

TYCHE

Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte Papyrologie und Epigraphik

Herausgegeben von

Gerhard Dobesch, Hermann Harrauer
Peter Siewert und Ekkehard Weber

Band 11, 1996

1996

BOHNERBRODER



**Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte,
Papyrologie und Epigraphik**

TYCHE

**Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte
Papyrologie und Epigraphik**

Band 11

1996


H O L Z H A U S E N

Herausgegeben von:

Gerhard Dobesch, Hermann Harrauer, Peter Siewert und Ekkehard Weber

In Zusammenarbeit mit:

Reinhold Bichler, Herbert Graßl, Sigrid Jalkotzy und Ingomar Weiler

Redaktion:

Johannes Diethart, Wolfgang Hameter, Bernhard Palme
Georg Rehrenböck, Hans Taeuber

Zuschriften und Manuskripte erbeten an:

Redaktion TYCHE, c/o Institut für Alte Geschichte, Universität Wien, Dr. Karl Lueger-Ring 1,
A-1010 Wien. Beiträge in deutscher, englischer, französischer, italienischer und lateinischer
Sprache werden angenommen. Disketten in MAC- und DOS-Formaten sind willkommen.

Eingesandte Manuskripte können nicht zurückgeschickt werden.
Bei der Redaktion einlangende wissenschaftliche Werke werden besprochen.

Auslieferung:

Verlag A. Holzhausens Nfg. GmbH, Kandlgasse 19–21, A-1070 Wien

Gedruckt auf holz- und säurefreiem Papier.

Umschlag: IG II² 2127 (Ausschnitt) mit freundlicher Genehmigung des Epigraphischen Museums in
Athen, Inv.-Nr. 8490, und P.Vindob. Barbara 8.

© 1996 by Verlag A. Holzhausens Nfg. GmbH, Wien

Eigentümer und Verleger: Verlag A. Holzhausens Nfg. GmbH, Kandlgasse 19–21, A-1070 Wien.

Herausgeber: Gerhard Dobesch, Hermann Harrauer, Peter Siewert und Ekkehard Weber,
c/o Institut für Alte Geschichte, Universität Wien, Dr. Karl Lueger-Ring 1, A-1010 Wien.

Hersteller: Druckerei A. Holzhausens Nfg. GmbH, Kandlgasse 19–21, A-1070 Wien.

Verlagsort: Wien. — Herstellungsort: Wien. — Printed in Austria.

ISBN 3-900518-03-3

Alle Rechte vorbehalten.

I N H A L T S V E R Z E I C H N I S

Pieter Johannes Sijpesteijn † (mit Portrait)	V
Roger S. B a g n a l l (New York), Bernhard P a l m e (Wien), Franks in Sixth-century Egypt (Tafel 1–2)	1
Alexander B e g e r t (Mainz), Die Ehrenmonate in der Zeit Caligulas. Zur Familienpropaganda des letzten julischen Kaisers	11
Jaime B. C u r b e r a (Athen), David R. J o r d a n (Athen), A Curse Tab- let from Pannonia Superior (Tafel 3)	45
Gerhard D o b e s c h (Wien), Caesar und Kleinasien	51
Martin D r e h e r (Konstanz), Das Asyl in der Antike von seinen griechi- schen Ursprüngen bis zur christlichen Spätantike	79
Ruth D u t t e n h ö f e r (Yale), Klaas A. W o r p (Amsterdam), Die grie- chischen Paginae von P.Yale inv. 1804. Der revidierte Text	97
Denis F e i s s e l (Paris), Kerdanetta: une localité de Lydie d'après l'épigraphie et les Actes conciliaires	107
Linda-Marie G ü n t h e r (München), Eine familienstolze Hydrophoren-Mut- ter: Die Tantenschaft der Julia Hostilia Rheso (IvDidyma 372)	113
Edward M. H a r r i s (New York), A Note on Adoption and Deme Registra- tion	123
David R. J o r d a n (Athen), Jaime B. C u r b e r a (Athen), A Curse Tab- let from Pannonia Superior (Tafel 3)	45
R. A. K e a r s l e y (Sidney), The Asiarchs of Cibyra Again. The Roman Presence in Southern Asia Minor 1 st cent. B.C. – 1 st cent. A.D. and its Impact on the Epigraphic Record	129
Leslie S. B. M a c C o u l l (Washington D. C.), Notes on Arab Allies as <i>foederati</i> in Inscriptions	157
Caroll A. N e l s o n (Bloomington), Two Papyri Recording Loan Repay- ments (Tafel 4)	159
Bernhard P a l m e (Wien), Roger S. B a g n a l l (New York), Franks in Sixth-century Egypt (Tafel 1–2)	1
Victor P a r k e r (Christchurch), Vom König zum Tyrannen. Eine Betrach- tung zur Entstehung der älteren griechischen Tyrannis	165
John R. R e a (Oxford), P.Ant I 44 Revised (Tafel 5, 6)	187
Francis X. R y a n (Princeton), Some Persons in the <i>pro Cluentio</i>	195
Walter S c h e i d e l (Cambridge), Die biologische Dimension der Alten Ge- schichte. Bemerkungen zu Robert Sallares, <i>The Ecology of the Ancient Greek World</i>	207
Pieter Johannes S i j p e s t e i j n † (Amsterdam), Ausgaben und Einnah- men. P.Vindob. G 21737 (Tafel 7)	223
Günther E. T h ü r y (Unterjettingen), War Tibull in Gallien?	227

Klaas A. W o r p (Amsterdam), Ruth D u t t e n h ö f e r (Yale), Die griechischen Paginae von P.Yale inv. 1804. Der revidierte Text	97
Bernhard W o y t e k (Wien), Idem Hermeias? Das Fragment eines Rechnungsbuches aus dem spätantiken Ägypten (Tafel 8–10)	229
Bemerkungen zu Papyri IX (<Korr. Tyche> 207–230)	243
Buchbesprechungen	255
Schafik A l l a m (Hrsg.), <i>Grund und Boden in Altägypten. Rechtliche und sozio-ökonomische Verhältnisse</i> . Akten int. Symposium Tübingen 1990, Tübingen 1994 (H.-A. Rupprecht: 255) — B. I. A ν α σ τ α σ ι á δ η ς, <i>Χαρακτηρισμοί κοινωνικών στραμάτων και η έννοια τάξις στην αρχαία Ελλάδα</i> , Thessaloniki 1992 (A. Papatomas: 261) — Jean B i n g e n, <i>Pages d'Épigraphie grecque. Attique – Égypte (1952–1982)</i> , Bruxelles 1991 (D. Papakonstantinou-Diamantourou: 264) — Otto B ö r s t (Hrsg.): <i>Städtische Lebensform in der Antike</i> , Stuttgart (u. a.) 1995 (E. Weber: 264) — Kai B r o d e r s e n, <i>Terra Cognita. Studien zur römischen Raumerfassung</i> , Hildesheim (u. a.) 1995 (E. Weber: 265) — Jean G a s c o u, <i>Un codex fiscal hermopolite (P.Sorb. II 69)</i> , Atlanta 1994 (J. D. Thomas: 267) — Fritz G r a f (Hrsg.), <i>Mythos in mythenloser Gesellschaft. Das Paradigma Roms</i> , Stuttgart (u. a.) 1993 (G. Dobesch: 269) — Elisabeth H e r r m a n n - O t t o, <i>Ex ancilla natus. Untersuchungen zu den „hausgeborenen“ Sklaven und Sklavinnen im Westen des römischen Kaiserreiches</i> , Stuttgart 1994 (W. Scheidel: 274) — Geneviève H u s s o n, Dominique V a l b e l l e, <i>L'Etat et les institutions en Egypte des premiers pharaons aux empereurs romains</i> , Paris 1992 (G. Hölbl: 279) — I s o k r a t e s, <i>Sämtliche Werke</i> . Bd. 1, Reden I–VIII. Übers., v. Christine L e y - H u t t o n, eingel. u. erläutert von Kai B r o d e r s e n, Stuttgart 1993 (G. Dobesch: 280) — Stefan L i n k, <i>Landverteilung und sozialer Frieden im archaischen Griechenland</i> , Stuttgart 1991 (P. Siewert: 282) — Basil G. M a n d i l a r a s, <i>P.Sta. Xyla. The Byzantine Papyri of the Greek Papyrological Society</i> . Vol. I, Athen 1993 (B. Palme: 283) — Joachim M i g l, <i>Die Ordnung der Ämter. Prätorianerpräfektur und Vikariat in der Regionalverwaltung des Römischen Reiches von Konstantin bis zur Valentinianischen Dynastie</i> , Frankfurt a. M. (u. a.) 1994 (B. Palme: 285) — Maryline G. P a r c a, <i>Procheia or Odysseus in Disguise at Troy (P.Köln VI 245)</i> , Atlanta 1991 (A. Papatomas: 288) — Ambros Josef P f i f f i g, <i>Gesammelte Schriften zu Sprache und Geschichte der Etrusker</i> . Hrsg. zur Vollendung seines 85. Lebensjahres ... unter Leitung von Luciana A i g n e r - F o r e s t i und Ekkehard W e b e r, Wien 1995 (F. Locher von Hüttenbach: 292) — J. A. Π ι κ ο υ λ α s, <i>ΟΔΙΚΟ ΔΙΚΤΥΟ ΑΜΥΝΑ. Από την Κόρινθο στο Άργο και την Αρκαδία</i> , Athen 1995 (K. Tausend: 294) — Panagiota S a r i s c h o u l i, <i>Berliner griechische Papyri. Christliche literarische Texte und Urkunden aus dem 3. bis 8. Jh. n. Chr.</i> , Wiesbaden 1995 (J. Diethart: 295) — Marta S o r d i, <i>La dynasteia in occidente (Studi su Dionigi I)</i> , Padua 1992 (P. Siewert: 296)	
Indices, zusammengestellt von Johannes D i e t h a r t	299
Gesamtregister Band 1–10, zusammengestellt von Christophe J. G r o - d e c k i	307

Tafeln 1–10

EDWARD M. HARRIS

A Note on Adoption and Deme Registration

The Athenian law of adoption allowed a man who had no γνήσιοι children to adopt a son to serve as his κληρονόμος¹. As part of the process of adoption, the adopted son was entered on the deme register of his adoptive father². After the process was completed, the adopted son lost all rights of inheritance in his natural family³. The adopted son might return to his natural family on one condition — that he left a son in the household of his adoptive father to serve as κληρονόμος⁴.

L. Rubinstein has recently claimed on the basis of [Dem.] 44 that an „adopted son ceased to be a member of the deme of his adoptive father when he returned to the οἶκος of his natural father“⁵. Yet she admits that „there is no information as to whether there was any procedure of readmission when he returned to the deme of his natural father“. I will argue that the evidence found in [Dem.] 44 indicates on the contrary that the adopted son who chose to return to the household of his natural father retained his membership in the deme of his adoptive father. This interpretation of the evidence found in the speech will enable us to understand how Clearchus, the son and κληρονόμος of the general Nausicles, came to have a different demotic from that of his father.

When analyzing the statements of the speaker in [Dem.] 44 it is necessary to keep several considerations in mind. First, the speaker presents only one side of the case — the speeches delivered by his opponents Leostratus and Leochares have not been preserved. The speaker naturally stresses the legitimacy of his own claims to the property of Archiades and casts doubts on the claims made by his adversaries. Second, it is important to distinguish between what the speaker asserts and what he is actually able to

¹Isaeus 2, 13; 3, 68; 6, 28; Dem. 46, 14. The text of the law inserted into the text at Dem. 46, 14 is probably a fake — I hope to discuss this matter elsewhere. I prefer not to translate the word κληρονόμος with the English word „heir“ since the Athenians, like the Romans, employed the principle of universal succession. For this principle and its differences from the modern practices see B. Nicholas, *An Introduction to Roman Law*, Oxford 1962, 235f. I would like to thank L. Rubinstein for reading over an earlier draft of this note and helping me to improve it. She should not be held responsible for the views expressed herein or for any remaining errors. My disagreement with her on this one point does not in any way diminish my admiration for her splendid study of adoption in Athens. I would also like to thank Prof. A. Chaniotis for reading over this note and offering helpful suggestions.

²Isaeus 7, 28 with L. Rubinstein, *Adoption in IV. Century Athens*, Copenhagen 1993, 37–39.

³Isaeus 7, 23; 9, 2; 9, 33; 10, 4 with Rubinstein (note 2) 45.

⁴Isaeus 6, 44; 9, 33; 10, 11; [Dem.] 44, 64 and 68; Antiphon fr. IV (ed. Baier and Sauppe) = Harpocration, *Lex.* 228.

⁵Rubinstein (note 2) 58.

prove by means of documents and witnesses. Finally, one needs to be on the watch for the speaker's attempts to mislead the court by using ambiguous language⁶.

The basic facts of the case are simple and straightforward. Archiades had two brothers named Meidylides and Archippus and a sister called Archedice. Archiades and his brothers gave Archedice in marriage to Leostratus of Eleusis ([Dem.] 44, 9, 17). This marriage led to the birth of a daughter, who was later married to another man from Eleusis⁷. This couple had a child whom they named Leocrates (who will be called Leocrates I to distinguish him from his homonymous grandson) (17). Archiades chose not to marry and during his lifetime (ζῶντος) adopted Leocrates I as his κληρονόμος. As part of the adoption procedure, Leocrates would have been enrolled as a member of Archiades' deme Otryne. The speaker attempts to arouse suspicions about the validity of the adoption by claiming it took place while Meidylides was abroad and that Meidylides intended to challenge the claims of Leocrates I after Archiades died (19–20). But there is no reason to question the adoption. Indeed, the speaker himself provides evidence for the adoption later in the speech (30). Furthermore, he admits that Meidylides never actually brought a suit against Leocrates I during the entire time he remained in possession of Archiades' estate (20)⁸.

Sometime later, Leocrates „returned to the Eleusinians from whence he had originally come“ (ἐπανῆλθεν αὐτὸς εἰς τοὺς Ἐλευσινίους, ὅθεν ἦν τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς) „leaving behind this man Leostratus as a γνήσιος son in the house“ of his adoptive father (ἐγκαταλιπὼν τουτονὶ Λεώστρατον ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ υἱὸν γνήσιον, 21). One thing is clear — Leocrates I took advantage of the law that allowed an adopted son to return to the house of his father if he left behind a γνήσιος son in the house of his adoptive father⁹. Like his father, Leostratus also took advantage of the law for he subsequently „returned to the Eleusinians as his father had done“ (ἐπανέρχεται, ὡσπερ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ, ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἐλευσινίους) „leaving behind a γνήσιος son“ (ἐγκαταλιπὼν υἱὸν γνήσιον) in his house of Archiades¹⁰. This son was named Leocrates after his grandfather and later died without issue (24).

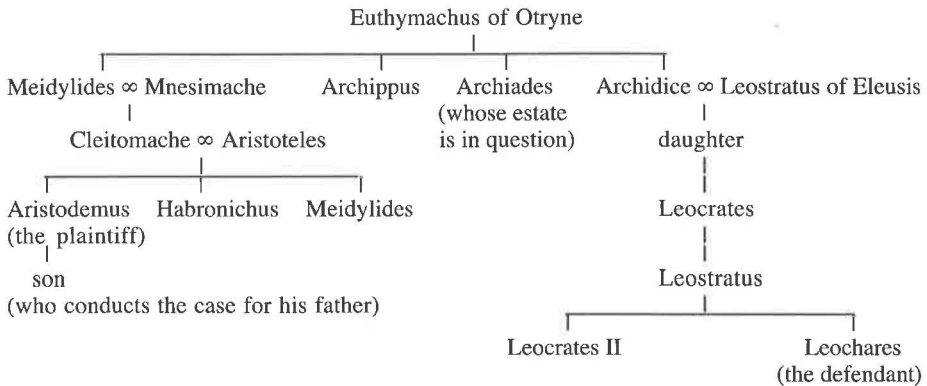
⁶For a general discussion of the problems involved in using the speeches of the Attic orators as historical sources, see E. M. Harris, *Aeschines and Athenian Politics*, New York, Oxford 1995, 7–16.

⁷Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐκ θυγατρὸς τῆς ἐκδοθείσης ἀδελφῆς ταύτης αὐτῶν γίγνεται Λεωκράτης ὁ πατὴρ Λεωστράτου τουτονί. This phrase is mistranslated by A. T. Murray in his Loeb edition of the speech as „and after a time from this sister of theirs, thus given in marriage, there was born Leocrates...“. Murray takes no notice of the word θυγατρὸς.

⁸The speaker claims that Meidylides refrained from bringing a suit only because he was swayed by the pleas of his relatives. But if there was truly something amiss with the adoption, why did he not pursue his case? It is also noteworthy that Meidylides died before the trial (20) and that the speaker produces no evidence to prove that Meidylides contemplated challenging the claims of Leocrates I.

⁹The speaker expresses himself more clearly when referring to Leostratus' return at 33: ἀπεληλυθὸς γ' εἰς τὸν πατρῷον οἶκον.

¹⁰The speaker uses similar language at 26, 28, 34, 35, 44, 46. At 39 the speaker describes Leostratus as ἐν Ἐλευσινίοις δημοτευόμενος. For the meaning of the verb δημοτεύεσθαι see D. Whitehead, *The Demes of Attica*, Princeton 1986, 68–69. This phrase need only imply that Leostratus was somehow active in the deme, but need not imply official registration. There is no reason to question the speaker's account of these actions



What does the speaker mean by the phrase „returned to the Eleusinians“? Does it merely mean that Leocrates I and Leostratus simply changed their residence from Otryne to Eleusis, where their family’s property was probably located? Or does it mean that they changed both their residence and their official deme registration at the same time? The speaker deliberately leaves it unclear since it is to his advantage to stress the ties of Leocrates I and Leostratus to Eleusis as a way of undercutting their ties to Otryne, the deme of their adoptive father, thereby undermining his claim to the property of Archiades¹¹. Yet although the speaker may wish to give the impression Leocrates I and Leostratus were enrolled on the official deme list of Eleusis, he never says this explicitly nor provides any evidence to that effect. In fact, the speaker admits Leostratus was not enrolled on both the assembly list of the deme Otryne at the time of the trial (35)¹². He also states that Leostratus listed himself as a member of Otryne on the affidavit he submitted to the archon (39)¹³. The speaker nevertheless claims that Leostratus was unsuccessful in his attempt to have his name placed on the official deme register of Otryne. He further alleges that he stopped Leostratus from collecting distribution from the Theoric Fund as a member of Otryne on the grounds that he was not yet enrolled on the deme’s official list (35–40). Failing to secure his own admission, Leostratus succeeded in getting his son Leochares enrolled as a son of Archiades on the deme register of Otryne and later introduced to the phratry of Archiades (41–43).

since he later provides evidence to show that Leocrates and Leostratus returned to Eleusis (44).

¹¹Later in the speech he tries to exploit this: τὸ μετὰ ταῦτα τοίνυν πῶς οὐκ ἄτοπον καὶ δεινόν ἐστιν, ἅμα παρακαταβεβληκέναι τοῦ κλήρου πρὸς τῷ ἀρχοντι ὡς ὄντα αὐτὸν Ἀρχιάδου Λεώστρατον τουτονί, τὸν Ἐλευσίνιον τοῦ Ὀτρυνέως (52). The speaker is misleading since Eleusis was only Leostratus’ deme of residence, not the deme where he was registered (see below), while Archiades was registered as a member of the deme of Otryne.

¹²For the relationship between the official deme list and the assembly list see Whitehead (note 10) 104.

¹³The speaker attempts to maneuver around this awkward fact by claiming that Leostratus deceived the archon, but there is no reason to take his unproven charge seriously. Moreover we know the archons and other magistrates normally paid careful attention to the precise wording of applications submitted to them — see Isaeus 6, 12; 10, 2; Lys. 13, 86.

Here it is crucial to separate what the speaker alleges and what he can prove by producing evidence. The speaker has to admit that Leostratus at the time of the trial was enrolled on the assembly list of Otryne. He gives the impression that the registration took place only after he filed his affidavit in response to the speaker's claim to the estate of Archiades. But he provides no evidence to prove his assertion. Furthermore, the speaker admits that Leocrates I was adopted by Archiades and that Leostratus was left in the house of Archiades as his adopted son. But if both were adopted by Archiades — a fact which the speaker does not dispute — they both would have been registered as members of Archiades' deme of Otryne at the time of their adoption, not later just before the trial. When the speaker brings forward witnesses to corroborate his account, all they testify to is that 1) Leostratus „returned to the Eleusinians“ after leaving a *gnesios* son in the house of Archiades, 2) Leostratus' father had earlier done the same thing, and 3) Leochares was enrolled on the official deme list of Otryne before he was enrolled in the phratry of Archiades (44: ὡς ὁ νῦν διαμεμαρτυρηκῶς πρότερον εἰς τοὺς δημότας ἢ εἰς τοὺς φράτερας ἐνεγράφη, τούτων ὑμῖν τὰς τῶν φρατέρων καὶ τὰς τῶν δημοτῶν μαρτυρίας ἀναγνώσεται)¹⁴. In other words, the speaker provides no evidence that Leostratus was not enrolled on the official deme register of Otryne.

To sum up our points so far: The speaker nowhere states explicitly that Leocrates I and Leostratus changed their official deme registration when they returned to the family of their natural father, which resided in Eleusis. Second, the speaker admits that Leostratus was at one time the adopted son of Archiades and thus would have been registered as a member of the deme of their adoptive father. Third, the speaker admits that at the time of the speech Leostratus was enrolled on the Assembly list of Otryne. Fourth, the speaker admits that Leostratus listed himself as a member of the deme of Otryne on the affidavit that he submitted to the archon, who accepted it in that form. Thus the speaker makes several statements indicating Leostratus was a member of Otryne and never proves he was not. Contrary to Rubinstein's claim, the evidence of [Dem.] 44 indicates that after an adopted son returned to the household of his natural family, he could remain registered on the official register of his adoptive father's deme.

The evidence from [Dem.] 44 enables us to explain why Clearchus, the son and κληρονόμος of the politician Nausicles, had a different demotic from that of his father¹⁵. Nausicles was the son of a man named Clearchus and a member of the deme

¹⁴The normal procedure was for a man to be introduced to the phratry soon after birth, then enrolled on the deme register once he reached the age of majority at 18. See S. D. Lambert, *The Phratries of Attica*, Ann Arbor 1993, 161–178. But Clearchus was posthumously adopted only after the death of his brother Leocrates II (24). It is also necessary to bear in mind that phratry membership was not a necessary prerequisite for membership in a deme, which merely required the candidate to prove that both his parents were Athenians — see *Ath. Pol.* 42, 1. This of course meant that νόθοι, who were not members of a phratry, could be Athenian citizens. See D. M. MacDowell, *Bastards as Athenian Citizens*, CQ 26 (1976) 88–91.

¹⁵For the career of his father Nausicles see E. M. Harris, *Demosthenes Loses a Friend and Nausicles Gains a Position: A Prosopographical Note on Athenian Politics After Chai-rona*, *Historia* 43, 3 (1993) 378–84.

of Oe (IG II² 1496, lines 40–42, 49–51; 1623, lines 329–33)¹⁶. Nausicles named his son Clearchus after his own father. The younger Clearchus was also active in politics and served on an embassy to Nicanor with his father's old associate Phocion in 318 (D.S. 18, 64, 5).

Father and son served as joint trierarchs in 332/31 (IG II² 1628, lines 100–2)¹⁷. In an inscription dated to 326/25, we learn that Clearchus returned naval equipment in 325/24 (IG II² 1629, lines 707–14). In this inscription Clearchus is described as *Ναυσικλέους Ὀῆθεν κληρονόμου*, yet Clearchus' deme is Aigilia (Αἰγίλιως) while his father's deme is Oe¹⁸. The example of Leostratus in [Dem.] 44 enables us to understand how this came about. Clearchus was adopted by someone in the deme of Aigilia. As a result, he was entered on the official deme register of Aigilia as all adopted sons were. At some later time, Clearchus left a son to serve as *κληρονόμος* in the household of his adoptive father in Aigilia and returned to the household of his natural father Nausicles¹⁹. This enabled Clearchus to become Nausicles' *κληρονόμος* upon the latter's death. He was thus similar to Leostratus, who returned to the household of his natural father and left his son Leocrates II in the household of his adoptive father Archiades. Yet despite his return to his father's household, Clearchus remained registered in Aigilia, the deme of his adoptive father, just as Leostratus remained a member of Otryne, the deme of his adoptive father Archiades.

Dept. of Classics
Brooklyn College
City University of New York
Brooklyn, NY 11210
U.S.A.

Edward M. Harris

¹⁶For Nausicles' deme see also IG II² 1496, lines 40–41; 1623, lines 329–30.

¹⁷[Τριήραρχο]ς Ναυσικλῆς Ὀῆθε | [συντριήραρχ]ος Κλέαρχος | [Ναυσικ]λέους Αἰγίλι.

¹⁸For Clearchus' deme see also IG II² 1628, lines 71–72. Kirchner, *Prosopographia Attica*, Berlin 1903 (repr. 1966), Nr. 10552 attempted to explain the different demotics of father and son by assuming that Nausicles was adopted by a citizen of Aigilia and left his son Clearchus in his household, then returned to the household of his natural father: „Nempe Nausicles per adoptionem transierat in domum civis Aegiliensis cuiusdam; iam cum in hac Aegiliensium domo reliquisset Clearchum filium, rursus rediit in pristinam familiam quae erat Ὀῆθεν“. Kirchner's solution is accepted by J. K. Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families 600–300 B.C.*, Oxford 1971, 397. But if Clearchus remained in his adoptive family after his father Nausicles returned to the family of his natural father, he could not have become Nausicles' *κληρονόμος* upon his death. See above note 3.

¹⁹Rubinstein *per litteras* suggests that it may have been possible for an adopted son in certain cases to inherit the property of his natural father without returning to his household. She draws to my attention the case of Cyronides, who was adopted by Xenaenetus, but was allegedly able to gain control of the property of his natural father Aristarchus (Isaeus 10, 5). But the speaker never actually proves that Cyronides took over Aristarchus' property (the witnesses at 7 do not testify to this). Furthermore, the speaker cites the law to demonstrate that Cyronides' alleged usurpation of the property was illegal (Isaeus 10, 4, 10–11). She also observes that Phaenippus is said to have enjoyed the income of two estates, both that of his natural father Callippus and that of his adoptive father Philostratus (Dem. 42, 21). But Phaenippus could have inherited both estates without breaking the law if his adoption by Philostratus occurred after the death of Callippus.