - Pygela 7 §12
   - Samos 5 §13
3. δῆμος
   - Aigiale 5 §22
   - Aigina 1 §3
   - Athens 1 §1.2 (cleruchies: Salamis 1 §2; Aigina 1 §3; Imbros, Lemnos, Skyros, Peparethos, and Skiathos 5 §3-7; Samos 5 §13; Melos 5 §24; and Poteidaia 6 §1).
   - Chalkis 1 §4
   - Elis 3 §7
   - Eretria 1 §5
   - Histiaia 1 §6
   - Ialysos 5 §43
   - Kalymna 5 §40
   - Kameiros 5 §44
   - Kos 5 §41
   - Lindos 5 §45
   - Miletos 7 §16
   - Naxos 5 §21
   - Poteidaia? 6 §1
   - Rhodes (Synoecized State) 5 §42
   - Stratonikeia 7 §26
   - Thessalonike 6 §2
4. διαγονία?
   - Lindos 5 §45
5. ἑκατοστύς
   - Byzantion 6 §25
   - Herakleia-on-Pontos 6 §23
   - Kalchedon? 6 §24
   - Lampsakos 7 §1
   - Megara 2 §1
   - Salymbria? 6 §26
   - Samos 5 §13
6. ἑνάτη
   - Kos 5 §41
7. ἑταιρία
   - Kyrene 5 §26
   - cf. Lyttos 5 §32
   - Rhithymna 5 §27
8. ἡμιόγδοον
   - Corinth 2 §2
9. κτοίνα
   - Chalke 5 §51
   - Ialysos 5 §43
   - Kameiros 5 §44
   - Karpathos 5 §52
   - Phoinix 5 §48
   - Syme 5 §49
   - Tymnos 5 §47
10. κωμαρχία
    - Philippopolis 6 §8
11. κώμη
    - Argos 2 §7
    - Lampsakos? 7 §1
    - Lindos 5 §45
    - Megara? 2 §1
    - Philippopolis 6 §8
    - Traianopolis? 6 §5
    - Troizen? 2 §6
12. μέρος
    - Lindos 5 §45
13. ναυκραρία
    - Athens 1 §1.1
14. οἴη
    - Chios 5 §12
15. οἶκος
    - Karthaia 5 §16
16. πάτρα (or πατριά)
    - Iasos 7 §22
    - Kameiros 5 §44
    - Kyrene 5 §26
    - Labraunda 7 §21
    - Lindos? 5 §45
    - Miletos 7 §16
    - Mylasa 7 §19
    - Olymos 7 §20
    - Syme? 5 §49
    - Thasos 5 §1
    - Troizen? 2 §6
17. πεμπάς
    - Phleious 2 §4
18. πεντακονταρχία
    - Istros 6 §18
19. πεντηκοστύς
    - Argos 2 §7
    - Kos 5 §41
    - Rhithymna 5 §27
    - Sparta 2 §8
20. πύργος
    - cf. Smyrna 7 §6
    - Stratonikeia 7 §26
    - Teos 7 §9
21. σταρτός
    - Gortyn 5 §29
    - Lyttos 5 §32
22. στοῖχος
    - Sikyon? 2 §3
23. συγγένεια
    - Alinda 7 §18
    - Kalymna 5 §40
    - Labraunda 7 §21
    - Mylasa 7 §19
    - Olymos 7 §20
24. συμμορία
    - Nysa 8 §11
    - Teos 7 §9
25. συνέδριον
    - Nysa 8 §11
26. συννομή
    - Kameiros 5 §44
    - Lindos 5 §45
    - Syme? 5 §49
    - Troizen 2 §6

27. τόνος
    Tenos 5 §18
28. τριακάς
    Akrai 4 §19
    Athens (deme Peiraieus) 1 §1.34
    Corinth 2 §2
    Kos 5 §41
    Sparta 2 §8
29. τριττύς
    Athens 1 §1.1, 2
    Corinth? 2 §2
    Delos 5 §20
    Keos (Federal State) 5 §14
30. φρατρία (or φράτρα, φάτρα, etc.)
    Andros 5 §17
    Argos 2 §7
    Chios? 5 §12
    Corinth 2 §2
    Delos 5 §20
    Ilion 7 §2
    Megalopolis? 3 §3 (see 3 §4)
    Miletos 7 §16
    Syracuse 4 §20
    Tenos 5 §18
    Theisoa 3 §4
31. φυλή
    passim
32. χιλιαστύς
    Ephesos 7 §11
    Erythrai 7 §8
    Kolophon? 7 §10
    Kos 5 §41
    Methymna 5 §9
    Miletos? 7 §16
    Samos 5 §13
33. χῶρος
    Eretria 1 §5
    Keos (Federal State) 5 §14
    Thera 5 §25
34. ὠβά
    Sparta 2 §8

B. Classification of public units
1. Units originating in kinship or other familial associations
   a. γένος
   b. διαγονία
   c. ἑταιρία
   d. οἶκος
   e. πάτρα (and πατριά)
   f. συγγένεια
   g. φρατρία (vel sim.)
   h. φυλή?
2. Units originating in territorial entities
   a. ἄμφοδον
   b. δῆμος
   c. κτοίνα
   d. κωμαρχία
   e. κώμη
   f. οἴη
   g. πύργος?
   h. τόνος
   i. χῶρος
   j. ὠβά
3. Units with numerical designations
   a. collective
      i. ἑκατοστύς
      ii. πεμπάς
      iii. πεντηκονταρχία
      iv. πεντηκοστύς
      v. τριακάς
      vi. χιλιαστύς
   b. partitive
      i. ἑνάτη
      ii. ἡμιόγδοον
      iii. μέρος?
      iv. στοῖχος?
      v. τριττύς
4. Units with designations denoting an association
   a. συμμορία
   b. συνέδριον
   c. συννομή
5. Units with designations of a military character
   a. cf. ναυκραρία
   b. σταρτός

Index II: Statewide functions of public organizations (all entries pertain to phylai unless otherwise noted)

A. Citizens identified according to affiliation with public unit
passim

B. New citizens enrolled in public unit(s)
passim

C. Public units arranged in a fixed order or rotated in a cycle
1. Fixed order
a. Dorian phylai
Argos 2 §7
Epidauros 2 §5
Kalymna 5 §40
Kos 5 §41
Megara 2 §1
Syracuse (Dorian phylai?) 4 §20
b. Ionion phylai (with additions and subdivisions)
cf. Anchialos 6 §13
Athens 1 §1.1
Istros (phyle Romaioi) 6 §18
Kyzikos 6 §28
Miletos (subdivisions) 7 §16
Odessos 6 §14
cf. Perinthos 6 §27
c. Innovating organizations
Ankyra 8 §39
Athens 1 §1.21
Chios (lower level divisions) 5 §12
cf. Corinth (unit?) 2 §2
Dorylaion 8 §14
Ephesos? 7 §11
Hierapolis 8 §21
Istros (phyle Romaioi) 6 §18
Kerkyra (subdivisions) 4 §5
Methymna (*chiliastys* Proteis) 5 §9
Perinthos 6 §27
cf. Prousias-on-Hypios 8 §2
Rhodes (Synoecized State, Kameiros, Lindos): known only from cycle: see 2 below.
Tegea 3 §6
Tenos (*tonoi*) 5 §18
Traianopolis 6 §5
2. Fixed order in cycle
Athens 1 §1.21
Kalymna 5 §40
Kameiros 5 §44
Lindos 5 §45
Lokroi Epizephyrioi 4 §12
Rhodes (Synoecized State) 5 §42
Tegea 3 §6

D. Representation of public units in the organs of government
1. Representation of units in oligarchy
Athens (The Thirty: phylai; *trittyes*?) 1 §1.23
Epidauros (One Hundred Eighty: phylai?) 2 §5
2. Chief magistrate or board of magistrates representing public units
a. ἄρχοντες
Athens (board) 1 §1.23
b. δαμιουργός/-οί
Argos (board) 2 §7
cf. Elis 3 §7
Kameiros (single magistrate in cycle) 5 §44
Kaulonia (single magistrate)? 4 §11
Mantinea (board: unit?) 3 §2
Megara (board: *komai*?) 2 §1
c. κοσμοί
Gortyn (board: *startos*) 5 §29
Krete (board: single phyle) 5 §27-39 passim
d. κοσμόπολις
Lokroi Epizephyrioi (single magistrate in cycle) 4 §12
e. προστάται
Akrai (board)? 4 §19
f. πρυτάνεις
Athens (of *naukraroi*) 1 §1.1
Iasos (board)? 7 §22
cf. Laodikeia-on-Lykos (single magistrate?) 8 §22
g. στεφανηφόρος
cf. Priene (single magistrate) 7 §14
h. φύλαρχοι (board)
Athens? 1 §1.23
Epidamnos 4 §2
Kyme? 7 §4
Kyzikos 6 §28
Nikomedeia 8 §3
Prousias-on-Hypios 8 §2
3. Consultation of, or ratification by, phylai in legislative process
Dreros 5 §33
Lato 5 §35
cf. Lyttos 5 §32
Mylasa 7 §19
4. Deliberative or legislative bodies representing public units
a. Areopagos
Athens? 1 §1.22
b. council (βουλή)
Akragas 4 §18
Athens (401?; 400; 500 [phylai, *trittyes*?, demes]) 1 §1.22
Bria? 8 §19
Chios 5 §12
Corinth? 2 §2
Elis? 3 §7
Epidauros? 2 §5
Eretria 1 §5

Erythrai? 7 §8
Imbros (Athenian cleruchy) 5 §3
Ios? 5 §23
Kalchedon? 6 §24
Kyzikos 6 §28
Laodikeia-on-Lykos 8 §22
Lemnos (Athenian cleruchy) 5 §4
Magnesia-on-Maiandros 7 §13
Miletos 7 §16
Samos (Athenian cleruchy) 5 §13

c. The Eighty
Argos? 2 §7

d. general assembly (ἀπέλλα, ἐκκλησία, etc.)
Athens? 1 §1.22
cf. Delos 5 §20
cf. Dreros 5 §33
Iasos? 7 §22
Mantinea (unit?) 3 §2
Megalopolis 3 §3
Mylasa 7 §19
Samos (*chiliastyes*) 5 §13
Sparta (phylai?, *obai*?) 2 §8

5. Executive boards (and their chairmen) of the council representing public units (drawn from single units in rotation except where noted)

a. ἀγεμών (chairman of board)
Kalchedon 6 §24

b. αἰσυμνῆται (board)
Kalchedon 6 §24

c. γραμματεύς of the council
Athens 1 §1.22

d. ἐπιμήνιοι (board)
Eretria 1 §5

e. ἐπιστάτης (chairman of board)
Aigiale? 5 §22
Athens 1 §1.22
Ios? 5 §23
Kyzikos 6 §28
Magnesia-on-Maiandros 7 §13

f. κατάλογοι (board)
Epidauros (phylai and subdivisions) 2 §5

g. πρόβουλοι (board)
Corinth 2 §2

h. πρόεδροι (board)
Akragas 4 §18
Athens (one from each phyle) 1 §1.22
Ios? (one from each phyle?) 5 §23
Magnesia-on-Maiandros 7 §13
Samos (Athenian cleruchy) (one from each phyle) 5 §13

i. προστάτης
Rhegion (chairman of board?; unit?) 4 §13

j. πρυτάνεις (board)
Athens (phylai; *trittyes*?; demes?) 1 §1.22
Imbros (Athenian cleruchy) 5 §3
Kyzikos 6 §28
Laodikeia-on-Lykos? 8 §22
Lemnos (Athenian cleruchy) 5 §4
Miletos 7 §16
Samos (Athenian cleruchy) 5 §13

k. πρυτανιάρχης (chairman of board?)
Kyzikos 6 §28

l. συλλογεῖς τοῦ δήμου
Athens *(trittyes?)* 1 §1.22

m. συμπρόεδροι (*proedroi* minus chairman)
Athens (one from each phyle) 1 §1.22
Samos (cleruchy: one from each phyle) 5 §13

n. χειροκρίται
Magnesia-on-Maiandros 7 §13

E. Representation of the public organization in the administration of justice

1. Judicial officers other than *dikastai* representing public units

a. cf. διαιτηταί
Athens 1 §1.24

b. εἰσαγωγεῖς
Athens 1 §1.24

c. ἔνδεκα?
Athens 1 §1.24

d. κατήγοροι
Athens 1 §1.24

e. πρόδικοι?
Lokroi Epizephyrioi 4 §12

f. συνήγοροι
Athens 1 §1.24

2. Selection of *dikastai* according to public units

a. δικασταί ("jurors")
Athens 1 §1.24
Erythrai 7 §8
Kyzikos? 6 §28
Megara 2 §1
Pamphylia, unknown polis (unit?) 8 §34

b. τετταράκοντα ("judges")
Athens 1 §1.24

c. τριάκοντα ("judges")
Athens *(trittyes?)* 1 §1.24

3. Organization of courts according to public units
Athens 1 §1.24

4. Selection of legislators according to public units
Athens (νομοθέται: phylai, *trittyes*, and demes?) Athens 1 §1.24

5. Ostracism conducted according to public units

Athens 1 §1.22
F. Representation of the public organization in financial administration and accounting
1. Officers
a. ἀποδέκται
Athens 1 §1.25
b. Ἑλληνοταμίαι
Athens 1 §1.25
c. εὔθυνοι
Athens (phylai; *trittyes*?) 1 §1.25
d. λογισταί
Athens (phylai; *trittyes*?) 1 §1.25
e. λογισταὶ τῆς βουλῆς
Athens 1 §1.25
f. λογιστῆρες
Lokroi Epizephyrioi 4 §12
g. μαστροί
cf. Lindos (demes) 5 §45
Rhodes (Synoecized State) (*ktoinai*): see Kameiros 5 §44
h. μελεδονοί
Samos (*chiliastyes*) 5 §13
i. πάρεδροι
Athens (phylai; *trittyes*?) Athens 1 §1.25
j. συνήγοροι?
Athens 1 § 1.25
k. ταμίαι
Athens (various boards) 1 §1.1 and 25 (secretary in cycle)
Samos (Athenian cleruchy) 5 §13
l. τριττύαρχοι
Athens (*trittyes*) 1 §1.25
m. unnamed
Tauromenion 4 §21
2. Collection or solicitation of funds or services according to public unit
a. λειτουργίαι
Athens 1 §1.27
Herakleia-on-Pontos (*hekatostyes*) 6 §23
b. public subscriptions
Ioulis 5 §15
Lyttos (phylai, *startoi*) 5 §32
Troizen (*komai, patriai*) 2 §6
c. taxation
Athens (*naukrariai*?) 1 §1.1, (demes?) 1 §1.25
Messene 3 §8
3. Distribution of funds according to public unit
Athens (*naukrariai*) 1 §1.1, (phylai) 1 §1.24, (demes) 1 §1.28
Ephesos 7 §11
Iasos 7 §22
Ilion 7 §2
Priene 7 §14
Teos (*symmoriai*) 7 §9
4. Accounting (including composition of catalogues) according to public unit
Samos (*chiliastyes*) 5 §13

G. Secretarial functions administered according to public units
1. Officers
a. γραμματεύς
Athens? 1 §1.22 and 25
Herakleia (Syris) (unit?) 4 §7
Kos 5 §40, 41
2. Compilation of lists, registers, accounts, etc. according to public unit (see also C.1-2, F.4, H.5, K.3, L.3.c and 6.a and b)
a. lists etc. of citizens
Ialysos (demes) 5 §43
Kyme 7 §4
Lampsakos (phylai and *hekatostyes*) 7 §1
Lindos (demes) 5 §45
Samos (*chiliastyes*) 5 §13
Stratonikeia (demes) 7 §26
Syracuse 4 §20
Teos (*symmoriai*?) 7 §9
b. lists of public units
Athens (demes; *gene*) 1 §1.21
Kameiros (*ktoinai; patrai*) 5 §44
Syme (*patrai*) 5 §49

H. Representation of the public organization in the practice of religion
1. Officers
a. ἀμφυκτύονες of Delos
Athens 1 §1.28
b. Ἑλλανοδίκαι
Elis 3 §7
c. ἐπιμεληταί for Great Dionysia
Athens 1 §1.28
d. ἐπιμήνιοι
Lampsakos 7 §1
e. ἐπισκευασταὶ ἱερῶν
Athens 1 §1.28
f. ἐπιστάται of Eleusis
Athens 1 §1.28
g. θεοκολίαι
Dyme (statewide?) 3 §1
h. ἱέρεια
Andania 3 §10
i. ἱερεύς (vel sim.)
Andania 3 §10
Kos (*pentekostyes, triakades*) 5 §41
Lindos (single priest in cycle) 5 §45
Rhodes (Synoecized State: single priest in cycle) 5 §42
j. ἱερομνάμονες
Apollonia (unit?) 4 §4
Argos (phylai, *phatrai*) 2 §7
Lokroi Epizephyrioi (two boards) 4 §12

k. ἱεροποιοί
Athens (various boards) 1 §1.28
Delos? 5 §20
Kos 5 §41
cf. Priene 7 §14
l. κουρῆτες
Ephesos 7 §11
m. μολποί (αἰσυμνῶν and προσέταιροι)
Miletos 7 §16
n. νεωποῖαι
Ephesos 7 §11
Iasos 7 §22
cf. Samos 5 §13
o. προφήτης
Miletos (demes) 7 §16
p. ὑδροφόρος
Miletos (unit?) 7 §16
q. miscellaneous
Elis (Sixteen Women) 3 §7
Miletos (Twelve Girls) 7 §16
2. Parades or processions organized by public unit
Athens? 1 §1.28
Epidauros 2 §5
Ilion 7 §2
Kos (phylai, *chiliastyes* = *enatai*) 5 §41
3. Sacrifices, feasts, or other ceremonies conducted on statewide basis according to public unit
Aphrodisias 7 §28
Athens (phylai and *trittyes*) 1 §1.1; (phylai) 1 §1.27; (demes) 1 §1.28
cf. Axos 5 §28
Elaia 8 §7: see Pergamon 8 §6
Eretria (*choroi*) 1 §5
Ilion 7 §2
Istros 6 §18
Kos (phylai, *chiliastyes* = *enatai*) 5 §41
Kyme 7 §4
Miletos 7 §16
Odessos 6 §14
Pergamon 8 §6
Phigaleia? 3 §5
Priene 7 §14
Teos (*symmoriai*) 7 §9
4. Funeral conducted according to public unit
Athens 1 §1.28
5. Lists or catalogues of a religious nature arranged by public unit
Athens 1 §1.28
Kos 5 §41
Lampsakos 7 §1
cf. Mantinea (unit?) 3 §2
Tegea 3 §6
cf. Teos (*symmoriai*) 7 §9

I. Agonal activities conducted according to public units
1. Dramatic (tragedy, comedy, satyr plays)
a. officers in charge
i. γυμνασίαρχος
Rhodes (Synoecized State) 5 §42
ii. ἐπιμεληταί
Athens (for Great Dionysia) 1 §1.28
Kos 5 §41
iii. φύλαρχος
Rhodes (Synoecized State) 5 §42
iv. χορηγός
Athens 1 §1.27
Kos? 5 §41
Lindos 5 §45
Rhodes (Synoecized State) 5 §42
b. choruses drawn from phylai
Athens? 1 §1.27
Kos? 5 §41
2. Lyric
a. officers in charge
i. γυμνασίαρχος
Rhodes (Synoecized State) 5 §42
ii. ἐπιμεληταί
Athens (for Great Dionysia) 1 §1.28
iii. φύλαρχος
Rhodes (Synoecized State) 5 §42
iv. χορηγός
Athens 1 §1.27
Kos 5 §41
Rhodes (Synoecized State) 5 §42
b. choruses drawn from phylai
Athens 1 §1.27
cf. Elis (Sixteen Women) 3 §7
Kos 5 §41
cf. Miletos (Twelve Girls) 7 §16
Rhodes (Synoecized State) 5 §42
3. Judging of dramatic and lyric contests by representatives of phylai
Athens 1 §1.27
4. Musical performance
Rhodes (Synoecized State) 5 §42
5. Athletic and/or military contests
a. officers or captains (other than military personnel)
i. ἀγεμών
Delphi 1 §14
ii. ἀγωνοθέτης
Ankyra 8 §39
Argos 2 §7
Nikaia? 8 §4
cf. Rhodes (Synoecized State) 5 §42
iii. ἀθλοθέτης

Athens (*trittyes*) 1 §1.26, 28
iv. *βίδεος*
Sparta (*obai* = phylai) 2 §8
v. *γυμνασίαρχος*
Athens 1 §1.27
Rhodes (Synoecized State) 5 §42
Tauromenion 4 §21
Tomoi? 6 §17
vi. *διαβέτης*
Sparta (*obai* = phylai) 2 §8
vii. *ἑκκαίδεκα γυναῖκες*
Elis 3 §7
viii. *Ἑλλανοδίκαι*
Elis 3 §7
ix. *λαμπάδαρχος* (-ης, etc.)
Chalkis 1 §4
Delos 5 §20
Erythrai (*chiliastyes*) 7 §8
Lindos? 5 §45
x. *πρέσβυς*
Sparta (*obai* = phylai) 2 §8
b. events contested among public units
i. *ἅμιλλα νεῶν*
Athens 1 §1.27
ii. *ἀνθιππασία*
Athens 1 §1.29
iii. *εὐανδρία*
Athens 1 §1.27
Rhodes (Synoecized State) 5 §42
iv. *εὐοπλία*
Athens 1 §1.27
v. [*ε*]*ὐταξία*
Athens 1 §1.27
vi. *λαμπάς* or *λαμπαδοδρομία*
Athens 1 §1.27
Chalkis 1 §4
Delos 5 §20
Delphi 1 §14
Erythrai (*chiliastyes*) 7 §8
Lindos? 5 §45
Rhodes (Synoecized State) 5 §42
Samos 5 §13
Syros 5 §19
vii. *σφαιρεῖς*
Sparta (*obai*) 2 §8
6. Division of stadia and theaters according to public units
a. stadia
Saittai 8 §13
b. theaters
Argos? 2 §7
Athens 1 §1.22
Ephesos 7 §11
Hierapolis 8 §21
Kibyra 8 §27
Mantinea (unit?)? 3 §2
Megalopolis 3 §3
Miletos (*chiliastyes*?) 7 §16
Samos (*chiliastyes*) 5 §13
Stoboi 6 §4
Stratonikeia (demes?) 7 §26
J. Public administrative functions correlated with public units
1. Officers
a. *ἀγορανόμοι*
Athens 1 §1.26
Kos 5 §41
Priene? 7 §14
b. *ἀθλοθέται*
Athens (phylai?, *trittyes*) 1 §1.26
c. *ἀστυνόμοι*
cf. Ankyra 8 §39
Athens 1 §1.26
d. *γεωνόμοι*
Athens 1 §1.26
e. *ἐπιμεληταί*
Athens 1 §1.26
ἐμπορίου
τῶν νεωρίων
Terina (unit?)? 4 §10
f. *οἱ ἐπὶ σίτου*
Samos 5 §13
g. *ἐπισκευαστῆρες*
Lokroi Epizephyrioi 4 §12
h. *ἐπιστάται*
Athens (of mint) 1 §1.26
Epidauros (of building projects) (phylai, units) 2 §5
Lokroi Epizephyrioi 4 §12
i. *μελεδωνοί*
Samos (*chiliastyes*) 5 §13
j. *μετρονόμοι*
Athens 1 §1.26
k. *ὁδοποιοί*
Athens 1 §1.26
l. *ὁρισταί*
Herakleia (Siris) (unit?) 4 §7
m. *ὁρκωταί*
Kos 5 §41
n. *πολιανόμοι*
Herakleia (Siris) (unit?)? 4 §7
o. *πωληταί*
Athens (phylai, demes) 1 §1.26
p. *σιτοφύλακες*
Athens 1 §1.26
q. *σιτῶναι*
Athens 1 §1.26
r. *ταφροποιοί*
Athens (phylai, *trittyes*, demes) 1 §1.26
s. *τειχοποιοί*
Athens 1 §1.26
Lokroi Epizephyrioi 4 §12

t. τερμαστῆρες
Megara 2 §1

2. Public works administered or apportioned according to public unit
Athens (various projects) 1 §1.26
Ephesos (construction/repair of pavement?) 7 §11
Sardeis (roof tiles) 8 §9
Sparta (roof tiles: *obai*) 2 §8
Syracuse (catapult bullets: phylai and phratries) 4 §20
Traianopolis (milestones)? 6 §5

3. Distributions to citizenbody according to public unit
Aphrodisias 7 §28
Athens? (*trittyes*) 1 §1.26
Dionysopolis 6 §15
Nysa (phylai, *synedria, symmoriai*) 8 §11
Samos (*chiliastyes*) 5 §13
Stratonikeia (demes) 7 §26
Syracuse (*tribus*) 4 §20

4. Miscellaneous administrative functions
Athens (administration of oath to phylai and demes) 1 §1.26
Kos (administration of oath to phylai) 5 §41
Sparta (examination of newborn by elders of *phyletai*) 2 §8

K. Colonization administered according to public unit

1. Officers charged with distribution of land, houses, etc.
a. γεωνόμοι
Athens 1 §1.26
b. untitled
Teos 7 §9

2. Division of colonists according to public units of mother-city
cf. Halikarnassos 7 §23
Issa 4 §1
Rhodes (Ialysos, Kameiros, Lindos?) 5 §42-52
Sparta (phylai; *obai*?) 2 §8: see under Thera 5 §25
Teos? 7 §9
Thera (*choroi*) 5 §25: see under Kyrene 5 §26
Troizen 2 §6

3. Lists of Athenian cleruchs arranged by phylai
Imbros 5 §3
Lemnos 5 §4

L. Representation of public units in the military organization

1. Officials of a military or related nature selected according to public units
a. ἀποστολεῖς
Athens 1 §1.29
b. ἀρχιτέκτονες
Athens 1 §1.29
c. ἐπιμεληταὶ τῶν νεωρίων
Athens 1 §1.29
d. ἴλαρχοι
Argos 2 §7
e. καταλογεῖς
Athens 1 §1.29
f. πολέμαρχος/-οι
Athens (one of nine archons) 1 §1.23
Lokroi Epizephyrioi (board) 4 §12
Megara (board: *komai*?) 2 §1
g. στρατηγοί
Athens 1 §1.29
Kos? 5 §41
Megara (*komai*?) 2 §1
Syracuse? 4 §20
Tauromenion? 4 §21
h. ταξίαρχοι
Athens 1 §1.29
i. τριήραρχοι
Athens 1 §1.27
j. τριηροποιοί
Athens (phylai, *trittyes*, and demes) 1 §1.29
k. φρούραρχος
Epidauros 2 §5
l. φρουροὶ νεωρίων
Athens (demes) 1 §1.29
m. φύλαρχοι (cavalry commanders only)
Athens 1 §1.29
n. unnamed
Teos (*pyrgoi*)? 7 §9

2. Public units bearing a military title and/or for which a military function is attested
a. ἄμφοδον
Smyrna 7 §6
Stratonikeia 7 §26
b. δῆμος
Athens 1 §1.29
c. ἑκατοστύς
Herakleia-on-Pontos 6 §23
d. ἡμιόγδοον
Corinth 2 §2
e. πεμπάς
Phleious 2 §4
f. πεντακονταρχία
Istros 6 §18
g. πεντηκοστύς
Sparta 2 §8
h. πύργος
Smyrna 7 §6
Stratonikeia 7 §26
Teos 7 §9
i. σταρτός
Gortyn 5 §29
Lyttos 5 §32
j. τριακάς
Corinth 2 §2
Sparta 2 §8

k. τριττύς
Athens? 1 §1.21, 29
l. φρατρία vel sim.
cf. Argos 2 §7
Syracuse 4 §20
m. φυλή
Argos 2 §7
Athens 1 §1.29
Messene 4 §14
Miletos 7 §16
Perge 8 §29
Sparta 2 §8
Syracuse 4 §20
n. ὠβά
Sparta? 2 §8
3. Organization of ephebic college according to phylai
a. officers
i. λοχαγοί
Athens 1 §1.29
ii. σοφρωνισταί
Athens (phylai; *trittyes*?) 1 §1.29
iii. ταξίαρχοι
Athens 1 §1.29
b. phylai as ephebic regiments
Athens 1 §1.29
c. lists of *epheboi* arranged according to phylai
Athens 1 §1.29
Eretria (demes) 1 §5
Kyzikos 6 §28
Odessos 6 §14
cf. Pergamon 8 §6
Perinthos 6 §27
Thouria 3 §9
4. Division of city fortification according to public unit
cf. Argos 2 §7
Corinth (*hemiogdoa* and *triakades*?) 2 §2
Herakleia-on-Pontos (phylai and *hekatostyes*) 6 §23
cf. Mantinea (phylai?) 3 §2
Perge 8 §29
5. Manufacture (?) of weaponry according to public unit
Syracuse (phylai and *phratriai*) 4 §20
6. Lists of a military nature arranged according to public unit (for ephebes, see 3.c)
a. lists of fallen
Argos (phylai and *phatrai*) 2 §7
Athens 1 §1.29
Corinth? (*hemiogdoa* and *triakades*?) 2 §2
Epidauros 2 §5
Mantinea? 3 §2
Megara 2 §1
Tegea 3 §6
b. lists of military personnel
Athens 1 §1.29
Eretria (*choroi*) 1 §5
Syracuse 4 §20

Index III: Internal organization of public units (all entries pertain to phylai unless otherwise noted)

A. Documents
1. Accounts
Athens (deme) 1 §1.34
2. Catalogues
Athens (phyle, deme) 1 §1.34
Kos 5 §41
3. Contracts (other than leases)
Athens (phyle, *trittyes*?, deme) 1 §1.32-34
4. Decrees
Argos (*kome*) 2 §7
Athens (phyle, deme) 1 §1.32, 34
Chios (phyle?) 5 §12
Iasos? 7 §22
Istros 6 §18
Kameiros (*ktoina*)? 5 §44
Karpathos (*ktoina*) 5 §52
Kos (phyle, deme) 5 §41
Kyzikos 6 §28
Methymna (phyle, *chiliastys*) 5 §9
Mylasa 7 §19
Naxos (deme?) 5 §21
Samos (phyle [cleruchy], *chiliastys* [post-restoration]) 5 §13
Sparta (*oba*) 2 §8
Syme (*ktoina*) 5 §49
Tenos 5 §18
Teos (*symmoria*) 7 §9
Troizen (*kome, patra*)? 2 §6
5. Dedications (excluding honorary texts)
Anchialos 6 §13
Athens (phyle, deme) 1 §1.32, 34
Bithynion-Claudiopolis 8 §1
Delos (*trittys*) 5 §20
Iasos 7 §22
Istros 6 §18
Lindos (deme) 5 §45
Miletos 7 §16 ad fin.
Perge 8 §29
6. Honorary inscriptions (including statue bases and, where appropriate, dedications)
Aizanoi 8 §17
Akmoneia 8 §18
Ankyra 8 §39
Beroia 6 §3
Bithynion-Claudiopolis 8 §1
Corinth (*tribus*) 2 §2
Dorylaion 8 §14
Eumeneia 8 §20
Ikonion 8 §36
Karpathos (*ktoina*) 5 §52
Kibyra 8 §27
Laodikeia-on-Lykos 8 §22
Lilybaion (*tribus*) 4 §17
Lindos (deme) 5 §45
Lystra 8 §35
Megara 2 §1
Messene 3 §8
Nikaia 8 §4
Nysa 8 §11
Philadelpheia 8 §10
Philippopolis 6 §8
Priene 7 §14
Prousa 8 §5
Prousias-on-Hypios 8 §2
Sardeis 8 §9
Side 8 §32
Termessos 8 §26
Thessalonike 6 §2
7. Leases (*locationes*)
Athens (phyle, deme) 1 §1.32, 34
Chios (phyle?) 5 §12
Mylasa 7 §19
8. ὅροι (various functions)
Athens (phyle, *trittys*?, deme) 1 §1.32-34
Corinth (units?) 2 §2
Megara? 2 §1
Miletos (deme) 7 §16
Philippopolis 6 §8
Samos (cleruchy) 5 §13
Telos? 5 §50
Teos (*symmoria*) 7 §9
Thasos (phyle?, *patra*) 5 §1
9. Sacred laws (*leges sacrae*)
Athens (*trittys*?, deme) 1 §1.33, 34
Kos (phyle, deme) 5 §41

B. Constitutions (νόμοι, etc.) (evidence may pertain to state in some cases)
Athens (phyle, deme) 1 §1.32, 34
Chios (phyle?) 5 §12
Kos (phyle, deme) 5 §41
Megara 2 §1
Methymna (phyle, *chiliastys*) 5 §9
cf. Samos (*chiliastyes*) 5 §13
Teos (*symmoria*) 7 §9

C. Officers
1. Executive or administrative
a. ἀρχιφυλέτης?
Termessos 8 §26
b. ἄρχων (vel sim.)
Chios (phyle?) 5 §12
cf. Dyme (ἀρχεῖα) 3 §1
Methymna? 5 §9
Mylasa 7 §19
Nikomedeia (= phylarch?) 8 §3
Phoinix (*ktoina*) 5 §48
Tenos 5 §18
c. βίδεος
Sparta (*oba* = phyle) 2 §8
d. δεκανοί
Amblada? 8 §24
e. δήμαρχος
Athens 1 §1.34
Eretria 1 §5

Kalymna 5 §40
Kos 5 §41
f. δημιουργός/οί
Argos (*kome*) (board?) 2 §7
Elis (deme) (single officer?) 3 §7
g. διαβέτης
Sparta (*oba* = phyle) 2 §8
h. ἐπιμελητής/αί (or form of ἐπιμελεῖσθαι)
cf. Aizanoi 8 §17
Akmoneia 8 §18
Ankyra 8 §39
Athens (phyle, deme) 1 §1.32, 34
Beroia 6 §3
Chios (phyle?) 5 §12
Dorylaion 8 §14
Kibyra 8 §27
Nakoleia 8 §15
Philippopolis 6 §8
Samos (Athenian cleruchy) 5 §13
cf. Sardeis 8 §9
Sparta (*oba* = phyle) 2 §8
Tomoi 6 §17
i. ἐπίσκοποι
Istros 6 §18
j. ἐπιστάτας
Karpathos (*ktoina*) 5 §52
k. ἔφοροι
Sparta (*oba*) 2 §8
l. ἡγεμών
Delphi 1 §14
m. κωμάρχης/αι
Lampsakos (*kome*) (board?) 7 §1
Lindos (*kome*) (single officer) 5 §45
n. μελεδωνοί
Samos (*chiliastys*) (board?) 5 §13
o. ναύκραρος
Athens (*naukraria*) 1 §1.1
p. οἰκονόμοι
Mylasa (two) 7 §19
q. πρέσβυς
Sparta (*oba*) 2 §8
r. προστάτης/αι
Akrai (internal?) 4 §19
Argos 2 §7
Ikonion 8 §36
Laodikeia Katakekaumene 8 §37
Sparta (*oba* = phyle)? 2 §8
Teos (*symmoria*) (four) 7 §9
Tomoi 6 §17
s. πρύτανις
Athens (*naukraria*) 1 §1.1
Laodikeia-on-Lykos? 8 §22
t. σταρταγέτας
Gortyn (*startos*?) 5 §29
u. συνάρχοντες
Athens (deme) 1 §1.34
v. τριακάδαρχος
Akrai (*triakas*) 4 §19
w. τριττύαρχος (vel sim.)
Athens (*trittys*) 1 §1.33
Delos (*trittys*) 5 §20
x. φύλαρχος (vel sim.)
Aizanoi 8 §17
Anchialos 6 §13
Ankyra 8 §39
Athens 1 §1.1 and 29
Dimale (or Dimallon) 4 §3
Dorylaion 8 §14
Elaia 8 §7: see Pergamon 8 §6
Ephesos 7 §11
Epidamnos 4 §2
Eumeneia 8 §20
Hadrianopolis 6 §9
Ilion 7 §2
Istros? 6 §18
Kios 6 §29
Kos 5 §41
Kyme 7 §4
Kyzikos 6 §28
Lampsakos 7 §1
Laodikeia Katakekaumene 8 §37
Lindos? 5 §45
Magnesia-on-Sipylos 8 §8
Markianopolis 6 §12
Methymna 5 §9
Miletos 7 §16
Nikomedeia 8 §3
Pautalia 6 §6
Pergamon 8 §6
Philippopolis 6 §8
Prousias-on-Hypios (two) 8 §2
Rhodes (Synoecized State) 5 §42
Sardeis 8 §9
Tomoi 6 §17
y. φυλοβασιλεύς
Athens 1 §1.1
z. χελληστυάρχας
Methymna (*chiliastys*) 5 §9
aa. ὥϝαρχος
Sparta (*oba*) 2 §8
bb. *curio*
Corinth (*tribus*) 2 §2
2. Judicial
a. ἐγγδικῶν (same as ἐκδικῶν?)
Philippopolis 6 §8
b. ἐκδικῶν
Dorylaion 8 §14
Philippopolis 6 §8
c. κατήγοροι
Athens (deme) 1 §1.34
d. νομοφύλακες
Athens (deme?) 1 §1.34
e. ὁρισταί
Athens (deme) 1 §1.34

f. σύνδικος/οι
Athens (phyle, deme) 1 §1.32, 34
g. συνήγοροι
Athens (deme) 1 §1.34
3. Accounting and financial
a. ἀργυροταμίας
Nikomedeia (of phylarchs) 8 §3
b. ἐγλογιστής
Mylasa 7 §19
c. ἐπιτιμηταί
Athens (deme) 1 §1.34
d. εὔθυνος
Athens (deme) 1 §1.34
e. ἱεροταμίαι
Kos (deme) 5 §41
f. κτηματῶναι
Mylasa (two to five) 7 §19
g. λογιστής
Athens (deme) 1 §1.34
h. μαστρός
Lindos (deme) 5 §45
i. πάρεδροι (of εὔθυνος)
Athens (deme) 1 §1.34
j. ταμίας/αι
Argos (*kome*) 2 §7
Athens (phyle, deme) 1 §1.32, 34
Karpathos (*ktoina*) 5 §52
Kos (phyle, deme) 5 §41
Mylasa (two) 7 §19
Sparta (*oba*) 2 §8
4. Secretarial
a. ἀντιγραφεύς
Athens (deme) 1 §1.34
b. γραμματεύς/εῖς
Athens (phyle, deme) 1 §1.32, 34
Beroia 6 §3
Dorylaion (one; two) 8 §14
Nakoleia 8 §15
Nikomedeia (of phylarchs) 8 §3
Sparta (*oba;* of ephors) 2 §8
Tomoi 6 §17
c. γροφεύς
Argos (*kome*) 2 §7
d. δογματογράφοι
Sparta (*oba*) 2 §8
e. ἐπιμεληταί
Athens (deme) 1 §1.34
f. ἐπίτροποι
Kos 5 §41
5. Tellers
a. πρόβουλος (chairman of χειροκρίται, q.v.)
b. χειροκρίται
Magnesia-on-Maiandros (internal?) 7 §13
6. Heralds
a. κε[λευσταί]
Methymna (*chiliastys*) 5 §9
b. κῆρυξ
Athens (deme) 1 §1.34
Kos (deme) 5 §41
Methymna (phyle, *chiliastys*) 5 §9
7. Religious
a. ἀρχεύων
Kos (phyle, deme) 5 §41
b. ἄρχουσαι
Athens (phyle, deme) 1 §1.32, 34
c. ἄρχων
Athens (deme) 1 §1.34
d. ἐπιμήνιοι
Kos 5 §41
Methymna 5 §9
Samos (*chiliastys*) 5 §13
e. ἱέρεια
Athens (*trittys*?, deme) 1 §1.33, 34
f. ἱερεύς
Athens (phyle, *trittys*?, deme) 1 §1.32-34
Kos (phyle, deme) 5 §41
g. ἱεροθύται
Karpathos (*ktoina*) 5 §52
h. ἱερομνήμονες
Athens (deme) 1 §1.34
i. ἱεροποιοί
Athens (deme) 1 §1.34
Kos (deme) 5 §41
Priene? (internal?) 7 §14
j. κώμαρχοι
Athens (deme) 1 §1.34
k. μαστρός
Chalke (*ktoina*) 5 §51
Kameiros (*ktoina*) 5 §44
cf. Lindos (deme) 5 §45
l. μεράρχαι
Athens (deme) 1 §1.34
m. μυστηρίων ἐπιμελητής
Athens (deme) 1 §1.34
n. ναποῖαι
Kos (phyle, deme) 5 §41
o. σωφρονισταί
Athens (deme) 1 §1.34
8. Agonal
a. for statewide competitions, see II.I.1-5
b. probable non-statewide officers
i. γυμνασίαρχος
Athens (deme) 1 §1.34
ii. χορηγός
Athens (deme) 1 §1.34
9. Ad hoc appointees
Athens (phyle, deme) 1 §1.32, 34
Karpathos (*ktoina*) 5 §52
Methymna (*chiliastys*) 5 §9
Sparta (*oba*)? 2 §8
Tenos 5 §18
D. Assemblies (ἀγορά, ἐκκλησία, σύνοδος, etc.)
Argos (*kome*) 2 §7

Athens (phyle, deme) 1 §1.32, 34
Istros 6 §18
Kameiros (*ktoina*) 5 §44
Kos 5 §41
Methymna (phyle, *chiliastys*) 5 §9
Mylasa 7 §19
Plataseis 7 §25
Samos (*chiliastys*) 5 §13
Syme (*ktoina*) 5 §49

E. Internal procedures (for financial, see H; for religious, I)
1. Accounting (λόγος, λογίζεσθαι, etc.). Cf. H.2, 5.g, etc.
Athens (phyle, deme) 1 §1.32, 34
Kos 5 §41
2. Announcements (cf. F.2.b)
Kos 5 §41
3. ἀντίδοσις (exchange of properties)
Athens (deme) 1 §1.34
4. διαψήφισις
Athens (deme) 1 §1.34
5. δοκιμασία (preliminary scrutiny of officers)
Athens (deme) 1 §1.34
6. ἐπιτροπή (arbitration)
Athens (deme) 1 §1.34
7. εὔθυναι (examination upon leaving office)
Athens (deme) 1 §1.34
8. ἔφεσις (appeal)
Athens (deme) 1 §1.34
9. "Heiresses," custody of
Athens 1 §1.32
Gortyn 5 §29
10. λειτουργίαι
Athens (deme) 1 §1.34
11. μαρτυρία
Athens (deme) 1 §1.34
12. Oaths
Argos (*kome*) 2 §7
Athens (deme) 1 §1.34
Kos 5 §41
13. Publication of documents: see A.1-9
14. Registration
Kos 5 §41
15. Trials
Argos (*kome*) 2 §7
Athens (deme) 1 §1.34
Kos (deme) 5 §41
16. Voting (election, sortition, passage of decrees, etc.)
Argos 2 §7
Athens (phyle, deme) 1 §1.32, 34
Kameiros (*ktoina*) 5 §44
Kos (phyle, deme) 5 §41
Samos (*chiliastys*) 5 §13

F. Conferral of honors (τιμαί, τίμια, etc.) by public units
1. Laudatory titles
a. ἀρχιφυλέτης
Termessos 8 §26
b. εὐεργέτης
Argos (*kome*) 2 §7
Istros 6 §18
Kos (deme) 5 §41
Laodikeia Katakekaumene 8 §37
Nakoleia 8 §15
Prousa 8 §5
Tomoi 6 §17
c. θυγάτηρ
Kos (deme) 5 §41
d. κτιστής
Megara 2 §1
e. νομοθέτης
Megara 2 §1
f. πατὴρ τῆς φυλῆς
Ankyra 8 §39
g. πάτρων (Lat. *patronus*)
Corinth (*tribus*) 2 §2
Laodikeia Katakekaumene 8 §37
h. σωτήρ
Kos (deme) 5 §41
i. τροφεύς
Megara 2 §1
j. υἱός
Kos (deme) 5 §41
k. φιλότειμος
Anchialos 6 §13
Tomoi 6 §17
2. Awards
a. ἀνάθημα
Athens (phyle, deme) 1 §1.32, 34
b. announcement of honors (ἀναγόρευσις, ἀνειπεῖν, etc.)
Athens (phyle, deme) 1 §1.32, 34
Istros 6 §18
Kos (deme) 5 §41
Methymna (phyle, *chiliastys*) 5 §9
Mylasa 7 §19
Teos (*symmoria*) 7 §9
c. ἀτέλεια
Athens (phyle, deme) 1 §1.32, 34
d. γέρα
Istros 6 §18
e. δωρεαί
Athens (deme) 1 §1.34
f. ἔγκτησις
Labraunda (*syngeneia*) 7 §21
g. ἔπαινος, ἐπαινέσαι, etc.
Athens (phyle, deme) 1 §1.32, 34
Kameiros (*ktoina*) 5 §44
Karpathos (*ktoina*) 5 §52
Kos (phyle, deme) 5 §41
Lindos (deme) 5 §45
Methymna (*chiliastys*) 5 §9
Mylasa 7 §19
Sparta (*oba*) 2 §8
Tenos 5 §18
Teos (*symmoria*) 7 §9

h. induction into subunit
Athens (deme Peiraieus: into *triakas*) 1 §1.34
i. ξένια
Karpathos (*ktoina*) 5 §52
j. πολιτεία
Labraunda (*syngeneia*) 7 §21
cf. Philippopolis 6 §8
k. προεδρία
Argos (*kome*) 2 §7
Athens (deme) 1 §1.34
Labraunda (*syngeneia*) 7 §21
Philippopolis 6 §8
l. properties, access to
Tenos 5 §18
m. sacrifice or sacrificial portion (μερίς, etc.)
Athens (phyle, deme) 1 §1.32, 34
Istros 6 §18
Kos (deme) 5 §41
cf. Labraunda (*syngeneia*) 7 §21
Methymna (phyle, *chiliastys*) 5 §9
Mylasa 7 §19
Sparta (*oba*) 2 §8
Tenos 5 §18
n. σίτησις
Methymna (*chiliastys*) 5 §9
Sparta (*oba*)? 2 §8
o. statue or portrait (ἄγαλμα, ἀνδριάς, εἰκών)
Argos 2 §7
Athens (phyle, deme) 1 §1.32, 34
Corinth (*tribus*) 2 §2
Dorylaion 8 §14
Erythrai (phyle?, *chiliastys*) 7 §8
Ilion 7 §2
Kos (deme) 5 §41
Lindos (deme) 5 §45
Megara 2 §1
Methymna (*chiliastys*) 5 §9
Mylasa 7 §19
Philippopolis 6 §8
Phokaia 7 §7
Sebastopolis 6 §19
Sillyon 8 §30
Teos (phyle, *symmoria*) 7 §9
p. στέφανος
Athens (phyle, deme) 1 §1.32, 34
Ialysos (*ktoina*) 5 §43
Istros 6 §18
Kameiros (*ktoina*) 5 §44
Karpathos (*ktoina*) 5 §52
Kedreai 5 §46
Kos (phyle, deme) 5 §41
Lindos (deme) 5 §45
Methymna (phyle, *chiliastys*) 5 §9
Mylasa 7 §19
Phoinix (*ktoina*) 5 §48
Syme (*ktoina*) 5 §49
Tenos 5 §18
Teos (phyle, *symmoria*) 7 §9
Tomoi 6 §17
q. συνεστιᾶσθαι
Athens (deme) 1 §1.34
r. τιμαί, τίμια
passim
G. Property holdings of public units
1. Agora
Athens (phyle, deme) 1 §1.32, 34
2. Buildings (other than religious structures: see I.8)
Athens (phyle, deme) 1 §1.32, 34
Chios (phyle?) 5 §12
Delos (*trittys*) 5 §20
Mylasa 7 §19
Phoinix (*ktoina*) 5 §48
Samos (*chiliastys*) 5 §13
Sardeis 8 §9
Sparta (*oba*) 2 §8
Termessos (?) 8 §26
Tomoi 6 §17
3. Inscribed monuments
passim
4. Land
Athens (phyle, *trittys*, deme) 1 §1.32-34
Chios (phyle?) 5 §12
Kameiros (*ktoina*) (τόπος) 5 §44
Miletos (*chiliastys*?) (τόπος?) 7 §16
Mylasa 7 §19
Nikomedeia (τόπος) 8 §3
Olymos 7 §20
Teos (*symmoria*) (τόπος) 7 §9
cf. Thera (τόπος?) 5 §25
5. Markers (ὅροι)
Athens (phyle, *trittys*?, deme) 1 §1.32-34
Corinth (units?) 2 §2
Megara? 2 §1
Miletos (deme) 7 §16
Philippopolis 6 §8
Samos (Kleisthenic phylai?) 5 §13
Telos? 5 §50
Teos (*symmoria*) 7 §9
Thasos (phyle?, *patra*) 5 §1
6. Stelai
passim
7. Theater
cf. F.2.k (προεδρία)
Argos (*kome*) 2 §7
Athens (deme) 1 §1.34
8. Miscellaneous properties
Athens (phyle, deme) 1 §1.32, 34
Chios (phyle?) 5 §12
Philippopolis 6 §8
Samos (Athenian cleruchy) 5 §13
Sardeis 8 §9
Tenos 5 §18

H. Financial administration and resources
1. Officers: see C.3
2. Accounting procedures: see E.1
3. Explicit references to funds belonging to or controlled by public units
Aigiale 5 §22
Amastris 6 §21
Athens (phyle, *trittys*, deme) 1 §1.32-34
Bithynion-Claudiopolis 8 §1
Chios (phyle?) 5 §12
Ephesos 7 §11
Istros 6 §18
Kos (phyle, deme) 5 §41
Kyzikos 6 §28
Lilybaion 4 §17
Lyttos (phyle, *startos*, *hetairia*) 5 §32
Megara 2 §1
Mylasa 7 §19
Nikomedeia 8 §3
Olymos 7 §20
cf. Priene 7 §14
Prousa 8 §5
Samos (Athenian cleruchy: phyle, *chiliastys*) 5 §13
Sardeis 8 §9
Sparta (*oba*) 2 §8
Tenos 5 §18

4. Explicit references to sources of income of public units
a. contributions by private persons (including endowments [see 4.d], but excluding expenses met by officer of unit [see 4.e]
Amastris 6 §21
Aphrodisias 7 §28
Athens (deme) 1 §1.34
Bithynion-Claudiopolis 8 §1
Dionysopolis 6 §15
Ephesos 7 §11
Istros 6 §18
Kameiros (deme) 5 §44
Kos 5 §41
Kyme 7 §4
Lyttos (phyle?, *startos*?, *hetairia*) 5 §32
Methymna (phyle, *chiliastys*) 5 §9
Miletos 7 §16
Mylasa 7 §19
Odessos 6 §14
Philadelpheia 8 §10
Priene 7 §14
cf.Rhodes (Synoecized State) 5 §42
Samos (*chiliastys*) 5 §13
Sebastopolis 6 §19
b. disbursals by state
Delphi 1 §14
Elaia 8 §7: see Pergamon 8 §6
Ephesos (from endowment) 7 §11
Ilion (from endowment) 7 §2
Karpathos (*ktoina*) 5 §52
cf. Lampsakos 7 §1
Pergamon 8 §6
Priene 7 §14
cf. Sebastopolis 6 §19
Teos (*symmoria*) 7 §9
c. ἐγκτητικόν (tax on non-demesmen resident in deme)
Athens (deme) 1 §1.34
d. endowments (ἐπιδόσεις), earnings from
Aphrodisias 7 §28
Argos (*kome*) 2 §7
Ephesos 7 §11
Ilion 7 §2
Istros 6 §18
Laodikeia-on-Lykos (στεφανωτικά) 8 §22
Philadelpheia 8 §10
Samos (*chiliastys*) 5 §13
e. expenses met by officer of unit
Athens (deme) 1 §1.34
Kos (deme) 5 §41
Lyttos (phyle, *startos*) 5 §32
Phoinix (*ktoina*) 5 §48
Teos (*symmoria*) 7 §9
f. fines
Amastris 6 §21
Athens (phyle, deme) 1 §1.32, 34
Chios (phyle?) 5 §12
Istros 6 §18
Kos (phyle, deme) 5 §41
Mylasa 7 §19
Nikomedeia 8 §3
g. leasing or renting of property: see also A.7
Athens (phyle, deme) 1 §1.32, 34
Chios (phyle?) 5 §12
Delos (*trittys*) 5 §20
Mylasa 7 §19
h. λειτουργίαι: see also E.8
Athens (deme) 1 §1.34
i. lending at interest
Athens (phyle, deme) 1 §1.32, 34
Kos (deme) 5 §41
Samos (Athenian cleruchy) 5 §13
j. sale of property
Tenos 5 §18
k. taxes (τὰ τέλη)
Athens (deme) 1 §1.34
l. theater tickets, sale of
Athens (deme) 1 §1.34
m. general (πρόσοδοι, λήμματα, etc.)
passim

5. Explicit references to expenditures or investments by public units
   a. awards: see F.2
   b. borrowing
      Kyzikos? 6 §28
   c. construction
      Athens (deme) 1 §1.34
      Mylasa 7 §19
      Sardeis 8 §9
   d. contributions (public subscriptions, etc.)
      Athens (deme 1 §1.34
      Eretria (*choroi* supply victims) 1 §5
      Kameiros (demes) 5 §44
      Magnesia-on-Maiandros 7 §13
      Troizen (*komai, patrai*?) 2 §6
   e. disbursals to officers of unit
      Athens (deme) 1 §1.34
   f. endowments, establishment of
      Ioulis 5 §15
   g. inscription, erection of stele
      passim
   h. payment of interest
      Delos (*trittys*) 5 §20
   i. religious functions (sacrifice, reception, etc.)
      Athens (phyle, deme) 1 §1.32, 34
      Kos (deme) 5 §41
      Miletos 7 §16 ad fin.
   j. rents or leases
      Athens (deme) 1 §1.34
   k. taxation
      Athens (deme) 1 §1.34
   l. general (ἀναλώματα, ὀνήματα, etc.)
      passim

I. Religious aspects of public units
   1. Units bearing name of god, hero, etc.
      passim
   2. Divinity bearing name of public unit as epithet
      Epidauros (Artemis Pamphylaia?) 2 §5
      Megara (Zeus Milichios Panphylos?) 2 §1
   3. Religious officers of unit: see C.7
   4. Sacred laws of unit: see A.9
   5. Sacred treasuries or other funds
      Athens (deme) 1 §1.34
   6. Units territorially centered on sanctuary
      Athens (phylai, demes) 1 §1.32, 34
      Mantinea? 3 §2
      Tegea? 3 §6
   7. Erection by unit of stele or other monument in sanctuary
      passim
   8. Monuments, fixtures, etc. of a religious nature
      a. altar
         Amastris 6 §21
         Anchialos 6 §13
         Athens (deme) 1 §1.34
         Istros 6 §18
         Kos (phyle, deme) 5 §41
         Lystra 8 §35
         Nikomedeia 8 §3
         Nikopolis-on-Ister 6 §11
         Teos (*symmoria*) 7 §9
         Tomoi 6 §17
         Vasada 8 §25
      b. sanctuary (ἱερόν, τέμενος)
         Argos (*kome*) 2 §7
         Athens (phyle, *trittys*?, deme) 1 §1.32-34
         Chios (phyle?) 5 §12
         Istros 6 §18
         Karpathos (*ktoina*) 5 §52
         Kos (deme) 5 §41
         Miletos (deme) 7 §16
         Mylasa 7 §19
         Rhodes (Synoecized State) 5 §42: see Kameiros 5 §44
         Samos (pre-cleruchy) 5 §13
      c. statue of eponym or of other figure in name of unit
         Athens (phyle, deme) 1 §1.32, 34
         Ephesos 7 §11
         Kos (deme) 5 §41
         Odessos 6 §14
         Tegea 3 §6
      d. tomb (σῆμα) of eponym or in name of unit
         Athens 1 §1.32
         Kos (deme) 5 §41
      e. τόπος
         Kameiros (*ktoina*) 5 §44
         Miletos (*chiliastys*?) 7 §16
         Nikomedeia 8 §3
         Teos (*symmoria*) 7 §9
         cf. Thera 5 §25
      f. miscellaneous religious structures
         Athens (deme) 1 §1.34
         Karpathos (*ktoina*) 5 §52
         Kos (deme) 5 §41
         Samos (*chiliastys*) 5 §13
   9. Functions and activities of a religious nature
      a. ἀγών
         Argos (*kome*) 2 §7
         Athens (deme) 1 §1.34
         Mylasa 7 §19
         Sparta (*oba*) 2 §8
      b. ἀναθήματα (dedications): see A.5
      c. ἑορτή
         Athens (deme) 1 §1.34
      d. ἑστίασις
         Athens (deme) 1 §1.34

e. εὐχαί (or εὔχεσθαι, etc.)
Iasos 7 §22
f. θυσία (or θύειν, etc.)
Athens (phyle, *trittys*?, deme) 1 §1.32-34
Chios (phyle?) 5 §12
Delphi 1 §14
Istros 6 §18
Kameiros (*ktoina*) 5 §44
Kos (phyle, deme) 5 §41
cf. Kyme 7 §4
Methymna (phyle, *chiliastys*) 5 §9
Mylasa 7 §19
Samos (cleruchy: phyle, *chiliastys*) 5 §13
Tenos 5 §18
Teos (*symmoria*) 7 §9
g. ἱεροποιία
Athens (deme) 1 §1.34
h. κλείνεσθαι
Kos 5 §41
i. ξένια
Karpathos (*ktoina*) 5 §52
j. πανήγυρις
Athens (deme) 1 §1.34
Kos (phyle, deme) 5 §41
k. παννυχίς
Athens (deme) 1 §1.34
l. προστροπά
Sparta (*oba*) 2 §8
m. πυρριχή
Athens (deme) 1 §1.34
n. σπονδαί
Methymna (phyle, *chiliastys*) 5 §9
o. σύνοδος
Samos (*chiliastys*) 5 §13
p. ὑποδοχή
Kos (phyle, deme) 5 §41
Teos (*symmoria*) 7 §9
q. χοαί
Athens (deme) 1 §1.34
Teos (*symmoria*) 7 §9
r. unspecified (including fragmentary passages)
Labraunda 7 §21
Olymos 7 §20
Rhithymna (*hetaireia, pentekostys*) 5 §27

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