

# PHRATRY SHRINES OF ATTICA AND ATHENS

(PLATE 80)

MANY HISTORIANS hold that the organization of ancient Greek society was in origin an essentially tribal system.<sup>1</sup> The elements of society in this prehistoric form, the tribes, phratries, and *gene*, were supposedly based purely and uniquely on kinship. So membership in these earliest groups depended solely on birth; they were not defined, nor did they exist in the real space, or territory, of the state. This character supposedly corresponds to the situation of the Greeks in some prehistoric age, when they were a nomadic, migratory people. We are asked to imagine that such a people, living without fixed geographic residence, could only be organized along purely tribal lines; they could have no conception of or use for geographic organization and institutions.<sup>2</sup> As sedentary states developed, this tribal system came to be replaced by a more modern, territorial system of organization.

This construction of the history of the organization of the ancient Greek city states has been demolished by D. Roussel.<sup>3</sup> As Roussel pointed out, tribal organizations are found

<sup>1</sup> Works frequently cited are abbreviated as follows:

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|-------------------------|---|
| Andrewes, 1961          | = A. Andrewes, "Philochoros on Phratries," <i>JHS</i> 81, 1961, pp. 1–15  |
| Andrewes, 1982          | = A. Andrewes, "The Growth of the Athenian State," in <i>The Cambridge Ancient History</i> , 3rd ed., III, iii, Cambridge 1982, pp. 360–391   |
| <i>Bull. ép.</i>        | = J. and L. Robert, "Bulletin épigraphique," published annually in the <i>REG</i> . It is cited by the last two digits of the year and the number of the lemma.                             |
| Davies, <i>APF</i>      | = J. K. Davies, <i>Athenian Propertied Families</i> , Oxford 1971   |
| Ferguson, 1910          | = W. S. Ferguson, "The Athenian Phratries," <i>CP</i> 5, 1910, pp. 257–284  |
| Ferguson, 1938          | = W. S. Ferguson, "The Salaminioi of Heptaphyle and Sounion," <i>Hesperia</i> 7, 1938, pp. 1–74   |
| Finley                  | = M. I. Finley, <i>Ancient History, Evidence and Models</i> , New York 1987   |
| Kyparissis and Thompson | = N. Kyparissis and H. A. Thompson, "A Sanctuary of Zeus and Athena Phratrios Newly Found in Athens," <i>Hesperia</i> 7, 1938, pp. 612–625  |
| Hignett                 | = C. Hignett, <i>A History of the Athenian Constitution to the End of the Fifth Century B.C.</i> , Oxford 1952  |
| Labarbe                 | = J. Labarbe, "L'âge correspondant au sacrifice du <i>κούρειον</i> et les données historiques du sixième discours d'Isée," <i>BABesch</i> 39, 1953, pp. 358–394                             |
| <i>PA</i>               | = J. Kirchner, <i>Prosopographia attica</i> , 2 vols., Berlin 1901–1903   |
| Rhodes                  | = P. J. Rhodes, <i>A Commentary on the Aristotelian Athenaion Politeia</i> , Oxford 1981  |
| Roussel                 | = D. Roussel, <i>Tribu et cité (Annales littéraires de l'Université de Besançon 193)</i> , Paris 1976   |
| Toepffer                | = J. Toepffer, <i>Attische Genealogie</i> , Berlin 1889   |
| Traill                  | = J. Traill, <i>The Political Organization of Attica: A Study of the Demes, Trittyes and Phylai, and Their Representation in the Athenian Council (Hesperia Suppl. 14)</i> , Princeton 1975 |
| Whitehead               | = D. Whitehead, <i>The Demes of Attica, 508–ca. 250 B.C.: A Political and Social Study</i> , Princeton 1986   |

Phratries and testimonia will be designated according to catalogue number. So, for example, I.3 refers to *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 1237 or the phratry attested in that inscription, the Demotionidai; II.3 refers to the phratry attested in Demosthenes 39.

I have footnoted the locations of demes only in controversial cases. For all other deme sites, see Traill.

<sup>2</sup> For a review of the scholarship on Greek "tribal societies" see Roussel, pp. 3–25, 109–115.

<sup>3</sup> Roussel. For an evaluation of Roussel's book, see Finley, pp. 90–93.

only in the Greek city states. They are not found at all among the less "civilized" *ἔθνη* of the ancient Greek world.<sup>4</sup> "The implications are staggering: we are left to believe the improbability that the evolutionary path proceeded from a kinship basis to a territorial basis, but that in those communities which failed to take that step the subordinate [kinship-based] units somehow disappeared."<sup>5</sup> Roussel's observation suggests that tribal subdivisions do not date to some Greek nomadic, tribal period but are paradoxically creations of the sedentary, "civilized" *πόλεις*.<sup>6</sup> It also calls into question the traditional evaluation of the character of tribal organizations in the historical period.

Many modern scholars understand the phratry of the historical period as a purely tribal organization: that is, as a group which is exclusively organized and defined according to the principles of patrilinear kinship and descent.<sup>7</sup> This representation of the group's character is explained and justified with reference to its putative origins.

The proposition that the Classical Attic phratry was an exclusively tribal entity cannot be proven. This notion probably arose out of the schematic interpretation of the Kleisthenic reforms. Kleisthenes, the dogma has it, reformed the old tribal Athenian constitution by establishing its opposite: a purely geographical system of political organization. The Kleisthenic demes, trittyes, and tribes have a real, mappable existence in the Attic countryside. The Archaic institutions which they replaced are accordingly represented as opposite couplets of these: tribal corporations, which can only exist outside of physical space.<sup>8</sup>

This schematic contrast between Classical and Archaic constitutions is, in my opinion, inaccurate. The deme was not so completely geographical in character as is commonly stated, nor was the phratry so purely tribal. As is well known, the names of the Kleisthenic units of organization, particularly the tribes, suggest some underlying principle of kinship. Although membership in the Kleisthenic deme was originally determined according to place of residence, later generations of demesmen were enrolled in the same deme as their male forebears, without regard to domicile. Although the majority of Attic demesmen probably continued to reside in the immediate vicinity of their deme-centers in the 5th and 4th centuries B.C., it was certainly conceivable, and indeed happened, that members of the same deme might reside in very different parts of the Attic countryside.<sup>9</sup>

The evidence for the geographical character of the phratry is less familiar to most: phratries were defined in a manner very similar to that of demes. Several scholars have touched on the territorial character of the phratry in passing, yet the evidence for it has

<sup>4</sup> Pace T. J. Cadoux, *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 2nd ed., s.v. *phratrīai*. In this, Roussel is following Max Weber (*The Agrarian Sociology of Ancient Civilizations*, London 1976, pp. 149–151 [English translation of "Die sozialen Gruende des Untergangs der antiken Kultur," in *Die Wahrheit* for May 1896 and "Agrarverhaeltnisse im Altertum" in *Handwoerterbuch der Staatswissenschaften*, Jena 1909]).

<sup>5</sup> Finley, p. 90.

<sup>6</sup> Roussel's conclusions were anticipated in certain respects by A. Andrewes' famous article, "Phratries in Homer," *Hermes* 89, 1961, pp. 129–140. Cf. Finley, p. 91.

<sup>7</sup> See, for example, Andrewes, 1982, p. 367.

<sup>8</sup> It would be tedious (and, I believe, unnecessary) to make a lengthy list of examples of this commonplace. Some version of it can be found in almost every basic Greek history text: see, e.g., J. B. Bury and R. Meiggs, *A History of Greece to the Death of Alexander the Great*, 4th ed., New York 1978, pp. 136–137. Cf. further Rhodes, pp. 251–253; Whitehead, p. 352.

<sup>9</sup> For further discussion of deme membership and place of residence, see below, pp. 262–266.

never been collected and discussed.<sup>10</sup> In this paper I focus on two varieties of evidence for the geographical character of the phratry: first, the phratry shrine; second, the deme affiliations of phratry members.

### CATALOGUE OF ATTIC PHRATRIES

It will be convenient to begin by listing the citations relevant to the problem. In the following catalogue I have collected all references in the ancient sources (literary, epigraphical, and papyrological) to *specific* Attic phratries. In each case I have provided a brief summary of the evidence linking the phratry with a particular region of Attica. I have tried to be conservative, including, with rare and clearly noted exceptions, only references to such groups as are explicitly identified as phratries. The citations in the catalogue are divided in three parts: I. References to specific phratries whose shrines, in my opinion, can be located with some degree of certainty (usually by means of an inscription's findspot, rarely through the specific statement of an ancient source). II. References to specific phratries whose shrines I cannot with confidence locate but which have an attested connection with some deme (a link usually manifested by the demotic of a phratry member). III. References to specific phratries whose shrines cannot be located and which have no attested association with any deme.

#### I. PHRATRY SHRINES OF KNOWN LOCATION

1. The phratry of the ACHNIADAI kept their shrine at or near the ancient deme of Kephale, modern Keratea, as is determined by the findspots of the two inscriptions of the phratry, both boundary stones, which have so far been discovered:

A. *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2621;

B. *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 4974.

No member of the phratry is attested.

2. The GLEONTIAN PHRATRY kept a sanctuary of the river Kephissos, attested in a boundary stone found near the Athenian Agora:

*Hesperia* 17, 1948, p. 35, no. 18.

No member of the phratry is attested.

3. The shrine of the DEMOTIONIDAI was located in or near the deme of Dekeleia, where an inscription recording religious dues and three decrees of the phratry was found:

*IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 1237.

The inscription rigourously insists upon the geographic primacy of Dekeleia for the phratry: it is "to be erected in front of the altar," which was located in Dekeleia (lines 64–68; 106–108; 125–126). It also insists that phratry business be conducted at Dekeleia and nowhere else (lines 52–55).

All attested members of the phratry, so far as they can be checked, are affiliated with demes in the vicinity of the phratry shrine. The phratry priest, Theodoros son of Euphantides (line 2: *PA* 6861),

<sup>10</sup> See in particular Weber ([footnote 4 above] p. 149), who notes with characteristic brevity that "in historical times the Greek tribes (*phylai*) were divided into 'brotherhoods' (*phratriai*), territorial units with administrative and religious functions." Cf. Cadoux (footnote 4 above), *s.v.* *phratriai*; H. T. Wade-Gery, "Studies in the Structure of Attic Society: I. Demotionidai," *Essays in Greek History*, Oxford 1958 (pp. 116–134), pp. 133–134; Hignett, p. 57. The theme of geographical vs. territorial organization is also discussed by P. B. Manville (*The Origins of Citizenship in Ancient Athens*, Princeton 1990, pp. 55–69).

although not identified by a demotic in the phratry inscription, was surely a member of the deme of Dekeleia. His son, a certain Ekphantides of Dekeleia, is attested as the lessee of a mine in the second half of the 4th century B.C.<sup>11</sup> The phratriarch, Pantakles (*PA* 11594), came from Oion Dekeleikon, presumably; lines 11–12). He is known only from this inscription.

The demotics of the proposers of the three phratry decrees, Hierokles (line 13: *PA* 7476), Nikodemos (line 68: *PA* 10869, 10870), and Menexenos (line 114: *PA* 9972), are not mentioned in the inscription. Nikodemos, at least, is certainly from Dekeleia. His tombstone and those of his immediate family have been found close to that deme.<sup>12</sup> It would appear to be a safe presumption that the other two were also Dekeleian demesmen.

4. The phratry of the DYALEIS kept property and an *οικία* near Myrrhinous:

*IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 1241.

In 300/299 the phratry elected to lease the land to a certain Diodoros son of Kantharos of Myrrhinous (lines 12–13: *PA* 3950). The two phratriarchs of the Dyaleis, Kallikles son of Aristeidēs (line 6: *PA* 7933) and Diopeithes son of Diophantes (line 7: *PA* 4324),<sup>13</sup> in the inscription are specifically affiliated with the deme of Myrrhinous.

5. A group called the ELASIDAI possessed a sanctuary of Apollo Patroos in Kephissia:

*IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2602.

The status of this group is not certain: it may be either a *genos* or a phratry. Toepffer originally identified the Elasidai as a phratry,<sup>14</sup> and I tentatively follow him in including them in this list. No member of the group is known.

6. An inscription containing religious regulations of an ANONYMOUS PHRATRY was seen by Wilhelm “in the garden of A. R. Rangavis,” in Kephissia:

*IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 1240.

This inscription closes with the proviso that it be erected in front of the phratry’s sanctuary. It would therefore seem likely that this phratry’s shrine was located in Kephissia. If so, then this inscription very likely emanated from the phratry of the Elasidai (I.5). Unfortunately, it cannot be regarded as certain that this inscription was *found* in Kephissia. Rangavis, a famous poet, antiquarian, and collector, may have acquired the stone elsewhere and had it brought to his house.<sup>15</sup> No member of the phratry is attested.

7. In the eastern part of the Agora, near the entrance of the later Roman Agora, the THERRIKLEIDAI maintained a sanctuary of their eponym, a *Θερρικλείον*, which dates at least to the mid-5th century B.C. Three inscriptions attesting this phratry are known:

A. *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 4973;

B. *IG* I<sup>3</sup>, 243;

C. *Hesperia* 51, 1982, pp. 48–50, no. 7.

<sup>11</sup> See M. Crosby, “The Leases of the Laureion Mines,” *Hesperia* 19, 1950 (pp. 189–312), p. 267, no. 21, lines 11–12. Cf. further Davies, *APF*, no. 6029; C. W. Hedrick, Jr., *The Attic Phratry* (diss. University of Pennsylvania 1984; UMI no. 8417309), pp. 32–34. For the inscription generally, see now C. W. Hedrick, Jr., *The Decrees of the Demotionidai*, Atlanta 1990.

<sup>12</sup> See F. Willemsen, “Vom Grabbezirk des Nikodemos in Dekeleia,” *AM* 89, 1974, pp. 173–191.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Davies, *APF*, no. 4435.

<sup>14</sup> J. Toepffer, “Genealogische Streitfragen und Nachlesen,” *RhM* 45, 1890 (pp. 371–384), pp. 383–384.

<sup>15</sup> Rangavis is the author of the *Antiquités Helléniques*, Athens 1842–1855. For his life and activities, as well as the other distinguished members of his family, consult any Greek encyclopedia s.v. *Ραγκαβῆς*.

This phratry evidently had a link of some sort with an urban deme, Melite.<sup>16</sup> No member of the phratry is attested.

8. The THYMAITIAN PHRATRY is known from two inscriptions, both found in the city of Athens:

A. *IG I*<sup>2</sup>, 886;

B. *Hesperia* Suppl. 9, p. 11, no. 21.

The phratry worshipped Zeus Xenios and some other deity, perhaps Herakles, in the neighborhood of the north slope of the Areopagus. Because of its name, however, it is likely that the phratry had some ancient connection with the deme of Thymaitadai, a settlement of great antiquity and one of the Tetrakomoi. Thus it seems that this phratry probably had two shrines: its traditional shrine in or near the deme Thymaitadai, and a second shrine in the city of Athens.<sup>17</sup>

9. The phratry of the MEDONTIDAI is known from four inscriptions, found in widely ranging parts of Attica:

A. *Hesperia* 10, 1941, pp. 14–27, no. 1, lines 16–35, a list of *poletai*, from the Agora;

B. *IG I*<sup>2</sup>, 871, a boundary stone of the property of the Medontidai, found built into the wall of a Turkish cemetery near the entrance of the Akropolis;

C. *IG I*<sup>2</sup>, 872, a boundary stone of the sanctuary of the Medontidai, found near the ancient deme of Kephale;

D. *IG II*<sup>2</sup>, 1233, a decree of the group, found built into a church near modern Kypseles (ancient Erikeia?).<sup>18</sup>

There are rather serious problems in the interpretation of these four inscriptions. It is certain from inscription A that Medontidai is the name of a phratry. The same patronymic, however, is also used to describe a semimythological line of Athenian kings, who were objects of a cult in the Classical period: inscriptions B and C may both conceivably be construed as attesting these heroes rather than the phratry. Furthermore there is some evidence that Medontidai may also have been the name of a *genos*.<sup>19</sup> Cf. III.5.

No member of the phratry is certainly attested. In the list of *poletai* from the Agora (A) a certain Kichonides, son of Diogeiton of Gargettos, and the *κοινόν* of the phratry of the Medontidai put in a claim on the property of Theosebes of Xypete. It is, however, not clear from the context whether or not Kichonides is a member of the phratry.<sup>20</sup>

10. According to the ancient lexicographers both the TITAKIDAI and THYRGONIDAI were at the same time phratries and *gene*:

Photios, *s.v.* Titakidai; *Et. Mag.*, *s.v.*; Bekker, *Anecdota*, p. 308, line 16.

This information derives ultimately from comedy, and the lexicographers themselves are uncertain of the precise status of the two groups.<sup>21</sup> Whether or not these associations were phratries is

<sup>16</sup> Inscription B was carved on the same stone as a decree of that deme. For further discussion of this phratry see C. W. Hedrick, Jr., "Old and New on the Attic Phratry of the Therrikleidai," *Hesperia* 52, 1983, pp. 299–302; *idem* (footnote 11 above), pp. 267–273.

<sup>17</sup> For a fuller discussion of this phratry see C. W. Hedrick, Jr., "The Thymaitian Phratry," *Hesperia* 57, 1988, pp. 81–85.

<sup>18</sup> For the question of the identity of this deme site see Traill, p. 39.

<sup>19</sup> I will attempt to sort these problems out in a future study. See for the time being Jacoby's commentary to *FGrH* 323a F 23 (Hellanikos).

<sup>20</sup> Contrast the wording of the mortgage stone I.17, where a piece of property is leased to the phraters *with* two named individuals.

<sup>21</sup> There is a comparatively large bibliography on these two names. See, e.g., Toepffer, pp. 290–291;

therefore debatable, at the least. The eponymous ancestors of both groups evidently had a mythological connection with the Attic deme of Aphidna.<sup>22</sup> These groups, then, may have been centered somewhere near that deme. No member of either association is known.

11. An association called the PHILIEIS was mentioned in one of the orator Lykourgos' speeches: Harpokration, *s.v.* Koironidai.<sup>23</sup>

Toepffer originally made the suggestion that the group was to be identified as a phratry.<sup>24</sup> From the context of the citation it is clear that the group had some connection with the *genos* of the Koironidai and the deme of Perithoidai. No member of the phratry is attested.

12. Two phratry inscriptions, presumably emanating from the same ANONYMOUS PHRATRY, have been discovered in the vicinity of Liopesi, ancient Paiania:

A. *SEG* III, 121, a phratry decree;

B. *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2344, a list of names.<sup>25</sup>

The phratry list (B) was put in the protection of the tutelary gods of the phratry, Zeus and Athena Phratrios, and must accordingly have stood in the phratry's sanctuary. The decree (A) concerns a renovation of the temple of the same two gods and so would appropriately be erected in close proximity to that building. It is clear, then, that the findspots of the inscriptions must reflect the location of the phratry's center. In the decree of the phratry, two men, doubtless members of the phratry, are honored for their services to the association: Arreneides son of Charikles (lines 3–4: *PA* 2254) and his son (lines 3, 12), whose name is imperfectly preserved. The inscription typically does not cite their demotics, but fortunately they are known from other sources: both are members of a wealthy and famous family, which hailed from the deme of Paiania.<sup>26</sup>

13. A decree of an ANONYMOUS PHRATRY was found near the deme of Kydantidai: *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 1239.

The document closes with the proviso that it be erected "in front of the phratry's sanctuary." The findspot of the inscription thus gives the approximate location of the phratry's sanctuary. No member of the phratry is attested.

14. The altar of an ANONYMOUS PHRATRY was located in the city of Athens at Plataia Karamanou, probably within the confines of the ancient deme of Skambonidai:

*Hesperia* 7, 1938, pp. 615–619.

This altar was discovered *in situ*, within the temenos wall of its sanctuary.<sup>27</sup> No member of the phratry is attested.

15. The altar of an ANONYMOUS PHRATRY dedicated to Zeus and Athena Phratrios was found in the Agora, near the Stoa of Attalos:

*Hesperia* 6, 1937, pp. 104–107.

W. Wrede, *RE*, ser. 2, VI, i, 1936, Thyrgonidai, col. 743 and *idem*, *RE*, ser. 2, VI, ii, 1937, *s.v.* Titakidai, col. 1484; J. Edmonds, *The Fragments of Attic Comedy*, Leiden 1957–1961, I, p. 11.

<sup>22</sup> See Traill, pp. 87–88, 95, note 78.

<sup>23</sup> Lykourgos, F. VII, 2 (Conomis, ed.); *FGrH* 334 F 15 (Istros). Cf. *Suda* and Photios, *s.v.*

<sup>24</sup> Toepffer, pp. 109–110. U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (*Aristoteles und Athen*, Berlin 1893, II, p. 269) accepted his arguments. Jacoby (commentary to *FGrH* 334 F 15 [Istros]) rejected them. I agree with Toepffer and shall have more to say about this group elsewhere.

<sup>25</sup> On this phratry see the recent article by M. A. Flower, "*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2344 and the Size of Phratries in Classical Athens," *CQ* 35, 1985, pp. 232–235 and the response by C. W. Hedrick, Jr., "The Phratry from Paiania," *CQ*, forthcoming.

<sup>26</sup> For the family see Davies, *APF*, no. 2254 and Hedrick, *op. cit.*

<sup>27</sup> Described at length below, pp. 256–259.

Although the altar has been assigned to a building on the west side of the Agora, which is accordingly identified as "The Temple of Zeus and Athena Phratrios", it may well have belonged to some small phratry shrine in the vicinity of the Agora.<sup>28</sup> No member of the phratry is attested.

16. The boundary stone of a sanctuary of Zeus and Athena Phratrios was also found in the Agora near the Stoa of Attalos:

*IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 4975.

It is conceivable that this stone should be associated with the same phratry sanctuary as the altar described above (I.15). No member of the phratry is attested.

17. A boundary stone records the mortgage of property to several parties: Kephisodoros of Leukonoion, the phraters with Eratostratos of Anaphlystos, the Glaukidai, the Epikleidai, and the phraters with Nikon of Anaphlystos:

*IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 2723.

Little is known of the Glaukidai and Epikleidai.<sup>29</sup> The groups associated with Eratostratos and Nikon are probably subsections of the same phratry. The provenience of the inscription is not known.<sup>30</sup> The coincidence of the demotics of Eratostratos and Nikon is suggestive, however: it is likely that the inscription came from somewhere in the Laurion<sup>31</sup> and that the phratry had its seat in that same area, probably in the vicinity of Anaphlystos. It is not clear if Kephisodoros is a member of this phratry; in any event, the location of his deme, Leukonoion, is unknown.<sup>32</sup>

18. A list of *thiasotai*, plausibly identified as a list of members of an ANONYMOUS PHRATRY, was found at Katsipodi, the site of the ancient deme of Alopeke:<sup>33</sup>

*IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 2345.

Some 89 names survive on this catalogue: seven are described by demotic, the rest are not. As in I.12.B, omission of demotic suggests that the individual is affiliated with the deme in which the inscription was erected, in this case Alopeke.<sup>34</sup>

Parallels for most of the names mentioned on the stone can easily be found in the prosopography of the deme of Alopeke.<sup>35</sup> Each name which heads a list of *thiasoi* is also attested in the

<sup>28</sup> For discussion and bibliography, see C. W. Hedrick, Jr., "The Temple and Cult of Apollo Patroos in Athens," *AJA* 92, 1988, pp. 185–210.

<sup>29</sup> An Attic festival in honor of Demeter called the Epikleidia is known: see Hesychios, *s.v.* For the autochthonous Attic hero Glaukos see U. Weicker, *RE* VII, i, 1910, *s.v.* Glaukos, no. 27, col. 1416. Cf. Schol. to Euripides, *Hippolytos*, 33; Steph. Byz., *s.v.* Ἀλαλκομένιον; *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 2585.

<sup>30</sup> David Robinson, who discovered the inscription in a bazaar in Athens, was unreliably informed that it came from the Agora: "Inscriptions in Athens," *AJP* 28, 1907 (pp. 424–433), p. 430, no. 4.

<sup>31</sup> As, e.g., A. von Premerstein has argued: "Phratern-verbaende auf einem attischen Hypothekenstein," *AM* 35, 1910, pp. 103–117. Cf. also Ferguson, 1910, pp. 267–268, 284.

<sup>32</sup> See Traill, p. 44.

<sup>33</sup> The first editor of the stone, P. Eustratiades, discovered it in the collection kept in the Tower of the Winds: Ἐφ' Ἀρχ. 1872, pp. 386–391, no. 419, with diplomatic text, plate 56. The inscription had been donated to the museum by a local farmer, who claimed to have found it outside the city at Katsipodi, near the church of Agia Barbara. Precisely this site has been identified as the location of the ancient deme of Alopeke: see Traill, p. 53.

<sup>34</sup> See the argument below, pp. 262–266. The only attempt to elucidate the prosopography of this inscription is by Ferguson (1910, pp. 272–273). Cf. Ferguson, 1938, p. 14; Andrewes, 1961, pp. 9–11. Ferguson's discussion is flawed chiefly by a topographical error: influenced by the occurrence of the demotic of Agryle, he presumes that the inscription was erected in that deme. My necessarily brief remarks here should be regarded as preliminary to a more detailed study of the inscription and its prosopography. Since this article was written, a study of the inscription and its prosopography has appeared: S. C. Humphreys, "Phrateres in Alopeke, and the Salaminioi," *ZPE* 83, 1990, pp. 243–248.

<sup>35</sup> See, e.g., *PA II*, pp. 508–510; Davies, *APF*, p. 604. Many of these names, however, are so common that

deme.<sup>36</sup> In the absence of demotic (and, in some cases, even of patronymic), certainty is, of course, impossible; in several cases, however, individuals may confidently be linked with families of the deme, or even identified.<sup>37</sup>

Most of the individuals listed with demotic in this inscription come from demes in the immediate vicinity of Alopeke, in particular, from Agryle and Euonymon.<sup>38</sup> In only one instance does a *θιασώρης* come from a deme at any distance from Alopeke: Kephissia. Since most individuals listed belong to Alopeke or to demes in the immediate vicinity, it thus appears that there may have been a phratry seat at or near that deme.

19. The ANONYMOUS PHRATRY of the orator Aischines shared its altars with a famous *genos*, the Eteoboutadai:

Aischines, 2.147 (On the False Embassy).

The well-known connection of the *genos* with the deme of Boutadai, on the outskirts of Athens near the Kephissos river, allows us to locate the phratry shrine in that vicinity.<sup>39</sup> The presence of the phratry's altar is sufficient evidence that this is the traditional shrine of the phratry. It is noteworthy, however, that in this case at least some members of the phratry were associated with a deme at a great distance from the phratry shrine: Aischines and his family were affiliated with the deme of Kothokidai, situated beyond Eleusis toward Oinoi.<sup>40</sup>

## II. PHRATRIES WITH UNLOCATED SHRINES BUT ATTESTED DEMOTICS

1. A decree of an ANONYMOUS PHRATRY, found on the Akropolis, honors a certain Eugeiton son of Eukles of Phaleron:

*IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 1238.

The findspot of the inscription is not significant for the location of the phratry shrine,<sup>41</sup> nor is it certain (or even very likely) that Eugeiton was a member of the phratry.

2. Andokides describes the introduction of a child to the phratry of Kallias son of Hipponikos (*PA* 7826).<sup>42</sup> This Kallias was a member of the deme of Alopeke and of the *γένος* of the Kerykes:

Andokides, 1.126.

3. Details about the phratry of Mantitheos son of Mantias of Thorikos (*PA* 9676) are known:<sup>43</sup>

Demosthenes, 39.4, 20–21, 29–30; 40.11.

the coincidence is virtually meaningless. The most notable names for which I have found no parallels in the deme are the Kephisos compounds: lines 6, 7, 31, 32, 82.

<sup>36</sup> Hagnotheos: *PA* 151; Antiphanes: *PA* 1226; Diogenes: *PA* 3813.

<sup>37</sup> For example, the name Chion (line 85) is relatively rare (3 attestations in the *PA*). He is likely to be a member of the same family as the father of Lysiades of Alopeke, *PA* 15553. Demophilos and his father, Leo[stratos] (line 17), are almost certainly the same as the demesmen of Alopeke mentioned in the Naval Catalogue, *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 1622, lines 558–563; *PA* 3672 and 9152.

<sup>38</sup> The location of another deme mentioned in this inscription, Kedoi, is unknown: see Traill, p. 38.

<sup>39</sup> On the Eteoboutadai see, e.g., Toepffer, pp. 113–33; F. Bourriot, *Recherches sur la nature du genos. Étude d'histoire sociale athénienne—périodes archaïque et classique*, Lille 1976, pp. 1304–1346.

<sup>40</sup> See, e.g., Davies, *APF*, no. 14625.

<sup>41</sup> For the text of the inscription and general commentary see now C. W. Hedrick, Jr., "An Honorific Phratry Inscription," *AJP* 109, 1988, pp. 111–117.

<sup>42</sup> See also Davies, *APF*, no. 7826, and esp. pp. 263–265.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. Davies, *APF*, no. 9667.



4. Details about the phratry of Bouselos of Oion Kerameikon (*PA* 2921)<sup>44</sup> and his family are described in detail:  
[Demosthenes], 43.11–15, 36, 81–83.
5. Details about the phratry of Archiades son of Euthymachos of Otryne (*PA* 2441) are known:  
[Demosthenes], 44.41, 44.
6. Details about the phratry of Euxitheos son of Thoukritos of Halimous (*PA* 5902)<sup>45</sup> are known:  
Demosthenes, 57.19, 23–25, 43, 46, 53–54, 67–69.
7. Details about the phratry of Damostratos of Melite (*PA* 3126) are known:  
Demosthenes 57.40, 67–69.
8. Details about the phratry of Stephanos of Eroiadai (*PA* 12887)<sup>46</sup> are known:  
[Demosthenes], 59.13, 38, 118.
9. Details about the phratry of Phrastor of Aigilia (*PA* 14990) are known:  
[Demosthenes], 59.55, 59.
10. Details about the phratry of Euktemon of Kephissia (*PA* 5798) are known:  
Isaios, 6.10–11, 21–26, 64.
11. Details about the phratry of Apollodoros of Leukonoion (*PA* 1429)<sup>47</sup> are known:  
Isaios, 7.13–17, 26–27, 43.
12. Details about the phratry of a certain man of the deme of Pithos are known:  
Isaios, 8.18–20.
13. Details about the phratry of Astyphilos son of Euthykrates of the deme of Araphen (*PA* 2665)<sup>48</sup> are known:  
Isaios, 9.8, 33.
14. Details about the phratry of Aristarchos of Sypalettos (*PA* 1669) are known:  
Isaios, 10.8–9, 15, 21.
15. Details about the phratry of Euphiletos son of Hegesippos of the deme of Erchia (*PA* 6064) are known:  
Isaios, 12.3, 8.
16. Details about the phratry of a certain man of Deiradiotai are known:  
*Pap. Oxy.* XXXI, no. 2538.
17. Details about the phratry of Sophokles son of Sophillos of the deme of Kolonos (*PA* 12834), the tragedian, are known:  
[Sophokles] *Vit. Sophokl.* 13.

<sup>44</sup> For general discussion of the family and the speech, see Davies, *APF*, no. 2921 and W. E. Thompson, *De Hagniae Hereditate* (*Mnemosyne* Suppl. 44), Leiden 1976.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. Davies, *APF*, no. 3126, pp. 93–95. For the family and speech, see W. K. Lacy, “The Family of Euxitheos (Demosthenes 57),” *CQ* 30, 1980, pp. 57–61.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. also Davies, *APF*, no. 11672, pp. 437–439 and A. J. Patteson, “Commentary on [Demosthenes] 59, Against Neaira” (diss. University of Pennsylvania 1978).

<sup>47</sup> Cf. further Davies, *APF*, no. 1395, pp. 43–47.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. Davies, *APF*, no. 7252, pp. 228–230, with table 2.

## III. PHRATRIES WITH NO KNOWN SHRINE OR DEME AFFILIATION

1. In the collection of the Athenian Epigraphical Museum is a boundary stone of a clubhouse of an ANONYMOUS PHRATRY:

*IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 2622.

The provenience of the inscription is unknown. No members of the phratry are attested.

2. Details about the phratry of a certain Menekles are known:

Isaios, 2.14–17, 44–45.

3. Details about the phratry of a certain Pyrrhos are known:

Isaios, 3.37, 73–76.

4. Details about the phratry of a certain demagogue of the late 5th century, Archedemos by name (*PA* 2326), are known:<sup>49</sup>

Aristophanes, *Frogs*, lines 420–431

5. Details about the phratry of Plato's famous contemporary and kinsman, Kritias (*PA* 8792), are known:<sup>50</sup>

Plato, *Timaios*, 20–21

Kritias' ancestor, Solon (*PA* 12806), was supposedly a member of the *genos* of the Medontidai. Cf. I.9.

## GENERAL REMARKS ABOUT THE PHRATRY AND ITS SHRINE

It is well known that after 508 B.C. the citizen body of ancient Athens was organized by means of the Kleisthenic demes and tribes. In addition to these affiliations, however, all citizens were also enrolled in older, tribal organizations: the phratries.<sup>51</sup> Before the time of Kleisthenes the phratry evidently served as the mediator of citizenship<sup>52</sup> and as a unit for the organization and administration of local affairs.

There is no indisputable positive evidence for the approximate number and sizes of the Attic phratries. According to [Aristotle]<sup>53</sup> there were originally twelve. Elsewhere we hear that this number was increased by Kleisthenes at the time of his reforms to accommodate his

<sup>49</sup> On this Archedemos see F. Kie in *Der Kleine Pauly* I, 1964, s.v.; V. Coulon and H. van Daele, *Aristophane* (Budé) IV, Paris 1967. Concerning the pun in this passage between phratry-members, *φράτρες*, and teeth, *φραστῆρες*, see Labarbe, pp. 370–372.

<sup>50</sup> Unfortunately the demotic of Kritias and his family is not known. For the family see generally Davies, *APF*, no. 8792, pp. 332–335. On the phratry see Labarbe, pp. 372–373.

<sup>51</sup> This is a controversial point. Hignett (pp. 55–56, 59–60) argued that in the Classical period all Athenians were members of phratries. In recent years most seem to have come to the opposite conclusion: that after Kleisthenes phratry membership, though a common affiliation of Athenian citizens, was not a *necessary* one: see, e.g., Rhodes, p. 70. I agree with Hignett that phratry membership continued to be prerequisite for citizenship even after 508. I will argue this point at length in a future essay.

<sup>52</sup> For the phratry in the Archaic period consult, e.g., Hignett, pp. 47–60; Andrewes, 1961, pp. 1–12; Jacoby, commentary on *FGrH* 328 F 35 (Philochoros); Rhodes, pp. 68–72; Andrewes, 1982, pp. 366–367.

<sup>53</sup> *Ath. Pol.* F 3. Cf. Rhodes, pp. 68–71.

newly enfranchised citizens.<sup>54</sup> Modern estimates of the number of phratries in the Classical period vary from as few as twelve<sup>55</sup> to as many as there were demes or γένη.<sup>56</sup>

Each phratry met at its shrine at various times of the year to celebrate festivals and to conduct business. So, for example, there is evidence that at least some phratries met to observe the Thargelia<sup>57</sup> as well as the Anthesteria.<sup>58</sup> The phratries apparently also played a part in the celebration of the Great Dionysia<sup>59</sup> and in the Synoikia.<sup>60</sup> The most important festival, however, observed by all Attic phratries, was the Apatouria, celebrated every autumn in the month of Pyanopsion.<sup>61</sup>

The Apatouria was celebrated in Athens and throughout the Ionian world, "wherever men descended from the Athenians flourished."<sup>62</sup> The festival is explicitly attested in many cities other than Athens,<sup>63</sup> and elsewhere the existence of a month called *Apatourion* may be cited as indirect evidence of its presence.<sup>64</sup> In Attica, as elsewhere, the Apatouria was the major festival of the phratry. It was celebrated with a variety of activities, including contests,

<sup>54</sup> Aristotle, *Politics*, 6.1319b. This passage seems to contradict *Ath. Pol.* 21.6, which states that Kleisthenes left the *gene* and the phratries and the priesthoods as they were traditionally. Rhodes (p. 258) argues that in fact no new phratries were created by Kleisthenes and that the conflict between the two passages is only apparent.

<sup>55</sup> See, e.g., Ferguson, 1910, pp. 267–268: "It is utterly inconceivable that Aristotle should not have known the number of Athenian phratries." Few now would subscribe to this estimate. Cf. Hignett, p. 60; Rhodes, p. 69.

<sup>56</sup> See generally Flower (footnote 25 above), pp. 234–235; Roussel, pp. 142–143; Andrewes, 1961.

<sup>57</sup> Isaios, 7.13–17 (II.11). Compare also the cult connections of Apollo Patroios with this festival, elaborated in Hedrick (footnote 28 above), pp. 185–210.

<sup>58</sup> Schol. Plato, *Timaios* 21 B (III.5); Proklos on Plato, *Timaios* 21 B; Philostratos, *Her.* 12.2. Cf. L. Deubner, *Attische Feste*, Berlin 1932, pp. 115–116; M. Guarducci, "L'istituzione della fratria nella Grecia antica e nelle colonie greche di Italia, parte prima," *MemLinc*, ser. 6, 6, 1937, p. 37.

<sup>59</sup> As may be deduced from the aitiological myth of the Apatouria and the cult associations of Dionysos Melanaigis. See the stimulating (but perhaps excessively adventurous) article by J. Winkler, "The Ephebes' Song: Tragoidia and Polis," *Representations* 11, 1985, pp. 26–62. For a critique of Winkler's arguments see P. Vidal-Naquet, "The Black Hunter Revisited," *PCPS* 212 (n.s. 32), 1986 (pp. 126–144), pp. 135–138.

<sup>60</sup> See F. Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées des citées grecques, supplément* (*L'école française d'Athènes* 11), Paris 1962, no. 10, pp. 44–58.

<sup>61</sup> Of the many general essays on the Apatouria, see in particular J. Toepffer, *RE* I, 1894, s.v. Apatouria, cols. 2672–2680; A. Mommsen, *Feste der Stadt Athen*, Leipzig 1898, pp. 323–349; Deubner (footnote 58 above), pp. 232–234; Labarbe, pp. 358–394; M. P. Nilsson, *Cults, Myths, Oracles and Politics in Ancient Greece*, New York 1972, pp. 165–170; P. Vidal-Naquet, "The Black Hunter and the Origin of the Athenian Ephebia," in *The Black Hunter*, Baltimore 1986, pp. 106–128; *idem* (footnote 59 above), pp. 126–144.

<sup>62</sup> Herodotos, 1.147.2. This passage, of course, alludes to the Athenian colonization of Ionia: cf. Hedrick (footnote 28 above), pp. 204–205.

<sup>63</sup> See Mommsen (footnote 61 above), p. 326; M. P. Nilsson, *Griechische Feste von religioeser Bedeutung mit ausschliess der Attischen*, Stuttgart 1906, pp. 73–74, 463–464. F. Salviat, "Une nouvelle loi thasienne," *BCH* 82, 1958, pp. 219–222; C. Rolley, "Le sanctuaire des dieux *patroioi* et le Thesmophorion de Thasos," *BCH* 89, 1965, pp. 441–483.

<sup>64</sup> See A. Samuel, *Greek and Roman Chronology, Calendars and Years in Classical Antiquity* (*Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft* I, vii), Munich 1972, index p. 285, s.v. Apatourion. See the additions and corrections to this book provided in *Bull. ép.* 73, no. 77.

tales and songs, processions, feasting and drinking;<sup>65</sup> but surely the most important aspect of the celebration was the examination and admission of prospective members.<sup>66</sup>

Some *γένη* and other groups may also have celebrated the festival.<sup>67</sup> The Apatouria should not, however, be regarded as the preserve of discrete private entities within the state. The Apatouria was subsidized by state funds, *δημοτελής*, and so should be regarded as a public rather than a private festival.<sup>68</sup>

It used to be maintained that all the various phratries of Attica celebrated the Apatouria *en masse*, at one central location in the city of Athens itself. Accordingly a large portion of the population of Attica would have been obliged to make its way from the countryside into the city in order to attend the meetings of their respective phratries.

The evidence adduced in support of this position comes from Xenophon's *Hellenika* (1.7.8). After the battle of Arginoussai a meeting of the Assembly was held to deliberate the fate of the generals who had abandoned the Athenian sailors to be drowned. Prominent politicians, including Theramenes, spoke against them. Several of the generals, however, offered a cogent defence, pleading that they had been hindered by a violent storm from rescuing the survivors. The Assembly was on the point of acquitting them, but since it was so late in the day it was decided to postpone the issue to a later meeting.

μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐγίγνετο Ἀπατούρια, ἐν οἷς οἱ τε πατέρες καὶ οἱ συγγενεῖς σὺνείσι σφίσιν αὐτοῖς. οἱ οὖν περὶ τὸν Θηραμένην παρεσκεύασαν ἀνθρώπους μέλανα ἱμάτια ἔχοντας καὶ ἐν χρῶ κεκαρμένους πολλοὺς ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἑορτῇ, ἵνα πρὸς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἤκοιεν, ὥς δὲ συγγενεῖς ὄντες τῶν ἀπολωλότων. . . .

After this the Apatouria was celebrated, in which the fathers and relatives congregate together. So those in Theramenes' party arranged for a great number of men at this festival to wear black cloaks and shave their hair to the skin so that they might attend the assembly as though they were relatives of those who had died. . . .

This passage seems to imply that the Athenians assembled in the city to celebrate the Apatouria, and that the Ekklesia might convene during the festival. None would now accept that this passage may be taken to mean that phratries *normally* met in the city of Athens. Most would argue that in extraordinary circumstances, such as those described by Xenophon in this passage, the Athenians might be compelled to celebrate the festival in the city.<sup>69</sup> Thus coincidence of meeting and festival may be seen as an extraordinary occurrence, prompted by the circumstances of the Athenians during the Dekeleian war.<sup>70</sup> Normally each phratry would have met in its local, regional shrine.

<sup>65</sup> See in particular Plato's vivid evocation of the festival: *Timaios* 21 B (III.5).

<sup>66</sup> See the bibliography cited in footnote 61 above.

<sup>67</sup> See Andrewes, 1961, p. 9; cf. Ferguson, 1938, p. 3, no. 1, lines 92–93.

<sup>68</sup> Schol. to Aristophanes, *Acharnians*, 146; *Suda*, s.v. Ἀπατούρια. For the meaning of the term *δημοτελής* see W. Dittenberger, "ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΣ ΔΗΜΟΤΕΛΗΣ," *Hermes* 26, 1891, pp. 474–477; L. Robert, "Études d'épigraphie grecques," *RPh* 3, 1929 (pp. 122–158), p. 157; *idem*, "Sur des inscriptions de Chios," *BCH* 57, 1933 (pp. 505–543), pp. 520–521; cf. *Bull. ép.* 65, no. 367; J. Mikalson, "Religion in the Attic Demes," *AJP* 98, 1977, pp. 424–435.

<sup>69</sup> See, e.g., Xenophon, *Helléniques* (Budé), J. Hatzfeld, ed., Paris 1966, translation of 1.7.8, with note; Ferguson, 1938, pp. 28–29.

<sup>70</sup> Even this explanation may be unnecessary. Xenophon does not unambiguously state that the supporters of Theramenes attended the Assembly *during* the celebration of the Apatouria. It seems to me possible (and

The issue of the location of phratry meetings during the Apatouria was settled conclusively by the discovery of the “Decrees of the Demotionidai” (I.3): these decrees illustrate the normal procedure of phratries at the Apatouria, as well as the disruptive effects of the long isolation from the traditional rural phratry sanctuaries during the Dekeleian war.

The Spartan occupation of Dekeleia had an especially severe impact on the phratry of the Demotionidai. Because of the enemy’s presence the phratry could not return to its traditional sanctuary at Dekeleia to celebrate the Apatouria and induct new members. During this period of enforced isolation, some unqualified individuals managed to infiltrate the ranks of the phratry.

In 396/5, on the motion of Hierokles, the phratry passed a special decree ordering a purge of its registers. Also, so that the problem might never recur, the Demotionidai required that its ceremonies of induction be conducted only at the phratry’s traditional shrine at Dekeleia (I.3, line 11):

τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ἄγειν τὰ | [μεῖα καὶ τὰ κόρεια] αἰς Δεκέλειαν ἐπὶ τ[ὸν βωμόν. ἔαν δὲ μὴ θύσῃ  
ἐπὶ τὸ βωμῷ, ὅφ[ι] [εἰλέτω πεντήκοντα δραχμας. . . .

Henceforth the *meia* and *kouria* shall be celebrated at Dekeleia on the altar. If anyone should not sacrifice on the altar, let him owe fifty drachmai. . . .

Provision for the collection of the fine follows, then the text breaks off.

Only under the most compelling duress would the phratry meet elsewhere. In such situations the phratriarch and priest would notify the members by posting a notice in “the place which the Dekeleians frequent in the city” (I.3, lines 59–64):

[– – –] | ἔαν δὲ τι τούτων διακωλύῃ, ὅποι ἂν ὁ [ἐρεὺς προγράφη, ἐνθαῦθα ἄγειν τὰ μεῖ] α καὶ  
τὰ κόρεια. προγράφειν δὲ προπέμ[π]τα τῆς Δορπίας ἐν πινακίῳ λελευκωμ[ένῳ μὴ ᾿λαττον  
ἢ σπιθαμιαίῳ ὅπο ἂν Δ[ε]κελειῆς προσφοιτῶσιν ἐν ᾄσκει.

If one of these things [presumably some one of the exigencies of war] should prove a hindrance, then the *meia* and the *kouria* shall be celebrated at the place which the priest shall post. The priest shall post his notice on the fifth day before Dorpia, on a whitewashed board no smaller than a span, at the place in the city which the Dekeleians frequent.<sup>71</sup>

The “place which the Dekeleians frequent” is well known from a passage in Lysias:<sup>72</sup> it was a favorite city haunt of the demesmen of Dekeleia, a barber shop near the Herms, in the vicinity of the northwest entrance of the Agora.

Some members of the phratry had evidently been sacrificing elsewhere than at Dekeleia. Otherwise there is no reason to insist that *henceforth* sacrifice be brought only to the phratry shrine. This isolation of the phratry from its shrine in Dekeleia then was

perhaps more likely) that the historian means that groups were organized *during* the Apatouria to attend a *later* Assembly meeting, that is, an Assembly meeting after the festival was over. This is, for example, the view of M. Hansen, *The Athenian Assembly in the Age of Demosthenes*, Oxford 1987, p. 82 and note 514.

<sup>71</sup> The fact that the notice here is to be posted *only* in the city, not at Dekeleia as well, is in itself a concession to the exigencies of war. The proposer of this decree is discussing circumstances in which it will be impossible to meet at the phratry shrine, circumstances like those of the Dekeleian war. In such a situation it is presumed that the phraters will be unable to remain in the vicinity of the shrine but will be forced to migrate to Athens. So it would be pointless to post notices at the shrine itself.

<sup>72</sup> Lysias, 23.2 (Against Pankleon).

apparently seen as contributing in some way to the breakdown of the mechanism by which the phratry screened prospective members.

After the Dekeleian war, many members of this phratry continued to live in the city of Athens. Some forty years after the decree of Hierokles the same phratry outlined the procedure for notifying its members in advance of the names of those about to be introduced to the phratry. The names of the candidates were to be inscribed on two separate boards. The phratriarch was to display one at the place in the city "which the Dekeleians frequent;" the phratry priest was to display the other in "the sanctuary of Leto," presumably in or near Dekeleia (I.3, lines 121–125). Although notices are posted in both city and deme, initiation rites clearly could be performed only at the local altar of the phratry in Dekeleia.

From this inscription it is clear that members of phratries did not regularly meet at a central point in the city of Athens but at their respective ancient shrines, which were scattered throughout the territory of Attica. Even those members of a rural phratry who had taken up residence in the city of Athens would be obliged to make the journey back to their ancestral sanctuary to celebrate the Apatouria.

Because the Athenians were bound by ties of religion and tradition to their villages and local shrines, the confinement imposed on them by the Spartan occupation of Dekeleia was an especial hardship. In a famous passage (2.16) Thucydides describes the first evacuation of Attica at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war:<sup>73</sup>

χαλεπῶς δὲ αὐτοῖς διὰ τὸ αἰεὶ εἰωθῆναι τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς διατῆσθαι ἢ ἀνάστασις ἐγίγνετο . . . τῇ τε οὖν ἐπὶ πολὺ κατὰ τὴν χώραν αὐτονόμῳ οἰκῆσαι μετείχον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ξυνωκίσθησαν, διὰ τὸ ἔθος ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς ὅμως οἱ πλείους τῶν τε ἀρχαίων καὶ τῶν ὕστερον μέχρι τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου πανοικεσία γενόμενοι τε καὶ οἰκῆσαντες, οὐ ῥαδίως τὰς μεταναστάσεις ἐποιοῦντο, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἄρτι ἀνεληφότες τὰς κατασκευὰς μετὰ τὰ Μηδικά. ἐβαρύνοντο δὲ καὶ χαλεπῶς ἔφερον οἰκίας τε καταλείποντες καὶ ἱερὰ ἃ διὰ παντὸς ἦν αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῆς κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖον πολιτείας πάτρια δίαίταν τε μέλλοντες μεταβάλλειν καὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ πόλιν τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀπολείπων ἕκαστος.

The removal was difficult for them since most of them were accustomed to reside in the country. . . . Because then the Athenians had long lived together<sup>74</sup> in the country in independent settlements, and since, even after their political union, most of the ancient Athenians and likewise of those who came after down to the time of this war from force of habit maintained their households and residences in the country,<sup>75</sup> so they did not find it easy to move away, especially since they had only just finished restoring their establishments after the war with the Medes. They were dejected and aggrieved at having to leave their homes and the shrines which had always been theirs, handed down from their fathers since the time of the ancient form of government,<sup>76</sup>

<sup>73</sup> I follow here the text of J. de Romilly, *Thucydide* (Budé) II, Paris 1962, whose edition most closely reproduces the *mss.* For justification of the *mss.* readings see de Romilly, *ibid.*, pp. 91–92. The editor of the OCT text, H. Stuart-Jones, follows Lipsius and moves the word *πανοικεσία* from its place before *γενόμενοι* to a position before *τὰς μεταναστάσεις*. Cf. the judicious remarks in A. W. Gomme *et al.*, *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides*, 5 vols., Oxford 1944–1980, II, p. 62.

<sup>74</sup> So I translate *μετείχον*, understanding from context something like *τῆς πολιτείας*. Cf. de Romilly, *loc. cit.*

<sup>75</sup> For this translation, see de Romilly, *loc. cit.*

<sup>76</sup> By the phrase *τῆς κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖον πολιτείας*, Thucydides evidently means to refer to his description of the local governments of Attica in "pre-Thesean" times: see Thucydides, 2.15.

and at the prospect of changing their way of life and facing what was nothing less for each of them than abandoning their home town.

Thucydides' description of the abandoned local shrines as *πάτρια* 'ancestral', is, in the context of this paper, suggestive. This adjective means literally "of one's forefathers". It is normally interpreted in a more general sense as "ancestral, familiar". It is not clear precisely what shrines Thucydides means; the reference following to "the ancient form of government", however, would evidently indicate that these "ancestral shrines" were in some way important for the old political organization of Attica.<sup>77</sup> These "ancestral shrines", then, would probably have included a variety of sanctuaries, among them, I would suggest, the phratry shrines.

Thus it is clear that in the Classical period individual phratries had pronounced and observable ties with various and particular regions of Attica. The locations of the various phratries' shrines are the physical manifestations of these ties. An appreciation of the regional distribution of phratry shrines as well as the regional limitations on phratry membership should, therefore, shed light on the institution's character, as well as on the political organization of Attica in the Archaic and Classical periods.

### THE PHYSICAL APPEARANCE OF THE PHRATRY SHRINE

Phratry sanctuaries are most commonly described by the bland, generic term *ἱερόν* (I.1.B, line 1; I.3, line 125; I.7.A, line 1; I.8.A, line 1; I.9.C, line 1; restored in I.2, line 1; I.8.B, line 1). In one case (I.16, line 1) an unusual neuter plural, *ἱερά*, is used to describe the phratry's sanctuary. In at least one instance, however, a phratry gave its sanctuary a more precise name, calling it after its eponymous hero, Therrikles: the *Θερρικλείον* (I.7.B). Two phratries may have met in "club houses", *οἰκίαι* (I.4, lines 18, 32, 41; III.1, line 2),<sup>78</sup> and another constructed a temple, *νεώς*, to its tutelary deities, Zeus Phratrios and Athena Phratritia (I.12.A, line 6).

The more specific Greek term for "phratry seat" or "shrine", *φρατρίον*, is seldom attested, and then chiefly in the late scholiasts and lexicographers, who define it as a place or sanctuary<sup>79</sup> where members of the phratry assembled. This definition is confirmed by the formation of the word itself.<sup>80</sup> Evidence for the use of the word in the documents of Attic phratries can be recovered from only two fragmentary inscriptions, both of which close with the requirement that the inscription be erected "on a marble stele in front of the *φρατρίον*" (I.6, line 11; I.13, line 27).<sup>81</sup> The word is not used in any literary text of the Classical period.

No physical description of any phratry shrine is provided by the ancient sources. A vague notion of the essential features of such a meeting place, however, may be gained by considering the physical and spatial demands of the rites conducted in the shrine.

<sup>77</sup> It is significant that this same adjective is sometimes used, by Thucydides and others, to describe the old Athenian constitution, the *πάτριος πολιτεία*. See, e.g., A. Fuks, *The Ancestral Constitution*, Westport 1953; M. Ostwald, *From Popular Sovereignty to Sovereignty of the Law*, Berkeley 1986, *passim*.

<sup>78</sup> Compare the *οἶκος* and *οἰκίαι* of the Chian phratry of the Klytidai, *SIG*<sup>3</sup>, 987.

<sup>79</sup> Place: Steph. Byz., s.v. *φρατρία*. Eustathius in the commentary to the two Homeric references to phratries (*Il.* 2.363 and 9.63), provides similar information: 239.31 and 735.51. Sanctuary: Pollux, 3.52.

<sup>80</sup> See, e.g., H. W. Smythe, *Greek Grammar*, 9th ed., Cambridge 1974, pp. 234–235, no. 851.

<sup>81</sup> The word also appears at the end of I.3, as I will show in a future edition of that inscription.

Doubtless the most important element of the phratry shrine was the altar. When the members of the phratry voted on the admission of a candidate, they took their ballots "from the altar" (I.3, lines 17, 29, 104; II.4, 11–15). When witnesses swore an oath they held onto the altar (I.3, line 76). Admission proceedings were accompanied by sacrifice on the altar (I.3, *passim*). If a member objected to the admission of a candidate, he might remove the victim from the altar (II.4, 11–15). Similarly, application to a phratry may be described simply as "being brought to the altar" (II.11, 13–17).

Besides the altar, the only physical imperative for a phratry shrine was an open space sufficient to accommodate the membership of the phratry. To be sure, a phratry might possess more elaborate facilities. As has been noted, at least two phratries constructed permanent meeting houses, *οἰκίαι*, and another built and outfitted its own temple.

### AN ATHENIAN PHRATRY SHRINE

One phratry shrine has been discovered and partially excavated in the northern part of the ancient city of Athens, probably in the deme of Skambonidai: this is the only phratry shrine yet to be uncovered in all of Attica and so warrants special attention.<sup>82</sup>

In 1937, the Athenian Department of Public Works, while digging the foundations for a public washroom at the Plataia Karamanou,<sup>83</sup> discovered an altar of Zeus Phratrios and Athena Phratrion *in situ*, resting on bedrock (Fig. 1, Pl. 80). The altar is composed of four slabs of Hymettian marble with moldings at top and bottom; it measures 0.75 m. long by 0.523 m. wide, and, including the moldings, 0.578 high (Fig. 2). The molding at the top consists of an ovolo and fascia; that at the bottom, of a fascia and a cyma reversa. It is inscribed on all four sides with letters which vary from 0.058 to 0.06 m. in height:

A: [Δι]ὸς

B: Φρατρίο

C: Ἀθήνας

D: Φρα[τρίας]

The altar was found in association with two walls which meet at a 90-degree angle (Fig. 3). It was in alignment with the walls rather than with the cardinal points of the compass, so that side A faced northwest, B southwest, C southeast, and D northeast. The orientation of the walls in turn was determined by the ancient streets which surrounded them: the northwesterly of the two walls fronted on one of the major arteries of ancient Athens, the road leading from the Agora to the Acharnian gate.<sup>84</sup> The walls presumably should be taken as the western corner of the phratry's temenos.

A drain runs on the bedrock beneath the northeastern part of the Acharnian road, abutting on the exterior of the temenos wall (Fig. 4). There is little to indicate the date of the drain's construction. Kyparissis and Thompson argue from the relative levels of the top of the drain (i.e., the surface of the road) and of the altar that the installation of the drain must be later than that of the altar.<sup>85</sup> They further note that the masonry of the drain is consistent with a date in the Hellenistic period.

<sup>82</sup> See Kyparissis and Thompson, 1938, pp. 612–625; Travlos, pp. 573–575.

<sup>83</sup> Located about a five-minute walk north of the Agora, where Bysses and Boreou streets converge on Athenas street.

<sup>84</sup> See Kyparissis and Thompson, 1938, p. 94.

<sup>85</sup> Kyparissis and Thompson, 1938, p. 95.



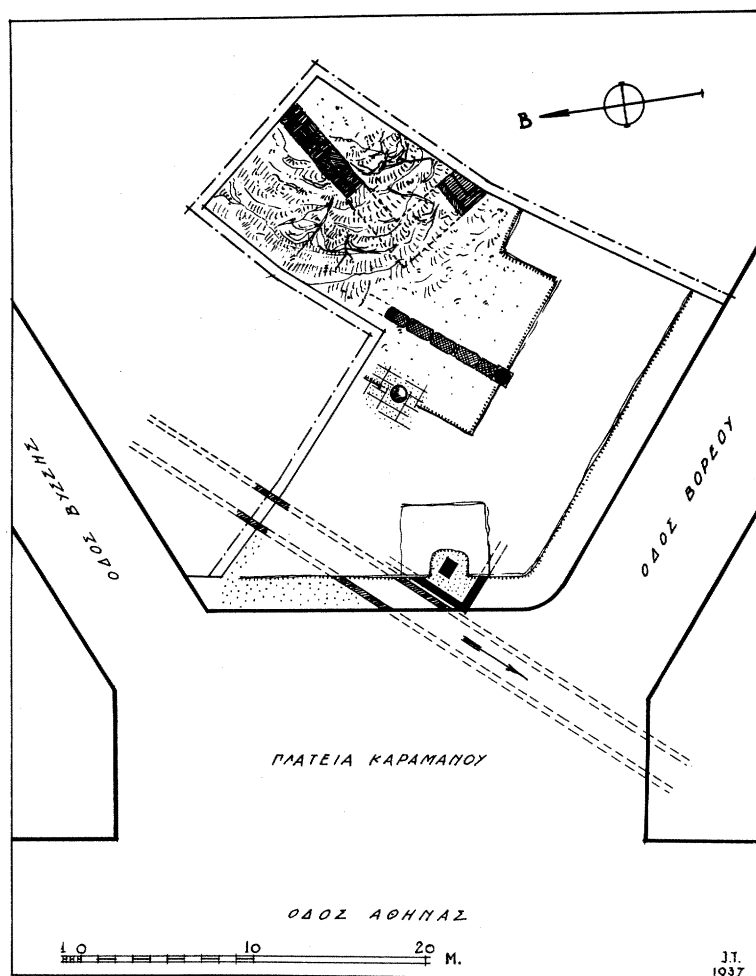


FIG. 1. Karamanos Square and adjacent area, explored in 1937

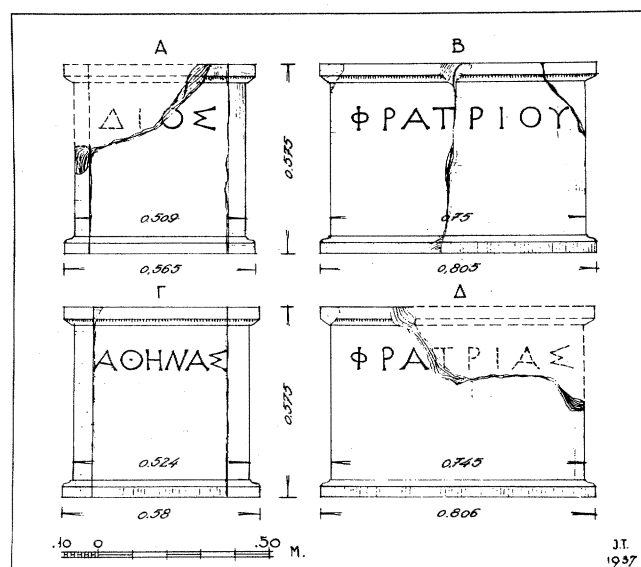


FIG. 2. Altar of Zeus and Athena

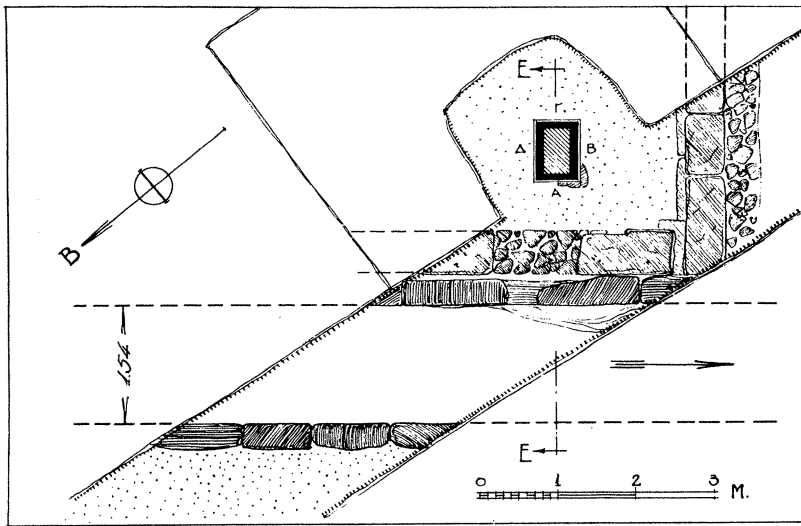


FIG. 3. Sanctuary of Zeus and Athena, actual-state plan

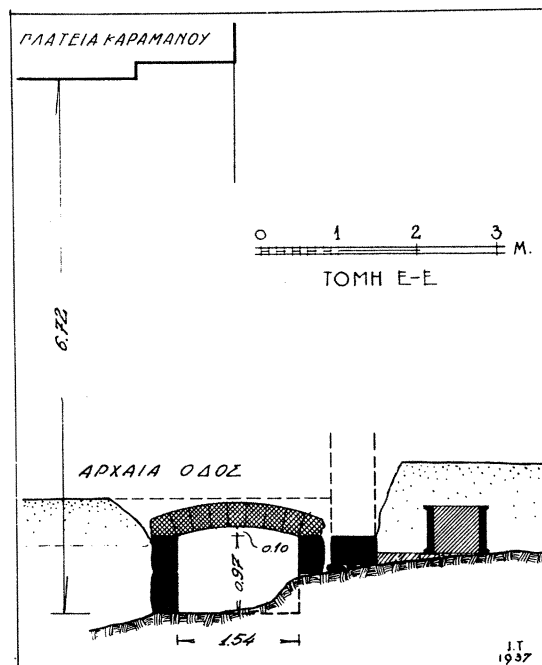


FIG. 4. Cross-section E-E on Figure 3

There is little evidence for the date of the sanctuary. The major construction probably took place in the late 4th century B.C. The character of the lettering of the altar is not inconsistent with such a date, and none of the few sherds found beneath the altar and in the packing of the walls belong any later.

The ground level of the interior of the temenos is curiously somewhat lower than that of the street outside. The construction of the drain is probably the reason for this disparity. Because the bedrock juts so close to the ancient ground level at this point, the drain could not be submerged below the road. Accordingly the ancient engineers *raised* the level of the road to cover the drain. The phratry, for whatever reason, did not raise the ground level within the temenos at the same time.<sup>86</sup>

### THE GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION OF ATTIC PHRATRY SHRINES

As we have seen, according to the author of the *Athenian Constitution*, there were 12 phratries in Attica during the Archaic period. This number is unverifiable; during the Classical period, however, the names of seven phratries are certainly attested: the Achniadai (I.1), the Gleontian phratry (I.2), the Demotionidai (I.3), the Dyaleis (I.4), the Therrikleidai (I.7), the Thymaitian phratry (I.8), and the Medontidai (I.9). At least six, possibly as many as nine, anonymous phratries may be distinguished by virtue of the autonomy of their shrines (I.6, 12–19). Four other named groups may possibly be phratries: the Elasidai (I.5), the Thyrgonidai and Titakidai (I.10), and the Philieis (I.11). It is certain, then, that there were at a minimum 13 phratries during the Classical period, and very likely several more.

The approximate locations of no fewer than 15 phratry shrines are so far known. Doubtless there were more shrines, perhaps many more, whose locations can no longer be determined.

Many phratry shrines were located in the Attic countryside. The shrine of the Achniadai was in Kephale (I.1); that of the Demotionidai in Dekeleia (I.3); that of the Dyaleis in Myrrhinous (I.4). The Thymaitian phratry (I.8) very probably kept a shrine near their homonymous deme, Thymaitadai. The shrines of anonymous phratries are known in Paiania (I.12), Kydantidai (I.13), Anaphlystos (I.17), Alopeke (I.18), and Butadai (I.19).

It is to be expected that an institution such as the phratry would have its meeting place in the immediate vicinity of some population center,<sup>87</sup> and all known phratry shrines are located in close proximity to some rural deme or even within the walls of ancient Athens itself. Moreover, there seems to have been an ancient perception of a special and exclusive relationship between a phratry and the deme closest to its shrine. This perception is most clearly manifested by a habit of omission: in phratry documents it is normal to provide demotics for all phratry members save for those who hailed from the deme in which the phratry shrine was located.<sup>88</sup> Thus there was a presumption that members of this deme constituted a special class within the phratry.

<sup>86</sup> We are unfortunately ignorant of the reasons for this decision: the entire temenos was never excavated. If a permanent structure existed somewhere within the walls of the sanctuary, it would not have been easy to raise the ground level.

<sup>87</sup> Cf. the location of the sanctuary of the Θεοὶ πατρώοι of Thasos: Rolley (footnote 63 above), pp. 441–483; *Guide de Thasos* (École française d'Athènes), Paris 1968, pp. 49–50, 171–172.

<sup>88</sup> For documentation and more complete discussion of this phenomenon see pp. 262–266 below.

In view of this evidence it would be remarkable if there were any examples of two or more phratry shrines associated with any given locality or deme. With the exception of the city of Athens, there is only a single locale that may conceivably have had more than one phratry shrine located in it: the deme of Kephale. There is indubitable evidence that the phratry of the Achniadai (I.1) had a shrine at or near this deme. There is also one bit of rather debatable evidence, a votive inscription, for the presence of the phratry of the Medontidai (I.9) in this same deme.<sup>89</sup> If the Achniadai and Medontidai did indeed both have their shrines in this deme, then not all phratries enjoyed a unique relationship with the settlement and territory in the immediate vicinity of the phratry shrine.

It is unfortunately impossible to draw any more specific conclusions about the distribution of the phratry shrines in the Attic countryside. There is no pattern to the locations of the various shrines, nor to their associations with the various demes. In some cases phratries are associated with very large demes, such as Paiania, Alopeke, and Anaphlystos, in others they are linked to very small demes, such as Thymaitadai, Boutadai, and Myrrhinous.<sup>90</sup> It would be interesting if phratries were typically associated with the settlements reputed to be the most ancient in Attica, such as the notorious "twelve towns".<sup>91</sup> Although we know of phratries linked with some of these "pre-Thesean Kingdoms", such as Dekeleia (I.3) and Thymaitadai (I.8), which was one of the Tetrapoleis, in most cases associated demes are unremarkable.

At least six, possibly seven phratry shrines were located in Athens. The Gleontian phratry (I.2) kept a sanctuary on the Kephissos river near the Agora; the Therrikleidai (I.7) maintained a sanctuary of their eponym in the eastern part of the Agora, near the entrance of the later Roman Agora. The Thymaitian phratry (I.8) worshipped Zeus Xenios and two other gods on the southern side of the Agora, while the Medontidai (I.9) had a sanctuary near the entrance of the Akropolis. At least two, possibly three anonymous phratries kept shrines in the vicinity of the Agora: a short walk to the north of the Agora, at Plataia Karamanou, is the phratry temenos discovered with an altar *in situ* (I.14; see pp. 256–259 above); near the Stoa of Attalos two phratry inscriptions have been found (I.15 and I.16), which may conceivably belong to the same shrine.

Virtually all the "urban" shrines are known from the area of the Agora. Certainly the Agora has been more completely explored than most other parts of Athens, and this may account for the apparent absence of phratry shrines elsewhere in the city; if so no generalization about the locations of these shrines is possible. Nevertheless, the possibilities remain that the geographic distribution of the known urban phratry shrines is representative and that most such shrines were clustered around the Agora.

Such a coincidence of location is unlikely to be fortuitous. If most urban shrines are clustered in this area, it is doubtless because they are satellites of the civic center of Athens. If the location of the shrines was determined by the proximity of the Agora, the shrines must all be relatively late foundations; they cannot antedate the establishment of the Agora. The Agora itself was not established to the north of the Akropolis until the beginning of the 6th

<sup>89</sup> See the summary of the problem in the catalogue at I.9.

<sup>90</sup> On the relative sizes of the various Attic demes, see Traill, pp. 66–70.

<sup>91</sup> As, for example, is claimed by H. Volkmann in *Der Kleine Pauly* V, 1975, pp. 970–971, s.v. Trittyes. For criticism of this idea, see Jacoby, commentary to FGrH 328 F 94 (Philochoros).

century, at the earliest.<sup>92</sup> The shrines, accordingly, cannot have been founded before that time.

The concentration of seven phratry shrines in the city of Athens is remarkable. As I have argued, the Attic phratries were local regional groups, with local, regional constituencies. It is anomalous that many phratry shrines should be concentrated in one small area; some explanation is required.

Certainly some phratries must have been associated with the region of the city from pre-Kleisthenic times. Such phratries would naturally have had their ancestral sanctuaries in the later city of Athens. The Therrikleidai (I.9), for instance, seem to have had some connection with an urban deme, Melite. It is likely, then, that the urban shrine of this phratry, the Therrikleion, is the traditional seat of the group.

Many "urban" phratry shrines, however, seem to have been secondary, subsidiary sanctuaries of phratries whose primary, traditional seats were located in the countryside. The Thymaitian phratry (I.8), for example, although it is attested only in the city of Athens, very probably had its traditional shrine at or near its homonymous deme, Thymaitadai. The phratry of the Medontidai (I.9) may also be attested both in the city of Athens and in the Attic countryside.

The clearest example of the relationship between rural phratry and urban Athens is provided by the Decrees of the Demotionidai (I.3). As we have seen,<sup>93</sup> this phratry had its traditional center in Dekeleia. Evidently, however, by the middle of the 4th century many members of the phratry resided in the city of Athens, and so when it was necessary to contact all members of the phratry, notices were posted both in Dekeleia, "at the shrine of Leto," and in the city of Athens at the place "which the Dekeleians frequent" (I.3, lines 121–125; cf. lines 52–64).

It is clear that in the Archaic and Classical periods there was a general, steady, and progressive movement of population from Attica to Athens and the Peiraieus. Certainly by the end of the 5th century large numbers of those with rural demotics lived in the city.<sup>94</sup> Consequently the constituencies of many rural phratries must have been split between the vicinity of the phratry shrine and the city of Athens. The migration of members of the Demotionidai from Dekeleia to Athens was perhaps accelerated by a unique event: the Spartan occupation of Dekeleia. Nevertheless it is likely that many other phratries had similar problems: substantial numbers of members living in the city of Athens.

The Demotionidai evidently had only their shrine at Dekeleia; when they needed to communicate with their urban constituency, they made use of the informal urban meeting place of the Dekeleian deme. Other phratries did have urban shrines. I would suggest that one function of these shrines was to serve as *ad hoc* meeting places for the city-dwelling members of rural phratries. These "auxiliary" shrines would not replace the traditional centers of the various phratries. For initiations, sacrifices, and business city dwellers would

<sup>92</sup> See, e.g., H. A. Thompson and R. E. Wycherley, *The Athenian Agora*, XIV, *The Agora of Athens: History, Shapes and Uses of an Ancient City Center*, Princeton 1972, pp. 19–20.

<sup>93</sup> See pp. 253–254 above.

<sup>94</sup> The classic description of this phenomenon is by A. W. Gomme, *The Population of Athens in the Fifth and Fourth Centuries B.C.*, Oxford 1933, pp. 37–48. Cf. Whitehead, pp. 352–353.

have to make the trek back to the ancestral shrine, as, for example, is specifically required in the Decrees of the Demotionidai.

The concentration of phratry shrines in the city of Athens, then, may be explained specifically with reference to the location of the political center of the state, i.e. the Agora, and the gradual concentration of the Attic population in the city of Athens. Both of these phenomena are easily comprehensible in more general terms as effects of the "Synoikism of Attica", that is, the unification of the Athenian state.<sup>95</sup>

### PHRATRY CONSTITUENCY AND PHRATRY SHRINE

Once it is granted that the Attic phratries possessed shrines in specific locations in Attica, it becomes obvious that the phratry has a kind of "geographic character". The relationship between the location of the phratry shrine and the residence of the constituency of the phratry must naturally be examined next. There is no evidence whatsoever for the specific membership of any phratry before the 5th century B.C. There are some indications, however, that in the 5th century and later the membership of a phratry was, in a general and loose way, limited to the geographic area in the immediate vicinity of the shrine. The evidence is to be found in the correspondence between the demotics of phratry members and the location of their phratry shrine.

As is well known, the use of the demotic in Athenian nomenclature is a side effect of the Kleisthenic reforms. In 508/7 the law-giver enrolled the citizen body of Athens in a number of small, local units of administration called demes. Originally, the membership of these units was determined by place of residence: individuals were enrolled in demes in the immediate vicinity of their homes. After the initial registration, however, membership in the deme was inherited. No matter where an individual might come to take up residence, he remained a member of that deme in which his paternal ancestor had been registered at the time of Kleisthenes; thus, strictly, the demotic may be taken only as an indication of the residence of the family in 508/7.<sup>96</sup>

In practice, however, most Athenians seem to have been reluctant to leave their ancestral homes in the Attic countryside. Although some population movements may be discerned in Attica in the Classical period, chiefly an emigration from countryside to town, a large number of Athenians continued to reside (or at least to maintain a house) in the vicinity of the deme of their fathers. So, after 508 and even down into the 4th century, the demotic often reflects the actual place of residence of the individual.<sup>97</sup>

As the Athenians were loath to leave their traditional homes in the Classical period, it is not unreasonable to speculate that a similar conservatism governed their behavior in Archaic times. In general it seems likely (and in the specific cases of some noble families, it is

<sup>95</sup> For the Synoikism of Attica, see, e.g., Jacoby, commentary to *FGrH* 328 F 94 (Philochoros); Rhodes, pp. 74–76; Andrewes, 1982, pp. 360–365; M. Moggi, *I synecismi interstatali greci (Relazioni interstatali nel mondo antico 2)*, Pisa 1976, pp. 44–81.

<sup>96</sup> See, e.g., Rhodes, p. 252; Whitehead, pp. 67–77, 97–104, 352.

<sup>97</sup> The most important bit of evidence is Demosthenes, 57.10, where we hear that most of the demesmen of Halimous lived in the deme in 346/5. See Whitehead, pp. 353–358. The evidence on this point is consistent, although far from constituting a conclusive "statistical proof", as Whitehead notes.

verifiable) that the Classical demotic of a family corresponds to their ancient, pre-Kleisthenic, place of residence.<sup>98</sup>

The demotics of the members of the various Attic phratries, so far as they may be checked, are uniformly concentrated in the immediate vicinity of the phratry shrine. In most cases, membership is virtually confined to one deme, that in which the shrine is located. Phratry members may also come from neighboring demes, though less commonly. Very rarely are members of a phratry known to be affiliated with demes far distant from the phratry shrine.

A general confirmation of this observation is provided by the orator Aischines' description of his phratry (I.19), which shared its altars with the *genos* of the Eteobutadai. The phratry shrine was surely located in Boutadai, the deme and ancestral home of most members of the *genos*. The members of the *genos* must have also been members of the phratry, since the two groups shared altars. Thus, in this case, phratry membership seems to be dominated by a large local group.

An analogous though much more controversial instance of a large local group within a phratry is provided by the "Decrees of the Demotionidai" (I.3). This phratry's shrine was located in the deme of Dekeleia. The long inscription which records the phratry's admission procedures mentions two groups: the Demotionidai and the "*οἶκος* of the Dekeleians." No matter how one interprets the role and identity of this latter group, as phratry, *genos*, or demesmen, the reference to Dekeleia in its name is surely significant.<sup>99</sup> The majority of the group must have resided in or near Dekeleia, where the phratry seat was located.

As is usual and to be expected, the best known individual phratry-members are the powerful and wealthy, in this context, officials and benefactors of the various phratries. These people provide the majority of specific examples of the "geographic delimitation" of phratry membership. In the case of the Demotionidai (I.3), the priest Theodoros, son of Euphantides, and the proposer of one of the decrees, Nikodemos, were members of Dekeleia, where the phratry shrine was located. The phratriarch, a certain Pantakles, came from the neighboring deme of Oion Dekeleikon. The two phratriarchs of the Dyaleis (I.4), Kallikles and Diopeithes, both came from the deme of Myrrhinous, which also was the seat of that phratry. In another instance a prominent and wealthy man, Arrheneides, and his son are honored by an anonymous phratry (I.12.A) for their generosity in paying to furnish the phratry's temple; both individuals are affiliated with Paiania, the deme where that phratry's shrine was located.

There is typically less evidence for the relationship between the location of the phratry sanctuary and the deme affiliations of the less prominent members of the phratry. Nevertheless, the available indications seem to indicate that the bulk of a phratry's membership was concentrated in the neighborhood of the phratry shrine. I have already discussed the larger groups mentioned in connection with the phratries of Aischines (I.19) and the Demotionidai (I.3). In another case, a mortgage stone of unknown provenience (I.17) mentions

<sup>98</sup> See especially D. Lewis, "Cleisthenes and Attica," *Historia* 12, 1963, pp. 22-40.

<sup>99</sup> See, e.g., J. H. Lipsius, "Die Phratry der Demotionidai," *Leipziger Studien* 16, 1894, pp. 161-171; Wade-Gery (footnote 10 above); Andrewes, 1961. I am inclined to take the "*οἶκος* of the Dekeleians" as demesmen.

four groups and an individual. All may belong to the same phratry. The regional affiliations of only two of these groups may be specifically located: the phraters with Nikon of Anaphlystos and the phraters with Eratostratos of Anaphlystos. The coincidence of demotic here is suggestive: this phratry, I would speculate, has its seat near Anaphlystos, and most of its members would have come from that same deme.

The most important evidence for deme affiliations of phratry members is paradoxically a consistent omission: as de Sanctis remarked long ago, demotics are often omitted from an association's documents when they are common to the majority of the members of that association.<sup>100</sup> Phratries certainly were concerned to have full identification of all their members, including demotics. This is clear from the last of the decrees of the Demotionidai, which requires that a deposition be made to the phratriarch of every candidate's "name, patronymic, demotic, and the name and demotic of his mother's father" (I.3, lines 119–121).<sup>101</sup>

ἀγεί τὸ ὄνομα πατρώθεν καὶ τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῇ|ς μητρὸς πατρώθεν καὶ τοῦ [δ]ήμου πρὸς τὸν  
|φρατρίαρχον

Nevertheless, as a rule in phratry inscriptions demotics are provided only in cases where a member belongs to a deme other than that in which the phratry seat is located.

This practice of omission may be verified in two inscriptions, both of which concern prominent members of a phratry. In the inscription of the Demotionidai (I.3), only the demotic of the phratriarch is provided, because only he is not a member of the deme of Dekeleia.<sup>102</sup> Neither the phratry's priest nor the proposers of any of the three decrees are identified by demotic, because like most members of the phratry they are members of Dekeleia, where the seat of the phratry was located. This deme affiliation may be verified from other sources in the case of the priest, Hierokles, and one of the proposers, Nikodemos. In the honorific decree of the anonymous phratry from Paiania (I.12.A) two well-known individuals are honored for services to the phratry. The demotics of neither Arrheneides nor his son are mentioned in the phratry's inscription, because they come from the deme in which the seat of the phratry was located.

Both of the surviving lists of phratry members (I.12.B and I.18) display this characteristic "omission of demotic." In neither case, unfortunately, can de Sanctis' theory be positively proven: none of the "omitted" demotics can be supplied with confidence. The phratry members listed in both inscriptions are not of such prominent status as the phratriarchs and

<sup>100</sup> See G. de Sanctis, *Atthis: Storia della repubblica Ateniese dalle origini alle riforme di Clistene*, Rome 1898, p. 66. Cf. the dissenting arguments of Ferguson, 1910, pp. 271–274.

<sup>101</sup> Ferguson (1910, p. 272) argues that this requirement was an innovation peculiar to this decree, dating only to the 360's. Before this, he claims, phratries were unconcerned with demotic since their methods of admission "were determined long before there were any demes at all." I disagree and would argue that phratries must have been concerned with their members' deme affiliations as of 451 (the time of Perikles' citizenship law), if not earlier. For the present, however, I content myself with noting that the demotic of a phratry member (the phratriarch) is cited in the preamble of this very inscription, which dates to 396/5 (I.3, line 12). Also, if this requirement is an innovation of this decree it is curious that the proposer of the decree, Menexenos, is *not* described by a demotic. Furthermore, phratries do not consistently supply demotics of their members even after *ca.* 360: see I.12.A.

<sup>102</sup> Ferguson (1910, p. 272) misrepresents the evidence when he claims that *demotica* "are regularly omitted from the decrees of the Demotionidai."



priests so far considered; they are accordingly less likely to be known from other documentation. It is virtually impossible to obtain positive identification of these humble individuals, particularly in the absence of demotic (I.12.B) and even, in some cases, patronymic (I.18).

The first list of phratry members is an early 4th-century dedicatory catalogue of a phratry subdivision from Paiania (I.12.B), which must have been the location of the phratry's shrine. The inscription lists some 20 individuals, most of whom are related to one another. In no case are their demotics supplied. None are certainly attested elsewhere.<sup>103</sup> Certainly they must all be members of the same deme: so much can be deduced with near certainty from their patrilinear, familial connections. Furthermore, there must be a strong predisposition to regard them as demesmen of Paiania, since the inscription was erected in that deme. If indeed these individuals all belong to the deme of Paiania, as I believe is very likely, then this catalogue provides striking confirmation of de Sanctis' hypothesis.

Even more suggestive is the catalogue of *thiasotai* (I.18). The inscription was discovered at Katsipodi, the site of the ancient deme of Alopeke. If indeed this inscription emanates from a phratry, the shrine must have been located in or near that deme. Some of the names provided in these lists of *thiasoi* are qualified by demotic, the majority are not. I would suggest, with de Sanctis, that the inclusion or omission of demotic in this catalogue is dictated by the location of the association's shrine.

In this inscription members of such demes as Agryle, Euonymon, Kedoi, and Kephissia are specifically identified by demotic. Alopeke was one of the largest demes of ancient Attica; it is the deme in which the inscription was found. Nevertheless, its demotic is nowhere mentioned in the catalogue. It would be remarkable if no one from Alopeke belonged to this association: it is far more likely that the majority of individuals listed were affiliated with that deme. The absence of patronymic and demotic in many cases makes certain identification of individuals virtually impossible. As was noted in the catalogue, however, most names without demotic find ready parallels in the prosopography of Alopeke; one or two names are rare enough to permit their identification with confidence.

It might be objected that the habit of omission is not absolutely consistent in all phratry documents. So the phratry of the Dyaleis (I.4), which had its seat in Myrrhinous, provides the demotics of their twin phratriarchs, both of whom are also from Myrrhinous. In the same manner demotics are provided for two men of Anaphlystos, members of an anonymous phratry (I.17) which evidently had its seat in that same deme. Both of these documents, however, are records of official financial transactions, not inscriptions meant only for the phratry. In these cases, then, I would suggest that it is the character of the inscription which seems to dictate the abnormally formal and complete record of names.

The practice of omitting the demotic for members of the phratry who belong to the immediately adjacent deme says a great deal about the ancient Athenian understanding of the relationship between phratry and deme. It suggests an especially close link between the phratry and the deme nearest to it, as though the phratry is somehow attached to the deme (or *vice versa*). It also implies a significant overlap between members of the phratry and members of the deme. Surely by omitting to mention such demotics, the phraters are tacitly

<sup>103</sup> See Hedrick (footnote 25 above).

assuming that members of the given deme are regularly and virtually always members of their phratry.

Although this habit of omission implies a high degree of correspondence between the memberships and a close identification of certain individual demes and phratries, it should be apparent that no simple one-to-one deme/phratry correlation existed. In a number of cases, we learn of phratry members who are affiliated with demes other than that with which the phratry is principally associated. It is noteworthy, however, that these demes are usually in the close vicinity of the phratry shrine. So, for example, the phratriarch of the Demotionidai (I.3) came from Oion Dekeleikon rather than Dekeleia, which was home for the majority of the members of the phratry. In the case of the list of *θιασῶται* from Alopeke (I.18), a number of members are attested from demes in the immediate neighborhood of Alopeke: Agryle and Euonymon.

Some pieces of information, of course, do not conform to the generalizations made above about the "geographical character" of the phratry. In some rare instances phratry members are affiliated with demes which lie far from the site of their phratry's shrine. So for example the family of Aischines was affiliated with the deme of Kothokidai (which lay beyond Eleusis, toward Oinoi), but belonged to a phratry which had its seat in Boutadai (near the Kephissos river on the Sacred Way, close to Athens; see I.19). At least one of the *θιασῶται* mentioned in the list from Alopeke (I.18) came from Kephissia, a considerable distance to the north of Alopeke.

This evidence, as is so often the case in ancient history, provides a less complete and even sampling of phratry members than might be desired. Only two inscriptions may provide anything like a representative sampling of a phratry's constituency (I.12.B and I.18). In most cases attested members are the wealthy and powerful within the group. Nevertheless, the available indications are consistent and should not be ignored or underestimated. They are confirmed by the attitude implicit in the omission of the local demotic from phratry documents: most members of a phratry resided in the immediate area of and even in the deme adjacent to the phratry shrine.

The constituency of the phratry, however, does not coincide with that of a deme in any simple way. Although many phratries considered themselves primarily associated with one particular deme, it nonetheless seems that individuals residing in the vicinity of a given shrine, regardless of deme affiliation, might belong to that phratry. Only very rarely is a phratry member attested who is affiliated with a deme at any great distance from the phratry shrine. Thus each phratry had a kind of "geographic character", defined by the population of the region of their phratry shrine.

## CONCLUSION

In the time of Kleisthenes demotics were assigned on the basis of place of residence. It has been shown that a significant relationship exists between demotics attested within a phratry and the location of the phratry shrine. So it seems that at the time of Kleisthenes most phraters lived in the vicinity of their phratry shrine.

During the 5th and 4th centuries there is no certain way of telling where the residence of any particular demesman may have been. Although there is reason to think that much of

the population of Attica remained in their ancestral demes, there certainly was a perceptible migration from rural demes to the city of Athens in this period. Such emigrants, however, would have remained members of the demes and phratries of their paternal ancestors and must have returned to these regularly to participate in their various ceremonies and rites. In this period the perceived connection between the phratry and its local deme remains vigorous, as is shown by the "practice of omission" of local demotics from phratry documents.

As I remarked at the beginning of this paper, Roussel has recently shown that tribal groups, such as the phratry, are not found in tribal Greek states, but only in the settled, geographically fixed world of the *polis*. The phratry, in other words, was not in origin a kinship group, but a unit of the *polis*, which was made to resemble kinship groups. Thus the issue of kinship is a red herring. The phratry was in origin a political entity, an institution of the *polis*. There is no reason, no evidence for the conjecture that the phratry was in the Archaic period or at any time some kind of "pure" kinship group. It is far simpler and more reasonable to suppose that the territorial character of the institution in the Classical period is a continuation and reflection of the essential and original nature of the group.

Accordingly I conclude that the phratries of Attica were in origin local groups, which drew their membership from the districts surrounding their phratry centers. This character survives in the Classical period, when the phratry's membership seems to have been largely composed of individuals from the immediate vicinity of the phratry shrine.

This conclusion will, I believe, be controversial, for it contradicts the *communis opinio* regarding the basic nature of the phratry. Certainly it raises as many problems as it solves. What, for example, might be the role of a territorial phratry in the Archaic constitution of Athens? in the Classical constitution? What precisely might be the relationship between the phratry and the Classical deme? What role did the territorial phratry play in the "Synoikism of Attica"? in Kleisthenes' reorganization of the Attic countryside? A re-evaluation of such questions will be necessary.

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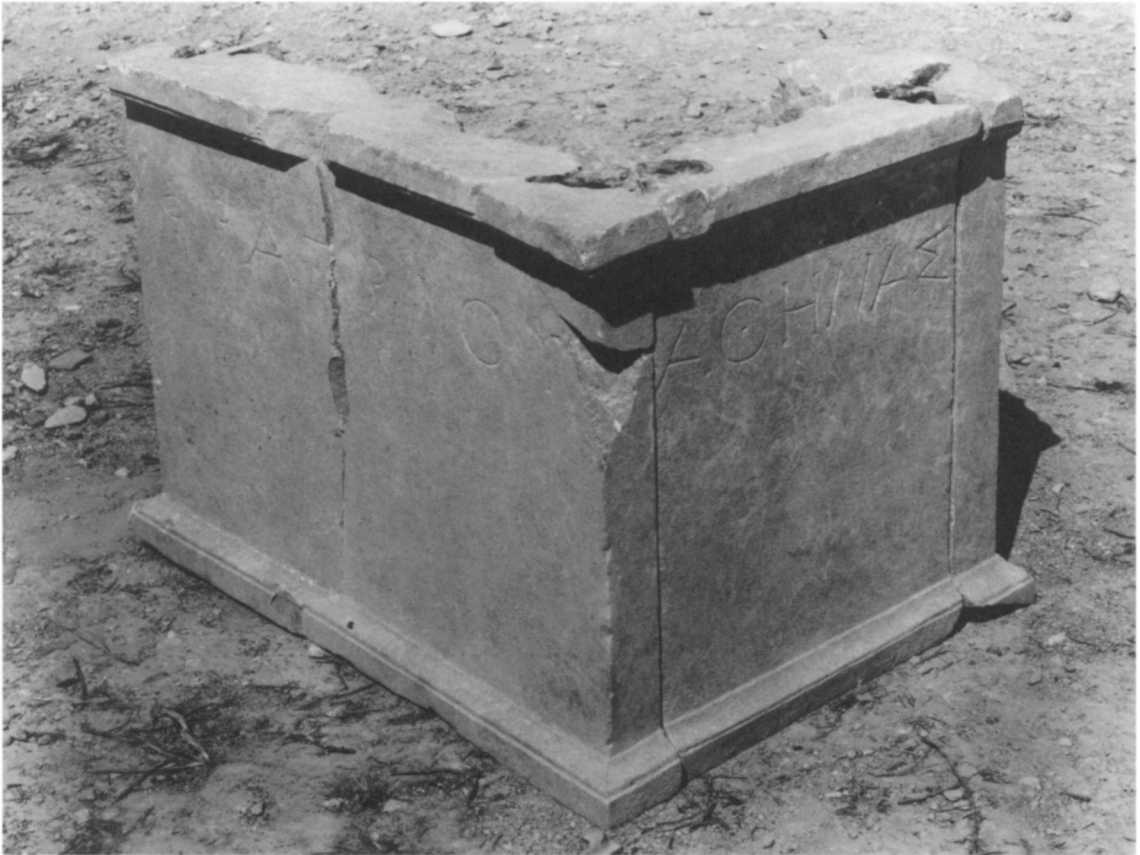
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CHARLES W. HEDRICK, JR.



Altar of Zeus Phratrios and Athena Phratria from the Plataia Karamanou