

DISTRIBUTIONS OF MONEY IN THE GREEK

CITIES OF ROMAN ASIA MINOR

Διανομαί: DISTRIBUTIONS OF MONEY IN THE GREEK
CITIES OF ROMAN ASIA MINOR

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ABSTRACT

The distribution of money as small handouts is a practice, which is attested in both the Eastern and Western provinces of the Roman Empire. These gifts can, in the East, be seen as a development of Hellenistic euergetism, but they were also influenced by a parallel practice in the West. The groups in the East which received the handouts of money, *δανομαί*, correspond in general to the groups in the Roman West which received *sportulae*, *divisiones* and *congiarii*. Thus, the distribution of individual gifts of money in the Greek cities of Asia Minor can be studied as a measure of Romanization.

However, the manner in which the distributions themselves were conducted also serves as a measurement of Romanization, as there is evidence that *δανομαί* were provided on different occasions and to different groups of individuals before the advent of Roman control. Thus, distributions in the East were provided on the same occasions as those in the West, and, what is most important for the study of Romanization, the gifts were given in accordance with social rank: the higher an individual stood in the social hierarchy, the more he generally received. Such a stratification does not appear in Hellenistic distributions of meat, so that it is possible to attribute stratified gifts to the Romans.

To measure Romanization is not the only value of the *δανομῆ*-inscriptions, though. They provide an important perspective into the workings of individual cities, on both a public and a private level. Thus, they show us the efforts of wealthy individuals on behalf of their cities and regions, as well as their efforts on behalf of themselves.

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ABBREVIATIONS

The abbreviations for ancient authors and their works are those listed in the ninth reprinted edition of Liddell and Scott's *A Greek-English Lexicon* (1990).

AD: *Archaiologikon Deltion*.

AE: *L'année épigraphique*.

AJA: *American Journal of Archaeology*.

AJPh: *American Journal of Philology*.

AP: *L'année philologique*.

CP: *Classical Philology*.

BE: *Bulletin épigraphique (Revue des études grecques)*.

CIG: *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*.

CIL: *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinorum*.

EA: *Epigraphica anatolica*.

GRBS: *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*.

IG: *Inscriptiones Graecae*.

IGRR: *Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes*.

IK: *Inchriften griechischer Städten aus Kleinasien*.

MAMA: *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua*.

MDAI: *Istanbuler Mitteilungen*.

OGIS: *Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*.

REG: *Revue des Études Grècques*.

SEG: *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*.

SIG³: *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum, third edition*.

TAM: *Tituli Asiae Minoris*.

ZPE: *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*

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INTRODUCTION: ROMANIZING ASIA MINOR

I. Hellenization and Romanization

The Romanization of Asia Minor is a process which cannot be separated from the spread of Hellenic culture in the region, so that both Romanization and Hellenization were occurring at the same time. There is, however, a great deal of debate concerning what Romanization actually means. Obviously, there is no purely 'Roman' culture to which the cultures of various regions of the Empire can be compared; similarly, elements which can be said to be 'Roman' will not have appeared in every region of the Empire with the same frequency. Nonetheless, there were processes by which the foreign cultures of Greece and Rome were established in Asia Minor, which we shall term Hellenization and Romanization, respectively.¹

Although we cannot point to any exact point of origin, it is convenient to take the beginning of the colonizing activities of mainland Greeks in the eighth century as the time when Greek culture began to spread throughout the Mediterranean basin, though there was contact between Greece and the eastern coast of the Mediterranean before this

¹ This question has been addressed recently by both Greg Woolf (1998) and Ramsay McMullen (2000). McMullen suggests that Romanization in the East was a process which was less observable than in the West due to the fact that many institutions of the Greek cities were similar to those *within which the* Roman elite were accustomed to operate. Woolf provides what may be an appropriate definition: "Romanization is a convenient shorthand for the series of cultural changes that created an imperial civilization, within which both differences and similarities came to form a coherent pattern" (Woolf (1998): 7).

time.² Thus, there is a great deal of evidence for the political workings of the Greek cities in Asia Minor, noticeable in the appearance of various civic organizations which are similar to those of mainland Greek cities.³ Similarly, the spread of Greek dialects reflects the spread of 'Hellenic' culture, since local inscriptions provide most of the evidence for the different dialects; this is particularly clear in the κοινή Greek of the Hellenistic Age.⁴ However, the various Greek dialects had spread to the western coast of Asia Minor before the beginning of the colonization of the region.⁵

The process of Hellenization reached its most dramatic point in the conquests of Alexander the Great and the power struggles between his successors through a series of ups and downs—the colonizing of the western coast of Asia Minor and the Persian Wars, for example. Barbarians were involved in these contests at times,⁶ but for the most part Asia Minor remained in the hands of one of the major Greek kingdoms, Antigonid, Seleucid, Ptolemaic or Attalid. Thus, Antiochus III of Syria began expanding his sphere

² On colonialization, see G. Tsetskhladze and F. De Angelis, *The Archaeology of Greek Colonialization* (1994) and J. Boardman (1964), *The Greeks Overseas*.

³ Cf., for example, Jones (1987), who collects the epigraphic evidence for the administrative bodies and political structures in Greece, the Aegean Islands, Macedonia and Asia Minor. Similarly, Jones (1940) discusses the development of the Greek city the Hellenistic to the Byzantine age.

⁴ Buck (1969): 20-22.

⁵ Buck (1969): 23.

⁶ For the involvement of the Celts in the affairs of Asia Minor, see Mitchell (1993): 13 ff.

of influence in Asia Minor at the end the third century BC, a century after the Seleucids had first gained control of the region by the defeat of Antigonos at Ipsus.⁷

Hellenism, therefore, had been extended beyond the coastal regions, but there were still many areas of Asia Minor which remained outside the sphere of Hellenic culture. The process of Hellenization continued throughout the Hellenistic period, but by the beginning of the second century BC, the Roman republic had also begun to take an active interest in the politics of Asia Minor which resulted in a concurrent process of Romanization. Erich Gruen argues at length that the Romans were uninterested in annexing any eastern territory: Roman policy was being directed by the interest of individuals rather than by a collective interest for Roman glory or even safety.⁸ However, Rome had recently been victorious in the second Punic war, which was caused, in part, by the conflicting interests of Rome and Carthage, clearly a case of two expanding powers, and we have a similar phenomenon in the Roman relations with the Hellenistic kings and cities. Gruen is right in downplaying the role of Roman expansion in involving the republic in the affairs of Asia Minor, but such expansion is inextricably connected with individuals pursuing their own glory. Consequently, we cannot deny that the actions of

⁷ For Antiochus' expansion into Asia Minor after 204/3, see Gruen (1984): 532 ff; for the defeat of Antigonos by Lysimachus and Seleucus I, see Magie (1950): 3, 727; the battle is also described briefly by Diod. (21.1ff.) and Plut., *Demet.* 28-29.

⁸ Gruen (1984): 203-249 argues that there was no set Eastern policy in Roman relations with the Hellenistic kingdoms. Roman intervention was often prompted by the interests of individual politicians who saw in an Asian commission a chance to enrich themselves and to gain public recognition through military success.

Roman generals in Asia Minor in the latter part of the Hellenistic Age were motivated in part by a Roman policy of expansion.

However, we can no more say that the activities of Roman generals and armies in Asia Minor resulted in the assumption by the inhabitants of a 'Roman' culture than we can say that Asia Minor, Syria, Egypt and Mesopotamia became 'Greek' as a result of Alexander's conquests; nonetheless, both processes were accelerated by military ventures. However, as the Bactrian revolt after the death of Alexander the Great shows, military conquest alone does not constitute acculturation.⁹ It was rather individuals who set the processes of both Hellenization and Romanization in motion and kept it moving: the people who brought particularly Roman practices to Asia Minor were, among others, merchants, retired soldiers and, later, tax collectors who became permanent or long-time residents of the region, paralleling the Greek colonists who had brought Hellenic practices before them. Consequently, the military conquests of Roman generals in Asia Minor do not in themselves reveal a great deal of information concerning Romanization; rather, they show one aspect of the process by which the activities and interests of Roman citizens became more and more popular in the Greek cities of the region.

As is the case with Hellenization, though, there is no clearly defined point in time when these activities can be said to have begun. However, we can say that the Romanization of Asia Minor began in the conflicts between the *diadochi*, as independent cities or even kingdoms appealed to the neutral armies of Rome for assistance; the

⁹ Sherwin-White & Kuhrt (1993): 9, 166; Diod. 18.7.1.

aftermath of such Roman involvement is perhaps much more important than the involvement itself, though.

The struggles between the *diadochi* prompted several cities to appeal for Roman assistance to guarantee or support their autonomy, and these appeals had their climax, in Asia Minor, with the battle of Magnesia on the Maeander and the defeat of Antiochus III in 191 or 190 BC. The main result of this battle was that the Seleucid ruler was expelled from Asia Minor, which fell into the hands of Eumenes, already an *amicus* of Rome. Following this battle and the peace of Apamea in 187, Gruen notes, Roman armies withdrew from Asia Minor.¹⁰

Despite this withdrawal, Roman interests continued in the region, not only for political stability, but also for mercantile stability. It is likely that there were Roman residents, or at the very least Roman contacts, in some of the larger cities of Asia Minor, particularly in the coastal regions. These individuals will have provided the primary means by which Romanization was firmly established and quickened.

This process, through the residence of such individuals, will have been slow, perhaps no more than a small undercurrent, before the bequest of Attalus III in 133 BC and the active conquests of Sulla and Pompey, but it is evident that there were other means by which the 'Roman outlook' was spread to Asia Minor and the East in general. Antiochus IV of Syria, for example, was sent by his father as a hostage to Rome in 187 BC as a part of the peace of Apamea. Livy remarks several innovations which he

¹⁰ Gruen (1984): 547-50, 639-43. Peace of Apamea: Livy, 38.38; Poly. 21.42.

introduced to Syria based on his observations in the city of Rome, including gladiatorial games, *Romanae consuetudinis*.¹¹ Antiochus is only one of the more prominent such individuals, but both Eumenes II and Attalus II are known to have visited Rome on diplomatic missions, so that they too will have been in a position to observe and be influenced by 'Roman' practices.¹²

After the defeat of Aristonicus by Manius Aquillius in 129, a commission of *decem legati* was sent from Rome to arrange matters in an attempt to encourage peaceful relations in the area; one of the activities of this commission was 'constructing, repairing, or extending the network of roads in western Asia Minor' in order to simplify the movement of troops and supplies.¹³ We cannot separate the simplification of troop movements from the simplification of trade routes, so that in Aquillius' campaign and the activities of the *decem legati*, we have a stimulant for Romanization similar to the role of Alexander's conquests in Hellenization, since there will have been individuals in various cities of Asia Minor with contacts in Rome, whether Greeks or Romans, providing yet another avenue through which Roman practices could enter the region.

¹¹ Livy, 41.20.11.

¹² For Eumenes in Rome, see Gruen (1984): 547; Livy 37.52-53; Polyb. 21.18-21; for Attalus in Rome, see Gruen (1984): 573; Polyb. 30.1; kings and royal ambassadors, though, were not alone in initiating contacts with Rome, as we also find smaller states opening relations with the Republic through the establishment of cults of Roma (Gruen (1984): 187). Polyb. 30.4ff. notes three ambassadors of Rhodes in Rome. Similarly, the citizens of Abdera appealed to their mother-city of Teos to send an embassy to Rome when Cotys, the king of the Thracians, encroached on their territory in the second century BC (Sherk (1984): 25, n. 26; *SIG*³ 656; *IGR* IV 1558; Robert, *OMS* I 320-326).

¹³ Gruen (1984): 596-606.

II. *Romanization*

As we have said, individuals, whether Greeks, Romans, or barbarians, were responsible for the establishment and spread of a Roman culture in Asia Minor. In order to trace this process, it is necessary to examine an action or an attitude which can be said to be distinctly 'Roman'. One obvious example of this is the presentation of gladiatorial games, which quickly became accepted and common in almost every major city in the East.¹⁴

Romanization, however, was not accomplished through the persistent application of a single 'Roman' practice, so that a complete understanding of Romanization cannot be obtained from a study focused exclusively on one of these practices. As elements of a 'Roman' culture, they cannot be entirely separated from one another, and should, therefore, be studied in conjunction: gladiatorial games, for example, under Roman rule, were provided by priests of the Imperial cult. Despite this interrelation, a detailed study of a single practice can show Romanization in a specific sphere. For the purposes of this thesis we shall focus on only a single element of 'Roman' culture, though we will not omit other aspects when they arise, as they must.

Public benefactions were used in part by numerous Hellenistic kings to gain public approval for themselves and their rule; these benefactions were usually on a large

¹⁴ Public games were not, of course, a uniquely Roman phenomenon. Greeks had been commemorating festivals with games long before they had any significant contact with Rome—the Olympic and Pythian games, for example. There is a distinction, however, between *ludi* and *munera*, the latter of

scale. Antiochus IV of Syria, for example, is praised by Livy for a series of benefactions to Greek cities on the mainland and in Asia Minor, which were designed in part to regain some of the foreign influence lost in the treaty of Apamea.¹⁵ On a smaller scale, there is a great deal of evidence for the establishment of grain and education foundations.¹⁶ Such euergetic behaviour, though, was not limited to Hellenistic kings. Throughout the Hellenistic period there is evidence for foundation funds and endowments by private citizens, though the kings and queens of the major dynasties naturally appear in inscriptions recording such benefactions much more often than do private citizens.¹⁷

Several centuries later, both Plutarch and Dio Chrysostom note the importance of acting as a benefactor to one's fatherland,¹⁸ reflecting a tradition in which Imperial priests and other wealthy citizens decorated their cities with buildings and statues; the benefactions of such citizens could also take the form of handouts of money, for example, to their fellow citizens or to other individuals. These handouts, *διανομαί*, are similar, but not identical, to the *divisiones* or *sportulae* of the Roman West. However, although such benefactions appear to have earned for their donors public approval, we cannot say that this was the only, or even the main, reason for the donations in eyes of the benefactors.

which were always ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων—paid for by the agonothete himself rather than ἐκ τῶν κοινῶν. Such *munera* were 'Roman' events.

¹⁵ Livy, 41.20.5-9.

¹⁶ For example, Bagnall (1981): 113-4=SIG³ 578 (Education).

¹⁷ Bringmann (1995): 271-378 presents over sixty Hellenistic inscriptions concerning foundations and donations, both by Kings and private individuals.

¹⁸ Plut. *Prae. Ger reip.* 29, 821f-822a; Dio Chrys. *Or* 43.2.

A *διανομή*, as we shall note in Chapter One, could refer to a distribution of various materials before the establishment of Roman rule in Asia Minor, but after the end of the Hellenistic Age, it refers only to distributions of money. This change is one means of perceiving the Romanization of Asia Minor; though it is late when compared to the establishment of gladiatorial games or the worship of *Roma* and the Emperors, the shift in meaning is nonetheless important in assessing the influence of Roman culture on Greek *euergesismos*. This being said, though, these handouts did not replace the large-scale *euergesismos* of the Hellenistic age characterized by the funding of buildings, but rather appear concurrently with other donations, constructions and benefactions.

Διανομαί, during Roman times, are distributions of money; prior to Roman control, *διανομαί* were distributions, but not always of money. There is epigraphic evidence of these handouts of money in eleven different regions of Asia Minor dating from the principate of Augustus to the early fourth century, which provides strong evidence for the Romanization of the region. Distributions and other benefactions are common before the Imperial period. We shall see, though, that *διανομαί* in the epigraphic evidence are always distributions of money in the imperial period; distributions of meat or of land, could, in the Hellenistic age, also be described as *διανομαί*, but this use of *διανομή* does not appear after the Hellenistic age.

III. Chapter Organization

The literary evidence for *διανομαί* is sparse. What testimony there is, though, establishes the fact that the handouts which we will be examining were a Roman practice,

which is a necessary starting point for this thesis. The epigraphic evidence provides a much more detailed account of *διανομαί*, so that this body of evidence forms the basis of this thesis.

Sportulae have been studied in detail by both Richard Duncan-Jones and Stanislaw Mrozek, upon whom we shall rely for a brief summary of the practice of handing out *sportulae* in the West. Following this, we shall consider the literary evidence concerning *διανομαί*, which will reveal that there was a fundamental difference between the two types of handouts in the eyes of Roman authorities. The epigraphic evidence for *διανομαί* is abundant, and will be summarily introduced in the second half of Chapter One. This introduction will consist of a critical analysis of those inscriptions in which *διανομή* has been restored, with the intent of omitting incorrect or uncertain supplements. Closely connected with this examination will be a consideration of the chronology of the inscriptions.

Chapters Two and Three will be concerned exclusively with the Greek epigraphic evidence. We shall first attempt to analyze the language of these inscriptions. Subsequently, we shall discuss the categories into which they can be divided on the basis of the frequency with which the distributions are repeated. Chapter Two will also consider the occasions on which distributions were provided and the other benefactions with which they could be and were associated.

The most important elements of these distributions in demonstrating the Romanization of Asia Minor are the benefactors and the recipients. Imperial priests were active in the provision of *διανομαί*, but a variety of magistrates and civic officials also

appear among our benefactors. Several of these offices will be identified and briefly discussed in Chapter Three, as will the recipients. The discussion of the recipients will lead to a consideration of the question of how the handouts were actually distributed.

The primary purpose of the analysis of the inscriptions and the practice of handing out *διανομαί* itself is to identify what is being done by the benefactors, and what similarities and differences there between the *διανομαί* of the East and the *sportulae* of the West. We will see that *διανομαί* and *sportulae* are, in fact, similar, though clearly not identical—the two terms are not translations of one another. This similarity will become clear through the summary of *sportulae* which we will provide in Chapter One, and the more detailed analysis of the Greek epigraphic evidence which will follow. Thus, we will see that the benefactors responsible for both *διανομαί* and *sportulae* are often of equivalent social standings, as are the recipients. The differences between *διανομαί* and *sportulae* will be seen to consist of the manner in which the distributions were conducted and what was actually distributed: *διανομαί* will be seen to always refer to money, while *sportula* will be seen to refer to money or food.

CHAPTER ONE: ΔΙΑΝΟΜΗ IN LITERATURE AND EPIGRAPHY

I. Literary and Epigraphic Evidence for Sportulae

A. Literary Evidence of sportulae

Distributions of money in the Roman West were offered on official or unofficial occasions. Magistrates during the Republican period and Emperors after the death of Julius Caesar provided distributions to the people of Rome on occasions such as a public office, while individual patrons provided distributions to their clients on a more personal basis. There is evidence of both types in literary sources, but only official distributions appear in honorary inscriptions.¹ We will not attempt in the following pages to examine the relationship between official and unofficial distributions in great detail, but only to introduce both types of distributions.

Public distributions are first attested in Livy, who tells us that Publius Cornelius Scipio and Marcus Cornelius Cethegus distributed *congii olei* during their aedileship in 213 BC; however, this is only the first *attested* distribution.² According to Dio, Caesar

¹ In the pages which follow, we shall consider distributions offered during a magistracy public or official distributions, and distributions offered by patrons to clients private or unofficial distributions. Within the second category, we will also include distributions which are not connected with any public service.

² Livy, 25.2.8: *ludi Romani pro temporis illius copiis magnifice facti et diem unum instaurati, et congii olei in vicos singulos dati*; van Berchem (1939): 119-20.

may have been the first to give money instead of grain or oil to his soldiers and the citizens of Rome in 46 BC on the occasion of his triumph.³

The practice of handing out money during and after the reign of Augustus was so strictly controlled that in Rome private citizens were not allowed to provide such distributions: gifts to the entire *plebs* became an Imperial prerogative.⁴ These handouts, however, were not exclusively of money; instead, as Fergus Millar notes, the gifts were at the discretion of the Emperor; Gaius, for example, distributed coined money in person, while Nero distributed tokens which could be exchanged for the actual gifts.⁵

The gifts provided by the Emperors could take various forms, but there is an uncertainty when we are told that *sportulae* are distributed. These were originally small baskets of food,⁶ but they could also be gifts of money. Suetonius tells us that Nero replaced the public banquets of his predecessors (*cenae publicae*) with simple 'doles' (*sportulae*),⁷ but it is unclear what exactly is being distributed here. Rolfe, in the Loeb translation, takes '*sportulas*' to be a 'distribution of food;' this is possible, but it is not

³ Dio 43.21.3, using ἐνεμεν; cf. van Berchem (1939): 120-1.

⁴ van Berchem (1939): 123: *Les empereurs se sont réservé le monopole des distributions d'argent à la plèbe de Rome. En dehors de Rome, ils surveillent jalousement les distributions que les notables des colonies ou des municipes font en diverses circonstances à leurs concitoyens.* The distributions studied by van Berchem come from a variety of sources: the *Acta Urbis*, numismatics, historians, biographers and the *Chronographe de 354*. He lists the public distributions provided by the Emperors from Caesar to Severus Alexander with the occasions on which they were provided (142-161).

⁵ Millar (1984): 137; Suet. *Cal.* 37.1 (personal distribution of money); Suet. *Nero* 11.2 (*missilia*); such *missilia* are also attested in an inscription from Cirta in Numidia (see below, p. 16 n. 16). These *missilia* could be exchanged for food, clothing, and gold, among many other things (Dio 58.4.4).

⁶ Hug, *RE*, 3.2, 1883-1886, s.v. *sportula*; Marquardt (1886): 207-8.

clear that this is what Suetonius means. In the *Life of Claudius*, Suetonius does use *sportula* of a distribution of food, but in this case he clearly specifies that it is food which is being distributed.⁸

Private or unofficial gifts appear in Martial and Juvenal, who use the term *sportula* in cases where it is clearly meant to refer to distributions of money,⁹ but they also use the term to refer to distributions of food. These distributions were given by a patron to his clients:

nunc sportula primo
limine parva sedet turbae rapienda togatae;
ille tamen faciem prius inspicit et trepidat ne
suppositus venias ac falso nomine poscas:
agnitus accipies. iubet a praecone vocari
ipsos Troiugenae, nam vexant limen et ipsi
nobiscum. "Da praetori, da deinde tribuno."
sed libertinus prior est. "Prior" inquit "ego adsum."¹⁰

⁷ Suet. *Nero* 16.2: *multa sub eo et animaduversa seuere et coercita nec minus instituta: adhibitum sumptibus modus; publicae cenae ad sportulas redactae.*

⁸ Suet. *Cl.*, 21.4 *quodque appellare coepit "sportulam," quia primum daturus edixerat, velut ad subitam conductamque cenulam invitare se populum.* This uncertainty is also apparent in the literary and epigraphic usage of *epulum*, as is the case in *CIL* XI.6117: *earumque dedicat(ione) Rufus epulum dedit decurionib(us) singul(is) HS XXX sex viris et augustalib(us) sing(ulis) HS XII plebis sing(ulis) HS III*, and Petr. *Sat.* 71.10: *scis enim quod epulum dedi binos denarios. faciuntur, si tibi videtur, et triclinia. fascias et totum populum sibi suaviter facientam.* In both cases, values listed may refer to the value of the *epulum*, to a gift of money to be used to buy the *epulum*, or a gift of money in addition to the *epulum*. Cf. also Donahue (1999).

⁹ For example, Juv. I.117-20; Mart., III.14, 30, 60.

¹⁰ Juv. I.95-102: 'Now the tiny dole sits on the first threshold to be seized by the toga-clad mob; but he first inspects your face and he fears that you may have come as a substitution or that you may ask under a false name; once recognized, you will receive. He orders that those of Trojan descent be called by the herald, for they have gathered at the door along with us. "Give to the praetor, and then give to the tribune." But the freedman is first in line. "I was here first!" he cries.' The translations, both of the inscriptions and of literary sources, are my own, except where noted.

The handout was received at the home of the patron rather than in a public location, with a specific order in which the clients received their shares. The more important clients, such as the praetor and the tribune in Juvenal's satire, received their shares before all others. The *sportulae* which Juvenal and Martial describe are distinct from the *sportulae* which Claudius and Nero offered and the *congiarii* provided by the Emperors, distributions of which form van Berchem's evidence, in that they are given to small groups of clients rather than to the majority of the *plebs*.

B. *Epigraphic Evidence of sportulae*

In order to examine the practice of distributing *sportulae* outside of Rome, we must turn to honorary inscriptions. Richard Duncan-Jones and Stanislaw Mrozek have both conducted studies of foundations and donations, including *sportulae*, in Africa and in Italy outside of Rome during the early Empire.¹¹

Mrozek's study indicates that the term *sportula* was not used in inscriptions in Italian towns outside of Rome until the middle of the second century AD; even within Rome, though, the term is rare, reflecting the control exercised by the Emperors over official distributions of money.¹² The earliest attestation of a distribution of money contained in Duncan-Jones' study records a distribution in Herculaneum in 48/9 AD,¹³

¹¹ Duncan-Jones (1982); Mrozek (1987).

¹² Mrozek (1987): 23; cf. *CIL* VI.29700, 29738, and 33885.

¹³ Duncan-Jones (1982): 196, cat. 999=*CIL* X.1416; this records the donation of four sesterces to the *municipes* of Herculaneum by Claudius, but does not use the term *sportula*.

but all of the other dated inscriptions in his collection belong to the reign of Hadrian or later.

The inscriptions collected by these two scholars were in part intended by the benefactors to publicize their generosity; Duncan-Jones notes that the distributions offered in towns and cities outside of Rome were a simple extension of the gifts provided by Emperors: that is, citizens of these cities were imitating the practices of the Emperors.¹⁴ The most visible result of such benefactions was a public monument, or, more specifically, the right to erect a public monument in order to glorify the donor.¹⁵ A typical *sportula* inscription from Cirta in the second century reads:

Genio populi. / M(arcus) Roccus Felix / M(arci) fil(ius)
Quir(ina) eq(uo) publ(ico) / IIIvir, sac(erdos) urb(is),
fl(amen) divi / M(arci) Antonini statuam, quam / ob
honorem IIIviratus promisit ex HS VI mil(ibus) n(ummum)
sua pecunia / posuit, ad cuius dedicationem / sportulas
denarios singulos / secundum matricem publicam / civibus
de suo dedit, itemque / ludos scaenicos cum missilibus
[edidit].¹⁶

Most of the providers of cash-distributions, or benefactions of any other kind, in Africa and Italy, are high-ranking Roman citizens: decurions, *Augustales*, and occasionally wealthy freedmen or merchants; in the case of Marcus Roccus Felix, we

¹⁴ Duncan-Jones (1982): 139.

¹⁵ Duncan-Jones (1982): 139; on pp. 162-166 (cat. 491-549a), Duncan-Jones has also collected the inscriptions recording the dedications of statues, paid for by the benefactors themselves; Hands (1964): 29-35.

¹⁶ *CIL* VIII 6948: 'By the genius of the people. Marcus Roccus Felix the son of Marcus of the tribe Quirina, *equo publico*, triumvir, priest of the city, *flamen* of the divine Marcus Antoninus has dedicated this, which he promised on account of the triumvirate, worth six million *sesterces* from his own

have a triumvir and Imperial priest. More rarely, women also fund distributions, but usually with a male representative.¹⁷ It is often the case that the higher the social rank of the recipient, the larger the gift received, though there are a few inscriptions which record the opposite.¹⁸ Women are only occasionally among the recipients, and when they are, they are explicitly emphasized.¹⁹

The epigraphic evidence indicates that public *sportulae* were used by wealthy citizens in their pursuit of public honor and fame in connection with public service. Private *sportulae* provided by patrons to their clients do not appear in the epigraphic evidence; the inscriptions record only the public distributions offered on official occasions.

II. Literary Evidence for *διανομαί* in the East

Originally and most simply, *διανομή* referred to a distribution or a dealing out, being derived from the verb *νέμω*, which Homer uses in reference to the dispensing of

money, at the dedication of which he gave *sportulae* of one *denarion* according to the public list of his own country, and he also gave theatrical spectacles with *missilia*.’

¹⁷ Mrozek (1982): 63-77; cf. van Bremen (1996): 205-207, 226-231.

¹⁸ For example, *CIL* XIV 431: *Augustales* receive HS 20 each, while the *Decurions* receive HS 12 each; cf. also Mrozek (1987): 78, 87.

¹⁹ Mrozek (1987): 99; Donahue (1999): 73. The inclusion of women and other groups of lesser status are often intended to be a testament to the extensive generosity of the benefactor (see below, Chapter Three, pp. 102-106).

meat and wine in feasts and sacrifices.²⁰ In later authors, the verb generally refers to allotments of various sorts, though it is also the verb used by Cassius Dio to describe Caesar's distribution in 46 BC.²¹ Aristotle refers to *διανομαί* of land, while Plutarch refers to *διανομαί* of money in addition to *διανομαί* of land.²² It is evident that *διανομή* can refer to the action of distributing rather than, like *sportula*, only to that which is distributed. However, we also find examples in the inscriptions in which a *διανομή* is distributed.²³

The literary evidence of cash-distributions indicates that the practice was not always looked upon approvingly by wealthy upper class Greeks; despite this, though, it is from this class that most of the benefactors must have come. Plutarch, for example, does not recommend the use of distributions for a young politician: fame and reputation gained from these, he says, are 'ephemeral and unreliable'.²⁴ He does not condemn the act itself, though, but only the exploitation of the act for demagogic purposes.²⁵

²⁰ Frisk (1970), *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, s.v. νέμω, vol. 2 302-4; Homer, *Iliad*, 9.217: νεῖμειν; cf. also Laroche, E. (1949) *Histoire de la racine nem- en grec ancien* (νέμω, νέμεσις, νόμος, νομίζω). Paris; and *BE* 1951, 55.

²¹ Dio 43.21.3; see above, pp. 12-13.

²² Ar. *Pol.*, 1329b40; Plut. *Per.* 34.2, *Ti. Gracch.* 13.1, 21.1, 31.1, *Caes.* 14.3 (land); *Ant.* 71.3.2 (food); *Per.* 9.1, 9.2 (money). Aristotle does use the verb *διανείμασθαι* of money (*Ath. Pol.* 22.7.31: τῷ δήμῳ διανείμασθαι τὸ ἀργύριον). Lucian uses the term relatively frequently, applying it to both money and food (*Phal.* 1.3.18, *Gal.* 22.3, *Deor. Conc.* 3.5, *Nav.* 24.6, *Pisc.* 41.3).

²³ For example, Cat. # 3.c.1 ll. 9-14: [κα]ὶ ἄλλα τοῖς / αὐτοῖς θεοῖς δηνάρια μύρια, ἵνα ἐκ τοῦ τόκου αὐτῶν κατ' ἔτος ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῇ Καταστεφανώσει / καὶ τῇ ὀκτωκαιδεκάτῃ παντὶ ἐλευθέρῳ Τηνίῳ / ἢ κατ' ἀναλογίαν τοῦ συνελενσομένου πλήθους / μερίζεται διανομή.

²⁴ Plut. *Prae. Ger. reip.* 5, 802d; 29, 821f-822a. Cf. also Dio Chrys. *Or.* 66, in which the orator discusses the difficulty of acquiring a public reputation, and the dangers associated with it.

²⁵ Cf. Dio Chrys. *Or.* 7.49, 48.10.

Pliny the Younger, during his service in Bithynia, expresses concern about the local custom of providing gifts of money to the members of the *βουλή* and groups of the people on private occasions in one of his letters to Trajan, but for a very different reason.²⁶ It is not the practice itself which Pliny is concerned about; as we know from Martial and Juvenal private distributions were not uncommon in Rome itself; in Rome, though, the gifts were given *ex notitia*. However, Pliny describes gifts offered to the public on private occasions, like weddings and coming-of-age celebrations. He is concerned about the extent and, specifically, the publicity of these gifts: it is a concern that private citizens are providing public gifts of cash on private occasions, a practice which was forbidden to private citizens in Rome.

Trajan's response supports Pliny's distinction.²⁷ He does not recommend or even suggest that Pliny should forbid all distributions, but he does recognize and share Pliny's

²⁶ Pliny *Ep.* x.116: 'Qui uirilem togam sumunt uel nuptias faciunt uel ineunt magistratum uel opus publicum dedicant, solent totam bulen atque etiam e plebe non exiguum numerum uocare binosque denarios uel singulos dare. Quod an celebrandum et quatenus putes, rogo scribas. Ipse enim, sicut arbitror, praesertim ex sollemnibus causis, concedendum ius istud inuitationis, ita uereor ne ii qui mille homines, interdum etiam plures uocant, modum excedere et in speciem *διανομῆς* incidere uideantur.' (*Those who are assuming the toga virilis or who are getting married or who are entering upon a magistracy or who are dedicating a public work are accustomed to assemble the entire boule and even a not-inconsiderable number of the populace and to give them one or two denarii. I am asking you to tell me what you think of this custom and to what extent it should be permitted. For myself, I believe that principally on ceremonial occasions this type of invitation ought to be permitted, but I am afraid that those who summon a thousand or even more men, will appear to exceed moderation and to turn it into a kind of διανομή.*)

²⁷ Pliny *Ep.* x.117: 'Merito uereris, ne in speciem *διανομῆς* incidat inuitatio, quae et in numero modum excedit et quasi per corpora, non uirum singulos ex notitia ad sollemnes sportulas contrahit. Sed ego ideo prudentiam tuam elegi, ut formandis istius prouinciae moribus ipse moderareris et ea constitueres, quae ad perpetuam eius prouinciae quietem essent profutura.' (*You are rightly fearful that an invitation which both exceeds moderation in number and provides traditional sportulae as it were to collective bodies rather than to individuals of personal acquaintance, may turn into a kind of διανομή. But indeed I have chosen your prudence so that you would moderate the established customs of that province and so that you would settle those matters which will be useful for the continuing peace of the province.*) Knibbe (1981):

concern about those which *in numero modum excedit*, that is, those which are similar to the Imperial distributions in Rome.

The relationship between *sportulae*, *congiarii*, *divisiones* and *διανομαί* is obviously complex. For the remainder of this thesis, though, we will focus primarily on *διανομαί*. However, there are similarities between these distributions, so that we will in places make comparisons between *διανομαί* and *sportulae*.

III. Epigraphic Evidence of *Διανομή* in Asia Minor

A. The Catalogue

Ninety-nine published inscriptions from Asia Minor and the islands of the Aegean Sea use the term *διανομή*. These inscriptions have been collected from the Packard Humanities Institute Disc Seven (PHI 7), and supplemented from the standard corpora where possible. Eighty-seven of these inscriptions have been appended to this thesis in a catalogue arranged by geographical provenance, following the order established in *le Bulletin Épigraphique*. Within the larger regional and municipal categories, the inscriptions are organized on a chronological basis. Several of these inscriptions are extremely long, and include *διανομή* more than once. In these cases, each section of the inscription pertaining to the distribution is included as a separate catalogue entry; this means that an inscription published in its entirety elsewhere may here appear twice. Such entries are naturally listed sequentially, with a note indicating their continuity. Other

55 n. c notes that the provision of *διανομαί* in Bithynia, citing these two letters, could be used as political tools, in discussing a kouretes list from Ephesus (FiE IX/1/1 no. 54; cf. cat. # 4.b.11).

inscriptions describe multiple *διανομαί* within a few lines, but have not been catalogued separately. Still others are virtually identical, surviving in two or more copies. Each inscription in this case has been included separately, again with the result that the same *διανομή* may be described several times.²⁸

i) *Διανομή and Some of its Synonyms*

As is the case with *sportulae* much of the evidence for *διανομαί* comes from inscriptions. The most common meaning of *διανομή* in an epigraphic context is that which Pliny gives it—a distribution of money. However, the act of handing out money is not always described as a *διανομή*, nor is a synonym inevitably used. An inscription from Lagina, for example, reads ‘καί τε Ἡραίῳ πάσ[αις] / γυναιξὶ καὶ τοῖς γενομ[έ]νοις ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ἀνδράσιν ἐ[δώ]/καμεν ἀνὰ (δηνάρια) β’.²⁹ The benefactors in this case gave two *denaria* to every woman and to the men in the temple on the occasion of the festival of Hera, but the distribution is not termed a *διανομή*, even though we read further in the same inscription ‘καὶ τοῖς πλίστοις τῶν π[ολι]τῶν τὰς διανομὰς ἐδώκαμεν / ἐν τῇ ἱερῳσύνῃ ταύτῃ γυμνα/[ασιαρχήσαντες].³⁰

Similarly, Satyrus the son of Philinus made arrangements to give one *denarion* to every free citizen of Tenos taking part in a meal. Although *διανομή* does appear in this inscription it is not used of this initial distribution, despite the fact that in all three

²⁸ The inscriptions split and included sequentially are Cat. # 4.b.6-7 and 7.b.1-6. Cat. # 4.d.7-9 and 10.a.3-7 are copies of the same inscription.

²⁹ Cat. # 6.f.1 ll. 5-8.

³⁰ Cat. # 6.f.1 ll. 18-21: and to many of the citizens we gave *διανομαί* in the same priesthood, being

distributions, the interest of a capital sum was intended to pay for the gifts. Why this is the case is not clear from the inscription, but the provision of the first gift ‘τοῖς εὐωχῆθησομένοις ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ἐλευθέροις Τηνίοις’ may indicate that the *denarion* was intended to pay for a part of the meal and was not in fact an unrestricted gift of money.³¹

An inscription from Ephesus from the reign of Commodus honors a certain Nicomedes for a similar benefaction. In this case, a gift of one Attic drachma was given to the diners ‘εἰς τὸ ἀνάλωμα τοῦ δείπνου;’ *διανομή* is not used for this gift, but we read in the same inscription that all future *διανομαί* to the citizens from this foundation are to take place in the buildings around the temple of Artemis.³² The drachma is clearly meant, as we have suggested in the case of Satyrus’ benefaction, to be spent on the feast, but it is not clear that the *διανομαί* were given with the same intent: they may have been unrestricted gifts which could be taken away; like the feast-cost, though, these were meant only for those who were present.

A Hadrianic inscription from Didyma, furthermore, honors a benefactor who gave ‘*διανομήν*’ to the women and girls and ‘*κόσμους*’ to the *βουλή* and men; in addition, each of the citizens received two *denaria* and 3 *ξέσται* of wine.³³ Therefore, it is clear that the *διανομή* does not refer to a portion of a sacrifice or meal; rather, it is a gift parallel to the *κόσμοι* for the *βουλή* and the men. What is meant by ‘*κόσμους*’, however, is more

gymnasiarchs.

³¹ Cat. # 3.c.1 ll. 8-9.

³² Cat. # 4.b.12 l. 11 (εἰς τὸ ἀνάλωμα τοῦ δείπνου), l. 18 (διανομάς).

³³ Cat. # 4.d.5 ll. 5-8.

uncertain than what is meant by *διανομήν*; nonetheless, we can say that these were ornaments or decorations of some value, so that we may also suggest that '*διανομήν*' here refers to gifts of cash which are of less value than the *κόσμοι*.

As we have noted, *διανομή* is not the only term used to refer to distributions; there is a variety of terms used in the inscriptions of Asia Minor which cannot be discussed extensively here. However, in the euergetic context, *διανομή* was used of cash-distributions only in the Imperial period rather than distributions of meat or oil. Other terms can be more general or equally specific, but separate studies of these would be necessary to reveal their exact meanings. Some of these terms, though, are used in the *διανομή*-inscriptions, so that it is possible to make some distinctions.

A large-scale public donation or subscription, for example, seems to have been termed an *ἐπίδοσις*.³⁴ It is used of grants rather than specifically of distributions, so that it is possible for a *διανομή* to be included under the heading of an *ἐπίδοσις*. When this is the case, though, it is usually implicit that the benefactor gave *διανομαί* among other gifts or services to the city or country, as is the case with Satyrus the son of Philinus, who donated sums of money to support *διανομαί*, 'ἐν ἄλλαις δὲ πολλαῖς / καὶ ποικίλαις ὑπηρεσίαις τε καὶ ἐπιδόσεσιν'.³⁵ *Διανομαί* could be a part of an *ἐπίδοσις*, but an *ἐπίδοσις* was not necessarily a *διανομή*. An honorary inscription from Oenoanda, for example, records the donation of 'ἐπιδόσεις / χρημάτων εἰς τε νομὰς καὶ / τέρψεις πανηγυρικάς,' in which the *νομαί*

³⁴ Veyne (1976): 189 discussing Theophrastus describes *ἐπιδόσεις* in Athens as *souscriptions volontaires*.

³⁵ Cat. # 3.c.1 ll. 22-23.

are similar to if not identical to *διανομαί* and the *τέρψεις* are prizes or novelties.³⁶ Although there are only a few occurrences of *ἐπίδοσις* in the *διανομή*-inscriptions, it does seem in every case that a *διανομή* could be grouped with other distributions and benefactions which are referred to collectively as *ἐπιδόσεις*.³⁷

A *σπυρίς*, or *σφυρίς*, may be the closest synonym of the Latin *sportula* in the Greek inscriptions, in terms of what is distributed. The two instances of *σπυρίς* in our catalogue, though, are fragmentary, with the term entirely supplemented in one case and partially supplemented in the other; the aspirated *σφυρίς* appears in a single inscription in our catalogue.³⁸ Since the two cases of *σπυρίς* are fragmentary, editors have disagreed on the correct reading, with Robert preferring *με]ρίδα* to *σπυ]ρίδα* in the second case. However, *σπυρίς* is occasionally used in epigraphic sources in reference to the distribution of money, while *μερίς* is used exclusively of distributions of sacrificial victims—it is, quite literally, a *portion* of an animal.³⁹ *Σπυρίς*, therefore, should be preferred in *IDid* 269.

Σφυρίς appears in a single inscription which is not supplemented. An honorary decree from the island of Syros dated to the reign of Commodus reads:

τῇ δὲ γενεσίῳ ἡμέρ[α τοῦ
κυ]ρίου Αὐτοκράτορος παρέσχε[ν τοῖς μὲν

³⁶ *SEG* 44 (1994): 1174.11-13; cf. also *SEG* 44 (1994): 1212.12-17.

³⁷ *Διανομή* and *ἐπίδοσις* both occur in Cat. # 3.c.1 l. 23, 4.b.4 l. 12, 4.d.6 l. 5, 5.a.1 l. 7, 6.a.1 ll. 20-21, 6.c.5 l. 38, 6.e.4 l. 7, 7.b.4 ll. C8-9, and 7.e.1 l. 4.

³⁸ [*σπυρίδα*]: Cat. # 4.d.7 l. 9; [*σπυ]ρίδα*: Cat. # 4.d.8 ll. 9-10; *σφυρίδος*: Cat. # 3.b.1 l. 15.

³⁹ Cf. Robert, *Hellenica* 11-12, 480; *σπυρίς* cf. *IDid* 286 (ἐδ[ωκεν –] *σπυρίδα* [–ταῖς γυ]ραιξιν), *IKErh* 10 (ἐβδομοκούρητι *σπυρίδας* κατὰ προέλευσιν), and *IMagnesia* 149.a (ἐδωκεν τῇ φιλοσεβάστῳ βουλῇ δια τῶν γονέων ἐν κατακλίσει τὴν *σπυρίδα* [κ]αὶ ἔλαιον ἔθηκεν [τῇ] πόλει; *μερίς*, cf. *IG* XII, 5 647 (κρεῶν *μερίδα*), and *IKMylasa* 119 (*μερίδα* ἐκ τῶν θυσιῶν).

γερ]ουσιασταῖς δεῖπνον· καὶ ἔδωκεν [ἐ-
 κάστ]ω σφυρίδος θηνάρια πέντε, ἔλευ[θέ-
 ραι]ς δὲ γυναιξὶν πάσαις καὶ θηλείαι[ς
 παισὶν] οἶνον· καὶ ἔδωκεν ταῖς μ[ὲν γυ-
 ναιξὶ] διανομῆς ἀνὰ ἑσσάρια ὀκτώ,
 ταῖς δὲ] παισὶν ἀνὰ ἑσσάρια τέσσα[ρα· τῇ
 δὲ ἐξῆς] ἡμέρᾳ παρέσχευ τοῖς μὲν γε-
 ρουσιασ]ταῖς καὶ ἄλλοις οἷς ἐβουλήθη[η
 δεῖπνο]ν καὶ ἔδωκεν ἐκάστῳ διαν[ομῆς
 ἀνὰ θην]άριον ἓν⁴⁰

Antaeus celebrated the birthday of the Emperor Commodus with a public meal and distributions of cash. The *σφυρίς* appears to be distinct from the two *διανομαί*, both in value and in its recipients, as the members of the *γερουσία* are to receive a *σφυρίς* of five *denaria*, while the women and youths are to receive wine and a *διανομή* of eight asses and four asses respectively.

Clearly *διανομή* is used here to describe a gift of cash, but not cash distributed expressly for the purpose of taking part in a meal. The syntax suggests that the *σφυρίς* is a part of the meal mentioned previously in the inscription. However, we cannot be sure whether the *σφυρίς* consists of a gift of five *denaria* in addition to the meal, or five *denaria* to pay for the meal, or even five *denaria* to pay for wine to accompany the meal. In *σφυρίς*, consequently, we seem to have a direct translation of the Latin *sportula*, with all of its uncertainties.

The same uncertainty applies in this case to *διανομή* for the same reason: the conjunction *καί* could be a connecting conjunction or an explanatory conjunction: the *διανομή* could be in addition to the wine, or it could be intended to pay for the wine.

Nonetheless, it is clear that both terms refer here to the distribution of money; the constructions are parallel, but since *διανομή* is used again at the end of the quoted portion of the inscription, there does seem to be a difference between them.

Ἐπίδοσις and σπυρίς are, of course, only two of the terms used in the honorary inscriptions of Asia Minor for public munificence. There are many others, one of which will appear in Chapter Three,⁴¹ but these two are the most common in the *διανομή*-inscriptions collected here. While each of these is related to *διανομή*, it is clear that neither is quite the same as or quite as specific as *διανομή*. Similarly, although the verb *διανέμω* is also frequently used in euergetic inscriptions, we will simply note here that it is used of distributions in general, and not only of cash handouts.⁴²

ii) Geographical Distribution of the *Διανομή*-inscriptions

Thirty-six sites are included in this survey (Appendix 4, Maps 1-3), though *διανομαί* will have been provided in many of the other cities of Asia Minor despite the lack of epigraphic evidence.⁴³ *Διανομαί* are not limited to the larger regional centers of

⁴⁰ Cat. #3.b.1 ll. 12-23.

⁴¹ κλήρος; see below, Chapter Three, pp. 111-115; cf. also Chapter Two, p. 61.

⁴² For example, *IKAssos* 25 ll. 1-8: [δι' ὃ]λον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν εἰστιάσει[ς/....]ν τε δωρεὰν διανείμαντα/[πρωτ]ον καὶ μόνον, καὶ τὸν σειτω/[νικόν] πληρώσαντα ἐκ τῶ[ν / ἰδίων εἰς] δηνάρια μύρια, σειτωνή/[σαντα]δὲ πολλάκις καὶ ἀγοράσαντα [τοῦ σίτου]τὸν μέδι[μν]ον δηναρί[ων; *IKPrusias ad Hyrium* 19: ἀγαθῇ τύχη/φυλαί Γερμανικῇ καὶ Σαβινιανῇ / ἀνέθηκαν Π. Δομίτιον Ἰουλιανόν, / τὸν δις τειμητήν, δις πρῶτον / ἄρχοντα, δις πρεσβευτήν, σελβαστοφάντην, ἀγορανόμον, δεκάπρωτον, γραμματέα, κοινόβουλον διὰ βίου, ὕδωρ τῇ πόλει εἰσαγάγοντα / καὶ χαρισάμενον καὶ ὅτι ἐν τῇ ἐδίφ / σείτον, οἶνον, ἔλαιον, ἀργύριον / διένειμεν [[A]] τοῖς πολεῖταις προῖκα/μόνος, τὸν τροφέα καὶ ἐουεργέτην / καὶ βασιλέα; *SEG* 45 1508A ll. 10-11: οἱ ἄλλοι προγεγραμμένοι τὰ λοιπὰ / κρέα κοινῇ διανειμάτωσαν τοῖς πολίταις τῇ ἐχομένῃ ἡμέρᾳ / ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ πρὸ ὥραν τρίτην ποιοῦμενοι τὴν κρεανομίαν κατὰ / φυλάς; cf. also *IKPrusias ad Hyrium* 18.

⁴³ Dionysiopolis, Pentapolis, Augusta Traiana, Odessus (Moesia and Thrace); Istrus (Black Sea/Scythia Minor); Cos, Syros, Tenos (Aegean Islands); Teos, Ephesus, Magnesia ad Maeander, Didyma,

Asia Minor; they also appear in smaller inland or mountain cities. Larger cities, such as Ephesus, naturally provide abundant evidence for *διανομαί*, but this abundance is due to their size rather than to the relative frequency of *διανομαί* provided in these cities. Almost all of these cities had some degree of contact with Rome, ranging from the construction of public buildings by an Emperor to an Imperial visit.

The most abundant evidence comes, naturally, from the more populated regions along the western coast, namely Ionia and Caria. However, the predominance of these regions, particularly Ionia, is due to the preponderance of the larger cities. Ephesus and Didyma account for twenty-eight of the thirty-two attested distributions in that region, while Stratonicea and its associated sanctuary sites account for half of the attested distributions in Caria. Aphrodisias, which provides five of the distributions in Caria, certainly provided marble for some of the other cities, so that this may also be a factor in the numerous inscriptions in general from Caria and Ionia.⁴⁴ The less populated regions of Asia Minor also provide substantial evidence, particularly Lycia, which has provided, to date, ten *διανομή*-inscriptions, but cities from these regions tend to provide only individual attestations, a result of a combination of fewer inscriptions in total and damaged or lost inscriptions.

Miletus (Ionia); Thyatira, Sardis, Apollonis (Lydia); Sebastopolis, Tralles, Aphrodisias, Stratonicea, Panamara, Lagina, Heracleia Salbace, Nysa (Caria); Xanthus, Rhodiapolis, Phaselis, Tlos, Kadyanda, Oenoanda, Balbura, Bubon (Lycia); Aizani (Phrygia), Sebastopolis Heracleiopolis (Bithynia/Pontus); Ankyra (Galatia); Selge (Pamphylia).

iii) Omissions from the Catalogue

The ninety-nine *διανομή*-inscriptions include those which are virtually complete, but also several which are fragmentary. In both cases, *διανομή* has been on occasion either partially or entirely restored; many such supplements are almost certain, supported by the grammatical and contextual usage of *διανομή* in other inscriptions. There are several, however, in which the restoration is much less certain. These inscriptions will be discussed briefly here, but omitted from the main catalogue.⁴⁵

Four Hellenistic inscriptions use the term *διανομή*. One of these, which is dated to about 120 BC, has been supplemented by Hiller von Gaertringen to read:

βουλόμενος καὶ [ἀποδείξαι ἣν ἔχει] προαίρεσιν, ἐκ[άστ]ωι
τῶν πολιτῶν ἐμέτρησεν [διανομήν] πυρῶν τε(τα)ρτεῖς δύο⁴⁶

The restoration of [διανομήν] is odd for several reasons. First, it is never used with the verb *μετρέω* in any other inscription available for comparison. Second, I have found no other connection between *διανομή* and *πυρός*. Furthermore, a second Hellenistic inscription from Priene reads:

παρεμέτρησεν δὲ τῇ πόλει [με-
τὰ τὰ]δελφοῦ πυρῶν μεδίμνους πεντακοσίους πεντήκο[ντα]⁴⁷

⁴⁴ An inscription from Ephesus, for example, specifies the use of Aphrodisian marble for a statue (Cat. # 4.b.16 ll. 7-9: ἀνδριάντας μαρμαρίνους τοῦ ὑοῦ μου ἀφροδισιακοὺς ἀνασταθῆναι).

⁴⁵ The relevant portions of these inscriptions have been catalogued in Appendix 2.

⁴⁶ *IPriene* 109.213-4; Appendix 2, 2.c.1.

⁴⁷ *IPriene* 108.97-8.

Although we have here a compound of *μετρέω*, the construction is almost exactly identical. Consequently, we have the *donation* of a quantity of wheat to the city rather than a *distribution* of wheat to individuals. The term *πυρός* does appear elsewhere in the catalogue, but, as we have said, not in connection with *διανομή*. The other instance, from Sebastopolis in Caria, records the sale of wheat, split into *κύπροι*.⁴⁸ However, since *μεδίμνους* is used in the same context in Priene, this term should be preferred to *κύπρους*.

The second Hellenistic inscription quoted above records the activities of Moschion the son of Kydimus in Priene. It describes the honours voted to Moschion by the *βουλή* and *δῆμος* in consideration for his role as a saviour of the city in its times of shortage. The inscription records several gifts of grain and a distribution of money by Moschion. This distribution is described by the verb *διανέμω* which is almost entirely supplemented,⁴⁹ but there is also a *διανομή* later in the inscription:

ἐπὶ δὲ στεφα[ν]ηφόρου Κέκροπος οὐ μόνον
 διαφόρων γενομένης τῇ [π]όλει χρείας, ἀ[λλὰ] καὶ παραστά-
 σεως ἐνεχύρων, διαλαβ[ὼν] κοινὴν εἶναι τῇ[ν] οὐσίαν πάν-
 των τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ τ[ῶν] καθηκουσῶν δι[α]νομῶ[ν? .]ω[.] ο[.c.2.]?⁵⁰

However, Hiller von Gaertringen treats the restoration of ‘*διανομῶν*’ as uncertain. He suggests that Moschion declared that all of the property of the citizens was common during a time of crisis for the city. In such a time, a declaration of the common plight or

⁴⁸ Cat #. 6.a.1 ll. 10-13: καὶ παραπωλ[ή]σαντα πυρῶν κύπρους / β (δηνάρια) β', τοῦ κύπρου πωλουμένου (δηνάρια) δ'.

⁴⁹ IPriene 108.65-8: ἅμα δὲ τιμὴν τιμ[α] καὶ ἐμβ[ρίθειαν] τῆς μητρὸς π[ρο]α]ιρούμενος μετὰ τοῦ ἀδ[ελ]οφῶ [Ἀθηνοπόλιδος διένει]ει[μ]εν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς δραχ[μ]ᾶς Ἀλε[ξ]ανδρε[ί]ας [χιλίας].

⁵⁰ IPriene 108.89-92; Appendix 2, 2.c.2.

danger of the citizens would be just as likely. With the reading of 'τῇ[ν] οὐσίαν', though, 'διανομῶν' in the following line makes little sense. If it is the 'customary *διανομαί*' which are being declared to be common, these must have been *διανομαί* provided by Moschion himself rather than by earlier benefactors: the inscription describes Moschion's benefactions so that we should expect a new benefaction rather than a diversion of earlier funds. In place of the postulated 'καθηκουσῶν δι]ανομῶ[ν]' we would expect either a second group of people complementing 'πάντων τῶν πολειτῶν', or the end of the clause and the beginning of a new one. Due to this uncertainty, this inscription will be omitted from the catalogue and this survey.

An Imperial inscription from Astupalaea has also been omitted from the catalogue. This inscription has been significantly restored to record distributions of grain to the citizens:

ποιησάμε]-
 νόν τε καὶ σ[είτου διανομάς]
 οὐκ ὀλίγας [ἐκάστῳ πολείτῃ(?)]⁵¹

Διανομή appears eight times in the inscriptions of Asia Minor in association with a form of the verb *ποιέω*; three inscriptions use *διανομή* as an indirect object, while five read or have been supplemented to read *διανομή* as a direct object. The only instance of *ποιέω διανομήν* which is securely attested and certainly refers to a distribution of money comes

⁵¹ *IG* XII (3) 219; Appendix 2, 1.a.1 ll. 7-9.

from Istrus;⁵² the verb or *διανομή* itself has been restored in every other instance in which *διανομή* is a direct object of the verb. There are, consequently, grounds for questioning the readings of three of the inscriptions in which *διανομή* is supplemented as the direct object of *ποιέω*, including that from Astupalaea.

However, this rare usage of *ποιέω* is not the only reason for reconsideration. *Διανομή*, as we have noted above, most commonly refers to a distribution of money; there is, to my knowledge, no other instance of ‘*σείτου διανομάς*’, with *ποιέω* or any other verb. Consequently, we have omitted this inscription from the catalogue.

Two other cases of *ποιέω διανομήν* have also been omitted. *IKephesos* 618 contains a supplement reading *δεκάκις δι[ιανομήν ἐποίησε τῇ]*. Such an adverb can be used when describing numerous distributions, but is not thus attested in Ephesus; furthermore, this supplement makes the line as it is transcribed appear significantly longer than any other in the inscription does. This does not, of course, mean that the supplement is necessarily wrong, but Oliver does have grounds for preferring *δεκάκις δι[οθέντα τῇ]*.⁵³ Similarly, an inscription honoring a *hydrophorus* in Didyma has been supplemented as

[διανομὰ]ς πεποιημέ
[νη τῇ β]ουλῇ καὶ τισι
[τῶν πο]λεῖται[ν]⁵⁴

⁵² Cat. # 2.a.2 ll. 25-29: *ἐποίησατο...διανομήν*; a Hellenistic inscription does read *ποιέτω...διαν[ομήν]*, but the inscription clearly indicates that this is a distribution of meat rather than of money (Cat. 3.a.1 ll. 90-92; see below, pp. 37-38).

⁵³ Oliver (1941): 91-2, no. 9; Appendix 2, 2.a.2 l. 19.

⁵⁴ *IDidyma* 329; Appendix 2, 2.b.1 ll. 7-9.

Hydrophori are prominent in the inscriptions of Didyma as providers of *διανομαί*, but there is no other inscription honoring a *hydrophorus* of Artemis which uses *ποιέω* in this manner.

One of the longest inscriptions referring to *διανομαί* is from Rhodiapolis in Lycia, adorning the mausoleum of Opramoas. This is a collection of public decrees and honorary inscriptions commemorating Opramoas' euergetic actions, which are also known from other Lycian inscriptions. Although parts of it are very fragmentary, the geographical region over which Opramoas extended his euergetism is broad enough and well published enough that much can be restored. Furthermore, the parts with which we are concerned are quite repetitive, so that although *διανομή* itself is sometimes restored, there is no reason to question it. However, Christina Kokkinia, the most recent editor of this inscription, has tentatively restored *διανομή* in one of the fragments.⁵⁵ Due to the uncertainty with which she treats this supplement, we too shall be skeptical and omit the *διανομή* described in this part of the inscription, but we will include those in the remainder of the inscription.

A very fragmentary Imperial inscription from Ephesus, which has no surviving verb and reads δι[ανομῶν], has also been omitted.⁵⁶ Δ[ιανομαῖς] is restored in the same way in a second Ephesian inscription, as part of the benefactions performed during service as *γραμματέυς*. Although the plural dative *διανομαῖς* is used in nine other cases

⁵⁵ Kokkinia (2000): 57, XIII E4; Appendix 2, 4.a.1 l. E4.

⁵⁶ *IKeph* 1968a; Appendix 2, 2.a.3 l. 6.

with a participle suggesting official or municipal service (Table 2.1, V), the remaining ‘δ’ in this case may be too tenuous for the restoration to be considered certain.⁵⁷

The single inscription from Olymos recording a *διανομή* honors Phaedruss the son of Moschion, but this inscription is also very fragmentary. Phaedruss is known from ten other inscriptions from Olymos, but none of these describe him as the provider of *διανομαί*. Although several of these inscriptions refer to the interest on a sum of money, they do not seem to refer to or describe a distribution or a large scale donation to support distributions, nor is Phaedruss alone among those individuals named.⁵⁸ The other ten inscriptions concerning Phaedruss do not support the restoration of *ταῖς διανομαῖς* in *IKMylasa* 869.

The only inscription to use *διανομή* as the object of *ἀποδιδώμι* will be omitted for the same reason: *διανομή* is entirely restored and there is no parallel usage that I have found to support this.⁵⁹ Nollé and Schindler have restored a second century inscription from Selge to record *διανομαί* to the councilors and members of the *ecclesia* and their children:

ἀργυρίου [.....] μυ[ρι]άδας τριάκοντα | χαρισσάμε[ν]ην
εἰς συναύξησιν | τῆς πατρίδ[ο]ς [καὶ εἰς διανομ]ὰς βουλευτῶν καὶ ἐκκλησι[ιστ]ῶν
καὶ τέκνων αὐτῶν⁶⁰

⁵⁷ *IKeph* 4342; Appendix 2, 2.a.1 ll. 15-16.

⁵⁸ *IKMylasa* 806, 808, 810, 811, 812, 814, 815, 819, 848, 870; interest: 810, 814, 819; *IKMylasa* 869=Appendix 2, 3.a.1 ll. 19-20.

⁵⁹ *IKStrat* 299; Appendix 2, 3.b.1 ll. 4-5.

⁶⁰ *IKSelge* 17; Appendix 2, 6.a.1 ll. 20-21.

The restoration of *διανομ]άς* is supported by the use of the participle *χαρισαμένην*, but it is nonetheless questionable. The recipients of the distribution are listed in the genitive; however, *διανομή* is never followed by an objective genitive. When the genitive is used to describe the recipients of the *διανομή*, it is preceded by a pronoun such as *ἐκάστω* or *πλίστοις*.⁶¹ Consequently, although the verb *χαρίζω* is used in five other cases for sums of money given for *διανομαί* (*εἰς διανομήν*; see Table 2.1, G.1), the supplement, which is based only on two certain letters, should in this case be rejected.

Finally, *διανομή* is used in a Hellenistic inscription from Pergamum to record the distribution of land; in this case, *δια]νομῆς* has been read by Fränkel. Since it is the only inscription in which *διανομή* is used of a distribution neither of food nor of money, and since it is partially restored, this occurrence has also been omitted from the catalogue.⁶²

Eleven inscriptions, therefore, have been omitted from the catalogue, which contains ninety-three entries, consisting of eighty-seven inscriptions.⁶³ Each entry has been categorized as an honorary decree or inscription, a public decree, an Imperial letter, or a passing mention. Table 1.1 enumerates the entries of each type.

⁶¹ For example, Cat. # 6.f.3 l. 6: ἔδωκεν διανομῆς ἐκάστω τῶν πολιτῶν; cf. below, Chapter Two, pp. 44-45.

⁶² *IPerg* 8(1) 245c; Appendix 2, 5.a.1 ll. 46-47. We should note here that although this inscription does use *διανομή* to refer to a distribution of land—not of money—it is a Hellenistic inscription, which indicates that *διανομαί* could refer to distributions of various materials in epigraphic as well as literary texts (above, pp. 17, no. 22) prior to Imperial Roman governorship of Asia Minor.

⁶³ One of the omissions discussed above is a fragment of the Opramoas-inscription from Rhodiapolis, which mentions *διανομαί* several times; only one of these occurrences has been omitted, but the remainder of the inscription will be considered in the following pages.

Honorary ⁶⁴	81
Public Decree	7
Imperial Letter	3
Passing Mention	2
Total	93

Table 1.1. Categorization of the Catalogue Entries.

The honorary decrees are quite simply those which honor a benefactor for the provision of distributions of cash, often among other benefactions. Into this category fall those inscriptions which may be considered career inscriptions, detailing the public services over a lifetime of the benefactor, and those which commemorate a specific benefaction, such as the dedication of a building accompanied by a distribution. Consequently, most of the inscriptions are concerned with more than *διανομαί*.

Although the honorary decrees and inscriptions are by far the most numerous in this survey, inscriptions in the other categories will not be ignored. As Table 1.1 indicates, the inscriptions which we have categorized as public decrees are the second most numerous. In this category we have placed six inscriptions which make arrangements for distributions, and one which is very fragmentary.⁶⁵

⁶⁴ The honorary category consists of both honorary inscriptions and honorary decrees. A distinction between these two is made in the catalogue, but for the purposes of discussion, we have considered them together. The honorary inscriptions are those which simply honor the benefactor, while the decrees are those inscriptions which reflect a part or all of the decree which was passed by the *βουλή* and *δῆμος*; the phrase *ἡ βουλή καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐτίμησεν*, however, does not constitute such a reflection. Instead, the honorary decrees have been separated from the honorary inscriptions by the appearance of, for example, *ἔδοξε τῇ βουλῇ*. Following this criteria, there are 69 honorary inscriptions, and 12 honorary decrees. When it is possible to make this distinction, though, the two types of inscriptions still follow, for the most part, the formula which we shall outline in the first part of Chapter Two.

⁶⁵ Provisions: Cat. # 4.b.3, 4.b.6, 4.b.7, 4.b.14, 4.b.16, 4.c.2; Fragmentary: Cat. # 4.b.13.

The Imperial letters are those documents which have come from provincial governors or their agents to individuals or an entire city. One permits the continuance of the *διανομαί* according to the local custom, and a second appears to have been written in recognition of the fulfillment of civic obligations to the Emperor; the final letter is a rebuke to the magistrates, *βουλή* and *δῆμος* of Ephesus for their failure to properly honor and acknowledge one of their benefactors.⁶⁶

The two which have been categorized as ‘passing-mentions’ deserve a note: each refers very briefly to a *διανομή*. The first of these, from the island of Cos, is discussed at more length below, but is simply a religious inscription which makes arrangements for a distribution as a small part of the celebration. The second is a *κούρητες* list from Ephesus recording a *διανομή* during the initiation.⁶⁷

iv) Chronology of the Inscriptions

The earliest *διανομή*-inscription from Asia Minor, to my knowledge, dates to about 300 BC and the latest to the beginning of the fourth century AD. Many of these inscriptions have been dated with a reasonable degree of accuracy to within a few years or to the reign of an Emperor through supplementary evidence such as lists of Imperial high-priests; others, however, are approximately dated only, on the basis of various details: onomastics—such as the presence of an Imperial *praenomen* and *nomen*—, the titulature of a local festival, or the use of a superlative adjective to describe the city or *βουλή-τῇ*

⁶⁶ The Imperial letters are: Cat. # 1.c.1 (continuance), 4.b.8 (recognition) and 4.b.10 (rebuke).

⁶⁷ Cos: Cat. # 3.a.1 and below pp. 37-38; Ephesus: Cat. # 4.b.11.

ἱερωτάτη βουλῇ from AD 230, for example.⁶⁸ Consequently, while it is possible to assign to some inscriptions a specific date, others can only be said to be from the first, second or third centuries; still others are so fragmentary that it is not possible to group them even into these broad categories. These, and others, have been categorized as 'Imperial' only in Table 1.2, which summarizes the chronological distribution of the catalogued inscriptions.

	Early	Middle	Late	Total
Hellenistic	1			1
Imperial	2	19	2	23
Augustus (27-14)	1	1		2
Tiberius (14-37)	1	2		3
1 st century			4	4
Trajan (98-117)	2 (1)			2 (1)
Hadrian (117-138)	1	5 (3)	3	10 [2]
Antoninus (138-161)	6 (5)	1	1	8 (5)
Aurelius (161-180)		2	1	3
Commodus (176-192)		4		4
2 nd century	2	4	4	10
Caracalla (198-217)		3 (4)	1	4 [4]
3 rd century		4	1	5
4 th century	1			1
No date		1		1
Total				81 (6) [6]

Table 1.2: Chronological distribution of the *διανομή*-inscriptions.⁶⁹

The Hellenistic example stands out as an oddity among so many Imperial examples. This is a religious document from Cos concerning temple lands and the

⁶⁸ Cat. # 4.d.14 ll. 4-5.

⁶⁹ The inscriptions enumerated in the Hellenistic, Imperial, 1st century, 2nd century, 3rd century, 4th century and No Date categories are only those which have not been dated more specifically to the reign of an Emperor. The numbers in brackets indicate those occurrences which appear in continuous inscriptions but separate catalogue entries. Thus, the distributions of the Opramoas-inscription from Rhodiapolis appear in six catalogue entries (Cat. # 7.b.1-6), so that we have bracketed five of them, and there are a total of thirteen catalogue entries from the reign of Antoninus Pius. Inscriptions which are duplicates and appear twice in the catalogue have been counted once and the repetitions have been included in square brackets. Catalogue entries which record more than one *διανομή* have not been counted repeatedly.

celebration of a local festival which served as the object of the generosity of Diomedon in about 300 BC. A ritual marriage is to be completed in the month of Petagitnus and is to include a public feast on the sixteenth and a *διανομή* on the seventeenth.⁷⁰ However, this is not a distribution of cash. The *διανομή* is here a distribution of the sacrificial victims offered in the customary manner to Heracles.

The latest inscription available for this thesis, from Ephesus, is dated to approximately AD 301.⁷¹ Table 1.2 suggests that there was a decrease in attestations of *διανομαί* following the reign of Caracalla, but there is no reason why these distributions should have come to a complete halt at this time. Of course, this was a period of political upheaval, which may have made some wealthy citizens less inclined to consume their own resources in helping their fellow citizens and earning public prestige for themselves; the instability may also have made an endowment less reliable as a source of income. However, such a time would also have made it more probable that the citizens would demand a distribution or a benefaction of some sort, as was entirely possible.⁷²

⁷⁰ Cat. # 3.a.1. There is no evidence that *διανομή* was used to describe distributions of gifts other than of money. Benefactors could and did offer shares in meals, but the identification of such a distribution as a *διανομή* rests on the translation of 'καί' (Cat. # 3.b.1 ll. 14, 17; cf. above, Chapter One, pp. 24-26; below, Chapter Three, p. 103, n. 74); if the *καί* is translated as 'that is', we have an indication that *διανομή* of meat had to be explicitly said to be of meat. There are several indications that when meat was distributed, it was termed a *κρεανομία*, both in epigraphic and literary evidence (for example, Lib. *Decl.* 23.1.38.5: εὐνοίαν αὐτοῦ δείκνυσιν, ἐστιάσεις, κρεανομαίαι, διανομαί, χορηγίαι, τριηραρχίαι, συνεκδόσεις θυγατέρων, αἰχμαλώτων λύσεις, καὶ ταῦτ' οὐδενὸς ἦττον τῶν μετρίων ἐπεδείξαμην.).

⁷¹ Cat. # 4.b.16.

⁷² See, for example, Dio Chrys. *Or.* 46 with Jones (1978): 19-25; on the effects of the unrest of the third century on Asia Minor in general and Anatolia specifically, see also Mitchell (1993): Vol. I 225-40 and esp. Vol. II 17-18.

However, from the appearance of only two *διανομή*-inscriptions in the late third century and the beginning of the fourth century, we may conclude that the practice of handing out cash was not as common as it had been in the two preceding centuries. Mrozek notes an analogous pattern in the Latin inscriptions of Italy: in the third century, we begin to hear less often of cash-distributions.⁷³ While this may be a consequence of their no longer being given, it cannot be taken as proof of such. These were honorary inscriptions, commemorating the generosity of a benefactor; fewer inscriptions indicates that the practice was no longer considered worthy to be or simply was not commemorated, not necessarily that it was no longer taking place.

There is, of course, a great variety of reasons which may account for such a change of perception, but an obvious one is Christianity and its spread through the Roman population. Paul Veyne notes that Christian giving was significantly different from the distributions with which we are concerned. Assisting the poor became more important than it had been earlier, so that more benefactors directed their *euergetism* towards the lower and more needier classes;⁷⁴ nonetheless, Pliny the Younger does tell us that Trajan was active in the establishment grain funds to assist the poor, and he himself was responsible for an education fund in Comum.⁷⁵ However, the Roman Empire was not

⁷³ Mrozek (1987): 17-27; Mitchell notes a general decline in the willingness of magistrates to fulfill the roles which had formerly been honorary (Vol. II 75-6).

⁷⁴ Veyne (1976): 62-7.

⁷⁵ Pliny, *Pan.* 28.4-7 (Trajan's alimentary fund), *Ep.* 4.13 (Pliny's education fund); Pliny also established an alimentary fund worth HS 500,000 for the children of Comum (7.18.2).

converted to Christianity all at once, so that we may expect other *διανομή*-inscriptions to be found dating beyond the late third century and well into the fourth century.⁷⁶

Although the inscriptions recording cash-distributions are universally Imperial, there does not seem to be an even spread during the Empire. The majority of the first century AD is absent from this survey, in the certainly dated material, though it is possible that several of the unassigned Imperial and first century inscriptions fall within the reign of one of the later Julio-Claudian or Flavian Emperors. A thorough analysis of the frequency of inscriptions recording *διανομαί* would be misleading because of the incomplete material evidence, but it is nonetheless possible to draw another significant conclusion from Table 1.2: there is a notable increase in the second century, particularly

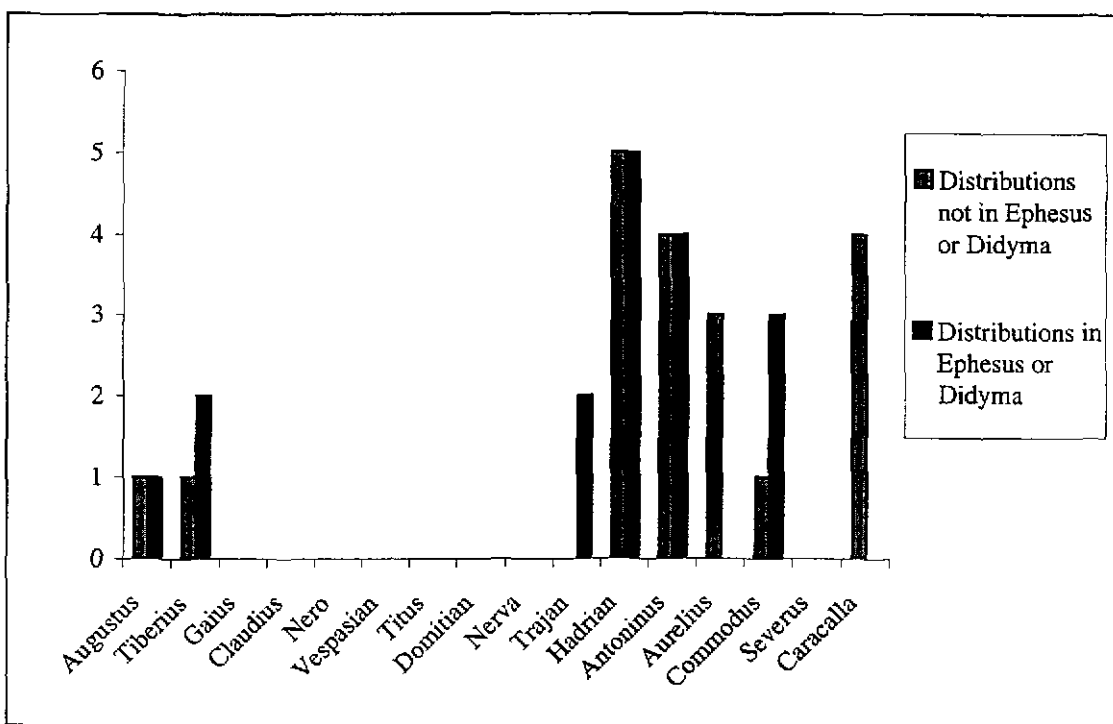


Chart 1.1: Frequency of Distributions According to the Reigning Emperor.⁷⁷

⁷⁶ For a discussion of the Christianization of parts of Asia Minor, see Mitchell (1993): vol. II 53 ff.

during the reigns of Hadrian, Antoninus Pius and Caracalla. The inscriptions of Ephesus and Didyma, the two cities which appear most frequently in our catalogue, account for a significant portion of this swelling in the second century, but the pattern remains similar when these two cities are omitted (Chart 1.1). Overall, it is possible that this pattern is merely an accidental one owing to the survival of the inscriptions.

It is possible that the peaks under Hadrian, Antoninus and Caracalla are due simply to the survival pattern of the inscriptions, but the peaks may also be due to an increase in the epigraphic habit. Such an explanation does indeed seem plausible for the peak in the second century, but we will consider these increases at greater length below in Chapters Two and Three.

IV. *Chapter Conclusions*

We have seen that *δανομαί* were provided in various cities of Asia Minor during the first three centuries AD, and that these distributions consisted of cash-handouts. The primary body of evidence is honorary inscriptions, but other types of inscriptions and literary sources also refer to the practice. Consequently, we have two distinct perspectives of cash-distributions: that of the benefactors themselves, presented in the inscriptions, which naturally presents the action in a positive light, and that of the civic and provincial leaders, presented in our limited literary evidence of *δανομή*, which provides a glimpse of the opinion of the Roman rulers on this practice. As we shall see in

⁷⁷ The data contained in Chart 1.1 is that of Table 1.2. However, only those inscriptions which can

Chapter Three, though, these two groups were closely connected. The inscriptions suggest that *διανομαί* were similar to *sportulae*, in that both terms describe gifts, but they were not entirely interchangeable: *διανομαί* are gifts of money, whereas *sportulae* are gifts of money as well as gifts of food. Furthermore, literary evidence, particularly that of Pliny the Younger, tells us that there was a second, more important, difference between *διανομαί* and *sportulae*. *Διανομαί* could be gifts to a small number of people of high-social standing, such as the members of the *βουλή*, in which case a *διανομή* is virtually the same as a *sportula* of money as it is used in the Latin inscriptions collected by Mrozek and Duncan-Jones; however, *διανομαί* could also be gifts on a much larger scale to a large number of people of various social standings, which is what we find Pliny concerned about.⁷⁸ Just as he seeks Trajan's advice on the matter, there are several hints in the epigraphic evidence that permission was required from Imperial authorities before any distributions could take place.⁷⁹

be dated to the reign of an Emperor or to a narrow time span have been included; those which have been dated only as Hellenistic, or Imperial, or as belonging to a certain century have been omitted.

⁷⁸ The more common recipients of *διανομαί* in Asia Minor are discussed below in Chapter Three, pp. 99-115.

⁷⁹ See below, Chapter Two, pp. 76-77, Cat. # 6.d.1 ll. 5-9; cf. Cat. # 1.c.1.

CHAPTER TWO: EPIGRAPHIC EVIDENCE FOR Διανομή

I. *Introduction*

The majority of the epigraphic evidence for διανομαί in Asia Minor comes from honorary inscriptions. Although they vary over the three centuries from which they come, they are nonetheless very formulaic and frequently tell us on which occasions the handouts of money were offered. Both of these factors permit the restoration of many inscriptions which have been damaged, even though the longer and more elaborate inscriptions could and did extend and adapt the basic formula. As we have seen, though, such supplements should be treated with caution.¹

II. *Formulae and Verbs*

The simplest inscriptions, which are not always among the earliest attestations, record simply that the βουλή and δῆμος of a city have honored a benefactor who has provided διανομαί for the city, the citizens or a specific group of citizens. Occasionally, the γερουσία is included among the commemorators; however, even when this is the case, the verb of honoring—usually an aorist third person verb such as ἐτίμησεν—is usually, but not always, singular.²

¹ See above, Chapter One pp. 28-34.

² For example, Cat. # 1.d.1 l. 19, 3.c.1 ll. 1, 24-25; cf. Mitchell (1993): I.201, who reasonably concludes from this tendency that the δῆμος was declining in importance throughout the Imperial period; however, he may over-emphasize the importance still enjoyed by the collective βουλή, as it became common for individual families, such as the Vedii Antonini in Ephesus, to take a prominent, if not dominant, role not

The name of the benefactor, or benefactors, most often appears in the accusative as the object of this verb. However, several inscriptions give the name of the benefactor in the nominative, in which case we usually find a verb such as ἔδωκεν or a form of the participle δούς. Δίδωμι is not, of course, the only verb used to refer to the provision of cash handouts, but it is the most common; Table 2.1 (p. 47) summarizes all of the relevant verbs attested in our inscriptions.

The benefactions performed by the honorand are commonly reported with aorist participles. Many inscriptions record in addition to these benefactions the public offices held by the benefactor, so that it is possible to identify with which offices διανομαί were commonly associated.³ It is common, therefore, for a benefactor to be honored as *having fulfilled*, for example, the office of *hydrophorus*, or *having been* gymnasiarch.⁴ Naturally, this also applies to the provision of distributions: benefactors, when they are listed in the accusative, are honored as ‘having provided’ or ‘having given’ διανομαί.

Recipients of the distribution are usually listed in the dative, commonly in descending order of social rank if necessary; the members of the βουλή thus appear before the members of the γερουσία, who in turn appear before the δῆμος, paralleling the typical

only in the city but also in the βουλή itself (Schulte (1994): 95). An inscription from Stratonicea (Cat. # 6.d.2 l. 11) does read ἐτιμήσαν, though the commemorators have been lost, as does a second inscription from Aphrodisias (Cat. # 6.c.3 l. 1).

³ See below, Chapter Three, pp. 86-99.

⁴ For example, Cat. # 4.d.2 l. 3: πληρώσασα δὲ καὶ τὴν ὑδροφορίαν; Cat. # 4.b.15 l. 6: γυμνασιάρχον παντῶν τῶν γυμνασίων.

Latin ordering of *decuriones*, *Augustales* and *plebs*.⁵ There are instances of the recipients in the genitive plural where a dative adjective such as *ἐκάστῳ* precedes the group.⁶

Within this listing of the recipients, the sum of cash given to each individual are, in certain inscriptions, listed, most likely with the intent of emphasizing the generosity of the donor. If this is the case, we may expect that the larger the sum given to each individual or the greater the number of the recipients, the more likely this information is to be mentioned; on the other hand, the lack of a specified sum may, but need not necessarily, indicate that the *διανομή* was not as large as others in the same city or region, or that it was of a standard size. There is insufficient evidence to permit us to establish a common amount in Asia Minor as a whole or even for an individual city. This deficiency may be an indication that *διανομαί* were distributed in standard amounts which were relatively steady in each city, so that there was no need to mention the value of the gift except in the case of above average gifts.

As we have noted, though, this is only a general formula. Given the geographical spread of the provenance of these inscriptions—which is only emphasized by the mountainous nature of Asia Minor—we must expect variations to occur from region to region. Similarly, the precise role of the citizens in various cities naturally varied, so that

⁵ Cf., for example, *CIL* XI.6117. There is, of course, no group in the East which corresponds to the *Augustales* of the West. However, as we shall in Chapter Three, the *γερουσία* can be seen more as a social group than a political group, so that it is distinct from the *βουλή* and the *δῆμος*; when this group does appear among the recipients in our inscriptions, it occupies the same *place* as the *Augustales* in the West, though it does not have the same social and political functions.

⁶ For example, Cat. # 6.f.3 l. 6: *ἔδωκεν διανομῆς ἐκάστῳ τῶν πολιτῶν*; cf. above, Chapter One, pp. 33-34.

neither the *δῆμος* nor the *γερονσία* are universally attested among the bodies responsible for voting honors to the benefactor or benefactors. Of course, there are also variations within cities.

One variation between cities seems to have been the use of the accusative or the nominative for the name of the benefactor. We have noted that the use of the accusative is more common in the honorary inscriptions. However, the benefactors of Didyma who most often provided *διανομαί* were either the prophets of Apollo or the *hydrophori* of Artemis; in all but one case, these benefactors appear in the nominative.⁷

A. One Time Distributions

The formula used in the inscriptions also varies as a reflection of the nature of the distribution. Such variations are apparent when we consider the *διανομαί* according to the frequency of the distributions; for this, we will consider distributions which were not repeated, distributions which were arranged in the testament of the benefactor, and distributions which were to be recurrent events.

Table 2.1 summarizes all of the verbs used with *διανομή* in its various cases. The table indicates that a form of the verb *δίδωμι* was most commonly used in our inscriptions, though this tells us only that the benefactor *gave* a *διανομή* (Table 2.1, A.1-4). When this verb is used, *διανομή* is the direct object in three-quarters of the cases. In general, it is these inscriptions which, despite their numerical majority, tell us the least about the practice of handing out gifts of money—the verb *δίδωμι* usually tells us only that a

	Δίδωμι		50
A.1	+ διανομὴν	38	
A.2	+ διανομῆς	7	
A.3	+ εἰς διανομὰς	4	
A.4	ἐπιδόντα διανομὰς	1	
	Καταλείπω		6
B.1	+ (δηνάρια) διανομὴν	3	
B.2	+ δωρεὰς εἰς διανομὴν	3	
	Ἀνατίθωμι		5
C.1	+ ἀργυρίον εἰς διανομὰς	5	
	Λαμβάνω		4
D.1	+ διανομὴν	4	
	Ποιέω		5
E.1	+ ἐκ δύο δηναρίων διανομὴν ⁸	2	
E.2	+ ἐπιδόσεις διανομῶν	1	
E.3	+ δωρεὰν εἰς διανομὰς	2	
	Χωρέω		4
F.1	τὸν τόκον χωρεῖν εἰς διανομὴν	4	
	Χαρίζω		3
G.1	+ δωρεὰν εἰς διανομὴν	3	
	Δωρέω		2
H.1	+ ἀργον, ἀργυρίου μύρια ε εἰς διανομὴν	2	
	Μερίζομαι		2
I.1	μερίζεται διανομή	2	
	Single Attestations		11
I	διανομὴν γενέσθαι	1	
K	ἔσται διανομή	1	
L	δηλοῦται ἀργυρίου (?) εἰς διανομὰς	1	
M	ἐπιτυχόντος τὰς διανομὰς	1	
N	τῆρεσθαι τὸ παλὸν ἔθος τῶν διανομῶν	1	
O	ἐπιτελεῖ διανομὴν	1	
P	προκατάρχουσα διανομὴν	1	
Q	ἀποτείσσεται δηνάρια μύρια εἰς διανομὴν	1	
R	ἀναπλήρωσαν μύρια εἰς διανομὴν	1	
S	ὀρίσασαν ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ τῆς πανηγύρεως διανομῆς	1	
T	καλεῖν τὸ πλῆθος ἐπὶ διανομῇ	1	
U	ἀνανεωσάμενος διανομὰς	1	
	Participles of Office		12
V.1	+ διανομαῖς	1	
V.2	+ ἐν διανομαῖς	7	
V.3	+ ἐπὶ διανομαῖς	1	
V.4	+ μετὰ διανομὰς	1	
V.5.a	εὐδοκιμεῖν χάριν εἰς διανομὰς	1	
V.6.a	γυμνασιαρχικὴν διανομὴν	1	
W	No Verb		5
Total			109

Table 2.1.: Verbs used with Διανομή in the Inscriptions.⁹

⁷ Cat. # 4.d.11 ll. 8-9, in which the *hydrophorus* of Artemis, Statilia Julia, δοῦσαν [δὲ ταῖς π]α[ρ]θένους / τὰς διανομὰς.

⁸ A similar use of ποιέω διανομὴν occurs in the Hellenistic distribution of meat (Cat. #3.a.1).

distribution was given, rather than how it was funded and how much each individual received.

The size of the individual gift is given in only one entry when the accusative *διανομήν* is used with a form of *δίδωμι*.¹⁰ This information is more often given when *διανομή* is an indirect object, either in the genitive or preceded by the preposition *εἰς*. The genitive *διανομῆς* is usually followed by the size of the individual gifts in the form ‘*ἀνὰ δηνάρια δύο*’,¹¹ so that this use of the genitive, which only appears in connection with *δίδωμι*, is best explained as a partitive genitive.¹²

Three of the four inscriptions in which *εἰς διανομήν* follows *δίδωμι* are clearly meant to describe *διανομαί* repeated at regular intervals.¹³ The fourth instance is in the benefaction of an anonymous benefactor of Xanthos.¹⁴ The size of this donation, 25,000

⁹ A full version of this table with all of the attested forms of each verb is located in Appendix 3.

¹⁰ Cat. # 7.g.1 ll. 16-17: *δόντα διανομήν πᾶσι ἀνὰ (δηνάρια) τρία ἡμισυ*.

¹¹ Cat. # 6.f.3 l. 7.

¹² As we suggested above, *διανομή* can refer to the total amount from which the distributions were made rather than to the individual handouts (Chapter One, p. 18, n. 23).

¹³ Cat. # 4.b.6 l. 221-226, and 4.b.7 (x2).

¹⁴ Cat. # 7.a.1=Baland (1981) no. 66; Baland identifies the benefactor of this inscription, whose name has been lost, with Opramoas of Rhodiapolis based on the similarity of the gifts in Baland (1981): nos. 66 and 67 and the on find-spot of the inscription, near the statue base of Opramoas. Coulton (1987): 171-8, however, disputes this identification, since the same benefactions are not recorded in Opramoas' mausoleum and because of the fact, among others, that the inscription was not found *in situ*. Large benefactions to cities in Lycia are far from uncommon during the second century, so that there is not reason to assume that an individual known to us from other donations must have made such a benefaction. Similarly, Opramoas was not necessarily alone in making a donation to the Lycian *koinon*; therefore, in the pages which follow, we, like Coulton, will consider this donation the work of a now-anonymous benefactor.

denaria, suggests that it was intended to be a capital fund, but we will discuss capital funds at greater length below.¹⁵

The use of *εἰς διανομὴν* or *διανομάς*, however, is not limited to *δίδωμι*. This phrase is used in twenty-six cases with nine other verbs, almost always indicating a donation made by the benefactor *for the purpose of* distributions. If a specific sum is not mentioned in these entries, it is usually because that part of the inscription has been damaged and cannot be restored, or because a noun such as *δωρεάς* was used.¹⁶

Only three of the nine verbs which use this phrase also appear without it: *δίδωμι*, *ποιέω*, and *(κατα)λείπω*. We have noted that the combination of *ποιέω* and *διανομὴν* is uncommon, occurring only in Istrus (Table 2.1, E.1).¹⁷ The genitive *διανομῶν* is used differently with *ποιέω* than the partitive genitive with *δίδωμι* (Table 2.1, E.2). It appears in a decree honoring a prophet of Apollo in Didyma who provided distributions for the *βουλῇ* and *πᾶσι τοῖς πολίταις* during his priesthood;¹⁸ in this case, it is the subjective genitive of *ἐπιδόσεις*, so that it refers to donations consisting of *διανομαί*. The two cases in which *ποιέω* takes the prepositional phrase *εἰς διανομάς* (Table 2.1, E.3), however, both occur in the Opramoas-documents, which record the donation of interest-bearing sums to

¹⁵ See below, p. 50-55.

¹⁶ Damaged amount: Cat. # 7.c.1 ll. 10-11: (θηναρίον) μ[ύρια...../- -]α πεντακ[οσια]; *δωρεάς*: Cat. # 7.a.1 l. 1.

¹⁷ Cat. # 2.a.2 ll. 25-29; cf. above, Chapter One, p. 30, n. 52.

¹⁸ Cat. #. 4.d.6 l. 5.

support annual distributions, as we shall discuss below.¹⁹ Consequently, although these two uses of *εἰς διανομὰς* are not accompanied by an indication that they were intended to be annual occurrences, it is possible that this is in fact the case.

B. Testamentary Distributions

The verb (κατα)λείπω, we see, occurs as often with the phrase *εἰς διανομὰς* as without it, but the occasional omission does not seem to alter the meaning of the testament (Table 2.1, B.1-2). In all but one usage of *καταλείπω*, the distributions are clearly meant to be lasting; that is, this verb refers to the bequeathal of a capital sum whose interest would be distributed.²⁰ The uncertain instance is the Imperial statue base of Gaius Julius Bassus from Pontus: Bassus was honored posthumously with a statue by the *βουλή* and *δῆμος* of Sebastopolis Heracleiopolis because he had made arrangements for distributions to the *πατρίς*.²¹ However, the sum of money which was given to support these distributions does not appear to have been inscribed. Since *καταλείπω* is used elsewhere of annual or repeated distributions which took place after the death of the benefactor, though, it is reasonable to suggest that this is also the sense here.

Thus, we may suggest that '*εἰς διανομὰς*' has a similar sense in many of its appearances to '*εἰς αἰωνίους διανομὰς*', which indicates a testamentary foundation from

¹⁹ Cat. # 7.b.4 ll. C7-9, and 7.b.6 ll. C10-11; cf. below pp. 50-55.

²⁰ Cat. # 4.d.13 ll. 4-6: ἀφ' ὧν τοῦ τόκου / αὐτῶν λήφεται / διανομήν; 5.b.1 l. 4: εἰς διανομήν ἐτήσιον; 5.c.1 l. 9: ζῶντα διανομήν; 7.c.2 ll. 19-21: αἰωνίους δωρεὰς... / εἰς... / διανομὰς; 7.h.1 ll. 12-18: ἐξ ἡμίσιος / [μ]έ[ρ]ους /... / εἰς τε διανομὰς.

²¹ Cat. # 9.a.1: Γ. Ἰούλιον Βάσσον/ἀπὸ στρατιῶν φιλό/πατριν γενόμενον, / ὡς καὶ διανομὰς καταλιπεῖν τῇ πατρ[ί]δι καθ' ἣ ἔδοξεν / τῇ Βουλῇ καὶ δήμῳ ἀνδράντα αὐτοῦ ἀνασταθεῖν.

which the cash-gifts were paid out.²² However, such distributions were probably not in fact distributed ‘forever’, but rather only so long as the capital provided sufficient interest and the ἐπιμελήτης honored the instructions of the deceased founder. There are no inscriptions which tell us that money donated to provide *διανομαί* was diverted to another purpose, but there are several which established penalties for anyone who attempted to divert the funds.²³

A phrase similar to ‘εἰς αἰωνίους διανομάς’ appears in a second century AD inscription from Sardis: ‘εἰς διανομὴν ἐτήσιον’.²⁴ As in the case of Julius Bassus, Tiberius Claudius Silanius left a foundation, the size of which has been lost, to provide *διανομαί*. Table 2.1 indicates that five verbs, ἀνατίθημι, χωρέω, χαρίζομαι, δωρέω and δηλόω are also followed by ‘εἰς διανομάς’, but never by *διανομήν* without the preposition or by any other form of *διανομή*, so that these verbs refer to the establishment of foundations to support cash-gifts (Table 2.1, C, F, G, H, and L, respectively). Of these five, χαρίζομαι and χωρέω

²² This phrase appears only in Aphrodisias and always of distributions which are clearly testamentary; Cat. # 6.c.1 ll. 19-20; 6.c.2 ll. 3-4; 6.c.3 ll. 5-6; 6.c.4 ll. 6, 8; 6.c.5 ll. 33-34; cf. Robert (1965): 179.

²³ An inscription from Ephesus contains a clause specifying a fine for anyone who alters any of the provisions of the decree (Cat. # 4.b.3; Table 2.1, Q), and the decree of Nicomedes of Ephesus does tell us that a ritual was interrupted for many years due to a lack of funding (Cat. # 4.b.12 l. 8). Similarly, a prophet in Didyma is honored for renewing *διανομαί* for the βουλή, πολῖται and γυναῖκες (Cat. #4.d.1 ll. 14-16; Table 2.1, U). A benefactor of Perge specifies a fine of one thousand *denaria* to be paid by anyone who violates his arrangements for a festival in honour of himself (*IKPerge* 77 ll. 9-13). There is also evidence of temple funds being mis-appropriated for the purpose of *διανομαί* in a letter from Hadrian to the inhabitants of Delphi (*Fouilles de Delphes*, III.4.302): [μὲν κ]ελεύω καὶ τὸ ἐπιδέκατο[ν] τῶν τειμημάτων ὃ οἱ δικαζόμενοι παρατέθειται Θεσσαλο[ύ]ς ἀποδοῦναι τῷ θεῷ. τὰ τῶν / [ἀγωνοθεσιῶν? χορήματα ἀ]φ’ ὧν δι[ανο]μάς γενέσθαι πυνθάνο[μαι, καὶ ταῦτα δοῦνα]ι αὐτοῦς τῷ θεῷ ὅς ποτε ἔφθη διοικη/[σάμενος κελεύ]ω ὅσα δ[ὲ] τοῦ θεοῦ χορήματα ἤδη διένειμάν τι/[γες κελεύω τῷ] θεῷ εἰσπρά[ξαι καὶ τὰ τῶν διανε]ιμάντων ὀνόματα / [ἀνακοινῶσαι] μοι τὴν ταχ[ίστην].

²⁴ Cat. 5.b.1 l.4.

alone are used of foundations which first provided distributions during the lifetime of the benefactor.

Δηλόω and ἀνατιθήμι occur only in Aphrodisias, always with 'εἰς αἰωνίους διανομάς'.²⁵ Δωρέω is used in a similar manner, though not exclusively of cash sums, and only with 'εἰς διανομήν' (or διανομάς). This verb appears only in two entries from Lycia, describing large-scale donations by Opramoas and a benefactor whose name is not known. Opramoas' donation consists of interest-bearing land, the proceeds of which were to provide handouts for the σειτομετρούμενοι on the occasion of penteteric games. The second inscription records a gift of 61,000 *denaria* for distributions and the celebration of a festival.²⁶

C. Repeated, Non-testamentary Distributions

The final two verbs which are followed only by 'εἰς διανομήν' are, like those which use 'εἰς αἰωνίους διανομάς,' geographically restricted in their appearance: χωρεῖν εἰς διανομήν appears only in the mausoleum of Opramoas, while two of the three attestations of χαρίζομαι occur in documents pertaining to his donations; the final inscription to use χαρίζομαι in this connection also comes from Rhodiapolis.²⁷ In each of these cases, the

²⁵ Cat. # 6.c.1-5. Note, however, Cat. # 6.c.5 ll. 32-34: τῇ λαμπροτάτῃ δὲ βουλῇ καὶ τῇ ἱερωτάτῃ γερουσίᾳ ἀνατεθεικότα χρήματα εἰς αἰώνων / κλήρ(ω)ν διανομάς, where we again have a subjective genitive, though in this case it is διανομαί consisting of a lasting lottery.

²⁶ Σειτομετρούμενοις: Cat. # 7.d.1 ll. 24-30: δωρησάμενον καὶ κατὰ δια[θή]λκην ἀγρὸν ἐν τῇ Κορυθαλλί/κῃ ἐν τόπῳ Χαράδραις καὶ Παιδα/γωγῇ φέροντα ἐτήσια ασν εἰς / πανήγυριν πενταετηρικὴν καὶ διαν[ο]/μήν ἀνδράσιν σειτομετρούμενοις / ἀνὰ α; 61,000 *denaria*: Cat. 7.e.1 ll. 18-19: δεδωρημένον τῇ πόλ[ε]ι ἀργ[υ]ρίου / (δηνάρων) μύ[ρια]ς, (δηνάρια) ,α εἰς τε διανομά[ς] καὶ] πανήγυριν.

²⁷ Χωρέω: Cat. # 7.b.1 ll. H6-9; 7.b.2 ll. B10-12; 7.b.3 ll. F2-4; 7.b.4 ll. B7-10; χαρίζομαι: Cat. # 7.b.5 ll. G5-6, 7.c.1 ll. 8-10 (Opramoas), and 7.b.7 ll. 21-24 (Heracleitus).

benefactor donated (*κεχαρισσάμενον*) a sum of money which was to be invested; in four cases, we are told that the interest on this sum of money was to go towards (*χωρεῖν*) a cash distribution. Although the *χωρέω*-phrase is omitted from two of the Opramoas-documents, *χαρίζομαι* is still used for the donation of a capital sum, so that we may suggest that in the third use of this verb, also in Rhodiapolis, the sense is the same—a capital fund was donated to support repeated distributions.

There is a variety of verbs which are attested only once, as Table 2.1 indicates. Four of these verbs, *εἰμί*, *τηρέομαι*, *ἐπιτέλλω*, and *ἀποτίνω* (Table 2.1, K, N, O, Q) appear in public decrees or letters, so that they make arrangements for distributions. One of the *διανομαί* is to be funded with fines exacted from anyone who violates the provisions of the decree, the first portion of which has been lost,²⁸ while a second is to be administered (*ἐπιτελεῖ*) by the *γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς* of Ephesus.²⁹ Both of these distributions, like most of those which are described by verbs in this category, are intended to be recurrent events. Two other verbs, *ὀρίζω* and *καλέω* (Table 2.1, S, T), may also be used to refer to repeated distributions, but there is no certain evidence for this.³⁰

Although we have noted that there is a pattern in the honorary decrees and inscriptions, it is not universally followed, so that some of these are very similar to the public decrees in that they record specific instructions for the *διανομή*. Two Ephesian

²⁸ Cat. # 4.b.3 l. 2.

²⁹ Cat. # 4.b.6 ll. 223-226.

³⁰ In the second case (Cat. 5.e.1 ll. 10-11), arrangements are made *πάν τὸ πλήθος καλεῖν τῶν ἐλευθέρων καὶ τῶν δούλων ἐπὶ τε τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ ἐπὶ διανομῇ ἀργυρίου*, but the verb is entirely restored.

inscriptions from the early first century AD honoring Gaius Stertinius Orpex in particular deviate from the formula outlined at the beginning of this chapter to describe the donation of money to a civic body which will act as *ἐπιμελήτης* (Table 2.1, D: *λαμβάνω*).³¹ These inscriptions record the donations of Gaius Stertinius Orpex to the *βουλή* and *γερονσία* for annual *διανομαί*; the two inscriptions probably record the same distributions. The sum of money was dedicated for the purpose of funding distributions. But the verb *καθιέρω* suggests that these funds were entrusted to the temple of Artemis, which Orpex may have provided with statues.³² However, instead of the preposition *εἰς*, we have a purpose clause following *καθιέρω* in each case:

*καθιέρωσαν δὲ καὶ τῇ βουλ[ῇ]
ἀργύριον, ὅπως ἐκ τῆς προσόδου κατ' ἐν[ιαυ]-
τὸν πρὸ τῶν τειμῶν αὐτῶν ἐν [τῇ] ἀγο[ρ]ᾷ λ[αμ]-
βάνωσ[ι] διανομήν· ὁμοίως καὶ τῇ γερονσ[ί]α,
ὅπως λαμβάνωσι ἐν τῷ σταδίῳ πρὸ [τῶν]
τειμῶν αὐτῶν διανομήν.³³*

Clearly, these are meant to be annual distributions, but as in the case of *αἰωνίους διανομάς*, they would have continued only if the capital funds were not diverted to another purpose. However, that this foundation was administered by the cult of Artemis should not be taken as an indication that it could not be diverted.³⁴

³¹ Cat. # 4.b.1 ll. 9-14 and 4.b.2 ll. 9-15.

³² This is a conjecture, based on the incomplete restoration of the first portion of the decree honoring Orpex (Cat. # 4.b.1 ll. 1-5): [-]τη εἰ [- ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Ἀρ]τέμιδος / [- σὺν τοῖς] ἀνδριάσιν / [καὶ] παντὶ [τῷ -]ου κόσμῳ καὶ / [τῷ] καταστρώματι.

³³ Cat. # 4.b.1 ll. 9-14.

³⁴ See above, p. 51, n. 23.

Finally, Table 2.1 shows two occurrences of *διανομή μερίζεται* (Table 2.1, I). Both occurrences of *διανομή μερίζεται* appear in a single inscription from Tenos.³⁵ This is an archaic use of *μερίζομαι*, probably reflecting a tradition in which *διανομή* could still be interchanged with *μερίς*, a distribution of meat or food, since the only other *διανομή* in Tenos is the object of the participle *δόντα*.³⁶ The verb is used of distributions eight times in Asia Minor and the Aegean islands, occasionally of money.³⁷ It is clear in this case that money is being distributed from a capital fund so that the appearance of this verb here is unusual, but not unprecedented. The inscription also records an endowment to support a *balaneion*, so that we cannot eliminate the possibility that this money was allocated for the purchase of oil.

III. *Funding Διανομαί*

As we shall see and as Pliny the Younger says, *διανομαί* were public and official events. The division of the distributions into the categories which we have just discussed is summarized in Chart 2.1 and Table 2.2, for the purposes of which, each occurrence of the term *διανομή* has been enumerated.

³⁵ Cat. # 3.c.1 ll. 14, 17-18. Le Bas (1839): 8-14 no. 14, has dated this inscription, due to the lack of Imperial titlature, to the end of the first century BC when 'la taxe de la capitation était devenue si onéreuse pour les pays soumis à la domination romaine.' Consequently, though this inscription is not strictly speaking Imperial, it is Roman.

³⁶ *Μερίς*: above, Chapter One, pp. 24, n. 39; *δόντα διανομήν*: Cat. # 3.c.2 ll. 12-14.

³⁷ For example, *SIG*³ 577, an early Hellenistic inscription from Miletus.

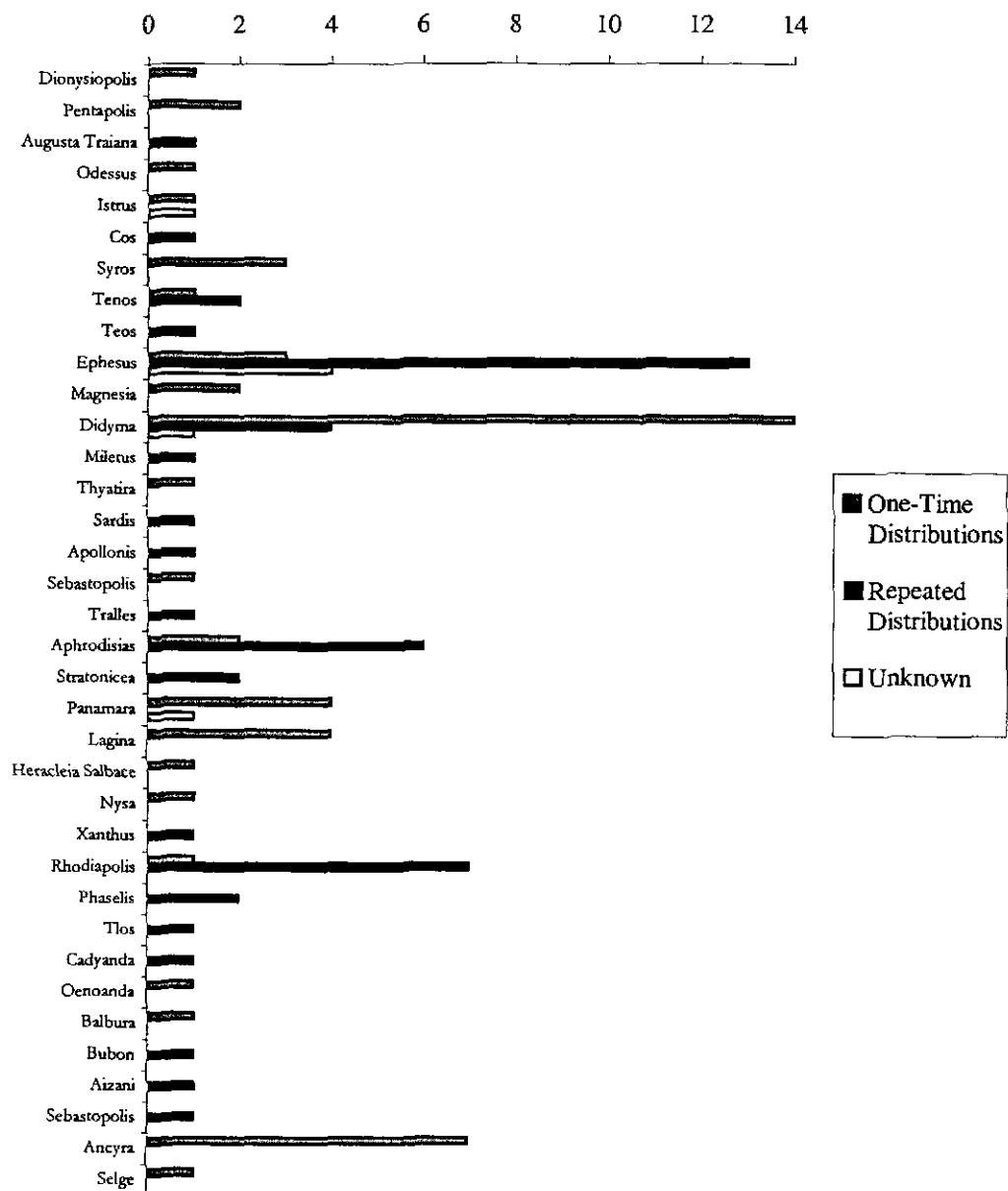


Chart 2.1: Types of Distributions by Frequency and City.

One-time Offerings	53
Annual Offerings	49
Unknown	6
NA ³⁸	1
Total	109

Table 2.2.: Categorization of Inscriptions by the occasions on which they were provided.

A. *Διανομαί* offered only once

Despite the fact that *διανομαί* which were intended to be repeated annually or at a regular interval clearly required a great deal more funding than those which were provided only on a single occasion, the distributions are almost evenly divided between these two categories. The one-time distributions were, for the most part, offered on the occasion of a magistracy or an Imperial visit, which we shall discuss below.³⁹ However, these tell us very little about the funding of the distributions.

Obviously, a large sum of money was donated by the benefactor, which would have been spent on the distribution and, usually, on a statue or similar monument. Occasionally, these monuments were paid for from the funds of the city. Since these statues were entirely honorary and served only to bring public attention to the donor, we may assume that a statue paid for by the city or another group of citizens was all the more indicative of honor, so that mention of such a gift would not have been omitted from one of these inscriptions. Therefore, unless we are told that the benefactor did not pay for the statue himself, we may assume that the benefactor or another private individual paid the

³⁸ This category contains a single Imperial letter, which we shall discuss below (Cat. # 4.b.10; pp. 68-69, nn. 59-60). This describes benefactions in place of *διανομαί*. Consequently, it does not describe distributions which took place, so that we have no way of knowing whether these were a regular feature of Vadius Antoninus' office.

cost of the statue. In fact, there are only two instances, to my knowledge, of a statue being paid for by the city and being accompanied by *διανομαί*.⁴⁰ There is no mention of a sum of money in an inscription recording a *διανομή* which was certainly intended to be a one-time offering. The majority of our inscriptions describe *διανομαί* which were provided before the erection of the statue, so that we cannot be certain why a total sum was not specified in these cases.

We have slightly more information on the amount which was to be given to each recipient. Five inscriptions specify a rate at which the distributions were to be given, as summarized in Table 2.3.

Rate at which each distribution was provided	
13 <i>denaria</i> (Cat. # 6.a.1)	1
10 <i>denaria</i> (Cat. # 7.f.1)	1
2 <i>denaria</i> (Cat. # 6.h.3, 7.g.1)	2
1 <i>denarion</i> , 3 ½ asses (Cat. # 7.g.1)	1
1 <i>denarion</i> (Cat. # 6.a.1, 7.f.1, x3)	4
8 <i>assaria</i> (Cat. # 3.b.1)	1
4 <i>assaria</i> (Cat. # 3.b.1)	1

Table 2.3.: Rates attested in inscriptions recording one-time distributions.

The two largest handouts were both presented to the *βουλή*; both handouts of two *denaria* and two of the handouts of one *denarion* were given to the citizens. The *γερονσία*, the *sebastophori* and the *masteigophori* received the other gifts of one *denarion*. The two smallest distributions were provided to the women and children of Syros, while the gift of one *denarion* 3½ *assaria* was given to an unknown group. Although this

³⁹ See below, pp. 63-78.

is a very limited body for comparison, we can suggest that, as in the Latin West, the amount received by the recipient was, in most cases, dependent on his or her social rank.⁴¹

Such a stratification of the recipients does not appear in the epigraphic evidence before the Imperial period. This may in part be due to the absence of the term *διανομή* in Hellenistic inscriptions, but it is also related to the fact that there was a stratification in the West. Distributions in the Hellenistic age do not appear to have been dependent on the social rank of the recipient; in the Imperial age, social rank is a factor, at least in those cases for which we have any evidence. This stratification reflects the 'Roman-ness' of *διανομαί* in the Greek East more than the presence of *διανομαί* themselves.

B. *Διανομαί offered on recurrent occasions*

The recurrent distributions were funded in virtually the same manner—a sum of cash or a quantity of land was donated whose interest would bear the costs of the distributions. This interest could be spent entirely on cash handouts, or only partially. Thus, an unidentified benefactor of Apollonis left an unspecified sum of money in his testament for a *διανομή* to the *βουλή*, and an *ἄλειμμα* (a distribution of oil) to the city;⁴²

⁴⁰ Cat. # 5.a.1 ll. 21-22: ἡ βουλὴ ἐκ τῶν / [ἰ]δίῳν μαρτυροῦσα ἀνέστησεν; 7.e.1 ll. 14-19: τετειμηῆσθαι ἐ[πι] / ταῖς εὐεργεσίαις ἀνδριάν/τι εἰκονικῶ, ὃν καὶ κατέστησεν / ἡ πόλις ἐξ ἰδίων χρημάτων. δεδωρημένον τῇ πόλ[ε]ι ἀργ[υρ]ίου (μύρια) ς, (δηνάρια) ,α εἰς τε διανομὰ[ς καὶ] πανήγυριν.

⁴¹ Mrozek (1987): 83-104; see above, Chapter One, pp. 16-17.

⁴² Cat. # 5.c.1 ll. 8-11: καταλιπόντα τῇ κρατίστῃ βουλῇ / [᾽Α/π]αλλωνείων ζῶντα διανομὴν καὶ τῇ / π[ό]λει ἄλειμμα τῇ γενεθλίῳ αὐτ[οῦ] / ἡμέραις κατ' ἔτος.

similarly, Heraclitus is honored by the city of Rhodiapolis, 'χαρισά/μενον τῇ πατρίδι εἰς διανομὰς καὶ / ἀγῶνας Ἀσκληπίων καὶ ἀργυρίου / (δηναρίων) μύρια.'⁴³

Fifteen *διανομή*-inscriptions record an amount which was donated; however, there are several in which there was once a mention of a value which has now been lost and cannot be restored. Table 2.4 summarizes those amounts which remain.

Total Sum Donated			
61,000 <i>denaria</i> (Cat. # 7.e.1)	1	6,000 <i>denaria</i> (Cat. # 3.c.1)	1
55,000 <i>denaria</i> (Cat. # 7.b.1-6)	1 (5)	5,000 <i>denaria</i> (Cat. # 4.b.2, 4.b.9, 6.c.2, 6.c.4)	4
51, 000 <i>denaria</i> (Cat. # 7.b.7)	1	3,000 <i>denaria</i> (Cat. # 4.e.1)	1
25,000 <i>denaria</i> (Cat. # 7.a.1)	1	2,500 <i>denaria</i> (Cat. # 4.b.2)	1
20,000 <i>denaria</i> (Cat. # 4.b.6, 4.b. 7)	1	1,000 <i>denaria</i> (Cat. # 4.d.12)	1
20,500 <i>denaria</i> (Cat. # 7.c.1)	1	Interest Bearing Land (circa 4,600 <i>denaria</i>) (Cat. # 7.d.1)	1
10,000 <i>denaria</i> (Cat. # 3.c.1, 4.b.3)	2		

Table 2.4.: Attested donations for annual distributions.

Clearly, there is a great difference in the sums donated, as we have donations on a very large scale and others which are comparatively small. The donations over 10,000 *denaria*, however, are meant to support festivals in which *διανομαί* were provided, while those smaller than 10,000 *denaria* appear to have been intended only to support *διανομαί*. The fragmentary amount, which was over 10,000, appears in an inscription from Phaselis, and was intended to support *διανομαί* and spectacles (*θεωρίαι*).⁴⁴ Although very few of our inscriptions provide information on the capital funds designated to support the distributions, they must have been organized similarly to the foundation of Gaius Vibius Salutaris in Ephesus or that of Gaius Julius Demosthenes in Oenoanda.

⁴³ Cat. # 7.b.7 ll. 21-24.

The long and detailed decree regarding the foundation of Salutaris of Ephesus provides for statues of Trajan, Plotina, the Senate and others; Salutaris also made arrangements for the maintenance of annual distributions.⁴⁵ These distributions were to be provided from the interest on a sum of 20,000 *denaria*, which was to be set out at 9%, yielding an annual 1,800 *denaria*. This interest was used to provide cash-gifts to nine different groups. However, these gifts were not all *διανομαί*. Three *διανομαί* are mentioned of varying sizes, and six *κληῆροι*, both of which Oliver translates as 'distribution'. There is, however a distinction in the meaning of these two terms: the *διανομαί* are given to entire groups—the *βουλευταί*, the priestess and ὑμνώδοι of Artemis and a group whose name has been lost—while the *κληῆροι* are given to portions of groups by lot. Thus, although the *κληῆροι* do refer to distributions, they are distributions with limits set on them by the amount of money available, not by the number of members in a group—they are a lottery rather than a distribution. Of the total interest, therefore, only 493 *denaria* 9 *assaria* are to be spent on the 'διανομαί'; some of this total, however, may have been saved, since the gifts for the *βουλευταί* were to be given only to those who were present, but were *available* to all of the *βουλευταί* and priests.

The foundation fund established by Gaius Julius Demosthenes consisted of annual donations by Demosthenes himself or his family and the interest which would accumulate

⁴⁴ Cat. # 7.c.1 ll. 8-11: {χαρισ}άμενον καὶ π[τ]ῇ ἡμέ[τε]ρά π[ο]λεῖ εἰς διαν[ομ]ὰς / καὶ θεωρίας (δηναρίον) μ[ύρια] / — —]α πεντακ[όσια]

⁴⁵ *IKeph* 27=Oliver (1941): 55-85, no. 3; cf. Cat. # 4.b.6 and 4.b.7.

on these donations, so that a total of 4,450 *denaria* would be available for each festival;⁴⁶ however, the annual donations would continue only until Demosthenes himself or a member of his family donated interest-bearing land which would provide the same revenue. Demosthenes also details how this money is to be spent in each festival, even providing for a distribution of extra revenue among the citizens. However, we should note that the term ‘*διανομή*’ is not used in this inscription, so that it does not appear in our catalogue.⁴⁷ Out of the 4,450 *denaria* available at each festival, though, 300 *denaria* are to be available for the distributions to the citizens.

The donation of interest-bearing land, the final entry in Table 2.4, was intended to support a penteteric distribution and games. The value of the land was sufficient to provide 1,150 *denaria* per year, so that over the interval, a sum of over 4,600 *denaria* would accumulate, depending on the rate at which the annual revenue of 1,150 *denaria* was let out.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ Wörle (1988); *SEG* 38 (1988): 1462; Mitchell (1990). The Greek text of this inscription, along with a German translation, is provided by Wörle, pp. 4-17; Mitchell provides an English translation of the decree. Any shortfall between the expected value of the interest and the actual value would presumably have been the responsibility of the *ἐπιμελήτης* to meet.

⁴⁷ Wörle (1988): 6, line 27: καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ (θηνάρια) τ’ καὶ ἑάν τι ἐκ τῶν θεμάτων προσγένηται μερίζεσθαι τοῖς ἔξωθεν τῶν σειτομετρούμενων πολεΐταις καὶ ἀπελευθέροις καὶ καὶ παροίκιοις (and the remaining 300 *denaria* and anything else remaining from the cash prizes is to be partitioned among those citizens who do not belong to the *seitometromenoi* and free men and those who dwell in the city’s territory.). Note that *διανομή* is not used, though *μερίζομαι* is.

⁴⁸ Cat. # 7.d.1 ll. 24-30: δωρησάμενον καὶ κατὰ δια[θή]κην ἀγρὸν ἐν τῇ Κορυδαλλικῇ ἐν τόπῳ Χαράδραις καὶ Παιδαγωγῷ φέροντα ἐτήσια ,α,σν’ εἰς ἱπανήγυριν πενταετηρικὴν καὶ διαν[ο]μὴν ἀνδράσιν σειτομετρούμενοις ἰ ἀνὰ α. The annual revenue of the land donated was 1,150 *denaria*; the interest of the first year may have been let out as a loan in order to increase the revenue of the next year. Consequently, the revenue for the second year would be the 1,150 *denaria* of the land plus any revenue that may have been earned by the 1,150 *denaria* of the first year.

As is the case with one-time distributions, we have very little information on the value of each gift. Including the inscription recording Salutaris' foundation, five inscriptions tell us how much each individual is to receive. Although these inscriptions mention some of the same recipients as the inscriptions recording one-time distributions, there are too few to provide meaningful statistics. The rates, in general, are the same as those in Table 2.3. We are much better informed on how the distributions were to be conducted, that is, if the gifts were to be given, for example, *πάσι τῶν πολιτῶν*, or only to those who were present and on time. A discussion of this, however, will form the second part of Chapter Three.

IV. Occasions on which Διανομαί were Provided

The distributions, whether they took place only once or annually, were offered on specific occasions. In fact, the epigraphic evidence indicates that they were offered on those occasions which Pliny the Younger mentions to Trajan.⁴⁹ Thus, we have attestations of *διανομαί* on such occasions as the assumption of a magistracy, the celebration of a festival, the birthday of the benefactor, or the dedication of a public monument. Although there is the Hellenistic distribution mentioned above on the occasion of a sacred marriage, there is no other celebration of a marriage, in the evidence surveyed here, with a *διανομή*. Table 2.5 summarizes these occasions.

⁴⁹ Pliny, *Ep.* x.116-7; see above Chapter One, pp. 19-20 nn. 26-27.

Office or public service	44
Festival celebration	35
Birthday or funeral	15
Public monument	6
'Customary' <i>διανομαί</i>	1
Imperial visits	1
Marriage ⁵⁰	1
Unknown	5
NA	1
Total	109

Table 2.5.: Occasions on which distributions were offered.

A. Public Offices

Clearly, public offices and festivals were the most common events celebrated with the distribution of cash gifts. Although these two categories are closely associated, since festivals and games were funded and conducted by an *agonothete*—who can be considered a public official—, we have considered them separately as celebrations did not always accompany official duties.

The distributions which were offered during an office are, in general, easy to identify. Table 2.1 shows nine instances of the plural dative used with a participle of office or public service, such as *ἀγωνοθετήσαντα* (Table 2.1, V), so that we have in these cases a benefactor serving as *agonothete* *with* distributions. However, in these cases, the duties of the offices did not include *διανομαί*: the distributions were provided in addition to the other responsibilities, making the holder of the office more worthy of praise. There are, however, very few indications of a precise time within the tenure of the magistracy on which the distributions were offered; nonetheless, given Pliny's testimony, it seems

reasonable to conclude that in at least some cases they were offered at the beginning of the term.⁵¹ The *kouretes* list from Ephesus seems to provide an instance of *διανομαί* being offered on the occasion of an office-assumption.⁵²

The use of the plural dative can be taken as an indication that distributions were offered during an office, but it is not the only connection which existed between *διανομαί* and magistracies or liturgies. In many inscriptions, the distributions are listed between two offices, suggesting that they were given in connection with one of these. For example, the father of Marcus Aurelius Artemidorus Metrodorianus is honored as

πρῶτον γραμματέα τοῦ δήμου
καὶ βούλαρχον ἑνδοξόν
[καὶ] γυμνασίαρχον πάντων τῶν γυμνασίων,
[δ]όντα διανομὰς καὶ πάσῃ τῇ πόλει,
[κ]αὶ στρατηγὸν πρῶτον, δόντα ἐν τῷ
καιρῷ τῆς στρατηγίας ἰς παράτειμον
[ἐ]λαίου (δηνάρια) ,ε, καὶ εἰρήναρχον μόνον, καὶ
[τ]ρίς ἀγωνοθέτην, δόντα καὶ ἐν τῷ
καιρῷ τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης εἰς τὴν ἀνα-
κάθαρσιν τοῦ λιμένος δηνარიῶν
μυριάδας δύο.⁵³

The benefactor in this case served in a variety of municipal offices and it is reasonable to believe that the distributions of cash took place during his tenure as gymnasiarch. However, this is not certain since two other benefactions, the provision of

⁵⁰ Cat. # 3.a.1; see above Chapter One, pp. 37-38; note again that this is a distribution of meat, not of money. Appendix 3 contains a supplementary table to Table 2.5 (Table 2.5a) in which the catalogued inscriptions which record distributions on these occasions are listed.

⁵¹ Cf. Pliny *Ep.* x.116 and above Chapter One, p. 19 n. 26.

⁵² Cat. # 4.b.11 ll. 2-3.

⁵³ Cat. # 4.b.15 ll. 4-14.

oil and 20,000 *denaria* for the dredging of the harbor, are specifically placed during the *στρατηγία* and the *ἀρχιερωσύνη* respectively. Nonetheless, even if the *διανομαί* did not take place during the gymnasiarchy, it seems that they should be associated with this office rather than with the *στρατηγία*, the *ἀρχιερωσύνη*, or any of the other offices—that is, these distributions may have been promised or undertaken during the gymnasiarchy, but not necessarily completed until afterwards. Such an association, of course, assumes a chronological ordering of the offices.

However, the provision of distributions was not a set responsibility of magisterial offices: distributions of cash were often offered in addition to the obligations of the office, so that the provision of them was something to be emphasized. It is possible, of course, that they were obligatory in some cities or regions of Asia Minor, but, if they were, they would not then appear in the inscriptions of those cities: mention of *διανομαί* is intended to reflect the magnanimity of the benefactor, so that praise would be more meaningful when the distributions were provided in addition to the traditional *duties* of the office. We may therefore assume that most of the cities in which *διανομαί* were an expected part of a public office are not represented in this survey, except in the case of extraordinary *διανομαί* or those which were offered on other occasions.

Although distributions were not necessarily required, they may at times have been coerced by public opinion.⁵⁴ Certainly, we will not be told that these handouts were

⁵⁴ Cf. Dio Chrys., *Or.* 46, in which Dio is confronted by a hostile mob outside of his home attempting to force him to alleviate a grain shortage; similarly, Aristides (Dindorf xxvi 'Ἰέρων Λόγος Δ'; Behr 50 *The Sacred Tales*, 94 ff.) went to great lengths to obtain immunity from the public offices which citizens tried to force on him.

offered against the benefactor's will, but there are sometimes hints that this may have been the case. Some benefactors, but not all, are praised for their public spirit and the willingness with which they gave handouts. However, in those inscriptions which include adverbs referring to the magnanimity of the benefactor, it may be assumed that the benefactions were not part of any liturgical obligations. The *βουλή* of Thyatira in Lydia, for example, honors the son of Labianus who served as agonothele of the games of Apollo Tyrimnus gloriously and famously (*ἐνδόξως καὶ ἐπιφανῶς*) with *ῥδιανομαίς* and *ῥἐπιδόσεις* for the *βουλή*.⁵⁵ The *ῥδιανομαί* provided, however, were probably not among the obligations and liturgies incumbent upon him as agonothele. An agonothele, as the name implies, was responsible partly for the provision of games or contests of various types.⁵⁶ These distributions were provided in addition to the liturgical office, as is indicated by the simple reference to the distributions and the fact that the agonothesia was rendered 'glorious and famous' by their provision.⁵⁷

Other inscriptions neither mention nor imply such freedom of will, so that it is possible that at least some of these are hiding the fact that the benefactor had indeed been

⁵⁵ Cat. # 5.a.1 ll. 4-8.

⁵⁶ On the agonothesia, see below, Chapter Three pp. 92-93.

⁵⁷ For example, cat. # 6.a.1 ll. 19-24: *καὶ πᾶσαν ἀρχὴν καὶ λι]/τουργίαν καὶ ἐπιδ[ό]σεις ποιησάμενο[ν ἀ]/μένπτως τῇ πόλει κα]/θὼς αὐτῷ καὶ διὰ ψηφ[ισ]/μάτων μεμαρτύρηται*. The unnamed benefactor in this case did provide handouts of money to both the citizens and the councilors, but these do not seem to have been included in either the liturgies or the *ἐπιδόσεις*, which were offered 'blamelessly'. The adverb *ἀμένπτως* here suggests that the liturgies and *ἐπιδόσεις* were performed because they were expected; they are praised because the benefactor seemingly had performed them in a reasonable amount of time.

compelled. This is, of course, not always the case, and should not be over emphasized, as it is an argument from silence.

It is also evident, as we have suggested above, that in some cases *διανομαί* were used as virtual campaign-promises—a candidate promised to provide distributions during the course of his official service. As is the case with distributions which may have been coerced by hostile public opinion, though, indications of this are never directly seen. A single inscription uses the term *ὑποσχέσεις*, an official promise, to record the intent to provide *διανομή*; this is, again, the Opramoas-inscription from Rhodiapolis:

πεποι]ημένον δὲ καὶ ὑποσχέσεις
[τε καὶ ἄρ]γυρίων ἐπιδόσεις εἰς τε δι-
[ανομὰς καὶ π]αγγύρεις ἐν τισὶν τῶν
[πρωτε]ρ[υ]σῶν πόλεων.⁵⁸

This portion of the inscription does not explicitly tell us that Opramoas made the promise for the distributions as part of his campaign for any particular office, but we do know that he eventually became Lyciarch, the highest office available to him. However, the interesting fact about '*ὑποσχέσεις*' is not that it may have been used to secure his election. That these promises are mentioned in the case of Opramoas indicates that he did fulfill them, though when he did so is unclear; such promises would not be mentioned in an honorary inscription if they remained unfulfilled at the time of the inscribing of the stone.

⁵⁸ Cat. # 7.b.4 ll. C7-10: 'and having also made offers and grants (*ἐπιδόσεις*) of money for *διανομαί* and festivals in some of the leading cities....' Robert (1965): 207 understands *ὑποσχέσεις* as a 'promesse officielle'. There are, however, other terms which seem to have a similar connotation, such as, for example, the verb *ἐπαγγέλλω* (SEG 32 1243 ll. 41-43: *ἐπετέλεσσ[ε] / δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀγομένοις ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀσίας Καισαρῆος, καθὼς ἐπανγείλατο, ταῖς . . / θυσίαις καὶ εὐωχίαις*). This verb, though, refers to the summoning of citizens or any group of recipients with a promise of distributions or a similar benefaction implied.

This notice also implies that other candidates promised distributions and other benefactions, but did not always follow through on their promises.

Διανομαί, however, were provided by officials so regularly that it seems that they did become expected, if not exactly required, in some cities. Vedius Antoninus, for example, undertook several building projects in Ephesus, instead of following the example of other wealthy Ephesians who provided donations for, among other things, *διανομαί*.⁵⁹ The letter, which was written when the Ephesians failed to inform the Emperor of Vedius Antoninus' actions, does not tell us if Antoninus was an official at this time; however it is possible that he was, since the Vedii were a prominent family in Ephesus, occupying "eine lange Reihe der höchsten, wichtigsten, teuersten und prestigeträchtigsten Ämter, die die Stadt [von Ephesus] zu vergeben hatte."⁶⁰ Since the magistrates, *βουλή* and citizens of the city were expected to inform the Emperor or his representative of Vedius Antoninus' *φιλοτιμία*, it is probable that it was performed during service as high-priest of the Imperial cult. This letter tells us that *διανομαί* were not always required of magistrates, but it does indicate that some sort of benefactions, *φιλοτιμιαί*, were expected by the citizens of individual cities and by Roman authorities. Such benefactions were often provided by priests of the Imperial cult, and we shall see

⁵⁹ Cat. # 4.b.10 ll. 13-18: *καὶ γὰρ καὶ συνεχώρησα αὐτῷ [...]ς / ἃ ἡγήσατο[ο] καὶ ἀπεδεξάμην ὅτι [οὐ] τὸν π[ολλῶν τῶν] πολ[ι]τεινομένων τρόπον, οἱ τοῦ [παρ]αχρημ[α] εὐδοκίμ[ειν]? χά[ρ]ιν εἰς θέα[ς κ]αὶ διανομὰς καὶ τὰ τῶν ἀγώνων θέματα? δαπαν[ῶ]σιν?/τῇ]ν φι[λο]τιμ[ί]αν, ἀλλὰ δι' οὗ πρὸς τὸ [μέλλον ἐλπίζει? σ]εμνο[τέραν ποιή]σειν τὴν πόλιν προήρη[ται].*

⁶⁰ Schulte (1994): 95 and her Cat. 93, esp. *IKeph* 438, 727, 728, 3082.

below in Chapter Three that these officials were prominent individuals in local governments.

B. Festivals and Games

As we shall see, many *διανομαί* were funded by agonothetes, but there are distributions of money which were offered during the celebration of games which are not explicitly connected with the agonothesia. Opramoas, for example, provided a sum of money to the city of Phaselis and a gift of land to Tlos to support spectacles, games and coincidental *διανομαί*.⁶¹ He is clearly acting as an agonothete since he is supporting the games, but this may not have been an official liturgy—that is, he seems to have voluntarily made the donations and funded the games, perhaps as a *ὑποσχέσις*.

We have also included in this category *διανομαί* which were offered on the birthday of a local god or of the Emperor. It is almost certain that the priests of the respective gods and goddesses conducted distributions on these occasions, so that we may assume that the benefactor was serving as priest even though the office itself is not mentioned. However, we know that the priest or priestess paid for the distributions *ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων* in only five of these cases; in almost every other case, the omission of this phrase suggests that the temple-funds formed a portion of—if not the entire sum—the money which was distributed.

Feasts are occasionally mentioned in our inscriptions, accompanied by distributions of cash. Importantly, though, these are not feasts of private associations of

citizens, but rather associations connected with the Imperial cult. One inscription, for instance, tells us that the benefactor provided a feast for the city (τὴν πόλιν) twice and provided a *διανομή*, while others tell us that only those who were present to take part in the feasting received the handouts.⁶²

C. Birthdays and Testamentary Distributions

Distributions offered on the occasion of the birthday of an Emperor or a member of the Imperial family were conducted by Imperial priests, so that, like distributions offered at games and other festivals, they are closely associated with those of the first category. The majority of the distributions offered on these occasions were events connected to the administration of the city or to the celebration of a regional festival. The birthdays which are celebrated by *διανομαί* are those of local gods and goddesses if they are not of an Imperial figure. There is one instance of the celebration of the birthday of the benefactor, but the donation to support this annual *διανομή* was given 'τῇ κρα] <τ>ίστη Κλαυδία βουλῇ'.⁶³

There are, however, several inscriptions which describe *διανομαί* given in order to observe the anniversary of the death of the benefactor. These distributions could be used to increase public prestige, so that some benefactors attempted to attract additional people

⁶¹ Cat. # 7.c.1 ll. 9-11 and 7.d.1 ll. 27-30 (testamentary); but he is also named as an agonotheite in Myra, Patara and Rhodiapolis (Cat. # 7.b.4 ll. B12-14).

⁶² Cat. # 7.g.1 ll. 15-17: ἐστιάσαντα δὲ καὶ / τὴν πόλιν β' ν καὶ δόματα διανομὴν / πᾶσι ἀνὰ (δηνάρια) τρία ἡμισυ; Cat. # 4.b.12 ll. 11-12: ἕκαστον τὸ[ν παρόντα εἰς τ]ὸ ἀνάλωμα τοῦ δείπνου ἔξωθεν καὶ ἐκ τῆς το[ῦ Νεικομήδους φιλοτειμίας λαβεῖν] / ἁττικὴν μίαν.

⁶³ Cat. # 6.b.1 l. 1.

to their funerary processions and celebrations by providing distributions to the traditional recipients, whom we shall identify in Chapter Three. Thus, we cannot assume that distributions provided on birthdays and funerals were necessarily private and unofficial events. For example, Ptolemaeus the grandson of Kolalemius left in his testament *αἰωνίους δωρεάς* to support, in part, *διανομαί* for the city of Phaselis, with the implication that the recipients had to take part in the observance of the anniversary of his death.⁶⁴ Although such an occasion is very close to a private occasion, Ptolemaeus was a priest of the Imperial cult, so that the observance of his death could easily be connected with that institution.

D. Public Monuments

There are several references to the donation of a public building or the restoration of such buildings in the *διανομή*-inscriptions, but it is not the case that the dedication of these was always accompanied by handouts. In addition to the donation for the dredging of the harbor of Ephesus mentioned above, Satyrus the son of Philinus was honored by the *βουλή* and *δῆμος* of Tenos after having served in every magisterial capacity, and having built a bathhouse with a fund to defray the heating costs; the *διανομαί* which he provided, though, were given at the erection of a statue which itself commemorated these earlier benefactions.⁶⁵ Similarly, a *hydrophorus* of Artemis in Didyma performed her duties, provided *διανομαί* and dedicated bronze doors and stone measures for the temple

⁶⁴ Cat. # 7.c.2 ll. 19-22.

of Artemis.⁶⁶ In general, though, such donations were not the occasion for *διανομαί*. The only dedications which are clearly accompanied by *διανομαί* are dedications of statues of the benefactor, of his family members, of the Imperial family, or of local gods.⁶⁷

However, statues only rarely provide the occasion for a distribution, if the epigraphic evidence does not mislead us. It is, of course, possible that each statue was accompanied by a distribution, but only six inscriptions explicitly clarify this. It was much more common for distributions to have been given before the decree of the *βουλή* and *δῆμος* which allowed the benefactor to erect a statue, as the basic formula which we have outlined at the beginning of this chapter indicates: in many cases, the statues were a *result* of the distributions and other benefactions: the *βουλή* and *δῆμος* honor the benefactor, who has given *διανομαί*, with a statue.⁶⁸

The decree of the *βουλή* and *δῆμος* which allowed the benefactor to erect a statue usually followed the distributions, but in several cases the dedication of a statue did

⁶⁵ Above, p. 65; Cat. # 4.b.15 ll. 12-14 (Ephesus); Satyrus: Cat. # 3.c.1 ll. 1-4: ἡ βουλή καὶ ὁ δῶμος Σάτυρον Φιλείνου πληρώσαντα πᾶσαν ἀρχὴν καὶ λειτουργίαν, καὶ ἀρχιθεωρήσαντα τετράκις, καὶ ἀναθέντα τῇ πόλει / βαλανεῖον καὶ πεντακισχέιλια, ἵνα ἐκ τοῦ / τόκου αὐτῶν θερμαίνηται τὸ βαλανεῖον.

⁶⁶ Cat. # 4.d.2 ll. 5-10: δοῦσα / [δ]ὲ καὶ διανομὰς τῇ βουλῇ καὶ ταῖς παρ/[θέν]οις καὶ ταῖς γυναιξίν, ἀναθεῖσα δὲ / [ἐκ τῶν] ἰδίων καὶ τὰς χαλκᾶς θύρας τοῦ / [ναοῦ τ]ῆς Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ τὰ λίθινα / σταθμὰ / [σ]ὺν ὑπερθύρῳ καὶ ὀδῳ.

⁶⁷ Three inscriptions in our catalogue do include reference to buildings and *διανομαί* (Cat. 4.d.2, 7.a.1, and the repeated inscription of Tiberius Julius Justus Junianus, 10.a.3-7). However, these references do not always mean that something is being built; it is possible that a pre-existing building has simply been restored or provided with a new feature. The example from Didyma honors a *hydrophorus*, who dedicated the doors of the temple of Artemis and stone measures, but these dedications are included among her services *as hydrophorus* (4.d.2 ll. 8-11). The anonymous benefactor of Tlos provided 25,000 *denaria* for *διανομαί* and for τὸ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ἐθνικὸν Καισάρειον—but not for the construction of the temple (7.a.1 ll. 1-6). Tiberius Julius Justus Junianus enriched Ancyra with *διανομαί* and decorated it with ἔργοις περικαλλεστάτοις, but these ἔργοι did not necessarily provide the occasion for the *διανομαί* (10.a.3 ll. 9-10; cf. 10.a.4-7).

coincide with the handouts, in which cases we may conclude that the statues were voted due to a different benefaction, or earlier *διανομαί*. An inscription from Carian Nysa, for example, reads:

ἐπὶ τῇ ἀνα-
στάσει τοῦ ἀνδριάντος δόντα διανο-
μὴν τῇ φιλοσεβάστῳ βουλῇ⁶⁹

This benefactor, whose name has been lost, was also responsible for a gift of oil in the gymnasia—so that he is a gymnasiarch—but the *διανομή* clearly took place before this second donation, and on the occasion of the erection of the statue.

E. Διανομαί with Imperial Authority

A single inscription in our catalogue records a *διανομή* on the occasion of the passage of Hadrian through a city. This is an inscription honoring Latinus Alexander of Ancyra, twice *ἀρχιερεύς*.⁷⁰ Hadrian is known for his frequent travels throughout the Empire, and his travels through Asia Minor have been discussed at length.⁷¹ He traveled through Asia Minor three times as Emperor: at the beginning of his reign in AD 117, in

⁶⁸ For example, Cat. # 3.c.1 ll. 24-26, 4.d.2 ll. 11-12, 4.d.6 ll. 11-13, and 7.f.1 ll. 1-5.

⁶⁹ Cat. # 6.h.1 ll. 1-3: at the dedication of a statue he gave *διανομήν* to the loyal βουλή; cf. also Cat. 7.e.1 ll. 12-19.

⁷⁰ Cat. # 10.a.2 ll. 8-12: ἐπὶ (τ)ῇ τοῦ μεγίστου / Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Τραϊανοῦ / Ἀδριανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ παρόδῳ καὶ τῶν / ἱερῶν αὐτοῦ στρατευμάτων δόντος / διανομὰς τῇ πόλει; cf. Birley (1997): 83; Mitchell (1993): I. 112; Halfmann (1986): 194.

⁷¹ See, for example, Birley (1997); Magie (1950): 611-629 also discusses Hadrian's travels in Asia Minor and the Greek East in general, as does Henderson (1923): 83-9, 289-93. Halfmann (1986) provides a discussion of the travels of the Emperors, from Augustus to Carinus.

123/4, and finally in 129. On his first voyage through Asia Minor, Hadrian visited the city of Ancyra, so that Latinus' distribution has been dated to 117.⁷²

However, this is the only certain indication we have that *δανομαί* were offered to commemorate the passage of an Emperor through a city, so that we should not over-stress this: Ancyra was visited by Trajan in 113/4 while he was traveling with his legions to the East, and though there is an inscription commemorating one of his hosts in the city, there is no mention of *δανομαί* at the time.⁷³ We have noted in Table 1.2 a significant increase in the attestations of *δανομαί* during the reigns of Hadrian, Antoninus Pius and Caracalla. The second quarter of the second century seems to have been a time of particularly generous benefactors, especially in Lycia, where several individuals are known to have provided on a lavish scale in addition to Opramoas of Rhodiapolis.⁷⁴ Hadrian is said to have encouraged prosperity throughout the empire by the remission of taxes, and Antoninus' reign is said to have been one in which the provinces flourished, so that this

⁷² Birley (1997): 83.

⁷³ Levick (2000): 233, no. 220=Smallwood, *Nerva-Hadrian* 215. However, the lack of distributions in this case may be a result of Trajan's policy rather than an indication that they were not offered on the occasion of Imperial visits after the reign of Hadrian.

⁷⁴ For example, Licinius Longus: Magie (1950): 532-8, 1394; cf also *TAM* II (I) 250, II (II) 532, and II (III) 905; C. Iulius Demosthenes: Boatwright (2000): 28, 98; Wörle (1988), Mitchell (1990), who notes that Imperial permission was required for penteteric games; the anonymous benefactor of Xanthos: Balland (1981): no. 66, Cat. # 7.a.1. Furthermore, Veyne (1976): 144 notes that the Antonine age witnessed the apogee of euergetism.

period may well have been one in which the elite were indeed more willing to spend their resources.⁷⁵

Mary Boatwright notes that games attracted numerous visitors to the hosting city.⁷⁶ Hadrian encouraged games and festivals in many cities throughout the empire as well as in Asia Minor, including Ephesus, Thyatira, Tralles, Oenoanda and Ancyra, all of which appear in our catalogue.⁷⁷ Six of the nine distributions under Hadrian, and four of the eight under Antoninus Pius took place on the occasion of games or festivals, so that this may be the reason for the significant increases under these Emperors: both encouraged and permitted games, which were commonly accompanied by distributions of money.

As is the case with games, Imperial permission may have been required before *διανομαί* could be given. We have seen Pliny soliciting such permission from Trajan,⁷⁸ and Gaius Julius Demosthenes receiving permission for his *Demostheneia*. If such permission was indeed required for all *διανομαί*, it is perhaps surprising that there is not more evidence for petitions to the Emperor or Imperial officials in our inscriptions. Two verbs in Table 2.1 provide evidence to support this solicitation. Titus Flavius Aeneas, a

⁷⁵ Hadrian: *HA Had.* 6.6: '*aurum coronarium Italiae remisit, in provinciis minuit, et quidem difficultatibus aerarii ambitiose ac diligenter expositis*,' 21.7: '*Latium multis civitatibus dedit, tributa multis remisit*,' Antoninus: *HA Ant.* 7.1-2: '*tanta sane diligentia subiectos sibi populos rexit ut omnia et omnes, quasi sua essent, curaret. Provinciae sub eo cunctae floruerunt*'.

⁷⁶ Boatwright (2000): 98; *MAMA VIII* 492b; cf. also Birley (1997): 157, who notes that games were celebrated in Heraclea Pontica in anticipation of or in response to a visit by Hadrian.

⁷⁷ Boatwright (2000): 99ff; cf. *HA Had.* 19.2: '*in omnibus paene urbibus et aliquid aedificavit et ludos edidit*'.

benefactor and high-priest of Stratonicea in the first century, served as Imperial high priest and undertook an embassy to the Emperor.⁷⁹ However, this embassy was not a petition to the provincial governor, or to the Emperor while traveling through the region. This was an embassy to Rome itself, a significant undertaking at any time, and this may be an indication of why we have any indication that Flavius did acquire Imperial permission: permission may have been obtainable from any Imperial official, but there is certainly more worth praising in personally conducting an embassy to the Emperor than visiting a regional governor or representative of the governor. The inscription does not tell us everything that Flavius achieved on this embassy; however the right to make *διανομαί* is emphasized:

πρεσβεύσαντος
πρὸς τοὺς Σεβαστοὺς ἰς Ῥώ-
μην καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων
καὶ τὰς διανομὰς τῇ πατρ[ί]-
δι ἐπιτυχόντος

It is unlikely that Flavius received funds to support *διανομαί*, since we have seen that funds donated to support *διανομαί* are donated *εἰς διανομὰς*. Furthermore, this is a technical use of *ἐπιτύγγανω* and of *διανομή*, where the noun refers to the act of distributing rather than to what is actually distributed.⁸⁰

⁷⁸ See above, Chapter One, pp. 19-20, nn. 26-27.

⁷⁹ Cat. # 6.d.1 ll. 5-7; we have dated this inscription to the late first or second century; however, the earlier date is based on the name of Titus Flavius, but the plural *Σεβαστοὺς* may indicate a date under the Antonines. Two other inscriptions record that the benefactor also went on an embassy to Rome (Cat. # 1.a.1 ll. 5-6, 4.d.7 ll. 5-6), but they do not explicitly tell us that the right to provide *διανομαί* was granted during this service. Nonetheless, it is not unreasonable to suggest that this did indeed form a part of the embassy.

⁸⁰ See above, Chapter One, p. 18; cf. Parker & Obbink (2001): 253-263, n. 1B l.1.

Similarly, a letter from the reign of Caracalla, whose reign also witnessed an increase to a lesser extent, to Atrius Clonius, the governor of Thrace, tells us that the customary *διανομαί* of Augusta Traiana/Beroe should be allowed to continue if the city was willing.⁸¹ We will also recall that Vedius Antoninus was excused from providing *διανομαί* since he had performed other benefactions in their place.⁸² Furthermore, Gaius Julius Demosthenes received permission from the governor of Asia for his penteteric games which included, as we have seen, cash distributions. Our catalogue contains nearly as many Imperial priests as agonothes (Table 3.2, p. 86), but not every agonothete is listed as an Imperial priest. Nonetheless, there is a connection between the Imperial cult and games which is indicated by the celebration of gladiatorial games, or the provision of *venationes*. The agonothes in our catalogue are all priests, if not of the Imperial cult, of a local god or goddess—they are all high-standing citizens. This indicates that agonothes were Roman citizens⁸³ who enjoyed the friendship of the Roman authorities.

However, neither of these reasons can account for the increases alone. Significantly more distributions were in part a result of the increased prosperity under these two emperors, and a willingness on their part to permit and even encourage games and festivals.

⁸¹ Cat. # 1.c.1 ll. 27-28: *τηρεῖσθαι τὸ παλὸν ἔθος τῶν διανομῶν*; cf. Millar (1977): 334; Barbieri (1952) no. 62; *IGR* I 717, from Philippopolis; *Dig.* 26.10.7.2.

⁸² See above, pp. 68-69 and Cat. # 4.b.10 ll. 13-18.

⁸³ On the citizenship of public officials, see below, Chapter Three, pp. 96-99.

V. Chapter Conclusions

The distribution of cash-gifts in the Greek cities of Asia Minor is known primarily from epigraphic evidence as we have noted in the previous chapter and discussed here. As is to be expected from such evidence, the inscriptions which record these benefactions are very formulaic, and, although there is some variation within Asia Minor, many of the inscriptions are very similar in structure. However, this observation applies only to those inscriptions which can be said to be honorary, which, because they are honorary, usually do not provide a great deal of information on how the distribution itself was carried out. This is not, of course, universally the case, as several inscriptions do give us more details.

Public decrees, on the other hand, in which category we would include the inscription of Gaius Julius Demosthenes, occasionally contain the instructions—sometimes very detailed instructions—of the benefactor. Imperial letters also refer to *διανομαί*, indicating that the Roman authorities were aware of the assembling of large groups of citizens to receive cash-gifts; this awareness suggests that the practice may have been permitted to certain individuals, whom we shall discuss in the subsequent chapter.

However, all of the inscriptions surveyed in this thesis do allow us to make some conclusions about the practice of handing out cash-gifts. They were provided on specific occasions and in public locations; these occasions seem to be constant throughout Asia Minor, though festivals were commonly celebrated with *διανομαί*; we may note, however, that testamentary *διανομαί* prevail in Aphrodisias. Although most of the distributions in Didyma did occur at the temple of Apollo, this may be a result of the prophets of Apollo and the *hydrophori* of Artemis being the most common benefactors.

Although we have discussed the distributions in our catalogue as annual occurrences or one-time gifts, we have very little information about how the sums donated by benefactors to provide and maintain the cash-gifts were to be administered. For such information, we are compelled to turn to other inscriptions, outside of our catalogue which record the distribution of money, but do not use the term *διανομή*. Some of these, like that of Gaius Julius Demosthenes, provide detailed information about the donation and administration of a capital sum whose accumulated interest is to fund the handouts, while others, like a second century honorary decree from Prusias ad Hypias, tell us only that money was handed out by the benefactor.⁸⁴

⁸⁴ *IKPrusias Hyp*, 18 ll. 8-11: ἐν τῇ ἐνδείᾳ / σείτον, οἶνον, ἔλαιον, ἀργύριον διένειμεν τοῖς / πολέταις προῖκα μόνος.

CHAPTER THREE: HOW TO MAKE A *Διανομή*

I. Introduction

The formula which characterizes the *διανομή*-inscriptions of Asia Minor varies, as we have noted in Chapter Two, from city to city; naturally, there is a similar variation in the benefactors and the recipients. Nonetheless, there are certain offices which were commonly held by the benefactors, and groups which are usually included in the listings of recipients. The euergetists are of high social standing, either at some point in a public career, or having enjoyed such a career; somewhat surprisingly, at least to our own sense of euergetism, the beneficiaries are often of a similar social standing.

There is insufficient space at the moment to provide a detailed analysis of all or even of some of the offices held by the benefactors, nor can we discuss each group of recipients at great length. Consequently, we shall briefly consider in the first portion of this chapter several of the most common offices. Following this, we shall provide a similar overview of the most frequent recipients of *διανομαί*, beginning with the *βουλευταί* and moving on to the more general *πολίται* and *πατρίς*. Finally, this chapter will conclude with an examination of the manner in which the *διανομαί* in our catalogue were conducted, and how this reflected on the *τιμή* of the benefactor.

II. *The Benefactors*

The inscriptions in our catalogue contain fifty-seven named benefactors; however, there are eighty-two benefactors whose sex can be determined and only five whose sex is unknown. There are, furthermore, six persons whose sex is probable, but not certain, as summarized in Table 3.1.

Sex	Certain	Uncertain	Total
Male	61	4	65
Female	21	2	23
Unknown			5
Total Individuals			93

Table 3.1.: Sex of the Benefactors.¹

There are approximately three times as many male benefactors as female benefactors. Riet van Bremen notes a similar distribution pattern in a land register from Larissa,² so that, although her evidence is of Hellenistic date, the ratio of males to females in our survey may be as she suggests the result of demographics: one in five families, van Bremen argues, may have had only a female heir,³ so that in general we should expect to find one woman for every four men among the benefactors. Thirteen women, including the uncertain cases, acted alone, or seem to have acted alone, so that when we consider female benefactors who were not associated with husbands or children, we have approximately the same ratio, which van Bremen notes throughout her study, of 4:1 (55:13). However, in these inscriptions, as in those which van Bremen has studied, we

¹ This table lists those benefactors whose inscriptions are repeated—Gaius Stertinus Orpex of Ephesus and Opramoas of Rhodiapolis, for example—only once.

² van Bremen (1996): 262-3; this register has been dated to c. 200 BC; cf. 250: the ratio of 4:1 is obtained from an analysis of Laum's catalogue.

cannot know to what extent female benefactors actually worked independently of their husbands or fathers, or to what extent a tutor may have been involved. Four of our inscriptions mention a tutor, but it is unclear how far the authority of these tutors extended. These references appear at the end of the inscriptions so that they may indicate that the tutors were responsible only for the statues.⁴ Women do appear among the donors of *δανομαί*, but they are significantly less common than men; with this exception, we have avoided drawing conclusions beyond those of van Bremen from the proportions of male and female benefactors.

Overall, civic service was the most common occasion on which *δανομαί* were offered, whether this consisted simply of an honorary title or an office which involved active participation in municipal affairs;⁵ however, nearly every inscription indicates that the benefactor held at least one civic magistracy or liturgy during the course of his or her public career. There is a significant difference between magistracies and liturgies, which we shall attempt to clarify before discussing the offices and civic services themselves.

A. Liturgies and Magistracies

Liturgies were, like magistracies, honor-bearing offices in the classical period, most clearly illustrated in the case of Athens.⁶ The liturgy was an institution by which

³ van Bremen (1996): 256, citing Saller (1994): 48-65.

⁴ Cat. # 4.b.9 ll. 12-16, 4.b.15 ll. 24-25, 5.a.1 ll. 25-26, and 6.c.2 ll. 7-13.

⁵ See above, Chapter Two, pp. 64-69 and Table 2.5.

⁶ The information contained here has been paraphrased from the discussion of Finley (1983): 36-8, except where noted.

cities were able to meet some of their expenses by compelling their wealthier citizens to provide financial contributions. Unlike the magistracies, which were filled by election or by lot, liturgies could be imposed on wealthy citizens by magistrates.⁷ Thus, the *trierarchy* in Athens placed the expense of equipping and manning a trireme on the wealthiest class of citizens. The religious sphere also contained numerous liturgies, which were to a certain extent expected of wealthier citizens such as, for example the *choregia*.

It is, however, uncertain to what extent citizens could be compelled to take on these and other liturgies.⁸ There was, for example, a voluntary aspect to the *choregia* and by extension to later liturgies, so that the compulsion may have been more of a moral and social obligation than a legal duty.⁹

A liturgist could receive a great deal of *τιμή* from his service, but it is significant that Finley's main body of evidence for his discussion of liturgies is 'political and forensic speeches', in which liturgical service was used to characterize the speaker as a good citizen.¹⁰ Liturgists were not permitted, or simply did not, to publicize their actions

⁷ Jones (1940): 167.

⁸ Wilson (2000): 54 notes the case of Demosthenes in 349/8, who stepped forward when a *choregus* had not been nominated for his tribe (Dem. 21.13): 'Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οὐ καθεστηκότος χορηγοῦ τῇ Πανδιονίδι φυλῇ, τρίτον ἔτος τουτί, παρούσης δὲ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐν ἣ τὸν ἄρχοντ' ἐπικληροῦν ὁ νόμος τοῖς χοροῖς τοὺς αὐλητὰς κελεύει, λόγων καὶ λαιδορίας γιγνομένης, καὶ κατηγοροῦντος τοῦ μὲν ἄρχοντος τῶν ἐπιμελητῶν τῆς φυλῆς, τῶν δ' ἐπιμελητῶν τοῦ ἄρχοντος, παρελθὼν ὑπεσχόμεν ἐγὼ χορηγήσειν ἐβελοντής. Demosthenes' act is itself voluntary, but that a nomination was expected suggests and an element of coercion.

⁹ Wilson (2000): 206 questions the nature of the obligation on the *choregos* to erect a monument after his victory, but this question must also be considered with regard to the service itself.

¹⁰ Finley (1983): 37.

on commemorative monuments to the same extent that we find later magistrates, such as those who appear in our catalogue, boasting about their additional generosity.

The Hellenistic age witnessed an increase in the number of liturgies, and in the expenses of a single liturgy. At this time, the liturgies became more compulsory than honorific and in some cases even oppressive—they became a duty rather than an honor.¹¹ Both Finley and Jones argue that liturgies became less compulsory in Greek cities under Roman rule, but the speeches of Dio Chrysostom and Aelius Aristides indicate that they remained as important and as morally obligatory as in the Classical and Hellenistic periods.¹²

Liturgies did, therefore, remain a significant part of civic political life, sometimes willingly undertaken by benefactors, but other times reluctantly. However, the offices which were considered liturgies and those which were magistracies, that is, those which required the spending of the officer's own money and those which were provided with a sort of budget, will have varied between cities. As we have suggested above, cities in which *διανομαί* were compulsory will not report these in the list of a benefactor's generosity, and the same most likely holds true for liturgies which were entirely

¹¹ Jones (1940): 186-7 provides an account of the negotiations which could take place between magistrates and potential liturgists. Dio, *Or.* 48.10 also notes peaceful means for coercing benefactions from wealthy citizens; cf. Levick (2000): 235-6 no. 234=P. *Oxy* 1415 ll 17-31.

¹² Jones (1940): 167, 'Legally therefore it would seem that compulsory spending ceased. On the other hand a moral obligation to spend rested not only on the magistracies which had formerly been liturgies but on all alike.' Both Dio and Aristides were chosen as liturgists by their fellow citizens, and both attempted to get themselves excused: Dio by arguing that he had already spent significant sums on the city of Prusa, and Aristides by arguing that his ill-health prevented him from taking up the responsibilities (Dio, *Or.* 43.2, 46.6; Aristides, *Ἑρπαι Λόγοι* Δ 94ff.). Cf. Dio Chrys. *Or.* 7.1-63.

compulsory and no longer voluntary.¹³ However, when a liturgist went far beyond the normal performance established by his predecessors, this will be mentioned and praised during the Roman period on public monuments. Similarly, voluntary tenure in an office was something to be emphasized and praised.¹⁴

Only fifteen inscriptions in our catalogue make no mention of an office, but of these, eleven almost certainly originally referred to one or more offices which have been lost through damage. The remaining inscriptions refer to twenty-seven different offices;¹⁵ Table 3.3 lists those which appear more than four times, together with the number of times that office appears in the inscriptions in our catalogue. For the purposes of this

Gymnasiarch	42	Stephanephorus	8
Priest(ess)	38	Eirenarch	6
Imperial (Chief) Priest	14	Prytanis	5
Chief Priest	10	Grammateus	4
Agonothete	17	Ambassador	4
Unspecified Mag/Lit	8	Architheorus	4

Table 3.3.: Common Offices Attested in the Catalogue

table, we have taken a mention of the distribution of oil as an indication of the *gymnasiarchy*. We should also note that we have counted each tenure in an office, so that Satyrus the son of Philenus of Tenos is the only attested *architheorus*, but he held the

¹³ See above, Chapter Two, p. 66.

¹⁴ Levick (2000): 234-5, no. 223=IGR IV 1525.

¹⁵ The offices which do not appear in the table are: *συνδίκος* (1), *ἐκδίκος* (1), *ταμία* (1), *ἱεροκῆρυξ* (1), *ὑποφύλαξ* (1), *στρατηγός* (2), *ἀγορανόμος* (2), *προστάτης* (1), *κωτάρχης* (1), *χορήγος* (1), *προγεγράμμυς* (1), *εὐθενάρχος* (1), *εἰκοσοπρότευς* (2), *σιτανόμης* (1), *χιλιαρχός* (1), *σεβαστοφάντης* (1). We have counted the prophets of Apollo and the *hydrophori* of Artemis in Didyma among the priests and priestesses.

office four times.¹⁶ However, offices which appear in identical inscriptions have not been counted repeatedly.

i) The Gymnasiarchy

The most commonly held office by our benefactors was the gymnasiarchy, one of the most expensive liturgies in many cities, so that it was necessarily held by members of the leading families throughout Asia.¹⁷ We find mention of the gymnasiarchy in sixteen of our cities, though this is based only on the gymnasiarchs who appear in our inscriptions. Since most large cities had several gymnasia, it was common for them to have more than one gymnasiarch, one for each age-group: thus, at Stratonicea, two brothers were gymnasiarchs τῶν νέων.¹⁸ However, this was not universally the case, as we also have a gymnasiarch πάντων τῶν γυμνασίων in Ephesus, clearly a much larger undertaking than the gymnasiarchy of a single gymnasium only.¹⁹

Briefly, the responsibilities of gymnasiarchs included the maintenance and upkeep of the gymnasium itself, the provision of related appliances, the heating of baths, and, most importantly, the distribution of oil free of charge, or at a reduced price. The most common service is this distribution of oil, though some gymnasiarchs are also said to

¹⁶ Cat. # 3.c.1 ll. 1-3: πληρώσαντα πᾶσαν ἀρχὴν καὶ λειτουργίαν, καὶ ἀρχιθεωρήσαντα τετράκις. The significance of embassies has been noted above in connection with Titus Flavius Aeneas of Stratonicea (above, Chapter Two, pp. 76-77), and service as an ambassador to a religious shrine will have had similar significance and expense. Each of the four ambassadors listed in Table 3.3 were ambassadors to the Emperor, though only the inscription of Titus Flavius Aeneas tells us that the right to provide διανομαί was a result of the embassy (Cat. # 1.a.1 ll. 5-6, 4.d.1 ll. 2, 4.d.7 ll. 5-6 (cf. 4.d.8), and 6.d.1 ll. 5-6).

¹⁷ Schulte (1994): 26.

¹⁸ Cat. # 6.d.2 ll. 16.

have provided resources for the gymnasia and associated buildings, like Satyrus of Tenos, who provided a *βαλανεῖον* and a foundation to pay for its heating.²⁰ A portion of the expenses entailed by this office may, in some cities, have been met out of the revenues of the city, but any difference between this and the total amount necessary, or the total amount rendered necessary by the gymnasiarch's ambition, was the responsibility of the gymnasiarch himself. Elsewhere, or in times of crisis, the entire expense may have fallen on the gymnasiarch.²¹

The majority of our gymnasiarchs are men, but seven women do appear in the same office. Although this office was primarily a financial burden alone—that is, it did not require the same type of governmental service as, for example, that of *βουλευταί* and it no longer involved an active part in education and training as it had in the Hellenistic age—, all of these women shared the office with men.²² The gymnasiarchy was an official liturgy, but the provision of oil alone can in these cases be seen as a benefaction similar to *διανομαί*. The mention of this service in our inscriptions is a claim to honor and prestige, but not every gymnasiarch will have provided *διανομαί* during (or after) this office or

¹⁹ Cat. # 4.b.15 l. 6.

²⁰ Cat. # 3.c.1 ll. 3-5: ἀναθέντα τῇ πόλει / βαλανεῖον καὶ δηνάρια πεντακισχέιλια, ἵνα ἐκ τοῦ / τόκου αὐτῶν θερμαίνεται τὸ βαλανεῖον; see above, Chapter Two p. 72. Such attention to the maintenance of the buildings associated with the gymnasium, though, was not as common as the provision of oil; although it was a part of the liturgy, some gymnasiarchs paid more attention to the maintenance of buildings than others (van Bremen (1996): 67).

²¹ Jones (1940): 221-5; Magie (1951): 62.

²² van Bremen (1996): 44-5, 66-73. Although van Bremen notes that only one half of the seventy-five women in her study who acted as gymnasiarchs are known to have done so alone, we cannot draw any

service; when *διανομαί* were provided during or in association with the gymnasiarchy, though, the benefactor was further glorified.

Gaius Stertinius Orpex and his daughter Marina have been classified as gymnasiarchs since they dedicated statues of Asclepius, Hygia, and Hypnus in one of the gymnasia in Ephesus.²³ They also made an endowment for two perpetual *διανομαί*; one of these, for the *βουλευταί* and priests, was to take place in the agora, and the second, for the *γερουσία*, in an unspecified location, but probably in the agora or the gymnasium. The statues in the gymnasium will have formed a part of their expenditure during the gymnasiarchy and the *διανομαί* in the agora will have drawn attention to their tenure, if, as seems to be the case, this office prompted the cash-gifts. However, the placement of their own statues in the agora also provides an opportunity of publicizing the role of Marina in the gymnasiarchy, since statues of women may have been excluded from the gymnasia, even if they had served as gymnasiarchs.²⁴

ii) *Priesthoods and High-Priesthoods*

Both the gymnasiarchy and, in particular, the agonothesia were often held by priests of a local god or goddess or of the Imperial cult in the course of their public careers. Four of the agonothesiai in our catalogue included gladiators and *venatores*, a

significant conclusions from the fact that all of our female gymnasiarchs were thus associated since we have not focused on this office.

²³ Cat. # 4.b.1 ll. 16-18 and 4.b.2 ll. 8-9; see above, Chapter Two, pp. 53-54, nn. 31-34.

²⁴ van Bremen (1996): 196, who suggests this due to the fact that the gymnasium 'had very strong male associations ... in its statuary.'

sure sign of the Imperial priesthood.²⁵ The high-priest was responsible for maintaining at least an outward demonstration of the allegiance of his fellow-citizens to Rome and the Emperor, his family and predecessors.²⁶ The use of Roman spectacles was one way of demonstrating such loyalty; so too were *δανουαί* provided by Imperial priests as they then imply a tacit recognition of the priests' importance in the city. The value of *δανουαί* in the Imperial cult can be seen through the provision of *δανουαί* on the occasion of Hadrian's passage through Ancyra:²⁷ *δανουαί* could, but need not necessarily, be used to encourage citizens to take a more active part in the Imperial cult.

The Imperial high priest was also commonly the chief officer of a regional *koinon*—such as that of Asia, Galatia, or Lycia; however, the relationship between the *archiereus* of Asia and the Asiarch, or the *archiereus* of Lycia and the Lyciarch is unclear and much debated.²⁸

Priests and priestesses commonly appear in larger cities and in sanctuary cities as providers of *δανουαί*, either during their priesthoods or after the completion of their official duties. This is not surprising, as it was the cults in these cities, as old and wealthy cults, which were most sought after.²⁹ Thus, the prophets of Apollo and the *hydrophori*

²⁵ Cat. # 6.d.1 ll. 11-13, 6.e.4 l. 5, 6.f.3 ll.4-5 and 11.a.1 ll. 3-4; see below, p. 92.

²⁶ Magie (1951): 544; Price (1984).

²⁷ Cat. # 10.a.2 ll. 8-12; above, Chapter Two, p. 74-75.

²⁸ For example, Magie (1951): 448-9, 459, 1299-1301, 1388-9; Larson (1945): 85; Heberdey (1897): 59; Hertz (1992).

²⁹ The temples of Artemis at Ephesus and of Zeus and Hecate in Stratonicea, for example, owned plots of lands which provided revenue for the temples. (Rostovtzeff (1957): p. 656, n. 6).

of Artemis are certainly responsible for one-third of the distributions provided in Didyma, while eight of the ten benefactors of Stratōnicea, Panamara and Lagina served as priests of Zeus, Hera or Hecate. The prophets and *hydrophori* of Didyma were usually related—a father and his daughter—and several inscriptions use one of these offices as an indication of date, though another eponymous office is commonly included.³⁰

The duties and responsibilities of these and other priests will have been, in essence, similar to those of the Imperial priests, that is, with a large financial component in addition to any possible administrative duties; the amount of emphasis on Imperial propaganda is, perhaps, less in these cases than in those of priests of the Imperial cult. None of the prophets or *hydrophori* served as agonothes, though the prophet Tiberius Claudius Marcianus Smaragdus was πανηγυρικός κωτάρχης.³¹ The only mention of the Μεγάλα Διδύμεια, though, appears in a third century inscription which has been supplemented.³²

The source of the funding of *διανομαί* provided by priests is uncertain, since several of the priesthoods contained in our catalogue had large amounts of money

³⁰ For example, Cat. # 4.d.4 ll. 10-12: προφητεύοντος Κλ(αυδίου)· Θεοδότου, / ταμειεύοντος Κλ(αυδίου); 4.d.6 ll. 13-14: ὑδροφορούσης Ναϊδος τῆς Ἀγαθόποδος, ταμ[ιεύόν/των Αἰ]σχίνου τοῦ Ο[.]ία φύσει δὲ Αἰσχ[ί]νου [καὶ Τ]ι(βερίου) Οὐ[ε]ργιλίου. The prophet and *hydrophorus* were, simply, the priests of Apollo Pythius and Artemis Pythia, respectively (van Bremen (1996): 64).

³¹ Cat. # 4.d.7 ll. 2-4, and 4.d.8 ll. 2-4.

³² Cat. # 4.d.14 l. 1; the benefactor in this case, though there is no name or office surviving, was most likely a *hydrophorus*, as the *διανομαί* were given, among others, to the women and the maidens, who appear frequently as beneficiaries in the *διανομή*-inscriptions from Didyma (see below, pp. 103-106): δοῦ]/σα τοῖς πολ/εῖ[ταις καὶ παισὶν?]/καὶ γυναιξί/ν καὶ παρθένους διανομάς.

available through the possession of land. Thus, several of our benefactors may in fact have been distributing temple funds rather than their own money.³³

iii) *The Agonothesia*

The agonothesia, like the gymnasiarchy, to which it is very similar, was a liturgy—often a very expensive liturgy. The agonothete was responsible for providing prizes for competitors—both athletic and musical—but it was also his task to ensure that there were competitors.³⁴ The more important and famous contests took place on a penteteric cycle, like the sacred games of the Greek mainland, but only three such agonothesiaí certainly appear in our catalogue.³⁵ However, there is no reason to assume that all or even most of the remaining agonothetes were therefore responsible for only local, annual festivals.

As is the case with the provision of *διανομαί*, though, many of the benefactors who acted as agonothetes did so as part of another office, most often, as in the case of Heraclitus of Rhodiapolis, a priesthood.³⁶ Many of these were Imperial priests, either

³³ Only two of the inscriptions in our catalogue use the phrase *ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων*, but in neither of these is the phrase directly connected with the *διανομαί*: Cat. # 4.d.1 ll. 12-13, and 4.d.2 ll. 7-10. The inscriptions do not tell us that it is temple-funds which is being distributed, but we know this could happen from Hadrian's letter to the inhabitants of Delphi (see above, Chapter Two, p. 51, no. 23).

³⁴ Jones (1940): 234-5; *IPriene* 111 167ff; *SEG* 7 (1934): 825; Levick (2000): 131, no. 123=Ehrenberg and Jones (1976): 87, no. 102; Dio Chrys. *Or.* 66.8: αὐλητὰς δὲ καὶ μίμους καὶ κιθαριστὰς καὶ θαυματοποιούς συνακτέον, ἔτι δὲ πύκτας καὶ παγκρατιαστὰς καὶ παλαιστὰς καὶ δρομείς καὶ τὸ τοιοῦτον ἔθνος.

³⁵ Cat. # 1.d.1 ll.5-7, 8.a.1 ll. 17-18 and 11.a.1 l. 6.

³⁶ Cat. # 7.b.7.

explicitly identified as such, or said to have provided gladiators and hunters.³⁷ However, thirteen other agonothesiai, ten of which were held by two men, may have been local festivals held annually, rather than penteterically, simply because of the frequency with which the two men held them.³⁸

The phrase *διὰ βίου* appears in association with one agonothesia, though it also appears in connection with several other offices and honors.³⁹ This, like *εἰς (αἰωνίους) διανομάς* indicates that the benefactor established a fund whose interest would support the agonothesia, or that the benefactor volunteered to meet the expenses whenever there were no other candidates.⁴⁰ As with the gymnasiarchy, the agonothesia was marked out as more lavish by the provision of *διανομαί*.

iv) The Stephanephorate and Prytany

The *stephanephorus* was the eponymous official in many cities including Miletus, Magnesia on the Maeander, Nysa, Tralles, Aphrodisias and Stratonicea.⁴¹ The responsibilities of the stephanephorate were primarily financial, and were often met by a titular god or hero when there was no citizen able or willing to undertake the position.

³⁷ Cat. # 6.d.1 ll. 11-12, 6.e.4 ll. 5-6, 11.a.1 ll. 1-4; *κυνηγεσία* alone: Cat. # 6.f.3 ll.4-5.

³⁸ [Marcus Aurelius], the father of Marcus Aurelius Artemidorus Metrodorianus was agonothete three times in Ephesus (Cat. # 4.b.15 l. 11), while Opramoas was agonothete of Myrea and Patara, and five times agonothete of Rhodiapolis (Cat. # 7.b.4 ll. B13-14).

³⁹ *ἀγωνοθέτην διὰ βίου*: Cat. # 11.a.1 ll. 4-5 (cf. ll. 8-9); elsewhere: Cat. # 8.a.1 l. 16: *ιερέα τοῦ Διὸς διὰ βίου*, *ιερέως Διονύσου διὰ βίου*; Cat. # 10.a.3 ll. 4-5 (cf. 10.a.4-7): *πορφύρα καὶ στεφάνῳ διὰ βίου*.

⁴⁰ cf. van Bremen (1996): 26 note 56, who notes the Hellenistic case of a woman of Thasos who promised *εἶναι δὲ αὐτὴν διὰ βίου νεωκόρον τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ὅταν μηδεμία ὑπόσχηται ἕτερα* (SEG 18: 343) cf. also Quaβ (1993): 338 note 1442.

Like the gymnasiarchy and *διανομαί*, bequests could be made to support an *αἰωνίον* stephanephorate after the death of a citizen.⁴² Consequently, this office could be held by women, but in their own right, and not simply as a nominal or complimentary title as some have suggested.⁴³

The *prytany* was a more common eponymous office than the stephanephorate throughout the Hellenistic period, and it retained this status under Roman rule in, among other places, Ephesus.⁴⁴ It was an elective office, but the eponymous *prytanis* is distinct from the board of *prytaneis*, which was responsible for bringing decrees before the *βουλή* and *δῆμος*.⁴⁵ Members of the *βουλή*, the *βουλευταί*, were divided into committees, the *prytaneis*.⁴⁶ This was not, like the gymnasiarchy, an office which required substantial donations, but there are three holders of this office who provided *διανομαί*, apparently during their tenure.⁴⁷

⁴¹ Magie (1951): 643.

⁴² Jones (1940): 167-8.

⁴³ Magie (1951): 649.

⁴⁴ Magie (1951): 135, 643; Cat. # 4.b.11 l. 1.

⁴⁵ Magie (1951): 263; Jones (1940): 174-5.

⁴⁶ Magie (1951): 834-6.

⁴⁷ Cat. # 4.b.11, 6.g.1, and 8.a.1

v) *The Eirenarchy*

The *eirenarch* was a local official appointed by Roman governor from a list of ten citizens submitted by each city, but is not attested before the reign of Trajan.⁴⁸ He was a virtual police-officer, responsible to the magistrates to whom he conducted the brigands whom he arrested, assisted by mounted officials, *diogmitae*.⁴⁹ The office had been created in response to rising brigandage,⁵⁰ and is attested in cities throughout Asia Minor.⁵¹ None of the eirenarchs in our catalogue, however, provided *διανομαί* during their tenure in this office.

vi) *The Grammateus*

The *grammateus* was, most simply, a secretary of the city. There were several *grammateis* in some cities; these magistrates are well known in Ephesus, which is the focus of Claudia Schulte's study.⁵² These secretaries most commonly served the *βουλή*, *δῆμος*, or *γερουσία*, but there were also secretaries of private organizations and associations, who were responsible for the public image of the association, among other duties.⁵³ These duties could include the supervision of statue arrangements or of public records, the representation of the provincial or local *koinon*, and the office was in later

⁴⁸ Lévy (1899): 287; Jones (1930): 212; Arist. *Or.* 50.72 (*The Sacred Tales* 4).

⁴⁹ For example, *IGR* IV 580; see also Pfaff, *RE*, 9.2, 2032-2035, s.v. *irenarcha*.

⁵⁰ Magie (1951): 647; Levick (2000): 47-8.

⁵¹ For example, *IGR* III 203 reports an eirenarch of Ancyra; 450, of Termessus; IV 130, of Miletopolis; 461, of Pergamon; and 585, of Aizani.

⁵² Schulte (1994).

times occasionally held concurrently with the ἀρχιερώσυνη.⁵⁴ Consequently, the *grammateus* was a leading official in the assemblies of the people; in Ephesus, for example, he was responsible for conducting the distribution of money in Salutaris' foundation.⁵⁵ As the representative of the *koinon*, the βουλή or another group, this office will have entailed significant expense at times; consequently, it is not surprising that it is sometimes found listed as a liturgy, and other times as a magistracy.⁵⁶

B. Citizens as Benefactors

That the benefactors held these offices indicates that they were all citizens, both of their own cities and of Rome itself. Roman citizenship was granted to magistrates upon their election in cities and towns which possessed *Minus Latium*; following the reign of Hadrian, all βουλευταί became Roman citizens in towns which possessed *Maius Latium*.⁵⁷ Grants of *Maius Latium* were common during Hadrian's reign.⁵⁸ This provides another factor which must be considered in conjunction with Table 1.2 and the increases under Hadrian, Antoninus Pius and Caracalla. Charts 1.1, 2.1 and 3.1 show more clearly than

⁵³ Schulte (1994): 24, 31.

⁵⁴ Schulte (1994): 34-5; Magie (1951): 60, 524, 645.

⁵⁵ Cat. # 4.b.6 ll. 223-226: ἀφ' ὧν δώσει τῷ γραμματεῖ τῆς βουλῆς δηνάρια τετρακόσι[α] πεντήκοντα, ὅπως ἐπιτελεῖ διανομὴν / [τοῖς] βουλευταῖς ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ἐν τῷ προναῶι τῇ γενεσίῳ τῆς μεγίστης θεᾶς Ἀρ[τέμιδος; Magie (1951): 645; cf. Acts 19.35-42, where the γραμματεὺς calms a crowd of Ephesians in the theater.

⁵⁶ Magie (1951): 852 cites *IPriene* 113.8, 114.11 (liturgy); 112.22, 113.16 (magistracy), but we should note that these are all of Hellenistic date, and refer to the same individual, Aulus Aemilius Zosimus.

⁵⁷ Henderson (1965): 180-181.

⁵⁸ *HA Had.* 21.7: *Latium multis civitatibus dedit.*

Table 1.2 that our distributions are primarily a feature of the second century, though it should be observed that the inscriptions which have been broadly dated only have not been included here. Taking into account what we have just said about the benefactors, namely they were Roman citizens, we have another explanation for the increase in the second century: as grants of citizenship became more frequent, there were increasing numbers of Roman citizens who could provide *δανομαί*.⁵⁹

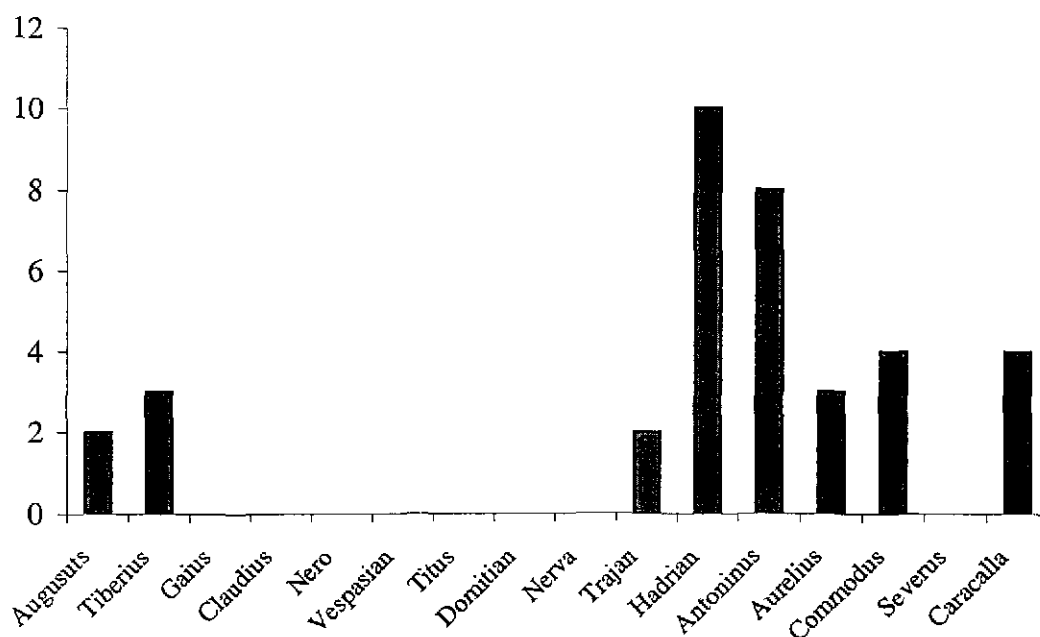


Chart 3.1: Chronological Frequency of dated Distributions.⁶⁰

⁵⁹ Given the degree of control over civic affairs which Roman officials could exercise in Greek cities (cf., for example, above, Chapter Two, pp. 69 and 78), it is probable that the magistrates and *βουλευταί* were known to these Roman authorities.

⁶⁰ The data contained in this chart is that of Table 1.2. However, only those inscriptions which can be dated to the reign of an Emperor or to a narrow time span have been included; those which have been dated only as Hellenistic, or Imperial, or as belonging to a certain century have been omitted.

The decline in popularity of the *διανομή*, not shown in this chart, is, as we have said, the result of a combination of the instability of the third century and a shift of focus, both in the public attitude towards the distributions, and in the attitude of the benefactors themselves: giving *φιλοτιμίας* was no longer as important as Christian giving.⁶¹

Although the distribution pattern of the *διανομή*-inscriptions can easily be assigned to an accident of preservation, it is notable that this pattern shows general similarities both to Mrozek's curve⁶² and to the spread of Roman citizenship. Obviously, though, citizenship increased throughout the Imperial period, but there are periods when this spread was more marked than others are, particularly in the reign of Hadrian, as we have seen, by the distinction between *Latium Maius* and *Latium Minus*, and by the granting of *Latium* status to various cities.⁶³

Similarly, Sherwin-White notes the effectiveness of the Imperial cult in spreading 'Roman' culture and citizenship through the appearance of *coloniae Commodianae*, and we should note in this connection that a *γερουσία Κομμοδιανή* appears in Ephesus, clearly a similar indication;⁶⁴ we will also recall the Claudian *βουλή* in Tralles.⁶⁵ Citizenship by itself cannot, of course, explain the pattern of our inscriptions, but combined with the

⁶¹ See above, Chapter One, pp. 38-39.

⁶² McMullen (1982): 243, figure 5; Mrozek (1973).

⁶³ See above, Chapter Two, p. 75, n. 74 and Chapter Three, pp. 96-97, nn. 56-58.

⁶⁴ Sherwin-White (1973): 277; Cat. # 4.b.11 l. 4.

⁶⁵ Cat. # 6.b.1.

other factors we have mentioned above, it does provide further insight into why there is such a marked increase.

III. The Recipients

Twenty-nine groups of recipients are attested in our catalogue, twelve of which appear only once. Table 3.3 lists those which appear two or more times. One very striking feature about this table is that several of the groups of recipients are also those to which many of the benefactors belong, namely the *βουλευταί*, the *γερουσίαι*, the *συνιόντες*

The councilors/Senators (τῇ βουλῇ, βουλευταῖς)	38	The boys/youths (τοῖς παιδευταῖς)	4
The citizens (τῇ πόλει, πολῖταις)	17	The Doctors (τοῖς ἰατροῖς)	3
The women (ταῖς γυναιξί)	14	Those who are called (τοῖς καλουμένοις)	3
The maidens (ταῖς παρθένοις)	10	The slaves (τοῖς δούλοις)	3
The elders (τῇ γερουσίᾳ, γερουσιασταῖς)	9	The free men (τοῖς ἐλευθέροις)	2
The electoral officials who come together (τοῖς συνιούσιν ἀρχοσταταῖς)	6	The tribes (ταῖς φυλαῖς)	2
The country (τῇ πατρίδι)	8	The magistrates of the <i>koinon</i> (τοῖς κοινοῖς ἄρχουσι)	2
Those who customarily receive (τοῖς λοιποῖς τοῖς λαμβάνουσιν ἐξ ἔθους)	5	The overseers of the market (τοῖς ἀγοραίοις)	2
Those who dwell nearby (τοῖς παρεπιδημήσασιν)	5		

Table 3.3.: Common Recipients and Their Frequency.⁶⁶

ἀρχοσταταί and the *κοινοὶ ἄρχοντες*. Consequently, we can conclude simply from the frequency of these groups that distributions were not primarily a result of a desire on the part of the benefactors to assist their fellow citizens or to help alleviate poverty.

⁶⁶ Recipients not included in this table but attested in the catalogue are: *ἀγορανόμοι*, *ὑμνοί*, *Ταυριασταί*, *ἄλλους οὓς ἐβουλήθη*, *πρεσβυτέροις*, *συνέδροι*, *νεοκούροι*, *πρόκληροι*, *νεοπνοί*, *σειτομετρούμενοι*,

A. Βουλευταί, Γερουσιασταί, and Ἄρχοντες

Although the *βουλευταί* are clearly the most common beneficiaries, they are listed as such in only sixteen of the thirty-six cities included in this survey, and do not appear as recipients at all in our evidence from Phrygia, Pontus, Galatia, or Pamphylia. Obviously, this does not mean that the *βουλή* did not exist in these cities and regions: we have already seen Pliny the Younger referring to the *βουλή* in Bithynia-Pontus, and the *βουλή* and *δῆμος* honored Marcus Ulpius Appulianus Flavianus in Aizani.⁶⁷ Furthermore, the *βουλή* can be seen in several of these cities and regions under different names. In Oenanda, for example, a *διανομή* of ten *denaria* was given to the ‘*πεντακοσίοι*’,⁶⁸ clearly a local senate with five hundred members.

Similarly, the *κοινοὶ ἄρχοντες*, who appear twice in Opramoas’ mausoleum, can also be seen as the magistrates of the *κοινόν* of the Lycian *ἔθνος*, members of a federal council and elective assembly. This federation had declined in its influence through the course of the Hellenistic and Imperial periods as Rome began to take a greater interest and role in the affairs of Asia Minor, so that it was no longer capable of foreign policy decisions—such as the declaration of war or the ratification of treaties—but could vote honors to citizens of its member cities in the time period with which we are concerned.

σεβαστοφόροι, and *μαστειγοφόροι*. All of these appear only once, and have not been included in a larger category—*τῇ πόλει*, for example, includes: *πολίται* (7), *ἄνδρες* (1), *πόλει* (7), *δημόται* (1), and *δῆμοι* (1).

⁶⁷ Cat. # 8.a.1.

⁶⁸ Cat. # 7.f.1 ll. 24-25. This group has been included in the table under the *τῇ βουλῇ* category.

These actions, however, like the assembly and federation themselves, had to be ratified by Imperial authorities.⁶⁹

The *γερουσία*, in various cities, was also supported and monitored to a certain extent by Roman officials.⁷⁰ Although Magie stresses the age of the *γερουσίασται* as a means of providing an assembly of mature, rational citizens, Jones is right to note that the *γερουσία* was primarily an aristocratic association, whose membership was based more on birth, inherited wealth and connection to the Roman governors than on age. Thus, it was primarily a social *collegium* but it did have some political influence.⁷¹

B. Πολῖται, Φυλαί and Πατρίδες

We can, therefore, say without a doubt that the recipients just considered were among the wealthy, if not the wealthiest, classes of citizens, like their benefactors. This implies very strongly that groups of recipients who are defined only vaguely, such as the *πολῖται* or the *φυλαί* also included wealthy citizens. The *πολῖται*, properly speaking, are the citizens of the cities and their surrounding areas, so that this group—and the *φυλαί*—necessarily included the *βουλευταί*, though the opposite is not necessarily true.

The simultaneous mention of the *πολῖται* and the *βουλευταί* as recipients indicates that the two bodies were not exactly identical. The difference will have been that the *πολῖται* were simply citizens, while the *βουλευταί* were magistrates and members of the

⁶⁹ Magie (1951): 531-4.

⁷⁰ Magie (1951): 653; Dio, *Or.* 46.14 and 48.1-2 notes the authority of Roman officials over assemblies of citizens in Greek cities; cf. also above, Chapter Two, pp. 69 and 77.

⁷¹ Magie (1951): 63; Jones (1930): 226.

local senate. The *πολῖται* and the *φυλαί* are, therefore, broader groups, but they are still, importantly, citizens.

Distributions given *τοῖς λοιποῖς τοῖς λαμβάνουσιν ἐξ ἔθους* and *τοῖς καλουμένοις* imply the citizenship of the recipients, but do not guarantee it. These two groups suggest that records may have been kept, from which it was determined which individuals received gifts, but the second group can also be taken to suggest that the gifts were allotted by a lottery, or a *κλήρος*, to individuals whose names were chosen, or that they were given to those who had been summoned to the distribution. This may be a means of concealing the fact that some handouts were given to citizens of much lower standing, or even to non-citizens.

Ἡ *πατρίς* also indicates this, though to a lesser extent than, for example, οἱ *παρεπιδημήσαντες*. If this is indeed the purpose of such broad categories, though, we must ask why οἱ *δούλοι* and οἱ *ἐλευθέροι* appear five times: distributions which included slaves were probably less prestigious than distributions to full citizens, so that their appearance may be an oddity. That slaves appear among the recipients, though, emphasizes the generosity of the benefactor since the *διανομή* is that much more comprehensive. There can be no doubt that such recipients may have been concealed at times—these two categories include those recipients who are explicitly identified as such, but also those who appear as *‘πάσαι τύχαι καὶ ἡλικίαι’*, people of all fortunes and ages, which may have included slaves. The appearance of slaves among the recipients, since it is so rare, strengthens the impression that *διανομαί* were not intended primarily to help alleviate

poverty; at the same time, their appearance does suggest that some benefactors were willing to assist the poor.

C. *Γυναϊκές, Παρθένοι and Παιδενταί*

It is perhaps surprising that women are the second most common group of recipients. In fact, they appear to be only slightly less common among recipients than they are among benefactors. This, however, cannot be attributed to the demographics noted above and by van Bremen.⁷² The evidence provides no indication that female benefactors preferred female or young recipients. As is the case with slaves, the provision of *διανομαί* to these groups served to draw the public gaze towards the benefactor, and cannot be seen as a type of reciprocal gift between equals. The women, however, should not be compared too closely with slaves, in connection with whom they never appear.

Women are the sole beneficiaries of only two distributions, provided by a priest and priestess of Hera in Panamara, and by a benefactress of Heracleia Salbace.⁷³ Elsewhere, they appear as recipients in connection with another group. Thus, in Syros, *διανομαί* were given to women and boys, though at different rates. However, this inscription presents difficulties of interpretation, as we have noted above, since it is unclear what exactly is being distributed.⁷⁴ The wife of a euergetist in Heracleia Salbace

⁷² See above, p. 82-83, nn. 2-4.

⁷³ Cat. # 6.e.2 l. 7, and 6.g.1 ll. 13-16.

⁷⁴ Cat. # 3.b.1 ll. 14-19; see above, Chapter One, pp. 24-26: *καὶ ἔδωκεν [ἐ/κάστ]ῳ σφυρίδος δηνάριον πέντε, ἔλευ[θέ/ραι]ς δὲ γυναῖξιν πάσαις καὶ θηλείαι[ς / παισίν] οἶνον καὶ ἔδωκεν ταῖς μ[ὲν γυναιξί] διανομῆς ἀνὰ*

provided distributions in her own name for the wives of the *βουλευταί* and the *πολίται*, which suggests that a similar *διανομή* in Tenos may also have been destined for the wives of citizens.⁷⁵ They are almost always listed as the wives of the *βουλευταί* or of the *πολίται*: they were women of some influence and importance as wives, but also, we must assume, in their own right.

Didyma provides the most attestations of women as recipients; outside of Didyma, though, women are no more common as beneficiaries than the *παιδευταί*, and the *παρθένοι* are non-existent. Even in the ten cases of female recipients in Didyma, though, there is no indication that female benefactors preferred female recipients: we find both prophets and *hydrophori* providing *διανομαί* to the *γυναικές* and the *παρθένοι* as well as to the *βουλευταί* and other groups. However, there are two indications that these groups were much more restrictive than they at first seem.

A prophet, celebrating the 'Ανοιγμοί festival gave *διανομαί* 'ταῖς ἐκ Ναοῦ γυναιξὶν καὶ ταῖς παρθένοις.'⁷⁶ This phrase appears only twice in our catalogue, in Didyma and nowhere else. These two appearances suggest that ἐκ Ναοῦ may be an unmentioned restriction in the other Didyma-inscriptions. Otherwise, the mention of a restriction would take away from the magnanimity of the distribution, rather than emphasizing the

ἄσσάρια ὁ[κτώ, / ταῖς δὲ] παισὶν ἀνὰ ἄσσάρια τέσσα[ρα]. The uncertainty is the translation of the καὶ following the provision of wine: it could be clarification of *οἶνον* followed by the subjective genitive which have seen already so that wine worth 8 asses and 4 asses is being distributed, or it could be adding the *διανομαί* on top of the distribution of wine.

⁷⁵ Heracleia Salbace: Cat. # 6.g.1, where Ammia the daughter of Charmidus held the same offices as her husband, the prytany and the stephanephorate, which suggests that these *may* have been honorific titles only. Tenos: Cat. #3.c.1 ll. 15-16: ἀνδράσι καὶ γυναιξὶ Τηνίοις.

τιμῇ of the benefactor. As a restriction specific to Didyma, though, there would be no reason to include this reference, as the citizens to whom the inscriptions were directed would automatically have understood ‘ταῖς γυναιξί’ as ‘ταῖς ἐκ Ναοῦ γυναιξί.’ We have dated the two inscriptions in which this phrase appears to the late first century AD and the reign of Hadrian respectively, so that it is possible that these two texts were inscribed at a time when the use of the phrase was beginning to be omitted. ‘Ταῖς ἐκ Ναοῦ γυναιξί’ may also refer in this case to women who were being initiated into the cult at Didyma.⁷⁷

Secondly, the *παρθένοι* appear only in Didyma, while the *παιδευταί* appear in Didyma and elsewhere; the *παιδευταί* do appear as the beneficiaries of other donations in Didyma but only once as the recipients of a *διανομή*.⁷⁸ This rarity suggests that their inclusion was unusual and a sign of significant generosity. However, the *παρθένοι* always receive *διανομαί* when they appear in our inscriptions and not a gift of another type: they do not receive a different gift when *διανομαί* are given to another group. It is possible that these, like the *γυναικές*, were restricted to girls with some connection to the temple and the service of Artemis and Apollo. What this service was is uncertain, but there are several possibilities. The *hydrophori* were, in general, the daughters of the prophets of Apollo—the *παρθένοι* may have been a group of former *hydrophori*, or a group from which

⁷⁶ Cat. # 4.d.3 ll. 3-5; cf. Cat. # 4.d.10 ll. 21-22, in which a *hydrophorus* provides *διανομαί* to the same groups.

⁷⁷ Titus Flavius Aeneas, who undertook an embassy to the Emperors (Cat. 6.d.1 ll. 13-17), also supported all of the women who were taking part in the Heraea at Panamara: *ἱερατεύσαντος / τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Παναμάρου ἐ[ν] / Ἡραίοις, καὶ κεῖ μὲν τὰς γυναιῖδες κηρύγματι ὑποδεξαίμενου πάσας.*

hydrophori were selected; or, they may have been, like αἱ ἐκ Ναοῦ γυναικές, initiates into the cult. It is possible that there was no such limitation to the term παρθένος, but since the γυναικές and the παιδευταί appear in Didyma and elsewhere, it certainly seems that the παρθένοι as recipients of διανομαί have some connection with the temple of Apollo and the service of Artemis.

IV. *The Distribution of διανομαί*

As we have seen, there are only a few inscriptions which say how much was distributed in total and to each recipient.⁷⁹ Many of our benefactors were munificent on a very large scale, claiming to have provided διανομαί for the entire population. We should not, however, assume that this is not a rhetorical usage of the phrase to make the benefactor appear more generous than he or she in fact was: it may be that only those individuals who arrived in the specified location at the specified time received anything.

There are indications that groups, such as the βουλή or the πόλις, did not, in fact, all receive handouts—that is, some members of the βουλή will have received gifts, but others will not have.⁸⁰ Several of our inscriptions record that διανομαί were given to the citizens or to *each* citizen.⁸¹ However, we should not understand this to mean that *every* citizen in the city or town received a gift. As we have seen, the total amount of money

⁷⁸ In Cat. # 4.d.3 ll. 5-7, they are the recipients of τὰ δείπνα during the Ἀνοιγμοὶ festival. In Cat. # 4.d.7 ll. 10-11, 4.d.8 ll. 10-11, and 4.d.9 ll. 1-2, copies of the inscription honoring Tiberius Cladius Marcianus Smaragdus, they are the recipients of a διανομή.

⁷⁹ See above, Chapter Two, pp. 57-63.

⁸⁰ Cat. 6.f.1 ll. 17-18.

dedicated for the purposes of distributions could vary greatly, and we have suggested that the larger the sum the more likely it was to be mentioned. Several of the cities contained in this survey are some of the largest cities in Asia Minor—Ephesus and Miletus, for example—so that a distribution *πάσῃ τῇ πόλει* would necessarily have been supported by a very large donation. However, since sums are only very rarely mentioned for these ‘universal distributions’, we should be hesitant to accept the statement at face value; rather, these phrases should be taken to indicate that the distributions were given to *some* or *most* of the citizens.⁸²

These distributions could be extremely extensive, even in relatively small cities, so that in all but the most lavish of *διανομαί* restrictions must have been imposed to avoid unnecessary expenses: recipients must be prevented from lining up to receive again, from sending someone in their place to receive their handout, and, most importantly, measures must be taken to prevent the money from running out before all of the recipients who were intended to had in fact received a gift, however small.

A. Οἱ παρόντες

Several benefactors placed specific limits and restrictions on who was entitled to receive their gift, one of the simplest of which was to refuse to give a handout to anyone

⁸¹ For example, cat. # 3.c.1 l. 12, in which a distribution is provided for every free citizen of Tenos: *παντὶ ἐλευθέρῳ Τηνίῳ*.

⁸² Cat. # 6.f.1 ll. 17-18, for example, reads ‘τοῖς πλείστοις τῶν πολιτῶν’; this is a rare statement in our inscriptions, and it appears to be equally rare in the Latin inscriptions of the Roman West. We read relatively frequently of *sportulae* and *epulae* to the *municipes*, as, for example, in *CIL* XI.6060: *cuius de dicatione decurionibus sportulas et / municipibus epulas / divisit*; a distribution to each of the *municipes* is more common in the Latin inscriptions than in the Greek, but it is not as common as a distribution to the *municipes*: for example, *CIL* X.1416: *legavit municipib(us) singulis HS IIII n(ummum)*.

who was not personally present. *Διανομαί*, according to our evidence, seem to have been intended to be carried away rather than spent on something provided by the benefactor, but only by those who were the intended recipients—a stand-in could not be sent to receive the cash gift.

This limitation, although it is not always explicitly spelled out, is the most common restriction, appearing certainly in twenty cases, and probably applying in every other case. Even the oft-praised Opramoas seems to have employed this limitation in making his arrangements for *διανομαί* for the Lycian *koinon*:

ἐπιδούς τῷ ἔθνει ἀργυρίου δηνάρια
πεντάκις μύρια καὶ πεντάκις χεῖλια ὥστε
τὸν κατ' ἔτος τόκον αὐτῶν χωρεῖν εἰς δι-
ανομὴν τοῖς συνιοῦσιν εἰς τὰ κοινὰ τοῦ ἔ-
θνους ἀρχαιρέσια ἀρχοστάταις καὶ βου-
λευταῖς καὶ κοινοῖς ἄρχουσι καὶ τοῖς λοι-
ποῖς τοῖς ἐξ ἔθνους λαμβάνουσιν.⁸³

The recipients of this *διανομή* are clearly not all of the magistrates and officials of the *koinon*, but only those who personally gather (τοῖς συνιοῦσιν) on the occasion of the federal assemblies.

Of course, magistrates were not, as we have seen, the only beneficiaries; lower classes of citizens were also included in the lists of recipients, as these too added to the fame and glory of the benefactor, if only by their numbers. We have suggested above that these can be glossed over in an inclusive term such as *τῇ πόλει*. Furthermore, several inscriptions do not mention specific recipients, so that it is implicit that it is only those who are present—whatever their social standing—who received a portion of the handouts.

B. Οἱ καλουμένοι

Such a requirement was the most common and the easiest means of limiting the recipients without appearing to do so blatantly, but it requires a second condition in order to function properly. A benefactor who provided cash handouts to everyone who was present could be exploited with very little effort. In the crowds, a recipient could take his or her gift and circle back for a second or even a third. Citizens with numerous dependents could bring them all and collect large sums from numerous small gifts. Therefore, it is not surprising that at least one inscription indicates that lists (οἱ δέλτοι) of tribes were used.

These δέλτοι are mentioned explicitly only in one of our inscriptions, but they are implied in several others.⁸⁴ Similarly, some of the distributions in Istrus and Ephesus were give 'τοῖς καλουμένοις', but these could also have been the winners of a lottery or κλήρος. These οἱ καλουμένοι may also have been citizens who had been invited to the distribution.⁸⁵

A third means of controlling the recipients also implies the use of formal or informal records. In the passage of the Opramoas-dossier quoted above, we read that the

⁸³ Cat. # 7.b.1 ll. H6-12; cf. Cat. # 7.b.2-6.

⁸⁴ Cat. # 6.f.3 ll. 7-8: ἕκαστον δῆμον ἐκ τῶν / δέλτων καλεσάντες. Cf. above, Chapter One, p. 16 n. 16, where we have seen Marcus Roccus Felix providing distributions to recipients from a public list.

⁸⁵ Istrus: Cat. # 2.a.2 ll. 26-32: βουλευταῖς πᾶσιν καὶ γεροσσιασταῖς καὶ Ταυ/ριασταῖς καὶ ἰατροῖς καὶ παιδευταῖς αἱ τοῖς ἰδίᾳ / καὶ ἐξ ὀνόματος καλουμένοις ἐκ δύο κατ' ἀνδραθηναρ[ί]ων διανο[μ]ήν, ἣν οὕτω τις ἄλλη πρότερον, / ἔδωκεν τοῖς δὲ ἐ[ν] ταῖς φυλαῖς κατὰ πεντηκονταρχίαν διανενομημ[έ]νοις; Ephesus: Cat. # 4.b.8 ll. 10-12: διανομήν τοῖς / πολείταις ἐκ τῶν καλουμένων εἰς τὰς / θυσίας ἐκάστω δηνάριον διδόναι.

cash gifts were also to be given ‘τοῖς λοιποῖς τοῖς ἐξ ἔθνους λαμβάνουσιν’; similarly, several other distributions are described as an ἔθος.⁸⁶ There was clearly an established custom by which certain groups of citizens were always, or usually, included among the recipients. As is the case with ‘ταῖς ἐκ Ναοῦ γυναῖξί’, though, we do not know, nor can we expect to discover, who exactly these recipients were. Lists may have been kept on less durable material, but they were unnecessary to include in an honorary inscription, since the recipients were known to themselves, the benefactors and their fellow citizens ἐξ ἔθνους.

C. Οἱ παρόντες ἀνὰ δραχμὰς ἰσομοίρας

One benefactor, Gaius Stertinus Orpex, however, does seem to have made *διανομαί* available to *all* of the *βουλευταί* and priests of Ephesus.⁸⁷ This distribution was funded from a donation of five thousand *denaria* and was to be paid to the *βουλευταί* and the priests who were present in the agora. It is probable that this is a capital fund, so that approximately three hundred *denaria* would be available for each distribution, assuming an interest rate of 6%. We do not know, though, how many *βουλευταί* and priests would normally participate in this *διανομή*, but given the size of Ephesus, there were undoubtedly more than three hundred recipients. This makes the idea of the entire five thousand *denaria* being distributed attractive, but a second *διανομή* in this inscription is

⁸⁶ For example, Cat. # 1.c.1 l. 28, and 4.b.9 ll. 11-12.

⁸⁷ Cat. # 4.b.1 and 4.b.2 ll. 9-12. The basis of attributing both of these inscriptions to Gaius Stertinus Orpex, named in the first portion of 4.b.2, which has not been included in the catalogue, is the dedication of the statues of Asclepius, Hygia and Hypnos in the gymnasium, which appears in both inscriptions. Furthermore, these two inscriptions are the only two in the catalogue, aside from those in the Opramoas-documents which use the verb *λαμβάνω*. As we have noted above (Chapter Two, pp. 53-54, nn. 31-34) it is possible that these two inscriptions record different distributions since there are small

clearly intended to be an annual occurrence, and a second inscription lists the *διανομή* to the *βουλευταί* and the priests as annual. The second distribution in this inscription is for the *γερουσία* and has a specified rate: two *denaria* per person.

The distribution with which we are at the moment concerned, though, was to be split evenly among all of the potential recipients. Rather than at a specific rate, the recipients were to take a *διανομή*, ‘ἀνὰ δραχμὰς ἰσομοίρας’, so that the amount each individual received was dependent on the number of *βουλευταί* and priests who took part. If, as we have suggested, this was intended to be a yearly occurrence, the size of the individual gifts could be quite small. However, it is important to note that even in this case, Orpex specifies that only those individuals who are present should receive anything, but the handouts of money are *available* to all of the *βουλευταί* and priests.

D. Οἱ κληῖροι

This raises the question of why a condition, which seems to make the benefaction less praiseworthy, would be included in an honorary inscription. We have noted above that, although the distributions almost always appear to be meant to be taken away, there is an uncertainty in our understanding of certain distributions. It is possible that the distributions of money were intended to be spent on something provided by the benefactor, such as meat, wine or oil, but this is nowhere explicitly stated in our catalogue.⁸⁸ Gaius Stertinus Orpex did make arrangements ὅπως / ἐκ τῆς προσόδου αὐτῶν

differences in the recipients and there is no sum of money mentioned in 4.b.1 while there is in 4.b.2, it is almost certain they do refer to the same *διανομαί*.

⁸⁸ The strongest suggestion that this was the intent of a *διανομή* rests, as we have noted above, on the translation of *καὶ* in an inscription from Syros (Cat. # 3.b.1; cf. above, Chapter One, pp. 24-26; Chapter

κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἕκαστον οἱ κληρωθέντες ἄνθρωποι λαμβάνωσιν ἐπὶ τοῖς τόποις εἰς εὐωχίαν ἕκαστος (δηνάρια) τρία.⁸⁹ We should note that this is not termed a *διανομή*, though; if we must assign a name to this distribution, it seems to be a *κλήρος* more than anything else, as the three *denaria* are allotted to selected individuals. If the *διανομαί*, like the *κλήροι*, took place on the occasion of a banquet or feast, it is plausible that the number of *βουλευταί* and priests would have been much smaller than the total number in the city of Ephesus, so that more was given to each recipient than the inscription seems to say. Each *βουλευτής* and *γερουσιαστής* would have received a small handout, while others, selected by lot, received an additional gift.

The distinction between *διανομαί* and *κλήροι* has been noted briefly above in connection with Oliver's translation of the Salutaris decree from Ephesus.⁹⁰ Simply, a *κλήρος* is a handout on the basis of a lottery,⁹¹ whereas a *διανομή* is a more general gift of money. However, aside from the foundations of Salutaris and Orpex, lotteries appear only very rarely in the *διανομή*-inscriptions. In fact, there are only two other instances of such an event in our catalogue.

Three, p. 103, n. 74).

⁸⁹ Cat. # 4.b.2 ll. 13-15.

⁹⁰ *IKeph* 27=Oliver (1941): 55-85, n. 3; Chapter Two, p. 61.

⁹¹ A *κλήρος* by itself, however, does not indicate that money was necessarily distributed. This use of the term appears in Ephesus (for example, *IKeph*. 35 l. 21 and 36a ll. 16-18), but elsewhere in Asia Minor it is not certain that a distribution of money is described as a *κλήρος* (for example, *TAM* II 677 l. 16).

Tiberius Claudius Ctesias established a posthumous foundation which was to provide *διανομαί* for the *βουλή*, the *δῆμος*, the *φυλαί* and the *προκλήροι*.⁹² These last recipients must be similar to the *πόλις* in other inscriptions, but limited to those who have been selected, presumably by a lottery of some sort, but possibly, and perhaps more likely, by the active choice of the benefactor.⁹³

An inscription from Aphrodisias, on the other hand, records a distribution, in connection with two others, in which *κλήροι*, prizes chosen in a lottery, are awarded to the *βουλευταί* and the *γερουσιασταί*.⁹⁴ As is the case in the other two inscriptions, this one does not tell us how the recipients are actually to be chosen. However, the potential recipients may themselves have been restricted. This inscription records several distributions: the *κλήρων διανομάς*, the *‘διανομάς τοῖς τε τὴν πόλιν κατοικοῦσιν πολεῖταις τοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας’*, and *‘ἐτέρας δὲ διανομάς τῇ βουλῇ πάσῃ καὶ τῇ γερουσίᾳ’*. The lottery is not to be open to the entire *βουλή* and *γερουσία*, but only to the *λαμπροτάτη βουλή* and the *ἱερωτάτη γερουσία*. The presence of the two superlative adjectives may be used as an indicator of the date of the inscription, but they may also imply a stratification in the *βουλή* and the *γερουσία* since they do not appear in the report of the third final

⁹² Cat. # 6.c.3 ll. 6-7.

⁹³ There is also the case of Antaeus the son of Modestus in Syros, whose *διανομή* was provided *γερουσιασταῖς* and *τοῖς οἷς ἐβουλήθη* (Cat. # 3.b.1 l. 21), in which it is quite clear that the recipients were chosen by the benefactor personally.

⁹⁴ Cat. # 6.c.5 ll. 33-34: ἀνατετεικότα χρήματα εἰς αἰώνιων / κλήρ(ω)ν διανομάς.

distributions.⁹⁵ Though we do not know what form the lottery took, it is possible in this case that it was open only to the high-standing members of the *βουλή* and the *γερουσία*.

Although *κλήροι* appear only rarely in our *διανομή* inscriptions, they are attested as often in the inscriptions of Aphrodisias as are *διανομαί*.⁹⁶ These distributions are described in the same manner as the *αἰωνίους διανομάς* of Aphrodisias:⁹⁷ they are supported by the donation of a capital sum whose interest is to be distributed on certain occasions; they describe lotteries rather than more general distributions, though. Only two of six inscriptions in which *κλήρος* appears do not use the phrase ‘*εἰς αἰωνίους κλήρους*’ as what appears to be a parallel to ‘*εἰς αἰωνίους διανομάς*’.

One of these, a marble base broken so that only the second half of the inscription remains, is in honor of a citizen who fulfilled every magistracy and liturgy, and who undertook an embassy to the Emperor;⁹⁸ it is not clear which Emperor is meant, but the *βουλή* is described as *ιερωτάτη*, so that we may tentatively suggest that the inscription dates to after the reign of Septimius Severus; as we have noted above, the presence of this superlative adjective may indicate a stratification within the *βουλή*. The benefactor dedicated sums of money for the *βουλή*, the *γερουσία* and the *νεοποιοὶ χρυσοφόροι*, in the

⁹⁵ The superlative *λαμπροτάτη* is most often applied to the city or to a proconsul in the inscriptions from Ephesus (for example, *(μητρο)πόλις*: *IKeph* 243, 627, 714, 799, 2054, 2055; *ἀντίπατον*: *IKeph* 619a, 621, 639, 666c, 698, 3030, 3088); it is only rarely used of the *βουλή*, so that we have suggested here that it may refer to a group within the *βουλή*.

⁹⁶ *MAMA VIII* 413c.13, 482, 520 *bis*, 523-525.

⁹⁷ See above, Chapter Two, pp. 50-51, nn. 22-23.

⁹⁸ *MAMA VIII* 525.

same terms as the *διανομή* from Aphrodisias mentioned above.⁹⁹ *ἀνατε/θεικότα τῇ ἱερωτάτῃ βουλῇ ... Χ,β / εἰς αἰωνίων / κλήρων νομάς*.

The second inscription uses *κλήρος* neither in the accusative plural nor in the genitive plural.¹⁰⁰ This is a Hadrianic document which was found in the city wall, and details loans made by Attalus the son of Adrastus. *Κλήροι* of two hundred and forty measures of seed are to form a part of the security for a loan lent by Attalus to Diodorus the son of Musaeus of Heracleia Salbace. These measures were therefore allotted to Diodorus by a procedure which was more certain than a lottery, since he could use them as collateral. It is clear, though, that in this case the *κλήροι* are not prizes of money.

V. *Διανομαί* as *Φιλοτιμία*

The distribution of cash-gifts would obviously attract numerous potential recipients, not all of whom, as we have seen, would have been given a gift. As we have seen, there were limitations placed on the recipients, in order to prevent unnecessary expense and potential shortages, but also to make a social statement. A benefactor is only rarely praised for having provided *διανομαί* to poorer individuals like slaves and freedmen. Such gifts do bring glory to the benefactor, but only through their numbers. Providing gifts to citizens and members of the local aristocracy, on the other hand, brings

⁹⁹ See above, p. 112.

¹⁰⁰ *MAMA VIII 413c=Laum (1964): 103-106, no. 102c: ἐπὶ ἐγγύῳ Τυδεῖ Τυδέως τοῦ Ἀττάλου ἄλλον διπλοῦν δανείου δεδανισμένου ὑπ' ἐμοῦ Διοδώρῳ Μουσαίου/ τῷ αὐτῷ ἀρχαίων οἷς γίνονται τόκου μέχρι μηνὸς Ἀπελλαίου τριακάδος τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος Χ δισχείλια τετρακόσια πενήκοντα ἐπὶ ὑποθήκαις / κλήροις τρισὶν σπόρου κύπρων διακοσίων τεσσέρακοντα τοῖς οὖσιν ἐν Ἀπολλωνία λεγομένοις Ἀλλιανοῖς.*

a significant amount of *τιμή* to the benefactor simply by their provision, which is only enhanced by their numbers. Thus, a benefactor may include lower classes in his or her distribution, but certainly not at the expense of citizens closer to his or her own social standing.

Since the evidence for *διανομαί* comes from inscriptions honoring the benefactors, it seems that providing such distributions was more honorable than receiving them. Thus, benefactors of *ἐξώθεν διανομαί* are praised, but not by individuals: as we have seen in Chapter Two, the subjects of the verb of honoring are the *βουλή*, the *δῆμος*, and/or the *γερουσία*—that is, public entities rather than individuals. Individuals do not appear in our inscriptions, except as the authors of decrees of honoring: a benefactor is not honored by one of the recipients of his *διανομή*, but rather by the city itself, once a motion has been proposed by an individual.

Despite this, it is a fact that aristocrats and *βουλευταί* *did* receive *διανομαί*. The reciprocal gifts to the benefactors are the decrees which allow the erection of a statue or a similar memorial; this allows the aristocrats who had received gifts to remain somewhat anonymous. A particularly magnanimous benefactor may have been the recipient of a proposal that the expenses of a statue be covered by public funds, which happens in only two cases.¹⁰¹

Only very rarely do we find in the evidence an indication that the benefactors summoned people to their distributions, but they must have done so in every case. Every

¹⁰¹ Cat. # 5.a.1 ll. 21-22, 7.e.1 ll. 16-17.

διανομή in our catalogue was obviously carefully arranged beforehand, which requires a public announcement that the distribution would take place, for example, on a certain day at a certain place. Nicomedes included in his foundation a proviso that all future διανομαί should take place ‘ἐν τοῖς περὶ τὸν ναὸν τῆς Σωτείρας – οἴκοις’,¹⁰² but otherwise we know where διανομαί took place because we are told that they *had* taken place rather than that they *would* take place in those locations.¹⁰³

Many inscriptions, particularly those which record annual or penteteric διανομαί, imply when and where the distributions are to take place, but there is only one διανομή-inscription, to my knowledge, which records the announcement of διανομαί, though it is a supplement. This records the benefactions of a priest and gymnasiarch in Panamara who ‘τιθέντα τὸ ἔλαιον ἐλκυστὸν ἐγ λουτ[ή]ρων, καὶ τοῖς Ἑραίοις ὥσπερ τὸ πρῶτον καὶ νῦν πᾶν τὸ πληθ[ύ]θος καλεῖν τῶν ἐλευθέρων καὶ τῶν δούλων ἐπὶ τε τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ ἐπὶ διανομῇ ἀργυρίου.’¹⁰⁴ What form this summons took is unclear, but it may well have been nothing more than a herald on a corner. Such a summons in itself limits the possible participants to only those who could be informed. Other means were undoubtedly employed, such as private invitations or painted notices—these, however, have left no trace so that we can do no more than mention them. A benefactor of Kyme, however, provided a feast in the

¹⁰² Cat. # 4.b.12 l. 19.

¹⁰³ The verb ἐπαγγέλλω, in addition to the sense of a promise which we have noted above, also suggests the summoning of the recipients to the διανομή; this use of the verb or the corresponding noun, however, does not appear in our catalogue as a summons to a distribution of cash (for example, Cat. # 4.d.10 ll. 12-14 and 6.a.1 ll. 3-4).

¹⁰⁴ Cat. # 6.e.1 ll. 10-11.

temenos of the temple of Dionysus for Roman citizens, residents of the city and foreigners ‘ἐκ προγράφας’ and a second meal in the prytaneion for the same recipients ‘ἀπὸ καρύγματος’:¹⁰⁵ the recipients of each meal were summoned, in one case by a written notice, and in the second case by a public announcement. We have also suggested that the ‘τοῖς καλουμένοις’ of Table 3.3 were those who were summoned to a distribution.¹⁰⁶

VI. Chapter Conclusions

All of the *διανομαί* in our catalogue were provided by citizens of various cities in Asia Minor—some benefactors may have been citizens in more than one city in a region, but only Opramoas is known to have enjoyed such multiple citizenship. However, that more such citizens do not appear in our catalogue is due to the fact that we have not focused on the individual benefactors themselves. In addition to being citizens of their own cities and regions, though, our benefactors were also Roman citizens, so that they were those individuals whom the Roman authorities favored and supported—they were the local aristocrats.

This high standing did not prevent the same individuals from appearing as recipients of other *διανομαί*. In fact, it is this equality in social rank which caused many citizens to be both benefactors and recipients. Our evidence, approximately one hundred inscriptions from a period of over three hundred years, does not provide direct support for this duality, but, as we have shown in this chapter, the benefactors were *βουλευταί*, who

¹⁰⁵ SEG 32 1243 ll. 17-18 and 37-38.

also appear as the most common group of recipients. However, there is no indication that even when *διανομαί* were provided to *‘πάσῃ τύχῃ καὶ ἡλικίᾳ’* they were given consistently with an interest in alleviating poverty. They were usually given as a matter of course in an individual’s—or a family’s—political career and pursuit of *τιμὴ*.

As we have seen in the previous chapter, there is a formula which characterizes many of these inscriptions despite its variations. There seems equally to have been a characteristic manner in which *διανομαί* were actually distributed. Of course, it is also possible, and probable, that this too varied from city to city: each citizen would have known how *διανομαί* were distributed in his own city—whether by a calling of tribes or by a general queue-up—so that there was no need to inscribe this. Nonetheless, several inscriptions do tell us how the handouts were to be distributed, whether by an allotment, a name calling or a customary procedure.

¹⁰⁶ Above, p. 109.

CONCLUSION: Διανομαί AND ROMANIZATION

I. Epigraphic Evidence of Διανομαί

This thesis has examined the practice of handing out *διανομαί* in the Greek cities of Asia Minor, and we have seen that a *διανομή* in the epigraphic evidence of Roman Asia Minor always refers to a distribution of money. Although there are other terms which are used to describe distributions and foundations in general, the study of *διανομή* itself has indicated that these distributions of money were offered by Roman citizens on occasions related to their offices or liturgies.

Διανομαί are similar to the distributions of money in the Latin West, but there are significant differences which have appeared from the summary of *sportulae* in Chapter One and the discussion of *διανομαί* throughout this thesis. First, a *sportula* could consist of a gift of food or of money, whereas a *διανομή* is always a gift of money in the Imperial period. The only instance of a distribution of meat called a '*διανομή*' is a Hellenistic distribution from Cos which we have discussed in Chapter One; this distribution was offered on the occasion of a sacred wedding. Such private occasions are not commemorated by *διανομαί*, since distributions on these occasions would be too similar to the distributions provided by Emperors discussed in detail by van Berchem. This forms the major distinction between *διανομαί* and gifts of money in Rome: *διανομαί* were offered on official occasions connected with public offices.

There is also a theoretical question about the nature of *διανομαί*: were they intended to be unrestricted gifts, to be carried away by the recipients, or were they

intended to be spent by the recipients on a meal provided by and in honor of the benefactor, either partially or entirely? This problem appears most clearly in a distribution on the island of Syros, and is dependent entirely upon the translation of *καί* as a connecting conjunction or an explanatory conjunction.¹ However, there is evidence that when the handout was intended to be spent on a meal, it could be termed a *σπυρίς*, that is, a *sportula*, rather than a *διανομή*. Obviously, such terminology could vary over three centuries and from city to city, but there is no clear evidence that *διανομή* was used to describe a type of rebate in a feast in the period with which we have been concerned; instead the evidence indicates that a *διανομή* was an unrestricted gift of money.

Gifts of money seem to have become more common in the second century. This increase of attested *διανομαί* may, as we have said in Chapter One, simply be due to the epigraphic habit: it may have become more appropriate to honor this type of benefaction with an inscription at this time. As we have seen throughout this thesis, though, this is only a partial explanation of a problem which is better explained through a combination of causes: the epigraphic habit, increased interest of the Emperors in the provinces shown by increased *interference in local affairs by governors*, the *different attitudes of various Emperors*, and the increasing Roman citizenship during this time period.

There do not, however, seem to have been any significant changes in the practice itself: *διανομαί* were, according to the epigraphic evidence, generally given to the same groups of citizens by the same groups of benefactors throughout the period covered by

¹ Cat. # 3.b.1 ll. 14, 17; cf. above, Chapter One, pp. 24-26; Chapter Three, p. 103, n. 74.

this thesis. Similarly, the occasions on which and the locations in which they were provided did not vary significantly.

The main sources for this practice are the honorary inscriptions commissioned by the cities whose citizens were the recipients of such generosity, so that we are usually only told that a benefactor provided a *δανουμή*. This does limit the information available to us concerning the specifics of giving *δανουαί*, but since honorary inscriptions in general are formulaic, varying in their particulars rather than in the manner in which they present their information, it is possible to restore *δανουαί* in certain benefactors' careers, keeping in mind the verbs most commonly used for this and the discussion of omissions which we have provided in Chapter One. Several honorary inscriptions, though, provide more information about *δανουαί*, so that we know the most common recipients as well as the benefactors, resulting in clear correspondences with the Latin practice of cash gifts. However, inscriptions which provide extensive detail about individual distributions are much more difficult to supplement since there is nothing with which any supplemented details may be compared.

Relatively few inscriptions tell us how these handouts were actually conducted, but there is enough evidence to make some conclusions. Obviously, a one-time distribution of money which was offered to commemorate the assumption of an office or the completion of a liturgy could be accomplished much more cheaply than a recurrent distribution provided on a birthday or funeral. Since the necessary funding for *δανουαί* could be quite high, many of our benefactors made substantial donations of money or

land to support perpetual distributions; these donations were either under their own supervision or under that of a relative or an appointed *ἐπιμελήτης*.

Annual or penteteric festivals, though they do not appear in the *διανομή*-inscriptions frequently enough to provide an opportunity for a complete study here, entailed substantially greater expense, as the founder or agonothele had not only to establish a fund to provide sufficient revenue for prizes and other incidental expenses, but also to attract competitors and spectators. Depending on the status and location of the festival, though, a portion of this expense will have been met from public or temple funds, or from the endowment of an earlier agonothele; any shortfall between the amount of money available from such sources and the total amount required will have been paid by the current agonothele himself.

We have considered the distributions in two broad categories: those which were intended to be repeated, and those which were intended to be offered only once. There is no indication that either type of *διανομαί* was preferred by any group of benefactors. Since several of our cities are represented only by one or two inscriptions, we cannot say for certain that repeated distributions were favored or disfavored by benefactors in many of our cities. However, when one-time and repeated distributions do appear in the same city, one type does seem to dominate. This is particularly clear in the cases of Aphrodisias and Ephesus, where, when the figures are combined, nineteen repeated distributions are recorded as opposed to five one-time distributions; Didyma, on the other hand, provides evidence indicating the dominance of one-time distributions. The reasons for this, in Aphrodisias and Didyma at least, are clear: the *αἰώνιοι διανομαί* of Aphrodisias

were annual distributions which were funded from the bequeathal of a sum of money in the benefactor's testament, while in Didyma *διανομαί* were most often provided by the prophets of Apollo or the *hydrophori* of Artemis as a benefaction in connection with their term of service.

The sites of the *διανομαί* are in these cases clear: those offered in connection with a priesthood took place in or near the temple, while statues and gymnasia, especially for gymnasiarchs, also provided convenient locations for the handouts. The theater or the agora are also attested sites, but these two appear so rarely—the agora twice and the theater once—that we cannot say for certain that these were the locations most commonly used by magistrates or liturgists who gave *διανομαί*.

The *διανομαί* which we have studied in this thesis did not take place at the homes of the benefactors, which Juvenal implies was the common practice with *sportulae* in Rome, though there are suggestions that they took place on the occasion of a feast. If this is taken to be an indication that these *διανομαί* were in fact given in the home of the benefactor, it implies that the handouts offered on these occasions were given to a relatively select group of recipients; we have seen Pliny the Younger questioning Trajan about the distribution of gifts on private occasions like these, but these distributions were not provided for *collegia* or *ἐταιρίαι*, but as a part of the workings of the Imperial cult.

Distributions provided to a variety of recipients were one way in which a wealthy aristocrat could enrich his city in addition to the customary benefits which citizens derived from magistracies and liturgies, such as the provision of free, or low cost, oil by gymnasiarchs. Originally, *διανομαί* may have served in part a purpose similar to that

which we have attributed to Hellenistic kings in their euergetic behavior to cities in Greece and on the western coast of Asia Minor: to win public support. Like liturgies, though, *διανομαί* must have become more and more expensive as magistrates and liturgists provided them on novel occasions, establishing a tradition of cash handouts.

II. Romanization

The providers and recipients of *διανομαί* have been considered in summary in Chapter Three, with the conclusion that they often came from the same social classes. We have also seen that they were high-ranking citizens in their cities, whom Roman authorities could easily observe. Private groups of citizens, *ἐταιρίαι*, were supervised so stringently that a fire-brigade was not permitted in Nicomedia, but the assembly of citizens to receive *διανομαί* will have been conducted with the knowledge of Roman authorities.

The *βουλή* and *δῆμος* could be, as Dio says, strongly influenced by local, provincial and Imperial Roman authorities, so that not only the measures discussed by these bodies but also the bodies themselves will have been known to Roman authorities, whether formally or through private complaints, as we have seen in the case of Vedius Antoninus.² As we have said above, many of the benefactors contained in our catalogue are Roman citizens who enjoyed the favour and support of local Imperial authorities, and who formed the *βουλή* of many cities in Asia Minor during the Imperial period. Thus,

² See above, Chapter, p. 68-69, nn. 59-60.

both the benefactors and the recipients would have been, in most cases, known to or recognized by the Roman authorities.

We must also note that several of our benefactors were expressly permitted by the Emperor to provide distributions. Such notice is only implied in two of our inscriptions,³ but there is no reason to assume that it was lacking in every other case. We can suggest, however, that permission for *διανομαί* obtained from the Emperor himself, either in person or in letters was a more difficult undertaking so that it would be more likely to appear in our inscriptions than permission obtained from other Roman authorities, such as, for example, provincial governors.

There is a final element of Romanization which we have only briefly touched upon. Several of the inscriptions in our catalogue report that distributions were provided to different groups at different rates. This is a feature which has also appeared in the inscriptions which we have considered from the Latin west, and this, more than the distribution of money itself, is particularly Roman. We have no evidence of a distribution of money, or of food, being provided at different rates in the Hellenistic period. The Hellenistic inscription from Cos, which describes the distribution of meat at a sacred wedding,⁴ tells us that a distribution was to be made, but there is no indication that citizens of a higher standing received any more than citizens of a lower standing. We cannot know, though, to what extent this distinction was noted by Greek citizens themselves as an element of Romanization. Some citizens may have recognized different

³ Cat. # 1.c.1 l. 28, 6.d.1 ll. 8-9; cf. 4.b.10 ll. 13-17.

rates as a Roman practice, but we simply do not have the evidence necessary to make a generalization for all of the citizens of Asia Minor.

In conclusion, then, *διανομαί* were distributions of cash in the Greek cities of Asia Minor during the Imperial period provided by that class of citizens which Rome tended to favor both in the East and elsewhere—the aristocracy. The activity was permitted by Roman authorities to selected individuals who, not surprisingly, appear frequently as priests of the Imperial cult. The distributions served in part to give these aristocrats a means of emphasizing their high-standing in the community to one another, but also of conciliating those of lower social standing than themselves to the rule of Rome, when the gifts were given to broader groups of citizens.

⁴ Cat. # 3.a.1.

APPENDIX 1: CATALOGUE OF INSCRIPTIONS¹

1. Moesia and Thrace

a. Dionysiopolis

- 1) Honorary inscription; reign of Caracalla; PHI7 Moesia and Thrace [IG Bulg I(2), II, III(1-2) & IV] 16=IGBulg I² 16; Robert (1971): 173; RPh 55 (1929): 152; RPh 33 (1959): 204. Lines 1-12.

 [τὸ]ν ἀσύνκριτον ἀρχιερέα καὶ ἱε[ρέα θεῶν]
 δώδεκα καὶ γυμνασιάρχην καὶ [ἐκ προγό]-
 νων φιλότειμον καὶ ἄρξαντα τῆς πατ[ρίδος]
 ἀγνώως καὶ πρεσβεύσαντα παρὰ θεὸν 5
 Ἀντωνεῖνον εἰς τὴν βασιλίδαν Ῥώμην
 καὶ ἐπ² ἐπιδόσει χρημάτων ἄρξαντα τὴν πρ[ώ]-
 τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ εὐεργέτην τῆς πόλεως θ[όν]-
 τα καὶ διανομὰς τῇ κρατίστη βουλῇ [ἐπὶ τῇ]
 ἀναστάσει τοῦ ἀνδριάντος Μ(ἄρκον) Α[ὕρ(ήλιον)] 10
 Δημήτριον Διογένους βουλῇ [δῆμος Διονυ]-
 σοπολειτῶν τειμῆς χ[άριν].

b. Pentapolis

- 1) Honorary inscription; reign of Marcus Aurelius; PHI7 Moesia and Thrace [IG Bulg I(2), II, III(1-2) & IV] 15(2) =IGBulg I² 15(bis); RPh 33 (1959): 205-7. Lines 1-11.

ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ.
 [τ]ὸν ἐκ προγόνων, φιλότειμον
 καὶ ἱερέα τοῦ κτί(σ)το(υ τῆς πόλ)ε[ως]³
 θεοῦ Διονύ(σ)ου καὶ ΠΗΦΘΣ[---]-
 W γυμνα(σ)ιάρχην, δόντα καὶ θ[ιανο]⁴- 5

¹ Epigraphic Conventions Used:

- (*δηνάρια*) : expansion of a symbol or abbreviation.
 [*δηνάρια*] : restoration of letters no longer visible.
δηνάρια : restoration of letters partially visible.
δηνάρια : ligatures.
 <*δηνάρια*> : letters incorrectly inscribed and corrected by the editor.
 {*δηνάρια*} : extraneous letters.
 [.....] : six letters missing.
 [---] : significant portion of the line missing.
 v : empty space.
 TOT : letters not understood by editors.

² IGBulg I² 16 reads ἐν.

³ Robert (RPh 33 [1959]: 206) reads κτί(σ)το(υ) ΓΝΕΠΙΑΕ.

μά(ς) τῇ τε κρατί(σ)τῃ βουλ(ῇ) [καὶ]
 [τ]οῖ(ς) παρε(π)ιδημ(ήσ)α(σ)ιν τῇ[ς Πεν]-
 τ(α)[πόλ]εω(ς) βουλευ(υ)ταῖ(ς), ἀ(γ)[οραίοις, ἰα]-
 τρ[οῖ](ς), παι(δε)υταῖς Μ(ᾶρκον) Αὐ[ρ(ήλιον) – –]-
 κωρο(ν ’Α)ντιόχ(ου) ἡ πατρι[ς]
 τειμῆ(ς) ἔν(ε)κεν.

10

- 2) Honorary inscription; Mid Imperial; PHI7 Moesia and Thrace [IG Bulg I(2), II, III(1-2) & 4] 15(3) = *IGBulg I*² 15(*ter*); *BE* 65 (1952): 38 n. 100; *RPh* 33 (1959): 207. Lines 1-8.

 [– – – δόντα καὶ διανομ]ὰς τῇ τε κρα-
 [τί]στῃ βουλῇ καὶ ἀγορανόμοις καὶ
 [ταῖ]ς ἐπτά φυλαῖς καὶ τοῖς ὑμνοῦσι
 τοὺς Σεβαστοὺς καὶ ἀγοραίοις, ἰ-
 ατροῖς, παιδευταῖς καὶ τοῖς παρε-
 <[πα]ρε>πιδημήσασιν τῆς Πεντ[α]-
 [πόλεως βουλευταῖς – – – – –]

5

c. Augusta Traiana

- 1) Imperial letter; AD 211-217; PHI7 Moesia and Thrace [IG Bulg I(2), II, III(1-2) & IV] 1581 = *IGBulg III*² 1581. Lines 17-33.

ἐ[πιστολὴν ’Ατρίου Κλονίου(?)].
 ’Ατριος Κλόνιος [τῷ δεῖνα – – – – – χαίρειν].
 ἀνέγνων ἐμ πρώτοις τὰ ἐπισταλέν[τ]α [γράμματα]
 τοῦ θειοτάτου ἡμῶν καὶ Σεβ[ασ]τοῦ Αὐτοκρά-
 τορος ’Αντωνείνου κ[αὶ] .c.9-10.] οὕτως σε
 [τί]μώμενον ὁρῶν πρ.....ουν τὰ θεῖα γράμ-
 ματα τῇ ἐμῇ ἐπιστολῇ, [ὑ]ποτάξας δὲ τὰ παραδεί-
 [γματα τῷ] προτέρων ἡγεμόνων καὶ τὸ ἀντίγραφον
 -----ου γράφει εἰς ἄτι-
 να ε[– – – – – ὑ]ποταμίᾳ ὑπέταξα· ἐπει-
 δὴ δὲ ἐν [το]ῖς θείοις γράμμασιν ἔνεστιν τηρεῖ-
 σθαι τὸ παλὸν ἔθος τῶν διανομῶν, εἰ μὴ ἐτέ-
 ρως τῇ πόλει δόξῃ, ἐνεκέλευσαι, ὥστε ταῦτα κοι-
 νώσασθε τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ κατὰ τὴν τάξιν τοῖς
 θείοις γράμμασιν δεδομένην καὶ εἰ μὴ ἐτέ-
 ρως δοκεῖ, τηρηθῆναι τὸ παλὸν ἔθος.
 ἐρρῶσθαί σε πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν εὐχομε.

20

25

30

⁴ Robert (*RPh* 33 [1959]: 206) reads γυμνα(σ)ίαρχην δ’, ὄντα καὶ

d. Odessus

- 1) Honorary inscription; Mid Imperial; PHI7 Moesia and Thrace [IG Bulg I(2), II, III(1-2) & IV] 63(2) = *IGBulg I*² 63. Lines 1-19.

ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ.

Κλαύδιον

Ἀκύλαν

τὸν ἀπὸ προγόνων ἀσύν-

κριτον γενόμενον ἀγωνο-

5

θέτην τῶν μεγάλων πεντα-

ετηρικῶν ἀγώνων καὶ ἄρξαντα

ἀγνώως καὶ συνδικήσοντα πιστῶς

καὶ ταμίαν τῆς πόλεως γενόμε-

νον καὶ δόντα ἐκάστῳ βουλευτῇ

10

τε καὶ φιλοτείμῳ καὶ προσγρά-

φῶ καὶ τοῖς παρεπιδημήσασιν

στρατιώταις διανομῆς Ἀττι-

κὰς δέκα ὑπὲρ τε τῆς ἀναπτύ-

σεως δόντα εἰς τὰς τῆς βουλῆς

15

χρείας Ἀττικὰς ,ς καὶ εὐωχῆσαντα

τὴν κρατίστην βουλὴν καὶ ἀποπληρώσαν-

τα φυλαῖς τε καὶ στέμασιν στέμμασιν τὰ ἐξ ἔθους

βουλὴ δῆμος ἐτείμησεν.

2. Black Sea and Scythia Minor

a. Istrus

- 1) Honorary decree; No date; PHI7 Black Sea and Scythia Minor [Inscr. Scythia Minoris II,1] 17 = *IScythiae Minoris II*¹ 17. Lines 1-19.

[-----]

[-----]ΔΙΟΡΘΙΑ[-----]

[ἔδοξ]ε τῷ δήμῳ· ἐπιμ[ηγιεύοντος τοῦ δεῖνα]

[Αἰσχροῖω]νος, Διοχάρης Π[----- εἶπεν· ἐπει]-

δὴ Ἑγησαγόρ[ας -----]νος ἀνατέθ[ηκε χρυ]-

5

[σοῦς] τριακοσίους ὅ[πως -----]

[-----]κρατῆ πόλει [-----]

[-----] τοῖς παντοπ[-----]

[-----] τῇ πόλιν τοῦ [-----]

[-----] ὀγδόους Π[-----]

10

νέμειν τ[ῷ δήμῳ] ----- καθ'

ἔτους ἕως [-----]

τὸ χρυσίο[----- δια]-

νομήν ο[-----]

ἰέρειω επ[-----]

15

νέμειν [----- δρα]-

χμᾶς [-----]

βοῦν [-----]

ιου [-----]

- 2) Honorary decree; early 2nd century; PHI7 Black Sea and Scythia Minor [Inscr. Scythia Minoris II,1] 57=*IScythiae Minoris* II¹ 57. Lines 22-37.

πρῶτον μὲν εὐθύς τὰς πρώτας
 προσόδους καὶ θυσίας καὶ εὐχὰς τοῖς θεοῖς ποιου-
 μένη τὴν τοῦ ἔτους ἀρχὴν μετ' εὐφροσύνης καὶ εὐ-
 ωχίας μεγαλοπρεποῦς ἐποίησατο τοῖς μὲν γὰρ 25
 βουλευταῖς πᾶσιν καὶ γερουσιασταῖς καὶ Ταυ-
 ριασταῖς καὶ ἰατροῖς καὶ παιδευταῖς καὶ τοῖς ἰδίᾳ
 καὶ ἐξ ὀνόματος καλουμένοις ἐκ δύο κατ' ἄνδρα
 δηναρ[ί]ων διανο[μ]ήν, ἣν οὐπω τις ἄλλη πρότερον,
 ἔδωκεν τοῖς δὲ ἐ[ν] ταῖς φυλαῖς κατὰ πεντηκονταρ- 30
 χίαν διανεμεμ[ε]νοῖς, ἔτι μὲν καὶ ὑμνωδοῖς καὶ τέ-
 κτωσιν καὶ ἱεροπ[λα]τεῖταις καὶ Ἑρακλειασταῖς οἰ-
 νοπό[σ]ιον, ὅσον οἱ ἐ[πὶ τ]οῖς μεγάλοις ὀνόμασιν φιλοτει-
 μούμ[εν]οι, μετὰ [δὲ τοῦ]το πάσῃ νεομηνίᾳ καὶ πά-
 σαις ταῖς ἐ[ν] ἐκάστῳ μηνί θυσίαις καὶ ἑορταῖς καὶ πα- 35
 τρίοις εὐ[χαῖς] δ[αψιλέστ]ατα καὶ ἱεροπρεπέστατα
 ἐξυπηρέ[τησεν]

3. Aegean Islands

a. Cos

- 1) Religious document with passing mention; 300 BC; PHI7 Cos and Calymna [HGK] 10 C1=*SIG*³ 1106; Laum (1964): 52 n. 45. Lines 87-96.

ἂν δέ τι[ς] τῶν [κα]τ' ἀν-
 δρογένειαν δόξῃ τοῖς κο[ιν]ωνο[ύ]σι τῶν
 ἱερῶν ἐνδειγῆς εἶναι τοῖς ἰδίοις[ς] ἐπ[ὶ] τῶν [γάμων]
 συντελῆται, ποείτω τὸν [γά]μον [μηνός] 90
 [Π]εταγειτύου, ἑκκαίδεκάτῃ μὲν [συν]-
 αἰγλίαν, ἑπτακαίδεκάτῃ δὲ διαν[ομήν],
 ἵνα ἡ θυσία τῶι Ἑρακλεῖ συντελ[ῇ]ται κα]-
 τὰ τὰ πάτρια, ὀκτωκαίδεκάτῃ δ[ὲ] ἡ συνα]-
 γωγή, καὶ ἐν ταῖς λοιπαῖς ἡμέρ[αις] συντε]- 95
 λείσθω ὁ γάμος

b. Syros

- 1) Honorary inscription; AD 183; PHI7 Aegean Islands General [XII, 5 Cyclades] 663=*IG* XII (5) 663. Lines 1-33.

ἀγαθῇ [τύχῃ].
 ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ κυ[ρί]ου ἡμῶν Αὐ[το]-

κρ[ά]τορος Καίσαρος Μ. Αύρηλίου
 [Κ]ομμώδου Ἀντωνίνου Σεβ(αστοῦ) [Εὐσε]-
 [β]οῦς τύχης καὶ νίκης ἱερᾶς τε [συγ]- 5
 [κ]λήτου καὶ δήμου Ῥωμαίων [καὶ δὴ]-
 μου Συρίων Ἀνταῖος Μοδέστου [στε]-
 [φ]ανηφόρος ἐπώνυμος ἄρχων [έκαλ]-
 [λι]έρησεν Ἑστία Πρυτανεία καὶ τοῖς [ἄλ]-
 [λοι]ς θεοῖς πᾶσι, καὶ παρέσχεν τῇ μὲν [συν]- 10
 [όδ]ω(?) τῆς γερουσίας τῇ τετράδι τὰ ἐξ ἑ[θους]
 [αὐτ]οῖς πάντα, τῇ δὲ γενεσίῳ ἡμέρ[α τοῦ]
 [κυ]ρίου Αὐτοκράτορος παρέσχεν τοῖς [μὲν]
 [γερ]ουσιασταῖς δεῖπνον· καὶ ἔδωκεν [ἐ]-
 [κάστ]ω σφυρίδος δηνάρια πέντε, ἔλευ[θέ]- 15
 [ραι]ς δὲ γυναιξίν πᾶσαις καὶ θηλείαι[ς]
 [παισίν] οἶνον· καὶ ἔδωκεν ταῖς μ[ὲν γυ]-
 [ναιξί] διανομῆς ἀνὰ ἀσσάρια ὀ[κτώ],
 [ταῖς δὲ] παισίν ἀνὰ ἀσσάρια τέσσα[ρα· τῇ]
 [δὲ ἐξῆς] ἡμέρᾳ παρέσχεν τοῖς μὲν γε- 20
 [ρουσιασ]ταῖς καὶ ἄλλοις οἷς ἐβουλήθ[η]
 [δεῖπνο]ν καὶ ἔδωκεν ἐκάστῳ διαν[ομῆς]
 [ἀνὰ δην]άριον ἓν· τοῖς [δὲ] λοιποῖς πολεί-
 [ταις καὶ πα]ισίν ἐλευθέρ[οις] καὶ πα[ρ]οικο[ύσι]
 [παρέσχεν] οἶνον καὶ ἔδωκεν διανομῆ[ς] 25
 [τοῖς μὲν π]ολεῖταις ἀνὰ δηνάριον ἓν, [ἐλευ]-
 [θέροις δὲ] παισίν ἀνὰ ἀσσάρια ὀκτώ· [ἐκά]-
 λεσεν δὲ κ[αὶ] τοὺς παρεπιδημοῦντας [ἐκ]
 [τῶν Κυκλ]άδων νήσων οἷς τὰ αὐτὰ παρ[έ]-
 [σχεν ἃ] καὶ τοῖς πολεῖταις, [σ]ὺν ἀρχεῖνῃ 30
 [.5]βοῖ Καλλίστου τοῦ Θεογνώ[του].
 [ἐπὶ] τούτων ἦν ὑγεία εὐκαρπία
 εὐετηρία.

c. Tenos

- 1) Honorary inscription; Reign of Augustus?; PHI 7 Aegean Islands general [XII, 5 Cyclades] 946=IG XII (5) 946. Lines 1-26.

ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος Σάτυρον Φιλείνου πλη-
 ρώσαντα πᾶσαν ἀρχὴν καὶ λειτουργίαν, καὶ ἀρχι-
 θεωρήσαντα τετράκις, καὶ ἀναθέντα τῇ πόλει
 βαλανεῖον καὶ δηνάρια πεντακισχεῖλια, ἵνα ἐκ τοῦ
 τόκου αὐτῶν θερμαίνεται τὸ βαλανεῖον, καὶ τοῖς ἐν Ἡ- 5
 ρίστῳ θεοῖς δηνάρια πεντακισχεῖλια, ἵνα ἐκ τοῦ τό-
 κου αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ τῆς Βουθυσίας ἐορτῇ κατ' ἔτος
 δίδωται τοῖς εὐωχηθησομένοις ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ἐ-

λευθέροις Τηνίοις κατ' ἄνδρα δηνάριον, [κα]ὶ ἄλλα τοῖς
 αὐτοῖς θεοῖς δηνάρια μύρια, ἵνα ἐκ τοῦ τόκου αὐ- 10
 τῶν κατ' ἔτος ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῇ Καταστεφανώσει
 καὶ τῇ ὀκτωκαιδεκάτῃ παντὶ ἐλευθέρῳ Τηνίῳ
 ἢ κατ' ἀναλογίαν τοῦ συνελευσομένου πλήθους
 μερίζηται διανομή, καὶ ἄλλα δηνάρια ἑξακισχέιλι- 15
 α, ἵνα ἐκ τοῦ τόκου αὐτῶν κατ' ἔτος ἀνδράσι καὶ γυ-
 ναιξὶ Τηνίοις ἐν τῇ ὠρισμένῃ τῶν ἐπιταφίων αὐ-
 τοῦ ἡμέρᾳ μερίζηται καθ' ἕκαστον ἢ κατ' ἀναλογίαν
 τοῦ συνελευσομένου πλήθους διανομή, καὶ ἄλ-
 λα τῇ πόλει δηνάρια μύρια ὀκτακισχέιλια πεντακό- 20
 σια, ἵνα ἐκ τοῦ τόκου αὐτῶν ὑπὲρ ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυ-
 ναικῶν καὶ παιδῶν ἐλευθέρων Τηνίων κατ' ἔτος
 δίδωται τὸ ἐπικέφαλον· καὶ ἐν ἄλλαις δὲ πολλαῖς
 καὶ ποικίλαις ὑπηρεσίαις τε καὶ ἐπιδόσεσιν εὐ-
 εργετήσαντα τὴν πατρίδα εὐχαρίστως ἐτείμη- 25
 σεν, χαρισαμένης τῇ πόλει τὸν ἀνδριάντα Μαλ-
 θάκης τῆς Φιλείνου.

- 2) Honorary inscription; AD 212; PHI 7 Aegean Islands general [XII 5 Cyclades] 951=IG XII (5) 951. Lines 1-20.

ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος
 Αὐρ. Σάτυρον Θεοφίλου τὸν
 φιλόπατριν καὶ δις στεφα-
 νηφόρον, ἄρξαντα πᾶσαν 5
 ἀρχὴν φιλοτείμως, καθὼς
 καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ πρώτου ἀν-
 δριάντος ἀναστάσει δη-
 λούται, ἔτι μὲν ἐπιμελησά-
 μενον τῶν τοῦ Διονύσου οἴ- 10
 κων καὶ ἀναθέντα χρήματα τ[οῖς]
 δρωσιν, ἐτείμησεν καὶ δευτέ-
 ρῳ ἀνδριάντι, δόντα καὶ πάλιν
 πᾶσιν τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν διανο-
 μὴν, καὶ ἔλεον θέντα, ὥστε μαρ- 15
 τυρούμενον ἐπὶ τοῖς καλλί-
 στοις καὶ εὐνούστατον πε-
 ρὶ τὴν πατρίδα ὑπάρχοντα ἀ-
 ναγορεύεσθαι ἀεὶ ἐν ταῖς ἐπι-
 φανεστάταις τῶν θεῶν ἡ- 20
 μέραις.

4. Ionia

a. Teos

- 1) Honorary inscription; mid-Imperial; PHI7 Ionia [Teos] 129=*SDAIA* (1891): 299 n. 26; *BCH* 46 (1922): 334-5 n. 21; *SEG* 2 (1925): 599. Lines 1-6.

[—] καὶ ἐπιφανῶς κα-
[θιε]ρώσαντα τῇ ἱερῶ-
[τά]τῃ βουλῇ εἰς αἰῶ-
νίαν μνήμην τῇ γε-
νεθλίῳ αὐτοῦ ἡμέρᾳ
διδόσθαι διανομὴν

5

b. Ephesus

- 1) Honorary inscription; AD 23; PHI7 Ionia [Ephesos] 2619=*IKeph.* 2113; Laum (1964): 89 n. 76; Oliver (1941): 88 n. 6. Lines 1-18.

[-----]τῇ ε.
[— — — — —] ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Ἀρ]τέμιδος
[— — — — —] σὺν τοῖς] ἀνδρῶσιν
[καὶ] παντὶ [τῷ — — —]ου κόσμῳ καὶ
[τ]ῷ καταστρώματι· οἱ αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐπο[ίη]-
[σα]ν καὶ ἐν τῷ σταδίῳ ἐν δεξιᾷ β[ε]-
[λί]δες σὺν τῷ κατακερκίζοντι τοί[χῳ]
[τ]ῷ λευκολίθῳ καὶ τῇ ἐξέδρᾳ τῇ πρὸ τοῦ
ἔργου αὐτῶν· καθιέρωσαν δὲ καὶ τῇ βουλῇ]
ἀργύριον, ὅπως ἐκ τῆς προσόδου κατ' ἐν[ιαυ]-
τὸν πρὸ τῶν τειμῶν αὐτῶν ἐν [τῇ] ἀγο[ρᾷ] λ[αμ]-
βάνωσ[ι] διανομὴν· ὁμοίως καὶ τῇ γερουσί[ᾳ],]
ὅπως λαμβάνωσι ἐν τῷ σταδίῳ πρὸ [τῶν]
τειμῶν αὐτῶν διανομὴν καὶ ἐ[πὶ τοῦ]
[μ]νήματος αὐτοῦ ἐξ ἑτέρου χρόν[ου] κλη]-
[ρον] καθιέρωσαν αὐτοῖς· ἀνέθηκαν [δὲ]
[κα]ὶ ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ Ἀσκληπιὸν Ὑ[γί]-
[ειαν] Ὑπνον σὺν παντὶ τῷ ἰδίῳ [κόσμῳ].]

5

10

15

- 2) Honorary inscription; AD 23; PHI7 Ionia [Ephesos] 2618=*IKeph.* 4123; AE (1935): 169. Lines 7-21.

οὗτος μετὰ Μαρείνης [τῇ]ς θυγατρὸς [—]
[—] ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ ἀνέθηκαν Ἀσκληπιὸν σὺν Ὑγείᾳ καὶ Ὑπνῳ
σὺν παντὶ αὐτῶν κόσμῳ, καθιέρωσαν δὲ καὶ τῇ Ἐφεσίων βουλῇ καὶ
ἱερεῖσιν
(δηνάρια) πεντακισχεῖλια, ἵνα πρὸς ταῖς τειμαῖς αὐτῶν ταῖς ἐν τῇ
τετραγώνῳ ἀγορᾷ [...
.....]λαμβάνωσιν διανομὴν οἱ παρόντες ἀνὰ δραχμὰς ἰσομοίρας, καὶ τῇ
γερουσίᾳ (δηνάρια) δισχεῖλια πεντακόσια, ἵνα λαμβάνωσι διανομὴν κατ'

10

.....]λαμβάνωσιν διανομὴν οἱ παρόντες ἀνὰ δραχμὰς ἰσομοίρας, καὶ τῇ
γερουσίᾳ (δηνάρια) δισχεῖλια πεντακόσια, ἵνα λαμβάνωσι διανομὴν κατ'
ἐνιαυτὸν ἕκαστον
ἀνὰ δηνάρια β', ὁμοίως καθιέρωσαν τῇ αὐτῇ γερουσίᾳ ἄλλα (δηνάρια)
χεῖλια πεντακόσια, ὅπως
ἐκ τῆς προσόδου αὐτῶν κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἕκαστον οἱ κληρωθέντες ἄνθρωποι
λαμβάνω-
σιν ἐπὶ τοῖς τόποις εἰς εὐωχίαν ἕκαστος (δηνάρια) τρία καὶ ἐκ τῶν λοιπῶν 15
(δηνάρια) τριάκοντα
[.....]λαμβάνωσιν (δηνάρια) εἴκοσι καὶ τραγικῶ? (δηνάρια) δέκα,
ὁμοίως ἕκαστω [-]
[-] καὶ λείτρας τρεῖς, φ[-]
Καλένδαις Μαίαις
[-] ἐκ κυαμικαῖς? δῆμον. κεῖ[μαι -]
[-] ὁμοίως [- εἰς τὸ] γερόντει- 20
ον (δηνάρια) πεντακόσια

- 3) Public decree; late first century AD; *IKeph* 3214; *SEG* 33 (1983): 946; Jones (1983): 125. Lines 1-5 (of 20).

[...ἐ]ὰν δέ τις ἐπιβά[λῃται], τὸ μὲν ὑπενα[ντί]ον χε[γραμμένον ταύτῃ
διατάξει?]
[ψήφισ]μα ὑπαρχέτω ἄκ[υρον], καὶ ἀποτεισάτω [ὁ το]ῦτο πρά[ξας] εἰς
προσκόσ[μημα θεᾶς?]
[Ἀρτέμ]ιδος καὶ τῶν Σεβαστ[ῶν] δ[η]νάρια μύρια κα[ὶ] ἄλ[λα] εἰς
δια[νο]μὴν τοῖς πρεσβ[υτέροις]
[δηνάρ]ια μύρια, ἃ καὶ πραξάσ[θωσαν] οἱ μετ' ἐκεῖνο[ν] τ[ὸν] ἐνιαυτ[ὸν]
ἄρ[χοντες] καὶ ὁ πα-
[ραφύλ]αξ 5

- 4) Honorary decree; late first century; PHI7 Ionia [Ephesos] 550=*IKeph*. 1151. Lines 10-15.

[-] Μουνάτιος Λονγεῖνος T[-] 10
[-]στ[... Πρ]εμιγένου τοῦ ἐφηβάρχου [-]
[-]ας καὶ ἐπιδόσε[ι]ς τῶν ἐφήβων καὶ τῶν ἐξ ἔθους ετ[-]
[- τ]ῆς θεοῦ ἡμέρας, δόντος δὲ καὶ διανομὰς βουλῇ [καὶ]
[γερουσί]α καὶ τοῖς συνέδροις π[ᾶσι] τῷ ἰδίῳ ἐνιαυτῷ
[ἱ]εροκῆρυξ 15

- 5) Honorary inscription; early Imperial; PHI7 Ionia [Ephesos] 1629=*IKeph*. 997. Lines 1-17.

[-]π[ι]
[-]ιη
[-]τος
[-]διανομῇ

[----- πα]ρασχον- 5
[τ-]επον ἐν τῷ μηνὶ τῇ
πόλει
[τὰ]ς δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἱερα-
[τεί]ας δαπάνας πάσας
[καὶ] τὰ εἰς τὴν πόλιν δι- 10
[δ]όμενα δην(άρια) πεντακισ-
[χ]ίλια ἔδωκαν ἐκ τῶν
[ἰ]δίων τῇ πόλει Φλαουία
Μαίωρος θυγάτηρ Μελ-
τίνη ἢ μήτηρ αὐτῆς καὶ 15
Μαίωρ ὁ πάππος καὶ
Μαίωρ νεώτερος) ὁ θεῖος αὐτῆς.

- 6) Public decree; AD 104; PHI7 Ionia [Ephesos] 212=IK^{Eph}. 27; SEG 15 (1965): 698; Oliver (1941): 60-1 n. 3. Lines 221-243.

τῶν δὲ καθιερωμένων ὑπὸ Σαλouta-
[ρίου δην(αρίων) β] μ(υρίων) τ[ε]λέσει τόκον Σαloutάριος δραχμιαῖον καθ'
ἕκαστον ἐνι-
[αυτὸν] τὰ γει[ν]όμενα δηνάρια χίλια ὀκτακόσια, ἀφ' ὧν δώσει τῷ γραμμα-
[τεῖ τῆς β]ουλῆς δηνάρια τετρακόσι[α π]εντήκοντα, ὅπως ἐπιτελεῖ διανομὴν
[τοῖς] βουλευταῖς ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ἐν τ[ῷ] πρ[ο]νάῳ τῇ γενεσίῳ τῆς μεγίστης 225
θεᾶς Ἀρ-
[τέμιδος.] ἥτις ἐστὶν μηνὸς Θαργη[λι]ῶνος ἕκτη ἰσταμένου, γεινομένης τῆς
διανο-
[μῆς ἥθ]η τῆς πέμπτης, διδομένο[ν] ἐ[κ]άστῳ τῶν παρόντων δηναρίου ἑνός,
[μὴ ἔχον]τος ἐξουσίαν τοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς διανομῆς ἀπόντι δοῦναι, ἐπεὶ ἀποτεισά-
[τω τῇ β]ουλῇ ὑπὲρ ἐκάστου ὀνόματος τοῦ μὴ παραγενομένου καὶ λαβόντος
[προστείμου δην(άρια) -] εἰς δὲ μείζω[ν] γει[ν]ηται ὁ κόλλυβος, ὥστε] 230
[εἰς πλείονας χωρεῖν, ἐξέστ]ω καὶ [-]
[-]α ἀνὰ κυ[...].ν. ὁμοίω[ς δώ]-
[σει τῷ τοῦ συνεδρίου τῆς] γερουσ[ίας γ]ραμματεῖ κ[ατ'] ἐνι-
[αυτὸν ἕκαστον ἀπὸ τοῦ προγεγραμμένου] τόκου δην(άρια) [τπβ]
[ἀσσάρια θ, ὅπως ἐπιτελεῖ κλήρον τῇ] γενεσίῳ τῆς θεο[ῦ] 235
[ἡμέρᾳ τοῖς τοῦ συνεδρίου μετέχουσι]ν εἰς ἄνδρας τθ [ἀνὰ δην(άριον) α· ἐὰν]
[δὲ μείζων ἢ ὁ γεγόμενος κόλλυβος,] ὥστε εἰς πλείο[νας]
[χωρεῖν, κληρώσει καὶ πλείονας, ἐκ]άστου τῶν λαχ[όν]-
[των ἀνὰ δηνάριον ἐν λαμβάνοντ]ος. διδόσθ[ω δὲ καὶ]
[τοῖς - τοῖς νεοκοροῦσι παρὰ] Σα[λ]ουταρίῳ τ[ῷ] καθιερω]- 240
[κότι εἰς διανομὴν δην(άρια) - καὶ τοῖς ἀσιαρχή[σασι] τοῖς
[ἀναγραφασμένοις δην(άρια) - εἰς κλήρον] ἀνὰ [δηνάρ]ια ι<α>, ᾧ καὶ
[τὰ εἰς τὴν θυσίαν ἀγοράσουσιν,] τοῦ κλήρου γεινομένου

- 7) Public decree; AD 104; PHI7 Ionia [Ephesos] 602=*IKeph*. 27g; Oliver (1941): 68 n. 3; (continuation of 4.b.6.). Lines 532-539.

ὁμοίως δώσει ἀπὸ τοῦ προγεγραμμένου [τόκου]
καὶ τοῖς θεσμοδοῖς εἰς διανομὴν δη(νάρια) ζ,
ὥστε λαμβάνειν αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Ἀρτέ-
μιδος τῇ γενεσίῳ τῆς θεοῦ ἀνὰ ἁσσάρια θ.
ὁμοίως δώσει ἀπὸ τοῦ προγεγραμμένου τόκου 535
καὶ τοῖς ἀκροβάταις τῆς θεοῦ εἰς διανομὴν
δη(νάρια) ιε, ὥστε λαμβάνειν αὐτοὺς τῇ γενεσίῳ
τῆς θεοῦ ἀνὰ ἁσσάρια δεκατρία ἥμισυ.

- 8) Imperial letter; AD 138; PHI7 Ionia [Ephesos] 215=*IKeph* 21ii; *OGIS* 493 II; *SEG* 27 (1977): 740. Lines 1-15.

Οὐνεουλῆϊος Ἀπρωνιανὸς ἀνθύπατο[ς]
Ἐφεσίων ἄρχουσι, βουλῇ, δῆμῳ χαίρει[ιν]
ἀεὶ καὶ μᾶλλον ἐπι[δ]είκνυσθε τὴν πρὸς τὸν
μέγιστον αὐτοκρ[ά]τορα ἡμῶν Αἰλι[ον]
Ἀντωνεῖνον Σ[ε]βαστὸν εὐ[σέβειαν] 5
[τῇ τε πάσῃ γν]ώμῃ τῆς λαμπ[ροτάτης]
[πόλεως ὑμ]ῶν καὶ νῦν ψηφισά[μενοι ἐν]
ταῖς εὐτυχ[ε]στάταις ἡμεῖν καὶ αἰῶν[ι παντὶ]
αὐτοῦ γ[εν]εθλῆαις ἡμέραις καὶ θέας ἡ[μερῶν]
πέντε ἐπιτελεῖν καὶ διανομὴν τοῖς 10
πολείταις ἐκ τῶν καλουμένων εἰς τὰς
θυσίας ἐκάστω δηνάριον διδόναι· καὶ
ταῦτα μὲν ὑμεῖν ὀρθῶς καὶ καλῶς, ὥσπερ ἄ[ν]
ε(ῖ) αὐτὸς εἰσηγησάμενος {ε}ἔτυχ(ο)ν,
νενομοθετήσθω· ἐρρῶσθαι ὑμᾶς εὐχομαι. 15

- 9) Honorary inscription; reign of Antoninus Pius; PHI7 Ionia [Supplement to Ephesos] 15682=*JAI* 59 (1989): 175-6, n. 8; *SEG* 39 (1989): 1189. Lines 1-16.

.....Ο.Π.ΟΦ.Λ.
[Πρ]όκλου, ξυσταρχῶν κ[αὶ]
[ν]εοποιῶν, ἱερατεύσα[σαν]
[τ]ῆς Ἀρτέμιδος εὐσεβῶς 5
καὶ φιλοτείμως, καὶ πάντα
ἐκτενῶς παρασχοῦσαν τ[ὰ]
διδόμενα εἰς τὴν πόλιν
δηνάρια πεντακισχεῖλια

κατὰ τὸ ψήφισμα τῆς βουλῆς, 10
δοῦσαν δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐξ ἑθους
διανομάς· ἀναστήσαν-
τος τὴν τειμὴν τ. Αἰλίου
Σεβα(στοῦ) ἀπελ(ευτέρου) Πρεΐσχου
ταβλαρίου τοῦ τροφέως 15
αὐτῇ[ς]

- 10) Imperial letter; AD 145-6; PHI7 Ionia [Ephesos] 198=*IKeph.* 1491; *SIG*³ 850.

Lines 1-19.

[Αὐτοκράτω]ρ Καῖσ[α]ρ θε[οῦ] Ἀδ[ρι]αν[ο]ῦ
[υἱός, θεοῦ Τραι]ανοῦ Παρθ[ικο]ῦ υἱ[ο]νός,
[θεοῦ Νέρουα] ἔκγον[ος] Τίτος] Αἰλίο[ς] Ἀδριανός
[Ἀντωνεῖνος Σεβα]στό[ς, ἀρχιερεὺς] μ[έγιστος, δη]μαρ-
[χι]κ[ῆς] ἐξουσίας] τὸ ἡ', α[ὐτοκράτωρ] τ[ὸ] β', ὑπατος τ[ὸ] δ, πα]- 5
τῆρ π[ατριδος] Ἐφεσ[ίων] τοῖς [ἄρ]χουσι καὶ τ[ῇ] βουλῇ καὶ
[τῶι] δήμωι χ[αίρε]ιν· τ[ὴν] φιλοτιμίαν ἣν φιλοτιμε[ῖται]
[πρὸς ὑμ]ᾶς Ο[ὐ]δ[ίδιος] Ἀντωνεῖνος ἔμαθον οὐχ οὕτω[ς] ἐκ
τῶν ὑμετέρω[ν] γραμ[μ]άτων ὡς ἐκ τῶν [ἐκ]είνου· βουλόμε-
νος γὰρ παρ' ἐμοῦ τυχεῖν βοηθείας [εἰς τὸ]ν κόσμον τῶν 10
ἔργων ὧν ὑμεῖν ἐπηγγελᾶτο ἐδήλ[ω]σεν ὅσα κ[αὶ] ἡλίκαι οἰ-
κοδομήματα προστίθῃσιν τῇ πόλ[ει]· ἀλλ' ὑμ[εῖς] οὐ[κ] ὀρ-
θῶς ἀποδέχεσθε αὐτόν· καὶ γὰρ καὶ συ[νεχώρησα] αὐτῷ [...]ς
ἃ ἡγήσατ[ο] καὶ ἀπεδεξάμην ὅτι [οὐ] τὸν π[ολλῶν] τῶ[ν] πο-
λειτευομένων τρόπον, οἱ τοῦ [παρ]αχρημ[α] εὐδοκιμ[εῖν]? χά- 15
[ρ]ιν εἰς θέα[ς] κ[αὶ] διανομάς καὶ τὰ τῶ[ν] ἀγώνων θέματα? δαπαν[ῶ]σιν?
[τῇ]ν φι[λοτιμ]ίαν, ἀλλὰ δι' οὗ πρὸς τὸ [μέλλον] ἐλπίζει? σ[ε]μνο-
[τέραν] ποιή[σειν] τὴν πόλιν προήρη[ται]. τὰ γράμματα ἔπε[μψεν]
[Κλ(αῦδιος)] Ἰουλιανός ὁ κράτιστος ἀνθύ[πατος]. εὐτυχεῖτ[ε].

- 11) *Kouretes* list with passing mention of a διανομή; reign of Commodus; PHI7 Ionia [Ephesos] 242=*IKeph.* 47. Lines 1-12.

ἐπὶ πρυτάνεως Μ(άρκου) Αὐρ(ηλίου) Μενεμάχου
τοῦ καὶ ἀνανεωσαμένου τὸ ἱερόν συν-
έδριον τῶν κουρήτων δόντος διανομάς
ὅσας καὶ τῇ γερουσίᾳ [[Κομμοδιανῇ]]
ἐπὶ ἀρχόντων Φίλωνος β τοῦ Ἑρμολάου 5
φιλοσεβ(άστου) καὶ Ἑρμεία β Ἀπολλωνίου
ὅσοι καθιέρωσαν πρυτάνεις τοῖς κεκουρητευκόσιν·
Πό(πλιος) Οὐγδ(ιος) Ἀντωνίνος συνκλ(ητικός) (δηνάρια), α·
Οὐγδ(ία) Φαιδρεῖνα σὺν καὶ (δηνάρια), α·
τοῖς υἱοῖς Τ(ίτω) Φλ(αούω) Δαμιανῷ 10
καὶ Τ(ίτω) Φλ(αούω) Ἀντωνίνω
κουρήσιν αὐτῆς.

- 12) Honorary inscription; reign of Commodus; PHI7 Ionia [Ephesos] 113=*IKeph.* 26; Oliver (1941): 96-8 n. 12; *Hermes* 4 (1870):198-201 no. 11. Lines 7-18.

[–] Νεικομήδους, τοῦ καθο[λικοῦ ἐκδίκου] τοῦ συνεδρίου ἡμῶν, τῆς αὐτοῦ
ἐπιμελείας) ἐξ[αίρετον παρασχόντος παράδειγμα, πόρων]
[ἴκαν]ῶν, εἰς τὸ παλαιὸν ἔθος ἐπα[νελθοῦσαν τῇ]ν γερουσίαν εὐσεβεῖν καὶ
θῦειν τῇ τε προκαθηγε[μόνι τῆς πόλεως ἡμῶν θεᾷ Ἀρτέμιδι καὶ τῷ με]-
[γίστ]ῳ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν καὶ θεῶν ἐν[φανεστάτῳ α]ὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι
Μ(άρκῳ) Αὐρ(ηλίου) Κομμόδῳ Ἀντωνείνῳ [Σεβαστῷ Εὐσεβεῖ Εὐτυχεῖ
τὰς κατ' ἔτος θυ]-
[σί]ας ὑπὲρ τῆς αἰωνίου διαμονῆς [αὐτοῦ, ὥστε, ἐξ]ὸν μὴ ἔλατον ἀναλίσκειν 10
εἰς τὴν εὐωχίαν ἀτ[τικῶν – ἐκ τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Νεικομήδους]
δηλουμένων πόρων, ἕκαστον τὸν παρόντα εἰς τ]ὸ ἀνάλωμα τοῦ δείπνου
ἔξωθεν καὶ ἐκ τῆς το[ῦ Νεικομήδους φιλοτειμίας λαβεῖν]
ἀπτικὴν μίαν· διὰ τοῦτο ἔδοξεν τ[οῖς συνέδρο]ις κυρῶσαι καὶ νομοθετῆσαι
εἰσαεῖ διὰ τοῦδε τ[οῦ ψήφισματος· τύχη ἀγαθῇ· τὴν γερουσίαν εἰ]-
ς τὸ δι[την]εκές φυλάσσεσθαι τῇ[ν ἐπὶ τῇ προγ]εγραμμένη εὐσεβείᾳ
νομοθεσίαν ὡς αἰ[ώνιον· ὁμοίως δὲ τοὺς συνέδρους εἰσαεῖ]
φυλάσσ[ειν] καὶ ἐπιτελεῖν τὰ περὶ τὰ δείπν]α προσφιλοτειμουμένου τοῦ
ἐκδίκου ἰς τῇ[ν δαπάνην· τὸν δὲ –]
προνο[εῖν, ὡς] ἐν μὲν τοῖς δε[ίπνοις λαμ]παδουχε[ῖν], ἐν δὲ ταῖς 15
κατακλίσεσιν κατε[– τοὺς συνέδρους μετα]-
λαμβάνειν [τῆς] εὐωχίας. εἴ ποτ[ε δὲ μὴ παρ]εῖεν ἕτεροι [π]όροι, ἐπὶ ταῖς
ὁμοίαις εὐωχίας [καὶ θυσίας ἐπιτελεῖν, τὸν δὲ –]
ἀπὸ τοῦ τῶν προσόδ[ων κολλύβου προσθή]κην ποιῆσθ[αι] τοῖς
προϋπάρχουσιν πόροις [ἰς τὴν δαπάνην τῆς θυσίας· τοῖς δὲ πολεῖ]-
ταις διανομὰς γενέσθαι πάσας κατὰ τὸδε τὸ ψήφισμα ἐν τοῖς περὶ τὸν ναὸν
τῆς Σωτεί[ρας – οἴκοις]

- 13) Public Decree; Imperial; PHI7 Ionia [Ephesos] 147=*SEG* 34 (1984): 1098; *JAI* 55 (1984): 145. Lines 1-17.

ΑΙΣ[– – – – –].ΙΟΙΣ διανομὰς ὡς μηδενὶ
Α[– – – – –]
Ο [– – – – –]
Ω[– – – – –]
ΑΟΝ [– – – – –] 5
ΕΙΩΣ[– – – – –]
Μ.ΣΤΑ[– – – – –]
Ν.ΓΟ[– – – – –]
ΩΝΑ[– – – – –]
ΧΝΙΣΩ.ΣΙ[– – – – –] 10
ΣΩΔΟ[– – – – –]

N.M[-----]
 ΟΥΚΛΟΝ.ΟΝΜ....[-----]
 Μ..ΑΜΑΝΟΙΣΒΗΠΤΟΚ..ΕΩΝ..ΚΟΠΩΝ
 Ο.ΣΙΑΣ ἀποθήσεται πρὸς .ΟΤΑΣ.ΤΤ.ΟΙΣ
 [ἔ]δοξεν τῇ γερουσίᾳ ὅπως πάσαις αἰς [— —]
 θέσιν ἢ ἐξ ὁποίας .Η.ΟΙ....ΙΔΙ..Ω.Ρ [— —]

15

- 14) Public decree; Imperial; PHI7 Ionia [Ephesos] 2726=IKEph. 2111. Lines 1-5.

[—]οι[—]
 ἔσται τοῖς βουλευ-
 ταῖς διανομῇ ἐπὶ
 τοῦ ἀνδριάντος αὐ-
 τοῖς τοῖς παρούσιν

5

- 15) Honorary inscription; mid-third century; PHI7 Ionia [Ephesos] 1156=IKEph. 3071; Robert (1971): 195 n. 199. Lines 1-26.

[----- ζυγῶν ἀποτόμων]
 [τρι]ακον[τ]αενὸς δι' ὅλων [τ]ῶν ἡμερῶν,
 ἀποσφάξαντος καὶ ζῶα Λιβυκά,
 πρῶτον γραμματέα τοῦ δήμου
 καὶ βούλαρχον ἑνδοξον
 [καὶ] γυμνασίαρχον πάντων τῶν γυμνασίων,
 [δ]όντα διανομὰς καὶ πάσῃ τῇ πόλει,
 [κ]αὶ στρατηγὸν πρῶτον, δόντα ἐν τῷ
 καιρῷ τῆς στρατηγίας ἰς παράτειμον
 [ἐ]λαίου (δηνάρια) ,ε, καὶ εἰρήναρχον μόνον, καὶ
 [τ]ρίς ἀγωνοθέτην, δόντα καὶ ἐν τῷ
 καιρῷ τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης εἰς τὴν ἀνα-
 κάθαρσιν τοῦ λιμένος δηναρίων
 μυριάδας δύο, καὶ ἐπιστάντα ἔργοις
 τῆς πατρίδος τοῖς πρωτεύουσιν καὶ
 συντελέσαντα καὶ παραδόντα,
 πατέρα Μ(άρκου) Αὐρ(ηλίου) Ἀρτεμιδώρου Μητροδώ-
 ριανοῦ ἱππικοῦ φιλοσεβ(άστου) πρυτάνεως
 καὶ γυμνασιάρχου πάντων τῶν γυμνασίων
 καὶ ἀγωνοθέτου καὶ εἰσαγωγέως τῶν
 μεγάλων ἐπινεικίων, ἐν τε τῷ καιρῷ
 τῆς πρυτανείας στρώσαντος τὴν ἀπὸ
 τοῦ πρυτανείου κάθodon ἕως τῆς ἐνβάσεως τῆς πλατείας·
 προνοησαμένων τῆς ἀναστάσεως τοῦ ἀνδρι-
 άντος Αὐρ(ηλίου) Εὐφύμου καὶ Αὐρ(ηλίου) Εὐγενίου
 [γραμματέων — τοῦ ἰ]ε[ρωτά]τ[ο]υ μισ[θωτηρίου.]

5

10

15

20

25

σθαι καὶ ἀναλίσκεσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς συ[γ-]
κτῆσεθς τῆς κάτω δηλουμένης καὶ ἐπὶ 5
ταῖς αὐταῖς αἰρέσεσιν· ἔτι βούλομαι εἰάν
ἐνταφῇ ὁ υἱός μου καὶ ἀνδριάντας μαρμα-
ρίνους τοῦ υἱοῦ μου ἀφροδισιακοὺς ἀ-
νασταθῆναι πρὸ τοῦ ἡρώου τῆς θύρας
ἐκατέρωθεν· ἄστινας διανομὰς οὕτω 10
δεδοσθαι τῇ πόλει καὶ δι' ἐκείνης τῇ βου-
λῇ βούλομαι, εἰάν τὴν πρόνοιαν τοῦ ἡρώου[υ
τούτ]ου καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ὡς προγέγραπται
[ἐν αἰδ]ίῳ χρόνῳ εἰς αὐτὴν ἢ [ἐπι]μέλεια

c. Magnesia ad Maeander

- 1) Honorary inscription; Imperial; PHI7 Caria [Magnesia] 269=*IMagn.* 179.
Lines 23-35.

ἐν τε τῷ Ἀρτεμεισιῶνι
μηνὶ ὅλῳ τοῦ ἰδίου καιροῦ τῆς ἀγο-
ρανομίας παραπώλησαντα ἔλαιον 25
ἀφθόνως ἔλατον παραπολὺ τῆς
ἐνεστώσης τειμῆς ἐν ἐσπευμένῳ
τῷ περὶ τὸ ἔλαιον καιρῷ καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀνα-
στάσει τοῦ ἀνδριάντος δόντα διανο-
μὴν τῇ φιλο[σ]εβάστῳ βουλῇ καὶ θέν- 30
τα πάλιν ἔλαιον τῇ πόλει ἐν τοῖς γυμνα-
σίοις τῇ θκ τοῦ Ἀρτεμεισιῶνος μηνὸς
ἐν ᾗ καὶ ὁ ἀνδριάς ἀνεστάθη κατὰ δό-
ξαντα καὶ ψηφισθέντα τῇ τε βουλῇ
καὶ τῷ δήμῳ. 35

- 2) Public decree; reign of Hadrian; PHI7 Caria [Magnesia] 108=*IMag* 116; *BCH*
12 (1888): 204-8 n. 19. Lines 21-25.

τὸ δὲ περισσ
εὔσα[ν] μετὰ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν τοῦ ἀλείμματος ἐκ τούτων τῶν πόρων ἀρ
γύριον διανέ[ι]με[ι]ν τὸν [γ]ραμματῇ [τῇ τ]ρια[κ]άδι τοῦ
Ἀρτε[μι]σιῶ[ν]ος μη
νός, ΜΙΒΠΔΕΟΝ ἐπονομάζον[τ]α⁵ τὴν διανομὴν γυμνασιαρχικὴν, [τ]ὸ[ν δ']
ἰδίον
λόγον ἀποτίθεσθαι τούτων τῶν προσόδων καὶ ἐξόδων 25

⁵ Cousin & Deschamps (*BCH*12 [1888]: 204-8) read: *μη/νός, [κα.]ἰ [πλ]έον ἐπονομάζο[τ]α.*

[----- προγόνων ἄρ]-
 χὰς καὶ λειτουργίας τε[τελεκότων,]
 πληρώσασα δὲ καὶ τὴν ὑδροφορίαν ἄξι[ί]-
 ως τοῦ γένους φιλοτείμως καὶ τὰ μὲν
 μυστήρια ἐκτενῶς τελέσασα, δοῦσα
 [δ]ὲ καὶ διανομὰς τῇ βουλῇ καὶ ταῖς παρ-
 [θέν]οις καὶ ταῖς γυναῖξιν, ἀναθεῖσα δὲ
 [ἐκ τῶ]ν ἰδίων καὶ τὰς χαλκᾶς θύρας τοῦ
 [ναοῦ τ]ῆς Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ τὰ λίθινα
 σταθμὰ Ἰ[σ]ὺν ὑπερθύρω καὶ ὁδῶ ἐπὶ
 τε τούτοις ἰπᾶσιν τειμηθεῖσα
 ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου
 εἰκόνων ἀναθέλσι καὶ ἀνδριάν-
 των· ὑποχρηστέλουντος Τι(βερίου)
 Κλαυδίου Θεοδότηου

- 3) Honorary inscription; late 1st century; PHI7 Ionia [Didyma] 419=*IDid* 297; *RPh* 23 (1899): 317 n. 33. Lines 1-13.

[----- ἐστίασας δὲ]
 [τοὺς] πολεΐτας ἐπὶ ἡμέρας ἰγ'
 [δοὺς δ]ὲ καὶ διανομὰς ταῖς ἐκ Να-
 [οῦ γ]υναιξὶν καὶ ταῖς παρθέ-
 [νοις], ποιήσας δὲ καὶ τοῖς παι- 5
 [σ]ὶ τὰ δεῖπνα ἐν τοῖς Ἀνοι-
 [γμ]οῖς ὑπὸ σημείαν ἐπὶ ἡμέ-
 [ρας] δ', δοὺς δὲ τῇ ἱερᾷ βουλῇ
 [δια]νομὰς καὶ τῇ γενεσίῳ
 [τοῦ] θεοῦ ἡμέρα τῇ ἀγοραί[α?] 10
 [.....]λ[.]ων θηνάρι-
 [α ... κ]αὶ κατὰ πάσας ἐορ[τάς]
 [---]λ. ^Ο ---ε

- 4) Honorary inscription; AD 103/4; *IDid* 360. Lines 1-12.

[ὕδροφόρος Ἀρτέμιδος]
 [Πυθίης ... ἰ]ς Βακχίου,
 προγόνων λειτουργῶν
 τῆς πόλεως, ποιήσασα τὰ
 μυστήρια πάντα εὐσεβῶς 5
 τοῖς θεοῖς, δοῦσα δὲ τῇ
 βουλῇ δια<ν>ομά<ς> καὶ γυναιξὶ καὶ
 παρθένοις· ἀνέθηκε δὲ
 τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι ὕδροφοροῦσα τὸ
 παραπέτασμα· προφητεύ- 10
 οντος Κλ(αυδίου)· Θεοδότου,
 ταμιεύοντος Κλ(αυδίου)· Ἡρακλείτου

- 5) Honorary inscription; AD 124; PHI7 Ionia [Didyma] 377b1 1=*IDid* 279b. Lines 1-14.

.]ω[ν, στεφα]νηφόρῳ[ν,· κατὰ
 μ]ὲν τ[ῇ]ν προφητείαν δοὺς ταῖς
 [γ]υναιξὶν καὶ ταῖς παρθένοις δι-
 ανομήν καὶ τοῖς παισὶν καὶ τῇ βου-
 λῇ πολλάκις καὶ τοῖς ἀνδράσι τοὺς 5
 κόσμους, δοὺς τῶν πολειτῶν ἐ-
 κάστω θηνάρι[α] [δ]ύο κ<αὶ τ>ρεῖς ξέσ-
 τας οἴνου καὶ θ[ε]ῖς ἔλαιον πᾶσαι[ς]

ταῖς ἡμέραις. π[ρὸ δι]ετίας στεφα-
νηφορήσας ἔθ[η]κεν τετράμη- 10
νον ἔλαιον ἀγοραίας ἀγομέ νης·
στεφανηφοροῦντος Αἰλίου Διο-
νυσίου, ταμιευόντων Διοκτῆ-
του καὶ Ἀρτεμῆ

- 6) Honorary inscription; AD 129-138; PHI7 Ionia [Didyma] 382=IDid. 254. Lines 1-14.

[προφήτης εὐσεβῆς] Λ(ούκιος) Ἀφιδιανὸς Καλλικρ[άτης
φυλῆςἰδο]ς δήμου Πλαταιέων ἀνε[.....
.... ὑπὲρ τῆς π]ροφητείας ἐν τῇ βασιλικῇ τ[.....
.....]μματικά ἐνφασώματα ξδ· πεπ[οιημέ- 5
νος δὲ καὶ ἐπιδόσεις διανομῶν τῇ τε βουλῇ δις κ[αὶ πᾶ-
σι τοῖς π]ολίταις ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ, κ[αὶ τὸ
ἔλαιον] μετὰ ἀλείμματος τεθεικῶς πάσαις ταῖς ἐ[ορ]τασ[ί-
μοις] ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ, ὁμοίως καὶ τῇ πανηγύρει τῶν Ἀ[νο]ι-
[γμῶν] ταῖς γυναιξὶ ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς βαλανείοις, τῇ τε [νο- 10
μιζο]μένῃ ἱερᾷ ἡμέρῃ τῆς ἐπιδημίας τοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος
[Τραι]ανοῦ [Ἀ]δριανοῦ Καίσαρος θεὸς τὸ ἔλαιον καὶ διὰ ταῦτα [τει-
μηθ]εῖς ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου ἀνδριᾶσι καὶ εἰκόσι
γρα]πταῖς ὑδροφορούσης Ναΐδος τῆς Ἀγαθόποδος, ταμ[ιευόν-
των Αἰ]σχίνου τοῦ Ο[.]ία φ(ύσει) δὲ Αἰσχ[ί]νου [καὶ Τ]ι(βερίου)
Οὐ[ε]ργιλίου [- -]

- 7) Honorary inscription; reign of Hadrian; PHI7 Ionia [Didyma] 373=IDid. 270. Lines 1-11.

προφήτης εὐσεβῆς ἅμα κα[ὶ]
κωτάρχης Τι(βέριος) Κλαύδιος Μα[ρ-
κι]ανὸς Σμάραγδος αὐτοέτ[ης]
αὐτεπάγγελτος πανηγυρικός, [γymνα]- 5
σίαρχος γερ[ουσίας,] πρεσβεύσας
πρὸς τ[οῦ]ς [Σεβαστοῦς, δούς ὑ]πὲρ κόσμ[ων]
διανο[μὰς βουλῇ, γυναιξίν, παρθ]ένοι[ς, κα-
τα]κλε[ίνα]ς τὰς [ιβ φυλὰς καθ' ἡμ]έραν, [τοὺς
πολείτας] πάντα[ς, δούς ἐκάστῳ σφυρίδα
δηνάριον α' κ]αὶ ἐσ[τιάσας, δούς ὁμοίως δια- 10
νομήν ἐν τοῖς] Ἀ[νο]ιγμοῖς παισί, [- -]

- 8) Honorary inscription; reign of Hadrian; PHI7 Ionia [Didyma] 372=IDid. 269; RPh 23 (1899): 318 n. 34; Hellenica 11-12: 480. Lines 1-14.

[προφήτης εὐσεβῆς ἅμα
καὶ κωτάρχης Τι(βέριος) Κλαύδιος

Μαρ]κιανὸς Σμάραγ[δος αὐτοέτης αὐ]-
τεπάνγελτος πανηγ[υρικός, γυμνασίαρ]-
χος γερουσίας, πρεσ[βεύσας πρὸς τοὺς] 5
Σεβαστοὺς, δούς ὑπ[ὲρ κόσμων δια]-
νομὰς βουλῇ, γυναιξίν, [παρθένοις, κατα]-
κλείνας τοὺς πολεΐτα[ς πάντας καὶ ἐστιάσας]
καθ' ἡμέραν τὰς ἰβ' φυλάς, [δούς ἐκάστῳ σπυ⁶]-
ρίδα (δηνάριον) α', ὁμοίως παισὶ δο[ύς ἐν τοῖς Ἄνοι]- 10
γμοῖς διανομήν, θεῖς ἔλα[ιον ταῖς ἐ]-
θίμοις ἡμέραις, εὐσεβῆς [πρὸς τοὺς]
θεοὺς, φιλάνθρωπους δ[ὲ πρὸς τοὺς]
ἀνθρώπους.

- 9) Honorary inscription; reign of Hadrian; *IDid.* 271. Lines 1-7
[... δούς] ὁμοίως πα[ισὶν ἐν τοῖς Ἀγοιγμοῖς δια]-
νομήν, θεῖς ἔλαιον ταῖς ἐθί[μοις ἡμέραις, εὐ]-
σεβῆς πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς, φιλ[άνθρωπος δὲ]
πρὸς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους .ν. ὑδρ[οφορούσης]
Λαιλίας Ἀνχαρηνῆς ν. ταμιευόντων Πο. Αἰ]- 5
λίου Φλαουιανοῦ Ἐπιγόνου [Καπετωλεί-
νου καὶ Πο. Αἰλίου Φλαουια[νοῦ]
- 10) Honorary inscription; AD 125-50; PHI7 Ionia [Didyma] 478=*IDid* 312;
Hellenica 11-12: 463-4. Lines 1-25.
[ὑδροφόρος Ἀρτέ]μιδος Πυθείης [εὐσ]ε[β]ῆς Ἀπολ[λω-
νία Ἀπολλωνίδου,] εὐγε[νής,] μητρὸς Εὐ[....]δος
[τῆς ὑ]δροφόρου τῇ[ς] ἐν Σάμῳ Ἀρτέμιδος, ἀ-
[δελφὴ κ]λέους τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίδου καὶ κατ' ἐσποίησιν 5
[.....] Μητροδώρου τοῦ Νικίου, τειμηθεῖσα ὑπὸ τῆς
[βουλῆς κ]αὶ τοῦ δήμου ψηφίσματι τῷ ὑπογεγραμμένῳ
[ἔδοξε τ]ῇ μητροπόλει τῆς Ἰων[ίας, τῇ] ἱερᾷ καὶ φιλοσεβάστῳ
[... Μιλη]σίῳ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ γνώμη ἐπιστατῶν
[ἐπεὶ] ἡ ὑδροφόρος τῆς Πυθείης Ἀρτέμιδος Ἀπολλωνία 10
[Ἀ]πολλωνίδου, προγόνων ὑπάρχουσα εὐγενῶν καὶ λε[ι]-
[τ]ουργῶν τοῦ δήμου καὶ ἐν ἀρχαῖς καὶ ἐν [χορη]γίαις καὶ
πρεσβείαις ἀναστραφέντων, ποιησαμένων δὲ καὶ
ἐπανγγελίας ἐπὶ τε τούτοις ψηφίσμ[ασι]ν διαμ[αρ]τ[υ]-
ρηθέντων, καὶ πατρὸς δι[...]ς [λει]τουργ[ούντο]ς Ἀπολ-
λωνίδου, ἀνδρὸς καλ[οῦ]α [.....]υ πρὸς? 15

⁶ *IDid* 269 reads: με]ρίδα.

τὴν τῶν προγόνων [ἀρετὴν – διὰ τῆς τῶν νόμων] ἐμπε[ι]-
 ρίας χρησίμου γεινομ[ένου τῇ τε ἐπαρχεί]α καὶ τῇ
 πατρίδι, καὶ αὐτῇ <ῆ> παρθένος Ἀπολλωνία [σὺν τῷ] πατρ[ί]
 σπουδάσασα ἐπισήμως πληρῶσαι τὴν [ὑδροφο]<ρ>ία[ν]
 ἔδωκεν τῇ τῶν κόσμων ἑορτῇ ταῖς ἐκ Νᾱ[οῦ γυναι]ξ[ί]ν καὶ 20
 ταῖς παρθένοις διανομὰς καὶ ἐξ ἱ<σ>ου? ἐν τῇ [..... δι]ανο-
 μὴν προκατάρχουσα καλοῦ ἔθους ταῖς π[ρ]ο[α]ιρουμέναις]
 φιλοτειμεῖσθαι πρὸς τε τοὺς πατέρας θε[οὺς καὶ τὴν πόλιν,
 ἀ]ναστρέφεται παρέχουσα τὰς θυσίας καὶ τὰ μυσ[τήρι]α ἐπιτ[ε]-
 λούσα δι' ὅλου τοῦ ἔτους 25

11) Honorary inscription; Reign of Commodus; PHI7 Ionia [Didyma] 494=IDid.

333. Lines 1-10.

ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ
 τὴν ὑδροφόρον τῆς Πυθίης Ἀρ-
 τέμιδος Στατιλ(ίαν) Ἰουλίαν ἡ βουλὴ κ(αὶ)
 ὁ δῆμος ὑδροφορήσασαν φιλο-
 τείμως κ(αὶ) τὰ μυστήρια ἐκτελέ- 5
 σασαν πρὸς μὲν τοὺς θεοὺς εὖσε-
 βῶς, πρὸς [δὲ τοὺς πολεῖ]τας φιλο-
 τείμως, δοῦσαν [δὲ ταῖς π]α[ρ]θένοις
 τὰς διανομὰς κ(αὶ) [.]ρ[.]α[.] τῇ πό-
 λει κ(αὶ) τοῖς τὸ ἱ<ε>ρόν κατοι[κο]ῦσιν πᾶσιν, 10

12) Honorary inscription; second century; PHI7 Ionia [Didyma] 454=IDid. 353.

Lines 1-19.

ὑδροφόρος Ἀρτέμιδος Πυθίης
 Φλαβία Νωνιανὴ Βουγένεια
 Θεοδότῃ, πατριᾶς Λαιανδρια-
 δῶν, πατρὸς Τίτου Φλαβίου
 Ζωπύρου, μητρὸς δὲ Αἰμιλί- 5
 ας Νωνιανῆς Ἀρτεμοῦς
 ἀδελφοῦ Π(οπλίου) Σαμιαρίου Νω-
 νιανοῦ, γονέων καὶ πάππων
 καὶ προγόνων λειτουργῶν
 τῆς πόλεως, δοῦσα διανομὰς 10
 τῇ τε βουλῇ καὶ ταῖς παρθέ-
 νοις καὶ ταῖς γυναιξί, ποιή-
 σασα δὲ καὶ τὰς νομιζομέ-
 νας πάσας θυσίας τε καὶ
 σπονδὰς εὖσεβῶς καὶ δαψι- 15
 λῶς ἐπὶ στεφανηφόρου
 Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Διονυσίου,

ὑποχρηστέοντος Φλαβί-
ου Ζωσίμου

- 13) Honorary inscription; second century; PHI7 Ionia [Didyma] 161=IDid 111.
Lines 1-8.

[— — — — 'Απόλ]-
λωνι Διδ[υμεί]-
καὶ τῇ ἱερᾷ βουλ[ῇ]
(θηνάρια) α, ἀφ' ὧν τοῦ τόκου
αὐτῶν λήψεται
διανομὴν, καθ' ἣ
ἐν τῷ δι' ἀρχείου ἐγ-
γράφω δεδήλωται.

5

- 14) Honorary inscription; AD 230; PHI7 Ionia [Didyma] 490=IDid. 375. Lines 1-12.

Beginning lost

τῶν Μ[εγάλων Διδυμείων? δοῦ]-
σα τοῖς πολλ[εῖς] ταῖς καὶ παισίν?
καὶ γυναιξί]ν καὶ παρθένοις
διανομὰς κ|αὶ τῇ ἱερωτάτῃ βου-
λῇ δοῦσα δι|ανομὰς ἐν ταῖς πα-
νηγύρεσιν κ|αὶ ποιήσασα τῇ βου-
λῇ τὰς σπονδ[ι] [ἀ]ς πάσας καὶ τοῖς
περὶ τὸ μαν[ι] [τεῖο]ν ἐκτενῶς καὶ
φιλοτείμως κα[ι] [ι] τῇ] προτεθ[εῖ]-
ση ἐκατόμβῃ ἐπ[ι] [σπείσασα]
κατὰ τὰ λόγια τοῦ θ[εοῦ καὶ ἐλαιο]-
θεσίας ποιήσασα δ[αψιλῶς]

5

10

e. Miletus

- 1) Honorary inscription; last third of the second century AD; SEG 34 (1984): 1175. Lines 1-11.

[αὐ-]
τοῦ τῇ βουλῇ
εἰς ἐπώνυμον αὐτοῦ
ἡμέραν ὥστ' ἂν ἀπὸ τῶν
τόκων διανομῆς δι-
δοσθαι τῇ βουλῇ
μη(νὸς) Ληναίωνος ε' (?) ιβ' κα-
τὰ τὸ ψήφισμα καὶ
[τ]ὴν σύνταξιν τῆς Χά-
[ρι]τος τὴν κειμένην
[ἐν] τοῖς ἀρχείοις

5

10

5. Lydia

a. Thyatira

- 1) Honorary inscription; AD 177-180; PHI7 Asia Minor [Lydia: TAM V.1-2] 983; TAM V (2) 983; CIG II (3) 3493. Lines 1-26.

[ἀγ]αθῇ τύχῃ.

[ῆ] βουλῇ

— — — Λαιβιανοῦ τοῦ Καλ-

[λι]στράτου ἀγωνοθετήσαν-

[τα] τοῦ πρὸ πόλεως Τυρίμνου ἐν-

5

[δό]ξως καὶ ἐπιφανῶς ἔν τε δια-

[νο]μαῖς καὶ ἐπιδόσεσιν ταῖς πρὸς

[τῇ]ν βουλῇ ἀναστραφέντα φιλο-

[τ]είμως καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῶς, καὶ

[τ]ὰς δημοτελεῖς θυσίας καὶ ἐορ-

10

[τ]ὰς ἀφθόνως καὶ ἀνυπερβλή-

[τ]ως ἐπιτελέσαντα ἐν τῇ πα-

γῇ γύρει, κοσμήσαντα τὴν πατρί-

δα ἐν τε τῷ θυμελικῷ καὶ γυμν[ι-

κῷ] ἀγῶνι θέμασιν ἀσυνκρίτοις

15

οἴκοθεν καὶ τειμήμασιν πρὸς πάν-

τας τοὺς ἀγωνιστὰς κατ' ἀξίαν τοῦ

θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς Λαιβιανοῦ, ἀνδρ[ος]

ἐν πάσαις ἀρχαῖς καὶ λειτουργίαις

καὶ ὑπηρεσίαις ὑπακούοντος τῇ

20

πατρίδι φιλοτείμως ἢ βουλῇ ἐκ τῶν

[ἐ]δίων μαρτυροῦσα ἀνέστησεν

[ἐ]κ παιδὸς ἡλικίας καὶ ἐν ἄλλαις

[ἀρ]χαῖς καὶ λειτουργίαις αὐτοῦ ἤδη ἐ-

[ξ]υπηρετοῦντος τῇ πατρίδι ἐπιμελη-

25

θέντος Ἀντωνίου Βάσσου.

b. Sardis

- 1) Honorary inscription; early second century AD; PHI7 Asia Minor [Sardis 7,1] 43. p 1-I 4; Sardis vol. 7, 1. 43; SEG 44 (1994): 971 a, b.

[ὁ δῆμος ἐτείμησεν]

Τιβέριον Κλαύδιον Σιλάνιον ἥρωα, στεφα-

νηφόρον φιλόπατριν, καταλιπόντα κατὰ

διαθήκην εἰς διανομὴν ἐτήσιον τῇ μὲν πό-

[λει — — —].

5

c. Apollonis

- 1) Honorary inscription; second century AD; PHI7 Asia Minor [Lydia: TAM V.1-2] 1197=TAM V (2) 1197; Laum (1964): 80, n. 71. Lines 1-11.

[----- τὴν πρυ-
 τ]ανε[ίαν ἀναλαμβάνοντα ὑπὲρ τε]
 αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν τέκνων καὶ τῶν
 ἐκγόνων καὶ τὸ τῶν πρυτανει-
 ῶν τίμη[μ]α ἐπιχορηγήσαντα εἰς 5
 ἔργων κατασκευὰς καὶ πάσας ἀρχὰς κα[ὶ]
 λ]ειτουργίας τῇ πατρίδι ἐκτελέσαντα,
 [κ]αταλιπόντα τῇ κρατίστῃ βουλῇ [Ἄ-
 π]ολλωνείων ζῶντα διανομὴν κα[ὶ] τῇ
 π]όλει ἄλειμμα τῇ γενεθλίῳ αὐτ[οῦ] 10
 ἡμέραι κατ' ἔτος.

6. Caria

a. Sebastopolis

- 1) Honorary inscription; AD 15-17; PHI7 Caria [Sebastopolis] 6=SEG 15 (1938) no. 658; Robert (1970): 343-50 n. 4; Robert (1954): 320 n. 172. Lines 1-24.

----- [γυμνα]-
 σιαρχήσαντα ε[.....]
 ἐπανγειλαμένων αὐ-
 τῇ τῇ ἀρχῇ ἔτους, ὄν-
 τα ἀπαρασκευάστον, 5
 [κ]αὶ αὐθιμερὸν θέντα
 τὸ ἔλαιον ἀδιαλεί-
 πτως ὥς ἔτει ἐπιπράσ-
 κετο ἢ κοτύλῃ τοῦ [ἐ]-
 λαίου α', καὶ παραπωλ[ή]- 10
 σαντα πυρῶν κύπρους
 β (θηναρίων) β', τοῦ κύπρου πω-
 λουμένου (θηναρίων) δ', καὶ δόν-
 τα διανομῆς πολεΐτη
 μὲν (θηναρίων) α', βουλευτῇ δὲ 15
 (θηναρίων) αγ', κοσμήσαντα τὰ γυ-
 μνάσια ἐφήβοις, μὴ φε[ι]-
 σάμεν[ο]ν ἀναλωμάτων,
 κ]αὶ πᾶσαν ἀρχὴν κα[ὶ] λι]-
 τουργίαν καὶ ἐπιθ[ό]- 20
 σεις ποιησάμενο[ν] ἀ-
 μένπτως τῇ πόλει[ι] κα]-
 θῶς αὐτῷ καὶ διὰ ψηφ[ισ]-
 μάτων μεμαρτύρηται

b. Tralles

- 1) Honorary decree; second century; PHI7 Caria [Tralles] 212=*IKTralleis* 220; *REG* 14 (1901): 304 n. 2; Laum (1964): 99 n. 96; Robert (1970): 413-4 n. 4; *BE* (1938): 389. Lines 1-6.

[– τῇ κρα] <τ>ίστη Κλαυδία βουλῇ [–
– Σωτ]ήριχος ὁ πατήρ αὐτοῦ ἀνέθηκ[εν –
–].εἰ ὥστε ἀπὸ τῆς προσόδου –
–] ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν αἰῶνα καθ' ἑκα[στον –
– ἔτος τῆς] γενεσίου [αὐτοῦ] ἡμέρα[ς] τὸν [–
–] διανομῆς ἀσσάρια ἐννέ[α –]

5

c. Aphrodisias

- 1) Honorary inscription; mid Imperial; PHI7 Caria [Aphrodisias] 253. Lines 1-23.

[κατὰ]
τὰ ἐ[ψ]ηφισμ]ένα ὑ-
πὸ τῇ[ς β]ουλῆς καὶ
τοῦ δήμου Μᾶρ<κον>
Αὐ(ρήλιον) Ἄτταλον Ἀρτε-
μιδώρου πεντάκ[ις]
τοῦ Μενίππου Ἀτ-
τάλου, ἄνδρα τῶν εὖ
γεγονότων, ἀπὸ
προγόνων ἀρχικῶν
καὶ λειτουργῶν, τε-
λευτήσαντα νέον
τὴν ἡλικίαν· τὴν
δὲ ἀνάστασιν τοῦ
ἀνδριάντος ἐποι-
ήσατο Αὐρ(ηλία) Ἀμμία ἡ
μήτηρ αὐτοῦ, ἀνα-
θεῖσα τῇ κρατίστ<η>
βουλῇ εἰς αἰωνίους
διανομὰς ἀργύρι-
ον, καθὼς διὰ τῆς ἀ-
ναθέσεως δη-
λοῦται.

5

10

15

20

- 2) Honorary inscription; mid Imperial; PHI7 Caria [Aphrodisias] 337=*MAMA* VIII 511. Lines 1-13.

[–]ξίαν, ἀ-
[ναθέ]ντα τῇ ἱερῶ-
[τάτῃ] βουλῇ εἰς αἰ-
ωνίους διανομὰς

10

- 5

- 10

- 30

κλήρ(ω)ν διανομάς, καὶ ἄλλας δὲ πολλὰς πολλάκις
διανομάς δεδοκότα τοῖς τε τὴν πόλιν κατοικοῦσιν 35
πολείταις τοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας, καὶ ἐτέ[ρ]ας δὲ διανο-
μὰς δεδοκότα πολλάκις τῇ βουλῇ πάσῃ καὶ τῇ γε-
ρουσίᾳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπιδόσεις πολλάκις ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ πε-
ποιημένον κατὰ τὴν τῆς πόλεως γνώμην πολείταις
τε καὶ ξ(έ)νοις, καὶ ἐλ(ειο)δ(ι)άκτο(υ)ς πολλάκις τεθεικότα 40
ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τῆς τοῦ Τε(ι)μέλου ποταμοῦ εἰσαγωγῆς,
καὶ πρεσβείας δὲ πολλάκις εὐτυχῶς ἐκτετελεκότα,
[κ]αὶ παρ' ὅλον τὸν βίον αὐτοῦ εὐεργέτην καὶ φιλόπατριν,
[ἐν ἰ]δίῳ ἔργοις ἀνέ[σ]τησεν· προσανατεθεικότα δὲ
[πρ]όσφατον κ[αὶ] ἄλλα εἰς τὸ ἔργον εἰς πρὸς τὸ εἶναι 45
[δρ]αιχμὰς μυ(ριάδας) ια .

d. Stratonicea

- 1) Honorary inscription; late first century ; PHI7 Caria [Stratonikeia] 77=IKStrat.
1025; BCH 61 (1937): 259 n. 67 & 260 n. 70 & 262 n. 71-2; Robert (1971):
171-2 n. 164. Lines 1-29.

Τίτου Φλαβίου, Λέοντος νί-
οῦ, Κυρεῖνα, Αἰνείου, φιλορω-
μαίου καὶ φιλοσεβάστου
καὶ φιλοπάτριδος, υἱοῦ τῆ[ς]
πόλεως, πρεσβεύσαντος 5
πρὸς τοὺς Σεβαστοὺς ἰς Ῥώ-
μην καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων
καὶ τὰς διανομὰς τῇ πατρ[ί]-
δι ἐπιτυχόντος, ἀρχιερα-
τεύσαντος μεγαλοπρε- 10
πῶς, ἐν ᾗ ἀρχιερωσύνη κ[αὶ]
μονομαχίας καὶ κινήγια σ[υ]-
νετέλεσεν, ἱερατεύσαντος
τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Παναμάρου ἐ[ν]
Ῥαίοις, καὶ κεῖ μὲν τὰς γυναῖ- 15
κες κηρύγματι ὑποδεξα-
μένου πάσας, ἐν δὲ τῷ γυ-
μνασίῳ πάντας τοὺς πο-
λείτας μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ δεῖπνε[ι]-
σαντος, γυμνασιαρχήσα[ν]- 20
τός τε ἐλκυστῶ ἐλαίῳ, ἐν γυ-
μνασιαρχίᾳ καὶ ἀγῶνι ἐκ τῶν
[ἰ]δίων ἐποίησεν, πολλὰς πρεσ-
βείας καὶ ἐκδικίας τῇ πατρί-
δι παρασχομένου, ζήσαν- 25
τός τε ἐπιφανῶς καὶ κοσμ[ί]-

ως· ἀνέστησεν Τίτος Φλά(βιος), [Λέ]-
οντος υἱός, Κυρεῖνα, Ἀριστό-
[λαος].

- 2) Honorary inscription; reign of Hadrian; PHI7 Caria [Stratonikeia] 70=*IKStrat* 1028; *BCH* 28 (1904): 27; Oliver (1941): 151 n. 38; *BCH* 61 (1937): 269-70 n. 97-9; *BE* (1979): 467. Lines 11-21.

ἐτίμησαν δὲ

[καὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτοῦ] Ὑθράσωνα Ἱεροκλέους Λέ-
[οντα Ἱε(ροκωμήτην) ἀρχιερέα τῶ]ν Σεβαστῶν, γυμνασίαρ-
[χον τῶν νέων, ἱερέ]α τοῦ Παναμάρου, καὶ Λέον-
[τα Ἱεροκλέους Θράσ]ωνα Ἱε(ροκωμήτην) ἀρχιερέα τῶν Σεβασ- 15
[τῶν, γυμνασίαρχον τῶν] νέων, ἱερέα Διὸς Χρυσσαορί[ου,]
– τοὺς καθ’] ἡλικίαν υἱοὺς φιλοσόφου[ς,
ἀργύριον δόντας] μετὰ τοῦ πατρὸς εἰς α[–
–]ν ἀναπλήρωσαν μύ[ρια ἀναπόδοτα
–] βο(υ)λῆς καὶ τῆς γερουσίας[ς – 20
– εἰς δι]ανομήν [–]

e. Panamara

- 1) Honorary decree; AD 193-9; PHI7 Caria [Panamara] 8=*IKStrat* 15; *BCH* 51 (1927): 63 n. 6; *SEG* 29 (1979): 1080 n. 2; *ZPE* 36 (1979): 198 n. 2. Lines 8-13.

καὶ πάλιν ἱερατεύει μετὰ τῆς ἀξιολογωτάτης

Λεοντί-
[δος ἐν τοῖς Ἱεραίοις, τ]ὰ τεύκ(ι)α τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσεβῶς καὶ τὰ πρὸς
τοὺς ἀνθρώπους φιλοτειμώτατα ἐκτελῶν ὡς καὶ γυμνασιαρχίαν
[τελείν μεγαλοπρεπῶς] εἰς τὰ [Παναμά]ρεια, τιθέντα τὸ ἔλαιον ἐλκυστὸν 10
ἐγ λουτ[ή]ρων, καὶ τοῖς Ἱεραίοις ὥσπερ τὸ πρῶτον καὶ νῦν πᾶν τὸ πλή-
[θος καλεῖν τῶν ἐλευθέρων καὶ] τῶν δούλων ἐπὶ τε τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ ἐπὶ
διανομῇ ἀργυρίου· ὃ τε δῆμος ἡμῶν βουλόμενος τὰς ἀξίας
[χάριτας ἀποδοῦναι Μενάν]δρῳ καὶ τῇ Λεοντίδι τετεῖμμεν αὐτοὺς καὶ δι[ὰ]
τοῦδε τοῦ ψηφίσματος, ἐπιβεβόηκέν τε τὸ πλήθος
[εἰς τιμὴν καὶ σεβασμὸν] τοῦ θεοῦ προγράφεσθαι πᾶσιν τοῖς ἐπιδιδόμενο[ι]ς
ἐγ(γ)ράφοις τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ὄνομα καὶ τὸν ἱερῇ

- 2) Honorary inscription; late second century; PHI7 Caria [Panamara] 192=*IKStrat*. 258; *BCH* 15 (1891): 190-1 n. 135; *ZPE* 38 (1980): 158 n. 135; *SEG* 30 (1980): 1274. Lines 1-9.

ἱερεὺς ἐξ ἱερέων ἐν Ἱεραίοις Δημήτριος [Μνω]-
νίδου, ἱέρια Στακτῇ Μενεκλέους ἱερατεύσαν[τες]
ἐξ ἐπανγγελίας εὐσεβῶς καὶ ἐνδόξως, ἐστιάσ[αν]-

τες τοὺς ἀνελθόντας πάντας, ἐγυμνασιάρχησαν
τῇ τε παραλήψει τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὰς τῆς ἱερομνηείας το[ῦ] 5
θεοῦ ἡμέρας πάσας, ἐποίησαν τὸ Ἑρραῖον φιλοτεί-
μως, δόντες ταῖς γυναιξίν καὶ τὴν διανομήν, συν-
φιλοτιμουμένου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ ἱερέως
Τ(ίτου?) Δαμύλα τοῦ Μυωνίδου.

- 3) Honorary inscription; third century; PHI7 Caria [Panamara] 155=IKStrat. 224; BCH 15 (1891): 199 n. 141; BCH 61 (1937): 267 n. 91 & 295 n. 160. Lines 1-12.

[ἱερ]εὺς ἐν Ἑρραίοι[ς] κατὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ ἀρ[έσκειαν]
[Τ]ι(βέριος) Φλάβ(ιος) Ἀρτεμίσ[ι]ος καὶ ἱέρια τὸ δεύτερον [ἐν Ἑρραίοις]
Κλαυ(δία) Φλαβ(ία) Τατιάς Εὐπραξιάς, θυγάτηρ Τιβ(ερίου) [-]
ρου, προἱερατεύσαντες καὶ τῆς μεγίστης κ[αὶ ἐπι]φα-
νεστάτης θεᾶς Ἑκάτης ἐνδόξως καὶ πο[ιήσαντες] 5
πάντα ἀξιοπρεπῶς κ(αὶ) μεγαλοφρόνως, δόντ[ες δὲ δια]-
νομὰς ἐν τοῖς Ἑρραίοις πάση τύχῃ κ(αὶ) ἡλικίᾳ, γ[υμνασιαρ]-
χήσαντες κ(αὶ) ἡμέρας κβ ἐκ νυκτὸς ἰς νύκτ[α ἐν ἀμφοτέ]-
ροις τοῖς γυμνασίοις κ(αὶ) ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ περιπολίῳ σ[υνφιλοτι]-
μουμένων ἐν πᾶσιν τῶν παιδίων κ(αὶ) τῶν ἀδελφῶ[ν τοῦ ἱε-
ρέω]ς ΤΟΥΤΟΜΗΡΟΥ, νεωκοροῦντος Αὐρ(ηλίου) Κλεοβούλου τ[οῦ Λέ]-
οντος. 10

- 4) Honorary inscription; second half of the third century; PHI7 Caria [Panamara] 238=IKStrat 303; BCH 28 (1904): 252-3 n. 70. Lines 1-13.

[ἱερεῖ]ς καὶ πάλιν τοῦ μεγίστου καὶ ἐπιφαν[εστάτου θ]εοῦ Διὸς Πανημερίου
ἐν [Ἑρραίοις
Μᾶρ(κος) Ο]ὔλ(πιος), Ἀσκληπιάδης Ἰούλιος [προἱερατευ]κῶς Κομύριον,
Κλαυ(δία) [Αἰλι-
ανῆ] Βρήσιον, ἱερατευκότες καὶ τῆς μεγ[ίστης καὶ ἐ]πιφανεστάτης θεᾶς
Ἑκά[της, ἀρχιερασαμέ-
νων κ]αὶ ἱερα[σα]μένων καὶ τῶν γονέων ἀμφοτέρω[ν ἀξίως] τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ
Πανημερίου [καὶ τῆς Ἑκάτης,
τετελ]εκότων καὶ μονομαχίας καὶ κυνηγέσι[α ἀμφ]οτέρων αὐτῶν τῶν 5
γονέων -,
ἀναλ]ωκότες τὰ τῶν ἱερωσυνῶν ἐν τε τα[ῖς γυμνασ]ιαρχίαις καὶ διανομα[ῖς
καὶ ἐστι]άσεσιν
ἄμ]α ταῖς ἄλλαις ἐπιδόσεσιν καὶ ἔργων κα[τασκευαῖς παρ] ἑαυτῶν καὶ
[ἄλλαις πάσαις ἐπι-
δόσ]εσιν ὡς ἀπαράβλητον πρὸς πάντας κ[αὶ ἐ]πὶ θ[υσιῶν πασ]ῶν τῶν
ἐ[θυσαν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν
διαν]ομῶν καὶ δόσει τῶν εἰς τὰ ἔργα ἀ[ρ]γυρίων καὶ ἐστιάσεω[ν καθ] ὅλην
τὴν γυμνασιαρχίαν
καὶ τ[ὴν ἱερωσύνην] συνφιλοτιμουμένων τοῦ τε πενθεροῦ Τιβ(ερίου) 10

Κλ(αυδίου) Ἀριστέ-
ου] Μενάνδρου τοῦ καὶ νεωκορήσαντος εὐσεβῶς, καὶ τῶν ἀδ[ελφῶν Οὐλπί-
ου] Διομήδους καὶ Λ(ουκίου) Ῥουτ(ιλίου) Ἐπαινέτου καὶ τῶν ἀδελφιδῶν
Οὐλ(πίου) Ἀσ[κληπιάδου καὶ
Οὐλπίας Λεαίνης.]

- 5) Honorary inscription; Imperial; PHI7 Caria [Panamara] 130=IKStrat 197. Lines 1-16.

ἱερεὺς
[ἐν Ἡραίοις τὸ – ἐξ ἐπανγ]ελίας Τιβ(έριος) Φλά(ουιος), Μενάνδρου υἱός,
Κυ(ρεῖνα), [Θ]εοφάνης,
[ἱερατεύσας καὶ πάντα ποιήσας εὐσε]βῶς καὶ ἀξίως τῶν προγόνων κ[αὶ]
τῶν γονέ-
[ων, Τιβ(ερίου) Φλ(αυίου) Μενάνδρου τοῦ τρεῖς ἱερατεύσ]αντος ἐν Ἡραίοις
ἐξ ἐπανγελίας, καὶ Φλ(αυίας) Λεον-
[τίδος τῆς ἱερατευσάσης τετράκις ἐν Ἡρ]αίοις καὶ ἄπαξ ἐν Κομυρίοις, 5
ἱερατευσάντων
[δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν τῆς μεγίστης καὶ ἐπιφ]ανεστάτης θεᾶς Ἐκάτης, μεθ' ἣν
ἐτέλεσαν
[γυμνασιαρχίαν παρ' ὅλον τὸν ἐνιαυ]τόν, κατασκευάσαντες κατὰ τὰ
μέγιστα τρα-
[πέζας τοῦ θεοῦ – – – – –]ς φιλοτειμαῖας ΕΛΤΗΛΟΣΤΗΣ [τῇ
πατ]ρίδι, πεπο[ι]-
[ηκῶς δὲ καὶ δημοθοιμίας καὶ δεῖπνα πάσῃ] τύ[χῃ καὶ ἡλικίᾳ] καὶ πάντα
ποιήσας
[εὐσεβῶς μὲν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς, φιλοτείμ]ως [δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους] δι' ὅλου 10
τοῦ ἐνιαυτο[ῦ],
[γυμνασιαρχήσας δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ παραλήψει] τοῦ στεφάνου καὶ πάσας τὰς
[τῶν Παναμαρείων ἡμέρας, ἡμέρας καὶ νύκ]τας, θεῖς ἔλαιον ἐλκυστό[ν]
[καὶ ἐπαλείμματα ἐν τοῖς γυμνασίοις] εὐσεβῶς καὶ φιλοτείμως, [δοὺς]
διανομὰς ἐκάστῳ ἀνὰ δηνάρων [–, μισθώσας] τε [τὰ ἐπι]δη[μύσαντα ἐν τῇ
πό]-
λει ἀκροάματα, ἀπέδωκεν δὲ καὶ τὰ δε[ῖπνα τ]ο[ῖς ἀνενεγκούσι, ἐχα]- 15
[ρίσ]ατο δὲ καὶ τοῖς θύσασιν τῷ θεῷ τὰ ἱερά, εἰς πάντα [–]

f. Lagina

- 1) Honorary inscription; AD 166-9; PHI7 Caria [Lagina] 66=IKStrat 672. Lines 5-21.

καὶ τε Ἡραίῳ πάσ[αις] 5
γυναιξὶ καὶ τοῖς γενομ[έ]-
νοις ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ἀνδράσιν ἐ[δώ]-
καμεν ἀνὰ (δηναρίων) β', καὶ τὰ δεῖπνα
ἐχαρισάμεθα καὶ τοῖς θύο[ν]-
σιν τὰ ἱερά, καὶ τὰ ἐπιδημήσαν- 10

τα ἀκροάματα ἐμισθωσάμε-
θα, καὶ τοὺς δεομένους ἔτει[μή]-
σαμεν, καὶ μετὰ πρυτανίαν ἐν [δυσ]-
φόρῳ καιρῷ παράτειμα καὶ σείτο[υ]
καὶ ἐλαίου παρισπένκ(α)μεν μεγά- 15
λα, καὶ μετὰ Ἰακχιαστῶν ὑῶν [Δα]-
μύλα καὶ Δημητρίου ἐν μέ[ρει]
μύσταις καὶ τοῖς πλίστοις τῶν π[ολι]-
τῶν τὰς διανομὰς ἐδώκαμεν
ἐν τῇ ἱερωσύνῃ ταύτῃ γυμνα- 20
[σιαρχήσαντες –]

- 2) Honorary inscription; Imperial; PHI7 Caria [Lagina] 79=IKStrat. 685; BCH 44 (1920): 89-90 n. 20; RPh (1929): 144; BE (1924): 355. Lines 1-11.

[ἱερεὺς ἐπ]αν[χειλάμε]νο[ς]
[Ἐπαίνει]τος δις τοῦ Γαλέστο[υ Πάμ]φιλος Κο(λιοργεύς), δρομεὺς Ἀλιο-
[νίκης ἱερων]ίκης, πλειστονίκης, παρά[δοξ]ος ἱέρια γυνὴ αὐτοῦ Φλα(ουία),
[– θυγάτηρ,] Ἄρτεμον Ἰε(ροκωμήτις), ἐτέλεσαν τὴν [ἱερωσ]ύνην εὐσεβῶς
μὲν πρὸς
τὴν θεόν, φιλοτίμως δὲ πρὸς τ[οὺς πολ]εῖτας καὶ ξένους, ἐστιάσαντες 5
τῇ μὲν Σεβαστῇ τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλ[ει πάντ]ας, ἐστιάσαντες δὲ καὶ ταῖς
[έορταῖς] ἐξῆς τοὺς ἐν τῷ περιπολίῳ καὶ [τοὺς πε]ριοικούντας πάντας,
γυμνα-
σιαρχήσαντες δὲ καὶ ταῖς ἐορτ[ασίμοις ἡ]μέραις καὶ τῇ κλειδαγωγ[ῇ]
ἐν τῇ πόλει, θέντες τὸ ἔλαιον ἀν[έδην πάση τύ]χη καὶ ἡλικίᾳ, καὶ τοὺς
δε[η]-
θέντας καὶ θεατρικοὺς ἐτίμησα[ν, καὶ ἔδωκαν] τῇ τελευταίᾳ τριακάδι 10
διανομὴν τοῖς ἐν τῷ περιπολίῳ, ἐχ[αρίσαντο δὲ] καὶ τὰ ἱερά τοῖς θύουσιν

- 3) Honorary inscription; Imperial; PHI7 Caria [Lagina] 97=IKStrat. 701; Robert (1971): 171 n. 163; BCH 61 (1937): 249, 251-2 n. 55. Lines 1-15.

ἱερεῖς καὶ τῆς ἐπιφανεστάτης θεᾶς Ἐκάτης ὑποσχόμε-
νοι πρόσφατον, Τιβ(έριος) Κλ(αῦδιος), Κλ(αυδίου) Ἀριστέου υἱός, Κ[υρ]εῖνα,
Ἀριστέ-
ας Μένανδρος καὶ Αἰλ(ία), Αἰλ(ίου) Εἰρηναίου θυγάτηρ, Γλύκιννα,
μεθ' ἣν ἐτέλεσαν ἀρχιερωσύνην ἐπὶ φιλοδωρίαις καὶ κυ-
νηγεσίοις, ἱεράσαντο καὶ τῆς θεοῦ, καὶ τὴν τε πόλιν ἱστί- 5
ασαν πᾶσαν καὶ ἔδωκαν διανομῆς ἐκάστῳ τῶν πολιτῶν
ἀνὰ δηνάρια δύο ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ, ἕκαστον δῆμον ἐκ τῶν
δέλτων καλέσαντες, ἐγυμνασιά[ρ]χησαν δὲ ἐν τῇ πόλει
τῇ τῆς κλειδῶς πομπῇ ἡμέρας δύο πρῶτοι καὶ ἐν τῷ περι-
πολίῳ τὰς εἰθισμένας ἡμέρας, ἔδωκαν δὲ καὶ τὰ τῆς 10
Σεβαστῆς δηνάρια χεῖλια ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ τῆς ἱερωσύ-
νης ἐνιαυτῷ εἰς ἐπισκευὴν καὶ κατασκευὴν βαλανεί-

ου, οὗ ὁ πάππ[ος τ]οῦ Ἀριστέου Φλά(ουιος) Αἰνέας ἀνέθηκεν
τῇ πόλει, [τοῦτ]ο τοῦ Ἀριστέου ἀνέντος τῇ πατρί-
δι τῷ [αὐτῷ ἐν]ιαυτῷ τοῦ βαλανείου μέρος.

15

- 4) Honorary inscription; Imperial; PHI7 Caria [Lagina] 98=*IKStrat.* 702. Lines 1-6.

[–]οιι[.]λ[–]
[κλειδοφόρος –, – θυγάτηρ, –]. ἡ διὰ βίου ἰέ[ρεια τῆς ἐν]
[Κωράζοις Ἀρτέμιδος· συνεφιλοτιμήθη δὲ καὶ ἡ μήτ]ηρ αὐτῆς Οὐλ(πία)
Λεοντί[ς, ἥτις]
[καὶ αὐτὴ ἐκλειδοφόρησεν ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν χρό]νοις ἀξίως τῆς ἰδίας
[μητρὸς –]
[– με]τὰ δι[αν]ομὰς καὶ ἰρη[ναρχίαν]
[– κα]ὶ εὐθηνιαρχίαν ὑπ[ο]δε[ξαμεν]

5

g. Heracleia Salbace

- 1) Honorary inscription; Imperial; PHI7 Caria [Heracleia Salbace] 18=*MAMA VI* 119; Robert, (1954): n. 66. Lines 1-20.

[ὁ δῆμος ἐτείμησεν]
Ἀμμίαν Χα[ρ]μίδο[υ, πρύ]-
τανιν καὶ στεφανηφό-
ρον, μίαν τῶν εὐγενεσ-
τάτων ἀπὸ προγό-
νων βουλευτῶν, ἀγνὴν
καὶ σώφρονα καὶ κεκοσ-
μημένην πάσῃ ἀρετῇ
ἥθεσι καὶ φιλανδρίᾳ,
γυναῖκα Γαῖου Ἀβουρνί-
ου Εὐτυχianoῦ πρυτά-
νεως καὶ στεφανηφόρου,
δοῦσαν καὶ αὐτὴν δια-
νομὰς ταῖς τε τῶν βου-
λευτῶν καὶ πολειτῶν
γυναιξὶ πάσαις, διὰ
τὴν παντὸς τοῦ γέ-
νους αὐτῆς πρὸς τὴν
πατρίδα εὐνοίαν τε
καὶ τειμὴν.

5

10

15

20

h. Nysa

- 1) Honorary inscription; Imperial; PHI7 Caria [Nysa] 53=*SEG 4* (1929): 419; *AD* 7, (1921-2): 85-6 n. 68. Lines 1-8.

ἐπὶ τὸ ἔλαιον καιρῷ καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀνα-
στάσει τοῦ ἀνδριάντος δόντα διανο-

μὴν τῇ φιλοσεβάστω βουλῇ καὶ θέν-
 τα πάλιν ἔλαιον τῇ πόλει ἐν τοῖς γυμνα-
 σίοις τῇ ηκ⁷ τοῦ Ἀρτεμεισιῶνος μηνὸς
 ἐν ᾗ καὶ ὁ ἀνδριάς ἀνεστάθη κατὰ τὰ δό-
 ξαντα καὶ ψηφισθέντα τῇ τε βουλῇ
 καὶ τῷ δήμῳ.

5

7. Lycia

a. Xanthus

- 1) Honorary inscription; after AD 132; PHI7 Asia Minor [Balland, Fouilles de Xanthos VII] 67=Balland (1981): 185-6=SEG 30 (1980): 1535. Lines 1-42.

δωρεὰς ἔδωκεν

Λυκίων τῷ κοινῷ εἰς μὲν

διανομὰς μ(υριάδας) κε,
 εἰς δὲ τὸ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ἐθνικόν

Καισάρειον μ(υριάδας) γ

5

Ξανθίοις δὲ γε[ρουν]σίαι μ(υριάδας) α,

ὑπὲρ Ἑλένης μ(υριάδας) γ, εἰς γυναικεῖ-

ον βαλανεῖον μ(υριάδας) α, εἰς τὰ ἐν τῷ

ἱερῷ ἔργα μ(υριάδας) ιβ (ἥμισυ), εἰς τὸ γυμνάσιον

καὶ τὸ ἐν αὐτῷ βαλανεῖον μ(υριάδας) δ (ἥμισυ)

10

εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν μ(υριάδας) γ, ὅ(λον) μ(υριάδας) κε.

Παταρεῦσιν εἰς μὲν στοᾶν τὴν

ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γεγонуῖαν διπλὴν πρὸς

τῷ λιμένι μ(υριάδας) δ, εἰς δὲ σιτομέτριον

μ(υριάδας) α, εἰς δὲ πανήγυριν μ(υριάδας) β β', ὅ(λον) μ(υριάδας) ζ β'.

15

Μυρεῦσιν εἰς τὸ περίστυλον τοῦ

γυμνασίου καὶ τὴν σκούτλωσιν

αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς κείονας μ(υριάδας) ε ξ

Τλωεῦσιν εἰς μὲν βαλανεῖον μ(υριάδας) γ

εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀγορὰν μ(υριάδας) ε, ὅ(λον) μ(υριάδας) η

20

πᾶσιν δὲ τοῖς ἐν Λυκίαι κατὰ πόλιν

βουλευταῖς ἀνὰ (δραχμὰς) ι

Ξανθίοις δὲ πᾶσι καὶ σίτου ἐκάστωι ἀνὰ μο(δίους) ι

τὰ δὲ τέκνα πάντα τῶν πολειτῶν παιδεύ-

ει τε καὶ τρέφει, ἔτεσιν μὲν ις αὐτὸς ἀνα-

25

δεξάμενος τὴν φροντίδα, μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ

κτησεῖς καὶ ἀργύρια ἀναθεῖς τῇ πόλει σὺν

ἐνιαυτοῦ προενηθήκη, ὥστε ἐκ τῆς προσόδου

εἰς αἰῶνα τὴν χάριν αὐτοῦ φυλάσσεσθαι

δίδωσιν δὲ καὶ κηδευτικὸν τοῖς βιώσασιν,

30

ἐκδίδωσιν δὲ καὶ τὰς πενιχρὰς παρθένους,

⁷ Kourouniotes reads θκ.

τρέφει δὲ καὶ τοὺς πενομένους.
 τὰς στοᾶς τὰς τε ἀπλᾶς καὶ τὰς διπλᾶς τοῦ ἱεροῦ
 τῆς Λητοῦς ἐμπρησθείσας καὶ τὸ Καισάρει-
 ον ἀποκαταστήσας ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων καὶ κα- 35
 θιερώων τὰ ἔργα ἔδωκεν
 τῇ μὲν βουλῇ καὶ γερουσίαι [κ]αὶ τοῖς
 σιτομετρουμένοις ἀν[ανδράσ]ιν ἀνδράσιν α
 τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς πολεῖται[ς κ]αὶ
 μετοίκοις ἀνὰ (δραχμᾶς) ι. 40
 τόκους δὲ ἀνήκεν καὶ ἀρχαῖα
 ἐχαρίσατο εἰς μ(υριάδας) μ.

b. Rhodiapolis

- 1) Honorary decree; AD 124-153; *IGR* III 739, V 102-114=*TAM* II 905 V G14-H12; Kokkinia V G14-V H12.

[αὐτός τε Ὀπραμόας] μετ[ὰ πάσης φιλοτειμίας τοῖς
 προγονικοῖς ἀγαθοῖς] ἀ[μιλλᾶται καὶ ἀνυ- G15
 περ]βλήτους ἐπιδέδεικται φιλοτειμίας ἐν H1
 ταῖς πατρίσιν καὶ ταῖς ἀξιολογωτάταις
 τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων, οὐ διαλείπει δὲ πολ-
 λὰ καὶ ποικίλα εἰς τὸ ἔθνος φιλοτειμού-
 μενος, ἀρχιφυλακῆσάς τε μεγαλοψύχως H5
 καὶ ἐπιδούς τῷ ἔθνει ἀργυρίου δηνάρια
 πεντάκις μύρια καὶ πεντάκις χεῖλια ὥστε
 τὸν κατ' ἔτος τόκον αὐτῶν χωρεῖν εἰς δια-
 νομῇν τοῖς συνιοῦσιν εἰς τὰ κοινὰ τοῦ ἔ-
 θνους ἀρχαιρέσια ἀρχοστάταις καὶ βου- H10
 λευταῖς καὶ κοινοῖς ἄρχουσι καὶ τοῖς λοι-
 ποῖς τοῖς ἐξ ἔθους λαμβάνουσιν

- 2) Honorary decree; AD 124-153; *IGR* III 739, VI 24-34=*TAM* II 905, VI B9-C4; Kokkinia VI B9-C4 (continuation of 7.b.1).

ἡρχιφυλακῆκότα Λυκίων μεγαλοπρεπῶς
 καὶ κεχαρισμένον τῷ ἔθνει (δηνάρια) πεντάκ[ις] B10
 μύρια καὶ πεντάκις χεῖλια, ὥστε τὸν τόκο[ν]
 χωρεῖν εἰς διανομῇν τοῖς ἀρχοστάταις [κ]αὶ
 τοῖς λοιποῖς τοῖς ἐξ ἔθους λαμβάνουσιν,
 τετειμημένον δὲ καὶ πρότερον ὑπὸ [τοῦ]
 κοινοῦ καὶ ταῖς τετάρταις τειμαῖς, ἐπ[η]- B15
 νημένον δὲ ψηφίσμασιν καὶ τειμαῖς καὶ πο- C1
 λ[ι]τεῖαις ἐν ταῖς πρωτευούσαις πόλεσιν],
 με[μαρτυρημένον δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ ἡγεμόνων
 καὶ ὑπὸ ἐπιτρόπων το]ῦ Σεβ[αστοῦ]

- 3) Honorary decree; AD 124-153; *IGR* III 739, VI 70-85=*TAM* II 905 VI E12-F15; Kokkinia VI E12-VI F12 (continuation of 7.b.2).

Λυκίων τὸ κοινὸν καὶ ἡ βουλὴ ἐτείμη-
 σεν Ὀπραμόν Ἀπολλωνίου δις τοῦ Καλλι-
 άδου, Ῥοδιαπολείτην καὶ Κορυθαλλέα, ἄν-
 δρα καλὸν καὶ ἀγαθὸν καὶ εὐγενῆ καὶ μεγαλό-
 φρονα, πορφύρια διὰ βίου καὶ προεδρία καὶ
 ταῖς κατ' ἔτος τε(ι)μ[αῖ]ς, ἡρχιφυλ[ακηκότα Λυκί-]
 ων μεγαλοπρεπῶς [κ]αὶ κεχαρισμένο[ν τῷ ἔ-]
 θναι (δηνάρια) πεντάκις μύρια καὶ πεντάκις χε[ίλια],
 ὥστε τὸν τόκον χωρεῖν εἰς διανομὴν τοῖς
 ἀρχοστάταις καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς τοῖς ἐξ ἔθους
 λαμβάνουσι, τετειμημένον δὲ καὶ πρότε-
 ρον ὑπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ ταῖς α' καὶ β' καὶ γ'
 καὶ δ' τειμαῖς, ἐπηρημένον δὲ ψηφίσμασιν
 καὶ τειμαῖς καὶ πολειτεῖαις ἐν ταῖς πρωτευ-
 ούσαις πόλεσιν καὶ μεμαρτυρημένον καὶ
 ὑπὸ ἡγεμόνων καὶ ἐπιτρόπων τοῦ Σεβασ-
 τοῦ.

E15

F1

F5

F10

- 4) Honorary decree; AD 124-153; *IGR* III 739, IX 2-45; *TAM* II 905, IX A2-C10; Kokkinia IX A2- IX C10 (continuation of 7.b.3).

Λυκίων τὸ κοι-
 νὸν ἐτείμησεν πάλιν καὶ ἐν τῷ
 ἐνεστώτι ἔτει χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ
 καὶ εἰκόσι γρα[π]τα[ῖ]ς ἐπιχρυσ[οις]
 καὶ ἀνδρίασι [καὶ τ]αῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς
 ἀρχιερωσύνης τειμαῖς καὶ ταῖς
 κατὰ πόλιν κα[ὶ] κατ' ἔτος Ὀπραμ[ό]αν
 Ἀπολλωνίου [δις τοῦ Καλλι]άδου,
 Ῥοδιαπολείτην καὶ Κορυθαλλέα καὶ
 Μυρέα καὶ Πα[τα]ρέα, πολειτευόμε[νον]
 δὲ καὶ ἐν ταῖς [κατὰ Λυκίαν πόλεσιν] πό-
 λειταις, τὸν γε[γονότα ἀρχι]ερέ[α τῷ]ν [Σε-]
 βαστῶν, τ[ὸν δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ γ]ρ[αμματέα]
 Λυκίω[ν τοῦ κοι]νοῦ, [ἐν μὲν ταῖς πατρίσιν]
 τε[ιμηθέντα πολ]λ[άκις ἐφ' αἷς παρέσχη-]
 τ[αι καὶ παρέχει εὐεργεσίαις καὶ δαπά-]
 ν[αις διηνεκῶς], τῷ ἔθ[ν]ει δὲ πρότερον ἀρχι-
 φυλ[ακήσα]ν τα λαμπ[ρῶς καὶ φιλο]τεί-
 μ[ως] καὶ τειμηθέντα τάχ[ειον] μὲν ταῖς
 α' καὶ β' καὶ γ' καὶ δ' [τειμ]αῖς καὶ
 πάλιν προεδρία διηνεκει κα[ὶ] πορ[φύρεα] διὰ
 βίου καὶ ταῖς κατ' ἔτος τειμ[α]ῖς, κεχαρισ-

A5

A10

A15

B1

B5

<p>μένον τω ἔθνει (δηνάρια) πεντάκι[ς] μύρια καὶ πεντάκις χεῖλια, ὥστε τὸν τ[ό]κον χω- ρεῖν εἰς διανομὴν τοῖς ἀρχοστάταις καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς τοῖς ἐξ ἔθ[ο]υς λαμ- βάνουσιν, ἀγωνοθέτην Μ[υρ]έων καὶ Παταρέων καὶ πεντάκις τῆς] 'Ροδιαπο- λ[ει]τῶν πόλεος, τελέσαντα τὰς ἀρ- χ[ὰς] ἐν μὲν τῇ 'Ροδιαπολειτῶν πόλει π[άσα]ς μεγαλοφρόνως, ὡς διὰ τοῦ- τ[ο τετειμῆσ]θαι αὐτ[ὸν κ]αὶ ὑπ' [αὐ- τῆς πλε]ονάκις καὶ ταῖς κατ' ἔτος τει- [μαῖς· γυμν]ασιαρχήσαντα Κορυθαλ- λέ[ων τῶν τ]ε νέων καὶ τῆς γερουσίας [τρίς ἐν τ]ῷ αὐτῷ ἔτει δωρεᾶ, ὡς διὰ [ταῦτα τετ]ειμῆσθαι αὐτὸν καὶ ὑπ' αὐ- [τῶν πλεον]άκις καὶ ταῖς κατ' ἔτος τει- [μαῖς, πεποι]ημένον δὲ καὶ ὑποσχέσεις [τε καὶ ἀρ]γυρίων ἐπιδόσεις εἰς τε δι- [ανομὰς καὶ π]αγγυρεῖς ἐν τισὶν τῶν [πρωτευ]ο[υ]σῶν πόλεων</p>	<p>B10</p> <p>B15</p> <p>C1</p> <p>C5</p> <p>C10</p>
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- 5) Honorary decree; AD 146; *IGR* III 739, IX 80-111=*TAM* II 905 XI F1-H4; Kokkinia IX F2-IX H4 (continuation of 7.b.4).

<p>[ἐπεὶ 'Οπραμόας 'Α- πολ]λων[ίου δις τοῦ Καλλιάρχου, 'Ροδι- απο]λεί[της καὶ Κορυθαλλεύς] κ[αὶ Μυρεῦς] καὶ Παταρεύς, πολειτευ]όμενος δ[ὲ καὶ ἐν ταῖς κατὰ Λυκί]αν πόλεσι πάσαις κα[ὶ γ]ένει καὶ ἀξιώματι διαφέρων παρ' ἡμεῖν, βίῳ μὲν ἐπεὶ καὶ μετρίῳ κέχρηται[ι], εἰσφέ- ρεται δὲ πᾶσαν εὐνοίαν καὶ σπουδὴν, προνοούμενος καὶ τῶν πόλεων ἰδίᾳ καὶ τοῦ ἔθνους κοινῇ, ταῖς μὲν πατρίσιν αὐτοῦ πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα παρεσχηκῶς καὶ παρέχων, πλείσταις δὲ καὶ ἄλ[λ]αις ἀ- ξιολόγοις καὶ πρωτευούσαις [πόλεσ]ιν [ἐ]κ τοῦ ἔθνους, αἷς μὲν ἔργω[ν κατασκευ-] ἀ[ς] ποιούμε[νος καὶ] ἀγωνοθ[εσί]ας, αἷς δὲ δωρεᾶ[ς χρ]ημάτων ἐπιθε[δ]οκώ[ς], ἐξ ὧν ἢ κα[τ'] ἔτος [πρ]όσοδος ἐν ταῖς ἀφ[ε]- σίμοις κ[α]ὶ σεβα[σ]μίοις ἡμέραις διανέ- μεται, κοινῇ τε [τ]ῷ ἔθνει ἀίδιον δω- ρεᾶν κεχάριστ[α] ἐς ὁμοίαν διανομήν,</p>	<p>F5</p> <p>F10</p> <p>F15</p> <p>G1</p> <p>G5</p>
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τὴν δὲ ἀρχιερωσύνην τῶν Σεβαστῶν
 εὐσεβῶς καὶ μετ' ἀλοφρόνως ἐκπε-
 πλήρωκεν, ἐφ' ὅσιν πᾶσιν ἀμειβόμενον
 τὸ ἔθνος αὐτὸ [ν δὲ] καιὸν ἡγήται καὶ τῷ
 πάντων ἀεὶ τῷ [ν ὑπ]αρχόντων ἡμεῖν ἀ-
 γαθῶν αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι Τίτῳ Αἰ-
 λίῳ Ἀδριανῷ Ἀντωνεῖν [ω Σε]βαστῷ [Εὐ-]
 [σ]εβ[εῖ] ἀναδοθῆναι τὸ ψήφισμα καὶ [μ]ε[μαρ-]
 [τ]υ[ρῆσθαι] αὐτὸν ἐπὶ σεμνότητι καὶ φι-
 [λοτειμίᾳ] καὶ εὐσεβείᾳ
 [εἰς τοὺς Αὐτοκράτορας]

G10

H1

- 6) Honorary decree; AD 124-153; Kokkinia XIV C10- XIV D1 (continuation of 7.b.5).

[----- δωρεὰν ποιού-]
 [μενος] εἰς [διανομήν τοῖς]
 [ἀρχος] τάτα [ις καὶ βου-]
 [λευταῖς] καὶ [κοινῇς ἄρ-]
 [χουσι-----]

C10

D1

- 7) Honorary inscription; Imperial; PHI7 Asia Minor [Lykia: TAM II.1-3] 910=TAM II (3) 910; IGR III 733; Laum (1964): 125 n. 143a. Lines 1-25.

Ἀσκληπιῶν καὶ Ὑγίαι.
 Ῥοδιαπολεϊτῶν ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος
 καὶ ἡ γερουσία ἐτείμησαν ταῖς διηνε-
 κέσιν κατ' ἔτος τειμαῖς Ἡράκλειτον
 Ἡρακλείτου Ὀρείου τὸν πολεῖτην καὶ
 Ῥόδιον, φιλόπατριν, ἱερέα Ἀσκληπιοῦ
 καὶ Ὑγίας ἱκόνι ἐπιχρύσῳ καὶ τῷ τῆς
 παιδείας ἀνδριάντι ὃν ἐτείμησαν ὁμοί-
 ως Ἀλεξανδρεῖς Ῥόδιοι Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ ἡ
 ἱερωτάτη Ἀρεοπαγειτῶν βουλὴ καὶ οἱ
 Ἀθήνησιν Ἐπικούρειοι φιλόσοφοι καὶ ἡ
 ἱερὰ θυμελικὴ σύνοδος, πρῶτον ἀπ' αἰ-
 ῶνος ἱατρὸν καὶ συγγραφέα καὶ ποιη-
 τὴν ἔργων ἱατρικῆς καὶ φιλοσοφίας,
 ὃν ἀνέγραψαν ἱατρικῶν ποιημάτων
 Ὅμηρον εἶναι, ἀλιτουργησίᾳ τιμηθέντα,
 ἱατρεύσαντα προῖκα, ναὸν κατασκευ-
 ᾶσαντα καὶ ἀγάλματα ἀναθέντα Ἀσκλη-
 πιοῦ καὶ Ὑγίας καὶ τὰ συγγράμματα αὐ-
 τοῦ καὶ ποιήματα τῇ πατρίδι Ἀλεξαν-
 δρεῦσι Ῥόδιοις Ἀθηναίοις, χαρισά-

5

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μενον τῇ πατρίδι εἰς διανομὰς καὶ
ἀγῶνας Ἀσκληπίων καὶ ἀργυρίου
(δηναρίων) μύρια καὶ πεντάκις χίλια· ὃν ἐτεί-
μησεν ἡ πατρίς καὶ προεδρία.

25

c. Phaselis

- 1) Honorary inscription; AD 146; *TAM* II (3) 1203; *CIG* III (1) 4324; *SEG* 31 (1981): 1301. Lines 1-11.

[- - - - ἐτ]εῖ[μη]σεν
Ὀπραμόαν Ἀπολλωνίου
δῖς τοῦ Καλλιάρχου Ῥοδι[α]-
πολείτην καὶ Μυρέα κα[ι]
Φασηλείτην, πολε[ι]τ[ε]υό[ν]-
μενον καὶ ἐν παῖ[ς] κατὰ
Λυκίαν πόλεσι π[ά]σαις,
χαρισ[τ]άμενον καὶ τ[ῇ] ἡμε-
τέρῃ π[ό]λει εἰς διαν[ο]μὰς
καὶ θεωρίας (δηναρίον) μ[ύ]ρια.....
- -]α πεντακ[ό]σια

5

10

- 2) Honorary inscription; late Imperial; PHI7 Asia Minor [Lykia: *TAM* II.1-3] 1200=*TAM* II (3) 1200; *CIG* III (2) 4332; *IGR* III 764; Laum (1964): 124 n. 140. Lines 1-26.

Φασηλειτῶν ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος
[Π]τολεμαῖον δῖς τοῦ Κολαλή[μιος]
[Φ]αση(λε)ίτην, ἄνδρα καλὸν
[καὶ] ἀγαθὸν γενόμενον καὶ [τοῦ]
[πρ]ώτου τάγματος τῆς πό[λ]εο[ς],
εἴκοσαπρωτεύσαντα κ[αὶ] - - - -
μέχρι τοῦ τῆς ζωῆς χρόνου, ἱερα]-
τεύσαντα τῆς προκαθηγέ[ι]-
δος τῆς πόλεος θεᾶς Ἀθηνᾶς
Πολιάδος καὶ τῶν θεῶν Σεβασ-
τῶν, πρυτανεύσαντα φιλοτεί-
μως, ὑποφυλάξαντα τοῦ Λυκίων
ἔθνους, ὡς καθ' ἐκάστην ἀρχὴν
τετειμῆσθαι αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῆς
πόλεος πολλὰ καὶ μεγά-
λα παρεσχημένον τῇ πατρίδι
ἐν τῇ τῆς ζωῆς αὐτοῦ χρόνῳ,
καὶ μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν δὲ
αἰωνίους δωρεὰς καταλελοι-
πότε τῇ πατρίδι εἰς τε ἀναθήματ[α]
καὶ θεωρίας καὶ διανομὰς ἀρετῆς

5

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ἔνεκεν τῆς εἰς αὐτόν -- τὴν δὲ τοῦ
ἀνδριάντος ἀνάστασιν ἐποιήσατο
Μέννησσα ἢ καὶ Τερτία Ἐνβρόμου δις
Φασηλεῖτις, ἢ θεία καὶ κληρονόμος αὐτοῦ, καθ[ὼ]ς
[ὁ] Πτολεμαῖος διετάξατο. 25

d. Tlos

- 1) Honorary inscription; AD 136; PHI7 Asia Minor [TAM II, 1-3] 578=TAM II
(2) 578; IGR III 679; Laum (1964): 124 n. 139. Lines 1-30.

Τλωέων τῆς μητροπόλ[εως]
τοῦ Λυκίων ἔθνους ἢ βου-
λῇ καὶ ὁ δῆμος καὶ ἡ γερουσ[ία]
Ἵπραμόαν Ἀπολλωνίου[ου]
δις τοῦ Καλλιάρχου Τλ[ωέα] 5
καὶ Ῥοδιαπολείτην, πολ[ει]-
τευόμενον δὲ καὶ ἐν τα[ῖς]
κατὰ Λυκίαν πόλεσι [πά]-
σαις, τὸν ἀρχιερέα τ[ῶν]
Σεβαστῶν καὶ γραμμα[τέα] 10
Λυκίων τοῦ κοινοῦ, [δι' αὐ] πα-
ρέσχεν καὶ τῇ ἡμετέρ[ῃ πό]-
λει, χαρισάμενον καὶ [ἀργυ]-
ρίου θηναρίου μυριάδα[ς ἑξ]
εἰς τὴν τοῦ θεάτρου κα[τα]- 15
σκευὴν καὶ ἐξέδρας τ[ῆς]
ἐν τῷ βαλανείῳ, ἄνδρα μ[εγα]-
λόφρονα καὶ φιλότειμον [καὶ]
φιλάγαθον καὶ πάση ἀρ[ετῇ]
κεκοσμημένον, ἐπὶ τῇ <κ>[αί] 20
εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν πό[λιν]
ὑπερβαλλούσῃ μεγα[λο]-
φροσύνη·
δωρησάμενον καὶ κατὰ δια[θή]-
κην ἀγρὸν ἐν τῇ Κορυθαλλι- 25
κῇ ἐν τόπῳ Χαράδραις καὶ Παιδα-
γωγῷ φέροντα ἐτήσια α[σ]ν εἰς
πανήγυριν πενταετηρικὴν καὶ διαν[ο]-
μὴν ἀνδράσιν σειτομετρούμενοις
ἀνὰ α. 30

e. Kadyanda

- 1) Honorary inscription; late Imperial; PHI7 Asia Minor [TAM II, 1-3] 671=TAM II (3) 671. Lines 1-19.

[πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα πεφιλοτεῖ]-
μημένον ἐν τῇ [πατρίδι ἰδίᾳ καὶ]
κατὰ κοινὸν τῷ Λ[υκίων ἔθνει]
καὶ ἐπιδόσεσιν [π]ολ[λαῖς καὶ]
οὐ μόνον εἰκοσαπρ[ωτεύσαντα], 5
ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐγ δευτέρου καὶ [τρίτου?]
τετελεκότα παραπράσεις [σείτου]
καὶ ἐλαίου, παρ' ἑκάστα ποιού[ντα?]
καὶ θέσεις ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ, [καὶ]
ἐν τῷ ἄλλῳ δὲ βίῳ ἑαυτὸν πα[ρασ]- 10
χόντα πάσῃ τῇ πόλει χρήσιμ[ον ἐν]
πατρὸς τάξει, ὡς διὰ ταῦτα π[άν]-
τα ὑπερβ[α]λεῖν αὐτὸν πάσ[ῃ τῇ]
ἀρετῇ καὶ τετειμησθαι ἐ[πὶ]
ταῖς εὐεργεσίαις ἀνδριάν- 15
τι εἰκονικῶ, ὃν καὶ κατέστησ[εν]
ἡ πόλις ἐξ ἰδίων χρημάτων.
δεδωρημένον τῇ πόλ[ε]ι ἀργ[υρίου]
(θηνάριων) μύ[ρια]ς, (θηνάρια), αἱ εἰς τε διανομὰς καὶ πανήγυριν.

f. Oenoanda

- 1) Honorary inscription; AD 240-250; BCH 24 (1900): 338 no. 1=SEG 44 (1994): 1187. Lines 1-32.

[Τ]ερμησσέων τῶν πρ[ὸς]
Οἰνοάνδοις ἡ βουλὴ καὶ [ὁ]
δῆμος καὶ ἡ γερουσία ἔτε[ί]-
μησεν εἰκόνι χαλκῇ τὴν
ἀξιολογωτάτην Μαρκί- 5
αν Αῶρηλίαν Πολύκλειαν
Μολητος Μουσώλου Μάλητος,
γυναῖκα τοῦ ἀξιολογωτάτου
Μάρκου Αῶρηλίου Ἀρτέμωνος
β' Ἀπολλωνίου, μεγαλοφροσύ- 10
νη διαπρέπουσαν, δωρησαμέ-
νην καὶ συστησαμένην μετὰ τοῦ
ἀνδρὸς εἰς τὸν πάντα χρόνον
καὶ αἰῶνα ἐξ οἰκείας φιλο-
τειμίας ἀγῶνας θυμελικὸν 15
καὶ τῆς ἀνέκαθεν συγγενί-
δος ὑπαρχούσης Τερμησσέων
τῆς Πανφυλίας, καὶ τῆς Καισα-

ρέων Κιβυρατῶν τῆς Ἀσίας,
τῶν λαμπροτάτων πόλεων, 20
ἀνδριάντων καὶ θεμάτων
ἄθλα θεμένην, ὀρίσασαν ἐν
τῷ χρόνῳ τῆς πανηγύρεως
διανομῆς τοῖς μὲν πεντακο-
σίοις ἀνὰ (δηνάρια) δέκα, τοῖς δὲ δημό- 25
ταις ἀνὰ (δηνάρια) δύο, καὶ σεβαστο-
φόροις διενεκείσι καὶ ἰδίᾳ τοῖς
ἐξῆς αἰρουμένοις πρὸς ἡμέρας
τρεῖς σεβαστοφόροις καὶ μαστει-
γοφόροις ἐκάστῳ ἡμερήσιον 30
(δηνάριον) ἐν, εὐνοίας χάριν ἀμει-
ψαμένη

g. Balbura

- 1) Honorary decree; Antonine; *IGR* III 476=SEG 28 (1978) 1217; *AncSoc* 9 (1979): 170-1 n. 2. Lines 1-20.

καὶ ΛΔ[-----]ΙΙΑΚΑ[---]
ἀρεος καὶ ? [-----] παντὶ [---]
ΛΝΕΘΙΚΕ μαρτυρηθέντα δὲ καὶ ὑπ[ὸ
ἡ]γεμόνων πλεονάκις ἐπὶ ταῖς
εἰς τὴν πατρίδα εὐποίαις 5
[πρ]υταγεύσαντα ἐν δυσθέτῳ και-
ρῷ φ[ι]λοτέιμῳ καὶ μαρτυρηθέντα,
[ἱερ]ασάμενον τῶν θεῶν Σεβαστῶν
μετὰ καὶ γυναικὸς Ἀμμίας τῆς κα[ὶ]
Τερτίας Ἑρμαίου ἐπιφαν[ώ]ς καὶ 10
[ε]ύσεβῶς ὡς μ[ε] μαρτυρῆσθαι καὶ τετει-
μῆσθαι αὐτὸν τα[ύτ]ις [τει-]
μαῖς, ἀνα[στ]ήσαντα καὶ εἰκόνα ὑπο-
χάλκεον τοῦ κυρίου Καίσαρος
Ἀγτωγείνου, ἐστιάσαντα δὲ καὶ 15
τὴν πόλιν β' ν καὶ δόντα διανομὴν
πᾶσι ἀνὰ (δηνάρια) τρία ἥμισυ,
μαρτυρηθέντα δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς κρα-
τίστῃς Οἰνοανδέων πόλεως διὰ
τε ψηφίσματος καὶ ἐπιστολῶν 20

h. Bubon

- 1) Honorary inscription; Imperial; *PHI7* Asia Minor [Schindler, *Inscr. Von Boubon*] 6. Lines 1-23.

[Β]ουβωνέ[ων ἡ] βο[υλή] καὶ ὁ δή[-

μο[ς ..]έτεί[μη]σεν IO[.....]	
vestigia incerta	
Μο[λ]εσεος Β[ου]βωνέα ν[.....]	
κο[ν], ἄνδρα σε[μν]ὸν καὶ ἀγα[θὸν καὶ με]-	5
γαλόφρονα, ἥθει καὶ δόξῃ διε[νέγκαντα]	
Ι[....]ιπόντα τῇ πατρίδι εἰς [.....]	
ΛΒείαν γέν[ο]υς ὑπάρξαν[...]	
ἀπὸ προγόνων πάσας ἀρχ[άς]	
φιλοτείμως τελεσάντων, συγγε-	10
νῇ λυκιαρχῶ[ν] καὶ ἐθνικῶν [ἀρ]-	
χ[ό]ντων, διαθέμενον δ[ὲ]	
κα[ὶ κα]ταλιπόντα ἐξ ἡμίσιους	
[μ]έ[ρ]ους κληρονόμον τὴν	
πόλιν, ὡς ἀπὸ τῆς προσόδου	15
ἔργοις κοσμηθῆναι, καὶ ἕξω-	
θεν εἰς τε διανομὰς καὶ ἐλε-	
οθεσίαν καὶ ἀγῶνας, ἀναστα-	
θῆναι δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ οὐς διετά-	
ξατο γενέσθαι ἀνδριάντας,	20
τειμᾶσθαι δὲ αὐτὸν καθ' ἔτος	
καὶ ταῖς κατὰ τὴν εἰσγραφὴν τει-	
μαῖς.	

8. Phrygia

a. Aizani

- 1) Honorary inscription; before AD 156/7; *SEG* 25 (1985): 1365=*MDAI* 35 (1985): 217-26. Lines 1-27.
M. Οὐλ. Ἀππουληϊανὸν Φλαβια-
νὸν υἱὸν Μ. Οὐλ. Ἀππουληίου Φλα-
βιανοῦ ἀρχιερέως Ἀσίας ναῶν
τῶν ἐν Περγάμῳ ἐτείμησεν ἢ βου-
λὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ὁ Αἰζανι τῶν τὸν
ἑαυτῶν εὐεργέτην εὐσεβῇ
καὶ φιλόπολιν ἀγωνοθετήσαντα
τῶν πρῶτον διατεθέντων Δείων
καὶ εἰρηναρχήσαντα δις καὶ βουλαρ-
χήσαντα καὶ στρατηγήσαντα ἐπι-
φανῶς καὶ ἱερατεύσαντα τοῦ Διὸς φι-
λοτίμως καὶ ἐν σιτοδείᾳ ἐρευωνί-
σαντα τὴν τιμὴν εὐθηνίαν τε ἄφθο-
νον παρασχόντα τῇ τε Ἀσίᾳ καὶ τῇ πόλει
ἀγοραῖαν ἄγοντος Κορνηλίου Λατινιανοῦ καὶ
ἱερέα τοῦ Διὸς διὰ βίου καὶ πρύτανιν
καὶ ἀγωνοθέτην τῶν μεγάλων πεν-

ταετηρικῶν ἀγώνων διανομαῖς καὶ
 φιλοδοξίαις ἀσύνκριτον παρασχόν-
 τα ἑαυτὸν καὶ τὰς ἄλλας πάσας ἀρχὰς 20
 καὶ πρεσβείας ἀνύσαντα μετὰ προ-
 θυμίας καὶ αὐθαιρέτου σπουδῆς,
 ἀναστήσαντος τὸν ἀνδριάντα
 Μ. Οὐλπίου Ἀππουληίου Εὐρυκλέ-
 ους τοῦ υἱοῦ ἀγωνοθέτου 25
 τῶν Δείων καὶ ἱερέως Διονύσου
 διὰ βίου

9. Bithynia and Pontus

a. Sebastopolis Heracleipolis

- 1) Honorary inscription; Imperial; *SEG* 41 (1991): 1113; Mitford (1991): 206, 14. Lines 1-8.

Γ. Ἰούλιον Βάσσον
 ἀπὸ στρατιῶν φιλό-
 πατρὶν γενόμενον,
 ὥς καὶ διανομὰς κα-
 ταλιπεῖν τῇ πατρ[ί]- 5
 δει καθ' ἃ ἔδοξεν
 τῇ Βουλῇ καὶ δῆμῳ ἀνδριάντα αὐ-
 τοῦ ἀνασταθεῖν

10. Galatia

a. Ancyra

- 1) Honorary inscription; reign of Hadrian; PHI 7 Asia Minor [Bosch, Quellen Ankara] 115, 100=Bosch (1967): 115-6 n. 100. Lines 1-17.

Τιβ. Κλα(ύδιον) Βόκχον, Τιβ.
 Κλα(υδίου) Ἀλεξάνδρου γαλα-
 τάρχου υἱόν, ἕκγονον
 τετράρχων, χιλιαρχή-
 σαντα ἐν λεγιῶνι γ Κυ- 5
 ρηναικῇ ἀρχιερησά-
 μενον τῷ κοινῷ τῆς
 Γαλατείας, ἀλείψαντα
 μεγαλοπρεπῶς, πολλὰς
 διανομὰς ἐπιδόντα τῇ πα- 10
 τρίδι, ἄρξαντα ἐπισήμως,
 σεβαστοφάντην, εἰρηνάρ-
 χην, vac. παι-
 δεῖα κ[αὶ λόγῳ καὶ] μετρίό-
 τητι δι[απρέψ]- 15
 αντα, ἐτίμησε

φυλή η.

- 2) Honorary inscription; AD 117-24; PHI7 Asia Minor [Bosch, Quellen Ankara] 141, 117=IGR III 208; Bosch (1967): 141, n. 117. Lines 1-15.

τὴν ἐκ βασιλέων	
Λατεινίαν Κλεοπά-	
τραν, θυγατέρα Λατει-	
νίου Ἀλεξάνδρου, β	
ἀρχιερέ[ως] σεβαστοφάν-	5
του ἀλείψαντος ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων	
λαμπρότατα [τῶ]ν πρὸ αὐτοῦ	
δι' ὅλου τοῦ ἔτους, ἐπὶ <τ>ῇ τοῦ μεγίστου	
Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Τραιανοῦ	
Ἀδριανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ παρόδῳ καὶ τῶν	10
ἱερῶν αὐτοῦ στρατευμάτων δόντος	
διανομᾶς τῇ πόλει ἄρξαντος ὁμοῦ	
καὶ εἰρηναρχήσαντος ἀγνώως καὶ ἐπι-	
στήμως, παιδείᾳ καὶ λόγῳ κοσμοῦν-	
τος τὴν μητρόπολιν	15

- 3) Honorary inscription; reign of Caracalla; PHI7 Asia Minor [Bosch, Quellen Ankara] 317,255=Bosch (1967): 317 n. 255. Lines 1-16.

[Τι. Ἰούλιον Ἰοῦστον]	
Ἰουνι[ανόν, γ ἀρχιε-	
ρέ]α, κ<τ>ί<στην τ>[ῇ]<ς> μητρο-	
πόλεως, πορφύρα καὶ στε-	
φάνῳ διὰ βίου τετειμημέ-	5
νον, φιλόπατριν, πάσαις	
διευεγκόντα φιλοτειμί-	
αις, καὶ ἔν τε διανομαῖς τὴν	
πατρίδα πλουτίσαντα ἔρ-	
γοις τε καὶ περικαλλεστά-	10
τοις κοσμήσαντα, καὶ μόνον	
τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ δι' ὅλης ἐλε-	
οθετήσαντα τῆς ἡμέρας, ἐ-	
πιμεληθέντα δὲ καὶ τῆς κατα-	
σκευῆς τοῦ βαλανείου, φυλή	15
Μαρουραγενὴν ἐτείμησεν.	

- 4) Honorary inscription; reign of Caracalla; PHI7 Asia Minor [Bosch, Quellen Ankara] 317,255=Bosch (1967): 318 n. 256. Lines 1-13.

[Τι. Ἰούλιον Ἰοῦστον Ἰουνι-	
ανόν, γ ἀρχιερέα κτίστην	
τῆς μητροπόλεως, πορφύρα	

κὲ στεφάνῳ διὰ βίου τε-
τειμημένον, φιλόπατριν, 5
π]άσαις [διενεγκόντα φιλο-
τ]ειμίαις, καὶ [ἐν τε διανομαῖς]
〈τ〉ὴν πατρίδα π[λουτίσαντα ἔρ]-
〈γ〉οις τε 〈π〉ερικαλ[λεστάτοις κοσ]-
μήσαντα, κὲ [μόνον τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ δι' ὅ]- 10
λης ἐλαιοθετήσαντα [τῆς ἡμέρας, ἐπι]-
μεληθέντα δὲ κὲ τῆς κα[τασκευῆς τοῦ]
βαλανείου, φυλὴ Σεβασ[τῇ ἐτίμησεν].

- 5) Honorary inscription; reign of Caracalla; PHI7 Asia Minor [Bosch, Quellen Ankara] 317,255=Bosch (1967): 318 n. 257. Lines 1-15.

Τι. 'Ιούλιον 'Ιουῆστον 'Ιουνι-
ανόν, γ ἀρχιερέα, κτίστην
τῆς μητροπόλεως, πορφύρα
κὲ στεφάνῳ διὰ βίου τετειμημένον,
φιλόπατριν, πάσ[α]ι[ς] 5
διενεγκόντα φιλοτιμί-
αις κὲ ἐν τε διανομαῖς πλου-
τίσαντα τὴν πατρίδα ἔργοις
τε περικαλλεστάτοις κοσμή-
σαντα, κὲ μόνον τῶν πρὸ αὐ- 10
τοῦ δι' ὅλης ἐλαιοθετήσαν-
τα τῆς ἡμέρας, ἐπιμεληθέν-
τα δὲ κὲ τῆς κατασκευῆς
τοῦ βαλανείου, φυλὴ Δι-
ὸς Ταηνοῦ ἐτίμησεν. 15

- 6) Honorary inscription; reign of Caracalla; PHI7 Asia Minor [Bosch, Quellen Ankara] 317,255=Bosch (1967): 319 n. 258. Lines 1-15.

Τι. 'Ιούλιον 'Ιουῆστον 'Ιουνι-
ανόν, γ ἀρχιερέα, κτίστην τῆς
μητροπόλεως, πορφύραι κὲ
στεφάνῳ διὰ βίου τετει-
μημένον, φιλόπατριν, πά- 5
σαις διενεγκόντα φιλοτει-
μίαις, κὲ ἐν τε διανομαῖς πλου-
τίσαντα τὴν πατρίδα ἔργοις
τε περικαλλεστάτοις κο-
σμήσαντα, κὲ μόνον τῶν 10
πρὸ αὐτοῦ δι' ὅλης ἐλαιο-
θετήσαντα τῆς ἡ[μέρας, ἐπιμε]-

ληθέντα δὲ κὲ τῆς κατασκε[υῆς]
τοῦ βαλανείου, φυλὴ Νέρουα
ἐτίμησεν.

15

- 7) Honorary inscription; reign of Caracalla; PHI 7 Asia Minor [general]: Anat.St. 27 (1977) 63-103, Ankyra, 72.6. Lines 1-16.

Τι. Ἰούλιον Ἰούστον Ἰουνια-
νόν, γ ἀρχιερέα, κτίστην
τῆς μητροπόλεως, πορφύραι
κὲ στεφάνωι διὰ βίου τετι-
μημένον, φιλόπατριν, πάσαις
διενεγκόντα φιλοτιμί-
αις κὲ ἔν τε διανομαῖς πλου-
τίσαντα τὴν πατρίδα ἔργοις
τε περικαλλεστάτοις κο-
σμήσαντα, κὲ μόνον τῶν
πρὸ αὐτοῦ δι' ὅλης ἐλαιοθε-
τήσαντα τῆς ἡμέρας, ἐπι-
μεληθέντα δὲ κὲ τῆς κατα-
σκευῆς τοῦ βαλανείου,
φυλὴ Διὸς Τραπεζῶν ἐτίμη-
σεν.

5

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11. Pamphylia

a. Selge

- 1) Honorary inscription; Hadrianic; *IKSelge* 20a=*IGR* III 382; Robert (1971): 143 no. 99. Lines 1-13.

ἀρχιερασάμενον τοῦ οἴκου τῶν
Σεβαστῶν ἐπιφανῶς ἐπὶ τε δια-
νομαῖς καὶ θεωρίαις καὶ μονομα-
χίαις καὶ κυνηγεσίοις καὶ ἀγωνο-
θέτην διὰ βίου καὶ γένους ἀγώνων
πολεμικῶν τε καὶ πενταετηρικοῦ,
πρόεδρον, φιλόπατριν, ἀρχιερο-
θύτην, ἱερέα Τύχης τῆς πόλεως
διὰ βίου, ἄνδρα ἐν πάσαις φιλοτει-
μίαις καὶ λειτουργίαις χρήσιμον
τῇ πόλει, Πό. Πλάγκιον Μαγ-
νια[νὸν Αἰλιανὸν Ἄρριον Περι]-
[κλέα κτλ.]

5

10

APPENDIX 2: INSCRIPTIONS OMITTED FROM THE CATALOGUE

1. Aegean Islands

a. Doric Sporades: Asupalaëa

- 1) Honorary; imperial; PHI7 Aegean Islands General [XII, 3 %9 Suppl. Doric Sporades] 219=IG XII (3) 219

ἀ γερουσία ἐτε[ίμησε τὸν δεῖνα -]-
νοκράτους [ἐπαίνῳ εἰκόνι χαλ]-
κέαι καὶ ἀγ[άλματι ἡρωικῶ(?) καὶ]
χρυσείοις στ[εφάνοις τοῖς μεγί]-
στοις ἐκ τοῦ νόμου -- τὸν ἀποκατα]-
στασάμεν[ον τὸ συμπεσόν(?) συν]-
έδριον τῆς [γερουσίας ποιησάμε]-
νόν τε καὶ σ[είτου διανομᾶς]
οὐκ ὀλίγας [ἐκάστῳ πολείτῃ(?)]
ἀρετᾶς ἔνε[κα καὶ εὐνοίας --]
ἂν ἔχων δ[ιατελεῖ εἰς αὐτάν]

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2. Ionia

a. Ephesus

- 1) Honorary; reign of Antoninus Pius; PHI7 Ionia [Ephesos] 1448.1-24=IEph. 4342.

[ὁ δῆμος]
[τῆς πρώτ[ης] κα[ὶ]
[μ]εγίστης [μ]ητ[ρ]ο[ς]-
[π]όλεως τῆς Ἀ[σίας]
καὶ δ[ις νεω]κ[ό]-
[ρο]υ τῶ[ν Σεβα]στῶ[ν]
[Ἐφ]εσίων [πόλ]εω[ς]
ἐτείμ[ησεν]
[Τ(ίτου) Φ]λά(ουιον) Ἰου[λιαν]ὸν
π[ρ]ύτανι[ν, υἱὸ]ν Φλα(ουίου)
[Ἰ]ουλιανοῦ [ἀσι]άρχ[ου],
[ἔ]κγονον Τ(ίτου) [Φ]λα(ουίου) Πυ[θ]ίων[ος]
ἀσιάρχου, [ἐπιστάτην ἔργων]
μεγάλω[ν, τὸν φιλοτ]ειμίας [καὶ]
[ἀ]ναλώμ[ασι ἀργυρί]ου καὶ δ[ιανο]-
[μαῖς] καὶ [δαπάναις κ]οσμοῦν[τα]
[γραμμ]ατεύ[οντα τὴν πα]τρίδα
[-]τα[-]α

5

10

15

[-]υσ[-]
 [-]
 [-]βι[-]τω[-]
 [-]μ[-]τεμ[-]
 [-]οτο[-]
 [-]το[-]ου[-]
 [-]ου [Ἰο]υλια[νοῦ] Ὑγεῖ[νου] 20
 25

- 2) Honorary; AD 140; PHI7 Ionia [Ephesos] 1109.1-23=IEph. 618=Oliver, *Sacred Gerousia* 9.

[Μ(ἄρκον) Οὐλπιον]
 Ἱεροκλέους
 Ἀριστοκράτην
 Κεραμικήτην, ἀρχιερέα Ἀσ[ί]-
 ας ναῶν τῶν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ καὶ [ἀγω]- 5
 νοθέτην τῶν μεγάλων [Ἀδρια]-
 νείων τῆς δευτέρας πε[νταε]-
 τηρίδος, δόντα τὰς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀρ-
 χιερ(ω)σύνης μυριάδας [- εἰς]
 τὴν κατασκευὴν τ[-] 10
 [κ]αὶ ἄλλας μυριάδας [- εἰς τὸ]
 [...]εριον, δοθέντα [δὲ καὶ λογισ]-
 [τῇ]ν ὑπὸ θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ [τῇ φι]-
 [λ]οσεβάστῳ γερουσίᾳ, φ[-]
 .θέντα δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ μεγ[ίστου] 15
 Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος [Τίτου]
 Αἰλίου Ἀδριανοῦ Ἀντωνεῖ[νου]
 Σεβαστοῦ Εὐσ[εβ]οῦς ε[-]
 ὃς ἅμα καὶ δεκάκις δ[ια]νομήν ἐποίησε τῇ]
 γερουσίᾳ λογιστ[εῖας ἕνεκεν -] 20
 σι μ[υριάδας] ἰ', ἡ φιλοσέβ[αστος] [γερουσία]
 τῆς [πρώτης καὶ μεγίστης Ἐφε]-
 [σίων πόλεως -]

- 3) Fragmentary; Imperial; PHI7 Ionia [Ephesos] 1669.1-8=IEph. 1968a.

[-]ν[-]
 [-]ων ἰ[-]
 [-] δις ἑπ[αρχον -]
 [τελέσ]αντα παρ['] ἑαυτοῦ]
 [φιλοδ]οξίων [-] 5
 [-] καὶ δι[ανομῶν]
 [πολυτ]ελέστα[τα -]
 [-]ς

b. Didyma

- 1) Honorary; reign of Hadrian; PHI7 Ionia [Didyma] 475.1-20=*RPh* 23 (1899): 315-7 no. 32=*IDid* 329.

[ὕδροφόρος] Ἄ[ρ]τέμιδος[ς]
 [Πυθίης Ἰ]ουλίᾱ .[.]ἰᾱ εὖσ[ε]-
 [βῆς, πατρ]ὸς Ἰου[λ]ίου Καλλ[ι]-
 [.c6. μ]ητρὸς Ἰουλίας,
 [ἐ]πιτετελεκυῖα τὰ 5
 [μυστήρ]ια τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ
 [διανομὰ]ς πεποιημέ-
 [νη τῇ β]ουλῇ καὶ τισι
 [τῶν πο]λεῖτῶ[ν], ὁμοίως κ[αὶ]
 [τοῖς κατο]ικοῦσι τὸ ἱερὸν ἐ- 10
 [στιάσεις?] τε καὶ ἐλαιοθε-
 [σίας καὶ] θε(ω)ρίας ἐπὶ τε τοῦ-
 [τοις τε]τιμημένην ὑπὸ
 [τε τῆς] βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δ[ι]ή-
 [μου. πρ(ο)φητεύοντος] Μ(άρκου) Ὀυλπίου Σωτ[έου] 15
 [φιλο]δόξου, ταμιεύον-
 [τος Κ]ορίνθου τοῦ Ἀπατου-
 [ρί]ου, ἐπὶ στε(φανη)φόρου Μ(άρκου) Ἀν-
 [τ]ωνίου Ἀδριανοῦ Καπί-
 τανος 20

c. Priene

- 1) Honorary; 120 BC; PHI7 Ionia [Priene] 51 XII.213-20=*IPriene* 109.213-220; *BCH* 31 (1907): 386-7; *WS* 29 (1907): 108 no. 3; *RPh* 1 (1927): 108 no. 3; *SEG* 4 (1927) 492.

δὲ βουλόμενος καὶ [ἀποδείξαι ἣν ἔχει] προαίρεσιν, ἐκ[άστ]ῳ
 τῶν πολιτῶν ἐμέτρησεν [διανομὴν] πυρῶν τε(τα)ρτεῖς δύο, ἔν τε 215
 τῇ τῶν Παν[αθηναίων]ν [ἐορτῇ τῇ] λαμπροτάτῃ προεπόμεν-
 σεν οὐ μόνον ἱεροπρεπῶς, ἀ[λλὰ καὶ β]οῖ ἄξια τῆς θεοῦ, ἵνα διὰ πάν-
 των ἐκπεπληρωμένα ὑπάρχ[ηι τὰ τ]ε τῆς εὐσεβείας καὶ φιλαγα-
 θίας δίκαια· καλλιεργήσας δὲ τ[ὰ] πὸ τῆς θυσίας διέδωκεν τῇ τε
 βουλῇ καὶ ταῖς συναρχαῖς πάσαι[ς]· πεποιήται δὲ καὶ διὰ παντὸς
 τῆμ πρέπουσαν εὐσχημοσύνην κα(τ)αξίαν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῆς 220

- 2) Honorary; 129-100 BC; PHI7 Ionia [Priene] 66III.45, 90-100=*IPriene* 108.89-100.

σκευάζων· ἐπὶ δὲ στεφά[ν]ηφόρου Κέκροπος οὐ μόνον
 διαφόρων γενομένης τῇ [π]όλει χρείας, ἀ[λλὰ] καὶ παραστά- 90
 σεως ἐνεχύρων, διαλαβ[ὼν κ]οινὴν εἶναι τῇ[ν] οὐσίαν πάν-
 των τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ τ[ῶν] καθηκουσῶν δι]ανομῶ[ν? .]ω[.] ο[.].?
 [- τὸν ἀδελφὸν -]

[οὐδενὸς ὕστ]ε[ρ]οῦντα καὶ τοῦτον ἐν ταῖς εἰς τὰ κοινὰ
 [χρεΐαις,] εἰσήμεγε διαφόρου μὲν δραχμᾶς Ἀλε[ξ]α[ν]δρε[ίας] 95
 [χιλίας, εἰς] δὲ χρήσιν ἐνεχύρων ἀργυρώματα δραχμῶν [Ἀλεξαν]-
 [δρεί]ων τετρακισχιλίωρ παρεμέτρησεν δὲ τῇ πόλει [με]-
 [τὰ τὰ]δελοφου πυρῶν μεδίμνους πεντακοσίους πεντήκο[ντα]
 [τ]ιμῆς ἧς οἱ πολῖται προείλαντο, βουλόμενος διὰ παντός [ἐν]
 εὐδαιμονίαι καθεστάναι τοὺς πολίτας, καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτο[ῦ] 100

3. Caria

a. Olymos

1. Honorary; first century?; PHI7 Caria [Olymos] 13.1-28=IMylasa 869=BCH 46
 (1922): 417-20 no. 23=SEG 2 (1925) no. 564.

[–]BMA[–]

[–] π[αρα]γινόμενος οὐθένα καιρὸν πα[ρα]-
 [λείπων – κατὰ] τὴν αὐτοῦ δύναμιν, ἐναποδεικνύμε[νος]
 [τὴν πρὸς τὸ πλή]θος εὐνοίαν· ἵνα οὖν καὶ ὁ δῆμ[ος]
 [ὁ Ὀλυμέων φαίνεται] μ[ηθὲν] λειπόμενος ἐν χάριτος ἀποδόσει, 5
 [ἀλλὰ, μεμνημένος τῶν καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν φαίνεται]
 [τὴν καταξίαν αὐτοῖς χάριτα καὶ τιμὴν ἀ]πονέμων· ἀγα[θῇ]
 [τύχῃ· δεδόχθαι· ἐπισημῶσαι Φαῖδρον Μ]οσχίωνος ἱερέ[α]
 [Δαιμόνων Ἀγαθῶν Παρεμβωρδέα καὶ στ]εφανῶσαι [αὐτὸν]
 [χρυσῶι στεφάνωι· στῆσαι δὲ γραπτὴν αὐ]τοῦ εἰκόνα [ἐν] 10
 [τῶι ἱερῶι τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἐν τῶι ἐπιφανεστάτῳ] τόπωι, αὐ[τοῦ]
 [ὑψηλῶς, οὐδὲν ἂν αὐτῶι ἐπιτηδεύ]οιτο [εἶναι]
 [φαίνεται καὶ ἐπιγραφὴν ποιήσασθαι τ]ῇδε·
 [ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ὀλυμέων ἐτίμησεν Φαῖδρον Μοσχί]ωνος ἱε[ρέα]
 [Δαιμόνων Ἀγαθῶν ἐπαίνωι, εἰκόνι γραπτῇ] καὶ χρυ[σῶι] 15
 [στεφάνωι, ὅτι – παρ]αγενό[μενος?]
 [φιλότιμον καὶ ἐκτενῆ αὐτὸν παρέσχεν, πάσῃ] προνοίαι [χρη]-
 [σάμενος εἰς πάντα τὰ ἐπείγοντα, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτ]α, ἐπειδὴ [κρεα]-
 [νόμος? ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου ἀποδειχθεὶς, ὅτε ἦν θ]υσία, ἐμ πά[σαις]
 [ταῖς διανομαῖς ταῖς κατὰ τὸν νόμον? γεγενη]μέναις [ἐκάστῳ] 20
 [τῶν μετεχόντων τὴν καθήκουσαν μερί]δα μέχρι το[ῦδε]
 [σώζων διατελεῖ· ἀνακηρύξαι δὲ ἐν τῶι ἀγῶ]νι τῶι συντε[λου]-
 [μένωι – ἀναγ]ράψαι δὲ τόδ[ε]
 τὸ ψήφισμα τοὺς ἐνεστώτας] ταμί[α]ς ἐν τῶι ἱερῶι τοῦ Ἀπόλ[λωνος]
 [καὶ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος θεῶν τ]ῶν Ὀλυμέων ἐν τῶι ἐ[πι]φανεστάτ[ωι]
 [τόπωι· τὸ δὲ γινόμενον εἰ]ς τὴν ἀναγραφὴν ἀνάλωμα δοῦ[ναι τοὺς]
 [ταμίας ἐκ τῶν κοινῶν προσ]όδων τῶν μὴ εἰς ἄλλα ἀποτετ[αγ]-
 [μένων.] 25

b. Panamara

- 1) Honorary; no date; PHI7 Caria [Panamara] 234.1-7=IKStrat 299=BCH 28 (1904): 243 no. 51.

[ἱερεὺς – υἱός], Τατιανὸς [...]· ἱέρ[εια] Ἀ[ρισ]τον[ί]-
 [κη, – θυγάτηρ, Μά]μαλον Ἰε[ροκωμῆ]τις), τὸ δις ἐν Κομυρίοις,
 [ὑποδεξάμενοι μεγαλοπρεπῶς πάν]τας τοὺς ἀνελθόντας ἰς τὸ ἱερόν,
 [πᾶσαν τύχην καὶ ἡλικίαν, ἀπέδωσαν τ]ὰ δῖπνα τοῖς κομίσασιν, ἀπέδωσαν
 [δὲ καὶ τὰς διανομὰς καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα ἐπ]οίησαν, τὰς τῶν Παναμαρείων ἡ- 5
 [μέρας δέκα ἀδιαλίπτως ἐγυμνασιάρ]χησαν καὶ τὴν τετράδα τῇ παρ[α]-
 [λήψι τοῦ θεοῦ –]

4. Lycia

a. Rhodiapolis

- 1) Honorary; AD 124-153; Kokkinia XIII D13- XIII E6=IGR III 739, XIII.58-67.

[πὶ πᾶσιν τούτοις καὶ πρότερον καὶ νῦν] τειμᾶν τε αὐτὸν ^{ἰως ἐ-} καὶ θαυμάζειν καὶ G14
 ἐπαι-
 [νεῖν τὰς ἀξιολογωτάτας τῶν ἐν τῇ ἐπαρχείᾳ] πόλεω[ν, τειμᾶσθαι] δὲ [ταῖς E1
 α' καὶ β']
 [καὶ γ' καὶ δ' τ]ειμαῖς, συνκαταθεμένου καὶ τοῦ κρ[α]τίστω[υ] ηγεμόνος,
 ψηφί[ζ]εσ[θαι δὲ αὐτὸν]
 [ἐν τῷ ἔθν]ει κα[ὶ] πρότερον τειμᾶν πορφύρεα διὰ βίου καὶ προεδρία
 δι]ην[εκεῖ? καὶ ταῖς]
 [κατ' ἔτο]ς τειμ[αῖς, ἐπὶ τῇ δωρεᾷ, ἣν εἰς διανομὴν? τοῖς ἀρχοστάταις?
 ἐπὶ]δ[έδωκεν καὶ πολει-]
 [τείαις] ἐν ταῖς ἀξιολογωτάταις πόλεσι τετειμῆσθαι, καὶ ὑπὸ ἡγεμ[ό]νων E5
 καὶ ἐπιτρόπων]
 [τοῦ Σεβα]στο[ῦ μεμαρτυρησθαι, ἐπὶ τε τοῖς ἀναλώμασιν? καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ το]ῦ
 [βίου ἀρετῇ? - -]

5. Mysia

a. Pergamon

- 1) Honorary; Hellenistic; IPerg245c ll 41-51.

τα Σελεύκο[υ τῇ] πρὸς] Λυσ[ίμαχον μάχη] ἐπ[ικρατήσαντος] ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ
 διαδεξάμενος
 τὴν βασιλείαν [Ἀντίο]χος τὴν πεδι[άδα χώ]ραν αὐτοῖς ἐπώλησεν ταλάντων
 τριακοσίων
 τριάκοντα καὶ π[ροσε]ισέπραξεν ἄλλα [τ]άλαντα πεντήκοντα καὶ περὶ
 τούτων τὰς πίστεις
 ἐγγράφους παρατιθέ[ασιν], δόντος εἰς τ[αῦτα] Πιταναίοις καὶ Φιλεταίρου
 τ[άλαντα τεσσαρά?]-
 κοντα, καθότι ἐκ τῆς ἀνα[γεγραμμένης πα]ρ' ἡμῖν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς 45
 Ἀθηνᾶ[ς ἐπιστώ]σα[ντο στή]-
 λης, καὶ ὡς ἡ παγκτητική τῆς χ[ώρας] κυρε]ία καὶ διὰ τῶν ἐγγράφων ἐπὶ

τῆς δια]νομῆς α[ύ]-
 τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν κρατούντων παρεκε[ῖ ἐδέδοτ]ο, ἀναντιρ<ρ>ήτως δεικ[νύντες ἐκ
 τ]ῶν καθιερω]-
 μένων στηλῶν ἔν τε Ἰλίῳ καὶ Δήλῳ[ι καὶ Ἐφ]έσῳ, ἐν αἷς ἡ γε[γραμμένη
 ὑ]πὸ Ἀντιόχ[ου]
 [ἐ]πιστολὴ περὶ τῆς κατὰ τὴν χώραν τα[ύτην κυ]ρείας κατετέ[τακτο,
 παρ]ασχομένῳ[ν τε]
 [κ]αὶ ὡς Εὐμένης παραλαβὼν τὰ πράγ[ματα τὴν Σε]λεύκου [ἐκύρωσεν 50
 ἐπ]ιστολὴν π[ρὸς]
 [Πι]ταναίους, ἐν ᾗ σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐγέγρα[πτο κ]ατὰ λέξ[ιν ταῦτα τὴν
 κυρεία]ν δὲ καὶ τῇ[ν εἰς]

6. Pamphylia

a. Selge

1) Honorary; second century?; *IKSelge* 17

[— — — συνδ[η]μιουργήσασαν, ἱέρειαν Τύχης πόλεως, φιλόπατριν, | [— — —]
 Βουλῆς, κτίστ[ρι]αν καὶ τροφόν, μητέρ[α] Πόλεως, ἐπὶ ἡθῶ[ιν κοσμιότητι
 καὶ σε]-
 μν[ό]τητι βίου διαπ[ι]ρέ]πουσαν, ἐπεικεία τε [καὶ με]γαλοφροσύνη | [— — —]
 [3 ὑ]περβε[β]λημέ[ιν]υ] ἐπαγαλ[λο]μένην — θυγα[τέρα] Μαγνιανοῦ
 Ξένω[ινος — — —]
 [— — —] κτίστ[οι] [υ τῆς] πόλεως καὶ τὸν Ἄρεως ναὸν τὸν κατ. | [— — —εσκευα]- 5
 κόστος σὺν τῷ πελ[ρικ]ειμένῳ παντὶ κόσ[μ]ῳ, ἐκτὸς δὲ πλινθε[ῖ] [— — —]
 ἀρχιεροθύτου, προ[ι]έ[θ]ρου καὶ [φιλο]πάτριδος, παναρέτου, πολλάκι[ς — — —
 βου]-
 λευσταμένου τῇ πατρίδι[ι ἔ]ν τε πράγ[μασι], ἀρχά[ς πά]σας προῖκα
 ὑπεσχ[η]μένῳ ἐπὶ
 ἐπιδόσει χρημά[των], γυναι[κα Γαίου] Οὐαλερίου Εὐγέ[ιν]ους, προ[ο]έδρου,
 φιλοπα]-
 τριδος, παναρέτου, [τοῦ Πόλ]εως κτίστου τε] καὶ τροφέως, φιλοσό[φ]ου, 10
 ἀδελφῆν]
 τοῦ μεγίστου καὶ | [ἐξ]όχου Μαγν[ι]ανοῦ Αἰλιανοῦ Περικλέους Ἀρρ[ί]λου,
 ἡθε[σί τε]
 καὶ λόγοις πρωτεύ[ον]τος, [με]γά[λα τ]ὴν πόλιν ὠφελήσαντος | ἐπιδόσε[σί
 τε]
 κ[αὶ] πάσῃ προστασίᾳ — τῇ πατρίδι κατα[σκ]ευάσ[α]σαν ἔργα λαμπ[ρὰ
 καὶ .[— — —]-
 ταταρὸ τὸ τε ἀγορανόμιον καὶ [τ]ὸ [Τ]υχ[α]ῖον κα[ὶ] τὸ ὠδεῖον ἐκ |
 θεμελίων [σύν]
 τοῖς τε ἐντὸς ἀγάλλμασιν καὶ τοῖς περικειμένοις κόσμοις — ναῶν με- 15
 γίσ[τ]ων καὶ θαυμιαστῶν ἰσότειμα τὰ κτίσματα —, ἐκδεδεγμένην καὶ τὰ
 πα-
 ρακείμενα χρημα[τιστήρια] πάν[τα καὶ τ]ὴν παρατείνουσιν | πλαγείαν
 στοά[ν]
 καὶ ἄλλο πλινθεῖον καὶ τὴν ἐξέδραν τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ ἀπὸ μυριάδων τὰ πάντα,
 | καὶ ἀργυρίου [5] μυ[ρι]άδας τριάκοντα |
 χαρισαμέ[ιν]ην

εἰς συναύξησιν | τῆς πατρίδ[ο]ς [καὶ εἰς διανομ]ὰς βουλευτῶν καὶ 20
 ἐκκλησι[αστ]ῶν
 καὶ τέκνων αὐτῶν. Κ[ατὰ] τὰ γεγονότα αὐτῇ ψ[η]φίσματα τὸν δὲ
 ἀνδρ[ι]άντα [ἀνέστησεν]
 | ἡ πατρίς ἐκ
 δημο[σ]ίω[ν] χρημάτων. |

APPENDIX 3

Table 2.1a.: Verbs and Verb forms used with διανομή

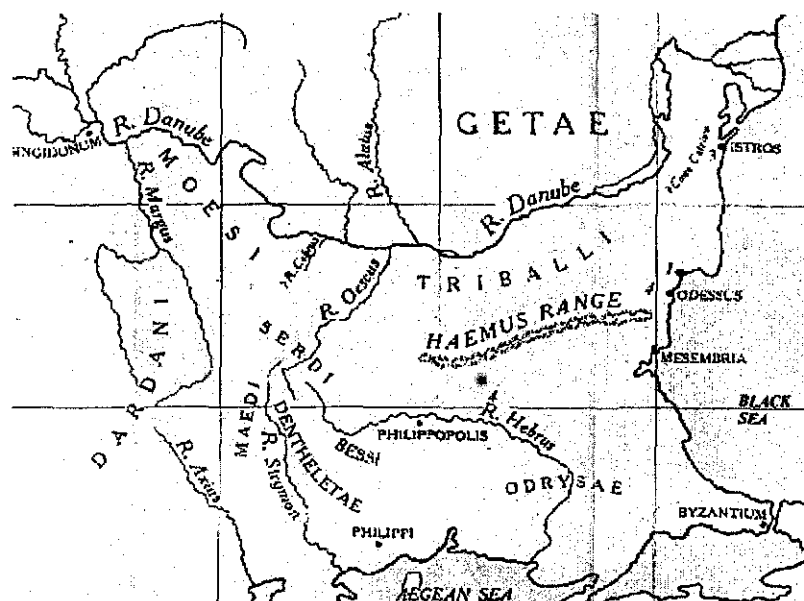
	Δίδωμι		50
A.1	+ διανομήν	38	
A.1.a	δοῦς (4.d.3 x2, 5, 7 x2, 8, 9 x2, 6.e.5)	9	
A.1.b	δοῦσα (4.d.2, 4, 12, 14 x2)	5	
A.1.c	δόντα (1.a.1, 1.b.1, 2; 3.c.2; 4.b.15; 4.c.1; 6.h.1; 7.g.1)	8	
A.1.d	δοῦσαν (4.b.9; 4.d.11; 6.g.1)	3	
A.1.e	δόντες (6.e.2, 3)	2	
A.1.f	δόντος (4.b.4, 11; 10.a.2)	3	
A.1.g	δεδοκότα (6.c.5 x2)	2	
A.1.h	δεδόσθαι (4.b.16)	1	
A.1.i	διδόναι (4.b.8)	1	
A.1.j	διδόσθαι (4.a.1)	1	
A.1.k	ἔδωκεν (4.d.10)	1	
A.1.l	ἔδώκαμεν (6.f.1)	1	
A.1.m	ἔδωκαν (6.f.2)	1	
A.2	+ διανομῆς	7	
A.2.a	δόντα (1.d.1; 6.a.1)	2	
A.2.b	δίδοσθαι (4.e.1)	1	
A.2.c	ἔδωκεν (3.b.1 x3)	3	
A.2.d	ἔδωκαν (6.f.3)	1	
A.3	+ εἰς διανομήν	4	
A.3.a	δώσει (4.b.7 x2)	2	
A.3.b	διδόσθω (4.b.6)	1	
A.3.c	ἔδωκεν (7.a.1)	1	
A.4.a	ἐπιδόντα διανομὰς (10.a.1)	1	
	Καταλείπω		6
B.1	+ διανομήν	3	
B.1.a	κατλιπόντα (5.c.1)	1	
B.1.b	καταλεπεῖν (9.a.1)	1	
B.1.c	λήψεται δηνάρια ἀφ' ὧν τοῦ τόκου αὐτῶν (4.d.13)	1	
B.2	+ εἰς διανομήν	3	
B.2.a	καταλιπόντα κατὰ διαθήκην (5.b.1)	1	
B.2.b	καταλιπόντα ἐξ ἡμίσιος μέρους κληρονόμον (7.h.1)	1	
B.2.c	καταλελοιπότα αἰωνίους δωρεὰς (7.c.2)	1	
	Ἀνατίθημι		5
C.1	+ εἰς διανομὰς	5	
C.1.a	ἀναθεῖσα ἀργυρίου (6.c.1)	1	
C.1.b	ἀναθέντα ἀργυρίου ἀρχαῖα ε (6.c.2)	1	
C.1.c	ἀναθέντας τὸν τόκον ἀπὸ δηναρίων μυρίων χειλίων (6.c.3)	1	
C.1.d	ἀνατεθείκως ἀργυρίου ε (6.c.4)	1	
C.1.e	ἀνατεθεικότα χρήματα (6.c.5)	1	
	Λαμβάνω		4
D.1.a	λαμβάνουσιν διανομήν (4.b.1 x2, 2 x2)	4	
	Ποιέω		5
E.1.a	ἐποίησατο διανομήν (2.a.2)	1	

E.1.b	ἐποιέτω διανομήν (3.a.1)	1	
E.1.c	πεποιημένους ἐπιδόσεις διανομῶν (4.d.6)	1	
E.1.d	πεποιημένους ἐπιδόσεις εἰς διανομὰς (7.b.4)	1	
E.1.e	ποιούμενος δωρεὰν εἰς διανομήν (7.b.6)	1	
	Χωρέω		4
F.1.a	χωρεῖν εἰς διανομήν (7.b.1, 2, 3, 4)	4	
	Χαρίζω		3
G.1	+ εἰς διανομήν	3	
G.1.a	κεχάρισται αἰδίων δωρεὰν (7.b.5)	1	
G.1.b	χαρισάμενον ἀργυρίου (7.b.7, 7.c.1)	2	
	Δωρέω		2
H.1	+ εἰς διανομήν	2	
H.1.a	δεδωρημένον ἀργυρίου (7.e.1)	1	
H.1.b	δωρησάμενον κατὰ διαθήκην (7.d.1)	1	
	Μερίζομαι		2
I.a.1	διανομή μερίζεται (3.c.1 x2)	2	
	Individual attestations		12
J	διανομήν γενέσθαι (4.b.12)	1	
K	ἔσται διανομή (4.b.14)	1	
L	δηλοῦται ἀργυρίου (?) εἰς διανομὰς (6.c.4)	1	
M	ἐπιτυχόντος τὰς διανομὰς (6.d.1)	1	
N	τηρεῖσθαι τὸ παλὸν ἔθος τῶν διανομῶν (1.c.1)	1	
O	ἐπιτελεῖ διανομήν (4.b.6)	1	
P	προκατάρχονσα διανομήν (4.d.10)	1	
Q	ἀποτεισάτω δηνάρια μύρια εἰς διανομήν (4.b.3)	1	
R	ἀναπλήρωσαν μύρια εἰς διανομήν (6.d.2)	1	
S	ὀρίσασαν ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ τῆς πανηγύρεως διανομῆς (7.f.1)	1	
T	καλεῖν ἐπὶ διανομή (6.e.1)	1	
U	ἀνανεωσάμενος διανομὰς (4.d.1)	1	
	Participles of Office		13
V.1	+ διανομαῖς	1	
V.1.a	ἀγωνοτέτην (8.a.1)	1	
V.2	+ ἐν διανομαῖς	6	
V.2.a	ἀγωνοθετήσαντα (5.a.1)	1	
V.2.b	πλουτίσαντα τὴν πατρίδα (10.a.3-7)	5	
V.2.c	ἀναλωκότες τὰ τῶν ἱερῶν συνῶν (6.e.4)	1	
V.3.1	ἀρχιερασάμενον ἐπὶ διανομαῖς (11.a.1)	1	
V.4.1	μετὰ διανομὰς (6.f.4)	1	
V.5.1	εὐδοκμεῖν? χάριν εἰς διανομὰς (4.b.10)	1	
V.6.1	γυμνασιαρχικὴν διανομήν (4.c.2)	1	
	No Verb		4
W.1	διανομήν (2.a.1; 4.b.13)	2	
W.2	διανομῆς (6.b.1)	1	
W.3	διανομῇ (4.b.5)	1	
Total			109

Table 2.5a: Catalogue entries recording occasions on which *διανομαί* were provided

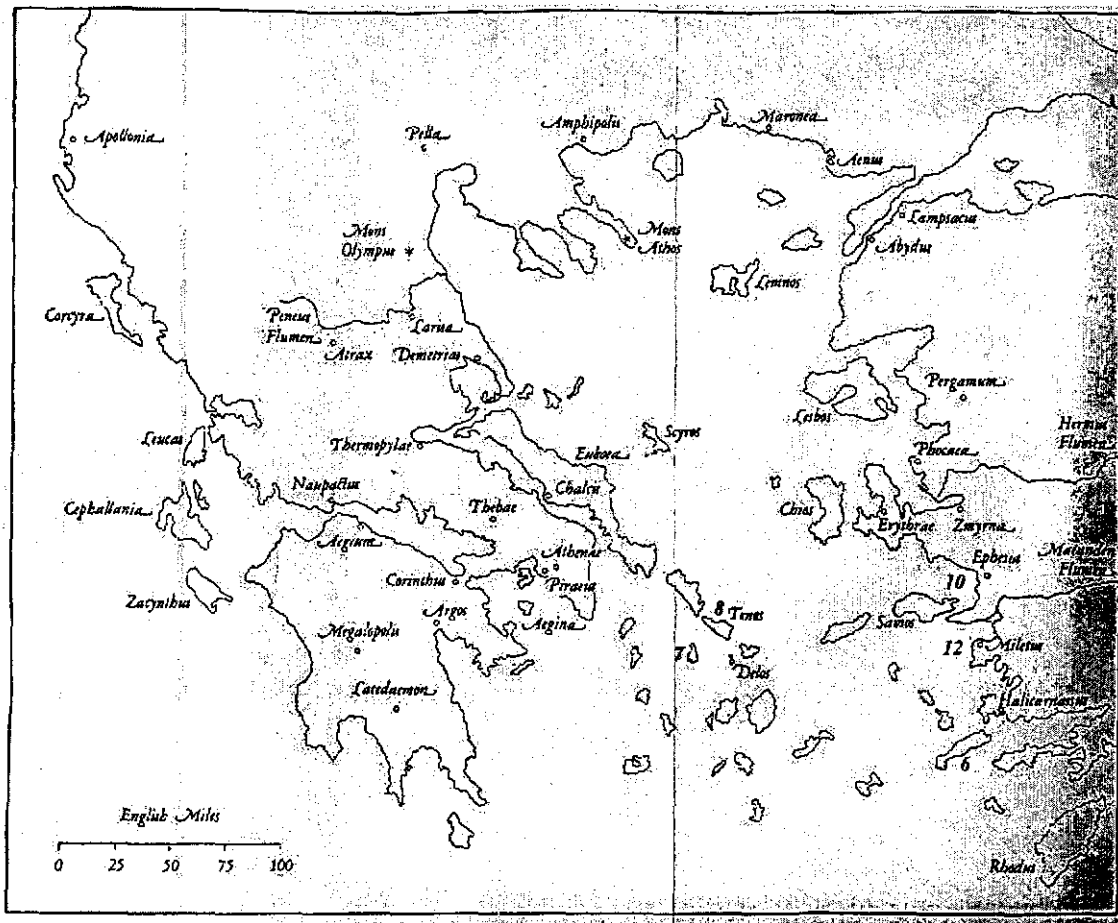
Office or public service	1.b.1, 1.d.1, 3.b.1 (x2), 3.c.2, 4.b.1 (x2), 4.b.2 (x2), 4.b.4, 4.b.9, 4.b.11, 4.b.15, 4.c.2, 4.d.1, 4.d.2, 4.d.3, 4.d.4, 4.d.5, 4.d.6, 4.d.7, 4.d.8, 4.d.9, 4.d.10, 4.d.11, 4.d.12, 4.d.14, 5.c.1, 6.a.1, 6.c.5 (x2), 6.d.2, 6.e.4, 6.f.1, 6.f.4, 6.g.1, 7.g.1, 10.a.1, 10.a.3, 10.a.4, 10.a.5, 10.a.6, 10.a.7, 11.a.1	44
Festival celebration	2.a.2, 3.b.1, 3.c.1 (x2), 4.b.3, 4.b.6 (x2), 4.b.7 (x2), 4.b.8, 4.b.12, 4.d.3, 4.d.7, 4.d.8, 4.d.9, 4.d.14, 6.e.1, 6.e.2, 6.e.3, 6.e.5, 6.f.2, 6.f.3, 7.a.1, 7.b.1, 7.b.2, 7.b.3, 7.b.4 (x2), 7.b.5, 7.b.6, 7.c.1, 7.e.1, 7.f.1, 7.h.1, 8.a.1,	35
Birthday or funeral	4.a.1, 4.b.16, 4.d.13, 4.e.1, 5.b.1, 5.c.1, 6.b.1 6.c.2, 6.c.3, 6.c.4 (x2), 6.c.5, 7.c.2, 7.d.1, 9.a.1	15
Statue dedication	1.a.1, 4.b.14, 4.c.1, 6.c.1, 6.h.1, 7.b.7	6
'Customary' <i>διανομή</i>	1.c.1	1
Imperial visit	10.a.2	1
Marriage	3.a.1	1
Unknown	1.b.2, 2.a.1, 4.b.5, 4.b.13, 6.d.1	5
NA	4.b.10	1

APPENDIX 4: MAPS OF PROVENANCE



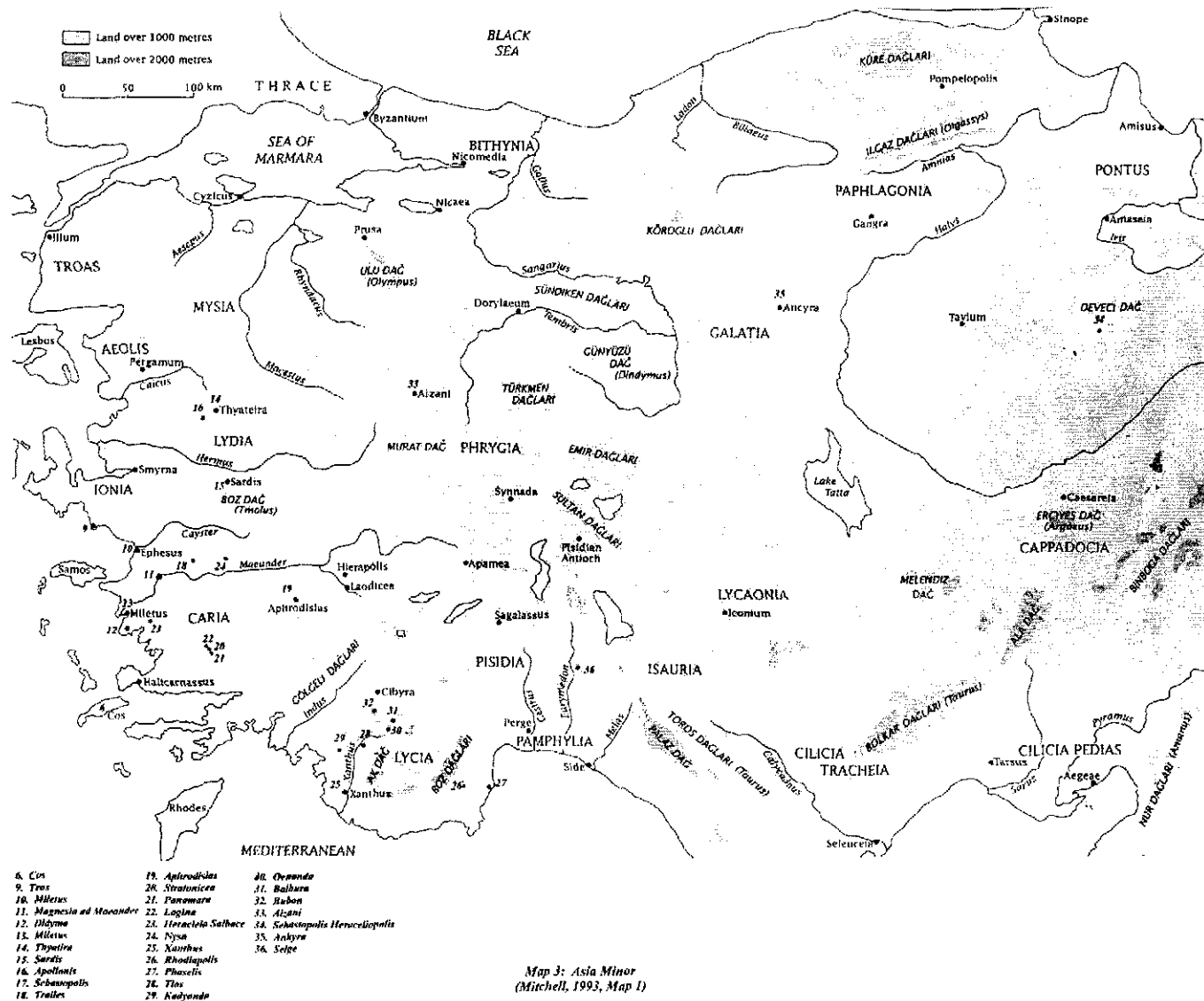
1. Dionysiopolis 4. Odeusus
2. Augusta Traiana 5. Istrus

Map 1: Black Sea Region
(CAH [2] vol. 10, map 7, facing pg. 117)



- 6. Cos
- 7. Syros
- 8. Tenos
- 10. Ephesus
- 13. Miletus

*Map 2: The Aegean Sea and Western Asia Minor
(Livy, vol. 10, Map 2, Loeb Classical Library)*



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