

GREEK INSCRIPTIONS¹

LAW CONCERNING THE MYSTIC PROCESSION

31. A block of Pentelic marble removed on March 23, 1936, from the Church of Christ in Section HH where it was used upside down as a foundation for an interior column. The top, bottom, back, and sides are finished surfaces, but probably not original except perhaps the back. The top and bottom were cut back at an acute angle to the face when the stone was used as a capital. It also served at some time as a threshold block, as two round cuttings in the inscribed face indicate.

Height, 0.58 m.; width, 0.47 m.; thickness, 0.135 m.

Height of letters, 0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 3844.

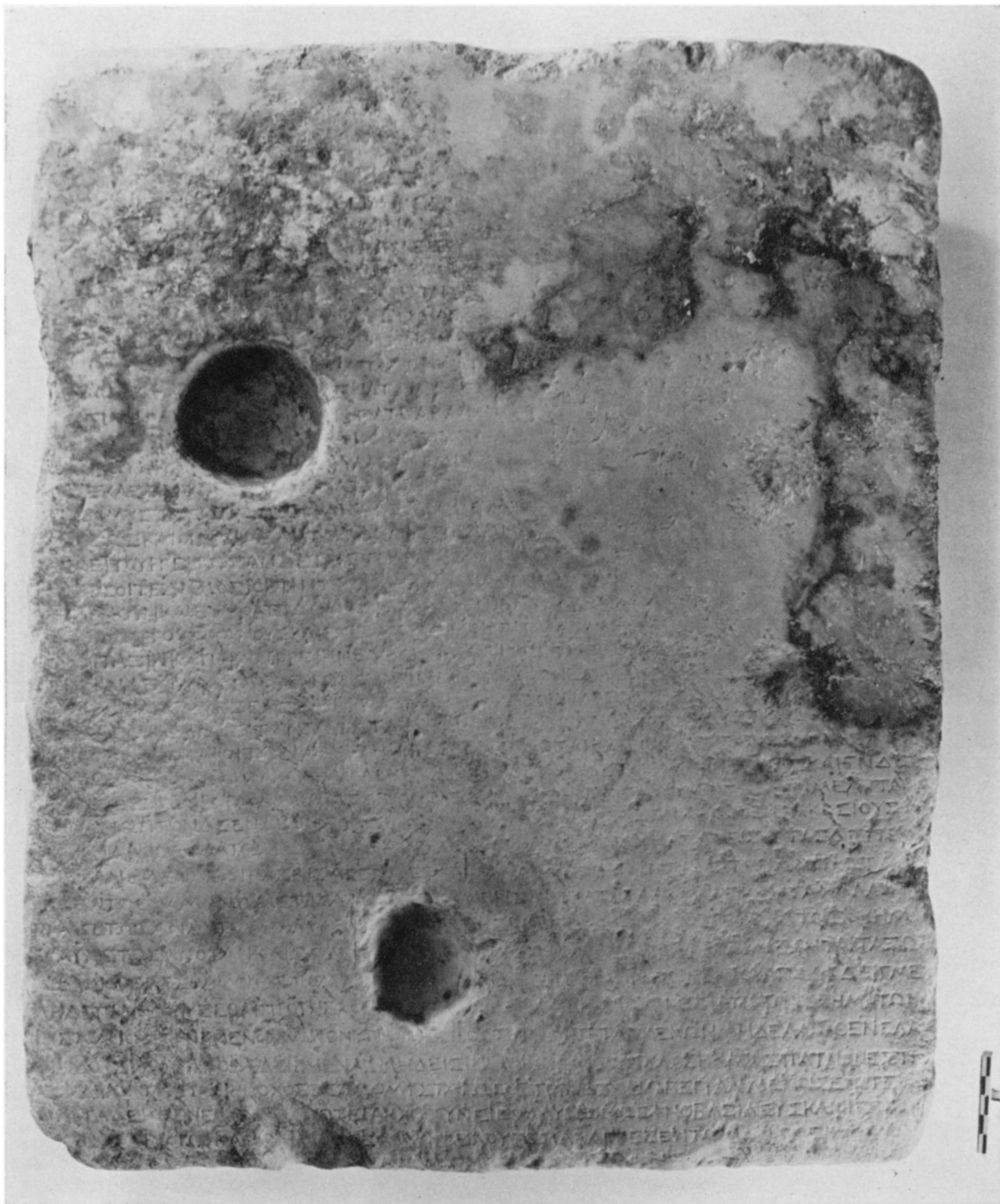
The stone is so badly worn that the reading becomes in many places most uncertain. It would be easy to let one's imagination play with marks and scratches of an accidental character; and those who have ever had the experience of preparing the first publication of an almost illegible document will appreciate the peculiar difficulties.

This rather lengthy inscription of which the beginning and the end are completely lost, and the rest badly mutilated, has marked similarities to the great diagramma of 92 B.C. concerning the mysteries at Andania.² It concerns the Eleusinian mysteries, but like the other it contains in the extant section specifications about the services or liturgies to be performed, about punishments for misdemeanors or felonies, and about the procedure in such cases; also about the order of the procession and about the crowns to be worn by participants. The procedure against offenders or delinquents is more complicated and sophisticated, as one would expect from the heliastic traditions of Athens and from the central position occupied by the Eleusinian mysteries in the religious life of the Hellenic, or of the whole Greco-Roman world.

The date cannot be accurately determined, since neither names nor contemporary events are mentioned in what remains of the document, and since the heading is not preserved. The lettering exhibits the general character of several other inscriptions of the first century B.C., but I cannot with any confidence define its period more exactly.

¹ Through the generous assistance of the Council for Research in the Social Sciences at Columbia University and through the cooperation of the authorities of Barnard College, the writer was enabled to go to Athens for the academic year 1939-1940 and to prepare for publication the late inscriptions, of which the first installment is here presented.

² *I.G.*, V, 1390 = Dittenberger, *S.I.G.*³, 736.



No. 31

Traces of fifteen lines

- 20 [---] φυλᾶς προμ[---]
 [---] ἐκάστη[---] λ[---] ντ[---]
 [---] τ[ων] μυστήγων ὧ[ν] . . . κλησ[---] οἱ πάρε
 [δρ]οι τοῦ βασ[ι]λέως καὶ οἱ ἐπιμεληταὶ τῶν μυστηρίων [---]
 [---] [ς], λειτουργέεσσαν δὲ τ[ο]ῖς τέλ[εσι]
 [---] [ς] οἱ τε δημόσιοι πάντ[ε]ς [---]
 [---] Κηρύκων καὶ Εὐμολπιδῶν [---]
 [---] ὦν τοὺς ἱκανοὺς καὶ [---]
 [---] τάξιν καὶ τὴν πορείαν ἐ[^{±10}] ι[. . .] ωστ[. . .] ατ[---]
 25 [---] εἰ[ν] δὲ οἱ μυσταγωγοὶ μὴ σὺν π[ορ]ε[ύ]ονται τόλ[ε]ς [---]
 [---] μνήσεως καὶ ρ[ο]ῦ ἐξ[^{±8}] τ[ο]ῖς μύστ[αι]ς [---]
 [---] εἰ[ν] δὲ ἄγουσι τοὺς μύστας ἐ[---] μυστ[---]
 [---] καὶ οἱ τῶν μυστηρί[ω]ν [ἐπι]με[λ]η[ταὶ] κ[αὶ] ὕριοι ἔστω[σαν] ζ[η] μ[ω]σαι το[^{±6}]
 [---] θ[α]ι παραχ[ρ]ήμα ἐ[---] δετο[---] [ς] καὶ ἔνδε[ι]ξις ἔσ
 30 [τω] πρὸς τὸν βασιλ[έ]α τῷ βουλομένῳ ὅς ἐξ[^{±8}] εστιν ἡ μῆνσις κατ' αὐτοῦ ἐν[] το[^{±8}] ἐπιμεληταὶ [ς] ἵνα τὸν α[---]
 [σεβ]ῇ τῶν μυστηρίων τόνδε ἐνδε[ί]ξ[ω]ς [ι]ν[] πρὸς τοὺς ἐνδ[έ]ξ[ω]ς [α] ὥστ' ἐ[ί]ς ἐνα [καὶ] π[εν]τακοσίους [εἰσα]χθῆναι .
 [καὶ] κατὰ τὰς στ[η]λα[ς] τ[ε] μ[α]τ[ω] αὐτῶ ἡ [ἡ]λαία, εἰν ἀλφ[ω], τ[ι] χρὴ παθεῖν ἢ ἀπο[τε]σ[α]ι . τὰς δὲ πε[ρὶ] ἀσεβείας
 [μυστηρίων] λ[α] γ[α] χανομένης δίκας εἰσαγέτωσ[α]ν οἱ ἐπιμ[ε]ληταὶ τ[ῶν] μυσ[τηρίων] πρώτ[α] [ς] εἰς πάντα
 [τὰ] δικαστήρια . ἐν τῷ ἐ[π]ομένῳ μετὰ τὰ Μ[υστήρι]α μερισ[μ]ω[ν] κατὰ τὰ μ[έ]ρη [δέ]κ[α] ὅ ταν[] ἐ[λ]άσσ[ω]σιν οἱ μύστ[αι]
 35 [ται] εἰς ἄστυ, ἀγέτωσαν αὐτοὺς οἱ μυσ[ταγωγοὶ] .^{±3} [κε]ν[^{±13}] ἐ[πὶ] δὲ [το]ῖς ὀχ[ρ]ήμ[ασι] μέχρη
 [τοῦ] Ρεῖτοῦ ἐ[λ] ανιέτωσαν αὐτοὺς οἱ μυσ[ταγωγοὶ] .^{±3} [κε]ν[^{±13}] ἐ[πὶ] δὲ [το]ῖς ὀχ[ρ]ήμ[ασι] μέχρη
 [---] [σθ]αι μὴ δένα μύ[σ]την μὴ δὲ ἐ[λ] λ[α]ν[ε] [ω] α[λλ] [ο] θ[ε]ν ἢ ἐκ τοῦ ἀποδεδειγμέ[νου] τοῦ
 [δε] χωρίου [μὴ] δὲ π[ρ]οπορ[ε]ῖσθαι πρὸ τῆς κο[ιν]ωδ[ί]ας τῶν ἱερ[ῶν] . ἐκεῖ δ[ὲ] κ[αταβ]αίνε[ι]ν ἀπὸ τῶν [ὀχ]ημάτων [καὶ] πέζ[ῃ]
 [ἄγεσθ]αι π[ρ]ὸς τὸ ἀπο[δε]δε[ι]γμένον χωρίον ὑπ[ὸ] τ[ῶν] πρὸς το[ύ]τοις τεταγμένων, [μ]ηδὲ ἀλ[λο]θεν ἐλα[ύνειν] μ[η]
 40 [δὲ] κατ' ἄλλας ὁδοὺς ἢ [τὰς] ἀποδεδειγμένας, μὴδ' εἰσι[έν]αι κα[τὰ] ἄλλας πύλας ἢ καθὼς πατριὸν ἔστιν .
 [ἀλλοθί] πον[τὸ]ν ἀδελφάρ[ια] πο[ι]εῖν, ἐροχος ἔστω ὁ μυσταγωγὸς τοῖς ἐπ[ὶ] τ[ῇ] νω γεγραμμένοις ἐπ[ὶ] τ[ῇ] τειμ[ί]οις κα
 [τὰ] τὰ δόξαντα τάδε . καὶ ἐν ἑλ[ε]ν[σίν] τ[ῇ] τε Ἰάκχῳ συνεισελαυνεὺν ὥς ἂν ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ οἱ ἐπιμ[ε]ληταὶ τὰ
 [ξω]σιν καὶ παρ[ε]ύναι ἰνίκτωρ καρ[π]οῖς ἐσ[τ]εφανωμένους ἐπ[ὶ] ἀναγκῆς ἐν τῷ ἀποδ[ι]δε[ι]γμένῳ ἐνὶ χωρίῳ [---]

Any attempt at a restoration of this document ought to start in the area comprised between lines 39 and 43, because here more of the text is preserved and the context is more easily ascertainable. I can think of no shorter possible restoration for the lacuna between lines 39 and 40 than that proposed in the text, and I proceed on the assumption that the minimum is thereby determined. The lacuna might have been greater, but it does not read as though much were lost between lines, and in reusing a block as a threshold or base, one commonly sought a stone of about the right size. For the lacuna between lines 30 and 31 the reader at first glance wishes to restore ἐπιμεληταῖ[ς τῶν μυστηρ]ίων, but when he measures the space occupied by the letters in that line and calculates the minimum distance to either edge as determined by the restoration between lines 39 and 40, he finds that the lacuna should amount to about eighteen letters, unless in its original shape the inscribed block tapered toward the top. A further calculation from the preserved width of the stone at the top and from the proximity of line 31 to line 40 excludes the possibility of a sufficient taper to reduce the lacuna by eight letters, so that another or at least a more complete restoration must be proposed for the gap between lines 30 and 31.

A difficulty here in reconstructing the legal terminology lies in the fact that we cannot entirely rely on Aristotle and the orators where we do have pertinent information, because these authors preceded the publication of this inscription by several centuries. The publication of this law implies that some details at least were changed, although we may expect that the general customs were still followed. Or it may have been a reassertion and restoration of old customs. For example, the trial for which Andocides composed the oration *Περὶ τῶν Μυστηρίων* was based on the type of legal action known as ἔνδειξις. We may assume with some reservations that an offender against the mysteries (ἀσεβῆς τῶν μυστηρίων) could in the first century still be prosecuted on the basis of an ἔνδειξις. Furthermore, since Aristotle in the *Constitution of Athens* (52, 2) says of the royal archon γραφαὶ δὲ λαγχάνονται πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀσεβείας, it is not improbable that we should restore the gap between lines 29 and 30 with the phrase ἔνδε[ιξις ἔστω πρὸς τὸν βασιλ]έα τῷ βουλευμένῳ οἷς ἔξ[εστιν]. The expressions ὁ βουλόμενος Ἀθηναίων οἷς ἔξεστιν and Ἀθηναίων ὁ βουλόμενος οἷς ἔξεστιν indicate any Athenian citizen who has not been visited with total or partial ἀτιμία such as that under which state debtors labored. This limitation was too common to require here the support of other parallels. For the familiar phrase οἷς ἔξεστιν of course the antecedent need not be expressed, as when Aristotle in the *Constitution of Athens* (63, 3) writes εἰάν τις δικάζη οἷς μὴ ἔξεστιν.

But the restoration at lines 29-30 leaves us with a problem in the next line where we have a plural verb in the subjunctive mood ἐνδε[ίξ]ωσ[ι]ν. The traces of this word and the preceding letters cannot be interpreted as τὸν δὲ ἐνδε[ιχ]θ[έ]ντα, as tempting as this restoration may seem at first glance. Both the final nu and the sufficiently visible sigma eliminate such a possibility, although the upper part of a

circular letter could belong as easily to a theta as to an omega. Thus we are left with a verb in the plural number and with an object in the singular (τόνδε), which must represent the offender. The subject of the verb cannot have been the royal archon or the previously mentioned βουλόμενος οἷς ἔξεστιν, because these were singular in number, and thus we must assume that the ἐπιμεληταί mentioned at the end of line 30 were the subject understood, being the only available plural noun.

The relation between the beginning and the end of line 30 likewise causes trouble. Since with what information I can gather from ancient writers I cannot connect the epimeletae with the procedure initiated by the ἔνδειξις submitted to the royal archon, I assume that the law provided two procedures against the offender. One would be the abbreviated procedure on the basis of a citizen's ἔνδειξις presented to the royal archon. The other contrasting procedure would have corresponded to a different case. Whether the accuser lacked the status of full citizen rights, or whether he were merely unwilling to undertake any part in the prosecution, or whether the case were not clear enough to admit of the abbreviated procedure, the second case seems to be one in which the epimeletae would undertake the prosecution on the basis of information received. We might restore ἡ ἀπογράφειν αὐτὸν ἐν] το[ί]ς ἐπιμεληταί[ς]. For the phraseology Andocides I, 48 serves as a parallel: τούτους πάντας ἐν τοῖς τετταράκοντα ἀνδράσιν ἀπέγραψεν. But on stylistic grounds I prefer to restore ἡ μήνυσις κατ' αὐτοῦ ἐν] το[ί]ς ἐπιμεληταί[ς]. For the phraseology I cite the following two passages:

(1) Lysias, *Against Agoratus*, 32: Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡ ἐκκλησία Μουνιχίασιν ἐν τῷ Θεάτρῳ ἐρίγνετο, οὕτω σφόδρα τινὲς ἐπεμελοῦντο ὅπως καὶ ἐν τῷ δήμῳ περὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ τῶν ταξιάρχων μήνυσις γένοιτο (περὶ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπέχρη ἐν τῇ βουλῇ {μήνυσις} μόνῃ γεγεννημένη), ὥστε καὶ ἐκεῖ παράγουσιν <αὐτὸν> εἰς τὸν δῆμον.

(2) Andocides, *On the Mysteries*, 14: Πρώτη μὲν, ὧ ἄνδρες, μήνυσις ἐγένετο αὕτη ὑπὸ Ἀνδρομάχου κατὰ τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν.

Returning to the verb ἐνδε[ίξ]ωσ[ι]ν in line 31, we deduce that after the epimeletae received the denunciation and found it in order, they had the accused taken into custody on the basis of an ἔνδειξις, so that later when the opportunity came, he might be brought before a heliastic court of five hundred and one dicasts. Between the word ἐνδε[ίξ]ωσ[ι]ν and the phrase εἰ]ς ἕνα [καὶ π]εντακοσίους is a lacuna of about sixteen or seventeen letters where the traces of two consecutive letters □' (or □') are still visible. These traces, which are not properly located for the restoration πρὸς τὸν βα]σι[λέα, are satisfactorily interpreted as πρὸς τοὺς ἐνδ]εκ[α]. Having brought the Eleven into the case, we may compare Demosthenes, *Against Timocrates*, 146, p. 745: τὸν δ' ἐνδειχθέντα ἢ ἀπαχθέντα δησάντων οἱ ἔνδεκα ἐν τῷ ξύλῳ.

A law quoted in the oration of Demosthenes *Against Timocrates*, 105, p. 733, 9 has another passage which seems to illuminate lines 31 and 32 where the cooperation

of the Eleven and the subsequent trial are apparently indicated: ἐὰν δέ τις ἀπαχθῇ τῶν γονέων κακώσεως ἡλωκῶς ἢ ἀστρατείας ἢ προειρημένον αὐτῷ τῶν νόμων εἵργεσθαι εἰσιὼν ὅποι μὴ χρή, δησάντων αὐτὸν οἱ ἔνδεκα καὶ εἰσαγόντων αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν ἡλιαίαν, κατηγορεῖται δ' ὁ βουλόμενος οἷς ἔξεστιν. ἐὰν δ' ἄλῳ, τιμάτω ἢ ἡλιαία ὃ τι χρή παθεῖν ἢ ἀποτεῖσαι. Indeed the familiar formula of this last sentence can be accommodated perfectly in line 32, when we make the quite admissible substitution of the phrase τί χρή for ὃ τι χρή, κτλ. Thus it is the board of Eleven who on the basis of an ἔνδειξις take the offender into custody or exact bail from him and who finally bring the case before the heliastic court where he will be tried and where, if he loses the case, the penalty will be assessed or determined. We have, moreover, Aristotle's word for it that the Eleven were competent to introduce a case based specifically on an ἔνδειξις: *Constitution of Athens*, 52, 1: καθιστάσι δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἔνδεκα κλήρω τοὺς ἐπιμελησομένους τῶν ἐν τῷ δεσμοτηρίῳ — — καὶ τὰς ἐνδείξεις εἰσάγοντας· καὶ γὰρ ταύτας εἰσάγουσιν οἱ ἔνδεκα.

The recovery of line 34 is of crucial importance. At the point where we have read κατὰ τὰ μ[έρη] δέκ[α ὅ]ταν κτλ., it would have been tempting to read κατὰ τὰ \wedge [. . .] ε κ[αὶ ὃ]ταν, κτλ., in order to have a connecting word between the two sentences. In that case, however, we should encounter insurmountable difficulties with the preceding prepositional phrase. The lack of a connective like δέ or καί, however, is not really a difficulty, because the law contains many paragraphs as in the above mentioned diagramma of Andania, in which also the paragraphs are not bound together by connectives. Furthermore, the phrase μερισ[μῶ] κατὰ τὰ μ[έρη] δέκ[α] makes excellent sense. It constitutes a reference to the ten sections of the heliaea, those represented on dicast tickets by the letters from alpha through kappa. Cf. Aristotle, *Constitution of Athens*, 63, 4: νενέμνται γὰρ κατὰ φυλὰς δέκα μέρη οἱ δικασταί.³ The citizens of each tribe were divided into ten sections μετὰ τὰ / [.] α. The oblique stroke can belong to alpha, lambda, or mu, but since no trace of the horizontal stroke suitable for a delta appears where it might be expected, we cannot easily restore μετὰ τὰ Δ[ιονύσι]α. The assignment, therefore, appears to have taken place after the Μ[υστήρι]α, and the first cases for which dicasteries were to be empaneled were those concerning the Mysteries.

The section comprising lines 34-43 concerns the duties of the mystagogues and mystae in connection with the preliminary ceremonies and the procession which preceded the initiation. The general outline of what took place is apparent from other sources. We know that first the Sacred Objects were on the fourteenth of Boedromion transported to Athens and deposited in the Eleusinion. This fetching of the Sacred Objects is in the Athenian document *I.G.*, II², 847 called the κομιδὴ τῶν

³ On the method of choosing the dicasts see S. Dow, "Aristotle, the Kleroteria, and the Courts," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, L, 1939, pp. 1-34. The concluding chapters of the *Constitution of Athens* are the chief ancient source on the Athenian courts.

ἱερῶν, a term which I have ventured to restore here in line 38. Then those candidates for initiation who had assembled were examined on the fifteenth as to their eligibility, and if they were admitted by the authorities, they could enter the Eleusinion. Several days later after various other ceremonies the procession with the Sacred Objects moved to Eleusis. This was the great day, the day of Iacchus.

It remains to discuss the δελτάρ[ια] mentioned in line 41. Enough of the word is visible to assure the reading, although I cannot find the expression in any other discussion of the same subject. The reference comes at a point where the inscription is perhaps dealing with the ἀγυρμός, the assembly of the candidates on the fifteenth. A mystagogue will be punished if he commits some offense in regard to the way he issues δελτάρια. In view of the emphasis on the necessity of being in the appointed place, I presume that the offense envisaged was the issuing of δελτάρια at any other place. The δελτάρια, therefore, may have been tablets issued to candidates whose eligibility had been examined and established.

Many of the restorations proposed in other passages of the inscription occur to one naturally enough when the extant letters are correctly read. It must be indicated, however, that the words ὀχήμ[ασι] (line 35) and [ὀχ]ημάτων (line 38), and the phrases ὡς ἂν [ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ οἱ τῶν μυστηρίων ἐπι]μελήται τάξω[σιν] (line 36) and ὡς ἂν ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ οἱ ἐπιμ[εληται τάξωσιν] (line 42) complement and suggest each other. The restoration οἱ πάρεδροι τοῦ βασ[ι]λέως (lines 18-19) finds its justification in what we know about the connection of these officials with the celebration of the Mysteries. Aristotle⁴ indicates that they were in his day two in number. An inscription dated at the end of the fourth century, *I.G.*, II², 1230, which is an honorary decree passed by the gens of the Ceryces, begins as follows: [Ἐ]πειδὴ Εὐθύδημος ὁ πάρεδρος τοῦ βασ[ι]λέως καλῶς καὶ φιλοτίμως μετὰ τοῦ β[ασ]ιλέως κα[ὶ] τοῦ γέν[ο]υς τοῦ Κηρύκων ἐ[πε]μελήθη τ[ῶ]ν περὶ τὰ μυστήρια, κτλ.

At the beginning of line 35 we expect an antithesis to the phrase ἐν Ἑλεν[σί]νι discernible below in line 42. I had originally restored ἐν ἄστει, which I withdrew in favor of a more convincing phrase εἰς ἄστυ, proposed in conversation by K. Kourowniotes. An alternative ἐξ ἄστεως would be too long.

In line 38 the connection between the two clauses represented by the words μηδὲ πρ[οπορε]ῖσθαι πρὸ τῆς κο[μιδῆς τῶν ἱερ]ῶ[ν] . . .] κ[αταβ]αίνει[ι]ν ἀπὸ τῶν [ὀχ]ημάτων constitutes another problem. There is not space for the letters τότε δ]ε, even if such a restoration produced an acceptable meaning. But since iota does not occupy as much room as other letters, the restoration ἐκεῖ δ]ε, suggested in conversation by K. von Fritz, would probably not be excessive. The adverb ἐκεῖ would refer to the ῥεῖτὸς ὁ παρὰ τοῦ ἄστεως, over which the decree of 421/0 B.C., *I.G.*, I², 81, called for the construction of a stone bridge *hos ἂν τὰ ἱερὰ φέροσιν καὶ*

⁴ *Constitution of Athens*, 56, 1.

ἡιέρειαι ἀ[σ]φαλίστατα. It was to be a narrow bridge *hína mē hámaχσαι διελαύνονται*, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἰδοσιν εἰ βα[δ]ίξειν ἐπὶ τὰ ἡιέρα.

TREBELLIIUS RUFUS

32. A large base, consisting of forty-eight inscribed and numerous uninscribed fragments of Hymettian marble, has been assembled by the excavation mender I. Bakoules, who through skillful use of a multitude of uninscribed pieces succeeded in finding direct joins for all but two fragments, one of which contains part of the formula at the top of the monument. This non-contiguous fragment bears the letters]η καὶ ἡ β[, and has been set in plaster in its determinable position. All the fragments were found in Section E, and almost all of them came from the curbing of a late well, demolished during the spring and summer of 1933. Parts of the back, sides, top, and bottom are preserved. The base was adorned with a moulding above and below. As reconstructed it has the following dimensions:

Height, 1.35 m.; width, 1.79 m.; thickness, 0.60 m.

Height of letters: line 1, 0.031 m.; lines 2-10, 0.029 m.; lines 11-44, 0.01-0.013 m.; line 45, 0.015 m.

Inv. No. I 849 (including I 118, I 786, and I 1827).

The extra fragment, broken away at the back and all around, comes from one of the epistles below the dedication, but it has not been built into the monument because its exact position cannot be determined.

Height, 0.07 m.; width, 0.05 m.; thickness, 0.04 m.

Height of letters, 0.01 m.

Inv. No. I 849.

The monument honors a public benefactor, Quintus Trebellius Rufus of Toulouse, together with his wife and son.⁵ On the analogy of two other bases which are published in *I.G.*, II², 4193 and which honor Trebellius Rufus alone, it has been possible to restore with certainty lines 1-7 of the inscription. Trebellius Rufus held the archonship at Athens sometime between the years 85/6 and 94/5 A.D.⁶

In lines 2-3 the words [ἀρχιερέα πρῶτον ἐπαρχείας τῆς ἐκ] Ναρθῶνος are the translation of the Latin *flamen primus provinciae Narbonensis*. He was the chief priest for the whole province, the *flamen primus templi divi Augusti quod est Narbone*, concerning whom I refer the reader to *C.I.L.*, XII, 6038 with Otto Hirschfeld's commentary. The *flamen provinciae* seems to have presided over the provincial assembly (*concilium provinciae Narbonensis*), which had externally a religious char-

⁵ I wish to thank M. Georges Daux, who facilitated the preparation of this inscription.

⁶ Paul Graindor, *Athènes de Tibère à Trajan* (Cairo, 1931), p. 144.

Above on moulding

[Ἦ ἐξ Ἀρείου Πάγου]ν βου[λ]ῆ^v καὶ ἡ β[ουλή] τῶν X]

Below moulding

[Κοῦντον Τρεβέλλ]ιον Ῥοῦφον Κοίντου ν[ι]ὸν [Δαμπτρία ἀρχιερέα πρῶτον ἐπ]
 [αρχείας τῆς ἐκ] Ναρθῶνος καὶ ὕπατον Καυνέηνσιν [ιερῶν δῆμον Ῥωμαίων καὶ]
 [πάσαις τιμαῖς ἐ]ν τ[ῇ] πα[τρίδι] Τολώσῃ τετειμημένον καὶ ᾗ[ρχοντ]α ἐ[πώνυμον]
 5 [ἐν Ἀθήναις καὶ ἱ]ερέα Δ[ρ]ούσου ὑπάτου καὶ ἱερέα Εὐκλείας κα[ὶ] Εὐνο[μίας] διὰ βίου]
 [καὶ χρυσ]οφο[ρία] δ[ιὰ] β[ίον]ν τετειμημένον καὶ ψηφίσματι ᾗ[ναθέσει] ως ᾗ[νδριάντων]
 [καὶ εἰκό]νω[ν] ἐν παντὶ ναῶ καὶ ἐπιστήμῳ τῇ]ς [πόλεως τόπῳ, καὶ -----]
 [-----] Τρε[βελλίου] Ῥο[ύφου] γυναικα ἱ]έρεαν [ἐν Τ]ολώσῃ θεᾶς [Ῥώμης -----]
 10 [-----] Τρε[βελλίου] Ῥο[ύφου] Μάξιμ[ον] υἱὸν [τοῦ Τρ]εβελλίου Ῥ[ούφου, φιλίας τῆς]
 [-----] εἰς [τοὺς Ἀθηνα]ί[ους] *vacat*

To the left below the dedication

[Τὸ κο]ν[ν]ὸν Na]ρβωνητῶν ἐπαρχείας [τῇ ἐξ Ἀρείου Πά]
 [γου β]ου[λῆ] καὶ τ[ῇ] βουλή τῶν [ἐξ] ακοσίων [*vacat*]
 χαίρειν
 15 [...]ν[.....] ἀρ[χ]ιερέα πρῶτο[ν] ἡμ[ετέρο]ν -----]
 [-----]ον εἶναι τῆς α[.....]νμαι[-----]ιλα[-----]
 [-----]ασ[.....]εσε[.....]ῆσασθε ἡδ[-----]
 [-----]ντες [.....]εν *vac.*
 [-----]εν *vac.*
 20 [-----]ναῶ *vac.*
 [-----]εσε[-----]ωσκα[-----]
 [-----]ι[-----]ονδι[-----]

[-----]γενπα[-----]δε[-----]
 [-----]του[-----]
 [-----]δι[δόναι[-----]
 [-----]ονεισ[-----]
 [-----]ψηφισ[-----]
 [-----]

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To the right below the dedication

[Οἱ] ἄρχον[τες καὶ] ἡ [β]ουλὴ Τολωσί[ων ^{vv} τῇ ἐξ 'Α]ρείου Π[άγου βουλῇ κ]αὶ τῇ βουλῇ τῶν ἐ[[ξακοσίων καὶ τῷ δῇ]
 30 μῶ τῷ [᾿Αθηνα]ίων vacat [χαίρειν] vacat vacat
 Πλειστ[ὴν ὑμῆιν χ]άριν ο[ἴ]δαμεν α[...].ασικ[..... ^{ca. 12}... Τ]ρεβελλίου Ρο[ύφον ^{ca. 11}...]
 τὰς γ[υνομένας τ]ιμὰ[ς] εἰς δι[άκοσμι]ον τῆς ἡμ[ετέρας] δόξης ἐ[γγ]εινώσκομε[ν ^{ca. 14}...]
 αὐτο[..... ^{ca. 13}...].νκ[!]....].αβ[!]....].ι οἴους ἀρασ[τέφ]οντες ἐπα[νίε]σαν καὶ χρυσ[οφορία ^{ca. 10}...]
 35 [-----]θασεν· [ε]ἰς κοινὴν τοίνυν εὐκλείαν ὁ ἡμ[ε]τερος Ρούφος [-----]
 [-----]δε καὶ Ρ[ού]φω ὅτι εἰς ἀμύλλαν πόλεων φλεῖται[ι]· εἰς γὰρ ταύτας τ[ὰς]-----
 [-----]διεκ]όσμησεν, οὐ παρ' ἡμῆιν δὲ μόνον ἐπιφανῆς ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν ὄλ[α]ις-----
 [-----]νωμένης σεμνότητος ἕστος ὑπηρέτης [κα.]ι τῶν Σεβα[στο]-----
 [-----]ι,ι[-----]δι[ηρικῇ ἱεροσύνῃν τειμᾶται τὸ λοιπὸν α[νὴ]ρ τῷ τῆς εὐδοξ[ίας]-----
 40 [-----]ροτῇ[-----]κ[εράσαντες ἔσχη]νται καὶ συνκλητ[-----]
 [.....] Ρωμαίω[ν]-----]σθα[-----]
 [.....]υς ἡμῶ[ν]-----]σα[.].ου[-----]ἐ[πι]θ[ύμησεν ἡσυχίαν] ι[-----]
 [.....]μα ^Λ[.....]νταστεροῦ[-----]κῆς εἰς τὴν κοι[νήν]-----
 [-----]ς δεχομ[-----]κα[ι] Ἰ[σ]θμιαίου[-----]
 45 [-----]ελέξαν[-----]
 [-----]ον[.].π/[-----]

acter but which enjoyed some political power at the same time.⁷ The assembly convened at Narbonne and consisted of representatives from the various *civitates* of the province, but except for this inscription the only references to it are found in the above-mentioned fragment of a *lex provinciae*, *C.I.L.*, XII, 6038. Although Suetonius says clearly of Augustus (ch. 52), "Templa, quamvis sciret etiam proconsulibus decerni solere, in nulla tamen provincia nisi communi suo Romaeque nomine recepit," nevertheless, none of the many inscriptions referring to the *flamines* of Narbonese Gaul mentions a joint cult of Rome and Augustus. Neither does the priest himself appear as the *flamen Romae et Augusti* like those of other provinces, nor is the temple at Narbonne called the *templum Romae et Augusti* as elsewhere. Therefore, it is interesting to learn from line 8 that the wife of the *flamen* was priestess of the goddess Roma.⁸ But she was priestess in Toulouse and not in Narbonne. To explain these apparent contradictions we may suppose that there was indeed a joint cult of Rome and Augustus in every town and that the management of the cult devolved upon the local *flamen* and his wife, and was divided between them. When, however, a *flamen* from Toulouse or Nîmes became president of the provincial assembly, a substitute continued the cult in his native town, while the *flamen provinciae* exercised his religious duties in the temple at Narbonne. The *flaminica*, not having the same religious function nor the same political connection, continued to be called by the old title.

In line 3 the phrase ὑπατον Καινέηνσι [ἱερῶν δήμου Ῥωμαίων], as is stated in the Corpus, translates the Latin phrase *summus Caeninensis sacrorum populi Romani*. The latter was the head of a public college of priests who took care of one of the ancient Latin cults which continued as public cults of the Roman people long after the original communities had been destroyed.⁹

At the end of line 9, as soon as we restore the name Ῥ[ούφου], the lacuna is reduced to the space of seven or eight normal letters. There is not room for the phrase εὐνοίας τῆς, but there is room for the phrase φιλίας τῆς, because the two iotas occupy the space of only one normal letter. For the expression compare Dittenberger, *S.I.G.*³, 859A and *I.G.*, II², 4010. In line 10 the last visible letter, represented by the lower tip of a vertical hasta, is about the tenth after the letters εἰς. The conditions are suitable for the restoration suggested in the text.

Below the dedication are inscribed in smaller letters two epistles to the Athenian Councils and People. At the right appears the epistle in which the local magistrates and senate of Toulouse thank the Athenians for the honors which they have bestowed

⁷ Camille Jullian, *Histoire de la Gaule*, IV (1913), pp. 425-431.

⁸ We assume that the wife rather than the daughter of Trebellius Rufus accompanied him to Athens, although the restoration θυγατέρα might meet the requirements to fill the lacuna in line 8.

⁹ The old Latin town of Caenina. Cf. G. Wissowa, "Die römischen Staatspriestertümer alt-latinischer Gemeindegulte," *Hermes*, L, 1915, pp. 1-33.

upon their compatriot. The epistle at the left comes from the *concilium provinciae Narbonensis*. The restoration of these documents is very uncertain: we cannot confidently restore even the first four letters of line 40 as [δήμῳ]. The larger letters of line 45 are clearly differentiated and may belong to the phrase ἐξ ὧν Ἀρείου [ῶ] Πά[γου ὡ] βουλή.

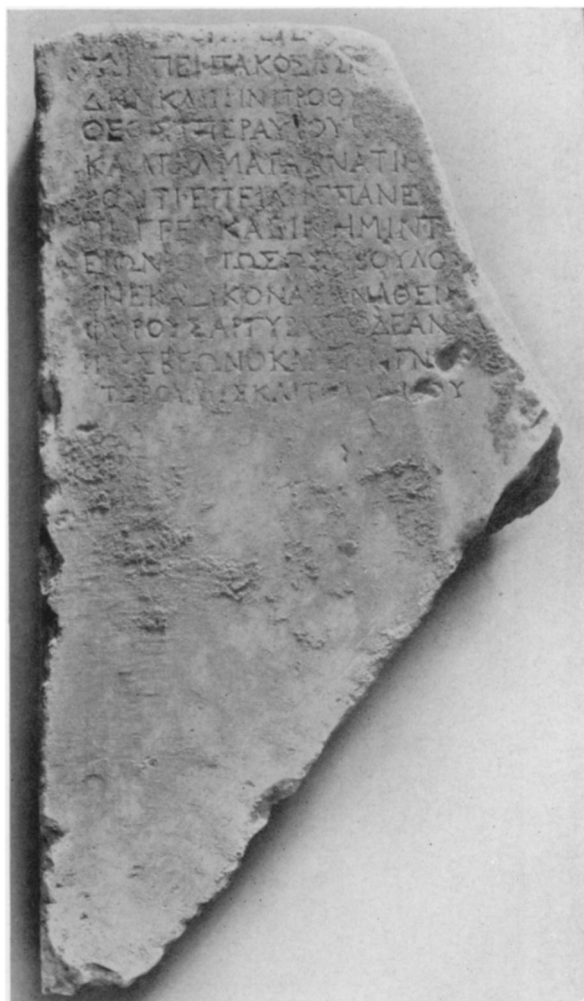
LETTER OF HADRIAN?

33. Part of a stele of Pentelic marble, found May 25, 1933, in the walls of a late pit in Section Z. The stone preserves part of the back and of the left side, but it is broken away above, below, and at the right.

As a first attempt toward an interpretation of the inscription I offer a restoration merely *exempli gratia*. The lettering is not unsuitable for the Hadrianic Period, and line 2 reveals that the document postdates the constitutional reform of 125 A.D. The person concerned was a man or boy, for whom very special religious ceremonies were officially ordered and for whom the cult statues mentioned in line 5 may well have been intended. The conclusion suggests a letter emanating from the imperial chancery after an embassy. The ἀνάλωμα mentioned in line 10 would be τὸ ἐφόδιον τῶν πρεσβευόντων. It seems, moreover, from line 8 that the writer, who accordingly would be the emperor, previously demanded or expressed a desire for the honors now bestowed on his favorite by the Athenians. All these considerations strongly suggest the situation after the death of Antinous, when Hadrian, as Dio Cassius expresses it, "had portraits of Antinous (ἀνδριάντας), or rather cult statues (ἀγάλματα), erected virtually all over the civilized world."

With the phrase οὕτως ὥς ἐβουλόμην (8) compare *Vita Hadriani*,

14, 7: et Graeci quidem volente Hadriano eum (Antinuum) consecraverunt.



No. 33

Height, 0.525 m.; width, 0.29 m.; thickness, 0.076 m.

Height of letters, 0.01 m.

Inv. No. I 869.

A.D. 130 ?

- ΙΙΖ...ΝΕΙΙ.ΕΙΕ [— — — — — τῆς βουλῆς]
 τῶν Πεντακοσίων [καὶ τοῦ δήμου τὴν σπου]
 δὴν καὶ τὴν προθυμ[ίαν, εὐχομένων πᾶσι τοῖς]
 θεοῖς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ καὶ ο[— — — — —]
 5 καὶ ἀγάλματα ἀνατιθέ[ντων τὰ λίθινα εἰς ἱε]
 ρόν τι ἐπειδὴ ἐπανελ[θόντες οἱ πρέσβεις ἀ]
 πηγγέλλασιν ἡμῖν τὰ [ἐγκαίνια τῶν Ἀντινο]
 εἰων οὕτως ὡς ἐβουλόμ[εθα, καὶ θρησκείας]
 ἔνεκα εἰκόνας ἀναθεῖν[αι οὐκ ἐώμεν χρυσο]
 10 φόρους ἀργυρᾶς. τὸ δὲ ἀνάλ[ωμα ἔδωκε ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν]
 πρέσβειων ὁ καὶ τὴν γνώμην [δηλώσας ἡμῖν τῆς]
 ὡ τε βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου ^{vvvv} [εὐτυχεῖτε]

LETTER FROM ROMAN MAGISTRATE

34. The lower part of a stele of Pentelic marble broken away above and much weathered, found on April 12, 1937, in its base and in situ below the Valerian Wall in Section ΘΘ. A raised moulding (width, 0.05 m.) runs down the edge of the inscription on either side.

Maximum height exposed, 0.63 m.; width, 1.00 m.; thickness, 0.106 m.

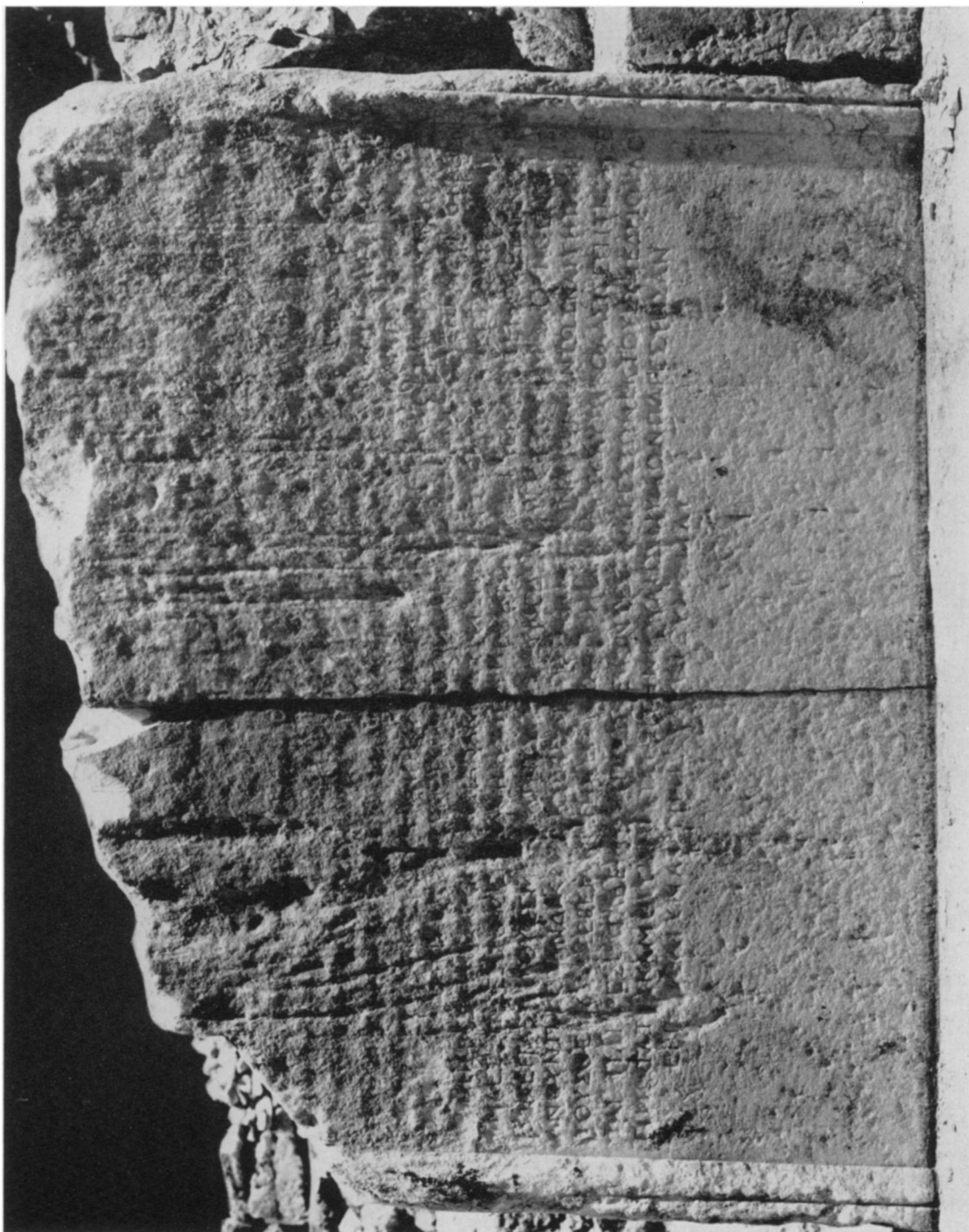
Height of letters, *ca.* 0.013 m.-0.015 m.

Inv. No. I 4713.

The inscription was first recorded by Pittakys, *Ἐπιγραφαὶ Ἀνέκδοτοι*, II (1852), pp. δ' and ε',¹⁰ but it did not find a place in the *Corpus*.

The whole upper part of the inscription has disappeared, and the reading of the middle section is very difficult. At the end of line 5 only five normal-sized letters can be accommodated between the two taus. The word [ῖ]σ[ω]ς in line 7 is most uncertain: only the upper horizontal bar of an epsilon or sigma in fourth place is clear; another horizontal line at what might be the top of the second letter, may be an accident of the weathering. The restoration [τότ]ε, for example, would not be epigraphically impossible.

¹⁰ I owe the reference to Margaret Crosby. Pittakys found the whole upper and middle part illegible and read the rest as follows: καὶ τῇ περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς [δυσε]βείᾳ καὶ τῇ περὶ ὑμᾶς [λύ]μη [ῆ δέ]ονσα αὐτῷ κόλασις ἐπιτεθήσεται. Πληρέστατα δὲ καὶ οἱ πρεσβεύσαντες ἄνδρες τῶν ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου λογιμώτατοι κάμοι τιμώτατοι τὴν βούλησιν ὑμῶν παρέστησαν. Ἐρρῶσθαι ὑμᾶς, τιμώτατοι, εὐχομαι. He described it as a letter of some emperor or proconsul.



No. 34

Second Century

- [-----]τ[...]_a
 [-----]νμ[.....]απ[.]θει
 [-----]αριιιπ[.]λι εἶπεν καὶ ε
 [-----]το]ῦ λαμπροτάτ[ο]ν [...]ων
 5 [-----]ιπερ[-----]τὸν κύριον] ἡμῶν ἀποκράτορα καὶ τ[.]ι[.]τῶν
 [...]ο[.]σ[.....]ηπ[-----]συνέβη [-----]θεὸν ἀπο[.....]ον καὶ συνηφθέν
 [τ]α μηδὲ ἐξ[αρ]ῶν [γ]εν[έσθ]αι· ἀνακρ[ει]ν[ό]μενο[ι] οὕτω τὰ πά[ν]τα], ἐπράξατε [ι]σ[ω]ς πρᾶ
 γμα ἐξετάσεως οὐδέν [τι]· ἀπήρκ[ει] γ[ὰρ] πρὸς τὴν [κρ]ίσην εἰ καὶ ἐπ' ἐμο[ῦ] ἔξαρκος γε
 γόνει τὰ ἐπ[ὶ] τ[οῦ] σέμ[νο]τάτου ἡμ[ῶν] συνεδρ[ί]ου ὡς αὐτοῦ ὁμολογηθέντα. ὥς
 10 ἂν οὖν π[ρῶτ]ον δικά[σι]μος ἀπαντήσῃ ἡμ[έρα] ἀνα[λο]γ[ο]ύντως καὶ τῇ περὶ
 τοὺς θεοὺς [εὐ]σεβεία καὶ τῇ περὶ ὑ[μ]ᾶς [τ]ιμῇ, ἡ [δέ]ουσα αὐτῷ κόλασις ἐπιτεθήσε
 ται ^v πληρέστατα δὲ καὶ οἱ πρεσβε[ύ]οντες ἄνδρες, τῶν ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου λο
 γιμάτατοι καὶ τιμώτατοι, τὴν βούλησιν ἡμῶν παρέστησαν *vacat*
 ἐρῶσθαι ὑμᾶς, τιμώτατοι, εὐχομαι *vacat*

The stone preserves the conclusion of a courteous letter from a Roman official to a "synhedrion" which convened at Athens. The writer, to whom a formal embassy had been sent, promises to punish someone who had undertaken to perform for the synhedrion certain services of a religious nature, perhaps a costly agonothesia or some other liturgy, and who had now refused to live up to his word. The phrase in lines 7-8 seems to mean, "In having everything investigated in this way, you carried out an examination which was perhaps of no importance, inasmuch as it sufficed for the instance that he has in my presence refused the services which were undertaken by him before your most revered synhedrion," i. e., in their thorough investigations they had gone to much unnecessary trouble.

For an interpretation the date of the document is of the first importance. The highly eclectic character of the script during the first three centuries after Christ makes a pronouncement on the lettering very dangerous. Still I think one can say that it falls within the second century. The beautiful block letters of this inscription are in my recollection most nearly approached by those of an epistle from Commodus to the Eumolpidae on a stele in the Museum at Eleusis. The type of moulding down the side of the inscription is also typical of the second century, and perhaps constitutes as reliable a guide as the lettering. The best parallels occur on two stones in the Epigraphical Museum, that with the decree in honor of Hadrian, *I.G.*, II², 1075, and that with the prytany decree *I.G.*, II², 1073-4 of about 120 A.D. Of the latter inscription a splendid photograph by H. Wagner and a new text have been published by S. Dow, *Prytaneis* (1937), pp. 193-197.

The recipient of the letter had despatched an embassy to the writer. The thesmothetae alone would not have sent out an embassy, so we may dismiss at once consideration of the *συνέδριον τῶν θεσμοθετῶν* as a possible identification of the recipient; and for the same reason we exclude the Council of the Five (or Six) Hundred. We are left with only three choices among the synhedria which convened at Athens, namely the Council of the Areopagus supreme in the Athenian state under the Roman principate,¹¹ the Panhellenion founded in the reign of Hadrian,¹² and the Sacred Gerusia established under the jointly ruling emperors Marcus Aurelius and Commodus.¹³ The address *σεμνότατον συνέδριον* (9) is hardly suitable for the last, for no document has yet been found to use that phrase in reference to the Athenian Gerusia, whereas both the Council of the Areopagus and the Panhellenion are commonly so named.

¹¹ B. Keil, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Areopags* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1920) = *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig*, Phil.-hist. Klasse, LXXI, 1919, Heft 8.

¹² M. N. Tod, *J.H.S.*, XLII, 1922, pp. 167-180; P. Graindor, *Athènes sous Hadrien* (Cairo, 1934), pp. 102-111.

¹³ J. H. Oliver, *The Sacred Gerusia* (to be published as *Hesperia*, Supplement VI).

Any communication from the Athenian state to a Roman magistrate always went out in the name of the Council of the Areopagus, the Council of the Five (or Six) Hundred and the Demos of the Athenians jointly, and *vice versa* any letter to the Athenian state was addressed to those two councils jointly, never to the Areopagus alone, according to the abundant evidence at our command. Even if the Areopagus in its capacity as a court for cases of impiety undertook alone the regulation of this matter without the cooperation of the other council, the official negotiations with the Roman magistrate would have been, I should expect, transacted in the name of the Athenian state, so that the letter could not have been addressed to the *σεμνότατον συνέδριον* of the Areopagites alone.

Thus the letter can only have been addressed to the Panhellenes, whose synhedrion was established at Athens by Hadrian in 132 A.D. The stele, which is still in situ, may have been erected precisely here because of the connection which apparently existed between the Panhellenion and the Eleusinian cult,¹⁴ but this question can be deferred until the topographical investigation of this section of the Agora is further advanced.

The reference to "our lord emperor" in line 5 excludes the possibility that the document was an imperial letter, and it excludes a date within the periods when Marcus Aurelius shared the throne with a partner. The inscription may have been set up as late as the reign of Commodus or as early as the reign of Hadrian. A governor like the proconsul of Achaëa or a legatus propraetore rather than an imperial procurator, the writer was someone with judicial authority, someone well acquainted with those Panhellenes who were sent to him by the synhedrion and of whom he speaks affectionately in the tone of an important personage.

RECORD OF SARDIAN AFFAIRS

35. A fragment of Pentelic marble, found on December 31, 1934, in the demolition of a modern wall in Section II. It preserves part of a smooth back and part of the left side, but it is broken away at the right, above, and below.

Height, 0.205 m.; width, 0.285 m.; thickness, 0.08 m.

Height of letters, 0.012 m.

Inv. No. I 2269.

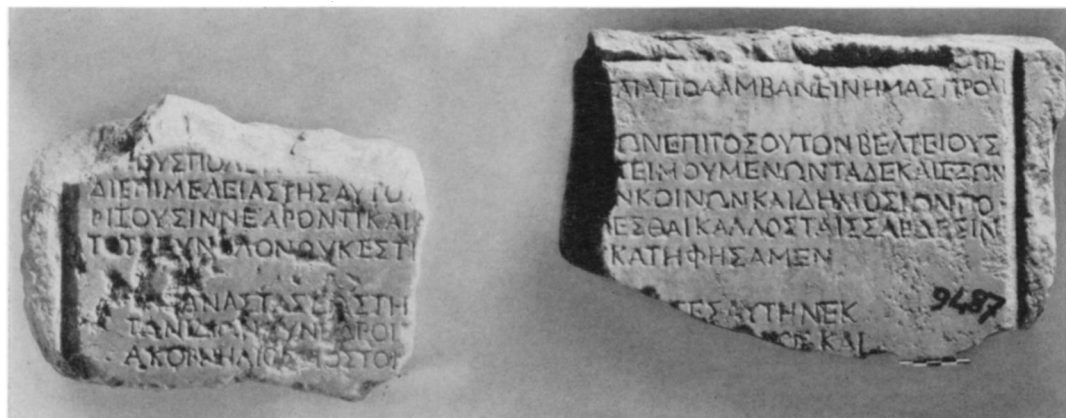
Another fragment (*b*) of this inscription was discovered in 1829 in "archaeological investigations" on the Acropolis west of the Propylaea. It preserves part of the back and part of the right side, but it is broken away at the left, above, and below.

¹⁴ P. Graindor, *Athènes sous Hadrien* (Cairo, 1934), pp. 110 and 126.

K. S. Pittakys, *Ἐφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογική*, 1842, no. 1036. W. Dittenberger, *I.G.*, III (1878), 14 from Koehler's copy. J. Kirchner, *I.G.*, II² (1916), 1089.

Height, 0.23 m.; width, 0.34 m.

Inventory No. in Epigraphical Museum, 9487.



No. 35

Shortly after 132 A.D.

[-----]ατε *b*
 [-----]ται ἀπολαμβάνειν ἡμᾶς προαι
 [-----] *vacat*
a [---]σ[-----]ων ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον βελτέιους
 5 [...]ους πολέϊτας, [-----]φιλο]τειμουμένων τάδε καὶ ἐξ ὧν
 δι' ἐπιμελείας τῆς αὐτοῖ [-----]τῶ]ν κοινῶν καὶ δημοσίων πο
 ρίζουσιν νεαρόν τι καὶ α[-----]γε]νέσθαι κάλλος ταῖς Σάρδεσιν
 τό τε σύνολον οὐκ ἔστι [-----]κατηφῆσαμεν *vacat*
vacat [*vacat*
 τῆς ἀναστάσεως τῇ[ς στήλης οἱ ἐπιμεληθέντες καὶ κατασκευάσαν]τες αὐτὴν ἐκ *vacat*
 10 τῶν ιδίων σύνεδροι Γ[-----]χος καὶ *vacat*
 Α(ῦλος) Κορνήλιος Πόστομ[ος -----]

In his notes on fragment *b* Koehler correctly pointed out that it was very similar to, but not a part of, the stele engraved with *I.G.*, II², 1088, a record of Hadrian's benefactions to Thyatira. The latter was set up in Athens as the seat of the Panhellenion and center of the Greek world. From lines 7, 9, and 10 it appears that this inscription was erected at Athens for the same reasons by the delegates of Sardes to the Panhellenion, the foundation of which in 132 A.D. constitutes a *terminus post quem*.

DECREE ASSIGNING DIVINE HONORS TO JULIA DOMNA

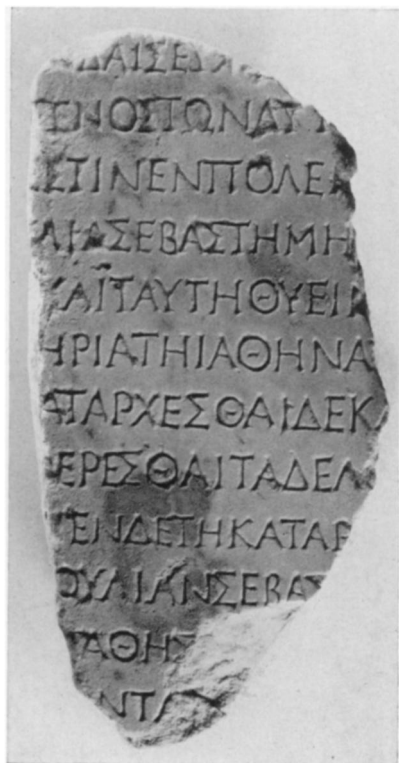
36. A fragment of Pentelic marble, found on June 1, 1939, in a modern wall of Section BB. Part of the rough-picked back is preserved, but above, below, and at either side the inscription is broken away.

Height, 0.33 m.; width, 0.165 m.; thickness, 0.075 m.

Height of letters, 0.014 m.

Inv. No. I 5855.

Livia the consort of Augustus and Julia Domna the consort of Septimius Severus are both called Ἰουλία Σεβαστή in Athenian inscriptions. That the decree represented by this fragment concerns Julia Domna and not Livia, emerges from a comparison with an amended version of the same decree on an inscription republished with new fragments in the *H.S.C.P.*, Supplementary Volume I, 1940, pp. 521-530. The latter refers to an original decree which had been drafted by Elpidophorus son of -- ades of the deme Pallene. In this inscription of the original as in that of the amended version iota adscript was sometimes engraved and sometimes omitted, e. g., ταύτη (6) but τῇ (7). There is, of course, no indication where the line division came.



No. 36

A.D. 195 or somewhat later

[-----]
 [----- Ἰανουαρίαις Καλά]νδαις εὐχ[εσθαι -----]
 [-----]ενος τῶν αὐτ[-----]
 [-----] ἐστιν ἐν Πόλει [-----]
 5 [----- Ἰο]υλία Σεβαστῇ μη[τρὶ τῶν στρατοπέδων -----]
 [-----] καὶ ταύτῃ θύειν [-----]
 [-----] τὰ εἰσιτ[ή]ρια τῇ Ἀθηνῶ [τῇ -----]
 [-----] κ[α]τάρχεσθαι δὲ κα[ὶ] τούτων τῶν θυσιῶν τὴν ἰέρειαν τῆς Ἀθηνῶς
 [τῆς Πολιάδος καὶ τὰ γέρα] φέρεσθαι· τὰ δὲ λο[ιπὰ -----]
 10 [-----]πεν δὲ τῇ καταρ[-----]
 [-----] Ἰουλίαν Σεβασ[τὴν -----]
 [-----] αθησ[-----]
 [-----] ντα[-----]
 [-----]

The provision in the amended version that the polemarch was to sacrifice to the *mater castrorum* on the first day of the Roman year may help to explain the references in lines 2, 5, and 6. The priestess of Athena Polias was to begin these sacrifices and to receive the perquisites. For its bearing on the restoration of lines 8-9 the text of the amended version may be cited: κα[τ|ἀρχε]σθ[αι] δὲ [κ]αὶ [τούτω]ν τῶν θυνσιῶν τὴν ἱέρεια[ν τῆς Ἀ]θηνᾶς [τῆς Πολιά]δος καὶ τὰ γέρα φέρεσθ[αι]. The inaugural offerings (7) were in the later version to be offered to "the [savior of Athens Julia Domna who is] Athena Polias." Line 4 may refer to the altar of the Augusti on the Acropolis (e. g., παρὰ τὸν βωμὸν τῶν Σεβαστῶν ὅς] ἐστὶν ἐν Πόλει), while line 13 suggests the word ἄρχο]ντα[ς or πᾶ]ντα[ς, and line 12 the reading Ἀ]γαθῆς [Τύχης.

DECREE HONORING C. FULVIUS PLAUTIANUS

37. Two fragments of unweathered Pentelic marble belong to a stele of which the Epigraphical Museum contains six other pieces. Three of the latter are published as *I.G.*, II², 1081/5 and 1116, while the others are hitherto unpublished. For the neatness and size of its lettering and for the smooth finish on back as well as on front and sides, the inscription must have been one of the handsomest ever erected at Athens.

Thickness, 0.08-0.10 m.

Height of letters, 0.02 m.

The eight pieces, each of which preserves part of the original back, make up as the following five fragments.

Fragment *a* was found on October 3, 1858, in the demolition of a Frankish wall on the Acropolis. It preserves part of the top but it is broken away at the sides and below. K. S. Pittakys, *Ἐφημερὶς Ἀρχαιολογική*, 1860, no. 3743. W. Dittenberger, *I.G.*, III (1878), 9 from Koehler's collation. J. Kirchner, *I.G.*, II² (1916), 1081/5.

Height, 0.39 m.; width, 0.235 m.

Inventory No. at Epigraphical Museum, 9484.

Fragment *b* is broken away at the sides, above, and below.

Height, 0.275 m.; width, 0.20 m.

Inventory No. at Epigraphical Museum, 9483.

Fragment *c*: Four pieces, of which at least two came from the Acropolis, join as one to form fragment *c*, broken away at the left, above and below but preserving part of the right side. EM 8582, found on October 22, 1838, northeast of the Propylaea, was published by K. S. Pittakys, *Ἐφημερὶς Ἀρχαιολογική*, 1856, no. 2896, and



by W. Dittenberger, *I.G.*, III (1882), 3834 from Koehler's copy. EM 8583 was added to EM 8582 by J. Kirchner in *I.G.*, II² (1916), 1116.

Height, 0.59 m.; width, 0.346 m.

Inventory No. at Epigraphical Museum, 5728 + 5831 + 8582 + 8583.

Fragments *d* and *e* were found in May, 1937, in a modern fill in Section ΘΘ at the Agora. They are broken away at the sides, above, and below. Some of the letters on *d* still preserve their red color.

Fragment *d*: height, 0.258 m.; width, 0.165 m.

Fragment *e*: height, 0.105 m.; width, 0.05 m.

Inv. No. I 4853.

A.D. 203

a [Ἐπὶ ---]μον ἄρχ[οντος -----]
 [-----]ων ἐν ἄσ[τει -----]
 [-----]να κοινὰ τ[-----]
 [--- θε]οῖς τῶι τε Ἐλ[ευθερίωι Διὶ καὶ ---]
 5 [-----]ίωι Καίσαρ[ι -----]
 [-----]ρι συνκαθ[ιδρῦσαι -----]
 [--- κολ]οσσικῆν εἰκ[όνα -----]
 [---]ς ἐν ᾧ αὐτὸ[ς -----]
 [--- κ]αὶ ποιήσει σ[-----]
 10 [---]ντίδος φυ[λῆς -----]

b

c

[-----]εν[-----]σ[.....] Ἐλαφῆ ^v
 [βολιῶν]ος τῇι [--- ^{±12} ---] ἐκκ[λη]σίαι ^{vv} τὰς
 [.....]ις αὐτο[ῦ --- ^{±6} --- πρὸς τ]οὺς παῖδας κα[ι]
 [τοὺς] ἐφήβους [--- ^{±11} --- α]ὐτῶν ἐπαναγινώ
 15 [σκεσ]θαι ^v προστ[άτην δ' αὐτὸν ε]ἶμαι καὶ τοῦ δή ^{vv}
 [μον κα]ὶ τῆς τῶν [Πεντακοσίων] βουλῆς ^v ἐν ἡ ^v
 [σεμνοτά]τῃι πό[λει --- ^{±9} ---]κηι σύνεδρον [^v]
 [.....]ται [--- --- α]ὐτοῦ καὶ παρὰ ^{vv}
 [-----] χαλκοὺς ἀνδρ[ι]
 20 [άντας ----- δ]ὲ σίτησιν ἔχειν
 [-----]ριον στέφα ^v
 [ν -----]ς στροφίοις
 [-----] χρυ]σοφορί<α>ν δ[.]
 [-----] *vacat*
 25 [-----]ερον ^{vv}
 [-----]ριον ^v
 [-----]ν ^v

<i>d</i>	
]ωλ[
]νεσθ[<i>e</i>
] χρυσα[]χ[
]ι αὐτο[]ιτ[
]το επ[]—[
]ιστ[
]νι[

RESTORATIONS: 1-2 Pittakys. 4-7 τοῖς θε]οῖς, τῶι τε Ἐλ[ευθερίωι Διὶ καὶ Ἀδρια]γῶι Καίσαρ[ι Σεβαστῶι Σωτῇ]ρι, συνκαθ[ιδρῦσαι — — κολ]οσσικὴν εἰκ[όνα, Dittenberger. 8 καὶ ἄλλας εἰκόνας ἐν ᾧ αὐτὸ[ς ἀν βούληται τόπωι?, Dittenberger. 9 Dittenberger. 10 Pittakys. 12 Ἐλαφη|[βολιῶνος, Dittenberger; ἐκ[λη]σίαι, Oliver. 13 τ]οὺς, Oliver; κα[ὶ], Dittenberger. 13-22 Oliver. 23 Hiller von Gaertringen *apud* Kirchner.

We date the inscription first of all on the basis of the letter forms which in *I.G.*, II², 1081/5 Kirchner assigned to the second or third century after Christ. The year's archon is mentioned in line 1, but the little that remains of his name might indicate Coponius Maximus (117/8 A.D.), Popillius Theotimus (155/6 A.D.), Philotimus (182/3-190/1 A.D.), or the unknown incumbent of some vacant year. Dittenberger wished to read in lines 4-6 a reference to the famous adjacent statues of Zeus Eleutherius and Hadrian which Pausanias (I, 3, 2) mentions in his description of the Agora. Although revision of the stone excludes his reconstruction Ἀδρια]γῶι Καίσαρ[ι for line 5, the text can be restored, nevertheless, to refer to Hadrian: τῶι τε Ἐλ[ευθερίωι Διὶ καὶ τῶι Διὶ τῶι | Πανελλήν]ίωι Καίσαρ[ι Τραιανῶι Ἀδριανῶι | Αὐτοκράτο]ρι. But the text might also be restored τῶι τε Ἐλ[ευθερίωι Διὶ καὶ Μάρ]κωι Αὐρηλ]ίωι Καίσαρ[ι τῶι μεγίστῳι ἡμῶν | Αὐτοκράτο]ρι, and in other ways.

If, as Dittenberger argued, the colossal statue must have been that of an emperor, Commodus would be the most likely emperor, and Philotimus could be the archon mentioned in line 1. But fragments *b* and *c*, which are here for the first time brought together with fragment *a*, do not belong to a decree concerning an emperor. The familiar formula of the specification in line 20, σίτησιν ἔχειν, points even to an honorary decree for an Athenian citizen or representative, and reference to special creation or adoption (ποίησις) may be contained in lines 9-10.

If, however, he cannot have been an emperor, the erection of a colossal statue of him, even though it was not of precious metal, infringed closely on an imperial prerogative. It associated him symbolically with the emperor's power, and statues were regarded by the ancients as very significant, as we see for example in the account of the rise and fall of Sejanus. The latter's career lies beyond the chronological limits of our period, but within our period do occur the rise and fall of C. Fulvius Plautianus, the greatest of all the praetorian prefects, for an appreciation of whose remarkable career with references to the ancient sources I refer the reader to the account by

H. M. D. Parker, *A History of the Roman World from A.D. 138 to 337* (London, Methuen, 1935), pp. 73-75.

This arrogant man had an amazing ascendancy over Septimius Severus. An African like the emperor himself, Plautianus had acquired great wealth from the confiscation of the property of Niger's adherents. Having rid himself of a colleague, he held office as sole and permanent praetorian prefect from about 197 A.D. He was made a senator by the emperor, and in 202 A.D. he reached the height of his career on giving his daughter in marriage to Caracalla. In the following year he shared the consulate with Geta and thus united in his own person simultaneously the highest office in the senatorial and the highest office in the equestrian career. His greatness was thus unprecedented, and he acted and was treated as an emperor. Septimius Severus had to check his pretensions in 204 A.D., but the end did not come until the following year. Caracalla, whose marriage with his daughter had been unhappy, hated Plautianus bitterly and persuaded Septimius Severus that Plautianus had been plotting against him. Suddenly summoned to the emperor without any indication of the reason, he was murdered in the palace by Caracalla and an attendant in the very presence of the senior emperor.

In view of the indications in lines 5-7 that the decree called for the erection of a colossal statue of someone who was not an emperor beside a statue of someone who was an emperor, I draw attention to Dio, LXXV, 14, 6-7 (Cary's translation): "In view of all this, one might not improperly claim that Plautianus had power beyond all men, equalling even that of the emperors themselves. Among other things, his statues (*ἀνδριάντες*) and images (*εἰκόνες*) were not only far more numerous but also larger than theirs, and this not only in outside cities but in Rome itself, and they were erected not merely by individuals or communities (*δήμων*) but by the very senate." Such a situation was indeed unique, and the Athenian decree therefore must have concerned Plautianus. A somewhat vague but similar tradition appears in the *Vita Severi*, XIV, 5, where the emperor is described as "iratus praecipue, quod inter propinquorum et adfinium Severi simulacra suam statuam ille (Plautianus) posuisset."

Further confirmation of this identification occurs in lines 15-17, where it is tempting to read, *προστ[άτην δ' αὐτὸν εἶ]ναι καὶ τοῦ δή[μου κα]ὶ τῆς τῶν [Πεντακοσίων] βουλῆς*, with which I should connect the following phrase, *ἐν ᾗ [σεμνοτά]τῃ πό[λει, κτλ.*, and interpret the words as meaning "patron in the city of Rome." In Latin the title reads in other sections of the empire "patronus ordinis et populi" or "patronus decurionum et populi." As far as I recognize, there is only one known case of a Roman *patronus* for Athens. In an Eleusinian inscription, *I.G.*, II², 4216, dated not earlier than 203 A.D., Fulvius Plautianus is honored as *προστάτης* by the *πόλις*, a term which indicates cooperation between the Council of the Five Hundred and the Demos.¹⁵

¹⁵ B. Keil, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Areopags* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1920), p. 32.

The extraordinary whiteness of the fragments reveals that the inscription could not long have been exposed to the elements. Dio expressly says that all the statues of Plautianus were destroyed after his death in 205. But some of his statues were removed in the previous year as we learn from Dio, LXXV, 16, 2 (Cary's translation): "On one occasion, when a great many images of Plautianus had been made, Severus was displeased at their number and caused some of them to be melted down." We may presume that Severus selected for destruction those statues which were particularly improper, such as the Athenian colossal image of Plautianus standing next to that of Caracalla (if he is the Caesar mentioned in line 5). Together with the colossal image the inscription ordaining its erection would have been removed from sight.

JAMES H. OLIVER

EDITOR'S NOTE

The following inscriptions from the Agora have been published elsewhere than in *Hesperia* and not as yet noted in this journal or its supplements:

The American Journal of Archaeology

XL, 1936, p. 196 (I 3845)

XLI, 1937, pp. 184-187 (I 4707)

The American Journal of Philology

LXI, 1940, pp. 347-353 (I 5020)

Pritchett and Meritt, *The Chronology of Hellenistic Athens*

p. 8 (I 5884)

pp. 117-118 (I 2155)

pp. 22-23 (I 5559)

p. 119 (I 4187)

p. 25 (I 5191)

p. 120 (I 4250)

p. 101 (I 5796)

pp. 121-122 (I 4917)

p. 111 (I 5722)

p. 125 (I 684)

p. 112 (I 5573)

p. 127 (I 4241)

pp. 114-115 (I 973b + 5457)

In addition, the unpublished inscription I 1804 + 1870 has been mentioned by Pritchett in *A.J.P.*, LXI, 1940, p. 190, and the unpublished inscription I 5512 has been mentioned by Pritchett and Meritt in *Chronology*, p. 2.

In 1936 about 125 sepulchral monuments discovered in the Agora were placed at the disposal of Johannes Kirchner for publication in the *Berlin Corpus*. It is not as yet possible to give exact references for the publication of these items. Further notice of them will be given at a later date.

B. D. MERITT