

STEPHEN D. LAMBERT – ROBERT K. PITT

A new Edition of the Catalogue of Demesmen, *IG II² 2394*

IG II² 2394 is a list of names dated in a heading by the Athenian archon Theophrastos (archons of that name were in office in 340/39 and 313/2 BC) and the demarch Euthydomos. It is, therefore, a list of demesmen, but the deme to which it relates has yet to be firmly established.¹ Moreover, the text of the inscription printed in *IG* is incorrect at several points. The current whereabouts of the stone are unknown and our knowledge of it is based ultimately on a transcript of the Abbé Michel Fourmont, made during his very productive visit to Athens in 1729.² This transcript was the basis for the text published in the early 19th century by August Boeckh in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum* as *CIG* 94. The two successive *IG* texts, *IG II* 5, 1014b and *IG II² 2394*, are based on Boeckh's edition. However, the information about Fourmont's manuscript on which *CIG* 94 was based was flawed. This is because that edition was not based on Fourmont's original, but on faulty draft plates of drawings of the inscriptions prepared for a publication of Fourmont's work by his nephew, Claude-Louis, a publication which never materialised. We present below a revised text of the inscription, based on Fourmont's original MS, which has in recent years generously been made available to scholars in open access by the Bibliothèque nationale de France (*BnF*).³

Text

Rectangular block (stele or base?), higher than it was wide, copied by M. Fourmont “à κουρσαλα” in 1729. Known only from (a) the original drawing of Fourmont, *BnF* Supplément grec MS 854 f. 82 no. 155 (Fig. 1), (b) a copy made by Fourmont himself later in the same MS 854, f. 333 no. 155 labelled in red pencil in Fourmont's hand, “a κουρσαλα” (sic, no accents in French or Greek, Fig. 2), (c) an (unreliable) drawing for a plate, based on, but not perfectly reproducing (a) and (b), *BnF* Supplément grec MS 569, f. 204, with a label (reproduced by *CIG* and *IG*), “ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ τοῦ κόρσαλας (“κουρσαλας” *IG*) in Attica” (Fig. 3). No description or dimensions recorded, but the top is apparently

We are very grateful to Angelos P. Matthaiou, Robin Osborne and Kazuhiro Takeuchi for helpful comments on a draft.

1. The identification of a deme on the basis of the onomastics of an inscription like this one arguably depends on the application of statistical methods. This is not the place to discuss or deploy such methods in depth, but for recent work in this area see K. Karila-Cohen, *Annales* 73-4 (2018) 785-815, and *Pallas* 115 (2021) 319-53.

2. For a brief account of Fourmont see R. Stoneman, “The Abbé Fourmont and Greek Archaeology”, *Boreas* 8 (1985) 190-8 (see especially 191-2). For fuller discussion see O. Gengler, “Michel Fourmont and His Forgeries”, in C. Michel and M. Friedrich eds., *Fakes and Forgeries of Written Artefacts from Ancient Mesopotamia to Modern China*, Berlin, 2020, 123-48. There has not yet been a systematic discussion of Fourmont's work in Attica, but from those transcripts we have studied both of us have obtained the impression that they are generally of a high standard. This can be verified most readily in cases where the stone survives, or where there are other early transcriptions (for example those of the 18th century physician, bibliophile and traveller to Athens in 1747-8, Anthony Askew, whose work is being prepared for publication by Pitt). Sadly, later in his career, when working to promote his discoveries in Sparta, Fourmont appears to have invented a number of forgeries of inscriptions that seriously tarnished his reputation, see Gengler, *op. cit.*

3. MS 854 accessible at <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b52505797k>.

preserved (the flat moulding that appears on the unreliable (c) is not present on (a) or (b)). To judge from Fourmont's original drawing of ll. 1 and 2, which run right up to the left edge of the stone, the left side was perhaps slightly damaged or cut back. The right side is not original. The drawing of the upper moulding in (c) implies that the right side was close to its original position, but this cannot be relied on. The original thickness of the stone is not known. It is clear from the rectangular hole or slot depicted towards the centre of the inscribed surface that the inscription had been reworked for secondary architectural use, and it is plausible that this entailed the cutting back of the right side (and bottom?) of the original stone, and possibly the removal of any upper moulding or finial. Late-4th century BC lettering (which was clearly worn towards the right side of the inscribed surface) and orthography. Fourmont's original drawing suggests a definite thickening of the free ends of letter strokes.

Eds. *CIG* 94 (Boeckh); *IG* II 5, 1014b (Koehler); *IG* II² 2394 (Kirchner). Cf. Wilhelm, *Berlin phil. Wochenschr.* 1902, 1097; *Rationes*, 150 (*SEG* 48, 182); Russo, 79 note 174, 242 D111.

340/39 or 313/2 BC	ἐπὶ Θεοφράστου ἄρχ[οντος] Εὐθυδόμου δημαρχ[οῦντος] <i>vacat</i> Εὐθύδημος Εὐθυδό[μου] Κλεάρισ[τος Ἴε]ροκλ[έους?] 5 Εὐθύδομ[ος Εὐ]θυδό[μου] Δημοσθέν[ης Δ]ημοφά[νους] Αἰνιάδης Καλλίου Ἄντίας Εὐφιλήτου Αἰνιάδης Καλλιφάν[ους or -του] 10 Ἄντικλείδης Ἄντιλέ[οντος] - - - - - ?
--------------------	---

In the archonship of Theophrastos,
the demarchy of Euthydomos.

	<i>vacat</i> Euthydemos son of Euthydomos Klearistos son of Hierokl[es?] 5 Euthydomos son of Euthydomos Demosthenes son of Demophanes Ainiades son of Kallias Antias son of Euphiletos Ainiades son of Kalliphan[es or -tos] 10 Antikleides son of Antileon - - - - - ?
--	--

Notes on Readings

A, Δ and Λ are frequently confused, a common feature of inscriptions at this period. It is unclear how far this is due in this case to mistakes of the stone cutter, unclarities in the lettering due to wear, or mistakes in Fourmont's (otherwise apparently quite accurate) transcript. The context and purpose of the list is not apparent from its preserved text. We cannot rule out that it was clarified by further text on a moulding at the top of the inscription which was removed when the stone was reworked for secondary use, or on a separate inscription (e.g. a deme decree) in the same monumental complex.

1 Suppl. Boeckh. 2-3 Koehler. It is apparent from Fourmont's drawings that the heading was separated from the list of names below by a vacant line, not shown in *IG II²*. It is common practice in lists of this kind for the order of the names in the same family to be determined by seniority. If so, the man listed in l. 3 was perhaps the father of the demarch rather than his son, and the demarch himself was the Euthydomos son of Euthydomos listed in l. 5.

4 Suppl. Boeckh. To judge by Fourmont's original transcript, Kirchner's alternative restoration of the patronym, [Μοι]ροκλ[έους], suits the spacing less well than [Ἰε]ροκλ[έους or -είδου]. As Angelos Matthaiou reminds us, Moirokles is also a rare name, attested with demotic only in Eleusis (see *Ath. On.*), which is not a plausible candidate for the deme that erected this inscription.

5 Suppl. Koehler. Perhaps identifiable with the demarch in l. 2.

6 Suppl. Koehler.

7 Ἀγνιάδης Καλίου *IG II²*, following Wilhelm, correcting Fourmont's ΑΙΝΙΑΔΗΣ. As recognised by Osborne and Byrne in *LGPN II* (1994), the correction is unnecessary, since the (rare) name Ainiades not only occurs in l. 9 of this inscription, correctly read, but also as the father of Φαιδρίδης Ὀσθεν on the funerary columella of iii BC (?) from Athens, *IG II² 7830*, and for the father of Νικόμαχος Παιωνιεύς in 211/0 BC, *I Rhamnous* 32, 23; 35, 1; *IG II³ 4, 298, 1*. The simplification Καλίου derives from an error in the unreliable drawing, (c), based on Fourmont's MS (see Fig. 3). Fourmont's original (Figs. 1 and 2) has the correct reading with geminated lambda, as usual at this period.

9-10 Αἰνιάδης Καλλιφάν[ους or -του] | Ἀντικλείδης Ἀντιλέ[οντος] Lambert. *IG II²*, ultimately following Boeckh in *CIG*, whose text was in turn based on the faulty drawing (c) (Fig. 3), incorrectly assumed that Fourmont's original transcription was faulty and printed a single composite line 9-10: Ἀντικλείδης Ἀντιφάν-. Fourmont's original drawing (Figs. 1 and 2) reads, perfectly intelligibly, ΑΙΝΙΑΔΗΣΚΑΑΑΙΦΑΝ | ΑΝΤΙΚΛΕΙΔΗΣΑΝΤΙΔΕ. Allowing for the common confusion of A, Δ and Λ in this text (see above), that yields the two names printed at the start of this note. Αἰνιάδης Καλλιφάν[ους or -του] in 9 was clearly a relation (first cousin?) of Αἰνιάδης Καλίου in 7 (note the common name element Καλλι- in the two patronyms). In l. 10 of our inscription Ἀντιλέ[οντος] is the only name attested in Attica that suits the letters recorded by Fourmont. The name is not common, attested with demotic only in Marathon (see *Ath. On.*). Ἀντικλείδης, while not rare, is not an especially common name.

Findspot

In his original MS Fourmont recorded the location of the inscription as “a κουρσαλα” (MS (b), Fig. 2). This is slightly misspelled in the faulty drawing (c) (MS 569 f. 204) but is the same place as the

previous inscription in that MS, f. 202: “ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ τοῦ Κουρσαλας in Attica”. That inscription is *IG I³ 1023* (one of the Hipparchan herms marking the half-way point between Kephale and the city), the notes to which report that in 1935 it was in the school at Koropi, taking Koursala to be the name of that village at Fourmont’s time. This is correct. As N. Nezis, *Τοπωνυμικά της Αττικής*, Athens, 2013, notes s.v. Κορωπί(ον), Koropi was previously called Κορσαλαί or Κουρσαλά (the latter spelling is used by Fourmont himself).⁴ Koropi is located in the Mesogaia south of Liopesi (which is usually taken to be the site of ancient Paiania), and a site to the west of it has been identified as belonging to the deme Sphettos (in Akamantis).⁵ The fact that the stone had clearly been reworked for secondary use (see above), reminds us that we cannot be certain that the deme to which it relates was located at Koursala (= Koropi). While it is uncertain, however, it is not an unreasonable assumption that our inscription had not moved very far from its original location when copied by Fourmont.

Candidate demes

Based on its findspot and on the onomastics of the list, the main candidates for identification as the deme responsible for this inscription are the city deme Melite, and the demes of the Mesogaia, possibly locatable at or in the vicinity of Koropi, Kydantidai, Paiania, and Oa. We briefly review these possibilities below.

Melite was a medium-sized deme of the city trittys of Kekropis (shifted to Demetrias in 307/6 BC).⁶ A Euthydemos son of Euthydomos (cf. l. 3, with ll. 2 and 5) is attested in the deme at *IG II² 1927*, l. 4, and on this basis our inscription was until 1997 assigned to Melite.⁷ At *Rationes*, 150, however, Lambert questioned this attribution, noting that, as Christian Habicht had observed, the same father-son name pairs occur not infrequently in different demes;⁸ and, we might now add, neither of these names nor any of their components (Euthy- and -demos/-domos) are distinctive. The fairly common name Demosthenes (6) is attested in Melite in the 2nd century AD, as is the very common Kallias (7) in 334/3 BC (see *Ath. On.*). The onomastic case for ascribing our list to Melite is not strong, therefore. Moreover, the findspot, Koropi, is distant from Melite. It would accordingly seem unlikely that our inscription was produced by the deme Melite.

It is less easy to decide between the other three candidate demes.

Kydantidai was a small deme of the inland trittys of Aigeis in the Mesogaia, which is notable for having produced a joint decree with another small deme of the same trittys, Ionidai.⁹ The decree was first

4. L. Ross, *Arch. Aufsätze I*, Leipzig, 1855, 217, noted that the Greeks called this place Koursala and the Albanians Koropi.

5. Cf. Traill 1986, 132.

6. Traill 1986, 134, cf. Traill 1975, Table XII. On the topography of Melite cf. G. Lalonde, *Hesperia* 75 (2006) 83-119, especially 113-6. Its bouleutic quota before 307/6 BC was at least four (*IG II³ 4*, 23 and perhaps *Agora XV 20*). After 307/6 the quota was 7 (Traill 1975, Table XII) and Traill 1986, 134, suggests the quota was also 7 before 307/6.

7. See e.g. the notes in *IG II²* and D. Whitehead, *Demes of Attica*, Princeton, 1986, 384 no. 78; cf. more recently, Humphreys, 1037-45; G. Marginesu, *Historika* 10 (2020) 45-56, at 47-8. Russo D111 is more prudent.

8. C. Habicht, *Hesperia* 59 (1990) 459-62; *ZPE* 103 (1994) 117-27.

9. The two demes may have shared a bouleutic quota of 3. In 341/0 BC Kydantidai had 2 councillors, Ionidai 1, *IG II³ 4*, 76, ll. 20-4, while in ca. 340 BC, Kydantidai had 1 councillor and Ionidai 2, *IG II³ 4*, 75, ll. 5-7, 22-3. In

published by A. P. Matthaïou, *HOPOS* 7 (1989) 7-16 (*SEG* 39, 148), and refers indirectly to the celebration of two festivals of Herakles and to a sanctuary of the god, in which the stele was to be erected. This is an indication that the two demes were very close to each other and were probably neighbours (on this see Matthaïou, p. 11). The largest deme of their trittys was Erchia (modern Spata), some way to the north-east of Koropi. It is not impossible that Kydantidai and Ionidai were located in the Koropi area, but other locations are also possible.¹⁰ The names Euthydemos (3), Kalliphanes (9?), and Antikleides (10) are attested in Kydantidai (see *Ath. On.*), and in 1997 Lambert noted that Kydantidai was a possible candidate for our list (*Rationes*, 150). None of these names, however, is very distinctive.

Paiania¹¹ was much the largest deme of the inland trittys of Pandionis (to which the deme gave its name). It is locatable in the Mesogaia in the area of Liopesi.¹² Divided for some purposes into two parts, the bouletic quota of Lower Paiania before 307/6 BC was 11, that of Upper Paiania 1. The deme's quota appears to have increased markedly after 307/6 to 22.¹³ As Humphreys notes (898), "the deme clearly lay in the Liopesi area, but it is hard to reconstruct a clear picture of the ancient settlement pattern ... at least two inhabited centres (possibly more): Upper Paiania perhaps on the Hymettos side of the deme's territory ...". No other deme of the trittys is locatable with any confidence. Koropi is to the south of Liopesi, but it is close enough for it to be plausible that one of the "inhabited centres" of Paiania was in the vicinity.

Of the names in our list, Euthydemos (3, 5), Hierokles (4?) and Hierokleides (4?), Demosthenes (6), Demophanes (6), Ainiades (7, 9), Kallias (7), and Antikleides (10), are all found in Paiania (see *Ath. On.*). Moreover, the name Ainiades is distinctive, attested for the father of Nikomachos of Paiania in 211/0 BC (*I Rhamnous* 32, 23; 35, 1; *IG II³ 4*, 298, 1), and otherwise with demotic only in Oa (as the father of Φαιδρίδης Ὁαθεν on the funerary columella of iii BC (?) from Athens, *IG II² 7830*). This is suggestive that there was a connection between the two men named Ainiades in our inscription and the known Ainiades of Paiania, but such a connection might have arisen, for example, from intermarriage between families in Paiania and Oa, itself not implausible since the two demes on any account belonged to the same trittys. A clearer example of a connection of this kind is supplied by *IG II² 7820 = CAT 3.843*, an early 4th-century funerary monument for Dion son of Gnathon of Oa, Dion son of Dion of Oa, and Nikoptoleme daughter of Nikodoros of Paiania, from which it is apparent that a man from Oa married a woman from Paiania at this period. Given also the large size of Paiania, the relatively high number of attestations of the (mostly not very distinctive) names in our inscription in Paiania is unsurprising and could be consistent with the list being a product of Oa. On any account Paiania and Oa

336/5 (?) Kydantidai again had 2 and Ionidai 1, *Agora XV* 42, ll. 125-9, and Kydantidai also had 2 in 335/4 BC, *Agora XV* 43, 45-9.

10. Cf. Matthaïou (especially p. 11 n. 9) and (for a different view) Humphreys, 875-8.

11. We are very grateful to Angelos P. Matthaïou for suggesting that we add this deme to the list of candidates for our inscription.

12. Traill 1986, 129.

13. *IG II³ 4*, 48, ll. 32-45 (Upper 1, Lower 11); *IG II³ 4*, 55, ll. 14-15 (Upper 1); *IG II³ 4*, 29, ll. 7-13 (Upper 1, Lower at least 4); *Agora XV* 42, ll. 135-47 (Combined 12); *Agora XV* 43, ll. 75-7 (Upper 1); *IG II³ 4*, 26, ll. 4-15 (Heading not preserved, at least 11); *IG II³ 4*, 83, ll. 2-12 (Unspecified 10, apparently an incomplete list). After 307/6 BC 22: Traill 1975, Table III, cf. *IG II³ 1*, 1155, ll. 59-82 (219/8 BC).

were most likely neighbours and intermarriage between members of the two demes not uncommon. That our list belongs to Paiania is not impossible, therefore, but the case for it is not compelling.

Oa

Oa (Ὀα)¹⁴ was a small-to-medium sized deme (bouletic quota 4) of the inland trittys of Pandionis in the Mesogaia, most likely located in the neighbourhood of the largest deme of the trittys, Paiania.¹⁵ Mainly on the basis of the findspot of *IG II² 7820* (see above) at Papangelaki, and of another apparently unpublished funerary monument for someone from Oa found there, Papangelaki was until recently favoured as the location of Oa.¹⁶ Papangelaki is north-east of Liopesi and north-west of Spata (the location of ancient Erchia), mid-way between Erchia and Pallene, and Oa is marked at this location on Traill's 1986 map. This location for Oa, however, is "rather feebly supported" (Humphreys) by these two funerary monuments for men from Oa.¹⁷ It is certainly possible that Oa was in the vicinity of Koropi. The topographical and onomastic arguments for ascribing our inscription to Oa, however, have been complicated in recent years by the publication of a large cemetery at the northern end of Koropi (Kakavogianni 1998, Kakavogianni and Galiatsatou 2009, *SEG* 48, 295-297). See also the more recent discussions by Galiatsatou 2018, 2019, 2020a, 2020b). This cemetery contained several funerary monuments of men from the deme Oe (sic), and other monuments of men from Oe have also been found in this vicinity. Oe was a deme of the coastal trittys of Oineis, conventionally located in north-west Attica in the Thriasian plain.¹⁸ It is a different deme from Oa, and the demes are conventionally distinguished by their demotics – demotics in -a- being used for Oa(i), demotics in -ē- for Oe.¹⁹ The cemetery certainly raises questions about the conventional location of Oe, and even perhaps questions about the conventional distinction between the demotics of these two like-named demes.²⁰ This is not the place, however, to pursue these issues further. We understand that the master of Attic topography, John Traill, discusses the topography of the deme Oe in the forthcoming volume in honour of David Lewis, which is in press; and we gladly await publication of that discussion before taking forward further consideration of the issues surrounding our deme list (we thank the editor of the Lewis volume, Nike Makris, for informing us about this forthcoming publication).

14. The deme name was perhaps originally or more correctly plural in form, i.e. Oai or rather Hōai, but we shall use the more conventional singular, see Threatte I, 284-5. The plural form, Oai, is used by Traill 1986.

15. Oa's representation on the Council before the tribal reform of 307/6 BC is attested in *IG II³ 4*, 48, 48-52 (ca. 400-350 BC), *IG II² 4*, 21, 16-20 (ca. 390-360 BC), *IG II² 4*, 26, 16-20 (ca. 330 BC), cf. *IG II³ 4*, 55, 16-19 (ca. 360 BC), *Agora XV* 42, 167-71 (336/5 BC?). Only 3 councillors are listed at *IG II³ 4*, 83, 15-18 (ca. 330 BC). It apparently retained the same quota after 307/6: Traill 1975, Table III, cf. *IG II³ 1*, 1155, ll. 96-100 (219/8 BC).

16. For earlier discussion of this deme and its location see the note to *IG II² 7820*, cf. Traill 1986, 129; G. Steinhauer, "The Classical Mesogaia (5th-4th century BC)" in *Mesogaia: History and Culture of Mesogeia in Attica*, Athens, 2000, 81-147, 91 with 145 note 15; Humphreys, 905-7. Teithras, like Kydantidai, was a deme of the inland trittys of Aigeis in the Mesogaia, north-east of Erchia (and of Paiania in Pandionis); and in the 4th century list of leases at Teithras, *SEG* 24, 152, 2-4, Antias of Teithras leases a property jointly with Euthynos of Oa (Ὀαε[ύς]). This tends to confirm that Teithras and Oa were not very distant from each other. N. Papazarkadas, *Sacred and Public Land in Ancient Athens*, Oxford, 2011, 154 with note 260, very plausibly wonders about a family connection between the two lessees, though at *ZPE* 159 (2007) 155-60 (at 160), he raises the "alternative possibility that their co-operation might have been triggered by the necessities of animal transhumance".

17. For more detail, see Humphreys. She also notes *IG II² 5600* = *CAT* 3.439a, another funerary monument naming a demesman of Oa, from Spata.

18. Conventional location: Traill 1986, 134, with map. For a more sceptical discussion see Humphreys, 1029-30.

19. See S. Dow, *AJP* 84 (1963) 166-81; Threatte I, 227-8; Lambert, *ZPE* 130 (2000) 80 note 71 (*SEG* 48, 297); Bardani in her note to *ΣΕΜΑ* 471.

20. See Humphreys 905-7 and 1029-30. We are doubtful, however, that present evidence would support an abandonment of the conventional distinction between the demotics of the two demes.

Pending Traill’s publication, however, we complete this stage of our work by noting that, of the names in our deme list, Klearistos, Hierokles, Ainiades, and Kallias, are independently attested in Oa (see *Ath. On.*). This is a smaller overlap in terms of number of names than in the case of Paiania, but one would expect that in this considerably less populous deme. Moreover, in two cases, both the names of a father-son pair in our list, Klearistos-Hierokl[es] and Ainiades-Kallias, are independently attested in Oa (the latter pair is also attested in Paiania); and both of these pairs contain distinctive names. One of them, Klearistos, is attested only in Oa; and one, Ainiades, only in Oa and Paiania. On this basis Oa must be counted among the candidates for our list.²¹

ABBREVIATIONS

Ath. On.: S. G. Byrne ed., *Athenian Onomasticon*, athnames.org (8 January 2024 revision).

Galiatsatou 2018: P. Galiatsatou, “Κεραμική και Ταφικά Έθιμα από Δημοτικά και Οικογενειακά Νεκροταφεία στη Μεσογαία”, in A. D. Stephanis (ed.), *Πρακτικά ΙΣΤ΄ Επιστημονικής Συνάντησης ΝΑ. Αττικής, Λαύριο 18-22 Νοεμβρίου 2015*, Kalyvia, 265-80.

Galiatsatou 2019: P. Galiatsatou, “Κεραμική και ταφικά έθιμα από νεκροταφείο του αρχαίου δήμου της Όης. Συσχετίσεις με τα ταφικά έθιμα των αρχαίων νεκροταφείων της Ανατολικής Αττικής”, in E. Kountouri and A. Gadoulou (eds.), *Σωστικές ανασκαφές της Αρχαιολογικής Υπηρεσίας. I. Τα νεκροταφεία: Χωροταξική οργάνωση – ταφικά έθιμα – τελετουργίες*, Athens, 535-74.

Galiatsatou 2020a: P. Galiatsatou, “Mortuary Practices in the Ancient Rural Demoi of Southeastern Attica under the Light of Recent Evidence from Five Cemeteries in Mesogaia”, in N. Dimakis and T. M. Dijkstra (eds.), *Mortuary Variability and Social Diversity in Ancient Greece: Studies on Ancient Greek Death and Burial*, Oxford, 50-62.

Galiatsatou 2020b: P. Galiatsatou, “Κεραμική και ταφικά έθιμα από νεκροταφείο του αρχαίου δήμου της Όης (οικόπεδο Κ. Τούλα στο Κορωπί)”, in K. Koranias and G. Doulphis (eds.), *Τέχνης έμπειρία. Τιμητικός τόμος ... Γεωργία Κοκκορού-Αλευρά*, Athens, 191-202.

Humphreys: S. A. Humphreys, *Kinship in Ancient Athens*, Oxford, 2018.

Kakavogianni 1998: O. Kakavogianni, “Πρόσφατα ευρήματα από την περιοχή Κορωπίου. Ο εντοπισμός του αρχαίου δήμου της Ώας”, in O. Soulti (ed.), *Ζ΄ Επιστημονική Συνάντηση Νοτιοανατολικής Αττικής*, Koropi, 68-82.

Kakavogianni and Galiatsatou 2009: O. Kakavogianni and P. Galiatsatou, “Από τα αρχαία νεκροταφεία στα Μεσόγεια. Ο αρχαίος δήμος της Όης. Παράρτημα. Αττική κεραμική από το νεκροταφείο της Όης”, in V. Vassilopoulou and S. Katsarou-Tzeveleki (eds.), *Από τα Μεσόγεια*

21. As was noted at *Rationes*, 150, and in effect also by Sean Byrne, who in the *Ath. On.* ascribes all the names in the list (as it was read hitherto) to “Oa (?)”.

στον Αργοσαρωνικό. Β' Εφορεία Προϊστορικών και Κλασικών Αρχαιοτήτων. Το έργο μιας δεκαετίας 1994–2003. Proceedings of the Symposium, Athens, 18–20 December 2003, Athens and Markopoulo, 399–422.

Rationes: S. D. Lambert, *Rationes Centesimarum*, Amsterdam, 1997.

Russo: D. Russo, *Le ripartizioni civiche di Atene: una storia archeologica di tribù, trittie, demi e fratrie (508/7 – 308/7 a. C.)*, (*Annuario della Scuola archeologica di Atene*, Suppl. 10), Athens, 2022.

Threatte: L. Threatte, *The Grammar of Attic Inscriptions*, I. *Phonology*, II. *Morphology*, Berlin, 1980 and 1996.

Traill 1975: J. S. Traill, *The Political Organization of Attica (Hesperia Suppl. 14)*.

Traill 1986: J. S. Traill, *Demos and Trittys*, Toronto.

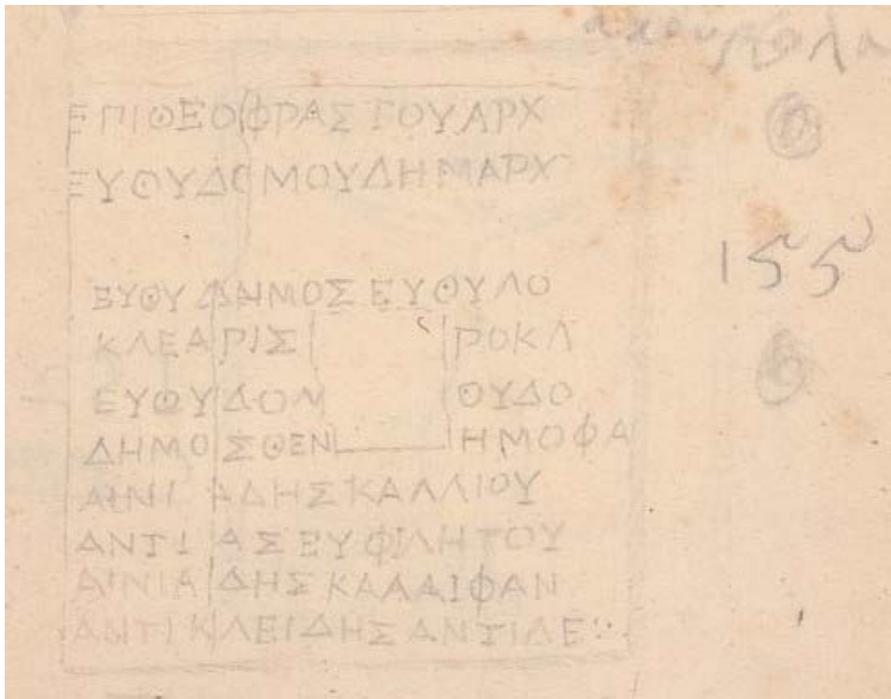


Fig. 1. Fourmont's original copy

(BnF Supplément grec MS 854, f. 82 no. 155. Source: gallica.bnf.fr / BnF).

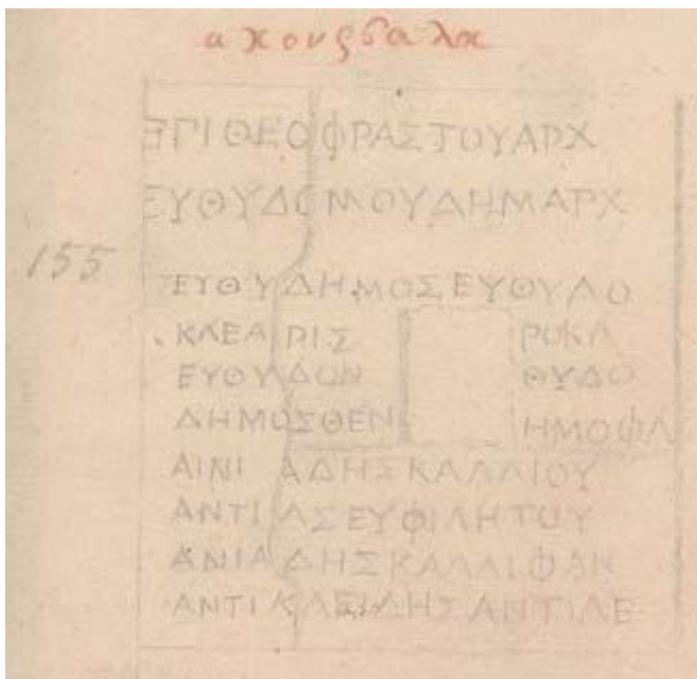


Fig. 2. A reproduction by Fourmont of his original copy (BnF Supplément grec MS 854, f. 333 no. 155. Source: gallica.bnf.fr / BnF).

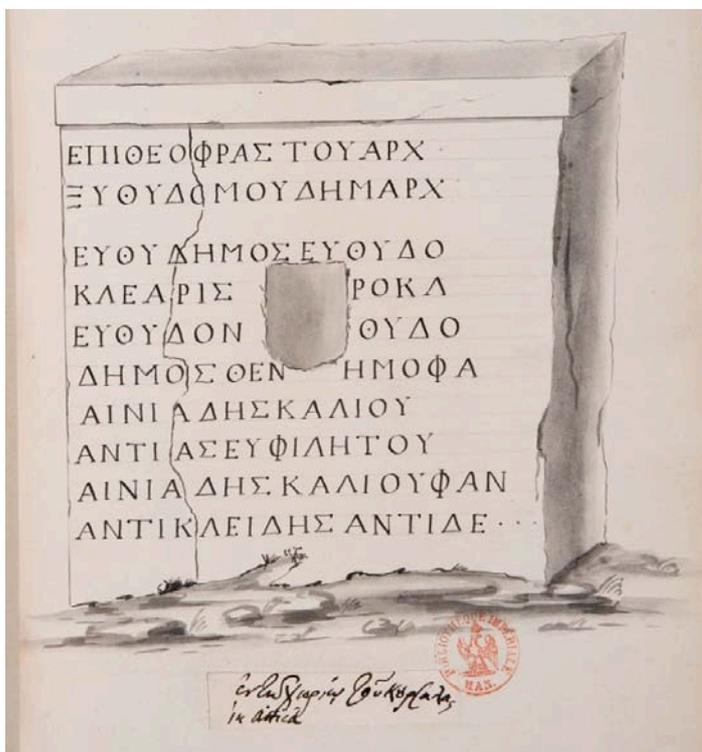


Fig. 3. A draft plate based on Fourmont's copy (BnF Supplément grec MS 569, f. 204. Source: gallica.bnf.fr / BnF).