

THE SARAPION MONUMENT AND THE PAEAN OF SOPHOCLES

During the demolition of modern houses prior to the campaign of 1932 there was found in Section Delta of the American excavations in the Athenian Agora an inscribed fragment of Pentelic marble, broken away above, below, at the right and at the left, but preserving in back another face with incised decoration.¹ In the Epigraphical Museum appeared many other fragments which belonged to the same monument and of which the majority were first published by W. Dittenberger in *I.G.*, III, *passim* (as separate inscriptions) on the basis of copies made by Duhn and Lolling. The stones have now been assembled and with them the monument has been partially rebuilt in the Epigraphical Museum. For this I am particularly indebted to the excavation mender, J. Bakoules, who in finding fragments, in discovering joins and in performing the difficult task of putting together the large monument, has supplied me with the very foundation of my article. I am deeply indebted also to the Director of the Epigraphical Museum, K. Kourouniotes, who provided me with every facility and aided me with a most important suggestion which will be acknowledged in its place further on.

The monument, with slightly concave sides, originally consisted of a large triangular base surmounted by an overlapping triangular cap which supported a tripod, not centered on the monument but located toward the front as appears from the cuttings on the stone, E[pigraphical] M[useum] 12469. The latter fragment, preserving both top and bottom but elsewhere broken away, is a piece of the cap with a height of 0.42 m. K. Kourouniotes, who supervised its restoration in plaster at the time of its discovery, estimated that each face of the cap had a width of 0.955 m. Most of the extant fragments of the base join as one piece, 1.38 m. high, broken away above and below (Illustrations on pp. 96, 104, 110). The width of each face is 0.865 m. A beveled surface, 0.065 m. wide lower down but narrowing somewhat toward the top, forms the edge of each side. The non-contiguous fragment *b* from the upper right hand corner of the front is 0.244 m. high. It is unknown how much is missing between the main piece of the base and the fragment at the upper right hand corner or how much is missing below the point where the main piece is broken away, where the paean of Sarapion merely begins.

¹ Inventory No. 1059 I 103. Height, 0.23 m.; Width, 0.41 m.; Thickness, 0.24 m. It is the fragment with the letters ΕΖΜΑ on the front of the monument line 16. The uninscribed face of it may be seen on the right side of the monument above the fragment with the letters ΓΙΑΡΧ in line 2.

The monument is inscribed on all three sides, and honors Sarapion of Chollidae, whose descendants constituted one of the great families of Roman Athens. The majority of the fragments came from the neighborhood of the Asclepieum on the south slope of the Acropolis. The provenience of a few fragments is not recorded, but the place and date of their entry into the Museum catalogue indicate that they also came from the Asclepieum. Only two pieces are known to have been found elsewhere, namely the fragment from the Agora and one small piece from the north slope of the Acropolis.¹ These two fragments were carried away obviously after the destruction of the monument, which may have taken place as early as the latter part of the third century after Christ. Furthermore, the monument was already known from a large base which is still to be seen in the Asclepieum and which bears the following inscription (*I.G.*, II², 3704):

Ψηφισαμένης τῆς ἐξ Ἀρείου
Πάγου βουλῆς Κόιντον Στάτι[ον]
Θεμιστοκλέα Χολλείδην, υἱὸ[ν]
τοῦ διὰ βίου ἱερέως τοῦ Σωτήρο[ς]
5 Ἀσκληπιοῦ Κόιντον Στατ < Γλαύκου
Χολλείδου καὶ Κλανθίας Ἀμμίας τῆ[ς]
καὶ Ἀγριππείνης ἐκ Μαραθωνίων,
Κλ < Θεμιστοκλέους Ἀσιάρχου < θυ(γατρὸς),
φιλοσόφων καὶ ὑπατικῶν καὶ Ἀσ[τ]
10 αρχῶν ἔκγονον καὶ ἀπόγονον
Τίτος Φλαύιος Γλαῦκος Μαραθῶν,
ποιητῆς² καὶ ῥήτωρ καὶ φιλόσοφος,
ἀπὸ συνηγοριῶν ταμίον, κλειδου
χήσαντα ἐπιφανῶς τοῦ θεοῦ, παρ[α]
15 τὸν κοινὸν πρόπαππον Κόιντον
Στάτιον Σαραπίωνα, οὗ καὶ ὁ πλε
σίον οὗτος τρίπουν <

The monument to Sarapion, erected by his grandson, recorded a paean which Sarapion had written on some occasion two generations before, and of which only a few traces are preserved on the front of the monument, lines 41–45. The main part of the front is covered by a preamble in prose and a philosophical poem in the dactylic hexameter, of which the first and probably also the second are due to the grandson. Between them stood another inscription of uncertain length and character. On the left side of the monument is engraved an old paean of the tragic poet Sophocles, sung presumably on the same occasion as that of Sarapion. On the right side is engraved a

¹ EM 12752 published with a photograph in *Hesperia*, IV (1935), p. 184, by O. Broneer.

² Compare *Anth. Pal.*, IX, 774 and 775.

catalogue of the chorus, who chanted the paean in the archonship of Munatius Vopiscus, *ca.* 174/5 A.D. At that time, the reader will recall, the plague of Antoninus was still raging.

We are here dealing with two sets of dates. For an interpretation of their relationship we start with the known fact that Quintus Statius Sarapion of the deme Chollidae had been cosmète in the year 158/9 A.D.,¹ and with the probability that a grandson Quintus Statius Glaucus was ephebe about 218/9 A.D.² Therefore the archonship of Munatius Vopiscus (*ca.* 174/5 A.D.), the date on the left side, probably falls within the period of Sarapion and not of his grandson, and it records the year of the original occasion on which the paean of Sarapion was sung by the chorus whose names are inscribed below. On the other hand, the dates on the front indicate the time at which the grandson erected the monument. The rounded letters on the left side are different from those on the right and front, but other inscriptions of the third century (e.g. the ephebic catalogue published with a photograph in *Hesperia*, II [1933], p. 506) exhibit a similar mixture of straight and rounded letters. It is natural to suppose that all three sides were inscribed at the same time,—in the archonship of [Dionysod]orus in the first half of the third century.

The fact that in the sanctuary of Asclepius the dedication was one of a tripod and its triangular base, seems to imply that Sarapion had won a victory in a literary contest to the greater honor and glory of the Savior God.

The heterogeneous character of the inscription, which contains elements in prose as well as several poems, recalls *I.G.*, IV², 128, the Isyllus monument in the Asclepieum at Epidaurus. The latter inscription, which dates from the early third century B.C., likewise contains elements in prose as well as in verse.³ The Isyllus monument, moreover, as also the Sarapion monument, preserves a paean and above it among other things a poem of a philosophical character. Even the Doric dialect is imperfectly imitated in the Athenian poem. The grandson of Sarapion followed an ancient precedent when he erected the monument in the Asclepieum at Athens.

FRONT

Height of Letters: in lines 1–6 and 8–37, 0.02 m.; in line 7, 0.03 m.; in line 39, 0.023 m.; in lines 41–45, 0.011 m.

The non-contiguous fragment *α*, the upper left hand corner of the base, is broken away below, in back and at the right. Height, 0.21 m.; Width, 0.15 m.; Thickness, 0.20 m. Inventory No., EM 8350.

¹ *I.G.*, II², 2079 and 3743.

² *I.G.*, II², 3704 and 2226.

³ U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Philologische Untersuchungen*, Heft 9 *Isyllos von Epidaurus* (Berlin, 1886).

Three fragments, namely EM 8336, EM 8337 and EM 4589, join as one large non-contiguous fragment *b* to form the upper right hand corner of the base. Fragment *b* is broken away below, in back and at the left. Height, 0.244 m.; Width, 0.48 m.; Thickness, 0.18 m.

The non-contiguous fragment *c*, broken away on all sides, belongs somewhere between lines 9 and 33. Height, 0.14 m.; Width, 0.16 m.; Thickness, 0.20 m. Height of Letters, 0.02 m. Inventory No., EM 8343.

Likewise the non-contiguous fragment *d*, broken away on all sides, belongs somewhere between lines 9 and 33. Height, 0.09 m.; Width, 0.15 m.; Thickness, 0.21 m. Height of Letters, 0.02 m. Inventory No., EM 8347.



Fig. 1. The Cap (EM 12469) Restored in Plaster

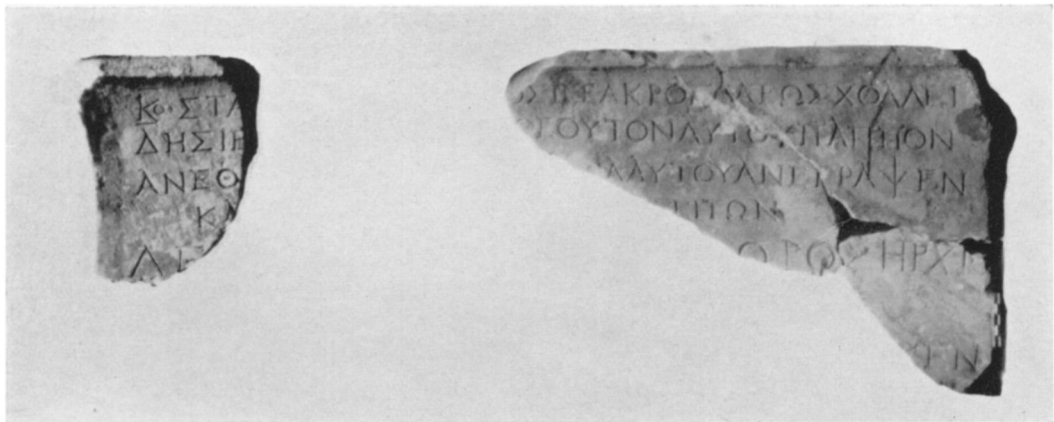


Fig. 2. Front: Fragments *a* and *b*

On cap		[Σαραπίων]α Χολλείδην> ![- - - - - - - - - - -] [φι]λόσοφον Στωϊκ[όν]	
On base	a	<u>Κο</u> > Στά[τιος πυρφόρ]ος ἐξ Ἀκροπόλεως Χολλεί δης ἰε[ρεὺς Σωτήρος] θεοῦ τὸν αὐτοῦ πάππον ἀνέθ[ηκεν καὶ τὸν παιῖ]να αὐτοῦ ἀνέγραψεν κα[θ' ὑπομνηματισμὸν Ἀρεοπ]αγειτῶν Λε[ύκιος Διονυσόδ]ωρος ἦρχε vacat [- - - - - - - - - - -]κεν An indeterminable number of lines missing 10 [- - - - - - - - - - -]ιγεγε[- - - - - - - - - - -] [- - - - - - -]δαι[. .]θεν ἄθλα καὶ μο[- - - - -] α[. .]!![- -]ατεσια[. . .]ος ἀνδρομάχοι[- - - - -] vacat Ἔργα τὰδε ἱατρ[ῶν αἰ]ώνια, προῖτον ἐ[λέγχειν] 15 καὶ νόον ἰῆσθαι ι[- -] ρ[. .] προπαρήτω α[- - -], μῆδεσι δ' ἦν θιγέ[ωσι, π]αρεξ καὶ θεσμὰ καὶ δοκ[ος] καὶ δ' ἀρεταί· ἀκέο[ι]το [δὲ]σιμημεγα τ[ε]ύχη κούρας τ' ἠδ' ἀλόχους ἐρα[τάς], ἀτὰρ ἡγὸς ἀφάσ[σων] στέρνα πόθωι χλῖαι ἐιτέ[ρως τινδ]ς [ιη]τήρος· 20 [τοῖς δ' ἐ]χάτοις ἀπόγαμι θε[οῖς τὰ ἐνόντ]α βεβάλοις· [- - - - - - -]αστεγαμ[- - - - -]ιητῆρες [- - - - - - -]ιο κα[ι] ὄργια μύ[στο]υ λάθην [- - - - - - -]αυτατοια [.]γει [- -]ασ[- - - - - - -]ς τέκος ἀθ[ι] δὲ τέχνα 25 [τ]οῖος με![- - - - -]![- - - - -]ως θεὸς οἷα [σ]αωτήρ δμῶων ἀκτ[ε]άνων [τ]ε καὶ ἀφνειῶν καὶ ἀνάκτων ἴσος [χα]ῖ πάντεσσι δ' ἀδελφεὸς [ῆ]ι, ἀτὰρ ἡγοί παν[- - - - -]ν κάσιες τ[οῖς εἰ]δ[ε]σιν ἔχθου μηδ[- - - - -]μ[υ]ῦθου ἢ ο[- - -]λεξο[- - -] 30 μνη[- - - - -]μνη>[- - -] αισχ[- - - - -] Ὑγιείας ἀλλὰ δ[- - - - -]ε[. .] τέχνα τοίως [- - - - -]ι ἦτορ vacat vacat 35 vacat vacat Ἐπιμελη[τεύοντος τῆς πόλεως Κωπω]νί ο[υ] Μαξιμ[ου] vacat	b



Fig. 3. Front: Main Piece of the Base

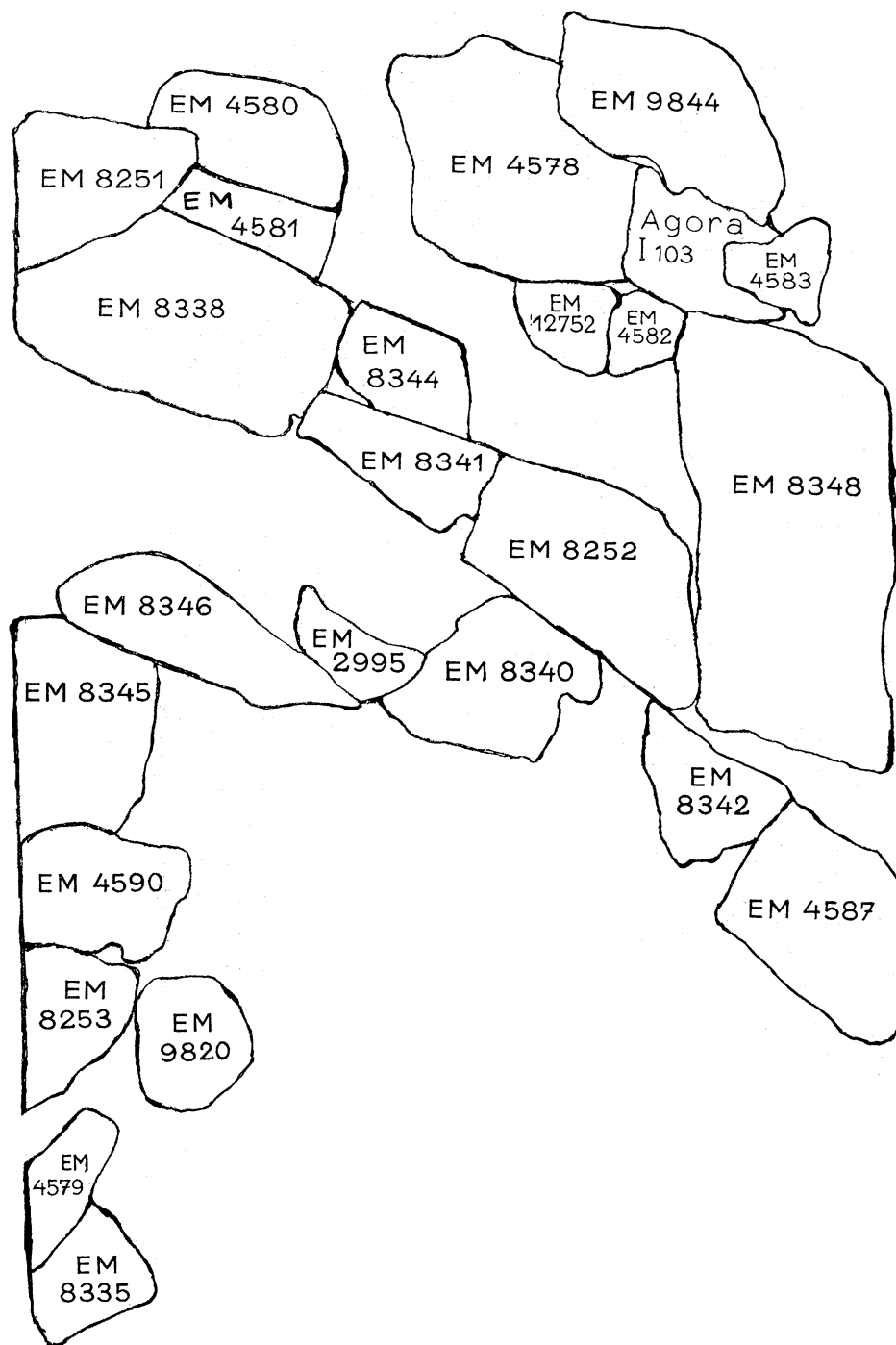


Fig. 4. Key to Photograph on Opposite Page

40 *Za*[χορεύοντος -----]
vacat
*Za*θ[ε -----]
*Παιδ*ν [-----]
*ἐμ*ας ! [-----]
*μό*λε θε [-----]
 45 *πρ*ον [-----]
 [-----]

c -----] κ · [- -
 -----] θονεω [- -
 -----] τεραιχρε [- -
 -----] υσιδεμ [- -



Fig. 5.
Front: Fragment *c*

d -----] ε [- - - -
 -----] ἀμύγω [- - -
 -----] μελοι η [- -

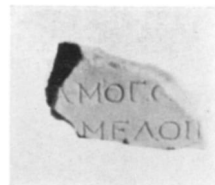


Fig. 6.
Front: Fragment *d*

A list of the inscribed fragments which belong to the front of the monument:

Inventory No.	Previous Publication
EM 12469	<i>I. G.</i> , XII, 9, 40. <i>I. G.</i> , II ² , 3796
EM 8350	-----
EM 8336 } EM 8337 }	<i>I. G.</i> , III, Add. 720 b } <i>B. C. H.</i> , LI (1927), 284, No. 56. <i>I. G.</i> , II ² , 3631
EM 4589	Unpublished
EM 8251	<i>I. G.</i> , III, 3941
EM 4580	<i>B. C. H.</i> , LI (1927), 286
EM 4578	Unpublished
EM 9844	<i>I. G.</i> , III, 3944
EM 4581	<i>B. C. H.</i> , LI (1927), 286

Inventory No.	Previous Publication
EM 8338	<i>I. G.</i> , III, 1414
EM 8344	<i>I. G.</i> , III, 3940
EM 12752	<i>Hesperia</i> , IV (1935), 184
EM 4582	Unpublished
Agora I 103	Unpublished
EM 4583	<i>B.C.H.</i> , LI (1927), 286
EM 8341 }	<i>I. G.</i> , III, 1415
EM 8340 }	
EM 8252	<i>I. G.</i> , III, 3846
EM 8348	<i>I. G.</i> , III, 3845
EM 8346	<i>I. G.</i> , III, 3943
EM 2995	Unpublished
EM 8345	<i>I. G.</i> , III, 3942
EM 8342	<i>I. G.</i> , III, 3865
EM 4590	<i>B.C.H.</i> , LI (1927), 286
EM 4587	Unpublished
EM 8253	<i>I. G.</i> , III, 4003
EM 9820	<i>I. G.</i> , III, 3866
EM 4579	<i>B.C.H.</i> , LI (1927), 286
EM 8335	<i>I. G.</i> , III, Add. 171k. <i>I. G.</i> , II ² , 4544
EM 8343	<i>I. G.</i> , III, 3893
EM 8347	<i>I. G.</i> , III, 3983

The restorations are my own except for the following: ll. 1–2, Kirchner (*I. G.*, II², 3796); ll. 3, 4 and 6, Graindor (*B.C.H.*, LI [1927], p. 285); l. 19 fin., [*ιη*] *τῆρος*(?), Dittenberger (*I. G.*, III, 3845); l. 21, [*ι*] *ητῆρες*, Dittenberger *ibid.*; l. 25, [*Σ*] *αωτήε*, Dittenberger *ibid.*; l. 37, *Μαξι[μωv]*(?), Dittenberger (*I. G.*, III, 3866).

Only one previous attempt at assembling the inscription achieved important results. P. Graindor in the *Bull. Cor. Hell.*, LI (1927), pp. 284–286, put together lines 3–6 of the preamble and indicated the existence of thirteen published and five unpublished fragments of the rest of the inscription, but he made no attempt to restore or to discover the relationship to one another of these eighteen fragments. In *I. G.*, II², 3631 J. Kirchner republished lines 3–6 of the preamble without the eighteen unintelligible fragments, for which he referred the reader to Graindor's article. In his interpretation of the preamble Graindor fell into an error because he did not know that a cap with the name of Sarapion surmounted the monument. For this valuable advantage I am indebted to K. Kourouniotes, who himself discovered the cap in the Asclepieum years ago and who now called it to my attention with the correct suggestion that it fitted over the triangular base. It has been published through a curious error in *I. G.*, XII, 9, 40 as from Carystus,

but it has been published also in *I.G.*, II², 3796 by J. Kirchner, who recognized the name and identified the family.

The name of Sarapion in whose honor the monument was erected, appears at the beginning in the accusative. Sarapion, therefore, is the grandfather of Quintus Statius *πυρφόρος ἐξ Ἀκροπόλεως*.¹ The base in the Asclepieum, moreover, *I.G.*, II², 3704, quoted above on p. 92, records in Quintus Statius Sarapion, *οἷ καὶ ὁ πλησίον οἶτος τρίπους*, the grandfather of Quintus Statius Glaucus, priest of Asclepius. It seems that Quintus Statius Glaucus and the *πυρφόρος ἐξ Ἀκροπόλεως* are the same man, for the restoration *ἱε[ρεὺς Σωτήρος] θεοῦ* exactly fills the lacuna in line 4 of the inscription here published. He appears as ephebe in *I.G.*, II², 2226 (*ca.* 218/9 A.D.) and as zacorus in the two undated inscriptions *I.G.*, II², 3804 and 3805. The *ἱερεὺς πυρφόρος ἐξ Ἀκροπόλεως*, a priest unknown before the empire, was connected with the cult of *Ἑστία ἐπ' Ἀκροπόλει* and used to bring the fire necessary for certain sacrifices.²

Since he was only an ephebe around 218/9 A.D., Quintus Statius Glaucus cannot possibly have been appointed life-long priest of Asclepius before 220 A.D., and probably not as soon even as that. We do not know when he came into office or how soon afterwards he erected the monument. On this point a potential clue will come to us from line 7 where the contemporary archon is named, but line 7 requires first a few words of explanation.

A Dionysodorus son of Eucarpus is cited as archon in *I.G.*, II², 3120, which cannot be dated earlier than the end of the second century. *I.G.*, II², 1826, moreover, a catalogue of about 210 A.D., records the name of the prytanis Eucarpus son of Dionysodorus. We may assume that the two officials are from the same family and probably father and son. The question arises, which is the father and which the son. Having no other evidence to guide him, P. Graindor³ felt that the lettering of *I.G.*, II², 3120 was more suitable for the end of the second century than for the middle of the third, and therefore he preferred to regard the archon Dionysodorus as the father of the prytanis Eucarpus. But the lettering of this eclectic period is a most uncertain guide, totally useless for chronological delimitation within very close limits. In fact, there has been a tendency among epigraphists to locate the good lettering of the third in the first or second century, until discoveries of other fragments have disclosed the date. The lettering of *I.G.*, II², 3120, as far as I can see, is equally suitable for the middle of the third century, and therefore the archon Dionysodorus, whom I regard as the son rather than the father of the prytanis Eucarpus, becomes available for the period of a base erected by Statius Glaucus sometime after 220 A.D.

¹ Graindor [*B.C.H.*, LI (1927), p. 285] recognized because of *I.G.*, II², 3704 that Sarapion was the man honored on our base, but through an error, natural enough at the time, he identified Sarapion with the *πυρφόρος ἐξ Ἀκροπόλεως*, an error in which Kirchner followed him in the publication of *I.G.*, II², 3631.

² P. Graindor, *Recueil de travaux publiés par la faculté des lettres de l'université égyptienne: Premier fascicule, Athènes sous Auguste* (Cairo 1927), p. 154.

³ *Chronologie des archontes athéniens sous l'Empire*, *Mém. Acad. Belg.*, 2nd ser., VIII, 2 (1922), p. 208.

I have ventured to restore the name Dionysodorus in line 7 on consideration of *I.G.*, II², 4718, which exists only in Pococke's defective copy:

ΙΧΕΧΟΝΤΟΣΑΠΔΟΝΥΣΟΔ . . ΟΥ ΣΙΣΕΘΕΘΕΑΙΣ
ΣΩΣΦΟΣΙ=ΛΛΤΕ . ΣΝ

The stone must have been badly worn. At the beginning of Pococke's transcription, the editors have recognized the phrase ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Διονυσόδωρον. There was another archon by that name in the first century after Christ, and *I.G.*, II², 4718, otherwise undated, can be placed equally well in the archonship of Dionysodorus I or in the archonship of Dionysodorus II. The reader will notice, however, that between the word <ἄρ>χοντος and the name Δ(ι)ονυσόδ[ώρ]ου Pococke has recorded two other letters. These two letters ought to represent the abbreviation of some common *praenomen*, and a misreading Π for ΕΥ is not unlikely. Therefore, I suspect that the beginning of the inscription should be edited [Ἐπ]ὶ <ἄρ>χοντος Δ(εὐ) Δ(ι)ονυσόδ[ώρ]ου. The same abbreviation occurs in the catalogue *I.G.*, II², 2160, line 21: Ἀεὺ Εἰςχαρτίδης. Then if we measure the extent of the lacuna in line 7 on the base, we find that the restoration Ἀε[ύκτιος Διονυσόδ]ωρος ἦρχε fills it perfectly, and we recall that also *I.G.*, II², 3120 affects the archaic formula Διον[υσ]όδωρος (II) ἦρχε.

With the date in line 7 the preamble terminates. In line 9 begins a mutilated inscription of uncertain character, and in line 14 begins a prosaic philosophical poem in the dactylic hexameter. Since the preamble has mentioned only a paean by Sarapion, we must assign the philosophical poem to the grandson, Quintus Statius Glaucus, priest of Asclepius. As we know from *I.G.*, II², 3704, quoted above on p. 92, the latter was both son and grandson of professional philosophers (Stoic, as we learn from line 2 of our own monument). At the same time, the other priesthood and ministry which he had already occupied, indicate the religious inclination of his nature. A thank-offering dedicated in the sanctuary by his wife Agrippina in the priesthood of Onesicrates has been preserved in *I.G.*, II², 4532. His son too served the god,¹ and of course his grandfather had written the paean sung by a distinguished chorus on a great occasion. Apart from the poem this is all we know about the man and his background unless it be added that he reinforced the cultural advantages of his birth with the social advantages of a marriage into a well established family.²

The thought of the first seven lines of the poem runs, I think, somewhat as follows: *The tasks of physicians are forever these, first to diagnose and to heal the mind. Let — — — attend them, and when they apply the mind, let also the laws and the oath of Hippocrates and the virtues be present to their thoughts. The — — — implements would heal both maidens and lovely matrons except that the susceptible leader would feel his breast glowing with desire*

¹ See *I.G.*, II², 3704, quoted above on p. 92.

² Concerning the wife's family compare Groag, *Jahreshefte d. österr. arch. Inst. in Wien*, X (1907), pp. 287 and 290.

in a manner indecorous in a healer. (So it is said), but I deny that human frailties attach to the far-darting gods.

The imperative *προπαρήτω* is a Doric form (from *προπάρεμι*). I have no explanation for the symbol in line 15. When we make the obvious restoration *π[α]ρξ* in line 16, the lacuna after the letter traces *ΘΙΓ* is reduced to the space of three letters representing a long and a short syllable. Since the form *θίγγ[αν]* will not apparently fit in with the sense of the passage, I restore a subjunctive *θιγέ[ωσι]*. Just as a future *βαλέω* accompanies an aorist *ἔβαλον*, so a subjunctive *θιγέω* *metri causa* can accompany an aorist *ἔθιγον*.

For the *ἀρεταί* the reader may compare the account of the Stoic doctrines in Diogenes Laertius VII, 54: *Τῶν δὲ ἀρετῶν, τὰς μὲν πρώτας, τὰς δὲ ταύταις ὑποτεταγμένας. πρώτας μὲν τάσδε, φρόνησιν ἀνδρείαν δικαιοσύνην σωφροσύνην· ἐν ᾗ δὲ τούτων, μεγαλοψυχίαν ἐγκράτειαν καρτερίαν ἀγχίνοιαν εὐβουλίαν.*

The "leader," who seems to be one of the far-darting gods, is Apollo rather than Asclepius. Greek mythology, moreover, ascribed to Apollo many amorous adventures that would offend a priest reared in the Stoic tradition, but no scandalous stories of this sort involve Asclepius. The phrase *ἐτέ[ρως τινὸς] [ιη]τήρος* is to be understood as a reference to that passage in the oath of Hippocrates which enjoins upon the physician not to use his professional position as a wedge for seduction.

The mutilated condition of the rest of the poem renders an interpretation very difficult. In line 23 we can perhaps read the word *π[ρ]αῦτατοι*. The Doric adverb *ἔχθοι* (line 28) meaning *outside* or *externally*, occurs in *I.G.*, IV², 102 (l. 66).

The connection and the motive behind the philosophical poem remain a matter of conjecture. I surmise that the priest recalled the duties of physicians according to the oath of Hippocrates because the monument commemorated a solemn religious ceremony at the time of the plague and because he had in mind a contrast in the medical quackery practiced at other sanctuaries of Asclepius. A most flagrant example of shameful and criminal exploitation was that of the sanctuary at Abonoteichos, which rose to great fame just before and during the plague, and which still continued in the time of Statius Glaucus, although Lucian in his essay, *Alexander the False Prophet*, had exposed the unscrupulous rascal who founded it.¹

The philosophical current of the poem is that in which Galen moved.² The latter believed in the miracles of the god, and for a while he practiced in the Asclepieum at Pergamum. More than anyone else it was Galen who brought Medicine back to Philo-

¹ For a discussion of the religious aspect consult F. Cumont, "Alexandre d'Abonoteichos," *Mémoires couronnées de l'académie de Belgique*, XL (1887); O. Weinreich, "Alexander der Lügenprophet und seine Stellung in der Religiosität des II. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.," *Neue Jahrbücher*, XLVII (1921), pp. 129–151; A. D. Nock, "Alexander of Abonoteichos," *Classical Quarterly*, XXII (1928), pp. 160–162.

² H. Haeser, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Medizin und der epidemischen Krankheiten*, vol. I (Jena, 1875), pp. 347–357. Christ-Schmid, *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur*, II, 2 (Munich, 1924), pp. 921–924.

sophy from which Hippocrates had separated it, and while he was an eclectic, he sympathized with the Stoics and repulsed the Epicureans. Since the brief essay "*Οὐ δ' ἔριστος ἰατρὸς καὶ φιλόσοφος*" and other philosophical writings of Galen antedated the composition of the poem on the Sarapion monument, and since the writings of Galen achieved an immediate, great success, in them we may recognize an influence that colored the hexameters of the Sarapion monument.

In the second and third centuries after Christ it was a common practice at Athens to inscribe the date by the epimelete of the city at the bottom of documents, and also the date by the *ζακός* in the case of inscriptions set up in the sanctuary. The two entries in lines 36–37 and 39 finish a chronological unit of the inscription, the part concerning the grandson. These two dates, therefore, are to be interpreted as contemporary with the archonship of [Dionysod]orus (line 7). The epimelete belongs to the prominent Athenian family of the Coponii Maximi from the deme Hagnus. One member of the family appears as prytanis in the catalogue *I.G.*, II², 1817 (*ca.* 200 A.D.). Shortly after 119/20 A.D. another member also had been epimelete of the city.¹

In line 41 begins at last the paean of Sarapion, announced in the preamble in line 5. The word *παῖδιν* appears in line 42, but even without it the character of the poem could be recognized from the opening word *ζῆθεος*, which belongs properly to the vocabulary of sacred hymns.²

RIGHT SIDE

Height of letters, 0.011 m.

The non-contiguous fragment *e* (= *I.G.*, II², 2012) can be accurately located through the help of the incised decoration which frames the inscription. Only the inscribed face is preserved. Height, 0.11 m.; Width, 0.175 m.; Thickness, 0.07 m. Inventory No., EM 8517.

The non-contiguous fragment *f* (= *I.G.*, II², 1948) preserves the right edge, but is broken away above, below and at the left. The back presents part of the inscribed area on the left side of the monument (see p. 112). Height, 0.42 m.; Width, 0.26 m.; Thickness, 0.20 m. Inventory No., EM 9660.

The non-contiguous fragment *g* (= *I.G.*, II², 2158) is broken away on all sides. Height, 0.14 m.; Width, 0.23 m.; Thickness, 0.165 m. Inventory No., EM 9658.

The non-contiguous fragment *h* (= *I.G.*, II², 3563) is broken away on all sides. Height, 0.11 m.; Width, 0.195 m.; Thickness, 0.15 m. Inventory No., EM 9589.

The non-contiguous fragment *i*, found July 1935 on the south slope of the Acropolis,³ is broken away on all sides. Height, 0.24 m.; Width, 0.26 m.; Thickness, 0.15 m. Inventory No., EM 12833.

The non-contiguous fragment *k* is broken away on all sides. Height, 0.19 m.; Width, 0.03 m.; Thickness, 0.09 m. Inventory No., EM 3693 + EM 3694.

¹ *I.G.*, II², 3798.

² Compare U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Isyllos von Epidauros*, Excursus I ΖΑΘΕΟΣ, pp. 108–115 (*Philologische Untersuchungen*, IX, 1886).

³ N. Kyparisses, ephor of the antiquities of Attica and director of the Acropolis Museum, very kindly granted us permission to make a thorough examination of the Asclepieum and its neighborhood for other fragments of the monument which we were about to assemble.

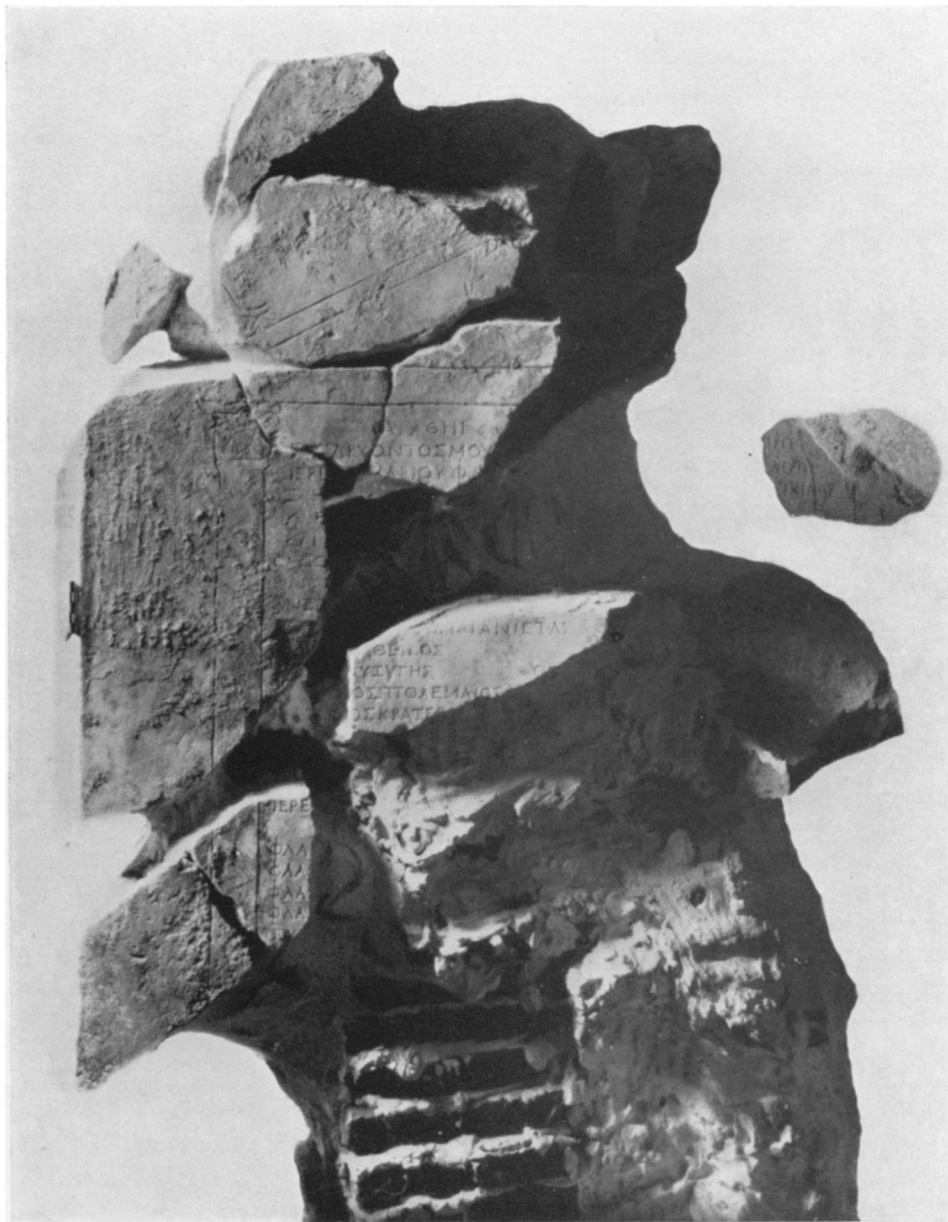


Fig. 7. Right Side: The Main Piece of the Base and the Non-contiguous Fragment *e*

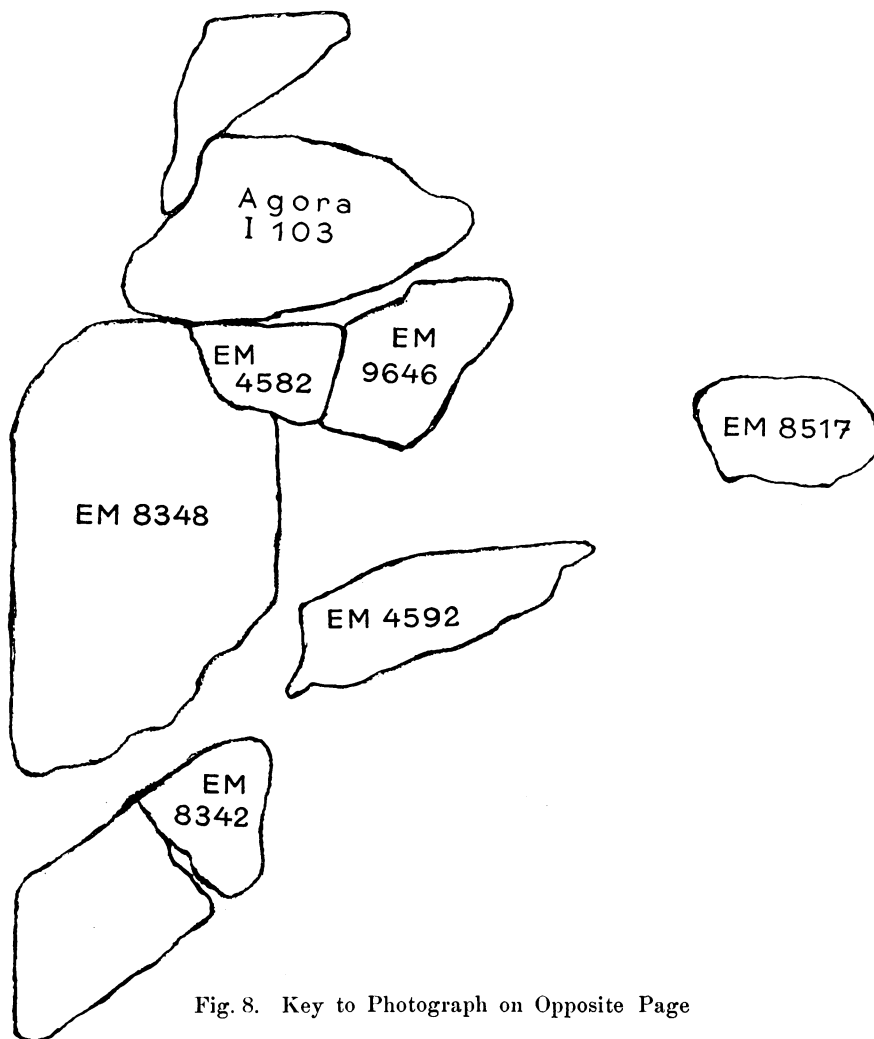


Fig. 8. Key to Photograph on Opposite Page



Fig. 9. Right Side: Fragment *f*

	Ἀγαθῇ	[Τύχη]	
	Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Μου[νατίου Οὐλοπίσκου Ἀζην]ιέως,		<i>e</i>
	ἱερέ[ως δ]ιὰ βίου Φλ[αουίου Ὀνησικράτους - - -]αίεως,		
	ζακ[ορεύντος - - - - - Βερην]εικίδου,		
5	κλε[ιδουχοῦντος - - - - - ο]υ ΝΕ,		
	καν[ηπορούσης - - - - -]		
	Ὁ ὑπο[- - - - -]		
	καὶ οἱ [- - - - -]		
	ἀνέγ[ραψαν - - - - -]		
10	[- - - - - το]ὺς παιανιστάς	<i>vacat</i>	
	[Ἐρε]χθεῖδος	[- - - - -]	
	[ἱερὲς Β]ουζύγης	Ο[- - - - -]	
	[- -]ος Πτολεμαῖος	Lacuna of at least two lines	
	[...]ος Κράτερο[ς]	[- - - - -]εὺς	<i>f</i>
15	[- - - - -]	[- - - - -]εὺς	
	[- - - - -]	[- - - - -]	
	[- - - - -]	[- - - - -]	
	ἱερε[ὺς - - - - -]	[- - - - -]	
	[- - - - -]	[- - - - -]	
20	Φλα[- - - - -]	[- - - - -]ος	
	Φλα[- - - - -]	[- - - - -]ος ἱερὲς Ἡφαίστου	
	Φλα[- - - - -]	[- - - - -]	
	Φλα[- - - - -]	[- - - - -]	
	Πυ[- - - - -]	[- - - - -]	
25	[- - - - -]	[- - - - -]	
		[- - - - -] Μαρθώ(νιος)	
		[- - - - -]	
		[- - - - -] Φίρμος	
		[- - - - -]	
	[Ἀκαμαντίδος]		
<i>g</i>	[- - - - -]		
	[- - - - -] Φιλη[- - -]		
	[- - - δ κ]αὶ Ζώσιμ[ος]		
	[- - -] Στράτωνος		
	[- -]ν Διοφάντου		
	Ἀδριανίδος		
	[-]νιος Κε[- - -]		
	[- - - - -]		



Fig. 10. Right Side:
Fragment *g*

h [- -] ιολαξ [- - - - -]
 [πυρ] φόρος ἐξ Ἀκρο[πόλεως]
 Αἰκίγιος Φίρμος
 περιγηγῆς καὶ ἱερε[ύς]
 [Διό]ς Πολιέως Αἰκίγ Φ[ίρμος]
 [- - - - -]



Fig. 11. Right Side: Fragment *h*

i [- - - - -]ς Διον[υσο - - - - -]
 [- - - - -]διος Ἐπιτυρ[χάων]
 nine lines blank
 Σ[- - - - -]
 [- - - - -]

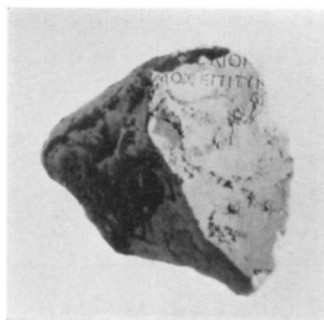


Fig. 12. Right Side: Fragment i

$$\begin{array}{rcccc}
 k & - & - & - & \nu & - & - & - \\
 & - & - & - & \varepsilon q & - & - & - \\
 & - & - & - & o\nu & - & - & - \\
 & & & & vacat & & & \\
 & & & & {}^v E & - & - & - \\
 & - & - & - & o\pi & - & - & - \\
 & - & - & - & \kappa\alpha & - & - & - \\
 & - & - & - & \gamma & - & - & -
 \end{array}$$


Fig. 13. Right Side: Fragment k

A list of the inscribed fragments which belong to the right side of the monument:

Inventory No.	Previous Publication
EM 8348	Unpublished
EM 4582	Unpublished
EM 9646	<i>I. G.</i> , III, Add. 1089 b. Graindor, <i>Chronologie</i> , 178. <i>I. G.</i> , II ² , 2000
EM 8517	<i>I. G.</i> , III, Add. 1206 a. <i>I. G.</i> , II ² , 2012
EM 4592	Unpublished
EM 8342	Unpublished
EM 9658	<i>I. G.</i> , III, Add. 1226 a. <i>I. G.</i> , II ² , 2158
EM 9660	<i>I. G.</i> , III, Add. 1280 e. <i>I. G.</i> , II ² , 1948

Inventory No.	Previous Publication
EM 3693	Unpublished
EM 3694	Unpublished
EM 9589	<i>I. G.</i> , III, Add. 721 a. <i>I. G.</i> , II ² , 3563
EM 12833	Unpublished

The restorations are my own except for the following: l. 1, Dittenberger (*I. G.*, III, Add. 1089 b); ll. 2 and 3, Graindor (*Chronologie*, 178); l. 4, [*Βερεν*] *εὐκίδου*, Dittenberger (*I. G.*, III, Add. 1206 a). Frag. *e*, l. 4, Dittenberger (*I. G.*, III, Add. 1226 a). Frag. *f*, ll. 2 and 4, Dittenberger (*I. G.*, III, Add. 721 a); l. 5, [*Λιδς*] *Πολιέως Ἀχίν Φ[ίμου]*, Kirchner (*I. G.*, II², 3563).

Letters which were read by former editors and which have since disappeared are underlined in the text.

The inscription contains a catalogue of the chorus who chanted the paean¹ on the solemn occasion in the archonship of Munatius Vopiscus. The names are arranged by tribes according to the official order. The mutilated remains of the catalogue exhibit among other names those of important religious functionaries, i.e. the Bouzyges, the priest of Hephaestus, the *πυρφόρος* ἐξ Ἀροπόλεως, the priest of Zeus Polieus. They are obviously not professional musicians, but men prominent in the social and religious life of Athens. Undoubtedly it was a great honor to be enrolled among the *παιανισταί*. One may compare the prestige enjoyed by the *ὑμνοδοί* in the cities of Asia Minor.²

Lines 2 and 3 of the fragment EM 9646 were published by Dittenberger³ as follows:

[Ἐπὶ ἄρχ]οντος Μου[- - - , παιδοστριβοῦν]
[τος δ]ιὰ βίου Φλ[αβίου - - - - -]

Graindor,⁴ however, recognized the name of the archon Munatius Vopiscus who held office about 174/5 A.D. Furthermore, he rightly conjectured on the basis of the convenience of the fragment that the second line contained the name of the contemporary priest of Asclepius, and since the incumbent had been appointed for life and since the *nomen* Flavius limited the choice to Flavius Onesicrates, he restored the latter name. Kirchner, however, recognized that the lettering was not that usually found in the period of Munatius Vopiscus. The neatness and refinement of the lettering misled Kirchner

¹ An inscription at the Piraeus, *S. I. G.*³, 1110, from the early part of the third century after Christ, concerned the *παιανισταί τοῦ Μουνυχίου Ἀσκληπιοῦ*. Other references do not occur in the Attic inscriptions, but *παιανισταί* are mentioned in two documents at Rome, *I. G.*, XIV, 1059 (time of emperor Severus) and 1084 (146 A.D.).

² Compare F. Poland, *Geschichte des griechischen Vereinswesens* (Leipzig, 1909), *passim*, and the same author's article "Griechische Sängervereinigungen im Altertum," *Wissenschaftliche Festschrift zur 700-Jahr-Feier der Kreuzschule zu Dresden 1926*, pp. 46–56. See also J. Keil, "Zur Geschichte der Hymnoden in der Provinz Asia," *Jahreshefte d. österr. arch. Inst. in Wien*, XI (1908), pp. 101–110; E. Ziebarth, *Real-Encyclopädie*, IX, 2520; Ch. Picard, *Ephèse et Claros* (1922), pp. 251–254.

³ *I. G.*, III, Add. 1089 b.

⁴ *Chronologie des archontes athéniens sous l'Empire* (1922), pp. 178–179.

into dating the inscription in the first century after Christ, and he therefore rejected Graindor's restoration and returned to Dittenberger's.¹ Now that the monument of Sarapion has been assembled it appears that the inscription was engraved in the third century but that Graindor's restoration is nevertheless the correct one.

The demotic of the priest Onesicrates is *Ἀλκαιοῦς* or *Βησαιεύς*. In the archonship of Munatius Vopiscus he cannot long have been priest, because he was still in office at the beginning of the third century when the wife or future wife of Quintus Statius Glaucus set up the thank-offering *I.G.*, II², 4532.

The former publications of the non-contiguous fragment *h* (*= I.G.*, II², 3563) call for two corrections. The word *ἱερεὺς* is not to be restored at the end of line 1 because by measuring the letter space we can see that line 2 was not indented as it would have been if it bore the continuation of a title which began in the preceding line. In line 5, moreover, the name must be restored in the nominative. In the original publication of this fragment Dittenberger called attention to the epigram in the Planudean Anthology (322):

*Φύρμος με Φύρμον, πυρφόρος τὸν πυρφόρον,
ὁ παῖς δ' ῥήτωρ τὸν πατέρα τὸν ῥήτορα.*

The *πυρφόρος* had been ephebe in 163/4 A.D.,² and the father who appears in our monument as *περιηγητής* and priest of Zeus Polieus had been *ὑποσωφρομιστής* in 154/5 A.D.³

The epigram clearly refers to the two dignitaries who appear in the list of *παιανισταί*, although in the epigram the name is spelt like the genuine Greek name Phyrmos known as early as the beginning of the fifth century B.C.,⁴ whereas the stone renders it as if it were the Roman name Firmus. Either the Greek or the Roman name would be suitable as a cognomen, but inasmuch as the inscription displays careful workmanship and no demonstrable errors, it is preferable to trust the first-hand evidence of the contemporary stonecutter before the doubtful authority of a remote scribe's version. The iotacism of Late Greek might easily have misled the scribe. Furthermore, the name *Φύρμος* (with iota) occurs frequently in the epigraphical records of Roman Athens, whereas the name *Φύρμος* (with upsilon) does not appear there.

LEFT SIDE

Height of letters: in line 1, 0.018 m.; in lines 2 ff., 0.013 m.

The non-contiguous fragment *f* (EM 9660) from the left edge of the inscription is broken away above, below and at the right. The back preserves part of the list of *παιανισταί* engraved on the right side of the monument (see p. 103 where also the measurements are given).

¹ *I.G.*, II², 2000.

² *I.G.*, II², 2086, line 50.

³ *I.G.*, II², 2067, line 111.

⁴ J. D. Beazley (*A.J.A.*, XXXIX [1935], p. 481) is presumably correct in explaining as the reveller's name the letters *φνρμος* on a red-figured cup of about 480 B.C., even though this epigram, which he cites as a parallel, does not support his explanation.



Fig. 14. Left Side: Main Piece of Base

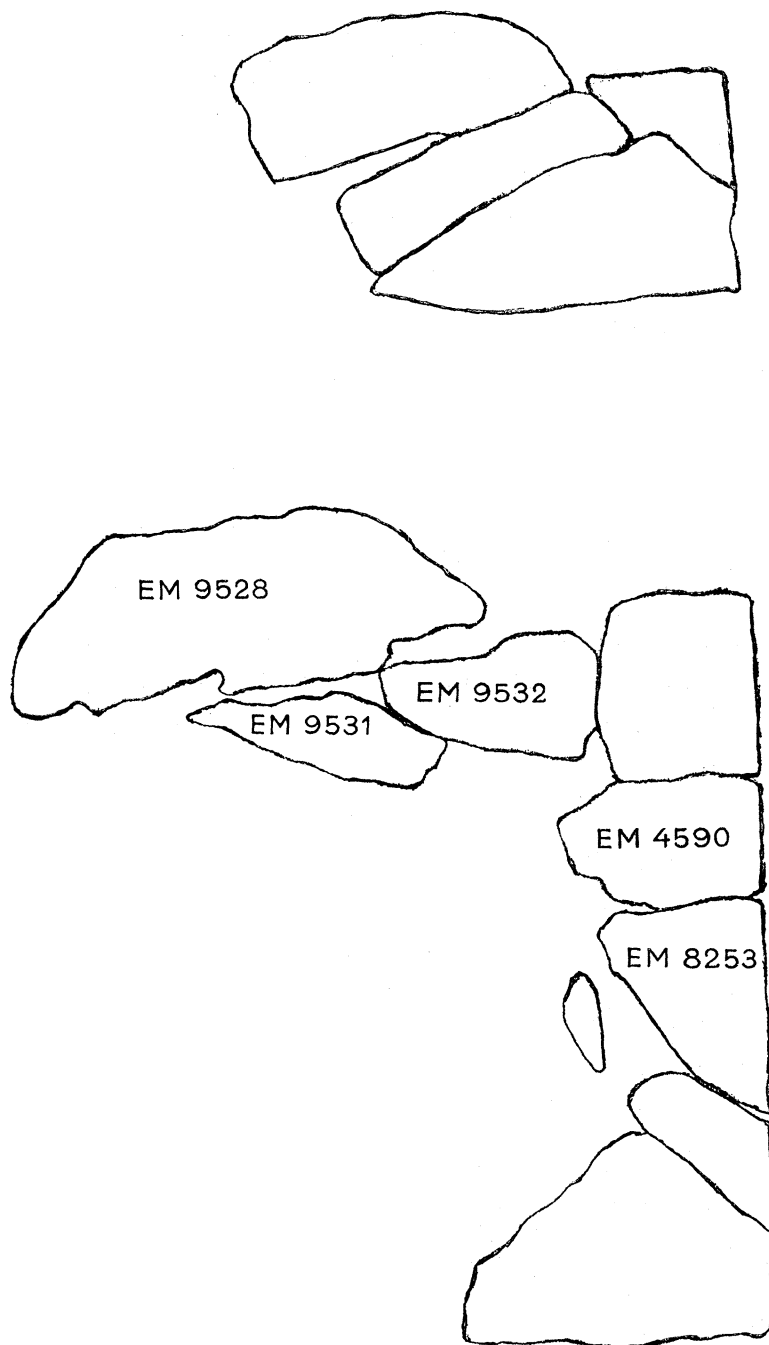
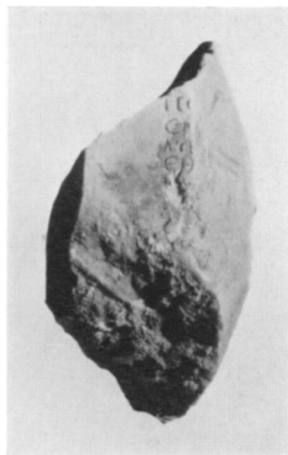


Fig. 15. Key to Photograph on Opposite Page

Σοφοκλέους ^{vv} [Παι]άν

[Φλεγύα] κούρα περιώννυμε, μάτερ ἀλεξιπό[ν]ο[ιο] θεεῦ,
 [. . . .]λς ἀχειρεκόμας[.]εναρξομαι [ὑμ]νον ἐγερσιβόαν
 [-⁵or⁶-]νεσι[ν] εὐεπ[![-^{ca. 4}-]ψ[. . .]λ[.]αν[. . .]οβρα
 5 [- - - - -] συνρίγμασι μιγνύ[μεν]ον
 [- - - - -]σι Κεχροπιδῶν [ἐπ]ιτάρροθον
 [- - - - -]! μόλοις τὸν [χρυσο]κόμα[ν](?)
 [- - - - -]ν αὐτόν [- - - - -]
 [- - - - -]
 10 [- - - - -]
 [- - - - -]'Ολύ]μπιον
 Gap of six lines
 18 [- - - - -]τερα

f ΛI[- - - - -]
 πο[- - - - -]
 εμ[- - - - -]
 λυρ[- - - - -]
 ειλ[- - - - -]
 κατ[- - - - -]
 δ[- - - - -]
 ε[- - - - -]
 - - - - -

Fig. 16. Left Side: Fragment *f*

For the letters, here underlined, which have disappeared since the last publication of the three main fragments (*I. G.*, II², 4510), the reader may compare the earlier photograph published by A. Wilhelm in the *Beiträge zur griechischen Inschriftenkunde* (1909), p. 103 and by O. Kern in the *Inscriptiones Graecae, Tabulae in usum scholarum* (1913), 45.

A list of the inscribed fragments which belong to the left side of the monument:

Inventory No.	Previous Publication	
EM 9528	<u>Ἀθῆναιον</u> , V, 340. <i>I. G.</i> , III, Add. 171 g	} Wilhelm, <i>Beiträge</i> , 103. <i>I. G.</i> , II ² , 4510
EM 9531	<i>I. G.</i> , III, 1413 - - - - -	
EM 9532	- - - - -	
EM 4590	Unpublished	
EM 8253	Unpublished	
EM 9660	Unpublished	

The restorations are my own except for the following: l. 2, [ὦ Φλεγύα], Buecheler (*Rh. Mus.*, XXXII, 318); l. 6, [ἐπ]ιτάρροθον, Wilhelm (*Beiträge*, 103). Dittenberger (*I. G.*, III, 171g) suggested εἰεπ[ίη(?)] in line 4, and Buecheler (*l.c.*) [Φοῖβο]ς in line 3. It is likely that the stone was cut with such accuracy that the three sides were of equal width. On this assumption I have estimated a loss of six rather than seven letters at the beginning of line 2, for we know the width of the margin preserved on fragment *f*. However, a variation of one or two centimetres is not impossible, and the reader who feels it essential to interpret the line as a dactylic octametre catalectic, may retain the initial Ὡ, suggested by Buecheler.

The hymn is an old paean of the tragic poet Sophocles, for it is so stated on the monument and no argument from the style would dispose us to reject the ancient testimony. Sophocles, however, wrote more than one paean, as is well known from a passage cited by Bergk, Suidas *s.v.* Σοφοκλῆς: καὶ ἔγραφεν ἑλεγείαν τε καὶ παιᾶνας καὶ λόγον καταλογάδην περὶ τοῦ χοροῦ. We should like to identify this paean as one to Asclepius because a Sophoclean παιᾶν εἰς Ἀσκληπιόν was used in the cult at Athens in the latter part of the second century and in the third century after Christ, and because line 3, if read

[. . . .]ας ἀκρειεκόμα (genitive: Apollo), σέ[θ]εν ἄρξομαι [ὑμ]νον ἐγερσιβόαν, would be possible only in a hymn to Asclepius, or if read

[. . . .]ας ἀκρειεκόμας (nominative: Asclepius), ο[δ]ὲν ἄρξομαι [ὑμ]νον ἐγερσιβόαν, is easily understood as referring to the very hymn in which it occurs. The references to the Sophoclean παιᾶν εἰς Ἀσκληπιόν are the following:

Philostratus, *Vita Ap. Tyan.*, III, 17: ὁ παιᾶν τοῦ Σοφοκλέους δὲν Ἀθήνησι τῷ Ἀσκληπιῷ ᾄδουσιν.

Philostratus the Younger, *Imagines*, 415, 7 (describing a picture of Sophocles, who is addressed in the second person): Ἀσκληπιὸς δὲ οἶμαι οὗτος ἐγγὺς παιᾶνά που παρεγγυῶν γράφειν καὶ κλυτόμητ(ι)ς οὐκ ἀπαξιῶν παρὰ σοῦ ἀκοῦσαι, βλέμμα τε αὐτοῦ πρὸς δὲ φαιδρότητι μεμιγμένον τὰς <παρὰ> μικρὸν ὕστερον ἐπιξενώσεις αἰνίττεται. The important words are the first ones: "And this one nearby is, I think, Asclepius, bidding you compose a paean and graciously allowing you to call him κλυτόμητις." The younger Philostratus clearly implies that in the paean Sophocles called Asclepius κλυτόμητις.

Pseudo-Lucian, *Dem. Enc.*, 27: οὐδὲ γὰρ τ' Ἀσκληπιῷ μείδον τι γίνεται τῆς τιμῆς, εἰ μὴ τῶν προσιόντων αὐτῶν ποιησάντων ΟΠΛΑΑΝΑΙΣΟΔΗΜΟΥ τοῦ Τροιζηνίου καὶ Σοφοκλέους ᾄδεται. The name of the Troezenian cannot be recovered with certainty, but G. Hermann¹ was presumably correct in recognizing the word παιᾶν among the letters ΟΠΛΑΑΝΑ. Of all the proposed emendations² that which requires the least departure from the manu-

¹ Cited in the edition of Jacobitz (Leipzig, 1837), III, p. 559.

² Cf. F. Albers, *De Luciani Samosatensi quae fertur Demosthenis laudatione* (Dissertation, Leipzig, 1910), p. 7; P. Bülow, *Xenia Bonnensia* (Bonn, 1929), p. 46. Th. Bergk in discussing references to the Sophoclean παιᾶν εἰς Ἀσκληπιόν in the *Poetae Lyrici Graeci*³, II, p. 245 suggested the emendation εἰ μὴ τῶν εἰς αὐτὸν ποιησάντων παιᾶνα, τὰ Ἰσοδήμου τοῦ Τροιζηνίου καὶ Σοφοκλέους ᾄδεται. Bülow retains Hermann's reading ὁ παιᾶν and proposes a name Νικοδήμου or Ἀριστοδήμου to follow it.

script tradition is one suggested with reservations by A. M. Harmon (*per colloquium*): *εἰ μὴ τῶν προσιόντων αὐτῶν ποιησάντων ὁ παιάν, ἀλλ' Ἰσοδῆμον τοῦ Τροιζηνίου ἢ Σοφοκλέους ᾄδεται*. The letter *η* and the abbreviation for *καί* might easily be confused. This assumption relieves us of the embarrassment of explaining collaboration between Sophocles and some unknown Troezenian, if we restore the nominative singular *ὁ παιάν* in agreement with the preserved letters and the verb in the singular. The passage may be rendered in English accordingly, "No less honor accrues to Asclepius, if the paean, not of his worshipers (themselves composing), but of Isodemus the Troezenian or of Sophocles is sung,"—i.e. Asclepius will be none the worse for it if his modern worshipers stop writing hymns and use the two famous old ones. The words of Pseudo-Lucian contain a note of sarcasm at the expense of the modern poetasters like Sarapion of Chollidae.

From these three references we gather the following information. Pseudo-Lucian's readers and hence the contemporary Greek world, were familiar with two early paeans, one by a Troezenian and the other by Sophocles. The latter, while mentioning or addressing Asclepius, applies to him the adjective *κλυτόμητις*. In the third century after Christ the paean of Sophocles formed part of the ritual in Athens at least. For so much we have direct ancient testimony.

We cannot say that the paean of Sophocles had continued in general use in the cult at Athens from the fifth century B.C. down into the Roman period. The archaistic taste of the second and early third century of the Christian era may have revived an old paean of Sophocles that had fallen into disuse. It so happens that there is no reference to the Sophoclean hymn which is preserved on the left side of the Sarapion monument except perhaps in a passage of Tertullian, *Ad Nationes*, 2, 14, written about 197 A.D. Tertullian is attacking paganism; he speaks of those who have led disreputable lives, have died, and have been regarded as gods afterwards by the superstitious. As an illustration he chooses Asclepius who was such a rascal that Zeus killed him with a thunderbolt. Coronis died in the same manner. *Et tamen Athenienses scient eiusmodi deis sacrificare. Nam Aesculapio et matri inter mortuos parentant, quasi non et ipsi Thesea suum adorent.*¹

From all the literary and abundant epigraphical sources the only evidence of worship paid to Coronis at Athens is the ancient hymn, and the word *parentant* seems the exaggeration of a biased writer.

Furthermore, if the Sophoclean hymn preserved on the left side of the Sarapion monument is really the *παιάν εἰς Ἀσκληπιόν*, as we presume, evidence from recent discoveries indicates that another famous paean intruded upon or even usurped its place in the ritual at Athens as early as the fourth century B.C.

The epigraphical discovery of the last fifty years has acquainted us with an early paean which continued to be sung down to the Roman period and which attained a

¹ The *mortui* are the dead rogues. The sentence might be paraphrased, "For Asclepius and his mother are among those who have died and then received worship, and they do not worship any as much as these, not even the native rascal Theseus."

wide diffusion throughout the Greek world. It is best known from the publication of the copy at Erythrae by U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (with contributions from P. Jacobsthal), "Nordionische Steine" (pp. 42–48), *Abhandlungen d. königl. preuß. Akad. d. Wissensch.* (1909). It has more recently formed the subject of an important study by P. Bülow, "Ein vielgesungener Asklepiospaean," *Xenia Bonnensia, Festschrift zum fünfundsiebzigjährigen Bestehen des Philologischen Vereins und Bonner Kreises* (Bonn, 1929), pp. 35–49.¹

It now exists in four copies. The first was found at Ptolemais in Egypt² and can be dated in the year 97 A.D. through the accompanying reference to the prefect. The second copy, *I.G.*, II², 4509, undated, came to light at Athens and was recognized by E. Ziebarth.³ The lettering would admit a date anywhere between the first and third centuries after Christ, but I should prefer to locate it in the second century or in the first half of the third.⁴ The next copy appeared at Erythrae and was recognized by Wilamowitz, who dated it on epigraphical grounds between 380 and 360 B.C. The fourth copy (at Dium in Macedonia) was recognized by G. P. Oikonomos,⁵ who located it on paleographical grounds toward the end of the second century after Christ. The paean derives its denomination from the inscription at Erythrae, the oldest and most reliable text.

Wilamowitz believed that the word *ἱεπαιάν* wherever it occurred in the paean of Erythrae was treated as if it began with a consonant, hence that the paean was not composed at Erythrae or any other Ionian town. Other editors, however, such as Powell,⁶ have been content to read *ἱεπαιάν* with a smooth breathing, and the necessity of seeking a foreign origin does not exist for them, although with the reading *ἱεπαιάν* it might still be an imported hymn at Erythrae. Wilamowitz rightly pointed out that the mythological version excluded Epidaurus as a possible source, but his argument that the reference to Apollo in the opening lines indicates a joint cult of Apollo and Asclepius at the point of origin and that hence it excludes Athens as a possibility, fails to convince me, because, while Apollo is indeed praised as father of Asclepius, no prayer is addressed to him and hence no joint cult is indicated. On the contrary, if it were necessary to find a foreign source, a fair case could be made for an Athenian origin on the basis of the mythological version and of the influence of Athens in Erythrae.

Because of the copy at Erythrae the anonymous paean cannot be dated any later than about 360 B.C. On the other hand, the consensus of opinion among those who have studied the poem would admit a date of composition as early as the latter part of the fifth century.

¹ References to the modern literature on the subject are offered by Bülow, *op.cit.*, p. 47. Compare also W. Ax, *Hermes*, LXVII (1933), pp. 426–437; K. Keyssner, "Zum Asklepiosshymnus von Erythrai," *Phil. Wochenschr.*, LIV (1934), 990–992; O. Kern, *Die Religion der Griechen*, II (Berlin, 1935), pp. 309–311.

² J. Baillet, *Revue Archéologique*, XIII (1889), pp. 70–83.

³ "De novo paeane in honorem Aesculapii facto," *Commentationes Philologicae* (Munich, 1891), pp. 1–9.

⁴ Good parallels to the lettering of this inscription occur in a rescript of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus (*I.G.*, II², 1108 plus several new fragments from the American excavations in the Athenian Agora) and in an epistle of Commodus, *I.G.*, II², 1112.

⁵ *Επιγραφὰὶ τῆς Μακεδονίας* (Athens, 1915), no. 4, pp. 8–12.

⁶ *Collectanea Alexandrina* (Oxford, 1925), pp. 135–138.

His investigation led Bülow to the important discovery that between the date of the introduction of the paean into Erythrae and the time of Trajan, to which the next earliest copy, that at Ptolemais, belongs, the hymn had been revised at Athens, for the name of a local Athenian deity, Aceso, had been interpolated. Bülow has, furthermore, made it altogether probable that the revision took place about the middle of the fourth century B.C., when Aceso, newly inserted among the daughters of Asclepius, began to win a recognition which she had not previously enjoyed. Therefore, we have proof of its use at Athens probably in the middle of the fourth century B.C. This interpolated version is the one that we find later in Egypt and Macedonia. Athens would seem to have been a focus from which the paean radiated. Likewise we meet it again at Athens in the first century B.C., when it served as a model to a certain Macedonius, who composed the paean of *I.G.*, II², 4473. It appears a third time at Athens on an inscription of the imperial Age, *I.G.*, II², 4509.

For the reader's convenience I here republish the anonymous hymn. Early version (Erythrae):

[Παιᾶνα κλυτό]μητιν αἰείσατε
κοῦροι [Λατοῦδαν Ἑκ]ατον, ἱεπαιάν,
ὃς μέγα χάρ[υα βροτοῖσιν] ἐγείνατο
μυχθεῖς ἐμ φι[λότῃτι Κ]ορωνίδι ἐν γαῖ τᾷ Φλεγυνείαι,
[ἱηπαι]άν, Ἀσκληπιόν,
δαίμονα κλεινό[τατ]ον, ἱεπαιάν.

[το]ῦ δὲ καὶ ἐξεγένοντο Μαχάων
καὶ Πο[δα]λείριος ἡδὲ Ἰασώ, ἱεπαιάν,
Ἀ[ῖ]γλα[ια] [τ'] ἐδῶπις Πανάκειά τε,
Ἡπιόνας παῖδες σὺν ἀγακλυτῷ εὐαγεί Ὑγιείαι.
ἱηπαιάν Ἀσκληπιόν,
δαίμονα κλεινότατον, ἱεπαιάν.

χαῖρέ μοι, Ἴλαος δ' ἐπινίσειο
τὰν ἀμὰν πόλιν εὐρύχορον, ἱεπαιάν,
δὸς δ' ἡμᾶς χαίροντας ὄρεᾶν φάος
αἰλίου δόκιμον σὺν ἀγακλυτῷ εὐαγεί Ὑγιείαι.
ἱηπαιάν Ἀσκληπιόν,
δαίμονα κλεινότατον, ἱεπαιάν.

“Sing, oh youths, the far-darting son
of Leto, the cunning Paián, ie Paián, who when
he mingled in love with Coronis in the land of
the Phlegyians, brought forth a great boon to
mortals, ie Paián, Asclepius renowned spirit,
ie Paián.

"From him were born Machaon and Podaleirius and Iaso, ie Paián, and fair-eyed Aegle and Panacea, the children of Epione, together with glorious, bright Hygieia, ie Paián Asclepius renownéd spirit, ie Paián.

"Hail, and come thou graciously visit our spacious town, ie Paián, and grant us rejoicing to behold the sunlight acceptable with glorious, bright Hygieia, ie Paián Asclepius renownéd spirit, ie Paián."

Later version (Ptolemais, Dium, Athens):

*Παιᾶνα κλυτόμητιν αἰείσατε
κοῦροι Ἀητοῖδην Ἑλατον, ἡ δὲ ἰὲ παιάν,
ὃς μέγα χάσμα βροτοῖσιν ἐγείνατο
μυχθεῖς ἐν φιλότῳ Κορωνίδι τᾷ Φλεγυαίᾳ,
ἱηπαιάν, Ἀσκληπιόν,
δαίμονα κλεινότατον, ἱεπαιάν.*

*τοῦ δὲ καὶ ἐξεγένοντο Μαχάων
καὶ Ποδαλείριος ἡδ' Ἰασὼ Ἀκασὼ τε πολύλλιτος ἡ δὲ παιάν,
Ἀἴγλη τε εὐώπις Πανάκειά τε,
Ἡπιόνης παῖδες σὺν ἀγακλυτῷ εὐανγεί Ὑγιείᾳ.
ἱηπαιάν, Ἀσκληπιέ,
δαῖμόν κλεινότατε, ἱεπαιάν.*

*χαῖρέ μοι, Ἰλαος δ' ἐπινείσσο
ἀμετέραν πόλιν εὐρύχορον, ἡ δὲ ἰὲ παιάν,
ὃς δ' ἡμᾶς χαίροντας ὄραν φάος
ἀελίου δοκίμους σὺν ἀγακλυτῷ εὐανγεί Ὑγιείᾳ.
ἱηπαιάν, Ἀσκληπιέ.
δαῖμον σεμνότατε, ἱεπαιάν.¹*

¹ The inscription at Ptolemais contains a fourth verse by some local poet:

*Νείλου δὲ ῥοῆς δάμης μάκαρ αἰδίου
καὶ ταῦδε πόλει θάλος ἀμβρόσιον
πάσῃ τε ἀγανὸν κλέος Αἰγυπτίωι.
χαῖρέ μοι ὦ Παιᾶν ἐπ' ἐμαῖς εὐήροσι ταῖσδ' αἰδαῖς,
χαῖρ' ὦ Πύθι' Ἀπολλων.*

In regard to the fourth verse and its significance for the religious history of Egypt see O. Weinreich *Aegyptus*, XI (1931), pp. 15–17.

The paean achieved an extraordinary popularity, for we find copies of it in all the three continents of the Greek world and the copies span a period perhaps of six hundred years. Still we know that for the Greeks of the third century after Christ the famous hymn which the Athenians chanted to Asclepius was a paean attributed to Sophocles. This is the paean which modern scholars believe they have found in the inscription from the left side of the Sarapion monument.

The main fragment (EM 9528), which preserves the name of Sophocles, was first published in *Ἀθήναιον*, V (1876), p. 340, by S. A. Koumanoudes, who identified it as a fragment of the hymn to Asclepius, the old paean, hitherto lost, which on into the Roman period continued to be sung publicly at Athens. The discovery awakened immediate interest. *Sophoclis παιὰν εἰς Ἀσκληπιὸν coepit redire ab inferis*, wrote F. Buecheler (*Rhein. Mus.*, XXXII [1877], p. 318). The identification, however, in the following year met with the opposition of W. Dittenberger, who in publishing the piece in *I.G.*, III, Add. 171 g (p. 490) pointed out that the lettering belonged in the Roman period and that other paeans, composed in the time of the Roman Empire, were recognizable among the Attic inscriptions. The Sophocles of the inscription according to Dittenberger was not the tragic poet but one of the many who in the time of the Roman Empire bore his name at Athens. G. Kaibel in the *Rhein. Mus.*, XXXIV (1879), p. 207 replied to Dittenberger's objection. He pointed out that the absence of both patronymic and demotic indicated the famous Sophocles. In the fourth edition of the *Poetae Lyrici Graeci*, vol. II (1882), pp. 248–249, Th. Bergk, while accepting the identification of Sophocles with the tragic poet, doubted that the fragment belonged to the famous *παιὰν εἰς Ἀσκληπιὸν* rather than to some less famous paean of Sophocles in honor of Coronis, the mother of Asclepius. The latter theory, however, has never won any support. Already in 1890 in the second edition of W. Christ's *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur* (p. 194) the fragment received recognition as part of the *παιὰν εἰς Ἀσκληπιὸν* and the identification which the first editor Koumanoudes has made has never been seriously disputed by anyone else.

The paean assumed greater importance when Adolf Wilhelm discovered in the Epigraphical Museum and published in the *Beiträge zur Griechischen Inschriftenkunde* (1909), pp. 102–104, two other fragments, EM 9531, previously published less carefully as *I.G.*, III, 1413, and EM 9532, previously unpublished. The next advance in its study occurred when W. Peek reexamined the stones for Kirchner before the recent publication of the three main fragments as *I.G.*, II², 4510. Peek read the letters *εραρξομαι* in the very difficult third line, and my own examination has shown me that his improved reading is obviously correct.

That is the history of the inscription up to the time that we assembled the Sarapion monument and found also three minor fragments of the paean of Sophocles, unpublished, EM 4590 and EM 8253 from the right edge, and EM 9660, the non-contiguous fragment *f* from the left edge.¹ While the monument was being assembled, it appeared that the

¹ In each of the three cases, however, another face had enjoyed previous publication (see pp. 99 and 107), but the existence of letters on this face was not recorded.

three major fragments of the paean of Sophocles, which Wilhelm and following him Kirchner had published as three separate pieces, actually join and supply us with a continuous text.

In reviewing the discussions of previous editors and commentators I am surprised to observe that no one has refuted the suggestion of Bergk that the paean on the left side of the Sarapion monument might have been a Sophoclean hymn to Coronis. The suggestion seemed to me reasonable enough not to be ignored. Line 3 might be read even

[. . . .] *ἄσ ἀκραιφνήμα* (genitive: Apollo), *σφ[ῦ] ἐνάροξομαι [ῥ]ον ἐγεροσιβόαν.*

The adjective *ἐγεροσιβόας* probably militates against this interpretation, because shouts are scarcely called for in a hymn to Coronis. However, the reading

[. . . .] *ἄσ ἀκραιφνήμας* (nominative: Asclepius), *ο[ῦ] ἐνάροξομαι [ῥ]ον ἐγεροσιβόαν*

admits of an interpretation that alleviates this difficulty and is intelligible in a hymn to Coronis, as we shall see. The term *παιάν*, moreover, is used not only in the case of hymns to Apollo and to Asclepius but also in the case of hymns to other heroes or divinities in the circle of Asclepius. Thus Athenaeus XV, 702a refers to the old *παιάν εἰς τὴν Ὑγίειαν* by Ariphron of Sicyon.

The proper way to approach the hymn is to divest ourselves of the prejudice that a paean by Sophocles must be the most famous paean of Sophocles. We should look into the content itself and we should also ask ourselves why Statius Glaucus caused the hymn to be engraved on the same monument with his grandfather's paean (to Asclepius, as the wording of the preamble would lead us to believe). He erected the monument to do his grandfather honor. Did he wish merely to invite a comparison which he hoped would be favorable to his grandfather's literary gifts? I scarcely think so, for the situation must be examined in comparison with *I.G.*, II², 4533, the inscription on another Athenian monument of the third century after Christ. The latter contains a hymn to Asclepius followed by one to Hygieia and by one to Telesphorus. The three hymns are addressed to three separate spirits of the holy family. That to Asclepius may be recorded first because he is the most important spirit. The occasion also for this monument was a plague, perhaps the plague of Cyprian, and it reflects a religious ceremony to avert the pestilence just as the Sarapion monument reflects a religious ceremony at the time of the Plague of Antoninus. An accidental resemblance to the Sarapion monument lies in the combination of old and new elements. The hymns to Asclepius and to Telesphorus are late, but that to Hygieia is the same *παιάν εἰς τὴν Ὑγίειαν* from the fourth century B.C. by Ariphron of Sicyon, a well known paean which Athenaeus (*l.c.*) quoted in full.¹ The same hymn has been found at Epidaurus. The

¹ For this monument consult the annotated and critical edition of P. Maas, "Epidaurische Hymnen," pp. 148–149 and 151–154 (*Schriften der Königsberger Gelehrten Gesellschaft, Geisteswissenschaftliche Klasse*, IX [1933], Heft 5). See also K. Keyssner, "Die Hygieiahymnen des Ariphron und des Likymnios," *Phil. Wochenschr.*, LIII (1933), 1289–1296; O. Schroeder, "Ariphron," *Hermes*, LXIX (1934), pp. 450–452.

author is not mentioned either in the Athenian inscription or in that at Epidaurus, perhaps because it would have been superfluous in the case of a hymn so familiar to everyone. Similarly with the early paean of Erythrae, in the three cases where an inscription preserves the beginning no indication of the authorship appears.¹

Having in mind the example of *I.G.*, II², 4533, we might be disposed to find the paean to Asclepius on the front of the Sarapion monument and on the left side a paean to another spirit. Similarly the monuments at Epidaurus contain hymns to separate deities rather than several hymns to the same. And indeed the hymn on the left side begins not merely with the mention of Coronis as the paean of Erythrae begins with the praises of Apollo, but with the direct address to her, with vocatives that would suggest a hymn for Coronis to anyone who had not already drawn contrary conclusions from the heading *Σοφοκλέους [Παι]άν* and from a merely possible interpretation of line 3.

Moreover, the letters at the end of line 7 work out well in a restoration as containing a reference to the union of Apollo and Coronis: *μόλοις τὸν [χρυσό]κόμα[ν]*. Since, however, another way of separating the letters (*μόλοι στόν[ο - -]*) is indeed possible, we cannot argue from it.

It is difficult to place with certainty the non-joining fragment from the left side. The line, however, which contains the letters *λυρ - -* furnishes a point from which to work, for these letters must belong to some form or derivative of the word *λύρα*. The subject may have been mentioned in the part now lost. It could conceivably occur also in the partly preserved lines of the hymn. For example the word *συρίγμασι* in line 5 refers to the notes of the flute, and it is easy to understand the passage in the light of Archilochus, fragment 76:

αὐτὸς ἐξάρχων πρὸς αὐλὸν Αἰόβιον παίηονα

and in the light of the Delphic paean, *Fouilles de Delphes*, III, 2, p. 161 (= J. U. Powell, *Collectanea Alexandrina*, p. 149):

*μελίπνοον δὲ Αἰβυς αὐδᾶν χέω[ν λωωτὸς ἀνέμελ]πεν [ᾶ]
δειεῖαν ὅπα μειγνόμενος Αἰειδ[ό]ις κιθάριος μέλεσιν[.]*

[The music of the Libyan lotus (a flute) is mingled with the old Aeolic music (of the cithara or lyre).] But if the letters *λυρ - -* belonged in this passage, the fragment would give us help also for the restoration at the beginning of lines 2 or 3. Yet, I think, the beginning of lines 2 or 3 will not accommodate the letters which are preserved at the top of the non-joining fragment. However, it is tempting to connect the letters *λυρ - -*

¹ From Diogenes Laertius (V, 5, 76) we know that other early hymns which continued in use down into the Roman period, were the paeans which Demetrius of Phaleron composed in honor of Sarapis, for which see F. Cumont, *Les religions orientales dans le paganisme romain*, 4th edition (Paris, Paul Geuthner, 1929), pp. 71 and 232, note 5.

with the hypothetical reference to Apollo. They would fit in very well as the beginning of line 8, and the passage might read:

7 μόλοις τὸν [χρυσο]κόμα[ν]
8 λυρ[αιδόν.

If I take the inscription on the left side for a hymn to Coronis and read line 3

[. . . .]ας ἀκτεινόμενος, ο[ὗ] ἐνάροξομαι [ὑμ]νον ἐγερσιβόαν,

I reconstruct the ceremony *exempli gratia* as follows: A procession took place toward the sanctuary of Asclepius. I imagine that during the procession one or more hymns were chanted but that the ceremony culminated in the hymn to Asclepius before the altar. I understand the words *ἐράξουαι* [*ἔμνον*] as referring to the main hymn of the ceremony. At least in the few remains of the inscription on the left side there is nothing that corresponds to our conception of a *ῥυμος ἐγχεσιβόας*. Each *παianιστής* who marches along says, "Your long-haired son whose shout-raising hymn I am going to sing (when I reach the altar)." The anapaests of the hymn to Coronis are indeed a marching rhythm. The hymn to Coronis is a unit by itself, and whether the main hymn is in period later, earlier or contemporary with it is of no importance. Sophocles composed the hymn to Coronis as an introductory hymn for a definite place in a familiar ceremony. It may never have been very popular, and about 175 A.D. it may have been extracted again from a partial oblivion because of the archaistic taste of the time and in the third century been labeled "A paean of Sophocles" for the information of a public which might not recognize it.

In the archonship of Munatius Vopiscus (*ca.* 175 A.D.), on the solemn occasion which seems to have been connected with the dreadful plague of Antoninus, a procession took place in which the most distinguished men of Athens joined. If a hymn was sung to Coronis then, the fame and solemnity of this single great occasion might have persuaded Tertullian in 197 A.D. that more honor was paid to Coronis at Athens than even to Theseus.

To return to the famous Sophoclean *παιᾶν εἰς Ἀσκληπιόν*, the one reference to its content is very odd. Why should the younger Philostratus have identified it for his readers by recalling the word *κλυτόμητις*? There is nothing very unusual or impressive about this word that it should serve to clarify the reference for his readers. A possible explanation, of course, would be that the word occurred at the easily remembered beginning of the paeon, and it is conceivable that the Lemnian author had in mind the anonymous paeon of Erythrae, which commences *Παιᾶνα κλυτόμητιν δαίσατε, κοῦροι*. To be sure, Apollo is meant and not Asclepius, with the phrase “cunning Paián.” But for one speaking from a hazy recollection to connect it with Asclepius, to whom the hymn is addressed, would be a very natural error, because Asclepius is commonly called *Παιᾶν Ἀσκληπιός*. To be sure, in the jejune style of the hymn *Παιᾶνα κλυτόμητιν* to Asclepius, there is nothing reminiscent of the manner of Sophocles, but the first reference to a world-famous *παιᾶν εἰς Ἀσκληπιόν* as a work of Sophocles occurs no earlier than the end of the second century after Christ. To that generation because of his well known

devotion and hospitality to the god,¹ Sophocles would seem a likely person to whom to attribute an anonymous ancient paeon used in the cult at Athens, and the *Παιᾶνα κλυτόμητον* is indeed the hymn which the Athenians sang to Asclepius, sang to Asclepius for more than five hundred years.²

¹ *Etymologicum Magnum*: Δεξίων· οὕτως ὠνομάσθη Σοφοκλῆς ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων μετὰ τὴν τελευτήν. φασὶν οὖν Ἀθηναῖοι τελευτήσαντι Σοφοκλεῖ, βουλόμενοι τιμὰς αὐτῷ περιποιῆσαι, ἡρώϊον αὐτῷ κατασκευάσαντες, ὠνόμασαν αὐτὸν Δεξιῶνα ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ δεξιώσεως. καὶ γὰρ ἠπεδέξατο τὸν θεὸν ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ οἰκίᾳ, καὶ βωμὸν ἰδρύσατο. ἐκ τῆς αἰτίας οὖν ταύτης Δεξίων ἐκλήθη. See F. Kutsch, *Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten*, XII, 3: "Attische Heilgötter und Heilheroen" (Gießen, 1913), pp. 22–23; Blumenthal, *Real-Encyclopädie*, 2^{te} Reihe, III (1929), 1044–1045; F. R. Walton, *Harv. Stud. in Class. Phil.*, XLVI (1935), pp. 170–176.

² Bülow felt that the anonymous paeon of Erythrae ought to be one of the two famous old paeans mentioned by Pseudo-Lucian, hence the paeon of the obscure Troezenian. However, Keyssner (*Phil. Wochenschr.*, LIV [1934], 992) quite rightly objected to this attribution because a Troezenian would probably have followed the mythological version current at Epidaurus.

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