

THE PHRATRY FROM PAIANIA

There is little evidence to support any estimate of the sizes and number of the phratries in Classical Attica. According to the author of the Aristotelian *Athenaion Politeia*, there were four tribes, 12 phratries and 360 *genē*, corresponding respectively to the seasons, months and days of the year. Most older discussions of the tribal organization of Attica were based on this passage.¹ More recently, however, scholars have come to agree that this information is too schematic to be historical, and in any event was not intended to describe the constitution of Attica in the Classical period.² Currently, in spite of this passage, many contend that there were probably numerous phratries in Classical Attica (perhaps as many as there were demes or *gene*),³ which varied greatly in size.

In a recent number of the *Classical Quarterly*,⁴ M. A. Flower discussed a list of 20 phratry members from the Attic deme of Paiania, *IG* ii².2344. He concluded that the list is the dedication of an entire phratry, not of a subsection of a phratry, as had hitherto been maintained.⁵ If he is correct, and if this phratry's size is any index of that of others, then twelve phratries could not possibly have accommodated the numbers of Athenian citizens; there must have been far more phratries in the Classical period than [Aristotle] might seem to suggest.

I have been unconvinced by modern generalizations about the sizes and number of the Attic phratries, and I disagree with Flower's specific conclusions about *IG* ii².2344. I shall deal generally with the sizes and number of Attic phratries elsewhere; for the present I shall restrict myself to a discussion of the evidence for the phratry from Paiania.

Two phratry inscriptions have been discovered in the vicinity of the ancient deme of Paiania. The first is a list of twenty members of a phratry, that discussed by Flower. The second is a phratry's decree. Neither inscription provides the phratry's name. It is therefore impossible to determine with certainty whether or not both emanate from the same phratry. The question of the relationship between the two inscriptions,

¹ [Aristotle], *Ath. Pol.* F. 3. See e.g. W. S. Ferguson, 'The Athenian Phratries', *CP* 5 (1910), 257–84, at 259–60, 264, 268. Cf., however, the attempt of H. Sauppe to discredit [Aristotle]: 'Commentatio de phratriis atticis', pp. 4–6, in *Index scholarum publice et privatim in Academia Georgia Augusta* (Göttingen, 1887). This fragment also evidently equates phratries with trittyes; see P. J. Rhodes, *A Commentary on the Aristotelian Athenaion Politeia* (Oxford, 1981), pp. 68–71.

² See e.g. Rhodes, loc. cit.

³ Notably A. Andrewes, 'Philochoros on Phratries', *JHS* 81 (1961), 1–15, and D. Roussel, *Tribu et cité* (Paris, 1976), pp. 142–3. There is in fact no substantiating evidence for this notion, neither from the evidence for specific phratries, nor in the general statements of the ancient authors. On demes, see generally J. Traill, *The Political Organization of Attica* (*Hesperia* suppl. 14) (Princeton, 1975); for *genē*, see F. Bourriot, *Recherches sur la nature du genos. Etude d'histoire sociale athenienne – périodes archaïque et classique* (Lille, 1976).

⁴ M. A. Flower, '*IG* ii².2344 and the Size of Phratries in Classical Athens', *CQ* 35 (1985), 232–5.

⁵ As A. von Premerstein had concluded: 'Phratern-verbaende auf einem attischen Hypothekenstein', *MDAI(A)* 35 (1910), 103–17, at 113–15. W. S. Ferguson came independently to the same conclusion: art. cit. (above, n. 1), 266–7 and 284. Before these two articles, it had been held that the inscription was the list of an entire phratry's membership: A. Koerte, 'Mitglieder-verzeichnis einer attischen Phratry', *Hermes* 37 (1902), 582–9; R. Dareste et al., eds., *Réceuil des inscriptions juridiques grecques* (Paris, 1891–1904), ii.228–31.

however, is of capital importance to any understanding of the Attic phratry. Either there were two phratry shrines in the vicinity of Paiania and members of the deme were split between the two, or there was only one, and almost all of the demesmen of Paiania belonged to that phratry.

I am inclined to believe that both inscriptions emanate from the same phratry. To begin with, there is a certain amount of evidence that deme membership often overlapped considerably with phratry membership.⁶ In so far as a phratry possessed a shrine in the Attic countryside it had a kind of regional, geographic character.⁷ It is thus not surprising that most phratries evidently drew their members from the immediate vicinity of their sanctuaries. Certainly prominent members of a phratry uniformly came from the deme where the phratry seat was located.⁸ There is, however, unfortunately virtually no evidence for the relationship between the deme affiliations of the 'rank and file' of a phratry and the location of their phratry shrine.⁹

Next, it is simpler to explain the coincidence of the find-spots of the two inscriptions by attributing them both to one phratry. The alternative is to hypothesize two phratries, one for either inscription.

Finally, both inscriptions are dedicated to both Zeus and Athena Phratrios. Though this pair was worshipped by many phratries, the cult was certainly not universal.¹⁰

I. THE PHRATRY LIST (IG II².2344)

The list¹¹ is inscribed on a stele of Pentelic marble with crowning cymation, broken at the bottom, 0.92 m high, 0.366 m wide and 0.084 m thick. Its first line is inscribed on the cymation in letters of 0.014 m in height. The letters of the second line are 0.011 m in height, and those of the following lines are 0.010 m in height. Below line 22 the stele has been left uninscribed for a preserved distance of 0.49 m. The name of the phrater who had the list inscribed, Sosippos son of Sosipolis, is carved vertically down the right edge of the stele, beginning from the upper right corner immediately below the cymation. The letters of this vertical line are of irregular size, varying from 0.15 m to 0.17 m in height. The text of lines 3–22 was laid out in a *stoichedon* pattern, with a grid measuring 0.016 m across by 0.016 m down.

The document was inscribed in the Ionian alphabet. The so-called 'false diphthong'

⁶ For 'deme and phratry overlap' see e.g. T. Cadoux, *OCD*² s.v. phratrīai; D. Whitehead, *The Demes of Attica* (Princeton, 1986), p. 31 and n. 117. Cf. however the widely diverging opinions of Ferguson, art. cit. (above, n. 1), 271–5, 282–4; F. Jacoby, commentary to *FGrH* 328 (Philochoros), F. 94; Andrewes, art. cit. (above, n. 3).

⁷ The *locus classicus* for this local, geographic character of the phratry is the inscription of the Demotionidai, IG II².1237, with its insistence that all phratry sacrifices be conducted at the phratry's altar at Dekeleia.

⁸ As were the benefactors in the honorific phratry decree from Paiania, discussed below. Cf. e.g. the phratriarchs of the Dyaleis, IG II².1241, 5–7, and the priest of the Demotionidai, IG II².1237, 2.

⁹ If one excludes the tantalizing and much debated relationship between the Demotionidai and the Dekeleieis, IG II².1237. See e.g. U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Aristoteles und Athen* (Berlin, 1893), ii.259–79; J. H. Lipsius, 'Die Phratie der Demotionidai', *Leipziger Studien* 16 (1894), 161–71; H. T. Wade-Gery, 'Studies in the Structure of Attic Society: I. Demotionidai', *CQ* 25 (1931), 129–43 (= *Essays in Greek History* [Oxford, 1958], pp. 89–115).

¹⁰ See below, nn. 19–21.

¹¹ The description here provided of the stone is meant to supersede that of Koerte, art. cit. (above, n. 5). A serviceable photograph is provided by von Premerstein, art. cit. (above, n. 5), plate 15.

was observed throughout.¹² These indications confirm the impression produced by the letter forms: the list surely dates to the early part of the fourth century B.C.

There is no question about the provenance of the inscription. It was discovered by a farmer in 1899 at a place called *Kapsospiti*, 'the burnt house', which lies between Liopesi, the site of the ancient deme of Paiania, and the foothills of Hymettos.¹³ It is currently prominently displayed in the Epigraphical Museum of Athens, E.M. 8100 + 207.

TEXT

<i>Διὸς : Φρατρίο :</i>	<i>Ἀθηνάας : Φρατ[ρίας]</i>	
<i>οἶδε φράτερες</i>		
<i>Ποσειδίππος :</i>	<i>Ξενοτίμο</i>	
<i>Μνήσαρχος :</i>	<i>Μνησικλείδο</i>	
<i>Σώσιππος :</i>	<i>Σωσιπόλιδος</i>	5
<i>Μνησίθεος :</i>	<i>Μνησιφίλο</i>	
<i>Ἐπιχάρης :</i>	<i>Μνησικλείδο</i>	
<i>Σώσιππος :</i>	<i>Σωσιστράτο</i>	
<i>Μνήσος :</i>	<i>Μνησιφίλο</i>	
<i>Μενεκλείδης :</i>	<i>Ξενοκλείδο</i>	10
<i>Μνησικλείδης :</i>	<i>Μνησάρχο</i>	
<i>Σωσίπολις :</i>	<i>Σωσίππο</i>	
<i>Μνησιγένης :</i>	<i>Μνησιγένος</i>	
<i>Ξενοτίμος :</i>	<i>Ποσειδίππο</i>	
<i>Σωσίστρατος :</i>	<i>Σωσίππο</i>	15
<i>Σώστρατος :</i>	<i>Σωσίππο</i>	
<i>Λυσίας :</i>	<i>Ποσειδίππο</i>	
<i>Φιλόδημος :</i>	<i>Φιλοδήμο</i>	
<i>Μνησικλείδης :</i>	<i>Ἐπιχάρος</i>	
<i>Φίλων :</i>	<i>Σωσίππο</i>	20
<i>Μνησιθείδης :</i>	<i>Ἐπιχάρος</i>	
<i>Μνησίφιλος :</i>	<i>Μνησιθεό</i>	

Vertically down the right side

Σώσιππος : Σωσιπόλιδος : ἀνέγρα[ψεν]

Line 1: T: Only the top horizontal of the bar is visible.

Lines 3–22: Note that the punctuation marks which divide name from patronymic never occupy a *στοίχος*.

Line 13: The I of ΜΝΗΣΙΓΕΝΗΣ does not occupy its own *στοίχος*.

Line 18: The I of ΦΙΛΟΔΗΜΟΣ does not occupy its own *στοίχος*.

The vertical phrase: ΙΠΟΛ: Only the bottoms of the letters are visible, due to a break in the stone.

The inscription is dated by its orthography and letter forms to the early fourth century B.C.

¹² For the 'false diphthong' see L. Thraette, *The Grammar of Attic Inscriptions*, I: *Morphology* (New York, 1980), pp. 238–60.

¹³ For the find spot of the inscription see P. Kastriotis, 'Φρατρική Ἐπιγραφή', *Arch. Eph.* (1901), 158–62, with diplomatic text. For the site of Paiania, see J. Traill, *op. cit.* (above, n. 3), p. 43.

The inscription is of extraordinary importance, for it provides the only indisputable documentation¹⁴ of the specific membership of an Attic phratry. The names listed in this catalogue and their relationships to one another reveal something of the internal composition and organization of the phratry.

The names of two divinities, Zeus Phratrion and Athena Phratra, stand physically and syntactically independent of the rest of the text, at the head of the inscription, on the cymation.¹⁵ To make sense of the heading, the reader must supply some word or phrase such as *στήλη* or *ἱερὰ στήλη* with the genitives of the divinities' names.¹⁶ This is not, however, a simple ellipse of a readily understood phrase. The genitives of the divinities' names constitute a kind of label of ownership, carved on their physical object, the *stèle* itself, much as owners' names were scratched in the genitive onto Greek vases. Thus the heading serves as a notice of possession, a statement that the *stèle* is in the care of the two gods. Zeus and Athena serve as witnesses, guarantors and ultimately protectors of the inscription.¹⁷ A similar practice may perhaps be seen in those official documents of the Athenian state which are headed with a simple impersonal invocation: *θεοί*. The word is an invitation to 'the gods' to protect the inscription.¹⁸

Zeus and Athena are surely chosen as protectors because they are the gods of this phratry, and the inscription is set up in their sanctuary. This pair was worshipped by many, though certainly not by all, Attic phratries.¹⁹ Some phratries apparently worshipped only Zeus Phratrion;²⁰ others, while they may also have worshipped Zeus and/or Athena, had cults of their own idiosyncratic gods.²¹

I take the second line of the inscription as a complete and positive assertion

¹⁴ Only one other inscription provides a list which *may* reasonably be argued to be a phratry register: *IG* ii².2345. Cf. M. Poland, *Geschichte des griechischen Vereinswesens (Gekroente Preisschrift 38)* (Leipzig, 1909), pp. 18–19; Ferguson, art. cit. (above, n. 1), 270–2; Premerstein, art. cit. (above, n. 5), 110 n. 2 and 112–13; A. Andrewes, art. cit. (above, n. 3), 9–10. More recently M. Golden, 'Demosthenes and the Age of Majority in Athens', *Phoenix* 33 (1979), 25–38, at 37–8 and n. 41 has suggested (without sufficient grounds, in my opinion) that *IG* ii².2343 and 2346–8 are also to be identified as phratry lists.

¹⁵ Flower, art. cit. (above, n. 4), 232 and 233 n. 9, is mistaken to understand the inscription to be 'in the form of a dedication'. He takes the second line, *οἷδε φράτρες*, as part of the votive heading, that is, as the names of those who have made the dedication and the first as the names of the gods to whom the dedication is made. So he reconstructs the sense of the first two lines: 'the following phraters (contributed to the dedication of the *stèle* to) Zeus Phratrion and Athena Phratra'.

¹⁶ As Flower points out, art. cit. (above, n. 4), 232 n. 2.

¹⁷ So, precisely, F. Hiller von Gaertringen understands headings of this sort. In addition to his commentary and references at *SIG*³ 921, line 1, see E. Curtius and F. Adler to *Olympia* v. 5. *Die Inschriften*, 2, 9, and above all, A. Wilhelm, 'Zu griechischen Inschriften', *AEMOe* 20 (1897), 50–97, at 91–2.

¹⁸ See the recent study of R. L. Pounder, 'The Origin of *theoi* as an Inscription Heading', *GRBS Monographs* 10 (1984), 243–50. Cf. further A. Henry, *The Prescripts of Athenian Decrees (Mnemosyne suppl. 49)* (Leiden, 1977), *passim* and P. Traywick, *Theoi and Agathe Tychei in the Headings of Attic Inscriptions* (Dissertation Harvard, 1968; non vidi. Cf. *HSCP* 73 (1969), 325–8).

¹⁹ See Plato, *Euthydemus* 302c; H. A. Thompson, 'Buildings on the West Side of the Agora', *Hesperia* 6 (1937), 104–7 and C. W. Hedrick, Jr., 'The Temple and Cult of Apollo Patroos in Athens', *AJA* 92 (1988), 185–210, at 192–3; H. A. Thompson and N. Kyprissis, 'A Sanctuary of Zeus and Athena Phratrion Newly Found in Athens', *Hesperia* 7 (1938), 612–25, at 615–19.

²⁰ See especially *IG* ii².1237 and [Demosthenes] 43 (Against Makartatos), 11–15.

²¹ See e.g. C. W. Hedrick, Jr., 'Old and New on the Attic Phratry of the Therrikleidae', *Hesperia* 52 (1983), 299–302; idem, 'The Thymaitian Phratry', *Hesperia* 57 (1988), 81–5.

about the list which follows. The demonstrative *οἷδε* should not be construed as attributive in this instance. Like most demonstratives, when used as an adjective it is normally accompanied by the definite article: e.g. *οἷδε οἱ φράτρες*.²² Instead, *οἷδε* should be taken as the subject and *φράτρες* as the predicate. When, as in this inscription, *οἷδε* is used as subject and its noun as predicate the article is regularly omitted.²³ I therefore translate: 'the following men *are* phraters'.

Flower has argued that the demonstrative *οἷδε*, unqualified, 'always introduces what is, in fact, the entire category of what it refers to', and so must describe the entire phratry. The simple phrase here may not designate a subsection of a phratry; if it did, he maintains, it would be qualified by *ἐκ* plus the genitive: *οἷδε ἐκ τῶν φρατέρων*.²⁴ He also suggested that if this group comprised a subsection of the phratry it should be described as a *θίασος*²⁵ and the idiosyncratic gods of the *θίασος* (in contrast to Zeus Phratrios and Athena Phratia, the gods of the entire phratry) should have been invoked at the head of the inscription.²⁶

The demonstrative *οἷδε* may of course be defined by genitives, prepositional phrases and the like. The fact that it is not so qualified in this context does not, however, demonstrate that it necessarily refers to all members of the phratry any more than that it necessarily refers to the members of some subsection. Any demonstrative necessarily has adversative connotations. If no contrast were intended, the simple definite article would be used. So *these* men may conceivably be contrasted with *those* who are not members of their phratry, or with *those* who are not members of their subsection, or with *those* whose membership is in question, or with *those* whose membership is not in question.²⁷

The notion that all Attic phratries were subdivided into groups called *thiasoi* at the end of the fifth century has lately gained unquestioned and undeserved currency.²⁸ The term is certainly attested as the name for a subsection of a phratry in only one document, the decrees of the Demotionidai.²⁹ Furthermore, words other than *thiasos* were certainly used in documents of the Classical period to designate subsections within phratries. In some instances the members of such groups are called *οἱ οἰκεῖοι τοῦ δεινός*,³⁰ or even simply *οἱ φράτρες τοῦ δεινός*.³¹

Nor is it clear that a *thiasos* (as it is used to describe a subsection of the phratry) would not have put the list in the care of the gods of the phratry. There is no evidence that small groups within phratries worshipped gods apart from those of the entire phratry. As the list is of interest to the phratry as a whole and is erected in the phratry sanctuary of Zeus and Athena, so it would naturally be under the protection of those gods. Thus, for example, when sub-groups within the phratry of the Demotionidai deliberate about the status of their members, they vote and swear in the name of the god of the entire phratry, Zeus Phratrios.³²

²² See e.g. H. W. Smythe, *Greek Grammar*, revised by G. Messing (Harvard, 1956), 1171, 1176.

²³ Smythe, op. cit. (n. 22, above), 1178.

²⁴ Flower, art. cit. (above, n. 4), 233 n. 9.

²⁵ Flower, art. cit. (above, n. 4), 233.

²⁶ Flower, art. cit. (above, n. 4), 233 note 7, citing Andrewes, art. cit. (above, n. 3), 11.

²⁷ The unqualified demonstrative *οἷδε* is so used, for example, in some of the tribute lists, to distinguish among various categories of subject states: see *JG* i³.281–3, 285.

²⁸ I believe this idea dates to Andrewes, art. cit. (above, n. 3).

²⁹ *JG* ii².1237. Cf., however, *JG* ii².2345 and the bibliography cited above, n. 14. I shall have more to say about the internal organization of phratries elsewhere.

³⁰ See Demosthenes 57 (Appeal against Euboulides), 43, 67–9.

³¹ See *JG* ii².2723.

³² *JG* ii².1237, lines 68–113.

The names on this list may be grouped into eight separate families. I provide their stemmata in Figure 1.

It was a common practice within the ancient Greek family to repeat names and components of names.³³ In the light of this criterion, most of these families are manifestly related to one another. Several of the families are dominated by names with the component -MNES- (II, IV and VII) or -SOS- (III and V). Menekleides (VI, 10) is likely related to family II (Cf. Mnesikleides, 11 and 19) as Philodemos (VIII) may be to family V (cf. Philon, 20) and family VI (cf. Xenekleides, 10) to family I (cf. Xenotimos, 14).

The catalogue is not ordered according to the principle of kinship, but that of age. Individuals are not grouped with their immediate relatives, but are listed without regard for family tie, from eldest to youngest. So the list begins with the names of the eldest members of each familial group, from whom most of the other persons on the list are directly descended. It is noteworthy that it is the *third* of these 'patriarchs', Sosippos, who has been charged with having the list inscribed.³⁴

The disregard for the integrity of the eight families in the ordering of the names on the list implies that they are not regarded as discrete entities within the list. The twenty names of the list evidently comprise one, undivided unit. This ordering from elder to younger corresponds to the principle of seniority within the family.³⁵ Though this list provides the only positive evidence for the operation of such a principle of seniority within the Attic phratry, it is scarcely unexpected. The ancient Greek family was indisputably dominated by the father, and kinship groups such as the phratry are extensions of the *oikos*.

The limited age spread attested within this list is interesting and a little puzzling. In no case are individuals from more than two generations of a family listed. Since boys were normally enrolled in phratries at puberty,³⁶ it might be expected that in at least one or two instances three or more generations of a family should be listed.

Since this inscription was found near Paiania, the seat of the phratry was presumably located at or near that same deme. It would be natural to suppose that the members of the phratry were members of the deme. Unfortunately this inscription yields no positive indication of any overlap of the phratry's membership with that of the deme: none of the names in the list are described by a demotic, and there is no external evidence to confirm the presence of any of these families in Paiania or in any deme close by.³⁷ Some, however, have argued that none of these phraters are described by a demotic because it is readily understood in context: all individuals listed here are members of the same deme, Paiania, as are the majority of the members of this phratry; a demotic would only be given in those exceptional cases where a phrater is *not* a demesman of Paiania.³⁸ This argument is attractive. In view of the

³³ See e.g. E. Fraenkel, *RE* 16, 2 (1935), Namenwesen, cols. 1624-6.

³⁴ There is no reason to accept Flower's suggestion, art. cit. (above, n. 4), 233 n. 9, that Sosippos was the priest of the phratry. Certainly Sosippos has arranged to have the stele inscribed and erected, or paid for it, and he properly takes his due credit by announcing his accomplishment in the standard formulaic language of official Athenian documents. He does not however describe himself as priest or phratriarch (either of whom might be charged to erect an official phratry inscription), as he surely would have if he had held either office.

³⁵ See e.g. W. K. Lacey, *The Family in Classical Greece* (Ithaca, 1968), pp. 21-2.

³⁶ See e.g. J. Labarbe, 'L'âge correspondant au sacrifice du *koureion* et les données historiques du sixième discours d'Isée', *BAB* 39 (1953), 358-94.

³⁷ I have searched for evidence in the standard prosopographies of Attica, as well as in the indices of the *SEG* and *Bulletin épigraphique*.

³⁸ See Ferguson, art. cit. (above, n. 5), 271-3, who cites some parallels for this practice. For example, this principle of omission also seems to be operating in the list of thiasotai, *IG* ii².2345.

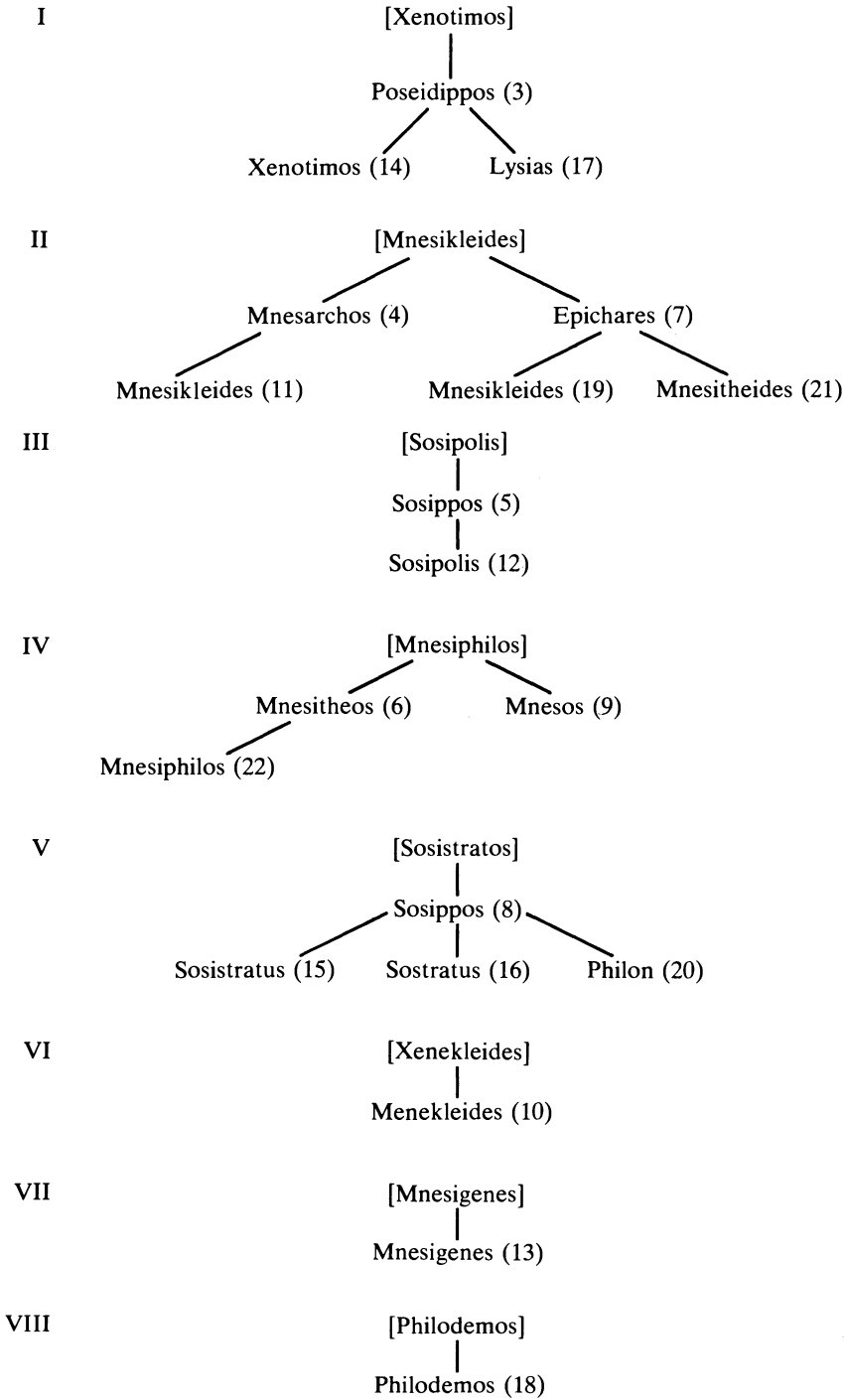


Figure 1. Stemmata of the eight separate families.

bonds of kinship which unite the various families of this list, it would not be remarkable if all come from the same deme.

The purpose and occasion for the inscription are rather more mysterious than may appear to a casual consideration. It is certainly not the official register of the members of the phratry. Such rosters are by their very nature ephemeral records, which must be continually adjusted as old members die and new members are introduced. In antiquity such registers were normally written on cheaper, perishable materials, such as papyrus, parchment or wood, which could economically accommodate additions, subtractions, and even replacement.³⁹

The list from Paiania is a permanent document, inscribed on marble. It was never intended to record the day-to-day and year-to-year fluctuations of the phratry's membership, and it never did: there are no traces of insertions or deletions on the stone. The list must have been prepared for some special occasion. It is a permanent record of some members of a phratry at a particular moment in the late fifth or early fourth century. There is nothing in the text of the inscription to indicate what circumstances prompted its erection. With Koerte,⁴⁰ however, I would speculate that there is some connection with the citizenship crisis that came in the wake of the restoration of the Athenian democracy.

During the archonship of Eukleides the citizenship law of Perikles was re-enacted, after a lapse of several years.⁴¹ The law was not to be applied retroactively: while those born after 403 would be judged according to the standard of the law of Perikles, those born before 'would not be examined'.⁴² These measures evidently threw the Attic phratries into turmoil. By 396/5 the Demotionidai found it necessary to conduct an 'extraordinary scrutiny', a complete revision of their register. All those not entitled were to be ejected from the phratry.⁴³

I take line 2 of the present inscription as an emphatic assertion about the status of the following names, an assertion which implicitly invites comparison of them with other, less worthy members of the phratry: 'the following are phraters (as opposed to certain others who shall remain nameless)'. At a time when the standing of many Athenian citizens was in doubt, Sosippos and his 'brothers' have verified and published a list of some of those who are entitled to enjoy the privileges of phraters.

II. THE PHRATRY DECREE

The second phratry inscription from Paiania is an honorific decree.⁴⁴ This inscription was carved on a *stèle* of Pentelic marble with crowning cymation, of which only the upper right corner has survived. The preserved measurements of the inscription are 0.325 m high, 0.20 m wide (0.22 m wide at the projecting cyma), and 0.08 m thick.

³⁹ For phratry registers, see *IG* ii².1237, 21 and 98. For Greek record keeping in general see G. Klaffenbach, *Bemerkungen zum griechischen Urkundenwesen* (*SDAW* no. 6) (Berlin, 1960).

⁴⁰ Art. cit. (above, n. 5).

⁴¹ For a survey of the vicissitudes of Perikles' citizenship law, see e.g. C. Patterson, *Perikles' Citizenship Law of 451/50 B.C.* (New York, 1981). More recently cf. K. R. Walters, 'Perikles' Citizenship Law', *Classical Antiquity* 2 (1983), 314–36.

⁴² *FGrH* 77 (Eumelos) F. 2 (= Schol. to Aeschines, *Timarchus*, 39).

⁴³ For some discussion of the historical circumstances of these decrees, see W. Thompson, 'An Interpretation of the "Demotionid" Decrees', *SO* 62 (1968), 51–68.

⁴⁴ This inscription was first published in *SEG* 3, 121 by Ziebarth, with assistance from Wilhelm and Klaffenbach. It was later re-published (evidently without knowledge of the *editio princeps*) by N. Kyparissis and W. Peek, 'Attische Urkunden', *MDAI(A)* 66 (1941), 218–39, at 219–21, number 2, with a photograph of a squeeze, plate 77, 1. The following text is, with some modifications, that of Kyparissis and Peek. For Davies' restoration, see his *Athenian Propertied Families* (Oxford, 1971), no. 2254, p. 68.

The provenance of the inscription is unknown but not in doubt: it was first seen in the municipal museum of Liopesi; the honorands mentioned in it are natives of the deme of Paiania; it must have been found somewhere at or near Liopesi.

Both Ziebarth and Peek saw the inscription in the municipal museum of Liopesi. I have been unable to locate the stone. It has not been moved to Brauron, as have been so many of the inscriptions which used to be kept at Liopesi; I am informed that it may now be in the museum of the Laurion.

TEXT

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 28

[θε]οί
 [... 14.....]του εἰ<π>εν · ἐπειδὴ
 [Εὐ...η... Ἀρρενε]ίδου καὶ Ἀρρενεῖ
 [δης Χαρικλείους] ἄνδρες ἀγαθοί εἰ
 [σι περὶ τὸ κοινόν] τῶν φρατέρων καὶ 5
 [... 12.....αἰ]ρεθέντες τοῦ ναο
 [ὑ, τῶι Διὶ τῶι Φρατ]ρίωι καὶ τῇ Ἀθην
 [αἰαί τῇ Φρατρία]ι ἐπέδωκαν εἰς τῇ
 [ν..... 10..... δρα]χμὰς διακοσίας ν
 [... 14.....]ξαι τοὺς φράτερα 10
 [ς τοῦ ἀναλώματος ·] δεδόχθαι το[ῖς φρ]
 [άτερσιν · ἐπαιέσα]ι Εὐ[...η[... Ἀρρε]
 [νείδου καὶ Ἀρρενε]ῖδην Χαρικλείο
 [υς -----]

The length of the line is determined by the restorations in lines 7, 8 and 12.

Line 1: Inscribed on the cymation.

Line 3: *expl.* Hedrick. [Χαρικλῆς (?) Ἀρρενε]ίδου *dub.* Wilhelm. [Καλλικλῆς Ἀρρενε]ίδου *expl.* Davies.

Line 4: *expl.* Wilhelm.

Line 5: *expl.* Ziebarth.

Line 6: [ἐργεπιστάται] *expl.* Wilhelm. [ἀρχιτέκτονες] *expl.* Klaffenbach.

Lines 7–8: *expl.* Ziebarth.

Line 9: [οἰκοδομίαν] *expl.* Klaffenbach. [κατασκευήν] *expl.* Peek.

Line 10: [β/ουλόμενοι κουφίσαι] *expl.* Ziebarth. ν/[ομίσαντες ἀπαλλάξαι] *sic dub.* Peek.

Line 11: *expl.* Ziebarth.

Lines 12–14: *expl.* Peek.

Given the fragmentary condition of the document, it may be convenient for the reader to have a translation of the text as I reconstruct it:

[--] proposed: since [Eu--- son of Arrhene]ides and Arrhenei[des son of Charikles] are benefactors [of the association] of phraters, and, having been selected [as supervisors?] of the temple, they contributed two hundred drachmai [to Zeus Phrat]rios and Athen[a Phrat]ria toward its [furnishings?, so intending to relieve?] the phraters [of the monetary burden], the [phraters] have decided [to praise] Eu[--- son of Arrhene]ides and Arrheneides son of Charikles ---].

Zeus Phratrrios and Athena Phratrria are only mentioned here as the custodians of the phratry's money. In context it seems likely that the temple was also dedicated to them, though this is not explicitly stated. If so, this is the only instance known in Attica of a temple (*νεώς*) dedicated to Zeus Phratrrios and Athena Phratrria.⁴⁵

⁴⁵ If we exclude from consideration the speculative attribution of a temple in the Agora to the pair: H. Thompson, 'Buildings on the West Side of the Agora', *Hesperia* 6 (1937), 1–222, at

The inscription honours a father and son, Arrheneides son of Charikles and Eu[--] son of Arrheneides,⁴⁶ for their contribution of two hundred drachmai to Zeus and Athena Phratrion, probably for the refurnishing of the phratry's temple. Both are members of the phratry, as is shown by the phratry's selection of them to act as supervisors of the temple, and by their lavish contributions.

The elder of the two, Arrheneides, was a prominent figure in Athenian politics during the 330s and 320s, conferring numerous benefits on the Athenian state through the liturgies which he performed.⁴⁷ Since his son is mentioned as a donor in this document, the inscription should probably be dated to the middle years of Arrheneides' life: a date in the 320s would be more appropriate than a date in the 330s or before.

Arrheneides and his son were members of an old and prosperous family from Paiania. Their family can, in fact, be traced back to the last quarter of the fifth century, when Arrheneides' grandfather, Rhinon son of Charikles, served as Paredros of the Hellenotamiai.⁴⁸ His father, Charikles, is attested on a gravestone.⁴⁹

It is no coincidence that the phratry of Arrheneides had its seat in or near Paiania. As I have already pointed out, prominent members of phratries tended to be affiliated with demes in the immediate vicinity of their phratry's shrine. The two men honoured in the decree come from a well known family whose members may be traced directly in the male line back to the last quarter of the fifth century B.C. Phratry membership, as is well known, continues in a family in the paternal line. The ancestors of the two honorands were surely members of this same phratry, yet none of them is listed on the phratry roster, which dates to the beginning of the fourth century B.C. If it is agreed that the decree and catalogue emanate from the same phratry⁵⁰ and that the family of Arrheneides belongs to this phratry, then the list cannot be a catalogue of the entire membership of the phratry, but only of some small and perhaps unofficial group within it.

It is impossible to demonstrate conclusively that these two inscriptions emanate from the same phratry. It is conceivable (though, as I have tried to show here, improbable) that the phratry register lists the enrolment of an entire phratry. It should, however, be clear that the two phratry inscriptions from Paiania must be considered together: either as a dossier attesting a single phratry with a shrine near Paiania, or as evidence for the shrines of two distinct phratries in the proximity of that same deme. In either case, in combination these inscriptions constitute important evidence for the relationship between phratry and deme, as well as for the geographic character of the phratry in Attic society.

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77-111. Cf. C. W. Hedrick, Jr., 'The Temple and Cult of Apollo Patroos in Athens', *AJA* 92 (1988), 185-210, at 192-3.

⁴⁶ As Wilhelm saw, it is likely that the first contributor is the son of Arrheneides. The relationship may be inferred from the fact that they make a joint contribution and receive joint honours, and because the last four letters of the patronymic of the first man agree with the last four letters of Arrheneides. Wilhelm's restoration, Charikles, must now be discarded, since Peek has deciphered letters of the man's name in line 12. Davies' restoration fits neither the available space on the stone nor the traces which Peek deciphered.

⁴⁷ For Arrheneides and his family, see Davies, loc. cit. (above, n. 44). To Davies' references add now M. B. Walbank, 'Leases of Sacred Property in Attica, part II', *Hesperia* 52 (1983), 177-99, at 191-9.

⁴⁸ See *ML* 77, lines 26-7. The family may perhaps be traced even further, to Arrheneides' great grandfather, Charikles: *Hesperia* 12 (1943), 37 no. 8. Fr. K, line 2.

⁴⁹ *Hesperia* 15 (1946), 179 no. 27.

⁵⁰ This suggestion was first made by Peek, art. cit. (above, n. 44).