Nine Greek Inscriptions from the Cayster-valley in Lydia: A republication.*

Scrutiny of the archives of the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden at Leiden has brought to light a number of paper-squeezes of Greek inscriptions which all come from Tire and its vicinity in the Cayster-valley in ancient Lydia. Most of them pertain to villages (κώμης, κωπόια) situated in that region and belonging to the territory of Ephesus and Hypaipia¹. Most of these texts have been published before. But since earlier publications sometimes were rather inaccessible and nearly always very meagre – in fact in most cases we have hardly anything more than a transcription in majuscule – and since it is presumably only the Leiden-squeezes which will enable scholars to get an impression about the letter-forms and consequently about the approximate date of the stones, we have decided to republish these texts here in full.

The squeezes have been made by E. Jordanidis, whose name frequently occurs in the pages of the Mouseion of the Evangelical School at Smyrna and in the early volumes of Athenische Mitteilungen and Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique. It is through the intermediary of the Dutch consul in Smyrna, A.J. van Lennep and his nephew A. O. van Lennep², that the squeezes reached

* I am grateful to Professor P. Herrmann (Hamburg) for some critical remarks. Naturally I am alone responsible for the views here presented.

¹ Cf. J. Keil – A. von Premerstein, Dritte Reise ---- (Denkschr. Akad. Wien, Ph.-Hist. Kl., 57 (1915), Abh. 1) 64ff.; 82ff.. In 1961 the Roberts have made a trip through the Cayster-valley up to Birgi. They emphasize the importance of the growing of hemp both in antiquity and nowadays in this fertile valley. The hemp was traded to Ephesus: "d’ailleurs une grande partie de la vallée faisait partie du territoire même d’Éphèse, au delà de Larisa et de Tire, jusqu’aux frontières d’Hypaipia et de Dios Hieron" (Noms Indigènes dans l’Asie Mineure gréco-romaine (1963), 145; see also id., Monnaies grecques (1967), 60 and 94). In 1961 and 1963 G. E. Bean and J. M. Cook have visited Tire and Larisa resp. “but nothing relevant came to light” (J. M. Cook, BSA 63 (1968), 40; said in relation to ancient coinage but probably true also in general). We do not embark here upon a discussion of the problem of the relations between villages and cities in antiquity. A modern study on “Ancient Villages” seems an urgent desideratum (cf. also p. 74). For villages attached to cities in Asia Minor cf. e.g. M. Rostowzew, SEHRE (1957), 657.

Leiden. They have been lurking under the dust of the Museum of Antiquities for more than seven decades, thereby sharing the fate of the numerous Greek inscriptions which van Lennep sent to this Museum and which I published in as late as 1958 in my thesis.

Anyone who meets inscriptions from Asia Minor on his path, is bound to ask himself the question whether the Vienna Academy, under whose auspices the Tituli Asiae Minoris are appearing at admittedly irregular intervals, possesses information on such texts. Professor Maresch has, with his usual and characteristic kindness and alertness, responded to our requests. It appears that in 1911 the late J. Keil has seen and studied (parts of) all but one (n. 5) of these inscriptions. Maresch has kindly provided us with the pertinent data from the “Scheden” of the Austrian Academy. We very much hope that this republication, with photographs and generally short commentaries, will alleviate the task of the editor of the TAM-volume of the Lydian inscriptions.

The texts have been the subject of a seminar on Greek epigraphy given by Pleket and attended by Miss L. M. Oostenbroek, J. P. Baan and H. J. van Dam. Miss Oostenbroek has focussed in particular on our nr. 2, Baan on nr. 4, van Dam on nr. 1.

Pleket has done the remaining numbers, has contributed most of the references and has acted as redactor of the text. We can only hope that the scholarly profit which readers hopefully will derive from these pages will be as large as the pleasure we had in preparing them. Finally we acknowledge with great pleasure our great debt to the Museum photographer Mr. van Veen who with remarkable success made the photographs of these approximately 75 years old squeezes. The quality of the squeezes—and consequently of the photographs—may not be good enough to enable the reader to check our reading in every place; however, we do hope that the plates convey a general impression of the lettering of these texts.

1. Epitaph of Lucius Staedius Philetus and family.

Mikraí Kateuchais (village west of Tire); seen by Jordanidis in the house of Kara Osman in 1897; now no longer available (Keil, 19 Nov. 1911: “nach Angaben der Leute zerbrochen und in Stücken in die Mauer verbaut”); late 2nd cent./early 3rd cent. A.D.

Previous Publications: E. Jordanidis, ‘Αχαια, 20 Aug. 1897 (non vidi); Ath. Mitt. 22 (1897), 359 (based on a copy by Jordanidis); IGR IV 1669 (based on Ath. Mitt.).

3. In Ath. Mitt. the following measures are given: “Höhe 0,78 m, Breite 0,45”. Measurement of the text of the inscription on the squeeze gives the following results: maximum length (horizontal): 1,10 m; minimum length: 0,75 m; width: 0,23 m; apparently the stone was somewhat bigger than the size of the squeeze suggests. Between line 1 and 2 there is a long row of oval-shaped ornaments (see Pl. 1).
Keil-Premerstein, Dritte Reise —— (Denkschr. Akad. Wien, Ph. Hist. Kl., Band 57 (1915)), 77 refer to this text in their discussion of πυρίας.

Photograph: Pl. 1 (p. 83).

Τοῦτο τὸ ἡμῖν ἐστὶν Λουκίου Σταέδιου Φιλήτου καὶ γυναῖκ[ς]
Αἰλία(μας) Ἀδρ(ηλίας) Εὐσυχίας καὶ τέκνων αὐτῶν καὶ ἑκατόν, διντιῶν ν.
κληρονόμου τῶν δύο Θεοδώρου καὶ Φιλήτου τῶν γλυκυτέτων
μοι τέκνων εἰ δὲ τις ἐστις τινα θελήσει θείναι εἰς αὐτὸ τῶν
5 μὴ προσηλκύντων ἣ ἀπαλλατωρίωμαι τὸ προδήλλουμε-
νόν ἡμῖν, δώσει τῷ ἱερωτάτῳ ταύτῳ * πεντακισχέ[ια].
βούλομαι τεθήκαι ζυ τῆν Ἔ. Ὡ πυρίαν Ἐβδομον καὶ Τατείν vacat

1.6: Αθ. Mitt. and ΙGR: πεντακισχε[ια].
1.7: Αθ. Mitt. and ΙGR: τῆν ... πυρίαν. On the squeeze the Ω seems beyond doubt;
the first letter of the lacuna seems to us to be an epsilon; we think we see the upper
part of the hasta and part of the upper cross-bar ("i").

1.1: for the nomen Staedius see W. Schulze, Zur Geschichte Lateinischer Eigen-
namen (1933), 93 and 186 (with examples of Staedii in Italy, Rome, Verona,
Spolegium, Tibur) and Münzer, P.W., 2e Reihe 33, 2 (1929), col. 2133 (im-
portant gens among the Marsi). We have found no other examples of Σταῖδιος
in the epigraphy of Asia Minor but, of course, it is easy to miss something in
that area! Staii – on which see Schulze, op. cit., 93 – are on record in Delos
and Pisidian Antioch ( BCH 1963, 252ff.; B. Kevick, Roman Colonies in Southern
Asia Minor (1967), 63ff.). L. Staeidius Philetus possibly is a descendant of a
freedom of an Italian family of Staedii who settled down somewhere
in Asia Minor ( Ephesus?).

1.2: For the habit of using a nomen (Ἀιλία) as praenomen see R. Cagnat,
Cours d’Epigraphie Latine (1914), 40f. Another Αἰλία Αἱρηλία in K.-P., Dritte
Reise ——, nr. 152 (also from the Cayster-valley).

1.3: The full name of the children will have been Staedius Theodorus and
Staedius Philetus. In the course of the Roman Empire cognomina tended to
get an increasingly distinctive value (cf. H. Thylander, Étude sur l’épigraphie
latine (1952)); moreover, in daily life the parents will have denoted their
“sweetest children” with their cognomina. For γλυκῶς as an epithet for wife
and/or children cf. L. Robert, Hellenica xi/xii, 388ff.; xiii, 31, 220.

1.5: on ἀπαλλατωρίῳ and related terms see L. Robert, Hellenica xiii, 199ff.;
on προσήκεια in epitaphs see BCH 82 (1958), 153, 265 and Jahresh. 32 (1940),
210; L. Robert, Hellenica xi/xii (Paris 1960), 232 (άὶ προσήκοντες = “les
parents”). In our text τῶν μὴ προσήκοντων more probably means οἱ μὴ
προσήκει, as Prof. Herrmann kindly suggests to me.
1. 6: For the “most sacred treasury” (the imperial fiscus) see the examples collected by L. Robert, Hellenica vi, 99/100; xiii, 211.

1. 7: The reading in the text seems certain. For a parallel cf. Keil-Premenstein, Dritte Reise ——, nr. 151 (from Böyük Kadiye in the Cayster-valley, W.S.W. of Tire): —— the δε εξω ποριάν εξουσιαν του [θρεμμα]ατικου μου. K.-P., ibid., nr. 108 (Kürdeli, near Kireli) conveys a similar idea: the δε προ του θρώου ποριάν θρεμματικαν και οις έν αυτοι βοηλονται. In view of these parallels Euodos and Tateis presumably were slaves or ὑπηρετοι of the owners of this tomb; for the name Tateis, Tateis cf. L. Robert in N. Firatlı — L. Robert, Les stèles funéraires de Byzance gréco-romaine (1964), s.v. Tateis (p. 186); id., Hellenica vi, 94, nr. 37 (inscription from Julia Gordos in Lydia); see also L. Zgusta, Kleinasiatiscie Personennamen (1964), 497, § 1517–5. For πορια (a “mot assez rare”: L. Robert, Rev. de Phil. 1934, 274, nr. 2 = Opera Minora Selecta, ii, 1173) see K.-P., Dritte Reise ——, 77/8 (——es (handelt) sich in allen Fällen um Grabanlagen die in einem Innenraume mehrere, gewöhnlich drei πορια, manchmal auch eine ausserhalb gelegene für das Gesinde besitzen; πορια are “nicht --- bloss die wattenförmigen Sarkophagase sondern auch die aus dem Fels herausgearbeiteten oder künstlich aufgemauerten Grabstellen”); cf. also J. Kubinska, Les monuments funéraires dans les inscriptions grecques de l’Asie Mineure (tome v of the “Travaux du Centre d’Archéologie méditerranéenne de l’Académie Polonaise des Sciences”), Warshaw 1969, Index s.v.; L. Robert, Études Épigraphiques et Philologiques (Paris 1938), 220, note 10.

2. Dedication of a fountain to Caligula.

Darmara (ancient Almoura)*; in ca 1895 belonging to the collection of Jordanidis in Tire; not available to Keil in 1911; broken above, at the right side and in the lower right corner; 1st century A.D. (internal evidence: Caligula).

Previous Publications: Th. Homolle, BCH 18 (1894), 538 (based on copies of Fontrier and Jordanidis and on a squeeze); Fontrier, Αρμονία, 18 May 1895 (non vidi); Ath. Mitt. 20 (1895), 505 (refers to Αρμονία and BCH but differs slightly from the latter); IG R IV, 1657 (based on Αρμονία and BCH).

The text is dealt with from an onomastic point of view by L. Robert, Noms Indigènes dans l’Asie Mineure gréco-romaine (1963), 245; D. Magie, Roman Rule in Asia Minor, vol. ii, 1925 refers to it as evidence for the existence of the village of the Halmourėnoi.

Photograph: Pl. ii (p. 83).

4. On Darmara see K. Buresch, Aus Lydien (1898), 135; Keil-Premenstein, Dritte Reise ——, 85 and 97 (nr. 142).
NINE GREEK INScriptions FROM THE CAYSTER-VALLEY IN LIDIA

καὶ Γαίῳ Κάσσαρι Σεβα[στῷ]
ἡ Ἀλμουρήνου κατ[οικίᾳ ἄνεθη-]
κεν τὸ κρηνίον, vac.
ἐπιμεληθέντος
5 Σκόρδου ἄργυρος[αμίῳ]
vac. T

Ath. Mitt. gives two letters (IIN) above ΣΕΒΑ (l. 1); none of the other publications does so. Our squeeze (and that of Th. Homolle) does not show a trace of these letters.

l. 1: BCE: — — — ΣΕΒΑΣ; alii and squeeze: — — — ΣΕΒΑ
l. 2/3: IGR: — — — [οίξα][άνέθη]
l. 4/5: IGR: ἐπιμεληθέντος Ἐφέσου; Homolle: ἐπιμεληθέντος[ας] ΣΚΟΡΔΟΥ
l. 5: IGR: Κόρδου ἄργυρος[αμίῳ]; Homolle: ΣΚΟΡΔΟΥ ΠΑΡΤΥΡΟ; Ath. Mitt.: ΣΚΟΡ ΔΥΑΡΤΥΡΟ
l. 6: Homolle: T (under the o of Σκόρδου); Ath. Mitt.: T

Since the left edge of the stone seems to have been preserved (all lines begin with a new syllable!), we shall have to assume that line 2 is rather longer than e.g. l. 3. Since there is a vacat after κρηνίον, line 3 seems to have been rather asymmetrical. This lay-out emphasizes the central place of the object, which has been dedicated. As to line 1 there is room for seven/eight letters after Σεβα[στῷ]: either a vacat or just possibly Γερμανικός? The problem is hardly exciting, since on the presence or absence of the cognomen no conclusions can be based regarding time, place or dedicator of the inscription: "Auf der Mehrzahl der Inschriften --- erscheint --- Germanicus, während es auf einer geringeren Anzahl fehlt, ohne das sich die Divergenzen durch Abfassungszeit, Ort, Inschriftengattung oder Status des Dedikanten erklären lässt" (P. Kneisel, Die Siegestitulatur der römischen Kaiser (1969), 33).

In l. 5 the engraver initially seems to have forgotten the penultimate omicron of Σκόρδου. He has corrected his mistake by putting a tiny little omicron between the delta and upsilon. The size is so small that the reading of Ath. Mitt. is excusable. All editors assume that Σκόρδου goes with the preceding ἐπιμεληθέντος. This is possible on the assumption that l. 5 is considerably (ca. 7 letters) shorter than l. 2. Another possibility is to read ἐπιμεληθέντος τοῦ δεῖνα τοῦ | Σκόρδου. If we postulate τοῦ, which is probable though not certain, we shall have to suppose that the name of the epimeletēs is 4/5 letters long. Without τοῦ the possibilities are even more manifold. As to the letters of l. 6: το (?) or τῷ, we have nothing to contribute to the problem

of the meaning of these two letters; or should we read ἀργυροτ[αμίου τῆς κα]τοιχοῦ[νεῖια]; This does not militate against the rule of syllabic division. Dittenberger OGIS, 483, note 22 has pointed out that compound words are divided into syllables "nulla compositionis ratione habita"; he adduces προστάγματα, κατομικίνα; cf. also L. Robert, Ἀρχ. Εφημ., 1969, 24 with note 4 (with the reference to Dittenberger). For the name Σκόρδου ("garlic") see L. Robert, Noms Indigènes ——, 245–6, where the reading of ιγρίνον, 1657 (Κόρδου) has been rejected correctly. D. Magie has collected some evidence on the ἀργυροταμίας and other village-officials (op. cit., 11, 1026/27 (he mentions our text on p. 1027)). We have found no trace of this text sol monographs and in the usual articles in reference-works (P.W., Diz. Epigr., Oxf. Class. Dict., Darenberg-Saglio) on the emperor Caligula.

3. Two villages honour Artemidorus, son of Lysimachus.

Darmara (ancient Almoula); ca 1897 in the house of Ephendi Xatzē Salech in Tire; on July 16th 1911 Keil saw only one fragment of it which contained the end of 1, 6, 7, 8 (ΜΑΣΤΝ; ΤΕΜΙΔΑ and ΑΝΤΑ); the rest of the stone had been smashed and its fragments built into the walls of the house?; between the two inscriptions there is an unscribed space of 5½ cm width; 1st century a.d.?

Previous Publications: A. M. Fontrier, Ἀρμονία, August 20, 1897 (on the basis of squeeze and autopsy: non vidi); Ath. Mitt. 22 (1897), 360 (based on Fontrier's copy in Ἀρμονία); Keil-Premerstein, Dritte Reise ——, 85, refer to this stone; cf. also D. Magie, Roman Rule in Asia Minor, vol. ii, 1025.

Photograph: Pl. iii (p. 84).

[Oλ x]κατοιχοῦντες [ς ἐν]
'Αλμούροις στεφα[νοῦ−]
σιν Ἁρτεμίδωρον Λυ[σι−]
μάχου βιῶσαντα καλ[ῶις]
καὶ κοσμίως vacat
[O][η] κατοιχοῦντες ἐν Μαγν[ῶ−]
λοις στεφανοῦσιν Ἁρτεμίδ[ω−]
vac. ῥον Λυσιμάχου βιῶσαντα vac.
καλῶις καὶ κοσμίως vac.

1.6/7: Ath. Mitt.: "Am Ende von Z. 6 ist über dem Ν ein kleines O sichtbar, am Anfang von 7 die zweite haste eines Α". Neither our squeeze nor Keil's sketch of this part of the

7. "Frgm. aus bläul. Marmor, unten und rechter Rand erhalten. H. 24, Br. 18; Buchst. 2–2,4. Das Übrige nach Angabe des Besitzers in kleine Stücke zerschlagen und in die Wände verbaut".

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On the villages Almoura and Magnola cf. Keil-Premerstein, *Dritte Reise* —, 85; for a similar honorary inscription cf. Ath. Mitt. 23 (1898), 498, nr. 1: [Ol κατ' αὐχούντες ἐν][]οῖς στερανοῦσιν[] ἐκ τῆς Ἀρτεμιδώρου[] κράτην Μενεκράτου[[]]εμολάου[[]]ος καὶ καλὸς καὶ κοιμίων also found in a house in Tire and copied by Jordanidis, who suggests in l. 2: ['Αλμουρ]οῖς ο[ρ []Αγνόλ]οις).

4. Honorary Inscription for P. Aelius Menocrates.

Darmara (ancient Almoura); seen by J. Keil (July 11th, 1911), built into a wall of the church of the Taxiarhics in Tyr; 2nd century A.D. (post-Hadrianic period).

*Previous Publications*: Condoléon, *rec* 10 (1892), 343; T. Homolle, *bch* 18 (1894), 539 (based on copies by Condoléon, Foutrier and Jordanidis and on a squeeze (provided by Jordanidis?)); K. Buresch, *Αμυνᾶ, 1 and 12 April 1895 (non vidi) = Ath. Mitt.*, 20 (1895), 242; revision by J. Keil, July 11th, 1911.


*Photograph*: Pl. iv (pag. 85).
15 σθρα ieς το χατ' ενιαυτών
έκαστον τη τοι καλάθου
άναφαρδ' τους κληρονόμον-
tας εις την πομπήν ανδρας
μετά των ἁρχόντων προθυ-
20 οντας ευωχείσθαι εν τη
οικη αὐτοῦ διὰ παντός τοῦ
βίου.

'Ἐπὶ ἁρχόντος τῆς κατοικίας
Ἀ(ουκίου) Βέριου Βάσσου φιλοσεβάστου καὶ το[ν]
25 συναρχόντων αὐτοῦ.

1. i: BCH: OIKA —; Ath. Mitt.: OM ——; Keil: OM — I. Our squeeze arrived at Leiden on May 13th, 1897. T. Homolle has checked Fontrier's copy by means of a squeeze which he may well have obtained from the same Jordanidis who provided van Lennep and, through him, Leiden with our squeeze. Both squeezes have been made at approximately the same time and accordingly reflect the same condition of the stone. Our squeeze would seem to confirm Buresch's reading in Ath. Mitt. (OM) and partly Keil's autopsy; we read ΟΜΩ; Keil adds: "könnte z.B. βιο[λος] sein". We see no way of restoring this line on the basis of these letters. Line 2, it seems, has been preceded by a passage which contained at least the name of the community which honours Menekrates, and a verbal form (ἐτύμησον or ἐστεφάνωσεν). The squeeze suggests that there is only one line missing. Whether the upper part of the stone has been chopped off, is unknown to us.

1. 3: BCH: ΜΕΝΕ; Ath. Mitt.: ΜΕΝΕ; Keil M., N; our squeeze: M., N.

1. 2–7: P. Aelius Menekrates has offered to the priesthood [ἱερατεία = ἱερω-
σύνη = priesthood; cf. e.g. MAMA VIII, 410: ἱερατεῖα τε τῶν Σεβαστῶν
καὶ ἀγωνοθείαν — τελέσσας] and has dedicated a basket, "set in sil-
ver" (περιάργυρος; cf. Bömer, op. cit., "versilbert"; cf. also note 8b). This
basket was missing among the equipment of the mysteries of Demeter in
Almoura. Ἀναφέρω seems less frequently used in dedications and in dedicatory

8. Cf. sigma 3935: τὰ προσσελεύαντα τοῦ ἑργοῦ τελειώσαντος Νεικοστράτου — (quoted by
which were lacking".
contexts than καθηρόν (on the latter cf. e.g. L. Robert, Études Anatoliiennes (1937), 26; Hellenica 111, 55). The Thesaurus and Liddell-Scott-Jones record examples from the Septuagint and the Bible (to offer in sacrifice; offering (ἀναφέρον)); cf. also S. Daniel, Recherches sur le vocabulaire du culte dans la Septante (1966), Index s.v.). The verb is attested in OGIS 56, 1.68 (Canopus decree, Egypt) where ἵερα παρθένοι are said to ἀναφέρεσαι στάχυς τοῦ παρακτησομένου τῷ ἀγάλματι τῆς θεοῦ ("Weihegabe darbringen", Preisigke, Wb.Gr.Pap., s.v. (col. 110); but ἄνα has retained here a bit of its original meaning: "ut verbum compositum ad pompam a litore ad templum superiore loco situm procedentem referat" (Ditt. ad loc.)). In Magnesia the term occurs (admittedly restored) in an 2nd cent. B.C. inscription concerning the cult of Sarapis: τὸν ἄναφέρατον δύο τῶν [ὑπώτων [οίνον] (Inscr. Magnesia, n. 99, 1.26 = F. Sokolowski, Lois Sacrées de l'Asie Mineure (1955) n. 34, 1.26: "Le verbe ἀναφέρετω signifie offrir"). These texts might well suggest to the innocent reader that ἀναφέρω is an "oriental" word, expressing the attitude of the humble worshipper who "sends up" his gifts to the allmighty god. However, in a purely Greek context the word is on record e.g. in Didyma: see Inscr. v. Didyma (1958), n. 445, 1.6: ἄνηθεν[ἐκαν προτ][ομην] λεόντος (in the same text ἄνεθηκαν is used); n. 444, 1.8: [ψαλη], ἣν ἄνηθεν Ἑκατ[αίος]; see also B. Haussouiller, Études sur l'Histoire de Milet et du Didymeion (1902), 235 (ἀναφέρειν, said of an ἐσχαρίς χρυσῆ). For the cult of Demeter and the celebration of her mysteries in Ephesus cf. J. Keil (see lemma), 125 (with references to Syll 820 (83/4 A.D.) and our text). The sacred basket (κάλαθος) in which the ἵερα 8 were preserved and carried around during the procession, is on record in other inscriptions relating to the cult of Demeter. In Sokolowski, op. cit., n. 6 (from Cius, 2nd century B.C.) the women who participate in the worship of Demeter are urged to "follow the κάλαθος" (τῷ καλάθῳ συνέπεσθε). In n. 61 (Mylassa; 3rd cent. B.C.) Sokolowski reads in l. 6: τὴν ἄναφο[μα τοῦ καλάθου] ἐπι[πεσόντα] ταῖς ἱερείαις (the original editors read τὴν ἄμφο[-----]). Whereas the priestesses are to carry the καλάθος in Mylassa, in Ephesus a special female cult-official has been appointed: the καλαθηφόρος, mentioned together with other cult-officials in some of the Ephesian κωφήτες-inscriptions (Keil, art. cit., 121/2, nr. 3, 5, 6; 125). Keil has made the reasonable assumption that in Almoura, too, the kalathos has been carried by a female kalathēphoros. Almoura belongs to Ephesian territory; Ephesian influence, in matters political (see l. 24) and religious, is easily conceivable. Though the kalathēphoros may have been a female, men played an important role in the kalathos-processions which preceded the celebration of the mysteries of Demeter; for in l. 16–18 we

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8a. For the meaning of τὰ ἱερὰ (sacred objects; sacred rites, ceremonies) see recently A. Henrichs, Ztschr. f. Pap. und Epigr. 4 (1969), 227, 229.
read about men who are assigned by lot to the procession and who will be entertained by Menekrates in his house. For the function of the kalathos and further information on kalathos-processions cf. M. P. Nilsson, *Griech. Feste* (1906), 350–352 (on 352, n. 2 our text is given in full)\(^b\).

I. 7–11: P. Aelius has also dedicated to the god Mên, who presides over the village, a σημάδια περιάργυρος ("a silver standard"); see below) which will be carried ahead of the procession which precedes the celebration of the mysteries of the god. For the notion of the god(s), who preside(s) over the city or the village (Θεοὶ προεστῶτες ή διακαθήμενοι τῆς πόλεως ή τῆς κωμῆς; also προκαθηγομένων) see the examples collected by A. Wilhelm, *Sitz. Ber. Akad. Berlin, Ph. Hist. Kl.*, 1932, 803 (where our text is referred to) and L. Robert, *Études Anatoliennes* (1937), 24, with note 2; *La Carie*, 11, 226, note 13 (with a reference to our text); *Bull. Épigr.* 1958, 101. Various gods are provided with these epithets: Dionysus (Teos, Ephesus), Zeus and Hera (Amastris), Artemis (Perge and Ephesus), Demeter and Kore (Elaia or Pergamum), Athena (Priene), Asclepius (Cos), Apollo (Calymina, Miletus, Colophon), Hercules (Heraclia on the Salbakê), Helios (Rhodos) and Mên (*our text*). In Lydia Mên is frequently called the βασιλείων of a place or the κατέχων (cf. e.g. P. Herrmann, *Denkschr. Akad. Wien, Band* 80 (1962), n. 18 and n. 21 (with p. 32); id., *Sitz. Ber. Österreich. Akad. Wiss., Ph.-Hist. Kl.* 265 (1969), Abb. 1, 39). The implications of these participles are brought out clearly by the title of F. Bömer’s recent discussion of "Mên und andere griechische und asiatische Tyrannoi" (italics are mine, H.W.P.) in his *Untersuchungen über die Religion der Sklaven* —, iii (1961), 195ff. Mên rules over his subjects like an oriental monarch. Without going into the problem of whether the Greeks

\(^b\) Those who want to visualize a silver kalathos should consult E. Künzl, *Der augusteische Silberkalathus im Rheinisem Landesmuseum Bonn*, Bonn. Jahrb. 169 (1969), 321ff. (with a number of representations of kalathoi). Since Künzl in his description of the Bonn-kalathus distinguishes between "Innenbecher" (cf. also Plate 5 on p. 326) and "Gefäßmantel" (the latter made of silver), it seems reasonable to translate περιάργυρος as "set in silver", "versilbert" (Bömer), "having a thin layer of silver all around". For kalathoi on the silver paten from Aquileia cf. F. L. Bastet, *Babesch.* 44 (1969), 143 ff. 157 (with further references to representations of kalathoi on Alexandrian coins): one kalathos stands on the ground, the other is carried by a girl on top of her head; is she a καλαθηρόφως and, then, a parallel to the καλαθηρόφως mentioned in an Ephesian inscription and postulated by Keil for Almoura?
independently conceived of their gods as despots and tyrants and, if so, what kind of religious mentality they developed in their worship of such gods, we restrict ourselves to the fact that in Asia Minor participation in the cult of Mēn Tyrannos often entailed a very specific attitude of humility and guilt-consciousness. Confession of sins, praise of the god (εὐλογία), the idea that the god mercilessly punishes one's transgressions by sending a disease, physical or mental, from which one can only recover by confessing one's αἰμαρτία: these are the usual phenomena, attested in the numerous inscriptions from Asia Minor concerning the cult of Mēn and other similar severe deities. "Der Gott ist allmächtig – εξ αἰμαρτίων δύνατα ποιεῖ – ist der Herr des Leibes und der Seele dessen, der sein Knecht ist. Er ist der Herr des ganzen Menschen, aller seiner Taten und Gedanken. Der Gott strafft unmittelbar, wenn der Mensch ihm nicht gehorchte." Bömer sees in προκαθήμενος τῆς κόμης merely the equivalent of βασιλεῶν κύριος. We wonder whether προκαθήμενος does not perhaps convey a less "oriental" connotation of the relation between the god and his worshippers. Evidently, as said before, there are close ties between Almoura and Ephesus. The archon of the village is on record in an Ephesian inscription. In the Ephesian cults we do not find a trace of the reli-

9. For τῶρανος as an epithet of gods in classical times see Bömer, Untersuchungen ——, III, 208–213; for δισεπτής cf. ibidem and L. Robert, Revue de Philologie 1959, 221–222. Essential is that when two people use the same epithet, they do not necessarily share the same religious mentality; in Bömer’s words: "Der Glaube oder die Furcht —— findet diese Worte, auch ohne dass er weiss, wie man andernorts zu den Göttern spricht und ohne dass dabei die Vorstellungen die hinter den Worten steht, immer die gleichen sind" (op. cit., 209). A difficult and interesting problem is posed by expressions like κατ᾽ ἐπιταγήν, κατὰ πρόσταξις (ex iussu, ex imperio), frequently used in dedications and similar texts. Bömer establishes a correlation between these "orders" of the gods and the basically oriental ideas of the despotic deity: "Die klassische griechische Religion kennt diese Übung nicht" (op. cit., 208). He follows A. D. Nock, who connects these dedications with that conception of the gods as absolute rulers which becomes prominent in Hellenistic times and finds expression in such titles as κύριος, δισεπτής and τῶρανος. A systematic and chronological study of the κατ᾽ ἐπιταγήν — texts seems necessary before one can subscribe to this theory (cf. P. Veyne, Latomus 24 (1965), 939 note 1). Since the above-mentioned epithets are attested in pre-Hellenistic sources and since Bömer himself (op. cit., 211) admits the existence of an almost Schleiermacherian feeling of "schleichthinnige Abhängigkeit" in the classical era, we should not exclude a priori that 5th-4th cent. worshippers testified to their personal belief in "der unheimlichen und unberechenbaren Gewalt der Gotheit" (op. cit., 211) by dedicating votive texts and objects κατ᾽ ἐπιταγήν (or similar formula's).


gious mentality which is characteristic of worshippers of Μήν βασιλεύων. The so-called "Beichtinschriften" have been found mainly in two areas: the north-eastern part of Lydia (Katakeneumenē) and the environment of the temple of Apollo Lairbenos in Phrygia. We submit that in Almoura προκαθήμενος has been used in order to mitigate the severity of the relation between god and man, as expressed by κατέχων, βασιλεύων etc. In Syll. ΒΙ. 667, 1. 29 (from Ephesus; ca. 160 a.d.; ± same time as our text), the Ephesian Artemis is styled [ἡ προστάτισσα τῆς πόλεως ἡμῶν θεός "Ἀρτέμις. The above-mentioned examples of this (and other related) expressions would seem to us to be an elaboration of the idea, inherent in the classical notion of the θεός πολιούχος, the θεά μεθοῦσα. Πολιούχος (πόλις-ἐχόν) is a far cry from πόλις κατέχων. Similarly Μήν προκαθήμενος is more than "eine andere Bezeichnung" for βασιλεύων.

Σημαφα is a most interesting word; in the meaning which we would like to attach to it ("sacred standard", with an eikon and/or a symbol of the deity on top of it; see further below), it seems to be a rare word both in literary, papyrological and epigraphical sources, though we feel no shame once again to admit that in the present state of Greek epigraphy it is remarkably easy to miss a parallel.

What we most urgently need in Greek epigraphy is a comprehensive index not only of personal names, names of emperors, deities etc., but above all of what Dittenberger called the "verba notabilia". Obviously this should be an international project, "de longue haleine"; there is no immediate need to publish such an index. Somewhere, either in Princeton, Paris or Berlin (to mention only three obvious candidates), there should be a room where the files are kept and where information can be gathered, orally or written.13

Among the scholars, mentioned in our lemma, it is only Perdrizet and Bömker who have risked a translation of this term: "(versilbertes) Bild" (Bömker); "bannière ou icône" (rather than statue), (Perdrizet). The latter interpretation seems closer to the truth than the former. What is the evidence? Firstly, it is clear that the σημαφα should be an object the weight of which does not prevent it from being carried around in a procession (τὴν προποντεύθηκαν). In itself this fact does not tell us much about the precise nature of the semia. Though a

13. This is merely a variation – and a relatively cheap one – on M. Holleaux’s theme of an epigraphical Greek dictionary. It is astonishing how much time and energy one wastes in leafing through existing indices, often without finding what one is looking for and vexed by the frustrating feeling that, however much one leaves through, one is almost bound to miss the thousands of texts, buried in periodicals, both old and new and as numerous as the grains of sand on the beach.
comprehensive and up-to-date study of Greek processions seems to be lacking, we know that in numerous Greek processions a great variety of objects was carried around and that special dignitaries were appointed for that purpose: ἱεραρχοὶ, λυκαρχοὶ, κασταρχοὶ, φαλλοφόροι, καλαθηφόροι, βωμοφόροι, λιθοφόροι (τοῦ ἱεροῦ λίθου), σεβαστοφόροι, κοσμοφόροι, θεοφόροι, συνβολαφό-
ροι. Σημειαφόροι occur in a military context, where they denote the signiferi of the Roman army. As far as we know there is one instance of σημαιαφόρος in a religious context. In an inscription from Phrygian Hierapolis (in the Lycos-
valley) there is a mention of ὁ σημαιαφόρος τοῦ Ἀρχηγεῖου Ἀπόλλωνος, the latter being the main god of the city. In an important study on Roman military vexilla and, more in general, on sacred standards in ancient religions Rostowzew has defended the theory that these σημαιαφόροι were standard-


17. Cf. Judeich, Altwürttember von Hiérapolis, nr. 153 (Fahnenträger); mentioned by Rostowzew, Vexillum and Victory, JRS 32-33 (1942-1943), 92ff., esp. 105, note 36. We are not impressed by W. M. Ramsay, Cities ——, 1, 115; F. Poland, Gesch. d. gr. Vereinswesens (1909) rightly finds it “hochst zweifelhaft” that these σημαιαφόροι were a “militärischer Berufsverband” (129). The combination of σημαφόροι with the name of the god in the genitive should dispose of all military interpretations.
bearers of the temple of Apollo. In this respect a well-known passage in Lucian’s De Dea Syria is of fundamental importance. The author describes the cult-statues in the temple of the Syrian goddess at Hierapolis. After his description of the statues of Hadad (Zeus) and Atargatis (Hera) he continues: “Between the two there stands another image (ξώσον) of gold, which in no way resembles the other ξώσον. It has no special form of its own but it supports (carries) the figures of the other (two) gods. It is called σημιέον, even by the Syrians themselves, who have given no proper name to it”19. The summit of the σημιέον is crowned by a golden pigeon. Henri Seyrig20 has convincingly discarded the traditional theory, according to which Lucian has misinterpreted here the name of the indigenous goddess Simi (or Simea, Semea). He showed that from the second millennium onwards the Syrians and other oriental peoples were in the habit of carrying around and worshipping sacred religious standards (“enseignes sacrées”, in Seyrig’s terminology), consisting of a long shaft with masks and divine busts attached to it. The Aramaic equivalents of σημιέον (“standard”) have remarkably enough been shown to be closely similar in sound to the Greek word: they are formed from the homophone root SYM. Even if the Aramaic word did in no way resemble the Greek term, the passage in Lucian would clearly prove that there is no question here of a separate deity Simi or Simea; for Lucian unequivocally says that what the Syrians called a semeion, had no name of its own. If the Syrians used a different word (and not SYM or a variant of that form), this would not complicate the problem nor affect our view; for there is no reason to believe that Lucian meant to say the Syrians actually used the word semeion or a related sound to denote the sacred standard. He may have translated an Aramaic word used by the natives21. Archaeological evidence enables us to visualize such standards. Coins from Hierapolis and Carrhae and a Relief from Dura-Europos represent sacred standards which “are always closely associated with temples and statues of oriental gods of Syria and Mesopotamia”22. In Hierapolis early 3rd cent. A.D. coins show a standard, topped with a dove, between the statues of Hadad and Atargatis (cf. Lucian’s dove!). The coins from Carrhae are related to the cult of the moon-god. On both sides of the aniconic god two standards are depicted, crowned by the crescent moon. The Dura-relief shows a standard,

18. art. cit. (see note 17), 105, nr. 36.
19. § 33: ἐν μέσῳ δὲ ἀμφιστέρων ἐπτικέων ξόσαν αὐλο χρύσου, οὐδαμα τοια οἴλλοια ξώσαν εἴκενον. τὸ δὲ μορφήν μὲν ἱριήν οὕς ἔχει, φορεῖ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν εἴδεικα, καλέσαι δὲ σημιέον καὶ ὑπ’ αὐτῶν Ἀσσυρίων, οὐδὲ τ’ ἄνωμα ἱσσαν αὐτῷ ἔθεντο.
22. Rostowzew, art. cit., 98; the coins and relief discussed by Seyrig, art. cit., 242f.; Rostowzew, ibidem (with further references).
surmounted by a crescent moon and situated between Hadad and Atargatis. On the shaft of the Dura-standard were three disks. They have been interpreted either as representations of planets or as the equivalent of the Roman *phalearae*: "elles se prêtent parfaitement, en effet, à porter les figures des autres dieux, en ce sens que ce devaient être des phalères de métal repoussé, avec des images divines, comme on en connaît beaucoup"?23. It has often been noticed that the standards, represented on the above-mentioned coins and relief, strongly resemble the Roman military *signa*. Seyrig’s interpretation of the "disks" as a kind of *phalearae* emphasizes this otherwise well-known fact. Both Rostowzew and Seyrig take it—and we gladly follow them—that the oriental banners were re-shaped by the oriental priests in order to make them resemble the Roman *signa*: “Instead of showing, like their cousins the Hebrews, a fierce hostility to Roman military fetishes, they were eager to assimilate their standards to those of the Roman army”24. Flavius Josephus actually uses σημαία to denote both the *signa* in general and the imperial busts, attached to the *signa* (sometimes in the shape of *phalearae*). In *B.J.* 11, 169 (Naber) he mentions τὰς Καίσαρος εἰκόνας, αἱ σημαίαι καλούνται, whereas in *A.J.* 18, 55 (Pontius Pilatus episode) he refers to προτομαὶ Καίσαρος, αἱ τὰς σημαίας προσήκον, the προτομαὶ being assimilated to *eikones* in the same line. Inscriptions show that imperial προτομαὶ have indeed been carried around in processions in the Greek East25. However, the term σημαία does not occur in these texts. I have tried to show in a short note in Mnemosyne 1970 that in sect. vi, 731 (from Sidon) there is possibly question of the [σημαία] of the imperial ancestors: the standards of the imperial ancestors, to which imperial *eikones* were attached and which were meant to be carried around in processions. Whether this restoration is feasible or not, at any rate we have seen that in oriental religions sacred standards were a regular phenomenon: they consist of a "shaft, the divine symbol or the figure of the deity at the top, symbols or images of deities attached to the shaft"26. Apart from the cult of the standards in the Roman army27; there does not seem to be much evidence to show that sacred standards (or banners, like the roman

vexilla) were actually used in Greek cults. Our σημηξια περιάργυρος, the σημιαράγος of Apollo Archēgetēs in Hierapolis and the passage from Lucian, which clearly implies that σημηξιον could denote a standard which supported images of gods, are the only pieces of evidence which we have at our disposal. We do not embark here upon a discussion of the word σημεία in an inscription from Didyma²⁸ and of the term σημεία (neutr. plur.) in inscriptions from Pergamon concerning the γυμνάσια. The latter are interpreted by Chr. Habicht as “Zeichen die aufgezogen bleiben solange das Gymnasion in Betrieb ist”²⁹. Whether this is true or not, these σημεία do not seem to be a proper parallel to the sacred standards of Mên and Apollo Archēgetēs.

It is a striking fact that in the oriental word the sacred standards often, though not exclusively, occur in the cult of the moon-god³⁰. In Almoura the σήμεα is

²⁸. Inschr. Didyma, 297; L. Robert, Hellenica xi/xii (1960), 459 has announced a study of this text; cf. also id., Villes d’Asie Mineure² (1962), 143.
²⁹. Cf. Chr. Habicht, Altertümere von Pergamon, viii, 3 (1968), ad n. 37 on p. 83; incidentally could these σημεία possibly resemble Perdrizet’s “bannières”? Cf. also A. Wilhelm, Sitz. Ber. Akad. Berlin, Ph.-Hist. Kl., 1933, 846ff. Wilhelm explicitly rejects an interpretation of σημεία as “statues” (“Statuen, die mit einem ganz ungewöhnlichen Ausdruck als σημεία bezeichnet sein sollen”); id., Neue Beiträge, v (on another inscription from Pergamon). In one of the inscriptions, discussed by Wilhelm, the expression ἀρχη τού σημειον occurs: “Aufziehen eines Zeichens”, which announces the opening of the gymnasium. What kind of sign? Does not ἀρχη point to some kind of flag or banner? If we remember well, in the still unpublished (but in the Thessaloniki-Museum easily accessible) gymnasiarchikos nomos from Beroea, there also seems to be question of the raising (αἱρε) of σημεία; on σημείον cf. also H. C. Youtie, Ztschr. fur Pap. und Epigr. 6 (1970), 105 ff. and E. van ’t Dack, Archiv für Papyr usforschung 19 (1969), 155 ff.
³⁰. Apart from coins from Hierapolis and Carrhae and a relief from Dura, there is much interesting evidence concerning the role of the sacred standards in the religion of Palmyra and Hatra. J. Hoftijzer, Religio Aramaica (Göttdensitige verschijnselen in Aramesche teksten), Leiden 1969, 41, 45, 53 and 56/57, presents the evidence and ably discusses it: “Het betreft hier staande waardop of waaraan een afbeelding van de godheid bevestigd is, of anders van zijn dier of symbool” (57). The standards of Nebû in Palmyra are crowned by a bird (cf. Lucian!). In Hatra we have standards with a representation of the sun-god, surmounted by a crescent (on sacred standards in Hatra cf. now also S. Downey, AJA 72 (1968), 212, 216/7). Rostowzew, art. cit., 102f. interprets an inscription on an altar, found in Dura and carrying representations of vexilla, crowned with a crescent moon and a globe, as a so-called memento-text of a certain Roumas who wanted to be remembered by the Σημήλα (μνημήλην) την Σημήλα ---. He considers the σημήλα here as a “standard” which should be regarded as the equivalent or the symbol of a deity. This interpretation finds support in Aramaic inscriptions from Hatra, where people wished to be remembered by “Our Lord, Our Mistress, the Son of our Lords, Allat and all standards” (Hoftijzer, op. cit., 57). Contra: H. Seyrig, art. cit., 243, note 3 who does not consider sufficiently the non-military character of the vexilla and accordingly proposes to regard the altar as “un monument du culte militaire”. In Aramaic inscriptions there are officials on record who are “manager of the standards” (mutatis mutandis to be compared with the ξεκορος τον θεῖον εκόνων in an Athenian
also related to the cult of Mên. In Hierapolis the standards occur in the cult of Apollo Archêgetês: the god who presided over the foundation of the Greek colony of Hierapolis in the 2nd cent. B.C. However, we cannot exclude the possibility that in Hierapolis the worship of Apollo has been strongly influenced by local indigenous cults. Cybele and Mên were at home in Hierapolis before the coming of the Greek colonists. The indigenous deity Lairbenos, in whose cult we find the typically oriental (or at least non-Greek) phenomena of the confession of sins etc., seems to have had a strong impact on Archêgetês 31. L. Weber came to the conclusion, "dasz im Kultus von Hierapolis überhaupt einheimische, besonders phrygische und griechische Elemente in der nachchristlichen Zeit mit einander vermischte sein" and "dasz im Kultus das Griechische von dem Phrygischen stark beeinflusst wird" 32. It is relevant to our purpose to point out that Apollo Lairbenos has been identified with Helios 33. We have already noticed the close relation between the Syrian standards and representations of the sun and the moon 34. The very name of Hierapolis, "sacred city", suggests that, in remote times at least, there was a sacred community in this area, centred around the temple of a great indigenous deity (Cybele ?). In short, it does not seem unreasonable seriously to consider the possibility that the standard-bearers of Apollo Archêgetês, attested in a 2nd cent. A.D. inscription in Hierapolis, were an inheritance of an earlier, oriental-Phrygian cult. Whatever the truth may be, the texts from Almoura and Hierapolis (and perhaps from Side) basically confirm Rostowzew's words: "Though in my short survey of religious signa and vexilla I have limited myself to Syria and

inscription: L. Robert, Opera Minora Selecta, v. 832) or possibly even standard-bearers (see Hoftijzer, op. cit., 57, note 43; Jean - Hoftijzer, Dictionnaire des Inscriptions sémitiques de l'Ouest, 1965, p. 194). In 1 gr. 1, 45 (235 A.D.) we have a dedication by a romanized citizen of Palmyra of a στυγον αργουρον σων παντι κλυσμα to his θεος πατριω Agli-bol and Malakbel. I take this to be a sacred standard; it is due to Roman influence (see text above) that it is called a signum here. I am grateful to my colleague J. Hoftijzer who kindly supplied the information concerning the Aramaic standards; for a sacred standard, topped with a symbol, on a Roman coin from Aradus see R. du Mesnil du Boisson, Études sur les dieux Phéniciennes hérités par l'empire romain (1970), 126, with fig. 32 on 125. For sacred standards in Egypt cf. W. Kaiser, Einige Bemer-
kungen zur ägyptischen Frühzeit, Ztschr. f. Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde 84 (1959), 119ff.; 85 (1960), 118 (reference from my colleague H. S. Versnel); see also Dendérah (1870), vol. i, pl. 38; vol. iv, pl. 31, 33 (shafts with animals, symbols (solar disk?) at the top).


33. art. cit., 192. We do realize that there are more up to date discussions of Apollo Lairbenos (cf. e.g. L. Robert, Villes ——, 127) but for our purpose Weber's article suffices.

34. See above p. 68, 70 and note 30.
Mesopotamia, religious standards were probably used elsewhere." At the same time it remains true that "the history of the religious banners and of their connection with the military standards has never been carefully studied. This study ought to be a comparative one ——".

1. 11—22: For that reason (διὰ τοῦτο) Menecrates has dedicated the workshops (or stores), in front of his house, h.e. the revenues of these workshops, as a summa honoraria for the priesthood of Demeter, ὑπὲρ followed by the genitive of a function being the time-honoured formula to express that phenomenon.

Menecrates' aim was twofold; at least that is what the double εἰς + acc. suggests. With the money from the ergastēria the incense, which was to be burnt for Demeter, should be paid (εἰς τὰς ἐπιθυσίας τῆς Δήμητρος); secondly, each year on the day of the kalathos-procession the men who were assigned by lot to the cortège were to be entertained sumptuously, together with the village-archs, in the house of the honorand during the latter's lifetime. During or rather in connection with the ἑυρωτία they were supposed to bring a "Voropfer" (προθύσωνας). If we identify the ἐπιθυσία from 1. 13 with the "Voropfer" of 1. 19/20 and if we further realize that θυσία and ἑυρωτία belonged together closely, the conclusion is that Menecrates actually earmarked the revenues for the incense offerings and the subsequent "banquet" (ἐυρωτία) of those, who participated in the kalathos-procession, and of the village-archs. For the increasing importance of "Rauchopfer" in the hellenistic-Roman period cf. M. P. Nilsson, GGR II. 2, 377ff. (with further references); ἐπιθυσία is on record, admittedly in a restored form, in IG XII. 1, 762, A, 23 (from L.-S.-J.-Suppl., s.v.) and in OGIS 383, I. 142 (Antiochus of Commagene (see also H. Dörrie, Der Königskult des Antiochos von Kommagene im Lichte neuer

35. art. cit., 105, note 36.
37. The reason lies presumably in the fact that the village has praised and/or crowned Memecrates for his merits.
38. For the summa honoraria see e.g. L. Robert, BCH 60 (1936), 196; REG 70 (1957), 363, note 1 (= Opera Minora Selecta, III, 1480); P. Herrmann, Denkschr. Österr. Akad. Wiss., Ph.-Hist. Kl., 80 (1962), 10 with note 27. In Ephesos a ἱερός is attested in the cult of Demeter (cf. Keil, Studies Buckler, 125: βασιλεὺς καὶ ἱερός Δημήτρος διὰ γένους). If one prefers a ἱερός in Almoura's Demeter-cult, we should have to assume that Memecrates dedicated the revenues on behalf of the priestess (his wife or some other relative?). It remains possible that ὑπὲρ τῆς ἱεροσύνης simply means "for the benefit of, in favour of the priesthood"; for this meaning of ὑπὲρ + gen. cf. G. Daux, REG 48 (1935), 33ff.; L. Robert, Hellenica X, 44, n. 3.
39. In the emperor-cult the προθύσως is taken by L. Robert (Opera Minor Selecta, II, 849, note 5) to bring incense offerings and libations ("vino et ture"). But Προ seems to mean here "in front of (the imperial eikones)"; cf. also Chr. Habicht, op. cit. (cf. note 29), 142, note 1.
Inschriftenfunde (Göttingen 1964), 77); examples of ἐπιθύμω in the meaning of "to burn incense" in S. Eitrem, Opferritus und Voropfer der Griechen und Römer (1914), 216, 222, 225, 229; P. Roesch-S. Calvet, Rev. Arch. 1966, 317.

In the Demeter-cult in Eleusis "Rauchopfer" were a normal practice (cf. P.W., s.v. Rauchopfer, col. 279; Eitrem, op. cit., 236).

As to προθέων there seems to be general agreement that in most cases προ- has a temporal meaning and does not often convey the notion of "on behalf of", though there are a few instances where both notions seem to be present (e.g. SylI³, 1037 and G. Daux, BCH 82 (1958), 359). In our text προ- clearly primarily has a temporal meaning; the sacrifice precedes the celebration of the mysteries and possibly even the procession. On the other hand one may wonder whether the idea that the ἄνδρες κληροθέντες act as a kind of substitute for the whole congregation, is entirely absent here.

Dedication of ergasteria is on record in a letter from Attalus I (?) to an official, providing for the establishment of a priesthood; the priest shall receive as perquisites inter alia τὴν πρόσοδον τῶν ἐργαστηρίων ἀν ἀνακάθηκα ("the income of the workshops which I (= Attalus) have dedicated to the god")

In Inschr. von Magnesia, nr. 113 we hear about a certain Tib. Claudius Tyrannos freedman of Claudius and physician, who is honoured by the city. From the text it appears that Tyrannos had built ἐργαστήρια in the village Καδωνίᾳ which belonged to Magnesian territory (ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας). Similarly P. Aelius Menocrates has built a house and adjoining ergasteria in a village, which belonged to Ephesian territory. Perhaps Tyrannos and Menocrates both were members of the city-bourgeoisie who invested money in ergasteria in the country-side and who possessed houses both there and in the city. As said before the main archon of the village is attested in an Ephesian inscription; he


41. Cf. C. B. Welles, Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Period (1934), n. 24; E. Ohlemutz, Die Kulte und Heiligtümer der Götter in Pergamon (Würzburg 1940; reprint Darmstadt 1968), 67/68.

42. On ergasteria elsewhere cf. J. Pouilloux, Recherches sur l'Histoire et les Cultes de Thasos, 1, n. 157 (Θεοδέκτης Δημοφίλωτος τὴν συνοικίαν καλ τὰ ἐργαστήρια ἐπιθύμων τῇ πόλει); M. I. Finley, Land and Credit in Ancient Athens (500–200 B.C.), 60ff.; S. Lauffer, Die Bergwerksklaven von Laureion, 1, 15, note 5; for the dedication of ἐργαστήρια see also L. Robert, Revue de Phil. 1929, 146 (= Opera Minora Selecta, 11, 1112). Menekrates' ergasteria apparently were not part of his house (πρὸ τῆς οἰκίας) and accordingly must have been rather large, compared with the numerous small shops which were often run in the same house in which the shopowner ate, slept, and lived; cf. e.g. E. Wipszycka, L'Industrie textile dans l'Egypte romaine (1965), 54–56 (relation house-ergasterion) and 81ff. (large private ergasteria in Egypt, worked by slaves and hired labour).
was a member of the Κουρητες in that city. Since in the fertile Cayster-valley
the growing of hemp was an important activity in ancient times, it is tempting,
though not demonstrable, to suppose that Menocrates' ergastēria have been
peopled by hemp workers.

For εὐωχία cf. e.g. the references collected by L. Robert, Rev. de Phil.,
1958, 28; Hellenica x, 199, n. 7; xi-xii, 9, n. 1. Εὐωχία, εὐφραῖνομια, εὐφροσύνη are common terms to denote the banquets, given by benefactors after
the sacrifices, and the feelings brought about by such banquets.

1. 23–25: L. Verius Bassus is on record as a member of the Κουρητες in an
unpublished Ephesian inscription (Inv. nr. 1053; remark of J. Keil in the
Vienna Scheden). For the archons as village-officials see D. Magie, Roman Rule
in Asia Minor, ii, 1026/7.

Our inscription supplies useful evidence for a badly needed study of the
“Village in Greco-Roman antiquity”. For the social aspect of ancient village
life some interesting insights are provided by inscriptions from Bithynia;
villagers celebrate an οἰνοπόσιον, to which benefactors or the villages themsel-
ves contribute money, wine, meat and wreathes. During the meal and the
wine-party a little orchestra (συμφωνία) plays. Sometimes the banquet goes
on long after sunset; but the local notables of course have thought of that and
gave a λυχναφία: lamps and candles for the πανυχίς. In the meantime an
 agré had been organized and oil distributed (L. Robert, Rev. de Phil., 1943,
189ff.; cf. also Hellenica xi/xii, 584). On a Phrygian stele the villagers of
Thiouanta (north of Hierapolis) have engraved a honorary decree for two
φράτραι (43a (“brotherhoods”; “clubs”) which had organized a village-festival.
We hear about an agré, distributions of oil and gifts of money for the celebration
of a pannychis. On the stele sacrificial oxen have been represented, a flute-
player and, according to L. Robert, an organ: a truly Breughelian scene of
ancient village life (L. Robert, Noms Indigènes dans l'Asie-Mésine Gréco-
Romaine, 291ff.).

43. See above note 1; cf. also L. Robert, Études Anatoliennes, 202/4.
5. Dedication of columns to the village of the Titeiph youths.

Kireli (ancient Titeiphysa)\(^{44}\) (near Tire); seen by Keil, November 19th, 1911, in ‘Tire in Jordanidis’ collection (cf. K.-P., Dritte Reise ——, ad nr. 110); broken on top and below; first century a.d.?

Previous Publications: A. M. Fontier, 'Αμώνια, 28 June 1896 (copy of Jordanidis; non vidi); Ath. Mitt. 21 (1896), 118/119 (also based on a copy of Jordanidis); Fontier, BCH 20 (1896), 395 n. 4 (once again based on a copy of Jordanidis); B. Haussoulier, Rev. de Phil., 1920, 73/4 (republication of 'Αμώνια -text with restorations in the beginning and at the end).


-ωνος τους δύ-
ω κέλωνες σύν[υ]
βομπατρίος
και κεφαλῆς τῇ
5 Τιτειρυτηνῶν
[κατουχια] ὦποσχο-
[μενος ορ - νοι] I

Haussoulier restores: ἡνεδηχαν Ν.]\([\ldots\ldots\ldots]\] ὕπαμος etc.

1. 3: Ath. Mitt.: ΒΟΜΟΣΠΕΡΟΙΣ; BCH, Keil, Haussoulier and squeeze: ΒΟΜΟ———.
1. 7: Ath. Mitt.: [μενος ———] ΛΙ; Haussoulier: [-μενος ———] Μ; Keil suggested:
[-μενοι ἡνεδηχαν]. Our squeeze is hard to decipher here; we are pretty certain about the final Ι (iota); there is no trace whatsoever of the oblique stroke of the ιυ (ἀνεδηχαν); before the Ι we have a triangular letter; before the latter the upper part of a vertical hasta seems visible. We refrain from suggesting a restoration; the more so since it is not known whether this line is followed by others, though Fontier’s transcription suggests the contrary. Anyhow ἡνεδηχαν seems out of the question.

44. In Ath. Mitt. 21 (1896), 118/9 the stone is said to be from the “vicinity of Tire” (“Gegend von Tire”). In 1896 Jordanidis had the stone in his epigraphical collection in Tire (“der jetzige Besitzer dieser Inschrift”, ibidem). In BCH 20 (1896), Fontier writes: “marbre (0,80 m x 0,50 m), provenant peut-être du village de Φάτω”. Most inscriptions which mention the village of the Titeiph youths (or Dideiph youths) come from the ancient site near Kireli. Keil-Premerstein, Dritte Reise ——, nr. 113 (on p. 81) which mentions this village, is said to come from Fata. K.-P. advocate the view that ancient objects, found or said to have been found in Fata, most probably come from the katoikia at Kireli “aus welcher sehr leicht ein Steinblock nach Fata etwa in einen der dortigen alten Friedhöfe gekommen sein kann” (ibid., 66). The village of Titeiphysa is generally supposed to have been part of the territory of Hypaipa. The majority of the komarch of this village comes from this city: cf. K.-P., Dritte Reise ——, 65 and 79.
For δῶ (instead of δῶ), κείονες (instead of κείνονες) and βωμοστείρως (instead of βωμοστείρως) cf. Κ.-Ρ., Dritte Reise ——, 81, ad n. 113: "Verwechslungen der Quantitât (Z. 1 δῶ) und der Kasus (ebenda κείονες statt κείνονες) sind in kleinasiatischen Texten ungemein häufig". The inscription, to which Κ.-Ρ. refer (their nr. 113, also from Kireli) contains a dedication by a certain Philippus, of two columns, with bases (σπείραι), square plinths (βωμόσ; "altarförmige Postamenten" in Κ.-Ρ.'s terminology) and capitals (κεφαλαί): Φιλιππος — τους δῶ κείονες σὺν βωμό[σ] καὶ σπείραις καὶ κεφαλαίς καὶ ἐπιστυλίῳ τῇ Τιτειφυτῆνον κώμῃ ἐκ τῶν ἑδίλιων ἀνέστησεν.

For the dedication of columns see L. Robert, Anatolian Studies W. H. Buckler (1939), 240, note 5 (= Opera Minora Selecta, I, 624, n. 5) with further references, and id., 'Ἀρχ. Ἑφημ., 1969, 32, note 7.

Βωμός, with the meaning of "base, pedestal, sub-structure (of a sarcophagus)", also occurs in funeral contexts: see e.g. L. Robert, Hellenica xiii, 192, 240/1; J.-L. Robert, Bull. Épigr., REG 63 (1950), on p. 202.

6. Honorary inscription for an anonymus.

Kireli (= ancient village of Titeiphyta)⁴⁵; this inscription has been engraved, with two other texts (our nr. 7 and 8), on one big marble block: L. 1,70 m; H. 0,50 m. Keil saw and copied these texts on November 19th, 1911; whether the stone still is available is unknown to us; large letters (0,03 – 0,04 m); Υ with cross-bar; beginning third century a.d.

Previous Publications: A. Fontrier, Μουσείον Εὐαγγ. Σχολῆς Σμύρν. 1886, 87/88, nr. φο89. The stone is referred to by Keil-Premerstein, Dritte Reise ——, 65, 66⁴⁸ and in the commentary ad nr. 109, and K. Buresch, Aus Lydien, 26 and 237⁴⁷; however, these scholars mention only the two other inscriptions (our nr. 7 and 8), not the one republished here. The two other texts were at the right side of the one under discussion here.

Photograph: Pl. vi (p. 86).

καὶ Στρατονείκη Ἡγησίππου vacat
ἱερῆ τῇ ἐκυτεῦ γυναῖκι καὶ Μάρ- vacat
καὶ Ἀντωνίφ Γρανίκῳ τῇ ἀδελφῷ * Λ
πολλὰ δὲ καὶ προδαπανήσαντος vacat

⁴⁵. On Titeiphyta cf. note 44 (at the end).
⁴⁶. Κ.-Ρ. say that according to Jordanidis and Buresch this stone comes from Ideiphyta. Buresch, op. cit., writes that Fontrier sent him a squeeze of the second inscription (our nr. 7) on this stone. We guess that Jordanidis provided both van Lennep and Fontrier with a squeeze.
⁴⁷. Where Μουσείον 1886, S. 89f. should be read as 1886, S. 87f.
The description of the stone in Μουσείων suggests that we have to do here with a large architectural block, appropriately styled by K.-P. as “Epistyl- oder Friesblock” and tentatively assigned by them to the κομμαρχεῖον of the village of Titeirphyla. The other two texts mention payments of summae honorariae for the function of κομμάρχης. Together with his wife Stratonikë and his brother M. Antonius Granicus ([σύν] καὶ Στρατ. ; I owe this suggestion to Prof. Herrmann) our anonymous honorand has given 1000 denarii for an unknown purpose, which undoubtedly has been mentioned in the missing part of the text which was engraved on a separate stone. He had already spent much money and energy on the construction of village-buildings.

1. 2: ἱερή: “priestess”. For two examples of ἱερή = ἱερεῖς in Greek inscriptions from Ephesus in imperial times cf. A. Wilhelm, Ath. Mitt. 23 (1898), 415; see also in a recent Ephesian inscription πατέρα ἱερής τῆς 'Αρτέμιδος (Bull. Épigr., REG 82 (1969), no. 508). We should have to assume that the name of the deity has been mentioned in the missing part of the stone. Or is it possible to suppose that Stratonikë is styled ἱερά (-η in Ionic) and should be compared with the male ἱερός in Antiochia on the Meander, Aphrodiasias and Magnesia near the Sipylus. L. Robert has shown that a person is styled ἱερός (a) because he “belongs to the deity” (ἱερόδουλος; or slaves manumitted by dedication to the deity) and (b) because he is a free-born cult-official. In Antiochia on the Meander we have a certain Ἀδραστός τοῦ Ἀδραστοῦ Δαμάλων ἱερός, who gained a victory in local games. Adrastus certainly is a free-born citizen. In Aphrodiasia a certain Ἰθαρός Μενίππου ἱερός had dedicated to Aphrodite Ourania 120,000 denars; again we seem to have here a prominent citizen of the town. In Magnesia ad Sipylum we have an inscription containing a list of

48. The Mouseion-editor assumed that this inscription had been engraved πρὸς τούτῳ τοῦ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἱερεῖας συζύγου τοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ δωρησάντος δηνάρια χλω: the honorand had given 1000 denars on behalf of his wife, the priestess, and his brother: a kind of summa honoraria, then? In most cases, however, the summa honoraria is given to the community (τῆς κοινωνίας; cf. e.g. K.-P., Dritte Reise ——, nr. 110 (also from Kireli) and our nr. 7) for a certain function (ὑπὲρ or ὑπὲρ + gen.); sometimes the donor gives the money “on behalf of his son” (or some other relative; ὑπὲρ τοῦ γείτονος etc.). In our text money seems to have been given by the honorand’s wife and brother.


51. REG 19 (1906), 242ff.; Bömer, op. cit., 165.


7. *M. Aurelius Menandros pays the summa honoraria for the κωμαρχία and has given money for the village-bath.*

*Kireli* (ancient village of Titeiphya)*; on the same block as nr. 6 and 8; letters smaller than those of nr. 6 (ca. 0.015-0.02 m) but similarly ornate; 213/4 A.D.

*Previous Publications:* A. Fontrier, *Mousetov* ---, 1886, 88 (nr. φθ'). The stone is referred to by Keil-Premenstein, *Dritte Reise* ---, 65 and 79; D. Magie, *op. cit.* vol 11, 1023; Buresch, *Aus Lydien*, 26 (Buresch writes that he has received a squeeze of this stone through the intermediary of Fontrier [presumably from Jordanidis]?); L. Robert, *Documents de l'Asie Mineure Méridionale* (Paris 1966), 75, note 2.

*Photograph:* Pl. vii (p. 87).

54. See note 44 (at the end).
There is hardly any discrepancy between our squeeze and the Mouseion publication. In l. 7 the Mouseion prints ἐπισκεύην; the squeeze clearly shows two sigma's.

I. 1: For the problem of the era, used in the territory of Hypaipa and in general in the whole Cayster-valley see K.-P., Dritte Reise —, 65; who convincingly argue for the Caesarean era (48 BC.; Pharsalus); cf. also P. Herrmann, Denkschr. Akad. Wien, Ph.-Hist. Klasse, 1959, 9 with note 2.

I. 3: For the name Eleutherikos cf. e.g. CIG 3105 (Teos): 'Ελευθερικῇ χρηστῇ χαίρε; "Les terminaisons en -ikos sont un vrai tic, significatif pour la prolifération de ce composé dans les adjectifs, ainsi Hiératikos, Archieratiké, Prytanikos, Lykarchikos, Nauklérikos, Auxéktikos, Gamikos et Gamikê, Ephébikê, Kosmikos" (L. Robert, Géographie Historique du monde Hellénique, Ann. Éc. Prat. Hautes Ét., 1re section, 1962/3, 56).

I. 7: Τάχειον: "précédemment", "previously": see the examples collected by L. Robert, Hellenica xi/xii, Ch. 2, 18ff. Menandros had paid 50 denars for the repair of the old village-bath on an earlier occasion (for πολανθός and ἀρχαῖος cf. L. Robert, Rev. de Phil., 1936, 158, note 6). For βαλανείον see the references under nr. 8.

8. Aurelius Kroisos pays the summa honoraria for the κωμαρχία.

Kireli (ancient village of Titeiphya)55; on the same block as nr. 6 and 7; engraved under nr. 7; about the same size of letters as nr. 7; ornate script; middle of the 3rd century A.D. (see text below)?

Photograph: Pl. viii (p. 87).

'Αγαθὴ vacat Τόχη
Αὔρ(ήλιος) Κροίσος Διονυσίος ἤπαινην ἄγορανόμος
πατρὸς ἀγορανόμου καὶ χρεοφύλακος ἐδώκεν υπὲρ
κωμαρχίας ήαυτοῦ * χείλια ἄτινα προεχώρησαν εἰς
5 ἐπισκεύην τοῦ καὶνοῦ βαλανείου καθὼς ἐψηφίσατο
νακ ἄκατοικία vacat.

Kroisos was presumably agoranomos in Hypaipa, like his father who also has been χρεοφύλαξ (keeper of the register of public debtors or, more in general,

55. See note 44 (at the end).
keeper of public and private documents, who registers public and private acts; cf. W. Liebenam, *Städteverwaltung im römischen Kaiserreich* (1900; reprint 1967), 290 and L. Robert, *Hellenica* XIII, 197; *Laodicée du Lycos, Les Inscriptions* (1969), 270/1. The words ἀπειλεία --- βαλανεῖα occur in exactly the same order in K.-P., *Dritte Reise* ---, nr 110 (from Kireli), which says that an unknown citizen of Hypaipa on behalf of his son has given 750 denars [ὑπὲρ κωμαρχίας]. This text is undated; K.-P. nr. 109 (Kireli), from 225/6 A.D., mentions a *summa honoraria* (once again ὑπὲρ κωμαρχίας) of 500 denars, payed by Αὐρ. Μητρόδωρος Διοικητῆς Ἡποίστης. Is Aυρ. Κράσσως Διοικητῆς Ἡποίστης the latter's (younger) brother? If so, this would give an approximate date for our text. K.-P. have assumed that the different amounts of money, mentioned as payment of the *summae honorariae* for the κωμαρχία, reflect the increasing inflation of the denarius: 250 denarii (213/4 A.D.; our nr. 7); 500 denarii (225/6 A.D.; K.-P., nr. 109); 750 denarii (unknown date; K.-P., nr. 110) and 1000 denarii (272/3 A.D.; BCH 18 (1894), 539f. = Ath. Mitt. 20 (1895), 503; referred to by K.-P., p. 79; actually the honorand says: "since previously I have given, as it was the habit to give, 1000 denars for the κομαρχία"; this would seem to imply that *sometime before* 272/3 A.D. one already was in the habit of paying 1000 denarii for the κομαρχία). If this theory of the inflation is correct, our text belongs to the period sometime after 225/6 A.D. and *sometime before* 272/3 A.D. In 213/4 A.D. one pays 250 denarii and one is busy repairing the old bath (our nr. 7); in 225/6 A.D. one pays 500 denarii, without any mention of the *balaneion* (K.-P., nr. 109); sometime between 225/6 A.D. and 272/3 A.D. one pays 750 denarii (K.-P., nr. 110) and even 1000 denarii (our nr. 8 and BCH 1894) and twice there is a mention of the upkeep of the new bath-house. It would seem, then, that the inscription under review is somewhat later than our nr. 7. This fits in with the fact that nr. 8 has been engraved as the last text on the stone, under nr. 7. Theoretically the possibility cannot, we think, be excluded that the increase of the *summa honoraria* is not a function of the increasing inflation but merely reflects the fact that the Titeiphthénai built a new *balaneion* and accordingly decided to raise the *summa honoraria*, since they needed more money for the building-operations and the upkeep. It is remarkable that in nearly all texts the amount of the *summa* is related to a decree of the village (καθὸς ἐξηράνησα τῇ κατοικίᾳ). For the inflation in the 3rd cent. A.D. cf. J.-P. Callu, *La politique monétaire des empereurs romains* (1969), 401/2.

1. 5: For καθὸς cf. L. Robert, *Documents de l’Asie Mineure Méridionale* (1966), 75, with note 2; *Hellenica* XIII, 196. The fundamental importance of the *balaneion* in Greek public life, even in the smallest villages, is a well-known fact, which we need not comment upon here. A few references must suffice: J. Robert, *Rev. de Phil.*, 1940, 238ff.; L. Robert, *Rev. de Phil.*, 1943, 115/6;
9. Honorary inscription from the village of the Kairénoi.

Peschrevli – Fata (2½ h. east of Tire; the site of Kaira?). Blue marble block, broken below and at the left side; in 1895 preserved at the church of the Taxiarchs in Tire; seen by Keil in 1911, built into the west wall of the new Greek boys-school. H. 0.50 m.; maximum width 0.50 m.; thickness 0.07 m.; letters 0.028–0.016 high; small apices. Alpha with broken cross-bar; haste of pi, mu, nu of equal length; later 1st cent. B.C./early 1st cent. A.D.

Previous Publications: BCH 18 (1894), 540 (copy of Fornquier); E. S. Jordanidis, Ἀμονία, March 6th, 1895 (non vidi); Ath. Mitt. 20 (1895), 240/1 (based on Ἀμονία); the stone is referred to by k.-p., Dritte Reise ——, 67; K. Buresch, Aus Lydien, 135 and D. Magie, op. cit., vol. ii, 1025, 1027.

Photograph: Pl. ix. (p. 88).

[... ] THN του ἀνδρος Ἀσ-
[kλη]πιάδου του Ἀπολλωνίου, ΔΙ
[...] προς τους κατοικοῦντας
[δια παντος ευνοιαν · ἐργεσιστα-
5 [τηνα]υνων Ἀπολλωνίδου του Ἀπο[λ]-
[λονιδ ου λονιδ ου, φυσε δε Ἡγαθεπτου, ΟΠΠ
....... ΟΥ εικονομου της Καιρηνο-
[κατωκι]ας, και Ἀτταλου του Ἀπολ-
vacat λονιδου vacat

l. 1: BCH: —— ΔΣΚ; Ath. Mitt., squeeze: —— ΔΣ
l. 2: BCH: —— ΔΙΑ; Ath. Mitt. and squeeze: —— ΔΙ

In the Ath. Mitt.-edition [δια] has been restored at the beginning of l. 1, whereas at the end of line 2 ΔΙ was printed; a gap of three letters was left at the beginning of line 3. The implication is that [δια] την in l. 1 should be related to ευνοιαν in l. 4, which is preceded by [ζω]νος in the same edition. The latter restoration, of course, is out of place and peculiar. Moreover, it is excluded

56. "Auszen in der Westmauer der neuen griechischen Knabenschule (nördlich neben der Metropolis) eingemauert".
57. So Keil in his notes in the Vienna Scheden; contra Ath. Mitt. 20 (1895), 241 ("die Buchstaben sollen auf die Zeit der Attaliden weisen").
by the vestiges of an alpha before ΝΤΟΣ: [διά τήν] ἀντίκης seems the only reasonable solution, as Keil already suggested in his note-book. As to ΔΙ at the end of 1. 2 there are two possibilities: (a): δι[ά], followed by [τῆν] at the beginning of 1. 3; in that case ΘΗΝ in 1. 1 should be linked with the missing preceding lines; τοῦ ἄνδρος suggests that in those lines there was question of a woman, who perhaps together with her husband has been honoured by the village. Is the couple praised for some virtue of the husband and for their general eunoia towards the villagers? We do not think that there is place for τε: δι[α τε τῆν]; (b) ΔΙ is the beginning of a second name of Asclepiades (e.g. ΔΙ[οὐ] or ΔΙ[οὐδος?]), just as in 1. 6/7 ΟΠΙ seems to be the beginning of the second name of Apollonides. In that case we restore [διά] in 1. 1. It must be admitted that the construction runs more smoothly. The woman is praised in the missing lines, the husband’s virtue is mentioned in the lines we have. The community honours the honorand(s) with some statue or monument, for the construction of which the ἐργεπίσταται are responsible. A restoration Ἄπο[λ] ἀναφήμι τοῦ could mean that both ἕργεπισταται were brothers of Asclepiades. Apollonides seems to have a second name, beginning with Ὀπτ[εν]τοῦ. Apollonides was oikonomos of the village, h.e. he was in charge of the public funds of the village. Since in cities the ὀικονόμου sometimes seems to have been a subaltern official under the official ταμίας, it is tempting to assume that this village-oikonomos in fact was running the village finances under the supervision of the tamias of the city, to whose territory the village belonged (Hyapias?). The oikonomos is often mentioned as having the responsibility for the erection of a statue (D. Magic, Roman Rule in Asia Minor, 11, 1027 (our inscription) and 1514).

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58. Prof. Herrmann tentatively suggested for 1. 2–3: δι[α τήν] but he adds: "aber dann wäre vielleicht διά παινίτος in der nächsten Zeile abundierend".
58a. Should we perhaps read Ὀπτ[εν]τοῦ ὀικονόμου?; we have nothing to offer as to the second name of Apollonides. The article τοῦ is not indispensable; cf. e.g. our nr. 2, l. 5.