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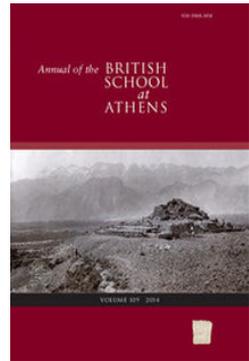
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Boundary and Mortgage Stones from Attica

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BOUNDARY AND MORTGAGE STONES FROM ATTICA.

THE following inscriptions are all in the National Museum at Athens. The writer wishes heartily to thank Professor Adolf Wilhelm, then Secretary of the Austrian Archaeological Institute at Athens, for calling his attention to the stones, and Dr. Leonardos, Ephor of the Epigraphical Department, for leave to publish them and for much help besides. The inscriptions are given from the writer's own copies and impressions made in May and June 1905.

Both boundary and mortgage stones were described in Attic Greek by the word *ὄρος*. The inscriptions themselves prove this twofold use, and there is literary evidence. The following definition is given in the *Etymologicum Magnum*. "Ὄρος σημαίνει δύο· τὰ ὄρια καὶ τῆς χώρας τὰ τέλη, καὶ σανίδιον τὸ ἐπιτιθέμενον ταῖς οἰκίαις, καὶ τοῖς χωρίοις ἐγκαταπηγνύμενον τοῖς ἐνεχυριαζομένοις πρὸς ἃ ὀφείλουσιν οἱ δεσπότες. Here both meanings are clearly stated. Suidas only notes the special Attic use of *ὄρος*. οὕτως ἐκάλουον οἱ Ἀττικοὶ τὰ ἐπόντα ταῖς ὑποκειμέναις οἰκίαις καὶ χωρίοις γράμματα, ἃ ἐδήλουσαν ὅτι ὑπόκεινται δανειστῇ· οὕτως Δημοσθένης καὶ Μένανδρος. This again is undoubtedly the force of *ὄρος* in the famous passage of Solon.¹

. . . Γῆ μέλαινα τῆς ἐγὼ ποτε
ὄρους ἀνεῖλον πολλαχῆ πεπηγότας,
πρόσθεν δὲ δουλεύουσα νῦν ἐλευθέρα.

It is clearly implied here that the removal of mortgage stones was part of the great deliverance brought about by Solon. Mortgage stones

¹ Quoted in Aristotle, *Ἀθ. Πολ.* c. 12 ll. 31 ff.; cf. Plut. *Solon*, 15.

do not reappear until the latter half of the fourth century,¹ and it may well be that their use was avoided because they would have reminded the people too strongly of their sufferings in the past.

With regard to the ordinary landmarks of fields and gardens it appears that the Greeks were satisfied as a rule with a wall,² a ditch,³ or some kind of natural boundary.⁴ But where the line had been disputed⁵ or there was some special reason for making it unmistakable, as in the case of a grave, a temple-garth, or a public place, then an inscribed boundary stone was set up. At Athens there seems to have been a standard size for boundary stones. In *I.G. (C.I.A.)* ii. 1055 an Attic deme directs the setting up of certain landmarks which are to be at least three feet high. Now in the museum at Athens there are many neatly cut pillars of about that height; some are inscribed as boundary stones, others are plain but very likely served the same purpose, either blank or with a painted inscription. These pillars bore their inscription near the top, and their lower end was often left rough and pointed for fixing in the ground. Such uniformity of pattern makes it likely that the Athenian masons kept these well-made boundary stones ready in their shops. The conservative feeling of the trade may have been a reason for the retention of Η in ὄρος long after its disuse elsewhere.⁶ Where a stone wall already formed the boundary, the owner sometimes cut on one of the blocks an inscription stating that the landmark was in that place. In such cases the writing is rough and careless.

The commonest class of boundary stone bears merely the word ὄρος, as though the sanctity of a landmark as such was so great that the single

¹ The Attic mortgage stones are given in *I.G. (= C.I.A.)* ii. 1103-1153. Some others are added by Ziebarth, *Sitzungsberichte d. Akad. zu Berlin*, 1897, pp. 664 ff. This class of inscription is discussed in Dareste, Haussoullier and Reinach, *Inscr. Juridiques*, pp. 107-142; and in Roberts and Gardner *Introd. to Gr. Epigr. Inscr. of Attica*, pp. 494-497.

² Cf. Demosthenes, lv. πὸς Καλλικλέα, 11 and 30.

³ Cf. Thucyd. i. 106.

⁴ In the *Inscr. from Halaesa, I.G.* xiv. 352 we find streams, ditches and olive-trees serving as boundaries. The trees were in some cases stamped with special marks.

⁵ Cf. Hermann, *De Terminis eorumque religione apud Graecos*, p. 35. In modern Greece a natural boundary such as those mentioned in the text is generally held to be all that is needed. If special distinctness is required, a row of large stones is set up, and any attempts to move them arouse great indignation. Boundary-quarrels sometimes lead to serious disturbance. The writer not long ago heard of a case in Laconia where the rival claimants entrenched themselves on either side of the line, surrounded by armed bands of friends and kinsfolk, and soldiers had to be called in to keep the peace.

⁶ See below, p. 65.

word was enough to secure it from violation. The heinousness of the crime of moving a neighbour's landmark is strongly insisted on by Plato.¹ In some cases the offence brought down a curse on the evil-doer.²

A further proof of the sacredness of boundaries is supplied by the fact of the divine protection which was supposed to guard them. Zeus was in an especial way the keeper of Boundaries.³ Apollo⁴ sometimes had the same function. But the deity most closely connected with this guardianship was Hermes. His symbol, whether a heap of stones,⁵ or an actual Herm⁶ was one of the most usual as well as the most sacred form of ancient landmark. With Hermes, Heracles was sometimes associated.⁷

The Greeks indeed had no regular festival connected with boundaries, such as the Roman Terminalia.⁸ Nor did they, as a rule, put elaborate numbers and measurements on their landmarks.⁹

In addition to the boundary stones already printed in the *Corpus*, a further collection has been published by Dr. E. Ziebarth.¹⁰ As he has said, it is often hard to tell, where one inscription is so like another, which are already known and which are new. The present writer can only say that he has done his best to avoid mistakes.

§ I.—STONES INSCRIBED WITH ΗΟΡΟΣ ONLY.

This is the largest class and is represented in *C.I.A.* i. (= *I.G.* i.) 508–512, etc. The following are new. The dimensions are given in decimals of a metre. Where not otherwise stated, the finding-place is unknown.

¹ *Laws*, viii. 843 A.

² Cf. an inscr. from Skyros. *Revue des Études gr.* 1890, p. 212 . . . *δρον θ'ς αν εκβαλ'ηι στατηρ'* [ἀποδοτω ἴ[θυ]ναγ κα' | [τ]ῆ παρ ἡι ἐ-[ν]ε χέσθω. Cf. also the Chian inscr. *B.C.H.* vol. iii. 1879, p. 230, Roberts, *Introd. to Gr. Epigr.* vol. i. No. 149, and pp. 343 ff.

³ *Zeus* Ὀριος; cf. Plato, *Laws* viii. 842 E.

⁴ Ἀπόλλων Ὀριος had an altar at Hermione, Pausan. ii. 35: where indeed the cult is said to be unusual.

⁵ Called Ἑρμαῖος σπόρος or λόφος; cf. Hesych. and E. M. s.v.

⁶ The nature and use of Herms is discussed at length by Hermann, *op. cit.* pp. 20–23, 24–30.

⁷ Cf. *Anthol. Pal.* ix. 316. Hermeracles occurs in Cic. *ad Att.* i. 10 § 3.

⁸ For the Terminalia, cf. Dionys. Hal. ii. 74, and Ovid, *Fast.* ii. 841 ff.

⁹ Such however are sometimes found, cf. *I.G.* (= *C.I.A.*) iii. 1. 408: and on a gravestone, *I.G.* (= *C.I.A.*) ii. 1079.

¹⁰ In *Sitzungsberichte d. Akad. zu Berlin*, 1899, p. 776.

1. Hymettus marble slab, $\cdot 36 \times \cdot 18$ m. No. 4916 in *Archaeological Society's Catalogue*. Bought from Πιαγιός. Letters about $\cdot 025$ high.

HOPOΞ

hópos.

2. Pentelic marble, fragment of small pillar, $\cdot 20 \times \cdot 19$. Letters about $\cdot 04$ high.

HO

hó[πος]

3. Pentelic marble, $\cdot 24 \times \cdot 18$. Letters $\cdot 03$ high.

HO

hó[πος]

These three stones are well smoothed and handsomely engraved and seem to be from a mason's workshop.

§ 2.—STONES WITH OPOΣ ONLY.

This form is less common than the preceding, and occurs in the *Corpus* only in the late stones *C.I.A.* iii. (= *I.G.* iii.) 412, 414, 415, etc.

Ziebarth has only one example (No. 5) in the common alphabet. It is therefore certain that the aspirate was kept in the word HOPOΣ long after its disuse elsewhere. The following inscriptions however show the newer form at a fairly early date.

4. Pentelic marble, $\cdot 28 \times \cdot 24$. Letters $\cdot 025$ high.

OPOX

ōpos

or possibly h]ópos. Here again the hand of a skilled mason is evident.

5. Hymettus marble fragment, $\cdot 43 \times \cdot 24 \times \cdot 14$. Found in 'Οδὸς Σταδίου near the Royal Stables. Inventory number III. Average height of letters $\cdot 03$.

OPOX

ōpos.

The writing is somewhat rough. The stone may have been built into a wall.

6. Hymettus marble fragment, '15 × '11. Average height of letters '03.



ὄρος.

This stone is of the same nature as the last.

7. Pentelic marble, '34 × '15. Letters: P '1, O '04 high.

ορο

ὄρο[s].

Comparison of the lettering with that of Ziebarth's Nos. 7 and 8, where the same forms appear, suggests that the missing letter was a round C, and that the stone is of Roman date. The writing is careless.

§ 3.—STONES MARKING THE BOUNDARIES OF GRAVES.

Many examples of boundaries of graves are already known.¹ In early times the inscription is usually short. The practice of adding warnings and curses² was not common in Greece until late times. The grave is called *μνήμα* or *σῆμα* with little or no difference in meaning. *Θήκη*³ is a word of more solemn nature, and was often used of a number of graves in one burial-place. Among the less common words may be mentioned *θηκαῖον*,⁴ used most often in the plural of the burial ground of a guild,⁵ *θηκίον*,⁶ and the curiously corrupt *μνημόριον*,⁷ the latter being used by Christians only. *Τάφος* is not found, and must have had unpleasant associations. The following grave-boundaries seem to be new.

¹ Compare *I.G.* (= *C.I.A.*) ii. 1069, 1073, 1084–1087 and elsewhere. Also Ziebarth, *l.c.* Nos. 10–12, 15, etc.

² The earliest example, in the common alphabet, is given by Ziebarth, *l.c.* No. 17. A good example of elaborate curses is supplied by the epitaph of Regilla, wife of Herodes Atticus, *Ditt. Syll.*² 888.

³ Examples of *θήκη*, *I.G.* ii. 1088, 1089, 1090, etc.

⁴ This word is really an adjective; cf. *Hdt.* ii. 86 *οἰκῆμα θηκαῖον*. Its use as a noun is restricted to Cos; cf. Paton and Hicks, *Inscr. of Cos*, 160, 161.

⁵ *Ib.* 155–159.

⁶ *C.I.G.* 9288 a Christian Inscr. from Samos.

⁷ Cf. *I.G.* iii. (= *C.I.A.* iii.), 3513. Dr. Wilhelm holds that this word is a mixture of *μνήμα* and *memoria*.

8. Hymettus marble slab, '15 × '19. Inventory No. 150. 'εὐρέθη παρὰ τὰ Σφαγεία ἐν ἀνασκαφῇ Ἀναστασίου Κυριακοπούλου ἢ Πετρελαίου.' Letters '02 high.

Ο Ρ Ο Ξ
ΜΝΗΜΑΤΟ[<

ὄρος μνήματος.

This stone was probably home-made.

9. Blue stone slab, '25 × '14. *Archaeological Society's Catalogue*, No. 4920. Bought from Γιαγιός. Letters '025 high.

Ο Ρ Ο Ξ
ΜΝΗΜΑ
ΤΟ Ξ

ὄρος μνήματος.

The writing is rather irregular, though the letters are well shaped.

10. Pentelic marble slab, '25 × '20 × '02, broken off on the left. Letters '02 high.

Ο Ρ Ο Ξ
ΣΗΜΑΤΟΣ

ὄρος σήματος.

The lettering is handsome and bold, though rather thick.

11. Rough block of Pentelic marble, '30 × '31 × '05. Letters '025 high.

Ρ Ο
ΗΜΑΤΟ Ξ

[ὄ]ρο[ς] [μν]ήματος or [σ]ήματος.

The lettering is rough and careless.

12. Hymettus marble fragment, '19 × '18. Inventory number 151. Letters '035 high.

ΑΤΟ Ξ

[ὄρος μνήμ]ατος or [σήμ]ατος.

§ 4.—VARIOUS.

13. Pentelic marble, '10 × '09. *Arch. Soc. Cat.* 1322. Letters '02 high.

ΞΡΟ Ξ
ΚΟΡΙΘ

ὄρος χωρίου.

14. Hymettus marble, '17 x '12. Letters '015 high.



ὄρος
χωρίων
ξίππησ

ὄρος χωρίων [Λυ]σίππησ.

This stone seems to refer to the dowry of Lysippe: probably the land was handed over to the husband as in *I.G.* ii. 1067 ὄρος Γλαυκίδος. Sometimes however land was mortgaged as security for payment of the dowry in money; an example is seen in *Ἐφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογική* iii. 65, where the land is mortgaged in part for a dowry, while another debt is secured on the remainder of its value.

15. Pentelic marble, '15 x '15. Letters '01 to '02 high.



Η Ρ Ο
Κ Δ
Τ Ε Μ Δ Ο

The lettering is very careless, and, as the stone is broken all round, restoration is difficult. Perhaps $h[\acute{o}]rho[s] \chi\omega\rho\acute{\iota}\omega\nu \kappa\alpha\iota \acute{\iota}ερ\acute{o}\upsilon \mid \acute{\alpha}ρ\tau\acute{\epsilon}μιδος$.

16. Slab of Pentelic marble, '54 x '22. Inscription near the bottom of stone. Letters '02 high.

H I E P

[hóros] hier[ou].

Fine lettering.

17. Small piece of Pentelic marble. *Arch. Soc. Cat.* 1545. Letters '02 high.



ὄρο
ιερ

ὄρο[s] ἱερῶ.

The last word is complete, O standing for οῦ. The state of the stone leaves it doubtful whether there might have been an H at the beginning of each line or not.

§ 5.—MORTGAGE STONES.

Of this class a great many examples are already known. The inscription showed either that the property was mortgaged (*ὑποκείσθαι*) or that it had been taken over in default of payment (*πεπρᾶσθαι ἐπὶ λύσει*). In the latter case an 'equity of redemption' remained with the debtor. Nearly all the existing mortgage stones belong to the latter half of the fourth century. Besides the amount of the mortgage the date and other details were often added. The mortgage was engraved either on the wall of the house or on a separate slab. The stones now to be given were of the latter class.

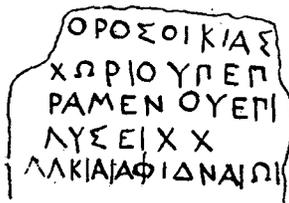
18. Slab of blue stone, 34 × 26. Inventory number 324: from the collection of A. Κολλυβάς. Letters 0.2 high.



[ῥ]ος χω|ρίου πε|πραμένου | ἐπὶ λύσει | Φιλοκλεῖ
5 Λα|[μ]πτρεῖ ΧΧ.

The sum raised was 2,000 drachmae.

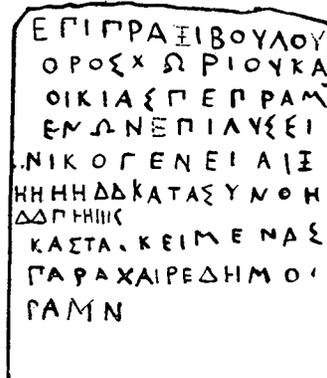
19. Hymettus marble slab, 60 × 30. Inventory number 276; from the collection of Ἀγάθων Δαλέκης. Letters 0.2 high.



ῥος οἰκίας, | χωρίου πεπ|ραμένου ἐπὶ | λύσει ΧΧ | [Ἀ]λκίαι Ἀφιδ-
ναίωι.

The lettering is fairly neat. The sum raised was 2,000 drachmae.

20. Slab of Hymettus marble, '40 x '25. *Arch. Soc. Cat.* 4897.
Letters average '015 in height.



ἐπὶ Πραξιβούλου | ὄρος χωρίου κα| [ι] οἰκίας πεπραμ- |
5 ἐνων ἐπὶ λύσει || Νικογένει Αἰξ(ωνεῖ) | ΗΗΗΗΔΔΔΔΡΗΗΗΚ
κατὰ συνθή| κας τὰ[ς] κειμένας | παρὰ Χαιρεδήμο[υ] ||
10 'Ραμν(ουσίου).

The lettering is coarse and irregular. Praxibulus was archon in 315/4.
The money raised was 447 drachmae 3½ obols.

H. J. W. TILLYARD.