

New Inscriptions from Aphrodisias (1995–2001)

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Abstract

This article presents 33 Greek inscriptions found at Aphrodisias between 1995 and 2001. They include an honorary decree, honorary inscriptions of other types, statue bases, dedications, building inscriptions, epitaphs, and a sundial. The most important new text is an honorary inscription on a statue base set up by the prominent philosopher Alexander of Aphrodisias for his father (4). An unusually early inscription is a posthumous honorary decree for a prominent local citizen (1), which records his achievements probably during the wars and diplomatic exchanges of the first century B.C. The other new texts provide information about cults (Thea Eleutheria: 8; Zeus Nineudios: 11; Hephaistos: 15), the date of the Civil Basilica (14; under Domitian?), gladiatorial competitions (21–22), the prosopography of the city, occupations (11: a bronze-smith; 28: an agent of Fulvia Cervidia Vestina, member of a senatorial family, who probably owned land near Aphrodisias), and the relations between Aphrodisias and the Roman provincial administration (23 and 26).

In this article, I present the most important epigraphic finds from Aphrodisias from the years 1995–2001. They include a posthumous honorary decree for Hermogenes (1), honorary inscriptions (2–7), statue bases (8–10), a dedication to Zeus Nineudios (11), building inscriptions (12–20), two gladiatorial monuments (21–22), funerary inscriptions (23–32), and a sundial (33). All the texts are new, except for nos. 3, 6, 7, 10, and a fragment of no. 12, which are earlier finds, now rediscovered and re-edited. I have not included small fragments, graffiti, inscriptions on instrumenta domestica, masons' marks, and inscriptions from late antiquity (prayers, graffiti, acclamations), which will be presented in separate articles.¹

Most of the inscriptions published in this article belong to the Imperial period. The only exceptions

are the honorary decree (1) and the dedication to Zeus Nineudios (11), both of which date to the first century B.C. The new texts provide information about the institutions of Aphrodisias in the first century B.C. (1), the prosopography of the city (1, 3–6, 17, 19–20, 23–32), and the public role of the local elite (1–3, 6–7, 17, 19–20, 28).

The most important new text is an honorary inscription on a statue base set up by the prominent philosopher Alexander of Aphrodisias for his father (4); in addition to being the first epigraphic source for Alexander and to providing his full name, Titus Aurelius Alexandros, together with his title as one of the heads of the Athenian philosophical schools, this text shows that Alexander's father was a philosopher as well.

One of the earliest new inscriptions is a posthumous honorary decree for a prominent local citizen (1), which records his achievements probably during the wars and diplomatic exchanges of the first century B.C. The main interest of this text lies in its rhetoric of praise, in the evidence it provides for the public role of a hereditary elite in Aphrodisias, and in that it seems to provide the earliest known reference to a group of families who "founded together the Demos"—probably a reference to the sympolity between Aphrodisias and Plarasa in the second century B.C.

Two of the new epitaphs attest variants of the formula "no one shall have the authority to place another person in a grave, not even as a result of a decree of the assembly, or an act of the council, or an intercession by a provincial governor" (23 and 26); it is noteworthy that interventions of the

¹Measurement abbreviations: D: depth, Diam: diameter, H: height, LH: letter height, W: width. I should like to express my warm thanks to the Directors of the Aphrodisias Excavation, R.R.R. Smith (Oxford) and C. Ratté (New York), for entrusting me with the study of this material and for their support of my research at Aphrodisias in the years 1995–1997 and 1999–2002; the former Director of the Museum of Aphrodisias Cumali Ayabakan for permission to publish the texts found during the Museum excavations in the necropoleis of Aphrodisias (nos. 25–30); Joyce Reynolds (Cambridge) and Charlotte Roueché (London) for the permission to consult and refer to unpublished material and for many helpful comments; Orhan Atvur (Antalya) and Dr. Kutalmis Gökay (Ankara) for their continual help; the members of the excava-

tion team (archaeologists and architects) for drawing my attention to inscriptions on the site; to Robert W. Sharples (London) and Michael Frede (Oxford) on information concerning the famous philosopher Alexander of Aphrodisias (see no. 4); the Alexander S. Onassis Foundation for financing my research in the summer of 1997; the Dorot Foundation for a generous grant which enabled the study of the epigraphic material in the years 1997–1998; and the Gisela and Reinhold Häcker Stiftung, which supported my research in the year 2001. I have presented some of these texts in seminars and lectures in Oxford and Heidelberg as well as in a colloquium in Rome, and have very much profited from the remarks of Fritz Gschnitzer, Rudolph Haensch, Christina Kokkinia, Andrew Lintott, and Robert Parker.

provincial governor (or other Roman authorities) could be expected even at Aphrodisias, a free city. The building inscriptions concern building projects in the North Agora (12–13), a hitherto unattested temple of Hephaistos (15), and the Civil Basilica (14). This last text seems to refer to the emperor Domitian with the attribute *aneiktos* (invictus); if this identification is correct, it provides new evidence for the date of Civil Basilica in the Flavian period. A significant addition to the prosography of the city is M. Cocceius Ulpianus (19), possibly a Roman knight (*SEG* 30.1255) or one of his relations. The epitaph of a *pragmateutes* of Fulvia Cervidia Vestina, a *clarissima femina*, adds another senatorial family to those known to have had economic interests (land ownership) in Aphrodisias (28). Of interest for social and economic history are also the dedication of a bronze-smith (11) and the term *κουρίων φυλής* (if correctly read in 25), which may designate an official of a trade associa-

tion. Two further gladiatorial monuments can be added to the evidence for gladiatorial competitions in Aphrodisias (21–22).

DECREES (NO. 1)

1. Posthumous honorary decree of Plarasa and Aphrodisias (?) for Hermogenes (fig. 1)

I 98.001. Marble block, slightly damaged on the upper and left sides of the inscribed surface. Since the sides of the block are only roughly carved (with the exception of the inscribed surface), the block must have been part of a larger structure. Two deep holes on the upper part may have been made in secondary use. H: 58.5 cm, W: 90.4 cm, D: 39 cm, LH: 2 cm.

Found during Museum excavations in the field of Mehmet Çoban, in the location called Balkar Mevkii at Çayın Karsisi, south of Aphrodisias (south of the Morsynos river).

Date: first century B.C.

[Ἐ]δοξεν τῆι βουλῆι καὶ τῶι δήμῳι — ca. 9–10 —]ΤΗ[.....]Ι Μα-
 [ρο]ύου τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Μαρσίου γραμματέως δήμου καὶ
 4 [.]ΑΥ ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας στρατηγοῦ· ἐπεὶ Ἑρμογένης Ἡφαιστίωνος
 Θεόδοτος, τῶν πρώτων καὶ ἐνδοξοτάτων πολειτῶν, προγόνων
 ὑπάρχων τῶν μεγίστων καὶ οὐνεκτικῶν τὸν δῆμον καὶ ἐν ἀ-
 8 ρετῆι καὶ φιλοδοξίαις καὶ ἐπανγγελίαις πλείσταις καὶ τοῖς καλ-
 λίστοις ἔργοις πρὸς τὴν πατρίδα βε<βι>ωκότων, καὶ αὐτὸς γεγο-
 νῶς ἀνὴρ καλὸς καὶ ἀγαθὸς καὶ φιλόπατρις καὶ κτίστης καὶ εὐερ-
 γέτης τῆς πόλεως καὶ οὐτῆρ καὶ εὐνόως καὶ σωφρόνως ἀνεο-
 12 τραμμένος πρὸς τε τὸν οὐνπαντα δῆμον καὶ τοὺς καθένα τῶν πο-
 λειτῶν καὶ πρὸς θεοὺς εὐσεβέστατα διακείμενος καὶ πρὸς τὴν
 [π]ατρίδα, φιλοδοξοτάτα κοομήσας αὐτὴν ἐπανγγελίαις καλλίσ-
 [τ]αις καὶ ἀναθήμασιν, εἰς πολλὰς δὲ πρεσβήσας καὶ ἀνανκαιοτάτας
 [πρ]οχειριοθεῖς καὶ εἰς ἀγῶνας κατὰ τὸ κάλλιστον ἐτέλεσεν
 16 [π]άντα, τὰς τε ἀρχὰς πάσας ἐπιδεξάμενος καὶ χιροτονηθεῖς
 ἠλεονάκις ἐπισημῶς ἀνεοτράφη δικάως καὶ καθαρῶς, παρὰ τε
 ταῖς ἐξουσίαις καὶ τοῖς ἡγουμένοις πλείστην γνῶσιν καὶ οὐσι-
 20 [α]σιν οὐκ εὐεργέτησεν καὶ διὰ τούτων μέγιστα τὴν πόλιν· αἰρε-
 θεῖς δὲ καὶ στεφανηφόρος ἐτέλεσεν καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν λειτουργίαν
 [ι]εροπρεπῶς καὶ κοομῶς· ἐφ' οἷς πᾶσιν ἀποδεξάμενος αὐτὸν ὁ
 δῆμος ἀπέδωκεν αὐτῶι τὰς καταξίας χάριτας· τὰ δὲ νῦν με-
 τήλλακχεν τὸν βίον, καθήκει δὲ ἐπίσημον καὶ τὴν ἐκκομιδὴν γενέο-
 θαι αὐτοῦ· δεδόχθαι τῆ βουλῆι καὶ τῶι δήμῳι ἐνηνῆσθαι αὐτὸν καὶ μετγ-
 λαχότα καὶ στεφανωθῆναι ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου
 [vacat] στεφάνῳι ἀριότηῳι ἀπὸ χρυσοῦν ἑκατόν·
 Ἑρμογένη Ἡφαιστίωνος Θεόδοτε, χαῖρε

1. Possibly [γνώμη στρα]τη[γῶν], followed by the name of the secretary; Μα[ρο]ύου was suggested to me by J. Reynolds. ||3. The first visible letter is clearly an A; possibly a scribal error for [τ]οῦ ||7. ΒΕΝΩΚΟΤΩΝ on the stone, probably a scribal error for ΒΕΒΙΩΚΟΤΩΝ, as suggested

to me by R. Parker. ||10. ΤΟΥΣΚΑΘΕΝΑ, clearly visible. One expects καὶ πρὸς καθένα and πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς in the next line (instead of θεοῦς); possibly, again, a scribal error. ||25. Probably empty space in the broken edge of the stone before στεφάνῳι.

Decision of the council and the people [proposed by the strategoi ? (and)] Ma[rs]yas, son of Apollonios, grandson of Marsyas, secretary of the people and (?) general in charge of the territory. Since Hermogenes Theodotos, son of Hephaistion, one of the first and most illustrious citizens, a man who has as his ancestors men among the greatest and among those who built together the community and have lived in virtue, love of glory, many promises (of benefactions), and the fairest deeds for the fatherland; a man who has been himself good and virtuous, a lover of the fatherland, a constructor, a benefactor of the polis, and a savior; a man who has shown benevolence and prudence/moderation in his conduct toward the entire people and toward each one of the citizens; a man who has always shown the utmost reverence for the gods and the fatherland; who has adorned the fatherland most generously by (the execution of) the most noble promises and with dedications; who has been elected to many and most crucial embassies and contests and has accomplished everything in the best possible way; a man who having accepted all the magistracies and having been elected in an outstanding way many times has shown a just and pure/honest conduct; a man who has established relationships and has received appreciation (recommendation) by the authorities and the commanders becoming a great benefactor of the polis through these as well; who having been elected as a stephanephoros has fulfilled this liturgy as well in the manner appropriate to a religious office and in decency; whom the people has acknowledged for all these (services) rewarding him with appropriate acts of gratitude; (since) he has now passed away and it is the proper thing to conduct his funeral as well in an outstanding manner, let the council and the people resolve that he is to be praised also after his death and that he is to be crowned by the council and the demos with the crown of merit, at an expense of one hundred golden coins.

Hermogenes Theodotos, son of Hephaistion, farewell!

This decree belongs to a group of honorific decrees for deceased benefactors, which is well represented among the public documents of Aphrodisias in the late Republican and the Imperial periods (*MAMA* 8.407–10, 412, 414, 417; *SEG* 45.1502). These decrees are sometimes called “paramythetic.”² This designation should, however, be reserved only for the few decrees which do contain consolatory phrases.³ The posthumous honorific decrees usually make provisions for various honors, such as the praising of the deceased (*MAMA* 8.407), the

offering of a crown (*MAMA* 8.407, 408, cf. below), the erection of statues or painted images (*MAMA* 8.412, 414), and/or a public funeral (ἐπικηδεῖσαι δημοσίᾳ: *MAMA* 8.407). Only a few texts preserve detailed provisions for an outstanding funeral, the most interesting text of this type being the one concerning the funeral of Tatia Attalis.⁴ In many more cases we do not have the funerary *decree*, but only the honorary inscription recording the fact that honors had been paid posthumously, with expressions such as ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἔθαπεν (*MAMA* 8.464), ἔθαπεν καὶ ἐτείμησεν (*MAMA* 8.469–71), ἐτείμησαν καὶ μετηλλακχότα ὀ μετηλλαχυῖαν (*MAMA* 8.468, 472, 473, 477, 494, 499 A; *LBW* 1601 A; Reinach 1906, nos. 51, 62, 94), ἐτείμησαν τελευτήσασα (*MAMA* 520 bis; Reinach 1906, nos. 73–74) or simply ἐτείμησαν (e.g., *MAMA* 8.461, 466, 476, 480, 482, 492, 499, 510, 515, 524, 528, 536; Reinach 1906, nos. 39, 41–42). In a few cases the council and the demos are joined by the gerousia (*MAMA* 8.477, 482, 490, 492, 528; Reinach 1906, nos. 62, 73, 94; *LBW* 1601 A) and the neoi (Reinach 1906, nos. 62, 94; *LBW* 1601 A) in paying posthumous honors to benefactors. The gerousia and the neoi also appear separately as those who confer honors (gerousia: *MAMA* 8.494; neoi: *MAMA* 8.484).

The preamble (lines 1–2) with ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλήν καὶ τῷ δήμῳ followed by the names of the board or the individuals who moved the decree (γνώμη + the title and/or the name of individuals or officials) is paralleled by other decrees from Aphrodisias in the first century B.C. and the early first century A.D.⁵ The name of the demos that issued the decree is not given and, therefore, we cannot be certain whether we are dealing with a decree of the demos of the Aphrodisieis alone or with a decree of the demos of the Plaraseis and Aphrodisieis, as suggested by Joyce Reynolds, for a decree of roughly the same period (*A&R* 2), which uses the same formulation. However, the fact that Plarasa and Aphrodisias are always referred to as one demos and one polis throughout the first century B.C. (see below, n. 15), whereas we lack evidence for separate decrees of the Aphrodisieis earlier than the Imperial period, makes the latter interpretation

² Cormack, *MAMA* 8.74.

³ Παραμυθίσασθαι: *MAMA* 8.408, 409, 412; παρηγορεῖσθαι: *MAMA* 8.408; δημοσία παρηγορία: Paton 1900, 73f. no I. For the consolatory decrees, see most recently Strubbe 1998. Cf. Robert 1965, 164f., 229–31.

⁴ Reynolds and Roueché 1992 (*SEG* 45.1502). Cf. Reynolds

1996, 124–6, for the provisions made by a decree for the burial of the benefactor Adrastos (ca. 50–75 A.D.), already before his death (*SEG* 46.1393). See also *MAMA* 8.406: συνχωρήθη αὐτῷ καὶ ἐνταφῆ[ν] ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ.

⁵ *MAMA* 8.408, 412; *A&R* 2 A 1–9 with critical apparatus (ca. 88 B.C.); *LBW* 1611. Cf. ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλήν in *MAMA* 8.407.

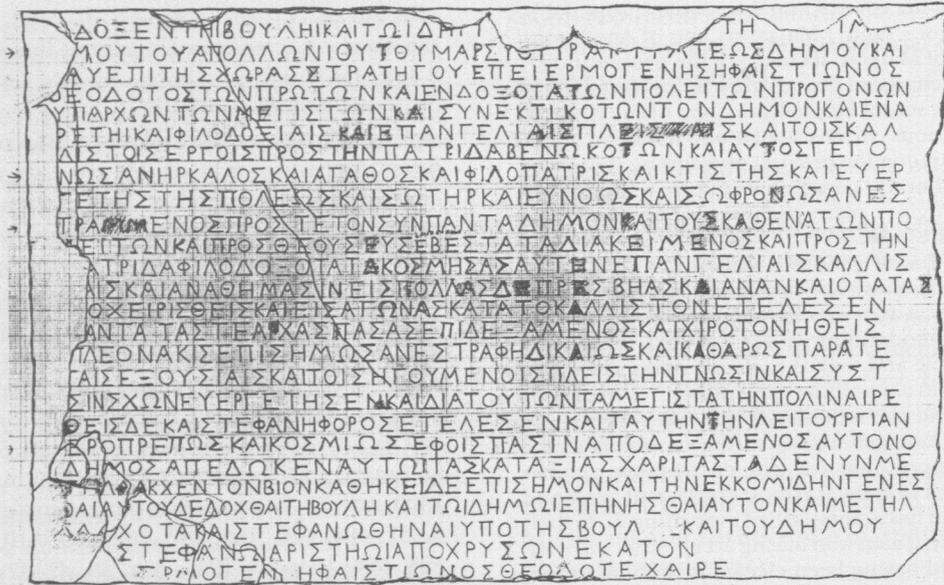


Fig. 1. Posthumous honorary decree of Plarasa and Aphrodisias (?) for Hermogenes (I 98.001). First century B.C. Aphrodisias.

more probable; also the expression ὁ σύμπας δῆμος (line 10) indicates the existence of at least two components (i.e., Plaraseis and Aphrodisieis, see below, n. 21).

⁶Secretary of the demos and strategos *epi tes choras*: *A&R* 2; strategoi and secretary of the demos: *MAMA* 8.407; cf. *LBW* 1611; archontes, secretary of the demos, and strategos *epi tes choras*: *MAMA* 8.408; archontes, secretary of the demos, and

The known decrees of Plarasa/Aphrodisias and (later) of Aphrodisias were always proposed by office-holders: the archontes, the secretary of the demos, the generals, or the paraphylax.⁶ The remains of

paraphylax: *MAMA* 8.414; secretary of the demos and two strategoi *epi tes choras*: Paton 1900, 73f., no. I; Reynolds and Rouché 1992 (*SEG* 45.1502). Cf. Reynolds and Rouché 1992, 156.

letters in line 1 make it most probable that in this case the proposal was made by the στρατηγοί and the secretary of the demos. How are we then to explain the odd reference to the general of the territory (line 3) as a proposer, since he is anyway one of the proposers of the decree in his capacity as one of the generals?⁷ I think that there is a plausible explanation: the decree was moved by the generals and the secretary of the demos, exactly as the decree *MAMA* 8.407; separate reference is not made to the general of the territory, but to the secretary who happened to hold the office of the strategos as well. This is far more plausible than the alternatives of (a) assuming that this is the only known decree of Plarasa/Aphrodisias or Aphrodisias moved by a single office-holder, whose name and father's name would have then occupied the entire first line and the beginning of line 2 ([γνώμη ...]ΤΗ[--- τοῦ ---] Μ[α]ρ[σ]φύου) or (b) assuming that the decree was proposed by the secretary of the demos *and* the general of the territory (as in *A&R* 2), but the scribe forgot to inscribe the general's name. It is true that we know of no other person in Aphrodisias holding at the same time the offices of the γραμματεὺς δήμου, that is, the secretary of the assembly, and the στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας (more accurately ὁ τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας στρατηγός), but the accumulation of offices, in general, is not unusual.

Both offices were already known.⁸ J.M. Reynolds has underlined the importance attached to the control of the territory and its security.⁹ The limited material and the fact that we do not know the exact date of the relevant texts (roughly dated in the first centuries B.C. and A.D.) does not allow us to discern a development in the military organization of Plarasa/Aphrodisias. It seems plausible that the *strategoí*—whose number is not known—were a board, the members of which were assigned particular duties, such as the στρατηγὸς (τῶν) ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας, that is, the general who commanded the troops who defended the territory, the στρατηγὸς τῆς πόλεως (*A&R* 41), and possibly the παραφύλαξ (*MAMA* 8.414).

The man who occupied these offices was Marsyas; this name, which was also the name of his grandfather, is quite common in Aphrodisias (see no. 27). Apollonios, the name of his father, is extremely common in Aphrodisias (see below, n. 126).

This decree concerns Hermogenes, an otherwise unknown member of a prominent family of Aphrodisias (line 4). Hermogenes bears a second name, Theodotos, which, according to a common practice in Aphrodisias, is mentioned after the father's name (lines 3–4, 26).¹⁰ The name Theodotos was already attested in Aphrodisias (see below, no. 6). It is conceivable that Hermogenes acquired his second name (“the gift of god”) because of his many and great benefactions, exactly as in Kremna the poet Chrysippos was known as “the Pure” (Panages) because of his pure life (*SEG* 37.1175 = *I. Central Pissidia* 32; line 10: ὁ βίος ἦν παναγής). The names Hermogenes and Hephaestion are well attested in Aphrodisias, often among members of the local elite.¹¹ A still unpublished decree (inv. no. 70.242/243) that honors Hephaestion Herm[—] may concern another member of the same family, possibly Hermogenes' father or son.

Hermogenes was one of the notables of Aphrodisias, one of the “first citizens” (line 4: πρώτοι πολῖται). Numerous Aphrodisian inscriptions refer to men and women of a clearly recognizable—although probably not institutionally defined—social and political status: that of the “first citizens,” the “first class” (πρώτη τάξις) and the “leading status” (πρωτεῦον ἄξιωμα).¹² The common references to the first families (πρωτεῦον or πρώτον γένος) indicate that this position was conceived as hereditary, at least in as much as it obliged its occupants to continue their forefathers' traditions of excellence in political activity and benefactions. The development of such a “class” of notables has been observed in Hellenistic cities in general.¹³ In the case of Aphrodisias in particular, this aristocratic attitude of a limited number of families is not only the result of wealth, political activity, and benefactions, but it is

⁷Joyce Reynolds drew my attention to this problem.

⁸Secretary of the demos: *CIG* 2837; *MAMA* 8.407–409, 414. Strategos *epi tes choras*: *A&R* 2, 41; *CIG* 2837; *MAMA* 8.408. Two *epi tes choras strategoi*: Paton 1900, 73f. no. I; *LBW* 1611; cf. *CIG* 2837. Strategoi: *MAMA* 8.410, 448.

⁹*A&R* 13.

¹⁰See, e.g., *MAMA* 8.499: Περείτας Διογένους τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου Καλλιμήδης; *MAMA* 8.513: Μενεσθεὺς Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Μενεσθέως Παπίου Ἰοόβουτος; *MAMA* 8.538: Ναϊκοῦ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου Ἰεροῦ and Ἰεροκλέα Κάρπου Διογένην.

¹¹Hermogenes: Cormack 1964, 24 no. 29; *LBW* 1639; *MAMA* 8.439, 484; Reinach 1906, no. 62. Hephaestion: *CIG* 2777; *MAMA* 8.516.

¹²Cf. *A&R* 5 line 6: ἐκ τῶν πρώτων; *MAMA* 8.408: ἀνὴρ τῆς πρώτης τάξεως; Paris and Holleaux 1885, 74 no. 4: ἀνὴρ γένους πρώτου (cf. *CIG* 2771); *MAMA* 8.513: γένους καὶ ἀξιώματος τοῦ πρωτεῦοντος; *CIG* 2817: ἀνὴρ πρωτεῦον. . . πρωτεῦσαντος ἐν τῇ πόλει γένει τε καὶ ἀξιώματι; Reinach 1906, no. 59: πρώτου γένους (cf. Leake 1843, 234 and 288 no. 3); Reinach 1906, no. 73: γένους πρώτου καὶ ἐνδόξου (cf. Cormack 1964, 18f. no. 8); *MAMA* 8.477: γένους πρώτου καὶ ἐνδοξοτάτου (cf. *CIG* 2766); *MAMA* 8.481, 482: γένους πρώτου καὶ ἐνδοξοτάτου (cf. *CIG* 2766); *MAMA* 8.481, 482: γένους πρώτου καὶ ἐνδόξου καὶ τὰς μεγίστας λειτουργίας λειτουργηκός.

¹³Robert 1965, 212f.; Quass 1993; cf. the observations of Habicht 1995.

often connected with the role these families played in the formative phase of their community. Hermogenes' forefathers, as the ancestors of many other members of this elite, belonged to "the founders of the Demos." The formulation προγόνων ὑπαρχόντων τῶν μεγίστων καὶ συνεκτικῶν τὸν δῆμον (lines 4–6) is a hitherto unattested variant of a formula which appears in numerous Aphrodisian inscriptions, mainly of the Imperial period.¹⁴ The new text seems to be its earliest attestation. As will be argued below, a date in the mid first century (or earlier) is very probable. This places the foundation of the community, in which Hermogenes' ancestors (πρόγονοι) had participated, at least two generations earlier, that is, in the second century B.C.

It is not easy to identify and date the historical event which is referred to with the expressions οὐκ κτίζειν τὸν δῆμον / τὴν πόλιν / τὴν πατρίδα given our very limited knowledge of the early history of Plarasa and Aphrodisias. Theoretically, the words δῆμος, πόλις, and πατρίς may refer either to the joint community of Plarasa and Aphrodisias or to Aphrodisias alone. The first alternative seems more probable, since all the early documents—admittedly very limited in their number—use as the official name of the community the expression ὁ δῆμος ὁ Πλαρασέων καὶ Ἀφροδιοιέων (in the singular).¹⁵ It is, therefore, plausible to assume that the reference to a δῆμος (without any further specification) in the new inscription is a reference to Plarasa and Aphrodisias. If this is correct, then the "foundation of the Demos" (or πόλις or πατρίς) should be identified with the unification of Plarasa and Aphrodisias in one community, as already suggested by J. Reynolds.¹⁶ The use of the verb οὐκ κτίζειν may express exactly this joint effort in

the formation of a new community. Neither the date of the unification of the two communities is known, nor is its nature (sympoliteia or synoikismos) clear. The earliest direct reference to the demos of the Plaraseis and Aphrodisieis is a treaty between that community and the cities of Kibyra and Tabai (second century B.C.).¹⁷

Joyce Reynolds originally interpreted the unification of Plarasa and Aphrodisias as the sympoliteia of two communities with two urban centers, but later she favored the view of a synoikismos, with the creation of a major urban center at Aphrodisias.¹⁸ The new text and the verb οὐκ κτίζειν leaves little doubt that the creation of the new community was connected with extensive building activity,¹⁹ and the archaeological evidence suggests that Aphrodisias was the locus of this building activity, probably because of the importance of Aphrodite's sanctuary. Nonetheless, the unification of Plarasa and Aphrodisias should be better described as a sympolity and not as a synoikismos for the following reasons: (1) the double ethnic name of the new community, which was used until the late first century B.C., finds its closest parallels in sympolities and not in synoicisms; the inscriptions that concern synoicisms make provisions for the melting together of the two, originally separate, citizenships, whereas in the case of sympolities the two parties retain separate civic identities;²⁰ (2) the *senatus consultum de Aphrodisiensibus*, which should more accurately be called *senatus consultum de Plarasiensibus et Aphrodisiensibus* (A²R8, 39 B.C.) was to be published in the ἀγοραὶ of both Plarasa and Aphrodisias (line 93); it follows that Plarasa continued to exist as an urban settlement with a separate agora until the late first century B.C., that

¹⁴ Reynolds, A²R1 and 164f., with a list of the persons claiming descent from the "founders"; cf. Robert 1965, 213; 1966, 424. The other attested variants of this formulaic expression are: προγόνων ὑπαρχόντων . . . συνεκτικῶν τὸν δῆμον (Reinach 1906, no. 39); προγόνων ὑπάρχουσα τῶν πρώτων καὶ συνεκτικῶν τὴν πόλιν (Reinach 1906, no. 9); γένους πρώτου καὶ συνεκτικῶς τὴν πατρίδα (MAMA 8.528); γένους πρώτου καὶ λαμπροῦ καὶ συνεκτικῶς τὴν πατρίδα (MAMA 8.492 C; cf. MAMA 8.492 A, restored); γένους πρώτου καὶ ἐπισημοτάτου καὶ συνεκτικῶς τὴν πόλιν (MAMA 8.470); γένους τοῦ πρώτου καὶ συνεκτικῶς τὴν πατρίδα (MAMA 8.468; cf. MAMA 8.483 and 485, restored); γένους πρώτου καὶ συνεκτικῶς τὴν πόλιν (MAMA 8.471; cf. Reinach 1906, no. 74); ἀνδρα γένους πρώτου, πατρὸς καὶ προγόνων . . . εὐεργητικῶν καὶ συνεκτικῶν τὴν πατρίδα (LBW1601 A); ἀπόγονο<ν> τῶν συνεκτικῶν τὴν πατρίδα (CIG 2771); προγόνων . . . τῶν οὐκ κτιόαντων τὴν πόλιν (MAMA 8.514; cf. Cormack 1964, 29 no. 45; Reinach 1906, no. 71); κτίστην γεγονότα διὰ προγόνων τοῦ δῆμου (MAMA 8.484).

¹⁵ Very clear in A²R1 lines 2–5: οἱ δῆμοι ὅτε|Πλαρασέων καὶ Ἀφροδιο[ι]έων καὶ ὁ Κιβυρατῶν καὶ ὁ Τα[β]ηνῶν (not οἱ δῆμοι ὅτε Πλαρασέων καὶ ὁ Ἀφροδιο[ι]έων). Cf. A²R3 lines 3–5: Πλαρασέων καὶ Ἀφροδιο[ι]έων ἄρχουσιν, |βουλή, δῆμος; lines 54–56: τῆς ὑμετέ[ρ]ας πόλεως . . . τοῦ δῆ[μ]ου τοῦ ὑμετέρου; δῆμος and πόλις in the singular also in A²R4 lines 2–3, 17; A²R6 lines 10, 18f.; A²R8 lines 21, 28, 36, 42, 51, 79, 84, 86, 91 (cf. lines 23 and 46: τὴν πολιτείαν; line 55: ἐν πόλει Πλαρασέων καὶ Ἀφροδιο[ι]εῶν); A²R9 lines 6, 8; A²R11 line 1. Cf. also A²R7 lines 8f.: Λαοδικῆ, Πλα[ρ]ασιῶν καὶ Ἀφροδιο[ι]εῶν, Τασοῆ. For the joint coinage of Plarasa/Aphrodisias, see MacDonald 1976, 28f.

¹⁶ Reynolds, A²R164; cf. Robert 1966, 425.

¹⁷ On the date, see Errington 1987 (after 167 B.C.); cf. Corsten 2002, 14; Thériault 1996, 82–5 (after 129 B.C.).

¹⁸ Sympoliteia: A²R11. Synoikismos: Reynolds 1986.

¹⁹ For the difference between κτίζω and οἰκίζω, see *infra*, n. 26.

²⁰ Cf. Chaniotis 1996, 107.

is, for a period of at least two generations after the joining of the two communities; yet, synoecisms usually require the movement of the population in the new civic center within a short period of time; (3) if Plarasa and Aphrodisias had agreed upon a synoecism with a single new urban center at Aphrodisias, it is hard to explain why the ethnic name of the Plaraseis precedes that of the Aphrodisieis. Finally, the new text provides indirectly a further argument in favor of a sympolity. Gary Reger has plausibly suggested that the expression ὁ οὐμνας δῆμος (cf. here line 10) is used to denote the entire civic body; in texts from cities that had undergone sympoliteia, this expression denotes both poleis.²¹

It should, finally, be noted that the references to the “founders’ families” suggest an active role played by certain families in this process. We need not assume that the initiative for the creation of a new autonomous community came from Rome. The peace of Apamea offered small communities in Asia Minor an opportunity to raise a claim to independence, sometimes successfully, as the inscription concerning the grant of a polis constitution to the inhabitants of Tyriaion shows.²² Until the continuing excavation at Aphrodisias sheds more light on these questions, we may assume that the Plaraseis and the Aphrodisieis, originally two separate demoi, which acquired the status of independent poleis after the peace of Apameia (or possibly after 168 B.C.), proceeded to a sympolity and soon after joined their efforts in the construction of an urban center near the sanctuary of Aphrodite,²³ without, however, moving the entire population to Aphrodisias. It was only after the establishment of the Principate that the city of Aphrodisias not only overshadowed, but completely absorbed Plarasa.²⁴

Hermogenes’ forefathers had excelled among the citizens for their love of virtue and recognition and for their benefactions (lines 4–7: προγόνων... ἐν ἀρετῇ καὶ φιλοδοξίαις καὶ ἐπαγγελίαις πλείσταις καὶ τοῖς καλλίστοις ἔργοις πρὸς τὴν πατρίδα βε<βι>ωκότων; cf. *MAMA* 8.410: ἀνὴρ

πατρὸς καὶ προγόνων ὑπάρχων καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν καὶ ἐν ἀρχαῖς καὶ φιλοδοξίαις γεγονότων). Hermogenes had followed their example. With a few exceptions, Hermogenes’ contributions are referred to in a rather abstract way. He was a wealthy benefactor, whose dedications (line 13) and voluntary contributions (cf. line 12: ἐπαγγελίαις)²⁵ made the city more beautiful and earned him the honorary title of a κτίστης, a word which in this (and similar) context does not designate a city founder, but a person who excelled in building activities.²⁶ Other persons who earned this honorary title at Aphrodisias were Adrastus (*MAMA* 8.484), Tib. Claudius Zelos (*SEG* 26.1219), Claudius Aurelius Zelos (second/third century, *LBW* 1598 bis and *MAMA* 8.564), the corrector Asiae T. Oppius Aelianus Asclepiodotus (*ALA* 7, A.D. 284–301), Dulcitus, praeses Cariae (*ALA* 39–40, mid fifth century), Rhodopaios (*MAMA* 8.504 = *ALA* 87, sixth century), and Fl. Palmatus (*SEG* 29.1070). Hermogenes had also been elected to serve in all public offices, including the eponymous stephanephorate (lines 18–19). The expression χριστονηθεὶς ἡλεονάκις ἐπισημῶς (lines 15–16) refers to the great approval his candidacy found among the citizens and to the excellent results in the elections (possibly to an unanimous election).²⁷ He was also a very pious man (lines 11 and 20), a just and uncorrupt magistrate (line 16), and a benevolent and prudent leader of his people (line 9).

The secretary of the assembly, who composed the decree, did not tire of praising him for love of country, proper conduct in office, and benevolence toward the citizens, bringing together an impressive collection of attributes commonly attested in honorary inscriptions from the Hellenistic period onward: καλός, ἀγαθός, φιλόπατρις (line 8), εὐνώως, σωφρόνως (line 9), εὐσοεβέοτατα (line 11), φιλοδοξότατα (line 12), κατὰ τὸ κάλλιστον (line 14), δικαίως, καθαρῶς (line 16), [ἰ]ερονρεπῶς, and κοομίως (line 20). Despite the use of formulaic expressions in this and other Aphrodisian funerary

²¹ Reger 2004.

²² Jonnes/Ricl 1997 (*SEG* 47.1745); cf. Schuler 1999.

²³ Recent research suggests that the development of Aphrodisias’s urban center with all of its important buildings (Temple of Aphrodite, North and South Agora, Theater) postdates Octavian’s victory at Actium, but it seems likely that the layout of a grid plan for the city dates back to the period in which Aphrodisias attained the status of a polis, i.e., in the second century B.C. (Ratté 2002, 7–10).

²⁴ The last references to Plarasa in the local coinage date to the early years of Augustus’s reign; see MacDonald 1976, 29.

²⁵ An ἐπαγγελία in Aphrodisias in the first century B.C.: *A&R* 26 (a statue of Aphrodite). In *SEG* 45.1502 A 111 suggest restoring καὶ ἔργων ἀναθέοσιν [καὶ ἐπαγγελίαις], instead of [καὶ ἀγαλμάτων].

²⁶ Follet 1992. Already Robert (1965, 213 n. 3 and 216) had pointed to the distinction between *ktistes* as city founder and as an honorary title for benefactors who erected buildings. For the honorary titles κτίστης and σωτήρ, see Erkelens 2002.

²⁷ Χειροτονία is also referred to in *MAMA* 8.410, line 10.

and honorary inscriptions,²⁸ one may recognize an effort to give an individual characterization of the honored persons through the use of positive attributes. In other cases we find, for example, attributes such as σεμνῶς καὶ εὐοεβῶς καὶ νομίμως καὶ δικαίως (*MAMA* 8.410), κοσμίως καὶ σωφρόνως (*MAMA* 8.412 C), κοσμίως καὶ αἰδημόνως (*CIG* 2794; *MAMA* 8.490 A; Reinach 1906, no. 109), ἐνδόξως καὶ ἐπιφανῶς καὶ κοσμίως (*MAMA* 8.499 A), μεγαλοπρεπῶς καὶ κοσμίως καὶ ἐπιφανῶς (*MAMA* 8.499 A), πρᾶον καὶ ἐπιεικῆ (Reinach 1906, no. 77), κοσμίως καὶ αἰδημόνως (*MAMA* 8.490), καθαρῶς καὶ δικαίως καὶ συμφερόντως, μεγαλομερῶς καὶ πολυδαπάνως (*A&R* 30), etc. The individuality of the present decree can be seen also in the effort to find new expressions for trivial thoughts, for example, with the unique formulation πρὸς τε τὸν σύνπαντα δῆμον καὶ τοὺς καθένα τῶν πολιτῶν.²⁹ Unique in the case of this decree is also the use of ἱεροπρεπῶς (cf. *SEG* 39.1055 line 26; 45.1515) in connection with the stephanephoria—a clear indication of the cultic origins of this magistracy—and καθαρῶς with regard to his conduct in office. The honorary decrees of Kolophon for the prominent citizens and benefactors Ptolemaios and Menippos (*SEG* 39.1243 and 1244, ca. 130–110 B.C.) provide close parallels both in content and in rhetoric.

Hermogenes had been appointed (line 14: [πρ]οχειρισθείς)³⁰ to serve as a member of many embassies. This is certainly the most important among the references to the services Hermogenes offered to his country. Serving as an envoy—usually to Roman authorities—was a burdensome, expensive, occasionally even dangerous duty, for which prominent Aphrodisians are praised in hon-

orary inscriptions.³¹ Unfortunately, the decree does not provide any further information on the exact date or the particular occasions of the embassies, but the mention of ἐξουσία and ἡγούμενοι make it certain that Hermogenes represented his people to Roman authorities. In the late Republican and Imperial periods the word ἡγούμενος (often specified as ἡγούμενος τοῦ ἔθνους or τῆς ἐπαρχίας) usually designates the provincial governor,³² although in the Republican period it can also be used in a more general sense to designate (military) authorities³³ or the Romans in general.³⁴ The word ἐξουσία is a general reference to authorities or to men of authority.³⁵ Hermogenes' activity as an envoy falls in a crucial period for the history of Aphrodisias. The word ἀνανκαϊόταται (most necessary, most crucial) leaves no doubt that important matters were at stake³⁶—privileges, taxation, possibly the freedom of the polis—and this can be confirmed by the use of the word ἀγῶνες in the same context. In connection with πρεοβεΐα, the word ἀγῶνες does not designate agonistic festivals. It refers to "contests" of another kind, that is, to the efforts to represent the interests of the people successfully. The word is used, for example, in this sense and in the context of an embassy to Rome in the aforementioned decree of the koinon of Asia (*A&R* 5 lines 20f: πολλοὺς καὶ μεγάλους ἀγῶνας [ἀ]ναδεξάμε[νοι]... καὶ παρατυχόντες πᾶσιν τοῖς ἀγῶσι) and in an honorary decree for an anonymous benefactor who defended the freedom, the laws and the asyilia of Aphrodisias (*A&R* 41 line 4: ἀγωνισάμενος). A judicial context is probable, but not certain.³⁷ The reference to ἐξουσία and ἡγούμενοι (line 17), that is, not to the emperors (Σεβαστοί), but to authorities and leading officials,

²⁸ See Robert 1965, 215f., 222–7. For long lists of praising attributes, cf. *MAMA* 8.484: ἀνδρα μέγαν φιλόπατριν καὶ φιλοπολίτην καὶ εὐεργέτην καὶ κτίστην γεγονότα διὰ προγόνων τοῦ δήμου (Imperial period). For φιλόπατρις cf. also *MAMA* 8.489. For δικαίως καὶ καθαρῶς, cf. an Aphrodisian honorary decree of the late Republic (for Kallikrates?), *A&R* 30 lines 10–11: καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς πάσας τελέσαντα καθαρῶς καὶ δικαίως. For τελῶ κατά τὸ κάλλιστον cf. *MAMA* 8.471: cf. ἀρχὰς τελέσαντα κατά τὸ κάλλιστον (sic).

²⁹ For the sense cf. *CIG* 2807: καὶ καθ' ἓνα καὶ κοινῆ; *A&R* 29 lines 1–3: καὶ κο[ι]νῶς πρὸς πάντας καὶ ἰδίᾳ πρ[ὸς] ἕκαστον φιλανθρώπως; *MAMA* 8.504: ἰδίᾳ τε καὶ κοινῆ.

³⁰ For the meaning of the verb προχειρίζω ("to appoint"), see, e.g., *OGIS* 268 line 4; Polyb. 3.106.2.

³¹ E.g., *A&R* 5; *CIG* 2771 I–II, 2789; *MAMA* 8.408, 410, 471, 475, 484, 499, 525; Reinach 1906, no. 94; *SEG* 29.1068. For the risks run by envoys, see Reynolds, *A&R* 31f with further references.

³² Anastasiadis and Souris 2000, 99, with references. See also, e.g., *SEG* 44.11.

³³ *SEG* 39.1243 II 14f. (Klaros, ca. 130–110 B.C.): πρὸς αὐτοὺς τοὺς ἡγουμένους Ῥωμαίους; II 24f.: ἐντυχεν | μὲν τοῖς ἡγουμένοις Ῥωμαίοις; cf. III 4f.; *SEG* 39.1244 II 14f.: τά τε πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἐξυπηρέτησε τοῖς ἡγουμένοις; cf. III 11f. Cf. *SEG* 39.605 line 3f. (Moryllos, ca. 205 B.C.): ἐν τε τ[αῖς] ἐνδημίαις τῶν ἡ[γ]ομένων.

³⁴ *SEG* 39.1244 I 19: πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν τῶν ἡγουμένων σύνκλητον.

³⁵ Cf., e.g., *SEG* 38.556.10f. (Dyrrhachion, second century A.D.): πολλὰς ἐξουσιεῖς (sc. πολλὰς ἐξουσίας) [ὑ]π[ε]ρητήσας.

³⁶ Cf. the formulation used in the honorary decree for Ptolemaios of Kolophon (ca. 130–110 B.C.); *SEG* 39.1243 II 11–16: καλλίστας δὲ καὶ περὶ ἀναγκαιοτάτων τετέλεκεν πρεοβεΐας συμφερόν[τως] πρὸς αὐτοὺς τοὺς ἡγου[μ]ένους Ῥωμαίους καὶ τὴν|σύνκλητον. Cf. also the honorary decree for Menippos (*SEG* 39.1244 I 17–19).

³⁷ For the use of ἀγών in a judicial context, see, e.g., Drew-Bear 1972, 458.

indicates a date still in the Republican period. In Aphrodisias, the term *ἡγούμενοι* is used in two documents of the late Republican period in connection with embassies to unspecified Roman authorities: (a) in the decree of the *koinon* of Asia concerning an embassy to Rome to deal with the problem of the *publicani* (*A&R* 5 lines 6, 19, 20, first half of the first century) and (b) in a funerary decree for an anonymous benefactor (Kallikrates ? : *A&R* 28, mid first century B.C.). Precisely these services as an envoy to Roman authorities had made Hermogenes a σωτήρ of his fatherland (line 9).

Hermogenes participated in many embassies; in fact, we know of numerous envoys sent by Plarasa/Aphrodisias to Roman authorities—and one to king Nikomedes—in the first century B.C. (*A&R* 2–7, 28, 41), but in most cases the names of the envoys are not preserved, and Hermogenes' name does not appear among those which are. Therefore, it is useless to speculate further about the historical context of his embassies, since the decree cannot be dated more accurately within the first century B.C. Other inscriptions of roughly the same period (ca. 90–30 B.C.) provide eloquent evidence for the most eminent dangers to Plarasa and Aphrodisias: wars and raids (especially the Mithridatic War in 88 B.C. and the attack of Labienus in 45 B.C.), abuses of the tax-collectors, grain shortages, and threats to the freedom and privileges of the city.³⁸

Hermogenes' acquaintance with influential Romans (cf. *ἡγούμενοι*) proved very beneficial to his fatherland. The word *γνώσις* refers to the appreciation felt by a Roman magistrate or the emperor toward a member of the civic elite that he knew.³⁹ The word *σύστασις* (cf. *συνίστημι*) refers to a recommendation given to a person by a city or by an authority for his services.⁴⁰ The expression *γνώσιν καὶ σύστασιν σχῶν* (cf. lines 17–18) suggests that

the word *γνώσις* here refers to a combination of acquaintance and appreciation. Hermogenes used his relationship with influential Romans in order to help his city (*παρά τε | ταῖς ἐξουσίαις καὶ τοῖς ἡγουμενοῖς πλείστην γνώσιν καὶ σύστ[α]σιν σχῶν εὐεργέτησεν καὶ διὰ τούτων μέγιστα τὴν πόλιν*), as many other members of the elite in Greek cities did before and after him. The honorary decree for C. Iulius Epikrates in Miletus (6/5 B.C.) praises him for what he achieved by exploiting his friendship with provincial governors.⁴¹ Tiberius Claudius Alexandros in Patara (first/second century A.D.) became “a protector in all affairs and a benefactor through the acquaintance/appreciation of the emperor” (*ἐκ βασιλικῆς γνώσεως καὶ προστάτην ἐν πᾶσιν καὶ εὐεργέτην*).⁴²

With regard to Hermogenes' services it is also noteworthy that the eponymous office of the *stephanephoría* is called here a *λειτουργία*, not an *ἀρχή*. The inscriptions of Aphrodisias often distinguish between *λειτουργία*, *ἀρχαί*, and *πρεσβεΐαι*.⁴³ The usage in this decree is paralleled by another honorary decree, for Hermias, in which the offices of *gymnasiarchia* and *stephanephoría* are distinguished from the *ἀρχαί* and designated as *λειτουργία* (*MAMA* 8.471: *γυμνασιάρχον κα[ὶ] στεφανηφόρον τελέσαντα τὰς λειτουργίας πολυτελέστατα[α] καὶ λαμπρότατα καὶ τὰς μεγίστας ἀρχὰς πάσας ἄρξαντα κατὰ τὸ κάλλιστον*). *Λειτουργία* are often mentioned in Aphrodisian documents;⁴⁴ they included, besides the *stephanephoría*, the *gymnasiarchia*, the *agonothesia*, and the *eirenarchia*.⁴⁵

Hermogenes had already been honored during his lifetime by a grateful *demos* for his benefactions (lines 20–21: *ἐφ' οἷς πᾶσιν ἀποδεξάμενος αὐτὸν ὁ δῆμος*; cf. *MAMA* 8.410 lines 10–12: *ἐ[φ'] οἷς ὁ δῆμος ἀποδεχόμενος τὴν ἐν πᾶσιν τοῦ*

³⁸ See, e.g., the honorific inscriptions for an Aphrodisian honored for bravery in the late Republic (Kallikrates ?): *A&R* 28 lines 1–2: *[ἐν τοῖς] ἀνανκαιοτάτοις καιροῖς διατηρήσαντα [τὰ] κοινά*; line 4: *ἀγορανομήσαντα ἐν τῇ χαλεπωτάτῃ σε[ιτοδεΐα]*; line 7: *ἐν παντοδαποῖς κινδύνοις*; *A&R* 30 lines 2–6: *ἐκ πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων κινδύνων σεσωκότα τὴν πατρ[ι]δα, πᾶσι τοῖς ἐνοστάσι τῇ πατρίδι πολέμοις ἀγωνισάμενον ἀνδρείως*, etc. Cf. *A&R* 2, 3, 5, 7, 10–13, 31 with J. Reynolds's comments in 4f., 14–16, 18f., 30f., 53f., 98, 101–3, 106.

³⁹ *SEG* 44.1210 lines 14–16 with further examples. See esp. Robert 1937, 227f. for the expressions *σεβαστόγνωστος*, *γινωσκόμενος*, *ἐγνωμένος* and *γνώσις*. Cf. Wörle 1988, 52 n. 40.

⁴⁰ E.g., *SEG* 39.1244 III 7f. (Klaros, ca. 120–110 B.C.): *διὰ τὴν ἐμ πᾶσιν ἀρετὴν τοῖς μεγίστοις | Ῥωμαίων συσταθεῖς*,

⁴¹ *SEG* 44.940 B 12f.: *ταῖς τε τῶν ἡγουμένων φιλίας τε καὶ*

ξενία[ις]κα[ὶ]ταχρώμενος. Cf. the honorary decree for Menippos, *SEG* 39.1244 III 7–13: *διὰ τὴν ἐμ πᾶσιν ἀρετὴν τοῖς μεγίστοις | Ῥωμαίων συσταθεῖς αὐτὸς πρεσβεύων. . . [τῆς τε πόλεως γνησίως αὐτοῦς πεποιη]κῶς ἀπάρωνας χρησιμώτατος παρὰ τοῖς ἡγουμένοις γέγονε τῷ δήμῳ παρ' οἷς ἀναγκασιόταται[πᾶσιν εἰν] ἀνθρώποις χρεῖται*.

⁴² *SEG* 44.1210 lines 14–16. Cf. I.Byzantion 3 = *IOSPE* F.79 lines 6–7: *καὶ μέχρι τὰς τῶν Σεβαστῶν γνώσεως προκόψαντος*.

⁴³ Cf. *CIG* 2771, 2787, 2794, 2817; Cormack 1964, 26, no. 35; *LBW* 1601 A, 1690 A; *MAMA* 8.499 A and B, 523–5; Paris and Holleaux 1885, no. 6; Reinach 1906, no. 77.

⁴⁴ E.g., *CIG* 2771, 2787, 2794, 2817; Cormack 1964, 26, no. 35; *LBW* 1601 A, 1609 A; *MAMA* 8.408, 413, 471, 474, 477, 481, 482, 492, 499, 520, 523–5, 529; Paris and Holleaux 1885, no. 6; Reinach 1906, nos. 35, 77, 94.

⁴⁵ Cf. *MAMA* 8.474 and 520.

άνδρὸς φιλόπολιν σπου[δῆν]). Upon his death (lines 21–22: τὰ δὲ νῦν μετήλλακχεν τὸν βίον; cf. *MAMA* 8.408: τὰ νῦν μετήλλακεν) the people regarded it as proper to praise him posthumously (lines 22–23: cf. *MAMA* 8.414: καθήκει δὲ τοῖς οὕτως ζήσασιν καὶ μετηλλαχόσι τὰς ἐπὶ τῇ κοσμίῳ ἀναστροφῇ μαρτυρίας κ<α>ὶ τειμὰς ἀποδιδόναι). Hermogenes was to be crowned with a στέφανος ἀριστεῖος (line 25 cf. *I.Priene* 108, 109, 113 132, 133). The crowning of a deceased benefactor is very common,⁴⁶ but the expression used here designates a particular crown. Crowns are commonly specified with regard to the material of which they were made (e.g., gold, olive branches, etc.), but in some cases we find references to particular types of crowns awarded to benefactors and connected with the specific nature of their services. A cult association in Ephesos honored its benefactors with a particular crown called “the god’s crown” (ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ στέφανος)—possibly a crown decorated with the god’s image;⁴⁷ inscriptions in Olympia and Messene (*I.Olympia* 465; *SEG* 47.402) refer to ‘the crown of excellent behavior as a citizen’ (ὁ τῆς ἀριστοπολιτείας στέφανος). Another type of crown, a crown of virtue, is mentioned in a funerary decree in Aphrodisias (*MAMA* 8.408 lines 10–11: στεφανῶσαι αὐτὸν τῷ τῆς ἀρ[ε]τῆς στεφάνῳ; cf. *SEG* 27.962, Kourion, first century A.D.). The crown given to Hermogenes, the στέφανος ἀριστεῖος, is often awarded in the late Hellenistic period and in the early Principate, usually in connection with military achievements.⁴⁸ It should be noted that a similar distinction with regard to the type of honor (ἀριστεία, ἀρετή, ἀριστοπολιτεία) has been observed by L. Robert with regard to honorific statues that are qualified as ὁ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀνδριάς (the statue of virtue) or ὁ τῆς παιδείας ἀνδριάς (the statue of education, probably also attested in Aphrodisias); the statues probably showed the honored person in the respective habitus or with the appropriate attributes.⁴⁹ The price of the crown (probably made of gold) is paralleled by another honorary inscription.⁵⁰

In its rhetoric, its references to Hermogenes’ civic services and to his almost hereditary position as a magistrate and benefactor, this decree attests

in typical fashion the development of a class of notables in the Greek cities and for the role of benefactors in Aphrodisian society.⁵¹

HONORARY INSCRIPTIONS (NOS. 2–7)

2. Fragmentary honorary inscription (fig. 2)

I 99.026. Fragment of a marble block preserving only the top edge (with molding) and back, which has been left unworked. H: 17 cm, W: 25 cm, D: 8.5 cm, LH: 2–2.5 cm.

Found in 1999 in the East Bouleuterion building.

Date: second or third century A.D.

[--- -ο]υ βουλευτ[ι- ---]

[---] τῆς γυν[αικὸς ---]

[---] τ[αῖς] ἀρχαῖ[ς] ---]

4 [---]ῶ ΑΦΝ[---]

1. [τοῦ] βουλευτ[ισ]ῶ, or [—ο]υ, βουλευτ[ισ]ῆν, rather than [τοῦ] βουλευτ[ισ]τηρίου. || 2 [μετὰ] τῆς γυν[αικὸς], cf. *CIG* 2782 [*SEG* 29.1068]. || 3. [ἐν] πάσαις τ[αῖς] ἀρχαῖ[ς] γεγενότ-, or [ἐν] ταῖς λοιπ[αῖς] ἀρχαῖ[ς], or [ἐν] ταῖς πρώτ[αις] ἀρχαῖ[ς], [ἐν] ταῖς μεγίστ[αις] ἀρχαῖ[ς]; for these expressions cf. *CIG* 2771 1–2.2787, 2817; *LBW* 1796 bis; *MAMA* 8.410, 499.

This fragment seems to belong to an honorary inscription. The name of the honored person was



Fig. 2. Fragment of an honorary inscription (I 99.026), from East Bouleuterion buildings. Second or third century A.D. Aphrodisias.

⁴⁶ E.g., *MAMA* 8.407, 412 B, 464; Reinach 1906, no. 39. For the annual proclamation of this honor (ἀίδιος στέφανος) in Kyzikos, see Herrmann 1992, 70f. Cf. the expressions στεφανοῦν διαφέρωντι στεφάνῳ in *SEG* 8.529 line 44 and στέφανος ὁ μέγιστος ἐκ τοῦ νόμου in *SEG* 29.752.

⁴⁷ *SEG* 43.773 lines 23f. (second century B.C.). Cf. Rigsby 1999, 348 lines 13f.: [τῶ]ι παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ [στεφάν]ῳ (Ilion, third century B.C.).

⁴⁸ See e.g., *I.Perge* 14 line 48f. and 23 line 18. A military

context is not always certain; see, e.g., Polyb. 16.26.9; *OGIS* 248 and 332; *IG* 12.6.1.263–264; see also Robert 1985, 525. For ἀριστεῖον in general, see Pritchett 1974, 276–90.

⁴⁹ Robert 1966, 399 (with reference to Cormack 1964, 17, no. 8).

⁵⁰ Reinach 1906, no. 39: [ἐστεφά]νω|σεν χρυσοῦ στεφάνῳ ἀπὸ χρυσοῦν ἐ[κατ]όν.

⁵¹ For the development of a class of notables, see Quab 1993; for the role of benefactors in Aphrodisias, see Reynolds 1996.



Fig. 3. Honorary inscription for the senator M. Flavius Carminius Athenagoras Livianus (I 01.002). Second century A.D. Aphrodisias.

probably in the accusative (e.g., ὁ δῆμος ἐτείμησεν. . .). The honored man served as a member of the council (line 1: βουλευτ[ήν], cf. *MAMA* 8.492, 523), or was a relative of a bouleutes (e.g., [υἱὸν ... το]ῦ βουλευτ[οῦ]), or was honorary councilor in another city (cf. *MAMA* 8.421, 521). He probably made benefactions together with his wife (line 2) and served in many (or the highest) magistracies (line 3).

3. Honorary inscription for the senator M. Flavius Carminius Athenagoras Livianus (fig. 3)

I 01.002. Marble base reused in modern times as a trough. H: 1.29 m, W: 50 cm, D: 51.5 cm, LH: 3.8 cm (lines 1–11), 2.5 cm (lines 12–14).

Found at Karacasu and brought to the Museum of Aphrodisias. Originally from Aphrodisias, where it was copied by William Sherard in the early 18th century (1705, 1709, or 1716) near the west gate.⁵²

Date: second century A.D.

Edition: *CIG* 2783; cf. McCabe 1989, no. 321.

Μάρ(κον) Φλ(άβιον) Καρμ(ίνιον)

Ἀθηναγόραν

Λειουιανόν.

4 συνκλητικόν,
τὸν κράτιστον.

τὸν ἑαυτῆς
εὐεργέτην
8 ἐν πᾶσιν. Καρ(μινίου)
Ἀθηναγόρου
ὑπατικοῦ υἱ-
όν.
12 προνοησαμένου τῆς
τειμῆς Φλαβιανοῦ
τοῦ φίλου αὐτοῦ

Text read by Sherard and edited by Boeckh; only the underlined letters are today visible on the stone. || 8. A line above KAP.

(The city has erected the statue of) Marcus Flavius Carminius Athenagoras Livianus, the illustrious senator, her own benefactor in every matter, the son of the consularis Carminius Athenagoras; Flavianus, his friend, took care of the honor.

The text was already known and has been discussed in connection with the senatorial family of the Carminii.⁵³ Its rediscovery confirms Sherard's readings. The identity of Flavianus cannot be determined, since we lack other elements of his name. An important man with this cognomen is Marcus Antonius Popillius Agelaos Flavianus, a relative of senators and consulares (ἀνεψιὸν

⁵² For William Sherard's copies, see Cormack 1955.

⁵³ *PIR* 2²102f. For the Carminii, see also *SEG* 29.1068; *BE*

1980, 472; *AE* 1980, 865; *PPA* 46.x.18; Jones and Smith 1994, 471.

συνκλη|τικῶν καὶ ὑπατι|κῶν) and archineoipios of Aphrodite.⁵⁴ He may be Athenagoras's friend.

4. Honorary inscription for the philosopher T. Aurelius Alexandros (the father of the Peripatetic Alexander of Aphrodisias) (fig. 4)

I 01.001. Marble rectangular base reused as a trough. The upper side is rough and has a hole for the support of a crowning feature; the bottom side is also rough and has a small hole. H: 1.14 m, W: 48.5 cm, D: 52.5 cm, LH: 3.7 cm.

Found in Karacasu and brought to the Museum of Aphrodisias in 2001.

Date: ca. A.D. 200.

- Ψηφισαμένης
τῆς βουλῆς καὶ
τοῦ δήμου
- 4 Τίτος Αὐρήλιος
Ἄλεξανδρος, φι-
λόσοφος, τῶν Ἀθή-
νησιν διαδόχων,
- 8 Τ. Αὐρήλιον Ἄλέ-
ξανδρον, φιλόσο-
φον, τὸν πατέρα

In accordance with a psephisma of the council and the people, Titus Aurelius Alexandros, philosopher, one of the heads of the philosophical schools in Athens, (erected the statue of) his father, the philosopher T. Aurelius Alexandros.

The philosopher Titus Aurelius Alexandros, who honors his homonymous father, also a philosopher, has the title of διάδοχος, that is, the director of one of the philosophical schools in Athens,⁵⁵ and this leaves little doubt that we are dealing with the famous Alexander of Aphrodisias, the greatest Peripatetic philosopher of the Imperial period. Alexander, the author of commentaries to the Aristotelic corpus, became head of the peripatetic school presumably between A.D. 198 and 209.⁵⁶ This identification can be supported by the nomenclature. The name Titus Aurelius, borne both by the father and the son (lines 4 and 8), implies that the family was awarded Roman citizenship by the later emperor Antoninus Pius (Titus Aurelius Fulvus Antoninus) when he was holding the office of the governor of Asia in A.D. 135/136 (as was

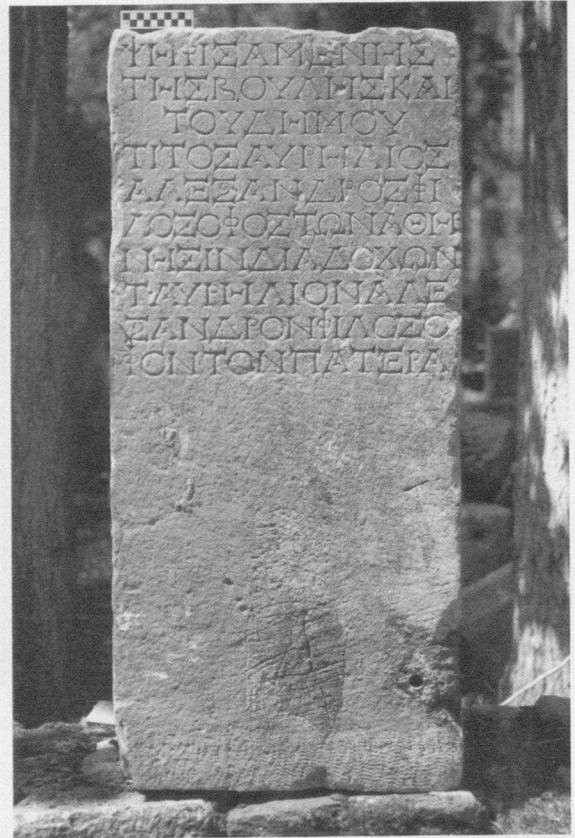


Fig. 4. Honorary inscription for the philosopher T. Aurelius Alexandros (the father of the Peripatetic Alexander of Aphrodisias) (I 01.001). Ca. A.D. 200. Aphrodisias.

pointed to me by M. Frede), and this safely dates the inscription to the late second or early third century.

The most important biographical information provided by the new inscription is the fact that Alexander was the son of a philosopher; we already knew several of his teachers (Aristokles of Messene or Aristoteles of Mytilene, Herminos and Sosigenes), but his first educator in philosophy must have been his father; such family traditions in philosophy are not uncommon in the Imperial period.⁵⁷ The inscription does not refer to Alexander's school, the Peripatetics, but describes his position in general as "one of the *diadochoi* in Athens."⁵⁸ The personal name Alexandros is very common in Aphrodisias.⁵⁹ The combination of the

⁵⁴ Reinach 1906, no. 71. Another person with this cognomen is mentioned in an unpublished epitaph (inv. no. 75.328).

⁵⁵ For this title, see Oliver 1977; Gucker 1978, 344; Hahn 1989, 122–6.

⁵⁶ Sharples 1987, 1177f.

⁵⁷ See, e.g., Parsons 1949.

⁵⁸ For a similar expression, see, e.g., *IG* 2².1099 line 6: *dia-*

dochos Athenis; Porph., *Vit. Plot.* 20: οἱ τ' Ἀθήνησι διάδοχοι. References to *διάδοχοι* of particular schools are limited to those of the Epicureans and the Stoics (Hahn 1989, 125).

⁵⁹ *MAMA* 8.414, 479, 574; Reinach 1906, no. 150; *ALA* 191; *SEG* 4.400; 36.970; 40.944; Cormack 1964, 27, no. 41. It also appears in several unpublished inscriptions.

praenomen Titus with the nomen Aurelius is rare in Aphrodisias;⁶⁰ it is also attested for the family of the doctor Titus Aurelius Menippos, who is mentioned in a still unpublished inscription (inv. no. 85.38).

The new honorary inscription sheds some new light on the vivid intellectual life of Aphrodisias in the Imperial period, the only surviving products of which are (apart from Alexander's works) the novel of Chariton of Aphrodisias and a few fragments of the historiographical works of Apollonios (*FrGrHist* 740 F 1–16). From an honorary inscription (*MAMA* 8.498), we know of a library in the city, and more texts inform us about Aphrodisian scholars, such as the tragic poet C. Iulius Longianus, who was honored in Halicarnassus for the public lectures he gave in that city (A.D. 127);⁶¹ the sophists Chaireas, Marcus Flavius Antonius Lysimachos, Claudius Aurelius Zelos, his son Iulius Aurelius Charidemos Ioulianos, Marcus Antonius Popillius Agelaos, and Pereitianos Dometeinos; and the orator Tib. Claudius Aurelius Ktesias.⁶² Other philosophers, in addition to the two Alexandroi and the Peripatetic Adrastos,⁶³ are the prominent citizens Marcus Aurelius Diodoros Kalimedes, who is called in a posthumous honorary inscription “a true philosopher,”⁶⁴ and in late antiquity the two Asklepiodotoi, leaders of the late pagans (late fifth century A.D.).⁶⁵ From random references to benefactors who are called sophists or orators and sophists in their honorary inscriptions (see n. 62), we may infer that philosophy and rhetoric played a very important part in the life of the civic elite.

5. Fragment of an honorary inscription (?) (fig. 5)

I 01.003 (inv. no. 01.038). Fragment of a marble plaque with molding, reused as a screen; broken on all sides except for the top and the back. The upper surface is decorated with interlacing circles. H: 21 cm, W: 30.5 cm, D: 11–17.5 cm, LH: 3–3.2 cm.

Found in 2001 in the room north of the apse of the Temple-Church, in a stone storage pile.

Date: ca. second/third century A.D.

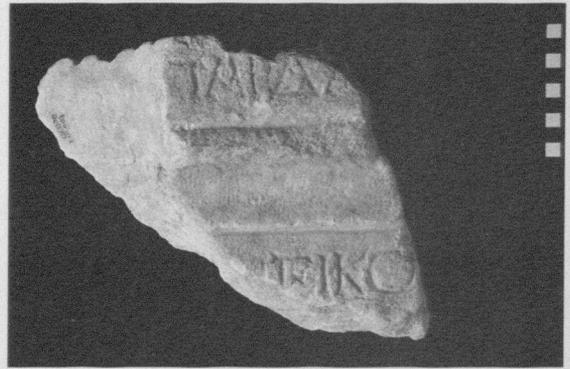


Fig. 5. Fragment of an honorary inscription (I 01.003), found in stone storage in the Temple-Church. Ca. second/third century A.D. Aphrodisias.

[-----] Παρδα[λ-]
[Ανδρο]γυεϊκο[υ ?]

The names Pardalas and Androneikos are part of the nomenclature of an important citizen of Aphrodisias: Androneikos, son of Pardalas, son of Papias, mentioned as ἐργεμιστάτης (*PPA* 55 b) and as dedicator of a statue of his deceased son Theodotos (see below, no. 7). This may be a fragment of an inscription honoring this person or a member of his family.

6. Posthumous honorary inscription for Theodotos (fig. 6)

I 01.029. Two joining fragments of a marble block. Fr. A preserves the upper and right edge. On the top a lewis hole and two dowel holes with pour channels. H: 67 cm, W: 64 cm, D: 74.5 cm, LH: 2.8–3.2 cm. Fr. B preserves part of the right edge and the bottom (with molding). A channel has been cut through the text on the right side. H: 74 cm, W: 55 cm, D: 78 cm.

Found near the Northeast Gate; fr. A was to the east, fr. B to the west of the gate.

Date: second century A.D.

Editions: Reinach 1906, no. 56 (only A); *MAMA* 8.490 (A and B); cf. McCabe 1989, no. 536.

⁶⁰ In addition to the many Marci Aurelii, notice the Lucii Aurelii in *CIG* 2883.

⁶¹ *PPA* 88 with commentary (= *MAMA* 8.418).

⁶² The evidence has been collected by Robert 1966, 395–8 and Puech 2002, 165f., no. 59 (Chaireas), 166–9, nos. 61–63 (Charidemos), 187–9, nos. 76–77 (Ktesias), 338–41, nos. 167–168 (Lysimachos) and 471f., no. 260 (Zelos), with the exception of Agelaos and Pereitianos Dometeinos who are mentioned in unpublished texts. For Charidemos Ioulianos, see also *PPA* 83–4.

⁶³ Gottschalk 1987, 1155f.

⁶⁴ *MAMA* 8.499 b 15f.: τὸν ὄντως | φιλόσοφον; Sverkos 2000, 10.

⁶⁵ For the activity of Asklepiodotos and his homonymous son-in-law, see Athanassiadi 1999, 202–33, 248f., 284f., 348f. Cf. Robert 1948, 115–26; Roueché, *ALA* 85–93; Trombley 1993, 12, 42–4, 79, 81, 84, 88, 94; Trombley 1994, 5–7, 15, 20f., 24, 26, 47, 58, 60–2, 67, 72; Chaniotis 2002b, 102f. For a house decorated with portraits of philosophers (the seat of the philosophical school of Asklepiodotos?), see Smith 1990 and 1991.

- A [H] βουλή καὶ ὁ δῆμος καὶ [ή]
 [γ]ερουσία ἐτείμησαν τα[ῖς]
 [κα]λλίσταις καὶ μεγίσταις
 4 τμαῖς Θεόδοτον Ἄνδρ[ο]-
 [νε]ϊκού τοῦ Παρδαλα τοῦ
 [Π]απίου, ἥρωα ἀνδρεῖον [c. 3]
 [c. 2]ὸν γενόμενον, ἀπὸ π[ατ]-
 8 ρὸς καὶ προγόνων λειτουρ-
 [γ]ῶν καὶ ζήσαντα κοσμίως
 B [κα]τ' αἰδημόνως καὶ πρὸς ὑπό-
 δεῖγμα [ἀ]ρε[τῆ]ς^{vv}
 12 [τ]ῆν [ἀν]άστασιν τ[ο]ῦ ἀνδρι-
 [ἀν]τρος ποησαμέ[νο]ν Ἄνδ[ρο]-
 [ρο]νεϊκού τοῦ [Παρδ]αλα
 [το]ῦ Παπίου τοῦ [πα]τρὸς
 16 αὐτοῦ

Fr. A preserves lines 1–9 and the left part of lines 10–12, fr. B preserves the right part of lines 10–12 and lines 13–16. || Stops in lines 2 (after γερουσία), 3 (after καλλίσταις), 6 (after Παπίου and ἥρωα), 7 (after γενόμενον), 9 (after λειτουργῶν). || Ligatures of MH (line 2) and HM (line 10). || 6–7. ἀ[γαθ]όν, *MAMA*; possibly [κατ]ἀγνόν; cf. *MAMA* 8.508 and *CIG* 2802: ἀγνῶς καὶ ἀνδρεῖως; *ALA* 5: ἀγνὸν καὶ ἀνδρεῖον; *ALA* 6: ἀνδρεῖον ἀγνόν. || 10. [ὑπό]-, *MAMA*, but the lower part of these letters is preserved in fr. B. || 11. in fine, the lower part of E and Σ on fr. B (not in *MAMA*). || 12. Part of the first two letters (HN) on fr. A omitted in *MAMA*.

The council, the people, and the gerousia honored with the best and greatest honors Theodotos, son of Androneikos, son of Pardalas, son of Papias, who became a manly and good hero, whose father and ancestors had undertaken liturgies, who lived an orderly and modest life, giving an example of virtue; the statue was erected by his father, Androneikos, son of Pardalas, son of Papias.

The rediscovery of the stone does not add anything substantial to the reading of the text. This inscription belongs to a relatively large group of honorary inscriptions for prominent Aphrodisians who were honored post-mortem by the council, the assembly, and the gerousia.⁶⁶ The phrasing of this text is paralleled by many similar texts.⁶⁷ The name Theodotos is attested in several inscriptions of Aphrodisias.⁶⁸ For another member of this family (his father?) see no. 5.

⁶⁶ E.g., *MAMA* 8.477, 482, 528; Reinach 1906, nos. 62 and 94; *LBW* 1601 A and 1602.

⁶⁷ E.g., for ζήσαντα κοσμίως καὶ αἰδημόνως καὶ πρὸς ὑπόδειγμα ἀρετῆς cf. *CIG* 2787 and 2794; Reinach 1906, no. 109.

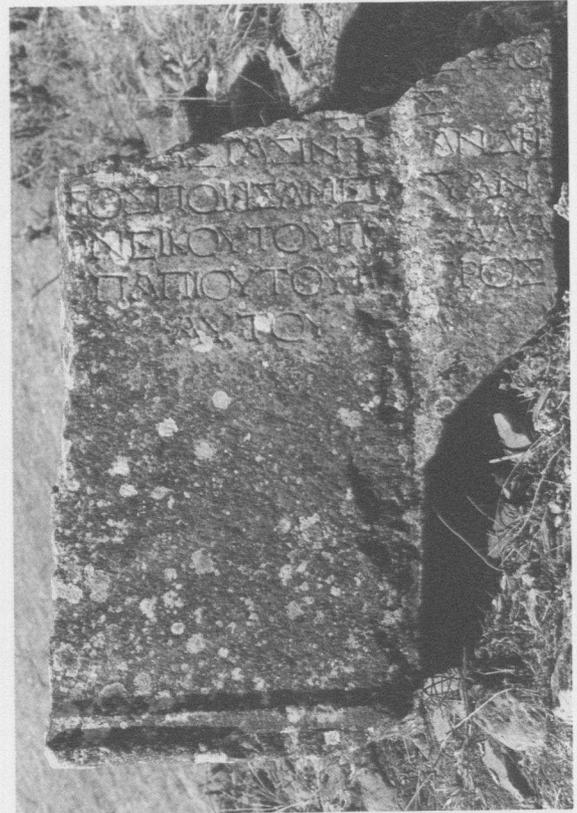


Fig. 6. Posthumous honorary inscription for Theodotos (I 01.029), found near the Northeast Gate. Second century A.D. Aphrodisias.

7. Fragment of an honorary inscription for a member of a senatorial family (fig. 7)

I 01.044. Fragment of a marble block, preserving the left and right edge, broken on all other sides. H: 40 cm, W: 31.5 cm, D: 30 cm, LH: 2.5 cm.

Found in 2001 near the northeast corner of the City Wall (south of the wall).

Date: third century A.D.

KONE.[---]
 ὑπατικοῦ,
 [τ]ὸν ἀγωγ[ο]-
 4 [θέ]την.[---]

2. Probably [συγκλητι]κόν, ἔγ[γονον?]; for ὑπατικοῦ ἔκγονον cf. e.g., *MAMA* 8.518; *LBW* 595. || 4. Ligature of THN.

⁶⁸ See above, no. 1; cf. *MAMA* 8.547: Papias and Theodotos, possibly relatives of this family. Attestations in late antiquity: *PPA* 7 b and 46 J.8; *SEG* 37.970 A 11; for the date of the latter inscription, see Chaniotis 2002a.

This text is very similar to that of a posthumous honorary inscription for an anonymous senator that was seen and copied by William Sherard in 1705 near the north wall (cf. n. 52).

Editions: *CIG* 2801 (Liermann 1889, 12, no. 29); *PPA* 56 (from Sherard's copy):

- [- συγκλητι]-
κόν? [υἰὸν]
ύπατικοῦ,
4 τὸν ἀγωνο-
θέτην διὰ βίου
τῶν μεγάλων
Γορδιανῶν
8 Ἀτταλῶν
[τῆς] λαμπρο-
[τάτης] Ἀφροδε-
[ισιέ]ων πόλεως, [τετ]-
12 ελευτη[κ]ό-
τα ἐπὶ τῆς β[ασ]-
ελίδος Ῥώμη[ς]
διακομίας
16 τὸ πτωμάτι-
ον αὐτοῦ κα-
τέθετο τὸν
φίλον Τιβ(έριος) Κλ(αύδιος)
20 Εὐτυχιανὸς [καί?]
τὴν εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ

...? senator, [son] of a consular, the contest-president in perpetuity of the great Gordianeia Attalea of the most splendid city of the Aphrodisians, who died in imperial Rome; having brought back his remains and buried his friend, Tiberius Claudius Eutychianus also (put up) his image (translated by C. Roueché).

Although Sherard's copy does not indicate a ligature in line 4, the arrangement of the two texts suggests that the block found in 2001 is a fragment of Sherard's inscription. The rediscovery shows that the anonymous person was not the son, but the grandson of a consularis.⁶⁹

STATUE BASES (NOS. 8–10)

8. Statue base of Thea Eleutheria (fig. 8)

I 01.032. Fragment of a marble base broken on the right side and on the bottom. The molding on the top was removed when the stone was reused in

⁶⁹For members of senatorial families in Aphrodisias, see *PIR*² C 853; *LBW* 1609; *MAMA* 8.502, 517, 518, 570; Reinach 1906, no. 71; *SEG* 29.1068; 32.1100–1101; 35.1082. Cf. also here nos. 3 and 29. For a commentary of this inscription, see Roueché, *PPA* 180f.

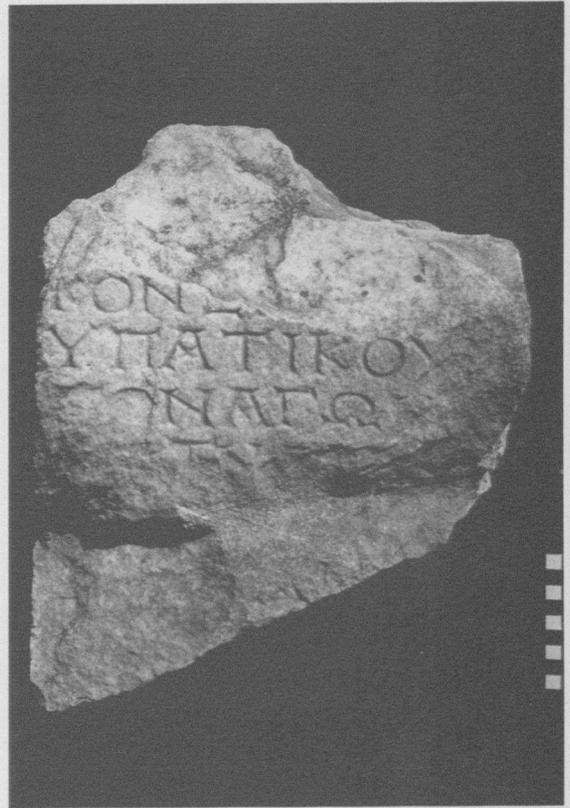


Fig. 7. Fragment of honorary inscription for a member of a senatorial family (I 01.044), found near northeast corner of the City Wall. Third century A.D. Aphrodisias.

the City Wall. H: 1.08 m, W: 58.5 cm, D: ca. 40 cm, LH: 5.5–6 cm.

Found ca. 25 m east of the Northeast Gate.

Date: first/second century A.D.

Θεᾶ
Ἐλευθ[ερία]

Rather than Θεᾶ Ἐλευ[θερία].

The base supported a statue of Thea Eleutheria. Her cult was hitherto epigraphically known in Aphrodisias from two inscriptions, which refer to Zoilos serving as her priest for life (see below, no. 12). Eleutheria occupies a prominent position in the coinage of Aphrodisias and in the public documents that commemorated the city's privileges.⁷⁰

⁷⁰Coinage: MacDonald 1992, 29–31 and passim. Inscriptions: *A&R* 8, 10, 13–16, 21, 25, 41, 43, 48; cf. Robert 1966, 414. For the role of eleutheria in the identity of Aphrodisias, see also Chaniotis 2003.



Fig. 8. Statue base of Thea Eleutheria (I 01.032), found ca. 25m east of the Northeast Gate. First/second century A.D. Aphrodisias.

9. Statue base of Demos?

I 01.035. Block with four holes with pour channels on the top, three holes on the bottom, damaged on the back. H: 38 cm, W: 56 cm, D: 73 cm, LH: 4 cm (front), 7 cm (bottom). Inscribed on the front; a mason's mark on the bottom.

Found in a field east of the Theater.

Date: ca. first/second century A.D.

Front: ΔΗ[.]Ο.

Δῆ[μ]οῦ ? or Δῆ[μ]οϛ.

Bottom: Α

An honorific statue of the Demos set up by the council is known through a still unpublished statue base (inv. no. 62.452). This may have been a similar case.

⁷¹ For the architecture of the Stadium, see Welch 1998.

⁷² Cf. McCabe 1989, 47 no. 367: "Honorary (?) inscription for (no name) by patris on seat in stadium."

⁷³ For honorific statues dedicated to athletes by the Father-

10. Statue base?

I 98.009. Marble console with molding; inscription written on the side; broken on the left side. H: 43 cm, W: 71 cm, D: 48 cm, LH: 5 cm.

Copied by C. Fellows in 1840 on "a seat in the Stadium." Found again in 1998 in the arena of the Stadium, directly in front of the southwest refuge.⁷¹

Editions: Fellows 1841, no. 64; *CIG* 2809 C; *PPA* 45.10.6.

Date: second or third century A.D.

Ἡ Πατρίς

Only the right vertical line of H is preserved.

The Fatherland (sc. set this up).

The text is not written on a seat, but on a console which probably supported a statue. Ἡ Πατρίς appears here as the dedicator,⁷² as, for example, in the case of the statues of L. Antonius Claudius Dometinus Diogenes (*SEG* 32.1101) and Tib. Claudius Aurelius Ktesias (*LBW* 1598).⁷³ If the console supported a statue of a man, his name could have stood on the left side (now lost) or on an adjoining cornice. But it is also possible that the cornice supported a statue, whose identity was so obvious that no further explanation was required (a statue of a god). A similar dedication by the Patris, seen at the "tour Hussein" was published by Reinach (Ἡ Πατρίς);⁷⁴ the smaller letters (2.5 cm) show that it is a different text. The stone could have been easily brought to the Stadium from another place.

BUILDING INSCRIPTIONS AND DEDICATIONS (NOS. 11–20)

11. Dedication of the bronzesmith Meleagros to Zeus Nineudios (fig. 9)

I 99.002. Fragment of a marble rectangular base supporting a small statue of an eagle; broken on the right side and on the back. From the eagle's statuette only the two claws and the lower part of the body are preserved. The eagle stands on the left side of the base; another attribute of Zeus (double axe?) may have stood on the lost right side of the base. H (of base): 8.5 cm, W: 19 cm, D: 23 cm; inscribed front part: H: 7 cm, W: 15.5 cm, LH: 1–1.4 cm.

Found in 1999 during the removal of architectural fragments placed in rear chamber 6 of the Bouleuterion; possibly found in the years 1961–1964 in the area of the Temple of Aphrodite.

land, see *PPA* 74–75. See also *ALA* 7 and 73; Cormack 1964, 23 no. 24.1.

⁷⁴ Reinach 1906, no. 200.

Date: ca. first century B.C.

Μελέαγρ[ος vacat ?],
χαλκεύς, Δι[ὶ Νίνευ-]
δίωι εὐχὴν [vacat ?]

1. Or Meleagros's father's name.

Meleagros, the smith, to Zeus Nineudios in fulfillment of a vow.

The cult of Zeus Nineudios was one of the major cults at Aphrodisias.⁷⁵ The god's epithet derives from a place name Νίνευδα (rather than Νίνευδος or Νίνευδον), probably the earlier name of Aphrodisias (or one of the settlements that formed Aphrodisias).⁷⁶ This earlier name is given by Stephanos of Byzantion (s.v. Ninoe), who is probably quoting the local historian of Caria Apollonios of Aphrodisias (*FGrHist* 740), as Νινῶη—a form that connects the city with the legendary founder Ninos (ἄπὸ Νίνου Νινῶη).⁷⁷ However, it seems to me certain that the cult epithet of Zeus preserves more accurately the name's original form (sc. Νίνευδα).

The cult of Zeus Nineudios was known from the inscription on the epistyle of a building dedicated to him in the late Hellenistic period and from inscriptions mentioning his priest Dionysios (first century A.D.).⁷⁸ This is the first attestation of a personal act of worship for this god.

The iconography of the dedication (an eagle) is paralleled by the representation of an eagle seated on an altar next to a tree in the relief panels found in the civil basilica at Aphrodisias; one of the mythical founders of Aphrodisias, Ninos, is represented next to an altar.⁷⁹ The labrys is a well-known attribute of the Carian Zeus.⁸⁰ An unpublished altar of Zeus (inv. no. 66.560) has a representation of labrys.

The name Meleagros is attested for the first time at Aphrodisias. There is hardly enough space for



Fig. 9. Dedication of the bronzesmith Meleagros to Zeus Nineudios (I 99.002), possibly from area of the Temple of Aphrodite. Ca. first century A.D. Aphrodisias.

Meleagros's father's name; in that case, the lack of a father's name and the mention, instead, of a profession, possibly suggest a slave or a freedman.⁸¹ Other bronzesmiths are attested at Aphrodisias in the inscription which records the names of Jews and thesebeis.⁸²

12. Building inscription of the North Agora dedicated by C. Iulius Zoilos (fig. 10)

I 98.006. Two nonjoining architrave blocks with molding and three fasciae. Fr. A is broken on the bottom and on the right side and damaged on the left side. H: 49 cm, W: 1.75 m, D: 56 cm. Fr. B is complete. H: 49 cm, W: 2.9 m, D: 56 cm. An inscription on the upper fascia. LH: 10 cm.

Fr. A was found in 1998 in the north portico of the North Agora. Fr. B was lying in the north portico of the North Agora, partly buried, when it was published by J.M. Reynolds (*A&R* 39).

Date: late first century B.C.

Fr. A [στεφανηφ]ορήσας τῷ [---]

Fr. B [--- ὁ ἱερεὺς τῆς Ἀφροδείτης καὶ τῆς Ἐλευθερίας διὰ [βίου]

B. [. . . ὁ ἱερεὺς . . . τῆς Ἐλευθερίας διὰ [βίου . . .], Reynolds; possible also [ὁ ἱερεὺς τῆς θεοῦ/θεᾶς Ἀφροδείτης καὶ τῆς θεοῦ/θεᾶς Ἐλευθερίας.

⁷⁵ Laumonier 1958, 480; Robert 1966, 394.

⁷⁶ Cf. Steph. Byz., s.v. Ninoe. For the form Nineuda cf., e.g., Attouda; for the form Nineudos/Nineudon cf., e.g., Pereudos/Pereudon in Lydia (Herrmann and Varinlioglu 1984).

⁷⁷ On the role of Ninos in the foundation legends of Aphrodisias, see Yildirim 2000, 143–75; cf. Jones 1999, 128.

⁷⁸ Building: Cormack 1964, 22, no. 19 = *SEG* 44.864. Priest: *MAMA* 8.410; Paris and Holleaux 1885, 79f., no. 10.

⁷⁹ Depicted in Erim 1986, 26. See now Yildirim 2000, 143–75.

⁸⁰ Laumonier 1958, 44, 59f., 66–9, 85–95, 480, 501–3; Jones 1999, 100.

⁸¹ Cf. Gounaropoulou/Hatzopoulos 1998, 130–3 (*SEG* 46.736).

⁸² Reynolds and Tannenbaum 1987, 122 (*SEG* 36.970 B 25, 46, 53): χαλκοτύπος.

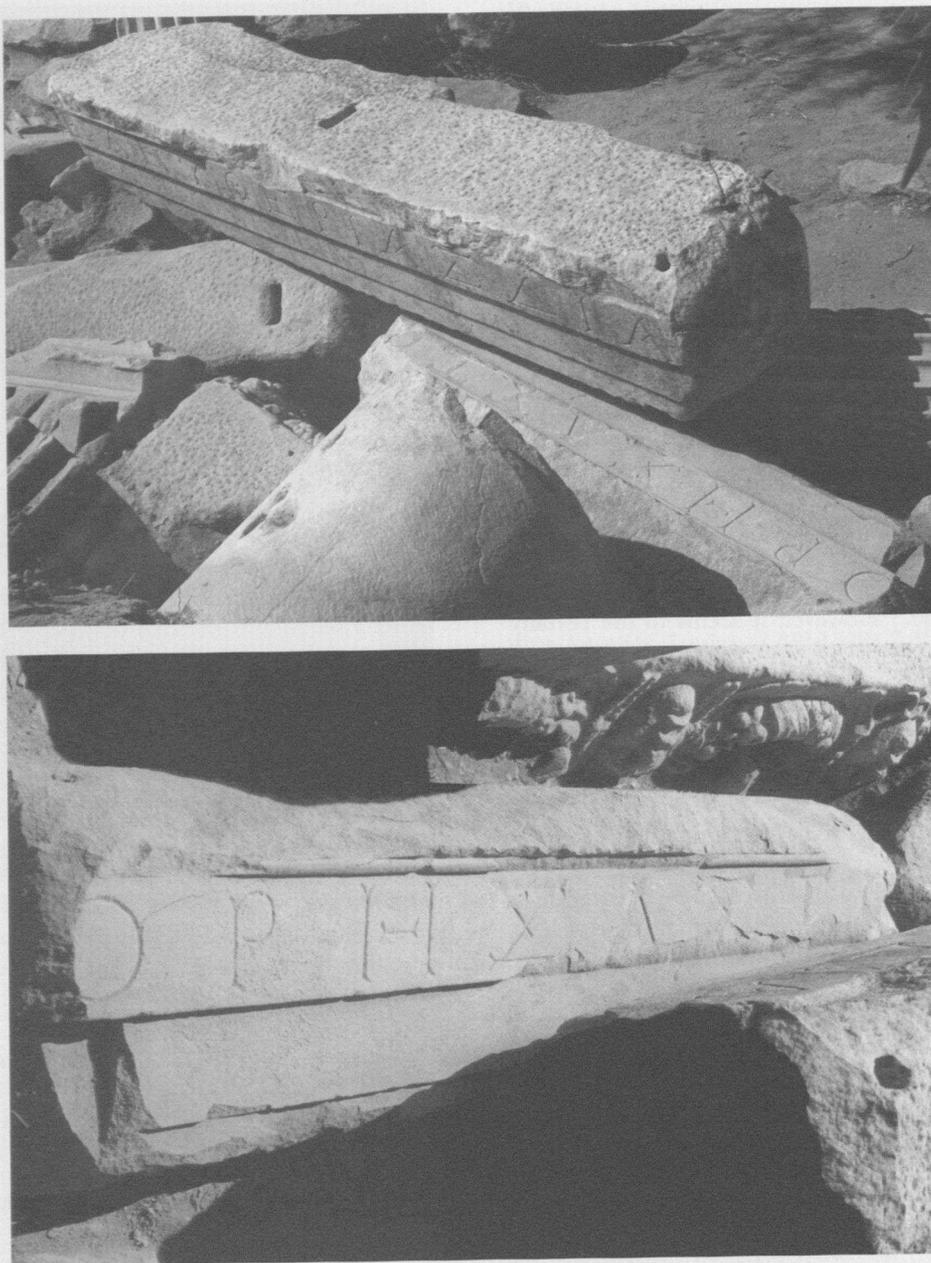


Fig. 10. Building inscription of the North Agora dedicated by C. Iulius Zoilos (I 98.006), found lying in the north portico of the North Agora, partly buried. Late first century B.C. Aphrodisias.

J.M. Reynolds, who published Fr. B, recognized here a reference to C. Iulius Zoilos, Octavian's freedman and great benefactor of Aphrodisias, the only person known to have held the priesthood of Eleutheria.⁸³ If this identification is correct, the text records the construction of the North Portico of

the North Agora (or the entire North Agora) at Zoilos' expense.⁸⁴ The full name of Zoilos is Γάϊος Ἰούλιος Ζώϊλος θεοῦ Ἰουλίου υἱοῦ Καίσαρος ἀπελεύθερος (cf. *A&R* 36). He held the office of the eponymous στεφανηφόρος at least 10 times (cf. the building inscription of the Theater stage, *A&R*

⁸³ On Zoilos, see Robert 1966, 414–32; Reynolds 1979 and *A&R* 156–64; Smith 1993.

⁸⁴ On the North Agora, see now Smith and Ratté 2000, 233–8.

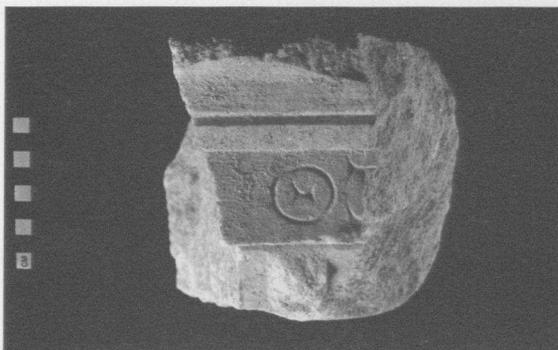


Fig. 11. Fragment of a building inscription (I 96.011), found in the North Agora. First or second century A.D. Aphrodisias.



Fig. 12. Building inscription naming an emperor with the title aneiktos/invictus (I 01.042), from the field to the northeast of the Basilica. First century A.D. Aphrodisias.

36: στεφανηφορήσας τὸ δέκατον ἐξῆς) and also served as priest of Aphrodite and Eleutheria for life (*A&R* 37: ὁ ἱερεὺς θεοῦ Ἀφροδείτη[ς —]; *A&R* 33: [ἱερ]έα τῆς Ἀφροδείτης καὶ τῆς [Ἐλε]υθερίας διὰ βίου). If one restores his complete name and the reference to the priesthood of Aphrodite and Eleutheria (cf. *A&R* 33), the inscription must have occupied several blocks.

13. Fragment of a building inscription (fig. 11)

I 96.011 (inv. 96.033). Two joining fragments of a marble cornice, broken on both sides and on the back. H: 19 cm, W: 35 cm, D: 38.5 cm, LH: 3 cm.

Found in the North Agora in 1996 (trench 96.1).

⁸⁵ E.g., *MAMA* 8.435–436, 450; *SEG* 14.731; 26.1220; 30.1244; 31.913, 914; 41.912, 922.

⁸⁶ See *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names I–IIIb*.

⁸⁷ E.g., Ma Aniketos (*SEG* 45.750).

⁸⁸ *IGR* 3.1346; 4.1333, 1738.

⁸⁹ Mastino 1981, 38–40 and 63f. E.g., *SEG* 28.572 (Alexander Severus), 592 (Valerianus and Gallienus).

Date: first or second century A.D.

Θε[ῶ] Ἀφροδείτῃ ? ---]

Or, e.g., [ἱερεὺς] Θε[ῶ] Ἀφροδείτῃς].

The text probably records the dedication of a building to Aphrodite (or by a priest of Aphrodite). Building inscriptions of this type, commonly addressed to Aphrodite, the Augusti, and the Demos, are frequent at Aphrodisias.⁸⁵

14. Building inscription naming an emperor with the title aneiktos/invictus (fig. 12)

I 01.042. Marble architrave block with molding and three fasciae, broken on the right side. Inscribed on the upper fascia. H: 48 cm, W: 87 cm, D: 58 cm, LH: 7.5–8 cm.

Found in a field to the northeast of the Civil Basilica.

Date: first century A.D.

vac. Ἀνεϊκη[τ-]

An(e)iketos is attested as a personal name (not in Aphrodisias)⁸⁶ and, less often, as a divine epithet,⁸⁷ but in this building inscription the word ἀνεϊκτος (invictus) is certainly part of the nomenclature of an emperor. This attribute is sometimes used in Greek honorary inscriptions for Trajan.⁸⁸ From the reign of Severus onward it is often attested as an official imperial title.⁸⁹ However, the lettering of this inscription suggests an earlier date. In Aphrodisias the expression ἀνίκητος θεός is used as an attribute of an emperor (probably Domitian) whose statue was dedicated by the priest of Zeus Nineudios, Dionysios, son of Papylos.⁹⁰ It is plausible that this inscription refers to the same emperor. The building to which this architrave block belongs (the Civil Basilica?) was probably dedicated to this emperor.

15. Dedication of a building to Hephaistos

I 98.005. Fragment of a marble architrave block with molding and three fasciae. The block is reused in a wall and is partially exposed in a trench dug in the 1970s. It is broken on its right side, and

⁹⁰ Paris and Holleaux 1885, 79f. no. 10: [Ἀὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα|Σεβα]στὸν Γερμα[νικὸν]|ἀγ[τ]ικητὸν θεὸν, Διο[νύσιος]|Πα[π]ύλου τοῦ Παπύλου Διονυ||σίου[υ], ἱερεὺς Διὸς Νινευδίου, συν|καθιέρωσεν τὸν θεὸν τῷ θεῶ καθὼς ὑπέσχετο. For the identification with Domitian cf. *SEG* 32.1099: [Ἀ]ὐτοκρ[ά]τ[ορ]α Καί[σαρ]α Δομιτιανὸν Σεβαστὸν Γερμανικόν.



Fig. 13. Fragment of a building inscription (I 98.008), found in the North Agora, on the west side of the east door of the Agora. First or second century A.D. Aphrodisias.

still buried in the ground on its left side.⁹¹ H: 39 cm, W: 126 cm, D: 67 cm. The inscription on the three fasciae had been erased in antiquity. As the height of the three fasciae varies (10, 8.8, and 6.5 cm), the letters have different sizes: 6 cm (first line), 5 cm (second line), 4.5 cm (third line).

Found in the northwest corner of the North Agora.
Date: ca. second century A.D.

	[----]. Ἡφάιστωι .[---]	
	[---].ος ἱερεὺς θεοῦ Ἡφάιστου π[---]	
	[----].ΟΥΚΑΙΜΥ.Τ..ΣΓ.ΟΗ.ΟΥΗ[---]	

— to Hephaistos — the priest of God Hephaistos —

A priest of Hephaistos dedicated or oversaw the dedication of a building to Hephaistos. This is the first published attestation of the cult of Hephaistos at Aphrodisias, but a still unpublished inscription honors a priest of Hephaistos. The addition of the word θεός before the name of a god is very common at Aphrodisias.⁹²

16. Fragment of a building inscription

I 98.007. Fragment of a marble architrave block with molding, broken on all sides. H: 38 cm, W: 66 cm, D: 20 cm, LH: 9 cm.

⁹¹ See Smith and Ratté 2000, 233.

⁹² E.g., Θεὰ Ἀφροδίτη: MAMA 8.413, 513, 521. Θεὸς Διόνυσος: MAMA 8.454. Θεὸς Ἡρακλῆς: MAMA 8.413.

Found between the Bouleuterion and the North Agora (southwest corner of the Bouleuterion).

Date: first or second century A.D.

[---] ἐπιμ[εληθ- ---]

The text commemorates the person(s) who supervised the erection of a building (ἐπιμ[εληθέντος/των]).

17. Fragment of a building inscription (fig. 13)

I 98.008. Fragment of a marble architrave block, broken on all sides and damaged on the upper part of the inscribed fascia. H: 45 cm, W: 105 cm, D: 1 cm, LH: 11–12 cm.

Found in the North Agora, on the west side of the east door of the Agora.

Date: first or second century A.D.

[---Μεν]εσθέω[ς ---]

The upper part of the first four letters is not preserved.

Menestheus, the name or father's name of the dedicator or supervisor of the erection of a building, is common at Aphrodisias.⁹³ It is part of the

Θεὰ Κόρη: CIG 2839 = SEG 30.1244. Θεὰ Νίκη: CIG 2810. See Robert 1965, 176.

⁹³ CIG 2757, 2827; MAMA 8.407, 470, 513, 535, 563.

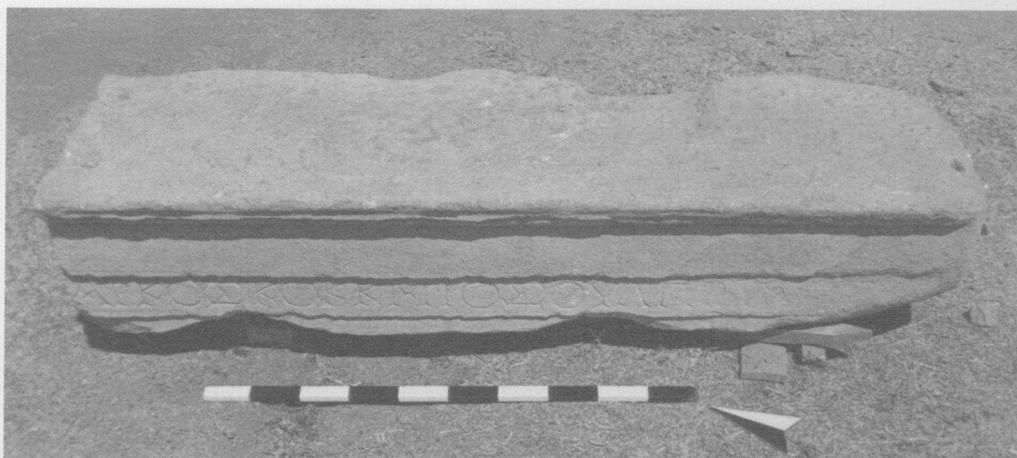


Fig. 14. Building inscription mentioning M. Cocceius Ulpianus (I 98.002), found in the arena of the Stadium, in front of the east tunnel. Ca. second century A.D. Aphrodisias.

nomenclature of only one prominent citizen of Aphrodisias at present known to us: Menestheus Isobounos, son of Apollonios, son of Menestheus (*MAMA* 8.513), who served as archineopoios of the Temple of Aphrodite in the late second or early third century A.D. He may be a relative of the person mentioned here.

18. Fragment of a building inscription

I 98.011. Fragment of a marble architrave block with molding and two fasciae, broken on all sides, except at the top; the inscription is on the bottom fascia. H: 51.5 cm, W: 33.5 cm, D: 12 cm, LH: 5 cm.

Found in 1998 in the arena of the Stadium, in front of the east tunnel (see the plan in Welch 1998, 549).

Date: Roman Imperial period.

[---]ΕΠΙΑΝ[---]

Before the Π the serif of a horizontal line (an E, Π or Σ); the last letter can be a M or a N.

19. Building inscription mentioning M. Cocceius Ulpianus (fig. 14)

I 98.002. Marble architrave block, with molding and three fasciae, damaged on the inscribed surface on the right end. H: 50 cm, W: 175.5 cm, D: 34 cm. An inscription is on the second fascia. LH: 6–7 cm.

Found in 1998 in the arena of the Stadium, directly in front of the east tunnel (cf. no. 19).

Date: ca. second century A.D.

[---] Μάρκος Κοκκήτιος Ούλπιαν[ός]

The name in the nominative suggests the dedicator or the overseer of the construction of the building, to which this architrave belonged. M. Cocceius Antipatros Ulpianus, *primus pilus*, tentatively identified by J. Reynolds with the *primus pilus* [—] Antipatros, who dedicated the west portico of the Agora to Divus Augustus, is mentioned in a still unpublished text (undated).⁹⁴

20. Building inscription mentioning Artemidoros, son of Zenon (fig. 15a and b)

I 98.003 and I 98.004. Two nonjoining marble architrave-frieze blocks, with acanthus frieze. Fr. A: H: 63 cm, W: 2.25 m, D: 35 cm; fr. B: H 63 cm, W: 1.89 m, D: 34 cm. LH: 6–7 cm.

Found in 1998 in the arena of the Stadium, used as the north (top) and south (bottom) door jamb of the east entrance (cf. no. 19).⁹⁵

Date: ca. second century A.D.

A [--- 'Αρτεμι]δῶρου τοῦ Ζήνωνος [---]

B [--- ἐκ] θεμελίων [---]

[---] of Artemidoros, the son of Zenon [---] | [erected ?] from the foundation [---].

We do not know if Artemidoros, son of Zenon, is mentioned here in some capacity (e.g., ἐπὶ στεφανηφόρου Ἄρτ., ἐπιμεληθέντος Ἄρτ.) or if his name is part of the filiation of a magistrate or donor (e.g., [Ἄτταλος Ἀδράστου τοῦ Νεικοτήμου τοῦ Ἄρτεμι]δῶρου τοῦ Ζήνωνος). The latter as-

⁹⁴ Reynolds 1980, 78 (*SEG* 30.1255).

⁹⁵ See Smith and Ratté 2000, 225–6.



Fig. 15a. Building inscription mentioning Artemidoros, son of Zenon (I 98.003), found in the arena of the Stadium, used as the north doorjamb of the east entrance



Fig. 15b. Building inscription mentioning Artemidoros, son of Zenon (I 98.004), found in the arena of the Stadium, used as the south doorjamb of the east entrance

sumption seems more probable, given the large number of dedications of buildings and other benefactions of descendants of Artemidoros, son of Ze-

non. We know, for example, of dedications by Neikoteimos, son of Artemidoros, son of Zenon (*MAMA* 8.483), his son Adrastos (*MAMA* 8.484, 485), Adrastos's wife Ammia (*MAMA* 8.528), Adrastos's son Attalos (e.g., *MAMA* 8.413), and his granddaughter Tatia Attalis (early second century A.D.).⁹⁶

GLADIATORIAL MONUMENTS (NOS. 21–22)

21. Altar of the gladiator Melanippos (fig. 16)

I 01.041. Marble altar-stele with molding below and a representation of a gladiator (retarius?) in relief. The gladiator is standing on a base in a frontal position. His right hand holds an object (a net?); with his left hand he holds his trident upright.

Found built in the west wall, ca. 100 m north of the West Gate. Still in situ.

Date: ca. second/third century A.D.

Μελάνιππος

22. Altar for the gladiator Eurotas (fig. 17)

I 01.043. Marble altar-stele with molding below and on top and a representation of a gladiator (secutor?) in relief. The gladiator is standing on a base, advancing to the left. He wears body armor, leg guards, and a helmet with a crest; in his left hand he has a long shield, and in his right hand a short sword (cf. *PPA* 30, pl. IX).

⁹⁶For Tatia Attalis, see Reynolds and Roueché 1992.



Fig. 16. Altar of light-armed gladiator (retiarius) Melanippos (inv. 01.045/I 01.041), built into top of west City Wall. Second–third century A.D. Aphrodisias. (Ratté and Smith 2004, fig. 31)

Found built in the West Wall, ca. 100 m north of the West Gate.

Date: ca. second/third century A.D.

Εὐρώτας

These two altar-stelae belong to a large group of similar monuments found at Aphrodisias and more recently discussed by C. Roueché.⁹⁷ According to L. Robert, such stelae are not funerary monuments, but reliefs that were assembled around an inscription of a *familia* of gladiators commemorating its individual members.⁹⁸ Since none of these monuments has been found in situ, but outside of the City Wall, where they were probably used as spolia,⁹⁹ this



Fig. 17. Altar of heavy-armed gladiator Eurotas (inv. 01.045/I 01.043), from west City Wall. Second–third century A.D. Aphrodisias Museum Depot. (Ratté and Smith 2004, fig. 30)

interpretation is not certain. The two new examples were found built into the west City Wall, in which many funerary monuments have been used as spolia. A funerary context should not be excluded.

The two gladiators have names that are characteristic for their occupation. The name Melanippos (“the black horse”) is already attested for other gladiators.¹⁰⁰ The same applies to the name Eurotas, inspired by the homonymous river near Sparta, which alludes to the military qualities of the Spartans.¹⁰¹

⁹⁷ PPA 25–37 with pp. 64f. For gladiatorial shows in Aphrodisias see Roueché, *ibid.*, 61–80 with further bibliography.

⁹⁸ Robert 1940, 59–63; followed by Roueché, PPA 64.

⁹⁹ PPA 25–27: “to the north of the north wall of the stadium” (which is the north city wall); 29–31: “central stretch of

the southern city wall”; 32: in front of the south city wall; 33–34: stray finds; 35–37: “between the west stretch of the city wall and the Hadrianic baths.”

¹⁰⁰ Robert 1940, 299.

¹⁰¹ Robert 1940, 298 (in Smyrna).

FUNERARY INSCRIPTIONS (NOS. 23–32)

23. Sarcophagus of M. Aurelius Apellas and his family (fig. 18)

I 00.005 (Museum inv. no. 6528, S 474/475). Garland sarcophagus with unfinished portrait busts.¹⁰² The pedimented lid is decorated with apex and corner acroteria; the apex acroteria and the rear corner acroteria on the left end are mostly missing. The body of the sarcophagus was broken into five fragments, and has now been reassembled. It is decorated with a tabula ansata with double scallop handles raised by Erotes at either side, standing in mirror image. Nikai stand at the corners raising a garland above their heads.

Grape clusters hang from the garland. Unfinished portrait busts occupy the front roundels. At left is a woman wearing chiton and mantle wrapped around the shoulders and tied at center below the breast; roughed out third-century hairstyle. At right a man with himation. Body: H: 79 cm, W: 2.14 m, D: 86 cm; lid: H 35 cm (with the acroteria), W: 2.04 m, D: 84 cm. The inscription is written on the lid (lines 1–4), on the top of the body (line 5) and in the panel (lines 6–17); LH: 2 cm.

Found in the Necropolis south of the south City Gate during Museum excavations in 1999/2000.

Date: third century A.D.

Ἦ σορός ἐστὶν Μάρ(κου) Αὐρ(ηλίου) Ἀπελλά τοῦ Περείτου τοῦ Καλλικλέους τοῦ Ἐπι[κ]ράτους τοῦ Ἀρτεμιδώρου· εἰς ἣν σορὸν ταφήσονται αὐτός τε ὁ Ἀπελλάς καὶ Τατιάς Διονυσίου ἡ γ[υ]νὴ αὐτοῦ καὶ Διονύσιος καὶ Ἀπελλάς, οἱ υἱοὶ αὐτῶν· ἕτερος δὲ οὐδεὶς ἔξει ἐξουσίαν ἐνθά-
5 ψαι τινα ἢ ἐκθάψαι τῶν προγεγραμμένων, μήτε διὰ ἄκτου βουλῆς μήτε διὰ [ἡγεμο]-
5 νικῆς ἐντεύξεως, ἐπεὶ ἔοιω ἄοεβῆς τε καὶ ἐπάρατος καὶ τυμβωρύχος καὶ προσαποτεῖ- οἶάω τῶ

10
15
ἱερωτάτῳ ταμείῳ ἀρ-
γυρίου * γ, ὧν
τὸ τρίτον ἔστω
τοῦ ἐγδικήσαν-
τος· τῆς ἐπιγραφῆς
ἀπετέθη ἀντίγρα-
φον εἰς τὸ χρεοφυ-
λάκιον ἐπὶ στεφα-
νηφόρου τὸ β' Ἀτ-
τάλου, υἱοῦ Με-
νάνδρου, μὴνδος
Γορπαιῶν

1. Ἐπι[κ]ράτους, space of ca. 2 letters remained uninscribed because of an ancient break of the stone. || 2. Ligature of HN and NH; γ[υ]νὴ, space of ca. 2 letters remained uninscribed because of an ancient break of the stone. || 3. ΑΙΑΠΕΛΛΑ, written on the left boss; ΕΞΟΥΣΙΑΝ, written on the right boss. || 4. ΨΑΙΤΩΝΠ, written on the left boss; ΗΣΜΗΤΕΔΙΑ, written on the right boss; ligature of MM, MH. || 10. Ligature of TH. || 14. Ligature of NH. || 16. Ligature of MHN.

This sarcophagus belongs to Marcus Aurelius Apellas, son of Perēitos, son of Kalliklēs, son of Epikrates, son of Artemidoros. In this sarcophagus shall be buried Apellas himself, his wife Tatias, daughter of Dionysios, and their sons Dionysios and Apellas. No one else shall have the authority to place another person in it or to remove any of the aforementioned persons from it, not even as a result of an act of the council or

an intercession by a provincial governor, because he shall be impious and accursed and a grave-robber, and in addition to this he shall pay to the most sacred treasury 3,000 silver denarii, one third of which shall belong to the prosecutor. A copy of this inscription was deposited in the registry-office during the second stephanephorate of Attalos, son of Menandros, in the month Gorpaios.

The text of the inscription is formulaic.¹⁰³ But in this case the usual prohibition against further burials or the exhumation of the owner of the sarcophagus is endorsed with the addition that such a measure cannot be legally sanctioned in any way or by any authority (assembly, council, or a Roman authority). Such an endorsement is attested five times at Aphrodisias, from the early second century A.D. onward. The following variants are hitherto known:

¹⁰² For this type of sarcophagus in Aphrodisias, see Isik 1984, 256–9.

¹⁰³ Cf., e.g., *CIG* 2836 B, 2841; *MAMA* 8.544 and 555; *SEG*

47.1556. For a discussion of the vocabulary of the Aphrodisian epitaphs, see Robert 1965, 194–206.



Fig. 18. Inscribed garland sarcophagus of M. Aurelius Apellas and his family (S 474, chest, and S 475, lid/I 00.005), from southeast Necropolis. Third century A.D. Aphrodisias Museum. (Ratté and Smith 2004, fig. 35)

1. *CIG* 2829 = *MAMA* 8.554 lines 10f.: οὔτε διὰ ψηφίσματος οὔτε δι' ἐντεύξεως ἡγεμονικῆς οὔτε ἄλλῳ τρόπῳ
2. Cormack 1964, 24f. no. 32 b: [---] ἢ ἐντεύξεως ἡγεμονικῆς
3. Reinach 1906, no. 163 line 1: [--- ἐντεύξ]εως ἡγεμόν<ο>ς.
4. Below no. 26: οὔτε διὰ ψηφίσματος ἢ διὰ ἄκτου βου<λ>ῆς ἢ ἐ[ντεῦ]ξ[ε]ως ἡγεμόνων
5. Unpublished epitaph (inv. 67.507): [οὔτε διὰ ψηφίσματος ἢ δι' ἄκτου βουλῆς ---]
6. Unpublished epitaph (69.28 + 71.445): [-- οὐδὲ ψηφίσματος ὀνόματι οὐδ[ὲ] ---]
7. No. 23: μήτε διὰ ἄκτου βουλῆς μήτε διὰ [ἡγεμο]νικῆς ἐντεύξεως

There can be little doubt that these formulas are influenced by clauses in testaments and foundations that prohibit any later changes of the testator's or donor's will. Declarations that the testator's will cannot be changed—either by a magistrate or by a private person—have a long tradition in the Greek East.¹⁰⁴ An interesting example is found in the foundation of Attalos at Aphrodisias:¹⁰⁵ “[Nei-

ther a magistrate nor a secretary (?) nor a private person will have the authority to transfer part of or the entire capital or the interest or to change the account or to use the money for a different purpose, either by organizing a separate vote or through a decree of the assembly, a letter, a decree (*δόγμα*) or a written declaration, nor through violence of the mob, or in any other way, but the money should be used only for (the purpose stated) in the testamentary disposition written by me.” In this document the potential intervention of noncivic authorities is only indirectly implied by the terms *epistole* (the letter of an emperor or a provincial governor?) and *dogma* (a *senatus consultum* or a decree of the provincial *koinon*?). The epitaphs quoted above envisage the intervention of a Roman authority, probably of the provincial governor of Asia (no. ii: [--]ἐντεύξ]εως ἡγεμόν<ο>ς; no. iv: ἐ[ντεῦ]ξ[ε]ως ἡγεμόνων).¹⁰⁶ The word *ἐντεύξις* (petition) is occasionally used with the meaning “a petition that has received a favorable answer.”¹⁰⁷

It is noteworthy that interventions of the provincial governor (or another Roman authority) could

¹⁰⁴ Laum 1914, I:190–1.

¹⁰⁵ *MAMA* 8.413 b: [μηδενί]ἐξέσω μήτε ἄρχοντι μήτε γραμμ[ατε]ῖ? μή[τε] ιδιωτῇ μήτε μέ[ρος | μή]τε πᾶν μήτε ἀρχαίῳ μήτε [τό|κο]υ μεταγαγεῖν ἢ μεταπολογ[ί]σασθαι μηδὲ εἰς ἕτερον χρήσα[σθ]ῆναι μηδὲν μήτε ψηφοφορίᾳ [ἰ]δίᾳ | συντάσσονται μήτε ψηφίσμα[τι | μή]τε δι' ἐπιστολῆς μήτε διὰ δόγμ[α]τος μήτε διὰ

ἀπογραφῆς ἢ ὀχλ[ι]κῆς καταβαρήσεως μηδὲ ἄλλ[φ] || τρόπῳ μηδενὶ ἢ εἰς μόνην τα[ύ]την τὴν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ γεγραμμένην [δι]αταγῆν. Cf. *LBW* 1611.

¹⁰⁶ For ἡγεμών = provincial governor, see Mason 1974, 52; Anastasiadis and Souris 2000, 98f.

¹⁰⁷ E.g., in the inscription of Skaptopara: *IGBulg* 4.2236 + *SEG* 44.610 + *SEG* 48.956; Hallof 1994, 425–7.

be expected at Aphrodisias, a free city.¹⁰⁸ It is rather improbable that in the Imperial period any Roman authority intervened at its own initiative in internal Aphrodisian affairs, but such interventions were occasionally requested by the Aphrodisieis themselves.¹⁰⁹ The presence in second- and third-century Aphrodisias of a relatively large number of testimonia that explicitly oppose such interventions with regard to testaments may be the reaction to a particular event of which we have no knowledge, such as an intervention provoked by the city's elite that was not favorably received by part of the population. An inscription from Beroia gives an interesting insight into the interventions feared by testators and donors at Aphrodisias.¹¹⁰ L. Memmius Rufus, an otherwise unknown proconsul of Macedonia under Trajan or Hadrian, issued an edict concerning the funding of the gymnasium, which was periodically closed because of financial problems. The proconsul's intervention aimed at creating a fund of 100,000 denarii, the interest of which (6,000 denarii) should be used for the gymnasium; the capital consisted of money earlier bequeathed to the city by prominent citizens and of the public revenues from water mills. Despite the fragmentary state of preservation, we may be certain that part of the money diverted by the proconsul to the gymnasiarchical funds had originally not been donated for this purpose. The money left by a certain Ioulianos to the city was indeed meant to be spent for the gymnasium (A 18: αἰ ὑπὸ Ἰουλιανοῦ εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ ἀλειπτικὸν ἀπολελειμμένα [μυριάδες ---]). On the contrary, the money bequeathed by Plautianus Alexandros was intended for a phallus, probably for a Dionysiac procession (A 29–30: παρὰ Πλαυτιανῶ Ἀλεξάνδρω -----] ἀκοπίατον, δηνάρια χεῖλια τὰ ὑπὲρ τοῦ φαλλοῦ ὑμῖν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ χα[ρισθέντα -----]); other money was origi-

nally given for the supply of the city with grain (A 33–34: οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἐκ τοῦ ὑπὸ Εὐλαίου δοθέντος οεῖτο[υ λογευθέντα? δηνάρια ----- καὶ τὰ -----]' Ἐλημ<ι>ωτῶν τοῦ οεῖτου χάριτος συνδεόμενα δηνάρια χεῖλια πε[ντ- -----]). In this document we see in practice what Attalos of Aphrodisias was afraid might happen with his donation (μεταγαγεῖν ἢ μεταπολογ[ί]σασθαι, εἰς ἕτερον χρῆσα[σθ]αι). In Beroia, the proconsul was able to take these measures only because he could count on the support of the local elite (A 9: συναγωνισαμένων οὖν μοι καὶ τῶν κ[ρατίστων? --- c. 29 ---] τῆς βουλῆς; A 11: συνέννευσαν οἱ τε πρῶτοι πατρίδος καὶ ἡ βουλ[ῆ ---]). The fear of some Aphrodisians that successful petitions of the local authorities (*enteuxeis*) could have similar results may have not been purely imaginary.

The formulation referring to the punishment of a violator of the grave is extremely common,¹¹¹ as is the fine of 3,000 denarii.¹¹² Other fine amounts are 1,000, 2,000, 2,500, 3,000, 5,000, 6,000, 7,000, 10,000, 12,000, 30,000, and 50,000 denarii, in one case 1,000 Attic drachmai (*MAMA* 8.571), in another case two litrae of gold (*MAMA* 8.58).¹¹³ The fine was most commonly payable to the sacred treasury,¹¹⁴ although other recipients of such fines are attested, that is, the sanctuary of Aphrodite,¹¹⁵ the demos,¹¹⁶ the boule,¹¹⁷ and the guild of the τέκτονες.¹¹⁸ The recipient of the fine was, at least in some cases, the person or the institution from which the owner of the sarcophagus could reasonably expect a protection of the tomb, or to which he may have even entrusted the protection of the tomb.¹¹⁹ A very informative text in this regard is a document from Aphrodisias, in which the owner of the grave explicitly states that his grave was under the protection of the neopoioi, who were going to receive the fine and use it for the decoration of Aphrodite's

¹⁰⁸ For a good summary of the status of Aphrodisias, see Reynolds 1973 and *A&R* pp. 38–41, 107–13.

¹⁰⁹ *A&R* 16; possibly *MAMA* 8. 411. For a more detailed treatment of this subject, see Chaniotis 2004a.

¹¹⁰ Gounaropoulou/Hatzopoulos 1998, no. 7 (*SEG* 48.742). P. Nigdelis and G. Souris will present a detailed commentary on this text in a forthcoming book.

¹¹¹ Cf. Strubbe 1997; for the fines, see Liebenam 1900, 43–53.

¹¹² Cf. *CIG* 2827; *MAMA* 8.537, 542, 553, 555, 566, 576; Reinach 1906, no. 177.

¹¹³ 1,000 (*LBW* 1641 A), 2,000 (*MAMA* 8.573, 594), 2,500 (*LBW* 1634; *MAMA* 8.567, 568; Reinach 1906, no. 154), 5,000 (*CIG* 2824, 2825 A; Cormack 1964, 23, no. 25; *MAMA* 8.554, 577, 595), 6,000 (*CIG* 2842; *MAMA* 8.543, 544, 552, 560), 7,000 (*CIG* 2843; *MAMA* 8.565), 10,000 (*MAMA* 8.546, 556b, 559),

12,000 (*MAMA* 8.547), 30,000 (*MAMA* 8.578), and 50,000 denarii (*MAMA* 8. 579). In *MAMA* 8.557 lines 3–4 one should restore [*τρισι]χεῖλια, and not [*]χεῖλια. Cf. Robert 1965, 211.

¹¹⁴ E.g., *CIG* 2825, 2827, 2841; *LBW* 1634; *MAMA* 8.537, 538, 542, 544–546, 550, 552–554, 556a, 557, 560, 566, 568, 572; cf. 578; Reinach 1906, no. 177; *SEG* 47.1556. Cf. *MAMA* 8.556b, 559; aerarium populi Romani. Cf. Robert 1965, 205.

¹¹⁵ *CIG* 2848; *MAMA* 8.555, 571, 573, 577, 579, 593, 594, 595; *SEG* 47.1557. The fiscus and the sanctuary of Aphrodite: Cormack 1964, 23, no. 25; *MAMA* 8.547, 565, 576; the sanctuary of Aphrodite and the emperor cult: *CIG* 2843.

¹¹⁶ *MAMA* 8.543 (the demos and the fiscus).

¹¹⁷ Reinach 1906, no. 154.

¹¹⁸ Reynolds 1998, 287–97 (*SEG* 48.1326); cf. Reinach 1906, no. 186 (as restored by Reynolds 1998).

¹¹⁹ Cf. Chaniotis 2004b.

temple, and of the council, to which he had made a donation (*CIG* 2826: ἔσται ὑπε[ύθυνος] προστε[ί]μ[ω] τῆ [ιερ]ωτάτῃ θεῶ Ἀφροδείτῃ εἰς κόσμον αὐτῆς δηνάρια πεντακιοχίλια, π[οι]ηοαμέ[νων τὴν ἐκδίκησιν] τῶν κατ' ἐκε[ί]ν[ο]ν τὸν καρδ[ὸ]ν νε[ω]πυῶν, ἐπὶ [δὲ] καὶ ἐκκόψει τ[ί]ς· ἐπὶ [δὲ] τῆ κατα[θέ]σει τοῦ πόρου ὑπε[ύθ]υ[νο]ς [ἔ]στω τῷ προστε[ί]μω καὶ ταῖς ἀρ[α]ῖς ταῖς ὑπο[γ]ε[γ]ραμμέναις, ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τ[ῆ] ἱερω[τάτῃ] βουλῇ διαφέρει καὶ αὐτῇ [τῆ] περὶ τούτου [ἐκ]δικία διὰ τὸ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ [τῆ] ἐκδικία ἀνατεθεικέ[ναι] ἐμ[ε] αὐτῇ εἰς αἰώνιους αὐτῆς [δια]νομὰς ἀργυρίου ἀρχαία δηνάρια [---]; cf. *CIG* 2848). The reward of the prosecutor (ἐκδικήσας) was commonly one-third of the fine (but see below, no. 28).¹²⁰ A copy of the document was deposited, as usual, in the registry office (χρεοφυλάκιον).¹²¹ A few texts mention in a more general manner the magistrates' quarters (ἀρχεῖα) as the place where these texts were kept.¹²²

Except for the names Epikrates, attested in an unpublished graffito in the Sebasteion (north portico, 11th column from east), and Kallikles, attested in a still unpublished inscription, all the other names are common in Aphrodisias.¹²³ Despite the long family tree it is not possible to associate Apellas and his forefathers with any other known family. One can only observe that two of the names that appear in this stemma (Artemidoros and Pereitas) reappear in *A&R* 27 (Artemidoros, son of Apollonios, son of Pereitas, first century A.D.) and *CIG* 2770 (Molossos, son of Pereitas, son of Adrastos, son of

Artemidoros). Because of the wide distribution of the names Dionysios and Tatias, there is also no reason to assume that Tatias, daughter of Dionysios, is necessarily a relative of Aurelia Tatias and Dionysios recorded in another sarcophagus (*MAMA* 8.557). It is noteworthy that Apellas and Tatias named their oldest son after his maternal grandfather; the second son was named after his father. A Roman name (M. Aurelius) is given only for Apellas, not for his sons. This suggests a date some time after the constitutio Antoniniana. The style of the portraits suggests a date in the second half of the third century A.D.¹²⁴ The stephanephoros Attalos, son of Menandros, is known from two other sarcophagi that mention his second term of office (*MAMA* 8.577 and 579, second half of the third century).¹²⁵

24. Sarcophagus of M. Aurelius Apollonios Damas (fig. 19)

I 00.006 (S 467). Pedimental sarcophagus lid with corner and apex acroteria (now severely damaged or broken away). The corner acroteria on the front are carved (a sleeping Eros at right, a reclining female figure at left). The front of the roof has six sets of pan- and cover tiles, which terminate in the corner acroteria and in four lions' heads along the front edge. Each end has a recessed tympanum with an undefined disc. H: 39 cm, W: 2.01 m, D: 88 cm, LH: 2 cm.

Found in 1999/2000 in the east Necropolis during Museum excavations.

Date: probably after 212 A.D.

[H] σορὸς [κατεσκε]υσάθη [ὑ]πὸ κληρογόνων Μ[ά]ρκου Αὐρηλίου Ἀπολλ[ω]γίου τοῦ [[c. 7]ου τοῦ Δημητρίου γ' τοῦ Ὑψικλέου^{vacat} Δαμά, ἐν ἧ σορῶ τέθαιται αὐτός τε ^{vacat} ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, κηδευθῆσονται δὲ καὶ Αὐρη^{vacat}λῖα Καλλιγενὲς καὶ Φλαβίλλα τὰ [TE] τέ^{vacat}κνα τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου

¹²⁰ *CIG* 2824, 2825 A, 2827; *LBW* 1641 A; *MAMA* 8.542–546, 550, 553, 554, 555, 556b, 557, 560, 565, 568, 572, 584; cf. 571, 594. Reinach 1906, no. 154; *SEG* 47.1556–1557. Cf. Robert 1965, 24.

¹²¹ E.g., *MAMA* 8.537–540, 544, 545, 547, 548, 550, 553–558, 560, 565, 568, 571, 572, 577, 579, 584, 588. Cf. two variants: ἀπετέθη ἀντίγραφον εἰς τὸ Ἀφροδιοῦ χρεοφυλάκιον (*LBW* 1641 A); ἀπετέθη ἀντίτυπον εἰς τὸ χρεοφυλάκιον (*LBW* 1639; *MAMA* 8.546). Cf. Robert 1965, 197; Jones and Smith 1994, 468f.

¹²² Cf. *CIG* 2841, 2842; *MAMA* 8.543; below, no. 28; cf. ἀρχεῖον: *MAMA* 8.573, 578. The mention of a γραμματοφυλάκιον (*MAMA* 8.498; Cormack 1964, 26, no. 34; Robert 1966, 391–4) may suggest the existence of more than one archive at Aphrodisias.

¹²³ *Apellas*: *ALA* 6; *LBW* 1629; *MAMA* 8.418, 506, 507, 552, 559; *SEG* 36.970; Reinach 1906, nos. 12 and 142. *Artemidoros*: *A&R* 2–4, 26–27, 42, 53; *CIG* 2754, 2770; Kubitschek/Reichel

1893, 101, no. 5; *LBW* 1639; *MAMA* 8.413–414, 435–436, 448, 451, 468, 480, 483–485, 505, 521, 528, 534, 550; *PPA* 55 A; Reinach 1906, nos. 9 and 142; *SEG* 30.1244; 42.990 bis; 44.865. *Dionysios*: *ALA* 67; *A&R* 3, 5, 28; *CIG* 2771, 2821; *MAMA* 8.410, 437–438, 448, 460, 480, 520 bis, 552, 557, 559, 561, 575, 588; Reinach 1906, no. 128; Mendel 1906, 172, no. a; Paris and Holleaux 1885, 79f., no. 10; Cormack 1964, 22, no. 15; Doublet/Deschamps 1890, 607–10, no. 4 A; Reinach 1906, nos. 122 and 160; *SEG* 44.865. *Pereitas*: *A&R* 2–3, 27, 55; *CIG* 2770–2771; *MAMA* 8.499, 559, 571, 576; Mendel 1906, 168, n. 1; Paton 1900, 78, no. VII. *Tatias*: *MAMA* 8.557.

¹²⁴ Cf. a similar sarcophagus published by Jones and Smith 1994, 465f. (*SEG* 44.866).

¹²⁵ For the date, see Strubbe 1997, 74 and 90. Possibly member of a prominent family, whose members include Attalos, son of Menandros, strategos in the first century B.C. (*A&R* 2), and Attalos, son of Menandros, son of Attalos, priest of Aphrodite in the first/second century A.D. (*MAMA* 8.450).

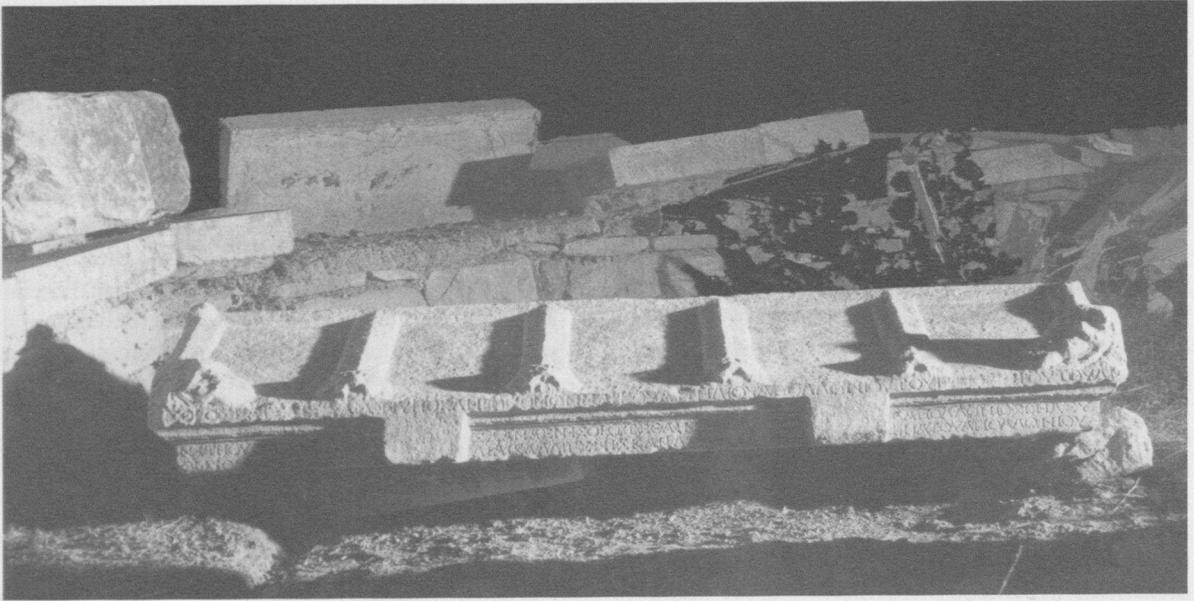


Fig. 19. Sarcophagus of M. Aurelius Apollonios Damas (S 467/100.006). Probably after 212 A.D. Aphrodisias.

2. Ligature of MH. || 2–3. Some space has remained uninscribed because of two bosses on the front of the lid.

This sarcophagus [was made/provided by] the heirs of Marcus Aurelius Apollonios Damas, son of —, son of Demetrios III, son of Hypsikles. In this sarcophagus is buried Apollonios himself and shall be buried Aurelia Kalligenis and Aurelia Flavilla, the children of Apollonios.

The beginning of the text is a variant of a well-known formulaic expression of Aphrodisian epitaphs. The inscriptions usually name the type of the monument in the accusative followed by the verb κατασκευάζω (e.g., τὸν πλάταν κατασκεύασεν, τὸ μνημεῖον κατασκεύασεν, τὸ ἥρωον καὶ τὴν ἐπικειμένην σορὸν καὶ τὰς εἰσώστας κατασκεύασεν, et sim.);¹²⁶ in this case the production of the sarcophagus is expressed in the passive voice. The heirs (κληρονόμοι) are often mentioned in the texts of sarcophagi as having the right to be buried there.¹²⁷ In this case the heirs of Apollonios had the sarcophagus constructed after his death.

The stemma of the owner of the sarcophagus can be reconstructed as follows: Hypsikles → Demetrios → Demetrios → Demetrios → NN → M. Aurelius Apollonios Damas.

In line 3 the scribe wrote τά τε τέ^{vacat}κνα τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου (“Aurelia Kalligenis and Aurelia Flavilla and the children of Apollonios”). In this case one would ask why the children of Apollonios are not named and who are Kalligenis and Flavilla, whose relation to Apollonios Damas is not indicated. It is far more plausible to assume that Kalligenis and Flavilla are Apollonios’s children and to correct the scribe’s diplography (TATETEKNA).

The names Apollonios, Damas, Demetrios, and Hypsikles are common in Aphrodisias, in particular among the members of the local elite (Apollonios, Hypsikles).¹²⁸ Demetrios, Apollonios, and Hypsikles reappear in several families: The funerary decree for Tatia Attalis (SEG 45.1502 A) records a strategos Apollonios, son of Demetrios, son of [---], son of Demetrios; an honorary inscription mentions Ammia, daughter of Hermogenes, son of Apollonios,

¹²⁶ CIG 2825 A, 2850 D; LBW 1635; MAMA 8.534; Paton 1900, 76f. no. V; Reinach 1906, no. 165.

¹²⁷ E.g., CIG 2847; LBW 1635; Cormack 1964, 22, no. 15; MAMA 8.536, 538; Reinach 1906, no. 166. But κληρονόμοι may also be excluded from burial: CIG 2825 A, 2827; MAMA 8.543.

¹²⁸ Apollonios: A&R 3, 26, 27; CIG 2749, 2754, 2766, 2818, 2827, 2830, 2836b; Cormack 1964, 20, no. 13 b and 22, no. 15; LBW 1589, 1607, 1639, 1640a; MAMA 8.421, 449, 454, 478,

499, 513, 520, 533, 538, 546, 550, 576, 577, 585, 586; Reinach 1906, nos. 9, 62, 77, 146, 165, 185; SEG 27.717; 40.928, 932–934, 943; 41.917; 42.990 bis. Damas: MAMA 8.413 C 22. Demetrios: A&R 6, 8, 12; CIG 2787, 2835 B, 2842; LBW 1639, 1646; MAMA 8.472, 473, 480, 482, 499; PPA 1.6.i; Reinach 1906, nos. 62 and 74. Hypsikles: CIG 2823; MAMA 8.408, 440, 449, 484, 500, 507, 516, 541, 568; PPA 7 B, 14, 15, 45.11.U; Reinach 1906, nos. 9, 29, 120; SEG 36.970.

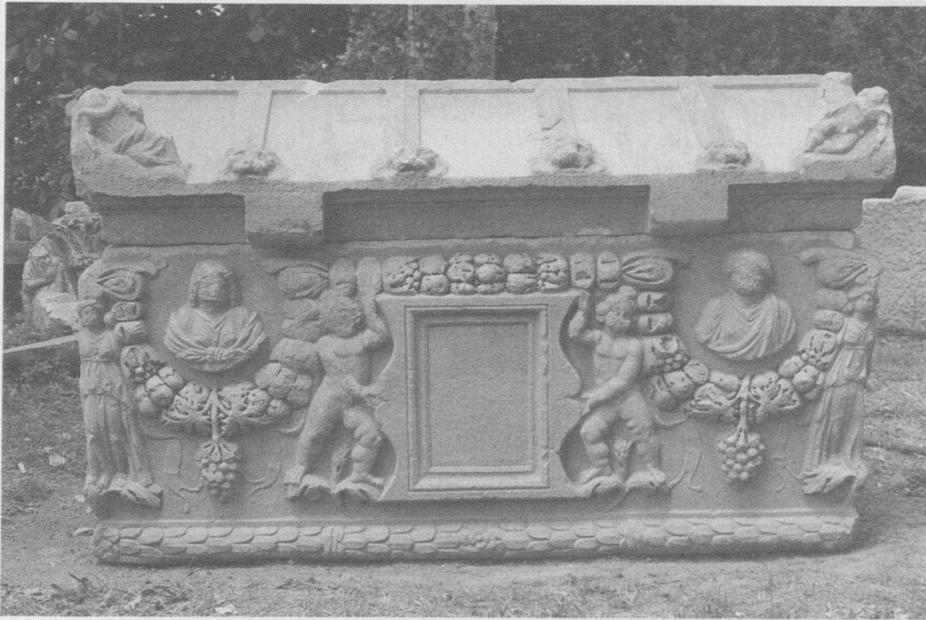


Fig. 20. Sarcophagus of M. Aurelius Eisoros (S 465/I 00.009), from east Necropolis. Early third century A.D. Aphrodisias Museum. (Ratté and Smith 2004, fig. 34)

son of Demetrios (Reinach 1906, no. 62), and another one records Teimokles, son of Apollonios, son of Hyspikles (*CIG* 2766). The names Kalligenis and Flavilla are here attested for the first time at Aphrodisias.

25. Sarcophagus of M. Aurelius Eisoros (fig. 20) I 00.009 (S 465). Pedimental sarcophagus lid with corner and apex acroteria. The front corner acroteria are carved with figures, on the right a sleeping

Eros, on the left a reclining female figure. The front roof has six sets of pan- and cover tiles, two of which end in the corner acroteria, the others in lions' heads at the edge of the roof. Both ends have a recessed tympanum with a winged Gorgoneion head. An inscription of one line is preserved across the front. H: 39 cm, W: 2.05 m, D: 87 cm, LH: 2–4 cm.

Found in the east Necropolis during Museum excavations in 1999/2000.

Date: third century A.D.

Ἡ σορός ἐστὶν καὶ ὁ τόπος ἐφ' οὗ [κεῖ]τε Μ(άρκου) Αὐρ(ηλίου) Εἰσι[δῶ]ρου δις τοῦ
Κάστορος, κουρίωνος φυλῆς ΑΠΟΔΙΟΣ vacat

1. [κεῖ]τε was suggested to me by J. Reynolds.||2. Or κούρωονος; at the end, or ΑΠΟΔΙΟΣ.

This sarcophagus and the place, on which [it is laid?] belongs to Marcus Aurelius Eisoros, son of Eisoros, son of Kastor, curio (herald, messenger) of the tribe ---

The name (E)isoros is attested for the first time at Aphrodisias, but the name Kastor is fairly common.¹²⁹ The word κουρίων may be the Hellenized form of *curio*, which designates a herald (cf. Treb. Gall. 12).¹³⁰ If this reading is correct, the function of Eisoros may be similar to that of κούρωωρ τῶν

σεμνοτάτων φυλῶν, attested in the same period at Aphrodisias (third/fourth century A.D.).¹³¹ As C. Roueché has pointed out, in this text the word φυλή may designate a trade association, and not a civic tribe.¹³² Unfortunately, the reading and meaning of the last word of the new inscription is not clear (an abbreviation?).

26. Sarcophagus of Julia (fig. 21)

I 00.003 (S 472). Marble sarcophagus with lid, slightly damaged along the front and at the edges of the lid. On the front of the body of the

¹²⁹ *MAMA* 8.488 and 561; it is also attested in two unpublished inscriptions (67.474 and 73.266).

¹³⁰ It is restored by Oliver 1972, 104f. in *IG* 2³.4213.

¹³¹ *ALA* 150 with the commentary of C. Roueché.

¹³² *ALA* 196f.

sarcophagus a raised panel; on both narrow sides of the lid a disc within a pediment. Body: H: 57 cm, W: 1.98 m, D: 57.5–67 cm; lid: H: 37 cm, W: 2.06 m, D: 68 cm. The inscription covers the front of the lid (lines 1–4), the upper part of the body

(lines 5–6), the frame of the panel (line 7), and the panel itself (lines 7–13); LH: 2.5 cm.

Found in 1999/2000 during Museum excavations in the Eastern Necropolis.

Date: second century A.D. (after A.D. 128/129)

[c. 3]]ΩΤΟΥΑΠΩΝΟΣ..ΟΥΤΟΠΩ[. .]N[c. 3]] [c. 4].NO[c. 6]NHΣ[c. 4]ΕΚ[.]ΙΛΗ[c. 9]
 'Ιουλία· vacat ἕτερος δὲ οὐδεὶς ἔξει ἔξουσία[ν ..]NO.[έ]γθάψ^{vacat}αι τινὰ ἔτ[ερων ἢ]
 ἐκθάψαι vacat τὴν προγεγραμμένην οὐδὲ μετακομιοῖαι π^{vacat}ου τὴν [σορδὸν εἰς]
 ἕτερον τ^{vacat}όπον οὔτε διὰ ψηφίσματος ἢ διὰ ἄκτου βου^{vacat}<λ>ῆς ἢ ἐ[ντεύ]-
 5 ξεως ἡγεμόνων· ὁ δὲ παρὰ ταῦτα τι ποιήσας ἔστω ἀοεβῆς καὶ ἐπάρατος καὶ τυμβωρύχος
 καὶ προσαποτείσει εἰς τὸ ἱερώτατον ταμῆον ἀργυρίου * ἔξακιοχέλια, ὧν τὸ τρίτον ἔο-
 τω τοῦ ἐκδικήσαντος·
 ταύτης τῆς ἐπιγραφῆς
 ἀντίγραφον ἀπετέθη
 10 εἰς τὸ χρεοφυλάκιον ἐ-
 πὶ στεφανηφόρου Κλ. Ὁ Ὑ-
 ψικλέους Ὀπλωνος τὸ
 ἔκτον, μηνὸς Γορπιῆου

2. [έ]γθάψαι, only the right vertical line of N is preserved. || 3–5. Some space has remained un-inscribed because of two bosses on the front of the lid. || 3. Ligature of HN. || 4. BOYAHΣ, lapis. || 11. Ligature of NH; above KA. apices.

[—] Ioulia. No one else will have the authority [—] to place another person (in this sarcophagus), or to remove the aforementioned woman, or to move the sarcophagus to some other place, not even as a result of a decree of the assembly, an act of the council, or an intercession of the governors. Whoever does any of these things shall be impious and accursed and a grave-robbor, and in addition to this he shall pay to the most sacred treasury 6,000 silver denarii, one third of which shall be received by the prosecutor. A copy of this inscription was deposited in the registry-office, during the sixth sephanephorate of Claudius Hypsikles, son of Hoplon, in the month Gorpiaios.

The sarcophagus was destined for a woman with the name Julia, possibly used here as a personal name and not as a *nomen gentile*. For the endorsement of the prohibition against further burials, the removal of the body of the owner of the sarcophagus, and the moving of the sarcophagus, see above, no. 23; for the fine of 6,000 denarii, see n. 111.

Because there is no article between Ὑψικλέους and Ὀπλωνος, the genitive Ὀπλωνος may be understood either as a second name (Hypsikles Hoplon) or as the father's name (Hypsikles, son of Hoplon). There are parallels for both interpretations,¹³³ but in this case it seems more probable that Hoplon is a patronymic. The answer to this question is provided by a new inscription that contains four letters sent by Hadrian to Aphrodisias.¹³⁴ Letter no. 4, sent during Hadrian's eighth tribunitia potestas (Dec. 123–Dec. 124), is dated with reference to the stephanephoros Tib. Claudius Hypsikles, son of Hoplon ἐπὶ Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου Ὀπλωνος υἱοῦ Ὑψικλέους, ("in the stephanephorate of Tib. Claudius Hypsikles, son of Hoplon").¹³⁵ The identical patronymic suggests that we are dealing with the same man; his fourth stephanephorate is mentioned in a fragmentary epitaph (MAMA 8.541: ἐπὶ στε]φανηφόρου τὸ δ' ΤΙ. ΚΛ. Ὑψικλέ[[ους]).¹³⁶ Letter no. 3 in the aforementioned inscription, sent during Hadrian's ninth tribunitia potestas (Dec. 124–Dec. 125), mentions a Claudius Hypsikles as serving as stephanephoros post-mortem (ἐπὶ Κλαδίου Ὑψικλέους ἥρωος). J. Reynolds has suggested separating the two homony-

¹³³The article τοῦ is occasionally omitted, e.g., in *LBW*1639: ἐπὶ στεφανηφόρου Ἀττάλου Ἀδράστου τοῦ Νεικοτεῖμου ἥρωος τὸ δεῦτερον. We know that Adrastus was Attalos's father thanks to another text (Cormack 1964, 29, no. 46: ἐπὶ στεφανηφόρου Ἀττάλου τοῦ Ἀδράστου τοῦ ἥρωος τὸ γ); see also below, no. 30. The patronymic of the stephanephoros is often omitted, e.g., in *CIG*2843; *LBW*1641 A; *MAMA* 8.543; Reinach 1906, no. 179.

¹³⁴Reynolds 2000.

¹³⁵Reynolds 2000. Unfortunately, one cannot entirely exclude the possibility that the stephanephoros' name was Tib.

Claudius Hoplon, son of Hypsikles, because in several inscriptions of Aphrodisias the word υἱός comes *before* the father's name: Καλλίαν [υἱὸ]ν. Κ[αλλί]ου [τοῦ Ζ]ήνωνος (*MAMA* 8.412b), ἐπὶ στεφανηφόρου τὸ β' Ἀττάλου υἱοῦ Μενάνδρου (*MAMA* 8.557), Ἐπαφροδεῖτου υἱοῦ Μ. Ἀν. Ἐπαφροδεῖτου (*MAMA* 8.451), ἐπὶ στεφανηφόρου Διογένους υἱοῦ [Τι.] Κλ. Ἐρμεῖου Δομετεῖνου (Reinach 1906, no. 154).

¹³⁶There is space for ca. 14 letters between Ὑψικλέ[ους] and [μ]ηνὸς Ἰουλιῆου. I suggest restoring Ὑψικλέ[ους] τοῦ Ὀπλωνος ἥρωος, μηνὸς Ἰουλιῆου.



Fig. 21. Inscribed plain sarcophagus of Iulia, with tabula and gabled lid (S 472, chest, and S 473, lid/I 00.003). Second century A.D. (after A.D. 128/129). Aphrodisias Museum. (Ratté and Smith 2004, fig. 38)

mous stephanephoroi who served during the eighth (Hypsikles Hoplonos) and the ninth (Hypsikles heros) tribunitia potestas of Hadrian. Although the name Hypsikles is common in Aphrodisias (see n. 126), it would be a surprising coincidence to find in two consecutive years two different stephanephoroi with the same nomen and cognomen. An alternative interpretation can be suggested. As Reynolds has observed, “the imperial year (mid-December to mid-December) did not exactly coincide with the Aphrodisian year (23 September to 22 September),” and consequently it is possible that the same stephanephoros was in office when the Aphrodisians received the two imperial letters. The first letter (letter no. 4 on the stone) arrived between 23 September and 15 December 124 (eighth tribunitia potestas), at the beginning of Hypsikles’ stephanephorate, and the second letter (letter no. 3 on the stone) after 15 December 124 (ninth tribunitia potestas), still during the stephanephorate of the same Hypsikles. The

man had obviously died during his term in office, and so he is called a *heros* in the latter letter. That the name of the same person is recorded in two different ways on the same stone—in one case with praenomen and patronymic (letter no. 4), in the other without (letter no. 3), can easily be explained: letter no. 4 gives not only the full name of Hypsikles, but also his full title (ἐπὶ στεφανηφόρου), whereas in letter no. 3 we simply find the preposition ἐπὶ.

The sixth stephanephorate of Hypsikles cannot be dated. We know of several persons who held the office of the stephanephoros post-mortem—sometimes for a long time after their death—because they had donated money for an αἰώνιος στεφανηφορία, that is, paid in advance the required money for the eponymous office of the stephanephoros; this money was used in years in which there were no candidates willing or in a position to take this office.¹³⁷ Consequently, many Aphrodisian benefactors occupied the office of

¹³⁷For this phenomenon in general, see Robert 1966, 389f.; Robert 1985, 83–5; Jones and Smith 1994, 470; Reynolds 2000. For αἰώνια στεφανηφορία in Aphrodisias, see Reinach 1906, no. 74 = Laum 1914, no. 114; Reinach 1906, no. 142. For post-

mortem stephanephoroi, see, e.g., MAMA 8.537: ἐπὶ [στ]εφανηφόρου τὸ δ’ Κλ. Ἀντωνίου Ἀττάλου ἥρωος; cf. CIG 2842; Cormack 1964, 29, no. 46; Doublet and Deschamps 1890, 607, no. 3; LBW 1639; MAMA 8.413, 545, 550, 556 a.

the stephanephoros for a long time after their death, sometimes decades later, as for example Hypsikles Hierax (see below, no. 28). We should, therefore, consider the year A.D. 128/129 only as a terminus post quem for this epitaph.

27. Sarcophagus of M. Aurelius Marsyas and his family (fig. 22)

I 00.008 (S 466). Pedimental sarcophagus lid with corner and apex acroteria, all uncarved. The front roof has six sets of pan- and cover tiles, two of which end in the corner acroteria, the others in uncarved

elements at the edge of the roof. Both ends have a recessed tympanum, the right with an uncarved disc, the left with a phiale motif. The front corner acroteria, the front edge, the apex acroteria, and the terminals of the pan- and cover tiles at the edge of the roof are broken; the inscribed front is weathered. H: 49 cm, W: 2.16 m, D: 1.03 m. An inscription of four lines is preserved on the lid; the text clearly continued on the body of the sarcophagus. LH: 2 cm.

Found in the East Necropolis during Museum excavations.

Date: early third century A.D. (after 212).

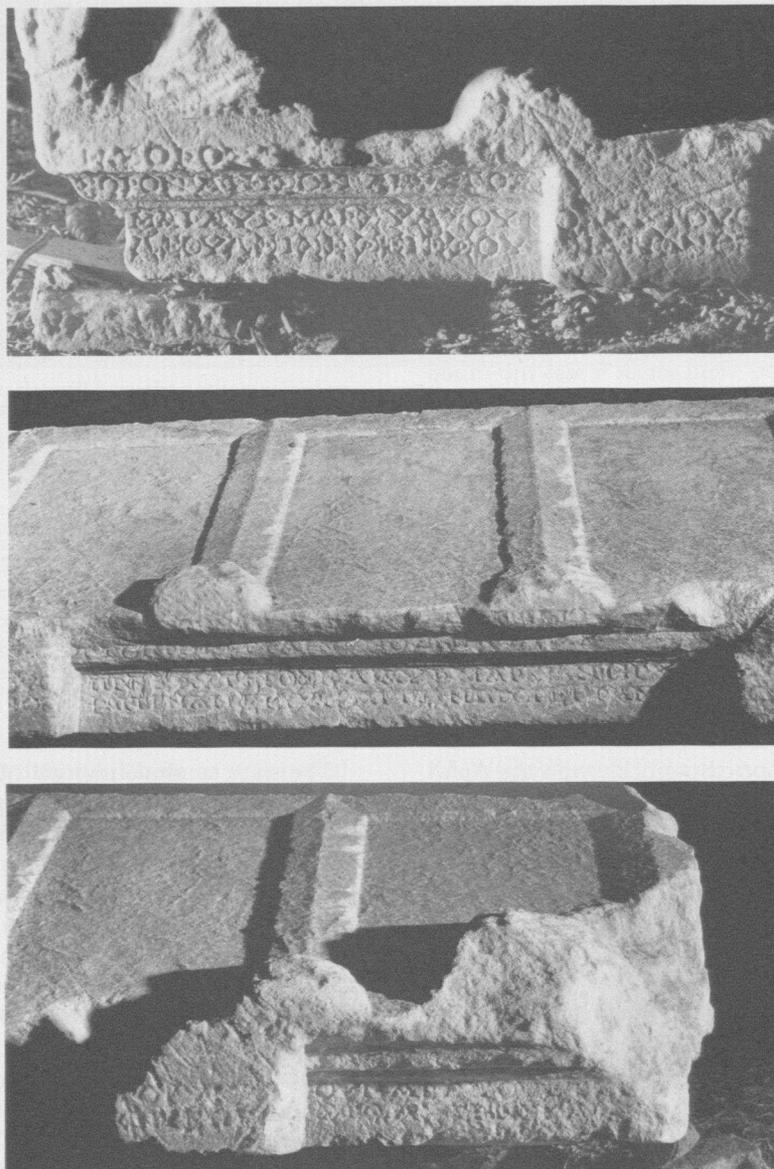


Fig. 22. Sarcophagus of M. Aurelius Marsyas and his family (S 466/I 00.008). Early third century A.D. (after A.D. 212). Aphrodisias.

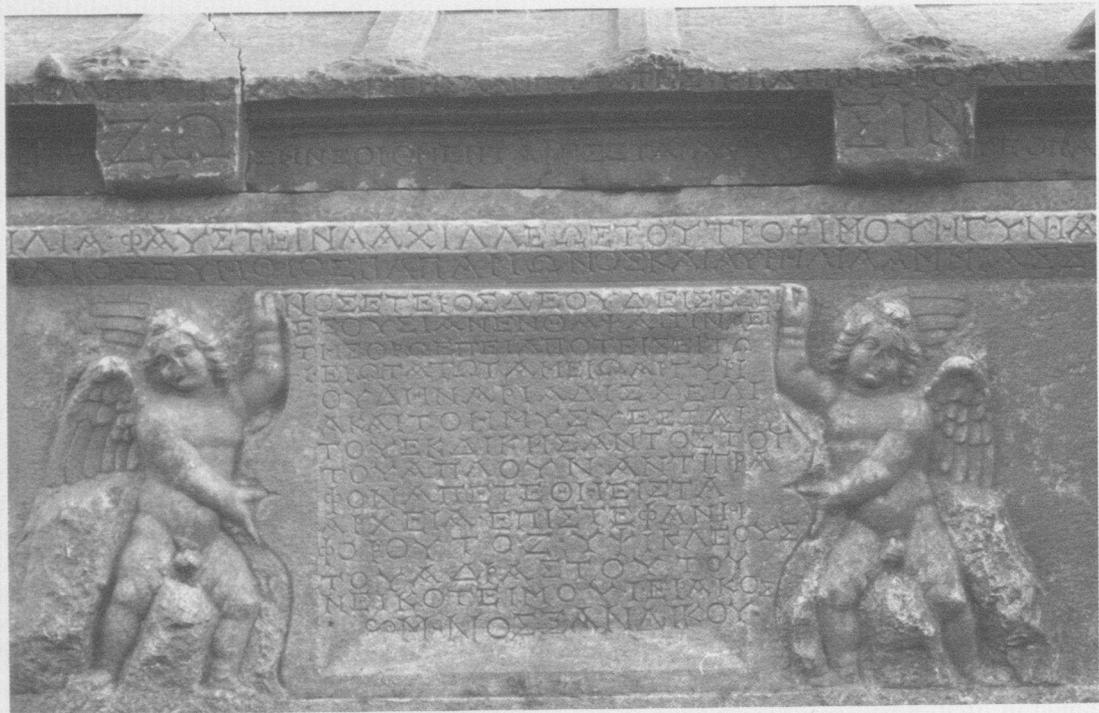


Fig. 23. Sarcophagus of Flavius Papias (S 455). Third century A.D. Aphrodisias Museum.

Interpunction in the form of a small circle after abbreviated words or names (line 1: Φλάβ., [...]ΑΓ.), at the end of sentences (line 13: ἀπλοῦν; line 15: ἀρχεῖα), before and after a number (line 16: ζ'), occasionally after names (line 1: Παπίου; line 4: Αὐρηλία; line 18: Νεικοτείμου).||1. The lid is broken after ΠΑΠΙΟ. The lower part of the apex of two horizontal lines are visible after Υ. ||2–3 The word ζῶ|ον is written with larger letters on the two bosses of the sarcophagus lid, which also divide the word εἰς in line 3 and separate the words αὐτός and τε. ||3. Ligature of NH. ||10. Ligature of MHN). ||11 ἤμισυ = ἡμισυ.

(The sarcophagus was made) while they were still alive. This is the sarcophagus of Flavius Papias, an agent (?) of the most glorious (*clarissima*) Fulvia Cervidia Vestina, the descendant of a consul. Papias himself will be buried in it, and together with him Aurelia Faustina, the daughter of his foster-child Achilleus, his own wife, and Aurelius Euethios, the son of Papparion, and Aurelia Ammias, the daughter of Straton. Nobody else will have the authority to bury anyone in this sarcophagus, because (otherwise) he will pay to the most sacred treasury (a fine) of 2,000 denarii, half of which will belong to the person who will prosecute this crime. A copy of this has been deposited in the archives. During the term of office as stephanophoros, for the seventh time, of Hypsikles Hierax, son of Adrastos, grandson of Nikotimos, in the month Xandikos.

The owner of the grave, Flavius Papias, was agent of Fulvia Cervidia Vestina, member of a Roman senatorial family (*clarissima*). The nature of his service (or his relation to Fulvia) was expressed with an abbreviated word (line 1), which is partly preserved, but can be easily restored as *πραγ(ματευτής)*, that is, agent or business representative. This word is also used in the grave inscription of Achilleus, who served as agent of the senator Tiberius Claudius Attalos (*MAMA* 8.570 lines 2f.: Ἀχιλλέως. Τι. Κλ. Ἀτάλου συνκλητικοῦ *πραγμα|τευτοῦ*). The other occupants of the grave were his wife Faustina, daughter of his own foster-child Achilleus, and two other persons (Euethios and Ammias), whose relation to Papias is not stated. Except for Papias, all the other persons have the *nomen gentile* Aurelius, which is likely to indicate a date after the *Constitutio Antoniniana*, probably shortly after A.D. 212, since their fathers (Achilleus, Papparion, Straton) seem not to have been Roman citizens.

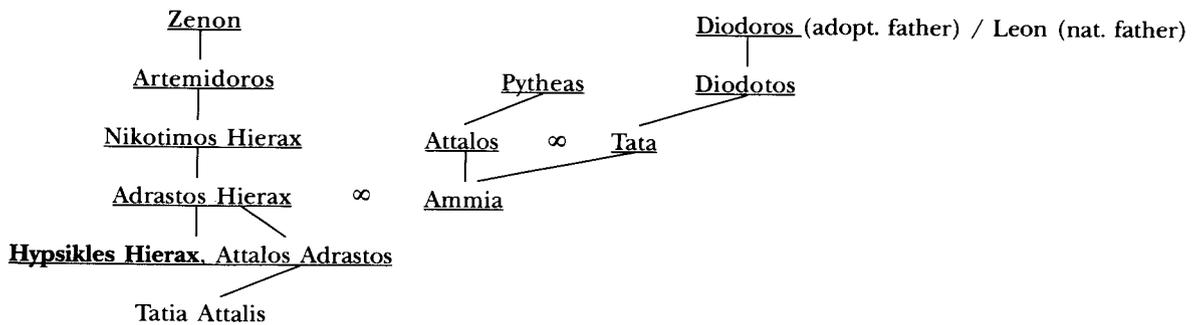
Fulvia Cervidia Vestina is most probably the daughter of Attia Cervidia Vestina, *clarissima femina* (*PIR* 2².151 no. 681a and 32.212f. no. 541), and L. Fulvius Gavius Numisius Petronius Aemilianus (*PIR* 3².212 no. 541). Her grandfather Q. Cervidius Scaevola (*PIR* 2².150f. no. 681) was a prominent jurist of the late second century. Contacts of this

family with Asia Minor were hitherto unknown. This senatorial family may have owned land in the vicinity of Aphrodisias.¹⁴⁰

The sarcophagus was made while Papias was still alive. For the prohibition of further burials, see above, no. 23. The fine of 2,000 denarii is rarely attested (see above, n. 111). The reward of the prosecutor of any violation of this would be half of the fine (1,000 denarii). Other texts, which usually mention higher fines, allow the prosecutor to keep one third (see above, n. 118). For the deposition of the document in the archives, see above, ns. 118–119. The names of the persons buried in the sarcophagus were already attested at Aphrodisias, except for Euethios and Straton.¹⁴¹

Hypsikles Hierax served as a stephanephoros at least seven times (line 16); he is also attested as stephanephoros in two sarcophagi (unpublished), found in 1993/1994 at the east Necropolis.¹⁴² The iteration of the stephanephorate is very common in Aphrodisias; Attalis, daughter of Menekrates, occupied this office at least 16 times, mostly post-mortem (*MAMA* 8.555). Hypsikles Hierax is a well known member of one of Aphrodisias's most prominent families (γένος πρώτον).¹⁴³ Reinach had re-

constructed a stemma of this family,¹⁴⁴ but several new finds make a revision necessary. His grandfather Nikotimos Hierax, son of Artemidoros, son of Zenon, served as gymnasiarchos and stephanephoros and was honored by the Aphrodisieis for his benefactions.¹⁴⁵ His father Adrastos Hierax served as high priest of the emperor cult, gymnasiarchos (twice), stephanephoros (twice), agonthetes (three times), agoranomos (four times), ekdikos, and envoy of Aphrodisias, and was one of his city's most generous benefactors.¹⁴⁶ His mother Ammia, daughter of the stephanephoros Attalos and of Tata, was also member of a prominent family (γένους πρώτου).¹⁴⁷ Hypsikles' brother Attalos Adrastos is known for his donations to Aphrodite and his city; he also served in various offices (stephanephoros, gymnasiarchos, priest of Herakles for life); his floruit can be dated to the reign of Hadrian.¹⁴⁸ His daughter Tatia Attalis served as priestess of the emperor cult and is known from a decree concerning her funeral.¹⁴⁹ Hypsikles, son of Adrastos, the donor of a decorated epistyle in the first centuries B.C./A.D. was probably one of his ancestors.¹⁵⁰ The stemma of his family can be reconstructed as follows:



Although Hypsikles Hierax lived during the reign of Hadrian or Antoninus Pius (see n. 146), his seventh stephanephorate should be dated much later, to the early third century A.D. This date is supported both by onomastical con-

siderations (the many Aurelii in this epitaph) and by the prosopography (Cervidia Vestina). Thus this inscription offers a characteristic example of an αἰώνιος στεφανηφορία (cf. above, no. 27).

¹⁴⁰ For senatorial families in Aphrodisias, see above, n. 69.

¹⁴¹ *Achilleus*: *MAMA* 8.415, 559, 570; *SEG* 31.903; 36.970 B 31. *Ammias*: *MAMA* 8.438; cf. the more common form *Ammia*: *MAMA* 8.449, 468, 528, 547. *Papirion*: *MAMA* 8.413 c 4. *Papias*: e.g., *MAMA* 8.413, 451, 481, 482, 490, 512, 513, 547, 556 c, 559, 560, 563; *ALA* 151. For Euethios and Straton, see e.g., the entries in the *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*.

¹⁴² Inv. no. 6136 (S 412) and inv. no. 6133 (S 415). For S 415, see Smith and Ratté 1996, 26, fig. 23.

¹⁴³ *MAMA* 8.483, 484, 528; cf. Reinach 1906, no. 9.

¹⁴⁴ Reinach 1906, 95; cf. Reynolds and Roueché 1992, 157.

¹⁴⁵ *MAMA* 8.483 = Reinach 1906, no. 103; *MAMA* 8.528.

¹⁴⁶ *MAMA* 8.484 = *LBW* 1602 a; *MAMA* 8.485 = Reinach 1906, no. 105.

¹⁴⁷ *MAMA* 8.528. For Ammias ancestors, see *MAMA* 8.492.

¹⁴⁸ See Reynolds and Roueché 1992, 157, with reference to still unpublished inscriptions; the published texts are *MAMA* 8.413 (= Reinach 1906, nos. 138–141) and Reinach 1906, no. 142 (his testament).

¹⁴⁹ Reinach 1906, no. 9; Reynolds and Roueché 1992, 157 (*SEG* 45.1502).

¹⁵⁰ *MAMA* 8.440; Reynolds and Roueché 1992, 157. MacDonald 1992, 14.

29. Funerary inscription of Poseidonios and his family (fig. 24)

I 00.005. Marble block, part of a funerary monument, broken at the bottom and on the right side

and damaged on the edges. H: 45 cm, W: 80 cm, D: 18 cm, LH: 2.5–3.5.

Found at Karacasu.

Date: second century A.D.

Τὸ μνημεῖον καὶ αἱ ἐ[ν α]ψ̄ιτῶ ἰσῶσται καὶ [ὁ παρα?]-
 [κ]εῖμενος ὀπίσω τοῦ μνημείου πλάτα[ς εἰσιν]
 [Π]οσειδωνίου τοῦ Ποσειδωνίου ΤΕ[c. 4-6]
 5 καὶ Ἀπφίας τῆς Ἡρακλέοντος τῆς γυναῖκος αὐ-
 τοῦ καὶ τέκνων καὶ ἐγ<γ>όνων ὡ αὐτῶν κα[ὶ] γυναῖ-
 κῶν· εἰς δὲ τὴν ἐπιτεθρομένην ὑπὸ [Ποσειδω]-
 νίου σορὸν οὐδεὶς ἕτερος ἔξει ἐξουσίαν [ἐνθά]-
 ψαι τινα ἕτερον ἢ μόνους Ποσειδωνίων καὶ Ἀπ-
 φίαν, τοὺς προγεγραμμένους· ἐπεὶ ὁ π[α]ρὰ ταῦτα
 10 τὴ ποιήσας ἔστω ἀσεβῆς καὶ ἐπάρατος καὶ τυμ-
 [β]ωρύχος καὶ προσ]αποτεισάτω τῷ ἰ[ε]ρωτάτῳ
 [ταμείῳ ---]

1. αἱ ἐ[ν α]ψ̄ιτῶ only small traces of letters. || 2. Ligature of MNHM. || 3. Ποσειδωνίου, space for one letter remained uninscribed because the stone was damaged; ΤΕ[---], possibly a second name. || 5. ΕΓΟΝΩΝ, lapis; after this word space for two letters remained uninscribed because the stone was damaged; κα[ὶ], only the left stroke of the A is preserved. || 5–6. [γυναῖ]κῶν was suggested to me by J. Reynolds. || 6. Ligature of HN and NHN. || 9. Ligature of MM.

This monument and the niches in it and the platform which is behind the monument belong to Poseidonios, son of Poseidonios [---] and Apphia, daughter of Herakleon, his wife, and to their children and their descendants and [their wives]. No one will have the authority to bury someone in the sarcophagus, which Poseidonios will place (on the platform), any other person than the aforementioned Poseidonios and Apphia alone, because the person who acts against this will be impious and accursed and a grave-robber,

and in addition to this he will have to pay to the most sacred treasury ---.

The text uses the terminology that is commonly applied to describe funerary monuments and their parts in Roman Asia Minor (μνημεῖον, σορός, πλάτας, ἰσῶσται).¹⁵¹ For the prohibitions against unauthorized burials, cf. above no. 23. The names Poseidonios and Herakleon were already attested at Aphrodisias; Apphia is one of the most common names at Aphrodisias.¹⁵²

30. Fragment of a sarcophagus

The bottom of the body of a marble sarcophagus (broken into two pieces) reused as an architrave in the Temple-Church. H: 14 cm, W: 1.84 m, D: 69 cm, LH: 2.2 cm.

Found in the Temple-Church.

Date: late second century A.D. (or later).

[----- καθὼς διὰ τῆς γενομένης διαθήκης ? ἐπὶ στεφανηφόρου]
 Ἀττάλου τοῦ Ἀδράστου τὸ ζ' μηνὸς ἰ' δηλοῦται· τῆς ἐπιγραφῆς ἀπετέθη εἰς τὸ χ[ρ]εοφυλάκιον
 ἀντίγραφον ---].

[---] as is stated [in the testament ? which was made] during the seventh stephanephorate of Attalos, son of Adrastos, in the tenth month. A copy of this inscription was deposited in the registry-office [---].

The verb δηλόω is often used in epitaphs with reference to the wishes the owner of the grave expressed in his testament; these wishes concern donations, the erection of statues, or (as proba-

bly in this case) the person allowed to be buried in the grave.¹⁵³ For Attalos son of Adrastos, see above, n. 131. Aphrodisias originally used the Macedonian calendar, but in the course of the Imperial period the months were named after members of the imperial family (Iulios, Kaisaron/Kaisar, Tiberios, Klaoudieos, Traianos Sebastos, Loios = Hadrianos) or were numbered

¹⁵¹ For Aphrodisias, see Robert 1965, 192f.

¹⁵² Poseidonios (a neopoios): unpublished, inv. no. 77.124. Herakleon: Reinach 1906, no. 12, where Ἡρακλέων (line 14)

should be corrected to Ἡρακλεῶν. Apphia: e.g., MAMA 8. 412, 469, 470, 478, 510, 517, 546.

¹⁵³ See the expression δηλῶ καὶ φανερὰ ποιῶ in the testa-



Fig. 24. Funerary inscription of Poseidonios and his family (I 00.005). Second century A.D. Aphrodisias Museum.

consecutively, as in this text.¹⁵⁴ The three systems coexisted throughout the Imperial period.

31. Fragment of a sarcophagus

Fragment of the lower part of the body of a marble sarcophagus, broken on all sides. A leaf orna-

[----- τῆς ἐπιγρα]φῆς ἀποτεθεῖσθαι ἀντίγραφ[ον εἰς τὸ]
[χρεοφυλάκιον ἐπὶ στεφανηφόρου Δομετε]ίνου Διογένους τὸ ζ' μηνὸς [---]

2 A small circle separates the number from the following word.

[—] and let a copy of this inscription be deposited in the registry-office during the seventh stephanephorate of [Domete]inos Diogenes, in the month [—].

The deposition of a copy of the funerary inscription in the archive is commonly referred to as already fulfilled in the past (ἀπετέθη, see e.g., nos. 23, 26, 28), but it can be occasionally expressed as a wish of the testator, such as in *CIG* 2827: ἀποτε|[θεῖ]σθαι δὲ τῆς ἐπιγραφῆς ταύτης ἀντίγρα-φον εἰς τὸ χρεοφυλάκιον|[ἐπὶ] στεφανηφόρου κτλ. The name of the stephanephoros is certainly

ment of Attalos Adrastus (Reinach 1906, no. 142). Cf., e.g., *CIG* 2771 I: τὰ δηλούμενα πρόσπειμα ἐν τῇ διαθήκῃ; *PPA* 55: δηλούμενα διὰ τῆς διαθήκης αὐτοῦ; *MAMA* 8.554: καθὼς καὶ διὰ] τῆς γενομένης ἐκδόσεως διὰ τοῦ χρεοφυλακίου δηλοῦται; *MAMA* 8.557 = Laum 1914, no. 107: καθὼς διὰ τῆς ἀναθέσε|ως ἧς πεπύημα ἐπὶ τῇ ἀναστάσει τῶν ἀνδριάντων ἐμοῦ τε καὶ Πολυχρονίας τῆς γυναικὸς [μου καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου δηλοῦται; *CIG* 2836 b (p. 1116) = Laum 1914, no. 109: καθὼς ἐν τῇ ἀναθέσει] δηλοῦται.

¹⁵⁴ Vagts 1920, 38f.; Robert 1966, 390f.; Jones and Smith

ment decorates the lower part of the body. H: 31 cm, W: 97 cm, D: 1.1 m, LH: 2.5 cm.

Copied by the author in 1997 in the east Necropolis, on a field south of the area where a series of sarcophagi were found in 1993/1994.¹⁵⁵

Date: second half of the third century A.D.

Δομετεῖνος, and he can be identified with Lucius Antonius Claudius Diogenes Dometeinos, who flourished about A.D. 175; his cognomina are often reversed—even in one and the same inscription.¹⁵⁶ His seventh stephanephorate, certainly post-mortem (cf. above, no. 28) is also known from another epitaph, which can be safely dated to the second half of the third century A.D.¹⁵⁷

32. Epitaph of a woman

I 00.009. Marble stele tapering to the top and extending to a triangular section topped with a circular element. The top of the circular terminal,

1994, 471f. For numbers, see *CIG* 2774, 2829; *MAMA* 8.550, 553, 565, 568, 571, 577; Reinach 1906, nos. 154, 187. It should be noted that the month Tiberios, restored in *CIG* 2817 (rejected by Robert 1966, 390), is now attested in *SEG* 46.1396.

¹⁵⁵ Smith and Ratté 1996, 25–7.

¹⁵⁶ For Diogenes Dometeinos, see *PIR* 2 C 853; Erism and Reynolds 1979, 210–6; Jones and Smith 1994, 470; Campanile 1994, 60 (Severan period).

¹⁵⁷ Jones and Smith 1994, 470 (*SEG* 44.866).

part of the left side and both bottom corners are missing. A standing female figure occupies the center of the front. She wears a chiton and himation, with her head veiled. Her right hand, enveloped in the garment, is brought over her breast, while her left arm rests by her side. The top and right side of the head, the right forearm, and the right thigh are missing. H: 55, W: 20 cm, D: 19 cm. An inscription is engraved below the figure. LH: 1 cm.

Stray find, now in Museum Depot 3.

Date: third century A.D. or later.

Διόκριτος
καὶ Φιλήμων
τῇ ἰδίᾳ τεκο[ύ]-
σῃ μνείας
χάριν

Diokritos and Philemon, to their own mother, in memory.

The name Philemon is common at Aphrodisias.¹⁵⁸ The name Diokritos was hitherto unattested for Aphrodisias.

SUNDIAL (33)

33. Sundial (fig. 25)

I 98.028 (inv. no. 98.010). Small fragment of a marble conical sundial, broken at the bottom, on the right and on the left side, preserving the hole for the support of a metal pointer on the top. H: 19 cm, W: 20 cm, D: 9 cm, LH: 0.6 cm

Found in 1998 in the Stadium, trench 4.

Date: ca. third century A.D.

[τροπαῖ χ]ειμερινᾶ[ι]
[τροπαῖ] ἰσημερι[ναί]
[τροπ]αῖ θερ[ιναί]
[-----]

2. or [vacat] ἰσημερι[α vacat].

Winter solstice, equinox, summer solstice.

Sundials of this type and with similar texts are widely known.¹⁵⁹ In Aphrodisias a sundial of Late Antique date was found in the post-scaenam piazza (the Tetrastoōn) east of the Theater.¹⁶⁰ Further fragments of stone sundials have been hitherto found in the Bouleuterion (inv. no. 65.254), in the the-

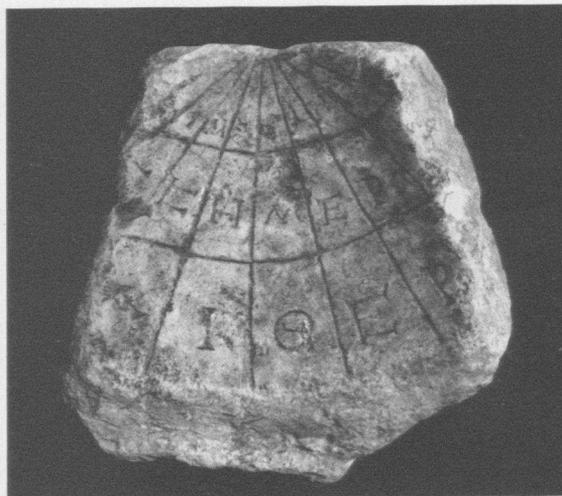


Fig. 25. Sundial (inv. 98.010/I 98.028), from Stadium trench 4. Ca. third century A.D. Aphrodisias.

ater (inv. no. 68.402 and 73.58 a and b), and to the east of the East Gate of the Agora (unpublished, inv. no. 92.53). A small unscribed sundial was found in a Christian grave (unpublished, inv. no. 90.14), and another portable bronze sundial of Late Antique date has been published by D.J. de Solla Price.¹⁶¹ Finally, Dr. Kutalmis Gorkay located in July 2002 a sundial engraved on the base of a column in "Gaudin's Fountain" (southeast of the theater).

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¹⁵⁸ See e.g., *LBW* 1635; *MAMA* 8.499, 505; *A&R* 58; *PPA* 51, 79.

¹⁵⁹ Gibbs 1976, 30–8 (conical sundials). For the text cf. Gibbs 1976, 266, no. 3047; ἰσημερία, instead of ἰσημερινὴ τροπή ὅῃ in Gibbs 1976, 189, no. 1072G and 278, no. 3058G.

¹⁶⁰ Pattenden 1981 (*SEG* 31.931). The Aphrodisian provenance of another sundial, today in the Archaeological Museum at Selçuk, is not certain (Gibbs 1976, 169, no. 1055G).

¹⁶¹ de Solla Price 1969.

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