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THE EPONYMOUS OFFICIALS OF GREEK CITIES IV. THE REGISTER PART III:
THRACE, BLACK SEA AREA, ASIA MINOR (CONTINUED)

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The Eponymous Officials of Greek Cities IV*

THE REGISTER

Part III: Thrace, Black Sea Area, Asia Minor (continued)

124. LAGINA in Caria

An honorary decree of 316 BC (*I. Stratonikeia* II 1, no. 503), found in the sanctuary of Apollo and Artemis at Lagina, begins with the prescript: ἔκτου ἔτους Φιλίππου βασιλεύο[ν]τος, μηνὸς Δίου, Ἀσάνδρου σατραπεύοντος, ἐπὶ ἀρχόντων Υσσώλλου Ἀρρίσσιος καὶ Οβροκα Μαλοσώου, ἔδοξε Κοαρανζεῦσιν, ἐκκλησίας κυρίας γενομένης σὺν τοῖς ἱεροκήρυξιν· etc. Noteworthy is the fact that both the archons have Carian names, the first of whom may have been the eponymous magistrate. Of course, both of them might have been eponymous. However, no. 549, a decree from the early decades of the second century BC, is dated by a single eponymous archon: ἀγαθῆι τύχηι· ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Λέοντος Μενίππου, μην[ὸς] Ἀ]ρτεμισ[ί]ου, ἔδοξεν Κωραζέων [— —] etc. Thereafter, at least into the second century after Christ, the eponymous official is a priest. No. 512 is a decree in honor of the goddess Hecate, probably to be dated about the time of the Roman war against Aristonicus or later in the next century. It relates an epiphany of Artemis and begins as follows: [ἐπ]ὶ στεφανηφόρου Διοκλείου τοῦ θευγενίου, [Ἡρ]ακλεῶνος ὀγδόηι ἐξ εἰκάδος, etc. The identity of priest and staphanephoros is plain in no. 513, another decree, from the second century after Christ dated in the prescript: πρόσγραμμα. [ἐπὶ ἱερέ]ως καὶ στεφανηφόρου Μάρκου Οὐλπίου Διονυσ[οκλέου]ς Μέντορο]ς Ἰουλίου, etc. This priest is almost certainly the priest of Hecate (Artemis), since the whole inscription is concerned with the protection of her sanctuary and her priests are described (lines 32-33) as annual. The priest of Hecate had been a person of great prestige from the period when Lagina lay under the dominance of Rhodes (no. 504): Μηνόφιλος Λέοντος ἱερεὺς Ἐκάτης ἀποκατασταθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν βουλευτῶν ἐπὶ τὴν ἱερωσύνην Ἥλιου καὶ Ῥόδου. A list of the priests was engraved on the walls of the temple of Hecate in chronological order, of which a number of fragments have survived: nos. 601-741. One such fragment (no. 609) contains their names from 38/7 to 28/7 BC. Sometime in the course of the next century and a half it became usual for the priests to have memorials of their individual holding of the office engraved and exhibited.

125. LAMPSACUS in the Troad

Founded by colonists from Phocaea in the seventh century, Lampsacus almost certainly followed Phocaeian forms of political institutions, and that would have included acceptance of an eponymous prytanis. However, it is not until early in the first century BC that a Lam

* Continued from *ZPE* 88, 1991, 225-260. Earlier parts appeared in *ZPE* 83, 1990, 249ff. and 84, 1990, 231ff.

psacene eponymous prytanis first makes its appearance in our extant sources: *I. Lampsakos* no. 7 (= Chr. Dunant and J. Pouilloux, *Recherches sur l'histoire et les cultes de Thasos* [Paris 1957] no. 171). This is a letter, found at Thasos, from the strategoi of Lampsacus to the magistrates of Thasos communicating two decrees conferring proxenia upon Dionysodoros of Thasos. The first decree begins with the prescript: πρυτανεύοντος Πριάπου Ἐπιφανοῦς, ψηφίσματα ἐκ βουλῆς· Ἡραιῶνος· ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ· etc. The second decree (lines 27ff.) begins with similar formula: Πρυτανεύουσης Ἀφροδίτης Ἐπιφανοῦς, ψηφίσματα ἐκ βουλῆς· Ἀπατουριῶνος· ἔδοξεν τῷ δήμῳ· etc. Here is an unusual procedure for the conferral of proxenia, carried out in two stages. In the first, in the month of Heraion, the god Priapus Epiphanous is the eponymous prytanis, while in the second, in the month of Apatourion, the goddess Aphrodite Epiphanous is the eponymous prytanis. The first was decreed by both the boule and the demos, the second by the demos alone. This inscription makes it clear that the Lampsacene month Heraion fell at the very end of the year and that Apatourion must have been the first month of that year, for it is probable that the second decree followed very soon after the first, and the change of eponymous deities certainly indicates a different year.¹

126. LAODICEA-BY-THE-LYCUS in Phrygia

A small fragment (*MAMA VI 10*) makes it probable that a priest was eponymous at Laodicea-by-the-Lycus: [ἐπὶ ἰ]ερέως [--- μην]ὸς Γορ[πιαίου ---] etc. from about the middle of the second century BC to judge from the lettering. And L. Robert, citing a number of unedited inscriptions from the same general period has shown that the eponymous priesthood is that of a ἱερεὺς τῆς Πόλεως, i.e. a personification of the city itself.² The same priest is still eponymous after the age of the Roman Aurelii, perhaps even in the early decades of the next century, when an imperial freedman by the name of Aurelius Heliodoros has an inscription set up at Laodicea (*MAMA VI 18*) that is dated at the end: ἐγένετο ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ ἱερεὶ Τρύφωνι. The Roman influence is clearly at work here, a Dative Absolute taking the place of the Greek traditional formula.³

127. LEBEDUS in Ionia

A decree of the Ionian League from the fourth century begins with the prescript ἐπὶ πρυτανεως Ἀμύντορος ἔδοξεν Ἰώνων τῇ βουλῇ etc., but then in lines 10-11 a new item appears: Ἐπὶ Χίου πρυτανε(ύ)οντος Λεβεδίοις κατα[---]. Amyntor is the eponymous prytanis of the League, and Chios the eponymous prytanis of Lebedus.⁴

¹ A.E. Samuel, *Greek and Roman Chronology*, München 1972, 131, has missed the significance of this point. Cf. the remarks of J. Tréheux in the *editio princeps* (*BCH 77* [1953] 435-440).

² L. Robert in *V² partie of Laodicée du Lycos. Le Nymphée*, edited by Jean des Gagniers, P. Devambez, Lilly Kahil, and R. Ginouvès, Quebec-Paris 1969, 316.

³ A new edition of the text is given by L. Robert, *op. cit.*, 325 with commentary. For Dative Absolutes in Greek for the Ablative Absolute in Latin see R.K. Sherk, *RDGE* no. 70, line 12, and L. Robert, *op. cit.*, 326 n. 5.

⁴ *I, Priene* 139. The editor here calls both of these men the eponymous prytaneis of Priene, wrongly I think. See Gschnitzer in *RE Suppl.* 13, col. 735. From the Panionion.

128. LYCIA and the Lycian League

Although the Lycian League may have been in existence as early as the fifth or fourth century BC, it is not until Hellenistic times that our sources enable us to understand its organization and its history. Except for a period of Rhodian control—from 188 to 168/7 BC—it enjoyed continuous existence well into the second century after Christ. Naturally, in this long period, the League experienced many changes in its structure and its procedures.⁵ As is true in the case of the Greek leagues of mainland Greece, just so here in Lycia two broad types of eponymous officials were in use: that of the League and that of the separate cities.

The highest officials in the League in Lycia were the Lyciarch and the archiereus. The majority of epigraphic documents are dated by the archiereus, and he indeed seems to have been the eponym, although there are a few documents dated by the Lyciarch.⁶ The imperial cult and the earlier cult of Roma naturally fell into the religious sphere of the archiereus. Thus, his full title in the imperial period was ἀρχιερέως τῶν Σεβαστῶν as we can see in dozens of examples from the various cities of Lycia, in contexts of eponymity. The most conspicuous examples occur in the famous series of decrees and letters on the walls of the sepulchral building of Opramoas of Rhodiapolis (*TAM* II 905), their dates running from ca. AD 103-107 to AD 152. Very often the eponymous dating includes the day and month, as in section XVI B line 1: ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέως Κλαυδίου Ἀντιμάχου Πανήνου κα', ἔδοξε τῇ κοινῇ τοῦ Λυκίων ἔθνος ἐννόμῳ βουλῇ· etc. For the full title in an eponymous context see *TAM* II 175 (Sidyma); *TAM* II 601 (Tlos); *TAM* II 838 (Idebessus); *IGRR* III 704; M Wörle, *Stadt und Fest im kaiserzeitlichen Kleinasien*, München 1988, 4ff., line 6 of the new decree of C. Iulius Demosthenes (Oenoanda). For the shorter title (ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέως + name) see *TAM* II 600 (Tlos); *TAM* II 677 (Cadyanda); *TAM* II 905 (Rhodiapolis); *SEG* XXXIII 1184 (Xanthus, 196 BC); *SIG*³ 1234 (Tichiussa). When we turn to the eponymous officials of the separate cities in Lycia, we find that the usual official was a simple hiererus. The earliest eponymous hiererus named in a local document of Lycia comes from Telmessus (*TAM* II no. 1) and is a decree of the city honoring Ptolemaios son of Lysimachos, a friend of King Ptolemaios II. It begins: ἀγαθῆι τύχηι. [βα]σιλεύοντος Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Πτολε[μα]ίου καὶ Ἀρσινόης θεῶν Ἀδελφῶν ἔτους [ἐβδ]όμου μηνὸς Δύστρου, ἐφ' ἱερέως Θεοδό[το]υ τοῦ Ἡρακλείδου, δευτέραι, etc. The date is 240 BC.⁷ The original editor (Bérard in *BCH* 14 [1890] 162ff.) believed that Theodotos was the eponymous priest of Alexander and the Ptolemaioi, but one Archibios of Pheidon is attested for that year, and E. Kalinka (commen-

⁵ See J.A.O. Larsen, *Greek Federal States*, Oxford 1968, 240-263; S. Jameson in *RE* Suppl. 13.279ff., and in *ANRW* II 7.2.832ff.

⁶ *TAM* II 497: Λυκίων τὸ κοινὸν Σέ[ξ]στον Κλ. Κλημεντι[α]νὸν Κτησικλέα, καθὼς ἐψηφίσατο τὸ ἔθνος, λυκιαρχοῦντος τοῦ ἀξιολογοτάτου Μάρ. Αὐρ. Κυρεῖνα Λαίτου τοῦ καὶ Παίτου. And cf. *TAM* II 175 with the comments of Jameson (in *ANRW* II 7.2.845-846). Larsen, of course, and others have argued that the Lyciarch and the archiereus were identical, a view that Jameson has strongly opposed: Larsen in *Classical Philology* 40 (1945) 85ff., and Jameson in *ANRW* II 7.2.844ff.

⁷ Dystros 1-24 of year 7 can be equated with May 25 - June 17, 240; Dystros 25-29 with June 29 - July 3rd, 241. The regnal year began on Dystros 25. See P.W. Pestman and alii, *A Guide to the Zenon Archive*, Pap. Lugd.-Bat. 21, Leiden 1981, 251.

tary to *TAM*) suggests that Theodotos seems to be the eponymous priest of Telmessus.⁸ That Telmessus did have an eponymous priest can be seen in *SEG XVIII* 143 of AD 43, lines 70-71: ἔτους τεσσαρακοστοῦ, ἐπὶ ἱερ(έ)ως Διονυσοφά[ν]ου το[ῦ --- ἔδοξε] Τελμησέων τῆ βουλῆ καὶ τῶι δήμωι etc. A short fragment from Lissa (*TAM II* 161) from the reign of Ptolemaios Soter (?) begins: Ἐπ' Ἐρέπ[του? ἱ]ερέ[ος --- μηνὸς --- τρια]κάδ[ι ἔ]δοξε Λισσ[ατῶν τῶ]ι δ[ήμωι ---] etc. A decree of Hippocome (*TAM II* 168) from the Hellenistic period begins: [ἐπὶ ἱερ]έ[ως Τ]ο[άλλεως τοῦ Πειγάσεως] μηνὸς Ἑρ[αιῶνος?] etc. An honorary decree for a rhetor from Ilium (*SEG XXXIII* 1184) from 196 BC begins with the date by reference to the kings Antiochus and his son, followed by the era, the month, and then ἐπ' ἀρχιερέως Νικάνορος, ἐν δὲ Ξάνθ[ωι] ἐφ' ἱερέως τῶμ μὲν βασιλέων + one name. The decree of Araxas honoring Orthagoras (G.E. Bean in *JHS* 68 [1948] 46ff. = *SEG XVIII* 570) of ca. 180 BC begins: ἐπὶ ἱερέων Ὀρθαγόρου καὶ Μηνοκρίτου, μ(ηνὸς) Δύστρου δευτέραι, etc. The plural is unusual, but perhaps out of honor for Orthagoras he was added this year alone to the otherwise single eponymous priesthood. Thus, throughout Lycia on the local level there was preponderance of eponymous priests.⁹

129. LYSIMACHIA in the Thracian Chersonese

A dedication to the hero Anaios was published by D. Hereward in the *Annual of the British School at Athens* (57 [1962] 178 no. 3 = *SEG XXIV* 648) which contains twelve names, followed (line 13) by στρατηγήσαντες ἐπὶ ἱερέως Μενεσαίχμου Ἀναίωι. No. 4 (*SEG XXIV* 649) is similar in all respects. Hence, we have here an eponymous priesthood. They date from the second century BC. The god or hero Anaios is not known elsewhere.

130. MAEONIA in Lydia

TAM V 1, no. 542 is an inscription honoring the emperor L. Verus, dated at the end: [ἐ]πὶ στεφανη[φόρων] Αἰλίου Νέ[ωνος Ἰου]λιανοῦ καὶ [.] ἱ[α]ς Σαβείνας [τῆς γυναι]κὸς αὐ[τοῦ]. No. 544 honors C. Iulius Machaerion [τὸν ἀ]ρχιερεῖ καὶ [στεφανη]φόρον. Thus, we can see that the eponymous official was a stephanephoros who could be associated in the post with his wife (or anyone else?). Iulius Machaerion had been stephanephoros and then became the high-priest of the imperial cult, the order of words indicating the prominence of the eponymous post, second only to that of the high-priest. No. 553 indicates a most unusual situation. It is an honorary inscription dated at the end as follows: ἐπὶ ἀρχοντο[ς] τοῦ καὶ στεφ[αν]η[φόρου] Καλλιγένε[ος]. The person honored has a Roman name that points to the end of the first century after Christ or in the second century. Coins from Maeonia of the second century commonly contain what appears to be an eponymous dating in the form ἐπί + name + ἄρχ. but also in the form (e.g.) ἐπὶ Φλαου. Γ. Λικιννι-

⁸ Wörle, *op. cit.* 106, supports the view of Kalinka. For Archibias priest of Alexander and the deified Ptolemies see *P. dem. Hausw.* 2, 8, and 9; G. von der Veken in W. Claryssee and G. Van Der Veken with the Assistance of S.P. Vleeming, *The Eponymous Priests of Ptolemaic Egypt*, P.L.Bat. 24, Leiden 1983, 10.

⁹ *TAM II* 1185 is a dedication on behalf of a certain Athanion who had been a damiorgos, but certainly not in any eponymous context. The inscription comes from Phaselis.

ανοῦ ἄρχ. ἀ κ(αὶ) στεφανηφόρου.¹⁰ These examples would seem to mean that at Maeonia the eponymous stephanephoros could also hold the office of archon at the same time. Whether that indicates both offices were eponymous I do not know. Could C. Iulius Machaerion in no. 544 (above) also have held both of his offices at the same time?

131. MAGNESIA-ON-MAEANDER in Ionia

I. Magnesia no. 2 from the fourth century BC is a decree that begins with the prescript: ἐπὶ Ἀπολλωνοφάνους πρυτανεύοντος μηνὸς Παλλειῶνος διχομηγνίηι, etc. No. 4 is also a decree with similar type of dating: ἐπὶ Ἀντιδάμαντος πρυτανεύοντος μηνὸς Κουρηῶνος δευτέρ[η]ι ἴσταμένου, etc., from the first half of the third century. Of similar type is no. 5, another decree, beginning with πρυτανεύοντος Ἀθηνοκρίτου μηνὸς Ἀρτεμισιῶν[ος] δεκάτη ἀπίοντος, etc., from the second half of the third century. Sometime thereafter, however, by ca. 207/6 BC, an eponymous stephanephoros replaced the prytanis in that regard. No. 16 (*SIG*³ 557) describes epiphanies of Apollo and Artemis and dates from about 207/6 BC. It contains references to eponymous stephanephoroi in lines 11-12 (ἐπὶ σ[τεφανηφόρου] Ζηνοδότου) and 24ff. ([ἐπὶ σ]τεφανηφόρου Μοιραγόρου, ὅς ἐστιν τέτ[τα]ρ[τος] καὶ δέκατος ἀπὸ Ζηνοδότου). Thereafter the use of eponymous stephanephoroi continues on into the second century after Christ: nos. 9, 10, 15, 88, 90 (god Apollo is stephanephoros), 98, 113, 116-117. The treaty between Miletus and Magnesia (*Milet* I 148 = *SIG*³ 588—for new date see R.M. Errington in *Chiron* 19 [1989] 279ff.) refers specifically to the Magnesia eponymous stephanephoros in lines 89ff.: ὡς δὲ Μάγνητες [ἄγουσιν, στεφανηφόρον Ἀριστέα etc. It must be noted here also that *I. Magnesia* 114, which concerns a bakers strike, belongs to Ephesus and not Magnesia (*I. Ephesos* 215).

A most interesting development on Magnesian coinage begins with the reign of M. Aurelius and continues on to that of Gallienus. The coins record what appears to be an eponymous dating by the secretary. For example (Münsterberg, *Beamtennamen* 94): ἐπ. γρ. Ἡγησίππου Ἀριστέου. At least 60 more similar examples are known, and numismatists have accepted these as eponymous.¹¹

132. MAGNESIA-BY-SIPYLUS in Lydia

Of fundamental importance for the political nature of Magnesia-by-Sipylos is the fact that in the reign of Seleucus II (246-226/5 BC) a treaty of sympoliteia was struck between Smyrna

¹⁰ The example quoted is taken from a coin minted in the reign of Caracalla (Münsterberg, *Beamtennamen* 140, and also in *TAM* V 1, 166). There are several other examples of coins with similar combinations of archon and stephanephoros, all from the age of Caracalla or later.

¹¹ S. Schultz, *Die Münzprägung von Magnesia am Mäander in der römischen Kaiserzeit*, Hildesheim 1975, 22-25, and K.W. Harl, *Civic Coins and Civic Politics*, Berkeley 1987, 27. Harl goes on to explain that there was an 'evolution during the first and early second centuries toward a consistent etiquette for naming eponymous magistrates on coins' and that 'Before the reign of Hadrian ... eponyms are scarce and far from uniform' (p. 26). However, as he admits, titles of the office are seldom included. Where they are given, they are usually a strategos. The Magnesian grammateus, thus, is a relative rarity. Where simple names are given, they lack the patronymic.

and Magnesia: *OGIS 229 (I. Magnesia am Sipylos no. 1)*.¹² Thus, Magnesia was incorporated into the territory of Smyrna. The purpose of the act was to make the colonists and troops of Magnesia the allies of Seleucus, for it would have made them citizens of Smyrna, which was a city loyal to Seleucus. For Smyrna itself the result was an extension of its territory. The union, however, may not have lasted too long, since evidence exists to show the later autonomy of Magnesia.¹³ An internal dating is given in line 34 of the treaty: ἐπὶ ἱερέως Ἡγησίου, στεφανηφόρου δὲ Πυθοδώρου, μηνὸς Ληναίωνος, etc. At first glance this seems to mean that two eponyms of the same city, Smyrna, existed at the same time, and that is exactly how T. Ihnken in his commentary (*I. Magnesia am Sipylos* 67) and L. Robert (*Gnomon* 35 [1963] 67 n. 8) have taken it. C.J. Cadoux, *Ancient Smyrna*, Oxford 1938, 226, n. 10, said that beside the regular eponymous stephanephoros at Smyrna this priest was also eponymous.¹⁴ I find this very hard to accept and suggest merely as a possibility that Hegesias is the eponymous priest at Magnesia, while Pythodoros is the eponymous stephanephoros at Smyrna. In all the many cases of the eponymous stephanephoros at Smyrna the priest does not appear in a similar context.¹⁵ After the treaty of sympoliteia the stephanephoros is the real eponym.

A fascinating example of eponymity is revealed to us in a grave monument from about the middle of the second century after Christ: *I. Magnesia am Sipylos no. 20*. New fragments have been found and the best text is now that of P. Herrmann (*SEG XXX 1390*).¹⁶ It sets up an endowment for the future security of the eponymous office of stephanephoros. Block A begins: ἐπὶ στεφανηφόρου Π. Αἰ[λίου Ἀπ]ολλωνίου νε(ωτέρου), μηνὸς Δαισίου γ' [. . . Π. Α]ιλίου Μενεμάχου Κλαυδιανοῦ καὶ Π. Αἰλίου Διοκλέους [Κλαυ]διανοῦ· ΤΑ[. . .]Ν εἰς αἰώνιον στεφανηφορίαν καθὼς ὑπογέγραπται. Thus, Menemachos and Diokles are joint founders of the endowment for a 'perpetual stephanephorate'. They will take turns in being stephanephoros only when nobody can be found to hold that burdensome post, i.e. when there is an emergency, when necessity forces the use of the interest on the endowment funds — [ὄν] ἐπέιξη, as the inscription says. Menemachos is first, and it will be the turn of Diokles only when the accumulated interest reaches the required amount. The arrangement naturally continues after the death of each man and the endowment is protected

¹² See also the edition by H.H. Schmitt in his *Die Staatsverträge des Altertums* III (München 1969) no. 492 with resume and rich historical bibliography.

¹³ For Magnesia's autonomy (after Apameia?) see *I. Magnesia am Sipylos no. 4* which is an honorary decree containing the phrase *συνελθὼν ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαιρεσίαις*. And no. 7 is also a decree, dated 'not before the middle of the second century', which has a heading *ψήφισμα* followed by [Μαγν]ήτων τῶν πρὸς Σιπ[ύ]λω ἔδοξε τῇ β[ου]λῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ.

¹⁴ Cadoux based his conclusion also on *IGRR IV 1393a*, which is a dedication to Domitian, after whose name and consulship is found the following: *ἱερατεύοντος διὰ γένους Γ. Ἰουλίου Φαβία Μίθρεος, τοῦ δήμου υἱοῦ, φιλοσεβάστου, ἐπὶ στεφανηφόρου Τι. Κλαυδίου Βίωνος Νωνιανοῦ*, etc. Here too he thought was a case of such double dating. In the sympoliteia between Miletus and Pidasia (*Milet I 3*, no. 149) the first line of the treaty contains the date by the Milesian stephanephoros alone.

¹⁵ In *IGRR IV 1393a* (see above, n. 14) the eponymous date seems quite distinct from the mere mention of the priest in participial form, who may be the local priest of the imperial cult and mentioned for that particular reason.

¹⁶ P. Herrmann in *Studien zur antiken Sozialgeschichte, Festschrift Friedrich Vittinghoff*, edited by W. Eck, H. Galsterer, and H. Wolff, Wien 1980, 341-342.

from misappropriation of its funds by an imperial *constitutio* — [κατὰ τὴν Αὐτ]οκράτορος διάταξιν.¹⁷

133. MALLUS in Cilicia

Veligianni-Terzi, *Damiurgen. Zur Entwicklung einer Magistratur*, Diss. Heidelberg 1977, 129-130, cites a decree from Mallus (R. Heberdey and A. Wilhelm, *Reisen in Kilikien*, Wien 1896, no. 19) which honors a demiourgos who has been a good and patriotic man, προστάντα [τοῦ δήμου καλῶς κ]αὶ μεγαλομ[ερῶς]. On the basis of this alone she believes he was eponymous. More evidence is needed.

134. MARONEIA in Thrace

About 167 BC a treaty was struck between Rome and Maroneia, the remains of which have been discovered (*SEG XXXV 823*). The beginning is missing, but it apparently contained a date by the Roman consuls.¹⁸ This was followed by the date according to the eponymous priest at Maroneia: [— — ἐπὶ ἰ]ερέω[ς — —]. Triantaphyllos has expanded this to [ἐπὶ (δεῖνος) ἰ]ερέω[ς Διὸς καὶ Ῥώμης Διονύσου καὶ Μάρωνος], some of which may be correct.¹⁹ A large number of coins contain the formula ἐπί + name without patronymic, which may indicate either eponym or the master of the mint.

135. MILETOPOLIS in Bithynia

There is no evidence for the eponymous magistrate at this city until the Roman imperial period, when coins from the reign of Antoninus and later make use of the formula ἐπὶ στρατηγοῦ and ἐπὶ ἄρχον(τος).²⁰

136. MILETUS in Ionia

In a general discussion about the origin of tyrants Aristotle says (*Politics* 5.1305a) that tyranny arose at Miletus out of the office of prytanis.²¹ Since the prytanis also occurs as an eponymous office elsewhere in this area of Asia Minor, it has been assumed that he was also

¹⁷ See Herrmann, *op. cit.* 344ff., and especially J.H. Oliver, *The Ruling Power* (*TAPS* 43, 4), Philadelphia 1953, 963-980. Similar examples of the 'perpetuity' of certain other burdensome posts are known to us, and Herrmann cites B. Laum, *Stiftungen in der griechischen und römischen Antike*, Leipzig-Berlin 1914, II, 129 no. 162 (*IGRR IV 915*) for a perpetual gymnasiarchy.

¹⁸ D. Triantaphyllos, the editor of the text, in *ΘΡΑΚΙΚΗ ΕΠΕΤΗΡΙΣ* 4 (1983) 419-449 restores the names of the consuls for 167 BC along with the names of the praetors (*urbanus* and *peregrinus*).

¹⁹ A coin from Maroneia (Münsterberg, *Beamtennamen* 26) shows ἐπὶ Μάρωνος. Maron was the eponymous hero of the city, the founder (Diodorus 1.20.2). See S. Reinach in *BCH* 5 (1881) 87ff. and 8 (1884) 50, and C. Avezou and C. Picard in *BCH* 37 (1913) 141ff. Because of the connection with wine Maron was associated with Dionysos: see Kruse in *RE* s.v. Maron, col. 1911. Cf. L. Robert in *Hellenica* 2.57. Nevertheless, an eponymous priesthood of all these deities, as Triantaphyllos sees it, is very unlikely.

²⁰ E. Schwertheim in *I. Kyzikos und Umgebung, Teil II: Miletupolis*, Bonn 1983, 77ff. gives a summary of the coins and their inscriptions.

²¹ For this passage see also above, s.v. CYZICUS, note 65. Cf. Gschnitzer in *RE Suppl.* 13. 733ff., H.-J. Gehrke in *Historia* 29 (1980) 20ff., and N. Ehrhardt, *Milet und seine Kolonien*, Frankfurt-Bern-New York 1983. 193 and 201-202.

eponymous at Miletus in the archaic period.²² Such an assumption may be correct, but it must be noted that no extant document from Miletus is dated by a prytanis. The earliest documented eponymous official is the aisymnetes. However, if the prytanis had been eponymous, as appears likely, then with the emergence of tyranny at Miletus there may have been a later attempt to defuse the power of the prytanis by transferring his eponymity to the aisymnetes, a politically neutral official.²³ Exactly when such a transfer took place is unknown, but certainly it antedated 525 BC and may stretch back into the seventh century.²⁴

Fortunately we possess a long epigraphic list of the Milesian eponymous aisymnetai—also called stephanephoroi—which begins in 525 BC and continues, with lacunae, to the reign of Tiberius: *Milet* I 3, nos. 122-128. The first stele of the list shows a uniformity of lettering down to line 81 of its second column, exactly where the entry Ἀλέξανδρος Φιλίππου is found for the year 334/33 BC. Thereafter the lettering is no longer uniform. Thus, the editor Rehm in his introduction to no. 122 concluded that the names down to that of Alexander had been recorded on the stele at one and the same time. The arrival of Alexander, therefore, must have been the occasion that prompted the engraving and publication of the first stele. Miletus had resisted the Macedonians and was besieged, only to capitulate relatively quickly. Alexander accepted the eponymous post at that time and the Milesians, viewing the event as the beginning of a new era, prepared the first stele. Its heading reads: Οἶδε μολπῶν ἡισύμνησαν. Working backward from Alexander's name we arrive at the year 525/24 BC for the beginning of the list.²⁵ The list on the first stele ends with the name of Asander, in the year 314/13 BC, and we notice that immediately after his name there is even a small vacant space to the end of the column on the bottom of the stele. The second stele picks up the names at that point, with the heading: οἶδε μολπῶν ἡισύμνησαν· Ἰπτόμαχος Θήρωνος· ἐπὶ τούτου ἡ πόλις ἐλευθέρα καὶ αὐτόνομος ἐγένετο ὑπὸ Ἀντιγόνου καὶ ἡ δημοκρατία ἀπεδόθη. The year is 313/12 BC, when Diodorus tells us (19.75.1) that Asander came to terms with Antigonus and agreed to leave the cities of Caria autonomous. The list thereafter continues, with lacunae, down to the small fragment of no. 128 which ends at the year AD 31/32, which equates the aisymnetes with the stephanephoros in the heading: στεφανηφόροι οἱ καὶ αἰ-

²² Gschnitzer and Ehrhardt, above (n. 21).

²³ Beginning in 525 BC the Milesian eponymous aisymnetes was chosen for the post from the private society of singers and dancers called the molpoi, of whom he was a member in a committee of six. Thus, the molpoi and the senior members were politically neutral. See the basic article by G. De Sanctis, "I Molpi de Mileto," in *Studi in onore di Pietro Bonfante* II (Milan 1930) 669-679 and F. Poland in *RE Suppl.* 6.510ff. Cf. the remarks of Gehrke, *op. cit.* 21. Ehrhardt, *Milet*, *op. cit.* 201, suggests that the tyrant Thrasybulos, having been the prytanis, became the eponymous aisymnetes, like Pittakos of Mytilene (cf. above, s.v. LESBOS). That seems incompatible with the nature of the molpoi. Such speculation leads nowhere. We simply do not know.

²⁴ Ehrhardt, *loc. cit.* [no. 21], pushes its beginning back to the seventh century, but without giving adequate evidence.

²⁵ See also Rehm's remarks (*Milet* 1, 3 p. 242), who points out that we ought to find the names of the leading figures at the time of the Ionian Revolt in Miletus. They are missing. Rehm adds that before 479/78 BC there could be a break in the list, but that after that year the list is trustworthy. For the period 493-480 BC there might not have been aisymnetai because of the destruction of the city, but there is no hint in the list of any such break. Thus, it is possible that the tradition continued during that period even if the sanctuaries had been destroyed. See Hiller von Gaertringen in *RE* s.v. Miletos, col. 1595 who supports Rehm's figure of 525/24 BC.

συμνήται. Thus, clearly the aisymnetai were all stephanephoroi, i.e. were granted the right to 'wear the crown'. The practice of calling the aisymnetes the stephanephoros precedes Alexander's occupancy of the post (Rehm, *Milet* 1, 3, p. 235). In this regard it is important to remember that within the territory of Miletus lay the sanctuary of Didyma and that the documents at Didyma were dated by reference to the eponymous stephanephoroi of Miletus. Thus, the two complemented each other. A. Rehm has arranged a chronological list of the known stephanephoroi and prophetai recorded at Didyma from 300 BC to the third century after Christ.²⁶ A recent publication of an inscription containing a letter of Zeuxis to Heraclea-by-Latmus seems to require a small upward shift in the list of Milesian stephanephoroi for the period of time in *Milet* I 3, no. 124, but aside from that one period ending in 184/83 BC the list appears to be chronologically reliable.²⁷

An important feature of the Milesian list is the fact that short historical annotations appear in it from time to time, as we have seen in the heading of the second stele. On that same stele (no. 123) at the year 279/78 BC is the note: Ἀντήνωρ Ξενάρους. ἐπὶ τούτου ἐδόθη ἡ χώρα τῶι δήμῳ ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου. This refers to the gift of territory by Ptolemaios II mentioned in *I. Didyma* 139 (Welles, *Royal Correspondence* no. 14). In no. 126 at the year 39/38 BC we find: Ἀπολλώνιος Ἀπολλωνίου, ὁ χρηματίζων Στρατόνικος· ἐπὶ τούτου ἡ πόλις ἐλευθέρα καὶ αὐτόνομος ἐγένετο. This refers to the attempt by Q. Labienus on behalf of his Parthian masters to conquer Asia Minor. Finally, there is the very large number of times that the god Apollo appears as stephanephoros, indicating periods of difficulty for the city. He appears for the first time in 332/31 BC in the form Ἀπόλλων Διός. A list of the years is in order:

332/31	276/75	263/62	226/25	186/85	84/83
330/29	275/74	260/59	196/95	185/84	82/81
312/11	266/65	229/28	192/91	184/83	15/14
299/98	265/64	228/27	188/87	89/88	12/11
282/81	264/63	227/26	187/86	87/86	10/9

Historical events that prompted the use of the god's treasury would have included the entry of the Gauls into Asia Minor (278 BC), the struggle between Ptolemaios II and Antigonus Gonatas (266/65 to 263/62 BC), the expansionist policy of Antiochus III in western Asia Minor and his subsequent war with Rome (197-189 BC), and the Mithridatic War beginning in 88 BC. Among noteworthy individuals who served as stephanephoroi were Demetrius Poliorcetes for 295/94 BC, Antiochus I son of Seleucus for 280/79 BC, King Mithridates of Pontus for 86/85 BC, Antiochus son of Antiochus for 79/78 BC and his son for 43/42 BC. In 17/16 and 7/6 BC the emperor Augustus held the post, in AD 1/2 it was Gaius Caesar, and

²⁶ *I Didyma* pp. 380-387. See also above, s.v. DIDYMA.

²⁷ For this new publication see M. Wörrle in *Chiron* 18 (1988) 421ff. and the article by R.M. Errington in *Chiron* 19 (1989) 279ff. Wörrle's document mentions a Heracleian stephanephoros by the name of Demetrios who may be identical with a Heracleian stephanephoros of the same name mentioned in a treaty between Miletus and Heraclea (*Milet* I 3, no. 150, lines 26-27, = *SIG*³ 633). In the treaty the date is given by the Milesian stephanephoros as well as by the Heracleian eponym (the god) who had held the eponymous post 'for the fourteenth time after Demetrios'. If the synchronism is correct, it has repercussions for the list of the Milesian stephanephoroi in *Milet* I 3, no. 124. Cf. above, s.v. 111. HERACLEA-BY-LATMUS.

in AD 8/9 it was Tiberius. Other Romans were A. Popillius Rufus in AD 2/3 and M. Cornelius M.f. Capito in AD 26/27.

137. MYLASA in Caria

The earliest documents from Mylasa bearing an internal date belong to the Persian period, and the method of dating was by reference to the satrap.²⁸ After liberation from the Persians the city's eponymous official was a stephanephoros, with many examples into the Roman imperial period. The earliest belong to the late third or early second century BC. Many of the documents are decrees of the Mylasan tribes or the tribal clans called *συγγένεια*. Typical is *I. Mylasa* no. 108 from the second century: ἐπὶ στεφανηφόρου Καλλισθένου το[ῦ --], μη[νὸς] Ξα[ν]δικοῦ ἑκκαίδεκάτη· ἔδοξε τῶν Ὀτωρκονδέων φυλῆι· etc. Others, with mention of the eponymous stephanephoros, are nos. 106 (tribal decree, second half of the second century to the first), 109 (tribal decree, ca. 76 BC), 110 (tribal decree, end of the second century), 116 (tribal decree, Hellenistic), 201 (tribal decree concerning a lease, third century).²⁹ In some cases the stephanephoros also held another priesthood, as in no. 212 (Zeus Hypsistos), whereas in no. 123, a clan decree of third/second century, it is a different god: ἐπὶ στ[ε]φανηφόρου Ξενομένο[υ] τοῦ Ἀριστάρχου ἱερέως Ἡφαίστου, μηνὸς Ξανδικοῦ ὀκτωκαίδεκάτη, ταῖς ἀρχαιρεσίαις· ἔδοξε τῆι Ὀγονδέων συγγενείαι etc. In a decree of the city (no. 102), from the second/first century, it is the secretary of the boule who is also a priest: [ἐπὶ στ]εφανηφόρου Ἐκαταίου [τ]οῦ Ἐκαταίου[υ τοῦ] Μενεξίου· [γραμμ]ατεῦοντος βουλῆι Κόρριδος τοῦ Ἐκα[τόμν]ω ἱερέως Διὸς Λα[βραῦν]δου, etc. There is no apparent reason to connect the stephanephorate with any of these priesthoods. A document of the clan of the Aganiteis (no. 220) is dated by a stephanephoros with no such connections. No. 103, however, a decree of the city in honor of Poseidonios of Byzantium, begins: [ἐπὶ στε]φανηφόρου Ὑβρέου τοῦ Πολυκρίτου [κατὰ δὲ υἱοθεσίαν Ὑβρέου τοῦ Κρατέ]ρου ἱερέως Σινυρι, followed by the name of the secretary of the boule and by the names of three archons. Sinuri was the name of a Carian deity whose sanctuary lay just a few miles east of Mylasa.³⁰ In the Roman imperial period we find documents dated first by the archiereus of the imperial cult and then by the stephanephoros of the year (*I. Mylasa* nos. 373-374).

137a. NAKOKOME in Lydia

SEG XIX 710 is an honorary decree dated to 28/7 BC: ἔτους εἰκοστοῦ καὶ πρώτου τῆς Καίσαρος τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου αὐτοκράτορος θεοῦ νείκης, τετάρτου δὲ τῆς Καίσαρος τ[οῦ] νεωτέρου αὐτοκράτορο[ς] θεοῦ υἱοῦ, which is followed immediately by the eponymous dating στεφανηφόρου δὲ καὶ ἱερέως τῆς Ῥώμης Ἀπολλωνίδου τοῦ Αἰσχρίωνος, μηνὸς Δαισίου δωδεκάτη, etc.

²⁸ *I. Mylasa* nos. 1-5 are dated first by the year of the Persian king and followed immediately by the name of the Persian satrap. For the mention in Greek of 'Satrap' see W. Blümel in Teil II of *I. Mylasa*, p. 7.

²⁹ Mylasa has produced a large number of lease-documents: collected in *I. Mylasa* nos. 201-232.

³⁰ Sinuri was originally the name of the Babylonian god of the moon, Sin. The eponymous stephanephoros of Mylasa was used to date the various acts of the syngeneia at the sanctuary. The sanctuary was administered by ἡ Πορμουνοῦ συγγένεια. See L. Robert, *Le Sanctuaire de Sinuri près de Mylasa*, Paris 1945.

138. NICAEA in Bithynia

In Nicaea, called 'first of the province', the highest magistrates were grouped into a college, comprised of a 'first archon' and two colleagues.³¹ *I. Nikaia (Katalog der antiken Inschriften des Museums von Iznik)* no. 61 is an inscription honoring a certain Onesimos who had held, among other offices, the post of first archon (lines 8ff.): ἄρξα[ντ]α τὴν μεγίστην ἀρχὴν ἐ[π'] ἀρχόντων, followed by the names of two men with patronymics. It belongs to the third century after Christ. Whether we may call the 'first archon' also the eponymous archon is problematical. There is no direct evidence.

139. NICOPOLIS in Thrace

See below, no. 182, THRACE.

140. NOTIUM in Ionia

In the fifth century BC Notium came into the possession of Colophon and its history as well as its institutions merged into those of Colophon. See above, no. 91, CLARUS, which also used the eponymous prytanis of Colophon.

141. NYSA in Caria

Nysa was founded in the early Hellenistic period within the lifetime of Seleucus I.³² The earliest references to its eponymous official occur at the very end of the first century BC. *SIG*³ 781 (*RDGE* 69 I) records that in 1 BC a certain Artemidoros son of Demetrius had restored to the archives of Nysa documents concerning privileges granted to its temple and had informed the Roman governor of the province of Asia, Cn. Cornelius Lentulus, of what he was doing. The beginning line is missing, but what we have begins with the date by reference to the priest of *Roma et Augustus*, followed by στεφανηφόρου Διομ[ή]δους τοῦ Ἀθηναγόρου τοῦ Διομ[ή]δους, ἱερ(έ)ως [Δ]ιὸς Καπετωλίου διὰ βίου, μηνὸς Γορπιαίου ἐννεακαιδεκάτη, which in turn is followed by the date in Roman fashion, i.e. by the month and by the names of the two consuls for 1 BC. This document is followed on the stone by a second (II): ἐπὶ Διομήδους τοῦ Ἀθηναγόρου, μηνὸς Δαισίου ιζ'. [Γ]ναῖος Λέντλος Αὔ(γ)ου(ρ) ἀνθύπατος Νυσαέων ἄρχουσι. The governor's letter thus was sent in the year when the same Diomedes was still the eponymous official of Nysa. M. Clerc in *BCH* 9 (1885) 127ff. (Face B) has published a decree of Nysa from the second century after Christ which honors Titus Aelius Alcibiades, citizen of Nysa, who had served as eponymous stephanephoros: καὶ τῇ πόλει τὴν στεφανηφορίαν ἀθάνατον παρασχών, ὅταν μηδεὶς τῶν πολιτῶν τῶν ὀφειλόντων τὴν ἀρχὴν ταύτην ἀναδέχεσθαι δυνατὸς εὐρεθῆι, etc. Here we see that the eponymous stephanephoria was a liturgy, obligatory (ὀ

³¹ For the titlature of Nicaea see L. Robert in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 81 (1977) 1-39. On the archon in Bithynia see W. Ameling in *Epigraphica Anatolica* 3 (1984) 19ff., especially 24-25 for Nicaea.

³² See W. Leschhorn, *Gründer der Stadt*, Stuttgart 1984, 234-235. Cf. K. Rigsby in *TAPA* 110 (1980) 240.

φειλόντων) for its citizens who could afford it. In the case of Aelius Alcibiades he had agreed to hold it for all time.³³

In *BCH* 7 (1883) 273, no. 15, W.H. Ramsay published an honorary inscription set up for a M. Apollonius who had held a large number of public posts in Nysa, and at the end he is described as *πρωτον ἄρχοντα καὶ [σ]τ[ε]φανηφόρον ἔνδοξον*. Thus, he had been the president of the local board of archons at Nysa and (at the same time?) *stephanephoros*.

142. ODESSUS in Thrace

Founded by Miletus in the early sixth century, Odessus had been the site of a Thracian community that worshipped its god Derzelas (variously spelled). Perhaps by a combination of both Greek and Thracian elements he came to be called the Great God, but he never completely overwhelmed the Greek god Apollo.³⁴ The city's sepulchral inscriptions begin in the late fifth century, but the decrees do not begin until the third century, and the texts that mention its eponymous officials belong to the Roman period. The earliest reference appears to be a decree found at Samothrace: P.M. Fraser, Samothrace, *The Inscriptions on Stone* (London 1960), no. 6. First comes the date by the eponym of Samothrace and then a heading: *ἐπὶ βασιλέως [— — —]. ψήφισ[μα Ὀδησοιτῶν] ὡς δὲ ἐν Ὀδησσῶ ἐπὶ [ιερέω — — —]*.³⁵ In this early period (Hellenistic and early Roman) the name of the god is not known, whose priesthood was eponymous, but Z. Gočeva (*Klio* 62 [1980] 49-53) makes a good case for Apollo. When we turn to the later Roman period of the second half of the first century BC a number of catalogues add to our information. *I. Bulg.* I² no. 46 is a list of names, each with a patronymic, beginning with a heading: *ἀγαθῆι τύχηι. οἶδε ἰέρηνται τῷ θεῷ μετὰ τὴν κάθοδον*. One of the names is that of a M. Antonius Athenaeus (line 25), who would seem to have gained Roman citizenship in the period 40-31 BC. If true, the list would have continued on into the reign of Augustus, but of course the Antonius in question may simply have inherited the name. Mihailov in his commentary on no. 46 dates the list between the years 44-43 BC and AD 2-3, taking into account that the list contains a total of 45 names. It is surely a list of eponymous priests.³⁶ Again, however, there is no indication of the god. In the third century after Christ an ephebic list is more informative: no. 47, which begins with the date by the Roman consuls for the year AD 215 followed by the phrase *[ἰ]ερωμένου Θεοῦ Μεγάλου Δερζελα τὸ δι', [μη]νὸς Βοηδρομιῶνος ζ'*. Thus, the god Derzelas served as his own eponymous priest. It seems inescapable: an originally Thracian god serving as eponymous priest in a Greek city. And in no. 47 bis we find the same god in the same capacity for the fifteenth time. No. 47 bis is also an ephebic list, in which we learn that the ephebach is de-

³³ For this 'perpetual stephanephorate' see above, no. 132, MAGNESIA-BY-SIPYLUS.

³⁴ Such a syncretism is most unusual, i.e. Greek-Thracian. See G. Mihailov in *I. Bulg.* I² pp. 91-94, and Ehrhardt, *Milet* (above, note 21) 64-65.

³⁵ I cite the text from *I. Bulg.* I² p. 93 which includes the revision by L. Robert in *Gnomon* 35 (1963) 57ff. The mutilated remains of the decree follow.

³⁶ So L. Robert in *Revue de Philologie* 85 (1959) 192 and Mihailov in his commentary to no. 46. There are Thracian names among these eponymous priests: Kotys son of Dernaïos, of royal blood, and Zenis. Even in the ephebic lists of the third century after Christ an occasional Thracian name is found, e.g. in no. 47 c 29 (Zieris). These attest to the strong Thracian element in the population.

scribed as (line 8) υἱὸς τοῦ αἰρεθέντος ἱερέως θεοῦ Μεγάλου Δερζελα καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ Ἡρακλέους. Thus, Dezelas seems to have been associated by the Greeks of Odessus with Athena and Herakles. In no. 49 Hadrian had accepted the eponymous priesthood: ἱερωμέ[νου αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος – – –] Ἀδριανοῦ [– – –] etc. And in still another ephobic list (no. 50) Dionysus is included: ἱερωμένου θεο[ῦ] Διον[ύσου τὸ *numerus*] μηνὸς Ἀπατουρεῶνος [ἑβδόμη] etc.

143. OLBA in Cilicia

E.L. Hicks in *JHS* 12 (1891) 262, no. 45 published a text from the gate of Olba from the third to the second century BC (= F.G. Maier, *Griechische Mauerbauinschriften*, Heidelberg 1959, 251, no. 77): ἐπὶ ἱερέως Τεύκρ[ου] τοῦ Ταρκυάριος ἐπιστατήσαντος Τβερη-μῶσιος το[ῦ] Ὀρβαλασήτα Ὀλβέως.

144. OLBIA on the North Pontic Shore

Founded by Milesian colonists in the late seventh century on the Hypanis River (modern Bug), Olbia had retained Milesian institutions as the framework of its government. They included the Molpoi, sacred dancers and singers so well known at the mother-city, whose aisymnetai became the eponymous officials of Miletus (see above, no. 136, MILETUS). It appears that the same development took place at Olbia, since new finds have confirmed the existence of Molpoi in the city.³⁷ F. Graf in *Museum Helveticum* 31 (1974) 210-215 has revised some of these new texts and has made clear the connection of Molpoi, aisymnetai, and stephanephoroi with the Delphinion at Olbia. His revision of *I. Olbia* no. 58 is very important: [Μο]λ[ποί] με ἀνέθεσαν Ἀπόλλωνι Δ[ε]λφινίω ἐπὶ Διονυ[σο]δώρο το Ληναίο μολπ[ῶν αἰσυμνῶν]τος, στεφ[ανηφορόντων?] Ἑκατ[– – –].³⁸ Thus, if the restoration is correct, the president of the Molpoi, the aisymnetes, was eponymous. The date is the fifth century BC. The tradition of the eponymous aisymnetai at Miletus lends real support to the correctness of the restoration. Later, a change seems to take place. By the third century there is evidence that a priest was eponymous. *IOSPE* I² no. 32 (= *SIG*³ 495) is a decree of the city honoring Protogenes ca. 230 BC (?). Line 24 has a date: ἐπὶ τε Ἡροδώρου ἱερέω. Line 35: ἐπὶ τε τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἱερέω. Line 59: ἐπὶ Πλειστάρχο(υ) ἱερέω. Because of the worship of Apollo Delphinios at Olbia as the major Greek deity and the existence of a sanctuary of Delphinios and later even of a temple of Delphinios, Karyškovskij has suggested the following sequence of eponymous officials: aisymnetai, then priests, and in the Roman period the president of the college of archons.³⁹ One may only guess at the connection between the first two of these and the transition from one to the other. The priests appear to be priests of

³⁷ *I. Olbia* 55-56, 58, and 167. This publication (*Inscriptiones Olbiae, Nadpisi Olbii* 1917-1965 [Leningrad 1968, in Russian]) brings up to date B. Latyshev's *IOSPE* I² (published 1916). Cf. J. and L. Robert, *Bulletin* 1969, no. 400.

³⁸ See also P.O. Karyškovskij in *Severnaje Pričernomorje*, Moscow 1984, 42 (*SEG* XXXIV 769), who dates it to the third quarter of the fifth century BC. Cf. J.G. Vinogradov in *Actes du VII^e congrès international d'épigraphie grecque et latine*, Paris 1979, 296, and Ehrhardt, *Milet* (n. 21), 198-199.

³⁹ *Vestnik Drevnej Istorii* 1978, 2, 82-88. And see also Vinogradov (*loc. cit.* [n. 38]) 313 n. 127, and Ehrhardt, *Milet* (n. 21) 199.

Apollo Delphinios. One may note in this regard the dedication by the Molpoi to Apollo Delphinios in *I. Olbia* no. 58, quoted above. Another example of the eponymous priest is *I. Olbia* no. 26: ἱερωμένου Ἡρογείτονος from the end of the third century BC. And *IOSPE I²* no. 201 is a list of over 100 names with patronymics, which Vinogradov (*loc. cit.* [n. 38] 313) has interpreted as a list of eponymous priests of Apollo in the second century BC. The fact that combinations of father and sons recur in that list at least lends support to his view that it is a list of eponyms. I see a definite connection between one of its priests called Διονύσιος Ἀγρότο[υ] (line 27 of the second column) and the father honored in *IOSPE I²* no. 189. No. 189 is a dedication on a base: Ἀγρότας καὶ Ποσίδεος οἱ ἀδελφοὶ τὸν πατέρα Διονύσιον [Ἀπ]όλλωνι Δελφινίῳ ἱερησάμενον. The grandfather of the two brothers was Agrotas, the father of the priest Dionysios in *IOSPE I²* no. 201, line 27. This identification means that the priest of Apollo was eponymous in that period.

Later, however, in the Roman imperial age, another change of eponymity takes place. Many inscriptions of the second to the third centuries after Christ mention the eponymity of the president of the college of archons: *IOSPE I²* nos. 39-40, 43; *SEG III* 583; L. Robert, *A travers l'Asie Mineure*, Paris 1980, 84-85, in which he combines *I. Olbia* nos. 47 and 179 (*SEG XXX* 968). Typical formula is in *IOSPE I²* no. 39: ἐπὶ ἀρχόντων τῶν περὶ Ὀμψάλακον Εὐρησιβίου, μηνὸς Πανήμου ιβ' etc.

145. PANAMARA in Caria

The Greeks were slow to found new cities in the interior of Caria and it was not until the reign of Antiochus I that Stratonicea received its Macedonian settlers and its Greek constitution. Around the city was a series of small Carian koina, each of them comprised of the old Carian communities and religious centers. Two of these were Lagina and Panamara. They became part of the territory of Stratonicea.⁴⁰ Originally Panamaros was an ancient Anatolian sky-god and was then easily associated with Zeus. The small villages around the sanctuary formed a κοινὸν τῶν Παναμαρέων which passed decrees and conducted its business only through meetings of its members.⁴¹ The Panamaran Koinon must be distinguished from the larger League of the Chrysaoreis (σύστημα Χρυσαιορικόν) which Strabo (14.660 C) described as 'the koinon of all Carians' with its center near the city of Stratonicea and with its chief god Zeus Chrysaoreus.⁴² Because of Panamara's dependence upon Stratonicea and because it did not have a Greek type of local government of its own Panamaran documents record the officials of both cities. The eponymous magistrate is the stephanephoros of Stratonicea. A good example is *I. Stratonikeia I* no. 105 from Panamara of ca. 38 BC: ἐπ[ὶ] σ[τ]εφ[ανηφόρου] Ἀρτεμιδώρου [τοῦ Ἀρτε]μιδώρου τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου, μηνὸς Θεσ-

⁴⁰ See H. Oppermann, *Zeus Panamaros*, Giessen 1924, for general information. Cf. Magie, *RRAM* 131ff. and 996ff., n. 34, as well as 1031ff., n. 77. The inscriptions have been assembled by M. Çetin Şahin, *Die Inschriften von Stratonikeia, Teil I: Panamara* (Bonn 1981), all of them belonging to late Hellenistic and Roman periods.

⁴¹ Decrees of Panamara are never passed βουλῆτι καὶ δήμῳ but regularly κοινῶτι τῶν Παναμαρέων. See, e.g., *I. Stratonikeia I* nos. 4, 7, and 9.

⁴² For the Chrysaorian League see Magie, *RRAM* 145ff. with 1031ff., 77, and J. Crampa, *Labraunda: Swedish Excavations and Researches III, 1, The Greek Inscriptions* (Lund 1969) 33ff. Cf. also Oppermann, *op. cit.* (n. 40) 6ff. and J. and L. Robert, *Amyzon* (1983), 223ff.

μοφοριῶνος, Διὶ Παναμάρῳ χαριστήριον, ἱερατεύοντος Χαιρήμονος τοῦ Ἐκαταίου τοῦ Χαιρήμονος Κωραιέως [κατὰ] ψήφ[ισμ]α τοῦ δήμου. Here the eponymous stephanephoros is that of Stratonicea, while Chaeremon is the priest of Zeus Panamaros. Chaeremon also appears in the decree of Stratonicea which describes the famous 'miracle' of Zeus Panamaros in *I. Stratonikeia I* no. 10 (= P. Roussel in *BCH* 55 [1931] 70-116). Another example is no. 15, a decree of Stratonicea of Roman imperial age but found at Panamara, whose heading contains the date: ψηφίσματι ἐπὶ θεοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τὸ δ', μηνὸς Διοσθεῶνος. The decree honors Tiberius Flavius Menander and his wife, and in lines 14-15 we learn that a public proclamation is to be made ἐπὶ ἱερέως δὲ τοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτου θ[εοῦ] Διὸς Παναμάρου τὸ β' Τβ. Φλ., Στρατοκλέους υἱοῦ, Κυ(ρεῖνα), Με[νάνδρου ---], ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέως δὲ Σεβαστῶν Αὐτοκρατόρων κ[αὶ στ]εφανηφόρου θεοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τὸ δ', etc. Here the priest Flavius is the priest of Zeus Panamaros, while Apollo serves as high priest of the imperial cult and eponymous stephanephoros for the fourth time at Stratonicea. And still another example is no. 4, a decree of 198 BC honoring a certain Asklepiades who was one of the commanders placed in charge of the area by Philip V. It begins: βασιλεύοντος Φιλίππου, ἔτους τρίτου καὶ εἰκοστο[ῦ], Ξανδικοῦ ἐβδόμη, ἐπὶ σ[τεφα]νηφόρου Ἀπόλλωνος [τὸ τρί]τον, ἐκκλησίας κυ[ρίας γενο]μένης· ἔδοξε [Παναμαρέ]ων τῷ κοινῷ· etc. Here again the eponymous stephanephoros is that of Apollo at Stratonicea.⁴³ Thus, at Panamara the priest of Zeus can be used to date its documents, but the state or national eponymous magistrate is the stephanephoros at Stratonicea. This raises the question of the priestly families.

Just as the priestly families who officiated at Didyma originated from Miletus, just so is there a similar connection between Panamara and Stratonicea. In addition, we learn from the inscriptions that the priestly families of Lagina also share in this connection. Over and over again the same families are seen to monopolize the supervision of the cults in all three places.⁴⁴ A few of the outstanding examples will illustrate this point. No. 11, a Roman *senatus consultum* of 39 BC (*RDGE* no. 27) found at Panamara, is dated by a stephanephoros who is identical with the person of the same name mentioned in lines 8-9 of *I. Stratonikeia II, I*, no. 510, as one of the prytaneis. Tiberius Claudius Theophanes and his wife Claudia Mamalon are called priests, stephanephoroi, and high-priest of the Augusti in no. 168. In no. 1025 (from Stratonicea) he is called a one-time gymnasiarch, priest of the Augusti, and stephanephoros, while his wife in no. 174 is mentioned as priestess for the Heraea at Panamara and mother of a priest. A third example comes from no. 202 (Panamara) in which Tiberius Flavius Aeneas Theophanes and his wife Flavia Paulina are named as priest and priestess, both of whom are known at Lagina (no. 665 a).⁴⁵

⁴³ See Oppermann, *op. cit.* (n. 40) 18-20, and M. Holleaux, *Études* IV 207-210.

⁴⁴ For the prosopography of these Panamarian priests and their families see A. Laumier in *BCH* 61 (1937) 236-298, with the supplement in *BCH* 62 (1938) 167-179 and 251-284.

⁴⁵ For the complicated stemma of this family see *I. Stratonikeia I* p. 90. For the stemma of Tiberius Claudius Theophanes see *ibid.* p. 67.

A special situation occurs between 188 and 167 BC, the period of time when Caria lay under the control of Rhodes, when this area's documents were dated by the Rhodian priest of the Sun.⁴⁶

146. PANTICAPAEUM in the Bosphorus

There is no direct evidence for an eponymous official, but Ehrhardt assumes the eponymy of a priest of Apollo on the basis of the situation in Istria.⁴⁷

147. PARION in the Propontis

L. Robert has shown (*Hellenica* 9.81ff.) that *IGRR* I 817, formerly attributed to Calliopolis on the Hellespont where it was found, originated from Parion. Reprinted in *I. Parion* no. 5, it begins: ἐπὶ ἱερέως Καίσι[αρ]ος νννν Λευκίου Φλαβίου τὸ δεύτερον, οἱ δικτυαρχήσαντες, etc.⁴⁸ Lucius Flavius was the eponymous priest of Caesar, an unusual type of eponymy but perfectly understandable. It was Caesar, probably the dictator, who raised Parion to the status of a Roman colony: *Colonia Gemella Iulia Pariana*.⁴⁹ The coinage of Parion supports this priesthood of the new god (Caesar), for a coin from the reign of Augustus shows *P. Vibio sac. Caes.*, where *sac.* must be for *sac(erdote)*.⁵⁰ Another epigraphic example is *I. Parion* no. 6: ἱερεὶ Φαικηνίῳ (?) Φίρμῳ [οἰ — — ἀρ](χ)ήσαντες ἐν Φρου[— —], etc. Here the Latin influence is felt in the use of a Dative for the word hieruus at the beginning. Clearly the reference is to another eponymous priest of Caesar as the founder of the colony.⁵¹

148. PERGAMUM in Mysia

The most important text for eponymy at Pergamum is an inscription: *I. Pergamum* 613 (*OGIS* 264 and Jacoby, *FGrHist* 506), the so-called 'Pergamene Chronicle'. The beginning

⁴⁶ *I. Stratonikeia* I no. 9 is a decree for a Rhodian ἀποσταλεῖς ἐπιστάτης ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ῥοδίων τῆς τε φυλακῆς τοῦ χωρίου καλῶς καὶ συμφερόντως προέσστη. It is dated ἐπ' ἱερέως Ἀρχιδάμου, Δαλίου ἀμφικάδι and the decree was passed by the Panamarian koinon, but the month Dalios is Rhodian. Cf. Holleaux, *Études* I 411ff. The date of this document, however, cannot be determined precisely. On the epistatai as governors of cities see M. Holleaux, *Études* III 217ff. and 253-54. At the head of the inscription there is a rose (ρόδον), heraldic device of Rhodes.

⁴⁷ Ehrhardt, *Milet* (n. 21) 199. For Istria see above, s.v. (no. 122) I have also found no direct evidence for such other cities in the area, as Phanagoria, Gorgippa, etc. Dates are regularly by the reigning king. As Panticapaeum, Theodosia, and perhaps Gorgippa were Milesian colonies, we should expect to find a continuation of institutions from the mother-city. Cf. the case of Olbia (above, no. 144).

⁴⁸ Before the name of the eponymous priest L. Flavius there appears to be a vacant space of four letters. However, some have thought otherwise. Robert believes that it was uninscribed.

⁴⁹ See E. Olshausen in *RE* Suppl. 12, col. 985 and L. Robert, *Hellenica* 9.86ff. When Hadrian became a second founder the coins replace *CGIP* with *CGIHP*.

⁵⁰ Münsterberg, *Beamtennamen* 69, and Robert (*op. cit.* [n. 49]) 91.

⁵¹ The reading Φαικηνίῳ is difficult to interpret. It is the reading of Mordtmann in *Athen. Mitt.* 1885, 207, but others have read Λ. Λικηνίῳ. The Dative case of hieruus suggests the thought of an Ablative Absolute in Latin to express consular dating. Cf. Sherk, *RDGE* no. 70, lines 12-13, for a similar use of a Dative in Greek. This presupposes that the meaning is 'When Licinius (?) Firmus was priest (of Caesar)', but since the inscription is incomplete the Dative may have been used because of the grammar used in the missing section. However, it seems to be a date. It comes at the beginning, where in similar Greek documents we find ἐπὶ ἱερέως followed by the priest's name.

is mutilated but significant: [— — — ἐπεισεν Ἀρχίας [πρυτάν]εις αἰ[ρεῖσθαι τῆς πόλεως κατ'] ἔτος ἕκασ[τ]ον, καὶ πρῶτος ἐπρυτ[άνευεν Ἀρχί]ας, καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνου μέχρι νῦν πρυτα[νεύοντες] διατελοῦσιν. This is followed by the notice of the revolt of the Baktrian Orontes against Artaxerxes, king of the Persians, early in the fourth century.⁵² The inscription belongs to the second century after Christ, based on the lettering. Thus, we have a clear reference to an uninterrupted annual progression of prytaneis from the early fourth century BC to the second century after Christ. Throughout that period the inscriptions show that the prytanis was the eponymous official. *I. Pergamum* 5 belongs to the early third century BC and is a decree that established isopoliteia between Pergamum and the neighboring city of Temnus.⁵³ It is dated: ἔδοξε Ταμ[νίταισι καὶ] Περ[γα]μήνοισι ἐπὶ πρυτάνιος τῷ μετὰ Ἡρακ[ληίδαν τὸν Δίτα μῆνος Ἡράω, ἐν [Περγάμω] ἐπὶ πρυτ[ά]νιος Ἀριστοκρά- τεος τῷ Ἱερα[— — —] μῆνος Ἡ[ρά]ω· etc. Other examples of such eponymous dating by the prytanis at Pergamum are: *I. Pergamum* 157 (= Welles, *Royal Correspondence* 48), a letter of Eumenes II; no. 248 (Welles 65-67), letters of Attalus II and III; no. 251 (*SIG*³ 1007), a sacred law of 130-100 BC; no. 465, a fragment of Roman imperial times. A large number of Pergamene inscriptions combine the prytanis and a priest, and sometimes the priest is named alone in a formula of eponymity. For example: *IGRR* IV 482 begins with Ἐπὶ πρυτάνεως καὶ ἱερέως [Μάρκου Τιτίου Μάρκου] υἱοῦ Ἀτ(τ)ικοῦ, etc. Similar combinations are to be found in *Athen. Mitt.* 33 (1908) 375ff. no. 1; *ibid.* 32 (1907) 320 no. 48; *ibid.* 35 (1910) 401ff. no. 1 (lines 21ff.). The simple explanation for these would seem to be the fact that the eponymous prytanis also regularly held a priesthood at the same time. This sometimes led the redactor of a document or else the engraver to reduce the combination to ἐπὶ ἱερέως + name and to omit the word prytanis, and sometimes the word hierews was omitted, leaving only prytanis.⁵⁴ Allen (*op. cit.* [no. 53] 162ff.) has demonstrated neatly that the introduction of the eponymous prytanis in the fourth century was accompanied by the introduction also of the cult of Asklepios. And since the name of Archias was traditionally connected with the introduction of Asklepios, he rightly assumed that our Archias of the Pergamene Chronicle (quoted above) was the Archias recorded by Pausanias (2.26.7) as the one who had introduced Asklepios into Pergamum.⁵⁵ Thus, there is no reason to be puzzled by the combination ἐπὶ πρυτάνεως καὶ ἱερέως or by the use of one of these in place of the other. This priest, of course, must be distinguished from the archiereus of the imperial cult who sometimes appears along with the prytanis.⁵⁶

⁵² The revolt is usually dated to 354 BC, but M.J. Osborne in *Historia* 22 (1973) 515-551 has connected it with the general revolt of the satraps under Artaxerxes II in the 360s BC.

⁵³ For discussion see L. Robert, *Opera Minora* I 204-209, and most recently R.E. Allen, *The Attalid Kingdom*, Oxford 1983, 16ff.

⁵⁴ K.J. Rigsby in *TAPA* 118 (1988) 130-137 was so struck by the apparent inconsistency in the use of both offices in the Pergamene inscriptions that he decided *I. Pergamum* 249 (*OGIS* 338), a decree on citizenship in 133 BC, was really a 'wandering stone' that originated from outside Pergamum proper. There is no need for such a suggestion.

⁵⁵ Allen also found inscriptional support in a Pergamene law that 'confirmed the right of the family of Archias and Asklepiades to hold the priesthood', *I. Pergamum* 251 (*SIG*³ 1007), lines 7-12. See Allen, *op. cit.* (n. 53) 162-163.

⁵⁶ See L. Robert, *Opera Minora* 1.567, citing the case of *Athen. Mitt.* 32 (1907) 133 and 282.

149. PERGE in Pamphylia

Although there is no direct evidence for eponymity in Perge, the prevalence of the eponymous demiourgos in Pamphylia⁵⁷ makes it possible that this city also had such an eponym. In Perge we learn (*IGRR* 796) that the office of demiourgos could be held as many as five times, which alone suggests that it might be eponymous. In this honorary decree the demiourgos is coupled with the priesthood of Artemis, although we cannot be sure whether the two were held simultaneously.⁵⁸

150. PERINTHUS in Thrace

A dedication (*IGRR* I 787) from the reign of Caracalla to a Dionysiac thiasos is dated first by the governor of Thrace, then ἱερομνημονοῦντος Πομπωνίου Ἰουστινιανοῦ καὶ ἀρχιμ(υ)στοῦντος Μαξίμου τοῦ Κλαυδίου, ἱερατεύοντος Εὐτύχους Ἐπικτήτου.⁵⁹ Thus, an eponymous hieromnemon at Perinthus.

151. PHILADELPHIA in Lydia

There is no direct evidence, but the suggestion is strong that the eponymous official at Philadelphia was a stephanephoros. *IGRR* IV 1644 illustrates the importance of the office. In the inscription we see that the boule and demos and the Romans and the local gerousia have honored Τίτον Φλάουιον Ἀθηνόδωρον ἄνδρα στεφανηφορικόν, Τίτου Φλαουίου Παπίου υἱὸν ἀνδρὸς στεφανηφόρου ἐκ προγόνων καὶ etc. Thus, there is here a history of holding the stephanephoros by a Greek family member whose Roman citizenship is one of long-standing in family history. That does not make the office eponymous, but it does suggest that the office may have been the very highest which the city could give to Titus Flavius Athenodoros. More evidence is needed, of course.

152. PHOCAEA in Ionia

Early in the fourth century BC a treaty was drawn up between Mytilene and Phocaea (*IG* XII 2, 1 = Tod II 112 = H. Bengtson, *Staatsverträge* II, no. 228). At the end is the date: ἄρχει πρότανις ὁ πεδὰ Κόλωνον, ἐ[μ Φ]ώκαι δὲ ὁ πεδὰ Ἀρίσ[τ]αρχον. Drawn up in Mytilene, the 'prytanis after Kolones' is the eponym at Mytilene, while at Phocaea the eponymous official 'after Aristarchos' also ought to be a prytanis. Otherwise the title would have been mentioned. *IGRR* IV 1322 is a mutilated honorary inscription: Ὁ δ[ῆμος] Δημήτριον Δημητρίου Γάλλον τὸν πρόταν[ιν] καὶ στεφανηφόρον καὶ ἱερέα τῆς Μασσαλίας τὸ γ', ἦρωα, etc. The combination of prytanis and stephanephoros is significant. Cf. nos.

⁵⁷ Cf. L. Robert, *Noms indigènes dans l'Asie Gréco-Romaine*, Paris 1963, 478, and Veligianni-Terzi Chrissoula, *Damiurgen* (above, # 133) 149-150.

⁵⁸ Veligianni-Terzi Chrissoula, *Damiurgen* 156. There is also the additional point that women in Perge could hold the office of demiourgos. Veligianni-Terzi Chrissoula refers to an inscription in *JRS* 55 (1965) 55 in which a woman who had been demiourgos was called πρότην καὶ μόν[η]ν (146 note 91). Cf. S. Jameson in *RE* Suppl. 14, col. 380.

⁵⁹ For analysis of the whole inscription see L. Robert, *Hellenica* 10.19 n. 1. He agrees that the hieromnemon is the eponymous official of Perinthus, not of the thiasos as F. Cumont had suggested in *AJA* 37 (1933) 254.

1323, 1325. As at Chios (see above, no. 29 CHIOS) the actual eponymous office is that of prytanis, who is permitted to wear the crown. The fact that our Demetrios held it three times also suggests its eponymity. Coupled with the evidence of the fourth century decree, there can be no doubt that at Phocaea the prytanis was eponymous.

153. PISIDIA

Long isolated from foreign influences, Pisidia resisted the advance of the Greeks. Hellenization was only a thin crust and in only a few instances have I found any examples of Greek eponymity, A.E. Kontoleon in *BCH* 11 (1887) 220-221, no. 14, published a copy of an inscription from Pisidia found ἐν Βουλδουρίῳ which reads: Ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος. ἐπὶ ἀρχόντων followed by three names with patronymics. This might mean that the chief of the archons was eponymous. At Pogle (*IGRR* III 407) we find a local citizen ἄρξαντα τὴν ἐπώνυμον ἀρχὴν καὶ δημιουργήσαντα etc. We are not told the title of the eponymous official, but he seems to have been the demiourgos.⁶⁰ In southern Pisidia lay the city of Termessus from which a large number of inscriptions have survived. *TAM* III 104 is a base honoring one of its important citizens of the third century after Christ: ἀρχιπρόβουλον Μᾶρ(κον) Αὐρ(ήλιον) Παδαμουριανὸν Οπλατα, υἱὸν Ἑρμαίου Οβριμοτου, φύσει δὲ Οπλεους, ἄρχοντα τὴν ἐπώνυμον ἀρχὴν ἐνδόξως followed by his other local offices. He is honored by eleven probouloi, his colleagues. He himself is archiproboulos, their president. Thus, at Termessus in the imperial period of this age the archiproboulos is eponymous. Cf. nos. 93, 109, 136, and 139. In *TAM* III 25 we find the phrase ἐπὶ ἀρχιπρο(βούλου) ἱ(ερέως) Μ(άρκου) Αὐρ(ηλίου) Οπλητος Πλάτωνος etc.⁶¹

154. POMPEIOPOLIS in Cilicia

The old and famous Cilician city of Soli was restored and renamed Pompeiopolis by Pompey. In Cilician cities the office of demiourgos is common, usually held more than once (see Valigianni-Terzi, *op. cit.* [no. 57] 156). The iteration of the office might indicate eponymity, although that alone is not positive evidence. An inscription from Soli, of Hellenistic date, but probably before the time of Pompey, shows that office being held for a second time (*BCH* 5 [1881] 318, no. 6). There is also another inscription found near the amphitheater (*CIG* 4436 b = Le Bas-Waddington 1471): ἐπὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ [ὑπηρέ]τοῦ δις ἄρχοντος [καὶ γραμματέως], ὁ ὑπηρέτης καὶ γραμματεὺς καὶ δις ἀρχῶν ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας τοῦ οἴκου αὐτοῦ εὐ[ξά]μενος ἐποίησε τὸν θρόνον etc. Clearly ὑπηρέτης is an office connected in some way with the archonship, which appears to be eponymous. More evidence is needed.⁶²

⁶⁰ Valigianni-Terzi, *Damiurgen* 129, observes that elsewhere in the inscription the word καὶ is used to connect adjacent words and phrases of similar nature to the one in question. L. Robert, *Noms indigènes dans l'Asie Gréco-Romaine*, première Partie, Paris 1963, 478, also accepts the demiourgos at Pogle as eponymous.

⁶¹ Sometimes, of course, the archiproboulos is simply called proboulos. For a list of those known to us see R. Heberdey in *TAM* III, 295. At times the proboulos was also ἱερεὺς θεᾶς Ῥώμης καὶ Διονύσου διὰ βίου, as in *TAM* III no. 153 of the second century after Christ.

⁶² *SEG* XIX 707, from area of Thyatira (near Yayaköy), honors a person τὰς λοιπὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ λειτουργείας πάσας φιλοδόξως καὶ φιλοτείμως ὑπηρετήσαντα.

155. PRIENE in Ionia

From the fourth century, and probably much earlier, a prytanis was the eponymous official of Priene. *I. Priene* 2 is a decree for Antigonos, the later king, dated by Hiller von Gaertringen (*I. Priene* p. 5) to the summer of 334 BC: [ἔδοξεν τῆι β[ουλιῆι καὶ τῶι δήμῳι, μη-
νὸς Μετ]αγειττινῶνος δευ[τέρη]ι [ἰ]σ[ταμένο]υ, κυρίο]υ συλλόγου γενομένου, αὐ-
τονόμων [έόν]των Πριηνέων, ἐπὶ πρυτάνιος Ἴππο[κράτευς] followed by the granting of
proxenia and other privileges to Antigonos. *I. Magnesia* 1, of the fourth century BC, seems
to be a decree of Priene as Hiller von Gaertringen (*loc. cit.*) has suggested. It too is dated by
a prytanis. After the Battle of the Granicus and the movement of Alexander the Great south-
ward in Asia Minor, he made a series of important territorial and perhaps also constitutional
changes that affected the city of Priene.⁶³ He declared the Prieneans residing in the harbor city
of Naulochum to be free and autonomous, and he made Priene itself immune from paying the
war-tax for the coming campaigns against the Persians. He became the patron, no doubt, of
the temple of Athena Polias which was later dedicated in his name. Henceforth, the epony-
mous official in Priene is called a stephanephoros. The examples are very numerous. This is
not, however, a change in the official himself. The prytanis was simply permitted from this
period onward to wear the crown. Soon the title of stephanephoros was used in the docu-
ments in place of prytanis.⁶⁴ Pertinent in this regard is col. 32 of the series of documents in-
scribed on the wall of the North Hall of the great structure erected by Orophernes of Cappa-
docia in thanks for the loyalty of Priene. This document is *I. Priene* 114 and it begins with
the date: ἐπὶ στεφανηφόρου Ποπλ[ί]ου Λαβερίου μηνὸς Μεταγειττινῶνος τρίτηι etc.
The honorand of the decree is later in the same document (lines 23-24) described as λαβὼν
παρὰ τοῦ δήμου τὸν ἐπώνυμον τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου στέφανον. Despite the favor-
able status given to Priene by Alexander, we learn from *I. Priene* 4, which contains two de-
crees to be dated just a few years after his action, that the god Zeus Olympios had served as
the eponymous stephanephoros on two occasions. Line 1 begins with ἐπὶ στεφανηφόρου
τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ μετὰ Διοφάνημ, and line 49 with ἐπὶ στεφανηφόρου τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ μετὰ
Κλεῖτομ etc. Other important holders of the office are to be found in the list of stephane-
phoroi in *I. Priene* 142, which runs from the first century BC to the first century after Christ.
It includes [Tiberius C]aes[ar?] in AD 9-10, Tiberius Caesar for the second time in AD 15-16,
Germanicus Caesar in AD 17-18, apparently Tiberius Caesar for a third time (?) in AD 30-31,
Gaius Caesar Augustus in AD 40-41. Finally, *I. Priene* 208 of the first century BC records a
woman who had been the eponym: [Φίλ]η Ἀπολλωνίου, [γυ]νὴ δὲ θεσσαλοῦ [τ]οῦ
Πολυδεύκου, [στ]εφανηφορήσα[σα] πρ[ώ]τη γυναικῶν ἀν[έ]θηκε παρ' ἑαυτῆς τ[ὸ]
ἐγδόχιον τοῦ [ῥ]δατ[ος] καὶ τὰ ἐν τῆι πόλει [ι] ὑδραγωγία. I take this to mean that she

⁶³ See, to mention only the most recent summary, A.B. Bosworth, *Conquest and Empire, The Reign of Alexander the Great*, Cambridge 1988, 253-254. Cf. also A.J. Heisserer, *Alexander the Great and the Greeks*, Norman (Oklahoma) 1980, 162ff.

⁶⁴ See above, s.v. CHIOS (no. 29), where I refer to the article by J. Vanseveren in *Revue de Philologie* 11 (1937) 337ff. Her conclusion (p. 347) is worth quoting here: "Tous ces textes nous permettent de comprendre qu'il n'y a pas eu changement d'éponyme à Chios, à Priène, à Magnésie du Méandre et à Milet, mais seulement abréviation du titre. Du fait que la stéphanéporie était rattachée à la magistrature éponyme, l'abréviation s'étant produite au profit du titre additionnel, les actes ont été datés ἐπὶ στεφανηφόρου. C'est sans doute ce qui eut lieu encore dans les villes d'Asie Mineure où le stéphanéphore apparaît comme éponyme."

was not the first woman to become stephanephoros, but that she was the most illustrious woman of her time in Priene.

156. PROCONNESUS in the Propontis

Founded by colonists from Miletus early in the seventh century, Proconnesus like its neighboring island of Arctonnesus was absorbed by Cyzicus. Pausanias (8.46.4) says that Cyzicus used force to make its inhabitants move and to settle in Cyzicus.⁶⁵ This occurred about 362 BC. Proconnesus itself, however, did not remain uninhabited. Its institutions reflect those of Cyzicus, as in the case of its eponymous magistrate. *IGRR IV 117* is a very mutilated list of those who conducted the games year by year. Each year is dated by reference to the eponymous hipparch, the old eponym of Cyzicus. Lines 3-4 contain the first of the extant references: [ἰππ]αρχοῦντος [Κ]λ. Δεκίανου[ὐ Εὐν]έω, Εὐτυχίδης Εὐτωχίδου [τῆ]ν στήλλην ἀνέστησεν. Lines 11-14 record that Antoninus Pius had served as hipparch, and lines 17-20, although badly mutilated, seem to indicate that the same emperor served for a second time.

157. PRUSIAS AD HYPIUM in Bithynia

There is no direct evidence recording the eponymous magistrate for this city. However, the highest annual magistrate was a πρῶτος ἄρχων who was the president of a college of five archons. Such a college seems to have been very common in Bithynia, as W. Ameling has shown in *Epigraphica Anatolica* 3 (1984) 19ff. The possibility exists that this 'first archon' might have been the eponymous magistrate at Prusias, but more evidence is needed.

158. SAITTAE in Lydia

TAM V 1, 193 is a stele found at the modern Turkish village of Kula, but it may have been brought there from Koloë. In any case it belongs to the territory of Saittae. It is dated by the Sullan era to AD 100/1: ἔτους ρπε´, μη(νός) Δαισίου λ´, ἐπὶ στεφανηφόρου Γλύκωνος ἢ Κολοηνῶν κατοικία καθιέρωσαν Δία Σαβάζιον etc. P. Herrmann in his commentary on this inscription sees a difficulty in the fact that no other text records an eponymous stephanephoros at Saittae and therefore believes that the Κολοηνῶν κατοικία might have been located in Maeonia, where such an eponym is attested. I think, however, that Saittae's eponymous official was a stephanephoros and find no objection in the lack of other supporting evidence.

159. SALYMBRIA in Thrace

From the very mutilated remains of an inscription from Salymbria L. Robert (*Hellenica* 2.61-64) was able to recognize the ending of an eponymous date as follows: [ἱερομνημον]ούσης θεᾶς Ὑγείας. Since Salymbria is located between Byzantium and Perinthus on the coast of the Propontis, and since Salymbria at this period (second century after Christ?) must have belonged to the territory of one of those two cities, he concluded that its epony-

⁶⁵ For the known facts about Proconnesus see Christo M. Danoff in *RE Suppl.* 14, cols. 560-561.

mous official would have been a hieromnemon. Both Byzantium and Perinthus used eponymous hieromnemes to date their documents. Corroborative evidence is needed, but the goddess Hygeia appears to be serving as eponymous hieromnemon.

160. SARDIS in Lydia

In the middle of the second century BC the eponymous official of Sardis was a stephanephoros. W.H. Buckler and D.M. Robinson have published (*Sardis VII: Greek and Latin Inscriptions*, Leiden 1932, no. 21) an honorary inscription of about 150 BC which begins with the date: [ἐ]πὶ στεφανηφόρου Χόνδρο[υ]. L. Robert more recently published (*Hellenica* 6.114) an epitaph: [ἐπ]ὶ στεφανηφόρου Χηνῶ μη(νός) Ὑπερβερεταίου ἰδῶ Μάρκος Οὐγίλλιος Ἀσιάτικος Δημητρίου καὶ Σεκούνδας. The nomenclature points to the Roman period: second to first century BC?

However, *Sardis* no. 93 is an inscription on a ball recording gifts of squared blocks of marble, clearly for building purposes: ἐπὶ ἱερέως τῆς Ῥώμ[ης] Ἀλεξάρχου τοῦ Στρατίππου, ἰέρεια [τῆς Ἀρτ]έμιδος Μόσχιον Διοφάντου τοῦ Διοφάν[τ]ου, πλίνθα ι. ἐπὶ στε[φ]αν[η]φό[ρου] Ἀλεξάρχου, [ἰ]έρεια Ἀρτέμι[δος] Μόσχιον Διο[φ]άντου, πλίν[θ]α ι. Here, either it is a case of a single year with Alexarchos showing a change of title or of two successive years with change of title. Ever afterwards the eponymous official is regularly called the priest of Roma, down to the reign of Augustus: *Sardis* nos. 91-92, 112-118. Sometimes the word 'hiereus' is omitted: nos. 119-127. It is not known exactly when the change from stephanephoros to priest of Roma took place as the eponymous official.⁶⁶ The order of the change would seem to indicate that it is not a case of one official with both titles, as we have seen in the case of Chios (see. no. 29, CHIOS). *Sardis* no. 111 is worthy of mention in this regard, an inscription honoring Menophila daughter of Hermagenes. Although she is not called a stephanephoros, the monument depicts the official wreath worn by a stephanephoros. No. 127 records a priest of Roma who served in that eponymous post for 13 years. And in no. 129 M. Antonius himself was the priest. In no. 119 a woman (Aphion) was priestess of Roma, although her title is omitted in the dating. Finally, the priest of Roma became co-eponymous with that of Zeus Polieus (*OGIS* 437, lines 89ff.).

161. SCEPSIS in the Troad

L. Robert (*Opera Minora* I 75 n. 1) suggests [ἐπὶ στεφανηφ]όρου (τοῦ θεοῦ) τοῦ με[τὰ τὸν δεῖνα] in line 1 of an inscription published by W. Judeich in *Festschrift für H. Kiepert* (1898) 231.

⁶⁶ In their commentaries on several inscriptions Buckler and Robinson repeatedly state that the change to priest of Roma took place in the last quarter of the second century, soon after 133 BC: nos. 21 and 93. However, there is no exact time we can assign to it, not even that it did occur in that last quarter. For dating by stephanephoroi alone see also nos. 105-110. No. 105 includes the name of a certain Publius Bruttius Optatus, son of Publius, of the tribe Sabatina, a cinerary chest inscription dated 'probably' before 133 BC by Buckler and Robinson. Maybe. Cf. R. Mellor. *ΘΕΑ ΡΩΜΗ. The Worship of the Goddess Roma in the Greek World*, Göttingen 1975, 71-72. *OGIS* 437, lines 56ff. (III c), contains the text of a treaty between Ephesus and Sardis. Lines 89-91 date the treaty by reference to the eponymous prytanis of Ephesus and the priest of Roma at Sardis, in the 90s BC. Mellor believes that the 'priesthood of Roma was established and made eponymous about 129 BC, when Aristonicus had been defeated' (p. 71). In the imperial period (age of Germanicus) a coin shows ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέως Ἀλεξάνδρου Κλέωνος Σαρδιανού: Münsterberg, *Beamtennamen* 148.

162. SEBASTE in Phrygia

As its name indicates, Sebaste was founded by Augustus, probably on the site of an older community.⁶⁷ An inscription (W.M. Ramsay (*Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* I, Part II, Oxford 1897, 602, no. 475) begins as follows: ἀγαθῆ τύχη. [ἔτ]ους ρπγ´, ἐπὶ ἱερέων Ἀσκληπιάδου [τ]οῦ Ἑρμογένους καὶ Ξάνθου Ἀρτέμωνος οἱ ἰσελθόντες [ε]ἰς τὴν γερουσίαν followed by the names of 71 people, three of them women. The date, if the Sullan era is used, would be equivalent to AD 98-99. There was also a board of archons at Sebaste with a president, as recorded in *CIG* 3871 (*IGRR* IV 686): ἡ πόλις Μάρκον Αὐρήλιον [Σεουῆρον] Ἀντωνεῖνον Σεβαστόν, [στρα]τηγούντων τῶν [περὶ] Εὐξενον Ἀπολλωνίου ἀρχόντων. The possibility exists that the president of this board or college or archons was the real eponym, while the priests of the former inscription may be false eponyms. A coin (Münsterberg, *Beamtennamen* 170) contains the following: ἐπὶ Λουκιλίου Ἀντωνίου ἄρχο(ντος).

163. SEBASTOPOLIS in Pontus Galaticus

A dedication to Antoninus Pius (*IGRR* III 113 = *Epigraphica Anatolica* 13 [1989] 61, no. 6) is dated by the president of a college of archons: ἐπὶ τῶν περὶ Φλάουτιον [---]τιον ἀρχόντων etc. A similar formula from the same period is in *IGRR* III 114. Apparently the president, or first archon, is eponymous.

164. SEBASTOPOLIS in Caria

L. Robert published (*Études Anatoliennes*, Paris 1937, 341 no. 2 = J. and L. Robert, *La Carie* [Paris 1954] 319 no. 170) a dedication to Iulia Domna or Iulia Mamaea dated ἐπ[ὶ] ἀρχόντων Μενάνδρου β´ τοῦ Ἀπελλᾶ καὶ Ἀττάλου Ἡρακλέ(ω)νος καὶ Ἀναρρη[νοῦ] Ἀττάλου etc. Here, once more, a president of a college of archons is apparently the eponymous magistrate.

165. SESTUS in the Thracian Chersonesus

OGIS 339 (= J. Krauss, *Die Inschriften von Sestos und der Thrakischen Chersones*, Bonn 1980, no. 1) is a very long inscription, a decree of the city honoring a gymnasiarch, and is dated in its first line: [ἐπὶ ἱ]ε[ρέ]ως Γλαυκίου [το]ῦ Κιλλαίου, μηνὸς Ὑπ[ερβερε]ταίου etc. The date is soon after 133 BC.

166. SIDE in Pamphylia

BGU 887 (= Mitteis, *Chrestomathie* 272 = *FIRA* III no. 133) records the sale of a slave girl in AD 151. It begins with the date by the Roman consuls followed by ἐν Σίδῃ ἐπὶ δημιουργο[ῦ] ἱε[ρέ]ως [--- μηνὸς] Πα[ν]ήμου ἕξ κα[ὶ] δε[κά]τη[ς] etc. R. Mellor in *ZPE* 13 (1974) 279 restored the priesthood as that of the goddess Roma who was frequently

⁶⁷ See Magie, *RRAM* I 472 and II 1334 n. 14. An inscription (*IGRR* IV 682) spells out the Augustan foundation or re-naming of the site.

used to date some documents in the Greek East in such places as Ephesus and elsewhere. Thus: [ιε]ρέως [θεᾶς Ῥώμης]. This restoration has been confirmed by G.E. Bean, *The Inscriptions of Side*, Ankara 1965, 35, no. 127: ἀγαθῆι τύχηι. ἱερεὺς θεᾶς Ῥώμης καὶ δημιουργός etc. In fact, the association of the priest with the demiourgos is a regular combination in the inscriptions from Side whenever an eponymous dating is given. Cf. Bean, *op. cit.* nos. 111, 112, and 186. The two posts were held by the same person.⁶⁸

167. SIDYMA in Lycia

TAM II 175 is a decree from the period AD 185-192 and is dated in its first line ἐπὶ ἀ[ρχ]ιερέως τ[ῶν Σεβα]στῶν Διογέ[νου]ς γ' τοῦ Μητροδώρου Δείου β' etc. For the archiereus of the imperial cult in the Lycian League see above, no. 128, LYCIA.

168. SILANDUS in Lycia

Coins of the second century after Christ (Münsterberg, *Beamtennamen* 149, and *TAM* V 1, 19) show inscriptions such as ἐπὶ Λουκίου ἄρχοντος α' and ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέως Τατιανοῦ καὶ ἄρχοντος α'. For the archiereus of the imperial cult see above, no. 128 LYCIA.

169. SILLYUM in Pamphylia

The demiourgos is well known at Sillyum and the existence of an inscription mentioning a woman holding that post 'forever' lends belief to the view that it was an eponymous office.⁶⁹ K. Lanckoronski, *Städte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens* (Wien 1890) I, 177 no. 61, lines 8ff.: ἔπι [κ]αταλιπούσης καὶ εἰς αἰῶ[νιον] αὐτῆς δημιουργίδα etc. There is no direct evidence, however.

170. SINOPE in Pontus

As a colony of Miletus Sinope would be expected to inherit the eponymous *aisymnetai* of its mother-city. An amphora stamp supports the expectation. B.N. Grakov in *Antičnaja istorija i kul'tura Sredizemnomor'ja i Pričernomor'ja* (Leningrad 1968), 100ff., no. 1 published the stamp: Νικοστράτου ἐπὶ αἰσυμνήτου. ἀστυνομ[ο]ῦντος Ποσιδείου[υ].⁷⁰

⁶⁸ Mellor, *ΘΕΑ ΡΩΜΗ* (above, n. 66), 183: 'Some officials were occasionally co-eponymous; elsewhere the same men held several offices simultaneously as eponymous official, as at Side where the eponymous official was both δημιουργός and priest of Roma'. It must be mentioned, however, that the state or national eponymous official was still the original demiourgos, or whatever title he held, in such cases, and the priesthood of the goddess Roma was not always mentioned. At Ephesus, for example, the prytanis was the state eponym, and the priest of Roma did appear at times along with the prytanis, as in *OGIS* 437, lines 89ff., but in the majority of cases it was the prytanis that was used alone to date documents.

⁶⁹ See Veligianni-Terzi, *Damiurgen* (see # 133) 141, 143, 145, 147, 149-50, and 157. L. Robert accepts the office here as eponymous (*Noms indigènes* [see above n. 60] 478). There is also the fact that at Sillyum the offices of demiourgos and gymnasiarch were often held together by the same person: cf. *JGR* III 800-802, in which the whole family had a long history of holding the offices.

⁷⁰ Magie, *RRAM* 1077 n. 23, believes a nomophylax was the eponymous magistrate on the basis of an inscription (*AJA* 9 [1905] 312, no. 40), which mentions fourteen prytaneis in one of the city's months. It begins with ν[ο]μοφυλακ[οῦ]ντος τοῦ δεῖνα. Ehrhardt (*op. cit.* [no. 91]) rightly refuses to accept it. See his remarks, p. 196 with his note. Cf. Bašinskij in *Eirene* 7 (1968) 143.

171. SMYRNA in Ionia

In the Hellenistic period Smyrna, it is said, had two eponymous officials, a priest of some unknown divinity and also a stephanephoros. This assumption is based on the text of the sympolitēia between Smyrna and Magnesia-by-Sipylos (*OGIS* 229 = *I. Magnesia am Sipylos* no. 1).⁷¹ This treaty resulted in the incorporation of Magnesia into the territory of Smyrna. In line 34 the date is given ἐπὶ ἱερέως Ἡγησίου, στεφανηφόρου δὲ Πυθοδώρου, μηνὸς Ληγαίωνος, etc. As I have indicated (above, no. 132 MAGNESIA-BY-SIPYLUS), I believe the mention of the priest does not pertain to Smyrna but to Magnesia. The Smyranean stephanephoros was still eponymous in the Roman imperial period: *I. Smyrna* II, 1 nos. 731 (AD 83), 771 (Hadrianic), 775 (about AD 118), 776, 777, 778, No. 779 is earlier, about second to first century BC.⁷² There is no trace of any other eponymous priest in the Hellenistic period. However, there does exist ample evidence of a second eponym at Smyrna in the Roman imperial period alongside the stephanephoros. No. 653 records honors decreed for two female theologoi from the first to the second century after Christ and is dated at the end: ἐπὶ ταμιῶν Τι. Κλ. Ζήνωνος καὶ Μ. Βειβίου Θεοδώρου. Eponymous tamiai are rare, but other evidence from Smyrna confirms the post in this city: nos. 600 (AD 157-158, letter of the emperor to the Dionysiac synodos at Smyrna), 639 (second century after Christ), 713 (about AD 225), 714-715 (second century after Christ), 722, and 737 (second-third century after Christ).⁷³

Some interesting facts about the stephanephoroi at Smyrna are worthy of attention. Rarely does the literature mention anything about such eponyms, but Philostratus (*Vitae Soph.* II 26 on Heracleides the Lycian) says that Heracleides was stephanephoros at Smyrna and adds that "the Smyrneans name their years after these (officials)." *I. Smyrna* II, 1 no. 731 contains a date ἐπὶ στεφανηφόρου Κοσκωνίας Μύρτου in the reign of Domitian, and she also held that same eponymous office (no. 775) about AD 118 for the third time. L. Robert has shown (*Studi Classici* 16 [1974] 74-80) that this same woman also was eponymous prytanis at Clarus about AD 115. Her name also appears on the coinage. Münsterberg, *Beamennamen* 105 (s.v. Domitian) has: ἐπὶ στε. Μύρτου θυγατρὸς τοῦ δήμου. She must have been especially prominent in Smyrna to be accorded such an honor at Clarus, but benefactions may have played a large role.

172. SOLI in Cilicia

See above, s.v. 154. POMPEIOPOLIS.

173. STRATONICEA in Caria

Founded by the Seleucids and named after Stratonice, wife of Antiochus I, the city of Stratonicea in Caria was given to Rhodes (Polybius 30. 31), lost (to Philip V for a short period?), recovered by Rhodes in 197 BC, and gained its freedom in the Roman settlement of 167 BC. Within its territory lay Lagina and Panamara. Its official state eponymous official

⁷¹ The text by Th. Ihnken in *I. Magnesia am Sipylos* was reprinted by G. Petzl in *I. Smyrna* II, 1, no. 573 with German translation. The edition by Ihnken has a very full commentary with rich historical background. See also above, s.v. MAGNESIA-BY-SIPYLUS, for the assumption of two eponyms.

⁷² On the eponymous stephanephoros at Smyrna see C.J. Cadoux, *Ancient Smyrna*, Oxford 1938, 195ff.

⁷³ L. Robert, (*Opera Minora* II, 1349) also accepts the tamias at Smyrna as eponymous.

was a stephanephoros, attested in *I. Stratonikeia* II, 1 no. 1034: ἐ[πὶ στεφ]α]νηφόρου Λέοντο[ς τοῦ Ἀρίσ]τωνος Αἰνέου etc.⁷⁴ Since Panamara belonged to Stratonicea, the very large number of stephanephoroi mentioned in the documents of that religious center are those of Stratonicea. The names of the prominent families who monopolized that eponymous post are well known at Stratonicea.⁷⁵ *I. Stratonikeia* I no. 15 (from Panamara) is especially important, for it shows (lines 16-17) that the god Apollo served as both high-priest of the imperial cult and also as the eponymous stephanephoros for the fourth time. The holding of both these posts by the same person is also recorded in nos. 1015-1016, but dating could also be by the high-priest alone, as in no. 1041. Equally valuable is no. 1101 (from Stratonicea) which is dated ἐπὶ στεφανηφόρου Πτολεμαίο[υ τοῦ ---] and concerns the singing of a hymn in the bouleuterion and in the sanctuary of Lagina. We also learn from it that the Roman senate granted asyilia to the sanctuaries of Hecate at Lagina and of Zeus Panamaros at Panamara. Engraved and set up at Stratonicea, it gives evidence of the connection between the three places.⁷⁶

174. STRATONICEA on the Caicus in Mysia

Like the city of the same name in Caria, Stratonicea on the Caicus was also a foundation of Antiochus I and named after his wife.⁷⁷ The true origin of an ephobic list from about the beginning of the first century BC (Michel, *Recueil* 643) is now known to have been at Stratonicea on the Caicus (see L. Robert, *Op. Min.* III 1583-1584). Its 61 lines are largely the names of the ephebes, but its heading (lines 1-8) begins with an eponymous dating: ἐπὶ πρυτάνεως Ἀττάλου τοῦ Μενάνδρου καὶ γυμνασιάρχου τοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἀττάλου etc. The list is in two columns, with one of the names indicating a Roman period (line 61): Γλύκων Γλαύκωνος ὁ καὶ Λεύκιος. No other evidence has come to light, but it is tempting to suggest a connection between this city's eponymous prytaneis and those of Pergamum, not too many miles away to the west.

175. STROBILUS in Bithynia

L. Robert (*Hellenica* 7.34ff., no. 3) has published a short and mutilated inscription on an architrave of marble found at Yalova. Its ancient name appears to have been Strobilus and it lay to the southwest of Nicomedia across the bay. The inscription is honorary and begins: [ἀγα]θ[ῆ]ι τύχ[ῆ]ι, ἱε]ρο[μν]αμονούσης Βρουττίας Κρισπείνης etc. The Doricisms in the inscription as a whole have convinced Robert that this site on the coast of Bithynia lay

⁷⁴ No. 1002, a record of sale for a vineyard in 276 BC, begins with a date by the ninth year of King Ptolemy son of Ptolemy and is followed immediately by ἐ[πὶ] ἱεροταμία Δ[ι]ογένους Πακ[τύ]ου. J. and L. Robert (*Bulletin* 1956 no. 270) call this 'temple treasurer' the eponymous official of the community, but I believe it is a case of a false eponym. The treasurer has his name recorded because of his interest in the transaction, probably to collect a tax.

⁷⁵ For all details see above, no. 145, PANAMARA.

⁷⁶ For a valuable commentary on no. 1101 see L. Robert, *Études Anatoliennes*, Paris 1937, 516-521.

⁷⁷ The arguments of L. Robert in his *Villes d'Asie Mineure*² (Paris 1962), 48-50, are decisive.

within the territory of Byzantium, where the eponymous official was a hieromnemon.⁷⁸ The eponym Bruttia Crispina is Crispina Augusta, the wife of the emperor Commodus. The name of the honorand (lines 5-6) has been chiseled out, probably the name of Commodus.

176. SYNNAIDA in Phrygia

Coins from the reign of Claudius (Münsterberg, *Beamtennamen* 171) are inscribed ἐπὶ Ἀρτέμωνος τροφέως and ἐπὶ Ἀρτέμωνος ἀρχιερέως. Thus, this is a dating by the high-priest of the imperial cult, as became fairly common in the Greek east. L. Robert has shown that the first inscription indicates that Artemon in his benefactions had made a gift of grain to the city (*Op. Min.* II 1012-1016).

177. TABAE in Caria

The coins from Tabae have been systematically analyzed by J. and L. Robert (*La Carie* II, Paris 1954, 137-146) and among them are coins of the second and third centuries after Christ bearing the phrase ἐπὶ ἄρχ(οντος) + name. In this late period, at least, Tabae appears to have had an eponymous archon.⁷⁹

178. TANAIIS in Sarmatia

Located at the outlet of the Don River, Tanais was the most northerly of the Greek settlements. Sarmatians had been in control of this whole area from perhaps as early as the fifth century BC, and the Greeks had to share the city's destiny with them. An inscription of AD 193 (*IOSPE* II 423 = *CIRB* 1237) is dated at the end as follows: ἐπὶ Βοράσπῳ (Β)άβου ἄρχοντος Τανάεως καὶ ἐ(λλ)ηνάρχ(ου) Ῥόδωνος Χαρίτ(ω)νος. ἐν τῷ κυ(ρ)ῶ, Δύ(σ)-τρου α(ρ)χ(οντος). The combination of Greek and Sarmatian elements bear testimony to the mixed population of the city, and it seems probable that this archon and the Hellenarch are really eponymous. Both of those officials owed their power originally to the Bosporan kings who ruled the city through them.⁸⁰

179. TARSUS in Cilicia

It is not until the Roman imperial period that inscriptions give us information bearing on its eponymous official, and even then it is more indirect than direct. The highest official of the city was a demiourgos, and a coin in the British Museum (*BMC, Lycaonia, Isauria, Cilicia* 203, no. 214; cf. Münsterberg, *Beamtennamen* 131, and L. Robert, *Études épigraphiques* 146) displays the legend δημ(ιτουργία) Ἀλεξάνδρου in a crown. This 'Alexander' is the

⁷⁸ See the commentary of Robert on this inscription. It is now re-published by T. Corsten in *I. Apameia und Pylai* no. 114, who has assigned the name Strobilus to the site.

⁷⁹ For the Hellenistic period of Tabae see above, no 46, RHODOS, section c (Mobolla).

⁸⁰ In *CIRB (Corpus Inscriptionum Regni Bosporani)* 1242 (= *IOSPE* II 427) the ἄρχων Ταναεϊτῶν is a citizen named Διδυμόξαρθος and the Hellenarch is Ῥόδων Φαζινάμου. See V.F. Gajdukevic, *Das Bosporanische Reich*, Berlin 1971, 248-255, especially, however, 362ff. for the administration of Tanais. There appears to have been a college of archons.

Roman emperor Severus Alexander, and this almost certainly makes the office eponymous.⁸¹ That this eponymous demiourgos wore the crown (stephanephoros) is clearly brought out in *IGRR* III 883, as interpreted by L. Robert in his *Hellenica* 7.197ff. In it a citizen of Tarsus, Hemerios, is called a consul of the Romans and described as a man wreathed by three crowns of the highest rank, i.e. "demiourgos papeis (?), Cilicarch, gymnasiarch", etc.⁸² Thus, at Tarsus the demiourgos was qualified as stephanephoros.

180. TEOS in Ionia

R. Demangel and A. Laumonier have published (*BCH* 46 [1922] 309 no.1) a fragment of a decree from possibly the third century BC whose very end (lines 19-20) is as follows: [— — — εἶν]αι δὲ αὐτοῖς τὴν ἀτέλειαν δέκα ἔτεα ἀρχο[μένην μετὰ τὸν] μῆνα Λευκαθεῶνα καὶ πρύτανιν Ἀρίστιππο[ν]. It was found at Olamiz, between Teos and Clazomenae. Thus, an eponymous prytanis. In the second century BC is a decree of the symmoria in honor of their prostatai, published by S. Şahin in *Epigraphica Anatolica* 5 (1985) 13ff. (*SEG* XXXV 1152): ἐπὶ πρυτάνεως Ἰφικράτου, μηνὸς Λευκαθεῶνος εἰκάδι, ἔδοξεν τῆι Ἐχίνου συμμορία, etc. Another decree of the symmoria from the same century is *CIG* 3065 (Michel, *Recueil* 1006).⁸³

181. TERMESSUS in Pisidia

See above, no. 153, PISIDIA.

182. THRACE

Quite apart from cities in Thrace like Odessus, Maroneia, and others, the Thracian cities of Augusta Traiana (Traianopolis), Serdica, Nicopolis, Philippopolis, and Pautalia may be treated here because of the similarity of their eponymous officials. In these cities the executive authority resided in a college of magistrates called a συναρχία with a first-archon at the head. In Traianopolis a base honoring Septimius Severus is dated ἐπὶ συναρχία(ς) Σεπτίμιου [Α]ύρηλιου Βάσσου (*I. Bulg.* III 1553), and another base honors Gallienus, calling him one who 'held the eponymous office in the brilliant and free city of Traianopolis', *I. Bulg.* III 1567. In Pautalia an inscription on a stone column is dated ἐπὶ συναρχίας Ἰουλίου Ἰουλιανοῦ (*I. Bulg.* IV 2072), whereas no. 2074 is dated by the synarchia of three men. No. 1926 is dated ἐπὶ συναρχίας (πρώτου) ἄρχοντος. A base from Philippopolis (*I. Bulg.* III

⁸¹ Robert also makes the demiourgos at Tarsus the eponymous official.

⁸² The term 'papeis' (?) after 'demiourgos' is unknown. — I find it difficult to evaluate a passage in Athenaeus (5.215B): Ταρσοῦ δὲ Ἐπικούρειος φιλόσοφος ἐτυράνησε Λυσίας ὄνομα· ὃς ὑπὸ τῆς πατρίδος στεφανηφόρος αἰρεθείς, τουτέστιν ἱερεὺς Ἡρακλέους, οὐκ ἀπετίθετο τὴν ἀρχήν, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἱματίου τύραννος ἦν. Ruge (*RE* IV A 2, col. 2423) dates this incident apparently in the first century BC, but whatever the date the incident seems to reflect conditions prior to the creation of Cilicia as a Roman province. I find it hard to believe that a tyranny could be established in Tarsus while Cilicia was under Roman provincial control. Taken at face value, the passage in Athenaeus might have nothing to do with eponymity.

⁸³ It is dated ἐπὶ πρυτάνεως Σμείωνος etc. The whole text is quoted by Şahin (*op. cit.* 14 note 2). The list in Michel, *Recueil* no. 666, has caused some confusion. It is not a list of eponymous archons. The list is one of military character, as L. Robert (*Opera Minora* I 142) has shown. Its entries, such as ἀναρχα τέσσερα etc. refer to the lack of military archons.

no. 881) is dated by the synarchia of at least one name, possibly more. A base from Nicopolis (*I. Bulg.* II 642) dedicated to Cordianus III is fuller: ἐπὶ συναρχίας Ἰουλίου Ἰουλι[α]νοῦ ἀρχιερατικοῦ κὲ πρώτου ἄρχοντος. And a base from the territory of Serdica (*I. Bulg.* IV 1992) has ἐπὶ συναρχίας Ἰουλίου Φηλοπάππου. In all of these I believe the 'first-archon' is eponymous.

183. THYATIRA in Lydia

IGRR IV 1207 is an honorary decree for Severus Alexander and is dated ἐπὶ τῶ[ν περι] Γάιον Ἀρούντιον [Ἀντωνε]ῖνον Φλαβιανὸν ἱππ[ι]κὸν ἀρχόντων. And no. 1249 is an honorary decree for Λ. [Μάρκιον] Πολλιανὸν τὸν ἐπώνυμον [ἄ]ρχοντα π[ρ]ῶ[τον] καὶ ἀγωνο]θέτη[ν]. Thus, very likely, the eponymous official was the first-archon of the college of archons.

184. TICHIUSSA in Lycia

See above, no. 128, LYCIA and the Lycian League.

185. T(E)IRA in the Cayster Valley

The eponymous official is a prytanis. *IGRR* IV 1664: ἀγαθῆ τύχη· ἐπὶ πρυτάνεως Λ. Σεπτ. Αὐρ. Ἀχιλλεΐδη, etc. *IGRR* IV 1665: ἀγαθῆ τύχη· ἐπὶ πρυτάνεως Ἀποληίας Φαυστεΐνη[ς], τοῦ ἐξῆς ἔτους, etc. Both of these are followed immediately by the month and day of the year, and belong to the late second century after Christ. Here we may note that a woman holds the office.

186. TLOS in Lycia

See above, no. 128, LYCIA and the Lycian League.

187. TOMI on the Black Sea

The eponymous official of this Milesian colony is certainly a priest. *SIG*³ 731 begins: [ἐφ' ἱέρ]εω Σαραπίωνος [τ]οῦ Δ[ιοσκορί]δου, ἄρχοντες εἶπ[αν]· etc. And line 27 of the same decree has another eponymous date in the first century BC: ἐφ' ἱέρεω Θεοφίλου τοῦ Νουμηνίου ἄρχοντες εἶπ[αν]· etc. And *IGRR* I 604 is a dedication of AD 160 to the Great God Sarapis and to Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius. It is dated ἔτους κγ', Φαρμουθὶ α', ἐπὶ ἱερέων [Κ]ορνούτου τοῦ καὶ Σαραπίωνος, [Πολύ]μνου τοῦ καὶ Λονγεΐνους. An honorary decree published in the *Archaeologisch-epigraphische Mitteilungen aus Oesterreich-Ungarn*, 11 (1887) 41ff. no. 55, is dated ἐπὶ ἱέρεω Ἀπόλλωνος.⁸⁴ Thus, the god

⁸⁴ I. Stoian in *Studii si certetări de istorie veche* 11 (1960) 303-321 discusses all these inscriptions, and others, in his article on the eponymous magistrate of Tomi, in Rumanian with French resume. Cf. Ehrhardt, *Milet* (*op. cit.* [n. 21], 198.

Apollo serves here as his own priest in a period of economic difficulty. I. Stoian believes that the eponymous priest was a priest of Apollo Ietros.⁸⁵

188. TRAIANOPOLIS in Thrace

See above, no. 182, THRACE.

189. TRAIANOPOLIS in Phrygia

Founded by Trajan near the ancient city of Grimenothyrae in the borderland of Phrygia and Lydia, Traianopolis had a Greek type of administration. *IGRR* IV 625 was engraved in honor of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, and dated ἐπὶ Ἱεροκλέους Ἀρχετείμο[υ] ἄρχοντος τὸ β' καὶ Ἀρτέμωνος Ἑρμογένους καὶ Φιλάνθου Τρύφωνος καὶ γραμματέος Διονυσίου Π[υ]θοδώρο[υ], ἐπιμεληθέντος Νεικομάχου β', ἔτους σνα', μηνὸς ιβ' γα γ (?). Three archons are also recorded in *IGRR* IV 626. Here we have a city founded in the middle imperial period with a Greek constitution and a Greek eponymous magistrate along with the Sullan era (in this case the 251st year). Once again we see that the first-archon in a college of archons was the actual eponym.

190. TRALLEIS in the Maeander Valley

After 188 BC Seleucia was called Tralleis, and shortly before that time may be dated an honorary decree (*I. Tralleis und Nysa*, I no. 26), whose mutilated beginning has the date ἐπὶ στεφανηφόρου Μηνοδώρου.⁸⁶ The stephanephoros was still eponymous after AD 127, as we see in *I. Tralleis und Nysa* I no. 80 (line 15): ἐπὶ στεφανηφόρ[ου Κλαυ]δίας. The office regularly enjoyed a position of prominence in the list of offices held by individuals: nos. 69, 73, 88, 134, 145.

191. TRICOMIA in Asia Minor

IGRR IV 1367: ἐπὶ στεφανηφό[ρου – – –] τοῦ Ναθήους, μη(νὸς) [– – –], ἡ τρικωμία Μηλοκ[ωμῆται – – –]αριοκωμῆται Καιβο[κωμῆται?] ἐτείμησαν Π. Πέγιο[ν τοῦ Δη]μητρίου υἱὸν Κορν[ηλία – – –]νημ[– – –] ἀρχιερέα [– – –]. The site of Tricomia is uncertain.

192. TRIPOLIS (APOLLONIA)

Located in the Upper Maeander Valley, Tripolis or Apollonia Tripolis had an eponymous stephanephoros according to an inscription now known to have originated from there, as L. Robert (*Documents d'Asie Mineure*, Paris 1987, 344) admits. It begins with [μηνὸς] Δίου ἐπὶ στεφανηφόρου [– – –]αράτου etc.

193. TYMNUS in Caria

See above, n. 46, RHODOS (h).

⁸⁵ See the previous note. J. and L. Robert (*Bulletin* 1962, no. 230) agree that the deity is Apollo Ietros, as also at Itria.

⁸⁶ The same Menodorus seems to be mentioned in *Milet* I, 3 no. 143, a treaty between Miletus and Seleucia (Tralleis), line 5. See the commentary of Rehm on page 321, who dates the treaty 212/11 BC.

194. TYRAS on the North Pontic Shore

In the Hellenistic period (third century) a vase contains the mutilated dedication [Ἐπόλ-
λω]νι Ἰατρ[ῶτι], as indicated by P.O. Karyškovskij in *Vestnik Drevnej Istorii* 1959, 4, 116,
no. 4. As a Milesian colony, it has been assumed that a priest of this Apollo was eponymous
at that time (Ehrhardt, *Milet* [n. 21] 198). Perhaps, but no direct evidence is known. What is
known is that in the second and early third centuries after Christ the eponymous magistrate
was a first-archon. This is clear from *IOSPE I* no. 2, a decree of AD 181 (lines 18ff.):
ἐγένετο ἐν Τύρα πρὸς ἐκαλανδῶν Μαίων Αὐτοκράτορι Κομόδῳ τὸ γὰρ καὶ Ἀντισ-
τίῳ Βούρρω ὑπάτοις, ὡς δὲ Τυρανοὶ ἄγουσιν, ἔτους ἐκρῶ, ἀρχόντων δὲ τῶν περὶ
Θεόδωρον Βοήθου, μηνὸς Ἀρτεμεισιῶνος λῶ. ἐσφραγίσαντο· Θεόδωρος Βοήθου
πρῶτος ἄρχων etc. Thus, an eponymous first-archon. Cf. *IOSPE I* no. 4 of AD 201.

195. XANTHUS in Lycia

See above, no. 128, LYCIA and the Lycian League.

THE REGISTER**Part IV: Syria and the East**

Before the time of Alexander the Great northern Syria marked the eastern limit of Greek
cities. At the end of the fifth century BC Xenophon (*Anabasis* 1.4) says that Myriandus, de-
spite its Greek name, was 'inhabited by Phoenicians'. It lay on the coast of the Gulf of
Iskenderon well north of the Orontes River. Not far away lay the trading posts of Posideion
and Al Mina, both of them frequented by Greek traders and businessmen at early dates.⁸⁷
Beyond this area, roughly the outlet of the Orontes, there were no Greek cities. The situation
changes with the conquest of Persia by Alexander and the planting of Macedonian and Greek
military colonies to the south and east. Later, Selucus I and his successors founded numerous
Greek cities with the traditional Greek governmental structure. Thus, it is not until the
Hellenistic period that we should expect to find the use of Greek eponymous officials in the
Seleucid kingdom. Even then, examples are few. The dating of documents was regularly by
reference to the year in which Seleucus I first began to count his regnal year. That year was
312/11 BC, but the beginning of the Seleucid year might vary from city to city.⁸⁸ And some
cities, like Aradus, began their own eras when they were freed from Seleucid control.⁸⁹
Finally, besides the local eponymous officials of Greek cities, the date was given by reference
to the eponymous priests of the Seleucid dynastic cult, and this double eponymous dating ap-
peared not only in Syria proper but also wherever Seleucid control extended, e.g. throughout

⁸⁷ In his description of the Persian satrapies Herodotus (3.91) says that Posideion was founded by (the
mythical) Amphilochoi at the border between Cilicia and Syria, and it is located just south of the Orontes, its
name preserved in the modern Ras el Basit. Right at the outlet of the Orontes is Al Mina, ancient name un-
known: see J. Boardman, *The Greek Overseas*, London 1980 (revised ed.), 38ff.

⁸⁸ For the Babylonians that era began in 311 BC. For the details see A.E. Samuel, *Greek and Roman
Chronology*, München 1972, 245ff.

⁸⁹ The era of Aradus and all the cities of its territory was 259 BC. The Aradians were Hellenized. See
Jean-Paul Rey-Coquais in *IGLS VII* (Paris 1970) 17-18 and 22-23.

Asia Minor in the Hellenistic period.⁹⁰ Bikerman has made it clear, and Wilcken has agreed, that the autonomous Greek cities of the Seleucids created and embellished their own particular aspect of the dynastic cult. Thus, there was the official royal cult on the one hand and the numerous local cults in each of the cities on the other hand.⁹¹ The result in the Seleucid period was often the use of the eponymous priest of the dynastic cult as well as the use of the local civic eponymous official in the documents of Greek cities. Each city was free to adapt the cult to its own needs or desires, the individual city with its hieres and the state cult with its archieres. In each Seleucid satrapy there was a different archieres who exercised authority over the lower priests of the royal cult but not over the city priests. In this respect the Seleucid cult differed from the Ptolemaic cult in Egypt, where there was a single royal cult in Alexandria.

196. ANTIOCH in Persis

Antioch in Persis may be identified with Taoke, the modern Borazjan, about 20 kilometers inland from Bushire.⁹² Antiochus III, on his return from the east in 205 BC, was present in this Antioch when envoys from Magnesia on the Maeander met him there. Acting on the request of the envoys, the boule and assembly of the city recognized the festival of the Leukophryenia established at Magnesia. The resultant decree was subsequently engraved at Magnesia (*I. Magnesia* 61; *OGIS* 233). It begins with the date by the eponymous priest of the Seleucid dynastic cult: [ἐ]πι ιερέως Σελεύκου Νικάτορος καὶ Ἀντιόχου Σωτήρος καὶ Ἀντιόχου Θεοῦ καὶ Σελεύκου Καλλινίκου καὶ βασιλέως Σελεύκου καὶ βασιλέως Ἀντιόχου καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ βασιλέως Ἀντιόχου Ἡρακλείτου τοῦ Ζωέου, τῆς πρώτης ἑξαμῆνου etc. There is no mention of any local civic eponymous official.

197. ARADUS in Syria

Aradus is a small, rocky island off the north Syrian coast that managed to acquire a considerable territory on the adjacent coast. Its Greek inscriptions (*IGLS* VII 4001-4021) reveal it in the Hellenistic and Roman periods as a city with a boule, demos, and gerousia as well as other familiar Greek officials. No. 4016 (bis) is an inscription on a base of a statue erected about AD 207. The date is given as ἐπὶ ἀρχῆς Ἡλιοδώρου, followed by the names of the two secretaries of the city and the names of three limenarchs. Some 15 kilometers to the east, in the mainland, a similar method of dating appears on an inscription from Sahin (no. 4027),

⁹⁰ With the loss of Seleucid control over Asia Minor by the victory of Rome over Antiochus III at Magnesia in 189 BC the use of the eponymous priests of the Seleucid Dynastic cult naturally came to an end. At that time, consequently, we see the rise of the worship of the goddess Roma in the Greek cities west of the Taurus Mountains.

⁹¹ The basic analysis of the Seleucid dynastic cult is still that of E. Bikerman, *Institutions des Séleucides*, Paris 1938, 236-257. Cf. U. Wilcken in *Sb. Berlin* 1938, 298-321 (= *Wege der Forschung* 372: *Römischer Kaiserkult*, Darmstadt 1978, 218-253, especially 246-253). Important observations in general and for particular Greek cities will be found in Chr. Habicht, *Gottmenschen und griechische Städte*, München 1956, 82-108. See also above, no. 105, ERIZA in Caria.

⁹² C. Roueche and S.M. Sherwin-White in *Chiron* 15 (1982) 9 n. 18. For the presence in Antioch in Persis of Antiochus III see J.-F. Salles in *Hellenism in the East*, edited by A. Kuhrt and S. Sherwin-White, Berkeley 1987, 92ff.

which tells us that an altar was erected [θε]ῶ ὑψίστῳ οὐρανίῳ and is dated ἐπὶ ἀρχῆς Σολωμανο[υ – –]. Clearly this is an eponymous dating, and it is found elsewhere in Syria. Neither the exact title nor the function is known.⁹³

198. BALANAEA in Syria

Balanaea, some 40 kilometers north of Aradus on the coast, had a typical Greek type of city administration. A local citizen, honored by a statue (*IGLS* IV no. 1303; *IGRR* III 1013), had been strategos, archon, secretary, agoranomos, and dekaprotos. J.-P. Rey-Coquais, *Arados et sa Pérée aux époques grecque, romain et byzantine*, Paris 1974, 192, believes the archon was the eponymous magistrate of the city. No direct evidence, however, exists.

199. BENT-DJEBEL in Syria

Found in this village near Tyre, an inscription (*SEG* I 550) on an epistyle, is as follows: ἀγαθῆ τύχη· [ἐπὶ Ν]εικοστράτου ἀρχιερέως κ[αὶ ἐπιμ]ε(λ)ητοῦ οἰκοδομήθη. Thus, probably a date by the eponymous priest of the Seleucid dynastic cult.

200. BOSTRA in Arabia

IGLS XIII no. 9104 appears to be complete except for its first line: [ἐκ προνοίας Φλαουίου Ἰουλίου] Φρόντωνος τοῦ κυρίου ἡγεμόνος ἢ πόλις Ἐπικαρπίῳ Διὶ τὸν βωμὸν ἰδρύσατο ἐπὶ Σαβεῖνου Ἀμρειλίου προέδρου τὸ β^ϛ καὶ συναρχόντων. It appears that the proedros, as chief of the proedroi, was the eponym. Iulius Fronto is known as the governor of Arabia in AD 181 (*PIR*² I no. 327).

201. COMMAGENE

With the death of Antiochus Epiphanes (about 164 BC) Seleucid Syria began its final disintegration into a series of small kingdoms and principalities, one of which was Commagene. About 100 BC its king was Mithridates Callinicus, after whose death the kingdom was ruled by his son Antiochus I from about 70 to 35 BC. This Antiochus constructed a large number of sanctuaries and filled them with long inscriptions in which he proclaimed the establishment of his own dynastic cult. The first of these inscriptions, along with numerous mutilated fragments of others, was discovered in 1882. It was found among the monuments on the Nemrud Dagh where Antiochus was buried: *OGIS* 383 = *IGLS* I no. 1. Then, fifty years later, a series of excavations in the general area resulted in the discovery of more fragments, including a second very long inscription of Antiochus and concerned with the same cultic announcement. This one was found at Arsameia on the Nymphaeus, a tributary of the

⁹³ The editor, J.-P. Rey-Coquais, adds in his commentary that it may be a case of the magistrate of a village community or of a rural district, like a comarch or toparch. At Aradus, however, we expect a title like archon or priest. Rey-Coquais lists a few other places where the eponymous formula ἐπὶ ἀρχῆς is found in Syria: Qatara, Rahlé, er-Rîmé, and Maqām er-Rabb. For Maqām er-Rabb see now H. Seyrig, *Scripta Varia*, Paris 1985, 153: [ἐκ τῶν ἱερατικῶν [ἔτους ε?]ου^ϛ, οἰκοδομήθη τὸ τεῖχος τῆ ἱερίᾳ Σα[]ζουβα τοῦ Βαρέωνος, ἀρχῆ δὲ Ἀβιδδαρᾶνου υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ Ἀβουδεμμου τοῦ Σαβεῖνου. Seyrig dates it, by the Seleucid era, to AD 163/164.

Euphrates to the west of Nemrud Dagh.⁹⁴ Despite the lengthy details about the new dynastic cult nothing is said in them about the eponymity of the priests, and, in view of the eponymity of the priests in the other known dynastic cults, we expect a statement on that point in these two inscriptions. It is not given. Direct proof may appear with new discoveries.

202. DAMASCUS in Syria

A series of short inscriptions pertaining to the building of the temple of Jupiter Damascus appears to contain eponymous dating. IGLS no. 830 will serve as an example: ἐπὶ τῶν περὶ Μηνόδωρον Ζένωνος νεώτερον ἱεροταμιῶν ῥκοδομήθησαν καὶ ἐν τῇ πλευρᾷ δόμοι εἷ ἐκ τῶν τοῦ κυρίου Διὸς ἔτους θμτ. The date is AD 286/7. The use of 'sacred treasurers' here may be a case of false eponyms.

203. DAPHNE in Syria

Daphne is a suburb of Antioch on the Orontes, famous for its gardens and its sanctuary of Apollo and Artemis. Here was found a letter of Antiochus the Great addressed to a governor and concerned with the appointment of a chief-priest of the two deities at Daphne: Welles, *Royal Correspondence* no. 44, of 189 BC, now also in *IGLS* III 2, no 992. The eponymity of this archiereus is expressly stated in lines 31-33: σύνταξον ἔν τε τοῖς χρηματισμοῖς καταχωρίζειν αὐτὸν ἀρχιερέα τῶν δεδηλωμένων ἱερῶν. As Welles points out (p. 182) this is a priesthood of Apollo and Artemis in Daphne and not the eponymous archiereus of the royal dynastic cult. Thus, its use has more limited application: in dating legal contracts.

204. DURA-EUROPUS in Syria

By Roman times a multiplicity of dating methods appears on many official documents, as we can see in this deed of sale from AD 180: *P. Dura* 25. In the lower text (lines 14-17) the date is given first by the Roman consuls of AD 180, then by the 20th year of the emperor Marcus Aurelius, then by the 491st year of the Seleucid era, and finally by a series of various eponymous priests: ἐπὶ ἱερέων Διὸς μὲν Λυσανίου τοῦ Ζηνοδότου τοῦ Ἡλιοδώρου, Ἀπόλλωνος δὲ Θεοδώρου τοῦ Ἀθηνοδότου τοῦ Ἀρτεμιδώρου, τῶν δὲ προγόνων Ἡλιοδώρου τοῦ Διοκλέους τοῦ Ἡλιοδώρου, βασιλέως δὲ Σελεύκου Νικ[ά]τορος Δανύμου τοῦ Σελεύκου τοῦ Δανύμου. The plural ἱερέων is used to apply to the four eponymous priesthoods that follow. A priest for the worship of the ancestors is understandable (See M. Rostovtzeff, *JHS* 55 [1935] 56-66), but a priest for Seleucus Nicator is striking.

⁹⁴ See F.K. Dörner and R. Nauman, *Forschungen in Kommagene (Istanbuler Forschungen 10)*, Berlin 1939, and, for all the inscriptions with commentary and notes, H. Waldmann, *Die kommagenischen Kultformen unter König Mithradates I. Kallinikos und seinem Sohne Antiochus I.*, Leiden 1973. Even more recently another extensive portion of the same material was discovered by J. Wagner and published by him along with G. Petzl in *ZPE* 20 (1976) 201-223. The Greek is worthy of the very best in all Hellenistic Koine, including poetic prose, avoidance of hiatus, preference for the use of simple verbs, a large number of epithets, many metaphors, and other rhetorical devices (see H. Dörrie, *Der Königs kult von Kommagene im Lichte neuer Inschriftenfunde*, Abh. Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Kl., 3. Folge, 60, Göttingen 1964, 138-156). And the sculptured reliefs show a blend of Greek and eastern influences (see Waldmann [*op. cit.*] 145ff., and M. Colledge in *Hellenism in the East* [above, n. 92], 158-159). In one scene of the reliefs we see Antiochus extending his hand to Mithras, a connection examined in detail by R. Merkelbach, *Mithras*, Hain 1984, 50-72.

A cult of the Seleucid kings at this time is impossible, at least in the sense of a dynastic cult. What seems to be the case here is a priest of Seleucus Nicator as the founder of Dura. Politically, that would have been harmless to the Roman authorities.⁹⁵

205. HAMMARAḤ in Beqa'

IGLS VI no. 2986 was engraved on an architrave and belongs to the period of the Roman Empire after the *Constitutio Antoniniana*: ἀγαθῆ τυ[χ]ῆ [τοῦ μεγίστου (?) Διός· α[ῦ]ξι Τύχη Αἰν[κανίας] ἐπὶ Ἀβιμμέο[υς] Ἀπολλιναρίου ἀρχιερέως, ἔ[ξ] Αὐρήλιοι followed by six names with patronymics who are described as epimeletai from the village of Ainkania.

206. HELIOPOLIS in Syria

IGLS VI no. 2717 is a square stone with sharp cornice, in poorly formed Latin letters: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) H(eliopolitano) pro sal(ute) imper(atoris) anno Q(uinti) Vini et G(ai) Cassaei et Isa et Vetti archontium, Foebus et Myla mutatores ex officio fe(c)e{p}runt*. The phrase *anno ... archontium*, clearly for ἐπὶ ἀρχόντων, is most unusual and indicates eponymous archons. The editor, J.-P. Rey Coquais, suggests that they appear to be the 'archons' of a village. In the small market-towns and the villages there are often three or four of them.⁹⁶ The *mutatores* are exchangers of some sort, perhaps money-exchangers. The date is sometime before the *Constitutio Antoniniana*.

207. LAODICEA in Iran

In 1947 at the border of Nehavend to the northwest of Susa was found an inscription containing two documents. The first was brief, a letter addressed to the city of Laodicea by a certain Menedemos, who was certainly the governor of the Seleucid satrapy, in which he orders the publication of the document that follows. The second is the document itself, a letter of Antiochus III in 193 BC. L. Robert published it in *Hellenica* 7, 7. In the letter Antiochus proclaims that his queen, Laodice, is to be enshrined among the other deities of the dynastic cult, with her own high-priestesses. Lines 20-26: κρίνομεν δέ, καθάπερ ἡμῶ[ν] ἀποδείκνυνται κατὰ τὴν βασιλείαν ἀρχιερεῖς, καὶ ταύτης κ[αθ]ίστασθαι ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς τό[ποις] ἀρχιερείας αἱ φ[ορ]ήσουσιν στεφάνους χρυ[σοῦς] ἔχοντας εἰκόν[α]ς αὐτῆς, ἐνγραφῆσονται δὲ [καὶ] ἐν τοῖς συνα[λ]λάγμασ[ιν] μετὰ τοὺς τῶν προ[γόνων] καὶ ἡμῶν ἀρχι[ερ]εῖς. Her archiereis are to be eponymous, their names to be added to legal contracts after the names of the archiereis of the ancestors and of himself. This proclamation

⁹⁵ In the commentary on this papyrus (*The Excavations at Dura-Europus, Final Report V, Part 1, The Parchments and Papyri* by C.B. Welles, R.O. Fink, and J.F. Gilliam, Yale 1959, no. 25) the possibility is expressed that this dating by eponyms was an innovation, 'an actual or supposed reintroduction of a dating method which belonged to the Seleucid period of the city's history'. Perhaps.

⁹⁶ See G.M. Harper, *Yale Classical Studies* 1 (1928) 120ff. However, these eponymous 'archons' might be the *duoviri* of the Roman colony of Heliopolis (called *Colonia Iulia Augusta Felix Heliopolis* on the coinage) founded by veterans of the *V Macedonica* and *VIII Augusta*, as thought by H. Seyrig (commentary). See also Seyrig, *Scripta Varia*, Paris 1985, 113-114.

was made known to all parts of the Seleucid kingdom, as we would infer and as we know from another copy found in Caria.⁹⁷

208. PALMYRA in Syria

The Palmyra tax law of AD 137 gives clear evidence of the Greek nature of its city government: *OGIS* 629; *IGRR* III 1056; *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum II* 3913. It provides important information on the economic history of this part of the east.⁹⁸ It begins with the date according to the Seleucid era followed by: δόγμα βουλῆς· ἐπὶ Βωννέους Βωννέους τοῦ Αἰράνου προέδρου, Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Φιλοπάτορος γραμματέως βουλῆς καὶ δήμου, Μαλίχου Ὀλαιοῦς καὶ Ζεβεΐδου Νεσᾶ ἀρχόντων, etc. I take this to mean that the proedros is eponymous. A parallel can be found in the inscription from Bostra (*IGLS* XIII no. 9104. See above, no. 200 BOSTRA), where the phrase of eponymity is headed by one who had been proedros for the second time. Included in this phrase are his synarchontes. This leads me to believe, although only tentatively, that the eponymous proedros at Palmyra might be the chief of the two archons. He is their 'Vorsitzender'.

209. SCYTHOPOLIS in Palestine

The true circumstances of the founding of Scythopolis, probably in the third century BC, are controversial. Inscriptions reveal the presence there of some Greek institutions, including what is apparently a list of eponymous priests of Zeus Olympios, the dioscuroi, and the dynastic cult. *SEG* VIII 33 is very mutilated and dates from the third quarter of the second century BC: [ἔτους — —, ἱερεῖς Διὸς Ὀλυμπ[ίου καὶ θεῶν Σωτή]ρων [ὁ δεῖνα] Ἐπ[— —, τῶν δὲ προγόν]ων τοῦ βασιλέως [— —β]ο[υ]λος Ἐπικράτου, [τοῦ δὲ βασιλ]έως [Δ[η-μητ]ρίου] [Ἡρακλ]εΐδης Σαραπίωνος. A similar list has been found at Samaria (*SEG* VIII 96).⁹⁹

210. SELEUCIA in Susiana

In the letter of Artaban III, king of Parthia, to Seleucia on the Eulaeus (Susa), he addressed it to the city's archons and to the city itself (Welles, *Royal Correspondence* no. 75). In that letter the king approves the election of a city treasurer at a time αἰρεθέντος ἄρχοντος Πετάσου τοῦ Ἀ[ντιόχου μετὰ Ἀριστομένους] τοῦ Φιλίππου. Later (lines 10-11) we learn that the man was elected [ἐπὶ τὸ δεύτερον] τριακοστὸν τριακοσιαστὸν ἔτος Πετάσου τοῦ Ἀντιόχου καὶ Ἀριστομένους τοῦ Φιλίππου. The letter itself is dated at the end not in the Seleucid manner, but by the Parthian era: Year 268, Audnaeus 17. This is AD 21. This certainly looks as if the two archons are eponymous, or perhaps that only one of

⁹⁷ See above, no. 105 ERIZA in Caria. The copy from Laodicea permits us to restore the copy from Caria in a more secure manner, as Robert has done (*op. cit.*, 9-10). Formerly, the copy from Caria was tentatively dated to 204 BC, but now that date should be changed to 193 BC to conform more exactly with the present copy from Iran.

⁹⁸ For commentaries see J. Texidor in *Aula Orientalis* 1 (1983) 235-252, and J.F. Matthews in *JRS* 74 (1984) 157-180. Texidor (p. 238) speaks of "le caractère éponyme des deux archontes."

⁹⁹ See M.I. Rostovtzeff, *JHS* 55 (1935) 60-61, and the discussion by B. Lifshitz in *ANRW* 2.8.273ff. who believes the Dioscuroi are included.

them, Petasus being mentioned first, is eponymous.¹⁰⁰ Another document, probably a decree, from the same city (*SEG VII 2*) begins as follows: βασιλεύον[τος Σελεύκου, ἔτους] ζλ' καὶ ρ', μη[νός ---], ἐν Σελευκ[εῖαι δὲ τῆι πρὸς τῶι] Εὐλαίωι Λ[φου ---, ἐπι] Ἀμμωνί[ου· ἔδοξε τῆι ἐκκλησίαι] etc. Again, this certainly looks as if the magistrate, Ammonios, is eponymous. And in view of the letter concerning the city's treasurer, Ammonios would appear to be an archon.

211. SELEUCIA in Pieria

All modern editions of *OGIS 245* (*IGLS III* no. 1184) are based on a copy made by R. Pococke and published by him in 1752. We now know that a second copy of this most important text still exists and has been published by Drew-Bear, T., Naour, C., and Stroud, R.S.¹⁰¹ It can also be found in *SEG XXXV 1521*. The new text supersedes all others. It is a list of the annual priests of the city in the reign of Seleucus IV (187-175 BC), beginning as follows: [ἔτους ---] καὶ ἑκατοστοῦ, ἱερεῖς· Διὸς Ὀλυμπίου καὶ Διὸς Κορυφαίου Νικήρατος Νικηράτου, etc. After each god's name in the Genitive is the name of the priest in the Nominative. The names of ten priests are preserved, and among the gods are Zeus Olympios and Koryphaios, Zeus Kasios (a new addition to the list), Apollo, Apollo at Daphne, and the deified members of the Seleucid dynastic cult. The dynastic cult, of course, is the municipal cult and not the one instituted by the king, each city being free to adapt the royal cult to its own particular form. The existence of the list suggests that the priests are eponymous.

THE REGISTER

Part V: North Africa

212. EGYPT: The Eponymous State Cult in Alexandria and Ptolemais

After the collapse of Mycenaean civilization in the twelfth century commercial relations between Greeks and Egyptians were interrupted. The exportation of Greek pottery to Egypt ceases and for the next 400 years nothing is known of contact between the two peoples of any significant importance. Then we begin to learn of Greek pirates landing on the Egyptian coast, and Herodotus explains (2.152-153) how in the seventh century Ionians and Carians had helped Psammetichus I become sole ruler of Egypt (664-610 BC). For this service the king rewarded them with two places in Egypt to live, opposite to each other on both sides of the Nile at its Pelusiatic mouth.¹⁰² These were Greek soldiers, mercenaries, but they were followed by Greek merchants and traders. Milesians were part of these immigrants and they

¹⁰⁰ Welles, *op. cit.*, 303, says: 'The city officials included a college of archons, two of whom gave their names to the year, and a treasurer'.

¹⁰¹ Arthur Pullinger: *An Early Traveller in Syria and Asia Minor (Transactions of the American Philosophical Society 75, Part 3)*, Philadelphia 1985, 32-37. It is important to note that Pullinger, an 18th century merchant and traveller, made his copy from 'a marble slab in the Armenian Church Yard at Seleucia (on the Bay of Antioch) now called Kapsaic or Kapsu', to quote from his own notebook.

¹⁰² The two most recent discussions of the arrival and the settlement of Greeks in Egypt are by A.B. Lloyd, *Herodotus, Book II: Introduction*, Leiden 1975, 1-60, and by T.F.R.G. Braun in *CAH² III 3* (1982) 32-56.

founded the city of Naucratis after fighting their way upstream from the Bolbitinic mouth of the Nile.¹⁰³ Thus, the Greek city of Naucratis evolved, its *raison d'être* seen in the title of its (most important?) magistrates called the *προστάται τοῦ ἐμπορίου*.¹⁰⁴ In Hellenistic times we know that it had a typical Greek constitution. By the sixth century BC commercial relations between the Greeks and the Egyptians had assumed a certain fulness and regularity. And two centuries later Alexandria was founded. Not long afterwards, under Ptolemy Soter, the Greek city of Ptolemais was founded and it became the chief center of Hellenism in Upper Egypt. In AD 130 Antinoopolis was founded by Hadrian.¹⁰⁵

Such were the Greek cities in Egypt: Naucratis, Alexandria, Ptolemais, and Antinoopolis. Greeks, of course, were to be found throughout Egypt, but mostly in a small minority among the natives. It is in these four cities that we expect to find evidence of Greek eponymous magistrates. And it is in Egypt also that a new type of eponymy was introduced by the Ptolemaic kings: the eponymous cults in Alexandria and Ptolemais, the former dating all official documents throughout Egypt, the latter used in Upper Egypt only and positioned after the Alexandrian eponymous priests.¹⁰⁶ These eponymous priesthoods constitute a traditional institution of Greek city administration that extended beyond the boundary of the two cities and their combination with the regnal year created a double image of kingship and city, although the latter's role was more a matter of symbolism than reality. There was no practical purpose in adding the eponymous priests after the regnal year. Moreover, these eponymous cults were state cults, merely situated in Alexandria and Ptolemais. The merely symbolic character of the city in this constellation will also emerge from a brief survey of the historical development of the cult that turned from being devoted to Alexander into a dynastic cult devoted not only to Alexander, but also to the reigning kings and their spouses and their ever-growing list of ancestors. Thus the content of what was presented in the traditional form of a city cult served the propagation of the ideology of kingship.¹⁰⁷

The **Alexandrian** eponymous priest was originally that of Alexander, as just stated. The desire of Alexander to be a god and the long history in Egypt of the divinity of the Pharaonic kings had made the development of a dynastic cult all but inevitable.¹⁰⁸ When Ptolemy I Soter

¹⁰³ Strabo (17.1.18) and Aristagoras (*FGrHist* 608 F 8). The best collection of testimonia along with the Greek inscriptions will be found in A. Bernand, *Le delta égyptien d'après les textes grecs*, troisième partie, Cairo 1970, 575-778.

¹⁰⁴ See C. Roebuck in *Classical Philology* 46 (1951) 215ff. Braun (*op. cit.*, n.1) 38 draws an apt parallel to conditions in nineteenth century China: "There is an analogy between Naucratis and Shanghai." Cf. Herodotus 2.179.

¹⁰⁵ For Ptolemais see Strabo 17.1.42. For Antinoopolis there is the account by M. Zahrnt in *ANRW* 2.10.1.669-706.

¹⁰⁶ The eponymous priests of the dynastic cult appear not only in state documents but also in documents of a lower order, as, e.g., in *P. Hibeh* 98, lines 6-21, which is a receipt of a boat-captain in the year 252 BC, dated by the priest of Alexander and gods Adelpoi, and by the Kanephoros of Arsinoe Philadelphos.

¹⁰⁷ In the preceding lines I follow L. Koenen's forthcoming study on "The Ptolemaic King as a religious Figure".

¹⁰⁸ The basic account of the whole subject is, in my opinion, still the one by U. Wilcken, "Zur Entstehung des hellenistischen Königs Kultes", in *Sb Berlin* (1938) 298-321, reprinted in *Wege der Forschung* (372), *Römischer Kaiserkult*, ed. by A. Wlosok, Darmstadt 1978, 218-253. The literature is vast, but the most recent summaries contain good bibliographies: P.M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* I, 218-253 and the notes (II

in 305 BC laid aside the title of satrap and called himself king, the Egyptian priests in their time-hallowed manner consecrated him as Pharaoh and god. This was purely an Egyptian matter, binding on them alone, and had little to do with the Macedonians or Greeks. Ptolemy never asked for divine honors for himself, but he did introduce the cult of Alexander the Founder and, later, the cult of Alexander the god.¹⁰⁹ Each was distinct from the other. The cult of Alexander the god was a state cult centered in Alexandria with an eponymous priest, originally called simply "the priest", drawn from the aristocratic families of the Greek population. In the present state of our knowledge we do not know when this eponymous priesthood began, but the earliest known priest, Menelaos son of Lagos, probably received the office in 290 BC.¹¹⁰

The next stage of the development of this cult began after the death of Ptolemy I in 283 BC. His son, Ptolemy II Philadelphos, consecrated his father and erected for him a temple (Theocr. 17);¹¹¹ to the honorary title of Σωτήρ now was added the more significant θεός, the first a memorial of honor proper for mortals and the second appropriate only, of course, for the immortals. With the death of Berenice, the widow of Ptolemy I Soter, in or soon after 279 BC, she too was consecrated and took her place alongside her husband among the gods. They were thus united in the cult of θεοὶ Σωτήρες. This cult, however, remained separate from the cult of Alexander and its priest had no eponymous office of the state cult.

When Arsinoë II, sister and consort of Philadelphus, died in 270 BC, she too was consecrated as a goddess: Ἀρσινόη θεὰ Φιλόδελφος (cf. Callim. fr. 228 Pf.), but, at this time, probably in 271/71, Philadelphus had already taken a decisive step beyond the tradition. He had himself and his sister and consort Arsinoë consecrated together as θεοὶ Ἀδελφοί and

360-379); F.W. Walbank in *CAH²* VII 1 (1984) 87-100; L. Cerfaux and J. Tondriau, *Le culte des souveraines*, Tournai 1957, 189f.; C. Préaux, *Le monde hellénistique* I, Paris 1978, 255ff. See also Chr. Habicht, *Gottmenschentum und Griechische Städte²*, München 1970, 109ff. It has been generally agreed that a precedent for the deification of a Greek during his lifetime is to be found in the case of Lysander the Spartan and his cult in Samos (Plut., *Lys.* 18). E. Badian in *Ancient Macedonian Studies in honor of Charles F. Edson*, Thessaloniki 1981, 27-71, has examined this passage of Plutarch and the other relevant reports and concluded that "we must assign the report of Lysander's deification in his lifetime to the realm of later biographical romance to which it belongs" (p. 44). Some will disagree with this assessment.

¹⁰⁹ It is only an assumption that the cult of Alexander the Founder (ktistes) began under Ptolemy I, but a reasonable one. It was a 'city' cult, probably introduced soon after the arrival of Alexander's body into Alexandria. It was still in existence in the reign of Hadrian, as known from a papyrus (*Sb* 6611).

¹¹⁰ For the argumentation on the date see Fraser, *Ptol. Alex.* (above n. 108) in his n. 215 (II 365). The modern *fasti* of the eponymous priests begin with Menelaos son of Lagos: Van Der Veken (above, n. 8) 4-39. The older list by J. Ijsewijn, *De sacerdotibus sacerdotisque Alexandri Magni et Lagidarum eponymis*, Brussels 1961, 22-61 is outdated, but the book remains invaluable because of a series of observations about the individual offices, the priests and their families, the minor officials, etc. Also see G. Plaumann, *RE* VIII (1912) 1424-1457 s.v. Hiereis V. Since Menelaos, the first known priest, was the brother of Ptolemy I, there is a good possibility that he may have been the very first priest to have held the office. Some support for this is the fact that in *P. Hibeh* 84 'Menelaos' is recorded as priest for the fifth time. That is unusual. For the reading of this passage see H.I. Bell in *APF* 7 (1924) 27-29. The passage, along with *P. Eleph.* 2, provides the clue for establishing the date of 290 BC as the probable date of the beginning of Menelaos' eponymous priesthood. The last known year of an eponymous priest is 84/3 BC.

¹¹¹ This Idyll mentions Arsinoë II as queen, and this dates it between her marriage to Philadelphus in 278 BC (?) and her death in 270 BC. A.S.F. Gow, *Theocritus*, Vol. II (Cambridge 1965) 326 suggests 273/2 BC as a plausible date for the poem. Lines 121-123 speak of Philadelphus as having founded ναοῦν for his mother and father.

added to the cult of Alexander, when they both were alive. This is now clearly evidenced by *P. Hibeh* II 199, a fact which for a long time was obscured by uncertainties about the Ptolemaic calendar under Philadelphus.¹¹² The small fragment of a list of eponymous priests of the state cult for the years 273/2 to 271/0 BC, gives the names of the priests and refers to important religious events that occurred under each of them.¹¹³ One entry is as follows: πρὸς τὰ συν[λλάγματα] προσεγράφη ἱερ[εὺς Ἀλεξάνδρου] καὶ θεῶν Ἀδελ[φῶν], which means that the full title of 'Priest of Alexander and of the Theoi Adelphoi' was to be used in the dating protocol of contracts. Subsequently, orders to add the name of the eponymous priest to official documents were spelled out even in trilingual decrees (in Greek, Demotic, and Hieroglyphics) which assemblies of Egyptian priests issued for their constituency, namely in the Canopus decree of 239/8 BC (*OGIS* 56; *Sb* 8858) and the Rosetta Stone (*OGIS* 90; *Sb* 8299).¹¹⁴

Subsequent Ptolemaic kings continued the practice of adding their names and those of their spouses. The final step turning the cult of Alexander into a dynastic cult, was taken by Ptolemy IV Philopator. Presumably on the occasion of his wedding in or before 220 BC, he and his spouse were added to the royal cults in Egyptian temples, and a few years later, in 216/15 BC, the year after the battle of Raphia, to the title of the priest of Alexander. Both steps followed established practice in the Egyptian cults and the state cult respectively. But in the following year, 215/214 BC, Philopator inserted the name of the Theoi Soteres into their

¹¹² Since Philadelphus first counted his regnal years from his succession as sole ruler, but later from his elevation to the co-regency, it was not known which era was used in *P. Hibeh* II 199 and, consequently, scholars were divided as to whether Arsinoe was still alive or had died when her cult was founded. Since it has now been established that the change in the count from 282 to 285 BC took place in 282 BC (R.A. Hazzard, *Phoenix* 31 [1987] 140-158), it is now clear that the regnal era of the papyrus counted from 285 and the cult was established during Arsinoe's lifetime.

¹¹³ As Fraser suggests (*Ptol. Alex.* [n. 108] I 215 with notes) the list may have been based on or even be part of the list known to have been compiled by Charon of Naucratis: see the entry in the *Suda* under his name (= *FGrHist* 612) and quoted by Fraser II 364 n. 204. For the explanation of the notice about the 'Priest of Alexander and of the Theoi Adelphoi' see Fraser I 216.

¹¹⁴ *OGIS* 56.22f. = 17f. Bernand (A. Bernand, *Le Delta égyptien d'après les textes grecs* I 3, Cairo [1970] 989ff.) καὶ ἐγγράφεισθαι ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς χρηματισμοῖς καὶ ἐν τοῖς δακτυλίοις οἷς φοροῦσιν προσενκολλάπτεσθαι καὶ τὴν ἱερεωσύνην τῶν Εὐεργετῶν θεῶν. *OGIS* 90.51f. καὶ καταχωρίσαι εἰς πάντας τοὺς χρηματισμοὺς καὶ εἰς τοὺς δ[ακτυλίους] οὓς φοροῦσιν ἐνκόλασαι τὴν ἱερατείαν. The former of these stipulations may be understood as a request for including the names of Euergetes and Epiphanes in the title of the eponymous priest (for example, see Dittenberger's note and W. Otto, *Priester und Tempel im hellenistischen Ägypten* II (Leipzig-Berlin 1908) 271 n. 2). In the preceding sentence all Egyptian priests are said to adopt the title of a priest of Euergetes and Epiphanes, respectively, in addition to their other priestly titles. In this context a regulation about the inclusion of the name of the reigning king in the title of the Alexandrian eponymous priest may seem to be out of place, as L. Koenen points out to me. Hence, the stipulation may rather refer to the use of the priests' own new titles in documents in which they are involved. Cf. C. Andrew's translation of the demotic text of the Rosetta Stone (in S. Quirke and C. Andrews, *The Rosetta Stone, facsim. Drawing with Introduction and Translations*, [also with transliterations of the demotic and hierogl. text], London 1988, "and it" (sc. the new title) "is to be written on legal documents of every kind; and they are to write the office of priest of the God who appears, whose goodness is perfect, on their rings, engraving it on them." See also W. Spiegelberg similar translations of the corresponding passages in both inscriptions (W. Spiegelberg, *Der demotische Text der Priesterdekrete von Kanopus und Memphis (Rosettana) mit den hieroglyphischen und griechischen Fassungen und deutscher Übersetzung nebst demotischen Glossar* (Heidelberg 1922), 69 and 86. For both inscriptions in general see Chr. Onasch in *APF* 24/5 (1976) 137ff.;

genealogical place between Alexander and the Theoi Euergetai, thus closing the gap in the list of the dynastic succession that had emerged.

Eponymous priesthoods of the queens were also created. The names of the new priestesses appear after the priest of Alexander and the Ptolemies in the dating protocols. Philadelphos instituted the priesthood of the Kanephoros of Arsinoe Philadelphos in 269 BC, the year after her death; Philopator created that of the Athlophoros of Berenike Euergetis in 211/10 BC, ten years after her death; and Epiphanes instituted the 'priestess' of Arsinoe Philopator in 199/198 BC, six years after her death. But later, the female priesthoods followed the example of the priest of Alexander and the Ptolemies and worshiped the reigning king. Euergetes II founded the eponymous priesthood of the 'Hieros Polos of Isis, the Great Mother of the Gods', i.e. of Kleopatra III, in 131/30 BC, when she was well and alive. This step also constituted another deviation from established practice of the eponymous state cult: The queen was in this new cult not venerated under her own name, but as an identification of a great deity, and at that of an Egyptian deity, a remarkable change in the Greek cult.¹¹⁵ After 107/6 BC, the same queen had an Alexandrian eponymous cult as 'Cleopatra Thea Aphrodite also called Philometor' (or 'Euergetis' instead of 'also called Philometor') which again identified the queen with a great goddess, this time, however, unambiguously also using her own name; moreover she called the goddess with whom she identified herself by the Greek name Aphrodite although Egyptian Hathor was meant. The priesthood was $\delta\iota\grave{\alpha}$ βίου, an expression which is highly unusual for eponymous priests and which elsewhere in the Greek world indicated that the priest had paid for the post often by setting up an endowment for the future costs of the cult (see below, 216 PTOLEMAIS).¹¹⁶ The queen assumed the bombastic cult name 'Cleopatra Philometor Soteira Dikaiosyne Nikephoros' and she had herself worshiped by three other priestesses, a stephanephoros, a phosporos, and simply a 'priestess'. But all these priestesses appear only irregularly between 116 and 106/5 (P.M. Fraser, *Ptol. Alex.* [see n. 108] I 221).

A further expansion of the official dating protocol was the introduction of eponymous state cults in **Ptolemais** (mentioned above).¹¹⁷ The first cult was instituted by Philopator for Ptolemy I Soter and the ruling king in 215/4, the same year when Philopator inserted the Theoi Soteres into the cult of Alexander in Alexandria. Ptolemy VI Philometor gave himself, the reigning king, and his mother Kleopatra I a separate cult and, in exchange, replaced himself by his father as companion in the cult of Soter. He also added a Kanephoros of Arsinoe to match the same priesthood in Alexandria. Thus he claimed Ptolemy Philadelphus and his

¹¹⁵ This priestess appears regularly only after Cleopatra, together with the one or the other of her sons, had succeeded Euergetes II and she disappears after the queen's death (P.M. Fraser, *Ptol. Alex.* [see n. 108] I 221).

¹¹⁶ For this title see W. Otto-H. Bengtson, *Zur Geschichte des Niederganges des Ptolemäerreiches*, Abh. München, phil. hist. Abt., n.F. 17 [1938] 156f. and L. Koenen, *ZPE* 5 (1970) 73 with n. 15 on $\delta\iota\grave{\alpha}$ βίου in *P. Köln* 81.9 and *SEG* XVIII 577.3 (=SB 10028; J. Pouilloux, P. Roesch, J. Marcillet-Jaubert, *Salamine de Chypre* XVIII, *Test. Salam.* 2, *Corpus épigr.* 81); for P. Bruss. E 7155 (SB 8035), also cited by Koenen, now see *P. Ashm.* 22.5 (SB 11410) with note on line 5ff.

¹¹⁷ For the following see especially Ijsewijn (*op. cit.* [see n. 110]), P. Fraser, *Ptol. Alex.* [see n. 108] I 219ff., and G. Plaumann, *Ptolemais in Oberägypten, Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Hellenismus in Ägypten*, Leipzig 1910; and cf. Van der Veken's list (above, n. 8) pp. 40-52. Most of the evidence comes from Demotic papyri.

policies for himself. The later history of the eponymous cults in Ptolemais is even more prolific than that in Alexandria, but it reflects closely the changing politics and powers. Under the joint rule of Ptolemy VI Philometor, Ptolemy VIII Euergetes, and Kleopatra II, there were up to six different eponymous priesthoods of kings and queens; under the rule of Philometor and Kleopatra II the number rose to 10; and under Euergetes II we find up to fourteen eponymous priesthoods in Ptolemais. At the same time there also developed a tendency of having priest-hoods for individuals rather than couples, and the series of separate priesthoods finally reflected the dynastic succession. Thus, in 139 BC (*P. Grenf.* II 15 [= Wilcken, *Chrest.* 106] and *P. Adler* G 1), under the reign of Ptolemy Euergetes II, the priest of Ptolemy I Soter was first followed by two priests of Euergetes II (the second only in *P. Grenf.* II 15),¹¹⁸ then by priests of Philadelphos, Euergetes, Philopator, Epiphanes, Philometor,¹¹⁹ and Eupator. Next came the priestesses, starting with Cleopatra II (wife of Philometor and Euergetes II) and descending to Cleopatra III (wife of Euergetes II) and Cleopatra IV (daughter of Euergetes II and Cleopatra III), then ascending to Cleopatra I (the wife of Epiphanes) and finally to the Kanephoros of Arsinoe Philadelphus. The latter had clearly lost importance to the reigning queen. But in Ptolemais, the core of the eponymous priesthoods of the state cult was the cult of Ptolemy I Soter, just as Alexander's cult was in Alexandria. Ptolemy I Soter was for Ptolemais what Alexander was for Alexandria. Despite all differences between the cults in these two Greek cities, the one in the North, the other in the South of Egypt, they basically fulfilled the same function, notwithstanding the fact that the Alexandrian cult was far more important and binding for the entire country. It is also obvious that in its long history the state cults in Alexandria and Ptolemais had moved steadily away from their origins in Greek traditions.

In the later Ptolemaic period the lists of the eponymous priests in Alexandria and in Ptolemais had become impractically long and a burden on the scribes and everybody who had to read them. Attempts were made to shorten them: the names of the priests, but also individual priestly offices were omitted, sometimes partially, sometimes altogether. They were replaced by generalizing phrases like ἐφ' ἱερέως τοῦ ὄντος ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείαι, τῆς οὔσης or τῶν οὔσων ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείαι, τῶν ὄντων καὶ τῶν οὔσων ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείαι, or καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν γραφομένων ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείαι. The same phrases applied, *mutatis mutandis*, to the priesthoods in Ptolemais; and in cases in which both the priest of Alexandria and of Ptolemais were supposed to appear, the latter were much more frequently curtailed. This final step of the development weakened the purpose of the eponymous priesthoods and led the institution *ad absurdum*. The individual names of the priests disappeared, while the priestly offices were still listed. The offices were more important than the priests. This development

¹¹⁸ τοῦ βῆμ[ατος τοῦ χ]ρυσοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ Εὐεργέτου καὶ Σωτήρος [ἐαυτῶν] Εὐχαρίστου. Here ἐαυτῶν is supported by *P. Adler* G1.4, but the meaning remains unclear. Cf. W. Otto-H. Bengtson, *op. cit.* (n. 116) 42f.

¹¹⁹ *P. Adler* G 1.5 helps to restore *P. Grenf.* II 15.8 as Π[τολεμαίου θεοῦ Φιλο]μήτορος Δικαιοσύνης[ς (*P. Adler* has καὶ Δικαιοσύνης, but the καὶ is presumably wrong; see W. Otto-H. Bengtson, *op. cit.* [see n. 116], 43 n. 4; *BL* 3.71 supplements καὶ in *P. Grenf.*). The Grenfell papyrus continues: Πτο]λεμαίου θεοῦ Φιλομήτορος. This would list a separate priest of Philometor; but this second priest is not mentioned in *P. Adler* G. 1. Hence its mention in *P. Grenf.* II 15 duplicates the preceding entry and may be erroneous. Otherwise we would have to conclude that there were two priests of Philometor. In this footnote I follow a comment by L. Koenen.

ran contrary to the purpose of dating by the names of the office-holders. While from the beginning, the date of a document was sufficiently determined by the regnal year, the development revealed most clearly that the eponymous priesthoods of the state cult served political propaganda more than the purpose of dating. In the end, the people will simply have skipped reading these long protocols. They had finally become too cumbersome and did not survive their usefulness for long.

There remains a final point to be made. In the various Greek cities, it was common for the local god or goddess to hold the eponymous post in times of economic distress. This permitted the city to draw upon the sacred treasury for the cost of sacrifices, processions, etc. The city looked not only to all wealthy citizens but also to notable foreigners, even Roman emperors, to hold the post in order to use their wealth and influence. In general, the same was true in Egypt.¹²⁰ But there is one peculiarity in Egypt. The god holding the eponymous post in Egypt turned out to be the god who was still living on earth, i.e. the reigning king. Thus in the second half of the second century, Ptolemy IX Soter II served as eponymous priest of Alexander and the Ptolemies not only before his elevation to kingship and divinity, but also after he had been elevated to the divine position of kingship in June of 116 BC. He seems to have served in this capacity for the whole of his reign, to October of 107 BC. (for 4 of the 11 years no attestation survives). His successor, Ptolemy X Alexander, continued the practice, at least in the years 107-105 and again in 84/83; for the rest of his years the priest of Alexander and the Ptolemies is not known,¹²¹ with one exception: In 104/5, the mother of Soter II, Cleopatra III, held the priesthood, when serious tension had arisen between mother and son. In her case, the priest of the cult of Alexander and the Ptolemies was a woman. As in ancient Egypt the pharaoh could be a woman (in the case of Hatshepsut), so the male priesthood of Alexander could be served by a woman, if this woman was the "king".¹²²

After 84/3, we have no further information about the holders of the eponymous priest-hoods of the state cult.

Nos. 213-216: Egypt, Its Cities

213. ALEXANDRIA

Alexandria was unique, geographically in Egypt but enjoying separate status as the first city to be founded by Alexander in his newly-won territories and then later as the capital of the Ptolemaic kings (cf. H.I. Bell, *JRS* 36 [1946], 130-132). It was always a Greek city and, as

¹²⁰ For a list of such notables in Egypt and its possessions see Fraser I 222, with full references

¹²¹ For the details see Van Der Veken's list and documentation; *op. cit.* (above, n. 8) 34-37 Ptolemy IX Soter II may have followed the example of Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II who, possibly when he was forced to leave Egypt and resided as king in Cyrene, became the eponymous priest of Apollo in Cyrene (see below, 217 CYRENE). Euergetes tried all he could to return to Egypt and to replace Philometor. Being king and priest of Apollo had propagandistic meaning. From an Egyptian point of view (accepted by the Greeks), Apollo, the Greek equivalent of Horus, was the divine embodiment of Egyptian kingship. Thus L. Koenen.

¹²² See L. Koenen in the first edition of *P. Köln* II 81 (SB10763): *ZPE* 5 (1970) 61-84, especially 73-77; for the reflection of the politics of Cleopatra III in the protocol of eponymous priests see also the introduction to *P. Ash.* 22 (SB 11410).

such, it would have had a democratic government of the Greek type from the beginning. Nevertheless, actual documents reflecting this condition are rare, and it is plain that the government underwent modifications in its constitutional form by the time of, or in the time of, Augustus. Strabo (17.1.12) is of very little help. He mentions the Ptolemaic ἐξηγητής, ὑπομνηματογράφος, ἀρχιδικαστής, and νυκτερινὸς στρατηγός.¹²³ Unfortunately, the only early document that could be decisive is badly mutilated, an honorary decree from the middle of the third century BC: E. Breccia, *Iscrizioni greche e latine*, Cairo 1911, no. 164 (*SB* 3996). Fraser, (*Ptol. Alex.* [n. 108] II, 173 n. 3) quotes it with A. Wilhelm's restorations and confirms its Alexandrine origin. Its first five lines contain the prescript: ἐφ' ἱερέως Διοτέλους Τε[--- τοῦ Ἀπο]λλοδώρου γραμματε[ύοντος βουλῆς, πρυτά]νεων τῶν σὺν Σωσ[--- φνοῦτρ]ίτηι φθίνοντος· [ἔδοξε τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῶι] δήμωι· πρυτά[νεων γνώμη· etc. We naturally expect the phrase τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῶι before δήμωι, and we may confidentially restore it.¹²⁴ Clearly Dioteles is the eponymous official of the city, but the name (or names) of the divinity are omitted. More than likely he was the eponymous priest of the dynastic cult, although Fraser (*Ptol. Alex.* II, 361 n. 184) wisely does not exclude an eponymous priesthood of the cult of Alexander the Founder.¹²⁵ If the inscription goes back to the reign of the first Ptolemy, that would be the only reasonable solution, but there is no way to date it more exactly. Cf. Ijsewijn (*op. cit.* [n. 110] 34-35) where he advocates a date before 274/3 BC. And Fraser II, 174 n. 3 says that he is no longer "confident that the eponymous priest of the Alexandrian civil year was necessarily the eponym of the dynastic cult." Thus, one cannot be sure of the nature of the priesthood that was eponymous for the city of Alexandria in the Ptolemaic period, but it was certainly a priest either of Alexander the Founder or of the dynastic cult. With the end of Ptolemaic rule the dynastic cult ceased, although the cult of Alexander the Founder naturally was allowed to continue. It has been even suggested that the priest of Alexander the Founder was also the exegetes of the Roman period.¹²⁶

¹²³ For Strabo's passage see P. Jouguet, *La vie municipale dans l'Égypte romaine*, Paris 1911, 196-201; Fraser I 96-97; E.G. Huzar in *ANRW* 2.10.1 (1988) pp. 661-663.

¹²⁴ So too Fraser, *Ptol. Alex.* [n. 108] II 173-174 and I 94. For the Alexandrian Council in Ptolemaic times see A.-W. Yehya, *Bull. of the Fac. of Arts*, University of Alexandria 12 (1958) 69-92. When and why this boule disappeared are unknown. Under Augustus and the Julio-Claudian emperors Alexandria had neither a boule nor an ekklesia. See now the work of A.K. Bowman, *The Town councils of Roman Egypt*, Toronto 1971, 1-19; Fraser, *Ptol. Alex.* (n. 108) I, 94-95; Huzar (*op. cit.*, above, n. 123) 661-662. The fact that Alexandria did not have a boule early in the reign of Augustus is brought out in the so-called Boule-Papyrus, probably of 20-19 BC: (*PSI* 1160; *SB* 7448; cf. P. Parson's remarks to *P. Oxy.* 3020); H. Musurullo, *Acta Alexandrinorum*, Leipzig (Teubner) 1961, no. 1. It has been republished by V.A. Tcherikover and A. Fuks, *Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum* II, Cambridge (Mass.) 1960, no. 150, with translation, commentary, and critical notes. For the Alexandrian Council see now the extensive discussion in D. Delia, *Alexandrian Citizenship During the Roman Principate*, Amer. Class. Stud., 115-123.

¹²⁵ Dioteles was not admitted into Van der Veken's *fasti* (see n. 110).

¹²⁶ See Fraser, (*Ptol. Alex.* [n. 108] II p. 180 n. 33) for references. Huzar (*op. cit.* [n. 123]) p. 661 accepts the identification without question. So also Jouguet (*op. cit.* [n. 123]) 196ff., esp. p. 199 n. 1. See also D. Delia, *op. cit.* (n. 124), 104. The identification rests almost exclusively on the similarity between the description of the priest of Alexander in the Testament of Alexander (Ps.-Callisthenes 3.33.19) and Strabo's description of the exegetes. That Testament, however, is fictitious, many of its statements incorrect, as even Curtius Rufus himself knew (10.10.5). Cf. W.W. Tarn, *Alexander the Great* II, Cambridge 1950, 317. Outside of Alexandria the combination of priest and exegetes, sometimes with addition of archiprytanis, is attested: *P. Teb.* 397 (Mitteis, *Chrest.* 321) lines 4, 18, and 21; other attestations are cited by Gschnitzer in *RE* Suppl.

214. ANTINOOPOLIS

After the death of Antinous in AD 130 Hadrian gave orders for the founding of Antinoopolis (or Antinoe) to honor his memory.¹²⁷ Hadrian had it organized as a typical Greek city and granted its citizens special privileges, freeing them from the obligation to perform the liturgies in the other cities. It had magistrates, boule and demos.¹²⁸ The eponymous official was almost certainly a prytanis, as we see in a dedication to Severus Alexander: *IGRR I 1143* (*SB 8312* and A. Bernand, *Les portes du désert*, Paris 1984, no. 12). It is dated (lines 8-14) first by reference to the prefect of Egypt, then to the epistrategos, and then with the boule of Antinoe mentioned as the dedicator: Ἀντινοέων νέων Ἑλλήνων [ἡ βουλῆ] πρυτανεύοντος Αὐρηλίου Ωριγέν[ους τοῦ] καὶ Ἀπολλωνίου, etc. followed by the other offices held by Aurelius Origenes and concluded by the date in the usual form: (ἔτους) ᾧδ̄ , T[υβῖ – –]. The prytanis is eponymous. Apparently the boule here used a ten-year cycle of ten tribes, each tribe serving for a whole year and providing a board or college of πρυτανικοί, as Bowman has suggested.¹²⁹ A chairman of the college gave his name to the year. The organization of the boule, therefore, at Antinoopolis differed from the boulai in the Egyptian metropoleis. Noteworthy also is the fact that Alexandria had prytaneis in its municipal structure but did not have a boule during the first two centuries of the imperial period.

Support for the eponymous nature of the prytanis at Antinoopolis exists in two papyri from that city, published by H.I. Bell in *Aegyptus* 13 (1933) 522-524, no. 3 (*P. Lond. Inv.* 1896), and 525-527, no. 4 (*P. Lond. Inv.* 1895). They are registrations of birth. No. 3 (*SB 7603*) of AD 133 is dated first by the emperor (Hadrian) and then by month and by eponymous prytanis: μηνὸς [Μ]εταγειτνιώνοϛ, Παχῶν ἰ. Πρύτανις Κᾶστῶρ Ἀμμωνίου. The word πρύτανις occupies a line by itself, as also his name that follows it. No. 4 (*SB 7604*) of AD 151 has exactly the same formula and position.

XIII, cols. 775-776. They belong to the imperial period, the priest in question not being further identified. However, such combinations outside the Greek cities are useless for our purpose.

¹²⁷The recent article of M. Zahrnt in *ANRW* 2.10.1 (1988) 669-706 has a full bibliography and discussion of the foundation, excavations, citizenship, institutions, etc.

¹²⁸In the reign of Antonius Pius a citizen of Antinoopolis had been ordered to perform a liturgy in the Arsinoite nome and he objected. To support his official objection he cited a series of documents: a letter of Hadrian to the city freeing it from such obligations, a letter of Antoninus Pius renewing the privilege, another letter of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus on the same subject, two letters from a prefect of Egypt, and still another from an epistrategos to the strategoi of several nomes. The letters of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius are addressed to the 'archons, boule, and demos of the New Greeks of Antinoe'. Full texts in U. Wilcken, *P. Würzb.* 9, and in J.H. Oliver, *Greek Constitutions of Early Roman Emperors from Inscriptions and Papyri*, Philadelphia 1989, nos. 164-166. Cf. Zahrnt 690-701 for the nature of the various privileges.

¹²⁹For full argumentation see Bowman (*op. cit.* [n. 124] 61-67. See also Gschnitzer in *RE Suppl.* XIII cols. 774-775, who stresses the fact that the prytanis from Antinoopolis was not the single and independent prytanis which he calls *die einstellige prytanie*, but rather the president of a college of prytaneis who had been made independent. It is a matter of constitutional evolution and/or origin. He agrees that *IGRR I 1143* is dated by the prytanis. Although the practice of using a prytanis as a kind of dating formula occurs in the metropoleis of Egyptian cities—see Bowman p. 67—I do not regard them as true Greek eponymous officials. Their use seems to be incidental and not of a state or national nature that is the requirement of true eponymity.

215. NAUCRATIS

Herodotus (2.179) says that in the past Naucratis was the only emporion, i.e. trading post, in all Egypt. It was a Greek settlement from its beginning in the seventh century as we have seen (above, no. 212, EGYPT), and no doubt continued to be a mere trading post for some time. Herodotus says that the Greeks furnished their own *προστάται* τοῦ ἐμπορίου, and Roebuck has shown that by the word emporion Herodotus meant the entire community of the city and not merely the harbour facilities on the Nile bank.¹³⁰ Thus, the *prostatai* must have become magistrates of the whole city in the passage of time, as emporion became polis.¹³¹

That Naucratis was a Greek polis in the technical aspect of that word is clear from the fact that it had a *prytaneion* from early times. Athenaeus (*Deipn.* 4.149), drawing upon a work by a certain Hermeias called *On the Gryneian Apollo* (Müller, *FHG* II, Hermias F 2), presents a lively account of how the citizens in Naucratis celebrated the birthday of Hestia Prytanitis in the *prytaneion*. In this passage he mentions the Naucratis official called the *timouchos* and his authority to levy fines.¹³² The only other piece of evidence on the institutions of Naucratis is an inscription in the Museum of Alexandria and first published by E. Breccia, *Iscrizioni greche e latine*, Cairo 1911, no. 40 b from 58 BC. Unfortunately its provenance is unknown, but Breccia says it was probably Naucratis. A. Bernand (*op. cit.*, [n. 103]) accepts it as Naucratis (p. 777) and publishes the inscription on p. 753, no. 18. It is a dedication on a granite base to Tryphaina, nurse of Ptolemy XII, by οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως and dated (lines 6-8): ἐπὶ προσταίου Ἡφαιστίωνος τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου, γραμματέως Διονυσίου, (ἔτους)

¹³⁰ C. Roebuck, *Classical Philology* 46 (1951) 211-220. Previously some scholars had thought that the city itself must have been separate from the port, with the population divided into two parts: citizens in the city proper and the traders who used the port and were not citizens. Roebuck rightly stresses the artificiality of such a division and has established the fact that the founders of the sanctuary in Naucratis called the Hellenion were the "political founders of Naucratis and their descendants formed the main element of its population." Herodotus listed those founders (2.178): Greeks from Chios, Teos, Phocaea, Clazomenae, Mytilene, Rhodes, Cnidus, Halicarnassus, and Phaselis. There was a similar Hellenion at Memphis, where there was a Greek quarter: see D.J. Thompson, *Memphis Under the Ptolemies*, Princeton 1988, 17 and 96-97, who unfortunately does not seem to know Roebuck's article.

¹³¹ A *boule* for Naucratis is not attested until AD 323 when *P. Gen.* 10 mentions that a certain Petchon had become *bouleutes* of the city. And cf. *BGU* 939 with the remarks of R. Calderini in *Aegyptus* 31 (1951) 15.

¹³² See G. Gottlieb, *Timuchen. Ein Beitrag zum Griechischen Staatsrecht, SB Heidelberg*, 1967 (3), 28-30. Gottlieb would push back the ceremony which Hermeias describes to the sixth century BC. Hestia Prytanitis must have been the city's protectress since its foundation. That seems reasonable. Gottlieb also makes the assertion that the *timouchoi* were the highest administrative officials mainly on the basis of their authority elsewhere in the Greek world: at Teos (*SIG*³ 38); Sinope (*SIG*³ 1017); Pergamum (*SIG*³ 1007); Magnesia (*I. Magnesia* 97); Priene (*I. Priene* 4,6, and 8). Best known is their authority at Massalia: Strabo 4.1.5. The high authority of the *timouchoi* can be seen *UPZ* 149 from the end of the third century BC, a description of the expenses incurred by a ship in its journey from Memphis to Alexandria. At one point expenses include wine and bread τοῖς τιμούχοις (lines 16-17). Wilcken, in his introduction (pp. 636-637), refers the *timouchoi* mentioned here as well as the Hellenion at line 18 to the Greeks at Memphis, the so-called Hellenomemphites. This interpretation is followed by Thompson (*op. cit.* [n. 130]) 96-97. The influence of the Ionians would have been responsible for the introduction of these *timouchoi* into Egypt. They may have also existed at Antinopolis: *P. Flor.* 1.71 (= *P. Herm. Landl.* II [F] 675) if Τιμούχου should be τιμούχου. But the name Τιμούχου is attested, too (*P. Marm.* IX 31 and 33, 190/91 AD: Τιμούχου Φιλάμ[μωνος]).

κβ⁷. This is the only reference to an eponymous official at Naucratis, if, of course, the stone really did come from Naucratis.¹³³

216. PTOLEMAIS

Ptolemais was founded by Ptolemy Soter in Upper Egypt as an autonomous Greek city (above, 212, EGYPT, The Eponymous State Cult in Alexandria and Ptolemais), and in time it became the metropolis of the Thinite nome.¹³⁴ Strabo (17.1.42) says that it was about the size of Memphis and had a political organization in the Greek form. Surviving decrees dating from the third century BC confirm his statement. *OGIS* 48 (*SB* 8852) is a decree of its boule and demos mentioning the president of a college of six prytaneis in the form πρυτάνεις οἱ σὺν Διονυσίῳ Μουσαίου τοῦ ὀ[γ]δό[ο]υ ἔτους followed by his own name repeated and by the names of five others, each with patronymic and demotic. These six are then described as having been good and worthy executives of the city. The fact that they are prytaneis of the eighth year means that they all served for an entire year or, less probably in my opinion, that each of them served for two months.¹³⁵ *OGIS* 50 (*SB* 8854) is a decree of the Dionysiac Artists at Ptolemais — a noteworthy fact in itself — at the end of the reign of Ptolemy II or at the beginning of that of Ptolemy III in which the same Dionysios son of Mousaios (mentioned *OGIS* 48 above) is honored, his title here being πρύτανις διὰ βίου. Still another decree (*OGIS* 51 = *SB* 8855 = M. Vandoni, *Feste pubbliche e private...* [Milano-Varese 1964] 58) honors a certain Lysimachos son of Ptolemaios and calls him ἱπάρχης καὶ πρύτανις διὰ βίου. The hipparch seems to be a person in the royal service of the king himself.¹³⁶ The prestige of the prytanis in Ptolemais is thus very evident. And ordinarily a magistrate in a Greek city who is described as holding a post διὰ βίου or δι' αἰῶνος means that the individual in question has paid for the post in one way or another, often by setting up an endowment with the available funds to be used in the future for the expenses of the post. The endowment lasts as long as he lives and even after his death, in case nobody in the future can be found to hold the expensive post. That post is often eponymous so that at times in perpetuity his name will be used to designate the year and to keep alive his name as a permanent memorial.¹³⁷ That seems to be the situation here at Ptolemais. The eponymy of the prytanis appears clear in the

¹³³ Roebuck (*op. cit.*, [n. 130]) seems unaware of the existence of this inscription. H. Kees in his discussion of the constitution at Naucratis in *RE* XVI 2 (1935) col. 1961 does not mention it.

¹³⁴ See G. Plaumann's old but still valuable book (above, n. 117); H. Treidler in *RE* XXIII 2 (1959) cols. 1868-1869; A.H.M. Jones, *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*², Oxford 1971, 305-306; Bowman, *Town Councils*, 11-12.

¹³⁵ Bowman, *op. cit.* [n. 123] 12, leaves the point undecided.

¹³⁶ See Gschnitzer in *RE* Suppl. XIII, cols. 772-773, who elucidates this point and quotes *SB* 2264 (also in R. Hutmacher, *Das Ehrendekret für den Strategen Kallimachos*, Beitr. z. klass. Phil. 17, Meisenheim 1965, 7, A), which mentions a certain Kallimachos who had been strategos, epistrategos, officer in charge of the Red and the Indian Sea, as well as ἀρχιπρύτανις and gymnasiarch at Ptolemais in the first century BC. I understand archiprytanis here to mean the president of the college of prytaneis to distinguish him from the other five ordinary prytaneis.

¹³⁷ For such a perpetual endowment of an eponymous office see above, s.v. MAGNESIA-BY-SIPYLUS, and L. Robert, *Opera Minora* II pp. 810-811. There is an example from Mytilene: see above, s.v. LESBOS (Mytilene = *IG* XII 2, 240). And for the Alexandrian Eponymous Cult in its latest phase see above, 212, EGYPT, The Eponymous State Cult in Alexandria and Ptolemais, with n. 116.

report of proceedings of the boule published by G. Plaumann in *Klio* 13 (1913) 308-313 (*SB* 7403) from the reign of Philadelphus or Euergetes. The date is given in Fragment 1, lines 6-7: (ἔτους) θ´, Γορπιαίου β, Αἰγ[— —]ἐπὶ πρυτάνεων Διο[— —]μαίου ἀντιγραφο[— —]. All things considered, the prytanis appears to be eponymous in the person of the president of the college or the prytaneis collectively.

217. CYRENE

The history of ancient Cyrene can be divided into four main periods: the first extends from the foundation of the city under Battus in the third quarter of the seventh century to about 439 BC, when the last king of the Battiad dynasty, Arcesilas IV, fell a victim to a democratic revolution;¹³⁸ the second begins with democratic reforms after the fall of Arcesilas IV and ends soon after the death of Alexander the Great, when internal discord opened the way to Ptolemaic involvement; the third begins with the subjugation of the Cyrenaica by Ophellas, a Macedonian officer sent there by Ptolemy I, and ends, after a long period of Ptolemaic control, in 96 BC, when Ptolemy Apion bequeathed his kingdom of Cyrene to Rome;¹³⁹ the fourth is the Roman period.¹⁴⁰ From the beginning of the colonization from Thera to the end of the Roman principate and beyond the leading deity of Cyrene was always Apollo, not only in the city itself but also in the other cities of the Pentapolis: Apollonia, Berenice, Ptolemais, and Arsinoe. It had been Apollo who as the god at Delphi had ordered the colonization and as Apollo Archegetes had remained as the divine patron of the city. Thus, it was only natural that the eponymous official was always the priest of Apollo. Abundant evidence extends from about 400 BC to the end of the third century after Christ. In the Battiad period the chronology was based on the regnal years when, in all probability, the king himself served as the eponymous priest.¹⁴¹ Thereafter, until the second century BC, the eponymous priest of Apollo is attested in the numerous accounts of the demiourgoi (*SEG* IX 11-44).¹⁴² Some of these accounts begin with a heading such as no. 13: θ[εοί]. ἱαρεὺς τῶ Ἀπόλ[λων]ος + name and

¹³⁸ Herodotus (4.149-164) gives the traditional account in detail and it forms the base, along with inscriptions and other sources, of the standard work on the first period: F. Chamoux, *Cyrène sous la monarchie des Battiades*, Paris 1953. See also A.J. Graham in *CAH*² III 3, 135-138. *SEG* IX 3 (Meiggs-Lewis, *GHI* no. 5) contains what is probably the original agreement of the foundation. There is also a good resume of the events in A.R. Burn, *The Lyric Age of Greece*, London 1960, 136-143

¹³⁹ See R.S. Bagnall, *The Administration of the Ptolemaic Possessions Outside Egypt*, Leiden 1976, 25-37. The cult of the Savior Gods was introduced into Cyrene by Ptolemy IX: *SEG* IX 5 of 108 BC.

¹⁴⁰ The standard history of the Roman period is still that of P. Romanelli, *La Cirenaica romana*, Rome 1943, with new material by A. Laronde in *ANRW* 2.10.1.1006-1064. Cf. A.H.M. Jones, *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*², Oxford 1971, 349-362. A good but brief summary of the physical remains is by Paul MacKendrick, *The North African Stones Speak*, Chapel Hill 1980, 113-142.

¹⁴¹ Chamoux (*op. cit.*) p. 217. There is no direct evidence, however, but, as Chamoux explains, 'L'exercice du sacerdoce d'Apollon par le roi permet d'expliquer un rite remarquable et mystérieux, la *telesphoria*, qui est bien connu à l'époque classique'. This ritual had a propitiatory character to it that was designed to bring good health to man. Pindar, *Pyth.* 5.90ff.; Call. h. II 78 and F. Williams' note *ad loc* in his commentary (Oxford 1978). Connected with it was the notion of purity so apparent in the archaic ideas presented in the sacred laws of *SEG* IX 72 (F. Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées des cités grecques*, Paris 1962, no. 115).

¹⁴² Veligianni-Terzi, *Damiurgen* (see # 133) 58-60 and 98-100, to be supplemented by F. Chamoux in *Comptes et inventaires dans la cité grecque*, edited by D. Knoepfler and N. Quellet, Geneva 1988, 143-154.

patronymic, while others (e.g. no. 12) use a different formula: θεοί. δαμιεργέντων + three names and patronymics and followed by τῶ Ἀπόλλωνος ἱαριτεύοντος + name and patronymic. In other documents and memorials these eponymous priests appear regularly in all periods, and over 160 of their names are known to the reign of Diocletian (*SEG IX* 268). Those of the second century and later expand the old phrase to ἐπὶ ἱερέως τοῦ Κτίστου Ἀπόλλωνος: nos. 128, 268, 278, 282, 286, 290, 292-297, and *SEG XXXI* 1575.¹⁴³ Note-worthy is the combination of priest of Augustus and eponymous priest of Apollo in 17/16 BC (*SEG IX* 133) and in AD 3/4 (*SEG XX* 741). From the family relationships observed in the prosopography of the priests it is clear that, as elsewhere in the Greek cities, the eponymous priesthood in Cyrene had been monopolized by the leading families. A provision in the constitution of Cyrene (*SEG IX* 1), established under Ptolemy I Soter, seems concerned with breaking the power of these priestly families.¹⁴⁴ It is found in lines 23-25: τοὺς [δὲ ἱα]ρῆας τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος αἰρείσθων ἐκ τῶν γερόντων τῶμ μὴ ἱα[ριτ]ευωκότων μὴ νεωτέρους πεντήκοντα ἐτῶν. Limitation of the office to men who had never held it before and who were at least fifty years old seems intended to change the old patterns and to open up the office to new families. And we happen to know that one of the Ptolemaic kings himself became the eponymous priest at Cyrene. Athenaeus (*Deipn.* 12.549 e-f) relates that Euergetes II in the eighth book of his *Hypomnemata* (*FGrHist* 234 F 9) wrote that he ἱερεὺς ἐγένετο τοῦ ἐν Κυρήνῃ Ἀπόλλωνος.¹⁴⁵ He thus takes his place among the other rulers, kings, and emperors who held eponymous posts in the Greek world.¹⁴⁶

Outside the city of Cyrene there was the port city of Apollonia, where the priest of Apollo was also eponymous. In the corpus of inscriptions from the Cyrenaica (*Annuario* 39-40 [1961-1962] 221-375 by G. Oliverio, G. Pugliese Carratelli, and D. Morelli) there is a list from Apollonia of names with patronymics that is introduced by the heading [ἱε]ρεῖς τοῦ Ἀπόλλων[ος], no. 201. Nos. 202-203 appear to continue that list. Unfortunately none of the priests mentioned in those lists is identical with any priest of Apollo known at Cyrene. Those at Apollonia thus seem to be local eponyms. Far to the southwest, on the coast, was the city of Euesperides, later named Berenice and now known as Benghazi. It had been founded by Cyrene about 514 BC, and an honorary decree from there of 62-61 BC (*SEG XXVIII* 1540) is dated ἐπὶ ἱερέως τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος + name and patronymic. Again, the

¹⁴³ A working list of all the known priests has been assembled by G. Pugliese Carratelli in an appendix to the (supplementary) corpus of Cyrenean inscriptions published in *Annuario della scuola archeologica di Atene* 39-40 (1961-1962) 359-375. Actual lists on stone are also extant in mutilated form: *SGDI* 4846, *SEG IX* 183-184, and *Annuario* nos. 2-9. Cf. L. Robert, *Hellenica* 11-12, 553-555 (on no. 9), and L. Gasperini in *Quaderni di Archeologia della Libia* 5 (1967) 57ff.

¹⁴⁴ A re-examination of the stone was made by P.M. Fraser and his results were published in *Berytus* 12 (1958) 120-127.

¹⁴⁵ The passage in Athenaeus then describes how Ptolemy had arranged a banquet for those who had been priests before him. This was called the *Artemitia* in Cyrene, a festival regularly given to all the living holders of the office. The custom may well have existed elsewhere in the Greek world and would have constituted one of the many burdens of the eponymous office.

¹⁴⁶ Euergetes II held this priestly office most likely when he had lost Egypt to his older brother Philometor and, by agreement, received as his share Cyrene, where he resided as king (163-145).

eponymous priesthood seems to be local.¹⁴⁷ North of Berenice on the coast was Ptolemais, and it too had an eponymous priest of Apollo, as we see in a list of epebes in the Roman period: *SEG XXVI* 1839; cf. J. and L. Robert, *Bulletin* 1977, no. 592. It is dated ἐπὶ ἱερέως Ἐπινίκου τοῦ Σωτέχνου, etc. Again, probably local. All of the cities in the Cyrenaica became free when Rome accepted control of the area after the death of Ptolemy Apion in 96 BC.¹⁴⁸

(To be continued)

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¹⁴⁷ *IGRR I* 1024 and *SEG XVI* 931 are decrees of the Jewish politeuma of the first century BC, the second of them dated by the archons of that community in the city. On these Jews see Laronde in *ANRW* 2.10.1.1043ff.

¹⁴⁸ Livy, *Epit.* 70: *Ptolemaeus Cyrenarum rex, cui cognomen Apionis fuit, mortuus heredem populum Romanum reliquit, et eius regni civitates senatus liberatas esse iussit.* They had been under the control of the Battiads, as Pindar (*Pyth.* 5.15-16) says of Arcesilas IV in 462 BC: βασιλεὺς ἐσσι μεγάλων πολίων. As colonies of Cyrene they naturally inherited the eponymous priesthood of Apollo.