

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 (κώμη, κατοικία) situated in that region and belonging to the territory of Ephesus and Hypaipa¹. 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.; 82f. 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'Hypaipa 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* (1957²), 657.
2. On the Van Lenneps see H. W. Pleket, *The Greek Inscriptions in the "Rijksmuseum van Oudheden" at Leiden* (1958), xif.; L. Robert, *Journal des Savants* 1961, 123/4; *id.*, *Villes d'Asie Mineure*³ (1962), s.v. in the index.

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.*

Mikrais 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, *Ἀρμυρία*, 20 Aug. 1897 (*non vidi*); Ath. Mitt. 22 (1897), 359 (based on a copy by Jordanidis); IGR IV 1669 (based on Ath. Mitt.).³

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-Premmerstein, *Dritte Reise* — (Denkschr. Akad. Wien, Ph. Hist. Kl., Band 57 (1915)), 77 refer to this text in their discussion of *πυρία*.

Photograph: Pl. 1 (p. 83).

Τοῦτο τὸ ἡρώδιον ἐστὶν Λουκίου Σταδίου Φιλήτου καὶ γυναικ[ος]
 Αἰλ(ίας) Αὐρ(ηλίας) Εὐτυχίας καὶ τέκνων αὐτῶν καὶ ἐκγόνων, ὄντων ν.
 κληρονόμων τῶν δύο Θεοδώρου καὶ Φιλήτου τῶν γλυκυτάτων
 μου τέκνων · εἰ δέ τις ἕτερόν τινα θελήσει θεῖναι εἰς αὐτὸ τῶν
 5 μὴ προσηκόντων ἢ ἀπαλλοτριῶσαι τὸ προδηλούμε-
 νον ἡρώδιον, δώσει τῷ ἱερωτάτῳ ταμείῳ * πεντακισχε[ιλία].
 βούλομαι τεθῆναι ἐς τὴν Ε . Ω πυρίαν Εὐδοκὸν καὶ Τατεῖν vacat

l. 6: Ath. Mitt. and IGR: πεντακισχειλ[ια].

l. 7: Ath. Mitt. and IGR: τὴν . . . 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 (").

l. 1: for the nomen *Staedius* see W. Schulze, *Zur Geschichte Lateinischer Eigennamen* (1933), 93 and 186 (with examples of *Staedii* in Italy, Rome, Verona, Spolegium, Tibur) and Münzer, *P.W.*, 2e Reihe III, 2 (1929), col. 2133 (important *gens* among the *Marsi*). We have found no other examples of *Σταῖδιοι* 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. Levick, *Roman Colonies in Southern Asia Minor* (1967), 63ff.). L. *Staedius Philetus* possibly is a descendant of a freedman of an Italian family of *Staedii* who settled down sometime somewhere in Asia Minor (Ephesus?).

l. 2: For the habit of using a nomen (Αἰλία) as praenomen see R. Cagnat, *Cours d'Épigraphie Latine* (1914⁴), 40f. Another Αἰλία Αὐρηλία in K.-P., *Dritte Reise* —, nr. 152 (also from the Cayster-valley).

l. 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 cognomen. For γλυκός as an epithet for wife and/or children cf. L. Robert, *Hellenica* XI/XII, 388ff.; XIII, 31, 220.

l. 5: on ἀπαλλοτριῶ and related terms see L. Robert, *Hellenica* XIII, 199f.; on προσήκω in epitaphs see BCH 82 (1958), 153, 265 and Jahresh. 32 (1940), 210; L. Robert, *Hellenica* XI/XII (Paris 1960), 232 (οἱ προσήκοντες = "les parents"). In our text τῶν μὴ προσηκόντων more probably means οἷς μὴ προσήκει, as Prof. Herrmann kindly suggests to me.

l. 6: For the "most sacred treasury" (the imperial fiscus) see the examples collected by L. Robert, *Hellenica* vi, 99/100; xiii, 211.

l. 7: The reading $\iota\varsigma\ \tau\eta\nu\ \xi[\xi]\omega\ \pi\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu$ seems certain. For a parallel cf. Keil-Premmerstein, *Dritte Reise* —, nr. 151 (from Böyük Kadife in the Cayster-valley, w.s.w. of Türe): — $\tau\eta\nu\ \delta\epsilon\ \xi\epsilon\omega\ \pi\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu\ \xi\epsilon\sigma\upsilon[\sigma]\iota\nu\ \tau\acute{\alpha}\ [\theta\rho\epsilon\mu\mu]\acute{\alpha}\tau\iota\acute{\alpha}\ \mu\omicron\upsilon.$ K.-P., *ibid.*, nr. 108 (Kürdeli, near Kireli) conveys a similar idea: $\tau\eta\nu\ \delta\epsilon\ \pi\rho\acute{o}\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \eta\rho\acute{o}\upsilon\ \pi\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu\ \theta\rho\acute{\epsilon}\mu[\alpha\sigma]\iota\nu\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \omicron\iota\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\iota\ \beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\omega\nu\tau\alpha\iota.$ In view of these parallels Euodos and Tateis presumably were slaves or $\theta\rho\epsilon\pi\tau\omicron\iota$ of the owners of this tomb; for the name Τατις, Τατεις cf. L. Robert in N. Firatli — L. Robert, *Les stèles funéraires de Byzance gréco-romaine* (1964), s.v. Τατις (p. 186); id., *Hellenica* vi, 94, nr. 37 (inscription from Julia Gordos in Lydia); see also L. Zgusta, *Kleinasiatische Personennamen* (1964), 497, § 1517-5. For $\pi\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha$ (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 $\pi\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha\iota$, manchmal auch eine ausserhalb gelegene für das Gesinde besitzen; $\pi\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha\iota$ are "nicht — bloß die wannenförmigen Sarkophage 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"), Warsaw 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 Türe; 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); IGR 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, 1025 refers to it as evidence for the existence of the village of the Halmourēnoi.

Photograph: Pl. II (p. 83).

4. On Darmara see K. Buresch, *Aus Lydien* (1898), 135; Keil-Premmerstein, *Dritte Reise* —, 85 and 97 (nr. 142).

καὶ Γαίῳ Καίσαρι Σεβα[στῶ]
 ἡ Ἀλμουρηνων κατ[οικία ἀνέθη-]
 κεν τὸ κρηνίον, vac.
 ἐπιμεληθέντ[ος]
 5 Σκόρδου ἀργυροτ[αμίου]
 vac. Tⁱ

Ath. Mitt. gives two letters (HN) 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: BCH: ——— ΣΕΒΑΣ; alii and squeeze: ——— ΣΕΒΑ

l. 2/3: IGR: ——— [-οικία][ἀνέθη]

l. 4/5: IGR: ἐπιμεληθέντ[ο]ς Κόρδου; Homolle: ἐπιμεληθέντ[ος] ΣΚΟΡΔΟΥ

l. 5: IGR: Κόρδου ἀργυροτ[αμίου]; Homolle: ΣΚΟΡΔΟΥΑΡΓΥΡ'; Ath. Mitt.: ΣΚΟΡ ΔΥΑΡΓΥΡΟ

l. 6: Homolle: T (under the ο 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[στῶ]: either a *vacat* or just possibly Γερμανικῶ? 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 ließen" (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 ἐπιμεληθέντ[ος τοῦ δεῖνα τοῦ] Σκόρδου. If we postulate τοῦ, which is probable⁵ though not certain⁶, we shall have to suppose that the name of the epimelētēs is 4/5 letters long. Without τοῦ the possibilities are even more manifold. As to the letters of l. 6: τρ (?) or τω, we have nothing to contribute to the problem

5. Cf. J.-L. Robert, *Bull. Épig.*, 1960, p. 168; 1961, p. 217.

6. Cf. *Anatolian Studies* 12 (1962), 204, nr. 23 with comm.; R. Koerner, *Die Abkürzung der Homonymität in griechischen Inschriften* (Sitz. Ber. Akad. Berlin, Kl. f. Sprache —, 1961, Abh. 2), 17.

of the meaning of these two letters; or should we read ἀργυροτ[αμίου τῆς κα]το[ικίας]? 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 πο|στάγματα, κα|θηγεμόνι; cf. also L. Robert, 'Αρχ. Ἐφημ., 1969, 24 with note 4 (with the reference to Dittenberger). For the name Σκόρδος ("garlic") see L. Robert, *Noms Indigènes* —, 245–6, where the reading of IGR IV, 1657 (Κόρδου) has been rejected correctly. D. Magie has collected some evidence on the ἀργυροταμίας and other village-officials (*op. cit.*, II, 1026/27 (he mentions our text on p. 1027)). We have found no trace of this text in 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 Almoura); 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 l. 6, 7, 8 (ΜΑΓΝ; ΤΕΜΙΔ 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 uninscribed space of 5½ cm width; 1st century A.D.?

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

Photograph: Pl. III (p. 84).

[Οἱ κ]ατοικοῦντε[ς ἐν]
 Ἀλμούροις στεφ[ανοῦ-]
 σιν Ἀρτεμίδωρον Λυ[σι-]
 μάχου βιώσαντα καλ[ῶς]
 5 καὶ κοσμίως vacat
 [Οἱ] κατοικοῦντες ἐν Μαγν[ό-]
 λοις στεφανοῦσιν Ἀρτεμίδ[ω-]
 vac. ρον Λυσιμάχου βιώσαντα vac.
 καλῶς καὶ κοσμί[ως]

l. 6/7: Ath. Mitt.: "Am Ende von Z. 6 ist über dem N ein kleines O sichtbar, am Anfang von 7 die zweite hasta eines Λ". 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".

inscription show any trace of an omicron on top of the N. Surely there is place for an O after the N; cf. the ω restored by us at the end of the next line.

l. 7/8: Ath. Mitt.: Ἀρτεμίδ[ω]ρον; squeeze: Ἀρτεμίδ[ω]ρον.

On the villages Almoura and Magnola cf. Keil-Premmerstein, *Dritte Reise* —, 85; for a similar honorary inscription cf. Ath. Mitt. 23 (1898), 498, nr. 1: [Οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐν[]οῖς στεφανοῦσιν[]άτην Ἀρτεμιδώρου[]κράτην Μενεκράτου[Μ]ελίτ[ινο]ν Ἐρμολάου[βιωσαν]τας καλῶς καὶ κοσμίως] (also found in a house in Tire and copied by Jordanidis, who suggests in l. 2: [Ἀλμούρ]οις or [Μαγνὸλ]οις).

4. Honorary Inscription for P. Aelius Menecrates.

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

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

Discussions: P. Perdrizet, BCH 20 (1896), 71; M. P. Nilsson, *Griechische Feste* (1906), 352; J. Keil, *Kulte im Prytaneion von Ephesus*, *Anatolian Studies* W. H. Buckler (1939), 125; F. Bömer, RE XXI² (1952), col. 1934, nr. 105 (with further references: cf. id., *Untersuchungen über die Religion der Sklaven in Griechenland und Rom*, III (1961), 204); M. P. Nilsson, GGR II² (1961), 357/8 and 657; E. N. Lane, *A Re-study of the God Men*, Berytus xv (1964), 5ff., esp. 21 (cf. also xviii (1967/8), 13-49; 81-107 on the cult of Men); cf. also Broughton in ESAR, vol. IV, 679 (no temple lands in Almoura), 768 (on the ergastēria in l. 14/5).

Photograph: Pl. IV (pag. 85).

ΟΜΟ

Πό(πλιον) Αἴλιον Μ[εν]εκράτην

τῇ ἱερατείᾳ τῆς Δήμητρος

ἀνενένκαντα καὶ καθιερώ-

5 σαντα κάλαθον περιάργυρον

τὸν λείποντα τοῖς τῆς Δήμη-

τρος μυστηρίοις, καὶ τῷ προκα-

θημένῳ τῆς κόμης Μηνὶ ση-

μήαν περιάργυρον τὴν προ-

10 πονπεύσασαν τῶν μυστηρί-

ων αὐτοῦ· διὰ τε τοῦτο καθι-

έρωσεν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἱερωσύνης

εἰς τὰς ἐπιθυσίας τῆς Δήμη-

τρος τὰ πρὸ τ[ῆς ο]ικίας ἔργα-

- 15 στήρια εἰς τὸ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν
 ἕκαστον τῇ τοῦ καλὰθου
 ἀναφορᾷ τοὺς κληρωθέν-
 τας εἰς τὴν πομπὴν ἀνδρας
 μετὰ τῶν ἀρχόντων προθύ-
 20 οντας εὐωχεῖσθαι ἐν τῇ
 οἰκίᾳ αὐτοῦ διὰ παντὸς τοῦ
 βίου.
 Ἐπὶ ἀρχοντος τῆς κατοικίας
 Λ(ουκίου) Βέριου Βάσσου φιλοσεβάστου καὶ τῶ[ν]
 25 συναρχόντων αὐτοῦ.

l. 1: 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 OMQ; Keil adds: "könnte z.B. ὁμοίως 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 (ἐτίμησεν 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.

l. 3: BCH: MENE; Ath. Mitt.: MENE; Keil M. . N; our squeeze: M. . N.

l. 5: BCH: [Σ]ANTA; alii: ΣANTA; l. 6: Keil and squeeze: ΜΗ (ligature); alii: ΜΗ;
 l. 10: BCH and Ath. Mitt.: ΠΡΟΠΟΜ —; Keil and squeeze: ΠΡΟΠΟΝ —; in fine:
 Keil: ΜΥΣΤΗΡ . .; squeeze et alii: ΜΥΣΤΗΡΙ; l. 12: BCH and squeeze: — ΣΥΝΗΣ;
 alii: — ΣΥΝΗΣ; l. 13: squeeze ΥΣ.; BCH, Ath. Mitt. and Keil: ΥΣΙ; REG: ΘΥΜΙΑΣ(?);
 in fine: BCH, Keil and squeeze: ΜΗ; alii: ΜΗ; l. 14: Keil: ΠΡΟΤ . . . K; squeeze:
 ΠΡΟΤ . . . ΙΚ; Ath. Mitt.: ΠΡΟΤΗΣΟΙΚ; BCH: ΠΡΟΤΗΣ . . ΚΙΑΣ; l. 15: Keil
 and squeeze: ΤΟΚ . . Ε; Ath. Mitt.: ΤΟΚΑΘΕ; BCH: ΤΟ . . . ΕΝ; l. 18: BCH,
 Keil and squeeze: ΠΟΜΠΗΝ; Ath. Mitt.: ΠΟΜΠΗΝ; l. 24: BCH, Keil and squeeze:
 Λ.ΒΕΡΙΟΥ; Ath. Mitt.: ΒΕΡΙΟΥ; in fine Keil and squeeze: ΚΑΙΤΩ; alii: ΚΑΙ;
 l. 25: Keil and squeeze: ΣΥΝ —; alii: ΤΩΝΣΥΝ —.

l. 2-7: P. Aelius Menekrates has offered to the priesthood [ιερατεία = ἱερω-
 σύνη = priesthood; cf. e.g. MAMA VIII, 410: ἱερατεῖαν τε τῶν Σεβαστῶν
 καὶ ἀγωνοθεσίαν — τελέσας] and has dedicated a basket, "set in sil-
 ver" (περιάργυρος; cf. Bömer, *op. cit.*, "versilbert"; cf. also note 8b). This
 basket was missing⁸ among the equipment of the mysteries of Demeter in
 Almoura. Ἀναφέρω seems less frequently used in dedications and in dedicatory

8. Cf. CIG 3935: τὰ προσλείψαντα τοῦ ἔργου τελειώσαντος Νεικοστράτου — (quoted by
 L. Robert, *Laodicée du Lycos, Les Inscriptions* (1969), 278): "the parts of the building
 which were lacking".

contexts than καθιερώ (on the latter cf. e.g. L. Robert, *Études Anatoliennes* (1937), 26; *Hellenica* III, 55). The Thesaurus and Liddell-Scott-Jones record examples from the Septuagint and the Bible (to offer in sacrifice; offering (ἀναφορά); cf. also S. Daniel, *Recherches sur le vocabulaire du culte dans la Septante* (1966), Index s.v.). The verb is attested in OGIS 56, l. 68 (Canopus decree, Egypt) where ἱεραὶ παρθέναι are said to ἀναφέρειν σάχχους τοὺς παρατετηγμένους τῷ ἀγάλματι τῆς θεοῦ ("Weihegabe darbringen", Preisigke, *Wb.Gr.Pap.*, s.v. (col. 110); but ἀνά 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][ἀνα]φερόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν [ἰ]διωτῶν [οἶνον] (*Inscr. Magnesia*, n. 99, l. 26 = F. Sokolowski, *Lois Sacrées de l'Asie Mineure* (1955) n. 34, l. 26: "Le verbe ἀναφέρειν 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, l. 6: ἀνήεν[χαν προτ]ο- [μὴν] λεόντος (in the same text ἀνέθηκαν is used); n. 444, l. 8: [φιάλη], ἣν ἀνήνεικεν Ἑκατ[αῖος]; see also B. Haussoullier, *Études sur l'histoire de Milet et du Didymeion* (1902), 235 (ἀναφέρειν, said of an ἐσχαρὶς χρυσῇ).

For the cult of Demeter and the celebration of her mysteries in Ephesus cf. J. Keil (see lemma), 125 (with references to Syll³. 820 (83/4 A.D.) and our text). The sacred basket (κάλαθος) in which the ἱερά^{8a} 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 (Mylasa; 3rd cent. B.C.) Sokolowski reads in l. 6: τὴν ἀναφο[ράν τοῦ καλάθου | ἐπιτ]ρέπεσθαι ταῖς ἱερεῖαις (the original editors read τὴν ἀμφο[—]). Whereas the priestesses are to carry the κάλαθος in Mylasa, in Ephesus a special female cult-official has been appointed: the καλαθηφόρος, mentioned together with other cult-officials in some of the Ephesian κούρητες-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

8a. For the meaning of τὰ ἱερά (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)^{8b}.

I. 7-II: P. Aelius has also dedicated to the god Mēn, who presides over the village, a σιμῆα 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 προεσιτώτες or προκαθήμενοι τῆς πόλεως or τῆς κώμης; also προκαθηγεμών) 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*, II, 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 (Calymna, Miletus, Colophon), Heracles (Heraclea on the Salbakē), Hēlios (Rhodus) and Mēn (our text). In Lydia Mēn is frequently called the βασιλεύων 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. Österr. Akad. Wiss., Ph.-Hist. Kl. 265 (1969), Abh. 1, 39). The implications of these participles are brought out clearly by the title of F. Bömer's recent discussion of "Mēn und andere griechische und asiatische Tyrannoi" (italics are mine, H.W.P.) in his *Untersuchungen über die Religion der Sklaven* —, III (1961), 195ff. Mēn rules over his subjects like an oriental monarch. Without going into the problem of whether the Greeks

8b. Those who want to visualize a silver kalathos should consult E. Künzl, *Der augusteische Silbercalathus im Rheinischen 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 "Gefäßsmantel" (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 patera 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 καλαθηφόρος and, then, a parallel to the καλαθηφόρος mentioned in an Ephesian inscription and postulated by Keil for Almoura?

independently conceived of their gods as despots and tyrants⁹ 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 ἀμαρτίαι: these are the usual phenomena, attested in the numerous inscriptions from Asia Minor concerning the cult of Mēn and other similar severe deities¹⁰. "Der Gott ist allmächtig – ἐξ ἀδυνάτων δυνατὰ 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 straft unmittelbar, wenn der Mensch ihm nicht gehorcht"¹¹. Bömer sees in προκαθήμενος τῆς κώμης merely the equivalent of βασιλεύων κώμην¹². 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 archōn 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 τύραννος as an epithet of gods in classical times see Bömer, *Untersuchungen* —, III, 208–213; for δεσπότης 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 dasz er weisz, wie man andernorts zu den Göttern spricht und ohne dasz dabei die Vorstellungen die hinten den Worten steht, immer die gleichen sind" (*op. cit.*, 209). A difficult and interesting problem is posed by expressions like κατ' ἐπιταγήν, κατὰ πρόσταγμα (ex iussu, ex imperio), frequently used in dedications and similar texts. Bömer establishes a correlation between these "orders" of the god 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, δεσπότης and τύραννος. 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 "schlechthinnige 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 Gottheit" (*op. cit.*, 211) by dedicating votive texts and objects κατ' ἐπιταγήν (or similar formula's).

10. See most recently L. Robert, *Nouvelles Inscriptions de Sardes* (1964), 23ff. (with further references); P. Herrmann, *Sitz. Ber. Österr. Akad. Wiss., Ph.-Hist. Kl.*, 265 (1969), 59–63.

11. *Op. cit.*, 206.

12. "In Theira in Lydien ist Mēn ebenfalls der Herr des Dorfes, nur gibt es dafür eine andere Bezeichnung: προκαθήμενος τῆς κώμης" (*op. cit.*, 204).

gious mentality which is characteristic of worshippers of Μὴν βασιλεύων. The so-called "Beichtinschriften" have been found mainly in two areas: the north-eastern part of Lydia (Katakekaumenē) 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 Syll³. 867, l. 29 (from Ephesus; ca. 160 A.D.; ± same time as our text), the Ephesian Artemis is styled [ἡ] προεστῶσα τῆς πόλεως ἡμῶν θεὸς Ἄρτεμις. 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 θεὸς πολιοῦχος, the θεὰ μεδεοῦσα. Πολιοῦχος (πόλιν-ἔχων) is a far cry from πόλιν κατέχων. Similarly Μὴν προκαθήμενος is more than "eine andere Bezeichnung" for βασιλεύων.

Σημήα 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 written¹³.

Among the scholars, mentioned in our lemma, it is only Perdrizet and Bömer who have risked a translation of this term: "(versilbertes) Bild" (Bömer); "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 σημήα should be an object the weight of which does not prevent it from being carried around in a procession (τὴν προπονπεύσασαν). In itself this fact does not tell us much about the precise nature of the *semēa*. 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 leafs 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 lacking¹⁴, we know that in numerous Greek processions a great variety of objects was carried around and that special dignitaries were appointed for that purpose: *ἱεραφόροι*, *λικναφόροι*, *κισταφόροι*, *φαλλοφόροι*, *καλαθηφόροι*, *βωμοφόροι*, *λιθοφόροι* (τοῦ ἱεροῦ λίθου), *σεβαστοφόροι*, *κοσμοφόροι*, *θεοφόροι*, *συνβολαφόροι*¹⁵. *Σημειοφόροι*¹⁶ occur in a military context, where they denote the signiferi of the Roman army. As far as we know there is one instance of *σημιαφόρος* in a religious context. In an inscription from Phrygian Hierapolis (in the Lycos-valley) there is a mention of οἱ *σημιαφόροι* τοῦ Ἀρχηγέτου Ἀπόλλωνος, the latter being the main god of the city¹⁷. 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 *σημιαφόροι* were standard-

14. Cf. M. P. Nilsson, *Die Prozessions-typen im griechischen Kult*, Arch. Jahrb. 31 (1916), 309ff. (= *Op. Sel.* 1, 166ff.); on (συμ)περιφορά ("cortège, procession") cf. J.-L. Robert *Bull. Épigr.*, 1959, p. 212.

15. On *ἱεραφόροι* see Ch. Edson, *HTHR* 41 (1948), 183; J.-L. Robert, *Bull. Épigr.*, 1950, n. 134; 1958, n. 274 and 277; for *λικνα-*, *κιστα-* and *φαλλοφόροι* cf. Nilsson *GGR* II², 360; for *καλαθηφόρος* see text above (the term *ὑποκαλαθηφόρος* is mentioned by L. Robert, in A. Dupont-Sommer-L. Robert, *La déesse de Hiéropolis Castabala* (1964), 34; however, Robert does not give references to inscriptions or literary sources where the word occurs). For *βωμοφόροι* cf. J.-L. Robert, *Bull. Épigr.*, 1958, nr. 413; for *λιθοφόροι* cf. *Mél. Bidez* II (1933/4), 819ff. (with J.-L. Robert, *Bull. Épigr.*, 1934, p. 224); for the *σεβαστοφόροι* see above all L. Robert, *Recherches Épigraphiques*, REA 1960, 276ff., esp. 316ff., 323 (with note 6) (= *Opera Minora Selecta*, vol. II (1969), 832ff.). Cf. Ch. Picard, *Éphèse et Claros*, 240ff. (with Jahresh. 7 (1904), 212/3 and Beibl., 44) for *κοσμοφόροι*, *ναοφόροι*, *κλειδοφόροι* and *σελεινοφόροι*; cf. p. 331: "(images sacrées) portées, à la mode asiatique, sur des brancards, ou en palanquins". For processions with divine statues cf. also F. Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées de l'Asie Mineure* (1955), nr. 6, 8, 9 and 32. For the *θεοφόροι* see Nilsson, *loc. cit.*; the *συνβολαφόροι* are on record in a Lydian and in a Bithynian inscription: see P. Herrmann, *Denkschr. Österr. Akad. Wien, Ph.-Hist. Kl.* 80 (1962), nr. 27 on p. 39 (cult of Artemis Anaeitis and Μηλι Τιάμου: "Träger von σύμβολα? Es liegt nahe dabei an bestimmte kultische Funktionen - etwa bei Prozessionen - zu denken und in den σύμβολα göttliche 'Symbole', Insignien, zu sehen"; in a footnote H. refers to the evidence for the *ἱεροφόροι*) and F. K. Dörner, *Anz. Wien, Ph.-Hist. Kl.*, 1963, 133/4 (cult of Prietos (Priapos); cf. J.-L. Robert, *Bull. Épigr.*, 1965, nr. 390 on p. 164). This list of --- *φόροι* is not meant to be complete.

16. Or *σημειοφόροι* or *σημαιοφόροι* or *σημηφόροι*; on the alternation of *σημεία*, *σημέα*, *σημήα* and *σημαία* see Dittenberger, *Syll³*, 972, note 58 (on p. 93) and OGIS, 560, note 9 on p. 240; for a *θερσὺς αἰχμητὴς σημοφόρῳ κάμνῃ* in an inscription from Koptos see A. Wilhem, *Sitz. Ber. Akad. Wien, Phil.-Hist. Kl.*, 224 (1947), 40.

17. Cf. Judeich, *Altortümer von Hierapolis*, nr. 153 (Fahnenenträger); 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* ---, I, 115; F. Poland, *Gesch. d. gr. Vereinswesens* (1909) rightly finds it "höchst zweifelhaft" that these *σημιαφόροι* were a "militärischer Berufsverband" (129). The combination of *σημιαφόροι* with the name of the god in the genitive should dispose of all military interpretations.

bearers of the temple of Apollo¹⁸. 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 (ξόανον) of gold, which in no way resembles the other ξόανα. It has no special form of its own but it supports (carries) the figures of the other (two) gods. It is called σημήιον, even by the Syrians themselves, who have given no proper name to it"¹⁹. The summit of the σημήιον 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 σημεῖον ("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 *sêmeion*, 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 *sêmeion* 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 ἀμφοτέρων ἑστηκεν ξόανον ἄλλο χρύσειον, οὐδαμὰ τοῖσι ἄλλοις ξοάνοις εἰκελόν. τὸ δὲ μορφὴν μὲν ἰδίην οὐκ ἔχει, φορέει δὲ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν εἶδεα, καλεῖται δὲ σημήιον καὶ ὅπ' αὐτῶν Ἀσσυρίων, οὐδὲ τι ὄνομα ἴδιον αὐτῷ ἔθεντο.

20. *Antiquités Syriennes: Les dieux de Hiérapolis*, Syria 37 (1960), 233ff.; esp. 242ff. (on 238 the translation of the crucial passage).

21. Cf. Seyrig, *art. cit.*, 243/44 with note 1 on 244.

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 *phalerae*: "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 *phalerae* 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 σημαῖαι to denote both the *signa* in general and the imperial busts, attached to the *signa* (sometimes in the shape of *phalerae*). In *B. J.* II, 169 (Naber) he mentions τὰς Καίσαρος εἰκόνας, αἱ σημαῖαι καλοῦνται, whereas in *A. J.* 18, 55 (Pontius Pilatus episode) he refers to προτομαὶ Καίσαρος, αἱ ταῖς σημαῖαις προσῆσαν, 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 σημήα does not occur in these texts. I have tried to show in a short note in *Mnemosyne* 1970 that in SEG VI, 731 (from Side) there is possibly question of the [σημ]εαὶ 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

23. Seyrig, *art. cit.*, 242.

24. Rostowzew, *art. cit.*, 101. Long before the time of the sacred standards, discussed by Rostowzew and Seyrig, the Parthian military standards, represented on Augustean coins, closely resembled Roman legionary *signa*: cf. A. Roes, *An Iranian standard used as a Christian symbol*, *JHS* 57 (1937), 248-250.

25. Cf. L. Robert, *art. cit.* (see note 15), 320 (= *Opera Minora Selecta*, II, 836); on the Flavius Josephus passages cf. W. Zwickler, *Bemerkungen zu den römischen Heeresfahnen in der älteren Kaiserzeit*, 27e Bericht Röm.-Germ. Komm., 1937 (1939), 7ff., esp. 17.

26. Rostowzew, *art. cit.*, 100.

27. See the references given by Rostowzew, *art. cit.*, 93, note 2; L. Robert, *Opera Minora Selecta*, II, 834, note 1; add P. Veyne, *Cahiers de Byrsa* VIII (1958-59), 64ff.; on Egyptian military standards cf. M. Stracmans, *A propos de deux étendards Ptolemaïques*, *La Nouvelle Clío* 5 (1953), 163ff. (with abundant references to other studies).

vexilla) were actually used in Greek cults. Our *σημήα περιάργυρος*, the *σημιαφόροι* of Apollo Archēgetēs in Hierapolis and the passage from Lucian, which clearly implies that *σημηιον* 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 *σημέα* in an inscription from Didyma²⁸ and of the term *σημεῖα* (neutr. plur.) in inscriptions from Pergamum 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 *sēmeia* do not seem to be a proper parallel to the sacred standards of Mēn 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 *sēmēa* is

28. *Inscr. Didyma*, 297; L. Robert, *Hellenica* XI/XII (1960), 459 has announced a study of this text; cf. also id., *Villes d'Asie Mineure*² (1962), 143.

29. Cf. Chr. Habicht, *Altertümer von Pergamon*, VIII, 3 (1968), ad n. 37 on p. 83; incidentally could these *σημεῖα* possibly resemble Perdrizet's "bannières"? Cf. also A. Wilhelm, *Sitz. Ber. Akad. Berlin, Ph.-Hist. Kl.*, 1933, 846ff.. Wilhelm explicitly rejects an interpretation of *σημεῖα* as "statues" ("Statuen, die mit einem ganz ungewöhnlichen Ausdruck als *σημεῖα* bezeichnet sein sollen"); id., *Neue Beiträge*, v (on another inscription from Pergamon). In one of the inscriptions, discussed by Wilhelm, the expression *ἄρσις τοῦ σημεῖου* occurs: "Aufziehen eines Zeichens", which announces the opening of the gymnasium. What kind of sign? Does not *ἄρσις* 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 (*ἀρῶ*) of *σημεῖα*; on *σημεῖον* cf. also H. C. Youtie, *Ztschr. für Pap. und Epigr.* 6 (1970), 105 ff. and E. van 't Dack, *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 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 (Godsdienstige verschijnselen in Aramesche teksten)*, Leiden 1969, 41, 45, 53 and 56/57, presents the evidence and ably discusses it: "Het betreft hier standaarden waarop of waaraan een afbeelding van de godheid bevestigd is, of anders van zijn dier of symbool" (57). The standards of Nebo 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 *Σημῖα* (*μνησθῆναι τῇ Σημῖα* ---). He considers the *σημῖα* 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 *ῥάκορος τῶν θεῶν εἰκότων* in an Athenian

also related to the cult of Mēn. In Hierapolis the standards occur in the cult of Apollo Archēgetēs: 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 Mēn 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 Archēgetēs³¹. L. Weber came to the conclusion, "dasz im Kultus von Hierapolis überhaupt einheimische, besonders phrygische und griechische Elemente in der nachchristlichen Zeit mit einander vermischt 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 Helios³³. We have already noticed the close relation between the Syrian standards and representations of the sun and the moon³⁴. 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 Archēgetēs, 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*, II, 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 IGR I, 45 (235 A.D.) we have a dedication by a romanized citizen of Palmyra of a σῆνον ἀρχυροῦν σὺν παντὶ νόζιμῳ to his θεοὶ πατρώοι 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 Phéniciens hérités par l'empire romain* (1970), 126, with fig. 32 on 125. For sacred standards in Egypt cf. W. Kaiser, *Einige Bemerkungen zur ägyptischen Frühzeit*, Ztschr. f. Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde 84 (1959), 119ff.; 85 (1960), 118 (reference from my colleague H. S. Versnel); see also *Denderah* (1870), vol. I, pl. 38; vol. IV, pl. 31, 33 (shafts with animals, symbols (solar disk?) at the top).

31. Cf. L. Weber, *Apollon Pythoktonos im phrygischen Hierapolis*, *Philologus* 69 (1910), 178ff., esp. 184ff. (Cybele), 193ff. (Mēn), 192f. (Lairbēnos).

32. *art. cit.*, 198/9.

33. *art. cit.*, 192. We do realize that there are more up to date discussions of Apollo Lairbenos (cf. e.g. L. Robert, *Villes* —², 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”³⁵. 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 —”³⁶.

l. 11–22: For that reason (διὰ τοῦτο)³⁷ 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 phenomenon³⁸.

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-archons, in the house of the honorand during the latter’s lifetime. During or rather in connection with the εὐωχία they were supposed to bring a “Voropfer” (προθύοντας). If we identify the ἐπιθυσίαι from l. 13 with the “Voropfer” of l. 19/20³⁹ and if we further realize that θυσία and εὐωχία belonged together closely, the conclusion is that Menecrates actually earmarked the revenues for the incense offerings and the subsequent “banquet” (εὐωχία) of those, who participated in the kalathos-procession, and of the village-archons. For the increasing importance of “Rauchopfer” in the hellenistic-Roman period cf. M. P. Nilsson, *GGR* 11², 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, l. 142 (Antiochos of Commagene (see also H. Dörrie, *Der Königs kult des Antiochos von Kommagene im Lichte neuer*

35. *art. cit.*, 105, note 36.

36. *art. cit.*, 101, note 26.

37. The reason lies presumably in the fact that the village has praised and/or crowned Menecrates 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 Ephesus a ἱερεύς is attested in the cult of Demeter (cf. Keil, *Studies Buckler*, 125: βασιλεὺς καὶ ἱερεύς Δημήτρος διὰ γένους). If one prefers a ἱέρεια in Almouira’s Demeter-cult, we should have to assume that Menecrates dedicated the revenues on behalf of the priestess (his wife or some other relative?). It remains possible that ὑπὲρ τῆς ἱερωσύνης 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 προθύτης is taken by L. Robert (*Opera Minora Selecta*, II, 840, 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 ἐπιθύω 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 προθύειν 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. Syll³. 1037 and G. Daux, *BCH* 82 (1958), 359)⁴⁰. 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 κληρωθέντες act as a kind of substitute for the whole congregation, is entirely absent here.

Dedication of ergastēria 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 πρόσδοτον τῶν ἐργαστηρίων ὧν ἀνατέθηκα ("the income of the workshops which I (= Attalus) have dedicated to the god")⁴¹. 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 Καδουή which belonged to Magnesian territory (ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας)⁴². Similarly P. Aelius Menecrates has built a house and adjoining ergastēria in a village, which belonged to Ephesian territory. Perhaps Tyrannos and Menecrates both were members of the city-bourgeoisie who invested money in ergastēria 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

40. Cf. F. Sokolowski, *Harv. Theol. Rev.* 47 (1954), 165ff. (with references to earlier litt.); J. Casabona, *Recherches sur le vocabulaire des sacrifices en grec* (1966), 103ff.; M. Wörle, *apud* Chr. Habicht, *op. cit.* (cf. note 29), 172.

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

42. On ergastēria elsewhere cf. J. Pouilloux, *Recherches sur l'Histoire et les Cultes de Thasos*, I, n. 157 (Θεοδέκτης Δημοφώντος τὴν συνοικίαν καὶ τὰ ἐργαστήρια ἐπέδωκεν τῇ πόλει); M. I. Finley, *Land and Credit in Ancient Athens (500-200 B.C.)*, 60ff.; S. Lauffer, *Die Bergwerkssklaven von Laureion*, I, 15, note 5; for the dedication of ἐργαστήρια see also L. Robert, *Revue de Phil.* 1929, 146 (= *Opera Minora Selecta*, II, 1112). Menekrates' ergastēria 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'Égypte romaine* (1965), 54-56 (relation house-ergastērion) and 81ff. (large private ergastēria in Egypt, worked by slaves and hired labour).

was a member of the Κουρῆτες in that city. Since in the fertile Cayster-valley the growing of hemp was an important activity in ancient times⁴³, it is tempting, though not demonstrable, to suppose that Menecrates' 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, εὐφραίνομαι, εὐφροσύνη are common terms to denote the banquets, given by benefactors after the sacrifices, and the feelings brought about by such banquets.

l. 23-25: L. Verius Bassus is on record as a member of the Κουρῆτες in an unpublished Ephesian inscription (Inv. nr. 1035; 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 οἶνοπόσιον, to which benefactors or the villages themselves 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 παννυχίς. In the meantime an agōn 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 Thiounta (north of Hierapolis) have engraved a honorary decree for two φράτρες^{43a} ("brotherhoods"; "clubs") which had organized a village-festival. We hear about an agōn, 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-Mineure Gréco-Romaine*, 291ff.).

43. See above note 1; cf. also L. Robert, *Études Anatoliennes*, 202/4.

43a. For φράτρες cf. P. Herrmann, *Anz. Akad. Wien, Ph.-Hist. Kl.* 107 (1970), 103.

5. *Dedication of columns to the village of the Titeiphtēnoi.*

Kireli (ancient Titeiphyta)⁴⁴? (near Tīre); seen by Keil, November 19th, 1911, in Tīre in Jordanidis' collection (cf. κ.-P., *Dritte Reise* —, ad nr. 110); broken on top and below; first century A.D.?

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

The stone is referred to by Keil – Premerstein, *Dritte Reise* —, 66, and by D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor*, vol. II, 1023 ("belonging to Hypaipa"); *Photograph*: Pl. v (p. 86).

-νωνος τοὺς δὲ-
 ω κείονες σὺ[ν]
 βομοσπεύροις
 καὶ κεφαλᾷς τῇ
 5 Τιτειφυτηνῶν
 [κατοικία] ὑποσχό-
 [μενος or -νοί] | Λ I

Haussoullier restores: [Ἀνέθηκεν Ν.] [.....] νωνος etc.

l. 3: Ath. Mitt.: ΒΩΜΟΣΠΕΥΡΟΙΣ; BCH, Keil, Haussoullier and squeeze: BOMO-----.

l. 6: Ath. Mitt., BCH, Haussoullier: [κατ]ο[ικία].

l. 7: Ath. Mitt.: [-μενος -----] ΛΙ; Haussoullier: [-μενος] μ; Keil suggested: [-μένοι ἀνέθηκαν]. Our squeeze is hard to decipher here; we are pretty certain about the final I (iota); there is no trace whatsoever of the oblique stroke of the nu (ἀνέθηκαν); before the I 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 Fontrier's transcription suggests the contrary. Anyhow ἀνέθηκαν seems out of the question.

44. In Ath. Mitt. 21 (1896), 118/9 the stone is said to be from the "vicinity of Tīre" ("Gegend von Tīre"). In 1896 Jordanidis had the stone in his epigraphical collection in Tīre ("der jetzige Besitzer dieser Inschrift", *ibidem*). In BCH 20 (1896), Fontrier writes: "marbre (0,80 m × 0,50 m), provenant peut-être du village de Φάτω". Most inscriptions which mention the village of the Titeiphtēnoi (or Ideiphtēnoi or Dideiphtēnoi) 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. κ.-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 Titeiphyta is generally supposed to have been part of the territory of Hypaipa. The majority of the komarchs of this village comes from this city: cf. κ.-P., *Dritte Reise* —, 65 and 79.

For δύω (instead of δύο), κείονες (instead of κείονας) and βομοσπείροις (instead of βωμοσπερίοις) cf. K.-P., *Dritte Reise* —, 81, ad n. 113: "Verwechslungen der Quantität (Z. 1 δύω) und der Kasus (ebenda κείονες statt κείονας) sind in kleinasiatischen Texten ungemein häufig". The inscription, to which K.-P. refer (their nr. 113, also from Kireli) contains a dedication by a certain Philippus, of two columns, with bases (σπεῖραι), square plinths (βωμοί; "altarförmige Postamenten" in K.-P.'s terminology) and capitals (κεφαλαί): Φίλιππος — τοὺς δύω κείονες συν βωμ[οῖς] καὶ σπεῖραις καὶ κεφαλαῖς καὶ ἐπιστυλίῳ τῇ Τιτειφυτηνῶν κώμῃ ἐκ τῶ[ν ἰδί]ων 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. Épigra.*, REG 63 (1950), on p. 202.

6. Honorary inscription for an anonymous.

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, *Μουσεῖον Εὐαγγ. Σχολῆς Σμυρν.*, 1886, 87/88, nr. 409'. The stone is referred to by Keil-Premierstein, *Dritte Reise* —, 65, 66⁴⁶ and in the commentary *ad* nr. 109, and K. Buresch, *Aus Lydien*, 26 and 215⁴⁷; 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 Ἡγήσιππου vacat
 ἱερῇ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ γυναικὶ καὶ Μάρ- vacat
 κῶ Ἀντωνίῳ Γρανικῷ τῷ ἀδελφῷ * Α-
 πολλὰ δὲ καὶ προδαπανήσαντος vacat

45. On Titeiphyta cf. note 44 (at the end).

46. K.-P. 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 *Μουσεῖον* 1886, S. 89f. should be read as 1886, S. 87f.

5 καὶ πᾶσαν εἰσενενκαμένον περὶ vacat
 τὴν κατασκευὴν τῶν ἔργων φιλο- vacat
 τειμίαν τε καὶ σπουδὴν καὶ εὐνοίαν.

The description of the stone in Μουσεῖον 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 *κωμαρχεῖον* of the village of Titeiphyta. The other two texts mention payments of *summae honorariae* for the function of *κωμάρχης*. Together with his wife Stratonikē 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 stone⁴⁸. He had already spent much money and energy on the construction of village-buildings.

l. 2: ἱερῇ: "priestess". For two examples of ἱερῇ = ἱερεῖα in Greek inscriptions from Ephesus in imperial times cf. A. Wilhelm, *Ath. Mitt.* 23 (1898), 415; see also in a recent Ephesian inscription πατέρα ἱερῆς τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος (*Bull. Épig.*, 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 Stratonikē is styled ἱερά (-η in Ionic) and should be compared with the male ἱεροί in Antiochia on the Meander, Aphrodisias 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-official⁴⁹. In Antiochia on the Meander we have a certain Ἀδραστος Ἀδράστου τοῦ Ἀδράστου Δαμάλων ἱερός, who gained a victory in local games⁵⁰. Adrastus certainly is a free-born citizen. In Aphrodisias a certain Ἰθαρος Μενίππου ἱερός had dedicated to Aphrodite Ourania 120.000 denars; again we seem to have here a prominent citizen of the town⁵¹. In Magnesia ad Sipylum we have an inscription containing a list of

48. The Mouseion-editor assumed that this inscription had been engraved πρὸς τιμὴν τοῦ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἱερείας συζύγου τοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ δωρήσαντος δηνάρια χίλια: 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 (ἡ κοινότης; cf. e.g. K.-P., *Dritte Reise* —, nr. 110 (also from Kireli) and our nr. 7) for a certain function (ὑπὲρ or ἀντὶ + gen.); sometimes the donor gives the money "on behalf of his son" (or some other relative; ὑπὲρ τοῦ υἱοῦ etc.). In our text money seems to have been given by the honorand's wife and brother.

49. L. Robert, *Hellenica* vi, 9ff.; 49f. (with id., *La Carie*, II, 295, note 1; id., *Laodicée du Lycos, Les Inscriptions* (1969), 256, note 5).

50. L. Robert, *Rev. de Phil.*, 1929, 133f.; F. Bömer, *Untersuchungen über die Religion der Sklaven* —, vol. II (1960), 164.

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

θεραπευταί of Sarapis and Isis; one of them is Μενεκράτης β' ἱε(ρός) Κολλυβάς, obviously not a slave (he has a patronymicum, β' meaning Μενεκράτου) but a free man⁵². Stratonikē belongs to the same category: she is the wife of a local euergetēs and/or village-official and accordingly cannot be a slave or freedwoman. As to the origin of these ἱεροί we have nothing new to contribute; cf. what L. Robert wrote in 1948: "L'origine de cette — catégorie de ἱεροί peut être très variée, depuis les véritables esclaves jusqu'aux affranchis par consecration à la divinité et même aux enfants consacrés à la divinité par des parents dévots"⁵³; cf. also F. Bömer, *Untersuchungen über die Religion der Sklaven* —, vol. II (1960), 179–186. However, the parallels adduced by Wilhelm (*art. cit.*) seem to turn the scales slightly in favour of ἱερῆ = ἱερεία.

l. 3: For the diffusion of Marci and Lucii Antonii in Asia Minor cf. now L. Robert, *Laodicée du Lycos, Les Inscriptions* (1969), 308–9.

l. 6: For ἔργον, in the meaning of "building", cf. L. Robert, *Documents de l'Asie Mineure Méridionale* (1966), 62ff.; id., *EEP.*, 47.

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

Kireli (ancient village of Titeiphyta)⁵⁴; 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, *Μουσείον* —, 1886, 88 (nr. 408'). The stone is referred to by Keil-Premmerstein, *Dritte Reise* —, 65 and 79; D. Magie, *op. cit.*, vol II, 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).

Ἀγαθῇ νυν Τύχῃ ν' ἔτους σξα
 Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι Μ (άρκω) Αὐρ (ηλίω) Ἀντωνείνῳ
 Σεβαστῶ νν· Μ (ἄρκος) Αὐρ (ήλιος) Μένανδρος Ἐλευθερικῶ
 Ὑπαιπηνός ἔδωκεν ὑπὲρ κωμαρχίας ἑαυ-
 5 τοῦ τῇ Ἰδεφυτηνῶν κατοικία * σν
 καθὼς ἐψηφίσατο ἡ κατοικία· ἔδωκεν καὶ
 τάχειον εἰς τὴν ἐπισσκευὴν τοῦ παλη-
 οῦ βαλανείου * ν

52. L. Robert, *Hellenica* VI, 9ff.; Bömer, *op. cit.*, 170.

53. L. Robert, *Hellenica* VI, *loc. cit.*

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 ἐπισκευήν; the squeeze clearly shows two sigma's.

l. 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 B.C.; Pharsalus); cf. also P. Herrmann, *Denkschr. Akad. Wien, Ph.-Hist. Klasse*, 1959, 9 with note 2.

l. 3: For the name Eleutherikos cf. e.g. CIG 3105 (Teos): Ἐλευθερικὲ χρηστὲ χαῖρε; "Les terminaisons en -ikos sont un vrai tic, significatif pour la prolifération de ce composé dans les adjectifs, ainsi Hiératikos, Archiératiké, Prytanikos, Lykiarchikos, Nauklérikos, Auxétikos, Gamikos et Gamikē, Ephēbikē, Kosmikos" (L. Robert, *Géographie Historique du monde Hellénique*, Ann. Éc. Prat. Hautes Ét., 1ve section, 1962/3, 56).

l. 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 παλαιός and ἀρχαῖος cf. L. Robert, *Rev. de Phil.*, 1936, 158, note 6). For βαλανεῖον see the references under nr. 8.

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

Kireli (ancient village of Titeiphyta)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)?

Previous Publications: A. Fontrier, *Μουσείον* —, 1886, 88 (nr. φοθ'). The stone is referred to by K.-P., *Dritte Reise* —, 79; D. Magie, *op. cit.*, 1023, and L. Robert, *Documents de l'Asie Mineure Méridionale* (Paris 1966), 75, note 2.

Photograph: Pl. VIII (p. 87).

Ἀγαθῇ vacat Τύχη
 Αὐρ (ήλιος) Κροῖσος Διονυσίου Ὑπαιπηνός ἀγορανόμος
 πατὴρ ἀγορανόμου καὶ χρεοφύλακος ἔδωκεν ὑπὲρ
 κωμαρχίας ἑαυτοῦ * χεῖλια ἅτινα προεχώρησαν εἰς
 5 ἐπισκευὴν τοῦ καινοῦ βαλανείου καθὼς ἐψηφίσατο
 vac ἡ κατοικία vacat.

Kroisos was presumably agoranomos in Hypaipa, like his father who also has been χρεωφύλαξ (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 Kaiserreiche* (1900; reprint 1967), 290 and L. Robert, *Hellenica* XIII, 197; *Laodicée du Lycos, Les Inscriptions* (1969), 270/1). The words ἀτινα — βαλανείου 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, paid by Αὐρ. Μητρόδωρος Διονυσίου Ὑπαιτηγός. Is Αὐρ. Κροῖσος Διονυσίου Ὑπαιτηγός 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 komarchia"; this would seem to imply that *sometime before 272/3 A.D.* one already was in the habit of paying 1000 denarii for the komarchia). 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 Titei-phytēnoi 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 (καθὼς ἐψηφίσατο ἡ κατοικία). 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 καὶνός 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;

L. Robert, *Hellenica* ix, 30; P. Herrmann, *Denkschr. Akad. Wiss. Wien* 80 (1962), n. 21; R. Ginouvès, *BAANETTIKH, Recherches sur le bain dans l'Antiquité grecque* (1962), esp. 183-224, esp. 220 (on βαλανεῖα in small Egyptian villages); L. Robert, *Documents de l'Asie Mineure Méridionale* (1966), 75.

9. *Honorary inscription from the village of the Kairēnoi.*

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-school⁵⁶. 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; hasta of pi, mu, nu of equal length; later 1st cent. B.C./early 1st cent. A.D.⁵⁷.

Previous Publications: BCH 18 (1894), 540 (copy of Fontrier); E. S. Jordanidis, 'Αρμονία, March 6th, 1895 (*non vidi*); Ath. Mitt. 20 (1895), 240/1 (based on 'Αρμονία); 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 τοῦ ἀνδρὸς Ἀσ-
[κλη]πιάδου τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου, ΔΙ
[...] πρὸς τοὺς κατοικοῦντας
[διὰ π]αντὸς εὐνοίαν · ἐργεπιστα-
5 [τησά]ντων Ἀπολλωνίδου τοῦ Ἀπο[λ]-
λωνίδ ου λωνί] ου, φύσει δὲ Ἡγησίππου, ΟΠΙ
..... ΟΥ οἰκονόμου τῆς Καιρηγῶν
[κατοικί]ας, καὶ Ἀττάλου τοῦ Ἀπολ-
vacat λωνίου vacat

l. 1: BCH; ——— ΑΣΚ; Ath. Mitt., squeeze: ——— ΑΣ

l. 2: BCH: ——— ΔΙΑ; Ath. Mitt. and squeeze: ——— ΔΙ

l. 4: BCH, Keil and squeeze: ἈΝΤΟΣ; Ath. Mitt.: [ΖΩ]ΝΤΟΣ; at the end: Ath. Mitt., squeeze: — ΠΙΣΤΑ; BCH: ΠΙΣΤΑΤ

In the Ath. Mitt.-edition [διὰ] 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 [διὰ] τὴν in l. 1 should be related to εὐνοίαν in l. 4, which is preceded by [ζῶ]ντος 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: $||[\delta\iota\alpha\ \pi]\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma$ seems the only reasonable solution, as Keil already suggested in his note-book. As to ΔΙ at the end of l. 2 there are two possibilities: (a): $\delta\iota|[\acute{\alpha}]$, followed by $[\tau\acute{\eta}\nu]$ at the beginning of l. 3; in that case THN in l. 1 should be linked with the missing preceding lines; τοῦ ἀνδρός 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 $\tau\epsilon$: $\delta\iota|[\acute{\alpha}\ \tau\epsilon\ \tau\acute{\eta}\nu]$; (b) ΔΙ is the beginning of a second name of Asclepiades (e.g. Δι[ονῦ] or Δι[ονῦδος?]), just as in l. 6/7 ΟΠΙ seems to be the beginning of the second name of Apollonides. In that case we restore $[\delta\iota\alpha]$ in l. 1⁵⁸. 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 ἐργεπιστάται are responsible. A restoration Ἀπο[λ]λωνίου could mean that both *ergepistatai* were brothers of Asclepiades. Apollonides seems to have a second name, beginning with Ὀπι[^{ca 5/6}]ου^{58a}.

Apollonides was oikonomos of the village, *h.e.* he was in charge of the public funds of the village. Since in cities the οἰκονόμος sometimes seems to have been a subaltern official under the official *tamias*, 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 (Hypaipa?). The oikonomos is often mentioned as having the responsibility for the erection of a statue (D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor*, II, 1027 (our inscription) and 1514).

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58. Prof. Herrmann tentatively suggested for l. 2-3: $\delta\iota|[\eta\nu\epsilon\kappa\eta]$ but he adds: "aber dann wäre vielleicht $\delta\iota\alpha\ \pi\alpha\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma$ in der nächsten Zeile abundierend".

58a. Should we perhaps read Ὀπι[...], τοῦ οἰκονόμου? 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.











