

**OULDHEIDKUNDIGE  
MEDEDELINGEN**

UIT HET RIJKSMUSEUM VAN  
OUDHEDEN TE LEIDEN

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(NIEUWE REEKS)



THE GREEK INSCRIPTIONS  
IN THE  
'RIJKSMUSEUM VAN OUDHEDEN'  
AT LEYDEN



MINISTERIE VAN ONDERWIJS, KUNSTEN EN WETENSCHAPPEN

# OULDHEIDKUNDIGE MEDEDELINGEN

UIT

HET RIJKSMUSEUM VAN OUDHEDEN

TE LEIDEN

(NUNTII EX MUSEO ANTIQUARIO LEIDENSI)

ONDER REDACTIE VAN

DR. W. D. VAN WIJNGAARDEN

Directeur van het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden

SUPPLEMENT OP NIEUWE REEKS XXXVIII

DR. H. W. PLEKET

THE GREEK INSCRIPTIONS IN THE  
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1958

Uitgegeven met steun van de  
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## PREFACE

The present publication deals mainly with those inscriptions in the 'Rijksmuseum van Oudheden' at Leyden, which were hitherto unpublished. Most of these inscriptions have the same provenance: they come from Smyrna or other coastal cities from Asia Minor and belong almost without exception to the Roman Period.

To publish this book in my own native language would undoubtedly have lightened my task greatly but to have done so would, I feel, have imposed an unjustifiable and unwarranted restriction on interested scholars.

I do not disguise from myself the fact that the following pages will be far from impeccable from the linguistic point of view. I can only hope that my English is understandable and more or less correct. If so the credit belongs to Mr R. G. G. COLEMAN (Aberdeen) and Mr A. G. WOODHEAD (Cambridge) who kindly assisted me in making my English much less imperfect than it would otherwise have been.

Above all I am indebted very much to Mr A. G. WOODHEAD. It was not only under his direction that I took the first step on the thorny path of Greek Epigraphy but he has also attentively read through most of my work, adding many valuable remarks and correcting my English.

The generosity of the 'Fruin-Fonds' at Leyden enabled me to go to Vienna at Easter 1957 in order to discuss several of the Leyden inscriptions with Prof. Dr J. KEIL and Prof. Dr G. MARESCH. I owe many useful suggestions to both scholars.

It is a pleasant duty to acknowledge my gratitude to Dr W. D. VAN WIJNGAARDEN, Director of the Leyden Museum, for giving me permission to publish this collection of Greek inscriptions. It is to him also that I am indebted for permission to publish my work in a separate volume of the Museum-periodical (*Oudheidkundige Mededelingen*). It is only to be hoped that this contribution does not fall short of the high standard of this periodical. I am also extremely grateful to Professor D. H. Brunsting; it is mainly his work that the inscriptions have been arranged in perfect order in the museum.

My sincere thanks are due to Corpus Christi College at Cambridge and to the British School of Archaeology in Athens for the hospitality extended to me from September 1954 until August 1955 and from November 1955 until August 1956 respectively. My stay in Cambridge and Athens greatly facilitated the preparation of this publication.

Finally I avail myself of the opportunity to express my gratitude to the Netherlands Organisation for Pure Research (Z.W.O.), whose financial assistance enabled me both to spend two years abroad and to publish this book.

Vlaardingen, November 1957.

H. W. PLEKET



## INTRODUCTION

It was in 1842 that the first publication on the Greek inscriptions in the Leyden Museum appeared<sup>1</sup>. It contained all the texts acquired by the Museum up to that date. The provenance of the stones was rather varied, witness the following list of places: Athens, Delos, Melos, Rhodes, Tenedos, Lampsacos, Aegina, Thessalonica and Smyrna<sup>2</sup>.

With a very few exceptions these inscriptions have all been inserted in CIG and IG. It is for this very reason that I decided not to republish them again and considerations of a financial character have only strengthened this decision. The publication in the *Corpora* is authoritative. All that has been done is to collect (in an appendix at the end of this book<sup>3</sup>) the references to CIG and IG and to an article of the late A. WILHELM, who, after JANSSEN, was the first to publish and restore two Leyden inscriptions. Furthermore, in footnotes references have been added to recent publications which have thrown fresh light on the interpretation of these texts after their insertion in the *Corpora* and in some cases, a few *variae lectiones* made before the stones themselves have been mentioned. For the sake of convenience I have included the texts of those JANSSEN inscriptions which to the best of my knowledge are neither in the *Corpora* nor in any other publication. The reason for doing so is that JANSSEN's work is not generally available.

Epigraphic publications are incredibly numerous and widely scattered. Hence it might well be that I have failed to mention some important contributions made to the study of the JANSSEN inscriptions. Though there should be no excuse for such omissions, an 'extenuating circumstance' might perhaps be found in the above-mentioned character of epigraphic publications.

It was not until 1886 that a second publication dealing with Greek inscriptions at Leyden appeared. In that year C. LEEMANS published 18 new inscriptions from Asia Minor<sup>4</sup>, sent to the Museum by R. J. VAN LENNEP, Dutch consul at Smyrna at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, and his nephew A. O. VAN LENNEP. It is not the place here to dwell at length on the activities of the VAN LENNEPS. That they have been of considerable

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<sup>1</sup>) L. J. F. JANSSEN, *Musei Lugduno-Batavi Inscriptiones Graecae et Latinae*, Lugduni Batavorum, 1842.

<sup>2</sup>) Many of these inscriptions have been sent to Leyden by ROTTIERS (between 1820 and 1830; see *L'Ant. Class.*, XXII, 1953, p. 384) and by DE HOUCHEPIED, who lived in Smyrna in the middle of the 18th century. At the same time (and earlier) private collections were founded in Holland by people like PAPENBROEK (18th century; Amsterdam), SIXIUS (17th century; Amsterdam) and HEIDANUS (17th century; Leyden). The objects which formed part of these collections were for the greater part sent to Holland by the members of the Dutch commercial colony which existed in Smyrna in those days (the evidence for the existence of lively commercial relations between Holland (Amsterdam) and Turkey (Smyrna) is to be found in F. J. ROUGON, *Smyrne, passim*).

<sup>3</sup>) See p. 81 ff.

<sup>4</sup>) C. LEEMANS, *Grieksche Opschriften uit Klein-Azië*, Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam, *Letterk. Verh.*, deel XVII, 1886.

importance alike from the epigraphic and the numismatic point of view appears from the fact that their names are frequently mentioned in modern publications on the above-mentioned subjects<sup>1</sup>. In 1890 LEEMANS published another series of 16 Greek inscriptions, again from Asia Minor and bought for the Museum by A. O. VAN LENNEP<sup>2</sup>. The texts of these thirty four LEEMANS inscriptions have not been reproduced in this publication for the following reasons:

1) The greater part of them (28) has since been reedited and discussed in several books and articles, which are all easily accessible.

2) The six remaining inscriptions which I have not been able to find in any other publication are so fragmentary and, accordingly, so unimportant that their republication hardly could have been justified. Moreover, the Proceedings of the Royal Dutch Academy, in which LEEMANS' papers are to be found can, I believe, easily be consulted in most foreign libraries. Thus anyone who for one reason or another is interested in these six fragments may be asked to have recourse to the original publication. In a second appendix<sup>3</sup> the reader will find a list of references to all those books and articles in which the LEEMANS inscriptions have been discussed or reproduced. In ten footnotes I have collected a few *variae lectiones* and summarized the most important contributions to the study of these stones. Finally photographs of some of these inscriptions can be found on the plates at the back of this book.

After 1890 also a large number of new inscriptions ( $\pm 55$ ), some of which are not without importance, found its way into the Leyden Museum thanks to the initiative of the VAN LENNEPS. They come almost without exception from Asia Minor<sup>4</sup>. Seven only of these inscriptions have been published so far: two gladiator-inscriptions can be found in L. ROBERT's study on the gladiators in the Greco-Roman world<sup>5</sup>; the remaining five have been published by J. KEIL in a short note in the *Anzeiger* of the Vienna Academy<sup>6</sup> in 1953. In 1895 R. HEBERDEY copied these inscriptions in Smyrna when they were still in VAN LENNEP's collection. KEIL discovered these texts while reading through HEBERDEY's sketch-books which are now in the archives of the 'Kleinasiatische Kommission' of the Austrian Academy. It was only in a *corrigendum* to his paper that he mentioned the presence of two of these inscriptions, both epigrams, in the Leyden Museum. He owed this information to Prof. Dr W. PEEK, to whom in 1951 transcriptions, squeezes and photographs of *all* the metrical inscriptions, *seven* in number, in Leyden had been sent by the Museum authorities. These seven epigrams have been—or will be—published by PEEK in his '*Griechische Versinschriften*'<sup>7</sup>. For the sake of completeness and because of

<sup>1</sup>) See, for instance, L. ROBERT, *Études de Numismatique Grecque*, p. 52, note 6; J.-L. ROBERT, *La Carie*, II, p. 341; BE, 1950, n. 25; R. MÜNSTERBERG, *Aus van Lennep's Nachlass*, Num. Zeitschrift, 1915, p. 108-111; BCH, XXXVII, 1913, p. 236 and 449.

<sup>2</sup>) C. LEEMANS, *Grieksche Opschriften uit Klein-Azië*, Koninkl. Akad. van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam, Letterk. Verh., deel XIX, 1890.

<sup>3</sup>) See p. 85 ff.

<sup>4</sup>) For two exceptions on this rule see n. 13 on p. 32 and n. 55 on p. 47. These two inscriptions come from Syria and Egypt.

<sup>5</sup>) L. ROBERT, *Les Gladiateurs dans l'Orient Grec*, Paris 1940, p. 209, n. 241 and p. 212, n. 249; for n. 249, however, see my p. 1, note 1.

<sup>6</sup>) Anz. Akad. Wien, 1953, p. 16-22. In fact KEIL published six inscriptions in this paper; his n. 6, however, is not in the Leyden Museum.

<sup>7</sup>) *Griechische Versinschriften*, I, n. 488, 874, 1323, 1540, 1545. I am indebted to Prof. PEEK for this information. Three of these epigrams have already been published by other scholars: two by KEIL, as I pointed out already, and one by LEEMANS in his publication of 1890, n. XVII; see my Appendix II, p. 87.

their relative importance the texts of these epigrams, based on ΠΕΕΚ's transcriptions and restorations, have been reproduced in a third appendix. On two of them only some comments have been made. To publish them all with adequate commentary would have required a much wider knowledge of Greek metrical inscriptions than I at this moment possess. The remaining three prose-inscriptions in KEIL's publication have been left out of this book. They are not very important and, moreover, can easily be found in the *Anzeiger* of the Austrian Academy.

Thus was the position of the collection of Greek inscriptions in the Leyden Museum up to 1953. From the foregoing account it will, I hope, be evident that there is ample justification for a new publication on this collection. One of the major difficulties in dealing with the VAN LENNEP-collection was the problem of the provenance of these inscriptions. The Museum-catalogue, which reproduces the substance of VAN LENNEP's letters, invariably groups these stones in several chapters under the heading: 'Smyrna and (or) Asia Minor' <sup>1</sup>. Accordingly the Aegean islands do not seem to have contributed to VAN LENNEP's collection. This fact is confirmed by the study of the inscriptions themselves. I have not been able to find a single argument for attributing any of them to places outside the mainland of Asia Minor. There is, however, in many instances good reason to distrust the Smyrna provenance given in the catalogue. First of all it could be proved positively that some of these stones in actual fact came from elsewhere: Sardis (p. 86, note 2), Ephesus (p. 86, note 4; n. 32 on p. 38), Pergamum (note 1 on p. 87), Tralles (n. 65 on p. 77), Cyme (n. 57 on p. 49) and Adalia in Phrygia (n. 54 on p. 47). Secondly the very fact that Smyrna generally was said to be the place of origin of these inscriptions, rouses our suspicion. L. ROBERT found numerous occasions to show that especially in the 19th century Smyrna was *the* large commercial centre for dealers in antiquities. Many stones, originally found in *e.g.* Lydia and Phrygia, were taken to Smyrna and sold there to the local dealers. The latter frequently forgot the real provenance of the inscriptions and asserted that they had been found at 'Mons Pagus' or 'in Smyrna' <sup>2</sup>. Although there are some cases, in which the provenance mentioned in the catalogue seems to be confirmed by other evidence (see *e.g.* n. 15, 37, 47, 50, 62) our general attitude, towards the so-called Smyrnaean provenance of a great deal of the VAN LENNEP inscriptions will be one of moderate scepticism.

In preparing this work I have endeavoured to apply the principles recently laid down by L. ROBERT for the publication of Museum-catalogues <sup>3</sup>. In his paper ROBERT drew attention to the Leyden collection. He pointed out that, since this collection had been published long ago and the provenance of these texts was extremely varied, a detailed re-edition would seem to be highly desirable. In writing this ROBERT presumably was thinking of the inscriptions published by JANSSEN though he does not mention his name. This suggestion has not been

<sup>1</sup>) Exception must be made in the case of my n. 4, the so-called Anaeitis-inscriptions, and 5 inscriptions from Philadelphia, all published by LEEMANS. In these cases VAN LENNEP was able to give the true provenance. This is probably due to the fact that he acquired these inscriptions through the intermediary of a certain STEPHANUS SAVAS NICOLAIDES, who apparently happened to be interested in such matters. The Leyden Museum possesses numerous small anepigraphic finds from various places in Asia Minor, collected by SAVAS and sold by him to VAN LENNEP. It is in all likelihood through the intermediary of the same SAVAS that the British Museum acquired a good many coins from the Troad (B.M.C., *Troas, Aeolis*, 1892, p. 13). There is no reason to think the name 'S. SAVA' in B.M.C., *ad loc.*, a misreading of 'Mr SAINT-SAUVEUR', a descendant of the French consul of the same name at the Dardanelles (L. ROBERT, *Études de Numismatique Grecque*, p. 53, note 2). In actual fact many small objects sent by SAVAS to Leyden come from the Troad.

<sup>2</sup>) See *e.g.* *Hellenica*, III, p. 55; *Rev. de Phil.*, LXV, 1939, p. 191-193; 1944, p. 27, note 5.

<sup>3</sup>) *Catalogues de Musées*, Actes II-ième Congrès Intern. d'Épigr. Gr. et Lat., 1953, p. 286-290.

accepted; as noted above the main reason for not republishing the JANSSEN inscriptions was that the latter had done his work accurately and that nearly all his inscriptions are easily accessible in the *Corpora*. Opinions may differ as to the degree of accuracy of JANSSEN's work. However after careful examination of the stones I have been forced to conclude that he was in fact more accurate than some of his critics would admit. The plates at the end of this volume provide photographs of all the unpublished inscriptions. Moreover photographs have been added of some of the most important inscriptions published by JANSSEN and LEEMANS. In this way I have tried to steer a middle course between the two extremes on the one hand of omitting photographic documentation entirely and on the other of including photographs of *all* objects, even the most unimportant ones. Moreover, to provide photographs of all the Leyden inscriptions would have involved additional costs unjustifiable in present circumstances.

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AEMO	Archäologisch-epigraphische Mitteilungen aus Oesterreich
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology
AJPh	American Journal of Philology
L'Ant. Class.	L'Antiquité Classique
Anz. Akad. Wien	Anzeiger der Wiener Akademie
'Αρχ. Δελτ.	'Αρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον
Ath. Mitt.	Athenische Mitteilungen
BCH	Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique
BE	Bulletin Épigraphique (appears in REG annually)
BMC	British Museum Catalogue
BSA	Annual of the British School at Athens
Bull. Soc. Arch. d'Alex.	Bulletin de la société archéologique d'Alexandrie
Burs. Jahresb.	Bursians Jahresberichte über die Fortschritte der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft
CIG	Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum
CIL	Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum
CP	Classical Philology
CR	Classical Review
CRAI	Comptes-rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres
EPh	L. Robert, Études Épigraphiques et Philologiques
'Εφημ. 'Αρχ.	'Εφημερίς 'Αρχαιολογική
Ét. Anat.	L. Robert, Études Anatoliennes
GGA	Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen
GGR	M. P. Nilsson, Geschichte der griechischen Religion
GIBM	F. H. Marshall, E. L. Hicks, The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum
Holleaux, Études	M. Holleaux, Études d'histoire et d'épigraphie grecques, vol. I-IV
HSCIPh	Harvard Studies in Classical Philology
HThR	Harvard Theological Review
IG	Inscriptiones Graecae
IGR	Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes
ILS	Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae
Jahrbuch	Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts
Jahresh.	Jahreshefte des österreichischen archäologischen Institutes
JHS	Journal of Hellenic Studies
JRS	Journal of Roman Studies
Le Bas-Waddington	Le Bas-Waddington, Voyage archéologique en Grèce et en Asie Mineure
L-S <sup>9</sup>	Liddell and Scott, Greek-English Lexicon; 9th edition
MAMA	Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua
Mél. d'arch. et d'hist.	Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'École Française de Rome
Michel, Recueil	Ch. Michel, Recueil d'inscriptions Grecques
Mon. Piot	Monuments et mémoires E. Piot
Μουσείον	Μουσείον και Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς Εὐαγγελικῆς Σχολῆς ἐν Ζμύρνη
Neue Beitr.	A. Wilhelm, Neue Beiträge zur griechischen Inschriftenkunde
Num. Chron.	Numismatic Chronicle and Journal of the Numismatic Society
OGIS	Orientis Graecae Inscriptiones Selectae
Oudh. Meded.	Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden
Pap. Tebt.	The Tebtunis Papyri by B. P. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt, J. G. Smyly and others, London 1902 ff.
Papers Br. Sch. Rome	Papers of the British School at Rome
P. Lips.	Griechische Urkunden der Papyrussammlung zu Leipzig, by L. Mitteis

P. Lond.	Greek Papyri in the British Museum by F. G. Kenyon and H. I. Bell
P. Mich.	Michigan Papyri, by C. C. Edgar, A. E. R. Boak a.o.
Preisigke, Wörterbuch	Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyrusurkunden
P-W	Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft
REA	Revue des Études anciennes
REG	Revue des Études grecques
Rev. Arch.	Revue Archéologique
Rev. de Phil.	Revue de Philologie
RGVV	Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten
Riv. di Fil.	Rivista di Filologia
Sammelbuch	Sammelbuch Griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten. Hrsg. von F. Preisigke, fortgeführt von E. Kiessling
SEG	Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum
SGDI	H. Collitz, Sammlung der Griechischen Dialektinschriften
Syll. <sup>3</sup>	W. Dittenberger, Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum, 3rd edition
TAM	Tituli Asiae Minoris
TAPhS	Transactions of the American Philosophical Society.

## CHAPTER I

### GLADIATOR-INSCRIPTIONS

In his book on the Gladiators in the eastern part of the Greco-Roman world L. ROBERT has published the following Smyrnaean inscription, which is now in the museum at Leyden <sup>1</sup>.

1. (Inventory: Pb, 11) Ἀπολλώνιος ΝΕΙΚΑΣ ΜΗ (end of the stone)  
Ζωσίμη χάριν μνήμης  
ἰδία γυνή

The above transcription was given by BOECKH <sup>2</sup>. L. J. F. JANSSEN <sup>3</sup>, who is responsible for the first publication of this inscription, had already pointed out that ΝΕΙΚΑΣ was not a proper-name here, followed by the first two letters of the patronymicum, but an acc. plur. of νίκη. The letters ΜΗ indicated the number of victories gained by Apollonios. According to ROBERT ΝΕΙΚΑΣ is neither a proper-name nor an acc. plur. of νίκη ('victory'). His arguments are as follows: 1. A second name is never placed before the patronymicum but always after it; consequently the reading Ἀπολλώνιος Νεικᾶς Μη . . . (patronymicum) is highly improbable. 2. In gladiator-inscriptions the form νεικῶν (gen. plur.) is far more usual; moreover a gladiator would not be expected to have gained 38 victories <sup>4</sup>. The highest number of victories attested for a gladiator is twenty-eight. The average number is considerably lower <sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Les Gladiateurs dans l'Orient Grec*, Paris, 1940, p. 210, n. 242, where also all the previous publications of this inscription are referred to and a description of the relief is given; on Pl. V of ROBERT's book there is a photograph of the stone; ROBERT published another inscription from Leyden (Inv. I. 92/7. 3) under n. 249:

Πλάτανος πραικων Εύ-  
χροι μνείας χάριν

This reading is correct, although the letters '-χροι' in l. 2 are only visible to experienced epigraphic eyes. A. M. CONTOLÉON does not seem to have had such eyes; in REG, XIII, 1900, p. 497, n. 6 he published the following inscription: Plaque de marbre (sic!): Πλάτα-

νος Πραικωνεύ[ς?] (sic!)  
μνείας χάριν

In my opinion this inscription, published by CONTOLÉON, is the same as that which is now in Leyden; ROBERT did not mention CONTOLÉON's publication in his lemma of n. 249; CONTOLÉON's description 'plaque de marbre', however, is strange, because the inscription is engraved under a small relief. Whatever the explanation may be, this fact throws an interesting light on CONTOLÉON's method. For a third gladiator-inscription, which is now in Leyden (Inv. I. 1901/7. 10), see L. ROBERT, *op. cit.*, p. 209, n. 241; for a fourth one, see my *Appendix II*, p. 86, n. XIV.

<sup>2</sup> CIG 3275.

<sup>3</sup> L. J. F. JANSSEN, *Musei Lugduno-Batavi Inscriptiones Graecae et Latinae*, Lugd.-Batav., 1842, Tab. V, 7.

<sup>4</sup> This is obviously a misprint of ROBERT: μη' is forty-eight; see also his statement in *Rev. Arch.*, 1929, II, p. 34, where, in his commentary on an epitaph of the gladiator Polyneikes, who after 20 victories, being an old man, finally was beaten by a younger opposer, he remarks: 'Il n'est pas étonnant que Polynice n'ait plus été jeune, étant donné le nombre *particulièrement élevé de ses victoires*' (note 8, italics are mine).

<sup>5</sup> See *Les Gladiateurs*, p. 179 ff., n. 176-177 and p. 293-295; for a supplementary publication of gladiator-inscriptions and reliefs see L. ROBERT, *Hellenica*, III, p. 112-150; V, p. 77-99; VII, p. 126-151; VIII, p. 39-72.

Starting from these considerations ROBERT proposed the following hazardous reading:

'Απολλώνιος νε(ικῶν): κα' ς ΑΠ.

This reading implies two 'corrections' of the traditional transcription: a) Instead of 'ι' he reads three points: : ('points de séparation'); νε is the usual abbreviation of νε(ικῶν). b) Instead of MH he seems to have discovered the letters ΑΠ on the stone<sup>1</sup>. With regard to the ς he rightly remarks: 'mais le sens du C, qui suit, me demeure inexplicable'.

However, against this interpretation the following considerations may be brought forward: 1. The last two letters of the first line (MH or, with ROBERT, ΑΠ) are bigger than the other ones. If one compares the first of these letters (M or A) with the first letter of the line (the A of 'Απολλώνιος), one is almost forced to the conclusion that these two letters are not the same. On the other hand there is a remarkable similarity between the M's in Ζωσίμη and μνήμη on one side and the letter which is now under discussion on the other side. Therefore we may safely assume that ROBERT's reading A (Π) is improbable. 2. I find it difficult to agree with ROBERT when he writes: 'Dans la dernière lettre (cf. l. 1 Pl. V) la barre transversale n'est pas certainement un trait gravé'. In my opinion the letter is most clearly read as an H. 3. The fact that ROBERT does not know what to do with the sigma (C) constitutes a conclusive argument against his interpretation. It is obviously no fault of the stone-cutter. To sum up: There is no reason to modify the transcription tentatively proposed by JANSSEN: 'Απολλώνιος νείκας μη': 'Apollonius <has gained> 48 victories'.

So far I have not done justice to the main arguments, put forward by ROBERT to justify his attempt to correct the reading of this inscription. These arguments were, as I pointed out already:

a. the acc. plur. νείκας is unusual in gladiator-inscriptions.

b. 48 victories is too high a number, if we take into consideration the available epigraphical evidence. Once more, however, it must be remembered that it is dangerous to deny the validity of certain data only because the *available* sources do not provide us with parallels<sup>2</sup>. It is not always necessary to dismiss such data as false and useless, as being a cumbersome exception to the generally accepted rule. Sometimes it is perhaps better to deny the validity of these general rules; for many of such rules are necessarily based only on the extant evidence, which is very meagre compared with what has not survived. The foregoing remarks can be illustrated by the publication of the following gladiator-inscription from the VAN LENNEP-collection in Leyden.

2. Asia Minor (Catalogue: 'Asia Minor'). Lower part of a tombstone with remnants of a relief; L. 0,23 m; W. 0,15 m; Th. 0,06 m; the relief represents the feet of a man (the deceased), with parts of objects on both sides; under the relief an inscription of four lines; letters 0,015-0,02 m; interlinear space 0,005 m; strong *apices*; IIInd-IIIrd cent. A.D.; Inventory: LKA 1190; Photograph: Plate I, 2.

Λάλα 'Αμφινό-  
μω ἰδίω συμβί-  
ω μνείας χάριν  
νείκας μα'

<sup>1</sup> This letter-combination also occurs in other inscriptions; its meaning is πρῶτος πᾶλος; for this term see *Les Gladiateurs*, p. 28-31.

<sup>2</sup> For the sake of completeness I wish to point out that it is precisely ROBERT who frequently has maintained that one is not justified in making an unparalleled text understandable by proposing a new, but very improbable, reading. See *Hellenica*, VII, p. 60 ff.

Amphinomos, whose feet are visible on the relief, was presumably a gladiator. This may be inferred from the fact that the objects, remnants of which can be seen on either side of Amphinomos' feet, probably are part of the armament, which frequently is represented on gladiator-reliefs<sup>1</sup>.

'Αμφίνομος, as the name of a gladiator, is to my knowledge new<sup>2</sup>. F. Bechtel<sup>3</sup> mentions the name under the heroic names. It is perhaps amusing to find that a gladiator, who has gained 41 victories (μα') turns out to bear an heroic name<sup>4</sup>. The name Λάλα occurs for instance in an inscription from Kestelek (Mysia)<sup>5</sup>. The form Λάλλα is more frequently attested, especially in Lycia<sup>6</sup>.

The last line of this inscription is of decisive importance from the point of view of the interpretation of the previous inscription. Both the word 'νείκας' and the number μα' (41) show clearly that ROBERT's correction of the 'Απολλώνιος-inscription need not to be accepted.

3. Smyrna? (Catalogue: 'Mons Pagus'). Marble tombstone; L. 0,22 m; W. 0,22 m; Th. 0,065 m; on the stone an inscription of six lines; at the end of l. 6 a sword and a leaf; letters 0,02 m; interlinear space very small (between l. 4 and 5 0,005-0,01 m); *lunate sigma* and *epsilon*; irregular script; IInd-IIIrd cent. A.D.; Inventory: I. 92/7. 6; Photograph: Plate I, 3.

Ἐπιτυχία / Βαλερίω  
 νείκας χάριν τῷ ἰδίῳ  
 5            ἀνδρὶ ἐποίησεν

According to the Museum-catalogue this inscription comes from Mons Pagus. The fact that a sword has been engraved at the end of l. 6 makes it fairly probable that Valerius was a gladiator, though not a particularly successful one; otherwise, we may presume, Epitychia would not have failed to record the number of victories gained by her husband.

<sup>1</sup> I am inclined to consider the object on the left of the gladiator as part of his 'tridens'; see *Hellenica*, III, Pl. 10; *Les Gladiateurs*, Pl. IV, n. 13, 44.

<sup>2</sup> In any case it has not been included by ROBERT in his index of gladiator-names.

<sup>3</sup> *Die Historischen Personennamen des Griechischen bis zur Kaiserzeit*, p. 336; see also *Lindos, II, Inscriptions*, I, n. 2, C, 15, where the author, Chr. BLINKENBERG, considers the name 'Αμφίνομος, which occurs in that inscription, as 'inconnu'. If BLINKENBERG means that the name as such is not known (and not the Sybarite, who bears this name) this statement is inaccurate. In IG II/III<sup>2</sup>, 1612, l. 151, we find this name again. In IG II, 2, 799, b, l. 11 it was incorrectly restored: [Ἄμ]φ[ι]νόμου; IG II/III<sup>2</sup>, 1617, l. 38 gives the right reading: Ἄμ[φ]ι[δ]ήμου.

<sup>4</sup> For other heroic names of gladiators see L. ROBERT, *Les Gladiateurs*, p. 298 f.: 'mais relevons que beaucoup de gladiateurs portent un nom mythique ou heroïque'.

<sup>5</sup> JHS, XVII, 1897, p. 278, n. 30; see also P. KRETSCHMER, *Einleitung in die Geschichte der Griechischen Sprache*, Göttingen, 1896, p. 352; JOH. SUNDWALL, *Kleinasiatische Nachträge*, p. 28.

<sup>6</sup> See for instance TAM, II, 2, 675-676; 712.

## CHAPTER II

### SOME NEW GREEK ASSOCIATIONS FROM ASIA MINOR

4. Ilium<sup>1</sup> (Catalogue: 'in the surroundings of Hissarlik'). Marble gravestone with relief, acroteria and tympanon; in the middle of the tympanon a rosette; L. 0,46 m; W. 0,82 m; Th. 0,11 m; in a kind of niche the bust of a boy; beneath it an inscription of seven lines; under and beside the inscription two laurel-wreaths; letters (l. 1-3) 0,02 m; l. 4-7: 0, 015 m; interlinear space very small; small *apices*; first half 1st cent. A.D. (see below); Inventory: I. 1896/1. 1; Photograph: Plate I, 4.

The inscription runs as follows:

Εύκαρπος καὶ Συνφέρου-  
σα Ζωσίμῳ τέκνῳ  
μνήμης χάριν.  
Φράτρα Πηγᾶσ Φράτρα  
5 wreath ὦν wreath Φιλοκε  
σαρέων

I leave the precise dating of this inscription from the character of its lettering to those who are more competent in this field<sup>2</sup>. The task will be all the more difficult, as it is a private inscription.

Archaeological data seem to justify the supposition that the monument belongs to the first half of the first century A.D. The way in which Zosimos' eyes and hair are modelled for example can be put forward as a decisive argument for this date<sup>3</sup>.

The importance of the inscription lies of course in the fact that it mentions two *φράτραι*. As to the first 3 lines there seems nothing worthy of note, since the formula as well as the proper names are quite normal.

Before inquiring into the names of the *φράτραι*, which are mentioned in this inscription (*Πηγᾶσοι* and *Φιλοκεσᾶρειοι*)<sup>4</sup>, it would be as well to trace what we know about the *φράτραι*

<sup>1</sup> See p. XIII, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> A comprehensive study on this subject, with special reference to Asia Minor, is, I think, still a desideratum in the field of Greek Epigraphy. At present one has continually to consult a wide range of books and articles by *e.g.* WILHELM, HOLLEAUX and ROBERT, which provide information about the letter-forms only incidentally. For a particular danger connected with the dating of inscriptions by the letter-forms see Ad. WILHELM, *Jahresh.*, XVII, 1914, p. 81-82. If one compares the letters in this inscription with those in n. 5, which undoubtedly belongs to the end of the first century B.C. or the beginning of the first century A.D., one immediately sees the difference in form between some of them. In n. 5 we find an alpha with a right cross-bar (Α), a curved epsilon (ε) and omega (ω), whereas the Ilium inscription shows an Α, Ε and Ω. With regard to the decoration of the letters (*apices*), however, it is evident that these 2 inscriptions must belong to the same period. The archaeological evidence for the Ilium inscription, and the connection with Agrippa in inscription n. 5 confirm this conclusion.

<sup>3</sup> I am indebted to Professor J. M. C. TOYNBEE, of Cambridge, for this valuable information.

<sup>4</sup> We know the form *Καيسάρειοι* from Dio Cassius (L-S<sup>9</sup>: 'the household of the Emperor'); cf. also Egyptian *δῆμοι*-names like *Φιλομητόρειος* (named after Ptolemy Philometor) and *Φιλοπατόρειος* (named after Ptolemy

in general during the Roman-Imperial Age<sup>1</sup>, in Asia Minor. F. POLAND tells us that many φράτραι 'wie jetzt feststeht, mit der Volkseinteilung in Phratrien wenig oder nichts zu tun haben'<sup>2</sup>.

The arguments in favour of this interpretation are the following:

1. A passage in Artemidoros, *Oneir*, IV, 44, p. 277, 14 H: ἔδοξέ τις ἐν συμβιώσει καὶ φρατρία τοῖς συμβιωταῖς ἀναστειλόμενος ἐκάστῳ προσουρεῖν, ἀπηλάθη τῆς φρατρίας ὡς ἄτιμος; cf. V, 82, p. 271, 3 H: τοὺς συμβιωτὰς καὶ φράτορας αὐτοῦ.

The inference is that in these passages the words φρατρία<sup>3</sup> and συμβίωσις are being used as synonyms. Now a συμβίωσις, generally speaking, need not consist of people associated together by any particular personal relationship; and so the word obviously has nothing to do with 'Volkseinteilung', but denotes simply an 'association'<sup>4</sup> in the broad sense.

2. Some inscriptions from Asia Minor during the first centuries of our era mention φράτραι which, named after the leading person (ἡ περὶ τὸν δεῖνα φράτρα) maintained a cult for a deity<sup>5</sup>. It is difficult to see how these φράτραι could have been political subdivisions of the δῆμος. They were simply religious clubs.

We may, therefore, say that in Asia Minor, in Roman Imperial times φράτρα acquired the same meaning as συμβίωσις: it became a brotherhood formed very often for religious purposes<sup>6</sup>.

This meaning of φράτρα is confirmed, in my opinion, by the Leyden inscription. Indeed it is difficult to see how in a φράτρα of people who worship the Emperor either kinship or any other demographical principle could have any importance.

It is a well known fact that a φράτρα on the death of one of its members joined with the relations in paying the last honours to the deceased person. We know from an inscription of

Philopator): M. HOLLEAUX, *Études*, III, p. 248, note 4; the existence of a δῆμος Καισάρειος in the Egyptian town of Antinoopolis is attested by e.g. *P. Lond.*, III, p. 160, I, 25 (see P. V. PISTORIUS, *Indices Antinoopolitani*, Diss., Leiden, 1939 and PREISIGKE, *Wörterbuch*, III, section 15). For the writing of ε instead of αι and ει see GIBM, Index, Part VI, where several examples are given; ε for αι occurs both in Hellenistic and later inscriptions; this phenomenon therefore has no chronological significance.

<sup>1</sup> For a short bibliography on the meaning of the φράτρα in general see L. ROBERT, *Hellenica*, V, p. 10, note 3, and in general JUTTA SEYFARTH, *Φράτρα und Φρατρία im nachklassischen Griechentum*, Aegyptus, XXXV, 1955, I, p. 3-38.

<sup>2</sup> *Geschichte des Griechischen Vereinswesens*, Leipzig, 1911, p. 52. In four Hellenistic inscriptions the word φράτρα denotes a political subdivision of the *demos*, that is to say, it has the same meaning as the classical Greek φρατρία: see SEYFARTH, *art. cit.*, pp. 28-33.

<sup>3</sup> SEYFARTH, *art. cit.*, p. 37, 38, has shown that φράτρα and φρατρία are interchangeable. The form φράτρα seems to be a Hellenistic creation (at least if SEYFARTH's interpretation of *Hellenica*, V, pp. 5 ff. is correct), whereas φρατρία occurred both in classical and Hellenistic times.

<sup>4</sup> See L. ROBERT, *Ét. Anat.*, Paris, 1937, p. 63, where also some συμβίωσις-inscriptions are mentioned; see also *Hellenica*, IX, 1950, p. 37 for some new material.

<sup>5</sup> See AJA, IV, 1888, p. 278, 279; K. BURESCH, *Aus Lydien*, Leipzig, 1898, p. 129, 131, 132; MAMA, IV, 230; see also *Sardis*, vol. VII, n. 62; all these texts may be found now in SEYFARTH's article, mentioned in note 1, p. 34, 35.

<sup>6</sup> See P-W, s.v. συμβίωσις, where F. POLAND has already drawn the same conclusion. As to the question how φράτρα, attested in Hellenistic times as 'political subdivision of the demos', came to mean 'cult-association' in Roman Imperial times, SEYFARTH has suggested an interesting and very probable explanation: The occurrence of φράτρα as cult-association only in small towns in Asia Minor is significant. The population, consisting of Greek and indigenous elements, probably took over this word from the large Greek cities and applied it to their own institutions, especially e.g. religious groups. The fact that in Greece itself the ancient φρατρίαίαι had also a religious aspect corroborates this theory.

Thyatira<sup>1</sup>, that οἱ υἱοὶ καὶ οἱ φράτορες took care of the erection of a grave-stone in commemoration of their father and their fellow-member. That the young Zosimos, who, to judge from the bust, must have been only 10 or 12 years old, was already a member of a φράτρα seems most unlikely<sup>2</sup>. Perhaps it is better therefore to suppose that Eukarpos and Sunpherousa were members of one of these associations, which, by sharing in the arrangements for the erection of the grave-stone, wished to give evidence of their sympathy with their two fellow-members in this bereavement.

Now we have to deal with the associations themselves. First of all the Φιλοκαισάρειοι. The adjective φιλοκαῖσαρ occurs frequently in the inscriptions from Asia Minor in Roman Imperial times as an honorific epithet of individuals, its function being to point out that they are very loyal to the Emperor<sup>3</sup>. As far as I know, however, there is no evidence for the use of this word as a proper-name, in the plural (φιλοκαίσαρες / εἰοι) to designate the name of an association. What was the object of these Φιλοκαισάρειοι? Undoubtedly these people wanted to propagate the spirit of loyalty towards the Emperor by means of their club. However—as was typical of the attitude of the Ancient World towards its monarchs—this profession of loyalty was chiefly incorporated into the cult of the Emperor<sup>4</sup>. This phenomenon is too wellknown, for there to be any need to discuss it. Instead we shall examine a few of the inscriptions in which some associations concerned with the Emperor-cult are mentioned.

Long ago K. BURESCH published an inscription<sup>5</sup> which came from the present village Gjök Kaja, situated on the foot of the Tmolos-mountains in Lydia. It contains a decree, issued by a club of Καισαριασταί. Although the stone is badly mutilated, just enough is preserved to indicate that this club had made some arrangements for offering sacrifices. The name of the club seems to indicate that it was to the Emperor that these sacrifices were made. However a much better parallel, since the association name is practically the same as that in our inscription, is provided by an inscription from Pergamum, published in IGR, IV, 508 (= M. FRAENKEL, *I. v. Pergamon*, n. 340).

It runs as follows:

Ἀγαθῇ Τύχῃ  
Ἐπίκτησις Ἡρ[α-  
κλᾶ, ἱερατεύου[σ]-  
σα Ἀσκληπι[ίω  
5 Σωτῆρι, κ[αλῶς  
συμβιώ[σασα  
Φιλοσεβάσ[τω  
ἰὸν βωμὸν ἐ[κ  
τῶν ἰδίων ἀνέ[θη

κε

<sup>1</sup> BCH, XI, 1887, p. 453, n. 15; see also Rev. de Phil., LXV, 1939, p. 133: 'un collègue a élevé la tombe d'un de ses membres, comme il est si fréquent!'

<sup>2</sup> One might object to this supposition on the ground that young children could be e.g. gymnasiarchs (for children fulfilling high functions, see REG, XII, 1899, p. 257/8; HSClPh., 1940, Suppl. Vol. I, p. 516; CR, 1956, p. 259); but this phenomenon seems to be of quite a different order: the child was appointed gymnasiarch in order to enable the parents to pay the costs involved. In this manner the parents proved themselves εὐεργέται of their city. In our case however it is hard to see how the membership of young Zosimos could affect the material well being of the Φιλοκαισάρειοι.

<sup>3</sup> For φιλοκαῖσαρ see Jahresh., XVIII, 1915, Beibl., p. 315 ff.

<sup>4</sup> IGR, IV, 220 shows that in Ilium a local Emperor-cult existed; see F. GEIGER, *De Sacerdotibus Augustorum Municipalibus*, Diss. Phil. Hal., XXIII, 1, Halle a.d.S., 1913, p. 10. We have not enough data to know whether there is any relation between this official municipal cult and the φράτρα Φιλοκεσαρέων.

<sup>5</sup> *Aus Lydien*, p. 6 ff.

The usual interpretation of this text is that Epiktesis, priestess of Asklepios Soter, had dedicated an altar to her husband Philosebastos. More than 15 years ago L. ROBERT expressed doubt about the theory that this inscription was an epitaph<sup>1</sup>. He pointed out:

1. that the formula ἀγαθῆ τύχῃ would be very unusual as the introduction to an epitaph, while the verb ἀνέθηκε is never found in such inscriptions.

2. that Philosebastos is mentioned only very casually, whereas on the other hand the merits of Epiktesis are enumerated in detail (καλῶς συμβιώσασα, ἱερατεύουσα). This would in fact be natural if it was Epiktesis' own epitaph and not that of her husband. Starting from these very plausible arguments ROBERT proposed a correction in lines 5 and 6. He restored:

Σωτῆρι καὶ τῇ  
 συμβιώσει τῶν (οἱ τῇ)  
 Φιλοσεβάστων (οἱ φιλοσεβάστω)

Now the meaning is clear; Epiktesis, in her function of priestess, has dedicated an altar to Asklepios and to the association of the Philosebastoi, or to the association which is φιλοσέβαστος, *i.e.* an association which propagates loyalty towards the Emperor by maintaining a cult in his honour. ROBERT further pointed out that the combined cult of the Emperor and a god, as here Asklepios, occurs very often in Asia Minor. As to the choice between the 2 alternatives in lines 6 and 7, ROBERT is inclined to prefer the reading [τῇ] συμβιώσει τῶν Φιλοσεβάστων, though he adds: 'ce qui serait nouveau mais non inadmissible'. Three arguments can be put forward in support of this hypothesis:

1. The adjective φιλοσέβαστος in the combination 'ἡ συμβίωσις φιλοσέβαστος' seems to be only an honorific title and does not indicate a function (namely that of 'Emperor-worship'); a γερουσία or a βουλή could be called also φιλοσέβαστος, just as an individual could, and in these cases there is obviously no need to seek for a clearly defined function by virtue of which such a group or individual could be called φιλοσέβαστος. To sum up: the expression συμβίωσις φιλοσέβαστος designates only a 'loyal association' without saying anything about the aim and function of such an association<sup>2</sup>. However a dedication to 'Asclepius and the association loyal to the Emperor' would surely have made a strange impression upon the reader of the inscription, since he would be left guessing at the essential character of the club.

2. In an inscription from Magnesia on the Meander, which contains a list of names, we find the following words:

M. Αὐρ. Ζωτικὸς Εὐτυχίωνο[ς] καὶ / M. Αὐρ. Ζωτικ[ὸς]  
 Βαλερίου γραμματέος / ὁὸς τῶν φι[λοσ]ε[βάστω]ν<sup>3</sup>

Marcus Aurelius Zotikos, son of Valerius, who was a γραμματεὺς, is called here a 'son of the φιλοσέβαστοι'<sup>4</sup>. Although a large part of the word φι[λοσ]ε[βάστω]ν has been restored, it is possible nevertheless, to use the evidence of this text for our present purpose. For POLAND'S

<sup>1</sup> *Ét. Anat.*, p. 61 ff.

<sup>2</sup> In spite of the fact that a special study on the word φιλοσέβαστος, promised by L. ROBERT (*Hellenica*, VII, p. 212, note 1), has not yet appeared, this general remark does, I believe, still hold.

<sup>3</sup> *Inschriften von Magnesia*, p. 107, n. 119.

<sup>4</sup> In view of the wording of the preceding lines it seems preferable to connect ὁὸς with τῶν φι[λοσ]ε[βάστω]ν, rather than to bring it into relation with the foregoing words. In all the other lines (l. 9, 10, 12, 13, 18) a single genitive was sufficient to denote the filiation; but even if one preferred to read 'M. Aur. Zotikos, son of the secretary Balerius' this would not affect our interpretation, since in that case τῶν φιλοσεβάστων would seem

list of the Greek associations gives us only three possibilities: φιλογέρων, φιλοτεχνίτης and φιλοσέβαστος. As φιλογέρων only occurs as an adjective and φιλοτεχνίτης is only known from Egyptian inscriptions, τῶν φι[λοσ]ε[βάστω]ν is at least a very plausible restoration. With regard to the meaning of this title I propose the following explanation: In inscriptions from Asia Minor we very often come across expressions like υἱὸς τῆς πόλεως, γερουσίας or τῶν νέων etc. These expressions always occur in a series of honorific titles<sup>1</sup>. The most probable explanation of these words seems to be that a town or a γερουσία or a βουλή bestowed on a person this title 'son of the town etc.', as a means of showing gratitude for some service. For our purpose it is important to know that it is always either a town (and a town council) or an association (e.g. τῶν νέων) that gives these titles.

It seems clear from these parallels that the title υἱὸς τῶν Φι[λοσ]ε[βάστω]ν means that Marcus Aurelius Zotikos had been a benefactor of some *association*, the members of which called themselves οἱ Φιλοσέβαστοι; a name which denotes, as I have already tried to show, that it was their aim as a group to maintain an Emperor-cult. As there is a reference in this same inscription to Artemis Leukophryene, we may perhaps assume that in Magnesia on the Meander the Emperor-cult had been combined with the Artemis-cult, as it was in Pergamum with that of Asclepius.

3. The Φιλοκαισάρειοι from the Leyden inscription provide a very close parallel for ROBERT'S restoration. Assuming that καῖσαρ and σεβαστός are virtually interchangeable terms, which seems a reasonable supposition, we may say that both the names Φιλοκαισάρειοι and Φιλοσέβαστοι represent a single sharply-defined function. Incidentally it is worth noting that in these two inscriptions φράτρα and συμβίωσις are clearly synonyms, thus confirming the conclusion which we had already drawn from other evidence.

Finally some remarks about an inscription from Didyma, first published by TH. WIEGAND<sup>2</sup> and also discussed by L. ROBERT<sup>3</sup>. This inscription tells us that the thirteen νεοποιοί, who were in charge of the building of a temple for Caligula<sup>4</sup>, had erected a statue of this Emperor:

Αὐτοκράτορα Γάιον Καίσαρα Γερμανικὸν  
 Γερμανικοῦ υἱὸν θεὸν Σεβαστὸν νεοπο-  
 ιοὶ οἱ πρώτως νεοποιήσαντες αὐτοῦ  
 4 ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέως etc. etc.  
 10 ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀνέθηκαν

L. 4-10 contain the names of the Magistrates under whose supervision the νεοποιοί built the temple. The inscription ends with a list of the names of the νεοποιοί, together with their home towns; at the end of the list we find the two words: οἱ φιλοσέβαστοι.

Wiegand argued that the Caligula-cult had been organized by a large association of Philosebastoi, which extended all over the province, with branches in various towns, at any rate in

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to depend on γραμματέος and accordingly a secretary of the φιλοσέβαστοι is recorded here. Whether the φιλοσέβ. have a γραμματεὺς or a υἱός, in both cases the conclusion seems inescapable that they formed an association (οἱ Φιλοσέβαστοι) and were not a heterogeneous group of individuals who happened to be φιλοσέβαστοι.

<sup>1</sup> See e.g. LE BAS-WADDINGTON, 53, 'υἱὸν τῆς γερουσίας' (Erythrai); Ath. Mitt., XXXII, 1907, p. 327 'υἱὸς τῶν νέων' (Pergamon, 2nd cent. A.D.); REG, LXIV, 1951, BE, p. 204, n. 236 'υἱὸς τῆς πόλεως' (Kition; Imperial Time), 'personnage que la ville a adopté à titre d'honneur'.

<sup>2</sup> Siebenter vorl. Bericht über die — in Milet — Ausgrab. (Anhang Abhandl. Berl., 1911), p. 65-66.

<sup>3</sup> *Hellenica*, VII, p. 206 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Dio Cassius (LIX, 25) gives us some information on the same event.

those towns which the νεοποιοί came from. In this manner the 13 νεοποιοί who were called οἱ φιλοσέβαστοι would represent these local sections, while there remained always the possibility that more towns would join the association in subsequent years by founding a new section. ROBERT however showed that the Caligula-cult in Milete was not a matter of private associations but of the provincial authorities; he pointed out that the thirteen towns the νεοποιοί came from are all known to have been capitals of districts in Asia Minor during the reign of Caligula. Moreover he claimed that the word φιλοσέβαστος was a 'titre honorifique' and not a 'nom de fonction' <sup>1</sup>, since the function of the thirteen men was designated by the word νεοποιοί. ROBERT's line of argument seems very plausible here. However, while it is undoubtedly true that 'une association de Philosebastes repandus et recrutés dans les villes . . . n'a jamais existé' <sup>2</sup>, we must remember that there is the evidence for the existence of private associations of Philosebastoi (resp. Philokaisareioi) in at least three cities, namely Pergamum, Magnesia and Ilium. Starting from these data it seems reasonable to assume that our thirteen νεοποιοί also formed a private association of Emperor-worshippers. My arguments are as follows:

1. The text gives οἱ φιλοσέβαστοι, with the article. ROBERT is right in saying that φιλοσέβαστος is a honorific title. It is, however, if added either to the name of an individual or to that of an association, always a true adjective, indicating as I have already pointed out, loyalty towards the Emperor only in very general terms. The inscription from Pergamum shows that if this adjective becomes a noun by addition of the article, it can be used and in fact is used as an association-name, which certainly implies a function, namely that of maintaining an Emperor-cult.

2. ROBERT asserted that 'leur (*i.e.* of the 13 men) fonction c'est d'être néopes', and on the strength of this interpreted οἱ φιλοσέβαστοι as a pure 'titre honorifique'. It cannot of course be denied that as far as their function was concerned these men were νεοποιοί. This word, however, seems only to indicate that the bearers of the title were 'builders of the temple' <sup>3</sup>. In the Didyma-inscription there is no question of the building of the temple but only of the erection of a statue in honour of Caligula. Our thirteen men did not erect this statue in their official function of νεοποιοί, but in their private function as members of the Philosebastoi; they had founded this club themselves. Objection may be made to this interpretation on the ground that the erectors of the statue nevertheless call themselves νεοποιοί in this inscription (l. 2-3). This can however easily be explained if we take into account the legitimate pride these people must have taken in this office to which they had been formally elected by their province. After the fulfilment of this official function they erected the statue of Caligula, as a personal gift, in the temple the building of which had been in their charge <sup>4</sup>.

To sum up: the word νεοποιοί did indicate a function performed by the 13 men, namely that of temple-building. It did not, however, indicate the function in virtue of which they erected the statue. The latter they did in their capacity of οἱ Φιλοσέβαστοι.

Finally some remarks about the φράτρα Πηγάσων. I know of no parallel which might be adduced to define the aim of this association. As is well known Pegasus together with Bellerophon, was connected with Corinth from earliest times. Corinthian coins dating from the

<sup>1</sup> *op. cit.*, p. 211.

<sup>2</sup> *op. cit.*, p. 212.

<sup>3</sup> *op. cit.*, p. 211: 'Ils avaient à s'occuper de la construction du temple de Caligula (νεωποιοῦσαντες αὐτοῦ)'.  
<sup>4</sup> ROBERT also points out: 'Ces personnes ont érigé à leurs frais, en témoignage de dévouement *personnel*, la statue de Caligula' (*op. cit.*, p. 211).

6th century onwards have been found with the portrait of the winged Pegasus<sup>1</sup>. The fact that Bellerophon (and with him Pegasus<sup>2</sup>) was worshipped in Corinth and Lycia where according to the tradition many of his adventures took place, cannot be put forward as an argument for any religious interpretation of the Πήγασοι. In Hellenistic times and afterwards Pegasus was emphatically 'meist bedeutungslos', and served only as 'Verzierung von Gemälden, Schmucksachen und Gerätschaften'<sup>3</sup>. Coins of the above-mentioned type have been attested from Skepsis and Ilium<sup>4</sup>. When we take into account, however, that these Pegasus-coins from Corinth and her colonies were carried all over the Greek World, and that the meaning of Pegasus was hardly more than 'wappenartig'<sup>5</sup>, it is perhaps justifiable to conclude once more that the numismatic material provides no useful information for our purpose<sup>6</sup>. Moreover at the end of the Hellenistic period the Pegasus-coins were much scarcer than in previous periods; and this can serve as a second argument against any relation between οἱ Πήγασοι and these coins. On the basis of this last argument it is also highly improbable that οἱ Πήγασοι had anything to do with coin-making.

There remains, as far as I see, only one possibility: this group of people call themselves Πήγασοι, because Pegasus was their patron. If this is true, 2 explanations at least are possible: 1. these people were members of a horse-club, the aim of which would presumably be riding for pleasure or racing in competition. The fact that Pegasus very often appears as a symbol of speed<sup>7</sup> could perhaps serve as an additional argument though not a strong one for this interpretation. 2. on the other hand we might think of an association of horse-breeders. In this case the choice of Pegasus as patron can easily be understood on the same ground. It seems however impossible to adduce any conclusive evidence which would enable us to choose between these two suggestions. Neither the list of Greek associations which POLAND compiled nor the relevant articles<sup>8</sup> in PAULY-WISSOWA provide any parallel<sup>9</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> See W. L. BROWN, *Pheidon's alleged Aeginetan Coinage*, Num. Chron., X, 1950, p. 177 ff., spec. p. 187.

<sup>2</sup> ROSCHER, *Lexicon der Griechischen und Römischen Mythologie*, s.v. Bellerophon, spec. col. 774.

<sup>3</sup> See ROSCHER, *op. cit.*, s.v. Pegasus, col. 1743.

<sup>4</sup> See B. V. HEAD, *Historia Nummorum*<sup>2</sup>, Oxford, 1911, p. 548 ff.; IMHOOF-BLUMER, *Griechische Münzen*, Abh. Kön. Bayer. Akad., XVIII, 1890, n. 228 and 229; *Monnaies Grecques*, p. 266, n. 184-186; see also W. WROTH, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Troas, Aeolis and Lesbos*, London, 1894, p. 57 ff. and 80 ff.

<sup>5</sup> P.-W., s.v. Pegasus, col. 60.

<sup>6</sup> In Hellenistic and Roman Times Pegasus came to be considered as an 'emblème d'immortalité' (Mél. Ec. Franc. de Rome, LII, 1935, p. 179; see also F. CUMONT, *Études Syriennes*, p. 91); but I do not see how this can have any bearing on the interpretation of the Πήγασοι. For Pegasus and the different interpretations of the winged horse in antiquity see Jahrb. Deutschen Arch. Instit., XXXX, 1925, p. 138 f.; M. LAUNÉY, *Mon. Piot.*, XXXV, 1935/36, p. 32 and 47.

<sup>7</sup> ROSCHER, *op. cit.*, s.v. Pegasus, col. 1745. It is interesting to notice that during the 'Ιλιεία, held at Ilium, horseraces took place; see Rev. de Phil., LXII, 1936, p. 267: 'Car les Ilieia comportaient en tout cas des concours hippiques, comme le montre l'inscription attique [= IG II<sup>2</sup>, 3138] mentionnant une victoire à la course de biges —'; see also M. HOLLEAUX, *Études*, I, p. 299.

<sup>8</sup> Apart from the above-mentioned articles I have consulted the articles 'Pferd' and 'Pferdezucht' in P.-W. A possible parallel can perhaps be found in an inscription from Argos, which records the association of the Πωλαθέες. POLAND gives the following commentary: 'Die argivischen Πωλαθέες und "Υαδαί haben wohl mit der Zucht der Pferde und Schweine zu machen' (*op. cit.*, p. 119). The dubious value of this parallel is patent; the Argos inscription only shows that at any rate something like a club of horse-breeders had existed somewhere in Greece. For the sake of completeness I may point out that in Egypt associations of sheep-breeders have been attested: POLAND, *op. cit.*, p. 540.

<sup>9</sup> I am of course aware that, if there is any relation between our φράτορες and Pegasus, the former would perhaps have called themselves οἱ Πηγάσαιοι. After having considered several other possibilities I found

5. Smyrna? (Catalogue: 'from Smyrna'). Rectangular blue marble plaque; L. 0,33 m; W. 0,27 m; Th. 0,02 m; an inscription on both sides; the inscription discussed below has eight lines; letters  $\pm$  0,022 m high; interlinear space  $\pm$  0,004-0,005 m; lunate *sigma*'s and *omega*'s: C,  $\omega$ ; slight *apices*; some ligatures; presumably 1st century A.D. (internal evidence)<sup>1</sup>; Inventory: I. 1900/I. 25; Photograph: Plate I, 5.

Οἱ φιλαγριππαὶ  
 συμβιωταὶ κατε-  
 σκέυασαν τὸ μνη-  
 μεῖον τῷ ἰδίῳ  
 5 συμβιωτῇ Μα-  
 ρίωνι τῷ καὶ Μά-  
 ρει Ἀδανεῖ μνή-  
 μης χάριν

The association of Φιλαγριππαὶ dedicated this tombstone to the memory of one of its members, called Μαρίων. This man has a second name, introduced by the common formula ὁ καί; this second name is Μάρης (dative: Μάρει); Ἀδανεῖ is a dative of Ἀδανεύς, a citizen of the Cilician town of Adana<sup>2</sup>. The importance of this inscription naturally lies in the first two lines; in the text of the inscription I have printed φιλαγριππαί, because it has to be understood as an adjective belonging to οἱ συμβιωταί; just as the word φιλοσέβαστος was formed, after the word Σεβαστός came to be used as a proper name, φιλαγριππάς was coined during and after Agrippa's visit to the East. It is a well-known fact that Agrippa was Augustus' right hand man especially in coping with the different problems presented by the Eastern part of the Empire<sup>3</sup>. He was twice in the East, in both cases for a fairly long period. We are not very well informed about his first stay from 23-21 B.C.; we only know that his headquarters were at Mytilene on Lesbos

the suggestions offered in the text the least improbable in spite of the possible linguistic objection. There has existed a city called Πήδασα somewhere in the Troad: Steph. Byzant. even calls this place Πήγασα. However, since Stephanus is an extremely unreliable source (see L. ROBERT's writings *passim*) and since in Strabo's time the site of this town was ἔρημος (XIII, 605: ὁ τόπος δείκνυται τῆς πόλεως ἔρημος; cf. P-W, *s.v.* Pedasos, XIX, col. 29, n. 4) it would be unwise to assume a relation between this place and our Πήγασοι. A derivation from Πηγῆ / Πηγαί (P.-W, *s.v.* Pegai) does not seem very promising either, though many hot springs existed in the Troad in ancient times (cf. L. ROBERT, *Études de Numismatique grecque*, Index, *s.v.*): one would surely expect something like Πηγαιῶς in that case.

<sup>1</sup> The lettering of this inscription presents a problem. The many curved letters point to a rather late date (2nd-3rd century). However, this text records an association of Φιλαγριππαί, *i.e.* of worshippers of Marcus Agrippa. It seems hard to believe that this club continued to exist until the second or third century A.D.; for by that time presumably Marcus Agrippa had been quite forgotten by the common people in Asia Minor. Since dating of inscriptions on the ground of the lettering is admittedly hazardous (see p. 4, note 2), the internal evidence must, I think, prevail here. Hence a date somewhere in the first century A.D. seems more plausible for our inscription. The inscription engraved on the other side of the stone (see n. 7 on p. 23), probably belongs to the second century A.D. This fits in very well with our suggestion concerning the date of the Φιλαγριππαί-inscription; the Φιλαγριππαί had ceased to exist in the second century A.D. so that the stone could be easily re-used for other purposes. Moreover the *slave* Διόδωρος, mentioned in the inscription on the other side, would be more likely to have re-used this stone than a club of worshippers of M. Agrippa.

<sup>2</sup> One could, of course, read: τῷ καὶ Μαρειαδάνει and consider Μαρειαδάνης as a proper name. Since, however, this name does not seem to be attested (the closest parallel I have found is Μαριάδνος, the name of a Persian general, in Ammianus Marcellinus, XXIII, 5, 3) this possibility may be better discarded; for Μάρης cf. PAPE-BENSELER, *s.v.*; for Adana see P-W, *s.v.*; the ethnic Ἀδανεύς in CIG 5806.

<sup>3</sup> See MEYER REINHOLD, *Marcus Agrippa*, New-York, 1933.

and that from there he sent his legati to all those districts, which were in difficulties<sup>1</sup>. As to his second journey from the end of 17 B.C. until 13 B.C. we are definitely better informed, since there are numerous inscriptions to show us which route he followed<sup>2</sup>. Inscriptions from Corcyra<sup>3</sup>, Gytheion<sup>4</sup>, Oropos<sup>5</sup>, Athens<sup>6</sup>, Argos<sup>7</sup>, Cyzicos<sup>8</sup>, Ilium<sup>9</sup>, Corinth<sup>10</sup>, Lesbos<sup>11</sup> and Calymna<sup>12</sup> make it at least probable, that he visited these places in the course of this period.

An inscription from Sparta<sup>13</sup> provides us with what is, to my knowledge, the only close parallel for our Φιλαγριππαί:

[Μ. Ἀγρίπ]παν, ὕπατον / [τὸ γ', δημ]αρχικῆς  
ἐξου[σίας] / [τὸ., Ἀ]γριππιασταὶ [καὶ / πρ(έσβυς)  
Γά]ιος Ἰούλιος / [Δε]ξιμάχος Πρα[τολάου]

One could also point to an inscription from Rome, introducing to us a group of Ἀγριππή-σιοι<sup>14</sup>; this club consisted of Jews, who all belonged to one synagogue in Rome. Most scholars believe, that it was our Agrippa, after whom these Jews called their guild, and not Herodes Agrippa, the well-known king of Judea<sup>15</sup>. This is plausible enough, as generally speaking Agrippa looked after the interests of the Jews and their religion very well. Flavius Josephus has handed down to us the text of two letters, written by Marcus Agrippa to the authorities of Ephesus and Cyrene. He insisted in these letters that the Jews in the province of Asia and in Cyrene, ought to have the freedom to send their ἱερὰ χρήματα to the temple in Jerusalem undisturbed<sup>16</sup>.

The question we have to ask now is this: Must we assume that the associations of the Ἀγριππιασταὶ and the Φιλαγριππαί were founded in order to confer divine honours upon Agrippa?; or is there more evidence to suggest that Agrippa was not regarded as a divine being? If the latter is held to be true, the aim of these clubs was simply to show gratitude

<sup>1</sup> REINHOLD, *op. cit.*, p. 83 f.

<sup>2</sup> REINHOLD, *op. cit.*, p. 106 ff.

<sup>3</sup> CIG 1878: ὁ δᾶμος ὁ τῶν Κορκυραίων Μᾶρκον Ἀγρίππαν αὐτοκράτορα, τὸν αὐτοῦ πάτρ[ω]να καὶ σωτῆρα, θεοῖς.

<sup>4</sup> IG V, 1, 1166: Μᾶρκον Ἀγρίππαν . . . τὸν αὐτᾶς εὐεργέ[ταν] ἅ πόλις.

<sup>5</sup> IG VII, 349: Ὁ δῆμος Μᾶρκον Ἀγρίππαν Λευκίου ὕδν τρις ὕπατον, τὸν ἑαυτοῦ εὐεργέτην.

<sup>6</sup> IG II/III<sup>2</sup>, 4122, 4123.

<sup>7</sup> Mnemosyne, XLVII, 1919, p. 263-264; Agrippa addressed himself to the γερουσία of Argos with a letter.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Syll<sup>3</sup>, n. 799, l. 7.

<sup>9</sup> Syll<sup>3</sup>, n. 776: for the text see p. 15.

<sup>10</sup> AJA, XXIII, 1919, 167: M(arco) Agrippae co(n)s(uli) tert(io) trib(unicia) potest(ate) d(edit) d(edicavit) tribus Vinicia patrono (= Ehrenberg-Jones, *Documents illustrating the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius*, p. 70, n. 73).

<sup>11</sup> IGR, IV, 21 (Thermae); IGR, IV, 65b, 67c, 68b, 69, 70a, 78a, 79g (all from Mytilene).

<sup>12</sup> *Tituli Calymni*, Annuario Scuola Archeologica di Atene, Vol. XXII-XXIII, N.S. VI-VII, 1944-45, p. 164, n. 141. In IG XII, 5, 740 (from Andros) Julia and Agrippa are mentioned together (an honorary inscription for Julia, who is called, a.o. γυναῖκα δὲ [Μάρκου Ἀγρίππα]); IGR, I, 821, Sestos: Ὁ δῆμος Ἰουλίαν θεᾶν Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Θεοῦ υἱοῦ Σεβαστοῦ· Ὁ δῆμος Μᾶρκον Ἀγρίπ[παν]; IGR, IV, 1717, Samos, same type as the inscription from Sestos and Andros; BCH, L, 1926, p. 447/8, n. 88, Thespieae: Agrippa is honoured together with his daughter Agrippina: Ὁ δῆμος Ἀγριππίαν Μάρκου Ἀγρίππα θυγατέρα· Ὁ δῆμος Μᾶρκον Ἀγρίππαν Λευκίου υἱὸν Μούσαις.

<sup>13</sup> CIG 1299 = IG V, 1, 374.

<sup>14</sup> CIG 9906, 9907 = J. B. FREY, *Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaicarum*, I, n. 503, 425, 365.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. REINHOLD, *op. cit.*, p. 121, esp. note 88.

<sup>16</sup> V. EHRENBURG-A. H. M. JONES, *op. cit.*, n. 309 (Ephesus) and 310 (Cyrene).

towards their benefactor Agrippa and to pay tribute to him as a human being. In order to find an answer, if any, to these questions it is necessary to submit the epigraphic evidence we have for Agrippa to a closer examination. For neither the Spartan inscription nor the new inscription tell us anything about the nature of the associations. LILY ROSS TAYLOR collected the greater part of the inscriptions relative to Agrippa in an appendix of her book on the divinity of the Roman Emperor. ('Divine Honours of Augustus and his House')<sup>1</sup>. Apparently she took it for granted that divine honours were conferred upon Agrippa in the East. M. REINHOLD, however, who devoted a special monograph to Agrippa, could not find any evidence in the epigraphical sources for divine honours. If one now reads the inscriptions, it strikes one that in almost all of them Agrippa is honoured as εὐεργέτης, σωτήρ, πάτρων and συγγενής. Lesbos, where Agrippa's headquarters were, is the only place, which called Agrippa Θεός and, combined with this name, σωτήρ and κτίστης. Consequently REINHOLD is more or less obliged to admit the existence of a local cult on this island<sup>2</sup>. With regard to the other four epithets he maintains that they do not provide any conclusive arguments to suppose an Agrippa-cult<sup>3</sup>.

I believe this view to be correct at any rate as far as it bears upon πάτρων and συγγενής<sup>4</sup>. It can, I think, hardly be denied that these epithets belong to the human sphere; and πάτρων especially seems to refer to a social function, fulfilled by the bearer of this title. Εὐεργέτης and σωτήρ, however, present some difficulties. The study on εὐεργέτης, promised by H. HEPDING, to my knowledge never appeared<sup>5</sup>, whereas SKARD's treatment of the subject hardly took into consideration the abundant epigraphical evidence from the Hellenistic and Roman period<sup>6</sup>. M. P. NILSSON assumes that εὐεργέτης originally was a purely profane epithet and, generally speaking, kept to this meaning<sup>7</sup>. In some cases, however, it acquired a religious connotation. This was the case a) when added to the titles of the Hellenistic Kings, upon whom divine honours were conferred. b) when added to the names of several Roman provincial governors during the republican period; there is abundant evidence that these governors had divine honours bestowed upon them. c) when given to an especially deserving citizen of one of the local cities in the East. There is some evidence to support the view that cults were established for those citizens whose merits were very outstanding and of *vital importance*<sup>8</sup> for the maintenance of the city's existence and prosperity. In my opinion Agrippa did not belong to any of these

<sup>1</sup> *The Divinity of the Roman Emperor*, Connecticut, 1931, App. III, p. 270 ff.; as far as Agrippa is concerned, the inscriptions, referred to in notes 4-6, 8, 11, 13 can be added to this appendix.

<sup>2</sup> *op. cit.*, p. 133: 'At the most, the possibility of the existence of a local cult on the island of Lesbos is supported by inscriptions in which Agrippa is honoured as θεός σωτήρ'.

<sup>3</sup> *op. cit.*, p. 133, note 4; these epithets 'as evidence of divine honors and the cult of Agrippa in the East, hardly deserve serious consideration'.

<sup>4</sup> For συγγενής see L. ROBERT, *Hellenica*, I, p. 57.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. BCH, L, 1926, p. 499, note 2; M. P. NILSSON, *GGR*, II, 173, note 2.

<sup>6</sup> E. SKARD, *Zwei religionsgeschichtliche Begriffe, Euergetes-Concordia*, Avhandl. Vidensk. Akad., Oslo, 1931 : 2.

<sup>7</sup> *op. cit.*, p. 173; see also the remarks, made by A. D. Nock: 'Now εὐεργέτης although also applicable to gods and heroes, is a word which clearly had its roots in the human area' (*Joy of Study in honour of F. C. Grant*, p. 135); IGR, IV, 1303 tells us that L. Vaccius Labeo considered the title of εὐεργέτης as one of 'ταῖς . . . τοῖς ἀγαθοῖσι τῶν ἀνδρῶν πρεποίσαις . . . τειμαῖς'.

<sup>8</sup> See L. ROBERT, BCH, L, 1926, p. 499/500, where some epigraphic evidence for this cult of εὐεργέται has been collected; see also *Hellenica*, VIII, p. 95-96, where ROBERT gives a provisional definition of what are called in the text outstanding merits.

three categories. I hope presently to produce some evidence for this supposition. For the moment I merely point out that εὐεργέτης very seldom occurs as an epithet of a god<sup>1</sup>.

The word Σωτήρ shows a development opposite to that which NILSSON noticed in εὐεργέτης. Of old it was used as an epithet of the Gods; from the 4th century onwards, however, it was used also of citizens who had deserved well of their cities<sup>2</sup>. Only in late Hellenistic times do we see σωτήρ acquiring a religious connotation; it takes on a wider meaning and sometimes comes to be a synonym of σωτήρ τοῦ κόσμου<sup>3</sup>. It is not Agrippa who receives this title, but Augustus, as I shall presently show.

We need not occupy ourselves with the term κτίστης, since this epithet occurs only in the Agrippa-inscriptions from Lesbos<sup>4</sup> and we have already observed that Agrippa was called a θεός on this island. I do not venture an opinion as to whether this fact can be of any importance for the interpretation of the term κτίστης in general. Only a special study can throw light on the essential meaning of this title, which occurs so frequently in the Hellenistic and later inscriptions<sup>5</sup>.

In spite of the admittedly brief nature of this discussion of the epithets, it seems reasonable to conclude that the use of εὐεργέτης and σωτήρ does not necessarily imply anything like divine honours, conferred upon the bearer of these titles, i.e. Agrippa<sup>6</sup>. Nor is it right, I believe, to

<sup>1</sup> NILSSON, *op. cit.*, p. 173; see also L. ROBERT, *Le Sanctuaire de Sinuri*, p. 23, where examples have been collected of gods who are called εὐεργέται, and *Hellenica*, V, p. 21, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> NILSSON, *op. cit.*, p. 175; see also P-W, *s.v.* Soter, col. 1211-1220, spec. col. 1214 and A. D. NOCK, *art. cit.*, p. 129/130; cf. PREISIGKE, *Wörterbuch*, *s.v.* σωτήρ; see also *P. Mich.*, 422 (from 197 A.D.), where a praefectus is styled σωτήρ.

<sup>3</sup> A good example can be found in GIBM, 894; see also the several decrees, issued on the occasion of the calendar-reform in 9 B.C., EHRENBURG-JONES, *op. cit.*, n. 98; in his edict to the Alexandrians, who wished to confer divine honours upon him, Germanicus wrote: 'τάς δὲ ἐπιφθόνου[ς] ἐμοὶ καὶ ἰσοθέου[ς] ἐκφωνήσεις ὑμῶν ἐξ[ἄ]παντος παραιτοῦμαι· πρέπουσι γὰρ μόνω τῷ σωτῆρι ὄντως καὶ εὐεργέτῃ τοῦ σύνπαντος τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένους, τῷ ἐμῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῇ μητρὶ αὐτοῦ . . . τὰ δὲ ἡμέτερα ἔνλογα παρεπι[όμενά] ἐστιν τῆς ἐκείνων θεϊότητος . . .' (EHRENBURG-JONES, *op. cit.*, p. 138, n. 320, l. 35 ff.). The close connection between τῷ σωτῆρι ὄντως καὶ εὐεργέτῃ τοῦ σύνπαντος . . . γένους, on the one side, and τῆς ἐκείνων θεϊότητος on the other side, is patent. Tiberius, in the famous Gytheion inscription, talks about 'τῷ μεγέθει τῶν τοῦ ἐμοῦ πατρὸς εἰς ἅπαντα τὸν κόσμον εὐεργεσιῶν' (EHRENBURG-JONES, *op. cit.*, p. 80, n. 102b, l. 18/19).

<sup>4</sup> It is misleading to say, as L. R. TAYLOR does (*op. cit.*, p. 196, n. 33): 'He was hailed as saviour and founder of *cities* (italics are mine), some of which took his name and games were celebrated in his honour'.

<sup>5</sup> L. ROBERT seems to prepare this study (*Hellenica*, III, p. 9, note 4). Cf. IGR, IV, 1302, where Vaccius Labeo refuses the title of κτίστης being a 'θεοῖσι καὶ τοῖς ἰσοθεοῖσι ἀρμόζουσιν τιμάν'; for an excellent commentary on this passage, see M. P. CHARLESWORTH, *The refusal of divine honours*, Papers Br. Sch. Rome, XV, 1939, p. 1 ff.

<sup>6</sup> A. D. NOCK, *art. cit.*, p. 137/8 rightly pointed out that the epithets σωτήρ and εὐεργέτης, when applied to provincial governors from the first century A. D. onwards, did not confer any divinity upon these proconsuls; otherwise their status would have been in a sense equal to that of the Emperor and, consequently, the use of these titles would have been invidious. It is, also, remarkable that we hardly hear anything about the erection of temples and the institution of games in honour of provincial governors from the beginning of the Empire onwards (to the very few exceptions, mentioned by NOCK (*op. cit.*, p. 137, n. 37), the case of M. Vinicius, for whom a cult seems to have existed at Mylasa, can be added: see L. ROBERT, *Rev. Arch.*, 1935, II, 156-158 'Je crois pouvoir conclure que c'est le Marcus Vinicius consul en 19 avant J.C., . . . , qu'il a été proconsul d'Asie . . .'). As to Agrippa, however, he remarks: 'I do not discuss honors paid to Agrippa, since he came to occupy a position so close to what was from the Greek standpoint the monarchy' (*art. cit.*, p. 138, note 39). I hope to be able to adduce some evidence for my theory, that Agrippa did not hold a position so essentially different from that of other important Roman governors in the East during Augustus' reign. It must not be forgotten that Augustus was the dominant personality and that Agrippa, notwith-

interpret the Spartan Ἀγριππιασταί-inscription in this sense. L. R. TAYLOR seems to subscribe to this theory, in that she includes this inscription in the list of evidence for 'divine honours to Augustus and his family' (cf. above p. 13); however, this is even more rash since Agrippa is not honoured with any epithet in this inscription.

After this fairly negative part of my argument, it is time now to emphasize the more positive evidence. First of all I may point to an inscription from Myra<sup>1</sup>:

Θεὸν Σεβαστὸν Θεοῦ υἱὸ[ν] Καίσαρα αὐτο-  
κράτορα γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης τὸν εὐεργέτ[ην]  
καὶ σωτήρα τοῦ σύνπαντος κόσμου  
[Μᾶρκ]ον Ἀγρίππαν τὸν εὐεργέτην καὶ σω-  
τήρα τοῦ ἔθνους Μυρέων ὁ δῆμος

This inscription shows, I think, convincingly, that, according to the inhabitants of Myra, there was a great difference between Augustus and Agrippa; the first is styled as 'God and Benefactor and Saviour of the whole Kosmos', the latter, however, only obtained the title 'benefactor and saviour of τὸ ἔθνος', that is to say, of a very small part of the infinite κόσμος. The contrast seems striking; this text offers a strong argument for the ambiguous meaning of εὐεργέτης and σωτήρ. Only the context of the inscription makes it clear that these titles, when applied to the Emperor, i.e. Augustus, refer to a God. In Agrippa's case, however, one gets the impression that he is not considered as a divine being, but as the earthly helper of the God Augustus; εὐεργέτης and σωτήρ have not been used to designate a god but a human being, working on a higher level than most other people but on a lower level than the God<sup>2</sup>.

A second inscription, coming from Ilium, seems to corroborate this view:

Μᾶρκον Ἀγρίππαν, τὸν συγγενέα καὶ  
πάτρωνα τῆς πόλεως καὶ εὐεργέτην, ἐπὶ  
τῇ πρὸς τὴν Θεὸν εὐσεβείᾳ καὶ ἐπὶ  
τῇ πρὸς τὸν δῆμον εὐνοίᾳ<sup>3</sup>

This inscription was engraved to honour Agrippa, because he had revoked a fine, imposed by him on the inhabitants of Ilium, who had insulted his wife Julia. If the people of Ilium, following the prevailing habit, had looked upon Agrippa as a god or a divine being, it would have

standing his position of 'co-regent' and son-in-law, yet never came to be considered as a second Augustus: see p. 15, note 2.

<sup>1</sup> IGR, III, 719 (= EHRENBERG-JONES, *op. cit.*, p. 70, n. 72).

<sup>2</sup> In the Gytheion decree (EHRENBERG-JONES, *op. cit.*, p. 80, n. 102) we find a similar distinction made between the Imperial Family and the gods, on one side, and two local benefactors on the other side. Festivities were organised and sacrifices made ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν ἡγεμόνων σωτηρίας (l. 6; see also l. 29: ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν ἡγεμόνων καὶ θεῶν σωτηρίας καὶ αἰδίου τῆς ἡγεμονίας αὐτῶν διαμονῆς). After this, for 2 more days, ἀκροάματα were held in commemoration of two local benefactors (εἰς μνήμην, εἰς τεμῆν: notice the contrast with σωτηρία, αἰδίου διαμονή and the combination ἡγεμόνων καὶ θεῶν in l. 29). One of them is G. Iulius Eurycles, εὐεργέτης τοῦ ἔθνους καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἐν πολλοῖς γενόμενος (l. 20); the other is C. Julius Lakon. I hold the relation between these two local benefactors and the Imperial Family to be the same as that between Agrippa and Augustus in the inscription from Myra. Agrippa, though a member of the Imperial Family by his marriage with Julia, was apparently not considered as a divine son-in-law of the Θεός Augustus. This is not surprising, because, after all, he was not of imperial blood; that the latter was of crucial importance appears from the fact that there existed a cult for the sons of Augustus (see L. ROBERT, *Hellenica*, VIII, p. 84 and BCH, LXIII, 1939, p. 320).

<sup>3</sup> IGR, IV, 204 (= Syll<sup>3</sup>. 776); see p. 12, note 10.

been inept, to say the least, to praise him for his piety towards the patron deity of the town. It is mostly men and not gods, that are praised for such merits. Aside from this consideration, the general impression one gets from this inscription is, that it was the human merits of Agrippa, which prompted the enthusiasm of Ilium towards him. As I have already indicated, the use of the three epithets *συγγενής*, *πάτρων* and *εὐεργέτης* does not contradict such an interpretation. Finally we know from inscriptions from Thespieae and Sestos that Agrippa was honoured there without any epithet; 'Μᾶρκον Ἀγρίππαν' in Sestos and 'Μᾶρκον Ἀγρίππαν Λευκίου υἱόν' in Thespieae, prove sufficient. This seems to me clear evidence, that there can be no question of divine honours for M. Agrippa.

At this point in my argument, I take the opportunity to deal with a possible objection against my view. It might be argued that Agrippa belongs to the long line of Roman proconsuls, upon whom divine honours had in fact been conferred in the republican period. The deification of Agrippa would, in that case, represent the final stage of a long established process. However, against this view the following considerations may be urged: 1. The development of the cult of Roman proconsuls and generals like Sulla and Pompey<sup>1</sup> can, I think, be explained in the following way: the people of the East, after the disappearance of the Hellenistic kings looked for new personalities of distinction upon whom they could confer their divine honours, formerly given to the Hellenistic Rulers<sup>2</sup>; but when Augustus began his reign this worship became wholly concentrated upon him. It is, therefore, not Agrippa, but Augustus, who should be placed on the list of Romans who, as bearers of the imperium, enjoyed religious honours. In this Augustus represents at once the final stage of the past and the first stage of a new world. 2. It is noteworthy how much evidence is in fact available for the cults of the Roman governors *e.g.* in Asia Minor. A whole series of inscriptions provide information about special high-priests, appointed for that purpose, and about temples built in their honour<sup>3</sup>. To confine our attention for the moment to Pompey alone, we know of numerous temples which were erected for his cult in the East; in Mytilene he was hailed as *Σωτήρ*, *Εὐεργέτης* and *Κτίστης* and in Delos there was a special association of *Πομπηιασταί*<sup>4</sup>. Apparently L. R. TAYLOR put the *Ἀγριππιασταί* from Sparta on the same level as the Delian *Πομπηιασταί*. The fact, that Agrippa was often given two of the three epithets, which Pompey received at Lesbos, together with the parallelism of these association-names must have led her to assume a religious nature for the *Ἀγριππιασταί* also.

<sup>1</sup> See NILSSON, *op. cit.*, p. 168 ff. with numerous examples and references to modern literature on the subject.

<sup>2</sup> NILSSON, *op. cit.*, p. 169.

<sup>3</sup> A few examples: T. Flamininus: priest, sacrifices; this cult still existed in imperial times (EHRENBERG-JONES, n. 102, l. 12); M. Aquilius: priest in Pergamum; P. Servilius Isauricus: cult, still existing in imperial times (see L. ROBERT, *Hellenica*, VI, p. 40 ff.); L. Munatius Plancus: priest in Mylasa.

These examples are taken from NILSSON (*op. cit.*, p. 169); that the building of a temple and the institution of a priesthood were closely related to the rendering of divine honours may be inferred from: a) Claudius' letter to the Alexandrians; he makes a choice between honours fitting a man and a god and refuses 1. the appointment of an *ἀρχιερεὺς* and 2. *ναῶν κατασκευάς* (M. P. CHARLESWORTH, *Documents illustrating the reigns of Claudius and Nero*, p. 3, n. 2). b) IGR, IV, 1302, where Labeo also refuses the building of a temple on the same grounds as Claudius. The existence of *Ἀγρίππηα* at Cos does not constitute convincing proof that divine honours were conferred upon Agrippa; the *ἀμροάματα* celebrated *εἰς μνήμην* and *εἰς τιμὴν* of Eurycles and Lacon in Gytheion do not seem to me to imply any divine honours; only if we could adduce evidence for the existence of special priesthoods or temples of Agrippa, could we properly consider the *Ἀγρίππηα* at Cos as a piece of supplementary evidence.

<sup>4</sup> IG XII, 2, 141-150, 165; BCH, VIII, 1884, p. 148; XXXIV, 1910, p. 401.

Yet there is an important difference between the attitude of the East to Pompey (and the republican proconsuls of *e.g.* Asia Minor) and to Agrippa. For as far as I know, we never hear anything about special priests and temples in honour of M. Agrippa. Apparently the inhabitants of the eastern part of the Roman Empire devised more modest ways of paying tribute to Agrippa. Furthermore the complete lack of evidence for the existence of priests and temples seems to justify the assumption, that Agrippa did not belong to the class of *εὐεργέται*; for in honour of these benefactors (in the technical sense) real cults were sometimes established in Asia Minor, and we know of special priests, actually appointed to administer these cults. Apparently the mere possession of the honorary title *εὐεργέτης* or *σωτήρ* was not enough to confer divinity. For Agrippa, at any rate, it was not enough. This is wholly consistent with what we have already observed, that Augustus was the dominant personality, in whose honour the population established priesthoods and built temples. Incidentally: the Pompey-inscriptions also show how dangerous it would be to give a uniform interpretation of *εὐεργέτης* and *σωτήρ*, without paying attention to the *personalities*, who bore these honorary titles.

It is interesting to notice that both Pompey and Agrippa were considered as divine beings at Lesbos; in any case Agrippa was hailed as *Θεός*. I do not know how to explain this; I can only express the conviction that, as to Agrippa, Lesbos formed an exception. It is remarkable that only a short time before, precisely at Lesbos, an extremely outstanding and deserving citizen, called *Θεοφάνης*, had been deified and was afterwards referred to as *Θεός Ἐπιφανής*; perhaps the Lesbians, in this very troublesome period, were inclined, more than other cities and islands, to confer divine honours hastily on an outstanding benefactor. Also the fact that Agrippa had his headquarters at Lesbos (just as Augustus had), and consequently came into more personal contact with the Lesbians, might have influenced the feelings of this people.

In view of the foregoing argument it is hardly necessary to reject explicitly the religious interpretation of the *Φιλαγριππαί*. For the present it seems safer to suppose that this association was founded in order to pay tribute to the memory of Marcus Agrippa, who, sent by Augustus, did so much good in Greece and Asia Minor.

For a short discussion of the provenance of this inscription I refer the reader to my treatment of the inscription on the other side of the stone <sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Inscription n. 7 in our collection.

## CHAPTER III

### EPITAPHS

6. Smyrna (Catalogue: 'from Smyrna and other places'). Marble tombstone, made from part of a pilaster; H. 0,63 m; W. 0,32 m; Th. 0,05 m; on the stone an inscription of sixteen lines; letters on the average 0,025 m; very small interlinear space; rude, irregular script; no syllabic division; strong *apices*; later imperial times; Inventory: I. 1901/7. 5; Photograph: Plate I, 6.

Διογένης Δι/ογένους Ν  
 εικομηδε/ύς ναύκλη-  
 5 ρος / ἐπιμέλεται  
 δὲ τοῦ μνημ/είου Μουσαῖο  
 ς ἱερὸς Ζμυ/<sup>10</sup>ρναῖος·  
 ξένου καὶ ἀώρ/ου τάφον μὴ ἀδ-  
 ικήσης· εἰ δὲ μὴ/, ὁ λυμηνάμενος  
 15 τὰ ὅμοια πάθοι/το πανγενεῖ

A ναύκληρος<sup>1</sup>, a sea-captain from Nicomedia, called Διογένης, died in Smyrna and has been buried there. This may be inferred principally from the fact that Μουσαῖος, an inhabitant of

<sup>1</sup> For the meaning of ναύκληρος see M. I. FINKELSTEIN, "Ἐμπορος, Ναύκληρος and Κάπηλος, *Prolegomena to the study of Athenian Trade*, CP, XXX, 1935, p. 320 ff. He concluded that a ναύκληρος was a man 'who owned a trading vessel, who frequently (perhaps usually) engaged in commerce himself and who rarely, if ever, transported only his own merchandise' (*op. cit.*, p. 335). In this article, however, FINKELSTEIN only dealt with the evidence we have for the fifth and fourth century B.C. I have not been able to find the article promised by him on the meaning of this term in Hellenistic and Roman times and it is certainly not the place here to collect and study the evidence available for this period. For the moment I may draw attention to an extremely important inscription recently discovered by G. E. BEAN in Caunus (JHS, LXXIV, 1954, p. 97-105) which contains a series of customs regulations. The author of this inscription seems to distinguish clearly between ναύκληροι who import φόρτια destined either for transit [or for sale] in Caunus and a second category styled οἱ προσπλέοντες ξένοι καὶ πωλοῦντές τι. It is tempting to identify these ξένοι with the category of the ἔμποροι, the maritime traders, who were only concerned with the sale of their goods. FINKELSTEIN argued that in the 5th and 4th century only a very few ἔμποροι had a ship of their own and that accordingly their goods were mostly transported by the ναύκληροι, the ship-owners. The Caunian inscription seems to imply that in the first century A.D. it was a normal thing for ἔμποροι to have a ship of their own. These προσπλέοντες ξένοι, *i.e.* ἔμποροι, were probably retail-traders. It is difficult, if not impossible, to decide what was the position of the ναύκληροι, mentioned in the Caunian inscription. Were they merely ship-owners commissioned by wholesale traders in other cities to transport and deliver goods to—among others—Caunus? Or were they themselves traders (and at the same time ship-owners) who transported their own goods to Caunus in order to sell them there to local Caunian dealers? Or were they both? Only an extensive study of the meaning of this term in Hellenistic and Roman times can possibly throw light upon this problem. The use of the word φόρτια in the ναύκληροι-passage justifies the assumption that we are dealing here with wholesale trade. BEAN gives two translations for ναύκληροι, *viz.* that of 'ship-captain' (p. 101) and that of 'foreign merchants' (p. 102), and thus seems to choose the second alternative, without adducing any evidence for this view. Moreover, he does not seem to distinguish between the ναύκληροι and the προσπλέοντες ξένοι. He translates both words by 'foreign merchants' and in doing so he does not do justice to the subtlety of the Greek language in this respect.

Smyrna, took care of the *μνημεῖον*. The inventory of the Museum groups this inscription together with some other stones, under one heading: 'from Smyrna and other places' and thus leaves the origin of each separate stone undecided. The importance of Nicomedia as a sea-port in Hellenistic and Roman times has been recently emphasized by W. RUGE<sup>1</sup> and L. ROBERT<sup>2</sup>. The above inscription adds another example of a Nicomedian sailor to the long list drawn up by these scholars. A few fellow-citizens of *Διογένης* also lived in Smyrna and died there, according to the epigraphic evidence. In a list of people, who gave financial contribution for building-purposes occurs a certain *Μηναγόρας Μηνάδος Νεικομηδεύς*; his calling is not mentioned; further, we have the epitaph of 'Αλέξανδρος 'Αλεξάνδρου Βειθυνι[εύς] καὶ Νεικομηδεύς<sup>3</sup>.

*Μουσαῖος*, *i.e.* the man, who takes care of the monument (l. 6-10), is called *ιερός*. What is the meaning of this word in this context? There are two possibilities: 1. Sometimes a person is called *ιερός*, because he belongs to a deity, a) either being a slave actually working in the temple or on the estate of the deity to whom he belongs (= *ιερόδουλος*), b) or a slave, who is manumitted by dedication to the deity. 2. In other cases this term indicates a cult-official, who, for instance, had a charge of the organisation of the sacrifices. I draw these remarks from the commentary recently written by L. ROBERT on a new inscription from Magnesia ad Sipylum<sup>4</sup>, which contains a list of *θεραπευταί* of Isis and Serapis; two of these worshippers were called *ιεροί*. He repeated it afterwards, when he dealt with another new inscription, this time from Hierocaesarea, in which is given the official career of a man, called 'Απελλᾶς β' Λούκιος *ιερός*<sup>5</sup>.

If one considers the *ιερός*-inscriptions, which have been collected and discussed by CARDINALI<sup>7</sup>, it will be apparent that only slight evidence can be adduced for the interpretation of an *ιερός* as an *ιερόδουλος* (see under 1a). CARDINALI in fact mentions only one example from Samos. In that inscription a certain Pelusios occurs, who bears the title 'ὁ *ιερός* τῆς θεοῦ'. From the context it is evident that his work was very closely connected with the temple of the deity, whose *ιερός* he was<sup>8</sup>.

As far as I know a few more examples can be put forward, which show that the status of an *ιερός* is sometimes nearly the same as that of an *ιερόδουλος*. P. M. FRASER has recently published a new inscription from Cos<sup>9</sup>. It tells us that two people, presumably man and wife, dedicated a *τέμενος* to some gods. From line 3 onwards we read: *ἀνέθηκε δὲ / Πυθίων Σιρασίλα καὶ ἡ ἱέρεια . . . παιδ/ιον, ὃι ὄνομα Μακαρίνος, ἐλεύθερον, ἱε/ρόν τᾶς θεοῦ, ὅπως ἐπιμελῆται τοῦ ἱερο[ῦ] καὶ τῶν συνθυόντων πάντων διακονῶν καὶ ὑπηρετῶν ὅσσωγ κα δῆ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ*<sup>10</sup>. *Μακαρίνος*, then,

<sup>1</sup> P-W, *s.v.* Nicomedia.

<sup>2</sup> Rev. de Phil., LXV, 1939, p. 166-172, where also some inscriptions concerning *ναύκληροι* and *κυβερνήται* from Nicomedia are mentioned.

<sup>3</sup> CIG 3142, col. III, l. 10.

<sup>4</sup> IGR, IV, 1460 (= CIG 3265 = GIBM, 1027).

<sup>5</sup> *Hellenica*, VI, p. 9 ff.

<sup>6</sup> *ibid.*, p. 49 f.; in *La Carie*, II, p. 295, note 1, J-L. ROBERT point out that in the inscription published in *Hellenica*, VI, p. 49, l. 3-4 their original reading *Λούκιον ἱερόν [τόν] δεκάπρωτον* etc. has to be replaced by: *Λούκιον ἱερονό[μον]*. It will be evident that in spite of the new reading L. ROBERT's remarks on the meaning of *ιερός* still hold good.

<sup>7</sup> Rendic. della Acc. dei Lincei, Classe di Scienze Morali, Stor. e Filolog., vol. XVII, 1908, p. 165 ff.

<sup>8</sup> *op. cit.*, p. 167.

<sup>9</sup> Bullet. Soc. Arch. d'Alex., vol. 40, 1953, p. 35 ff. (= SEG, XIV, 529).

<sup>10</sup> I accept G. KLAFFENBACH's criticism in *Studia Antiqua Salac*, Prague, 1955, p. 122-124, and read *διακονῶν καὶ ὑπηρετῶν* instead of *διακόνων καὶ ὑπηρετῶν* (FRASER). Incidentally, FRASER read in l. 4: *Πυθίων Σιρασίλα* and commented: 'Σιρασίλας, which seems certain, I cannot find elsewhere' (*art. cit.*, p. 41). KLAFFEN-

becomes an *ιερός τᾶς θεοῦ* and, by reason of this dedication, he obtains the status of an *ἀπελεύθερος* with regard to his masters. For the rest of his life, however, he will be a servant of the deity, to which the *τέμενος* and a small temple have been dedicated. This may be inferred from what we read in line 6 *ὅπως ἐπιμελῆται τοῦ ἱεροῦ*. FRASER already drew the same conclusion. A second example may be found in an inscription from Lebadeia<sup>1</sup>. In this text we find that somebody's *θεράπων* becomes an *ιερός* and by reason of this title has to acquit himself of some sacred duties, just as in *Μακαρίνος*' case.

On the basis of this evidence we may expect that *Μουσαῖος* was not an *ιερόδουλος*<sup>2</sup>. It is difficult to see how precisely an *ιερόδουλος*, *i.e.* somebody who is continually at the service of a god and probably lives on the temple-estate, could have taken care of the grave of a foreign sailor, with whom he, being an *ιερόδουλος*, hardly could have got into touch. There remain, then, two possibilities. *Μουσαῖος* is either an ex-slave, who obtained the status of a *libertus* by dedication to a deity<sup>3</sup>, or a cult-official. I prefer the first possibility. The fact, that *Μουσαῖος* does not bear a patronymicum might perhaps be considered as an argument for his being an ex-slave. In the above-mentioned inscription from Magnesia ad Sipylum one of the *ιεροί* is also indicated by one name only: *Θεαίτητος ἱερός*; moreover, one may compare the inscription from Smyrna itself which follows<sup>4</sup>: *Μ. Αὐρ. Σωτήριχον τὸν νομοθέτην τῆς στρατηγίας καὶ ἀπείραστον στρατηγὸν ἐπὶ τῶν ὅπλων Ἐλπιδιανὸς ἱερός τῶν ἰδίων δεσπότην*. Both the interpretations of WADDINGTON, who first published this inscription<sup>5</sup>, and that of LINCK<sup>6</sup>, according to which

BACH, *art. cit.*, pointed out that *'der Vatersname des Mannes . . . muss gleichwohl verlesen sein'* and tentatively suggested *Κρατίλα* or *Πραξίλα*. During a short visit to Cos in July 1956 kind permission of the epimeletes Mr NICOLAIDES enabled me to study this particular passage on the stone. The result is: *Στασίλα*; the *sigma* is beyond doubt; there does not seem to be enough room for two letters between this *sigma* and the subsequent *alpha*; what FRASER regarded as a *iota*, seems to be a later scotch on the stone. Further, I think I saw the left part of the horizontal bar of the *tau*; the *hasta* of the *tau* seems certain. For the name *Στασίλας* at Cos, see R. HERZOG, *Koische Forschungen und Funde*, 1899, n. 187, l. 2/3.

<sup>1</sup> IG VII, 3083; cf. FRASER, *art. cit.*, p. 51 where he mentions also a third example.

<sup>2</sup> A. CAMERON recently endeavoured to show that the word *ιερόδουλος* in two inscriptions was used 'to designate a person, manumitted by the sacral process' (HThR, XXXII, 1939, p. 154/5). This is to say, that in those inscriptions *ιερόδουλος* would have the same meaning as *ιερός* has in most manumission-texts. The inscriptions, which are involved in this problem are: 1. from Oinoanda: *'... ἀπέλυσεν Μητρὶ ὀρεῖαι ἱεροδούλας . . . τὰς ἑαυτοῦ παιδίσκας'* (Denkschr. Wien. Akad., XLV, 1897, p. 54, n. 79). 2. from Scydra: *'ἀφίημι παιδίσκην . . . θεῶν Ἀρτέμιδι Γαζωρίᾳ ἱερόδουλον'* (BCH, XLVII, 1923, p. 182, n. 29). CAMERON pointed out that neither *ἀπολύω* nor *ἀφίημι* were 'appropriate to real dedication'. Against this theory the following considerations may perhaps be urged: 1. It seems reasonable to base any interpretation of these texts on the fact that after all the word *ιερόδουλος* has been used to designate the status which the slaves were supposed to obtain. This word is undoubtedly not appropriate to a fictitious dedication, the word *ιερός* always being used in that case. 2. On the other hand it must not, I believe, be overlooked that in one inscription at least there is question of the very ancient cult of the Mother-goddess from Asia Minor, which had many real *ιερόδουλοι* at her service (cf. *e.g.* the situation at the temples in Comana and Pessinus, for which see DAVID MAGIE, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor*, Index, *s.v.*; for smaller temple-estates, to which *ιεραὶ κῶμαι* inhabited by *ιεροί* were attached see now J-L. ROBERT, *La Carie*, II, p. 294 ff. I take it that in many cases the position of these *ιεροί* was practically the same as that of the *ιερόδουλοι* in Comana; cf. CRAI, 1949, p. 306; 1953, p. 410). For the time being I prefer the following translation of the above-mentioned passages: 'I manumit (c.q. send away) the slave (namely: from my *'potestas'*), that he (she) from now on be an *ιερόδουλος* <of the goddess>'.

<sup>3</sup> See for this phenomenon A. CAMERON, *art. cit.*, p. 143 ff. and also L. ROBERT's discussion of similar inscriptions from Susa in *Rev. de Phil.*, LXII, 1936, p. 137 ff.

<sup>4</sup> LE BAS-WADDINGTON, 1522a.

<sup>5</sup> *ad loc. cit.*: 'Elpidianus était un esclave attaché au service de quelque temple: *ιερόδουλος*'.

<sup>6</sup> P.W, VIII, 2, *s.v.* *ἱερός*: 'Es müssen Sklaven sein, die von ihren Herren freigelassen, aber unter den Schutz eines Heiligtums gestellt oder zum Tempeldienst bestimmt sind' (col. 1473).

'Ελπιδιανός was an *ιερόδουλος*, are untenable. They are based on a theory of AUG. BOECKH, who held *ιερός* and *ιερόδουλος* to be synonyms in many cases. CARDINALI has sufficiently refuted this opinion and showed that Elpidianus, originally a slave, was manumitted by the process of dedication to a god, mentioned already <sup>1</sup>. That Elpidianus, as a *libertus*, still calls his former master *τὸν ἴδιον δεσπότην*, may be explained from the fact that in practice there always remained a certain amount of subservience on the part of the *libertus* towards his master. 'Ελπιδιανός *ιερός* can, in my opinion, serve as a parallel for the explanation of *Μουσαῖος*' status. Both were living at Smyrna; both did not have a patronymicum, and since one of them was undoubtedly a *libertus*, it is highly probable that the other had the same status <sup>2</sup>.

With regard to line 11-16, which contain the prohibition against violating Diogenes' grave and the curse against any trespassers, frequently occurring in sepulchral inscriptions, the following remarks may be apposite: A. WILHELM, in an article <sup>3</sup> on epitaphs from Asia Minor, published a thorough study of the formula '*τὸν θεόν σοι μὴ ἀδικήσης*', well known in Christian grave-inscriptions. Before this article appeared, the general opinion was that in *σοι* one had to recognise the *nom. συ*, the *υ* of which had been written as '*οι*' owing to the prevailing iotacism. RAMSAY'S translation, then, was: 'Thou shalt not wrong the God'. WILHELM, however, pointed out that *τὸν θεόν σοι* ought to be considered as a swearing-formula; *σοι* was a normal dative and not a disguised nominative. He found an argument for his theory in, among others, this inscription: *Τὸν θεόν σοι τὸν ὑψιστον, μὴ με ἀδικήσης. Μὴ ἀδικήσης*, in this text, has a separate object, namely, the amulet, on which the inscription had been engraved. L. ROBERT has recently drawn attention to inscriptions of the type: *τὸν θεόν σοι· οἱ ἀναγιγνώσκοντες εὐξασθε ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ* <sup>4</sup>.

Such an inscription clearly showed that the words *τὸν θεόν σοι* constituted a separate formula and did not have any syntactical relation to the remaining part of the sentence. WILHELM'S argument, however, came to this, that the formula *μὴ ἀδικήσης* has to be separated from *τὸν θεόν σοι*, because it had a separate object. Our inscription clearly illustrates the soundness of WILHELM'S opinion. We see the words *μὴ ἀδικήσης* occurring in a pagan epitaph with their object, namely *τὸν τάφον*, explicitly mentioned. The use of the verb *ἀδικέω* is not uncommon in Greek epitaphs, in formulas such as *ἐάν τις ἀδικήσῃ* etc., but as far as I am aware the combination *μὴ ἀδικήσης* is attested only in an inscription of the type '*τὸν θεόν σοι*' <sup>5</sup>. It is evident that the Christians borrowed the formula *μὴ ἀδικήσης* (sc. *τὸν τάφον*) from their pagan predecessors and added to it a Christian element by means of the words *τὸν θεόν σοι* as a separate formula. That the words *τὸν τάφον* or an analogous expression have been omitted, can be easily understood from the fact, that such an epitaph would be perfectly clear to every ancient reader, the verb *ἀδικέω* in ancient epitaphs always bearing upon the violation of the grave.

Should any doubt still exist as to the practical meaning of the verb *ἀδικέω* in this particular sense, we find in l. 14 another verb mentioned, which clearly illustrates what the author meant

<sup>1</sup> *art. cit.*, p. 182.

<sup>2</sup> I have, however, to admit that many *ιεροί* do bear a patronymicum in the inscriptions. From some texts it even appears that *ιεροί* sometimes obtained very important posts in social life and acquired great wealth. See L. ROBERT, *Hellenica*, VI, p. 49, where further references are given.

<sup>3</sup> *Griechische Grabinschriften aus Klein-Asien*, Sitz. Ber. Akad. Berlin, XXVII, 1932, p. 792 ff., spec. p. 847 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Hellenica*, I, ch. 5; II, p. 155 f.; see REG, LII, 1939, BE, n. 407, 420, 451; LXV, 1952, n. 72; LXVI, 1953, n. 205; LXVIII, 1955, n. 307; LXIX, 1956, n. 289.

<sup>5</sup> As a fairly close parallel may be considered an inscription from Arycanda, where we find: . . . καὶ μὴ [ἐξ]ουσί[α] ἔστω <μ>μηθενὶ ἀδικῆσαι <τοῦ> τὸν τάφον τοῦτον (cf. WILHELM, *art. cit.*, p. 857).

to say, namely, *λυμαίνομαι*, *i.e.* to inflict material damage upon something; this expression occurs more often in ancient grave-inscriptions, although it was apparently not popular. The following inscription may be adduced as an example: . . . *λυμήνασθαι δὲ μηδὲ λωβήσασθαι μηδὲν ἢ ἀποκροῦσαι ἢ συνθραῦσαι ἢ συνεχέαι τῆς μορφῆς καὶ τοῦ σχήματος* <sup>1</sup>.

It is a very common motive in epitaphs to complain of the fact that the deceased had found an untimely death (*ἄωρος*) in a foreign country (*ξένος*). R. LATTIMORE treated both aspects in his study on the themes used in Greco-Roman epitaphs <sup>2</sup>, to which the reader may be referred. The author of our inscription apparently wished to emphasize the unfortunate circumstances in which Diogenes died, by placing the words *ξένου* and *ἄωρου* at the beginning of the sentence. In an epigram of a colleague and fellow-citizen of Diogenes the same motive was to some extent expressed in the following verse: *Σωζέσθω ἰς πατρίδαν πᾶς ὁ πλοῦζόμενος* <sup>3</sup>: a more poetical version of the *ξένος*-theme from Diogenes' epitaph.

For the last lines (15-16), which contain a curse against a possible evildoer and his whole *γένος* (*τὰ ὅμοια πάθοιτο*), cf. the following parallels: *ὁ κακώσας τὴν εἰκόνα μὴ λάθῃ τὸν Ἥλιον ἀλλὰ πάθῃ ἃ καὶ αὐτὴ* (Parion) <sup>4</sup>; *ὅστις ἐμεῦ στήλλαν βαλέει λίθον . . . οὗτος τὰν αὐτὰν μοῖραν ἐμοὶ λαχέτω* (Philomelium) <sup>5</sup>; *εἰ δὲ τις ἀνύξι, τοιαῦτα πάθῃ* (Phazimonitis) <sup>6</sup>. If the curse is directed not only at the evildoer himself, but also to his whole family, one very often used the formula *ἔξώλης καὶ πανώλης ἔστω καὶ γένος αὐτοῦ*. In Iasos *e.g.* we find the words: *ὦλη καὶ πανώλη γένοιτο αὐτοῦ τὸ γένος καὶ αὐτός* <sup>7</sup>. To the reading *τὰ ὅμοια πάθοι τὸ πᾶν γένει* I prefer the next solution: *τὰ ὅμοια πάθοιτο πανγενεῖ*. Both *πάθοι* and *πάθοιτο* do occur, but in choosing the first possibility we have to cope with the strange *τὸ πᾶν*, while *γένει* as a separate word at the end of the sentence is even more strange. The form *παγγενεῖ* is instanced in the next two inscriptions, among others:

1e) *εἴ τις ἀποκοσμήσει τὸ ἥρῳον ἢ etc. μὴ γῆ βατῆ . . . ἀλλὰ ἐκριζωθήσεται παγγενεῖ.*

2e) *εἴ τις ἀποκοσμήσει τὸ ἥρῳον . . . ἐκριζωθήσεται πανγενε[ί]* <sup>8</sup>

Incidentally it may be remarked that Diogenes' curse is fairly decent if compared with other specimens. In some inscriptions the deceased does not wish the same fate to any violator of the grave, but one which is even worse. In an inscription from Thessaly we read: *[E]ἴ τις μου στήλης τὴν εἰκόνα ἂν ἀδικήσει, Ἥλιε, μὴ σε λαθῶν χειρὸν ἐμοῦ παθέτω* <sup>9</sup>. A similar expression occurs in an inscription from Amisus: *Εἰ δὲ τις ἠδίκησε αὐτὸν ἢ ἐπεχάρη, . . . χείρονα πάθοιτο αὐτοῦ* <sup>9</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> IG II/III<sup>2</sup>, 13200 (= Ath. Mitt., LXVII, 1942, p. 144); see also 13198; 13199.

<sup>2</sup> R. LATTIMORE, *Themes in Greek and Latin Epitaphs* (Illin. Stud. in Lang. and Literat., vol. 28, 1942), p. 184 ff. and 199 ff.

<sup>3</sup> PEEK, *Griechische Versinschriften*, 446. Since L. ROBERT's discussion of this epigram (Rev. de Phil., LXV, 1939, p. 166-172), we are entitled to consider it as the epitaph of a sailor from Nicomedia.

<sup>4</sup> BCH, XVII, 1893, p. 551, n. 49 (= AEMO, 1897, 84), from Parion.

<sup>5</sup> JHS, XVIII, 1898, p. 112, n. 52 (Philomelium).

<sup>6</sup> *Studia Pontica*, III, p. 71, n. 62; see also an inscription from Korykos, Jahresh., XXXI, 1939, Beibl., p. 164-170, with the corrections proposed by L. ROBERT, REG, LII, 1939, BE, n. 464; *Hellenica*, II, p. 121, spec. note 5.

<sup>7</sup> See L. ROBERT, *Hellenica*, VI, p. 13-15; Ath. Mitt., XV, 1890, p. 154, n. 2.

<sup>8</sup> IG II/III<sup>2</sup>, 13209, 13210; Ath. Mitt., LXVII, 1942, p. 227; for the similar expression *πανσπερμεί ὀλέσθαι* see REG, LXI, 1948, BE, n. 134.

<sup>9</sup> A. DAIN, *Inscriptions grecques du Musée du Louvre*, Paris, 1933, n. 22 and 34; DAIN wrongly locates Amisus in Paphlagonia; see L. ROBERT's review in Rev. Arch., 1933, II, p. 121 ff.

7. Smyrna? (Catalogue: 'Smyrna'). Rectangular blue marble plaque; L. 0,33 m; W. 0,27 m; Th. 0,02 m; on both sides an inscription, namely: a) the inscription published on p. 11 ff. (n. 5); b) the inscription discussed below; the latter contains six lines; letters 0,02 m; interlinear space 0,005-0,006 m; Y with cross-bar at the end of the *hasta*; strong *apices*; second century A.D.? Inventory: I. 1900/1. 25; Photograph: Plate I, 7.

'Αγαθὴν Τύχην στρα-  
τηγοῦντος Κλ. Πρό-  
κλου Κεστianoῦ  
Διόδωρος νεώτε-  
5 ρος οἰκονομῶν  
καθιέρωσεν

Diodorus, who was an οἰκονόμος<sup>1</sup>, *i.e.* the steward of Proclus' house and/or estate, has dedicated (καθιέρωσεν) this memorial stone to the 'Αγαθὴ Τύχη of his master Claudius Proclus Cestianus.

This inscription, and ten others (marked I, 1900, 1, 20-30) are according to the Museum catalogue from Smyrna<sup>2</sup>. One of this series, however, manifestly comes from Ephesus (our n. 32). This fact makes us adopt an attitude of moderate scepticism towards the so-called Smyrnaean provenance of the 9 others (see the introd. p. XIII). Only if the inscriptions themselves present some internal evidence which enables us to determine the provenance, we may leave aside this scepticism towards the Catalogue. In the inscription under discussion there is nothing which either points to a Smyrnaean provenance or belies it. The στρατηγός is so frequently attested in the cities of Asia Minor, that a mention of this official does not help us to reach a closer location<sup>3</sup>.

From his function of στρατηγός we may conclude that Proclus was a member of the well-to-do circles in one of the cities of Asia Minor. The fact that he had a special slave, to look after the interests of his house and/or estate, corroborates this view. The attachment, which existed between the master and his οἰκονόμος, is, apart from this inscription, clearly shown by the following inscriptions, among others: in an inscription from Cyzicus we read: 'Αγαθῆ τύχη· Αὔλον Κλαύδιον Καικῆνα Παυσανίαν τὸν αὐτοῦ δεσπότην Μητροδωρος πραγμα[τευτής].<sup>4</sup> In Ephesus the πραγματευτής Τρόφιμος has erected a statue for T. Fl. Vedius Antonius, τὸν ἴδιον δεσπότην<sup>5</sup>.

The greatest importance of this inscription, however, lies in the first three lines, where we see the, to my knowledge, unparalleled construction of 'Αγαθὴν Τύχην in the accusative with the name of Proclus in the genitive depending on it. I hold this inscription to be a testimonial for the reverence shown by *e.g.* slaves towards the personal τύχη of their master. As to the development of the idea of τύχη I cannot do better than give a quotation from M. P. NILSSON. After having given an exposition on the meaning of Τύχη as a deity of the city he continues:

<sup>1</sup> For modern literature on the οἰκονόμος and the πραγματευτής I refer to L. ROBERT, *Ét. Anat.*, p. 241, note 2; *Hellenica*, X, p. 83, note 3.

<sup>2</sup> In this publication: Appendix III, n. 68 and 70; p. 38, n. 32; p. 66, n. 58; p. 75, n. 60; p. 75, n. 61; p. 76, n. 62; and three inscriptions published by J. KEIL, in *Anz. Akad. Wien*, 1953, p. 16 ff., n. 3, 4, 5.

<sup>3</sup> See C. J. CADOUX, *Ancient Smyrna*, p. 194; a στρατηγός Kl. Proclus Cestianus I cannot find elsewhere.

<sup>4</sup> IGR, IV, 152.

<sup>5</sup> *Ephesos*, III, 82. These two inscriptions are both mentioned by L. ROBERT, *Ét. Anat.*, p. 243, note 3; on the same page ROBERT discusses an inscription from Celtikci in Bithynia: 'Αγαθῆ τύχη· Διὶ Ὀλυμπίῳ . . . Φίλητος εὐχὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν δεσποτῶν . . . ROBERT makes it probable that 'les maîtres de cet esclave peuvent être des particuliers'; see for other dedications ὑπὲρ δεσποτῶν, ὑπὲρ κυρῶν, *Hellenica*, X, p. 31-32; cf. also *Hellenica*, VII, p. 30 f., n. 1.

'Jeder Mensch hat sein Geschick, also seine Tyche, wie die Stadt ihre hat; man pflegt das Personaltyche zu nennen. Da aber Tyche allgemeine Schicksalsgöttin war, wurde sie auf ein Individuum nur bezogen, wo ein besonderer Anlass dazu vorlag, d.h. im Kult, wenn es sich um einen Herrscher handelte, dem man Verehrungen zollte. In der Kaiserzeit, wo häufig die Tyche des Kaisers erwähnt wird, muss mit dem Vorbild des römischen Genius gerechnet werden' <sup>1</sup>. NILSSON is right in emphasizing that a real cult of the personal Τύχη was mainly a privilege of the ruler, although an inscription from Halicarnassus proves that such a cult existed even for the 'Αγαθή Τύχη of a citizen. We hear of a sacrifice to the 'Αγαθός Δαίμων of a living couple, Poseidonios and Gorgis, and to the 'Αγαθή Τύχη of the deceased parents of Poseidonios <sup>2</sup>. Latin inscriptions, on the other hand, demonstrate that there existed something like a worship of the (Bona) Fortuna and the Genius of a *familia* or an individual. *Vid.* CIL, VI, 3679, where the Fortuna of a certain Claudia Iusta is mentioned ('Fortunae sacrum Claudiae Iustae'), and CIL, III, 83, where we find the 'bona Fortuna domnae Reginae'. As to the worship of the Genius, cf. e.g. CIL, VI, 258: 'genium Clodi Romani Hermes servus fecit'; 3687: 'genio M. Livii Euni . . . fecit Livia Irene patrono'. The inscription from Halicarnassus, on one side, and the Latin dedication to the Fortuna or Bona Fortuna of individuals on the other side may serve as parallel texts for the explanation of the dedication to the 'Αγαθή Τύχη of Proclus. The Smyrnaean inscription also shows that NILSSON's doubt with regard to the connection between the Roman Fortuna and the individual Τύχη <sup>3</sup>, is perhaps not wholly justified. [See Add. p. 46].

8. Smyrna? (Catalogue: 'from Smyrna'). Marble tombstone; H. 0,285 m; W. 0,445 m; Th. 0,06 m; on the stone an inscription of 8 lines; at both sides of the last line a leaf; letters on the average 0,02 m; interlinear space 0,003-0,004 m; rather irregular script; imperial times; Inventory: I. 93/8.5; Photograph: Plate II, 8.

Νουμέριος Πρώσιος Στέφαν-  
 νος ἀγοράσας τόπον περιου-  
 κοδομημένον τοίχοις τέσ-  
 σαρσι, ψιλόν, καθαρόν, τήν κα-  
 5 μάραν καί τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ ἐνσόρι-  
 α κατεσκεύασεν ἑαυτῶι  
 καί Πρωσίαι Κνιδίαι τῇι γυναι-  
 κί καί τοῖς ἰδίοις

<sup>1</sup> GGR, Bd II, p. 198; cf. also *Opuscula Romana*, vol. I, 1954, p. 83/84.

<sup>2</sup> GIBM, 896, l. 34/5 = *Syll.*<sup>3</sup>, 1044 = F. SOKOLOWSKI, *Lois sacrées de l'Asie Mineure*, Paris, 1955, n. 72 (with abundant literature); I agree with A. LAUMONIER: 'Gorgis n'est pas la mère de Posidonios, mais sa femme; sa mère et son père ont une 'Αγαθή Τύχη commune (l. 34)' (BCH, LVIII, 1934, p. 367, note 2; *contra* F. SOKOLOWSKI, ad. loc.; see also A. D. NOCK, HThR, 37, 1944, p. 147); the fact that in the Leyden inscription the dedication has been made to the 'Αγαθή Τύχη of the *living* (στρατηγοῦντος!) master of Diodoros seems to confirm the theory of the interchangeability of Τύχη and Δαίμων (see NILSSON, *op. cit.*, p. 201, with note 1 and P-W, Suppl. III (1918), col. 42/43). As early as the archaic age we find evidence for the conception of a personal daemon, who determines a man's destiny (cf. E. R. DODDS, *The Greeks and the Irrational*, p. 42/3 with the relevant notes on p. 58/59; see also WILAMOWITZ, *Der Glaube der Hellenen*, I, p. 368). As DODDS pointed out, words like *κακοδαίμων* and *δυσδαίμων* seem to have been coined in the 5th century. As early as this period *δαίμων* and *τύχη* were not mutually exclusive (p. 58, note 80). As noted above the inscriptions from Halicarnassus and from Leyden confirm this for Hellenistic and later periods.

<sup>3</sup> *op. cit.*, p. 199, note 4: 'Ob die Individualisierung der römischen Fortuna mitgewirkt hat, ist unsicher, da ihr Verhältnis zur Tyche nicht geklärt ist'. This note belongs to the last sentence of the passage quoted by me in the text.

Apart from line 2-4, this inscription contains nothing remarkable, and the words used are all well known from other epitaphs. In order to make a *καμάρα* (*i.e.* the vault of a grave) and some *ἐνσόρια* in it (place for a sarcophagus) Noumerius bought a place surrounded by 4 walls, which was *ψιλός* and *καθαρός*, that is to say, a place without trees and other possible obstacles. The words *περιοικοδομημένον τοίχοις τέσσαρσι* are interesting from the point of view of grave-architecture. Inscriptions often tell us that a *μνημεῖον* was surrounded by a wall, mostly called a *περίβολος*. Sometimes the wall is called a *τρηνχός* (= *θριγκός*), as in an inscription from Nicomedia: somebody made *τὸν βωμ[ὸν] καὶ τὸν ἀνδριάντα καὶ τὸν περικείμενον τόπον καὶ τρινχὸν καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ πυάλους δύο* (*πύαλος* = sarcophagus) <sup>1</sup>. Still more impressive is a grave-monument, which is mentioned in an inscription from Bithynia: *τὸ μνημεῖον κατεσκεύασεν καθὼς περιοικοδομηται σὺν ταῖς περικειμέναις οἰκίαις πάσαις ἀνεξοδίαστον*. <sup>2</sup>

The editor rightly remarked: '... man würde erwarten, dass die einzelne οἰκίαι durch eine gemeinsame Umfassungsmauer zu einem Familienbegräbnissplatze vereinigt gewesen wären. Darüber könnten nur Grabungen Auskunft geben' <sup>3</sup>. The most general formula is the one which we find *e.g.* in an inscription from Hierapolis: *τοῦτο τὸ ἡρώον σὺν τῷ περιοικοδομημένῳ τόπῳ* <sup>4</sup>; see also an inscription from Laodicea on the Lycus: *ὁ περιοικοδομημένος τόπος καὶ οἱ ἐν αὐτῷ πλάτοι δύο . . . εἰσιν Μ. Κλ. Φοίβου*. <sup>5</sup>

*Τοῖχοι* are specially mentioned in an inscription from Cibyra: [*ὁ δεῖνα . . . / Ἐρ]μαίου τοῦ Τρωίλου / [τοῦτο τὸ] μνημεῖον τὸ ἐνκύ[κλιον] / [καὶ τοὺς π]ερικειμένους [τοίχους ζῶν / ἑαυτῷ ἐ]ποίησεν· οὐκ ἔ[ξ]εσ[τα]ι δὲ / . . . ἐπ[ι]λῦσαι τι τῶν τοίχων* <sup>6</sup>. For *τόπος ψιλός* see CIG 3356 (Smyrna); for *τόπος καθαρός* see CIG 3509 (Thyatira). I do not know of any example of *Κνίδιος/α* as a proper name. There are however many Greek proper names which are derived from ethnics: see BECHTEL, *Die Historischen Personennamen . . .*, p. 536 ff.; see also L. ROBERT, *Hellenica*, I, p. 121 and 154. Hence the proper name *Κνιδία* would be perfectly normal; for *Πρώσιος* see W. SCHULZE, *Zur Geschichte Lateinischer Eigennamen*, p. 90, note 5 and DESSAU, ILS, n. 1044.

9. Smyrna? (Catalogue: 'Mons Pagus'). Marble plaque; H. 0,35 m; W. 0,25 m; Th. 0,065 m; on the stone an inscription of 8 lines; letters 0,02 m (l. 1 : 0,025 m); interlinear space 0,008-0,001 m; strong *apices*, later imperial times (second/third century A.D.); Inventory: I. 92/7. 5; Photograph: Plate II, 9.

Τι(βέριος) Κλαύδιος  
 Ἄλεξᾶς Καπ-  
 πάδοξ ANTA  
 ΤΩΙ ἰδίῳ θρε-  
 5 πτῶι μνήμης  
 ἔνεκα· ὁ τόπος  
 ἀνήκεν Γ(άιῳ) Ἰου-  
 λίῳ Κρίτονι

Line 3 presents a difficulty. Instead of *Καππάδοξ*, followed by the name of the *θρεπτός* in the dative, one finds only ANTA. As far as I see there are two possibilities: *Τιβ(έριος)*

<sup>1</sup> CIG 3777 (= *Syll.*<sup>3</sup>, 1231); see B. KEIL, *Über Kleinasiatische Grabinschriften*, Hermes, XLIII, 1908, p. 537 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Ath. Mitt., XVIII, 1893, p. 27 ff.; see L. ROBERT, *Hellenica*, I, p. 62/63.

<sup>3</sup> See note 2.

<sup>4</sup> W. JUDEICH, *Altertümer von Hierapolis*, IV, n. 58; see B. KEIL, *art. cit.*, p. 540, note 1: 'Die all-gemeine, nicht spezifizierende Bezeichnung ist ὁ περιοικοδομημένος τόπος; sie ist nicht allzu häufig'.

<sup>5</sup> Ath. Mitt., XX, 1895, p. 209, n. 2. <sup>6</sup> BCH, II, 1878, p. 593 ff., n. 8, on p. 600-601.

Κλαύδιος Ἀλεξᾶς Καππάδοξ Ἀντακίω<sup>1</sup> τῶι ἰδίῳ θρεπτῶι οἱ Ἀντακί<sup>2</sup> τῶι ἰδίῳ θρεπτῶι.

In both cases we are forced to assume a partial haplography on the part of the engraver (IQI left out because of the following TQI; I left out because of the following T(QI)). Since a name Ἀντάτος does not seem to exist, a reading Ἀντάκτωι τῶι etc. is improbable.

Inscriptions attest the existence of some more Cappadocians in Smyrna. I have the following epitaphs in mind:

1. Στατεί(λ)ιος Ἀπολλώνιος Εὐμένει Διοσκουρίδου Καππάδοκι, φίλωι.<sup>3</sup>
2. Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Ἰάσων Καππάδοξ Πύρρω Ἀπολλωνίω Ἀλεξανδρεῖ μνήμης ἔνεκεν.<sup>4</sup>

A third inscription from Smyrna which contains a list of names mentions in l. 10/11 a certain M. Ἀντωνίος Καππάδ[ο]ξ β' τοῦ Φιλήμονος<sup>5</sup>. The second in particular bears a close likeness to our inscription. For the different meanings of θρεπτός I may refer to CAMERON's detailed study<sup>6</sup>. In the present case it is impossible to make a choice between the different possibilities (adopted child, slave).

The last sentence in our inscription is, to my knowledge, unparalleled. I propose the following translation: 'The place belonged to Γ. Ἰούλιος Κρίτων'. In the texts, to which L-S<sup>9</sup> s.v. ἀνήκω refers for the meaning 'to belong to, to appertain to', this verb is nearly always combined with εἰς + accusative and has a more figurative sense. In a papyrus-text<sup>7</sup> we find it with the dative: ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀνηκόντων τοῖς ἱεροῖς. In an inscription from Paphlagonia, which contains the famous oath sworn by the Paphlagonians to Augustus, they promise '[παν]τὶ τρόπῳ ὑπὲρ τῶ[ν] ἐκείνοις ἀνηκό[ντων] πάντα κίνδυνον ὑπομενεῖν' ('pour protéger ce qui leur appartient' CUMONT translates)<sup>8</sup>. Kriton, who owned the place, where the memorial-stone was erected, presumably gave Alexas permission to use this ground in order to bury his θρεπτός. It frequently happened that somebody, who possessed a grave of his own, gave permission (συγχώρησις) to a friend or somebody else, who was not a member of the family of the owner, to use the grave in case of death<sup>9</sup>. Kriton, however, placed the ground at the disposal of his friend Ἀλεξᾶς, who himself had to take care of the building of the grave. I hold the use of the verb ἀνήκω to indicate that Alexas did not buy the place. Otherwise we would expect the verb ἀγοράζω, which frequently occurs in epitaphs.

<sup>1</sup> For the name Ἀνταίος see Rev. de Phil., XXXVII, 1913, p. 329/330, n. 21 (where references also are given to GIBM, n. 609 and REG, IV, p. 174, n. 2): 'un de ces sobriquets qu'on donnait souvent aux gladiateurs, aux athlètes et aux danseurs favoris du public' (p. 330); for the use of this name in an inscription from Smyrna, see CIG, 3266.

<sup>2</sup> It is precisely in a Cappadocian epitaph that the rather rare name Ἀντᾶς occurs: Ἀρτεμίδωρος Ἀντᾶ τῶ πατρὶ μνήμης ἔνεκα (BCH, XXXIII, 1909, p. 69, n. 49, from Caesarea). In the Leyden inscription ANTA cannot be taken as a dative (with *iota subscriptum*) since the dative-iota is written throughout in this text.

<sup>3</sup> A. DAIN, *Inscriptions grecques du Musée du Louvre*, n. 51.

<sup>4</sup> LE BAS-WADDINGTON, *Ve partie*, Section I, n. 35.

<sup>5</sup> CIG 3151; other Cappadocians are mentioned in several inscriptions from the coast of Asia Minor and the islands: IG XII, 5, 432 (Paros); IG XII, 1, 496-498, 546 (Rhodes); BCH, XXXIV, 1910, p. 242 ff., n. 16 (Rhodes); IG XII, 1, 971 (Chalce).

<sup>6</sup> Θρεπτός in the inscriptions of Asia Minor, Anat. Stud. W. H. BUCKLER, p. 27 ff.

<sup>7</sup> *Pap. Tebt.*, vol. I, n. 6, l. 41/42; for more examples of ἀνήκω + dat. ('to belong to'), see PREISIGKE, *Wörterbuch*, s.v.

<sup>8</sup> REG, XIV, 1901, p. 26 ff. = OGIS, 532.

<sup>9</sup> See H. STEMLER, *Die Griechischen Grabinschriften Kleinasiens*, Diss. Strasbourg, 1909, p. 49 ff.

10. Smyrna? (Catalogue: 'from Asia Minor'). Small marble plaque; L. 0,45 m; W. 0,29 m; Th. 0,02 m; on the stone an inscription of five lines; letters  $\pm$  0,02 m; interlinear space 0,01 m; regular and ornate script; clear traces of red paint on the letters; strong *apices*; Imperial Times (end 1st century A.D.-2nd century A.D.); at the back which has the form of a *tabula ansata* the letters TO MNHMEION (letters 0,02 m and less regular and ornate script than at the other side) and 0,03 m under it two lines *in rasura* and illegible; accordingly, this stone has been re-used; Inventory: I. 1901/5. 1; Photograph: Plate II, 10.

Νεικήτης Γλύκωνος  
 Τειανός ἰατρός· ἥρως  
 ἐτῶν ιθ'· ὅς ἂν τὸ λιθά-  
 ριν τοῦτο ἄρη, ταφῆς  
 μὴ τύχοι

Νεικήτης was a citizen of the small town of Tieion<sup>1</sup>, which is situated on the coast of the Pontus Euxinus, just on the border of Bithynia and Paphlagonia. For a comprehensive study of Tieion and its inscriptions I refer the reader to L. ROBERT, *Ét. Anat.*, p. 266-291. W. RUGE has drawn up a list of Τειανοί (naturally Τειανός also occurs), mentioned in several inscriptions<sup>2</sup>; for a supplement to the list see L. ROBERT, *op. cit.*, p. 266, n. 1.

I hold it to be probable that Νεικήτης, who, as a young man of 19 years old, called himself ἰατρός already, either had finished his study a short time before or was about to get his degree<sup>3</sup>. According to the catalogue this stone comes from Asia Minor. This obviously does not bring us any further. If the stone comes from Smyrna (which is after all possible), we may perhaps assume that Neiketetes had been (or still was) a student from the Medical School in that city<sup>4</sup>.

Λιθάριον is a shortened form of λιθάριον: 'small stone'; see E. SCHWYZER, *Griechische Grammatik*, I, p. 472, where this phenomenon is discussed. For the use of the verb αἴρω I draw attention to the following inscription, found between Thyatira and Iulia Gordos, where we read: 'ὅς ἂν ἄρη τὴν στήλην ἢ κολοβῶσιν, ὧ(λ)η πανώλη γένοιτο'<sup>5</sup>. The following parallels may be adduced for the end of the inscription, which contains the curse 'that no burial falls to his lot': An inscription from Aphrodisias offers us a close parallel: 'θανόντι δὲ οὐδὲ ἡ γῆ παρέξει αὐτῷ τάφον'<sup>6</sup>. In an inscription from Teos, we came across the following sentence: 'ἂν δέ [τις τολ]μήσ[η] μετα- [κινῆσαι, τυχε]ῖν τελευ[τῆς ἀκηδέστου]'<sup>7</sup>. Although a large part of the text has been restored, we

<sup>1</sup> and not a citizen of Teos, the inhabitants of which called themselves Τήιοι; for a similar confusion see Istros, II, (1936) *Inscriptions Grecques*, VI, Epitaphe de Dobrogea.

<sup>2</sup> P-W, s.v. Tieion.

<sup>3</sup> In DAREMBERG-SAGLIO, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités*, s.v. Medicus, we read on p. 1674: 'Sous le Bas-Empire, la durée normale des études médicales paraît avoir été de cinq ans: c'est ce qu'on peut conclure de l'*Isagoge in Artem Medicam* attribuée à Soranus, qui fait commencer les études médicales à quinze ans, alors qu'on sait que l'étudiant d'alors était censé avoir terminé son apprentissage à vingt ans'<sup>10</sup>. In note 10 we find: 'Oribase (Synops. V, 14) conseille de commencer l'étude de la médecine à quatorze ans'; for the epitaphs of two other young ἰατροί see L. ROBERT, *Rev. de Phil.*, LXV, 1939, p. 173; in *La Carie*, II, p. 187, n. 88 J. and L. ROBERT publish an epitaph of a young doctor of about 18 years old (cf. *ibid.*, p. 225); his parents call him a [δεξι]ὸν ἠγτῆρα (l. 5); these words must probably be ascribed to the parental pride, since at eighteen a boy could hardly have finished his medical studies.

<sup>4</sup> See C. J. CADOUX, *Ancient Smyrna*, p. 150 f., for the evidence on this Medical School at Smyrna.

<sup>5</sup> J. KEIL-A. v. PREMIERSTEIN, *Zweite Reise in Lydien*, n. 157; see also LE BAS-WADDINGTON, n. 1754: ὅς ἂν τοῦτο ἄρη, πάθειτο πᾶν κακόν (Cyzicus); 1756, ἐὰν δέ [τις] μετάρη, [πᾶν] κα[κόν] πάθει (or πάθειτο?) (*ibid.*); see also n. 1764a; IG XII, 5, 22: ὅτις ἂν ἄρη τὸν λίθον etc. (Ios); BCH, LX, 1936, p. 337, l. 6 f.: ἐὰν δέ τις μετάρη τὸν βωμὸν τοῦτον (Philippi); see also BE, 1956, p. 173, n. 314.

<sup>6</sup> CIG 2826, l. 11/12.

<sup>7</sup> LE BAS-WADDINGTON, n. 128.

may safely assume that the thought, expressed in the mutilated line, was the same as in our inscription. Finally, in an epigram from Athens there is the following curse: '[μ]ή κείναι λίθον [έ]κ γαίης, ἄνθρω[π]ε πανοῦργε, μὴ σ' ἄταφον, τ[λ]ῆμον, κύνες ἐ[λ]κήσωσι θανό[ν]τα' <sup>1</sup>.

The word ἥρωες is frequently used in Greek epitaphs to denote the deceased <sup>2</sup>. It seems appropriate to consider the meaning of this term in epitaphs here. On the basis of A. D. NOCK's study of the Greek hero-cult <sup>3</sup> it may now be said that at least two groups of heroes are to be discerned:

a) To the first group may be assigned those ἥρωες who as ordinary mortals 'lived and died and subsequently received veneration' <sup>4</sup>. It is the cult of these heroes which F. PFISTER called 'gesteigerter Totenkult' <sup>5</sup>. At the root of this seems to lie the belief that the ghost of the dead lived on in the tomb and had to be appeased by the right sacrifices <sup>6</sup>. Those who had possessed great power on earth were likely to be honoured after death by more people than the average mortal, and the greater the interval of time between the heroized dead and his posterity the more impressed they would become by the greatness of the hero and by his power to interfere with what happened on earth <sup>7</sup>. It seems as if in some cases the Greeks were apt to forget that they were worshipping beings who once lived on earth. NOCK has collected many examples of heroes who were worshipped in a cult similar to that enjoyed by a god. They received a θυσία instead of an ἐναγισμός and the worshippers participated in the flesh of the victim as was the case with the cult of the Olympians <sup>8</sup>. We are here in a stage of transition to the second group of heroes:

b) Those who may as well be called 'minor deities': as the term already indicates, they were mostly worshipped not by the whole nation, as the Olympians were, but by smaller local groups. Without embarking upon a long argument it may reasonably be assumed that for our purpose this second category of heroes can be neglected. We are here concerned with the first group.

It looks as if, just as in ancient times a few outstanding personalities were singled out from the mass of the dead as being ἥρωες and so enjoyed a hero-cult <sup>9</sup>, in the same way in classical and Hellenistic times the common people, who probably had continued to offer sacrifices to deceased kinsmen, no longer allowed the official ἥρωες alone to occupy a place of honour amongst the dead but in fact laid claim to the title ἥρωες for themselves. They presumably reasoned as follows: 'The ancient ἥρωες have been honoured by a great number of people, because they had deserved well of a large community; by claiming the title ἥρωες for ourselves *we* are able to express *our* desire to be honoured by those of whom *we* have deserved well; that is, in most

<sup>1</sup> PEEK, *Griechische Versinschriften*, 1373.

<sup>2</sup> See LATTIMORE, *Themes in Greek and Latin epitaphs*, p. 97 ff.

<sup>3</sup> A. D. NOCK, *The Cult of Heroes*, HThR, XXXVII, 1944, p. 141-174.

<sup>4</sup> NOCK, *art. cit.*, p. 162.

<sup>5</sup> *Die Religion der Griechen und Römer* (Burs. Jahresber., 229, 1930), p. 155.

<sup>6</sup> See E. KÜSTER, *Die Schlange in der Griechischen Kunst und Religion*, Gieszen, 1913, p. 65-73.

<sup>7</sup> The importance of the hero's ability to interfere with what happened on earth has been emphasized e.g. by WILAMOWITZ, *Der Glaube der Hellenen*, II, p. 8 ff.

<sup>8</sup> *art. cit.*, p. 144-148.

<sup>9</sup> In any case this was what the Greeks themselves thought about the origin of their heroes; I am not concerned here with modern theories about the origin of the hero-cult; see F. PFISTER, *Der Reliquienkult im Altertum*, RGVV, Band 5, 1909-1912, p. 377 ff.

cases, by our relatives' <sup>1</sup>. At this stage of the development two types of heroization may be discerned: a) the 'official' heroization; b) the 'private' heroization.

a) The use of the term 'official' heroization emphasizes the fact that the person concerned has been heroized by an official community, *e.g.* a πόλις or a κώμη. An official heroization is recorded *e.g.* by an inscription from Amorgos <sup>2</sup>; a certain Aleximachus has been heroized by the *demos* of Aigiale and honoured with a cult image; annually a ram is to be sacrificed beside this image. An inscription from Thyatira <sup>3</sup> provides another example: The δῆμος has built a Ξενώνηον for Γάιος Ξένων who is styled ἥρωας in this text. No mention is made here of sacrifices to be made in his honour. Both Aleximachus and Xenon had deserved so well of the communities to which they belonged that the latter decided to reward them by granting them the title ἥρωας.

Beside these examples, which could be multiplied at random, we have inscriptions of the type: ὁ δῆμος τὸν δεῖνα ἥρωα. The *demos* awards two or more wreaths to the deceased and bestows upon him the honorary title ἥρωας. In this case it seems to have been left to the next of kin to bring sacrifices to the deceased. The *demos* gave expression to his gratitude by awarding an honorary title which was formerly conferred only upon the greatest of living men: the exclusive character of this title was lost: people were reminded by it of the good old times when heroes were relatively rare and stood somewhere midway between gods and men. Apparently these ancient heroes were supposed to be able to interfere with the course of events in this world. However Aleximachus, Xenon and their numerous colleagues were no longer conceived of in such terms.

b) A 'private' heroization is instanced by the famous foundation of Epicteta at Thera <sup>4</sup>: it provides for sacrifices to the Muses and to two dead sons, her dead husband and herself. The deceased are all styled ἥρωες. Another example can be found in a Samian inscription <sup>5</sup>: a certain Xenomenes, son of Philombrotou, has made an ἐπίδοσις to a Samian χιλιαστὺς (a subdivision of the δῆμος): ὅπως καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ κατεσκευασμένου ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἡρωίου θυσία γίνηται αὐτωῖ.

The difference between *e.g.* Epicteta's foundation and an epitaph in which the deceased is called ἥρωας, is, as far as the meaning of ἥρωας is concerned, not a basic but only a gradual one: Epicteta saw to it that her testament was engraved on a stone and left enough money to secure the bringing of sacrifices in honour of the deceased ἥρωας; the ἥρωας-epitaphs mostly contain only the name of the deceased (with patronymicum), his age and something like ἥρωας χρηστὲ χαῖρε. Though no provision for sacrifices was made in these epitaphs, it seems probable enough that in actual fact they were brought to the tomb of the ἥρωας at regular intervals, even if only

<sup>1</sup> Cf. EITREM in P-W, *s.v.* Heros, vol. VIII, 1, p. 1138: 'Der Heros ist wiederum, was er war, ehe die streng gentilizische Ordnung des Staates den Urahn in den Vordergrund geschoben hatte: die mächtige Totenseele'. This extension of the use of the title ἥρωας in Hellenistic and later times would have been facilitated by the fact that the group of 'official' heroes had been continually enlarged, even in the 5th century; in 421 Brasidas was honoured with a hero-cult by the Amphipolitans: he was the new οἰκιστής of Amphipolis and could thus be easily added to the large group of heroized οἰκισταί. This sort of thing must have caused the ordinary man more and more to lose sight of the demarcation-line between the common dead and the ἥρωες: for what Brasidas had attained could be attained by others as well.

<sup>2</sup> IG XII, 7, 515 l. 74 ff.

<sup>3</sup> KEIL-VON PREMIERSTEIN, *Zweite Reise*, n. 74. Some more examples in CHR. HABICHT, *Gottmenschentum und Griechische Städte*, (Zetemata, Heft 14), München, 1956, p. 105, note 10.

<sup>4</sup> IG XII, 3, 330.

<sup>5</sup> Published by L. ROBERT in BCH, LIX, 1935, p. 477 ff.

in a very modest way; the important point is that the poor could not spend so much money on the engraving of a lengthy inscription concerning the organization of the 'cult' the *ἥρωες* was going to enjoy. A simple epitaph was probably all they could afford.

The assumption that the poor probably brought some kind of sacrifice to their *ἥρωες* perhaps finds support in the fact that in Hellenistic and Roman times it was not uncommon to honour the deceased, even when he was not called *ἥρωες*, with sacrifices and sometimes even with a banquet. It is not the place here to collect and discuss all the available evidence for this phenomenon; especially as ROBERT has promised<sup>1</sup> to deal with this subject in his book on the Greek epitaphs. A few examples may however be adduced here:

1. an inscription from a Macedonian *κώμη* tells us that Διοσκουρίδης Σύρου left a certain amount of money to his *κώμη*: *ἵνα ἐκ τοῦ τόκου κρατῆρ γεμισθῆ ἔνπροσθεν τῆς ταφῆς καὶ στεφανωθῆ ἡ ταφή . . .*<sup>2</sup>.

2. in a Cilician epitaph from a place near Cibyra we are told that on the *μνημεῖον* 'εὐωχηθήσονται . . . καθ' ἔτος καὶ θυσιάσουσιν οἱ κληρόνομοι ἐν μηνὶ Ἀρτεμισίῳ'.<sup>3</sup>

3. an inscription from Amorion, in Phrygia, shows that some *μύσται* established a funerary cult for their young, deceased priestess Κυρίλλα: *τὸν βωμὸν καθοσιώσαντες καὶ εἰς τὴν θρησκείαν τοῦ μνημείου αὐτῆς ἀγοράσαντες . . . ἀμπελῶν . . . πλέθρον ἐν καὶ ἡμισυ ἐχαρίσαντο ὅπως τὴν ἐξ αὐτῶν πρόσοδον καταχρῶνται ταῖς κατὰ ἔτος ἐθίμοις ἡμέραις τοῖς Μιθρακάνοις προσφαγιάζ[οντες].*<sup>4</sup>

4. an inscription from Iasos records a foundation for a funerary cult. *Θυσίαι*, followed by a *δεῖπνον*, are to be performed at the *μνημεῖον* of the deceased<sup>5</sup>.

5. A. D. Nock drew attention to Artemidorus, V, 82, p. 271 where the author 'speaks of a dead man as receiving his friends and being host at the meal given at his grave'. In general Nock has emphasized the fact that fear of ghosts was rather uncommon among the Greeks, at any rate among those of the Hellenistic and Roman times<sup>6</sup>.

On the basis of the foregoing we may therefore say that, whether actually called *ἥρωες* or not, the deceased enjoyed a funerary cult: at regular intervals sacrifices were brought to his tomb. At this point it may be asked whether those people who called their dead *ἥρωες* held a different belief about the fate of the dead from those who did not do so. We must answer, I think, in the negative: nothing *in our evidence* points to any such difference; when we read in an epitaph something like Διόδωρος *ἥρωες* it probably meant nothing more than 'the late Diodorus'<sup>7</sup>. When a *πόλις* heroized one of its benefactors, this did not imply that from then onwards

<sup>1</sup> In *Ét. Anat.*, p. 391, note 3.

<sup>2</sup> *Ἐφημ. Ἀρχ.*, 1936, p. 17-19; see also *Ἀθῆνα*, XX, 1908, p. 1 ff. for a similar text from Derriopos in Macedonia; a certain Vettius Philon has bestowed by testament upon the council of his native town a certain amount of money: *εἶνα . . . ἐκ τῶν τόκων ἡμέραν ἄγουσα Οὐεττίου . . . ἐορτάσιμον εὐωχῆται.*

<sup>3</sup> L. ROBERT, *Ét. Anat.*, p. 391, where ROBERT refers to similar texts from Lycia.

<sup>4</sup> L. ROBERT, *Ét. Anat.*, p. 306-308, with the commentary.

<sup>5</sup> F. SOKOLOWSKI, *Lois sacrées de l'Asie Mineure*, n. 60; in Egypt the deceased sometimes inserted in his testament a stipulation concerning the bringing of sacrifices to his tomb: see *P. Lips.*, 30 (3rd cent. A.D.) and *P. Lond.*, I, p. 234 (5th cent. A.D.).

<sup>6</sup> *art. cit.*, p. 156/157 (yet Plato, *Hipp. Maior* 282<sup>A</sup>, testifies to the existence of fear of the *μῆνις τῶν τετελευτηκότων* in the classical period); one is reminded by Artemidorus' text of the numerous Roman parallels collected and studied by F. CUMONT, *After-life in Roman Paganism*, *passim*.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. WILAMOWITZ, *op. cit.*, II, p. 19; cf. also the fact that *ἀφηρωίζειν* could be a synonym of *ἐνθάπτειν*: CHR. HABICHT, *op. cit.*, p. 179, note 62.

the man was put on the same level as the ancient heroes<sup>1</sup>. It was just a way of expressing one's gratitude. The difference between the ἥρωας Aleximachus and the ἥρωίνη Epicteta was not an essential one: they were both supposed to continue their life elsewhere and they both deserved a cult, Aleximachus because of his services to his πόλις, Epicteta, because she had decided herself to organize a cult in honour of her husband, sons and herself. Nor does there appear to have been much difference between Epicteta the ἥρωίνη and, let us say, Κυρίλλα, mentioned in the inscription from Amorion (noted above). At any rate the inscriptions themselves do not reveal any differences, but only the general resemblance, *viz.* the institution of a funerary cult in honour of the deceased.

11. Smyrna? (Catalogue: 'Asia Minor'). Fragment of marble tombstone; L. 0, 105 m (max.); W. 0,135 m; Th. 0,04 m; on the stone an inscription of 9 lines; letters ± 0,01 m; interlinear space 0,004 m; rectangular *sigma*; right stroke of *alpha* longer; later imperial times; Inventory: I. 1901/5. 3; Photograph: Plate II, 11.

ΑΠΟΥΖΩ  
 ΝΟΙΣΑΥΤΟΥ  
 ΟΣΕΞΟΥΣΙ  
 ΙΣΑΥΤΟΗ  
 5 ΑΙΑΤΟΕΑ  
 ΕΦΑΨΑ  
 ΟΤΡΙ  
 Ω  
 Ε

From line 3 may be inferred, that we have here part of an epitaph: μηδεν]ός ἐξουσί[αν ἔχοντος. It would be useless to adduce any parallels, since this formula occurs in numerous ancient epitaphs; in line 1 and 2 I read αὐτοῦ Ζω[σίμῃ *e.g.* and τέκ]νοις αὐτοῦ. The beginning of the inscription probably was: [ὁ δεῖνα τοῦ δεῖνα κατεσκευάσασε τὸ μνημεῖον ἑαυτῷ καὶ τῇ γυναικί] αὐτοῦ Ζω[σίμῃ καὶ τοῖς τέκ]νοις αὐτοῦ . . . , [μηδεν]ός ἐξουσί[αν ἔχοντος *e.g.* ἄλλο πτώμα εἰσενεγκεῖν εἰς αὐτὸ ἢ . . .

In line 5 I hold the letters EA to be the beginning of an ἐάν -clause, followed by either a curse or the mention of a fine against any possible violator: 'ἐάν δέ τις *e.g.* τολμήσει' etc. The remaining letters in line 6 seem to be part of the verb ἐφάψα[σθαι]. At any rate I do not see another possibility which will do justice to these letters. In that case the meaning might be 'If somebody dares to touch this μνημεῖον', namely, with hostile purposes. I have to admit that I have not been able to find any parallel for the use of ἐφάπτομαι in ancient epitaphs. As to the idea, I may refer to the following inscription, an epigram, from Thebes: 'ἦν γὰρ θίγγη τις εἰς τὴν ἐμήν, μητ' ἐλπίδων ὄναιτο etc.'<sup>2</sup>. In line 7 the letters ΟΤΡΙ naturally are part of a verb like (ἐξ)αλλοτριῶσαι; an infinitive is to be restored, depending on ἐάν δέ τις τολμήσει *e.g.*. There remain in line 5 the letters -αιατο. As it will be difficult, if not impossible, to find a word ending

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *mutatis mutandis* what A. D. Nock says about the institution of public sacrifices and games in honour of outstanding εὐεργέται in Hellenistic times: 'In itself it did not imply any ascription of personal deity to the recipient' (*Soter and Euergetes, Joy of Study in honour of F. C. Grant*, p. 135).

<sup>2</sup> PEEK, *Griechische Versinschriften*, 2035, l. 26-28 (third or fourth century A.D.); a similar expression in n. 480, l. 3-4 'μηδ' ἐπὶ λύμῃ χεῖρα βάλοις'; in our inscription ἐφάψα[σθαι] probably would have been followed by an expression like ἐπὶ λύμῃ; for the sense see also the frequently used expression κακὴν χεῖρα προσφέρειν/προσάγειν (*e.g.* in LE BAS-WADDINGTON, 716; MAMA, I, 399).

in -αιατο, I venture to assume here an engraver's fault: αι ακύ>τό. If this is true, we have in -αι the ending of a second infinitive (for instance ἀδικῆσ[αι]), depending on μηδεν]ός ἐξουσί[αν ἔχοντος.

12. Smyrna? (Catalogue: 'Asia Minor'). Marble tombstone; *tabula ansata*; L. 0,53 m; W. 0,38 m; Th. 0,05 m; on the stone an inscription of twelve lines; under the last line a little bird; letters  $\pm$  0,02 m; interlinear space 0,007 m; rectangular *sigma*; right stroke of *alpha* much longer; advanced imperial times; Inventory: LKA, 1182; Photograph: Plate II, 12.

Ἀμέριμνος Μάρκου ζῶ  
 ν τὸ μνημεῖον κα-  
 τεσκεύασεν ἑαυτ-  
 ῶ καὶ τοῖς κατοικο-  
 5 μένοις Ἀττικίλλα  
 τῆ γυναικὶ καὶ Ἀντ-  
 τωνία Ἀντύλλα τῆ θυ-  
 γατρὶ καὶ Πρειμιγε-  
 νήα καὶ Λουκίω καὶ τ-  
 10 οῖς ἀπελευθέροις  
 καὶ τοῖς τούτων  
 ἐκγόνοις

Amerimnos, when alive, made this monument for himself and for his departed wife, daughter, slaves, liberti and their off-spring. For the proper name Ἀντύλλα see *Sammelbuch*, n. 5931 (an epitaph from Cyrenaica); for Ἀντύλλος see *e.g.* BCH, VII, 1883, p. 454, col. II, l. 27. For Ἀττικίλλα see *e.g.* *Delphinion*, 176, l. 9. Πρειμιγενή(=ει)α and Λούκιος might have been Amerimnos' *θρεπτοί* or slaves<sup>1</sup>. CIG 3124 gives an example of a *θρεπτός Πρειμιγένης*; for Ἀμέριμνος see CIG 3190 (Smyrna).

13. Sidon. (Catalogue: 'bought from JEAN FARAH in Tyre'). Limestone lid of a sarcophagus; L. 0,16 m; W. 0,33 m; Th. 0,15 m; on the stone an inscription of five lines; part of line 1 is missing; letters  $\pm$  0,035 m; interlinear space 0,01-0,012 m; very irregular script; Inventory: B. 1902/2. 3; Photograph: Plate II, 13.

Γάιε Ἰού[λιε]  
 Ἀμφείων  
 χρηστὸ καὶ ἄ-  
 λυπε κύριε  
 χαῖρε

The Museum-inventory only mentions, that this inscription was bought from JEAN FARAH at Tyre. There is, however, sufficient reason to assume that this inscription comes from Sidon. In BCH, LX, 1936, p. 190 f. L. ROBERT discussed some inscriptions from the Museum in Toulon. The original editors thought that these texts came from the South of France. ROBERT, however,

<sup>1</sup> I have discarded the possibility of printing καὶ πρειμιγενήα: in this case Amerimnos' intention was to indicate that Ἀντύλλα was older than Λούκιος his son. But if Λούκιος was his son, why did Amerimnos not say so by adding the words τῶ υἱῶ just as he had written Ἀντύλλα τῆ θυγατρὶ? It seems more natural to suppose that Πρ. and Λούκιος belonged to a different category altogether. If they were Amerimnos' *θρεπτοί* born and bred in his house, we can easily understand why A. places them before his freedmen. The people who belonged to A.'s household and lived in his house, were mentioned first; the freedmen, who probably lived elsewhere, came in second place. Finally it may be asked whether πρειμιγένει(=η)α as an adjective is common in ancient epitaphs. I do not know of an example.

showed convincingly that both the form of the stones<sup>1</sup> and the inscriptions themselves<sup>2</sup> pointed to a Sidonian origin. Our inscription belongs to exactly the same category as the inscriptions from Toulon: it also comes from Sidon. From the necropolis of Sidon numerous stones of this type have found their way into the European Museums. See A. DAIN, *Inscriptions grecques du Musée du Louvre*, n. 87-137 (They are all from Sidon and belong to the same category, i.e. lids of sarcophagi). Our inscription, consequently, has to be inserted in the volume of the *Inscriptions de Syrie* which will contain the inscriptions from Sidon<sup>3</sup>.

14. Smyrna? (Catalogue: 'Asia Minor'). Marble tombstone; L. 0,265 m; W. 0,305 m; Th. 0,027 m; on the stone an inscription of four lines; letters  $\pm$  0,03 m; interlinear space 0,01-0,015 m; rectangular *sigma*;  $\Upsilon$ ; *apices*; faint traces of red paint are still visible in the letters; later imperial times (2nd-3rd century A.D.); Inventory: LKA, 1149; Photograph: Plate III, 14.

Διονυσόδω-  
ρος Ἀπολλωνί-  
ου Διονυσᾶς  
Περπερήνιος

On Perperene, a little town north of Pergamum, see the references given by L. ROBERT, *Villes d'Asie Mineure*, p. 84, note 2. Other Περπερήνιοι are mentioned in CIG 3142, col. III, l. 24, 25: Βάκχιος Διονυσίου Περπερήνιος καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς μητρὸς Μηνοφίλας τῆς Ἡρακλείδου Περπερηνίας and in IGR, IV, 1437 = Ath. Mitt., XIV, 1889, p. 95, n. 26, which is now in the Museum at Leyden: see p. 33, n. 15. The name Διονυσᾶς belongs to that group of hypocoristic names, which, ending in -ας, are so popular in the first centuries A.D.; see L. ROBERT, *EEPh.*, p. 191. It is not surprising to find that citizens of Perperene bear names like Διονυσόδωρος, Διονυσᾶς: the coins of Perperene show that the cult of Dionysus must have been very popular (P-W, XIX, 1, col. 891 'Am häufigsten zeigen die Münzen den Kult des Dionysos'). Nothing certain can be said about the provenance of this inscription. Since the two above-mentioned inscriptions, in which Perperenians are mentioned, come from Smyrna, it seems tempting to attribute this inscription to the same place. As far as I know there are no other inscriptions in which Περπερήνιοι occur.

15. Smyrna. (Catalogue: 'Asia Minor'). Marble tombstone; L. 0,34 m; W. 0,179 m; Th. 0,013 m; on the stone an inscription of four lines; in the middle of line 2 and 3 traces are visible of a painted portrait of the bust of the deceased; faint traces of red paint on some letters; at the right and left side of the last line a leaf; letters  $\pm$  0,03 m; almost no interlinear space; *upsilon* with cross bar at the end of the *hasta*; *apices*; later imperial times; Inventory: LKA, 1150; Photograph: Plate III, 15.

Διονύσιος Ἀν-  
δρέου Περπε-  
ρήνιος εἰρηνα-  
ρχῶν

<sup>1</sup> 'Quant aux épitaphes n. 1, 2 et 3, leur forme décèle à coup sûr leur origine. Ce sont les cippes sur une base quadrangulaire . . . C'est le type connu à une foule d'exemplaires par les cippes de la nécropole de Sidon' (*art. cit.*, p. 191).

<sup>2</sup> E.g.: Βασὲ χρηστὲ καὶ ἄλυπε χαῖρε ζήσας ἔτη μθ' and Ἰουλιανὲ χρηστ(ἔ) καὶ ἄλυπε χα(ῖ)ρε ζή(σας) ἔ(τ)η νζ'.

<sup>3</sup> R. MOUTERDE, *Recueil des inscriptions de Syrie*; the volume which will contain the inscriptions from Sidon, is in preparation: see *Actes du deuxième congrès international d'Épigraphie Grecque et Latine*, Paris, 1952, p. 176/7.

This inscription was published in *Ath. Mitt.*, XIV, 1889, p. 95, n. 26 (A. E. CONTOLÉON) and afterwards in *IGR*, IV, 6, 1437 and comes from *Smyrna*. On the εἰρήναρχοι, who were members of the municipal police, see L. ROBERT, *BCH*, LII, 1928, p. 408, note 3. For a good survey of the most important evidence for the municipal police in general in Asia Minor, see L. ROBERT, *Ét. Anat.*, p. 96 ff.; see also R. K. SHERK in *AJPh.*, LXXVI, 1955, p. 400-413 (in the discussion of police forces in Bithynia on p. 403/4 of this article the inscription published by L. ROBERT, *Ét. Anat.*, p. 285, has escaped the author's attention).

16. *Smyrna?* (Catalogue: 'Asia Minor'). Marble tombstone; L. 0,33 m; W. 0,31 m; Th. 0,039 m; on the stone an inscription of five lines; traces of red paint on the letters; letters  $\pm$  0,02-0,025 m; interlinear space  $\pm$  0,015 m; *apices*; imperial times; Inventory: LKA, 1146; Photograph: Plate III, 16.

Τι(βέριος) Κλαύδιος  
Κλάδος  
Κιβυράτης  
χαῖρε  
ἐτῶν ιθ'

Once more nothing certain can be said about the provenance of the stone. For the name Κλάδος see BURESCH, *Aus Lydien*, p. 78 (from Sandal), LE BAS-WADDINGTON, 1055 (Hadrianoi), BOHN-SCHUCHHARDT, *Altertümer von Aegae*, p. 23 ff. (Aegae = L. ROBERT, *Les Gladiateurs*, n. 257) and CIG 2347 (Syria). In three of these inscriptions Κλάδος is the name of a δοῦλος, θρεπτός or ἀπελεύθερος<sup>1</sup>. May we conclude from the name Τι. Κλαύδιος Κλάδος that our Κλάδος originally was a slave and received his freedom from the emperor Tiberius (or from somebody else during Tiberius' reign)? It was precisely this emperor who has rebuilt Cibyra after the devastating earthquake in 25 A.D. (cf. L. ROBERT, *Ét. Anat.*, p. 373/4; subsequently the city calls itself ἡ Καισαρέων Κιβυρατῶν πόλις). Perhaps several slaves were manumitted on that occasion by Tiberius or by some of the local magnates.

17. *Smyrna?* (Catalogue: 'Asia Minor'). Marble tombstone; L. 0,35 m; W. 0,245 m; Th. 0,05 m; on the stone an inscription of four lines; letters  $\pm$  0,025 m; interlinear space  $\pm$  0,015 m; strong *apices*; imperial times; Inventory: LKA, 1186; Photograph: Plate III, 17.

Μηνόφιλος  
Ἰέρωνος  
Κιβυράτης  
ἐτῶν λγ'

The name Ἰέρων occurs in an inscription found at Cibyra: *BCH*, II, 1878, p. 594, n. 1; p. 604.

18. *Smyrna?* (Catalogue: 'Asia Minor'). Marble tombstone; L. 0,32 m; W. 0,26 m; Th. 0,045 m; on the stone an inscription of five lines; letters (l. 1-3)  $\pm$  0,025 m; l. 4:  $\pm$  0,02 m; l. 5: 0,015 m; interlinear space  $\pm$  0,007-0,008 m; *apices*; horizontal bar of the *eta* does not join the vertical *hastae*; later imperial times; Inventory: LKA, 1147; Photograph: Plate III, 18.

Ἡρακλείδη  
Ἡρακλείδου  
Ἱεροκαιοσαρεῖ  
Γλύκιννα ἡ ἀδελ-  
φή κατεσκεύασεν

<sup>1</sup> In Egypt this name seems to occur only in *P. Hib.*, 118 (252 B.C.). In this papyrus there is nothing to indicate that the man is a slave.

On Hierokaisareia, which was called Hierakome before the first century A.D., see L. ROBERT, *Ét. Anat.*, p. 559, spec. note 1; *Villes d'Asie Mineure*, p. 84, note 2.

19. Smyrna? (Catalogue: 'Asia Minor'). Upper part of a marble grave stele; L. 0,305 m; W. 0,175 m; Th. 0,035 m; under a laurel-wreath, in which χαῖρε has been engraved, an inscription of 2 lines; letters 0,013 m; interlinear space 0,007-0,01 m; small *apices*; *omicron* and *omega*: small, at the top of the line; *alpha*: with curved cross-bar; late Hellenistic time (because of the *omicron*); Inventory: LKA, 1191; Photograph: Plate III, 19.

Χαῖρε  
Μητρὸν Δημητρίου  
Θυατειρηνή

If this epitaph comes from Smyrna, it has to be added to the category of Smyrnaean inscriptions, which mention Θυατειρηνοί: CIG 3142, 3205, 3206, 3483, 3487; see also BCH, XI, 1887, p. 297, n. 5 (Σεραπίας Διονυσίου Θυατειρηνή), which might well come from Smyrna, though this is not certain.

20. Smyrna? (Catalogue: 'Asia Minor'). Marble tombstone; L. 0,135 m; W. 0,30 m; Th. 0,05 m; on the stone an inscription of 8 lines; letters ± 0,02 m; interlinear space ± 0,004-0,005 m; strong *apices*; very ornate script; abbreviation for καὶ in l. 4; later imperial times; Inventory: LKA, 1185; Photograph: Plate IV, 20.

Κρατεῖ-  
νος Ἀρτε-  
μιδώρου  
{τ}ὸ καὶ Διό-  
5 φαντος  
Ἀπολλω-  
νιάτης  
χαῖρε

In l. 4 only small part of the first letter (τ) is preserved. It is possible that the engraver discovered his mistake and tried to make this letter illegible. It seems impossible to decide which is the Apollonia Krateinos is coming from. Leaving aside those places which are too far away, I feel that Apollonia Salbaké, Apollonia in Lycia, in Pisidia and in Mysia are the most reasonable possibilities. Since we know that Apollonia on the Meander changed its name into Tripolis at the time of Augustus (see now J-L. ROBERT, *La Carie*, II, p. 237-242), it is impossible to attribute this epitaph to a citizen of this city; for on the ground of the lettering our inscription certainly belongs to the second century A.D. Apollonia in Lydia is ruled out, because its inhabitants call themselves Ἀπολλωνιδεῖς (see L. ROBERT, *Villes d'Asie Mineure*, p. 80/81).

21. Smyrna? (Catalogue: 'Asia Minor'). Marble tombstone; L. 0,40 m; W. 0,31 m; Th. 0,04 m; in the right corner at the bottom a leaf; on the stone an inscription of four lines; letters 0,02 m; almost no interlinear space; *apices*; rectangular (l. 1) and lunate (l. 3) *sigma*; curved *omega*; later imperial times (3rd century A.D.); Inventory: LKA, 1183; Photograph: Plate IV, 21.

Ἀθηνόδωρος  
Ἀθηνοδώρου  
Ἀλικαρνασσεύς  
χρηστὸν χαῖρε

22. Smyrna? (Catalogue: 'Asia Minor'). Marble tombstone; L. 0,28 m; W. 0,285 m; Th. 0,038 m; in the right corner at the bottom a branch; on the stone an inscription of four lines; letters 0,017-0,02 m; interlinear space 0,027-0,003 m; rather thin script; *apices*; horizontal bar of *eta* does not join the vertical *hastae*; imperial times; Inventory: LKA, 1152; Photograph: Plate IV, 22.

Γέμελλα  
Πασσερείνω  
μνήμης  
χάριν

For Γέμελλα see BCH, VIII, 1884, p. 387 (Julia Gordos); see also CIG 2870 where a Λούκιος Πασσερείος is mentioned. For Πασσερεῖνος I have found no parallel.

23. Smyrna? (Catalogue: 'no provenance mentioned'). Marble tombstone; L. 0,47 m; W. 0,18 m; Th. 0,03 m; on the stone an inscription of four lines; letters 0,015-0,02 m; interlinear space 0,005 m; slight *apices*; *epsilon*, *omega* and *mu*: curved; later imperial times; Inventory: I. 93/8. 6; Photograph: Plate IV, 23.

Τερτία Βουλουμ-  
νία Κοίντω Τυλλί-  
ω 'Ρούφω τὸ μνη-  
μεῖον κατεσκεύασεν

Tertia Volumnia made this monument for Q. Tullius Rufus. In a recently discovered Thracian inscription (BE, 1956, p. 141, n. 169) the name Volumnia was transcribed as follows: Οὐολουμνία.

24. Smyrna? (Catalogue: 'Asia Minor'). Marble tombstone; L. 0,26 m; W. 0,22 m; Th. 0,035 m; on the stone an inscription of six lines; letters  $\pm$  0,015 m; interlinear space 0,007-0,01 m; strong *apices*; imperial times; Inventory: LKA, 1151; Photograph: Plate IV, 24.

'Αμμιάς 'Απολλω-  
νίου κατεσκεύ-  
ασεν τὸ μνη-  
μεῖον τοῖς τέ-  
5 κνοῖς Δαμοκρά-  
τη καὶ Μητροδώρῳ

For 'Αμμιάς and other similar women's names, see Rev. Arch., 1933, II, p. 137.

25. Smyrna? (Catalogue: 'Asia Minor'). Marble tombstone; L. 0,275 m; W. 0,11 m; Th. 0,06 m; on the stone an inscription of three lines; letters  $\pm$  0,015 m; interlinear space varying from  $\pm$  0,013-0,005 m; *apices*; legs of *phi* unequal; *omega*: smaller, at the top of the line; *alpha*: curved cross-bar; late Hellenistic period; Inventory: LKA, 1187; Photograph: Plate IV, 25.

Μητρόδωρος  
'Απολλᾶδος  
χαῖρε

For 'Απολλᾶς see p. 33, n. 14 and the reference given there.

26. Smyrna? (Catalogue: 'Smyrna'). Marble tombstone; *tabula ansata*; L. 0,455 m; W. 0,305 m; Th. 0,04 m; on the stone an inscription of six lines; letters  $\pm$  0,015 m; the *hastae* of the *phi* in l. 3 and l. 4 is  $\pm$  0,03 m long; interlinear space  $\pm$  0,013 m; strong *apices*; very ornate script; later imperial times; Inventory: I. 93/8. 7; Photograph: Plate V, 26.

Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος  
 Φοῖβος Τιβέριος  
 Κλαύδιος Φιλόφρο-  
 νι τωῖ ἀδελφωῖ κα-  
 5 τεσκέυασε  
 μνήμης χάριν

In l. 2/3 the engraver probably has been misled by the first line: instead of writing Τιβερῖωι Κλαυδίωι he has repeated the nominative of l. 1. Tiberius Claudius Phoebus made this monument in honour of his brother Tiberius Claudius Philophon. For the name Φοῖβος see STEINLEITNER, *Die Beichte in der Antike*, p. 27, where many examples are collected.

27. Smyrna? (Catalogue: 'Mons Pagus'). Marble tombstone; *tabula ansata*; L. 0,50 m; W. 0,27 m; Th. 0,055 m; on the stone an inscription of five lines; letters  $\pm$  0,015 m; *phi* much longer; interlinear space  $\pm$  0,008-0,01 m; *apices*; imperial times; Inventory: I. 92/7. 4; Photograph: Plate V, 27.

Ἐπίκτησις Ἑρμογέ-  
 νου τοῦ Ἰόλλα ζῶσα  
 καὶ φρονούσα κατε-  
 σκέυασεν τῷ ἰδίῳ  
 5 υἱῷ Φιλίππῳ

Epiiktēs, daughter of Hermogenes, son of Iollas, made this monument; for the name Ἰόλλας see CIG 4379, 2214 c, add. 3. Inventory: 'This stone comes from Mons Pagus'; this, however, does not necessarily mean that it is a Smyrnaean inscription: see my Introduction, p. XIII.

28. Smyrna? (Catalogue: 'Asia Minor'). Marble tombstone; L. 0,32 m; W. 0,24 m; Th. 0,04 m; on the stone an inscription of five lines; letters 0,015-0,025 m; very irregular interlinear space; very irregular script; lunate *sigma* and *epsilon*; late imperial times; Inventory: LKA, 1184; Photograph: Plate V, 28.

Παπίας Ἐπ-  
 ικράτου Χρυ-  
 σάνθου ΠΡΟ  
 ΜΕΤΡΟΥ ἐπι-  
 5 μελουμένου

'Papias, son of Epicrates, <lies buried here>, whereas Chrysanthus, son of Prometros (or: Chrysanthus, the προμέτρης) took care of <the tomb and/or burial>'. For a similar epitaph see J. KEIL, *Anz. Akad. Wien, Phil.-Hist. Klasse*, 1953, n. 1, p. 21, n. 5. For the name Παπίας see J.-L. ROBERT, *La Carie*, II, p. 78; for Χρύσανθος see BCH, XIV, 1890, p. 539 = IGR, III, 1539 (Palmyra) and *Anatolian Studies*, II, 1952, p. 134/5, n. 6 (Anazarbus); the letters ΠΡΟΜΕΤΡΟΥ either conceal the name of Chrysanthus' father (Προμέτρου) or his profession (προμέτρου); for προμέτρης (Lat.: mensor: 'camp-surveyor') see L-S<sup>9</sup>, s.v. The latter suggestion is perhaps slightly preferable since a proper name Προμέτρης/ος does not seem to be attested.

29. Smyrna? (Catalogue: 'Asia Minor'). Marble tombstone; L. 0,25 m; W. 0,275 m; Th. 0,04 m; on the stone an inscription of five lines; traces of red paint on some of the letters; letters  $\pm$  0,025 m; interlinear space  $\pm$  0,01 m; strong *apices*; imperial times; Inventory: LKA, 1148; Photograph: Plate V, 29.

Μάρκω  
 Λολλίω  
 Ἀγαθόποδι  
 τὰ τέκνα κα-  
 5 τεσκεύασαν

A close examination of the stone shows that the engraver originally wrote ΑΓΑΘΠΙΟΔΙ; however, he corrected his mistake; faint traces of the Π and Ο are still visible. For the name Ἀγαθόπους see L. ROBERT, *Ét. Anat.*, p. 143, n. 1; *Hellenica*, IX, p. 50; SEG, XII, Index, s.v.

30. Smyrna? (Catalogue: 'Asia Minor'). Upper part of a grave stele; L. 0,17 m; W. 0,17 m; Th. 0,025 m; on the stone an inscription of two lines; letters ± 0,01 m; interlinear space very small; *alpha*: with broken cross-bar; *omega*: small, at the top of the line; *omicron*: smaller than other letters; very slight *apices*; late Hellenistic period? Inventory: LKA, 1180; Photograph: Plate V, 30.

Ἀμαλωῖχος  
 Ἀστυκρίτου

I do not remember having come across the name Ἀμαλωῖχος; several indices of epigraphical works did not furnish a parallel. PAPE-BENSELER gives only Ἀμαλωῖος and Ἀμάλχιος; Ἀμαλωῖχος looks like a mixture of these two names.

31. Smyrna? (Catalogue: 'from Smyrna and other places'). Marble tombstone; L. 0,28 m; W. 0,143 m; Th. ± 0,06 m; on the stone an inscription of two lines; letters ± 0,025 m; interlinear space ± 0,02 m; strong *apices*; advanced imperial times; Inventory: I. 1901/7. 7; Photograph: Plate V, 31.

Θρέπτος  
 ἐτῶν· κβ'· ἥρωος

For Θρέπτος as a proper name, which also probably has a bearing upon the parentage of the person concerned, in that it may well indicate that the person was either an adopted child or a slave (for the meaning of *θρεπτός* see A. CAMERON, *Θρεπτός and related terms in the inscriptions of Asia Minor, Anatolian Studies W. H. Buckler*, p. 27 ff.), see e.g. MAMA, IV, 176; CIG 3332; IG XII, 1, 655; L. ROBERT, *Hellenica*, VII, p. 31, note 1; *Studia Pontica*, II, n. 7b, l. 1 (= Belle-ten, XVII, 1953, p. 178). JRS, XLVI, 1956, p. 47 ff. (= SEG, XIII, 625), an inscription from Sulmenli in Phrygia, provides a further example. In e.g. l. 21 a procurator, called Αὐρ. Θρέπτος occurs. I take it that in his childhood this man was either an adopted child or a slave. In both cases he retained his youth-name Θρέπτος (cf. in Dutch the habit of calling a boy and a girl 'Broer' and 'Zus', as if these were proper names) at a later age. His name Αὐρ. Θρέπτος indicates that he was a slave and received his freedom from Caracalla (cf. SEG, IV, n. 194, for a similar case: Μᾶρ(κος) Αὐρ(ήλιος) Θρέπτος).

32. Ephesus. (Catalogue: 'Smyrna'). Marble tombstone; L. 0,28 m; W. 0,27 m; Th. 0,04 m; on the stone an inscription of five lines; letters 0,02-0,025 m; irregular interlinear space; very irregular script; *omicrons* are smaller; *apices*; imperial times; Inventory: I. 1900/1. 23; Photograph: Plate VI, 32.

Φίλα Δοκίμου  
 ἐπόησεν τὸ μν-  
 ημίον Ἐρμίππῳ  
 Δοκίμου τῷ  
 5 ἑαυτῆς τέκνῳ

'Phila, wife of Dokimos, made this monument in honour of her child Hermippos, son of Dokimos'. The combination 'her own child, son of Dokimos' makes it clear that Phila is not the daughter of Dokimos but his wife. This inscription was published by A. E. CONTOLÉON, REG, XIII, 1900, p. 496, n. 4, who gave a reference to its previous publication in the Smyrnaean newspaper *Νέα Σμύρνη*, Nov. 15th, 1889, n. 3990. According to CONTOLÉON it comes from Ephesus, but the Museum-catalogue gives its provenance as Smyrna. There is no reason to doubt that CONTOLÉON's information is more reliable. By the time that A. E. VAN LENNEP acquired this inscription the antique dealers of Smyrna had intervened, and simply told VAN LENNEP that the stone came from Smyrna. This particular case therefore throws some light on the reliability of the information given by the Museum-catalogue on the ground of VAN LENNEP's letters.

33. Smyrna? (Catalogue: 'from Smyrna and other places'). Marble tombstone; L. 0,31 m; W. 0,375 m; Th. 0,025 m; on the stone an inscription of five lines; letters  $\pm$  0,03 m; interlinear space 0,02-0,025 m; *apices*; *eta*: the horizontal bar does not join the vertical strokes; imperial times; Inventory: I. 1901/7. 6; Photograph: Plate VI, 33.

Ἀθηνίων  
καὶ Ἑρμίας  
Ἐπικτήσει  
τῇ ἑαυτῶν  
5 μητρὶ

For the name Ἀθηνίων see CIG 4065; BCH, XIX, 1895, p. 339, XX, 1896, p. 185, col. 1, l. 76.

34. Smyrna? (Catalogue: 'Asia Minor'). Upper part of a grave stele, with acroteria and a rosette in the tympanon and with part of a relief; L. 0,342 m; W. 0,345 m; Th. 0,042 m; the relief is very much damaged; in the right hand top corner part of a head is preserved; between the cornice and the relief an inscription of five lines and two wreaths with the words ὁ δῆμος; letters 0,008-0,01 m; very small interlinear space; almost no *apices*; late Hellenistic period?; Inventory: LKA, 1179; Photograph: Plate VI, 34.

Ἡρώ-		ΜΑΤΑ	
δην	ὁ δῆ-	Ἑρμογέ-	ὁ δῆ-
Διοσ-	μος	νου Διοσ-	μος
σκου-		σκουρίδου	
ρίδου		δὲ γυναι-	κα

The persons, honoured by this inscription, are Herodes, son of Dioskourides, and Dioskourides' wife, who was a daughter of Hermogenes. The name of this woman is somewhat enigmatic; only four letters are on the stone; there is room for one more letter after the latter A of ΜΑΤΑ, but the stone does not seem to be written upon; if we assume that the stone-cutter did not make a mistake, there are, as far as I see, only two possibilities: 1) *Ματα* is an accusative of *Μας*; for this name see L. ROBERT, *Ét. Anat.*, p. 370, n. 3; an inscription from the Cibyratis shows that the dative of this name is *Μαδι* (*Τληπᾶς Παπου Μαδι τῇ θυγατρὶ*: BCH, XXIV, 1900, p. 162, quoted by ROBERT, *op. cit.*). The variation of τ and δ (*Μαδι* - *Ματα*) needs not detain us very long: in an inscription from a village near Apamea in Phrygia (BCH, XVII, 1893, p. 246 = IGR, IV, 807; cf. BCH, LX, 1936, p. 295, note 3) the form *Μοίτα* occurs. This clearly is another spelling of *Μίδα*: τ and δ are interchangeable, whereas the prevailing iotacism, of course, explains the *οι* - *ι* variation: for the name *Μοίτας* see L. ROBERT, *Hellenica*, VII, p. 220/1. 2) The second

possibility is that  $\text{Ματα}$  is intended as an undeclined accusative of  $\text{Ματα}$ ; for  $\text{Ματα}$  as a proper name see *Studia Pontica*, III, p. 5, n. 1 (Amisos).

The Museum-catalogue gives the following usual information concerning the provenance of this stone: 'from Asia Minor'. In this case, however, it is possible to give a closer location; this stone belongs to a large group of monuments, which C. J. CADOUX describes as follows: 'Nearly eighty sepulchral and other honorary inscriptions, some of them attached to elaborate bas-reliefs portraying the persons concerned, contain little more than the words  $\acute{\omicron}$   $\delta\eta\mu\omicron\varsigma$  [in a laurel-wreath] followed by the names of the one or more persons (sometimes women), whom the people delighted thus to honour, and of their lineage' (*Ancient Smyrna*, p. 188). Nearly all these eighty inscriptions are from Smyrna. It seems therefore reasonable to assume a Smyrnaean provenance for our inscription. One must, however, bear in mind that this category of inscriptions occurs also in the areas surrounding Smyrna, in Magnesia ad Sipylum, Thyatira, Teos and Sardis (for an inscription from Sardis, now in Leyden, see p. 86, note 2). This has recently been pointed out by L. ROBERT, *Rev. de Phil.*, 1944, p. 44 ff. The majority of these inscriptions, however, undoubtedly come from Smyrna. I have dealt at length with this problem, because these remarks can be applied also to the following inscriptions.

35. Smyrna? (Catalogue: 'Asia Minor'). Upper part of a grave stele with acroteria; damaged at the right hand top corner; in the tympanon a round object; L. 0,455 m; W. 0,25 m; Th. 0,5 m; under the cornice two laurel-wreaths, in which the words  $\acute{\omicron}$   $\delta\eta\mu\omicron\varsigma$ ; under the wreaths an inscription of two lines; letters  $\pm$  0,013 m; interlinear space 0,007 m; small *apices*; late Hellenistic period; Inventory: LKA, 1171; Photograph: Plate VI, 35.

$\acute{\omicron}$ $\delta\eta\mu\omicron\varsigma$	$\acute{\omicron}$ $\delta\eta\mu\omicron\varsigma$
'Απολλώνιος	Μητροδωρος 'Απολ-
Νικολάου	λωνίου τοῦ Νικολάου

The stone gives: 'Απολλώνιος ΝΙΚΟΛΛΟΥ!

36. Smyrna? (Catalogue: 'Asia Minor'). Upper part of a grave stele with acroteria; in the tympanon a rosette; L. 0,48 m; W. 0,36 m; Th. 0,03 m; under the cornice two wreaths with the words  $\acute{\omicron}$   $\delta\eta\mu\omicron\varsigma$ ; under the wreaths an inscription of four lines; letters 0,015-0,02 m; interlinear space 0,005 m; small *omicrons* and *omegas* at the top of the line; late Hellenistic period; Inventory: LKA, 1145; Photograph: Plate VI, 36.

$\acute{\omicron}$ $\delta\eta\mu\omicron\varsigma$	$\acute{\omicron}$ $\delta\eta\mu\omicron\varsigma$
Μητροβίαν	'Αττ[αλ]ον
Νίκωνος 'Αττάλου	'Αθηνο[δῶ]ρου
δὲ γυναῖκα	

37. Smyrna. (Catalogue: 'Asia Minor'). Upper part of a marble grave stele with acroteria; in the tympanon a rosette; L. 0,535 m; W. 0,28 m; Th. 0,043 m; under the cornice two wreaths with the words  $\acute{\omicron}$   $\delta\eta\mu\omicron\varsigma$ ; on both sides of the wreaths a rosette; between and under the wreaths an inscription of six lines; letters  $\pm$  0,01 m; interlinear space 0,008-0,01 m; *omicron*: smaller; slight *apices*; late Hellenistic period? Inventory: LKA, 1178; Photograph: Plate VI, 37.

$\acute{\omicron}$ $\delta\eta\mu\omicron\varsigma$	'Απολλώ-	$\acute{\omicron}$ $\delta\eta\mu\omicron\varsigma$
μος	νιον Μη-	μος
	τροδῶ-	
	ρου Θί-	
	βρωνα	
	Μητρῶνακτα 'Απολλωνίου τοῦ Μητροδῶρου	

Apollonius, surnamed Thibron, and his son Metronax have been honoured by the people of Smyrna. A. E. CONTOLÉON published this inscription in REG, XIV, 1901, p. 298, n. 5; according to this publication the stone comes from Smyrna, which is entirely compatible with the general character of the inscription (see p. 40). In l. 4 he read OIBPΩNA; he understandably added: 'La leçon paraît impossible: Peut-être Θίβρωνα ου Μη]τρώνακτος'. However, Θίβρωνα is fairly clear on the stone; Μη]τρώνακτος is obviously impossible and was presumably a slip of CONTOLÉON's pen.

38. Smyrna? (Catalogue: 'From Smyrna and other places'). Grave stele with acroteria and tympanon and with relief; L. 0,275 m; W. 0,80 m; Th. 0,10 m; the relief represents a woman and a bunch of grapes; above the relief a laurel-wreath, with the words ὁ δῆμος; between the relief and the wreath an inscription of one line; letters 0,007-0,01 m; slight *apices*; *pi*: unequal legs; *omicrons* and *omegas*: small; late Hellenistic period; Inventory: I. 1901/7. 3; Photograph: Plate VII, 38.

ὁ δῆμος  
Μητρειν Ποσειδωνίου

For the name Μητρ(ε)ίς see, for instance, CIG 3258; GIBM, 1022.

39. Smyrna? (Catalogue: 'Smyrna?'). Marble grave stele with acroteria; in the tympanon a rosette; L. 0,405 m; W. 0,79 m; Th. ± 0,07 m; a relief represents a man and a small boy; in the right hand top corner a column with an altar on top of it; under the altar a snake; under the cornice a wreath; on both sides of the wreath an inscription of one line; letters 0,015 m; small *apices*; *pi*: slightly unequal legs; late Hellenistic period; Inventory: I. 92/7. 1; Photograph: Plate VII, 39.

Ξέρξης Πύρρου

40. Smyrna? (Catalogue: 'Smyrna?'). Grave stele with relief; L. 0,44 m; W. 0,63 m; Th. 0,07 m; the relief represents a woman, with on her right side a man, a tree and a snake<sup>1</sup>; under the tree a little dog; under the cornice an inscription of two lines; letters 0,01-0,013 m; interlinear space 0,004 m; *omicrons*, *omegas*: small, at the top of the line; *alpha*: broken cross-bar; *zeta*: one vertical *hasta* with two small horizontal strokes at the top and the bottom (I); slight *apices*; Hellenistic period; Inventory: I. 92/7. 2; Photograph: Plate VII, 40.

Μητρόδωρος  
καὶ Στρατονίκη Ζωίλου

Concerning the provenance of this and the previous inscription there is again some uncertainty; the Museum-catalogue suggests a Smyrnaean provenance, though this time with a question-mark. The fact that in n. 40, the name Στρατον(ε)ίκη occurs, can serve as an argument, though not a decisive one, in favour of a Smyrnaean origin; the cult of Aphrodite Stratonike was very popular in Smyrna in the Hellenistic period and several Στρατόν(ε)ικοι and Στρατον(ε)ϊ-καί are mentioned on Smyrnaean tombstones: CIG 3142, III, l. 17; 3195, 3349, 3379; LE BAS-WADDINGTON, 1531; Μουσείον, III, 175 (τνη'), V, 1, 22 (237); see C. J. CADOUX, *Ancient Smyrna*, p. 112, note 1.

41. Smyrna? (Catalogue: 'Asia Minor'). Grave stele with acroteria, tympanon with rosette, and relief; L. 0,50 m; W. 1,05 m; Th. 0,10 m; under the cornice a wreath; the relief represents a man, with damaged head; on his right side a tree with a snake round its stem; under the tree a little boy with his head broken off; on the left side of the man a small column on which a woman(?); at the foot of the column a small boy; between

<sup>1</sup> For the significance of the snake on grave reliefs see E. KÜSTER, *Die Schlange in der griechischen Kunst und Religion*, (RGVV, Band XIII, Heft 2) Giessen 1913, esp. p. 62-70 (see also the references mentioned in BSA, XLI, 1940-1945, p. 116); for the relation between snake and tree see *ibid.*, p. 83-85.

the wreath and the relief an inscription of one line; letters 0,015-0,017 m; *zeta*: same shape as in n. 40; very small *apices*; late Hellenistic period?; Inventory: SNNs, 1; Photograph: Plate VII, 41.

ὁ δῆμος  
Ἄριστόδικον Ζεύξιδος

C. LEEMANS published a short note about this inscription in the *Verlagen en Mededelingen der Koninkl. Akad. v. Wetenschappen, afd. Letterk., 2e Reeks, dl XI, 1882*; his reading Τεύξιδος is evidently mistaken; see BCH, XI, 1887, p. 297, n. 2 where another Ζεύξις is mentioned on a stone found in the garden of the Γενικὸν Διοικητήριον at Smyrna.

42. Smyrna? (Catalogue: 'Asia Minor'). Grave stele with acroteria and with a relief; L. 0,33 m; W. 0,70 m; Th. 0,07 m; the relief represents a man, sitting on a seat and keeping his feet on an oblong foot-stool, and a boy standing in front of the man; above the relief an inscription of one line; letters 0,01-0,015 m; *omicrons*: smaller; *pi*: unequal legs; almost no *apices*; Hellenistic period; Inventory: SNNs, 2; Photograph: Plate VIII, 42.

Διονύσιος Ἀπολωνίου

See LEEMANS, *art. cit.* (cf. ad n. 41); for this and the following reliefs see also E. PFUHL, *Jahrbuch*, XX, 1905, p. 47-96; p. 123-155.

43. Smyrna? (Catalogue: 'Smyrna?'). Grave stele with acroteria, tympanon and a relief; in the tympanon a rosette; L. 0,35 m; W. 0,55 m; Th. 0,08 m; the relief represents a man standing under a tree; round the stem of the tree a snake; at the foot of the tree a little dog; on the left side of the man a small column with a hermes; at the foot of the column a small boy; under the cornice a wreath with the words ὁ δῆμος; on both sides of the wreath a rosette; under the wreath and the rosette an inscription of one line; letters 0,01 m; no *apices*; *omicron*: smaller than other letters; Hellenistic period; Inventory: I. 91/8. 3; Photograph: Plate VIII, 43.

ὁ δῆμος  
]αν Μηνᾶ τοῦ Μελιτίωνο[ς]

Before ]αν no traces of letters are left; Μηνᾶ is the genitive of Μηνᾶς; see L. ROBERT, *EPh.*, p. 191 and *e.g.* CIG 3351. Of the last name the ν is not certain; one might be inclined to read a μ, but an ν obviously makes more sense, since both a name, ending in μ (*e.g.* Μελιτίωμ!) and a name like Μελιτίωμος (gen. -ο[υ]) are improbable and not attested. Therefore Μελιτίωνο[ς] seems to be the most reasonable reading; see also CIG 3220 (an epitaph from Smyrna): Ἀπολλώνιον Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Μηνᾶ.

44. Smyrna? (Catalogue: 'Asia Minor'). Small grave stele with acroteria, tympanon and a relief; L. 0,345 m; W. 0,50 m; Th. 0,055 m; the relief represents a man leaning upon a stick; under the relief an inscription of two lines; letters 0,015 m-0,018 m; interlinear space very small; right stroke of *alpha* and *delta* longer than left one; strong *apices*; advanced imperial times; Inventory: LKA, 1144; Photograph: Plate VIII, 44.

Λαρτιδίω μνεί-  
ας χάριν

For the name Λαρτίδιος see, for instance, BCH, XI, 1887, p. 84, n. 3, l. 3: Γαίος Λαρτίδιος Νίγερ (reign of Claudius; Sari-Tsam, in the plain of the Hermus); see also BCH, VII, 1883, p. 502, n. 1, l. 3/4: Κλ(αυδίου) Λαρτιδιανοῦ θυγατρί.

45. Smyrna? Tombstone, with relief; L. 0,20 m; W. 0,39 m; Th. 0,06-0,07 m; the relief represents a man turning his face on the spectator; under the relief an inscription of two lines; letters 0,02 m; interlinear space very small; lunate *sigma* and *epsilon*; no *apices*; imperial times; Inventory: no mark; Photograph: Plate VIII, 45.

Ἄριστόδημε  
ἄλυπε χαῖρε

For ἄλυπος see M. N. TOD, *Laudatory Epithets in Greek Epitaphs*, BSA, XLVI, 1951, p. 186/7.

46. Sagalassus? (Catalogue: 'Sagalassus'). Grave relief with acroteria, tympanon; L. 0,18 m; W. 0,27 m; Th. 0,09 m; in the tympanon a bull's head with on both sides a dolphin; the relief represents a male figure with in his left hand perhaps some sort of shield which is only partly preserved; on the cornice which separates the relief and the tympanon an inscription of one line, the beginning of which is missing; letters 0,01 m; *omega*, *epsilon*: curved; imperial times; Inventory: I. 93/8. 9; Photograph: Plate VIII, 46.

Θ[?]έων Ἀπ[ολλ]ωνίου

47. Smyrna (Catalogue: 'Smyrna?'). Rectangular tombstone; L. 0,605 m; W. 0,26 m; Th. 0,05 m; in the right hand corner at the bottom a leaf; on the stone an inscription of three lines; letters 0,03 m; interlinear space 0,01 m; lunate *epsilon* and *sigma*; *alpha* and *lambda*: cf. n. 44; fifth century A.D.; Inventory: I. 91/8. 6; Photograph: Plate IX, 47.

*Bibliography*: Rev. Arch., XIII, 1856, p. 10; F. CUMONT, *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire*, XV, 1895, p. 288, n. 30; CIG 8618; LE BAS-WADDINGTON, n. 30.

† Κ(ύρι)ε μνησθήτει τοῦ δού-  
λου σου Αἰθερίχου τοῦ  
ἀρχιεπισκόπου ἡμῶ(ν)

l. 1  $\overline{\text{KE}}$ ; l. 3  $\overline{\text{HM}\Omega}$ .

LE BAS-WADDINGTON give the following indication about its provenance: 'Encastrée, la tête en bas, dans le mur d'une ancienne mosquée, au sud de Smyrne à la droite du grand cimetière, et à mi-chemin de Sédikeuī, dans un lieu appelé Kamméno Djami'. The Museum-catalogue only mentions the traditional Smyrnaean provenance, though once more a question-mark has been added. This time the information given by the catalogue, is confirmed by LE BAS-WADDINGTON's commentary. There remains to be said that LE BAS-WADDINGTON read in l. 1 μνησθήτι, in l. 2 Αἰθερίχου; in l. 3 they printed ἡμῶν instead of ἡμῶ(ν). Aitherichos was bishop of Smyrna about 440/450 A.D.

48. Smyrna? (Catalogue: 'Asia Minor'). Marble tombstone; L. 0,27 m; W. 0,135 m; Th. 0,05 m; on the stone an inscription of four lines; traces of red paint on the letters; letters 0,02 m; interlinear space very small; *sigma* and *epsilon* lunate; strong *apices*; imperial times; Inventory: I.KA, 1189; Photograph: Plate IX, 48.

Σελήνη Αἴ-  
ακι ἐκ τῶν  
ιδίων μνεί-  
ας χάριν

49. Smyrna (Catalogue: 'from Magnesia(?)'). Tombstone with moulding on all sides; L. 1, 17 m; W. 0,545 m; Th. 0,06 m; on the stone an inscription of eight lines; letters 0,025-0,03 m; interlinear space 0,015-0,02 m; *apices*; imperial times (after Trajan: see l. 1); Inventory: I. 91/8. 7; Photograph: Plate IX, 49.

Τίτος Οὐλ(πιος) Ἰσίδωρος ἐχαρίσατο  
μνημα τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀπελευθέροις καὶ  
ταῖς ἀπελευθέραις καὶ τοῖς ἐξ αὐτῶν  
οὔσι καὶ γενησομένοις πᾶσι καὶ πάσαις·  
5 οἷς δ'οὐκ εἰσι παῖδες, ὧν ἂν ὤσι θρεπτοί  
ἢ θρεπταί· ἔσται δὲ ἄπρατον καὶ ἀνε-  
ξοδίαστον· ὁ δὲ πωλήσας δώσε' υνυ  
τῶ φίσκῳ \* μυ(ρία) δισχέιλια πε<ν>τακόσια

This inscription has been published by CAGNAT (IGR, IV, 1475) and LE BAS-WADDINGTON, 1527. With regard to the provenance LE BAS-WADDINGTON remark: 'Sur une pierre trouvée entre Bournabat et l'échelle de Bournabat'. In the Museum-catalogue we find: 'from Magnesia (?)'; it is safer to accept WADDINGTON's information on account of the questionable character of the data provided by the catalogue. In l. 2 one misses the article before *μνημα*; one can easily account for this mistake by assuming a haplography: *ἐχαρίσατο <τὸ> μνημα*; in l. 6/7 I read *ἀνεξοδίαστον* instead of *ἀνεισοδίαστον*, which was already regarded as a 'lectio dubia' by CAGNAT and WADDINGTON. For *ἀνεξοδίαστος* in epitaphs, see L. ROBERT, *Hellenica*, I, p. 60 ff.; II, p. 147 f.; a new example in BSA, XLIX, 1954, p. 16, n. 13.

50. Smyrna (Catalogue: 'from Smyrna and other places'). Marble tombstone, broken into two parts; *tabula ansata*; L. 0,62 m; W. 0,43 m; Th. 0,045 m; on the stone an inscription of 16 lines; four lines (13-16) more or less illegible; the remaining 12 very badly weathered at the left side of the stone; letters ± 0,01 m; interlinear space 0,005 m; 2nd century A.D.; Inventory: I. 1901/7. 9; Photograph: Plate IX, 50.

*Bibliography*: A. E. CONTOLÉON, REG, XII, 1899, p. 387, n. 21.

[ ± 16 ] ΩΝ·ΝΕ υ τὸ μνημεῖ-  
 [ον] κατεσκεύασεν ὑπὸ ἐργολάβους Μ.  
 . . . . ΛΙΑΝΟΝ καὶ Ὑγεῖνον Ἀπελλᾶ ἑαυ-  
 [τῶ] καὶ τῆ γυναικὶ καὶ τέκνοις καὶ θρέμμα-  
 5 [σιν]· οὗ ἡ ἐκδοσις ἀπόκειται εἰς τὸ ἀρχεῖον  
 . . . . . δίκαιον πανκτητικὸν ἐνσορίων  
 . . . . . ΟΥΚ . . . . . Ἐπαγαθοῦ ἐνσορίου τοῦ ἐν  
 [τῆ] μεγάλῃ καμάρᾳ ἐν εὐωνύμοις, Νεικάν-  
 [δ]ρου δὲ τοῦ καλουμένου Ἰθάρου ἐνσορίου  
 10 τοῦ ὑπὸ τὴν κλείμακα, Πωλλιανοῦ δὲ ἐνσο-  
 ρίου ὄντος ἐν τ[ῆ] καμάρᾳ ἐν δεξίσις ἐν ᾧ  
 . . . . . Ε . . . Ε 8 à 9 proper name]ου δὲ ἐνσορίου

In 1899 this inscription was published by A. E. CONTOLÉON as follows<sup>1</sup>: '21. Hauteur 0<sup>m</sup>46; Largeur 0<sup>m</sup>60; trouvée au Pagus. L'inscription avait 17 lignes presque complètement effacées. Je l'ai publiée dans la *Néa Σμύρνη* de 1899, n. 3880'.

. . . ΩΝΝΕ τὸ μνημεῖ[ον κατεσ-  
 κεύ]ασεν ὑπὸ ἐργολάβους Μ . . .  
 . . . ΕΙΝΟΝ Ἀπελλᾶ, ἑαυ[τῶ] (ου: ἑαυτοῖς)  
 καὶ] τέκνοις καὶ θρέμμα[σι· τούτου  
 τὸ ἀντίγραφον ἀπ]όκειται εἰς τὸ ἀρχεῖον

Though it was possible to read considerably more on the stone, I am still left with some unsolved problems. It seems likely to suppose that the name of the owner of the *μνημεῖον* has been mentioned in the lost part of l. 1<sup>2</sup>. The contractors were called Μ(ἄρκος) . . . λιανος and Ὑγεῖνος, son of Ἀπελλᾶς. L. 5 proved to be far more interesting than CONTOLÉON thought. Instead of the common *ἀντίγραφον* the rare word *ἐκδοσις* has been used. I know of only two exam-

<sup>1</sup> See the bibliography.

<sup>2</sup> Since there does not exist a Greek word ending on -ωνε the letters νε must be either an abbreviation or a figure: νε(ώτερος) or 55. In the latter case -ων may be supplemented as follows: ἐτ[ῶν] νε'; we have, then, the age of the owner of the *μνημεῖον* if at least his name is to be restored in l. 1.

ples of the use of this word in epitaphs. One is in an inscription from Apollonia in Pisidia: Τὸ μνημεῖον [ἐπ]εσκεύασα ἐν τῷ β̄ καὶ μ̄ καὶ ρ̄ ἔτει, ἐν ᾧ καὶ αὐτὸ ἐξεδόμην διὰ τῶν δημοσίων γραμμάτων<sup>1</sup>. The other is in an inscription from Aphrodisias: καθὼς καὶ διὰ τῆς γενομένης ἐκδόσεως διὰ τοῦ χρε]οφυλακίου δηλοῦται.<sup>2</sup> Long ago BR. KEIL has shown that in these inscriptions ἐκιδόναι did not bear the meaning of 'to publish' but refers to the drawing up of the deed by the officials of the ἀρχεῖον<sup>3</sup>. Accordingly ἐκδοσις denotes the deed, drawn up by the ἀρχεῖον. Our inscription confirms this interpretation. It says that 'the deed of title to this tomb lies in the archives'. I take δίκαιον πανκτητικόν to mean something like 'the right of full ownership (fee simple)'; πανκτητικός is very rare. As far as I know it only occurs in an inscription from Pergamum: ἡ παγκτητικὴ τ[ῆ]ς χ[ώρας κυρε]ία ['Die auf unbeschränktem Besitzrecht beruhende Hoheit über das Land']<sup>4</sup>. For δίκαιον we have a parallel in an inscription from Arymaxa: somebody built a grave monument 'ἐν οἷς αὐτοῖς ἐκτῆται ἀγροῖς . . . ἐπὶ δίκαιοις πᾶσιν οἷς αὐτὸς διὰ τῶν ἐν Λυδαῖς ἀρχείων δεδήλωκεν'<sup>5</sup>; see also an epitaph from Smyrna: 'ἔχοντες καὶ αὐτοὶ (sc. the κληρόνομοι and ἀπελεύθεροι of the owner of the μνημα) δίκαιον τοῦ ταφῆναι ἐν τῷ μνήματι (CIG 3384, l. 5-6). In l. 7 ff. there seems to be a mention of the position of several sarcophagi, while also some proper-names are mentioned. It is, then, reasonable to suppose that in this part of the inscription the distribution of the sarcophagi amongst the members of the family of our anonymous owner has been discussed; it looks as if the owner of the μνημεῖον has bestowed the δίκαιον πανκτητικόν of the various ἐνσόρια upon them; for Ἰθαρος, the nick-name of Νείκανδρος, see L. ROBERT, *EPh.*, p. 156, 171; *Ét. Anat.*, p. 107, 223, 299; *La Carie*, II, p. 282. The name has been attested in Sardes, Iasos, Mysia, Olynthus and Aphrodisias (2x). We have already seen that the word ἐκδοσις also occurred in an epitaph from Aphrodisias. Since the name Ἰθαρος is relatively rare one might be inclined to suggest the same provenance for our inscription; however, the above arguments do not seem to be sufficiently strong. In l. 11 we can read either ἐν ᾧ or ἐνώ/[πιον]. The first reading is more likely.

51. Smyrna? (Catalogue: 'Smyrna?'). Part of a lid of a sarcophagus, decorated with circle- and meander-motives; L. 0.54 m; W. 0.18 m; on the stone an inscription of one line, broken off at both sides; letters 0.04 m; byzantine script; Inventory: I. 91/8. 5; Photograph: Plate X, 51.

ὁ δεῖνα + verbum + obj. τῷ συ]μβίῳ αὐτοῦ Γεωργία καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς τέ[κνοις --

52. Smyrna? (Catalogue: 'Smyrna?'). Part of a lintel decorated with circles and meanders; in the middle a byzantine cross; L. 0.81 m; W. 0.33 m; on the stone an inscription, broken off at both sides, of one line; letters 0.025 m; byzantine script; Inventory: I. 91/8. 4; Photograph: Plate X, 52.

### IIἸΟΒΙΟῚΤΟῚΘΟ[?]ΒΟΚΚΙΡΟῚΚΙΝΑῚΚΥΚΙΚΙΝΑῚΚΥΟΝῚΤΕῚΠΕῚ

The meaning of this line remains obscure to me. Perhaps a number of abbreviations and some biblical phraseology are included; however, a Biblical Concordance did not help me: ΘΟ[PY?]ΒΟΣ?; Κ(AI)?; ΚΥ(PI)ON?

53. Kios (Bithynia). Tombstone, in the form of a naiskos; in a tympanon a round shield; at the right corner at the bottom part of the stone is missing; L. 0.54 m; W. 0.454 m; Th. 0.10 m; on the relief are represen-

<sup>1</sup> STERRETT, *Wolfe Expedition*, n. 539 = *Syll.*<sup>3</sup>, 1232.

<sup>2</sup> CIG 2829 = LE BAS-WADDINGTON, 1630.

<sup>3</sup> Hermes, XLIII, 1908, p. 557-559; see also H. STEMLER, *Die griechischen Grabinschriften Kleinasiens*, p. 47.

<sup>4</sup> *Inscr. von Pergamon*, n. 245, C, l. 46.

<sup>5</sup> TAM, II, 1, 157; cf. also PREISIGKE, *Wörterbuch*, s.v. δίκαιον.

ted a) the deceased, lying on a κλίνη, and holding in his right hand a wreath and b) a woman sitting at the foot of the κλίνη on a chair and holding with the left hand her veil; in front of the κλίνη a little table with food; under the relief the remnants of an inscription of one line; letters 0,02 m; Inventory: KTO, Dec. 1881; Photograph: *apud* J. H. HOLWERDA, *Een Romeinsche Sarcophaag uit Simpelveld*, Oudheidk. Meded., Suppl. to N.R., XII, 1931, p. 42, afb. 34.

name of the deceased A?]ΠΟΛΛ[ΩΝΙΟΥ?]

The Museum bought this stone from Mr. S. A. ORT from Breda; his brother-in-law had acquired this stone in Kios.

[*Addendum*, p. 23, n. 7: It occurred to me too late that according to my interpretation this inscription is not an epitaph but, rather, a dedication. I had better grouped it, together with n. 54, 55 and 56, in Chapter IV.]

## CHAPTER IV

### DEDICATIONS AND HONORARY INSCRIPTIONS

54. Adalia (Catalogue: 'from Smyrna'). Small relief; L. 0,26 m; W. 0,22 m; Th. 0,09 m (above) -0,04 m (below); the relief represents a person (the inscription proves that it is the god Sozon) on horse-back; the horse goes from left to right; the rider turns his face on the spectator; in his right hand he keeps an indistinct object; round his head a wreath of sun-beams; his cloak is blown up by the wind; under and above the rider and beside his head an inscription of three lines; letters  $\pm$  0,015 m; lunate *epsilon* and *sigma*; Inventory: I. 93/8. 10; Photograph: Plate X, 54.

*Bibliography*: M. COLLIGNON, BCH, IV, 1880, p. 293/4, n. 11.

Σώζοντι	εὐχὴν
Κοίν	τος
Οὐαλέριος	Κο(ίντου) υἱός

This relief has been found by COLLIGNON (cf. *art. cit.*) in Adalia, in Phrygia, in the house of a villager. The Museum-catalogue naturally mentions a Smyrnaean provenance. This particular case again throws some light on the reliability of the information given by the catalogue. For the worship of Sozon and other Horsemen-gods see L. ROBERT, *Hellenica*, III, ch. 3: *Un dieu anatolien: Kakasbos*, p. 62/3 and p. 68-72. In this highly illuminating article ROBERT draws attention to the differences between several types of 'dieux cavaliers' in Asia Minor and their geographical distribution.

55. Alexandria (Catalogue: 'Tyre'). Big rectangular limestone block; L. 0,49 m; W. 0,74 m; on the stone an inscription of nine lines; letters 0,03-0,04 m; interlinear space 0,025-0,003 m; the *hasta* of the φ (l. 1)  $\pm$  0,05 m long; lunate *sigma*, *epsilon* and *omega*; in l. 5 a small *omicron*; Inventory: B. 1902/12. 1; Photograph: Plate X, 55.

	Τ(ιτω) Φουρίωι
	Οὐικτωρείνωι
	ἐπάρχωι Αἰγύπτου
	ἐπάρχωι πραιτωρίου
5	Φορτουναῖτος Σεβαστ[ο]ῦ
	ἀπελ(εύθερος) ἀρχιταβλάρι[ς]
	Αἰγύπτου καὶ υν
	υν ἐπίτροπος υυν
	προσόδων Ἀλεξανδρ(είας)

This inscription has been published by CAGNAT, IGR, III, 1103; see also Arch. f. Pap. Forschung, 1903, p. 571, n. 151 and Rev. Arch., 1902, p. 345; OGIS, 707; DESSAU, ILS, 8846. Both the Museum-catalogue and CAGNAT's lemma inform us that this stone comes from Tyre. CAGNAT, however, adds: 'nisi Aegypto recens in Syriam allatus est'. The contents of the inscription point to an Egyptian provenance. Since Fortunatus is ἐπίτροπος of the finances of Alexandria, it seems reasonable to assume that the stone comes from Alexandria. For ταβλάριος

see L. ROBERT, *Hellenica*, X, 1955, p. 71, n. 1; for T. Furius Victorinus see A. STEIN, *Die Prä-fekten von Ägypten in der Römischen Kaiserzeit*, Diss. Bern., I, Bern, 1950, p. 86-88.

56. Smyrna? (Catalogue: 'Asia Minor'). Rectangular limestone block; L. 0,20 m; W. 0,13 m; Th. 0,06 m; on the stone an inscription of four lines; letters 0,02-0,023 m; in l. 4 0,014-0,017 m; interlinear space small; broken at all sides, except below; third century A.D. (l. 3 Αὐρ(ήλιος) ); Inventory: LKA, 1188; Photograph: Plate XI, 56.

↓ ΠΡΟΝΟΗΣΑ  
ΕΡΜΟΓΕΝΟΝ  
ΟΣΑΥΡΕΡΜΟΓΕ  
ΤΟΣ vacat

We do not know how much is missing at the beginning of each line; 'Ερμόγεγον (l. 2) is strange; is this a mistake for 'Ερμογένην? After προνοησα[μένου/ων] one should expect genitives. The size of the letters and the use of the verb προνοέω (l. 1) entitle us to say that this inscription probably formed part of a monument, e.g. a statue-base.

## CHAPTER V

### DECREEES

57. Cyme (Catalogue: 'from Smyrna and other places'). Marble stele; broken at the bottom; at the right side 8 à 10 letters missing, at the left side one or two letters at the beginning and ± eight letters at the end missing; L. 0,475 m; W. 0,31 m; Th. 0,075 m; on the stone three inscriptions of eleven, eleven and six lines; letters ± 0,01 m; interlinear space ± 0,003-0,04 m; Inventory: I, 1901/7, 11; Photograph: Plate XI, 57.

Date: 27 B.C.

This inscription consists of three parts:

I. A decree by Augustus and Marcus Agrippa concerning τόποι δημόσιοι ἢ ἱεροί and . . .]ματα (l. 5) belonging to these places:

[A]ὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Θεοῦ υἱὸς Σεβαστὸς [τὸ ἕβδομον?]  
[M]ᾶρκος Ἀγρίπας Λευκίου υἱὸς ὕπατοι· Ἐ[κέλευσαν οἱ-  
[E]ἴ τινες δημόσιοι τόποι ἢ ἱεροὶ ἐν πόλει [ἢ ἐν χώρᾳ]  
[π]όλεως ἐκάστης ἐπαρχείας εἰσὶν εἴτε τι [νὰ ἀναθέ-?]  
5 ματα τούτων τῶν τόπων εἰσὶν ἔσσονται τ[ε, μηδεὶς]  
[τ]αῦτα αἰρέτω μηδὲ ἀγοραζέτω μηδὲ ἀπὸ [μηδενός]  
δώρον λαμβανέτω· ὃ ἂν ἐκεῖθεν ἀπενη[νεγμένον ἢ]  
[ἦ]γορασμένον ἐν τε δώρῳ δεδομένον ἦ, [ὃς ἂν ἐπὶ τῆς]  
[ἐ]παρχείας ἢ ἀποκατασταθῆναι εἰς τὸν δημ[όσιον τόπον]  
10 [ἦ] ἱερὸν τῆς πόλεως φροντιζέτω καὶ ὃ ἂν χρῆ[μα αὐτίκα ἀ-]  
[πο]δοθῆ, τοῦτο μὴ δικαιοδοτεῖτω}ι}.

#### Translation

Imperator, Caesar, son of a god, Augustus, [for the seventh time], and Marcus Agrippa, the son of Lucius, consuls: [have ordered]: [If] there are any public or sacred places in the cities [or in the surrounding area] of each city of the province and if there are now and will be in the future any [sacred objects] in these places, let [no one] take them away, or buy them, or accept them as a gift from [anybody.] Whatever has been taken from these places and has been bought or accepted as a gift, let [the governor] of the province see to it that these objects are restored to the [public or] sacred [places] of the city and let him not administer justice [concerning those objects which will be returned immediately].

II. A letter of Lucius Vinicius, proconsul of Asia, about some difficulties arising at the temple of Dionysus at Cyme in the province of Asia. It seems plausible to assume that this proconsular letter refers to the imperial decree in l. 4: 'iussu Au[gusti] Caesaris' and in l. 8 'Imp. Caesar Deivei f. Augustus res[tituit]':

[L.] Vinicius Proc. s.d. mag. Cumas: Apollonides L. f. No[ra]ce-  
 [us] me adeit et demo(n)stravit Liberei Patris fanum nom[ine]  
 [ven]ditiōnes possidere ab Lusia Diogenis f. TUCALLEUS C. [V.]  
 [et c]um vellint thiaseitae sacra deo restituere iussu Au[gus]-  
 5 [ti] Caesaris pretio soluto quod est inscriptum fano [Patris]  
 [Li]berei ab Lusiae, V.V.C., sei ea ita sunt, utei Lusias quod  
 [est] positum pretium fano recipiat et restituat Deo fa- v  
 [num e]t in eo inscribatur Imp. Caesar Deivei f. Augustu[s] res[ti]-  
 [tuit. Sei] autem Lusia contradeicit, quae Apollonides [p]os[tu]-  
 10 [lat vadi?]monium ei satis dato ubi ego ero Lusiam prom[+ 2 à 3]  
 [± 7]s. probo.

## Translation

[L.] Vinicius, proconsul, sends greeting to the Magistrates of Cyme. Apollonides, son of Leukios, 'Noraceus', your fellow citizen, has come to me and shown that the temple of Liber Pater is, by virtue of a sale (or a deposit), a possession of Lysias, son of Diogenes, 'Tucalleus', your fellow citizen, and since the worshippers wanted to restore the sacred objects to the god, as Augustus Caesar has ordered, after having paid the price written on the temple of Liber Pater by Lysias, I wish that you see to it that, if this is the truth, Lysias receives the price, written on the temple and restores the temple to the god and that there is inscribed on the temple: Restored by Emperor Caesar, Augustus, son of the deified Julius. But if Lysias opposes the claim, which Apollonides makes, ?

III. The Greek translation of this proconsular letter, only the beginning of which has been preserved on the stone:

Ἐπὶ πρυτάνεως Φανίτου

[Λ.] Οὐνίκιος χαίρειν λέγει ἄρχουσι Κυμαίων· Ἀ[πολ]-  
 [λωνίδ]ης Λευκίου Νωρακεῖος πολείτης ὑμέτερό[ς μοι]  
 [προσῆ]λθεν καὶ ὑπέδειξεν Διονύσου ἱερὸν ὀνόμ[ατι]  
 5 [πράσεως κα]τέχεσθαι ὑπὸ Λυσίου τοῦ Διογένου  
 - - - πολείτου ὑμέτερο]υ καὶ ὅτε ἠβού[λοντο]

## Commentary

*ad I.* The date of this decree can be determined within fairly narrow limits. The fact that Agrippa was Augustus' colleague in the consulship, implies that this decree dates from 28 or 27 B.C. It was only during these years that Agrippa shared the consulship with Augustus<sup>1</sup>. The year 28 B.C., however, can be excluded as a possible date for this inscription, for the following reason: the title Σεβαστός, which Augustus bears in this decree, was conferred on him by the Senate on January the 16th 27 B.C.<sup>2</sup>. Consequently this date constitutes a *terminus post quem*, the first of January 26 being the *terminus ante quem*. In the lost part of l. 1 there is room for 8-10 letters. I find it difficult to propose a satisfactory restoration. A fifth title cannot be supplied for the simple reason that no such title was available in 27 B.C. As far as I see, there

<sup>1</sup> See EHRENBERG-JONES, *Documents illustrating the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius*, p. 35.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. EHRENBERG-JONES, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

are only two possibilities: a) after Σεβαστό[ς] there was a blank space (καὶ may have been added). A. WILHELM collected some examples of the practice of leaving a certain amount of blank space in the first line of a decree or list <sup>1</sup>. b) in an inscription from Mytilene we find at the beginning: [δὸγμα]τα συγκλήτου περὶ ὀρκίου· [Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος] Σεβαστοῦ τὸ ἕνατον, Μάρκου Σιλανοῦ ὑ[πάτων] <sup>2</sup>.

Is it possible to write [τὸ ἕβδομον] in l. 1 of the Cymaeian inscription? But if that was the case it is strange, to say the least, that no number was added after the name of Marcus Agrippa, who was consul for the 3rd time in 27 B.C. It seems difficult to make a choice between these two possibilities; the second perhaps seems to be less improbable than the first.

After ὑπατοι there is some blank space; it seems reasonable to consider the E as the first letter of an introductory verb: ἐ[κέλευσαν or- γραψαν] might be possible, though I know of no parallel. The opening sentences of the Cyrene-decrees all end with 'λέγει' <sup>3</sup>; ἔ[λεγον], however, does not seem to fill the available space. The supplement [εἶ] at the beginning of l. 3 is both simple and necessary in view of εἴτε in l. 4, which continues the conditional clause. It seems improbable that the *epsilon* of l. 2 should be the beginning of ε[ἶ] with more to be supplied before τινες; for εἴτε τινά in l. 4 strongly suggests an εἴ τινες in l. 3. Moreover what *can* be supplied between ε[ἶ] (l. 2) and τινες (l. 3)? It remains obscure to me. At the end of l. 3 an expression, designating the area, which lies outside the city, seems to be indispensable. I propose to read: ἐν πόλεσ[ιν ἢ ἐν χώρᾳ] πόλεως ἐκάστης <sup>4</sup>. I am inclined to connect ἐκάστης (l. 4) with the foregoing πόλεως. A trans'ation: 'in the towns or the surrounding area of each town of the province' is, in my opinion, preferable to the alternative: 'in the towns or in the surrounding area of a city of each province'. It is, I think, rather difficult to believe that Augustus and Agrippa issued this as a decree affecting all the provinces of the Empire. The fact that it was found at Cyme makes it much more attractive to assume that this edict refers to the general situation in Asia Minor. Furthermore a bad economic position, which was presumably the cause of the severe abuses of temple possessions mentioned in the decree, is well attested for this province. The heavy taxes levied by Brutus, Cassius and Antonius are likely to have produced a very severe economic collapse. During the same period the expeditions of Dolabella, Labienus and Sextus Pompeius certainly did not further the welfare of the province <sup>5</sup>.

If one takes these historical facts into consideration, it can easily be understood why it is in this province that the sacred objects became commercial articles; it is not inconceivable that for instance the temples, in order to fulfil their financial obligations had recourse to the kind of transactions with their sacred objects, which are mentioned, and at the same time prohibited, in l. 6-7 of the Cymaeian inscription <sup>6</sup>. On the other hand private people might have followed the methods of Antonius, mentioned by Augustus in his *Res Gestae*:

<sup>1</sup> Jahresh., XI, 1908, p. 54 f.; cf. also GGA, 1898, p. 206 and p. 212.

<sup>2</sup> EHRENBERG-JONES, *op. cit.*, p. 128, n. 307, l. 36 f.

<sup>3</sup> *ibid.*, p. 130 ff., n. 311; cf. also p. 135, n. 314, l. 1.

<sup>4</sup> The *iunctura verborum* πόλις καὶ χώρα is well known; I refer to DITTENBERGER's Index *s.v.* πόλις; see also the Rhosos inscription, L'Ant. Class., XIII, 1944, p. 25, l. 48.

<sup>5</sup> For a good survey of the situation in Asia Minor between the murder of Caesar and the beginning of the reign of Augustus see D. MAGIE, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor*, p. 418 ff.; 420 ff. (Dolabella); 422 ff. (Brutus and Cassius); 430 ff. (Labienus); 437 f. (Sextus Pompeius).

<sup>6</sup> A partial parallel may perhaps be found in Appianus, *Mithrid.*, Cap. 63: After the defeat of Mithridates Sulla imposed heavy fines upon those cities, which had collaborated with Mithridates: In order to meet the emergency the cities ἀποροῦσαι τε καὶ δανειζόμεναι μεγάλων τόκων, αἱ μὲν τὰ θεάτρα τοῖς δανείζουσιν, αἱ δὲ τὰ γυμνάσια ἢ τεῖχος ἢ λιμένας ἢ <εἶ> τι δημόσιον ἄλλο σὺν ὕβρει στρατιωτῶν ἐπειγόντων ὑπετίθεντο.

[εἰς ν]αοὺς πασῶν πόλεων τῆς Ἀσίας νεική-  
 σας τὰ ἀναθέ[ματα ἀπ]οκατέστησα, [ἀ] κατε-  
 σχήκει ἱεροσυλήσας ὁ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ καταγωνισ-  
 θεὶς πολέ[μιος].<sup>1</sup>

In normal Greek prose we should expect 'τῆς ἐπαρχείας (l. 4)'. In l. 3, however, we find πόλεσιν instead of ταῖς πόλεσιν; in the famous Rhosos inscription we read: εἰς πόλιν ἢ χώραν Ἀσίας καὶ Εὐρώπης ἐπαρχει[ῶν] (L'Ant. Class., XIII, 1944, p. 25, l. 48/49). The absence of the article may perhaps be ascribed to the fact that the Greek text is a translation of a Latin original. If these are not thought to be convincing parallels it is still possible to suppose that the stone-cutter made a mistake: instead of ἐκάστης τῆς ἐπαρχείας he wrote ἐκάστης ἐπαρχείας. Such simple cases of haplography occur very frequently.

The end of l. 4 presents a difficulty: One needs a word, designating an object, which can be taken away (ἀιρέτω, ἀπενηνεγμένον) and bought and given as a present. [Ἀναθέ]ματα or even [ἱερὰ ἀναθέ]ματα seems plausible. As I have already pointed out Augustus prided himself on the fact that he had restored the ἀναθέματα to the temples<sup>2</sup>; secondly 'sacra deo restituere' (in l. 4 of the Latin part of the inscription) apparently was precisely what Augustus had ordered ('iussu Augusti'). Consequently the word, which has to be supplied at the end of l. 4 of Augustus' decree, must have roughly the same meaning as 'sacra'; as an expression 'ἱερὰ πράγματα' seems to be both not Greek and unparalleled, I take [(ἱερὰ) ἀναθέ]ματα to be the most adequate equivalent<sup>3</sup>. For the 'iunctura verborum' ἱερὰ ἀναθέματα, since ἱερὰ might be thought superfluous, I refer to an inscription from Mylasa, where we read: τοὺς Πελάρμω παῖδας παρανομήσαντας . . . ἀδικεῖν καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ ἀναθέματα<sup>4</sup>; see also C. B. WELLES, *Royal Correspondence*, n. 23, l. 11. [Κατασκευάσ]ματα, which fits in fairly well with the context and has been attested in an inscription from Mylasa, is too long<sup>5</sup>. At the end of l. 5 only part of the last letter is left: -; this seems to point to a Τ: εἰσὶν ἔσονταί τ[ε μηδεῖς]; perhaps a Latin expression like 'sunt eruntque' has influenced the Greek<sup>6</sup>.

l. 6: It is, I believe, better to supply ἀπὸ [μηδενός] or ἀπὸ [ἄλλου εἰς] than to suppose that

See also Strabo, XIII, 3, 6 where we are told that the Cymaeans once offered their stoas as security. Combined with Appianus' statement this story deserves more credit than M. I. FINLEY seems to think (*Studies in land and credit in ancient Athens*, 500-200 B.C., p. 279/80, note 18). The closest parallel for our case is to be found in SEG, III, 359 which shows that Acraiphia hypothecated ἱερῶ γῆ τ[ῶ] Ἀπόλλωνος against a loan (see L. ROBERT, *Ét. Anat.*, p. 84, note 4). W. S. FERGUSON'S restoration of IG II<sup>2</sup>, 1294, to the effect that this inscription contains a πρᾶσις ἐπὶ λύσει of a ἱερόν of Zeus Epakrios by a group of ὀργεῶνες, is, as the author himself readily admits, too much *exempli gratia* for it to be of any value for our purpose (HThR., XXXVII, 1944, p. 93/94).

<sup>1</sup> EHRENBERG-JONES, *op. cit.*, p. 20/21, cap. 24; see for the same phenomenon also Cicero, *Ad. Q. fr.*, I, 1, 25.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. note 1.

<sup>3</sup> Mr A. G. WOODHEAD kindly suggested to me: [ἱερὰ χρή]ματα (cf. l. 10: ὁ ἀν χρεῖ[μα]).

<sup>4</sup> LE BAS-WADDINGTON, 378 = MICHEL, 47, l. 24; for another seemingly pleonastic expression, *viz.* ἱερὰ τεμένη see M. HOLLEAUX, *Études*, II, p. 93.

<sup>5</sup> *ibid.*, 394 = MICHEL, *Recueil*, 472, l. 15; see also BCH, LXIV-LXV, 1940-1941, p. 176, l. 12, 13 and SEG, I, 344, l. 12-13.

<sup>6</sup> See *e.g.* the Senatusconsultum of Tabai, now available in J.-L. ROBERT, *La Carie*, II, p. 97 ff., n. 5, spec. l. 3 ff.: [ἀρέσκειν τῆ]/[συν]κλήτῳ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ [τῷ Ῥωμαίων πάντα ἀν/τοῖς] τᾶριστα εἶναι ἔσεσθαι τε; cf. l. 7: ἔχειν ἔξειν τε.

ἀπό is part of a third verb: ἀπο[διδόσθω]. In view of the close parallelism between l. 6-7 and 7-8 it seems advisable to assume that in both clauses three main verbs have been used.

l. 7: ἀπενη[νεγμένον ἦ] is the only possibility that occurs to me; for a similar use of this verb I refer to an inscription from Lindos: [τοῖ δὲ] ὠνησά[μ]ε[ν]οὶ τὰς ἐπιγραφὰς μὴ [ἐχόντων ἐξουσίαν ἀπ]ε[νε]νκεῖ[ν] ἐκ τᾶς ἀκρας ἀνδριάν[τας].<sup>1</sup>

l. 8: as parallels for my supplement [ὅς ἂν ἐπὶ τῆς / ἐ]παρχείας ἦ I quote the following passages from decrees and letters of Augustus himself: ταῦτα τὰ προγεγραμμέ[να ὅπως οὕτως γείνηται, ἄρχοντες . . .] ἡμέτεροι, οἵτινες <ἂν> . . . ἐπὶ τῆς δι[καιοδοσί]ας }εἰσίν, ἐπικρεῖν[έτ]ω[σ]αν φροντιζέτωσάν τε (Letters to the Rhosians, II, l. 71-72 = EHRENBERG-JONES, p. 125, n. 301); ὑπὲρ ὧν ὅς ἂν τὴν ἐπαρχίαν διακατέχη αὐτὸς διαγιγνώσκειν . . . ὀφείλει (Cyrene-edicts, n. IV, l. 66-67 = EHRENBERG-JONES, p. 132, n. 311); cf. also, slightly different, οἱ τὴν Κρητικὴν καὶ Κυρηναϊκὴν ἐπαρχίαν καθέζοντες (*ibid.*, I, l. 14).

For an example of φροντίζω + acc. cum inf. see the letter of a Roman proconsul to the κοινὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων, found at Ephesus: πρόσ τε τὸ κοινὸν . . . γέγραφα . . . ἵνα . . . ὑμεῖς . . . ἐπὶ λίθου λευκοῦ ἐνχαρχθῆναι φροντίσητε τ[αῦ]τα τὰ γράμματα<sup>2</sup>; cf. also IGR, IV, 33 = EHRENBERG-JONES, p. 128, n. 307, col. c, l. 22-26: [ὅπως Μᾶρκος Σιλανός] . . . [τὰ ἔρκια ἐν δέλτῳ . . . ἐγ]χαρχθῆναι καὶ εἰς δημόσιον ἀνατεθῆναι φροντίση.

For the use of ἀποκαθιστάναι cf. an inscription from Mylasa, where it occurs in a similar context: κατασταθεῖς τε γὰρ ἔκδικος καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπὸ τῆς συγγενείας . . . ἀποκατέστησε τῷ τε θεῷ καὶ τῇ συγγενείᾳ τὰ ἔγγαια<sup>3</sup>; cf. also an inscription from Ilium: ἀποκαταστήσαντα τὴν ἱερὰν χώραν τῇ Ἀθηνᾶ τῇ Ἰλιάδι<sup>4</sup>.

l. 10: The end of this line presents a problem: ὁ ἂν χρῆ seems to be pretty certain; in that case ὁ ἂν χρῆ[μα] is, I think, the only real possibility; of the corresponding verb of this ὁ ἂν -clause only a part is left: -δοθῆ; probably [ἀ/πο]δοθῆ has to be supplied; if this is right ὁ ἂν χρῆ[μα] must have the meaning of 'quodcumque, quaecumque res', but I do not understand why simply ὁ τι ἂν has not been written. After χρῆ[μα] there is space for 5-6 more letters. Is αὐτίκα a possibility? If the objects, which have disappeared from the τόποι δημόσιοι ἢ ἱεροί are returned immediately after the issue of this decree, the governor of the province will not prosecute.

It is interesting to see that the verb δικαιοδοτέω has been used here to describe a function of the proconsul; δικαιοδότης very often served as the Greek translation of 'iuridicus' or 'legatus iuridicus'<sup>5</sup>. There are, however, some inscriptions which show that δικαιοδοτέω could be applied to the work of a proconsul and that δικαιοδότης sometimes was his informal title. Lucius Antonius, propraetor of the province of Asia in 49 B.C., was honoured by the citizens of Pergamum; his merits were the following: δικαιοδοτήσαντα τὴν ἐπαρχίαν καθαρῶς καὶ δικαίως καὶ ὀσίως.<sup>6</sup>

G. E. BEAN has recently published a new inscription from Caunus: [---]ν τὴν ἀδελφὴν Ἰουλίου Κοσαδράτου τοῦ δικαιοδότης Καυνίων ἢ βουλῆ καὶ ὁ δῆμος<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Inscriptions de Lindos*, n. 419, l. 40 f.; L. ROBERT, *Hellenica*, II, p. 110/111 proposes to write [μετ]-ε[νε]νκεῖ[ν].

<sup>2</sup> *Milet*, II, *Das Rathaus*, p. 101 ff., n. 3, l. 49/50.

<sup>3</sup> L. ROBERT, *Le Sanctuaire de Sinuri*, p. 35, n. 11, l. 6 ff.

<sup>4</sup> A. BRÜCKNER, *Troja und Ilion*, p. 454, n. XIV; for ἀποκαθιστάναι ('to restore something (to a temple)') see also L. ROBERT, *Hellenica*, VI, p. 38.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. D. MAGIE, *De Romanorum iuris publici sacrique vocabulis sollemnibus in Graecum sermonem conversis*, p. 28.

<sup>6</sup> IGR, IV, 400-401.

<sup>7</sup> JHS, LXXIV, 1954, p. 92 f.

Iulius Quadratus was proconsul of Asia in 106 B.C. For some Lycian inscriptions, in which *δικαιοδότης* occurs as a honorary appellation (informal title) of the governors of that province, see J. A. O. LARSEN's discussion of TAM, II, 508<sup>1</sup>.

It may be thought opportune, at this point, to make some remarks about LARSEN's article. TAM, II, 508 is an inscription from Tlos; it is an honorary decree for a citizen of a Lycian town, who had deserved extremely well of his fellow citizens and of the inhabitants of other Lycian cities; two things are important for our purpose:

a) in this inscription there is question of *ἑπαρχοι*, *i.e.* a group of very important officials of the Lycian League<sup>2</sup>.

b) in the last line some activities of the recipient of the honour are mentioned: *τάς τε] / [ἐγδ]ικείας διοικήσαντα καθαρῶς καὶ ἀδωροδοκῆτως πρὸς τὴν τοῦ σεμνοτάτου δικαιοδότη καὶ τὴν τῶν ξενοκριτῶν δ[ιαλά?]χεσιν* (l. 24-27). LARSEN argues that this inscription dates from the time of the independence of the Lycian League, *i.e.* before 43 A.D. His points are:

a) We do not hear anything about *ἑπαρχοι* as active officials after the loss of independence, though the epigraphical evidence is quite abundant for that period.

b) This means that the *σεμνότατος δικαιοδότης* is not a Roman governor but only an *ἐπιστάτης* of the foreign law-courts, either a Lycian or one of the foreign judges.

His main argument for this last statement is, that *δικαιοδότης* is 'not a normal title for a Roman governor but seems to represent a usage of the Greek East that antedates the loss of freedom by the Lycian League'<sup>3</sup>. This argument does not seem to me to be very convincing:

a) It is striking that on the other occasions, when *δικαιοδότης* occurs in the literary and epigraphical evidence, it clearly denotes a Roman official: *iuridicus*, *legatus iuridicus* or provincial governor. LARSEN's own discussion of the evidence itself conveys this impression<sup>4</sup>.

b) According to LARSEN, there seems to be one exception, furnished by an inscription from Tabai in Caria<sup>5</sup>.

It gives some valuable information about the career of a man, whose name was mentioned in the lost part of the stone; for our purpose only l. 4-5 are important: *καὶ τειμηθέντα δικαιοδότην καὶ αὐτὸν Δολαβέ[λ]λ[ο]υ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος σύνοδρον γενόμενον*. This man, then, has been member of the *consilium* of P. Cornelius Dolabella, who was consul in 44 B.C. and after having killed the proconsul of Asia, became master of this province; LARSEN argued that he, in his quality of *δικαιοδότης*, was an official of the city or possibly of the Chrysaoric League<sup>6</sup>, but as he adduces no arguments to support this suggestion, it is, I believe, from a methodical point of view, better to bear in mind that, as already pointed out, *δικαιοδότης* always is used as an (informal) title of Roman officials.

With this as our starting point, it might be useful to see whether an interpretation of the Carian inscription can be given, which does justice to what we know about *δικαιοδότης* generally.

<sup>1</sup> CP, XXXVIII, 1943, p. 177 ff. and p. 246 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the evidence collected by MAGIE, *Roman Rule*, p. 1382, note 35.

<sup>3</sup> *Art. cit.*, p. 246.

<sup>4</sup> Therefore I do not understand how LARSEN, after listing the evidence for the use of *δικαιοδότης*, can write: 'It seems that, at least in parts of Asia Minor it was used as a title for a judge and apparently with an implication of dignity and prominence' (*art. cit.*, p. 189).

<sup>5</sup> Published by L. ROBERT, *Ét. Anat.*, p. 324 ff.; see now also *La Carie*, II, p. 102 ff., n. 6.

<sup>6</sup> *Art. cit.*, p. 188.

This is, I think, possible if we suppose that there is a close connection between *τειμηθέντα δικαιοδότην* and *σύεδρον γενόμενον*<sup>1</sup>.

It is a well known fact, that every legal proconsul had a '*consilium*' at his disposal, presided over by one of his *legati*<sup>2</sup>; the remaining *legati* were members of this *consilium*. On the other hand we know that the administration of justice was a not unimportant task of the *legati proconsulis*<sup>3</sup>, though there is as far as I know no evidence to assume that these proconsular *legati* were called *δικαιοδότες*. Dolabella seems to have considered himself as the *αὐτοκράτωρ* of Asia. In fact his position was that of an 'illegal proconsul': he had a '*consilium*'. The very fact that he after having killed the legal proconsul, appointed himself his illegal successor, implies that the Senate did not place at his disposal the usual three *legati*<sup>4</sup>. Consequently Dolabella chose, among others, the citizen of Tabai to be one of his *σύεδροι*: in a sense he was an illegal *legatus* of an illegal proconsul. One step remains to be taken: one of the main duties of this *σύεδρος* of Dolabella seems to have been the administration of justice: that is, why he was styled a *δικαιοδότης*. The conclusion from this hypothesis—it is not more—would seem to be that *δικαιοδότης* can be applied only to a Roman official. It is, then, dangerous, if not indefensible, to assume that the *σεμνότατος δικαιοδότης* in TAM, II, 508 is the traditional exception to the rule. Is it not possible that the Lycians invited a Roman *legatus* to preside over the session of the foreign lawcourts<sup>5</sup>? This need by no means imply that the Lycians had lost their independence. It is possible that they invited a Roman official in order to show their goodwill and gratitude to the Romans who were so kind as to bestow upon the Lycians a formal independence. On the other hand the importance of the affairs, which were to be treated, might have induced the Lycians to replace the normal *ἐπιστάτης τῶν μεταπέμπτων δικαστηρίων*<sup>6</sup> by the *σεμνότατος δικαιοδότης*. It is the very use of *δικαιοδότης* in this context that suggests that we have not here the normal Lycian president (*ἐπιστάτης*).

Finally I wish to draw attention to some inscriptions, which provide good, though partial, parallels for the Augustus-decree, as far as the subject-matter is concerned. In an inscription from Kanygelleis in Cilicia we read: *τῶν δὲ ἀναθεμάτων τῶν ὄντων ἐν τε τοῖς ναοῖς καὶ τῶν ἐπιγεγραμμένων ἐν τε ταῖς στήλαις καὶ τοῖς ἀναθέμασιν μηδενὶ ἔξεσται μήτε ἀπαλειψαί μήτε ἀχρεῶσαι μήτε μετᾶραι*<sup>7</sup> (decree of the brotherhood of the *Σαββατισταί*). An inscription from Chios con-

<sup>1</sup> It is flattering to see that J.-L. ROBERT, *La Carie*, II, p. 104, note 2 also assume a close connection between *δικαιοδότην* and *σύεδρον*: <ayant été lui aussi juge assesseur de l'imperator Dolabella>; for these judicial *σύεδροι* see the references, given by J.-L. ROBERT, *ad loc.*

<sup>2</sup> Cf. P-W, XII, I, col. 1144, s.v. *Legatus*: 'Der L. stand an der Spitze des Consiliums des Proconsuls'; cf. also s.v. *consilium*, Bd. IV, I, col. 920 b; see also M. HOLLEAUX, *Études*, I, p. 161-163.

<sup>3</sup> *ibid.*, col. 1142: 'Sie . . . wurden mit der Rechtsprechung durch Mandat des Oberbeamten betraut'; cf. col. 1144: 'Die Rechtsprechung stand nur für Zivilprozesse und solche Fälle zu, die ihnen der Proconsul überwies'.

<sup>4</sup> *ibid.*, col. 1143: 'Nach fester Regel waren in den Senatsprovinzen den Proconsuln der consularischen Rangstufe (Africa, Asia) drei L. (meist als Vorsteher besonderer Sprengel, dioeceses) beigegeben . . . '.

<sup>5</sup> There is, I believe, no reason to assume, as LARSEN does, that there must have been four *δικαιοδότες*, since there were also four panels of judges and since the same official could not preside over several courts at the same time (*art. cit.*, p. 254). D. MAGIE rightly pointed out, that the use of the plural *μετάπεμπτα δικαστήρια* needs not imply that 'several courts or panels of judges were summoned at one and the same time' (*op. cit.*, p. 1383); moreover, *δικαστήριον* is not always to be translated by 'panel'. On the other hand, if there really were four *δικαιοδότες*, we should expect to find *πρὸς τὴν τῶν σεμνοτάτων δικαιοδοτῶν καὶ τὴν τῶν ξενοριτῶν δ[ιαλάχ]εσιν* instead of *τοῦ σεμνοτάτου δικαιοδότης*.

<sup>6</sup> LARSEN, *art. cit.*, p. 249 has collected the evidence we have for this Lycian official.

<sup>7</sup> OGIS, 573, I. 11 ff.

tains the following clause: ὅπως ταῦτά τε τὰ ἀγάλματα καὶ . . . οἱ ἀνδριάντες οἱ ἀνασταθησόμενοι . . . μὴ μεταρθῶ[σιν] μηδὲ μετεπιγραφῶσιν<sup>1</sup>; cf. also for an inscription from Delphi, Jahresh., VIII, 1905, p. 12; from Hypata, IG, IX, 2, 32 = Festschr. O. BENNDORF, p. 248-249. An interesting parallel is furnished by an Athenian inscription of the third century B.C. (± 250 B.C.), I. 9 ff.: ἀπαγορεύει δὲ καὶ ἡ θεὸς καὶ ὁ προφήτης Καλλίστρατος μηθένα ὁ[ρ]γ[εῶνα τῶν κτη]μάτων ἑαυτῆς μηδ[ὲν ἀποδίδοσθαι μηδὲ μισθοῦσθαι [ε]ἰς π[ατρικὰ μηδενὶ μηδὲν<sup>2</sup>] μηδὲ κακοτεχνεῖν μ[ηδένα ἰὰ περι τὰ ἑαυ]τῆς κτήματα<sup>3</sup>.

One of the Cyrene edicts provides us with an example of a man, who had taken away some statues from the δημόσιοι τόποι at Cyrene:

Αὔλον δὲ Στλάκκιον Μάξιμον, ὃν Κυρηναίων οἱ πρέσβεις αἰτιῶνται ἀνδριάντας ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων τόπων ἠρκεῖν [cf. the use of αἴρω in the inscription from Cyme, I. 6 !], ἐν οἷς καὶ τὸν ᾧ ἡ πόλις τὸ ἔμὸν ὄνομα ὑπέγραψεν (II, I. 51-55).

Augustus' decree, therefore, can be placed in the category of inscriptions, which bear upon the protection of ἀναθέματα and ἀγάλματα or ἀνδριάντες in temples and in public places. As I pointed out above, the desperate economic position of Asia Minor can serve as a useful background for a proper understanding of this edict.

*ad II and III.* The restoration of the 'praenomen' of Vinicius is discussed at the end of this paragraph. *Noraceus* at the end of I. 1 is certain in view of the Greek Νωρακεῖος; for the name Ἀπολλωνίδης at Cyme see Ἐφημ. Ἀρχ., 1925-1926, p. 30, n. 142, I. 16. I. 2: πολεΐτης ὑμέτερος in the Greek translation makes it necessary to supply [C.V.] at the beginning of this line; for a convincing parallel see the end of I. 3: C.V. Lysias also is styled: c(ivis) v(ester).

At the end of I. 2 *nomine* seems to be the only possibility; Greek: ὄνόμ[ατι]; for a similar use of ὄνόματι + genitivus see e.g. JHS, LXXIV, 1954, p. 97 ff., n. 38, C, I. 6: τέλους ἢ φιλανθρώπου ὄνόματι.

I. 3: It is extremely difficult to decide whether -]sitiones or -]ditiones has been preserved. -]ditiones (= -is, gen.sing.) seems to point to [ven]ditionis: The temple of Dionysus has been sold by the worshippers of the god to a certain Lysias; -]sitionis in this context can, as far as I see, only be the end of [depo]sitionis<sup>4</sup>. The thiasitae borrowed money from Lysias and gave him the temple as a security. In the Greek translation we find τεξεσθαι (I. 4); this seems to be: [κα]τεξεσθαι; before κατέχεσθαι there is room for 7 more letters; this follows from the fact that in I. 3 we have to supply [προσῆ]λθεν and that the τ of κατέχεσθαι stands exactly under the κ of καὶ (I. 3). Consequently it is wrong to read ὄνόμ[ατι / ὠνῆς κα]τεξεσθαι. Moreover ὠνῆς is not a literal translation of [ven]ditionis ('sale'), but of 'emptio'. Πρᾶσις is the exact equivalent of 'venditio': [πράσεως] has 7 letters and will fill the gap exactly. If we read [depo]sitionis, the Greek translation may have been: ὄνόμ[ατι ὑ/ποθήκης κα]τεξεσθαι.

If Apollonides used πρᾶσις before the proconsul, it is possible that he did not mean a real πρᾶσις (*venditio*), but the so-called πρᾶσις ἐπὶ λύσει. This was a special kind of security: it was given under the guise of a sale: 'The property given as security was sold to the creditor on condition that the debtor might within a fixed time redeem it by paying back the price'<sup>5</sup>. The

<sup>1</sup> IGR, IV, 1703, I. 14-17.

<sup>2</sup> Restored by A. WILHELM, *Griech. Inschr. rechtl. Inhalts*, p. 18 = SEG, XIII, 45; cf. also W. S. FERGUSON, *The Attic Orgeones*, HThR., XXXVII, 1944, p. 84/85.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. note 2.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, s.v. depositio, depositum.

<sup>5</sup> AJA, XVI, 1912, p. 62; M. I. FINLEY, *Studies in land and credit in ancient Athens, 500-200 B.C.*, p. 225-227, draws up a list of all the examples of πρᾶσις ἐπὶ λύσει known to him.

thiaseitae had borrowed a certain amount of money from Lysias and instead of an ὑποθήκη, they transferred the temple to him by means of a pseudo-sale. My arguments for considering this 'venditio' as a conditional sale are the following:

a) It seems difficult to assume that a whole temple could be sold by the worshippers of a god: this would imply, I believe, too great a lack of reverence on their part. The difference between the sale of a temple and that of a sacred object, belonging to the temple (Augustus' decree and numerous other inscriptions (cf. p. 55/56) prove that the latter did occur) is important enough to justify this supposition. Moreover there is, to the best of my knowledge, no evidence for the sale of temples, not even in such turbulent times as are attested in Asia Minor.

b) Apollonides' message to the proconsul came to this, that the thiaseitae wished to restore the 'sacra' to the god after having paid the amount of money written on the temple-wall by Lysias. Apparently they were prepared to pay this sum. Lysias, however, seems to have refused to accept the money; how can one explain otherwise the action of the Cymaeans in sending a special ambassador to the proconsul? The fact also that Vinicius ordered 'utei Lysias quod est positum pretium fano recipiat' implies that Lysias was not willing to accept the money.

Now from the foregoing it would seem to follow that Lysias did not write the amount of money on the temple-wall at the very time the thiaseitae came to ask him to return the temple, i.e. immediately after the issuing of Augustus' decree. Otherwise he would undoubtedly have accepted the money: it was exactly the amount he wished to receive and the thiaseitae were prepared to provide it. Lysias, therefore, apparently engraved the amount of money on the occasion of an earlier transaction. This transaction was the προᾶσις ἐπὶ λύσει, when the thiaseitae 'sold' the temple to Lysias<sup>1</sup>. It served as the security for the sum of money borrowed by them from Lysias. Lysias wrote on the temple-wall that, if the thiaseitae returned the money to him before the time fixed<sup>2</sup>, he would return the temple to them. At the time Augustus issued his decree this time, I conjecture, had gone by. The result was that Lysias had become the legal possessor of the temple. It is, then, understandable that Lysias was not willing to accept the amount of money written on the temple. The contract, in which this sum of money had been mentioned, was no longer valid. I am aware of the fact that the Latin word 'venditio' does not have the meaning of pseudo-sale. I imagine, however, that Apollonides during his discussion with the proconsul made use of the word προᾶσις (ἐπὶ λύσει) to describe the situation in which the temple had been mortgaged. Now the obvious translation of προᾶσις seems to me to be 'venditio'. This word was used in the proconsular decree, because there was no adequate *terminus technicus* available. As the surviving part of the Greek text seems to be a fairly literal translation of the Latin text, it is not rash to assume that [πράσεως] was engraved at the beginning of l. 3<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> I have to admit that, in the case of a real sale, Lysias would undoubtedly also have written the text of the transaction on the temple-wall. Consequently this second argument is only of value if combined with the first. In 'selling' the temple to Lysias the thiaseitae nevertheless remained in possession of it. M. I. FINLEY, *op. cit.*, p. 32-34, pointed out that the προᾶσις ἐπὶ λύσει did not imply a change in actual possession of the property concerned; it was only after the expiry of the contract or as a result of default on the part of the 'seller' that the 'buyer' took possession of the property.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the examples mentioned on p. 56, note 5.

<sup>3</sup> It is perhaps worth noticing that in SEG, III, 760 the plain verb ὠνόμασι was used 'to denote a προᾶσις ἐπὶ λύσει (or rather an ὠνή ἐν πίστει from the creditor's point of view); see E. WEISS, *Tempelinschrift*

At the end of l. 3 C.V. is *civis vester*; Greek: [πολίτου ὑμετέρο]υ. 'Tucalleus' is a puzzle to me. Is it a cognomen or a designation of the φυλή, to which Lysias belonged? Cf. 'Noraceus' in l. 1.

l. 4: In view of καὶ ἔτε in the Greek translation [*et c]um* at the beginning of this line is certain; *vellint* is a mistake for *vellent*. What is the meaning of 'sacra deo restituere'? The fact that this expression is followed by 'iussu Augusti Caesaris' suggests the translation 'to restore the sacred objects/vessels to the god'; for 'iussu Augusti' obviously refers to the decree issued by Augustus and Agrippa. What had Augustus actually ordered in this decree? Strictly speaking he ordered that the objects, which had disappeared from the τόποι δημόσιοι ἢ ἱεροί, must be returned to the places, to which they belonged. Ταῦτα in l. 7 of that decree only refers to the ἀναθέ]ματα ([ἱερὰ χρή]ματα) of the holy and public places. Now 'sacra' can have the meaning of 'sacred vessels, utensils'<sup>1</sup>. The Cymaeans, by giving the temple of Dionysus to Lysias as a security, gave him the 'sacra' at the same time for the simple reason that those 'sacra' were part of the temple. Consequently a translation 'they wished to restore the sacred things to the god' seems to do more justice to the subtlety of the Cymaeans, who, by emphasizing the sacred objects only (instead of the temple, which was in fact the vital issue), could appeal to Augustus' decree (*iussu Augusti*). A translation 'they wished to renew the cult of the god' makes, I think, nonsense of 'iussu Augusti'. Augustus had not ordered the people to resume the cults. 'Restituere' seems to be a literal translation of ἀποκατασταθῆναι (l. 9) in Augustus' decree; and it is precisely in that part of the edict that Augustus orders the restoration of the objects to the temples and public places.

l. 6: V.V.C. = *volo vos curare*; cf. *De notis iuris fragm. Valerio Probo tributa*, 6, 39 (RICCOBONO, *Fontes iuris*<sup>2</sup>, II, p. 458), where this abbreviation is mentioned. In the Greek translation this expression has probably been rendered as follows: ὑμᾶς οὖν θέλω φροντίσαι. The latter expression occurs in Sulla's letter to the Coans and is obviously a literal translation of the Latin *v(olo) v(os) c(urare)* (Riv. di Fil., N.S., XVI, 1938, p. 253, A, l. 13). That V.V. means 'volo vos', is suggested by Flav. Josephus, *Antiq. Jud.*, cap. 245, 233, 235, where three proconsular letters to Miletus, Cos and Sardes are transmitted. As these texts provide us with some good parallels for the wording of l. 1-6 of Vinicius' letter, I give part of the text of these chapters here: *Antiq. Jud.*, XIV, 245-246: Πρῦτανις Ἐρμοῦ (better: Σίμου, A. WILHELM, *Jahresh.*, VIII, 1905, p. 242) υἱός, πολίτης ὑμέτερος, προσελθὼν μοι ἐν Τράλλεσιν ἄγοντι τὴν ἀγόραιον ἐδήλου παρὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν γνώμην Ἰουδαίοις ὑμᾶς προσφέρεσθαι . . . βούλομαι οὖν ὑμᾶς εἰδέναι ὅτι ἀκούσας ἐγὼ λόγων ἐξ ἀντι-καταστάσεως γενομένων ἐπέκρινα etc. etc. (for ὑποδείκνυμι, used in the Cymaeian inscription, cf., for instance, Augustus' letter to Mylasa, which had sent ambassadors to him). A fixed pattern seems to have existed for the beginning of proconsular letters, as far as the wording is concerned.

l. 9-10: At the beginning of l. 9 [-*tuit. Sei*] *autem* is fairly certain; at the end '[*p*]os[*tulat*]' is exactly the word we need in this context; it seems to be better than '[*p*]os[*uit*]' : 'he asserted'.

*aus Dystos über Haftungsübernahme*, *Byzant. Ztschr.*, XXX, 1929-1930, p. 638-640; in an Athenian inscription, published in *Hesperia*, X, 1941, p. 14, n. 1, the plain verb ἀποδίδομαι also indicates a πρᾶσις ἐπὶ λύσει; cf. M. I. FINLEY, *op. cit.*, p. 296, note 16. Finally, it is possible that the word ὠνή in Syll<sup>3</sup>, 742, l. 51, points to a πρᾶσις ἐπὶ λύσει. However, it is safer not to base an argument on this text, since the experts themselves disagree: see F. PRINGSHEIM, *The Greek law of sale*, p. 250 and M. I. FINLEY, *op. cit.*, p. 268/9, note 39.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. LEWIS-SHORT, *s.v. sacrum*; Ovid, *Fasti*, IV, 340; cf. also the expression 'sacrum montare' (to show the sacred object) which occurs in connection with mysteries: see A. J. FESTUGIÈRE in *Mél. d'Arch. et d'Hist.*, 1954, p. 81; in the same way τὰ ἱερὰ could mean the 'sacred objects': see SOKOLOWSKI, *Lois sacrées de l'Asie Mineure*, p. 99.

Apollonides claimed that Lysias should give back the temple to the thiaseitae in return for the amount of money written on the temple.

l. 10: In view of *'satis dato'* a restoration *'vadimonium'* is tempting; moreover it fits the space very well. The construction of the main sentence, which begins with *vadimonium*, is not quite clear to me. As far as I can see there are two possibilities:

a) A new sentence starts with the words *'ubi ego ero'*; *'vadimonium satis dato'* is in that case a tautological expression 'he (L.) has to give satisfaction, namely bail, to him'. The sentence, beginning with *'ubi ego'*, in this case might have had the following meaning: 'where I shall be (or when I shall be (sc. in Cyme) ) I shall administer justice to Lysias'. I do not know, however, what to do with *'prom'* and the *'s'* in this case.

b) The second possibility, which is, though not perfect, definitely better, is the following: *'[vadi]monium ei satisdato ubi ego ero Lusiam prom[ittere se sisti]'*: 'But if Lysias opposes the claim which Apollonides makes, that Lysias promise bail to him, with guarantee that he will present himself where I shall be'. There are partial parallels for this restoration<sup>1</sup>: *Digesta* I, XVIII, 16: *'sisti exhiberique satisdato promittatur'*; II, XI, 4, par. 5: *'si quis, cum iudicio sistendi causa satisdare non deberet, satisdato promiserit'*; XLVIII, 2, 17: *'sistendum satisdato promittere iubetur'*; 3, 2: *'sistendum satisdato promittatur'*. There is a parallel for *'vadimonium promittere'* in the *Lex Rubria*, XXI.

There are two difficulties connected with this restoration:

1. The first one is that there seems to be no parallel for *'satisdato'* (abl.) with an acc. and inf. construction. 2. This restoration does not make sense out of the *'s'* which is clearly visible on the stone. Whatever the exact wording of this part of the text may have been, its meaning seems to be fairly clear. Lysias must give security to Apollonides, if he opposes Apollonides' claim; afterwards the proconsul himself will devote his attention to settling this affair.

Finally, *'probo'* remains enigmatic to me. I do not know of a parallel for the use of this verb at the end of an official letter or decree. Does it simply mean to say that the proconsul approves of the way, in which this letter has been worded (by one of his subordinates) and engraved? It seems hardly credible that the proconsul approved of the engraving of the letter on the stone: there are too many mistakes in it (*demostravit*, *vellint*, *possidere*; the strange variety in the declension of Lysias: *ab Lusia* (l. 3) and *ab Lusiae* (l. 6); *Lusias* (l. 6) and *Lusia* (l. 9)); or does it govern the preceding acc. c. inf.?

l. 11: The dating by *πρυτάνεις* is well attested at Cyme. For the sake of brevity I refer to BCH, LI, 1927, p. 375, n. 1 and BCH, XII, 1888, p. 362, n. 6, l. 18; cf. also BCH, LXXVII, 1953, p. 433, note 1. The name *Φανίτης* seems pretty rare in Asia Minor. I have found only two examples, one in Cyme and the other in the neighbouring Myrina: see BCH, VII, 1883, p. 78, 205 and 215. It is difficult to decide whether the dating-formula in l. 11 refers to the monthly prytanis or to the eponymous *πρύτανις*. The latter possibility is perhaps less probable, because in many cases, at the end of the Hellenistic period dating by *πρυτάνεις* seems to have been replaced by dating by the *στεφανηφόρος*<sup>2</sup>. The existence of a group of Dionysian *θιασεῖται* at Cyme is attested by an inscription published in BCH, LI, 1927, p. 375, n. 1. This inscription (2nd century B.C.) contains the end of a decree issued by the *θιαστῶται οἱ Μενεκλείδα* (l. 5/6).

<sup>1</sup> I owe these references to Prof. A. H. M. JONES.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. J. VANSEVEREN, *Rev. de Phil.*, LXII, 1937, p. 344 ff.

The stele on which the decree has been engraved is to be placed in the πρόδομος τῷ Βακχείῳ. This thiasos seems to have been a private club of worshippers of Dionysus, and henceforth the Βάκχειον probably was the religious centre of this club (and not a city temple<sup>1</sup>).

Two other Cymæan inscriptions testify to the existence of Διονύσια and consequently of a city cult of Dionysus at Cyme (BCH, XXXVII, 1913, p. 176 ff., n. 6 and 7). Now the following problem arises: Was the 'fanum Liberei Patris' referred to in the Leyden-inscription the centre of the city cult and hence sacral property of the state, with the 'thiaseitae' members of the official city θίασος<sup>2</sup> or are we to suppose that this building was a private Βάκχειον owned by a private θίασος<sup>3</sup>. I feel that the expression 'fanum Liberei Patris' (cf. τὸ ἱερόν in the Greek translation) perhaps favours the first alternative (though there cannot be absolute certainty on this point). If so, our thiaseitae form an interesting parallel to the Milesian θίασος δημόσιος which in all probability was closely connected with the official city cult<sup>4</sup>.

It is not inconceivable that a city temple of Dionysus served as the religious centre of a θίασος<sup>5</sup> the existence of which had been officially sanctioned by the city (which is the actual meaning of δημόσιος in such a context; δημόσιος occurs *inter alia* as an epithet of a deity; in Tralles for instance a cult of Διόνυσος Βάκχιος ὁ δημόσιος is attested [Syll.<sup>2</sup>, 573; L. ROBERT, *Coll. Froehner*, 96]: the epithet indicates that the deity concerned enjoyed a public cult (see L. ROBERT, *Mélanges Isid. Lévy*, p. 569-570). It seems reasonable, then, especially in view of the Tralles inscription, to assume that a θίασος δημόσιος was concerned with the cult of a Διόνυσος δημόσιος, *i.e.* a public cult). It is amusing to see that theoretically the god himself was supposed to be the owner of the temple in Cyme (cf. l. 7, *restituat Deo fanum*). This, however, did not prevent the thiaseitae from transferring the god's property at least temporarily to Lysias, their creditor. If my assumption about the nature of this thiasos is right, these thiaseitae, in 'selling' the temple to Lysias must have acted as representatives of the city or rather must have received permission from the city to enter into such transactions as are mentioned in Vinicius' letter. Perhaps this also explains why the proconsul addressed his letter to the magistrates of Cyme and asked them to see to it that the affair was settled as soon as possible; the 'owner'<sup>6</sup> of the temple was to take a hand in the affair, because his representatives had not succeeded in getting back the temple.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the remark of A. SALAC, the editor of this inscription, *art. cit.*, p. 377: 'le thiasos possédait une maison (Βάκχειον), centre de sa vie religieuse'.

<sup>2</sup> For a θίασος δημόσιος see an inscription from Miletus in Th. WIEGAND, *Sechster Vorl. Bericht*, p. 22/23.

<sup>3</sup> For the importance of the sharp distinction between sacral property belonging to the state and that owned by groups subject to private law, see M. I. FINLEY, *op. cit.*, p. 285/286, note 45.

<sup>4</sup> See note 2, and also A. J. FESTUGIÈRE's commentary on this text in *Rev. Biblique*, XLIV, 1935, p. 197/8.

<sup>5</sup> A Cnidian inscription, Syll.<sup>3</sup>, 978 = F. SOKOLOWSKI, *Lois sacrées de l'Asie Mineure*, n. 55, shows that there was a close connection between the local Bacchic thiasos, called τοὶ Βάκχοι and the temple of Διόνυσος ὁ Βάκχος. Presumably this temple was the official religious centre of the city cult; for how else can we explain that the thiasos had to ask the permission of the city to purify the temple (ἀγνεύειν)?

<sup>6</sup> I write 'owner' because, as I pointed out already, the god was the actual owner. The same situation occurred in *e.g.* Olymos. The numerous documents concerning the leases of temple land show that the δῆμος of Olymos easily identified herself with the gods to whom the temple and the land belonged; see A. LAUMONIER's article in *REA*, XLII, 1940, p. 200 ff. on 'Les Baux d'Olymos'; some more evidence for this conception of the god himself as owner of the temple-funds and the sacred precincts is given by E. WEISS, *Griechisches Privatrecht*, I, p. 153-160; cf. also SEG, III, 760, l. 3, where τῶν ὀφειλόντων [τῶι or τῆι] θεῶ are mentioned, and *Hermes*, 85, 1957, p. 101/2.

The next question, which needs an answer, is: Who is the proconsul Vinicius or, to put it another way, which *praenomen* has to be restored in l. 1 of the Latin inscription? One may start from what in my opinion seems a probable assumption: the interval between Augustus' decree and Vinicius' letter must have been fairly short. This would seem to follow from the fact that the proconsul, by writing this letter, is trying to settle a difference, which has arisen ultimately as a consequence of the issue of Augustus' decree. Theoretically it is possible that the Cymaeans did not immediately give ear to Augustus' order concerning '*sacra restituere*' but it will, I think, be admitted that this is, to say the least, highly improbable. As I have pointed out already, Augustus' decree dates from 27 B.C. Consequently it can be safely concluded, that Vinicius wrote his letter and was proconsul of Asia either in 28-27, if the imperial decree dates from the beginning of 27, or otherwise in 27-26; cf. R. SYME in JRS, XLV, 1955, p. 159. Now we know that in 33 B.C. L. Vinicius was *consul suffectus*<sup>1</sup>. It seems, therefore, reasonable to restore in l. 1 of the proconsular letter [L.] *Vinicius* etc. Our inscription constitutes the first piece of evidence we have for the proconsulship of L. Vinicius. We know, that three other Vinicii were proconsuls of Asia: An inscription from Ephesus mentions a certain Marcus Vinicius, consul in 30 and 45 A.D., proconsul of Asia in 39/40 A.D.<sup>2</sup> J. M. COOK and G. E. BEAN recently published an inscription from Cnidus in which P. Vinicius, proconsul of Asia Minor in  $\pm$  3 A.D., is mentioned<sup>3</sup>. More than twenty years ago L. ROBERT discovered a new inscription at Mylasa, which contained some information about a cult, probably organized by the city, in honour of a certain M. Vinicius. He added the following commentary: 'Je crois pouvoir conclure que c'est le Marcus Vinicius consul en 19 avant J.C., vainqueur des Daces et des Germains (cf. A. v. PREMERSTEIN, *Jahresh.*, XXVIII, 140, sqq.; XXIX, 60 sqq.), qu'il a été proconsul d'Asie et qu'il faut lui rapporter l'inscription de Chios, 'Αρχ. Δελτ., XI, Παρ., p. 27, n. 9'<sup>4</sup>. This inscription from Chios is only partly preserved:

'Ο δ]ῆμος  
- - -]ον Οὐνίκιον  
ἀ]νθύπατον καὶ  
πάτρων]α τῆς πόλεως<sup>5</sup>

Even if the inscription from Mylasa shows convincingly that M. Vinicius, the consul of 19 B.C., was proconsul of Asia sometime, this does not imply that it was the same M. Vinicius who was honoured by the Chians. It is at least possible to read in l. 2 Λούκ]ιον Οὐνίκιον instead of Μᾶρκ]ον Οὐνίκιον, since it is plausible that L. Vinicius was proconsul of Asia in 27 or 26<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. EHRENBERG-JONES, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

<sup>2</sup> *Ephesos*, III, 24.

<sup>3</sup> BSA, XLVII, 1952, p. 171 ff., n. 47; cf. SEG, XII, 452.

<sup>4</sup> Rev. Arch., 1935, II, 156-158; as far as I know this inscription has not yet been published by ROBERT; cf. also REG, 1952, p. 172, n. 139, where J. and L. ROBERT refer to the publication in the Rev. Arch. Consequently it is impossible to test the arguments which made L. ROBERT say: 'Je crois pouvoir conclure'. A. VON PREMERSTEIN, commenting on a Corinthian inscription, dating from the period 18-12 B.C., in which a 'tribus Vinicia' is mentioned, remarks: 'Man wird vermuten dürfen dass Vinicius, der bereits in 25 v. Chr. Praetorier war, in einem der Jahre 25-19, in dem er Konsul wurde, die Provinz Achaia als Prokonsul verwaltete und als solcher die Korinthier förderte'. If this is true, M. Vinicius had a remarkable accumulation of functions.

<sup>5</sup> 'Αρχ. Δελτ., XI, παρ., p. 27, n. 9.

<sup>6</sup> Even if it could be proved that Μᾶρκ]ον Οὐνίκιον is the correct reading, it need not mean that this M. Vinicius is the Vinicius, who has been consul in 19 B.C.; for we can make our choice between two M. Vinicii, who were both proconsul of Asia.

J. KEIL has recently published a new inscription from Smyrna, discovered during the excavations in the agora of this city <sup>1</sup>:

Μάρκον Ού]νίκιον τὸν  
 ἀνθύ]πατον  
 - - - ]ος Λουκίου υἱός  
 - - - ε]ῖνα Καπίτων  
 5 - - - ]ος Λουκίου υἱός  
 - - - εἶν]α Μάγνος [τὸν]  
 - - - Λ - - - -

L. ROBERT pointed out that, since we know of two M. Vinicii, both proconsuls of Asia, it is dangerous to identify the Vinicius from the Smyrnaean inscription unhesitatingly with the proconsul of 39/40 A.D. <sup>2</sup>, as KEIL suggested. It is an unpleasant duty to increase the uncertainty concerning the identification of this Vinicius: Here too [Λούκιον Ού]νίκιον is at least possible. An increase of our knowledge of the list of Roman proconsuls in Asia Minor apparently cannot in every way be considered as an advantage.

\* \* \*

Finally a few more general remarks. It is a well known fact, that Augustus took several measures immediately after the battle of Actium, in order to mitigate the economic distress, into which Asia had fallen as a result of the adventures of Brutus, Cassius and Antonius. D. MAGIE, in his standard work on Asia Minor, treats the evidence we have for Augustus' interest in several cities of Asia <sup>3</sup>. I only wish to draw attention to an inscription from Stratonicea, which shows very clearly that Augustus was specially interested in the religious affairs of the province: The Hecate-temple had been destroyed by Labienus in the course of his devastating expedition through Caria and Lycia <sup>4</sup>. Augustus presumably gave some financial support for the rebuilding of the temple and was praised by the citizens of Lagina, because he τῆς Θεᾶς Ἐκάτης ἀσεβηθείσης προενόησεν ὥστε κεκομίσθαι [πα]ρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆ[ς] ἐν τῷ βίῳ περὶ θεῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀληθιν[ὴν π]ρόληψιν <sup>5</sup>.

It is understandable that nearly all the measures concerning Asia were taken by Augustus between the end of 31 B.C. and the summer of 29 B.C. Immediately after Actium he spent a few months at Samos and visited Ephesus. After having finished his military operations in Egypt he returned to Samos at the end of 29, accepted the consulship and stayed the first part of the year on this island <sup>6</sup>. The Cymaeian inscription shows that, even if he was not present, Augustus' interest in the welfare of this province did not cease. It shows also that Augustus

<sup>1</sup> *Kleinasien und Byzanz, Inschriften der Agora von Smyrna*, n. 12.

<sup>2</sup> REG, LXV, 1952, p. 172, n. 139: 'Pour les deux Vinicii proconsuls d'Asie, voir non seulement *Ephesos*, III, 24, mais aussi les inscriptions signalées RA, 1935, II, 156 et 158'. This seems to mean that KEIL's identification can be doubted.

<sup>3</sup> D. MAGIE, *Roman Rule*, p. 440 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Labienus probably also inflicted serious damage on the temples of Mylasa; this seems to follow from what we read in Augustus' letter to the inhabitants of Mylasa: 'τῆς τῶν πολεμίων ὀμότητος οὐδὲ τῶν ναῶν οὐδὲ τῶν ἱερῶν τῶν ἁγιωτάτων ἀποσχομένης'. The πολέμιοι are generally supposed to be Labienus and his troops.

<sup>5</sup> BCH, XI, 1887, p. 151/2, n. 56.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. MAGIE, *op. cit.*, p. 440; cf. also BCH, LXXVIII, 1954, p. 332.

devoted his attention to several problems at the same time: By far the largest part of 27 he occupied himself with Italy, Gaul and Spain: for a full description of Augustus' activities in 27 and 26 see the current textbooks<sup>1</sup>. Notwithstanding these busy occupations he could find time to deal with the problems which had arisen in connection with the temples and public places of Asia Minor.

That it was precisely this province, to which his decree was addressed, is highly interesting. From the beginning of 27 B.C. onwards Asia was supposed to be a senatorial province. Yet we see that Augustus issued a decree concerning the province, after it had been officially attributed to the Senate. If our interpretation of l. 3 of Augustus' decree is not accepted, then this decree was not issued for one senatorial province, but for all the existing provinces of the Empire, that is to say, at any rate also for all senatorial provinces. Now the question may be raised: when did the measure concerning the division of the provinces come into operation? For it might be possible that this division had not yet been carried through at the time when Augustus issued his decree; this question, however, can be dismissed as being not to the point, for strictly speaking Augustus knew, when he issued this decree, that the decision about the division of the provinces had been taken and that Asia did not belong to his part; for, according to Dio Cassius<sup>2</sup>, the measures about the organisation of the provinces, were taken either before Augustus received this *cognomen* or on the same occasion. Augustus, therefore, bearing the name Σεβαστός, knew that he was issuing a decree concerning a province or the provinces, which were under the supervision of the Senate.

To sum up: this inscription shows that

1) Augustus issued a decree for a senatorial province;

2) some time afterwards the proconsul of this province felt himself obliged to refer to this decree in such terms as '*iussu Augusti Caesaris*' and '*Imperator . . . restituit*'.

This last expression is particularly interesting, because Augustus himself had ordered that the *proconsul of the province* 'φροντιζέτω ἀποκατασταθῆναι'. Vinicius, however, apparently was a modest man or at any rate he passed himself off as such. He was aware of the fact that even in a senatorial province it would have been highly invidious, if he had not ordered that the name of the Emperor be inscribed on the temple-wall: Augustus was obviously considered to be ultimately responsible even for a senatorial province. The famous Cyrene-inscription has made it clear that Augustus did not refrain from using verbs like *κελεύω*<sup>3</sup> concerning affairs of a senatorial province.

It can be said now that Augustus was fairly consistent in using such expressions in 6 B.C.: already as early as 27 B.C., immediately after the creation of the senatorial provinces, he was in the habit of using imperatives such as *αἰρέτω* etc. (l. 6) and of giving orders to senatorial proconsuls (*φροντιζέτω*, l. 10). There has been—and still is—a long debate about the problem of Augustus' constitutional position. For the moment we are only concerned with the period 27-23 B.C., since the Leyden inscription dates in all probability from 27 B.C. In his *Res Gestae* Augustus gives us his own famous, if not notorious, interpretation of his position: '*post id tempus auctoritate omnibus praestiti, potestatis autem nihilo amplius habui quam ceteri, qui mihi quoque*<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. for instance, T. RICE HOLMES, *The Architect of the Roman Empire*, and CAH, X, p. 133 f.

<sup>2</sup> LIII, 12 f.; cf. also D. MAGIE, *op. cit.*, p. 445, with the notes.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. EHRENBERG-JONES, *op. cit.*, p. 131, n. 311, III, l. 58.

<sup>4</sup> I accept Sir FRANK ADCOCK's interpretation of these words, JRS, XLII, 1952, p. 10-12; see also E. T. SALMON, *The Evolution of Augustus' Principate*, *Historia*, V, 1956, p. 456-479, espec. p. 462.

*in magistratu conlegae fuerunt*. After having transferred the *res publica* from his own *potestas*, *i.e.* from the irregular, unconstitutional power he had held since 30 B.C.<sup>1</sup>, to the senate and the *populus Romanus*, he had no more *potestas* than his colleagues. It was only in virtue of his *auctoritas* that he was superior to anybody else. Now, the relation between 'auctoritas' and 'imperium' has proved a *quaestio vexata* for modern scholars<sup>2</sup>. Broadly speaking two currents of thought can be discerned: a) Those who under the leadership of M. GRANT, are of the opinion that 'auctoritas' was the 'active, administrative organ' which laid a legal basis for his supremacy. b) Those who maintain that 'auctoritas stems from the personality, not from a legal enactment' (E. T. SALMON, *art. cit.*, p. 459). With 'auctoritas' one cannot implement a policy, command armies or administer justice. For such purposes 'imperium' was required. It may be said that nowadays most scholars agree about the primary importance of 'imperium' as a basis for Augustus' constitutional position<sup>3</sup>, and I am neither competent nor willing to question this fairly unanimous point of view. However what was the source of Augustus' *imperium* after 13 January, 27 B.C.? Until 23 B.C. he was in continuous possession of the consulship and in command of all those provinces which made up his *provincia*, *i.e.* those areas in which the legions were stationed and which thus were of essential military importance.

We need not concern ourselves here with the nature of the *imperium* wielded by Augustus in his province and officially awarded to him by the Senate in 27 B.C.<sup>4</sup>. It may suffice to note that before 23 B.C. the Senate did not authorize Augustus to hold his proconsular *imperium* in the senatorial provinces<sup>5</sup>, nor in fact did he do so on his own initiative. From this it would seem to follow that if there was any *legal basis* for a possible interference by Augustus in the senatorial provinces before 23 B.C., it must be sought in his consular *imperium*. Now so far no instances of Augustus' interference in senatorial provinces during the period 27-23 B.C. have been available. Owing to the absence of evidence for this portion of Augustus' reign various theories could be developed with regard to his relations with the senatorial provinces. The adherents of the *auctoritas*-theory have maintained that Augustus' *imperium* was based only on his consulship and that he was only superior to the senatorial proconsuls in virtue of 'the traditionally greater *auctoritas* of the consuls'<sup>6</sup>.

A second group, led by H. LAST and A. H. M. JONES, have pointed out that theoretically

<sup>1</sup> See E. T. SALMON, *art. cit.*, p. 457, note 7.

<sup>2</sup> It is not my intention to embark upon a detailed discussion of this problem here. There seems in any case no need for it after all that has been written about it. The chief exponent of the 'auctoritas-theory' is M. GRANT, *From Imperium to Auctoritas*, Cambridge, 1946; see also, *The Augustan Constitution*, Greece and Rome, 1949, p. 97 ff.; *Studies in Roman Economic and Social History in Honor of Allan Chester Johnson*, 1951, p. 107 ff. The articles of H. LAST, *Imperium Maius: A note*, JRS, XXXVII, 1947, p. 157 ff., R. SYME, JRS, XXXVI, 1946, p. 149 ff., and A. H. M. JONES, *The Imperium of Augustus*, JRS, XLI, 1951, p. 112 ff., have been of great use to me. A good survey of what has been written on this problem can be found in J. BÉRANGER, *Recherches sur l'aspect idéologique du Principat*, p. 77 ff.; G. E. F. CHILVER, *Historia*, I, 1950, p. 408 ff.; V. EHRENBERG, *AJPh*, LXXIV, 1953, p. 113 ff.; most recently E. T. SALMON has published a very useful article on the *Evolution of Augustus' Principate*, in *Historia*, V, 1956, p. 456-479.

<sup>3</sup> cf. e.g. S. J. DE LAET, *Où en est le problème de la Juridiction impériale?*, *L'Ant. Class.*, XIV, 1945, p. 145-163, espec. p. 158. As to the meaning of Augustus' *auctoritas* I subscribe to SALMON's interpretation of this term, *art. cit.*, p. 459-461; DE LAET in fact had developed the same theory as SALMON ten years earlier (*art. cit.*, p. 157/158).

<sup>4</sup> I accept the view put forward independently by JONES, *art. cit.*, p. 112 ff., and SALMON, *art. cit.*, p. 464-466 as being the most plausible. In their opinion Augustus exercised a *proconsulare imperium*.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. SALMON, *art. cit.*, p. 467.

<sup>6</sup> GRANT, *op. cit.*, p. 426; for my reasons for rejecting this theory see p. 65, note 5.

a Roman consul was thought to hold an *imperium* which was greater than that of a proconsul. Thus it might be said that a consul had an *imperium maius* over a proconsul, provided that one did not equate such an *imperium maius* with the *imperium maius* held, for instance, by a dictator over all the magistrates. This moderate *imperium maius* was conveniently styled by LAST *type A*. Moreover Cicero was known to have written: 'omnes in consulis iure et imperio debent esse provinciae'<sup>1</sup> and 'more maiorum concessum est vel omnes adire provincias'<sup>2</sup>. Accordingly A. H. M. JONES considered the possibility that Augustus exercised an ultimate control over the senatorial provinces thanks to his vague consular *imperium maius*.

The position of a third group notably represented by E. T. SALMON is somewhat more difficult to determine. They maintain that, although Cicero testifies to the constitutional right of the consuls to approach any province, they did not in fact exercise this right<sup>3</sup>. Normally a consul held his *imperium* in Rome and in Italy. Augustus is known to 'have reduced the imperium of the magistrates to its former limits' (Velleius, 2, 89, 3: *imperium magistratum ad pristinum redactum modum*): which is (rightly, I think) taken to mean that Augustus desired consuls to confine their activities to Rome. It is true, there had been exceptions to this rule in the past. However, they were mainly men invested with extraordinary commands and may be regarded as exceptions that prove the rule. The conclusion is 'that Augustus, whether as consul or proconsul, had no *'locus standi'* in senatorial provinces in those years' (E. T. SALMON, *art. cit.*, p. 467)<sup>4</sup>.

Having surveyed the various theories concerning Augustus' relation to the senatorial provinces we may now proceed to consider what light the Cymaeian inscription throws on the subject: for this text, I believe, provides us with evidence which might well enable us to decide the question. We see that Augustus called himself ὑπατος in this inscription, that as ὑπατος he gave orders to the senatorial proconsul(s), and that one of these refers to Augustus' decree with the significant words '*iussu Augusti Caesaris*'<sup>5</sup>. This all took place in the course of the year

<sup>1</sup> *Phil.*, IV, 9.

<sup>2</sup> *ad Att.*, VIII, 15, 3. JONES has drawn attention to a third text (Cicero, *ad Fam.*, XIII, 26, 3), 'which implies that a consul could issue commands to a proconsul' (*art. cit.*, p. 113, n. 7; cf. also *Historia*, III, 1954-55, p. 470, note 3); cf. also *Phil.*, II, 30 where Cicero makes the proposal to appoint Cassius governor of Syria and to invest him with the right to recruit troops in the eastern provinces: 'utique, quamcumque in provinciam eius belli gerendi causa advenerit, ibi maius imperium C. Cassi pro consule sit quam eius erit, qui eam provinciam tum obtinebit, cum C. Cassius pro consule in eam provinciam venerit'. The restriction, implied by the words 'quamcumque . . . advenerit', seems to show that Cicero was not thinking of the 'dictatorial' *imperium maius* here, as LAST had already pointed out (JRS, 1947, p. 162), but of a 'restricted' *imperium maius*.

<sup>3</sup> SALMON, *art. cit.*, p. 463. Both SALMON and SYME dismiss Cicero, *Phil.*, 4, 9 (see note 1) as 'tendentious casuistry' (SALMON, p. 463, note 46) and as 'a sophisticated attempt to demonstrate that M. Antonius is not really a consul and a dishonest suppression of Antonius' claim to the province of Gallia Cisalpina (which was based on a lex, not on consular prerogative, cf. *Rom. Rev.*, 162)'.  
<sup>4</sup> Cf. also SYME: 'Juridically the proconsul (sc. of a senatorial province) is the equal of the princeps in the period 27-23 B.C.', *art. cit.*, p. 155.

<sup>5</sup> I feel that we do more justice to words like '*iussu*' and κελεύω (cf. p. 63, note 3) by assuming that they imply the use of an *imperium maius* than by accepting the *auctoritas*-theory. Cf. JONES, *art. cit.*, p. 114, note 14; CRAI, 1953, p. 89; LAST, JRS, XL, 1950, p. 121 f.; H. VOLKMANN, *Bemerkungen zu den Res Gestae divi Augusti*, *Historia*, III, 1953/4, p. 84/5. To the examples mentioned by these authors may be added IG VII, 1, 1147: the inhabitants of Gytheion, a member of the free league of the Eleutherolacones, appeal to the Emperor Hadrian for special protection of an endowment given to this city by Tib. Claudius Atticus. The emperor accedes to the request, and the proconsul of Achaia, who is entrusted by him with the further treatment of the matter twice refers to the emperor's authorization with the verb κελεύω (l. 9 . . . συνήδομαι  
Oudheidkundige Mededelingen, N.R. XXXVIII (Suppl.)

27/26. The conclusion from all this would seem to be as follows: a) As early as 27 B.C. Augustus did not shrink from giving orders to a senatorial proconsul. b) He appears to have given these orders as a consul, *i.e.* by virtue of his consular *imperium*. c) He seems therefore to be acting in accordance with what Cicero says about the *imperium* of a Roman consul.

Apparently Augustus did not confine his consular activities to Rome and Italy, as SALMON claims: in his position he could apparently ignore the restriction mentioned by Cicero ('omnes *adire* provincias', 'quamcumque . . . *advenerit*', see p. 65, note 2)<sup>1</sup>. An additional argument for this theory of a *consulare imperium maius* (Type A) may, I believe, be found in the fact that in 23 B.C., when Augustus resigned his consulship, the senate voted him an *imperium proconsulare maius* over the senatorial provinces (Dio Cassius, LIII, 32, 5). The granting of this '*imperium maius*' was perhaps 'intended as some compensation for the loss of the vague overriding powers which Augustus may have been deemed to hold as a consul'<sup>2</sup>.

58. Smyrna? (Catalogue: 'Smyrna'). Twelve fragments of white marble; A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, K, L, M; A and B join; D, E, F, G join; H, I, K, L join; on A and C part of the upper edge of the stone is visible; on D part of the left edge of the stone survives; the mutual relation between the groups A + B, DEFG, HIKL and C and M seems uncertain (see below); two blue veins seem to have run all over the stone; at present they can be seen on fragment G and HI. Dimensions of the fragments (I give the maximum figures): A 0,19 m long; 0,16 m wide; 0,025 m thick; B 0,105 m long; 0,12 m wide; 0,025 m thick; C 0,12 m long; 0,085 m wide; 0,025 m thick; D 0,185 m long; 0,135 m wide; 0,04 m thick; E 0,21 m long; 0,195 m wide; 0,35-0,04 m thick; F 0,195 m long; 0,175 m wide; 0,035-0,037 m thick; G 0,21 m long; 0,185 m wide; 0,033-0,32 m thick; H 0,19 m long; 0,12 m wide; 0,03 m thick; I 0,20 m long; 0,18 m wide; 0,03 m thick; K 0,20 m long; 0,115 m wide; 0,03 m thick; L 0,105 m long; 0,05-0,06 m wide; 0,03 m thick; M 0,18 m long; 0,125 m wide; 0,035 m thick; letters  $\pm$  0,01 m; interlinear space 0,01 m; very ornate script; strong *apices*; middle 2nd century A.D. (internal evidence); Inventory: I, 1900, 1, 30 (except fragm. B: I. 1901/11. 12<sup>3</sup>); Photograph: Plate XI, 58.

ὕμειν [προθύμως ὅτι ἡ ἐπιστολὴ τοῦ μεγίστου αὐτοκρά[τορος Τραϊανοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ Σε]βαστοῦ ἐκέλευσεν τὰ [χρήματα καὶ τῆς πόλεως] ὑμῶν ἀσφαλ[ί]σασθαι; cf. also l. 18-20). This would seem to imply that, according to the proconsul, Hadrian was exercising an *imperium maius* of at least the moderate type. However, J. H. OLIVER, *The Ruling Power*, TAPhS, N.S., vol. 43, Part. 4, 1953, p. 973 interprets this as an example of Hadrian's *auctoritas* (. . . 'he is careful to refer to the emperor's recommandation'), but in so doing he seems to underrate the force of *κελεύω* which surely implies more than a mere recommandation. As in L. Vinicius' case, the choice of *κελεύω* is significant: the emperor is regarded as giving orders (*imperium*), not suggestions (*auctoritas*). Since Hadrian is known to have drawn inspiration from Augustus in other fields (cf. W. DEN BOER, *Religion and Literature in Hadrian's Policy*, Mnemosyne, Series IV, vol. VIII, 1955, p. 123 ff., especially p. 136 f.) it might well be that in this case also Hadrian and his proconsul were acting in accordance with the precedent established by Augustus (and his proconsul).

<sup>1</sup> The Cymaeian inscription also seems to invalidate an argument advanced by SALMON in support of his theory that Augustus could not use his consular and proconsular *imperium* in senatorial provinces during the period 27-23 B.C. (*art. cit.*, p. 467): At the beginning of 27 B.C. Augustus was planning a trip to Gaul, Spain and Italy. Now, Narbonensis in Gaul and Baetica in Spain, areas which Dio Cassius thinks of as senatorial (53, 12, 4), only *became* senatorial after 24 B.C. According to SALMON these two areas must have been imperial provinces because otherwise Augustus could not have exercised his *imperium* there; but now that we see that Augustus even in his absence exercised his *imperium* over the senatorial province of Asia, SALMON's argument appears to lose much of its weight.

<sup>2</sup> So JONES, *art. cit.*, p. 114.

<sup>3</sup> I am indebted to Prof. Dr H. BRUNSTING of the 'Rijksmuseum van Oudheden' at Leyden for the discovery of the joint of fragments A and B; it is interesting to notice that fragment B was sent to Leyden one year after the other fragments of this inscription; the catalogue groups fragment B together with some other stones under the heading: 'from Smyrna and other places'!



Ιονης τῆς  
 καὶ ἐπιτευ  
 μετέχοντα  
 καὶ τοῦ κρατη  
 10 ]δ ἐψήφ[ισται Σε]ρουειλ[ι  
 ] διοικητικ[ - - - *vacat*  
 ] λισεις ταῖς γ[ενομένοι]ς τῶν Σ[  
 Π]αναθηναίοις καὶ ταῖς ὑπὸ[  
 ] αὔθις ποτε ψηφισθησόμεν[α οἱ ον  
 15 ] αν ἐξαρκῶσιν ὑπὸ ἐπιμελ +[  
 ] ἐνου καὶ ἐν τούτῳ Σερουειλίου Τ[  
 ] καταστήσωσιν μεταστάντος ΤΟ[Υ  
 ] νου γραφεισ[  
 ἄλλο] μέρος *v*  
 20 ειν  
 ΑΓΕΙ  
 ΝΕΠΙ ≡  
 Τ]ΟΥΨΗΦ[ΙΣΜΑΤΟΣ?  
 Γ Ι Ε Σ ≡

M:

- - - λα]μβάνειν τῶν Ι Η [ - - -  
 - - - εὐκ]οσμίας καὶ ἐν το[ῖς - - -  
 - - - ] *vac* "Ἄλλο κεφάλαιον - - -  
 - - - ] ωσεις γεινέσθωσα[ν - - -  
 5 - - - ἡ]μέραις ἐπάνανκε[ς - - -  
 - - - δαπά]ναις δημοτέλεσι[ - - -  
 - - - ] - Ι ΝΩΝ πρὸς [ . . .

The measurements (esp. those of DEFG) show that the slab on which this inscription has been engraved becomes thinner towards the right. Moreover, as noted above, the fragments G, H and I have preserved traces of two blue veins in the marble which probably ran all over the stone. Nevertheless, a reconstruction-sketch of this inscription seems impossible for the following reasons: 1) The position of fragment D at the left edge of the inscription is uncertain; it follows that the position of E, F, G is equally uncertain; 2) Though the blue veins on the fragments G, H, I somehow correspond to each other, we do not—and in my view cannot—know whether the group H, I, K, L must be placed above or below the fragments D, E, F, G. It is highly improbable that H, I, K, L are to be placed immediately to the left of D, E, F, G for the simple reason that the Latin sentences, parts of which we find on F and G, are absent from HIKL. It is also worth noting that the distance between A and C at the upper edge was very small, both A and C being equally thick, *viz.* ± 0,025 m. The thickness of M (0,035 m) shows that the distance from M to the left edge of the slab must have been about the same as that from fragment F to that edge; moreover, the fact that M (± 0,035-0,032 m thick) mentions an "Ἄλλο κεφάλαιον" ('a following chapter', see below) implies that M is to be placed somewhere under D on which a *Κεφάλαιον* begins.

In the Museum catalogue provenance from Smyrna is advocated for these fragments. However, I have pointed out that it would be unwise to accept this information uncritically. Is there

anything in this inscription which either confirms or belies it? I do not believe so. In fragment D, l. 6/7 there seems to be a mention of a θυμελική σύνοδος τῶν τεχνειτῶν. We know that there existed a ἱερὰ σύνοδος τῶν περὶ τὸν Βρεισέα Διόνυσον τεχνειτῶν καὶ μυστῶν in Smyrna. However, as far as I know, the epithet θυμελικός is never applied to this association in our sources<sup>1</sup>, and we may suggest with some confidence that there is no relation between the Leyden fragments and the worshippers of Dionysus Breiseus at Smyrna. The very word θυμελικός perhaps entitles us to say that we have here to do with the oecumenical σύνοδος of technitai of Dionysus and the Emperor, which had its headquarters in Rome and which is known to have had its sections in several cities of Asia Minor. Numerous inscriptions show that θυμελικός formed part of the official title of this σύνοδος<sup>2</sup>. F. Poland, who was the latest to treat exhaustively the problems connected with the Dionysan technitai, pointed out that local sections existed in Ephesus, Miletus, Ancyra, Aphrodisias, Thyatira and Smyrna<sup>3</sup>. Two extremely fragmentary inscriptions constitute the evidence adduced by Poland for the Smyrna section<sup>4</sup>. Because of the inaccessibility of the periodical in which they have been published it is perhaps useful to reproduce the text of these fragments here: *n.* 21: H. 0,20 m; W. 0,25m; Th. 0,06 m.

]ρωον τῆ ἑβδόμη ἐσ[  
 ]α τῆς συνόδου ἀσ[  
 ]ἀσσάρια δέκα κ[  
 ]υ κοσμικῶ τῶ τ[  
 5 ]δόχῳ ἀσσάρια  
 ]υ νεικ[  
 ] διαδ[

*n.* 22: H. 0,25 m; W. 0,30 m; Th. 3,0 m (sic! probably 0,03 m).

] εἰν ἀπ[  
 κα]ὶ τᾶγαθα[  
 ἐ]πρέσβευεν[  
 εὐτυ]χεῖτε  
 5 ἀ]πὸ Ῥώμης  
 ] τοῖς τεχνείταις[  
 ]ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων[  
 ] Τι Κλ Εὐτύχου[

*ad n.* 22: l. 4-6: we have here the end of an imperial letter; for a parallel see *e.g.* L. ROBERT, *Hellenica*, VI, p. 80 ff., n. 26, l. 17-20 and l. 33-35.

<sup>1</sup> See CIG 3176, 3177, 3190, 3210; AEMO, IX, 133; BCH, LVII, 1933, p. 308; CIG 3190 alone gives the complete title mentioned in the text; for Dionysus Breiseus see M. HASLUCK, BSA, XIX, 1912-1913, p. 89-94.

<sup>2</sup> See *e.g.* IGR, IV, 1361 (Thyatira); I, 442 (Naples); IG II<sup>2</sup>, 1350; Ath. Mitt., XIV, 1889, p. 316; BCH, IX, 1885, p. 124 f., l. 73 ff. (synodos at Rome); IGR, III, 209 (Ancyra).

<sup>3</sup> P-W, V, 2, 1934, *s.v.* Technitai, col. 2473-2558, espec. col. 2521: 'Gewiss waren die T. auch zuhause in Ephesos, Milet, Smyrna, wo ja noch ein eigenartiges Sondercolleg bestand, Ankyra, Aphrodisias, Thyatira'.

<sup>4</sup> Published for the first and, it seems, the last time in the rather inaccessible periodical of the Evangelical School at Smyrna, Μουσεῖον, I, p. 70-71, n. 21 and 22.

POLAND probably based his conclusion on the words *σύνοδος* (n. 21, l. 2) and *τοῖς τεχνείταις* (n. 22, l. 6) <sup>1</sup>. It would surely be the way of least resistance to adopt this conclusion and to support it by assuming that the Leyden fragments, too, come from Smyrna, which is after all possible, and, hence, that they refer to the same local section of the oecumenical *σύνοδος*. But this procedure would be unsound for the following reasons: 1. POLAND's interpretation of the *Μουσεῖον* fragments would seem to be a little arbitrary. The words *σύνοδος* and *τοῖς τεχνείταις* may well refer to the *synodos* of the local Breiseus *mystai*. We have no means of deciding the question. 2. One is not entitled to assume that the Leyden fragments come from Smyrna. It is equally possible that they come *e.g.* from Ephesus, since we have another example of a Leyden inscription which in actual fact has been found there, whereas the catalogue gives for it the traditional Smyrna provenance <sup>2</sup>. This is not the first time that an inscription has lost much of its importance, because we do not know whence it comes. To sum up: one has to be content with a *non-liquet*, as to the question, whether there existed a section of the oecumenical *synodos* in Smyrna which was independent of the association of Breiseus *technitai*. If it could be proved that the *Μουσεῖον* fragments belong to the same document as the Leyden one, the puzzle would be solved, provided that the *Μουσεῖον* editor is right in asserting that his fragments come from Smyrna. Unfortunately, however, he has failed to mention the height of the letters of these fragments, which in the present circumstances would seem to have been a valuable criterion. The thickness of n. 21 (6 cm) probably is too large for it to belong to the same inscription.

In the first two lines of the Leyden inscription, part of which is preserved in fragments A and C we find a mention of *γεγραμμέν[α]* and *ἀντιβεβλη[μένα]* and of a temple of Apollo (*τῷ ἱερῷ Ἀπόλλων[ος]*). Could it be that these *γεγραμμένα* were kept in a temple of Apollo which, hence, served as a kind of archives? The usage of the word *ἀντιβεβλημένα* perhaps implies that several documents had been engraved on stone (a wall?) or on a wooden tablet (*tabula*, *δέλτος*, *στήλη*) so that they could be easily compared by the reader <sup>3</sup>. In support of this tentative hypothesis one might perhaps point to the fragments D and M where the words *Κεφάλαιον* (with capital K: *Κε*) and *Ἄλλο κεφάλαιον* occur. I take it that these *κεφάλαια* refer to extracts of decrees issued by the predecessors of Antoninus Pius, from whose reign this inscription seems to date (see below). In a Berlin papyrus the word seems to have been used with the same meaning. This papyrus contains the *δίκαια* given to the *ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκουμένης περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον ἱερονεῖται καὶ στεφανῖται* by several Roman Emperors. It begins with a decree of Claudius, followed by a *Κεφ[ά]λαιον ἐκ διατάγματος Θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ περὶ τῶν δο[θ]εισῶν δωρεῶν τῇ συνόδῳ* <sup>4</sup>. Moreover,

<sup>1</sup> For the sake of completeness I may perhaps point out that in 1909, when he published his *Geschichte des Griechischen Vereinswesens*, POLAND still considered the possibility that these 2 fragments alluded to the Breiseus worshippers (p. 145, note \*\*\*: 'vielleicht auf die Breiseus-Mysten bez.'). I do not know what has caused this change of opinion.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 38, n. 32.

<sup>3</sup> The *στήλη ἐκ τοῦ ἐν Ῥώμῃ Καπετωλίου*, on which *inter alia* the letter and edict of Octavian to the Rhosians has been engraved, may serve as a useful parallel (EHRENBERG-JONES, p. 123, n. 301, I, l. 5); cf. the *στήλη* mentioned in DEFG, l. 8-9; in an inscription from Aphrodisias, LE BAS-WADDINGTON, 1627, l. 1 ff., we read: [*ἐπὶ Γνητοῦ Κορνηλίου, Ποπλίου υἱοῦ, καὶ Λευκίου Μαρκίου, Λευκίου υἱοῦ, ὑπάτων, ἐκ τῶν ἀν[τ]ι-ἀγεγραμμένων ἐν πινάκι πρώτῳ? κεφαλαίῳ . . . . . π[ε]μπτῳ, ἕκτῳ, ἑβδόμῳ, ὄγδῳ, ἐνάτῳ τα[μ]ιευτικῶν δέλτων, . . . ταμι]ῶν κατὰ πόλιν, δέλτῳ πρώτῳ . . . (cf. Fl. Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, XIV, 10, 10). TH. REINACH, however, pointed out that on his squeeze at the end of l. 1 traces of several letters were visible after the N; the first of these letters 'n'est sûrement pas un A mais un E' (REG, XIX, 1906, p. 81/82). Could it be that REINACH misread a T as an E? In that case a restoration *ἀντ[ι]βεβλημένων* seems tempting.*

<sup>4</sup> *Klio*, VIII, 1908, p. 413 ff.; the text of the papyrus can be found on p. 415 ff.; the same text now also in *Sammelbuch*, I, 5225.

the fact that in some fragments the remains of a short Latin sentence, separating two Greek documents, are preserved, seems to confirm my suggestion that the complete Leyden inscription consisted of several imperial decrees (or, rather, of the ἀντίγραφα of these). Now one should expect the original copies of these imperial decrees to have been preserved in Rome. If this is true, one may perhaps suppose that the Apollo temple, which I hold to be the place where the imperial γεγραμμένα were kept, also has to be located in Rome. Hence I find it tempting to restore in fragment C: ἐ]ν τῷ Παλα[τίνῳ] <sup>1</sup>. I have to admit that there seems to be no evidence for the use of the Apollo temple on the Palatine as a kind of imperial archives. The only thing we know is that already during the lifetime of Augustus, the builder of the temple, it was used as an assembly place by the Senate and other associations over which the Emperor presided <sup>2</sup>; moreover a library formed part of the temple-complex <sup>3</sup>. On the other hand it is a fact that the imperial archives in Rome were called 'tabularium' or 'sanctuarium Caesaris' <sup>4</sup>. It was TH. MOMMSEN who as long ago as 1867 put forward the suggestion that this, 'tabularium Caesaris' perhaps was to be located in the imperial residence on the Palatine <sup>5</sup>. If my interpretation is correct, we may perhaps conclude that it was not the imperial residence but the Apollo temple on the Palatine where a record was kept of the more important imperial documents. In that case we also can do more justice to the expression 'sanctuarium Caesaris', mentioned by the ancient grammarians (see note 4). Since the Apollo temple has been built on part of the palace ground on the Palatine, next to the *domus Augustana* (see P-W, s.v. Palatium, col. 52 ff.), and since there existed a close relation between Augustus and Apollo (see e.g. P. LAMBRECHTS, *Augustus en Apollo*, Gentse Bijdragen tot de Kunstgeschiedenis, XV, 1954, p. 85-124; *La politique apollinienne d'Augustus et le culte impérial*, La Nouvelle Clio, 1953, p. 65 ff.; J. GAGÉ, *Apollon Romain*, p. 530), it is conceivable that the expression 'sanctuarium Caesaris' indicates the Apollo temple on the Palatine.

May we infer from πρ]εσβευσάμενο[ς or ι] in fragment B that the technitai have sent an ambassador to Antoninus Pius in order to ask for the ἀντίγραφα of the above mentioned decrees of his predecessors? <sup>6</sup> In fragment G the consuls of 150 A.D. seem to have been mentioned: *M. Gavius Squilla Gallicano. Sex. Carminio Vetere co(nsulibus)*; cf. A. DEGRASSI, *I Fasti Consolari dell'Impero Romano*, p. 152; in the next line we find the name of the contemporary emperor: *Antoninus Aug.* In view of decre[vit?] <sup>7</sup> in l. 23 we may perhaps suppose that not only the ἀντίγραφα of the older imperial decrees have been delivered to the τεχνεῖται but that at the same time an accompanying decree of Antoninus was issued. I have no suggestion to offer as to the contents

<sup>1</sup> Part of the *tau* seems to have been presented after ΛΑ; <sup>1</sup> is likely to be the left *apex* of the horizontal stroke of the Τ.

<sup>2</sup> P-W, XVIII, 3, s.v. Palatinus: 'Tempel und Bibliothek wurden bereits in den letzten Jahren des Augustus als Versammlungsort von Senat und anderen Körperschaften benutzt, in denen der Kaiser den Vorsitz führte' (col. 4).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. P-W, *ibidem*.

<sup>4</sup> See P-W, s.v. Tabularium, spec. col. 1965; Hermes, II, 1867, p. 122, note 2.

<sup>5</sup> See Hermes, II, 1867, p. 122, n. 3: 'Wo dieses *tabularium principis*, das ausdrücklich wohl nur in den eben angeführten Stellen der Grammatiker und in unserer Urkunde [= BRUNS-GRADENWITZ, *Font.*, I<sup>7</sup>, 71 a] genannt wird, sich befunden hat, ist nicht überliefert; vermutlich doch in der kaiserlichen Residenz auf dem Palatin'.

<sup>6</sup> See e.g. IGR, IV, 1397, which shows that in 139 A.D. Smyrna sent ambassadors to Antoninus Pius in order to ask for τὰ ἀντίγραφα τῶν ὑπομνημάτων issued by Hadrian.

<sup>7</sup> ITE: perhaps: [r]i?e?

of the Κεφάλαιον, reproduced in fragments D and E<sup>1</sup>. The first κεφάλαιον probably ends with ἐκπέμπεσθαι, because there is a blank space after this word. A short sentence ending with ΗΛΕΙΣ, the meaning of which escapes me completely, leads up to a new document which is perhaps an imperial letter: 'Ἐξ ὧν ἐπ[έμψατε ἐπιστολῶν οἱ πρεσβευτῶν ἔμαθον?]. Does the Roman Emperor interfere with the decisions made by the τεχνεῖται and does he eventually approve of them (τὰ ἐψηφισμένα κύρι[α εἶναι])? A Latin sentence ends this letter: IS. EA. TEMPTET. II. AGIT. NON; perhaps: *ne* or *si qui* is ea (sc. decreta) temptet? Does the emperor (or the proconsul) emphasize here that it is forbidden to try to invalidate the ἐψηφισμένα of l. 16? In Greek inscriptions we find numerous clauses of this type: ἐὰν δέ τις εἴπη ἢ προθῆ ἢ ἐπιψηφίσῃ (sc. τι παρὰ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα): cf. Syll<sup>3</sup>, 577, l. 65 ff.; *Delphinion*, 147, l. 24; BCH, LVII, 1933, p. 510; for the Greek equivalent of 'temptet' see e.g. *Hermes*, 85, 1957, p. 86 ff., l. 72: εἰ δέ τις ψάφισμά τι ἢ [νό]μ[ο]ν γράψαι ἢ ἄλλως πως ἐπιχειροῖ διακόψαι τὰ συνκειμένα. Is II a numeral here and accordingly does it mean 'bis' and, if so, must we connect it with a Latin equivalent of ἐπιψηφίζω: 'if somebody tries to put to the vote this decree for the second time'? I cannot submit an interpretation of AGIT. NON. Unfortunately the name of the ἀθύπατος (Fragm. DEFG, l. 14, 18) is not preserved on the stone. There is no reason to suppose that the Servilius, mentioned in fragment L is identical with this proconsul. In DEFG, l. 19 a reading ἀρχιτέκτονος seems reasonable; has this architect something to do with the repair of buildings which belonged to the τεχνεῖται and might have been severely damaged by the earthquake which struck the coastal area of Asia Minor so heavily in 147/8 A.D. (cf. D. MAGIE, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor*, p. 632, 1492-3)?

In fragment K we find the rare word διοικητικός (L.S.<sup>9</sup> 'controlling'; see also PREISIGKE, *Wörterbuch*, s.v.) and probably part of the words κατακλίσεις ('banquets'<sup>2</sup>) and [Π]αναθηναίος (which Παναθήναια are meant, remains obscure). Have we here a reference to a religious ceremony accompanied by 'banquets' (κατακλίσεις)? Everything remains uncertain. In fragment H we seem to have the remains of the famous *volunt*: ὑπὲρ ὑγ[ιείας - - - - καὶ αἰωνίης διαμ]ονῆς τῆς - - - - (of the Emperor and his οἶκος). Do the letters ΕΠΙΤΕΥ or ἐπιτευ[χθέντα] and, hence, do they refer to privileges obtained from the emperor by ambassadors or by the πρεσβευσάμενος/ι mentioned in fragment B? It is well known that ἐπίτευγμα and ἐπιτυγχάνω have been frequently used in such contexts<sup>3</sup>. What is the meaning of the letters ΗΔΩΔ? I confess that my first idea was that the word δώδ[εκα] was mentioned and that we had here an allusion to the League of the Ionian cities. Unfortunately, however, in imperial times, and certainly in the time of Antoninus Pius, this league had 13 city members<sup>4</sup>; perhaps a mention of the Δώδεκα Θεοί occurs here? Fragment M: it is reasonable to suppose that fragment M, mentioning an ἄλλο κεφάλαιον, has to be placed after fragment C which probably contained the first Κεφάλαιον. This ἄλλο κεφάλαιον perhaps deals with financial affairs: δαπά]ναις δημοτέλεσι

<sup>1</sup> There is no point in writing down the rather vague hypotheses one could perhaps suggest on the basis of the few preserved words.

<sup>2</sup> For κατάκλισις with this meaning see IGR, IV, 661, l. 4/5 (Acmonia): . . γείν[εσθαι] δὲ τὴν κατάκλισιν μηνὸς Πανήμου (funeral banquet); for the use of κατακλίνω in similar contexts see *Inscr. Priene*, n. 113, l. 54 ff. and l. 86 ff.

<sup>3</sup> See e.g. IGR, IV, 1251 (with L. ROBERT, *Ét. Anat.*, p. 119 ff.); SEG, IV, 329, l. 8/9; IGR, IV, 293, col. 2, l. 6; BCH, XLIV, 1920, p. 91, n. 21, l. 3 (with *Ét. Anat.*, p. 538); IGR, 914, l. 10 (τῶν ἐν ταῖς πρεσβείαις ἐπιτευχθέντων); *Rev. de Phil.*, LXXV, 1939, p. 131, n. 2, l. 8.

<sup>4</sup> See D. MAGIE, *Roman Rule*, p. 871/2 and BE, 1956, n. 213, where the Chian lady Κλαυδία Μητροδώρα is said to have been βασιλεὺς [τοῦ τρισκα]ιδεκαπολιτικοῦ τῶν Ἰώνων [κοινοῦ] (± 50 A.D.).

(l. 6): does the Roman Emperor interfere here with the financial administration? It would be perfectly in accordance with the normal Roman practice<sup>1</sup>; or have the ambassadors (fragment AB, l. 5) suggested imperial expenditure?

59. Smyrna? (Catalogue: 'Smyrna?'). Marble slab; broken at the top and the right side; L. 0,36 m; W. 0,32 m; Th. 0,06 m; on the stone an inscription of thirteen lines; letters  $\pm$  0,01-0,012 m; interlinear space 0,004-0,008 m (between l. 12 and 13 : 0,02 m); regular, thin script; small *apices*; 1st century B.C.-1st century A.D.; Inventory: I. 91/8. 8; Photograph: Plate XI, 59.

.. ΚΟΠΙ . ΕΙΠΙ . ΙΙΔ . ΙΙΔ  
 τὸν δ'εὐρεθέντ[α ---  
 δηναρίων ἑκατ[ὸν ---  
 λέγων ἐωνῆσθα[ι ---  
 5 καὶ διαγραφῆς τ[  
 ἐξ ἑκαστῆς φυλῆ[ς ---  
 ἱερεῦσιν δικαί[ ---  
 τῶν ἡξίου παραχωρ[εῖν οἱ ἦσαι ---  
 πεφυτευμένας ἀ[ ---  
 10 λαμβάνειν ἑκατ[ὸν ---  
 ὅπερ εἰ μὲν εὖλο[γον καλῶς ἐστι . εἰ δὲ μὴ ---  
 ΔΙΔΑΞΕΤΕΜΕ *vac.*  
 Ἐπὶ Γρανιανοῦ ΜΗ[

Apparently we have here a document concerning a lease of temple land; ἐωνῆσθαι (l. 4) and παραχωρῆσαι (l. 8) are words which one might expect to find in such inscriptions. That the land in question is temple land may perhaps be inferred from the mention of priests (ἱερεῦσιν) in l. 7. Παραχωρεῖν often occurs in the inscriptions from Olymos concerning the leases of the land of Apollo<sup>2</sup> and there denotes the act of subletting land by the person who has rented it from the temple of Apollo, *i.e.* from the people of Olymos: a very clear example in BSA, XXII, 1916-1918, p. 195 ff., n. II, col. I, l. 10/11: the woman who rents the land is allowed to sublet it: ἐξουσίαν ἔχουσα καὶ ἐτέρῳ [αὐτὸ π]αρ[αχωρεῖν καὶ οὐ καταμεριεῖν]<sup>3</sup>. It is tempting to read in l. 1:

<sup>1</sup> See *e.g.* L. ROBERT, *Hellenica*, I, p. 43 ff., where many references have been collected.

<sup>2</sup> See A. LAUMONIER, *Les baux d'Olymos*, REA, XLII, 1940, p. 201 ff.

<sup>3</sup> In passing I may perhaps point out that, contrary to F. SOKOLOWSKI's view, there seems to be no question of παραχώρησις of the ἐργωνία in MICHEL, *Recueil*, 589, l. 29: Μηδὲ ἀπολελύσθωσαν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐργωνίας οἱ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἔγγυοι καὶ ὁ ἐργώνης ἄχρι ἂν ὁ ἐπαναπριάμενος τὰ παλίνπωλα τοὺς ἐγγύους ἀξιοχρέους καταστήσει.

Though SOKOLOWSKI does not use the term παραχώρησις, I take it that this word reflects his opinion when he writes: 'l'entrepreneur pouvait toujours céder à un autre ses droits et ses obligations émanant de la συγγραφή' (BCH, LXX, 1946, p. 550). In my opinion it is the ναοποιοί who are entrusted with the ἐπανάπρασις of the work. The use of ἀπολύω does not seem to be compatible with a theory that the first ἐργώνης cedes his rights and obligations to another person while at least partly remaining responsible for the execution of the work. In some cases he was indeed bound to keep responsibility, though ceding his rights, as appears from FRASER-BEAN, *The Rhodian Peraea and Islands*, p. 8, n. 8, b, l. 9-25 (with commentary on p. 17/18; F. and B. wrongly refer to BSA, XXII, 1916/18, p. 203-4, n. IV; W. H. BUCKLER's interpretation of this inscription was that the original tenant, in case of παραχώρησις, continued to pay one drachme per annum. This payment was thought to imply that the original tenant remained responsible in case of default on the part of the παραλαβόν. However, L. ROBERT, *Le Sanctuaire de Sinuri*, I, p. 70 ff., n. 46, has convincingly shown that the meaning of this payment of one drachme has nothing to do with any ultimate responsibility of the original tenant). I maintain that ἀπολύω implies that the ἐργώνης cancels his contract so that the ναοποιοί have to

κόπ[τ]ε[ιν]. If this is true, τὸν δ'εὐρεθέντ[α] appears to refer to the man who is caught in the act of cutting trees or vines of the temple land. For the use of εὐρίσκω in the above mentioned meaning see an inscription from Gölde in Lydia: εἴ τις δὲ εὐρεθ[ῆ] . . .] εἰς τὰς ἀνπέλους ἢ . . . ου ποιήσῃ, ζημίαν δώσει . . . τῷ παθόντι (Μουσεῖον, V, 1886, p. 81, n. 571, quoted by L. ROBERT, *Hellenica*, VII, p. 153, n. 7; for the use of εὐρίσκομαι in this sense see also PREISIGKE, *Wörterbuch*, s.v.). I do not know whether the man who cuts down the trees or vines, can be identified with the tenant. If so, our inscription has a parallel in three inscriptions recently discovered by G. E. BEAN in Amos and containing the numerous provisions of a lease of temple land by the κοινόν of the Amians and three ἱερομόναμοι<sup>1</sup>. In one of the clauses of these inscriptions it is explicitly stated that tenants are not allowed to cut wood on the temple property. If they do, they are liable to a fine of 3000 drachmes<sup>2</sup>. From the mention of φυλαί in l. 6 one may perhaps conclude that the lease has been jointly issued by a town and the priests of the god to whom the land belongs. In that case the Amos inscriptions again form a parallel<sup>3</sup>.

The διαγραφὴ (l. 5) is perhaps the contract made between the tenant and the lessors, though in the Amos inscriptions συγγραφὴ has been used for this purpose. For a possible parallel I point to an inscription from Cos, BCH, XVII, 1893, p. 208-209, where the editor interprets this word as 'règlement' (relatif à la fête); see also the examples, quoted by P. M. FRASER, *Bullet. Soc. Arch. d'Alex.*, XL, 1953, p. 43, note 2; for the interchangeability of συγγραφὴ and διαγραφὴ, see also MICHEL, *Recueil*, n. 589, l. 15/16 and 595, l. 2/3.

In l. 3 and l. 10 a sum of a hundred denarii is mentioned. If my interpretation is correct, this is the fine to be paid by the persons cutting the trees or vines: l. 2-3: τὸν δ'εὐρεθέντ[α ὑπόδικον εἶναι (ἐπιτιμίου)] δηναρίων ἑκατ[όν]. Cf. Syll<sup>3</sup>, 736, l. 82: ὁ δὲ ποιῶν παρὰ τὰ γεγραμμένα ὑπόδικος ἔστω τῷ κυρίῳ . . . ἐπιτιμίου δραχμῶν πεντακοσιῶν; Syll<sup>3</sup>, 963, l. 49 shows a similar construction: πρακτὸς ἔστω τοῦ ἡμιολίου τοῖς [τα]μίαις; for ὑπόδικος + genit. see also A. WILHELM, *Neue Beitr.*, VI, p. 14; l. 4: λέγων: perhaps ἀντι/λέγων?; see *Jahresh.*, XXVIII, 1933, p. 219, l. 53 ff. and p. 221, l. 54 ff. In l. 9 we may perhaps restore: ἀ[μπέλους] or ἀ[μπελίδας].

L. 12: The stone gives ΔΙΔΑΞΕΤΕΜΕ: [ἐ]/διδάξετέ με. These words can, I think, only be accounted for on the assumption that this inscription contained a letter from a king or high official (and not a 'Pachturkunde' in which one expects the third person to be used); if we read ΔΙΔΑΣ we are left with the form ἔτεμε which, then, must be taken to refer to the practice of κόπτειν mentioned in l. 1<sup>4</sup>; if this is admitted, - διδας perhaps could be the *acc. plur.* of the object cut down by the evildoer; I must confess that I have no suggestion to make on that point. Should we perhaps read: ἀμπε]/<λ>ίδας ἔτεμε?

look for an ἐπαναπριάμενος; the latter word is significant in itself: the usage of ἐπί indicates that the work has not yet been finished, while ἀνά implies that a *completely new* contract has to be made; for ἐπιμισθοῦν and ἀναμισθοῦν see the acute remarks of H. LATTERMANN in *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXIV, 1909, p. 372. Hence SOKOLOWSKI is not justified in adducing this ἐπανάπρασις as evidence for his interpretation of the ἐπίπρασις of priesthoods in Erythrae (Syll<sup>3</sup>, 1014).

<sup>1</sup> FRASER-BEAN, *op. cit.*, n. 8, 9, 10, p. 6-20.

<sup>2</sup> *op. cit.*, n. 10, b, l. 6-11; see also IG II<sup>2</sup>, 1241, l. 30 ff.: μὴ ἐξεῖναι δὲ Διοδώρῳ κόψαι τῶν δένδρων τῶν ἐκ τοῦ χωρίου μηθέν, and A. WILHELM's remark: 'Pachtverträge pflegen für die Schonung des Baumbestandes Sorge zu tragen', *Jahresh.*, XXVIII, 1933, p. 209.

<sup>3</sup> *op. cit.*, p. 13 and 19.

<sup>4</sup> For the use of τέμνω see e.g. R. HERZOG, *Heilige Gesetze von Kos*, Abh. Preuss. Akad., 1928, Phil.-Hist. Kl., n. 6, p. 32 ff., n. 11: Αἱ τίς κα τάμνη τὰς κυπαρίσσος τὰς ἐν τῷ τεμένει ἢ τὰς ἔξω τοῦ τεμένεος etc.; this text has been reproduced by A. WILHELM, *Griech. Inschr. rechtl. Inhalts*, p. 3.

L. 13: here we find the date of this document: ἐπὶ Γρανιανοῦ μη(νός)- -. If this Γρανιανός could be identified, more perhaps could be said about the provenance of this stone.

60. Smyrna? (Catalogue: 'Smyrna'). White marble fragment; broken at all sides; L. 0,135 m; W. 0,13 m; Th. 0,04 m; on the stone an inscription of seven lines; letters  $\pm$  0,01 m; interlinear space  $\pm$  0,006 m (between l. 6 and 7  $\pm$  0,015-0,017 m); slight *apices*; A; first century A.D.?; Inventory: I. 1900/1. 29; Photograph: Plate XI, 60.

ΛΙΟΣΜΑΡΚΟΥΥ  
 ΝΤΙΝΑ *vacat*  
 ΛΙΟΣΜΑΡΚΟΥΥΙΟ  
 ΝΤΙΝΑ *vacat*  
 5 ΓΑΙΟΥΥΙΟΣΠΩΛΛ  
 ΚΙΟΥΥΙΟΣΚΡΟΥΣ  
 ΥΙΟΣΣΟΥΒΟΥ

This inscription probably contained a list of Roman citizens in Smyrna (or some other city of Asia Minor); for each man the name of the tribus to which he belonged has been added: l. 1: -λλιος Μάρκου υ[ίός]; l. 2: Οὐωφε]ντίνα: see DESSAU, ILS, 7193-7195; l. 3: - - λλιος Μάρκου υἰό[ς]; l. 4: Οὐωφε]ντίνα; l. 5: - - - ς Γαίου υἰός Πωλλ[ία or εἴνα] (see ILS, index s.v. tribus); l. 6: -Λο]υκίου υἰός Κρουσ[τουμίνα]; l. 7: Σουβοῦ[ρα]. As far as I know, these tribes are not so far attested in Smyrna.

61. Smyrna? (Catalogue: 'Smyrna'). White marble fragment; broken at all sides, except the left; on the stone an inscription of eight lines; letters  $\pm$  0,01 m; interlinear space 0,005-0,007 m; strong *apices*; imperial times (2nd cent. A.D.?); Inventory: I. 1900/1. 27; Photograph: Plate XII, 61.

Ἐρμογένης ΕΦΗ[  
 Εἰκέσιος ↔ ΤΑΤ[ιανός?  
 Λο. Ἰούλιος Οὐείβ[ιος  
 Λο. Τόννιος Μελ[  
 5 Μενεκράτης ↔ Τ[  
 Πο. Σολπίκιος Ρ[  
 Τειμοκράτης ↔  
 Τ - . Τ -

We have here a fragment of a list of names (perhaps of ephebes? see l. 1).

L. 1: ἔφη[βος? The name Ἰκέσιος seems to have been rather popular in Smyrna; see CADOUX, *Ancient Smyrna*, p. 150 and CIG 3217; for another Τόννιος in Smyrna, see CIG 3162, l. 25.

62. Smyrna (Catalogue: 'Smyrna'). White marble fragment; broken at all sides; L. 0,20 m; W. 0,19 m; Th. 0,047 m; on the stone an inscription of ten lines; letters 0,01 m (in l. 4 0,015 m); interlinear space 0,004 m (between l. 3 and l. 4 0,013 m); strong *apices*; Roman period (2nd cent. A.D.?); Inventory: I. 1900/1. 28; Photograph: Plate XII, 62.

---|| ΗΡΧΕ ΧΙ ---  
 --- ΤΕ]ΤΡΑΚΙΣΑΥΤ ---  
 --- ΙΕΡΟΙΟΜΕΛΗΤ ---  
 -- ΔΟΓΜΑΤΗΣΒΟΥΛΗ]ΣΚΑΙΤΟΥΔΗΜ[ΟΥ ---· ΕΠΕΙΔΗ  
 5 --- ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΩΡΟΥ ---

--- ΧΕΙΡ]ΟΤΟΝΗΜΕΝΟΝΑΡΧ[ΟΝΤΑ ---  
 ---- ΙΟΥΕΥΑΝΔΡΟΥΥ[ΙΟΝ or ΠΟΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ? --  
 --- ΟΙΣΙΑΝΟΥΑΡΙΑ ---  
 -- ΕΥΚΟΣ?]ΜΙΑΣΤΟΥΥΒΡ (?)  
 10 ΤΩΔΗ

Lines 1-3 (or 2-3 at least) seem to be metrical. From l. 4 it would seem to follow that we have here the remains of an honorary decree (τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμ[ου]). L. 1: ὕ]πῆρχε χρ[ *e.g.*; l. 3: presumably: τοῦ] ἱεροῦ Μέλῆτ[ος. The Meles is the main river of ancient Smyrna; the form ἱεροῦ Μέλῆτος is presumably a poetic reminiscence; in one of the Homeric Epigrams (IV, l. 6) we hear about Σμύρνην -- ἦντε δι' ἄγλαον εἶσιν ὕδωρ ἱεροῦ Μέλῆτος, whereas Pausanias, VII, 5, 3 refers to an oracle of Apollo at Claros from 334 B.C.: '--- οἱ Πάγον οἰκῆσουσι πέρην ἱεροῦ Μέλῆτος'; see C. J. CADOUX, *Ancient Smyrna*, p. 10 ff., for the importance of the river Meles in Smyrna; why the Holy Meles is mentioned in the first part of this decree, remains obscure because of the fragmentary character of this text; for the worship of River Gods see *e.g.* L. ROBERT, *Hellenica*, IX, p. 50; X, p. 90 ff.; *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, p. 35, n. 18; F. SOKOLOWSKI, *Lois sacrées . . . .*, n. 25 and 29; IMHOOF-BLUMER, *Fluss- und Meergötter auf griechischen und römischen Münzen*, *Revue Suisse de Numismatique*, XXIII, 1924, p. 173 ff.; for the name Ἰανουαρία(-ιος) see CIG 9614 and L. ROBERT, *Ét. Anat.*, p. 225. The fact that the Meles is mentioned here, makes it certain that this inscription comes from Smyrna.

63. Smyrna? (Catalogue: 'Smyrna'). Marble fragment; broken at all sides; L. 0,145 m; W. 0,145 m; Th. 0,031 m; on the stone an inscription of thirteen lines; letters 0,005-0,006 m; interlinear space very small; no *apices*; *pi*: with unequal legs; *omicron*: at the top of the line; A: with right cross-bar; early Hellenistic period; Inventory: LKA, 1192; Photograph: Plate XII, 63.

--- E N T ---  
 --- ENTΩΙΕ]ΜΠΡΟΣΘΕΝ[ΧΡΟΝΩΙ ---  
 --]ΕΓΚΑΙΤΟΥΔΗΜ[ΟΥ ---  
 ----]ΙΗΣΑΝΗΜΕΡΑΣ[ ---  
 5 ----]ΝΗΣΚΑΙΝΕΑΣΤΟ[ ---  
 --- Τ]ΗΠΡΩΤΗΒΟΥΛΗΣ[ ---  
 ----]ΜΑΤΑΤΑΕΚΤΕ . Ε[ ---  
 ----]ΕΙΑΝΑΓΝΩΝΑΙΤΟΥ[Σ ---  
 -- ΔΟ?]ΥΝΑΙΤΗΝΔΙΑΧΕΙΡΟΤΟΝ[ΙΑΝ --  
 10 ----]ΜΕΝΟΝ . ΑΙΔΙΟΝΤΟ[ ---  
 --]ΛΕΚΑΣΤΟΝΟΤΩΙ[ ---  
 ΥΣΑΕΠΕΡΩ[Τ  
 Ε Ι Σ

This seems to be part of a decree: l. 3: ἐν]έγκαι?; l. 6: τ]ῆι πρώτῃ βουλῆς [ἔδραι?; the σ of βουλῆς is beyond doubt. For ἀναγνῶναι in l. 8 see *e.g.* CIG 3655, l. 9-11, GDI, 5040, l. 39; BCH, XII, 1888, p. 362 ff., n. 6, l. 14-15 (= BCH, XXXVII, 1913, p. 169/170, n. 5), L. ROBERT, *Hellenica*, VII, p. 175, l. 96; in *Inscr. von Magnesia*, n. 100, b, l. 30/31 παραναγιγνώσκειν occurs in the same meaning; in some places an ἀναγνώστης τοῦ δήμου is attested; see *Jahresh.*, XXVIII, 1933, Beibl., p. 121-124; l. 7: perhaps ψηφί[σ]ματα τὰ ἐκτε[θ]έντα: for ἐκτίθημι in such contexts see A. WILHELM, *Beiträge zur Griech. Inschriftenkunde*, p. 285, 371, note 2; Ἀρχ. Δελτ., VII,

1921/1922, p. 282; BCH, LX, 1936, p. 20; PATON-HICKS, *Inscriptions of Cos*, 367, 368; l. 10: δεδο]γμένον? It is tempting to read: ἀίδιον and to suppose that the decree has to be valid for ever; however, between the N and the A there is space for one letter; at first sight one might think that it was a Π but since παίδιον does not seem to make sense in this context, it is perhaps better to read: τὸ δεδο]γμένον [δ'] ἀίδιον or perhaps [κ]αὶ δι' ὄν ΤΟ[. It is unknown where this inscription comes from; accordingly, it is impossible to restore the name of the officials (l. 8) who are entrusted with the ἀναγνῶναι of the ψηφίσ]ματα (l. 7); or is it better to restore: τοῦ[ς δὲ . . and to connect these officials with the διαχειροτον[ία mentioned in l. 9? l. 12: a form of ἐπερωτᾶν? For the meaning of this verb see L. ROBERT, BCH, LIX, 1935, p. 470.

64. Smyrna? (Catalogue: 'Smyrna'). Marble fragment; broken at the left side; L. 0,45 m; W. 0,38 m; Th. 0,035 m; on the stone an inscription of six lines; letters 0,035 m; interlinear space 0,02 m; Roman period; Inventory: LKA, 1181; Photograph: Plate XII, 64.

]ΑΚΑΙΤΑΥΠΟΜΝΗ  
ΤΗΣ ΚΡΑΤΙ]ΣΤΗΣΒΟΥΛΗΣ  
]ΛΑΠΟΤΟΥΤΙ  
]ΔΙΑΖΩΣΜΑ  
5 ]ΗΓΙΤΟΥΣΥΝΕ  
ΔΡΙΟΥ - - - ΠΟ]ΛΕΙΤΩΝ

- l. 1: τὰ ψηφίσματ]α καὶ τὰ ὑπομνή[ματα  
l. 4: διάζωσμα: see TAM, II, 2, 408; CIG(add.) 2755.  
l. 5: These letters baffle me: the reading is beyond doubt.

65. Tralles (Catalogue: 'Smyrna'). Marble slab; broken at all sides except the left; L. 0,36 m; W. 0,23 m; Th. 0,05 m; on the stone an inscription of twelve lines; letters 0,02 m; interlinear space 0,01 m; regular script; strong *apices*; Roman Times (1st-2nd cent. A.D.); Inventory: I. 93/8. 8; Photograph: Plate XII, 65.

*Bibliography*: A. M. CONTOLÉON, REG, XIII, 1900, p. 501, n. 12<sup>1</sup>; M. PAPPAKONSTANTINOU, ΑΙ ΤΡΑΛΛΕΙΣ, p. 60, n. 101<sup>2</sup>.

. ΛΑΥΔΙΑΝΟ[  
Περίλαος ΔΑΜΑΥ[  
'Αγροίτας \* ΡΝ 'Αντω[  
ρεινος \* ρ' 'Αντωνιο[  
5 λος \* ΡΚΛ 'Αρχιμη[  
Μένανδρος Θεοδ[  
Θεοδώρου καὶ Μεν[  
καλουμένου Μητ[  
ἐφ' οἷς οἱ μύσται ἀ[  
10 νοι τοὺς ἀνδρας[  
αὐτοὺς φιλοτειμ[  
. ἠπρὸς τὸν θεόν[

<sup>1</sup> 'Plaque de marbre brisée de tous côtés (0,36 × 0,25 × 0,04); elle m'a été remise par feu Demosthène Baltazzi'; CONTOLÉON reads in l. 3: 'Απροίτας \* ρ'ν' 'Αντω; in l. 5: λος \* ρ'κ' Λαρχιμη(?); in l. 8, at the end only MH; in l. 12: . . πρὸς etc.

<sup>2</sup> PAPPAKONSTANTINOU reads in l. 5: ΡΚΛ 'Αρχιμη[δης]; l. 9: ἐφ' οἷς οἱ μύσται ἀ[ - - - στεφα]/νοῖ κτλ; l. 12: κα]ι πρὸς τὸν θεόν.

The inscription shows that a number of people, parts of whose names appear in l. 1-8, gave financial contributions to a group of *μύσται*. Lines 9-12 may help to define the exact length of the lines. In l. 9 (ἐφ' οἷς) the *μύσται* apparently begin the statement of the grounds for the honours they bestowed on their benefactors. The lost part at the bottom undoubtedly would have elucidated the nature of these honours. L. 9-12 may be restored as follows: ἐφ' οἷς οἱ μύσται ἀ[ποδεχόμε]/νοι τοὺς ἄνδρας [ἐπὶ τῇ πρὸς]/ αὐτοὺς φιλοτειμ[ία καὶ ἐπὶ]/[τῇ] πρὸς τὸν θεὸν [εὐσεβεία]/.

This construction occurs frequently in inscriptions, although ἀποδέχομαι + acc. rei (τι), instead of acc. pers. (τινα ἐπὶ) was more popular. In an inscription from Iasos we read: ἐφ' οἷς πᾶσιν ἡ β. καὶ ὁ δ. ἀποδεχόμενοι αὐτοῦ τὸ περὶ τὴν πατρίδα λαμπρὸν καὶ φιλότιμον etc.<sup>1</sup>; see also Syll.<sup>3</sup>, 1104, l. 27 ff. In the famous Opraomas-inscription from Rhodiapolis the following construction is instanced: ἀποδέχομαι ἐπὶ τῇ φιλοτιμίᾳ ἣν πρὸς τὸ ἔθνος ὑμῶν ἐπεδείξατο<sup>2</sup>.

The notions φιλοτιμία and εὐσεβεία are bearing upon the feelings of the benefactors towards the *mystai* and the god; they occur very frequently, e.g. in the inscriptions from the temple of Zeus Panamara<sup>3</sup>. Lines 9-12, if restored in the above mentioned way, consist of 21/22 letters each. This may be considered as the average length of all the other lines. We may now turn to lines 1-8: L. 1 is too fragmentary to be restored successfully; the name Κλαυδιανός is quite common; in l. 2 we find the name of Περίλαος Δαμᾶ; both names are normal, Δαμᾶ being a genitive of Δαμᾶς; the remaining upsilon presents some difficulties. Assuming that in the lost part of this line room must be postulated for a denarius-sign + number and Ἀγροίτας 'praenomen (e.g. Κλ.), we can restore ± 6 letters after the Υ. Is it possible that a second name of Περίλαος stood in this gap (e.g. Υ[γεῖνος])? Υ[ίος] or Υ[ιωνός] seem improbable, because in this inscription a single genitive has been used to denote the filiation. The letters × PN in l. 3 can be explained in two ways: 1. Agroitas gave 150 (ρ'ν') denarii; in this case the next name is Ἀντώ[νιος]. 2. Agroitas gave 100 (ρ') denarii; the next name is Ν(ουμέριος) Ἀντώ[νιος].

The following arguments can be put forward in favour of the first interpretation.

a. The abbreviation N. for Νουμέριος does not occur in inscriptions from Asia Minor; see our n. 8, where Νουμέριος is written.

b. In l. 4 another Antonius is mentioned without praenomen.

c. The contributions are mentioned in order of magnitude; this occurs frequently<sup>4</sup>.

Arguments for the second possibility are: a. N., as abbreviation of Ν(ουμέριος), occurs in an inscription from Syracuse<sup>5</sup>; theoretically, then, it remains possible that the same abbreviation was used in Asia Minor. b. In this way three contributions of equal magnitude are mentioned. It seems difficult to decide, but I am on balance inclined to prefer the first interpretation,

<sup>1</sup> LAUM, *Stiftungen*, II, n. 124, l. 16 f.

<sup>2</sup> TAM, II, 3, 905, V, E.

<sup>3</sup> See e.g. BCH, XXVIII, 1904, p. 20-53 *passim*. In a decree of the worshippers of Bendis from the Peiraeus we read: τῆς τε πρὸς τὴν Βένδιν καὶ τὸν Δηλόπτην καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους θεοὺς εὐσεβείας ἕνεκεν καὶ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς ὀργεῶνας φιλοτιμίας (BCH, XXIII, 1899, p. 371, l. 14-18).

<sup>4</sup> G. E. BEAN recently published a new inscription from Caunus, which contains a list of financial contributions given to a θίασος; he remarks: 'The subscriptions for each year were apparently arranged, as usual, in descending order of magnitude' (JHS, LXXIII, 1953, p. 27 = SEG, XII, 473).

<sup>5</sup> IG XIV, 37 where there is question of a certain Ν(ουμέριος) Κλώδιος Ποσαίδης; see also IG XII, 8, 514: Ν(ουμέριος) Κέσιος Φύρμος (Thasos).

*i.e.* \* ρ'ν' Ἀντώ[νιος]. After Ἀντώ[νιος] there is room for  $\pm 4$  letters: [Κενσό-]/ or [Βικτό]/ρεινος would be possibilities. L. 4 is clear: Ἀντώνιο[ς . . . . .]/λος has given 100 denarii. L. 5 refers to a man called Κλ. Ἀρχιμήδης and not, as Contoléon apparently thought, a certain Λαρχιμήδης; the latter name is obviously non-existent. The remainder of the line probably contained a denarius sign and number (*e.g.* \* ρ') and Menandros' first name.

It seems possible to propose a restoration of l. 6-8. Menandros gave a certain amount of money; the letters which follow, Θεοδ ---, are probably part of the genitive Θεοδ[ώρου]; this leaves room for 5 more letters in the line; in l. 7 and 8 we obviously have the remnants of a series of genitives; for καλουμένου in l. 8 seems to relate to a genitive, of which the letters Μεν (l. 7) are the beginning. The following text may thus be plausibly suggested: Μένανδρος Θεοδ- [ώρου και ὑπέρ]/Θεοδώρου και Μεν[άνδρου τοῦ]/ καλουμένου Μητρ[οδώρου (*e.g.*) \* .]. Menandros gave the money on behalf of himself and his sons Θεόδωρος and Μένανδρος. To prevent any possible confusion between the father and his son Menandros, the latter got a cognomen, *viz.* Μητρ[οδώρος?]. In the case of young Theodoros there was no reason to give a cognomen to him, because his grandfather either lived elsewhere or had died already. Numerous parallels could be adduced for this restoration, among them *e.g.* an inscription from Cnidus, which contains a list of benefactors of a θίασος; l. 5 reads: Θόας Μύνδιος κ[αί] ὑπέρ τῶν υἱῶν ρ λ' 1.

If we fill the gap in l. 6 in the above way, this line will contain twenty-four letters, that is to say, two more than the remaining lines; however, this is less objectionable than to omit και which we can hardly miss here. Ἐπικαλούμενος is frequently used to designate a double name. R. Calderini has listed various words used for that purpose, with special reference to the Egyptian material<sup>2</sup>. On the basis of this list one may choose between a) ἐπικαλούμενος b) καλούμενος c) ὁ και ἐπικαλούμενος. In our case [ἐπι]/καλουμένου would best suit the available space. An inscription from Smyrna, however, reads as follows: Θεόδωρος Παπίου τοῦ Παπίου ζῶν, κατεσκεύασεν Θεοδώρῳ Θεοδώρου, τοῦ καλουμένου Μητροδώρου και τοῖς θρέμμασι και Ποπλίῳ και ἐγγόνις αὐτοῦ<sup>3</sup>.

Therefore a restoration [τοῦ]/καλουμένου would also be a distinct possibility<sup>4</sup>. The Museum-Catalogue as usual notes the provenance of the inscription as Smyrna. In this case, however, we are entitled to reject this information, because both CONTOLÉON<sup>5</sup> and PAPPAKONSTANTINOU attribute it to Tralles. It seems impossible to ascertain which god it was who was worshipped by these μύσται<sup>6</sup>. Finally the text of the inscription in its restored form runs as follows:

<sup>1</sup> SGDI, 3510 (= MICHEL, *Recueil*, 1005); in the above mentioned inscription from Caunus we also find a nominative, followed by the formula και ὑπέρ τοῦ υἱοῦ; a second son, if any, is designated with και ὑπέρ τοῦ ἄλλου υἱοῦ. In our inscription υἱός has been omitted, because the very names from the outset made it clear, that a father and a son were meant.

<sup>2</sup> *Ricerche sul doppio nome personale nell'Egitto greco-romano*, Aegyptus, XXI, 1941, p. 221 ff.; XXII, 1942, p. 3 ff. In REG, LIX-LX, 1946-1947, BE, n. 50, one finds a list of the terminology used to denote a double name.

<sup>3</sup> LE BAS-WADDINGTON, *Vième Partie*, Section I, n. 22.

<sup>4</sup> For the restoration of an inscription from Iasos, which bears a close similarity with ours, see A. WILHELM, *Mélanges Glotz*, II, p. 906-7.

<sup>5</sup> CONTOLÉON was not always a reliable authority in geographical matters. At least three other inscriptions, which he thought to come from Tralles, afterwards proved to belong to Heracléa on the Salbakè, Cibyra and Hierapolis (J.-L. ROBERT, *La Carie*, II, p. 172). As far as I see, however, there is nothing in the inscription now under discussion which can lead one to reject CONTOLÉON's information.

<sup>6</sup> See P-W, *s.v.* Tralles, col. 2123, where W. RÜGE remarks: 'In einigen Inschriften aus Tralles kommen auch μύσται vor aber nirgends kann man etwas genaueres aus ihnen entnehmen'; see also L. ROBERT, *Rev. de Phil.*, 1929, p. 138 f.

[Κ]λαυδιανός + 12 l.]  
 Περίλαος Δαμά 'Υ [..... \* ...]  
 'Αγροίτας \* ρ' ν' 'Αντώ[νιος Κενσό- e.g.]  
 ρεινος \* ρ' 'Αντώνιο[ς .....]  
 5 -λος \* ρ' Κλ. 'Αρχιμή[δης .....]  
 Μένανδρος Θεοδώρου και ὑπὲρ  
 Θεοδώρου και Μεν[άνδρου τοῦ]  
 καλουμένου Μητ[ροδώρου e.g. \* .]  
 ἐφ' οἷς οἱ μύσται ἀ[ποδεχόμε-]  
 10 νοι τοὺς ἄνδρας [ἐπὶ τῇ πρὸς]  
 αὐτοὺς φιλοτειμ[ία και ἐπὶ]  
 [τῇ] πρὸς τὸν θεὸν [εὐσεβεία]

APPENDIX I

THE JANSSEN-INSCRIPTIONS

L. J. F. Janssen: *Musei Lugduno-Batavi Inscriptiones Graecae et Latinae*,  
Lugduni Batavorum, 1842

This publication contains the following inscriptions; I have added references to the *Corpora* and, in special cases, to a few other publications:

Tabula I (Athens)	= IG, II/III <sup>2</sup> , 2492 (Syll. <sup>3</sup> 966); The Antiquaries Journal, XXXVI, 1956, p. 172 ff., espec. p. 180, n. 1 <sup>1</sup> [Photograph: Plate XIII, Tab. I].
Tabula II (Smyrna)	= CIG, 3140 [Photograph: Plate XIII, Tab. II].
Tabula III, 1 (Delos)	= A. WILHELM, <i>Neue Beiträge</i> , IV, p. 20 ff.
Tabula III, 2 (Athens)	= IG, II/III <sup>2</sup> , 1848.
Tabula IV, 1 (Athens)	= A. WILHELM, <i>loc. cit.</i> , p. 20 ff. <sup>2</sup> .
Tabula IV, 2 (Rhodes)	= CIG, 2526 and IG, XII, 1, 32.
Tabula IV, 3 ('ex Italia')	= CIG, 6188.
Tabula IV, 4 (Melos)	= IG, XII, 3, 1077 (see Ath. Mitt., XV, 1890, p. 246).
Tabula V, 1 (Delos)	= CIG, 2285 b; <i>Inscriptions de Délos</i> , n. 1710.
Tabula V, 3 (Thera)	= IG, XII, 3, 820.
Tabula V, 4 ('Thessalonica repertus')	= CIG, 1976 <sup>3</sup> .
Tabula V, 6 (Smyrna)	= CIG, 3274.
Tabula V, 7 (Smyrna)	= CIG, 3275 (see the present publication, Ch. I, n. 1).
Tabula V, 8 (Smyrna)	= CIG, 3221 <sup>4</sup> ; Jahrbuch, XX, 1905, p. 129, abb. 23.

<sup>1</sup> On the legal problems raised by this document see M. I. FINLEY, *Studies in land and credit in ancient Athens*, 500-200 B.C., *passim* (see *s.v.* the index on p. 430); see also Arch. f. Pap. Forschung., XI, 1935, p. 193, 212.

<sup>2</sup> The inscriptions on Tabula III and Tabula IV, 1 have not been published in IG and *Inscriptions de Délos*. This is probably due to the fact that in JANSSEN's publication Tabula III is said to be from Athens, while Tabula IV, 1 is said to come from Delos (this mistake has already been noted by JANSSEN in his *Corrigenda*). The editors of IG and *Inscr. de Délos* seem to have been misled by this information, which is obviously wrong. It is on the contrary readily clear that Tabula III comes from Delos and Tabula IV, 1 from Athens (see WILHELM, *op. cit.*).

<sup>3</sup> L. ROBERT, however, showed convincingly (*Ét. Anat.*, p. 444) that this inscription is the same as that published in CIG under n. 3645 (Lampsacus), which reads: 'Κῦρος Ἀπολλωνίου τὴν ταφὴν etc.'. JANSSEN's transcription was: '[Ἀπολλώνιος/υἱ]ὸς Ἀπολλωνίου etc.'; this is undoubtedly wrong, because on the stone the letters -υρος are quite clear; there is, consequently, no reason to postulate a line [Ἀπολλώνιος]; the inscription is complete; the first line is [Κ]ῦρος etc.

<sup>4</sup> BOECKH printed Λύσειν, instead of Λύσειν, which is quite clear on the stone. BOECKH's erroneous reading may be explained by the fact, that there is only a slight difference between C and E on the stone. I do not understand BOECKH's remark: 'Λύσειν videtur praestantior lectio esse: certe Λύσειν valde impeditum est'. Λύσειν (= Λύσειν) is perfectly straightforward: it is an acc. of Λύσις, a well known name.

- Tabula V, 9 ('inter Sunium et  
Portum Phalerum') = CIG, 767; IG, II/III<sup>2</sup>, 7423.
- Tabula V, 10 ('incertae originis') = CIG, 6950<sup>1</sup>; a photograph of the stone *apud* J. H. HOLWERDA, *Een Romeinsche Sarcophaag uit Simpelveld*, Oudheidk. Meded., Suppl. by N.R., XII, 1931, p. 40, afb. 31; see also Jahrbuch, XX, 1905, p. 137, abb. 28.
- Tabula VI, 1 (Tenedus) = CIG, 3585 (not in IG, XII, 2).
- Tabula VI, 2 (Thessalonica) = CIG, 1991.
- Tabula VI, 3 (Smyrna) = CIG, 3395.
- Tabula VI, 4 (Aegina) = CIG, 932; IG, IV, 100 = IG, III, 3071 = IG, II/III<sup>2</sup>, 11069.
- Tabula VI, 5 (Smyrna) = CIG, 3229.
- Tabula VI, 6 (Smyrna) = CIG, 3297; Jahrbuch, XX, 1905, p. 78, abb. 15.
- Tabula VI, 7 (Smyrna) = CIG, 3338; Jahrbuch, XX, 1905, p. 52, abb. 6.
- Tabula VI, 8 (Smyrna) = CIG, 3342 (see Mnemosyne, IV, 1875, p. 347 ff.).
- Tabula VI, 9 ('prope Athenas') = IG, II/III<sup>2</sup>, 11933.
- Tabula VII, 1 (Melos) = CIG, 2432; IG, XII, 3, 1120.
- Tabula VII, 2 ('in via quae  
Athenis Thebas ducit') = CIG, 611; IG, II/III<sup>2</sup>, 5816.
- Tabula VII, 3 (Smyrna) = CIG, 3168<sup>2</sup>; a photograph *apud* J. H. HOLWERDA, *op. cit.*, p. 40, afb. 30.
- Tabula VII, 4 (Smyrna) = CIG, 3353<sup>3</sup>; a photograph *apud* J. H. HOLWERDA, *op. cit.*, p. 39, afb. 29.
- Tabula VII, 5 (Smyrna) = CIG, 3367<sup>4</sup> [Photograph: Plate XII, Tab. VII, 5].

<sup>1</sup> I have not been able to discover more letters than those read by JANSSEN; for this inscription and relief see also Rev. Arch., XX, p. 237; see also K. KEIL, Philologus, XVI, 1860, p. 34-37, who assigns this inscription to one of the 'Dorian' islands, *viz.* Nisyros or Rhodes, on rather weak onomastic grounds. JANSSEN's reading [K]ΑΛΛΟΦΑΝΗΣ is in my view certainly right. KEIL's suggestion [Δ]Α[Μ]ΟΦΑΝΗΣ is superfluous.

<sup>2</sup> In this inscription which is said to come from Smyrna a certain Herodotus, son of Antialcidas, and his *παραπρυτάνεις* are mentioned. As far as I know these officials are not attested in Smyrna (except in CIG 3168). Since inscriptions recording *παραπρυτάνεις* have been found in Teos (see BCH, IV, 1880, p. 164/65, n. 21 and p. 175, n. 35), it is perhaps not unreasonable to assume that the Leyden inscription also comes from Teos.

<sup>3</sup> In l. 1 JANSSEN read [M]ηνόδοτος etc.; the M, however, is visible. In l. 2 the stone shows the υ of JANSSEN's Μηνοδότο[υ] quite clearly; the same is true of the letters Δη of [Δη]μητρία; JANSSEN's square brackets are superfluous; see also BOECKH's transcription.

<sup>4</sup> BOECKH's transcription runs as follows:

Πατρόδωρος Μ . .  
Τ°Ν

In his commentary, however, he expressed his doubt as to the correctness of this reading: 'II non videtur prorsus certum esse . . . Fortasse legendum 'Ιατρόδωρος . . .'. JANSSEN transcribed:

Πατρόδ(ω)ρος  
[έ]τῶ[ν]  
[μ']α'

My own reading, which I propose with hesitation because of the bad state of the inscription, is:

Ματρόδωρος Μα-  
τρᾶ

- Tabula VII, 6 (Smyrna) = CIG, 3339<sup>1</sup>.  
 Tabula, VII, 7 (Athens) = CIG, 800 b; IG, II/III<sup>2</sup>, 5450; W. PEEK, *Griechische Versinschriften*, n. 488.  
 Tabula VII, 12 (Athens) = CIG, 873; IG, I<sup>2</sup>, 37; *Hesperia*, XIII, 1944, p. 224; SEG, X, n. 9.  
 Tabula VII, 14 ('Quod ex Italia olim attulit J. DE WITT') = IG, XIV, 2175.

A few inscriptions of JANSSEN's collection, for one reason or another, have not been inserted in the *Corpora* or in any other important publication. For the sake of convenience I give these texts now:

1. Tabula V, 2: 'in cippo marmoris caerulei, *Smyrna*, ut videtur, advecti'. Inv. Pb. 24.

'Αλέξανδρος ἐτῶν γ'.

JANSSEN gave the following description: 'Anaglyptice insculptus est: puer nudus, cui caput obtectum triangulari tegmine, humeroque sinistro folium, ut videtur, gerens, dextram protendit, ut caudam gallinacei procurrentis arripiat; coram gallo stat ara sive incudis sive corbis'.

2. Tabula V, 5: 'in columella rotunda marmoris Hymettici, Athenis prope Academiam reperta'. H. 0,54 m; diameter: 0,155 m; letters 0,02 m; interlinear space 0,01 m; no *apices*; *pi*: unequal legs; later Hellenistic period; Inventory: RO, III, 67; Photograph: Plate XIII, p. 83, n. 2.

'Απολλωνία  
 'Ηρακλείδου  
 Περγαμηνή

JANSSEN's remark 'Vs 1 perperam 'Απολλωνία pro 'Απολλωνία sculptum est' is wrong: the ω is on the stone. Why this text has escaped the attention of the IG-editors, remains obscure.

3. Tabula VII, 9: 'In tympano cippi fastigati'. H. 0,119 m; W. 0,465 m. Inv. Pb. 27.

'Ο δῆ  
 μος  
 [ΣΤΡΑΤΟΚ?]ΛΕΙΔΗΝ Στρατο[κλείδου]

Under the inscription there is a relief.

4. Tabula VII, 10: 'in fragmento tabellae marmoreae, ex Graecia . . . transmissae'. H. 0,115 m; W. 0,125 m; Th. 0,06 m (max.); letters 0,02 m; interlinear space ± 0,015 m; Inventory: RO, I<sup>a</sup>, 26<sup>a</sup>; Photograph: Plate XIV, p. 83, n. 4.

ΣΜΟΝΑΙ - - -  
 ΜΕΝΕΚΡ - - -  
 ΠΕΙΝΟΥC - - -  
 - \ /

If this is correct, it would seem to indicate that we have here the epitaph of Ματρόδωρος, son of Ματρᾶς. Both names were very popular in Smyrna; see LE BAS-WADDINGTON, *Vième Partie*, Section I, *ad* n. 5; but I find it difficult to account for the strange Doric forms. We can get rid of the first one by assuming that Πατρόδωρος still is the better reading, but, since the first two letters of the second name are fairly certain (part of the left leg of the A and the cross-bar are preserved, so that it is impossible to read *e.g.* an H), the form Ματρᾶ (instead of Μητρᾶ) cannot, I think, be avoided. Does this mean that the stone is a 'pierre errante'?

<sup>1</sup> JANSSEN's reading 'Ισιδότου is obviously erroneous; the stone shows clearly 'Ισιδότη, as ΒΟΕΚΗ in act printed.

According to the Museum-catalogue this fragment has been found in Athens, 'near the Philopappos'. The form of the letters points to the Roman period. Prof. E. VANDERPOOL has kindly communicated his interpretation of l. 1-2 of this fragment to Prof. Dr BRUNSTING of the 'Rijksmuseum van Oudheden'; the latter conjecturally restored l. 3-5:

[Καθ' ὑπομνηματι ]-	13
σμὸν Ἀρ[εοπαγειτῶν]	15
Μενεκρ[άτης Οὐικτο]-	16
ρείνου ( [ demoticum]	(14)
5 [ι]εὺ[ς]?	

If we may read [ι]εὺ[ς] in l. 5, we seem to have here part of Menecrates' demoticum: Κυδαθηνα]/[ι]εὺ[ς] or [Ἀμαξαντε/ι]εὺς; for ὑπομνηματισμός cf. IG, II/III<sup>2</sup>, Index, s.v.

Moreover, JANSSEN's publication contained the following six Egyptian inscriptions:

- p. 61, n. 1 = CIG, 6848; see also P. A. A. BOESER, *Beschreibung der Aegyptischen Sammlung des Niederländischen Reichsmuseum der Altertümer in Leiden*, VII, n. 19 [see also Oudh. Meded., N.R., XXXVIII, 1957, p. 1-12, esp. p. 9] (with photograph).
- p. 61, n. 2 = CIG, add. 4971 b; BOESER, *op. cit.*, n. 29 (with photograph).
- p. 62, n. 3 = CIG, add. 4976 d; BOESER, *op. cit.*, n. 28 (with photograph).
- p. 62, n. 4 = CIG, add. 4975 b; BOESER, *op. cit.*, n. 30 (with photograph).
- p. 62, n. 5 = CIG, add. 4976 b; BOESER, *op. cit.*, n. 31 (with photograph).
- p. 63, n. 6 = CIG, 9131; BOESER, *op. cit.*, n. 32 (with photograph).

## APPENDIX II

### THE LEEMANS-INSRIPTIONS

Since the inscriptions, published by LEEMANS<sup>1</sup>, are without exception from Asia Minor, it can easily be understood that the references, given below, are of a greater variety than those I gave for JANSSEN's publication; for a Corpus of the inscriptions of Asia Minor (and specially of the Western Part of Asia Minor) where nearly all the LEEMANS-inscriptions have been found, is not yet available. In some cases I have not been able to find any references.

*Leemans 1886:*

- n. I = Μουσεῖον, 1884/5, σελ. 54, n. υλζ'; Mnemosyne, XV, 1887, p. 252, n. 1; H. THIERSCH, *Artemis Ephesia*, Abh. Gött. Gesellschaft, III, n. 12, p. 67, n. 57; CRAI, 1915, p. 270 ff. (with photograph); L. ROBERT, *Hellenica*, X, p. 102, note 10; S. REINACH, *Chronique d'Orient*, Paris, 1891, p. 216, n. 4.
- n. II = Μουσεῖον, *ibid.*, n. υλέ'; S. REINACH, *op. cit.*, p. 216, n. 3; Mnemosyne, *ibid.*, n. 2; see L. ROBERT, *Hellenica*, X, p. 99, n. 2 [Photograph: Plate XIV, L. 1886, II].
- n. III = Ath. Mitt., XII, 1887, p. 254; Mnemosyne, *art. cit.*, n. 3; CR, III, 1889, p. 69 [Photograph: Plate XIV, L. 1886, III].
- n. IV = Mnemosyne, *art. cit.*, n. 4; Μουσεῖον, *art. cit.*, n. υλγ'; S. REINACH, *op. cit.*, p. 215, n. 1; see also F. STEINLEITNER, *Die Beicht in der Antike*, Leipzig, 1913, p. 22/23, n. 4; L. ROBERT, *Hellenica*, X, p. 35/6, 164 [Photograph: Plate XIV, L. 1886, IV].
- n. V = Ath. Mitt., *art. cit.*, p. 255, n. 20; Mnemosyne, *loc. cit.*, n. 5; CR, III, 1889, p. 69, n. 2; see STEINLEITNER, *op. cit.*, p. 45, n. 17 [Photograph: Plate XV, L. 1886, V].
- n. VI = Mnemosyne, XV, 1887, 253, n. 6; JHS, X, 1889, p. 226, n. 21; Rev. Arch., VII, 1886, I, p. 157, n. 5 = S. REINACH, *op. cit.*, p. 216, n. 5; Μουσεῖον, 1884/5, p. 55, n. υλζ<sup>2</sup>; STEINLEITNER, *op. cit.*, p. 26, n. 5 [Photograph: Plate XIV, L. 1886, VI].
- n. VII = Μουσεῖον, *loc. cit.*, n. υλδ'; Mnemosyne, *loc. cit.*, n. 7; S. REINACH, *op. cit.*, p. 215, n. 2; STEINLEITNER, *op. cit.*, p. 36, refers to it incidentally [Photograph: Plate XV, L. 1886, VII].
- n. VIII = no reference found.

<sup>1</sup> C. LEEMANS, *Griekse opschriften uit Klein-Azië*, Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afd. Letterkunde, dl XVII, A'dam, 1886; dl XIX, A'dam, 1890.

<sup>2</sup> In Jahresh., XXIII, 1926, Beiblatt, p. 5 ff. J. ZINGERLE published a few new Anaeitis-inscriptions, drawn from a publication of A. FONTRIER in the Smyrnaean newspaper 'Αρμονία of May, the 20th and 31st, 1900. The entry under n. 5 runs as follows: 'Die von STEINLEITNER S. 26, n. 5 . . . nach der Veröffentlichung in Μουσ. και βιβλ. τ. εὐαγγ. Σχολή., 1884/5, S. 55 n. υτζ wiedergegebene Text lautet nach FONTRIERS neuer vollständiger Lesung (n. 8): Μεγάλη Ἀναεῖτις: Ἐπει ἡμάρτησεν Στρατονείκη και Φῦβος ἐπεζήτησεν ἱεροποίημα, ἀποδείδει Φῦβος ὕδρ αὐτῆς νῦν εἰλασάμενος και εὐχαριστῶν: Ἐτους σπη', μη(νός) Ἀρτεμεισίου β' (see also SEG, IV, 651). STEINLEITNER's text, however, which is exactly the same as that given by LEEMANS, runs as follows: Μεγάλη Ἀναεῖτις. Ἐπει ἡμάρτησεν Φοῖβος ἐπεζήτησεν ἱερο/[π]όημα ἀποδει/. νῦν εἰλασάμε/νος και εὐχαρισ/τῶν ἔτους σπδ' / μη(νός) Ἀρτεμεισίου β'. As the stone, which is in the Leyden Museum, is complete, I do not understand how ZINGERLE can speak about a 'vollständiger Lesung' (L. ROBERT, *Hellenica*, X, 1955, p. 56, n. 2

- n. IX = Mnemosyne, *loc. cit.*, n. 9; BCH, VII, 1883, p. 504, n. 9<sup>1</sup>.  
 n. X = no reference found.  
 n. XI = Mnemosyne, *loc. cit.*, n. 11; Ath. Mitt., *loc. cit.*, n. 13; Rev. Arch., 1936, I, 238/9<sup>2</sup>.  
 n. XII = Mnemosyne, *loc. cit.*, n. 12; Ath. Mitt., *loc. cit.*, n. 14.  
 n. XIII = Mnemosyne, *loc. cit.*, n. 13; Ath. Mitt., *loc. cit.*, n. 5.  
 n. XIV = Ath. Mitt., VI, 1881, p. 226; Mnemosyne, *loc. cit.*, n. 14; IGR, IV, 1453; L. ROBERT, *Les Gladiateurs*, p. 209, n. 240.  
 n. XV = Mnemosyne, *loc. cit.*, n. 15.  
 n. XVI = Mnemosyne, *loc. cit.*, n. 16; Ath. Mitt., *loc. cit.*, n. 6; IGR, IV, 1485.  
 n. XVII = Mnemosyne, *loc. cit.*, p. 269.  
 n. XVIII = Mnemosyne, *loc. cit.*, n. 18<sup>3</sup>.

*Leemans* 1890:

- n. I = Ath. Mitt., XII, 1887, p. 271; BCH, XI, 1887, p. 300, n. 8; H. THIERSCH, *Artemis Ephesia*, Abh. Gött. Gesellschaft, III, n. 12, p. 68, n. 58.  
 n. II = REG, XIV, 1901, p. 297<sup>4</sup>.  
 n. III = Ath. Mitt., XIV, 1889, p. 94, n. 21.  
 n. IV = Ath. Mitt., XII, 1887, p. 250; L. ROBERT, *Hellenica*, III, p. 54/5; L. ROBERT, *Hellenica*, VII, p. 54<sup>5</sup> [Photograph: Plate XIV, L. 1890, IV].  
 n. V = Ath. Mitt., XIV, 1889, p. 96, n. 28; see also DITTENBERGER, *Syll.*<sup>3</sup>, 996; see *Mél. d'Arch.*, XLIII, 1926, p. 103 ff.; SEG, VI, 800.  
 n. VI = Ath. Mitt., XII, 1887, p. 250, n. 11.

still seems to think that the text given by STEINLEITNER, p. 26, n. 5 and that, given in SEG, IV, 651, are the same). The publications in the JHS and the Rev. Arch. all give the same text as STEINLEITNER and LEEMANS (one small difference: l. 8 σμδ' (JHS, Rev. Arch)). Moreover, they mention that this inscription has been published in *Μουσείον*, 1884/5, p. 55, n. υλζ (and not n. υτζ). Presumably the inscription, published by FONTRIER in 1900, and reedited by ZINGERLE, is not the same as that published by LEEMANS, STEINLEITNER, S. REINACH (Rev. Arch.) and W. M. RAMSAY (JHS), though the similarity between the two texts is indeed striking. In his commentary ZINGERLE remarks: 'Z. 6 POLAKS (Mnemosyne, XV, 253, n. 6) ἀποδείδει gegen die frühere Lesung ἀποδει[ durch den Stein bestätigt'. On the stone, however, which is now in Leyden, there is before ]νῦν in l. 6 only room for one letter: it is impossible to restore ἀποδεί/[δει]; REINACH and RAMSAY read ἀποδεί/[κ]νῦν, which seems, however, to be both unparalleled and strange. LEEMANS and STEINLEITNER assume an engraver's fault: the meaning of these words is either ἀπέδωκεν (Leemans), ἀπὸ δὲ νῦν (LEEMANS) or ἀπὸ δὲ νῦν (STEINLEITNER). Could it be possible that we have here a case of haplography: ἀποδεί/<δει>? Assuming that ZINGERLE's inscription is not the same as ours, we have there a convincing parallel: ἀποδείδει Φῦβος υἱὸς αὐτῆς etc.

<sup>1</sup> Instead of ε(ὺ)λογῶ/ν σου it seems better to read ε(ὺ)λογῶ/ν σου; the ν has a strange form Ν.

<sup>2</sup> L. ROBERT, in a review of *Sardis*, VII, *Greek and Latin Inscriptions*, pointed out that, owing to the striking similarity of terminology between *Leemans*, 1886, n. XI and a series of epitaphs from Sardes, this inscription does not come from Makronisi (LEEMANS), a small island in the gulf of Smyrna, but from Sardis (Rev. Arch., VII, 1936, p. 238).

<sup>3</sup> For epitaphs of this type (ὁ δεῖνα ἐτείμησε τὸν δεῖνα) see L. ROBERT, Rev. de Phil., 1939, p. 191-193; these epitaphs seem to have been fairly popular in Phrygia and the neighbouring parts of Lydia. The Leyden inscription is said to come from Philadelphia, which is the right area for such texts.

<sup>4</sup> CONTOLÉON published this inscription under the heading 'Éphèse'. LEEMANS only says that it is the Ephesian Artemis who was represented in the relief above the inscription.

<sup>5</sup> Strangely enough ROBERT, who knows of LEEMAN's publication (see note 2), does not seem to know that this stone is now in the Leyden Museum. With regard to the praenomen of Apuleius, who made this dedication, it may be remarked that on the stone a Λ(ούκιος) is fairly well visible.

- n. VII = REG, XIV, 1901, p. 295<sup>1</sup>.  
 n. X = no reference found.  
 n. XI = no reference found.  
 n. XII = no reference found<sup>2</sup>.  
 n. XIII = no reference found.  
 n. XIV = no reference found.  
 n. XV = no reference found.  
 n. XVI = Ath. Mitt., XII, 1887, p. 245, n. 1; see also B. KEIL, Hermes, XLIII, 1908, p. 526, note 1.  
 n. XVII = Ath. Mitt., XII, 1887, p. 246, n. 2<sup>3</sup>.  
 n. XXI = Ath. Mitt., XII, 1887, p. 249, n. 10.

<sup>1</sup> According to CONTOLÉON this inscription comes from Pergamum; he adds the following words: 'Marbre transféré dans la maison de M. SAWAS NIKOLAIDES à Smyrne'. It seems likely, for the following reasons, that the inscription in Leyden and that published by CONTOLÉON are one and the same:

1. the texts of the two correspond exactly: Ἀυτοκράτορι / Ἀδριανῶι / Ὀλυμπίωι / σωτήρι / καὶ κτίστη.

This argument, however, is not conclusive, because there is a great number of inscriptions of exactly the same type.

2. we know VAN LENNEP bought another inscription from NICOLAIDES (see p. XIII, note 1).

<sup>2</sup> Even C. J. CADOUX, whose book on *Ancient Smyrna* offers such an extremely valuable collection of the epigraphic evidence, does not seem to have known of the existence of this text, which mentions a certain Λούκιος Λόλλιος Ἰούστος, γραμματεὺς τοῦ ἐν Ζμύρνη λαοῦ. On the whole it can be safely assumed that LEEMANS' publications have gone fairly generally unnoted.

<sup>3</sup> This inscription has been published by W. PEEK in his *Griechische Versinschriften*, n. 1540; see also my Appendix III, p. 89, n. 67.

APPENDIX III

METRICAL INSCRIPTIONS

For the sake of convenience I collect in this appendix the metrical inscriptions, which form part of the collection in Leyden. These were referred to Prof. Dr W. ΠΕΕΚ, who kindly has sent me his transcription and restoration of these texts. Numbers 68 and 70 have already been published by Prof. Dr J. KEIL in the Anz. Oesterr. Akad., Phil.-Hist. Klasse, 1953, p. 16 ff.

66. Smyrna? (Catalogue: 'Asia Minor'). Grave-relief; broken into three parts; on the front are represented a man and a woman (heads are missing) and, underneath them, a girl and two boys (the head of one of the boys is missing); above these figures a sort of shelf, on which there are three boxes; on the left-hand box a bird; under the middle box an inscription *in rasura*; above these boxes two rosettes and two wreaths; in one of the rosettes the word χαῖρε; this stone has been re-used; L. 0,93 m; W. 0,68 m; Th. 0,07-0,06 m; on the back an inscription of eleven lines; above the inscription two wreaths with the words ὁ δῆμος; letters 0,012 m; interlinear space 0,02 m; Inventory: I. 93/2. 1; Photograph: Plate XVI, 66.

"Ο<ς> τὸ πρὶν ἐν ζωῇ Διονύσιος ἦν πανάρεστος  
 υἱὸς Ἀπολλωνίου, παῖς [δέ] τοι ἡλικίῃ,  
 τὸν ἐπ' ἀλλοτρίας χώρης [ὁ π]ατὴρ ὑπεδέξατο κόλποις  
 χρηστομαθῆ, χαρίεντα, φίλ[ο]ν καὶ τίμιον ἄστοις,  
 5 ἐνδεχέτης> διήνυσε Μοῦρων ἐνιαυτούς·  
 ἐγ δένδρου προπεσῶν σφόνδυλον ἐξεράγη  
 καὶ κεφαλὴν ἤαξε, πατρ[ὸ]ς κόλπους ἐνιδεύσας  
 αἵματος οἰκτροφόνου ψυχολιπκῆς νοτίσιν  
 ὃς παίδων πάντων ἠγήσατο, νῦν δ' ὑπὸ γαίῃ  
 10 κεῖται ὑπὸ σποδιῇ, <πατρὶ> λιπὼν δάκρυα  
 ἄλλ' εἰ μὴ βαρὺ, » χαῖρε Διονύσιε « εἶπον, ὀδῖτα

Notes: l. 5: ΕΝΔΕΧΕΤΗΔΙΗΝΥΣΕΜΟΙΡ  
 l. 8: ΨΥΧΟΛΙΠΑΙΣ  
 l. 4: ΑΣΣΤΡΟΙΣ; l. 10: ΓΟΝ[Ι]ΣΙ

This appears as n. 874 in ΠΕΕΚ's *Griechische Versinschriften*, I. Οἰκτρόφονος (l. 8) is not in L-S<sup>9</sup>; the paternal pride is very clearly expressed by the various laudatory epithets applied to Dionysios: πανάρεστος (not in L-S<sup>9</sup>, but perfectly straightforward: 'pleasing to everybody'; the word occurs in Georgios Kedrinos, I, 348, 16), χρηστομαθῆς ('desirous of learning'), χαρίεις, φίλος καὶ τίμιος ἄστοις, ὃς παίδων πάντων ἠγήσατο. Πανάρεστος denotes the popularity the young Dionysios enjoyed among his fellow citizens. A similar virtue is mentioned in an epitaph from Rome, where a boy is called εὐπροσδεκτός (IG XIV, 1741 and L. ROBERT, *Collect. Froehner, Inscr. Grecques*, n. 87); cf. the proper name Εὐάρεστος e.g. in J.-L. ROBERT, *La Carie*, II, n. 177, l. 4. Χρηστομαθῆς refers to the intellectual abilities of Dionysios. Epithets of this type seem to have been very rare in epitaphs (see M. N. TOD, *Laudatory Epithets in Greek Epitaphs*, BSA,

XLVI, 1951, p. 188; in passing I note that epithets, testifying to love for animals, *e.g.* φιλοπρόβατος (IG II<sup>2</sup>, 7180; see A. WILHELM, *Att. Urk.*, V, p. 143 ff.) have to be added to those compounded with φιλο- and treated by TOD on p. 189). One may compare an inscription from Aphrodisias, REG, XIX, 1906, p. 117/8, n. 39, l. 5: 'διενένκαντα φιλομαθία'; as a proper name Φιλομάθης occurs in an inscription from Cos, R. HERZOG, *Koische Forschungen und Funde*, p. 73/4, n. 48; for Φιλομαθία see *e.g.* BCH, LXXX, 1956, p. 612.

67. Smyrna? (Catalogue: 'Smyrna'). Grave-relief; only the lower part of the relief is preserved; it represents a woman sitting on a chair; L. 0,44 m; W. 0,27 m; Th. 0,07 m; under the relief a metrical inscription of six lines; letters 0,013-0,015 m; interlinear space irregular; Inventory: LKA, 1121; Photograph: Plate XVI, 67.

Οὐ γῆρα δμαθεῖσα πανύστατον ἐμ μεγάροισι  
 κάλλιπες αἰακτὸν σοῖσι τοκεῦσι γόν,  
 Ἐρμιόνη· λυγρὸν δ' οἷ μὲν λ(ε)ίβουσι κατ' ὄσσω  
 δάκρυ, σὸν ὄρφανίης πότμον ὀδυρόμενο[ι],  
 5 χῆρα δ' ἐρημαῖον στενάχει λέχος· Ἄλλ' ἐρατεινὴ  
 Πετροτίου θύγατερ, χαῖρε καὶ ἐν φθιμένοις

This inscription has been published independently by A. E. CONTOLÉON, *Ath. Mitt.*, XII, 1887, p. 246/7, n. 2 and by C. LEEMANS, 1890, n. XVII. See PEEK, *op. cit.*, n. 1540.

68. Smyrna? (Catalogue: 'Smyrna'). Tombstone; L. 0,42 m; W. 0,185 m; Th. 0,085 m; on the stone a metrical inscription of eleven lines; letters 0,008-0,01 m; interlinear space 0,003 m; the stone is broken underneath the inscription; there was probably a relief on the lost part; Inventory: I. 1900/1. 21; Photograph of the stone *apud* J. KEIL, *art. cit.*, Tafel II, 2.

Τέκνον ἐμὸν Παῦλα, φθιν(ύ)θ(ω) δακρύοι(ς) σέ βοῶσα,  
 }τ{ οἶά τις ἀλκυὼν παῖδά σ' ὀδυρομένη·  
 κωφ(ή) δ' ἀνταχοῦσι πέτρ(η) καὶ τύνβος ἀπεχθής,  
 ὃς τὸν ἐμῶν τοκετῶν ἔσβεσεν ἠέλιον·  
 5 αἰεὶ δ' ὡς Νιόβη πέτρινον δάκρυ πᾶσιν ὀρῶμαι  
 ἀνθρώποις, ἀχέ(ων) πένθος ἔχουσα μόνη·  
 ὦ τάφε καὶ δαίμων, μικρὸν μέθες <ε>ίς φάος ἐλθεῖν  
 παῖδαν ἐμὴν Παῦλαν, δο(ί)ξ(ς) δέ μοι εἰσιδέειν.  
 οὐ σοὶ Φερσεφόνη τόδε μέμψεται οὐδέ τι σ', Ἄδη,  
 10 ἦν τόσον ἀν(σ)τήσ(η)ς παῖδα(ν) ἐμὴν κατ' ὄναρ.  
 Παῦλα χρηστὴ χαῖρε

l. 1: ΦΘΙΝΙΘΟ. δακρύοις ἐβόωσα KEIL; l. 2: ΤΟΙΑ;  
 l. 3: ΚΩΦΕ, ΠΕΤΡΕ, ΚΕ; l. 6: ΑΧΗΩΝ; l. 7: ΜΕΘΕΣΙΣ; l. 8: ΕΙΣΙΔΕΙΝ; l. 10.  
 ΑΝΘΗΣΕΣ ΠΑΙΔΑ ΕΜΗΝ.

See PEEK, *op. cit.*, n. 1545; SEG, XIV, 755; KEIL, *art. cit.*, n. 2.

69. Smyrna? (Catalogue: 'from Smyrna and other places'). Part of a marble slab; L. 0,52 m; W. 0,29 m; Th. 0,04 m; on the stone an inscription of eleven lines; letters 0,013-0,015 m; interlinear space 0,007 m; Inventory: I. 1901/7. 8; Photograph: Plate XVI, 69.

στῆθι πέλας στήλη[ς], π[αροδοιπόρε, και]/μάθε μείνας,  
 ἐν τούτῳ τις ἐ[γὼν εὐτύκῳ]/ εἰμὶ τάφῳ·  
 Δάφνικος ἠγάθεος Σ - 8 - / ἐνθάδε κεῖμαι,  
 ἀρχαῖς ταῖς πό[λεως - 6 - ]νων ἀρέσας·  
 ἴστε δὲ και γαμέ[τιν, ξένοι, / αὖ σ]χῖν ἐνθα μεθ' αὐτοῦ  
 Τατιαν[ὴν Μουσῶν / ἀνέρ]α τὴν δεκάτην,  
 ἥτις σωφρ[οσύνη τ' ἐρι/δαί]νετο τῇ Διὸς Ἥρα  
 και σ[οφί]η [κλυτὴ ἦν, ἦν/θ' εἶλ]ον Κύπριδι κλήρω  
 ἠρησ[κεῦσαι τρι/άδων] δέκα φένγος ἀθηρησ[άσαν]·  
 [νῦν δὲ/ἀμα] τῷ φιλίῳ γαμέτη [κ]εῖται κατὰ γαῖαν]

See PEEK, *op. cit.*, n. 1323.

70. Smyrna? (Catalogue: 'Smyrna'). White marble slab; broken below and at the right side; L. 0,48 m; W. 0,375 m; Th. 0,035 m; on the stone an inscription of nineteen lines; letters 0,01-0,015 m; interlinear space 0,003 m; Inventory: I. 1900/I. 26; Photograph of a squeeze *apud* J. KEIL, *art. cit.*, Tafel II, 1.

. . . . της Μενάνδρου ὁ θεοφάντης ἀνέθηκεν.  
 Πάν]τες, ὅσοι τέμενος Βρομίου ναοὺς τε περᾶτε,  
 τεσσαράκοντα μὲν ἤματα ἀπ' ἐχθέσεως πεφύλαχθε  
 νηπιάχοιο βρέφους, μὴ δὲ μῆνειμα γένηται, *vac.*  
 5 ἔκτρωσίν τε γυναικὸς ὁμοίως ἤματα τόσσα. *vac.*  
 ἦν δὲ τιν' οἰκείων θάνατος και μοῖρα καλύψη, *vac.*  
 εἶργεσθαι μηνὸς τρίτατον μέρος ἐκ προπύλοιο.  
 ἦν δ' ἄρ' ἀπ' ἀλλοτρίων οἴκων τι μίασμα γένηται *vac.*  
 ἡελίους τρισσοὺς μεῖναι νέκυος φθιμένοιο  
 10 μηδὲ μελανφάρους προσίναι βωμοῖσιν ἀνακτ[ος]  
 μηδ' ἀθύτοις θυσίαις ἱερῶν ἐπὶ χῖρας ἰάλ[λειν]  
 μηδ' ἐν βακχείοις ῥὸν ποτὶ δαῖτα τ[ίθεσθαι?]  
 και κραδίην καρποῦν ἱεροῖς βωμοῖς - - -  
 ἡδεόσμου τ' ἀπέχεσθαι, ὃν δηΓ - - -  
 15 ἐχθροτάτην ῥίζαν κυάμων ἐκ σπέ[ρματος ἐχθρου?]  
 Τειτάνων προλέγειν μύσταις - - -  
 και καλάμοισι κροτεῖν οὐ θέσ[μιον εἶναι - - -]  
 ἤμασιν οἷς μύσται θυσί[ας - - -]  
 [μηδ]ὲ φορεῖν συ - - -

For the majority of the stipulations mentioned in this inscription it will suffice to refer to J. KEIL's commentary, *op. cit.*, p. 18-20 and to TH. WÄCHTER, *Reinheitsvorschriften im griechischen Kult*, (RGVV, IX, 1), *passim*; see also M. P. NILSSON, GGR, II, p. 69 ff.; for the text see now also SEG, XIV, 752. A few additional remarks, however, may be made. First of all the ἐχθεσις βρέφους in l. 3-4. The fact that the exposure of children was regarded as one of the main sources of pollution is, according to KEIL, 'neu und auffällig'. This is very near to the truth, but not the truth itself. We have an inscription from Ptolemaïs in Egypt (third century B.C.) containing a list of injunctions similar to those of the Leyden inscription<sup>1</sup>. Unfortunately

<sup>1</sup> Rev. Arch., II, 1883, p. 181; see also G. BOTTI, *Catalogue de Monuments exposés au Musée Gréco-Romain d'Alexandrie*, p. 279/80, n. 98; *Sammelbuch*, 3451.

the inscription is only partly preserved. In 1892 A. WILHELM devoted a short note to this inscription<sup>1</sup> but as far as I know nobody since then has made an attempt to restore the text. For our purpose it is important to notice that l. 7 mentions explicitly the exposure of children and subsequent punishment: *καὶ ἐὰν ἐχθῆ ἰδ' (sc. ἡμέρας)*; see also l. 12: *ἐὰν δὲ ἐχθῆ τὸ βρέφος*. So we have at least one parallel for the stipulation about the exposure of children in our inscription. For the interdiction laid on eating beans (*κύαμοι*) and burning hearts (*καρδίαι*) on the altars see now also the *lex sacra* from a Rhodian temple published by S. ACCAME, *Mem. Inst. storico-arch.*, FERT, III, 1938, p. 71 ff. (cf. REG, LIX-LX, 1946-1947, BE, n. 157, p. 338). For similar stipulations in case of death and of abortion see now also P. M. FRASER's commentary on a recently discovered Coan inscription, *Bullet. Soc. Arch. Alex.*, XL, 1953, p. 45 ff.

It is a great pity that from l. 14 onwards the inscription is rather mutilated. It remains obscure to me what the relation between the Titans, mentioned in l. 15, and the injunctions of the preceding lines is. The mere fact, however, that there is a mention of the Titans, is extremely interesting and important; for we have here a very clear example of Orphic influence on the mysteries of Dionysus in Roman Imperial times. It is a well known fact that the killing of Zagreus by the Titans was one of the major doctrines of the Orphics. Literary texts from the Hellenistic period show that Dionysus and Zagreus were identified with each other by that time. The evidence for this identification has been collected and discussed by A. J. FESTUGIÈRE<sup>2</sup>. There is an Egyptian papyrus from the third century B.C. which alludes to the killing of the child Dionysus by the Titans. Diodorus (III, 62, 2-8; see also V, 75, 4) mentions a tradition according to which Dionysus, son of Zeus and Demeter, was killed and boiled by the Titans. Demeter, after having collected his limbs, restored him to life. Diodorus explicitly tells us that this story is confirmed both by the Orphic poems and the Dionysiac *τελευταί*. In the first century A. D. Plutarch records the same tradition. An inscription from Perinthus<sup>3</sup> (2nd century A.D.) testifies to the importance of this myth for a local Dionysiac *θίασος*. It runs as follows: *Εὐτυχεῖτε. Χρησμὸς Σιβύλλης. Ἐπὶ δ' ὁ Βάκχος εὐάσας πληκγῆσεται, τότε αἷμα καὶ πῦρ καὶ κόνις μιγῆσεται. Σπέλλιος Εὐήθης ἀρχιβουκόλος. Ἡρακλείδου Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀρχιμυστοῦντος*. This was in fact the only inscription to date which showed that this myth probably influenced the religious life of a group of worshippers of Dionysus<sup>4</sup>. Lack of evidence has led FESTUGIÈRE

<sup>1</sup> AEMO, XX, p. 83. WILHELM also referred to E. MAASS' interpretation of a Cretan inscription, in which in his view a similar condemnation of the exposure of children occurs. G. DE SANCTIS, however, has sufficiently refuted MAASS' theory (*Riv. di Fil.*, LX, 1932, p. 222 f.); see also M. P. NILSSON, *op. cit.*, p. 276, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Les mystères de Dionysos*, *Revue Biblique*, XLIV, 1935, p. 192-211; p. 366-396; for the evidence on the identification of Dionysus and Zagreus see espec. p. 372 ff.

<sup>3</sup> See FESTUGIÈRE, *art. cit.*, p. 366, note 1.

<sup>4</sup> It is for this very reason that this inscription has a more or less unique value. On the ground of the literary evidence we are entitled to say that Dionysus and Zagreus were identified; but only inscriptions will enable us to estimate the influence exercised by this myth on the actual religious life of the participants of the mysteries. That this constitutes the crucial problem has been rightly emphasized by ADR. BRUHL, *Liber Pater*, p. 10. I have not been able to consult P. BOYANCÉ's article on this subject, referred to by BRUHL. An inscription from Rhodes may well contain an allusion to the myth of Dionysus killed by the Titans. The passage, important for my purpose, is the following: *δόντα δὲ καὶ τῷ ὑδραύλῃ τῷ ἐπεγείροντι τὸν θεὸν \* τῷ καὶ τοῖς τὸν θεὸν ὑμνήσασιν καὶ [τῇ ἱερεί]α \* μ, καὶ ταῖς τοῦ θεοῦ δὲ καθόδοις δυσι τὸν* (here the inscription stops; *Jahresh.*, VII, 1904, p. 92 ff. = REG, XVII, 1904, p. 204 ff). Two *κάθοδοι* of Dionysus are mentioned here in connection with the *ἔγερσις* of the god. One *κάθοδος* can be easily accounted for since we know that, according to a wide-spread tradition, Dionysus once paid a visit to the underworld in order to bring his mothe

to regard the Perinthian inscription as an isolated and unparalleled document. I quote here the conclusion he reached in the above mentioned article: 'Hormis la découverte de nouveaux textes, rien ne permet de dire que l'orphisme ait transformé les mystères bacchiques tels qu'on les voit constitués aux deux premiers siècles de notre ère' <sup>1</sup>.

The Leyden inscription is such a novel document. It shows that in the second century A.D. in Smyrna also the myth of Dionysus killed by the Titans played a part of some importance in the actual celebration of the mysteries. Once more we have an opportunity to realise how slender the evidence is we possess for our knowledge of the Dionysiac mysteries. Without the discovery of the two above mentioned inscriptions we should be wholly justified in saying that the myth of Dionysus and the Titans had not influenced the mysteries at all. It is to be hoped that the future will bring to light a few more similar documents.

The injunction in l. 12, too, (μηδ' ἐν βακχείοις ὦν ποτὶ δαῖτα τ[ιθεσθαι?]) may well originate in Orphic tradition. We know that in the first century A.D. the conception of the cosmic egg occurs in the mysteries of Dionysus. Suffice it to quote Plutarch's statement:

ὅθεν οὐκ ἀπὸ τρόπου τοῖς περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον ὀργιασμοῖς ὡς μίμημα τοῦ τὰ πάντα γεννῶντος καὶ περιέχοντες ἐν ἑαυτῷ συγκαθωσίωται <sup>2</sup>.

See also Macrobius, *Saturnales*, XVI, 8, 8 and P. BOYANCÉ's article on this subject <sup>3</sup>. It should, however, be borne in mind that this conception of the cosmic egg need not necessarily be of primary importance in the mysteries of Dionysus. M. P. NILSSON has shown that the egg was also regarded as the principle of life and that, accordingly, eggs were very often given to the dead in their graves <sup>4</sup>; for the dead, more than anybody else, appeared to be in need of

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Semele back to the earth. The second κάθοδος perhaps can be explained best by assuming that the killing of the god by the Titans and the subsequent descent into the underworld is hinted at here. See M. P. NILSSON, *The Bacchic mysteries of the Roman Age*, HThR, XLVI, 1953, p. 175 ff., espec. p. 182. There are two more texts in which the ἔγερσις of Dionysus is mentioned: Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, p. 365 A and the 53rd Orphic hymn: Dionysus is represented as a chthonian god, who sleeps in the underworld during two years and afterwards comes to the earth and rouses the Bacchic revel. In Plutarch Dionysus bears the epithet Λικνίτης: that is to say that Dionysus is thought of as a child; in the Orphic hymn he is accompanied by his τιθήναι. Many scholars have supposed that the child of the Delphic rites mentioned by Plutarch was to be identified with the child of the Orphic myth. NILSSON, however, has recently suggested a different interpretation which is just as likely, if not more so (HThR, XLVI, 1953, p. 183). He pointed out that the story of the child Dionysus, accompanied by his τιθήναι, was extremely popular in Greece since Homer. The Orphic hymn seems to allude to this Dionysus, represented as a chthonian god and surrounded by his τιθήναι even in the underworld. It might well be that the Dionysus of the Delphic rites was this same child. In neither text is there the slightest trace of reference to the Titans. To sum up: a reference to the child Dionysus in the underworld does not constitute sufficient proof that this was the child killed by the Titans; for there are two stories in which the child Dionysus plays an important part. The version of Dionysus, accompanied by his τιθήναι may easily have been connected with the conception of Dionysus, the chthonian god, who leaves the underworld every third year in order to rouse the Bacchic orgies [for Dionysus Liknites see G. van Hoorn, *La résurrection de Dionysos Liknités*, Bulletin van de Vereniging tot Bevordering van de kennis der antieke Beschaving, XXIV-XXVI, 1949-1951, p. 7-10].

<sup>1</sup> *Art. cit.*, p. 381.

<sup>2</sup> *Quaestiones Symposiacae*, 636 E; cf. W. K. C. Guthrie, *Orpheus and Greek Religion*, 1952<sup>2</sup>, p. 254. For a quite different interpretation, see I. M. Linforth, *The Arts of Orpheus*, 1941, p. 225, 286. Linforth's scepticism concerning the practice of an Orphic sect has been refuted by the Leyden inscription.

<sup>3</sup> *Une allusion à l'oeuvre orphique*, Mélanges d'Arch. et d'Hist., LII, 1935, p. 95 ff.; see also M. P. NILSSON's remarks in HThR, XLVI, 1953, p. 189/90.

<sup>4</sup> *Opuscula Selecta*, I, 1951, p. 3-20: *Das Ei im Totenkult der Alten* (Arch. f. Religionswiss. XI, 1908, p. 530-545).

fresh life. It may well be that a combination of these two aspects comes nearest to the truth. In both cases the egg constituted a source of fresh life. The occurrence of eggs on vases from the southern part of Italy, representing both Dionysiac and funeral scenes, makes it very attractive to suppose that this very funeral (and at the same time Dionysiac) aspect of the egg ultimately has given rise to the conception of the cosmic egg in the Dionysiac mysteries of the Roman period<sup>1</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> See P. BOYANCÉ, *art. cit.*, p. 108-112. After having written the above commentary I saw M. P. NILSSON'S study of this inscription in *Eranos*, LIII, 1955, p. 28-33, which *i.a.* offers a suggestion for l. 14 ff. (ὄσμός = μῆδιον = 'a leguminous plant like the bean'). Fortunately there is nothing in his article which contradicts the views put forward in my commentary. See now also F. SOKOLOWSKI, *Lois sacrées de l'Asie Mineure*, Paris, 1955, p. 186 ff., n. 84; J.-L. ROBERT, *BE*, 1955, n. 189, p. 256 and M. N. TOD, *Gnomon*, XXVIII, 1956, p. 460, where a suggestion of P. MAAS (l. 14: ἡδέσμου = ἡδυόσου = 'mint') is noted. I see that the same suggestion has been made by J. KALLÉRIS-G. DAUX in *BCH*, 1957, p. 1-4.

## APPENDIX IV

### TWO ATTIC INSCRIPTIONS

In this appendix the texts of two Leyden inscriptions are presented which have been published long ago in rather inaccessible publications and without an adequate description of the stones. Moreover, photographs of these stones are given here for the first time.

71. Attica? (Catalogue: no provenance mentioned; an unknown person has added in pencil in the Catalogue: 'from Smyrna!'); marble tombstone with relief, a tympanon and acroteria; L. 0,98 m (with acroteria 1,04 m); W. 0,65 m; Th. 0,12 m. The relief represents two male persons; the one at the left side, who has a beard, is sitting on a chair; he keeps his feet on a footstool; in front of him stands a younger, beardless, man who with his right hand holds the right hand of the sitting man; the latter grasps with his left hand the right arm of the younger man who in his left hand keeps an object which I do not venture to identify; above the relief an inscription of two lines; letters, rather worn out,  $\pm$  0,007-0,01 m; interlinear space 0,004 m; *xi*:  $\Xi$ ; four stroke *sigma* (with divergent upper and lower stroke  $\Sigma$ ); *omega*: at the top of the line; *nu*: unequal legs; no *apices*; beginning of the fourth century B.C.; Inventory: AU, March 1878; Photograph: Plate XV, 71.

*Bibliography*: C. LEEMANS: *Verlagen en Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen*, afd. Letterkunde, 2e Reeks, dl XI, Amsterdam, 1882, p. 207 f.; CONZE, *Die Attischen Grabreliefs*, vol. II, n. 634 (Plate CXXV: drawing).

Δεξανδρίδης Νεικ>ανδρέως Καλλίστρατος Δεξανδρίδο[υ]  
 ἰσοτελής τ.λ.

*Notes*: LEEMANS' reading was:

Δεξανδρίδης Νικανδρέως Καλλίστρατος Δεξανδρίδ[ου]  
 ἰσοτελής

L. 2. The faint traces of letters, which LEEMANS apparently failed to note, seem to yield the word we would expect here: [ἰσο]τ[ε]λ[ή]ς. Both Dexandrides and Kallistratos are ἰσοτελής. As the word itself already indicates the ἰσοτελής is a μέτοικος who is subject to the same taxation as the citizens; for the ἰσοτελεῖς in Athens see G. GLOTZ, *Histoire Grecque*, tome II, *La Grèce au Ve siècle*, p. 253; for ἰσοτέλεια outside Athens see L. ROBERT, REG, XL, 1927, p. 214 ff. (outside Athens the ἰσοτέλεια very often is mentioned together with the ἰσοπολιτεία). The provenance of this stone is an enigma. The Catalogue states that it has been bought from the Archiepiscopal Museum at Utrecht in 1878. Already at that time the provenance was unknown; as noted in the *lemma*, at a later date an equally unknown person wrote in the Catalogue that the stone came from Smyrna; why he did so I do not know, nor whether any credit is to be given to this remark.

The relief itself distinctly seems to be a product of Attic fourth-century workmanship; if the stone comes from Smyrna, it is perhaps one of these 'pierres errantes' which L. ROBERT has discovered so frequently. Did a member of the Dutch colony at Smyrna (see p. XI, note 2) buy the stone from somebody in Athens? The mention of two ἰσοτελεῖς of course fits in very well with an Athenian provenance.

72. Aixone (Catalogue: *idem*; 'near the sacred way to Eleusis'). Grave stele, with tympanon and acroteria, with relief; L. 0,68 m; W. 0,40-0,42 m; Th. 0,07 m; the relief represents two women; one of them is sitting on a chair and holds with her right hand the left hand of a woman who stands in front of the chair; above the relief an inscription of two lines; letters  $\pm$  0,01 m; interlinear space 0,013 m; *phi*: unequal legs; four stroke *sigma* with divergent upper and lower stroke; the words Χοροκλέους Λυσίππη have been added later and in a much ruder script; Date: the end of the 5th century; Inventory: KAG, Dec. 1859; Photograph: Plate XVI, 72.

*Bibliography*: D. J. van Lennep, *Comment. ad marmor literatum Atticum recens effossum*, Commentationes Latinae Instituti Regii Belgici, II, 1820; L. J. F. JANSSEN, Arch. Anzeiger, 1859, p. 123 (*non vidi*); ST. KUMANUDIS, Ἀττικῆς Ἐπιγραφῶν Ἐπιτύμβιοι, Athens, 1871, p. 127; IG II/III<sup>2</sup>, 5416; CONZE, *op. cit.*, n. 123 (with a drawing).

Δημοστράτη Χοροκλέους Χοροκλέους  
Αἰξωνέως γυνή. Λυσίππη

Through the intermediary of ROTTIERS (see p. XI, note 2) this stone, which comes from Athens, has found its way into the Leyden Museum.

## INDICES

### I. NOMINA VIRORUM ET MULIERUM

(figures in italics indicate the number of the inscription)

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## CONCORDANCE TO INVENTORY NUMBERS

This public.	Invent. Nr.	Year of Accession	This public.	Invent. Nr.	Year of Accession
1.	Pb. 11	(1745)	52.	I. 91/8. 4	(1891)
2.	LKA. 1190	(1891)	53.	KTO	(1881)
3.	I. 92/7. 6	(1892)	54.	I. 93/8. 10	(1893)
4.	I. 1896/1. 1		55.	B. 1902/12. 1	
5.	I. 1900/1. 25		56.	LKA. 1188	(1891)
6.	I. 1901/7. 5		57.	I. 1901/7. 11	
7.	I. 1900/1. 25		58.	I. 1900/ 1. 30,	
8.	I. 93/8. 5	(1893)		I. 1901/11. 12	
9.	I. 92/7. 5	(1892)	59.	I. 91/8. 8	(1891)
10.	I. 1901/5. 1		60.	I. 1900/1. 29	
11.	I. 1901/5. 3		61.	I. 1900/1. 27	
12.	LKA. 1182	(1891)	62.	I. 1900/1. 28	
13.	B. 1902/2. 3		63.	LKA. 1192	(1891)
14.	LKA 1149	(1889)	64.	LKA. 1181	(1891)
15.	LKA. 1150	(1889)	65.	I. 93/8. 8	(1893)
16.	LKA. 1146	(1889)			
17.	LKA. 1186	(1891)			
18.	LKA. 1147	(1889)			
19.	LKA. 1191	(1891)			
20.	LKA. 1185	(1891)			
21.	LKA. 1183	(1891)			
22.	LKA. 1152	(1889)			
23.	I. 93/8. 6	(1893)			
24.	LKA. 1151	(1889)			
25.	LKA. 1187	(1891)			
26.	I. 93/8. 7	(1893)			
27.	I. 92/7. 4	(1892)			
28.	LKA. 1184	(1891)			
29.	LKA. 1148	(1889)			
30.	LKA. 1180	(1891)			
31.	I. 1901/7. 7				
32.	I. 1900/1. 23				
33.	I. 1901/7. 6				
34.	LKA. 1179	(1891)			
35.	LKA. 1171	(1890)			
36.	LKA. 1145	(1889)			
37.	LKA. 1178	(1891)			
38.	I. 1901/7. 3				
39.	I. 92/7. 1	(1892)			
40.	I. 92/7. 2	(1892)			
41.	SNNs 1	(1881)			
42.	SNNs 2	(1881)			
43.	I. 91/8. 3	(1891)			
44.	LKA. 1144	(1889)			
45.	not in Inv.				
46.	I. 93/8. 9	(1893)			
47.	I. 91/8. 6	(1891)			
48.	LKA. 1189	(1891)			
49.	I. 91/8. 7	(1891)			
50.	I. 1901/7. 9				
51.	I. 91/8. 5	(1891)			

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III, 1	RO. III. 61	(1826)
2	RO. III. 103	(1826)
IV, 1	RO. III. 16	(1826)
2	RO. III. 91	(1826)
3	Pb. 15	(1745)
4	RO. III. 3	(1825)
V, 1	Pb. 159	(± 1750)
2 (p. 83, 1)	Pb. 24	(1745)
3	VZVN. 1	(1830)
4	Pb. 162	(± 1750)
5 (p. 83, 2)	RO. III. 67	(1826)
6	Pb. 63	(1745)
7 (p. 1, 1)	Pb. 11	(1745)
8	Pb. 26 a-b	(1745)
9	RO. I.A. 1	(1821)
10	Pb. 46	(1745)
VI, 1	Pb. 160	(± 1750)
2	Pb. 161	(± 1750)
3	Pb. 68	(1745)
4	RO. I.A. 4	(1821)
5	Pb. 25	(1745)
6	Pb. 18	(1745)
7	Pb. 36	(1745)
8	Pb. 4	(1745)
9	RO. I.A. 12	(1821)
VII, 1	RO. III. 2	(1825)
2	RO. I.A. 26 <sup>r</sup>	(1821)
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4	Pb. 53	(1745)
5	Pb. 13	(1745)
6	Pb. 28	(1745)

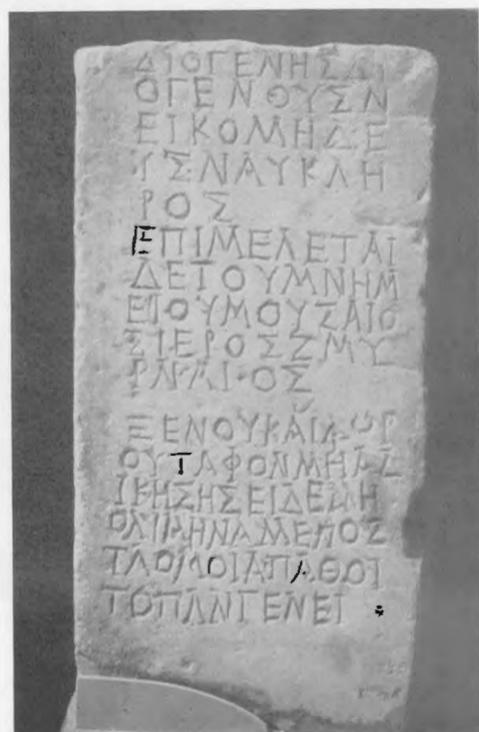




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n° 4



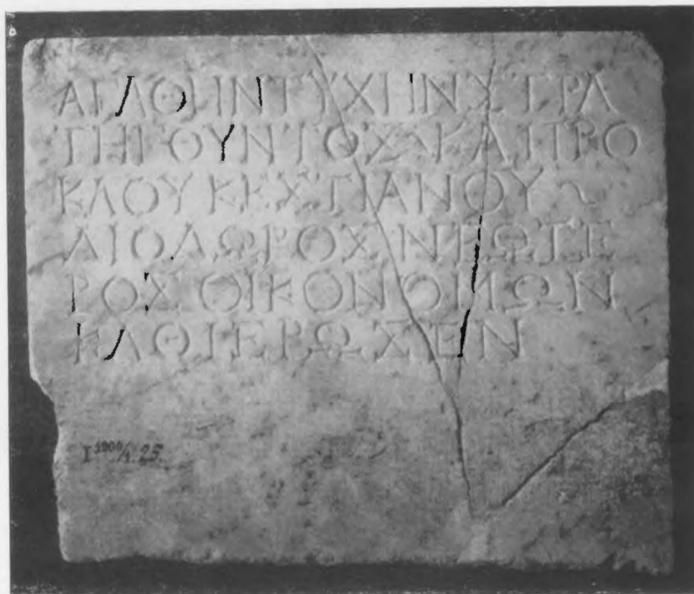
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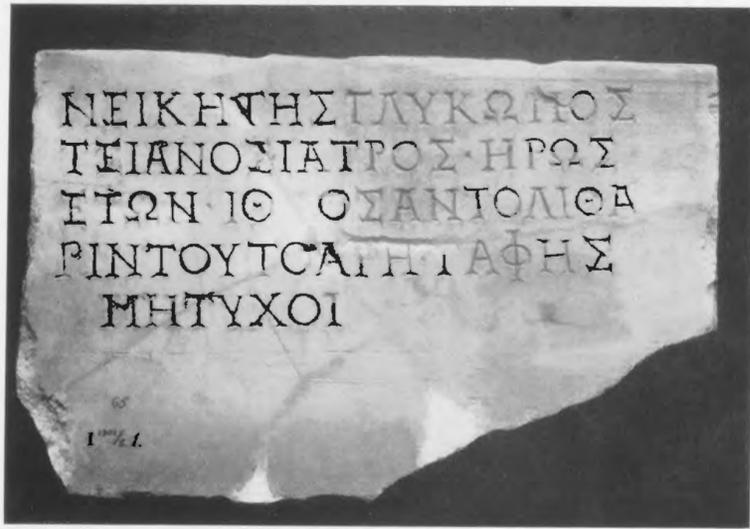
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n° 5



n° 7



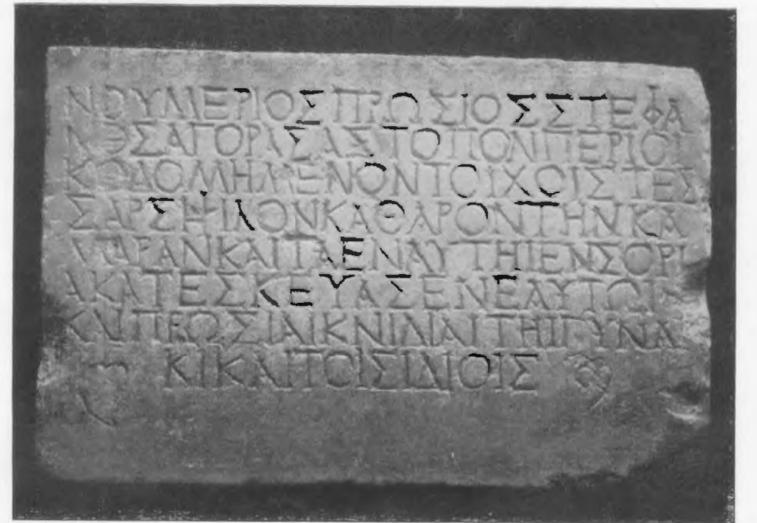
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n° 9



n° 11



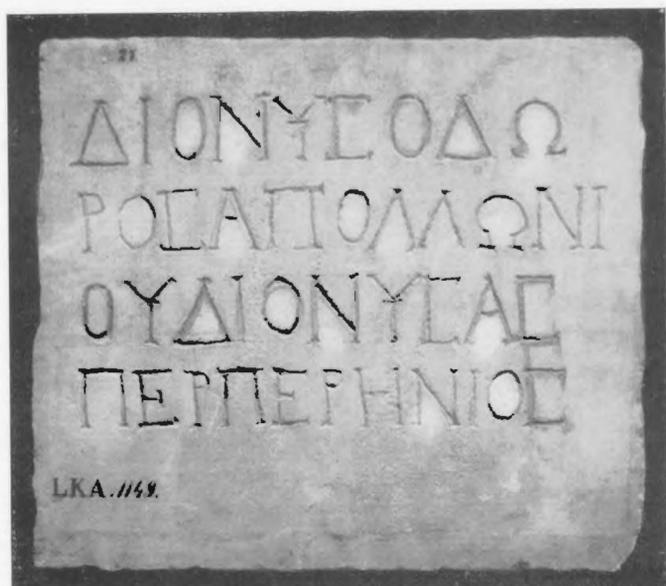
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n° 14



n° 15



n° 16



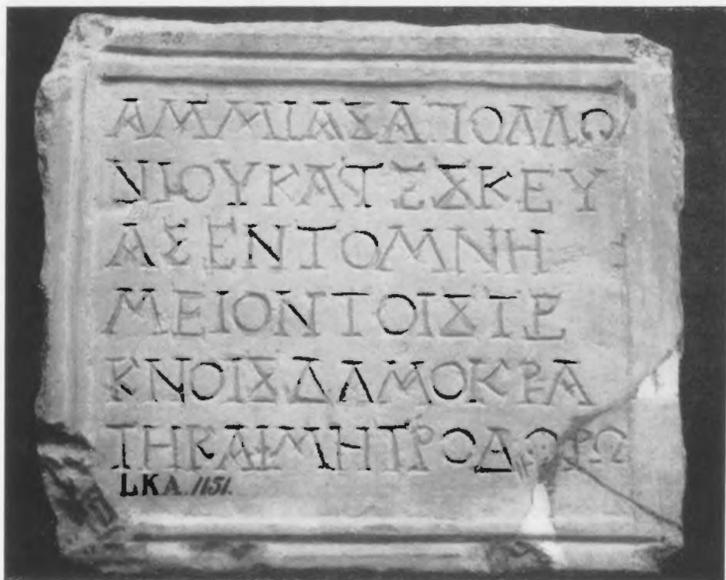
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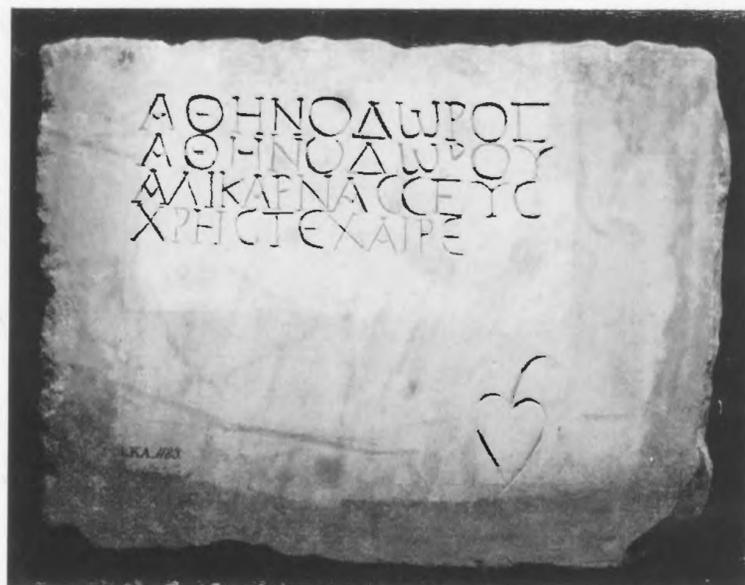
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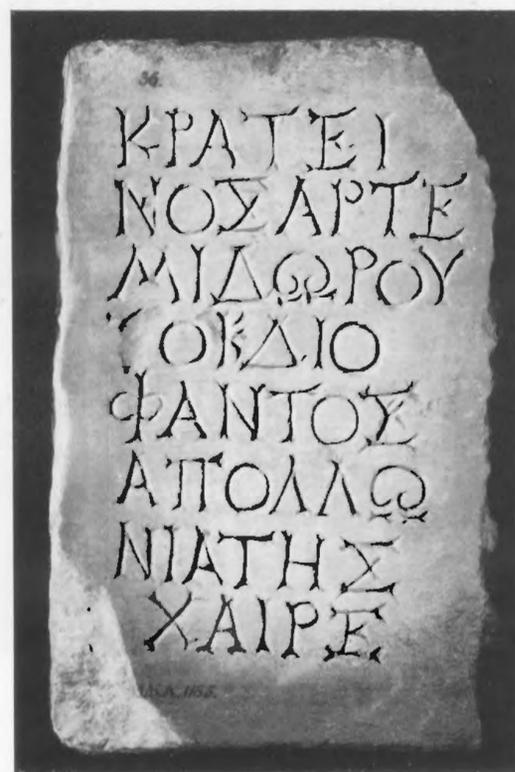
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n° 21



n° 23



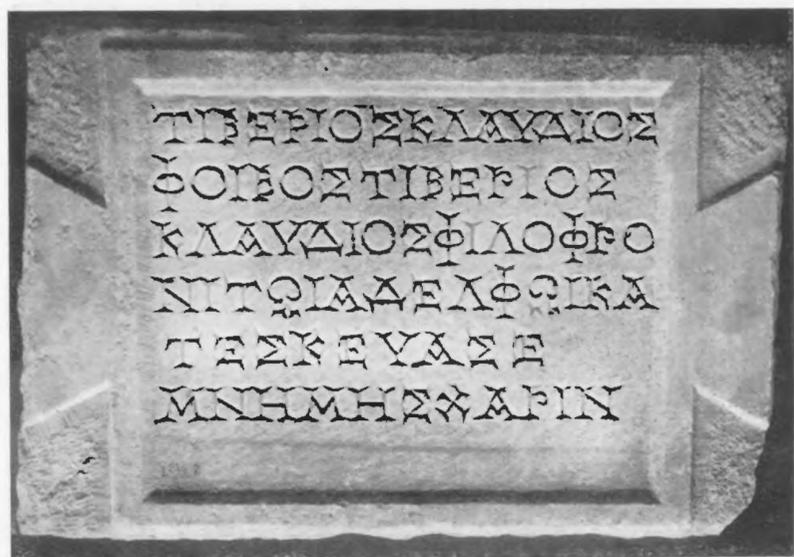
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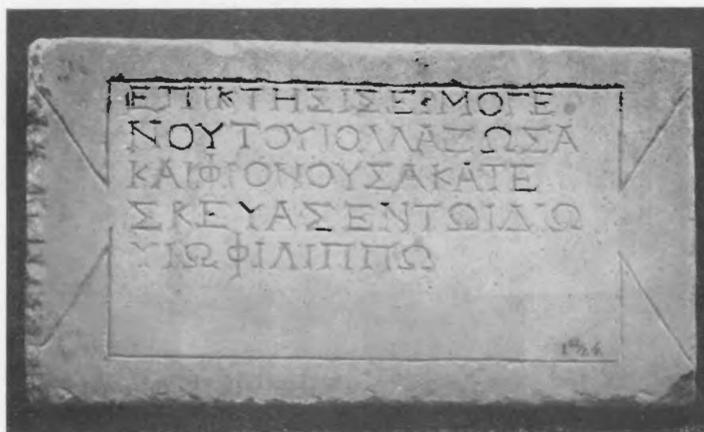
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n° 25



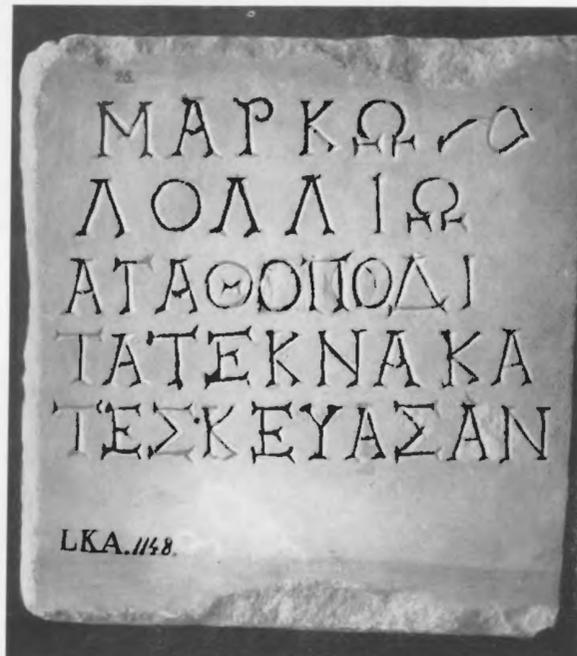
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n° 27



n° 28



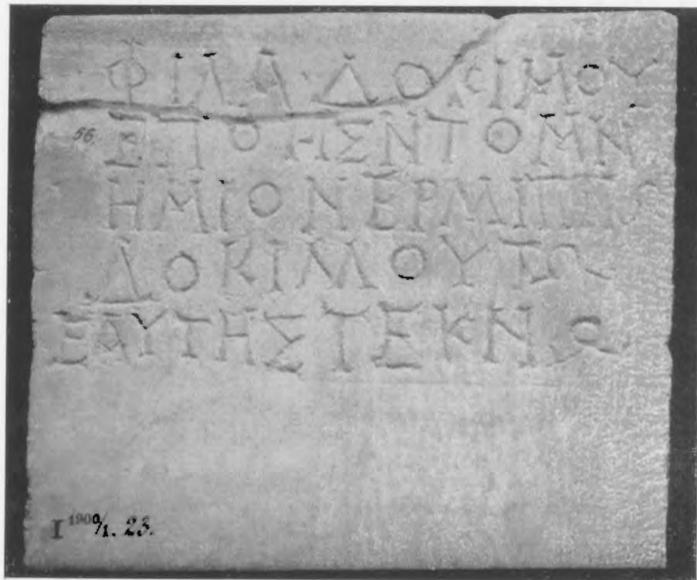
n° 29



n° 30



n° 31



n° 32



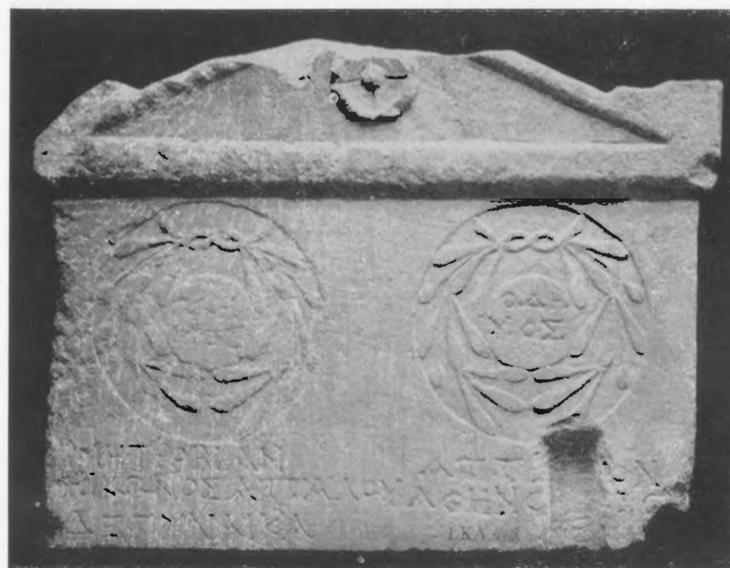
n° 33



n° 34



n° 35



n° 36



n° 37



n° 38



n° 39



n° 40



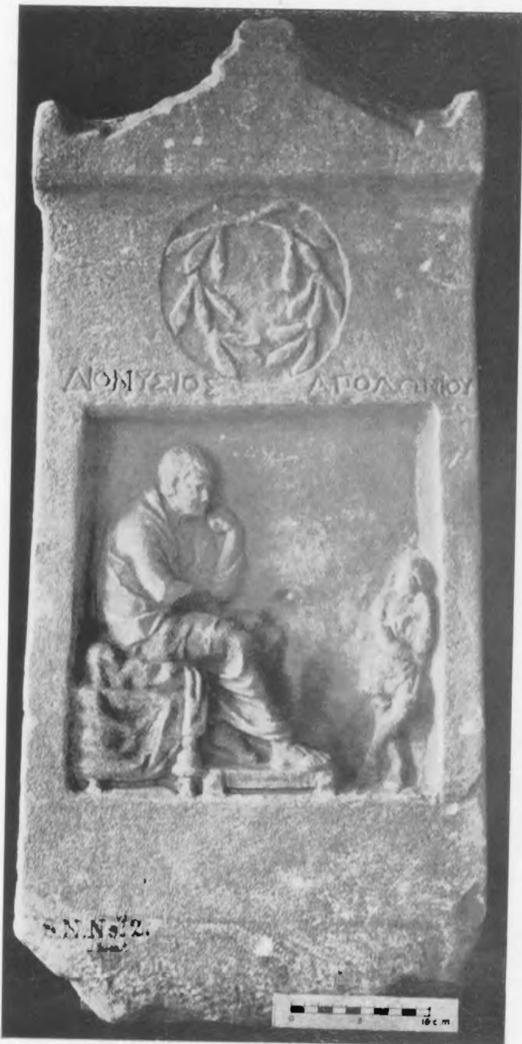
n° 41



n° 43



n° 44



n° 42



n° 45



n° 46



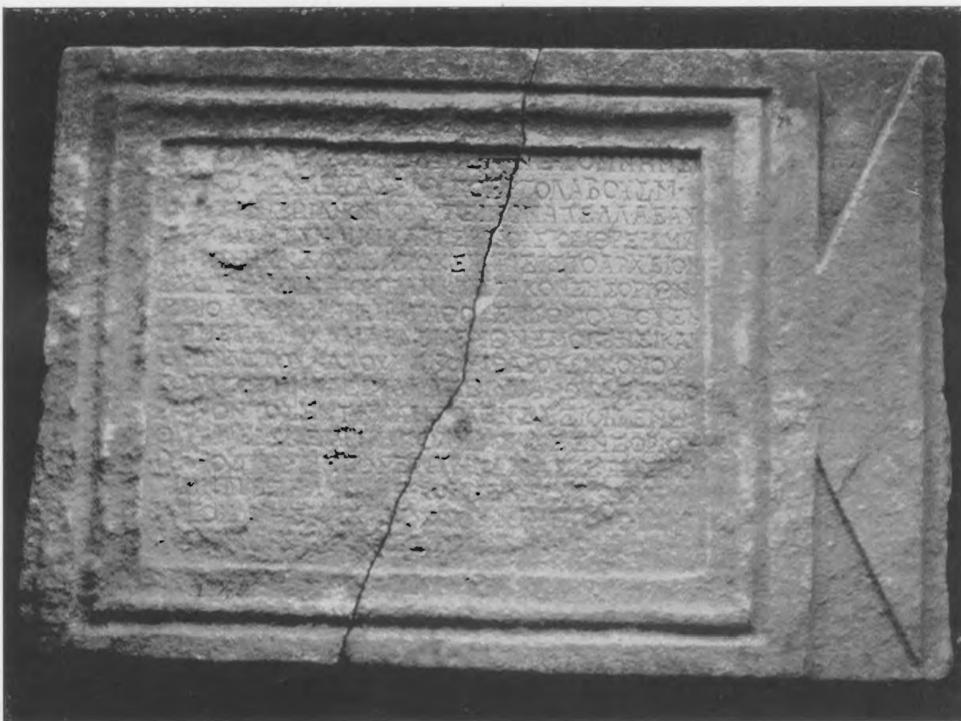
n° 47



n° 48



n° 49



n° 50



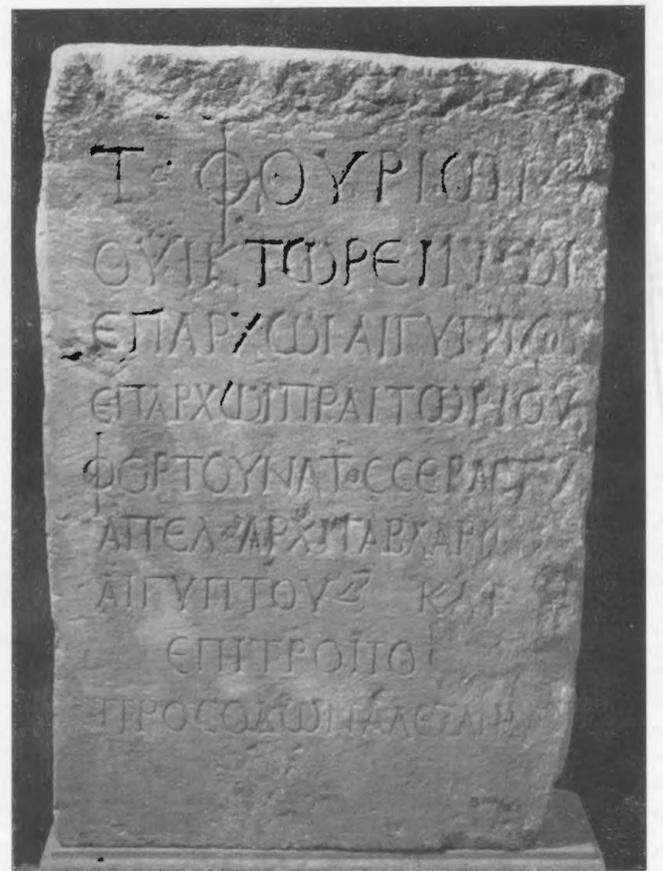
n° 51



n° 52



n° 54



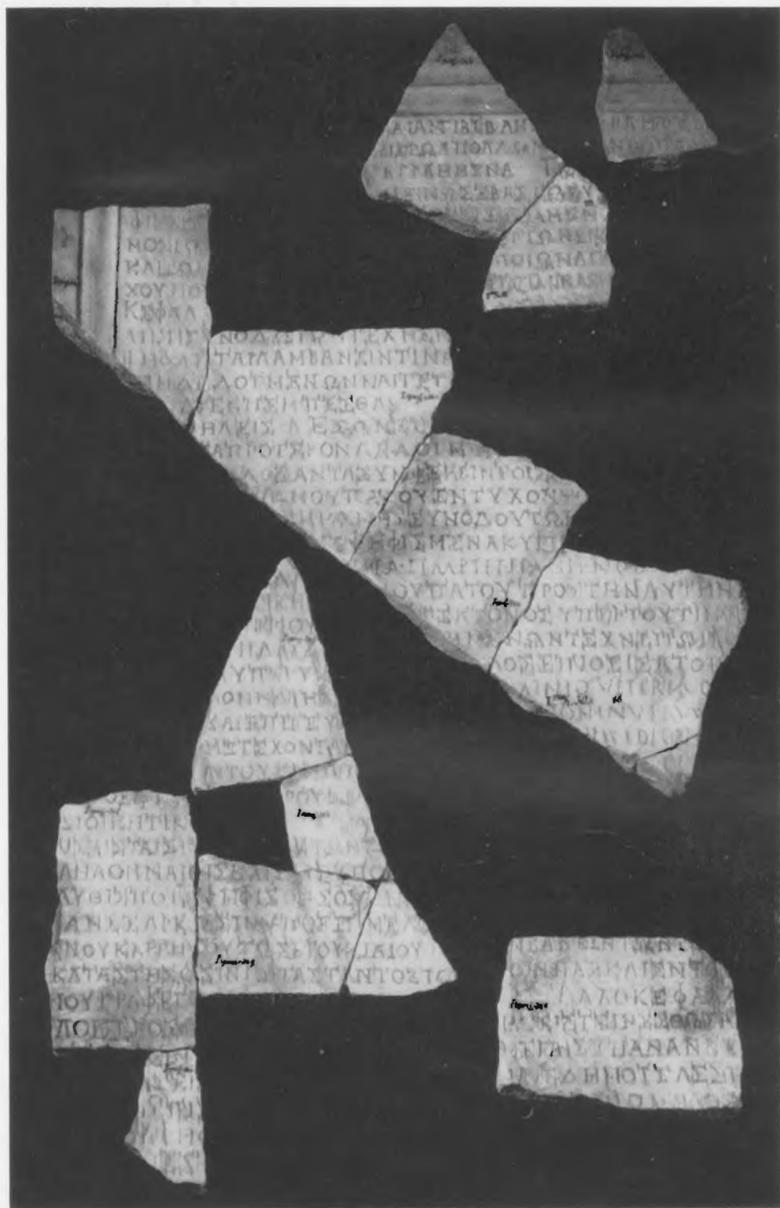
n° 55



n° 59



n° 57



n° 58



n° 56



n° 60



n° 61



n° 62



n° 63



n° 64



n° 65



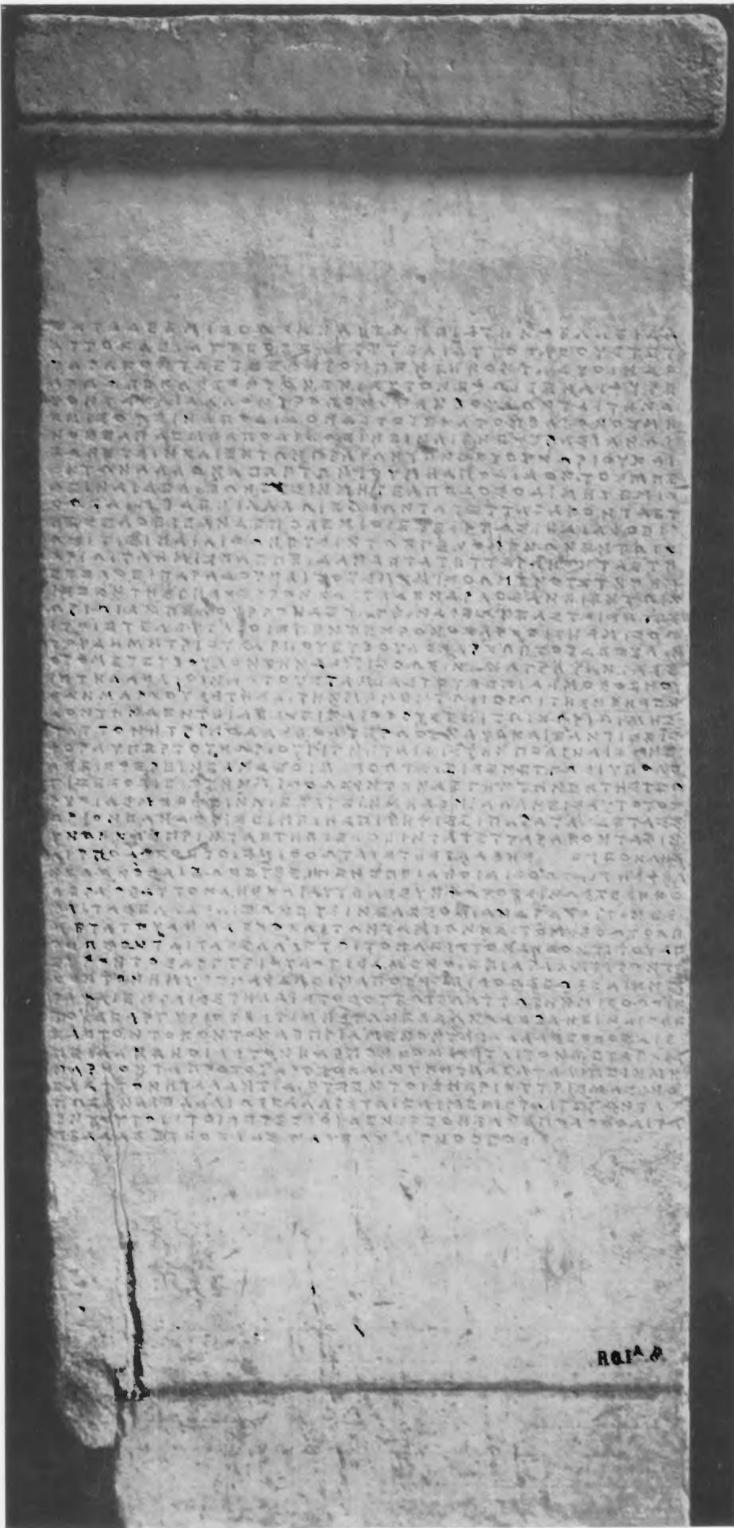
App. I, Tab. VII, 5



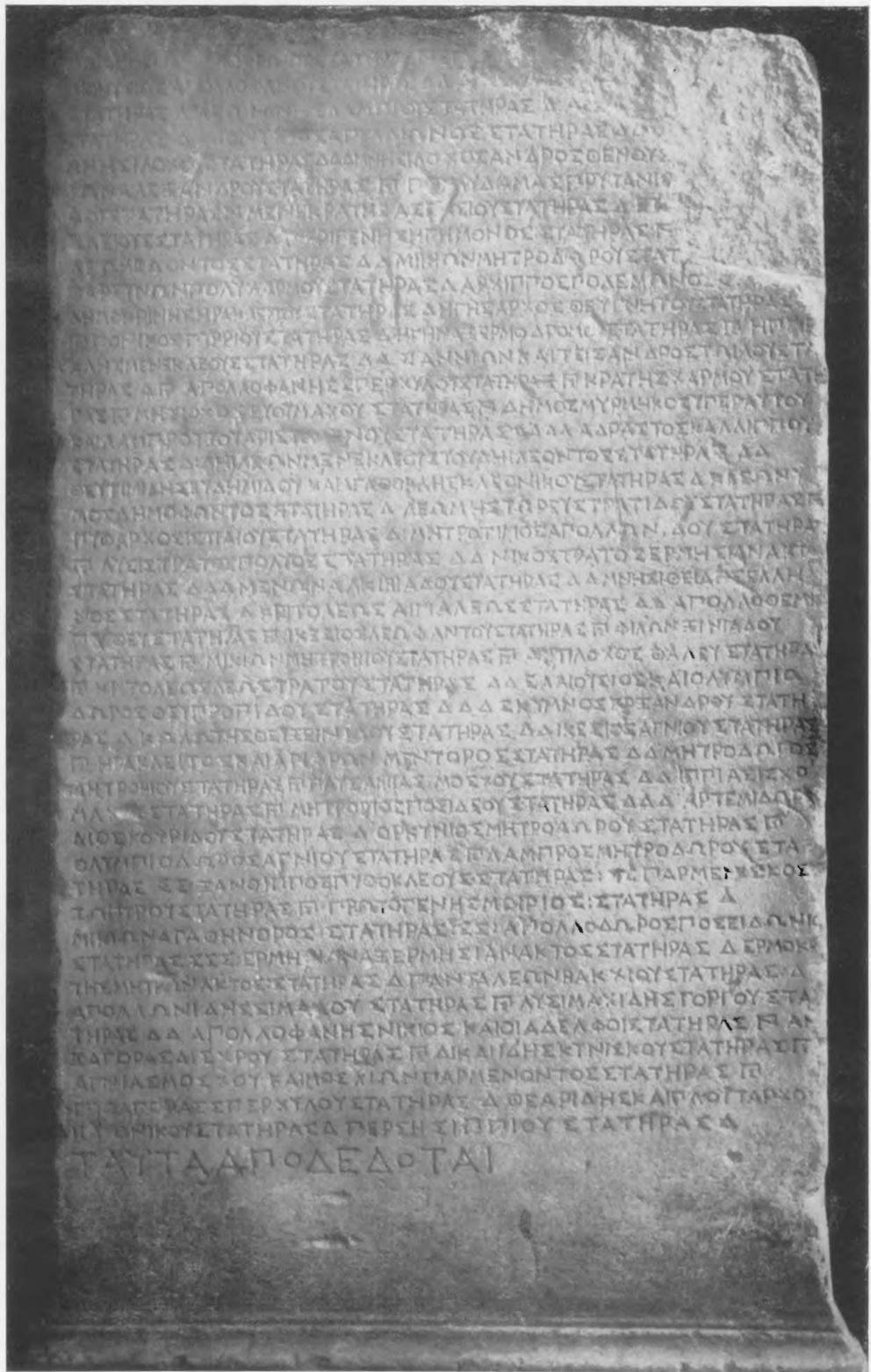
App. I, p. 83, n. 2



App. I, p. 83, n. 2



App. I, Tab. I



App. I, Tab. II



App. II, L. 1886, II



App. II, L. 1886, III



App. II, L. 1886, IV



App. I, p. 83, n. 4



App. II, L. 1886, VI



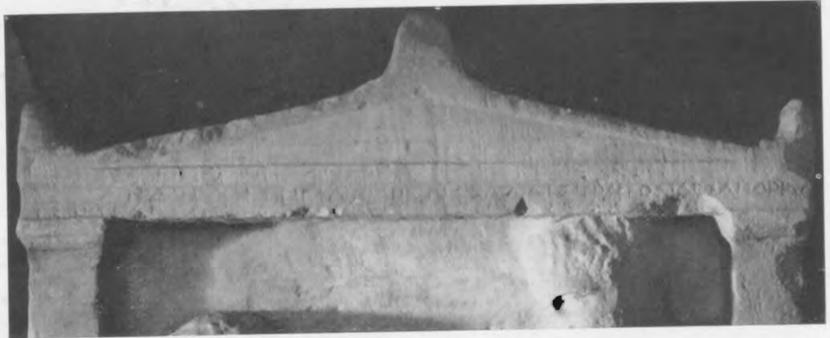
App. II, L. 1890, IV



App. II, L. 1886, V



App. II, L. 1886, VII



n° 71



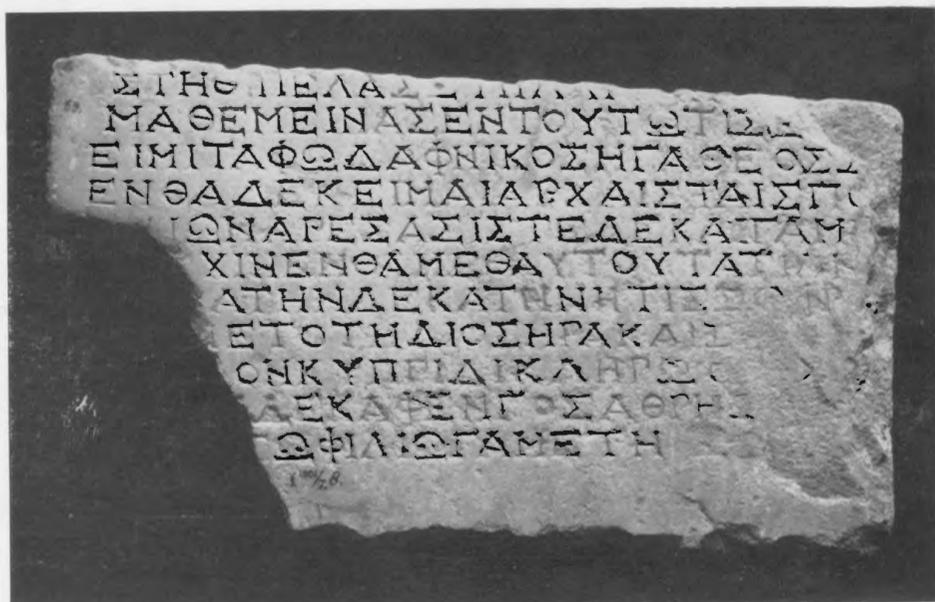
n° 66



n° 72



n° 67



n° 69



