

S. D. LAMBERT

NOTES ON TWO ATTIC *HOROI*  
and some corrigenda to *The Phratries of Attica*

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NOTES ON TWO ATTIC *HOROI*  
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A. Notes on two Attic *Horoi*

There follow notes on two inscribed *horoi* which might have to do with Attic phratries.

1. A hundred drachma loan by the thiasos of Demotes?

*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2720 reads:

ὄρος χωρίο  
πεπραμένο ἐπὶ λ  
ύσει θιασώταις ΙΣ  
ΔΗΜΟΤΟ Η

Some thiasotai, probably in the first half of the 4th century B.C.,<sup>1</sup> have lent someone<sup>2</sup> some money on the security of land under the mechanism known as *prasis epi lysei* (“sale subject to redemption”).<sup>3</sup> Until the puzzling letters in capitals, the *horos* follows the standard formula for this type of encumbrance: “marker of land sold subject to redemption to the thiasotai . . .”. At *Studies in Land and Credit* (1952), no. 43,<sup>4</sup> Finley reproduced the text of *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, noting that “Poland, building on a suggestion of Hiller’s, would read at the end Ἴσ(ο)δήμου το(ῦ) Ἡ- -.”<sup>5</sup> In *Phratries* (p. 86 with n. 122) I doubted whether it was plausible

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<sup>1</sup> The combination of absence of Attic aspirate and retention of Attic -o for -ou is characteristic of this period.

<sup>2</sup> Parallels suggest it is likely, but not certain, that he was a member of the thiasos. Cf. S. D. Lambert, *The Phratries of Attica* (hereafter “*Phratries*”) (1993), 195, 197.

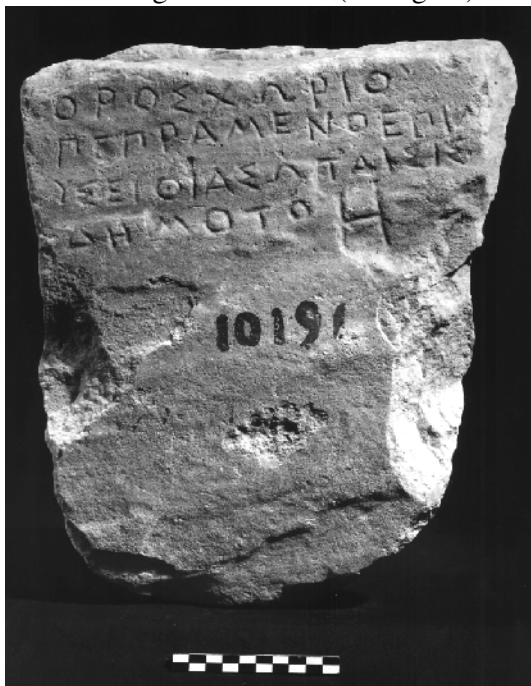
<sup>3</sup> Ed. pr., K. S. Pittakis, *L’Ancienne Athènes* (1835), 390. For other earlier bibliography see F. Poland, *Geschichte des griechischen Vereinswesens* (1909), 560 (A23), *IG* II 1111 and II (5) 1111. The stone (now EM 10191, see figure on p. 80) was found on the acropolis; probably not its original location, since we should not expect land there to have been privately owned at this time.

<sup>4</sup> Finley’s collection of Attic security *horoi* is updated in the reprint, with new Introduction, by P. Millett, 1985 and in Millett’s *Lending and Borrowing in Ancient Athens* (1991), 222–224.

<sup>5</sup> See Poland, *op. cit.* 19 n. 1 and Hiller ad *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2720. In fact something along these lines had already occurred to Rangabé, *Antiquités Helléniques*, (1855) no. 885, who printed

θιασώταις, Ἴσ  
ο)δήμου τοῦ Η . . .

to read the final H other than as the (entire) sum of the *prasis* (i. e. 100 dr.) and speculated that ΔΗΜΟΤΟ might be genitive of δημότης. In May 1995 I examined the stone and made the following observations (see figure):



(a) there is no sign that the stone was damaged or reworked subsequent to its inscription such that text might have been lost;

(b) the final Λ of line 2 was inscribed slightly closer to the previous letter than normal; its lower right diagonal is slightly abraded, but remains visible to its full extent. In line 3 the distance between letters decreases towards the end of the line. From Ω onwards the spaces are: 1.5 cm., 1.3 cm., 1.2 cm., 1.0 cm., 0.9 cm., 0.8 cm. This suggests that, as he approached the ends of these lines, the cutter reduced spacing in order to fit in the remaining letters. There is 1.5 cm. uninscribed surface following the final Σ of 3;

(c) there is no sign that any letter has been lost to the left of the preserved text;

(d) the final H is more than twice the size

of the other letters (3.5 cm; normal max. height, 1.6) and is followed by an extensive *vacat*. It was clearly the last inscribed letter.

From these observations I conclude that:

(a) it is very likely that the preserved text is all that was ever inscribed;

(b) H certainly represents the sum of the *prasis*, 100 dr.

The truth about ΔΗΜΟΤΟ may lie, I now think, not in δημότης, but Δημότης, a name attested for Attica on the public funerary monument *IG I<sup>3</sup> 1186* (c. 411 B.C.; Δεμότες, line 118 under Aiantis). Thiasoi are commonly known by their leader; compare e.g. *IG II<sup>2</sup> 2345*, where names are listed under headings, Ἄγνοθέο θίασος, Ἀντιφάνος θίασος etc. That leaves ΙΣ at the end of 3 to be explained. Abbreviation can not, I think, be ruled out. It was common practice for demotics and, on security *horoi*, also occurs sometimes with names;<sup>6</sup> so one might understand e. g. “thiasotai of (worshipping) Is(is?) of (lead by) Demotes”, or “of Is(odemos?) (son) of Demotes”.<sup>7</sup> Such drastic and obscure abbreviation, however, would be unprecedented and unexpected. *Horoi* are often roughly inscribed and ortho-

(translating however “. . . aux Thiasôtes par (sic) Isodeme, fils de . . .”); and Poland, recording the reading θιασώταις Ἰσοδήμου τοῦ Ἡ . . ., was uncommitted (“wenn die Lesart richtig ist . . .”).

<sup>6</sup> E.g. Finley no. 46, Ἐργογράφ(ει) Ἀτηνε[ί]; no. 130 (from Amorgos), Ἀριστότιμος Ξα(νθιάδο) . . . Ξανθιππίδο Ξανθιπ(πίδο).

<sup>7</sup> Isis had already occurred to Rangabé, *loc. cit.*, but was dismissed by him on chronological grounds, which do not, however, now seem very firm. See R. S. Simms, *CJ* 84 (1989), 216–221.

graphic errors are not uncommon.<sup>8</sup> It is, I think, more likely that we have to do with such an error here and that ΙΣ arose from dittography of the last two letters of ΘΙΑΣΩΤΑΙΣ.

I should print, therefore, θιασώταις{ις} / Δημοστῶ Η and translate the whole as, “marker of land sold subject to redemption to the thiasotai of Demotes for 100 drachmas”. θιασώταις τοῖς μετὰ Δ. would have been more elegant and usual for this sort of description of a group from its leader;<sup>9</sup> but in a class of documents in which abbreviation is favoured, the plain genitive is briefer and the rough style would be of a piece with the mistake in line 3. The fact that no-one thought to erase the ΙΣ – easy, since at the end of a line – seems surprising to us; a nice example, I should say, of the inappropriateness, at least where *horoi* of this sort are concerned, of projecting our own precise-minded attitudes to the written word onto 4th century Athenians.<sup>10</sup>

I should now be happier than I was in *Phratries* to see in this text likely evidence of a citizen thiasos called after its leader, like the thiasoi of IG II<sup>2</sup> 2345; but, for reasons there stated, I maintain the view that we lack grounds for supposing that every such thiasos was a phratry subgroup.

## 2. A house of the phratry Ionidai in the Athenian Agora?

Ag. Inv. I 3280 is the left side of a small *horos*,<sup>11</sup> probably of the 4th or earlier 3rd centuries. The surface is uneven and it is difficult to distinguish casual indentations from inscribed marks. With one possible addition, however (see below), I see no reason to differ from the first editor, Fine,<sup>12</sup> with regard to the surviving letters, i. e.:

ΟΡΟ[ - ]  
ΟΙΚΙΑ[ - ]  
ΦΡΑ[ - ]  
ΣΙΩ[ - ]

Fine unhesitatingly reconstructed the text as a marker of pupillary *apotimema*: ὄρο[ς χωρίου καὶ] / οἰκία[ς ἀποτίμημα] / Φρα[ (name of deceased father in genitive) παῖ]/σὶ Ὠ[αθεν - ] / [ (possibly names of orphans)]. Rightly, this has not found favour. “χωρίου

<sup>8</sup> E.g. Finley no. 38 (IG II<sup>2</sup> 2698), [Π]ΕΠΡΑΗΕΩΝ ΕΠΙ ΑΤΣΕΙ for ΠΕΠΡΑΜΕΝΩΝ ΕΠΙ ΑΥΣΕΙ; Finley no. 40 (IG II<sup>2</sup> 2721), πε[π]ραμένου{ι} ἐπὶ λύσει; Millett no. 163A (= *Hesp.* 35 [1966], 277 no. 4), ἀπο{τ}/τιμήματος. Cf. *Phratries* T 14, 5. Dittography is one of the most common types of error in epigraphical texts. Cf. e.g. the *Rationes Centesimarum* (second half of 4th cent.), where the majority of orthographic errors are dittographic (see my forthcoming edition).

<sup>9</sup> E.g. Finley no.s 30–32, 41 etc.

<sup>10</sup> The writing on *horoi* may at this time still have been of secondary importance to their symbolic significance. Cf. R. Thomas, *Oral Tradition and Written Record in Classical Athens* (1989), 55–60.

<sup>11</sup> = G. V. Lalonde, *The Athenian Agora*, vol. XIX (1991), H118. 16.4 cm. max. height, of which the lower 2.5 cm is apparently uninscribed. Max. thickness: 7.6 cm. Max. width: 9 cm, of which 2 cm is stone protruding to the right beneath the level of the inscribed surface. At no point is the original r. edge preserved. Letter height, 1.3 cm. It was found in 1936, built into a modern house wall over the east end of the South Stoa I (N16); so its precise original location is uncertain.

<sup>12</sup> J. V. A. Fine, *Hesp.* Supplement 9 (1951) no. 1 with photograph at plate 1.

καὶ” in 1, “ἀποτίμημα” in 2 and “ᾠ[αθεν” in 4 all seem gratuitous. The demotic after παισὶ is awkward; one would expect it after the father’s name, or possibly the children’s names.<sup>13</sup>

We have too little of the text for certainty, but I suggest the following is a strong possibility:

ὄρο[ς]  
οἰκία[ς]  
φρα[τρία]  
ς Ἴω[νιδῶν]

There is a possible trace of the top left corner of the N in 4, but it is so slight and there are so many casual marks on the stone that I should not give it much weight. The limited extent of the text to the right would be in proportion to the small dimensions of the surviving stone.<sup>14</sup> The restorations give 4 letters in the first line, followed by lines of 6, 7 and 8 letters. Such tapering is fairly common in this type of inscription, as is the leaving over of the final letter of a word onto the following line.<sup>15</sup> There would be close parallels for the sense in several texts in *Phratries*, Appendix 1, e.g. T1 (*IG II<sup>2</sup> 2621*), ὄρος / φρατρίας / Ἀχνιαδῶν; T 23 (*IG II<sup>2</sup> 2622*), ὄρο[ς] / οἰκία[ς] / φρατέρ[ων]. It seems to have been fairly common for phratries to have houses, shrines or other meeting places in the area of the Agora.<sup>16</sup>

We know Ionidai as a small deme of Aegeis (bouleutic quota 1/2), located tentatively by Traill in eastern central Attica, to the west of the coastal demes Halai Araphenides and Teithras.<sup>17</sup> It was named, of course, for Ion the son of Apollo and *archeges* of the Ionian peoples. As legendary founder of the Ionian phylai, divided, it was thought, into trittyes, phratries and gene, he would have been an entirely suitable phratry eponym;<sup>18</sup> one of Ion’s sons, Geleon, was another, as well as being eponym of the premier Ionian phyle.<sup>19</sup> There are good parallels for a phratric group’s having a similar name to a deme.<sup>20</sup>

It is, I suggest, possible that a phratry Ionidai underlies Arethas’ comment on Lykon, an accuser of Socrates at Plato *Apol.* 23e: πατήρ ἦν Αὐτολύκου, Ἴων γένος, δήμων Θορί-

<sup>13</sup> For this on other markers of pupillary *apotimema* see e.g. Finley no.s 126A, 126B, 126C etc. Cf. Finley’s comment at *op. cit.* no. 171A that there was “no discoverable justification” for Fine’s reconstruction. Lalonde, *loc. cit.* reproduces Fine’s reconstruction, but without commitment.

<sup>14</sup> See n. 11. The subsurface protrusion of the stone to the right implies there would have been space for a minimum of one or two letters to the r. of A in 2.

<sup>15</sup> An example of both is Finley no. 120A (= Fine no. 5): ὄρος/ [χ]ωρίο/ [κα]ὶ οἰκία/[ς ἀ]ποτιμ etc.

<sup>16</sup> Including the barber’s shop by the Hermai frequented by members of the phratric House of the Dekeleieis, *Phratries* T3, lines 63–64 and 122–123 with Lysias 23. 2–3 and C. W. Hedrick, *The Decrees of the Demotionidai* (1990), 54–55. See also *Phratries* T11–14, T24–25; p. 13 with n. 47.

<sup>17</sup> J. S. Traill, *Demos and Trittys* (1986), 127.

<sup>18</sup> Ath. Pol. F3 with *Phratries* Ap. 2.

<sup>19</sup> See *Phratries* T6.

<sup>20</sup> E.g. Boutadai (deme)/Eteoboutadai (genos), Dekeleieis (phratric house and deme), Thymaitis (phratry)/Thymaitadai (deme).

κιος.<sup>21</sup> Whatever Arethas meant by Ἴων γένος, it is doubtful that his ultimate source – apparently Old Comedy<sup>22</sup> – could have implied simply that Lykon was “Ionian by descent”.<sup>23</sup> That would scarcely have distinguished him from the mass of citizens of Athens, traditionally the mother city of all Ionians,<sup>24</sup> and the chiasmic link with “δήμων θορίκιος” seems to suggest membership of a formal group. Lykon’s deme tends to confirm this, for Thorikos probably neighboured to the south the supposed site of Ion’s grave at Potamoi.<sup>25</sup> It seems possible that Lykon was in fact a member of the phratry Ionidai, which had a base at “Ion’s grave” and in the area of which his ancestor had lived on the creation of the Cleisthenic demes in 508. For a reason at which we can scarcely guess,<sup>26</sup> his membership of this phratry may have been referred to in Old Comedy, thus becoming the subject of comment by a scholar later in antiquity and ultimately giving rise to Arethas’ gloss.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Σ Areth. Plat. *Apol.* 23e (p. 422 Greene). Like F. Bourriot, *Recherches sur la nature du genos* (1976), 572, 926–29, I am not attracted by the emendation of Ἴων to Ἰωνίδης, proposed by M. H. E. Meier, *De gentilitate attica* (1835), 4, and supported by Töpffer, *Attische Genealogie* (1889), 267. It helps to bear in mind that, in Greek, the standard word for “Ionians”, Ἴωνες, is simply the plural form of Ἴων, normally used in reference to Ion himself. “Ionians” were, so to speak, “Ions”. I. e. Lykon is said here to be “an Ion(ian) by genos”, or “by descent”. Such usage of the singular is, I think, quite possible for a Byzantine scholar or a poet of Old Comedy intending some joke or ambiguity.

<sup>22</sup> Arethas cites Kratinos’ *Pytine* (F 214 K–A; cf. F 215), Aristophanes’ *Wasps* (1301), Eupolis’ *Philoï* (F 295, cf. F 232) and first *Autolykos* (F 61) and Metagenes’ *Homer* (F 10) as sources of information on Lykon. The identification of him as “Ἴων γένος” does not derive from the *Wasps*, the only extant play among those listed. Of the others, the Eupolis plays are attractive candidates, cf. n. 26. For the possibility that Arethas or his source may be conflating references to two men of the same name see I. C. Storey, *Phoenix* 39 (1985), 322–324.

<sup>23</sup> On this I am closer to Meier and Töpffer and differ from Bourriot, *loc. cit.*

<sup>24</sup> Hdt. 1.143, 146 etc.

<sup>25</sup> Assuming, as is likely, that the Potamoi named by Paus. 1.31.3 and 7.1.5 as site of Ion’s grave was the Potamos located north of Thorikos by Strabo 9.1.22. For other Potamoi possibly elsewhere in Attica see Traill, *op. cit.*, 130.

<sup>26</sup> Possibly something to do with alleged foreign origins? Illegitimate entry of persons of dubious descent into the phratries was a favourite topic in Old Comedy during the Peloponnesian War (cf. *Phratries* 34 with n. 40) and was apparently a brush with which Lykon was tarred in the first *Autolykos* of Eupolis (Arethas states, “. . . κωμωδεῖ αὐτόν . . . ἐν δὲ τῷ πρώτῳ Αὐτολύκῳ εἰς ξένον . . .” F 61K–A, cf. F 58). Cf. another possible source, Eupolis *Philoï* F 295 K–A, where there was reference to his wife, “Rhodia”; or, perhaps, his Rhodian wife? (“ἐπὶ τῇ γυναικὶ Ῥοδία κωμωδεῖ αὐτόν”, cf. F 232).

<sup>27</sup> It is not impossible that Lykon also belonged, or was understood to have belonged, to a genos Ionidai, as Arethas might be taken to hint (thus Töpffer). Compare the Titakidai and Thyrgonidai, described in the Lexicon of Arethas’ possible master, Photios (but on the relationship see N. G. Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium* [1983], 120) as φρατρίαί τινές καὶ γένη ἄδοξα καὶ οὐδενὸς ἄξια. On gene as phratries cf. *Phratries*, 18.

B. Some corrigenda to *The Phratries of Attica*

I have noted the following misprints in relation to the texts of phratry inscriptions reproduced in Appendix 1 of *Phratries*:

		Misprint	Correct text
T1,	p. 282, line 1	π[ει]/ραέων	Π[ει]/ραέων
T2,	p. 283, Note to 1.5	Πρασύλλου	Θρασύλλου
T3,	p. 285, Intro. 1.8	Ἐφημερίζ	Ἐφημερίς
	Text 1.8	ἀργυρίο Ι	ἀργυρίο Ι
	p. 286, 29	Βωμῶ	βωμῶ
	57	τοῦτο	τοῦτο]
	p. 288, 112	πολλά καὶ ἀγαθά	πολλά καὶ ἀγαθά
T4,	p. 294, Text 1.3	«π»ά«τ» ρια	«π»ά«τ»ρια
	1.6 (and lemma, p. 296)	«ἦπέ»	«ἦ πέ»
	Ap. cr. 1-2	Sokolowksi	Sokolowski
	2-3	ἐπὶ Δ [	ἐπὶ Δ[
	6	ΔF E	ΔF
	7-8	τοὺς δὲ	τοὺς δὲ
	9-10	ΓΕΡΑ	ΓΕΡ^
T5,	p. 299, Text 1.13	τοῦ ` &	τοῦ
	p. 300, 31	δὲ	δὲ
	51	πρὸς τὸ χωρ[ί]ο]	πρὸς τὸ χωρ[ί]ο]
	57	[ἐπὶ	]ἐπὶ
	p.301, Trans. 1.5	Diophantes	Diophantos
T8,	p. 311, Date	o for ou	o for ω
T9,	p. 313, Notes (line 13)	[Γ] and in the decree [Π]	and in the decree
	Date	crown	decree
T10,	p. 314, Text 1.17 (and lemma, p. 315)	Γαργήτ (τιος)	Γαργήτ(τιος)
	24	Ξυπε (Τ	Ξυπε(τ
	26	(ών)	(ών)
	28 (and lemma, p. 318)	Θεοφίλον	Θεόφιλον
	p. 318, Note to 20-21	Ἰωνί(δης)	Ἰωνί(δης)
T12,	p. 322, Intro. 1.2	no. 17500	no. I 7500
	Text 1.4	καίτοι. [[	καίτοι [
T15,	p. 332, Text	θυργώνιδαι	Θυργώνιδαι
T17,	p. 338, Ap. Cr. 12-14	Εὐ[ . . . ]	Εὐ[ . . . ]
		Χαρικλείο/[υς-/	Χαρικλείο]/[υς -
T20,	p. 347, Notes 1.3	ιε[ίρ	ιε[ρ
T26,	p. 360, Text 1.1	[ών.η	[ώνη
	5	Align with lines above and below.	



## Endnote

I take this opportunity to note a further minor point in relation to a *horos* printed in *Phratries*. *IG II<sup>2</sup> 2723* is the marker of a *prasis epi lysei* involving 5 listed debts. At T21 I printed 5–8, the record of the second debt, as “φράτερ/σι τοῖς μετὰ Ἐρα/τοστράτο Ἴνα/φλ ΧΗΗ”, thus following C. W. Hedrick, *The Attic Phratry* (1984 diss., Univ. of Pennsylvania), T 27 and D. M. Robinson, *AJP* 28 (1907), 430 no. 4. Having examined the stone in the Epigraphical Museum (EM 425) in April 1994, I now believe that the third letter of line 8 is a Y (thus von Premerstein, *Ath. Mitt.* 35 [1910], 103–117, with photograph, p. 104), not a X. The letter has the shape of the r. sloping and upper l. sloping diagonals of X, a standard form for Y. There is no trace of the lower r. diagonal that would make it X. There is a slight rightwards protrusion in the upper r. diagonal, but this apparently belongs to a series of slight casual indentations which run up from the top of A, 5th letter in the line below, to just above the top right corner of the letter in question. Against this reading might be argued that Y elsewhere (lines 3 and 4) is three separate strokes and that Y here would break the sequence of debts listed in descending order of size, while X would not. Variations in letter forms on the same inscription are common enough, however, at this period and place, especially on fairly rough texts of this sort, and the evidence of the inscribed marks on the stone must weigh more heavily than any consideration of neatness of numerical sequence. Accordingly, with von Premerstein, I should now read this debt as φράτερ/σι τοῖς μετὰ Ἐρα/τοστράτο Ἴνα/φλυ ΗΗ. It remains possible, of course, that what is on the stone is not what should have been inscribed.

London

S. D. Lambert