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THE EPONYMOUS OFFICIALS OF GREEK CITIES III

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## The Eponymous Officials of Greek Cities III\*

### THE REGISTER

#### Thrace, Black Sea Area, Asia Minor

##### 56. ABDERA in Thrace

With the westward advance of Persia under Cyrus the Great and the fall of Sardis (probably 541 BC) the Greek cities of Asia Minor received a new master whose satraps adopted policies hostile to their best interests. Rebellious against the hybris of the Persians, the inhabitants of Teos on the mainland left their city and migrated to Abdera on the southern coast of Thrace (Strabo 14.1.30 and Herodotus 1.168). Many of them later returned to Teos, and the relationship between Teos and Abdera remained so close that even about 166 BC Teos sent an embassy to Rome to intercede for Abdera against the encroachment of the Thracian King Kotys. The order for publication of the Abderan decree honoring the Teian envoys (*SEG*<sup>3</sup> 656, lines 34ff.) begins as follows: οἱ δὲ νομοφύλακες οἱ ἐπὶ ἱερέως Ἡ[— — — ἀν]α-γραψάτωσαν τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα etc. Thus, at that time the eponym was a priest. In another decree, also from the second century, published by Ch. Avezou and Ch. Picard in *BCH* 37 (1913) 124-125 no. 2, a grant of *ateleia* was made μετὰ ἱερέα Διονύσου and later (lines 31-32) the order for publication prescribes ἀναγραψάτωσαν δὲ οἱ νομοφύλακες οἱ ἐπὶ ἱερέως Διονύσου τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα etc. Thus, for that particular year the god Dionysos was his own priest as eponym of the year because no one else could be found to hold the expensive office.<sup>1</sup> It has been thought by several modern scholars that two or more centuries earlier the eponymous official of Abdera was a priest of Apollo, but the evidence is of doubtful value, and I believe it should be dismissed.<sup>2</sup>

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\* Continued from *ZPE* 84, 1990, 231-295.

<sup>1</sup> Originally Avezou and Picard thought that 'Dionysos' in their inscription was the name of the priest himself, but later (*op. cit.* 447) they changed their minds and decided "mieux admettre un nouveau cas d'éponymie d'une divinité." Cf. L. Robert, *Hellenica* 2.56 n. 8. There is nothing unusual in this for the Hellenistic and Roman imperial periods: cf. L. Robert, *op. cit.* 51-58, and our own present Register, e.g., s.v. BOEOTIA (Akraephia) and SAMOTHRACE.

<sup>2</sup>M.L. Strack, *Die antiken Münzen Nord-Griechenlands* II, i (Berlin 1912) 6, and Charles Seltman, *Greek Coins* (London 1933) 143. Münsterberg, *Beamtennamen* 22, lists the coin and prints the inscription on it as ἐπὶ Ἀπόλλωνος, but the actual remains show only ἐπὶ Ἀπολλ[...]. Wilamowitz condemned Strack's attempt to show that this proved Apollo held the eponymous office for that year and suggested a reading such as ἐπὶ Ἀπολλ[ᾶ]ος; *Sappho und Simonides* (Berlin 1913) 255. Strack defended himself (and his reputation) that same year in *Rheinisches Museum* 68 (1913) 448-452 by holding to his position that it is a case of Apollo holding the eponymous priesthood. Aside from the doubtful reading, there is the additional point that it is not until Hellenistic times that we find the god himself being the eponym of the year, while the Apollo coin is much older than the second century BC.

## 57. ABYDUS in the Troad

Abydos was a colony of Miletus (Strabo 13.22) and, in the Hellenistic period, a member of a *koinon* of cities in the Troad whose main purpose was religious.<sup>3</sup> Nothing is known about the internal organization of Abydos, and the only inscription of importance concerning it was found at Samothrace (*IG XII 8,183*). That inscription is a list of *mustai* from Abydos and begins with a heading: ναυαρχοῦντος Λεόντιδος τοῦ Λεόν[τι]δος: Ἀβυδηνῶν μύσται εὐσεβεῖς + fourteen names. N. Ehrhardt (*Milet und seine Kolonien*, Frankfurt-Bern-New York 1983, 194) calls the nauarch an eponymous official of Abydos, but he rightly recognizes that it is a unique title for an eponymous official. I find it difficult—if not impossible—to accept it as an eponymous title at Abydos. Leontis seems rather to have been an official or simple naval commander of the League of Islanders. In any case more evidence is needed.<sup>4</sup>

## 58. ACOMONIA in Phrygia

W.H. Buckler and W.M. Calder have re-published an old inscription from Acmonia (*MAMA VI 265*) in which the city honors a certain citizen for performing well in his duties as priest, agoranomos, strategos, gymnasiarch, and secretary.<sup>5</sup> In lines 10ff. we learn that as gymnasiarch he had officiated at two pentaeteric games ἐπὶ Ἰουλίας Σεουήρας καὶ Τυρρώνιου Ῥάπωνος, who must have been the eponymous magistrates on those two occasions. Both of them were active in civic affairs, for their names appear on the local coinage in the age of Nero.<sup>6</sup> The title of the eponymous official was probably priest of the imperial cult.<sup>7</sup>

## 59. AEZANI in Phrygia

The meagre information that we have about the internal organization of the old Phrygian town of the Azenoi does not appear in our sources until the Hellenistic period, when we learn of sacred lands in the possession of the temple of Zeus. The arrangement was evidently due to the Hellenistic kings and later regulated by the Roman emperors.<sup>8</sup> The eponymous magis-

<sup>3</sup> See the collection of evidence by P. Frisch, *I. Ilium* pp. XI-XV with nos. 1-18 and 81-82.

<sup>4</sup> M.L. Strack in *RE s.v.* Nauarchos, col. 1896, calls the Abydenian nauarch a case of an eponymous annual office. Of course, clearly the title is used either to date the event or else to draw attention to an unusual situation in Abydos. Perhaps one might consider the siege of Abydos and its final capture by Philip V in 200 BC, when a Rhodian contingent was present in the city (Polybius 16.30-31) as a possible answer, but other situations, unknown to us, may explain it.

<sup>5</sup> Older editions include *CIG III Add.* p. 1091; W.M. Ramsay, *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia II* (Oxford 1897) 637, no. 530; *IGRR IV* 654.

<sup>6</sup> Münsterberg, *Beamtennamen* 154-155. See also the remarks of Ramsay, *op. cit.* 638-640.

<sup>7</sup> I base this conjecture on a coin in the British Museum (*BMC Phrygia* 10): ΕΠ ΑΡΧ ΤΟ Γ, which must be Ἐπ(ὶ) ἀρχ(ιτερέως) τὸ γ', and around it is Σερουηνίου Καπίτωνος καὶ Ἰουλίας Σεουήρας. In addition to this coin (no. 40 from the reign of Nero) there is the same eponymous title on coin no. 42. Cf. Münsterberg, *Beamtennamen*, *loc. cit.*, and Ramsay, *op. cit.* 639. For the imperial cult at Acmonia see Ramsay, *op. cit.* 627.

<sup>8</sup> The Phrygian origin is attested by Stephanus of Byzantium *s.v.* Ἀζανοί, and inscriptions of the Roman period illustrate the Greek administration (*IGRR IV* 557-591). See T.R.S. Broughton, 'Roman Asia' in *Economic Survey of Ancient Rome IV* (Baltimore 1938), 644, 682, 724, and 771-772 for the temple estates, and *Idem* in *Studies in Roman Economic and Social History in honor of Allan Chester Johnson* (Prince-

trate is an archon: *CIG* 3841 h (new copy in Le Bas-Waddington II 841) [— —] ἐπὶ [Ἄ]σκληπιοδώρου Αὔλου ἄρχοντος πρώτου etc. If the restoration is correct in Le Bas-Waddington II 857 (*IGRR* IV 582), Aezani had a college of archons with one of them the eponym: [ψήφισμα]του δήμου τοῦ Αἰζαν[ειτῶν. ἐπὶ ἀρχόντων — — — (name) — — — ἐπὶ τῆς εὐκοσμίας ἄρχοντος διὰ βίου, καὶ Μηνοφί[λου etc. + at least three more names. A dedication of the demos of Aezani was found at Ephesos and is dated to the reign of Vespasian (*I. Ephesos* II no. 232): αὐτοκράτορι θεῶι Καίσαρι Σεβαστῶι Οὐεσπασιανῶι ἐπὶ ἀνθυπάτου Μάρκου Φουλίου Γύλλωνος ὁ δῆμος ὁ Αἰζανειτῶν ναῶι τῶι ἐν Ἐφέσῳ τῶν Σεβαστῶν κοινῶι τῆς Ἀσίας διὰ Κλαυδίου Μενάνδρου πρώτου ἄρχοντος, ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέως τῆς Ἀσίας Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου Φησείνου [— — —] In Ephesos the eponymous magistrate is a prytanis. Claudius Menandros is the eponymous archon of Aezani.<sup>9</sup> The fact that he is called πρῶτος ἄρχων demonstrates that he is indeed the head or president of a college of archons.<sup>10</sup>

#### 60. AMASIA in Pontus

In the Hellenistic period the city of Amasia had acquired the beginnings of Greek culture, and its temple grounds of Zeus Stratios were of considerable extent. Capital city of the Pontic kings and granted the title of ἡ λαμπροτάτη μετρόπολις in the Roman period, it was a prosperous city under the Empire and possessed a territory of great size.<sup>11</sup> From the temple sanctuary have survived two fragments of stone with an inscription (*Studia Pontica* III no. 141) as follows: Διὶ Στρατίῳ [ὁ δῆμος ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ] κυρία ἐπὶ τῆς συναρχίας Πομπωνίου — — — τοῦ? Κανδίδου, νεωκοροῦντος γ' [— — — ο]υ Ἀγριππιανοῦ, ἐκ τῶν συν[λε]λεγμένων χρημάτων· ἔτους ρα'. Anderson-Cumont-Gregoire (*op. cit.* 151) call the neokoros the eponymous official, but he is clearly mentioned because of his connection with the temple. The real eponym is the chief or president of the college of archons—ἐπὶ τῆς συναρχίας—and he surely must be the first of them mentioned, i.e. Pom[ponios]. The 101st year of the city's era is equal to AD 98-99.<sup>12</sup>

#### 61. AMASTRIS in Paphlagonia

According to Strabo (12. 10) the city of Amastris was a creation of the Hellenistic age out of four (Paphlagonian) communities, and its earliest inscriptions which give evidence of its

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ton 1951) 236-250, and more recently U. Laffi in *Athenaeum* 1971. 3-53. For the topography of Aezani see L. Robert, *Documents d'Asie Mineure* (Paris 1987) 241-270

<sup>9</sup> In Münsterberg, *Beamtennamen* 155-156, there are very many coins from Aezani with the ἐπί formula from Augustus to Gallienus, some of them with indications of the posts held by the men whose names appear on the coins. They might include eponymous archons in place of those who simply authorize the minting.

<sup>10</sup> This can be seen more clearly in a series of inscriptions from Synnada: *MAMA* IV 59 (πρῶτον ἄρχοντα τὸ τρίτον ἀρχόντων) and 63 (πρῶτον ἄρχοντα ἀρχόντων). *MAMA* VI 183 (from Arameia) has πρῶτον ἄρχοντα τ(ὸ) γ' ἀρχόντων. Cf. J. and L. Robert, *La Carie* II (Paris 1954) 284. For a good discussion of the phrase see W. Ameling in *Epigraphica Anatolica* 3 (1984) 22ff., who however seems unaware of the fact that the 'first archon' can be the eponymous magistrate.

<sup>11</sup> Old but still of great value is the volume by J.G.C. Anderson, F. Cumont, and H. Gregoire, *Studia Pontica* III (Brussels 1910) 109-187.

<sup>12</sup> For the era of Amasia see H. Dessau in *Zeitschrift für Numismatik* 25 (1906) 339ff. The era began in 3/2 BC.

eponymous officials date from the Roman imperial period. Ch. Marek in *Epigraphica Anatolica* 6 (1985) 133-134, no. 2 (*SEG XXXV* 1317) publishes a dedication to Hadrian dated (lines 11-13) ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἔτει ἐπὶ τῶν περὶ Λ. Αἴλιον Αἴλιανὸν ἀρχόντων etc. A generation later was engraved *IGRR* III 84, republished by Marek (*op. cit.* 146-149; *SEG XXXV* 1318), a dedication dated ἐν τῷ θκς' ἔτει ἐπὶ τῶν περὶ Π[— —] ἄρχοντα ἀρχόντων etc. Thus, at Amastris in the second century after Christ there was a college of archons whose chief or president was the eponymous archon. The phrase ἄρχοντα ἀρχόντων thus adds even greater precision to his position. The Amastrian era used in these inscriptions has been generally recognized as that of Pompeius, but Marek seeks to show that it ought to be that of Lucullus.<sup>13</sup>

## 62. AMISUS in Pontus

Located on the coast of the Euxine Sea in a favorable position, Amisus had been founded by Milesians (or Phocaeans?) and in the fifth century colonized by Athenians, as Strabo (12.3.4) and Appian (*Mithr.* 83) relate. After the long period of Persian domination, its democratic government was restored by the decree of Alexander, only to be overwhelmed later by the Pontic kings. Lucullus liberated it, Antonius gave it back to 'kings', and Augustus set it free again. Its earliest inscriptions begin in the Hellenistic Period.<sup>14</sup> A marble plaque of the third (?) century after Christ contains an inscription, a short epitaph: Μέκιος Ἰουλιανὸς ἐνθάδε κίμε ὡς ἐτῶν κγ' φυλῆς Σεβαστηίδος, ἐφηβεύσας, Δημένου στεφανηφοροῦντος. χα[ί]ρετε. Thus, an eponymous stephanephoros. Since that title can be bestowed on different kinds of officials, it may here mask the real official.<sup>15</sup> Another inscription (*IGRR* III 97) shows a dating by the Pontarchs of the Pontic koinon: ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ. τῷ εμα' ἔτει πονταρχούντων Μ. Ἰουλίου Ἰουλιανοῦ καὶ Σηστυλλίας Κυρίλλης γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ, φαμίλια μονομάχων τῶν περὶ Καλυδῶνα. The 241st year of the era of Amisos is AD 209. The dating by the Pontarchs, of course, has nothing to do with the eponymous official of Amisos, for it is applicable to the whole province and not any particular city.<sup>16</sup>

## 63. AMYZON in Caria

Strabo (14.2.22) does not describe the city of Amyzon. He dismisses it contemptuously as a mere suburb (περιπόλιος) of more important Carian cities like Mylasa, Stratonikeia, or Alabanda. Its inscriptions reveal a city dominated by Seleucid, Ptolemaic, and Rhodian pow-

<sup>13</sup> B. Remy, *L'Évolution administrative de l'Anatolie aux trois premiers siècles de notre ère* (Lyon 1986) 87, has republished *IGRR* III 84. He discusses the attempt of Marek to make the era of Amastris that of Lucullus and he rejects it.

<sup>14</sup> See Anderson-Cumont-Gregoire, *Studia Pontica* III (above, n. 11) 1-32.

<sup>15</sup> For the inscription see Anderson-Cumont-Gregoire, *Studia Pontica* III 9 no. 3b. For the stephanephoros: J. Vanseveren in *Revue de Philologie* 11 (1937) 345ff., and (above) No. 29 CHIOS.

<sup>16</sup> See J. Deininger, *Die Provinziallandtage der Römischen Kaiserzeit* (München and Berlin 1965) 64ff. and 153. The inscription has been republished by L. Robert, *Les gladiateurs dans l'orient grec*, Paris 1940, 130 no. 78.

ers.<sup>17</sup> Its earliest known decree is of 321-320 BC, securely dated to the fourth year of King Philip III, half-brother of Alexander, whom he succeeded in June of 323 BC. It begins as follows: ἔτους τετάρτου Φιλίππου βασιλεύοντος, Ἀσάνδρου ἑξαιθραπέοντος, μηνὸς Μαρσηλλίου, Πασοῦ Ἀρτιμεω προστατεύοντος ἐν Ἀμυζόνιοις, ἐπὶ ἀρχόντων, followed by three names and the body of the decree (*Fouilles d'Amyzon* no. 2). The Amyzonian functionaries used for dating are the prostates and the college of archons.<sup>18</sup> In the period of Ptolemaic domination is a decree for the strategos of Caria, Margos by name, beginning with the date (no. 3): [βασι]λεύοντ[ος Π]τολεμαίου τοῦ Πτολε[μαίου ἔ]τους θ', μηνὸς Ὑπερβερεταίου· ἐπὶ νεωποι[οῦ] Διονυσίου τοῦ Μυωνίδου etc. Here the Amyzonian neopoios is eponymous, in second place after the city's Ptolemaic master. The date is after the reign of Philadelphos (Aug. 11-Sept. 10, 277). No. 14 is a decree honoring the governor of Alinda, and its prescript begins with βασιλεύοντων Ἀντιόχου Μεγάλου καὶ Ἀντιόχ[ου τοῦ υἱοῦ, ἔτους] ἐν[δ]εκάτου καὶ ἑκατο[σ]τοῦ, μηνὸς Δίου, ἐπὶ ἀρχιε[ρέως – – – , τοῦ] δὲ Διὸς τοῦ Κρηταγενέτα καὶ Δικτύνης Τιμαί[ου], ὡς [δὲ ὁ δῆμος ἄ]γει ἐπὶ στεφανηφόρου Ἀπόλλωνος, μηνὸς [θεσ]μοφοριῶνος· etc. The date is 202 BC, and the eponymous official of Amyzon is now a stephanephoros, at the present time the god Apollo, certainly because of the poor economic conditions. After the dating by Antiochus the Great a further dating is added by the archiereus of the Seleucid dynastic cult, and only thereafter is the date given by the Amyzonian eponym. Thereafter, the regular eponym is the stephanephoros, and a list of them is preserved in nos. 51-54, beginning with the year of Carian liberation from the domination of Rhodes (166 BC). The list begins with a heading: [στ]εφανηφόροι οἱ γεγονότες ἀφ' οὗ [Κ]ἄρες ἠλευθερώθησαν, and the first three names are those of the god Apollo.

#### 64. ANAZARBUS in Cilicia

The coinage from this city is especially revealing for its officials in the Roman imperial period, showing that it had become a metropolis of the highest order. One of its coins (*BMC, Lycaonia, Isauria, Cilicia* p. 34, no. 20) on its obverse has a bust of Elagabalus, and on its reverse has the name of the city and a crown, within which is: δημιουργία Ἀντωνείνου, ἔτ(ου)ς μϛ'. The date is AD 221-222. Thus, the eponymous official was a demiourgos, but no evidence exists to show how long that had been the case.<sup>19</sup>

#### 65. ANCYRA in Galatia

It is not until the Roman imperial period that inscriptions testify to the social and political nature of Ancyra, an old Phrygian town acquired by the Galatians after their entrance into Asia

<sup>17</sup> For the inscriptions and all aspects of Amyzon see J. and L.. Robert, *Fouilles d'Amyzon en Carie I* (Paris 1983).

<sup>18</sup> On this inscription see not only the commentary in *Fouilles d'Amyzon*, 97ff., but also P. Briant in *Dialoghi d'histoire ancienne* 11 (1985) 167-195.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Chrissoula, *Damiurgen* 151, where she draws attention to R. Ziegler in *Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte* 27 (1977) 29ff. on 'Münzen Kilikiens als Zeugnis kaiserlicher Getreidespenden', which I have not been able to consult.

Minor in 278 BC and then finally Hellenized.<sup>20</sup> In the age of Augustus it had already assumed the characteristics of a Greek democratic city, and, as elsewhere in the Greek world of that age, it began to use a great variety of dating in its documents: the titlature of the emperor, the name of the provincial governor, a provincial era, its own local priests, its tribal phylarchs, and its national eponymous magistrate. A clue to the eponymous magistrate of Ancyra appears in *CIG* III 4048 (Bosch, *Quellen* no. 99): Κλαυδίου Πρόκλου συναρχίας δ'. Unfortunately those are the only recorded remains of the stone which has been lost. By itself, however, it shows the existence at Ancyra of a college of archons, the chief or 'first archon' of whom just might be the eponymous magistrate. Claudius Proclus was archon four times and he is identical with the Tiberius Claudius Proclus whose name appears in a long list of hierourgoi from Ancyra, from the middle of the second century after Christ.<sup>21</sup> The post of 'first archon' is confirmed by *IGRR* III 203 (Bosch, *Quellen* no. 140), an honorary inscription in which the offices of a certain L. Papirius Alexander are enumerated, including ἀρχιερέα καὶ τὸ β' πρῶτον [ἄ]ρχοντα. It dates from the third century. In another honorary inscription of the late second century published by F. and H. Miltner in *Jahreshefte* 30 (1937) no. 12 (Bosch, *Quellen* no. 287) Claudius Caecilius Hermianus is said to have been archiereus and descended from a family of archiereis, Galatarch of the Galatian koinon, agonothete of the Great Augustan Actian Games, and ἄρξαντα τὴν α' ἀρχ[ή]ν, etc. And in *OGIS* 547 (Bosch, *Quellen* no. 250-53) a citizen of Ancyra who had been elevated to the Roman order of Knights had once been the 'first archon' in his native Ancyra. In a decree of the Dionysiac Artists under Hadrian a series of dates appears near the end, and among them we find [— — — ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Τίτου Φλαουίου Ἰουλιανουῦ — — —, γραμματέως Ἀλεξάνδρου Σωπά[τρου — — —], etc. (*IGRR* III 209, new edition *SEG* VI 59). Thus, although there is no single unambiguous example of the Ancyran archon being eponymous, there is a good possibility that he may be eponymous. The numerous tribal documents that are dated by phylarchs do not reflect the magistrates of the whole state, only those of the tribe.<sup>22</sup>

## 66. ANISA in Cappadocia

From this self-governing community in central Cappadocia has come a single inscription, a decree honoring a certain one of its citizens, dating from the first century BC (Michel,

<sup>20</sup> For the sources, largely epigraphic, of the city see E. Bosch, *Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Ankara im Altertum* (Ankara 1967). Extremely useful is S. Mitchell, 'Population and the Land in Roman Galatia' in *ANRW* II 7.2 (1980) 1053-1081.

<sup>21</sup> *IGRR* III 162 (omits the names, best is Bosch, *Quellen* no. 98). For the date see R.K. Sherk in *ANRW* II, 7.2.1017 n. 167.

<sup>22</sup> For the Ancyran tribes and names see Bosch, *Quellen* 143ff. For dating by phylarchs see *OGIS* 544 (*IGRR* III 173, Bosch, *Quellen* no. 105) lines 35-36; *IGRR* III 176 (Bosch, *Quellen* no. 135) line 13; Bosch, *Quellen* no. 107, lines 14-16; *CIG* 4028 (Bosch, *Quellen* no. 144) line 9; *OGIS* 547 (Bosch, *Quellen* no. 250) line 17; *IGRR* III 204 (Bosch, *Quellen* no. 251) line 16; *IGRR* III 203 (Bosch, *Quellen* no. 140) lines 13-14. For a priest as false eponym see the inscriptions on statue bases in *IGRR* III 155 (Bosch, *Quellen* no. 185) and Bosch, *Quellen* no. 184, dated ἐπὶ ἱερέως Κλ(αυδίου) Τερτύλλου. Since these are for Sarapis and associated gods, a dating by a priest is understandable. Bosch (p. 250) calls him the eponymous priest of the Sarapis temple of Ancyra. True enough, but not the eponymous official of the whole state.

Recueil 546).<sup>23</sup> Its prescript is as follows: ἀγαθῆι τύχηι. ἔτους ζ', μηνὸς Δίου, ἐν Ἀνίσοις. ἐπὶ δημιουργοῦ Παποῦ τοῦ Βαλασώπου. ἔδοξεν Ἀμισσηνῶν τῆι βουλῆι καὶ τῶι δήμῳ, πρυτάνιων εἰπάντων· etc. Individuals mentioned in the decree are predominantly Cappadocian, but the city's institutions clearly reveal a well-developed Greek democratic government. The demiourgos is eponymous.

#### 67. ANTANDRUS in Mysia

From this old Mysian city by Mt. Ida, north of the Gulf of Adramyttium, comes a bare list of names which L. Robert has confidently described as a list of eponymous officials, largely because the name of Apollo figures several times in it (L. Robert, *Hellenica* 2.55 n. 5). In line 14 we find Ἀπόλλων τὸ ε' and thereafter in sequence the god's name is followed by the numerals up to τὸ ιδ', a situation that points unmistakably to a list of eponyms. In line 17 there is an entry καὶ ἐν τῷ α[ὐτῶ]ι ἔτει Πολύκριτος Ἀπολλωνίῳ etc., a phrase that indicates the death of the predecessor in office and the appointment of his successor within the same year.

#### 68. APHRODISIAS in Caria

Aphrodisias, after its unification with Plarasa, was declared free and immune by the Roman senate in 39 BC.<sup>24</sup> Throughout all the Roman imperial period there is abundant evidence that the city's eponymous official was a stephanephoros, an office that was monopolized by the noble families. The chief deity of the city was Aphrodite, whose name and image figure prominently on its coins and inscriptions. The stephanephoros was the priest of Aphrodite, as we can see in the case of a prominent woman named Attalis daughter of Menekrates. An inscription on a stone σορός (Le Bas-Waddington 1630) contains instructions for its legal use and at the end there is a revealing formula, typical of the area: ταύτης τῆς ἐπιγραφῆς ἀπετέθη ἀντίγραφον καὶ εἰς τὸ χρεοφυλάκιον ἐπὶ στεφανηφόρου τὸ τρισκαιδέκατον Ἀτταλίδος τῆς Μενεκράτους, μηνὸς Ξανδικοῦ. Another inscription, on a column of the temple of Aphrodite (Le Bas-Waddington 589), is short but pertinent: Ἀτταλος Μενάνδρου τοῦ Ἀττάλου καὶ Ἀτταλὶς Μενεκράτους Ἄπφιον οἱ ἱερεῖς τῆς Ἀφροδείτης θεᾶ Ἀφροδείτη καὶ τῷ δήμῳ. Thus, both father and daughter are identified as priest and priestess of the goddess. And this relationship is repeated in *MAMA* VIII 413 d, inscribed on the city wall, its mutilated beginning as follows: κα[τὰ τὴν ἀνάθε[σιν – – –] ἐπὶ στεφανηφόρου τὸ ἔβδ]ομον Ἀτταλίδος τ[ῆς Μενε]κράτους Ἀπφίου ἡρ[ωίδος, μηνὸς Δεῖω πεντε[καιδεκάτ]η, etc. Earlier (first century after Christ) is *MAMA* VIII 537, dated at the end: τῆς ἐπιγραφῆς ταύτης ἀπετέθη [ἀν]τίγραφον εἰς τὸ χρεοφυλάκιον ἐπὶ [στ]εφανηφόρου τὸ δ' Κλ(αυδίου) Ἀντωνίου Ἀττάλου ἥρωος, μηνὸς Γορπιαίου. Here, as above, the word ἥρωος means 'dead', with the understanding that an endowment had been created by the deceased or in his name to defray the expenses of

<sup>23</sup> For the new publication of the whole inscription along with topographical notations see now L. Robert, *Noms indigènes dans L'Asie-Mineure gréco-romaine* (Paris 1963) 458-490. He believes the era '(Year 7)' is that of one of the kings of Cappadocia, second or first century BC.

<sup>24</sup> See J. Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome* (London 1982) Document No. 8.

the office for the future.<sup>25</sup> Clearly the reference to a copy being deposited in the city's archives with specific indication of the year and month means that those archives were organized by year and month for easy access.<sup>26</sup> Finally, it is significant that the stephanephoros at Aphrodisias was often a woman, natural enough because the deity was a goddess (see *MAMA* VIII 413 d [quoted above] and 548).

#### 69. APOLLONIA OF SALBAKE in Caria

Apparently a Seleucid foundation of the third century, dominated by the Seleucid kings and then later by Rhodes, Apollonia in Caria has left us little information about its institutions and history.<sup>27</sup> At the conclusion of a letter from Caracalla to the city (*La Carie II* no. 149) the local authorities added the information that it had sent a decree to the emperor ἐπὶ συν[αρχόντων τῶν] περὶ Μ. Αὐρ. Ἐρμόλαον ἀ' [ἄρχοντα]. Thus, a board of archons with one of them the chief or president, and it would appear that he was the eponym. Nevertheless, J. and L. Robert have gone on record (*La Carie II* 284) that a stephanephoros was the eponymous official. Apparently they base this on the prevalence of that office in Caria and on two inscriptions that mention a permanent stephanephoros. The first is *MAMA* VI 157 (*La Carie II* no. 152) of AD 185-192. It is an inscription on a block from the base of a statue of Commodus dedicated by the first archon and οἱ συνάρχοντες αὐτοῦ ἐκ χρημάτων Στρατωνος Νεικοστράτου τοῦ Στρά[τ]ωνος δι' αἰῶνος [σ]τεφανηφόρου. The second is *MAMA* VI 158 (*La Carie II* no. 156) which is mutilated, except for the conclusion which contains the same phrase of the permanent stephanephorate of the same Neikostratos. The phrase δι' αἰῶνος or αἰώνιος applied to a magistrate indicates that the person holding the title has created a permanent endowment to defray the costs of the magistracy in perpetuity, and he holds that title in perpetuity.<sup>28</sup> Even after death, especially in the case of eponyms, his or her name appears on documents with the addition of ἥρωος (see above, *s.v.* APHRODISIAS, with n. 26). Despite *La Carie II* no. 149, therefore, it would indeed appear that at Apollonia in the imperial period the stephanephoros was eponymous.

#### 70. APOLLONIS in northern Lydia

P. Foucart in *BCH* 11 (1887) p. 86, no. 6, published a list of ephebes that begins as follows: στεφανηφοροῦντος καὶ γυμνασιαρχοῦντος Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίδου, τοῦ δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀλίφοντος τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων δαπανημάτων, then the

<sup>25</sup> See L. Robert in *L'Antiquité Classique* 35 (1966) 389-90 who summarizes an earlier explanation by A. Wilhelm: 'une fondation couvrant les frais de la charge avait été faite par eux ou à leur nom en sorte qu'ils étaient 'stéphanéphores éternels' et on numérotait les années successives de leur charge'. Cf. his remarks in *Hellenica* 13.207.

<sup>26</sup> It was a regular precaution at Aphrodisias to file such burial notes, the formula being identical with those quoted here. For example see *MAMA* VIII 541, 544-47, 550, 553-57, 559-60, 565-68, 571-73, 577, 584, 592, 594, 596.

<sup>27</sup> See J. and L. Robert, *La Carie II: histoire et géographie historique* (Paris 1954) 231-312.

<sup>28</sup> See L. Robert, *Opera Minora II* 810-811, following the earlier observation of A. Wilhelm. He points out in note 1 on page 295 that this is especially true in the case of the stephanephorate 'pour des éponymies éternelles'.

name of the ephebach and a short list of ephebes. Foucart remarks that the eponymous stephanephoros also held the office of gymnasiarch. He appears to be eponymous, as the present participle would indicate. One of the ephebes is also called Gaius, which places the inscription in the Roman period.

#### 71. ARAXA in Lycia

For Araxa and all Greek cities in Lycia see s.v. LYCIA.

#### 72. ASPENDUS in Pamphylia

A decree from this city, probably from the period 301-298 BC, honors a number of soldiers along with their two commanders for coming to defend Aspendus against an enemy.<sup>29</sup> Its prescript is as follows: ἐπὶ δημιουργοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Δημοχάριος ἐκκλησίας κυρίας γενομένης ἔδοξε τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀσπενδίων. etc. The eponymity of the demiourgos is also assured in a small fragment (K. Lanckoronski, with G. Niemann and E. Petersen, *Städte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens* I [Prag-Wien-Leipzig 1890] no. 101): [— — δημιουργήσαντα τὴν ἐπόνυμον etc.<sup>30</sup>

#### 73. ASSUS in the Troad

Originally belonging to the pre-Greek stratum of the Anatolian population, Assos was colonized by Aeolians from Methymna (Strabo 13.1.58). Its earliest rulers may have been kings, for it had preserved a tradition of βασιλεῖς. In the first century after Christ a certain Hellanikos and his wife Lollia Arlegilla died and were buried in the same grave. The People of Assos and the Roman businessmen in the city thereupon passed a decree honoring the dead couple (*I. Assos* 14), in which he is described as βασιλεύσαντα and she as priestess and neokoros of Athena Polias. In *I. Assos* 15, a dedicatory inscription of the stoa of the gymnasium in the age of Augustus, a certain Quintus Lollius Philetaerus is called ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ θεοῦ Καίσαρος, ὁ δὲ ἀν[τ]ὸς καὶ πάτριος βασιλεὺς καὶ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀμονόου. The editor, R. Merkelbach, has explained (*op. cit.* 37): 'Der βασιλεύς in Assos war ein rex sacrorum, wie der βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰώνων. Wahrscheinlich war es ein Jahresamt, wie in Kalchedon, und gleichzeitig der eponyme Magistrat; Lollius hätte dann in diesem Jahr die Stoa errichtet.' As we have already seen, an eponymous basileus existed at Megara and an eponymous monarchos at Cos. Thus, the possibility exists that Merkelbach is right. However, no documents at present are dated by the basileus at Assos. In *I. Assos* 16 Lollia Antiochis, wife of Q. Lollius Philetaerus is described as βασιλεύσα[σα] κατὰ τὰ πάτρια, πρώτη γυναικῶν.

<sup>29</sup> First published by R. Paribeni and P. Romanelli in *Monumenti Antichi pubblicati per cura della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei* 23 (1914) 116-120, reprinted with improvements in *SEG XVII* 639. For the historical implications see R.S. Bagnall, *The Administration of the Ptolemaic Possessions Outside Egypt* (Leiden 1976) 111-113.

<sup>30</sup> Further material collected by Chrissoula, *Damiurgen* 128.

## 74. ASTRA in Isauria

The modern village of Tamasalik, on the summit of the Khadem Range, contains nearby the ruins of an ancient town whose name was probably Astra.<sup>31</sup> In their *Journeys in Rough Cilicia* (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Kl., Denkschriften, 102. Band, Wien 1970), no. 129, G.E. Bean and T.B. Mitford have published an inscription within a *tabula ansata* in which three masons make contributions to build a wall. It is dated ἐπὶ ἱερέως Ἐρεννίου Ο'άλεντος τοῦ καὶ συναπαρασταθέντος and probably comes from the second century of our era. 'The attached participle means that the priest also participated in the contributions, 'possibly from the god's treasury', as Bean-Mitford suggest (p. 134). Of course, the date by priest may be the result of the religious nature of the wall (for a temple?) or else the priest is eponymous. A list of priests from just half a mile away might be a list of eponyms.<sup>32</sup>

## 75. ATTALEIA in Lydia

An excerpt from the testament of Euarestos son of Kapiton (*IGRR* IV 1168) is dated ἐπὶ στ[ρ]ατ[η]φοῦ Ἀ[ρ]τέμωνος τ(ὸ) β', τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου τὸ β'. When the demos and boule honor him (section c) the document is dated ἐπ[ὶ] στρατηγῶν + three names, thus indicating a college of three strategoi.

## 76. BAGIS in Lydia

Inscriptions (*TAM* V, 1, nos. 34-46) give no clue to the eponymous official of Bagis, but the coins contain several indications of an archon who appears to be eponymous. Peter Herrmann (*TAM* V, 1, p. 13) lists the most important of those bearing the names of magistrates, all of the second and third centuries after Christ. They include those with inscriptions such as ἐπὶ Ἀπολλοδώρου ἄρχον(τος) and ἐπὶ Ἀντιγόνου ἄρχον(τος) α' etc.

## 77. BARGYLIA in Caria

A decree of Bargylia passed soon after 129 BC (M. Holleaux, *Études* 2.180-181) contains priceless information on the war between Rome and Aristonicus in Asia.<sup>33</sup> At the beginning of fragment A we learn that the person being honored, Poseidonios, had been instrumental in the passage of a decree about the cult of Apollo: τῆς τε τῶν στεφανηφόρων καταστάσεως προενόησεν καὶ ψήφισμα συνγράψας ἐπέταξεν ὅπως καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν καθίστηται στεφανηφόρος ὁ ἱερασόμενος τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ ἐπιφανέστερον αἰτιμαὶ καὶ θυσίαι τούτῳ τε τῷ θεῷ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπιτελῶνται etc. Thus, at that time

<sup>31</sup> First discovered by J.R. Sitlington Sterrett, *The Wolfe Expedition to Asia Minor* (Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens III), Boston 1888, 46-50.

<sup>32</sup> Bean-Mitford no. 133, an inscription in which seven priests are named. each one styled ἱερεὺς ἔντιμος, and the seventh is called ἱερεὺς ἔντιμος καὶ βανουαῖς. Thus, the seventh is both 'honorable priest' and the holder of some local office. Among the remains of public buildings at Astra are those of the temple of Zeus Astrenos, identified by inscriptions (Sterrett nos. 67-69). Thus, the priests are priests of Zeus.

<sup>33</sup> The inscription is now in *I. Iasos* II 612. The historical importance of the text was brought out by M. Holleaux, *Études* 2.179-198. Cf. Magie, *RRAM* 2.1038-1039 n. 14.

the office of an eponymous stephanephoros was created, with the proviso that it should be held each year by the priest of Apollo. Of course, the year in which Poseidonios saw to the passage of such a decree is unknown, but clearly prior to the passage of the present decree. Use of the eponymous stephanephoros is seen in *I. Iasos* II 611 and 613.

#### 78. BLAUDUS in Mysia<sup>34</sup>

A dedication on a column to the ancestral gods and to Caracalla is dated apparently by an eponymous archon (*IGRR* IV 239): στρατηγίας Αὐρ. Τειμοκράτους ᾧ ἄρχοντος, ἔτους Θ Δαι[σίου - -]. The reference to a strategia is strange, if the reading of the stone is correct.<sup>35</sup> The ninth year of Caracalla is AD 206.

#### 79. BYZANTIUM in Thrace

Byzantium was a colony of Megara back in the seventh century and inherited the institutions of its mother-city, including the office of hieromnemon, but it is not until the last quarter of the third century that we have evidence of its eponymous magistrate. Polybius (4.52.4) in his narration of the war waged by Rhodes against Byzantium, beginning in 220 BC, says that at the conclusion of the war treaties were made and dated ἐπὶ Κώθωνος τοῦ Καλλιγείτονος ἱερομνημονοῦντος ἐν τῷ Βυζαντίῳ.<sup>36</sup> Thus, at that time the Byzantine eponym was a hieromnemon. Another piece of early evidence, however, a decree inserted into the text of Demosthenes' *On the Crown* (90), is spurious and must be discounted.<sup>37</sup> After the evidence of Polybius there are numerous examples of the eponymous hieromnemon to the third century after Christ. From Miletus in the second century comes a Byzantine decree (*Milet* I 3, 153) honoring a Milesian judge and his secretary, beginning with ἐπὶ ἱερομνάμονος Ἐστιαίου, Λατοίου etc., where Latoios is the name of a month (L. Robert, *Hellenica* 10.18 n. 4). In the first century a dedication from Byzantium shows that the god Zeus Serapis served as hieromnemon in an unknown year (Robert, *ibid.* 17-24; *SEG* XV 426). In a series of sculptured steles of a Dionysiac thiasos reported by Robert (*Hellenica* 2.154 and 7.39 n. 5) many other divinities in Byzantium also served as eponyms: Nemesis, Demeter, Dionysos, Hera, and Nike (for the fourth time).<sup>38</sup> Byzantine coins are especially useful in this regard, for many of them carry the names of the eponymous magistrates, male and female, gods and goddesses, as well as Roman emperors: the Dioskouroi, Trajan (for the third time), and Demeter (second time), Fortune of the City, Dionysos (sixth time), goddess Faustina, and Nike

<sup>34</sup> The location of Blaudus is unknown, but cf. Magie, *RRAM* II 1476 no. 21, who mentions the suggestion of Wiegand (*Athen. Mitt.* 29 [1904] 327ff.) that it might be at Hisarköy.

<sup>35</sup> Le Bas-Waddington (1044) translate: 'pendant que Timokrate, le premier archonte, remplissait les fonctions de stratège'.

<sup>36</sup> For the treaties see H.H. Schmitt, *Die Staatsverträge des Altertums* III (München 1969) no. 516.

<sup>37</sup> Its prescript includes the date ἐπὶ ἱερομνάμονος Βοσπορίχῳ. For all these spurious decrees in the speech see P. Treves in *Les études classiques* 9 (1940) 138-174.

<sup>38</sup> From these we learn that when a divinity was the eponym a hieropoios was appointed to carry out the earthly functions of the divine hieromnemon.

(seventh time).<sup>39</sup> A badly mutilated honorary inscription (*I. Apameia und Pulai* 114) found in the region of Yalova on the south coast of the gulf of Nicomedia is dated by the Byzantine eponymous hieronymon Brutia Crispina, who was the wife of Commodus. As L. Robert has shown (*Hellenica* 7.39ff.), this indicates a Byzantine enclave, a Peraea, in this area of Bithynia. For the territory of Byzantium on the European side we can see that its villages also used the Byzantine eponymous official. From Derkoz on the shore of the Black Sea north of Byzantium comes a votive inscription published by L. Robert (*Hellenica* 10.39): Διὶ Κωματικῶι κωμηῆται Δελκανοὶ διὰ προνοητοῦ Ἀγλάου β' ὑπὲρ τοῦ φιλοτείμου Φίλωνος Ἀπολλωνίου ἀνεθήκαμεν τὸν τελαμῶνα, ἱερομνημονοῦ(ν)τος Μητροδώρου Λασιίου. It ought to date from very late Hellenistic or even early imperial times. And finally, *SEG* XXVIII 562 is a dedication ἐπὶ ἱερομνάμονος Ἀδ[ριαν]οῦ Καίσαρ[ος] τὸ α'.<sup>40</sup>

#### 80. CAESAREIS TROKETTENOI in Lydia

*IGRR* IV 1497 is a dedication by ἡΣελινδηγῶν [κατ]οικία in the district of the Caesareis Trokettanoi on the south side of the plain of the Hermus River. At its end is the date ἐπὶ στεφ(ανηφόρου) Ἰουλ(ίας) Ῥουφείνης.

#### 81. CALLATIS in Thrace

Strabo informs us (7.6.1 and 12.3.6) that Callatis was a colony of (Pontic) Heraclea, while Xenophon (*Anab.*6.2.1) and Diodorus (14.31.3; cf. Arrian, *Periplus* 13 Roos) add that Heraclea had been a colony of Megara. In addition, Boeotians had also settled in Heraclea (*FGrHist* 70 F 44 and Pausanias 5.26.7) as part of the original colony. The process Megara → Heraclea → Callatis must have taken at least one generation to complete, probably much more, but at both Heraclea and Callatis one expects, as a working hypothesis, that they would have inherited the Megarian eponymous official, i.e. a basileus. And we are not disappointed. Heraclea Pontica had an eponymous basileus (see below [No. 112], s.v. HERACLEA). L. Robert has assembled all the evidence for Callatis in *Hellenica* 2.51-53 and has shown beyond any doubt that it too had an eponymous basileus. There are clear instances of Thracian kings and divinities as well as local citizens serving there in that capacity.<sup>41</sup> The practice continued well into the Roman imperial period. *SEG* XXIV 1026, a decree of a Dionysiac association from Callatis of AD 15 (?), begins: Φιλείνο[ν] ἀγα]θῶι τύχαι· ἐπὶ βασιλέος Τιβερίου]

<sup>39</sup> Münsterberg, *Beamtennamen* 24-25, and E. Schönert-Geiss, *Die Münzprägung von Byzantion* II (1972) 17-18.

<sup>40</sup> Hadrian also held the eponymous office a second time, as L. Robert in *BCH* 102 (1978) 522ff. has demonstrated. He re-interpreted a 'wandering stone' and finally concluded, after earlier investigation, that it came from Byzantium. The stone is wrongly entered in the corpus under *IG* XII 9, 1260. Its two lines read: ἐπὶ ἱερομνάμονος Ἀδριανοῦ Καίσαρος τὸ β' ΠΛΑ (?) - - Διον[υ]σοπολιτῶν Οὐλοσεΐα Κλαυδιανῆ γυνή - - . He had earlier attributed the stone to Dionysopolis. Other emperors who held the office include Domitian and Caracalla. Cf. L. Robert in *HSCP* 81 (1977) 27 n. 134.

<sup>41</sup> Robert (*op. cit.* 51 n. 6) cites the following examples: ἐπὶ βασιλέος Εὐβουλίδα· μηνὸς Ἀρτεμιτίου τετράδι ἐπὶ δέκα (*Arch Anzeiger* 1915, 250) and ἐπὶ βασιλέος Κότυος τοῦ Ῥοιμητάλκα (*Rev. Arch.* 21 [1925] 258) among others, as well as a new restoration for *IGRR* 1656 in its opening lines: [- - -]ιονιανίου. [ἐπὶ βασιλέος Ἀ]πόλλωνος Ἀργυέος etc.

Καίσαρος, μηνὸς [- -] ἑβδόμα ἐπ' εἰκάδι etc. Thus, the emperor Tiberius served as eponymous basileus.

#### 82. CANYTELIS in Cilicia

Two inscriptions (*IGRR* III 867-868) from a sacred cave near Canytelis are dated by a priest (*hiereus*) in the Roman period, but because of the obvious religious nature of the inscriptions it seems reasonable that the priest is mentioned for that reason alone. Thus, he may not have been the eponymous priest of Canytelis itself.

#### 83. CARIA

For the political history of Caria one must keep in mind that for an unknown period of time parts of its southern area, in particular the Loryma Peninsula, constituted the Incorporated Peraea of the Rhodian Republic and that for a shorter period of time (188-167 BC) all of Caria lay under Rhodian control by the grace of Rome. In those areas for those periods of time the eponymous magistrate was regularly the priest of the Sun at Rhodes, but after liberation from Rhodian control in 167 BC the Carian cities returned to the use of their former eponymous officials, except for the Rhodian Peraea in and near the Loryma Peninsula. Thus, the following Carian cities or communities are discussed above [No. 46], *s.v.* RHODOS: Amos, Hyllarima, Mobolla, Syme, Syma, Telos (island), and Tymnus.

One Carian community, known only by its modern name of Bafi, may be mentioned here, since we cannot recover its ancient name. An inscription from there was published by A.W. Persson in *BCH* 46 (1922) 395, no. 1 (*SEG* II 536). It honors a certain citizen of Calymna and begins with the date: [ἐπὶ στεφανηφό]ρου Θεοδ[ώρου - - --τοῦ] τρ[ί]του μετὰ Δημήτριον Ἀπολλωνί[ου, μηνὸς Ἀρτεμισιῶνος ἕκτη etc.

#### 84. CASAE in Pamphylia

G.E. Bean and T.B. Mitford have published (*Journeys in Rough Cilicia* [Denkschriften Österr. Akad., Phil.-hist. KI. 102, Wien 1970] no. 21, p. 44) an honorary inscription found at Taşahir in the territory of Casae. It describes the honorand as [ἄρξαν]τα τὴν ἐπώνυμον [ἀρχὴν ἀξί]ως etc. (lines 6ff.). In addition he had been high-priest of the imperial house as well as a demiourgos in Side, thus holding a dual citizenship. Was he eponymous 'archon' in Casae or does the word here mean merely 'magistrate'? J. and L. Robert (*Bulletin* 1972 no. 500) merely say "archonte éponyme," which begs the question. The honorand's name, M. Aurelius Obrimianus, indicates a date in the late second or in the third century.

#### 85 CAUNUS in Caria

There is no doubt that the eponymous official of Caunus was a priest. A college of magistrates at Caunus made a collective dedication dated by a priest: G.E. Bean in *JHS* 73 [1953] 21 no. 5 (= *SEG* XII 463) [οἱ ἄρξαντες ἐν τῷ ἐπὶ ἱερέως [Ἀπολλ]ωνίου νν ἐνιαυτῷ, which appears to conclude the list. Also published by Bean (*ibid.* 23-24 no. 6 *SEG* XII

473) is a list of subscribers to a thiasos, in which (line 27) appears a date: οἱ ἐπανγγειλάμενοι ἐπὶ ἱερέως Σωσιγένους etc., possibly from the period 190-167 BC (?). Possibly from the first century BC is an inscription documenting the response of an oracle: Bean in *JHS* 74 (1954) p. 85 no. 21 (*SEG* XIV 655), which begins with the date ἐπὶ ἱερέως Εὐνόμου τοῦ Λεωνίδου etc. Finally, a decree of Caunus begins with ἐπὶ ἱερέως Μηνοδώρου τοῦ Ἀθηνοδώρου τοῦ Ἀλεξίου, [μ]ηνὸς Ἰλαστηριῶνος etc.<sup>42</sup> With some of these, of course, there is the possibility that the priest is that of the Sun at Rhodes during the period of Rhodian control, but the oracle seems secure from the possibility. A further piece of evidence is important. It is found in an honorary inscription for a certain Agreophon on two blocks of the second century BC published by P. Herrmann in the *Opuscula Atheniensi* 10 (1971) 36-37. In line 6 we are told that his father στεφανηφορήσας μὲν ἐπὶ ἀργυρίου πολυτελεῖ δόσει, and in line 9 we learn that Agreophon himself had held the στεφανηφορίαν ἐν αὐτῷ ἔτει, ὑπὲρ ἧς καὶ ἀργύριον τῷ δήμῳ ἔδοκεν. The title stephanephoros frequently appears in place of the office itself, as we have seen in Chios (see above [No. 29], s.v. CHIOS). Thus, 'stephanephoros' might merely mask the true name of the office. I believe that here in Caunus the priest is stephanephoros, i.e. permitted to wear the crown. The identity of the divinity for whom he served may be seen in an honorary inscription (Bean, *JHS* 74 [1954] 95 no. 7 = *SEG* XIV 694) which records that the honorand (b, 5-6) στεφανηφορ[ο]ρήσαντα βασιλέως τοῦ θεοῦ etc. Bean (*op. cit.* 96) believes that there was a cult of the legendary eponymous founder and king, Caunus.<sup>43</sup> Thus, at Caunus we have an eponymous priest of the god King Caunus.

#### 86. CERAMUS in Caria

Because of its location as a harbor-town on the Gulf of Cos Hellenization came early to Ceramus despite its Carian origin.<sup>44</sup> Little is known of its history until the Hellenistic period when it enjoyed relations with Rhodes and Stratonicea, eventually, after the period of Rhodian control (188-167 BC), entering into sympolitia with Stratonicea. In 81 BC a Roman senatorial decree assigned it to Stratonicea (Sherk, *RDGE* 18). Little is also known of its internal democratic institutions, but there is a good possibility that a priest might have held the eponymous office. This is based on *I. Keramos* 25, an inscription in which the boule and demos of Ceramus dedicate a statue to the god Hadrian. The date is given at the end: ἐπὶ ἱερέως Στ. Κοδράτου. Of course, the presence of a priest could be due simply to the nature of the inscription, but the individual just might be identical with L. Staius Quadratus who was consul

<sup>42</sup> This was published by L. Robert and is part of a large group of decrees concerning foreign judges, all of them found by G.E. Bean in 1946 and 1947. Robert published them in *Hellenica* 7.171 ff., and the decree of Caunus is on p. 174. The whole group is dated by him to the second century.

<sup>43</sup> Bean cites another example of the phrase from an inscription found on Cos (Paton-Hicks, *Inscriptions of Cos* no. 53) which reads: Φιλήρατος Ἀριστείδα, βασιλέως Καύνου τοῦ θεοῦ προστάξαντος, τὸ ἱερὸν ἰδρύσατο (using Bean's punctuation). There is a third example (Bean, *op. cit.* no. 38, C line 16): ἐπὶ τοῦ στεφανηφόρου βασιλέως τοῦ θεοῦ. For still another, from Xanthos, see J. and L. Robert, *Bulletin* 1974 no. 553.

<sup>44</sup> For details see the summary by E. Varinlioglu in *Die Inschriften von Keramos* (Bonn 1986) 4-10.

in Rome in 142 BC.<sup>45</sup> There are many examples of a priest in the imperial period at Ceramus, even a priest of the imperial cult, but I cannot believe that a Roman so highly placed would be given a simple priesthood in this small town in Caria unless it would also be of the very highest prestige locally, including eponymity. The fact that the *stephanephoros* is also frequently mentioned in the local inscriptions would suggest that the priest was permitted to wear the crown. Thus, I suggest, an eponymous priest-*stephanephoros*. The divinity whom he served might well be the Carian Zeus, god with the double axe.<sup>46</sup> More evidence, of course, is needed.

#### 87. CHALCEDON on the Bosphorus

Like Megara, its mother-city, Chalcedon had an eponymous *basileus* perhaps from its earliest days in the seventh century.<sup>47</sup> Examples, however, date only from the Hellenistic period. *I. Kalchedon* 8 is a dedication of a college of three judges: ἀνκριτῆρες τοῖ ἐπὶ βασιλείῳ Ἀντιφίλου τοῦ θεγείτου followed by three names and then at the end the goddess's name, Hestia. No. 19 from the age of Augustus lists the offices held by a certain Aulus Octavius [- - -] βασιλεύσας τετράκις and concludes with the phrase βασιλεύων τὸ πένπ[τον ὑπὲρ ἑατοῦ] καὶ τῶν καθ' ἑατὸν π[ά]ντων νν ἥρωσι in larger letters. His other offices included *prophetēs* and priest of Caesar Augustus for the second time. Clearly he had the stone inscribed as a memorial to his fifth year of being the eponymous *basileus*.

#### 88. CHALCETOR in Caria

The small community of Chalcetor was in the territory of Mylasa and thus employed that city's eponymous *stephanephoros*, as we can see in *I. Mylasa* (Teil II) no. 919, a tiny fragment: ἐπὶ στεφαν[ηφόρου - - - τοῦ Θε[ο]γενίδου - - -]. See also below, s.v. MYLASA.

#### 89. CHERSONESUS in the Crimea

Founded by Megarians from Pontic Heraclea (Strabo 7.4.2 and Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 4.85) Chersonesus had an eponymous *basileus* well into the Roman period. The earliest evidence is found in the treaty struck between King Pharnaces I of Pontus and the city of Chersonesus: *IOSPE* P<sup>2</sup> 402. The date of the treaty is now known to be 155 BC, as S. Burstein has shown in *AJAH* 5 (1980) 21-30. The date as reckoned at Chersonesus is given in lines 6ff.: ὁ δὲ ὄρκος οὗτος συνετε[λέ]σθη μηνὸς Ἑρακλείου πεντεκαίδεκάτα[ι], Βασιλεύοντος Ἀπολλωδώρου τοῦ Ἡρογείτου, γραμματεύοντος Ἡροδότου τοῦ Ἡροδότου. At the end the date is also given, the 157th year of the (Seleucid) era. Toward the end of that first century (ca. 107 BC) the city passed a decree praising Diophantos, a commander of Mithridates the king: *IOSPE* P<sup>2</sup> 352 (*SIG*<sup>3</sup> 709), lines 55ff.: ταῦτ' ἔδοξε βουλ[ᾶ] καὶ

<sup>45</sup> See H. Halfmann, *Die Senatoren aus dem östlichen Teil des Imperium Romanum* (Göttingen 1979) 154-155, no. 67.

<sup>46</sup> For this god see L. Robert in *AJA* 39 (1935) 342-344.

<sup>47</sup> For the sources on the history of Chalcedon see R. Merkelbach, *Die Inschriften von Kalchedon* (Bonn 1980) 911f. The city enjoyed very close ties with Byzantium, including *sympolitia*.

[δ]άμωι μηνὸς Διονυσίου ἔννεακαιδεκάται, βασιλεύοντος Ἀγέλα τοῦ Λ[α]γορίνου, προαισυμνῶντος Μήνιος τοῦ Ἡρακλείου, γραμματεύοντος Δα[μασικλ]εῖος τοῦ Ἀθηναίου. Similar is no. 354. In the Roman imperial period, if not earlier, the eponymous office was often held by the goddess of the city, Parthenos, as βασίλισσα. A good example is no. 359 (lines 17ff.): ταῦτ' ἔδοξε βουλᾷ δάμωι, βασιλευούσας Παρθένου, ἔτεος ρνδ', etc. She also appears on the coinage.<sup>48</sup>

#### 90. CIDRAMA in Caria

Relatively unimportant historically and little known, Cidrama did possess a democratic constitution with the usual Greek boule, demos, and magistrates. It also issued its own coinage. Only one inscription attests to its eponymous official, published by J. and L. Robert, *La Carie* II (Paris 1954) 361-362 no. 182: ἔτου[ς - - -] ἐπὶ ἱερέω[ς - - -]δου .. Κ- - - ΣτρατONCE- - - ἀνέθηκεν - - -. Thus, an eponymous priest. There is no indication of the divinity, however. Many gods and goddesses are known at Cidrama, including Artemis, Aphrodite, and Zeus, to name only the most prominent. One inscription mentions two men called οἱ ἱερεῖς τῶν Σεβαστῶν (no. 184). More evidence is needed to connect one of them to the eponymous priesthood.

#### 90a. CINDYA in Caria

W.R. Paton and J.L. Myers have published in *JHS* 16 (1896) pp. 218-219 no. 8 parts (A and B) of two long inscriptions from the wall of a building. Both parts are badly mutilated but they appear to be a decree in honor of some individual and are dated ἐπὶ στεφανηφόρου Εὐ[- - -] in line 1 of A as well as in line 6 and in B line 1 with no further indications of the name. The letters appear to be of the Hellenistic period.

#### 90b. CIUS in Bithynia

A proxenia decree from the fourth century BC is dated by an eponymous phrouros (*I. Kios* no. 1, line 1): [ἐπὶ - - -]νος φρουροῦ, Ἀνθε(σ)τηριῶν[ος - - -] Αὐτονόμου πρυτανεύον[τος, κυρία ἐκκ]λησία, etc. The phrouros ('guard' or 'one who looks out ahead') may have become an official or magistrate as a consequence of earlier naval or army functions.<sup>49</sup> He is mentioned at Cius also in no. 2, line 1, an honorary inscription from the fourth century: [ἐπὶ - - -]νίου φρουροῦ, Ληναίωνος εἰκάδι, etc. It should be noted that the order in an eponymity-phrase is regularly preposition, title of the office, and then the incumbent's name, or simply the Genitive of the office followed by the Genitive of the incumbent's name. The present two inscriptions illustrate that the rule is not completely rigid.<sup>50</sup> There is no men-

<sup>48</sup> See L. Robert, *Hellenica* 2.56 and *Ét. Anat.* 101-102. Others are *IOSPE* I<sup>2</sup> 357, 358, 360, 361, 365, 376, 384, and 699.

<sup>49</sup> See the remarks of T. Corsten in *Die Inschriften von Kios* (Bonn 1985) 51-52.

<sup>50</sup> No. 2 in the earlier editions (Le Bas-Waddington 1140 and Tod II 149, e.g.) began with the restoration [ἐπὶ ἐπιμη]νίου Φρούρου, but the epimenios was not an eponymous post, and Phrouros is a most unlikely name. In addition there is the eponymous phrouros at Clazomenai: see above [No. 92], s.v. CLAZOMENAI.

tion of our phrouros in the later inscriptions of Cius, even in *I. Kios* no. 16 which is a list of ephebes that begins with a long list of the city's magistrates in the reign of Trajan.

### 91. CLARUS in Ionia

Nine miles south of Colophon lay Notium, the harbor town of Colophon. After 430 BC Notium came into possession of Colophon (Thucydides 3.34.1), and in the time of Polybius (21.46.4) the inhabitants of Notium were called Colophonians οἱ τὸ Νότιον οἰκοῦντες. Claros lay between Notium and Colophon, within Colophon's territory.<sup>51</sup> Claros itself was only a village community but had attracted from earliest times the attention of the outside world because of its precinct and oracle of Apollo Klarios. Its eponymous official was the prytanis of Colophon. This permits us to establish the Colophonian as well as the Clarian chronology.

The inscriptions found at Claros predominantly concern the very large number of delegates who came there from foreign cities to consult the oracle. Many have been published by J. and L. Robert, *La Carie* II (Paris 1954) nos. 24-34 (Tabai) and 132-146 (Heraclea of Salbake in Caria). Others more recently have been published by S. Şahin in *Epigraphica Anatolica* 9 (1987) 61ff. The eponymous prytanis used at Claros displays an unusual feature. In many cities the god or goddess was used as the eponym in times of economic depression and would revert to citizen control at other times. In Claros the god Apollo was eponymous prytanis almost as often as ordinary mortals. At latest count Apollo was prytanis for the 120th time.<sup>52</sup> In the inscriptions, thus, mortals appear to be eponymous prytaneis fewer times than the god. A typical example is found in *La Carie* II no. 24: Ταβηγῶν θεωροί. ἐπὶ πρυτάνεως Ἀπόλλωνος τὸ ος', ἱερέως Τιβ. Κλ. Ῥούφου, θεσπιωδοῦντος Γναίου Ἰούλ. Ῥηγίνου Ἀλεξάνδρου, προφήτου Μητροδώρου Ποτάμωνος, γραμματεύοντος Τιβ. Κλ. Κριτολάου νέου καὶ Κλ. Ζημαράγδου νν θεοπρόπος Θεαγένης, etc. The formula is fairly predictable. The emperor Hadrian had agreed to be the eponymous prytanis, as attested in two inscriptions.<sup>53</sup> The majority of the inscriptions belong to the second century BC or later.

<sup>51</sup> See Ch. Picard, *Éphèse et Claros* (Paris 1922) pp. 6ff., and Magie, *RRAM* II 898 n. 110.

<sup>52</sup> Picard, *op. cit.* p. 202 n. 1: ἐπὶ πρυ[τάνεως Κλαρ]ίου Ἀπό[λλωνος τὸ] ρκ', etc. J. and L. Robert (*op. cit.* 210ff.) have been able to establish a relative chronology for the large part of the inscriptions because of the large number of such statistics. They calculated that AD 177-178 to 185-186 is the equivalent of the 93rd to the 101st prytany of Apollo. Of course, the synchronisms elsewhere are not as straightforward, since mortals intervened in holding the prytanies. In addition, synchronisms with the chronologies of those cities which sent delegates to Claros can sometimes be made. See J. and L. Robert (*op. cit.* 212-213) for the case of Amisos.

<sup>53</sup> See L. Robert (*Études épigraphiques* 147-149), where he also corrects a mistake by Ch. Picard (in *Éphèse et Claros*, 203 n. 6) and shows that L. Aelius Caesar (i.e. L. Ceionius Commodus, adopted son of Hadrian) had also held the prytany. He died in AD 138. Cf. *PIR*<sup>2</sup> C 605. Among individuals of lesser renown we may single out a certain woman by the name of Cosconia Myrton, who had been eponymous prytanis at Claros early in the second century but before AD 115: see L. Robert's publication in *Studia Classica* 16 (1974) 74-80 (*SEG* XXVI 1288). She also appears in an inscription from Bargasa in Caria, on coins of Domitian from Smyrna, and as Stephanephoros in Smyrna (*I. Smyrna* II 731) of AD 83.

## 92. CLAZOMENAE in Ionia

Only a single inscription reveals the eponymous prouros of Clazomenae: *I. Erythrai und Klazomenai* no. 510 (line 16) of the third century BC: ἐπὶ προουρῶ Ἑκαταίου. This is the only example of such an eponym outside of Cius in Bithynia, where it is found in the aspirated form phrouros: see above [No. 90b], s.v. CIUS.

## 93. CNIDUS in Caria

The earliest example of the eponymous damiourgos of Cnidus belongs to the third century BC: *I. Calymnii* no. 79 (lines 4ff.) [τὰν γραφὰν τάνδε ἔθ]εντο παρὰ τοὺς Κνιδίων στρ[αταγοὺς τοὺς ἐν ἀρχᾷ]ι ἐπὶ δαμιοργῶ Ἀλκιμάχου and lines 33ff. Ἐλαφρίου ἐβδόμαι ἐπὶ δέκα, ἐπὶ δαμιοργῶ Ἀλκιμάχου. In 6 BC there is an example in the letter of Augustus to the Cnidians (Sherk, *RDGE* 67 (line 1): [ἐπὶ δαμι]ωργῶ δὲ Καιρογένεος Λευ[κα]θέου (?). A list of Samothracian mystai from Cnidus is dated ὡς δὲ Κνίδιοι ἐπὶ δαμιο[υρ]γοῦ Πυθονίκου (*Hesperia* 48 [1979] 17). In addition, Chrissoula (*Damiurgen* 122) brings to our attention that very many amphora handles from Cnidus are dated by the damiorgos. Some of them are published by Schwyzler (*DGE* 267) and also in *SGDI* 3549, nos. 2, 30, 53, 221, and 423.

## 94. COLOPHON in Ionia

See above [No. 91], s.v. CLARUS. Colophon stood in relation to the oracle of Claros as Miletus did in relation to the oracle at Didyma. The eponymous official was a prytanis at Colophon.

## 95. COMANA in Cappadocia

Because of its isolated position in eastern Asia Minor and its primitive economy Cappadocia did not feel the advance of Hellenization until the second century BC, when the Cappadocian King Ariarathes V began leading his country out of its ancient past.<sup>54</sup> His success can be seen in the second century inscription from Anisa (above [No. 66], s.v. ANISA) in which the majority of names are Cappadocian but the institutions are Greek. Comana, however, seems to have been different in this regard. Even in Strabo's time Comana could hardly be called a city. He says (12.2.3) that it was largely filled with the more than 6,000 hierodouloi working the extensive estate of the temple of Enyo, called Ma by the inhabitants, and subject to the priest.<sup>55</sup> Comana did not, it seems, even have a boule and demos until late in the first century after Christ (*IGRR* III 125), although that may be due to the accident of discovery. The Cappadocian element is still strong in the third century after Christ, as we see

<sup>54</sup> Diodorus (31.19.8) states that Ariarathes made Cappadocia, 'long unknown to the Greeks, into a place of residence for educated men'. Ariarathes himself was devoted to philosophy: cf. *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 3781 = *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 666 and Diogenes Laertius 4.65. See most recently, for the Hellenization advocated by him, R. Teja in *ANRW* II 7.2.1102ff.

<sup>55</sup> A dedication to Archelaos as 'founder and savior' by the 'demos' (of Comana) need not necessarily mean the community had a system of Greek democratic institutions at the time of the dedication (*OGIS* 358), first century BC.

in an inscription honoring Decius and his wife Herennia Cupressinia Etruscilla, which is dated first by the year of the emperor (AD 249) and by an eponymous dating by prytaneis. It was first published by A. Souter in *Anatolian Studies Presented to Sir William Mitchell Ramsay* (London 1923) 400, n. 1 (better in *SEG VI* 794 and *AE* 1939, 27), where line 5 runs as follows: ἐπὶ πρυτάνεων τῶν περὶ Α[ὐρ. Λο]υκείλ(ιον) Διόδωρον καὶ Μηνόφιλον καὶ Φλ(άβιον) Μιθρατ(ώ)χμην, etc. Thus, the first prytanis of the college of prytaneis is eponymous. In another inscription (W.H. Waddington in *BCH* 7 [1883] 129 no. 3) the Roman governor M. Neratius Pansa is honored by the erection of a monument under the care of Ἰου. Ἀν[τ.] Μίτρα Ἄππα τοῦ πρυτάνεως, ἔτου[ς - -]. The date would be AD 78-79, when M. Hirrius Fronto Neratius Pansa was governor of Galatia-Cappadocia (R.K. Sherk in *ANRW II* 7.2.999-1001).

#### 96. CYME in Aeolis

The earliest examples of eponymity from Cyme belong to the third and second centuries BC. A proxenia decree of the second century ends with the date (*I. Kyme* no. 5): ἐπὶ πρυτάνιος Ἀριστίππῳ τῷ Ἀλκίππῳ. Similar are nos. 7 (middle of third century), 8 (middle of third century), both of these being proxenia decrees, 11 (a law, third century), 12 (fragmentary decree of the second century), and 13 (honors for Archippe, after 130 BC; J. and L. Robert, *Bulletin* 1968, 444). In all of these the date appears at the end. The letter of Vinicius to Cyme in 27 BC (Sherk, *RDGE* 61; *I. Kyme* 17) is prefixed (line 22) by a date: ἐπὶ πρυτάνεως Φανίτου. For the later imperial age a most interesting example is *I. Kyme* 37, concerning the purchase of property by a cultic association. After a heading [Μέ]νανδρος ἀρχίγαλλος appears the date: ἐπὶ πρυτάνεως Κύμης τὸ [β'] μην(ὸς) Πορνοπίου [β'] etc. Here the city of Cyme itself is personified as a goddess and serves as the eponymous prytanis.<sup>56</sup> Another interesting inscription is no. 19, concerning honors for a Roman by the name of L. Vaccius Labeo in the period 2 BC to AD 14. It ends (lines 54-60) as follows: μηνὸς Φατρίῳ δεκάτῃ ἀπιόντος ἐπὶ ἱερέος τῆς Ῥώμας καὶ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος θεῷ υἱῷ θεῷ Σεβαστῷ ἀρχιερέος μεγίστῳ καὶ πατρὸς τῆς πατρίδος Πολέμωνος τῷ Ζήνωνος Λαοδικέος, πρυτάνιος δὲ Λευκίῳ Οὐακκίῳ Λευκίῳ υἱῷ Αἰμιλία Λαβέωνος, φιλοκυμαίῳ, εὐεργέτῃ, στεφανηφόρῳ δὲ Στράτωνος τῷ Ἡρακλείδῃ. First comes the date by the priest of Roma and Augustus, then by L. Vaccius Labeo himself as the prytanis, and finally by a stephanephoros. The use of eponyms in this way—by a priest of Roma and Augustus as well as the local eponym—is common in the imperial period, but the addition of a stephanephoros here at Cyme is puzzling. Nowhere else in Cymeian inscriptions thus far known does a stephanephoros appear. Coins of the third century after Christ continue to mention the prytanis (*I. Kyme* p. 196): Ailios Hermeias πρυτ. Κυμαίοις), and one coin (*ibid.* p. 197, T 162 b) has the legend ἐπὶ πρυτάνεως Σεκούνης Κυ(μαίων). Thus, I am reluctant to call Straton son of Herakleidas an eponym.

<sup>56</sup> For other examples of the *Stadtgöttin* being eponym see L. Robert, *Hellenica* 10.263 n. 3.

## 97. CYPRUS

Because of its position Cyprus looked more to the east than the west, and accordingly Hellenization was slow in coming to the island. City institutions of the Greek type appear first in the period after the conquests of Alexander the Great. The Cypriote cities adopted Greek political institutions, but the whole island was a possession of the Ptolemaic kings of Egypt, and as a result a very large percentage of its documents reflect this condition from the early years of Ptolemy I to the brutal Roman annexation in 58 BC.<sup>57</sup> The dating of Cypriote documents, at least those known to us, is usually by reference to the Ptolemaic king and the eponymous Alexandrine priests. For the Cypriote cities themselves there is an eponymous local dating in Amathus, a decree from the reign of Philometor: *I. Brit. Museum* IV no. 975. It begins with ἀγαθῆι τύχηι. (ἔτους) [- - -] ἐφ' ἱερέως Κύπρου Ἀφρ[οδίτης] Χαρίνου τοῦ Χαρίνου [τῶν ἐστρα]τηγηκότ[ω]ν καὶ γεγυμ[ασιαρχηκό]των καὶ ἀρξάντων ὑπὲρ τῆς σωτηρίας τοῦ Ἀμαθουσίω[ν δήμου] καὶ τῶν κα(ρ)πῶν.<sup>58</sup> Also from Amathus is *IGRR* III 974: ἔτους ι' Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος ἐπὶ ἱερέων Ποπλίου καὶ Ἀπολλωνίου παρ[α]νυμφευσάντων + at least three names in the Genitive. From Kourion comes a bronze ring inscribed with virtually identical inscriptions: T.B. Mitford, *The Inscriptions of Kourion* (Philadelphia 1971) 111 ff., no. 55. (a): (ἔτους) ιδ' ἐπὶ ἀρχόντων Μοσχίωνος Εὐφρονος Νικάνορος Ἀλεξάνδρου, γραμματεύοντος) Ἐπιθέρσου. The date is 104/3 BC, if the king is Ptolemy Soter II. From Old Paphos we find three prostatai used in a formula of eponymity: Mitford, *op. cit.* (*ANRW*) 1315 in note 103. ἐπὶ προστατῶν Αἰναί[ο]υ Εἰρηναίου Τρύφωνος καὶ ταμ[ί]ου Παπείτος. Another from Old Paphos (Mitford, *ibid.*) belongs to the reign of Caligula and is also dated by three prostatai in the same formula, followed by the name of one person with the title secretary and which in turn is followed by the date of the emperor.

## 98. CYZICUS by the Propontis

From the late fourth century BC to at least the middle of the second century after Christ there is overwhelming evidence that the eponymous official of Cyzicus was a hipparch. Before the late fourth century BC, however, the evidence is controversial and there is no general agreement among scholars. It has been maintained that the earliest eponymous official had been a prytanis. This view is based on the fact that Cyzicus was founded by colonists from Miletus about the middle of the eighth century.<sup>59</sup> Aristotle (*Politics* 1305a 15), thinking of a very early time in Milesian history, states that 'out of the prytaneia' a tyranny was established at Miletus.<sup>60</sup> Thus, it has been assumed by some that when the colonists left Miletus

<sup>57</sup> For the historical background see R.S. Bagnall, *The Administration of the Ptolemaic Possessions outside Egypt* (Leiden 1976), especially pp. 57-73 for the separate cities. For the Roman period see now T.B. Mitford in *ANRW* II 7.2.1285ff.

<sup>58</sup> For the date see Mitford in *JHS* 66 (1946) p. 40, n. 64, and cf. Bagnall, *op. cit.* 63-64. The decree orders that the usual provisions be made for sacrifices on behalf of the farmers and for offerings to Aphrodite.

<sup>59</sup> Strabo 14.1.6; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 5.142; Eusebius, *Chron.* 2.81. See also F.W. Hasluck, *Cyzicus* (Cambridge 1910) 163-164; F. Bilabel, *Die ionische Kolonisation*, *Philologus Suppl.* 14, 1 (Leipzig 1920) 46; N. Ehrhardt, *Milet und seine Kolonien* (Frankfurt-Bern-New York 1983) 194-195.

<sup>60</sup> ἐγίγνοντο δὲ τυραννίδες πρότερον μᾶλλον ἢ νῦν καὶ διὰ τὸ μεγάλας ἀρχὰς ἐγχειρίζεσθαι τισιν ὄσπερ ἐν Μιλήτῳ ἐκ τῆς πρυτανείας· πολλῶν γὰρ ἦν καὶ μεγάλων κύριος ὁ πρύτανις.

for Cyzicus they brought an eponymous prytanis with them. This is speculation, one assumption built on another. Aristotle assigns no date to the tyranny he has in mind, and there is no evidence whatever that there had been at any time an eponymous prytanis at Cyzicus.<sup>61</sup> Nevertheless, Dittenberger (*SIG*<sup>2</sup>464) calls Maiandrios an eponymous prytanis of Cyzicos in an inscription that is clearly a new copy of an older inscription of the sixth century BC and which has only the name and not the title of the individual: ἐπὶ Μαϊανδρίο[υ]. And Hiller von Gaertringen (in *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 4) repeats the judgement of Dittenberger. Others have followed them.<sup>62</sup> Until inscriptions from this early period clarify the matter, an eponymous prytanis at Cyzicus must remain a mere assumption. Other scholars have come to believe that Cyzicus had an eponymous archon early in the fourth century and for at least two centuries before that. There is more substance to such an archon than to the prytanis. The fourth century appears to be the time of change, since thereafter the eponymous hipparch remains uncontested for at least four centuries. Th. Reinach in *BCH* 14 (1890) 535, no. 1 (*SGDI* 5523) published the text of an inscription that contains a list of names, nine of them labeled Hieromnemes and eight under the label Private Citizens. At the beginning we find: Θεοῖς. ἐπὶ Ἐρμοδώρου ἄρχοντος ἐ[γ] Κυζίκω[ι]. The lettering seems to place the inscription in the fourth century, perhaps the earlier half of that century. The presence of hieromnemes suggests a religious context. The latest opinion, that of Ehrhardt (*loc. cit.* [above, n. 59]), straddles the fence: "Der Zusatz (ἐγ Κυζίκωι) ist seltsam; möglicherweise sind die Funktionen des Archon in dieser Zeit allein auf das Stadtgebiet beschränkt gewesen, während der eponyme Beamte des kyzikenischen Gesamtstaats schon der Hipparch gewesen ist."<sup>63</sup> He then points out that neither in Miletus nor in its colonies one can find an eponymous archon. However, there was an archon in Cyzicus even in later times and he is used more than once in what appears to be a context of eponymity. It concerns a Cyzicene institution known as the Kallion, which seems to have been the precinct of the Eleusinian goddesses (so Hasluck, *op. cit.* [above, n. 59] 252) in which the ex-prytaneis of the Cyzicene committee of prytaneis apparently presided over some kind of court that may have combined religious with judicial functions.<sup>64</sup> Clues to its nature are found in a number of inscriptions from Cyzicus, which unfortunately allow no firm conclusions. All the examples are found in the Cyzicene prytany lists (*CIG* 3661ff.). *CIG* 3661 is such a list and it begins with a heading: Ἰππαρχούντων Τερεντί(ου) Δωνάτου καὶ Βειβί(ου) Ἀμφικτύονος, γραμματέως τῆς βουλῆς Νικομήδους τοῦ β̄ καλλιαρχοῦντος, οἶδε ἐπρυτάνευσαν μῆνα τὸν Ἀπατουρεῶνα· etc. The beginning of

<sup>61</sup> One must always distinguish the board or committee of prytaneis that prepared the agenda for the People, as, for example, at Athens, from the single, independent prytanis that is at issue here. The independent magistrate, 'die einstellige eponyme Prytanie' as F. Gschnitzer calls him (*RE* Suppl. 13, cols. 733ff.), was quite different. In fact, Cyzicus did have a committee system of Prytaneis similar to the one at Athens, but that is no reason to believe that it developed out of the earlier existence of a single magistrate called prytanis.

<sup>62</sup> K. Hanell, *Das altrömische eponyme Amt* (Lund 1946) 81 ('ohne freilich bewiesen werden zu können'); R. Werner in *Historia* 4 (1955) 435; Ehrhardt (*loc. cit.* [above, n. 59]) is inclined to agree.

<sup>63</sup> J.G. Vinogradov (*Chiron* 10 [1980] 87) calls the archon Hermodoros the eponymous magistrate without question, adding that he seems to have had 'besondere, nicht innerstädtische Vollmachten' and refers to B-label, *op. cit.* (above, n. 59) 133 n. 1.

<sup>64</sup> The word κάλλιον is peculiar and its exact meaning unknown, although as an institution it appears at Athens: Bekker, *Anecdota Graeca* I 270, and Pollux, *Onomasticon* 7.121 Bethe. See Schulthess in *RE* Suppl. 4 (1924) s.v. καλλιάζειν.

*CIG* 3663 is mutilated: [γραμματεύ]οντος τῆς νεωκόρου βου[λῆς] Αἰμιλίου Αἰλιανοῦ Ἴταλοῦ, οἶδε ἐπρυνάτευσαν μῆνα Καλαμαιῶνα καὶ ἐκαλλίασαν τὸν Πάνημον ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Φιλί[μονος τ]οῦ Τροφίμου etc. Clearly of Roman date. *CIG* 3664, lines 27-28: [ἐ]πρυτάνευσαν μῆνα Ποσειδεῶνα καὶ [ἐκαλλί]ασαν μῆνα Ληναιῶνα ἄρχοντος τοῦ καλλ[ί]ου [- - -] etc. Similar are lines 59-60. *CIG* 3667 is a different type of document, also of the Roman period: Κύ[ζι]κον κτίστην ἢ πόλις ἐπὶ ἀρχόν[τ]ων [τ]ῶν περὶ [Γ.] Ἰούλιον Σέλευκον, etc. We have no way of knowing how old this institution was in Cyzicus or whether its archon could have had any connection with the archon of *SGDI* 5523 back in the fourth century BC. If a connection exists and if the institution has a religious background, then the hieromnemes and the archon of *SGDI* 5523 may take on added meaning. Such an archon might be a false eponym. However, the matter is not at all clear. We simply do not have enough evidence for the fourth century BC.<sup>65</sup> Throughout the whole of the Hellenistic period and into the second century after Christ the hipparch was eponymous. The earliest example appears to be a construction contract from the late fourth century BC: Mordtmann in *Ath. Mitt.* 10 (1885) 202 (F.G. Maier, *Griechische Mauerbauinschriften I* [Heidelberg 1959] p. 210, no. 59): [ἐπ]ὶ Εὐφήμου τοῦ Λεωδά[μα]ντος ἱππάρχου etc. The use of such a title suggests a period of military supremacy coupled with political change, a situation that would lend credence to the existence of an earlier eponymous magistrate, such as the archon, but again we simply do not know. Hasluck (*op. cit.* [above, n. 59] 304) has assembled a list of the known hipparchs at Cyzicus, fifteen of them securely attested and three more probably to be added. He also included twenty more as possible for the Republican period. For the imperial period eighteen or possibly nineteen. To these one should add *SEG* XXXIII 1056 (AD 123-132) and L. Robert, *Bulletin* 1972 no. 287. In the first century after Christ women begin to appear as hipparchs. In AD 37 Gaius Caesar served as hipparch: *IGRR* IV 145 (*SIG*<sup>3</sup> 798). Hasluck (*op. cit.* 185) suggests that Gaius may have been responsible for the restoration of the city's lost privileges under Augustus, a suggestion in keeping with the title of New Sun given to Gaius in the same inscription. Even Drusus may have served as hipparch: see L. Robert, *Études épigraphiques et philologiques* (Paris 1938) 146. We can now add Hadrian to the list as well: *SEG* XXXIII 1056. Finally, there is Antoninus Pius: *IGRR* IV 117, 12-16 (from Proconnesus in the territory of Cyzicus). As elsewhere in the Greek world the deity was also called upon to serve as eponymous official. In Cyzicus we hear of Poseidon as hipparch in *OGIS* 748, line 15, in 277/6 BC (see L. Robert, *Hellenica* 2.55 with notes 8-9).

#### 99. DALDIS in Lydia

Located to the north of Sardis and near the modern village of Nardi, this city eventually acquired the usual Greek democratic institutions. Its inscriptions are predominantly of the Roman imperial age. *TAM* V, 1 no. 621 (lines 3-7) are instructive: [Με]νεκράτους [- - -

<sup>65</sup> For other examples of the Kallion archon see J.H. Mordtmann in *Ath. Mitt.* 6 (1881) 40ff. and Th. Wiegand in *Ath. Mitt.* 26 (1901) 121ff. (*IGRR* IV 153). In a recently published inscription from Cyzicus (E. Schwertheim in *ZPE* 29 [1978] 213-228) the editor's original restoration was recklessly altered by M. Sève in *BCH* 103 (1979) 327ff. from [τοὺς πρυτανεύ]οντας καὶ τοὺς ἐπωνύμους [καὶ νέους] into τοὺς πρυτανεύοντας καὶ τοὺς ἐπωνύμους [ἄρχοντας], from the first century after Christ. Perhaps he means 'archons' in the sense of 'magistrates'.

Κ]οκκηίου Νι[- -]λακκίου ἄρχον[τος πρ]ώτου κ(αὶ) ἱερέως [Διὸς] Πολιέως. This Menekiates might be the same person honored in no. 649, in which he is called physician and philosopher and the former holder of several city offices. His name also appears on two coins of Daldis from the Flavian period (TAM V, 1 p. 202), on one in the form ἐπὶ Μενεκράτους β' and on the other ἐπὶ Μενεκράτου στρατηγοῦ β'. Still other coins (*loc. cit.*) display the following legends: ἐπὶ Μητροδώρου ἄρχ. and ἐπὶ (Λ.) Αὐρ. Μητροδώρου ἄρχ. α'. It would appear that in the imperial period at least the eponymous magistrate was an archon.

#### 100. DASKYLEION in Mysia

A marble stele records the dedication by a phourarch to Apollo and Asklepios during the Hellenistic period, published by L. and J. Robert in *Journal des Savants* (1976) p. 234 (SEG XXVI 1336): Πρωταγορίδ[η]ς Ἐκαταίου φρουραρχήσα[ς ἐ]πὶ Διὸς ἱππαρχ[χέω] Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ Ἀσκληπιῶι χαριστήριον. Here Zeus himself serves as the hipparchos, and the use of the hipparchos indicates that Daskyleion was situated in the territory of Cyzicus. As the Roberts note, 'et aucune autre ville n'a eu l'hipparque pour éponyme.'

#### 101. DERBE in Lycaonia

In *Anatolian Studies* 7 (1957) 147-151 M. Ballance has published an inscription recording honors for Antoninus Pius in AD 157 on a large stone that might have been the base of a statue. It is very mutilated but enough remains to show the imperial titles of the emperor, the words 'boule [and d]emos' of the city, and then the date, first the name and title of the Roman governor and then ἐπὶ ἀρχόν[των] τῶν [πε]ρὶ Αὐλ(ον) Ἰούλιον [-]ώνυμον καὶ ἀρχιερέω[ς τοῦ] Σεβ(αστοῦ) Αὐλ(ου) Ἰουλι(ίου) Σηστυλλια[νο]ῦ. In line 14 Ballance restores [ἐπ]ώνυμον, which has no parallel in this position and in such a phrase. J. and L. Robert (*Bull.* 1958 no. 490) rightly suggest the restoration of a name, a Greek name to complete 'Aulus Iulius - -'. He would be the chief or president of the college of archons and, probably, the eponymous archon. Dating includes mention of the high-priest of the imperial cult.

#### 102. DIDYMA in Ionia

There had been an oracle at Didyma in the Milesian peninsula before the arrival of Greeks in Asia Minor. With their arrival or at some later date Didyma became part of the territory of Miletus. From the earliest time of its existence the oracle had been supervised by the priestly family of the Branchidai.<sup>66</sup> A calamity occurred as a result of the Ionian Revolt against Persia when the great temple of Apollo and the oracle were destroyed by the Persians.<sup>67</sup> Thereafter

<sup>66</sup> They traced their origin to a mythical Branchos (Strabo 9.3.9 and 14.15) whom the Greeks interpreted as a favorite of Apollo. The cult of Apollo Didymaios then became centered in the temple at Didyma: see J.E. Fontenrose in *TAPA* 64 (1933) 98-108 for the correct epithet. The site was called Branchidai as well as Didyma. I have been unable to consult W. Günther, *Das Orakel von Didyma in hellenistischer Zeit* (MDAI [I] Beiheft 4) Tübingen 1971.

<sup>67</sup> There are two conflicting reports in our sources about the date of the destruction by the Persians: Herodotus (6.19) says that after capturing Miletus (494 BC after the Battle of Lade) the Persians plundered and burned Didyma, but Strabo (14.1.5) says that it was Xerxes (in 479 BC) who destroyed it, adding that the Bran-

the area of Didyma lay desolate, even though we do hear that after the Battle of Mycale in 479 BC the cult processions to Didyma were resumed (*Milet* I 3, no. 133 with Rehm's commentary and his remarks in *I. Didyma* p. 322). After the defeat of Persia by Alexander and with the emergence of Seleucid Syria rehabilitation of Didyma began. Seleucus I in 300-299 BC started the construction of a new temple of Apollo Didymaios, and although the oracle became increasingly active the temple was still incomplete four hundred and fifty years later (Pausanias 7.5.4). From the reign of Seleucus onward the epigraphic remains are considerable, and it is clear that the city of Miletus supervised both temple and oracle. When Seleucus I in 288/7 BC wrote to Miletus concerning gifts to the sanctuary of Apollo the mere fact that he wrote to the boule and demos of Miletus listing his gifts shows Miletus to be the master of Didyma.<sup>68</sup> Documents found at Didyma are dated regularly by the stephanephoroi of Miletus. Among the cult personnel at Didyma the προφήτης was the single most important figure, mentioned by name in about 150 inscriptions of the Hellenistic and Roman periods. The office was annual and they seem to have had the right of perpetuating the memory of their high office by inscriptions. In addition, the construction documents from Didyma regularly begin with the dating by the Milesian stephanephoros followed immediately by the mention of the prophetes. E.g., *I. Didyma* 33 begins as follows: ἐπὶ στεφανηφόρου Μηνοδώρου τοῦ Ἀρτεμιδώρου, προφητεύοντος Ἀρχέλα τοῦ Ἀρχέλα etc. This is followed in most of the documents by the titles and names of other officials: the tamiai, the architect, the epistatai, etc. Utilizing all the documents A. Rehm has analyzed the names and family connections of the cult and oracular personnel, established the dates of their incumbencies, and arranged chronological tables of them (*I. Didyma* pp. 380-387). He has also established that the office of prophetes at Didyma was far more prestigious than that of the Milesian stephanephorate, since one held the position about ten years later than that of stephanephoros. A προφήτης at Didyma, however, is not the female holder of that position. She has other duties connected with the receiving of the oracle, while the προφήτης writes up the oracle in his χρησιμογράφιον and conveys it to the person who requested it. The great families of Miletus must have vied for the privilege of being prophetes, some of them monopolizing it for a time and then forced to relinquish it to others. One of the most expensive aspects of the position was the administration of the Μεγάλα Διδύμεια, at which he is called the πανηγύρικος. Under him were assistants, such as the finance officers and secretaries. An inscription from the first half of the third century after Christ (*SEG XXVII 731*) records that the boule and demos honored an athlete for his victory at the Great Didymaia, and at the end the prophetes is mentioned, in his capacity as administrator of the games: ἐπὶ προφήτο[υ ..]Ἀ Ἀρτεμιδώρου. Another such honorary inscription for an athlete illustrates the prestige of the prophetes among the Romans (*I. Didyma* 181): ἐπὶ

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chidai had handed the treasury over to the Persians and thus had to flee eastward with them for their own safety. Then, centuries later, the community of the Branchidai in Sogdiana was destroyed by Alexander the Great because of that act of betrayal: see J.M. Bigwood in *Phoenix* 32 (1978) 36-39 and H.W. Parke in *JHS* 105 (1985) 59-68. The most reasonable date for the destruction of Didyma is 494 BC, which allows a time lapse of twenty years before our sources show a resumption of the cult processions to the temple.

<sup>68</sup> C.B. Welles, *Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Period* (New Haven 1934) no. 5 (now in *I. Didyma* 424). His letter indicates that his offerings are for the sanctuary and that Miletus is instructed to deposit them in the sanctuary "so that you may use them for libations and other uses in behalf of our health and fortune and the safety of the city".

προφήτου Μάρκου Αύρηλίου Ούλπί[ο]υ Ἀρισταίνετου [ίπ]πέως Ῥωμαίων. Throughout, of course, the Milesian stephanephoros served as the eponymous official.

### 103. DIONYSOPOLIS in Thrace

Epitaphs in Greek show that the Greeks had arrived on the site by the fourth to the third century BC, but no evidence places them there any earlier. Dionysopolis might have been a colony from Miletus.<sup>69</sup> *I. Bulg.* I<sup>2</sup> 22 dates from the second century BC and is a list of priests of Dionysos. It begins with a heading: [οὐ δὲ ἱέρην]ται Διονύσου μετὰ τοὺς ἱερησαμένους διὰ βίου, and is followed by a mutilated list of names with patronymics. L. Robert in his review of the first edition of *I. Bulg.* I in *Revue de Philologie* 85 (1959) pp. 200ff. saw that it was a list of the eponymous priests of Dionysos and that the inscription had been the result of the transition from the priest for life to annual priests (p. 200). Among the list of names there appears in line 5 simply Διονύσος, indicating that Dionysos in that year had served as his own eponymous priest, a common enough phenomenon in the Hellenistic world. In this regard *I. Bulg.* I<sup>2</sup> 13 is interesting. It is a decree of the city honoring a certain Akornion and among the motives for honoring him we learn that he voluntarily assumed the eponymous priesthood at a time when (lines 13ff.) τοῦ ἐπωνύ[μου τῆς πόλεως Διονύ]σου οὐκ ἔχοντος ἱερῆ ἀφ' ἐτῶν πληθόν[ων], etc. It may be dated 48 or 49 BC.<sup>70</sup> The priest of Dionysos is still eponymous in the third century after Christ, as we can see in *I. Bulg.* I<sup>2</sup> 14, an ephebic catalogue. Its heading: ἀγαθῆι τύχη. ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέως καὶ ποντάρχου τῆς ἰδίας πατρίδος Μ. Αὐρ. Ἀντιπάτρου Παπα, ἱερέων δὲ Διονύσου Αὐρ. Γλαυκία Διογένους καὶ Αὐρ. Δημοφῶντος Νουμηνίου, υἱοῦ δὲ τῆς πόλεως Αὐρ. Ἄττα Ἀντιπάτρου, ἐπὶ ἀρχόντων τῶν περὶ Αὐρ. Θεόμνηστον Πυθοκλέους, then the ephebarch etc. Here the date is given by the local priest of the imperial cult and then by the two eponymous priests of Dionysos. The reason why there are two of them instead of one is that they can then share the costly expense of the office. Otherwise the office would have been vacant in that year.

### 104. EPHEBUS in Ionia

Of all the Greek cities in Asia Minor the epigraphic remains of Ephesus are the most numerous.<sup>71</sup> Among them are several hundred inscriptions which give evidence of the city's eponymous prytanis, and the earliest of them appears to be a recently published decree, in the abbreviated form, granting Ephesian citizenship to a Rhodian named Demokrates son of Aigyptos and dated ἐπὶ Κόνωνος πρυτανεύοντος, μηνὸς Ποσιδ[εῶνος - -] (*ZPE* 77

<sup>69</sup> Precise evidence is lacking, but see N. Ehrhardt, *Milet und seine Kolonien* (Frankfurt-Bern-New York 1983) 65-66, who accepts Miletus as the founding city because of the dialect used and the use of Milesian tribes. B. Isaac, *The Greek Settlements in Thrace until the Macedonian Conquest* (Leiden 1986) 258-259, does not discuss the problem, and Chr. M. Danoff in *RE Suppl.* IX s.v. Pontos Euxinos, col. 1077, calls Dionysopolis a Milesian colony without any discussion.

<sup>70</sup> For a translation of the whole document see R.K. Sherk, *Rome and the Greek East to the Death of Augustus*, Cambridge 1984, no. 78.

<sup>71</sup> The publication of *Die Inschriften von Ephesos* VIII, 1 (Bonn 1981) ended with a total of 3494 inscriptions. After that year new Ephesian inscriptions have been appearing regularly in *Jahreshefte*.

[1989]88). From Rhodian and Ephesian prosopography and the document's use of Ionic forms its editor, Christian Habicht, has concluded that Konon was prytanis in one of the years 326/5 to 324/3 BC. After that period the examples of eponymous prytaneis in Ephesus continue in great numbers to the third century after Christ. And for one period of over thirty years (51/50 to 18/17 BC) the prytaneis are known by name year after year with only a few lacunae: *I. Ephesos* no. 9. It is a mutilated list of agonothetes dated by the annual prytaneis and inscribed on marble blocks forming part of the theater. The list begins as follows: Ποσειδώνιος Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Ἀράτ[ου] ἱερεὺς γενόμενος τῆς Ῥώμης ἐν [τῶι ἐπὶ] πρυτάνεως Ἡροφίλου ἐνιαυτῶι καὶ ἀγ[ωνοθε]τήσας τὰ Διονύσια παρ' ἑατοῦ. Each of the entries then follows this formula as far as line 38, with each agonothete also having served as (local) priest of the goddess Roma. Another type of list common at Ephesus and dated by the prytaneis is that of the κουρήτες, who in the Hellenistic and Roman imperial periods formed a college or group of annually changing men and were concerned with the festival of Artemis and with the Ortygian mysteries. Lists of these kouretes were inscribed annually on the columns of the entrance hall of the prytaneion and dated by the eponymous prytaneis.<sup>72</sup> The extant lists are in *I. Ephesos* nos. 1002ff., based on the new researches by D. Knibbe and published by him separately in *Forschungen in Ephesos IX 1.1: Der Staatsmarkt, Die Inschriften des Prytaneions* ((Wien 1981). The lists in Knibbe's collection give the names of some 57 prytaneis, eleven of whom are women.<sup>73</sup> One particular female prytanis is of exceptional interest (*I. Ephesos* 956): ἐπὶ πρυτάνεως Κλ. Σεβήρας ὑπατικῆς, i.e. wife of a Roman consular.

The Ephesian prytaneis seem to have held other offices at the same time, if one interpretation of *I. Ephesos* no. 9 (section N lines 1-52 and (N) b lines 9-23) is correct. Quite different is the formula in this section of the list of agonothetes mentioned above. Here the formula (e.g. lines 5-7) is: Δημήτριος Μητροδώρου Πλο[υ]τίων, πρυτανεύσας καὶ ἀγωναθετήσας τὰ Διονύσια ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων. Did the prytanis for that year also function as the agonothete? The regularity of the combination in these lines throughout the entire section, one after the other, is striking. I am inclined to believe that a single person had held both positions for those (and others?) years. It would have been extremely expensive. Nevertheless, I have been able to find only one example of a deity in Ephesus holding the eponymous office (F 13 in Knibbe, *op. cit.* p. 68): ἐπὶ πρυτάνεως τῆς κυρίας ἡμῶν Ἀρτέμιδος, etc., of the third century after Christ.

The duties imposed on any eponymous official varied from city to city, but eventually they all shared one common feature: the personal expenditure of money for the public good. In the case of Ephesus a number of documents spell out these burdens very fully. Especially

<sup>72</sup> For all details concerning these kouretes see Knibbe, *op. cit.* 70ff. In the Hellenistic period the activity of these men centered in the Artemision and they were involved with both cultic and political matters. The coming of the Principate brought corresponding changes both physically and politically to Ephesus, and the kouretes then became the cultic association of the new prytaneion.

<sup>73</sup> Especially valuable is Knibbe's chronologically arranged list of prytaneis on pages 162-164 extending from the early first century after Christ to the beginning of the third century. As he comments in *RE Suppl. XII* (1970) col. 272, there is a real need of a systematic chronology of all the Ephesian eponymous prytaneis. The number of those known by name is substantial, and the conditions are such that much work toward that goal could be done.

revealing is *I. Ephesus* no. 10 (D 1 of the kouretes documents in Knibbe, *op. cit.* pp. 57-58) of the third century after Christ. A summary is in order. The prytanis is required to light the fires at all the altars, make offerings of incense and herbs, bring to the deity on the customary days the sacrificial victims—365 of them, 190 of them with their hearts and thighs removed, but the other 175 intact—at his own expense and in accordance with the directions given to him by the state-paid hierophant to conform to the will of the gods; paeans are to be sung at the sacrifices, at the processions, and at the all-night ceremonies; also prayers are to be made for the Senate and People of the Romans and for the People of the Ephesians. The prytanis is also required to give the heart, tongue, and skin of each sacrificial victim to the hierophant, as well as other parts to the hierokeryx, the flutist, the trumpeter, the second hierophant, the hieroskopos, and the seventh kouretes. If the prytanis neglects any of these duties, he will be fined 10 gold Dareiks. Other inscriptions add to these burdens. *I. Ephesos* no. 47 (Knibbe, *op. cit.* B 54, p. 53), lines 1-4: ἐπὶ πρυτάνεως Μ. Αὐρ. Μενεμάχου τοῦ καὶ ἀνανεωσαμένου τὸ ἱερόν συνέδριον τῶν κουρήτων δόντος διανομὰς ὅσας καὶ τῇ γερουσίᾳ [[Κομμοδιανῆ]] and in lines 7-31 is a list of the names of prytaneis and the amount of money contributed by each of them. Nine of them are women. Most of the activities centered on the prytaneion and he or she was even expected to write poems of praise for Hestia, the central goddess of the Prytaneion (F 1 in Knibbe, *op. cit.* p. 63): Κλαυδία Τροφίμη ἱερῆ ἢ πρύτανις Ἐστίη ἔπαιον ἔγραψε. And, of course, the prytanis was also expected to receive the usual foreign guests and provide for their hospitality, although state funds were usually available for such expenses. Only the wealthy could afford to be eponymous prytaneis.

#### 105. ERIZA in Caria

G. Cousin and Ch. Diehl published in *BCH* 13 (1889) 334ff., no. 4, a fragment of an honorary inscription for a certain Chares son of Attalos, from the second century BC. Lines 11ff. are as follows: [γυμ]νασιαρχήσας τε ἐπὶ ἱερέως Χρυσί[ππου] τοῦ Ἀντιόχου, ἔτους ἐν[νε]ακαιδεκάτο[υ] etc. If this is the nineteenth year of the era of Asia, the date would be 133 BC. The deity of whom Chrysiippos is the eponymous priest is unknown. The village of Karayük bazar, where the inscription was found, is probably to be identified with Eriza (L. Robert, *Villes d'Asie Mineure*<sup>2</sup> [Paris 1962] 111-113, esp. n. 4). It is also of interest to note that in this area, in the plain of Karayük, has been discovered a second copy of an edict of Antiochus III dated to 193 BC in which he made known that throughout the Seleucid Kingdom he had decided to add chief-priestesses of his sister-queen Laodike to the already existing Seleucid ruler-cult.<sup>74</sup> He specifies that in the future her names are to be mentioned in contracts after the names of the chief-priests of the cult. The fact that this copy was found at the village of Dodurga in the plain of Karayük in Caria shows that such documents would be dated by the eponymous high-priests and high-priestesses of the cult. No such documents, however, have been found in the area. They may turn up in the future.

<sup>74</sup> See M. Holleaux, *Études d'épigraphie et d'histoire grecques* III (Paris 1942) 165ff. and reprinted several times: *OGIS* 224 and Welles, *Royal Correspondence* 36/37. A new copy of the same edict was found at Laodicea to the northwest of Susa in Iran, at the modern city of Nehavend, and published by L. Robert, *Hellenica* 7.5ff. Cf. Chr. Clairmont in *Museum Helveticum* 5 (1948) 218ff. For further details see below. IV [No. 207]. s.v. LAODICEA in Iran.

## 106. ERYTHRAE in Ionia

The earliest inscription utilizing an eponymous official is *I. Erythrai und Klazomenai* no. 1 from the fifth or early fourth century BC. It is a stele containing provisions against the repeated holding of the office of secretary and is dated ἐπ' ἱεροποιῷ Πόσειος (lines 16-17). Thereafter there is evidence for the eponymous hieropoios throughout the Hellenistic period and into the first century after Christ: nos. 21 (end of fourth century BC); 201, a 30 (280/79 BC); 201, a 53 (279/8 BC); 24 (*SIG*<sup>3</sup> 410 of 277-275 BC); 201, a 66 (ca. 276/5 BC); 29 (270-260 BC); 104 (probably first century BC); 136 (first century after Christ). Thereafter the coins show a strategos who might be eponymous or, more likely, merely the official responsible for the coinage.

Interesting is the phraseology of no. 29, a decree honoring strategoi, in lines 15-17: δεδόχθαι τῷ δήμῳ, ἐπαινέσαι τοὺς στρατηγούς τοὺς στρατηγήσαντας ἐπὶ ἱεροποιῷ Ἀπολλοδώρου [τῆ]ν δευτέραν τετράμηνον, which means "let it be decreed by the demos, to praise the strategoi who exercised their office for the second four-month period of the year when Apollodoros was hieropoios." Also to be singled out is no. 112 in which we read (lines 12-14) about strategoi who στρατ[ηγῆ]σοντες τὴν δευτέραν τετράμηνον ἐπὶ ἱερ[οποι]οῦ τοῦ μετὰ Ἑρμόδωρον ἐσομένου. Here Hermodoros is still in office and the new hieropoios for the coming year has not yet been appointed. Similar phrases involving the division of the year are in nos. 104 and 119. Most unusual of all, however, is no. 201 from the period 300-260 BC. Older editions (*SIG*<sup>3</sup> 1014 and Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées de l'Asie mineure* [Paris 1955] no. 25) lack the new material provided by W.G. Forrest in *BCH* 83 (1959) 513-522. No. 201 is a list of prices paid for the purchase of various priesthoods over the years approximately 300-260 BC, each year dated by the eponymous hieropoios. The extant portion of side a begins with αἶδε ἱερητεῖαι ἐπράθησαν ἐφ' ἱεροποιῷ Ἡρακλείτου, followed by the name of the priesthood and the amount paid. Nineteen hieropoioi are extant by name, clearly in chronological order but with several gaps in the list as a whole. Fifty-four priesthoods are named, arranged by transactions called πρᾶσις as opposed to ἐπιπρασις, this last apparently meaning 'an afterlease or a sale of the share in the ownership' (F. Sokolowski, *HThR* 50 [1957] 135ff.). A third category is called διασύστασις, i.e. the granting of a priesthood to a member of the family by testament.

## 107. GAMBRIUM in Mysia

It now appears likely that, despite apparent difficulties with one inscription (*SIG*<sup>3</sup> 302), the eponymous official of Gambrium was a stephanephoros.<sup>75</sup> Gambrium is a small city not too many miles from Pergamum and its most important inscription is a law concerning funerals: *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 1219 (Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées* no. 16) of the third century BC. It begins in the typical abbreviated form: ἀγαθῆι τύχηι. ἱερονομοῦντος Δημητρίου, μηνὸς θαργηλιῶνος δευτέρα, Ἀλέξων Δάμωνος εἶπεν· etc. In lines 27-28, however, we find a clear indication of eponymity: τὸν δὲ μετὰ Δημήτριον στεφανηφόρον ταμίαν αἰρεθέντα ἀνα-

<sup>75</sup> K.J. Rigsby in *Hermes* 117 (1989) 246-250 has made a good case for the suggestion that *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 302, which names an eponymous prytanis, derives from Pergamum where we know a prytanis was the regular eponymous magistrate. His explanation of the facts seems reasonable and correct.

γράψαι τόνδε τὸν νόμον etc. The hieronomos at the beginning may well be a false eponym, considering the sacral nature of the law. The stephanephoros Demetrios is the eponym. Of course, there is the distinct possibility that Demetrios the hieronomos is also Demetrios the stephanephoros. Such a priest could 'wear the crown', as we have seen (above, s.v. CHIOS [no. 29]). In the present state of our knowledge about Gambrium we cannot be sure if the two are one and the same person.

#### 108. HADRIANEIA in Mysia

As the Greeks along the coast pressed farther and farther inland, apparently some of the native Mysians retreated to the east, to the area of the mountains of the Olympene, Abrettene, and Abbaitis.<sup>76</sup> There they held out with their native customs and traditions into the Hellenistic age, and it was Hadrian who eventually founded both cities of Hadrianeia and Hadrianoi, probably in AD 124 (Schwertheim, *op. cit.* [see n. 76] 156ff). Inscriptions from both cities belong to the Roman period, the majority by far dating from the period after Hadrian. We know next to nothing of the pre-Hadrianic age. *I. Hadrianoi und Hadrianeia* no 135 (IGRR IV 239) belongs to the year AD 170, concerns the erection of a statue for Serapis, and is dated στρατηγίας Αὐρ. Τειμοκράτους {ι}ἀ' ἄρχοντος, ἔτους θ' (μηνὸς) Δαι[σί-ου]. Thus, an eponymous archon(?).<sup>77</sup> The coinage shows a number of examples of what could be an indication of eponymity. E. Schwertheim, the editor of *I. Hadrianoi und Hadrianeia*, prints a convenient listing of the legends on these coins (127-130). They are predominantly of the type: ἐπί + name + ἄρχ. + Ἀδριανέων. These suggest eponymity.

#### 109. HADRIANOI in Mysia

As in Hadrianeia (see above, no. 108), so in Hadrianoi the archon appears to be eponymous. *I. Hadrianoi und Hadrianeia* no. 44 (IGRR IV 242) is dated at the end (line 7) ἐπὶ τῶν <π>ε[ρὶ] Σύμφορον Εἰρηνίωνος ἄρχοντ[α ἀρχόντων - - -]. It belongs to the end of the second to the beginning of the third century after Christ. No. 40, on a base for a statue of Hadrian, is dated at the end ἀρχοντεύοντος Αὐρ. Ἐρμοῦς ταμειύοντος Κλαυ(δίου) Χρήστου. The form ἀρχοντεύοντος is a *hapax legomenon*. And no. 45, on a marble fragment that was once the base of a statue of Gordian III, is dated ἐπὶ τῶν περὶ Αὐρ. Ἰππόκων β' ἄρχοντ[α] ἀρχόντω[v].

#### 110. HALICARNASSUS in Caria

Our earliest example of eponymity from Halicarnassus belongs to the period about the middle of the fifth century BC: R. Meiggs and D. Lewis, *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions* (Oxford 1969) no. 32 (SIG<sup>3</sup> 45; see B. Virgilio in *Studi Ellenistici* II [Pisa 1987] 115ff.). It is a law about disputed property and begins as follows: τάδε ὁ σύλλο[γ]ος

<sup>76</sup> On the historical topography of the area see Schwertheim in the *I. Hadrianoi und Hadrianeia* 133ff., especially 153, where he quotes E.V. Flansen, *The Attalids of Pergamon* (Ithaca<sup>2</sup> 1972) 226: "There (in Olympene, etc.) they kept their tribal organisation, each group having its stronghold and feudal lord, and its cult centering in a native god."

<sup>77</sup> For the 'first archon' phrase see W. Ameling in *Epigraphica Anatolica* 3 (1984) 19ff.

ἐβουλευσατο ὁ Ἀλικαρναπέ[ω]ν καὶ Σαλμακιτέων καὶ Λύγδαμις ἐν τῇ ἱερῇ[ι] ἀγορῇ, μηνὸς Ἑρμαιῶνος πέμπτη ἰσταμένο, ἐπὶ Λέοντος πρυταν[εύο]ντος τῆ Οα-Τάπτιος κα[ὶ] Σα[ρυπ]ώλλο τῆ Θεκυίλω νε[ωπ]οί[ο] πρ]ὸς μνήμονας' etc. Gschnitzer in *RE Suppl.* 13 (1973), col. 744, unhesitatingly calls this a case of two eponyms appearing side by side. Later inscriptions attest the use of a neopoios as eponym in Halicarnassus, and another case of both prytanis and neopoios appears more than a century after the Halicarnassian law just mentioned.<sup>78</sup> It was published by G.E. Bean and J.M. Cook in *Annual of the British School at Athens* 50 (1955) 107-108, no. 35 (*SEG XVI* 643). It begins with the date: [ἐ]πὶ νεωποίου Ἀνθύλλου τοῦ Δημ[- - -, π]ρυτανεύοντος Δημοκρίτου [τοῦ - - -] ὕλλου, μηνὸς Ἀνθεστηριῶνο[ς - - - τ]ῆ ἀνομένου etc. In the third century and later only the neopoios remains as the sole eponym. He seems to have been the priest of Apollo and in further inscriptions he is simply called the hierews.<sup>79</sup> Some examples will suffice. In *SIG<sup>3</sup>* 1015 (Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées* no. 73), a law on the priesthood from the third century BC: [ἐπὶ ν]εωποίου Χαμύλλου τοῦ Διαγόρου, μηνὸς Ἑρακλείου, etc. *SEG IV* 187 from the third century BC concerns sacral accounts dated by the eponymous hierews in lines 11, 19, 20, and 21, while in line 25 we find [ἐ]πὶ ἱεροποιοῦ. Elsewhere only the formula of eponymity is used with the man's name but lacking his title. *SEG XXVI* 1222 of the early third century, a proxenia decree, is dated by the neopoios alone. Finally, several Halicarnassian decrees are cited by Josephus (*Ant. Jud.* 14.255-256) using the phrase ἐπὶ ἱερέως + name and patronymic. Even back in the fourth century BC the use of hierews, apparently in place of neopoios, was the practice: *SEG XXVI* 1221 is a list of votive offerings to Athena and dated ἐπὶ Ζηνοδώρου ἱερ[έως] etc.

In the imperial period we find a stephanephoros used to date a list of ephebes: C.T. Newton, *A History of Discoveries at Halicarnassus, Cnidus, and Branchidae* (London 1862) II 704: ἐπὶ στεφανηφόρου Τ[ίτ.] Φλα. Δημητρίου Ἰουλιανοῦ etc. (cf. L. Robert, *Études Anatoliennes* [Paris 1937] 468ff.).

#### 111. HERACLEA-BY-LATMUS in Ionia

Recently M. Wörrle published (in *Chiron* 18 [1988] 422-425) the earliest document to mention the eponymous stephanephoros of Heraclea. Its date is controversial but is sometime soon after 201/0 BC. Fragment N II line 3 begins with ἐπὶ στεφανηφόρου θεοῦ τρίτου τοῦ μετὰ Δημήτριον Δημητρίου etc. Another document, a treaty between Miletus and Heraclea (*Milet I* 3, 150 [*SIG<sup>3</sup>* 633], lines 25ff.), contains the date of the treaty in terms of both cities' chronology: ἐπὶ στεφανηφόρου ἐν μὲν Μιλήτῳ Μενάνδρου τοῦ Μαίωνος μηνὸς Ταυρεῶνος, ἐν Ἑρακλείῳ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτου τοῦ μετὰ Δημήτριον μηνὸς Γαμηλιῶνος etc. If the Demetrios of Wörrle's document is the same person as the Demetrios of the treaty, then the treaty would be dated eleven years after Wörr-

<sup>78</sup> Gschnitzer (*loc. cit.*) does not take this inscription into account as he explains the substitution of the eponymous magistrate by the eponymous priesthood. It must have been a slow and gradual process.

<sup>79</sup> For the linkage see A. Wilhelm in *Jahreshefte* 11 (1908) 57ff.

le's document because of the difference of years in the stephanephorates of the god.<sup>80</sup> This indicates, of course, a period of grave economic difficulty in all those years, almost certainly because of the Roman involvement in eastern affairs. A list of eponymous magistrates (*OGIS* 459) includes Augustus (four times) and Gaius (two times). Thus, the eponymous stephanephoros was continued into the Roman period.<sup>81</sup>

#### 112. HERACLEA in Pontus

Heraclea was founded by both Megarian and Boeotian colonists, and like Megara it used an eponymous basileus to date its documents.<sup>82</sup> F.K. Dörner in *Anzeiger Wien* 1962, 30ff.: Ὠλίαν Πυθιάδα τὴν πάντα ἀρίστην Ἰουλίου Πυθαγόρου τοῦ φιλοσόφου θυγατέρα τὴν ἐπώνυμον βασιλείαν βασιλεύσασαν.<sup>83</sup> *IGRR* III 81: ἐπὶ δὲ βασιλείας Ἡρακλείδου Ἡρακλείτου, preceded by the Roman consuls of AD 130.

#### 113. HERACLEA of Salbake in Caria

Located to the northwest of Tabai near the mountain called Salbake this city is not mentioned by Strabo or Pliny and its inscriptions are predominantly from the Roman imperial age. J. and L. Robert, *La Carie* II (Paris 1954) 153ff. have assembled the relevant testimonia and organized the most important of the inscriptions. From them we learn the institutions of the city and details about some of its citizens who had earned prominent places in its society, some even becoming well-known in the imperial circle, but no specific text informs us of its eponymous magistrate. The most important of its magistrates were the prytanis and the stephanephoros. The two are often a single individual who probably held those two offices at one and the same time: *La Carie*, nos. 57-58, 65, 69-70, 79-81, and 101. Very many times it is a woman: nos. (e.g.) 64, 66-69, 79-81. One of the inscriptions honoring the famous physician Titus Statilius Criton (no. 75), however, just might be dated by an eponymous priest (line 11): ἐπὶ ἱερέως Τιβ. Κλαυδίου Δημοστράτου Καίλιανοῦ, etc. Unfortunately, the physician is honored by other physicians who sacrifice to Asklepios. Thus, the possibility exists of a false eponym. We must reserve judgement.

#### 114. HIERAPOLIS in Phrygia

*CIG* 3912 a (Le Bas-Waddington no. 741) is a dedication: ἐπὶ στεφανηφόρου Σέξτου τὸ γ', Παπίας β τοῦ Στράτ[ω]νος, ὁ καλούμενος Διογένης, ἀρχώνης [ξ]υ[σ]τοῦ τὸ

<sup>80</sup> For the details see Wörle, *op. cit.* 428ff., supplemented by the remarks of R. Malcolm Errington in *Chiron* 19 (1989) 279-88. Wörle's document might require a small upward movement chronologically in the Milesian stephanephoroi list of the period (*Milet* I 3, no. 124).

<sup>81</sup> It should be noted that *SEG* II 536 of the third century BC is from Heraclea: see L. Robert, *Hellenica* 2.54, and Errington (*op. cit.*) 286 n. 45.

<sup>82</sup> See S.M. Burstein, *Outpost of Hellenism: The Emergence of Heraclea on the Black Sea* (Berkeley-Los Angeles-London 1976) 12ff.

<sup>83</sup> For philosophers mentioned in the inscriptions see M.N. Tod in *JHS* 77 (1957) 132-141 and the comments of J. and L. Robert, *Bulletin* 1958, no. 84.

β', τὸν Ἡρακλέα χαριστήριον ἀνέθηκεν [τῆ] [σ]υνεργασία The goddess at Hierapolis was Aphrodite Ourania: W.H. Buckler in *JHS* 16 (1936) 237-238.

#### 115. HIERAPOLIS CASTABALA in Cilicia

Although no inscription gives evidence of the eponymous official here, the suggestion of L. Robert that perhaps all the cities in Cilicia used an eponymous demiourgos might be valid.<sup>84</sup> The demiourgos is mentioned a number of times in this city, along with an assistant (ὑποδημιουργός).

#### 116. HIEROCAESAREA in Lydia

Originally a temple-village (Hiera Kome) the community received the status of a city and was renamed Hierocaesarea by AD 17. *IGRR* IV 1304 records the dedication of an altar and very clearly is dated at the beginning as follows: [ἐπὶ - -]ων, πρυτάνεως δ[ὲ] καὶ ἱε]ρέως τῆς Ῥώμης Ἀνδρ[ο]νείκου τοῦ Μητροδώρου Λεπ[ίδου μ]ηνὸς Πανήμου ζ', etc. Coins of the second and third centuries after Christ contain the legend ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέως and ἐπὶ στρα(τηγοῦ) (Münsterberg, *Beamtennamen* 138).

#### 117. HIPPOCOME in Lycia

See below [No. 128], s.v. LYCIA.

#### 118. HYLLARIMA in Caria

See above [No. 46], s.v. RHODOS.

#### 119. HYPAEPA in Lydia

This old Lydian community retained its old customs well into the Roman period—cf. Pausanias 5.273-6 for old Lydian cultic ceremonies—and it was the Greeks who called it "the place at the foot of Mt. Aipos" (τὰ ὑπὸ τὸ Αἶπος). Coins of the Roman period mention a grammateus, strategos, Asiarch, stephanephoros, and an arch(on?).<sup>85</sup> The stephanephoros was the eponymous official, as evident from *I. Ephesos* VII 2, 2 (*IGRR* IV 1608), found at Odemis east of Tire and south of Hypaepa, but within its territory: (line 2) ἐπὶ στ[εφανηφόρου Τι]βερίου Κλαυδίου Ἀσκληπιο[δώρου υἱοῦ] Κυρίνα Τρύφωνος, ἐπὶ δὲ γρα[μματέ]ως τοῦ δήμου etc. And *I. Ephesos* VII 2, 3866 comes from an unknown place but probably Hypaepa, and it is dated also by a stephanephoros of the Roman period.

#### 120. IASUS in Caria

In his description of Iasus, Polybius (16.12) records that its citizens claim to be descendants of colonists from Argos and then later from Miletus. Thus, one might expect the insti-

<sup>84</sup> L. Robert in A. Dupont-Sommer and L. Robert, *La déesse de Hiéropolis Castabala (Cilicie)* [Paris 1964] 34. For an assistant to a demiourgos see p. 33, no. 17. Cf. Chrissoula, *Damiurgen* 138-139.

<sup>85</sup> Münsterberg, *Beamtennamen* 138-139, and A. Geissen in *Epigraphica Anatolica* 7 (1986) 113-123.

tutions of Iasus to resemble those of one or the other of those cities. Such might account for the eponymous stephanephoros of Iasus, like the one at Miletus. However, the overwhelming influence of Miletus, northwest of Iasus, could have done the same thing.<sup>86</sup> Beginning in the middle of the fourth century BC and continuing into the Roman period there is a consistent use of the Iasian stephanephorate. Earliest is a decree concerning exile for the conspirators against Maussollus and also for the confiscation and sale of their property (*I. Iasus* no. 1; *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 169): ἔδοξεν τῆι βουλῆι καὶ τῶι δήμῳ· μηνὸς Ἀπατουριῶνος ἐπὶ στεφανηφόρου Παταίκο τοῦ Σκύλακο[ς·] etc. The first part of the document (1-53) contains lists of the magistrates involved as well as the persons who made the purchases, while the second (54-83) is introduced by a new dating by another stephanephoros and contains the prices paid for the confiscated properties. Among later examples of such eponymous dating at Iasus is an interesting number of choregic documents from the theater of the Hellenistic period (*I. Iasus* nos. 160-218). They follow a clear chronological order. The first (no. 160) begins with the date: ἐπὶ στεφανηφόρου Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ μετὰ Νημέρτεα. The next two are dated first by the stephanephoros Pantainos and then by Kydias. No. 163: ἐπὶ στεφανηφόρου Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ δευτέρου μετὰ Μένιππον, etc. No. 164 follows in strict chronological sequence: ἐπὶ στεφανηφόρου Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ τρίτου μετὰ Μένιππον, etc. Thereafter the series continues year by year: no. 165 (Apollo for the fourth time after Menippos), no. 166 (Apollo for the fifth time after Menippos). A second series begins with no. 170 in which Apollo was the eponymous stephanephoros for the second time after a certain Kleanax and continues in order to no. 177 (Apollo for the ninth time after Kleanax). And other such series follow, with stephanephorates of Apollo interspersed with those of mortals. Here, then, is the basis for a chronology of Iasus in the Hellenistic period, although firm dates cannot as yet be made out for them.<sup>87</sup> In the Roman period, as expected, dating by other methods begins to affect the eponymous method. In no. 87, an honorary decree for Aristetas of Iasus, we find a list of the man's offices, the highest being stephanephoros, but in no. 92, also of the Roman period and also an honorary decree, the first and highest office listed is that of the high-priesthood of the Augusti while that of the stephanephorate is listed second. In addition, as common in the Roman period everywhere, the dating by era made its appearance. E.g., in no. 277 at the head of a list of ephebes: ἔτους ροη'. This 178th year seems to be calculated from 167 BC when Iasus and all Caria were liberated after the war of the Romans against Perseus.<sup>88</sup> Nevertheless, we expect the eponymous stephanephoros to continue side by side with such additions in most documents.

### 121. ILIUM in the Troad

About 100 BC a treaty of sympoliteia was struck between Ilium and Skamandroi (*I. Ilion* no. 63). Although badly mutilated, its opening lines are significant for evidence of

<sup>86</sup> Thus, one need not accept a Milesian colonization of Iasus to account for the use of eponymous stephanephoroi at Iasus. Cf. Ehrhardt, *Milet* 26.

<sup>87</sup> For a list of known Iasian stephanephoroi (to 1970) see *Annuario* 39-40 (1961-1962) 603ff.; 45-46 (1967-1968) 485ff.; and 47-48 (1969-1970) 405.

<sup>88</sup> For the era at Iasus see *I. Iasus* p. 36. For the liberation of Caria from Rhodian domination in 167/6 BC see above [No. 63], s.v. AMYZON.

eponymity: [ό]μολογία Ἰλιέων [καὶ Σκαμανδρέων ἐ]πὶ ἱερέως Ἀριστονόμου τοῦ Ν[- - - μηνὸς - - -ἀπι]όντος, ὡς δὲ Σκαμανδρεῖς ἄ[γουσιν ἐπὶ - - - μηνὸς Πανή]μου τετράδι ἀπιόντος [- - -] etc. Clearly the eponymous official of Ilium is a priest while that of Skamandroi was mentioned in the lacuna.<sup>89</sup> Direct evidence for the divinity served by the eponymous priest is lacking, but it appears to be "all the gods." An endowment (*I. Ilium* no. 52) of the second century BC begins as follows: [ἐ]πειδὴ ὁ ἱερεὺς τῶν πάντων θεῶν Ἐρμίας Σκαμαν[δρίο]υ etc. No. 59 is a tiny fragment of a decree of about 70-50 BC, and its first line appears to be the date: [ἐφ' ἱερέως τῶν π]άντων θεῶν [- - -].<sup>90</sup>

A list of Ilium's eponymous priests is almost certainly mentioned in no. 25 (*OGIS* 218), a law against tyranny and oligarchy at the beginning of the third century BC. In line 116ff. we are told that in the case of someone becoming a tyrant or leader of an oligarchy or a case of someone helping a tyrant to gain power, ὄ(που) ἄν τι ὄνομα ἦι τούτων, ἐάν τε ἐν τοῖς ἱερ(ητ)εύσασιν ἐάν τε ἐν ἀναθήματι ἐάν τ' ἐπὶ τάφο[υ], ἐκκόπτειν παντόθεγ καὶ ἐη μὲν τῶν ἱερατευκότων ἐκκόψαντας πωλεῖν καὶ τὸμ πριάμενον ὄνομα ἐπιγράψασθαι ὅτι ἂν θέληι οἷς μέτεστι etc. (cf. L. Robert, *Monnaies* 14).

A second type of eponymous officials is also found at Ilium and elsewhere in the Troad, an eponymous agonothete of a koinon of cities having the sanctuary of Athena Ilias as a focal point. Documents of this type are not documents of Ilium but of the koinon. This association of cities seems to have been formed about 310 BC and included Ilium, Lampsacus, Abydus, Dardanus, Assus, Parium, Alexandria Troas, Scepsis, Gargara, Chalcedon, and Myrlea. Officially, they called themselves Ἰλιεῖς καὶ αἱ πόλεις αἱ κοινωνούσαι τῆς θυσίας καὶ τοῦ ἀγῶνος καὶ τῆς πανηγύρεως. This permitted the cities to speak with one voice in political matters whenever the occasion arose.<sup>91</sup> For the eponymous agonothete the best text is *I. Ilium* no. 10 (*OGIS* 444; *IGRR* IV 197; *SEG* IV 664) which contains details of the panegyris for the year 77 BC. It begins as follows: Σύμφωνον καὶ ὁμόλογον ταῖς πόλεσιν ὑπὲρ τῆς πανηγύρεως, ἐπὶ ἀγωνοθετῶν τῶν περὶ Δημήτριον Ἰπποδάμαντος Ἰλιέα, ἔτους ἐνάτου, μηνὸς Σελευκείου ὡς Ἰλιεῖς ἄγουσιν etc. Thus, a college of agonothetes with the president of them serving as the eponym. The era is probably that of Sulla.

## 122. ISTRIA in Thrace

About the middle of the seventh century BC colonists from Miletus founded Istria (Histria, Istros, Istropolis) near the delta of the Danube, but little of its history is known before the Hellenistic period.<sup>92</sup> Its institutions were naturally influenced by those of the mother

<sup>89</sup> For the location of Skamandroi see J.M. Cook, *The Troad* (Oxford 1973) 351-353.

<sup>90</sup> L. Robert, *Monnaies antiques en Troade*, Geneva-Paris 1966, p. 14, seems certain that this restoration, first made by A. Brückner, is correct. The linkage of the priesthood and the cult of 'all the gods' may be seen also in no. 35, line 5.

<sup>91</sup> For details of the association see Robert, *Monnaies* 18ff. and P. Frisch in *I. Ilium* pp. XI-XV and his commentary on nos. 1-18 and 81-82.

<sup>92</sup> The Chronicle of Eusebius (ed. Helm p. 95 b) puts the founding right in 657 BC. See the testimonia assembled by D.M. Pippidi in *Inscriptiones Scythiae Minoris Graecae et Latinae I* (= *I. Scythiae Minoris I*), Bucharest 1983, 39ff., and cf. N. Ehrhardt, *Milet und seine Kolonien* (Frankfurt-Bern-New York 1983) 71-72. For the history of Istria see D.M. Pippidi, *Epigraphische Beiträge zur Geschichte Histrias in Hellenistischer*

city and it retained its Greek character well into the Roman period, despite onslaughts of various Thracian peoples. Its democratic government included the usual boule and demos along with a committee of ἐπιμήνιοι changing each month and functioning like the prytaneis at Athens in the preparation of official business. In the earliest known decrees the name of the president of these epimenioi regularly appeared in the prescript along with his title. Such names, of course, with their titles are false eponyms.<sup>93</sup> Because of Istria's Milesian origin we expect a priest to be the eponymous official, and a large number of inscriptions support this expectation. From about 300 BC or somewhat later a dedication has been preserved that contains a list of officials concerned with orphans (*I. Scythiae Minoris* I no. 184): Ὀρφανιστὰι οἱ ἐπὶ ἱερέω Νικ[οσθένους - -] followed by the remains of two names of the orphanistai before it breaks off.<sup>94</sup> Thus, we have an eponymous priest at Istria. And *I. Scythiae Minoris* I no. 144 is a fourth century dedication to Apollo and dated ἐπὶ Ἠγησαγ[ό]ρω τοῦ Θεοδ[ό]του]. Of similar date, perhaps even earlier, is *I. Scythiae Minoris* I no. 169, a dedication on the base of a statue: [Θε]όξενος Ἴππολόχο Ἀπόλλωνι Ἰητρῶι ἀνέθηκεν ἐπὶ Ἴππολόχο τῷ Θεοδότῳ ἱερέω. Many other inscriptions illustrate the use of this eponymous priesthood into the third century after Christ: nos. 137 (*SEG XXVIII* 369), in which a Roman governor of Moesia Inferior was the eponymous priest; 145 (*SEG XVIII* 269); 198 (*SEG XIX* 481); 203 (*SEG XIX* 482); 204 (*SEG XIX* 483); 222, in which Zeus Polieus was the eponymous priest. Unusual is no. 142 from the first half of the third century after Christ, showing the Dioscuroi holding the priesthood: ἀγαθῆ τύχη. Ἱερωμένων Διοσκόρων τὸ δ', Ἀρτεμεισεῶνος, Αὐρ. Ἀσιάρχης Χαρμίδου, φυλῆς Ῥωμαίων, ἱερατεύσας ἀνέθηκα Διονύσῳ.<sup>95</sup> The deity served by this eponymous priesthood is Apollo Ietros, as we can see in a decree dating from the second half of the first century BC (*I. Scythiae Minoris* I no. 54 = *SIG<sup>3</sup>* 708), in which the city honors Aristagoras in the very year in which he was the eponymous priest for the fourth time: τύχη ἀγαθῆ Ἱερωμένου Ἀρισταγόρου τοῦ Ἀπατουρίου τὸ τέταρτον, μηνὸς Ἀρτεμεισιῶνος δεκάτη ἰσταμένου, etc. In lines 21-22 he is described as a person who τὸν ἐπόνυμον τῆς πόλεω[ς] Ἀπόλλωνος ἀναδεξά[μενος] στέφανον. Nothing could be clearer, even the stephanos to remind us of the city's Milesian origin. The rest of the decree explains how, when the citizens had been hard-pressed and were trying to find a "priest of Apollo letros," he volunteered and look up the same crown of the god" as he had done previously.<sup>96</sup>

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*und Römischer Zeit* (Berlin 1962). For the view that "Skythian trade preceded the establishment of these settlements (Istria, Olbia, etc.), while Thracian trade followed it", see the brief summary by B. Isaac, *The Greek Settlements in Thrace until the Macedonian Conquest* (Leiden 1986) 221 ff.

<sup>93</sup> See Pippidi, *Epigraphische Beiträge* (n. 107) pp. 42-46 and J. and L. Robert, *Bulletin* 1955, no. 163 (p. 375). The very nature of the title ἐπιμήνιοι, i.e. 'officials of the month', should make it clear that they could never be eponymous.

<sup>94</sup> For commentary see Pippidi, *Epigraphische Beiträge* 42-43, where he cites Aristotle (*Ath. Pol.* 56.7) for the duty of the Athenian archon to protect the rights of orphans.

<sup>95</sup> For details see the commentary by Pippidi in *Hommages à Claire Préaux*, Brussels 1978, 464-469.

<sup>96</sup> This whole passage (lines 26-37) is the *locus classicus* for the difficulties which Greek cities encountered when trying to find candidates able and willing to assume the burdensome office of eponymous magistrate. At Athens the office of eponymous archon was considered one of the most important of all liturgies (Philostratus, *Lives of the Sophists* 2.20), and it must have been considered just as important in all the Greek cities. Cf. the remarks above, No. 104, EPHEUSUS.

## 123. IULIA GORDUS in Lydia

One important inscription (*TAM V* 1, 693; *IGRR IV* 1294) is a dedication from the reign of M. Aurelius and L. Aurelius Commodus of the first ten columns of a structure. At the end is the notice: Ἀριστεύοντος Μ. Ἀντωνίου Ἀλεξάνδρου Ἀ[π]φιανοῦ Ἀσιάρχου ἐπὶ συνα[ρ]χίας Ἰουλιανοῦ Φλώρου ἄρχοντος πρώτου. Thus, we have here a college of archons with its chief being the eponymous archon. Coins of the same period (*TAM V* 1, p. 226) display the phrase ἐπὶ ἄρχ(οντος) to confirm the magistracy.

(to be continued)

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