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NEW LATE ANTIQUE EPIGRAMS FROM STRATONICEA IN CARIA

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M. Çetin Şahin has published two epigrams from Stratonicea in Caria, typical of the Late Empire in style and vocabulary, and not lacking in elegance. According to his report, “they were found near two grave monuments, immediately east of the apsis of a church together with two stylistically almost identical headless statues. I am tempted to believe that the grave monuments, the statues and the inscriptions belong together.” For the decipherment of the two epigrams, and for their English translation, Şahin thanks Gregor Staab (Cologne).¹ He gives only a minimal commentary on the two epigrams, and also on the prose inscription (no. 4 below) that honors Maximus and makes a very important reference to the tax known as the χρυσάργυρον, and hence it seems worthwhile to supply some further comment.

The first (no. 32) is carved within a *tabula ansata* on what Şahin calls an “architectural block”, that is, a block built into a wall. The block is now broken into two parts (left, 65 h, 63 w, 75 d; right, 63 h, 97 w, 75 d). The text is as follows:

† φορμίζων κιθάρη μελιήδει Πίνδαρος εἶπεν
γαίης εὐρυβότοιο καὶ ἥερος ἀμβροσίοιο
καὶ πυρὸς ἀκαμάτοιο μόνον προφερέστερον εἶναι
4 ὕδωρ ἀγλαόριθρον, ὃ καὶ μάκαρες ποθέουσι.
ᾧ πίσυνοσ γενέτης Ἀπολινάριος Στρατονίκης
ὄλκον ὄλον νεότυκτον ἐθήκατο καὶ πόρεν ὕδωρ
ἄστεϊ καὶ ναετῆρσι, πόνων ἄμπαυμα μέγιστον.

I translate: “Playing on his honey-sweet lyre, Pindar said that to wide-nourishing earth, ambrosial air, and tireless fire only bright-streaming water was superior, which the blessed ones too desire. Trusting in that, Apol(l)inarios, father of Stratonice [Stratonicea], made the whole water-course new-fashioned and provided water for the city and its inhabitants, a very great relief from pains.”

1–4. The epigrammatist is alluding the famous opening of the First Olympian, ἄριστον μὲν ὕδωρ, though his allusion is very free. Pindar does not in fact compare water to anything at all, and his implied point of comparison was the subject of disagreement in antiquity. Plato (*Euthyd.* 304 B) makes Socrates say that “water is cheapest, though best, as Pindar said”: Aristotle (*Rh.* 1, 7, 1364 A), making the point that the common is worth more than the rare, cites “Water is best” as a proverb. The scholiasts, however, have a much more elaborate explanation, that Pindar is drawing on a view of “the philosophers” that the three elements of earth, air and fire all took their origin from the fourth, water, and hence water was superior to the other three. “Doctius quam verius”, observed Wilhelm Christ, but from this epigram it appears that this view had

¹ M. Ç. Şahin, *New Inscriptions from Stratonikeia and its Territory*, *Epig. Anat.* 41 (2008) 66–68, with excellent photographs. After completing a first version of this article, I learned of the study of the same subject by G. Staab, *Zu zwei neuen Epigrammen aus Stratonikeia in Karien*, *ZPE* 170 (2009) 35–42 (henceforth referred to as “Staab”), who comes to many of the same conclusions; accordingly I have corrected and altered my previous version. I give measurements in centimeters and in the order h(eight), w(idth), d(epth). As always, I am grateful to G. W. Bowersock for his comments.

followers in Late Antiquity, and no doubt before. The epigrammatist thus shows a considerable degree of learning.²

Such a reference to Pindar accords with his high reputation in Late Antiquity, particularly but not only among pagans. A magnificent tondo portrait of Pindar discovered at Aphrodisias in the house of a Neoplatonic philosopher enables several other copies of the same portrait to be identified as his. Prose and verse authors of Late Antiquity refer to him, and the poets of the Greek Anthology who do so include Palladas in the later fourth century, and Cyrus the honorary consul and Macedonius the consul in the sixth.³ Macedonius' epigram satirically exploits this same Pindaric tag to make fun of a woman who hides her wrinkles with heavy make-up:

Οὐ λαλέει τὸ κάτοπτρον· ἐγὼ δέ σε πᾶσιν ἐλέγξω
τὴν νοθοκαλλοσύνην φύκει χριομένην.
τοῦτο καὶ ἠδυλῦρης ποτὲ Πίνδαρος [εἶδος] ἐλέγχων
εἶπεν “Ἄριστον ὕδωρ,” φύκεος ἐχθρότατον.

1 πᾶσιν Jacobs: πάλιν mss. 3 εἶδος suppl. Jacobs

4. ἀγλαόρ(ε)ιθρος, correctly formed, is hitherto unattested, though several other compounds of ῥεῖθρον are found from Homer onwards.⁴ The phrase “bright-streaming water, which the blessed ones too desire” is puzzling. Despite the reference to Pindar in the opening lines, the poet presumably cannot use μάκαρες to mean the pagan gods, but must mean the “blessed” in the after-life, a sense which the word has for Christians as well as pagans. In a Christian context “water” might refer to the rivers of Paradise, or possibly the water enjoyed by Lazarus in the bosom of Abraham (Luke 16, 19–31).

5. The antecedent of ᾧ is left somewhat unclear, though I have assumed that it is the general thought implied in the preceding lines, “water is superior to the other elements”. An epigram written by Cyrus the honorary consul in the later sixth century makes use of the same Pindaric tag, again in connection with building a pool or some other construction involving water (*Anth. Pal.* 9, 809):

Πίνδαρον ἡμερόεντα παρ' ὕδασι Κῦρος ἐγείρει,
οὐνεκα φορμίζων εἶπεν “Ἄριστον ὕδωρ.”

7. Şahin comments, “Apollinarios must have liked the city of Stratonikeia very much, since he named his daughter Stratonike.” A better explanation is that Apollinarios was πατὴρ πόλεως in his native city. This is a civic office connected above all with finance and building, and is known from inscriptions and texts of the fifth and sixth centuries, and in many provinces of the eastern

² A. B. Drachmann, ed., *Scholia Vetera in Pindarum*, 1 (1903) 17–19; W. Christ, ed., *Pindari Carmina* (1896) 3.

³ Portrait: R. R. R. Smith, *JRS* 80 (1990) 132–135, 143. The claim that Pindar “is [not] much discussed or quoted by late antique writers” (Smith 134) must be qualified: there are several quotations, for example, in Damascius' *Life of Isidore* (see the index of P. Athanassiadi's edition, p. 377). Palladas (PLRE 1, 657–658): *Anth. Pal.* 9, 175; 10, 51. Cyrus (PLRE 3, 375, Cyrus 6): *Anth. Pal.* 9, 809 (see below). Macedonius (PLRE 3, 801, Macedonius 3): *Anth. Pal.* 11, 370. Note also Them. Or. 151 C (p. 227 Downey) citing ἄριστον ὕδωρ without naming the poet. A. Gentilini, *Fortuna Neograeca di Pindaro* (Genoa, 1971) 3–11, gives a useful survey for the whole Byzantine period.

⁴ Compounds of ῥεῖθρον: C. D. Buck and W. Petersen, *A Reverse Index of Greek Nouns and Adjectives* (1945) 325, col. 2.

empire, including Caria.⁵ A metrical inscription from Sardis, celebrating a benefactor named Memnonios for renewing a building, calls him *πάτρης γενέτη[ς]* or *γενετή[ρ]*, where again the reference is to his position as *πατήρ πόλεως*.⁶ Stratonikeia has the name *Στρατονίκη* in Ptolemy, as does Mysian Stratonikeia in Eutropius, and this form of the name was convenient for hexameter poetry.⁷

The other epigram (no. 33) is carved on a statue-base (118 h, 60 w, 56 d), and reads:

† Εὐτυχῶς
 † πλοῦτον ἔχων πάντεσσιν / ἐπήρκεσας, ὦ μεγάθυμε /
 Μάξιμε, χρυσεῖς / αἶμα φέρων γενεῆς /
 μῦνος γὰρ κτεάνοισιν / ἐρύσσαο σεῖο τιθίνης /
 4 ἀνέρας ἐξ ἀχέων / ἔκ τε δυηπαθίης. /
 οὔνεκα δὴ βαρύμοχθον / ὑπὲρ πάντων φόρον ἔτλης /
 ἐκ φιλο[τι]μίας / ῥηϊδίως ὀπάσ<ας>, /
 τοὔνεκα σὲ σστήληι περιώσια / κυδαίνοντες /
 8 ζῆλον τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς / στήσαμεν ἀκτέανοι.

4 σὲ σστήληι Jones: σ' ἐσστήληι (σ' ἐν στήληι) Şahin

I translate: “With good fortune. Having wealth, you helped everyone, great-hearted Maximus, you who bear the blood of the golden race. For you alone with your wealth rescued the men of your nurse [your native city] from sorrows and misery. Since you undertook the heavily-onerous tax on behalf of all, readily giving it out of generosity, therefore, greatly honoring you with a statue, we who lack wealth have set you up, an (object of) emulation for good people.”

To take some details first, *χρυσεῖς ... γενεῆς* in 2 appears to refer to Hesiod’s “golden race” of the *Works and Days* (109–126). This, the first race of men created by the gods, lived in a golden age of plenty, and though now extinct “they [walk] everywhere upon the earth, givers of wealth (*πλουτοδόται*)”: it is presumably this last quality that shows Maximus to have their blood in his veins.⁸

In 3–4, *τιθίνης* here refers to the honorand’s native city as his “nurse”.⁹ Stephanus-Dindorf s.v. *τιθηνός* observe, “dicitur etiam de terra altrice”, and refer to Lycophron (*Alex.* 1398–1399), *τιθηνὸν ... χθόνα τοῦ νεκροτάγου*, translated in the new Budé edition as “la terre nourricière du général des défunts” (Hades). There is in fact no need to reach back so far: a Late Antique epigram from Aphrodisias refers to a local benefactor, known from other inscriptions as a *scholasticus* and father of the city, as *ἴδμονι θεσμοσύνης γλυκερῶ γενετήρι τιθίνης*, where Roueché rightly sees the last two words as a poetic periphrasis for *πατὴρ πόλεως*. Several late antique

⁵ C. Roueché, GRBS 20 (1979) 173–185; G. Dagron and D. Feissel, *Inscriptions de Cilicie* (1987) 215–220; C. Roueché, *Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity* (1989: henceforth ALA) 69–70, 77–79; J. Nollé, *Side im Altertum II* (IGSK 44, 2001) p. 468; add *Nouvelles Inscriptions d’Antioche de Pisidie* (IGSK 67, 2006) no. 110.

⁶ SEG 36, 1099 (R. Merkelbach, J. Stauber, *Steinepigramme aus dem griechischen Osten 1* [1998] 402, 04/02/04); cf. ALA 70.

⁷ Ptol. *Geogr.* 5, 2, 20 (2, 492 ed. Stückelberger and Grasshoff); Eutr. 4, 20, 2.

⁸ Hes. *Op.* 109–126, especially 156–26 (transl. G. Most, LCL).

⁹ Thus correctly Staab, 37; in his previous translation he had taken the word to mean “mother”.

epigrams play with a related idea, that “les bienfaits d’un citoyen envers sa patrie représentent les soins dûs aux parents qui vous ont élevé, les θρέπτρα ou θρεπτήρια.”¹⁰

4: *δυηπαθίη* is very rare, cited by the lexica only from Apollonius Rhodius (4, 1395) and the epigrammatist Julianus Aegyptius, of the sixth century.¹¹ In line 7, Şahin reads *σ’ ἐσστήληι*, assuming assimilation for *σ’ ἐν στήληι*.¹² But the sense requires a dative of instrument, and such an assimilation would be surprising at so late a date, whereas geminated sigma is common in all times and periods; it is better therefore to understand *σὲ σστήληι*.¹³ *στήλη* is not “a stone monument”, but “a statue”, a sense that is often misunderstood; the same sense occurs in two other inscriptions for Maximus (nos. 2 and 3 below).¹⁴

5–6. “The heavily-onerous tax” is the *collatio lustralis* instituted by Constantine and abolished by Anastasius. I defer discussion of this reference to a point later in this paper.

8: I have translated *ἀκτέανοι* as “who lack wealth”, both because the word echoes the *κτεάνοισιν* of line 3, and also because, as will be seen, these are not strictly “poor” but those tradespeople subject to the *collatio lustralis*. In no. 2 below the *ἀκτέανοι* join with the *βουλή* to honor Maximus, no doubt in connection with the same benefaction, and in no. 4, the *δῆμος* honors him on behalf of the *πένητες*, who again are not truly “poor” (*πτωχοί*) but people of the working class, *πένης* having the same root as *πόνος*.¹⁵

As already mentioned, Şahin observes that two life-size headless statues were found in the same location as the two inscriptions. He hesitates whether to assume that both represent Maximus, or whether one represents Maximus and the other Apollinarios. Both show the subject holding a scroll, and Şahin asks, “Was Maximus (*vel* Apollinarios) pronounced a saint by the inhabitants, or was he a theologian? I leave these questions open.” The scroll is a symbol of office, appropriate for a *πατήρ πόλεως* such as Apollinarios and a *θαυμασιώτατος* such as Maximus (see below), though at the same time it could indicate the subject’s culture.¹⁶

Maximus was already known from three other inscriptions of Stratonicea, which I give as 2, 3 and 4 in their order of publication:

No. 2. G. Cousin, BCH 15 (1891) 429–30, no. 20 (I. Stratonikeia 1204; R. Merkelbach, J. Stauber, *Steinepigramme aus dem griechischen Osten* 1 [1998] 221, 02/06/15). *Μάξι/[μ]ος* carved on the side. No measurements.

Θεός.

Μάξιμον εἰσοράαις με τὸν ἄστεϊ καὶ ναετήρσιν
ἡμετέρων καμάτων πολλὰ χαριζόμενον·

4 τούνεκα δ’ ἡ βουλή με καὶ ἀκτέανοι πολιῆται

¹⁰ Inscription: ALA no. 38. Lycophron: A. Hurst and A. Kolde, edd. (Budé, 2008) 80. *θρέπτρα*: Robert, *Hel-lenica* 4 (1948) 133–135, with several examples; Roueché, ALA 46.

¹¹ Anth. Plan. 16, 113, 8. On Julianus, G. Thiele, *Iulianos* 6, RE 10 (1919) 12–13; PLRE 3, 733, Iulianus 11.

¹² Followed by Staab, 38.

¹³ For this, A. Wilhelm, *Wiener Studien* 56 (1938) 70 = *Kleine Schriften*, Abt. II, Teil V, 402 and Abt. IV, Gesamtindices 274, “σσ = σ”. See also L. Threatte, *The Grammar of Attic Inscriptions* 1 (1980) 527–529, section 43.021.

¹⁴ D. Feissel, BCH 108 (1984) 547 n. 11 (SEG 34, 1754); add Feissel, *Chroniques d’Épigraphie byzantine* (2006) 399, s.v. *στήλη*.

¹⁵ Not therefore “beggars” (*Bettler*), as Staab, 38.

¹⁶ R. R. R. Smith, JRS 92 (2002) 142–143.

στήσαν κυδαλίμαις εἰκόσι λαϊνέαις
 εὐαγέων Χριστοῦ δόμων προπάροιθε θεοῦ.
 ὡς ἀγαθὸν τελέθει μὴ κτεάνων ἀλέγειν.

“You look upon me, Maximus, who bestowed on the city and its inhabitants much of our toils [i.e. my wealth gained through toil]. Therefore the council and those citizens without wealth set me up with glorious stone portraits before the holy house of the God Christ. How good it is not to care for possessions.”

3. Merkelbach and Stauber understand ἡμετέρων κομμάτων instrumentally “durch meine Mühen”: I take κάματα to mean “the fruits of our labor”, that is, “my possessions”, cf. LSJ s.v. κάματος II, “the product of toil”.¹⁷

7. The same editors correctly understand the last line as an exclamation, but end line 6 with a comma.

No. 3. E. Varinlioglu, *Epigr. Anat.* 12 (1988) 123–124, no. 87 (I. Stratonikeia 1387; SEG 38, 1163; 66 h, 103 w, 38 d).

† ΧΜΓ †
 Μάξιμον τὸν θαυμ(ασιώτατον)
 δεύτερον τῇ πόλι
 4 † πανταρχήσαντα †
 ἡ βουλή καὶ ὁ δῆμος
 ἀντὶ πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων
 τῆδε τῇ στήλῃ
 ἐτείμησεν (hedera)

2 θαυμ(ασιώτατον) Feissel, *Bull. ép.* 1990, 915 = *Chroniques d'Épigraphie byzantine* (2006) 101 no. 322: θαυμ(άσιον) Varinlioglu 3 πόλει

“Christ born of Mary (?). The Most Admirable Maximus, who twice held all offices for the city, the council and the people honored in return for many great (gifts) with this statue.”

1. The abbreviation ΧΜΓ is frequent in Christian inscriptions and papyri from the fourth century to the seventh. The resolution has been debated, and there is evidence both for Χ(ριστὸν) Μ(αρία) Γ(εννηθεῖς) and for Χ(ριστὸς) Μ(αρία) Γ(εννηθεῖς); probably it was differently understood by different users. It has now been found carved on the crown of the head in a well-known statue of Oikoumenios, a governor of Caria in the late fourth or early fifth century.¹⁸

2. The abbreviation θαυμ(ασιώτατος), Latin *admirandissimus*, is a title found between the fourth century and the seventh for functionaries below the rank of *illustris*, on which Roueché comments that “it seems to have been most widespread in the mid-fifth century”. An inscription from Aphrodisias which she tentatively dates to the late fifth century is not unlike the present one: Φίλιππος Ἡροδιαν(οῦ) ὁ θαυμ(ασιώτατος) εὐχαριστῶν τῇ οἰκίᾳ πατρίδι τὰ β' διάχορα ἐσκέπασεν. Here too a local patriot gives some kind of construction to his native city. A civic

¹⁷ In the epigram Merkelbach–Stauber I 35, no. 01/10/02 (previously I. Keramos 66), I agree with W. D. Lebek (*Epigr. Anat.* 27 [1986] 154) in taking ἐξ ἰδίων κομμάτων to mean “aus ehrenhaft erarbeiteten Geldmitteln”. So also SEG 53, 633, [ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων κα]μάτων, ὃν ἠγόρασε, κτλ. (Thessalonike).

¹⁸ Important discussion and bibliography, ALA 189–190. Statue of Oikoumenios: Smith (n. 12) 134–156, especially 150–151 with bibliography in n. 82.

office to which this title was attached was that of the ἑκδικος or *defensor civitatis*, and this may have been the position of Maximus at Stratonicea and Philip at Aphrodisias.¹⁹

4. πανταρχέω and related forms seem otherwise only to appear in the second and third centuries, at Ombos and Pelusium in Egypt and at Xanthos in Lycia; the meaning must be “holding all offices”.²⁰

7. στήλη, “statue”, as observed by Feissel, *ibid.*

No. 4. M. Ç. Şahin, *Epig. Anat.* 41 (2008) 59 no. 9. Carved within a *tabula ansata* on a wide block (60 h, 101 w, 40 th), thus a statue base, not a “stele”, as Şahin.

Ἀγαθῆ τύχῃ
 Τ(ίτον) Μάξιμον τὸν εὐεργέτην
 τρίτον τὸν τετραετηρικὸν
 4 χρυσάργυρον ὑπὲρ τῶν παι-
 νήτων ἐκ τῶν οἰκίων πόνων
 ἀπο(hedera)πληρώσαντα
 ὁ δῆμος ἀντὶ μεγάλων
 8 ἐτίμησεν τῆδε τῆ στήλῃ.
 4/5 πενήτων 5 οἰκείων

“With good fortune. T(itus) Maximus the benefactor, who three times paid the four-yearly χρυσάργυρον on behalf of the (working-)poor from his own resources, the people honored in return for his great (services) with this statue.”

Line 1. The tau of Τ(ίτον) is inscribed above the mu of Μάξιμον.

Line 2. τρίτον means “thrice”, classical τρίς,²¹ cf. no. 3, 3 above, δεύτερον.

Line 5. I take πόνου to mean “the fruits of his labors” (LSJ s.v. πόνος III), that is, his wealth, like κάματοι in no. 2, 4.

From a combination of these texts, it emerges that Maximus was a devout Christian. The abbreviation ΧΜΓ in no. 2 gives a *terminus post quem* of the fourth century, which would in any case be obvious from the language and script. The reference to the “four-yearly χρυσάργυρον” is a precious addition to knowledge of this tax, called in Latin the *collatio lustralis*. First imposed by Constantine, it fell on workers in trades and industry, including prostitutes; Zosimus observes that the burden descended “even to the humblest” (μεχρὶ τῶν εὐτελεστάτων), and like other authors, and the author of this inscription, he refers to the cycle as “four-yearly” (τετραετής). In 410 Honorius and Theodosius II enacted that “what used to be demanded at one time and on a general demand note should be paid by small, very small contributions”; presumably as a result of this measure, a papyrus dated to 426 or 441 shows the members of an Egyptian trade-guild contracting to pay a single headman 2,000,000 denarii on the 28th of each month towards the χρυσάργυρον; and in 498 Anastasius abolished the tax, making this year the approximate *termi-*

¹⁹ Philippos: ALA no. 66 (ἐσκέπασεν is perhaps classical ἐσκεύασεν via ἐσκέβασεν). Another ἑκδικος with this rank in 459: Inscr. Sardis 18, 10 (PLRE 2, 201, Aurelianus 11).

²⁰ Ombos (πανταρχέω): A. Bernard, *De Thèbes à Syène* (1989) 194 (IGR 1, 1288). Pelusion (πάνταρχος): SEG 38, 1839. Xanthos (παντάρχων or πανταρχῶν): TAM 2, 349, 382. Cf. J. Bingen, *Bull. ép.* 1989, 808.

²¹ LSJ s.v. τρίτος III 2, citing the fifth-century Neoplatonist Syrianus.

nus ante for this inscription (since it might have been inscribed after the abolition of the tax).²² Maximus, it may be supposed, acted like the Egyptian headman except that, instead of collecting the contributions from humble taxpayers, he paid the whole sum from his own funds.

Thus inscription no. 4 cannot be much later than 500: from the general style of the four texts honoring Maximus I incline to put them in the second half of the fifth century, so that they will fall early in the period of civic revival that began about the middle of that century and continued well into the sixth, while the inscription for Apollinarius might be contemporary or later. This new era of prosperity is observable at another Carian city, Aphrodisias, which saw much new construction, some of it overseen by “fathers of the city”. The contemporary *Life of Isidore* by Damascius refers in passing to generosity on the part of pagans in several cities: thus Theagenes at Athens, “a generous (φιλότιμος) and noble man, distinguished above all other Hellenes for his wealth, which he generally employed in the right way, remedying the misfortunes (πταίσματα) of some cities and helping persons in need, giving not with one hand (as the saying is) but with both”. A remarkable papyrus in Vienna, published in 2006, shows that Aphrodisias and nearby Carian cities were still functioning in the late sixth or early seventh century.²³

Not only were the inscriptions honoring Maximus inscribed at a time of rising prosperity, but nos. 3 and 4 seem also to make conscious reference to the texts honoring benefactors that are so typical of the second and third centuries; no doubt many of these were still to be seen in the public places of the city. This emerges from the way they use prose, and no. 3 refers in the fashion of another age to the βουλή and δῆμος acting in concert. It is as if Stratonicea, perhaps more thoroughly Christianized than Aphrodisias in eastern Caria, nonetheless wished to maintain continuity with its pagan past.

Özet

Yazar bu makalesinde, M. Çetin Şahin tarafından Karia'nın Stratonikeia kentinde bulunarak EA 41 (2008) 66–68, no. 32 ve 33'de fazla bir yorum yapılmaksızın yayınlanan ve hemen ardından G. Staab tarafından (*ZPE* 170, 2009, 35–42) bir makale ile yeniden ele alınan Hristiyanlık dönemine ait iki epigram üzerinde bazı önemli düzeltmeler ve yorumlar yapmaktadır. Bu şiirlerden biri (no. 32), Stratonikeia kentinin su tesisatını yaptıran Apollinarius, diğeri de (no. 33) herkesin ödemekle yükümlü olduğu ağır bir vergiyi (*collatio lustralis*) kentteki herkes adına üç kez kendi cebinden ödeyen (ve diğer üç Stratonikeia yazıtında da adı geçen) Maximus adındaki bir diğer iyiliksever için yazılmıştır. Yazara göre gerek Apollinarius ve gerekse Maximus için yazılan bu şiirler muhtemelen çağdaş olup, özellikle Maximus'u onurlandıran dört adet yazıt İ.S. V. yüzyılın ikinci yarısındaki refah dönemine tarihlenmelidir.

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²² On the χρυσάργυρον, O. Seeck, *Collatio lustralis*, RE 4 (1900) 370–376, esp. 371 on the collection-cycle; Jones, *Later Rom. Emp.* 1, 431–432; 2, 871–872; 3, 108–109, and index s.v. *collatio lustralis*: I have followed his account closely. Zosimus: 3, 13, 2. Arcadius: Cod. Theod. 13, 1, 20, quoted by Jones, 3, 292, n. 117. Papyrus: PSI 12 (1951) 1265. Anastasius: E. Stein, *Histoire du Bas-Empire* 2 (1949) 203–204.

²³ Building activity: Roueché, ALA 77–78, 86–87 (Asclepiodotus), 125–136 (Albinus), 136–41 (Rhodopaeus). Theagenes: Suda s.v. Θεογένης, 2, 687, 3 Adler (Dam. Isid. fr. 257 Zintzen, 100 Athanassiadi: my translation). Papyrus: Fr. Mitthof and A. Papatomas, *Chiron* 34 (2004) 401–424; D. Feissel, *Bull. ép.* 2006, 546.