

THE AMERICAN EXCAVATIONS IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA  
HESPERIA: SUPPLEMENT VI

THE  
**SACRED GERUSIA**



BY  
**JAMES H. OLIVER**

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To George Lincoln Hendrickson, Professor Emeritus of Classical Philology at Yale University, and to Michael Ivanovitch Rostovtzeff, Professor Emeritus of Ancient History at Yale University, this study is gratefully and affectionately dedicated.

## PREFACE

This book has developed out of a study of three inscriptions (Nos. 24, 31, and 32) which were found in the American Excavations of the Ancient Athenian Agora, and which were entrusted to me for publication. These documents throw new light upon the Athenian Gerusia, for which I am here presenting the evidence and the comparative material as far as I have succeeded in isolating it.

In the majority of places where gerusiae appear, no certain indication of the institution's character has survived. I have wished to avoid confusing the reader with a great deal of really irrelevant matter, and yet I have wanted to make the comparative material as complete as possible. So I have included not all the possibilities but all those texts where in my opinion a certain indication or probability exists that they deal with an institution of this specialized character. It has been difficult to draw the line. Some readers might have preferred to eliminate some of the organizations on which we have focused our attention, such as the Gerusiae at Thessalonica or at Tralles or at Apamea; and others may have felt that still more should have been included, like the Gerusiae at Sidyma, at Acmonia, and at Nicaea. Still, the essential evidence is here presented, and the reader should not forget that various degrees of probability exist for the character of the institution in the different localities represented in this collection.

Grateful acknowledgments are here made to many scholars with whom I have had the privilege of discussing my problems, in the first place to B. D. Meritt, W. L. Westermann, and K. Kourouniotes; also to E. Schweigert, M. MacLaren, and H. A. Thompson. B. D. Meritt has read the book in manuscript and proof and has aided in the establishment of texts and translations. Ch. Edson most generously placed his readings of the stones from Thessalonica at my disposal. O. Walter and O. Gottwald procured for me from the Austrian Archaeological Institute in Vienna tracings of unpublished copies of Carian inscriptions. B. Ashmole and Miss Louise Dickey patiently checked readings for me in the British Museum. That an investigation was at all possible is due to the combined efforts of my former colleagues of the Agora staff, in the first place to the Managing Committee of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens under the presidency of E. Capps, to the Field Director T. L. Shear, to the wonderful cataloguing department under the management of Lucy Talcott, to the excavators and to the rest. To all these scholars I publicly tend my warmest thanks.

Any work like this is based on the contributions of many scholars, but in regard to the previous publications which have prepared the way for me three great debts call

for special acknowledgment to the following: (1) F. Poland's list of gerusiae and of the documents attesting them, *Geschichte des Griechischen Vereinswesens* (1909), pp. 577-587; (2) the splendid Austrian publications of the epigraphical material found in the excavations at Ephesus; (3) Ch. Picard's studies of the Ephesian Gerusia and of related problems in his monumental work *Éphèse et Claros* (1922).

Finally, I express my appreciation to my wife for having photographed some of the more inaccessible inscriptions, for aiding with the index, and for other services.

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JAMES H. OLIVER

## ABBREVIATIONS

- A.J.A. = American Journal of Archaeology  
Anz. Ak. Wien = Anzeiger der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien  
Ath. Mitt. = Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts. Athenische Abteilung  
B.C.H. = Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique  
B.M.I. = The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum, 4 volumes (London, 1874-1916)  
B. ph. Woch. = Berliner philologische Wochenschrift  
Ber. d. Sächs. Akad. d. Wissensch. = Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig  
C.I.G. = Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum  
C.I.L. = Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum  
E.M. — These letters refer to the catalogue of the Epigraphical Museum at Athens  
I.G. = Inscriptiones Graecae consilio et auctoritate Academiae Litterarum Borussicae editae (Berlin, 1873- )  
I.G., II<sup>2</sup> = Inscriptiones Graecae, Vols. II-III, editio minor (Berlin, 1913- )  
I.G., IV<sup>2</sup> = Inscriptiones Graecae, Vol. IV, editio minor (Berlin, 1929- )  
I.G.R.R. = R. Cagnat, Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes, Vol. I (Paris, 1911), Vol. III (Paris, 1906), Vol. IV (Paris, 1927)  
J.H.S. = The Journal of Hellenic Studies  
J.R.S. = The Journal of Roman Studies  
Jahrbuch = Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts  
Jahreshefte = Jahreshefte des österreichischen archäologischen Institutes in Wien  
Michel = C. Michel, Recueil d'Inscriptions Grecques (Brussels, 1900, with supplements in 1912 and 1927)  
O.G.I.S. = W. Dittenberger, Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae, 2 volumes (Leipzig, 1903 and 1905)  
Phil. Woch. = Philologische Wochenschrift  
Real-Enc. (or R.E.) = Pauly's Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft, edited by Georg Wissowa and others (Stuttgart, 1894- )  
Rev. Arch. = Revue Archéologique  
Rev. de Phil. = Revue de Philologie de Littérature et d'Histoire anciennes  
Rev. Épigr. = Revue Épigraphique  
Rev. Ét. Gr. = Revue des Études Grecques  
S.E.G. = J. J. E. Hondius et alii, Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum (Leyden)  
S.I.G.<sup>1</sup> = W. Dittenberger, Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum, first edition (Leipzig, 1883)  
S.I.G.<sup>2</sup> = Idem, second edition, 3 volumes (Leipzig, 1898-1901)  
S.I.G.<sup>3</sup> = Idem, third edition by F. Hiller von Gaertringen, 4 volumes (Leipzig, 1915-1924)  
Sitzungsber. Ak. Berlin = Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften  
Sitzungsber. Ak. Wien = Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien  
T.A.M. = Tituli Asiae Minoris, collecti et editi auspiciis (Caesariae) Academiae Litterarum Vindobonensis (Vienna, 1901- )  
Voyage Archéologique — References are to Ph. Le Bas and W. H. Waddington, Voyage Archéologique en Grèce et en Asie Mineure, Vol. III (Paris, 1870-1872), which contains copies by Le Bas and texts and commentary by Waddington

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PART I  
HISTORY

# CHAPTER I

## THE ATHENIAN GERUSIA

The archon Marcus Ulpius Eubiotus Leurus of the deme Gargettus, a man of consular rank, received for his great benefactions to the Athenians, approximately in the reign of Severus Alexander, lavish testimony of the city's gratitude. Along with other honors his fellow citizens voted to erect his statue at public expense both in the Prytaneum and in the synhedrion of the Sacred Gerusia. An inscription was to accompany each of the two statues, and of these two inscriptions several fragments have been found in the American Excavations of the Ancient Athenian Agora and are published here as Nos. 31 and 32 in Part II, where we have collected all documents in which mention occurs of the Sacred Gerusia or of its members (*γέροντες*, *γέρονται*, or *πρεσβύτεροι*). The two texts are in duplicates; No. 31 preserves a sizable portion of the probuleuma of the Council and a large section also of the decree of the Demos, which is couched in much the same language. The services rendered by Ulpius Eubiotus are gratefully enumerated in these decrees and also in other inscriptions on privately or publicly erected statue bases. First, he had saved the city in the course of a grain famine by making enormous contributions both of his own supplies and of money for the purchase of additional supplies. Secondly, he had taken upon himself voluntarily the expense and labor of serving as agonothete at the Panathenaic festival.

That his benefactions should be acknowledged through the erection of his statue and through the inscription of the decrees in the Prytaneum seems natural enough, but the synhedrion of the Sacred Gerusia, a locality which indeed is mentioned in no other Athenian inscription, does not constitute such an obvious place for a memorial to a public benefactor. Considered by itself, the choice might have been due to an accident, but a connection would normally be assumed between the two services which the man rendered and the two localities where the honorary decrees were recorded in stone below the man's portrait. Therefore, it seems probable that the synhedrion of the Sacred Gerusia was selected because of the second service of Ulpius Eubiotus, namely, the voluntary *ἀγωνοθεσία* of the Panathenaic festival, and it would follow that the Sacred Gerusia probably had a special interest in the arrangements for the Panathenaic festival.

The Sacred Gerusia is an institution about which at Athens we have been hitherto very poorly informed. Casual references occur in other documents, but the most significant sources now available for the study of its character and purpose are a

series of imperial letters on the affairs of this institution. First, there is *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1108, to which the American excavations in the Athenian Agora have added several important fragments, so that we now dispose of a considerable text. It is only through the new fragments that we learn that this inscription concerned the Gerusia at all. Secondly, there is in the Epigraphical Museum a small, previously unpublished fragment of another plaque or stele; and thirdly, there is *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1112. The three inscriptions are here presented in Part II as Nos. 24, 25, and 26.

The first plaque, No. 24, contains at least three letters which we designate as I, II, and III. No. 25, engraved by the same workman<sup>1</sup> using the same arrangement and the same quality of marble, preserves part of one epistle, which may be called Letter IV. It probably belonged to a series which followed immediately upon No. 24. What we may call the third plaque, No. 26, seems to preserve three letters which we conveniently, but inaccurately, designate as V, VI, and VII.

The uniformity of the lettering and the neat arrangement reveal that, although years may have elapsed between the arrival of the first and the arrival of the third of these imperial letters, the documents which make up No. 24 were all engraved on their plaque at the same time. No. 26 presents a similar uniformity, and again we recognize that several letters were inscribed at one time. It is perhaps conceivable that the two stones were prepared simultaneously and that a few of the later communications which emerged from the imperial chancery were by design engraved in larger characters on the third plaque to stand out more prominently, but probably the marked difference in the lettering and thickness of the two stones results from the accident that the commissions were assigned to the lapidaries on different occasions.

Letters I, II, and III are from the jointly reigning emperors Marcus Aurelius and Commodus. The date of the second letter cannot be later than 179 A.D. because of the phrase in line 20 *αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ >αἱ>* among the titles of Marcus Aurelius. It falls after January 1, 179 because Commodus is already consul for the second time. The first letter is presumably earlier than the second. Since, however, Commodus has the title *Σεβαστός* and also the titles *ἀνθύπατος* and *πατὴρ πατρίδος*, according to the restoration which the length of the lacuna imposes upon us, the first letter cannot be earlier than the year 177. The date of the third letter falls after the tenth imperial salutation which Marcus Aurelius received in the year 179, and the death of the emperor on March 17, 180 provides a *terminus ante quem*.

Letters V, VI, and VII cannot be as accurately dated by themselves, because the heading with the imperial titles is altogether lacking in [Letter] V and is represented by only a small section in the case of Letters VI and VII, where, however, the imperial titles of either Commodus or Caracalla might be restored. In my opinion the

<sup>1</sup> The very simple square letters of this hand are quite distinctive. They appear also in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1794 and 4509.

reign of Caracalla may be eliminated, because the series on No. 26 continues the series on No. 24 and must be closely connected with it in time. On the basis of the lettering alone, Kirchner preferred to assign the third plaque to the reign of Commodus.

The imperial letters, accordingly, were published in batches. The first group obviously was engraved before Commodus, who died December 31, 192 A.D., suffered the *damnatio memoriae*, because the emperor's name was later erased and then inserted again. I surmise that it was engraved not long after 179 A.D., so that two other steles were necessary for the communications during the time that Commodus ruled alone. It is important to notice that the citation at the top of No. 24, Ἐπώνυμος Κλ Δαδοῦχος, does not give the date of publication by the year of the eponymous archon of Athens. Cladius the daduchus,<sup>2</sup> a very prominent Athenian of this period, did indeed serve as archon of Athens sometime between 187/8 and 200 A.D.,<sup>3</sup> but here the title would have to read ἀρχων with or without a specification. The title ἐπώνυμος<sup>4</sup> occurs frequently in Athens on prytany catalogues and on other dedications<sup>5</sup> erected by Athenian tribes. The latter officer, although he may have been also the priest of the eponymous hero of the tribe, was essentially a patron or benefactor who gave financial aid to the prytanes in the performance of their duties. An inscription outside Athens has illuminated considerably the position of a corporation's eponymus. The decree of the Sarapiasts at Thasos, *I.G.*, XII, 8, suppl., no. 365, shows clearly that the eponymus was not the priest or the administrator but a patron who really bought the honorary position and whose name stood in first place on all official documents of the society.

Claudius the daduchus must have stood in some such position to the Gerusia, to which he obviously belonged. He probably assisted them financially in the performance of their duties. The eponymate of Cladius the daduchus in no way connects the date of publication of No. 24 with the Athenian archonship of the same man, and it does not, therefore, assist us in arriving at a known *terminus post quem* for the letters engraved on Nos. 25 and 26.

Since we have now established with sufficient accuracy the date of these imperial communications to or about the public corporation called the Gerusia of the Athenians, we examine them as to content. Letter I deals with several disconnected problems. The first of these concerns those who cut down timber on certain estates (*χωρία*) of which the Gerusia has the management. Another problem on which the emperors express themselves concerns the *ius scribendi* φόδην. This recalls the φόδη used in the service of the gods as also in the imperial cult, and the duties of the ὑμινῳδοί or

<sup>2</sup> His family tree is drawn up by J. Kirchner in the commentary on *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3609.

<sup>3</sup> P. Graindor, *Chronologie des archontes Athéniens sous l'empire* (1922), p. 211.

<sup>4</sup> The earliest case appears in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1764 (138/9 A.D.).

<sup>5</sup> Compare the herm with the portrait of Moeragenes, published by T. L. Shear, *Hesperia*, V (1936), pp. 16-17: Μοιραγένης Δρομοκλέους ἐκ Κοίλης | ἐπώνυμος τῆς Ιπποθωντίδος φυλῆς.

θεσμωδοί, whose connection with the imperial cult is well known.<sup>6</sup> Here again the Gerusia appears to have a particular interest in the conduct of religious festivals.

In line 15 the emperors discuss the appointment of the archon (*sc. τῆς γερουσίας*). The Gerusia appears to be still in an incipient state, where such fundamental questions of organization and function have yet to be settled. General policies are being formulated, and in line 20 (*initio*) we see the conclusion of some phrase like “as was granted to the Gerusiae at . . . and . . .”

Twice in the letter the emperors refer the Elders<sup>7</sup> to the imperial procurator Caelius Quadratus. Significantly these references appear in the passage concerning the estates (*χωρία*); and near the conclusion the emperors have something further to say as to how they intend henceforth to select the procurator.

Letter II, which after the salutation begins “Ησθημεν τοῖς γ[ρ]άμμασιν ὑμῶν ἐντυχόντες κτλ., constitutes demonstrably a rescript. The Gerusia, therefore, had not submitted a *libellus*, but as a public body it had sent the emperors an *epistula*. This deduction as to the status of the corporation is justifiable in view of the evidence assembled by U. Wilcken, “Zu den Kaiserreskripten,” *Hermes*, LV (1920), pp. 1-42.

The Letter begins with an obscure passage concerning purchases made for the synhedrion by the emperors in order to supply free distributions. This may well refer to distributions at religious festivals, but I cannot confidently restore the passage. The next section of the Letter, however, can be reconstructed. To an offer on the part of the Gerusia to make gold or silver images of them and their consorts, the emperors reply that they would prefer it if the Elders made the portraits of bronze, preferably busts of uniform and moderate size such as could easily be used at the religious gatherings and transported wherever needed. Again we have the feeling that the Gerusia is concerned with the arrangements for religious festivals. Finally, the emperors, perhaps in regard to other questions, remind the Elders as in Letter I that the imperial procurator is the competent authority to advise and instruct them in their problems.

Letter III, although not addressed to the Gerusia itself (see line 50), discusses their affairs. The preamble may have ended with the words ‘Αθηναίων τῇ πόλει. The sadly mutilated condition of the document renders a satisfactory analysis of its contents impossible, but the phrase *νεομισμέναι ήμέραι* and the reference to white raiment suggest that the conduct of religious festivals was one of the subjects upon which the emperors pronounced their views. The buleuteria in the city (line 51) may have been mentioned as possible meeting places suitable to the Gerusia or to the celebrants.

<sup>6</sup> F. Poland, “Griechische Sängervereinigungen im Altertum,” *Wissenschaftliche Festschrift zur 700-Jahr-Feier der Kreuzschule zu Dresden 1926*, pp. 46-56.

<sup>7</sup> We use this expression to indicate the members of a gerusia.

[Letter] V may not be an epistle at all, but if it really is so, we cannot prove either that it came from the emperor, or that it was directed to the Gerusia, although the association with the two following epistles certainly indicates its connection with the affairs of the Gerusia. With so little preserved we cannot even make a reasonable conjecture as to the subject matter.

Letter VI seems to deal with a tax on oil (*τρίτην τοῦ ἔλαιον*), although even this is not certain. At the conclusion we may read *]ωνιον* (e.g., *ἔλαι]ωνιον* or *σιτ]ωνιον*). These two considerations suggest vaguely that the epistle concerned financial matters. But the hopelessly mutilated Letter VII again fails to enlighten us even to this extent.

The question as to the purpose of this very important corporation, which for years enjoyed the attention of the Roman chancery, is best approached negatively. Although the Gerusia was a public body it had not been created as another legislative body to replace the Council of the Areopagus or the Council of the Five Hundred, for we know from a multitude of epigraphical sources that the old political institutions continued to function in the time of the Antonines as they had since the reorganization effected by Hadrian.

From the series of imperial letters, however, it appears that the Athenian Gerusia in the reign of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus was indeed a public body, one newly established with the encouragement of the Roman government; secondly, that it displayed a particular interest in the conduct of religious festivals and concomitantly in the apparatus of the imperial cult; thirdly, that it had charge of certain estates and seems to have had other financial interests; and lastly, that at least in certain questions, perhaps in ordinary questions of financial policy, the imperial procurator, the fiscal officer attached to the senatorial province of Achaea, was the competent authority to assist or to guide it. On the basis, accordingly, of what evidence we have, the supposition arises that the Gerusia had been created primarily to arrange for, or to assist in arranging for, the celebration of certain festivals. How many festivals were concerned we cannot say, but the evidence of No. 31 seems to connect the Gerusia at least with the celebration of the Panathenaea. The same inscription gives no indication that there was in this case any connection with the imperial cult, whereas the imperial cult does at other times receive attention from the Gerusia, as we know from No. 24; but in No. 24 it is quite possible to interpret the presence of apparatus of the imperial cult as being merely supplementary to the rest of the ceremonies and apparatus. It is well known that a tendency existed throughout the eastern part of the empire to graft the imperial cult on to that of the chief deities in the various local communities. That in Letter II the emperors decline the symbols of divine honors for themselves confirms the opinion that where the imperial cult does enter it is indeed merely supplementary. The images of the emperors are to be carried in religious festivals actually celebrated in honor of the old gods.

If we now examine some of the other Athenian documents which mention the Gerusia (the pertinent texts are collected in Part II), we can add to our previous observations. One inscription (No. 23) honors a distinguished official of the Eleusinian cult, Memmius ἐπὶ βωμῷ, among other things because he had gone on an embassy to the emperors to discuss *<the establishment of>* a gerusia. This embassy is specially singled out as an example of the supreme importance of the several missions on which he had been sent. Another inscription (No. 27) had been erected by the Gerusia itself in honor of Prospectus, an archon of the corporation. The Athenian Gerusia in this utterance of its own members uses the expression *ἱερὰ γέροντος* at both points where it refers to itself; so the adjective *ἱερά* is obviously not a mere compliment bestowed upon the Gerusia by respectful outsiders, but belongs to the official appellation and expresses the essential character of the organization. Another base, furthermore, No. 28, seems to have been erected by the Sacred Gerusia in honor of an otherwise unknown personage. Both these two bases erected by the Gerusia itself were found in Eleusis. An archon of the Gerusia, Prospectus, who is honored on the first of these, was also archon of the great and sacred Eleusinian *gens* of the Ceryces. Furthermore, the statue of Prospectus was probably erected by a member of the Eleusinian *gens* of the Eumolpidae, namely Atticus son of Eudoxus of the deme Sphettus, called ὁ Εὐμολπίδης in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3659. Atticus was obviously a member of the Sacred Gerusia.<sup>8</sup> Similarly Claudius Leonides, whose name appears at the top of the first plaque with the imperial Letters, as if he were the archon of the Gerusia, belonged to the family out of whom the Eleusinian δαδοῦχοι were appointed.<sup>9</sup> Membership in the Gerusia, moreover, was indicated with the title *ἱερὸς γέρων* after a name in No. 30, a prytany catalogue, and in the dedication at the head of another prytany catalogue (No. 29) a distinguished Athenian is praised also as a *ἱερὸς γέρων*.

The fact that for long the only evidence attesting the existence of this Gerusia was that of the Eleusinian bases led scholars to conceive of it at first as a purely Eleusinian institution at the famous sanctuary.<sup>10</sup> The great Eleusinian families were, indeed, intimately connected with it both at its foundation and in its subsequent history, and the Gerusia did constitute a corporation professedly sacred in character. But the insufficiency of the evidence here quite naturally created a false impression. In the ceremonial and economic management of the Eleusinian sanctuary the Gerusia had not replaced the Eumolpidae. In *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1078, dated about 210 A.D., which is the decree restoring the celebration of the Mysteries to its former splendor, no mention

<sup>8</sup> This fact was recognized by E. Neubauer, *Archäologische Zeitung*, XXXIV (1877), p. 69, but needlessly disputed by J. Toepffer, *Attische Genealogie* (Berlin, 1889), p. 212. The Sacred Gerusia would not have been able to ask so aristocratic a person as a member of the Eumolpidae to look after the erection of the statue, if he were not a member of the Gerusia.

<sup>9</sup> Compare Kirchner's commentary on *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3609.

<sup>10</sup> See, for example, F. Lenormant in Daremburg-Saglio's *Dictionnaire des antiquités*, III (1899), p. 171.

of the Gerusia occurs, while the hierophant and the archon and *gens* of the Eumolpidae are designated as the authorities in charge. The fact that the cost of the stele was to be defrayed by the treasurer of the *gens* of the Eumolpidae suggests that the Eumolpidae were still organized with a view toward the economic management of the sanctuary. Much more significant, however, is our knowledge from *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1110 that Commodus, when sole emperor, condescended to accept the post of archon of the Eumolpidae as a liturgy to be performed in return for the favors which he acknowledged he had formerly received at Eleusis. The economic burden of the Eleusinian cult still fell chiefly on the Eumolpidae.

Furthermore, the Gerusia was not a local Eleusinian but an Athenian corporation. Not only did the emperors address it as the Gerusia of the Athenians, but it had its chief office in the city in or near the Agora. The duplicates, Nos. 31 and 32, were to be set up respectively in the synhedrion of the Sacred Gerusia and in the Prytaneum, and all the fragments of both copies except for one piece of unknown provenience were found in the American Excavations. The fragments of the three plaques with the imperial letters seem to have come either from the Agora or from the Acropolis and its slopes, whither like many another document they may have been transported from the Agora as material for the building operations of the Frankish and Turkish periods.

These reflections suggest that the Eleusinian dignitaries were prominent in the organization and guidance of the Gerusia, not because the Gerusia concerned the Eleusinian sanctuary but because the Eleusinian dignitaries and their relatives were among the most prominent Athenians. The Gerusia may have stood behind even all the chief cults of Attica, but the only evidence we have indicates a concern for the Panathenaic Festival, i. e., for the cult of Athena Polias alone or with the imperial family concomitant, and nothing else.

It is not to be expected that this institution, new to Athens in the time of Marcus Aurelius, was a fresh invention of the Age of the Antonines without a previous history and without parallels. If Memmius went on an embassy concerning <the establishment of> a gerusia, an organization which served as a model for the Gerusia at Athens had been operating somewhere else under the same name, for the word *gerusia* as the title of a board functioning in the religious and financial sphere is not self-explanatory. In fact we have already remarked a reference to other gerusiae in the first imperial letter. Therefore, we must comprehend why this corporation was designated a gerusia, in order that we may be in a position to trace its descent and better to understand its character by a comparison with the functions of Sacred Gerusiae located in other parts of the Roman world.

From the dawn of Greek history corporations called gerusiae abounded in the ancient world. Among the vast multitude known from the records, the majority fall into two large groups, which from their ethnic and geographical association have

been described, not inappropriately, as the Dorian on the one hand and as the Ionian or Asiatic on the other. The Dorian gerusia, such as we find at Sparta and Cyrene, was a political body which took a fundamental part in the routine business of governing the state.<sup>11</sup> The Asiatic gerusia, such as we find at Sardis, was a social organization of the elder citizens, private or semi-private in character, corresponding to the organizations of ephebes and *νέοι*. Since the homonymous organization at Athens neither regulated the routine business of the state nor had a private social character, it clearly differed from the majority of gerusiae. For this the inscriptions of Ephesus are quite illuminating. Some of them date from the second century after Christ, and they reveal a splendid parallel in a public body called the *γερουσία* which supervised certain business affairs of a sacred category and which had a close association with the cult of Artemis and of the emperor. But at Ephesus the history of this organization as a body operating essentially in the religious and financial sphere can be traced back long before the period of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus. From this it appears that the peculiar type of gerusia created at Athens was not a new invention with an old name in the Age of the Antonines. To understand the innovation at Athens we should, therefore, examine the history and development of the Ephesian precursor.

<sup>11</sup> Such a gerusia also is the *πο[λευτικὴ γερουσί]α ἀπὸ πογ γερό[ντων]*, recently reported and described by the late Anton von Premerstein, “Alexandrinische Geronten vor Kaiser Gaius. Ein neues Brückstück der sogenannten Alexandrinischen Märtyrer-Akten,” *Mitteilungen aus der Papyrussammlung der Giessener Universitätsbibliothek*, V, 1939.

## CHAPTER II

### THE PROBLEM OF THE CHARACTER AND ORIGIN OF THE EPHESIAN GERUSIA

If we turn to the modern literature concerning the Ephesian Gerusia, we are plunged into an old controversy, for gerusiae particularly abounded in the cities of western and northwestern Asia Minor, of Thrace and of the neighboring islands, and it was tempting to believe that these geographically near and contemporary gerusiae had some relationship of type one to another, at least originally. The evidence is chiefly epigraphical, and it has given rise to a protracted and somewhat muddled discussion concerning the character of the institution. In a survey of the modern literature one might well begin with Tittmann<sup>1</sup> who, as far back as 1822, on the basis of comparatively scanty material, conjectured that the Asiatic gerusia was concerned with sacred affairs; but today we know that this was not primarily so in the majority of cases. Boeckh,<sup>2</sup> on the basis of somewhat more material, went far wide of the mark in suggesting that it was a subdivision of the City Council like the prytanes at Athens. G. Perrot—and it redounds to his credit—recognized that the character of the gerusia, as revealed in those documents discovered up to 1860, was not the same in all the towns of Asia Minor,<sup>3</sup> and although he advanced with reserve some mistaken theories, he at least invested the Gerusia of Prusias ad Hypium with the character of a sacred college. This conclusion was not far from the mark.

About 1870, as more and more pertinent inscriptions became known, there arose a keener interest in the Asiatic gerusia, and a controversy about its character began. Discarding as superficial Perrot's suggestion that it was not always the same body from town to town, modern scholars sought to find a common basis for all Asiatic gerusiae. C. Curtius<sup>4</sup> with his attention directed chiefly upon the inscriptions of Ephesus saw vaguely that the Ephesian Gerusia, as revealed in the documents, was some sort of public governmental organization, and he drew a dangerous but not unnatural generalization that the gerusiae in all the towns of Asia Minor had much the same character. Waddington,<sup>5</sup> on the other hand, had his attention directed toward quite a different set of inscriptions. Commenting on a text from Erythrae, he pointed

<sup>1</sup> *Griechische Staatsverfassungen* (Leipzig, 1822), p. 480.

<sup>2</sup> *C.I.G.*, II (1843), ad 2811.

<sup>3</sup> *Exploration archéologique de la Galatie et de la Bithynie* (Paris, Didot, 1862), I, p. 36.

<sup>4</sup> *Hermes*, IV (1870), p. 224 f.

<sup>5</sup> Le Bas-Waddington, *Voyage archéologique*, III (1870-1872), *Explication des inscriptions*, no. 53.

out that the Erythraean Gerusia was a social organization of the older men comparable to the organization of the *νέοι*. Since this seemed to be the case at Erythrae and at many other places, he made the generalization that it was so in all the cities of Asia Minor. Thus, the scholars of the period were confronted with two antithetical explanations of the institution's fundamental character.

The first study of the problem, based on a systematic investigation of all the new available material, appeared in J. Menadier's dissertation, *Qua condicione Ephesii usi sint inde ab Asia in formam provinciae redacta* (Berlin, 1880), pp. 48-63. He not only read over carefully the documents which dealt with the Gerusia of Roman Ephesus, but he also put together a list of all known gerusiae with mention of the documents in which they are recorded. Directly or indirectly the list compiled by Menadier has served as a starting point for all subsequent students of the problem. Whereas Curtius saw only vaguely that the Ephesian Gerusia had a public governmental character and imagined it as something like the Areopagus at Athens, Menadier achieved a clearer vision of the organization at Ephesus and recognized that it operated essentially in the religious sphere. Dismissing as improbable Perrot's suggestion that the gerusia could be one thing in one town and something else in the next, with the support of some rather fragile arguments he claimed for all Asiatic gerusiae the governmental character exhibited by the Gerusia at Ephesus. He argued, moreover, that its authority had not always been restricted to the religious field. He reminded his readers that information of the greatest importance for the history of the gerusia lay in a passage of Strabo (XIV, 1, 21), who speaks of Ephesus in the time of Lysimachus: *ἥν δὲ γερουσία καταγραφομένη, τούτους δὲ συνήσταν οἱ ἐπίκλητοι καλούμενοι καὶ διώκοντες πάντα*. The interpretation of this passage which prevailed before Menadier's discussion may be conveyed by quoting from Droysen's inclusion among the changes wrought by Lysimachus:<sup>6</sup> "ein ernannter Rath und mit ihm die sogenannten Epikleten traten an die Stelle der früheren Demokratie." Menadier in his objections to Droysen's view could point to the inscription here reproduced as No. 1, which is dated precisely in the time of Lysimachus, for it clearly shows the Gerusia and the *ἐπίκλητοι* already operating and reveals that the Council and Demos had not been deprived of all their political power. He, therefore, explained the words of Strabo as indicating approximately that Lysimachus had given to the Gerusia the ultimate and highest authority in the administration of state affairs, but that most of the routine business continued to be transacted as formerly by the Council and Demos. He attributed to Lysimachus the very creation of these gerusiae—not only at Ephesus, but in all the other cities of the realm. Thereby Menadier, as we shall see, in correcting one error fell into another. Strabo does not say that Lysimachus created the Gerusia. On the contrary, he says rather that a *καταγραφομένη γερουσία*

<sup>6</sup> *Geschichte des Hellenismus*, 2nd ed. (Gotha, 1878), II, p. 294.

was already there, and that in the time of Lysimachus the so-called ἐπίκλητοι were associated with them, and that this joint board assumed control. Lysimachus or his agents, indeed, assigned vast powers to the Gerusia at Ephesus, but it is rash to conclude that he founded the Gerusia at Ephesus, although it is possible that a corporation of this name and of the ordinary social character did not happen to exist at Ephesus and that he first suggested its enrollment on a familiar model. Furthermore, whether Lysimachus did or did not found the Gerusia at Ephesus, there is not the slightest reason to conjecture that he founded the gerusiae in the other cities.

Menadier's interpretation did not long go undisputed. Th. Mommsen<sup>7</sup> adopted Waddington's explanation and defended it vigorously. He did not dispute the interpretation given by Menadier to Strabo's words in regard to the Gerusia, but he maintained that the Ephesian Gerusia in the time of Lysimachus was something exceptional which did not continue into Roman times and that it had nothing to do with the problem, for the Gerusia created by Lysimachus was not properly an Asiatic gerusia at all. At Sardis it was clearly a social organization for the recreation of older citizens and it centered around a gymnasium. It had its gymnasiarch just as the νέοι had their gymnasiarch. This, accordingly, in Roman times was the character of the gerusia everywhere (including Ephesus).

However, Menadier did receive the support of D. G. Hogarth<sup>8</sup> and of E. L. Hicks.<sup>9</sup> The latter rejected as unlikely Mommsen's contention that the Ephesian Gerusia in the time of Lysimachus had nothing to do with any other, and he maintained that the Ephesian Gerusia of Roman times was the direct descendant of that which Lysimachus had known. But Hicks differed from Menadier in one respect. Whereas Menadier attributed to the Gerusia in the time of Lysimachus power in the political as well as in the religious sphere, Hicks admitted its influence only over the sacred affairs. Lysimachus, according to Hicks, organized the Gerusia in order to curtail the power of the priests and to take the control of the great wealth of the Artemisium out of their hands. Mommsen's view was accepted by F. Cumont,<sup>10</sup> O. Liermann,<sup>11</sup> and W. M. Ramsay.<sup>12</sup> Cumont added, however, that these social organizations had a way of turning into political clubs. Both Cumont and Ramsay reminded the reader correctly that the position and wealth of the type of older citizens who would constitute the Gerusia in any city would lend to the Gerusia a great prestige, so that it might even usurp a political power to which it was not entitled.

<sup>7</sup> *Römische Geschichte* (Berlin, 1885), V, p. 326, note 1.

<sup>8</sup> "The Gerusia of Hieropolis," *Journal of Philology*, XIX (1891), pp. 69-101.

<sup>9</sup> *B.M.I.*, III (1890), pp. 74-78, where Hogarth's article is cited (despite the printing date). Hicks was editing the inscriptions from Ephesus.

<sup>10</sup> *Revue de l'instruction publique en Belgique*, XXXVI (1893), p. 373.

<sup>11</sup> *Analecta epigraphica et agonistica* (Dissertation, Halle, 1889), p. 68.

<sup>12</sup> *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, I, 1 (Oxford, 1895), pp. 110-114.

Isidore Lévy<sup>13</sup> sought to reconcile the two main theories. He accepted Menadier's erroneous deduction that the gerusia was first established by Lysimachus at Ephesus and he reasoned that the institution gradually spread from Ephesus to the other towns of Asia Minor. Furthermore, he rightly followed Hicks in assigning to the original Ephesian Gerusia of Lysimachus the control over the various financial operations of the Artemisium. In Lévy's opinion the gerusia had gradually degenerated from a public to a private organization, to the social gerusia which Mommsen had recognized throughout the other cities of Roman Asia. This is approximately the interpretation adopted by Poland.<sup>14</sup> Lévy started his theory from a wrong premise and concluded by reconstructing the development in a way which is the very reverse of the truth.

A few years after the publication of Lévy's article the question about the Ephesian Gerusia in the time of Lysimachus occupied W. Hünerwadel in his dissertation, *Forschungen zur Geschichte des Königs Lysimachus von Thrakien* (Zurich, 1900), pp. 118-123. In regard to the passage in Strabo concerning Ephesus under Lysimachus, *ἥν δὲ γερουσία καταγραφομένη, τούτοις δὲ συνήσταν οἱ ἐπίκλητοι καλούμενοι καὶ διώκοντα πάντα*, he rejected Menadier's interpretation that Lysimachus had created the joint board, for he considered it more likely that Lysimachus, dissatisfied with the democracy, had placed this, a pre-existing board of temple officials, in charge of the whole government after 285/4 b.c., but that this arrangement, of which the inscriptions do not give us any example, did not survive for long. The first inscription supposedly showed that the board already existed in 302 but did not have all the power which Strabo seemed to imply. Thus Hünerwadel corrected Menadier's unwarranted deduction from Strabo that Lysimachus had created the Gerusia at Ephesus, but his theory about the previous character of the institution did not explain how the Gerusia at Ephesus could have been so different from all other bodies or almost all other bodies of the same designation in the neighborhood.

Much new material appeared among the numerous inscriptions uncovered during the Austrian excavations at Ephesus, and of these documents the most important were published by R. Heberdey in *Forschungen in Ephesos*, II (1912). The picture, however, was still far from clear, and as late as 1913 M. San Nicolò<sup>15</sup> had to admit that the investigations of so many keen students had not yet led to any definite results.

Up to this point the evidence by and large indicated that the best known and earliest known gerusia, that of Hellenistic Ephesus, functioned as a governmental institution in economic affairs at the sanctuary, whereas the majority of Asiatic gerusiae were merely social organizations of respected elder citizens. Mommsen and Lévy alone recognized this distinction clearly and saw the necessity of explaining it.

<sup>13</sup> *Rev. Ét. Gr.*, VIII (1895), pp. 231-250.

<sup>14</sup> *Geschichte des griechischen Vereinswesens* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1909), pp. 98-102.

<sup>15</sup> "Ägyptisches Vereinswesen zur Zeit der Ptolemäer und Römer," *Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte*, I (1913), pp. 40-42.

The heart of the problem should have been the question how these two types in the same neighborhood were related to each other. All of the interested scholars before Mommsen and many after him persisted in ignoring this difference instead of explaining how it came about. Mommsen affirmed that the two types were not related in origin, but this view, that the Ephesian Gerusia had no Asiatic connections, is improbable, just as it is unlikely that Lysimachus established at Ephesus something absolutely unique, as devoid of Macedonian antecedents as of Ionian affinities. Lévy argued that the governmental form was the original and that it degenerated everywhere into a merely social organization. Recent discoveries, however, have disclosed that the Ephesian Gerusia even in Roman times concerned itself with the management of business affairs and remained a public corporation; so not a single shred of real evidence confirms the hypothesis of Lévy. V. Chapot,<sup>16</sup> who judiciously admitted the existence of great differences among the various gerusiae, advanced the opinion, to our view not really penetrating, that the Ephesian Gerusia later was merely allowed greater prominence than the others because it was under the eye of the Roman proconsul, there resident.

Reporting the discovery of much new material at Ephesus, we approach the conclusion of this review. Hünerwadel had already persuaded many readers that the Gerusia at Ephesus predated the reforms of Lysimachus. P. Roussel,<sup>17</sup> going still further than Cumont and Ramsay, intimated that just as a political body to govern the island arose out of the gymnasium at Delos, so the Asiatic public type of gerusia had arisen from the social type which centered about a gymnasium. It remained, however, for Charles Picard to develop the idea and show how the change had come about. Presenting a fresh study of the Ephesian Gerusia in his monumental work *Éphèse et Claros* (1922),<sup>18</sup> he adopted the view that the Ephesian Gerusia had begun as a social organization similar to the other Asiatic gerusiae and that Lysimachus had merely transformed it.

If, indeed, a Gerusia at Ephesus predated the reforms of Lysimachus, it could scarcely have been anything else in origin but an ordinary Asiatic Gerusia, actually or theoretically a social organization to which the most respected Greek citizens of Ephesus belonged and through which they enjoyed the amenities of a gymnasium. The fact that down into Roman times the first officer of that public board of sacred managers, the Ephesian Elders, was still called the gymnasiarch,<sup>19</sup> points strikingly to the soundness of this deduction. The corresponding officer in Athens appears to have been designated as *ἀρχων*, because the Athenian Gerusia had not evolved out of an "Old Man's Club" or *Bürgerkasino* and it was not stamped with an antiquated terminology left over from an earlier stage in its evolution.

<sup>16</sup> *La Province Romaine proconsulaire d'Asie* (Paris, 1904), pp. 216-230.

<sup>17</sup> *Délos, Colonie Athénienne* (Paris, 1916), p. 55, note 1.

<sup>18</sup> Pp. 86-98.

<sup>19</sup> Nos. 5 and 20.

## CHAPTER III

### THE EPHESIAN GERUSIA IN THE TIME OF LYSIMACHUS

A study of the Sacred Gerusia at Ephesus begins naturally with a view of the political and economic situation which called it into being.

When the Macedonians occupied northwestern Asia Minor, they found the economic structure of the country divided into three main parts:<sup>1</sup> (1) the Greek cities, (2) the great sanctuaries, (3) the tribes and villages of the native population. The sanctuaries were more important than the cities from the social and economic point of view, for they frequently possessed enormous wealth and could exert a powerful influence. They were the chief lending agencies and the chief depositories on which the structure depended, and although they sometimes belonged to the territory of a city, they generally managed to maintain their independence of action because of a long tradition and because of respect for their religious character. The city had not secured over the wealth of such a sanctuary the control which, for example, the Athenians as early as the sixth century exerted over the treasury of Athena.

These immense reserves naturally attracted the attention of Lysimachus. Alexander in possession of the treasures of the Great King could better afford a generous policy, and he had left the Greek cities and sanctuaries generally free from taxation. For the Ephesian Artemis in particular the conquest of Alexander meant an increase of regular income, because the tribute which Ephesus formerly paid to the Persians was now assigned to the sanctuary.<sup>2</sup> Antigonus Monophthalmus,<sup>3</sup> to judge from our meagre sources of information, had continued the policy of Alexander. The change in the treatment of the Asiatic Greeks occurred under Lysimachus, who responded to economic pressure by departing from the generous policy of his predecessors, and who of all the Successors devoted also the most attention to the financial organization of his realm. He, for example, is the only διάδοχος of whose great treasures we hear.

Of the latter, one which Philetaerus of Teos guarded for him became reputedly the origin of the fortunes of the Attalids. Another great treasury existed at Sardis. The fort at Tirizis near Anchialus (northern Thrace) served as *gazophylakeion* for

<sup>1</sup> See M. Rostovtzeff's essay on the economic policy of the Pergamene kings, *Anatolian Studies Presented to Sir William Ramsay* (Manchester, 1923), pp. 359-391.

<sup>2</sup> Arrian, *Anabasis*, I, 17, 10.

<sup>3</sup> Compare the liberal tone of his letter to Scepsis, an inscription published and discussed many times, as recently by C. B. Welles, *Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Period* (New Haven, 1934), pp. 3-12.

Lysimachus. Andreades<sup>4</sup> concluded reasonably that there must have been two other treasuries: one in southern Thrace near Lysimachia, the royal residence, and a second in Macedonia annexed near the end of his reign. Possenti<sup>5</sup> went so far as to conclude that Lysimachus had a separate treasury in every *strategia*. It is significant that Demetrius Poliorcetes, disparaging his three opponents, called Ptolemy *ναύαρχος*, Seleucus *ἐλεφάνταρχος*, and Lysimachus *γαζοφύλαξ*. The latter's avarice became proverbial because his interest in the financial organization of the realm impressed his enemies. In the opinion of Andreades, he, and he alone of all the Successors, displayed himself a great financier.

Lysimachus did not wish to plunder the venerable sanctuary of the Ephesian Artemis, nor did he wish to expropriate its property, but realizing its importance as a great economic institution and as a reserve in case of necessity, he desired to incorporate it into his realm. The priests who managed the sacred wealth hitherto had probably not been responsible to any other authority.<sup>6</sup> The cult and the institutions of the sanctuary despite a certain superficial Hellenization like the adoption of the Greek tongue were still fundamentally oriental; and Alexander, far from interfering with the ancient arrangements, had courted the friendship of the Megabyzus, the eunuch high-priest of Artemis. By transferring the control to a dignified gerusia in which convened respected older citizens of Ephesus, Lysimachus could put an end to the independence of the priests in this important economic institution and at the same time he avoided offending the Ephesians to whose territory the sanctuary belonged. Henceforth, the religious and mundane affairs of the sanctuary were divided recognizably.

The priests suffered a loss of vast powers, but the establishment of the reorganized Gerusia as a dominating board of financial supervisors was by no means a confiscation of the sacred treasury, nor even a disguised one like the assignment of the *ἔκτη* to the cult of Arsinoe from the revenues of the Egyptian temples.<sup>7</sup> Artemis retained her wealth.

Did Lysimachus merely hope that in their decisions the Elders would of their own nature follow a conservative course and look for guidance to him who created their power, or did he take precautions to restrict their liberty of action? The words

<sup>4</sup> "L'administration financière du roi Lysimaque," *Mélanges Paul Thomas* (Bruges, Imprimerie Sainte Catherine, 1930), pp. 6-15.

<sup>5</sup> G. B. Possenti, *Il re Lisimaco di Tracia* (Turin, 1901), p. 165, note 2.

<sup>6</sup> See Ch. Picard, *Éphèse et Claros* (1922), pp. 618-646 and especially pp. 626 f., on the slow growth of Greek influence over the sanctuaries.

<sup>7</sup> B. P. Grenfell, *Revenue Laws of Ptolemy Philadelphus* (Oxford, 1896), p. 116: "It is hardly necessary to point out that the *ἔκτη τῆς Φιλαδέλφῳ* was collected and paid *eis τὸ βασιλικόν* like any other tax. The *θυσία καὶ σπονδή* was an ingenious but transparent fiction to cloak the disendowment of the temples." For the *ἔκτη* used for secular payments in 250 b.c. compare W. L. Westermann and E. S. Hasenoehrl, *Zenon Papryi*, I (New York, Columbia University Press, 1934), 55.

of Strabo (XIV, 1, 21), *ἥν δὲ γερουσία καταγραφομένη, τούτοις δὲ συνήσσαν οἱ ἐπίκλητοι καλούμενοι, καὶ διώκουν πάντα*, indicate that the new board which managed the finances of the sanctuary consisted not only of the old Gerusia but of certain other people who were “called in” to help them. The official title of the board is *ἡ γερουσία καὶ οἱ ἐπίκλητοι* in inscription No. 1, which will presently appear to be from the first year of the board’s existence, and the same title appears in another inscription (No. 2) which cannot be far removed from No. 1 in date. It was, therefore, not quite the personnel of the old Gerusia that Lysimachus appointed to govern the sanctuary.

It would be highly gratifying if we knew more about the *ἐπίκλητοι*. With reference to No. 1 and to Strabo’s words about Ephesus the new *Greek-English Lexicon* gives the definition “*committee* of a council.” But they are not a sub-committee of the Gerusia, and we have no reason to think that they belonged to the *Βουλή*. The phrase *ἡ γερουσία καὶ οἱ ἐπίκλητοι* shows that the latter were distinct from the real Gerusia, and Picard, therefore, regards them as a separate college, founded by Lysimachus.<sup>8</sup> So did Hünerwadel regard them as a separate college, but one previously existing and already connected with the Artemision.<sup>9</sup> To the best of our knowledge, however, no separate college of *ἐπίκλητοι* existed at Ephesus before this time. In fact I do not think that they were a separate college at all. They mark a stage only at the beginning of the history of the Sacred Gerusia without appearing further in the numerous later documents of Ephesus, and the participle in Strabo’s phrase, *οἱ ἐπίκλητοι καλούμενοι*, suggests rather something irregular. According to Bruno Keil,<sup>10</sup> on the other hand, a political situation might force an oligarchical body to surrender some of its exclusiveness and to join with themselves certain outsiders, either as new members or as temporary associates to help deal with some particular matter. To describe this procedure (co-optation) at Athens, Aristotle used the verb *ἐπεισκαλέν*, and such co-opted associates, moreover, were called *ἔσκλατοι* at Rhegium and Syracuse. Bruno Keil reasoned that *ἐπίκλητοι* was the Ephesian designation for the same type of associates. This, however, was merely a conjecture. The fact remains that *ἔσκλατοι*<sup>11</sup> and *ἐπίκλητοι* are two different words, and the conjecture itself, based on a false impression of the role of the Gerusia, has in my opinion nothing to recommend it. This very word *ἐπίκλητοι*, moreover, occurs in a Hellenistic document (*Inscriptions de Délos*, 1520), the decree of the Delian Society of Poseidoniasts from Berytus. Here in lines 36 and 48, with which the reader may compare Tod’s illuminating commentary, *J.H.S.*, LIV (1934), p. 152, the word is used to indicate

<sup>8</sup> *Éphèse et Claros* (1922), p. 93.

<sup>9</sup> *Forschungen zur Geschichte des Königs Lysimachus von Thrakien* (Zurich, 1900), pp. 118-123.

<sup>10</sup> *Apud Gercke-Norden, Einleitung in die Altertumswissenschaft*, III<sup>1</sup> (Leipzig-Berlin, 1912), pp. 338-341.

<sup>11</sup> The prefix is *ἐ(κ)s*, not *ε(i)s*. Compare C. D. Buck, *Introduction to the Study of Greek Dialects* (Revised ed., Boston, 1928), p. 78.

those persons whom the honored benefactor might bring along to participate in the Society's celebration. In respect to the Society the benefactor occupied a position somewhat analogous to that occupied by Lysimachus in regard to the Ephesian Gerusia, and the word *ἐπίκλητοι* or *ἐπικαλεῖν* would be equally correct in speaking about an oligarchical Gerusia and in speaking about a restricted social group like the Society.

The parallel in the decree of the Poseidoniasts from Berytus is particularly valuable because it illustrates Hellenistic usage of the word *ἐπίκλητοι*. Plutarch (*Quaest. conviv.*, VII, 6, 1) employs the word in a derived sense when he says, *τὸ δὲ τῶν ἐπικλήτων ἔθος οὐς νῦ σκιὰς καλοῦσιν, οὐ κεκλημένους αὐτούς, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῶν κεκλημένων ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον ἀγομένους, ἐζητεῖτο πόθεν ἔσχε τὴν ἀρχήν*. The word *ἐπίκλητος* connoted an outsider who was more or less legitimately present but who had not been invited by the person or group of persons whose function he attended. His participation was due to the invitation or appointment of a third party.

Therefore I hazard the suggestion that the *ἐπίκλητοι* were special appointees of Lysimachus to advise and to restrain the Gerusia. This interpretation (*experienced adviser*) is not incompatible with another use of the word discernible among the Asiatic Greeks. Herodotus (VIII, 101 and IX, 42) speaks of privy councillors to the Persian king as *ἐπίκλητοι*,—advisers called in for a special purpose.

The *ἐπίκλητοι*, according to these uncertain indications, were new associates (temporary or permanent) of the old Gerusia, friends by whose appointment Lysimachus expected to influence the policy of the Gerusia in the exercise of its newly acquired powers. We have no information whether they became permanent members of the Gerusia or whether they failed to survive the power of Lysimachus at Ephesus. Their importance doubtless lay in their usefulness to Lysimachus, who by disguising the new board as the old Gerusia, created the impression that he had transferred the management of the sanctuary to the Greek citizens of Ephesus without doing so entirely. Although circumstances compelled Lysimachus to change the lenient financial policy of his rivals and predecessors, he was quite as anxious as they to strengthen his realm with the sympathy and co-operation of the Greeks, and the reorganization of the Artemisium represented, after all, one more step in the complete Hellenization of the sanctuary; but he was also, and even more, anxious to remove the economic supports of the realm from the control of irresponsible agencies. Since nothing comparable to the Amphictyonic Council existed at Ephesus, he created an approximation of one out of the highly respected local Gerusia; and the so-called *ἐπίκλητοι*, who were by him associated with the Elders, may have been like the non-Delphian Amphictyons, Macedonian delegates or delegates from other Greek towns, through whom Lysimachus could prevent a policy too independently Ephesian. On this, however, there is no evidence.

It is not known how Lysimachus treated the other great sanctuaries of Asia Minor. The institution of new boards to handle the sacred finances was probably

not uncommon, but there is no evidence so far that another body already existing for totally different purposes was reorganized to serve as a board of supervisors over the business affairs of a sanctuary in any other place but Ephesus. It is possible that to manage the sacred finances, bodies suitably called *ἱερὰ συνέδρια* existed in the Hellenistic Period, although not necessarily from the time of Lysimachus, at other sanctuaries of Asia Minor. We know indeed from a Hellenistic inscription<sup>12</sup> that there was a *ἱερὸν συνέδριον* at Colophon for the Clarian sanctuary, although we do not know anything about it. There was also a gerusia at Colophon,<sup>13</sup> but we have not the slightest indication that at Colophon the gerusia constituted or provided the *ἱερὸν συνέδριον*. To the best of my knowledge none of the documents in which sacred gerusiae are reported elsewhere than at Ephesus can be proved to date before the Roman Period.<sup>14</sup> Future discoveries may alter this conclusion, but at the present time the evidence strongly suggests that the one at Ephesus was in the Hellenistic Period the only gerusia supervising the business affairs of a sanctuary.

The exact date when the Gerusia at Ephesus first received control of the business affairs of the Artemisium is generally assumed to be 302 b.c., just after Prepelaus, general of Cassander, captured the city for Lysimachus. It would certainly not follow from the passage in Strabo (XIV, 1, 21) which relates that Lysimachus built the walls, moved the population, renamed the city Arsinoe and founded the power of the Gerusia, and which leaves the reader with the impression that all these things took place at the same time considerably later than 302 b.c. But the inscription No. 1 shows that the Gerusia and the *ἐπίκλητοι* were already functioning in their new capacity when Prepelaus was in command, and Diodorus XX, 111 tells us that when Demetrius recaptured the city in the following year, he restored the ascendancy of the party friendly to him.<sup>15</sup> Changes may have been made by Lysimachus through the

<sup>12</sup> M. Holleaux, *B.C.H.*, XXX (1906), pp. 349-358 = *Études d'Épigraphie et d'Histoire Grecque*, II (Paris, 1938), pp. 51-60.

<sup>13</sup> A. Fontrier, *Μουσεῖον καὶ Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς Εὐαγγελικῆς Σχολῆς*, III (1880), p. 215 (Roman period).

<sup>14</sup> Ch. Picard (*Éphèse et Claros*, pp. 92, 641) surmised that a sacred gerusia was from Macedonian times traditional near the great Ionian sanctuaries, and he cited besides the Ephesian organization two other examples, namely, at Teos and at Colophon. The evidence for Colophon we have just discussed and shown it to be insufficient. The evidence for Teos, likewise insufficient, occurs in *C.I.G.*, 3080 (= *Voyage Archéologique*, III, 107). Here the phrase which caught Picard's attention, *γεροντιακὰ χρήματα*, refers to sums which had been willed to the Gerusia for its own purposes. Since no god is mentioned as the beneficiary of the legacy, it would be more natural to conclude that the Gerusia of Teos was one of the prevailing type of Asiatic social gerusiae. In any case, not only *C.I.G.*, 3080 but also *C.I.G.*, 3098 and 3112, in which the gerusia at Teos is also mentioned, date from the Roman Period.

<sup>15</sup> Ο Δημήτριος παρασκευασάμενος πόρια πρὸς τὴν παρακομδὴν τῶν τε στρατιωτῶν καὶ τῆς ἀποσκευῆς ἀνήκθη παντὶ τῷ στόλῳ καὶ κομισθὲς διὰ νῆσων κατέπλευσεν εἰς Ἐφεσον. ἐκβιβάσας δὲ τὴν δύναμιν καὶ στρατοπεδέσσας πλησίον τῶν τειχῶν ἡμάγκασε τὴν πόλιν εἰς τὴν προυπάρχουσαν ἀποκαταστῆναι τάξιν καὶ τὴν μὲν ὑπὸ Πρεπελάου τοῦ Δυσιμάχου στρατηγοῦ παρεισαχθείσαν φρουρὰν ἀφῆκεν ὑπόσπονδον, ιδίαν δὲ φυλακὴν εἰς τὴν ἄκραν καταστήσας παρῆλθεν εἰς Ἑλλήσποντον.

general Prepelaus when the latter entered the city in 302 b.c., but Diodorus does not mention any constitutional alterations. Since Strabo implies that the change in management occurred in 286 b.c., Prepelaus, despite our ignorance, may very easily have had command there once again. Lysimachus, probably supplying Prepelaus with explicit instructions regarding the main points, left it to his discretion to work out the details, for the inscription No. 1 shows that the Gerusia and the ἐπίκλητοι addressed themselves in their problems not directly to Lysimachus but to the general Prepelaus.

Only two inscriptions which mention the Gerusia at Ephesus have survived from the Hellenistic Period, while all the rest date from about the second century after Christ; these two inscriptions just mentioned (Nos. 1 and 2) belong to the very earliest years of the reorganized board of Elders and Associates, which Strabo tells us controlled everything in the time of Lysimachus,—the first stone in 302 b.c. or about 285, and the second not accurately dated. Therein the Council and Demos take action on recommendations of the Gerusia and Associates. The old interpretation of Strabo's words (*καὶ διώκουν πάντα*), that the Gerusia and the ἐπίκλητοι had replaced the Council and Popular Assembly, has proved to be false (see p. 10). We cannot, however, disregard Strabo's words, XIV, 1, 21, *ἥν δὲ γερουσίᾳ καταγραφούμενη, τούτοις δὲ συνήσταν οἱ ἐπίκλητοι καλούμενοι καὶ διώκουν πάντα*, and we cannot attach any meaning to the word *πάντα* except the obvious meaning "all the affairs of Ephesus." Because Strabo has been speaking of the city and not of the sanctuary, we can hardly escape by interpreting *πάντα* to mean conveniently just the affairs of the sanctuary, which appear to have marked the boundaries of their legal competence; but nothing prevents us from explaining the universal power, which Strabo seems to attribute to them, as based not on their constitutional position in the city's political administration, but on the personal prestige of the type of men who would have belonged to the Gerusia and would have been selected as its associated advisers, and likewise on the economic position of the board, which administered, at that time with complete independence of the popular vote, the mundane affairs of the great sanctuary, far the most important thing at Ephesus, the sacred "bank" on which the financial welfare of the city depended. The board was influential enough so that its expressed desires were doubtless carried out by the Council and Demos whenever the latter recognized an opportunity of obliging the Gerusia and Associates, as for example in the case of Euphronius (No. 1) and in the affair of the Boeotian flute-player (No. 2). Apparently the Ephesian Gerusia like the Amphictyonic Council at Delphi, because of the prestige of the sanctuary, overshadowed and dominated the institutions of the local city state.

Turning to the epigraphical documents to discover the type of thing in which the Gerusia and its Associates were engaged, we can begin with the first inscription, that dealing with the honors to Euphronius the Acarnanian. His services to the Gerusia and Associates consisted in collaborating with an embassy to Prepelaus,

general of Lysimachus since 302, and in helping to persuade the general to guarantee to the Artemisium its former privilege of keeping the standard weight and its former immunity from taxation. The question of the standard weight was most important to an institution which constantly made loans and received payments in gold and silver. The ancient city states and larger political units were prone to raise some ready cash, or to escape from pressing financial obligations, by debasing their currency or by lowering the standard weight of metal. They might, for example, borrow at par and repay with depreciated money. This expedient was eventually harmful or even ruinous to the state's credit, but it might be profitable for the immediate present, and examples of its application are not wanting.<sup>16</sup> Therefore the Gerusia and the Associates appear in our earliest document as the corporation in charge of the economic interests of the Artemisium. Their embassy to Prepelaus at the very beginning of their task sought and received from him and so from Lysimachus a charter, so to speak, which confirmed them in the enjoyment of the two fundamental conditions on which the workability of the investment office depended. The officer of Lysimachus promised to the Artemisium protection against disguised confiscation and gave the Gerusia and Associates the confidence necessary for business expansion or economic security.

The nature of the services rendered by the Boeotian flute-player, honored in the second inscription from Ephesus, is not stated, but since we know that the flute-players were engaged to perform at religious festivals, we may conjecture that he had contributed his services gratuitously or had distinguished himself in some way at the festival. The rest of our evidence dates from the Roman Period, and we postpone consideration of it until the next chapter. In the reign of Commodus, however, the Gerusia renewed the custom of performing certain sacrifices to Artemis as it had done in the good old days before its funds dwindled away (No. 12), and that probably meant in the first half of the third century B.C.

Thus the Hellenistic Gerusia as a governmental body appears only in matters concerning the Artemisium, and the grant of Ephesian citizenship to the benefactors required the vote of the Council and Demos. The recommendations of the Gerusia and Associates were communicated to the Council and Demos through the agency of temple boards. This would hardly have been the case if the Gerusia had constituted an oligarchical municipal corporation with constitutionally recognized ultimate authority over affairs of the whole city, as Menadier envisaged the relationship. The elders were not *πρόσωποι* of the city of Ephesus, but independent governors of the sacred office for investing money and leasing estates of Artemis.

Finally, they seem even at the beginning to have concerned themselves with the conduct of religious festivals. They attended in some degree to the engagement of musical performers and probably to the performance of certain sacrifices.

<sup>16</sup> On currency manipulation for profit see A. R. Burns, *Money and Monetary Policy in Early Times* (New York, 1927), pp. 359-366; H. Michell, *The Economics of Ancient Greece* (New York and Cambridge, 1940), pp. 331-333.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE EPHESIAN GERUSIA UNDER THE ROMAN EMPIRE

After the disasters of the civil and foreign wars of Rome in the first century B.C. a new epoch began for the Artemisium as for the rest of Asia with the establishment of the principate. Augustus, who full-heartedly assisted the ancient shrines of the Hellenic world just as he strove hard to revive the old religious feeling of the Roman people, restored to the Ephesian Artemis an abundant income.<sup>1</sup> The tranquillity of the times provided ample opportunity for the improvement of the temple finances, but the benefits conferred upon the sanctuary were more than balanced by the unwise or the unscrupulous policy of those who administered her affairs. In the time of the proconsul Paullus Fabius Persicus the sanctuary lacked the necessary funds for the care and arrangement of the dedications because the city authorities had been selling the priesthoods and assigning the revenues to the purchasers. The interesting things about this passage in the decree of Paullus Fabius Persicus<sup>2</sup> (*ca.* 44 A.D.) are the absence of any reference to the Sacred Gerusia and the indication that the city exercised such a power over the sanctuary. The reference to the authorities reads *τῶν οὐτώς τοῦ κοινοῦ προϊσταμένων*, and the interpretation of this as referring to the city and not to the Gerusia is assured by the words<sup>3</sup> somewhat further on, *ἐπεὶ τὴν ἀπόδωσιν τῶν χρη[μάτων δυσχερέ]α τῇ πόλει ἡ παντελῶς ἀδύνατον ο[ἰδα, ἐὰν γ'] ἀριθμεῖν νῦν ἀνανκάζηται, ἀ παρὰ τῶν ἀνησταμένων ἔλαβον, κτλ.* It might be, of course, that the proconsul did not distinguish between the Gerusia and the other institutions of the city, and that the Gerusia was even now managing to some extent the worldly affairs of the sanctuary. On the other hand, the Ephesian law concerning the public and sacred debtors, *S.I.G.<sup>3</sup>*, 742 (*ca.* 85 B.C.), had also made no reference to the Sacred Gerusia, whereas it would seem to have been unavoidable if the Gerusia played the independent part then which it did in the time of the Antonines.

Therefore, we must conclude not only that the sanctuary had declined in wealth in the Hellenistic period after Lysimachus, but also that the Gerusia had lost its independence in respect to the city, if it did not actually disappear for a while. If it

<sup>1</sup> This fact is mentioned by the proconsul of Asia about 44 A.D. in a decree still partly preserved, of which an important new edition has recently been published by F. K. Dörner, *Der Erlass des Statthalters von Asia Paullus Fabius Persicus* (Dissertation, Greifswald, 1935). Additional suggestions are made by G. Klaffenbach, *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 3te Folge, VI (1935), pp. 413-416, and by A. Wilhelm, *Glotta*, XXV (1936), pp. 269-273, toward the restoration of the document.

<sup>2</sup> F. K. Dörner, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

<sup>3</sup> A. Wilhelm, *Glotta*, XXV (1936), pp. 269-273, substitutes [δυσχερέ]α for Dörner's [δαψιλέ]α.

still existed and even if it did not revert to its former private character but continued to have an official part at the Artemisium, it had by no means the same control over the sanctuary in the first centuries before and after Christ as it did in the time of Lysimachus. Apart from Strabo's observation concerning its earlier power, the first datable reference to the Gerusia in the Roman Period occurs in No. 3, the donation of Gaius Vibius Salutaris, who in 104 A.D. presented silver images, and with the promise of an endowment assured a regular distribution of money to various public and sacred and semi-private corporations. The Gerusia appears in the list after the *Βουλή*, and the Elders will receive individually the same share as the Councillors. If Salutaris dies before the final payment or the final arrangement is made, his heirs are obliged to discharge the debt of 20,000 denarii (plus the interest which accrues up to the date of settlement); and they are liable to the terms of execution according to contracts of loan which are customary in the business of the Artemisium and with the Elders. The dated inscriptions, accordingly, begin again in 104 A.D. and continue on into the reign of Commodus (No. 12). Two of the undated inscriptions (Nos. 18 and 21) may well be as late as the first half of the third century, but it cannot be proved that even these come after the reign of Commodus. None of the undated inscriptions of the Roman Period need antedate the reign of Trajan, and in their case no one on the basis of the lettering suggests a date earlier than the end of the first century after Christ.

The end of the first century marks a turning point in the financial history of the whole empire. The institution of the *curator rei publicae* dates from this period. Throughout the East in general a more serious and frequent intervention, resulting in a more thorough reorganization of city finances, began with the reign of Trajan, and of this policy in a special case the correspondence of Pliny and Trajan provides the most famous example. In some way and at some time together with these reforms the old Ephesian Gerusia was revived or at least it recovered something of its independence of the city authorities. In documents beginning with the reign of Hadrian the Gerusia appears to be the object of the solicitous attention of the Roman government.

Concerning the activity of the Gerusia in the second and third centuries after Christ we have the following information:

First, it engaged in a vast business of lending money attested directly or indirectly by the following passages. In speaking about the obligations of the heirs of Salutaris to carry out the bequest in the event of his death before the settlement, No. 3 (104 A.D.) reads (lines 309-311): *ὑποκεμένων αὐτῶν τῇ πράξει κατὰ τὰ ιερὰ τῆς θεοῦ καὶ τὰ παρὰ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις ἐκδανιστικὰ ἔγγραφα*. The whole letter of the emperor Hadrian to the Gerusia, No. 7, deals with the smoothing out of financial difficulties which arose chiefly because the heirs of people who had borrowed extensively from the Gerusia had attempted to avoid repayment of the debt on the false grounds that they too were technical creditors of the deceased rather than heirs legally liable for the

obligations of the deceased. No. 11, the letter of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus to the temporary receiver (*λογιστής*) of the Gerusia, deals for one thing with the problems arising out of the confusion in which many debtors of the Gerusia paid over their money to a collecting agent not of the Gerusia but of the city, and for another thing it deals with the continual postponement of payment in debts owed to the Gerusia, in one case, apparently, for three generations. Lastly, in No. 20 Marcus Aurelius Agathopus, one time secretary and gymnasiarch of the Gerusia, thanks the goddess and the Fortune of the Gerusia that he had the strength to be honest while he held these posts.

The Gerusia, furthermore, seems to have been concerned also with the imperial cult. The evidence for this is to be found chiefly in No. 11, the letter of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus to the temporary receiver (*λογιστής*) of the Gerusia. In the synhedrion of the latter institution were the silver statues of former emperors, the apparatus of the imperial cult.<sup>4</sup> The receiver, who is trying to establish the Gerusia on a sound financial basis, has asked for permission to smelt down the old statues, especially those worn beyond recognition, and to remodel some of them into representations of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus. He seems to have felt that the Gerusia would eventually have to put out money for silver statues of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, and that it might now economize for the future. In the bequest of Salutaris, furthermore, the Elders and the former Asiarchs together with some other indeterminable people form a single group, for whom the secretary of the Gerusia receives the money to be distributed and carries out the arrangements (No. 3, lines 231-246). The Asiarchs, league officers, were essentially priests of the imperial cult.<sup>5</sup> Then in the decree No. 12, the Gerusia itself applies a new source of income, recently uncovered by the general advocate, to finance an ancient custom of feasting and sacrificing, long abandoned for lack of means. The decree begins with references to the foundation of the city and to the building of the temple, all of which refers to the time of Lysimachus when the complete Hellenization of the Artemision finally came about and the Gerusia enjoyed its days of power. The banquets and sacrifices are to be instituted anew, but now they are celebrated not to the glory of Artemis alone, but to that of the god emperor also.

<sup>4</sup> K. Scott, "The Significance of Statues in Precious Metals in Emperor Worship," *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, LXII (1931), pp. 101-123.

<sup>5</sup> It suffices for our purpose that the Asiarchs were closely connected with the imperial cult, and the relationship between the titles Asiarch and archiereus need not detain us here. Concerning the Asiarchs a discussion which takes into account all the chief ancient references, including the constitution of Valentinian, Valens, and Gratian, is that of L. R. Taylor *apud* F. J. Foakes Jackson and Kiropp Lake, *The Beginnings of Christianity*, Part I, Volume V (London, Macmillan and Co., 1933), pp. 256-262, to which T. R. S. Broughton has kindly called my attention. Another recent discussion is that of A. Schenk von Stauffenberg, *Die römische Kaisergeschichte bei Malalas* (Stuttgart, W. Kohlhammer, 1931), pp. 422-434.

The other references to the Gerusia in the inscriptions of the second (and possibly the third) century are less illuminating. The bequest of Salutaris (Nos. 3 and 4) shows us the Gerusia as the recipient of benefactions along with the Council, the Demos and various corporations of the Artemisium and of the city. The money distribution to the Gerusia, almost as generous as that to the Council, went to as many as three hundred and nine persons chosen by lot, so that the total membership was probably larger. The Gerusia and the Council are mentioned as recipients of the donations of Titus Peducaeus Canax (No. 5), and again as the recipients of the donations of some unknown benefactor (No. 6). No. 10 honors one of the distinguished hymnodi of Artemis who is privileged to share in the money distributions of the Council, of the Gerusia, and of the gold bearers to the goddess. Sepulchral inscriptions like Nos. 13 and 17, which specify a sum for which the Gerusia can bring suit in case the grave is alienated or mutilated, indicate only that the Gerusia was a powerful corporation, capable of securing the condemnation of any offender. It does not mean that fines formerly payable to Artemis were now diverted to the Gerusia or even paid to the latter for the goddess. Similar monuments specify the Council, the imperial fiscus, or the most sacred rent office of the Artemisium as entitled to the damages in case of violation. The purpose of such specifications was not to benefit the corporation concerned but to secure the inviolability of the grave. The same meaning applies to the penalties against alteration of the bequest of Salutaris (No. 3). In Nos. 3 and 14 references occur to the Gerusia's own money. In No. 15 a Galatian honored by the League of the Galatians is mentioned as having been invested with the rank of an Elder ( $[\gamma]\epsilon\rho\nu\tau\epsilon\iota\alpha$ ), but it does not follow that he belonged to the Ephesian Gerusia. In No. 18 a distinguished citizen, in his thank-offering to the goddess after the completion of several liturgies, identifies himself by tribe and thousand and as a full member of the Gerusia. In No. 21 among the honorable posts held by Marcus Aurelius Artemidorus and his son the position of Elder stands first. The importance of the Gerusia appears constantly. Its gymnašiarch Titus Peducaeus Canax (No. 5) was prytanis of Ephesus and priest of Rome and of the heroified Publius Servilius Isauricus (the long-departed victor over the Cilician pirates). But even more indicative may be counted the Roman interest expressed in several imperial letters (Nos. 7 and 11) and in the appointment, by the governor, of financial commissioners such as the cities obtained, namely, the "receivers" ( $\lambda\omega\gamma\sigma\tau\alpha\iota$ ) mentioned in Nos. 7, 9, and 11.

It is nowhere stated how the Gerusia of the second century after Christ happened to be conducting such a flourishing business, the affairs of which, to judge from No. 3, lines 309-311, were in a sacred category. It was quite obviously not one of the ordinary type of Asiatic clubs for older men. The first impression might lead one to think that it inherited the control of the economic life of the sanctuary from the days of

Lysimachus, but as we have seen, the Gerusia had actually become extinct in the meanwhile or at least the control over the economic aspect of the sanctuary had passed out of its hand. It might, of course, have been revived during financial reforms of the emperor Trajan, whose interest in the economic stability of the eastern provinces has been impressed upon our minds through the correspondence of Pliny.<sup>6</sup> This would have been quite in keeping with the policy of the Romans, who preferred to work through ancient forms into which they breathed a new spirit. The Areopagus was ruling Athens as in the days before the victory of Ephialtes, because the Romans restored it to a power for which it qualified in their view as being not only ancestral but oligarchical. It would have been altogether suitable to the taste and policy of the Age, if Trajan had substituted management by a revived Gerusia for the city's mismanagement of the sanctuary, mismanagement of which the Roman government, as we have already pointed out, was well aware. The decree, No. 12, furthermore, shows that the Gerusia of the second century after Christ considered itself the child of the one which Lysimachus made great. Even if the name of Lysimachus has been restored in the decree, the Elders are clearly pointing back to the time when the city was founded anew and the affairs of Artemis were organized; so they traced their functional descent from that king's great Elders whose sphere was the supervision over the economic life of the Artemision. Now we see the Elders of the second century conducting a great business of lending money, and we know that Ephesus had always been famous for the sacred depository and the business affairs of Artemis. A natural train of thought might lead us to conclude that the Gerusia indeed was once again managing the business affairs of Artemis; but the epigraphical and literary sources would not support this explanation.

For the business affairs of the goddess the Law concerning the Debtors, *S.I.G.*<sup>3</sup>, 742, although much earlier than the second century after Christ, is perhaps our natural point of departure. The goddess through her agents lent out money at interest (*ὅστια δὲ ἱερὰ δεδάνεισται*), and the goddess through her agents rented out parcels of land. The contracts for the latter were the *ἱεραὶ μισθώσεις* of the same text, and the economic management of the *ἱεραὶ μισθώσεις* surely belonged to the *ἱερώτατον συνέδριον τοῦ μισθωτηρίου*<sup>7</sup> of the second and third centuries after Christ. There is, however, no direct evidence for identifying the *ἱερὸν συνέδριον τῆς γερουσίας* with the *ἱερώτατον συνέδριον τοῦ μισθωτηρίου*. If one argued that the former had some kind of supervision over the latter, there would be no means either of proving or disproving the contention. Again, the contracts for loans or investments of the goddess's money are mentioned in No. 3 of 104 A.D. in speaking of the obligations of the heirs to carry out the bequest

<sup>6</sup> *Epistles*, VIII, 24, in regard to Achaea; letters to and from Trajan in regard to Bithynia.

<sup>7</sup> See *B.M.I.*, III, 570 and 577. It was also called the *ἱερώτατον μισθωτήριον* (*Jahreshefte*, XXVI [1930], Beiblatt, pp. 14 f.).

of Salutaris in the event of his death before the settlement: *ὑποκειμένων αὐτῶν τῇ πράξει κατὰ τὰ ιερὰ τῆς θεοῦ καὶ τὰ παρὰ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις ἐκδανιστικὰ ἔγγραφα.* But here *τὰ ιερὰ τῆς θεοῦ ἐκδανιστικὰ ἔγγραφα* are clearly distinguished from *τὰ παρὰ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις ἐκδανιστικὰ ἔγγραφα*. The word *πρεσβύτεροι* is all over Asia synonymous with *γερουσία*. The distinction between the loan contracts of the goddess and those used in business with the Elders comes as a surprise, and perhaps the discrepancy is merely apparent. We may leave open the possibility that the Gerusia really was installed at the Artemisium to supervise once more the loans and other business affairs of Artemis. For this interpretation we might try to explain the phrase as distinguishing between business as conducted in the old way and as conducted even under a new management which in the year 104 A.D. would have been only recently established indeed. But the words quoted above seem to me to indicate rather that the functions of the newly revived Gerusia of the second century after Christ were not quite those of the Gerusia of Lysimachus. More simply expressed, the Gerusia of the Roman Period did not control the investments of Artemis, but after all no other document of the Roman Period directly indicates that it did.

By way of summary we repeat that the Ephesian Gerusia of the second century after Christ was a public corporation with an economic character. In one reference to the subject, however, its business operations, although in a sacred category, are distinguished from those of the rent office of the Artemisium. On the other hand, the decree of the synhedrion of the Gerusia seems definitely to derive it from the old Gerusia of the Lysimachean Period, an institution which did apparently control the economic life of the Artemisium. Furthermore, the decree of the synhedrion of the Gerusia shows that the Elders felt that they should arrange financially for the celebration of certain festivals of at least the city goddess Artemis, with whom the emperor might now be associated. This was recognized as one of their traditional duties temporarily suspended for lack of funds. I personally feel that the Gerusia of the Roman Period never recovered any control over the income of the sanctuary, revenues which now came through the rent office, but that the Gerusia had funds which enabled them to give a certain additional splendor to celebrations in honor of the goddess or to add to the number of such festivals. All that we can say about the purpose of the Gerusia on the basis of our fortuitously preserved information is that it existed to supply economic support to the cult of Artemis in the way of arrangements for certain festivals and that its connections with the imperial cult, which happen to bulk rather large in our sources, were due only to the situation that the imperial cult was concomitant to that of Artemis. At Ephesus as at Athens the imperial cult is secondary.

Since the Romans regarded religion as part of the state's business, they tended to associate the worship of Rome and of the emperors with the worship of the chief

state deities in various regions of the empire.<sup>8</sup> The close connection existing in many cities between the imperial cult on the one hand and the chief deity (particularly Artemis) on the other appears also from the way in which on coins and sculptured monuments neocorries were indicated by a temple placed either on the head or in the hand of the goddess.<sup>9</sup> An historical outline of the relations between the imperial cult and the sanctuary of the Ephesian Artemis is given by Ch. Picard, *Éphèse et Claros* (1922), pp. 660-676.

<sup>8</sup> Abbé E. Beurlier, *Le Culte Impériale* (Paris, 1891), pp. 155-157. P. Riewald, *De imperatorum Romanorum cum certis dis et comparatione et aequatione* (Dissertation, Halle, 1911). A. D. Nock, "Σύνναος θεός," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XLI (1930), pp. 1-62.

<sup>9</sup> B. Pick, "Die tempeltragenden Gottheiten und die Darstellung der Neokorie auf den Münzen," *Jahreshefte*, VII (1904), pp. 1-41. F. Chapouthier, "La coiffe d'Artémis dans Éphèse trois fois néocore," *Revue des études anciennes*, XL (1938), pp. 125-132.

## CHAPTER V

### THE ESTABLISHMENT OF SACRED GERUSIAE OUTSIDE OF EPHESUS

#### THE DURATION OF THE INSTITUTION

The striking similarity of the Sacred Gerusia of the Athenians to the Ephesian Gerusia, as it has appeared in Chapters I and IV, shows that the Athenian Gerusia was modeled to some extent on the famous and ancient Gerusia of the Ephesians, which in the Hellenistic Period had been unique. A more exact date for the establishment of the Athenian institution, which was being merely founded in the time of Marcus Aurelius, now remains to be determined. The first imperial letter to the Gerusia falls somewhere between 177 and 179 A.D. The Jobacchi inscription,<sup>1</sup> in which reference to the Gerusia or to a projected Gerusia already occurs, must antedate the death of Herodes Atticus in 176 or 177.<sup>2</sup> At the time of the first imperial letter, the Gerusia was still in an incipient stage and the correspondence with the emperors still concerned the appointment of officers and advisers. The establishment of the Athenian Gerusia, therefore, occurred not long before 177 A.D. or in that year at the very latest.

The Athenians had had a bitter experience a few years earlier. In the late summer of 170 A.D. the sanctuary of Eleusis was destroyed by an incursion of the Costoboci. These barbarians, leaving their home somewhat to the north of the Caucasus, had crossed the Black Sea, had raided the coast of Moesia, Thrace, Macedonia, and Phocis, and plundering a part of Attica, had threatened Athens itself.<sup>3</sup> On hearing the news at Smyrna, Aelius Aristides in a single hour, it is said, wrote the *Eleusinios*, which despite its rhetorical flourish genuinely reflects the indignation that the destruction of the sanctuary provoked throughout the ancient world.

The sanctuary had to be rebuilt, the Mysteries re-established. A base at Eleusis<sup>4</sup> praises the hierophant for having saved the rites for the fatherland. It was the same hierophant who later initiated the Emperor.

<sup>1</sup> *S.I.G.*<sup>3</sup>, 1109 (quoted here in part as No. 22).

<sup>2</sup> P. Graudor, *Un milliardaire antique: Hérode Atticus et sa famille* (Cairo, 1930), p. 130. (*Recueil de travaux publiés par la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université Égyptienne*, Fasc. V.).

<sup>3</sup> The evidence for the date and route of this incursion has been presented by A. von Premerstein, *Klio*, XII (1912), pp. 145-164. The date is no longer disputed, but it is still debated whether or not they came by sea. Compare H. M. D. Parker, *A History of the Roman World from A.D. 138 to 337* (London, Methuen, 1935), p. 316, note 57.

<sup>4</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3639.

Between 170 and 175 Marcus Aurelius was too much occupied with the barbarians to study the local institutions of the East with much attention, but in 175 the serious revolt of Avidius Cassius brought the emperor to Asia Minor, then to Syria and then to Athens; for he felt the need of re-establishing direct contact between the emperor and the cities of the East, inasmuch as the success of Avidius Cassius had demonstrated the desirability of a more direct supervision or a more immediate acquaintance. The emperor spent fifteen months in these journeys, and before he returned to Rome in November of 176 he stopped long enough at Athens to reorganize the "University" and to be initiated into the Eleusinian Mysteries.<sup>5</sup>

It seems likely in view of all this that the emperor himself introduced the Ephesian type of gerusia into Athens at this time (175-176 A.D.), when, improving conditions in the East, he visited first Ephesus and later Athens, and when in the latter *civitas* a general reconstruction and reorganization were probably still going on as a result of the incursion of the Costoboci, who had destroyed the sanctuary at Eleusis. The splendor of the old religious festivals may have diminished, especially at a time when the Athenians had been at enmity with Herodes Atticus.<sup>6</sup> The funds available for religious celebrations must have been greatly curtailed.

The Athenian Gerusia did not, like its Ephesian model, engage in money-lending operations so far as we know. It presumably drew its revenues mainly from the estates mentioned in Letter I, over which the imperial procurator still kept a certain watch. We surmise that these estates came to the Gerusia, or even before the latter's inception, to the Athenians, through the generosity of an emperor, perhaps Marcus Aurelius himself, or perhaps Hadrian. It is worth observing in this regard that imperial estates in Attica and the activity of an imperial procurator in Attica are traceable somewhat previously in a mutilated document, which seems to be a decree in honor of Hadrian and is best consulted in Graindor's edition in *Rev. Ét. Gr.*, XXXI (1918), pp. 227-237, where line 18 reads: ]*s ἐκ τῶν αὐτοῦ χωρίων παρέχει τὴν π[ό]λ[ε]ι*, and line 20 might be interpreted: *πρὸς τὴν οἰκείαν θρη[σκείαν]*.

But in Greece, Athens is not the only place which attracts our attention. Another new institution of a foreign character appears at the sanctuary of Asclepius at Hyettus (No. 33) of the time after the promulgation of the *Constitutio Antoniniana*. The document contains decrees of the Sacred Gerusia of the Savior Asclepius to record some gifts received and to publish a list of members and to provide for new elections. If an Elder dies, whichever son the Gerusia elects shall succeed him; if there are no sons, then the nearest relative shall take his place. The latter, however, on entering the corporation shall pay the Gerusia fifty denarii. Again, if the Gerusia elects a complete outsider, the new man is required to pay a hundred denarii on entry into

<sup>5</sup> J. W. H. Walden, *The Universities of Ancient Greece* (New York, 1909), pp. 91-94.

<sup>6</sup> P. Graindor, *op. cit.*, pp. 111-136.

the corporation. The list of members, perhaps only the new ones, scarcely contained a dozen names. The gifts mentioned were two estates, one given to the Gerusia in return for the numerous and great benefactions of the god by Julius Aristeas, and the other by Aurelius Menecrates Eratonianus. The phrase ἐχαρίσατο διὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν γερουσίᾳ χωρεῖδιον shows that the Gerusia managed the estate for the god, and Hiller von Gaertringen<sup>7</sup> was quite right in comparing it with the *iερὰ γερουσία* mentioned on stones at Eleusis, except that it was an Athenian rather than an Eleusinian Gerusia that was mentioned in a misleading manner on the Eleusinian stones. There is, however, one marked difference in the institution at Hyettus. Whereas the Gerusiae at Athens and at Roman Ephesus were called officially the Gerusiae of the Athenians (Nos. 24 and 26) and of the Ephesians (No. 7) respectively, the institution at Hyettus is not called the Gerusia of the Hyettians but of the Savior Asclepius, and whereas the Gerusiae at Athens and at Roman Ephesus as yet cannot definitely be connected with the business affairs of the local deities, the institution at Hyettus obviously manages the estates of a deity and has no demonstrable connection with the imperial cult. In its conception the Sacred Gerusia of the Savior Asclepius at Hyettus stands closer than the Gerusiae of Roman Ephesus and Athens to the original type launched by Lysimachus.

The institution at Hyettus cannot have been an extraordinary survival of another Macedonian creation. So we conclude, not because of the silence of earlier documents, but because this type of gerusia was foreign to the Greek mainland. It can have been introduced when the Ephesian type of gerusia was being planted at Athens, that is to say about the year 176 A.D. under the influence of Marcus Aurelius. We have indeed an indication of a profound change at Hyettus at this time, if we accept the statement of Pausanias (IX, 24, 3), rejected by Bölte<sup>8</sup> as a loose, non-juristic expression, that Hyettus was only a village (*κώμη*), probably belonging to Orchomenus. Inscriptions of the time of Septimius Severus and Caracalla reveal an urban constitution at Hyettus. If Pausanias was speaking accurately—and I think we ought to accept his statement at its face value unless evidence to the contrary from the middle of the second century appears—then Hyettus became a city at some time between the visit of Pausanias in the third quarter of the second century and the reign of Septimius Severus.

On the other hand, I should not wish to exclude entirely the more remote possibility that the sanctuary of Asclepius at Hyettus underwent no real change but only assimilated its terminology to the old Ephesian terminology. There is some evidence for the existence of a board of managers called *π[ρέσβει]ς* at the sanctuary of Asclepius at Athens as early as the reign of Marcus Aurelius,<sup>9</sup> and such a board

<sup>7</sup> Commentary on *S.I.G.<sup>3</sup>*, 1112.

<sup>8</sup> *Real-Enc.*, 17ter Halbband (1914), col. 92.

<sup>9</sup> In a text to be published by J. H. Oliver, *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, LXXI (1940), p. 304.

may have been traditional at sanctuaries of Asclepius. Against this inference, however, may be set the absence of any such organization at Epidaurus. Moreover, in regard to the Athenian  $\pi[\rho\acute{e}\sigma\beta\epsilon]\varsigma$ , who first appear under Marcus Aurelius, it could be argued that they too were established on an Ephesian model. Thus Athens would have a representative of each type, one organization (the  $\pi[\rho\acute{e}\sigma\beta\epsilon]\varsigma$  of the Asclepieum) like the Gerusia of Hyettus on the model established by Lysimachus at Ephesus, and secondly its own Gerusia on the model of the homonymous organization at Roman Ephesus. The Athenian  $\pi[\rho\acute{e}\sigma\beta\epsilon]\varsigma$ , however, until better attested, need not influence our discussion.

It is scarcely a coincidence that at Athens and at Hyettus these two corporations of a title strange in Central Greece should both call themselves *ἱεραὶ γερουσίαι*, employing a descriptive adjective, the positive form of which was not used in the locality as a colorless term of respect even for others, not to mention for one's self. The adjective *ἱερά* clearly defined the type of gerusia being established in both places. It was not to be the ordinary gerusia but a special type which operated in the economico-religious sphere, a type which we find long before this period only at Ephesus, where, however, it was never called the *ἱερὰ γερουσία* but merely the *γερουσία*. At Ephesus the corporation had always been *the* Gerusia, whereas when this unique institution was copied elsewhere, the descriptive adjective was prefixed to the title in order to preclude a misunderstanding possible in new surroundings.

As a result then of our investigation into the character of the institutions at Athens and at Hyettus, we suggest that the expression *ἱερὰ γερουσία*, wherever it occurs in official language, probably refers to a gerusia of the economico-religious type, such as the three corporations which we have already considered.<sup>10</sup>

We must confess, however, that at Antiochia on the Maeander in Caria, where coins bear the legends *ἱερὰ βουλὴ* and *ἱερὰ γερουσία*, it is difficult to concede any positive significance to the adjective, although, of course, no proof exists that the latter gerusia did not belong to the special type which here engages our interest. The criterion loses part of its value but it still indicates a probability.

Tentatively adopting this criterion, we turn first of all to Philippopolis where we have an inscription (No. 60) erected by the local Gerusia itself in honor of its advocate Tib. Claudius Pasinus, and dated by the name of the organization's *ταμίας*. The inscription belongs to the second or third century after Christ, and it is particularly important because the organization styles itself *ἡ ἱερὰ γερουσία*, as the Athenian Gerusia does in No. 27. Therefore, the adjective *ἱερά* is certainly not just a compliment from respectful outsiders at Philippopolis but appears as part of the official title of the organization. The existence of a special advocate of the Gerusia can be paralleled at Ephesus in No. 12. Also two sepulchral inscriptions of the second or third century

<sup>10</sup> For further discussion of this point see Chapter VI on the terminology.

after Christ, one, No. 61, erected by Herennius Heraclianus, and the other, No. 62, erected by a certain Saturninus, both of whom are described as Philippopolitan Elders (*γερουσιαστῆς*), attest the existence of the organization but throw no light on its character. In No. 62 the Gerusia appears, furthermore, as one of the beneficiaries from fines stipulated for any possible violation or alienation of the monument.

Also, at Aenus the significant phrase *ἱερὰ γερουσία* meets us in a fragmentary sepulchral inscription (No. 63) as the title of one of the beneficiaries from possible fines. The inscription dates from the second or third century after Christ and gives us no further information about it. Two other documents of Aenus are so restored by Dumont and Homolle as to contain references to the Gerusia or to one of its members,<sup>11</sup> but the readings are too uncertain or even improbable to be admitted as evidence.

But the phrase *ἱερὰ γερουσία* occurs in the extant inscriptions of Stratonicea in Caria and of its subject territory more frequently than in those of any other locality. Stratonicea controlled two very important sanctuaries: that of Panamarus or the Carian Zeus at Panamara<sup>12</sup> and that of Hecate at Lagina.

From a recently discovered document (No. 41) which reads *ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος καὶ αἱ ἱεραὶ γερουσίαι ἐπίμησαν κτλ.*, it appears that more than one Sacred Gerusia existed at Stratonicea, and inasmuch as the tenure of office of an Elder could scarcely be a brief one—at Hyettus, for example, his appointment lasted until his death—the plural number cannot be explained as referring to several successive boards of Elders. Rather, the plural number indicates two or three Sacred Gerusiae for two or three great sanctuaries with their independent economic life. A good parallel to the plural number of gerusiae at Stratonicea occurs in Nos. 55 and 56 which mention two gerusiae of Thessalonica (*vide infra*).

Two other inscriptions of Stratonicea (the city) mention one or the other of

<sup>11</sup> A. Dumont, *Archives des missions scientifiques et littéraires*, 3rd series, III (1876), p. 165, no. 104 a, and p. 166, no. 104 b. In the first inscription the word *γερούσια* was restored by Homolle in his republication of Dumont's article in *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'épigraphie* (Paris, 1892), p. 438, no. 104 a. Even if certain, this reference on a sepulchral monument would not contribute any further information. The second inscription is Christian, and a reference in it to the Gerusia would be very surprising. Dumont edited the fragment as follows:

ΑΚΑ	μ]ακα[ρίας
▼ MN	μν[ήμης.
#ΟΥΞΙΑ+	γερ]ουσίᾳ

Homolle, *loc. cit.*, p. 438, commenting on no. 104 b, proposed treating the last word as an abbreviation: *γερούσια* (*στῆς*), a resolution which would be unacceptable even if the first three letters were known to be ΓΕΡ. I prefer to interpret the vestiges of the third line as part of a name or of a liturgical formula.

<sup>12</sup> H. Oppermann, "Zeus Panamaros," *Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten*, XIX, Heft 3 (1924). P. Roussel, "Les Mystères de Panamara," *B.C.H.*, LI (1927), pp. 123-137. *Idem*, "Le Miracle de Zeus Panamaros," *B.C.H.*, LV (1931), pp. 70-116.

the local Gerusiae. From No. 46 it appears that the Demos, the Council, and one of the Sacred Gerusiae honored with a public burial a patriotic citizen named Pytheas Alexander, son of Aristippus. In No. 45 some unknown persons are praised for their patriotic acts, which included the feasting of the Sacred Gerusia. Although the same document further on reports other benefactions at the sanctuary of Hecate, we should not be justified in concluding that the Sacred Gerusia here mentioned was the one associated with the sanctuary at Lagina, but the indication points in that direction.

At Lagina itself six inscriptions have recorded the Sacred Gerusia. In No. 42 the Demos, the Council, and the Gerusia jointly honor Phanias who has three times voluntarily served as priest of Hecate. In No. 39 again the Demos, the Councils, and the Gerusia jointly honor the priest Myonides and his aunt; and the epigram appended states that Hecate has honored the two personages above other mortals and that the fatherland has taken a share in rewarding them. In No. 43 the Gerusia, with which again the Demos and Councils are associated in the restoration by Hatzfeld, honors a certain Agrippiana, who has served as key-bearer to the goddess. In No. 44 the Demos, the Councils, the Sacred Gerusia, and those who dwell in the sanctuary, jointly honor the priestess Ammion because of her piety toward the goddess and her attention to the pilgrims. In No. 35, the Demos, the Council, and the Gerusia jointly honor Ulpius Alexander Heraclitus and his wife Ammion for the brilliant manner in which they have performed the duties of priest and priestess. In No. 36, finally, the Demos, the Council, the Gerusia, and those who dwell in the sanctuary, jointly honor the volunteer priest Nicander and his wife the priestess and his daughter the key-bearer, who was serving for the second time.

At Panamara, where the temple of Zeus Panamarus, the other great sanctuary of the Stratonicean territory, was located, four inscriptions mention the Gerusia. In No. 47 Theophilus and his wife Tryphera, volunteer priest and priestess for two years, are cited for the brilliant performance of their liturgies. Among the services mentioned appears a reception which they gave to the Gerusia in the city, whereat they invited the Elders to carry food away with them. In No. 40 the Demos, the Councils, and the Gerusia jointly honor Marcus Sempronius Clemens, who seems to have flourished at the end of the second or the beginning of the third century, and who waived his inherited exemption and undertook numerous profane and sacred liturgies in a time of stress. In No. 38 the Council, the Demos, and the Gerusia jointly honor Hierocles, high priest of the imperial cult, and thrice priest of Zeus and of Hecate, priest at various other sanctuaries, and former incumbent of various public offices. One of his sons, who are honored with him, seems to have had a similar career and to have been a benefactor of the Gerusia. From No. 37 it appears that the Demos, the Council, and the Gerusia honored and buried publicly Aristippus son of Artemidorus who among many important services to the fatherland had served as gymnasiarach of the *νέοι*, as priest, and as ambassador to the emperors. In No. 34, finally, [Ariston] and his wife Dracontis, the priest and priestess—she has served

also at the sanctuary of Hecate—are cited for the splendid way in which they have discharged their duties; and they are praised as having made a donation to the Councillors and to the members of the Gerusia so that each of these dignitaries received three denarii.

From these not very illuminating references certain indications emerge. There were in Stratonicean territory not only three famous sanctuaries whither the pilgrims came in crowds, but at least two Sacred Gerusiae. Apart from the descriptive title *ἱερὰ γερουσία*, a connection between the Gerusiae and the sanctuaries appears from the special attention which the priests offer to the Gerusiae and from the not uncommon association of the Gerusiae with the political bodies of the city in expressions of gratitude toward the benefactors of the sanctuaries. The inscriptions of Stratonicea and of its territory make no reference to the functions of the Gerusiae, and these must be deduced on the analogy of the functions of Sacred Gerusiae in other localities.

The fact that the Gerusia was only sporadically associated with the political bodies of the city in expressions of gratitude toward the benefactors of the sanctuary and that the volunteer priests only occasionally gave receptions to the Gerusia, suggests again as at Ephesus and Athens that the local corporation's role was limited to the financial support of certain festivals.

Since the imperial government first begins to display an interest in the institution at Ephesus, according to the evidence at our disposal, only in the time of Hadrian, and since the institution was being transplanted to the soil of Attica only in the reign of Marcus Aurelius, we are tempted to conclude that the establishment of Sacred Gerusiae on the peculiar Ephesian model in other localities probably belonged to the second century after Christ. With this deduction the evidence from Stratonicea and its territory does not stand in contradiction. On prosopographical grounds No. 40 appears to belong to the end of the second or the beginning of the third century after Christ, and No. 35 to the reign of Hadrian or of Antoninus Pius. In No. 34 the *gentilicium* Aelia establishes the reign of Hadrian as a *terminus post quem*. According to one scholar's argument the bearer of that name had recently received the Roman citizenship, because an earlier inscription recalls her name without the *gentilicium*. If so, No. 34 becomes the earliest pertinent document datable in Stratonicean territory. An uncertain combination indicates for No. 38 a date after 160 A.D. If the priestess Ammion who appears in No. 44 is identical with the priestess Ammion of No. 35, the former inscription too finds a date somewhere in the reign of Hadrian or of Antoninus Pius. The use of a leaf for punctuation or decoration brings No. 46 down at least to the second century after Christ. In such a document as No. 37 the un-Roman name of Aristippus son of Artemidorus belongs to the period before the *Constitutio Antoniniana*. Since the phrase *πρεσβεύσαντα πρὸς τοὺς Σεβαστούς* seems to imply that some jointly ruling emperors had already taken office together, the latter inscription falls between the years 161 and 212 A.D. The other documents, some of which mention Roman names like Gaius, Julia, and Agrippiana, exhibit a general

resemblance to the style of these inscriptions, and they doubtless must also be assigned to the second or early third century after Christ.

The significant phrase *ἱερὰ γερουσία* appears also in an inscription (No. 48) at Prusias ad Hypium in Bithynia. The document gives us the career of Domitius Aurelius Diogenianus Calicles, who has performed with distinction the duties of many public offices, and who has served as archon of the *κοινόν* of the Bithynian Greeks, is at the present time financial commissioner (*λογιστής*) of the Sacred Gerusia, and who has already been appointed as the next incumbent of the positions of first archon and priest and *ἀγωνοθέτης* of the Olympian Zeus. The numerous Aurelii, whose names appear in the catalogue of the phylarchs elected to serve in his archonship, indicate that the inscription belongs to the period after 212 A.D. The document possibly refers to a well-known Gerusia situated elsewhere, but in the absence of any positive indication to this effect, it is preferable to assume that the corporation was located in the territory of Prusias. No other reference to the Gerusia at Prusias has come to light, but the two facts that the institution was called a Sacred Gerusia and that it received a financial commissioner like the Ephesian Gerusia almost suffice to show that the institution at Prusias ad Hypium must be included in the group of gerusiae which functioned in the economico-religious sphere.<sup>13</sup>

Tralles had a gerusia frequently mentioned in the inscriptions of the first three centuries after Christ. It dates at least from the time of Augustus and exhibits the characteristics of the ordinary social type which centered about a gymnasium.<sup>14</sup> For this reason I have not desired to include in Part II the majority of the inscriptions which deal with the Gerusia of Tralles. But in three inscriptions of the second or early third century after Christ the phrase *τὸ ιερὸν σύστημα τῆς γερουσίας* constitutes a novelty sufficiently striking to justify the inclusion of these three documents as Nos. 49-51. In view of the date of these documents and in view of the establishment of Sacred Gerusiae in various places under the influence of Hadrian and the Antonines, it would not be surprising if the old social Gerusia of Tralles had now been invited to constitute, furnish, or assume the supervision over, a board of sacred finances. This appears to me the most likely interpretation of the phrase *ιερὸν σύστημα*, with which the reader should compare the parallels in *S.I.G.*<sup>3</sup>, 742 and in *T.A.M.*,

<sup>13</sup> *I.G.R.R.*, III, 42, an inscription at another Bithynian town, Nicaea, possibly preserves a reference to a sacred gerusia, but although I have no objection to the restoration [ἡ ιερὰ γερουσία], the only word which would furnish a reason for so describing the Nicaean institution depends on a conjecture, and I choose to limit the scope of my essay to those cases where a higher degree of probability exists.

<sup>14</sup> See the references collected by F. Poland, *Geschichte des griechischen Vereinswesens* (1909), p. 581. The inscription, *B.C.H.*, X (1886), p. 516, no. 5, dates from the reign of Augustus: [Αὐτὸν] κράτορι Καί[σαρι | Θεοῦ] νιών Θεῶι Σεβασ[τῶι κ]τίστη[ι τῆς | πόλεως] καὶ τῷ τύχῃ αὐτοῦ ἡ γερουσία. For example, in an inscription of the first or second century after Christ, *Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*, I (1882-3, published in 1885), p. 96, no. II, the Council, the Demos, and the Gerusia unite to honor a man γυμνασια[ρ]χήσαντα τῶν τριῶν γυμνασίων τὴν πρώτην τετράμηνον ἐκ τῶν ἕδων καὶ θέντα ἔ[λα]ιον δι' ὅλης ἡμέρας, ζήσαντα σωφρόνως καὶ κοσμίως. The three gymnasia, of course, were those of the Elders of the νέοι, and of the ephebes.

II, 188, where the phrase obviously means a board managing sacred property. If our interpretation here were correct, it would mean that the social gerusiae like the societies of *νέοι*<sup>15</sup> served the real interests of the Roman government on occasion, and we should perceive one more reason why all the gerusiae were so much in evidence precisely in the latter part of the second century. Furthermore, we could elucidate an inscription of the sole reign of Commodus, *T. A. M.*, II, 175, which contains the Sidymean decree concerning the establishment there of a board of Elders and the enthusiastic letter of the proconsul, by pointing to the significant development at about this time in one of the old Asiatic social gerusiae. I should infer that the proconsul thought of the new corporation at Sidyma as a board consisting of the leading citizens and providing a group who might be asked to assume responsibility for the safer management of sacred estates. I have no way of knowing whether actually they ever were asked to assume the responsibility.

According to No. 52 the Gerusia of Apamea, like the Athenian, was founded as a result of an embassy to certain emperors, who in my opinion were probably Marcus Aurelius and Commodus. The corporation, mentioned in Nos. 52 and 53 from Apamea, seems to be a sacred Gerusia, chiefly because of the embassy to the emperors, and perhaps also because it used the services of a *συνήγορος* (No. 52) and called its presiding officer in No. 53 archon instead of gymnasiarch.

Some sort of a gerusia probably existed at Thessalonica as early as 221 A.D. (No. 54). A certain C. Julius Euphranticus is known to have set up two gerusiae (No. 55) and to have served as gerusiarch of two gerusiae (No. 56) at Thessalonica. According to Charles Edson, who has collected copies and studied all inscriptions of Thessalonica, the two honorary altars for Euphranticus might conceivably antedate by a few years 221 A.D. On stylistic grounds, however, Edson (*per litteras*) would prefer to assign them to the second quarter of the third century. If so, we should be dealing perhaps with three gerusiae, which may not have been all of the same type but which at least are not distinguished in the extant inscriptions. It is also possible to suppose that the two gerusiae were founded many years before the honorary altars were erected to Euphranticus, and that Thessalonica never had more than these two gerusiae. In either case we have a plural number. It is difficult to imagine two or three gerusiae of the social type in one locality, and the only parallel for the plural number occurs in the territory of Stratonicea where the corporations are actually designated as Sacred Gerusiae. I presume, therefore, that the two new gerusiae established by Euphranticus were of the special type which forms the subject of our study.

Around 250 A.D. a bereaved woman in the name of her son presented ten thousand Attic drachmas to a Gerusia for the city of Thessalonica (No. 58). A

<sup>15</sup> C. A. Forbes, *Neoi* (Middletown, Connecticut, 1933; Vol. II of *Philological Monographs published by the American Philological Association*). F. Poland, *Geschichte des griechischen Vereinswesens* (1909), pp. 93-95.

similar donation to a Gerusia is mentioned on an inscription dated in 261 A.D. (No. 59). In both cases it is worded without the definite article, *εἰς γερουσίαν*, but there may have been now only one Gerusia at Thessalonica.

These indications amount to something, but they do not establish for the Thessalonian, Apamean, and Trallean Gerusiae an economico-religious character. As Sacred Gerusiae, however, we can point with certainty to those of Ephesus, Athens, and Hyettus, and, furthermore, with a very high degree of probability to the two or three Gerusiae of Stratonicea in Caria, to the one of Prusias ad Hypium in Bithynia, and to those of Philippopolis and Aenus in Thrace. The Sacred Gerusia mentioned in the inscription from Prusias might conceivably have been located elsewhere, but if so, it was sufficiently near and familiar not to require identification.

In this review we have raised far more problems than we have settled. The purpose of these Sacred Gerusiae, however, seems to have been to provide economic support for the more splendid celebration of one or more festivals, at least to judge from the Athenian and Ephesian material. The establishment of the Athenian Gerusia under imperial patronage after an embassy to the emperors, the control and usufruct of invested capital, and the general purpose of the Sacred Gerusia recall to mind a story which Malalas<sup>16</sup> (248 and 284) tells about Antioch. Without insisting on the connection I suggest that the policy of the Antonines which led to the foundation of special corporations called in some places Sacred Gerusiae is reflected also in the policy of Commodus toward the Olympic festival at Antioch.

In the reign of Augustus a certain Sosibius left to the city of the Antiochenes fifteen gold talents as a source of annual revenue so that every four years a multifarious spectacle might be celebrated of mimes, athletic contests, horse races, musical and tragic performances, and so forth. The city magistrates of Antioch did carry out the first spectacles, but afterwards, profiting themselves, they kept postponing the payment of the income. Later this corrupt practice was prohibited by the emperor Claudius, and the city magistrates together with the Antiochene *κτήτορες* bought from the Eleans certain privileges reserved for the great festival at Olympia, and they persuaded the *κτήτορες*, Demos, and priests to let them arrange for the celebration of Olympic games at Antioch. Having secured this permission they did so for a while. In the second century, however, Antioch was visited by several great disasters—fire, earthquake, war—on account of which the celebrations were temporarily omitted or more widely spaced. The city magistrates were using these pretexts in order to keep the revenues for themselves, until finally in the reign of Commodus the *κτήτορες* and citizens appealed directly to the emperor to place the investments under different management and to insure that the revenue would be used for the festivals. The emperor acceded to their request, and apparently issued very exact instructions.

<sup>16</sup> Text and commentary of A. Schenk von Stauffenberg, *Die Römische Kaisergeschichte bei Malalas* (Stuttgart, W. Kohlhammer, 1931).

The last dated inscription at Ephesus is from the reign of Commodus, but among those undated are two, Nos. 18 and 21, which because of the Aurelii, whose names appear in them, can with various degrees of probability be assigned to the period after the *Constitutio Antoniniana* of the year 212 A.D. The same argument can be advanced to attest the existence of the Gerusiae at Hyettus and at Prusias ad Hypium after 212 A.D. No. 40 at Stratonicea belongs at the end of the second or the beginning of the third century after Christ on prosopographical evidence, whereas none of the pertinent texts from Stratonicea or its territory can be proved to postdate No. 40.

At Athens Nos. 29 and 30 can be dated shortly after 200 A.D. Still later than these inscriptions are the decrees preserved on Nos. 31 and 32 in honor of the archon Ulpius Eubiotus, whose year Kirchner located about 220 A.D. and Graindor located about the second quarter of the third century. Only two real indications of the date exist: (1) the father of Eubiotus also bore the *gentilicium* Ulpius in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3695, which establishes the Trajanic Period as a *terminus post quem* for the archon's father; (2) the priest of Apollo Patroös, Aelius Zenon, who erected for his patron, the archon Eubiotus, the statue base with *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3697, is probably the homonymous ephebe of the catalogue *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2193 of about 200 A.D. As we have already said, the archonship falls approximately in the reign of Severus Alexander. It might of course be argued that the decrees in honor of Eubiotus could have been passed at a time when the institution of the Gerusia no longer existed but when the expression "synhedrion of the Gerusia" was still used to indicate the building in which the Elders formerly had been wont to assemble; for the decrees provide that a statue of the archon and an inscription relating to his benefactions be erected both in the synhedrion of the Sacred Gerusia and in the Prytaneum, whereas the decrees do not otherwise mention the Gerusia or its members. On the other hand, it is considerably more probable that the Athenian Gerusia still functioned in the archonship of Ulpius Eubiotus; so at Athens, too, good evidence points to the continued existence of the institution in the period after the promulgation of the *Constitutio Antoniniana*.

Two gerusiae which we have tentatively identified as Sacred Gerusiae were founded at Thessalonica approximately in the reign of Severus Alexander (222-235 A.D.), or even a few years earlier. In view of the turbulent times, it is unlikely that Sacred Gerusiae would have been established after the death of Severus Alexander. There is no indication, furthermore, that the two Gerusiae which Euphranticus established at Thessalonica were established with the particular encouragement of the imperial chancery, and until some evidence to the contrary appears, I prefer to believe that the Severi exhibited no great interest in the institution.

One Gerusia at Thessalonica is attested as late as 261 A.D., but in no other locality can we trace a Sacred Gerusia beyond the reign of Severus Alexander. The late corporation at Thessalonica is not certainly identifiable as a Sacred Gerusia, but if it was so, it probably became extinct within the next three decades and was among the last to disappear.

## CHAPTER VI

### TERMINOLOGY, OFFICERS, MEMBERS, ROMAN SUPERVISORS

We should naturally expect that the terminology for the Sacred Gerusiae would generally be much the same as that for the ordinary social type of gerusia in view of the origin of the Ephesian institution. It is quite legitimate in many cases to make comparisons without regard to the special purpose of the corporation, and the whole material, considered without distinction, has been treated, after Menadier, Lévy, and Chapot, by F. Poland, *Geschichte des griechischen Vereinswesens* (1909), pp. 98-102, except that further material has come to light in more recently discovered inscriptions. From time to time we have considered the evidence of other gerusiae, but particularly in this chapter we wish to restrict ourselves to a consideration of the usage in those seven territories, namely, Ephesus, Athens, Hyettus, Philippopolis, Aenus, Stratonicea, and Prusias, where we have sought to isolate a separate group of Sacred Gerusiae.

The Roman emperors in their letters call the Ephesian Gerusia Ἐφεσίων ἡ γερουσία (No. 7) or ἡ γερουσία τῶν Ἐφεσίων (No. 11); and they address the Athenian Gerusia as Ἀθηναίων γερουσία. From Hyettus, Stratonicea, and Prusias we have no evidence for the proper form of address.

Since we do not have the formula of sanction to the decree No. 12, we do not know what formal title the Ephesian Gerusia gave itself in this publication, although in the body of the decree it speaks informally of “our synhedron” and of the γερουσία. But at least in No. 14, an honorary inscription on a monument erected by the Gerusia itself, the title used is nothing more than ἡ γερουσία. The Athenian Gerusia speaks of itself as ἡ ἱερὰ γερουσία (No. 27), and Athenian inscriptions (Nos. 28 and 31), one of which was not erected by the Gerusia, give it this title also. The Ephesian documents, Nos. 3, 4, 9, 18, and 21, refer to the φιλοσέβαστος γερουσία, but the inscriptions assign also to the Ephesian Council the attribute φιλοσέβαστος. At Hyettus the local institution calls itself formally ἡ ἱερὰ γερουσία τοῦ Σωτῆρος Ἀσκληπιοῦ, a title striking on two accounts. In the first place, the Gerusia definitely associates itself with a particular sanctuary, of which obviously it has the economic management. It is not called the Gerusia of the Hyettians, and its laws are those of a private rather than of a municipal corporation. In other words it does not in its functions resemble the Gerusiae of Athens and of Roman Ephesus, still less the familiar social groups around a gymnasium, but it does resemble the old Ephesian Gerusia of the transformation effectuated by Lysimachus, as far as our limited evi-

dence permits us to discern the outlines of the older corporation. This leads me to suppose that the foundation, which presumably took place about the time of Marcus Aurelius, was a conscious archaism after the famous model. Since the churches and monasteries of the Middle Ages are sometimes functional descendants of this type of economic organization, it is interesting to note that often the word *γέρων* in the language of early Christian writers and always the Mediaeval words *καλογέρων* and *καλόγερος* have without reference to age the significance "monk." In the second place the corporation at Hyettus calls itself a *ἱερὰ γερουσία*, like the institution at Athens. Similarly the two or three boards at Stratonicea were officially styled *αἱ ἱεραὶ γερουσίαι*. The expression *ἱερὰ γερουσία* which we encounter at Athens, Hyettus, Philippopolis, Aenus, Stratonicea, and Prusias, never occurs at Ephesus even in inscriptions not erected by the Gerusia itself. As we have already remarked, the Ephesian Gerusia, passing through a long development, had always been *the* Gerusia to the Ephesians, and the adjective *ἱερά* was elsewhere used to distinguish a new creation of the Ephesian economico-religious type from the ordinary run of gerusiae.

While Perrot<sup>1</sup> had suggested that the adjective *ἱερὰ* indicated the religious character of the Gerusia at Prusias ad Hypium, Lévy<sup>2</sup> rejected the inference, saying that the word had lost all its positive significance and was to be found elsewhere applied to the Council, to the Ecclesia, and to various sorts of colleges. This is particularly true of the superlative degree of the adjective; but in monumental inscriptions examples of the same colorless use of the positive degree are exceedingly rare.<sup>3</sup> I mean that the adjective *ἱερός* is generally used in its positive degree to indicate connection with a deity or with Rome and the emperor. Thus a phrase like *ἱερὰ γράμματα* referring to an emperor's letter, occurs frequently enough, but *ἱερὰ βουλή* and *ἱερὰ ἐκκλησία* are not often found, and where such an expression does occur, it sometimes can be shown to indicate a special meeting to settle business primarily of a sacred category. On the other hand, the expression *ἱερωτάτη βουλή*, signifying nothing more than the "very honorable Council," is perfectly familiar to all epigraphists.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> G. Perrot, *Exploration scientifique de la Galatie et de la Bithynie* (Paris, Didot, 1862), p. 35.

<sup>2</sup> Rev. Ét. Gr., VIII (1895), p. 235.

<sup>3</sup> Such as the *ἱερὰ φυλὴ τῶν σκυτέων* in an inscription cited by Lévy (*Μονσεῖον καὶ Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς Εἰαγγελικῆς Σχολῆς*, Volume A [1874], p. 131, No. ν, would have been the correct reference). This was at Philadelphia in Phrygia, where the *ἱερὰ φυλὴ τῶν ἐριουργῶν* constituted another guild (for *φυλή* in this sense see F. Poland, *Geschichte des griechischen Vereinswesens* [Leipzig, 1909] p. 154). The positive occurs also in the title *ἡ ἱερὰ θυμελικὴ καὶ ἔνστικὴ σύνοδος* (*O. G. I. S.*, 713), but this has no connection with the argument because athletic associations were formed for religious purposes and stood under the protection of Heracles. Moreover, I suspect that even the guilds of Philadelphia were religious organizations connected with the service of a deity.

<sup>4</sup> Lévy did not distinguish between the positive and superlative degrees of the adjective. Thus he cited *Voyage Archéologique*, III, 1620 and *C.I.G.*, 2741 for examples of its use as an ornament to the word *βουλή*. Actually, in the former inscription the adjective is not *ἱερά* but *ἱερωτάτη*, and in the latter neither the positive nor even the colorless superlative occurs. For its use as descriptive

Therefore, it is proper to distinguish between the expression *ἱερὰ γερουσία* and the common phrase *ἱερωτάτη γερουσία*, frequently applied to the ordinary social type of gerusia and meaning nothing more than the “very honorable gerusia.” According to parallels in ordinary epigraphical usage, the positive degree of the adjective in the phrase *ἱερὰ γερουσία* points strongly toward an institution connected with the cult of some deity. So far the term *ἱερὰ γερουσία* in any sort of inscription has never been found to apply to a gerusia of the indisputably social type. Conversely, the expression *ἱερωτάτη γερουσία* has never been found to designate a Sacred Gerusia. Still we realize that the positive form of the adjective appears to be purely ornamental in the legends of many contemporary coins of Asia Minor.

The members of the Gerusia are at Ephesus called *γερουσιασταί* (Nos. 8, 19, and 21) or *πρεσβύτεροι* (Nos. 3, 5, and 20); at Hyettus also they are called *γερουσιασταί* (No. 33), likewise at Philippopolis (Nos. 61 and 62). In the third letter Marcus Aurelius and Commodus refer to those at Athens as the *γέροντες*, and in two other Athenian inscriptions (Nos. 29 and 30) the title *ἱερὸς γέρων* accompanies a man's name. The adjective is significant. From Aenus, Stratonicea, and Prusias we have no evidence, except that in No. 34 from Panamara in the territory of Stratonicea occurs the statement, *ἔδωκαν καὶ τοῖς βουλευταῖς καὶ τοῖς μετέχοντι τῆς γερουσίας πρᾶτοι ἀνὰ <γ.* With the expression *οἱ μετέχοντες τῆς γερουσίας* may be compared the phrase in the decree of the Ephesian Gerusia, No. 12, *οἱ μετέχοντες τοῦ συνεδρίου*, and the phrase in another Ephesian inscription, *οἱ μετέχοντες τοῦ ἱερωτάτου συνεδρίου* (i. e., *τοῦ μισθωτηρίου*), and finally the phrase *μετέχων καὶ τῆς φι[λοσεβά]στου γερουσίας* in No. 18, the Ephesian thank-offering of T. Fl. Asclepiodorus. They are the “partners,” a term which very probably does mean the regular members. One might compare the use of the word *μετέχοντες* in Mithraic texts to indicate members fully initiated.

The *μετέχοντες*, accordingly, would not be identical with the *νέμοντες*. For the phrase *ὑμνῳδὸς νεμητὴς βουλῆς γερουσίας χρυσοφόρων* of the Ephesian document, No. 10, the best parallel occurs in a Hellenistic decree from Paphos recently published by W. H. Buckler (*J.H.S.*, LV [1935], pp. 75-78). The inscription honors an engineer who was in charge perhaps of the ballistic engines. In lines 9-14 we read: *ἄγειν δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡμέραν δι' αἰῶνος τοὺς μὲν νέμοντας τὸ τάγμα τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἀφετῶν θυσιάζοντας ἐν παλαιᾷ τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ, τοὺς δὲ τὸ τῶν νεωτέρων νέμοντας ἄγειν ἐν Πάφῳ θυσιάζοντας τῇ Δητοῖ.* Buckler translates: “In his honour the Members of the Corps of the Senior Artillerists shall forever observe a day with sacrifices in the Old City to Aphrodite, and the Members of the Corps of the Juniors with sacrifices at Paphos to

of an Ecclesia he cited an inscription published not in the *Monatsberichte* (so Lévy) but in the *Bericht über die zur Bekanntmachung geeigneten Verhandlungen der Königl. Preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, 1855, p. 190, no. 7—where again the reader would find, if he looked, not the positive *ἱερός* but the superlative *ἱερώτατος* (*δῆμος*).

Leto." The Senior and Junior "gunners" belonged to a common type of military club. These clubs, as Buckler explains, "evidently included, besides the regular ἀφέται, men who shared (*οἱ νέμοντες*) in the 'corps' (*τάγμα*) along with these experts. These men were, it would seem, the unskilled 'privates,' who helped the skilled ἀφέτης to set and train his ballista. For an association embracing both categories the cumbrous *οἱ νέμοντες κτλ.* could alone be a correct descriptive title." Similarly in the inscription at Ephesus the person honored was a *νέμων*, an outsider connected with the enumerated societies in his capacity as *ὑμνῳδός*. As an official *ὑμνῳδός* of those three societies, he doubtless shared in some of their regular money distributions, perhaps in all, as J. Keil<sup>5</sup> suggested on the analogy of the title *δι[ανομ]εὺς τῶν Σεβαστείων χρημάτων*, carried by a *ὑμνῳδός* in an inscription from Hypaepa. The distributions took place at festivals, where the *ὑμνῳδός* presumably collaborated.

Although the simple word *γέρων* for "member" has not yet been found as at Athens, the term *πατρογέρων*, which occurs at Ephesus in Nos. 12, 16, and 21, quite obviously means "hereditary member of the Gerusia" (thus the new *Greek-English Lexicon*), and the word *γερουτεία* in the Ephesian document No. 15 means "membership in the Gerusia" (thus again the *Greek-English Lexicon*).

The expression *συνέδριον*, which was used to indicate the Ephesian Gerusia in No. 12, the decree of that corporation (*τὸ συνέδριον ἡμῶν*), and in other inscriptions (e. g., No. 11), served also for the Athenian Gerusia (second imperial letter). But it is a very general term which was applied to almost any type of corporation. There may, however, have been a difference between the synhedrion as a group and the Gerusia as a group. The total Gerusia was so large that three hundred and nine recipients of a money distribution among them had to be chosen by lot (No. 3, lines 231-238). The number who actively supervised the finances may have been much smaller, and the terminology of the decree No. 12 does not exclude the interpretation that the synhedrion constituted this smaller group. If so, the phrase *κοινῇ ἡ πᾶσα γερουσία ψηφίζεται* stands in contrast to a vote of the synhedrion alone, and the term *μετέχων τῆς γερουσίας* is not the equivalent of the term *μετέχων τοῦ συνεδρίου*. But ordinarily the word *συνέδριον* used of a group indicates the group merely as being in formal assembly.

Another use of the word *συνέδριον*, attested both at Athens and at Ephesus, is of interest to us here. In writing to the "receiver" of the Ephesian Gerusia the emperors (No. 11) speak of the old statues as being *ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ τούτῳ*. At Athens the decree of the Council in honor of Ulpius Eubiotus (No. 31) specifies that his statue is to be erected *ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ τῆς ἱερᾶς γερουσίας* and in the Prytaneum. The synhedrion, therefore, can mean the place where the Gerusia keeps an office. Elsewhere the word *γερουσία* itself can refer to the building where the Elders con-

<sup>5</sup> "Zur Geschichte der Hymnoden in der Provinz Asia," *Jahreshefte*, XI (1908), p. 105, note 12.

vene,<sup>6</sup> but this usage is rare and not demonstrable for any of the communities where the Sacred Gerusiae appear.

That the city authorities, to whom the emperors seem to have written Letter III, were to assign to the Gerusia one of the buleuteria in the city as a synhedrion or as a special assembly place cannot be proved from the reference in No. 24, line 51, [*τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει β<ο>υλεντηρίων*], but it may well have been so. On the other hand, it does not follow necessarily that the corporation always convened in its synhedrion. That the buleuterion at Eleusis was intended primarily for the city Council and not for the Gerusia could be demonstrated even before the discovery that the Gerusia convened at Athens.<sup>7</sup>

The chief officer of the Gerusia at Ephesus in Nos. 5 and 20 is called the gymnasiarich, a title which points to the origin of the corporation in a social body gathering about a gymnasium. The corresponding officer in the newly founded Athenian Gerusia bore the title “archon” (Nos. 27 and 24, line 21). In what may have been Sacred Gerusiae at Thessalonica he was known as the gerusiarch (No. 56), and the title *γερουσιάρχισσα* was given to his wife (No. 57). A secretary (*γραμματεύς*) of the Ephesian Gerusia appears in No. 3, lines 232 and 243, and again in No. 20, where he describes himself as having been both secretary and gymnasiarich. This combination led Buckler and Robinson<sup>8</sup> to suggest that the post of gymnasiarich and the post of secretary were regularly filled by the same man at Ephesus. The secretary at least constituted the eponymous officer of the institution (No. 12, line 28), and the secretary is named in No. 3, line 232, as the official representative of the Gerusia. The *γραμματεῖς τοῦ ἱερωτάτου συνεδρίου τοῦ μισθωτηρίου* were thought to be the officers managing the estates of the Gerusia by C. Curtius,<sup>9</sup> E. L. Hicks,<sup>10</sup> and I. Lévy.<sup>11</sup> In Chapter IV, on the contrary, we have distinguished between the Rent Office and the Gerusia and hence we must reject the identification. At Philippopolis the *ταμίας* was the eponymous officer of the Gerusia (No. 60).

Another officer or agent appears in No. 12. This decree of the Ephesian Gerusia from the reign of Commodus honors Nicomedes the *καθολικὸς ἔκδικος τοῦ συνεδρίου ἡμῶν*, who has recently uncovered a new source of revenue for the corporation to be expended not only for the cult of Artemis and the emperor but also for the delectation of the Elders. This officer seems to be a special financial commissioner and legal representative whom the synhedrion of the Gerusia itself has appointed without requesting the Roman government again to assign it in its difficulties a *λογιστής*. His work may have had similarities, as Picard suggested,<sup>12</sup> with that of the *λογιστής* in

<sup>6</sup> J. Menadier, *Qua condicione Ephesii usi sint inde ab Asia in formam provinciae redacta* (Berlin, 1880), p. 51.

<sup>7</sup> O. Rubensohn, *Die Mysterienheiligtümer in Eleusis und Samothrake* (Berlin, 1892), pp. 81 f.

<sup>8</sup> A.J.A., XVIII (1914), p. 351.

<sup>9</sup> *Hermes*, IV (1870), p. 203.

<sup>10</sup> *B.M.I.*, III, p. 77.

<sup>11</sup> *Rev. Ét. Gr.*, VIII (1895), p. 234.

<sup>12</sup> *Éphèse et Claros* (1922), p. 95.

a previous reign, but his position was fundamentally different, because he was not appointed by the proconsul with the power of the Roman state behind his decisions. Finally it may be noted that he was a wealthy man and contributed out of his own pocket to the funds of the Gerusia, as did also the *ἐπώνυμος* of the Athenian corporation, whom we have already discussed on page 3. An *εκδικός* appears also in connection with the Philippopolitan Gerusia (No. 60).

There is no evidence to indicate that membership in the Gerusia was a liturgy into which wealthy citizens were forced. On the contrary, when Nicomedes the general advocate of the Ephesian Gerusia had performed a service for the Elders and had even contributed money out of his own pocket for the benefit of the Gerusia (No. 12), he was rewarded by a decree proclaiming him and his sons members of the Gerusia. Similarly the Elders like the Councillors were frequently beneficiaries of money distributions of rather modest proportions. It constituted a large body in which membership was a distinction reserved apparently for the noblest and most respected citizens. At Hyettus membership was received through the invitation of the Gerusia itself with a tendency to pass the place on from father to son, and significantly they required that outsiders pay a fee upon entrance.

In the first two imperial letters the Athenian Elders are referred in their ordinary difficulties to the imperial procurator, about whose presence in Attica we have already commented in the last chapter. He looked after the interests of the fiscus and at least previously the imperial estates. In Letter I the emperors refer to an announcement explaining how they will henceforth select the procurator, presumably with the particular needs of the Athenian Elders in view.

The procurator may have been an interested party because of a connection between the imperial estates and those of the Athenian Gerusia. An obscure passage in No. 11, lines 31-32, can be so interpreted as to indicate that also the business affairs of the Ephesian Gerusia came somewhat under the category of the imperial household's private accounts, which were the province of the procurator, but whether this be right or not, the evidence shows that the fiscal service is far more closely connected with the Athenian Gerusia in 177 A.D. than it was with the Ephesian Gerusia in 162 A.D. Either the conception of fiscal interests had been extended in this direction, or the machinery of government operated differently in the two localities because the legal status of Ephesus, a town incorporated in the senatorial province of Asia, differed from that of Athens, a *civitas libera*, theoretically not subject to the administration of the proconsul who governed the senatorial province of Achaea. At Ephesus, however, it is quite clear that the Roman official who normally had the supervision over the affairs of the Gerusia was the proconsul. In extraordinary matters the Ephesian Elders might write to the emperor, as it appears from No. 7, but in the latter document itself the emperor refers them to the proconsul, who has, moreover, already dealt with other cases concerning the Gerusia. When the

financial affairs of the Ephesian Gerusia reach a state where they need to be reorganized, it is the proconsul of Asia who undertakes the reorganization by the appointment of a special commissioner (*λογιστής*) to examine their accounts, to collect the debts owed to them and to take measures for the improvement of their administration, as we learn from Nos. 7 and 11. Again, the commissioner who has been appointed by the proconsul is responsible to the latter and consults him in his difficulties just as the Gerusia consulted him. When the commissioner Ulpius Eurycles writes directly to the emperors he points out that he realizes that in ordinary matters he must turn to the proconsul for guidance, and in their reply the emperors are careful to remind him of it again (No. 11) in order that there should be no precedent. Decisions concerning the practice of the imperial cult require the imperial consent, but the other matters about which Ulpius Eurycles has written to the emperors, very important questions of financial policy, clearly do not. "That you who had been given by the proconsuls to the Gerusia of the Ephesians as financial commissioner," write the emperors to him, "should have applied to them (the proconsuls) concerning your difficulties, you yourself well knew and wisely said so, and we have commented upon this point in order that people might not lightly refer to a precedent here. It is clear that the first matter which you communicated to us, namely, the question of the silver images, a matter requiring our consent indeed, has furnished you with an occasion for the other inquiries also."

Many of the inquiries doubtless arose out of ordinary legal questions which ought to have been settled by the senatorial governor, or, where there was no senatorial governor, by the ranking imperial officer of the country. In the second century the emperor in his rescripts was constantly directing questioners to the competent officials in their own area. Whether he was speaking of Hadrian or of Antoninus Pius, Julian the great classical jurist attests the frequency of this instruction.<sup>13</sup>

The Roman government of the Antonines apparently was most anxious to assist the provincials in their local problems, but far from seeking to concentrate the authority in the central government, they were very much concerned that the business of the sacred gerusiae should not encumber the central office. Just as the emperors

<sup>13</sup> Digest 1, 18, 8: Julianus *libro primo digestorum*: Saepe audivi Caesarem nostrum dicentem hac prescriptione "eum qui provinciae praest adire potes" non imponi necessitatem proconsuli vel legato eius vel praesidi provinciae suscipiendae cognitionis, sed eum aestimare debere, ipse cognoscere an iudicem dare debeat. [S. Solazzi, *Archivio giuridico*, XCIVIII (1927), p. 4, note 3, conjectures that the phrase "eius vel praesidi provinciae" has been interpolated.] Compare also Digest 1, 18, 9: Callistratus *libro primo de cognitionibus*: Generaliter quotiens princeps ad praesides provinciarum remittit negotia per prescriptions, veluti "eum qui provinciae praest adire poteris," vel cum hac adiectione "is aestimabit quid sit partium suarum," non imponitur necessitas proconsuli vel legato suscipiendae cognitionis, quamvis non sit adiectum "is aestimabit quid sit partium suarum"; sed is aestimare debet, utrum ipse cognoscat an iudicem dare debeat. [M. Wlassak, *Zum Provinzialprozess* (Vienna, 1919), p. 16, note 10, allows that the first word "generaliter" might have been interpolated.]

keep reminding the Ephesian Gerusia and its financial commissioner that the proconsul is the legally competent authority for their difficulties, so the emperors repeatedly remind the Athenian Gerusia that the imperial procurator is the legally competent authority for their problems. Since the proconsul of Achaea has not, technically, over the free city of Athens the authority which the proconsul of Asia exercises over Ephesus, or since the interests of the fiscus have been extended, the financial worries of the Athenian Gerusia do not concern him but belong to the ranking fiscal officer of the country, the imperial procurator.

Since the proconsul, when the affairs of the Ephesian Gerusia became seriously encumbered, appointed a commissioner to the Gerusia, we may conjecture that the procurator attached to Achaea might have done the same for the Athenian Gerusia under similar circumstances. To be sure, we have no evidence that it ever came to such a pass at Athens, but we can probably see references to such a possible contingency. In the last paragraph of Letter I to the Athenian Elders, the emperors have been speaking of the procurator. There follows a short lacuna concluding with the words, “[If] you wish that such a person be provided, you will apply by letter to him” (*ἐκείνῳ*[*ἴω*]). The pronoun *ἐκείνῳ* obviously refers to the procurator, and it is used instead of the pronoun *αὐτῷ* to avoid confusion with the other person (*τοιοῦτον*) who was last mentioned and whom I take to be the financial commissioner who could be provided if desired. Another possible reference to a commissioner who might be provided occurs in Letter III, *τῷ γενησομένῳ λο[γιστῇ](?)*.

It is important to notice that the financial commissioner was not assigned to the Ephesian Gerusia through the uninvited intervention of the Roman government. The Ephesian Elders, themselves, had appealed to the Emperor Hadrian for help (No. 7) and the emperor had instructed the proconsul to investigate and, if the situation was as the Elders represented, to give them someone who could straighten out their affairs. When the proconsul Cornelius Priscus presumably did so at the command of the Emperor Hadrian in 120 A.D. (No. 7), it established a precedent to be followed on other occasions thereafter. We might say that the Gerusia on such occasions passed into a temporary receivership. The first known of these financial commissioners seems to be a certain Aristocrates, son of Hierocles, of Ceramus (No. 9). The Ephesians gratefully recorded this office among the liturgies which Aristocrates had assumed. For the Ephesian corporation the only other financial commissioner whose name has survived was Ulpius Eurycles who in 162 or 163 A.D. had already been in office during the term of at least two proconsuls, as we learn from the opening words of the letter from the coregent emperors Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus. This was not the last time in a busy life when Ulpius Eurycles received a public commission to reorganize finances, for he reappears in *O.G.I.S.*, 509 as *λογιστῆς* of Aphrodisias during the reign of Commodus.

The Sacred Gerusia mentioned in No. 48 from *Prusias ad Hypium* sometime

after 212 A.D. received a financial commissioner in the person of a distinguished local patriot named Aurelius Diogenianus Callices.

The same Greek word *λογιστής*, which designates the financial expert granted to a Gerusia, is used to describe the *curator rei publicae*,<sup>14</sup> whom the paternalism of the Roman government in the second century appointed to help an economically embarrassed city straighten out its affairs. Practically it was the same type of work, and when Hadrian first directed that a *λογιστής* be assigned to the Ephesian Gerusia, he was extending to an important public body with serious financial responsibilities a system inaugurated for the cities by his predecessor Trajan. The cardinal document No. 11 shows that the Roman government invested such appointees with very considerable judicial as well as administrative authority.

It appears that the Gerusiae (both by themselves or through their "receivers" called *λογισταῖ*) were to consult the proconsul or procurator respectively in all the ordinary business for which guidance might be required, but in matters concerning the practice of the imperial cult they applied directly to the emperor. In No. 11 Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus recognize explicitly that the financial commissioner Ulpius Eurycles was acting properly in consulting them about the silver images of deceased emperors, but that he was acting irregularly in asking them for advice concerning the finances. Similarly in the first letter of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus to the Athenian Gerusia the emperors point to Quadratus as the competent official to handle questions concerning matters like the timber and the estates and like the furnishing of a man probably to serve as *λογιστής*, but in the passage about the *ius scribendi ὡδῆν* and a related matter, which probably likewise concerned the practice of the imperial cult, the emperors seem to approve of the Gerusia's action in consulting them. Instead of directing the Gerusia to the procurator, they reply: *ὁρθῶς δὲ ἐποίησατε καὶ ἐπιστέ[ ἴλαντες ἥμῖν (?) ]*.

<sup>14</sup> W. Liebenam, "Curator rei publicae," *Philologus*, LVI (1897), pp. 290-325. G. Mancini, Article *Curator Reipublicae o Civitatis* in Ettore de Ruggiero's *Dizionario Epigraphico di Antichità Romane*, II, pp. 1345-1386. D. Magie, *De Romanorum iuris publici sacri vocalibus sollemnibus in Graecum sermonem conversis* (Leipzig, 1905), p. 61. M. N. Tod, *J.H.S.*, XLII (1922), pp. 172 f. P. Graindor, *Athènes sous Hadrien* (Cairo, 1934), p. 113. C. Lucas, "The *Curatores Rei Publicae* of Roman Africa," *J.R.S.*, XXX (1940), pp. 56-74.

## CHAPTER VII

### CONCLUSIONS

To clarify and to co-ordinate what we have already discovered concerning the history of the Sacred Gerusia I here present an outline of its development, with which the evidence, I feel, does not stand in contradiction but which still requires confirmation through further discoveries.

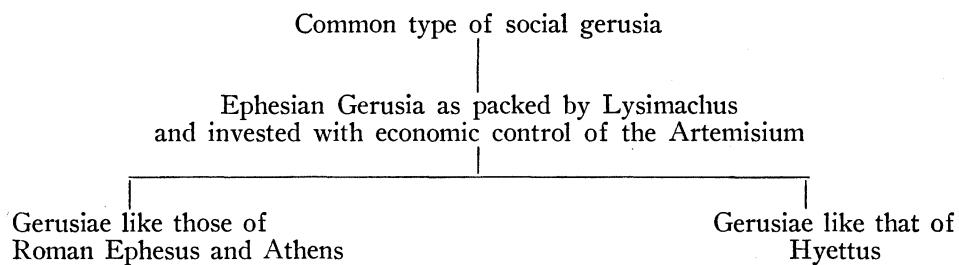
At Ephesus before the time of Lysimachus, if a common type of social organization of the more respected Greek citizens, known as the Gerusia, assembled about a gymnasium, it had nothing to do officially with the famous and opulent sanctuary of Artemis. After the capture of Ephesus by the troops of Lysimachus, the supervision over the invested capital of the Artemisium was transferred to this preexisting social gerusia or to such a gerusia then established at Ephesus on a model preexisting elsewhere; but with the Gerusia were associated certain other persons at the will of Lysimachus. Thus the wealth of the sanctuary was removed from the control of irresponsible priests; and the Gerusia and its new associates, while not at all replacing the political corporations of Ephesus, rapidly secured a powerful influence over all the city, because the Elders enjoyed the support of Lysimachus and were independent in their management of the sacred investments on which the economic life of the city partly depended. After the death of Lysimachus, the city of Ephesus gradually assumed control over the sanctuary, either because the Gerusia was forced to depend upon the city for protection and support, or because the Gerusia was abolished, or because its sphere of influence was reduced, or even because it was removed from power at the sanctuary and reverted to its former private character. We have no further information about the Gerusia until it reappears in the time of Trajan. Then, however, it was again supervising investments which were distinct from, but treated like, those of Artemis.

An increase of importance appears for the first time in a document of the reign of Hadrian. The Ephesian Gerusia in its difficulties had appealed directly to the emperor, who then instructed the proconsul of Asia to send them a financial expert to disentangle their affairs. After this time we have evidence for a keen interest in the affairs of the Ephesian Gerusia on the part of the Roman imperial chancery. Similar institutions began to appear elsewhere, and in the case of the Athenian Gerusia, the only certainly parallel institution about whose foundation we have any knowledge, the establishment occurred after an embassy to the coregent emperors

Marcus Aurelius and Commodus and was fostered by the imperial government. An accident has preserved fragments of at least six, probably seven, imperial letters on the affairs of the Athenian Gerusia alone.

A slight indication exists that at some time in the second century after Christ, at Tralles, one of the old social gerusiae had been called upon to constitute or provide a board for similar duties. If so, the encouragement and propagation of the social gerusia precisely at this time may have been connected with hopes or expectations of a development in this direction.

Shortly after 212 A.D. at Hyettus in Boeotia an organization calling itself the Sacred Gerusia emerges into view not as a municipal Gerusia of the Hyettians but as a managing board of temple estates unlike the corporations of Athens and of Roman Ephesus but rather similar to the Gerusia of Hellenistic Ephesus upon the transformation effected by Lysimachus. Believing the Hyettian institution to have been created partly on the old Ephesian model, we may figuratively represent the functional descent as follows:



Thus there are two types of Sacred Gerusiae in the Roman Period, but the inadequacy of our information frequently prevents us from discriminating between them. It is, however, the municipal corporation, the type at Athens and at Roman Ephesus, which enjoyed the attention of the imperial government.

The keen interest which the imperial government displayed in Sacred Gerusiae from the time of Hadrian, and particularly under Marcus Aurelius, is to be interpreted in the light of the religious policy of Hadrian and the Antonines. In the writer's opinion it is part of a general attempt to revitalize the spiritual values of the old Greek and Roman world. New strength and new life were to be infused into the ceremonies of the old gods, the ceremonies were not to lose their splendor and their powers of attraction for the urban population. Spiritual forces of a new and perhaps subversive character were gathering strength in the Roman Empire, and against them the enlightened government of Hadrian and the Antonines pursued a policy more subtle than that of open intolerance.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius were notoriously unsympathetic toward the Christians, whose persecution, accordingly, was not discouraged.

And since the distributions and gaiety of the festivals helped to keep the proletariat contented, these corporations, which guaranteed the regularity of the festivals, were stabilizing factors in the Roman East. The imperial government, which regarded the establishment of clubs with a jealous and suspicious eye, gave spontaneously its full support to this institution, wherein the membership, unlike that of the clubs, was drawn entirely from the aristocratic, conservative, heartily pro-Roman elements of the population.

At Stratonicea in Caria, a corporation called the Sacred Gerusia, probably an institution on an Ephesian model, seems to go back as far as the reign of Hadrian. The Sacred Gerusiae, at least in some places, seem to have lived on under all the Severi, on whose part, however, no special interest is attested; but no trace of the institution occurs after the reign of Severus Alexander, except at Thessalonica, where two gerusiae which can have had the special character of one or the other type were founded approximately in the latter's reign but apparently without the latter's co-operation, and survived as late as 261 A.D.

PART II  
EPIGRAPHICAL TEXTS

## CITIZENSHIP FOR EUPHRONIUS THE ACARNANIAN

**1.** EPHESUS. J. T. Wood, *Discoveries at Ephesus* (London, 1877), Inscriptions from the Temple, No. 19. W. Dittenberger, *S.I.G.<sup>1</sup>* (1883), 134. E. L. Hicks, *B.M.I.*, III (1890), no. 449 with drawing. W. Dittenberger, *S.I.G.<sup>2</sup>*, I (1898), 186. Ch. Michel, *Recueil d'inscriptions grecques* (1900), no. 488. H. Collitz and F. Bechtel, *Sammlung der griechischen Dialektinschriften*, III, 2 (1905), 5589. F. Hiller von Gaertringen in Dittenberger, *S.I.G.<sup>3</sup>*, I (1915), 353. See also Ch. Picard, *Éphèse et Claros* (1922), pp. 75-76, 99, 277-287.

285 B.C.?

"Εδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δῆμῳ· Ἡρογείτων εἰπεν· περὶ ὧν οἱ νεωποῖαι καὶ οἱ κούρητες κατασταθέντες διελέχθησαν

τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ ψήφισμα ἥνεγκαν τῆς γερουσίας καὶ τῶν ἐπικλήτων ὑπὲρ Εὐφρονίου πολιτείας, δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ·

ἐπειδὴ Εὐφρόνιος Ἡγήμονος Ἀκαρνάν πρότερόν τε εὔνους ὧν καὶ πρόθυμος διετέλει περὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἐφεσίων καὶ νῦν

ἀποσταλείσης πρεσβείας πρὸς Πρεπέλαιον ὑπὸ τῆς γερουσίης καὶ τῶν ἐπικλήτων ὑπὲρ τοῦ σταθμοῦ τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ τῆς ἀτελεί-

5 ας τῇ θεῷ, συνδιοίκησεν μετὰ τῆς πρεσβείας ὅπως ἀν ἡ ἀτέλ[ει]α ὑπάρχῃ τῇ θεῷ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἐν ἄπασι καιροῖς διατελεῖ

χρήσιμος ὧν καὶ κοινῇ τῷ δῆμῳ καὶ ἴδιαι τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι τ[ῶ]μ πολιτῶν· ἐγνώσθαι ἐπαυνέσται τε Εὐφρόνιον εύνοίας ἔνεκεν

ἥν ἔχει περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ τὴμ πόλιν, καὶ δοῦναι αὐτῷ πολιτε[ία]ν ἐφ' ἵσηι καὶ ὅμοιήι, αὐτῷ καὶ ἐκγόνοις, ἀναγράψαι δὲ αὐτῷ τὴμ

πολιτείαν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος οὐ καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ πολιτε[ίαι] ἀναγεγραμμέναι εἰσίν· ἐπικληρῶσαι δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ εἰς φυλὴν καὶ εἰς

χιλιαστύν, ὅπως ἀν εἰδῶσι πάντες ὅτι ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἐφεσίων τοὺς εὐεργ[ετοῦ]ντας τό τε ἱερὸν καὶ τὴμ πόλιν τιμᾶι δωρεαῖς ταῖς προσηκούσαις.

10 ἔλαχε φυλὴν Ἐφεσέως, χιλιαστύν Ἀργαδεύς.

### TRANSLATION

The Council and the People decreed. The proposal of Herogeiton:

In regard to the matters about which the appointed temple-wardens and the curetes discoursed before the Council, and brought a decree of the Gerusia and of the associated advisers in favor of citizenship for Euphronius, may the Council decree:

Since Euphronius, son of Hegemon, of Acarnania, on former occasions has constantly displayed toward the Demos of the Ephesians a friendly and zealous attitude, and now also, when an embassy to Prepelaus was dispatched by the Gerusia and the associated advisers in behalf of the sacred weight and the right of the goddess

to be exempt from duty, he has helped to arrange matters so that the goddess does enjoy the exemption, and since in all other things on all occasions he is constantly helpful both to the Demos publicly and privately to any of the citizens who appeal to him: may it be decided to praise Euphronius for the good will which he has toward the sanctuary and the city, and to give him citizenship on an equal basis, to him and to his descendants, and to inscribe the grant of citizenship upon the sanctuary of Artemis, where also the other grants have been inscribed; furthermore, to assign him by lot to a tribe and to a thousand that all may know that the Demos of the Ephesians honors with the proper gifts those who render services to the sanctuary and to the city.

He was assigned by lot to the tribe of the Ephesians and to the thousand of the Argades.

#### HONORS FOR A BOEOTIAN FLUTE-PLAYER

**2. EPHESUS.** E. L. Hicks, *B.M.I.*, III (1890), No. 470.

285 b.c. ?

[*"Εδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δῆμῳ* .]  
 [*ό δεῖνα τοῦ δεῖνος εἶπεν·*] *καταστάθ*  
 [*έντων ἐπὶ τ]ήμ β[ου]λὴν τῶν νεω[π]*]  
 [*οιῶν, κα]τὰ τὸ ψήφισμα τῆς γερ[ουσίας*]  
 5 [*ίας καὶ τῷ]ν ἐπικλήτων, ὑπὲρ [.....]*  
 [*ῶν]ος [τοῦ] αὐλητοῦ· δεδόχθαι [τῇ βου]*  
 [*λ]ῇ καὶ τῷ δῆμῳ ἐπαινέσ[αι] .....*]  
 [*ῶ]να Ἰσμηνοδώρου Βοιώτιον [τὸν αὐλητ]*  
 [*ὴ]ν καὶ στεφανῶσαι αὐτὸν [*χρυσέωι σ*]  
 10 [*τ]εφάνωι καὶ ἀναγγεῖλαι [-----]*  
 [-----|*ιτ'* |-----]*

#### TRANSLATION

*The Council and People decreed, the proposal of . . . :*

Whereas the temple-wardens have been brought before the Council in accord with the decree of the Gerusia and of the associated advisers in behalf of . . . the flute-player: may the Council and People vote to honor the flute-player . . . , son of Ismenodorus, the Boeotian, and to crown him with a gold crown and to proclaim it -----.

#### COMMENTARY

The restorations are due to Hicks.

Just as in document No. 1, which must be dated in 285 or 302 b.c., the Gerusia and the *ἐπίκλητοι* have first themselves voted on the matter and have then dispatched the

civil officers, the *νεωποῖαι*, to the Council with recommendation that the man be honored in such a manner. The procedure, therefore, indicates a date not very long after the reorganization of 286 or 302, discussed above on pp. 18 and 19.

### BEQUEST OF GAIUS VIBIUS SALUTARIS

**3. EPHESUS.** J. T. Wood, *Discoveries at Ephesus* (1877), Inscriptions from the Great Theatre, No. 1. E. L. Hicks, *B.M.J.*, III (1890), No. 481. R. Heberdey, *Forschungen in Ephesos*, II (1912), pp. 127-147, No. 27 with drawing (the first complete edition) and pp. 188-198, Appendix I. [B. Laum, *Stiftungen in der griechischen und römischen Antike* (1914), II, pp. 82-88 and 212-214. F. H. Marshall, *B.M.J.*, IV (1916), pp. 238-250]. See also A. J. Reinach, *Revue Épigraphique*, I (1913), pp. 227-238 and II (1914), pp. 291-294. Ch. Picard, *Revue de Philologie*, XXXVII (1913), pp. 92-94, and *Éphèse et Claros* (1922), pp. 79-81, 105-106, 242-251, 255-257, 267-268, 333, 527, 689-691. Ad. Wilhelm, *Jahreshefte*, XVII (1914), p. 39, and *Neue Beiträge zur griechischen Inschriftenkunde*, VI (1921), No. 43, pp. 44-45. G. P. Oikonomos, *'Αρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον*, VII (1921/1922, published in 1924), pp. 320 f., 335. T. R. S. Broughton, *Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, IV (1938), pp. 889 f.

104 A.D.

Ἐπὶ π[ρυτ]άνεω[σι]  
[Τ]ιβ. Κλ. Ἀντιπάτρου Ιουλ[ι]ανοῦ, μην[ὸς]  
Ποσειδῶνος · ζ · ἵσταμένου.

- [<sup>”</sup>Ε]δοξε τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ νεωκόρῳ δῆμῳ φ[ι]λοσεβάστῳ  
 5 [π]ερὶ ὃν ἐνεφάνισαν Τιβ. Κλ., Τιβ. Κλ. Ἀλεξά[ν]δρο[ν]ού νιός, [Κυρ(είνα)],  
 [<sup>”</sup>Ιουλιανό]ς, φιλόπατρις καὶ φιλοσέβαστο[ς, ἀγν]ός, εὐσεβής,  
 [<sup>”</sup>γραμματεὺς] τοῦ δήμου τὸ β, καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῇ[σ] πόλεως φιλοσέ-  
 βαστοι· ἐπειδὴ τοὺς φιλοτείμους ἄνδρας περὶ τὴν [πόλ]ιν καὶ κατὰ  
 [πάντα ἀποδειξαμένουν]ς στοργὴν γνησίων πολειτ[ῶν ἀ]μοιβαί-  
 10 [ων χρή τυχεῖν τιμῶν πρὸ]ς τὸ ἀπολαύειν μὲν τοὺς εὗ π[οι]ήσαν-  
 [τας ἥδη τὴν πόλιν, ἀποκεῖσθαι δὲ τοῖς βο]υλομένοις περὶ[ὶ τὰ]  
 ὅμοια ἀμι[λλάσθαι, ἀ]μα δὲ τοὺς]ς ἐσπουδα[κ]ότας τὴν μεγίστην θε-  
 ὀν <sup>”</sup>Αρτεμιν [τειμᾶν, παρ' ἡς γ]είνεται πᾶσιν τ[ὰ] κάλλιστα, καθήκε[ι]  
 παρὰ τῇ πόλε[ι εὐδοκιμεῖν, Γάιο]ς τε Οὐίβι[ος Σαλ]οντάριος, ἀ-  
 15 νὴρ ἴππικῆς τά[ξε]ος, γένει καὶ ἀξίᾳ διάσημος, στρατείας τε καὶ  
 ἐπιτροπαῖς ἀ[πὸ] τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Αὐ<sup>τ</sup>οκράτορος κεκοσμημένος,  
 πολείτης ἡμ[έτ]ερος καὶ τοῦ βουλευτικοῦ συνεδρίου, πρὸς πα[τρός]  
 [τ]ε[ι] [ἀγ]αθῆ χρώμ[ενος δ]ιαθέσι. ὡς καὶ τὰς ἀπὸ τῆς τύχης ἐπὶ τὸ κρε[ίσ-]  
 [σον] προκοπὰς κοσ[μεῖν τ]ῇ τῶν ἥθων σεμνότητι, εὐσεβῶν μὲν φιλοτεί-  
 20 [μω]ς τὴν ἀρχηγέτιν πο[ικίλ]ας μὲν ἐπινοίαις ἐσπούδακεν περὶ τὴν θρησ-  
 κείᾳ[ν], μεγαλοφύχο[ις δὲ] καθιερώσεσιν τὴν πόλιν κατὰ πᾶν τ[ε] ιμη[τ]-  
 κεν, πρωσ[έ]τη δὲ καὶ νῦν προσελθ]ῶν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ὑπέσχε[το ἐννέα ἀ-]

16 αὐ<sup>τ</sup>οκράτορος. 18-19 Heberdey κρ[ε]τ[ον].

- πεικονίσμ[ ατα καθιερώσειν, ] ἐν μὲν χρύσεον, ἐν φ[υ]λάργυρα [ύρεα]  
ἐπίχρυστα, ἔτ[ερα δὲ ἀργύρεα] ἀπεικονίσματα ὁκτώ, εἰ[ κόνας τε]  
 25 ἀργυρέας εῖ[ κοστι, πέντε μὲν] τοῦ κ[υ]ρίου ἡμῶν Αὐ[τοκράτορος]  
Νέρονα Τραϊα[ νοῦ Καίσαρος Σ]εβαστοῦ, Γερμανικοῦ, Δ[ακικοῦ, καὶ]  
τῆς Ἱερωτάτ[ης γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ Πλ]ωτείνης καὶ τῆς Ἱερ[ ἀς συνκλήτου]  
καὶ τοῦ Ρω[ μαίων ἵππικον τάγμα]τος καὶ δῆμου, [ τούτων δὲ χω-]  
ρὶς εἰκόν[ ας δεκαπέντε Ἐφεσίων] ν τὴν πόλιν προσ[ωποποιούσας],  
 30 [ τ]οῦ δῆμο[ου καὶ τῶν ἔξι φυλῶν κα]ὶ βουλῆς καὶ γερ[ουσίας καὶ ἐφη-]  
βείᾳ[ s ----- στον[ . . . ]νκ[ ----- ]]

Traces of sixteen lines

- [ . . . . υπὸ τῶν φυλάκων, συνεπιμελουμένων καὶ] δύο νε[οποι-]  
ῶν [ καὶ τοῦ σκηπτούχου, φέρηται καὶ] αὖ φ[έρη]ται, διαδ[εχομέ-]  
 50 νων [ καὶ συμπροπεμπόντων τῶν] ἐφήβων [ ἀπὸ τῆς Μ[αγνη-]  
τικῆς [ πύλης εἰς τὸ θέατρον κ]αὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ θε[άτρου κατὰ]  
τὸν αὐτ[ὸν τρόπον,] τῇ τε ν[ού]μηνίᾳ ἀρχ[ιερατικοῦ]  
ἔτους <θ>υσί[α καὶ ἐν τ]αῖς ιβ[ καθ' ἔκαστο]ν μῆναν ἢ ἀ[θροιζο-]  
μένας ιερα[ῖς τε κα]ὶ νομ[ίμοις ἐκκλ]ησίαις κα[ὶ ἐν ταῖς τῶν]  
 55 Σεβα[σ]τείων [ καὶ Σω]τηρίων [ καὶ τῶν π]εντ[ετηρικῶν μεγά-]  
[ λων Ἐφεσ]ε[ί]ω[ν ν ἑορταῖς -----]

5 lines missing

- μοτει[----- τῶν δὲ χρημάτων τῶν καθιε-]  
ρωμένω[ ν ὑπ' αὐ]τ[ού]ν τ[ού] Ἐφεσίων τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῇ γερουσίᾳ]  
καὶ πολ[είταις καὶ ἐ]φῆ[βοις καὶ παισὶν ὑπέσχετο αὐτὸς]  
 65 ἐπὶ τοῦ σ[----- ἐκδανιστής γενέσθαι]  
— καὶ τ[ε] λεῖν τόκ[ον δραχμαῖον] ἀσταριαῖον  
[ δι]αιρεθ[η] σόμεν<ο>ν κ[αθ' ἔκαστον ἐ]νιαυτὸν κα-  
[ τὰ] τὴν διάταξιν αὐτοῦ τ[ῇ γεν]εσ[ί]θεοῦ ἥ[μέρα,]  
[ ἥτι]ς ἐστὶν τοῦ Θαργηλιῶ[ν]ος μηνὸς ἔκ[τη]η ἴσταμε[νον,]  
 70 [ό]μολογήσας ἀποδώσε[ι]ν τὰ χρήματ[α] ἥ[έ]αντὸν τὰ [κα-]  
[θι]ερωμένα, ὅταν βουληθῇ, ἥ τοὺς κληρονόμ[ους αὐ-]  
[το]ῦ τῇ πόλει, κομιζομένων τῶν ἑκά[στη]ν προ[σώ-]  
[που π]ροϊσταμένων περὶ [ῶν] ἀπάντων διάταξιν εἰσηγ[ησάμε-]  
[νος ιδ]ίᾳ ἥξ[ε]ι ασεν ἐπι[κυ]ρωθῆναι καὶ διὰ ψηφίσμα[τος τῆς]  
 75 [βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δῆμου, καὶ νῦν τῆς ἐπα[ρχ]είας [ἥγεμο-]  
[νεύοντες ὁ κράτιστος ἀν]ὴρ καὶ εὐεργέ[τη]ης Ἀκο[νί]λλι-  
[ος Πρόκλος, ὁ ἀνθύπατο]ς, καὶ Ἀφράνι[ο]ς Φλαονια-  
[νός, ὁ πρεσβευτὴς καὶ ἀντ]ιστράτηγο[ς, ἀν]υπερβλήτω

- [τῇ φιλανθρωπίᾳ καὶ] φιλοστοργίᾳ ἐ[πιγν]όντες τὴν  
 80 τοῦ ἀνδρὸ[ς μεγαλοψ]υχίαν, ὡς γνή[σιοι] πολεῖται <ἢ>  
 μῶν αὐτοί, καὶ [θ' ἀ ἀντημέει]ψαντο αὐτῷ[ι κ]αὶ δι' ἐπιστολῶν  
 [συ]νηδόμενο[ι ἀντέ]γραψαν, ἐ[πεκέλ]ευσαν, ὥστε δι'  
 [αὐτῷ]ν εἰσενε[νκεῖν π]ερὶ τῶν [καθιερώσε]ψιν αὐτῷ[ὑ]  
 δ[εδόχθ]αι Γ[άιον Οὔει]βιον [Σαλοντάριον, ἄνδρα] εὐσέβη  
 85 [μὲν] πρὸς [τοὺς θεού]ς, εἰς δὲ τ[ὴν πόλιν φι]λότειμον, τε-  
 τε[ι μῆσ]θαι τ[αῖς κρ]ατίσταις τιμ[αῖς εἰκόν]ων τε ἀναστάσε-  
 σιν ἐν [τε τ]ῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδο[ς καὶ ἐν τοῦ]ς ἐπισημοτάτοις  
 τόποις τῆς πόλεως, ἀναγο[ρεῦσαι δὲ αὐ]τὸν καὶ χρυσέω  
 στεφάνῳ ἐν ταῖς ἔκκ[λησίαις ὡς σπουδά]ζοντα καὶ φιλάρ-  
 90 τεμιν<sup>v</sup> τὴν δὲ παρατή[ρησιν τῶν προγ]εγραμμένων ἰε-  
 ρῶν ε[ἰ]δῶν καὶ τὴν πρὸ κοι[νοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵ]εροῦ εἰς τὸ θέα-  
 τρον καὶ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ θεάτρου εἰ[ς τὸ ἱερὸν] τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος  
 μ[ετακομιδὴν ποιῆσαι κατὰ τὴν διάταξιν κ]αθ' ἐκαστον [ἔ-]  
 τος [ἐκ τῶν νεοποιῶν δύο καὶ σκηπ]τούχον καὶ τοὺ[ς]  
 95 φ[υλάκους -----]

Seven lines missing

- [-----] τὸν ναὸν τῆς Ἀρ[τέμιδος -----]  
 105 [----- τ]ῶν καθηκόντω[ν . . . . .]ισι[. . .]  
 [-----. Τὴν δὲ διάταξιν αὐ]τοῦ κυρίαν εἶνα[ι, ἀμετάθ]ετον,  
 [ἀκατάλυτον, ἀπαράλλακτ]ον εἰς τὸν [ἄπαντα χρόν]ον.  
 [Ἐὰν δέ τις εἴτε ἴδιωτῶν ε]ἴτε ἀρχό[ντων ἐπίψη]φίση τ[ι πα-]  
 [ρὰ τὴν διάταξιν τὴν διὰ ψηφί]σμα[τος κυρωθη]σομένην [ἢ]  
 110 [ἀλλάξῃ, ἔστω ἄκυρον ἄπαν τὸ ἐναντίον τῇ διατάξῃ, δ τε ποιή-  
 [σας τι τούτων ἢ εἰστηγησά]μεν[ος ἀποτεισάτω εἰ]ς προ[σ]κόσ-  
 [μησιν τῆς κυρίας Ἀρτέμιδο]ς <δ[ην]> Ἄ [Ε < καὶ εἰς τὸν] τοῦ κ[υρ]ίου Κ[αί-]  
 [σαρος φύσκον ἄλλα] δην > Ἄ E < κ[αθάπερ οἱ κράτισ]τοι[ι ή-]  
 [γεμόνες Ἀκουίλιος] Πρόκλο[ς, ὁ ἀνθύπατος, καὶ Ἀφράνι-]  
 115 [ος Φλαονιανός, ὁ πρεσβευ]τ[ης καὶ ἀντιστράτηγος, δι' ἔ-]  
 [πιστο]λῶν τὸ [προγεγραμμένον πρόστειμον ὀρισαν.]  
 [Πρὸς δ]ὲ τὸ φαν[ερὰν γενέσθαι τὴν τε πρὸς τὴν πό-]  
 [λιν μ]εγαλοψυχ[ίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὴν θεὸν εὐσέβειαν]  
 [τὴν ὑπ' αὐτ]οῦ γεγραμμένην καὶ διὰ τούτου τοῦ ψηφίσ]ματ[ος]  
 120 [τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου κεκυρωμένην διά]ταξι[ν ἀνα]γραφ[ῆ-]  
 [ναι -----] θα[. . .]σ[. . .]  
 [-----]  
 [. . . . .]ν· ἐν μὲν τῷ θεάτρῳ [ἐπὶ τῷ τῆς νοτίας πα-]

- [ρόδου τοίχῳ] αὐτοῦ μαρμαρίνῳ, ἢ β[ούλεται αὐτός, ἐν δὲ]  
 125 [τῷ Ἀρτέμι] ιστώ ἐν τόπῳ ἐπιτηδεῖῳ, φιλοτει[μίας ἔνεκα κ]αὶ  
 [ἀρετῆς·] καὶ περὶ τῆς [διαμονῆς τῷ<ν>] καθιε[ρωμένων] ὑπ' αὐτοῦ  
 [τοῦ χρημάτων <sup>ν</sup><ῶν> τῇ τε βουλῇ καὶ τῇ γερο[ντίᾳ καὶ πολεύταις καὶ]  
 [ἔφή] βοις ὑπέσχετο αὐτὸς κατὰ [τὴν διάταξιν τῷ ἐνεστῶτι]  
 [ἔτε]ι ἐκδαινιστής γενέσθαι [-----]

Two lines missing

[”Εδοξε τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ νεωκόρῳ δῆμῳ φιλοσε[βάστωι]  
 [γενέσθαι, καθότι προγέγραπται.] vacat

Σέξτ[ω] Ἀττίω]

- 135 Σουβουρανῷ τ[ὸ] β Μάρκῳ Ἀστινίῳ]  
 Μαρ[κέλλῳ ὑπάτοις, ----- Ιαν.]  
 [Ἐπὶ πρυτάνεως Τιβ. Κλ. Ἀντιπάτρου Ιουλιανοῦ,  
 [μηνὸς Ποσειδεῶνος . ἵσταμένου.]  
 Γαῖος [Οὐείβιος, Γ. νιός, Οὐωφεντείνᾳ, Σαλοντάριος διάτα-]  
 140 ξιν εἰσ[φέρει τῇ Ἐφεσίων βουλῇ φιλοσεβάστῳ καὶ τῷ νεωκόρῳ]  
 [Ἐφεσίων δῆμῳ φιλοσεβάστῳ, περὶ ὧν καθιέρωκεν ἐπὶ]  
 ταῦς ὑπ[ογεγραμμέναις οἰκονομίαις τῇ μεγίστῃ θεᾶ] Ἐφεσίᾳ Ἀρ-]  
 τέμιδ[ι καὶ τῷ νεωκόρῳ Ἐφεσίων δῆμῳ φιλοσεβάστῳ καὶ]  
 τῇ Ἐφ[εσίων βουλῇ φιλοσεβάστῳ καὶ τῇ Ἐφεσίων γερουσίᾳ]  
 145 φ[ιλοσεβάστῳ καὶ ταῦς ἔξ Ἐφεσίων φυλαῖς καὶ τοῖς κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν]  
 [Ἐφεσίων ἔφήβοις καὶ τοῖς θεολόγοις καὶ ὑμνῳδοῖς καὶ τοῖς νεο-]  
 [ποιοῖς καὶ σκηπτούχοις καὶ τοῖς αἱὲ ἐσομένοις Ἐφεσίων]  
 [παισὶν καὶ παιδωνόμοις ἀπεικονισμάτων τῆς θεοῦ ἐννέα, ἔ-]  
 [νὸς μὲν χρυσέον, τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν ἀργυρέων, καὶ εἰκόνων ἀργυρέων]  
 150 [εἴκοσι καὶ δηναρίων δισμυρίων, ἐφ' ὃ εἰκὼν ἀργυρέα τοῦ κυρίου]  
 [ἡμῶν Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Νέρου Τραϊανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ ο[ν, Γερ-]  
 [μανικοῦ, Δακικοῦ, δλκῆς λειτρῶν .], οὐνκιῶν ἔ, καὶ εἰκὼν ἀργυρέα]  
 Πλω[τείνης Σεβαστῆς, δλκῆς λειτρῶν ἔ, νεοκορῶνται πα[ρ' αὐτῷ]  
 Σαλο[νταρίῳ τῷ καθιερωκότι, μετὰ δὲ τὴν Σαλονταρίον [ν τελευτὴν]  
 155 ἀποδοθώσιν αἱ προδηλούμεναι εἰκόνες τῷ Ἐφεσίων γραμμ[ατεῖ ἐπὶ τῷ]  
 προγεγραμμέναι σταθμῷ ἀπὸ τῶν κληρονόμων αὐτοῦ, ὡ[στε καὶ αὐ-]  
 τὰς τίθε[σ]θαι ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἐπάνω τῆς σεληνῆς τῆς βουλῆς μετὰ τῆς]  
 χρυσέα[ς] Ἀρ[τέμιδος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων εἰκόνων. Ἀρτεμις δὲ χρυ[σέα, δλκῆς]  
 λειτρῶν τριῶν καὶ αἱ περὶ αὐτὴν ἀργύρεοι ἔλλοι αφοι δύο καὶ τὰ λοι[πὰ ἐπίχρυσα],  
 160 δλκῆς λειτρῶν δύο, οὐνκιῶν δέκα, γραμμάτων πέντε, καὶ εἰκὼν ἀργυ-]  
 ρέα τ[ῆ]ς ιερᾶς συνκλήτου, δλκῆς λειτρῶν δ, οὐνκιῶν ν β, καὶ εἰκὼν ἀργυ-]

126 τῷ.

127 χρημάτων τῇ.

155 προδηλούμεναι.

157 σεΑίδος.

159 ἔλαφοι.

- ρέ[α τῇ]ς φιλοσεβάστου καὶ σεμνοτάτης Ἐφεσίων βουλῆς, ὁ[λκῆς λει-]  
 τ[ρό]ν δ, γραμ<μ>άτων θ, τὰ καὶ αὐτὰ καθιερωμένα τῇ τε Ἀρτέμιδι [καὶ τῇ φιλο-]  
 σ[εβ]άσται Ἐφεσίων βουλῆι <sup>v</sup> Ὄμοίως καὶ ἀργυρέα Ἀρτεμις λα[μπαδηφό-]  
 165 ρ[ο]ς, ὀλκῆς λζ, καὶ εἰκὼν ἀργυρέα τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ῥωμαίων, [όλκῆς λ .]  
 καὶ εἰκὼν ἀργυρέα τῆς φιλοσεβάστου γερουσίας, ὀλκῆς π[., τὰ καὶ]  
 αὐτὰ καθιερωμένα τῇ τε Ἀρτέμιδι καὶ τῇ Ἐφεσίων γερουσίᾳ <sup>v</sup>  
 Ὄμοίως καὶ ἄλλη Ἀρτεμις ἀργυρέα λαμπαδηφόρος, ἐ[μφερῆς]  
 τῇ ἐν τῇ ἔξεδρᾳ τῶν ἔφῆβων, ὀλκῆς λζ, ούνκιων ε, γραμ[μάτων ..]  
 170 καὶ εἰκὼν ἀργυρέα τοῦ ἱππικοῦ τάγματος, ὀλκῆς λ γ, ἡ[μιουν-]  
 κίου, γραμμάτων [γ,] καὶ ἄλλη εἰκὼν ἀργυρέα τῆς ἐφηβεία[ς, ὀλκῆς λ ..]  
 τὰ καὶ αὐτὰ καθιε[ρω]μένα τῇ τε Ἀρτέμιδι καὶ τοῖς κατ' ἐνιαυτὸ[ν οδ-]  
 [σι]ν ἐφήβοις <sup>v</sup> Ὁ[μοίως καὶ ἄλλη Ἀρτεμις ἀργυρέα λαμπαδηφόρος, ἔχου-]  
 [σα] φιάλην, ὀλκ[ῆς λ .., ούνκιων .., γραμμάτων .., καὶ εἰκὼν ἀργυρέα]  
 175 [Θεο]ῦ Σεβαστοῦ, [όλκῆς λ .., ούνκιων .., γραμμάτων .., καὶ εἰκὼν ἀργυρέα φυ-]  
 [λῆς Σε]βαστῆς, ὁ[λκῆς λ .., τὰ καὶ αὐτὰ καθιερωμένα τῇ τε Ἀρτέμιδι καὶ]  
 [τοῖς αἰὲν ἐ]στομένο[ις πολείταις τῆς Σεβαστῆς φυλῆς. Ὄμοίως καὶ ἄλλη]  
 [Ἀρτεμις ἀργυρέα -----, ὀλκῆς λ ..]  
 [καὶ εἰκὼν ἀργυρέα τοῦ φιλοσεβάστου Ἐφεσίων δήμου, ὀλκῆς λ ..]  
 180 [καὶ εἰκὼν ἀργυρέα φυλῆς Ἐ]φ[εσέων, ὀλκῆς λ .., τὰ καὶ αὐτὰ καθιερωμ]ένα  
 [τῇ τε Ἀρτέμιδι καὶ τοῖς αἰὲν ἐ]στομέν[οις πολείταις τῆς Ἐφεσέων φυλῆς.]  
 [Ὄμοίως καὶ ἄλλη Ἀρτεμις] ἀργυρέα [----- χ]ειρὶ<sup>v</sup>  
 [--, ὀλκῆς λ .., ούνκιων] θ, καὶ ε[ἰ]κὼν ἀργυρέα ..... ὀλκῆς λ ..] καὶ  
 [εἰκὼν ἀργυρέα φυλῆς Καρηναίων, ὀλκῆς λ .., ούνκιων .., γραμμ]άτων γ, τὰ  
 185 [καὶ αὐτὰ καθιερωμένα τῇ τε Ἀρτέμιδι καὶ τοῖς αἰὲν ἐστομένοις πολείταις  
 τῆς Καρηναίων φυλῆς. Ὄμοίως καὶ ἄλλη Ἀρτεμις ἀργυρέα λαμπ]αδηφό-  
 ρος ..... ὀλκῆς λ .., καὶ εἰκὼν ἀργυρέα Λυσιμάχου, ὀλκῆς λ .., γ]ρ γ, καὶ εἰκὼν  
 [ἀργυρέα φυλῆς Τηῖων, ὀλκῆς λ .., τὰ καὶ αὐτὰ καθιερωμ]έν[α τῇ τ]ε Ἀρτέμιδι  
 [καὶ τοῖς αἰὲν ἐστομένοις πολείταις τῆς Τηῖων φυλῆς] <sup>v</sup> Ὄμοίως καὶ ἄλλη Ἀρ-  
 190 [τεμις ἀργυρέα ἔχου]στα τὸ τ[..... ὀλκῆς λ .., ούνκι]ῶν γ, ἡμίσους γράμμ-  
 [τος, καὶ εἰκὼν ἀργ]υρέα Ε[ύωνυμου, ὀλκῆς λ .., καὶ εἰκὼν ἀργυρ]έα φυλῆς Εύ-  
 [ωνύμων, ὀλκῆς λ ..] γ-ήμ[ιον, γραμμάτων .., τὰ καὶ αὐτὰ καθιερωμέ-  
 να τῇ τε Ἀρτέμιδι καὶ το]ῖς [αἰὲν ἐστομένοις πολείταις τῆς Εύωνυμω]ν φυλῆς.  
 [Ὄμοίως καὶ ἄλλη Ἀρτεμις ἀργυρέα λαμπαδηφόρος ----- Κ]ασταλί-  
 195 [α -, ὀλκῆς λ .., ούνκιων .., καὶ εἰκὼν ἀργυρέα Πίωνος, ὀλκῆς .., καὶ ε]ικὼν  
 [ἀργυρέα φυλῆς Βεμβειναίων ὀλκῆς λ .., τὰ καὶ αὐτὰ καθιερωμένα τῇ] τε Ἀ[ρ-]  
 [τέμιδι καὶ τοῖς αἰὲν ἐστομένοις πολείταις τῆς Βεμβειναίων φυλῆ]ς.  
 [Ὄ δὲ προγεγραμμένος σταθμὸς τῶν ἐννέα ἀπεικονισμάτω]ν τῆς θε-

163 γραμμάτων. 190 Picard (*Rev. de Phil.*, XXXVII, p. 93) τὸ τ[όξον, A. J. Reinach (*Rev. Épigr.*, I, p. 232) τὸ τ[ροπαῖον.

- [οὐ καὶ τῶν εἴκοσι εἰκόνων παρεστάθη Εὔμέ] νει Εὔμέν[ ους τοῦ Θεοφίλ] ον τῷ  
 200 [καὶ αὐτῷ στρατηγῷ τῆς Ἐφεσίων πόλεως, δι] ἀ τοῦ ζυγ[οστάτου Ἐρμίον,] ιεροῦ τῆς  
 ['Αρτέμιδος, συμπαραλαμβάνο] γν[οις Μουσαί] ον, ιεροῦ τ[ῆς Ἐρτέμιδος, τοῦ] ἐπὶ τῶν  
 [παραθηκῶν. Τὰ δὲ προγεγρ] αμμέ[να ἀπεικο] γνίσματ[α ἀποτιθέσθω] σαν κατὰ  
 [πᾶσαν νόμιμον ἐκκλ] ησίαν κ[αὶ τῇ τῇ νέᾳ] νομη[νίᾳ ἔτους ἀρ] χιερατι-  
 [κοῦ ἐπιτελουμένη θυσί] α ἐν τῷ [θεάτρῳ ὑπ]ὸ τῶν κα[θηκόντων ἐπὶ τὰ]ς κατὰ σε-  
 205 [λίδας τεθειμένας κ] αὶ ἐπιγεγ[ραμμένας] θ βάσεις [ἀνὰ γ, ὡς ἡ ἐπι] τοῖς βά-  
 [θροις καὶ ἡ ἐν τῇ] διατάξει βο[υλῆς, γερο] γνήσιας, ἐφη[βείας καὶ φυλῆ]ς καθιέ-  
 [ρωσις· μετὰ δὲ τ]ὸ λυθῆν[αι τὰς ἐκκλησί] ας ἀποφ[ερέσθωσαν τὰ ἀπεικονίσ-]  
 [ματα καὶ αἱ εἰκόνε] σ ε[ἰς τὸ ιερὸν τῆς Ἀρτέμι] ιδος κα[ὶ παραδιδόσθωσαν ὑπὸ]  
 [τῶν φυλάκων, συνεπιμελουμένων καὶ] τῶν νεο[ποιῶν καὶ τοῦ σκηνπούχου,]  
 210 [Μουσαίω, ιερῷ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος τῷ ἐπὶ τῶν παρ] αθη[κῶν, διαδεχομένων καὶ συμ]  
 [προπεμπόντων καὶ τῶν ἐφήβων ἀπὸ τῆς Μαγνητικῆς πύλης εἰς τὸ θέα-]  
 [τρον καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ θεάτρου μέχρι τῆς Κορηστικῆς πύλης μετὰ] πάσης [εὐπρε-]  
 [πείας. Ὡσαύτως δὲ γενέσθαι καὶ ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς γυμνικοῦ] σ ἀγῶσι<ν> κ[αὶ εἰ τινες]  
 [ἔτεραι ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου ὄρισθήσονται ἡμέραι. Μηδ] ενὶ δὲ ἔξ[έστω]  
 215 [μετοικονομῆσαι ἢ τὰ ἀπεικονύσματα τῆς θε] οὐ ἢ τὰς εἰκόνας πρὸς τὸ  
 [μετονομασθῆναι ἢ ἀναχωνευθῆναι ἢ ἄλλωι] τινὶ τρόπῳ κακουργηθῆνα<ι> ἐπ<ε>ὶ  
 [ό ποιήσας τι τούτων ὑπεύθυνο] σ ἔστω ιεροσυλίᾳ καὶ ἀσεβείᾳ καὶ οὐδὲν  
 [ῆστον ὁ αὐτὸς ἐπιδεικνύσθω στ] αθμὸς ἐν τοῖς προγεγραμμένοις ἀπεικονίσ-  
 [μασιν καὶ εἰκόσιν λειτρῶν] ρια, ἔχοντος τὴν περὶ τούτων ἐκδικίαν ἐπ' ἀνάν-  
 220 [κῃ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τῆς πόλεως] Ὅτων δὲ καθιερωμένων ὑπὸ Σαλούτα-  
 [ρίου δην. β μυρίω] ι τελέσει τόκον Σαλούταριος δραχμαῖον καθ' ἔκαστον ἐνι-  
 [αυτὸν] τὰ γειρόμενα δηνάρια χ[ί]λια ὀκτακόσια, ἀφ' ὅν δώσει τῷ γραμμα-  
 [τεῖ τῆς β]ουλῆς δηνάρια τετρακόσι[α π]εντήκοντα, δπως ἐπιτελεῖ δια<ν>ομὴν  
 [τοῖς] βουλευταῖς ἐν τῷ ιερῷ ἐν τ[ῷ ὡι π]ρονάῷ τῇ γενε[σ]της θεᾶς Ἀρ-  
 225 [τέμιδο] σ, ἥτις ἔστιν μηνὸς Θαργη[λι]ῶνος ἔκτη ίσταμένου, γεινομένης τῆς διανο-  
 [μῆς ταύτης τῆ] σ πέμπτης, διδομ[ένου ἐ]κάστῳ {υ} τῶν παρόντων δηναρίου ἐνός,  
 [μὴ ἔχον] τος ἔξουσίαν τοῦ ἐπὶ τ[ῆς] διανομῆς ἀπόντι δοῦναι, ἐπεὶ ἀποτεισά-  
 [τω τῇ β]ουλῆι ὑπὲρ ἔκάστου ὀνόματος τοῦ μὴ παραγενομένου καὶ λαβόντος  
 [προστείμου δην... Ἐάν δὲ μείζω] ν γεί[νηται ὁ κόλλυβος, ὕστε]  
 230 [εἰς πλείονας χωρεῖν, ἔξεστ] ω καὶ [---]  
 [---] α ἀνὰ κύ[κλο]ν. Ὄμοιώ[σ δώ-]  
 [σει τῷ τοῦ συνεδρίου τῇ] σ γερουσ[ίας γ]ραμματέ κ[ατ' ἐνι-]  
 [αυτὸν ἔκαστον ἀπὸ τοῦ προγεγραμμέ] γνου τόκου δη[τπβ]  
 [ἀστάρια θ, δπως ἐπιτελῆ κλῆρον τῇ] γενεσίω τῆς θεο[ῦ]  
 235 [ἡμέρᾳ τοῖς τοῦ συνεδρίου μετέχουσι] ν εἰς ἄνδρας τ[θ] [ἀνὰ δη. ἀ· ἐὰν]

213 ἀγῶσιII.

216 κακουργηθῆνα<sup>v</sup> ἐπὶ.

218 Heberdey [ἡττον.

220 Heberdey τοῦ ἐπὶ

τῶν παραθηκῶν], Picard (*Rev. de Phil.*, XXXVII, p. 93) τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τῆς πόλεως].

223 διαΗομῆν.

235 Heberdey τ [ἀνὰ.

- [δὲ μείζων ἦ δὲ γενόμενος κόλλυβος], ὥστε εἰς πλεύο[νας]  
 [χωρεῖν, κληρώσει καὶ πλεύονας, ἐκ]άστου τῶν λαχ[όν-]  
 [των ἀνὰ δημάριον ἐν λαμβάνοντ]ος η Διδόσθ[ω δὲ καὶ]  
 [τοῖς . . . . . τοῖς νεοκοροῦσι παρὰ] Σα[λ]ονταρίῳ τ[ῷ καθιερω-]  
 240 [κότι εἰς διανομὴν δη. κέ ασ. θ καὶ το]ῖς Ἀσιαρχήσ[ασι] τοῖς  
 [ἀναγραφαμένοις δη. νέ εἰς κλῆρον] ἀνὰ [δημάρ]ια i<sup>a</sup>, φ καὶ  
 [τὰ εἰς τὴν θυσίαν ἀγοράσουσιν,] τοῦ κλῆρου γεινομένου  
 [τῇ πέμπτῃ, μὴ ἔχοντος ἐ]ξουσίᾳ<ν> τοῦ γραμματέος τῆς  
 [γερουσίας τοῦ παριέναι τὴν διανομὴν ἡ ἀναγραφὴν μετὰ  
 245 [τὴν Σαλονταρίου τελευτῆ]η η ἐπεὶ ἀποτεισάτω πρόστειμον  
 [τὸ ἐν τῇ διατάξει ὠρισ]μένον οὐ ομοίως ἀπὸ τοῦ προγε-  
 [γραμμένου τόκου δώσει κατ' ἐ]νιαυτὸν > καὶ τοῖς ἔξ φυ-  
 [λάρχοις ἀνὰ δη. ρκέ, ὅπ]ως ἐπ[ι]τελῶσι κλῆρον τῆς προγεγραμ-  
 [μένης καθιερώσεως τῆς] θεοῦ ἔξ [έκαστη]ς φυλῆς εἰς ὄνόματα δι-  
 250 [ακόσια πεντήκοντα, λα]μβανόν[των τ]ῶν ληξομένων ἀσσάρια > θ  
 [καθ' ἔκαστον. Ἐὰν δὲ μείζων ἦ δὲ γεν]όμενος κόλλυβος, ὑπὸ<sup>243</sup>  
 [τῶν φυλάρχων ἔξέστω καὶ ἄλλους πολ]είτας κληροῦσθαι.  
 [Ομοίως δώσει ἀπὸ τοῦ προγεγραμμένο]η τόκου κατ' ἔνιαυτὸν  
 [ἔκαστον τῷ ἐφηβάρχῳ δην. ρκᾶ, ὅπ]ως ἐπιτελῇ κλῆρον  
 255 [τῶν κατ' ἔνιαυτὸν διητῶν ἐφήβων τῇ γενεσίῳ] τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος  
 [εἰς ὄνόματα διακόσια πεντήκοντα, λαμβανόν]των τῶν ληξο-  
 [μένων ἀνὰ ἀσσάρια θ, λαμβανέτω δὲ] δὲ ἐφήβαρχος χω-  
 [ρὶς τούτων δη. ἀ. Ομοίως δώσει ἀπὸ τοῦ προγεγραμμέ-  
 [νου τόκου καὶ τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ Ἀσίας τοῦ ἐν Ἐφέ]σῳ ναοῦ κοινοῦ  
 260 [τῶν Σεβαστῶν δη. κδ ἀσ. ιγ ἥμισυ] κατ' ἔνιαυτὸν ἔκασ-  
 [τον, ὅπως ἔξ αὐτῶν τῇ γενεσίῳ τῆς θ]εοῦ ἥμερᾳ ἐπιτελεῖ  
 [κλῆρον τῶν θεολόγων ἐν τῷ ιερῷ τοῦ] τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος, λαμ-  
 [βάνοντος ἔκαστον τῶν παρ' αὐτῷ] ἀναγραφαμένων  
 [καὶ λαχόντων ἀνὰ δη. β ἀσ. ιγ ἥμισυ, γει] νομένης τῆς ἀνα-  
 265 [γραφῆς τῇ πέμπτῃ. Ομοίως δώσ]ει ἀπὸ τοῦ προγεγραμ-  
 [μένου τόκου κατ' ἔνιαυτὸν ἔκαστον τοῦ] τῆς ιερείᾳ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος  
 [καὶ τοῖς ὑμινδοῖς τῆς θεοῦ τῇ γενεσί]ῳ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος εἰς  
 [διανομὴν δημάρια ιη. Ομοίως δώσ]ει ἀπὸ τοῦ π[ρο]ογεγραμ-  
 [μένου τόκου κατὰ πᾶσαν νόμιμον ἐκκλ]ησίαν δυσ[τί]ην νεοποι-  
 270 [οῖς καὶ σκηπτούχῳ ἀσ. δ ἥμισυ, ὕστε φέρ]εσθαι ἐκ τοῦ προνάου  
 [εἰς τὸ θέατρον τὰ ἀπεικονίσματα τῆ]ης θεοῦ καὶ τὰς εἰκόνας καὶ  
 [πάλιν ἀποφέρεσθαι ἐκ τοῦ θέατρο]ν εἰς τὸν πρόναον αὐθημε-  
 [ρὸν μετὰ τῶν φυλάκων. Ομοίως δ]ώσει ἀπὸ τοῦ προγεγραμμέ-

240 Heberdey δη. κέ ασ. θ.

241 Heberdey δη. νέ εἰς κλῆρον].

241 ι.Λ.

243 ἐ]ξουσίαΗ.

- [νον τόκου κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἔκαστ]ον καὶ τοῖς [π]αιδων[ό]μοις  
 275 [δη. οὐ ἀσ. ἢ γῆ νῆμισν, ὅπως τῇ γενε]σίν τῆς θεοῦ νήμέρᾳ ἐπιτελέ-  
 [σωσι κλῆρον τῶν παῖδων πάν]των εἰς ὄντοματα > μθ < λαμβανόν-  
 [των τῶν ληξομένων ταύτ]η τῇ νήμέρᾳ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος  
 [ἀνὰ ἀσ. δὲ νῆμισν, λαμβανό]ντων καὶ τῶν παιδωνόμων χωρὶς  
 [τούτων ἀνὰ ἀστάρια θ. Ὁ]μοίως δώσει ἀπὸ τοῦ προγεγραμ-  
 280 [μένου τόκου καθ' ἔκαστον ἐν]ιαυτὸν τῷ τὰ καθάρσια ποιοῦντι παρε-  
 [---] τὰ λοιπὰ - δη τριάκοντα - ὥστε κα-  
 [θαρίζειν ἑκάστοτε, ὅπόταν εἰ]σ τὸ ἱερὸν ἀποφέ[ρ]ηται τὰ ἀπεικο-  
 [νίσματα τῆς θεοῦ, πρὶν ἀποθεῖν]αι αὐτὰ εἰς τὸν πρόναον τῆς Ἀρτέ-  
 [μίδος. Ἐὰν μὲν οὖν ἔτερός τις κατ'] ἴδιαν π[ρ]οσοίρεσιν ἀγοράσῃ  
 285 [τὴν κληρουνομίαν ταύτην καὶ βουλ]ηθῇ δίδοσθαι καθ' ἔκαστον ἐνι-  
 [αυτὸν τὸν τόκον, διδότω ὁ ἀγοράζ]ων τὰ προγεγραμμένα > δη < χίλια  
 [ό]κτακό[σια, μὴ ἔξὸν παρὰ τῇ]ν διάταξιν εἰσ[εν] ενκεῖν μηδὲν  
 ἔλασσο[ν, ---, ---, ---, ---, ---, α]λλὰ προσασφαλι[ζ]ομένου -  
 'Ἐὰν δέ τι[ς ἀγοράσῃ αὐτήν, βου]ληθῇ δὲ ἀποδοῦναι τάχε[ι]ον τὰ τῆς  
 290 καθιερώ[σεως ἀρχαῖα ἀπαντ]α, ἔξεσται αὐτῷ ἐπ' ἀνάκτη ληψομέ-  
 νῳ τ[ῷ ἐπὶ τῶν χρημάτων] τῆς βουλῆς τὰ γεινόμενα ὑπὲρ τῶν  
 καθιερω[μένων τῇ βουλῇ] ἀρχαίου > δη < πεντακισχίλια -  
 δόμ[ο]ίως καὶ[τῷ ἐπὶ τῶν χρη]μάτων τῆς γερουσίας τὰ γεινόμενα  
 ὑπὲρ τῶν καθιερωμέ[ν]ων τῇ γερουσίᾳ > δη < τετρακ[η]στοι σχεί-  
 295 λια τετρακόσια πεντήκοντα - δόμοίως καὶ τοῖς θεολόγοις  
 καὶ ὑμνῳδοῖς τὰ γεινόμενα ὑπὲρ τῆς καθιερώσεως ἀρχαίου  
 δη < διακόσιοι πεντήκοντα πέντε λ δόμοίως τῷ γραμματεῖ  
 τοῦ δήμου τὰ λοιπὰ γεινόμενα τοῦ ἀρχαίου ὑπὲρ τῆς καθιερώ-  
 σεως τῶν εἰς τοὺς πολείτας κλήρων καὶ ἐφῆβων καὶ νεο-  
 300 ποιῶν καὶ σκηπτούχων καὶ καθαρσίων > δη < μύρια διακόσια  
 ἔβδομήκοντα πέντε - ὅπως ἐκδανίζωσιν αὐτὰ ἐπὶ τόκῳ  
 ἀσταρίων δεκαδύο ἀργυρῶν ἀδιάπτωτα < καὶ ἐπιτελῆ-  
 ται καθ' ἔκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ τόκου τὰ διατεταγμέ-  
 να ἀνυπερθέτως, ὡς προγέγραπται - Ἐὰν δὲ πρὸ τοῦ <ἀ>πο-  
 305 δοῦναι > τὰ δισμύρια - δη - ἡ διατάξεσθαι (sic) ἀπὸ προσόδουν  
 χωρίων διδόσθαι τὸν τόκον αὐτῶν {ἡ} τελευτήσει  
 Σαλουντάριος, ὑποκείσθωσαν οἱ κληρονόμοι αὐτοῦ τῇ εὐ-  
 λυτήσει τῶν καθιερωμένων - δη - δισμυρίων - καὶ τοῖς ἐπα-  
 κολουθήσασι τόκοις μέχρι τῆς εὐλυτήσεος, ὑποκει-  
 310 μένων αὐτῶν τῇ πράξει κατὰ τὰ ἱερὰ τῆς θεοῦ < καὶ τὰ πα-  
 ρὰ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις ἐκδανιστικὰ ἔνγραφα - Ὄπεσχετο

<δ>ε Σαλοντάριος, ὥστε ἄρξ[α]σθαι τὴν φιλοτειμίαν αὐτοῦ  
τῷ ἐνεστῶτι ἔτει η ἐν τῇ γενε[σί]ῳ τῆς θεοῦ ἡμέρᾳ ὁ δώσει[ν]  
δη > χείλια δικτακόσια εἰς τὰς προγεγραμμένας διανομὰς

- 315 καὶ κλήρους η Μηδεν[ι] δὲ ἔξεστω ἄρχοντι η ἐκδίκω η ἰδιώ-  
τη πε[ιρά]σαι τι ἀλλάξαι η μεταθεῖναι η μετοικονομῆσαι η μετα-  
ψηφί[σ]ασθα[ι] τῶν καθιερωμένων ἀπεικονισμάτων η τοῦ  
ἀργυρίου η τῆς [π]ροσόδου αὐτοῦ η μεταθεῖναι εἰς ἔτερον πόρον  
η ἀν<ά>[λ]ωμα η ἄλ[λ]ο τι ποιῆσαι παρὰ τὰ προγεγραμμένα ~ καὶ δια-  
320 τετα[γ]μένα ὁ ἐπεὶ τὸ γενόμενον παρὰ ταῦτα ἔστω ἄκυρον.

‘Ο δὲ πε[ι]ράσας ποιῆσαι τι ὑπεναντίον τῇ διατάξει η τοῖς  
ὑπὸ τ[η]ς βου[λ]ῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου ἐψηφισμένοις καὶ ἐπικεκυ-  
ρωμέν[οις περὶ] ταύτης τῆς διατάξεως ἀποτεισάτω εἰς  
προσκ[όσμημα τ]ῆς με[γίστ]ης θεᾶς Ἀρτέμιδος · δη · δισμύρια  
325 πε[ν]τα[κισχελία] κ' ε[ἰς τὸν] Σεβαστοῦ φίσκον ἄλλα δη η ΜΕ  
[‘Η δὲ προγεγραμμένη διάταξις ἔστ]ητω κυρία εἰς τὸν ἄπαντα χρό-  
[νον ἐν πᾶσιν, καθάπερ Ἀκούλλιος Πρόκλος, οὐ ε]ὺ[ε]ρ[γ]έτης  
[καὶ ἀνθύπατο]ς, καὶ Ἀφράνιος Φλαουιανός, ο κράτιστος πρεσβευτὴς  
κα[ὶ ἀντιστ]ράτηγος, διὰ ἐπιστολῶν περὶ ταύτης τῆς διατάξε-

- 330 ως ἐπεκύρωσαν καὶ ὕρισαν τὸ προγεγραμμένον π[ρό]όστειμον.

Γ<ά>ιος Οὐείβιος, Γαῖον νίος, Ὄφεντείνᾳ, Σαλοντάριος εἰ[σ]τημένα  
τὴν διάταξιν καὶ καθιέρωσα τὰ προγεγραμμένα ~

[Ἐπὶ πρυτ]άνεως Τιβ<sup>v</sup>  
[Κλαυδίου Ἀντι] πάτρου Ὂ Ιουλιανοῦ  
[μηνὸς] Ποσειδέωνος.

[Ἀκούλλιος Πρόκλος, ο λαμπρό]τατος, Ἐφεσ[ι]ων ἄρχοντι,  
[βουλῆ, δήμῳ,] χαίρειν.

[Οὐείβιον Σαλοντάριον ὅντ]α τοῖς τε ἄλ[λο]ις πᾶσιν  
[πολείτην ἄριστον καὶ πρό]τερον ἐν πολλ[ο]ῖς τῆς ἑα-  
340 [τοῦ φιλοτειμίας πολλά τε καὶ οὐ]χ ὡς ἔτυχεν π[αρε]σχημένον  
[παραδείγματα εἰδώς, ὕσπερ] ἦν ἀξιον, ἐν τοῖς [οἴκ]ειοτάτο[ι]ς  
[ἡμῶν εἶχον φίλοις · νῦν δὲ, ἐ]πεὶ τὴν μὲν πόλ[ι]ν προή]ρηται  
[μεγίστοις τε καὶ ἀξιολογω]τάτοις δώροι[σι κο]σμῆσαι με-  
[γαλοπρεπῶς εἰς τειμὴν τῆς] τε ἐπιφανε[στάτη]ς καὶ μεγίσ-

- 345 [της θεᾶς Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ το]ῦ οἴκου [τῶν Σεβαστῶν καὶ τῆς  
[ὑμετέρας πόλεως, τοῖς δὲ πολείταις εἰς διανο]μὰς καὶ κλή-  
[ρους καθιέρωκε δην. δισμύρια, νομίζω καὶ ὑμᾶ]ς, ἐφ' οἵς ἥδη  
[πεποίηκεν ὑμεῖν καὶ νῦν ἐπανγέλλεται ἀγαθοῖ]ς, χρῆναι τῇ τε  
[φιλοτειμίᾳ αὐτοῦ ἀνταποδοῦναι καὶ τῇ εὐμεν]είᾳ ~ ἀ πρὸς

- 350 [τειμὴν αὐτοῦ ἐψηφίσατε. Συνήδομαι δὲ ὑμεῖν εἰς τὸ ἐπαι] νέσαι τε τὸν  
[ἄνδρα καὶ ἀξιῶσαι αὐτὸν δικαίας παρ’ ἡμεῖν] γε μαρτυρίας  
[πρὸς τὸ καὶ πλείους γενέσθαι τοὺς κατὰ τὰ] δυνατὰ προ-  
[θυμωνύμους εἰς τὰ δόμοια. Τὰ δὲ ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ καθιε] ρούμενα χρή-  
[ματα καὶ τὰ ἀπεικονίσματα τῆς θεοῦ καὶ τὰ] σις εἰκόνας η τις
- 355 [-----]  
[.....] σχει[.....] αισ[-----]  
[.] εταιονδει[.....] εχρηστ[-----]  
[.] ε οὐδένα β[ούλομαι νν] νὶ τρόπ[ῳ οὐδενὶ οὔτε παρευρέσει οὐ-]  
[δ] εμιὰ μετ[αβαλεῖν ἢ π] αραλλά[ξαι τι τῶν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ διατεταγμέ-]
- 360 [ν] ων η-εὶ δ[έ τις ἐπι] χειρήσει ἢ λύσ[αι ἢ παραλλάξαι τι τῶν]  
[ν] φ’ ὑμῶν [ν διὰ το]ύτου το[ῦ ψηφίσματος κυρωθησομένων]  
[ἢ] εἰσ[ηγ]ήσασθαί τι τοιοῦτον [πειράσει, ὑποκείσθω εἰς προσ-]  
[κ]όσμησιν τῆς κυρίας Ἀρτέμιδ[ος δη. β μυρίοις ἐ καὶ εἰς τὸν ιε-]  
[ρ]ώτατον φίσκον ἄλλοις δη[ν δισμυρίοις πεντακισχειλίοις καὶ]
- 365 [οὐ] δὲν ἔλαττον ἔστω ἄκυρον η[παν τὸ παρὰ τὴν] καθιέ[ρωσιν. Συν-]  
[ή] δοιμι δὲ αὐτῷ εἰς τὸ πᾶσιν [νῦν φανερὰν γενέ] σθαι τὴ[ν]  
[τ]ε πρὸς τὴν θεὸν εὐσέβειαν [καὶ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς Σ] εβαστού[ς]  
[κ]αὶ τὴν πρὸς τὴν πόλιν εὐ[μένειαν αὐτοῦ ἐν τ]ῷ θεάτρῳ.  
”Ερρωσθ[ε].
- 370 Ἐπὶ πρυτάνεως Τ[ιβ. Κλ. Ἄντι] πάτ[ρου]  
’Ιουλιανοῦ η μηνὸς [Ποσειδέωνος.]  
Αφράνιος Φλαονιανός, [πρεσβευτὴς καὶ ἀντι] στρά[τη-]  
γος, Ἐφεσίων ἄρχ[ουσι, βουλῆ, δῆμῳ χα]ίρειν.  
Οὐείβιος Σαλοντάρ[ιος, ὁ] φίλτα[τος ἡμεῖν, εὐγενέσ] τατος
- 375 [μ]ὲν ἐκ τοῦ ἀξιώμ[ατος αὐτοῦ] ὑπάρχω[ν, προσέτι δὲ κ]αὶ τοῦ ἀρίσ-  
[το]υ ἥθου[ς ὡν, ὅτι ἐξ ἡς πρ]ὸς ἡμᾶς ἔχ[ει διαθέσε]ος, τῶν οἰκιο-  
[τάτων καὶ ἀν]αγκαιο[τάτω]ων ἡμεῖν διεφ[άνη φί]λος, ἐν πολλοῖς  
[ἐγνωρίσθη,] εἰ καὶ τοὺ[ς] πλείστους ἐλάύ[θανε]ν, ὡς ἔχει πρὸς  
[ἥμας εὐνοία]ς τε καὶ προαιρέσεος’ Νῦν [δὲ ἥδη τὴν ἑαυτοῦ
- 380 [δι]α[πρεπῆ φ]ιλοσ[τρογίαν, ἡν ἐξ ἀρχῆ]ς πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἔχει,  
φαν[ερὰν πᾶσι] πεπο[ιη]μένου, οἰκείον [ἄμα καὶ εὖ] πρέπον τῷ  
τε β[ίω τῷ ἑαυτ]ού κ[αὶ] τῷ ἥθει ν[ομί]ζοι[τος τὸ] κοσμεῖ[ν]  
καὶ σ[εμνύνει] γ[ε] κ[αὶ τὰ ἀγ]νὰ καὶ τὰ κοινὰ τῆς [μεγίστης] καὶ  
ἐπισ[ημοτάτης ὑμῶν πόλεως, εἴ]σ τε τε*ι*μὴν καὶ εὐσέβ[ειαν τῇ]σι ἐπι-
- 385 φανεσ[τάτης θεᾶς Ἀ]ρτέ[μι]δος καὶ τοῦ οἴκου τ[ῶν Αὐτ]οκρατό-  
ρ[ω]ν δω[ρεαῖς καὶ χρη]μάτων ἀφιερώσει τ[ὰ] νῦ[ν φιλοτ]ειμον-  
μένου, [συνήδομ]αι ὑμεῖν τε περὶ τάνδρὸς [ἔμοι τ'] ἔξ> ἵσων

π[ε]ρὶ ὑμῶ[ν εἰς τὸ] ἀγ[το]ιμηνῦσαι μαρτυρῆσαι τε [καὶ ε]ὑφημίᾳ τῇ  
 π[ρο]οσηκ[ούσ]η αὐτὸν [ν]πὲρ ὑμῶν ἀμεύφασθαι· ὅ[περ] αὐτῷ καὶ πα-  
 390 ρ'[ν]μῶ[ν ὀφε]ἱεσθαι γομίζω πρὸς τὸ καὶ πλε[ίου]ς ἐναι>τοὺς  
 [όμ]οιῶς π[ροθ]υμουμ[έ]νους εἰ οὗτος φαίνοιτ[ο] τ]ῆς κατὰ τὴν  
 [ἀ]ξίαν ἀμοιβῆς τυρχάν[ω]ν. Εἴη δ' ἀν κάμοὶ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα  
 [κ]εχαρισμένον καὶ ἡδιστον, εἰ, διν ἔξαιρέτως τῶν φίλων  
 [τ]ειμῶ καὶ στέργω, παρ' ὑμεῖν ὄρώην μαρτυρίας καὶ τειμῆ[σ]  
 395 ἀξιούμενον > Περὶ μέντοι γε τῆς τῶ<ν> χρημ[ά]τ[ω]ν διατά-  
 ξεως καὶ τῶν ἀπεικονισμάτων τῆς θεοῦ καὶ τῶν εἰκόνων,  
 ὅπως αὐτοῖς δεήσει χρῆσθαι καὶ εἰς τὴν τίμα οἰκονομίαν  
 ἄνδρα τετάχθαι, αὐτόν τε τὸν ἀνατιθέν[τα] εἰσηγγύήσασθαι  
 νομίζω εὐλογον ἐναι> καὶ ὑμᾶς οὕτω ψηφίσασθαι. Ἐπεὶ  
 400 ἀν δὲ ὑπό τε αὐτοῦ τοῦ καθιεροῦντος καὶ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν κυρω-  
 θῆ τὰ δόξαντα, βούλομαι ταῦτα εἰσαὲι μένειν ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν  
 ἀπαραλλάκτως ἢ ὑπὸ μηδεμιὰ{ν} <π>αρενχειρήσει λυ-  
 ὄμενα ἢ μετατιθέμενα. Εἰ δέ τις πειραθείη ὁπωσοῦν ἢ συν-  
 βουλεῦσαί τι τοιούτον ἢ εἰσηγγήσασθαι περὶ τῆς μεταθέσε->  
 405 ως καὶ μεταδιοικήσεως τῶν νῦν ὑπό τε αὐτοῦ καὶ ὑφ' ὑ-  
 μῶν κυρωθησομένων > τοῦτον ἀνυπερθέτως βούλομαι  
 ε[ἰ]ς μὲν τὸ τῆς μεγίστης θεᾶς Ἀρτέμιδος ἵερὸν καταθέσ-  
 θαι προστείμου >δη> Μ> πεντακισ[χ]ίλια >εἰς δὲ τὸν τοῦ  
 [κυρίου Καίσαρος φίσκον -----]  
 410 γερ[ουσίᾳ ----- ἄλλα δη. δισμύρια πεντακ]ισχίλια,  
 καθὼ[ς Ἀκουίλλιος Πρόκλος, ὁ λαμπρότατος ἀν]θύπατος,  
 καὶ π[ρότερον δι' ἦς ἀντέγραψεν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐπ]ιστολῆς  
 ἐπ[εκύρωσεν καὶ ὥριστεν τὸ πρόστειμον. Ἐ]ρρωσθε-  
 'Ἐπὶ πρ[υτάνεως Τιβ. Κλ. Ἀντιπάτ]ρου Ιουλιανοῦ,  
 415 [μηνὸς Ποσειδεῶνος.]  
 "Ε[δοξε] τῇ βουλῇ φιλοσεβάστῳ περὶ ὃν ἐν]εφάνισαν Τι & Κλαν &,  
 [Τι. Κλ. Ἀλεξάνδρου νιός, Κυρ(είνα), Ιουλιανός], φιλόπατρις καὶ φιλο-  
 [σέβαστος, ἀγνός, εὐσεβής, γραμματε]ὺς τοῦ δήμου & τὸ β·, καὶ οἱ  
 [στρατηγὸι τῆς πόλεως φιλοσέβ]αστοι & ὅπως ἔξῆτοντος χρυσο-  
 420 [φοροῦσιν τῇ θεῷ φέρειν εἰς τὰς] ἐκκλησίας καὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας  
 τὰ ἀπεικονίσματα καὶ <τὰς> εἰκόνας τὰ καθι<ε>ρωμέν[α ὑπὸ Γαῖο]ν  
 Οὐειβίου Σαλονταρίου > ἐκ τοῦ προνάου τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος[ν] συν-  
 επιμελουμένων καὶ τῶν νεοποιῶν, συνπαραλαμβανόντων καὶ τῶν

395 τῶν.

397 χρῆσθαι.

397 Heberdey {τ}ῆντ[ω]ν αἰοκονομίαν &lt;ἀν&gt;.

398 εἰσηγήσε-

σασθαι.

399-401 Heberdey 'Ἐπει&lt;δ&gt;|ὰν.

402 μηδεμιαΝ ΙΤαρενχειρήσει.

404-5 μεταθε|ως.

409 Heberdey δη. β μύρια πεντακισχίλια, τῇ δὲ].

410 Heberdey γερ[ουσίᾳ φιλοσεβάστῳ.

421 καὶ

εἰκόνας τὰ καθιΓρωμέν[α].

- έφήβω<sup><ν></sup> ἀπὸ τῆς Μαγνητικῆς πύλης καὶ συνπροπενπόντων  
 425 μέχρι τῆς Κορηστικῆς πύλης — δεδό[χ]θαι τῇ βουλῇ φιλοσε-  
 βάστῳ καθότι προγέγραπται — Τιβ[. Κ]λαύ. Πρωρέσιος  
 Φρητωριανός, φιλοσέβαστος· δεδογματ[ογ]ράφηκα — Μᾶρκος  
 Καισέλλιος Μαρκιανός, φιλοσέβαστος· [δε]δογματογράφηκα.  
 Τιβ. Κλαύ. Ιουλιανός, φιλόπατρις, φιλοσέβαστος, ἄγνος, εὐσεβής —  
 430 — ὁ γραμματεὺς τοῦ δήμου τὸ ·β·, ἔχαραξα.  
 'Επὶ πρυτάνεως Τιβ<sup>3</sup> Κλ — Ἀντιπάτρου Ιουλιανοῦ,  
 — μηνὸς ·Ποσειδεῶνος —  
 "Εδοξε τῇ βουλῇ φιλοσεβάστῳ · περὶ ὅν ἐνεφάνισαν Τιβ.  
 Κλ., Τιβ. Κλ. Ἀλεξάνδρου νί(ός), Κυρ(είνα), Ιουλιανός, φιλόπατρις  
 435 καὶ φιλοσέβαστος, ἄγνος, εὐσεβής, γραμματεὺς τοῦ δήμου τὸ β,  
 — καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῆς πόλεως φιλοσέβαστοι —  
 ἐπεὶ οἱ χρυσοφοροῦντες τῇ θεῷ — ιερεῖς καὶ ιερονεῖκαι ὑπέσ-  
 χεντο (sic) φέρειν καὶ αὖ φέρειν τὰ ἀπεικονίσματα — τὰ καθιερω-  
 θέντα ὑπὸ Οὐειβίου Σαλονταρίου ἡτήσαντό τε τόπον  
 440 ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ <sup>φ</sup> τὴν πρώτην σελίδα, ὅπου ἡ εἰκὼν τῆς Ὄμο<sup><ν></sup>οίας,  
 δεδόχθαι ἔχειν {ε}αὐτὸν τὸν [τ]όπον, καθίζειν δὲ πρὸς τὴν Εὐ-  
 σέβειαν αὐτὸν λ<ε>υχειμονοῦντας — δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ  
 φιλοσεβάστῳ γενέσθαι — καθότι προγέγραπται —  
 Γ < Αὐφίδιος Σιλουανός, φιλοσέβαστος, δεδογματογράφηκα.  
 445 Λ — Μουνάτιος Βάστος, φιλοσέβαστος, δεδογματογράφηκα.  
 Νηρεὺς Θεοφίλου, φιλοσέβαστος, δεδογματογράφηκα.  
 Σέξτῳ <sup>ν</sup> Ἀττίῳ — Σουβουρανῷ — τὸ <sup>ν</sup> β, Μάρκῳ <sup>ν</sup> Ασι-  
 νίῳ <sup>ν</sup> Μαρκέλλῳ <sup>ν</sup> ὑπάτοις, πρὸ η· Καλα<sup><ν></sup>δῶν Μαρτίων.  
 'Επὶ πρυτάνεως Τιβ. Κλαυδίου <sup>ν</sup> Αντιπάτρου Ιουλιανοῦ,  
 450 — μηνὸς <sup>ν</sup> Ανθεστηριῶνος ·β· Σεβαστῆ —  
 Γάϊος Οὐείβιος<sup>3</sup> Γ. νί(ός), Οὐωφεντείνα, Σαλοντάριος, φιλάρ-  
 τεμις καὶ φιλοκαῖσαρ — διάταξιν εἰσφέρει κατὰ τὸ προγε-  
 γονὸς ψήφισμα, περὶ ὅν προσκαθιέρωκε τῇ μεγίστῃ θεῷ <sup>ν</sup> Εφε-  
 σίᾳ <sup>ν</sup> Αρτέμιδι < καὶ τῇ φιλοσεβάστῳ — <sup>ν ν ν</sup> Εφεσίων βουλῇ  
 455 καὶ τῇ φιλοσεβάστῳ <sup>ν</sup> Εφεσίων γερο]υσίᾳ καὶ τ[οῖς χ]ρυ-  
 σοφοροῦσι τῆς [θεοῦ Αρτέμιδος ιερ]εῦσιν καὶ ιερονείκαις πρὸ  
 πόλεως κ[αὶ τοῖς αἰεὶ ἐσομένοις Ε]φεσίων παισὶ < καὶ θεο-  
 μῷδοῖς ναῷ[ ὑ τῶν Σεβαστῶν ἐν Εφέσ]ῳ κοινοῦ τῆς <sup>ν</sup> Ασίας<sup>3</sup> καὶ  
 ἀκροβάταις τῆς [<sup>ν</sup> Αρτέμιδος ἐπὶ] τοῖς δικαίοις καὶ προστεί-  
 460 μοις, ὡς ἐν τ<ῆ> πρὸ [ταύτης δι]ατάξει ἡσφάλισται — εἰκό-  
 νων ἀργυρέων δύο ἔ[πι]χ[ρ]ύσων, ὥστε αὐτὰς εἶναι σὺν τοῖς

- ἀπεικονίσμασιν τῆς θεοῦ ἀριθμῷ τριάκοντα καὶ μίαν,  
 καὶ ἀργυρίου ἄλλων δη. χειλίων πεντακοσίων τὸ στέφανον εἶναι  
 αὐτὰ σὺν τοῖς προκαθιερωμένοις δη. μύρι<sup>ς</sup> χιλι<sup>ς</sup> πεν-  
 465 τακόσι<sup>ς</sup> τὸ ἐφ' ὅπερι ἀργυρέα Ἀθηνᾶς Παμμούσου, ὀλκῆς  
 σὺν τῷ ἐπαργύρῳ τῆς βάσεως αὐτῆς λειτρῶν ἐπτά, ἡμιουν-  
 κίου τοῦ γραμμάτων ὁκτώ τὸ καθιερωμένη τῇ τε Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ  
 τοῖς αἰεὶ ἐσομένοις Ἐφεσίων παι<sup>ς</sup> τιθῆται κατὰ πᾶσαν νό-  
 μιμον ἔκκλησίαν ἐπάνω τῆς σελίδος, οὐδὲ [ο]ι παῖδες καθέξ[ο]νται.
- 470 Ὁμοίως καὶ εἰκὼν ἀργυρέα Σεβασ-  
 τῆς Ὁμονοίας χρυσοφόρου, ὀλκῆς  
 σὺν τῷ ἐπαργύρῳ τῆς βάσεως αὐτῆς  
 λειτρῶν ἔξι, τὸ καθιερωμένη τῇ τε Ἀρτέ-  
 μιδος καὶ τοῖς αἰεὶ τοῦ χρυσοφοροῦσιν ἴερεῦ-  
 475 σιν καὶ ἱερονεύκαις πρὸ πόλεως τίθεται (sic)  
 κατὰ πᾶσαν ἔκκλησίαν ἐπάνω τοῦ ἡγε-  
 λίδος, οὐδὲ ἱερονεύκαις καθέξ[ο]νται τοῦ  
 Ὁ δὲ προγεγραμμένος παθμὸς τῶν εἰκό-  
 νων καὶ βάσεων παρεστάθη Εὔμενει Εὐ-  
 480 μένος τοῦ Θεοφίλου, τῷ καὶ αὐτῷ στρατη-  
 γῷ τῆς Ἐφεσίων πόλεως διὰ ζυγοστά-  
 του Ἐρμίου, ἱεροῦ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος συνπαρόν-  
 τος καὶ συνπαραλαμβάνοντος Μουσαίου, ἵερον]  
 τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος τοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν παραθηκῶν.
- 485 Τπέρ δὲ τῶν προσκαθιερωμένων δημαρίων χειλίων πεντακοσίων τελέσει τόκον [Σαλονή]  
 τάριος δραχμαῖον καὶ [θρυσσή] ἔκαστον ἐν [ιαντὸν]  
 τὰ γενούμενα δημάριον [ριζαὶ ρλεῖαι ἀφ' ὅπερι δώσει]  
 τῷ γραμματεῖ τῆς Ἐφεσίων βουλῆς δημάριον.
- 490 ὅπως κλήρον ἐπιτελῆ ἐκ τῶν [βουλευτῶν τῇ ἔτει]  
 ἰσταμένου τοῦ Θαργηλιῶν [οἱ εἰς ὄνόματα]  
 ἔτει οὗτοί τε οἱ λαχόντες θυσίαν θύσουσι]  
 τῇ Ἀρτέμιδος τῇ ἔκτῃ τοῦ [ὑπομνήματος, τῇ γενεσίᾳ]  
 τῆς θεοῦ τὸ ἀγοράζοντος [τετρακοσίου δημάριου]
- 495 ἑπτὰ ἡμίσους καὶ [ταῦτα λοιπὰ δημάρια καὶ ἀστραπανήσουσιν]  
 δαπανήσουσιν [ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος]  
 δος εἰς τὴν οὐρανονέύκαιαν.

Lacuna of 21 lines including the next four

464-5 δημάριοι χιλιοί πεντακοσίοι.  
 468 παιεῖ.  
 474 αὐταῖς.  
 476 ἔκκλησίαν.  
 477 οἱερονεύκαιαι.

[---] α[. . .] ε[---]  
 [‘Ομοίως δώσει ἀπὸ τοῦ πρ] ογεγραμ[ μένου τόκου]  
 [τοῖς χρυσοφοροῦσι καὶ ἵ] ερ[ο] νεύκα[ις πρὸ πόλεως]  
 [δη. ξ ἀσ. ἵ γῆμισν, ὅπως κλῆρον ἐπιτελῶσι κτλ.]

Some lines missing

- [‘Ομοίως δώσει ἀπὸ τοῦ προγεγραμμένου τόκου]
- 520 τ[οῖς παιδωνόμοις δη. ἵ ἀσ. δεκατρία γῆμισν,]  
 ὅπ[ως ἐπιτελῶσι κλῆρον ἐκ τῶν παιδῶν πάν-]  
 τ[ων ---]  
 [---]  
 [τῇ γενεσίῳ τῆς θεοῦ ἡμέρᾳ εἰς ὄνόματα]
- 525 ἔξήκοντα[τα τρία· οὗτοί τε οἱ λαχόντες εὐξονται]  
 ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Ἀρτ[έμιδος --- γε-]  
 νομένων κατὰ ἀνα[---].]  
 ‘Εὰν δέ τινες τῶν λαχόντων [ἀνδρῶν ἥ παιδων ἥ]  
 τὰς θυσίας μὴ θύσωσιν ἥ μὴ εὔξ[ωνται ἐν τῷ]  

530 ἱερῷ ὡς διατέτακται ἀποδότω[σαν εἰς προσ-]  
 κόσμημα τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος δη - ε.

‘Ομοίως δώσει ἀπὸ τοῦ προγεγραμμένου [τόκου]  
 καὶ τοῖς θεσμῷδοῖς εἰς διανομὴν δη. ζ,  
 ὥστε λαμβάνειν αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Ἀρτέ-  
 535 μιδος· τῇ γενεσίῳ τῆς θεοῦ ἀνὰ ἀστάρια · θ.

‘Ομοίως δώσει ἀπὸ τοῦ προγεγραμμένου τόκου  
 καὶ τοῖς ἀκροβάταις τῆς θεοῦ εἰς διανομὴν  
 δη· ιε - ὥστε λανβάνειν αὐτοὺς τῇ γενεσίῳ  
 τῆς θ[ε]οῦ ἀνὰ ἀστάρια δεκατρία γῆμισν.

540 Πρὸς δὲ τὸ μένειν τὰ ἀπεικονίσματα πάντα  
 καθαρὰ ἔξεστω, ὁσάκις ἀν ἐνδέχηται,  
 ἐκμάσσεσθαι γῇ ἀργυρωματικῇ ὑπὸ τοῦ  
 αἰεὶ ἐσομένου ἐπὶ τῶν παραθηκῶν, παρόν-  
 των δύο νεοποιῶν καὶ σκηπτούχου -

545 ἔτέρα δὲ ὕλῃ μηδεμιᾷ ἐκμάσσεσθαι· καὶ  
 τὰ λοιπὰ > δη < ὀκτὼ - δοθήσεται καθ' ἔκαστον  
 ἐνιαυτὸν τῷ ἐπὶ τῶν παραθηκῶν εἰς τὴν  
 ἐπιμέλειαν τῶν ἀπεικονισμάτων > καὶ τὸν  
 ἀγορασμὸν τῆς ἀργυρωματικῆς γῆς -

550 Ὁπέσχετο δὲ Σαλοντάριος δώσειν καὶ δη -  
 ἐκατὸν τριάκοντα πέντε - ὥστε ἄρξασθαι  
 τὴν φιλοτειμίαν αὐτοῦ τῷ ἐνεστῶτι ἔτει

548 ἀπεικονισμάτων.

τῇ γενεσίῳ τῆς [θ]εοῦ ἡμέρᾳ —

Τὰς δὲ προγεγραμμένας εἰκόνας καὶ τὰς

555 προκαθιερωμένας ἐν τῇ πρὸ ταύτης δια-  
τάξει καὶ τὰ ἀπεικονύσματα πάντα τῆς θεοῦ  
φερέτωσαν ἐκ τοῦ προνάου κατὰ πᾶσαν ἐκκλη-  
σίαν εἰς τὸ θέατρον καὶ τοὺς γυμνικοὺς ἀγῶ-  
νας καὶ εἴ τινες ἔτεραι ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ

560 δήμου ὄρισθήσονται ἡμέραι, ἐκ τῶν νεοποι-  
ῶν δύο καὶ οἱ ἱερονεῖκαι καὶ σκηπτοῦχος καὶ  
φύλακοι καὶ πάλιν ἀποφερέτωσαν εἰς τὸ  
ἱερὸν καὶ [κατ]αιθέσθωσαν συνπαραλαμβα-  
νόντων καὶ τῶν ἐφήβων ἀπὸ τῆς Μαγνη-

565 τικῆς πύλης < καὶ μετὰ τὰς ἐκκλησίας  
συνπροπενπόντων ἔως τῆς Κορησσικῆ[ς]  
πύλης, καθὼς καὶ ἐν τοῖς προγεγονόσι  
ψηφίσμασι — ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ὥρισ[α]γ.

### TRANSLATION

In the prytany of Tiberius Claudius Antipater Julianus, on the sixth day of the month Poseideon, the Council and the emperor-loving Demos, honored with an emperor's temple, decreed:

Concerning the things which Tiberius Claudius *Julianus*, son of Tiberius Claudius Alexander, *of the tribe Quirina*, patriotic and emperor-loving, *upright*, reverent, *secretary* of the Demos for the second time, and the emperor-loving generals of the city, report:

The men who exhibit a noble ambition to do things for the city and *display* in *every way* the affection of authentic citizens *ought to receive honors* in return, *so that*, on the one hand, those who have *already* benefited *the city* may come off well, *and on the other, that it remain* for those who so wish to contend for similar rewards. *At the same time* it is fitting that those who have striven earnestly *to do honor* to the most mighty goddess Artemis *from whom* the fairest things come to all, *be appreciated* in the city. Now *Gaius Vibius Salutaris*, a man of equestrian rank, distinguished for his family and for his personal worth, has been honored by our lord emperor with military commands and procuratorships. He is at once our fellow-citizen and member of the buleutic Council and has a good attitude, which he inherited from his father. In order to adorn with the dignity of his conduct the success that has come to him from Fortune, performing with a noble ambition to distinguish himself acts of reverence to the Archegetis, he has in the past with manifold designs greatly busied himself in behalf of the service, *and with generous dedications* honored the city as a whole, *and now*, in addition, *coming* to the Assembly, he has

promised to *dedicate nine* type-statues, namely, one of gold, in which there are also silver parts overlaid with gold, and eight other *silver* statues, and twenty silver images, namely, *five first of all*, of the following: our lord emperor Nerva Trajan *Caesar Augustus Germanicus Dacicus*, and *his* most revered *consort Plotina*, and the revered *Senate*, and the Romanorum *Ordo Equester*, and the Populus Romanus; then *fifteen* representing the city of the *Ephesians* as follows: the Demos, and the six tribes, and the Council, and the Gerusia, and the Ephebic Corporation -----.

That . . . by the guards, while two temple-wardens and the beadle assist in the care, be carried there and carried back, while the ephesbes received them and escort the procession from the Magnesian Gate to the Theatre and from the Theatre in the same manner; and at the New Moon sacrifice of the archieratic year and in the twelve sacred and regular assembly meetings each month and on the festivals of the Sebasteia and Soteria and penteteric Great Ephesia . . . of the money dedicated by him to the Council of the Ephesians and to the Gerusia and citizens and ephesbes and Boys he himself promised . . . to become the investor and to pay nine percent interest to be distributed each year according to his bequest on the birthday of the goddess, which is the sixth day of the month Thargelion, and he agreed that either he or his heirs would give the money to the city whenever it was wanted, and that the officers of each group would receive it. Concerning all these things having privately proposed a deed of gift, he has asked that it be ratified also by decree of the Council and Demos; and now, as being genuine fellow-citizens of ours themselves, the authorities of the province, namely the vir clarissimus and benefactor Aquillius Proculus the proconsul, and Afranius Flavianus the legatus pro praetore, in terms of unsurpassable courtesy and affection recognizing the generosity of the man, have urged us, in what they replied to him and in what they wrote back in gratulatory letters, to introduce with their sanction the motion concerning his dedications.

That it be decreed:

That Gaius Vibius Salutaris a man reverent toward the gods and nobly ambitious to do things for the city be honored with the greatest distinctions and with the erection of statues both in the sanctuary of Artemis and at the most conspicuous points of the city; and that also with the award of a gold crown we proclaim him in the assemblies as one zealous and devoted to Artemis.

That every year according to the bequest two of the temple-wardens and the beadle and the guards . . . have the care of the aforementioned images and undertake the transportation for the public from the sanctuary to the Theatre and from the Theatre to the sanctuary of Artemis . . . the temple of Artemis . . . payments due . . .

That his bequest be valid, unchangeable by derogation or subrogation, unrescindable for all time.

If anyone either of the private citizens or of the officials put to a vote anything

*contrary to the bequest about to be ratified by this decree or change anything, all the matter contrary to the bequest shall be invalid, and the person who carries out or proposes any of these things shall pay toward the adornment of our lady Artemis 25,000 denarii, and to the fiscus of our lord Caesar 25,000 denarii more, just as the most illustrious authorities, Aquillius Proculus the proconsul and Afranius Flavianus the legatus propraetore, in their letters specified the aforementioned fine.*

*That in order that his generosity toward the city and his reverence toward the goddess may be apparent, the bequest composed by him and ratified by this decree of the Council and Demos be engraved . . . in the Theatre on its marble wall of the south Parodos wherever he wishes, and in the Artemisium at a suitable place, on account of his noble ambition and of his excellence; and concerning the permanence of the money given by him as an endowment, which he promised the Council and the Gerusia and the citizens and the ephebes to invest himself according to the bequest in the course of the present year . . .*

*The Council and the emperor-loving Demos, honored with the temple of an emperor, decree according to the foregoing, in the consulship of Sextus Attius Suburanus for the second time and Marcus Asinius Marcellus, January . . . in the prytany of Tiberius Claudius Antipater Julianus, on the . . . of the month Poseideon.*

*Gaius Vibius Salutaris, son of Gaius, of the tribe Oufentina, proposes to the emperor-loving Council of the Ephesians and to the emperor-loving Demos of the Ephesians, which has been honored with the temple of an emperor, a deed of gift concerning the things which on the conditions enumerated below he has dedicated to the most mighty Ephesian goddess Artemis and to the emperor-loving Demos, honored with the temple of an emperor, and to the emperor-loving Council of the Ephesians and to the emperor-loving Gerusia of the Ephesians and to the six tribes of the Ephesians and to the annual ephebes of the Ephesians and to the theologi and hymnodi and to the temple-wardens and beadle and to whosoever shall be the Boys of the Ephesians and paedonomi, namely nine type-statues of the goddess, one of gold and the rest of silver, and twenty silver images and 20,000 denarii—on the condition that a 150 silver image of our lord emperor Caesar Nerva Trajan Augustus Germanicus Dacicus weighing . . . pounds, three ounces, and a silver image of Plotina Augusta, weighing three pounds, be deposited with Salutaris himself, the donor, and after the death of Salutaris the aforesaid images be given to the secretary of the Ephesians by his heirs at the aforementioned weight, in order that they be placed in the assembly meetings above the sector<sup>1</sup> of the Council together with the gold statue of Artemis and the other images.*

*A gold Artemis weighing three pounds, and the two silver deer on either side of her and the rest overlaid with gold weighing two pounds, ten ounces and five scruples,*

<sup>1</sup> A cuneiform section bound by two flights of steps and two passageways. See Heberdey, *op. cit.*, p. 144.

and a *silver image* of the holy (= Roman) Senate weighing four pounds, two ounces, and a *silver image* of the emperor-loving and most revered Council of the Ephesians *weighing four pounds*, nine scruples,—the same dedicated to Artemis *and to the emperor-loving Council of the Ephesians*.

Likewise a silver Artemis *the Torch-bearer*, weighing seven pounds, and a silver image of the Populus Romanus *weighing . . . pounds*, and a silver image of the emperor-loving Gerusia, weighing . . . pounds,—the same dedicated to Artemis and to the Gerusia of the Ephesians.

Likewise another silver Artemis the Torch-bearer, *resembling* the one in the Exedra of the Ephebes and weighing seven pounds, five ounces, . . . scruples; and a silver image of the Ordo Equester, weighing three pounds, a half ounce, *three scruples*; and another silver image of the Ephebic Corporation, *weighing . . . pounds*,—the same dedicated to Artemis and to the annual ephebes.

*Likewise another silver Artemis the Torch-bearer holding a patera and weighing . . . pounds, . . . ounces, . . . scruples; and a silver image of the deified Augustus, weighing . . . pounds, . . . ounces, . . . scruples; and a silver image of the tribe Sebaste, weighing . . . pounds,—the same dedicated to Artemis and to whosoever shall be citizens of the tribe Sebaste.*

*Likewise another silver Artemis . . . weighing . . . pounds; and a silver image of the emperor-loving Demos of the Ephesians, weighing . . . pounds; and a silver image of the tribe of the Ephesians, weighing . . . pounds,—the same dedicated to Artemis and to whosoever shall be citizens of the tribe of the Ephesians.*

*Likewise another silver Artemis . . . in her hand and weighing . . . pounds, nine ounces; and a silver image of . . . , weighing . . . pounds; and a silver image of the tribe of the Carenaeans, weighing . . . pounds, . . . ounces, three scruples,—the same dedicated to Artemis and to whosoever shall be citizens of the tribe of the Carenaeans.*

*Likewise another silver Artemis the Torch-bearer . . . weighing . . . pounds; and a silver image of Lysimachus, weighing . . . pounds, three scruples; and a silver image of the tribe of the Teians, weighing . . . pounds,—the same dedicated to Artemis and to whosoever shall be citizens of the tribe of the Teians.*

*Likewise another silver Artemis holding the . . . and weighing . . . pounds, three ounces, and a half scruple; and a silver image of Evonymus, weighing . . . pounds; and a silver image of the tribe of the Evonymi, weighing three pounds, a half ounce, and . . . scruples,—the same dedicated to Artemis and to whosoever shall be citizens of the tribe of the Evonymi.*

*Likewise another silver Artemis the Torch-bearer —— Castalia (?), weighing . . . pounds, . . . ounces; and a silver image of Pion, weighing . . . pounds; and a silver image of the tribe of the Bembinaeans, weighing . . . pounds,—the same dedicated to Artemis and to whosoever shall be citizens of the tribe of the Bembinaeans.*

*The aforementioned weight of the nine type-statues of the goddess and of the twenty images was supplied to Eumenes son of Eumenes grandson of Theophilus, the same who is strategus of the city of the Ephesians, through the public weigher 200 Hermias, sacred slave of Artemis, while Musaeus, sacred slave of Artemis and custodian of the deposits, also received them.*

*Let the aforementioned statues during each regular assembly and at the sacrifice performed on the first day of the archieratic year be deposited in the Theatre in groups of three on the nine pedestals placed according to sectors and inscribed, as the dedication stipulated in the bequest, i. e., Council, Gerusia, Ephebic Corporation, tribe, be inscribed on the bases. After the meetings have been dismissed, let the statues and images be carried back to the sanctuary of Artemis and with the temple-wardens and the beadle sharing in the care, let them be handed over by the guards to Musaeus, sacred slave of Artemis, the same who is custodian of the deposits, while the ephebes receive and escort the procession from the Magnesian Gate to the Theatre and from the Theatre to the Coressian Gate with all splendor. Let it be just the same at all gymnastic games and on whatever other days may be appointed by the Council and the Demos.*

*Let it not be permitted to anyone to make changes in the administration either of the type-statues of the goddess or of the images with a view to changing their names, or smelting them over again, or injuring them in any other way. And let the person who does any of these things be subject to prosecution for temple-robery and sacrilege; and let the same weight in the aforementioned type-statues and images, namely one hundred-eleven pounds, none the less be proved. The strategus of the city shall be obliged to undertake the prosecution concerning these things.*

Salutaris, on the *twenty thousand denarii* given as an endowment by Salutaris, will pay nine percent interest each year, an amount of one thousand eight hundred denarii, of which he will give to the secretary of the Council four hundred and fifty denarii, in order that the latter may carry out a distribution to the Councillors in the sanctuary in the Pronaos on the birthday of the most mighty goddess Artemis, which is the sixth day of the month Thargelion, *this distribution to take place on the fifth, one denarius being given to each man present, and the person in charge of the distribution not having the right to give to anyone absent; and if he does, he shall pay . . . denarii fine for each account where the man was not present but yet received. If the exchange is still more advantageous so as to furnish enough for more, let it be permitted . . . in turn.*

Likewise, *he will give each year from the aforementioned interest three hundred and eighty-two denarii, nine asses, to the secretary of the synhedrion of the Gerusia, in order that the latter on the birthday of the goddess may carry out a distribution by lot at one denarius apiece for the regular members of the Gerusia up to the number of three hundred and nine men. If the exchange is more advantageous, so as to furnish*

*enough for more, he will draw more lots, each of the winners to receive one denarius apiece. And let twenty-seven denarii, nine asses, be given for distribution to the . . . the same who take religious care <of the images> in the house of Salutaris the donor; and for those former Asiarchs who have registered, fifty-five denarii for a distribution by lot at eleven denarii apiece, with which they will purchase the supplies for the sacrifice, the distribution by lot to take place on the fifth and the secretary of the Gerusia not having the right to omit the distribution or the registration after the death of Salutaris; and if he does, he shall pay as fine the amount stipulated in the bequest.*

Likewise, *he will give each year from the aforementioned interest one hundred and twenty-five denarii apiece to the six phylarchs, so that of the aforesaid endowment of the goddess the latter may carry out a distribution by lot for as many as two hundred and fifty individuals out of each tribe, the winners to receive nine asses apiece. If the exchange is more advantageous, let it be permitted that lots for other citizens also be drawn by the phylarchs.*

Likewise, *he will give each year from the aforementioned interest one hundred and twenty-six denarii to the ephobarch, so that the latter may carry out a distribution by lot on the birthday of Artemis for as many as two hundred and fifty individuals of the annual ephebes, the winners to receive nine asses apiece; and apart from these let the ephobarch receive one denarius.*

Likewise, *he will give each year from the aforementioned interest twenty-four denarii, thirteen-and-a-half asses, to Asia's high-priest of the common temple of the Augusti in Ephesus, in order that from this sum the high-priest on the birthday of the goddess may carry out a distribution by lot among the theologi in the sanctuary of Artemis,—each of those who have first registered with him and have then won the lot to receive two denarii, thirteen-and-a-half asses apiece, the registration taking place on the fifth.*

Likewise, *he will give each year from the aforementioned interest eighteen denarii to the priestess of Artemis and to the hymnodi of the goddess for distribution on the birthday of the goddess.*

Likewise, *he will give at each regular assembly from the aforementioned interest to the two temple-wardens and to the beadle four and a half asses, so that the type-statues of the goddess and the images be carried from the Pronaos to the Theatre and back again from the Theatre to the Pronaos on the same day in the company of the guards.*

Likewise, *he will give each year from the aforementioned interest fifteen denarii, thirteen and a half asses to the paedonomi, so that the latter on the birthday of the goddess may carry out a distribution by lot among all the Boys for as many as forty-nine individuals, the winners to receive on that same day in the sanctuary of Artemis four-and-a-half asses apiece, while apart from these the paedonomi receive nine asses apiece.*

Likewise, *he will give each year from the aforementioned interest the remaining*

thirty denarii to the one who does the cleaning . . . so that the latter clean *each time when* the type-statues *of the goddess* are carried back to the sanctuary *before they deposit* them in the Pronaos of Artemis.

*If anyone else buys this legacy in accordance with* <the donor's> own purpose and wishes that the *interest* be given each year, let the purchaser give regularly the aforementioned thousand-eight-hundred denarii. And it shall not be permitted to pay any smaller amount *contrary to* the bequest . . . but making it secure.

But if anyone buys the legacy and wishes to hand over earlier the *sum total* of the endowment, it will be permitted to him to hand it over to a person who will be under obligation to accept it, as follows: to the treasurer of the Council the five thousand denarii capital for the endowment of the Council; likewise to the treasurer of the Gerusia the four thousand four hundred and fifty denarii for the endowment of the Gerusia; likewise to the theologi and hymnodi the two hundred and fifty-five denarii capital for the endowment; likewise to the secretary of the Demos the remaining ten thousand two hundred and seventy-five denarii capital for the endowment of distributions to the citizens by lot among ephebes and temple-wardens and beadles and for the endowment of cleanings: so that <these receiving officials> may lend out the same on good security at twelve-asses interest and that the arrangements specified in the bequest, as has been described above, may be executed without delay. 300

If Salutaris dies before he hands over the twenty thousand denarii or before he makes the arrangements that the interest on the sum be paid regularly from the revenue of his estates, let his heirs be liable for the discharge of the twenty thousand denarii given as an endowment and for the interest accruing up to the discharge; and let them be subject to the methods of collection according to the terms of contracts for loan applicable in the sacred affairs of the goddess and in business with the Elders.

In order that his benefaction might begin in the present year, Salutaris has promised to give one thousand eight hundred denarii for the aforementioned doles and lots on the birthday of the goddess.

Let it not be permitted to anyone, either archon or advocate or private citizen, to try to change or alter anything or to make different arrangements for the administration or to transfer by decree any of the statues or money or its revenue or to divert it to any other source of revenue or to any other expense or to do anything against the terms enumerated and ordained above. And if it so happens, let whatever has occurred contrary to these provisions be null and void. And whoever tries to do anything contrary to the bequest or to the articles decreed and ratified about the bequest by the Council and Demos, let him pay toward the adornment of the most mighty goddess Artemis twenty-five thousand denarii and to the fiscus of the emperor twenty-five thousand denarii more.

Let the aforementioned bequest be valid for all time in all particulars, as Aquillius Proculus the benefactor and proconsul, and Afranius Flavianus the most illustrious

legatus pro praetore have sanctioned by letter concerning this bequest and have stipulated the above-mentioned fine.

I, Gaius Vibius Salutaris, son of Gaius, of the tribe Oufentina, proposed the deed of gift and made the aforesaid endowments and dedications.

In the prytany of Tiberius *Claudius* Antipater Julianus in the month of Poseideon, *Aquilius Proculus vir clarissimus* to the archons, *Council, Demos* of the Ephesians. Greetings.

*Knowing both that Vibius Salutaris was in all other respects an excellent citizen and that he had previously furnished on many occasions numerous and extraordinary samples of his noble ambition to do things for the city, I used to number him among our closest friends, as was proper. Now, since he has elected to adorn the city magnificently with the greatest and most remarkable gifts to the honor of the most present and most mighty goddess Artemis and of the imperial family and of your city, and has given to the citizens endowments for doles and distributions by lot twenty-thousand denarii, I am of the opinion that on account of the good things he has already done for you and of those which he announces now, you ought indeed to give, in return for his goodwill and his noble ambition to do things, the rewards which you have voted in his honor. I congratulate you on having praised the man and on having deemed him worthy of a well-deserved testimonial of your appreciation in order that people who strive to the limit of their ability to do things like that, may be more numerous. The money given by him as an endowment and the type-statues of the goddess and the images . . . I want no one now in any way or under any pretext whatsoever to change or alter any of the arrangements prescribed by him. And if anyone attempts to rescind or to alter any of the arrangements ratified by you through this decree or tries to introduce such a motion, let him be liable for twenty-five-thousand denarii toward the adornment of our lady Artemis and for twenty-five-thousand denarii more to the most holy fiscus; and let everything contrary to the endowment be none the less null and void. May I congratulate him on the fact that his reverence toward the goddess and his goodwill toward the Augusti and toward the city in the Theatre now becomes obvious to all. Be well.*

In the prytany of Tiberius *Claudius* Antipater Julianus, in the month *Poseideon*, Afranius Flavianus legatus pro praetore to the archons, *Council, Demos* of the Ephesians. Greetings.

Even if it has escaped the notice of the majority how much *goodwill* and devotion he has for *you*, *it has been demonstrated* in many instances that Vibius Salutaris, *our* very dear friend, who is most *noble* of rank and a man of excellent character *besides*, has shown himself from his attitude toward us a friend to be numbered among our closest and most indispensable. But now he has made clear to *all* the *magnificent*

affection which he has had for the city from the beginning, for he considers it a thing cognate and becoming to his own life and character that he adorn and exalt the sacred and public possessions of *your city*, the *greatest* and *most* distinguished, and he now displays a noble ambition to honor and to reverence the most mighty *goddess Artemis* and the imperial family by gifts and endowments. Therefore, I *congratulate* both you because of the man *and myself* equally because of you on testifying in reciprocation and on expressing appreciation and on rewarding him in your own behalf with suitable commendation. These acts, I think, are due from you in order that people with a like zeal may be more numerous, when this man is seen to meet with a fitting return. And it would be especially gratifying and pleasing to me, if I should perceive that the person whom of all my friends I particularly esteem and love, was among you deemed worthy of recognition and privilege. Concerning the bequest of the money and the goddess' type-statues and of the images, how it will be necessary to use them and what man will have to be assigned to each transaction, I think that it is reasonable that the donor himself propose and that you so decree. But when the articles are ratified both by the donor himself and by you, I want them to 400 remain forever in the same terms without any subrogation, and I do not want them to be abrogated or changed through derogation by anyone on any pretext. If anyone should attempt to advise such a thing or to make a motion concerning a change or new application of the arrangements ratified by the donor and you, I want him to pay immediately a fine of twenty-five thousand denarii to the sanctuary of the most mighty goddess Artemis, and to the fiscus of our lord Caesar . . . *twenty-five thousand denarii more*, as *Aquillius Proculus the most illustrious proconsul sanctioned and stipulated the fine previously in the letter through which he replied to you*. Be well.

In the prytany of *Tiberius Claudius Antipater Julianus* in the month *Poseideon*, the emperor-loving Council decreed:

*Concerning the things which Tiberius Claudius Julianus, son of Ti. Cl. Alexander, of the tribe Quirina, patriotic and emperor-loving, upright, reverent, secretary of the Demos for the second time, and the emperor-loving generals of the city, have reported:*

In order that it may be permitted to the gold-bearers of the goddess to bring to the assemblies and the games the type-statues and images, dedicated by *Gaius Vibius Salutaris*, from the Pronaos of Artemis, while the temple-wardens share in the care and while the ephebes share in receiving them and in escorting the procession from the Magnesian to the Coressian Gate, let the emperor-loving Council decree, according as it has been set forth above.

I, *Tiberius Claudius Prorhesius Fretorianus*, emperor-loving, have responsibility for the way in which the decree has been drafted.

I, *Marcus Caesellius Marcianus*, emperor-loving, have responsibility for the way in which the decree has been drafted.

I, Tiberius Claudius Julianus, patriotic, emperor-loving, upright, reverent, the secretary of the Demos for the second time, had it engraved.

In the prytany of Tiberius Claudius Antipater Julianus, in the month Poseideon, the emperor-loving Council decreed:

Concerning the things which Tiberius Claudius Julianus, son of Tiberius Claudius Alexander, of the tribe Quirina, patriotic and emperor-loving, upright, reverent, secretary of the Demos for the second time, and the emperor-loving generals of the city reported:

Since the priests and sacred victors who are gold-bearers for the goddess, have promised to carry back and forth the statues dedicated by Vibius Salutaris and have asked as place in the Theatre the first sector, where the image of Concord stands, let it be decreed:

That they have the place and sit near the statue of Pietas, wearing white raiment.

Let the emperor-loving Council decree that it be, as has been described above.

I, Gaius Aufidius Silvanus, emperor-loving, have responsibility for the way in which the decree has been drafted.

I, Lucius Munatius Bassus, emperor-loving, have responsibility for the way in which the decree has been drafted.

I, Nereus son of Theophilus, emperor-loving, have responsibility for the way in which the decree has been drafted.

In the consulship of Sextus Attius Suburanus for the second time and of Marcus Asinius Marcellus, on the eighth day before the Calends of March. In the 450 prytany of Tiberius Claudius Antipater Julianus, in the month Anthesterion, on the second and Augustan day.

Gaius Vibius Salutaris, son of Gaius, of the tribe Oufentina, Artemis-loving and Caesar-loving, proposes a bequest, according to the preceding decree about the things which he dedicated, to the most mighty goddess Ephesian Artemis, and to the emperor-loving Council of the Ephesians, and to the emperor-loving Gerusia *of the Ephesians*, and to the priests and victors for the city in sacred games, who are the gold-bearers of the goddess Artemis, and to *whosoever shall be the* Boys of the Ephesians and thesmodi of Asia's common temple *of the Augusti at Ephesus*, and to the toe-dancers of Artemis, on the conditions of right and penalty, as they have been secured in the previous bequest:

Two silver images overlaid with gold, so that together with the type-statues of the goddess they will be in number thirty-one.

And of silver one thousand five hundred denarii more, so that together with the previous endowment there will be twenty-one thousand five hundred denarii.

On condition that a silver image of Athena Pammousos, weighing with the silver covering of its base seven pounds, a half ounce, and eight scruples, the same

dedicated to Artemis and to whosoever shall be the Boys of the Ephesians, be placed at every regular assembly above the sector where the Boys sit.

Likewise that a silver image of the Concordia Augusta Chrysophorus, weighing with the silver covering of its base six pounds, the same dedicated to Artemis and to the priests and victors for the city in sacred games, whosoever shall be the gold-bearers, be placed at every regular assembly *above* the sector where the sacred victors sit.

The aforesaid weight of the images and their bases was furnished to Eumenes son of Eumenes grandson of Theophilus, the same who is strategus of the city of the Ephesians, through the public weigher Hermias, sacred slave of Artemis, while Musaeus, *sacred slave* of Artemis, custodian of the deposits, was also present and participated in receiving it.

For the supplementary endowment of one thousand five hundred denarii Salutaris will pay nine percent interest each year, namely the sum of one hundred and thirty-five denarii, *from which he will give fifty-five denarii* to the secretary of the Council of the Ephesians, in order that the latter may carry out a distribution by lot *on the fifth* of Thargelion *for as many as five individuals* out of all the *Councillors*. These, the winners, *will make* a sacrifice to Artemis on the sixth of the month, *the birthday* of the goddess, buying . . . for twenty-seven and a half denarii, and the *remaining twenty-seven denarii, nine asses*, they will spend *in the sanctuary* of Artemis on ---

*Likewise, he will give from the aforementioned interest six denarii, thirteen and a half asses to the gold-bearers and to the victors for the city in sacred games, in order that they may carry out a distribution by lot ---*

*Likewise, he will give from the aforementioned interest fifteen denarii, thirteen and a half asses to the paedonomi, in order that they may carry out a distribution by lot among all the Boys ----- on the birthday of the goddess to as many as sixty-three individuals. These, the winners, will pray in the sanctuary of Artemis*

If any of the winning *men or Boys either* do not perform their sacrifices or do not pray *in the sanctuary* as has been ordained, let them pay *toward* the adornment of Artemis five denarii.

Likewise, he will give from the aforementioned *interest* seven denarii for distribution to the thesmodi, in order that they may receive nine asses apiece in the *sanctuary* of Artemis on the *birthday* of the goddess.

Likewise, he will give from the aforementioned *interest* fifteen denarii for distribution to the toe-dancers of the goddess, in order that they may receive thirteen and a half asses apiece on the *birthday* of the goddess.

In order that the statues may all remain clean, let it be permitted, that as often as may be approved, they be rubbed with argyromatic earth<sup>2</sup> in the presence of two

<sup>2</sup> Some sort of silver polish, and not "earth for moulds for silver reliefs" (thus the *Greek-English Lexicon*). See Ch. Picard, *Éphèse et Claros* (1922), p. 247.

temple-wardens and a beadle by whoever happens to be custodian of the deposits, but not rubbed with any other material. And the remaining eight denarii will be given each year to the custodian of the deposits for the care of the statues and for the purchase of the argyromatic earth.

550 Salutaris has promised to give one hundred and thirty-five denarii, in order that his benefaction begin in the present year on the birthday of the goddess.

Let two of the temple-wardens and the sacred victors, beadle and guards carry the aforementioned images and those that were dedicated in the previous bequests and all the type-statues of the goddess from the Pronaos to the Theatre at every assembly and at the gymnastic games and on any other holidays to be ordained by the Council and Demos; and let them carry them back again to the sanctuary and deposit them, while the ephebes join in the reception from the Magnesian Gate and escort the procession after the assemblies as far as the Coressian Gate, just as the Council and Demos stipulated in the previous decrees.

#### COMMENTARY

The main difference between this text and Heberdey's lies in the introduction of the system of brackets agreed upon at Leyden and consequently in the removal of the brackets from a large number of mutilated letters. When one considers the length of the inscription, there are very few misreadings in Heberdey's text. I have been able to find only the following: omission of the second Τιβ. Κλ. in line 5, the numeral τ instead of τθ (or τε) in line 235,<sup>3</sup> ἀνάγκη instead of ἀνάνκη in line 290, ἀεὶ instead of αἰεὶ in lines 468 and 543, λαμβάνειν instead of λανβάνειν in line 538, συνπροπεμπόντων instead of συνπροπενπόντων in line 566. I find that he has miscalculated the length of lacunae in lines 121 and 325. Furthermore, I have retained the reading of the stone and rejected emendations by Heberdey in lines 366, 397, and 399. Wilhelm had already vindicated the stonemason in the second of these cases. I do not find the first case troublesome, and the third ἐπεὶ | ἀν I regard as *scriptio plena* for ἐπὰν or ἐπεὰν (Ionic).

The rule of syllabic division is violated only once (between lines 282 and 283).

Since corrections by the stonemason were actually made with the chisel, it is not likely that certain letters omitted by the stonemason were, as Heberdey thought, later added in color. That the letters were first painted on and then carved, appears clearly

<sup>3</sup> The additional letter appears in the drawing which accompanies Heberdey's text, and at my request Miss Louise Dickey and Mr. Bernard Ashmole verified its presence on the stone. A curved epsilon, such as that at the end of line 404, constitutes a reading just barely possible, but the chances are many times greater that the letter in question is theta. The drawing, moreover, seems to conflict with Heberdey's reading of the numeral in line 113, but Miss Dickey writes, "There is sufficient space over the M for the superposition of a small B, but the fractured surface approaches too near the upper side of the M to permit any conclusions as to its presence." In this judgment Mr. Ashmole concurs, and I, accordingly, have retained Heberdey's restoration of the B, but of a B superposed.

from the errors in lines 216 and 442. Hence, the stonecutter occasionally confused Λ and Δ and Α, Ο and Ω, Ν and Ή, Γ and Τ, Ε and Σ.

The restorations are not as bold as they sometimes seem to be, because a great deal of repetition, which the reader may appreciate immediately by consulting the index, furnished considerable aid. The restorations are those supplied or taken over by Heberdey with a few exceptions. I have adopted a suggestion from Picard for line 220. Although the epistle of Aquilius Proculus like those of almost all Roman officials is composed in Attic Greek, the Ephesian decrees are composed in *Koine*. Therefore, I have substituted the form *ἥστον* for Heberdey's *ἥττον* in line 218, and the form *κρεῖστον* for Heberdey's *κρεῖττον* in lines 18-19 and 113. At eight places in the restoration I have substituted the form *aἰεὶ*, which appears to be regular in the decrees of the inscription, for Heberdey's *ἀεὶ*. I have added an insignificant restoration of my own in line 355, and in line 325 I have reworded Heberdey's complement to make it conform to the space and letter traces. In line 107 for the restoration *ἀμετάβλητον* I have substituted *ἀκατάλυτον* as paralleling more closely the terminology in lines 401-403. In lines 409-410 I have rejected without substitution Heberdey's surprising restoration; and I have also refrained from accepting the sums restored by Heberdey in lines 240-241. The reflections which determined my attitude in these two last cases are set forth below.

In lines 294-295 it is stated that in full payment a capital sum of 4450 denarii could be handed over to the secretary of the Gerusia. But in the next inscription, No. 4, this sum is given as 4250 denarii and is confirmed, as Heberdey points out, by the calculation in sesterces on No. 4. Because of his misreading of the numeral in line 235 Heberdey reckoned with a distribution to 300 instead of 309 Elders. If we follow Heberdey in accepting 4250 denarii instead of 4450 denarii as the capital sum which could be handed over to the secretary of the Gerusia in full payment, the interest amounted to  $382\frac{1}{2}$  denarii of which 309 (not 300) went to the Elders. Hence, only  $73\frac{1}{2}$  denarii are left for the Asiarchs<sup>4</sup> and the other group. If it is true, as Heberdey argues from the mutilated remains of line 241, that the portion assigned to each Asiarch was 11 denarii, then the arithmetical exigencies of the demand for even numbers indicate that there must have been either three or six Asiarchs who were entitled to receive a share. If there were three Asiarchs, the subtraction of their 33 denarii would leave  $40\frac{1}{2}$  denarii for the other group, who accordingly would have been 9 individuals receiving  $4\frac{1}{2}$  denarii apiece, or 3 individuals receiving  $13\frac{1}{2}$  denarii apiece, or 27 individuals receiving  $1\frac{1}{2}$  denarii apiece. If, on the other hand, there were six Asiarchs, the subtraction of their 66 denarii would leave  $7\frac{1}{2}$  denarii for the other group, who accordingly would have been 15 individuals receiving  $\frac{1}{2}$  denarius apiece or 5 individuals receiving  $1\frac{1}{2}$  denarii apiece or 10 individuals receiv-

<sup>4</sup> On these see page 23.

ing  $\frac{3}{4}$  denarius apiece. The student, furthermore, must notice that Heberdey's argument that the Asiarchs received a portion of 11 denarii apiece depends on a doubtful reading and, worse yet, on a slight emendation in line 241. Otherwise on the analogy of proportions in other brackets we should be inclined to assume that the  $7\frac{1}{2}$  denarii were to be divided between 7 Asiarchs receiving 7 denarii apiece and 7 of the other group receiving  $3\frac{1}{2}$  denarii apiece; but we cannot find any confirmation for this division in the letters actually preserved.

The inscription presents seven documents concerning the bequest and the supplementary bequest of Gaius Vibius Salutaris in the year 104 A.D., for which the consuls are mentioned in lines 447 f., to the citizens of Ephesus and to the personnel of the Artemisium. Of the latter the Megabyzus has disappeared, and a priestess, more in conformity with Hellenic and Roman ideals, has replaced the eunuch. The hymnodi are still there despite attempts to replace them with the gratuitous service of the ephebes in the previous century, and so are the very oriental toe-dancers who perform during the sacrifices. The *νεοπουοί*, beadle, and guards are old functionaries of the Artemisium, but the sacred slave, *ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν παραθηκῶν*, identical with *ὁ τὰ καθάρσια ποιῶν*, is here mentioned for the first time.<sup>5</sup>

The *χρυσοφοροῦντες τῇ θεῷ ιερεῖς καὶ ιερονεῖκαι* are in *C.I.G.*, II, 2963c called *οἱ τὸν χρυσοῦν κόσμον βαστάζοντες τῆς μεγάλης θεᾶς Ἀρτέμιδος πρὸ πόλεως ιερεῖς καὶ ιερονεῖκαι*. They actually carried the gold objects of the goddess, which is somewhat more than the right to wear gold ornaments of one's own at religious celebrations in honor of the goddess, a privilege for which Ad. Wilhelm has brought together the evidence in *Jahreshefte*, XII (1914), pp. 36-42. From No. 11 it appears that the gold-bearers formed a definite corporation at Ephesus. For the office compare also the phrase *δῖς χρυσοφορήσαντα* in an honorary inscription of Tralles, published by J. R. S. Sterrett, *Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*, I (1882-3), p. 108, No. X. It is probably the *χρυσοφόροι* who induced Salutaris to make the supplementary bequest.

The uneven sums of money are due to the fact that the larger amounts were calculated in sesterces and then converted. The nine percent interest is called *τόκος δραχμιαῖος ἀσταριαῖος* or *τόκος ἀσταρίων δεκαδύο ὀργυρῶν*, because it represents a rate of twelve silver asses a month per hundred denarii. The drachma contained twelve silver asses, and the denarius sixteen silver asses. The adjectives indicate a reference to the silver as distinct from the ordinary provincial bronze as, which had depreciated to a rate of eighteen to the denarius and was in danger of depreciating even further. A variation in the exchange had been foreseen and provisions were made for the division of a surplus.

The purpose, character, and distribution of the bequest may be conveniently summarized in the following tables reproduced from Heberdey's commentary.

<sup>5</sup> See Picard's treatment of the ritualistic and administrative side.

The twenty-nine statuettes of the main bequest are:

	Representing	Dedicated to	λ.	Weight οὐγκ.	γράμ.
1 E(ὶκών)	Τραϊανός		?	3	—
2 E	Πλωτέίνα		3	—	—
3 A(πεικόνισμα)	"Αρτεμις χρυσέα		3 + 2	10	5
4 E	Ίερὰ σύνκλητος	Βουλή	4	2	—
5 E	Βουλὴ Ἐφεσίων		4	—	9
6 A	"Αρτεμις ἀργυρέα		6	—	—
7 E	Δῆμος Ῥωμαίων	Γερουσία	?	—	—
8 E	Γερουσία Ἐφεσίων		?	—	—
9 A	"Αρτεμις ἀργυρέα		6	5	?
10 E	Ίππικὸν τάγμα Ῥωμαίων	"Εφηβοι	3	½	3
11 E	Ἐφηβεία Ἐφεσίων		?	—	—
12 A	"Αρτεμις ἀργυρέα		?	?	?
13 E	Θεὸς Σεβαστός	Φυλὴ Σεβαστή	?	?	?
14 E	Φυλὴ Σεβαστή		?	—	—
15 A	"Αρτεμις ἀργυρέα		?	?	?
16 E	Δῆμος Ἐφεσίων	Φυλὴ Ἐφεσέων	?	—	—
17 E	Φυλὴ Ἐφεσέων		?	—	—
18 A	"Αρτεμις ἀργυρέα		?	9	—
19 E	?	Φυλὴ Καρηναίων	?	—	—
20 E	Φυλὴ Καρηναίων		?	?	3
21 A	"Αρτεμις ἀργυρέα		?	—	—
22 E	Λυσίμαχος	Φυλὴ Τηῆων	?	—	3
23 E	Φυλὴ Τηῆων		?	—	—
24 A	"Αρτεμις ἀργυρέα		?	3	½
25 E	Εὐώνυμος	Φυλὴ Εὐωνύμων	?	—	—
26 E	Φυλὴ Εὐωνύμων		3	½	?
27 A	"Αρτεμις ἀργυρέα		?	?	—
28 E	Πίων	Φυλὴ Βεμβειναίων	?	—	—
29 E	Φυλὴ Βεμβειναίων		?	—	—

The donations for which provision has been made in the main bequest are:<sup>6</sup>

Beneficiary	Number of Recipients	Individual Portions Den.	Total Interest Den.	Capital Endowment Den.
1. <i>βουλή</i>	450	1	450	5000
2a. <i>γερουσία</i>	309	1		
b. ....	?	?	382½	4250
c. <i>'Αστιαρχήσαντες</i>	?	11		
3. <i>πολεῖται</i>	$6 \times 250$	½	750	8333½
4a. <i>έφηβοι</i>	250	½		
b. <i>έφηβαρχος</i>	1	1	126	1400
5. <i>θεολόγοι</i>	9	1¼	24¾	275
6a. <i>ἱέρεια</i>	1	?		
b. <i>ἱμνωδοί</i>	?	?	18	200
7a. <i>νεοποιοί</i>	2	$12 \times \frac{1}{12}$	3	33½
b. <i>σκηπτοῦχος</i>	1	$12 \times \frac{1}{12}$		
8a. <i>παιδεῖς</i>	$7 \times 7$	¼		
b. <i>παιδονόμοι</i>	7	½	15¾	175
9. <i>ὅ τὰ καθάρσια ποιῶν</i>	1	30	30	333½
	Total		1800	20,000

The two statuettes in the supplementary bequest are:

Representing	Dedicated to	λ.	Weight οὐγκ.	γράμ.
30 <i>'Αθηνᾶ Πάμμουσος</i>	<i>παιδεῖς, παιδονόμοι, παιδευταί</i>	7	½	8
31 <i>Σεβαστὴ Ὁμόνοια χρυσοφόρος</i>	<i>χρυσοφοροῦντες ἱερεῖς καὶ ἱερονεῖκαι</i>	6	—	—

<sup>6</sup> Heberdey's figures for 2 have been altered as explained above.

The donations for which provision has been made in the supplementary bequest are:

Beneficiary	Number of Recipients	Individual Portions Den.	Total Interest Den.	Capital Endowment Den.
10. <i>βουλή</i>	5	11	55	
11. <i>γερουσία</i>	5	1½	27½	
12. <i>χρυσοφοροῦντες ἱερεῖς καὶ ἱερονέικαι</i>	9	¾	6¾	
13. <i>παιδες</i>	7 × 9	¼	15¾	
14. <i>θεσμώδοι</i>	14	½	7	
15. <i>ἀκροβάται</i>	20	¾	15	
16. <i>ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν παραθηκῶν</i>	1	8	8	
Total			135	1500

The penalty for altering the arrangements laid down by Salutaris was a heavy fine: 25,000 denarii to Artemis and 25,000 denarii to the imperial fiscus. This is stated once in lines 111-113, again in lines 323-325, and again by the proconsul in lines 362-364. The legatus pro praetore in lines 407-413 expressly confirms the penalty stipulated by the proconsul, but the passage cannot be completely restored with the bare statement of the known amount and of the known beneficiaries. Therefore, Heberdey used the three letters preserved at the beginning of line 410 as support for a restoration indicating a triple (instead of double) fine of 25,000 denarii to Artemis, to the imperial fiscus, and to the Gerusia. What the proconsul, however, really demanded, and what the Council and Demos finally decreed, was one fine of 25,000 denarii payable to Artemis and another fine of 25,000 denarii payable to the imperial fiscus. This, therefore, must have been the meaning of the legatus pro praetore, and we do not know how or even whether the Gerusia was mentioned by him.

The unsuccessful purpose of the fine was to make it impossible to alter the terms of the bequest, because the amounts due to the goddess and to the fiscus were so high and the interested parties so powerful. It meant rather that the two most irresistible executors at Ephesus, namely, the imperial procurator and the management of the Artemision, were associated to guarantee the inviolability of the arrangements. Probably no one expected that the fine would ever have to be collected, and so it is not legitimate to use the evidence of this unusual case to show, as Picard argues (*Éphèse et Claros*, pp. 73-74), that the Roman government was partly depriving Artemis of her revenue from the old fines.

## BASE FOR STATUES OF ARTEMIS, ROME, AND THE GERUSIA

4. EPHESUS. Th. Mommsen, O. Hirschfeld, and A. Domaszewski, *C.I.L.*, III, 4 (1902), 14195<sup>a</sup> from Heberdey's copy. R. Heberdey, *Forschungen in Ephesos*, II (1922), pp. 147-149, no. 28. See also M. Rostovtzeff, *Geschichte der Staatspacht in der römischen Kaiserzeit bis Diokletian* (Leipzig, 1902), pp. 425-426. M. Rostovtzeff in the *Real-Encyclopädie*, VII (1912), col. 153.

- a [Dianae Ephesiae]  
[et Ephesiorum gerusiae]
- [C. V]ibius, C. f., Vof(entina), Salutaris, promag(ister) portuum  
provinc(iae) Siciliae, item promag(ister) frumenti mancipalis, praefec(tus)  
5 cohор(tis) Asturum et Callaecorum, trib(unus) mil(itum) leg(ionis) XXII  
primigeniae p(iae) f(idelis), subpro-  
curator provinc(iae) Mauretaniae Tingitanae, item provinc(iae) Belgicae,  
Dianam argenteam, item imagines argenteas duas, unam urbis Ro-  
manae et aliam gerusiae, sua pecunia fecit, ita ut omni ecclesia su[p]ra  
bases ponerentur, ob quarum dedicationem in sortition[em] gerusiae con-  
secravit sestertia decem septem millia nummum.  
10 'Αρτέμιδι Ἐφεσίᾳ καὶ τῇ φιλοσεβάστῳ γερουσίᾳ Ἐφεσίων  
Γάιος Οὐέιβιος, Γ(αῖον) νιός, Ούωφεντίνᾳ, Σαλουτάριος, ἀρχώνης  
λιμένων ἐπαρχείας Σικελίας καὶ ἀρχώνης σείτου δήμου  
15 'Ρωμαίων, ἐπαρχος σπείρης Ἀστούρων καὶ Καλλαικῶν, χειλί-  
αρχος λεγιώνος κβ Πρειμιγενίας Πίας Φιδήλεως ἀντεπίτρο-  
πος ἐπαρχείας Μαυρετανίας Τινγειτανῆς καὶ ἐπαρχείας  
Βελγικῆς, "Αρτεμιν ἀργυρέαν καὶ εἰκόνας ἀργυρᾶς [β], μίαν ἡγεμο-  
νίδος 'Ρώμης καὶ <ἄλλην τῆς> φιλοσεβάστου γερουσίας, ἐκ τῶν ιδίων  
ἐποίησεν, ἄτινα καθιέρωσεν, ἵνα τιθῆται κατὰ ἐκκλησίαν ἐπὶ  
20 τῶν βάσεων, ὡς ἡ διάταξις αὐτοῦ περιέχει. Καθιέρωσεν δὲ  
καὶ εἰς κλῆρον τῆς γερουσίας δηνάρια τετρακισχείλια διακό-  
σια πεντήκοντα.  
'Επὶ ἀνθυπάτου Γ(αῖον) Ἀκυλλίου Πρόκλου δ' γραμματεύοντος Τιβ(ερίου) Κλαυδίου  
['Ιον]λιανοῦ, φιλοσεβάστου καὶ φιλοπάτριδος τὸ [β].

## TRANSLATION

To Artemis Ephesia and to the emperor-loving Gerusia of the Ephesians, Gaius Vibius Salutaris son of Gaius of the tribe Oufentina, <who has served as> chief contractor for the port dues in the province of Sicily, chief contractor for the public grain <of the province of Sicily>, prefect of the cohort of the Asturians and Galloaecians, tribune of the Legio XXII Primigenia Pia Fidelis, subprocurator of the

province of Mauretania Tingitana, subprocurator of the province of Belgica, has caused to be made at his own expense a silver Artemis and also *two* silver images, namely, one of the ruling city Rome and another of the emperor-loving Gerusia, which he presented as a dedication in order that they might be placed at each assembly upon their bases, as is contained in the deed of gift. He also gave 4,250 denarii as an endowment for a distribution by lot to the Gerusia.

In the proconsulship of Gaius Aquillius Proculus. In the *second* secretaryship of Tiberius Claudius Julianus, emperor-loving and patriotic.

#### COMMENTARY

This inscription marks one of the nine bases mentioned in No. 3, line 205.

#### TITUS PEDUCAEUS CANAX

**5.** EPHESUS. Inscription on a base published by J. Keil, *Jahreshefte*, XVIII (1915), Beiblatt, pp. 281 f.

Trajanic Period

[‘Η β]ουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος  
ἐτείμησαν  
Τίτον Πεδονκαίον Κάνακα  
φιλοσέβαστον τὸν γυμνασίαρ  
χον τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, πρύτα  
νεύσαντα τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἴερα  
τεύσαντα τῆς Ῥώμης καὶ Ποπλί  
ον Σερουειλίον Ἰσαυρικοῦ, ἔλαι

οθετήσαντα δὲ καὶ τῶν πολει  
τῶν τὸν ἐπιβαλόντα χρόνον  
καὶ καθιερώσεις ποιησάμενο[ν]  
[ἀ]ργυρίων βουλῆ καὶ γερουσίᾳ  
[τήν τ]ε περὶ τὰ μυστήρια πλη<sup>10</sup>  
[ρέστα]τα ποιησάμενον εὐσέβειαν,  
[. . . . δ]όντα δὲ καὶ τὸ ὑπὲρ τῶν  
[θεωρι]ῶν ἀργύριον

#### TRANSLATION

The Council and the Demos honored Titus Peducaeus Canax, emperor-loving, gymnasiarch of the Elders. He served as prytanis of the city and as priest of Rome and of Publius Servilius Isauricus. Moreover, in the following year he supplied the citizens with oil for the bath and made money donations to the Council and to the Gerusia and he displayed most fully his piety in regard to the Mysteries, and he gave also the money for the *public spectacles*.

#### COMMENTARY

Keil restored the latter part of the inscription on the basis of a similar passage in an unedited document. He dated the lettering about the end of the first century after Christ. P. Servilius Isauricus, as Keil pointed out, is the heroified victor over the Cilician pirates.

## HONORARY INSCRIPTION

**6. EPHESUS.** On a voussoir of the arch adjoining the Stadium, W. H. Waddington from Le Bas' (?) copy, *Voyage archéologique*, III (1870), No. 141. F. J. A. Hort from Wood's copy, *Journal of Philology*, VII (1877), pp. 140-144.

[---] τηεμ  
 [---] Ἄρ ] τέμιδος  
 [---] ἀνδριάσιν  
 [σὺν] παντὶ [τῷ ιδίῳ τῆς Θε]οῦ κόσμῳ καὶ  
 5 [τ]ῷ καταστρώματι < οἱ αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐπο[ίη]  
 [σα]ν καὶ ἐν τῷ σταδίῳ ἐν δεξιᾷ <β> σε  
 [λί]δ[α]ς σὺν τῷ κατακερκίζοντι τοί[χῳ]  
 [τ]ῷ λευκῷ λίθῳ καὶ τῇ ἔξεδ[ρ]ᾳ τῇ πρὸ τοῦ  
 ἔργου αὐτῶν· καθιέρωσαν δὲ καὶ τῇ βουλ[ῇ]  
 10 ἀργύριον ὅπως ἐκ τῆς προσόδου κατ' ἐν[ιαν]  
 τὸν πρὸ τῶν τειμῶν αὐτῶν ἐν [τῇ] ἀγο[ρ]ᾷ λ[αμ]  
 βάνωσ[ι] διανομήν· ὁμοίως καὶ τῇ γερουσ[ίᾳ]  
 ὅπως λαμβάνωσι[ν] ἐν τῷ σταδίῳ πρὸ [τῶν]  
 τειμῶν αὐτῶν διανομήν· καὶ ἐγ[γύην δαπα]  
 15 νήματος αὐτοῦ ἐξ ἑτέρου χρήμ[ατος ὁμοί]  
 [ως] καθιέρωσαν αὐτοῖς· ἀνέθηκαν [δὲ]  
 [κα]ὶ ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ Ἀσκληπι[ῳ σ]ύ[νβω]  
 [μο]ν "Τπνον σὺν παντὶ τῷ ιδίῳ [κόσμῳ ---]

## TRANSLATION

---- statues with all the goddess' appropriate apparatus and the pavement. These same persons, moreover, also constructed in the stadium on the right side two sectors together with the white stone wall which divides them into cunei and with the exedra in front of their part. And they gave an endowment of money to the Council in order that from the yearly revenue the Councillors might receive a donation in the market place over and above their honors,—and likewise to the Gerusia in order that the Elders might receive a donation in the stadium over and above their honors. And likewise they guaranteed to them the funds for this expense out of another piece of property. And together with all the proper apparatus they set up in the gymnasium a statue of Hypnus, altar-partner of Asclepius.

## COMMENTARY

In line 5 where Le Bas' copy gave ΑΥΤΟΙΔΕ·ΕΤΤΟ and Wood's copy ΑΥΤΟΙΔΕΕ.Ε.Ο ..., I have retained Waddington's restoration ἐπο[ίησαν] in

preference to Hort's emendation ἐ[κ]ό[σμησαν]. In general Wood's copy and Hort's edition represent an improvement over Le Bas-Waddington. The letter forms and the ligatures as given by Le Bas suggest a date in the second century after Christ.

### LETTER OF HADRIAN TO THE GERUSIA

**7. EPHESUS.** Found in the Great Theatre and brought to London by Wood. C. Curtius, *Hermes*, IV (1870), pp. 178-181, no. 1 with a drawing. W. H. Waddington, *Fastes des Provinces asiatiques de l'Empire romain* (Paris, 1872), p. 191. J. T. Wood, *Discoveries at Ephesus* (London, 1877), *Inscriptions from the Great Theatre*, No. 17. W. Dittenberger, *S.I.G.<sup>1</sup>* (1883), 284. E. L. Hicks, *B.M.I.*, III (1890), No. 486. W. Dittenberger, *S.I.G.<sup>2</sup>*, I (1898), 386. L. Lafoscade, *De epistulis (aliisque titulis) imperatorum magistratuumve romanorum quae ab aetate Augusti usque ad Constantinum Graece scriptas lapides papyrive servaverunt* (Lille, 1902), No. 13. F. Hiller von Gaertringen in Dittenberger, *S.I.G.<sup>3</sup>*, II (1917), 833.

120 A.D.

- [Αὐτοκράτωρ] Κα[ι]σταρ, θεοῦ Τραϊ<sup>κ</sup>αυοῦ Παρθικοῦ νιός,  
 [θεοῦ Νέρουα υ]ἱωνός, Τραϊανὸς Ἀδριανὸς Σεβαστός,  
 [ἀρχιερεὺς] μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἔξουσίας τὸ δ̄,  
 [ὑπατος τὸ γ] Ἐφεσίων τῇ γερουσίᾳ χαίρειν.
- 5 [Μέττιος] Μόδεστος ὁ κράτιστος εὖ ἐποίησεν τὰ δίκ[αια]  
 [ὑμῖν κατα]νείμας ἐν τῇ κρίσει. ἐπεὶ δὲ πολλοὺς ἐδηλ[ώσατε]  
 σφ[ετερί]ζεσθαι χρήματα ὑμέτερα, οὐσίας τῶν δεδανισ[μέ]  
 νω[ν κ]ατέχοντας οὐ φάσκοντας δὲ κληρονομεῖν, τοὺς [δὲ]  
 καὶ [αὐ]τοὺς χρεώστας ὅντας, πέπομφα ὑμῶν τὸ ἀντ[ίγραφον]
- 10 τοῦ ψηφίσματος Κορυνηλίῳ Πρείσκῳ τῷ κρατίστῳ  
 ἀνθυπάτῳ, ἵνα, εἴ τι τοιούτον εἴη, ἐπιλέξηται πίνα  
 ὃς κρινεῖ τε τάμφισβητούμενα καὶ εἰσπράξει πάντα,  
 ὅσα ἀν ὄφειληται τῇ γερουσίᾳ <sup>vvv</sup> ὁ πρεσβεύων ἦν  
 Κασκέλλιος Π[οντικός], ὃι τὸ ἐφόδιον δοθήτω, εἴ γε μὴ  
 15 προΐκα ὑπέ[σχε]το πρεσβεύσειν. εὐτυχεῖτε. πρ(ὸ) ε Κ(αλανδῶν) Ὁκτοβρίων  
 [γραμματεύοντος Πο]πλίου Ῥουτειλίου Βάστον.

### TRANSLATION

*Imperator Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus, son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva, pontifex maximus, invested with the tribunician power for the fourth time, consul for the third time, to the Gerusia of the Ephesians, greetings.*

*Mettius Modestus, the vir clarissimus, has done well in the decision to grant you your rights. And since you have shown that many people have appropriated money*

belonging to you, inasmuch as holding estates of those who had borrowed from you, they deny that they are the heirs and assert that they themselves are also creditors,— I have sent the copy of your decree to Cornelius Priscus the most illustrious proconsul, in order that in any situation of this sort he may select someone to judge the disputed cases and may collect all the sums owed to the Gerusia. Cascellius Ponticus was the one who came on the embassy. The money for the journey is to be given to him, unless he promised to undertake the embassy gratis. Farewell. On the fifth day before the Kalends of October.

Secretary, Popilius Rutilius Bassus.

#### COMMENTARY

Wood restored the name of the proconsul at the beginning of line 5. In lines 5-6, where Curtius had restored *τὰ δίκ[ασθέντα | κατα]νείμας*, the restoration *τὰ δίκ[ανα | ἴμιν κατα]νείμας* was suggested by Hicks. The other restorations are due to the original editor.

It appears that a previous proconsul Mettius Modestus, known to us from other sources (*Prosopographia Imperii Romani*, II, p. 373, no. 404), had already rendered a decision favorable to the Gerusia. The wording of the imperial letter implies that the former case too concerned the financial credits of the Gerusia. The new question which has occasioned the embassy concerns the priority of rights among the creditors of the deceased debtors and possibly deliberate evasions of the law that the heirs are responsible for the debts attached to the estate which they inherit. The Gerusia has decided to appeal to the emperor for assistance, and probably a request for the appointment of a commissioner with the authority of the Roman government to investigate and to collect was included in the decree mentioned in line 10.

#### CLAUDIUS BASSUS

8. EPHESUS. E. L. Hicks, *B.M.I.*, III (1890), no. 599.

'Αγαθῆ Τύχη  
Κλαύδιος  
Βάσσος  
γερουσιαστής

This inscription, falsely included by Pappakonstantinou in his collection of texts from Tralles, was also published by A. E. Kontoleon, *B.C.H.*, X (1886), p. 517, No. 8. Claudius Bassus is perhaps the same man who at the time of Hadrian appeared as ἀγωνοθέτης of the Νεμέσια in an inscription at Smyrna (*I.G.R.R.*, IV, 1431).

## ARISTOCRATES

**9.** EPHESUS. A. Boeckh, *C.I.G.*, II (1843), 2987 b (from Forchhammer's notes). W. Hüttl, *Antoninus Pius*, II (Prague, 1933), pp. 308 f.

- [-----]  
 Ἱεροκλέους  
 Ἀριστοκράτην  
 Κεραμιήτην ἀρχιερέα Ἀσ[ί]  
 5 ας ναῶν τῶν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ καὶ [ἀγω]  
 νοθέτην τῶν μεγάλων [<sup>τόπος</sup> Ἀδρια]  
 νείων τῆς δευτέρας πε[νταε]  
 τηρίδος, δόντα τὰς ὑπὲ[ρ τῆς ἀρ]  
 χιεροσύνης μυριάδας [--- εἰς]  
 10 τὴν κατασκευὴν τ[-----]  
 [κ]αὶ ἄλλας μυριάδας [--- εἰς τὸ]  
 [..]εριον, δοθέντα [<sup>τόπος</sup> λογισ]  
 [τὴν] ν ὑπὸ θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ [τῇ φι]  
 [λ]οσεβάστῳ γερουσίᾳ, φ[ι]  
 15 λ<η>θέντα δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ μεγ[ίστου]  
 Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος [Τίτου]  
 Αἰλίου Ἀδριανοῦ Ἀντωνεί[νου]  
 Σεβαστοῦ Εὔστο[ρ]οῦ, ε[---]  
 ος ἄμα καὶ δεκάκις δ[οθέντα τῇ]  
 20 γερουσίᾳ λογιστ[ην] ---  
 ΣΙΜ. I. ἡ φιλοσέβ[αστος βουλὴ]  
 τῆς [πρώτης καὶ μεγίστης Ἐφε]  
 [σίων πόλεως ἀνέστησεν]

## TRANSLATION

The emperor-loving *Council of the city of the Ephesians, first and greatest, has set up a statue of . . . Aristocrates, the son of Hierocles, of Ceramus, arch-priest of Asia's temples in Ephesus and agonothete of the great Hadrianeia of the second quadriennium, who gave the . . . thousands of the high-priest's summa honoraria for the construction of the . . . and . . . thousands more for the . . ., who was given as financial commissioner to the emperor-loving Gerusia by the deified Hadrian, and who enjoyed the friendship too of the exalted Imperator Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius, . . . as soon as he had been given ten times to the Gerusia as financial commissioner -----*

## COMMENTARY

The restorations are due to Boeckh except at the end of lines 16, 19, and 20 (Oliver). In line 10 Hüttl restores  $\tau$ [οὐ νεῶ vel simile].

Concerning the arch-priests of Asia, who were in charge of the imperial cult, see Brandis' article in the *Real-Encyclopädie*, II, cols. 473-483. The arch-priest of the province had subordinates in Pergamum, Smyrna, Cyzicus, Sardis, and Ephesus, and these too were called arch-priests with a qualification designating the local character, as in the title of Aristocrates. But see also page 23, note 5.

I presume that the word [λογιστὴ]ν is correctly supplied in lines 12-13. If so, the statement, although true, is technically inaccurate, because as we learn from No. 7, not the emperor, but the proconsul at the suggestion of the emperor, appointed the λογιστής.

## HONORARY INSCRIPTION

**10.** EPHESUS. J. T. Wood, *Discoveries at Ephesus* (London, 1877), Inscriptions from the Great Theatre, No. 18. E. L. Hicks, *B.M.I.*, III (1890), 604. See also J. Keil, *Jahreshefte*, XI (1908), p. 105, note 12. F. Poland, *Festschrift zur 700-Jahr-Feier der Kreuzschule zu Dresden 1926*, p. 49.

Second century after Christ

[‘Ο δεῖνα τοῦ δεῖνος] τοῦ ὑμνῳδοῦ, ἱεροκῆρυξ γραμ ματεὺς Ἀδριανίων, 5      ὑμνῳδὸς νεμητής βουλῆς, γερουσίας, χρυσοφόρων·	10 ἡγωνίσατο ἀγῶνας τρεῖς, ἐστέφθη δύω, ἀγωνο<θ>ετοῦντος δὶ’ αἰώνος Τιβ. Ἰουλ. ‘Ρηγένου Ἀσιάρχου > $\bar{\beta}$ ναῶν τῶν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ τῆς φιζ> πενταετηρίδος.
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## TRANSLATION

— son of the hymnodus . . . , sacred herald, secretary of the Hadrianeia, hymnodus privileged to share in the money distributions of the Council, Gerusia, and gold-bearers. He took part in three <musical> contests and was twice crowned in the time of the permanent agonothete Tiberius Julius Reginus, when the latter was serving for the second time as Asiarch of the temples in Ephesus, in the five-hundred-and-seventeenth Epheseid.

## COMMENTARY

The hymnodi<sup>7</sup> were a sacred choir that at first served during the festivals of

<sup>7</sup> J. Keil, "Zur Geschichte der Hymnoden in der Provinz Asia," *Jahreshefte*, XI (1908), pp. 101-110; E. Ziebarth in *Real-Encyclopädie*, IX, col. 2520; Ch. Picard, *Éphèse et Claros* (1922), pp. 251-254; F. Poland, "Griechische Sängervereinigungen im Altertum," *Festschrift zur 700-Jahr-Feier der Kreuzschule zu Dresden 1926*, pp. 46-56.

Artemis and of the emperors. In 44 A.D. the Roman government,<sup>8</sup> which ever favored the gymnasia at the expense of the old local institutions, attempted to restrict the role of the hymnodi in the Artemisium and in the imperial cult at Ephesus and brought about the substitution of gratuitous service by the ephebes for the costly service of the hymnodi. The latter, however, continued to enjoy great prestige, individual members occupied important offices, and the whole society was generously treated in the donation of Vibius Salutaris (No. 3), where the hymnodi of Artemis seem to be contrasted with the thesmodi of the Augsteum.

### LETTER OF MARCUS AURELIUS AND LUCIUS VERUS TO ULPIUS EURYCLES

**11.** EPHESUS. A fragment (*a*) with the first thirteen lines was published by R. Heberdey, *Jahreshefte*, I (1898), Beiblatt, p. 78. [R. Cagnat, *Revue archéologique*, 3rd series, XXXII (1898), p. 466, No. 67]. W. Dittenberger, *Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*, II (1905), 508. Another fragment (*d*) with lines 41-47 was published by E. L. Hicks, *B.M.I.*, III (1890), No. 497. The first complete publication of the whole inscription (five fragments) was that of R. Heberdey, *Forschungen in Ephesos*, II (1912) pp. 119-123, No. 23. See also Ch. Picard, *Éphèse et Claros* (1922), p. 436.

A.D. 162 or 163

- a* Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Μᾶρκος Αὐρήλιος Ἀντωνεῖνος  
 Σεβαστὸς καὶ Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Λούκιος Αὐρήλιος Οὐνῆρος  
 Σεβαστὸς Ἀρμενιακός, Οὐλπίω Εύρυκλεῖ  
 χαιρεῖν.
- 5 "Οτι μὲν ὑπ' ἀνθυπάτων δοθέντα σε τῇ γερουσίᾳ τῶν Ἐφεσίων  
 λογιστὴν ἐκείνοις ἔδει, περὶ ὧν ἡπόρεις, ἀναφέρειν, αὐτὸς τε εὐγνω-  
 μόνως ἐδήλωσας ἐπιστάμενος, καὶ ἡμεῖς διὰ τοῦτο ἐπεμνήσθημεν,  
 ὡς μὴ ῥαιδίως ἀνάγεσθαι τινας τῷ παραδείγματι. "Ο δὲ πρῶτον ἡμῖν ἐκοίνωσας,  
 τὸ περὶ τῶν ἀργυρῶν εἰκόνων, πρᾶγμα ὡς ἀληθῶς τῆς ἡμετέρας συνχωρήσε-
- 10 [ως] προσδεόμενο<ν>, δῆλον ἐστί σοι καὶ τὴν εἰς τὰς ἄλλας ἐρωτήσεις ἀφορμὴν συμβε-  
 [βῃ]μένον. Τὰς οὖν εἰκόνας τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων, ἃς ἀποκεῖσθαι λέγεις ἐν τῷ συνε-  
 [δρί]ῳ τούτῳ παλαιάς, ἐνī μὲν λόγῳ πάσας δοκιμάζομεν φυλαχθῆναι τοῖς ὀνόμασιν, ἐφ' ο-  
 [ἱ]ς γέγονεν αὐτῶν ἐκάστη, εἰς δὲ ἡμετέρους χαρακτῆρας μηδέν τι τῆς ὑλης ἐκείνης  
 [μ]εταφέρειν. Οἱ γὰρ οὗτοι ἄλλως [εἰς τὰς] ἡμετέρους τιμάς ἐσμεν πρόχειροι, [πολὺ] δή τι ἡτ[τον ἀν]
- 15 [ἄλλας εἰς ἡμᾶς μετα]αβα[λλο]μένας ἀνασχοίμεθα· ἀλλ' ὅστι μ[ἐν αὐτῶν -- ca. 12 --]  
 [-ca. 15 -] ἔχουσι τὰς μορφάς, καν̄ ὅστον γνωρίζεσ[θαι τῶν προσώπων τοὺς χα-]  
 [ρακτῆρας, ταύτας καὶ]ὶ σοὶ παρέστη λελογισμένως, ὅτι τοῖς αὐτοῖς δεῖ φυλαχθῆναι ὀνό-]  
 [μασιν, ἐφ' οἷς γεγόνασιν]· περὶ δὲ τῶν οὕτως ἄγαν συντεθραυ[σμένων, ὡς ἀναφέρεις, καὶ]  
 [οὐδεμίαν μορφὴν ἔτι]ι φαίνειν δυναμένων τάχα μὲν ἀν καὶ [τούτων ἐπὶ τοῖς βά-]  
 20 [θροις ἐπιγραφῶν, τὰ]άχα δ' ἀν καὶ ἐκ βιβλίων, εἴ τινα ἔστι τῷ σ[υνεδρίῳ τούτῳ. . . . . .]

<sup>8</sup> F. K. Dörner, *Der Erlass des Statthalters von Asia Paullus Fabius Persicus* (Dissertation, Greifswald, 1935).

[— ca. 14 — — τὰ ὄνδ] ματα συνηπορισθείη, ὥστε τοῦ [σ προγεγονόσι, μᾶλλον τὴν]  
 νας. [τει] μὴν ἀνανεωθῆναι [ἥπερ διὰ τ]ῆς ἀναχων[εύσεως ἔξαφανισθῆναι τῶν]  
 εἰκόνων. Τῇ δὲ χωνέυσει πρῶτον μέν σε παρὰ τυχ[— — — 24-26 — — —]  
 ταλαμβάνη τοῦ μέτρου τῆς λογιστείας ἀλλ’ ἐπειδὴ [— — — 26-28 — — —]  
 25 ὑπήρξω καὶ τὸ συγχωρηθῆναι διεπράξω παρ’ ἡμῶν [— — — 25-27 — — —]  
 πραχθῆναι ἔπειτα καὶ ἄλλους πρὸς τὸ σοὶ μάλιστα ἀνεσ[— 20-22 — οὖς ἀν]  
 ὁ κράτιστος ἀνθύπατος εἴτε ἔξ αὐτῆς τῆς γερουσίας ε[ϊτε ἔξ ἀπάντων τῶν πολει-]  
 τῶν δοκιμάσῃ. vacat Τὸ δὲ κατὰ Σατορνεῖνον τὸν δημόσ[ιον — 16-18 — — —]  
 διν παρὰ τῶν χρεωστῶν τοῦ συνεδρίου πολλὰ κεκομίσθαι λέγεις [χρήματα, μὴ προσηκού-]  
 30 σης τῆς εἰσπράξεως, τοιοῦτον ἐστιν. Εἰ μὲν γάρ τι εἰσήμεγκεν, ὅν ἀπ[εύληφεν, οὐδὲ ἄλλο]  
 παρὰ τοῦτο εἴη διάφορον, ὅτι οὐχ, φ προσῆκεν, ἔδοσαν οἱ δόντες, οἶόν τι καὶ ὁ [ἐπίτροπος ἡ-]  
 μῶν ἐν τοῖς> ἰδίοις τῆς ἡμετέρας οἰκίας λογισμοῖς προσέταξεν φυλάσσεσ[θαι, χωρὶς τού]  
 βλάπτεσθαί τινα κατὰ τὴν τῶν προσώπων ἐναλλαγὴν τῶν ἀπειληφότων, [τότε οὔδε-]  
 μία ζημία παρηκολούθησεν. Εἰ δὲ κάκεῖνοι δεδώκασιν, φ μὴ προσῆκον ἦν, κ[οὶ ὁ ἀπολα-]  
 35 βῶν ἡφάνισεν τὰ κο[μισθέντα, τότε], εἰ μέν τι εὑρίσκοιτο ἰδιον ἢ ἔχων ἢ καταλελ[οιπώς]  
 ἐκεῖνος, τὸ δὴ προσα[γορευόμενον πε]κούλιον, τοῦτο συλλέξασθαι πᾶν ὀφείλεις· [εἰ δὲ]  
 κα<ὶ> οὗτως ὑπὲρ τὴν [δύν]αμιν τὴν [ἐκεί]νου προσδεῖ τι τῇ γερουσίᾳ τῶν εἰσπραχθέντ[ων ὑ-]  
 π’ αὐτοῦ καὶ κατεσχ[η]μένων, ἐπιγνώ[μ]ων ὁ κράτιστος ἀνθύπατος γενέσ[θω δ]ιδασ[κόμε-]  
 νος ὑπό σου, πρὸς οὐ[στ]ηας ἐπανελθε[ι]η σε δεῖ τῶν ἐκείνων καταβεβληκότωμ[διακρίνων]  
 40 καὶ ἐκ τοῦ χρόνο[ν τοῦ μ]εταξὺ διεληλυθότος καὶ τῶν [ἀ]ξίων τοῦ τρόπον [— — —]  
 d [— 16 — — τ]ετεικὼς ἀποδεικνύει, παρασταίη [— — — — —]  
 [— 12 — — ἀνενε]γκεῖν κελευσθῆναι τὰ κακῶς ἀποδο[θέντα — 14-16 — — — — —]  
 [— 16 — — τ]ῇ δόσει. vacat Αἱ δὲ συνεχεῖς ἀναβολαὶ τῶν χρεῶν — 11-13 — — — — —  
 [— 17 — — ]ν ὁ πάππος αὐτοῦ Σαβεῖνος, ὡς φησ, ἐνε[— — — — —]  
 45 [— 17 — — ]τίωνα, σχεδὸν ἀνανκαῖον ποοῦσι καὶ σοὶ τὸ χρ[— 16-18 — — — — —]  
 [— 17 — — ]ι τὸ συνχωρεῖν· ὥσπερ γὰρ αἰδῶ πολλὴν ἀνδ[— 16-18 — — — — —]  
 [— 17 — — ]σιν δ' οὕτως, ἐπειδὰν αὐτοὶ τινες αἰτίαν [— — — — —]  
 [ . . ] ασθ[αι] τοὺς βλαπτομένους [— — — — — ca. 45 — — — — —]  
 [συ]νόλου συνεδρίου κοιν [— — — — — ca. 45 — — — — προ-]  
 50 σιέναι τῷ κρ[α]τίστῳ ἀνθυπά[τῳ — — — — — ca. 44 — — — — —]  
 [ . . ] ου. Καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο τὸ σκέμμα [α — — — — — ca. 44 — — — — — ἀ-]  
 ναφοράν, ὡς λέγεις, ἐπὶ τοὺς [— — — — — ca. 44 — — — — —]  
 στιν ἐνχωροῦντος εἴτε εἰς παραπ[— — — — — ca. 44 — — — — —]  
 ρησιν αὐτῶν ἐκείνων, τί ἀλλο [— — — — — ca. 42 — — — — — γε-]  
 55 ρουσία τὸν δὲ ἀνθύπατον καὶ ἀ[— — — — — ca. 44 — — — — —]  
 ρον ἐνγύθεν ἔκαστα ἔξευρεν [— — — — — ca. 44 — — — — —]  
 ο. Τὰς μέντοι καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων αὐτ[— — — — — ca. 44 — — — — —]  
 οὐ μόνον κατὰ τάξιν ἐστὶ τὸ προ[— — — — — ca. 44 — — — — προσ-]  
 ίωσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὴν τῶν [— — — — — ca. 45 — — — — —]  
 60 προσίωσι τοῖς καὶ μᾶλλον ἐπ [— — — — — ca. 46 — — — — —]  
 μαθεῖν ἐνγύθεν δυ[— — — — —]  
Ἐρρωσο

## TRANSLATION

Imperator Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus and Imperator Caesar Lucius Aurelius Verus Augustus Armeniacus to Ulpius Eurycles, greetings.

That you who had been given by the proconsuls to the Gerusia of the Ephesians as financial commissioner should have reported to them (the proconsuls) concerning your difficulties, you yourself well knew and wisely said so, and we have commented upon this point in order that people might not lightly refer to a precedent here. The first question in your communication to us, the question of the silver images, has obviously furnished you with the occasion for the other inquiries, and it is a matter which requires our permission indeed. In regard then to the images of the emperors, old images which you say are stored in this synhedrion, in brief we think that all of them should be preserved under the names under which each of them came into existence, and that none of that material should be realtered into representations of ourselves. For we who are in no particular way eager to accept our own honors, would still less willingly put up with *those of others realtered to represent ourselves*. But it has occurred also to you after considering the matter that as many of *them* . . . as retain the outlines enough for the *features* to be recognized, *ought to be preserved* under the same *names under which they came into existence*. In regard, moreover, to those so exceedingly battered *as you report and no longer capable of exhibiting any outline*, even *their identifications* might perhaps be supplied *from inscriptions on the bases*, or perhaps even from inventories, if there are any in *this synhedrion* . . . so that *the honor* might be renewed for *our predecessors rather than disappear through* the melting down of the images. And at the smelting first you . . . of the record of the accounting office. But since . . . you began and brought it about that it was permitted by us . . . and others . . . *whom* the most illustrious proconsul might approve either from the Gerusia itself or from the whole citizen body.

And concerning Saturninus the public slave . . . who you say collected from the debtors of the synhedrion a great deal of *money*, when it was *not his business* to collect it, the case is as follows: If he has brought in any such *collection*, it would simply mean that those who paid have paid to the wrong person (against which our *procurator* warned them in reference to the private accounts of our household) *without* anyone being harmed by the confusion in the persons who have collected; then no injury has followed. But in the case that those people have paid to the wrong person and the recipient has made away with the sums collected: If, on the one hand, it is found that he either holds any such an amount or has bequeathed it, the so-called *peculium*, you ought to attach all this; *if, on the other hand*, even so a part of the sum collected by him for the Gerusia and retained by him still surpasses his assets, then the most illustrious proconsul, informed by you, shall be the judge which ones of those who have paid to the aforesaid you must approach again, . . . from the time that has meanwhile elapsed and from the deserts of <a man's> character . . .

having paid, produces proof, would present . . . order to bring again the sums that were wrongly paid . . . at the payment.

The continual postponements of the *debts* . . . his grandfather Sabinus, as you say, . . . make it almost necessary for you also . . . to concede. For as great respect . . . thus, whenever some of them . . . cause . . . the injured parties . . . of the whole synhedrion . . . approach the most excellent proconsul . . . and this question . . . recourse, as you say, to the . . . *Farewell*.

#### COMMENTARY

The restorations are taken over from Heberdey's text except that I have substituted in lines 31-32 the phrase [*ἐπίτροπος ἡ*]μῶν for the phrase [*κράτιστος ἡγε*]μῶν, in line 40 the word [*ἀ*]ξίων for [*αι*]τίων, which is too long, and in line 61 the word ἔρρωσο for the phrase ἔδόθη κτλ.

The document contains a rescript of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus to the Roman financial commissioner (*λογιστής*) of the Ephesian Gerusia, M. Ulpius Apuleius Eurycles, who is known from other inscriptions (cited by Heberdey) to have been *λογιστής* (*curator rei publicae*) at Aphrodisias and to have been in the reign of Commodus for the second time priest of the imperial cult at Smyrna.

For the imperial reluctance toward letting the Gerusia turn the old silver images into representations of themselves, the living rulers, the reader should compare the correspondence of the imperial chancery on the question of gold and silver images in other reigns, as is set forth below in the commentary on No. 24. The silver images constituted necessary apparatus of the imperial cult. On the reference to the pro-consuls, see pages 44-47.

From the remark in line 10 we learn that besides the matter of the images at least two other questions of policy formed the subject of the auditor's inquiry and received the attention of the emperors in this letter. A vacant space on the stone marks the transition to a second paragraph, in which the emperors consider the case of the public slave Saturninus, who without any authority collected money owed to the Gerusia. It was the public slave's duty to collect for the city, and those who had given him the money owed to the synhedrion of the Gerusia had done so because he was a recognized government agent.

Another vacant space in the middle of line 43 indicates the beginning of a third paragraph, regarding the continual postponement of debts owed to the Gerusia. The reference in line 44 presumably concerns a case where payment has been successfully evaded by two generations of debtors.

#### DECREE OF THE GERUSIA

**12. EPHESUS.** C. Curtius, *Hermes*, IV (1870), pp. 198-201, No. 11 and pp. 206 f., No. 15. E. L. Hicks, *B.M.I.*, III (1890), No. 483. R. Heberdey, *Forschungen in Ephesos*, II (1912), pp. 109-112, No. 20 (the first complete edition). See also Ch. Picard, *Revue de Philologie*, XXXVII (1913), pp. 86-89.

A.D. 180-192

'Αγαθῆ τύχη

- [Περὶ ὧν . . . . . εἰσφέρει· Ἐν μὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις γωθεν ὑπὸ τὸν οἰκισμὸν τῆς πόλεως  
χρόνοις Λυσίμαχον τὸν βασιλέα, κύριον]  
[γεγονότα τῶν τῆς πόλεως πραγμάτων, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα] πάντα περὶ τε μυστηρίων καὶ  
θυσιῶν [καὶ περὶ τοῦ συνεδρίου ἡμῶν ἀριστα δια-]  
[κεκοσμηκέναι πάση εὐσεβείᾳ τε καὶ φιλαγα] θύᾳ ἰδρυσάμενον δὲ καὶ νεώ καὶ ἄγαλμα  
Σωτείρ[ας Ἀρτέμιδος ἐν — διατετα-]  
5 [χέναι τὸν] μετέχοντας τοῦ συνεδρίου πάντας ἐκ τῶν κοινῶν τῆς γερουσίας  
χρημάτων ἔκα[στον — Sum of money λαβόντας εὐωχεῖν καὶ]  
[θύειν] τῇ θεῷ διαμείναντος δὲ τοῦ ἔθους ἐπὶ πλεῦστον διά τινα ἔκδιαν χρημάτων  
ἔτεσιν [ὑστέροις ἡμελῆσθαι· νῦν δὲ εὐρεθέντων διὰ]  
[Τιβ. Κλ. (?)] Νεικομήδους, τοῦ καθο[λικοῦ ἔκδικο]ν τοῦ συνεδρίου ἡμῶν, τῆς αὐτοῦ  
ἐπιμελείας ἔξι[αίρετον παρασχόντος παράδειγμα, πόρων]  
[ίκαν] ὧν, εἰς τὸ παλαιὸν ἔθος ἐπα[νελθοῦσαν τῇ]ν γερουσίαν εὐσεβεῖν καὶ θύειν  
τῇ τε προκαθηγεμ[όνι τῆς πόλεως ἡμῶν θεῷ Ἀρτέμιδι καὶ τῷ με-]  
[γίστ]ῳ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν καὶ θεῶν ἐν[φανεστάτῳ] Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι Μ. Αὐρ.  
Κομμόδῳ Ἀντωνείνῳ [Σεβαστῷ Εὐσεβεῖ Εὔτυχεῖ τὰς κατ' ἔτος θυ-]  
10 [σί]ας ὑπὲρ τῆς αἰώνιου διαμονῆς [αὐτοῦ, ὥστε, ἔξι] δὲ μὴ ἔλατον (sic) ἀναλίσκειν  
εἰς τὴν εὐωχίαν Ἀτ[τικῶν — Number ἐκ τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Νεικομήδους]  
δηλουμένων πόρων, ἔκαστον τὸ [ν παρόντα εἰς] τῷ ἀνάλωμα τοῦ δείπνου ἔξωθεν καὶ ἐκ  
τῆς τοῦ Νεικομήδους φιλοτειμίας λαβεῖν]  
'Απτικὴ μίαν· δία τοῦτο ἔδοξεν τοῖς συνέδροις κυρώσαι καὶ νομοθετῆσαι εἰσαεὶ  
διὰ τοῦτο τοῦψηφίσματος· Τύχῃ Ἀγαθῇ τὴν γερουσίαν εἰ-]  
σ τὸ διηγεκὲς φυλάσσεσθαι (sic) τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ προ]γεγραμμένη εὐσεβείᾳ νομοθεσίαν ὡς  
αἱ[ώνιοι· ὁμοίως δὲ τοὺς συνέδρους εἰσαεὶ]  
φυλάσσο[ειν] καὶ ἐπιτελεῖν τὰ π[ερὶ τὰ δεῖπνα] προσφιλοτειμουμένου τοῦ ἔκδικον ις  
τῇ[ν δαπάνην. Τὸν δὲ --]  
15 προνο[εῖν, ὡς] ἐν μὲν τοῖς δε[ίπνοις λαμ.] παδουχε[ῖ]ν, ἐν δὲ ταῖς κατακλίσεσιν  
κατε[————— τοὺς συνέδρους μετα-]  
λανβάνειν [τῇ]ς εὐωχίας. Εἴ ποτ[ε δὲ μὴ παρ]εῖν ἔτεροι πόροι, ἐπὶ ταῖς ὁμοίαις  
εὐωχίας [καὶ θυσίας ἐπιτελεῖν, τὸν δὲ —————]  
ἀπὸ τοῦ τῶν προσόδων κολλύβου προσθή] κην ποιεῖσθαι[αι] τοῖς προϋπάρχουσιν  
πόροις [ις τὴν δαπάνην τῆς θυσίας. Τοῦ δὲ πολεῖ-]  
ται διανομὰς γέ[νεσθαι πάσας κατὰ τόδε τὸ] ψήφισμα ἐν τοῖς περὶ τὸν ναὸν τῆς  
Σωτείρ[ας Ἀρτέμιδος οἶκοις. Εορτάζειν δὲ καὶ]  
κατὰ [τὰ προκεκυρωμένα ψηφίσματα ἑκάστοις] τοῦ ἔτους τὴν Σε[βαστὴν τοῦ δωδεκάτου]  
μηνὸ[ς τοὺς πολεῖτας· ἐν δὲ τοῖς]  
20 γε[νεθλίοις τοῦ θεοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος, τῶν Εφε]σίων γερόντων ἀριθμὸ[ν μ]ῆ μ[είονα  
—————]

Lacuna of several lines

[—οὐδενὸς ἔχοντος]  
[ἐξ] οὐσίαν οὐ[τ]ε ἄρχον[τος οὐτε ἵ] διώτο[ν οὐ] τε ἐκδίκου ο[ὐτε —————  
τὰ ἐψηφι-]  
[σ] μένα. Περὶ οὐ ἐπηρά[σατ]ο μὲ[ν κ] οινῆ πᾶσσ>α ἡ γερουσία τῷ π[ειράσαντι —————,  
ἐψηφίσατο δὲ καὶ ἀσεβείᾳ αὐτὸν]  
εἶναι ὑπεύθυνον κα[ὶ ἱερο] συλίᾳ · ἔ[τι] καὶ ὑπεύθυνον αὐτὸν κατέστη[σεν —————. Ἐπαι-  
νέσαι δὲ Νεικομήδην καὶ τοὺς νιόντας]  
25 αὐτοῦ, ἀποκηρύπτει[ν δὲ κ]αὶ πατρογέ[ροντας. Ἐπ[ι] ἔδοξεν τὸν καθ' ἔτος [————  
ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ καὶ τὸ ἀρ[χ]αῖον τὸ εὑρεθὲν διδόναι, φ ἀν κοινῆ πᾶσα ἡ [γερουσία  
ψηφίσῃ —————]

vacat

— εὐσεβείᾳ [————]

vacat

Γραμματεύοντος τῶν πρ[εσβυτέρων —————]

6 πλειστΩν. 7 ἐπιμελεία ἐξ[αίρετον. 8 ζΟος. 9 Ημῶν. 23 πάNTa.

## TRANSLATION

## To Good Fortune

*Concerning the things which . . . proposes:*

*In those years at the beginning right after the foundation of the city *Lysimachus* the king, having acquired supreme authority over the affairs of the city, made an excellent arrangement of all the other things concerning the Mysteries and the sacrifices and concerning our synhedrion with all reverence and love of goodness, and erecting both the temple and the cult statue of *Artemis* the Savior . . . he ordered that all those who belonged to the synhedrion should receive individually . . . from the common funds of the Gerusia to feast and to sacrifice to the goddess. And after this custom had lasted for a long, long time, it was neglected in later years because of a shortage of funds. Now however since sufficient means have been raised again through *Tiberius Claudius Nicomedes*, the general advocate of our synhedrion, who has thus furnished an extraordinary example of his good care, the Gerusia has returned to its ancient custom of reverencing and sacrificing both to the guide of our city, divine *Artemis*, and to our supreme lord and most visible god Imperator Caesar Marcus Aurelius Commodus Antoninus *Augustus Pius Felix*, the annual sacrifices for his perpetual preservation, so that it is now possible to expend for the banquet a sum not less than . . . Attic drachmas from the funds proclaimed by *Nicomedes*, and for each one attending to receive the sum for the banquet and one Attic drachma besides out of the munificence of *Nicomedes*.*

Therefore the members have resolved to ratify and to ordain forever through the following decree:

*To Good Fortune. That the Gerusia preserve as permanent the legislation in the case of the aforesaid act of reverence. Likewise that the members always preserve and discharge the duties connected with the banquets, toward the expense of which the advocate is munificently making an additional contribution. That the . . . arrange for a torch procession to take place at the banquets and for the members of the synhedron to share in the feast . . . at the ritual repasts. That if at any time other funds are not available, they carry out the banquets and sacrifices on the same scale, while the . . . supplements the available funds for the expenses of the sacrifice out of the revenue from the exchange. That all distributions to the citizens take place according to this decree in the halls about the temple of the Savior Artemis. That the citizens celebrate each year, in accord with the previously ratified decrees, the Augustan day of the twelfth month, and that on the birthday of the god emperor, among the Ephesian Elders in number no fewer than . . . a distribution by lot ---*

(Lacuna of Several Lines)

--- no one having authority, neither archon nor private citizen nor advocate, to alter the articles hereby decreed. Concerning this the whole Gerusia together has put a curse on anyone who tries to alter the arrangements and has decreed that he be indictable on charges both of impiety and of sacrilege. Moreover they have also rendered him indictable on a charge of . . . That they praise Nicomedes and his sons, and proclaim them patrogerontes. Moreover it has been decreed that the annual . . . on the board, and that <on each occasion> he give the principal, that which has just been discovered, to whomsoever the whole Gerusia together appoint . . . reverence . . .

In the time when . . . was secretary of the *Elders*.

#### COMMENTARY

The reference to Commodus as sole emperor dates the inscription between 180 and 192 A.D.

The document contains a decree of the Gerusia, re-establishing old religious festivities which had formerly been celebrated by the Gerusia but which had fallen into disuse through lack of funds. It contains, moreover, specifications regarding the management of the festivities and of the funds which provide for them. By comparing a passage in Strabo (XIV, 1, 20) Ch. Picard has shown that the celebration is that of the Mysteries of Solmissus and Ortygia, for which the reader may consult the same author's work *Éphèse et Claros* (1922), pp. 287-302. For a reference to the renewal of the Mysteries at this time see also J. Keil, *Forschungen in Ephesos*, III (1923), p. 144, No. 59, a dedication in honor of a priestess: ἀνανεωσαμένην πάντα τὰ μυστήρια τῆς θεοῦ καὶ καταστήσασαν τῷ ἀρχαίῳ ἔθει.

The restorations are very uncertain. The text is that of Heberdey with the following additions or substitutions: By Picard, line 16, *θυσίας ἐπιτελεῖν*; line 17, [*ἰς τὴν δαπάνην τῆς θυσίας. Τοῦς δὲ πολεῖ*] | *ταις*; line 18, [*Ἀρτέμιδος οἴκοις*]; line 19, *τὰ προκεκυρωμένα ψηφίσματα, and τοὺς πολείτας· ἐν δὲ τοῖς*]. By me, line 1, [*Περὶ ὅν;* line 20, *τὸν θεοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος, τῶν Ἐφεσίων; line 24, νιόν*].

In line 16 the title of the officer who in a shortage was to supply the additional funds constitutes an important matter of interpretation. Heberdey restored hesitatingly *τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν χρημάτων*, who would have been the treasurer of the Gerusia. Although the very existence of this title cannot be proved, Heberdey not unreasonably deduced it from the remains of lines 291 and 293 in No. 3. Picard, on the other hand, restored *τὸν γραμματέα τοῦ δήμου*, who was not an officer of the Gerusia at all. But the officer, whose title occupied part of the lacuna, might well have been even the secretary of the Gerusia (cf. No. 3, lines 231-238).

With hesitation I have accepted Picard's restoration *πολεῖ*] | *ταις* in line 18. The noun *γερουσιασ*] | *ταις* deserves consideration as a possibility; but since the analogous words *σύνεδροι, γέροντες*, and *πρεσβύτεροι* all occur in this same inscription, it is a less attractive restoration.

#### SEPULCHRAL INSCRIPTION

**13.** EPHESUS. C. Curtius, *Hermes*, IV (1870), pp. 209 f., No. 18. Th. Mommsen, *C.I.L.*, III, 2 (1873), 6087. J. T. Wood, *Discoveries at Ephesus* (London, 1877), Inscriptions from Tombs, Sarcophagi, etc., No. 5. E. L. Hicks, *B.M.I.*, III (1890), No. 636.

A. Atinnius No <sub>v</sub> ember	ος ἀν ταῦτα τὰ γράμ
Novellia <sub>e</sub> Pyrallidi	10 ματα ἐκκόψῃ ἦ
Cojugi suae carissimae	ἀλλότρια ὁστᾶ βάλῃ
fecit sibi ea	ὑπεύθυνος ἔστω τῇ
5 Κλανδία Μάγνα	γερουσίᾳ * σῆ
Τιβερίου Κλανδίου	καὶ τοῖς ταμίαις τῆς
Διογνήτου γυνὴ	15 πόλεως * σῆ
μάμμη ἴδιᾳ.	ἔζησεν ἔτη λη, μῆνες β, ὥρας δ

#### TRANSLATION

Aulus Atinnius November made this for himself and his most dear wife Novella Pyrallis.

Claudia Magna wife of Tiberius Claudius Diognetus for her own mother. Whoever excises these letters or deposits here bones of anyone else shall be liable to the Gerusia for the sum of 250 denarii, and to the treasurers of the city for the sum of 250 denarii. She lived thirty-eight years, two months, four hours.

## TIB. CLAUDIUS SECUNDUS

**14.** EPHESUS. C. Curtius, *Hermes*, IV (1870), p. 215, No. 29. Th. Mommsen, *C.I.L.*, III, 2 (1873), 6078. E. L. Hicks, *B.M.I.*, III (1890), 544.

## Age of the Antonines

Ti. Claudio		Ἡ γερουσίᾳ ἐτείμησεν
Secundo		Τι· Κλαύδιον Σεκοῦνδ[ον]
viatori tribunic [io]		οὐιάτορα τριβουνίκ[ιον]
accenso velato, licto-	10	ἄκκηντον οὐήλατον,
5 ri curiato, gerusia h [o]		λείκτορα κουρίατον,
noris caussa — sua [pecunia]		ἐκ τῶν ιδίων.

## TRANSLATION

Out of its own funds the Gerusia has honored Tiberius Claudius Secundus, *<who has served as>* tribune's apparitor, a lightly covered supernumerary soldier, and a lictor at the curiate assembly.

## BASE FOR THE STATUE OF A GALATIAN

**15.** EPHESUS. E. L. Hicks, *B.M.I.*, III (1890), No. 558. W. Dittenberger, *Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*, II (1905), 534.

## Trajanic Period or later

[— - - - -]ότορα Νήφο	5	[τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Γ]αλατῶν
[ντος, τιμηθέντα γ]ερουτείᾳ,		[εύνοίας καὶ] καλοκά
[καὶ — — 'Αδι]ατόριγος		[γαθίας ἔνεκα τῆ]ς εἰς [αὐτό]. vacat

## TRANSLATION

*The League of the Galatians honors . . . otor, son of Nephos, distinguished with the office of Elder, and . . . of Adiatorix, because of their favorable attitude and noble conduct toward it.*

## COMMENTARY

The restoration [*τιμηθέντα γ]ερουτείᾳ* [καὶ] was suggested by Dittenberger; the other restorations are due to the original editor. Dittenberger would date the inscription in the second century after Christ because of the ligature between nu and eta in line 1. This inscription is included in our collection because it was found at Ephesus; but in our opinion it was not the Ephesian Gerusia to which this Galatian belonged.

## LIST OF NAMES

**16.** EPHESUS. C. Curtius, *Hermes*, IV (1870), pp. 205 f., No. 16. E. L. Hicks, *B.M.I.*, III (1890), No. 573.

- |   |   |
|---|---|
|   | [--] Κ]λαύδιος Θεόφιλος                 |
|   | [--] Κ]λαύδιος 'Ροῦφος                  |
|   | vacat                                   |
|   | [--] Ν]ουμέριος Γερελλανός              |
| 5 | [--] 'Ρο]υφεῖνος καὶ ἴερεύς             |
|   | [---] πατρογέρων                        |
|   | vacat                                   |
|   | [---]ς 'Κυρείνα Σατορνεῖνος φιλοράμαιος |

## COMMENTARY

Other names have been added in a later hand. Hicks suggests that it is a list of *νεοποιοί* and that this or another title may have been inscribed at the top of the stele.

## SEPULCHRAL INSCRIPTION

**17.** EPHESUS. E. L. Hicks, *B.M.I.*, III (1890), No. 648.

- |                                  |                              |
|----------------------------------|------------------------------|
| Tὸ μνημεῖόν ἔστι                 | Tάλον νιὸν αὐτοῦ· ζῆ. καὶ    |
| Ποπλίας <Ι>ουλεία<ς> Βηρύλας καὶ | 'Ρωσκιλίας Εὐτυχίας γυναικὸς |
| τὰ τέκνα αὐτῆς· ζῶσιν.           | αὐτοῦ. τοῦτο τὸ μνημῆον      |
| καὶ τοῦ συνβίου αὐτῆς Μενάν      | ἔαν τις πωλήσῃ, ἀποτείσει    |
| 5 δρουν· ζῆ                      | 10 τῇ γερουσίᾳ *             |

## TRANSLATION

This is the tomb of Publia Julia Beryla and her children (still alive), and of her husband Menander (still alive) and of his son Talus (still alive) and of the latter's wife Roscilia Eutychia. If anyone sells this tomb, he shall pay to the Gerusia 5,000 denarii.

## T. FL. ASCLEPIODORUS

**18.** EPHESUS. G. Soteriou and K. Kourouniotes, *Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον*, VII (1921-1922, published in 1924), p. 113. G. P. Oikonomos, *ibid.*, pp. 258-346. R. Cagnat, *Revue archéologique*, 5th series, XXIII (1926), p. 313, No. 15. *S.E.G.*, IV (1930), 535. See also Ch. Picard, *Éphèse et Claros* (1922), pp. 725, 726.

- Σ.Ι.-Λ.ΥΓ
- φιλοσέβαστος, ν[ε] [ε]  
οποιὸς αὐθαίρετ[ος],  
φιλοτείμως τὴν  
5 ἀρχὴν ἐπιτελέστας  
μετὰ καὶ τοῦ ἀδελ  
φοῦ Διογένους.  
'Αγαθῆ Τύχη  
[εὐχαρι]στῶ σοι, Κυρία
- 10 ὉἈρτεμι, Τ(ίτος) Φλ(αύοιος) Ἀσκλη  
πιόδωρος, νεοποιὸς  
αὐθαίρετος, ἐκτελέστας
- τὰς δύο ἑστηνίας εὗσε  
βῶς καὶ φιλοτείμως  
15 σὺν καὶ Φλ(αύια) Φοίβῃ τῇ θυ  
γατρί μον καὶ τῷ συμή  
νῳ μον Αὔρ(ηλίω) Ἐπαγάθῳ  
καὶ νυκτοφυλακήσας  
τὰς δύο νυκτοφυλακὰς  
20 ἐκ τῶν ἴδι[ων],  
μετέχων καὶ τῆς φι[λοσεβά]  
στον γερουσίας, φυ(λῆς) Ἀντωνία  
νῆς, χι(λιαστὸν) Παιανιεύς.

## TRANSLATION

— emperor-loving, volunteer temple-warden, having together with my brother Diogenes performed the office with public spirit.

## To Good Fortune

I thank thee, Lady Artemis, I, Titus Flavius Asclepiodorus, volunteer temple-warden, who have served on the two occasions as *ἑστην* with piety and public spirit together with Flavia Phoebe my daughter and with Aurelius Epagathus my colleague on the monthly committee, and who have served on the two occasions as chief of the night watch all at my own expense, and who am a regular member of the emperor-loving Gerusia, a citizen of the tribe Antoniana and of the Thousand of the Paianieis.

## COMMENTARY

The annually elected temple-wardens, as Oikonomos explains, formed a board, two members of which assumed charge each month and were called *σύμμηνοι*.

The two *ἑστηνίαι* represent, according to Picard and to the *Greek-English Lexicon*, two terms in the office of *ἑστην*. According to Oikonomos, on the other hand, they represent two familiar occasions on which the person who for that year undertook the liturgy would be called upon to undertake much trouble and expense. The latter explanation seems to me obviously preferable. At this period the *ἑστηνες*, who by Pausanias (VIII, 13, 1) are called *ἱστιάτορες*, were chiefly managers of the commissariat at the festival of the Artemision, and there appear to have been two great festivals, one in the month Thargelion and one in the month Artemision.<sup>9</sup> In

<sup>9</sup> Oikonomos would admit another explanation of the two *ἑστηνίαι*. One *ἑστηνία* may have pertained to Artemis, and the other to the emperor. Compare No. 12. This I find a less satisfactory explanation.

the same manner Oikonomos explains the phrase *ai δύο νυκτοφυλακαί*. The incumbent of the office had to provide for the maintenance of order at the nocturnal celebrations of the two great festivals. Asclepiodorus, therefore, had undertaken along with the office of temple-warden two closely associated liturgies.

In lines 22-23 Oikonomos emended the name of the tribe to read 'Αντωνι<νι>ανή, but see No. 46, line 56.

Lines 1-7 probably contain the conclusion of another thank-offering, whether or not by Asclepiodorus.

#### FAVONIA FLACILLA

**19.** EPHESUS. J. Poerner, *De Curetibus et Corybantibus*, etc. (Halle, 1913), p. 293, No. 30. J. Keil, *Anatolian Studies Presented to W. H. Buckler* (Manchester, 1939), pp. 120, 121, and 127.

Φαβωνία Φλάκκιλλα πρύτανις καὶ γυμνασίαρχος, ἡ  
ἀρχιέρεια εὐχαριστῶ νας. Ἐστίᾳ Βουλαίᾳ καὶ Δήμητρι  
καὶ Δήμητρος κόρῃ καὶ Πυρὶ ἀφθάρτῳ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι  
Κλαρίῳ καὶ Σώπολι καὶ πᾶσιν τοῖς θεοῖς, ὅπι

5 οἶκοκληροῦσάν με μετὰ τοῦ συμβίου μου Ἀκακίου  
καὶ τῶν τέκνων μου καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων μου  
τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἔκτελέσασαν τὰ μυστήρια πάντα  
εὐτυχῶς ἀποκατέστησαν.  
Οἶδε ἐκουρήτευσαν.

10 Εὐάνδρις γερουσιαστής,  
Περιγένης φιλοσέβ(αστος), γραμματεύς,  
Ἀμυντιανὸς φιλοσέβ(αστος), Φάβ(ιος) Κυριακὸς ἐστιοῦχος,  
Φαβ(ία) Ζωσίμην καλαθηφόρος,  
μαντηλάριοι· Δαμώ, Πρείσκιλλα,  
15 Νουνεχίς, Λουκιανή. Εὐτυχῶς.

#### TRANSLATION

I, Favonia Flacilla, prytanis and gymnasiarach, the high priestess, render thanks to Hestia of the Council and to Demeter and to Demeter's daughter and to Everlasting Fire and to Clarian Apollo and to Sopolis and to all the gods, because happily they restored me safe and sound with my husband Acacius and my children and my people after I had performed all the mysteries for a year.

The following served as curetes: Evandris member of the Gerusia, Perigenes emperor-loving secretary, Amyntianus emperor-loving, Fabius Cyriacus guardian, Fabia Zosime basket carrier. Those who bring towels: Damo, Priscilla, Nunechis, Luciana. Farewell.

## M. AUR. AGATHOPUS

**20.** EPHESUS. J. T. Wood, *Discoveries at Ephesus* (1877), Inscriptions from the Great Theatre, No. 4. E. L. Hicks, *B.M.I.*, III (1890), No. 587. See also W. H. Buckler and D. M. Robinson, *A.J.A.*, XVIII (1914), p. 351. Ch. Picard, *Éphèse et Claros* (1922), p. 94, note 7, and p. 688.

Second or Third Century after Christ

[ -----] [ιερ]οκηρυκεύοντος [ -----] [Σα]τορνένου, πρεσβυτέρων [ -----] [ -----] 5 [ -----] 'Αγαθῆ — Τύχῃ [M.] Αὐρ. Ἀγαθόπους εὐχαριστῶ [τ]ῷ θεῷ καὶ τῇ κυρίᾳ Σωτεί	10	[ρᾳ] καὶ τῇ Τύχῃ τῆς γερου σίας, ὅτι τὴν πίστιν ἔτη ρησα τῇ γερουσίᾳ σὺν καὶ <sup>5</sup> [τ]οῖς ἐμοῖς — πᾶσιν, ὅ αὐτὸς γραμματεὺς [κ]αὶ γυμνασίαρχος. 15 εὐτυχῶς
---	----	---

## TRANSLATION

— while . . . Saturninus was sacred herald, . . . of the Elders, — — —

To Good Fortune. I, *Marcus Aurelius Agathopus*, give thanks to the god and to our Lady, the Savior, and to the Fortune of the Gerusia, that I have kept faith to the Gerusia, together with all my people, while I was secretary and gymnasiarch.

Farewell.

## COMMENTARY

As Hicks points out, the fact that the inscription was found in the Theatre suggests that the god mentioned in line 6 was Dionysus. The chief officer of the Gerusia is the gymnasiarch. Picard remarks that the inscription does not prove that Agathopus had been gymnasiarch of the Gerusia at Ephesus. But it must refer to the Ephesian Gerusia because the stone came from Ephesus and the text gives the reader no indication that it was not the important local institution. Marcus Aurelius Agathopus is known from another inscription, *B.M.I.*, III, No. 596, a dedication: [Ἀρτέμιδι] | ἐπηκόῳ, καὶ [τοῖς Σεβαστοῖς] | καὶ τῇ τύχῃ τῆς πόλ[εως, διό] | τι ὁ θρέψας ήμῶν Μ. Αὐρ. Ἀγ[α]θόπους ὁ πρύτανις εὐτυχῶ[ς κατ] | αρξάμενος ἐτελείωσε τὰ μυστήρια σὺν καὶ τῇ συμβίῳ | αὐτοῦ Μαίᾳ Νηρηγῖδι καὶ τοῖς | τέκνοις καὶ ἐκγόνοις καὶ τῆς | εὐσεβοῦς ὑπηρεσίας.

## M. AUR. ARTEMIDORUS

**21.** EPHESUS. E. L. Hicks, *B.M.I.*, III (1890), No. 575.

	’Αγαθῆι Τύχῃ	καὶ Μ. Αὐ[ρ] . . . . .
M.	Αὐρ. ’Αρτεμίδω[ρος]	’Αρτεμ[ιδώρου νιός],
	’Αττάλου, φιλο[σέβαστος],	10 πατρο[γέρων γερου]
	γερουσιαστής, [νεο]	σιαστ[ής, νεο]
5	ποιός, ἀγορανόμ[ος]	ποιό[ς . . . . .]
	ἀγνός, λιτουργὸ[ς]	’Ολυ[μπιονείκης]
	ἔνδοξ[ος]	[-----]

## TRANSLATION

To Good Fortune. The son of Attalus, Marcus Aurelius Artemidorus, *emperor-loving Elder, temple-warden, upright agoranome, honored minister*. And the son of Artemidorus, Marcus Aurelius . . . , himself Elder like his father, temple-warden, . . . , Olympic victor . . .

## FROM THE IOBACCHI INSCRIPTION

**22. ATHENS.** The inscription is most conveniently accessible in *S.I.G.<sup>3</sup>*, 1109, and is dated shortly before 178 A.D. For a translation and further references see M. N. Tod, *Sidelights on Greek History* (Oxford, 1932), pp. 85-96.

	ὅς δ' ἂν τῶν ιοβάκχων λάχη κλῆ
	ρον ἢ τειμὴν ἢ τάξιν, τιθέτω τοῖς ιο
	βάκχοις σπονδὴν ὀξίαν τῆς τάξεως,
130	γάμων, γεννήσεως, Χοῶν, ἐφηβείας,
	πολειτείας, ῥαβδοφορίας, βουλείας, ἢ
	θλοθεσίας, Πανέλληνος, γερουσίας,
	θεσμοθεσίας, ἀρχῆς ἡσδηποτεοῦν,
	συνθυσίας, εἱρηναρχίας, ιερουείκουν,
135	καὶ εἴ τις τι ἐπὶ τῷ κρεῖσσον ιόβακχος ὄν
	τύχοιτο.

## TRANSLATION

Whoever of the Iobacchi receives a legacy or a distinction or a command shall entertain the Iobacchi with a drink-offering worthy of the event, i. e., a wedding, a birth, presentation of a child at the Choes festival, a son's enrollment among the ephebes, grant of citizenship, appointment as wand-bearer, appointment as councillor, presidency of the games, appointment as Panhellene, appointment as Elder, appointment as thesmothete, appointment to any magistracy, appointment to a college of sacrificers, appointment as police-magistrate, recognition as victor in the sacred games, and whatever happens to make one a more important Iobacchus.

## COMMENTARY

I presume that the word ἐφηβείας refers to an ἐφηβεία in the member's family, just as the word γεννήσεως refers, not to the member's own birth, but to that of his child.

## MEMMIUS

**23.** ATHENS. Found at Eleusis. D. Philios, 'Εφημερὶς Ἀρχαιολογική, 1883, p. 77, No. 6. Idem, *B.C.H.*, XIX (1895), p. 128, note 1. P. Foucart, *Les Mystères d'Éleusis* (Paris, 1914), pp. 204-206. Gianelli, *Atti dell' Accademia di Torino*, L (1914/5), p. 376. J. Kirchner in Dittenberger, *S.I.G.<sup>3</sup>* (1917), 872. P. Graindor, *Athènes sous Hadrien* (Cairo, 1934), pp. 45-47. J. Kirchner, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup> (1935), 3620.

177-180 A.D.

'Η πόλις

Λ · Μέμμιον ἐπὶ βωμῷ Θορίκιον  
 τὸν ἀπὸ δαδούχων καὶ ἀρχόντων  
 καὶ στρατηγῶν καὶ ἀγωνοθετῶν,  
 5 τὸν καὶ αὐτὸν μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἀρχῶν  
 καὶ λιτουργιῶν ἀρξαντα τὴν ἐπώ  
 νυμον ἀρχὴν καὶ στρατηγὸν ἐπὶ τὰ  
 ὅπλα καὶ ἐπιμελητὴν γυμνασιαρχίας  
 θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ > καὶ ἀγωνοθέτην τρίς,  
 10 πρεσβευτήν τε πολλάκις περὶ τῶν με  
 γίστων : ἐν οἷς καὶ περὶ γερουσίας > μνή  
 σαντα παρόντος θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ,  
 μνήσαντα θεὸν Λούκιον Οὐῆρον  
 Ἀρμενιακὸν Παρθικὸν καὶ αὐτοκράτορας  
 15 Μ : Αὔρήλιον Ἀντωνῖνον > καὶ Μ · Αὔρήλιον  
 Κόμμοδον Γερμανικοὺς Σαρματικούς,  
 [λ]ιτουργήσαντα τοῖν θεοῖν > ἔτεσι Νᾶ, τὸν  
 [ἀ]π' ἀρχιερέων > τὸν φιλόπατριν.

## TRANSLATION

The city honors Lucius Memmius of the deme Thoricus, Priest at the Altar, descended from Torch-bearers, archons, strategi, and agonothetes, and himself, with the other offices and liturgies, having served as eponymous archon and as hoplite general and as epimelete of the deified Hadrian's gymnasial hierarchy and thrice as agonothete and frequently as ambassador on the most important missions, among which was also that concerning a gerusia; having initiated in the presence of the deified Hadrian; having initiated the deified Lucius Verus Armeniacus Parthicus and the emperors Marcus Aurelius Antoninus and Marcus Aurelius Commodus Germanici Sarmatici; having served as minister to the two goddesses for fifty-six years; the ex-high-priest; the patriot.

## COMMENTARY

Graindor explains the phrase "epimelete of the deified Hadrian's gymnasiorachy" in the following manner. The emperor Hadrian apparently left an endowment to take care of the gymnasiorachy in those years when no one rich enough was found to assume the expense of the office. When the cost was defrayed out of the revenue provided by Hadrian, the incumbent was known as the epimelete.

## THE FIRST STELE WITH IMPERIAL LETTERS

**24. ATHENS.** The pedimental top, some fragments without edge, and a large piece from the left side of this plaque of Pentelic marble have been preserved. The original height of the plaque is unknown, but my restoration calls for an original width of about 0.91 m. The thickness varies between 0.06 m. (at the left edge) and 0.072 m. (somewhat to the left of a vertical axis through the exact center). The letters in the body of the inscription are 0.007 m., and those on the pedimental top are 0.008 m. high. The back has a rough finish, and the fragment from the left side exhibits a margin 0.035 m. wide upon which the first letter of each epistle and of each preamble encroaches.

Of these fragments E. M. 9495 was first published in the year 1878 by Dittenberger as *I.G.*, III, Add., 39a from a copy by F. von Duhn. In 1916 Kirchner re-edited this fragment as *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1108 with some not very fortunate restorations by A. von Premerstein. Four pieces from the Agora, namely, those with inventory numbers I 64a, I 60, I 10a, I 27, were published by B. D. Meritt (*Hesperia*, II [1933], pp. 165-169), who pointed out their connection with E. M. 9495. The rest of the fragments are here presented for the first time.

For the sake of clarity I re-letter all the disconnected pieces.

Fragment *a*. The pedimental top is broken away below. It was found in the excavations of the Agora on May 25, 1933 in the walls of a late pit in Section Z.

Height, 0.205 m.; width, 0.36 m.

Inv. No. I 864. Unpublished.

The gable is surmounted by an acroterion; in the middle of the pediment is still preserved the upper half of an inscribed circle with a diameter of 0.13 m. The attribution to *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1108 despite the difference in the height of the letters (*v. supra*) seems warranted because this fragment exhibits the same quality of Pentelic marble, the same working of the back, the same gritty finish of the inscribed surface, and the same peculiarity whereby the thickest part of the stone falls not along a line at center from top to bottom of the plaque, but somewhat to the left of center.

Fragment *b*. To make up this piece five fragments join as one, which is broken away above, below and at the right, but which preserves the left edge.

Height, 0.66 m.; width, 0.535 m.

The constituent parts are as follows: E. M. 9495 (the original *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1108) found on the South Slope of the Acropolis; Agora Inv. No. I 64, consisting of two pieces of which the first was found on July 5, 1931 in a Late Roman fill of Section E and published by Meritt, *loc. cit.*, and the second of which, a large unpublished piece from the left edge, was found on March 18, 1934 in a Byzantine wall of Section Θ; Agora Inv. No. I 815, consisting of two pieces found on May 16, 1933 in Section Z, one in a late fill and the other in a modern foundation, both unpublished.

Fragment *c*. The back is preserved, but the stone is broken away on all sides. It was found in the excavations of the Agora on July 13, 1931 in a Late Roman fill in Section E.

Height, 0.26 m.; width, 0.19 m.

Inv. No. I 60 (= Meritt, fragment *b*) .

Fragment *d*. The back and the left side are preserved, but the stone is broken away above, below, and at the right. It was found in the excavations of the Agora on December 8, 1935 in a modern house in Section T.

Height, 0.184 m.; width, 0.173 m.

Inv. No. I 10b. Unpublished.

Fragment *e*. This piece is broken away at the back and on all sides. It was found in the excavations of the Agora on June 4, 1931 in Section E.

Height, 0.17 m.; width, 0.115 m.

Inv. No. I 10a (= Meritt, fragment *c*).

Fragment *f*. This piece is broken away at the back and on all sides. It was found in the excavations of the Agora on June 12, 1931 in Section A.

Height, 0.06 m.; width, 0.06 m.

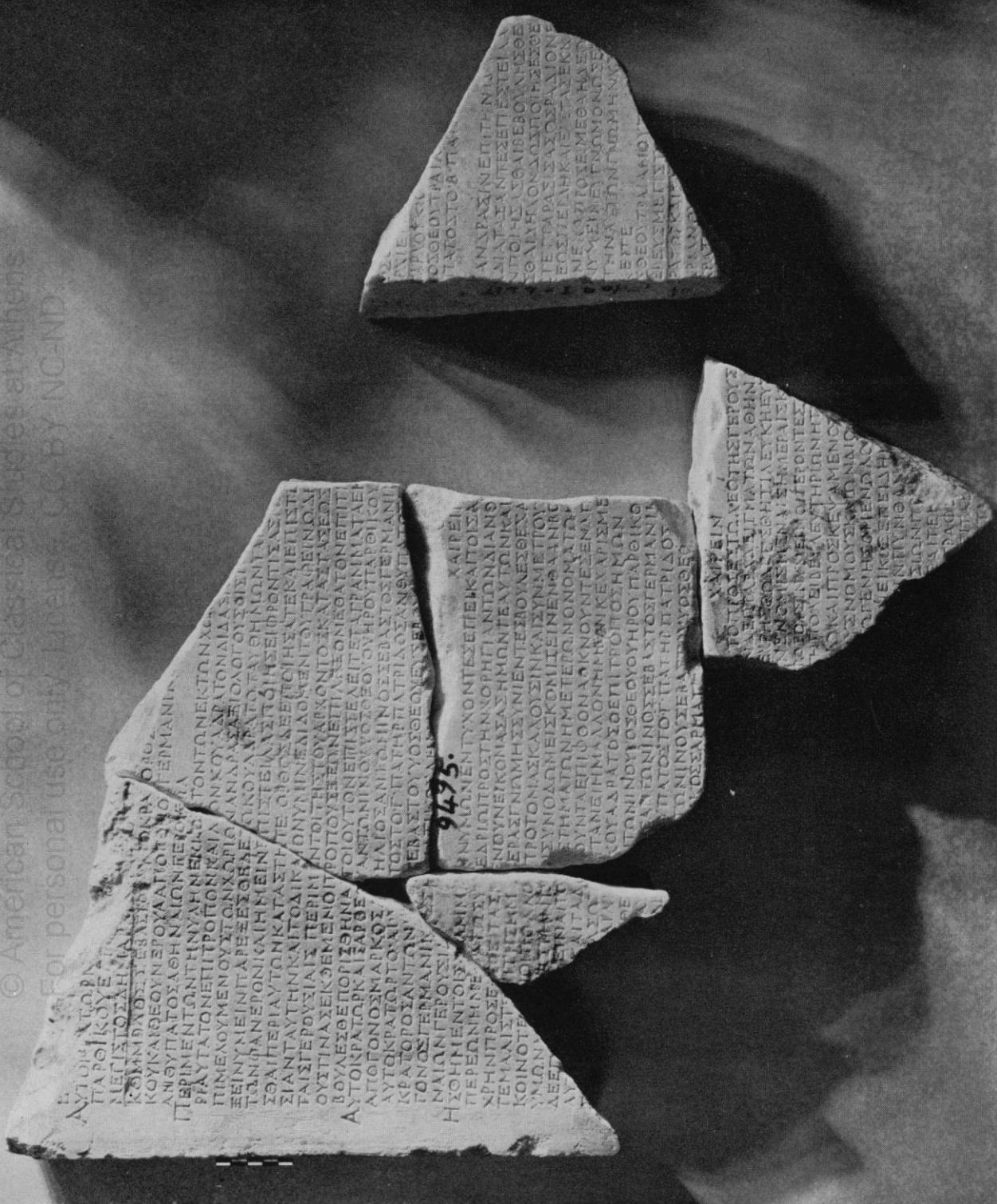
Inv. No. I 27 (= Meritt, fragment *d*).



No. 24. Fragment *a*

'Επώνυμος  
Κλ δαδοῦχος,  
Κλ Λεωνίδου  
[ἀρχοντο]ς τ[ὸ]  
5 [τῆς ιερᾶς]  
[γερουσίας]

About four lines missing



No. 24. The Group Constituting Fragment *b* (left) and Fragment *c* (right)

- Παρθικοῦ ἔγγο[νος, θεοῦ Νέρουα ἀπόγονος, Μᾶρκος Αὐρήλιος Ἀντωνῖνος Σεβαστὸς Γερ-  
μανικὸς Σαρματικός, ἀρχιερεὺς]  
10 μέγιστος, δημαρχὶ[κῆς ἔξ]ο[υσίας τὸ –, αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ –, ὑπατος τὸ ὕγρο, πατὴρ πατρίδος·  
καὶ Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Λούκιος Αὐρήλιος]

Κόμμαδος Σεβαστὸς Αὐτοκράτορος Ἐπίτιτλος Κύριος τῆς Εὐστούπης οὐανός, θεοῦ Εὐστούπης οὐανός, θεοῦ  
Ἀδριανοῦ ἔγγονος, θεοῦ Τραιανοῦ Παρθι]

κοῦ καὶ θεοῦ Νέρου απόγονος, Γερμανικὸς Σαρματικός, δημαρχικῆς ἔξουσίας τὸ —, αὐτο-  
κράτωρ τὸ —, ὑπατος τὸ —, πατὴρ πατρίδος, ]

20 σίαν ταύτην καὶ τὸ δίκαιον ὑμῖν ἐδίδομεν τοῦ γράφειν ὡδὴ [ν-----]  
ταῖς γερουσίαις· περὶ μέντοι τῆς τοῦ ἄρχοντος καταστάσεως [-----]  
οὖστινας ἐκθέμενοι τρόπους ἐξ ὧν ἐπιλεξόμεθα τὸν ἐπίτρ[οπον ----- εἰ δὲ]  
βούλεσθε πορισθῆναι τοιοῦτον, ἐπιστελεῦτε τὰ γράμματα ἐκ[είνῳ να]cat εὐτυχεῖτε να]cat  
Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ θε[ο]ῦ Ἀντωνίου νός, θεοῦ Οὐήρου Παρθικοῦ [Μεγίστου ἀδελφ]ός,  
θ[εοῦ Τραιανοῦ Παρθικοῦ ἔγγονος, θεοῦ Νέρονα]

25 ἀπόγονος, Μᾶρκος Α[ὐ]ρήλιος Ἀντωνίνος Σεβαστὸς Γερμανικ[ὸς Σαρματικός, ἀ]ρχιερ[εὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἔξουσίας τὸ ἄλγε]

*αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ ἄι, ὃ[πα]τος τὸ ἄγο, πατήρ πατρίδος, ἀνθύπατος· [καὶ Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖ]-  
σαρ Λούκιος [Αὔρηλιος Κόμμαδος Σεβαστός, Αύτο]*

κράτορος Ἀντωνί[νο]υ Σεβαστοῦ νός, θεοῦ Εὐσέβοῦ[ς νιωνός, θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ ἔγγονος, θεοῦ Τραια[νοῦ Παρθικοῦ καὶ θεοῦ Νέρου απόγονος, Γερμανικ[ὸ]ς Σαρματικός, δημαρχικῆς ἔξουσία]ς τῷ [·δ·, αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ ·β·,

νύ] πατος τὸ >β>, πατὴ[ρ πατρίδος, ἀνθύπατος, Ἀθη]  
 ναίων γερουσίᾳ vacat χαίρειν vacat  
 30 Ὁσθημεν τοῦς γ[ράμμα]σιν ὑμῶν ἐντυχόντες, ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῦς ἀ[---]  
 ἀνδράσιν ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν [---]

περ ἐωνήμεθα τῷ συ[ν]εδρίῳ πρὸς τὴν χορηγίαν τῶν διανο[μῶν, ——————] α  
διατάξαντες ἐπεστέίλαμ[εν —————— ἐ]

χρήν προσεέσθε<sup>v</sup> τὰς μὲν οὖν εἰκόνιας ἃς ήμων τ' αὐτῶν καὶ [τῶν ήμων γυναικῶν] ν ποιήσασ-  
θαι βεβούλησθε χ[ρυσᾶς ή ἀργυρᾶς, ή]  
τε μάλιστ' ἐ[πί] τῆς ήμε[το]ς ἔρας γνώμης συνιέντες βούλεσθε χα[λκαῖς εἰκόσιν ἀρκεῖ] σθαι,  
δῆλον δ' ὡς ποιήσεσθε ἀ[νδριάντας οἴους]

κοινότε[ρο]ν οἱ πολλοὶ[ἰ] προτομὰς καλοῦσιν, καὶ συνμέτρους [αὐτὰς ἐκτελέσετε τὰ]ς τέταρας ἵσας ὡς ράδιον ε[ἶναι ἐν ταῖς ἑορταῖς]

35 νῦν κ[αθ' ἐκ]άστην τ[ῷ] γ[η] συνόδων εἰσκομίζειν ἔνθα ἀν βο[ύλησθε αὐτὰς ἐκάστο]τε ὡσπερ δὴ καὶ εἰς τὰς ἐκκλ[ησίας τοὺς βάθρους]

δὲ ἐπ[ὶ τούτοις] εἶναι τὸ [ἐπί]στημα τῶν ἡμετέρων ὀνομάτων [τῆς εἰς ἡμᾶς εὔνοίας ἐ]νεκα προσείμεθα, ἥδεω[ς ἀποδεχόμενοι τοι]

αὐτ'[ἀλλὰ τὰ θεῖα] καὶ τὰ δο[κι]οῦντα ἐπίφθονα ὀκνοῦντες ἐν ἄπ[ασι καιροῖς διὸ καὶ νῦν]ν ὑμεῖν εὐγνωμόνως ἐμ[φανίζομεν ποιήσα]

σ[θαι μόνον χαλκ]ᾶς ὡς [το]ῦτο ἀν εἴη μᾶλλον ἡμε[ῖ]ν κεχαρισμέ[νον τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους]

40 [δηλώσει ὑμεῖν Κ]αίλι[ος] Κοναδράτος ὁ ἐπίτροπος ἡμῶν vacat [εὔτυ]χεῖτε vacat [δηλώσει Καίλιος] Κοναδράτος ὁ ἐπίτροπος ἡμῶν vacat [εὔτυ]χεῖτε vacat [δηλώσει Καίλιος]

45 [ἀπόγονος, Μάρκος] Αὐ[ρήλιο]ς Ἀντωνίνος Σεβαστὸς Γερμανικ[ὸς Σαρματικός, ἀρχι]ερεὺς μέγιστο[ς, δημαρχικῆς ἔξουσίας τὸ]

[-, αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ] δέ[κατον], ὑπατος τὸ ἕγος, πατὴρ πατρίδος, [ἀνθύπατος· καὶ Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖστ[αρ Λούκιος Αὐρήλιος Κόμμοδος]

[Σεβαστός, Αὐτοκράτορος Ἀντωνίνου Σεβαστοῦ νόσος, θεοῦ Οὐρήρου Παρθικο[ῦ Μεγίστου ἀδελφο]ς, θεοῦ Τραιανοῦ Παρθικοῦ ἔγγονος, θεοῦ Νέρουα]

[ἀπόγονος, Θεοῦ Τραιανοῦ Παρθικοῦ καὶ]

[θεοῦ Νέρουα ἀπόγονος, Γερμανικούς Σαρματι[κός, δημαρχικῆς ἔξουσίας τὸ ἕγος, αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ ἕγος, ὑπατος τὸ ἕγος, πατὴρ πατρίδος, ἀνθύπατον]

50 45 [πατος, -----] vacat χαίρειν vacat

[-----]υτο, προσέστω δὲ ὁ τῆς γερουσ[ίας -----]

[-----]ν δεῖ παράδειγμα τῶν Ἀθηνα[ίων -----]

[-----]ε, χρήσθω δὲ ἐσθῆτι λευκῇ εὐ[-----]

[-----]ς νενομισμέναις ἡμέραις κ[-----]

55 [-----]φοροῦσιν ὑμεῖν οἱ γέροντες τ[-----]

[-----τῶν ἐν] τῇ πόλει β<ο>υλευτηρίων ητ[-----]

[-----]ιῷ καὶ προσκεψάμενος [-----]

[-----το]ὺς νόμους καὶ ὅν διο[-----]

[-----] τῷ γενησομένῳ λο[γιστῇ -----]

60 55 [-----]νεικος· ἐπειδὴ κ[-----]

[-----]ιν πυνθανο[-----]

[-----]σιων πρ[-----]

[-----]σαιτεκ[-----]

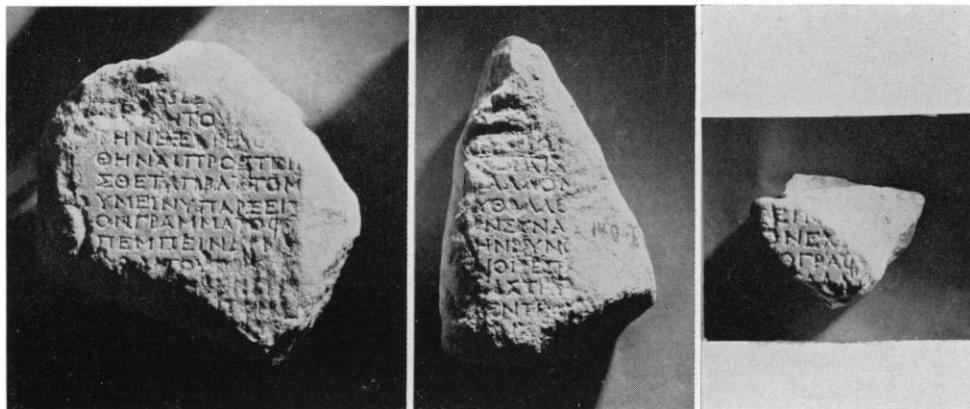
[-----]γράφε[ιν -----]

[-----]ειταβ[-----]

[-----]ντα[-----]

[-----]. [-----]

lacuna

No. 24. Fragments *d*, *e*, and *f*Fragment *d*

65    [...]σωση[  
 [...]θη τον[  
 την εξακε[ι]ο[  
 θηναι πρός τε π[  
 σθε τὰ πραττόμ[ενα  
 ὑμεῖν ὑπάρξει τ[  
 ον γραμματοφυ[λάκιον  
 πέμπειν δυν[  
 70   .]ολιτον[  
 [---]εν[  
 [---]π[  
 lacuna

Fragment *e*

75    [...]ων[  
 [...]εγαιο[  
 [...]ν ἄλλον [  
 [...]ν θαλλο[ν  
 [...]ν συνα[  
 [...]ην σύνο[δον  
 [...]νον ἐπα[  
 80    [...]αστην[  
 [...]εντεθ[  
 [...]ασ[  
 lacuna

Fragment *f*

85    [...]ρειν[  
 [...]ονεχε[  
 [...]ογραφ[  
 [...]ἀλλα[  
 lacuna

The inscription contains a series of imperial letters. The first step toward an interpretation consists in locating the various fragments in respect to each other. The position of fragment *c*, which has part of the imperial titles of a preamble to an epistle both at the top and at the bottom, constitutes the main problem. Meritt formerly located it in respect to I 64 sixteen lines higher than I have done. But that involved him in really insurmountable difficulties with the restoration of the imperial titles; and as to the content of the letter below his first preamble, he was unable to establish any connection between the two pieces which he placed as parts of one continuous text. Meritt arranged the two pieces I 64 and I 60 (my fragment *c*) as if they contained parts of the preamble and text of the same letter, chiefly because in each case he had

an epistle of ten lines of text below the imperial titles of a similar preamble. With the discovery of new pieces, however, we have one more epistle with ten lines of text below the imperial titles of a preamble, and we are therefore invited to assign fragment *c* to a later epistle by locating fragment *c* sixteen lines below the position assigned to it by Meritt. By so doing we can, I believe, establish in regard to the body of the letter a connection of sense between fragment *c* and its new companion in a horizontal plane; and furthermore, a continuous line of cleavage, which the reader must examine in the photograph (see p. 110), greatly corroborates our assignment of fragment *c* to the new position.

On the other hand, it must be admitted that the difficulties with the restoration of the imperial titles have not all been resolved merely through the new arrangement. Examining the first preamble of which part is preserved on fragment *c*, we find that the new arrangement clears up all the difficulties in four lines, but that in one line the restoration is perfectly adapted to the space only when we assume that the reference to Hadrian among the ancestors of Marcus Aurelius ( $\theta\epsilonον̄ \text{Άδριανον̄ νιωνός}$ ) has been omitted through somebody's error. This hypothesis is not really bold, for the space occupied by ten letters in one line closely approximates the space occupied by ten letters in another, and therefore a comparison between the preserved letters of this preamble and the preserved letters of the preamble to the preceding epistle actually reveal that a whole phrase must have fallen out of the first line of the preamble here under immediate consideration. Examining the second preamble of which part has been preserved on fragment *c*, we find that the new arrangement clears up many difficulties, but that again we must assume that the reference to Hadrian among the ancestors of Marcus Aurelius has been omitted through somebody's error. Besides, two consecutive lines of this preamble appear to be three or four letters short at the right side of the stone. We can perhaps explain away this anomaly by assuming that the lines were here shortened by the presence of some decorative feature such as the leaf which the reader may see on a stone from the third century after Christ in the photograph published in *Hesperia*, II (1933), p. 506.

In recapitulation, the view here taken is that the continuous line of cleavage and the connection of sense from one fragment to the other determine as correct, despite certain minor irregularities, the new position which we have assigned to fragment *c*, even as against a position somewhere in the lost portion below. On this assumption we make our calculations as to the width of the stone (0.91 m.) and as to the distance which separates the top of the plaque from the rest of the main fragments. The piece from the top, fragment *a*, carries part of a circle which must be either tangent to or not far above the horizontal line dividing the pediment from the rest of the plaque. Viewed architecturally, the monument is a type of inscription common in the second and third centuries after Christ, particularly familiar from the series of ephebic catalogues. P. Graindor, *Album des inscriptions attiques de l'époque imperiale* (Ghent,

1924), Plate XL, publishes a photograph of a similar but less elegantly engraved monument containing a letter of Hadrian to the Athenians.

Only about four lines of text seem to have been lost at the top of the plaque below the pediment. Because four or five lines could scarcely have accommodated another imperial letter and because the lettering in line 7 appears to be slightly larger than that below, we may assume that a preamble to the whole series rather than another epistle occupied the opening lines. Accordingly, we refer to the epistle which begins in line 8 as the first Letter of the document. A second Letter begins in line 24 and a third in line 40. The first two are addressed to the Gerusia itself while the third concerns it.

The position of fragments *d*, *e*, and *f* cannot be determined. It is not uncommon for a stele to be about twice as high as it is wide, and if it had been so in this case, almost half of the original inscription would have fallen below the section which ends with fragment *c*.

The circle at the top of the inscription contained an acknowledgment to the eponymus (see pages 3 and 44) and in the genitive a dating by the contemporary officer of the Gerusia, who was either the archon or the secretary. From a genealogical tree which Kirchner drew up in the commentary to *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3609, it appears that Claudius Leonides was the uncle or else a previously unreported relative, but not the father, of Claudius the daduchus, and that they belonged to a family for generations most active in the public and religious life of Athens.

The chronological problems of the inscription have been discussed above on pages 2-3, the relation between the imperial procurator (*ἐπίτροπος*) and the Gerusia has been considered on pages 44-46, and the *λογιστής*, who appears to be mentioned in lines 23 and 52-54, has already occupied our attention on pages 44-47.

The second letter, the only one preserved to any adequate degree, constitutes an imperial rescript concerning questions raised in an epistle from the Gerusia, as the opening words reveal. The reply begins graciously: "Ησθημεν τοῖς γ[ράμμα]σιν ὑμῶν ἐντυχόντες. This introductory phrase, accompanied by a reference to one matter set forth in the original letter of the Gerusia, parallels the Latin expression, *libenter cognovi litteris vestris*.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>10</sup> The following examples of the formula are taken from the letters of Trajan to Pliny:

36: *Et soluisse vos cum provincialibus dis immortalibus vota pro mea salute et nuncupasse, libenter, mi Secunde carissime, cognovi ex litteris tuis.*

53: *Quanta religione et laetitia commilitones cum provincialibus te praeeunte diem imperii mei celebraverint, libenter, mi Secunde carissime, cognovi litteris tuis.*

101: *Solvisse vota dis immortalibus te praeeunte pro mea incolumitate commilitones cum provincialibus laetissimo consensu et in futurum nuncupasse, libenter, mi Secunde carissime, cognovi litteris tuis.*

103: *Diem imperii mei debita laetitia et religione commilitonibus et provincialibus praeeunte te celebratum, libenter cognovi litteris tuis.*

The first paragraph of Letter II concerns the donations to be distributed and ends with the vacant space after the word *προσενσθε* in line 31. A second paragraph begins with the words *τὰς μὲν οὖν εἰκόνας* and concerns the images which the Elders have offered to the emperors. It appears from line 32 that there is a choice between one type of images and another. If we make the rather inviting restoration *χα[λκᾶς εἰκόσιν ἀρκεῖ]σθαι*, the choice is chiefly one of material, and is settled presumably in line 37. Not only does the restoration *χ[ρυσᾶς ἢ ἀργυρᾶς]* conform well to the preserved text and fit the size of the lacuna at the end of line 31, but the tone of the whole reply strongly confirms it.

As interpreted and restored by me, accordingly, the passage reads as follows:

“ Then in regard to the images which you have wanted to make of ourselves and of our consorts <sup>11</sup> in gold or silver, or best of all, if understanding from our own proposal, you are willing to content yourselves with images of bronze, it is clear that you will make statues such as the many more commonly call *προτομαί* (busts), and you will execute them on a moderate scale, the four of equal size, so that it will be easy on your holidays at every gathering to transport them wherever you may wish on every occasion, as for example to the popular assemblies. And as for the bases, we permit the placing of our names upon these because of your good will toward us, for we gladly accept such honors but on all occasions we avoid the divine and those which seem to provoke envy. Therefore, also now we gratefully instruct you to make only bronze images, that this would be more pleasing to us. As for the other persons, Caelius Quadratus our procurator, who is being instructed by them, will inform you of their decision.”

The question whether the emperors will accept statues in precious metals appears in our records repeatedly, because acceptance of gold statues, which from Hellenistic times had belonged essentially among the *ἱστόθεοι τύμαί*, was tantamount to an acceptance of divine honors. Consequently, as Scott has pointed out,<sup>12</sup> almost every Roman emperor of the first two centuries had felt himself called upon, at one time or another, to define a policy and to state publicly whether he would forbid or permit portraits of himself in precious metals. With the exception of the four tyrants, Caligula, Nero, Domitian and Commodus, none permitted gold statues. A few silver images erected in an emperor's lifetime are recorded in the documents, but silver statues shared the connotation of the gold ones, and with the exception of the four tyrants the emperors of the first two centuries preferred to avoid them.

The reference to the transportation of images (line 35) becomes more readily intelligible when we compare the donation which Vibius Salutaris made at Ephesus (104 A.D.). In one of the decrees of this long document (No. 3, lines 419-425) the

<sup>11</sup> Faustina had already died in 176, but she continued to be honored after her death.

<sup>12</sup> K. Scott, “The Significance of Statues in Precious Metals in Emperor Worship,” *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, LXII (1931), pp. 101-123.

Ephesian Council ordains that “it be permitted to the χρυσοφοροῦντες [to carry] from the first room of Artemis to the assembly meetings (ἐκκλησίαι) and to the games the type-statues (ἀπεικονίσματα) and the images (εἰκόνες) which have been dedicated by Gaius Vibius Salutaris, that also the νεοποιοί shall associate themselves in this charge, that the ephebes, too, shall join in transporting the images from the Magnesian Gate and shall escort the procession as far as the Coressian Gate.” References to the procession occur in the inscription also in other places where the text is not so well preserved.<sup>13</sup>

At lines 30-31 in the rescript after the word *προσέιμεθα* the emperors formulate in a phrase their general policy in regard to honors. We can restore the meaning. We remember that Claudius accepted with pleasure (*ἡδέως προσέδεξάμην*) reasonable honors from the Alexandrians, but he rejected the excessive.<sup>14</sup> This is the imperial policy which would have been followed by Marcus Aurelius.<sup>15</sup> Furthermore, Claudius deprecated the appointment of a high-priest to him and the erection of temples with the remark, “I do not wish to be offensive to my contemporaries and I hold that sacred fanes and the like have by all ages been attributed only to the gods as peculiar honors.” Excessive honors are proper for the gods alone and they provoke hostility when they are given to men. Excessive honors, in other words, are *θεῖα καὶ ἐπίφθονα*. In the beginning of line 31 of our document, after we restore the necessary adversative, the lacuna becomes very small indeed, and it is filled exactly by the restoration *τὰ θεῖα*.

The wording [*θεῖα*] *καὶ ἐπίφθονα δο[κ]οῦντα* of the rescript to the Gerusia recalls strikingly the phrase in the edict<sup>16</sup> where Germanicus after his political error in

<sup>13</sup> In the theatre, where the popular assembly met at Ephesus, special places were reserved for these images, which made an important contribution to the solemnity of the occasion. It is decreed (lines 468-469) that one “be placed at every regular assembly meeting above the bench where the *ταιᾶς* sit,” and (lines 475-477) that another “be placed at every regular assembly meeting [above the] bench where the *ἱερονεῖκαι* sit.” Likewise in lines 157-158 it is stipulated that certain of them are “to be placed during the assembly meetings above the bench of the Council together with the gold statue of Artemis and the other images.”

In a much mutilated passage (lines 202-209), which on the analogy of parallel passages can be restored with some confidence, it is stipulated that the *ἀπεικονίσματα* are to be placed upon “the nine bases (*θ βάσεις*) which are inscribed and [arranged] according to rows,” and that when the assembly meetings are over, the statues and images are to be returned to the sanctuary of Artemis. Of these nine bases eight have actually been found in the theatre at Ephesus, and one also for the supplementary donation. They are published in the *Forschungen in Ephesos*, II, no. 28. As No. 4 we have reprinted the text of the first of these. Each base recorded that C. Vibius Salutaris had had the images made, *ita ut omni ecclesia supra bases ponerentur*.

<sup>14</sup> H. I. Bell, *Jews and Christians in Egypt* (London, 1924), pp. 1-37.

<sup>15</sup> The policy began with Augustus as was recognized by L. R. Taylor, *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, LX, 1929, pp. 87-101.

<sup>16</sup> Papyrus from the beginning of the second century after Christ (Zucker, 1795), first published by U. v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff and F. Zucker, “Zwei Edikte des Germanicus auf einem Papyrus des Berliner Museums,” *Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, XXXVIII, 1911, pp. 794-821. U. Wilcken, “Zum Germanicus Papyrus,” *Hermes*, LXIII, 1928,

distributing the grain at Alexandria deprecates the divine acclamations of the populace: *τὴν μὲν εὔνοιαν ὑμῶν, ἣν αἱὲ ἐπιδείκνυσθε ὅταν με {ε}ἰδητε, ἀποδέχομαι, τὰς δὲ ἐπιφθόνους [ς] ἐμοὶ καὶ ἰσοθέους ἐκφωνήσεις ἔξ <ᾶ>παντος παραιτοῦμαι, κτλ.* Excessive honors are *ἰσόθεα καὶ ἐπίφθονα*. In his article on the Germanicus papyrus U. Wilcken has cited another parallel from Pseudo-Callisthenes, II, 22, 12. Rhodogune and Stateira have written to Alexander that they had planned divine honors for him. Alexander replies:<sup>17</sup> *παραιτοῦμαι τὰς ἰσοθέους τιμάς· ἐγὼ γὰρ ἄνθρωπος φθαρτὸς γεγένημαι καὶ εὐλαβοῦμαι τὸ τοιοῦτον· κίνδυνον γὰρ φέρει τὸν περὶ ψυχῆς. ἐπαινῶ δὲ καὶ δέχομαι ὑμῶν τὸ φρόνημα, κτλ.*

The same reserve and an intimation of the same motives appear in the answer of Tiberius to the Gytheates who had offered divine honors to Livia and to him. “Decimus Turranius Nicanor,” replied Tiberius, “sent by you as ambassador to me and to my mother, delivered your letter in which were recorded the laws which you have passed for worship of my father and for honor to us. I commend you for these things. I presume that it is fitting both for all mankind in general and for your city in particular to maintain divine honors in return for the greatness of my father’s benefactions to the whole world. But I myself am content with more moderate (*μετριωτέραις*) and human (*ἀνθρωπεῖοις*) honors. As for my mother, she will reply to you when she learns from you what decision you have made concerning the honors to her.” Although opinions may differ as to the sincerity of the emperor’s protestations, it cannot be denied that his words revealed the feeling that the honors decreed by the Gytheates were *θεῖα καὶ ἐπίφθονα*, and that, as such, these honors ought to be refused by the emperor. He does not actually say that he will not accept them because he has established for himself a general rule never to accept the *θεῖα* and *ἐπίφθονα*, but he does say that he will rest content with the *ἀνθρωπεῖα* and *μετριώτερα*. The expression employed by Tiberius lacks the force of the other and may not have convinced the Gytheates, who, as some would deduce from the rest of the inscription at Gythium, promptly associated him with Livia and Augustus and treated him as a god, but it amounts to the same thing.

The tone, however, in which Marcus Aurelius and Commodus discuss the proposed honors is both sincere and exact. They state precisely what they will gratefully accept and what they do not want generally. This is the policy which we meet in the

pp. 48-65 has contributed a most important discussion of the passage here quoted from the second edict. The whole terminology has just been restudied by M. P. Charlesworth, “The Refusal of Divine Honours, an Augustan Formula,” *Papers of the British School at Rome*, XV, 1939, pp. 1-10, where I find one more parallel (not however from an emperor), *I.G.R.R.*, IV, 1302: *τὰν μὲν ὑπερβάρεα καὶ θέουσι καὶ τοῖς ἰσσοθέουσι ἀρμόζουσαν . . . τείμαν παρηγήσατο.*

<sup>17</sup> *Historia Alexandri Magni* (W. Kroll’s edition, 1926), I, p. 97. On this passage compare M. P. Charlesworth, *Papers of the British School at Rome*, XV, 1939, pp. 7 f. The Alexander Romance is usually dated to the second century of our era, and it attributes to Alexander something that he of course never said.

famous letter of Claudius to the Alexandrians.<sup>18</sup> Claudius thanked them for the honors which they had offered him, enumerated each honor one after the other, and in each case he said whether he accepted it or rejected it. The divine honors he deprecated. He gave exact instructions that a gold statue of the Pax Augusta Claudiana be rededicated to the goddess Roma. The Alexandrians, therefore, knew clearly on the basis of this unambiguous, sincere refusal, and they acquiesced. The Athenians, too, are left in no doubt, nor do we hear that they have made any gold images of Marcus Aurelius. But as Tiberius left it to Livia to make her own reply in regard to the honors offered to her, so here the emperors speak only for themselves and for their consorts.

Not only modesty suggested the advice in regard to the bronze *προτομαί*. Consideration also for the strained finances of the municipalities probably contributed to a development of the attitude expressed in the imperial rescript, for by enabling the Athenians to employ these convenient busts and to transport them wherever needed, the emperors relieved them of the obligation to erect a number of costly statues. Marcus Aurelius, indeed, seems to have been particularly anxious to alleviate the financial burdens which custom imposed upon the cities in the form of an excessive outlay for honors, spectacles, and other luxuries. An inscription<sup>19</sup> of 176/7 A.D., from Italica in Baetica reveals the beneficent intervention of the emperors to reduce the sums expended on gladiatorial exhibitions. The fiscus renounced its share of the proceeds, and the municipalities themselves curtailed the allotment. The orator, whose speech is recorded in the latter inscription, thanks the emperors, *qui salutaribus remedis, fisci ratione post habita, labentem civitatum statum et praecipitantes iam in ruinas principalium virorum fortuna<s> restituerunt.*

In regard to the honors offered by the provincials the moderate and considerate policy of the older emperor, as we meet it again in this letter, to the Athenian Elders, offers a striking contrast to the attitude which his son displayed in the next few years. Commodus like Caligula, Nero and Domitian, aspired to divine honors in his own life time, accepted gold images and delighted in *τὰ δοκοῦντα ἐπίφθονα*, so emphatically rejected in this very letter.<sup>20</sup> His association in the title lends a note of irony.

Not long afterwards Dio Cassius writing his Roman history with the reigns of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus still fresh in his mind, could look back over the first two centuries of the principate. It is interesting to consider a rhetorical speech which he put in the mouth of Maecenas.<sup>21</sup> The latter is urging Octavian to accept the

<sup>18</sup> According to the interpretation of M. Rostovtzeff, *Revue Historique*, CLXIII, 1930, pp. 20-26. The policy reappears in Hadrian's reply to the Achaean League, *Hesperia*, X, 1941, pp. 301-303.

<sup>19</sup> *C.I.L.*, II Suppl., 6278, also published in Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, 5163. One might compare also an inscription from Sardis, Dessau, *loc. cit.*, 9340.

<sup>20</sup> M. Rostovtzeff, "Commodus-Hercules in Britain," *J.R.S.*, XIII, 1923, pp. 91-105.

<sup>21</sup> Concerning this speech which represents Dio's own attitude toward the empire, compare

empire but advises him to refuse with it unusual honors. "You must," he says, "depend upon your good deeds to provide for you any additional splendour. And you should never permit gold or silver images of yourself to be made, for they are not only costly but also invite destruction and last only a brief time; but rather by your benefactions fashion other images in the hearts of your people, images which will never tarnish or perish. Neither should you ever permit the raising of a temple to you; for the expenditure of vast sums of money on such objects is sheer waste. This money would better be used for necessary objects; for wealth which is really wealth is gathered, not so much by getting largely as by saving largely. Then, again, from temples comes no enhancement of one's glory. For it is *ἀρετή* that raises many men to the level of the gods, and no man ever became a god by popular vote. Hence if you are upright as a man and honourable as a ruler, the whole earth will be your hallowed precinct, all cities your temples, and all men your statues, since within their thoughts you will ever be enshrined and glorified."<sup>22</sup>

### THE SECOND STELE WITH AN IMPERIAL LETTER

**25. ATHENS.** This inscription, previously unpublished, consists of two fragments of Pentelic marble. Fragment *a* is broken away all around and at the back. It is now in the Epigraphical Museum at Athens and bears the inventory number E. M. 2763. The catalogue records that it was brought from the Acropolis Museum. Ten letters horizontally occupy the same space on this fragment as ten letters horizontally do on No. 24. Moreover, the height and character of the letters are the same as on No. 24 and the titles of Commodus are most easily restored with a line of about 100 letters as on No. 24. Thirteen lines of this fragment, however, occupy the space of fifteen lines of No. 24.

*a*: Height, 0.24 m.; width, 0.177 m.; thickness, 0.065 m.  
Height of Letters, 0.007 m.

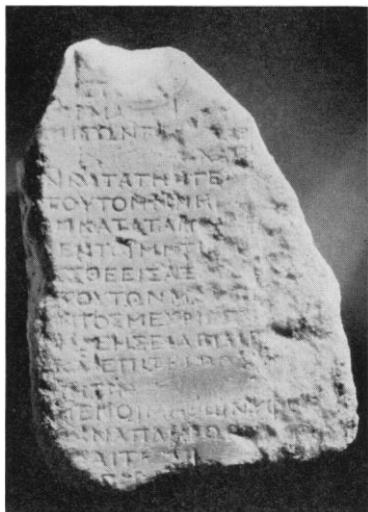
A second small fragment, broken away above, below and at the sides, but preserving part of the back, was found June 14, 1933 in a late fill in Section Z of the American excavations of the Agora.

*b*: Height, 0.17 m.; width, 0.12 m.; thickness, 0.086 m.  
Height of letters, 0.007 m.  
Inv. No. I 964.

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P. Meyer, *De Maecenatis oratione a Dione ficta*, Berlin, 1891, and M. Hammond, "The Significance of the Speech of Maecenas in Dio Cassius, Book LII," *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, LXIII, 1932, pp. 88-102.

<sup>22</sup> Dio, LII, 35, 3 ff., quoted by Scott, *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, LXII (1931), p. 109. Cary's translation.

No. 25. Fragment *a*No. 25. Fragment *b*

5      [---Σεβα]στο[-----]  
 [---Γε]ρμα[νικός-----]  
 [τῇ βουλ]ῇ τῶν Πε[ν]τ[α]κο[σίων]  
 [---] vacat χα[ίρειν vacat  
 [---]ν κατὰ τὴν γερ[ουσίαν ---]  
 [---] τοῦτον μνημ[-----]  
 [---]ν κατὰ τὰ νομ[ιζόμενα ---]  
 [---μ]έντοι μήτε [-----]  
 [---]σθε εἰσαξ[-----]  
 10     [---] τούτων μο[-----]  
 [---]ντος μέχρι [-----]  
 [---έ]νδεήσει ἀεὶ με[-----]

15     [---] καὶ ἐπιτείμων [-----]  
 [---]ησιν [---]σ| [-----]  
 [---]μενοι μαθεῖν νόφ[-----]  
 [---] ἀναπληρωθῆν[αι -----]  
 [---]αιτη[-----]  
 [---]γ[.]! [-----]  
             lacuna  
 20     [---]ρο[-----]  
 [---]αρο[-----]  
 [---]πατρο[-----]  
 [---]ντω[-----]  
 [---]ο[-----]

## COMMENTARY

The few remains of lines 1 and 2, of which I have restored *exempli gratia* merely enough to indicate the character, belong to the imperial titles of Commodus. The remains of line 2 lend themselves to the restoration Σα]ρμα[νικός as well as Γε]-ρμα[νικός. Those of line 1, by themselves, might be considered as belonging to a title followed by a numeral ]s τὸ [-, but such a restoration would involve us in serious

spatial difficulties with the arrangement of the other titles. As it is, we can easily restore either the genitive or the nominative of the word **Σεβαστός**. The genitive, however, would commit us to a date before the death of Marcus Aurelius.



No. 26. The Third Stele With Imperial Letters

5

10

15

[-----] ηθ[-----]  
 [-----] ν καὶ [-----]  
 [-----] ε τῶν ὅρ[ων -----]  
 [-----] προν] οήσεται ο[-----]  
 [-----] αν δρίζειν [-----]  
 [-----] ις καὶ δυναμ[-----]  
 [-----] καὶ Γαργιλιο[-----]  
 [-----] Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ θεοῦ Μάρκου Ἀντωνίνου ὑός, θεοῦ Ἀντωνίνου Εὐσέβου[ ὃς νιώνός, -----]  
 [-----] θεοῦ Τραιανοῦ] Παρθικοῦ καὶ [θεοῦ Νέρονα -----]  
 [-----] Γερμανικὸς] Μέγιστος, ἀρχιερ[εὺς -----]  
 [-----] Αθη] ν[αί] ων γερουσίᾳ [χαίρειν ]  
 [-----] τ]ρίτην τοῦ ἔλαιον [-----]  
 [-----] ὑπὲ] ρ τῶν προ[ϋ] παρξά[ντων -----]  
 [-----] ν ἡλικίαν [-----]  
 [-----] ωνίον τυνννν[ εὐτυχεῖτε ]  
 [-----] Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ θεοῦ Μάρκου Ἀντωνίνου ὑός, θεοῦ Ἄ] ντωνίνου Εὐσ[εβοῦς νιώνός, -----]  
 [-----] θεοῦ Τρα] ιανοῦ Παρθικο[ῦ καὶ θεοῦ Νέρονα --]

[— — — — — Γερμ]ανικὸς Μέγιστ[ος, ἀρχιερεὺς — — —]  
 [— — — — — πατὴρ πατρίδ]ος, Ἀθηναίων γ[ερουσίᾳ χαίρειν]  
 20 [— — — — —]α τῆς πόλεως τ[— — — — —]  
 [— — — — —]ον τοιούτου πεφ[— — — — —]  
 [— — — — —]ν ἐνκωμίῳ τ[— — — — —]  
 [— — — — —]τ]ὸ προκείμεν[ον — — — — —]  
 [— — — — —]οι ἐπὶ τοῖς ηρ[— — — — —]  
 25 [— — — — —]γονιν συνκεχ[ώρηκα — — — — —]  
 [— — — — —]ιπατρος κ[— — — — —]  
 [— — — — —]ονγ[— — — — —]

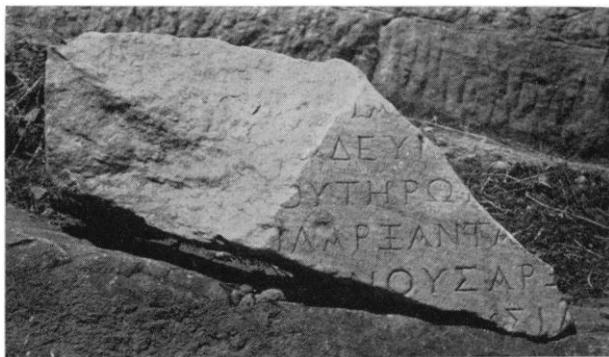
In the commentary on *I.G.*, III, 42 Dittenberger asserted that the titles of both Commodus and Caracalla could be restored because of the phrase Γερμ]ανικὸς Μέγιστ[ος (line 18), a title common to both of them. In the commentary on *I.G.*, III, 43 he preferred to assign the letter to Caracalla because of parallels to the phrase θεοῦ Τραιανοῦ Παρθικοῦ καὶ θεοῦ Νέροντος ἀπόγονος among Latin titles of Caracalla; but we have this phrase also among the titles of Commodus in the imperial letters to the Athenian Gerusia. As Kirchner pointed out, the lettering is more suitable to the time of Commodus.

In lines 8-15 we have one epistle to the Gerusia and another from line 16 on. There is no proof that the remnants of lines 1-7 belong to another imperial epistle, for the two letters preserved in line 1 cannot be fitted into an ordinary preamble, and nothing remains of a final salutation εὐτυχεῖτε. Still it seems likely that the contents of lines 1-7 belong to another epistle of the series, and with the necessary reservation we may refer to it as [Letter] V. The two other epistles, therefore, become Letters VI and VII.

That Letter VII was addressed to the Gerusia has not been noticed by previous editors, because the first copyist read as epsilon the initial letter of the word γ[ερουσίᾳ] and the editors have reproduced his error.

## PROSPECTUS

**27.** ATHENS. Found at Eleusis. J. Spon, *Voyage d'Italie, de Dalmatie, de Grèce et du Levant* (Lyons, 1678), III, part 2, pp. 141 f. G. Wheler, *A Journey into Greece* (London, 1682), p. 429. A. Boeckh, *C.I.G.*, I (1827), 399. W. Dittenberger, *I.G.*, III (1878), 702. E. Loewy, *Inschriften griechischer Bildhauer* (Leipzig, 1885), 456. J. Kirchner, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup> (1935), 3658. See also R. Neubauer, *Archäologische Zeitung*, XXXIV (1876), p. 69 f. J. Toepffer, *Attische Genealogie* (Berlin, 1889), p. 212. P. Graindor, *Chronologie des archontes athéniens sous l'empire* (1922), p. 240.



No. 27. This fragment is the only piece now discoverable of the original monument

*ca. 200 A.D.*

Δήμητρι καὶ Κόρῃ  
ἡ ἱερὰ γερουσίᾳ Μ. Αὐρήλιον  
λιθοφόρον Πρόσδεκτον  
Πιστοκράτους Κεφαλῆθεν  
πρεσβεύσαντα προῖκα,  
τιμηθέντα δὲ ὑπὸ θεοῦ

5 Κομμόδον τῇ Ῥωμαίων  
πολιτείᾳ, ἄρξαντα τοῦ  
Κηρύκων γένους, ἄρξαν  
10 τα τῆς ἱερᾶς γερουσίας,  
εὐσεβείας ἐνεκα.  
Ἄττικὸς Εὐδόξου Σφήγγιος ἐποίησε.

#### TRANSLATION

To Demeter and Kore the Sacred Gerusia because of his loyalty <dedicate the statue of> Marcus Aurelius Prospectus, the Stone-bearer, son of Pistocrates, of the deme Cephale, who went on an embassy at his own expense, was honored by the deified Commodus with Roman citizenship, served as archon of the clan of the Ceryces, served as archon of the Sacred Gerusia.

Atticus, son of Eudoxus, of the deme Sphettus, had the statue made.

#### COMMENTARY

That the Stone-bearer, dignified with a special chair in the Theatre of Dionysus, performed some sort of priestly function in religious ceremonies, was first pointed out by W. Vischer, *Neues schweizerisches Museum*, III (1863), p. 58 (= *Kleine Schriften* [Leipzig, 1878], II, p. 367). See also the observations of P. Roussel, *Mélanges Bides* (Brussels, 1934), pp. 824-827.

Atticus, son of Eudoxus, of the deme Sphettus, was ephebe about 169/70 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2097) and prytanis at the beginning of the third century (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1820). He appears again in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3659: *κατὰ τὰ δόξαντα τῇ [έξ Ἀρεί]ον Πάγου βουλῆ Σεκοῦνδον Ἀτ[τικὸν] Εὐδόξον Σφήγγιον τὸν Εὐμολπίδην*. In our document the meaning of the word *ἐποίησε* constitutes the chief problem of interpretation. Spon assumed that Atticus was the sculptor; both Dittenberger and Graindor returned to this opinion,

after Boeckh, followed by Neubauer, Loewy and Toepffer, asserted that Atticus was not the sculptor but the man who saw to it that the statue was properly executed and erected.

### MENEDEMUS

**28.** ATHENS. Found at Eleusis. F. Lenormant, *Recherches archéologiques à Éleusis* (Paris, 1862), p. 366, no. 102. W. Dittenberger, *I.G.*, III (1878), 851. J. Kirchner, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup> (1935), 3937.

[—Με]νέδημ[ον — — — —]  
[— — —]ος καὶ Ι[— — — —]  
[— — —] ἡ ἵερ[ὰ γερουσίᾳ]  
[— — —]ο[— — — — — —]

### AELIUS EUPHROSYNUS

**29.** ATHENS. The dedication at the head of a prytany catalogue, most recently published as *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1817 and dated shortly after 200 A.D.

κατὰ τὸ ἐπερώτημα τῆς σε  
μνοτάτης βουλῆς τῶν Φ  
οὶ πρυτάνεις τῆς Ἀντιοχίδο[ς]  
φυλῆς τὸν ἐπιστάτην Αἴλιο[ν]

5   Εὐφρόσυνον Παλληνέα τὸν  
ἱερὸν γέροντα ἀνέστησαν εὐ<sup>ρ</sup>  
νοίας ἔνεκα καὶ τῆς εἰς ἑαυτ[οὺς]  
εὐποιίας.

### TRANSLATION

With the permission of the most revered Council of the Five Hundred the Prytanes of the tribe Antiochis set up (a statue of) the epistate Aelius Euphrosynus of the deme Pallene, the Sacred Elder, because of his goodwill and his beneficence to them.

### PRIMUS

**30.** ATHENS. From *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1818, a prytany catalogue dated shortly after 200 A.D. It was first published by P. Graindor, *B.C.H.*, LI (1927), pp. 298-300, no. 73.

17   [— — —]α Πρεῖμος ἱερὸς γέ  
ρων

### DECREES HONORING ULPIUS EUBIOTUS

**31.** ATHENS. The following text is based on four new fragments of a stele of Pentelic marble and on Kirchner's copy of the inscription *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1064. The four new fragments, as also the fragment of a duplicate stele No. 32, were discovered in the American Excavations of the Agora. The provenience of the stone which once exhibited the inscription *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1064 is unknown. The stele was 0.81 m. wide and 0.095 m. thick, but of unknown height. The letters are 0.005 m.-0.006 m. high.

Fragment *a* was found on March 15, 1934 in a late fill over the Tholos. It preserves part of the smooth picked top of the block, but is otherwise broken away. Height, 0.11 m.; width, 0.045 m. Inv. No. I 1567 a.

Fragment *b*, the main piece, was found on December 21, 1935 in the wall of a modern well in Section Z. It preserves the back, a badly calcinated right side and part of the left side. It is broken away above and below. The inscription was reworked to serve as a cornice block. The surface at the left was cut away at the time of reworking, and the surface at the right has suffered severely from calcination. Height, 0.37 m.; width, 0.81 m. Inv. No. I 1567 b.

Fragment *c* was found on March 29, 1934 in the wall trench of the porch of the Tholos. Part of the left side with the bevelled edge is preserved. Height, 0.085 m.; width, 0.10 m. Inv. No. I 1719.

Fragment *d* has no history previous to its appearance in the Epigraphical Museum, where J. Kirchner copied it. It was published by Kirchner as *I.G., II<sup>2</sup>, 1064*. He reported that part of the margin was preserved at the right, and that toward the right the stone was badly worn and the letters difficult to read. When I examined the stone in the spring of 1940, not a single

letter nor even a stroke of a letter was any longer visible on its badly calcinated surface. The stone is broken away at the left, above and below, but the back is original. Height, 0.10 m.; width, 0.24 m. Inv. No. E[pi]graphical M[museum] 2648. The squeeze which Kirchner used I have not been able to consult.

Fragment *e* was found on March 24, 1934 in the fill over the Tholos floor. It is broken away all around and at the back. Height, 0.044 m.; width, 0.03 m. Inv. No. I 1650.

Letters underlined in the text occur in the duplicating text of No. 32.

#### Fragment *a*

[---]ον δω[---]  
 [---]ι δὲ αὐ[τ---]  
 [---] φιλοτέ[ιμ---]  
 [---] προγραφ[---]  
 [---]ι μετὰ τ[---]  
 [---] ἔξηγητ---κα]ὶ μάντε[---]  
 [---] ντον το[---]  
 [---] σ]υνεδρι[---]  
 [---]εν τη[---]

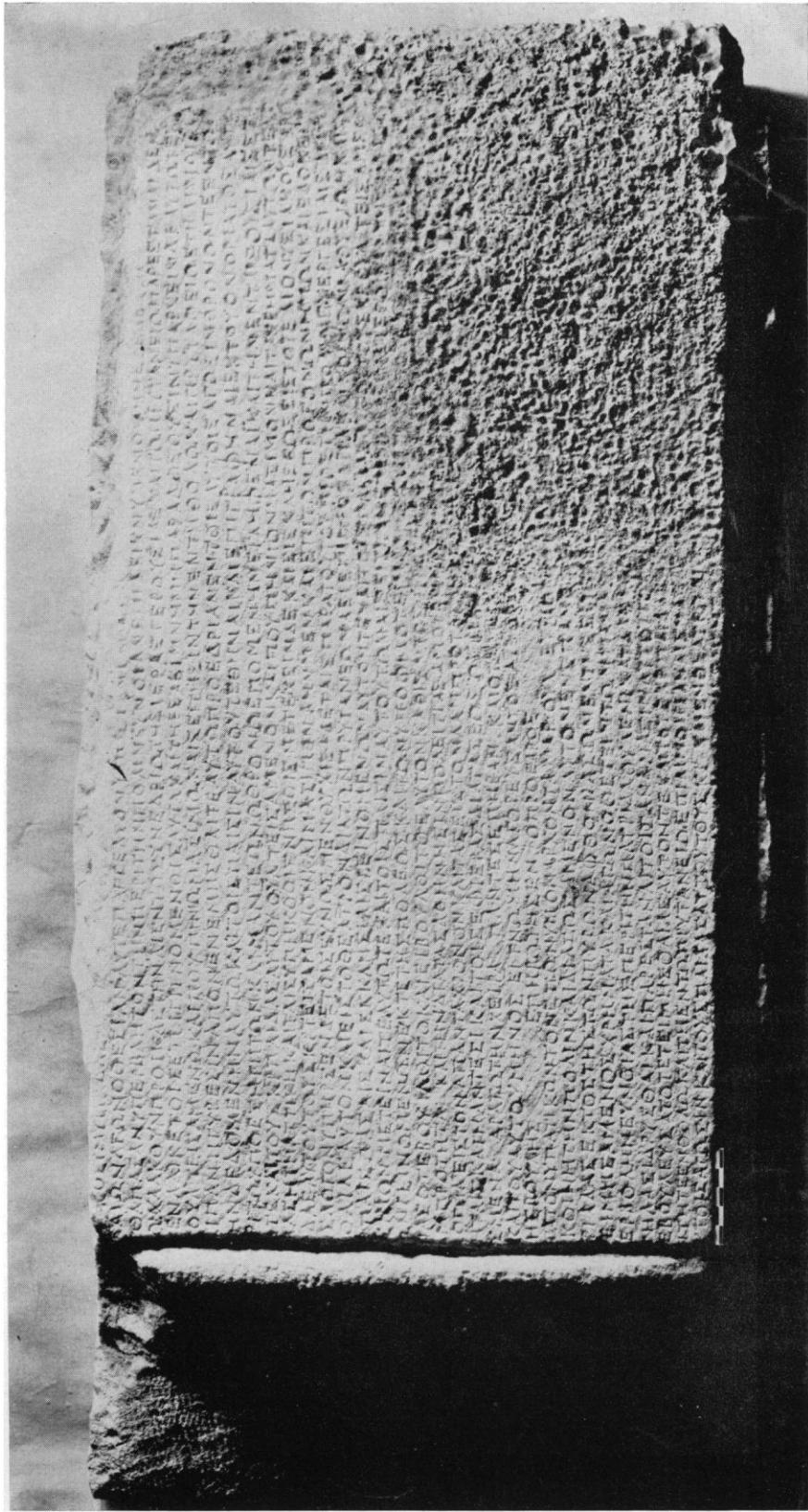
lacuna

#### Fragment *b*

10 [ῶν ἔδωκε πέντε καὶ εἴ]κοσι μυριάδας, ἐ[ν] δὲ [---]  
 [--- καὶ τὴν Παναθην]αίων ἀγωνιθεσίαν αὐτεπάγγελτον ὑποστάντα μεγα[---]  
 [--- κα]θάπαξ ἀνυπέρβλητον τὴν περὶ τὴν πόλιν εὔνοιαν ἐπιδεικνύμενον  
 ην ἔξεδέξατο πα[ρὰ τῶν προγόνων·]



No. 31. Fragments *c*, *e*, and *a*.



No. 31. Fragment b.

- [καὶ ἀνδριάντα αὐτὸν χαλκοῦν προῖκα στήναι ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ τῆς Ἱερᾶς γερουσίας καὶ τῷ πρυτανεῖῳ· παρεστάναι δὲ [στήλα λι]
- [θίνα δύο ἀναγεγραμμένα]ένα αἱ κὲ τοῖς ἐπιγιγνομένοις αὐτὰ τῇ ἐσαεὶ μυῆμη παραδώσονται· ὑπάρχειν δὲ αὐτῷ τε κ[αὶ τοῖς]
- 15 [παισὶν αὐτοῦ τοῖς κρ] Οὐλ> Τεισαμενῷ καὶ Πουπηνῷ Μαξίμῳ καὶ σείτησιν τὴν ἐν τῇ θόλῳ καὶ πρυτανεῖῳ ἐπὶ διμοιρίᾳ [καὶ]  
[στέφανον ἐν ἀγῶσι κα]ὶ πανηγύρεσιν· ἀπονενεμῆσθαι τε αὐτῷ προεδρίαν ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἀγῶσιν· θρόνον τε ἐν τῷ θ[εάτρῳ]  
[κατὰ τὴν προνομίαν τ]ὴν δεδομένην αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς παισὶν αὐτοῦ, τεθῆναι καὶ ἐπιγραφῆναι ἐκ τοῦ ὄνοματος αὐτοῦ[ ὃν ἐν ἐ]  
[πιτηδείῳ τόπῳ προκ]ρίτῳ ὑπὸ ἔξηγητῶν καὶ μάντεων, φθρόνῳ ἐπομένην εἰληφέναι καὶ τὴν ἐν ταῖς οὐσίαις στά[σιν]  
[ἀνεισφορίας αὐτό]ν τε καὶ τοὺς κρ παῖδας αὐτοῦ Οὐλ Τεισαμενὸν καὶ Πουπήνιον Μάξιμον, καὶ τὰ χρήματα αὐτῶν τελῷ[ν]
- 20 [ἀπολύεσθαι ἐν τε ἀ]πάσῃ τῇ Ἀττικῇ καὶ ταῖς ὑπηκόοις νήσοις· μετέχειν δὲ καὶ εἰσκλήσεως εἰς τοὺς Διονυσιακοὺς ἀγῶ[νας]  
[αὐτόν τε καὶ τοὺς παῖ]δας αὐτοῦ τοὺς κρ Τεισαμενὸν καὶ Μάξιμον, ἀ ήν μὲν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν προγόνων ἡμῶν καὶ ἐδόκε[ι ἀντὶ εὐ]  
[εργεσιῶν εἶναι πρὸ]ς λόγον, ὑπῆρξεν δὲ τοῖς εὕνως μὲν οὐχ ἵστα δὲ ταῖς παρὰ τούτου πρὸς τὴν πόλιν εὑρεγεσίαις διδ[ούσιν ἐκ]  
[τῶν ιδίων· εἰσκαλεῖσ]θαι δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ εἰς τὸ θέατρον διὰ τῶν πρυτάνεων ἀεὶ ἐπὶ προεδρίᾳ καὶ κοινωνίᾳ θυσιῶν καὶ [κρέανο]  
[μιῶν τῶν ἐν τε πομ]παῖς πάσαις καὶ ἐκκλησίαις γεινομένων αὐτόν τε καὶ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτοῦ τοὺς κρ Οὐλ Τεισάμε[νὸν καὶ]
- 25 [Οὐλ Πουπήνιον Μά]ξιμον· μετεῖναι τε αὐτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς παισὶν αὐτοῦ τῶν ἀμειτιῳ[ν καθάπερ τῷ] ἴεροφάντῃ κ[αὶ ---]  
[---- μεντ]ων γεινομένων ἔκ τε τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ φιλοτειμ[ίας -----]  
[----]ιας ὅτε βούλοιτο, καὶ εἰ βούλοιτο, ἔαντὸν καθι<έ>ντος προ[-----]  
[----]λ]αμπρότητα<sup>v</sup> καὶ τὴν διὰ τὰς Ἀθήνησιν πολειτίας ἀμοιβὴ[ν ----- κύ]  
[ριον δὲ εἶναι τόδε τὸ] δόγμα εἰς τὸν ἄπαντα χρόνον καὶ τὰς εἰς τὸν λαμπρότα[τον ὑπατικὸν τιμᾶς -----]  
30 [---- ἔξηγ]ηταῖς καὶ μάντεσι καὶ τοῖς ἐφ' Ἱερᾶς διατάξεως ὡσ[αύτως vacat ὁ πρόεδρος<sup>v</sup> “ὅτῳ δοκεῖ κύ”]  
[ρια εἶναι τὰ ἀνεγνω]σμένα<sup>v</sup> ἀράτω τὴν χεῖρα<sup>v</sup> πάντες ἐπῆραν<sup>v</sup> “καὶ ὅτῳ [μὴ δοκεῖ κύρια εἶναι<sup>v</sup> ἀράτω τὴν χεῖρα<sup>v</sup> οὐ]  
[δεὶς ἐπῆρεν vacat] καὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μηνὸς<sup>v</sup> ἐī<sup>v</sup> γνώμην ἀγορεύσαντος Αὔρ<sup>v</sup> [----]  
[---- τ]ῆς βουλῆς vacat ἐπηρώτησεν<sup>v</sup> ὁ πρόεδρος vacat [ἔδοξεν<sup>v</sup> τῷ δῆμῳ vacat ἐπαινέ]  
[σαι μὲν τὸν λαμπρό]τατον ὑπατικὸν τὸν ἐπώνυμον ἄρχοντα Μᾶρ> Οὐλ> Εὐβίο[τον Λεῦρον Γαργήττιον εὐρεγεήσαντα ίδιᾳ τε]  
35 [τοὺς πολείτας καὶ] κοινῇ τὴν πόλιν, καὶ διασωσάμενον αὐτὸν ἐν σπάνε[ι μεγάλῃ διὰ χρήματα σειτωνικὰ ὃν ἀθρόως ἔδωκε]

## Fragment c

πέ[ντε καὶ εἴκοσι μν]ριάδας ἐκτὸς τῆς τῶν πυρῶν ἀφθονίας ὡν ἐν τῇ σειτ[ειδείᾳ ἐπέδω-  
κεν οὔτε παρασχὼν ἀντὶ σειτων]  
 κῶν [χρημάτων οὔτε τε] ειμησάμενος χρήματα, καὶ ἀγωνοθετεῖν τῶν Παγα[θηναίων τῶν  
μεγάλων αὐτεπάγγελτον ὑφιστάμε]  
 νον καὶ [ὶ οὐδεμίαν ὑπερβολὴν εύνοιας τῆς περὶ τὴν πατρίδα οὐδενὶ καταλέξει[ίποντα·  
στῆναι δὲ ἀνδριάντας ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ καὶ]  
 τῷ πρυτ[ανείῳ, καὶ στήλας ἰδρῦσθαι καὶ παρεστάναι τοὺς ἀνδριάσιν αὐτοῦ το[ὗ]ς ἐν  
τῷ συνεδρίῳ καὶ πρυτανείῳ καθάπερ ἡ βουν]  
 40 λὴ περὶ το[ὗτων προ]εβουλεύσατο· τετειμῆσθαι <δ>ε αὐτόν τε καὶ τοὺς κρπ παῖδα[ς  
αὐτοῦ Μᾶρ> Οὐλ> Φλ> Τεισαμενὸν καὶ Πουπήνυ]  
 ον Μάξιμο[ν σειτήσε]ι τῇ τε ἐν θόλῳ καὶ τῇ ἐν τῷ πρυτανείῳ ἐπὶ διμοιρίᾳ, καὶ ἐν  
ἀ[γῶσι καὶ πανηγύρεσι στεφάνῳ, προεδρεύ]  
 ειν τε αὐτὸν [ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἀγῶσιν καὶ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτοῦ τοὺς κρπ· καὶ ἐν θεάτρῳ  
Διογ[ύσου -----]  
 [-----]ητα[-----]  
 lacuna

## Fragment d

45 [-----]π[---]  
 [-----]ατω τε καὶ [.....]ο[.]π[.]ισ[.]ν καὶ  
 [-----]κοινωνίᾳ θυσιῶν καὶ κρεανομί]ῶν τῶν ἐν τε πομπαῖς [πά]σ[αις καὶ]  
 [έκκλησίαις γεινομένων· μετεῖναι δὲ αὐτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς παισὶν αὐτοῦ τῶν ἀσειτιῶν τοι]άδε  
 καὶ τηλικαῦτα οἱ[α τῷ ἱεροφάντῃ]  
 [-----]μεντων γεινομένω[ν τ]ῶν [ἐκ] τῆς πό<sup>λεως</sup>  
 [καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ φιλοτειμίας -----] καὶ εἰ βούλοιτο ἔαυτὸν [καθ]ιέν[τος]  
 50 [-----]τὴν διὰ τὰς Ἀθήνησιν [πολει]τί[ας]  
 [ἀμοιβὴν ----- αὐτῷ τε καὶ τοῖ]ς παισὶν αὐτοῦ τοὺς κρπ Τ[εισαμενῷ]  
 [καὶ Μαξίμῳ θρόνον τεθῆναι καὶ ἐπιγραφῆναι ἐν ἐπιτηδείῳ τόπῳ προκρίτῳ ὑπο  
 ἐξηγητῶν κ]αὶ μάντεων, φ[θρ]όνῳ ἐπ[ομέν]ην  
 [εἰληφέναι καὶ τὴν ἐν ταῖς οὐσίαις στάσιν ἀνεισφορίας -----] | φυλὴν τ[ὰς  
 εἰς τ]ὸν λαμπρότατον  
 55 [ὑπατικὸν τειμὰς ----- γε]γράφθαι | [.....] πρώτη μ[.....] το[---]  
 [-----τ]οὺς ἐφ' ιε[ρᾶς δ]ιατάξεως τοὺς γ[---]  
 [-----έλέ]σθαι ἔξ, ὑπομηματίσα[σθαι δὲ ---]  
 [-----τὸν ιερέα πυρφόρον ἐ]ξ Ἀκροπόλ[ε]ως Π[ό]λ[ι]ς Φά[βιο]ν Α[---]  
 [-----τ]οὺς Ἀπόλλωνος τὸ ἀξι[...]μιτ[---]  
 [-----τὸ]ν ιερέ[a π]υρ[φόρον ἐ]ξ Ἀκρο[---]  
 60 [πόλεως -----]  
 lacuna

Fragment e

μ[-----]  
τει[-----]  
ηλ[-----]

## TRANSLATION

. . . of which he gave two-hundred-fifty thousand . . . and as having voluntarily undertaken to serve as agonothete at the *Panathenaic festival* . . . as having displayed the goodwill which he inherited from *his ancestors* towards the city, a goodwill absolutely unsurpassable. § 2 That we erect without charge a bronze statue of them in the synhedrion of the Sacred Gerusia and in the Prytaneum, and that we place thereby *two engraved plaques of stone* which will hand on these things to posterity for everlasting memory. § 3 That there be constantly available to him and to *his sons*, the *viri clarissimi* Ulpius Tisamenus and Pupienus Maximus, both public maintenance (in both Tholos and Prytaneum with double portion) *and a crown at the games and festal assemblies*, and that a front seat be awarded to him at the same games. § 4 That a chair in the *Theatre*, according to the privilege granted to him and to his sons, be placed and engraved with his name *at a suitable point wherever* the interpreters and seers *shall make a preliminary selection*; and that *both he and* his sons, the *viri clarissimi* Ulpius Tisamenus and Pupienus Maximus, receive, as a perquisite of said chair, the status of *tax-exemption* in their estates and that their property *be exempt* from taxation in all Attica and in the subject isles. § 5 That *both he and* his sons, the *viri clarissimi* Tisamenus and Maximus, enjoy permanently an invitation to the Dionysiac games. The above honors were, on the one hand, customary in the time of our ancestors and seemed *to be reasonable in return for benefactions*, and on the other hand, they were available to people who gave *of their own substance*, with goodwill to be sure, but never on the same scale as the benefactions which accrued to the city from this man. § 6 That both he and his sons, the *viri clarissimi* Ulpius Tisamenus and *Ulpius Pupienus* Maximus, be *called* to the *Theatre* through the invitation of the *Prytanes* at all times with the privilege of a front seat and a share in the sacrifices and *meat distributions* whichever occur *at all the religious processions* and at the popular assemblies. § 7 That there be for him and for his sons a share in the *aisitia just as for the hierophant* . . . both of those which come from the city and of those which come from people who by a noble ambition . . . whenever he might wish, and if he so wished, employing himself . . . brilliance. And the public career at Athens . . . § 9 That this decree be valid for all time, and that the *honors* voted to the most illustrious *consular* . . . the interpreters and seers and those in charge of sacred finances . . .

*The president: "Raise the hand, whoever thinks that the articles which have just*

*been read should be valid.*" All raised their hands. "And *raise the hand*, whoever *thinks they should not be valid.*" No one raised his hand.

And on the fifteenth day of the same month, on the motion of Aurelius . . . of the Council. The president put the question. *The Demos decreed:*

§ 1 *That we praise the most illustrious consular, the eponymous archon, Marcus Ulpius Eubiotus Leurus, of the deme Gargettus, as having been a benefactor to the individual citizens privately and to the city publicly, and as having saved the city in a great famine by means of the grain money of which he gave altogether two-hundred-fifty thousand apart from the abundance of wheat of which he made an additional contribution in the grain famine without offering it in return for grain money or even reckoning its money value; and as undertaking voluntarily to serve as agonothete at the Great Panathenaea, and as having left to no one any possibility of surpassing his exhibition of goodwill toward the fatherland.* § 2 *That we place statues in the synhedrion and the Prytaneum, and that steles be set up and stand beside the statues in the synhedrion and Prytaneum, just as the Council has ordered in the probuleuma.* § 3 *That both he and his sons, the viri clarissimi Marcus Ulpius Flavius Tisamenus and Pupienus Maximus, be honored with public maintenance (in both Tholos and Prytaneum with double portion) and with a crown at the games and festal assemblies, and that both he and his sons, the viri clarissimi, have a front seat at the same games.* § 4 *That in the Theatre of Dionysus . . . with a share in the sacrifices and meat distributions which occur at all the religious processions and at the popular assemblies.* § 6 *That there be for him and for his sons a share in the aisitia on the same scale and quality as for the hierophant . . . both of those which come from the city and of those which come from people who by a noble ambition . . . and if he so wished employing himself . . . the public career at Athens . . . That for himself and for his sons, the viri clarissimi, Tisamenus and Maximus, a throne be placed and engraved at a suitable point wherever the interpreters and seers shall make a preliminary selection, and that they receive a status of tax-exemption in their estates as a perquisite of this chair . . . tribe the honors voted to the most illustrious consular . . . be engraved . . . first . . . those in charge of sacred finances . . . elect six and record . . . the priest who carries the fire from the Acropolis Publius Fabius A... of Apollo . . . the priest who carries the fire from the Acropolis . . .*

#### COMMENTARY

The text reveals two decrees of similar but not identical wording in honor of a public benefactor, Marcus Ulpius Eubiotus Leurus from the deme Gargettus, a man of consular rank. With him in the honors are associated his two sons, Ulpius Tisamenus and Pupienus Maximus. Eubiotus had relieved the city in the course of a great famine with a contribution of supplies and with a cash donation for the purchase of more to the amount of 250,000 drachmas, as we know from a series of honorary

inscriptions published in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3697-3700.<sup>23</sup> Aelius Zeno, who erected the base with *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3697, seems to have been the same man who appears as ephebe in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2193 (*ca.* 200 A.D.). Therefore, Graindor<sup>24</sup> dated the base in the second quarter of the third century, and Kirchner<sup>25</sup> dated it about 220 A.D. The decrees, of course, are contemporary with the base.

The younger son, whose full name is given in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3702 as Marcus Ulpius Pupenius Maximus, recalls the name of an emperor, who in 238 A.D. achieved a reign of ninety-nine days, namely, the senatorial choice Marcus Clodius Pupienus (or Pupenius) Maximus. The latter apparently came from the East. He was born about 164 A.D., and among the first posts of importance which he held in the course of a long public career was the proconsulship of Greece.<sup>26</sup> In his article on the emperor, Stein<sup>27</sup> points out that we cannot tell whether any relationship existed between the Athenian family and the emperor. Although this is true, the similarity of the name and the social rank of the Athenian family at least invite speculation on the subject.

Besides mention of the Gerusia, the new document, here published, provides several other points of interest. It attests (line 20) the continued Athenian possession of certain islands. The complete evidence concerning the Athenian domain under the Roman Empire has been examined and interpreted with great acumen by P. Graindor,<sup>28</sup> and the new document shows that Graindor was very wise in rejecting the current opinion that Septimius Severus had deprived Athens of its valuable islands. Another point emerges from the description of the immunity privilege as a perquisite of the chair in the Theatre (lines 18 and 52). Identifying inscriptions such as the one ordered for the chair of Eubiotus have been found on practically all the seats still preserved in the front rows of the Theatre of Dionysus at Athens. These inscriptions are published in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 5022-5164 and should include that of Eubiotus (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3700). Almost all of them are not personal names but titles of sacred offices, the

<sup>23</sup> The editio minor of the Corpus presents six other inscriptions which honor members of the family, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3695, 3696, 3701, 3702, 3703 and 4053. Of these, however, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3696 and *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4053 represent respectively Graindor's and Prott's copy of the same inscription in honor of the mother of Eubiotus. Prott's measurements are correct for the width and thickness of the crowning moulding, whereas Graindor's measurements concern the inscribed part of the monument. Furthermore, I believe that Prott has estimated the number of missing letters accurately, and that Graindor, followed by Kirchner in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3696, has restored too much. The inscription should read:

·Η πόλις > Φλ < "Αβροιαν τὴν  
[λαμπροτ]ά[τη]ν ἴπατυκήν

In Thessaly the κοινόν honored Eubiotus, *Jahrbuch*, LV, 1940, Arch. Anz., p. 248.

<sup>24</sup> *Chronologie des archontes athéniens sous l'empire* (1922), pp. 283-284.

<sup>25</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, Part 2, Fasc. 2, p. 795.

<sup>26</sup> *Prosopographia Imperii Romani*<sup>2</sup>, II (1936), 1179.

<sup>27</sup> Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, s. v. Clodius (50).

<sup>28</sup> *Athènes sous Auguste* (Cairo, 1927), pp. 1-11.

incumbents of which must have undertaken costly liturgies for the city and who were perhaps deserving of some such accommodation as a release from all future taxes. These two decrees, however, bring the first indication that the city in seeking candidates for its sacred liturgies reinforced the piety or patriotism of its citizens by offers to reduce the economic burden; and so this inscription contributes a piece of evidence on the obscure subject of city finances in the period of the Severi.

In the decree of the Council one mutilated passage, of which the sense, however, is fairly recoverable, seems clearly to confirm honors or gifts already assigned to, or recommended for Ulpius Eubiotus by the interpreters, the seers and those in charge of the sacred διάταξις (line 30). The interpreters and seers, if not also those in charge of the sacred διάταξις, are mentioned near the beginning of the inscription in line 6, and the interpreters and seers again in the middle of the first decree in line 18 and of the second decree in line 52, where they seem to be authorized to select the location of his chair in the Theatre. Finally, those in charge of the sacred διάταξις are mentioned once more in line 55.

We are struck by the activity of these sacred officials. The general outlines of the part played at Athens by the interpreters,<sup>29</sup> and by the seers, is already known. At least other references to them occur. But to the best of my knowledge the board *οἱ ἐφ' ιερᾶς διατάξεως* appears for the first time in the Eubiotus inscription here under consideration. The essential thing is the meaning of the word διάταξις. The reader will find the evidence lucidly presented by H. Francotte, *Les finances des cités grecques* (Liege-Paris, 1909), pp. 134-138. The διάταξις was the permanent arrangement in regard to the distribution of funds. At Delos the διάταξις recognized a division into a *ιερὰ κιβωτός* and a *δημοσίᾳ κιβωτός*. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 844 (ca. 200 B.C.) includes the provision *γενόμενον ἀνάλωμα κατὰ τὴν διάταξιν* (line 67), which shows that this use of the word belonged also to the Athenian technical vocabulary. The διάταξις was not quite like the modern budget, which must be voted each year, but rather a permanent arrangement, which could be altered or abolished only through special legislation.

The plural board in charge of the sacred διάταξις recalls the single officer who appears in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1035, lines 16, 17, and 19, as the *ταμίας τῆς ιερᾶς διατάξεως*. The date of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1035 has been variously located from the last quarter of the second century B.C. to the third quarter of the second century after Christ. Despite the impressive arguments of Paul Graindor<sup>30</sup> and of John Day<sup>31</sup> for assigning it to the second century after Christ or definitely to the reign of Hadrian, I am more inclined, because of the lettering, to date the inscription approximately in the reign of Augustus.

<sup>29</sup> Ph. Ehrmann, "De iuris sacri interpretibus Atticis," *Religions-geschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten*, IV, 3 (1908). P. Foucart, *Les Mystères d'Éleusis* (Paris, 1914), pp. 236-241.

<sup>30</sup> *Chronologie des archontes athéniens sous l'empire* (1922), pp. 142-144. *Musée Belge*, XXVIII (1924), pp. 109-121.

<sup>31</sup> *Classical Weekly*, XXVI (1933), pp. 138-141.

Mention of the *ταμίας τῆς ιερᾶς διατάξεως* occurs also in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3503, which Dow<sup>32</sup> dates in the late forties or early thirties of the first century B.C. Therefore, we can probably say that the plural board in charge of the sacred *διάταξις* was not a new creation connected with the foundation of the Gerusia, but an older Athenian institution, which in the first century B.C. functioned in the person of a single treasurer. While possible, there is no reason to think that the change from a single officer to a plural board accompanied the foundation of the Gerusia. The situation recalls the frequent alternation at Athens between the single officer (*ὁ ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει*) in periods of Macedonian supremacy and the plural board of the Administration (*οἱ ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει*) in periods of independence.<sup>33</sup> It would not be surprising to learn that the change from a treasurer of the sacred *διάταξις* to a plural board in charge of the sacred *διάταξις* belonged among the constitutional alterations in the reign of Hadrian.

The only approach to the duties of this new board lies in the study of the function of the *ταμίας τῆς ιερᾶς διατάξεως* at an earlier period. In *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1035 he provided the sacrificial animals. Part of the money for this purpose came to him from other official appointees whose title is not preserved. He was also associated with other officials (probably the hoplite-general and the basileus) in the granting of leases on sacred property. Sacred properties, furthermore, were sold occasionally by the hoplite-general or the treasurer: *τῶν [π]επραμένων ὑπὸ στρατηγοῦ ή ταμίου τῆς [ιερᾶς διατάξεως]*. On the other hand, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3503, where we have nothing but a citation of the *ταμίας τῆς ιερᾶς διατάξεως* at the end of a prytany decree, does not help us in our reconstruction.

The treasurer, therefore, appears to have been a purchasing and selling agent for the needs of the sanctuaries, and to have performed certain routine work in the granting of leases. Later the plural board in charge of the sacred *διάταξις* probably performed essentially the same duties. Beyond a doubt they were closely connected with the Gerusia, but the relationship to be quite comprehensible needs further elucidation from new discoveries. They may have been responsible for the selection of the synhedron of the Sacred Gerusia as the site of one of the statues granted to Eubiotus, and the only services which, in the recital of the latter's benefactions, would have obviously concerned them were the voluntary acceptance and brilliant performance of the duties of agonothete at the Great Panathenaea.

A few observations suggest themselves concerning the interpreters and seers, who are cited (*ἔξηγηται καὶ μάντεις* without article) in lines 6, 18, 30, and 52.

Ehrmann<sup>34</sup> distinguished between the use of the words *ἔξηγητής* and *μάντις* or *χρησμολόγος* in the Attic dialect of the "good" period in such a way that *ἔξηγητής*

<sup>32</sup> *Prytaneis* (1937), p. 176 (*Hesperia*, Supplement I).

<sup>33</sup> W. B. Dinsmoor, *The Archons of Athens in the Hellenistic Age* (1931), p. 65 f.

<sup>34</sup> Ph. Ehrmann, "De iuris sacris interpretibus Atticis," *Religions-geschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten*, IV (1908), pp. 346-408, particularly p. 390.

was to be understood as referring to the public interpreter in the official language, while *μάντεις* or *χρησμολόγοι* were all those who in a private capacity interpreted prodigies and oracles. The public colleges, accordingly, were called the *έξηγηταί*. They were first of all the interpreters of sacred, and to a lesser extent, of profane law, and they were the proper guides in questions of ceremony. The text shows, however, that some *μάντεις* also enjoyed official recognition in the third century after Christ and formed probably one college with the *έξηγηταί*, if indeed the expression *έξηγηταί καὶ μάντεις* is not simply a more embracing term to cover all the activities of these sacred officials, usually designated as *έξηγηταί*. Lampon, the friend of Pericles, was called sometimes *έξηγητής* and sometimes *μάντις*.<sup>35</sup> The scholiast to Aristophanes, *Clouds*, 332 explains: *Λάμπων ὁ μάντις ὃν έξηγητὴν ἐκάλουν*. In any case the *έξηγηταί καὶ μάντεις* were united as a single group in one inclusive phrase without article not only in the third century after Christ but even in the fourth century B.C. at Athens. Plato,<sup>36</sup> speaking of the avenging of murder, writes: *τίνες δὲ εἰσὶν οἱ θεοὶ καὶ τίς ὁ τρόπος τῶν τοιούτων δικῶν τῆς εἰσαγωγῆς ὀρθότατα πρὸς τὸ θεῖον ἀν γιγνόμενος εἴη, νομοφύλακες μετ' έξηγητῶν καὶ μάντεων καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ νομοθετησάμενοι, τὰς δίκας εἰσαγόντων ταύτας.*

Line 14 of our inscription, where it is stated that two statues were to be erected at the state's expense and were to be accompanied by marble blocks with explanatory inscriptions, informs us that our text existed in two marble copies. The large block which has been reused architecturally belongs to one of these copies, and the small fragment No. 32, containing slightly larger letters and a literal repetition in a section extending from lines 12 to 19 on the large piece, obviously belongs to the other copy. The fact that the same words fall below each other in the one copy as in the other shows that the blocks were very much alike not only in marble and in lettering, but also in size and in arrangement, as of course we should expect.

Turning to the restoration of the inscription, we can establish closely the length of the lines, as is pointed out in the note on the restoration at lines 14-15. Furthermore, the fact that fragment *c* from the left edge of the inscription can be placed securely in respect to the main piece, fragment *b*, enables us to divide the restoration properly between the end of one line and the beginning of another; and this fact, likewise, enables us to recognize what in view of the reworking of fragment *b* is by no means obvious, that the left and right edges of the main piece, fragment *b*, are at least approximately the original edges.

The first decree, of which the beginning has been lost, except perhaps for a small piece preserved in fragment *a*, covers the upper part of the large stone as far down as line 30. Lines 32 ff. belong to the second decree, and they reproduce closely the wording of the first. It is significant that the second decree refers to a probuleuma.

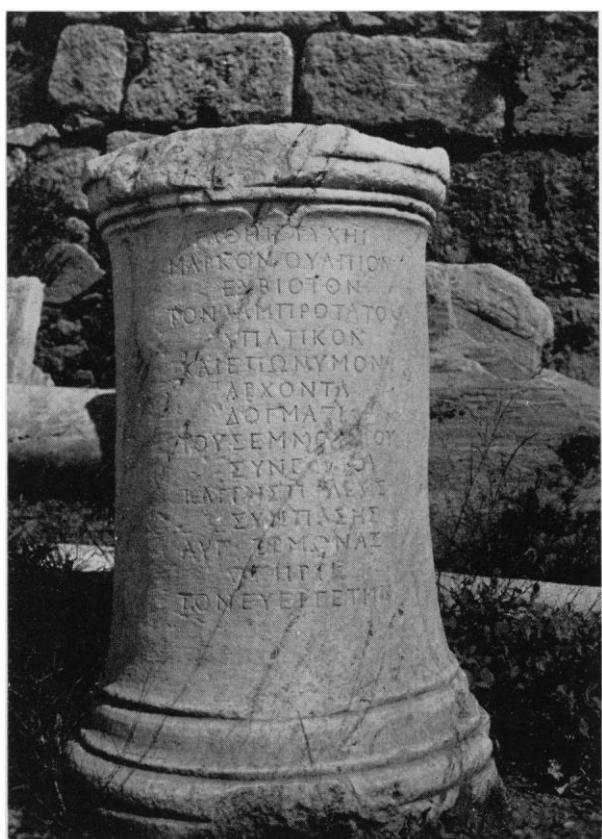
<sup>35</sup> For examples see Ph. Ehrmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 384-387.

<sup>36</sup> *Laws*, IX, 871 c.

The letters missing between those preserved on fragment *c* and those on fragment *b* in line 40 can be accurately gauged by comparison with the securely restored lacunae immediately above and below. With considerable confidence we can restore *βον] | λὴ περὶ το[ύτων προ]εβουλεύσατο*. No decree of the Areopagus and not every decree of the Council constitutes a probuleuma, but only one submitted by the Council to the



The Chair Dedicated to Eubiotus and His Sons in the Theatre of Dionysus



A Base Dedicated to Eubiotus in the Asclepieum by the Herald of the Areopagus

Ecclesia. At this period the Council, being independent of the Ecclesia, which had been deprived of all its real power, submitted a probuleuma only on those occasions when some special value was attached to a public demonstration of solidarity, as here in the expression of gratitude to a benefactor. The Areopagus, moreover, would scarcely take cognizance of a probuleuma of the Council isolated without its companion decree of the Ecclesia. Therefore, it appears that the second decree is that of the Ecclesia and takes cognizance of the probuleuma, which is the preceding decree.

Although the extant bases, which bear inscriptions honoring Ulpius Eubiotus, refer to an authorization granted by decree of the Areopagus, it would be wrong to conclude that one of the decrees in our inscription is that of the Areopagus, for these bases represented private dedications. Besides the above-mentioned reasons for identifying the two decrees as those of the Council and Demos, it was apparently much less common at Athens to publish on stone a detailed report of the proceedings in the Areopagus. The only decree of the latter body epigraphically preserved is on *I.G.*, IV, 1<sup>2</sup>, 83 at Epidaurus, and there, as the decree of the more important chamber, it is engraved above that of the Council. On the other hand, if the first decree on our inscription is the probuleuma implied by the wording of the second, it cannot be a decree of the Areopagus, which did not issue probuleumata.<sup>37</sup>

Moreover, the two dedications which are not of private origin, namely, the chair with *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3700 in honor of Eubiotus and his sons, and the base with *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3701 in honor of the son Tisamenus alone, are recorded as erected by the “city.” The word *πόλις*, as Bruno Keil pointed out,<sup>38</sup> indicates the cooperation of Council and Ecclesia.

#### NOTES

Line 12: *εὗνοιαν ἐπιδεικνύμενογ ἦν ἔξεδέξατρ πα[ρὰ τῶν προγόνων]*. The phrase *παρὰ τῶν προγόνων* may be restored on the analogy of similar passages, e. g.: *διαφυλάττονσιν [τὴν εὖ]νοιαν ἦν οἱ πρόγονοι αὐτοῖς παρέδωσαν πρὸς [τὸν δ]ῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων* (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 237).

Lines 12-13: *καὶ ἀνδριάντα αὐτ]ῶν χαλκοῦν προῖκα στήναι*. The restoration *ἀνδριάντα* is indicated by the masculine or neuter gender of the modifying adjective and by the use of the word *ἀνδριάσιν* in the parallel section below in line 39.

Lines 13-14: *παρεστάναι δὲ [στήλα λιθίνα δύο ἀναγεγραμμ]ένα*. A reference to steles may be safely assumed on the analogy of passages such as *[σ]τήλης τῆς παρεστώσης τοῖς ἀγάλ[μασι]* (*S.I.G.*<sup>3</sup>, 1020) and on comparison with the phrase *[σ]τήλας ιδρῦσθαι καὶ παρεστάναι* in the parallel section below in line 39. The dual, obsolete in the ordinary *Koine* of this period, was still used occasionally at Athens (cf. Meisterhans-Schwyzer, *Grammatik der Attischen Inschriften*<sup>3</sup> [1900], pp. 201 f.), and it seems preferable to assume it here rather than to emend *[ἀναγεγραμμ]ένας*. The Attic form *ἐπιγιγνομένοις* in this very line reveals the consciousness of an older style. The emperor Julian, moreover, was careful to use the dual in his letter to the Athenians.

Line 14: *αἱ κὲ* (read *καὶ*) *τοῖς ἐπιγιγνομένοις αὐτὰ τῇ ἐσαεὶ μνήμῃ παραδώσονσιν*. Compare the phrase *τοῖς ἐπιγινομένοις ἀείμνηστον* in Hellenistic inscriptions, e. g., *S.I.G.*<sup>3</sup>, 721 and Michel, 1016. A similar juxtaposition of dual and plural in reference to a pair occurs in an inscription of A.D. 21, C. B. Welles, *Royal Correspondence in*

<sup>37</sup> Bruno Keil, *Ber. d. Sächs. Akad. d. Wissenschaft.*, Phil.-hist. Kl., LXXI (1919), Heft 8, “Beiträge zur Geschichte des Areopags,” p. 30.

<sup>38</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 31.

*the Hellenistic Period* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1934), No. 75, line 1: *'Αντιόχωι καὶ Φραάτει ὄντοιν ἐν Σούσοις [τ]οῖς ἀρχοντι.* It is common in classical prose.

Lines 14-15: *ἀντῷ τε κ[αὶ τοῖς παισὶν ἀντοῦ τοῖς κρ̄]*. This restoration (twenty and a half letters, *iota* being reckoned as occupying only half a letter space) corresponds to the fixed form in which the phrase with the names following occurs below in line 21, again in line 24, again in line 42 (without the names). A second version of the phrase, which is found below in line 19 and again in line 40, would omit the repetition of the article and read *κ[αὶ τοῖς κρ̄ παισὶν αὐτοῦ]*, a restoration of only seventeen letters, but the first form of the phrase is indicated and the second version is excluded here by considerations arising from a comparison with the lacuna between lines 20 and 21. The position of the letters preserved at the end of line 20 and at the beginning of line 21 suggests that the latter lacuna is about one and a half letters shorter than that between lines 14 and 15. The very least that must and can be restored between lines 20 and 21 is the words *ἀγῶ[νας αὐτόν τε καὶ τοὺς παῖδας]*, and for this lacuna, accordingly, we establish a minimum requirement of space for nineteen letters, hence a minimum requirement of space for about twenty and a half letters in the lacuna above between lines 14 and 15. To be sure, the stele is not engraved *stoichedon*, but ten letters in one line occupy about the same space as ten letters in another. The variation is never very much.

Lines 15-16: *[καὶ στέφανον (or κήρυγμα) ἐν ἀγῶσι κα]ὶ πανηγύρεσιν.* The privilege of *προεδρία*, accord in the next article, is quite distinct. The other honor commonly bestowed at festivals was the proclamation, usually but not necessarily accompanied by the presentation of a crown. The words *ἀγῶσι κα]ὶ* were suggested by Meritt.

Lines 16-17: *θρόνον τε ἐν τῷ θ[εάτρῳ κατὰ (or διὰ) τὴν προνομίαν τ]ὴν δεδομένην.* The certain restoration of the familiar phrase *ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ* reduces the lacuna. That the noun *θρόνον* is to be construed not with the infinitive *ἀπονεμῆσθαι* in line 16, but with the infinitives *τεθῆναι* and *ἐπιγραφῆναι* in line 17, appears from the words with which the grant of another privilege in the following section begins: *ϕ θρόνῳ ἐπομένην εἰληφέναι κτλ.* The missing noun modified by the word *δεδομένην* cannot, because of the phrase *ϕ θρόνῳ*, be restored as referring to an additional object like a statue or painting. Therefore, the sense of the passage would seem to be that suggested in the text, whether or not we have recovered the actual wording. If we restore the highly suitable word *προνομία*, which was much in vogue in the first three centuries after Christ, we may compare Lucian, *Abdicatus*, 23: *τοῖς ιατροῖς καὶ δημοσίᾳ οἱ πόλεις τιμᾶς καὶ προεδρίας καὶ ἀτελείας καὶ προνομίας διδόασι.*

Lines 17-18: *ἐν ἐπιτηδείῳ τόπῳ προκ]ρίτῳ ὑπὸ ἔξηγητῶν καὶ μάντεων.* The formula *ἐν τόπῳ ἐπιτηδείῳ* is not the only phrase but certainly one of the most common formulae to be found in stipulations concerning the erection of inscriptions and of statues. Furthermore, seers and interpreters can scarcely have been brought into the matter for any other reason than to secure divine guidance. Now the Attic technical expres-

sion for choosing preliminary candidates from whom the authorities selected and inaugurated new officials, was *προκρίνω* (see references in the *Greek-English Lexicon*). Aristotle and Attic writers called such Athenian preliminary candidates, whose choice remained to be ratified, *πρόκριτοι*. Therefore, the letters *ριτω*, actually preserved, admit the restoration [*προκ*] *ρίτω* ὑπὸ ἔξηγητῶν καὶ μάντεων.

Lines 18-19: *τὴν ἐν ταῖς οὐσίαις στά[σιν ἀνεισφορίας αὐτῷ]γ τε καὶ τοὺς κρ παῖδας.* The word *αὐτόν*, part of the formula repeated in lines 17 and 40, may be restored with absolute certainty. There exists no temptation to emend <θ>*υσίαις*, because the privilege of *κουνωνία θυσιῶν*, expressly accorded, is the subject of another section (line 23). Therefore the passage concerns his property (*οὐσίαι*), and the special privilege accorded in regard to a man's wealth is immunity from taxation.

Lines 19-20: *τὰ χρήματα αὐτῶν τελῶ[ν ἀπολύεσθαι ἐν τε ἄ]πάση τῇ Ἀττικῇ καὶ ταῖς ὑπηκόοις νήσοις.* The phraseology of this passage constitutes merely a new variant of one of the commonest formulae, and the extent of the lacuna here can be measured against the extent of the lacuna which in the following line is to be restored with a formula.

Lines 20-21: *ἀγῶ[νας αὐτόν τε καὶ τοὺς παῖ]δας αὐτοῦ.* For the reason why this version of the formula must be restored see the note (above) on lines 14-15.

Lines 21-22: *ἔδόκε[ι ἀντὶ εὐεργεσιῶν εἶναι πρὸ]ς λόγον.* The restoration [*πρὸ*] *ς λόγον* is formed on the analogy of expressions like *πρὸς φύσιν*, *πρὸς εὐτέλειαν*, *πρὸς μέρος*.

Lines 22-23: *διδ[οῦσιν ἐκ τῶν ιδίων · εἰσκαλεῖσ]θαι.* The verb *καλεῖσθαι* or one of its compounds is supplied with certainty because it forms part of a familiar formula. The preceding words are restored merely from the sense of the passage.

Lines 23-24: *κουνωνία θυσιῶν καὶ [κρεανομιῶν τῶν ἐν τε πομ]παῖς πάσαις καὶ ἐκκλησίαις γενομένων.* The words *τῶν ἐν τε πομ]παῖς* may be restored on the analogy of the corresponding passage in line 46.

Lines 25-26: *ἀισχυτιῶ[ν καθάπερ τῷ] ἱεροφάντῃ.* In the lists of *ἀίσειτοι* which were customarily appended to the end of Athenian prytany catalogues of the second and third centuries after Christ, the hierophant is always recorded first.

Line 27: *καθιέντος*, stone *καθιζόντος*.

Line 28: *καὶ τὴν διὰ τὰς Ἀθήνησιν πολειτίας ἀμοιβή[ν]*, his Athenian public career. The word *πολειτίας* is here used in the same sense as in *I.G., II<sup>2</sup>, 3625*, which praises a man *πολιτευσά[μενον]* *πᾶσαν πολιτεία[ν]* ἄριστα. On the word *πολιτεία* see Ad. Wilhelm, *Glotta*, XIV (1925), pp. 78 ff.

Lines 29-30: There exists no real indication as to what stood in the lacuna, and whatever we might supply would be pure conjecture, e. g., *τὰς εἰς τὸν λαμπρότα[τον ὑπατικὸν τειμὰς συναναγεγρά|φθαι* (compare the parallel passage in line 54) *ἄς ἀνδόξη ἔξηγ]ηταῖς καὶ μάντεσι καὶ τοῖς ἐφ' ἵερᾶς διατάξεως ὡσ[ αὐτως.*

Lines 30-31: *[vacat ὁ πρόεδρος ὅτῳ δοκεῖ κύρια εἶναι τὰ ἀνεγνω]σμένα ἀράτω*

*τὴν χεῖρα*" "πάντες ἐπῆραν.

The phrase has been restored on the analogy contained in *S.I.G.*<sup>3</sup>, 1109 (shortly before 178 A.D.), the decree of the Iobacchi, where the Athenian parliamentary procedure of that day is imitated: *καὶ ἐπηρώτησεν ὁ πρόεδρος Ροῦφος Ἀφροδισίου· “ὅτῳ δοκεῖ κύρια εἶναι τὰ ἀνεγνωσμένα δόγματα καὶ ἐν στήλῃ ἀναγραφῆναι, ἀράτω τὴν χεῖρα.” πάντες ἐπῆραν* (lines 20-24). These are extracts from the minutes of the meeting at which the decree was passed. For other parallels see Wilhelm's references, *Beiträge zur griechischen Inschriftenkunde* (Vienna, 1909), pp. 179 f.

Lines 31-32: "καὶ ὅτῳ [μὴ δοκεῖ κύρια εἶναι] ἀράτω τὴν χεῖρα" "οὐδεὶς ἐπῆρεν *vacat*]. For the negative vote *ὅτῳ μὴ* and the phrase *οὐδεὶς ἐπῆρεν* see *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2090 (165/6 A.D.). The number of votes for and against a decree was frequently recorded on the stone. See Ad. Wilhelm, *Neue Beiträge zur griechischen Inschriftenkunde*, VI (1921), pp. 5-9 (*Sitzungsber. Ak. Wien*, CLXXXIII, 3. Abh.), and Louis Robert, *Études Anatoliennes* (Paris, 1937), p. 451.

Line 32: *γνώμην ἀγορεύσαντος Αὐρ* [—]. This formula for recording the name of the proposer is not to be found elsewhere in Attic inscriptions, but it can be paralleled in an inscription of Anaphe, *I.G.*, XII, 3, 247 (first century B.C.). The participle recalls the wording of the crier's proclamation (*τίς ἀγορεύειν βούλεται;*) in the Athenian Assembly of the Classical Period.

Lines 35-36: *ἐν σπάνε[ι μεγάλῃ διὰ χρήματα σειτωνικὰ ὃν ἀθρόως ἔδωκε]* πέ[ντε καὶ εἴκοσι μν]ριάδας. The restoration follows naturally from *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3697, where Eubiotus is honored *πάσης ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα καὶ τῆς περὶ τὴν πατρίδα φιλοτειμίας ἐν τε χρήμασι σιτωνικοῖς οἷς ἀθρόως ἔδωκεν μυριάσι πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ τροφαῖς αὖς ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ σπάνει παρέσχε.* In the lacuna, obviously, we must restore a reference to the *σιτωνικὰ χρήματα*. The latter constituted the public fund from which grain was purchased for distribution to the citizens. The money was frequently invested, and the purchases were then made with the interest alone. As we know from an inscription published by W. H. Buckler, "A Charitable Foundation of A.D. 237," *J.H.S.*, LVII (1937), pp. 1-10, a citizen of Orcistus in Phrygia gave his native town two thousand five hundred Attic drachmas with specific instructions how the money was to be used. One thousand was to be invested for the purpose of providing a return from which a small annual bread donation to the townspeople might be financed. The pertinent section in lines 16-21 reads: *καὶ χείλια μὲν ἀπ[οτάσσεσθαί] τε καὶ καλεῖσθαι σειτωνικὰ καὶ δανιζεσθ[αι] αἱ αὐτὰ κατ' εὐθ[ύ]ν[η], ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν προσ[όδων κατ' ἔτος δια]γέμεσθαι τοῖς δημόταις καθ' ἔκ[αστον ἀρτον λείτρ]αν μίαν ἢ δύον ἀνητὰ τετ[αγμένα ὁ γραμματεὺς διακο]νήσει.* Buckler cites also *C.I.G.*, 3422, where a certain Aurelius Hermippus of Philadelphia in Lydia is praised (among other reasons) *ἀναθέντα τῇ πόλει τάχειον μὲν εἰς σε[ιτ]ωνικὰ χρήματα δηναρίων μυριάδας πέντε, δόντα εἰς ἐπισκευὴν τοῦ πετάσον τοῦ θεάτρου δινάρια μύρια, ποιησάμενον δὲ καὶ ἐπιδόσεις χρημάτων τῇ τε γλυκυτάτῃ πατρίδι εἰς χρήματα σε[ιτ]ωνικὰ δηναρίων μυριάδας πέντε.* Compare also *C.I.L.*, III, 6998 (Nacolia

in Phrygia, reign of Hadrian), where a donation is made on the condition *uti arbitratu Cornelii . . . ini et Cornelii [He]syci faeneretur ea pecunia et ex usuris q[uod conf]ectum fuerit, p[ro]ximo triennio in sitonico tribuant, ut q[uod] d[q] uod annis possit e[o] frumentum comparari.*

Lines 36-37: *ἐκτὸς τῆς τῶν πυρῶν ἀφθονίας ὅν ἐν τῇ σειτ[ενδείᾳ ἐπέδωκεν οὕτε παρασχῶν ἀντὶ σειτωνι] κῶν [χρημάτων οὕτε τ]ειμησάμενος χρήματα.* The sense of the passage is quite clear because *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3697, after mentioning the cash donation of χρήματα σιτωνικά to the amount of 250,000 drachmas, records a supplementary donation of supplies (*τροφαῖς αἷς ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ σπάνει παρέσχε*), of which the value is not stated, probably because it was not known. The letters *κων*, which are preserved on fragment *c* and which must be accommodated in the lacuna, suggest the phrase *σειτωνικῶν χρημάτων*.

Lines 37-38: *καὶ ἀγωνοθετεῖν τῶν Παγα[θηναίων τῶν μεγάλων αὐτεπάγγελτον ὑφιστάμε]νον.* The phraseology of line 11 suggests the restoration. The article *τῶν*, however, points ahead to a qualifying adjective or phrase.

Lines 38-39: *[στήναι δὲ ἀνδριάντας ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ καὶ] τῷ πρωτ[ανείῳ].* This restoration, which conforms closely to the available space, is warranted by the tenor of the parallel passage in line 13 and by the preserved letters of fragment *c*.

Line 40: <δ>ɛ, stone AE.

Line 40: The names of the two sons are restored to fit the space in such a way that the elder is designated with both praenomen and gentilicium and the younger with neither. For the style see *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3609: *Τιβ Κλ Δημόστρατος καὶ Λεωνίδης οἱ ἀδελφοί.* Also in lines 15 and 19 the gentilicium is added to the name of the elder, but not to that of the younger brother.

Line 41: *ἐπὶ διμοιρίᾳ.* For the double portion as a mark of special honor see Herodotus, VI, 57; *S.I.G.*<sup>3</sup>, 1013 (Chios, fourth century B.C.); *O.G.I.S.*, 78 (Methymna, third century B.C.); Plutarch, *Lycurgus*, 26, 8.

Lines 41-42: *καὶ ἐν ᾧ[γῶσι καὶ πανηγύρεσι στεφάνῳ, προεδρεύ]ειν τε αὐτὸν [ἐν τοῖς α]ύτοῖς ἀγῶσιν.* For the restoration *στεφάνῳ* (or *κηρύγματι*) see the note on the parallel passage in line 16. The next passage obviously contains like line 16 a reference to the *προεδρία*. On fragment *c* we have part of the infinitive beginning the last line: *ειν*. In the other six lines of fragment *c* we recognize that the stonemason was preserving the syllabic division of words at the end of lines. Therefore, the phrases *λαγχάνειν* or *μετέχειν προεδρίας* and *προκαθίζειν* are eliminated as possibilities, and the verb *προεδρεύειν* alone remains available.

Lines 45-54: The restorations presented in this section are warranted by the analogy of the parallel passages in the first decree. For lines 45-46 compare line 24; for line 47 compare line 26; for line 48 compare line 27; for lines 50-51 compare line 18; and for lines 53-54 compare line 29.

Line 57: For the priest *πυρφόρος ἐξ Ἀκροπόλεως*, who appears to be mentioned again in line 59, see P. Graudor, *Athènes sous Auguste* (Cairo, 1927), p. 154.

## DECREES HONORING ULPPIUS EUBIOTUS

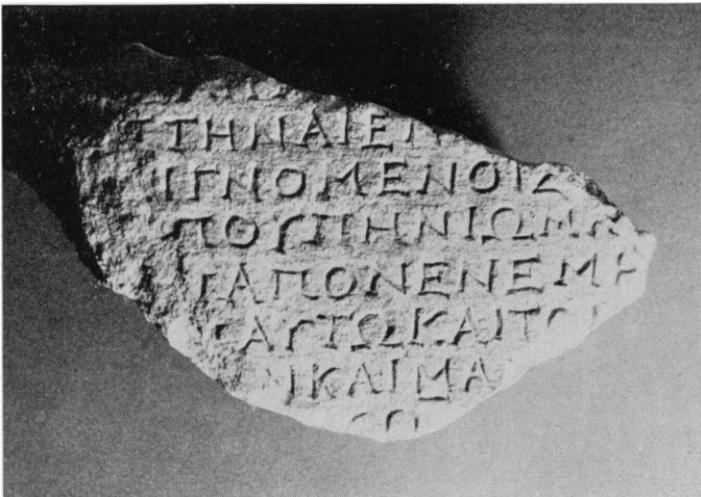
**32.** ATHENS. This inscription, previously unpublished, constitutes a fragmentary duplicate of the preceding document. It has been inscribed by the same hand on a stele of Pentelic marble of the same quality and workmanship. The fragment, which preserves only the inscribed surface and is elsewhere broken away, was found on March 15, 1934 in a late fill in Section B of the American Excavations in the Agora.

Height, 0.088 m.; width, 0.069 m.; thickness, 0.062 m.

Height of Letters, 0.008 m.

Inv. No. I 1571 a.

The letters here underlined occur in the duplicate inscription No. 31, which appears to have had much the same arrangement, to judge from the position of the preserved letters.



No. 32.

[καθάπαξ ἀνυπέρβ] λητ[ον τὴν περὶ τὴν πόλιν εὗνοιαν ἐπιδεικνύμενον  
ἥν ἔξεδέξατο παρὰ τῶν προγόνων.]  
[καὶ ἀνδριάντα αὐτῶν χαλκοῦν προίκα] στῆναι ἐν [τῷ συνεδρίῳ τῆς ιερᾶς γερουσίας  
καὶ τῷ πρυτανείῳ, παρεστάναι δὲ στήλα λι]  
[θίνα δύο ἀναγεγραμμένα αἱ καὶ τοῖς ἐπιγιγνομένοις [αὐτὰ τῇ ἐσαεὶ μνήμῃ παραδώ-  
σουσιν · ὑπάρχειν δὲ αὐτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς]  
15 [παισὶν αὐτοῦ τοῖς κρ Οὐλ > Τεισαμενῷ καὶ] Πουπηνίῳ Μα[ξίμῳ καὶ σείτησιν τὴν ἐν  
τῇ θόλῳ καὶ πρυτανείῳ ἐπὶ διμοιρίᾳ]

[καὶ στέφανον ἐν ἀγῶσι καὶ πανηγύρεσι] ν, ἀπονενεμῆ[σθαί τε αὐτῷ προεδρίαν ἐν τοῖς  
αὐτοῖς ἀγῶσιν · θρόνον τε ἐν τῷ θεά]

[τρῷ, κατὰ τὴν προνομίαν τὴν δεδομένην] αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς [παισὶν αὐτοῦ, τεθῆναι καὶ  
ἐπιγραφῆναι ἐκ τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ ἐν ἐ]  
[πιτηδείῳ τόπῳ προκρίτῳ ὑπὸ ἔξηγητῷ] ν καὶ μάν[τεων, ὁ θρόνῳ ἐπομένην εἰληφέναι  
καὶ τὴν ἐν ταῖς οὐσίαις στάσιν]  
[ἀνεισφορίας αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τοὺς κρ παῦδας αὐτ] οῦ Οὔ[λ · Τεισαμενὸν καὶ Πουπήνιον  
Μάξιμον, κτλ.

For translation and commentary see the discussion of the preceding document.

## DECREES OF THE GERUSIA

**33.** HYETTUS. Meletios, *Γεωγραφία παλαιὰ καὶ νέα*, first edition (Venice, 1728), p. 346; second edition (Venice, 1807), II, pp. 346-347 (first nineteen lines only). [J. C. Hobhouse, *A Journey through Albania and other Provinces of Turkey in Europe and Asia to Constantinople during the years 1809 and 1810* (Philadelphia, 1817), II, p. 410.] A. Boeckh, *C.I.G.*, I (1828), 1755 from Meletios. C. Keil, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Boeotiarum* (Leipzig, 1847), pp. 90-93, XXIIa and XXIIb (from E. Curtius' copy). [Ph. Le Bas, *Voyage archéologique en Grèce et en Asie Mineure: Inscriptions*, II, 1011 from Meletios and 608 from Curtius.] P. Girard, *B.C.H.*, II (1878), pp. 502-506, no. 11. W. Dittenberger, *I.G.*, VII (1892), 2808 from Lolling's copy, and *S.I.G.<sup>2</sup>*, II (1900), 740. F. Hiller von Gaertringen in Dittenberger's *S.I.G.<sup>3</sup>*, III (1920), 1112. See also F. Poland, *B. ph. Woch.*, XXXV (1915), pp. 429 f.

The stele of white marble has been reused as part of a door jamb in a church, the ruins of which stand at the foot of the acropolis of Hyettus. The stone is broken away at the bottom; part of the top, the back and both sides have been preserved, but the left side is not exposed. Since Girard made his careful examination of the inscription, many letters have been lost by fracture. Letters no longer extant are underlined in the following text.

Height, 0.99 m.; width, 0.555 m.; thickness, 0.24 m.

Height of letters: on front, 0.015 m: except for line 1 (0.023 m.) ; on right side, 0.011-0.012 m.



No. 33. Front and Right Side Shown in Photographs Taken in 1939.

After 212 A.D.

- Α γ α θ ḡ Τ ν χ η i
- [<sup>”</sup>Ε]δοξεν τῇ ἱερᾶ γερουσίᾳ τοῦ Σωτῆρος  
 [<sup>’</sup>Α]σκληπιοῦ ἐν κοινῷ στήλῃ ἀναγρα  
 [<sup>φ</sup>]ῆναι, ἐν ᾧ στήλῃ εἶναι τὰ ὑπογεγραμμένα [να].
- 5 [ά]γνη πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων ὥν εὐεργετή  
 θη παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ, δὲ μνήμης ἀρίστης  
 ’Ιούλιος Ἀριστέας ἔχαριστα διὰ τοῦ  
 θεοῦ τῇ γερουσίᾳ χωρείδιον Στυφλά  
 ριον Πάντοτε, τόπῳ Συντέλειας ἦν  
 10 πὸ μὲν ἡρῷος Αὔρη· Θάλαμος καὶ πρόστις [ν]  
 λον τῶν Καλλίστης κληρονόμων  
 ἀπὸ δὲ ἄρκτου Αὔρη· Θεόδωρος ἀπὸ  
 δὲ δύσεως οἱ Ἀρέσκοντος Όλμωνί<sup>ν</sup>  
 ου κληρονόμοι, ἀπὸ δὲ μεσημβρίας  
 15 Σύμφορος Όλμωνιος καὶ οἱ Νεικοστράτηοι  
 τοῦ τοῦ Ζωπύρου κληρονόμοι, ἐπὶ τῷ  
 φυτεῦσαι τοὺς γερουσιαστὰς καὶ ἔχειν [ν]  
 αἰώνιον καὶ ἀναφαίρετον 9 vacat  
 ’Ομοίως ἔδοξεν κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν εἰς [σ]  
 20 ἡγησιν ἀναγραφῆναι καὶ ἔτερον χωρίον,  
 δὲ ἔδωκεν τῇ ἱερᾷ γερουσίᾳ δὲ ἀξένη  
 ολογύντατος Αὔρη· Μενεκράτης Ἐρατωνιανὸς ἀπὸ<sup>ν</sup> εὐεργεσίας δόμος [ί]  
 ας ἀμπελικόν, τόπῳ Ἰπποβότῳ, Πάντοτε  
 25 [<sup>έ</sup>]ξ, ὃ γείτον [ν]είστη πάπτο μὲν ἀνατολῆς  
 [<sup>ο</sup>]ι Ἐπαφρᾶ κληρονόμοι, ἀπὸ δὲ μεσημβρίας [ν]  
 [<sup>Ε</sup>]νθυσιανὸς Φύλακος ἀπὸ δὲ δύσεως  
 [<sup>Φ</sup>]ίλιππος Θεοδώρου, ἀπὸ δὲ ἄρκτον [ν]  
 [<sup>κε</sup>]νδον ἔδαφος φίλον τὸ καλούμενον Ἀλωνί<sup>ν</sup>  
 30 [<sup>ς</sup>] Ἀρεος, ἐπίτη τῷ καὶ αὐτῷ εἶναι τῆς γε  
 ρουσίας αἰώνιον ἔστιν δὲ οἱ γεροί [ν]  
 [<sup>σια</sup>]σταὶ οἵδε τοις Αὔρηλιοι προστάται  
 [<sup>τ</sup>]ης Τειμοκράτης Χαρικλέους· ’Ιούλιος  
 [<sup>..</sup>] Αὔρη· Ἐρατωνιανός ἔγιος Μεγιστᾶς τοις  
 35 Ἐπαφρόδειτος Μεγιστᾶ· Κόσμος Ἐραφροδείτον· Σωσίβιος Χαρικλέους,  
 Ἐπίκτητος Κόσμου· Μενεκράτης,  
 Εὐονχηρός [..] Ἐπικτητός ήτον —————  
 [<sup>..</sup>]ο[—————]

	On right side of stone	
40	<p><i>"Εδοξεν οὖν τῇ γε ρουσίᾳ εἴ τις τὸ [ἀ]νθρώ [π]ικόν ν τι ἄνοι, [ἀ]ντ' αὐτοῦ [τ]ῷ&lt;ν&gt; νῖκῶν αὐτοῦ γείνεσθα[ι] [δ]υ [ἀ]ν ν ἡ γερουσίας ἐληται· ἐὰν 45 δὲ μὴ ἔχῃ παιδί[α], τῶν ἐγγύ[ν] [τα]τα συνγενῶν ὃς εἰσιῶν [δώ]σει τῇ γερουσίᾳ * ν. [έ]</i></p>	
		<p>[ἀν] δέ τις ἔξωθεν δοκιμα[σ] [θ]ῇ ὑπὸ τῆς γερουσίας, εἰ[σ] φερέτω εὐθέως τῇ γέρον σίᾳ * ἐκατόντα ἐγράψῃ ἄρχ· Αὔρ· Ζωπύρου το[ν] Νεικοβούλου, Μ Βουκα τίου ζ Δ</p>
50		

To Good Fortune

## TRANSLATION

The Sacred Gerusia of the Savior Asclepius decreed to engrave and set up in the common precinct a stele, on which there should be the following record:

In return for the many great benefactions which he has received from the god, Julius Aristeas of excellent fame has presented to the Gerusia through the god a small estate, Styphlarion, of eight jugera, in the locality Sys: its neighbors, on the east Aurelius Thalamus and the portico of Calliste's heirs, on the north Aurelius Theodorus, on the west the heirs of Arescon the Holmonian, on the south Symphorus the Holmonian and the heirs of Nicostratus son of Zopyrus. On the condition that they cultivate it, the Elders are to enjoy eternal and inalienable possession of it.

It was likewise decreed in pursuance of the same motion to engrave still another gift which in return for a similar benefaction the distinguished Aurelius Menecrates Eratonianus has given to the Sacred Gerusia, to wit a vineyard in the locality Hippoboton, of six jugera: its neighbors, on the east the heirs of Epaphras, on the south Eubulas son of Phylax, on the west Philip son of Theodorus, on the north an empty lot called the Threshing-floor of Ares. With the understanding that this too is to be the eternal possession of the Gerusia.

The Elders are the following Aurelii: Timocrates son of Charicles (president), Julius Aurelius Eratonianus, Megistas son of Megistas, Epaphroditus son of Megistas, Cosmus son of Epaphroditus, Sosibius son of Charicles, Epictetus son of Cosmus, Menecrates son of Menecrates, — — —

So the Gerusia decreed: If anyone should complete whatever may be his human lot, whichever of his sons the Gerusia may select shall take his place; but if he has no sons, whichever next of kin will give to the Gerusia fifty denarii on entering. If any outsider is approved by the Gerusia, let him straightway bring into the Gerusia one hundred denarii. Recorded in the archonship of Aurelius Zopyrus son of Nicobulus, on the seventh day of the month Bucatius.

## COMMENTARY

The important early reading is that of Girard. Lolling's revision is also valuable as confirmatory evidence, although he missed a great many letters which are still extant. My edition is based on a fresh examination of the original, and except for one

passage, it brings only insignificant changes, as in the assignment of lost letters between the end of one line and the beginning of the following. Syllabic division seems to have been observed by the stonemason, for lines 29/30 and 48/49 do not furnish any real exceptions. The passage chiefly affected is that in lines 41-44. I could still discern enough to confirm the disputed part of Girard's and Lolling's reading ΕΙΤΙΣΤΟΝΟΠΩ in line 41. The article is τὸ and not τῶ[ν], for in this inscription the round omicron can never be confused with the square omega ω. In the following line Girard copied ΙΝ.ΝΙΑΝΟΙ.ΝΤΟΥΤΟΥ. Lolling was unable to see all these traces. Again, however, I could discern the essential strokes ΙΑΝΟΙ, but I find that the first omicron of Girard's reading τούτου is really an alpha. In any case Dittenberger's reconstructions εἴ τις τ[ῶν ἀ]ν[τί]ρ[η]σθαι ν[ά]ποθ[η]μαν[τί]νειν or ἀν[τί]ρ[η]σθαι ν[ά]ποθ[η]μαν[τί]νειν, or von Hiller's εἴ τις τῶ[ν ἀ]ν[τί]ρ[η]σθαι ν[ά]ποθ[η]μαν[τί]νειν, do not conform to the actual traces. The idea, however, is correct. The phrase contains a euphemistic circumlocution to avoid mentioning death. The verb is ἀνω (= ἀνύω).

For the word [τ]ῶ<ν> in line 43 Girard's copy gives ηή, while Lolling could see only the omega. For the word γερουσία in line 44 the stone gives ΓΕΡΟΥΣΙΑ.

#### AELIA TRYPHAENA DRACONTIS

**34. STRATONICEA.** Found at Panamara. G. Deschamps and G. Cousin, *B.C.H.*, XV (1891), pp. 193-196, no. 138.

- [Ιερεὺς ————— Οὐλπιος]  
 [Άριστων Δέοντος τοῦ Ἐκαταίου Κό]  
 [φιλόπατρι]ς· ιέρια τὸ [τρίτον ? με]  
 [τὰ τὴν] ἀρχιερωσύνην καὶ κλε[ι]  
 5 [δ]οφορίαν τῆς Ἐκάτης Αἰλία Δέ  
 [ο]ντος θυγάτηρ Τρύφαινα Δρα  
 κοντίς, πληρώσαντες πάντα  
 δι' ὅλου [το]ῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ καὶ τὰ πρὸς  
 τοὺς θ[εοὺς] εὐσεβῶς καὶ τὰ πρὸς  
 10 τοὺς ἀνθρώπους φιλοτίμως  
 καὶ πλουσίως, ἔδωκαν καὶ τοῖς  
 βουλευταῖς καὶ τοῖς μετέχουσι  
 τῆς γερουσίας πρῶτοι ἀνὰ <γ,  
 συμφιλοτιμούμενων καὶ τῶν  
 15 τέκνων αὐτῶν Οὐλπίων Ἀριστί<sup>τη</sup>  
 τίππου, Ἀπφίου, Ἡρακλίτου, Ἄμ[μι]  
 ας, Ἀρίστωνος, καὶ τοῦ ἀδελ[φοῦ]  
 τοῦ ιερέως Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ]ῦ Λέ  
 οντος τοῦ Ἐκαταίου [Κό], καὶ τῆς  
 20 μητρὸς τῆς ιερείας Δρακοντί<sup>τη</sup>  
 δος τῆς Διομήδους θυ(γατρὸς) Ἀμμίας.

## TRANSLATION

*The priest Upius Ariston son of Leon the son of Hecataeus, patriot, of the deme Coliorga, and the priestess for the third time after the office of high priestess and after the post of keybearer to Hecate, Aelia Tryphaena Dracontis, daughter of Leon, fulfilling everything through all the year both in devotions toward the gods and in zealous care and in lavish generosity toward the pilgrims, were the first to make a donation of three denarii apiece to all members of the Council and to all regular members of the Gerusia. (The following relatives) helped them in their exhibition of public spirit: their children, the Upii Aristippus, Appius, Heraclitus, Ammia, Ariston; the brother of the priest, namely Alexander, son of Leon the son of Hecataeus of the deme Coliorga; the mother of the priestess, namely Dracontis Ammia daughter of Diomedes.*

## COMMENTARY

The text here given is not the whole inscription, for a section on another subject begins in line 22.

Concerning this family see *B.C.H.*, LXI (1937), pp. 272-277 where Laumonier's arguments would call for a date in the reign of Hadrian. Because of the gentilicium Aelia it cannot be earlier.

The restoration [*φιλόπατρι*]ς (line 3) is mine; the rest were proposed by Deschamps and Cousin. The first two lines are reconstructed *exempli gratia*.

Another document of Panamara (*B.C.H.*, XV [1891], pp. 192 f.) begins Ιερεὺς ἐν Ἡραίοις Ἀλέξανδρος Δέοντος τοῦ Ἐκαταίου Κό<sup>39</sup> φιλόπατρις, and concludes συνφιλοδοξοῦντος καὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ ἵερέως Οὐλπίου Ἀρίστων. The former name seemed to Deschamps and Cousin to reappear in our document, lines 18 and 19. Hence they suggested at the beginning Ιερεὺς ἐν Ἡραίοις Οὐλπίος Ἀρίστων Δέοντος τοῦ Ἐκαταίου Κό. This restoration, however, ignores the low horizontal stroke as of a sigma visible in their facsimile just before the word *ἱέρια* (line 3). There can, of course, be no doubt that we are dealing with members of the same prominent family. We might, however, be tempted to balance the phrase τοῦ ἱερέως Ἀλέξανδρον] (line 18) against the phrase τῆς ἱερείας Δρακοντίδος (lines 20-21), and thus call the brother not Ἀλέξανδρος Δέοντος τοῦ Ἐκαταίου Κό, but Δέων Ἐκαταίου Κό, who, accordingly, would not be identical with the priest of the aforesaid inscription but would be his father. This possibility seems unlikely in view of the distribution of the Roman gentilicia Αἰλος and Οὐλπίος, and in view of the style of the aforesaid inscription.

<sup>39</sup> The demotic, printed *Κοι* by the editors, appears as *ΚΟ* in the facsimile, and is confirmed by repetition below in line 10. Alexander's father-in-law, however, does have a demotic abbreviated as *Κοι*.

## ULPIUS ARISTON AND ULPIA AMMION

**35.** STRATONICEA. Found at Lagina. Szanto's unpublished copy (1894) is preserved in the Austrian Archaeological Institute at Vienna. Copied and published by J. Hatzfeld, *B.C.H.*, XLIV (1920), p. 74, no. 5. Hatzfeld had access to a copy made by Chamonard in 1892.

To the left

[Στρατ]ονίκη Ἀρτεμιδώρου  
τοῦ Ἐκατόμνω Τατιὰς Κω  
κλιδοφοροῦ  
4 [σα]

To the right

5 ['Ο] δῆμος καὶ ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ἡ γερο[ντία ἐτείμησαν]  
διὰ ψηφισμάτων Μ. Οὐλπιον Ἀρίστωνος [νί]ὸν [Κυ]  
ρεί[ν]α Ἀλέξανδρον Ἡράκλειτον Κό καὶ Οὐλπίαν  
[Διο]νυσοκλέους θυγατέρα "Αμμιον Κό ἱερατεύσαν  
[τα]ς εὐσεβῶς καὶ φιλοτείμως, καὶ μετὰ τὰ λοιπὰ  
10 [τ]ὰ ἀναλώματα καὶ τὰς ἔστιάσεις καὶ γυμνασιαρ  
[χίας, ἄ]ς ἐτέλεσαν ἐν ταῖς [ἐπισ]ήμοις καὶ ἑορτασί<sup>μοις</sup> [τῆς θεοῦ ἡμέραις, καὶ τὸ μισθώσασθαι]  
δι' ὅλου [τοῦ] ἔτους [πάντα τὰ ἐπιδημήσαντα ἀκροά]  
ματα, καὶ τὸ συνλαβέσθαι π[άσι τοῖς δεομένοις],  
15 κατασκευάσαντας ἐκ τῶν ἴδιων ἐντ[ελεῖς τὰς στοὰς]  
μετὰ τοῦ προπύλου τοῦ πρὸ τῆς εἰσόδου [καὶ τὴν πρὸς]  
τῇ βιοτικῇ ἀγορῷ στοὰν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάν[τα ἀξίως]  
καὶ τῶν γονέων καὶ τῶν προγόνων.

## TRANSLATION

Keybearer Stratonice Tatias from Coraea, daughter of Artemidorus who was the son of Hecatomnos.

The Demos and the Council and the Gerusia *have honored* by decrees Marcus Ulpius Alexander Heraclitus from Coliorga, *of the tribe Quirina*, son of Ariston, and *have honored* Ulpia Ammion from Coliorga, daughter of Dionysocles. They fulfilled the priesthood with pious zeal and with generosity; and after the other expenses and the banquets and the oil donations which they performed on holidays and festivals *of the goddess*, and after they had engaged all the visiting entertainers for a whole year and had lent a hand in *all matters where help was needed*, they built at their own expense *the porticoes in perfect condition* together with the propylon before the entrance, and also the portico on the market place for victuals, and they *performed* all the other things *in a manner worthy* of their parents and of their ancestors.

## COMMENTARY

Unfortunately, when possible, I did not ask for a tracing of Szanto's copy, still preserved at Vienna but now inaccessible because of the war. Hatzfeld represents lines 15-18 as beginning much further to the left than lines 5-14. The fracture would appear to leap suddenly in line 15 far to the left in a most unusual manner. This circumstance led B. D. Meritt to suggest *per litteras* that Hatzfeld's arrangement is not strictly accurate and that lines 15-18 begin where also lines 4-14 begin. This seems very probable to me, and I have, therefore, adopted Meritt's restorations for lines 15-17, where Hatzfeld restored  $\tau[\hat{\eta}] \iota\epsilon\rho\hat{a} \text{oikia} \tau\hat{a}s \tau\rho\hat{s} \sigma\tau\hat{o}\alpha\hat{s}$  (15), [ $\kappa\alpha\hat{l} \tau\hat{h}\nu \pi\rho\hat{o} \tau\hat{h}\nu$   $\text{oikias} \tau\hat{h}\nu \pi\rho\hat{o}s$ ] (16), and  $\pi\alpha\hat{n} [\tau\alpha \tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\sigma\alpha\tau\alpha\tau\alpha \dot{\alpha}\xi\iota\omega\alpha]$  (17). All the other restorations, here adopted, are by Hatzfeld except for [Στρατ]ονίκη (1).

The chief obligation of the gymnasiarich was to supply the oil, and therefore the word *γυμνασιαρχέω* gradually shaded off into a synonym for *ἐλαιοθετέω*. Thus we have the phrase *γυμνασιαρχήσαντα ἐκ τῶν ἴδιων ἐπιρρύτῳ* in no. 42. The noun *γυμνασιαρχία* (10-11) underwent a similar development. On the *ἀκροάματα* see L. Robert, *Hermes*, LXV (1930), p. 116.

On prosopographical evidence this inscription is dated approximately in the middle of the second century. See A. Laumonier, *B.C.H.*, LXI (1937), pp. 273 f.

## NICANDER

**36.** STRATONICEA. Found at Lagina. Szanto's unpublished copy (1894) is preserved in the Austrian Archaeological Institute in Vienna. The inscription was copied and published by J. Hatzfeld, *B.C.H.*, XLIV (1920), pp. 75-76, no. 6.

‘Ο δῆμος [καὶ ή] βουλὴ καὶ η γερου  
σία καὶ οἱ ἐν τῷ [ίερ]ῳ κατοικοῦντες  
Νεικάνδ[ρου τοῦ] Μενίππου Λό<sup>5</sup>  
ιερέως ἔξ [ἐπαγγ]ελίας καὶ ιερείας  
[. . . . .]ον τοῦ Διονυσίου Κό<sup>10</sup>  
[καὶ τ]ῆς [αὐτῶν θυγα]τρὸς [Ἰουλίας] τῆς  
[Νε]ικάνδρου Λό κλειδοφόρου [ον] <τε>τειμη  
μένων καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου [ον τοῦ] Νυσα  
έων ψηφίσμασι [τὰς εἰκόνας].

10 Ιουλίας τῆς Νικάνδρου Λό<sup>15</sup>  
κλειδοφόρου τὸ δεύτερον.

‘Η βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος καὶ οἱ ἐν τῷ  
ίερῳ κατοικοῦντες κλιδοφόρον  
Ζηνωνίδα Ἄμμιαν Μενίππου  
θυγατέρα ἀρχιαάτρου, εὐστεβῶς μὲν τὰ  
πρὸς τὴν θεόν, μεγαλο[μερῶ]ς δὲ τὰ  
πρὸς πάντας [τοὺς πολίτας καὶ ξένους]  
[τοὺς] παρ[αγενομένους τελέσασαν].

## TRANSLATION

The Demos and the Council and the Gerusia and those who dwell in the *sanctuary* <have set up> the statue of Nicander son of Menippus from Lobolda, voluntary priest, and the statue of the priestess . . . daughter of . . . who was the son of Dionysius

from Coliorga and *the statue of their daughter* the keybearer *Julia* daughter of Nicander from Lobolda. They had all been honored with decrees by the Demos of the Nysaeans too. At the time when Julia daughter of Nicander from Lobolda was keybearer for the second time.

The Council and the Demos and those who dwell in the sanctuary <honor> the keybearer Zenonis Ammia daughter of the official physician Menippus. *She performed piously her obligations toward the goddess and she treated all the citizens and foreign visitors generously.*

#### COMMENTARY

The restorations are due to Hatzfeld.

#### ARISTIPPUS SON OF ARTEMIDORUS

**37.** STRATONICEA. R. Pococke, *Inscriptionum antiquarum graec. et latin. liber* (London, 1752), p. 13, no. 12. R. Chandler, *Inscriptiones Antiquae pleraeque nondum editae in Asia Minor et Graecia, praesertim Athenis, collectae* (Oxford, 1774), Pars I, p. 29, no. LXXI. A. Boeckh, *C.I.G.*, II (1843), 2724.

A.D. 161-212

‘Ο δῆμος  
 καὶ ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ἡ γερουσία ἐστ  
 εφάνωσεν καὶ ἔθαψεν δημοσίᾳ  
 ’Αριστίππον Ἀρτεμιδώρου, ἄν  
 5 δρα ἀγαθὸν γενόμενον, γυμνα  
 σιαρχήσαντα τῶν νέων καὶ ἵερατεύ  
 σαντα καὶ πρεσβεύσαντα πρὸς  
 τοὺς Σεβαστούς — καὶ ἐν πολ  
 λοῖς καὶ μεγίστοις εὐχρηστον  
 10 γενόμενον τῇ πατρίδι ἀμέ[μπτ]ως,  
 [ᾶξιον] τοῦ γένους παρεσ[χημένον]  
 [αὐτόν]

#### TRANSLATION

The Demos and the Council and the Gerusia crowned and buried publicly Aristippus son of Artemidorus. He was a good man, he served as gymnasiarch of the νέοι and as priest, and he went on an embassy to the emperors, and in many very important matters he was of good service to the fatherland and irreproachable in his behavior. He displayed *himself worthy* of his clan.

#### COMMENTARY

The restorations are by Boeckh.

## HIEROCLES

**38.** STRATONICEA. Found at Panamara. R. Pococke, *Inscriptionum antiquarum Graecarum et Latinarum liber* (London, 1752), II, 7, p. 14, No. 14. A. Boeckh, *C.I.G.*, II (1843), 2720. G. Cousin, *B.C.H.*, XXVIII (1904), p. 27 (the first fifteen lines only). See also W. H. Waddington, *Voyage Archéologique III: Explication* (1877), p. 143. L. Robert, *Études anatoliennes* (Paris, 1937), pp. 548 f.

[‘Η βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος καὶ ἡ γερουσία ἐ[τίμη]  
 [σαν Ἱεροκλέα] Παναιτίου τοῦ Θράσωνος  
 [‘Ἴε ἀρχιερέα] τῶν Σεβαστῶν, [ἰ]ερέα τοῦ Πα  
 [ναμάρου καὶ] τῆς Ἐκάτης τρίς, κ<λ>ιδοφορού  
 5 [σης τῆς θυγατρ]ὸς αὐτοῦ Ἀ<π>φία<s> τῆς Ἱεροκλέ  
 [ους Ἄδας, ἱερέ]α Διὸς Χρυσαορίου, ἱερέα Δι  
 [ὸς Λωνδάργου, ἵ]ερέα Διὸς Ναράσου, ἱερέα Δι  
 [ὸς . . . . .<sup>ca. 10</sup>], γυμνασίαρχον τῶν νέων,  
 [. . . . .<sup>ca. 12</sup>]νς δίς, δόντα δὲ τῇ πόλι  
 10 [καὶ εἰς τὸ σειτ]ώνιον ἀργύριον, τετελεκ[ό]  
 [τα δὲ ἀρχὰς κ]αὶ πρεσβίας· ἐτίμησαν δὲ  
 [καὶ τοὺς νιὸν . . . .]ν Θράσωνα Ἱεροκλέους Λέ  
 [οντα ‘Ἴε ἱερέα τῷ]ν Σεβαστῶν, γυμνασίαρ  
 [χον δὲ καὶ ἱερέ]α τοῦ Παναμάρου, καὶ Λέον  
 15 [τα Ἱεροκλέους Θράσ]ωνα ‘Ἴε ἀρχιερέα τῶν Σεβασ  
 [τῶν, γυμνασίαρχον τῶν] νέων, ἱερέα Διὸς Χρυσαορί[ον],  
 [— — — — — καθ'] ἡλικίαν <τ>οὺς φιλοσόφον[s],  
 [ἀργύριον δόντα] μετὰ τοῦ πατρὸς εἰς α[ἰωνίων ἔργων]  
 [κατασκευὴ]<ν> ἀναπληρώσαν<τα> \* μυ[ριάδας — —]  
 20 [— — — ‘Ἴε]ροκλῆς, καὶ τῆς γερουσία[s — — —]  
 [— — — — —]ανομιν[— — — — — — — — —]

4 Pococke ΚΑΙΔΟΦΟΡΟΥ, Boeckh <δ>ιδοφόρον, Waddington κ<λ>ιδοφορού[σης. 5 Pococke ΑΦΙΑ, Boeckh Ἀφία<s> vel Ἀ<π>φία<s> vel Ἀ<φ>φία<s>. 17 Pococke ΥΟΥΞ, Boeckh <τ>οῦ{s}, Oliver <τ>οὺς. 19 Pococke ΥΑΝΑΤΤΛΗΡΩΣΑΝ, Boeckh [κατασκε]ν<ην> ἀναπληρῶσαν.

## TRANSLATION

The Council and the Demos and the Gerusia honored Hierocles son of Panaetius and grandson of Thrason, from Hieracome, high priest of the Augusti, priest of Zeus Panamarus and of Hecate thrice (his daughter Appia Ada daughter of Hierocles being keybearer), priest of Zeus Chrysaorius, priest of Zeus Londargus, priest of Zeus Narasus, priest of Zeus . . . , gymnasiarch of the νέοι, . . . twice. He gave the city money also for the grain fund. He performed the duties of public offices and of embassies. <The Council, the Demos and the Gerusia> honored also his sons . . . Thrason Leon, son of Hierocles, from Hieracome, priest of the Augusti, gymnasiarch

*and priest of Zeus Panamarus, and Leon Thrason, son of Hierocles, from Hieracome, high priest of the Augusti, gymnasiarch of the νέοι, priest of Zeus Chrysaorius. He . . . according to age the philosophers. He together with his father gave money for the erection of everlasting works, paying . . . denarii --.*

#### COMMENTARY

The restorations are: by Pococke, 1 ὁ δῆ, τοίμη, 2 σταυ; by Boeckh, 1 Ἡ βουλὴ καὶ, τίμη, 2 Ἱεροκλέα, 3 ἀρχιερέα, ἵ, 4 ναμάρου καὶ, 6 ους, ἴερέ, 7 ος, ἵ, 8 ος, 10 ὁ, 11 τα δὲ ἀρχὰς κ, 14 χον δὲ καὶ ἴερέ, 16 τὸν γυμνασίαρχον τῶν, ου, 17 καθ, 18 ἀργύριον δόντα, ιωνίων ἔργων, 19 κατασκευήν, ριάδας, 20 Ἱε, s; by Waddington, 5 σης; by Cousin, 3 Ἱε, 5 τῆς θυγατρ, 6 Ἄδας, 12 καὶ τὸν νιοὺς, 13 οντα Ἱε ἴερέα τῶ, 15 τα Ἱεροκλέους Θρασ; by Robert, 10 εἰς τὸ σιτ; by Oliver, 10 καὶ, 17 s.

Cousin restored part of the text on the analogy of a similar inscription, *C.I.G.*, II, 2721. In line 10 I have added the restoration *καὶ* because Robert's convincing proposal [εἰς σιτ]ώνιον or [εἰς τὸ σιτ]ώνιον does not seem to fill all the space.

Concerning this family see *B.C.H.*, LXI (1937), pp. 269-271, where Laumonier designates the year 160 A.D. as the approximate time when at the age of 70 the father Hierocles, according to *C.I.G.*, II, 2721, went on an embassy to the emperor Antoninus Pius.

L. Robert, *Études anatoliennes* (Paris, 1937), pp. 555-561 shows that Hieracome is identical with Lagina. A demotic Δαγινεύς never occurs at Stratonicea.

#### MYONIDES AND TRYPHAENA

**39.** STRATONICEA. Marble base found at Lagina. Hula's unpublished copy is preserved in the Austrian Archaeological Institute at Vienna. The inscription was copied and published by J. Hatzfeld, *B.C.H.*, XLIV (1920), pp. 81-82, no. 14. Hatzfeld had access to another copy made by Chamondard in 1892.

‘Ο δῆμος καὶ αἱ βουλαὶ καὶ ἡ γερουσία  
 Ἡραῖον ἴερέα Μυωνίδην ὄργιοφάντην,  
 πατροκαστιγνήτην ἀλοχον σεμνήν τε Τρυφαίνα[ν].  
 ἡ δ’ Ἐκάτη στέψασα βροτῶν τείμησε μάλιστα,  
 5 εἰκόσι ταῖσδε ἐγέραρε πατρὶς ἀναμίξ τεκέεσσιν.

#### TRANSLATION

The Demos and the Councils and the Gerusia <honor> Myonides, priest at the Heraea, who initiates into the orgies, and his aunt and noble wife Tryphaena. Hecate, moreover, crowned them and so gave them greatest honor among mortals. With these statues the fatherland has honored them among its children.

## COMMENTARY

At the beginning of line 4 the reading is uncertain. Hatzfeld published it ἦν Ἐκάτη and added that Chamonard read the first two letters ΗΔ. Hula's copy gives ΗΔΕΕΚΑΤΗ. I have preferred to retain the delta clearly read by both early copyists independently.

The phrase Ἡραῖον ἱερέα is equivalent to the expression ἱερέα ἐν Ἡραίοις, for which see H. Oppermann, *Zeus Panamaros* (1924), pp. 38-77. His services to Hecate at Lagina had apparently occurred in the (or a) preceding year, whereas at the time of the inscription he was ἱερατεύων ἐν Ἡραίοις for Zeus at Panamara.

Myonides appears to be a contemporary of Marcus Aurelius according to Lamonier (*B.C.H.*, LXI [1937], pp. 280-282).

## MARCUS SEMPRONIUS CLEMENS

**40.** STRATONICEA. Found at Panamara. G. Deschamps and G. Cousin, *B.C.H.*, XII (1888), pp. 85-87, no. 10. H. Oppermann, *Zeus Panamaros* (1924), pp. 38, 43.

[‘Ο] δῆμος καὶ αἱ βουλαὶ καὶ ἡ γερ[ου]  
 σία ἐπίμησαν ταῖς μεγίσταις καὶ  
 ἔξαιρέτοις τειμαῖς Μᾶρκον Σενπρ  
 ὄνιον Μάρκου νιὸν Κλήμεντα, ἄνδρα ἀξι  
 5 όλογον καὶ ἀσύγκριτον, ἀτελείᾳ καὶ ἀλει  
 τουργησίᾳ ἐκ γένους τετειμημέ  
 νον, ἐπαγγελλόμενον δὲ ἡρχή  
 ερατευκότα τῶν Σεβαστῶν πλου  
 σίως, ἱερατευκότα τοῦ Παναμά  
 10 ρον τετράκις, τὸ δίς ἐν Ἡραίοις  
 κατὰ πενταετηρίδα, ὅτε δὲ τὸ δεύ  
 τερον ἱεράτευεν, ἱερατευκότα καὶ  
 τῆς Ἐκάτης ἐν στενοχώροις καὶ  
 ροῦς, ἱερατευκότα τῆς Ἐκάτης ὁμό  
 15 σε ὅτε καὶ τοῦ Παναμάρου τὸ β., ἱερα  
 τευκότα ἐνὶ ἐνιαυτῷ Διὸς Χρυσαορεί  
 ον, Διὸς Ναράσου, Διὸς Λωνδάργου, γεγν  
 μνασιαρχηκότα ἐπτάκις πλουσίως,  
 ἀγωνοθετοῦντα κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἐκ τῶν  
 20 ἰδίων, εὐθημιαρχηκότα ἐν στενοχώ  
 ρῳ καιρῷ, δεκάπρωτον, πεπρυτανεύ  
 κότα καὶ γεγραμματευκότα ἐν δυσ  
 κόλοις, καὶ πεποηκότα πάντα ἐπὶ ὥφε  
 λιᾳ τῆς πόλεως, κατεσκευακότα ὑ

- 25 δραγωγήα καὶ ὑδατα εἰσαγειωκχότα  
 εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἐκάτης, ἐν φῶ ἱεράτευ  
 εν χρόνῳ, κατεσκευακότα ναὸν ἐν τῷ  
 περιστώῳ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου σὺν τοῖς ἀγάλ  
 μασιν ἐν παντὶ τῷ κόσμῳ, τεθικότα δὲ  
 30 ἀγάλματα τὰ ἐν Παναμάροις καὶ ἐν Λαγείνοις  
 καὶ ἐν Κολιέργοις. Περὶ πάντων ἔστιν ψηφίσματα.

25 εἰσαγειωκχότα for εἰσαγηοχότα. 28 βουλευτηρίΩ.

#### TRANSLATION

The Demos and the Councils and the Gerusia honored with the greatest and exceptional honors Marcus Sempronius Clemens son of Marcus, a notable and incomparable man. By family right he had been honored with freedom from taxation and from liturgy. However, volunteering as high priest of the Augusti he performed the duties of the office without regard to expense. He served as priest of Zeus Panamarus four times, twice during the penteteric festival at the Heraea. When he was priest for the second time, he served as priest also of Hecate at a time of need. He served as priest of Hecate at the same time that he was priest of Zeus Panamarus for the second time. He served in one year as priest of Zeus Chrysaorius, priest of Zeus Narasus, priest of Zeus Londargus. He served as gymnasiarch seven times without regard to expense, as agonothete for a year at his own expense, as commissioner of food in a time of need, as decemprimus, as prytanis and as secretary at a difficult time, and he did everything for the benefit of the city. He built aqueducts and brought water to the sanctuary of Hecate, at the time that he was priest. He built a temple in the court of the Council House and gave also statues along with all the furnishings. He erected statues at Panamara, at Lagina and at Coliorga. Concerning everything are decrees.

#### COMMENTARY

Since the great-grandson of Sempronius Clemens is known to have lived at the beginning of the fourth century after Christ, the editors (*loc. cit.*, p. 89) have located Sempronius Clemens himself at the end of the second or at the beginning of the third century after Christ. The chief services for which he is being honored (in the inscription) are concerned with the two great sanctuaries. The man's services are enumerated in almost the same terms on other inscriptions which the editors have published together with this one.

The penteteric festival, celebrated in years when Sempronius Clemens served Zeus as *ἱερεὺς ἐν Ἡραίοις* (as contrasted with the alternate years when the priest was *ἱερεὺς ἐν Κομυρίοις*), is identified by Oppermann (pp. 47-50) as the *Ἐκατήσια*, the most famous festival at Stratonicea, when the priest of Zeus at Panamara had an occasion

to display additional munificence. The Heraea were the festival of the Panamaran Hera, closely associated with the local god.

### THREPTUS CALPON

**41.** STRATONICEA. Found at Eski-Hissar. A. Laumonier, *B.C.H.*, LVIII (1934), p. 341, no. 28.

‘Η βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος  
καὶ αἱ ἱερὰ γερουσίαι ἐτίμησαν  
καὶ ἔθαψαν χρυσέοις στε  
φάνοις Θρέπτον Μενεστρά  
5 τὸν Κάλπωνα Κωραῆ,  
μηδένα λυπήσαντα.

### TRANSLATION

The Council and the Demos and the Sacred Gerusiae have honored and buried with gold crowns Threptus Calpon, son of Menestratus, of Coraea. He never caused anyone any grief.

### COMMENTARY

There are two sections of the Gerusiae, because there are two sanctuaries, that of Hecate at Lagina and that of Zeus Panamarus at Panamara. *Κωραῆ* = *Κωραιέα* demotic (Laumonier). The editor unfortunately has given no indication of the date, although he published it without either photograph or drawing.

### PHANIAS

**42.** STRATONICEA. Found at Lagina. Szanto's unpublished copy (1894) is preserved at the Austrian Archaeological Institute at Vienna. The inscription was copied and published by J. Hatzfeld, *B.C.H.*, XLIV (1920), pp. 72-73, no. 3. Hatzfeld had access also to an earlier copy made by Chamonard (1892).

[ — — — — κλειδ] οφόρος [ — — — — —] Ἀρτεμιδω [ρ — — — — τ] ον Ἐκατό <sup>4</sup> 4 [ <mu> — — — M] νυτάλη Κω </mu>	5 ‘Ο δῆμος καὶ ἡ βο[νλὴ καὶ] ἡ γερουσία ἐτίμησαν Φανίαν Ἀριστέον [τοῦ] Φανίου Κόιερατεύσαντα ἐ <sup>8</sup> ξ ἐπαγγελίας τρὶς τῆς μεγίστης θεᾶς Ἐκάτης καὶ γυμνασιαρχήσαντα ἐκ τῶν ἴδιων ἐπιρύτων καὶ ἐπανγέ <sup>10</sup> λλοντ[α] πρώτως τὸ ἔλαχιστον καὶ προνοήσαντα 10 τ[ῶν] χαλκέων πυλώνων.
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8 ἐπιρύτων, Szanto; ἐπιρρύτων, Hatzfeld; ΕΠΗΥΤΩ, Chamonard. 10 τ[ῶν], Szanto; [τῶν], Hatzfeld.

### TRANSLATION

The Demos and the Council and the Gerusia have honored Phanias, son of Aristeas who was the son of Phanias, from Coliorga. He thrice fulfilled voluntarily

the office of priest to the greatest goddess Hecate, and he served as gymnasiarch at his own expense performing the obligations of the office in regard to the oil container, announcing beforehand the amount of the oil, and he took care of the bronze gates.

#### COMMENTARY

Hatzfeld points out that Phanias is known from another inscription of the period of the Roman Empire (*B.C.H.*, XIV [1890], p. 368, no. 8).

The restorations are due to Hatzfeld except for those in line 3 and that at the beginning of line 4. In regard to the latter compare No. 35.

#### AGRIPIANIA

**43.** STRATONICEA. Found at Lagina. Copied and published by J. Hatzfeld, *B.C.H.*, XLIV (1920), p. 78, no. 9.

['Ο δῆμος καὶ αἱ βουλαὶ καὶ ἡ] γερουσία  
 [-----]ν Ἀγριππιάνην  
 [----- τὴν δευ]τέραν κλιδοφό<sup>5</sup>  
 [ρήσασαν εὐσεβῶς μὲν] πρὸς τὴν θεόν,  
 [φιλοτείμως δὲ πρὸς πάν]τας ἀνθρώπους.

#### TRANSLATION

*The Demos and the Councils and the Gerusia honor . . . Agrippiana . . . who served as keybearer with scrupulous piety toward the goddess and with generosity toward all the pilgrims.*

#### COMMENTARY

The restorations are those proposed by Hatzfeld.

#### AMMION APPION

**44.** STRATONICEA. Found at Lagina. Szanto's unpublished copy (1894) is preserved in the Austrian Archaeological Institute at Vienna. Published by J. Hatzfeld, *B.C.H.*, XLIV (1920), p. 77, no. 8.

'Ο δῆμος καὶ αἱ βουλαὶ καὶ ἡ ἱερὰ γερο[νοία καὶ οἱ ἔ]ν τῷ [ἱερῷ] κα<sup>2</sup>  
 τοικοῦντες ἐτείμσαν πολλάκις ἀνδρειά[σι καὶ] εἰκόσιν ἐν ἀσ<sup>5</sup>  
 πύσιν ἐπιχρύσοις καὶ ἀγάλμασι "Αμμιον Διονυσοκλέους" Απφίου,  
 παρ' ὅλον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν εὐσεβήσασαν μὲν τὴ<ν> θεόν, φιλοτειμηθεῖ  
 σαν δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, συνιερατευόντων αὐτῇ καὶ τῶν πατ<sup>ρῶν</sup>  
 Διονυσοκλέους καὶ Απφίου.

2 εἰκόσιει, Szanto; εἰκόσιν, Hatzfeld. Szanto's copy shows a ligature Νῃ in the phrase ἐτείμσαν πολλάκις.

## TRANSLATION

The Demos and the Councils and the Sacred Gerusia *and those* who dwell within the *sanctuary* have honored many times with portraits *and* busts on gilded shields and statues Ammion Appion daughter of Dionysocles. She served the goddess throughout the whole year and she gave zealous care to the faithful. Her fathers Dionysocles and Appius served as priests along with her.

## COMMENTARY

The existence of two fathers is comprehensible if Ammion was the real daughter of Appius and the adopted daughter of Dionysocles.

## UNKNOWN BENEFACTORS

**45.** STRATONICEA. Le Bas-Waddington, *Voyage Archéologique*, III (1870), no. 517. A. Wilhelm, *Sitzungsber. Ak. Berlin*, 1933, pp. 851-852. L. Robert, *Rev. Ét. Gr.*, XLIX (1936), p. 9, note 2.

[---]s Ἀριστέου	[γερουσί]αν, ἔθηκαν δὲ ἔλ[αι]
[γυμνασι]αρχήσαντες ἐ	[ον καὶ ἔ]λκυστὸν ἐκ λου[τῆ]
[πὶ στεφα]νηφόρου Λέοντο[σ]	[ρων κα]ὶ ἐν ταῖς πατρίοις [έορ]
[τοῦ Ἀρίσ]τωνος Αἰνέου [ἴ]	15 [ταῖς κ]αὶ ἐλευθέ<ρ>οις πᾶσι
[θηκαν ἔλ]αιον ἐλκυστὸν ἐ[κ]	[καὶ] ἔλαφοι>ν όμοίως ἐλ[κυ]
[λουτήρω]ν δι' ὅλης ἡμέρα[σ κ(αὶ)]	[στὸν] ἐκ{γ} λ[ο]υτήρων καὶ ἐ[ν τῷ]
[τὸ πλεῖσ]τον μέρος τῆς [νν]	[ιερῷ] τῆς Ἐκάτης ἐν ταῖ[σ τῶν]
[κτός, ἔκά]λεσαν δὲ ἐπὶ	[Ἐκατησί]ων? ἡμέραις, ἐκ[άλεσαν]
[δεῖπνον] καὶ τοὺς κατοι[κοῦν]	20 [δὲ εἰς τὸ δει]πνιστή[ριον . . .]
10 [τας τὴ]ν πόλιν καὶ τὴν [χώ]	[-----]
[ραν ξέν]ους καὶ τὴν ἵρα[ν]	

2-4 Waddington. 5 Wilhelm. 6-11 Waddington. 12 [γερουσί]αν Robert.

13 *initio* [ον καὶ Oliver. 13-17 Waddington. 18-20 Wilhelm.

19 [*Ἐκατησί*]ων? : Le Bas's copy ..... <sup>—</sup>OΩN.

## TRANSLATION

— son of Aristeas, serving as *gymnasiarchs* in the year of the stephanophore Leon Aeneas son of Ariston, *provided oil* to be drawn *from jars* all day long and during *most of the night*. Moreover, they invited to a *banquet* also the *aliens* who dwell in the city and in the *country*, and they invited the *Sacred Gerusia*. Moreover, for all free men also they supplied oil to be drawn from jars at the traditional *festivals*, and oil similarly to be drawn from jars also *in the sanctuary* of Hecate at the time of her festival. Moreover, they invited to the *refectory* —

## COMMENTARY

Some of Waddington's restorations were corrected and the others properly arranged by A. Wilhelm. Mention of the Gerusia occurs in lines 11-12, as Robert first observed.

## PYTHEAS ALEXANDER

**46.** STRATONICEA. Found at Eski-Hissar. G. Cousins and G. Deschamps, *B.C.H.*, XVIII (1894), p. 36, no. 6 (drawing).

‘Ο δῆμος [καὶ ἡ βουλὴ]  
καὶ ἡ ἱερὰ γ[ερουσία]  
Πνιθέαν Ἀρι[στίππου]  
Ἀλέξανδρον Κό<sup>τη</sup>  
5 προγόνων ἐνδόξων  
καὶ φιλοτείμων πρὸς  
τὴν πατρίδα γενομέ  
νων καὶ αὐτὸν δὲ ἀπὸ  
πρώτης ἡλικίας φιλόπα  
10 τριν ὑπάρξαντα ἔθα  
ψευ Θ

## TRANSLATION

The Demos and the Council and the Sacred Gerusia have buried Pytheas Alexander, son of Aristippus, of Coliorga. His ancestors were distinguished and displayed zeal for the fatherland, and he himself from his earliest youth was patriotic.

## COMMENTARY

The lettering suggests a date in the second century after Christ. In line 2 the restoration γ[ερουσία] fits the space exactly and may be regarded as certain.

## THEOPHILUS AND TRYPHERA

**47.** STRATONICEA. Found at Panamara. G. Deschamps and G. Cousin, *B.C.H.*, XV (1891), pp. 184-185, no. 29.

[‘Ι]ερῆς ἔξ ἐπ[αν] [γελίας ἔ]τη δύο Θεόφι [λος Θεοφ]ύλον Ἰε., ἱέρια Τρυ[φέρα Γ]αίον Κω., ἀνύ 5 ξαντε[σ] δὲ καὶ τὸ ἱερὸ[ν] ἀριστη[τή]ριον τοῦ θεοῦ πάσῃ τ[ύχη] καὶ πάσῃ ἥλι κίᾳ καὶ τ[οῖ]ς ἐπιδημήσα [σιν] ξένοις μετὰ πάσῃς	10 [πρ]οθ[ν]μίας καὶ πολυτε [λ]ίας, ἐδεξιώσαντο δὲ [κ]αὶ τὴν γερουσίαν ἐν τ[η]ς [π]όλι δ[ι]πνω ἀποφορήτῳ συνφ[ιλι]οτιμηθέντων 15 καὶ εύσεβησάντων ἐν πάσιν καὶ τῶν τέκνων αὐτῶν Θεοφύλον καὶ Θεοδώρον.
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## TRANSLATION

Voluntary priests for two years: Theophilus son of *Theophilus* of Hieracome and priestess Tryphera daughter of Gaius of the deme Coraea, opening the sacred refectory of the god to every class and age and to the out-of-town visitors with perfect willingness and sumptuousness, entertained also the Gerusia in the city with food to be carried away. Their sons, also, Theophilus and Theodorus, took an active part in all things in their zeal and in their devotion.

## COMMENTARY

The document, a common type, which records the munificence with which the priest has performed the liturgy, is an inscription from the temple of Zeus Panamarus. The restorations are due to the original editors.

L. Robert, (*Études Anatoliennes* [Paris, 1937], pp. 555-561) has shown that Hieracome was the rich deme which had the sanctuary of Hecate at Lagina as its center.

## DOMITIUS AURELIUS DIOGENIANUS CALICLES

**48.** PRUSIAS AD HYPIUM. G. Perrot, *Exploration scientifique de la Galatie et de la Bithynie* (Paris, Didot, 1862), no. 22. Both text and commentary were republished *verbatim* in *Rev. Arch.*, 2nd series, VII (1863), pp. 371-382. A. Koerte gave a somewhat improved reading, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXIV (1899), p. 435 f., no. 26 [R. Cagnat, *I.G.R.R.*, III (1906), 65 (with omission of catalogue)].

After 212 A.D.

Τὸ[ν ἐκ πρ]ο[γόν]ων φιλότειμον καὶ [φι]—  
 λόπ[ο]λιν [κ]αὶ προήγορον, δεκάπρωτο[ν]  
 καὶ κοινόβο[ν]λ[ο]ν καὶ πολειτογράφον  
 διὰ β[ί]ου, ἀγορανομήσαντα ἐπιφα-  
 5 νῶς, [σ]υνδικήσαντα πιστῶς, γραμ-  
 ματεύσαντα ἐννόμως, ἐν πάσαις  
 ταῖς πολιτείαις ἔξητασμένον,  
 ἄρξαντα τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν ἐν Βειθννίᾳ  
 Ἑλλήνων καὶ λογιστὴν τῆς ἱερ[ᾶς]  
 10 γερουσίας, ἀποδεδειγμένον εὐτυ-  
 χῶς πρῶτον ἄρχοντα καὶ ἱερέα καὶ  
 ἀγωνοθέτην Διὸς Ὄλυμπίου Δο[μ(ίτιον)]  
 Αὐρήλιον Διογενιανὸν  
 Καλλικλέα  
 15 οἱ τῆς ὁμονοίας ἡμημένοι εἰς  
 τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτοῦ φύλαρχοι

	φυλῆς Σεβαστηνῆς ·	φυλῆς Τιβεριανῆς ·
	Πωλλιανὸς Ἡδύς	Τιμοκράτης Ἰουλιανὸν.
	’Αγαθόπους Θεοφίλου	’Ιάσων Ἰάσονος ·
20	φυλῆς Θηβαῖδος ·	φυλῆς Προυσιάδος ·
	Μᾶρκος Ἀσκληπιοδότου	Διογενιανὸς Καλλικλε-
	δ καὶ Καλλίστρατος,	ανὸς Μαρκιανός,
	Αὐρ. Χρύσος Χρυσιανοῦ.	Φιλάδελφος Χρυσιανοῦ.
	φυλῆς Γερμανικῆς ·	45 φυλῆς Ἄδριανῆς ·
25	Τιμοκρατιανὸς Δο-	M. Αὐρ. Κορνουτιανὸς
	μιτιανός,	Εὐκράτης,
	Αὐρ. Ἀσκληπιόδοτος.	Αὐρ. Βαρβαριανὸς Βάρβαρος.
	φυλῆς Σαβεινιανῆς ·	φυλῆς Μεγαρίδος ·
	Αὐ. Πολλιανὸς Πολλίων,	Νικωνιανός, Μᾶρκος
30	Αὐ. Παπιανὸς Παπιανοῦ.	Αὐρ. Ρουφεῖνος.
	φυλῆς Φαυστεινιανῆς ·	φυλῆς Ἰουλιανῆς ·
	Κουκουλῖνος Ἰουλι-	Οὐαλέριος Ἀλέξανδρος,
	ανός,	Αὐρ. Εὐκράτης Εὐκρά-
	[Αὐ. Πρισ] κιλλιανός.	τους τοῦ Ἰουλιανοῦ.
35	φυλῆς Διουστιάδος ·	φυλῆς Ἀντωνιανῆς ·
	[Καλπ]ουρνιανὸ[ς] Χρυσιανός	Αὐ. Ὁλύμπιος Τειμοκράτους,
	Χρυσιανὸς Πρόκλου	Αὐ. Κορινὸς Τειμοκράτο[ν]
		55

## TRANSLATION

Those who have been elected phylarchs of the united Prusias for his term honor Domitius Aurelius Diogenianus Callicles, who has fortunately been appointed first archon and priest and agonothete of the Olympian Zeus. *Like his ancestors* he is an honor-loving and patriotic advocate. He serves as decemprimus, as local senator, and as registrar appointed for life. As clerk of the market he performed his duties with distinction, as syndic faithfully, as secretary according to the law. He was approved in all his public offices. He served as archon of the League of Bithynian Greeks and as financial commissioner of the Sacred Gerusia.

## COMMENTARY

The frequency of the name Aurelius shows that the document postdates the Constitutio Antoniniana of 212 A.D. The names of the tribes reflect honors paid to Augustus, Germanicus, Sabina (the wife of Hadrian), Faustina (probably the wife of Marcus Aurelius), Tiberius, Hadrian, Julius Caesar and Marcus Antonius. The phrase *οἱ τῆς ὁμονοίας ἥρημένοι φύλαρχοι*, for which the inscriptions of Prusias provide numerous parallels, is explained by Koerte with comparison of the phrase *οἱ ἐνκεκριμένοι καὶ οἱ τὴν ἀγροικίαν κατοικοῦντες*, used to describe classes of citizens at Prusias. The

ὅμονοια, according to his interpretation, came about through the reception (*έγκρισις*) *τῶν τὴν ἀγρούκιαν κατοικούντων* into the tribes.

Although the inscription itself follows the publication of the *Constitutio Antoniniana*, the connection of Diogenianus Calicles with the Gerusia may have begun and even terminated before that date.

### LUCILIA LAUDICE THE HIGH PRIESTESS

**49.** TRALLES. A. E. Kontoleon, *B.C.H.*, XI (1887), p. 218, no. 12, from Pappakonstantinou's copy. J. R. S. Sterrett, *Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*, II (1888), no. 383, from Pappakonstantinou's copy. M. Pappakonstantinou, *Ai Τράλλεις* (Athens, 1895), p. 58, no. 93, with a drawing on Plate *ιβ'*.

[‘Η] βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆ	vous αὐτῆς φιλοτι
μος καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν	μίας.
σύστημα τῆς γε	Π(όπλιος) Αἴλιος Βάστος Χρυ
ρουσίας ἐτίμησαν	σέρως στεφανηφορή
5 Λουκιλίαν ♂ Γ(αίου) Λουκί	σας ἀρχιερατεύσας
[λ]ίον θυγατέρα Λαν	καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς ἀρχὰς
δίκην τὴν ἀρχιέρει	15 καὶ λιτουργίας τελέσας
αν διὰ τὰς τοῦ γέ	τὴν ἔαντοῦ μητέρα.

### TRANSLATION

The Council and the Demos and the Gerusia's sacred board have honored Lucilia Laudice, daughter of Gaius Lucilius, the high priestess on account of her family's acts of public spirit.

Publius Aelius Bassus Chryseros who has served as stephanephore, as high priest and has performed the other offices and liturgies <has set up this statue of> his mother.

### COMMENTARY

Ligatures in lines 4, 7, and 12 indicate a date no earlier than the second century after Christ.

### TIBERIUS CLAUDIUS PANNYCHUS

**50.** TRALLES. W. M. Leake, *Journal of a Tour in Asia Minor* (London, 1824), pp. 339 f., from Sherard's copy. A. Boeckh, *C.I.G.*, II (1843), 2930, also from Sherard's copy. See also W. Ruge in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, s. v. Tralleis, cols. 2110 and 2113.

[‘Η βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος καὶ τὸ]	Κλ(αύδιον) Πάννυχον Εύτύχον
[ἱερὸν σύ]στημα τῆς γερου	Κοίβιλον στρατηγήσαν
σίας καὶ οἱ φιλοσέβαστοι	τα τὴν νυκτερινὴν στρα
νέοι καὶ οἱ ἐν Τράλλεσι	τηγίαν, δεκαπρωτεύσαν
5 Ρωμαῖοι ἐτίμησαν Τιβ(έριον)	10 τα, ἀργυροταμιεύσαντα,

162

ἐκδανείσαντα, κουρατο ρε<ῦ>σαντα τῶν Ῥωμαίων, σειτωνήσαντα ἀπὸ Αἰγύ πτου καὶ ἔπεργον ποιήσαν 15 τα εἰς τὸν σεῖτον καὶ δόντα εἰς τὸ δημόσιον * βφκζ, νε οποιήσαντα, στρατηγήσα[ν]	τα, ἀγορανομῆσαντα φιλο τείμως, ἀναθέντα δὲ ἐκ τῶν 20 ιδίων καὶ τὰς ἐν τ<ῷ> ὄψαριο πωλεί<ῳ> μαρμαρίνας τραπέ ζα[ς] ιβ σ<ὺν> ταις βάσεσι <ι>β· Π[ό] (πλιος) Τίτιος Μηουβιανὸς Κ λων τὸν ἔαντο<ῦ> φίλον.
--	--

## TRANSLATION

*The Council and the Demos and the Gerusia's sacred board and the emperor-loving neoi and the Roman residents of Tralles have honored Tiberius Claudius Pannychus, son of Eutyches, the Coebilian. He has served as strategus of the night watch, as decemprimus, as treasurer, as investor of the capital, as curator of the <local> Romans; he has bought Egyptian corn as the public buyer, and he has labored additionally for the corn supply and given the public treasury 2527 denarii; he has served as temple-warden, as strategus, as clerk of the market, all with great public spirit; and he has also erected out of his own money the twelve marble tables with the twelve bases in the fish market.*

Publius Titius Maevianus . . . <has set up the statue of> his friend.

## COMMENTARY

The reference to the institution of the decemprimi shows that the inscription cannot be dated earlier than the second century after Christ.<sup>40</sup>

The restoration of line 1 is by Ruge on the analogy of No. 51. On the same analogy the word *ἱερὸν* has here been substituted for Boeckh's restoration *φιλοσέ-βαστον* in line 2. The first word of line 7 was reported as *Κοιβιλον* by Sherard. From its position after the patronymic I assume that this name refers to the man's deme, tribe or *συγγένεια*. The demes of Tralles are with one exception unknown, but the form *Κοίβιλον* aroused distrust in Boeckh, who suggested the emendation *Κο<ρ>βι<ν>ον* (not a demotic of course but the cognomen Corvinus). In line 23, furthermore, the horizontal line over the last letter and the absence of any indication of a lacuna afterwards as Sherard did give for line 17, indicate an abbreviation. Boeckh restored the name Cilo (Κ[ί]|λων), which, however, would not have been abbreviated. The abbreviation recalls the demotic or phyletic of line 7. After the first letter of line 23, I have restored one letter, because Sherard's copy seems to indicate with the dot not a mark of punctuation missing above in lines 5 and 6 but a lacuna of one letter space. The other restorations and emendations are due to Boeckh.

<sup>40</sup> M. Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire* (Oxford, 1926), p. 342  
— Italian edition (1932), p. 447.

## STATUE BASE

**51.** TRALLES. Am. Hauvette-Besnault and M. Dubois, *B.C.H.*, V (1881), p. 347, no. 10, from Pappakonstantinou's copy. M. Pappakonstantinou, *Ai Τράλλεις* (Athens, 1895), pp. 32 f., no. 34, with drawing on Plate 4.

Ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν  
σύστημα τῆς γερουσίας καὶ οἱ  
φιλοσέβαστοι νέοι καὶ οἱ ἐν Τράλλεσι  
[Ῥωμαῖοι -----]

## TRANSLATION

The Council and the Demos and the Gerusia's sacred board and the emperor-loving neoi and the *Romans* resident in Tralles have honored -----

## COMMENTARY

The document is very similar in type to No. 50 dated in the second or early third century after Christ.

## L. ATILIUS PROCULUS

**52.** APAMEA. E. Legrand and J. Chamonard, *B.C.H.*, XVII (1893), pp. 247 f., no. 18. G. Weber, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXI (1896), pp. 469 f., no. 1. W. M. Ramsay, *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, I, Part 2 (Oxford, 1897), pp. 468 f., no. 305. [G. Lafaye, *I.G.R.R.*, IV (1927), 783].

Oι γέροντες  
έτιμησαν Δούκιον Ἀτίλιον  
Λουκίουν νιὸν Παλατίνα Πρόκλον  
νεώτερον, ἵερα τῶν Σεβαστῶν,  
5 φιλογέροντα καὶ φιλόπατριν,  
πρεσβεύσαντα πρὸς τοὺς Σεβαστούς  
τοὺς δωρεὰ ὑπὲρ τῶν εἰς τὴν κτί<sup>σην</sup>  
σιν διαφερόντων, ἐν τε ταῖς λοιπαῖς  
τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῆς γερουσίας  
10 χρέίαις ἀγνῶς καὶ δικαίως ἐκ προ<sup>γόνων</sup> πολειτευόμενον, συνή<sup>γορον</sup> τῆς γερουσίας.

## TRANSLATION

The Elders have honored Lucius Atilius Proculus the Younger, son of Lucius, of the Palatine Tribe, priest of the Augusti, Elder-loving and fatherland-loving, having gone on an embassy at his own expense to the emperors in behalf of the matters concerning the foundation, and having in the other services of the city and of

the Gerusia filled the post after the manner of his ancestors with perfect honesty and justice,—the advocate of the Gerusia.

## COMMENTARY

Ramsay, who noted the reference in lines 7 and 8 concerned the foundation of the Gerusia, presumed that Proculus was the son of a known personage from the middle of the first century after Christ because of the similarity of the names. He might, however, have been a more distant descendant. Since Ramsay presumed that the Σεβαστοί to whom Proculus went on an embassy were Vespasian and Titus, he arrived at the date 70-79 A.D. But Titus was not called Augustus during the life of his father. The Σεβαστοί are mentioned as if they were the familiar ones reigning at the time, and the inscription, therefore, cannot be dated before the joint reign of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus at the earliest. In view, however, of the foundation of other gerusiae in the reign of Commodus, the Σεβαστοί are almost certain to have been the coregent emperors Marcus Aurelius and Commodus.

## TIB. AELIUS SATURNINUS MARINIANUS

**53.** APAMEA. V. Bérard, *B.C.H.*, XVII (1893), pp. 301 f., no. 1. Kubitschek and Reichel, *Anz. Ak. Wien, Phil.-hist. Kl.*, XXX (1893), p. 94, no. 4. W. M. Ramsay, *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, II, Part 2 (Oxford, 1897), pp. 469 f., no. 306. [G. Lafaye, *I.G.R.R.*, IV (1927), 782.]

[Τὸ σε]μνό[τ]α[τ]ο[ν συνέδρι] 5	ἀρχιερέων, καὶ ὑπα
[ο]ν τῶν γερό[ντ]ων	τικῶν συνγ[εν]ή,
[Τιβ]έριον Αἴλιον Σα	ἐπιμεληθέντος τῆς
[το]νυρνεῖν[ο]ν Μαρε	10 ἀναστάσεως Μάρκου
5 [νια]νὸν τὸν ἴδιον δ'	Φο[ρ]βιανοῦ ἀρχοντος
[κτ]ίστην, ἔγγονον	τῶν γερόντων

## TRANSLATION

*The most revered synhedrion of the Elders <has honored> Tiberius Aelius Saturninus Marinianus their benefactor, grandson of high-priests and relative of consulars.*

Marcus Forbianus archon of the Elders attended to having the statue erected.

## COMMENTARY

Ramsay dated the inscription "later" than No. 52. He assumed that Marinianus had performed some service for the Gerusia and had therefore ranked as *κτίστης*. The fact that he was a relative of consulars almost suffices to bring the inscription down into the second century, for senators began commonly to be chosen in the East only in the reign of Trajan.

## M. CANINIUS DOCIMUS

**54.** THESSALONICA. S. Pelekides, 'Απὸ τὴν πολιτεία καὶ τὴν κοινωνία τῆς ἀρχαίας Θεσσαλονίκης (Salonica, 1934), p. 58, no. 10 (photograph). See also Ch. Edson, *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, LI (1940), pp. 135 f.

A.D. 221

'Η πατρὶς	5 θεοῦ Φούλ	10 ἐν τῷ γνό
cymatium	βου καὶ <sup>v</sup>	Σεβ· ἔτει δ'
M· Kaníni	ἀγωνο <sup>v</sup>	[γε]ρουσι
ov Δόκι	θέτην	[---]
μον ἴερη		

## TRANSLATION

The fatherland honors M. Caninius Docimus, priest of the deified Fulvus and president of the games in the 253rd Augustan year, gerusi ---

## COMMENTARY

Edson has shown that the deified (Aurelius) Fulvus, worshipped at Thessalonica in the third century, was not Antoninus Pius himself but was M. Aurelius Fulvus Antoninus the son of Antoninus Pius and of Annia Galeria Faustina.

## FIRST INSCRIPTION IN HONOR OF EUPHRANTICUS

**55.** THESSALONICA. P. N. Papageorgiou in a local newspaper 'Αλήθεα, Oct. 7, 1906, p. 1, no. 23. The text here presented is that of Charles Edson who will treat this and the following inscriptions in his forthcoming essay, *Inscribed Honorary Altars of Thessalonica*.

·Δ· ·Β· ·Δ	σαντα γερουσίας
cymatium	δνο < <sup>vν</sup> > Αύρηλια
·Γ· ·Ιούλ· Εὐφραντικὸν	Καλαιδία τὸν γλν
γυμνασιαρχήσαντα	κύτατον ἔαντῆς
πανδημὶ δι' ὅλου ἔ	10 ἄνδρα
5 τοὺς καὶ καταστή	

## TRANSLATION

With the consent of the Council and Demos. Aurelia Calandia honors her most dear husband, C. Julius Euphranticus who supplied the oil to the whole people for a whole year and established two gerusiae.

## COMMENTARY

On stylistic grounds Edson would date the inscription approximately in the second quarter of the third century after Christ.

## SECOND INSCRIPTION IN HONOR OF EUPHRANTICUS

**56.** THESSALONICA. P. N. Papageorgiou in a local newspaper, *'Αλήθεια*, Sept. 23, 1906, p. 1, no. 3. The text here presented is that of Charles Edson who will treat it in his forthcoming essay, *Inscribed Honorary Altars of Thessalonica*.

·Δ· ·Β· ·Δ·	Εὐφραντικὸν
cymatium	Αὔρηλία Καλαν
τὸν γυμναρσίαρ	δία τὸν γλυκύτα
χον καὶ γερουσι	τον ἑαυτῆς ἄνδρα
άρχην γερουσι	cymatium
5 ὡν δύο ·Γ· Ιούλ	

## TRANSLATION

With the consent of the Council and Demos. Aurelia Calandia <honors> her most dear husband, C. Julius Euphranticus the gymnasiarch and gerusiarch of two gerusiae.

## FLAVIA CLAUDIA SILVANA

**57.** THESSALONICA. P. N. Papageorgiou in a local newspaper, *'Αλήθεια*, Sept. 23, 1906, p. 1, no. 5. S. Pelekides, *'Απὸ τὴν πολιτεία καὶ τὴν κοινωνία τῆς ἀρχαίας Θεσσαλονίκης* (Salonica, 1934), p. 78, note 2. The text here presented is that of Charles Edson who will treat it in his forthcoming essay, *Inscribed Honorary Altars of Thessalonica*.

ca. 245-252 A.D.

'Αγαθῇ υἱ Τύχῃ	δίᾳν Σιλβανὴν τὴν
cymatium	[ἀξι]ολογωτάτην
ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος	10 [ἀρχι]έρειαν καὶ γε
τῆς λαμπροτάτης Θεο-	[ρουσ]ιάρχισσαν τει
σαλονεικαίων μητρο-	[μ]ῆ[σ] καὶ εὐνοίας ἔ
5 πόλεως καὶ κολωνεί	νεκεν.
ας καὶ τετράκις νεω-	εὐτυχῶς
κόρουν Φλαβίαν Κλαν	

## TRANSLATION

To Good Fortune. The Council and the Demos of the most illustrious metropolis and colony of the Thessalonians, which has received the distinction of a temple four times, to Flavia Claudia Silvana the most honorable high-priestess and wife of the gerusiarch, as a mark of honor and because of her good will. Farewell.

## COMMENTARY

The restoration in line 11 is by Sp. Vases *apud* Pelekides, the others are by Papageorgiou. As in Nos. 19, 20, and 58 the phrase *εὐτυχῶς* is addressed to the readers. Compare No. 60: *εὐτυχεῖτε*.

## AUR. STATILIUS THEODORUS CALLED HAPSIMACHIS

**58.** THESSALONICA. P. N. Papageorgiou in a local newspaper, Ἀλήθεια, Oct. 7, 1906, p. 1, no. 52. The text here presented is that of Charles Edson who will treat it in his forthcoming essay, *Inscribed Honorary Altars of Thessalonica*.

Middle of Third Century after Christ

Δ(όγματι)	Β(ουλῆς)	
	cymatium	πόλεως καὶ κολωνίας.
Aύρ(ήλιον)	Στατεῖλιον	Αὔρη Ισιδώρα
Θεόδωρον τὸν		ἡ μήτηρ εἰς παραμυθίαν ἔστη
καὶ Ἀψίμαχον		δοῦσα τῇ πόλει
5 τὸν ἀξιολογώνταν ἀπὸ φρουρῶν		ἐπ' ὄνόματος αὐτοῦ εἰς γερουσίαν Ἀττικὰς μυρίας.
μενταρίων βουλευτὴν νόμιμον		
τῆς λαμπρᾶς Θεσσαλονίκης λονεικέων μητρού		εὐτυχῶς
10		

## TRANSLATION

With the consent of the Council.

Aurelia Isidora, the mother <honors> Aurelius Statilius Theodorus called Hapsimachis, the very distinguished ex-frumentarius, who took his place as Councilman of the illustrious metropolis and colony of the Thessalonians according to the law. For her own consolation she presented in his name ten thousand Attic drachmas to the Gerusia for the city. Farewell.

## PONTIA ZOSIME

**59.** THESSALONICA. P. N. Papageorgiou, *B. ph. Woch.*, XXII (1902), p. 957. S. Pelekides, *Ἀπὸ τὴν πολιτεία καὶ τὴν κουνωνίᾳ τῆς ἀρχαίας Θεσσαλονίκης* (Salonica, 1934), p. 86, note 4.

A.D. 261

Κατὰ τὸ δόξαν τῇ κρατίστῃ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ λαμπροτάτῳ δήμῳ τῆς Θεσσαλονεικέων μητροπόλεως καὶ κολωνίας	10	δρας τῆς ἀξιολογωτάτης ἀρχιερείας ἡ μήτηρ Οὐαλερία Ἀλεξάνδρα τιμῆς καὶ μνήμης ἐνεκα, ἐπιδούσα καὶ ἐπ' ὄνόματι τῆς θυγατρὸς ισ γερουσίαν *
5 Ποντίαν Ζωσίμην θυγατέρα Ποντίου Εὐανγέλου τοῦ κρατίστου καὶ ἀρχιερέως καὶ Οὐαλερίας Ἀλεξάνδρας	15	ἐποντος γῆς

## TRANSLATION

According to the consent of the most distinguished Council and most illustrious Demos of the metropolis and colony of the Thessalonians.

Valeria Alexandra, the mother, to Pontia Zosime daughter of Pontius Evangelus vir egregius and high priest and of Valeria Alexandra the very worthy high priestess, in her honor and memory. She gave in the name of her daughter ten thousand denarii to the Gerusia.

In the 293rd <Augustan> year.

### TIB. CL. PASINUS

**60.** PHILIPPOPOLIS. A. Dumont, *Archives des missions scientifiques et littéraires*, 3rd series, III (1876), p. 137, no. 55 (from a copy by Tsoukalas). [A. Dumont and Th. Homolle, *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'épigraphie* (Paris, 1892), p. 340, no. 55. R. Cagnat, *I.G.R.R.*, I (1911), 725].

Ἄγαθῇ Τύχῃ  
Τιβ. Κλαύδιον Πασίνουν Μονκιανοῦ  
ἥ ἵερὰ γερουσίᾳ τὸν ἔαντῆς ἔκδικον.  
εὐτυχεῖτε.  
ταμιεύοντος Γλα<sup>ύ</sup>κουν Θάλλουν

### TRANSLATION

To Good Fortune.

The Sacred Gerusia <honors> its advocate Tib. Claudius Pasinus son of Mucianus. Farewell.

In the term of the treasurer Glaucus Thallus.

### COMMENTARY

In his index on page 137 Dumont interpreted the word *ταμιεύοντος* as referring to the *ταμίας* of the Gerusia.

### HERENNIUS HERACLIANUS

**61.** PHILIPPOPOLIS. Paul Lucas, *Voyage . . . dans la Grèce, l'Asie Mineure, la Macédoine et l'Afrique*, I (Paris, 1712), p. 403, no. 46. L. A. Muratori, *Novus Thesaurus veterum inscriptionum in praecipuis earumdem collectionibus hactenus praetermissarum*, II (Milan, 1740), p. MLXIX, no. 6 (ex Paulo Luca misit Bimardus). A. Boeckh, *C.I.G.*, II (1843), 2050. Ph. Le Bas, *Voyage archéologique en Grèce et en Asie Mineure*, II (Paris, 1847), p. 354, no. 1552. A. Dumont and Th. Homolle, *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'épigraphie* (Paris, 1892), p. 341, no. 57 c. [R. Cagnat, *I.G.R.R.*, I (1911), 735]. See also J. H. Mordtmann, *Revue archéologique*, 2nd series, XXXVI (1878), p. 299. M. N. Tod, *A.J.P.*, LXII (1941), p. 191.

Ἐρέννιος Ἡρακλιανὸς γερου  
σιαστῆς Φιλιπποπολέύτης ἐκ  
τῶν ἴδιων ἔαντῷ καὶ τῇ συμβί  
ῳ ἔαντοῦ Κλεοπάτρᾳ Ἀθηνοδώ

5 ρον κατεσκεύασε τὴν σο  
ρὸν σὺν τῷ γρά<sup>ύ</sup>δῳ ἀνεξοδί<sup>α</sup>  
αστον. δις ἀν δὲ πωλήσι, δώσι τῷ φί<sup>α</sup>  
σκῷ δηνάρια [ - ] ♂

## TRANSLATION

Herennius Heraclianus, a Philippopolitan Elder, has prepared out of his own funds, for himself and for his consort Cleopatra daughter of Theodorus, this coffin, never to be alienated, with its step. Whoever sells it, will pay . . . denarii to the fiscus.

## COMMENTARY

The word *γρά<δ>φ* (stone ΓΡΑΛΩ) was restored by Mordtmann. It refers to the stepped base on which the sarcophagus rested. For parallels see Kalinka, *Antike Denkmäler in Bulgarien* (Vienna, 1906), no. 323 and commentary.

## SATURNINUS

**62.** PHILIPPOPOLIS. G. Seure, *B.C.H.*, XXV (1901), pp. 311-312, no. 5 (drawing).

[-----]ιος Σατορνεῖνος γερουσιαστῆς Φιλιπποπολει<τη>s ζῶν καὶ φρονῶν  
 [τὸ ἡρῶν Θεοῖς κ]αταχθονίοις καὶ τὴν ἐναποκευμένην θήκην ἔαντῳ καὶ τῇ συμβίᾳ αὐτοῦ  
 [ name κατεσκεύ]ασεν, ἄτινα ἀξιῶ ἀσυλα καὶ ἀμετάπρατα εἶναι, μηδενὶ δὲ ἔξδον εἶναι  
 [..... μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν] τὴν ἐμὴν ἀλλο πτῶμα καταθέσθαι εἰς τὴν θήκην.  
 5 [ἐπεὶ δώσει τοῖς κληρονόμοις] προστείμον ὀνόματι <\*> βφ [καὶ] τῇ γ<ε>ρον[σίᾳ \* ..]

## TRANSLATION

. . . us Saturninus, Philippopolitan Elder, still living and of clear mind and memory, *prepared the funerary shrine* for the *Di Manes* and the enclosed tomb for himself and for his consort . . . I ask that these monuments be inviolable and inalienable and that it be permitted to no one *after my death* . . . to deposit any other corpse in the tomb; *and if any one do so, he shall pay* as a fine to the heirs 2,500 *denarii* and to the Gerusia . . . *denarii*.

## COMMENTARY

The emendations and tentative restorations are due to the original editor. His field copy gives ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΤΟΛΕΙ in line 1 and ΜΒΦ and ΓΟΡΟΥ in line 5.

## SEPULCHRAL INSCRIPTION

**63.** AENUS A. Dumont, *Archives des missions scientifiques et littéraires*, 3rd series, III (1876), p. 165, no. 104. [A. Dumont and Th. Homolle, *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'épigraphie* (Paris, 1892), p. 437, no. 104].

ΔΙ.....ΚΑΙ  
 ΣΛΚ.....Σ  
 ΗΝΣΟΙ.....ΤΗΝΣ

5 [.. ἐὰν δ]έ τις ἔτ[ερ]ος τολμήσει  
 [ἀνοῖ]ξε ἢ ἐνθάψῃ τιν[ά],  
 [πληρώσ]ει τῇ κρατίστῃ βουλῇ  
 [καὶ] τῇ ἱερᾷ γερουσ[ίᾳ] --]

## TRANSLATION

. . . and if anyone else shall dare to open it or shall bury any one in it, he shall pay to the most excellent Council and to the Sacred Gerusia . . .

## COMMENTARY

The first three lines are here given as reported by the original editor, to whom also the restorations are due. I suspect lacunae at the beginning of the lines.

## **PART III**

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ἔξουσίας τὸ –, αὐτοκράτωρ[ρ τὸ γῆ, ὑπατος τὸ βῆ, πατὴρ πατρίδος, ἀνθύπατος] 24 42-45

[Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Θεοῦ Μάρκου Ἀντωνίνου νός, Θεοῦ Ἀντωνίνου Εὐσεβοῦ[ν] σινιωνός . . . Θεοῦ Τραιανοῦ] Παρθικοῦ καὶ [Θεοῦ Νέρονα ἀπόγονος . . . Γερμανικὸς] Μέγιστος, ἀρχιερέψιμος μέγιστος, κτλ. 26 8-11

[Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Θεοῦ Μάρκου Ἀντωνίνου νός, Θεοῦ Ἀντωνίνου Εὐσεβοῦ σινιωνός . . . Θεοῦ Τραιανοῦ Παρθικοῦ[ν] καὶ Θεοῦ Νέρονα ἀπόγονος . . . Γερμανικὸς Μέγιστος, ἀρχιερέψιμος μέγιστος . . . πατὴρ πατρίδος] 26 16-19

Θεός Κόμμαδος 27 6-7

#### IV. PROPER NAMES

\*Ἀγαθὴ Τύχη 8 1; 12 1, [12]; 18 8; 20 6; 21 1; 33 1; 57 1; 60 1  
\*Ἀγαθόποιος Θεοφίλου 48 19 (Prusias ad Hypium)  
\*Ἀγαθόποιος: see M. Αὐτοκράτωρ.  
\*Ἀγριππιάνη 43 2 (Lagina)  
\*Ἄδα: see \*Ἀπφία \*Ἄδα  
\*Ἄδιατόριξ a Galatian 15 3  
\*Ἀδριανεῖα 10 4: τὰ μεγάλα Ἀδριανεῖα τῆς δευτέρας πενταετηρίδος 9 6-7  
\*Ἀδριανή tribe at Prusias ad Hypium 48 45  
\*Ἀθηνᾶ Πάρμαντος 3 465  
\*Ἀθῆναι: \*Ἀθήνησιν 31 28  
\*Ἀθηναῖος 24 13, [28-29], 47; 26 [11], 19  
\*Ἀθηνώδωρος father of Cleopatra and father-in-law of Herennius Heraclianus 61 4-5 (Philipopolis)  
\*Ἀϊγύπτος 50 13-14  
\*Αἰλία Λέοντος θυγάτηρ Τρύφαινα Δρακοντίς 34 5-7, (Panamara)  
Π. Αἴλιος Βάσσος Χρυσέρως son of Lucilia Laudice 49 11-12 (Tralles)  
\*Αἴλιος Εὐφρόσυνος Παλληνεύς 29 4-5 (Athens)  
[Τιβέριος Αἴλιος Σαρματος υρνεῖνος Μαρει[νια]νός descendant of high priests and relative of consuls 53 3-5 (Apamea)  
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\*Ακάκιος 19 5 (Ephesus)  
\*Ακαρνάνη 1 3  
Γ. Ἀκονίλλιος Πρόκλος proconsul of Asia 3 [76-77], 114, 327, [336], [411]; 4 23

\*Ἀλεξάνδρα: see Οὐαλερία \*Ἀλεξάνδρα  
\*Ἀλέξανδρος: see Οὐαλέριος \*Ἀλέξανδρος  
\*Ἀλέξανδρος: see (Οὐλπιος) \*Ἀλέξανδρος  
\*Ἀλέξανδρος: see M. Οὐλπιος Αρίστωνος νιός Κυρείνα  
\*Ἀλέξανδρος Ἡράκλειτος Κό  
\*Ἀλέξανδρος: see Πυθέας Αριστίππον \*Ἀλέξανδρος Κό  
\*Α[λως] Ἀρεος a plot of land near Hyettus 33 29-30  
\*Ἀμμία: see Δρακοντίς \*Ἀμμία  
\*Ἀμμία: see Ζηνωνίς \*Ἀμμία  
\*Ἀμμία: see Οὐλπία \*Ἀμμία  
\*Ἀμμιον Διονυσοκλέους \*Ἀπφιον 44 3 (Lagina)  
\*Ἀμμιον: see Οὐλπία Διονυσοκλέους θυγάτηρ \*Ἀμμιον Κό  
\*Ἀμνυτιανός 19 12 (Ephesus)  
\*Ἀνθεστηρίων 3 450  
\*Ἀντιοχίς Athenian tribe 29 3  
\*Ἀντίπατρος: see Τιβέριος Κλάριος Αντίπατρος Τουλιανός  
\*Ἀντωνιανή tribe at Ephesus 18 22-23: tribe at Prusias ad Hypium 48 56  
\*Ἀπόλλων 31 58: \*Ἀπόλλων Κλάριος 19 3-4  
\*Ἀπφία Τεροκλέους \*Ἄδα 38 5-6 (Panamara)  
\*Ἀπφιον: see \*Ἀμμιον Διονυσοκλέους \*Ἀπφιον  
\*Ἀπφιος natural father of Ammion Appion 44 6 (Lagina)  
\*Ἀπφιος: see Οὐλπιος \*Ἀπφιος  
\*Ἀργαδένη Ephesian Thousand 1 10  
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\*Ἀρης 33 30

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 Ἀριστέας Φανίου Κο father of Phanias 42 6 (Lagina)  
 Ἀρίστιππος Ἀρτεμιδώρου 37 4 (Stratonicea)  
 Ἀρίστιππος father of Pytheas Alexander 46 3 (Stratonicea)  
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 Ἀριστοκράτης Κεραμήτης son of Hierocles, high priest and λογιστής of the Gerusia 9 2-4 (Ephesus)  
 [Ἀρίσ]των father of Leon Aeneas 45 4 (Stratonicea)  
 Ἀρίστων father of M. Ulpius Alexander Heraclitus 35 6  
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 Λούκιος Ἀτίλιος Λουκίου νὺς Παλατίνη πρόσκλος νεώτερος priest of the Augusti 52 2-4 (Apamea)  
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- ‘Αφράνιος Φλαονιανός legatus pro praetore 3 77-78, [114-115], 328, 372
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- Βάστος: see Πόπλιος Ρουτέλιος Βάστος and Κλαύδιος Βάστος and Π. Αἴλιος Βάστος Χρυσέρως
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- Βουκάτιος Hyettian month 33 53-54
- Βουλαία: see Εστία Βουλαία
- Belgica 4 6
- [Γ]άιος father of Tryphera 47 4 (Panamara)
- Γαλάτης 15 4
- Γαργύττιος Athenian demotic [31 34]
- Γαργύλιος perhaps imperial procurator in Achaea 26 7 (Athens)
- Γερελλανός: see Νονμέριος Γερελλανός
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- Δημήτηρ 19 2, 3; 27 1
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- Διονυσιακοὶ ἀγῶνες 31 20
- Διονυσιάς tribe at Prusias ad Hypium 48 35
- Διονύσιος Κο 36 5 (Lagina)
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- Διονυσοκλῆς father of Ulpia Ammion 35 8
- Διόνυσος 31 42
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- Δρακοντίς: see Αἰλία Τρύφαινα Δρακοντίς
- Δρακοντίς Διομήδους θυ(γάτηρ) Ἀμμία 34 20-21 (Panamara)
- Diana 4 [1], 7
- ‘Εκαταῖος Κο father of Leon and grandfather of Ulpius Ariston and Alexander 34 [2], 19 (Panamara)
- ‘Εκάτη 34 5; 38 4; 39 4; 40 13, 14, 26; 42 7; 45 18
- ‘Εκατήσια [45 19]
- ‘Εκατόμνως Κω father of Artemidorus and grandfather of [Strat]onice Tatias the keybearer 35 2 (Lagina)
- ‘Εκατόμνως Κώ 42 3-4 (Lagina)
- ‘Ελλην: τὸ κοινὸν τῶν ἐν Βιθνίᾳ ‘Ελλήνων 48 8-9
- ‘Επάγαθος: see Αὐρ. ‘Επάγαθος
- ‘Επαφρᾶς 33 26
- ‘Επαφρόδιτος Μεγιστᾶ 33 35 (Hyettus)
- ‘Επαφρόδιτος father of Cosmus 33 35-36 (Hyettus)
- ‘Επίκητος Κόσμου 33 37 (Hyettus)
- [Ἐ]πικ – father of . . . 33 38 (Hyettus)
- ‘Ερατωνιανός: see Αὐρ. Μενεκράτης ‘Ερατωνιανός and also Ιού(λιος) Αὐρ(ήλιος) ‘Ερατωνιανός
- ‘Ερέννιος Ήρακλιανός 61 1 (Philippopolis)
- ‘Ερμίας sacred slave at Artemisium of Ephesus 3 [200], 482
- ‘Εστία Βουλαία 19 2
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- Ενανδρις 19 10 (Ephesus)
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- Εὐβούλας Φύλακος 33 27 (Hyettus)
- Εὔδοξος (Σφήγτιος) father of Atticus 27 12 (Eleusis)
- Εὐκράτης Τιουλάνου father of Aur. Eucrates 48 54-55 (Prusias ad Hypium)
- Εὐκράτης: see Αὐρ. Εὐκράτης Εὐκράτους τοῦ Ιουλιανοῦ
- Εὐκράτης: see Μ. Αὐρ. Κορνουτιανὸς Εὐκράτης
- Εὐμένης Εὐμένους τοῦ Θεοφίλου strategus of Ephesus 3 199-200, 479-480
- Εὐρυκλῆς: see Οὐλπιος Εὐρυκλῆς
- Εὐτύχης father of Tib. Cl. Pannychus 50 6 (Tralles)
- Εὐτυχία: see Ρωσκιλία Εὐτυχία
- Εὐφραντικός: see Γ. Ιούλιος Εὐφραντικός
- Εὐφρόνιος Ήγήμονος Ακαριάν 1 2, 3, 6
- Εὐφρόσυνος: see Αἴλιος Εὐφρόσυνος

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**Εὐώνυμοι** Ephesian tribe 3 191-192, [193]

**Ἐφεσέας** member of Ephesian tribe of the  
‘**Ἐφεσέας**’ 1 10; [3 181]

**Ἐφέσιος** 1 3, 9; 3 [29, 56, 63, 140], 141, [142, 144, 145,  
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373, 453, 454, [455], 457, 468, 481, 489; 4 11; 7 4;  
[9 22-23]; 11 5; [12 20]

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**Ephesius** [4 1, 2]

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**Ζεὺς Νάρασος** 38 7; 40 17

**Ζεὺς Ὁλύμπιος** 48 12

**Ζεὺς Χρυσάριος** 38 6, 16; 40 16-17

**Ζεὺς [— —]** 38 7-8

**Ζηνωνίς Ἀμρία** Μενίππου θυγάτηρ ἀρχιάτρου 36  
14-15 (Lagina)

**Ζάπυρος**: see Αὔρ. **Ζάπυρος Νικοβούλου**

**Ζάπυρος** father of **Νικόστρατος** 33 16 (Hyettus)

**Ζωσίμη**: see **Ποντία Ζωσίμη** and **Φαβ. Ζωσίμη**

**Ἡγῆμων** (‘**Ακαρνάν**), father of **Εὐφρόνιος** 1 3

**Ἡδύς**: see **Πωλλιανὸς Ἡδύς**

**Ἡραῖα** 40 10: **Ἡραῖον** **ἱερέα** = **ἱερέα** ἐν **Ἡραῖος** 39 2

**Ἡραῖος** 39 2

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**Ἡράκλειτος**: see **Οὐλπίος Ἡράκλειτος**

**Ἡρακλιανός**: see **Ἐρέννιος Ἡρακλιανός**

**Ἡρογείτων** (‘**Ἐφέσιος**’) 1 1

**Θάλαμος**: see **Αὔρ. Θάλαμος**

**Γλα〈ῦ〉κος** Θάλλος treasurer <of the Gerusia> 60 5 (Philippopolis)

**Θαργηλιών** 3 69, 225, 491

**Θεόδωρος**: see **Αὔρ. Στατείλιος Θεόδωρος** δ καὶ ‘**Αψίμαχος** and also **Αὔρ. Θεόδωρος**

**Θεόδωρος** son of the volunteer priest Theophilus and grandson of Theophilus 47 18 (Panamara)

**Θεόδωρος** father of Philip 33 28 (Hyettus)

**Θεοὶ καταχόνιοι** 62 2

**Θεόφιλος** father of Agathopus 48 19 (Prusias ad Hypium)

**Θεόφιλος** father of Eumenes and grandfather of the Ephesian strategus Eumenes 3 [199], 480

**Θεόφι[λος Θεοφ]ίλον** Ιε 47 2-3 (Panamara)

**Θεόφιλος** son of the volunteer priest Theophilus and grandson of Theophilus 47 17 (Panamara)

[**Θεόφ**]ίλος father of Theophilus 47 3 (Panamara)

**Θεόφιλος**: see also **Κλαύδιος Θεόφιλος**

**Θεσπαλονεικέis** 57 3-4; 58 9-10; 59 3

**Θηρβαῖς** tribe at Prusias ad Hypium 48 20

**Θορίκιος** Athenian demotic 23 2

**Θράσων** father of Panaetius and grandfather of Hierocles 38 2 (Panamara)

**Θράσων Ιεροκλέους Λέων** Τε 38 12-13 (Panamara)

**Θράσων**: see **Λέων Ιεροκλέους Θράσων Τε**

**Θρέπτος Μενεστράτου Κάλπων Κωραιεύς** 41 4-5 (Stratonicea in Caria)

**Τάσων Ιάσονος** 48 40 (Prusias ad Hypium)

**Ιεροκλῆς Παναιτίου τοῦ Θράσωνος** Ιε 38 2-3, 5-6, 13, [15], 20 (Panamara)

**Ιεροκλῆς** father of Aristocrates 9 2 (Ephesus)

**Ιεροκωμήτης** Stratonician demotic Ιε 38 [3, 13], 15; 47 3

**Ιουλία Νικάνδρου** Λο 36 6, 10 (Lagina)

**Ποπλία Ιουλία Βηρύλα** 17 2 (Ephesus)

**Ιουλιανὴ** tribe at Prusias ad Hypium 48 52

**Ιουλιανός** father of Eucrates and grandfather of Eucrates 48 55 (Prusias ad Hypium)

**Ιουλιανός** father of Timocrates 48 39 (Prusias ad Hypium)

**Ιουλιανός**: see **Τιβ. Κλ. Ἀντίπατρος Ιουλιανός** and **Τιβ. Κλαύ. Ιουλιανός** and **Κουκουλίνος Ιουλιανός**

**Ιούλιος Αριστέας** 33 7 (Hyettus)

**Ιού(λιος) Αὔρ(ήλιος) Ερατωνιανός** 33 33-34 (Hyettus)

Γ. **Ιούλ. Εὐφραντικός** 55 2; 56 5-6 (Thessalonica)

Τιβ. **Ιούλιος Ρηγεῖνος** the Asiarch 10 11-12 (Ephesus)

**Ιππόβοτον** locality near Hyettus 33 24

**Ισανρικός** 5 8

**Ισιδώρα**: see **Αὔρ. Ισιδώρα**

**Ισμηνόδωρος Βοιώτος** 2 8

**Καίλιος Κοναδράτος** imperial procurator in Achaea 24 15, 17, 39

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