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THE EPONYMOUS OFFICIALS OF GREEK CITIES V

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## The Eponymous Officials of Greek Cities V\*

### THE REGISTER

#### Part VI: Sicily

##### 218. ACRAE

A few miles north of Acrae near the modern village of Buscemi a group of inscriptions was discovered by P. Orsi in 1899 in a cave.<sup>1</sup> Their religious background has been studied by M. Guarducci in *Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni* 12 (1936) 25-50, and the inscriptions have been re-examined in 1947 at the Museo Nazionale in Syracuse by G. Pugliese Carratelli. His publication of them is definitive: *La Parola del Passato* 6 (1951) 68-75, nos. 1-5. No. 1 is very mutilated but lines 5-9 are clear: ἐπὶ ἀμφιπόλου τῶν Παίδων καὶ τῆς Ἄννας. No. 2 begins with the date by reference to the Roman consuls of AD 35, followed by ἀνφιπόλου δὲ ἐν Συρακούσαις Ἄ. Βαλερίου Ἀραβικοῦ, τῶν δὲ Παίδων Λ. Βηβηίου Κλάδου, ἱερείας δὲ Κλωδίας Πόλλας, μηνὸς Πανάμου ζκ', etc. No. 5 begins with the date: ἐπὶ ἀμφιπόλου ἐν Συρακούσαις Ἄπρου Σεξτίου Αὐγουρέινου, ἱερείας δὲ παρὰ Παίδεσσι καὶ Ἄννα Μαλιῶρος Καικιλίας, Ἀρτεμιτίου εἰ', etc. The occasional inclusion of the eponymous handmaid or priestess (ἀμφίπολος) at Syracuse along with the eponymous ἀμφίπολος at Acrae proves that the two of them are separate eponyms, although the title must have come to Acrae from Syracuse. The 'Children and Anna' must belong to Acrae alone. The inclusion of the Syracusan amphipolos also reminds us that the original territory of the kingdom of Syracuse stretched over the entire southeastern tip of Sicily with the cities of Acrae, Casmenae, and Camarina as the pivots. All three cities were founded by Syracuse.<sup>2</sup> The cult of the Children and Anna is unusual, and Guarducci believes that it was Sicilian in origin. She connected it with the Italian deity Anna Perenna and thought of the cult as one of chthonic origin.<sup>3</sup>

\* This study is published in five instalments:

I : *ZPE* 83 (1990) 249-288

III : *ZPE* 88 (1991) 225-260

II : *ZPE* 84 (1990) 231-295

IV : *ZPE* 93 (1992) 223-272

V : the present installment

<sup>1</sup> *Notizie degli Scavi* 1899, 453-471. The inscriptions were then also published in the *SGDI* nos. 2526, 3257, 5258, and 5259. One more was found twenty years later (*Notizie degli Scavi* 1920, 327ff.).

<sup>2</sup> Thuc. 6.52-3, stating that Acrae was founded 70 years after the foundation of Syracuse, then Casmenae almost 20 years after Acrae, and Camarina about 135 years after Syracuse. And Syracuse had been founded by Corinthians (Thuc. 6.3.2) in 733 BC: T.J. Dunbabin, *The Western Greeks*, Oxford 1948, 13ff.; A.J. Graham, *Colony and Mother City in Ancient Greece*, New York 1964, 218-223; J. Bérard, *La colonisation grecque de l'Italie méridionale et de la Sicile dans l'antiquité*, Paris 1957, 116ff. For the penetration of Syracuse into the area of the three cities see A. Di Vita in *Kôkalos* 2 (1956) 177-205.

<sup>3</sup> The native Sicilian origin of the cult was earlier felt by G. De Sanctis in *Bollettino di filologia classica* 8 (1901-1902) 135ff. The ancient explanation for 'Perenna' is interesting and suggestive, if Guarducci is right, for according to Macrobius (*Sat.* 1.12.6) the ancients connected her name with the passage of a year's time: *ut*

## 219. ADRANUM

In *La Parola del Passato* 16 (1961) 126-30 G. Manganaro re-edited with photograph an inscription as follows: [Ἰ]πὶ Θευδώρου καὶ Φίλωνος· ἱεροθύται + three names with patronymics. However, there is no indication of the title held by the eponymous magistrates Theodoros and Philon.

## 220. AGRIGENTUM

Although found in Rome, *IG XIV 952* (*SGDI 4254* and Buck, *Greek Dialects*<sup>2</sup>, no. 106) contains a proxenia decree of Agrigentum, from the second half of the third century BC. It begins with a heading: ἐπὶ ἱεροθύται Νυμφοδώρου τοῦ Φίλωνος, etc., including the names of the magistrates of the city.

## 221. CAMARINA

A lead tablet containing a contract for the purchase of land in the late Hellenistic period (*SEG XXVII 650*) begins with the date: ἐπὶ Ἀρκαγάθ[ο]υ Γελωίου, ἕκται ἐπ[ὶ] δέκα Ἴων[ίου μη]νός, etc. The title of the eponymous office is unknown.

## 222. CENTURIPAE

*IG XIV 574* is from an old copy and cannot be dated exactly: [ἐ]πὶ Ἡρακλείου τοῦ Α[-]ο[υ] Ἀριστονίκου Διὶ Ὠρίῳ ἀμφιπολεύσας [Ἀρ]τεμίσκος Νύμ[φ]ωνος Κάβαμος ἐκ τῶν αὐτοῦ. The title of the eponymous office held by Herakleios is not known. The title ἀμφίπολος held by Artemiskos, who made the dedication, suggests some kind of connection with the city of Syracuse, where the eponymous official was an amphipolos of Olympian Zeus.<sup>4</sup>

## 223. ENTELLA

G. Nenci in *Annali della scuola normale superiore di Pisa* 10 (1980) 1271-1275 (*SEG XXX 1117-1122*) published seven decrees—an eighth completed the dossier—which had been engraved on bronze and were concerned largely with the renewal of friendship between Entella and various Sicilian cities and also with the public recognition of help received from those cities to Entella. Clearly some great disaster, military in nature, had driven out most if not all of Entella's inhabitants in the past and now, as the decrees show, the city once again is

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*annare perennareque commode liceat.* A 'year goddess' would be an obvious candidate for association with eponymity. I find it strange that K. Latte, *Römische Religionsgeschichte*, München 1960, 138 n.1, should reject Guarducci's suggestion of a connection between the cult at Acrae and Anna Perenna.

<sup>4</sup> Artemiskos, as the amphipolos at Centuripae, makes the dedication to Zeus Ourios, i.e. to 'Zeus of the favoring wind'. For a cippus with the inscription Ζηνὸς Ὠρίο at Velia see M. Guarducci in *La Parola del Passato* 21 (1966) 282-284, and for our present inscription see G. Manganaro in *Siculorum Gymnasium* 1963, 1-4. For the situation at Syracuse see Diodorus 16.70 and cf. below, s.v. 227. SYRACUSAE.

populated and its government operating.<sup>5</sup> Unfortunately there is no agreement among scholars about the background or the time of these events, except that all the decrees seem to have been passed about the same approximate time. Some scholars have pushed them back into the fourth century BC, to the time when the Carthaginians had sent an expedition to Sicily and when Timoleon had liberated so many Sicilian cities. Others have placed them in the third century at the time of Rome's First Carthaginian War.<sup>6</sup> The headings of these decrees are important. Nos. 1 and 2 (in the edition of Nenci and Asheri [see n.5] 775ff.) have identical headings: ἐπὶ ἱερομνάμονος Λευκίου τοῦ Πακκίου, Εὐμενιδείου ἔκται ἐφ' ἰκάδα. Nos. 4-5, 7 and 8, on the other hand, are dated eponymously by archons, and two of them (nos. 5 and 8) are identical in every respect: ἐπὶ ἀρχόντων Ἀρτεμιδώρου Εἰέλου καὶ Γναίου{ου} Ὀππίου, Πανάμου νεμηνίαι. No. 4 has ἐπὶ ἀρχόντων Κίπου τοῦ Σωίου καὶ Θεοδώρου τοῦ Μάμου, Εὐμενιδείου τριακάδι, and no. 7 is abbreviated to ἐπὶ ἀρχόντων νεμηνίαι. No. 3 is not a decree of Entella but of Nakona, a city in western Sicily: ἐπὶ Λευκίου τοῦ Καισίου καὶ Φιλωνίδα Φιλ[ωνίδα ?], Ἀδωνίου τετάρται ἰσταμένου. In the case of the seven decrees of Entella the striking fact is that two and possibly three of them are dated by eponymous hieromnemes, while the other four are dated by eponymous archons. What caused the change? Nos. 1-2 (hieromnemes) and no. 4 (archons) were passed in the same month but on different days, perhaps in the same year. To explain this change several scholars have expressed their opinions in *Annali* 12 (1982) but without full agreement.<sup>7</sup> Greek cities do not ordinarily change their eponymous officials unless some special event or political change has occurred, such as might have been the case at Miletus (cf. 136. MILETUS [ZPE 93, 1992]). Here I suggest is a case of a new constitution for Entella, representing a fresh start and a break with the past. Possibly there had been a pro-Carthaginian element in the city that caused or contributed to the exodus of the citizens. Re-unification of the old inhabitants could have been the occasion for a new constitution.

<sup>5</sup> The best edition of all eight inscriptions is the one by G. Nenci and D. Asheri in the *Annali* 12 (1982) 775-785 with an Italian translation of each one, accompanied by a long series of essays and discussions of the various aspects of the decrees.

<sup>6</sup> M. Lombardo (*Annali* 12 [1982] 849ff.) and L. Gallo (*ibid.* 917ff.) and M. Corsaro (*ibid.* 993ff.) date the decrees during or at the very end of Rome's First Carthaginian War. The present writer is in agreement with them and would place the decrees soon after that war, when Carthage had been forced to evacuate the whole island. The presence of Tiberius Claudius son of Gaius from Antium as an epimeletes in Entella (decree no. 4) looks especially toward the period when large numbers of Romans were in Sicily: see the article of Corsaro who deals with this Roman exhaustively. The decree makes him a proxenos of Entellaa and addresses him as follows: Τεβέρτιος Κλαύδιος Γαίου υἱὸς Ἀντιάτας ἐπιμελητᾶς ταχθεὶς εἰς τὰμ πόλιν. This phrase, as Corsaro saw, indicates that he had been sent to Entella by some higher authority, i.e. the Romans. The word ἐπιμελητῆς would be for *praefectus* in Latin.

<sup>7</sup> M. Lombardo (*ibid.* 849ff.) and L. Gallo (*ibid.* 917ff.) believe that the use of archons suggests the period of repopulation and is only temporary, restricted to that period of transition to a more stable government, although Gallo also believes that the archons might represent a later period than that of the hieromnemes. There is no way to decide this last question. One must remember, however, that nos. 1-2 (hieromnemes) and 4 (archons) were passed in the same month and, perhaps, in the same year. Nenci (*ibid.* pp. 1085ff.) thinks it possible that the different eponymous officials reflect differences in the nature of the decrees, differences of motive or purpose. Such a view is totally without support anywhere in the Greek world.

## 224. IATAE

From the ancient city of Iatae, located some 25 kilometers southwest of Panormus by the modern S. Giuseppe, have been recovered a whole series of stamped titles.<sup>8</sup> They have been published by P. Müller in *Studia Ietina* I (edited by H. Bloesch and H.P. Isler, Zürich 1976) 49-77, and a number of them are dated by eponyms, such as ἐπὶ Διονυσίου, ἐπὶ Νικία Δεινία, ἐπὶ Λάκωνος, ἐπὶ Τίτου, etc. Müller dates them in the third-second century BC. Unfortunately the title of the official is never given.

## 225. MELITA (Malta)

Phoenicians, Carthaginians, and Greeks had penetrated this island from very early times and the Greeks were finally left in control only after the Roman conquest of Carthage in the Hannibalic War, when Hamilcar son of Gisgo handed over the island's Carthaginian garrison to Ti. Sempronius in 218 BC (Livy 21.51). *IG XIV 953* is a proxenia decree of that same general period, dated (lines 6ff.) ἐπὶ ἱεροθύτου Ἰκέτα Ἰκέτου, ἀρχόντων δὲ Ἡρέου καὶ Κ[ ]τητος, followed by the decree formula.

## 226. PHINTIAS (Geloorum)

*IG XIV 256* is a decree honoring a gymnasiarch and dated ἐπὶ ἱεραπόλου Ἀριστίωνος τοῦ Ἴστατίου, κατενιαυσίου Σώσιος τοῦ Νυμφοδώρου, etc.<sup>9</sup> The same formula is used in no. 257: ἐπὶ ἱεραπό[λου τοῦ --] τοῦ Φιλοδά[μου, --] κατενιαυ[σίου --] and then the mutilated remains of one name. The relationship of Aristion to Sosis is unknown, and perhaps there is no relationship. Sosis as 'year-long official' may have had nothing to do with the hieropolos Aristion, and Aristion is clearly the eponymous official. Phintias Geloorum was founded about 281 BC when Phintias, the tyrant of Acragas, destroyed Gela and transported its inhabitants to Phintias (Geloorum), named after himself (Diod. 22.2.2).

## 227. SYRACUSAE

It is rare for literary sources to record relatively full information about eponymous officials, but Diodorus in his treatment of Timoleon (16.70.6) explains that Timoleon had created the annual office of ἀμφιπολίαν Διὸς Ὀλυμπίου and adds that the Syracusans named their years after this priest down to his own age (middle of the first century BC). He also says that when the Sicilian Greeks acquired Roman Citizenship the office of these eponymous ἀμφίπολοι was weakened after a continuous existence for more than 300 years.<sup>10</sup> These am-

<sup>8</sup> For the known facts about the city of the Iatae see Ziegler in *RE IX* 1, col. 613. Stephanus calls it Iaitia.

<sup>9</sup> This inscription, long thought to be lost and dependent on a copy, has been found and published by M. Feyel in *REG* 1935, 372-392, whose edition is followed here.

<sup>10</sup> Diod. 16.70.6 κατέστησε (sc. Timoleon) δὲ καὶ τὴν κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἐντιμοτάτην ἀρχὴν ἣν ἀμφιπολίαν Διὸς Ὀλυμπίου καλοῦσιν Συρακόσιοι· καὶ ἤρέθη πρῶτος ἀμφίπολος Διὸς Ὀλυμπίου Καλλιμένης Ἀλκάδα καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν διατέλεσαν οἱ Συρακόσιοι τοὺς ἐνιαυτοὺς ἐπιγράφοντες τούτοις τοῖς

phipoloi continued to be used after the time of Diodorus, as we can see in an inscription from Acrae of AD 35, in which the Roman consuls of that year are named first for the purpose of dating and are followed by reference to the amphipolos of Syracuse (for the text see above, s.v. 218. ACRAE. There is another reference to the office in *IG XIV 9*, where, however, the Greek text is lost and exists only in a Latin version.<sup>11</sup>

## 228. TAUROMENIUM

*IG XIV 421* is a very long list of names arranged in groups of two, each group introduced by the name of the eponymous official whose title is never given. The list has a one-line heading: σΠτραταγοὶ διὰ πέντε ἐτέων. The first group of two strategoi may be given as an example of all the others: ἐπὶ Ἰστιείου· Νυμφόδωρος Σιμίσκου, Φιλιστίων Θαρρία. There is a continuous list of 101 such groups of exactly the same form. On the sides there are additional groups, mutilated and incomplete. Thus, from Tauromenium we have long and uninterrupted lists of its eponymous officials, year after year. *IG XIV 422* is a list of gymnasiarchs, also arranged year by year in similar fashion. In this list the eponymous officials are given their patronymics, but they still lack the title of their office. There is also a dossier of financial documents consisting of thirteen blocks: *IG XIV 423-430*; to these others have been added in the last 100 years.<sup>12</sup> These conform to a pattern: first the date by eponymous official, then the name of the month followed by the abbreviated title πρ( ) with his name and patronymic, and then the name of the various city magistrates with the expenditure of money for each of them. After all the expenditures for the month, magistrate by magistrate, the name of the next month appears and the process begins all over again to the end of the year. But, unfortunately again the title of the eponymous official at Tauromenium still eludes us.<sup>13</sup>

## Part VII: Italy

The Greek cities in Italy experienced a different constitutional progression from those in the Greek world elsewhere, for the extension of Roman power over Italy eventually led to the Roman enfranchisement of the Greeks in the south. The subsequent transition from Greek

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ἄρχουσι μέχρι τῶνδε τῶν ἱστοριῶν γραφομένων καὶ τῆς κατὰ τὴν πολιτείαν ἀλλαγῆς· τῶν γὰρ Ῥωμαίων μεταδόντων τοῖς Σικελιώταις τῆς πολιτείας ἢ τῶν ἀμφιπόλων ἀρχῇ ἐταπεινώθη, διαμείνασα ἔτη πλείω τῶν τριακοσίων.

<sup>11</sup> For the corrected reading of *IG XIV 9* see *SGDI 5256*. It is worth noting here also that the honorary decree of about 100 BC from Syracuse (*SEG XXXIV 974*), which begins with ἐπὶ ἱερέως το[ῦ --] is not a decree of the city of Syracuse but of the koinon of Dionysiac Artists: see L. Moretti in *Rivista di Filologia Classica* 91 (1963) 40-41. In addition, the inscription *I. Magnesia 72*, which is a decree of Syracuse, begins with ἐπὶ Πολυξενίδα τοῦ Φιλοξένο[υ --] and was followed apparently by the title of amphipolos, as A. Wilhelm showed in his *Beiträge zur griechischen Inschriftenkunde*, Wien 1909, 183.

<sup>12</sup> See now G. Manganaro in *Comptes et inventaires dans la cité grecque*, edited by D. Knoepfler and N. Quillet, Neuchâtel and Geneva 1988, in honor of Jacques Treheux, 155-190, with additional new fragments.

<sup>13</sup> The abbreviation πρ( ) has proved to be difficult: πρ(όβουλος), πρ(οάγορος), πρ(ύτανις)? Manganaro believes it is the first of these three. As for the title of the eponym, F. Sartori in *Athenaeum* 32 (1954) 366-369 believes that one cannot know the title, but he thinks it possible that it is an amphipolos, as at Syracuse. This, however, is guesswork. He places the first year of the list of strategoi about 270 BC.

constitutions to Roman types of municipal government meant a new era for them, in which the old eponymous officials were gradually phased out. Roman methods of dating gradually suppressed them. The statement of Diodorus (16.70.6) about the eponymous amphipoloi at Syracuse is valid for all the Greek cities of Italy. He says that the Syracusan amphipoloi lasted over 300 years down to the time when he was writing and when the Romans were sharing their citizenship with the Sicilians, but that then the office of those eponymous officials was weakened. The acquisition of the Roman franchise by the Greeks in Italy, therefore, also spelled the gradual elimination of their eponymous officials. They all had acquired that franchise at the end of the Italic War, in 90-89 BC or a few years after that period.<sup>14</sup>

### 229. CAULONIA (?)

This Achaean colony in the southern tip of Italy has left us very few epigraphical remains, and the earliest of them seems to be a testament on a bronze plaque concerning the property of a certain Simichos about 475 BC. Unfortunately, there is an uncertainty about its origin. Three such plaques have come to light in the area: one from Petelia, another from Crimisa, and a third which was purchased in the area of Rhegium. The third one (*SEG IV 71*) was thought by D. Comparetti (*Annuario* 2 [1916] 224ff.) to have come from Caulonia because of the text itself. The first five lines are pertinent: θεός. τύχα. Πε. Ὀνάτα δαμ[ιοργέοντο]ς. διαιτεῖ ἡ [βολλα? – –]ονα. Σιμιχο[– –]ο ταύτῳ πάν[τα καὶ ζοὸς] καὶ θανὸν etc. [– –]ονα might be [Καυλ]ονα, and L.H. Jeffery (*LSAG* p. 410 [Plate 50] no. 29) reads a possible lambda before ονα. The eponymous magistrate here is clearly a damiorgos, as Veligianni-Terzi, Chrissoula (*Damiurgen*, Diss. Heidelberg 1977, 56-57) has seen, but more evidence is needed to place the document in Caulonia, despite the prevalence of damiorgoi in the Achaean colonies of southern Italy.<sup>15</sup>

### 230. CRIMISA

A bronze plaque (*SEG IV 75*) testifies to the eponymous damiorgos of this Achaean colony: θεός. τύχα. Καλλιφάοντος δαμιοργέοντος Φίλον δίδοτι ταύτ[ῳ] πάντα καὶ ζοὸς κ[αὶ θ]ανὸν τῷ γυν[αικὶ αὐτῷ] Ζαο[τ]ύχ[αι – –]. The date is about 475 BC.

<sup>14</sup> See above, n. 10, for the text of Diodorus. For the Roman citizenship of the Greek cities in Italy see H. Rudolph, *Stadt und Staat im römischen Italien*, Göttingen 1935, 125, and especially A.N. Sherwin-White, *The Roman Citizenship*<sup>2</sup>, Oxford 1973, 151-152 and 306. It is worth noting that not a single Greek city in Italy sided with the rebel cause in that war. They had generally been satisfied with their status as federated states under the aegis of Rome, so much so that Heraclea and Naples at first preferred their federated status to freedom, as we learn from Cicero (*Pro Balbo* 21): *magna contentio Heracliensium et Neapolitanorum fuit, cum magna pars in iis civitatibus foederis sui libertatem civitati anteferet*. Of course, by this time those Greek cities in the south were weak reflections of their former selves, their Hellenic tradition already fading. Their use of Greek, however, disappeared only very gradually. At Naples, for example, public documents of the local city government were written in Greek despite the Roman form of that government. See the present writer's *The Municipal Decrees of the Roman West*, Buffalo 1970, 33-35. For the local governments of those Greek cities in Italy see F. Sartori, *Problemi di storia costituzionale Italiota*, Rome 1955, *passim*.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Sartori, *Problemi* 122ff., especially 125-126, where he too is sceptical of the Caulonian origin of the plaque.



## 231. CROTON

In a passage of Athenaeus (12.522 A), which derives from Timaeus (*FGrHist* 566 F 44), there is mention of an archon at Croton. This seems to be a loose term for the prytanis mentioned a little later in the same passage of Athenaeus (12.522 C), but we might assume that it is a case of a damiorgos. The examples of Caulonia (?), Crimisa, and Terina support such an assumption. If true, then the damiorgos at Croton might also be eponymous. However, there is no direct evidence of this at all.<sup>16</sup>

## 232. HERACLEA

There is ample evidence for the eponymous ephor of Heraclea, which was founded by Tarentum and which in turn had been founded by Spartans. *IG XIV 645* (*SGDI* 4629 and Schwyzer, *GDE* 62-63) contains two tables, the first dealing with the report of a commission concerning the land of the temple of Dionysos with a list of those holding leases on it, and the second concerning the land of Athena Polias and those holding leases on it. An interesting feature is the fact that the officers who made the survey are listed not only by their names with patronymics but also by groups of letters and by emblems such as shields, tripods, etc. (spelled out in Greek). The first table begins with a kind of heading in extra large letters (lines 1-7): ἔφορος Ἀρίσταρχος Ηηρακλείδα, μῆς Ἀπελλαίος· ἡ πόλις καὶ τοὶ ὀρισταὶ Ἰε, τρίπους Φιλώνυμος Ζωπυρίσκω, π̄ε καρυκείον Ἀπολλώνιος Ηηρακλείτω, ᾱι πέλτα Δάζιμος Πύρρω, κ̄ν θρῖναξ Φιλώτας Ηιστιεῖω, μ̄ε ἐπιστύλιον Ηηρακλείδας Ζωπύρω Διονύσωι. This is repeated in lines 95-98, except that the formula is then ἐπὶ ἐφόρω Ἀριστίωνος.<sup>17</sup> The eponymous ephor is also attested in a series of dedications on bronze tablets to Demeter, published by F. Sartori in the volume *Forschungen und Funde, Festschrift Bernhard Neutsch*, Innsbruck 1980, 401-415, in which the date is sometimes given in the form [ἐ]πὶ ἐφόρω (no. 13) or ἔφορος (nos. 14, 17, and 21) followed by the name without patronymic. The names of magistrates on Heracleian coinage seem to be those of the eponymous ephors.<sup>18</sup>

## 233. LOCRI EPIZEPHYRII

Beginning in 1961 A. De Franciscis has published a whole series of inscribed bronze tablets from Locri recording the occasions on which the city had borrowed—and on one oc-

<sup>16</sup> See Sartori, *Problemi* 122-123, and Gschnitzer in *RE Suppl.* 13, col. 738.

<sup>17</sup> In *Ergänzungsheft* 11 of the *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts (Römische Abteilung)*, Heidelberg 1967, *Archäologische Forschungen in Lukanien II*, devoted to *Herakleistudien*, F. Sartori (16-95) has examined a wide variety of themes concerned with Heraclea, and on pp. 40-57 he has presented the text of *IG XIV 645* together with an Italian translation, followed by a wide-ranging commentary. He does not believe (p. 59) that the Heracleian constitution was necessarily modelled upon the one in Sparta, especially since there had been an interlude in Tarentum. On pp. 64ff. he discusses the curious letters and emblems preceding the names contained in *IG XIV 645* and sees in them a vast organization of families into groups.

<sup>18</sup> See Münsterberg, *Beamtennamen*, 11, and H. Pfeiler, *Jahrbuch für Numismatik* 15 (1965) 49-51 (*non vidi*).

casation repaid—money from the temple-treasury. In his *Stato e società in Locri Epizefiri (L'archivio dell' Olympieion locrese)*, Naples 1972, he has assembled and published all of them.<sup>19</sup> They belong to the period of 350-250 BC. Each entry is dated by reference to the eponymous magistrate, whose title unfortunately is never given. His name and the names of the other officials named in the entries are regularly preceded by a three-letter abbreviation: no. 1, Ἄστ( ) ἐπὶ Μενάλκεος; no. 2, Κοβ( ) ἐπὶ Χαριξένω; no. 3, Ευρ( ) ἐπὶ Νεαίθωνος, etc.<sup>20</sup> The phrases are followed by the names of other city officials. In tablet 4 and 33 archontes are mentioned. The pertinent part of the entry in no. 4 (lines 6-12) runs as follows: ἔδοξεν τᾷ βωλᾷ καὶ τῷ δάμωι τῶς ἱερομνάμονας ἐν χαλκὸν γράψαι τὰν χρῆστιν τὰν Τηλ( ) ἐπὶ Εὐθυμίδα τῷ σίτω τῷ ἐπακτῷ τὰν τιμὰν τὰν οὐκ ἀπέδωκαν τοὶ ἄρχοντες τοὶ Φω( ) ἐπὶ Νεοδάμω τάλαντα, followed by the figures for 654 and 1 stater. F. Costabile in *La Parola del Passato* 35 (1980) 104-122 believes that an archon was eponymous, basing this on his re-examination of an old stamped tile, which he reads as ἄρ(χοντος) Εὐθύμου, having detected a tiny rho above the alpha. I believe that we have here at Locri a college of archons, of whom the chief or president was the eponymous magistrate.

#### 234. NEAPOLIS

Strabo (5.4.7) reports that at some time (fifth century BC?) the Greek city of Naples was forced to admit Campanians, i.e. Samnites, into their city. As proof of this he says that the earliest names of the city's demarchs were only those of Greeks, while later the names are both Greek and Campanian. This implies that Strabo had access to, or knowledge of, a list of such demarchs, which does not necessarily mean that the demarchs were eponymous at Naples, but it strongly suggests it (see Sartori, *Problemi* [above, n. 14] 46-48). That the demarchs were actually eponymous in the Roman era can be substantiated by an inscription from AD 71 (*IGRR* I 452 = Dessau, *ILS* 6460): *P. Plotio P.f. Pal. Faustino scribae publico Neapolitan. aedilicio, Plotia Nome uxor. ἐπὶ ὑπάτων Λ. Ἀκειλίου Στράβωνος καὶ Σέξτου Νερανίου Καπίτωνος, δημαρχούντος Ἐρεννίου Μνηστῆρος*, followed by the date in Roman fashion and the formulae of a decree of the senate in Roman style but in Greek. Another similar decree (*AE* 1913, 134) honoring a certain L. Munatius Hilarianus is dated also by the local demarch of Naples. And Hadrian himself (*SHA Hadrianus* 19.1) served as demarch in Naples, a sure indication—or almost sure—that the office was indeed eponymous.

<sup>19</sup> See *SEG* XXVI 1141, XXVII 675, and XXIX 950. Cf. J. and L. Robert, *Bulletin* 1965 no. 494, 1966 no. 508, 1970 no. 677, and 1980 no. 591. For the relations between the temple and the city of Locris see L. Migeotte in *Comptes et inventaires dans la cité grecque* (Festschrift Jacques Tréheux), Neuchâtel and Geneva 1988, 191-203.

<sup>20</sup> De Franciscis calls these three letters a 'demotic', but D. Lewis in *Klio* 52 (1970) 247-253 tentatively believes that 'the demotic is in some sense part of the designation of the year' and that each year a particular 'deme' supplied the officials. The manner in which the archons are mentioned in tablet no. 4 preceding one of these three-letter abbreviations lends support to his belief.

## 235. PETELIA

A bronze plaque concerning the bestowal of property (*IG XIV 636* = Schwyzer, *GDE* 436, 1) from the late sixth century BC records a possible eponymous damiorgos: θεός, τύχα· Σάοτις δίδοτι Σικαινίαι τὰν φοικίαν καὶ τὰλλα πάντα. δαμιοργὸς Παραγόρας· πρόξενοι + five names without patronymics. The damiorgos may have been included to authenticate the document, but his presence may also serve to date it.<sup>21</sup> A similar document from Crimisa, another Achaean colony in Italy, recorded the damiorgos in this position in the Genitive Case: above, s.v. 230. CRIMISA. Brick stamps from Petelia (*SEG XXXIV 1009* and *XXXVI 921*) show the names of two magistrates, probably *duoviri*. In my opinion we may accept the damiorgos as eponymous in Petelia.

## 236. RHEGIUM

In the second century BC the eponymous official at Rhegium was a prytanis. *IG XIV 612* (*SIG<sup>3</sup> 715*) is decisive. It is a decree from that city whose prescript begins: ἐπὶ πρυτάνιος Νικάνδρου τοῦ Νικοδάμου, βουλᾶς προστατέοντος Σωσιπόλιος τοῦ Δαματρίου, Χίωι, Ἰππίου δυοδεκάται, ἔδοξε τῶι ἀλία[ι] etc. In other inscriptions archons are mentioned, notably in *IG XIV 615* where there are four of them. Sartori (*Problemi* [above, n. 14] 139ff.) believes that in this second century the eponymous prytanis had been the president of a college of four archons with himself as the fifth member. After the Italian War in the next century we regularly hear of two and sometimes three symprytaneis, and the combination of 'prytanis and pentaeteric archon' appears. *IG XIV 617*: πρύτανις ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου καὶ ἄρχων πενταετηρικὸς Σέξ. Νουμώνιος Σέξ. υ(ἰὸς) Ματοῦρος. συμπρυτάνεις + three names with patronymics. Later, when the municipal government had become Roman, the magistrates are the usual *quattuorviri* and the Greek-style eponyms are gone (see Sartori, 140).

## 237. TARENTUM

Founded by Spartans in the eighth century BC and becoming a democracy about 475 BC, Taras (called Tarentum by the Romans) in turn founded Heraclea, where we know that the eponymous magistrate was the ephor (see above, 232. HERACLEA). Thus, one might easily assume that the ephor was also eponymous at Taras in keeping with the Dorian tradition at Sparta. No document, however, supports that assumption. Nevertheless, I am inclined to support it and to believe tentatively that the numerous names of magistrates that appear on Tarentine coins are those of the eponymous ephors.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>21</sup> See also Veligianni-Terzi, *Damiurgen 57*. See also K. Murakawa in *Historia* 6 (1957) 390.

<sup>22</sup> Sartori, *Problemi* (n. 14) 84ff. discusses the constitutional matters very fully. For the whole history of Taras see now G.C. Brauer, Jr., *Taras. Its History and Coinage*, New York 1986, who, however, does not commit himself on the question of the eponymous magistrate. Sartori remarks, however (p. 86): "Certo all'eforate dovette rimanere l'onore dell'eponimia, come sembra potersi ricavare da monete tarantine del IV e del III sec. a C. nelle quali appaiono nomi di magistrati, sempre che si tratti veramente di efori anziché di monetieri." It goes without saying, of course, that Tarentine eponymity is still an open question until direct evidence is found.

## 238. TERINA

*SEG IV 73* (Schwyzer, *GDE* 436, 3) of the fourth century BC is a testamentary type of document similar to those from Crimisa and Caulonia (?), and accordingly a reference to an eponymous damiorgos has been restored in the mutilated portion of its opening line, but without any real support from Terina itself. More evidence is needed.<sup>23</sup>

## 239. VAGLIO in Lucania

A few miles east of Potentia in Lucania is the modern village of Vaglio, where a most interesting inscription has been found. It was published by M.T. Manni Piraino in *La Parola del Passato* 23 (1968) 451 no. 28, and is a stone block from the fortification-wall of the site: ἐπὶ τῆς Νυμμέλου ἀρχῆς. That is all.<sup>24</sup> The letters are of the fourth century BC, the dialect Ionic. This Oscan village, whose ancient name is unknown, clearly must have been penetrated by Greeks and the magistrate Nymmelos seems to reflect the Oscan *meddix*. Thus, the Greek population saw it as an eponymous office and used it as such. Piraino (*op. cit.* 456 n. 105) believes that here the 'archon' is the first of the two *meddixes* of the village.

## 240. VOLCEI in Lucania

Not far to the west of Potentia is Volcei where three mutilated lines of an inscription have been found (*IG XIV 667*):

[— — —]ΕΠΙΚΑΣΑΟΥ  
[— — —]ΠΙΣΣΙΑΙΝΟΥ  
[— — —]ΑΡΧΟΝΤΟΣ

The formula here appears to be one of eponymity: ἐπὶ + name and patronymic, then ἄρχοντος. As in the inscription from Vaglio to the east of Potentia, this seems to be another case of an old Oscan village penetrated by Greeks. G. Kaibel, in his commentary in *IG XIV 667*, says that the stone appears to have been brought into Volcei from elsewhere, but the example of Vaglio points to the Greeks using 'archon' to express *meddix*. Both inscriptions bear testimony to the Hellenization of this part of Lucania, in the interior.

**OBSERVATIONS**

Now that the evidence for the Greek eponymous officials has been laid out on a geographical basis, we may summarize important aspects of the investigation. Reference to the material will be made most often in three ways: first by the Roman numeral to designate one of the five installments of this study (see n. \* on p. 267), then by the number prefixed to each district or city, and finally by the name of the district or city.<sup>25</sup> Full epigraphical, numismatic, or literary discussion will be found in the various installments.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Sartori, *Problemi* 122-123, who notes that in place of δαμιοργέοντος one could restore πρυτανεύοντος. *SEG IV 73* records a prytanis at Terina but not as an eponym.

<sup>24</sup> See J. and L. Robert, *Bulletin* 1967 no. 878 for an earlier discussion of the discovery of the inscription.

<sup>25</sup> For example, a reference to I 6 ATTICA indicates the first installment in *ZPE* 83 (1990), geographical item no. 6, which contains the evidence for Attica. Installments I-II contain the evidence for mainland Greece,

### A. The Titles of Eponymous Officials

1. ἀγωνοθέτης: I 3 AETOLIA (Aetolian Confederation); II 16 WEST LOCRI; III 121 ILIUM (koinon of cities in the Troad).
2. αἰσυμνήτης: II 40 NAXOS; IV 136 MILETUS; IV 144 OLBIA; IV 170 SINOPE.
3. ἀμφίπολος: V 218 ACRAE; V 227 SYRACUSE.
4. ἀρχιερέυς: IV 128 LYCIA (League); IV 167 SIDYMA (of the imperial cult); IV 199 BENT-DJEBEL (in Syria); IV 205 HAMMARAH (in Syria); IV 207 LAODICEA (in Syria, dynastic cult).
5. ἀρχιπρόβουλος: IV 153 PISIDIA (Termessus).
6. ἀρχός: II 16 WEST LOCRI (of joint state Myania-Hypnia).
7. ἄρχων: I 3 AETOLIA (Phistyum and Potidania); I 5 ARGOLID (Phleius); I 6 ATTICA (*passim*); I 7 BOEOTIA (Confederacy and all its cities); II 9 DORIS (Kytinion and Erineos); II 12 EUBOEA (Carystus, Eretria, Histiaea); II 15 EAST LOCRI (Halai, Opus, Scarphea, Thronium); II 16 WEST LOCRI (Amphissa, Bouttos, Chaleion, Physceis, Tolphon); II 21 PHOCIS (Delphi); II 22 THESSALY (Angeai? Halos, Hypata, Lamia, Melitaia, Olooson? Thaumaci); II 23 ISLANDS ADJACENT TO MAINLAND (Sam´ on Cephallenia); II 24 AMORGOS (Aigiale, Arcesine); II 25 ANDROS; II 28 CEOS (Carthaea, Iulis); II 32 DELOS; II 33 IMBROS; II 34 LEMNOS; II 38 MELOS; II 39 MYKONOS; II 40 NAXOS; II 43 OLIAROS; II 44 PAROS; II 47 SAMOS (klerouchic); II 53 TENOS; II 54 THASOS; III 59 AEZANI (in Phrygia); III 65 ANCYRA (?); III 76 BAGIS (in Lydia); III 78 BLAUDUS (in Mysia); III 99 DALDIS (in Lydia); III 101 DERBE; III 108 HADRIANEIA; III 109 HADRIANOI; III 123 IULIA GORDUS; IV 124 LAGINA; IV 135 MILETOPOLIS; IV 138 NICAEA (?); IV 144 OLBIA (late); IV 153 PISIDIA (unknown ancient city); IV 154 POMPEIOPOLIS (?); IV 157 PRUSIAS AD HYPIUM (?); IV 162 SEBASTE (? in Phrygia); IV 163 SEBASTOPOLIS; IV 164 SEBASTOPOLIS (in Caria); IV 177 TABAE; IV 178 TANAIS; IV 182 THRACE (many cities with an eponymous first-archon at head of a συνναρχία); IV 183 THYATIRA; IV 189 TRAIANOPOLIS (in Phrygia); IV 194 TYRAS (late); IV 198 BALANAEA (? in Syria); IV 206 HELIOPOLIS; IV 210 SELEUCIA (in Susiana); V 223 ENTELLA (in Sicily).
8. βασιλεύς: I 5 ARGOLID (Argos); II 19 MEGARID (Aegosthena, Megara); II 48 SAMOTHRACE; III ASSUS (?); III 81 CALLATIS; III 87 CHALCEDON; III 89 CHERSONESUS; III 112 HERACLEA (Pontus).
9. βούλαρχος: I 3 AETOLIA (Confederacy); II 16 WEST LOCRI (Amphissa).

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the adjacent islands, and all of the Aegean; III covers half of the evidence for Thrace, the Black Sea area, and Asia Minor; IV completes the evidence for III, continues with Syria and the East, and concludes with North Africa; and V refers to the first part of the present installment discussing the evidence for Sicily and Italy. A total of 240 entries, with those in the first installment subdivided into cities under larger rubrics such as AETOLIA or BOEOTIA. All districts and cities have been arranged alphabetically in those installments.

10. γραμματεύς: I 2 ACHAEA (Confederacy); I 4 ARCADIA (Megalopolis, synedrion); I 5 ARGOLID (Corinth?); II 11 EPIRUS (Ambracia); II 16 WEST LOCRI (Naupactus, thearoi); II 20 MESSENA (Messene).
11. γροφεύς: I 5 ARGOLID (Argos).
12. δήμαρχος: V 234 NEAPOLIS. Dating by local demes used a demarchos, but these are not the state or national eponym: see I 6 ATTICA (f) and II 30 COS.
13. δημιουργός: I 2 ACHAEA (Confederacy, and in Tritaea); I 3 AETOLIA (Calydon); I 4 ARCADIA (Lousoi); I 5 ARGOLID Mycenae?); II 10 ELIS (Olympia, Makistos); II 23 ISLANDS (Ithaca); II 24 AMORGOS (Minoa); II 26 ASTYPALAIA; II 31 CRETE (Olos, Polyrrhenia); II 42 NISYROS; II 46 RHODOS (Kamiroi, and, on the Peraea, Syme and, in the islands, Telos); II 47 SAMOS; III 64 ANAZARBUS (in Cilicia); III 66 ANISA; III 72 ASPENDUS; III 93 CNIDUS; III 115 HIERAPOLIS CASTABALA (?); IV MALLUS (?; Cilicia); IV 149 PERGE (?); IV 153 PISIDIA (Pogla?); IV 166 SIDE (combined with a priesthood); IV 169 SILLYUM; IV 179 TARSUS; V CAULONIA (in Italy); V 230 (CRIMISA); V 235 PETELIA (?).
14. ἑλληνάρχης: IV 178 TANAIIS (combined with an archon).
15. ἐπιμελητής: II 32 DELOS (usually combined with the archon, but often alone after the first century).
16. ἐπιστάτης: II 17 MACEDONIA (Amphipolis, Leukadia, Thessalonika).
17. ἔφορος: II 14 LACONIA (Sparta); II 55 THERA; V 232 HERACLEA (in Italy); V 237 TARENTUM (founded by Sparta and then in turn founded Heraclea).
18. ἡγεμών: II 12 EUBOEA (Chalcis).
19. θεαρός: I 4 ARCADIA (Orchomenos; later replaced by a demiourgos).
20. ἱεραπόλος: I 1 ACARNANIA (Actium); V 226 PHINTIAS.
21. ἱερεύς: I 4 ARCADIA (territory of Megalopolis, cities of Lycosura and Lycaeum; also in Pheneus and Tegea); I 5 ARGOLID (Epidaurus); II 8 CHALCIDIC PENINSULA (Olynthus, Potidaea [of Cassander and Lysimachus], Torone, Vrastina Kalynia); II 17 Macedonia (Amphipolis, Leukadia, Pella, Thessalonika) II 18 MAGNESIA (Demetrias, Homolion); II 23 ISLANDS (Aegina?); II 46 RHODOS (Lindos); II 55 THERA (late); III 56 ABDERA; III ACMONIA (priest of imperial cult?); III 68 APHRODISIAS (priest stephanephoros); III 74 ASTRA (?); III 85 CAUNUS (priest stephanephoros); III 86 Ceramus (probably priest stephanephoros); III 90 CIDRAMA; III 97 CYPRUS (Amathus); III 103 DIONYSOPOLIS; III 105 ERIZA; III 116 HIEROCAESAREA (of Roma); III 121 ILIUM; III 122 ISTRIA; IV 124 LAGINA (after second century BC, the priest being stephanephoros); IV 126 LAODICEA BY THE LYCUS (priest 'of the city'); IV 128 LYCIA (Araxas, Hippocome, Telmessus); IV 129 LYSIMACHIA (in the Thracian Chersonese); IV 134 MARONEIA; IV 142 ODESSUS; IV 143 OLBA (in Cilicia); IV 144 OLBIA; IV 145 PANAMARA; IV 147 PARION (priest of Caesar); IV 148 PERGAMUM

- (prytanis and priest); IV 160 SARDIS (of Roma); IV 165 SESTUS; IV 187 TOMI; IV 196 ANTIOCH (in Persis, dynastic cult); IV 204 DURA-EUROPUS (dynastic cult); IV 209 SCYTHOPOLIS; IV 211 SELEUCIA (in Pieria, dynastic cult); IV 212 EGYPT (dynastic cult); IV 217 CYRENE.
22. ἱεροθύτης: II 46 RHODOS (Tymnus in the Peraea); V 219 ADRANUM (?); V 220 AGRIGENTUM; V 225 MELITA.
  23. ἱερομνήμων: II 23 ISLANDS (Issa); III 79 BYZANTIUM; IV 150 PERINTHUS; IV 159 SALYMBRIA; IV 175 STROBILUS; V 223 ENTELLA (in Sicily).
  24. ἱεροποιός: III 106 ERYTHRAE.
  25. ἵππαρχος: III 98 CYZICUS; III 100 DASKYLEION; IV 156 PROCONNESUS.
  26. κόσμος: II 31 CRETE.
  27. μόναρχος: II 30 COS.
  28. νεοποιός: III 63 AMYZON; III 110 HALICARNASSUS.
  29. πατρονόμος: II 14 LACONIA (Sparta).
  30. πολιτάρχης: II 17 MACEDONIA (Amphipolis? Edessa?).
  31. πρόεδρος: IV 200 BOSTRA; IV 208 PALMYRA.
  32. προστάτης: II 11 EPIRUS (of Molossian state, of Buthrotus, the Pergamioi, the Thesprotai); III 63 AMYZON; III 97 CYPRUS (Old Paphos); V 215 NAUCRATIS (?).
  33. πρύτανις: I 1 ACARNANIA (Anatorium); I 11 EPIRUS (Cassope, Byllis?, Nikaia); II 13 ILLYRICUM (Apollonia and Epidamnus); II 23 ISLANDS (Corcyra); II 29 CHIOS; II 37 LESBOS (Mytilene, Methymna, Antissa, Eresos); II 41 NESOS; II 52 TENEDOS (?); III 91 CLARUS (uses prytanis of Colophon); III 94 COLOPHON; III 95 COMANA; III 96 CYME; III 104 EPHESUS; IV 127 LEBEDUS; IV 131 MAGNESIA-ON-MAEANDER; IV 136 MILETUS (archaic only, later aisymnetai); IV 148 PERGAMUM; IV 152 PHOCAEA; IV 155 PRIENE (later called stephanephoros); IV 174 STRATONICEA-ON-CAICUS; IV 180 TEOS; IV 185 TE(I)RA (in the Cayster Valley); IV 214 ANTINOOPOLIS; IV 216 PTOLEMAIS; V 236 RHEGIUM.
  34. στεφανηφόρος: (sometimes conceals earlier title): II 27 CALYMNA; II 29 CHIOS (prytanis, then given title of stephanephoros); II 35 LEPSIA; II 36 LEROS; III 62 AMISOS; III 68 APHRODISIAS; III 69 APOLLONIA OF SALBAKE; III 70 APOLLONIS; III 77 BARGYLIA; III 80 CAESAREIS TROKETTENOI; III 83 BAFI (in Caria); III 88 CHALCETOR; III 90 a CINDYA; III 102 DIDYMA; III 107 GAMBRIUM; III 110 HALICARNASSUS; (? late); III 111 HERACLEA-BY-LATMUS; III 114 HIERAPOLIS; III 119 HYPAEPA; III 120 IASUS; IV 130 MAEONIA; IV 131 MAGNESIA ON MAEANDER; IV 132 MAGNESIA-BY-SIPYLUS; IV 136 MILETUS (= aisymnetes); IV 137 MYLASA; IV 137 a NAKOKOME; IV 141 NYSA; IV 145 PANAMARA; IV 151 PHILADELPHIA; IV 155 PRIENE (= prytanis); IV 158 SAITTAE; IV 160 SARDIS; IV 161 SCEPSIS; IV 171 SMYRNA; IV 173 STRATONICEA (in Caria); IV 190 TRALLEIS; IV 191

TRICOMIA; IV 192 TRIPOLIS (APOLLONIA). N.B. It must be remembered that 'stephanephoros' could be an epithet concealing the real title: see II 29 CHIOS.

35. στρατηγός: the common eponymous official in the Greek confederacies and commonly, therefore, used locally as well within the constituent members along with their local eponyms, but occasionally used without reference to a confederacy, as possibly at Beroia (II 17 MACEDONIA) and at Attaleia (III 75).
36. συναρχία: the chief or president of a college of archons is intended, as at Amasia (III 60) and often in Thrace (IV 182).
37. ταγός: II 22 THESSALY (Chyretiai, Gonnos, Larisa, Phalanna, Pharsalus, Scotussa).
38. ταμίας: usually a false eponym, but perhaps a true eponym in the Argolid at Calauria (I 5) and at Smyrna (IV 171, very late, ?).
39. ὑλωρός: at Thetonium in Thessaly (II 22).
40. φρουρός: at Cius in Bithynia (III 90 b) and a προυρός at Clazomenae in Ionia (III 92).

Forty different titles illustrate very well the wide range of magistrates or officials who could be used eponymously in the Greek cities on the mainland or abroad. The raw data in this bare list must not be taken, however, to indicate that in all instances the establishment of a state or national eponym always meant a permanent condition century after century with no change. Many cities, of course, like Athens, Miletus, Lindos, and others, did retain their early eponyms for very long periods of time, while others experienced two or three or even more changes in the course of many centuries. The above list is intended merely as a guide, a kind of index. In all cases the separate entries must be examined.

### B. Double Eponyms.

Double eponymous dates are often used in cities belonging to the large Greek confederacies. A good example is the case of Epidaurus (I 5 ARGOLID) whose eponym was a priest of Asklepios, for after it joined the Achaean Confederacy, probably in 243 BC, its official documents are dated by both the strategos of the Confederacy and by its own eponymous priesthood. And similar double dating is used in the documents of cities that belonged to the other confederacies (e.g., I 1 ACARNANIA; I 2 ACHAEA; I 3 AETOLIA, etc.). In the case of the Boeotian Confederacy a change of eponymous officials was regularly forced upon non-Boeotian cities that became members of the Confederacy: they were forced to abandon their old eponyms and henceforth use the Boeotian system of eponymous archons. A good example is Megara (II 19 MEGARID), where we learn that after it was liberated from Boeotian control it reverted to its old system of an eponymous basileus.

A different sort of double dating by eponyms can be found when a document is a decree or treaty involving more than a single city. For example, a decree of the Nesiotai uses the priesthood in Rhodes and the archon in Tenos to express the date. When this League of the Islanders issued decrees it used the eponymous officials of the island on which it had its headquarters or of some member island. Cf. *IG XII 5, 824 (SIG<sup>3</sup> 620)*, 32ff.: ἀγαθεῖ τύχει. ἐφ' ἱερέως ἐν Ῥόδῳ Αὐτοκράτους, μηνὸς Σμινθίου, ἐν δ[ἐ] Τήνῳ ἄρχοντος Χαριππί-



δου, μηνὸς Ἀπατουριῶνος ἔκτει ἰσταμένου, ἔδοξεν τοῖς συνέδροις τῶν Νησιωτῶν etc. This stone was found at Tenos and dates from the time when the League was controlled by Rhodes. The identical formula is then used in numerous other situations, i.e. ἐπὶ — —, ἐν δὲ — —, sometimes with an additional phrase ὡς — — ἄγουσιν ('as — — express their time'), etc. In the Roman period there are many examples of the Roman method of dating being used alongside the Greek eponymous method. This can include mention of the Roman consuls, the provincial governor, a priest of Roma (and Augustus), a priest of the imperial cult, and a date by era (of Sulla, Pompey, etc.). The Roman era witnessed a gradual phasing out of the eponymous dating by Greek officials in many Greek cities, although it continued on of course in the larger cities until the end of the Principate. *IG XII 3, 325 (SIG<sup>3</sup> 852)* is a stele from the reign of Antoninus Pius and is dated (lines 17-21) by the names of the consuls, then the day and month in Roman style, followed by ὡς δὲ θηραῖοι ἄγουσιν, ἐπὶ ἱερέως + name and the day of the month in Greek style (see II 55 THERA). Another example is the eponymous priest of Athena Alea at Tegea (I 4 ARCADIA, Tegea). *IG V 2, 51* is dated: [ἐπ]ὶ Αὐτοκρά[τορος Τ.] Αἰλίου Ἀδρια[νοῦ Ἀντ]ωνείνου Σ[εβαστοῦ Ε]ὐσεβοῦς, ἀπ[ὸ μὲν τῆς] ἐν Ἀκτίῳ Ν[αυμαχίας ἔτ]ους ρπα, ἔτ[ους δὲ] κζ̄ ἀπὸ τῆς θ[εοῦ Ἀ]δριανοῦ ἰς τ[ὴν Ἐλ]λάδα τὸ πρῶ[τον ἐ]πιδημί[α]ς, ἱερ[έως δὲ] τῆς [— —]. The date is the 181st year from the naval battle at Actium (AD 150/1) and the 27th year from the visit of Hadrian to Greece. Similar examples of double and triple dating from the Roman period are very common.

A second eponym is also found in a single city when the traditional eponym is combined with the priest of Roma. A good example is seen in the treaty between Ephesus and Sardis very early in the first century BC.<sup>26</sup> Lines 89-91 of *OGIS 437 (I. Ephesus Ia No. 7 [II] lines 34-35)* illustrate the combination: ὡς μὲν Ἐφέσιοι ἄγουσιν ἀπὸ πρυτάνεως Σελεύκου, ἱερέ[ως] δὲ τῆς Ῥώμης Ἀρτεμιδώρου, μηνὸς Ταυρεῶνος τετράδος ἀπιόντος, ὡς δὲ Σαρδιανοὶ ἐπὶ ἱερέω[ς] τῆς μὲν Ῥώμης Σωκράτου, τοῦ δὲ Διὸς τοῦ Πολιέως Ἀλκαίου, μηνὸς Δαισίου τετράδος ἀπιόντος. The same formula is found at Cyme in an inscription honoring a certain L. Vaccius Labeo in the age of Augustus (*IGRR IV 1302 = I. Kyme 19* [see III 96 CYME]) and dated (lines 54-60): ἐπὶ ἱερέως τῆς Ῥώμας καὶ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος — —, πρυτάνιος δὲ Λευκίῳ Οὐακκίῳ υἱῷ Αἰμιλία Λαβέωνος. Similar combinations of the traditional eponym with the priest of Roma (et Augustus) can be found, e.g., in Cos (*IGRR IV 1087*; see II 30 COS); Nakokome in Lydia (*SEG XIX 710*; cf. IV 137a NAKOKOME); Nysa in Caria (*SIG<sup>3</sup> 781 = RDGE 69 I*; cf. IV 141 NYSA); Priene (Avenou-Picard in *BCH 37 [1913] 138ff.*)<sup>27</sup>

<sup>26</sup> See L. Robert in *REG 1933*, 441 n. 1 (*Opera Minora Selecta I 567*): 'Tout de même que, à cette époque, beaucoup de cités, à côté de leur éponyme traditionnel, ont un second éponyme, le prêtre de Rome', citing *OGIS 437, IGRR IV 1302*, lines 55ff., and IV 1087. The theme is taken up by R. Mellor, *ΘΕΑ ΡΩΜΗ: The Worship of the Goddess Roma in the Greek World*, 182ff., and he concludes (p. 184) that 'after 39/38 it is clear that the priest of Roma was no longer eponymous in Ephesos, perhaps the result of a misguided attempt to demonstrate loyalty to Antony who used the city as a base'.

<sup>27</sup> Mellor (*op. cit.* 184) believes that a change in eponymity was made, affecting the eponymous prytanis of Priene who had been allowed 'to wear the purple', but I think the eponymous priest of Roma was simply co-eponymous.

The city of Delos provides excellent examples of a double eponym. Although free from Athens for the period 314 to 166 BC, the port-city experienced a major change in 166, when 'free Delos' came to an end and Athenian Klerouchoi arrived. The Delian eponymous archon gave way to the Athenian eponymous archon, and an Athenian governor called the epimeletes arrived. Thereafter, both of those officials have their names affixed to documents, although either of them could be used separately. They are eponymous. A dedication of the People of Laodicea of Phoenicia in honor of Antiochus VIII (110-109 BC) has such a double date (*I. Delos* 1551 = Durrbach, *Choix* 122, see II 32 DELOS): ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Πολυκλείτου, ἐπὶ ἐπιμελητοῦ δὲ τῆς νήσου Διονυσίου τοῦ Νίκωνος Παλληνέως. Very often we also find a dating by a priest of Apollo, as in *I. Delos* 1592: ἐπὶ ἱερέως τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος dominated name, patronymic and demotic. Of course, this priest may be a false eponym, but nevertheless he is sometimes used alone for the date (*I. Delos* 1625-1626, 1761, and 1873). More often he appears in conjunction with an epimeletes (see II 32 DELOS).<sup>28</sup>

The island Republic of Rhodes (II 46) after its synoikismos in 408 BC brought about a political situation that caused the three cities of Lindos, Ialysos, and Kamiros to use a system of double eponymous dating. Each city retained its own local eponym but also employed on public documents the eponymous official of the whole Rhodian state, i.e. the priest of the Sun. The practice was not always used in every instance, of course, but a good example comes from Lindos in a decree of 129 BC (Blinkenberg, *Lindos* II, no. 233): ἐπ' ἱερέως τῆς Ἀθήνας [τῆς Λινδίας] Ἀριστοκράτους, [τοῦ δὲ Ἀλίου] Ἀγεστράτου, where Agestratos is known to have been a priest of the Sun at the city of Rhodes. Another example is in no. 419 of AD 22. Finally, mention may be made here of Amyzon in Caria (III 63), a city dominated in turn by Seleucid, Ptolemaic, and Rhodian authorities. Amyzonian functionaries used for dating include prostates, a college of archons, a neopoios, and a stephanephoros. Frequently the names of Ptolemaic kings also appear to date the city's documents.

### C. Change of Eponym

In many Greek cities over long stretches of time a traditional eponym may be exchanged for a different one. The reasons for this are not usually clear. At Lousoi (I 4 ARCADIA) the eponymous college of demiourgoi had apparently given way to a college of Hieromnemes by the late third century BC. The change just might have been caused by the extension of power of the Achaean Confederacy into Arcadia. And in Orchomenos in Arcadia a demiourgos replaced an old eponymous thearos. The apparent change at Chios (II 29) from prytanis to stephanephoros is illusory, for the prytanis was merely given permission to 'wear the crown' and then regularly styled 'stephanephoros'. At Naxos (II 40) the aisymnetai seem to have been replaced by an archon, although more evidence is needed. At Lagina in Caria (IV

<sup>28</sup> I believe the priest of Apollo is a false eponym. In some Delian documents very many officials and/or magistrates are named in a manner suggestive of eponymous dating, but usually they are named because of their involvement in the occasion. For example, *I. Delos* 1923 is an agonistic inscription, a dedication of ephebes, and it is dated by the Athenian archon and secondly by the epimeletes, immediately after whose names appears the name of the gymnasiarch and then the name of the paidotribe. Only the first two are eponymous.

124) a change was made from an earlier archon or archons to a priest stephanephoros. At Magnesia-on-Maeander (IV 131) a prytanis gave way to an eponymous stephanephoros, although of course, the possibility exists that the old prytanis had always been able 'to wear the crown', as at Chios. Coins from Magnesia in the second century after Christ seem to show eponymous secretaries. Olbia on the north Pontic shore (IV 144) had eponymous aisymnetai as early as the fifth century, but by the third century they had been replaced by priests, and in the late Roman imperial period they in turn had been replaced by the president of a college of archons. Finally, at Entella in Sicily (V 223) two and possibly three decrees are dated by eponymous hieromnemes, while four others are dated by eponymous archons. Nos. 1-2 (hieromnemes) and no. 4 (archons) of those decrees were passed in the same month but on different days, perhaps even in the same year. Perhaps a new constitution was being implemented, but the evidence is lacking.

#### D. God or Goddess Serving as Eponym<sup>29</sup>

The Greek eponymous office brought with it heavy financial burdens for the incumbent, especially if the office was a priesthood.<sup>30</sup> It bestowed prestige, of course, and for that reason was a much-coveted prize for the wealthy and well-born. The onerous nature of the office, whatever its title, is spelled out for us very well at Ephesus (III 104). *I. Ephesus* 10 from the third century AD illustrates the religious nature of the financial burdens of the city's eponymous prytanis: he is required to light the fires at the altars, offer incense and herbs, bring the annual 365 sacrificial victims to the deity at his own expense, see to the singing of paeans and the making of prayers, and he will be fined if he neglects any part of the distribution of the victim's carcass. In addition, of course, the prytanis had his other duties to perform that related to the office proper, such as reception of foreign guests, etc. The practices of the eponymous magistrate or officials varied from city to city, but the financial burden must have been considerable at times—small wonder that in difficult economic situations a city could be hard-pressed to find a citizen willing and able to hold the office. Such a difficulty can be seen very clearly at Istria in Thrace (III 122) in an inscription honoring a certain Aristagoras in the second half of the first century BC (*SIG*<sup>3</sup> 708 = *I. Scythiae Minoris* I 54). Aristagoras son of Apatourios held the eponymous office of priest of Apollo Ietros for a total of four times. The background for these repetitions is given in lines 26ff.: *πάλιν τε τῶν πολιτῶν μετὰ ἔτη τρία διὰ τὰς τῶν κρατούντων τῆς χώρας βαρβάρων ἐπισυνστάσεις ἐπιζητούντων ἱερέα Ἀπόλλωνος Ἰητροῦ, τεθλειμμένων τῶν ἰδιωτικῶν βίων ἐπέδωκεν ἑαυτὸν καὶ παρελθὼν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἀνέλαβεν τὸν αὐτὸν στέφανον τοῦ*

<sup>29</sup> See the list and comments by L. Robert, *Hellenica* 2 (1946) 51-64, and (with J. Robert) further references in *Journal des Savants* 1976, 234.

<sup>30</sup> At Nysa in Caria (IV 141) an inscription published by M. Clerc in *BCH* 9 (1885) 127ff. (Face B), from the second century AD, indicates that we should indeed consider the eponymous office a liturgy. In it a citizen of Nysa had been the eponymous stephanephoros at a time ὅταν μηδεὶς τῶν πολιτῶν τῶν ὀφειλόντων τὴν ἀρχὴν ταύτην ἀναδέχεσθαι δυνατὸς εὕρεθῆι, thus making the office of stephanephoros obligatory.

θεοῦ, διπλασιάζων ἑαυτῷ καὶ τὰς παρὰ τῶν θεῶν καὶ τὰς παρὰ τῶν εὐεργετουμένων χάριτας· καὶ τὸ τρίτον τῶν αὐτῶν καιρῶν τὴν τε πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν κατεχόντων ὁ αὐτός τελέας βουλόμενος τὰς τῆς εὐσεβείας χάριτας τοῖς θεοῖς ἀπονέμειν ἅμα καὶ τῶν ἰδίων ἀπὸ τοῦ βίου δαπαν[η]μάτων τοῖς πολεῖταις ὡς ὁμοίως δαπιλεύεσθαι ἱερήσατο· μετὰ ἐνια[υ]τόν τε μηδενὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐπιδιδόντος, τὸν αὐτὸν ἀναλαβὼν στέφανο[ν] ἱερήσατο, οὐδενὸς φεισάμενος οὔτε τῶν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς οὔτε τῶν πρὸς τοὺς πολεῖτας δικαίων· ἐφ' οἷς συνέβη τὴν τε πόλιν εὐσταθεῖν καὶ τοὺς πολεῖτας σφῆζεσθαι. Istria was fortunate in having such an individual in those difficult times. Often they brought economic depression and a scarcity of persons like Aristagoras. When no one at all could be found, recourse was had to the money in the temple treasury protected by the god or goddess. In such a year the god himself was said to hold the eponymous office in order that his treasury might be legally used to defray the year's expenses. Such a situation can be of great value in an evaluation of a particular city's economic status at particular times. A list follows.

1. Abdera in Thrace (III 56). Dionysus as eponymous hieres (BCH 37 [1913] 124 no. 2).
2. Akraiphia in Boeotia (I 7). Zeus as archon for third time (L. Robert, *Opera Minora* 1. 282).
3. Amyzon in Caria (III 63). Apollo as stephanephoros (*Fouilles d'Amyzon* no. 14).
4. Antandros in Mysia (III 67). Apollo as eponym, at least 14 times (L. Robert, *Hellenica* 2.55).
5. Anthedon in Boeotia (I 7). Zeus as archon many times (*SEG XXVII* 52).
6. Byzantium (III 79). Zeus Serapis as hieromnemon (*SEG XV* 426); Nemesis, Demeter, Dionysus, Hera, and Nike as hieromnemon (L. Robert, *Hellenica* 2.154 and 7.39 n. 5). Coins show still other divinities.
7. Callatis in Thrace (III 81). Apollo as basileus (L. Robert, *Hellenica* 2.51 for new restoration of *IGRR I* 656).
8. Chersonesus in the Crimea (III 89). Parthenos, goddess of the city, as basilissa (*IOSPE I*<sup>2</sup> 359).
9. Clarus and Colophon in Ionia (III 91). Apollo as prytanis for a total (at last count) of 120 times (Ch. Picard, *Éphèse et Claros*, Paris 1922, 6ff.).
10. Cyme in Aeolis (III 96). Cyme, city personified as goddess, as prytanis (*I. Kyme* 37).
11. Cyzicus in the Propontis (III 98). Poseidon as hipparch (*OGIS* 748, line 15).
12. Cos. *Tituli Calymnii* no. 155 has double dating, one by the eponymous monarchos at Cos and the other by the local eponymous stephanephoros at Calymna. The god Asklepios is named as the Coan eponym. Apollo is also named in a list of priests at Halasarna (L. Robert, *Hellenica* 2.57). See II 27 COS.
13. Daskyleion in Lydia (III 100). Zeus as hipparch (*SEG XXVI* 1336).
14. Ephesus in Ionia (III 104). Artemis as prytanis (*Forschungen in Ephesus IX* 1.1 p. 68).
15. Heraklea-by-Latmus (III 111). A god as eponymous stephanephoros (*SIG*<sup>3</sup> 633, lines 25ff.). See L. Robert, *Hellenica* 2.54.
16. Iasus in Caria (III 120). Apollo as stephanephoros (*I. Iasus* 177 in one series shows Apollo as eponym for the ninth time after Kleanax).

17. Istria in Thrace (III 122). Zeus as eponymous priest (*I. Scythiae Minoris* I 222, and the Dioscourai at another time (*ibid.* I 142).
18. Lampsacus in the Troad (IV 125). Aphrodite as prytanis in first decree of *I. Lampsakos* 7, and Priapus in the second.
19. Magnesia-on-Maeander in Ionia (IV 131). A god (Apollo?) as stephanephoros (*I. Magnesia* 90).
20. Maroneia in Thrace (IV 134). A coin (Münsterberg, *Beamtennamen* p. 26) shows ἐπὶ Μάρωνος (the hero Maron?).
21. Miletus in Ionia (IV 136). Apollo as stephanephoros for (at last count) 30 times: list in IV 136 MILETUS.
22. Odessus in Thrace (IV 142). Derzelas as eponymous priest (*I. Bulg.* I<sup>2</sup> 47).
23. Olbia on north Pontic shore (IV 144). A god, apparently, as archon (L. Robert, *Hellenica* 2.58, for new restoration of *IOSPE* I<sup>2</sup> 35).
24. Panamara in Caria (IV 145). Apollo as stephanephoros (*I. Stratonikeia* nos. 4 and 15).
25. Pergamum (IV 148). Hero Pergamos (?) on coins as an eponym (Münsterberg, *Beamtennamen* p. 69; cf. L. Robert, *Hellenica* 2.55).
26. Priene (IV 155). Zeus as stephanephoros (*I. Priene* 4). Also heroes Ajax, Akamas, Hippothon, and Telon as stephanephoroi, as well as god Apollo (L. Robert, *op. cit.* 54).
27. Salymbria in Thrace (IV 159). The goddess Hygeia as an eponymous hieromnemon (L. Robert, *op. cit.* 61-64).
28. Samothrace (II 48). The Great Gods as eponymous basileis (*Regibus love et Minerviterum*: Fraser, *Samothrace* no. 53).
29. Sparta (II 14 LACONIA). The god Lycurgus as patronomos for the eleventh time (*IG* V 1,312).
30. Stratonikeia in Caria (IV 173). Apollo as stephanephoros (*I. Stratonikeia* I 15).
31. Thasos (II 54). Asklepios as eponym (?): Dunant-Pouilloux, *Recherches* II no. 225, line 16.
32. Tomi on the Black Sea (IV 187). Apollo as eponymous priest (cf. L. Robert, *Bulletin* 1962, no. 230).

A special and unique case is found in Egypt (IV 212), where Ptolemy IX Soter II served as the eponymous priest of Alexander and the long list of Ptolemaic kings, including himself, the reigning king; he did so for almost all of his reign in the second half of the second century BC, and his successor Ptolemy X Alexander continued the practice.

### E. Roman Emperors and the Imperial Family as Greek Eponyms.<sup>31</sup>

#### ROMAN EMPERORS

##### 1. Augustus

- a. Heraklea-by-Latmus (III 111: *OGIS* 459, fourth time).
- b. Miletus (IV 148: *Milet* I 3 no. 127 in 17/16 and 7/6 BC).

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<sup>31</sup> For an earlier list see L. Robert, *Études épigraphiques et philologiques*, Paris 1938, 144-150.

2. Tiberius
  - a. Demetrias in Magnesia (II 18: *IG IX 2*, 1115 = strategos of Magnesian Confederacy).
  - b. Callatis in Thrace (III 81: *SEG XXIV 1026*).
  - c. Priene (IV 155: *I. Priene 142*, second time; third?).
  - d. Miletus (IV 148: *Milet I 3*, 127 at AD 8/9).
3. Gaius (Caligula)
  - a. Cyzicus (III 98: *IGRR IV 145 [SIG<sup>3</sup> 798]*).
  - b. Heraklea-by-Latmus (III 111: *OGIS 459*, listed twice).
  - c. Priene (IV 155: *I. Priene 142*).
4. Titus
  - a. Delphi (II 21: *SIG<sup>3</sup> 817*; *F. Delphes III 4*, 34).
5. Domitian
  - a. Athens (I 6: Philostratus, *Life of Apollonius* 8.16; *IG II<sup>2</sup> 1996*; *F. Delphes III 2.65*).
6. Trajan
  - a. Byzantium (III 79: Münsterberg, *Beamtennamen* p. 24, for the third time).
7. Hadrian
  - a. Athens (I 6: *ILS 308*; SHA, *Hadrian* 19; Dio 69.16.1).
  - b. Byzantium (III 79: *SEG XXVIII 562*).
  - c. Cyzicus (III 98: *SEG XXXIII 1056*).
  - d. Delphi (II 21: *SIG<sup>3</sup> 830* and 836 [second time]).
  - e. Clarus in Ionia (III 91: L. Robert, *Études épigraphiques et philologiques*, Paris 1938, 147ff.).
  - f. Neapolis in Italy (V 234: SHA, *Hadrian* 19.1, as the eponymous demarch).
  - g. Odessus in Thrace (IV 142: *I. Bulg. I<sup>2</sup> 49*).
  - h. Sparta (II 14: *IG V 1*, 32 b, and 1314).
8. Antoninus Pius
  - a. Cyzicus (III 98: *IGRR IV 117*).
  - b. Delphi (II 21: *SIG<sup>3</sup> 848*).
  - c. Proconnesus on the Propontis (IV 156: *IGRR IV 117*).
9. Commodus
  - a. Athens (I 6: *Hesperia*, Suppl. 8, 282)
10. Elagabalus
  - a. Anazarbus in Cilicia (III 64: *BMC, Lycaonia* etc. p. 34 no. 20).
11. Severus Alexander
  - a. Tarsus (IV 179: *BMC, Lycaonia* etc. p. 203 no. 214).
12. Gallienus
  - a. Athens (I 6: SHA, *Gallienus* 11).
  - b. Traianopolis in Thrace (IV 182: *I. Bulg. III 1567*).

## MEMBERS OF THE IMPERIAL FAMILY

1. Gaius Caesar

- a. Eresus on Lesbos (II 37: *IG XII Suppl.* 124).
- b. Priene (IV 155: *I. Priene* 142).
- 2. Germanicus Caesar
  - a. Priene (IV 155: *I. Priene* 142).
- 3. L. Aelius Caesar
  - a. Clarus in Ionia (III 91: L. Robert, *Etudes* 147ff.).
- 4. Bruttia Crispina
  - a. Yalova on Gulf of Nicomedia (III 79 BYZANTIUM: *I. Apameia und Pylai* 114, = wife of Commodus).
- 5. Drusus (?)
  - a. Cyzicus (III 98: *JHS* 1904. 28 no. 28).

An interesting and potentially most important historical result emerges from this list of places where various Roman emperors appeared as eponymous officials in various cities of the Greek world. It all hinges on the question whether the emperors, or even the members of the imperial family, had been physically present in a Greek city when they accepted the honor of becoming the eponymous official of the year. It is tempting to answer it in the affirmative after a glance at the case of Hadrian who is known to have travelled extensively in the Greek East.<sup>32</sup> From our list he became eponym in eight different cities, including twice in Delphi. From other evidence we know that he had visited Athens, Cyzicus, Delphi, Sparta, and earlier had made a trip to Campania, all areas in which he had been made an eponymous official. As for Germanicus Caesar, he too had been present for some time in the East by the time of his death. The case of Tiberius is more difficult, for, although he had visited the East before his accession to imperial power in AD 14, he remained in Italy throughout his reign as emperor. The evidence of the emperors as eponymous officials, therefore, in this regard should be used with caution and only as supporting evidence. Whether they were physically present or not, there still remains the fact that they would not have been expected personally to supervise all the public ceremonies and other religious functions incumbent upon an eponym. They might have defrayed the cost and left the rest up to the city fathers to implement. And here we do have evidence to show that aides or assistants existed to take the places of those who for one reason or another were unable to be physically present, the case of the divinity holding the eponymous office being a good example of such a situation. Obviously someone had to take the place of the divinity throughout the year. *IG V* 1, 541 is a base honoring a certain P. Memmius Pratolaus, an ἐπιμελητὴν τῆς θεοῦ Λυκούργου πατρονομ[μίας] τὸ δ', (κ)αὶ μόνον καὶ πρῶτον τῇ [ἐαυ]τοῦ πατρονομίᾳ συνάψαν[τα] τὴν ἐπιμέλιαν τῆς θεοῦ Λυκ[ούργ]ου τὸ δ' π[ατ]ρο(νομίας). Clearly he had served to perform the ordinary functions of the eponymous patronomos at a time when the god Lycurgus was the patronomos. Similar is *IG V* 1, 275, also from Sparta, in which a C. Iulius Charixenus makes a dedication

<sup>32</sup> For Hadrian's travels see A. Garzetti, *From Tiberius to the Antonines*, London 1974, 386-401, 684-6, and 764, and for Hadrian in Asia Minor see Magie, *RRAM* 1.613ff. with the notes. For the presence of Hadrian in Thrace see the Arabic translation of Polemon's *Physiognomica* as translated into English: R.K. Sherck, *The Roman Empire: Augustus to Hadrian*, Cambridge 1988, 186 no. 147.

to Artemis, but his name is followed by ἐπὶ Σικλείδα πατρονομούντος ὑπὲρ αὐτὸν Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου Ἀρμονεΐκου. To me this means that Tiberius Claudius Harmoneikos was eponymous patronomos 'on behalf of him', suggesting that for some reason Sikleidas could not finish out the year or was otherwise unable to perform the expected functions of the office. Such a substitute would have been available to take the place of emperors and other high dignitaries as well.<sup>33</sup>

### F. The Creation of Eponymous Offices

A number of texts give evidence of the introduction of an eponymous office into a Greek city or institution. Of these the most well-known historically is the case of Syracuse, when, in or soon after 345 BC, Timoleon liberated the city from the tyranny of Dionysius and instituted a democratic government. This included the introduction of the eponymous office of an amphipolos of Olympian Zeus, and he adds that the first amphipolos was called Kallimenes son of Alkadas. Diodorus then states that the Syracusans named their years after these officials down to his own time and to the age in which the granting of Roman citizenship weakened the eponymous office.<sup>34</sup> This last point (Diod. 16.70.6) illustrates what the epigraphic texts show so well, that even in Greek areas where the Roman citizenship may not have been very widespread the use of the Roman consul and the imperial titulature took precedence over the old Greek eponymous method. Only in the larger cities did its use continue into the later years of the Principate, with exceptions. From Bargylia in Caria (III 77) comes a most important inscription containing a decree passed in or soon after 129 BC in honor of a certain Poseidonios, who *inter alia* had in the past introduced the use of stephanephoroi as eponymous officials: *I. Iasos* II 612 (= M. Holleaux, *Études* 2.180). There is also the case of Pergamum (*I. Pergamum* 613 [OGIS 264]): a document which at its mutilated beginning (see IV 148) records that a certain Archias persuaded the city to appoint annual prytaneis which continued to serve in office down to the time of the engraving of the document (second century after Christ). Archias was the first prytanis and the office was instituted in the fourth century BC. In addition we also have texts which inform us about the introduction of eponymous priests or priestesses to officiate in the dynastic cults of the Seleucids (see IV 207 LAODICEA in Iran) and, possibly, of the Ptolemies (IV 212 EGYPT).<sup>35</sup>

<sup>33</sup> A large number of high dignitaries *inter alios* include Alexander the Great at Miletus (IV 136) in 334/33 BC, Asander at Miletus in 314/13 BC, Demetrius at Miletus in 295/94 BC, Antiochus I in 280/79 BC, and King Mithridates of Pontus at Miletus in 86/85 BC. Even Roman governors were sometimes made eponymous officials: *SEG* XXVII 369 has ἐπὶ ἱέρειῳ Ἰουλίου Σεουήρου ν ὑπατικοῦ. For some others see s.v. I 6 ATHENS. As for aides or assistants to the eponymous official there is the fact that at Tenos (II 53) the archon eponymous is accompanied by an archis who appears (*SEG* XIV 555 and *IG* XII 5, 903; cf. nos. 900-902, 908, and 909) to act as an assistant.

<sup>34</sup> He states that this was a period of over three hundred years. For the text see V 227 SYRACUSE, above with n. 10 (Diod. 16.70.5-6).

<sup>35</sup> For the Seleucids the pertinent document was published by L. Robert (*Hellenica* 7, p. 7), and for Egypt the Rosetta Stone and the Canopus inscription. For the difficult interpretation of the relevant lines Ros. 50-52 and Can. 22f. (17f. Bernand) see IV 212 EGYPT with n. 114. If the two inscriptions refer to the eponymous



### G. Endowments for Perpetual Eponymous Offices

An endowment, of course, is a gift of money or property to some public or private institution or to a single individual and is often earmarked for a specific purpose. In the ancient world they were very common among the wealthy and were usually initiated out of a sense of public pride or responsibility, although in addition they allowed the donor to be content with the knowledge that his name would remain in the minds of his citizens long after his death. The funds regularly generated interest from the principal, and it was the interest that supplied the funds for the specific project. Very often the projects were for the supplying of oil for the gymnasia in the Greek cities or for some other liturgy. Thus, endowments for the expenses of burdensome public offices were particularly welcome.<sup>36</sup> Almost a century ago A. Wilhelm recognized that the phrases δι' αἰῶνος, εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, or simply αἰώνιος when applied to a magistracy referred to an endowment set up to defray the expenses of the office.<sup>37</sup> Perpetual eponymous offices of this nature come to our attention in a number of Greek cities. At Apollonia of Salbake in Caria (III 69) the base of a statue of Commodus contains the phrase ἐκ χρημάτων Στράτωνος Νεικοστράτου τοῦ Στράτωνος δι' αἰῶνος στεφανηφόρου (*MAMA VI* 157 [J. and L. Robert, *La Carie* II no. 152]). From Sillyum in Pamphylia there is a perpetual demiourgos that seems to be eponymous: ἔτι καταλιπούσης καὶ εἰς αἰώ[νιον] ἐαυτῆς δημ[ι]ουργίδα (K. Lanckoronski, *Städte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens* (Wien 1890) I 177 no. 61, lines 8ff.). At Mytilene (II 37 LESBOS) was a certain Flavia Publicia who had been τὰν δι' αἰῶνος πρύτανιν (*IG XII* 2, 240). At Ptolemais (V 216) we learn of a Dionysios son of Mousaios who had been πρύτανιν διὰ βίου (*OGIS* 50), and a similar phrase occurs in *OGIS* 51. At Aphrodisias (III 68) we find an eponymous dating ἐπὶ [στ]εφανηφόρου τὸ δ' Κλ(αυδίου) Ἀντωνίου Ἀττάλου ἥρωος (*MAMA VIII* 537), where the word ἥρωος means 'dead', the implication being that an endowment had been established by the deceased or in his name for a perpetual eponymous stephanephoros. The most interesting example of all, however, comes from Magnesia by Sipylus (IV 132). A grave monument (*I. Magnesia am Sipylos* no. 20) of the second century AD sets up an endowment for the future security of the city's eponymous office of stephanephoros. New fragments have been found and the best text is now that of P. Herrmann (*SEG XXX* 1390).<sup>38</sup> The entire text is worthy of reproduction here:

A 1 [v.?] Ἐπὶ στεφανηφόρου Π. Αἰ[λίου Ἀπ]ολλωνίου νε(ωτέρου), μηνὸς Δαΐσιου  
 γ' [...]

priesthoods, they would not order the introduction of the use of this dating method, but rather confirm existing practice.

<sup>36</sup> Although old and in need of revision, the work of B. Laum, *Stiftungen in der griechischen und römischen Antike* I-II, Leipzig-Berlin 1914, is still fundamental. There is a fine summary with bibliography by F.M. Heichelheim in the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*<sup>2</sup>, Oxford 1970, s.v. Endowments.

<sup>37</sup> R. Heberdy and A. Wilhelm, *Reisen in Kilikien* (Denkschriften der Akad. in Wien 44 [1896]) 153-154. Cf. L. Robert, *Opera Minora* II 810-812.

<sup>38</sup> P. Herrmann in *Studien zur antiken Sozialgeschichte*, edited by W. Eck, H. Galsterer, and H. Wolff, Wien 1980, 340-356, with photograph.

- [Π. Α]ιλίου Μενεμάχου Κλαυδιανοῦ καὶ Π. Αιλίου Διοκλέους [Κλαυ]διανοῦ·  
 ΤΑ[.]
- [...]Ν εἰς αἰώνιον στεφανηφορίαν καθὼς ὑπογέγραπται *vacat*  
 4 [...] τόκος αὐτῶν τροπαϊκίαιος ἄρξει τῇ πόλει ἀπὸ τῆς κεβαστῆς τοῦ  
 Δ[εῖ]ο[υ]
- [μηνὸς τ]οῦ ἐπὶ Σ[.....]Ο[.....]Υ Παπί[ο]υ ἥρωος τὸ γ' [ ca. 20 ]  
 B [- - - - - ?]  
 1 κατὰ τὴν τοῦ]  
 [Αὐτ]οκράτορος διάταξιν [ (ca. 32) ἐ-]  
 [ὰν] ἐπέιξῃ ἢ στεφανηφορία ΕΠΙΓΡ[.....]ΝΟΥ. στεφανηφορία Π[.....]  
 4 [Π.] Αιλίου Μενεμάχου Κλαυδιανοῦ καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν ὅταν ἀθροισθῇ π[ρό-]  
 σοδος ἐκ τῶν τόκων ἐπιγραφῆσεται στεφανηφόρος Π. Αἴλιος Διοκλ[ῆς]  
 Κλαυδιανός, καὶ οὕτως ἢ [διαδ]οχῇ τῶ[ν σ]τεφανηφοριῶ[ν δι'] ἐπιγραφῶ[ν].

Menemachos and Diokles are the joint founders of the endowment and they will take turns in perpetuity in holding the eponymous office, but only when necessity forces the use of the interest on the principal—[ἐὰν] ἐπέιξῃ, as the inscription says. The arrangement naturally continues after the death of each man and the arrangement is protected from the misappropriation of the funds by an imperial *constitutio* (διάταξις). Notice the use of the word ἥρωος in the dating.

One last case, at Nysa in Caria (IV 141), gives us an interesting alternative to αἰώνιος. It runs as follows (M. Clerc in *BCH* 9 [1885] 127ff.): καὶ τῇ πόλει τὴν στεφανηφορίαν ἀθάνατον παρασχών, ὅταν μηδεὶς τῶν πολειτῶν τῶν ὀφειλόντων τὴν ἀρχὴν ταύτην ἀναδέχεσθαι δυνατὸς εὔρεθῆι.

## H. Women as Eponymous Officials

Especially in Asia Minor women are known to have held public offices.<sup>39</sup> It is only natural, therefore, that we also find them holding the eponymous offices. One must be cautious, however, in evaluating the evidence. At Maeonia in Lydia (IV 130) there has come to light an inscription honoring the emperor L. Verus (*TAM* V 1, 542) and bearing the date ἐπὶ στεφανη[φόρων .] Αιλίου Νέ[ωνος] Ἰου]λιανοῦ καὶ [- - -]ίας Σαβείνας [τῆς γυναι]κὸς ἀλ[τοῦ], in which the wife may be mentioned because the husband was stephanephoros. He may have associated himself in the office with his wife. However, at Aphrodisias (III 68) the case is clear (Le Bas-Waddington 1630): ἐπὶ στεφανηφόρου τὸ τρισκαιδέκατον Ἀτταλίδος τῆς Μενεκράτους, μηνὸς Ξανδικοῦ. For her to hold the eponymous office for the thirteenth time is doubly unusual. The reason for it is now revealed in another inscription in which we learn that it is all the result of an endowment being set up for her (*MAMA*

<sup>39</sup> See O. Braunstein, *Die politische Wirksamkeit der griechischen Frau. Eine Nachwirkung vögr. Mutterrechtes* (Diss. Leipzig 1911) 40ff. His results are followed by Magie, *RRAM* II 1518-19. Magie notes that 'In most cases the woman seems actually to have been an official. In others she seems to have had the title merely because it was borne by her husband.'

VIII 413 d): ἐπὶ στεφανηφ[όρου τὸ ἔβδ]ομον Ἀτταλίδος τ[ῆς Μενε]κράτους Ἀπφίου ἡρ[ωίδος, μην]ὸς Δείου πεντε[ καιδεκάτ]η. She is here holding the office after her death. At Assus in the Troad (III 73) Lollia Antiochis, wife of a Q. Lollius Philetaerus, is described as βασιλεύσα[σα] κατὰ τὰ πάτρια, πρώτη γυναικῶν, and in all probability at Assus the eponymous magistrate was a basileus. At Yalova, part of the Peraea of Byzantium, an inscription is dated by the Byzantine eponymous hieromnemon, a woman called Bruttia Crispina, the wife of Commodus (*I. Apameia und Pylai* 114). At Clarus (III 91) Koskonía Myrtos had been eponymous prytanis very early in the second century after Christ (*SEG XXVI* 1288). At Cyzicus (III 98) *IGRR* IV 154 belongs to a date after Hadrian and records another instance of an endowment for an eponymous hipparch: ἵππαρχούσης Αὐρηλίας Ἰουλίας Μενελαίδος ἡρωίδος, etc.<sup>40</sup> At Ephesus (III 104) *I. Ephesos* nos. 1002ff. (based on the researches by D. Knibbe in *Forschungen in Ephesos* IX 1.1., Wien 1981) give the names of some 57 prytaneis, eleven of whom are women, and more are listed elsewhere. At Heraclea in Pontus (III 112) we learn of a certain Ὠλίαν Πυθιάδα τὴν πάντα ἀρίστην Ἰουλίου Πυθαγόρου τοῦ φιλοσόφου θυγατέρα τὴν ἐπώνυμον βασιλείαν βασιλεύσασαν (F.K. Dörner in *Anzeiger Wien* 1962, 30ff.). At Mytilene (II 37 LESBOS) in the age of the Antonines is a certain Flavia Publicia Nikomachis described as τὰν δι' αἴωνος πρύτανιν (*IG XII* 2, 240). At Miletus (IV 136) in a list of the eponymous stephanephoroi (*Milet* I, 3 no. 128 at AD 31/32) is named Iulia Glykonis. At Priene (IV 155) *I. Priene* 208 of the first century BC records a female eponymous stephanephoros. At Smyrna in the reign of Domitian (*I. Smyrna* II 1, no. 731) a text is dated in the eponymous office of stephanephoros Koskonía Myrtos.<sup>41</sup> This Koskonía Myrtos must have been a most influential figure in this era, for she also appears at Clarus (see above). Other such women holding an eponymous office appear at Sillyum (IV 169), T(e)ira in the Cayster Valley (IV 185), Tralleis (IV 190), Sardis (IV 160), etc.<sup>42</sup> In Egypt (IV) women are regularly found in all the eponymous cults of the deified queens, except for the Hieros Polos. And there is the case of Kleopatra III as priest of Alexander.

## APPENDIX

### Eponymous Officials of Greek Association

On the Greek mainland it had been customary from early times for the various confederacies or leagues to make use of their highest official as an eponym, usually a strategos. His name appeared on official documents of the member cities alongside that of the local eponym, and in the Roman period the priests of the goddess Roma and of Augustus were also used eponymously at times to produce double dates in the Greek cities. Quite distinct from these

<sup>40</sup> For a certain Claudia Ptolemais, also at Cyzicus, see J. and L. Robert, *Bulletin* 1972, no. 287.

<sup>41</sup> She also held the same office in AD 118 (no. 775). There is also a Flavia Diogeneia (no. 203) who was eponymous stephanephoros: cf. L.R., *Opera Minora* 2.789. Also a Claudia Phila in no. 201 and a Korre in no. 777.

<sup>42</sup> See the list by Magie, *RRAM* II 1518-1519. It should be noted that these cases are generally of the late Hellenistic and the Roman periods.

types of public eponymity was that of a more private or religious nature as found in the Greek associations, where the connection with government or political considerations was absent. A number of inscriptions illustrate the use of eponyms in associations, but the most important is one from Thasos, found in 1924 engraved on a stone block in letters of the second century BC and first published by H. Seyrig in *BCH* 51 (1927) 219ff. [= H. Seyrig, *Scripta Varia*, Paris 1985, 568ff.].<sup>43</sup> It is a decree of the Sarapiastai concerning the sale of the eponymity of the association.

Ἄγαθῆι Τύχηι.  
 ἔδοξεν τοῖς Σαραπιασταῖς·  
 τιμῆσαι τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν  
 4 τῶν Σαραπιαστῶν· ὁ δὲ  
 ἀγοράσας τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν  
 ἔξει γέρα παρὰ τοῦ κοινοῦ  
 τάδε· ἀνακείσεται ἐν τῆι  
 8 κλισίαι τῆι ἱερῶι ἔχων στρόφιον[ν]  
 λευκόν καὶ στεφανωθήσεται  
 κοινῆι καθ' ἐκάστην σύνοδον ὑπ[ὸ]  
 τοῦ δοχέως τῶι ἐπωνύμῳι στεφά-  
 12 νῳ ἀναγγελίας γινομένης ὑπὸ  
 τοῦ ἱεροκήρυκος, καὶ τὰς προσωνυμ[ί]-  
 ας τῶν διοικημάτων, περὶ ὧν ἂν οἱ  
 Σαραπιασταὶ διοικῶσιν, ἔξει παρὰ τ[οῦ]  
 16 κοινοῦ εἰς ἅπαντα τὸν χρόνον ἕως  
 ἂν ζῆι, καὶ ἐν τῶι κώθωνι συνομό-  
 ψηφος ἔσται μετὰ τοῦ ἱερέως καὶ  
 τοῦ γραμματέως καθότι καὶ ἐκεί-  
 20 νοις προστέ[τα]κται ἐν τῶι νόμῳι·  
 ὁ δὲ ἀγοράσας τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν  
 δώσει τῆμ μὲν πρώτην καταβολή[ν]  
 ἐν τῶι Γαλαξιῶνι τῶι ἐπὶ Λεωνίδου,  
 24 τὴν δὲ (δε)υτέραν ἐν τῶι ἐνιαυτῶι  
 τῶι μετὰ Λεωνίδην, τὴν δὲ  
 τρίτην ἐν τῶι μετὰ ταῦτα ἔτ[ει]  
 κατὰ ταῦτά· ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ διαφόρ[ου]  
 28 τούτου ὅπως ἂν ἀναγραφῆι τὰ  
 δοχθέντα ἐν τῶι ἱερῶι καὶ τὰ  
 ὀνόματα τοῦ τε ἔχοντος τὴν  
 ἐπωνυμίαν καὶ τῶν συνσαρα-

<sup>43</sup> Also in *IG XII Suppl.* no. 365, and reproduced by F. Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées des cités grecques (Supplément)* Paris 1962, no. 71 with a few notes.

- 32     πιαστῶν, ἐπιμελὲς γενέσθω  
        τῶι τε ἐπωνύμωι καὶ τῶι γραμμ[α]-  
        τεῖ καὶ ἀναγραφῆτῳ ἐν τῶι ἱερῶι  
        ἐν τῶι ἐπιφανεστάτῳ τόπῳ,  
 36     οὐδ' ἂν βούληται ὁ ἐπώνυμος.  
        ἐπρίατο Ὑψικλῆς Στασιμένου  
        δραχμῶν ἐνενήκοντα ἕξ.  
        ἐπώνυμος · Ὑψικλῆς Στασιμένου.  
 40     Σαραπιασταί + five names extant

Translation: "With Good Luck. It has been decreed by the Sarapiastai to make an award of the eponymity of the Sarapiastai. The buyer of the eponymity will receive the following privileges from our association: he will recline at the sacred banquet wearing a white priestly headband and he will be crowned at public expense with the crown of eponymity at each assembly by the docheus (master of ceremonies?) after an announcement is made by the sacred herald; he will receive from our association for all time, as long as he lives, the right of having his name placed on official documents concerning actions taken by the Sarapiastai; and at the banquet (?) he will have the same vote as the priest and secretary, just as has been assigned to them in our law. The buyer of the eponymity will make the first payment in the month of Galaxion in the year of Leonidas, the second in the year after Leonidas, and the third in the year after in the same way; out of this sum of money it shall be the duty of the eponym and the secretary to have the decrees engraved in the sanctuary along with the names of the person holding the eponymity and of the fellow Sarapiastai; and (the decrees) shall be engraved in the most prominent place in the sanctuary wherever the eponym may wish. Hypsikles son of Stasimenes bought it for 96 drachmas. Eponym: Hypsikles son of Stasimenes. Sarapiastai:" [first five names are extant from a long list].

It is immediately clear that the Sarapiastai at Thasos do not date their documents by the eponym of their association. When our text records that the purchaser of the eponymity must make the first payment 'in the year of Leonidas', the second 'in the year after Leonidas', and the third in the next year, it tells us that Leonidas is the annual eponymous magistrate after whom the year is named at the very time the purchaser is the eponymous of the association. Thus, I believe that Leonidas is the eponymous archon of Thasos. Hypsikles son of Stasimenes is to be viewed more as a patron who helps to support the association by buying the right to have his name on its documents. The real dating is done by naming the archon of Thasos.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>44</sup> Cf. J.H. Oliver, *The Sacred Gerusia* (Hesperia, Suppl. VI), American School of Classical Studies at Athens 1941, 3, where he refers to the present inscription and states that "the eponymous was not the priest or the administrator but a patron who really bought the honorary position and whose name stood in first place on all official documents of the society." His frame of thought was a document containing a series of letters from the emperors Marcus Aurelius and Commodus about the Gerusia at Athens (his text no. 20), which began with a heading: ἐπώνυμος Κλ. Δαδοῦχος, Κλ. Λεωνίδου [— —]. The whole dossier is now available in Oliver's *Greek Constitutions of Early Roman Emperors from Inscriptions and Papyri*, Philadelphia 1989, nos. 193-203. Significant here is the fact that Claudius Dadouchos (capitalized in *Greek Constitutions*) with his title of 'eponymos' is in the Nominative Case, and, thus apparently not used as a date.

When we examine the decrees of associations located in Athens (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1249-1355) we see that they too are regularly dated by the eponymous archon of the city and not by an eponym of the association: see nos. 1255, 1257, 1261-64, 1270, 1272-73, 1277, 1282-88, 1292, 1297-1308, 1310, etc. These are decrees largely of Orgeones, Thiasotai, Sarapiastai, and Dionysiastai, as well as of soldiers. Even the laws of the Association of Iobacchi (*SIG*<sup>3</sup> 1109) are dated by the Athenian archon, and a special case can be seen in *SEG* XXXI 122 of ca. AD 121/2 which is a decree of an eranos dated by the archon who was also a priest: ἐπὶ Τίτου Φλαβίου Κόνωνος ἄρχοντος καὶ ἱερέως Δρούσου ὑπάτου etc.

Outside of Athens the picture is much the same. A decree of the Herakleistai of Tyr on Delos (*I. Delos* 1519) is dated by the Athenian archon and only at the end do we find mention of the eponymous official of the association: ἐπὶ ἀρχιθιασίου Διονυσίου τοῦ Διονυσίου, ἱερατεύοντος δὲ Πάτρωνος τοῦ Δωροθέου (who is the honorand of the decree). In *I. Delos* 2075 the Association of Melanephoroi uses the Athenian archon for dating (124/3 BC). At Rhodes *IG* XII 1, 9 is the beginning of a list of Eranistai who made contributions for a building project: ἐπὶ ἱερέως Θεοφάνεως, ἀρχερανίστα Μενεκράτεως Κιβυράτα, and then the month followed by the rest of the heading. Here the dating is by the Rhodian priest of the Sun. At Chalcis on Euboea a decree of the Dionysiac Artists (*IG* XII 9, 910, line 8) is dated ἐπὶ ἡγ[ε]μ[ό]νος – –], and the hegemon is the eponymous magistrate of Chalcis. At Teos in Ionia a decree of Thiasotai (*SEG* IV 598 begins ἀγαθῆι τύχηι· ἐπὶ πρυτάνεως Περιγένου, and the prytamis is the eponymous magistrate of the city. At Cos (Maiuri, *Nuova Silloge* no. 439) a decree of the Dionysiac Artists begins ἐπὶ μονάρχου Χρηστίωνος, and the monarchos is the eponymous magistrate of Cos. At Callatis a decree of a Dionysiac association (*SEG* XXIV 1026) begins Φιλείνου. [ἀγα]θαὶ τύχαι· ἐπὶ βασιλέως Τιβερίου] Καίσαρος, and the basileus is the eponymous magistrate of Callatis. At Smyrna, however, a letter of Marcus Aurelius and Antoninus Pius (*I. Smyrna* II 599 = Oliver, *Greek Constitutions* [see note 44] nos. 157-58) just might be dated by the tamias of the Dionysiac Association to which it is addressed: (line 17) ταμιεύοντος Σουλπικίου Ῥουφείνου. A difficulty here is that at this period the Smyranean tamias is also eponymous.<sup>45</sup> Thus, the tamias here may be that of the city and not of the association, and I consider that to be the explanation. When a specific official of an association is called 'eponymous' he is regularly a priest.<sup>46</sup>

This picture, however, of associations using the eponymous magistrate of the host city may have some exceptions. A case in point is a document concerning the Dionysiac Artists at Syracuse, republished by L. Moretti in *Rivista di Filologia Classica* 91 (1963) 40 (*SEG* XXXIV 974). It begins as follows: ἐπὶ ἱερέως το[ῦ κοινοῦ] τῶν Μουσῶν [– – –] Ἀπολλωνίου [– – –] Συρακοσί[ου, – – –], etc. The eponymous magistrate at Syracuse was called an amphipolos, and the priest of the association here certainly dates the document.

<sup>45</sup> See IV 171 SMYRNA. Cf. *I. Smyrna* II 737, edited by L. Robert in *Opera Minora* II 1346ff. who confirms that at Smyrna in this period the eponymous tamias indeed existed.

<sup>46</sup> See F. Poland, *Geschichte des griechischen Vereinswesens*, Leipzig 1909, 348. Cf. Sherk, *RDGE* no. 57, and *IG* VII 1760.

One particular association demands special treatment because of its nature, that of the Tekmorian Guest-Friends, the Ξένοι Τεκμορείοι, found only in one remote area of Asia Minor.<sup>47</sup> It was a religious association connected with the worship of Artemis in the border area of Pisidia and Phrygia, but the origin of its name has never been explained in a satisfactory manner.<sup>48</sup> The inscriptions concerning the associations, from Saghir and Ganzana, are lists of people with the amounts of money contributed by them for the purchase of various religious items and probably also for the building or improvement of the temple. The names of about 150 people are extant along with their ethnics and show a curious mixture of Graeco-Roman, Pisidian and Phrygian. The ethnics indicate that the members of the association came from small cities and villages of the lakes area. All the inscriptions so far known date from about the middle of the third century after Christ, 338 to 365 AD, and the mere fact that the members contributed relatively large amounts of money illustrates the general financial good health of the area in an age of tremendous upheaval from the barbarian invasions. The organization of the association can be seen in Sterrett, *Wolfe Expedition*, e.g. no. 372 from Saghir: [ἀγαθῆ τ]ύχη· [Ξέν]οι Τεκμόρειοι ἐπὶ ἀν[αγρα]φέω[ς] Γαίου Γαργιλ[ίου Ὀλυμπο ?] κωμή[τ]ου καὶ βραβευτοῦ Ἀμύν[του]. Likewise in Sterrett (no. 366, line 13) we find another date κ(ἐ) ἐπὶ βραβευτῶν followed by two names with ethnics which in turn are followed by the names of the subscribers. Thus, the anagrapheis and the brabeutai are eponymous officials.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> For a comprehensive survey see G. Lippold in *RE* 5 A (1934) cols. 158-170. The association is known only from inscriptions, which were first published by Sir William. M. Ramsay in *JHS* 4 (1883) 23-45. Many others were subsequently found and published, notably by J.R. Sitlington Sterrett in *The Wolfe Expedition to Asia Minor* (Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Vol. III), Boston 1888, nos. 366-88. Ramsay has a full discussion in *Studies in the History and Art of the Eastern Provinces of the Roman Empire*, London 1906, 305-377, but his view that the priest of the association was also an imperial procurator is without foundation; cf. Magie, *RRAM* II 1326-1327, n. 44.

<sup>48</sup> I find it significant that τέκμαρ or τέκμωρ is an old (Homeric) word meaning 'fixed mark or boundary, goal, end'. This fits nicely with the area in which the members of the association lived, the borderland between Phrygia and Pisidia. The Tekmorianians may be simply the 'border' people.

<sup>49</sup> The brabeutai are well-known as village officials in Asia Minor: see *TAM* V 1, no. 234, lines 11ff., and no. 515, line 4. For others see Magie, *RRAM* II 1026. Perhaps we should also include a πρωτανακλιτής among the other officials of the Tekmorian Guest-Friends: see Lippold (*op. cit.* [n. 47] cols. 165-166. Sterrett, *Wolfe Expedition* no. 375, line 5, might be [ἐπὶ] πρωτανακλίτου Ἐρ[μογένου?].