

KLEISTHENES AND KYTHERROS

BY

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Milchhoefer twice ¹⁾ argued that the Aigeid deme of Erchia was situated in the vicinity of Spata. Later ²⁾ he changed his mind and followed Loeper ³⁾ in equating Spata with Pandionid Kytherros. As possible sites for Erchia he now suggested Vathy Pigadi and Lapari. Later still, Kirsten ⁴⁾ followed suit in locating Kytherros at Spata but held that Erchia was situated at Kokla ⁵⁾. The recent discovery at Spata, in the locality called Pousiri, of the 'Greater Demarchia' of Erchia, a sacrificial calendar, has put the identity of Erchia and Spata, for which there was already a not unimpressive case ⁶⁾, beyond doubt ⁷⁾.

Neither the topographical implications of the Pseudo-Demosthenic speech against Phainippos ⁸⁾, nor its inclusion in Philochoros' list ⁹⁾ of twelve 'poleis' of Attika, Athens itself ¹⁰⁾ together with

¹⁾ See A. Milchhoefer, *Karten von Attika: Erläuternder Text*, III-VI, 4 and *Untersuchungen über die Demenordnung des Kleisthenes*, 14.

²⁾ See RE 6.i, 398-9.

³⁾ R. Loeper, AM 17 (1892), 369.

⁴⁾ E. Kirsten at A. Philippson, *Die griechischen Landschaften*, vol. I, part 3, 1066 and in *Atti del terzo congresso internazionale di epigrafia greca e latina* (Rome 1959), 170.

⁵⁾ In fact, Kokla was certainly a cemetery as E. Vanderpool points out at BCH 89 (1965), 24. Erchieis (note the provenience of IG II² 6097, 6100, 6101, 6109 and 6120; presumably IG II² 6131, 6135, and 6834 were brought to Spata from the same site) were buried there as well as many Paianieis. See also note 27 below.

⁶⁾ Given that Kokla was the cemetery of Paiania and Erchia (see the previous note) and that the former was located in the vicinity of Liopesi (see note 14 below), identification of Erchia with Spata becomes almost mandatory.

⁷⁾ See especially Vanderpool, *op. cit.*, 21-24.

⁸⁾ See Demosthenes 42, 5-7, 20 and 30, and note Harpokration's definition of *ἑσχατιά*.

⁹⁾ See Philochoros, FGH 328 F94.

¹⁰⁾ Philochoros' Kekropia.

eleven others ¹¹), allegedly founded, demarcated or reorganised by the legendary king Kekrops, seem compatible with affiliation of Kytherros to the city trittys of its phyle ¹²). Almost certainly inner city Kydathenaion was Pandionis' only deme of the asty. Kytherros' inclusion in its phyle's coastal trittys together with Angele (Angelisi), Myrrhinous (Merenda), Prasiai and Steiria (both by Porto Raphti), and the enclave Probalinthos (Xylokerisa) ¹³), is just conceivable, but no plausible site suggests itself. The claims of the inland trittys are overwhelming. Three of the demes that certainly belonged to inland Pandionis, namely Upper and Lower Paiania (both in the vicinity of Liopesi) ¹⁴) and Oa (in the neighbourhood of Papangelaki) ¹⁵) were bunched at the south west tip of the fertile mesogeia, an ideal setting for Phainippos' large ¹⁶) and variously productive ¹⁷) estate.

Granted the attraction of assigning Kytherros to Pandionis' inland trittys, why the further impressive consensus of the topographers in locating it, in defiance of the indications in favour of

¹¹) Tetrakomoi has fallen out of Philochoros' list after Tetrapolis; so Jacoby (see his comments on the Philochoros fragment) following Loeper. The crucial clue is given by the Suda lexicon entry 'Επακρία χώρα.

¹²) An attribution which, however, found favour with Gomme; see his *The Population of Ancient Athens*, 53 note 2. I mistakenly endorsed his view in my *Studies in Athenian Politics and Genealogy* (Historia Einzelschriften 19), 8.

¹³) The sites of the first four demes have long been regarded as established with certainty. The identification of Probalinthos with Xylokerisa is now almost universally conceded; see, for example, D. M. Lewis at *Historia* 12 (1963), 30-31.

¹⁴) So, for example, Kirsten, following the consensus of scholars for decades, at *Atti*, 170.

¹⁵) Such a location is suggested by the provenience of IG II² 7820. Generally speaking, the finding place of one grave inscription bearing the name of a demotes or demotai is weak evidence for a deme's location. The evidential value is increased if the marker is discovered in a locality in the vicinity of other demes of the same phyle. Thus, I do not fully share Eliot's (*Coastal Demes of Attika*, 58-59 note 13) reluctance to draw even tentative conclusions as to the location of Erechtheid Kedoi and Pambotadai from the discovery of IG II² 6383 (bearing the names of Python Pythodorou and Python Pythonos ek Kedon) and IG II² 7141 (naming three Pambotadai) at Lambrika (site of Upper Lamptraï) and Chasani (close to city Erechtheis) respectively.

¹⁶) With the qualifications of G.E.M. de Ste Croix at *Ancient Society and Institutions* (Studies presented to Victor Ehrenberg on his 75th birthday), 109-114.

¹⁷) See the references to the speech at note 8 above.