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TWO NEW DECREES FROM IULIA GORDOS AND LORA

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TWO NEW DECREES FROM IULIA GORDOS AND LORA*

During a trip one of us (HM) made in the region SW of Iulia Gordos in 1998, four pieces of inscribed marble stelai were discovered reused in an old fountain (Hıdır Çeşmesi) located *ca.* 1 km from the village of Tüpüler in the direction of Kayacık. One of the pieces belongs to a nearly complete stele of substantial dimensions (no. 1 here); the other two fragments, though they do not join perfectly, undoubtedly belong to another huge stele (no. 2 here), and the fourth one is the part of another huge stele recording a *post mortem* honorific inscription and a funerary epigram for Stratonike, daughter of Papias (this text, together with some other ones from Tüpüler, will be published elsewhere)¹.

Newly found inscriptions record *post mortem* honours for two related individuals: Attalos, son of Dionysios (no. 1) and Attalos, son of Menandros (no. 2). In both instances, private honours are followed by an honorific decree, the first one decreed by ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἰουλιέων and ὁ Λορηνῶν δῆμος, the second one by ἡ Ἰουλιεύων (!) Γορδηνῶν βουλή and δῆμος together with a group of local Roman businessmen (πραγματευόμενοι/*negotiatores*). One of the more distinctive features of these decrees, reminiscent of two other inscriptions from the same area², is that they dwell on the sentiments of honoured individuals for their family members. The identity of personal names and the curse formulas appended to both inscriptions indicate that Attalos of no. 1 was the grandfather of Attalos of no. 2 (see the family stemma below), and that both stelai originally marked the same family tomb. It will come as no surprise to discover that the two new inscriptions bring new attestations of distinguished local families already known from other inscriptions originating from Iulia Gordos.

1. Honours for Attalos, son of Dionysios

Tüpüler (Hıdır Çeşmesi) / SW of Iulia Gordos. Nearly complete marble stele with an olive wreath carved between lines 4 and 5. Left and right edges of the stone are damaged. Dim. 171 cm x 63 cm x 16.5 cm, letters 1.5 cm. Now in the Manisa Museum (Inv. no. 9004).

Date: c. first quarter of the first century A.D.

[
Τατιάς Ἰατταλον τὸν πατέ[ρα, Μέ]-
νανδρος τὸν πενθερόν, Κλέων,
Ἰατταλος τὸν πάππου*, οἱ συγγεν[εῖς]
4 Ἰατταλον. Χαῖρε.
wreath

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¹ H. Malay wishes to record his gratitude to Hasan Dedeoğlu, the former Director of the Manisa Museum, and C. Tanrıver (Ege University) for their kind help during the work around Tüpüler.

² TAM V 1, 687/8.

- [Εἰ] μὴ τῷδε τάφῳ κραδίη ὑπέκειτο λέοντος
 [ο]ὔκ ἂν ἐγὼ στήλῃη τῆδ' ἐπέθηκα πόδας.
vac. Ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἰουλιέων *vac.* ὁ Λορηνῶν δῆμο[ς]
- 8 *vac.* ἐτείμησαν Ἴατταλον Διονυσίου *vac.*
vac. χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ.
 [Εἰ]σανγελιάντων Μενάνδρου τοῦ Δημητρί-
 [ο]υ, Λευκίου Ἀντωνίου (Εὐ)φρονος, Ἀσκληπίδου το[ῦ]
- 12 Ἐφαιστίωνος στρατηγῶν, γνώμη Μητρο-
 [φ]άνου τοῦ Νέωνος τοῦ γραμματέως·
 [ἐπ]εῖ Ἴατταλος Διονυσίου ἀνὴρ καλὸς καὶ ἀ-
 [γα]θός, γένους ἐνδοξοτάτου ὑπάρχων, ἔν τε
- 16 [τα]ῖς ἐνχειρισθείσαις ἄρχαῖς ἄρχαῖς ἀνδρῶ-
 [τ]ατα καὶ πιστότατα ὑπηρετήσας τῇ πατρίδ[ι]
 [κ]αὶ ἐν ταῖς λοιπαῖς χρεῖαις παρεσχημένο[ς]
 [ἐ]αυτὸν εὐχρηστον, ἔν τε τῷ τῆς στρατηγί[ας]
 20 [τ]ῆς ἑαυτοῦ καιρῷ, ἐκ πολλῶν ἐτῶν τοῦ φόρ[ων]
 [χ]άρτου συνπεφυρμένου, τῇ ἑαυτοῦ ἐπιμελ[εία],
 [π]ᾶσα(ν) σπουδὴν εἰσενενκάμενος, διορθώ-
 [σ]ας ἀποκαθέστησε τὸν χάρτην τῷ δήμῳ· φ[ι]-
- 24 [λ]οτέκνωσ δὲ διακείμενος πρὸς τὴν θυγατέρα
 [κ]αὶ συναπαθῶς πρὸς τὸν γαμβρόν, πρὸς τε τὰ
 [τέ]κνα τῆς θυγατρὸς φιλοστοργίᾳ χρησάμε-
 [ν]ος, σπουδαῖον δὲ καὶ πιστὸν πρὸς τε τοὺς
- 28 [συ]γγενεῖς βίον ζήσας, σωφροσύνη τε διαφέ-
 [ρω]ν καὶ κατὰ πάντα πάσης ἀρετῆς μέτρον
 [ἐ]κπεπληρωκώς, τὰ νῦν εἰς τὸ χρεῶ μεθέστη·
 [δ]ιὸ ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ κλεισθῆ-
 32 [ν]αι τὰ βαλανεῖα, τειμηθῆναι δὲ αὐτὸν ἀγά[λ]-
 [μ]ατι μαρμαρίνῳ καὶ εἰκόνι γραπτῇ, ὧν τὴν ἀ-
 [νά]θεσιν γενέσθαι ἐν ἐπισήμῳ τῆς πόλε-
 [ως] τόπῳ ἐν ᾧ ἂν Μένανδρος ὁ γαμβρὸς αὐ-
- 36 [τοῦ] αἰρήται καὶ ἐπιγραφῆναι *vac.* “ὁ δῆμος ἐτε[ί]-
 [μη]σεν Ἴατταλον Διονυσίου, πίστει καὶ ἀν[δ]-
 [ρε]ίᾳ καὶ σωφροσύνη διενηνοχότα, ἀρετῆ[ς]
 [τ]ῆς ἕνεκα πάσης”· ἐνχαραχθῆναι δὲ τοῦ ψη-
- 40 [φ]ίσματο(ς) τὸ ἀντίγραφον εἰς (σ)τήλῃην καὶ ἀνα[σ]-
 [τ]αθῆναι ἐπὶ τοῦ μνημῆου.

vac.

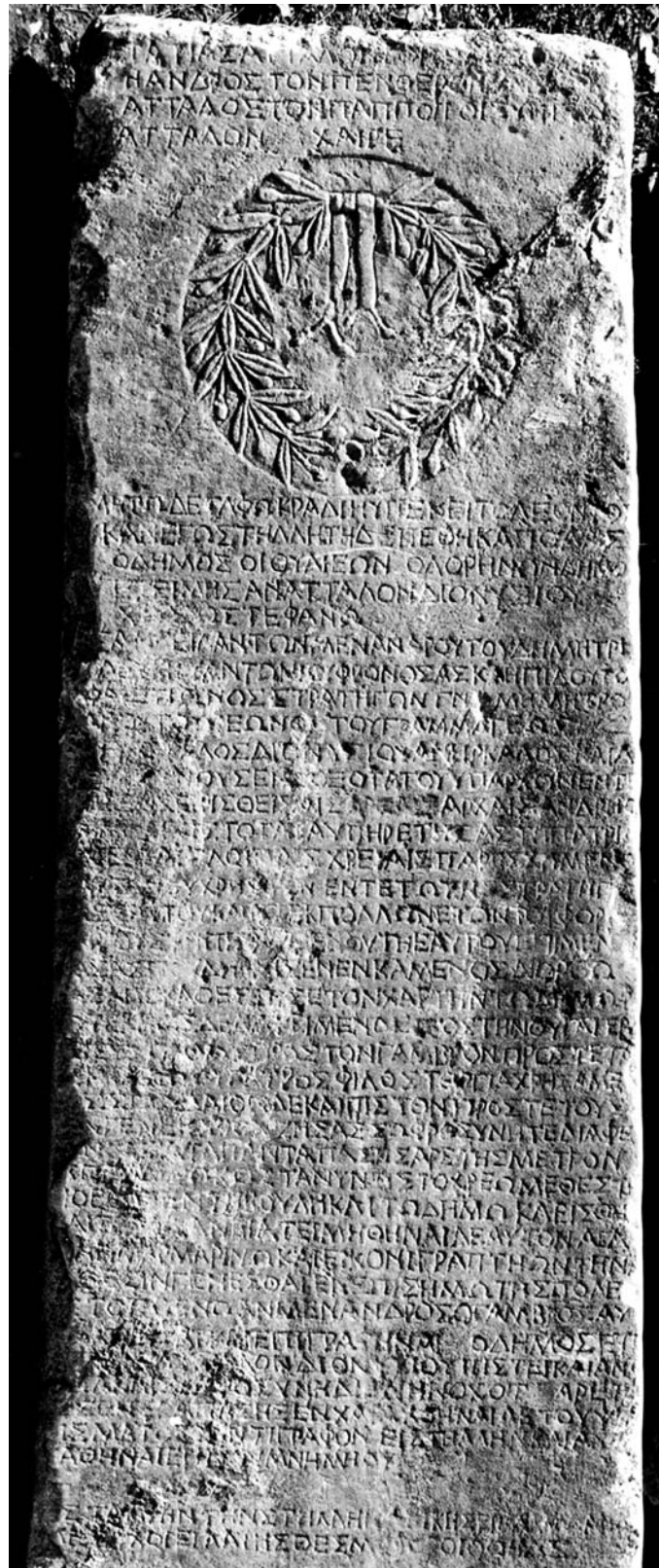
ὅς ταύτην τὴν στήλῃην ἀδικήσει ἢ ἄλλο(ν) [τ]αφήσ[ει],
 μὴ τύχοι εἰλαίης Θεσμοφόροιο Θεᾶς.

3 ΠΑΠΠΟΠ *lapis*.

10 For the formula εἰσανγελιάντων (τῶν) στρατηγῶν see P. Herrmann, *Anz. Wien* 1974, 440 and the following inscription.

11 ΑΝΤΩΝΙΟΥΦΡΟΝΟΣ *lapis*.

16 ἄρχαῖς ἄρχαῖς, dittography corrected by the stone-cutter.



16–7 ἀνδρῆό[τ]ατα (η instead of εἰ), cf. *SEG* 15, 748 (Phokaia, before 48 B.C.): ἀνδρῆως, and μνημῆου in l. 41 of this inscription.

22 ἸΑΣΑΣΠΟΥΔΗΝ *lapis*.

23–4 On the term φιλοτέκνως see L. Robert, *Hellenica* XIII, 228. The references to the affection displayed by deceased people towards their relatives are prominent in this region [cf. *TAM* V, 1, 687, also from Iulia Gordos, and the second new inscription (frg. B), with three occurrences (ll. 6, 13 and 16)]. On the term συμπάθεια see P. Herrmann, *Anz. Wien* 1974, 442, note 13, referring to L. Robert, *REA* 62, 1960, 326, note 3 (= *OMS* II, 842).

30 τὰ νῦν has the same meaning as νῦν δὲ (cf. C. Asdracha, *Arch. Delt.* 51–52, 1996–7, *Meletes*, 356, no. 179.3; L. and J. Robert, *La Carie* II, no. 40.14: τὰ νῦν μετήλλαχεν; *TAM* V 1, 687.17–18: τὰ νῦν δεδόχθαι).

39 For the verb ἐγχαράσσειν see L. Robert, *Hellenica* VI, 33, note 2, and A. Wilhelm, *Neue Beiträge*, 263f.

39–40 ΨΗ/.ΙΙΣΜΑΤΟ and ΕΙΣΤΗΛΛΗΝ *lapis*.

41 For the form μνημῆον cf. e.g. *SEG* 2, 674; 27, 310, 771; 30, 1341; 53, 1688; 54, 1177; 56, 1309.

43 εἰλαίης is the irregular feminine form of ἴλαος, -ον (ἴλαος also in a Mantinean legal inscription *IG* V 2, 262 = G. Thür – H. Taeuber, *Prozessrechtliche Inschriften der griechischen Poleis: Arkadien (IPArk)*, 1994, 8, ca. 460 B.C.), later found as indeclinable ἴλεως. For the term see Ch. Naour, *ZPE* 44, 1981, 21, H. S. Versnel, *ZPE* 58, 1985, 255 and 260–1, and J. Strubbe, *ΑΡΑΙ ΕΠΙΤΥΜΒΙΟΙ*, 42. In frg. B.37 we find the adverbial form εἴλωος.

... *Tatias (honoured) her father Attalos, Menandros his father-in-law, Kleon, Attalos their grandfather, the relatives Attalos. Farewell!*

'If a lion's heart did not lie in this grave, I would not have put my feet (next) to this stele'.

The People of Iulia and the People of Lora honoured Attalos, son of Dionysios with a golden wreath.

The (following) proposal was introduced by (the) strategoi Menandros, son of Demetrios, Lucius Antonius <Eu>phron, Asklepidēs, son of Hephaistion, with the consent of Metrophanes, son of Neon, the secretary: since Attalos, son of Dionysios – a man of perfect character belonging to a most noble family, who in the offices entrusted to him most valiantly and loyally served his fatherland, and also provided his assistance in the other needs, and who in the time of his own strategia, when the tribute-roll had been for many years in disorder, through his own diligence, putting great efforts into it, set it straight and restored the (tribute)roll to the People, a loving father to his daughter and affectionate (father-in-law) to his son-in-law, who treated his daughter's children with tender love and behaved with virtue and honesty towards his relatives, a man excelling in moderation, and in every respect a man who had reached full measure of complete excellence – (since he) has now departed to the unavoidable place, it was decreed by the Council and the People that the baths be closed and Attalos be honoured with a marble statue and a painted image which will be set up in a conspicuous place in the city, wherever Menandros, his son-in-law, chooses, and the following text be inscribed: "The People honoured Attalos, son of Dionysios, a man who excelled in honesty, courage and soundness of mind, for all his virtue"; moreover, a copy of the decree will be inscribed on a stele and erected by the tomb.

Whoever damages this stele or buries someone else, may he not find Goddess Thesmophoros favourable.

Since the name of the honouree is preserved in the first line, the text might be complete, with the exception of a date that could have been present in the missing part.

The inscription consists of:

- a) Honours bestowed on Attalos by his daughter, son-in-law, grandsons and relatives (1–4).
- b) Funerary epigram (5–6).
- c) Honours decreed to Attalos by the People of Iulia and Lora (7–9).

d) Honorary decree by the Council and People [of Iulia Gordos] (10–41): a long ἐπί- clause constructed with participles (ὑπάρχων, ὑπηρετήσας, παρεσχημένος, εἰσενενκάμενος, διορθώσας, διακείμενος, χρησάμενος, ζήσας, διαφέρων, ἐκπεπληρωκώς) and two finite verbs (ἀποκαθέστηκε and μεθέστη) is followed by the decisions expressed in a series of infinitives (κλεισθῆναι, τιμηθῆναι, γενέσθαι, ἐπιγραφῆναι, ἐνχαραχθῆναι, ἀνασταθῆναι).

e) Curse against the desecrators of the grave (42–43).

Date: since Attalos honoured in this inscription was the grandfather of Attalos Junior of no. 2 (dated in 69/70 A.D.), no. 1 should precede no. 2 by a few decades, so that it probably dates from the first or the second quarter of the first century A.D.

1–4 The same Attalos, son of Dionysios, is attested in another inscription from Iulia Gordos containing funerary honours decreed by the city council to Stratonike, daughter of Dionysios and wife of Attalos, son of Dionysios³. That inscription also mentions Stratonike's daughter and son-in-law without adducing their names (l. 10), but there should be no doubt that they are identical to Tatias and Menandros featuring in both new texts. In addition to Stratonike's own qualities (ll. 10–13: πολὺ δὲ ἀρετῇ διενένκασα καὶ σωφροσύνη γυναικῶν, ὥστε κα[ι]νὸν ὑπογραμμὸν εὐρηκέναι αὐτὴν οἰκοδεσποσύνης), special emphasis is put on her husband's inherited benevolence towards the People of Iulia Gordos (ll. 16–17: διὰ γένους εἰς τὸν δῆμον σπο[υ]δῆ). Stratonike was honoured with a painted portrait and a marble statue with an inscription. Obviously, her inscription precedes in date both new inscriptions, possibly by a longer time-period⁴, since it contains no mention of her grandchildren.

Attalos's son-in-law Menandros featuring in ll. 1–2 and 35 of no. 1 (and also in no. 2, frg. B.33) comes from a distinguished local family, as well. We encounter him in the inscription TAM V 1, 701 (12/3 A.D.)⁵. He is probably identical to Menandros, son of Menandros and Apphias, brother of Kleon and Demetrios, especially since, as shown by the new inscriptions, one of his own sons from the marriage to Tatias was also named Kleon⁶. Other members of the same family

³ TAM V 1, 688: [Εἰ]σανγυλιάντων τῶν στρατηγῶν [...]ου τοῦ Ἀσκληπιάδου, Ἀρτεμιδώρου τοῦ / Ἀσκληπιάδου, Ἡρακλείδου τοῦ Ἀπολω/νίου καὶ γραμματέως τοῦ δήμου Γαίου / Ἰουλ[ί]ου Γα(ίου) υἱοῦ Θεοδότου. / ἐπεὶ Στρατονίκη Διονυσίου, γυνὴ Ἀτάλου τοῦ Διονυσίου, ζήσασα σεμνῶς / καὶ ἀν(ε)λένκτως πρὸς τοὺς ἰδίους, φιλαν/θρωπώτατα διατεθε[ί]σα πρὸς τε τὴν / θυγατέρα καὶ τὸν γαμβρόν, πολὺ δὲ ἀρε/τῇ διενένκασα καὶ σωφροσύνη γυναι/κῶν, ὥστε κα[ι]νὸν ὑπογραμμὸν εὐρηκέ/να αὐτὴν οἰκοδεσποσύνης, δεδόχθα[ι] / τῇ βουλῇ διὰ τε τὴν τῆς κατοικουμένης / σωφροσύνην καὶ διὰ τὴν Ἀτάλου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς διὰ γένους εἰς τὸν δῆμον σπο[υ]δῆ(ν) τιμηθῆναι αὐτὴν εἰκόν[ι] γραπτῇ καὶ / ἀγάλματι μαρμαρίνῳ· ὧν καὶ τὴν ἀνάθε[σιν] / γενέσθαι, οὗ ἂν οἱ ἴδιοι αὐτῆς βούλω[νται] κ[αί] ἐπιγραφῆν γεν[έ]σθαι, ὅτι ὁ δῆ[μος] τει/μᾶ] Στρατ[ονί]κην ἀρετῆ]ς ἐνεκ[εν] πάσης].

⁴ Note, for example, that the secretary of the people is named *Gaius Iulius* Theodotos.

⁵ Ἔτους ρ' καὶ ζ', μην(ός) Περειτίου ε' ἀπιόντος. / ὁ δῆμος ἐτείμησεν Κλέωνα Μενάνδρο[υ] / ἀρετῆς ἔνεκε πάσης, / Μηνᾶς Κλέωνα τὸν ἄνδρα, Ἀπφιάς Κλέωνα / τὸν υἱόν, Μενάνδρος καὶ Ἀπφιάς τὸν πατέρα, / Δημήτριος καὶ Μενάνδρος Κλέωνα τὸν ἀδελ/φόν, Ἀμμιάς τὸν γαμβρόν, οἱ περὶ Δίωνα / πενθεριδεῖς τὸν γαμβρόν. / τὸ μνημα σπεύσας τελέσαι πατρὸς νέκυος, παροδεῖτα, / οὐκ εἶδεν ὁ τάλας, ὅτι δεῖ ταχέως μεθάνοντα / ἐν τούτῳ πρῶτον κείσθαι τῶν ἄλλων νεώτερον ὄντα / καὶ προλιπεῖν ἄλοχον λυγρὰν καὶ νήπια τέκνα / ἐν πολλαῖς ὀδύνας τὴν γεννήσασαν ἀφεῖναι. / τῆς πατρίδος δὲ ταγείς ἄρχων οὐκ ἔφθασα ζήσας / καὶ δεῖξαι πᾶσιν, ὅτι ἤμην χρηστὸς ἄπασ[ιν]· τούνομα δὲ εἰμι Κλέων, ἀτυχέστατος· [ἐστερόμην γάρ], / ὧν ἔσχον ἀγαθῶν καὶ ἡλικίης [ἐρατεινῆς].

⁶ Another, less likely possibility, in view of the time-frame for the TAM V 1, 701 and both new inscriptions, would be to identify him with the younger Menandros, son of Kleon and Menas (TAM V 1, 701.5; in l. 12 Menandros and his sister Apphia are referred to as νήπια τέκνα by their father).

are probably the *strategos* Menandros, son of Demetrios in l. 10 of the new inscription, and the homonymous γραμματεὺς τοῦ δήμου attested in TAM V 1, 687 (75/6 A.D.)⁷.

5–6 Unless we are dealing with an example of independent derivation from handbooks of epigraphic motifs and formulas, these two lines rework *Anth. Pal.* 7.344*bis* (= 7.344.3–4)⁸. This distich was either the second part of Simonides’s epigram for the leonine sepulchral monument of Leonidas or an independent epigram anthologized side by side with it because of the similarity of its rhetorical strategy – namely the *figura etymologica* between the lion and the ‘leonine’ name of the deceased.⁹ Bearing in mind that the inspiration for our distich possibly comes from an epigram authored by Simonides, where the lion guarding the tomb of Leonidas uttered the praise of the tomb’s owner¹⁰, it is a reasonable assumption that there was a statue of lion guarding Attalos’s final resting place, as well¹¹. Attalos’s courage (‘lion’s heart’ in the epigram) is stressed in the rest of the inscription, as well (ll. 16–7: ἀνδρῶ[τ]ατα; 37–8: ἀν[δρε]ί[α]).

7–8 These lines specify that the decision to honour Attalos with a golden wreath was made by two δήμοι – of Iulia (= Iulia Gordos) and Lora¹², while in lines 31 and 36 only one *boule* and *demos*, of Iulia Gordos, are mentioned. The city of Lora is known from Cicero, Pliny¹³ and a few epigraphic records¹⁴. Its citizens feature in the well-known Ephesian list of communities and conventus with the mention of various duties (70–96 A.D.)¹⁵ as Λορηναῖοι οἱ νῦν λεγόμενοι Φλαουσιπολεῖται. It is remarkable and perhaps attributable to some *sympoliteia*-agreements that four out of five inscriptions mentioning Lora couple this city together with another community: in three cases¹⁶, *Lorenoi* join the *demos* of *Ioulieis Gordenoi* in honouring some persons, while the fourth inscription¹⁷ records the honours jointly decreed by the *Lorenoi* and *Thyateirenoi*. This last discovery led some scholars to look for Lora between Iulia Gordos and Thyateira. However, P. Herrmann hesitatingly placed the city within the triangular between Haciosmanlar,

⁷ Ll. 5–7: γνώμη γραμματέος τοῦ δήμου Μενάνδρου τοῦ Δημητρίου.

⁸ Θηρῶν μὲν κάρτιστος ἐγὼ, θνατῶν δ’ ὄν ἐγὼ νῦν / φρουρῶ, τῷδε τάφῳ λαίνῳ ἐμβεβαός. / Ἄλλ’ εἰ μὴ θυμόν γε Λέων ἐμόν οὐνομά τ’ εἶχεν, / οὐκ ἂν ἐγὼ τύμβῳ τῷδ’ ἐπέθηκα πόδας.

⁹ The authors would like to thank Marco Fantuzzi (Università degli Studi di Macerata) and Andrej Petrović (Durham University) for their generous assistance with ll. 5–6.

¹⁰ For the lion speaking from the tomb to the passers-by and the lions guarding the tomb in general, cf. *GVI*, 1843 = É. Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques de l’Égypte gréco-romaine. Recherches sur la poésie épigrammatique des Grecs en Égypte*, 1969, 68; *SEG* 30, 1562; *IG* VII 2544; S. Mitchell, *RECAM II: The Ankara District. The Inscriptions of North Galatia*, 1982, 238; *IG* XII 2, 285 and *Anth. Pal.* 7.426 (the last two references were kindly provided by A. Petrović).

¹¹ We have seen quite a number of these leonine statues preserved in the museums exhibiting archaeological finds from Lydia and preserved in the villages from the same region (for a group of statues of lions in funerary context see C. H. Roosevelt, *The Archaeology of Lydia, from Gyges to Alexander*, 165–171).

¹² The same phrasing is found in TAM V 1, 702.2–4, 36/7 A.D. (ὁ δήμος ὁ Ἰουλιέων Γορ/δηνῶν καὶ ὁ Λορην(ῶν) δήμος and 703.2–4 (ὁ δήμος ἐτίμησεν ὁ Ἰουλιέων / Γορδηνῶν καὶ ὁ Λορηνῶν δήμος), both found in Gördes.

¹³ *NH* V 111: *Sardiana iurisdictio ... extra praedictos Macedones, Cadieni, Loreni, Philadelphini ...* The word “Loreni” appears only in two manuscripts (R and E), added in a different handwriting.

¹⁴ For testimonies see TAM V, 1, p. 255 and nos. 702–3 and TAM V, 2, 1095, to which add now also Herrmann–Malay, *New Docs.*, 24 = *SEG* 57, 1176.

¹⁵ Chr. Habicht, *JRS* 65, 1975, 64–91 (*Ieph*, 13; *SEG* 37, 884 l.7–8).

¹⁶ TAM V 1, 702–3, and the new inscription for Attalos Senior.

¹⁷ TAM V 2, 1095 (Haciosmanlar, undated) (= *SEG* 29, 1322, cf. *Bull. ép.* 1977, 450): ὁ δήμος ἐτίμησεν / ὁ Λορηνῶν καὶ ὁ Θυα/τε[τ]ηρηνῶν.

Akçaalan and Kavakalan in the map at the end of *TAM*, V 1¹⁸. As already mentioned, the huge stone with the new honorific decree of the *Lorenoi* was found near Tüpüler SW of Iulia Gordos. Considering its considerable size, it is hardly likely that it had been transported to Tüpüler from a remote place like Hacıosmanlar which lies in another part of this mountainous district. Indeed, this is supported by a recently published funerary inscription recording *post mortem* honours by ὁ δῆμος ὁ Λορηνῶν to a certain Aphia, from Korubaşı (formerly Eğrit)¹⁹. For the location of Lora, therefore, it would be reasonable to think of a place in the vicinity of Kayacık, Tüpüler and Korubaşı (Eğrit). If that is accepted, then the attribution of the decree of *TAM* V 1, 688 from Kayacık to Iulia Gordos should be reconsidered²⁰.

10–3 The same procedure for voting decrees in Iulia Gordos, with the proposals being introduced by the *stratego*i in accordance with the opinion of the *grammateus tou demou*, was already known from *TAM* V 1, 687–8. It is a testimony to the growing importance of secretaries of the people noticeable elsewhere in Roman Asia Minor²¹.

10–1 For Menandros, son of Demetrios, cf. the commentary on Attalos's son-in-law Menandros.

11–2 The secretary Metrophanes, son of Neon, almost certainly reappears in *TAM* V 1, 702 (36/7 A.D.)²² burying his son Neon along with his family members.

19–23 One of the offices held by Attalos was that of a *strategos*. In this capacity he dealt with the problems of archival record-keeping in Iulia Gordos²³. This is undoubtedly one of the most interesting passages of the new inscription. It provides a rare type of information relating to the unsatisfactory state of urban record-keeping in the provinces of the Roman Empire²⁴; this time it involves the record-book of *phoros*-payments by the city of Iulia Gordos to the Roman public treasury. It is common knowledge that, used as a *terminus technicus*, the term *phoros* in the Imperial period designates direct taxes (*tributum soli/capitis*) paid by the senatorial provinces to the Roman *aerarium*.²⁵ The rare verb συμφύρω 'mess up, disfigure, confuse, confound' is used to describe the situation encountered by Attalos: ἐκ πολλῶν ἐτῶν τοῦ φόρ[ων χ]άρτου συνπεφυρμένου. *Chartes* is the *terminus technicus* for a 'roll of papyrus' of twenty sheets²⁶, but in this case it stands for the 'record-book/roll' (synonymous with τεύχος²⁷ or τόμος) of direct

¹⁸ See also his note on *TAM* V 2, 1095.

¹⁹ Herrmann–Malay, *New Docs.*, 24 (= *SEG* 57, 1176). *TAM* V 1, 775 (46/5 B.C.), also found at Korubaşı/Eğrit, mentions an unidentified *demos* (Lora?).

²⁰ On the possible location of Lora, cf. also C. Foss, *AS* 37, 1987, 91 (at or near Şahinkaya, *i.e.* 'Plateia Petra', as it was called in some Byzantine sources; see *TAM* V 1, p. 256 and the map).

²¹ Cf. S. Dmitriev, *City Government in Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor*, 2005, 277–8.

²² [Ὶ]τους ρ' καὶ κα', μη(νὸς) Ξανδικοῦ α' / ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἰουλιέων Γορ/δηνῶν καὶ ὁ Λορην(ῶ)ν δῆ/μος ἐτίμησεν Νέωνα Μη/τροφάνου. / Μητροφάνης Νέωνα τὸν / υἱόν, Ἀπιφιάς καὶ Μέναν/δρος τὸν ἀδελφόν, Θυνεί/της τὸν πενθεριδῆ, Ἀλκῆ / τὸν πρόγονον, Ἀρτεμίδω/ρος καὶ Ἀμμιάς τὸν ἀδελ/φιδοῦν, οἱ συγγενεῖς καὶ / οἰκέται χρυσῶ στεφάνῳ.

²³ We are most grateful to C. P. Jones for helping us understand correctly this part of the inscription.

²⁴ For different types of problems present in urban archives of Sibidunda and Tlos that required the intervention of an Emperor and a governor respectively, cf. *SEG* 19, 854 and 33, 1177. An earlier, Hellenistic example is provided by the law on archives from Paros (*SEG* 33, 679).

²⁵ In the case of Iulia Gordos, the proceeds would go the *fiscus Asiaticus*-branch of the *aerarium*.

²⁶ Cf. T. C. Skeat, *Aegyptus* 75, 1995, 88–9.

²⁷ On the meaning of *teuchos* in archival context cf. P. Sängler, *Arch. f. Papyrusforsch.* 53, 2007, 15–30.

taxes paid by the city of Iulia Gordos. With his customary vigour, Attalos took great pains and succeeded in straightening out the situation and ‘returning the *chartes* to the People’.

23–8 These lines refer to the harmonious private life of Attalos in his immediate and wider family.

30 As parallels for the phrase εἰς τὸ χρεὼν μεθέστη, see *IPriene*, 83.9: καὶ τῆς εἰς τὸ χρεῶν μ[εταστάσεως τυχόντα ...]; *ibid.* 99; 108–109; *RECAM* II, 223: μετέστη εἰς τὸ χρεῶν; *FD* III 1, 466.6–7 (II A.D.): εἰς [τὸ] χρεῶν μετήλλαξεν; *SEG* 45, 1502.13–14 (Aphrodisias, 100–125 A.D.): προμοί[ρος νῦν μετίσταται] τοῦ βίου; E. Miranda, *Iscrizioni greche d’Italia, Napoli*, I 44.39 (= *SEG* 39, 1055): ἴσαι δὲ τειμαὶ καὶ τῶι μεθεστηκότι; *Altertümer von Hierapolis, IV, Inschriften*, no. 30: μεθέστηκεν εἰς θεούς. For χρεῶν cf. *SEG* 23, 148: Δαιοκράτης κοινουῦ τέρμα ἐπέρησε βίου, οἰκείαις δ’ ἐγ χερσὶ τέκνων ἀλόχου τε ἀδα[κ]ρυ[τὶ] ἐλύξενέτου Μοίρας εἰς τὸ χρεῶν δίδοται; *ibid.*, 319: εἰς [τ]ὸ χρεῶν (μ)ετήλλαξεν; 48, 980.8–9: ὡς κρίσις ἐστ[ί], φίλοι, Μούρη τὸ χρεῶν ἀπέτισα.

31–2 This is another interesting, previously unattested piece of information – to see a distinguished citizen’s death commemorated by the closing of the baths in his native city (κλεισθῆ[ν]αι τὰ βαλανεῖα: Attalos Jr. in no. 2.B.23–24 is honoured in the same manner). Two parallels for the practice are the closing of the workshops in the city during the funeral of a citizen killed in war, mentioned in an inscription from Olbia²⁸, and the closing of [sanctuaries], sacred precincts and all the [temples] in Kyzikos until after the funeral of Apollonis, daughter of Prokles²⁹. A less certain example comes from Lydian Apollonia on the Maeander.³⁰ The closing of the workshops reappears in the second new inscription (B.24). Obviously, the funeral of Attalos³¹ in Iulia Gordos was going to be a public one, with the whole citizen body taking part in the ceremony.

33–5 For εἰκὼν γραπτή cf. M. Halm-Tisserand, *Ktéma* 34, 2009, 131–174; for the clause ὦν τὴν ἀ[νά]θεσιν γενέσθαι ἐν ἐπισήμῳ τῆς πόλε[ως] τόπῳ cf. *e.g.* *IG* II² 4193a–b; *SEG* 33, 869; *TAM* III 4; *IG* XII 7, 231.

43 The Goddess named Θεσμοφόρος Θεά is Demeter³². In an unpublished late Hellenistic/early Imperial inscription seen by one of us (MR) in the village of Yeniköy in the Upper Cayster valley, the same goddess is invoked as Δηὼ Θεσμοφόρος to protect the funerary stele of a father and his son.

2. Honours for Attalos, son of Menandros

Küpüler (Hıdır Çeşmesi) / SW of Iulia Gordos. Marble stele with a roughly finished triangular pediment, broken in two pieces. An olive wreath is carved on the upper part after the second line of the inscription. A space of approximately seven lines, stretching between ll. 12 and 13, is left empty. Dim. 129.5 cm x 44.2 cm x 15.5 cm, letters 1.5 cm to 1.9 cm (upper piece); 113 cm x 51 cm x 15.5 cm, letters 1.5 cm to 1.9 cm (lower piece). Now in the Manisa Museum (Inv. no. 9002).

Date: 154 Sulla = 69/70 A.D.

²⁸ *IosPE* I², 34.23–24, I B.C.: κλεισθῆνα[ι δὲ τὰ ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐργαστήρια].

²⁹ E. Schwertheim, *ZPE* 29, 1978, 213–228; M. Sève, *BCH* 103, 1979, 327–359 (= *SEG* 28, 953.39–42, first century A.D.): ... πενήσθαι μὲν πανδημεὶ πάντας [τοὺς κατοικοῦντας τὴν] πόλιν ἄνδρας τε καὶ γυναῖκας, [κλεισθῆναί τε τὰ ἱερὰ] καὶ τὰ τεμένη καὶ πάντας τοὺς [ναοὺς ... μέχρι] τῆς ἐκκομιδῆς.

³⁰ Malay, *Researches* 157–8 no. 182.25–26 (= *SEG* 49, 1540, 170–159 B.C.).

³¹ And of his homonymous grandson, as well.

³² For Demeter’s cult in Lydia see M. Paz de Hoz, *Die lydischen Kulte im Lichte der griechischen Inschriften (Asia Minor Studien 36)*, 1999, 14 with notes 68–69 and nos. 3.22, 14.1 and 14.3.

Text A

Ἔτους ρνδ', μηνὸς Περειτίου [ὄγ]-
δόη·

wreath

- 4 Τατιάς Ἰατταλον τὸν υἱὸν ἔτε-
[ί]μησεν, Κλέων τὸν ἀδελφόν,
Ἄπφιάς τὸν ἄνδρα, Τατιάς τὸν
πατέρα, Ἄπφιάς τὸν δαέρα, Γαλάτη[ς]
τὸν σύντροφον. ν. Εἰσανγειλ[ά]-
8 ντων Δημαινέτου τοῦ Κλέω-
νος, Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Ἄρτεμ-
ιδώρου, Παπίου τοῦ Ἀπολλω-
νίου στρατηγῶν, γγώμη τοῦ
12 γραμματέως τοῦ δήμου *vac.*

vac.

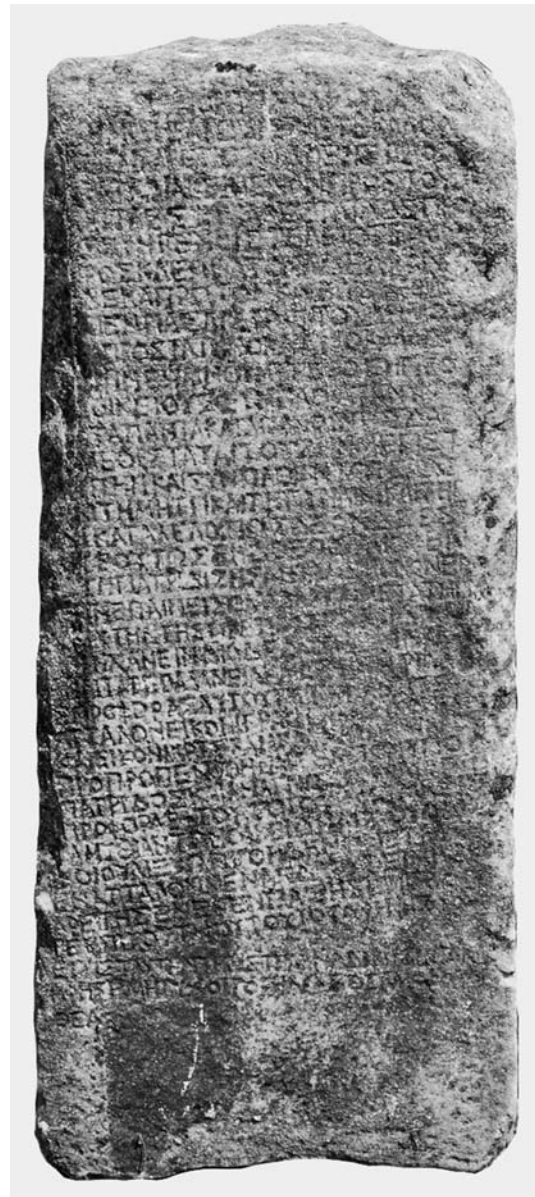
- Πλάτωνος τοῦ Ἀγεμάχου, ἔδο-
ξεν τῇ Ἰουλιέων Γορδηγῶν βο-
υλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ καὶ τοῖς πρα- *vac.*
16 γματευομένοις Ῥωμαίοις· ἐπεὶ
Ἰατταλος Μενάνδρου ἀνὴρ μεγαλ-
όφρων, εὐγενέστατος πατὴρ
καὶ προγόνων, δεκάπρωτος, πᾶσα-
20 ν ἀρχὴν καὶ λειτουργίαν ἔν τε ἀγο-
ρανομίαις καὶ στρατηγίαι[ς καὶ] στρε-
[φαν]ηφο[ρίαις] ἐκτελέσας c. 6–7
[]

Text B

- []ΑΘΙΙΙ[]
[]ΚΑΙΟΝΤ..ΕΚΛΙ ...ΕΙ[]
δημοφελ[ι]ῶς, ἰστᾶς τε καλὸν [ύπό]-
4 [δ]ειγμα ἀρετῆς καὶ δόξης, προ[θυ]-
[μό]τατα διακείμενον πρὸς τοὺ[ς]
[π]ολίτας, συμπαθέστατα δὲ πρ[ὸς]
[τοῦ]ς συγγεν[εῖ]ς, τελειώτερος δὲ
8 [π]ρὸς Κλέωνα τὸν ἀδελφὸν [αὐτ]-
[οῦ], δεκάπρωτον καὶ εὐσχημο[νέσ]-
[τατο]ν ἐν πάσαις ταῖς τοῦ δήμου χ[ρεῖ]-
[αις] προστάτην, ὃ καὶ αὐτὸ καλλίσ[του]
12 [ἐστ]ὶν ἐπαίνου μετέχον, ἢ πρὸ[ς]
[τοῦ]ς οἰκείους συναθ[ί]α, τὰ νῦν ὑ[πὸ]
[τοῦ] τὰ πάντα κατὰπατοῦντος δαί[μο]-
[νος] μεθέσταται τοῦ ζῆν, μεγίστην
16 [λ]ύπην καὶ συναθ[ί]αν τῷ τε ἀδε[λφῷ]
[κ]αὶ τῇ μητρὶ καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ καὶ τῇ [θυ]-



Text A



Text B

- [γατρ]ὶ καταλελοιπώς· δέον δὲ ἐστ[ὶν]
 [το]ύς οὕτως ἐνδόξως τε καὶ ἐν[αρέ]-
 20 [τως] τῇ πατρίδι ζήσαντας πρῶτον ἐ[πὶ]
 [πᾶσ]ιν ἐπαινεῖσθαι ζώντας, μετὰ τὴν
 [τελ]ευτήν τῆς πρεπούσης κηδεῖα[ς]
 [τυ]νχάνειν, διὸ δεδόχθαι κλεισθῆ-
 24 [ν]αι τὰ τε βαλανεῖα καὶ ἐργαστήρια [ἐπὶ]
 [τῆ]ς προφορᾶς αὐτοῦ, τει[μηθῆ]ναί τε
 Ἄτταλον εἰκόνι γραπτ[ῆ] ἐ[πιχ]ρῶσφ
 καὶ εἰκόνι χρυσ[ῆ] καὶ ἀγάλ[μ]ατι [μαρμαρίνφ],
 28 προ[προ]πενφθῆναί τε αὐτὸν ὑπὸ [τῆ]ς
 πατρίδος καὶ ἀναγνωσθῆναι ἐπ[ὶ] τῆ]ς
 προφορᾶς τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα εἰς [πα]-
 [ρ]αμυθίαν τῶν οἰκείων αὐτοῦ· ὁ δῆ[μ]-
 32 [ο]ς ὁ Ἰουλιεύων Γορδηνῶν ἐτείμη-
 [σ]εν Ἄτταλον Μενάνδρου τειμῆς καὶ
 ἀρετῆς ἕνεκεν πάσης· ἐπιγρα[φῆ]ναί
 τε ἐπὶ τοῦ τάφου τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα].
- 36 εἴ τις ταύτην τὴν στήλην ἀδικήσῃ ἢ ἄλλ[λων]
 [τ]αφήσῃ, μὴ τύχοιτο εἴλωσ Θεσμοφό[ροιο]
 Θεᾶς.

A 11 it seems that the stone-cutter originally carved ΓΑΙΩΜΗ.

14 The form Ἰουλιεύων Γορδηνῶν is remarkable (also in l. 32), and it was possibly formed after the singular Ἰουλιεὺς Γορδηνός.

18–9 Cf. E. Legrand – J. Chamonard, *BCH* 17, 1893, 282–3, no. 84 (Synnada): ἡ βουλή καὶ ὁ δῆμος / ἐτείμησεν Ποσειδῶνιον Ἄρτεμιδώρου ἄνδρα εὐγενῆ καὶ προγόνων; the phrase used here should be understood as εὐγενέστατος (ἀπὸ/ἐκ) πατρὸς καὶ προγόνων [cf. e.g. *TAM* V 1, 687.11–12: εὐγενέστατος ἀπὸ προγόνων; G. E. Bean, *Side Kitabeleri*, 1965, 114 = *IKSide* II, 102: εὐγ[ε]νῆ ἐκ προγόνων].

21–2 The stone is very damaged in the two last lines but the readings proposed here seem very likely.

B 0–1 It looks as if not more than one line is lost between the last line of the fragment A and the first line of fragment B. The first line of fragment B is damaged beyond reconstruction.

2 [δί]καιον. [ἀναγ]καῖον?

11 For προστάτης used in the same sense cf. *SEG* 38, 1288 (Pessinus); 44, 1210 (Patara); 55, 1482 (Phellos).

27 ΧΡΥΣ lapis; [μαρμαρίνφ] may seem too long, but the shape of some letters can actually be recognized with difficulty and it is obvious that the letters are markedly smaller than in other lines.

37 The same adverbial form εἴλωσ (instead of the correct ἰλάωσ/ἰλέωσ) appears in at least two more inscriptions: *I Eph*, 3401 (Metropolis) and *CIG*, 2643 (Amathous).

In the year 154, on the eighth day of the month Pereitios. Tatias honoured her son Attalos, Kleon his brother, Apphias her husband, Tatias her father, Apphias her brother-in-law, Galates his foster-brother.

The proposal having been introduced by (the) strategoi Demainetos, son of Kleon, Apollonios, son of Artemidoros, Papias, son of Apollonios, with the consent of the secretary of the People Platon, son of Agemachos, it was decreed by the Council and the People of Iulia Gordos and the Roman businessmen: since Attalos, son of Menandros – a generous man, most noble on his father's and ancestors' side, a dekaprotos, who has performed every office and liturgy as

agoranomos and strategos [and ste]phane[phoros] for several terms [] for public good, and having set up(?) a fine example of distinction and glory, most devoted to the citizens, most loving to his relatives, most perfect to his brother Kleon dekaprotos and most dignified patron of the people in all its needs, and (having) what is also a part of the noblest praise – the affection for his (immediate) family –, was now taken from life by the daemon who tramples down everything, having left the greatest grief and sympathy to his brother and his mother and his wife and his [daughter], and (since) it is proper that the ones who lived so gloriously and virtuously for their fatherland first be honoured [for everything] while (still) alive and after their death be given a fitting funeral, on that account it was resolved that the baths and workshops be closed during his funeral, and that Attalos be ho[noured] with a painted portrait overlaid with gold and a gold portrait and a [marble] statue, and be escorted to the grave by his fatherland, and that this decree be read out aloud at his funeral for the consolation of his family: “The People of Iulia Gordos honoured Attalos, son of Menandros for all his dignity and virtue”; let this decree be inscribed on the grave, as well.

If somebody damages this stele or buries someone else, may he not find Goddess Thesmophoros favourable.

The inscription consists of:

- a) The date according to the Sullan era (A 1–2).
- b) Honours bestowed on Attalos by his mother, brother, wife, daughter, sister-in-law and foster-brother (A.3–7).
- c) Honorary decree by the Council and the People of Iulia Gordos preceded by the names of the officials who introduced it (A.7–22; B.1–35): a long ἐπεὶ-clause relating to the honoured person’s virtues and accomplishments and constructed with several participles (ἐκτελέσας, ἰστάς(?), διακεῖμενος, καταλελοιπώς) and one finite verb (μεθέσταται), followed by the decisions of the Council and the People introduced by the phrase δέον δὲ ἐστ[ί]ν and continued by a series of passive infinitives (δεδοχθαι, κλεισθῆναι, τειμηθῆναι, προπενθῆναι, ἀναγνωσθῆναι, ἐπιγραφῆναι) and one finite verb (ἐτείμησεν).
- d) Curse against desecrators of the grave (B.36–38).

In A.19 Attalos Junior is given the title of δεκάπρωτος and B.9 attributes the same title to his brother Kleon. It is usually assumed that the title *dekaprotos* does not appear in Asia Minor before the early second century A.D.³³ The new inscription from Iulia Gordos proves beyond any doubt that *dekaprotos* existed in the province of Asia Minor in the first century A.D. Scholarly discussion centered on *dekaprotos* revolves around the question of whether they were the leading members of the city council or regular officials of the people. In the new inscription from Iulia Gordos we can most probably recognize the first option, since the title *dekaprotos* follows the praise of Attalos’s noble birth and precedes the list of *archai* and *leitourgiai* performed by him. There is no doubt that Attalos Junior was one of the most notable citizens of his time in Iulia Gordos, and as such almost entitled to the honorary title of a *dekaprotos* along with his brother³⁴.

³³ Cf. Dmitriev, *op. cit.* 197: “The dekaprotos are first documented in the later years of the first century A.D., but in Asia Minor they are not heard of before the early second century.”

³⁴ Whether the status of a *dekaprotos* entailed any concrete responsibilities for its bearers at the time of its introduction, as it did later, remains unknown, but possible; cf. Dmitriev, *op. cit.* 199: “Therefore, it appears that while the dekaprotos in Greek cities were not a separate social group – at least not before the late second century, when this word started to be used in inscriptions to designate an elevated social position – they were quickly identifiable (i.e., just as in the west) should any financial need arise.”

Interestingly enough, in the new inscription honouring his grandfather, that almost serves as a model for Attalos's own inscription, there is no mention of *dekaproteia*: Attalos Senior is praised (ll. 14–17) as ἀνὴρ καλὸς καὶ ἀ/[γα]θός, γένους ἐνδοξοτάτου ὑπάρχων, ἐν τε / [τα]ῖς ἐνχειρισθείσαις [[ἀρχαίς]] ἀρχαίς ἀνδρῶν/[τ]ατα καὶ πιστότατα ὑπηρετήσας τῇ πατρίδι[ι], and as a *strategos* he was involved in keeping record of the payments of tribute allocated to Iulia Gordos. If the title/office had already appeared, he would certainly be one of the first citizens of Iulia Gordos included in the ranks of *dekaprotoi*. The evidence is admittedly scant, but we can now make a suggestion that *dekaprotoi* were introduced at some point in time between 20 and 50 A.D., at any rate, before 69/70 A.D. When Attalos Junior died in 69/70 A.D., he was a mature married man with a daughter, who had performed many *archai* and *leitourgiai*. We can therefore assume that he was about 40–50 years old and born around 20–30 A.D. He already features on his grandfather's tombstone, without doubt as a child, helping us thus to assign an approximate date both to his grandfather's death and to the appearance of first *dekaprotoi* in Iulia Gordos.

19–22 The old distinction between magistracies and liturgies is still observed here³⁵. The *agoranomiai* and *strategiai* performed by Attalos belong to the first category³⁶, while his *stephanophoriai* were counted as liturgies³⁷.

B.3–4 In these lines Attalos Jr. is praised for deeds accomplished for the benefit of the public – δημωφελῶς. If we compare examples of the same praise in other inscriptions³⁸ we see that this adjective/adverb often refers to the successful completion of terms of offices and liturgies, which could be its meaning here, as well. It is with some hesitation that we propose to read the participle ἰστάς immediately after the adverb δημωφελῶς: in any event, this would be the general sense of the praise finishing off the summary of Attalos's accomplishments as an official and *leitourgos* in Iulia Gordos: through his service to the native city he had set up a fine example of honour and glory for all those who were to follow in his footsteps.

8–11 These lines contain a praise of Attalos's brother Kleon. As already stated, he also holds the title of *dekaprotos*, but no specific offices or liturgies are attributed to him, only his graceful championing of the people in all its needs.

11–3 We do not completely understand the seemingly awkward position of the phrase ὁ καὶ αὐτῷ καλλίσ[του] / [ἐστ]ὶν ἐπαίνου μετέχον, ἢ πρὸς / [τοῦ]ς οἰκείους συμπραθία, within the ἐπεί-clause. An underlying verbal form seems to be implied but is left out – perhaps ἔχων/ἔχοντα. The phrase appears to commend Attalos Jr. for possessing that integral part of a κάλλιστος ἔπαινος,³⁹ that is, the affection for his family. Previously, in ll. 6–8, he was already praised for his affection for his relatives and brother. Another possibility is to read ὁ καὶ αὐτῷ καλλίσ[του] / [ἐστ]ὶν ἐπαίνου μετέχον, ἢ πρὸς / [τοῦ]ς οἰκείους συμπραθία, and to take αὐτῷ as referring to the previously-mentioned Kleon, who is likewise in a way honoured by this public display of sympathy for his family.

³⁵ Cf. Dmitriev, *op. cit.* 116.

³⁶ On iteration and accumulation of offices cf. Dmitriev, *op. cit.* 223–8; 257.

³⁷ Dmitriev, *op. cit.* 54 (since the early Hellenistic period).

³⁸ E.g. *IKLaodikeia am Lykos* 82; *MAMA* IV, 152; VII 11; *SEG* 35, 1407; *CIG*, 4415; G. E. Bean – T. B. Mitford, *Journeys in Rough Cilicia 1964–1968*, 1970, 150 no. 152.

³⁹ Κάλλιστος ἔπαινος, sometimes coupled with κάλλισται τιμαί, as evidenced by a few inscriptions (*MAMA* VIII, 412b; *IKStratonikeia*, 1208; *TAM* II, 838), is not simply just another expression, but a *terminus technicus* for honours embracing public funeral, painted portraits and statues set up in public and sacred places, and honorary inscriptions by the tombs.

23–5 For the closing of baths and workshops in the city during the funeral of a deserving citizen cf. the commentary on A.31–2.

Özet

Makalede, 1998 yılında Gördes'in (Iulia Gordos) güneybatısında bulunan Tüpüler köyünün kırsalındaki Hıdır Çeşmesi'nde bulunan iki yeni dekret yayınlanmaktadır. Birisi bütün, diğeri de ortadan kırılmış bir şekilde bulunan ve Manisa Müzesi'ne taşınan mermer stellerin üzerindeki bu dekretlerde, her ikisi de Attalos adını taşıyan ve Iulia Gordos'a büyük hizmetlerde bulunmuş olan iki kişi ölümlelerinden sonra (*post mortem*) alınan Grekçe meclis kararları (dekret) ile onurlandırılmaktadır. İ.S. I. yüzyıla ait olan dekretlerden birincisinde Attalos adındaki biri Iulia ve Lora halkları tarafından onurlandırılırken, ikinci dekrette onun torunu olan genç Attalos Iulia Gordos meclisleri ile Romalı işadamları (*negotiatores*) tarafından onurlandırılmaktadır. Gerek daha önce bulunmuş olan yazıtlarda ve gerekse bu iki dekrette yer alan kişi adlarından hareketle, Iulia Gordos'un önde gelen bir ailesinin şeceresini ortaya çıkarmak mümkün olmaktadır (makalenin sonunda verilen soyağacına bakınız).

Birinci yazıtta Gordos halkı ile birlikte Attalos'u onurlandırdığı belirtilen ve Iulia Gordos'a komşu olan Lora kenti, antik yazarlardan Cicero ile Plinius birkaç yazıt aracılığı ile bilinmektedir. Yazıtlardan anlıyoruz ki, Iulia Gordos ile Lora (ve hatta Thyateira (Akhisar) kentleri kendi aralarında bir ortak vatandaşlık (*sympoliteia*) anlaşması yapmışlardı. Bilim adamları Lora'nın Haciosmanlar, Akçaalan ve Kavakalan üçgeni arasında olması gerektiğini ileri sürüyorlarsa da, burada sunduğumuz buluntular Lora'nın Kayacık yakınındaki Tüpüler ve Korubaşı (Eğrit) köyleri civarında aranması gerektiğini düşündürmektedir.

Birinci yazıtta, yaşlı Attalos, kette komutan (*strategos*) olarak görev yaptığı sırada Gordos'daki «yıllardır bir düzensizlik içinde olan vergi defterini halkın lehine düzene sokarak» büyük bir hizmet gördüğü için övülmektedir. Burada sözü edilen defter (*chartes*), 22 yapraktan oluşan bir papyrus rulosu olup, Gordos kentinin Roma hazinesine ödemekle yükümlü olduğu doğrudan vergileri (*phoroi*) kaydediyor olmalıydı.

Yaşlı Attalos için alınan meclis kararında cenaze sırasında Gordos kentindeki hamamların, torun Attalos için alınan kararda ise hem hamam ve hem de işyerlerinin kapatılması kararı verilmektedir. Antik devirde birkaç benzerini bildiğimiz bu uygulama ile herhalde mümkün olduğunca çok vatandaşın cenaze töreninde bulundurulması amaçlanmaktaydı.

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