

THE *GEROUSIA* OF EPHEBUS

by

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ABSTRACT

In various cities throughout Asia Minor, associations called *gerousiai* existed under the Roman Empire. These groups are most easily studied from the inscriptions which have been excavated and published for each city; in fact, epigraphic evidence is often the only source which sheds light on the nature of any particular *gerousia*. It has been customary to divide the *gerousia* as an institution into two groups: the Asiatic *gerousia*, namely the *gerousiai* of the Roman provinces of Asia Minor, and the Doric *gerousia*, which is most well known from the board of twenty-eight elders who advised the kings of Sparta.

The initial purpose of this study was to examine the Asiatic *gerousiai* in order to determine the position of these bodies in their cities, particularly with respect to the *boule* and *demos* of those cities. It quickly became apparent from the quantity of available inscriptions, however, that such a topic was somewhat too large for a mere dissertation. I have chosen, therefore, to limit myself to the Ionian city of Ephesus (modern Selçuk).

The intensive focus on the Ephesian *gerousia* allows a greater degree of detail than would have been permitted in a more general study of similar size. The abundance of evidence for this city has made it possible to draw conclusions about several aspects of a single *gerousia* without introducing the assumption, implicit or explicit, that all Asiatic *gerousiai* were the same. This is a study of the *gerousia* of the Ephesus and does not purport to make any conclusions about a general Asiatic *gerousia*.

The large number of inscriptions from Ephesus available for this study also offers a further advantage, as I hope will emerge in the following pages: we cannot speak of a "Hellenistic *gerousia*" and a "Roman *gerousia*" as two distinct entities. Certainly there was a *gerousia* in Hellenistic period and one in the Roman period, and the terms Hellenistic *gerousia* and Roman *gerousia* may well be used in the course of this work, but not as archetypes.

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ABBREVIATIONS

The abbreviations for ancient authors and their works are those listed in the third edition of the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (1996).

AD: *Archaiologikon Deltion*.

AE: *L'année épigraphique*.

AJA: *American Journal of Archaeology*.

AJPh: *American Journal of Philology*.

CPh: *Classical Philology*.

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

CIG: *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*.

CII: *Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaicarum*.

CIL: *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinorum*.

EA: *Epigraphica anatolica*.

FiE: *Forschungen in Ephesos*, (1906-).

GIBM: E.L. Hicks, *The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum, Part III, Priene, Iasos and Ephesos*, Oxford (1890).

IEph: *Die Inschriften von Ephesos=IK* vols. 11-19.

IG: *Inscriptiones Graecae*.

IGRR: *Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes*.

IJO: *Inscriptiones Iudaicae Orientis*.

IK: *Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien*.

ILaodikeia: *Inschriften von Laodikeia am Lykos*, Vol. 1=IK 49.

IMag: *Inschriften von Magnesia*.

IMagnesia am Sipylum: *Inschriften von Magneisa am Sipylum=IK* 17.

ISide: *Inschriften von Side am Altertum=IK* vols. 43-44.

ITralles: *Inschriften von Tralles=IK* vol. 36.

JÖAI: *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts*

L-W: P. le Bas & W.H. Waddington, *Inscriptions Grecques et Latines recueillies en Asie Mineure*, Hildesheim (1972).

OGIS: *Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*.

Oliver, SG: J.H. Oliver, *The Sacred Gerousia, Hesperia Supplement VI*, Baltimore (1941).

POxy: *The Oxyrynchus Papyri*.

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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1. INTRODUCTION: THE *GEROUSIA*

The inscriptions of Ephesus are numerous, with over five thousand available in *Die Inschriften von Ephesos*, and new finds published regularly by the Austrian Archaeological Institute in the *Jahresheft des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts*. Among these inscriptions are a significant number of references to a body called the *gerousia* or its members; Ephesus alone accounts for almost 30% of the approximately three hundred and sixty references to the *gerousia* in the inscriptions of Asia Minor. In the case of some cities, such as Priene and Colophon, the *gerousia* appears in very few inscriptions. Ephesus, on the other hand, has produced over ninety inscriptions which mention the *gerousia* in various capacities, to which may also be added a few fragments. No other city in Asia Minor has provided such a large body of evidence for the *gerousia*: Aphrodisias has produced the second most references to this body, but not more than forty to date, that is, quantitatively less than half of the evidence available in Ephesus. A study of the *gerousia* must, therefore, place a decided emphasis on the evidence from Ephesus, not only because of the abundance of evidence, but also because of the variety: the *gerousia* appears in several different contexts in Ephesus, whereas it is not uncommon for it to appear almost exclusively in a single context in other cities, for example, in funerary or honorary inscriptions. For reasons which will be laid out below, the present work focuses exclusively on Ephesus, but this is not to disparage the evidence from other cities.

The abundance of testimony, however, has not rendered the nature of the *gerousia* in the civic and social structure of Greek cities Asia Minor during either the Hellenistic or the Roman Imperial periods clear. Although there have been few studies of the *gerousia*

itself, theories about it have been put forth in the context of larger works on civic structure, provincial organization, epigraphic commentaries, and even general histories.¹

The term *gerousia* encourages scholars to certain initial assumptions, since the Greek word is quite clearly derived from *geron*, old man; *gerousia*, consequently, literally means a body of old men. As such, a comparison with the Latin *senex* and *senatus* is inescapable. *Geron* and *senex* may be synonymous, but the same cannot be said to be true of *gerousia* and *senatus*. *Gerosia* is, it is true, used virtually interchangeably with *boule*, *sugkletos* and *sunhedrion* by several Greek historians in reference to the Roman senate.² Dionysius of Halicarnassus asserts that the prerogatives of the original Roman Senate, namely to deliberate and vote on matters submitted by the King, were taken over directly from the Spartan model; he also states that Romulus called this body a *senatus* as a translation of the Spartan *gerousia*.³ Despite this synonymous use, though, several authors recognized a distinction between *sugkletos*, *boule* and *sunhedrion*, and the *gerousiai* of certain cities. Romulus may have named and modelled his senate after the Spartan *gerousia*, but Greek authors did not employ the same range of synonyms when discussing Spartan *gerousia*. Only once are alternative terms used, *presbugeneas* and *gerontes*; Plutarch reports that the former term was used in Delphi and that the latter was Lycurgus' term for the body.⁴ With these exceptions, the Spartan

¹ The major English monograph is J.H. Oliver's *The Sacred Gerosia* (1941); the *gerousia* is also the subject of a more recent Dutch dissertation, J.A. van Rossum's *De Gerosia in de Griekse Steden van het Romeinse Rijk* (1988). The conclusions of both works will be discussed briefly below.

² *Gerosia*: Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.*, 2.12.3, 30.3, 6.18.3; Plut., *Mor.*, 789E; *Caes.*, 18.5, 29.5, 33.5; *Fab. Max.*, 18.5; *Marc.*, 23.1; *boule*: Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.*, 2.12.1, 14.2, 14.3, 6.18.1; Plut., *Mor.*, 790E; *Fab. Max.*, 17.5, 18.4; *sugkletos*: Plut., *Mor.* 789E, 790C; *Caes.*, 33.4, 57.4; *Marc.*, 23.1; Polyb., I.20.1, 36.4.4, 5.3; Diod. Sic., 28.13.1, 37.6.1, 6.3; *sunhedrion*: Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.*, 2.11.1, 14.2, 30.3.

³ Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.*, 2.14.2.

⁴ Plut., *Mor.*, 789E.

gerousia is called simply that. Dionysius and Plutarch appear always to use *gerousia* when referring to the advisory body to the Spartan kings.⁵

Carthage, according to Polybius, possessed both a *sugkletos* and a *gerousia*. He mentions the *sugkletos* of the Carthaginians only twice, but in each case it is closely associated with the *gerousia*: representatives from both bodies were sent by Magon to Gaius Laelius, and the sons of members of both orders were given as hostages after the peace treaty with the Carthaginians.⁶ Elsewhere in Polybius, *gerousia* appears to be used as an advisory board, particularly in matters concerning the army.⁷

Of all ancient authors, Josephus employs the term *gerousia* most often; he also uses *sunhedrion* relatively frequently. It must be noted, though, that he does not use the two words interchangeably. When he uses *gerousia*, he is clearly referring to the council presided over by the Jewish high-priest, or to the elders of an individual town; this term, however, appears primarily in the first half of his *Antiquitates Iudaicae*, and only once in his *Bellum Iudaicum*. Josephus uses *sunhedrion* somewhat less judiciously: it can refer to the Sanhedrin, of course, but it can also identify a meeting or a gathering of advisors selected from the friends and family of, for example, Augustus or Herod; this seems to be the most common sense of the word in both works.⁸

It is clear, consequently, that *gerousia* was not simply a translation of *senatus*, though it could be used as such. This distinction is blurred in literary sources, but it is

⁵ Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.*, 2.14.2; Plut., *Lyc.*, 6.1; *Pyrr.*, 27.2.

⁶ Polyb., 10.18.1, 36.4.6: δύο μὲν γὰρ ἦσαν κατελιγμένοι τῶν ἐκ τῆς γερουσίας, πέντε δὲ καὶ δέκα τῶν ἐκ τῆς συγκλήτου; ἐκπέμψωσιν ἐν τριάκονθ' ἡμέραις τοὺς υἱοὺς τῶν ἐκ <τῆς> συγκλήτου καὶ τῆς γερουσίας.

⁷ Polyb., 1.21.7, 68.5, 87.3, 7.9.1, 10.18.1, 15.19.2, 36.4.6.

⁸ *Gerosia*: Joseph., *AJ*, 4.186, 218, 220, 224, 255, 256, 324; 5.15, 23, 55, 57, 80, 103, 115, 135, 151, 170, 332, 353; 7.295; 12.138; 13.166; *BJ*, 7.412; *sunhedrion*: Joseph., *AJ*, 12.103; 14.91, 14.167, 168, 170; 15.358; 16.30, 357, 360, 367; 17.46, 106, 301, 317; 20.61, 200, 216, 217; *BJ*, 1.537, 540, 640; 2.25, 38, 81, 93; 6.243. P.J.-B. Frey (*Corpus Inscription Iudaicarum*, Vol. I, Introduction pp. lxxxii-lxxxvii) presents a brief discussion of the *gerousia* in Jewish communities as a 'kind of local Sanhedrin, modeled partly on the Sanhedrin of Jerusalem, partly on the *gerousia* of Greek and Roman associations.'

clearer in epigraphic sources. Even so, inscriptions, despite their numbers, do not render the exact nature of the *gerousia* clear. It is no surprise, therefore, that different theories have been proposed to account for the presence and activities of the *gerousia* in Asia Minor. There are as many theories as authors, so it may be well to review these.

Th. Mommsen takes the view that the *gerousia* was primarily a social institution, analogous to the *neoi*, the association for young men who had passed through the ephebic order but continued their activities in the gymnasium. The *gerousia* was an assembly of older citizens meeting in the equivalent of a modern clubhouse: Vitruvius reports that the palace of Croesus in Sardis had been given over to the *gerousia*.⁹ The Roman *gerousia* had Hellenistic precedents, but, Mommsen believes, it was not identical with the Hellenistic *gerousia*; he believes that the *gerousia* of the inscriptions, which is primarily the Roman *gerousia*, had nothing in common with the one of Ephesus which Strabo mentions.¹⁰ Under the Empire, there was no significant variation between the *gerousiai* of the different cities of Asia. It was not a group concerned with the welfare of the poor, but they were not exclusively aristocratic either; the *gerousia*, Mommsen argues, was open to all citizens. Once enrolled, the members of the *gerousia* appointed a gymnasiarch for themselves who was responsible primarily for the provisioning of oil.¹¹

A.H.M. Jones argues, like Mommsen, that the close connection which exists between the gymnasium and the *gerousia* in a city indicates that *gerousiai* were primarily social organisations.¹² Although *gerousiai* do appear in honorific decrees, the *neoi*, which were social groups, also appear in such decrees and so an appearance in these does

⁹ Vitr., 2.8.10.

¹⁰ Strabo, 14.1.21.

¹¹ Mommsen (1921): 326, n. 2.

¹² Jones (1940): 225-6.

not necessarily give an administrative or political function to *gerousiai*. Membership in the *gerousia* was more exclusive than membership in the *neoi*, with fees being charged in some cases, but the two groups were essentially parallel organisations for citizens of different ages, Jones argues.¹³ Both received a basic supply of oil from the city and supplemented this with funds received from endowments by wealthy benefactors. The *gerousia* had no political prerogatives, but in some cities performed religious functions, such as the conduct of cults.¹⁴

D. Magie agrees with Jones that the *gerousia* had no political powers: it was a social institution whose members exercised influence through the respect they received from their fellow citizens.¹⁵ The existence of two early Hellenistic honorary decrees indicates that the *gerousia* did not exercise supreme power over the affairs of the city at that time since these are subject to the approval of the *boule* and *demos*.¹⁶ Like the ephebes and *neoi*, the *gerousia* centred on a gymnasium and, although it was of more importance because of the respect paid to its members, it was before and after Lysimachus and under the Roman Empire a social organization.

C. Curtius suggests that the *gerousia* and *boule* were similar institutions. The *gerousia* was a distinct organization which could and did own property and which lent money to private citizens. He argues that it cannot be identical with the *boule* in Ephesus or other cities in Asia Minor, since the two bodies often appear in the same inscriptions,

¹³ Jones (1940): 353, n.31.

¹⁴ Jones (1940): 226.

¹⁵ Magie (1988): 63, 600, 856, 1534.

¹⁶ The *boule* and *demos* may be defined as the senate and popular assembly of a Greek city. These two bodies debated proposals and passed laws for the city. Their authority, however, was much reduced under the Roman Empire, with the majority of decrees passed by the *boule* and *demos* conferring citizenship rather than directing domestic and foreign policy; cat. nos. 1 & 2.

and each appears to have had its own property.¹⁷ Instead, he accepts the argument of Boeckh that the *gerousia* was a standing committee of the *boule*, consisting of special authorities, annually elected from the *bouleutai* who had served for a lengthy period of time.¹⁸ He suggests that the word *sunhedrion*, in the case of Ephesus, might refer to a meeting of the *gerousia*; *gerontes* and *presbeuteroi* can refer to the *gerousia*.¹⁹ He believes that the *gerousia* of Ephesus was originally associated with the Temple of Artemis, from which it derived its initial funds; later, however, the *gerousia* found other sources of income, including fines paid for tomb violations.²⁰ Curtius concludes that the *gerousiai* in Ephesus and other Ionian cities were similar to the Areopagus council in Athens and exercised a great influence over the public affairs of their respective cities through the dignity and respect they earned through their membership.

I. Lévy identifies the conflicting features of the *gerousia*: it was a limited body whose membership conferred honour and whose members often received shares in money-distributions which were equal to or only slightly less than those received by the members of the *boule*. At the same time, though, it had a role in funding the festival of Artemis, it had a *grammateus* (secretary), and a *curator* was appointed by the Emperor when the *gerousia* of Ephesus was unable to collect on a debt. The first group of features suggests a private, or at least an exclusive, group, while the second suggests a public

¹⁷ Curtius (1870): 181.

¹⁸ Curtius (1870): 224-225; Boeckh, *CIG* II.2811: Πᾶσα ἡ βουλὴ *sic habetur etiam* n. 2782.37.: καὶ ἑτέρας δὲ διανομὰς δεδωκότα πολλάκις τῇ βουλῇ πάσῃ καὶ τῇ γερουσίᾳ, *quo loco collato coniecerim γερουσίαν fuisse partem βουλῆς eximiam, ut Athenis πρυτάνεις*. If this is the case, the members of the *gerousia* (a *collegium ex βουλῇ selectum*, in Boeckh's words) would receive a double share of the *dianomai*. It is more likely, though, the distributions mentioned here are similar to those arranged by Salutaris at the beginning of the second century AD (cf. cat. nos. 54 & 56, and below, Chapter Four, pp. 96-100) in which the entire *boule* but only a portion of the *gerousia* received shares.

¹⁹ Curtius (1870): 224-225; cf. Polyb., 36.4.4, 36.6.4. *Presbeuteros* could also be spelled without the second epsilon (ie., *presbuteros*). Both spellings are used in the course of this work, reflecting the spelling in the inscriptions.

²⁰ Curtius (1870): 181, 200.

group.²¹ Lévy denies that the *gerousia* was a division of the *boule* or simply an assembly of elder citizens. It played an honorific role in the administration of municipal affairs, he suggests, and was not significantly involved in the religious affairs of the city. Its primary concerns were not religious matters. The *gerousia*, he argues, only met exceptional expenses in the sacred games of Artemis when the public treasury was unable to do so. It was the *boule* and *demos*, not the *gerousia*, which approved and regulated the sacred processions in Ephesus.²² Lysimachus created the *gerousia* in 302 BC, giving it access to the treasury of the Temple of Artemis and significant political influence. Following its establishment, a continuing struggle between the *boule* and *demos* with the priesthood of the temple gradually diminished the authority of the *gerousia*. Despite this loss of power, though, the *gerousia* continued to exercise a degree of control over the treasury of the temple without interruption.²³ The *gerousia* spread from Ephesus to the other Greek cities of Asia Minor, but new *gerousiai* were almost all private organisations.²⁴ Many of these groups were established and enrolled by the *boule* and *demos* with the approval of Imperial authorities after the Hellenistic period.²⁵ Membership, though limited in places, was open to all citizens, men and women. Lévy cites the acts of a Syrian apostle which portray, in caricature, the members of the *gerousia* drinking, eating, singing and indulging in perfumes: the primary concerns of the Roman *gerousia* were the comforts of its members, and not religious or municipal

²¹ Lévy (1895): 233-234.

²² Lévy (1895): 235.

²³ Lévy (1895): 237.

²⁴ Lévy (1895): 239.

²⁵ Lévy (1895): 242.

matters.²⁶ The administrative associations which it retained under the Empire are remnants of its original functions.

E.L. Hicks remarks that early *gerousiai* of Roman Asia Minor tend to appear in regions which were once subject to Lysimachus, and suggests on this basis that the Hellenistic and Roman *gerousiai* may not be entirely distinct. The connotations of the word *gerousia* are various in Greek literature: in Homer and in Euripides' *Rhesus*, the word implies a group of elders, official or otherwise. The Spartan *gerousia*, on the other hand, implies oligarchy and mastery to Demosthenes, while Plutarch also refers to the oligarchic nature of the *gerousia* in Sparta.²⁷ Since Antigonos and Demetrius, whom Lysimachus had expelled from Ephesus, had favoured democrats, Hicks suggests that Lysimachus installed oligarchic bodies to replace democratic groups and the Antigonid legacy. Thus, he argues, the *gerousia* replaced the *boule* while the *epikletoi* replaced the *ekklesia*. Lysimachus used the *gerousia* to formalise the previously undefined influence of the temple-authorities, who might be expected to favour oligarchic forms and, therefore, to favour Lysimachus himself.²⁸ Given the widespread appearance of the *gerousia* under the Roman Empire, it is probable that the Romans encouraged this body in the Greek cities, though there is evidence that a *gerousia* existed before the arrival of the Romans in Asia Minor in Sardis, Nysa, Lampsacus and Erythrae. These may have been remnants of Lysimachus' *gerousiai*.²⁹ The Roman *gerousia* was a public body, similar to but distinct from the *boule*. Hicks takes the Ephesian *gerousia* as

²⁶ Lévy (1895): 243; *Acta Sancta Maris*, 19-23, in *Analecta Bollandiana* 4 (1885): 43-139 [*non vidi*].

²⁷ Hicks (1890): 75; Homer, *Il.* 2.53; Plut., *Lyc.*, 5, Ages 8; Dem., *Lept.*, 107; Arist., *Pol.*, 5.1305b8.

²⁸ Hicks (1890): 75.

²⁹ Hicks (1890): 75.

representative of many other cities in Asia Minor, and suggests that one of the gymnasiarchs of the city was always a member of the *gerousia*.³⁰

I. Menadier accepts that the citizen body of a city may have been divided into groups of younger and older citizens, but he argues that the *gerousia* was not one of these groups, as Mommsen had suggested. Instead, it and the *boule* were groups of the same type, but not identical.³¹ Some of Pliny's correspondence with Trajan suggests to Menadier that the *gerousia* could not have been a private, social club: Trajan outlawed such clubs in Bithynia.³² Furthermore, Pliny calls the meeting place of the *gerousia* a public building.³³ The *gerousia* was established by Lysimachus in Ephesus and in many other cities, since the institution appears in many of the cities which were subject to him.³⁴ The *gerousia* had administrative and deliberative functions and was involved mainly in religious affairs, but contributed to the funds of the Temple of Artemis only in extraordinary circumstances.³⁵ Alternate expressions for the *gerousia* may have existed; Menadier believes that *sustemata* should be understood as the *gerousia*, as should *sunhedrion* when it is not qualified by a genitive noun, such as *chrysophoron*.³⁶

D.G. Hogarth follows Menadier in many respects, adding that the *gerousia* could not have been a social club if it was limited in number, which it seems to have been. Although women are not commonly known to have been members, Hogarth suggests that even their occasional presence also refutes the idea that the *gerousia* was nothing more

³⁰ Hicks (1890): 82.

³¹ Menadier (1880): 53-54.

³² Menadier (1880): 52; Pl., *Ep.* 10.34.

³³ Menadier (1880): 52; Pl., *Ep.* 10.33.

³⁴ Menadier (1880): 62-63.

³⁵ Menadier (1880): 56-57.

³⁶ Menadier (1880): 49, 57.

than a social club.³⁷ In many respects Hogarth accepts that the *gerousiai* of different cities were similar. They had responsibility for some festivals and possibly for the general supervision of religious affairs in different cities.³⁸ Whereas Menadier suggests that the gymnasiarch was the lowest ranking official of the *gerousia*, Hogarth argues that this officer was actually the highest ranking member.³⁹ He believes that the *neoi* and the *gerousiastai* were both associated with the gymnasium, but that they had little else in common. Hogarth cites an inscription from Sidyma in which the members of the *gerousia* are elected by the *boule* and *demos*, a practice which is never followed in the case of the *neoi*; furthermore, the *neoi* had no administrative functions.⁴⁰ The Hellenistic and Roman *gerousiai* were not continuous.⁴¹ Members of the Roman *gerousia* were members of the *boule* who were over a certain age, and *demotai* with "proper qualifications"; the numbers of the *gerousia* were limited.⁴²

V. Chapot notes that there are several different names for the *gerousia*, and he is of the opinion that the precise nature of this body must have varied from city to city; there were, nevertheless, features which were common to most *gerousiai* in Asia Minor. Members held an elevated position in the social structure of their cities, and they were probably less numerous than the members of the *boule* in the same city. *Gerousiastai*, to judge from the name of their association, were men of a certain age, though experience in the administration of civic affairs may have been a more important criterion for membership than age. Despite this, it was not a political college and had no authority in

³⁷ Hogarth (1891): 70-72.

³⁸ Hogarth (1891): 73.

³⁹ Menadier (1880): 51; Hogarth (1891): 73.

⁴⁰ Hogarth (1891): 74; also cited by Mommsen (1921): 326, n. 2; *TAM* II.175 & 176.

⁴¹ Hogarth (1891): 72.

⁴² Hogarth (1891): 71.

public affairs of its own.⁴³ The *gerousia* consisted not of members of the *boule*, but of citizens who had influence in the city and wealth, with no actual political role; that is, *gerousiastai* were drawn from the same social order as the *bouleutai*.⁴⁴ The *gerousia* and the *neoi*, Chapot maintains, are not parallel, in part because the existence of one in a given city does not require the presence of the other.⁴⁵ He argues that the *epikletoi* whom Strabo mentions in conjunction with the *gerousia* of Ephesus were added to a pre-existing body in the city by Lysimachus after the defeat of Antigonos in 302 BC. This was a means of adding an oligarchic element to the administration of the city while maintaining the democratic forms of the *boule* and *demos*.⁴⁶ Following Lévy, Chapot believes that the *gerousia* initially had control over the funds of the Temple of Artemis at Ephesus, but, in an ongoing conflict with the *boule* and *demos*, it gradually lost this influence; it remained active in the festivals and sacred processions. In Magnesia on the Maeander, on the other hand, the *gerousia* was much more social: that body passed a decree providing an oil supplement to the daily quota granted by the city, while some of its officers were responsible for the heating of the baths or the provision of wood for fuel.⁴⁷ The *gerousia* may have been divided into different groups which alternated through its offices, since an inscription of Hierapolis records that the eighth *puxion* of the *gerousia* of that city received a legacy.⁴⁸ Chapot argues that the Ephesian *gerousia* was able to maintain its original character of a religious and financial group, although most other *gerousiai*

⁴³ Chapot (1967): 221.

⁴⁴ Chapot (1967): 222.

⁴⁵ Chapot (1967): 220.

⁴⁶ Chapot (1967): 223; Strabo, 14.1.21.

⁴⁷ Chapot (1967): 225; *IMag* 116.

⁴⁸ Chapot (1967): 227, nn. 3-4.

dwindled to little more than social groups, because it was closely watched over by the provincial governor, whose seat was in Ephesus.⁴⁹

J.H. Oliver provides a comparative study of the *gerousiai* of Athens and Ephesus and, to a lesser extent, several other cities in Asia Minor.⁵⁰ He argues that there were two primary types of *gerousia*, of which one type was a public corporation with the management of estates owned by a temple.⁵¹ Oliver maintains against Lévy that the term *hiera* (sacred) when applied to the *gerousia* “expresses the essential character of the organization” and that it is not merely an epithet intended to enhance the status of the association.⁵² The majority of Asiatic *gerousiai* to which the adjective is not applied were simply social organisations of older citizens. The *hierai gerousiai* are those which began to take a role in the administration of economic affairs in local sanctuaries, and this is the type which existed in Roman Ephesus.⁵³ The original *gerousia* in Ephesus, Oliver argues, was an association of citizens until Lysimachus transferred the financial and secular concerns of the priests of Artemis to these older citizens and added additional members, the *epikletoi*. The *gerousia* was intended to be a body like the Amphictyonic council at Delphi.⁵⁴ It was a council which had influence over the *boule* and *demos* based on the prestige of its members rather than their actual political power.⁵⁵ As the Temple of Artemis lost its financial resources over the course of the Hellenistic period, Oliver argues, the *gerousia* dwindled in importance until it became insignificant. During the early second century AD, though, the Ephesian *gerousia* began to recover as Empire-

⁴⁹ Chapot (1967): 229-230.

⁵⁰ Oliver (1941).

⁵¹ Oliver (1941): 3.

⁵² Oliver (1941): 6; Lévy (1895): 235-236.

⁵³ Oliver (1941): 12.

⁵⁴ Oliver (1941): 15-17.

⁵⁵ Oliver (1941): 19.

wide reforms began. Thus, under Commodus it renewed the practice of performing sacrifices to Artemis which had formerly been discontinued due to a lack of money.⁵⁶ Oliver deduces from a letter addressed by Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus to a *logistes* of the *gerousia* that that body was connected with the Imperial cult, though Magie denies such a connection.⁵⁷ Oliver argues that this connection to the cult was simply the logical consequence of the collocation of the Imperial cult and the worship of Artemis. He concludes that the *gerousia* of Ephesus and those to which the adjective *hiera* is applied were economico-religious bodies, whose purpose was “to provide support for the more splendid celebration of one or more festivals,” noting that the phrase *hierai gerousiai* does not appear before Roman rule in Asia.⁵⁸

Van Berchem considers the question of whether the *gerousia* of the early Hellenistic period as it appears in two decrees is a direct antecedent of the *gerousiai* of the later Hellenistic and Roman periods.⁵⁹ He places his emphasis on the *gerousia* of Ephesus. He argues that during the Hellenistic period it was a body in charge of the sanctuary of Artemis, but that under the Empire it was an association of elder citizens without a specific connection with the Temple of Artemis.⁶⁰ Van Berchem questions Strabo's account, often accepted as crediting Lysimachus with the association of the *epikletoi* with the *gerousia*, asking whether this was done by Lysimachus in order to secure his political interests in the city and temple. His conclusion is negative: the proposals of the *gerousia* required approval from the *boule* and *demos*, so that it, even

⁵⁶ Oliver (1941): 20.

⁵⁷ Oliver (1941): 6; Magie (1988): 1534, n.10.

⁵⁸ Oliver (1988): 37.

⁵⁹ van Berchem (1980): 25-40.

⁶⁰ van Berchem (1980): 26.

with the *epikletoi*, could not impose the wishes of the king.⁶¹ Such a *gerousia*, however, no longer existed at the end of the first century BC when Strabo described it: van Berchem argues that Strabo's description of the *gerousia* is an element derived from a lost Aristotelian *Constitution of Ephesus*, noted by Strabo precisely because it was a novelty which no longer existed in his day.⁶² Ephesus, he suggests, was once governed by an oligarchic council of elders, the *gerousia*, which was then enlarged by the addition of the *epikletoi*. A form of this council still existed at the beginning of the Hellenistic age. Van Berchem argues that the civic organization of Ephesus underwent a significant change during one of its relocations, when a large influx of inhabitants caused the addition of new tribes for the citizens. Though it has been suggested that the tyrant Pythagorus was responsible for this change, van Berchem proposes that it was the Lydian king Croesus who was the cause of this reorganization in the sixth century BC. Since such a removal and the coeval restructuring of the tribes would also be an opportune time for other municipal changes, he puts forth the suggestion that the restriction of the *gerousia* and *epikletoi* to religious affairs took place at the same time.⁶³ Van Berchem sees the origins of the *gerousia* in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, where elders hold an important position of influence.⁶⁴ He suggests that the Ephesian *gerousia* in its original form was a model for the Roman Senate of the sixth century BC, citing several other historical and quasi-historical connections between Rome and Ephesus.⁶⁵ Even after the changes, membership was hereditary, though the members were not necessarily elderly:

⁶¹ van Berchem (1980): 27.

⁶² van Berchem (1980): 28-29.

⁶³ van Berchem (1980): 31-34.

⁶⁴ van Berchem (1980): 34.

⁶⁵ van Berchem (1980): 37-38.

citizens could gain membership – if there was an opening – because of authority or prestige gained through wealth and birth.⁶⁶

Van Rossum notes that the *gerousiai* of the different cities in Asia must have undergone individual evolutions, so that it is virtually impossible to develop a theory which accounts for the origin and nature of the *gerousia*; this is possible in the case of individual *gerousiai*, but not of a general Asiatic institution.⁶⁷ Nonetheless, he observes that it is possible to form general conclusions about the *gerousia* based on the epigraphic evidence from all of Asia and beyond. Age and wealth were criteria for membership, as three papyri from Oxyrynchus seem to indicate, and potential members had to be approved by the civic authorities, though it is not clear what the minimum age for entrance was.⁶⁸ Members of the *gerousia* enjoyed privileges similar to those enjoyed by members of the *boule*, but they were not responsible for discharging civic duties.⁶⁹ He argues that there is no difference between Oliver's 'sacred' *gerousiai* and unqualified *gerousiai*, but that all *gerousiai* were sacred in the sense that their members took part in religious feasts.⁷⁰

Such are the theories regarding the *gerousia*. They are inconsistent with one another in large part because most scholars have based their arguments on different combinations of inscriptions from Asia Minor, so that conclusions about the *gerousia* of one city are often applied to the *gerousiai* of all cities. Once established, whether by a single individual or by imitating a neighbour, each *gerousia* will have undergone changes and developments according to the pressures facing each city; it is surprising that only

⁶⁶ van Berchem (1980): 34.

⁶⁷ van Rossum (1988): 238.

⁶⁸ van Rossum (1988): 55-56, 239-240; *POxy* 3099-3101.

⁶⁹ van Rossum (1988): 241.

⁷⁰ van Rossum (1988): 241.

van Rossum, in the most recent study of the *gerousia*, appears to have noted this. Each *gerousia*, therefore, is more or less unique; a general study of the *gerousia* will not necessarily result in conclusions applicable to every city in which a *gerousia* is known.

There were, of course, similarities between the *gerousiai* in different cities. Hicks, however, was too precipitous in his assumption that the *gerousia* of Ephesus could be taken as representative of *gerousiai* throughout Asia.⁷¹ This is tantamount to assuming that the magisterial organization of Ephesus is representative of that of another city: the variety of civic titles from the Asian Greek cities manifestly demonstrates that this is not the case.⁷² Hicks, however, is the only scholar of those discussed here to acknowledge that an assumption has been made: that evidence drawn from any city in which a *gerousia* is known to have existed can be applied indiscriminately to the *gerousia* of any other city.⁷³ Nonetheless, each of the scholars in question makes this assumption to one degree or another.

Thus, Mommsen's citations of meeting places in Nysa, Nicomedia and Sardis cannot be used to support the existence of such a structure in Ephesus. It is not impossible or even improbable that the Ephesian *gerousia* did have a building which could be described as its own, but Mommsen's suggestion that the *gerousia* was the equivalent of a modern gentleman's club does not necessitate such a building in Ephesus. The *gerousia* of Ephesus did, in fact, have an increasingly social character as it evolved, but there is little evidence to support a 'clubhouse' dedicated to the use of the *gerousia*.⁷⁴

⁷¹ Hicks (1890): 82.

⁷² Dmitriev (2005).

⁷³ This is not to deny the importance of inscriptions from other cities, however; such evidence must be used with care.

⁷⁴ Strabo, 14.1.43; Pl., *Ep.*, 10.33; Vitruvius, 2.8.10; cf. below, pp., 228-229, n. 53, & cat. no. 17 (pp. 313-316, n. 8).

Similarly, Mommsen's suggestion that the *neoi* and *gerousiastai* are parallel does not appear to be true in Ephesus: the *neoi* appear far more rarely in the inscriptions.⁷⁵ Two inscriptions mentioning this group are decrees of the *boule* and *demos* about the *neoi*, but the *neoi* do not appear alongside the *boule* and *demos* as the *gerousia* does. A third inscription records the dedication of a statue by the *neoi* alone from their own funds.

Mommsen, it will be recalled, also noted the importance of the gymnasiarch within the *gerousia*, a feature of his interpretation which Jones and others upheld. There is, however, no evidence that the members of the Ephesian *gerousia* enjoyed either the exclusive use of one of the city's gymnasia or an allowance of oil at civic expense, as seems to have been the case in Magnesia on the Maeander.⁷⁶ Several gymnasiarchs of the *gerousia* are known from Ephesus, but there is no mention of a gymnasium of the *gerousia*.⁷⁷ This does not prove that there was no significant connection between the *gerousia* and the gymnasium, but it does validate caution in assuming that the *gerousia* was centered on a gymnasium. Mommsen's conclusions about the *gerousia*, therefore, may have little bearing on the Ephesian *gerousia*.

The evidence to support the public orientation of the *gerousia* as opposed to Mommsen's private orientation can be summarized briefly, but will be treated in greater detail in the subsequent chapters. Most scholars agree that the *gerousiai* of various cities had access to their own funds, whether from endowments or from public grants. This in itself would not be inconsistent with the identification of the *gerousia* as a social group,

⁷⁵ *IEph* 6, 446; *JÖAI* 62 (1993): 124, no. 14.

⁷⁶ *IMag* 116.

⁷⁷ Scherrer (2001): 73 suggests that the gymnasium located in front of the theatre (no. 24 in Figure 2) was that of the *gerousia*. It must be noted, though, that Scherrer does not incontrovertibly identify this building in this way; he cautiously says, "I would like to identify it with the Gymnasium of the *gerousia*, frequently mentioned in inscriptions from the third decade of the 1st c. AD onward." In fact, though, a gymnasium of the *gerousia* is not mentioned in the inscriptions from Ephesus; gymnasiarchs of the *gerousia* are (cat. nos. 12, 13 & 31; cf. cat. nos. 4, 38 & 52).

but the appointment of a *logistes* to review and oversee the finances of the Ephesian *gerousia* suggests that this particular group was not simply social.⁷⁸ Furthermore, this *gerousia* appears in several cases – in Ephesus and in other cities – as the officially appointed guardian of graves, occasionally alongside the *boule*, which would give it religious, if not public, responsibilities.⁷⁹ Furthermore, the *gerousia*, like the *boule* and *demos*, is occasionally identified as *ton Ephesion*, suggesting strongly that it was a public body of the city.⁸⁰

It is, however, probable that the Ephesian *gerousia* was not complementary to or a part of the *boule*, as Boeckh and Curtius propose.⁸¹ Members of the *boule* and *gerousia* are mentioned as separate recipients of different amounts in distributions of money, which implies a clear distinction.⁸² Furthermore, the *gerousia* appears in only two citizenship decrees, both times as a supporter, although there are many such decrees of the *boule* and *demos* from the Hellenistic period. Dio Chrysostom refers to dissension between the *boule* and *demos* and the *gerousia* in Tarsus,⁸³ which suggests at the very least that it cannot be maintained that members of the *gerousia* everywhere were or had been members of the *boule* as well: one would expect in this case that the interests of the *gerousiastai* and *bouleutai* would coincide. Curtius' suggestion that the *sunhedrion* could refer to a meeting of the *gerousia* shows an awareness that the terms were not always synonymous.⁸⁴

⁷⁸ On the *logistes*, see below, Chapter Five, pp. 164-165.

⁷⁹ On the overseeing of graves, see below, Chapter Six, pp. 238-242.

⁸⁰ Menadier (1880): 52.

⁸¹ Curtius (1870): 224-226.

⁸² *IEph* 27.221-236; 4123.9-15.

⁸³ Dio Chrys., *Second Tarsian Oration*, 16-17.

⁸⁴ Cf. *IEph* 1057 in which *sunhedrion* appears to refer to the *boule* rather than the *gerousia*. There are several inscriptions in which *sunhedrion* appears, possibly as a synonym of the *gerousia*. These will be considered in the following chapter.

Chapot's suggestion that the *gerousia* of Ephesus was allowed to remain a semi-political organization because it was under the direct supervision of the proconsul is an inadequate theory for its continued existence and apparent importance. Ephesus may have been the most frequently occupied assize centre of the province, but it was only one of ten or thirteen judicial centres in Asia, so that the *gerousiai* of other assize centres would have been only slightly less subject to supervision and, it follows, only slightly less prominent.⁸⁵ Furthermore, Nicomedia in Bithynia, which Cassius Dio couples with Ephesus as one of the two most important cities in their provinces under Augustus, has four of approximately four hundred inscriptions mentioning the *gerousia*.⁸⁶ Proportionately, therefore, Nicomedia has only slightly fewer *gerousia*-inscriptions than Ephesus, 1% as opposed to less than 2%. This does not mean that the Nicomedeian *gerousia* was more prominent in the total number of inscriptions originally erected in that city, but it does suggest that the Ephesian *gerousia* may not have continued to exist simply because the city was an assize centre.

The nature and prominence of the *gerousia* of Ephesus are not the only points of issue which arise from the theories discussed above. The absence of evidence after approximately 281 BC has in general been seen as a sign of a decline in the importance of the *gerousia*. Since this argument is based on silence, it cannot be proven. Oliver tentatively supported this view because the *gerousia* appears in two inscriptions from the beginning of the second century BC, but is otherwise unattested in the Hellenistic period.⁸⁷ At the time of the publication of his *Sacred Gerosia* (1941), there was, in fact, no evidence beyond the two decrees from the beginning of the 3rd century BC for this

⁸⁵ Rogers (1991): 3; Pl., *HN*, 5.95-122; Burton (1975).

⁸⁶ *TAM* IV; Dio Cass., 51.20.6: αὐται γὰρ τότε αἱ πόλεις ἦν τε τῇ Ἀσίᾳ καὶ ἐν τῇ Βιθυνίᾳ προετετίμηντο.

⁸⁷ *IEph* 1449, 1470.

body in Ephesus before AD 104. It is clear, though, that the *gerousia* was not in a state of recovery at this time, but had in fact existed throughout the first century AD and before: the publication in 1993 of a series of letters from, among others, Augustus, Germanicus and the proconsul of Asia has confirmed the existence of a *gerousia* of some importance in the late first century BC and early first century AD.⁸⁸ The theory that a decline in the wealth of Artemis might have caused a corresponding decline in the *gerousia*, therefore, requires revision. The existence of the *gerousia* in 302-281 BC, 45 BC-AD 30 and beyond AD 104 is most easily accounted for by the supposition that it existed continuously from at least the beginning of the third century BC, with no descents into obscurity and sudden revivals. Furthermore, if it is necessary for the *gerousia* and the Temple of Artemis to parallel each another – an assumption – it must be noted that the temple seems to have thrived throughout this period.⁸⁹

A common failing of the discussions of the scholars noted above is that the *gerousia* seems to be viewed as a static institution under Roman rule. It is acknowledged that the *gerousia* of the Hellenistic period and that of the Roman period are different, but little attention is paid to the changes and developments which took place in the *gerousia* during the first, second and third centuries AD, not to mention those which must have taken place during the Hellenistic period for which there is as yet no evidence. It will be suggested below that overall the *gerousia* experienced an evolution from a significant political body within the city of Ephesus to a group which was by and large a social club for relatively wealthy citizens but which nevertheless did perform some public functions. A study which draws evidence indiscriminately from the first three centuries is, therefore,

⁸⁸ *JÖAI* 62 (1993): 113-118, nos. 1-10.

⁸⁹ Xen., *An.*, 5.6.3; Caes., *B. Civ.*, 3.33, 105; Dio Chrys., *Rhodian Oration*, 54, 55, 65; Aristides, *Concerning Concord* 24.

as flawed as a study of The Asiatic *Gerosia* – the former assumes *a priori* that no changes took place after the city fell into the hands of the Romans, the latter that *gerousiai* were the same throughout Asia Minor. The sixth chapter of this study, focusing on the activities and privileges of the *gerousia*, therefore, considers the evidence for the imperial *gerousia* in three chronological sections, the late first century BC and early first century AD, the second century AD, and the late second to early third century AD.

At the same time, it should not be assumed that all changes which can be identified are the result of rule by the Romans. As MacMullen argues, “romanization” in the East was in many ways a process that was overwhelmed by “hellenization” as Roman citizens and other immigrants from the west were absorbed into the Hellenistic culture that had been introduced centuries earlier.⁹⁰ Roman rule did undoubtedly have an effect on the *gerousia* of Ephesus and other institutions of other cities; the process of transformation, though, was a natural evolution of the body.

The discovery of new evidence makes a re-evaluation of the various theories on the nature of the *gerousia* not only possible, but also desirable. At the same time, though, the study of *gerousia* itself can be conducted in light of advances in other aspects of ancient history, notably prosopography. Ongoing epigraphic discoveries inevitably lead to an increase in the overall number of individuals known throughout the empire. This in turn leads to the possibility of studying the *gerousia* on a more personal basis, considering the *gerousiastai* as members of the city at large. Such an approach has been partially available to previous scholars, but only Oliver appears to have considered the individual officers of the *gerousia*, and that only briefly. A more detailed examination of

⁹⁰ MacMullen (2000): 1-29.

the men identified as *gerousiastai* is necessary if the position of the *gerousia* within the city is to be determined and is possible with the abundant evidence from Ephesus; such an examination marks the Ephesian *gerousia* as a body distinct from the *boule*.

Just as the nature and prominence of the *gerousia* of Ephesus do not seem to be fully accounted for in the various theories proposed, the origins of the Ephesian institution may go beyond the currently available explanations. Van Berchem considers this question at length, but his model for the early *gerousia* of Ephesus is, as he himself admits, highly theoretical. Nonetheless, several of his arguments are compelling, particularly the existence of a *gerousia* in Ephesus long before Lysimachus' capture of the city. Certainly he is right to look to early Greek literature for clues to the origins of the *gerousia*, of both the Doric and the Asiatic types. The highly hypothetical reconstruction of van Berchem incorporates several elements which are capable of alternate interpretation, though. The origins of the *gerousia*, therefore, are by no means settled, and will be considered at length in the second chapter.

The very early history of the Ephesian *gerousia* cannot be reconstructed from epigraphic sources, since there are none available. The third chapter presents a brief discussion of the epigraphic evidence for the *gerousia* in Ephesus which will serve as the documentary foundation for the fourth, fifth and sixth chapters of this study. The first half of this chapter indicated the existence of synonymous or nearly synonymous terms for the *gerousia*; the third chapter, consequently, also includes a brief discussion of the relevance of the terms *sunhedrion*, *sustema(ta)* and *presbeuteroi*, all of which appear in the inscriptions, to the study of the *gerousia*. The inscriptions themselves, each accompanied by a translation of my own, are presented in the first appendix.

Chapter Four considers the individual members of the *gerousia*. It argues that a civic decree from Sidyma, which records the registration of fifty-one *bouleutai* and forty-nine *demotai* as the first members of the *gerousia*, should not be used as a model for reconstructing the membership of the Ephesian *gerousia*. Although no similar document survives from Ephesus, sufficient evidence does survive to show that there was not a similar demographic split in the Ephesian institution. This chapter also considers the size of the *gerousia* at different points in its existence in relation to the population of Ephesus. Finally, the names of known *gerousiastai* are presented in this chapter.

The offices within the *gerousia* form the subject of Chapter Five. Here the duties of each attested officer are considered briefly, as is their relative position to one another in the hierarchy of the *gerousia*. This chapter also questions whether a title such as *logistes* of the *gerousia* identifies its bearer as a member of the *gerousia*, or an external official appointed to oversee and correct certain aspects of the *gerousia*. The second half of this chapter considers the offices which the members of the *gerousia* held within the city. These offices help to indicate the social status of the *gerousia* and its members in Ephesus.

Chapter Six examines in detail the activities in which the *gerousia* can be seen to have engaged, and the rights which it seems to have enjoyed. This examination is conducted on a chronological basis, attempting to demonstrate that the *gerousia* underwent a gradual decline from a significant political body in the city to an association of a much more social nature.

2. EPHEBUS AND THE GEROUSIA

2.1. A Brief History of Ephesus

An institution cannot be studied in isolation, whether it is a public body governing a state or city, or a private group attending only to the interests of its own members. Whether native or foreign to a city, any given institution will inevitably be affected by the pressures and needs facing that particular city. The *gerousia* of Ephesus, therefore, must be considered in relation to the history of the city and the region, particularly since Asia Minor as a whole was a part of various kingdoms and empires during the period covered by this study. A summary of Ephesus' history, then, is called for before a detailed consideration of the history of the Ephesian *gerousia* itself can be undertaken.

Ephesus, like most Greek cities, had a mythological tradition surrounding its foundation. Androclus, the son of the Athenian king Codrus, sailed to Asia Minor with his followers and the approval of Artemis and Poseidon. On the voyage to Asia Minor, they conquered Samos. After crossing to the mainland, Androclus sent to the oracle at Delphi to inquire where he should build his city. In accordance with the oracle, Coressus was founded on the spot where Androclus killed a boar, believed to be the region near the remains of the *macellum* and stadium.¹ According to the tradition found in Strabo, Androclus drove out the Carian and Lelegian inhabitants of the region.² Under his guidance, the city grew. Androclus himself was killed in battle while helping the people of neighbouring Priene repel the Carians. Alternatively, Pliny the Elder records that Ephesus was founded by Amazons, and that it had had several different names during its

¹ Ath., 8.361d-361e; Scherrer (1995): 3; Fig. 3, nos. 18 & 21.

² Strabo, 14.1.21; cf., Vitruvius, 4.1.5.

early history.³ Vitruvius provides a third version of the foundation of Ephesus, in which Ion led an expedition from Athens to Asia, where he established the thirteen Ionian cities, including Ephesus.⁴

The site of Ephesus has been occupied since the fifth millennium BC, and excavations of the city, conducted by the Österreichischen Archäologischen Institut since the early twentieth century, have revealed pottery and obsidian remains from the early bronze age in the area around the Church of St. John. The site continued to be inhabited thereafter; remains of houses have also been discovered below the Hellenistic and Roman Tetragonus Agora which have been identified as remnants of the village of ancient Smyrna, mentioned by Strabo. The earliest phase of these houses appears to date to the last third of the eighth century BC; because of the rising sea level and ground-water level the inhabitants seem to have abandoned the area in the early sixth century. The area continued to be used by craftsmen.⁵

Ephesus, emerging from a synoikism of the villages in the area, was ruled by the descendants of Androclus, the Basilidae, until around 600 BC, when the tyrant Pythagoras established himself. It was the first of the Ionian cities which Croesus attacked after succeeding his father Alyattes to the Lydian throne.⁶ After overcoming the tyrant Pindarus, Croesus compelled the citizens to move down from the slopes of Mt. Coressus to the area surrounding the Artemision; the remains of this settlement have not yet been identified, but Croesus probably attempted to unite the native Carians and Lydians with the Greeks in this settlement. Prior to Croesus' relocation, the ancient city,

³ Pl., *HN.*, 5.32.114: Alope, Ortygia, Amorge, Smyrna Trachia, Haemonion, Ptelea.

⁴ Vitr., 4.1.4; cf. Vell. Pat., 1.4.3.

⁵ Scherrer (2001): 59; Scherrer (2000): 14-15; Scherrer (1995): 3.

⁶ Domínguez (1999): 77-78; Hdt., 1.26.

like its Hellenistic and Roman incarnations, had been a distance of seven *stades* from the sanctuary of Artemis.⁷ The Artemision was a source of refuge for citizens, and throughout the history of the ancient city the territorial extent of its asylum was expanded and reduced by kings and generals until the time of Augustus.⁸

After Cyrus the Great defeated Croesus, Ephesus and eleven other cities joined together to resist, unsuccessfully, the Persian army. Under the Persian Empire, the city was an important port, serving as the landing site of the Athenian fleet during the Ionian Revolt.⁹ Although the Athenian army, after sacking Sardis, was followed back to Ephesus by the Persian army, the city was the only one which was not burnt after Darius I finally suppressed the revolt. A century later, the Spartan admiral Lysander used Ephesus as his base of operations at the end of the Peloponnesian War, encouraging oligarchic government through the creation of a decarchy; the Coressos harbour was again used as a landing point by the Athenians in 409 BC, though less successfully this time.¹⁰

The status of Ephesus and other Ionian cities after the Peloponnesian war is not certainly known. The city was subjected to the Persian Empire in 411 BC, and probably continued to be so until Cyrus' revolt in 402 BC.¹¹ The Peace of Antalcidas of 387/6 acknowledged Persian control over the Greek cities of Asia Minor, including Ephesus.¹² During this time, Lysander's decarchy may have been replaced with a more democratic constitution: J-F. Bommelaer argues that the reception of exiled democrats from Samos

⁷ Scherrer (2001): 64; Scherrer (2002): 16; Scherrer (1995): 3; Hdt. 1.26.

⁸ Strabo, 14.1.23; cf. *SEG* 41, 971.

⁹ Hdt., 5.100.

¹⁰ Plut., *Lys.*, 5.3-4; Xen., *Hell.*, 1.26.

¹¹ Bommelaer (1981): 118-124.

¹² Xen., *Hell.*, 5.1.29-32.

by Ephesus at the end of the fifth century may be indicative of such a democratic restoration.¹³ Lysander, therefore, may have been eager to return to Asia in 397 BC in order to restore the decarchies which he had formerly established, but Xenophon suggests that the cities of Asia may have been at this time in political turmoil with neither democrats nor decarchs securely established.¹⁴ Officially, Lysander's decarchies had been abolished by the Ephors; the actual situation, however, need not reflect the ideal situation envisioned by the Ephors.¹⁵ Similarly, a potential democratic restoration does not mean that the decarchies must have vanished.

When Tissaphernes regained control of Asia after the death of Cyrus at the end of the fifth century BC, it is probable that the cities were subject to decarchies and moderate oligarchies – that is, the political turmoil suggested by Xenophon probably still remained but with oligarchs enjoying satrapal support; Bommelaer tentatively adds the possibility of democracies in some cities.¹⁶ Whatever the constitutional character of the cities, Tissaphernes devoted himself to driving out Lysander's appointees.¹⁷ This may suggest support for democracies, but a seemingly more expedient means of removing Lysander's decarchs would be to establish other oligarchs in opposition to them. A decarchical or oligarchical constitution for Ephesus is, therefore, a very real possibility at the beginning of the fourth century BC, particularly since such a constitution did exist in the city at the time of Alexander's conquest.

Alexander the Great defeated Darius III in the battle at the Granicus River in 334 BC, after which Sardis and the cities along the coast surrendered without contest to him,

¹³ Bommelaer (1981): 121-122; *IG*² 1, 1; Tod 97.

¹⁴ *Xen. Hell.*, 4.7; *Plut., Ages.*, 6.2; Bommelaer (1981): 125.

¹⁵ *Xen., Hell.*, 3.4.2.

¹⁶ Bommelaer (1981): 126.

¹⁷ Bommelaer (1981): 131.

with the exception of Miletus and Halicarnassus.¹⁸ Upon his arrival in Ephesus, Alexander removed the authority of the small oligarchic governing class and replaced it with democratic institutions, as he did throughout Asia Minor.¹⁹ It does not take a great deal of imagination to see this ruling oligarchic class as a remnant or evolution of Tissaphernes' proposed oligarchs.

After Alexander's death, Antigonus I controlled Asia Minor in 319 BC, and retained Ephesus until 302 BC, when it surrendered to Prepelaus, a general of Lysimachus.²⁰ Demetrius, Antigonus' son, had recovered the city by the end of that year or the following year, and installed a garrison of his own after expelling Prepelaus' troops.²¹ Although Lysimachus and Antiochus defeated Antigonus and Demetrius in 301 BC at the Battle of Ipsus, Demetrius retained Ephesus until 295 BC, when Lysimachus captured the city once again.²²

Lysimachus laid out a new wall for the city and built public buildings within the new circuit at a distance from the existing settlement around the temple (overlapping the site of the original site), but he was unable to persuade the Ephesians to relocate. According to tradition, therefore, he blocked the sewers of the city during a heavy rainstorm and thereby compelled the citizens to move to his new city, Arsinoê. Among the buildings constructed under Lysimachus, a long rectangular building (approximately 43.40 x 11.50m) with two rows of 7-9 chambers has been found in the southwest corner of the Tetragonus Agora.²³ According to Strabo, a *gerousia* was registered and a body

¹⁸ Plut., *Alex.*, 17.

¹⁹ Arr., *Anab.*, 1.17.10.

²⁰ Diod. Sic., 18.52.7, 20.107.

²¹ Diod. Sic., 20.111.3; for Antigonus and Demetrius at Ephesus, *IEph* 1448, 1452, 1453.

²² Plut., *Dem.*, 30; Cohen (1995): 177-178.

²³ Scherrer 2001): 66-67.

which was called the *epikletoi* were associated with it; they are said to have managed everything.²⁴ The meaning of Strabo's final sentence is unclear. It has long been recognized that the *gerousia* and *epikletoi* could not have governed everything: their earliest appearances show them honouring two individuals *through* the *boule* and the *demos*, bodies to which they were subordinate. One might suppose that Strabo simply meant that at some point in the city's history the *gerousia* and *epikletoi* διωκοῦν πάντα; alternatively, since Strabo's next point refers to the temple, πάντα could be interpreted as referring specifically to temple affairs rather than civic affairs; equally possibly, πάντα may refer to the business associated with the relocation of the city and the construction of new buildings.²⁵

After murdering his son Agathocles by his first wife in 286 BC, or simply allowing his second wife to murder him, Lysimachus was defeated by Philetaerus, to whom he had entrusted Pergamum, and Seleucus I; he lost Asia Minor, Ephesus and his life in 281 BC.²⁶ During the following eighty years, Ephesus passed to and from the Attalids, Seleucids and Ptolemies until the end of the third century. Antiochus III had captured many of Attalus I's territories by 214/3 BC, and in 197 BC, he began his attempt to restore western Asia Minor to his kingdom. After capturing the Ptolemaic holdings, Antiochus was able to spend the winter of that year in Ephesus, which he had captured after it may have enjoyed a brief period of independence.²⁷ Following this, the city

²⁴ Strabo, 14.1.21: Λυσίμαχος δὲ τὴν νῦν πόλιν τειχίσας, ἀηδῶς τῶν ἀνθρώπων μεθισταμένων, τηρήσας καταρράκτην ὄμβρον συνήργησε καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ τοὺς ῥινούχους ἐνέφραξεν, ὥστε κατακλύσαι τὴν πόλιν· οἱ δὲ μετέστησαν ἄσμενοι. ἐκάλεσε δ' Ἀρσινόην ἀπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς τὴν πόλιν, ἐπεκράτησε μὲντοι τὸ ἀρχαῖον ὄνομα. ἦν δὲ γερουσία καταγεγραμμένη, τοῦτοις δὲ συνήεσαν οἱ ἐπὶ κλητοὶ καλούμενοι καὶ διώκουν πάντα; Paus. 1.9.7; cf. below, Chapter Two, pp. 47-50.

²⁵ These possibilities were all raised during discussion at a workshop held at die Kommission für alte Geschichte und Epigraphik des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts in Munich on May 18, 2006.

²⁶ Paus. 1.10.4.

²⁷ Hansen, (1971): 16-22, 28-36, 74; Kosmetatou (1999): 185-186.

served as a base of operations during his further campaigns in Asia Minor against his rivals and against the Romans. It was here that several meetings between Antiochus and embassies from Rome took place.²⁸ After his defeat in 193 BC at Magnesia, the city voluntarily joined the Romans, and was subsequently used as a Roman base of operations until the end of the war. It was awarded to the Pergamene king Eumenes II after the eventual defeat of Antiochus under the terms of the Peace of Apamea and remained for the next sixty years a part of the Attalid kingdom.²⁹ The city was specifically named with several others as subject and tributary to Eumenes II.³⁰

When Attalus III died childless in 133 BC, he left his kingdom to the Roman Republic, though he granted freedom to several cities. When the Senate finally took action on the matter of the bequest, they proceeded slowly, sending a commission to Asia to organize the settlement. This resulted in the dismemberment of the kingdom through territorial grants to various kings rather than outright annexation. The provincial organization did not violate Attalus' bequest: those cities which had been freed by the king were not reduced to subject status. This organization of the province – or, as Gruen argues, a protectorate initially – took time, interrupted by the revolt of Aristonicus, an illegitimate son of Eumenes II.³¹ Asia may not have officially become a province until the mid-120s, but Ephesus was used as an assize centre when the provincial organization had been completed.³² The city was included among the 'friends and allies' of Rome.

²⁸ Antiochus at Ephesus: eg., Livy, 33.38, 49; 35.13, 15; 36.20-21; 36.41, 42-43; 37.10ff; Embassies, eg.: 35.14-19.

²⁹ Surrender of Ephesus; Livy, 37.45; awarded to Eumenes: 37.55-56; Peace of Apamea: 38.37-39.

³⁰ Hansen (1971): 95-96; Livy, 38.39.

³¹ Gruen (1984): 605-607; Sherk (1969): 59-62, no. 11=*IGRR* 4.301.

³² Rogers (1991): 3, n. 9; Pl., *HN.*, 5.95-122.

‘Friend and Ally’ was a nominal status, eventually reserved for those states which had benefited Rome in some way.³³ Ephesus, during the revolt of Aristonicus, had defeated the rebel fleet, so that it may have had a double claim to the free status which it enjoyed: Attalus’ will and service to Rome.³⁴ This status resulted in civic autonomy and “limited material and fiscal privileges within the provincial system.”³⁵ In 98/7 or 94/3 BC, the proconsul of Asia, Quintus Mucius Scaevola, sent a letter to the *boule* and *demos* of the Ephesians, in which he refers to a state of ‘friendship’ with the Romans.³⁶ That a state of friendship existed between Rome and Ephesus might suggest that the city was at this point a free one.

Though free, Ephesus was not beyond the reach of Roman tax-collectors. The *publicani* diverted the revenue of two nearby lakes from the Temple of Artemis to their own purposes, prompting the despatch of an embassy led by one Artemidorus to Rome.³⁷ This embassy succeeded in having the lakes returned once more to the goddess, possibly at the end of the second or beginning of the first century BC.³⁸ That the *publicani* were able to collect taxes from the territory of Artemis and of Ephesus itself suggests that the free status of Ephesus or of any other city depended on the cities insisting on that status.³⁹

³³ Originally, of course, ‘friend and ally’ was an important indicator of status. It seems, though, that the use of the phrase ἡ συμμαχία καὶ φιλία by various Greek cities during the third century BC was “a relationship of informal *amicitia*: mere inter-state ‘friendship’ with no formal, legally binding treaty of alliance” (Eckstein [1999]).

³⁴ Hansen (1971): 153; Strabo, 14.1.38. Ephesus’ service as a port during the war against Antiochus III at the beginning of the century should not be forgotten.

³⁵ Sherwin-White (1984): 69.

³⁶ Sherk (1984): 68, no. 57.

³⁷ Strabo describes one of these lakes as “a lake that runs inland from the sea, called Selinusia”; the second is not named, but is said to be confluent with Selinusia. Both are to the north of the outlet of the Cayster river. (Strabo, 14.1.26: μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐκβολὴν τοῦ Καῦστρου λίμνη ἐστὶν ἐκ τοῦ πελάγους ἀναχέομένη, καλεῖται δὲ Σελινουσία, καὶ ἐφεξῆς ἄλλη σύρρους αὐτῇ)

³⁸ Strabo, 14.1.26; Guerber (1995): 392.

³⁹ Millar (1977): 420-447 cites numerous instances of cities sending embassies to the Emperor to request, confirm and restore benefits and privileges such as immunity from taxes. Similarly, Tacitus reports an embassy from Ephesus justifying its privileges before Tiberius (*Ann.*, 3.61).

Even the payment of taxes, though, does not necessarily contradict so-called free status: Stratonicea may have been paying taxes to Rome before and after the invasion of Mithridates VI, but it is still termed a friend and ally of Rome; similarly, Aphrodisias, which did enjoy free status, was obliged to seek confirmation of that freedom repeatedly in order to avoid tax collectors.⁴⁰

Mithridates VI, the king of Pontus, invaded Asia in 88 BC and won over many cities.⁴¹ Even before the war, however, Asia, Greece and Africa were said to be revolting from Rome because of the cupidity of the generals who had been active in those provinces. Furthermore, the *publicani*, bankers and merchants from Rome, through their own rapacity, had played a role in encouraging the commoners of Ephesus and other cities to support Mithridates as a 'Liberator of the Greeks'.⁴² Initially, Mithridates fulfilled this role, winning the first battles, invading Ionia while the Roman generals were wintering at Apamea, Pergamum and Rhodes, and 'freeing' many Greek cities from the Romans.⁴³ He captured the Roman generals and proceeded to Ephesus, where he was well-received in 88 BC. During his stay in the city, the Ephesians are said to have overthrown statues of Romans which had been erected in their city.⁴⁴

Before Sulla arrived to take up the war, Mithridates ordered his satraps and governors to kill all the Romans and Italians in their cities on a single day in 88 BC. He promised rewards for those who revealed Romans in hiding, and slaves who killed their

⁴⁰ Eckstein (1999): 407-408; *OGIS* 441 ll. 71-72: δῆμος καλὸς καὶ ἀγαθὸς καὶ φίλος σύμμαχος τε ἡμέτερος; Aphrodisias: Millar (1977): 429; Reynolds (1982): 115-118, no. 15; cf. Reynolds (1982): 54-91, no. 8.

⁴¹ Sherwin-White (1984): 240; App., *Mith.*, 16-21.

⁴² App., *Mith.*, 16, 18-19; Diod. Sic., 37.26-27.1; Rogers (1991): 5-6.

⁴³ App., *Mith.*, 19-20.

⁴⁴ App., *Mith.*, 21.

masters received their freedom.⁴⁵ Memnon reports that eighty thousand Romans were killed as a result of Mithridates' action, but he implies that not all the cities of Asia Minor obeyed the instructions. Ephesus, however, is reported to have been especially enthusiastic: the citizens are said to have torn Roman and Italian suppliants away from the Artemision in order to kill them.⁴⁶

The numbers reported for the slaughtered Romans may be assumed to have been exaggerated.⁴⁷ In a discussion of population size and change, Walter Scheidel notes that "the large majority of references [to the reporting of numbers] are no more than symbolic values, at best indicative of a certain order of magnitude and deployed to lend colour or emphasis to the author's exposition;"⁴⁸ this is how Memnon's figure ought to be interpreted, as a way of intensifying the atrocity of Mithridates' order. Although Appian similarly emphasises the brutality of the slaughtering of the Romans, he undermines this aspect of his own narrative: the proconsul of Asia, Lucius Cassius, escaped to Rhodes, which suggests either previous knowledge of the plot, or that there were sympathisers who helped Cassius and, presumably, other Roman citizens. It is evident that

⁴⁵ Memnon, *FGrHist* 434 F 22.9=Sherk (1984): 66-68, no. 56; App., *Mith.*, 22-23.

⁴⁶ App., *Mith.*, 23; the citizens of Pergamum treated suppliants in the sanctuary of Aesclepius in the same manner. While at Ephesus, Mithridates extended the area included under the protection of the Artemision to a little over a *stadion* (Strabo, 14.1.23).

⁴⁷ If Herodotus' statement that Xerxes' army consisted of three million soldiers can be rejected as exaggeration, there is no reason why Memnon's figure of eighty thousand should be accepted at face value. Roman and Italian citizens would have been settling and visiting the Hellenistic East from at least the beginning of the second century BC. Soldiers may have settled in various regions of the east soon after Rome's first expeditions across the Mediterranean, and merchants will have followed them closely – if they did not in fact precede settlers of military background. In many ways, these Romans will have been assimilated into the Greek population, becoming, for all intents and purposes, Greeks themselves (MacMullen [2000]: 1-7). It must therefore be asked how likely it is that Greeks would murder not only their fellow citizens – who in many cases may have been of Greek descent – but also those citizens whose presence must have contributed in no small part to the prosperity of many cities. If MacMullen is correct in his estimate that the number of Romans – including those of Greek descent or those who had themselves been Hellenized – exceeded one hundred thousand at its peak (MacMullen [2000]: 27), one must ask whether the number of Roman citizens who were in actual danger of being murdered – that is, those who had not been in the east sufficiently long to have become Hellenized – could have been eighty thousand.

⁴⁸ Scheidel (2001): 49.

Mithridates' promises of rewards for revealing those Romans who concealed themselves did not achieve their intended goal in every case. The use of rewards can, in fact, be seen as an indication of reluctance to obey Mithridates' command.⁴⁹ Furthermore, support for Mithridates in Ephesus may only have been a result of his presence and his victories: the citizens of Ephesus rejected his agent Zenobius after his losses in Greece and a deportation of the citizens of Chios.⁵⁰ The enthusiasm on the part of the Ephesians reported by Appian and Memnon may have been remarkable because it was against the overall persuasion of the city; the executions may have been the work of relatively few fanatics.

Approximately three years after the execution of the Romans, at the end of 86 or beginning of 85, Mithridates had had successes in both Asia and Greece but his armies were beginning to undergo large defeats; he became more and more despotic, no longer playing the role of a liberator. This, and the exportation of the Chians by Zenobius, encouraged the Ephesians to kill that officer when he came to the city while the king was at Pergamum. Again, Ephesian loyalty to Mithridates appears to have been lacking during Mithridates' absence, upheld, perhaps, only by a minority of the inhabitants.⁵¹ The citizens reversed their former position, attempting to rejoin the Romans by declaring war on Mithridates and attributing their obedience to his commands to the suddenness of his attack and the terrifying size of his forces. The Ephesians passed a decree to this effect, although it did not protect them from punishment in Sulla's settlement after Mithridates' surrender and retirement to Pontus.⁵² Appian reports that the citizens were

⁴⁹ App., *Mith.*, 24.

⁵⁰ App., *Mith.*, 46-48.

⁵¹ App., *Mith.*, 46; Magie (1988): 224-225.

⁵² *IEph* 8; *SIG*³ 742=Sherk (1984): 73-74, no. 61.

punished very severely (*ekolazonto pikros*), and that Sulla required the province to pay five years of taxes at once in addition to the cost of the war. Ephesus was not alone in being punished: Sulla stripped some cities of their freedom and fiscal immunities; only a few, for especial services, retained their freedom, but not necessarily their fiscal immunities.⁵³ Ephesus and other cities became responsible for taxes formerly collected by the *publicani*.⁵⁴

The legal status of Ephesus after Sulla's settlement is disputed. Magie and Sherwin-White assume that Sulla stripped the city of its free status, because, as they argue, such status was regained between 48 and 46 BC.⁵⁵ There is, however, debate about from whom it received the restoration of free status. There are two potential benefactors, Publius Servilius Isauricus, who was consul in 48 and 41, and proconsul of Asia in 46; and Caesar, who was Isauricus' consular colleague and present in Asia in 48 BC.

Both Servilius and Caesar were the recipients of divine honours in Asia. Two Ephesian inscriptions from the time of Hadrian record honours for two priests of Servilius and Roma, while others from Ephesus and Pergamum honour Caesar as a descendant of Ares and Aphrodite, a manifest god, and the saviour of human life.⁵⁶ On the basis of these honours and an inscription from Pergamum which honours him as having "restored to the city its ancestral laws and its democracy without restrictions,"

⁵³ Sherwin-White (1984): 40-46; App., *Mith.*, 61-62.

⁵⁴ Magie (1988): 236-237.

⁵⁵ Sherwin-White (1984): 40-46; Magie (1988): 474, 955, 1271 n. 42. E. Guerber (1995) provides a detailed study of the question of Ephesus' status under the Empire, with the conclusion that the city was by then, and probably under the Republic, among "les cités stipendiaires de la province dont elle était la capitale" (409); he also provides a summary of the earlier scholarship on this question, pp. 389-390, nn. 1-4.

⁵⁶ Servilius: *IEph* 702, 3066; Caesar: *SIG*³ 760=Serk (1984): 100, no. 79d.

Magie argues that Servilius restored freedom to both Ephesus and Pergamum during his proconsulship.⁵⁷

Sherk argues that Caesar restored freedom to Pergamum as a favour to a citizen of the city, Mithridates, who had come to his aid at Alexandria;⁵⁸ if Caesar did restore freedom to Pergamum, a contemporary restoration to Ephesus would make sense. The inscription on which the restoration of autonomy is based, however, is fragmentary, and no copies exist of the final portion which identifies precisely what Caesar restored to Pergamum; Servilius, however, receives commendation for the same reasons in Pergamum, that is, for the restoration of autonomy and rights of asylum to the temple of Asclepius.⁵⁹ There is no secure evidence that Servilius restored free status to Ephesus, or that Caesar restored this status to Pergamum, let alone Ephesus. The inscriptions honouring Servilius and Caesar may have been erected in response to restorations affecting only the temples, not the overall status of the cities.

Sherk concedes that it is not actually stated in any source that Caesar restored freedom to Pergamum at the request of his rescuer, Mithridates.⁶⁰ The same may be said of the revocation of free status from both cities. The debate about who restored Ephesus to free status is irresolvable because it is possible that the city did not lose this status in Sulla's arrangements. Appian records Sulla's settlement of Asia Minor after the end of

⁵⁷ Magie (1988): 416-417, 474, 1270-1271, n. 42, 1336-1337, n. 19; *ILS* 8779=Sherk (1984): 102, no. 81: ὁ δῆμος ἐτίμησεν | Πόπλιον Σεργίλιον Ποπλίου υἱὸν Ἰσαυρικὸν τὸν ἀνθύπατον, γεγονότα σωτήρα καὶ | εὐεργέτην τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἀποδεδωκότα τῇ | πόλει τοὺς πατρίους νόμους καὶ τὴν δημοκ[ρα]τίαν ἀδούλωντον.

⁵⁸ Sherk (1969): 280-284, no. 54; *Caes., B. Alex.*, 26.

⁵⁹ Sherk (1969): 282: [ὁ δῆμος] | [ἐτίμησε] τὸν ἑαυτοῦ σωτήρα καὶ εὐεργέτην | [Γάιον Ἰοῦ]λιον Γαίου υἱὸν Καίσα[ρα τὸν αὐτοκράτορα καὶ] | [ἀρχι]ερέα καὶ δικτάτορα τὸ [β'] πάσης ἀρετῆς καὶ εὐνοίας | [ἐνεκ]εν ἀποκαταστήσα[ντα τοῖς θεοῖς τὴν τε πόλιν] | [καὶ τὴν] χώραν ο[ὕ]σαν ἱερά[ν καὶ ἀσύλον καὶ αὐτόνομον.]; the restoration is probable. Precisely what it means, though, is unclear: freedom for the Greeks was a common slogan during the Hellenistic Period, used by Antigonos, Demetrius, Antiochus III, Mithridates and Rome (eg., Gruen [1984]: 123, 138, 146; *OGIS* 5, 409; *Diod. Sic.*, 19.61.3). Servilius: *ILS* 8779.

⁶⁰ Sherk (1969): 282.

the Mithridatic war, listing several cities and regions that were granted freedom for their loyalty during Mithridates' invasion. Those that supported and obeyed Mithridates' commands, on the other hand, were severely punished, "especially the Ephesians, who had treated the Roman offerings in their temples with shameless indignity."⁶¹ Sulla summoned the supporters of Mithridates to Ephesus where he informed them of their punishment. He required the province to pay five years of taxes immediately, in addition to the costs of the war and whatever additional expenses Sulla incurred in the restoration of order as was noted above.⁶²

Appian is regularly cited in support of the statement that Sulla revoked Ephesus' free status, along with that of other previously free cities, as part of the punishment for supporting Mithridates.⁶³ In fact, though, Appian does not even suggest this, and would seem to be saying the opposite. The punishment is recorded in a speech which Appian composed himself. The omission of a revocation of free status, however, is not the result of this secondary composition. Appian hints at punishment for the Ephesians at the time of the killing of the citizens and Mithridates' entry into the city.⁶⁴ He suggests early in his account of the Mithridatic wars that Ephesus was strongly chastised after Sulla's campaigns in Greece and his arrival in Asia. It is unlikely, therefore, that Appian would fail to mention a loss of free status in his speech if that was included in Sulla's settlements. Ephesus is the only city named among the "Cappadocianisers", upon all of whom the indemnity is imposed. Since this punishment is specified immediately after the

⁶¹ App., *Mith.*, 61: οἱ τε καππαδοκίσαντες ἄνδρες ἢ πόλεις ἐκολάζοντο πικρῶς, καὶ μάλιστα αὐτῶν Ἐφέσιοι, σὺν ἀσχυρᾷ κολακείᾳ ἐς τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἀναθήματα ὑβρίσαντες. Ilium, Chios, Lycia, Rhodes and Magnesia received freedom; Magnesia had been among the cities which received Mithridates (21).

⁶² App., *Mith.*, 62.

⁶³ Eg., Sherwin-White (1984): 40-46; Rogers (1991): 6.

⁶⁴ App., *Mith.*, 21, 23.

statement that Ephesus and the other cities which had supported Mithridates were severely punished, the large indemnity should be taken as the “severe punishment”.⁶⁵ So severe was the indemnity that Asia still owed a part of it in 69 BC. Surely Appian would have added the loss of freedom, picking up on his earlier hints, and demonstrating the full extent of the severity of the punishment.

It may be argued that the indemnity itself implies subject status. The payment of an indemnity and taxes does not necessarily indicate a loss of freedom, though. Early in his career, P. Servilius Isauricus introduced a decree which “protected free communities against excessive demands on the part of Roman capitalists,” a clear indication that even free cities could be liable for taxes.⁶⁶ Furthermore, Hadrian wrote in AD 119 for the express purpose of exempting the citizens of Aphrodisias from a tax on nails because the city had been removed from the structure of the province.⁶⁷ Clearly free status did not always bring freedom from taxation. It has already been noted that the *publicani* had confiscated the revenues of Artemis’ lakes before the beginning of the first century, and that their depredations were involved in the defection of Asia to Mithridates in the eighties.⁶⁸

⁶⁵ App., *Mith.*, 61-62, says that Sulla punished various cities by tearing down walls and giving them up to plunder, while granting benefits to those cities which had not favoured Mithridates. Sulla summoned representatives from these to Ephesus where he informed them of their punishment: φειδοῖ δὲ γένους ἔτι τῇ Ἀσίᾳ, καὶ τῆς φιλτάτης Ῥωμαίοις εὐφημίας οὐνεκα, μόνους ὑμῖν ἐπιγράφω πέντε ἐτῶν φόρους ἔσενεγκεῖν αὐτίκα, καὶ τὴν τοῦ πολέμου δαπάνην, ὅση τε γέγονέ μοι καὶ ἔσται καθισταμένῳ τὰ ὑπόλοιπα. Διαιρήσω δὲ ταῦθ’ ἐκάστοις ἐγὼ κατὰ πόλεις, καὶ τάξω προθεσμίαν ταῖς ἐσφοραῖς, καὶ τοῖς οὐ φυλάξασιν ἐπιθήσω δίκην ὡς πολεμίοις. There is no mention of a loss of freedom. Appian reports the bestowal of freedom on several cities (61), including Magnesia ad Maeandrum although this city had received Mithridates on his march, but it is possible that these cities had not enjoyed a privileged status before: Sulla enrolled them among the Friends of Rome (Ῥωμαίων ἀνέγραφε φίλους); at no point, however, does he report the revocation of freedom from Ephesus.

⁶⁶ Magie (1988): 416, 1270, n. 41.

⁶⁷ Millar (1977): 429; Reynolds (1982): 115-118, no. 15; cf. Reynolds (1982): 54-91, no. 8.

⁶⁸ Strabo, 14.1.16; Guerber (1995): 390, n.4; Sherwin-White (1984): 240; App., *Mith.*, 16.

A Latin inscription from a dedicatory monument on the Capitoline hill in Rome records an embassy led by Heraclitus and Hermocrates expressing the gratitude of the people of Ephesus to the Romans for their *libertas*.⁶⁹ Magie dates this inscription to 167 BC because the monument also contains an offering of thanks from the Lycians for their *libertas*, which he assumes to be the liberation from the domination of Rhodes in that year; he argues that the dedication by the Ephesians is contemporary.⁷⁰ Ephesus, however, was subject to Eumenes II after the peace of Apamea, and there is no evidence that Rome deprived the Attalid kingdom of territory as it did the island of Rhodes. Such a deprivation is, in fact, unlikely since the situations of Rhodes and the Attalid kingdom differed. Rhodes was in danger of being attacked because it had delayed choosing a side during the Third Macedonian War, only offering to mediate between Rome and Perseus relatively late in the dispute. The island suffered for this tardiness by the exploitation of the ambiguity of the statement which had given the Rhodians authority in Lycia twenty years previously.⁷¹ Rhodes had maintained its position among the Hellenistic kingdoms and Rome by playing them off against one another; Eumenes, however, was in a position of strength in Asia Minor, such that the Romans were unlikely to interfere directly in his affairs by removing cities from his kingdom, no minor interference.

Mommsen, decades before Magie, had argued that the Ephesian inscription and the monument on which it appears should be dated to the period during or just after the First Mithridatic War.⁷² A.W. Lintott acknowledges that the early date supported by

⁶⁹ CIL I².727=VI.373: *Populus Ephesiu[s] populum Romanum* | *Salutis ergo quod o[ptinuit maiorum] | soum leibertatem i[- - -] legatei Heraclitus H[i - - filius] | Hermocrates Dem[etri filius]*; Mommsen, (1965): IV.69-80.

⁷⁰ Magie (1988): 954-956, n. 67; CIL I².726=CIL VI.374.

⁷¹ Gruen (1985): 123, 166, 572-574.

⁷² Mommsen (1906): 74-75.

Magie is less likely than that proposed by Mommsen, since the letter forms would be unusual as early as the mid-second century BC.⁷³ Each scholar accepts that the multiple thanksgiving inscriptions on this monument are approximately contemporary, although Lintott broadens this to argue that the inscriptions represent successive dedications recorded “at the behest of foreign embassies over a longer period from c. 100-60 BC”, accounting for the similarity of the letter forms with the supposition that the monument was re-inscribed after damage in 83 BC.⁷⁴ In this scheme, the inscription recording the embassy led by Heraclitus and Hermocrates is dated to the end of the second century BC, after the settlement of Attalus III’s bequest. Lintott supports this date in part because of his belief that Mommsen’s suggested date placing the inscription during Sulla’s dictatorship would make it “a piece of bootlicking servility”: he accepts Appian’s statement of Ephesus’ severe punishment without examining the nature of that punishment.⁷⁵ As argued above, though, the only punishment which Appian reports is the imposition of a massive indemnity. In this case, a thanksgiving dedication would not be a display of obsequiousness, but rather a genuine sign of gratitude for Sulla’s restraint: some cities suffered the demolition of their walls, while others were plundered.⁷⁶ Ephesus had good reason to offer a dedication in gratitude for its situation after the end of the war. Furthermore, Lintott’s dating of the inscription to the end of the second century BC raises the significant question of why the other beneficiary cities, such as Pergamum, do not appear with Ephesus on this monument. The same question, of course, can be asked if a Sullan date is accepted: Magnesia on the Maeander became a friend and ally of

⁷³ Lintott (1978): 138; Lintott notes, however, that it would not be impossible for the letter forms to have been current in the mid-second century, just unlikely.

⁷⁴ Lintott (1978): 143.

⁷⁵ Lintott (1978): 140.

⁷⁶ App., *Mith.*, 61.

Rome, despite having welcomed Mithridates during the war, but does not appear with Ephesus on this monument. The Ephesians, however, may have been made more aware of how much more they could have suffered by the fact that the settlement was announced in their own city. Such an expression of gratitude would be particularly appropriate for the Ephesians, since they had defected from Rome before rejoining her. Similarly, Laodicea in Lycia whose citizens had surrendered Q. Oppius and his men to Mithridates, appears on the monument; this appearance is not an instance of sycophancy, but, as in the case of Ephesus, the result of a very real sense of having been treated leniently by Sulla.⁷⁷

This would then imply that Sulla in fact *restored* the freedom to the Ephesians, as he had to the Lycians, which they had previously enjoyed and lost under Mithridates' domination. Such a restoration would not be remarkable if in fact Ephesus was lukewarm in its support of the Pontic king, as seems to have been the case. Although Ephesus does not appear in Appian's list of the cities to which Sulla granted freedom, a restoration of free status is still possible because those cities which are named do not appear, from Appian's phrasing, to have been free before Mithridates' advance.⁷⁸

The decree passed by the Ephesians to commemorate their returning to Rome makes the dating of the dedication to the time of Sulla more convincing. The decree was erected at Ephesus, but it cannot have failed to have been reported to the Roman Senate. The delegation led by Heraclitus and Hermocrates and recorded on the dedicatory

⁷⁷ App., *Mith.*, 78-79; Mommsen (1906): 72-75, no. III.

⁷⁸ App., *Mith.*, 61; the freed cities were inscribed among the φίλοι of the Romans; Ephesus had enjoyed this status at the beginning of the first century.

monument presents an ideal opportunity for such a report.⁷⁹ Although the dating of the monument and its inscriptions is clearly not agreed upon, the dedication by the Ephesians can be seen as support for the city's continued free status after the First Mithridatic war; neither Isauricus nor Caesar were responsible for a restoration of such status in the early forties BC.

Antony came to Ephesus after the defeat of Brutus and Cassius in 41 BC. As punishment for the support rendered by Ephesus and other cities to these generals, he required nine years' worth of taxes – Plutarch says that Antony extracted 200,000 talents from the Asian cities. During his time in Ephesus, Antony was joined by many Senators who were opposed to Octavian, a clear indication of the city's continuing importance.⁸⁰ Possible interventions by Augustus in the affairs of the city in 38 BC, despite the fact that Ephesus lay in Antony's half of the former republic, also suggests this ongoing prominence.⁸¹ Octavian also imposed a pecuniary fine after the defeat of Antony in 31 BC, but distributed benefits as well. Cassius Dio writes that Octavian deprived the cities of “the limited authority over their citizens which had hitherto rested with their

⁷⁹ Strabo also reports an embassy to Rome in which an orator from Adramyttium made a speech in defence of Asia, when the province was accused of “Mithridatism” (Strabo, 13.1.66).

⁸⁰ Plut., *Ant.*, 24; App., *B. Civ.*, 5.4-5; Frieson (1993): 7.

⁸¹ Jones (1999): 92; Reynolds (1982): nos. 8 & 12; Millar (1973): 56, no. 10. Jones, perhaps, overemphasizes Augustus' role in Ephesus at this time. Of the two Aphrodisian documents which he cites, the second (Reynolds no. 12, a letter of Augustus to the Ephesians) may not be a significant intervention in Antony's affairs: the ambassador Solon son of Demetrius of Aphrodisias reported to Augustus (or at this time, Octavian) the sufferings of the city. As a Julian, Augustus would hardly be an unlikely recipient of the Aphrodisians' appeal; indeed, in a second letter (Reynolds, no. 10; Millar, no. 11) Augustus emphasizes his attachment to the city: *μίαν πόλιν τάυτην | ἐξ ὅλης τῆς Ἀσίας ἐμαντῶ εἰληπῶα. τούτους οὐτω θέλω φυλαχθῆναι ὥς ἐμοὺς πολεΐτας* (cf. Reynolds, no. 6; Millar, no. 13). Reynolds suggests that Augustus' “superior or more active benevolence” is hinted at in the letter, but it must be noted that Augustus does not directly order the Ephesians to restore the Aphrodisians' property (specifically a statue of Eros): he acts through Antony (*περὶ ὧν | πάντων Ἀντωνίῳ τε τῷ συνάρχοντι ἐντολὰς | δέδωκα ὅπως ὅσα ποτὲ ἂν δύνηται ὁ ἂν εὖρη ἀποκαταστήσῃ αὐτοῖς*). Furthermore, Reynolds suggests that “Octavian had apparently come to an agreement with Antony, who recognized his special relationship with Plarasa/Aphrodisias; it was, perhaps, parallel to Antony's special relationship with Bononia, recognized by Octavian” (98). Augustus' involvement with the Aphrodisians affected the Ephesians, and the fact that he took the trouble to inform the latter of his actions may be a suggestion of the importance of the city of the Ephesians.

assemblies.” Ephesus may have lost its freedom at this point, but not before.⁸² Ephesus was also granted permission to consecrate areas of the city to Roma and Caesar as the most important city in Asia by Augustus; the city may now have replaced Pergamum as the administrative centre of the province, an elevation which was assisted by Augustus’ residence in the city in 29 BC.⁸³ Ephesus’ status as the provincial capital virtually necessitated extensive construction, which took place primarily around the State Agora.⁸⁴ Throughout the first century AD, emperors and proconsuls of the province took an active interest in the financial affairs of Ephesus, in large part because the status of the Artemision as a bank and the importance of the port made the city the economic centre of Asia.⁸⁵

The interest shown by the emperors of the first century, particularly the Julio-Claudians, is shown by the building programs of this period. Almost all major building projects between 31 BC and AD 81 were sponsored by an emperor or a provincial official.⁸⁶ During and after the reign of Domitian, building and renovation increased significantly, with local benefactors, many of whom possessed Roman citizenship, taking a more prominent role.⁸⁷ Domitian himself granted Ephesus a temple of the provincial cult early in his reign and instituted Olympian games in the city. The temple continued as a temple of the Flavian emperors after his assassination, and although the games were

⁸² Dio Cass., 51.2.1; Friesen (1993): 9-10, 158; Rogers (1991): 8. Grants of freedom after this time became quite rare (Millar [1977]: 430-433).

⁸³ Dio Cass., 51.20.6.

⁸⁴ Scherrer (2001): 69-71; Fig. 2. no. 56.

⁸⁵ Rogers (1991): 9-14; cf. Tac., *Ann.*, 16.23; Aristides, *Concerning Concord*, 24; Dio Chrys. *Rhodian Oration*, 54, 55, 65; Caes., *B. Civ.*, 3.33, 105.

⁸⁶ White (1995): 51-52; Ephesus’ stature in the eastern empire was such that Seneca could refer to the city alongside Alexandria as one which was particularly populous and thriving (Sen., *Ep.* 102.21: *Ephesum aut Alexandriam aut si quod est etiamnunc frequentius accolis laetiusve tectis solum*).

⁸⁷ White (1995): 53, 62-65; Scherrer (1995): 9-14.

probably discontinued, Domitian's initiatives may have been involved in the building boom in Ephesus shortly after his reign.⁸⁸

The correspondence of Publius Veditius Antoninus III and Antoninus Pius indicates that the emperors in the mid-second century continued to be involved in the projects of local benefactors, both in approving the erection of public buildings and monuments and contributing to the costs of construction or decoration.⁸⁹ The city's importance for the province and the Empire as a whole is shown by the fact that during the late first and early second centuries, more and more of these munificent citizens of Ephesus are known to have belonged to the senatorial order. Thus, for example, Aulus Julius Quadratus was adlected to the Senate and served as consul under Trajan, while Publius Veditius Antoninus III gained senatorial standing under Hadrian.⁹⁰

Public building appears to have declined and been limited to renovations under the Severans, until earthquakes and invasions by Gothic tribes put an end to Ephesus' prosperity in the third century; this prosperity, though, may have been declining slightly as early as the reign of Antoninus.⁹¹ Along with the city's prosperity, the population began to decrease. Ephesus was once again the recipient of Imperial aid for reconstruction during the fourth and fifth centuries.⁹² By this time, however, the *gerousia* has passed out of the epigraphic record of the city.

⁸⁸ Friesen (1993): 28-40, 58-63; Domitian established a foundation in order to pay for a portion of the expenses of the Harbour Gymnasium; cf. Scherrer (2001): 74-78.

⁸⁹ *IEph* 1491-1493.

⁹⁰ Quadratus: White (1995): 62, 66; *IEph* 980, 1538, 3033, 3034; Veditius Antoninus: Kalinowski (2002): 118-120; *IEph* 1491-1493, 4108, 4110; cf. Tiberius Julius Dama Claudianus: Friesen (1993): 137-140; *IEph* 424, 461, 508, 638, 5101, 5113.

⁹¹ Scherrer (2001): 78-79; Scherrer (1995): 15-16.

⁹² Scherrer (1995): 16ff.

2.2. Origins of the Ephesian *Gerosia*

The origins of the Ephesian *gerousia* are unclear. It first appears in the epigraphic record at the beginning of the third century BC, and only once thereafter before the Roman period. Strabo also reports the *gerousia* in existence in the third century BC; his is one of very few literary testimonies to this body in the city. The long period in which it does not appear has led many scholars to question the relationship between a Hellenistic and a Roman *gerousia*, usually with the conclusion that they should not be identified as the same bodies. There has, however, been little effort to understand the nature of the Hellenistic institution. Some hypotheses may be advanced, but it must be noted that much of what follows is speculation and is not meant to be in any way definitive.

Strabo reports that at the time of Lysimachus' relocation and renaming of the city there was a *gerousia* registered, with which was associated a body called the *epikletoi*.⁹³ This statement is often taken to mean either that Lysimachus created both bodies, or that he attached the *epikletoi* to the previously existing *gerousia*.⁹⁴ Van Berchem alone of the scholars discussed in the Introduction considers the early history of the *gerousia* at length. His suggestion that the *gerousia* of Ephesus served as the model for the Roman Senate is provocative, but it does not offer an hypothesis on the origins – it simply pushes the question back.⁹⁵ His argument requires the *gerousia* to pre-date Lysimachus, and this element of his reconstruction is quite possibly correct. The early history and origins of

⁹³ Strabo, 14.1.21: ἦν δὲ γερουσία καταγεγραμμένη, τούτοις δὲ συνήεσαν οἱ ἐπικλητοὶ καλούμενοι.

⁹⁴ Creation of both: Hicks (1890): 75; Menadier (1880): 62; Chapot (1967): 233; Lévy (1895): 236; Attached the *epikletoi*: Oliver (1941): 15-17; van Berchem (1980). On some possible meanings of Strabo's statement, cf. above, p. 29.

⁹⁵ van Berchem (1980): 37-38; Menadier's note that Roman *gerousiai* appear in cities once controlled by Lysimachus does not constitute proof that Lysimachus established them (62).

the *gerousia* deserve further attention – even if no certain conclusions can be drawn – and will serve as a useful starting point for the subsequent chapters.

It is agreed among scholars that the Doric and Asiatic *gerousiai* are distinct, but this should not lead to the assumption that the two were completely unrelated throughout their histories. The Spartan *gerousia* was a body of twenty-eight elders and the two kings instituted by Lycurgus on the advice of the Delphic oracle; it was to be a body which prevented the kings from acting too monarchically, and the people from acting too democratically.⁹⁶ Xenophon refers to the *gerousia* of Sparta as a body of the *aristoi andres*, while Aristotle and Demosthenes also refer to the Spartan *gerousia*, giving it clear oligarchic overtones, as Hicks has noted.⁹⁷ Later Greek authors clearly saw a connection between the Spartan *gerousia* and the Roman Senate, and they may well be correct in their statements that the former was the model for the latter.⁹⁸ Certainly this seems a more plausible connection to draw than van Berchem's unattested sixth century BC Ephesian *gerousia* which served as the model for the Roman Senate. This is not, however, to deny the existence of such an early *gerousia* in Ephesus, regardless of its relationship with the Senate of Rome.

The Spartan *gerousia* provides the obvious starting point for an investigation of the origins of the Ephesian *gerousia*, but, before considering the relationship between the Spartan and Ephesian institutions, the role occasionally ascribed to Lysimachus should be reviewed. Strabo reports that the *gerousia* and the *epikletoi* governed everything in the

⁹⁶ Plut., *Lyc.*, 5-6.

⁹⁷ Xen., *Mem.*, 4.4.16; Arist., *Pol.*, 1306a8; Dem., *Lept.*, 107; Hicks (1890): 75.

⁹⁸ Dionysius of Halicarnassus remarks on several other elements of early Rome which he claims were modeled on Spartan practices (2.13.4, 14.2, 28.2)

city.⁹⁹ This expression, however, has given rise to different opinions about Strabo's exact meaning because of the two Hellenistic inscriptions in which the *gerousia* and *epikletoi* appear.¹⁰⁰ These decrees are associated with the temple, and do not show supreme authority in the administration of the city.

The first is a decree of the *boule* and *demos* granting citizenship to a certain Euphronius who conducted an embassy to Lysimachus' general Prepelaus on the authority of the *gerousia* and *epikletoi* regarding the billeting of soldiers in the temple's properties and the taxation of Artemis. In the second document, a decree of the same bodies, a Boeotian flute player is crowned with a golden crown and proclaimed publicly. In both cases, the *gerousia* brings the measure before the *boule* and *demos* and appears to be subordinate to these; in fact, the *psephismata* of the *gerousia* and *epikletoi* are brought before the *boule* and *demos* by the *neopoioi* and *kouretes* or the *neopoioi* alone. To account for this apparent contradiction, it has been suggested that Lysimachus involved himself in the affairs of the *gerousia*. He either put the *gerousia* in charge of the Temple of Artemis to give the influence of the priests official sanction or to gain an element of control over the temple and its treasury, or gave it the highest authority in the city subject to the nominal approval of the *boule* and *demos* in order to give the administration an oligarchic element.¹⁰¹

The third possibility can be rejected with relative certainty since it rests on Strabo's statement that the *gerousia* and *epikletoi* "governed everything." If this is how

⁹⁹ Strabo, 14.1.21: διώκουν πάντα; cf. above, p. 29.

¹⁰⁰ *IEph.*, 1449, 1470.

¹⁰¹ Sanction for the priests' influence: Hicks (1890): 75; Access to temple funds: Lévy (1895): 237; Oliver (1941): 15-17; Oligarchic influences: Hicks (1890): 75; Chapot (1967): 223. Oliver argues that the *epikletoi* were a means of giving Lysimachus emergency access to the treasury of the temple, but this is scarcely different from gaining direct access.

the statement should be interpreted, one may suppose either that it refers to an unspecified time, or that the geographer was mistaken: the two most prominent *gerousiai* in the Roman world were the Spartan *gerousia* and the Roman Senate, both of which were authoritative administrative bodies. Furthermore, the testimonies of Aristotle and Demosthenes indicate that the word *gerousia* had clear oligarchic overtones. The creation of such a body, even if nominally subject to the authority of the *boule* and *demos*, would have had a significant effect on the appearance of the administration. It would have been tantamount to dissolving both bodies rather than adding a non-invasive oligarchic element. The two Hellenistic inscriptions indicate that the Ephesian *gerousia* was not in a position to add oligarchic elements. Alternatively, as noted above, *panta* could refer not to the affairs of the city as a whole, but to the construction entailed in Lysimachus' refoundation of the city or to temple affairs.

The second possible explanation for Lysimachus' supposed involvement in the affairs of the *gerousia* can also be rejected. The importance of the Temple of Artemis as the 'bank' of Asia Minor and the praise of the Ephesians for their restraint from using its wealth in their own difficulties suggests that Lysimachus probably could not have expected to access temple-funds through the creation of a board subject to the authority of the existing civic bodies.¹⁰² Surely such a change would have elicited some comment in the sources, if only to praise the Ephesians additionally in contrast to Lysimachus.

Finally, the power of the priesthood over the temple and over Ephesus itself could not have been influenced by the creation of a subordinate body any more effectively than it was already influenced by the *boule* and *demos*. The persuasive powers of the priests

¹⁰² Dio Chrys., *Rhodian Oration* 54, 55, 65; Aristides, *Concerning Concord*, 24; Xen., *An.*, 5.3.6-8; Caes., *B. Civ.*, 3.33, 105.

will have been based on their control of the temple, but also to no small extent on their own personal wealth and status in the city. Furthermore, while there are only two decrees of the Hellenistic *gerousia*, neither of them directly involves the priesthood, which would be unexpected if the *gerousia* had been created or modified to legitimise the priests' unofficial power.

The Hellenistic inscriptions provide another argument against Lysimachus as the creator of the *gerousia*. Prepelaus was the general who captured Ephesus for Lysimachus and, as the decree for Euphronius shows, the recipient of an embassy from the *gerousia* and the *epikletoi*.¹⁰³ The result of the embassy was exemption for the temple from taxes and from billeting soldiers. The exemption from tax indicates that Lysimachus did not benefit from a regular payment from the temple, so that access to the temple's funds becomes an even less likely motivation. The use of the verb *huparcho* may suggest that the request for exemption from tax was a new privilege being sought, but it may also suggest a continuance of the current status. Such status probably existed prior to Lysimachus' capture of the city. Demetrius had bypassed Ephesus after his defeat at Ipsus out of the fear that his soldiers would plunder the temple: the Antigonids kept an eye on the economic welfare of the temple and so the exemption from tax may have been in existence during their period of dominance.¹⁰⁴

Furthermore, the embassy itself implies a familiarity with the affairs of the temple. Since the petition was addressed to Lysimachus' general Prepelaus instead of the new ruler, the *gerousia* and *epikletoi* may be assumed to have sent the embassy shortly after capture. It is unlikely that a newly instituted board would have been sufficiently

¹⁰³ Diod. Sic., 20.107.4.

¹⁰⁴ Plut., *Dem.*, 30.1.

established to send a petition regarding either new or existing privileges to the general so soon after his capture of the city. It is even more unlikely that a body instituted by Lysimachus – through Prepelaus or personally – would make a request for exemptions not granted at the time of its recent establishment. Its role in the operation of the temple and its privileges would have been specified at the institution of the body. An embassy seeking confirmation of the existing rights and privileges sent at the beginning of a new reign is more appropriate than an embassy requesting additional rights and privileges from the ruler who established those privileges in the first place not long before.

It should also be noted, though it often is not, that Strabo does not say that Lysimachus or his general Prepelaus created or registered the *gerousia*; he simply says that there was a registered *gerousia*.¹⁰⁵ In addition, the use of the imperfect contrasts with the use of the aorist for Lysimachus' other actions, namely the relocation and renaming of the city. Van Berchem argues that the use of the imperfect in this case indicates that Strabo is describing an institution which no longer existed in his own time, perhaps using a lost Aristotelian *Constitution of Ephesus* as his source.¹⁰⁶ In fact, van Berchem's argument is unnecessary, as the publication in 1993 of several letters to the *gerousia* of Ephesus indicates.¹⁰⁷ The *gerousia* did exist in Strabo's time, and his use of the imperfect requires no explanation: it simply describes the continuing existence of the institution from pre-Lysimachan to post-Lysimachan Ephesus.

Lysimachus did not create the *gerousia* in Ephesus. It is, however, unclear who did create it, or when. Van Berchem, as has been noted, argues that it was an

¹⁰⁵ Strabo, 14.1.21: ἦν δὲ γερούσια καταγεγραμμένη; καταγεγραμμένη is a participle used as an adjective, not as part of the verb, i.e., not 'a *gerousia* was registered'.

¹⁰⁶ van Berchem (1980): 28-29; one may wonder why the renaming of the city was not also reported in the imperfect if this is the case: the name Arsinoë appears not to have survived Lysimachus' demise.

¹⁰⁷ *JÖAI* 62 (1993): 113-150.

oligarchic council of ancient standing whose authority had been limited to religious affairs at an early date.¹⁰⁸ As that scholar himself notes, his argument rests on theory and inference rather than direct evidence. He is nonetheless most likely correct in arguing for an oligarchic body which evolved into the *gerousia* as it appears in the two Hellenistic inscriptions, but it may not have been of such ancient standing as he suggests.

The similarity in names suggests that an investigation into the origins of the Ephesian *gerousia* might benefit from a consideration of the Spartan *gerousia*. This was an oligarchic body in Sparta of limited numbers with lifelong membership.¹⁰⁹ The initial *gerousiastai* in Sparta were men who shared Lycurgus' ideal (*gnome*), but age was not initially a factor in their membership.¹¹⁰ The honour consisted in being a member of a body of a limited number of men chosen initially for their wisdom.

There is, however, no demonstrable connection between the Spartan and Ephesian *gerousiai*, but the use of the same word suggests that it may not be fruitless to speculate on a connection, particularly if the *gerousia* had even nominal influence in Ephesus' public affairs. The councils which Lysander appointed in Ephesus and other cities consisted of ten members, appointed because of their eminence and their relations with himself – essentially, because they were friends of his, just as Lycurgus is said to have appointed the first Spartan *gerousia*.¹¹¹ If there had been a *gerousia* in Ephesus before Lysander's arrival, as van Berchem suggests, it seems odd that he would establish a separate oligarchic body by the institution of a decarchy instead of supporting or

¹⁰⁸ van Berchem (1980): 28-34.

¹⁰⁹ Plut., *Lyc.*, 5-6, 26.1; Dem., *Lept.*, 107-108.

¹¹⁰ Plut., *Lyc.*, 5, 26.1.

¹¹¹ Plut., *Lys.*, 5.3-4.

strengthening this body. Lysander, then, may have been involved in the creation of the Ephesian *gerousia* or, more probably, in the creation of an environment which led to it.

The decarchies which Lysander established in Ephesus and its Ionian neighbours, however, may not have survived 411 BC, when Sparta first acknowledged Persia's suzerainty over those cities.¹¹² Xenophon gives as Lysander's motivation for accompanying Agesilaus on campaign in Asia Minor in 397 BC the desire to restore the authority of his appointed boards, and Plutarch implies that these boards had not yet lost all of their authority when the expedition set out, but that they were in the process of losing it.¹¹³ A decree of the Ephors had dissolved the decarchies which Lysander had set up, as was noted above, but it may be asked how effective such a decree would have been in the Ionian cities, which were ostensibly subject to the Persian Empire and distant from Sparta.¹¹⁴ Sparta's authority beyond central Greece declined with distance: authority in Asian affairs was in the hands of the navarchs; a decree of the Ephors may have carried very little weight in the Ionian cities.¹¹⁵ Lysander's activities in setting up decarchies had contributed to prosperity in many Greek cities, so it may be that these decarchies were not overthrown at the first opportunities even if they did not enjoy popular support.

A governing body of ten members, however, is very different from the epigraphically attested *gerousia* of AD 104 with at least three hundred and nine members. It was noted above that Tissaphernes attempted to drive out Lysander's appointees after the death of Cyrus, and that the establishment of an opposing group of oligarchs might be an ideal way to do this. Consequently, it is unlikely that Lysander's decarchy and the

¹¹² Bommelaer (1981): 124; cf. above, pp. 26-27.

¹¹³ Bommelaer (1981): 125; Xen., *Hell.* 3.4.2; Plut. *Ages.*, 6.2.

¹¹⁴ Xen., *Hell.*, 3.4.2.

¹¹⁵ Bommelaer (1981): 163-165.

gerousia can be identified as one and the same body. Rather, the *gerousia* may have originated in a group of individuals who were in opposition to the decarchs and who enjoyed satrapal support. It may be noted that Alexander dispossessed a governing oligarchy in Ephesus of its authority, an oligarchy which may have developed from such individuals.

Alternatively, the origins of the *gerousia* may have been somewhat more humble than this. The name might suggest that the position of its members was supported by their age or respected position within the city, independent of any Spartan connection.¹¹⁶ They may have been an unofficial group of citizens who quickly came to genuine authority in a time of crisis or need. Their supervision of Lysimachus' building, if that is how *dioikoun panta* should be interpreted, or the conflicts between the *diadouchoi* at the end of the fourth century might provide such an opportunity, but it is also possible that a crisis prompted their emergence earlier. Oligarchs supported by Tissaphernes are not attested, and it cannot be overly stressed that their existence is entirely hypothetical. It is, perhaps, more plausible that a group of citizens joined together at this time to keep the business of the city from collapsing. The period of disorder in some cities of Asia Minor at the beginning of the fourth century BC, during which the decline of his decarchs may have influenced Lysander's desire to return to the region, would provide an atmosphere in which the emergence of such citizens would not be unreasonable.¹¹⁷ These citizens may have formed an early incarnation of the *gerousia* and the oligarchy which Alexander replaced when he instituted a democratic restoration.

¹¹⁶ Cf., Plut., *Lyc.*, 6.4; Plut., *Mor.*, 789E-F.

¹¹⁷ The Persian conquest of the Ionian cities in the sixth century BC, which led to emigration and exile in many cities and possibly in Ephesus (Domínguez [1999]: 79), may have provided a similar opportunity for such citizens to join together in the interests of the city.

The fact remains, though, that the speculative origins of the *gerousia* suggested above leave that body significantly smaller than it appears in AD 104. The *epikletoi* are informative in this respect. Oliver argues that this body was attached to the pre-existing *gerousia* by Lysimachus in order to provide a supporting body should he require emergency access to the temple treasury; van Berchem argues that they had been attached to the *gerousia* much earlier in its existence.¹¹⁸

Both Oliver and van Berchem note that an *epikletos* was in literature a guest invited not by a host, but by one who had himself been invited by the host.¹¹⁹ Oliver, therefore, takes an *epikletos* to be an outsider invited by a third party and concludes that the *epikletoi* were appointed to join the *gerousia* by a third party, that is, Lysimachus. There are major two problems with such an interpretation. First, the *epikletos* is not invited by an outside third person, but by others who had also been invited. Plutarch implies that the *epikletos* might arrive before or after his inviter, but there is no indication that the inviter himself failed to arrive. There is no indication that Lysimachus was a member of the *gerousia* – if he had been, it would be surprising that the embassy led by Euphronius would have gone to Prepelaus instead of Lysimachus himself – so that his grafting of the *epikletoi* onto the *gerousia* is not parallel to inviting a guest to a symposium.

Second, this is not a dining context like that of Plutarch's dialogue, and there is little evidence to suggest that the *gerousia* was simply a social club at this time and therefore describable in terms from such a context: sending Euphronius on an embassy

¹¹⁸ Oliver (1941): 15-16; van Berchem (1980); cf. above, pp. 12-15.

¹¹⁹ Oliver (1941): 16-17; van Berchem (1980): 35; Plut., *Mor.*, 707A.

for which he receives public honours actually implies that the *gerousia* and *epikletoi* were a public body.

Lest it be objected that the chronological separation between Lysimachus and Plutarch may have witnessed a change in the interpretation of *epikletos*, a few remarks on that word are not out of place. Plutarch's use of *epikletos* is not a second-century AD development of the word: it appears to have the same meaning in Aristophanes, that of guests at a dinner party.¹²⁰ In addition, a second century BC decree of the Delian Society of Poseidoniasts from Berytus which Oliver cites does not use *epikletos* in a context parallel to that which is found in the Ephesian decrees, but rather in a festival context: the honorand may bring an *epikletos* to a procession and two to a celebration.¹²¹ *Epikletos* is in this case precisely parallel to the use which appears in Aristophanes and Plutarch. The meaning of *epikletos* in the decree from Berytus should not colour the interpretation of the two Hellenistic documents from Ephesus, nor should its appearance in Plutarch.

Tod notes Strabo's use of the word, in his commentary on the Berytus inscription, but otherwise does not comment on the word itself. He does, however, cite two occurrences in Herodotus which are illuminating in the case of the Ephesian *epikletoi*.¹²² *Epikletoi* were advisors to the Persian king or one of his officials: they were a semi-permanent group of counsellors who could be summoned for particular purposes.¹²³ It may not be accidental that a group called the *epikletoi* appear in a city which, under an oligarchic council, had been subject to the Persian Empire for fifty years.¹²⁴

¹²⁰ Ar., *Pax*, 1266.

¹²¹ Oliver (1941): 16-17; Tod (1934): 142, ll 36, 48.

¹²² Tod (1934): 152.

¹²³ Hdt., 8.101.1, 9.42.2; cf., Hdt., 5.75, 7.8 & 7.203.

¹²⁴ Arr., *Anab.*, 1.17.10; Xen., *An.*, 5.1.29-32.

Strabo's use of the participle *kaloumenoi* may be relevant at this point.¹²⁵ In the case of Plutarch, Aristophanes, and the Berytus decree, *epikletos* refers to individuals considered as individuals, not to a public body which the Ephesian inscriptions imply or to a group of advisors among the Persians. The consistent use and chronological distribution of Plutarch, Aristophanes and the Berytus decree suggest that *epikletos* was easily or even primarily understood as referring to individuals rather than a body or board. Consequently, Strabo informs his readers that the body which was associated with the *gerousia* was the 'so-called' *epikletoi*: the word is used in a technical sense to describe advisors such as those who appear in Herodotus. The *epikletoi* were an official or semi-official body ancillary to the regular members of the *gerousia* in Ephesus which predated Lysimachus' resettling and renaming of the city.¹²⁶

Oliver leaves the question of the *epikletoi* after Lysimachus open: there is no evidence to determine whether they became permanent members of the *gerousia*, or if they ceased to exist after Lysimachus' death.¹²⁷ Since Lysimachus did not create either body, though, there is little reason to believe that either would have disappeared after his death. The reversion from Arsinoë-Ephesus to Ephesus may be seen as a reassertion of Ephesian identity, but there is no reason for the *epikletoi*, who were no longer a ruling body after Alexander's conquest, to have been dissolved at Lysimachus' death when they had survived Alexander's. It is more probable that the *gerousia* and *epikletoi* were assimilated into a single body. If the proposition that the *epikletoi* are to be understood in

¹²⁵ Strabo 14.1.21: ἦν δὲ γερούσια καταγεγραμμένη, τούτοις δὲ συνέθεσαν οἱ ἐπικλητοὶ καλούμενοι καὶ διώκουν πάντα.

¹²⁶ The fact that the *epikletoi* are described in the plural rather than the singular like the *boule* and *demos* would seem to indicate that they formed a less tightly organized body, but their appearance in a decree with the *gerousia* suggests that they cannot be considered as private individuals. The argument that Strabo uses the term in a technical sense may be supported by the fact that the *epikletoi* do not appear in the Ephesian inscription with the exception of these two citizenship decrees.

¹²⁷ Oliver (1941): 17.

the sense of the Persian advisors in Herodotus is correct, one would not expect a synthesised oligarchic board to have been subordinate to the *boule* and *demos* as they appear in the decrees for Euphronius and the flute player. It should be remembered, though, that Alexander restored the democratic institutions in Ephesus, stripping the small governing group of its power.¹²⁸ It is not implausible that this governing group, simply an *oligarchia* in Arrian, was the *gerousia* with a group of advisors, the *epikletoi*. The two bodies may then have developed into a less and less political board under a single name during the Hellenistic period.

A great deal more evidence exists for the *gerousia* under the empire so that the Hellenistic period is a suitable point at which to end a summary of the *gerousia* which has been based on a series of inferences. It must be stressed that the preceding discussion has not been intended to provide a definitive account of the history of the *gerousia* in Ephesus, merely to offer some suggestions. It is hoped that the remainder of this work will supply a historical account of the *gerousia* under the empire.

This discussion has produced the following hypothesis for the early development of the *gerousia* of Ephesus. The *gerousia* arose, officially or unofficially, after Lysander's creation of a decarchy in the city and the acknowledgment of Persian suzerainty in Asia Minor and enjoyed, or came to enjoy, significant political authority, but cannot be identified with Lysander's decarchy. During the fifty years before the Alexander's capture of Ephesus, the *epikletoi* were introduced, perhaps simply as an advisory board for the *gerousia* which came to serve as an oligarchical governing body. When Alexander captured the city, he made the *gerousia* and *epikletoi* subject to the *boule* and *demos*, reducing the oligarchy and strengthening the democracy; perhaps he

¹²⁸ Arr., *Anab.*, 1.17.10.

also limited the *gerousia*'s interests to the temple. Lysimachus may have favoured oligarchy after the democratic Antigonids, but it is unlikely that he undertook constitutional changes regarding the *gerousia*. During the Hellenistic period, the two bodies coalesced under a single name, and probably continued throughout this period. The absence of evidence after 281 BC may be a result of the chances of preservation rather than the complete disappearance of the *gerousia*. Oliver had concluded that the *gerousia* did not become significant again until AD 104 because of this apparent disappearance. His tentativeness in making this conclusion, though, was well grounded, as the letters published in 1993 show. It is the position taken in this work that the *gerousia* was in continual existence.

The functions which remained for the *gerousia* after the humbling of the oligarchy have not yet been considered, and it is difficult to make conclusions about these in the Hellenistic period. Nonetheless, these, the Roman functions, and the effects of the coming of Rome will be examined in the remainder of this study, following a brief general discussion of the available epigraphic evidence in the next chapter.

3. EPIGRAPHIC EVIDENCE

3.1. Collections of the Inscriptions of Ephesus

The evidence for the *gerousia* of Ephesus is primarily epigraphic. Beyond Strabo's brief mention of the *gerousia* and the *epikletoi*, there is no other reference to the Ephesian *gerousia* in the literary sources.¹ The *gerousia* does not appear in the numismatic evidence from Ephesus.² The Jewish *gerousia* which appears frequently in Josephus, and occasionally in Judaic inscriptions (almost always in the person of a *gerousiarch*), does not appear to have any bearing on the Ephesian *gerousia* and will not, therefore, be used for comparative purposes.³

The inscriptions of Ephesus published prior to 1981 are readily accessible in *Die Inschriften von Ephesos*, volumes 11 to 19 of the *Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien* series (1979-1981). The vast majority published since 1981 are available for consultation in various volumes of the *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts*. The catalogue in the appendix presents the text of the inscriptions which refer to the *gerousia* of Ephesus, and to the *presbuteroi* (elders), a term which some scholars have suggested refers to the *gerousia*; *sunhedrion [tes gerousia]* (assembly of the *gerousia*) and *sustema* (constitutional body) have also been suggested as alternate expressions.⁴ Arguments for and against the inclusion of these terms will be discussed below. For the time being, it is sufficient to note that it is not always clear whether these are in fact references to the *gerousia*, but it is certainly clear that, if the terms can refer to

¹ See above, pp. 1-2, for the use of γερονσία in Greek authors.

² Head (1964): 47-115.

³ Cf. above, Introduction, pg. 3, n. 9; *CII* 9, 66*, 95, 106, 119, 147, 189, 301, 353, 368, 425, 511, [533], 561 600; *IJO* i.163, iii.Syr53 & Syr74.

⁴ Menadier (1890): 49; Chapot (1967): 216.

the *gerousia*, they do not always do so.⁵ Every attempt has been made to provide as comprehensive a collection as possible.

The latest reading of the text of the inscriptions is, in most cases, provided by *Die Inschriften von Ephesos*. An *apparatus criticus* has been provided only when such information pertains to the *gerousia* or its members, or when an emendation is proposed; for a complete *apparatus criticus* and epigraphic commentary, the reader is directed to the references for each inscription. Traditional epigraphic notation has been used. Translations of those inscriptions which have been discussed in earlier treatments of the *gerousia* are available in previous publications.⁶ The increase in available evidence, however, has made it advisable to provide both the Greek text and a translation of each inscription.⁷

3.2. Chronology

The epigraphic evidence for the *gerousia* at Ephesus covers a period of approximately six hundred years. The earliest inscriptions are two decrees of the *boule* and *demos* of the city acclaiming a benefactor and a participant in one of the religious festivals.⁸ The latest are not precisely dated, but on the basis of the frequent appearance of the *praenomen* and *nomen* Marcus Aurelius, they are most likely to be dated to the second half of the second century AD, if not later. The latest precisely dated inscriptions come from the reign of Philip the Arab in the mid-third century.⁹

⁵ For example, [τὸ ἱερώτατον] | [συν]ἔδριον τῶν νεοποιῶν (JÖAI 55 [1984]: 121-122, no. 4238); [τ]ὸ ...| συνἔδριον | [τ]ῶν ὑμνωδῶν | [κ]αὶ θεολόγων | [κ]αὶ θεσμοφδῶν (IEph 645).

⁶ The most recent such work in English is Oliver's *Sacred Gerosia* (1941); his body of evidence, however, is limited to twenty-one Ephesian inscriptions.

⁷ All translations in the catalogue are my own.

⁸ IEph 1449, 1470 (Cat. nos. 1 & 2).

⁹ IEph 737, 892 (Cat. nos. 46 & 47).

As Chart 1 (pg. 63) implies, it is possible to date forty-eight inscriptions to within fifty years and an additional seven to an approximate period around the change from the second to third century AD. More precise dating is often possible because of the abundance of inscriptions from Ephesus: the many named individuals frequently appear in the *corpus* of Ephesian epigraphic evidence. Many *prytaneis* are known, not only from dating formulae, but also from lists of priests or *kouretes*, so that it has been possible to identify the tenure of many of these officials and to suggest a period for their public activities. Such information makes it possible to assign a fairly accurate date to other inscriptions when a *kouros*, for example, is present in an honorary inscription. Occasionally, the names of the proconsuls of Asia are given in public documents, in which case a specific year can often be deduced. Letters which survive in entirety – or which preserve the necessary formula at the necessary spot – are datable to the day of postage.

Some inscriptions, on the other hand, are datable only to broad periods, if at all. The appearance of an emperor's *praenomen* and *nomen gentilicum* indicates that the individual using those names or their ancestor may have received citizenship from or been freed by that Emperor; in the absence of other criteria, these inscriptions can be dated to a time after the beginning of that Emperor's reign, although this is not universally the case. This results in a degree of uncertainty beginning with the reign of Marcus Aurelius: the many Marci Aurelii known in inscriptions may have received citizenship from Marcus Aurelius or Commodus (AD 161-192), or from Caracalla's *constitutio Antoniniana* (AD 212 or 214), or even later from Elagabalus or Severus

Alexander.¹⁰ The dates of those inscriptions naming a Marcus Aurelius with no other explicit criteria, therefore, have been generalized to from the late second to the early third century.¹¹ More rarely, the *editores principes* or subsequent editors have hazarded dates on the basis of the style of the text and palaeographic forms; with few exceptions, these dates have been accepted for the purposes of this study. The catalogue contains twenty-seven inscriptions in which there are insufficient data to estimate a date. Such a lack is often due to damage to the stone. It is not infrequent, though, that the individual or individuals mentioned in a complete or nearly complete inscription are otherwise unknown, so that their careers are not datable.

Those inscriptions which can be dated with relative certainty and precision are not evenly distributed over these five and a half centuries (Chart 1). The earliest appear to be the only two testimonies of the *gerousia* in the Hellenistic period. Thereafter, the *gerousia* seems to disappear epigraphically until the final years of the Republic and the inauguration of the Principate, when it reappears in a series of letters, beginning with one

¹⁰ Although AD 212 is the traditional date for the *constitutio Antoniniana*, alternate dates have been proposed (Crook [1967]: 8, n. 8; Millar [1962]; Eck [1999]: 3). Millar (1962) in particular provides an informative argument for AD 214 in two parts. The first half of Millar's argument considers Dio Cassius' placement of the announcement of the *constitutio Antoniniana* in his discussion of the events at the beginning of Caracalla's reign. Since the proclamation of the decree appears in Dio's reports of Caracalla's travels, "which took up every year of his reign from 213 onward" (126), Millar argues that the *constitutio Antoniniana* should be dated to this period, that is, after AD 213. The second portion of his argument is based on *P. Giessen* 40, a papyrus on which the *constitutio Antoniniana* and two other decrees, arranged in three columns, appear. The second decree can be dated to AD 212-213, the third to AD 215 (126). The papyrus is a collection of Imperial edicts, and since other such documents are not chronologically arranged, there is no reason that the first decree, the *constitutio Antoniniana*, should precede the second and third in date. A second papyrus (*P. Mich. Inv.* 5503i) records payments of a *suntaximon* at three times by an individual twice named Liberalis and once Liberalis Aurelius. The payments are dated to November 2, 214, March 27-April 26, 215 and May 1, 215. Millar proceeds to argue that the *constitutio Antoniniana* was therefore promulgated in the last two months of AD 214. He does, however, note that his argument is far from decisive: Dio's text does not provide evidence for the dating of the decree (to AD 212 or 214), but it does seem to favour the later date. The papyrological evidence, however, serves only to establish the earliest date by which the effects of the *constitutio* may be observed.

¹¹ So cat. nos. 22, 23, 24, 26 & 69; cat. no. 48 is also dated to the late second or early third century, but on the basis of lettering, not the presence of the *nomen gentilicium* Aurelius.

from Julius Caesar or Octavian to the Ephesian *gerousia*.¹² It starts to appear more

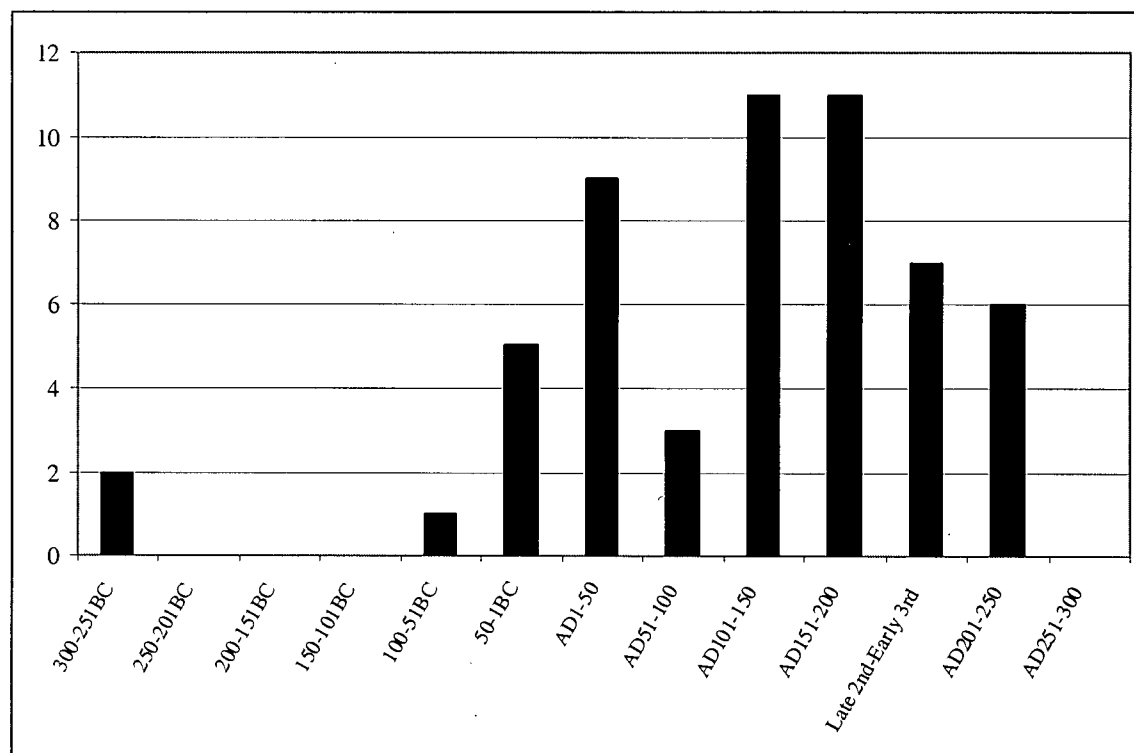


Chart 1: Chronological Distribution of Dated Gerousia-Inscriptions¹³

commonly at the end of the first century AD, but it is in the second century that the *gerousia* begins to appear consistently.

It should be noted that the statement that the *gerousia* became more prominent in Ephesus during the second century AD, when based solely on the distribution of evidence as presented in Chart One, carries the implicit assumption that the frequency with which the Ephesians erected public inscriptions remained constant throughout the period of six

¹² *JÖAI* 62 (1992): 113-119, nos. 1-11 (Cat. nos. 4-14). The *gerousia* may in fact appear in AD 86/85 in a decree of the city regarding the invasion of Mithridates VI in which *sustemata* may refer to the *gerousia* (see below; *IEph* 8 [Cat. no. 3]).

¹³ It will be noted that only fifty-five inscriptions are represented in this chart. Twenty-seven inscriptions are undated (cat. nos. 25, 28-31, 50-52, 57, 58, 70, 76-91), and five are dated broadly to the first, second or third century AD (cat. nos. 36, 37, 43, 73 & 75); these inscriptions have not been included in the chart. Also omitted are cat. nos. 54 & 72; the appearance of the *gerousia* in cat. no. 54, Salutaris' benefaction, is the same as that in cat. no. 15, Publius Afranius Flavianus' letter granting confirmation for the benefaction. Cat. no. 55, which also refers to Salutaris' benefaction, has been included because that inscription records an additional benefaction in which the *gerousia* once again appears. Cat. no. 72 is a funerary inscription for Gaius Stertinus Orpex and his daughter, who provided an endowment to fund distributions to the *gerousia* that is mentioned in both cat. nos. 34 & 72.

centuries represented in the chart. That is, the chart does not take into account any changes in the Ephesian epigraphic habit. In general, though, there is an increase in Ephesian epigraphic evidence during the second century AD when compared to the first; the exact causes of this increase cannot be absolutely determined, but probably include factors such as population growth and economic prosperity, to say nothing of the necessarily variable desires of the Ephesians themselves, both as individuals and as groups, to publicize certain information and, further, to do so on a medium as enduring as stone. Thus, the chart might be significantly altered if it were possible to take into account any commemorations which may have been consigned to perishable public display, such as, for instance, a wooden tablet. Nonetheless, it may be said that throughout the Imperial period, there was a trend for members of the *gerousia* to proclaim their membership on stone. Perhaps such proclamations did vary in quantity from the first to the second century, but it would seem that they also varied in quality, that is, the use of stone rather than wood. Such a choice reflects on the *gerousiastai*: they were able to afford stone, and the increase suggests an increase in the wealth, and social prominence, of the *gerousia* in the second century AD. The increase in the number of *gerousia* inscriptions may be directly attributable to the growth of the city and of the *gerousia* itself, but the use of stone suggests a degree of wealth and prominence which at the very least spanned the first two centuries, if it was not gradually increasing over that time.¹⁴

This apparent trend should not be taken for granted, though, for several additional reasons. First, the chart does not include all the inscriptions which appear in the

¹⁴ On the population of Ephesus, see below, Chapter Four, pp. 82-91; on the growth of the *gerousia*, see below, Chapter Four, pp. 91-106.

catalogue, but only those which can be dated to within approximately fifty years or less. The chart is, therefore, representative of only two-thirds of the available evidence.

Second, any chronological distribution of inscriptions of any type should be viewed with caution, since there is no guarantee that the inscriptions which have been discovered are proportionately representative of those which were originally produced. It was noted above that it has commonly been assumed that the *gerousia* diminished in importance and prominence until a re-emergence in the second century. This mistaken supposition was based on an absence of evidence which is now available and which provides strong evidence for an active *gerousia* in the late first-century BC and early first-century AD.

Third, assuming an ideal situation in which all the documents inscribed and erected in any city have survived to be consulted, the inscriptions would still not provide a record of the complete activities of a group. The testimonies committed to the stone are not without bias: the commissioner of the inscription, whether an individual or a group, will have chosen what information to include in the text and, more importantly, what information to exclude. Thus, it is not at all surprising that the letters in the catalogue are all favourable replies, confirming, for example, the privileges of the *gerousia*. It would, however, be surprising to find an inscription in Ephesus recording a limitation or withdrawal of the privileges of the *gerousia*. While there must have been such letters at some time, they do not appear in Ephesus; it is possible that there is a single letter rebuking the *gerousia*, but this, it will be suggested below, was erected by its recipient, not the *gerousia*.¹⁵

¹⁵ Such inscriptions should, rather, be found in cities competing with Ephesus for provincial prominence if they had gained privileges which had been denied to Ephesus. There do not appear to be any such

These considerations, however, do not negate the value of those inscriptions which do survive in a sufficiently well-preserved state to shed light on the *gerousia*. Rather, one must recognise that the conclusions drawn in the course of this work cannot be considered to be irrefutably certain. Hypotheses may and will be advanced with the acknowledged realization that they signify only a distant and partial view of the representation of the *gerousia* by the Ephesians and the members of that group.

The *gerousia*, then, can be studied only through a series of filters: first, that of the original authors of the documents; second, that of history; and third, that of the scholar. Such biases are recurrent and inescapable in all branches of historical research. The third distortion, however much care the researcher takes to avoid it, will always be present. The second can only be corrected with ongoing scholarship as more evidence comes to light. The first bias incorporates the third, but in the case of epigraphy in particular it is perhaps the easiest to minimize. With relatively few exceptions in the case of regions and cities which have produced many inscriptions, the perspective represented is that of a wide variety of individuals. The scholar's interpretation of that point of view is, therefore, based on a collection of opinions rather than on the opinion of a single author such as, for example, Strabo.

This widespread representation of contemporary views is increased not only by the variety of individual composers, but also by the differences between the documents themselves. For the inscriptions cannot be grouped into any one simple category. The catalogue includes letters to the *gerousia*, or to the *boule* and *demos*, public decrees, honorary inscriptions and decrees, official lists of *kouretes* or benefactors, and funerary

inscriptions from the cities of Asia Minor, though. Cf. below, Chapter Four, pp. 120-122, Chapter Six, p. 263-264, and cat. no. 18, a letter to an Asiarch, Aelius Martiales, which may be a chastisement of the *gerousia* by the proconsul.

inscriptions. The *gerousia* appears in these inscriptions as a collective group – for example, a letter to the *gerousia* – or as a group to which an individual belongs – for example, Aurelius Hesychion, a member of the *gerousia*.¹⁶ The distinction between these general groups is not always clear, particularly in the case of fragmentary inscriptions.

3.3. Organization of the Catalogue of Inscriptions

The categorization of inscriptions into different “types” is somewhat artificial, but can be useful. Each “type” has a different purpose and for that reason includes material intentionally chosen and represented. Thus, letters and public decrees can provide evidence for the official role and function of the *gerousia* within the city of Ephesus, while honorary decrees and funerary commemorations can represent the social position of the *gerousia* and its members: it is very significant that a third century individual chose to report the fact that he had hosted two Imperial officials during their stay in Ephesus.¹⁷

The primary means of organizing the inscriptions presented in the catalogue, therefore, has been to assign them to one of several groups. The ordering of the “types” is arbitrary and is not intended to reflect the relative importance of the inscriptions for this study: that letters precede public decrees does not give greater importance to the letters. The larger sections are arranged as follows: (I) Hellenistic Inscriptions, all of which are decrees (cat. nos. 1-3); and (II) Imperial Inscriptions, which may be subdivided in the following manner: (A) Letters from Roman Officials (cat. nos. 4-18); (B) Dedicatory Inscriptions (cat. nos. 19-31); (C) Honorary Inscriptions (cat. nos. 32-52);

¹⁶ Cat. no. 80.

¹⁷ Cf. below, Chapter Five, pp. 181 & Chapter Six, pp. 255-256 & 275-256; cat. no. 45.

(D) Public Decrees (cat. nos. 53-58); (E) Lists of Names (cat. nos. 59-70); (F) Funerary Inscriptions (cat. nos. 71-91).

It must be remembered, though, that the date of an inscription is often as important as its “type”; each category is, therefore, organized chronologically. The evidence for the *gerousia* is spread over nearly six centuries, and it cannot be taken for granted that this body remained static during this time. Whether the *gerousia* maintained a constant character throughout its existence will receive consideration precisely because it is a conclusion (and incorrect), not an *a priori* fact.

3.4. *Gerousia, Presbuteros, Sunhedrion and Sustema*

Damage to inscriptions through reuse or weathering has other consequences for the catalogue of inscriptions. A careful perusal of *Die Inschriften von Ephesos* or the pages of the *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts* will demonstrate that several inscriptions referring directly to the *gerousia* have, in fact, been omitted. Quite simply, this is because the inscription is so fragmentary that “*gerousia*” alone is legible.¹⁸

Such a perusal will also indicate that Menadier’s conjecture, that *presbuteros/oi*, *sunhedrion* and *sustema(ta)* are references to the *gerousia*, has not been accepted as true in all cases.¹⁹ In fact, it appears to be manifestly untrue in several cases. *Sustema*

¹⁸ This is an acknowledged bias of the student. These inscriptions, with the isolated phrase “*gerousia*”, appear to contribute no information beyond the presence of a *gerousia*; *IEph* 2917: - -]τερέως γερου[σιαστοῦ (?). *IEph* 2227 is a sarcophagus bearing several inscriptions, some of which have been erased. One end of the lid has an erased inscription and γερουσιαστοῦ; this may belong to the Christian inscription on the lid (ἀντὴ ἡ σοφὸς Ἐπιδιδανου | οἰκοδόμου | καὶ γυνεκὸς ἀντοῦ | Σωφρονίας), but equally may not. Because of this uncertainty, I have thought it best not to base conclusions on this example.

¹⁹ Menadier (1890): 49; cf. Chapot (1967): 216; Hicks (1880): 77 & nos. 570b & 577b (= *IEph* 1570b & 1577b). It should be noted immediately that these inscriptions are just as apt to be fragmentary and

appears rarely in *Die Inschriften von Ephesos*, in one instance clearly not referring to the *gerousiai*. This instance is a fragment of a foundation decree from AD 301 in which six *sustemata* are identifiable with six guilds or groups of workers.²⁰

Ta sustemata, though, were involved in the lending of the money of Artemis certainly by the beginning of the first century BC, if not earlier.²¹ The *boule* and *demos* passed a decree at the time of Mithridates' invasion of Asia in which one of the provisions was that all sacred debts should be absolved, with the exception of those which were owed to the *sustemata*. Hadrian, in AD 120/121, wrote to the *gerousia* of Ephesus, confirming its priority in the collection of debts, which renders more plausible Menadier's suggestion that the *sustemata* in the Mithridates decree may in fact be the *gerousia*.²² Although the two inscriptions are separated by two hundred years, the connection does find support if Knibbe's suggestion that the rights and privileges mentioned but not specified in these inscriptions include those which Hadrian confirms is correct.²³ Since monetary privileges appear to be granted and confirmed in three cases, it is possible that the *sustemata* in the Mithridates decree does refer to the *gerousia*. *Sustema* does, in fact, appear in cases in which it must refer to the *gerousia*: a letter from Knibbe's series confirming the rights and privileges of the *gerousia* is addressed to the *sustema* of the Elders (*presbeuteroi*).²⁴ It cannot, therefore, be categorically asserted that *sustema* never refers to the *gerousia*. Consequently, the first century BC decree declaring war on Mithridates has been included in the catalogue, and an expanded argument will be

therefore of very little use as those which contain the word "*gerousia*"; for example, *IEph* 1790, 1968, 3142, 4305b.

²⁰ *IEph* 3803d.

²¹ *IEph* 8.35-40 (cat. no. 3); *sustema* also appears in *JÖAI* 62 (1993): 116, no. 7 (cat. no. 11), as "the body of *presbuteroi*".

²² *IEph* 1486 (cat. no. 16).

²³ Knibbe (1992): 120.

²⁴ Cat. no. 11.

presented in Chapter Six to identify the *sustemata* mentioned in that decree with the *gerousia*.²⁵

The term *sunhedrion* appears more frequently in the Ephesian inscriptions than either *sustema(ta)* or *presbuteros/loi*, and is often, but not always, limited by a plural genitive noun, and more rarely by a singular genitive.²⁶ It is, therefore, possible, in a study of the *gerousia*, to eliminate with certainty some of those inscriptions in which *sunhedrion* appears. The limiting genitive is the singular *tes gerosias* in only two cases, but in each case one or both terms are entirely restored.²⁷ Since the only clear uses of *to sunhedrion tes gerosia* are restorations, they cannot be used to support the proposition that the two terms were interchangeable or that *sunhedrion* alone could be an abbreviation for the whole phrase; *to sunhedrion tes gerosias* should not be restored without very careful consideration, if at all.²⁸

To sunhedrion appears in an inscription which could conceivably refer to the *gerousia*, but most likely does not.²⁹ This fragment of a sarcophagus states that “the *sunhedrion* has care of this tomb”, but the final portion of *sunhedrion* is restored, so that there may originally have been a genitive noun. Several funerary inscriptions entrust the care of a tomb to the *gerousia*, or the *boule*, but *sunhedria* of specific groups are also

²⁵ Cat. no. 3; cf. below, Chapter Six, pp. 211-214.

²⁶ For example, [τὸ ἱερώτατον] | [συν]ἔδριον τῶν νεοποιῶν (JÖAI 55 [1984]: 121-122, no. 4238); [τ]ὸ ... | συνέδριον | [τ]ῶν ὑμνωδῶν | [κ]αὶ θεολόγων | [κ]αὶ θεσμοφδῶν (IEph 645); IEph 47.2-3, 636, 951.9-10, 966, 991, 1075, 1247b, 1277b, 1577a, 2083c, 2212, 3263.2-4, 4330.3-4. There seems to be no direct connection with the Jewish *Sanhedrim*, which does not appear in the inscriptions of Asia Minor; *sunhedrion* is known from Herodotus and Xenophon, and is literally “a sitting together”.

²⁷ IEph 27B l. 232 (cf. 27B l. 235), 737 [cat. nos. 54 & 46]. There are instances of *to sunedrion tes gerosias* from elsewhere in Asia Minor, but it seems to be a rare expression in all cities (eg., TAM III.3.A3 from Termessus; IPriene 246; ISmyrna 212); there appears to be the single instance of the *gerousia* in Priene, while *to sunedrion tes gerosias* is the only such association of the two terms among some twelve *gerousia*-inscriptions from Smyrna.

²⁸ Eg., cat. no. 54, l. 232: τῷ τοῦ συνεδρίου τῆς γερουσ[ίας γ]ραμματεῖ; l. 235: τοῖς τοῦ συνεδρίου μετέχουσι]ν. In each case, it is possible avoid the restoration of *sunhedrion*: τῆς φιλοσέβαστο]ς γερουσ[ίας and τοῖς τῆς γερουσιᾶς μετέχουσι]ν, for example.

²⁹ IEph 2420.

given this task; an individual, unspecified *sunhedrion* does not appear in funerary inscriptions from Ephesus.³⁰ *Sunhedrion* does appear in one funerary inscription from Ephesus without a limiting genitive; the group is explicitly identified in an appositive clause, though, as the assembly of Ephesian doctors.³¹ A *sunhedrion*, when it appears as the caretaker in a funerary inscription, seems always to be identified by a limiting phrase, but there is no indication that this limiting phrase ever connected it to the *gerousia* of Ephesus, so there is little chance that it could be correctly restored in *IEph* 2420.

Ta sunhedria appear not infrequently in inscriptions in positions which could easily be occupied by *he gerousia*: on two occasions two citizens were honoured for, among other things, providing a feast. In such benefactions, it is usual for the *gerousia* to appear after the *boule* and before the *demos* among the recipients; *panta ta sunhedria* appears in precisely this position in these two inscriptions. It seems unusual, though, that, earlier or later, in the same two inscriptions individual *sunhedria* are distinguished out of the greater number by the use of a limiting genitive.³² One could expect, then, *to sunhedrion tes gerousias* to be attested if the *gerousia* was considered one of the collective *sunhedria*, but it is not. The explicit appearance of the *gerousia* or one of its members (*gerousiastes*) in these inscriptions suggests that the *gerousia* may not always have been included in the phrase, 'all the assemblies'. It is possible, though, that it became more common to include the *gerousia* with the other assemblies as time went on: there is no case of *sunhedrion* certainly being used to refer to the *gerousia* until the mid-

³⁰ *Gerousia* and/or *boule*: *IEph* 2109 (Cat. no. 73), 2266 (Cat. no. 82), 2437 (Cat. no. 87), 2549b (Cat. no. 88), 4117a-d (Cat. no. 74); *JÖAI* 55 (1984): 124 no. 4265 (Cat. no. 85); *JÖAI* 55 (1984): 140 no. 4364 (Cat. no. 86; partially restored). *Sunhedrion*: *IEph* 943 (partially restored), 2212, 2441 (partially restored).

³¹ *IEph* 2304; the *sunhedrion* of the doctors is further specified: they are the doctors from the Museion. The same group appears in a statue base of two priestesses of Artemis (*IEph* 3239).

³² *Panta sunhedria*: *IEph* 951.7 (cat. no. 48), 3263.10; limiting genitive: 951.9-10, 3263.2-3; cf. 1151 (cat. no. 70).

second century in a letter of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, and the two inscriptions which may include the *gerousia* in *panta ta sunhedria* are even later.³³ It should be noted, though, that the Imperial letter does not provide evidence for the equation of the two terms: it is not the Ephesians who describe the *gerousia* as a *sunhedrion*, but the emperors. Inscriptions containing the phrase *panta ta sunhedria* are not normally included in the catalogue because there are no clear means of determining whether the *gerousia* was or was not intended to be included. The two inscriptions noted above recording distributions to the *boule* and *panta ta sunhedria* are exceptions: they have been included because the phrase *panta ta sunhedria* appears where one could reasonably expect *gerousia*.³⁴

In only a single case is it possible to make a strong argument for equating *to sunhedrion* with *he gerousia*. *To sunhedrion* appears in what is often identified as a decree of the *gerousia*.³⁵ This is an inscription recording the activities of a certain Nicomedes as *ekdikos* of the *sunhedrion*. Nicomedes and his sons were praised for their efforts in restoring a festival which had fallen into abeyance because of a lack of money. Nicomedes is said to have 'found' monetary resources for the revival of this festival in the 'common treasury' of the *gerousia*. Both *gerousia* and *sunhedrion* are used in this inscription, but they are not used interchangeably: an injunction is laid upon the *gerousia* and upon the members of the *sunhedrion* to preserve the arrangements made by Nicomedes. It is possible that *sunhedrion* and *sunhedrous* in this case refer to those

³³ Cat. no. 17.

³⁴ *IEph* 951.7 (cat. no. 48), 1151 (cat. no. 70), 4330 (cat. no. 45) all mention the *gerousia* in addition to *panta ta sunhedria*; the phrase *panta ta sunhedria* or a variation thereof appears without apparent reference to the *gerousia* in *IEph* 958, 969, 824, 990 & 3072.

³⁵ Cat. no. 56; *IEph* 26.

members of the *gerousia* who are taking part in the sacrifice, but it is unlikely to refer to the entire *gerousia*.³⁶

A *sunhedrion* is four times described as *hieron*, sacred, and three times as *hierotaton*, most sacred. Six of these are further qualified with a genitive noun and therefore cannot refer to the *gerousia*. The seventh instance may have been limited by a genitive.³⁷ That six out of seven sacred *sunhedria* are limited suggests that the final instance also requires the restoration of a genitive noun. *Tes gerosias* is doubly unlikely in this case: the *gerousia* of Ephesus is never described as either sacred or most sacred.

There remain several occurrences of *sunhedrion* which cannot certainly be said not to refer to the *gerousia*. The first is not described as sacred, nor is it identified as the caretaker of a grave, nor is it limited by a genitive or any phrase which identifies its members.³⁸ The *sunhedrion* is described as *hairesis*, "selected", or "elected". The inscription is incomplete, so it is not possible to tell whether this *sunhedrion* was selected out of *ta panta sunhedria*, or if it was an elected group. If it was an elected group, though, it is unlikely to be the *gerousia*, which does not appear as an elected body in Ephesus. The second two cases appear in inscriptions which seem to have been erected by "the magistrates of the *sunhedrion*".³⁹ Once again, there is no adjective or phrase identifying the *sunhedrion* as a specific group. It is not unreasonable in these cases to

³⁶ The relationship between *gerousia* and *sunhedrion* is not clear in this inscription. A distinction does seem to be drawn between the two, but the nature of that distinction is not easily determined.

³⁷ *Hieron*: IEph 966, 991, 1570b, 3263.1-4 (2); *hierotaton*: IEph 636, 1075, 1577a; the superlative form is most likely an indication of a later date rather than an important distinction in the relative standing of the *sunhedria*.

³⁸ IEph 1577b.

³⁹ IEph 742, 1057. IEph 1057 also identifies a member of the *gerousia*, and is therefore included in the catalogue (cat. no. 67); cf. IEph 15, Fabius Paulus' provincial edict which mentions a *sunhedrion*, about which few conclusions can be made.

read *sunhedrion* as the *boule*. There is no compelling reason, at any rate, to understand *sunhedrion* in these inscriptions as the *gerousia*.

Presbuteros is perhaps the most difficult of these three terms to dismiss. It is a substantive use of the comparative adjective derived from *presbus*, “an old man”, and so simply means “elder”. There are several cases in which *presbuteros* simply cannot be read as a synonym for *gerousiastes* or *presbuteroi* for *gerousia*. The term is occasionally simply an indication of age, contrasting with *neoteris*, “a younger man”, particularly in inscriptions referring to gymnastic games.⁴⁰ The use of the term in Christian inscriptions probably refers to the individual’s position in the Church rather than his membership in the *gerousia*.⁴¹ Often, however, it is not possible to deny that the term may be more than an indication of relative age.⁴² There is no direct identification in these inscriptions of the two terms, but *presbuteros* should not always be dismissed as valueless in a study of the *gerousia*: it will be recalled that Plutarch used *presbeuges* in his description of the Spartan *gerousia*.⁴³ In the pages which follow, ‘Elders’ will be used when *presbuteroi* refers to the *gerousia* rather than to the elder boys.

It is possible that the use of one of *sustema*, *sunhedrion*, or *presbuteros* was meant to reflect the *gerousia* or its members in different contexts, that is, *presbuteros* may have been used in place of *gerousiastes* if the individual were being associated, for example, with a gymnasium, or that *sunhedrion* may have been used to describe the *gerousia* if it

⁴⁰ For example, *IEph* 690, 1101, 1600.27, 1687, 3142; *JÖAI* 59 (1989): 197-210, no. 37. The term does appear in contrast to the *neoteris* and *neoi* in the context of the gymnasium in other cities in which it does not seem to refer to the *gerousia*: for example, *BE* 1955, 168: “le terme πρεσβύτερος nous introduit dans le milieu du gymnase” (Prusa ad Olympum).

⁴¹ For example, *IEph* 543, 1251, 2253b, 4305b, 4316.

⁴² *IEph* 702 (cat. no. 38), 707c (cat. no. 51), 803 (cat. no. 33), 940 (cat. no. 29), 1393a (cat. no. 57), 2552 (cat. no. 78), 3214 (cat. no. 53); *JÖAI* 59 (1989): 175-178, no. 9 (Cat. no. 52); *JÖAI* 62 (1993): 116, no. 7 (cat. no. 11).

⁴³ Above, Introduction, pp. 2-3; Plut., *Lyc.*, 6.4.

were passing a decree.⁴⁴ More so than for *sunhedrion* and *sustema*, this problem can be settled for *presbuteroi* in Ephesus: both “*presbuteros*” and “*gerousiastes*” are used as honorary titles in inscriptions: there does not seem to have been a decisive factor in the choice of *presbuteros* over *gerousiastes*, though the latter was by far the more common. Moreover, both “*gerousia*” and “*presbuteroi*” appear in decrees of the *gerousia* or decrees passed along to the *boule* and *demos*.⁴⁵ The primary difficulties with *presbuteros* are those outlined above. Any nuances carried by *sustema* are necessarily difficult to intuit, given the low frequency with which that term appears in Ephesus, but it is possible that they are only minor: the “*sustema* of the *gerousia*” or the “*sustemata*” (assuming it is not a reference to guilds, as noted above) appear performing the same functions as the “*gerousia*”. One is therefore left with the question, could the *gerousia* be called a *sunhedrion* if it was acting in a particular way? There is a single clear case of the use of *sunhedrion* as a reference to the institution, but it does not seem to be functioning any differently than the *gerousia*: Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus term it a *sunhedrion* when discussing the collection of debts owed, but the *gerousia* appears as such in financial affairs during both the Hellenistic and Imperial periods, and specifically in an affair concerning debts.⁴⁶ It may be supposed, as noted above, that *sunhedrion* could refer to members of the *gerousia* participating in a specific activity, similar to *tous parontas*, those who were present; there seems to be only a single instance of this, and even that case is not clear.

⁴⁴ This point was brought to my attention during my stay at the Kommission für alte Geschichte und Epigraphik by several members, to whom I would like to express my acknowledgment.

⁴⁵ Cat. nos. 1, 2, 56, 57; cf. cat. no. 55.

⁴⁶ Cat. no. 17; cf. cat. nos. 1, 2, 4-11, 16, 23, 74, 81, 83, 84 & 90.

The catalogue of inscriptions printed in the first appendix presents, obviously, those inscriptions containing the words *gerousia* or *gerousiastes*, as well as several which mention *presbuteros*, *sustema* or *sunhedrion*. Inscriptions containing one of the latter three words which do not appear have not been omitted arbitrarily, but after careful consideration in light of the points raised in the course of this chapter.

4. THE GEROUSIASTAI PT. I – NAMES AND NUMBERS

4.1. Introduction: The *Gerousia* of Sidyma

Inevitably, the members of any group influence the outlook and nature of their assembly or association. In some cases, this effect is more pronounced and obvious. The Senate of the early Roman Republic was undeniably biased towards the patrician outlook at the expense of the plebeian. The effect of membership on the overall body, however, is not as important as the perception of that effect. The influence of any body – whether it is the Roman Senate or the Ephesian *gerousia* – is to a large extent proportionate to the perceived importance of the individual members – particularly in the Roman Republic and Empire, where personal patronage was an important feature of daily-life. Naturally, members vary in their personal influence, so that it can be argued that some members gain in personal power by their membership: the perceived importance of the body creates an expectation that all members have a similar amount of official or unofficial power, whether or not this is genuinely the case.

In many ways, therefore, a study of the *gerousia* is necessarily incomplete without an account of its members. This chapter attempts to provide such a discussion, examining the evidence for the size of the *gerousia* at various points in its existence and considering the grounds for identifying citizens of the city as members of the *gerousia*. It should be noted before proceeding that the proportion of Roman citizens among known *gerousiastai* is not treated at any great length. This is because Roman citizenship often cannot be certainly determined. Twenty-six members of the *gerousia* appear to have Roman *tria nomina*, or the remains of one, suggesting that they possessed Roman

citizenship.⁴⁷ These twenty-six individuals represent approximately sixty percent of the known members of the *gerousia*; if the first, second and third centuries are considered separately, a similar proportion of Roman citizens to non-Roman citizens emerges in each period, on the basis of the *tria nomina*. It should be noted, however, that this is only an estimate and that it may be misleading. Judging Roman citizenship solely on the basis of the *tria nomina* is a standard method, but it can never be more than an approximation. Punishment is known to have existed for the unlawful assumption of the *tria nomina* and the consequent counterfeit citizenship, so that it must be acknowledged that at least some individuals claiming the *tria nomina* were not truly Roman citizens.⁴⁸ On the other hand, the absence of the *tria nomina* does not necessitate non-citizen status. The choice between using Aurelius Orpheus or simply Orpheus makes a public statement, at least initially: to use Aurelius Orpheus is to emphasize, however slightly or unintentionally, 'romanness', genuine or otherwise; to use Orpheus is to emphasize 'greekness'.⁴⁹ It is probable that the retention of a Greek name alone was more common than the unlawful assumption of a Roman name, though. It can be said with relative certainty, therefore, that a significant proportion of the *gerousia* of Ephesus possessed Roman citizenship.

More important are the questions of whether Roman citizenship carried any importance within the *gerousia* and whether the citizen-status of its members gained the body any advantages from Roman provincial officials. It is to be hoped that this chapter and the following one will show that the Roman citizenship of its members was not a dominant factor in the perceived or genuine influence and importance of the *gerousia*,

⁴⁷ Cat. nos. 8, 10, 12, 13, 16, 22-28, 40, 49, 50, 51, 60-63, 67-69, 76 & 80; cf. Table 1, p. 107; cat. no. 71.

⁴⁸ Badian (1967): 256 n.6: "The Roman name adopted was often incomplete: it looks as if this had been done on purpose, to avoid the appearance of illegal arrogation of citizenship."

⁴⁹ Cat. no. 50.

whatever Roman citizenship's importance to the status of an individual: Roman citizenship was not a requirement for membership in the *gerousia*; it should not be necessary to state that it did not automatically bring with it the opportunity of belonging to the *gerousia*.

The membership of the Ephesian *gerousia* is not as convenient to study as that of the *gerousia* of Sidyma. Mommsen, in the nineteenth century, had drawn attention to an inscription from Sidyma which records that a *gerousia* was enrolled and incorporated into the social structure of the *polis* by a decree of the *boule* and *demotai*.⁵⁰ The names of the first one hundred members, fifty-one *bouleutai* and forty-nine *demotai*, are included, revealing that the *gerousia* of Sidyma, at least in its initial embodiment, was composed of freeborn citizens and freedmen, though there were only three of the latter. Whether a nearly equal split between *bouleutai* and *demotai* was maintained throughout the existence of this *gerousia* cannot be determined.

The inscription provides no criteria for the selection of these particular individuals. The presence of both the *bouleutai* and the *demotai* creates the impression that the *gerousia* may have bridged the gap between these two groups. Hogarth, in the final decade of the nineteenth century, believed that the members were chosen primarily on the basis of their age: the fifty-one *bouleutai* were over a certain age, and the forty-nine *demotai* were citizens who were not members of the *boule* but who possessed a specified census of wealth and were also over a specified age.⁵¹

⁵⁰ Mommsen (1921): 326, no. 1; *TAM* II, 175 & 176.

⁵¹ Hogarth (1891): 71.

Age was a criterion for membership in the *gerousia* at Oxyrynchus, as three papyri from late in AD 225 demonstrate.⁵² These texts record requests by three individuals to join the *gerousia*, but do not reveal what the minimum age was: Aurelius Theon was fifty-three, Aurelius Dorion was sixty-three, and the third individual, whose name has been lost, was fifty-eight. It must be noted, however, that the *gerousia* of Oxyrynchus seems to be different from those found in Asia Minor: one of the requests identifies the members as “those who are maintained (at public expense).”⁵³ There is nothing to indicate that the *gerousia* was intended to be a benefit society in Asia Minor. Moreover, a selection process based on age in Sidyma, though, presents problems: why would some members of the *boule*, who must have enjoyed a high status within the city, join and advertise on a prominent monument their membership in a body consisting of themselves and individuals who were not members of the *boule*, and presumably of necessarily lower social status? Is it probable that the city of Sidyma could boast fifty citizens whose wealth could be compared to that of members of the *boule*, but were themselves not *bouleutai*? A mixed *gerousia* consisting of a portion of the *boule* would, it would seem, diminish the perceived importance of the *bouleutai* as it could result in the membership in the *gerousia* of *demotai* who were over a certain age, but not as “worthy” in terms of wealth as some *bouleutai* who might have been passed over because of their youth.

If the selection process were based solely on wealth, there still remains the problem of fifty wealthy citizens who were not included in the *boule*. This problem is alleviated, though, when one considers that it is an assumption that only a portion of the

⁵² POxy. 3099-3101.

⁵³ POxy. 3099, ll. 14-15: ἀξιῶ ἐν[τ]αγῆναι | με ἐν τοῖς μέλλουσι τρέφ[εσθαι].

boule was included: if the entire *boule* were included in the new *gerousia* which was then filled out with wealthy *demotai*, the problems for a selection process based on age disappear: the *gerousia* would then become a body combining the members of the *boule* and those citizens whose wealth was significant, but who were not members of the *boule*, possibly because of limitations on the size of the *boule*; the combination of *bouleutai* and *demotai* would be an extension of honour to the *demotai* rather than a diminishment for the *bouleutai*, since the *boule* would remain a unified body none of whose members were passed over in favour of non-members.

A selection process based on age would be easily reconcilable with Mommsen's belief that the *gerousia*, considered as a universal institution, was a kind of social club.⁵⁴ The passage of the decree instituting the *gerousia* by the *boule* and *demos* and the request for proconsular approval, though, might suggest that the new *gerousia* also had a political element to it, however small. A comparison with Bithynia may be valid in this respect: the incorporation of an assembly of firefighters in Nicomedia was vetoed by Trajan lest it become a "political gang".⁵⁵ The citizens of Sidyma recognized the Roman mistrust towards such groups, and acted pre-emptively to present themselves in a benign light through the request for official Imperial acknowledgement and approval.⁵⁶ The institution of the *gerousia* then becomes similar to requests for increases in the size of a city's *boule*.⁵⁷

The Sidyma inscription presents the problems surrounding the Ephesian *gerousia* very clearly. Even in the case of a *gerousia*, whose incorporation is recorded, it is not

⁵⁴ See above, Introduction, pp. 4; Mommsen (1921): 326, n.2.

⁵⁵ Pl., *Ep.*, 10.33-34: *hetaeriae eaeque brevi fient*.

⁵⁶ Oliver (1954): 165.

⁵⁷ Burton (2001): 205-207; Oliver (1989), no. 156.

possible to identify certainly either its position in the city or the criteria according to which it was populated. Nonetheless, inferences can be drawn on the basis of the original members that cannot be made in many other cases. There is, for example, no similar decree among the inscriptions discovered and currently published from Ephesus. In spite of the absence of any single, equally informative inscription, the sheer volume of epigraphic evidence for the Ephesian *gerousia* and for the city in general may provide a more certain understanding of the size of the *gerousia* and the criteria influencing membership.

4.2. The Population of Ephesus

The *gerousia* of Sidyma is one of few to which a number of members can be assigned. The size of the Ephesian *gerousia*, it will be argued later in this chapter, grew, either by a continual increase or by occasional increases. The *gerousia* was originally much smaller than the one hundred member body in Sidyma, if the argument advanced in Chapter Two, that the Ephesian *gerousia* grew out of an official or unofficial oligarchy established near the beginning of the fourth century BC, is correct. At its height, the Ephesian institute was clearly larger than the Sidyman body. As a much larger city, it stands to reason that Ephesus would have not only a larger *boule* but also a larger *gerousia*. This raises the question of a correlation between the size of the population and that of the *gerousia* and, more importantly, whether membership in the *gerousia* varied with fluctuations in the population of the city. Unfortunately the inscriptions provide only rare and inconspicuous information about the number of Ephesian *gerousiastai*. Similarly, the population of Ephesus is not an issue which has been laid to rest.

Ephesus is variously placed in the hierarchy of cities in the Roman Empire. At its height, it was certainly one of the largest cities in the Empire, and its location made it equally important as a commercial centre, comparable, perhaps, to Alexandria.⁵⁸ Seneca selected these two cities as examples of particularly populous and prosperous cities; he is not necessarily saying that they were the two largest cities, but this is one possible interpretation. At the very least, the conclusion can be drawn from his statement that Ephesus was a major city in the eastern half of the empire.⁵⁹

In some modern accounts, Ephesus is omitted from the “giants” or “near-giants” of the empire, that is, Rome, Alexandria, Carthage and Antioch.⁶⁰ The population of Rome can be taken to be less than one million, but estimates range between 500,000 – or even lower – and more than 800,000.⁶¹ Working under the assumption that Rome was the largest city in the empire, it is safe to say that the inhabitants of Ephesus will have been fewer than one million; a population in the hundreds of thousands cannot be ruled out, though.

4.2.1. Estimates of the Population of Ephesus

The size of the population of Ephesus has been variously estimated by scholars. One of the earliest estimates was that of J. Beloch: he assumes that each tribe consisted of five *chiliastyes*, giving approximately 25,000 citizens (5 x 5,000) during the Hellenistic period. Given the city's increased importance at the expense of Pergamum during the Imperial period, Beloch posits 50,000 citizens during this time, to which must be added

⁵⁸ In addition to the location, the presence of two agoras within a kilometer of the harbour and the warehouses fronting the harbour are an indication of the importance of commerce in the city. See Figure 3.

⁵⁹ White (2004): 40-41; Seneca, *Ep.*, 102.21: *Primum [animus] humilem non accipit patriam, Ephesum aut Alexandriam aut si quod est etiamnunc frequentius accolis laetiusve tectis solum*. Seneca implies that Ephesus and Alexandria are *humilem patriam*, but this is to be understood as a hyperbole.

⁶⁰ MacMullen (1974): 57.

⁶¹ Hopkins (1978): 96-98; Storey (1997).

women, children and slaves. Beloch's estimate for the Imperial population of Ephesus is, therefore, approximately 200,000 to 225,000.⁶²

This estimate seemingly finds support in an inscription honouring Aurelius Baranus from the late second or early third century.⁶³ Baranus is honoured for having feasted the *boule*, *panta ta sunhedria* and *poleitas cheilious tessarakonta*:

καὶ ὑποδεξάμενον τὴν τε κρατίστην Ἐφεσίων βουλὴν καὶ πάντα τὰ συνέδρια, καὶ πολείτας χειλίους τεσσαρά- κοντα	5	and having feasted the <i>clarissima</i> <i>boule</i> of the Ephesians and all the assemblies, and forty thousand citizens
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Keil, who published the inscription in 1930, did not provide a translation, but remarked on the number of citizens as evidence for "*eine riesige Teilnehmerzahl*". Almost all subsequent editions of the inscription have taken *poleitas cheilious tessarakonta*, influenced by Keil's *riesige*, to mean forty thousand citizens. On this interpretation, the inscription implies a total population of men, women, children, slaves and resident foreigners corresponding to Beloch's estimate.

The validity of this inscription for an estimate of the population, however, has been called into question by Preston Warden and Roger Bagnall.⁶⁴ Their argument rests on the traditional ways of forming large numbers in Greek: *poleitas cheilious tessarakonta*, they argue, should be translated as one thousand and forty, since the phrase follows the common practice for forming numbers less than two thousand.⁶⁵ Their argument can be supported by evidence from other Ephesian inscriptions. The equestrian

⁶² Beloch (1968): 230-231, 258-259. It must be noted that evidence discovered since the publication of Beloch's work indicates that each tribe probably included six chiliastyes; furthermore, there seem to have been eight tribes in Imperial Ephesus (Knibbe [1961-1963]). With this exception, Beloch's calculation based on the tribes and chiliastyes seems sound and the possibility of minimalizing should not be a significant issue.

⁶³ Cat. no. 48; *IEph.*, 951; Keil *JÖAI* 26 (1930): 57-58.

⁶⁴ Warden & Bagnall (1988).

⁶⁵ Warden & Bagnall (1988): 222.

Gaius Vibius Salutaris, for example, included a capital sum in his endowment at the beginning of the second century AD which would provide annual cash distributions for one thousand five hundred citizens.⁶⁶ The similarity in the number of beneficiaries is suggestive, but it should not be over-emphasized since Salutaris provided individual gifts of cash (eight asses) whereas Baranus provided a feast.

Stronger support for the interpretation of one thousand and forty citizens may be found in an inscription, roughly contemporary with Salutaris' foundation but nearly a century earlier than that of Baranus. Titus Flavius Montanus is honoured as a high-priest and *agonothetes*, and among his benefactions is the provision of a meal for the citizens at an expense of three denarii per person.⁶⁷ If the inscriptions of Baranus and Montanus are considered in conjunction, it is possible to suggest that the number of Montanus' beneficiaries is comparable to that of Baranus' beneficiaries, even though the two euergetic gestures were separated by approximately sixty years.

An expenditure of one hundred and twenty thousand denarii (three denarii for forty thousand citizens) is incredible; an expenditure of three thousand one hundred and twenty denarii (three denarii for one thousand and forty citizens), on the other hand, is entirely believable and is in keeping with the scale of benefactions in Ephesus in general, comparable to the benefactions of Salutaris and Montanus. It is unlikely that Baranus would have failed to specify an amount if his expenditure had been anything like one hundred and twenty thousand denarii, and instead specified the number of recipients. There is no reason to assume that Baranus' meal was as costly as Montanus', but even an expense of one denarius per citizen would result in a benefaction of forty thousand

⁶⁶ Cat. no. 54, ll. 246-253.

⁶⁷ Cat. no. 39, ll. 11-12: κα[ταθέντα κ]αὶ τοῖς πολ[ε]ῖταις τὸ ἄρισ[τ]ον [ἐκ]άστῳ δην(άρια) γ'.

denarii. Such a gift is not impossible, but it would be surprising that such a massive benefactor should appear only in this inscription: Baranus is not only otherwise unattested in Ephesus, but he does seem to have been commemorated in any other inscription in Ionia, Caria, Lydia or Lycia.⁶⁸ Montanus' expense of three denarii suggests that the *poleitas cheilious tessarakonta* feasted by Baranus is more plausible as one thousand and forty than as forty thousand. An undated inscription honours Gavius Menodorus who, among other things, provided a feast for six thousand citizens.⁶⁹ Although such a benefaction is significantly larger than that proposed for Baranus, it is in no way comparable with the interpretation of forty thousand citizens. The Baranus inscription cannot be considered to provide evidence for the population of the city, only evidence of Baranus' generosity. Beloch's estimate of the city's size, two hundred thousand, may have influenced the interpretation of *poleitas cheilious tessarakonta*.

T.R.S. Broughton suggests a population of two hundred thousand for Pergamum in the second century AD, but posits an enlargement of Beloch's estimate for Ephesus since that city was larger than Pergamum, and it had an extensive and fertile territory.⁷⁰ Broughton does not specify the precise manner in which he arrives at his estimate of four hundred thousand, but it may be notable that taking this estimate and those which he provides for the remaining cities in the provinces of Asia Minor, he reaches a total population of twelve million, only slightly less than the census of Asia Minor-Turkey in 1935.

⁶⁸ Flavius Montanus is known from several other Ephesian inscriptions: possibly Montanus: *IEph* 498, 528, 698 (in which he is named proconsul); certainly Montanus: *IEph* 2037, 2061 (I), 2062, 2063. None of these inscriptions mention the provision of a meal for the citizens of Ephesus. Donations on the order of forty thousand denarii are not unheard of: cf. *TAM* II(3), 671, 905 & 910.

⁶⁹ Cat. no. 52; *JOAI* 59 (1989): 175-178, no. 9.

⁷⁰ Broughton (1938): 812-816.

4.2.2. Growth

The Mithridatic and civil wars of the first century BC will have had consequences greater than the simply economic. The financial demands of Mithridates and the various Roman generals will have taken a heavy monetary toll on the provinces of Asia Minor, but depopulation must also be assumed: witness Fimbria's sacking of Troy.⁷¹ Ephesus, however, continued to issue coinage continually from 133 BC until 67 BC, when there was a nine year interval before issuance resumed.⁷² This consistency suggests a corresponding degree of prosperity. Morley's model of feeder cities, therefore, becomes applicable: in order to recover after the wars of the first century BC, there must have been significant immigration.⁷³

The large-scale building programs and benefactions which are attested in Ephesus indicate that the prosperity which allowed the city to continue issuing coins during the turmoil of the first century BC and the enormous demands of the various combatants continued into the first and second centuries AD.⁷⁴ The new constructions also indicate a growing population. The harbour gymnasium complex and the gymnasium of Vedius, for example, would surely not have been undertaken if the city were stagnating.⁷⁵ The continuation and increase in public building during the period of the Flavian and Antonine emperors indicate that this period in particular was one of growth.

This growth was certainly under way before the end of the first century. Philostratus records a speech composed by Apollonius of Tyana before Domitian, which

⁷¹ App., *Mith.*, 53.

⁷² Broughton (1938): 556.

⁷³ Morely (1996): 159-183.

⁷⁴ App. *Bel. Civ.*, 4.73-74; 5.4-5: the cities of Asia contributed ten years worth of taxes to Brutus and Cassius in two years, and Antony thereafter demanded the same amount in one year.

⁷⁵ On the harbour gymnasium, cf., for example, Friesen (1993): 158-160. On the gymnasium of Vedius, cf., for example, Kalinowski (2002): 135-138. Rogers (1991): 128-135 provides a comparative table listing constructions and renovations in Ephesus.

he says was prepared but not actually delivered. In the course of his defence, Apollonius is said to have described Ephesus in the following terms:

Βεβλημένην μὲν τὰς ἀρχὰς τοῦ γένους ἐκ τῆς καθαρωτάτης Ἀτθίδος, ἐπιδεδωκυῖαν δὲ παρὰ πάσας, ὅποσαι Ἰωνικαὶ τε καὶ Λύδιοι, προβεβηκυῖαν δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν διὰ τὸ ὑπερῆκειν τῆς γῆς, ἐφ' ἣ ὤκισθη, μεστὴν δὲ φροντισμάτων οὖσαν φιλοσόφων τε καὶ ῥητορικῶν, ὑφ' ὧν ἡ πόλις οὐχ ἵππῳ, μυριάσι δὲ ἀνθρώπων ἰσχύει, σοφίαν ἐπαινοῦσα
[a city] which has laid the foundation of its people from the purest Attic race and which has grown beyond all Ionian and Lydian cities, advancing onto the sea because it has outgrown the land upon which it is built; it is full of the speeches of philosophers and rhetoricians, through whom the city gains its strength, not in its cavalry but in its thousands of inhabitants, praising their wisdom.⁷⁶

Whether or not Philostratus did in fact report this speech faithfully from a genuine record of Apollonius' speech is important to the question of the population of Ephesus, but the precise details of the description are not as important as its suggestions. Apollonius' words can be assumed to have been coloured by his own rhetoric, and probably by Philostratus' as well, but the picture which emerges from this description of Ephesus corresponds to that of the archaeological record: Ephesus was a very prominent and populous city whose growth had not stopped; it was a vibrant and wealthy city. Population growth will have occurred contemporaneously with the construction of public buildings, so that the underlying sense of Apollonius' speech is perhaps more a result of his own observations in the first century than those of Philostratus in the late second and early third centuries.

Obviously, the population of neither Ephesus nor any other city in the Empire remained static. As the speech of Apollonius preserved by Philostratus suggests, one must assume a general increase. Such an increase is also supported by the creation of new citizen tribes: the tribe *Hadrianea* obviously dates to the second century, while

⁷⁶ Philostr., VA., 8.7.8.

Antoniane may have been created under Antoninus or as late as the beginning of the third century.⁷⁷

The city's prosperity – and consequently its attraction as an immigration hub – was the result of various factors: as the capital of the Roman province, Ephesus was the seat of the proconsul and the site of the *aerarium* and *fiscus* staffs.⁷⁸ Before its elevation to the capital of the province, Ephesus, as a coastal city on a major trade route, became a point of immigration for citizens from less convenient settlements on the coast and from the interior. Pompey's suppression of much of the piracy in the Mediterranean increased the safety of sea-borne trade, and led, consequently, to immigration to growing cities. With the complete encircling of the Sea and the general peace of the provinces surrounding it, trade and immigration to trade centres must have begun to increase further. White, on the supposition that the population of Ephesus doubled from one hundred to two hundred thousand in a century, argues that a minimum of two hundred and seventy-four and a maximum of two thousand five hundred and seventy-eight individuals must have migrated to and settled in Ephesus each year.⁷⁹

An influx of people from the *chora* is in keeping with Alcock's view of demographic change in the Greek mainland under the Empire, but the numbers discussed by White also provide evidence for immigrants from further abroad.⁸⁰ White has

⁷⁷ *Hadriane*: IEph 2083, 4331 & 4332b; *Antoniane*: IEph 957 & 2926. The tribe *Antoniane* is not as strong an indicator of growth as *Hadriane*: Knibbe (1961-1963): 30 suggests that it was created in response to the *Constitutio Antoniniana*, that is, immigrants as well as residents of Ephesus who had received citizenship were both factors in the creation of the new tribe.

⁷⁸ Broughton (1938): 708.

⁷⁹ White (2004): 46-49.

⁸⁰ Alcock (1993): 98-116. The appearance of depopulation in many areas may be the result of a general move toward nucleation rather than of an actual demographic loss. The pressures which Alcock notes influencing such a movement in Greece should also apply to movements in Asia Minor and Ephesus. The city provided protection against war and brigandage, but it also offered economic opportunities for those who were dispossessed by larger landowners (106). To this may be added the threat of tax collectors,

identified one hundred and fifty foreign benefactors in inscriptions.⁸¹ His count omits individuals in Imperial service, *asiarchs* and priests of the Imperial cult, some of whom may have remained in Ephesus after the completion of their duties. The foreigners who remained are likely to be even more common in the inscriptions than White has shown, since it is not necessary that not all immigrants should have included a mention of their homeland. Furthermore, epigraphic commemoration assumes a degree of wealth which would not have been enjoyed by all immigrants. It is probable that many immigrants, if not most, were impoverished and came to Ephesus for that very reason, so that commissioning an inscription was simply not possible. The majority of immigrants appear to have come from other cities or regions of Asia Minor, but some are also known from, among other provinces, Syria, Armenia, Judaea, Greece, Italy and Africa. Such a migration pattern is also in keeping with Alcock's model. It may be well to note that immigration to Ephesus occurred frequently in the Hellenistic period as well. Numerous decrees were passed granting citizenship to foreigners, and it is difficult to believe that none of these recipients became permanent residents of the city.⁸²

The exact size of the population of Ephesus cannot be determined with accuracy for any one point during the course of the second century, but such precision is not necessary for the present study: it is sufficient to note that all of the evidence indicates growth over the period under consideration, bringing Ephesus to its greatest population in

whose methods may have been less violent in the presence of neighbours. Cf. MacMullen (1974): 37-40; Morely (1996): 159-183; Woolf (1997).

⁸¹ White (2004): 58-63, 66-79. White's evidence for these foreigners consists entirely of individuals who appear in the *Die Inschriften von Ephesos*. At least twenty-one individuals may be added to White's database, the majority of whom are recipients of decrees of citizenship (cf., for example, *JOAI* 59 (1989): 183-236, nos. 16, 17, 20, 22-28, 30-32, 34, 36, 54, & 59; *ZPE* 86 (1991): 140, no. 6; *ZPE* 91 (1992): 286, no. 4).

⁸² For example, *SEG* 33 (1983): 932; 34 (1984): 1080 & 1081; 39 (1989): 1151-1171; 46 (1996): 1451; 50 (2000): 1134-1145.

the second century AD. Since all the evidence indicates a rising population, the question of growth should also be considered for the *gerousia*.⁸³

4.3. The Size of the Ephesian *Gerousia*

Although there is no document for Ephesus comparable to the constitution of the *gerousia* in Sidyma, there are several inscriptions that provide an idea of the number of Ephesian *gerousiastai* at various points in the body's history. Several of these texts record gifts or fines of money that are to go towards distributions of money for the *gerousiastai*. Inscriptions recording donations for cash distributions are not universally detailed, but the benefactor does, in some cases, provide specific details. Often, though, there is only a statement that a cash distribution was provided, with no indication of how much each individual received. Those inscriptions which do provide monetary details can be used to determine the size of the *gerousia*.

4.3.1. The Mid-first Century: Gaius Stertinus Orpex

Gaius Stertinus Maximus served as consul in AD 23. His freedman, Gaius Stertinus Orpex, clearly settled in Ephesus, as his grave monument shows.⁸⁴ The latter appears to have enjoyed some success in the city, whether as a trade agent for his former master or engaged in business of his own. He is known from other Ephesian inscriptions, which record honours for Orpex himself and his daughter, Marina.⁸⁵ The honours were voted to him in connection with the donation of several statues, the renovation of the

⁸³ Obviously, the population of Ephesus cannot be assumed to have grown steadily or constantly. There was the danger of plague which would have seriously affected growth, but as a general trend the size of the city did increase (cf. Philostr., VA., 4.4, 4.7.9). An average growth of approximately 0.5% per year would be reasonable (White [2004]).

⁸⁴ Cat. no. 72 (*IEph* 4123).

⁸⁵ *IEph* 720 & 2113 (cat. no. 33).

stadium and the establishment of an endowment fund to provide annual distributions of money for members of the *boule* and the *gerousia*.

The inscription honouring Orpex and Marina does not provide monetary details about their endowment. These are, however, specified in their funerary inscription. The endowment consisted of two main parts in addition to the erection of statues in the gymnasium, stadium and Temple of Artemis. First, a donation of five thousand denarii was made to provide cash-distributions (*dianomai*) for the members of the *boule* and the priests, with each participant receiving the same amount.⁸⁶ Assuming a rate of interest of 9%, four hundred and fifty denarii were available each year.⁸⁷ Hicks, in his introduction to the Ephesian inscriptions published in 1890, identified a *boule* of four hundred and fifty members.⁸⁸ The total number of priests envisioned in Orpex' endowment is unknown, but it is probable that it was limited to the priests of Artemis. Ephesus did not receive its first Imperial temple until at the earliest the reign of Nero, and there is no mention of the priests of Roma and Publius Servilius Isauricus or of Caesar in the inscription.⁸⁹ The *hierourgoi* of Artemis number four on average during the first century, to judge from the preserved *kouretes* lists.⁹⁰ Orpex may, therefore, have envisioned a

⁸⁶ Cat. no. 72 ll. 9-11. A common feature of *dianomai* is that only those who are present at the correct location and time are entitled to receive their gift.

⁸⁷ The interest rate of 9% is an approximation, suggested on the evidence of the foundation of Gaius Vibius Salutaris in AD 104, in which this is the rate specified: the interest on the endowment of 20,000 denarii is expected to be 1,800 denarii (Cat. no. 54 ll. 220-222). It must be noted, though, the two endowments and, consequently, their rates of interest are separated by between fifty and seventy-five years.

⁸⁸ Hicks (1890): 71-74. Hicks notes that it is unclear whether the size of the *boule* remained constant throughout its history. Certainly, there appear to have been only 450 members in AD 104, as provision is made for no more in Salutaris' bequest. Hicks suggests it may have been made up of 75 individuals from each tribe, and admits the possibility that the pre-Roman *boule* had only 375 members, due to the addition of the tribe *Sebaste* under the Romans. If Knibbe is correct in identifying a pre-Roman tribe whose name is at present unknown, though, it is possible that the number of members remained consistent at 450 (Knibbe [1961-1963]).

⁸⁹ Burrell (2004): 59. Servilius Isauricus: *IEph* 702 (cat. no. 38), 3066; Caesar: *SIG*³ 760.

⁹⁰ *FiE* IX/II b4-b21. The number of *hierourgoi* steadily increases over the first and second centuries until there is a total of seven (*FiE* IX/II b22-42).

maximum total of approximately four hundred and sixty recipients. The interest rate of 9% and the annual income of four hundred and fifty denarii are estimates; the interest rate may well have been higher at the time of Orpex' endowment. Even at a rate of 9%, though, the money available was probably at least enough to provide one denarius to the recipients. Only those who were present could receive a share, and it should not be supposed that every member of the *boule* would make the effort of being in the city to receive a single denarius if, for instance, they maintained a residence outside the city; nor should it be assumed that the *bouleutai* went out of their to attend even if they were present in the city: providing a cash-distribution was far more important than being among the recipients.⁹¹

The second part of the endowment was the donation of two thousand five hundred denarii to provide annual cash distributions (*dianomai*) to the members of the *gerousia* at a rate of two denarii each.⁹² Assuming an interest rate of 9% again, two hundred and twenty-five denarii would be available each year for distribution to the *gerousiastai*. This would provide gifts for one hundred and twelve individuals. The same restriction should

⁹¹ Distributions described as *dianomai* were not provided with a view to relieving poverty. They were handouts which reflected the social prestige of the benefactor by the number and status of the recipients. Inscriptions recording distributions commemorate the benefactor, not the recipients.

⁹² It is highly unusual for the *gerousiastai* to receive a larger cash gift than the *bouleutai*. Yet this seems unavoidable in the case of Orpex' foundation. Both distributions for the *gerousiastai* are explicitly stated to be annual events. This seems to be the case for the distributions for the *bouleutai* as, even though κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἑκάστων does not appear in the clauses relating to the *bouleutai*. A second inscription honouring Orpex and Marina specifies that the *dianome* for the *boule* is to be annual but does not include the phrase for the *gerousia* (cat. no. 34; *IEph* 2113). The two inscriptions most likely describe the same distributions: both specify that the distribution for the members of the *boule* is to take place in the Tetragonus Agora. Since the same verb governs the clauses relating to the *boule* and the *gerousia* in the funerary inscription (cat. no. 72), it is possible to argue that the distribution for the *gerousiastai* also took place in that agora. The honorary inscription, however, places the distribution to the *gerousiastai* in the stadium. Since the stadium and the Tetragonus Agora are by no stretch of the imagination in the same area of the city, there must either have been two distributions for both the *bouleutai* and the *gerousiastai*, or a location was not specified for the distribution of the *gerousiastai* in the funerary inscription. The latter is more likely, because if there had been four distributions in total, one would have expected an indication of this, such as καθιέρωσαν βίς, rather than the verb alone. Consequently, Orpex and Marina provided only one distribution for the *gerousia* and the *boule*, but both were annual occurrences.

be applied to this distribution, even though it is not clarified, namely that only those who were present would receive their share. There was, however, an added incentive for the members of the *gerousiastai* to take part in the honouring of Orpex: an additional donation of one thousand five hundred denarii was made available to provide a lottery (*kleros*) for the *gerousia*.⁹³ Thirty denarii of the interest on this sum was marked for other purposes, but there would remain enough, approximately one hundred and five denarii, for thirty-five members of the *gerousia* at the specified rate of three denarii each. It is probable, therefore, that a greater proportion of the *gerousiastai* than of the *bouleutai* took part in the commemoration of Orpex' monuments and foundation. One can consequently estimate a membership of between one hundred and one hundred and twenty for the *gerousia* in the first half of the first century AD.⁹⁴

The occasion of these dedications is not known. The funerary inscription, which provides the most detail, is incomplete, preserving only the middle portion of the details for foundation.⁹⁵ Some suggestions may be made, however. The association of Orpex' daughter in the establishment of the foundation can be seen as indicative of a joint office, such as a priesthood of Artemis and a *kalathephoria*. Such an association does not seem to have been a customary arrangement in Ephesus, though. There are instances of a father serving in a priesthood alongside his daughter, but such does not appear to be the case with Orpex and Marina, if only because there is no mention of any priestly office.⁹⁶

⁹³ The distinction between a *dianome* and a *kleros* is important and is treated in somewhat more detail below. Essentially, a *dianome* is a gift handed out to those who are present where as a *kleros* is distributed on the basis of a lottery. Everyone has a share in a *dianome*, but only some have a share in a *kleros*.

⁹⁴ A slightly higher interest rate (10%) would provide enough annual income to fund distributions for 125 *gerousiastai*, while a lower rate (8%) would suffice for 100 portions.

⁹⁵ Cat. no. 72 (*IEph* 4123).

⁹⁶ An *essene* appears with his daughter in *IEph* 957 (Cat. no. 22); a more common association is the father as *hestiouchos* and his daughter, sister or wife as *kalathephorus* (*IEph* 1070, 1070a).

The foundation that was established by Orpex and Marina was intended to generate enough interest to provide for annual distributions. Such an endowment is akin to the establishment of games: regular distributions are not as expensive as regular games, but they are a significant benefaction of a sort that is not usually associated with service as a priest or priestess of Artemis. Consequently, a more probable occasion might be the introduction of Orpex to the Ephesian *boule*. Such an introduction would call for a large-scale benefaction involving the inductee's family since the status gained as a member of the *boule* would affect the family as a whole and not simply the inductee himself.

Monetary payment is known to have been required for membership in the *boule*. The emperor Hadrian, approximately a half-century after Orpex' benefaction, recommended two men who had traveled with him during his sea-voyages and had requested membership into the *boule*.⁹⁷ Both Lucius Erastus and Philocurius claimed to be citizens of Ephesus, so that they were probably ship captains based in the city. Significantly, Hadrian declares his willingness to pay the admittance fee for his two nominees, if the "magistrates and *boule* of the Ephesians" judge the men "worthy of the honour".

Orpex' generosity may well have been in response to membership in the *boule*, but, since the *gerousiastai* are the recipients both of a *dianome* and a *kleros*, Orpex may have become a member of the *gerousia* instead. The payment for membership in the *gerousia* would have been limited to the donation of the one thousand five hundred denarii, with the two donations mentioned prior to this serving as more general

⁹⁷ *IEph* 1487, 1488.

benefactions, the likes of which Pliny complains about in a letter to Trajan.⁹⁸ This proposition, if correct, would be the only indication that there was a type of fee for membership in the *gerousia*; payment for membership in the *boule* seems more likely. One must still explain the gifts to the *gerousia*, though. The provision of a *dianome* to the members of the *boule* can easily be seen as Orpex' "entry fee"; the additional gifts to the *gerousia* demonstrate his worthiness of such a status: by giving more than one denarius to the *bouleutai* whom he was joining Orpex might have impressed observers – particularly the *bouleutai* themselves – as somewhat sycophantic, whereas by giving more to the *gerousiastai* he would simply appear generous.

4.3.2. The Second Century: Gaius Vibius Salutaris

Gaius Vibius Salutaris, at the beginning of the second century AD, established a foundation for the citizens of Ephesus which Guy M. Rogers has interpreted as a means of publicly and visibly proclaiming or re-asserting Ephesian identity.⁹⁹ In short, Salutaris provided numerous statues and an endowment of twenty-one thousand five hundred denarii, the annual interest from which was to fund distributions for various members of the citizenry in celebration of the birthday of Artemis – and in celebration of Salutaris himself. Salutaris specified the distributions in great detail and had them confirmed by the *boule* and *demos*, and by the proconsul of Asia. He was allowed by the *boule* and

⁹⁸ Pl., *Ep.* 10.116: *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.)

⁹⁹ Rogers (1991); cat. nos. 15, 54 & 55; (*IEph* 27C, 27B, 27G).

demos to have the terms of his endowment inscribed in five hundred and sixty-nine lines on the *analemma* of the theatre, an inscription which has been carefully reconstructed by numerous scholars.

Salutaris is identified by his offices as an equestrian: among other posts, he served as a military tribune and as subprocurator of Mauritania Tingitana and Gallia Belgica.¹⁰⁰ There is no evidence to suggest that he was a member of the *gerousia*, but he does include that body among the recipients of his distributions. The endowment was made in two phases with a donation of twenty thousand denarii followed two months later by an additional donation of fifteen hundred denarii.¹⁰¹

Of the projected eighteen hundred denarii of annual interest at a rate of 9% on the initial capital donation, three hundred and eighty-two and a half denarii are to be given to the *grammateus* of the *gerousia* for a cash gift (*kleros*) to the *gerousiastai*, the *neokoroi* and the asiarchs. Three hundred and nine members of the *gerousia* are to receive a portion of this sum, and it is agreed by editors of and commentators on this inscription that they received their share at a rate of one denarius each.¹⁰² The details for the other shares of the endowment make it clear that while Salutaris did not take into account a rate of interest of less than 9%, he did make provisions for a surplus. The four hundred and fifty members of the *boule* are normally to receive, like the *gerousiastai*, one denarius

¹⁰⁰ Cat. no. 19; *IEph* 35.

¹⁰¹ Cat. nos. 54 & 55 (*IEph* 27B, 27G).

¹⁰² Cat. no. 54, ll. 231-246; Heberdey in Oliver (1941): 81-85. *Kleron* is entirely restored in line 234, but the restoration is confirmed by line 242, in which *kleron* appears entirely unrestored, and by line 237, where λαχ[όντων] has been restored, a participle which appears in distributions of *kleroi* but not of *dianomai*.

each; in the case of a surplus, the additional interest is to be handed out.¹⁰³ The gifts provided for the *bouleutai* and the *gerousiastai*, however, differ significantly.

Four hundred and fifty denarii of the total interest earned on the twenty thousand denarii are dedicated to the *boule*. If the interest rate were greater, the interest at that rate of the *boule*'s share of the total endowment, five thousand denarii, would be allotted to the *grammateus* of the *boule* for distribution. Thus, if the earned rate were 10%, five hundred denarii would be given to the *grammateus* of *boule*, and fifty members would receive an additional denarius. The same procedure would be followed for the share of the *gerousia*, the interest being calculated on four thousand two hundred and fifty denarii of the total.

The gift for the *boule* is described as a *dianome*, that for the *gerousia* a *kleros*:

τῶν δὲ καθιερωμένων ὑπὸ Σαλoutα-	220
[ρίου δη(αρίων) β' μυρίω]γ τ[ε]λέσει τόκον Σαλoutάριος δραχμαῖον καθ' ἑκάστον ἐνι-	
[αὐτὸν] τὰ γει[ν]όμενα δηνάρια χίλια ὀκτοκόσια, 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]νόμῳ τῇ γενε[σ]ίῳ τῆς μεγίστης θεᾶς Ἀρ-	
[τέμιδος.] ἥ τις ἐστὶν μηνὸς Θαρρη[λι]ῶνος ἑκτη ἱσταμένου, γεινομένης τῆς διανο-	225
[μῆς ἡδὴ τῆς] πέμπτῃς, διδομένο[ν] ἐκαστῷ τῶν παρόντων δηναρίου ἑνός,	
[μὴ ἔχον]τος ἐξουσίαν τοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς διανομῆς ἀπόντι δοῦναι, ἐπεὶ ἀποτεισά-	
[τω τῇ β]ουλῇ ὑπὲρ ἑκάστου ὀνόματος τοῦ μὴ παραγενομένου καὶ λαβόντος	
[προστέιμου δη(αρία) . . . ἐὰν δὲ μεῖζω]ν γεί[νηται] ὁ κόλλυβος, ὥστε]	
[εἰς πλείονας χωρεῖν, ἐξέστ]ω καὶ [- - - - -]	230
[- - - - -] α ἀνὰ κύ[κλο]ν. ὁμοίω[ς δώ-]	
[σει τῷ τοῦ συνεδρίου τῆς] γερουσ[ίας γ]ραμματεῖ κ[ατ' ἐνι-]	
[αὐτὸν ἑκάστον ἀπὸ τοῦ προγεγραμμέν]ου τόκου δη(νάρια) [τπβ']	
[ἀσσάρια θ', ὅπως ἐπιτελῇ κλήρον τῇ] γενεσίῳ τῆς θεο[ῦ]	
[ἡμέρα τοῖς τοῦ συνεδρίου μετέχουσι]ν εἰς ἄνδρας τθ' [ἀνὰ δη(νάριον) α'· ἐὰν]	235
[δὲ μεῖζων ἢ ὁ γενόμενος κόλλυβος,] ὥστε εἰς πλείο[ν]ας]	
[χωρεῖν, κληρώσει καὶ πλείονας, ἐκ]άστου τῶν λαχ[όν-]	

¹⁰³ This type of distribution may be thought of as being conducted by queue: after receiving a share, a recipient went to the back of the line and could receive an additional denarius until the total set aside for the *bouleuta* was spent. A surplus sum over 1,800 denarii was not meant to accumulate and cause the capital to grow. All interest was to be spent each year.

[των ἀνὰ δηνάριον ἐν λαμβάνοντ]ος. διδόςθ[ω δὲ καὶ]
 [τοῖς τοῖς νεοκοροῦσι παρὰ] Σα[λ]ουταρίω τ[ῷ καθιερω-]
 [κότι εἰς διανομὴν δη(νάρια) - - - - - καὶ το]ῖς ἀσιαρχή[σας] τοῖς
 [ἀναγραψαμένοις δη(νάρια) - - - - εἰς κλήρον] ἀνὰ [δηνάρ]ια ι<α>’, ὧ καὶ
 [τὰ εἰς τὴν θυσίαν ἀγοράσουσιν,] τοῦ κλήρου γεινομένου
 [τῇ πέμπτῃ, μὴ ἔχοντος ἐ]ξουσινά<ν> τοῦ γραμματέος τῆς
 [γερουσίας τοῦ παριέναι τὴν δ]ιανομὴν ἢ ἀναγραφὴν μετὰ
 [τὴν Σαλουταρίου τελευτή]ν, ἐπεὶ ἀποτείσάτω πρόστειμον
 [τὸ ἐν τῇ διατάξει ὠρισ]μένον. ὁμοίως ἀπὸ τοῦ προγε-

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245

Of the twenty thousand denarii donated by Salutaris, Salutaris will pay 9% interest each year, making one thousand eight hundred denarii, from which he shall give to the *grammateus* of the Senate four hundred and fifty denarii, so that he may conduct a distribution of money to the members of the Senate in the temple in the pronaos on the birthday of the greatest goddess, Artemis, which is the sixth day of the month of Thargelion, with the distribution occurring on the fifth day, with one denarius being given to each man present; the one who is charge does not have authority to give a share of this distribution to anyone who is absent because if he does so, he shall repay to the Senate a fine of [...] denarii on behalf of each man who not present but received the gift. If the interest available is greater, so that it can provide for more, it shall be permissible also [to make a distribution at a rate of ...].

In the same way he will give to the *grammateus* of the assembly of the *gerousia* each year from the aforementioned interest three hundred and eighty-two denarii and nine asses, so that a lottery may be conducted on the birthday of the goddess for those who are members of the assembly, up to three hundred and nine men, at a rate of one denarius each. If the available interest is greater, so that it can provide for more, the he will allot more portions, but each of the recipients will receive one denarius.

There will also be given to the temple-wardens in the donor's, that is Salutaris', house [...] denarii for a distribution of money and to the Asiarchs whose names are inscribed [...] denarii for a lottery at the rate of eleven denarii per person, with which they will purchase the materials for the sacrifice, with this lottery taking place on the fifth day. The *grammateus* of the *gerousia* who is in charge will not have the authority to omit the distribution or the enrolment after the death of Salutaris, because if he does so he will pay the fine which was specified in these arrangements.

A *dianome* is a cash gift handed out by a benefactor to specified individuals, in this case, the *bouleutai*. Whether offered on a single occasion or repeatedly, a *dianome* is intended only for those who are present at the time of the distribution. Consequently, it is possible

that even when there was no surplus to be distributed some of the *bouleutai* could receive more than a single denarius if some of their number were absent.¹⁰⁴

A *kleros* is also a cash gift, but one which is handed out by a benefactor to recipients chosen by lot as the word and its derivatives suggest.¹⁰⁵ The phrasing of the inscription shows that the two terms cannot be synonymous: the recipients among the *gerousiastai* are *hoi lachontes*, “those who have obtained by lot;” in the case of the *boule*, on the other hand, “one denarius is given to each of those who are present.”¹⁰⁶ Thus, this distribution to the *gerousia* was also intended to continue until the interest dedicated to it had been exhausted, but Salutaris foresaw that the prescribed 9% would not provide enough to give each member of the *gerousia* one denarius. Consequently, it cannot be doubted that the *gerousia* numbered more than three hundred and nine members in AD 104.

How many members there were beyond these three hundred and nine is unclear. Salutaris’ additional benefaction later in the same year is uninformative in this respect. Rogers argues that this capital endowment provided a sum of interest which was distributed in a lottery, a *kleros*, to five members of the *gerousia*.¹⁰⁷ Since the second foundation also provides a lottery for five members of the *boule*, it cannot be assumed that these *gerousiastai* are necessarily different from the recipients named in the original benefaction. It was a second lottery, also open to all members and any one of these five recipients may also have received a share from the original lottery. This lottery,

¹⁰⁴ The lines which describe the method of the distribution of the μείζων κόλλυβος (230-231) have not been restored in any edition of the inscription. The final phrase before the description shifts to the gifts for the *gerousia*, however, ἀνὰ κύκλον, suggests that the sense is, “let the *grammateus* give to each of those present one denarius in a circle;” the distribution is intended to continue, with each person receiving one denarius and some receiving an additional denarius until the amount to be distributed has been exhausted.

¹⁰⁵ The basic meaning of the noun ὁ κλήρος is an allotment (*LSJ*, s.v. κλήρος (A); cf., κληρώω).

¹⁰⁶ Cat. no. 54, *gerousia*: ll. 230-246, esp. 238-239; *boule*: ll. 221-231, esp. 227.

¹⁰⁷ Rogers (1991): 42-52; Cat. no. 55, ll. 497ff.

however, was provided in order that the recipients could perform a specific function, related to the annual celebration of the birthday of Artemis; the nature of that responsibility is unknown because of the fragmentary nature of the text of the inscription at this point. The number of the recipients is not certainly known to be five, nor is it relevant to a calculation of the total membership of the *gerousia* in AD 104.

The inscription recording Salutaris' benefactions does not shed any light on what proportion of the *gerousia* could expect to receive a share in his lottery. That fifteen hundred citizens were to be allotted half a denarius in a lottery might suggest that the three hundred and nine members of the *gerousia* formed only a small part of the entire body. On the other hand, the equivalence of the value of the gift to individual *bouleutai* and *gerousiastai* suggests a similarity in social status and therefore indicates that three hundred and nine may have been a significant part of the *gerousia*.

There are several hints, in addition to the equality of the gifts, to suggest that a large proportion of the *gerousia* is represented in Salutaris' benefaction. First, the appearance of the title *gerousiastes* in numerous inscriptions indicates that it was regarded as conferring some degree of honour; moreover, seats were reserved for the *gerousiastai* in the theatre.¹⁰⁸ Furthermore, the appearance of the term *patrogeron* might suggest that membership in the *gerousia* was regarded as somewhat aristocratic.¹⁰⁹ Finally, the several letters addressed to the *gerousia* by emperors or provincial governors demonstrate that the *gerousia* of Ephesus was a significant body in that city. It seems more reasonable that a comparatively small body of individuals would enjoy, as it were,

¹⁰⁸ *IEph* 2086b.

¹⁰⁹ See below pp. 113-116 for *patroboulos* and the similar *patrogeron*; cf. cat. nos. 26, 27 & 56.

the Emperor's ear. The *gerousia* of the early second century should, therefore, be larger than three hundred and nine, but not dramatically so.

Is the *gerousia* larger or smaller than the *boule*? There is no explicit indication. It is possible, though, to suggest an answer. Numerous *kouretes* lists have been discovered and published, most easily accessible in Knibbe's *Forschungen in Ephesos* IX/I/I.¹¹⁰ These lists reveal several hints about the relative sizes of the *boule* and *gerousia*. Inevitably a greater number of *bouleutai* appear in any given list. Very rarely are there more than two *gerousiastai*.¹¹¹ This suggests that the *gerousia* was less active overall in the college of *kouretes*, but it will be seen in Chapters Four and Five that they were active in the city, so that it is more likely that their lower frequency of appearance is due to a smaller overall size. This suggests a range of between three hundred and ten and four hundred and fifty members.

This range can be narrowed. A lottery for nearly all of a single body would not make sense euergetically. To exclude a small portion of a body would not reflect well on the benefactor because it would be evident that for a slightly greater expense he could have included the entire body. Consequently, the *gerousia* must have numbered more than, say, three hundred and twenty-five. This would still result in an exclusion of only about 5%, so a larger membership would be more probable.

On the other hand, the exclusion of a significant portion of one of the major bodies in the city would also reflect poorly on the benefactor: it reduces the generosity of the euergetic act and therefore the accolades which the act would otherwise have earned.

¹¹⁰ Knibbe (1981).

¹¹¹ There is no reason to assume that some would identify themselves as *gerousiastai* and others would not. The absence of such identification is due to the individual who composed the inscription and should therefore be consistently variable as authorship changed. Given that the inscriptions were annual lists, it is probable – but not certain – that there was a degree of consistency even between authors.

How great a proportion of the *gerousia* could be excluded cannot be other than an arbitrary judgment, but certainly less than 50%. A rate of exclusion of 20-30% would seem to be a energetically safe proportion: if 70-80% of the *gerousiastai* could expect to receive a gift, that would be incentive enough for the majority of the *gerousia* to take part in Salutaris' festival while avoiding the risk of offending a relatively small number of non-recipients who did, nonetheless have the chance of benefiting from Salutaris' arrangements; it would also allow Salutaris to claim, without stretching the truth too far, that he had given cash-gifts to the *gerousia*. A total membership of between three hundred and eighty and four hundred and fifty, therefore, is not unreasonable. In light of the *kouretes* lists, the lower portion of this range is preferable. If a round number was a consideration for the Ephesians themselves, it may be suggested that there were four hundred *gerousiastai* at the beginning of the first century AD, with the *caveat* that this is an estimate.¹¹²

4.3.3. The Late Second Century: [Tiberius Claudius] Nicomedes

A third inscription records the establishment of another endowment half a century later.¹¹³ Like Salutaris, Nicomedes, a citizen of Ephesus, arranged for the investment of a sum of money to provide annual funds for a feast and a cash distribution. Nicomedes is identified in line seven of the inscription as the *katholikos ekdikos tou sunhedriou hemon*, that is, he oversaw the application and administration of the laws and rules governing 'our assembly', or he represented it in an official, legal capacity.¹¹⁴ If Oliver is correct in his supposition that the lacuna preceding the name of Nicomedes in the seventh line of

¹¹² The possible desire for a round number should not be dismissed. The *gerousia* of Sidyma appears to have been filled out to include a total of one hundred members.

¹¹³ Cat. no. 56 (*IEph* 26).

¹¹⁴ The term *ekdikos tou sunhedriou* will be discussed below in Chapter Five.

the inscription should be restored as Tiberius Claudius, the name of a *kouretes* of AD 104-105, it is safe to suppose that the Nicomedes of the end of the second century was the member of a rather wealthy Ephesian family.

On the other hand, the money which Nicomedes makes available in this inscription seems not to be his own:

νῦν δὲ εὐρεθέντων διὰ]

[- - -] Νεικομήδους, τοῦ καθο[λικοῦ ἐκδίκου] τοῦ συνεδρίου ἡμῶν, τῆς
αὐτοῦ ἐπιμελείας <ς> ἐξ[αίρετον παρασχόντος παράδειγμα, πόρων]
[ικαν]ῶν
But now, since sufficient funds have been discovered through the efforts of
[Tiberius Claudius] Nicomedes, the general financial supervisor of our
sunhedrion, giving a singular sign of his diligence...

If Nicomedes had made a donation from his personal resources, this would have been specified. The uninformative statement that Nicomedes discovered funds implies that he arranged the diversion of a certain sum of money for his benefaction rather than paying for it himself.¹¹⁵

The endowment, as in the Salutaris foundation, specifies the purposes to which the distributed money is to be put. Each recipient is instructed to use the gift in prayer and sacrifice to Artemis and the Emperor Commodus on behalf of his *diamone*.¹¹⁶ In fact, the 'prayer and sacrifice' takes the form of a feast for the members of the *sunhedrion*, the *sunhedroi*. Those individuals who attend the feast are to receive an additional Attic *mina*. Unfortunately, the amount of money which was set aside for this feast and distribution is unknown, and may not have been specified at all. The number of recipients, therefore, is also unknowable. The only amount that appears to have been

¹¹⁵ Cat. no. 56, ll. 6-8; cf. l. 11.

¹¹⁶ The translation of the dative τῷ μεγίστῳ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν καὶ ἐνφανεστάτῳ αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι Μάρκῳ Αὐρηλίῳ Κομμόδῳ Ἀντωνείνῳ Σεβαστῷ Εὐσεβαί εὐτυχεῖ in lines 8-9 as 'to the Emperor' or 'for the Emperor' has implications for the nuances behind the Imperial cult, but need not be addressed here.

specified in the inscription was the minimum amount which could be spent on the sacrifices and feast – but this was only a portion of the funds ear-marked by Nicomedes. The text containing the amount is missing.

The Nicomedes decree, then, is not informative about the numerical size of the *gerousia*. Even if a total sum had been specified, though, the decree would not have been more illuminating in this respect. The terms *gerousia* and *sunhedrion* are not used interchangeably and are, in fact, restorations in several instances. Moreover, the closest association of the two terms in the inscription proves ephemeral: all members or participants in the *sunhedrion* are to receive an unknown amount of money from the common treasury of the *gerousia* according to the original organization under Lysimachus.¹¹⁷ The terms can be understood as synonymous in this case, but the possibility that this is a case of the *gerousia* funding sacrifices carried out by another body should not be ruled out. Nor, as was suggested above in Chapter Three, should the possibility that *sunhedroi* in this inscription refers to a group within the *gerousia* who participated, that is, those who were present, be dismissed out of hand.

The implication of the juxtaposition of the two terms is either that they refer to two distinct groups or that *sunhedrion* is here literally a meeting of some but not all members of the *gerousia*. This distinction appears in the section of the inscription that describes the third century BC arrangements of Lysimachus, but it seems to have been a distinction which existed and was acknowledged to exist at the time of the passage of this decree; it does not mean that the *gerousia* was thought of as The *sunhedrion* throughout its existence. The addition of the adjective *koinon* also implies that the funds of the entire

¹¹⁷ Cat. no. 56, l. 5: τοὺς] μετέχοντας τοῦ συ[νεδρίου πάντ]ας ἐκ τῶν κοινῶν τῆς γερουσίας χρημάτων ἐκ[αστον...λαβόντας: 'all the participants in the *sunhedrion* received [sum of money] apiece from the common funds of the *gerousia*.'

gerousia were being used by a portion thereof or by an entirely different body. The reduplication of the preservation formulas in lines 11-14 emphasizes the distinctiveness of the *gerousia* and the *sunhedrion*.¹¹⁸

A specification of the total amount made available by Nicomedes, then, would be informative about the monetary resources of the *gerousia*, but not of the size of its membership. It cannot be determined, therefore, whether the *gerousia* continued to grow through the second century, or if it remained a consistent size during this period. The growth from the first century to the second though suggests that it may have continued to grow.

4.4. The *Gerousiastai*

Although there is no inscription from Ephesus to answer the question of the size of its *gerousia* corresponding to the remarkable decree from Sidyma briefly discussed at the beginning of this chapter, the sheer quantity of inscriptions from Ephesus offers an idea of what a membership-inscription might have looked like. It is possible to trace the activities of several Ephesian families over multiple generations, so that the social status of some members of the *gerousia* can be determined with relative certainty. In the case of Sidyma, slaves and women were excluded from membership in the *gerousia*, but both freeborn and freedmen are attested. There are enough individuals named as members of the *gerousia* in Ephesus that some similar conclusions can be drawn about its members.

At least forty-one named individuals are identifiable as members of the *gerousia* and thirteen additional individuals may have been members (Tables 1 & 2). The Ephesian *gerousia* was predominantly an organization composed of men, probably

¹¹⁸ Cf. above, Chapter Three, pp. 70-74.

	Name	Date	Cat. No.
1	Euphronius, son of Hegemon (pp. 109-110)	294-281 BC	1
2	Herogeiton (pp. 109-110)	294-181 BC	1
3	Theodorus (?) [*] (pp. 110-113)	50-1 BC	4
4	Curtius Proculus [*] (pp. 110-113)	AD 12/13	8
5	Menodotus (?) [*] (pp. 110-113)	AD 18	9
6	Tiberius Claudius D... [*] (pp. 110-113)	AD 1-4 or AD 18	10
7	Tiberius Julius Heras [*] (pp. 110-113)	AD 29/30	12
8	Lucius Cosinnius [*] (pp. 110-113)	AD 30/31	13
9	Alexander son of Alexander [*] (pp. 110-113)	AD 31/32	14
10	Titus Flavius Asclepiodorus [†]	AD 80/81	22
11	Julius Menecrates [‡]	Before AD 81	69
12	Diodotus Ephesius son of Asclepides [‡] , Gaius Licinnius Euarestus [‡] , Tiberius Claudius Nicomedes [‡] & Asclepiodorus son of Apollonius son of Asclepiodorus [‡]	AD 105	60
16	Lucius Caecilius Rufus [‡]	AD 112-120	61
17	Cascellius Politicus [*] (pp. 110-113)	AD 120/121	16
18	Claudius Bassus [§]	AD 117-139	40
19	Publius Aelius Isas Flavianus [‡]	AD 130-140	62
20	...Venustus [‡]	AD 130-140	63
21	Bacchius son of Zeuxius [‡] & Onesimus [‡]	AD 150-192	64
23	Eutyches (?) [‡]	AD 161-181	20
24	The son of Saturninus (p. 119)	Late 2 nd -early 3 rd C. AD	23
25	Marcus Aurelius Artemidorus [§]	Late 2 nd -early 3 rd C. AD	26, 27
26	Falcidius Epigonus (p. 119)	Late 2 nd -early 3 rd C. AD.	27
27	Julius Marcianus [‡]	Early 3 rd C. AD.	67
28	Evandris [§]	AD 214/215	21
29	Gnaeus Julius Artemidorus [§]	AD 216/217	68
30	Zoticus Artemidorus [§]	AD 231-239	45
31	Aurelius Antoninus Julianus [§]	3 rd C. AD	49
32	Zoticus, freedman of the <i>Sebastoi</i> [§]	3 rd C. AD.	75
33	Aurelius Niconianus Eucarpus [§]	Undated	24
34	...Asiaticus [‡]	Undated	28
35	Aurelius Orpheus son of Orpheus [§]	Undated	50
36	Aphrodisius son of Cleander son of Herodes son of Herodes son of Apollonius (pp. 141-2, 155).	Undated	31
37	Claudius Antistius Antiochus [§]	Undated	76
38	Menecrates [§]	Undated	77
39	Aurelius Hesychion [§]	Undated	80
40	Straton (p. 119)	Undated	89
41	Lucius Pomp.... (pp. 119-20)	Undated	51

Table 1: Named members of the *Gerousia*.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁹ The membership of many of these individuals is obvious: * Membership deduced from service as ambassador; † Membership indicated in the inscription with the phrase *metechon tes gerousias*; ‡ Membership indicated in the inscription with the phrase *ek gerousias*; § Membership indicated in the inscription with the word *gerousiastes*. In the absence of a superscript marker, reference is made to the pages on which the membership of those individuals is discussed.

42	Theodoros, Memnon, Protogenes, Heraclides, Sopater, Asclepiades, Aristion, Agathenor & Menodotus (pp. 110-113)	29 BC	6
51	Gaius Octavius Magnus (pp. 119-20)	Early Imperial	71
52	Herakleides Passalas (pp. 119-20)	Reign of Tiberius	59
53	Titus Peducaeus Canax (pp. 153-4)	Late 1 st C. AD	38
54	Gavius Menodorus (pp. 153-4)	Undated	52

Table 2: Possible Members of the *Gerousia*.

citizens. All but five of these men are attested as having held at least one office in addition to being a member of the *gerousia*.¹²⁰ This suggests that the vast majority of *gerousiastai* were Ephesian citizens. In many cases membership is clear, but there are several individuals for whom it is not obvious or certain.

A number of inscriptions clearly identify members of the *gerousia*. The most common means of doing this is the addition of the term *gerousiastes* to the individual's name, but variations do appear. Thus, *ek gerousias* and *metechon tes gerousias* are synonymous with *gerousiastes*.¹²¹ Although synonymous, however, these terms are not used interchangeably in the same inscription: any given inscription uses only one of them. *Gerousiastes* appears in a variety of inscription-types, including honorary inscriptions and dedicatory inscriptions. *Ek gerousias* most commonly appears in the *kouretes* lists; this is the only phrase used to identify a member of the *gerousia* in these inscriptions.

¹²⁰ The offices of the members of the *gerousia*, both within that body and in the larger Ephesian state, will be discussed in Chapter Five.

¹²¹ *Gerousiastes*: cat. no. 21, 24-27, 40, 45, 49, 50, 68, 75-77, 79, 80 (cf. *IEph.* 2227 & 2917); *ek gerousias*: cat. no. 20, 28, 60-64, 66, 67; *metechon tes gerousias*: cat. no. 22. Oliver suggests that *metechon tes gerousias* is not synonymous with *gerousiastes*, but in fact identifies individuals who were associated with the *gerousia* but were not regular members (Oliver [1941]: 41). The meaning 'to be partners' which Oliver gives to *metecho* is a specialized use of the word, and there is no reason to assume that it is in this sense rather than the more common sense of 'to partake' or 'to be a member' that the word is used in cat. no. 22. Furthermore, Oliver notes that *metecho* and *nemontes* are distinct (Oliver [1941]: 41-42); this is true, one would expect that *nemetes*, derived from *nemo*, would be used rather than *metechon* for irregular members (cf. cat. no. 44); cf. Hdt. 8.132; *P.RevLaws* 14.

4.4.1. Euphronius and Herogeiton

The two earliest known members are Euphronius, the son of Hegemon, and Herogeiton, respectively the recipient and the author of a Hellenistic citizenship decree.¹²² Euphronius served as an ambassador to Lysimachus' general Prepelaus on *gerousia*-business associated with the Temple of Artemis, but he was not a citizen at the time of this service. Although probable, Euphronius' membership cannot be taken for granted because he is identified as an Acarnian, and may therefore have been a member of Prepelaus' army. Since embassies were at all times dangerous and expensive undertakings, it may have been easier and more feasible for the *gerousia* to commission someone who was already going to Prepelaus' location with its business. Two points can be made against this. First, Euphronius appears to have been a resident in or near Ephesus as he is named as a benefactor of the city. Second, the decree reports that he was "sent by the *gerousia* and *epikletoi*". The verb, *apostello*, is literally "to send" or "to dispatch", modified only by the *gerousia* and *epikletoi* as agents. If Euphronius had been commissioned by an additional body, it would be expected that this body would also have been mentioned and would have joined the *gerousia* in proposing honours. It is probable, therefore, that Euphronius was a member of the *gerousia* at the time of his embassy to Prepelaus, even though he was not a citizen until after the completion of this service.¹²³

Ephesian citizenship would not, then, seem to have been a criterion for membership in the *gerousia* in the third century BC. Whether this principle is true for the entire period during which the *gerousia* is known to have existed is unclear, but a second century *gerousiastes* also may not have been an Ephesian citizen. Claudius Bassus,

¹²² Cat. no. 1; *IEph* 1449.

¹²³ Euphronius was a member of the *gerousia* or the *epikletoi*. Membership in either body is, in the cases of Euphronius and Herogeiton, taken to be membership in the *gerousia* for the sake of simplicity.

whom Oliver identifies with an *agonothetes* in Smyrna, was a member of the *gerousia* of Ephesus, possibly during the reign of Hadrian.¹²⁴ That same Claudius Bassus appears in a list of individuals who promised various benefactions to Smyrna, promising to pave the *basilike*. The evidence that he was active as a benefactor in Smyrna suggests that he may have been a citizen of that city; it should be noted, however, that non-citizens could provide benefactions in a city. If Bassus was a citizen of Smyrna, though, his inscription might be an indication that non-Ephesians could be members of the *gerousia* into the Empire; it is also possible that Bassus enjoyed citizenship in both cities.

Herogeiton is identified in the Hellenistic decree as the speaker of the proposal for Euphronius' citizenship. The decree is said to be one of the *gerousia* and the *epikletoi*, but it was supported by the *neopoioi* and the *kouretes*, suggesting a connection between these four groups or a specific procedure by which the *gerousia* officially approached the *boule* and *demos*.¹²⁵ It is reasonable, therefore, to suppose that Herogeiton, as the spokesman, was associated with each group. It will become clear that the services of *kouretes* and *neopoiios* could be, and often were, performed by members of the *gerousia*. Herogeiton can, therefore, be considered to be a probable member of the *gerousia*.

4.4.2. Ambassadors to Roman Officials

The series of letters from Imperial officials to the *gerousia* identify multiple members of the *gerousia* (Table 1, nos. 4-9 & 42-50).¹²⁶ Although several of the letters are too fragmentary to provide the names of the petitioners and ambassadors, others suggest that at least one member of the *gerousia* was involved in the presentation of the

¹²⁴ Cat. no. 40. Oliver (1941): 90, no. 8; *IGRR* 4.1431; *Die Inschriften von Smyrna* 697.

¹²⁵ An hypothesis has been advanced in Chapter Two about the nature of the connection between the *epikletoi* and *gerousia*.

¹²⁶ Cat. nos. 4-14.

gerousia's request for each renewal of their privileges. Nineteen individuals are named in these eleven inscriptions, some only in fragmentary form, of whom seven can certainly be taken as members of the *gerousia*. Several of the remaining twelve names may also identify *gerousiastai*. The letters record the confirmation of certain pre-existing rights of the *gerousia* by various Roman officials. These were not written spontaneously, but in response to a petition brought to the attention of the respective officials by the *gerousia* itself.

The letter of Octavian, dated to 29 BC, for example, records the names of nine ambassadors.¹²⁷ Knibbe identifies these men as envoys of the *ekklesia* who spoke "im Auftrag der gesamten Polis, da Octavian seine Antwort an Rat und Volk der Stadt adressiert hat."¹²⁸ This is possible, but, as Knibbe himself notes, it does not rule out a restoration of *tes gerousias* in place of *tes ekklesias*.¹²⁹ Even if one accepts Knibbe's restoration, though, it is still probable that at least some of these men were members of the *gerousia*. The embassy was at least in part concerned with the state of the *gerousia*, so that it is implausible that at least one member did not accompany the embassy of the *ekklesia* – if that restoration is in fact correct – to represent that body's interests.

The remainder of this series of letters are all addressed to the *gerousia*, so that there can be little doubt that the embassies were conducted by members of that body. At least nineteen ambassadors undertook embassies in the sixty to seventy years covered by this series of letters, although only seven can be identified as members of the *gerousia* with certainty: four individuals who appear as the sole ambassador in any given case are

¹²⁷ Cat. no. 6.

¹²⁸ Knibbe (1992): 114: πρέσβε[ις τῆς ἐκκλη]σί[ας].

¹²⁹ The major objection to πρέσβε[ις τῆς γεορ]υσίας is the addressing of the letter to the *boule* and *demos* rather than the *gerousia*. This does not preclude the possibility that Octavian is informing the *boule* and *demos* of the results of the embassy.

most likely representing their own body, the *gerousia*.¹³⁰ Two additional ambassadors are identified either as the *gerousia*'s own ambassador or as having been sent by that body through the use of the second person plural personal pronoun.¹³¹ Nine individuals appear in Octavian's letter as the representatives of the *ekklesia* or the *gerousia* but it is not possible to determine whether one or all of these were members of the *gerousia*.¹³² Finally, four men are named in a fragment which preserves little more than their names.¹³³ It is clear, though, that the four individuals named in this case were divided into two groups. The first, Theodorus, appears to have been a member of the *gerousia*: his name is restored before a short lacuna after which *tes gerosias* may be read, and it is conceivable that this lacuna could be filled with the identification of Theodorus as an ambassador or gymnasiarch, that is, the ambassador of the *gerousia*. The remaining three men are separated both from Theodorus and the *gerousia* by the phrase "*kai hoi epi ton...*" which might suggest that they were representatives of a body other than the *gerousia*, although that body's name has not survived; Knibbe suggests that this phrase

¹³⁰ Cat. nos. 10, 12, 13 & 14. For the same reason, Cascellius Politicus, who conducted an embassy to Hadrian in AD 120/121, may be identified as a member of the *gerousia* (cat. no. 16).

¹³¹ Cat. nos. 8 & 9; it should be noted that the pronoun also appears in the inscriptions noted in n. 128, but in one case (10), it appears in the phrase 'Tiberius Claudius met me concerning your affairs;' the combination of the pronoun and the fact that Tiberius Claudius is the only individual named make his membership quite certain. The other three inscriptions (12, 13 & 14) identify the ambassadors as "your gymnasiarch," and it will be argued in Chapter Five that a gymnasiarch of the *gerousia* was not necessarily a member of the *gerousia*. It is, consequently, the fact that these three ambassadors appear alone in the letters that most strongly supports their membership in the *gerousia*, not the presence of the pronoun; two individuals identified only as gymnasiarchs of the *presbuteroi* have been included in Table 2 since it is not immediately clear that *presbuteroi* is a reference to *gerousia* nor, if it is, does that office guarantee their membership in the *gerousia* (cat. nos. 38 & 52).

¹³² Cat. no. 6; even if the restoration of *ekklesia* is correct, it is probable that at least one of the nine named individuals was an ambassador and member of the *gerousia*; τῆς γερουσίας might equally well have been restored.

¹³³ Cat. no. 4.

may actually have been *kai hoi epi ton chrematon (tes gerousias)*, citing *ho epi ton chrematon* in the Salutaris dossier.¹³⁴

4.4.3. Aurelius Artemidorus and Aurelius Attalus

None of the major beneficent families of the city of Ephesus, such as the Publii Vedii or the Juliani, appear among the members of the *gerousia*. There is, however, evidence that places in the *gerousia* were occupied by some significant families of the city. Marcus Aurelius Artemidorus, the son of Attalus, appears in an honorary inscription with his son, Marcus Aurelius Attalus.¹³⁵ Artemidorus is clearly identified as a member of the *gerousia*, in addition to being a *neopoios* and an *agoranomos*. His son Attalus may also have been a member of the *gerousia* and *neopoios*. This identification, though, is based on a restoration, and raises questions because it would make Attalus the only known member of both the *boule* and the *gerousia* in Ephesus.

In fact, Attalus was not a member of both bodies. The juxtaposition of *gerousiastes* and *patroboulos* can be explained in two ways. The restoration provided in *Die Inschriften von Ephesos* makes Attalus a member of the *boule* because of his father, a *gerousiastes* and a *neopoios*. The first half of the inscription, honouring his father, does not identify Artemidorus as a member of the *boule*, so the term *patro[boulos]* would seem inconsistent, if not for a second inscription that supports the restoration.¹³⁶ The restorations contained in this inscription, however, are also somewhat problematic, since it is the case endings which are restored.

¹³⁴ Knibbe *et al.* (1993): 119, no. 11.

¹³⁵ Cat. no. 26 (*IEph* 1575).

¹³⁶ Cat. no. 27; *πατρόβολος*: *SEG* 38: 1182; *SEG* 37: 1309 *ad* 756 where *patroboulos* is considered to be an inherited term.

The word *patroboulos* is important for the understanding of these inscriptions, so it deserves some comment. The term appears only rarely in the provinces of Asia.¹³⁷ Three other men are identified in Ephesus as *patrobouloi*: Lucius Junius Julianus, Lysimachus Mundicius and his son of the same name.¹³⁸ These three men appear in lists of *kouretes* in which several others are identified as *bouleutai*, which suggests that *patroboulos* was a title distinct from *bouleutes*. The term could, therefore, refer to an individual who had been adopted by the *boule* as an honorary member; it was not a title describing an individual who owed membership in the *boule* to his father.¹³⁹ The term *patrogeron* would appear to have been used in the same way.¹⁴⁰ The conclusion of the decree recording the financial arrangements of Nicomedes discussed above in the previous section includes the provision that Nicomedes himself and his sons should be publicly proclaimed and considered *patrogerontes* as a result of his efforts to revive a religious feast, thus supporting the honorary interpretation of both titles.¹⁴¹

Patroboulos, however, is not the only problematic element in the two inscriptions. The difficulty arises in the attribution of the titles *patroboulos*, *gerousiastes*, and *neopoios*. Oliver, in *The Sacred Gerousia* (1941), could not compare the two inscriptions because the second, *IEph* 972, had not yet been published. He appears, however, to have realized that the restoration later adopted in *Die Inschriften von Ephesos* would create the

¹³⁷ The term does appear in an inscription from Cilicia (*MAMA* III.756; *SEG* 37 (1987): 1309). The interpretation of its appearance in this case is uncertain.

¹³⁸ Julianus and Lysimachus Mundicius: *JÖAI* 54 (1983): 125-126; Lysimachus Mundicius the son of Lysimachus: *IEph* 1044; cf. cat. no. 63, where Lysimachus Mundicius the son of Lysimachus is simply *bouleutes*.

¹³⁹ Cf. Dmitriev (2005): 170, where it is argued that *patroboulos* identifies an individual who was intended to be associated with the *boule* by virtue of his family. This does not contradict the interpretation given here: association does equal equal standing within the *boule*.

¹⁴⁰ *πατρογέρων* appears twice: Cat. nos. 27 & 56.

¹⁴¹ Cat. no. 56. The award of the title *patrogerontes* to Nicomedes and his son indicates that they were not members of the *gerousia*, even in an honorary sense, before this decree.

impression of a *gerousiastes* who was also a *bouleutes*; such a concurrent appearance is otherwise not attested, so that an attempt should be made to reconcile these inscriptions with the well-attested usages.

IEph 1575.8-13 (cf. cat. no. 26)

καὶ Μ(ᾱρκος) Αὐρ(ήλιος) [Ὑ Ατταλος]
 Ὑ Αρτεμ[ιδώρου]
 πατρό[βουλος γερου-]
 σιαστ[ῆς νεο-]
 ποιό[ς - - - - -]
 Ὑ Ολυμ[πιονείκης]

IEph 972. 22-28 (cf. cat. no. 27)

ἀγαθῇ τύχ[ῃ]
 Αὐρ[ήλιος] Ὑ Αττα[λος]
 Ὑ Αρτεμ[ιδώρου]
 γερουσια[στής]
 πατρόβο[υλος]
 υἱὸς νεοποιο[ῦ]
 καὶ χρυσοφόρο[υ]

ΑΓΑΘΗ • ΤΥΧΗ
 Μ • ΑΥΡ • ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΟΣ
 ΑΤΤΑΛΟΥ • ΦΙΛΟ
 ΓΕΡΟΥΣΙΑΣΤΗΣ
 5 ΠΟΙΟΣΑΓΟΡΑΝΟΥ
 ΑΓΝΟΣΛΙΤΟΥΡΓΟ
 ΕΝΔΟΤ
 ΚΑΙ • Μ • ΑΥ
 ΑΡΤΕΜ
 10 ΠΑΤΡΟ
 ΣΙΑΣΤ
 ΠΟΙΟ
 ΟΛΥΜ

Fig. 1: Line drawing of *IEph* 1575 (Hicks, *GIBM* 575).

Oliver accepted Hicks' restoration of *patro[geron gerou]siast[es]* in his version of *IEph* 1575, but in light of *IEph* 972, there can be little doubt but that *patro[boulos]* is the correct restoration.¹⁴² It may be argued that the restorations should be left as published in *Die Inschriften von Ephesos*, as printed above, since *patroboulos* is most likely an honorary term which would not necessarily identify one as a full *bouleutes* and therefore not a *gerousiastes*. This, however, does not take into account the usage of *patroboulos*. Although it appears only sparsely in the epigraphic record, no individual is identified as a

¹⁴² Hicks, *GIBM* 575; Oliver (1941): 105-106: "like his father, a member of the *gerousia*."

patroboulos with another title such as, for example, *neopoios*: *patroboulos* appears alone. The very infrequency of its appearance, though, renders this conclusion tentative only; nonetheless, it is possible to read *patroboulos* as the only title of Aurelius Attalus in these two inscriptions so that it then corresponds to the other extant examples.

The attribution of the titles to father or son is obviously dependent upon their case endings. A comparison of the two inscriptions quoted above reveals that the restorations in *Die Inschriften von Ephesos* should not be over-hastily accepted. *IEph* 972 suggests that *neo]poio[u*, not *neo]poio[s* should be read in lines 11-12 of *IEph* 1575, particularly since lines 4-5 identify Artemidorus as *neopoios*. Accepting this emendation, one is virtually required to suppose the presence of a *huios* in one of the lacunae in order to account for the separation of *Artem[idorou* in line 9 and *neo]poio[u* in lines 11-12. If this filiation is restored in line 12, it is then possible to read lines 10-11 as *gerou]siast[ou* rather than *gerou]siast[es*, creating the double filiation which appears in *IEph* 972. *IEph* 1575 would then read: "Marcus Aurelius Attalus, son of Artemidorus, an honorary member of the *boule*, and the son of a member of the *gerousia* and *neopoios*. He was a victor in the Olympian games." Thus, the status of his father becomes an additional factor in his own status. One is then obliged to read *gerousia[stes* in line 25 of *IEph* 972: "Aurelius Attalus, son of Artemidorus the *gerousiastes*, an honorary member of the *boule*, and the son of a *neopoios*."¹⁴³ Father and son, then, would appear with the same titles in each inscription, if not in the same sequential arrangement:

¹⁴³ This use of *gerousiastes* as a title of one's father is not unparalleled. A fragmentary inscription does not preserve the name of the woman concerned, but she may be identified as the daughter of ...nus, a *gerousiastes* (Cat. no. 25).

IEph 1575.8-13

καὶ Μ(ᾶρκος) Αὐρ(ήλιος) [Ἰ Ατταλος]
 Ἰ Αρτεμ[ιδώρου]
 πατρό[βουλος γερου-]
 σιαστ[οῦ νεο-]
 ποιο[ῦ υἱος - - -]
 Ὀλυμ[πιονείκης]

IEph 972. 22-28

ἀγαθῇ τύχ[ῃ]
 Αὐρ[ήλιος] Ἰ Αττα[λος]
 Ἰ Αρτεμ[ιδώρου]
 γερουσια[στοῦ]
 πατρόβο[υλος]
 υἱος νεοποιο[ῦ]
 καὶ χρυσοφόρο[υ]

ΑΓΑΘΗ • ΤΥΧΗ
 Μ • ΑΥΡ • ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΩΡΟΣ
 ΑΤΤΑΛΟΥ • ΦΙΛΟΣΕΒ
 ΓΕΡΟΥΣΙΑΣΤΗΣ • ΝΕΟ
 5 ΠΟΙΟΣΑΓΟΡΑΝΟΜΟΣ
 ΑΓΝΟΣΛΙΤΟΥΡΓΟΣ
 ΕΝΔΟΞΟΣ
 ΚΑΙ • Μ • ΑΥΡ • ΑΤΤΑΛΟΣ
 ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΩΡΟΥ
 10 ΠΑΤΡΟΒΟΥΛΟΣ • ΓΕΡΟΥ
 ΣΙΑΣΤΟΥ • ΝΕΟ
 ΠΟΙΟΥ • ΥΙΟΣ
 ΟΛΥΜΠΙΟΝΕΙΚΟΣ

Fig. 1a: Hicks 575 with Proposed Restorations

The reordering of the titles in the two inscriptions is easily explained. The simplest solution is to fall back on the assumption that the composer of the inscriptions was inconsistent. But more probably, the reordering may have been adopted for the purposes of identification. Artemidorus is identified in the first half of *IEph* 1575, so the simple genitive of his name in line 9 is sufficient to identify him as the father of Attalus. The subsequent mention of his offices would, instead of being an identification, be a reflection upon his son, conferring status or honour from the fact that he is the son of a member of the *gerousia* and a *neopoios*. The second inscription, *IEph* 972, does not, however, mention Artemidorus except in Attalus' filiation. There was no shortage of Aurelii Artemidori in Ephesus, with nine different individuals in addition to Attalus and

his father in the indices of *Die Inschriften von Ephesos* alone.¹⁴⁴ The transposition, therefore, allows the identification of Attalus immediately, before the addition of his other titles.

These emendations also avoid the simultaneous membership in the *boule* and *gerousia* which otherwise does not seem to appear. The closest instances of simultaneous membership are Nicomedes and his sons, who were honorary members because of Nicomedes' 'generosity', and Tiberius Claudius Moschas, who oversaw the erection of at least two statues in the mid-third century.¹⁴⁵ In the inscription that accompanied the first of these, he is identified as *ekdikos* of the *sunhedrion*; in the second, he is *ekdikos* of the *gerousia*. Although this seems to identify the *sunhedrion* with the *gerousia*, one should not be too hasty in accepting the identification.

Elsewhere, *sunhedrion* is used as an alternative for *boule* and it was argued in Chapter Three and earlier in this chapter that *sunhedrion* is not generally equivalent to *gerousia*.¹⁴⁶ Thus, Marcus Aurelius Artemidorus and Marcus Aurelius Telephus are identified as the *boularchoi* of the *sunhedrion*, that is, the leaders of the *boule*.¹⁴⁷ This precedent, then, suggests that Claudius Moschas should be understood as being the *ekdikos* of the *boule* in the first inscription in which he is named.¹⁴⁸ The second inscription, however, adds that he was *ekdikos* of the *gerousia*. It will be argued in Chapter Five, though, that the *ekdikos* was probably not a regular member of the

¹⁴⁴ *IEph* 300, 624, 742, 3058, 3079, 3247, 3291a, 4343.

¹⁴⁵ Cat. nos. 46 & 47 (*IEph* 737 & 892).

¹⁴⁶ Above, Chapter Three, pp. 70-74; cf. cat. no. 54 l. 17: *bouleutikou sunhedriou*.

¹⁴⁷ *IEph* 742; this Marcus Aurelius Artemidorus – of whom there were several in Ephesus – is distinct from Marcus Aurelius Artemidorus the son of Attalus.

¹⁴⁸ Cat. no. 46.

gerousia, that is, Moschas may have been an external official but not necessarily a *gerousiastes* himself: he was the *ekdikos* of two different bodies.

There are three final members of the *gerousia* whom a few remarks will be sufficient to identify. The fragmentary inscription which appears on the same stone as that of Marcus Aurelius Agathopus contains only two legible lines. A man named Saturninus appears in the genitive, followed immediately by *presbeuteron*; it is possible, therefore, that the son of Saturninus was a member of the Elders.¹⁴⁹ Falcidius Epigonus is identified as the *grammateus* of the *gerousia*, which should be as certain a criterion as the use of *gerousiastes* or *ek gerousias*.¹⁵⁰ Finally, Straton is identified as the *pragmatikos apo gerousias*.¹⁵¹ The nature of this position will be considered at greater length below in Chapter Five, so it should be sufficient to suggest that Straton's title probably identifies him as surely as Falcidius Epigonus' title.

The names of three individuals, Lucius Pomp..., Gaius Octavius Magnus and Herakleides Passalas, are followed by the term *presbuteros*.¹⁵² Only one of these men, Lucius Pomp... has been included in Table 1, as there is no obvious reason that the term should not in his case be understood as *gerousiastes*. *Presbuteros*, however, appears to have been added to the funerary inscription of Octavius Magnus: if the term refers to membership in the *gerousia* in this case, it would seem to imply that he gained posthumous membership in the *gerousia*. While not impossible, this is unlikely. A simpler explanation for the addition of the word may be that it was added by a son who shared his name. A second Herakleides Passalas is not attested in the subscription list in

¹⁴⁹ Cat. no. 23.

¹⁵⁰ Cat. no. 27.

¹⁵¹ Cat. no. 89.

¹⁵² Cat. nos. 51, 59 & 71.

which Passalas *presbuteros* appears, but it is possible that the term still served to distinguish an elder Herakleides Passalas from a younger, particularly as no other individual in the preserved portions of this list have titles. The membership of Lucius Pomp... seems probable, but that of Octavius Magnus and Herakleides Passalas is less likely, though not impossible.

4.4.4. Non-members of the *Gerousia*¹⁵³

4.4.4.1 Aelius Martiales

A word remains to be said about those individuals who are certainly not members of the *gerousia*. A letter unrelated to the series discussed at the beginning of this section was addressed to the *gerousia* between AD 161 and 180, apparently concerning the activities of Aelius Martiales during his service as Asiarch.¹⁵⁴ Ambassadorial *gerousiastai* may be inferable from this letter, but they are not certainly known to have been involved, nor, if they were, are their names preserved. The letter, though fragmentary, appears to be concerned with a dispute between the *gerousia* and Martiales: the *gerousia* would have expected something from Martiales as Asiarch which he did not deliver. Such a dispute is not unique. Antoninus Pius dealt with a similar matter when he informed the magistrates and *boule* of the city that while Vedius Antoninus did not provide games or handouts he was nonetheless deserving of public acknowledgment because of his building activities.¹⁵⁵ Antoninus Pius owed his information in that case to Vedius Antoninus himself: he expresses displeasure at the failure of the Ephesians to inform him of the actions which Vedius Antoninus took during his office. Martiales may

¹⁵³ Gaius Stertinius Orpex, Gaius Vibius Salutaris and [Tiberius Claudius] Nicomedes are omitted from this discussion since it seems clear from the terms of their benefactions that they were not members of the *gerousia* but simply benefactors of it.

¹⁵⁴ Cat. no. 18.

¹⁵⁵ *IEph* 1491, dated to AD 141-146.

have similarly informed the emperors, so that the letter does not require an embassy of the *gerousia* to have been undertaken at all.

What the *gerousia* expected of Martiales is not specified, but it may have been a gesture as simple as providing distributions for the *gerousia* and other bodies of the city. Martiales appears to be known from only one other inscription in Asia Minor: he erected a statue to Publius Atilius Clarus in Ephesus.¹⁵⁶ The emperors clearly support Martiales, as Antoninus Pius had supported Vedius Antoninus, recalling Martiales' past services to the city (*polla tekmeira*) and apparently adding that in light of these services the *gerousia* could not reasonably expect Martiales to cater to its pleasures. His euergetic gesture is described simply as an indication of his *prosekousan philoteimian*, his appropriate generosity. This phrase, like the rest of the letter, leaves no doubt that the emperors looked favourably upon Martiales' benefaction, which was probably a lasting contribution to the city, such as a building or public monument rather than, for example, a distribution of money. The letter cannot be seen as a parallel to the early Imperial letters discussed at the beginning of this section, but rather as the response to a dispute between an Asiarch and the *gerousia*: Martiales was neither an ambassador for nor a member of the *gerousia*.

The preceding interpretation of this letter fragment presents one major difficulty: if the letter is in fact a rebuke of the *gerousia* for failing to properly acknowledge Martiales' *philoteimia*, why was it inscribed? The answer must be that Martiales himself wanted the inscription to be made plain, just as Vedius Antoninus made his situation known by the display of his correspondence with the emperor on the walls of the

¹⁵⁶ *IEph* 621a; one other fragment mentions a Publius Aelius M... but it is too fragmentary to draw any conclusions about the full identity of Publius Aelius M... (*IEph* 695a).

bouleuterion.¹⁵⁷ The inscription was discovered in the *prytaneion*, whereas the letters addressed to the *gerousia* were discovered in the Tetragonus agora. The *prytaneion* was the site of public/religious inscriptions and adjacent to the commercial agora and the *bouleuterion*, an area with strong Imperial associations: it was a location chosen by Martiales himself, and not by the recipients of the letter (Figure 3).¹⁵⁸ Martiales had to exonerate himself from public disapproval, and the erection of an Imperial letter commending his services was the most appropriate way to do so. The only more prominent location he could have chosen would have been the Temple of the Flavian Emperors. The proximity of the *bouleuterion* may have been a factor in the placement of the inscription: Vedius Antoninus had inscribed the letter which exonerated him on the walls of the *bouleuterion*, so that Martiales' use of the *prytaneion* would call the attention of the Ephesians to the benefactors whom they had failed to acclaim properly.¹⁵⁹

4.4.4.2. Marcus Aurelius Agathopus and Popillius Bassus

Oliver, in his 1941 study of the *gerousia*, followed Hicks' interpretation that Marcus Aurelius Agathopus was a member of the *gerousia*. Agathopus appears in two inscriptions from Ephesus, both of which are dedications. The first is a thanksgiving offering to "the god" (probably Dionysus), Artemis and the *Tyche* of the *gerousia*; the inscription is concluded by the phrase *ho autos grammateus kai gymnasiarchos*.¹⁶⁰ Hicks

¹⁵⁷ Cf. Eck (1999): 11.

¹⁵⁸ Scherrer (2001): 71 suggests that the triple-aisled stoa in front of the *bouleuterion* and *prytaneion* "served as an Imperial portrait gallery, with statues of Augustus and his wife Livia (and probably his stepson and co-emperor Tiberius) placed in a separate room at the E end."

¹⁵⁹ Although this letter has been treated as addressed to the *gerousia*, the address-lines are only partially extant. It is possible, therefore, that the letter was addressed to the *boule*, *demos* and *gerousia* rather than to the *gerousia* alone. Such an extension of addressees does not alter the interpretation of the letter provided here.

¹⁶⁰ Cat. no. 23 (*IEph* 1587).

identified the referent of this conclusion as Agathopus.¹⁶¹ Although this is possible, *ho autos* may refer back to a named *grammateus* in a previous, related inscription.

This inscription is inscribed on a stone below a first inscription which has been partially erased, so that *ho autos grammateus* may have been named in the erased portion. The placement of the offices of *grammateus* and *gymnasiarch* at the end of the inscription separated from the official's name would be unusual. These titles normally follow immediately upon the name of the individual and before the reason for the dedication. They are not separated from the name of the individual by either the text of the inscription or the intensifying *ho autos*. If the titles were meant to describe Agathopus, it seems unlikely – but not impossible – that they would have been preceded by the article, let alone the pronoun.

There is, however, a similar use of *ho autos*. An inscription recording several dedications begins with the names of Marcus Aurelius Parnassus and his son Asclepides; the phrase *ho autos* appears after Asclepides' name:¹⁶²

εὖ·	Μᾶρ(κος) Αὐρ(ήλιος) Ἀσσκλ-	
Μᾶρ(κος) Αὐρ(ήλιος) Παρ-	ηπίδης Παρ-	
νασσὸς Ἀσσε-	νασσὸς φιλοσε-	
κληπίδου φιλο-	βαστος	
σέβαστος	5 ὁ αὐτὸς ἱερεὺς·	10

There is little reason to doubt that *ho autos hierews* refers to Asclepides. Consequently, while the phrasing may be unusual in Agathopus' inscription, it is not impossible that he is the *grammateus* and *gymnasiarch* in question.

The identification of Agathopus as the *grammateus* and *gymnasiarch* of the *gerousia*, however, raises problems. Let it be noted first of all, though, that Agathopus

¹⁶¹ Hicks, *GIBM* 587.

¹⁶² Cat. no. 27.

(or the individual named in the first portion, for that matter) is identified simply as a *grammateus* and gymnasiarch. The *gerousia* was hardly the only body in the city to have its own *grammateus* and a gymnasiarch need not have been a member of the group for which he provided oil.¹⁶³ The dedication was set up by Agathopus with his children “because [he had] preserved the *pistis* of the *gerousia*.” Hicks and Oliver argue from this that Agathopus offered the dedication after he had completed service as one of the *gerousia*’s officers. *Pistis*, however, does not appear in this way in the inscriptions from Ephesus. *He pistis* can be used to refer to an office, but the primary meaning of ‘faith’, ‘trust’ or ‘pledge’ is preferable here – “I have preserved the trust of the *gerousia*.” The verb *tereo* is only rarely used to describe the completion of an office or service. Much more common for such actions are the verbs *poieo* and *ekteleo*. The verb should be understood simply as ‘to protect, watch over’ rather than an extrapolated meaning of having filled an office.¹⁶⁴

The combination of *tereo* and *pistis* does appear elsewhere, and in the sense suggested here rather than of fulfilling an office (Hicks’ and Oliver’s interpretation). The apostle Paul, in the *Second Letter to Timothy*, claims, ‘I have fought the good fight, I have completed the course, I have preserved the faith.’¹⁶⁵ *Pistis* is used here in the sense of faith in God and Christ, so that the phrase *ten pisten tetereka* is a statement of Paul’s perseverance, of his performance of his duty. It is this sense which is conveyed in Agathopus’ dedication: he has done his duty with respect to the *gerousia*, not his office within the *gerousia*.

¹⁶³ Schulte (1994); cf. below Chapters Four and Five.

¹⁶⁴ *LSJ*, s.v. τηρέω.

¹⁶⁵ 2 Tim. 4.7: τὸν καλὸν ἀγῶνα ἡγωνίσμαι, τὸν δρόμον τετέλεκα, τὴν πίστιν τετήρηκα.

Agathopus' *pistis* was not an abstract belief, but a physical thing, probably a parcel of land or a sum of money. It is known that the *gerousia* was involved in the lending and borrowing of money, so that it is entirely plausible that it should also have been in the habit of giving security for its loans, namely a *pistis*.¹⁶⁶ While it is true that the parallel for this third century use of *pistis* predates Agathopus by approximately one hundred and fifty years, it is preferable to the much more rare sense in which Hicks and Oliver understand it. Agathopus, regardless of the identity of the *grammateus* and gymnasiarch, was not a member of the *gerousia*, but a creditor who had held property as collateral for a loan.

There is a second dedication to Artemis and the *gerousia*, adding the emperor among the dedicatees: an undated inscription records a dedication by Popillius Bassus.¹⁶⁷ Whereas Agathopus' dedication was to the Tyche of the *gerousia*, Bassus' was dedicated to the Elders (*presbeuteroi*). *Presbeuteroi* should be interpreted as the *gerousia* in this case, since there is nothing to indicate that the inscription is in anyway related to athletic activities of the older boys. This inscription is less detailed than in the case of Agathopus, naming only the dedicatees and the dedicator himself. One would not, however, suggest that Bassus had performed an office within the *gerousia* on the sole evidence of this dedication. Because of the absence of any other testimonia of Bassus, his dedication should be viewed as similar to that of Agathopus but even less certain: he *may* have been a creditor of, rather than a member of, the *gerousia*.

¹⁶⁶ On the financial activities of the *gerousia*, see below, Chapter Six.

¹⁶⁷ Cat. no. 30 (*IEph* 711).

4.4.4.3. Trypho: *geraios epi thymiatros*

The term *geraios*, which appears ten times among the Ephesian inscriptions, has been seen as one of the indications of membership in the *gerousia*.¹⁶⁸ In four instances, it follows the name of one of the *hierourgoi* of Artemis in the *kouretes* lists, Trypho. The title *geraios* appears in four out of Trypho's nine appearances in the *kouretes* lists, consistently between his name and the specification of his role within the cult of Artemis, *epi thymiatros*. The term *akrobates* appears in four instances in place of *geraios*; only once is Trypho identified simply as *epi thymiatros*.¹⁶⁹

Titles such as *bouleutes* and *ek gerousias* are frequently placed at the end of a line, that is, after an individual's name and his position in the cult, but this is not universally the case: *bouleutes* can be placed before the position in the cult. *Ek gerousias* (to indicate membership in the *gerousia*), however, always appears after the position in the cult. Consequently, the placement of *geraios*, if, as has been assumed, it identifies him as a member of the *gerousia*, in the case of Trypho's name would be unusual, though not impossible. More telling are the terms which can appear in place of *geraios*, namely *hieros* or *akrobates*. The phrase *epi thymiatros* is preceded in the cases of other *epi thymiatroi* by *hieros* (fourteen times) or simply a name.¹⁷⁰ Obviously, neither *akrobates* nor *hieros* is a title in the range of Ephesian offices; they are associated with the cult of Artemis. The implication, therefore, is that *geraios* also refers to the cult of Artemis.

¹⁶⁸ So, for example, Engelmann, Knibbe & Merkelbach (1980): 19-21, *IEph* 1026-1029. The term does appear to refer to the *gerousia* in a verse inscription from Side (*ISide* 106, l.12).

¹⁶⁹ *Geraio epi thymiatros*: *IEph* 1026-1029; *akrobates epi thymiatros*: *IEph* 1022-1025; *epi thymiatros*: *IEph* 1021.

¹⁷⁰ *Hieros epi thymiatros*: *IEph* 1030-1035, 1037-1040, 1042; *epi thymiatros* alone: *IEph* 1004-1019, 1021, 1036, 1041, 1043-1045.

The word can mean “old, elderly”, but it can also mean “revered”, as it does in the case of Trypho and several other individuals.

In addition to the consistent placement of *ek gerousias* in the *kouretes* lists after the position in the cult, there is a consistency in the use of *ek gerousias* in the *kouretes* lists to indicate membership in the *gerousia*.¹⁷¹ It may also be noted that a second *epi thymiatros*, Onesimus, is described as a *hieros epi thymiatrou ek gerousias*, suggesting that the adjective preceding *epi thymiatrou* is closely related to that position, and does not indicate a separate status: one could logically expect *geraios epi thymiatrou ek gerousias*, an instance of redundancy if *geraios* could serve to identify a member of the *gerousia*.¹⁷² Since *geraios* is in the same position in the case of Trypho, that adjective should also be understood as reflective of the office, not of Trypho himself. The lists of the *kouretes* are public religious documents, so that one would expect a certain uniformity in their language. The only term used to identify members of the *boule* in these lists is *bouleutes*. Thus, the presence of two terms to identify members of the *gerousia* must be regarded as unusual. It is, therefore, preferable to omit Trypho from a count of *gerousia* members.

The term *geraios*, however, is applied to five additional individuals in Ephesus. Tiberius Claudius Quadratus appears in a list of *leukophorountes* as a *geraios*.¹⁷³ Gnaeus Julius Artemidorus also appears in the inscription, but as a *gerousiastes* rather than a *geraios*. To identify Quadratus as a member would violate the consistent trend of

¹⁷¹ Cf. above, pp. 106-108, n. 119.

¹⁷² Cat. no. 64 (*IEph* 1040). Although restored, the reading is entirely reasonable, given the consistency of names and titles in these lists. Without the introduction of a new individual, the ON at the end of line 27 must be the remains of Onesimus, who is consistently the ἱερός ἐπὶ θυμιάτρος, and ἐκ in these lists is regularly followed by γερονσίας.

¹⁷³ Cat. no. 68; *IEph* 907.

identifying members by a single term in any given inscription. Cleander the son of Timothy identifies himself as *geraios* and as an *akrobates* in a thanksgiving dedication.¹⁷⁴ Claudius Vedius I... is named in a list of *mystai* of Dionysus as a *geraios*, but he is the only individual in the preserved list who would then have a title apart from his service as a *mystes*.¹⁷⁵ A Christian sarcophagus identifies a Timothy *gereos* from Sicily, with no other titles.¹⁷⁶ Finally, Marcus Aurelius Alexander, like Cleander the son of Timothy, is identified as a *geraios* and an *akrobates* of Artemis in an inscription commemorating the reconstruction of a building in the region of the Artemision.¹⁷⁷

These individuals are not known from other inscriptions to have been members of the *gerousia*. If *geraios* does imply membership, Timothy of Sicily would be the only known Christian member of the Ephesian *gerousia*.¹⁷⁸ The term could instead be a parallel for *neoteros*, which also precedes the mention of a role in the cult of Artemis in the *kouretes* lists, so that these individuals are identified as the elder or junior of that name, or, more probably, *geraios* was used simply as an indication of reverence or honour associated with specific activities within the cult of Artemis.

4.5. Conclusions

Some members of the *gerousia* belonged to wealthy families. The absence from the surviving inscriptions of any members of the well-known families of benefactors and the absence of members of the *boule* suggests that the *gerousia* was a body composed of what may be tentatively termed the lower-upper and upper classes of Ephesian citizens.

¹⁷⁴ *IEph* 941.

¹⁷⁵ *IEph* 1602 c+d.

¹⁷⁶ *IEph* 2223, 2223a.

¹⁷⁷ *IEph* 4327.

¹⁷⁸ That Timothy was Christian is not in itself an argument against his membership in the *gerousia*; the use of *geraios* in Ephesus suggests this; cf. above, Chapter Three, p. 68, n. 18 & *IEph* 2227.

The appearance of some members of the *gerousia* in other positions, such as *agoranomos*, indicates that a moderate degree of wealth probably pervaded the *gerousia*.¹⁷⁹

The preceding discussion will have demonstrated that although no enrolment list of *gerousiastai* in the manner of the example from Sidyma has been discovered in Ephesus, many members of the Ephesian *gerousia* can nonetheless be identified. The *gerousia* was, not surprisingly, not composed of a representative cross-section of the Ephesian population: neither slaves nor females were members. There is only one attested freedman among the *gerousiastai*, but he may be a special case: Zoticus was a freedman, but he was a freedman of the *Sebastoi*, the emperors.¹⁸⁰ The freedmen of regular Ephesian citizens do not appear to have belonged to the *gerousia*.

The size of the Ephesian *gerousia* can be determined with some degree of certainty only for two periods of time. The foundation of Gaius Stertinius Orpex in the mid-first century provided sufficient resources for a *dianome* for the members of the *gerousia* at a specified rate. The description of the distribution as a *dianome* indicates that all members of the *gerousia* were recipients, so that a membership of approximately one hundred to one hundred and twenty men can be postulated for this time period.

The next indication of the number of members of the *gerousia* is the endowment of Gaius Vibius Salutaris. Again, the members of the *gerousia* are the recipients of a cash distribution, but in this case it is termed a *kleros*, a term which indicates that the distribution was treated as a lottery, so that only a portion of the members of the *gerousia* would receive a gift. The interest destined to provide this distribution was sufficient for

¹⁷⁹ The offices held by the *gerousiastai* at length in Chapter Five.

¹⁸⁰ Cat. no. 75; *JÖAI* 26 (1930):18 no. II.

three hundred and nine men. Assuming that the greater part of the *gerousia* received a share in Salutaris' benefaction, one can hypothesize a total membership of perhaps four hundred men at the beginning of the second century.

The three to fourfold increase in the number of *gerousiastes* could be considered extraordinary, except for the fact that the population of Ephesus was increasing during this period. Significant growth over a century is not remarkable, so Philostratus' comment about the size of the city may be an indication that a large part of this growth occurred in the early part of this century, that is, in the second half of the first century AD. The tripling or quadrupling of the *gerousia* would then correspond to a considerable increase in the overall population of Ephesus, though the city itself need not have tripled. Moreover, it will be suggested in Chapter Six that imperial officials took an active interest in the *gerousia* during this time, which may have contributed to its growth. The *gerousia* may have been continuously growing from year to year, or it may have grown through general increases from time to time. There is insufficient evidence to determine which pattern was responsible for the increase in the size of the institution, but the latter may be more probable.

Membership in the *gerousia* could be indicated in two ways. It could be conveyed by *gerousiastes*, just as *bouleutes* was used to indicate membership in the *boule*. Additionally, an individual could be identified as a member of the *gerousia* by the prepositional phrase *ek gerousias* or the participial phrase *metechon ek tes gerousias*. The latter two phrases were not as common as *gerousiastes*, and there does not seem to have been a pattern of use corresponding to the passage of time. With the exception of

such formalized documents as the *kouretes* lists of the *prytaneion*, the choice between these three phrases appears to have been left to the discretion of the individual.

5. THE *GEROUSIASTAI* PT. II – OFFICERS OF THE EPHESIAN *GEROUSIA*

5.1. Introduction

All modern accounts of the *gerousia*, whether considerations of the *gerousia* within a single city or of the *gerousiai* of multiple cities, include at the very least a brief note on at least some of the officers of the *gerousia*. Such analyses are in general based on the assumption that the *gerousiai* did not change in character during the periods for which there is evidence. Moreover, many scholars focus on identifying the leading official or officials of the body, but such identifications are distorted by the prior assumptions about the nature of the *gerousia*. A further presupposition underlies the process of assigning officials even relative ranks within the body, namely that the *gerousia* possessed an hierarchical structure.

Mommsen, on the basis of the inscription from Sidyma noted in Chapter Four, proposed that the chief officer of the *gerousia* was the gymnasiarch.¹ Such a proposal is reasonable, since a prominent place is given to the gymnasiarch Euelthon Eutyches Telesius in that inscription, but Mommsen's conclusion should not be applied to all *gerousiai* indiscriminately: it presents the *gerousia a priori* as a social body. He is, however, correct – if the discussion is limited to Sidyma. Menadier identified the chief official of the *gerousia* with the general title *prostates tes gerousias*, assigning to the body a kind of magisterial system.² Such an identification is consistent with his view of the *gerousia* as a semi-political body. There is, however, no indication in Menadier's account of what exactly the *prostates* would have done. A *prostates* does not appear in Ephesus.

¹ Mommsen (1921): 326 n. 1; TAM II, 175 & 176; cf. above Chapter Four, pp. 79-82.

² Menadier (1880): 50.

Inevitably, accounts of the officers of the *gerousia* suffer from the assumption – explicitly stated or not – that *gerousiai* did not vary significantly from city to city. Oliver, who does recognize two distinct types of *gerousiai*, does not make allowance for a variation in the officers within these two groups. Evidence for an officer from one city is often used in conjunction with evidence from another city with no consideration of whether such association is appropriate. Sviatoslov Dmitriev has recently collected and analyzed the documentary evidence for civic government in Hellenistic and Roman Asia: this work, while identifying similarities between cities, also makes clear the potential for variation between the civic government of individual cities. It must be acknowledged that the same potential exists in the case of the organization of the *gerousia*.³ This chapter, therefore, examines the members of the Ephesian *gerousia* and their positions both in that body.

An analysis of the positions attested within the *gerousia* will, it is hoped, reveal some details about the workings of that body, but it is important to keep in mind that the *gerousiastai* fulfilled other public roles, whether secular or sacred. Consequently, this chapter will also consider the activities of the *gerousiastai* in the public life of the city. It will become clear from the offices and positions discussed in the second part of this chapter that the members of the Ephesian *gerousia* occupied positions which were noteworthy and which conferred honour upon their occupants, but which were not of the highest rank in the city. It will also emerge that many of those offices held by the *gerousiastai* had associations with the religious life of the city.

³ Dmitriev (2005).

5.2. Officers of the *Gerousia*

Lévy's account of the official positions within the *gerousia* in his article, "Études sur la vie municipale de l'Asie Mineure sous les Antonins", is perhaps the most detailed of all modern discussions in this respect and so will serve as a convenient starting point for this consideration.⁴ As the title of his article suggests, Lévy considers the *gerousia* as an institution in the provinces of Asia Minor rather than as an institution in a single city. He sees the *gerousia* as a type of miniature state, whose officials and titles corresponded to those of the city at large, a view which Chapot also put forth.⁵ Thus, the specific functions of officials such as the *archon*, *prostates* and *grammateus* would seem to be relatively clear; they are, in consequence, not discussed in any significant detail in Lévy's article. The responsibilities of other officers, however, were less clear to Lévy.

Initially, the gymnasiarch of the *gerousia*, as his title suggests, was probably responsible for the direction of a gymnasium, but this function appears to have been lost nearly everywhere by the period for which evidence is available.⁶ The provision of oil or of money to purchase oil, however, remained an important part of the gymnasiarchs' duties. The rank of the gymnasiarch within the structure of the *gerousia* is dependent on the perceived nature of the *gerousia*. Thus, Mommsen saw the gymnasiarch as the leading officer of the *gerousia*, in which belief he was followed by Hogarth, Lévy and Oliver, but opposed by Hicks and Chapot.⁷

⁴ Lévy, (1895): 245-249.

⁵ Lévy (1895): 245; Chapot (1967): 228.

⁶ Lévy (1895): 246.

⁷ Mommsen (1921): 326 n. 1; Oliver (1941): 43; Hogarth (1891): 73; Lévy (1895): 246; Hicks (1870): 76; Chapot (1967): 228-229.

The *grammateus* of the *gerousia* alternately is believed to occupy the first or second position within the *gerousia*.⁸ The identification of the *grammateus* as the senior official is primarily a result of that officer's frequent appearance in the epigraphic material. Chapot's argument that the *grammateus* was the most active because he is the most frequently attested is not an unreasonable assumption, but most active does not necessarily correlate with leadership.⁹ Similarly, Oliver suggests that the *grammateus* was the eponymous official of the *gerousia*.¹⁰ Again, however, it should be noted that the perception of the *gerousia* as a social or as a political body affects the relative positions of the *grammateus* and the gymnasiarch in any account of the body.

Menadier proposed that the *prostates* should be seen as the chief officer of the *gerousia*, while Chapot places this official below the *grammateus*, in a secondary position. Lévy passes over this officer without further comment on his duties other than that they are not specifically known. The word itself, which can be rendered as president, would seem to indicate that this officer was a leader within the *gerousia* or at least an officer who held a representative role. This officer, in Chapot's scheme, ranks high because of the basic meaning of *prostates*, but below the *grammateus*, since he is not as frequently attested. Hogarth, on the other hand, believes that this title and that of *archon* were, because of their rarity, little more than honorary titles.¹¹ Whether the *prostates* was honorary or not, there is no attested *prostates* of the Ephesian *gerousia*.

The *gerousia*'s possession of financial resources suggests that at least one member of the body should have served to administer its monetary and landed holdings.

⁸ First position: Chapot (1967): 228; Hicks (1870): 76.

⁹ It may be noted that the gymnasiarch is actually the most attested officer in the Ephesian *gerousia*; see below, Table 3, p. 139; pp. 149-156.

¹⁰ Oliver (1941): 43.

¹¹ Menadier (1890): 50; Lévy (1895): 245; Chapot (1967): 228; Hogarth (1891): 73.

Various titles for this position appear to have been used in Asia Minor. Thus, a *tamias* is known from Cadyanda, a *pragmatikos* from Magnesia, a college of *dioiketai* from Iasos and a *logistes* from Trajanopolis.¹² It may be remembered that *logistoi* are also known from Ephesus, as is a *pragmatikos*.¹³ The existence of four titles for financial officials may suggest that their duties were not limited only to the direction of the *gerousia*'s monetary resources, but the variety also emphasizes the potential for diversity between the *gerousiai* of different cities, not only in the use of titles but also in activities. Certain resources were assigned, Lévy suggests, to the gymnasiarch for the maintenance of tombs and for other specified purposes by this financial officer. Lévy does not assign a rank to this individual, but Hicks suggests an unspecified "receiving officer" below the *grammateus* and above the gymnasiarch.¹⁴

Finally, the *gerousia* had, either from within its membership or, more probably, at its disposal, representatives or advocates who were charged with the defence and legal representation of the body's interest. Chapot leaves this officer untitled, though Lévy notes that in Apamaea a *sunegoros* appears to have fulfilled this duty.¹⁵ It will be argued that, in the case of Ephesus, the *ekdikos* served in this capacity.

Occasionally, *hymnodoi* appear in conjunction with the *gerousia*. This position may be a remnant of an earlier organization, but, despite the literal meaning of the title, probably refers neither to the leader of a number of musicians within the *gerousia*, nor to

¹² Lévy (1895): 249. Cadyanda: *BCH* 10 (1886): 53-56, no. 10; Magnesia: *BCH* 6 (1882): 204; Iasos: *REG* 6 (1893): 169-171, no. 6; Trajanopolis: *L-W* 1677. In the case of Cadyana, as in Sidyma, it appears that membership in the *boule* did not preclude membership in the *gerousia*: Hyperenor Cadyandes, *grammateus* of the *boule* and *tamias* of the *gerousia*, is honoured.

¹³ *Logistes*: Cat. nos. 17 & 41; *pragmatikos*: Cat. no. 89.

¹⁴ Hicks (1870): 76.

¹⁵ Chapot (1967): 229; Lévy (1895): 249; *BCH* 17 (1893): 247-248, no. 18.

a singer of hymns on festive days.¹⁶ *Hymnodoi* known from other inscriptions were generally prominent citizens, holding magistracies and priesthoods which, in Lévy's opinion, would have been "incompatibles avec les fonctions subalternes qu'on leur prête."¹⁷ One *hymnodos* was a *prytanis*, one a director of a festival, and one a *boularch*, positions which hardly seem consistent with the position of a mere singer. *Hymnodoi* or former *hymnodoi* are known to have held leading positions in Ephesus as well. Thus, a *hymnodos* was *grammateus* of the *boule* and *demos*, *boularch*, *eirenarch*, *strategos* and *agoranomos*.¹⁸ Lévy suggests that the *hymnodoi* should be seen as a college of individuals which had a religious character and which was attached to the local temple, in the case of Ephesus, the Artemision.¹⁹

The *chrysophoroi* also appear in connection with the *gerousia* in some cases. Four Ephesian *chrysophoroi* are known who were also *gerousiastai*.²⁰ The *chrysophoroi* do not seem to have been active elsewhere in Ionia, but they do appear in Caria and other Asian regions. They were responsible for carrying the statues which Salutaris donated into the assembly on specified days, but otherwise their duties are not known.²¹ They were not necessarily members of the *gerousia* nor were *gerousiastai* necessarily *chrysophoroi*. There is only one instance of a *chrysophoros* of the *gerousia*. This appears in a dedication by a *neopoios* who describes himself as *chrysophoroi ek gerousias philosebastou*.²² In order to identify this individual as a *chrysophoros* of the *gerousia*, it is necessary to interpret *ek gerousias* not as 'a member of the *gerousia*'

¹⁶ Lévy (1895): 246.

¹⁷ Lévy (1895): 247.

¹⁸ Lévy (1895): 247; *prytanis*: CIG 3160; procession director: CIG 3348; *boularch*: Ath. Mit. III: 57, Cat. no. 47; IEph 892; *grammateus*: IEph 1061; cf., IEph 616, 645, 1600, 3088 & 3091.

¹⁹ Lévy (1895): 248.

²⁰ Cat. nos. 20, 24, 27 & 68.

²¹ IEph 27E l. 419

²² Cat. no. 20.

which is its regular meaning, but rather as 'of the *gerousia*' as a modifier of the *chrysophoros* rather than of the individual himself; the use of the preposition would be unexpected if that were the intended meaning. A *chrysophoros ek gerousias* is not a *chrysophoros* of the *gerousia*, but a *chrysophoros* and a member of the *gerousia*.²³ There is no evidence that either the *hymnodoi* or the *chrysophoroi* formed a college within the *gerousia*.

Identifying the officers of a body such as the *gerousia* is inevitably burdened with uncertainties. The epigraphic evidence is often not concerned with the titles of individual members. Rather, the title of *gerousiastes*, or a similar indication of membership in the *gerousia*, appears to have been a sufficient distinction without the need for additional mention of a position within that body. This deficiency has naturally led scholars to combine the evidence of the *gerousiai* of various cities in order to form an idea of the internal structure of the Asiatic *gerousia*. It is, however, incorrect to assume that the *gerousiai* of the various Asian cities were identical; there is no guarantee that a title attested in one city was also used in another, or that it had the same significance in all cities. The term *dioiketai*, for example, which seems to refer to a group within the *gerousia* in charge of financial resources in Iasos, does not appear in the evidence for the Ephesian *gerousia*.²⁴

Although there is only occasional mention of positions within the *gerousia*, it is possible to form an idea of the duties associated with them in the case of Ephesus. Of the fifty-four named members and probable members of the *gerousia*, ten are given titles to indicate their position within that body. Two of these are identified as *grammateis* of the

²³ It should be noted, however, that in this case a portion of the inscription is restored, so that it reads χρυσοφόρῳ ἐκ] γερουσίας.

²⁴ REG 6 (1893) 169-171.

gerousia, seven as *gymnasiarchoi*, in two cases described as *humon* where the antecedent of the pronoun should be understood as the *gerousia*; there is one instance of a *pragmatikos apo gerousias*.²⁵ In addition to these ten individuals, one unnamed individual is also attested as a *grammateus* of the Elders. A *grammateus* may, therefore, be included in the number of officers of the *gerousia*.²⁶ There are, furthermore two *logistai* and two *ekdikoi* who, it will be argued, are not members of the *gerousia* (Table 3).

Office	Number of Individuals Attested	References
<i>Grammateus</i> of the <i>gerousia</i>	3	Cat. nos. 27, 31 & 56
<i>Gymnasiarchos</i> of the <i>gerousia</i>	7	Cat. nos. 12-14, 24, 31, 38 & 52
<i>Pragmatikos</i> of the <i>gerousia</i>	1	Cat. no. 89
<i>Ekdikos</i> of the <i>gerousia</i>	2	Cat. nos. 46, 47 & 56 ²⁷
<i>Logistes</i> of the <i>gerousia</i>	2	Cat. nos. 17 & 42

Table 3: Possible Officers of the *gerousia*

5.2.1. *Grammateus* of the *Gerousia*

The inscriptions of Ephesus reveal numerous secretaries of several different bodies.²⁸ The most common *grammateus* to be named is the *grammateus* of the *demos*, who was responsible for certain financial affairs of the city. The lengthy inscription recording the foundation established by Gaius Vibius Salutaris suggests that these financial duties may have been more comprehensive and detailed than the financial duties of other *grammateis*, since the *grammateus* of the *demos* was to be entrusted with the resources to fund the distributions for the ephebes, the *neoi* and the baton-carrier, as well

²⁵ *Grammateis*: cat. nos. 27 & 31; *gymnasiarchoi*: cat. nos. 12-14, 24, 31, 38 & 52; *pragmatikos*: Cat. no. 89.

²⁶ *Grammateus*: Cat. no. 56.

²⁷ The same *ekdikos*, Tiberius Claudius Moschas, appears in two inscriptions in the catalogue, cat. nos. 46 & 47.

²⁸ Schulte (1994).

as the allowance for the cleaning of the statues: the *grammateus* of the *demos* was responsible for multiple distributions and allocations.²⁹ Furthermore, this secretary was responsible for the erection of Imperial statues and letters, and for the reuse of old or damaged honorary monuments.³⁰ The position was an influential one in the city.

The *grammateus* of the *boule* may originally have been the same individual as the *grammateus* of the *demos*.³¹ After the division of this original *grammateion* into two offices, the duties of the *grammateus* of the *boule* were not as broad as those of the *grammateus* of the *demos*, particularly since it seems that it was the *grammateus* of the *demos*, not the *grammateus* of the *boule*, who put matters to the vote in the *boule*.³² This secretary also appears in the Salutaris dossier, responsible for the distribution to the members of the *boule*.³³ Thus, this officer had certain financial duties but he was also responsible for registering members of the *boule*. It was suggested above in Chapter Four that the distribution provided for the *bouleutai* by Salutaris was conducted by means of a simple queue, but it is no less plausible that it was conducted by name, beginning at the top and cycling through the name until the funds dedicated to this distribution were consumed.³⁴

The *grammateus* of the *gerousia* was more similar to the *grammateus* of the *boule* than to the *grammateus* of the *demos*. Claudia Schulte argues that specialized financial knowledge was required only occasionally of the *grammateis* of the *boule* and *gerousia*

²⁹ Cat. no. 54, ll. 297-305; Schulte (1994): 40-41.

³⁰ Schulte (1994): 41-42.

³¹ Schulte (1994): 37; there are examples of the same individual serving as *grammateus* of the *boule* and of the *demos*, apparently simultaneously; cf. *IEph* 740.

³² Schulte (1994): 41.

³³ Cat. no. 54; Schulte (1994): 38.

³⁴ Above, Chapter Four, pp. 96-101, esp. n. 103.

but was a common area of expertise for the *grammateus* of the *demos*.³⁵ The specific duties and actions of the *grammateus* of the *gerousia*, however, are infrequently attested. If the *grammateus* of the *gerousia* does differ from the *grammateus* of the *demos* with respect to his financial duties, his role was probably one of representing rather than of administering the *gerousia*.

Seven *grammateis* are associated with the *gerousia* in Ephesus, but only two named individuals are known indisputably to have been *grammateis* of the *gerousia*, Aphrodisius the son of Cleander and Falcidius Epigonus.³⁶ The name of a third *grammateus* has been lost.³⁷ Three further individuals, Perigenes, Publius Rutilius Bassus and an unknown man, also appear in connection with the *gerousia*.³⁸ Finally, the series of documents recording the benefaction of Salutaris makes mention of the *grammateus* in a general, rather than a specific and individual, sense.³⁹

Aphrodisius and Epigonus appear in inscriptions which shed little light on the activities of the *grammateus* of the *gerousia*. Some conclusions, however, can be drawn from their identification. The inscription which records Aphrodisius' position is from the architrave of a building. Although the inscription appears to have been reused, it is clear that he constructed or repaired a building, possibly in the south-western corner of the Tetragonus Agora. The phrase *grammateus kai gymnasiarchos kata to auto tes philosebastou gerousias* suggests very strongly that he held both positions simultaneously and that this building activity took place during his service in these capacities. This, in turn, would imply that the *grammateus* was in general, if not always, a wealthy

³⁵ Schulte (1994): 41.

³⁶ Aphrodisius: cat. no. 31. Epigonus: cat. no. 27.

³⁷ Cat. no. 56.

³⁸ Perigenes: cat. no. 21; Bassus: cat. no. 16; unknown: cat. no. 29.

³⁹ Cat. no. 54, ll. 232, 291.

individual. It also implies that, like other magistrates of the city, this position could have a liturgical nature. Dmitriev, however, has argued that the distinction between a liturgical office and an *arche* may have been nothing more than the manner in which it was held: the repair or construction of a building from an official's own resources would make the office a liturgy, but a *grammateus* may not have been expected to serve *ek ton idion*.⁴⁰ Whether an office was an *arche* or a *leitourgeia* was determined by the choice of the occupant, so that Aphrodisius may have decided to bestow his generosity on both the *gerousia* and the *demos*.

Falcidius Epigonus appears in what has been called a list of *grammateis* of the *gerousia*, so that the six individuals who also appear in this list may be *grammateis*; the inscription, however, is more probably a dedication which was expanded over time.⁴¹ One of these men, however, is Marcus Aurelius Attalus the son of Artemidorus who, it was argued in Chapter Four, was not a regular member of the *gerousia*.⁴² Furthermore, Falcidius Epigonus is identified explicitly as *grammateus gerosias*, but Aurelius Hagnas the son of Euporus is named immediately before Epigonus, and is called simply *grammateus*. When it appears unqualified in this way, *grammateus* should usually be understood as *grammateus* of the *demos*. The addition of *tes gerosias* in the case of Epigonus indicates a differentiation, so that Aurelius Hagnas should be identified as the *grammateus* of the *demos* not of the *gerousia*. Epigonus' fellows in this inscription, therefore, should not be automatically considered *grammateis* of the *gerousia*. Since he

⁴⁰ Dmitriev (2005): 109-119.

⁴¹ Cat. no. 27; the other individuals are: M. Aurelius Parnassus the son of Assclepides, M. Aurelius Assclepides the son of Parnassus, M. Aurelius Gaius, Aurelius Hagnas the son of Euporus, Falcidius Zosimus the son of Epigonus, and Aurelius Attalus the son of Artemidorus.

⁴² Above, Chapter Four, pp. 113-118.

is clearly labelled as such, it is probable that he is the sole *grammateus* of the *gerousia* in this inscription.

The presence of Epigonus and his son, Zosimus, does shed some light on the nature of this office. Zosimus is identified as a *patrogeron*, an irregular, honorary member, and, importantly, the son of the *grammateus*. The use of *huos grammateos* instead of *huos Epigonou* suggests that this office conferred a degree of honour which it was worthwhile to make public. The *grammateion* may have been one of the most important offices in Epigonus' public career and an important stepping stone in the initial stages of his son's career.

One unnamed *grammateus* appears in the decree recording Nicomedes' reinstitution of sacrifices to Artemis and the Emperor. Schulte notes that his presence probably also indicates his responsibility for ensuring the performance of the decree, that is, his identification may serve as a guarantee of the decree's authenticity.⁴³ In this, the *grammateus* of the *gerousia* is little different from the other secretaries of the city: he is the speaking partner of the members and the representative of his fellows to the city at large, possibly assuming the role which the *neopoioi* and *kouretes* played in the early Hellenistic period, namely presenting resolutions of the *gerousia* to the *boule* and *demos*.⁴⁴ The *grammateus* may have informed the city of those affairs of the *gerousia* which were not limited to the interests of the *gerousia* alone but which had a bearing on a larger scale. The secretary, therefore, presented the resolution of the *gerousia* regarding the reinstitution of sacrifices to Artemis and the Emperor funded by that body to the public because those sacrifices were on a civic scale. It may be possible to deduce the

⁴³ Cat. no. 56; Schulte (1994): 36.

⁴⁴ Schulte (1994): 36.

existence of *grammateis* of the *gerousia* from two other decrees of the *gerousia*.⁴⁵ These decrees, however, are not sufficiently preserved to indicate anything more than that they are in fact decrees of the *gerousia*; neither the name nor the title of *grammateus* is legible on the stones.

Schulte argues that Marcus Aurelius Agathopus was a *grammateus* of the *gerousia*, interpreting the *pistis* recorded in that inscription as a reference to overseeing the financial affairs of the *gerousia*, that is, that Agathopus was responsible “für die korrekte Verwaltung der Gelder” of the *gerousia*.⁴⁶ It was argued in the previous chapter, though, that the *grammateus* named in the dedication of Marcus Aurelius Agathopus should not necessarily be identified as a *grammateus* of the *gerousia*; as Schulte notes, such an appearance of *grammateus* should most often be understood as the *grammateus* of the *demos*, so that the *grammateus* mentioned in Agathopus’ inscription may have been the *grammateus* of the *demos* at the time of the dedication.

A certain Perigenes appears in a thanksgiving by Favonia Flaccilla as one of five *kouretes*.⁴⁷ One of his fellow *kouretes*, Evandris, is a member of the *gerousia*. Consequently, although Perigenes is identified simply as *grammateus*, it is not impossible that this should be understood as *grammateus tes gerousias*. Such an interpretation, though, is by no means necessary, and Schulte goes no further than to identify him simply as *grammateus*.⁴⁸ If it is necessary to associate him with a particular body, that body was most likely the *demos*.

⁴⁵ Cat. nos. 57 & 58.

⁴⁶ Cat. no. 23; Schulte (1994): 36; cf. above, Chapter Four, pp. 122-125.

⁴⁷ Cat. no. 21.

⁴⁸ Schulte (1994): 195, nr. 145.

Publius Rutilius Bassus appears several times in the corpus of Ephesian inscriptions, once in a letter of Hadrian to the *gerousia*.⁴⁹ Since he is named in the inscribed version of Hadrian's communication, it is almost certain that he was responsible for the display of that letter. This might suggest that he should be identified as a *grammateus* of the *gerousia*. His other appearances as *grammateus*, in two dedications, do not directly contradict such an assumption.⁵⁰ These inscriptions, however, are closely associated with the *demos* of the city, so that *grammateus* should be understood here, as is often the case, as *grammateus tou demou* – indeed, this inscription is one of Schulte's foundations for the conclusion that the *grammateus* of the *demos* was responsible for the correct display of Imperial demands, requests and instructions at the civic level.⁵¹

Although Bassus was not a *grammateus* of the *gerousia*, his appearance in Hadrian's letter does reflect upon that office.⁵² The *gerousia*, as the recipient of the letter, would probably have been behind the display of the inscribed version, so that one would expect the *grammateus* of the *gerousia* to have taken some responsibility for its publication. Such does not appear to have been the case, though. It may be argued that Bassus was *grammateus* of both the *demos* and the *gerousia*. The *grammateus* of the *gerousia*, however, was most likely always a member of the *gerousia*, but there is no evidence that Bassus was a member.⁵³ Such a gap in the testimonial of Bassus' career, in light of his eight appearances in the inscriptions of Ephesus, should be attributed not to the selective nature of the evidence but rather to the likelihood that he was not a member.

⁴⁹ *IEph* 333, 1210, 1233, 1538, 2038, 3217(b); letter *IEph* 1486 (cat. no. 16).

⁵⁰ *IEph* 1233, 2038.

⁵¹ Schulte (1994): 57.

⁵² Cat. no. 16.

⁵³ Schulte (1994): 37.

Consequently, it is evident that the *grammateus* of the *gerousia* was not directly responsible for the erection of the documents of that body. It is probable nonetheless that the *grammateus* of the *gerousia* was involved in the publication of the *gerousia*'s documents. It was in the interests of the *gerousia* to make public the imperial support which it enjoyed, though it may have been obligated to do this through the agency of the *grammateus* of the *demos*.

A fourth individual may also be dismissed as a possible *grammateus* of the *gerousia*. A fragmentary thanksgiving to Artemis reveals that a man whose name has been lost was a voluntary *neopoios* in addition to *grammateus* of the elders and *chrysophoroi*.⁵⁴

[ἀ]γαθῇ τύχῃ	To Good Fortune; during the
[ἐπὶ ἀρχ]ισκηπτούχο[υ-----]	service of...as chief wand-
[εὐχαριστ]ῶ σοι κυρία Ἀρ[τεμι]	bearer; I, ..., a voluntary
[-----]ς νεοποιὸς ἀ[νθαίρετος]	<i>neopoios</i> and <i>grammateus</i> of
[καὶ γραμ]ματεὺς τῶν [πρεσβυτέρων?]	5 the Elders and of the assembly
[καὶ τῆς συ]νόδου [τῶν χρυσοφόρων.]	of the <i>chrysophoroi</i> , give
	thanks to you, Queen Artemis.

It should be noted immediately that both *presbeuteron* and *chrysophoron* are entirely restored. The *chrysophoroi* are more commonly associated with the *neopoioi* and *kouretes* than with the Elders.⁵⁵ It is possible, therefore, that one of these groups should be restored in place of *presbeuteron* if the restoration *ton chrysophoron* is accepted, and the presence of *Inodou* on the stone renders *chrysophoron* more probable than *presbeuteron*. It is also possible, of course, that the dedicator of this inscription was the secretary of two independent bodies, the Elders and the *chrysophoroi*, and served each one individually rather than in combination. The fragmentary state of the inscription,

⁵⁴ Cat.no. 29.

⁵⁵ *IEph* 943, 991, 2050; *JÖAI* 26 (1930): 57: μετέχοντα δὲ καὶ τοῦ | συνεδρίου τῶν νεοποιῶν | καὶ χρυσοφόρων.

though, renders any such conclusion hypothetical and indemonstrable, so that it may be best not to include the unknown dedicator among known *grammateis* of the *gerousia*.

The Salutaris-dossier suggests a financial activity for the *grammateus* of the *gerousia*, since this individual is entrusted with that portion of the total endowment intended to fund the lotteries for the *gerousia*, the Asiarchs and the *neokoroi*.⁵⁶ Unlike the previous inscriptions, the *grammateus* mentioned in the Salutaris-dossier is treated as an officer, not an individual: the inscription specifies general regulations for whoever happens to be *grammateus*. According to his arrangements, Salutaris undertook to provide the *grammateus* of the *gerousia* with three hundred and eighty-two and a half denarii each year for the distributions to the *gerousia*, the Asiarchs and the *neokoroi*. Although the inscription is fragmentary, the *grammateus* is clearly the recipient of this money:

	ὁμοίῳ[ς δώ-]	231
[σει τῷ τοῦ συνεδρίου τῇ]ς γερουσ[ίας γ]ραμματεῖ κ[ατ' ἐνι-]		
[αυτὸν ἑκάστον ἀπὸ τοῦ προγεγραμμέ]νου τόκου δη[νάρια] [τπβ']		
[ἀσσάρια θ']		234

In the same way he will give to the *grammateus* of the assembly (*sunhedrion*) of the *gerousia* each year from the aforementioned interest three hundred and eighty-two denarii and nine asses.

The *grammateus*' responsibility for this portion of the distribution raises the question of whether he had financial duties within the *gerousia* as a general rule, or if such duties were only exceptional. Since the Salutaris documents are the only indications at present of the financial duties of the *grammateus* of the *gerousia*, the question cannot be answered certainly, but it is not impossible that the *grammateus* was responsible to some degree for the monetary resources of the *gerousia*; it is equally possible that he was not.

⁵⁶ Cat. no. 54, ll. 232, 291; Schulte (1994): 36.

An additional officer is attested in the Salutaris dossier as the treasurer of the *gerousia*. If a wealthy benefactor were to take over the administration of the total endowment fund, individual capitals could be paid to each group of recipients. Thus, five thousand denarii must be paid to the *epi ton chrematon* of the *boule*, and four thousand four hundred and fifty denarii to the *epi ton chrematon* of the *gerousia*, an office which may have existed from the beginning of the end of the Hellenistic period or earlier.⁵⁷ This suggests, as Schulte notes, that the *grammateus* of the *gerousia* was little more than the distributor of the pre-counted annual interest designated for the *gerousia*, the Asiarchs and the *neokoroi*.⁵⁸ It was the *epi ton chrematon* who required financial expertise in the *gerousia*, not the *grammateus*. The *grammateus*, as the individual responsible for the distribution, appears as a public representative of the *gerousia* as a whole, in which role this officer also appears in the Nicomedes-decree three-quarters of a century later.⁵⁹

The *grammateus* of the *gerousia* was an officer of that body whose duties can only be specified in negative terms. He was not directly responsible for the display of documents relating to the *gerousia* and its actions, nor was he particularly concerned with the financial aspects of his organization. Financial responsibilities may have been expected of a *grammateus* of the *gerousia* before or after AD 104; in AD 104, though, it is possible that the *grammateus* was an individual representative of the entire body. The Nicomedes-decree, however, suggests that even in the late-second century the *grammateus* of the *gerousia* was not engaged in financial activities on behalf of that body. His duties would seem to have been limited to representing the *gerousia* to the

⁵⁷ Cat. no. 54, l. 193; the phrase is partially restored; Knibbe *et al.* (1993): 119 suggest that a group of individuals may appear in this position as οἱ ἐπὶ τῶν χρημάτων at the beginning of the imperial period.

⁵⁸ Schulte (1994): 36.

⁵⁹ Cat. no. 56.

public, and perhaps to directing such meetings of the *gerousia* as there were. Despite the absence of any clear positive evidence for his activities, the position was one which appears, like the *gerousia* itself, to presuppose a certain degree of wealth and to have been a position which conferred status and public honour. He was not a civic official, but he did operate on a public level both as a representative and, possibly, as a liturgist.

5.2.2. *Gymnasiarchos of the Gerosia*

The gymnasiarch, as the title of the office indicates, was an individual primarily responsible for matters relating to one or more gymnasia. This could include the general maintenance and upkeep of the buildings constituting the gymnasium or the supervision of the physical and intellectual education which was to take place in them.⁶⁰ The gymnasiarch was also responsible for the provision of fuel for the heating of the baths and the management of the slaves who worked in the gymnasium.⁶¹

Most importantly, though, the gymnasiarch was responsible for providing oil to the users of the gymnasium. This provision of oil, or the supplying of resources to purchase the oil and to meet the other expenses of the gymnasium, had become the primary responsibility of the gymnasiarch by the second century BC.⁶² The office was, therefore, a costly one. The expense of the office resulted in a relatively high position within the city and a certain amount of respect for the gymnasiarch.⁶³ The gymnasiarch did not always meet the expenses of his office from his own resources, but could instead rely in some cases on previously established endowments which would provide the funds

⁶⁰ Cf. Chaniotis (2005): 49-51.

⁶¹ Jones (1940): 221.

⁶² Pauly-Wisowa, *RE* 7:2:2, 1975, s.v. γυμνασίαρχος.

⁶³ Schulte (1994): 37; Macro (1980): 680.

for, if not the entire cost of oil, at least a portion of it.⁶⁴ As a liturgy, the gymnasiarchy was in the later empire a position which was seen as a burden and a duty to be avoided: personal expense was often expected, if not required. When there was an unwillingness to volunteer for the gymnasiarchy, wealthy citizens could be selected to fill the office.⁶⁵ The potential difficulty of finding a gymnasiarch is apparent from a papyrus from Egypt that stipulates that the duties of a gymnasiarch who died while in office were to be passed on to the heir or heirs.⁶⁶

Seven men may be identified as gymnasiarchs of the Ephesian *gerousia* among the inscriptions collected in the catalogue.⁶⁷ An eighth individual may be considered briefly: the gymnasiarch mentioned in the inscription of Marcus Aurelius Agathopus.⁶⁸ This gymnasiarch, however, is identified simply as a gymnasiarch, not a gymnasiarch of the *gerousia*. The seven other possible gymnasiarchs of the *gerousia* appear in inscriptions unequally distributed through the Imperial period. Three come from the second quarter of the first century AD, one from the end of that century, and one from the late-second or early-third centuries; two are undated.

Tiberius Julius Heras, Lucius Cosinnius and Alexander the son of Alexander may be the earliest known officers of the *gerousia*, appearing in three letters of the proconsul Publius Petronius to the *gerousia* between AD 29 and 32.⁶⁹ Heras and Cosinnius are each identified as “your gymnasiarch”, that is, the *gerousia*’s gymnasiarch. Neither individual appears elsewhere in the currently published inscriptions of Ephesus, although it is quite

⁶⁴ Jones (1940): 222, n. 23; it is the choice between accepting public funds for expenses of the office or remitting those funds and using one’s own resources which distinguished liturgies and magistracies (Dmitriev [2005]: 109-119).

⁶⁵ Lewis (1983): 91; it should be noted that Lewis was considering Egyptian, not Ephesian evidence.

⁶⁶ Lewis (1983): 85, 89.

⁶⁷ Cat. no. 12-14, 24, 31, 38 & 52.

⁶⁸ Cat. no. 23; above, Chapter Four, pp. 122-125.

⁶⁹ Cat. nos. 12-14.

possible that they each belonged to socially prominent families: numerous Tiberii Julii are known from Ephesus, and several Lucii Cosinnii, one of whom, Gaianus, appears in several *kouretes* lists about a century after Petronius' letters; a high standing and significant wealth is indicated by their service as ambassadors.⁷⁰ Both men were very probably Roman citizens. It was noted in Chapter Four that the *tria nomina* alone are not enough to establish citizenship, but their names combined with their service as ambassadors to Publius Petronius seems to confirm this: individuals with Roman citizenship and other high connections were ideal ambassadors. It is not immediately evident whether the third gymnasiarch, Alexander the son of Alexander, was a Roman citizen or not; his service as ambassador might be an argument in favour of such status, though. His name neither confirms nor refutes citizenship, so it is best to leave the question open. It is obvious, however, that he must have enjoyed as prestigious a position in the city as Heras and Cosinnius: not only was he an ambassador to the proconsul, but he was also the gymnasiarch of all the gymnasia in the city. If Ephesus had funds set aside to pay for gymnasia-expenses, it would make little sense for a single individual to be gymnasiarch of the gymnasia unless he supplemented the civic funds to the benefit of all the gymnasia in the city. It is safe to conclude, therefore, that Alexander was a wealthy individual, as were Heras and Cosinnius. It becomes clear from Alexander's service to all the gymnasia that one did not have to belong to the body which one served as gymnasiarch. Nonetheless, Alexander's service as ambassador seems to be a strong indication of his membership in the *gerousia*.⁷¹ The role which these three

⁷⁰ Tiberii Julii: *IEph* 968, 4118; 1933a, 5101-3, 5107, 5113-4; 684; 2070-1; 2273b; 241; 2277; 282; 810; 3440, 5101-6, 5108-5113; 736; 860; 2274b; 692, 692a, 1105, 1105a, 1105b, 1106a, 1130, 1604, 1605, 1611, 1621; 1384; Lucius Cosinnius Gaianus: *IEph* 1034-1037a, 1039.

⁷¹ See above, Chapter Four, pp. 110-113.

individuals played in representing the concerns of the *gerousia* may suggest that a fourth ambassador should also be identified as a gymnasiarch: a certain Theodorus appears in two letters confirming the privileges of the *gerousia*, though in each case the second half of his name is restored.⁷² The editors suggest that *ho gymnasiarchos t]es gerousias* could be restored in the former letter; for the purposes of this discussion, Theodorus is omitted: his office is entirely restored.⁷³

Two other individuals may be certainly identified both as members of and gymnasiarchs of the *gerousia*. Aphrodisius the son of Cleander, whose service as grammateus of the *gerousia* was discussed above, also identifies himself as a gymnasiarch of the *gerousia*.⁷⁴ He is not known from other Ephesian inscriptions and little can be said of him other than that he served as gymnasiarch.⁷⁵ It is clear, though, from the fact that the inscription appears on an architrave found in the agora that Aphrodisius was wealthy: it will have belonged to a building which Aphrodisius constructed, dedicated or repaired. It is probable, therefore, that he would also have supplemented any resources allocated to the gymnasiarchy with his own wealth.

Aurelius Niconianus Eucarpus appears in a partially preserved thanksgiving inscription datable to the later-second or early-third century AD after he had completed two terms as *essen*, the priest of Artemis.⁷⁶ He also records his titles – voluntary *neopoios*, *chrysophoros* and gymnasiarch of the *gerousia* – and identifies himself as a *gerousiastes*. This title, given that he was gymnasiarch of that body, would seem

⁷² Cat. nos. 4 & 6.

⁷³ Cat. no. 4; *JÖAI* 62 (1993): 119, no. 11a.

⁷⁴ Cat. no. 31; above, pp. 141-142.

⁷⁵ Aphrodisius appears without a patronymic, *praenomen* or *nomen* (*IEph* 1285, 1625β, 2205). Aurelius Moschion the son of Aphrodisius, Lucius Spedius Aphrodisius and Titus Flavius Aphrodisius are known (*IEph* 3484, 1034, 3279).

⁷⁶ Cat. no. 24.

superfluous were it not for the interpretation of Alexander's service as gymnasiarch of all the gymnasia: the gymnasiarch of the *gerousia* did not have to be a member of the *gerousia*. Eucarpus' use of the title *gerousiastes*, not his service as gymnasiarch of the *gerousia*, identifies him a member of that body. It is evident from his other services, once again, that Eucarpus was a wealthy citizen – most likely of both Ephesus and Rome.

There remain two individuals who may have been gymnasiarchs. At the end of the first century AD, Tiberius Peducaeus Canax, a priest of Rome and of Publius Servilius Isauricus, was honoured by the *boule* and *demos*.⁷⁷ In addition to his priesthood, Canax provided distributions of oil for the citizens and of money for the *boule* and *gerousia*; he was also a gymnasiarch of the *presbeuteroi*. The use of both *gerousia* and *presbeuteros* in this inscription may be an indication that Canax was a gymnasiarch not of the Elders, the *gerousia*, but of the older boys. Whether he was a benefactor of a group of boys or the Elders, he was probably not a member of the *gerousia*: there is no other case of a member providing a cash distribution to the *gerousia*.

Finally, Gavius Menodorus is honoured in an undated, fragmentary inscription.⁷⁸ Although the left half of the inscription is lost, it is clear that at least some of Gavius' benefactions were closely associated with the gymnasium. He served as *agonothetes* and panegyriarch, held the office of *prytanis*, feasted the citizens of Ephesus on apparently two occasions, provided games and gave a distribution of money for the purchase of oil. If the restorations printed in the catalogue are accurate, he also appears to have provided oil for all the gymnasia and to have served as gymnasiarch of the *presbeuteroi* in particular at his own expense. As in the case of Canax, this may be a reference to the

⁷⁷ Cat. no. 38.

⁷⁸ Cat. no. 52.

elder boys rather than the *gerousia*. The provision of oil may have been the primary duty of the gymnasiarch of the *gerousia*, whereas the gymnasiarch of the elder boys probably had duties including instruction and supervision in addition to the provision of oil. Consequently, providing oil for all the gymnasia and serving as gymnasiarch of the *gerousia* would seem to be stating the gymnasiarchy twice. One of the duties of the gymnasiarch was to supervise a public display consisting of competitions between members of his gymnasium – an element more likely to apply to a gymnasium of elder boys than of *gerousiastai*.⁷⁹ The presence of the terms *agonotheten* (partially restored) and *panegyriarchon* give a competitive air to the initial portion of the inscription and may therefore bias the interpretation of *presbeuteron* in favour of the elder group of two divisions of boys or young men.

There are, then, five individuals who can be identified as gymnasiarchs of the *gerousia*, and an additional two who may have served in this capacity. No position within the *gerousia* appears as often in the inscriptions from Ephesus, but the relative rank of the gymnasiarch is not clear. In Mommsen's view, shared by Oliver, the gymnasiarch was the highest officer, while Menadier argues that the gymnasiarch occupied the lowest position in the body.⁸⁰ The phrasing of the inscriptions suggests that Menadier's view is closer to the truth in the case of Ephesus. Of all the gymnasiarchs discussed here, not one is honoured for his service as gymnasiarch. The three ambassadors to Publius Petronius are identified as gymnasiarchs not by the Ephesians but by the proconsul. Tiberius Peducaeus Canax is identified as a gymnasiarch in the initial lines of his honorary inscription, but it is clear that it is not specifically this office for

⁷⁹ Jones (1940): 223.

⁸⁰ Mommsen (1921): 326, n. 1; Oliver (1941): 43; Menadier (1880): 51.

which the honours have been decreed: he is honoured for numerous services to the city. Aphrodisius the son of Cleander identified himself as a gymnasiarch in what is probably a dedication of a building. Gavius Menodorus was honoured for activities apparently related to the gymnasium, but more specifically, he was honoured for donations and benefactions which went beyond the normal expenses of the gymnasiarchy. Surely if the gymnasiarch were the chief officer of the *gerousia*, that position would be deserving of more than a passing mention, which is all it ever receives. It is more probable that this individual was not the highest or even second highest ranking officer in the *gerousia*, though, because the gymnasiarch was not always a member – he was a benefactor.

It is possible, though, to draw some conclusions about this individual's responsibilities within the *gerousia*. His duties were probably reduced over time. It is known that the original responsibilities, the supervision of the education of boys and the maintenance of a gymnasium, had narrowed during the Hellenistic period to the provision of oil, and it is possible that this reduction continued into the first century AD. The duties of a gymnasiarch in the Hellenistic period may also have included the military training of the *paides* and *ephebes*.⁸¹ In the case of the *gerousia*, the duties of the gymnasiarch probably did not extend beyond the provision of fuel and oil, and the maintenance of the gymnasium. The service of Tiberius Julius Heras, Lucius Cosinnius and Alexander the son of Alexander as ambassadors may have been undertaken in addition to the gymnasiarchy, but it is also possible that such services formed a part of the gymnasiarch's responsibilities at this time, so that the gymnasiarch was split into two separate offices: the gymnasiarch himself who provided oil, and a representative officer, such as the *grammateus*.

⁸¹ Chaniotis (2005): 50.

The source of the funds with which the gymnasiarchy was performed is nowhere specified, and depends in part on one's interpretation of the position: was the gymnasiarchy of the *gerousia* a regular position, or was it a service rendered at the discretion of the individual? If it was a regular position, it is probable that the *gerousia* had a fund to cover at least some of the expenses, which could then be supplemented by the gymnasiarch himself. If it was an irregular position, filled by a beneficent individual, the expenses would have been met entirely at that individual's expense – oil may have been distributed to the members of the *gerousia* in the same way as gifts of money, as a one-time (or annual) benefaction. One might reasonably suppose that the position was a regular one, but that only those who supplemented the 'gymnasium-fund' fund with their own resources were given the title of gymnasiarch, that is, the gymnasiarchs supplemented the allotted funds with their own resources. It does seem to be clear that the *gerousia* enjoyed the financial support of some of its members and some non-members, at least with respect with to gymnasium-expenses. If the gymnasiarchy could be filled by non-members of the *gerousia* – and the service of Alexander and other Ephesians as gymnasiarchs of all the gymnasia strongly suggests this – it must be acknowledged that the gymnasiarchy was not always an official position within the *gerousia*.

5.2.3. *Pragmatikos of the gerousia*

Two *pragmatikoi* are known from the inscriptions of Ephesus. One appears in a Byzantine letter of Justinian to the bishop of Hypatios and is chronologically far outside the period under consideration.⁸² Keil suggests that the letter was written in response to a dispute concerning the precedence of the Churches of St. John and of Mary in the city;

⁸² *IEph* 4133.

the *pragmatikos* appears in the final line of the letter but the nature of his position is unknown. Besides this individual, a single *pragmatikos* is known from the first three centuries AD in Ephesus. On a stone containing an undated funerary inscription of Artemon and his family, a certain Straton is identified as the caretaker of the altar and tomb and as the *pragmatikos apo gerousias*.⁸³ What the duties of the *pragmatikos* entailed is not clear: was he responsible for the physical upkeep of the tomb? for the continuation of graveside rituals? for the prosecution of individuals who violated the tomb?⁸⁴

Because of the lack of Ephesian evidence, the *pragmatikos* can only be compared with individuals occupying the same position outside of Ephesus. A *pragmatikos* from the region of Phrygia served as the overseer of the construction of an aqueduct.⁸⁵ A second *pragmatikos* appears in a decree of the *sustema* of the Elders in Magnesia regarding the provision of oil for the young and old men who used the city's gymnasium.⁸⁶ Publius Publicius Apollodorus, again in Magnesia, oversaw the erection of an honorary inscription and statue in which he is described as the *pragmatikos* of the *demos*.⁸⁷

Regardless of any similarities or dissimilarities between the *gerousia* of the Ephesus and the *sustema* of Elders in Magnesia or elsewhere, the duties of the *pragmatikos* appear in all cases to be primarily financial. Although the scale of expense in Straton's case cannot be compared in the cases of the *pragmatikos* from Phrygia and Apollodorus of Magnesia, the *pragmatikos* is in all non-Ephesian cases given the duty,

⁸³ Cat. no. 89.

⁸⁴ Cf. below, Chapter Six, pp. 238-242.

⁸⁵ MAMA 4.333.

⁸⁶ IMag 108.

⁸⁷ IMag 242.

and possibly the financial resources, to oversee some activity decreed by the body of which he is the *pragmatikos*.

This suggests that Straton, as the *pragmatikos apo gerousias*, may have been responsible for the maintenance of Artemon's grave and tomb, probably with funds set aside for that purpose. The inscription accompanying Artemon's tomb is remarkable in that it identifies a specific individual from the *gerousia* as the caretaker of the tomb, whereas it is common for the *gerousia* as a whole to be named as overseer.⁸⁸ One may ask, therefore, if Straton was intended to perform this duty as a member of the *gerousia* or as a private citizen, that is, was this duty assigned to Straton the *pragmatikos*, or to Straton the citizen?

The *pragmatikos apo gerousias* may have been entrusted with this duty as a patron of Artemon. Given the nomenclature of the individuals involved – Artemon the son of Metrodorus, Myrilla the daughter of Demetrius, Hageson the son of Hageson, Phrynichus the son of Hageson, and Straton – there does not seem to be any reason aside from his supervision of the tomb to identify Straton as a patron, though.

It may be more probable that Straton and Artemon were peers – perhaps both were members of the *gerousia* – and that it was this peerage to which Artemon appealed for the upkeep of his tomb. If this is so, it follows that *pragmatikos apo gerousias* was not the title of an individual member who oversaw the upkeep of the tombs. Artemon's inscription, then, would shed no light on the official position or duties of the *pragmatikos*. Any connection between Artemon and Straton, however, may be spurious: the two inscriptions were inscribed at different times. A relationship between the two individuals is not, however, impossible: in the absence of the name of the deceased

⁸⁸ Cf. below, Chapter Six, pp. 238-242; cat. nos. 73, 74, 82, 85-88 & 91.

whose tomb Straton is to preserve, it is not unreasonable to suppose that Straton became responsible for the monument after it had originally been inscribed.

It may be noted that the scale of Straton's responsibility for Artemon's tomb cannot be compared to the construction of an aqueduct or service as gymnasiarch as performed by some other *pragmatikoi* from Asia; depending on the elaborateness of the tomb and statue, his service may not be comparable even to that of Apollodorus in Magnesia. At best, it may be supposed that the *pragmatikos* of the *gerousia* of Ephesus was similar to the *pragmatikoi* attested in other cities of Asia with the acknowledgement that this supposition is based solely on the similarity of titles. İçten and Engelmann suggest that Straton was the administrator of the *gerousia*.⁸⁹ If this is the case, it may be surprising that he is the only individual so identified.

5.2.4. *Ekdikos and Logistes*

The *ekdikos* and *logistes* were not regular officers of the *gerousia*. An *ekdikos* was a legal representative, commonly of the city, appointed for a specific purpose or legal case.⁹⁰ In the case of Ephesus, the *ekdikos* appears to have been a supervisor or an auditor rather than a strictly legal representative.⁹¹ Seven *ekdikoi* are known from Ephesus, only some of whom were clearly involved in legal cases.

An *ekdikos* of the *boule*, Marcus Flavius Domitianus, oversaw the erection of a statue for Aurelius Baranus.⁹² No other actions are recorded for Domitianus in the inscriptions from Ephesus. According to the inscription honouring Baranus, Domitianus set up the statue at his own expense. It is not unreasonable to suppose that he did so in

⁸⁹ İçten and Engelmann (1992): 291.

⁹⁰ Pauly-Wisowa, *RE* 5:2:2, 2160, s.v., ἐκδικος.

⁹¹ Dmitriev (2005): 213.

⁹² Cat. no. 48.

his capacity as *ekdikos*, if only because the inscription is identified as a decree of the *boule* and *demos*. The use of his own resources to dedicate a statue decreed by the city is not unusual since with a public position, as was noted above, it was possible to supplement official funds with one's own, essentially transforming an *arche* into a *leitourgeia*.⁹³ It should be acknowledged, however, that Domitianus' erection of the statue and his service as *ekdikos* of the *boule* may be unrelated.

Ekdikoi could be on the other side of honorary inscriptions as well. Marcus Aurelius Menemachus was honoured by the *sunhedrion* of the *kouretes* and sacred heralds.⁹⁴ He was the *ekdikos* of this *sunhedrion*, as the adjective *idion* indicates. What Menemachus was honoured for is not specified, but it is probably related to his being *ekdikos*. He may, for example, have successfully represented the *kouretes* and heralds in some dispute. Similarly, Ulpus Apollonius Plautus, a *grammateus*, *boularchos* and *ekdikos* of the *boule*, was honoured by the *boule* in the late second century, most likely for services provided as *ekdikos*.⁹⁵ The reflexive pronoun *heautes* probably indicates that Plautus had represented the *boule* in a legal matter. Legal representation by the *ekdikos* appears most clearly in an early Byzantine fragment which records the result of a dispute between Smyrna and, probably, Ephesus: the *ekdikos* of the *polis* had represented the city.⁹⁶ As legal representatives, it is probable that many *ekdikoi* did not belong to the bodies for which they spoke.

The nature of the duties of the *ekdikos* is not clear from those individuals bearing this title who have been surveyed so far. The clearest testimony for the activity of the

⁹³ Above, pp. 141-142; Dmitriev (2005): 109-119.

⁹⁴ *IEph* 1075; *FiE* IX/1/1 d2.

⁹⁵ *IEph* 740.

⁹⁶ *IEph* 1343.

ekdikos in Ephesus appears in the inscription recording Nicomedes' re-introduction of a festal celebration.⁹⁷ Nicomedes is identified as the *ekdikos* of the *sunhedrion* and appears to have been responsible for reviewing the financial accounts of the *gerousia*. The passive *heurethenton* in line 6 indicates that Nicomedes redirected previously existing resources of the *gerousia* to a new purpose, rather than that he made an endowment, as has been noted above in Chapter Four.

Nicomedes was not a member of the *gerousia* at the time of his service as *ekdikos*: the stipulation at the end of the decree to "praise both Nicomedes and his sons, and proclaim them honorary members of the *gerousia*" would be redundant if they were already members. Although he appears to have been an auditor of the *gerousia*, Nicomedes should not be considered to have been a member before his honorary induction. He is described as *tou katholikou ekdikou tou sunhedriou hemon*. *Sunhedrion*, however, may not refer to the *gerousia* here:⁹⁸ both the *gerousia* and the members of the *sunhedrion* are named as responsible for the observation of the details contained in the decree.⁹⁹ This may be interpreted as an injunction laid upon the *gerousia* as a whole and upon its individual members, but, as was noted in Chapter Four, the regular formula for identifying members of the *gerousia* is simply *ek gerousias* or *gerousiastes*. Moreover, there is no other case of a distinction between the *gerousia* as a single body acting collectively and a portion of its members acting individually. The precise relationship between the *gerousia* and the *sunhedrion* is not important for the interpretation of Nicomedes' service as *ekdikos*, though. As *ekdikos* of the *sunhedrion*, he provided, or

⁹⁷ Cat. no. 56.

⁹⁸ See above, Chapter Three, pp. 70-74, for the relationship between *sunhedrion* and *gerousia*.

⁹⁹ Cat. no. 56, ll 12-15: τὴν γερουσίαν εἶ]]ς τὸ δι[τὴν] ἐκὲς φυλάσσεσθαι τῇ[ν ἐπὶ τῇ προγ]εγραμμένη εὐσεβείᾳ νομοθεσίᾳ ὡς αἰ[ῶνιον] ὁμοίως δὲ τοὺς συνέδρους μετα[] φυλάσσ[ειν] καὶ ἐπιτελεῖν τὰ περὶ τὰ δεῖπν]α προσφιλοτειμουμένου τοῦ ἐκδικου ἵς τῇ[ν] δαπάνην.

more probably, redirected financial resources of the *gerousia* to meet the expense of the festival.

The case of Tiberius Claudius Moschas is similar. He appears in three inscriptions, in two of which he is identified as *ekdikos* of the *sunhedrion* and *ekdikos* of the *gerousia*, respectively.¹⁰⁰ The involvement of the *gerousia* in these two cases, however, is uncertain. The first, honouring Vibius Seneca, identifies the *sunhedrion* of the *gerousia* as the honouring body, but the inscription is acephalous, so that the phrase *sunhedrion tes gerousias* is entirely restored.¹⁰¹ The second inscription identifies Moschas as *ekdikos* of the *gerousia*, but there is nothing in the remainder of the inscription to connect Claudia Caninia Severa, the recipient of the statue associated with this inscription, with the *gerousia*. Although the inscriptions are roughly contemporary and the product of the work of a single individual, Moschas, the preambles are restored differently. Given that they were both erected under the supervision of the same individual, one would expect that the two inscriptions and statues were awarded by the same bodies, so that the lacunae at the beginning of each text should be the same. Moschas is named as the *ekdikos* of the *gerousia* in Severa's inscription so that one is tempted to suppose that the phrase to be restored in each case is that which appears in Seneca's inscription, that is, [τὸ συνεδρίον τῆς φιλοσεβάστου γερουσίας], which is restored in Claudia's inscription. The *gerousia*, however, does not appear to have been active as the author of honorary decrees beyond the mid-second century AD, so that [ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐτείμησαν] should perhaps be preferred.¹⁰² Moreover, Moschas'

¹⁰⁰ Cat. nos. 46 & 47; *IEph* 645.

¹⁰¹ As was noted above in Chapter Three, there is no certain instance of a *sunhedrion tes gerousias* in Ephesus (cf. pp. 70-74).

¹⁰² Cf. below, Chapter Six, pp. 237.

service as *ekdikos* is given among his other services so that the *gerousia* itself was not necessarily behind this dedication. *Sunhedrion* in Seneca's inscription, then, is probably either an alternate expression for the *boule* or a collective term for the *boule* and *demos*, but not for the *gerousia* alone. Moschas was not a member of the *gerousia*, though he is identified as *ekdikos* of the *gerousia* in the inscription honouring Claudia Caninia Severa. He, and the *ekdikos* in general, might have been similar to the *epi ton chrematon*, with the exception that he was appointed by an external body and was not limited to the financial affairs of the *gerousia*.¹⁰³

His activities were limited, though, by pre-existing decrees. Included in the *gerousia*'s efforts to ensure that the arrangements made by Nicomedes remained unchanged was a statement to the effect that not even an *ekdikos* could divert the interest of the capital sum. Such an injunction also appears in the documents recording Salutaris' endowment: no magistrate, *ekdikos* or private citizen was to emend Salutaris' dispositions on pain of two twenty-five thousand denarii fines.¹⁰⁴ The inclusion of both magistrate and *ekdikos* in this statement supports the theory that the *ekdikos* was not a regular official like an *archon*. His duties were not limited only to legal representation, but could also involve the supervision or auditing of finances even of bodies to which he did not belong.

The *logistes* is more commonly attested than the *ekdikos*, although the two positions are similar. Several individuals, all male, who had served as *logistes* were honoured by the Ephesians during the Imperial period. Four of these were also

¹⁰³ Since *epi ton chrematon* and *ekdikos* occur at the beginning and end of the second century AD respectively, it is possible that these are different names for the same position.

¹⁰⁴ Cat. no. 54, ll. 315-325: μηδεν[ι] δὲ ἐξέστω ἄρχοντι ἢ ἐκδικῶ ἢ ἰδιώτῃ; it is argued in Chapter Six that there were in fact three fines for alterations to Salutaris' arrangements.

presbeuteis of Asia and three were Roman Senators: a *propraetor* and two consuls.¹⁰⁵ [Marcus Ulpius] Aristocrates, in addition to serving as *agonothetes* and high priest, was appointed (*dothenta*) *logistes* for the *gerousia* by the Emperor Hadrian.¹⁰⁶ Ulpius Eurycles was similarly 'given' as *logistes* to the *gerousia*.¹⁰⁷ The *logistes* was the equivalent of a *curator civitatis*.¹⁰⁸

The responsibilities of the *logistes* are more easily identified than those of the *ekdikos*, due to the fact that two extensive inscriptions record the activities of this official in Ephesus. Appropriately, these are two letters from the emperor. The first letter survives in two copies, neither of which is complete; it is in Oliver's opinion Antonine in date.¹⁰⁹ In this case, though, the *logistes* is clearly responsible for conducting audits of certain individuals.¹¹⁰ There is no indication of who these individuals are, but they are responsible through the *logistes* to the emperor. The letter is specific, requiring only those who had held office in the previous ten years to submit their accounts to the *logistes*, which suggests that the position of the *logistes* was not previously an annual position, but was occupied only irregularly.¹¹¹

The second inscription is a letter of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus sent to Ulpius Eurycles, the *logistes* of the *gerousia*, responding to the enquiries of Eurycles regarding, among other things, statues of busts of previous emperors in the assembly

¹⁰⁵ *IEph* 25, 618, 3050, 4341; *propraetor*: *IEph* 696; consuls: *IEph* 612 & *SEG* 41, 976.

¹⁰⁶ Cat. no. 41.

¹⁰⁷ Cat. no. 17 (*IEph* 25); Dmitriev (2005): 196 suggests that the use of the participle *dothenta* may be an indication that the *logistai* could be appointed at the request of the cities.

¹⁰⁸ Pauly-Wisowa, *RE* 13:1:1, 1020-1021 s.v. λογιστής.

¹⁰⁹ *IEph* 15 (*IEph* 16 is a copy containing identical text); Oliver (1979): 556; Keil, *JÖAI* 27: 21-25.

¹¹⁰ Cf. Dmitriev (2005): 189-190.

¹¹¹ Dmitriev (2005): 192-193.

chamber (*sunhedrion touton*).¹¹² These busts are to be retained and re-erected under their original names rather than melted down and recast as representations of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus. Next, the letter addresses the question of a public slave who inappropriately collected on debts owed to the *sunhedrion*. In this case, the emperors state the letter of the law, but do not pass judgment, referring Eurycles instead to the proconsul.

The *logistes*, as an imperially appointed official, was responsible for the rendering of accounts of officers and of public bodies, and may, in the case of the *gerousia*, have had some involvement in the preparation of imperial busts and statues. He was able to bring certain matters to the attention of the emperor but he was liable to the proconsul of the province, to whom his inquiries were in most cases supposed to be addressed. The existence of a *logistes* of the *gerousia* also implies an official recognition of the *gerousia* by imperial authorities. The *ekdikos*, on the other hand, was responsible only for certain legal and financial affairs of local Ephesian bodies and was specifically appointed, probably by the *boule*, for this purpose. It would be unusual, one would think, for the *logistes* and perhaps the *ekdikos* as well to have been members of the *gerousia*: impartiality would be desirable, but unlikely to have been achieved if a *gerousiastes* was appointed to correct the finances of his own institution.

Officers of the Ephesian *gerousia* are not attested as frequently as one might wish. Those positions which do appear in the epigraphic record suggest that several were not offices of the *gerousia per se* filled by *gerousiastai*, but rather were associated with it. Thus, anyone, given sufficient wealth, could serve as a gymnasiarch of the *gerousia*. As

¹¹² Cat. no. 17 (*IEph* 25); it is tempting to see τοῦτον συνέδριον as the place where the statues donated by Salutaris were kept when they were not being carried to the Artemision or to public meeting; cf. below, Chapter Six, p. 228-229, n. 53.

a representative, it is most likely that the *grammateus* of the *gerousia* was always a member; the *ekdikoi* and *logistai* were not members, but were instead overseers of the body responsible to the city and to the imperial administration respectively, indicating the subordinate position of the *gerousia*.

5.3. *Gerousiastai* in the City

The members of the Ephesian *boule* and *gerousia* appear to have been distinguished: no individual is known to have been a member of both bodies. This situation contrasts sharply with that in Sidyma, where half of the *gerousia* was drawn from or consisted entirely of the *boule*.¹¹³ The offices discussed in the first half of this chapter suggest that the officers of the *gerousia* were in general wealthy. There it was concluded that occupying an office of the *gerousia*, such as the gymnasiarchy, is not an infallible indication of membership; wealth, however, was a consistent feature of those who were both officers and members of the *gerousia*. The same is true when individual members are considered in light of the offices which they occupied in the city in general – that is, their positions independent of the daily operations of the *gerousia*. Neither the large-scale benefactors of the city nor their close relatives appear to have belonged to the *gerousia*: none of the Vedii Antoninii is identified as a member; Titus Flavius Damianus, who constructed a stoa along the Sacred Way did not belong; Gaius Vibius Salutaris was a Roman knight, but not a member of the *gerousia*.

This is not to say that individual *gerousiastai* were not benefactors of the city; clearly they were both publicly active and euergetic citizens, if only on a minor scale when compared to the best-known benefactors of Ephesus: Aphrodisius the son of

¹¹³ Cf. above, Chapter Four, pp. 79-82; *TAM* II, 175 & 176.

Cleander was able to put his name on the architrave of one building. *Gerousiastai* were *politeuomenoi*, that is, publicly active in the city. The civic offices in which the *gerousiastai* appear are often associated with the religious affairs of the city (Table 4). This association is consistent with what emerges from the Salutaris-dossier: the *gerousia*, Asiarchs and *neokoroi* are combined in the receipt of the distributions, suggesting a relationship, or at least a closeness between the three groups.¹¹⁴

Title	Number of Appearances	Catalogue Number
<i>Kouretes</i>	12	23, 44, 59-63, 65, 66
Ambassadors	9	1, 4, 6, 8-10, 12-14, 16
<i>Neopoioi</i>	8	19, 21, 24, 25, 27, 28, 44, 58
<i>Chrysophoroi</i>	5	21, 24, 26, 28, 49
<i>Agonothetai</i>	2	49, 51
<i>Essenes</i>	2	19, 24
<i>Agoranomos</i>	1	25
Imperial Priest	1(?)	31
<i>Leitourgos</i>	1	25
<i>Prytanis</i>	1(?)	51
<i>Nyktophylax</i>	1	19
<i>Epi thymiatrou</i>	1	63 (cf. 60-62)
<i>Hymnodos</i> ¹¹⁵	1	77
Torch-race leader	1	77
<i>Leukophoros</i>	1	67

Table 4: Offices and Positions Occupied by *Gerousiastai*.

Forty-five positions are known to have been occupied by members of the *gerousia*. Two-thirds of the attested offices and positions are clearly religious, namely the *kouretes*, the *neopoioi*, the *chrysophoroi*, the *essenes*, the *nyktophylax*, the *epi thymiatrou*, the *hymnodos*, the leader of the torch race and the *leukophoros*. To these may be added an Imperial priest and a *prytanis*, but it should be noted that it was argued in Chapter Four that there is reason to doubt whether the two individuals concerned were actually members of the *gerousia*. These forty-five offices and positions were occupied

¹¹⁴ Cat. no. 54, ll. 231-245.

¹¹⁵ On the *hymnodoi*, see above, pp. 136-137.

by thirty-seven individuals, though the names of the occupants have not survived in all cases.

5.3.1. *Kouretes, Prytanis and the Epi thymiatrou*

The origin of the *kouretes* was associated with the birth of Artemis and Apollo. According to myth, the *kouretes* took up a position on Mt. Solmissus to scare off Hera with their noise when Leto gave birth to the two gods at Ortygia. In the historical period, they performed sacrifices and held symposia at an annual festival; they may have acted out the myth as told by Strabo.¹¹⁶ The *kouretes* continued to play a cultic role, but they also took on political functions associated with the Temple of Artemis: the *kouretes*, at least in the early Hellenistic period, supported some citizenship decrees, which were displayed in the Artemision.¹¹⁷

The *kouretes* of the Imperial period were organized into a college, a *sunhedrion*, which could have its own *grammateus*.¹¹⁸ They served under a *prytanis*, who may have had the right to choose his own *kouretes*, as the number of *prytaneis* related to their respective *kouretes* suggests.¹¹⁹ This personal choice could account for the fact that individuals did not normally serve as *kouretes* repeatedly: the position was, strictly speaking, assigned rather than undertaken.¹²⁰ At the earliest period for which there is evidence, that is, the second half of the first century AD, the proportion of probable Roman citizens to non-Roman citizens in the college of *kouretes* is almost 1:1. This ratio steadily increases in favour of Roman citizens until it is almost 3:1 between 180 and

¹¹⁶ Strabo 14.1.20; Tac. *Ann.*, 3.61; Knibbe (1981): 70-73.

¹¹⁷ Knibbe (1981): 74; cat. no. 1.

¹¹⁸ Knibbe (1981): 96, no. B 54.

¹¹⁹ Knibbe (1981): 97, n. 174; nos. B9, B13, B33, B35, B36, B41, B45, B51, B53, B54.

¹²⁰ Knibbe (1981): 97.

192.¹²¹ Although a large proportion of *kouretes* appear to have possessed Roman citizenship, relatively few can be certainly said to have been active in the Imperial service.

The *kouretes* are known primarily through the annual lists inscribed in the prytaneion (Fig. 2, no. 61; fig. 3). Knibbe, however, suggests that these lists may not record the *kouretes* of every year, but only of those years when resources allowed the inscriptions to be erected.¹²² These lists, as was noted in Chapter Four, are highly formulaic: the *prytanis* is named, followed by ‘*hoide ekoureteusan*’ or ‘*kouretes eusebeis philosebatoi*’, the names of the *kouretes* themselves and finally the cultic servants. Additional titles are not often given to the *kouretes*, but when they are, they follow immediately upon the name of the individual. Thus, a typical list would be:¹²³

ἐπὶ πρυτάνεως Γαΐου Λικιννίου Μενάνδρου υἱοῦ Σερ-	
γία Μαξίμου Ἰουλιανοῦ· κουρήτες εὐσεβεῖς φιλοσέβαστοι·	
Γ(άιος) Λικίνιος Μάξιμος Μηνοδώρου υἱὸς Σεργία Βειβιανὸς βουλευτῆς·	
Μ(ᾶρκος) Καισέλλιος Βᾶσσος βουλευτῆς·	
Διόδοτος Ἀσκληπίδου Ἐφέσιος ἐκ γερουσίας·	5
Τι(βέριος) Κλαύδιος Νεικομήδης ἐκ γερουσίας·	Πό(πλιος) Κορ(νήλιος)·
	Ἀρίστων βουλευτῆς ἱεροσκόπο[ς]
Γ(άιος) Λικίνιος Εὐάρεστος ἐκ γερουσίας·	Μουνδίκους βουλευτῆς
	ἱεροφάντης
Ἀσκληπιόδωρος Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ	Ἐπικράτης ἱεροκῆρυξ

Membership in the *gerousia* is indicated in these lists with the phrase *ek gerousias*: the only instance of a *gerousiastes* in a list of *kouretes* is not actually a *kouretes* list, but a thanksgiving dedication by Favonia Flaccilla.¹²⁴ Membership in the *boule* appears to

¹²¹ Knibbe (1981): 99, no. B54; cf. Burton (2001): 203-204; cf. above, Chapter Four pp. 77-79; this estimate is based on the possession of a *tria nomina*.

¹²² Knibbe (1981).

¹²³ Cat. no. 60.

¹²⁴ *Gerosiastes*: Cat. no. 21; *ek gerousias*: 60-64, 66 & 67.

have been indicated simply with the term *bouleutes*: there is no corresponding phrase *ek boules*.¹²⁵

The Roman citizenship of the *gerousiastai-kouretes*, as is often the case, can only be determined on the basis of nomenclature. Six individuals can be said to be Roman citizens on the basis of their names.¹²⁶ Five appear not to have possessed Roman citizenship; the name of one *gerousiastes-kouros* is unknown.¹²⁷ The absence of citizenship, though, is an assumption based on the absence of the *tria nomina*, which, it was noted in Chapter Four, is not an infallible indicator of legal status. In some cases, it will have been possible for individuals to choose to use a Roman name or a Greek name in public life. Thus, Tiberius Julius Heras could be known as such, or as Tiberius Julius, or simply as Heras. The decision could reflect a desire to project a message: the use of a Greek name and patronymic could be an expression of 'greekness' in the face of increasing 'romanness'.¹²⁸ Rogers has argued that a similar statement emphasizing the collective identity of the Ephesians was being made in the foundation of Gaius Vibius Salutaris at the beginning of the second century AD.¹²⁹ The use of Greek names and patronymics was an affirmation of Greek heritage, just as during the Hellenistic period the use of ethnics as a part of one's name was a reminder of one's origins even if that city or region had been destroyed.¹³⁰

¹²⁵ Knibbe (1981) nos. B3, B4, B9, B16-20, B22-30, B32, B33, B35, B36, B38, B40, B42, B44, B45, B48, B50-B52.

¹²⁶ Cat. nos. 60 (Ti. Claudius Nicomedes, C. Licinnius Euarestus), 61 (L. Caecilius Rufus), 62 (P. Aelius Isas Flavianus), 63 (... Venustus) and 67 (Julius Marcianus).

¹²⁷ Cat. nos. 60 (Diodotus son of Asclepides, Assclepiodorus son of Apollonius son of Assclepiodorus) and 64 (Bacchius son of Zeuxius); cat. no. 66 (unknown).

¹²⁸ Above, Chapter Four, pp. 79-82; cf. Burton (2001): 202-203.

¹²⁹ Rogers (1991); the inscription which mentions Diodotus son of Asclepides and Assclepiodorus son of Apollonius is dated to AD 105.

¹³⁰ Chaniotis (2005): 85-86.

Additional offices are only rarely attested in the *kouretes* lists, so that inferences cannot be made about the social standing of *gerousiastai-kouretes* on the basis of their other public positions. The *kouretes* do not, however, appear only in these lists. One Zoticus the son of Artemidorus appears in an honorary inscription as a *gerousiastes* and member of the 'assembly of *neopoioi*, *kouretes* and *chrysophoroi*;' he also served twice as *essen*.¹³¹ Each of these positions will be discussed below, and it will become clear that all three are indications of wealth and high social rank. Since the *gerousiastai-kouretes* appear together with *bouleutai-kouretes* in the *kouretes* lists, it may be said with certainty that these *gerousiastai* were wealthy, with high social connections. Such a conclusion seems particularly warranted given the name and patronymic used by Assclepiodorus son of Apollonius son of Assclepiodorus: this use is one means of drawing attention to his family and ancestors and, presumably, to their euergetism. The inclusion of his father's name and that of his grandfather is an indication of the high standing of his family: both his father and his grandfather were known to the Ephesians, possibly through political or socio-religious activities.¹³²

Closely associated with the *kouretes*, the *prytanis* was the leader of the civic cult. The cult of Artemis, which the *kouretes* originally celebrated, may have been amalgamated with the civic cult in honour of Hestia at some point in time, combining the *kouretes*' worship of Artemis with the *prytanis*' worship of Hestia. The amalgamation of the two cults is apparent in the numerous *kouretes* lists, all of which are dated by the eponymous *prytanis*, as well as in the relations which existed in some cases between

¹³¹ Cat. no. 45.

¹³² Cat. no. 60; the inclusion of the patronymic is distinct from the choice between a Greek or Roman name: the patronymics emphasize one's ancestry, while the personal name may emphasize one's present standing and connections.

certain of the *kouretes* and *prytaneis*. Thus, Gaius Terentius Beratius was a *kouros* and a brother of the *prytanis* Gaius Terentius Flavianus;¹³³ similarly, Aulus Larcus Julianus and Bacchius the son of Zeuxius are identified as kinsmen of the *prytanis* Publius Aelius Pontius Attalianus.¹³⁴ The *prytanis* appears as the eponymous official in Ephesus. The high status thus rendered to the office is only enhanced by a trend in which Roman citizens appear to have occupied it more and more frequently until after the mid-century *prytaneis* were almost all Roman citizens.¹³⁵

A single *prytanis*, Gavius Menodorus, may have been a *gerousiastes*. Gavius' membership in the *gerousia* is not certain, though. He served as gymnasiarch of the *presbuteroi*, although it is possible that the gymnasiarchy was that of the elder boys rather than of the *gerousia*. This is a less likely reading, but the fragmentary state of the inscription makes it inadvisable to rule it out absolutely. Gavius' membership in the *gerousia*, therefore, rests on the assumptions that *presbuteron* refers to the *gerousia* and that service as gymnasiarch indicates membership in the *gerousia*, which it does not.

The *hieros epi thymiatrou* and *acrobates epi thymiatrou* were cultic servants; they are attested in the *kouretes*-lists, but they were not themselves *kouretes*. Whereas those individuals did not generally serve repeatedly, the position of *epi thymiatrou* was regularly occupied by the same individual over the course of several years. Moreover, it might, like other positions in the cultic-service, have been passed from father to son.¹³⁶ While there is evidence of such dynastic possession of religious offices in the case of the Lysimachi Mundicii, who appear to have dominated the position of *hierophant* for a

¹³³ Knibbe (1981): no. B32.

¹³⁴ Knibbe (1981): no. B40.

¹³⁵ Dmitriev (2005): 280.

¹³⁶ Knibbe (1981): 79

century, familial succession is not as apparent in the case of *epi thymiatrou*: four men, Olympicus, Atticus, Trypho and Onesimus, all appear successively and repeatedly as *epi thymiatrou* over the course of the same century, but there is no reason to suppose that they were related to one another.¹³⁷

There is variation in this title, even when the name of the individual does not change. Thus, Trypho was simply *epi thymiatrou* in AD 104, thereafter *acrobates epi thymiatrou* for at least four years, and finally *geraios epi thymiatrou* in at least four additional years.¹³⁸ Onesimus' titles show a similar pattern, though he appears to begin as *hieros epi thymiatrou* with three appearances as simply *epi thymiatrou* interspersed over a period of at least thirteen years; he was once *geraios epi thymiatrou*.¹³⁹ Onesimus was a member of the *gerousia*, but this is not what *geraios epi thymiatrou* indicates.¹⁴⁰ He is identified as *hieros epi thymiatrou ek gerousias* in a list of *kouretes* from the second half of the second century.¹⁴¹ *Geraios* should be seen as a description of *epi thymiatrou* like *hieros* and *acrobates*, rather than of Onesimus himself, as was argued above in Chapter Four.¹⁴²

The duties of the *epi thymiatrou* within the civic cult are not certainly known, but he must have been, as his title indicates, responsible for an incense offering. Kibbe suggests that the use of the word *acrobates* is a sign that a dance performance was part of

¹³⁷ Lysimachi Mundicii: Kibbe (1981): nos. B16-45; Olympicus: Kibbe (1981): B4-B9; Atticus: Kibbe (1981): B10-B21; Trypho: Kibbe (1981): B22-29; Onesimus: Kibbe (1981): B30-44.

¹³⁸ *Epi thymiatrou*: Kibbe (1981): no. B21; *acrobates epi thymiatrou*: Kibbe (1981): nos. B22-25; *geraios epi thymiatrou*: Kibbe (1981): nos. B26-29.

¹³⁹ *Hieros epi thymiatrou*: Kibbe (1981): nos. B30-35, B37-40, B42, B42a; *epi thymiatrou*: Kibbe (1981): nos. B36, B41, B43; *geraios epi thymiatrou*: Kibbe (1981): no. B. 44.

¹⁴⁰ Cat. no. 64; cf. Kibbe (1981): 42, no. B40 and note 6. it may be noted that Onesimus appears in B44 as *epi thymiatrou geraios sun kai huoi Artemoni psephismati*: Onesimus and his son were not simultaneously members of the *gerousia* (they may have been, but this inscription does not demonstrate that); Onesimus was assisted in his service as 'revered servant in charge of tending the incense' by his son.

¹⁴¹ The phrasing is partially restored, but reasonably so; cf. above, Chapter Four, pp. 127.

¹⁴² Cf. above, Chapter Four, pp. 126-128.

the offering of incense and of the acting out of the birth of Artemis and Apollo by the *kouretes*.¹⁴³

5.3.2. Ambassadors

Embassies were at all periods expensive undertakings. Cicero comments on the excessive expense of embassies sent to Appius Claudius Pulcher and other previous governors by several cities of Cilicia.¹⁴⁴ Accordingly, he limited the amount which could be spent on such deputations.¹⁴⁵ Similarly, Vespasian, a little more than a century later, limited the size of embassies which could be sent to the emperor, and Pliny the Younger reports his efforts to reduce the expenses of embassies in Bithynia-Pontus.¹⁴⁶ The deputations limited by Cicero and Pliny were intended to carry expressions of thanks and gratitude to their recipients. Others, which were less likely to be restricted, might carry notice of awards decreed by a city to a benefactor; still others could conduct negotiations or arguments between cities and seek favours from provincial officials.

Nine named *gerousiastai* are known to have undertaken embassies on behalf of the *gerousia*;¹⁴⁷ at least two more can be inferred from fragmentary inscriptions;¹⁴⁸ eleven individuals are also known to have represented the concerns of the *gerousia* to Octavian in 29 BC, any or all of whom may have been members.¹⁴⁹ The purpose of these embassies was in all but the first and last cases to gain Imperial approval for the continuation of benefits enjoyed by the *gerousia*.¹⁵⁰ The first embassy was that led by Euphronius to Prepelaus requesting exemption from the billeting of troops and taxation

¹⁴³ Knibbe (1981): 85.

¹⁴⁴ Cic., *Ad Fam.*, 3.8.2.

¹⁴⁵ Cic., *Ad Fam.*, 3.8.3.

¹⁴⁶ *Dig.*, 50.7.5.6; *Pl., Ep.*, 10.43; Jones (1940): 135.

¹⁴⁷ Cat. nos. 1, 4, 8-10, 12-14, 16.

¹⁴⁸ Cat. nos. 5, 11.

¹⁴⁹ Cat. no. 6.

¹⁵⁰ On the benefits and privileges of the *gerousia*, see below, Chapter Six, pp. 243-277.

on behalf of the Temple of Artemis early in the Hellenistic period. The final embassy which is known occurred early in Hadrian's reign; this last delegation concerned the *gerousia's* lending and collecting privileges. Hadrian's letter, written in reply to this representative's petition, provides the best indication of the potential expense of an embassy. He writes that a traveling expense should be paid to the ambassador, Cascellius Politicus, unless he had undertaken to represent the *gerousia's* interests at his own expense.¹⁵¹ The mention of payment for traveling expenses implies that an embassy was at the behest of the *boule*, *demos*, *gerousia* or other groups: it was an official, not a personal, undertaking. The traveling expenses, however, are to be paid only after the return of Politicus, so that it is a reimbursement rather than a payment. The deputation led by Politicus can, however, be argued to have been excessive: Hadrian refers the matter back to the proconsul of Asia, Cornelius Priscus, with the implication that there was no need to send an embassy all the way to Hadrian in Rome. Advantage was taken of the occasional proximity of members of the Imperial family, though, as an embassy was sent to Germanicus in Nicaea in AD 18;¹⁵² an additional embassy which may also have visited Germanicus in the eastern regions of the Empire, but could have been sent to Gaius Caesar between AD 1 and 4 instead – the identification of the recipient is uncertain.

The contents of the letters written in response to the petitions of the late first century BC and early first century AD, requests for the renewal of the *gerousia's* privileges, are a strong indication that the ambassadors were members of the *gerousia*.¹⁵³ The fact that these individuals undertook embassies is a suggestion that they were

¹⁵¹ Cat. no. 16, ll. 14-15.

¹⁵² Cat. nos. 9 and 10.

¹⁵³ Above, Chapter Four, pp. 110-113.

wealthy, though it also possible that they were traveling at the expense of a public body rather than at their own expense. Since the letters are addressed to the *gerousia*, it is safe to assume that, if they were not paying the costs of travel on their own, these men were traveling at the expense of the *gerousia*. The embassies then become a reflection of the combined wealth of the *gerousiastai* and of the *gerousia*'s corporate wealth. There were certain niceties to be observed in the despatch of Imperial embassies, which will be considered below in Chapter Six; for the moment, though, it is sufficient to note that members of the *gerousia* undertook delegations to represent the collective interests of their peers, and possibly those of their fellow citizens: the eleven individuals named in Octavian's letter may be indicative of the *gerousia*'s involvement in issues confronting the city in general rather than the *gerousia* in particular.

5.3.3. *Neopoioi*

The *neopoioi* are commonly attested in the inscriptions of Ephesus, not exclusively in association with the *gerousia*. Originally, the *neopoioi* were, as their name suggests, a college of individuals responsible for the construction and maintenance of temples.¹⁵⁴ As a college, the *neopoioi* were also responsible for the administration of certain festivals.¹⁵⁵ Consequently, they generally appear in the plural rather than the singular; this is not, however, the universal case in Ephesus, where the appearance of a single *neopoios* is not irregular.

Service as a *neopoios* in Ephesus lasted for one year and was performed by members of various groups.¹⁵⁶ Thus, there are both *bouleutai* and *gerousiastai* attested as

¹⁵⁴ P-W 16:2, 2433-2439, s.v. νεοποιοί.

¹⁵⁵ P-W 16:2, 2435.

¹⁵⁶ IEph 622.

neopoioi.¹⁵⁷ The *neopoioi* were in the Imperial period an official board – a *sunhedrion* – of possibly twelve elected individuals, who appear to have remained as an unofficial body after their terms of service: “those who have been *neopoioi*” erected a series of statues in the Augusteum (Fig. 3, no. 53); the duty of attending statues, though, was not limited to former *neopoioi*: two of these individuals were to attend the statues donated by Salutaris during his procession.¹⁵⁸ It was possible to serve as *neopoios* more than once.¹⁵⁹ The *neopoioi* themselves occupied a variety of offices and positions – *prytanis*, *agoranomos*, *eirenarchos*, *grammateus*, *essen*, *kouretes* and the general *leitourgos* are all attested. Such offices suggest that wealth may have been a prerequisite for service as *neopoioi*. This seems to be confirmed by the frequent appearance of the gymnasiarchy in the lists of positions occupied by the *neopoioi*.¹⁶⁰

Each *neopoios* was attached to a temple, either as an individual or as a member of a larger college. Publius Quintilius Valens Varius is identified as a *neopoios* of Artemis, in addition to being a *grammateus*, *agoranomos*, gymnasiarch and a benefactor who provided gifts of grain and money.¹⁶¹ Similarly, a statue group of Germanicus, Drusus and Tiberius was set up by a group of former *neopoioi*, as an inscription found in the temple of the Augusti indicates.¹⁶² This affiliation, however, was not restrictive. A *neopoios* and priest of Pluto and Kore oversaw a dedication by the *demos* of Aphrodisias in honour of Domitian in the Augusteum.¹⁶³ The *neopoioi* were responsible for displaying at least some public decrees in their respective temples. This is particularly

¹⁵⁷ *Boultuetai*: IEph 622, 712B, 842; *gerousiastai*: Cat. no. 20, 22, 24, 26, 45 & 69.

¹⁵⁸ IEph 257; cat. nos. 54, ll 209-210 & 55, ll 543-544; cf. Rogers (1994): 103.

¹⁵⁹ IEph 957, where the aorist participle νεοποιήσας combined with νεοποιός indicates at least two occasions on which the honourand served as a *neopoios*.

¹⁶⁰ IEph 661, 700, 712B, 1042 & 3014.

¹⁶¹ IEph 712B.

¹⁶² IEph 257.

¹⁶³ IEph 233.

clear in Ephesus in the case of citizenship decrees – both Hellenistic and Imperial – which frequently identify the *neopoioi* as the college responsible for erecting a copy of the decree in the Temple of Artemis “where they have set up the other citizenship decrees.”¹⁶⁴

It was common after service as *neopoios* to make a thanksgiving dedication to the god in whose temple such service had been completed. The only offerings which remain, however, are thanksgivings to Artemis; it is not clear whether these were offered exclusively by *neopoioi* of Artemis or if other *neopoioi* were accustomed to dedicate their thanksgivings to Artemis as well.¹⁶⁵

The precise duties of the Ephesian *neopoioi* are not known. Their appearance as overseers of dedications (*epimeletai*) suggests that they continued to be responsible for the upkeep of temples and particularly of the statues in the temples. Philip Mazaios dedicated the architrave of the Baccheion as *neopoios*.¹⁶⁶ A letter of Antoninus Pius or Marcus Aurelius which appears to be concerned with the *neopoioi* as a college and a feast celebrated by them and which might be hoped to provide more information about the activities and duties of the *neopoioi* is, unfortunately, too fragmentary to provide detail.¹⁶⁷

Rogers suggests that “the *neopoioi* were deeply involved in the institutional and legal processes of conferring honours upon non-Ephesian citizens, including crowns, public-proclamations and even citizenship.”¹⁶⁸ To be sure, they were involved in the

¹⁶⁴ P-W 16:2, 2436; cf., for example, *IEph* 1408, 1409, 1440, 1443 & 1453 (Hellenistic), 1413, 1441 & 1447 (Imperial); Rogers (1991): 103.

¹⁶⁵ *IEph* 958-963 & 967.

¹⁶⁶ *IEph* 434.

¹⁶⁷ *IEph* 221.

¹⁶⁸ Rogers (1991): 103.

processes of honouring certain individuals, but not universally and not necessarily legally: being responsible for the records of citizenship grants in the temple is not indicative of involvement in the 'legal processes', but rather of the importance of citizen involvement in the civic cult of Artemis and of the goddess' role as patron of the city.

Service as a *neopoios* in Ephesus carried with it membership in a college which was actively involved in the maintenance and upkeep of specific temples in the city. Like several of the other positions held by *neopoioi*, this service could entail significant expense, although there is evidence that at least some of this expense could be met by funds other than the private financial resources of the individual *neopoioi*.¹⁶⁹ Financially burdensome offices are not attested in the case of every *neopoios* known from Ephesus: only rarely are services attested in addition to those of a *neopoios*. Nonetheless, the preponderance of evidence suggests that the position of *neopoios* was in general a financially demanding one.

It can be said, then, that those *gerousiastai* who served as *neopoioi* were members of the wealthier classes of the city. Titus Flavius Asclepiodorus, in a thanksgiving offering to Artemis, declares that he served as *neopoios* voluntarily.¹⁷⁰ The adverb *authairetos*, 'voluntarily', suggests that the office was one which could be – and was, in some cases – avoided: Asclepiodorus claims special status by declaring that he did not attempt to avoid service as a *neopoios*, contrasting his willingness to serve with the unwillingness of others. The reason for a refusal or failure to volunteer can only be the avoidance of financial outlay. Alternatively, the adverb may imply that the office could be forced upon someone if there were no volunteers or willing nominees. Asclepiodorus'

¹⁶⁹ *IEph* 622.

¹⁷⁰ Cat. no. 22.

other offices (*essen*, *nyktophylax*) are not remarkable for their prestige, but it may be noted that he did serve as a night watchman *ek ton idion*, at his own expense.

The case of Aurelius Niconianus Eucarpus is similar: he also served as *neopoios* voluntarily.¹⁷¹ In addition, he served as gymnasiarch of the *gerousia* – an office expensive by its very nature – and as *essen philoteimos* – that is, on a generous scale. Eucarpus' inscription, therefore, reveals the same prerequisite of wealth which is common in the inscriptions of the *neopoioi*.

Two fragmentary inscriptions honouring men whose names have been lost identify *neopoioi* who do not explicitly appear to support the requirement of wealth.¹⁷² Both inscriptions are thanksgivings to Artemis. The second inscription has been reasonably supplemented to read that this individual was a voluntary *neopoios*, but the first, for an unknown son of Asiaticus, provides no indication of the scale on which the dedicator served or of his other offices.

A dedication by a *neopoios* whose name may have been Eutyches or Charixenus identifies him simply as a *neopoios*, *chrysophoros* and *gerousiastes*.¹⁷³ He is associated with his children, his wife, a freedman and a freedwoman. The presence of these last two individuals may be seen as an indication of the dedicator's wealth: not only could he afford slaves, but he could afford to grant them their freedom.

Marcus Aurelius Artemidorus, whose inscription was discussed in Chapter Four, is identified as a *neopoios*, but not as an *authairetos neopoios*.¹⁷⁴ Nonetheless, the phrase *leitourgos endoxos* in lines 6 and 7 indicates that Artemidorus did possess significant

¹⁷¹ Cat. no. 24.

¹⁷² Cat. nos. 28 & 29.

¹⁷³ Cat. no. 20.

¹⁷⁴ Cat. nos. 26 & 27; cf. above, Chapter Four, pp. 113-118.

financial resources. Furthermore, Artemidorus' son, Attalus, appears with the title of *patroboulos*, which is a clear indication of the family's wealth. Regardless of the nuances of the title – whether it indicated honorary membership, hereditary membership or membership based on one's father – it is unlikely that Attalus could have borne it if his family and his familial resources were insignificant.

Zoticus the son of Artemidorus served in a variety of capacities – as *chrysophoros*, *essen*, *kouros* and temple-guard.¹⁷⁵ In addition to these positions, Zoticus also provided a feast for 'all the *sunhedria*' and for two Roman officials staying in the city at the time (c. AD 231-239). His status as host of these two officials and the provision of a feast for the assemblies or colleges of the city are clear indicators of his wealth even if he is not identified as an *authairetos neopoios*.

Another *gerousiastes* who was also a *neopoios* is Julius Menecrates, who appears in a fragmentary list of voluntary *neopoioi*.¹⁷⁶ Both Menecrates and his single surviving companion in this inscription were honoured by the *boule* and *demos* with crowns, suggesting that their service as *neopoioi* or as *essen*es was characterized by an abundance of generosity – that is, they performed their duties not only voluntarily but lavishly as well. Menecrates can, therefore, be considered to have been a wealthy citizen of the city like the other *neopoioi* considered in this section.

The *neopoioi* of Ephesus were wealthy citizens who cannot be assigned to a specific position in the social hierarchy of the city. Among their number are *bouleutai*, *gerousiastai* and citizens who do not appear to have been members of either body. It is clear, however, that the *neopoioi*, whether they acted singly or as part of a *sunhedrion*

¹⁷⁵ Cat. no. 45.

¹⁷⁶ Cat no. 69.

neopoion, were wealthy. It follows from this that even those *neopoioi* who were not *bouleutai* were members of the upper classes of the city, including the *gerousiastai*.

5.3.4. *Chrysophoroi*

The *chrysophoroi* were a college of individuals seemingly limited in Ionia to Ephesus. Like the *neopoioi*, they appear both as a college and as individual citizens; they are also closely associated with the Temple of Artemis. The nature of this association, however, is not clear from the epigraphic evidence; the majority of the inscriptions in which a *chrysophoros* or the *chrysophoroi* appear simply identify the individual as a *chrysophoros* or a benefactor of the college honoured by the *chrysophoroi*.

A *chrysophoros* always appears with other titles. Five thanksgiving dedications offered by *chrysophoroi* appear to have been offered for the sake of other positions. Four of these record that the dedicator was, in addition to being a *chrysophoros*, also a *neopoios*;¹⁷⁷ the third is an *ekprogonon neopoios kai chrysophoros*, that is, “a descendant of *neopoioi* and *chrysophoroi*”, and a bearer of these titles in his own respect.¹⁷⁸ The ordering of the titles in each of these three inscription might suggest that *neopoios* was the more important title, and possibly that it was on account of the service in that capacity that the thanksgiving was offered.

Unlike a *neopoios*, a *chrysophoros* was a *chrysophoros* for life: the inscription of an unknown *chrysophoros* and voluntary *neopoios* records that his service as *chrysophoros* extended over sixty years.¹⁷⁹ There is no indication that a *neopoios* served for an unlimited time. *Chrysophoros* could be a life-long title and could be borne simultaneously with other titles, such as *neopoios* and *essen*. *Neopoios* could be used as

¹⁷⁷ *IEph* 940 & 943; *JÖAI* 55 (1984): 120, no. 4211; *JÖAI* 62 (1993): no. 27.

¹⁷⁸ *IEph* 958.

¹⁷⁹ *IEph* 959.

a life-long title as well, but it is generally understood that the individual in question had been but was no longer a *neopoios*. A *chrysophoros* was always a *chrysophoros*. It is significant that the verb *neopoieo* appears as an aorist and perfect participle in certain cases; there is no corresponding *chrysophoresas*.

The *chrysophoroi* do not normally appear as such in inscriptions – the title *chrysophoros* or the college of *chrysophoroi* occur in conjunction with other positions. There is one instance, though, of the *chrysophoroi* by themselves. This is the case of the *sunhedrion* of the *chrysophoroi* erecting a statue in honour of Aurelia Metrodora.¹⁸⁰ Unfortunately, the inscription is incomplete, preserving only the name of Aurelia, of her father and of several of her father's offices, including his service as *grammateus* of the *demos*; he is not identified as a *chrysophoros*. Consequently, the reason for the statue is unknown, though it may be related to a benefaction rendered to the *chrysophoroi*.

The *chrysophoroi* were a fully organized college, with a *grammateus* and occasionally an *agonothetes*.¹⁸¹ This *grammateus*, however, may not have belonged exclusively to the college of *chrysophoroi*. An unknown voluntary *neopoios* identifies himself in a thanksgiving offering to Artemis as *gram]mateus ton [presbuteron | kai tes sun]odou [ton chrysophoron]*.¹⁸² It should be noted immediately that both *presbuteron* and *chrysophoron* are restorations. There is only one other case of an association of these two colleges in Ephesus, if *presbuteron* is taken to be a reference to the *gerousia*. The *boule*, *gerousia* and *chrysophoroi* are associated in an honorary inscription, but there is no direct connection between these three groups; rather, the inscription indicates the equivalence or near-equivalence of the three groups:

¹⁸⁰ *IEph* 991.

¹⁸¹ *Grammateus*: *IEph* 940; *agonothetes*: *IEph* 889 & 1618.

¹⁸² Cat. no. 29; cf. above, pp. 146-7.

[- - - - - φιλοσεβάσ-]
του ὕμνωδοῦ,
ἱεροκῆρυξ, γραμ-
ματεὺς Ἀδριανείων,
ὕμνωδὸς νεμητῆς
βουλῆς γερουσίας
χρυσοφόρων.¹⁸³

5

Individuals appear as *chrysophoroi* and *gerousiastai* at the same time, but there is no other instance of the two groups associated in this manner.¹⁸⁴ The inscription simply grants to this individual an equal share in distributions for the three groups – that is, he is given the right of taking part in any distributions offered to any of these three groups.

A more common connection is that between the *chrysophoroi* and the *neopoioi*. In slightly less than half the inscriptions mentioning a *chrysophoros*, the individual being honoured is also a *neopoiios*. Furthermore, Zoticus the son of Artemidorus is identified as a member of the assembly of the *neopoioi*, *kouretes*, and *chrysophoroi*.¹⁸⁵ Consequently it may be preferable to restore *neopoiion* in place of *presbuteron*: the *chrysophoroi* appear to have been more closely associated with the *neopoioi* than with the *gerousia*.

Such an association is supported by several other inscriptions. Although it is not always possible to identify the god to whom service was rendered solely on the evidence of the five thanksgiving offerings noted above, at least some of the *chrysophoroi* appear to have been closely linked to the Temple of Artemis. Thus, there is one instance of a *chrysophoros* of Artemis; there are also two occurrences of *agonothetai* of the *chrysophoroi*.¹⁸⁶ The connection between the *agonothetai* and the Temple of Artemis is brought out by the service of one of these as *agonothetes* of the Artemisian and Pythian

¹⁸³ Cat. no. 44.

¹⁸⁴ For example, cat. no. 20.

¹⁸⁵ *IEph* 4330; cf. also *IEph* 940A in which the titles *neopoiios* and *chrysophoros* are more closely associated with one another than either is with *ek gerousias*.

¹⁸⁶ *Chrysophoros* of Artemis: *IEph* 1081A; *agonothetai*: 627b, 889 & 1618.

games.¹⁸⁷ Furthermore, both *agonothetai* were priests – one a high priest of Asia, the other a high priest of the temples in Ionia and the Hellespont. In addition, the priests who are to be allotted a share in Salutaris' distributions are described as the *chrysophoroi* priests of Artemis.¹⁸⁸

Their service as priests suggests that at least some of the *chrysophoroi* were wealthy citizens. This is further supported by their use of the phrase *authairetos neopoios* and their provision of games.¹⁸⁹ The high status of those citizens who were *chrysophoroi* is shown by the inscription of Zethus, who possessed both Ephesian and Roman citizenship, and by that of an unknown hymnode, who was granted an equal share in distributions with the *bouleutai*, the *gerousiastai* and the *chrysophoroi*.¹⁹⁰ Although it is difficult to believe that the priests of Asia and of Ionia and the Hellespont were never members of the Ephesian *boule*, the *chrysophoroi* in general appear not to have been *bouleutai*. Nonetheless, their wealth cannot be doubted.

Five *gerousiastai* are known to have been *chrysophoroi*.¹⁹¹ Of these four have been discussed in connection with the *neopoioi*. The fifth individual is Aurelius Orpheus the son of Orpheus, who was honoured as *gerousiastes*, *chrysophoros*, and *agonothetes*. The sequence of the three titles may or may not be an indication of their perceived importance; however important the title of *agonothetes* was in comparison to *gerousiastes* and *chrysophoros*, its presence indicates that Aurelius was a wealthy citizen like other *chrysophoroi*.

¹⁸⁷ IEph 1618.

¹⁸⁸ Cat. no. 55, ll. 455-456.

¹⁸⁹ *Authairetos neopoios*: IEph 940 & 959; JÖAI 55 (1984): 120, no. 4211; *agonothetes*: 889, 974, 1081A & 1618.

¹⁹⁰ Cat. no. 44.

¹⁹¹ Cat. nos. 20, 24, 27, 29 (?) & 50.

5.3.5. *Agonothetai*

The inscriptions of Ephesus contain over eighty references to *agonothetai*. It need not be argued that the *agonothesia* was an expensive liturgy in any city. It does not appear to have been the most expensive liturgy to which wealthy citizens could be subjected, though. An *agonothetes* could be responsible for either musical or athletic contests: there were not individual titles corresponding to different types of games.¹⁹² The *agonothetes* was simply responsible for the defrayal of the expenses of the games and the awarding of prizes. Funds could be allocated to the *agonothetes* from the civic treasury, but this was not always the case.¹⁹³

The *agonothetai* of Ephesus could be responsible for various major games – the Dionysia, the Great Ephesia, the Great Artemisia, the Great Balbillia, the Great Hadriania, or the Great Epinikia are all attested.¹⁹⁴ In addition to these six games, there were also the Great Pythian, Isthmian and Olympian games celebrated in the third century AD.¹⁹⁵ These *agonothesia*i, however, account for only a portion of the *agonothetai* of Ephesus. Many individuals are identified simply as *agonothetai* with no indication of which festival or contest was administered. The named games were most likely celebrated quinquennially. This is certainly the case for the Hadriania¹⁹⁶ and for the Pythian, Isthmian and Olympian games, which would have been modeled on their mainland-Greece namesakes. Those *agonothetai* identified simply as ‘*agonothetes*’ would have celebrated lesser games, in most cases. Otherwise, the absence of a reference

¹⁹² P-W, *RE* 1:1 2 (1893): 870-877, s.v. *Agonothetess*; Macro (1980): 680.

¹⁹³ P-W, *RE* 1:1 2: 871-872; cf. Sartre (1991): 132.

¹⁹⁴ Dionysia: *IEph*, 1211 & 2031; Great Ephesia: *IEph* 627, 637, 1160, 2067 & 3072; Great Artemisia: *IEph* 24c, 930.2, 1162, 1104A, 1606 & 3056; Great Balbillia: *IEph* 686, 1122; Great Hadriania: 730, 1085a & 1087a; Great Epinikia: *IEph* 671 & 721

¹⁹⁵ Great Pythia (time of Maximinus): *IEph* 1107-1108, Great Isthmia (time of Maximinus): *IEph* 2711; Great Olympia: *IEph* 114-1120, 4113.

¹⁹⁶ *IEph* 618.

to which games were conducted would be remarkable, particularly in honorary inscriptions. This is not to say that such omissions could not occur, but it is unlikely that the majority of the twenty-two individuals identified simply as *agonothetai* failed to identify their *agonothesia* and lay claim to the credit for these greater *agonothesia*. Some of these lesser games are, in fact, partially identified. Thus, there is an *agonothetes* of the Ephebes and possibly an *agonothetes* of the *chrysophoroi*.¹⁹⁷ Moreover, one inscription, if supplemented correctly, records the victorious doctors in the Asclepieia.¹⁹⁸

The offices occupied by *agonothetai*, if the *agonothesia* by itself is not a sufficient indicator, leave no doubt about their standing in the social structure of the city. Although *agonothetai* were not drawn exclusively from the very highest of the citizens of Ephesus, they often were. Thus, there are Asiarchs and high-priests, *grammateis* (almost exclusively of the *demos*), *prytaneis*, gymnasiarchs, two Bithyniarchs and two Arabarchs.¹⁹⁹ Marcus Aurelius Mindius Mattidianus Pollio had served as Prefect of Egypt;²⁰⁰ Tiberius Claudius Tuendiarnus was the son of a tribune;²⁰¹ Publius Veditius Papianus Antoninus was a Roman senator;²⁰² one *agonothetes* whose name has been lost could identify himself as the son of senators and a consul.²⁰³

The wealth of the *agonothetai* of Ephesus is confirmed from the offices which they occupied in addition to their status as Roman citizens. Several *agonothetai* are known to have also been gymnasiarchs. The gymnasiarchy could require considerable

¹⁹⁷ Ephebes: *IEph* 1151; *chrysophoroi*: *IEph* 889 & 974.

¹⁹⁸ *IEph* 1162; cf. *IEph* 1168.

¹⁹⁹ Asiarch: *IEph* 616, 624, 637, 671, 679A, 810, 1087a & 1105a; high-priest: *IEph* 618, 642, 679, 686, 721, 810, 1105, 2062, & 3056; Bithynarch & Arabarch: 627 & 3056; *prytaneis*: *IEph* 650, 666A, 679, 679A, 1087a & 3063; gymnasiarch: *IEph* 666A & 3058.

²⁰⁰ *IEph* 627; Pflaum (1960): 523-531, no. 193.

²⁰¹ *IEph* 650.

²⁰² *IEph* 730; on the adlection of the Vedii Antonini to the Senate under Hadrian, see Kalinowski (2002); Bowie (1973).

²⁰³ *IEph* 810.

expense, since the gymnasiarch was responsible for the provision of oil for a gymnasium in addition to the heating expenses. The expense of this office would be multiplied in the cases of those gymnasiarchs who undertook to perform it for all the gymnasia in the city. One of the two gymnasiarchs who served as *agonothetes* was a gymnasiarch of all the gymnasia.²⁰⁴ Moreover, several *agonothetai* are identified as *dia biou*, 'for life', an indication that they set up permanent endowments which would generate enough income to offset the expenses of the games, whether quinquennially or annually, like the foundation of Gaius Julius Demosthenes in Oenoanda.²⁰⁵

Although the majority of known *agonothetai* in Ephesus did not serve *dia biou*, the nature of the *agonothesia* and the other offices held by these individuals necessitates a degree of affluence beyond the ordinary, so that it must be concluded that those members of the *gerousia* who served as *agonothetai* were also wealthy. Little more can be concluded about the two *agonothetai* who were members of the *gerousia*.

One, Aurelius Orpheus the son of Orpheus, as was noted in the previous section, is identified simply as a *gerousiastes*, a *chrysophoros* and an *agonothetes*.²⁰⁶ If the actual sequence of the titles on Aurelius' statue base is significant, it may suggest that *gerousiastes* was seen as a more honourable appellation than *agonothetes*. There is no way to prove that this is the case, but it would be a further indication of the wealth and social standing of the members of the *gerousia*, if they could be ranked above some, even

²⁰⁴ *IEph* 3071.

²⁰⁵ *IEph* 1105-1105B, 1130, 1604, 1611 (Tiberius Julius Reginus); 1107-1108, 2073 & 2711 (Marius Septimius Marion); 1114-1120 & 4113 (Tiberius Claudius Nysius); Wörrle, M., *Stadt und Fest in kaiserzeitlichen Kleinasien: Studien zu einer agonistischen Stiftung aus Oenoanda*. Munich (1988); Mitchell, S., "Festivals, Games and Civic Life in Roman Asia Minor." *AJA* 80 (1990): 183-93.

²⁰⁶ Cat. no. 50.

minor, *agonothetai*. This was surely not always the case, though: Aurelius was probably *agonothetes* of only a minor festival.

The fragmentary inscription of Gavius Menodorus, if supplemented correctly, identifies him as a gymnasiarch of the *presbuteroi* and an *agonothetes*, though the name of the games of which Gavius had charge are perhaps irrecoverably lost.²⁰⁷ He was also a panegyriarch, again, of an unknown festival. It is clear from what remains of the inscription, though, that Gavius was wealthy. If the proposed supplement for line 10 of this inscription is correct, then Gavius would be a benefactor comparable to Aurelius Baranus as a feaster of the *boule* and a significant number of the citizens of Ephesus.²⁰⁸ His wealth is also indicated by line 13 of his inscription: he provided five days of games. It should be recalled, however, that it is not certain that Gavius was a member of the *gerousia*.

The *agonothesia* was a cost-intensive liturgy. The expenses of the position could be partially defrayed by endowments and foundations, but this was not always the case, as the occasional use of *ek ton idion* indicates.²⁰⁹ The consistency with which many of the *agonothetai* of Ephesus appear in such high-ranking offices as the asiarchy or the high-priesthood of the province suggests that the *agonothetai* were drawn from at least one of the upper levels of Ephesian society. This, in turn, indicates that the *gerousiastai* who were also *agonothetai* were wealthy as well. Although only one *gerousiastes* is known certainly to have performed an *agonothesia*, that service can be seen as a sign of the affluence of the *gerousiastai* in general.

²⁰⁷ Cat. no. 52.

²⁰⁸ Chapter Four, pp. 84-85.

²⁰⁹ *IEph* 9.

5.3.6. *Essenes*

The *essenēs* were priests of Artemis who, according to Pausanias, “neither wash nor spend their lives as do ordinary people, nor do they enter the home of a private man.”²¹⁰ Pausanias gives this description in his discussion of Orchomenus, but it is unlikely to be entirely accurate when applied to Ephesus, even with his qualification that the Orchomenian *essenēs* served only for a single year. The inscriptions of Ephesus give no indication that the *essenēs* were markedly different from other priests in the city. They should not be confused or equated with the Jewish sect of the same name.²¹¹

There is no reason to doubt Pausanias’ implication that the *essenēs* of Artemis served for one year, though.²¹² The inscriptions from Ephesus, however, indicate that it was normal to serve as *essen* twice. Of nine known *essenēs*, only one did not certainly serve as *essen* twice.²¹³ Whether the two *esseneiai* were continuous is unclear, but it would seem to be unusual to divide two years of continuous service into two distinct periods rather than to report it as a single period of service: there was probably an interval between the two terms.

The *essenēs* may be a remnant of a monarchy, comparable to the *archon basileus* of Athens or the *rex sacrorum* of Rome.²¹⁴ The duties of an *essen*, so far as the evidence reveals, were simple. As a college, the *essenēs* were responsible for the allotment of new citizens of Ephesus to a tribe and a chiliast. Consequently, they appear frequently in

²¹⁰ Paus. 8.13.1.

²¹¹ Joseph. *AJ*, 18.18-22.

²¹² Paus. 8.13.1.

²¹³ *IEph* 1578b. *IEph* 969 does not record two *esseneiai*, but the participle ἐσσηνέουσας is partially restored, so it is possible that τὰς δύο ἐσσηνιάς should be understood.

²¹⁴ Muth (1952): 124.

citizenship decrees.²¹⁵ This aspect of the position did not change between the Hellenistic and Imperial periods. There are, however, more such decrees of Hellenistic date than of Imperial date. This is the most frequently attested role of the *essenēs*.

As individuals, *essenēs* appear most often in thanksgiving dedications to Artemis.²¹⁶ These dedications were frequently made on the occasion of the individual's service as *neopoios*, rather than that of his service as *essen*. The *esseneia* is, in the case of multiple positions and titles, given towards the end. It appears to be closely associated with service as *neopoios*, since the *esseneia* appears only in the inscriptions of individuals who had served or were serving as a *neopoios*. There is one instance in which only the *esseneia* is mentioned, but this is in a fragmentary inscription so that it is quite possible that the noun *neopoios* or the participle *neopoiesas* was originally inscribed on the stone.²¹⁷

The number of *essenēs* to serve each year is not known, but the citizenship decrees indicate that there were at least two; there may, in fact, have been only two. Two thanksgiving dedications to Artemis identify former *essenēs* who served as priests with their daughters or children and with another individual, a *sumenos*.²¹⁸ The association of two individuals in the same thanksgiving offering strongly suggests that the *esseneia* was a priesthood occupied by two individuals at a time, though it is remarkable that two *essenēs* would appear in the same inscription with only one clearly emphasized.²¹⁹

²¹⁵ *IEph* 1408, 1409, 1413, 1440, 1441, 1443, 1447, 1448, 1451, 1453, 1455, 1457, 1467, 2007, 2009, 2010, 1010 & 2013.

²¹⁶ For example, *IEph* 957, 958, 963, 969, 1578b, 1582b, 1588b; *JÖAI* 55 (1984): 120, no. 4211.

²¹⁷ *IEph* 969.

²¹⁸ *IEph* 957, 963, 967, 1588b.

²¹⁹ Cat. no. 22.

ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ	γατρί μου καὶ τῷ συμῆ-	
[εὐχαρί]στῶ σοι κυρία	νῷ μου Ἀὐρ(ηλίῳ) Ἐπαγάθῳ,	10
Ἄρτεμι Τ(ίτος) Φλ(άουιος) Ἀσκλῆ-	καὶ νυκτοφυλακήσας	
πιόδωρος νεοποιὸς	τάς δύο νυκτοφυλακάς	
ἀνθαίρετος, ἐκτελέσας	ἐκ τῶν ἰδί[ων]	5
τάς δύο ἐσσηνίας εὖσε-	μετέχων καὶ τῆς φι[λοσεβά-]	
βῶς καὶ φιλοτείμως	στοι γερουσίας, φυ(λῆς) Ἀντωνια-	15
σὺν καὶ Φλ(αοῦία) Φοίβῃ τῇ θυ-	νῆς, χι(λιαστὺν) Παιανιεύς.	

Titus Flavius Asclepiodorus is clearly given precedence, both by the use of the first person *eucharisto* and by the prominent placement of his name immediately after that of Artemis. His *sumenos*, Aurelius Epagathus, on the other hand, is relegated to a subsidiary position in the tenth line of the inscription after Asclepiodorus' daughter's name. Such an arrangement would hardly be flattering to Epagathus, unless he erected a thanksgiving dedication of his own in which the positions of Asclepiodorus and himself were reversed. No such inscription survives.

The presence of an *essen*'s children may be explained as a parallel to the prophet and *hydrophoros* at Didyma, who were commonly father and daughter.²²⁰ This similarity between the *esseneia* at Ephesus and the priesthood at Didyma should not be stressed too strongly, though, since it is also common for a father and daughter to be associated during the father's service as a *neopoios*.²²¹

Although the primary task of the *essen*es seems to have been to allot new citizens to tribes and chiliasts, as has been noted, they did undertake other activities. In one case, they were responsible for the publishing of honours accorded to an unknown individual who was given the right of addressing the *boule* and *demos* first after sacred matters.²²² There is also one instance in which the *essen*es of the third century BC were involved in a

²²⁰ van Bremen (1996): 64.

²²¹ For example, *IEph* 959, 961, & [1588a].

²²² *IEph* 2007.

contribution of money for the equipment of citizens of Priene garrisoning a fortress near the border of Ephesus' territory.²²³

Since the majority of known *essen*es are also known to have been *neopoioi*, it is possible to conclude that the *esseneia* was a position which involved some outlay of financial resources and therefore required a certain degree of wealth. Again like the *neopoioi*, service as *essen* does not appear to have been limited to the *boule* or *gerousia* exclusively – both *bouleutai* and *gerousiastai* are known to have served in this capacity.²²⁴ Although the *esseneia* is not as frequently attested as the *neopoieia*, the basic requirements seem to have been similar, to judge from the other offices held by each type of official. There is no evidence of personal outlay by the *essen*es, but it appears that they were drawn from the wealthier classes of Ephesian citizens.

Titus Flavius Asclepiodorus, whose inscription is quoted above, served as *essen* twice with his daughter, but he was also a night-watchman (*nyktophylax*) at his own expense.²²⁵ The *ek ton idion* again can be taken as an indication of Asclepiodorus' wealth. Similarly, Aurelius Niconianus Eucarpus served as a voluntary *neopoios* and as a gymnasiarch of the *gerousia*, both signs of his wealth, in addition to performing the *esseneia*.²²⁶

5.3.7. *Agoranomoi*

The *agoranomoi* are individuals who appear in the inscriptions of the Greek east between the fourth century BC and the third century AD, but primarily in the Imperial

²²³ *IEph* 2001.

²²⁴ *Bouleutes*: *IEph* 1578b; *gerousiastai*: *IEph* 4330, *JÖAI* 55 (1984): 120, no. 4211=cat. no. 24.

²²⁵ Cat. no. 22.

²²⁶ Cat. no. 24.

period.²²⁷ In some cases, the term *agoranomos* is simply a translation of the Latin *aedilis*.²²⁸ Although in several cities they appear as a college, this does not seem to have been the case in Ephesus, where the *agoranomoi* appear always as individuals.²²⁹ As their name suggests, they were probably responsible for activities in the marketplace, and their duties ought to have included the assurance of quality and quantity and guarantors of weights and measures.²³⁰

Few Ephesian inscriptions shed light on the actual duties and responsibilities of the city's *agoranomoi*. One *agoranomos* appears to have encouraged the import of grain,²³¹ but there was a separate *seitopompos*, who must have been the individual regularly in charge of the actual importation of grain.²³² A second *agoranomos*, Timon the son of Artemidorus, paved a portion of the agora.²³³ Otherwise, the *agoranomoi* appear as individuals receiving honours in the form of a statue, or similar to eponymous magistrates on a variety of inscriptions found in the tetragonus agora and elsewhere in Ephesus.²³⁴

The offices held by *agoranomoi* once again reinforce the impression of a wealthy class of individuals. There is little consistency in the positions they occupied. There is, for example, an *agoranomos* who was also Asiarch and *grammateus* of the *demos*,²³⁵ and another who was *panegyriarchos* and gymnasiarch of the Great Artemisia.²³⁶

²²⁷ P-W, *RE* 1:1 2 (1893): 883-885, s.v. *Agoranomoi*.

²²⁸ P-W, *RE* 1:1 2: 883; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.*, VI.90.

²²⁹ P-W, *RE* 1:1 2: 883.

²³⁰ P-W, *RE* 1:1 2: 884; Macro (1980): 679; *JÖAI* 52 (1978-1980): 45, no. 73.

²³¹ *IEph* 1455.

²³² *IEph* 917.

²³³ *IEph* 3004.

²³⁴ *IEph* for example, 919, 922, 923, 923a, 924a, 927a, 930, 931, 934a, 935.2; *JOAI* 52 (1978-82): 41-43, nos. 61-76.

²³⁵ *IEph* 645.

²³⁶ *IEph* 924a.

The title *agoranomos* is most often used in a local sense, that is, the duties of the *agoranomos* were limited to Ephesus. Occasionally, however, the title should be understood as *aedilis*. Thus, Tiberius Julius Polemaenus Celsus, who was 'appointed *agoranomos* by Vespasian', should be understood as a Roman *aedilis* and senator.²³⁷ Similarly, Marcus Arruntianus Claudianus was adlected to the Senate *inter aedilicos*.²³⁸ It is not always clear, however, whether the term was used as a translation of *aedilis*, particularly in the case of high-status offices like Asiarchs or Tiberius Claudius Meliton, who set up a statue of Nike in honour of Caracalla and Julia Domna while *agoranomos*.²³⁹ The presence of other offices often helps to resolve this uncertainty since it is only occasionally that an *agoranomos* appears without an additional title closely associated with Ephesus. There are, for example, numerous *agoranomoi* who were also *strategoi*, *eirenarchoi*, *neopoioi* and *grammateis* of the *demos*.²⁴⁰ It is possible to conclude from these other offices that the position of *agoranomos*, like the other offices considered in this chapter, presupposes wealth and high-standing.

The only *gerousiastes* known to have been an *agoranomos* is Marcus Aurelius Artemidorus, *neopoios*, *agoranomos hagnos* and *leitourgos endoxos*.²⁴¹ The final title supports what has been argued in the case of the *neopoioi* and the *agoranomoi*: *leitourgos endoxos* cannot be other than an explicit indication of Artemidorus' wealth and prominence. It may also be recalled that Artemidorus' son, Marcus Aurelius Attalus, was an honorary member of the *boule*.²⁴²

²³⁷ *IEph* 5102.

²³⁸ *IEph* 620.

²³⁹ *IEph* 523.

²⁴⁰ For example, *IEph* 742, 847, 962, 1061, 3070, etc.

²⁴¹ Cat. no. 26; the addition of *hagnos* is not unusual and it may be an indication of a late date.

²⁴² See above, Chapter Four, pp. 113-118.

5.3.8. Imperial Priest, *Leitourgos* and *Nyktophylax*

The establishment of ruler cults in the Hellenistic period was originally an attempt to come to terms with a different type of power, the King.²⁴³ Obviously, monarchical rule was not a development of the Hellenistic period, but the manner by which kings established their authority was different from that granting authority to the Roman emperor. A Hellenistic king's authority was based not upon a legal or hereditary right, but on the ability to command armies and to deal with political affairs.²⁴⁴ The Imperial cult should not be seen simply as a continuation of the preceding ruler cults; it was a dynamic institution which shifted and changed from the Hellenistic period to the Imperial period as Greek cities came to terms with the change in the nature of their overlords.²⁴⁵ Unlike during the Hellenistic period, overlordship in the Imperial period was a much more consistent matter: there was, for the most part, a definite and secure system by which authority was established and maintained which was not based on and continually shifting with military victories and defeats.

The Imperial priesthood was not an office held by members of the *gerousia*. There is, in fact, only one individual who may have been both a *gerousiastes* and a priest of the Imperial cult. In the early first century AD, the Elders honoured one Epaphras, priest for life of the divine Augustus.²⁴⁶ It is not certain that Epaphras was a member of the *gerousia*, though, since the priesthood is the only title given to him; the only indication that he was a member is that the honour was conferred by the Elders. It

²⁴³ Price (1982): 29.

²⁴⁴ Chaniotis (2005): 57; *Suda*, s.v. *basileiai*.

²⁴⁵ Price (1982): 43-45.

²⁴⁶ Cat. no. 33.

cannot be assumed that Epaphras was a member of the *gerousia* simply because that body honoured him, though – there is no certain case of the *gerousia* honouring one of its own.

Leitourgos endoxos is a general term whose precise meaning is unclear. It is commonly, though not exclusively, used of individuals who had been *grammateis* of the *demos*. The title itself suggests the wealth of the individuals so called, and this suggestion is strengthened by the other offices which *leitourgoi endoxoi* commonly held: Aurelius Artemidorus Thrason was a brother of an Asiarch and himself a *neopoios*; Marcus Arunceius Vedius Myro was a *panegyriarchos* and *ephebarchos*; Julius Artemas was an Asiarch and had ‘completed all the magistracies and liturgies’.²⁴⁷

The single *gerousiastes* who is described as a *leitourgos endoxos* is Marcus Aurelius Artemidorus, a *neopoios* and *agoranomos*, who has been discussed frequently in previous sections.²⁴⁸ His high social standing cannot be doubted, not only because of the description as a *leitourgos endoxos* but also because of his son’s honorary membership in the *boule*.

Nyktophylakes appear to have been limited to Ephesus of the Ionian cities. As their title suggests, the *nyktophylakes* were associated with guard duties, presumably of the temple, during the night; this position may be similar to the *naophylakes* – the temple-guardian. Dmitriev, on the other hand, suggests that this official may have been similar to the *praefectus vigilum*.²⁴⁹ As in the case of the *esseneia*, it may have been common to serve as *nyktophylax* twice. This position, however, is mentioned only in two

²⁴⁷ Thrason: *IEph* 624; Myro: *IEph* 724; Artemas: *IEph* 1208.

²⁴⁸ Cat. no. 26.

²⁴⁹ Dmitriev (2005): 205.

Ephesian inscriptions, one of which is fragmentary, so two terms as *nyktophylax* cannot be determined with certainty.²⁵⁰

Titus Flavius Asclepiodorus is the only known *gerousiastes* who was also a *nyktophylax*.²⁵¹ His inscription complicates the picture of the position: he served twice as *nyktophylax*, *ek ton idion*. The addition of *ek ton idion* indicates that the *nyktophylax* was responsible for more than simple guard duties: there was expense involved in the position. What this expense supported and how great it was cannot be ascertained from the current state of the evidence.

5.4. Conclusions

The *gerousia* of Ephesus had several identifiable official positions, but fewer than is generally suggested. To be an officer of the *gerousia*, however, did not guarantee membership in the *gerousia*. Certain officers filled extra-ordinary positions which did not regularly occur and which were filled by appointment by an outside body or

Office	Responsibilities
<i>Grammateus</i>	Primarily representative; possibly involved in overseeing distributions involving the <i>gerousia</i> .
<i>Epi ton chrematon</i>	Probably a financial officer in charge of the monetary resources of the <i>gerousia</i> ; it is possible that a group of members could serve in this capacity.
<i>Pragmatikos</i>	Probably a second financial officer in charge of specific expenses, such as tomb maintenance. This officer may be the <i>epi ton chrematon</i> under a different name.
<i>Ekdikos</i>	An external official who could intervene in the financial affairs of the <i>gerousia</i> , probably responsible to civic authorities.
<i>Logistes</i>	An external official similar to the <i>ekdikos</i> , but responsible to the emperor or proconsul.
Gymnasiarch	An individual who was not always a member of the <i>gerousia</i> , but who undertook to provide oil for the use of that body.

Table 5: Officers of the *Gerousia* and their Responsibilities

²⁵⁰ IEph 957: νυκτοφυλακήσας | τὰς δύο νυκτοφυλακάς; IEph 969: ...νυκ[το]φυλακήσας.

²⁵¹ IEph 957=Cat. no. 22.

individual. The gymnasiarch of the *gerousia* cannot be proven not to have been a member, but the fact that several Ephesians served as gymnasiarchs of all the gymnasia demonstrates that there were years in which a *gerousiastes* did not serve as gymnasiarch, so that this should not be seen as a regular office of the body. The *grammateus* of the *gerousia*, on the other hand, was a member of the *gerousia*, though his duties appear to have been primarily representative. The *epi ton chrematon*, as an individual or as a board, was probably responsible for the normal administration and investment of the financial resources of the *gerousia*. An *ekdikos* could intervene in his activities, as could a *logistes*. The primary differences between the *ekdikos* and the *logistes* are that the *ekdikos* served also as a legal representative and that he was not imperially appointed; neither the *logistes* nor the *ekdikos*, however, were members of the *gerousia*. Whether or not there was always a *logistes* of the *gerousia* is unclear, but the appointment of Marcus Ulpius Aristocrates to this position ten times may indicate that it was not a rare position.²⁵²

The possibility of many officers of the *gerousia* not being members of the *gerousia* suggests that it may be inappropriate to seek to impose a rigid hierarchical order upon the body. The best that may be done is to determine how the leading individuals might have been distinguished from their fellow-*gerousiastai*. To identify either the gymnasiarch or the *grammateus* as the 'leading officer' of the *gerousia* will reflect the commentator's interpretation of the *gerousia* as a social or a more political institute. Thus, to argue that the gymnasiarch was the chief official would give the *gerousia* a social character, whereas an identification of the *grammateus* would provide a political aspect. The gymnasiarch is more frequently attested among known offices of the

²⁵² Cat. no. 41.

gerousia, which might support his identification as the leading officer. There are reasons to prefer the *grammateus*, however. First and most important, the gymnasiarch of the *gerousia* was not always a *gerousiastes*. Second, the role of representative of the interests of the *gerousia* in the city at large naturally places the *grammateus* of the *gerousia* in a prominent position so that he would be perceived as the leading official in effect, if he were not the “chief” *gerousiastes* in fact. It must be acknowledged, though, that the *gerousiastai* may have gone about their business without any strict ranking. It was surely not a disorganized and amorphous collection of citizens, though; in the absence of further evidence, the possibility that the *gerousia* was a loosely organized group of individuals unofficially directed by certain influential members cannot be dismissed out of hand. The *grammateus* is the most probable “leading officer” in Ephesus, but he may have been little more than a figurehead.

The offices and religious positions, particularly those which were not associated with the *gerousia*, discussed in this chapter, although treated separately, should not be viewed in isolation. The repeated appearance of certain individuals in various positions is an indication of the interconnections which existed in the social classes from which the members of the *gerousia* were drawn. The overwhelming conclusion which must emerge from this discussion is that the *gerousiastai* were wealthy and prominent citizens of Ephesus and occasionally citizens of Rome as well.

Certain positions are conspicuous by their absence. No *gerousiastes* is known to have been a member of the *boule*. Nor are there any *grammateis* of the *demos* or of the *boule* to be found among the members of the *gerousia*. Roman Senators, such as the Vedii Antonini, Asiarchs like Claudius Aristion, and Roman knights, such as Salutaris,

are apparently also absent. Since the only appearance of an Imperial priest in the *gerousia* is questionable, it may be that this office too was generally outside the purview of *gerousiastai*; a similar argument may be appropriate in the case of the prytany.

The *gerousia*, then, was composed of Ephesian citizens who, while wealthy, were not of the upper crust of the Ephesian population. Their wealth is demonstrated again and again by the offices and positions which they occupied outside the *gerousia*. The inscription honouring Marcus Aurelius Artemidorus and his son Attalus may be seen as an indication that it was possible to pass from the classes which produced *gerousiastai* to those which produced *bouleutai*. There is no indication that the *gerousia* was made of citizens of Ephesus who had already completed their public careers.

6. THE ACTIVITIES AND PRIVILEGES OF THE EPHESIAN *GEROUSIA*

6.1. Introduction

Throughout its existence, the *gerousia* of Ephesus engaged in a wide range of activities, with which were associated various rights and privileges. The original doings of the *gerousia* cannot be known since, as it was noted in Chapter Two, its early existence predates the first epigraphic evidence attesting its presence in Ephesus. Consequently, the activities and the benefits of the pre-Hellenistic *gerousia* must remain, like its history during this period, in the realm of speculation.

Given the constitutional and locale changes which occurred in Ephesus during the last three decades of the fourth century and the first few years of the third century BC, it is reasonable to suppose that significant changes occurred in both the actions of the *gerousia* and its privileges. Upon capturing Ephesus after the battle of the Granicus, Alexander the Great restored its democratic constitution, depriving, it has been suggested, the *gerousia* of much of its political influence. Approximately a generation later, Lysimachus refounded and relocated the city. While it is unlikely that the *gerousia* was completely reformed by these changes, it is quite possible that the pre-Hellenistic *gerousia* was quite different in its nature from the Hellenistic body: it was suggested in Chapter Two that the *gerousia* was an oligarchic body directly involved in the administration of the city before Alexander's democratic restoration.

The absence of evidence prior to the Hellenistic period does cause difficulties in an investigation of the doings of and the concessions granted to the *gerousia*, but these are not debilitating. The Hellenistic period marks a new beginning for the *gerousia* of Ephesus, when some of its activities seem to be recent developments, as it will be argued,

while others were continued from its earlier existence. Which activities, which rights and which characteristics of the Hellenistic period originated before the changes instituted by Alexander and Lysimachus must, like the *gerousia*'s original undertakings, remain matters of speculation, but some, it will be argued in this chapter, seem to be clear continuations rather than new initiatives.

The changes apparent in the *gerousia*'s workings between the Hellenistic and Imperial periods were not as marked as those of the beginning of the Hellenistic period. This is probably due in part to the basic similarity between the structures of the Hellenistic kingdoms and the Roman Empire: government by a single, autocratic ruler. The slow process of change marking the transition from Greek rule, specifically that of the Attalids, to Roman rule may have been rendered even more gradual by the lengthy period which witnessed the establishment of Roman authority in Asia Minor, that is, the century or so from the death of Attalus III until Octavian's victory at Actium. Although only three inscriptions survive documenting the doings of the *gerousia* during the Hellenistic period, the similarity of some of its activities at the beginning and end of that time period suggest a certain degree of continuity. The transition of Ephesus to Roman rule resulted in the development rather than the alteration of the *gerousia*'s practices and privileges.

The *gerousia* continued to evolve under Roman rule, retaining, gaining and, on occasion, losing privileges. These changes to its rights naturally had an effect on its activities. For the present purpose, the Imperial period can be divided into three sections: the late-first century BC and the early-first century AD, the second century AD, and the late-second and early-third centuries AD. The first period is marked by the confirmation

and acquisition of rights. Although the quantity of evidence increases in the second century AD, this period begins to show a decline in indulgence towards the *gerousia*. The third and final phase of the *gerousia* for which there is evidence is characterized by a *gerousia* which, through a continuation of the decline of the second century, shows significant changes from its early Hellenistic manifestation.

6.2. Activities

6.2.1. The Hellenistic Period

The activities of the *gerousia* during the Hellenistic period must be inferred from two inscriptions naming that body and a third which may refer to it with the term *ta sustemata*.¹ The first inscription is a decree granting citizenship to Euphronius the son of Hegemon and has been discussed earlier in connection with the embassy which that individual conducted to the general Prepelaus. The inscription offers several insights into the *gerousia*. First, and perhaps most important, the fact that Euphronius was sent on his embassy by the *gerousia* to raise the issue of the taxation of lands owned by the temple and the question of billeting soldiers must be taken as indicative of the influence of the *gerousia* over the temple and its resources, specifically properties in the possession of the temple; this influence appears to have been well established by the beginning of the third century BC, which may suggest that it was longstanding.

The temple's resources at this period must have been somewhat limited. Strabo reports the argument of Artemidorus that the treasures possessed by the temple before 356 BC were destroyed when Herostratus burnt down the structure in that year. Moreover, Alexander's offer to pay the costs already incurred in the reconstruction and

¹ Cat. nos. 1, 2 and 3.

any additional expenses implies a shortage of immediately available funds.² Such a shortage, though, could not have persisted long beyond Alexander's capture of the city: he redirected the taxes formerly paid by Ephesus to the Persians to the temple itself.³ In addition, the temple may at this time have received income from two lakes north of the city on the Cayster, one of which was called Selinusia; Strabo leaves the second unnamed, but he does report that the lakes were a source of significant income for the temple, presumably from fishing and harbour tolls, until these profits were withdrawn by an unspecified king.⁴ For Alexander to have redirected the city's tribute to the temple and then to have deprived the temple of a significant revenue source would have been contradictory. It is far more probable that one of his successors was responsible for the seizure.⁵ By the first century BC, though, the revenue of the lakes had been returned to the temple, thanks to an embassy led by one Artemidorus.⁶ At the beginning of the Hellenistic period, therefore, the temple was perhaps not as wealthy as one might expect, but it was growing richer through the consistent income from the two lakes and tribute paid by the city. It should be noted, however, that Artemidorus exaggerated the situation, at least as he is quoted by Strabo. The temple at this time did have landed property, the revenue from which would not have been significantly impaired by the destruction of the temple itself. That said, it did not have the same wealth it had enjoyed in the first half of the fourth century BC.

² Str. 14.1.23.

³ Arr., *Anab.*, 1.17.10.

⁴ Str. 14.1.26.

⁵ It is equally unlikely that Lysimachus deprived the temple of the profits from the two lakes, since this would be inconsistent with the concessions granted through Prepelaos.

⁶ Str. 14.1.26; Guerber (1995): 391-392.

The extent to which the *gerousia* managed these temple resources cannot be known from the current evidence, but Euphronius' embassy does suggest a certain degree of control. The inscription may also indicate that the *gerousia* had some control over temple-spending. There is no mention of how Euphronius' embassy was paid for, only that it was sent by the *gerousia* (*apostaleises presbeias*). It is probable that, since the embassy is not emphasized among his other benefactions, Euphronius did not undertake this service at his own expense and that his traveling expenses were met by the *gerousia* through temple resources.

The inscription also suggests that the *gerousia* may have been a body representative of the temple's interests to the city as a whole. Although Euphronius was an active benefactor of the city and the Temple of Artemis in general, it is clearly his services to the temple which earned the gratitude of the *gerousia* – and his citizenship. The embassy which he led to Prepelaus is given pride of place in line four of the inscription, emphasized and given immediacy by the adverb *nun* in contrast to his earlier unspecified actions:

ἐπειδὴ Εὐφρόνιος Ἡγήμονος Ἀκαρνᾶν πρότερόν τε εὖνους ὦν καὶ πρόθυμος	3
διετέλει περὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἐφεσίων καὶ νῦν	
ἀποσταλείσης πρεσβείας πρὸς Πρεπέλαον ὑπὸ τῆς γερουσίης καὶ ἐπικλήτων	4
Since Euphronius, the son of Hegemon, the Acarnian, has formerly shown himself	
well disposed and enthusiastic toward the <i>demos</i> of the Ephesians and now, since,	
when an embassy was sent to Prepelaus by the <i>gerousia</i> and the <i>epikletoi</i> ⁷	

Moreover, the specific purpose and results of the embassy are detailed, highlighting the service which it represented for the temple. The *boule* and *demos* were technically not beneficiaries of Euphronius' more recent euergetic activities, the concessions granted to

⁷ Cat. no. 1.

the temple, but simply the bodies which conferred citizenship upon him. Rather, it is the *gerousia* which enjoyed the benefits which Euphronius won for the temple and which, therefore, set in motion the process to reward Euphronius. The inscription records a decree of the *boule* and *demos*, but it is a decree based upon a *psephisma* of the *gerousia* and the *epikletoi*.⁸ That the decree of the *boule* and *demos* was passed in response to a *psephisma* of the *gerousia* indicates that the movement to grant Euphronius citizenship began with the *gerousia* and that it was that body which brought his recent euergetism to the attention of the *boule* and *demos*.

The decree honouring Euphronius makes it clear that the *gerousia* served as a representative of the temple's interest to the city as a whole, but the mission which he led also suggests that it served as a representative of the temple to the king and his officials. It is probable that this was not an innovative role: the simple reference to the embassy rather than a more detailed summary may suggest that the *gerousia*, if not in the habit of dispatching embassies, had at least some experience in the sending of such petitions.

Finally, the inscription indicates that the *gerousia* was at this time subordinate to the *boule* and *demos*. The preamble of the decree records that it was originally a *psephisma* of the *gerousia* put before the *boule* and *demos*. This may be – and has been – seen as a sign that the *gerousia* had certain probouleutic functions. This is clearly not the case, though, as the *psephisma* was not introduced by the *gerousia* itself but through the *neopoioi* and the *kouretes* as intermediaries, both of which groups have religious affiliations. The *gerousia*, therefore, did not have direct access to the *boule* and *demos*, but had to proceed through certain channels.

⁸ On the *epikletoi*, see above, Chapter Two pp. 54-57.

This subordinate position of the *gerousia* is also apparent in the decree for the son of Ismenodorus, the flute player.⁹ Once again, the *gerousia* prepared a *psephisma* which was presented to the *boule* by the *neopoioi*, whereupon it became an official decree of the *boule* and *demos*. Although they appear without the *kouretes* in this inscription, it is clear that the *neopoioi* acted as intermediaries between the *gerousia* and the *boule* in this case. The activity of the *neopoioi* and the *kouretes* as go-betweens perhaps casts doubt on the possibility that the *gerousia* was able to direct the policy of the *boule* and *demos* through the influence of its individual members, even if the intermediary role of the *neopoioi* and *kouretes* was limited to matters of citizenship.¹⁰

The decree for the flute player also supports the view that the *gerousia* was a representative of the temple's affairs to the city. The son of Ismenodorus should be seen as a participant in a small festival or contest honouring Artemis. Consequently, the inscription may indicate that the *gerousia* undertook to increase the splendour of festivals celebrated by the temple officials.¹¹ If this is the case, though, it might seem unusual that no mention is made of the festival itself.¹² It may be, therefore, that the flute player was a participant not in a large festival such as the Artemisia, but in a smaller celebration supported and funded by the *gerousia* itself.

The decree awards the flute player a golden crown and public proclamation, honours which might not require the approval of the *boule* and *demos* if they were awarded for a victory in a festival or sacred games. The honours must have been granted

⁹ Cat. no. 2; Rogers (1994) argues that this flute player, possibly named Gorgion, was one of several well-known Boiotian *auletai*.

¹⁰ Rogers (1994): 102-103.

¹¹ Oliver (1941): 37.

¹² Such information is unlikely to have been provided in the lost lines of the text: before breaking off, the text begins to list the rewards granted – the crown and public proclamation; the reasons for such awards are usually given before the naming of the rewards themselves.

to the son of Ismenodorus for services rendered directly to the *gerousia*, as in the case of Euphronius. The failure to specify the precise nature of his performance is somewhat surprising. It must be concluded that the flute player's services were of a private nature. His performance must have taken place at an event which was closely associated with both the temple and the *gerousia* – it is highly unlikely that he could be so honoured for performance at a gathering which was simply social. The celebration of such a feast is known at the time of this inscription, the beginning of the third century BC.

A decree from the time of Commodus records the re-institution of a feast and sacrifice to Artemis through the work of Nicomedes.¹³ The decree records that these events were initially established by Lysimachus after his re-foundation of the city. The feast and sacrifices are to be celebrated by the members of the *sunhedrion* and paid for by the common treasury of the *gerousia*. It is clear that the *gerousia* resumed responsibility for the funding of this festival during the reign of Commodus.¹⁴ A flute player is not mentioned in this decree, but this does not mean that one could not have been involved in its original manifestation: there is no reason to assume that the renewed festival had precisely the same form as the original, nor is there any guarantee that the festival under Commodus was the same as the proposed feast at which this flute player performed. Nonetheless, the absence of reference to a flute player is not proof that he did not exist, but the presence of a festival does provide the opportunity for him to have performed.

The early-Hellenistic evidence for the activities of the *gerousia* demonstrates that that body was closely associated with the Temple of Artemis, in religious affairs and probably also in financial matters. The *gerousia* was able to undertake certain public

¹³ Cat. no. 56.

¹⁴ See below, pp. 237-238.

business closely associated with the temple on its own authority, but in matters pertaining to the city – such as citizenship – it was subordinate to the *boule* and *demos*. Whether the approval apparently required by the *gerousia* of the *boule* and *demos* was legally required or only formally required is not clear from these two inscriptions, but the former is more likely. It seems, though, that the *gerousia* did not direct affairs by virtue of the influence of its members at this time, as Strabo's comment might suggest.¹⁵

Numerous citizenship decrees are known from Ephesus, more than seventeen from the Hellenistic period. These decrees suggest that the one granting Euphronius citizenship is remarkable not only for the presence of the *gerousia*, but also for the service in return for which the citizenship was granted. The majority of the citizenship decrees are not specific in the description of the services rendered. The basic formula is “since he was well disposed and enthusiastic towards the *demos* of the Ephesians;”¹⁶ variations include having made oneself useful to the *demos* and the temple, and having served in the magistracies of the city. Details are occasionally provided, but in no other case is service rendered to the temple cited as the primary reason for the grant of citizenship, as it is in the case of Euphronius. Service to the temple may be included, but the new citizen's goodwill or generosity to the city itself is always mentioned. Although the phrase “he was well-disposed and enthusiastic” may be little more than a formula, included in all such decrees and applied equally to greater and lesser benefactors, it does, nonetheless, draw attention to generosity to the city as a whole. While the decree honouring Euphronius does include this formulaic expression, it has been argued above that the decree clearly emphasizes his embassy on behalf of the *gerousia* and the temple

¹⁵ Str. 14.1.21.

¹⁶ *IEph* 1427: ἐπειδὴ εὖνους ὦν καὶ πρόθυμος [πρὸς τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἐφεσίων διατελεῖ; cf. *IEph* 1412, 1413 & 1443.

as the primary reason for the grant of citizenship. The decree is remarkable, therefore, in that it records the awarding of citizenship not for a civic service but for what could be seen as an almost religious service. For whatever reason, Euphronius' generosity to the city did not win him the recognition of the *boule* and *demos*. His euergetism did not benefit – or did not significantly benefit – the city itself, so that it was left to the *gerousia* to honour him. The approval of the *psephisma* of the *gerousia* by the *boule* and *demos*, therefore, becomes anything but a formality. The same may be said of the flute player: in order to enjoy his golden crown and the public proclamation, the *psephisma* of the *gerousia* had to be approved by the *boule* and *demos*.¹⁷

Evidence for the *gerousia* disappears after the two decrees in honour of Euphronius and the son of Ismenodorus. This does not mean that the institution faded into insignificance during the Hellenistic period, though. The two decrees may be extraordinary appearances of the *gerousia* so that its apparent absence thereafter cannot be taken as indicative of a disappearance. It is evident that service to the temple was only rarely a primary reason for an award of citizenship, so that the *gerousia*, as a representative body of the temple, would not normally have a reason to support candidates. The son of Ismenodorus may have earned his honours not simply for his performance but for his skill, so that again there is no reason for a regular appearance of the *gerousia* in support of all such performers: he and Euphronius were unusual in being honoured by the *gerousia*. The absence of evidence is as indicative of regular operations as of a decline to insignificance.

It is probable that the *gerousia* appears in a decree recording the declaration of war against Mithridates VI by the Ephesians in 88 BC: Menadier believed that the

¹⁷ The son of Ismenodorus does not appear to have been granted citizenship.

sustemata which appear in this inscription should be understood as the *gerousia*.¹⁸ Although it was argued in Chapter Three that *sustema* should not be taken in all its appearances to be a reference to the *gerousia*, Menadier's suggestion deserves attention, attention which it does not seem to have received.¹⁹ The declaration of war followed several defeats suffered by Mithridates' general, Archelous, in mainland Greece and the execution of the citizens of Chios by another of his generals, Zenobius, while Mithridates himself was in Pergamum.²⁰ Initially, Mithridates had enjoyed popular support because he presented himself as a liberator of the Greeks from the Romans and the Roman tax collectors. His rule came to be resented, however, resulting in the return of the Ephesians to the Roman fold. The support initially enjoyed by Mithridates and the previous deprivations of the Roman tax collectors may have necessitated special measures to win over the populace to the declaration of war.²¹ Consequently, the declaration includes several clauses regarding debtors: sacred and secular debts are to be annulled; moneys owed on rented lands are to be cancelled; legal proceedings concerning sacred and secular matters are to be dropped. A limitation is placed on the dissolution of sacred debts, though. Those which were lent by the *sustemata* or by individuals appointed by them were exempted from the terms of the decree:

ὅσα δὲ ἱερὰ δεδάνεισται, πάντας τοῦ[ς]
ὀφείλοντας καὶ χειρίζοντας ἀπολελύσθαι ἀπὸ τῶν ὀφειλημάτων, πλή[ν]
τῶν ὑπὸ τῶν συστημάτων ἢ τῶν ἀποδεδειγμένων ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐκδανεισ-
[τ]ῶν ἐπὶ ὑποθήκαις δεδανεισμένων

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¹⁸ Cat. no. 3; Menadier (1880): 57.

¹⁹ See above, Chapter Three, pp. 70.

²⁰ App., *Mith.*, 46-48.

²¹ Above, Chapter Two, pp. 31-32.

and whatever sacred monies are owed, everything which is owed and due will be dismissed, except those which have been lent upon security by the *sustemata* or by lenders appointed by them....²²

It can be concluded, therefore, that the *sustemata* were closely involved in the financial aspect of the city's religious affairs. The stipulation that only sacred debts not supervised by the *sustemata* be absolved, however, indicates that the *sustemata* were not involved in all aspects of religious finances. There were clearly some loans of sacred resources which were not administered by the *sustemata* and therefore were not subject to exemption. The decree also includes a clause that the conditions upon which lands owned by the Temple of Artemis were rented were to remain unchanged. This is treated separately from the remission of loans and the exemption of the *sustemata*, suggesting that the *sustemata* did not have direct control over lands owned by the temple. The fact that both the loans of the *sustemata* and the rental agreements are to remain unchanged may suggest, however, that there was some involvement of the *sustemata* in the administration of temple lands since both aspects of the temple's resources are given special status.

The *gerousia* in the early-Hellenistic period clearly had some dealings with temple lands. Euphronius' request for exemption from the billeting of soldiers indicates as much. The extent of the *gerousia*'s interest in temple lands cannot be determined from a single inscription, but the additional accomplishment of Euphronius' embassy – that the goddess enjoy tax-free status (*ateleia*) – may be an indication that this interest was more than cursory. It would have been the lands of the temple and the income derived from them which would be exempted from taxes, so that both accomplishments of the embassy were directly related to both the *gerousia* and land owned by the temple.

²² Cat. no. 3.

The *sustemata* of the Mithridates-decree and the *gerousia* of the early-Hellenistic period, therefore, are similar. Both were involved in the finances of the Temple of Artemis to some extent and each group appears to have had an interest in the lands owned by the temple. If it is accepted that the similarities between the two groups warrant Menadier's identification of them as one and the same body, it is evident that the *gerousia* began to be active in lending in addition to the administration of temple lands during the Hellenistic period. Since the *gerousia* also had interests in the land owned by the temple at the beginning of the third century BC, it is probable that this activity extended throughout the period despite the absence of evidence and that it may have originated before the Hellenistic period. The differentiation of debts in the Mithridates-decree suggests a limitation of the *gerousia*'s influence over the course of the third and second centuries BC.

The activities conducted by the *gerousia* during the Hellenistic period appear to be continuous with some of its activities prior to the beginning of the third century BC. The decree honouring Euphronius suggests a familiarity with both the finances of the temple and the representation of its interests to the city and the king. There can be little doubt that the evidence available provides only a partial picture, though, and that the *gerousia* no longer carried out the same duties it had before Alexander's restoration of the democratic constitution. The *gerousia* served as a board representative of the Temple of Artemis both to the city and to the current king. It was also involved in the administration of the temple's resources, both liquid and propertied. It is probable that this involvement developed at some point into the active, though limited, lending role in which it appears at the beginning of the first century BC.

6.2.2. The Late First Century BC and First Century AD

The publication in 1993 of eleven Imperial letters and fragments of letters from the agora confirmed the existence of the *gerousia* in Ephesus during the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius.²³ These letters record the affirmation of rights and privileges (*teimia kai philanthropa*) at the request of an embassy on behalf of the *gerousia*. The letters themselves do not make clear what these rights and privileges were; that question will be considered in greater detail later in this chapter. D. Knibbe, the *editor princeps*, suggests that lending privileges are implied, citing in his commentary a similar letter of Hadrian written to the *gerousia*,²⁴ which will be discussed in greater detail in the next section. It may also be recalled that during the Hellenistic period the *gerousia* seems to have been involved in lending, so that it is not necessary to look forward to provide support for the hypothesis that the *gerousia* was involved in financial activities at the turn of the first century BC. There is, however, no indication in the letters whether the *gerousia* was at this time supervising temple loans: none of the letters makes any mention of the temple or of its financial resources. Nonetheless, the association which the *gerousia* had with the temple's financial resources at the beginning of the Hellenistic period and the connection which it may have had at the beginning of the first century BC are strong reasons to suppose that the *gerousia* was still responsible for some aspects of the temple's finances. Augustus is known to have modified the amount of temple land which could offer asylum, so he clearly did involve himself in the affairs of the Temple

²³ The inscriptions are dated to the late-first or early-second century AD and are copies of letters originally sent from as early as 49 BC. The latest letter is dated to the third proconsulship of Publius Petronius in AD 31/32; cf. Knibbe (1993): 113-119, nos. 1-10; Lewis (2000): 99-100.

²⁴ Cat. nos. 4-14; *JÖAI* 62 (1993): 113-120, nos. 1-11.

of Artemis.²⁵ It is not unreasonable, therefore, that he should also have taken an interest in the finances of the temple as represented by the *gerousia*, even if that interest was actively sought out by the body itself.

At this time the *gerousia* was also actively representing its interests, certainly to the Roman authorities and probably also to local authorities. If the above interpretation of these letters is correct, the *gerousia* will also have been representing the temple at this time as it had done at the beginning of the Hellenistic period. Each letter represents an embassy. That the letters are addressed not to the *boule* and *demos* but to the *gerousia* (with one exception) suggests that the embassies were undertaken by the *gerousia* itself, but this cannot be regarded as certain in all cases: several of the embassies were led by multiple individuals so that it is possible that they presented the interests of more than a single body, each of which may have received a separate answer. It is clear that these delegations served to bring the interests of the *gerousia* to the attention of Roman officials, representing its own concerns and probably those of the temple as well.

The *gerousia* was also active, on a more local level, in granting honours to euergetic citizens. A fragmentary inscription records honours voted by the *boule* and at least one other body, most likely the *demos*, for Glaucon the son of Mandrylus in the late first century BC.²⁶ There appears to be additional space in the first line of the inscription for a third body; the editors propose either *he gerousia* or *hoi neoi*.²⁷ Both restorations

²⁵ Alexander, Mithridates and Marcus Antonius all expanded the temple's asylum area to the extent that it included a portion of the city, with the result that certain criminal activities increased. Augustus cancelled Antonius' expansion of the asylum area, reducing it to that established by Mithridates (Strabo, 14.1.23); cf. *SEG* 41, 971.

²⁶ Cat. no. 32.

²⁷ Büyükkolancı & Engelmann (1998): 71.

have their merits, but *he gerousia* is perhaps more likely since the *neoi* are otherwise not associated with the *boule* and *demos* in such honorary inscriptions.²⁸

The reasons for the honours voted to Glaucon are unknown. Although the inscription records that he was *prytanis* and has been restored to attribute an *agonothesis* to him in addition, these offices do not form the basis for his honours. Rather, they are simply a part of his civic career, adding to his reputation, but not warranting in themselves an honorary decree. An explanation giving the services for which the honours were decreed would have fallen in the damaged and unrestored portions of the inscription. He appears to have shown his goodwill toward his fellow citizens by acting on their behalf, and he made a generous donation. That donation may have been the immediate reason for the honorary decree. It must have been a significant display of generosity to warrant the combination of the *boule*, *demos* and *gerousia* (or *neoi*). If the restoration of *he gerousia* is correct, this combination indicates an apparent increase in the importance of the *gerousia*: Euphronius and the Boeotian flute player were honoured by the *gerousia*, but through the *boule* and *demos*. In this case, the *gerousia* would be a partner rather than a subordinate body in granting the honours.

Although the *gerousia*'s role in honouring Glaucon is speculative and dependent on a restoration, there is additional evidence that it took an active role in the granting of public honours during the first century: the *gerousia* joined the *boule* and *demos* in honouring Octavia Capetolina in an inscription dated to the first century on the basis of

²⁸ Engelmann and Büyükkolancı (1998) note both *ἡ γερουσία* and *οἱ νέοι* as possible restorations for line 1. Both have their merits. The *Ταύρεα* in line 4 and *σφαπιστήριον* in line 7 suggest that Glaucon's benefaction was directed towards athletic aspects, in which case *νέοι* is preferable since the *neoi* are more often associated with gymnastic activities than the *gerousia* is. Alternatively, the association of the *neoi* with the *boule* and *demos* is very rare in Ephesus, while the *gerousia* does appear with both bodies in honorary decrees (cf., cat. no. 36, *AE* 2000: 1408; cat. no. 37, *IEph* 657A), so that *ἡ γερουσία* may be preferable.

its script.²⁹ Like the inscription of Glaucon, this inscription is found on a damaged stone, but not such that the phrasing is irretrievable. Octavia Capitolina is honoured for her prudence and generosity (*sophrosunes kai philandrias*). Once again, the *gerousia* shares the authorship of the honorary inscription and is in no way presented as less than the *boule* or the *demos*.

The *gerousia* could also offer honorary dedications independently of the *boule* and *demos*. A first-century inscription, again fragmentary, records honours for a certain Epaphras by the Elders (*presbeuteroi*).³⁰ Since the remaining text does not mention anything to indicate that *presbeuteroi* could refer to an older group of boys in an athletic contest, this is in all probability a reference to the *gerousia*.³¹ The honorary decree was passed in response to Epaphras' donation of ten thousand denarii for lending purposes (*ekdanismon*), not his service as priest of the divine Augustus. Such an inscription should be considered to be part of a monument rather than an official decree of the city. As in the case of Glaucon and Octavia Capitolina, however, it is not clear why the *gerousia* should have published this honorary text: at best, it may be supposed that it had benefited from the financial donation. If this is the case, the inescapable conclusion, given the presence of the word *ekdanismon*, is that the *gerousia* was involved in lending at this time either temple loans or secular loans funded by its own resources derived from such benefactions.

Finally, an undated inscription records honours for Marcus Com[...].³² This is a dedication of the *boule*, *gerousia* and *demos*. Such an ordering of the three bodies is

²⁹ Cat. no. 36.

³⁰ Cat. no. 33.

³¹ Cf. above, Chapter Three, pp. 74-76.

³² Cat. no. 37.

unusual, but the restoration of *he gerousia* must be correct. The editors suggest that a third body originally stood between the *he boule* and *ho demos*, and, as noted above, it is highly unlikely that *hoi neoi* stood between the two bodies, leaving little choice beyond *he gerousia*. The unusual ordering can be accounted for by hypothesizing an error on the part of the stone mason, but the placement of the *gerousia* between the *boule* and *demos* may also be explained by the supposition of a particularly generous benefaction to the *gerousia*. If the restoration is correct, it may be possible to date the inscription to the first century since the *gerousia* does not appear in the company of the *boule* and *demos* as the author of such honours beyond that period.

The question of how these honours were earned cannot be answered simply by postulating an unknown benefaction to the groups involved, since the *gerousia* was not active in honouring all of its benefactors. Vipsania Olympia and Vipsania Polla, for instance, were honoured by the *boule* and *demos* probably before AD 88, when inclusion of the *gerousia* among the honouring bodies would not have been unusual.³³ Both women were priestesses of Artemis, led the sacrifices, adorned the temple and repaired a colonnade. They also offered distributions for the *boule* and the *gerousia*. The value of the distributions is not known, but it is evident that it was not sufficient to warrant an active role of thanks by the *gerousia*: the distributions were probably a one-time occurrence rather than an annual event supported by a large capital endowment. It may also be noted that the *gerousia*'s ties to the Temple of Artemis, if not to its financial resources, appear to have been loosened, since the service of the two Vipsanias to the temple also did not warrant the *gerousia*'s participation in the honorary decrees. These

³³ Cat. no. 35.

inscriptions may, therefore, show the beginnings of a diminishing role of the *gerousia* in public activities towards the end of the first century AD.

As is the case for the Hellenistic period, the evidence for the activities of the *gerousia* at the end of the first century BC is not sufficiently detailed to provide a complete picture. Nonetheless, it is probable that the *gerousia* continued to play a role in the administration of the financial resources of the Temple of Artemis, involving itself in lending, and to represent the interests of the temple to the city at large and Imperial officials on the provincial scale. The *gerousia* was occasionally involved in ascribing honours to its benefactors, but the precise criteria on which its involvement was determined are not known. It can only be hypothesized that the *gerousia* joined the *boule* and *demos* in honouring very large-scale benefactors of the city.

6.2.3. The Second Century AD

Epigraphic evidence for all aspects of Ephesian society increases during the second century. This also applies to the *gerousia*. During this century, the body appears in various types of inscriptions: Imperial letters, local decrees and honorific dedications.

An inscription which C.P. Jones has dated to the end of first century AD on the basis of the letter forms contains the final portion of a decree establishing heroic honours for a certain Peplus; this text may also suggest that the *gerousia* was increasing in the scope of its activities.³⁴ The remnants of the inscription begin with a clause establishing the penalty for any violation of the terms of the decree: the decree passed in contravention of Peplus' arrangements is to be declared invalid, and the one who proposed the decree is to pay ten thousand denarii "for the further adornment of the goddess Artemis and of the Augusti" and an additional ten thousand denarii to the Elders

³⁴ Cat. no. 53; *JRS* 73 (1983): 116-125.

to fund a distribution (*presbeuteroi*). Although the decree also includes a provision allowing anyone to prosecute the violator or violators, the establishment of a fine payable to the *gerousia* places that body in the unofficial role of overseer of the terms of the decree, especially if the body maintained its interest in the temple's financial resources: the *gerousia* would benefit privately through the distribution for its members, and publicly through the increase of temple funds.³⁵

The documents recording the donation of Gaius Vibius Salutaris contain a letter from Afranius Flavianus, the *propraetor* of the province of Asia in AD 104/105, granting approval to Salutaris' arrangements.³⁶ This letter is confirmation of approval granted in a previous letter by the *proconsul* of the same year, Aquillius Proculus, who specified the penalty to be paid by anyone who violated the arrangements made by Salutaris. The penalty specified is a fine of fifty thousand *denarii*, to be split equally between the Temple of Artemis and the *fiscus* of the emperor; there may also have been an additional twenty-five thousand *denarii* payable to the *gerousia*.³⁷ There is no mention of an individual or group responsible for bringing a charge in the case of violations. If the *gerousia* was a recipient of a fine, though, it would have had an obvious interest in prosecuting violations, and it is not unreasonable to suppose that the task of overseeing Salutaris' arrangements was overseen, in part, by that body. If this is the case, then the *gerousia* can be seen as a supervisor of the entire endowment, responsible, even if unofficially, for ensuring the proper investment and distribution of the capital sum. Even without a fine payable to itself, the *gerousia* may have been placed in the role of a

³⁵ Cf. Oliver (1941): 85, where he notes that fines payable to the Artemision and the *fiscus* in the case of violation of Salutaris' arrangements served to name the individuals in charge of those treasuries as guarantors of Salutaris' provisions.

³⁶ Cat. no. 15.

³⁷ See below, pp. 264-270.

guarantor of the Salutaris' arrangements through its interest in the fine payable to the temple.

The hypothesized fine may have been payable to the *gerousia* to be used at that body's discretion, and it is probable that other, similar fines existed. If this is the case, the question arises of what the *gerousia* used its money for. It should be noted that such fines cannot have constituted a regular income: only if the terms of the benefactions were violated would the fines be levied.³⁸ There are several possible uses. First, the *gerousia* may have used what financial resources it possessed to fund distributions or feasts for its members. No inscription commemorating such a distribution or feast survives in the evidence of the early second century AD, but this is not surprising. In the Hellenistic period, the *gerousia* was a semi-private organization involved in the administration of temple resources, so there is no reason why it should set up an inscription commemorating its own generosity to its members. The frequent appearance of the body in the inscriptions of the second century AD suggests that by the end of the first century the nature of the *gerousia* had changed from its original Hellenistic manifestation. It is, nonetheless, unlikely that a distribution or feast funded by the *gerousia* would be commemorated in an inscription. Such records were erected when there was *philoteimia* to be gained from the proclamation, but no one individual could claim responsibility, and therefore honour, for the distribution of corporate wealth.

³⁸ The possibility of a violation of Salutaris' terms cannot be considered to have been nonexistent. The redirection of endowment funds could be proposed by individuals eager to demonstrate their own generosity or to win popularity, as in the case of cash distributions at Delphi (below, p. 223, n. 40), but it could also be proposed and carried out for the benefit of the city as a whole: the closure of the gymnasium in the Macedonian city of Beroia in the second century resulted in the diversion of resources intended to fund previous endowments to meet the operating expenses of the gymnasium, on the instruction of the proconsul, Lucius Memmius Rufus (Kokkinia [2004]: 39-42). A similar diversion of funds may be apparent in the decree reinstituting a festival (Cat. no. 56): Nicomedes is said to have *found* money rather than to have *donated* it.

It is also possible that the *gerousia* received the income from such fines into a common treasury to be used for loans. It is known that twenty years after the establishment of Salutaris' benefaction the *gerousia* was engaged in money-lending. A letter of Hadrian to the *gerousia* contains that emperor's response to a complaint brought by the body.³⁹ It appealed to the emperor in a conflict with the creditors or heirs of certain deceased persons. Its representative argued that the individuals in possession of the deceased individuals' assets were heirs who had wrongly laid claim to the estates in question. Hadrian does not provide an unqualified answer: if things are as reported, the proconsul will appoint a judge to settle the matter. Aside from the question of primacy among collectors, the letter is a clear indication that the *gerousia* was actively lending at this time. It does not make clear whether the money that the *gerousia* lent out was from its own funds or from sacred resources which it may have been overseeing at this time. It does seem surprising that if the money in question belonged to the temple, there would be no mention of Artemis or the temple when one considers a letter sent by Hadrian to Delphi.⁴⁰ Upon learning that some resources of the temple of Apollo at Delphi had been redirected to fund cash distributions, Hadrian ordered the god's money to be restored and the distributions to cease. This suggests that Hadrian took an interest in sacred finances – at least in the larger sanctuaries – so that it is important that there is no mention of the Temple of Artemis in the letter to the Ephesian *gerousia*; one cannot, however, ignore the

³⁹ Cat. no. 16.

⁴⁰ *Fouilles de Delphes*, III.4.302: [μὲν κ]ελεύω καὶ τὸ ἐπιδέκατο[ν] τῶν τειμημάτων ὃ οἱ δικαζόμενοι παρατίθεται Θεσσαλοῦς ἀποδοῦναι τῷ θεῷ. τὰ τῶν [ἀγνοοθεσιῶν? χρήματα ἀ]φ' ὧν δι[ανο]μὰς γενέσθαι πυνθάνο[μαι, καὶ ταῦτα δοῦνα]ι α[ὐτοῦς τῷ θεῷ] ὅς ποτε ἔφθη διοικη[σάμενος κελεύ]ω ὅσα δ[ὲ τοῦ θεοῦ χρήματα ἤ]δη διένειμάν τί[νες κελεύω τῷ] θεῷ εἰσπρά[ξαι καὶ τὰ τῶν διανει]μάτων ὀνόματα [ἀνακοινῶσαί] μοι τὴν ταχίστην.

possibility that there may have been no need to mention the Temple explicitly if the *gerousia* was quite closely associated with it.

In light of his apparent attention to such matters, the tone of Hadrian's response is also significant. Hadrian refers the matter to the proconsul without an expression of direct support for the *gerousia*, which can be seen as an indication that the emperor was unaware that the body was in this case concerned about a sacred loan. It is unlikely that the *gerousia* would have failed to mention this fact as it could only have made its case stronger. It must be concluded, therefore, that it was lending its own money, conducting at least some business independently of the Temple of Artemis; this does not mean that it was no longer involved in temple finances, but only that it was conducting a separate business from its own treasury, possibly in addition to sacred loans. The incidental income from the fines levied against violations of endowments should be seen as potential additions to these private resources, with the *gerousia* serving as the primary overseer of the arrangements of some benefactions. Those resources which were available to the *gerousia* may therefore have been used either to fund distributions and feasts for its members, or to increase its capital base. It is also possible that some of its cash resources were used to fund feasts and sacrifices for other members of the Ephesian citizenry.⁴¹

Hadrian's letter suggests a differentiation of the resources of the temple and those of the *gerousia*. If Menadier is correct in identifying the *sustemata* of the Mithridates-decree with the *gerousia*, as argued above, the influence which the *gerousia* enjoyed over the temple had already been limited by the first century BC: of all the sacred loans, only some were overseen by the *sustemata*. The process of limitation continued, despite the

⁴¹ Cf. cat. no. 56 and above, pp. 103-106 & below, pp. 237-238.

support received under Augustus and Tiberius, until by the end of the first century the financial resources of the *gerousia* and the temple appear to have been largely separate. Nonetheless, there was still a close connection between the two. The close association between the *gerousia* and the *neopoioi* in Salutaris' arrangements for the annual distributions and the identification of both the temple and the *gerousia* as recipients of the fine for violation support such a connection. Consequently, the separation of the two treasuries may not have been entirely complete at this time, or it may have been a recent development. Certainly, however, the separation was underway if not complete by the date of Hadrian's letter in AD 120/121.

Although there are no inscriptions preserving a transaction or a contract of the *gerousia*, its financial activities are sufficiently attested by occasional references of the type discussed earlier. The possibility that a *logistes* could be appointed must also be seen as confirmation that the *gerousia* used its income to engage in business practices.⁴²

The direct role taken by the *gerousia* in the honouring of some its benefactors remarked upon in the previous section continued into the second century; after the first century, though, the *gerousia* appears to have honoured its benefactors or other individuals independently of the *boule* and *demos*. As in the first century, though, the *gerousia* did not honour all of its benefactors: the failure of the *gerousia* to honour Vipsania Polla and Vipsania Olympia has parallels in the second century. Although the body was the recipient of a portion of Salutaris' endowment, no evidence is currently known to indicate that it honoured him for this benefaction. Similarly, Titus Peducaeus Canax provided distributions of money for the *boule* and *gerousia*, but it is only the *boule* and *demos* which are named as the authors of the decree in his honour, as in the case of

⁴² Cat. nos. 17 & 41.

the two Vipsanias.⁴³ Titus Flavius Montanus provided a midday meal for the citizens of the city and “did everything which was fair for the *boule* and *gerousia*.”⁴⁴ Again, though, the *gerousia* is not named as one of the authors of the decree.

The *gerousia* did, however, honour Tiberius Claudius Secundus in a brief bilingual inscription, datable to the early second century AD.⁴⁵ The reason for the honours is not known, nor is there any indication in the inscription of how Secundus was connected to the *gerousia*. He is, however, honoured in two other inscriptions from Ephesus by his freedman, Tiberius Claudius Hermias, of which one is given below:

Τιβ(έριον) Κλαύδιον		[ἀγουσαν ἄ]π' οἴκου στο-	
Σεκοῦνδον		[ἀν' ἰδρύσαν]τα καὶ σκου-	
βιάτορα τριβουνί		[τλώσαντα . .]ως τοῦ	
κιον, ἀκκῆνσον σύ-		[-----]	
ηλατον, λείκτορα	5	[Τιβ(έριος) Κλαύδιος] Ἑρμίας	15
κουριᾶτον, φιλεφέσι[ον,]		[τὴν τειμῆ]ν τὸ	
[καὶ] ἄλλοις ἐπισήμοις		[ψήφισμα ποι]ησάντων	
[ἐργ]οις κοσμήσαντα		[τῶν Ἑφεσίω]ν ἐκ τῶν	
[τὴν Ἑφε]σίων πόλιν		[ιδίων ἀνέ]στησεν ⁴⁶	19
[καὶ τὸν] οἶκον καὶ τὴν	10		

The other inscription provides a partial Latin translation of the first half of the above inscription.⁴⁷ These two inscriptions were erected by Hermias rather than the by *gerousia*, but they nevertheless provide an idea of the sort of activities which Secundus undertook to merit the honorary inscription offered by the *gerousia*. He was a friend to the city (*philephesion*) and “adorned the city of the Ephesians with other noteworthy works and constructed the house and the stoa leading away from the house.” Which building *ton oikon* refers to is unknown but Secundus was clearly a benefactor of the city

⁴³ Cat. no. 35.

⁴⁴ Cat. no. 39.

⁴⁵ Cat. no. 43.

⁴⁶ *IEph* 1545.

⁴⁷ *IEph* 646.

on a relatively large scale. It is possible that the *gerousia* was concerned with honouring the benefactors of the city as a whole rather than its own benefactors: the *gerousia* was not a direct beneficiary of Secundus.

Marcus Ulpius Aristocrates was the recipient of an honorary statue a little after AD 140.⁴⁸ Aristocrates was high-priest and *agonothetes* of the Hadrianeia; he also made donations in the tens of thousands of denarii for unknown projects as a form of *summa honoraria*. Perhaps more importantly, though, he had been appointed by Antoninus Pius to be the *logistes* of the *gerousia*. Strictly speaking, the *summa honoraria* would not warrant the spontaneous dedication of a statue, so that it is the service as *logistes* which more probably prompted the action. As was argued above in Chapter Five, the *logistes* was an external official and, as the appointee of the emperor, it would not be surprising for the *gerousia* to honour him: one could not simply ignore such an individual.⁴⁹

At some point during the first two centuries AD, the *gerousia* may have developed a connection with the Imperial cult. Oliver argues that this was a result of the extension of the cult of Artemis to include the emperors and that there was no direct connection between the *gerousia* and the Imperial cult.⁵⁰ Imperial high-priests are conspicuous among the members of the *gerousia* by their absence.⁵¹ Any suggestion that the *gerousia* was directly involved in the operations of the Imperial cult therefore cannot be indisputably proven, and Oliver's position is not unreasonable. Even in the case of an incidental connection between the *gerousia* and the Imperial cult the absence of cult officials from the ranks of the *gerousiastai* would be remarkable given the prominence of

⁴⁸ Cat. no. 41.

⁴⁹ Above, Chapter Five, pp 164-165.

⁵⁰ Oliver (1941): 26.

⁵¹ Above, Chapters Four and Five.

its members in other religious aspects of the city's daily life, as discussed in the previous chapter.

The connection may have been even less than incidental, though. A letter of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus to the *logistes* of the *gerousia*, which seems to offer a connection between the two institutions, concerns, among other things, the restoration of Imperial statues.⁵² The *logistes* appears to have written to the emperors asking if it was appropriate to alter pre-existing statues or busts (*eikones*) into representations of the current emperors. Aurelius and Verus refuse this expedient, requiring instead that the existing statues be re-erected together with their original name plates and, by implication, that new statues be made for themselves. The statues at the time of the inquiry were kept in a *sunhedrion*, clearly, in this case, a reference to a chamber rather than a body of individuals:

τὰς οὖν εἰκόνας τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων, ὥς ἀποκεῖσθαι λέγεις ἐν τῷ συνε- 11
[δρί]ῳ τούτῳ, παλαιάς, ἐνὶ μὲν λόγῳ πάσας δοκιμάζομεν φυλαχθῆναι τοῖς
ὀνόμασιν, ἐφ' ο-
[ῆς] γέγονεν αὐτῶν ἑκάστη, εἰς δὲ ἡμετέρους χαρακτῆρας μηδὲν τι τῆς ὕλης
ἐκείνης
[μ]εταφέρειν·

...all the ancient busts of the emperors, which you say are stored in this assembly chamber (συνεδρίον), should be preserved under the names upon which each of them originally was,⁵³ and that none of them should be changed into our representations....⁵⁴

⁵² Cat. no. 17.

⁵³ One is to imagine the imperial representations as standing on inscribed bases. It is the emperors' decision that the bases and representations should be retained as is. The *sunhedrion* in which these representations were stored is clearly a building, one which would seem to have been associated with the *gerousia*. The nature of this association is not at all clear. It is unlikely to have been a meeting house of the *gerousia*, though. The verb ἀποκεῖμαι can be understood as "to store something for a common purpose or for safety", but this sense appears primarily in classical authors. The verb in later authors, as in this case, implies indefinite storage or neglect: the statues were placed in the *sunhedrion* in order to do something with them. The *sunhedrion* should therefore be understood in this case as a storage area, a type of attic, which was used by the *gerousia*, rather than as a meeting chamber.

⁵⁴ Cat. no. 17.

Since it is the *logistes* of the *gerousia* who asks about these statues, it seems clear that the *gerousia* had supervision of them and, consequently, that the *sunhedrion* was used by the *gerousia*.⁵⁵ That the inquiry is not raised by an Imperial cult member should be seen as an indication that these statues were not associated with the cult *per se*. They should be viewed as possessions of or dedications by the *gerousia*. The statues can therefore be seen as expressions of corporate rather than of provincial loyalty of the *gerousia*.

Such expressions outside of the Imperial cult are not uncommon. The epithet *philosebastos* appears occasionally in the inscriptions of Asia Minor, though nowhere so often as in Ephesus. The term is not particularly common outside of Ephesus, but it is applied to individuals, such as *grammateis* and high-priests, groups of individuals, such as *kouretes* and *strategoi*, and to bodies, such as the *boule* and *demos*. In some cities, the adjective appears to be used very specifically, as in Miletus, where the *boule* alone is described as *philosebastos*, or in Stratonicea and its sanctuary sites at Lagina and Panamara, where only individuals acquire the epithet.⁵⁶ Elsewhere, it is used with less discrimination, as in Tralles, Magnesia and Ephesus itself.⁵⁷

Some of the earliest uses of the term are in dedications to Caligula and Drusilla in Didyma and Magnesia, respectively.⁵⁸ It was not a common epithet in the first century, however, and appeared only sporadically after these initial attestations.⁵⁹ During the reign of Trajan, *philosebastos* begins to appear with much greater frequency, known from

⁵⁵ This is one of two mentions of a building which might have been used as a meeting place by the *gerousia*, but cf., p. 228-229, n. 53. A *geronteion* is mentioned in a second inscription (cat. no. 72), but little can be said about this building except that it existed.

⁵⁶ *Milet* I 2 17, I 7 226, 228, 232, 238; I 9 344; *IStrat* 151, 184, 186, 187, 189, 210, 230a, 230b, 665, 665a, 1025, 1026.

⁵⁷ *ITralles* 69, 77, 93, 112, 141, 145; *IMag* 122, 169, 170, 171, 173, 179, 218.

⁵⁸ *IDid* 148; *IMag* 197.

⁵⁹ *AD* 7 (1921-1922): 286, no. 5 (AD 84-85), *RhM* 22 (1867): 314-315, no. 1 (AD 41-100; both in Samos); *ISmyrna* (AD 80-83); *Ilasos* (AD 79-81).

Chios, Didyma, Miletus and Magnesia.⁶⁰ Thereafter, the epithet appears with relative frequency throughout the second century and into the third.

With one exception, *philosebastos* is applied to individuals in every non-Ephesian instance dated to the first century; the exception is an inscription from Tralles, dated by B. Laum, in which the *gerousia* and the *neoi* are both described as *philosebastoi*.⁶¹ It is only in the second century that the epithet begins to be applied regularly to bodies of citizens. In particular, the appearances of a *philosebastos boule*, *gerousia* or *demos* occur most frequently between the reign of Trajan and that of Antoninus Pius. These bodies do bear the epithet into the Severan period and the third century, but by this time it is primarily individuals once again who are termed *philosebastos*.⁶²

Ephesus is the source of the greatest number of instances of *philosebastos*, and the usage of the term in that city conforms to the outline of the word's use elsewhere as given above. Its earliest appearances seem to be in three inscriptions datable to the reign of Claudius, namely one dedication to the emperor, an honorary inscription for the proconsul and an honorary inscription for a legate.⁶³ Although it does appear in inscriptions from the reign of Nero, applied almost always to individuals, it is with latter half of the reign of Domitian that the term becomes common in Ephesus.⁶⁴

Individuals remain the most common recipients of the epithet throughout the second century and up to the mid-third century. As is the case elsewhere in Asia Minor, *philosebastos* is applied regularly to groups of citizens or public bodies in the second

⁶⁰ Eg., CIG 2216b (Chios); *IDid* 312; *Milet* I 2 17, I 7 226, 228; *IMag* 169, 170.

⁶¹ *ITralles* 145.

⁶² *IDid* 156 (AD 250), *Milet* I 9 344 (AD 242-4); *ITralles* 69 (mid-3rd century), 112 (3rd century).

⁶³ *IEph* 261, 716 & 829.

⁶⁴ *IEph* 1008; *JOAI* 59 (1989): 163-164, no. 1 (reign of Nero); *IEph* 449, 1927.3, 263c & 319 (reign of Domitian at the earliest).

century, beginning in the reign of Domitian. The latest application of *philosebastos* to a public body appears in a pair of inscriptions honouring Vibius Seneca and Claudia Caninia Severa, dated to AD 244-246.⁶⁵ With this exception, the epithet appears to have been no longer applied to bodies and groups of citizens at all beyond the joint reign of Severus and Caracalla, but the reign of Commodus marks the end of its regular use in this way in Ephesus.

The term should not be seen as indicative of any special service to the emperor or to Rome, but rather simply as a parallel to *philopatris* or *philephesios*, that is, as an expression of *eunoia* and, through that *eunoia*, loyalty to the emperor and Rome.⁶⁶ The initial appearances of the epithet are cases of dedications to the emperor or his family, and so are more representative of a desire to emphasize loyalty. Its frequent use throughout the second century in the case of individuals probably removed most nuances of specific loyalty to the emperor, until it became a standard title, which could be attached to the names of some Asiarchs or individuals offering a dedication.⁶⁷

When applied to bodies such as the *boule* or *gerousia*, the use of the term probably followed the same pattern: expressing actual loyalty or goodwill toward the emperor at first, but becoming less expressive of such feelings during the course of the second century. That *philosebastos* does not persist with any degree of regularity beyond the reign of Commodus indicates that its use as an epithet may not have become firmly established, and therefore that the degradation in its meaning may not have been as dramatic as in the case of individuals. The appearance of a *philosebastos boule* or *gerousia* in the third century outside of Ephesus is more frequent, strengthening the

⁶⁵ Cat. nos. 46 & 47.

⁶⁶ Cf. Schowalter (1999): 124; Forbes (1933): 39-40.

⁶⁷ Eg., *IEph* 616, 619B, 621A, 632, 655, 679, 716, 739, 3030, 3063, 3088 & 3091.

suggestion that the term did not become a standard epithet of little significant meaning in Ephesus. It was used sparingly in the case of public bodies, revealing that some degree of importance was probably retained.

The *philosebastos gerousia* should, therefore, be seen as an attempt by the *gerousia* to present itself as a body which was loyal to the emperor. Why such expressions should have become persistently common in the second century is unclear, but there are possible explanations. The consistent appearances of *philosebastos* may begin as early as the reign of Domitian. Ephesus received its first or second neocorate under the Flavians, and Domitian is known to have undertaken significant building projects in the city.⁶⁸ *Philosebastos* may, therefore, have been a title adopted in gratitude for the emperor's attention to the city. The *boule* and *demos* appear to have assumed the title first in Ephesus and so may be explained in this way.

The *philosebastos gerousia*, though, does not appear until the Salutaris-dossier in AD 104. It is possible, therefore, that a Trajanic rather than a Domitianic explanation should be sought for the *gerousia*'s use of the title.⁶⁹ Trajan's concerns about the assembly of private citizens are well known from his letter to Pliny forbidding the creation of a fire-brigade in Nicomedia.⁷⁰ When Pliny inquired about benefit societies in Amisus, however, Trajan did not overrule the right of certain cities to form assemblies of citizens if that right had been granted by a treaty.⁷¹ Trajan's concern, though, is the same as in the case of Nicomedia: Pliny is to ensure that the contributions paid by the members of the new society are not used for "riotous and unlawful assemblies".

⁶⁸ Above, Chapter Two, p. 43-44; Friesen (1993): 158-160; Burrell (2004): 59; Dmitriev (2005): 267.

⁶⁹ Cat. nos. 54 & 55; *IEph* 27A & G.

⁷⁰ Pl., *Ep.*, 10.33-34.

⁷¹ Pl., *Ep.*, 10.92-93.

While the benefit society of Amisus and the *gerousia* of Ephesus are not precisely comparable, the situations are similar. The danger as feared by Roman officials was that any group of citizens – be it fire-brigade, benefit society or *gerousia* – could become a political gang. The *gerousia* of Ephesus had existed continuously from the Hellenistic period, so that the perceived danger could not be dealt with in the same way as that posed by a proposed fire-brigade, that is, by forbidding its creation; instead, the *gerousia* was permitted to continue, as, possibly, in Amisus. Trajan's concern cannot have been limited to Bithynia-Pontus alone, and so was probably known to the Ephesians. The application of *philosebastos* to the *gerousia* – and to other groups of citizens – can therefore be seen as an effort to assure the emperor and the provincial officials that the *gerousia* was not a political gang or any threat to civic peace, but simply an orderly and law abiding group of citizens with no grand, ulterior political motives.

The use of the adjective in public inscriptions, however, was probably only one of several ways in which the *gerousia* – and other bodies – attempted to present this appearance. The statues about which the *logistes* of the *gerousia* writes to Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus can be seen in the same light. The statues were dedicated and maintained – or simply stored as the letter indicates – and so can be seen as expressions of loyalty. Not only did the *gerousia* not meet for subversive or perceivably subversive purposes, but it observed the metaphorical presence of the emperors. Any connection to the Imperial cult can therefore only have been through the temple and the *gerousia*'s financial activities associated with it.

The second century provides the most evidence for the *gerousia* in Ephesus. Despite this, the evidence does not provide as complete a picture of that body's activities

as one might wish. The *gerousia* continued to act as a lending body, but there was a distinction between the financial resources of the Temple of Artemis and those of the *gerousia* itself. These resources were augmented occasionally by income from fines levied against violators of certain decrees whom the *gerousia*, because of the fines payable, had a vested interest in prosecuting. The *gerousia* continued, at least in the early years of the second century, to take a role in honouring certain benefactors of the city as it had occasionally done in special circumstances during the first century, but independently of the *boule* and *demos*. It undertook to demonstrate its loyalty to the emperor, but there was no direct connection between the Imperial cult and the *gerousia*. The financial activities which were evident in the first century continued into the second, and may have lasted the duration of that century, although the only evidence from the middle portion of the century seems to be the existence of two *logistai* of the *gerousia*. Given the lack of evidence beyond the mid-second century, it is possible that the *gerousia*'s involvement in loans diminished over the course of this century. Although evidence is more abundant during the second century, the presence of the *gerousia* is passive rather than active, that is, it is most often mentioned as a recipient or the body to which a citizen belonged rather than as the author of a decree or the dispatcher of an embassy.

6.2.4. The Late Second and Early Third Centuries AD

The *gerousia* of the late second and early third centuries is known primarily through funerary inscriptions. The latest Imperial letter addressed to the *gerousia* is that of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, which was discussed in the previous section, and there are few decrees concerning the body's activities. A single honorary inscription was

erected in honour of a member of the *gerousia*; it does not reveal much about the activities of the body as a whole. The funerary inscriptions, on the other hand, do provide some evidence for its activities.

Although funerary inscriptions form the bulk of the evidence for the *gerousia* in the late second and early third centuries, a dedication to (possibly) Dionysus, Artemis and the *Tyche* of the *gerousia* suggests that the body continued its lending activities beyond the second century.⁷² Marcus Aurelius Agathopus erected a monument together with his family “because [he] preserved the trust of the *gerousia*”. It has been argued above that this “trust” (*ten pisten*) is not an office within the *gerousia* but property entrusted to Agathopus as security.⁷³ This would suggest that the *gerousia* was at this point not lending money, but borrowing against something which was temporarily entrusted to Agathopus. Such a proposition is not inconsistent with what is known of Agathopus. He appears in a second dedication in which he identifies himself as a *prytanis*, a position occupied by men of rank and therefore wealth, and only very rarely if at all by a *gerousiastes*.⁷⁴ It is possible that the *gerousia*’s financial resources had significantly declined by this date. Alternatively, the body may have been temporarily short of liquid resources or outlaying an unusually large amount of money. Agathopus’ inscription could only have been erected after the return of the *pistis* to the *gerousia*, so one of the latter explanations should be preferred to a significant and permanent decline: it was able to redeem whatever property had been held by Agathopus.

⁷² Cat. no. 23.

⁷³ Above, Chapter Four, pp. 122-125.

⁷⁴ *IEph* 1069; cf., above, Chapter Five, pp. 172: only one *prytanis* is known who may have belonged to the *gerousia*, but there his membership is not at all certain (cat. no. 52).

Activities beyond those pertaining to lending and borrowing must be gleaned from honorary and funeral inscriptions. These show that the active role taken by the *gerousia* in honouring certain individuals in earlier periods had either ceased entirely or was so infrequent as to be invisible in the epigraphic record. A third century member of the *gerousia*, Aurelius Antoninus Julianus, erected a statue in honour of a Marcus Aurelius whose cognomen has been lost.⁷⁵ Marcus is identified as a gymnasiarch, *grammateus*, *agonothetes* and Asiarch, but in no way is he a benefactor specifically of the *gerousia*. It seems unlikely, therefore, that the *gerousia* itself was behind the dedication of the statue: Marcus' offices are to be regarded as conferring honour and status, but he was not a benefactor on a large scale like those individuals honoured by the *gerousia* in the first century were. Given the titles attributed to him, it is highly unlikely that he was a member of the *gerousia*, so this cannot be a case of one member erecting a statue in honour of another. Aurelius Julianus was most likely a private beneficiary of his, perhaps a client, who erected a statue in honour of his patron and included *gerousiastes* simply as a list of his own positions and honours within the city.

Tiberius Claudius Moschas served as *ekdikos* of the *gerousia* and possibly of the *boule* between AD 244 and 246. He appears in several Ephesian inscriptions, two of which are relevant to the *gerousia*; both appear on statue bases which Moschas erected.⁷⁶ The first inscription honours Vibius Seneca, a tribune of the Praetorians and a sailor in the fleets of Messene and Ravenna. No reason is given for the dedication. The first few lines of the inscription have been lost and supplemented *Die Inschriften von Ephesos* to read "the *sunhedrion* of the Emperor-loving *gerousia* (has honoured)" Vibius Seneca. It

⁷⁵ Cat. no. 49.

⁷⁶ Cat. nos. 46 & 47.

was suggested in the previous chapter, though, that a more probable restoration might be “the *boule* and *demos* have honoured Vibius Seneca”, which may also appear in the second inscription erected by Moschas, that of Claudia Caninia Severa.⁷⁷

The *gerousia* was involved in the performance of a sacrifice in honour of Artemis at the beginning of the Hellenistic period, and this activity continued for some time. It was, however, discontinued due to a lack of funds, though the date of its discontinuation is not known. This activity was revived, however, during the reign of Commodus.⁷⁸ The degree of the *gerousia*’s involvement is not clear, beyond its role of funding the sacrifices and the accompanying feast. It has been argued above that the *gerousia* and the *sunhedrion* in the Nicomedes-decree are not identical.⁷⁹ Each member of the *sunhedrion* was to receive an unknown sum of money from the treasury of the *gerousia* and the injunctions laid separately on the *gerousia* and the *sunhedrion* suggest two bodies rather than one. It is possible, therefore, that the *gerousia*, as a unified body, played no role in the feast and sacrifice as they were re-established under Commodus other than to provide the funding.

If the *gerousia* and *sunhedrion* are to be identified with one another in this decree, it appears that the members of the *gerousia* began to be separated into different groups, namely those who would participate in the feast and those who did not. As a body which had been throughout its documented history closely associated with the Temple of Artemis, the *gerousia* could be expected to take part in such a celebration. In the case of the endowment of Salutaris, arrangements were made with the intention that the entire *gerousia* would participate. Measures were taken to encourage the presence of the entire

⁷⁷ Cat. no. 47; above, Chapter Five, pp. 162-163.

⁷⁸ Cat. no. 56.

⁷⁹ Cat. no. 56; above, Chapter Three, pp. 72-73, Chapter Four, pp. 103-106 & Chapter Five, pp. 161-162.

body, even if only a portion were actual beneficiaries of Salutaris' distributions. There is no distinction between the members in Salutaris' benefaction: each member of the *gerousia* is a potential recipient since the distribution is to be conducted according to a lottery.⁸⁰ If the *sunhedrion* is identified as a council within the *gerousia*, there is a clear demarcation of recipients and supporting members in the decree reinstituting the sacrifices and feast, a demarcation which is not supported by any of the other evidence for the *gerousia*. It is preferable, therefore, to identify the *sunhedroi* mentioned in the Nicomedes-decree either as those members of the *gerousia* who took part in the re-instituted festival, or as members of a different group.

During the late second and early third centuries, the *gerousia* continued to play a role in ensuring the observance of certain decrees. There is, however, no case in which the *gerousia* played a role comparable to that which it has been suggested for it in the case of Salutaris' endowment, or even in the endowment establishing heroic honours for a certain Peplus.⁸¹ Instead, the *gerousia* is given charge of ensuring adherence to funerary injunctions during this later period, both directly and indirectly, rather than of overseeing endowment-related activities.⁸²

Julia Domnula erected a tomb for herself, her husband and her sons.⁸³ According to the inscription, the *gerousia*, *boule* and the *Augustales* (*Kaisarianoi*) are to take care of the tomb (*kedetai*). The reason for the association of these three groups is unclear. The presence of the *Augustales* gives support to the proposition that Julia Domnula was a

⁸⁰ Cat. no. 54.

⁸¹ Cat. nos. 53-55; above, pp. 220-222 & below, pp. 264-270.

⁸² This is true of Ephesus and of other cities. Thus, a funerary inscription from Magnesia ad Sipylum also specifies a penalty payable to the *fiscus* and to the *gerousia* in the event of violation of its terms (*TAM* V,II 1382), while three additional texts also identify the *gerousia* as the recipient of such a fine (*TAM* V,II 1383, 1386, *IMagnesia am Sipylum* 23); cf. *TAM* III,1 590 (Termessus); *ILaodikeia* 110, 122 & 123; on the violation of tombs and attempts to protect them, see Strubbe (1997).

⁸³ Cat. no. 74.

freedwoman of Julia Domna. If so, it would not be unreasonable for her to take an interest in the affairs of the *boule* as a prominent member of the Ephesian populace and *vice versa*. The reason for the presence of the *gerousia* must remain even more hypothetical. It is possible that Gaius Julius Phoebus, Domnula's husband, was a member of the *gerousia* and this membership was used to garner further support to ensure adherence to the terms of the funerary inscription. Although it is possible that Phoebus was also a freedman of Julia Domna, there is no incongruity in identifying a former as a member of the *gerousia*: a certain Zoticus identifies himself as an Imperial freedman and as a member of the *gerousia* in an inscription approximately contemporary with that of Julia Domnula.⁸⁴ There is, however, no clear evidence that the *gerousia* maintained the tombs of its members.

The exact reason for the involvement of the three groups in the guardianship of the tomb must remain uncertain, as it must in the case of Hellenia Meroe, who built a tomb for herself, her husband and their children.⁸⁵ Two suppositions, though improbable, are possible. Meroe, like Domnula, may have had a connection to the *gerousia* through her husband. Alternatively, Sextus Hellenius, her former owner, may have been a member and used his membership to ensure adherence.⁸⁶ Again, though, it may be noted that no inscription explicitly associates the *gerousia* with the tomb of one of its members.

The term *kedetai* in these inscriptions must mean that the caretaker ensured adherence to the terms specified in the funerary inscriptions and not that the individual or group named physically maintained the tombs. In the case of Julia Domnula's tomb and

⁸⁴ Cat. no. 75; freedmen as a rule do not appear to have been members of the *gerousia*, but Imperial freedmen must be considered separately from former slaves of regular citizens.

⁸⁵ Cat. no. 82.

⁸⁶ Cf. Cat. nos. 73, 85-88, in all of which the *gerousia* is charged with care (*kedetai*) for the tomb.

two others, multiple groups are assigned to “take care” of them.⁸⁷ It would be excessive to charge several groups with simple maintenance, and it would seem to be beneath the dignity of the *boule* to be specifically charged with the maintenance of particular tombs. It should be noted, though, that a *kedomenos* could be a patron. Therefore, the appearance of the *gerousia* (and the *boule*) in association with this verb may be indicative of patronal activities.⁸⁸

Several of the inscriptions identifying the *gerousia* as caretaker also specify a penalty for any violation of the terms of the inscription. To open Julia Domnula’s tomb after her death, for example, carried a fine of ten thousand denarii, payable to the *gerousia*. Publia Julia Beryla stipulated that the sale of her tomb entailed a penalty of five thousand denarii, also payable to the *gerousia*.⁸⁹ Interment of bones in the tomb of Claudia Magna required two payments of two hundred and fifty denarii to the *gerousia* and the treasury of the city respectively.⁹⁰ A certain Paulina left very specific terms: to buy the tomb, to inter anyone other than those specified, to remove any remains, or to alter or remove any of the terms of the inscription carried fines of twelve thousand five hundred denarii each to the *gerousia* and the *boule*.⁹¹ Julia Domnula’s inscription is the only one to include both a charge of guardianship with *kedetai* and the specification of a fine, but, as it was argued earlier in this chapter, the existence of a fine gave certain groups a vested interest in preserving the terms of the inscription.⁹² Consequently, it can

⁸⁷ Cat. nos. 73, 87 & 88.

⁸⁸ Cf. Nollé (1999): 107, n. 52.

⁸⁹ Cat. no. 81.

⁹⁰ Cat. no. 83.

⁹¹ Cat. no. 84.

⁹² Above, pp. 220-222.

be said with relative certainty that an important role of the *gerousia* during the late second and early third centuries was the enforcement of the terms of certain burials.

Why the *gerousia* was given this task in only a few circumstances cannot be adequately explained. As was suggested, there may have been direct connections between the deceased and the *gerousia*, or an element of patronage may have been involved. Although this cannot be shown to have been the case in inscriptions naming the *gerousia* as the caretaker, it is almost certain in other cases. The husband of Aurelia Cyrilla, for instance, was a member of the *gerousia*, but the college of *linuphoi* is identified as the recipient of a fine for violation of the burial terms.⁹³ The presence of the *linuphoi* can be explained only by the assumption that the deceased belonged to the college or that he was a patron of the college.

Another possibility must also be recognized: those inscriptions which name the *boule* as the caretaker can be seen as transferring the honours of that body to the individual – that is, the deceased enhances his own status by associating himself (or herself) with the *boule*. From all the evidence, it appears that the members of the *gerousia* enjoyed a social status which, while below that of the *bouleutai*, was above the average.⁹⁴ Associating oneself with that body, therefore, would also enhance one's own status. It cannot be imagined that such an association could have been accomplished unilaterally in a funerary inscription; the reason for the *gerousia*'s appearance in these inscriptions and its relationship to the deceased must remain unexplained.

The *gerousia*'s diminishing role in the lending activities of the temple during the second century appears to have continued into the third to the point that it may have been

⁹³ Cat. no. 79.

⁹⁴ Cf. Chapter Five.

required to take out loans. Although apparently reduced, the *gerousia*'s finances were healthy enough at the end of the second century to support a sacrifice and feast in honour of Artemis and Commodus. The reduced authorship of honorary decrees which emerged during the second century was complete by the late second or early third century: the *gerousia* is no longer seen to honour its beneficiaries or those of the city with decrees or monuments. This general decline was accompanied by an increase in one aspect of the *gerousia*, though. By the third century, the *gerousia* was not infrequently identified as the recipient of fines levied against tomb violations and may therefore have continued to be an unofficial supervisor of certain decrees.

6.3. Rights and Privileges

6.3.1. The Hellenistic Period

It was argued above in Chapter Two that the *gerousia* was an established institution by the beginning of the Hellenistic period. As such, its basic rights and privileges will have been established long before the period for which there is evidence. The process of the limitation of the authority which the *gerousia* exercised in the affairs of the city during the early Hellenistic period was most likely accompanied by a simultaneous diminishment of its rights and privileges.

At the beginning of the Hellenistic period, the *gerousia* possessed the right of recommending individuals for grants of citizenship. Whether this was strictly speaking a privilege is uncertain. It is clear that the *gerousia* recommended Euphronius to the *boule* and *demos* for a grant of citizenship, but no other citizenship decrees preserve such a recommendation by the *gerousia* or by any other group or individual.⁹⁵ It was argued

⁹⁵ Cat. no. 1.

above that the activity of the *gerousia* in securing honours for Euphronius was unusual and it is possible that the award of citizenship was not an honour which the *gerousia* could normally influence. It is clear, though, that the *gerousia* was able to influence the decision in his case, and it is equally clear that this right, if right it was, was used very sparingly. Thus, the inscription mentioning the flute-player from Boeotia appears to be simply an honorary decree, praising, crowning and publicly proclaiming him. The decree breaks off, but it does not seem to have included citizenship for the Boeotian.⁹⁶

Given the absence of similar decrees later in the Hellenistic period, it may be argued that this privilege was lost early in the *gerousia*'s Hellenistic existence. Honorary inscriptions in the first century AD, however, present a similar pattern: the *gerousia* only rarely appears as one of the authors of the dedication.⁹⁷ The exceedingly rare appearance of the *gerousia* as an honouring body in the Hellenistic period is entirely consistent with its failure to appear regularly with the *boule* and *demos* in honorary inscriptions beyond the first century AD. That the *gerousia* did not support more of its benefactors and the benefactors of the Temple of Artemis for citizenship – or other honours – should not be taken as proof that it could not do so, only that it did so very rarely. The apparent right of recommending individuals may be similar to rights of first consultation of the *boule* granted to certain benefactors.⁹⁸

The decree granting Euphronius citizenship also demonstrates that the *gerousia* possessed the right of sending embassies in its own name. Embassies were frequent in Hellenistic Asia Minor, both between cities and between cities and kings. They are known from honorary inscriptions, decrees of the cities and responding letters of kings or

⁹⁶ Cat. no. 2.

⁹⁷ Cf. above, pp. 217-220 & 226-227.

⁹⁸ Cf. *IEph* 2007.

officials. Ambassadors were sent from city to city most often as bearers of decrees of *isopoliteia*, but there are also cases of ambassadors carrying decrees of thanks to cities which had arbitrated a dispute.

Embassies sent to kings and officials were frequently intended to inform the recipient of an honorary decree, or to bring forward a complaint against another city. Thus, a pair of letters from Iasos records the oaths of two officials, Aristobulus and Asclepiodorus, to uphold the freedom and autonomy of Iasos at the beginning of the third century BC.⁹⁹ It appears that embassies such as that of Euphronius were relatively rare. Responses to petitions appear only occasionally, which suggests that petitions themselves were presented or granted only infrequently.

Although it is not stated in every case, most ambassadors were sent out by the *boule* and *demos* of their respective cities; in those inscriptions which do not record the authorizing body, it is logical to assume that it was the *polis*. There is no evidence of an embassy dispatched by a body such as the *chrysophoroi* or the *neoi*. Euphronius' embassy was unusual, therefore, since it was dispatched not by the *boule* and *demos*, but by the *gerousia*. Since there is no other case of an embassy sent by a body other than the *boule* and *demos*, the *polis* or a *patris*, the *gerousia*'s dispatch of Euphronius must be seen as a privilege of the *gerousia*, whether or not it was repeated.¹⁰⁰ This would seem to place the *gerousia* on a level with cities which also dispatched embassies, as opposed to individual citizens whose regular method of appeal was through a letter or a patron.

Recommending a foreigner for citizenship and sending an embassy in the manner of a *polis* were rights which the *gerousia* possessed before the beginning of the

⁹⁹ *Iasos* 3; cf. Welles, 9, a petition regarding asylum and tax-free status addressed by Nysa to Seleucus I and Antiochus.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. Mitchell (1999): 36.

Hellenistic period. The right to dispatch an embassy may be a remnant of the oligarchic control which it has been suggested the *gerousia* exercised during the fourth-century Persian ascendancy.¹⁰¹ Euphronius' embassy to Prepelaus did not gain privileges for the *gerousia per se*, but it did gain financial concessions for the Temple of Artemis, namely tax-free status and exemption from billeting soldiers. Individually, the members of the *gerousia* did not benefit from this success; they appear to have been personally exempt neither from taxes nor from billeting. Corporately, however, the body did benefit. The simple act of dispatching the embassy makes it clear that the *gerousia* did have an interest in the financial affairs of the temple at this time. This interest may have been limited to a supervision of the temple's possessions with no involvement in lending, but it is equally possible that the *gerousia* was already active in overseeing loans by the temple. In either case, the temple's exemptions became indirectly the *gerousia*'s exemptions. If the representative role which it was argued the *gerousia* played in the early Hellenistic period was the limit of its involvement with the temple, the concessions gained by Prepelaus would still be of benefit to it: as a representative body, the interests of the temple would become its interests.

Whether or not the *gerousia*'s supervision of loans of temple resources formed a part of its activities from the beginning of the Hellenistic period, lending was certainly an important part of the *gerousia*'s operations by the end of the Hellenistic period. Reasons have been given above to support Menadier's identification of the unspecified *sustemata* of the Mithridates-decree as the *gerousia*.¹⁰² If such an interpretation is correct, it is clear that the *gerousia*'s supervision of temple loans began at some point before the first

¹⁰¹ Above, Chapter Two, pp. 27-28.

¹⁰² Above, pp. 211-213; cat. no. 3.

century BC, and may have characterized the *gerousia* throughout the Hellenistic period. It is equally clear from the decree that the *gerousia* did not enjoy supreme supervision of the temple's resources. There is an unequivocal differentiation of sacred loans into those lent by the *sustemata* or individuals appointed by the *sustemata*, and other sacred loans.

At some point, therefore, the *sustemata* must have gained a privileged position among the supervisors of the temple's possessions; it is possible that this decree marks the beginning of such special status. When the *gerousia* reappears under its own name in the second half of the first century BC, it is in possession of certain unspecified rights and privileges (*teimia kai philanthropa*).¹⁰³ It will become clear that these rights and privileges existed before the first letter to the *gerousia*, which is dated forty to sixty years after the decree declaring war on Mithridates. The emergence of special status for a supervisory board of the temple's finances shortly after the Mithridatic war would not be surprising. During the brief period of his supremacy in Ephesus, Mithridates, like Alexander before him, had extended the area of asylum covered by the Temple of Artemis, and it is reasonable to suppose that with this extension of physical area came an extension of the influence of the temple authorities.¹⁰⁴ It is, however, more probable that the special status of the *gerousia* among creditors was a concession of the city used to limit the comprehensiveness of the remission of debts which the decree calls for.

Certainly the emergence of such a privileged status under Sulla seems unlikely, since his main activity related to financial concerns in this area of Asia Minor seems to have been the imposition of a war indemnity after the defeat of Mithridates.¹⁰⁵ Marc Antony appears to have been similarly interested in the exaction of tribute rather than the

¹⁰³ Cf. cat. nos. 4-7; below, pp. 249-253.

¹⁰⁴ Str. 14.1.23.

¹⁰⁵ Above, Chapter Two, p. 31-42.

reorganization of the temple's administrative structure; he did, however, double the area of asylum to include a part of the city.¹⁰⁶ The uncertainty of Caesar's role in Ephesus makes it dangerous to draw any conclusions about a possible role in granting privileges to the *gerousia*.¹⁰⁷

What may be the earliest letter written to the *gerousia*, however, may have been sent by Caesar, in which case it is unlikely that he granted rather than simply confirmed the *gerousia*'s privileges.¹⁰⁸ Alternatively, it may have been sent by Augustus. It would be noteworthy, if that were the case, that Augustus makes no mention of Caesar; one might have expected, for example, "the rights and privileges granted by my father." The absence of such a phrase, however, does not prove that Caesar was not responsible for the initiation of the privileges mentioned in the letter, if the letter itself is Augustan: a letter of Tiberius records the "rights and privileges which my grandfather and father confirmed for you."¹⁰⁹ That the rights are "confirmed" suggests that Caesar may not have granted new rights to the *gerousia*, but only upheld pre-existing ones. Given that the rights and privileges mentioned in this series of letters appear to be related to financial matters and that financial privileges appear to have been in place in 86 BC, it is not unreasonable to suggest that the rights and privileges confirmed in the letters are those which appear in the decree against Mithridates, that is, a special status among creditors. Such a correlation, however, depends on the *sustemata* of the Mithridates-decree being the *gerousia*. This cannot be proven beyond doubt, but the existence of financial privileges for both bodies is suggestive, as is the presence of the "*sustema* of the Elders" in a letter

¹⁰⁶ Str. 14.1.23.

¹⁰⁷ Above, Chapter Two, pp. 31-42.

¹⁰⁸ Cat. no. 5; see below.

¹⁰⁹ Cat. no. 8.

possibly sent by a proconsul of the early first century.¹¹⁰ It is probable that the lending activities which were mentioned in the previous section of this chapter had become established practices of the *gerousia* before the first century BC. Although these activities did not encompass all of the temple finances by 86 BC, the *gerousia* may have begun to occupy a privileged position in the temple administration by that date.

At the beginning of the Hellenistic period, the *gerousia* possessed the privilege of bringing certain individuals to the attention of the *boule* and *demos* in order to reward their services. This was related to its representative role, but appears to have been very rarely exercised. Equally infrequently, the *gerousia* exercised its ability to send representatives to the ruling king or his officials. Some of its privileges were, therefore, based on the authority of the king, and others on the authority of the city. The *gerousia*'s privileged status among the groups which supervised temple loans may originally have been granted by the city, but it was certainly supported by the city and Imperial officials. At what date the *gerousia* gained this concession is unknown, but it is clear that by 86 BC a stratification of the supervisors of temple loans did exist.

6.3.2. The Late First Century BC and Early First Century AD

The privileges of the *gerousia* immediately after the consolidation of the empire by Augustus do not appear to have changed significantly. It has been noted above that one of the *gerousia*'s activities during this period was the supervision of temple finances and loans, which was probably a continuation from the Hellenistic period. This continued activity was accompanied by a prolongation of the special status which, it has been argued, the *gerousia* possessed in 86 BC.

¹¹⁰ Cat. no. 11.

The series of Imperial letters published in 1993 confirms both the lending of and the special considerations granted to the *gerousia*.¹¹¹ Each letter contains a recognition of an embassy sent by the *gerousia* and a promise to uphold if not to extend the honours and privileges (*teimia kai philanthropa*) of the *gerousia*:

Κο]υρτίου Πρόκλου τὸ πεμφθὲν [ὑ]φ' ὑμῶν	
[ψήφισμ]α δηλοῦν τὴν τῶν γερόντων[ν] πρὸς τε	20
[τὸν ἐμὸν πα]τέρα καὶ τὸν οἶκον ἡμῶν ἀπ[αν]τα διά-	
[νοιαν ἡδέω]ς ἀποδέχομαι πεπεισμένος [τῆς αὐτ]ῆς	
[ὑμᾶς καὶ πρ]ὸς ἐμαντὸν εὐνοίας διαπρονο[εῖσθαι βου-]	
[λομένου]ς· ἃ τεῖμια καὶ φιλόανθρωπα ὃ τε πά[ππος μου καὶ]	
[ὃ πατήρ] ἐπε]βεβαίωσαν, ταῦτα ἴστε κάμὲ δια[φυλάξειν]	25
[παρεσκευ]ασμένον. ἔρρωσθε.	

I happily received from Curtius Proculus the decree sent by you which shows the goodwill of the elders both to my father and to our entire *domus*, believing because of it that you wish that your respect for me to be made clear. What honours and privileges my grandfather and father have confirmed for you, know that I, having made provisions, shall continue to preserve. Farewell.¹¹²

Unfortunately, none of the texts elaborate on the *teimia kai philanthropa*. Tiberius' letter, of which a portion is quoted above, is perhaps the most detailed in this respect: he informs the *gerousia* that he will preserve the honours and privileges, as noted, "which my grandfather and father confirmed for you." Neither of the two earlier letters in this series, one of which may have been written by Caesar, contains grants or specifications of privileges, only confirmations.

The first letter does contain a clause concerning debts owed to the *gerousia* (*opheilomenoi chreoi*). Matters are to be conducted in this case "according to your own laws and practices".¹¹³ This would seem to be a reduplication of the confirmation of the rights and honours which immediately precedes this clause: the *teimia kai philanthropa* are confirmed, and debts are subject to local law and the *gerousia*'s traditional guidelines.

¹¹¹ Cat. nos. 4-13.

¹¹² Cat. no. 8.

¹¹³ Cat. no. 5.

Since the two grants appear in the same fragment, it is probable that they are closely related. It is true that there is no guarantee that the two subjects are related: the letter sent by Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus in the second century, for example, deals with disparate issues.¹¹⁴ In that case, though, there is a clear indication that the *logistes* took the opportunity of an inquiry concerning Imperial statues to raise other unrelated issues. The lack of any such differentiation between relevant and extraneous inquiries may be an indication that the *teimia kai philanthropa* and the *opheilomenoi chreoi* are indeed both related to the same topic.¹¹⁵ D. Knibbe, the *editor princeps* of the letters, suggested that the *teimia kai philanthropa* are the *gerousia*'s privileges over those of other lenders, though he does not comment on the *opheilomenoi chreoi*.¹¹⁶ The *teimia kai philanthropa* may be a reference to the *gerousia*'s privileged status among creditors, and the *opheilomenoi chreoi* to the methods of repayment or collection: it is clear that the *gerousia* had its own methods of administering and collecting debts by the first century AD.

The exact nature of the *gerousia*'s lending privileges cannot be known from the evidence of currently published inscriptions. It is possible to make some suggestions, though. Given the evidence of the Mithridates-decree and the possibility that it refers to the *gerousia*, it may be that loans administered by the *gerousia* were viewed more

¹¹⁴ Cat. no. 17.

¹¹⁵ The letter of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus to the *logistes* Ulpus Eurycles indicates that the collection of debts by a public slave is extraneous to the main topic of Eurycles' inquiry, the modification or preservation of current Imperial busts (cat. no. 17). This can be seen as an indication that the second query was a matter which might have been better addressed on a provincial level. This does not imply that a similar inquiry under Caesar or Augustus would have been equally inappropriate to make of the Emperor. Precedent existed by the mid-second century for directing inquiries regarding the *gerousia*'s finances to the provincial proconsul (cat. no. 16), whereas the relative newness Caesar's or Augustus' position would have made an inquiry to the highest levels of Roman authority not unexpected.

¹¹⁶ Cf. Knibbe (1993): 120.

strictly, with less possibility of leniency. The *gerousia*'s advantages may have consisted of a higher rate of interest or greater freedom in the case of defaulting debtors.

At the beginning of the second century, Salutaris made arrangements to ensure that his foundation would continue even if he died before he had completed all the arrangements:

ἐάν δὲ πρὸ <ἀ>πο-
305
δοῦναι τὰ δισμύρια δη(νάρια) ἢ διατάξεσθαι ἀπὸ προσόδου
χωρίων δίδοσθαι τὸν τόκον αὐτῶν {ἡ} τελευτήσει
Σαλουτάριος, ὑποκείσθωσαν οἱ κληρονόμοι αὐτοῦ τῇ εὐ-
λυτήσῃ τῶν καθιερωμένων δη(ναρίων) δισμυρίων καὶ τοῖς ἐπα-
κολουθήσασιν τόκοις μέχρι τῆς εὐλυτήσεως, ὑποκει-
μένων αὐτῶν τῇ πράξει κατὰ τὰ ἱερὰ τῆς θεοῦ καὶ τὰ πα-
310
ρὰ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις ἐκδανιστικὰ ἔγραφα.

But if Salutaris dies before he pays the twenty thousand denarii or before he arranges for the interest to be paid from the income of his estates, his heirs will be liable for the payment of the donated twenty thousand denarii and they will be liable for the interest until the conclusion of the payment, with them being liable for payment according to the sacred loan-regulations of the goddess and of the Elders.¹¹⁷

In the event of his death, Salutaris' heirs are to be responsible for the payment of the capital fund and for any interest which might accrue. They are to be liable "according to the sacred loan-regulations of the goddess and of the Elders" (*ekdanistika egrapha*). The mention of the loan-regulations of the Elders may suggest that a loan from the *gerousia* was not contracted at the regular interest rate; it certainly indicates special concessions. The "loan-regulations of the Elders", which appear to be conceived of as distinct from those regulations for the loans of the goddess, should be understood as the evolution of the *teimia kai philanthropa* of the *gerousia*.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁷ Cat. no. 54.

¹¹⁸ The failure of Salutaris to specify a third party to ensure the payment by his heirs is unlikely to have been an issue. The support given by the proconsul Aquilius Proculus to Salutaris' endowment must have rendered default an improbable occurrence. In the event that the heirs did fail or were delayed in paying any outstanding capital, though, enforcement of this clause, like that specifying the fines in the event of changing the terms of the endowment, could have been undertaken by any interested party.

Although the *ekdanistika egrapha* of the Salutaris-dossier are separated from the first appearance of the *teimia kai philanthropa* of the *gerousia* by over a century and from the exemption of the *sustemata* from the general cancellation of debts by nearly two centuries, the chronological distance is not as great as it appears. The treatment of the *gerousia* in the Salutaris-dossier implies an organized body of such an age and prominence as to be familiar to the Ephesians, and it has been argued above that the *gerousia* existed continuously throughout the first century AD. Continuous existence implies a continuity or, given the prominence which the *gerousia* assumes during the second century, an accretion of activities and privileges. Furthermore, the pairing of the lending practices of Artemis and of the *gerousia*, with no specification of those practices, implies that these regulations were commonly associated and were easily discovered by any who were interested. In short, the *ekdanistika egrapha*, which could be translated as the "lending customs", were in existence for some time before the beginning of the second century, and probably grew out of the *teimia kai philanthropa* confirmed by Caesar or Augustus, Agrippa, Tiberius and Gaius Caesar or Germanicus, which themselves may have emerged from the exemptions granted to the *sustemata*. Financial privileges were included in the *teimia kai philanthropa*, but it should not be concluded that other benefits were not also included in this phrase.

The right of sending ambassadors, in the manner of the *boule* and *demos*, which the *gerousia* possessed during the Hellenistic period appears to have been maintained into the first century AD. Although there appear to be fewer cases of ambassadors during the Imperial period, the reasons for sending an embassy appear to have been similar: the delivery of a decree to the emperor, appeals to the emperor regarding privileges, and the

reporting of honours; there are also instances in which all that is known is that a mission was sent to Rome.¹¹⁹ As in the Hellenistic period, representatives were sent by the *boule* and *demos* of any given city or by the collective body of citizens; with the exception of those recorded in the series of letters regarding the privileges of the *gerousia*, no embassy appears to have been sent other than by the *boule* and *demos* or the citizens as a whole.¹²⁰ In the case of smaller settlements and villages, petitions, even those to the proconsul, were presented through a powerful patron or the city to which the village was subordinated.¹²¹ The appeals which the *gerousia* must have addressed to the emperor are not unusual in themselves; they can be seen as similar to the appeals and legal questions which every Roman citizen had the right to address to the emperor. What is unusual is that the responses came in the form of letters addressed directly to the *gerousia* and that those letters were then publicly inscribed. Such a public display suggests that the *gerousia* had a special standing within the city, and that the *gerousia* was concerned to make it clear that it enjoyed the personal support of the emperor – or to convince the Ephesians that it did. The addressing of the letters to the *gerousia* itself is an indication of the direct involvement of the central Roman authorities in local affairs. This involvement, though, was invited: the letters are replies. It should be noted that these letters represent genuine embassies and indicate that the *gerousia* was not obliged to go through a patron or an overseeing-city.¹²²

¹¹⁹ Delivery of a decree: Sardis 7.I.8, *IKnidos* 34, *TAM* II.905; appeals: *Aphrodisias & Rome* 15, *IPriene* 111; honours: *IEph* 22; *TAM* II.147; unspecified: eg., *ISrat* 631, 678, 689, 690; *TAM* II.284

¹²⁰ In the case of embassies whose purposes remained unspecified, it is possible that the embassy originated with a body other than the *boule* and *demos*, but since it is primarily honorary decrees in which these appear, it is most likely that they were in fact sent by the *boule* and *demos*; cf. Mitchell (1999): 30-31.

¹²¹ Mitchell (1999) notes that a direct approach by a village or its leaders to the proconsul was not necessarily “legally or procedurally out of order”; cf. Nollé (1999): 106-109.

¹²² Cf. Mitchell (1999): 36.

Three letters in Knibbe's series do not come from the emperor, but from the proconsul Publius Petronius, who governed Asia from AD 29/30 to 34/35; each letter refers to envoys sent to the proconsul.¹²³ Since it was characteristic of Tiberius to leave provincial governors in place for extended periods of time, it is entirely reasonable that during the latter part of his reign requests which did not have direct claims on the emperor's attention should have been redirected to the appropriate provincial official.¹²⁴ Moreover, leaving requests to the proconsul is in keeping with Tiberius' efforts to encourage the Senate to act on its own. Nonetheless, Petronius' letters may form the nucleus of a diminishment in the *gerousia*'s access to the emperor which seems to emerge in the second century.

There is, however, an additional important difference to be noted in the three letters from Petronius: the phrase *teimia kai philanthropa* no longer appears. Instead, this general reference to the rights and privileges of the *gerousia* is replaced by the even more vague *ta dikaia*. It is, however, not certain that the two phrases refer to the same benefits. Although one letter subsequently employs *ta philanthropa*, each correspondence identifies the *dikaia*, with minor variations, as those 'which the Augusti have granted to you and which the proconsuls before me have uniformly preserved.' The statement that previous proconsuls had confirmed the *dikaia* suggests that the *gerousia* may have sought confirmation for *ta teimia kai philanthropa* from the emperors or members of their family and for *ta dikaia* from provincial authorities. Furthermore, Petronius specifies the *dikaia* concerned in the first letter, and promises to uphold specific privileges in the second two:

[τὰ τῶν πρεσβυ]τέρων δίκαια, <ἀτινα> ὑμεῖν οἱ μὲν Σεβαστοὶ ἐχαρίσαντο
[οἱ δὲ πρὸ ἐμοῦ ἀ]γθύπατοι πάντες συνετήρησαν ἀπολύσαντες ὑμᾶς 10

¹²³ Cat. nos. 12-14; for the date of Petronius' proconsulship, cf. Corsten (1999).

¹²⁴ Tac., *Ann.*, 6.38; Suet., *Tib.*, 31, 41.

[τῶν τε παρὰ δι]οίκησιν ἐγγυῶν καὶ λογῆας καὶ ἐπισταθμηῶν.
[διὸ κάγωι ἔγρα]ψα ὑμῖν τὰ φιλόανθρωπα κάμὲ συντηρῆσαι
[θελήσειν·

the rights of the elders, which the Augusti have granted to you and which all the proconsuls before me uniformly preserved absolving you of the securities for the assize district and of donations and of billeting. So I have written to you to say that I also am willing to preserve these privileges....¹²⁵

Ta dikaia are clearly spelled out: exemption from the payment of fees assessed for the assize district, exemption from donations, and exemption from billeting; Petronius' second letter includes the important addition of release from liturgies.¹²⁶ The privilege of being free from the onus of billeting is reminiscent of Euphronius' embassy to Prepelaus. It may be noted, however, that by this time it is unlikely that this would involve billeting soldiers, since Asia was an unarmed province. Instead, it would involve the housing and feeding of Imperial visitors.¹²⁷ The benefits to the *gerousia* from these dispensations were financial and were probably a part of or developments of the *teimia kai philanthropa*. They were concessions which one would expect a provincial governor to grant: it is probable that *ta dikaia* confirmed by Petronius are a combination of the *teimia kai philanthropa* confirmed by the emperors and the exemptions specified in Petronius' letter. The concessions confirmed by the proconsul for the *gerousia* seem to be directed to the benefit of individuals rather than to the *gerousia* as a body, particularly the exemption from liturgies. The *gerousia* did enjoy corporate benefits, though, as the *gerousia* of Chios appears to have been subject to the assize fees from which the *gerousia* of Ephesus was exempted.¹²⁸

¹²⁵ Cat. no. 12.

¹²⁶ Cat. no. 13.

¹²⁷ Cf. Cat. no. 45.

¹²⁸ *IEph* 13.II.

Gymnasiarchs of the *gerousia* appear for the first time in AD 29. Only three such individuals are known from the first century, all of whom served as ambassadors of the *gerousia* to Publius Petronius.¹²⁹ All three men, by virtue of their service on the embassy, appear to have been members of the body. Consequently, it cannot be said that the institution enjoyed a public gymnasiarch. It is certainly possible that a wealthy Ephesian who was not a member of the *gerousia* could undertake to supply it with oil, but this duty could and did fall to the individual members of the *gerousia* itself. The *gerousia* was the recipient of such benefactions, but only inconsistently. The services of a gymnasiarch do not prove that one the city's gymnasia was dedicated to the exclusive use of the *gerousia*.

The final benefit known to have been enjoyed by the *gerousia* during the first century of the empire which deserves comment is its receipt of distributions provided by wealthy citizens seeking public honours or acclaim. This type of information is found primarily in inscriptions honouring the benefactors, most often with the simple statement that the honoured individual provided a distribution but with little detail to explain the procedure involved in the actual handing out of the gifts of food or money. The recipients of these small gifts were not the poor, but rather the members of the upper classes of cities throughout the province: for example, members of the *boule* and *gerousia*, some of the citizens or tribes, and occasionally the wives or children of these individuals. The *gerousia* does not appear as a recipient of every distribution, but when it does, it is listed immediately after the members of the *boule*. Such distributions are most often attested, like so much else, during the second century, but they do occasionally appear earlier. Thus, Gaius Stertinius Orpex and his daughter Marina, and Vipsania

¹²⁹ Cat. nos. 12-14.

Olympia and Vipsania Polla all provided distributions for the *boule* and the *gerousia* during the first century.¹³⁰ The *gerousia*'s place among the recipients of these gifts is not so much a right as a general tradition or benefit, but it came to be expected in a certain respect and so can be seen as a privilege enjoyed by its members. *Dianomai* (small gifts of money) were given to members of the *boule* on thirty-eight attested occasions throughout Asia Minor during the first three centuries AD, and to members of the *gerousia* on nine occasions.¹³¹ In the case of Ephesus, though, the combination of the *boule* and *gerousia* as recipients of *dianomai* appears to have been a common practice.¹³² It may be said, therefore, that the *gerousia* enjoyed the attentions and favours of generous and ambitious citizens at the same general level as did the *boule*.

Continuity can be seen in the rights and privileges enjoyed by the *gerousia* from the Hellenistic period into the first century of the empire. These privileges were primarily financial, involving the *gerousia*'s lending practices and its payment of provincial exactions. The ability to bring its concerns to the attention of Hellenistic monarchs adapted with the establishment of Roman hegemony so that the *gerousia* could send embassies and letters to emperors or the provincial officials in the same way as a city could – and reasonably expect an answer. Finally, the *gerousia* began to be associated with the *boule* as a beneficiary of local euergetism. The absence of evidence makes it impossible at the moment to determine whether this was an innovation or if the *gerousia* had been the recipient of distributions during the Hellenistic period as well.

¹³⁰ Cat. nos. 34, 35 & 72.

¹³¹ Bailey (2002): 98.

¹³² The *boule* and *gerousia* appear together three times (*IEph* 27, 1151, 2113 & 4123); the *boule* appears without the *gerousia* twice (*IEph* 2111 & 3803b); the *gerousia* appears without the *boule* once (*IEph* 47; cf. *IEph* 3214 [Cat. no. 53] which specifies a fine to provide *dianomai* for the *gerousia* without the *boule*).

6.3.3. The Second Century AD

The rights of the *gerousia* in the second century appear to continue directly from those of the first century. Corresponding to the diminishing role played by the body in lending suggested above, the lending concessions of the first century were probably gradually worn away. Nonetheless, the financial privileges enjoyed in the first century extended into the early second century and were supported by the emperors and imperial officials for a time. The receipt of gifts of money and food also continued beyond the first century.

Imperial letters once again provide important information about the rights and privileges of the *gerousia*. Two Imperial letters are known which shed light on its rights during the first half of the second century.¹³³ In addition, a letter of the propraetor Afranius Flavianus which forms a part of the Salutaris-dossier and a fragment of a letter from the third quarter of the second century are also informative.

Hadrian's letter in AD 120/121 regarding the collection of debts, discussed briefly above, can be seen as a continuation of the confirmation of financial privileges by the early emperors.¹³⁴ The letter records two appeals by the *gerousia*, one to the proconsul in the previous year, Mettius Modestus, and a second to the emperor himself. The nature of the initial dispute is not known, but it is clear that Modestus upheld the rights (*ta dikaia*) of the *gerousia*; although very general, *ta dikaia* does recall Petronius' letters. The mention of Modestus suggests that it may have been a dispute similar to that which Hadrian addresses next, if not the same, involving the *gerousia*'s resources or its lending procedures and rights, *ta dikaia*. The inclusion of the former proconsul may also serve as

¹³³ Cat. nos. 16 & 17.

¹³⁴ Cat. no. 16; Knibbe (1993): 120; cf., above, p. 223.

a reminder to the *gerousia* both that its appeals had previously been successful at a provincial level and that the proconsul had the authority to deal with financial disputes, including that which provoked this letter.

The reason for the appeal to the emperor is clear: The opponents of the *gerousia* claimed that they were also creditors of the deceased and not simply heirs. Since under Roman law an heir became liable for the debts of the deceased, the *gerousia* was arguing that those in possession of the property of the deceased debtors legally became debtors of the *gerousia*.¹³⁵ Hadrian, however, referred the entire matter back to the new proconsul of Asia, Cornelius Priscus, agreeing that the *gerousia* was entitled to the property if the current holders were in fact heirs:

ἐπεὶ δὲ πολλοὺς ἐδηλ[ώσατε]
σφ[ετερί]ζεσθαι χρήματα ὑμέτερα, οὐσίας τῶν δεδανισ[μέ-]
νω[ν κ]ατέχοντας οὐ φάσκοντας δὲ κληρονομεῖν, τοὺς [δὲ]
καὶ [αὐ]τοὺς χρεώστας ὄντας, πέπομφα ὑμῶν τὸ ἀντ[ίγραφον]
τοῦ ψηφίσματος Κορινθίῳ Πρέσβει τῷ κρατίστῳ
ἀνθυπάτῳ, ἵνα εἴ τι τοιοῦτον εἴη, ἐπιλέξηται τινα
ὃς κρινεῖ τε τάμφισβητούμενα καὶ εἰσπράξει πάντα,
ὅσα ἂν ὀφείληται τῇ γερουσίᾳ.
...but since you have shown that many men are usurping your money as they
are seizing the property of your debtors claiming that they are not the heirs but
that they themselves are also creditors, I have sent a copy of your decree to
Cornelius Priscus, *vir egregius*, the proconsul, so that if such a thing should be
the case, he may appoint someone who will both judge the disputed matters
and exact all that is owed to the *gerousia*.¹³⁶

The support for the *gerousia* is much less clear in this case than in the instances from the first century: Hadrian does not explicitly grant a privileged position among the creditors to the *gerousia*. The letter can be seen as supporting such a position for the body, though, depending on the interpretation of *ei ti toiouton eie* in line 11. The phrase translates “if

¹³⁵ Borkowski (1997), 234 (8.5.2); since the appeal is addressed to the emperor, it is clear that Roman law is intended to apply to the case.

¹³⁶ Cat. no. 16.

such a thing should be the case". It is unclear whether this means "if the argument is as you say" or "if they are heirs and not creditors". The distinction is important for the relative clause of the apodosis of the condition. In the first case, the implication is that the proconsul's appointee will determine whether the *gerousia*'s opponents are heirs or creditors *and* what is owed to the *gerousia*. This suggests that something is owed to the *gerousia* regardless of the status of its opponents, and may, therefore, indicate a ranking of the creditors. In the second case, the proconsul's appointee is essentially a formality: "if they are heirs, as you say, the appointee will judge the matter and you will be paid." In this situation, there is no ranking of creditors apparent in the letter.

Hadrian does, however, provide some explicit support to the *gerousia*. The reminder that Modestus upheld the rights of the *gerousia* and the sending of the entire case to the new proconsul may both have served to bolster the *gerousia*'s confidence. Furthermore, the fact that the case was referred to Priscus directly by the emperor may have ensured a faster resolution than might otherwise have occurred, and Hadrian's apparent approval of previous support for the *gerousia* may well have biased Priscus in that direction.

Hadrian's ambiguous backing was not unusual. Direct support for the *gerousia* of the type which is evident in the first century did not return during the course of the second century. The letter of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus referring to Imperial statues, discussed above, also deals with a possible misappropriation of funds.¹³⁷ The *logistes* Ulpus Eurycles informed the emperors that a public slave, Saturninus, had

¹³⁷ Cat. no. 17.

collected debts in the name of the *sunhedrion*.¹³⁸ The emperors' decision is clear: if Saturninus rendered his collections to the *gerousia*, no harm has been done. If he has kept any for himself, it should be recollected. Any money which he collected over and above the debts owed to the *gerousia* was to be returned to its owners following an official trial. This is simply a matter of misappropriation, not a question of the rights of the *gerousia*. The final seventeen lines of the letter deal with a third matter. The inscription, however, becomes fragmentary at this point, with most of the right half lost. Consequently, the inquiry and the solution are alike unknown. From what is preserved, though, it appears that Eurycles raised the issue of the delayed payment of certain debts. The emperors provide a detailed response, with the inclusion of certain unknown conditions, as in the case of Saturninus and Hadrian's response to the *gerousia*. The final lines of the inscription seem to have contained an admonition that such an inquiry could have been addressed to the proconsul, which would correspond to a statement near the beginning of the letter that Eurycles used the necessary inquiry about the statues to raise additional, extraneous, matters. Again, support for the *gerousia* is indirect, but Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, to judge from the earlier inquiries in the letters, did, unlike Hadrian, actually pronounce a judgment, quite possibly, as in the matter of Saturninus, in favour of the *gerousia*.

The letters of Hadrian and of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, therefore, suggest that the *gerousia* no longer enjoyed the ease of access to the emperor which it had in the first century. Hadrian refers the question of debts back to the proconsul, while Aurelius and Verus explicitly say that Eurycles inappropriately addressed certain matters

¹³⁸ The inscription later states that Saturninus had collected the debts for the *gerousia*, so that *sunhedrion* in this instance appears to stand for *gerousia*; it should be noted that this is a case of the emperors calling the *gerousia* a *sunhedrion*, though, not of the Ephesians or the *gerousiastai* themselves calling it a *sunhedrion*.

to them, without any direct support for the *gerousia*'s rights. The letters do not indicate whether the *gerousia* continued to occupy a privileged position among creditors. It is possible to see such support in Hadrian's letter, but even in the most generous interpretation his support is not nearly as explicit as that of the early Julio-Claudians. It should be noted that, in AD 120, at least, the *gerousia* did still have direct access to the Emperor: one of its members personally brought the matter to Hadrian's attention. The *gerousia* was not yet compelled to appeal to the emperor through a patron.¹³⁹

A third letter, identified as one sent to the *gerousia* by an unknown proconsul, appears to address a disagreement between the *gerousia* and an Asiarch.¹⁴⁰ It has been suggested above that this may have been a dispute originating in the decision of the Asiarch, Aelius Martiales, to demonstrate his generosity through an act which benefited the *gerousia* indirectly, as a public building, instead of directly, as a gift of money, for example, would have.¹⁴¹ The letter appears to be supportive of Martiales rather than of the *gerousia*. This does not necessarily indicate a further diminishment of imperial support for the *gerousia*, though, since it would be remarkable for the proconsul to have found fault with an Asiarch and supported a local body unless a serious offence had been committed. Moreover, it is highly unlikely that a proconsul or emperor would have preferred distributions to public works and so ruled against Martiales.¹⁴² The apparent admonishment of the *gerousia* does place it in a lesser position, though. If the

¹³⁹ Cf. Nollé (1999): 106-109. It is significant that the letter concerning the *gerousia*'s Imperial statuary, Saturninus' collections and the third, unknown issue was not a response to an embassy of the *gerousia*, but to an inquiry by the *logistes*.

¹⁴⁰ Cat. no. 18.

¹⁴¹ Above, Chapter Four, pp. 120-122. An appeal to Imperial authorities in this case is understandable, since pledges made in the hopes of attaining a civic post could be legally enforced after the reign of Trajan (Dmitriev [2005]: 152). Martiales, however, probably did not fail to deliver on his promise – it is difficult to see why he would have been supported by the proconsul if that were the case – but rather made a donation for a specific purpose instead of general distributions.

¹⁴² Pl., *Ep.* X.116 & 117; *IEph* 1491-3; Eck (1999): 11.

identification of a proconsul as the author of the letter is correct, the letter would further support the argument that the emperor became less and less accessible to the *gerousia*. In addition, the letter does not appear to have been written in response to an embassy sent by the *gerousia*. Nonetheless, the letter may have been sent after a complaint from the *gerousia*, possibly conveyed in a now lost letter: Antoninus Pius' letter rebuking the Ephesians for failing to honour Publius Vedius Antoninus III contains the phrase, "I have learned of the generosity which Vedius Antoninus has shown towards you not so much from your letters as from his own letters."¹⁴³ Since no such phrase seems to appear in the letter concerning Martiales, it is reasonable to suppose that the *gerousia* appealed to the proconsul in the hopes of compelling Martiales to fulfill not the promises which he made, but the promises which the *gerousia* – and possibly other citizens – believed were deserved and appropriate.

This loss of ease of access to the emperor clearly did not happen all at once. It was a process which was already underway during the reign of Hadrian and had progressed to the point where the *gerousia* appears to have had only indirect access to the emperor through its *logistes*.¹⁴⁴ Hadrian's subtle admonishment that the proconsul would have been the appropriate authority to deal with the *gerousia*'s complaint about its debtors suggests that the transferral of the *gerousia*'s petitions from the emperor to the proconsul may have been a relatively recent development.

The origins of the increasing prominence of the proconsul in the *gerousia*'s affairs may be apparent as early as the beginning of the second century AD, if not earlier. The

¹⁴³ *IEph* 1491 ll.7-9: τ]ην φιλοτιμίαν ἣν φιλοτιμε[ῖται] | [πρὸς ὑμ]ᾶς Ο[υ]νήδιος Ἀντωνεῖνος ἔμαθον οὐχ οὕτω[ς] ἐκ | τῶν ὑμετέρων γραμ]μάτων ὥς ἐκ τῶν [ἐκ]είνου.

¹⁴⁴ The letters of Petronius (Cat. nos. 12-14) may mark the origins of this decline, providing a precedent for referring matters to the proconsul.

proconsul Aquillius Proculus is identified twice in the Salutaris-dossier in connection with the fine owed by any who altered Salutaris' directions.¹⁴⁵ It is not remarkable that the decree establishing Salutaris' endowment should have been sent to the proconsul for imperial approval, but it is striking that the proconsul would have set the penalty for violation rather than that the *boule* or Salutaris himself would have done so.¹⁴⁶ Also noteworthy is that the *gerousia* may have been involved in the second portion of the fine, that which was payable to the *fiscus* of the emperor. The final portion of Flavianus' letter mentioning the fines has been almost entirely reconstructed on the basis of Salutaris' letter. Unfortunately, the two lines describing the *gerousia*'s involvement, which does not appear in Salutaris' letter, have been almost entirely lost and have, consequently, not been restored.¹⁴⁷

μῶν κυρωθησομένων, τοῦτον ἀνυπερθέτως βούλομαι
 εἶ[ι]ς μὲν τὸ τῆς μεγίστης θεᾶς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν καταθέσ-
 θαι προστείμου δη(νάρια) β' μ(ύρια) πεντακισ[χί]λια, εἰς δὲ τὸν τοῦ
 [κυρίου Καίσαρος φίσκον -----]
 γερο[υσία] ----- ἄλλα δη(νάρια) διςμύρια πεντακ[χί]λια, 410
 καθῶ[ς] Ἀκουίλλιος Πρόκλος, ὁ λαμπρότατος ἀν]θύπατος,
 καὶ π[ρότερον δι'] ἧς ἀντέγραψεν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐπιστολῆς
 ἐπ[εκύρωσεν καὶ ὥρισεν τὸ πρόστειμον. ἔ]ρρωσθε.
 ...I wish that he pay immediately to the temple of the greatest goddess,
 Artemis, a penalty of twenty-five thousand denarii and to the fiscus of lord
 Caesar...to the *gerousia*...another twenty-five thousand denarii, just as
 Aquillius Proculus, the most illustrious proconsul, approved and specified the
 penalty in the letter with which he formerly responded to you. Farewell.¹⁴⁸

The remains of the inscription indicate that two fines of twenty-five thousand denarii were originally certainly mentioned. Mention of the *gerousia* between the recipient of

¹⁴⁵ Cat. nos. 15 & 54.

¹⁴⁶ Cf. Oliver (1954): 167, who argues that cities sought approval from Imperial authorities in order to strengthen their decrees and penalties.

¹⁴⁷ Cat. nos. 15 & 54.

¹⁴⁸ *IEph* 27D; Oliver, *SG* 3; *FiE* II, no. 27; cf. cat. no. 15; *GIBM* 481, ll. 279-282: ...θαι προστείμου δη(νάρια) β' μ(ύρια) πεντακισ[χί]λια, εἰς δὲ τὸν τοῦ | [Σεβαστοῦ φίσκον ἄλλα δη(νάρια) β' μ(ύρια) πεντακισχίλια, καὶ τῇ] | γερο[υσία] τῇ Ἐφεσίων ἄλλα δη(νάρια) β' μ(ύρια) πεντακ[χί]λια | καθ....

the second fine, the *fiscus* of the emperor, and the amount of the fine interrupts and complicates the meaning of this part of the inscription. Salutaris' letter is clearer on this point:

ἀποτεισάτω εἰς

προσκ[όσμημα τ]ῆς με[γίστ]ης θεᾶς Ἀρτέμιδος δη(νάρια) δισμύρια
 πε[ν]τα[κισχίλια καὶ εἰς τὸν τοῦ Σε]βαστοῦ φίσκον ἄλλα δη(νάρια) 325
 β' μύρια) ,ε.
 [ἡ δὲ προγεγραμμένη διάταξις ἐσ]τω κυρία εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρό-
 [νον - - - - - , καθάπερ Ἀκουίλλι]ος Πρόκλ[ος, ὁ ε]ϋ[ε]ρ[γ]έτης
 [καὶ ἀνθύπατο]ς, καὶ Ἀφράνιος Φλαουιανός, ὁ κράτιστος πρεσβευτῆς
 κα[ὶ ἀντιστ]ράτηγος, διὰ ἐπιστολῶν περὶ ταύτης τῆς διατάξε-
 ως ἐπεκύρωσαν καὶ ὥρισαν τὸ προγεγραμμένον π[ρ]όσκειμον. 330

...and let the one who attempts to do anything in contradiction to these arrangements or to those aspects of these arrangements which have been approved and ratified by the *boule* and *demos* pay for the additional adornment of the greatest goddess, Artemis, twenty-five thousand denarii and to the *fiscus* of the Emperor another twenty-five thousand denarii.

Let the aforementioned arrangements be in legal effect for all time..., just as Aquillius Proculus, the beneficent proconsul, and Afranius Flavianus, *vir egregius*, the legate and proprætor, in their letters concerning these arrangements have approved and established the aforementioned fine. Gaius Vibius Salutaris, the son of Gaius, of the tribe Oufentina has brought forth the aforementioned endowment and gifts.¹⁴⁹

The violator of Salutaris' instructions is to pay two fines of twenty-five thousand, one to the goddess and the other to the *fiscus* of the emperor, with no mention of the *gerousia*. It should be noted before proceeding that the two letters need not have been identical. Since Salutaris' sought approval from the proconsul, it is entirely possible that the proconsul took it upon himself to add certain elements. In this case, it seems that Proculus altered the details of the fines to the benefit of the *gerousia*. If the restoration of γε[ρ]ουσία in the dative is correct, the *gerousia* must have been intended as the beneficiary of at the very least a portion of the fine payable to the *fiscus*: the fine went to the *fiscus* for the *gerousia*. The length of the lines, however, indicates that more

¹⁴⁹ Cat. no. 54; cf. cat. no. 54, ll. 110-116 where the double-fine is also mentioned.

information was provided on the way in which the *gerousia* was to profit from the penalty.

A roughly contemporary inscription, already discussed above, establishing heroic honours, also associates the goddess, the emperors and the *gerousia* in the clauses specifying the penalty for alteration of its terms.¹⁵⁰ The guilty party is to pay ten thousand denarii “for the further adornment of the goddess Artemis and of the Augusti and another ten thousand denarii for a cash distribution for the Elders.” Although the fine in this case is “for the further adornment” of the emperors rather than for the *fiscus* of the emperors, the remainder parallels the penalty clause in Proculus’ letter: both Artemis and the emperors are beneficiaries of the fine, and the *gerousia* appears in the dative, here as *presbeuterois*. This is the only other published instance of an association of these three in connection with such a fine, so it stands to reason that they should be similar.

Given that the two inscriptions are nearly contemporary and generally similar – whatever other purposes Salutaris’ endowment served, it was in many respects a public memorial of Salutaris, functioning in the same way as heroic honours for Peplus – the earlier inscription may provide a model for explaining the presence of *gerousia* in the penalty clause of Afranius’ letter. With the acknowledgment that the remains of the stone have not been viewed by autopsy, the presence of *gerousia* can be explained by the supposition of *three* fines of twenty-five thousand denarii: one payable to Artemis, one to the *fiscus* of the emperor, and one to the *gerousia* to fund a cash distribution to its members. The inscription might then read:

θαι προστείμου δη(νάρια) β' μ(ύρια) πεντακισ[χί]λια, εἰς δὲ τὸν τοῦ
[Σεβαστοῦ φίσκον δη(νάρια) β' μ(ύρια) πεντακισχίλια, εἰς δὲ τὴν τῇ]

¹⁵⁰ Cat. no. 53; Jones (1983), in his edition of this inscription, notes similarities between it and Salutaris’ inscriptions.

γερ[ουσί]α διανομήν ἄλλα δη(νάρια) διςμύρια πεντακ[ί]σχίλια, 410
καθ[ὸ]ς Ἀκουίλλιος Πρόκλος, ὁ λαμπρότατος ἀν]θύπατος,¹⁵¹

In addition to explaining the presence of *gerousia*, such a restoration also preserves the approximate length of the lines, when the abbreviations are taken into account, and brings the text into closer parallel with that of Peplus:

καὶ ἀποτεισάτω [ὁ το]ῦτο πρ[ό]ξας] εἰς 2
προσκόσ[μημα θεᾶς ?]
[Ἀρτέμι]δος καὶ τῶν Σεβαστ[ῶν] δηνάρια μύρια κα[ὶ ἄλ]λα εἰς
δι[α]νομήν τοῖς πρεσβ[υτέροις]
[δηνάρι]α μύρια¹⁵²

The restoration, however, raises the question of why the proconsul would add a fine to the benefit of the *gerousia*. There are several possible reasons. First, the *gerousia*'s presence as a recipient of a portion of the fine would give it, as argued above, a strong interest in ensuring that Salutaris' arrangements remained in force.¹⁵³ Second, the decree instituting heroic rites suggests the possibility that it was becoming part of the *gerousia*'s regular activities even at this early date to serve as official or unofficial guarantor of the terms of memorial endowments.¹⁵⁴ Third, and most importantly from the perspective of the *gerousia*'s interactions with the emperor, the addition of a third fine indicates that Imperial officials continued to take an interest in the affairs of the *gerousia*, but with the proconsul taking a more and more active role.¹⁵⁵ Closely related to this, it may be noted

¹⁵¹ Cat. no. 15.

¹⁵² Cat. no. 53.

¹⁵³ Oliver (1941): 85, while denying a fine payable to the *gerousia*, states that "the two most irresistible executors at Ephesus, namely, the imperial procurator and the management of the Artemisium, were associated to guarantee the inviolability of the arrangements."

¹⁵⁴ Above, pp. 220-222 & 238-242.

¹⁵⁵ Publius Petronius' role in confirming the *gerousia*'s freedom from contributions, assize district fees and billeting should not be viewed in the same light as Proculus' proposed action. The exemptions which Petronius granted can be seen to be purely provincial in nature and therefore at his discretion without necessary reference to the emperor. The introduction of third fine is not, admittedly, related to the emperor either, but, unlike Petronius' confirmations, Proculus' third fine, if this restoration is acceptable, indicates a closer involvement in the activities of the *gerousia*, particularly since it would have been done without a request from the body: Petronius' actions, on the other hand, were a direct result of an embassy from the

that the addition of such a fine may have won Afranius and the proconsul Proculus support from the members of the *gerousia*. A governor who took unpopular decisions risked the retaliation of his subjects after his departure, so that winning local supporters and allies may have formed an important part of the governor's activities:¹⁵⁶ earning the favour of the members of the *gerousia* through the institution of a fine would have been a politically astute move on the part of Afranius or Proculus, or both, and one which cost nothing. As was argued in Chapter Five, the *gerousiastai* may not have formed the provincial elite, but they were of such social standing as to be worth winning over.

At any rate, the presence of the *gerousia* in Afranius' letter cannot be entirely disregarded.¹⁵⁷ Since Proculus or Afranius appear to have been responsible for the addition of the *gerousia* at this point, it seems beyond dispute that one of them took an active interest in the *gerousia*'s affairs, whether or not he made them the beneficiaries of a third twenty-five thousand denarii fine.¹⁵⁸ It must also be stressed once again that the three clauses specifying the penalties for violators of the terms of Salutaris' donation do not agree. Heberdey suggests that this is a result of a misconception which influenced the

gerousia. Afranius' letter was a response to the request of Salutaris and the city for official approval. Moreover, Hadrian's letter of AD 120/121, with its tactful reminder that the proconsul would have been a more appropriate authority to appeal to, suggests an uncertainty on the part of the *gerousia* concerning where exactly to direct their petitions. If the diminishment of its ease of access to the emperor began as early as Petronius' proconsulship in the 30s, it is perhaps unlikely that such uncertainty would remain nearly a century later. The introduction of a fine for the benefit of the *gerousia* could not be an explicit indication that the proconsul was now to be seen as the *gerousia*'s imperial patron and the primary recipient of petitions, but it would make uncertainty on this point understandable. Twenty years might seem like a sufficient period of time to resolve this uncertainty, but it must be recalled that in another forty years after that the *gerousia*, through an imperially appointed official, still attempted to bring its concerns to the attention of the emperor, concerns which were not entirely dissimilar from those addressed to Hadrian and referred unceremoniously to the proconsul.

¹⁵⁶ Kokkinia (2004): 56-58; the significance of the opinion of the governor held by provincial citizens continued well beyond the second century (Slootjes [2004]: 70-75).

¹⁵⁷ Oliver (1941): 85: "we do not know how or even whether the Gerusia was mentioned by [Afranius Flavianus]." All editions – including Oliver – print γερ[ουσι]α at the beginning of 410.

¹⁵⁸ This interest may also be apparent in the existence of *logistai* of the *gerousia*, who, as was noted in Chapter Five, were appointed – whether at the request of the body in question or not – by Imperial officials.

composition of Afranius' letter: he modelled his letter on others in which the *gerousia* did appear.¹⁵⁹ It is true that it is difficult to reconcile the fact that Salutaris mentions only two fines while Afranius appears to mention three, particularly when Salutaris' two fines are accompanied by the phrase, "just as Aquillius Proculus, the proconsul, and Afranius Flavianus, the legate and proprætor, in their letters established the aforementioned fine." Virtually the same phrase, however, appears in Afranius' letter. Whether an error or not, the fact that a fine payable to the *gerousia* appears in a proconsular letter would, one can argue, override its absence in a civic decree. Consequently, while Salutaris and the *boule* may not originally have envisioned a third fine, Proculus' actions – or Afranius' error in his letter – created one.

Although the *gerousia*'s rights diminished in its loss of access to the emperor, the second century did not bring with it a lessening of the *gerousia*'s privileges in every way. These privileges continue to reflect the relatively high social position which the *gerousia* occupied in the city. Thus, the *gerousia* continues to appear among the recipients of distributions of food and money, as is evident not only from the two inscriptions just discussed, but also from three additional inscriptions. A fragmentary inscription from the first half of the second century AD preserves the middle portion of an honorary decree.¹⁶⁰ As such, the name of the individual being honoured is unknown, though the participles indicate that it was a woman. Among her services, the text of the inscription records that she provided distributions of sacrificial meat to the *boule* and *gerousia*. It can be concluded that the woman involved was a priestess of Artemis, since the phrasing of this clause, using the verbal *dianeimo* rather than the nominal *dianome*, finds Ephesian

¹⁵⁹ Heberdey, *FiE* II, p. 146.

¹⁶⁰ Cat. no. 42.

parallels only in the decrees honouring Vipsania Polla and Vipsania Olympia; in addition, the sacred servant and the victors in the Artemisia are included among the recipients of the distributions.¹⁶¹ As was the case during the first century, the *gerousia* is given a prominence in these benefactions second only to that of the *boule*.

A hymnode and *grammateus* of the Hadrianeia during the agonothesie of Tiberius Julius Reginus in AD 170 was honoured in an inscription which, like that of the priestess just discussed, preserves neither his name nor those of the authors of the decree.¹⁶² The recipient of a crown, he is also awarded the privilege of participating in distributions offered to the *boule*, *gerousia* and the *chrysophoroi*. Although distributions to the *chrysophoroi* are virtually unknown, the inscription indicates not only that the *gerousia* continued to be among the common recipients of distributions but also that the distributions were becoming more exclusive and perhaps less common. As such, the retention of the *gerousia* among the beneficiaries of these small gifts is a mark of the esteem in which it was held by the benefactors and the citizens of Ephesus in general.

Finally, the *gerousia* appears as the recipient of a *dianome* in a long list of donors and *kouretes* from the reign of Commodus.¹⁶³ As is often the case, no details are given about the *dianome*. The extent of the evidence for the distribution in this inscription is that the *gerousia* was the sole recipient and that it was provided by the *prytanis* Marcus Aurelius Menemachus. Obviously, the *gerousia* is given prominence and a degree of social importance by its appearance as the only beneficiary. An additional privilege, similar to its inclusion in distributions, hints at the *gerousia*'s perceived high social

¹⁶¹ Cat. no. 35.

¹⁶² Cat. no. 44.

¹⁶³ Cat. no. 65.

standing and honour: a section of seating in the theatre appears to have been reserved for the *gerousiastai*.¹⁶⁴

The rights and privileges of the *gerousia* during the second century can be summarized briefly. At the beginning of the century, it most likely retained a portion of the freedom of access to the emperor which it enjoyed in the first century of the empire. This access was gradually limited over the course of the century until it was expected that the *gerousia* and its representatives would bring queries and complaints to the attention of the proconsul rather than the emperor; in exceptional situations, such as those involving the *maiestas* of the emperor, direct contact was still permissible, though an intermediary may have been introduced in the person of a *logistes*. Whether the replacement of the emperor by the proconsul as the patron and supporter of the *gerousia* was a result of an imperial decision cannot be known, but it is unlikely. The process was most likely begun through minor interventions and displays of support by a proconsul who took an interest in the *gerousia* and whose involvement created an Ephesian precedent upon which subsequent proconsuls gradually built until the proconsul became by tradition the regular authority to whom to appeal.¹⁶⁵ With this development may have come a lessening of the *gerousia*'s financial privileges with respect to sacred loans. It continued to appear as a beneficiary of distributions as it had during the first century, though again this is, strictly speaking, a general tradition rather than a genuine right.

¹⁶⁴ Two fragmentary inscriptions, *FiE* II, p. 185, no. 83, and *FiE* II, p. 186, no. 86 (*IEph* 2086b), form the basis for this suggestion.

¹⁶⁵ Cf., on a governor's interference in civic affairs, Kokkinia (2004): 39-42; Burton (2001); this is not to say, however, that such interference was the norm.

6.3.4. The Late Second and Early Third Century AD

Most attestations of the *gerousia* later than the mid to late second century appear in funerary inscriptions. Consequently, evidence for its rights and privileges, as was the case for its activities, is not as abundant as for earlier periods. It is possible, though, to draw some conclusions about the benefits enjoyed by the *gerousia* during this period.

Several inscriptions indicate the existence, as during the first century, of a gymnasiarch of the *gerousia* during the late second and early third centuries. Hicks and Oliver identified Marcus Aurelius Agathopus as one such individual, but reasons have been given above in Chapter Four to suggest that he was not in fact a gymnasiarch of the *gerousia*, but rather a gymnasiarch of an unspecified gymnasium.¹⁶⁶ Niconianus Eucarpus, on the other hand, is clearly identified as a gymnasiarch of the *gerousia*.¹⁶⁷ Similarly, Aphrodisius the son of Cleander served as gymnasiarch of the *gerousia*, as evidenced in an inscription which probably dates to this period.¹⁶⁸ A summary of the gymnasiarch's activities and responsibilities has been given above in Chapter Five and need not be repeated here. It is sufficient to note that the existence of a gymnasiarch indicates that the *gerousia* had access to a gymnasium. It also demonstrates that the members of the *gerousia* were provided with oil for their use, through the generosity of fellow-citizens and, in some cases, fellow-*gerousiastai*. Again, however, a gymnasiarch of the *gerousia* does not prove that the *gerousia* had exclusive access to a gymnasium of its own.

Although *sunhedrion* cannot indiscriminately be assumed to be a reference to the *gerousia*, it is possible that the *gerousia* came to be considered one of several *sunhedria*

¹⁶⁶ *GIBM* 587; Oliver (1941): 105, no. 20; cat. no. 23; above, Chapter Four, pp. 122-125.

¹⁶⁷ Cat. no. 24.

¹⁶⁸ Cat. no. 31.

in the city of Ephesus, and that by the late second century the term *sunhedrion* had begun to be used more indiscriminately so that it came to mean *a sunhedrion* rather than *the sunhedrion*. As such, the *gerousia* appears to be the beneficiary of two citizens of the third century.¹⁶⁹ Both Zoticus the son of Artemidorus and Aurelius Baranus are said to have feasted or entertained ‘all the *sunhedria*’. It may be noted that in the case of Zoticus, this action is based totally on a restoration; nonetheless, the extant inscription honouring Baranus renders the supposition entirely plausible. If it is correct that the *gerousia* could be included among the ‘all the *sunhedria*’, then the tradition of providing distributions to the *gerousia*, among other recipients, was still alive as late as AD 239, the *terminus ante quem* of Zoticus’ inscription.

There are, however, significant differences to be noted. First, the inclusion of “all the *sunhedria*” rather than specifically the *boule* and the *gerousia*, for example, as the beneficiaries, although it appears more generous on the part of the benefactor, renders a position among the recipients less and less privileged. Second, the distributions provided by Zoticus and Baranus are not identified with a specific term, and appear in both cases to have been allotments of food rather than small gifts of money: Zoticus’ *hestiasas* has clear associations with feasting, and Baranus’ *hypodexamenon*, in the sense of receiving a visitor as a host, implies food rather than money. This may suggest a change in the perception of which gifts were appropriate for the *gerousia*.

The phrase “all the *sunhedria*”, in addition to suggesting a diminished importance among the beneficiaries, may also indicate a diminishment in the overall importance of the *gerousia*: it was no longer felt necessary to specify that a distribution had been provided for the *gerousia*. This should not be carried too far, however. Zoticus appears

¹⁶⁹ Cat. nos. 45 & 48.

to have been a member of the *gerousia*, though the phrase *gerousiastes* is largely restored. Those offices which can be seen on the stone are not inconsistent with the position of a *gerousiastes* (*neopoios*, *kouros*, *chrysophoros*, *essen*, *naophulax*), so there is no strong reason to question the restoration.¹⁷⁰ The inclusion of the term cannot be other than a sign that the *gerousia* still enjoyed some prominence in the city and that its members continued to occupy a relatively high position in the esteem of their fellow citizens. Moreover, Zoticus entertained two Roman visitors to Ephesus, Annius Anullinus Percennianus and Aurelius Pinarius Gemellus. The inclusion of this service is by itself an indication of Zoticus' wealth and importance among the citizens of the city: it cannot be imagined that such officials would reside anywhere but with the rich and influential. The specification of the titles of the two Romans increases the significance of his service by enhancing the importance of his guests. It is possible that Zoticus was an extra-ordinary member of the *gerousia* for this period, but it seems unlikely that the *gerousia* had completely faded into obscurity. The perception of the *gerousia* had, nonetheless, changed.¹⁷¹

Zoticus' inscription may provide evidence for one additional right enjoyed by the *gerousia* during the late-second and early-third centuries. It will be recalled that the *gerousia* sought exemption from billeting soldiers from the general Prepelaus, on behalf of the Temple of Artemis, and that this may have been paralleled in the first century AD

¹⁷⁰ Above, Chapter Five.

¹⁷¹ There may be additional evidence for distributions provided to the *gerousiastai* in the late-second and early-third centuries. Van Rossum (1988): 161 suggests that [τοῖς δὲ γερουσιασ]ταις should be read in place of the generally accepted [τοῖς δὲ πολεῖ]ταις in the decree recording Nicomedes' re-institution of a sacrifice to the emperor and to Artemis (Cat. no. 56). Because of both the uncertainty of the *gerousia*'s role in cash distributions at this time and the position taken in this work that this inscription presents an instance of cooperation between the *gerousia* and another body in the celebration of this sacrifice, [τοῖς δὲ πολεῖ]ταις has been printed in the catalogue.

by a similar exemption.¹⁷² The members of the *gerousia* themselves may not have received any personal benefits from this exemption, but through its association with the temple, the body must have benefited. At that time, it was most likely Imperial officials who would be billeted, as in the case of Zoticus, rather than soldiers. That Zoticus served as host, therefore, might suggest that the *gerousia* lost this privilege sometime between the first and third centuries. Commemoration of such billeting, though, does not appear to have been common. There is, in fact, only one parallel use of the verb *epidemeo* in the published inscriptions of Ephesus, though this is not an honorary inscription; the verb is most often used for the hosting of participants in games or festivals, or simply of *xenoi*.¹⁷³ The rarity of commemorations of individuals who had hosted Roman officials can be seen as an indication that such billeting was obligatory and therefore not appropriate for mention in an honorary inscription. Zoticus' inscription, then, becomes an anomaly. If it is assumed that the billeting exemption was still in effect, though, the mention of his hosting of Percennianus and Gemellus is easily explained: Zoticus was officially excused from billeting the Roman officials by virtue of his membership in the *gerousia*, but he voluntarily chose to perform this service and so earned for himself a highly unusual honour.

The *gerousia*'s rights and privileges appear to have been significantly reduced in the late second and early third centuries. There is no longer evidence that it was permitted to send embassies to the provincial proconsul, let alone the emperor, nor are there any letters responding to petitions or inquiries of the *gerousia*. It may, however,

¹⁷² Above, pp. 207-208 & 255.

¹⁷³ Titus Flavius Potemon hosted the emperor Hadrian in AD 129 (*IEph* 1145); cf., for example, *SEG* 14, 640 (Caunus); *IStrat* 530, 668, 672, 678, 706 (Lagina).

continue to enjoy the attention of at least some benefactors of Ephesus in the form of feasts and, occasionally, the provision of oil.

6.5. A *Geronteion*?

The omission of one feature closely associated with the activities, rights and privileges in all periods of the existence of the *gerousia* should be immediately apparent: Where did it conduct its business? Was there a meeting house for the *gerousia*? Given the situation in Sardis where the palace of Croesus was given over to the *gerousia* of that city, one is inclined to answer affirmatively.¹⁷⁴ Although Vitruvius seems to be imagining an association of older citizens (*seniorum*) somewhat different from the Ephesian institution, it is, nonetheless, still reasonable to suppose that a similar building existed in Ephesus.

Unfortunately, no building has been discovered in the city conveniently identified as belonging to the *gerousia*. To suppose that this building should be sought from among the numerous gymnasia of the city is unreasonable: a gymnasium for a meeting house does not seem to be in keeping with the activities of the *gerousia* which have been discussed in this chapter. The letter of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus to Ulpian Eurycles, it is true, does identify a building closely associated with the *gerousia*, which they call the *sunhedrion*. It will be recalled, though, that that building was probably not used as a meeting house, but as a storage area for Imperial statues.¹⁷⁵ A single inscription mentions a *geronteion*, but there is no known building associated with this identification; nonetheless, the inscriptions may suggest an area of the city in which such a building may

¹⁷⁴ Vit. 2.8.10: *Croesi domus, quam Sardiani civibus ad requiescendum aetatis otio seniorum collegio gerusiam dedicaverunt.*

¹⁷⁵ Cat. no. 17; cf. above, pp. 228-229, n. 53.

have been located.¹⁷⁶ Eleven inscriptions appear in the catalogue whose findspots are unknown. The remaining eighty come from various areas and buildings in the city (Table 6).

Several of these locations may be passed over immediately. Two of the inscriptions found in the Artemision were inscribed there because the *boule* and *demos* determined that they should be. Similarly, the *prytaneion* may be ruled out: six of the eight inscriptions mentioning the *gerousia* found there were *kouretes*-lists and were for that reason in the *prytaneion*. One of the two largest groups of inscriptions was found in or near the Church of St. John, but it is reasonable to suppose that they were moved there from elsewhere in the city during construction of the church or during subsequent repairs. Two of the three inscriptions found east of the Magnesian Gate are funerary inscriptions,

Findspot		Cat. no.
Tetragonus Agora	14	4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 31, 36, 38
Church of St. John	14	20, 22, 24, 25, 28, 42, 45, 52, 66, 77, 78, 86, 88, 90
Theatre	13	15, 16, 17, 19, 23, 26, 39, 44, 54, 55, 56, 57, 87
Prytaneion	8	18, 21, 60, 61, 62, 64, 65, 67
Arcadiane Street & Harbour	6	27, 48, 50, 51, 70, 91
East of the Magnesian Gate	3	30, 80, 85
Artemision ¹⁷⁷	3	1, 2, 59
Konzilskirche	2	72, 74
State Agora	2	33, 43
Scholastica Baths	2	46, 47
Other Locations	13	3, 34, 35, 41, 53, 58, 68, 71, 73, 75, 79, 82, 84
Unknown Findspots	11	29, 32, 37, 40, 49, 63, 69, 76, 81, 83, 89

Table 6: Findspots of Inscriptions Included in the Catalogue

¹⁷⁶Cat. no. 34.

¹⁷⁷ All three of these inscriptions were in fact found elsewhere other than the Artemision, but their original location was the Temple of Artemis.

as are those from the Konzilskirche and one each from the Harbour and Arcadiane Street. Several of the inscriptions found in the theatre were there for obvious reasons and do not associate the *gerousia* with the theatre: those texts which form a part of the Salutaris dossier were inscribed in the theatre as a public display by Salutaris himself; Gaius Stertinius Orpex' inscription was a similar display accompanying his distributions. It may be supposed that the majority of the others were inscribed in the theatre because of the prominence of the location rather than because of any direct connection with the *gerousia*: the inscriptions inscribed on the walls of the theatre were placed there at the instigation of the dedicators or benefactors.

Most of the inscriptions found in the Tetragonus Agora, though, have no immediately obvious reason for being there. Admittedly, eleven of these belong to the same series, but that they are a series may be significant: they were inscribed in an area which in all probability the *gerousia* itself selected. It was noted in Chapter Five that the *grammateus* of the *demos* was responsible for the display of Imperial decisions such as these, but given the *gerousia*'s interest in these particular documents, it must have been involved in the choice of location. One of the remaining four inscriptions found in this area is also informative: the honorary inscription of Octavia Capitolina, in which the *gerousia* is associated with the *boule* and *demos*. Another *gerousia* inscription from this area of the city may also be of value: the architrave inscription of Aphrodisius the son of Cleander was found in the southwest corner of the Agora, probably, according to the editors, in secondary usage.¹⁷⁸ If the architrave was originally in the area, however, it is possible that the *gerousia* had a particular interest in this area – secondary usage does not necessitate relocation. If it is necessary for the *gerousia* to have had its own “meeting

¹⁷⁸ Cat. no. 31; Knibbe (1968): 13-14, no. 5: “in Sturzlage, dort wohl in sekundärer Verwendung.”

house", it would not be unreasonable to suppose that it might be in this area of the city, perhaps associated with Aphrodisius' architrave.¹⁷⁹

This is, however, no more than a suggestion. By its very nature, the agora was the scene of a wide variety of inscriptions. It must not be supposed that the *gerousia* dominated the Tetragonus Agora, or even a portion of it. Nevertheless, the body may have had a presence in the agora and the area around it, particularly when one considers that Arcadiane Street and the Scholastica baths are not far from the Tetragonus Agora. Two additional inscriptions come from this area as well, one from Terrace House 2 and a second from the not-distant Theatre gymnasium.¹⁸⁰ The *gerousia* may or may not have had a building of its own in this area, but citizens of Ephesus and visitors to the city must have been aware of the presence of that body in this quarter of the city.

6.6. Conclusions

The *gerousia* of Ephesus engaged in a variety of activities and enjoyed different privileges during the period of six centuries over which there is evidence. Naturally, these did not remain the same throughout the *gerousia*'s existence, but rather changed and developed both as the city passed from kingdom to kingdom to empire and with the simple passage of time. Thus, the activities in which the body involved itself in the Hellenistic period form points of origin leading to activities attested under the Empire, while many of the rights and privileges possessed by the later *gerousia* appear to have

¹⁷⁹ Two caveats are in order. First, the findspots of the inscriptions need not have been the original locations of the inscriptions, as in the case of those found in the Church of St. John or Aphrodisius' architrave, so that this is, and should not be taken as anything more than, a supposition. Second, it is not *necessary* that the *gerousia* had an official "meeting house". It was suggested in Chapter Five that the internal structure of the *gerousia* may have been somewhat informal, so that informal meetings (perhaps in the area of the Tetragonus Agora) would be possible. Furthermore, a secure location in which to keep its liquid resources may not have been required, given the institution's association with the Temple of Artemis for much of its history.

¹⁸⁰ Cat. nos. 58 & 68.

developed out of those initially granted or upheld by the Hellenistic king Lysimachus through his general Prepelaus or by the city itself. The body reached a highpoint probably in the early second century, after which it began to decline, both in the activities it undertook and in the rights it enjoyed.

At the time of Lysimachus' capture of the city, the *gerousia* was involved in the financial administration of the Temple of Artemis. An embassy sent by it requested and received exemption from the billeting of troops and taxation of temple lands. Shortly after the beginning of the first century BC, it gained a favoured position among the financial administrators of the Temple of Artemis, though it did not have complete control over the temple's finances.

The *gerousia* may have continued to send embassies to various kings and generals during the Hellenistic period, but it is certain that it was sending ambassadors to Roman officials by the second half of the first century BC. The provincial proconsuls, possibly continuing a Hellenistic tradition, excused the body from billeting Roman officials and the payment of regular taxes and contributions.

Augustus and Caesar before him confirmed the privileged position which the *gerousia* held among the individuals or bodies in charge of temple loans. Its lending activities continued beyond the first century, but it appears to have become less effective guaranteeing the repayment of its loans; by the third century it was reduced, on at least one occasion, to taking rather than granting loans. A decrease in lending activity may be directly related to the loss of access to the emperor. During the Hellenistic period and the first century, it was able to send its embassies directly to the ruler, but Hadrian propagated an already existing trend by which its inquiries were given over to the

proconsuls until that individual became the regular authority to which the *gerousia* appealed.

The second century witnessed an increase in overseeing tombs and adherence to funerary instructions. The body is named in several instances as the recipient of a fine payable in the case of violation of the funerary inscription, sometimes alone and sometimes in the company of the *boule*. This may have been encouraged by the proconsul Aquillius Proculus at the beginning of the second century AD, but it had certainly begun by the end of the first century AD. It is a role in which the *gerousia* appears most often after the mid-second century.

As the *gerousia* gained more and more clear support from the early emperors, it began to take a more active role in the city as a whole, occasionally joining the *boule* and *demos* in honouring certain large-scale benefactors. This cooperation did not continue into the second century, though the body continued independently to honour certain of its grander benefactors on rare occasions during the first part of this century.

Overall, the *gerousia* gradually lost its position as the administrative body of at least some of the financial resources of the Temple of Artemis from the beginning of the Hellenistic period to the mid-third century AD; nonetheless, it continued to remain active in temple loans. This loss was accompanied by oscillations in its prominence in the public political affairs of the city. This was not, however, accompanied by a decline in the status of the individual members. The *gerousiastai* continued to be citizens of wealth, at least until the date of the last known member, Zoticus the son of Artemidorus, in AD 231-239. With their wealth, a continuation of influence for the individual members and for the *gerousia* as a whole must also be assumed. The diminishment of the *gerousia*

suggests an evolution from a public or semi-private group at the beginning of the Hellenistic period into a more private and social group.

Although every effort has been made in this chapter to include as much detail about the *gerousia*'s activities and rights as possible, the treatment is necessarily incomplete. Several of the inscriptions which provide pertinent information are fragmentary and so are not as illuminating as they might otherwise have been. The inevitable consequence of this is that a degree of supposition and guess work is required. To cite only one example, the letter of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus to the *logistes* of the *gerousia* is partially lost, so that the details of the final portion have to be deduced.¹⁸¹ Fragmentary inscriptions are not entirely debilitating to the purpose of this chapter; of far greater significance is the fact that the evidence for the *gerousia* is by its very nature selective. It is unreasonable to assume that every detail of the daily workings of the *gerousia* – or of any public or private body – would have been publicly displayed in inscriptions. Furthermore, not every inscription which was originally erected has survived: some stones may have been reused; some inscriptions may have been chiselled out and replaced; some inscriptions undoubtedly remain undiscovered or simply unpublished. The possibility exists, therefore, and must be acknowledged that the *gerousia* may have been active in more areas than those detailed in this chapter.

¹⁸¹ Cat. no. 17.

7. CONCLUSION

At the end of the nineteenth century, D.G. Hogarth noted that the *gerousiai* known to have existed in Asia Minor under the early empire had nothing in common with those of the Greek mainland before the coming of Rome.¹ It is important to note that Hogarth says nothing about the relationship between Roman, Hellenistic and pre-Hellenistic *gerousiai* in Asia Minor, only that the Doric and Asiatic institutions were distinct. The one obvious similarity between the Spartan *gerousia* created by Lycurgus and the Ephesian *gerousia* is the name. Naturally, the identical name encourages the search for ways in which the Doric and Asiatic bodies could be related, even if the Classical and Imperial bodies were not identical. Unfortunately, virtually no evidence survives for the pre-Hellenistic *gerousia* in Asia Minor to direct such an inquiry, but several facts which may be relevant do, nevertheless, emerge and may assist in the search for the origins of the Ephesian *gerousia*.

First, towards the end of the Peloponnesian War, Sparta actively supported and created small oligarchic governing bodies in various cities along the western coast of Asia Minor, particularly through the efforts of Lysander; Ephesus was among those cities which were subjected to a decarchy. Second, Sparta agreed to leave the Greek cities of Asia Minor to the suzerainty of the Persian Empire after the unsuccessful revolt and death of Cyrus. Third, groups of special advisors in Persia were called by the Greeks *epikletoi*. Fourth, Alexander the Great replaced a small oligarchic ruling body in Ephesus by establishing a democratic constitution. Finally, the *gerousia* and *epikletoi* existed side by side at the beginning of the Hellenistic period in Ephesus, subordinate to the *boule* and *demos*.

¹ Hogarth (1891): 69.

One can, therefore, postulate the following early history of the Ephesian *gerousia* with the recognition that it is theoretical only. It had its origins not in the decarchy established by Lysander, but possibly in an oligarchy set up in opposition to it by the Persians after the official withdrawal of Sparta from the coast of Asia Minor at the beginning of the fourth century BC, or in a group of citizens who acted on their own authority in this or a similar time of crisis. This oligarchy or group of citizens was medized by the introduction of permanent or semi-permanent advisors, the *epikletoi*, Persian appointees. Under the Persian Empire, the *gerousia* and *epikletoi* administered the city, subject, presumably to the satrap, and were most likely involved in the affairs of the Temple of Artemis as well. Alexander deprived this double-body of its political powers, which he granted to the *boule* and *demos*, but it continued to exist, associated primarily with the temple.

At this point, the beginning of the Hellenistic period, it becomes easier to trace the patterns of development of the *gerousia*, though such a task is by no means free from difficulties nor is it entirely free from speculation. The *gerousia* and the *epikletoi* became more closely bound until a single term sufficed to identify the hybrid group. The size of the body is unknown for this period of its existence, but it is reasonable to suppose that it was not significantly larger than the proposed Persian appointees or citizens, which need not have been significantly more numerous than Lysander's ten decarchs. By the mid-first century AD, though, it had grown to between one hundred and one hundred and twenty members. The body continued to grow over the course of the first century until there were approximately four hundred *gerousiastai* in AD 104. Beyond this year, there is

insufficient evidence to determine the number of members but it probably continued to grow during the prosperous second century.

At some point, though, membership numbers must have levelled off or even declined. The honour and public status associated with membership varied throughout its existence, but probably began to drop after a highpoint in the mid-second century AD. The latest certainly dated inscription in which it appears was erected during the reign of Philip the Arab, but the *gerousia*'s absence thereafter is not an indication of a sudden disappearance. Rather, commemoration of membership in the *gerousia* diminished for some reason, possibly, but not necessarily, associated with the political turmoil and rapid succession of emperors during the mid-third century. A change in attitudes may also have been involved in the failure of the *gerousia* to appear beyond the mid-third century. As *gerousiastai* lost their claim to honour (or their perceived honour) on the basis of their membership, that membership must have been seen as less desirable and the *gerousia* consequently became less and less significant in Ephesus; there would, therefore, have been even less reason to commemorate one's membership.

The *gerousiastai* themselves were wealthy citizens of Ephesus, though not the wealthiest or most socially significant. Religious positions appear frequently among their public offices, but there is no certain case of an individual enjoying membership in both the *gerousia* and the *boule*, nor is any *gerousiastes* known to have been an Imperial priest or a *prytanis*. The *gerousia* was, both in terms of social status and political power, subordinate to the *boule*, but membership did, during its highpoints, bring a certain degree of public prestige and may even have served as a means of gaining access to membership in the *boule*. There is, however, no indication of how membership to the

gerousia was gained; very little evidence exists to support the proposition that a fee was paid for entry.

The actual workings of the *gerousia* cannot be determined from the present state of evidence. One would assume that it had access to a meeting place. Lack of evidence also hinders the investigation of the internal organization of the *gerousia*. Several officers are known – secretaries, gymnasiarchs, legal representatives, auditors and, once, a treasurer – but only two appear always to have been members, namely the secretary and the treasurer; the gymnasiarch could be a member, but did not have to be, while legal representatives and auditors were externally appointed. It may be inappropriate to look for a rigid ranking of officers of the *gerousia*, but the secretary would seem to be the most obvious choice for a leading official.

The greatest change in the history of the body was that authored by Alexander the Great, and not its disappearance from the epigraphic record in the Hellenistic period or the city's transfer to Roman rule. The activities which the *gerousia* undertook from the beginning of the Hellenistic period to the mid-third century AD suggest that it evolved continually and not through sudden changes. Its first appearance shows it representing the interests of the temple regionally to the king, specifically Lysimachus, and locally to the city. The *gerousia* was at this time subordinate to the *boule* and *demos*, but was nonetheless able to dispatch embassies on its own authority. By the first century BC, the *gerousia* had become active in some sacred loans. That it seems to have acquired a privileged position among the lenders of the city by this time suggests that it had been involved in the administration of temple loans for some time before this. This favoured

position, along with the right of dispatching envoys, appears to have been maintained unchanged into the Imperial period.

The body may have gained some equality with the *boule* and *demos*, joining those bodies as a partner in honorary inscriptions and possibly, on occasion, in embassies; it may, however, be more correct to say that the *boule* and *demos* lost some of their authority under the Romans than to say that the *gerousia* gained. This apparent equality, as far as the epigraphic evidence shows, does not persist into the second century, when the *gerousia* ceases to appear beside the *boule* and *demos* in honorary texts. The privileged lending position, though, received Imperial support during the second century as it had in the first. There was, however, an important change in the nature of that support: the proconsul of Asia appears to have become the *gerousia*'s source of Imperial backing. The *gerousia*'s ease of access to the emperor – originally manifested in its ability to send ambassadors and to receive replies in the forms of letters – diminished as the proconsuls of the province began to take a more active interest in its affairs. This diminishment may have progressed so far by the third quarter of the second century that the *gerousia* could only appeal indirectly to the emperor.

In the late second and early third centuries, the *gerousia* appears in funerary inscriptions as the caretaker of certain tombs and as the recipient of fines in the case of violations of the sepulchral specifications. It is by this time an kind of unofficial guarantor of some funerary arrangements, but this role may have originally developed at the beginning of the second century, when it was given an interest in seeing that violators of the terms of one endowment fund certainly and possibly a second were held responsible.

Throughout the Roman period, the *gerousia* ensured that it remained benevolent in the eyes of provincial officials and emperors through the use of the title *philosebastos*, the erection of Imperial statues, and the occasional celebration of feasts in honour of the Emperor. This representation contributed to the *gerousia*'s ability to continue to exist under the Roman government, an existence which was probably assisted by a policy similar to that of Trajan in Bithynia: if the formation of assemblies of citizens had been upheld in Rome's early treaties with particular cities, those assemblies were permitted to continue. It is not an unforgivable assumption to deduce from this that a body such as the *gerousia* of Ephesus, composed of many wealthy and prominent citizens of that city, should have been permitted to continue, given that it had certainly existed in the city for almost three centuries before the establishment of the principate, and quite probably for four. Moreover, it was closely associated with the Artemision, which may have further justified its continued existence in the eyes of provincial officials.

The *gerousia*, though, was not simply a body of citizens which was allowed to remain: it has been seen that both emperors and proconsuls of Asia were involved in the affairs of the *gerousia*. Although the *gerousia* had probably lost the majority of its political powers by the beginning of the Hellenistic period, it remained an influential body under the empire because of the status of its individual members and because of its longstanding existence. It did, however, retain some political elements. The existence of a *logistes* of the *gerousia*, even if he was only an irregularly appointed individual, is, perhaps, one of the most obvious of its political features. That a *logistes* or *curator* could be appointed suggests that a public, officially recognized position was occupied by the *gerousia*. It must be noted, however, that this body does not normally appear alongside

the *boule* and *demos*, particularly for the period during which *logistai* are known to have been appointed for the *gerousia*. Moreover, the appearance of the *gerousia* beside the *boule* and *demos* seems to be limited to honorary inscriptions. It is unlikely, therefore, that the *gerousia* formed a third political partner for the *boule* and *demos*.

The constitutional position of the *gerousia* in Ephesus is unclear. It cannot be definitively stated that it was political, social or religious. At all periods for which there is currently evidence, it seems that it was involved in the lending of temple resources and its own secular resources. It enjoyed a privileged position in the city through the social status of its individual members and its connections with the Temple of Artemis, and was thereby enabled to associate itself, sometimes on an equal footing, with the *boule* and *demos*. Such an association was probably not the result a defined constitutional position, though. Its official political powers probably disappeared for the most part with Alexander's restoration of a democratic constitution, after which it became a semi-public association of Ephesians engaging in financial activities; it was at all times closely involved with the affairs of the temple.

The Imperial Ephesian *gerousia* may have nothing in common with the original Doric institution. The two bodies were not, however, completely separate. Originally, the Ephesian *gerousia* was most likely genuinely political, but, beginning in the Hellenistic period, it began an evolution into a body which, by the mid-third century AD, was no longer an administrative body whose decisions and actions directed Ephesian policy. The changes which can be observed in the epigraphic evidence for the *gerousia*, particularly in its activities and privileges, should be seen as natural developments, influenced by Roman rule, perhaps, but certainly not caused by Roman rule.

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Appendix I: Catalogue of Inscriptions

The criteria determining the inclusion and exclusion of inscriptions in this catalogue have been discussed in Chapter Three and need not, therefore, be repeated here. It may be well, however, to review the arrangement of the inscriptions. The primary divisions of the catalogue are very broad: an inscription is either Hellenistic or Imperial in date. Because the vast majority of *gerousia*-inscriptions fall into the latter category, they have been further subdivided by type, of which six are identified: Imperial letters, Dedicatory inscriptions, Honorary inscriptions, Public decrees, Lists of names and Funerary inscriptions. The three Hellenistic inscriptions can all be classified as Public decrees.

Each inscription is accompanied by references to earlier editions, by an identification of its findspot, by its measurements and by an estimate of its date whenever possible. The first reference in the case of each inscription is the source for the text presented. Alternate readings, when they affect the *gerousia* or its members, are provided in footnotes. Illustrations of the inscriptions have been collected when possible and presented in the second appendix.

I. Hellenistic Inscriptions

A. Decrees	Nos. 1-3	pp. 299-303
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II. Imperial Inscriptions

A. Letters from Imperial Officials	Nos. 4-18	pp. 304-316
B. Dedicatory Inscriptions	Nos. 19-31	pp. 317-324
C. Honorary inscriptions	Nos. 31-52	pp. 325-338
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E. Lists of Names	Nos. 59-70	pp. 362-370
F. Funerary Inscriptions	Nos. 71-91	pp. 370-380

I. Hellenistic Inscriptions

A. Decrees

- (1) *FiE* IX/I/I a2; *IEph* 1449.1-10; *GIBM* 449; *SGDI* 5589; *SIG*³ 353; Oliver, *SG* 1: honorary decree of *boule* and *demos* of Ephesus for Euphronius the son of Hegemon of Akarnania; fragments on two blocks found built into the *proscenium* of the theatre but originally from the Artemision. Measurements of the original block (including several other inscriptions): 208.4 x 60 cm. Date: 302-294 BC; the general Prepelaus, who is the recipient of the embassy referred to in this inscription, captured Ephesus on behalf of Lysimachus in 302 BC. The city was lost, until Lysimachus once again captured it in 295 or 294. Prepelaus was a general whom Cassander sent to assist Lysimachus in the campaigns leading up to the battle of Ipsus in 301 BC, so it cannot be taken for granted that he remained with Lysimachus throughout the seven years following Ipsus until the recapture of the city. He is known from Diodorus to have been present in the city in 302 BC, but it might make more sense for Euphronius to lead an embassy to him if he was not present in the city. Illustration: Fig. 5.

ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ· Ἡρογείτων εἶπεν· περὶ ὧν οἱ νεωποῖαι καὶ οἱ
 κουρήτες κατασταθέντες διελεχθήσαν
 τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τὸ ψήφισμα ἡνεγκαν τῆς γερουσίας καὶ τῶν ἐπικλήτων ὑπὲρ
 Εὐφρόνιου πολιτείας, δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ·
 ἔπειδῃ Εὐφρόνιος Ἡγήμονος Ἀκαρνᾶν πρότερόν τε εὖνους ὧν καὶ πρόθυμος
 διετέλει περὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἐφεσίων καὶ νῦν
 ἀποσταλείσης πρεσβείας πρὸς Πρεπέλαον ὑπὸ τῆς γερουσίας καὶ τῶν ἐπικλήτων
 ὑπὲρ τοῦ σταθμοῦ τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ τῆς ἀτελεί-
 ας τῇ θεῷ συνδιοίκησεν μετὰ τῆς πρεσβείας ὅπως ἂν ἡ ἀτέλ[ει]α ὑπάρχηι τῇ 5
 θεῷ, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἐν ἅπασι καιροῖς διατελεῖ
 χρήσιμος ὧν καὶ κοινῇ τῷ δήμῳ καὶ ἰδίαί τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι τ[ῶ]μ πολιτῶν
 ἐγνώσθαι ἐπαινέσαι τε Εὐφρόνιον εὖνοίας ἕνεκεν
 ἦν ἔχει περὶ τε τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ τῇ πόλιν, καὶ δοῦναι αὐτῷ πολιτε[ία]ν ἐφ' ἴσηι καὶ
 ὁμοίῃ, αὐτῷ καὶ ἐκγόνοις, ἀναγράψαι δὲ αὐτῷ τῇ
 πολιτείαν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος δυ καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ πολιτεῖ[αι]
 ἀ]ναγεγραμμέναι εἰσίν· ἐπικληρῶσαι δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ εἰς φυλὴν καὶ εἰς
 χιλιαστὺν, ὅπως ἂν εἰδῶσι πάντες ὅτι ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἐφεσίων τοὺς εὐεργ[ετοῦ]ντας τὸ
 τε ἱερὸν καὶ τῇ πόλιν τιμᾷ δωρεαῖς ταῖς προσηκούσαις.
 ἔλαχε φυλὴν Ἐφεσεύς, χιλιαστὺν Ἀργαδεύς. 10

Translation:

Decreed by the *boule* and *demos*; Herogiton proposed the measure; concerning which things the temple wardens and the *kouretes* having been appointed debated with the *boule* and concerning which they brought a decree of the *gerousia* and the *epikletoi* regarding the citizenship of Euphronius, it has been decreed by the *boule*:

Since Euphronius, the son of Hegemon, the Acarnian has formerly shown himself well disposed and enthusiastic toward the *demos* of the Ephesians and now, since, when an embassy was sent to Prepelaus by the *gerousia* and the *epikletoi* regarding the billeting

of soldiers around the temple¹ and the goddess' right to be free of taxation, he has arranged it by means of the embassy that the goddess' right to be free of taxation continues, and since he has accomplished other things at all opportune times being helpful both publicly to the *demos* and privately to those of the citizens who appeal to him, it has been decided both to praise Euphronius for the sake of the kindness which he shows to the sanctuary and the city, and to give to him citizenship on an equal and fair basis, to him and to his descendants, and to erect a record of his citizenship in the sanctuary of Artemis where the other records of citizenship are also erected; and to allot him both to a Tribe and to a Thousand, so that all may see that the *demos* of the Ephesians honour those who are benefactors of the sanctuary and of the city with proper gifts. He received the Tribe Ephesus and the Thousand Argadeus.

- (2) *IEph* 1470.1-10; *GIBM* 470; Oliver, *SG* 2; *SEG* 30, 1299: honorary decree of *boule* and *demos* of Ephesus for a Boeotian; found built into the *proscenium* of the theatre but originally from the Artemision. Measurements: 32.5 x 22.18-27.18 cm. Date: 302-281 BC. Illustration: Fig. 6.

[ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ·]

[----- εἶπεν·] κατασ[τα-]

[θέντων ἐπὶ τ]ῇμ β[ου]λῇ τῶν νεω-

[ποιῶν, κα]τὰ τὸ ψήφισμα τῆς γερ[ου-]

[σίας καὶ τῶ]ν ἐπικλήτων ὑπὲρ[---]

5

[ων]ος τοῦ ἀβλήτου· δεδόχθαι

[τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ ἐπαινέσ[αι]---

[ω]να Ἰσμηνοδώρου Βοιωτίον [τὸν ἀβλή-

[τῇ]ν καὶ στεφανῶσαι αὐτὸν [χρυσέῳ]

[στ]εφάνῳ καὶ ἀναγγεῖλαι [---]

10

[-----]· τῶ[---]

Translation:

It was decreed by the *boule* and *demos*; [...] proposed the measure; when the temple wardens were before the *boule* in accordance with the decree of the *gerousia* and the *epiklētoi* on behalf of [...] on the flute-player; it was decreed by the *boule* and *demos* to praise [...] on the son of Ismenodorus the Boiotian flute player and to crown him with a golden crown and to announce....

- (3) *IEph* 8; *SIG*³ 742; two decrees of the city of Ephesus regarding Mithridates VI on a marble plaque; found near the aqueduct. Measurements: 130 x 75 cm. Date: 86/85 BC. Illustration: Fig. 7.

[ἐπειδὴ, τοῦ δήμου]

[φυλάσσουν]τος τὴν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους τοὺς κοινούς σωτήρας πα-

[λαιὰν εὖν]οιαν καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς ἐπιτασσομέ[νοις προθύμῳς]

[πειθαρχ]οῦντος, Μιθραδάτης Καππαδοκί[ας βασιλεὺς παρα-]

¹ For σταθμός as the billeting of soldiers, see Roussel, *REG* 37 (1924): 79 & Robert, *Hellenica* 3 (1946): 79; cf. cat. nos. 12, l. 11; 13, l. 29; 14, l. 39.

[βᾶς τὰς π]ρὸς Ῥωμαίους συνθήκας καὶ συναγαγῶ[ν τὰς δυνάμεις ἐ-]
 [πεχείρη]σεν κύριος γενέσθαι τῆς μηθὲν ἑαυτῷ προ[σηκούσης] 5
 [χώρα]ς, καὶ προκαταλαβόμενος τὰς προκειμένας ἡμῶν πό[λεις ἀ-]
 [πάτ]η, ἐκράτησεν καὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας πόλεως καταπληξάμενος
 [τῷ] τε πλήθει τῶν δυνάμεων καὶ τῷ ἀπροσδοκῆται τῆς ἐπιβολῆς,
 [ὁ] δὲ δῆμος ἡμῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς συνφυλάσσωσιν τὴν πρὸς Ῥωμαί- 10
 ους εὐνοίαν, ἐσχηκῶς καιρὸν πρὸς τὸ βοηθεῖν τοῖς κοινῶς πράγμα-
 σιν, κέκρικεν ἀναδείξαι τὸν πρὸς Μιθραδάτην πόλεμον ὑπέρ
 τε τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίας καὶ τῆς κοινῆς ἐλευθερίας, ὁμο-
 θυμαδὸν πάντων τῶν πολιτῶν ἐπιδεδωκότων ἑαυτοὺς εἰς τοῦ[ς]
 [πε]ρὶ τούτων ἀγῶνας, διὸ δεδῶχθαι τῷ δήμῳ, τοῦ πράγματος [ἀ-] 15
 νήκοντος εἰς τε τὸν πόλεμον καὶ εἰς τὴν φυλακὴν καὶ ἀσφάλειαν κα[ὶ]
 σωτηρίαν τοῦ τε ἱεροῦ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῆς χώ-
 [ρ]ας, τοὺς στρατηγούς καὶ τὸν γραμματέα τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοὺς
 προέδρους εἰσενεγκεῖν ψήφισμα παραχρῆμα καὶ περὶ φιλανθρώπων
 καθότι συμφέρειν, καὶ περὶ τούτου διέλαβεν ὁ δῆμος.
 ἔδοξεν τῷ δήμῳ, γνώμη προέδρων καὶ τοῦ γραμματέως τοῦ 20
 βουλῆς Ἀσκληπιάδου τοῦ Ἀσκληπιάδου τοῦ Εὐβουλίδου, εἰσαγ-
 [γ]ειλαμένων τῶν στρατηγῶν· ἐπεὶ τῶν μεγίστων κινδύνων ἐ-
 παγομένων τῷ τε ἱερῷ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ τῇ πόλει καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς πολεί-
 ταις καὶ τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν τὴν τε πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν, ἀναγκαῖον ἐστι
 πάντας ὁμονοήσαντας ὑ[πο]στῆναι τὸν κίνδυνον, δεδῶχθαι τῷ δή- 25
 μῳ, τοῦ πράγματος ἀνήκοντ[ος εἰς] τὴν φυλακὴν καὶ ἀσφάλειαν καὶ σωτ[η-]
 ρίαν τοῦ τε ἱεροῦ τῆς Ἀρτέμ[ιδος καὶ] τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῆς χώρας. τοὺς
 μὲν ἐκγεγραμμένους ἢ παρα[γεγραμ]μένους ὑπὸ λογιστῶν ἱερῶν ἢ δ[η-]
 μοσίων ὠτινιούν τρόπῳ π[ά]λιν εἶ[ναι] ἐντίμους καὶ ἠκυρῶσθαι τὰς κα-
 [τ'] αὐτῶν ἐκγραφὰς καὶ ὀφειλήμ[ατα], τοὺς δὲ παραγεγραμμένους πρὸς [ιε-] 30
 [ρ]ᾶς καταδίκας ἢ δημοσίας ἢ ἐπίτειμα ἱερὰ ἢ δημόσια ἢ ἄλλα ὀφειλήματ[α]
 ὠτινιούν τρόπῳ παρῆσθαι πάντας καὶ εἶναι ἀκύρους τὰς κατ' αὐτῶν
 πράξεις· εἰ δὲ τινες ἐνεισιν ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς μισθώσεσιν ἢ δημοσίαις ὠ-
 ναῖς μέχρι τοῦ νῦν, τούτοις ἐστάναι τὰς πράξεις κατὰ τὰς προϋπάρχουσας
 οἰκονομίας κατὰ τοὺς νόμους· ὅσα δὲ ἱερὰ δεδάνεισται, πάντας τοῦ[ς] 35
 ὀφείλοντας καὶ χειρίζοντας ἀπολελύσθαι ἀπὸ τῶν ὀφειλημάτων, πλή[ν]
 τῶν ὑπὸ τῶν συστεμάτων ἢ τῶν ἀποδεδειγμένων ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐκδανεισ-
 [τ]ῶν ἐπὶ ὑποθήκαις δεδανεισμένων, τούτων δὲ παρῆσθαι τοὺς τόκους ἀπὸ
 τοῦ εισιόντος ἐνιαυτοῦ, ἕως ἂν ὁ δῆμος εἰς καλλίονα παραγένηται κατάσ[τα-]
 σιν· καὶ εἰ τινες δὲ πεπολιτογράφηται μέχρι τῶν νῦν χρόνων, εἶναι πάντας ἐ[ν-] 40
 τίμους καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν μετέχειν φιλανθρώπων· λελύσθαι δὲ καὶ εἶναι ἀκύρο[υς]
 τὰς τε ἱερὰς καὶ δημοσίας δίκας, εἰ μὴ τινὲς εἰσιν ὑπὲρ παρορισμῶν χώρας ἢ δι'
 ἀμφ[ισ-]
 βητήσεως κληρονομίας ἐξευγμέναι· εἶναι δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἰσοτελεῖς καὶ παροίκους
 καὶ ἱερούς καὶ ἐξελευθέρους καὶ ξένους, ὅσοι ἂν ἀναλάβωσιν τὰ ὅπλα καὶ πρὸς

το[ύς]
 ἡγεμόνας ἀπογράψονται, πάντας πολίτας ἐφ' ἴση καὶ ὁμοίαι, ὧν καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα 45
 [δια-]
 σαφισάτωσαν οἱ ἡγεμόνες τοῖς προέδροις καὶ τῷ γραμματεῖ τῆς βουλῆς, οἱ
 καὶ ἐπικληρωσάτωσαν αὐτοὺς εἰς φυλάς καὶ χιλιαστῶν· τοὺς δὲ δημοσίους
 ἐλευθέρους τε καὶ παροίκους, τοὺς ἀναλαβόντας τὰ ὄπλα· προελθόντες
 δὲ εἰς τὸν δῆμον καὶ οἱ δεδανικότες <κατὰ> τὰ συμβόλαια τὰ τε ναυτικά καὶ
 κατὰ χειρό-
 γραφα καὶ κατὰ παραθήκας καὶ ὑποθήκας καὶ ἐπιθήκας καὶ κατὰ ὧνάς καὶ 50
 ὁμολογί-
 [α]ς καὶ διαγραφὰς καὶ ἐκκρήσεις πάντες ἀσμένως καὶ ἐκουσίως συνκαταθέμε-
 [νοι] τῷ δήμῳ, ἀπέλυσαν τοὺς χρεοφιλέτας τῶν ὀφειλημάτων, μενουσῶν τῶν
 [.]αι διακατοχῶν παρὰ τοῖς νῦν διακατέχουσιν, εἰ μὴ τινες ἢ ἐνθάδε ἢ ἐπ' ἐ-
 [.]ένοις δεδανείκασιν ἢ συνηλλάχασιν· τὰ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς τραπεζεῖ-
 [τας, ὅσοι μὲν ἐν τῷ ἐ]φ' ἔτος ἐνιαυτῷ τεθεματίκασιν ἢ ἐκκρήσεις εἰλήφασιν ἢ 55
 ἐνέ-
 [χυρα δεδώκασιν, ἐστὰ]ναι αὐτοῖς τὰς πράξεις τὰς προὔπαρχούσας κατὰ τοὺς
 [νόμους· ὅσα δὲ ἐστὶν θέμα]τα ἢ ἐκκρήσεις ἐκ τῶν ὑπεράνω χρόνων, τούτων
 [οἱ τραπεζεῖται τοῖς θεματεῖται]ς καὶ οἱ θεματεῖται τοῖς τραπεζεῖταις τὰς ἀ-
 [ποδόσεις ποιείσθωσαν κατὰ μέρος ἀπὸ] τῷ εἰσι[ον]όντος ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐν ἔτεσιν δέ-
 [κα, τοὺς δὲ τόκους ἀποτινέτωσαν κατὰ τ]ὸ ἀνάλογον· ἐὰν δὲ ἐν τινι ἐνια- 60
 [υτῷ
 ἀπο]δόντος τὰς ἐν τοῖς νόμοις
 [.
]ος ἐπ' ἐνεχύροις ε[.]

Translation

...since, when the *demos* was preserving the ancient goodwill which they have toward their common saviours the Romans and when the *demos* were enthusiastically obedient to every command, Mithridates the king of Cappadocia, having violated the agreements with the Romans and having collected his armies, attempted to become the master of lands to which he had no right, and since, having first seized our outlying villages, he deceived us and he took over our city surprising us with the mass of his armies and with the unexpectedness of his advance, and since our people, having from the beginning preserved our goodwill to the Romans, taking the opportunity to lend aid to the common efforts, has decided to take up the war against Mithridates for the sake of the authority of the Romans and the common freedom, with all the cities with a common will having thrown themselves into the struggles for these things, it has been decreed by the *demos*: since the situation is fit for war and for the preservation, safety and salvation of the Temple of Artemis and of the city and its territory, the *strategoi* and the *grammateus* of the *boule* and the leading men have brought forth a proposal suitable to the moment and have acted in a generous manner and the *demos* has decided about this matter.

It is decreed by the *demos*, the proposal being that of the leading men and the *grammateus* of the *boule*, Asclepiades the son of Asclepiades the son of Euboulides, and being brought forward by the *strategoi*: since very great dangers are approaching the Temple of Artemis and the city and all the citizens and inhabitants of the city and its

territory, it is necessary that all should with one mind endure the threat, it has been decreed by the *demos* since the situation is fit for the preservation, safety and salvation of the Temple of Artemis and of the city and its territory.

Those who have been stricken out or blackmarked by the sacred or public *logistes*,² in any way whatsoever, will again be held in honour and the accounts and debts against them will be voided; and those marked for sacred or public trials or charged with sacred or public offences or for other debts, in any way whatsoever, their debts will be dropped and proceedings against them will be illegal. And if there are people who have rented the goddess' land or have bought land, their affairs will remain for them according to the existing legal arrangements; and whatever sacred monies are owed, everything which is owed and due will be dismissed, except those which have been lent upon security by the *sustemata* or by lenders appointed by them, and the interest from these will not be incurred for the approaching year until such time as the *demos* finds itself in better conditions. And if there are people who have become citizens before now, their citizenship will all be respected and they will have a share in the same honours. And sacred and public cases are to be dissolved and powerless, unless they are regarding boundary lines or the settlement of allotments because of a dispute; those with equality and resident foreigners and sacred servants and freedmen and foreigners, whosoever takes up arms and registers to support the (Roman) leaders, will all be equal to and enjoy the same rights as citizens, whose names the (Roman) leaders will make known to the leading citizens and the *grammateus* of the *boule*. They will allot these men into tribes and Thousands. Locals and freemen and the inhabitants of the region who take up arms (will receive the same rights). Coming before the *demos* those, who have lent money according to the naval agreements and according to the written declarations and according to the deposits and trusts and costs and according to the purchases and compacts and written receipts and all loans have readily and willingly deposited them (the agreements, contracts and loans) with the *demos*, and they are releasing the debtors from what was owed, while those who remain of the possessors...for the possessors now, unless there are some who have lent or have had business with foreigners either here or ...; regarding affairs relating to bankers, whoever has deposited security for the upcoming year or whoever has given loans or a pledge to someone who has accepted it, their affairs will remain according to the existing laws; whatever deposits or loans were made prior to this decree the bankers will give to the depositors or the depositors will return to the bankers the earned-interest calculated up to the tenth year, and they will pay the owed-interest in an analogous manner. But if in a certain year...when he has returned the...legally....

² This should be a reference to individuals who have defaulted on loans made by the temple or by civic authorities. From what list they are to be removed is not specified, but it is conceivable that it was a census list, an excessive penalty, perhaps, for a private loan, but not necessarily so for a public or sacred loan.

II. Imperial Inscriptions

A. Letters from Roman Officials

- (4) *JÖAI* 62 (1993): 119, no.11a.1-6: fragment of a letter to the *gerousia* of Ephesus; found in the Tetragonus Agora. Measurements: 20 x 29 x 10 cm. Date: Aratus son of Aratus was prytanis in 39/38; an Aratus also appears as a striker of coins in 49/48 BC and prytanis in 48/47 BC (*IEph* 9N.31, 9N.17). A Protogenes was prytanis in 34/33 BC (*IEph* 9N.47). Knibbe suggests that the Theo[dorus] mentioned in *ll.* 1-2 may be the same Theodorus who delivered the letter to Octavian in 29 BC (Cat. no. 6). The inscription should therefore be dated to 2nd half of the 1st c BC.

[----- 'Εφεσί]ων γερουσία χαίρειν Θεό-
[δωρος (?)----- τ]ῆς γερουσίας καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ τῶν
[----- Π]ρωτογένης Οὐλιάδου υἱ-¹
[ὸς-----]εροι, Ἀρατος Ἀράτου²
[-----] υἱὸς Ἑλικῶντος,
[-----]. ροτ[-----]

5

Translation:

...sends greetings to the *gerousia* of the Ephesians. Theo...of the *gerousia* and those who upon the...Protogenes the son of Ouliadus...Aratus the son of Aratus...the son of Helicon....

- (5) *JÖAI* 62 (1993): 113, no.1.1-6: fragment of a letter of Caesar (?) or Octavian(?) to the *gerousia* of Ephesus regarding privileges; found in the Tetragonus Agora. Measurements: the next six inscriptions (5-10) are on a single stone measuring 141 x 66.5 x 21-25 cm. Date: 48/47-27 BC.

[-----]. ο. [-----]
[.....]. ἀπεδεξάμην, ὡμολόγησά τε τ[ηρῆσαι τῶν]
[πρεσβυτέρων καὶ τὰ τείμια καὶ φιλάνθρωπα. ὃ[περ δὲ]
[καὶ ὑμεῖς ἦτ]ήσατε περὶ τῶν ὀφειλομένων ἀν[τὴ τῇ γε-]
[ρουσία χρε]ῶν κατὰ τοὺς νόμους συνήδ[ομαι τοὺς]
[ὑμετέρους] καὶ πράξεις γείνεσθαι. [ἔρρωσθε.]

5

Translation:

...I have received, and I agree to preserve the honours and privileges of the elders. And what you have asked about the debts which are owed to the *gerousia* itself I wish that it be in accordance with your own laws and practices. Farewell.

- (6) *JÖAI* 62 (1993): 114 no 2.7-16: letter of Octavian to the boule and demos of Ephesus, regarding a vote of the *gerousia* concerning its privileges; found in the Tetragonus Agora. Date: 29BC.

[Αὐτ(οκράτωρ) Καῖσαρ θε]οῦ υἱός, ὑπατος τὸ ε', αὐτο[κράτ]ωρ τὸ ζ',
[Ἐφεσίων βο]υλῇ, δῆμῳ χαίρειν· εἰ ἔρρω[σθε κ]αλῶς ἄν
[ἔχοι, κἀγὼ δὲ με]τὰ τοῦ στρατεύματος ὑγια[ί]νω. Θεόδω-

¹ *JÖAI*: οἱ ἐπὶ τῶν χρημάτων (τῆς γερουσίας).

² *JÖAI*: πρεσβύτε]εροι?

[ρος, Μέμνων (?), Πρ]ωτογένης, Ἡρακλείδης, Σώπα[τρ]ος, Ἀσκλη -

10

[πιάδης,] Ἀριστίων, Ἀγαθήνωρ, Μηνόδο[τος] πρέσβε[ις]

[τῆς ἐκκλη]σίας³ <ἀπέδοσαν τ'> ἔμοι τὸ παρὰ τῆς γερουσί[ας ψ]ήφισμ[α]

[διέλεξ]άν τε ἀκολουθῶς τοῖς ἐν αὐτ[ῷ δι]ακε[ιμέ-]

[νοῖς διὸ τό] τε σύστημα τῆς γερουσίας [ἀποδέχομαι,]

[τηρήσω τε] . [[.]] τοὺς ὑμετ[έρου]ς νόμους]

15

[καὶ τὰ τεῖμα καὶ] φιλάνθρωπα. [ἔρρωσθε.]

Translation:

Imperator Caesar, son of the god, consul for the fifth time, hailed as Imperator seven times, sends greetings to the *boule* and *demos* of the Ephesians. If you are well, it is well, and I am healthy along with the army. Theodorus, Memnon, Protogenes, Heraclides, Sopater, Asclepiades, Aristion, Agathenor, Menodotus the ambassadors of the Assembly (ἐκκλησία) have given to me the decree from the *gerousia*, and afterwards they spoke about the conditions in it; therefore I accept the constitution of the *gerousia*, and I shall preserve...your customs and honours and privileges. Farewell.

(7) *JÖAI* 62 (1993): 115, no. 6.48-50: rescript of M Agrippa to the *gerousia* of Ephesus regarding its privileges; found in the Tetragonus Agora. Date: 17-14BC.⁴

Μάρκος δὲ Ἀγρίππας τὰ αὐτὰ τεῖμα [καὶ]

[φι]λάνθρωπα ἔγραψεν καὶ ἐχαρίσατ[ο]

τῇ γερουσίαι.

50

Translation:

And Marcus Agrippa proclaimed and granted these same honours and privileges to the *gerousia*.

(8) *JÖAI* 62 (1993): 114, no. 3.17-26: letter of Tiberius to the *gerousia* of Ephesus regarding its privileges; found in the Tetragonus Agora. Date: 12/13 AD.

[Τι]βέριος Καῖσαρ Σ]εβαστοῦ υἱός, ἀρχιερεὺς, δημ[αρχικῆς] [ἐξουσ(ί)ας τὸ ι'],

[αὐτοκράτ]ωρ τὸ ζ', Ἐφεσίων τῇ γερουσί[α χαί]ρειν·

[Παρὰ . Κο]υρτίου Πρόκλου τὸ πεμφθὲν [ὑ]φ' ὑμῶν

[ψήφισμ]α δηλοῦν τὴν τῶν γερόντω[ν] πρός τε

20

[τὸν ἐμὸν πα]τέρα καὶ τὸν οἶκον ἡμῶν ἀπ[αν]τα διά-

[νοιαν ἡδέω]ς ἀποδέχομαι πεπεισμένος [τῆς αὐτ]ῆς

[ὑμᾶς καὶ πρ]ὸς ἐμαυτὸν εὐνοίας διαπρονο[εῖσθαι βου-]

[λομένου]ς· ἃ τεῖμα καὶ φιλάνθρωπα ὃ τε πά[ππος μου καὶ]

[ὁ πατὴρ ἐπε]βεβαίωσαν, ταῦτα ἵστε κάμὲ δια[φυλάξειν]

25

[παρεσκευ]ασμένον.

ἔρρωσθε.

³ One might also read [τῆς γερου]σίας to avoid the introduction of ἐκκλησία, which does not otherwise appear in this series of letters.

⁴ This inscription is the sixth in the series, appearing after a letter of Gaius Caesar or Germanicus (cat. no. 10). As such, it seems to be out of chronological order in the arrangement presented by Knibbe.

Translation:

Tiberius Caesar, son of Augustus, *pontifex maximus*, having the tribunician power for the tenth time, hailed as Emperor seven times, sends greetings to the *gerousia* of the Ephesians. I happily received from Curtius Proculus the decree sent by you which shows the goodwill of the elders both to my father and to our entire *domus*, believing because of it that you wish that your respect for me to be made clear. What honours and privileges my grandfather and father have confirmed for you, know that I, having made provisions, shall continue to preserve. Farewell.

- (9) *JÖAI* 62 (1993): 115, no. 4.26a-37: fragment of a letter of Germanicus (?) to the *gerousia* of Ephesus concerning its privileges; found in the Tetragonus agora.
Date: Germanicus was in northern Asia, in the region of Nicaea, in AD 18 (Knibbe; Tac. *Ann.* II.54).

[-----] ⁵ 26a
[Ἐφεσίων τῇ γερουσίᾳ χαίρειν· Μη[νόδοτος (?) - -]
[ὁ πρεσβευτῆς ὑμῶν, ὡς τὸ ψήφισμα καὶ το[.....]
[.....]αὶ συντυχῶν μοι ἐν Νεικαίᾳ ὡς[.....]
[.....] ἡμᾶς ἐδήλωσεν καὶ αὐτὸν οὖν α[.....] 30
[.....] π[ρὸς σύμπαντα τὸν οἶκον ἡμῶν π[.....]
[.....] ἐπαίνῳ φιλοτειμουμένους α[ὐτοὺς εἰς τε τὸν]
[πατέρα καὶ?] ἡμᾶς εὖνοιαν ἐπιδείκνυσθα[ι]
[.....] ἐμοὶ ἀποδεχόμενος ἐπιμελῆ[.....]
[τοὺς νόμους] τε τῆς γερουσίας καὶ τὰ ἔθη αὐτ[ῆς κάγῳ] 35
[οὐ μόνον] διαφυλάξειν ἀλλὰ καὶ συναύξ[ειν εἰς]
[τὸ μέλλον ἐπ]ὶ τὸ κρῖτον πειράσομαι. [ἔρρωσθε.]

Translation:

Germanicus Caesar, son of Augustus, proconsul, sends greetings to the *gerousia* of the Ephesians. Your ambassador, Menodotus, by whom the decree and the..., having met me in Nicaea...has shown us and so it...towards our entire *domus*...being honoured with public praise they have displayed respect for my father and myself...being received by me took care...both the customs of the *gerousia* and the practices of it I shall attempt not only to continue to preserve but also to augment for the better. Farewell.

- (10) *JÖAI* 62 (1993): 115, no 5.38-47: letter of Gaius Caesar or Germanicus to the *gerousia* of Ephesus concerning its privileges; found in the Tetragonus Agora.
Date: AD 1-4 or AD 18.

[Γερμανικὸς (?) Κ]αῖσαρ Σεβαστοῦ υἱὸς ἀνθύπατο[ς Ἐφεσίων]
[τῇ γερουσίᾳ χαίρειν· Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Δ [.....]
[ὁ πρεσβευτῆς] ἐνέτυχέν μοι περὶ ὑμῶν καὶ δι[ελέξατο] 40
[περὶ ὑμετ]έρων τειμίων τε καὶ φιλανθρώπ[ων καὶ ἐδήλω-]
[σεν ὑμᾶς εὖ]σεβῶς πρὸς τὸν οἶκον ἡμῶν δια[κεῖσθαι·]
[καὶ ἐμ]αντὸν οὕτως περὶ ὑμᾶς ἐσπουδακ[ότα ἐβε-]

⁵ Knibbe suggests [Γερμανικὸς Καῖσαρ Σεβαστοῦ υἱὸς ἀνθύπατος] (*JÖAI* 62 [1993]: 115).

[βαιωσάμ]ην αὐτῶν διδὲ τῆς τε εὐσεβείας ὑμᾶς ἀπ[ο]δέχο-
[μαι, ἃ τε τε]ίμια καὶ φιλάνθρωπα ὃ τε πάππος μου καὶ
[ὃ πατ]ήρ ὑμῶν ἐδοσαν, ταῦτα κάγωι φυλάξωι vac
[τε] καὶ συναυξήσωι. ἔρρωσθε.

45

Translation:

Germanicus Caesar, son of Augustus, proconsul, sends greetings to the *gerousia* of the Ephesians. Tiberius Claudius D..., your ambassador has seen me about your affairs and he has spoken about your honours and privileges and he has shown that you are piously disposed toward my *domus*; and I have promised him that I am in the same way attentive to you; therefore I welcome your reverence, and what honours and privileges my grandfather and father have granted to you, these I shall preserve and augment. Farewell.

- (11) *JÖAI* 62 (1993): 116 no. 7.1-4: Fragment of a letter to the *gerousia*; found in the Tetragonus Agora. Measurements: the following four inscriptions (11-14) are on a single stone measuring 99 x 73 x 20 cm. Date: the restoration of πρὸ ἐμοῦ in the fourth line, if correct, suggests that the letter was sent by a proconsul following the actions of his predecessor. The letter also appears on a block separate from that on which the preceding letters appear; the other letters (12-14) appearing on this block are from the proconsul Publius Petronius, and are dated to AD 29-32, so that this letter should be dated to earlier than AD 29.

[-----] γατῶ [-----]
[---- τῶι] συστήματι [τῶν πρ]εσβυτέρων ἐ[χαρισάμην· ἵνα τὰ]
[τείμια καὶ φιλ]άνθρωπά τε ταῦτα ἔχωσιν χωρὶς ἐμποδ[ίσεως τηρή-]
[σω, τὰ πρὸ ἐμοῦ] γεγονότα τε κύρια συνφυλάσσωι. ἔρρωσθε.

Translation:

...I have granted to the assembly of the elders; I shall take care that they might possess these honours and privileges without impediment, those honours which were in effect and which my predecessor preserved. Farewell.

- (12) *JÖAI* 62 (1993): 116-117, no 8.7-18: letter of the proconsul of Asia Publius Petronius to the *gerousia* of Ephesus regarding its privileges; found in the Tetragonus Agora. Date: Publius Petronius was consul in AD 19 and proconsul of Asia for six years beginning in AD 29/30 (*PIR*² P 269; Corsten [1999]); the inscription dates to the first year of his proconsulship.

[Πόπλιος Πετρ]ώνιος ἀνθύπατος Ἐφεσίων γερονσίᾳ χαίρειν·
[ἐδήλωσέν μοι] Τιβέριος Ἰούλιος Ἡρᾶς ὃ καὶ ὑμῶν γυμνασίαρχος
[τὰ τῶν πρεσβυ]τέρων δίκαια, <ἄτινα> ὑμῶν οἱ μὲν Σεβαστοὶ ἐχαρίσαντο
[οἱ δὲ πρὸ ἐμοῦ ἄ]νθῦπατοι πάντες συνετήρησαν ἀπολύσαντες ὑμᾶς
[τῶν τε παρὰ δι]οίκησιν ἐγγυῶν καὶ λογίας καὶ ἐπισταθμηῶν.⁶
[διὸ κάγωι ἐγρα]ψα ὑμῶν τὰ φιλάνθρωπα κάμῃ συντηρῆσαι
[θελήσειν· διὰ τε τ]ῆς πόλεως ἀξίωμα καὶ διὰ τὸ πρεσβεῖον ὑμῶν
[ἡδέως (?) ο]ὕ μόνον συντηρῶι τὰ δίκαια ὑμῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπαυ-

10

⁶ Cf. cat. no. 1, line 4.

[ξήσειν ὑπισχ]γοῦμαι, ἀπολύω τε ὑμᾶς τῶν τε παρὰ διοίκησιν ἐν-
 [γυῶν καὶ λογή]ας καὶ ἐπισταθμηῶν ἐκτὸς εἰ μὴ τινα αὐτὸς διὰ ἀνάν-
 [κην δημοσίαν] ὀνομαστέϊ δέξωι, πρὸς τε τοὺς ὀφείλοντας ὑμεῖν
 [καὶ πράξεις] γείνεσθαι κατὰ τοὺς ὑμετέρους νόμους.

Translation:

Publius Petronius, proconsul, sends greetings to the *gerousia* of the Ephesians. Tiberius Julius Heras, who is also your gymnasiarch, has shown to me the rights of the elders, which the Augusti have granted to you and which all the proconsuls before me uniformly preserved absolving you of the securities for the assize district and of donations and of billeting. So I have written to you to say that I also am willing to preserve these privileges; because of the worthiness of your city and because of your dignity. I gladly promise not only to preserve your rights but also to increase them, and I absolve you from the securities for the assize district and of donations and of billeting except if because of a public emergency I myself specify someone by name, and regarding those who are indebted to you and have business with you, it shall be done in accordance with your own laws.

(13) *JÖAI* 62 (1993): 117-118, no 9.19-31: letter of the proconsul of Asia Publius Petronius to the *gerousia* of Ephesus regarding its privileges; found in the Tetragonus Agora. Date: the inscription dates to the second year of Petronius' proconsulship, AD 30/31.

[Πόπλιος Πετ]ρώγιος ἀνθύπατος τὸ β' Ἐφεσίων
 [γερουσίᾳ χαίρειν ἐντυχόντ]ός μ[οι] Λογίου Κορυννίου
 Το[-----] ἱερέως [Τιβερίου] Κ[αίσαρος] Σεβαστοῦ
 καὶ Ἰουλί[ας] Σεβαστῆς καὶ Συνκλήτου καὶ γυμνασιάρχ[ου] ὑμῶν
 αἰτησαμένου ἐπιβεβαιῶσαί με, ὅσα ὁ Σεβαστὸς [θεοῦ υἱὸς]
 καθὼς καὶ οἱ πρὸ ἐμοῦ ἀνθύπατοι ἔγραψαν, φυλάξαι [μὲν ὑμᾶς]
 ἀλειτουρήτους [---] ἐπισταθμηῶν καὶ λογηῶν, ἀπολ[ύσαι]
 δὲ καὶ τῶν παρὰ διοίκησιν ἐγγυῶν, ταύτη μᾶλλον ἥδιον ὑπεσχό-
 μην γράψαι κα[.] νηι Κοσίννιος ὁ ἐμὸς φίλος καὶ σφόδρα μοι τείμι-
 ος ἐσπουδασμένος ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἠτήσατο. διὸ ἀπολύω ὑμᾶς τῶν τε
 ἐπισταθμηῶν [κα]ὶ λογηῶν καὶ τῶν παρὰ διοίκησιν ἐγγυῶν ἐκτὸς
 [εἰ δι' ἀνάγκ]η ὀνομαστέϊ κελεύσωι, τοὺς τε νόμους ὑμῶν συντη-
 ρῶι καὶ τὰ φιλόφρον]α, ἵνα αὐτοῖς χρήσθε καὶ χωρὶς ἐπικλήσεως.

Translation:

Publius Petronius, proconsul for the second time, sends greetings to the *gerousia* of the Ephesians. When Lucius Cosinnius To..., a priest of Tiberius Caesar Augustus and of Julia Augusta and of the Senate, and your gymnasiarch, met me and asked me to confirm as much as Augustus the son of the god and the proconsuls before me proclaimed, namely to preserve your exemption from liturgies..., billeting and donations, and to release you from the securities for the assize district, I was quite pleased to promise in this respect to write...Cosinnius who is my dear friend and extravagantly honoured by me eagerly requested on your behalf. Therefore I release you from billeting and donations and securities for the assize district except if because of an emergency I

specify someone by name, and I will also preserve your customs and your privileges, so that you might enjoy them even without a specific request.

- (14) *JÖAI* 62 (1993): 118-119, no. 10.32-42: letter of the proconsul of Asia Publius Petronius to the *gerousia* of Ephesus regarding its privileges; found in the Tetragonus Agora. Date: the inscription dates to the third year of Petronius' proconsulship, AD 31/32.

[Πόπλιος Πετ]ρώνιος ἀνθύπατος τὸ γ' Ἐφεσίων γερουσία
 [χαίρειν] ἐμφανίσαντός μοι Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ
 [ἀποδε]δειγνύμενου εἰς τοῦτον ἐτος γυμνασιάρχου πάντων τῶν γυ-
 [μνασίω]ν ὑπὲρ τῶν ὑμετέρων δικαίων, ἅτινα οἱ μὲν Σεβαστοὶ ὑμῖν ἔχα- 35
 [ρίσαντ]ο, οἱ δὲ πρὸ ἐμοῦ ἡγεμόνες συνετήρησαν, κἀγὼ δὲ ἐν τῷ τῆς
 [ἐμῆς δι]καιοδοσίας χρόνῳ συνεφύλαξα, διὰ τὸ πρεσβεῖον ὑμῶν βουλό-
 [μενος] οὐ μόνου συντηρεῖν ὑμῶν τὰ δίκαια ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπαύξειν, διὸ ἀπο-
 [λύω τοῦ]ς ἐκ τοῦ καταστήματος τῶν πρεσβυτέρων τῶν τε παρὰ δι-
 [οίκησιν ἐν]γυῶν καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν, ὅσα καὶ τάχειον ἐδήλωσα, καὶ εἴ τινα 40
 [ἄλλα] τούτων ὑμᾶς ἀνίημι πρὸς τὸ κατὰ μηδέ-
 [να τρόπον].σιᾶσε βημοδικίον διενεχθῆναι.

Translation:

Publius Petronius, proconsul for the third time, sends greetings to the *gerousia* of the Ephesians. Since Alexander the son of Alexander, who has been appointed gymnasiarch of all the gymnasia for the upcoming year, appeared before me concerning your rights, which the Augusti granted to you and which the governors before me have uniformly preserved, and which I, in the time of my tenure, have also preserved, wishing on account of your honourable standing not only to preserve your rights but also to increase them, I, on that account, release the Elders from billeting and the securities for the assize district and from the other things, which I have already specified earlier, and if any others...I grant to you...of these contrary to no customs...to bring it before the tribunal.

- (15) *IEph* 27D.370-413; Oliver, *SG* 3.370-413; cf. *GIBM* 480.243-284; Rogers (1991): 174-176, D.370-413: Letter of Publius Afranius Flavianus approving the benefactions of Gaius Vibius Salutaris; found on the southern *analemma* of the theatre. The inscription is a part of a much longer inscription including seven documents concerning Salutaris' benefactions. The text is organized in six columns forming a trapezoid measuring on the left 208 x 12.5-20 cm and on the right 403 x 12.5-20 cm; cf. cat. nos. 53 & 54. Date: Tiberius Claudius Antipater Julianus was prytanis during the proconsulship of Aquillius Proculus (*PIR*² A 999), under whom Afranius Flavianus (*PIR*² A 443) was propraetor. AD 104. Illustration: Fig. 8.

ἐπ[ι] πρυτάνεως Τ[ιβ(ερίου) Κλ(αυδίου) Ἀντι]πάτ[ρου] 370
 Ἰουλιανοῦ, μηνὸς [Ποσειδεῶνος.]
 Ἀφράνιος Φλαουιανός, [πρεσβευτῆς καὶ ἀντι]στρά[τη-]
 γος, Ἐφεσίων ἀρχ[ουσι, βουλῇ, δήμῳ χα]ίρειν.
 Ουείβιος Σαλουτάρ[ιος, ὁ] φίλτα[τος ἡμῖν, εὐγενέσ]τατος

[μ]έν ἐκ τοῦ ἀξιώμ[ατος αὐτοῦ] ὑπάρχ[ων, προσέτι δὲ κ]αὶ τοῦ ἀρίσ- 375
 [το]ν ἡθους[ὧν, ὅτι ἐξ ἧς πρ]ὸς ἡμᾶς ἔχ[ει διαθέσε]ος, τῶν οἰκιο-
 [τ]ά[των καὶ ἀν]ανκ[α]ι[ο]τ[άτ]ων ἡμεῖν διεφ[άνη φί]λος, ἐν πολλοῖς
 [ἐ]γ[νωρίσθη,] εἰ καὶ τοῦ[ς] πλείστους ἐλάν[θανε]ν, ὥς ἔχει πρὸς
 [ὑ]μ[ᾶς εὐνοία]ς τε καὶ προαιρέσεως. νῦν [δὲ ἡδ]η τὴν ἑαυτοῦ
 [δι]απ[ρεπῆ φ]ιλοσ[τ]οργίαν, ἣν ἐξ ἀρχῇ[ς πρὸς] τὴν πόλιν ἔχει, 380
 φαν[ερὰν πᾶσι] πεπο[ιη]μένον, οἰκεῖον [ἅμα καὶ] πρέπον τῷ
 τε β[ίω τῷ] ἑαυτ[οῦ] κ[αὶ] τῷ ἡθελίῳ νομίζοντος τὸ κοσμεῖν
 καὶ σεμνύνειν καὶ τὰ ἀγ[νὰ κ]αὶ τὰ κοινὰ τῆς μεγίστης καὶ
 ἐπιστημοτάτης ὑμῶν πόλεως, εἰς τε τειμὴν καὶ εὐσέβ[ειαν τῆς] ἐπι- 385
 φανεσ[τάτης θεᾶς Ἀ]ρτέμιδος καὶ τοῦ οἴκου τῶν αὐτοκρατό-
 ρ[ων] δ[ωρεαῖς καὶ χρη]μάτων ἀφιερῶσει τὰ νῦν φιλοτειμου-
 μένου, [συνήδομ]αι ὑμεῖν τε καὶ περὶ τάνδρ[ος] ἐμοὶ τ' ἐ<ξ> ἴσων
 π[ε]ρὶ ὑμῶν εἰς τὸ ἀ[ντ]ιμνηῦσαι μαρτυρῆσαί τε [καὶ εὐ]φημίᾳ τῇ
 π[ρ]οσηκ[ούσῃ] αὐτὸν [ὑ]πὲρ ὑμῶν ἀμείψασθαι. ὁ[περ] αὐτῷ καὶ πα- 390
 ρ' [ὑ]μῶν ὀφε[ί]λεσθαι νομίζω πρὸς τὸ καὶ πλε[ίου]ς εἶναι τοὺς
 ὁ[μ]οίως π[ροθ]υμου[μένους], εἰ οὗτος φαίνοι[το τ]ῆς κατὰ τὴν
 ἀξίαν ἀμοιβῆς τυγχάν[ων]. εἴη δ' ἂν κάμοι ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα
 κεχαρισμένου καὶ ἡδιστον, εἰ, ὃν ἐξαιρέτως τῶν φίλων
 τειμῶ καὶ στέργω, παρ' ὑμεῖν ὁρώην μαρτυρίας καὶ τειμῆς 395
 ἀξιούμενον. περὶ μέντοι γε τῆς τῶ<ν> χρημ[ά]των διατά-
 ξεως καὶ τῶν ἀπεικονισμάτων τῆς θεοῦ καὶ τῶν εἰκόνων,
 ὅπως αὐτοῖς δεήσει χρῆσ<θ>αι καὶ εἰς τὴν τίνα οἰκονομίαν
 ἀνδρα τετάχθαι, αὐτόν τε τὸν ἀνατιθέν[τα] εἰση<γ>ήσασθαι
 νομίζω εὐλογον εἶναι καὶ ὑμᾶς οὕτ[ω] ψηφίσασθαι. ἐπεὶ
 ἂν δὲ ὑπὸ τε αὐτοῦ τοῦ καθιεροῦντος καὶ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν κυρω- 400
 θῇ τὰ δόξαντα, βούλομαι ταῦτα εἰσαεῖ μένειν ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν
 ἀπαραλλάκτως ὑπὸ μηδενὸς μηδεμιᾶ[ν] <π>αρενχειρήσει λυ-
 ὀμενα ἢ μετατιθέμενα. εἰ δὲ τις πειραθῇ ὅπως οὖν ἢ συν-
 βουλευσαί τι τοιοῦτον ἢ εἰσηγήσασθαι περὶ τῆς μεταθέ<σε>- 405
 ως καὶ μεταδιοικήσεως τῶν νῦν ὑπὸ τε αὐτοῦ καὶ ὑφ' ὑ-
 μῶν κυρωθησομένων, τοῦτον ἀνυπερθέτως βούλομαι
 ε[ἶ]ς μὲν τὸ τῆς μεγίστης θεᾶς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν καταθέσ-
 θαι προστείμου δη(νάρια) β' μ(ύρια) πεντακισ[χί]λια, εἰς δὲ τὸν τοῦ
 [Σεβαστοῦ] φίσκον δη(νάρια) β' μ(ύρια) πεντακισχίλια, εἰς δὲ τὴν τῇ
 γερ[ουσίᾳ] διανομῇν ἄλλα δη(νάρια) διςμύρια πεντακ[χί]λια,⁷ 410

⁷ *IEph* 27D, ll. 408-411 & Rogers (1991): 176 D, ll. 408-411: ...θαι προστείμου δη(νάρια) β' μ(ύρια) πεντακισ[χί]λια, εἰς δὲ τὸν τοῦ | [κυρίου Καίσαρος] φίσκον -----] | γερ[ουσία] -
 ----- ἄλλα δη(νάρια) διςμύρια πεντακ[χί]λια, | καθ[ὼς; cf. Oliver, *SG* 3, l. 410: γερ[ουσίᾳ];
 Hicks, *GIBM* 481, ll. 279-282: ...θαι προστείμου δη(νάρια) β' μ(ύρια) πεντακισ[χί]λια, εἰς δὲ τὸν τοῦ
 | [Σεβαστοῦ] φίσκον ἄλλα δη(νάρια) β' μ(ύρια) πεντακισχίλια, καὶ τῇ | γερο[υσίᾳ] τῇ Ἐφεσίων ἄλλα
 δη(νάρια) β' μ(ύρια) πεντακ[χί]λια | καθ...; *FiE* II, no. 27, ll. 408-411: ...θαι προστείμου δη(νάρια)
 β' μ(ύρια) πεντακισ[χί]λια, εἰς δὲ τὸν τοῦ | [κυρίου Καίσαρος] φίσκον δη(νάρια) β' μ(ύρια)

καθ[ὡς Ἀκουίλλιος Πρόκλος, ὁ λαμπρότατος ἀν]θύπατος,
καὶ π[ρότερον δι' ἧς ἀντέγραψεν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐ]πιστολῆς
ἐπ[εκύρωσεν καὶ ὥρισεν τὸ πρόσκειμον. ἐ]ρρωσθε.

Translation:

During the prytany of Tiberius Claudius Antipater Julianus in the month of Poseideon.

(372) Afranius Flavianus, the legate and propraetor, sends greetings to the magistrates, *boule* and *demos* of the Ephesians. Vibius Salutaris, our very dear friend, being on account of his rank most noble and furthermore being a man of the best character, because of the disposition which he holds towards us, has shown himself to be a friend, one of the most loyal and fervent, which he has demonstrated in many cases, even if he escapes the notice of most men, since he holds goodwill and concern for you. But now since he has made his signal affection, which he has had for the city from his youth, clear to all, and since he believes that it would be in keeping with his lifestyle and conduct to adorn and to exalt both the sacred and the common affairs of your great and noteworthy city, and since he has now done honour and reverence to the most manifest goddess Artemis and of the house of the Emperors with gifts and the dedication of money, I rejoice for you, because of the man, and for myself equally, because of the reciprocation and the testimony and the response to him from you with appropriate eloquence; therefore I believe it is owed to him by you to the end that many others also might be zealous in the same way, that this man should be seen to receive a reward in accordance with his merit.

(392) But this would be most welcome and dear to me of all things, if my friend, whom I honour and esteem in particular, should be seen among you as worthy of recognition and reward. But concerning the endowment of money and of the statues of the goddess and of the busts, how it will be necessary to use them and which man is to be appointed to the administration of them, I believe that it is seemly that he who has dedicated these things should propose a motion and that you should decree in that way. And when appropriate things have been ratified by the donor himself and by you yourselves, I wish that the endowment remain on those terms unchanged by anyone or by any proposed decree to dissolve or redirect the funds. But if someone attempts in any way whatsoever either to advise some such thing or to propose a measure about the redirection and re-interpretation of the things which shall now be ratified by him and by you, I wish that he pay immediately to the temple of the greatest goddess, Artemis, a penalty of twenty-five thousand denarii and to the fiscus of the Emperor twenty-five thousand denarii and another twenty-five thousand denarii for a distribution to the *gerousia*, just as Aquillius Proculus, the most illustrious proconsul, approved and specified the penalty in the letter with which he formerly responded to you. Farewell.

πεντακισχίλια, τῇ δὲ] | γερ[ουσία φιλοσεβάστω ἄλλα δη(νάρια) δισμύρια πεντακ]ισχίλια, | καθ[ὡς
cf. above, Chapter Six, pp. 264-270. Both [Σεβαστοῦ φίσκου] and [τὸν τοῦ κυρίου Καίσαρος φίσκου]
appear elsewhere in the Salutaris dossier (cf. cat. no. 54, ll. 112-113 & 325).

(16) *IEph* 1486.1-16; *GIBM* 486; *SIG*³ 833; Oliver, *SG* 7 *Hermes* 4 (1870): 178-81:

Letter of Hadrian to the *gerousia* of Ephesus; found in the theatre.

Measurements: 75.9 x 129.3cm. Date: Gaius Trebonius Proculus Mettius

Modestus was proconsul of Asia in AD 119/120 (*PIR*² M 568), the predecessor of

Cornelius Priscus, the proconsul of AD 120/121 (*PIR*² 1420).

[Αὐτοκράτωρ] Κα[ί]σαρ θεοῦ Τραι<α>νοῦ Παρθικοῦ υἱός,

[θεοῦ Νέρουα υἱωνός, Τραιανός Ἀδριανός Σεβαστός,

[ἀρχιερεὺς] μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ δ',

[ὑπάτος τ]ὸ γ', Ἐφεσίων τῇ γερουσίαι χαίρειν.

[Μέττιος] Μόδεστος ὁ κράτιστος εὖ ἐποίησεν τὰ δίκ[α]ια

5

[ὑμεῖν κατα]νείμας ἐν τῇ κρίσει· ἐπεὶ δὲ πολλοὺς ἐδηλ[ώ]σατε]

σφ[ε]τερί]ζεσθαι χρήματα ὑμέτερα, οὐσίας τῶν δεδανισ[μέ-]

νω[ν κ]ατέχοντας οὐ φάσκοντας δὲ κληρονομεῖν, τοὺς [δὲ]

καὶ [αὐ]τοὺς χρεώστας ὄντας, πέπομφα ὑμῶν τὸ ἀντ[ί]γραφον]

τοῦ ψηφίσματος Κορνηλίω Πρεῖσκωι τῷ κρατίστωι

10

ἀνθυπάτωι, ἵνα εἴ τι τοιοῦτον εἴη, ἐπιλέξηται τινα

ὃς κρινεῖ τε τὰ μφισβητούμενα καὶ εἰσπράξει πάντα,

ὅσα ἂν ὀφείλῃται τῇ γερουσίαι. ὁ πρεσβεύων ἦν

Κασκέλλιος [Πολι]τικός, ὡι τὸ ἐφόδιον δοθήτω, εἴ γε μὴ

προῖκα ὑπέ[σχε]το πρεσβεύσειν. εὐτυχεῖτε. πρ(ὸ) ε' Κ(αλανδῶν) Ὀκτωβρίων.

15

[γραμματεῦντος Πο]πλίου Ῥουτελίου Βάσσου.

Translation:

Imperator Caesar son of the divine Trajanus Parthicus, grandson of the divine Nerva, Trajanus Hadrian Augustus, *pontifex maximus*, holding the tribunician power for the fourth time, consul for the third time, sends greetings to the *gerousia* of the Ephesians.

Mettius Modestus, *vir egregius*, has done well granting your rights to you in his judgment; but since you have shown that many men are usurping your money as they are seizing the property of your debtors claiming that they are not the heirs but that they themselves are also creditors, I have sent a copy of your decree to Cornelius Priscus, *vir egregius*, the proconsul, so that if such a thing should be the case, he may appoint someone who will both judge the disputed matters and exact all that is owed to the *gerousia*. The ambassador was Cascellius Politicus, to whom a travelling expense should be given, if he did not undertake this embassy of his own accord. Farewell. September 27. When Publius Rutilius Bassus was *grammateus*.

- (17) *IEph* 25.1-61; Oliver, *SG* 11; *FiE* II, pp. 119-122, no. 23; *JÖAI* 1 (1898) 78-79; cf., *GIBM* 497; *OGIS*² 508: Rescript of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus to the *logistes* of the *gerousia*; found in the theatre. Measurements: the text was inscribed on five marble blocks: *ll* 1-14: 59.5 x 123 x 29cm; *ll* 15-21: 22 x 59.5 x 29 cm; *ll* 22-40: 59.5 x 134 x 29 cm; *ll* 41-47: 23 x 63.5 x 29 cm; *ll* 47-61: 123 x 62 x 29. Date: AD 162/163. Illustration: Figs. 9-12.

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Μάρκος Ἀυρήλιος Ἀντωνεῖνος
 Σεβαστὸς καὶ Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Λεύκιος Αὐρήλιος Οὐῆρος
 Σεβαστὸς Ἀρμενιακὸς Οὐλπίω Εὐρυκλεῖ
 χαίρειν.

ὅτι μὲν ὑπ' ἀνθυπάτων δοθέντα σε τῇ γερουσίᾳ τῶν Ἐφεσίων
 λογιστὴν ἐκείνοις ἔδει, περὶ ὧν ἠπόρεις, ἀναφέρειν, αὐτὸς τε εὖγνω-
 μόνως ἐδήλωσας ἐπιστάμενος, καὶ ἡμεῖς διὰ τοῦτο ἐπεμνήσθημεν,
 ὥς μὴ βαιδίως ἀνάγεσθαι τινας τῷ παραδείγματι. ὁ δὲ πρῶτον ἡμῖν
 ἐκοινώσας,
 τὸ περὶ τῶν ἀργυρῶν εἰκόνων, πρᾶγμα ὡς ἀληθῶς τῆς ἡμετέρας συνχωρήσε-
 [ως] προσδεόμενον<ν>, δηλὸν ἐστὶ σοὶ καὶ τὴν εἰς τὰς ἄλλας ἐρωτήσεις
 ἀφορμὴν συμβε-
 [βλη]μένον. τὰς οὖν εἰκόνας τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων, ἃς ἀποκεῖσθαι λέγεις ἐν τῷ
 συνε-
 [δρί]ῳ τούτῳ, παλαιάς, ἐνὶ μὲν λόγῳ, πάσας δοκιμάζομεν φυλαχθῆναι τοῖς
 ὀνόμασιν, ἐφ' ο-
 [ῖς] γέγονεν αὐτῶν ἑκάστη, εἰς δὲ ἡμετέρους χαρακτῆρας μηδὲν τι τῆς ὕλης
 ἐκείνης
 [μ]εταφέρειν· οἱ γὰρ [ο]ὕ[τ'] ἄλλως [εἰς τ]ὰς ἡμε[τέ]ρας τιμὰς ἐσμεν
 [π]ρόχειρο[ι, πολὺ] δὴ τ[ι ἢ] τ[τον ἄν]
 [ἄλλας εἰς ἡμᾶς μετ]αβα[λλο]μένας ἀνασχοίμεθα· ἄλλ' ὅσαι μ[ὲν αὐτῶν] 15
]
 [.....] ἔχουσι τὰς μορφάς, κἂν ὅσον γνωρίζεσ[θαι τῶν προωσίων
 τοὺς χα-]
 [ρακτῆρας, ταύτας κα]ὶ σοὶ παρέστη λελογισμένως, ὅτι τοῖς αὐτ[οῖς] δεῖ
 φυλαχθῆναι ὄνο-]
 [μασιν, ἐφ' οἷς γεγόνασιν·] περὶ δὲ τῶν οὕτως ἄγαν συντετραυ[σμένων, ὡς
 ἀναφέρεις, καὶ]
 [οὐδεμίαν μορφήν ἐτ]ῖ φαίνειν δυναμένων τάχα μὲν ἂν καὶ [τούτων ἐκ τῶν ἐπὶ
 τοῖς βά-]
 [θροῖς ἐπιγραφῶν, τ]άχα δ' ἂν καὶ ἐκ βιβλίων, εἴ τινα ἐστὶ τῷ [συνεδρίῳ
 τούτῳ] 20
 [..... τὰ ὀνό]ματα συνπορισθεῖη, ὥστε τοῖ[ς προγεγονόσι μᾶλλον τὴν]
 [τει]μὴν ἀνανεωθῆναι [ἥπερ διὰ τ]ῆς ἀναχων[εύσεως ἐξαφανισθῆναι τῶν]
 εἰκόνων. τῇ δὲ χωνεύσει πρῶτον μὲν σε παρὰ τυχ[- 24-26 -]
 τα λαμβάνη τοῦ μέτρου τῆς λογιστείας· ἄλλ' ἐπειδὴ [- 26-28 -]
 ὑπῆρξω καὶ τὸ συγχωρηθῆναι διεπράξω παρ' ἡμῶν [- 25-27 -] 25

πραχθῆναι, ἔπειτα καὶ ἄλλους πρὸς τὸ μάλιστα ἀνεσ[- 20-22 -, οὗς ἀν]
 ὁ κράτιστος ἀνθύπατος εἴτε ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς γερουσίας εἴτε ἐξ ἀπάντων τῶν
 πολει-]
 τῶν δοκιμάσῃ. τὸ δὲ κατὰ Σατορνεῖνον τὸν δημόσιον - 16-18 -]
 ὃν παρὰ τῶν χρεωστῶν τοῦ συνεδρίου πολλὰ κεκομίσθαι λέγεις [χρήματα, μὴ
 προσηκού-]
 σης τῆς εἰσπράξεως, τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν· εἰ μὲν γάρ τι εἰσήνεγκεν, ὧν ἀ[πείληφεν, 30
 οὐδ' ἄλλο]
 παρὰ τοῦτο εἶη διάφορον, ὅτι οὐχ, ὥ προσῆκεν, ἔδωσαν οἱ δόντες, οἷόν τι καὶ ὁ
 [ἐπίτροπος ἦ-]
 μῶν ἐν τοῖς< > ἰδίοις τῆς ἡμετέρας οἰκίας λογισμοῖς προσέταξεν
 φυλάσσεσθαι, χωρὶς τοῦ]
 βλάπτεσθαι τινα τῶν πρῶτων ἐναλλαγὴν τῶν ἀπειληφότων, [τότε οὐδε-]
 μία ζημία παρηκολούθησεν· εἰ δὲ κάκεῖνοι δεδώκασιν, ὥ μὴ προσῆκον ἦν, κ[αὶ
 ὁ ἀπολα-]
 βῶν ἠφάνισεν τὰ κο[μισθέντα, τότε,] εἰ μὲν τι εὐρίσκοιτο ἴδιον ἢ ἔχων ἢ 35
 καταλελ[οιπῶς]
 ἐκεῖνος, τὸ δὴ προσα[γορευόμενον πε]κούλιον, τοῦτο συλλέξασθαι πᾶν
 ὀφείλεις· [εἰ δὲ]
 καὶ οὕτως ὑπὲρ τῆ[ν δύν]αμιν τῆ[ν ἐκεί]νου προσδεῖ τι τῇ γερουσίᾳ τῶν
 εἰσπραχθέντων ὅ-]
 π' αὐτοῦ καὶ κατεσχ[ημ]ένων, ἐπιγν[ώμ]ων ὁ κράτιστος ἀνθύπατος γενέσ[θω]
 διδασ[κόμε-]
 νος ὑπὸ σου, πρὸς οὗ[στ]ινας ἐπανελθεῖ[ν] σε δεῖ τῶν ἐκείῳ καταβεβληκότῳ[ν,
 διακρίνων]
 [κ]αὶ ἐκ τοῦ χρόνου τοῦ με[ταξὺ διελ]λη[ν]θ[ό]τος καὶ τῶν [ἀξ]ίῳ[ν] τοῦ 40
 τρόπου [.]
 [- 16 -]τετικῶς ἀποδεικνύει, παρασταίῃ [- 22-24 -]
 [- 12 -]ἀνενε]γκεῖν κελευσθῆναι τὰ κακῶς ἀποδο[θέντα - 14-16 -]
 [- 16 -]τῇ δόσει. αἱ δὲ συνεχεῖς ἀναβολαὶ τ[ῶν] χρεῶν - 11-13 -]
 [- 17 -]ν ὁ πάμπρος αὐτοῦ Σαβεῖνος, ὡς φῆς, ἐνε[- 17-19 -]
 [- 16 -]τίωνα, σχεδὸν ἀναγκαῖον ποῦσι καὶ σοὶ τὸ χρ[- 16-18 -] 45
 [- 17 -]τὸ συγχωρεῖν ὥσπερ γὰρ αἰδῶ πολλὴν ἀνδ[- 16-18 -]
 [- 17 -]σιν, οὕτως, ἐπειδὴν αὐτοὶ τινες αἰτίαν [- 16-18 -]
 [. .]ασθ[αί] τοὺς βλαπτομένους [- c.45 -]
 [συν]όλου συνεδρίου κοιν[ῇ]σθαι - c.40 - προ-]
 [σ]ιέναι τῷ κρ[α]τίστῳ ἀνθυπ[άτ]ῳ - c.44 -] 50
 [.]ου. καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο τὸ σκέμ[μα] - c.44 - ἀ]-
 ναφοράν, ὡς λέγεις, ἐπὶ τοὺς [- c.44 -]
 σιν ἐνχωροῦντος εἴτε εἰς παραπ[- c.44 -]
 ρησιν αὐτῶν ἐκείνων, τί ἄλλο [- c.42 - γε-]
 ρουσία, τὸν δὲ ἀνθύπατον καὶ ἀ[ντιστράτηγον? - c.32 -] 55
 ρον ἐγγύθεν ἕκαστα ἐξευρεῖν [- c.44 -]

ο. τὰς μέντοι καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων αὐτ[- c.44 -]

οὐ μόνον κατὰ τάξιν ἐστὶ τὸ προ[- c.44 - προσ-]

ίωσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὴν τῶν [- c.45 -]

προσίωσι τοῖς καὶ μᾶλλον ἐπ[- c.46 -]

60

μαθεῖν ἐγγύθεν δυ[-----] Ἑρρωσο.]

Translation:

Imperator Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus and Imperator Caesar Lucius Aurelius Verus Augustus Armeniacus send greetings to Ulpius Eurycles.

You yourself have shown in your understanding, and we have been reminded through this affair that it was necessary for you having been appointed by the proconsuls to the *gerousia* of the Ephesians as their *logistes* to look into those things about which you were uncertain, because some men may not easily see this as a precedent. But what you first communicate to us, concerning the silver busts, a matter which indeed truly requires our approval, has clearly been used by you as a starting point for your other additional questions.

(11) So, in a word, we believe that all the ancient busts of the emperors, which you say are stored in this assembly chamber (συνεδρίον), should be preserved under the names upon which each of them originally was,⁸ and that none of them should be changed into our representations; for we who are not otherwise eager for our statues, are far less ready to receive other representations altered to show our features; but however many of them as ...they have forms... and however many of the faces as may be recognized as portraits, these it is also possible for you upon inquiry to determine upon which bases they belong, for it is necessary to preserve them with the same names; but concerning those which are quite excessively damaged, as you report, and can no longer show any feature, either those of them which are inscribed on the bases, or from the records, if there are any... in this assembly room...the names may be deduced, so that honour may be restored for our predecessors rather than disappear through the re-smelting of the busts. And at the smelting first you from the ...may receive from the record of the accounting office; but since...you began and conducted the gaining of approval from us, for... to be done, since...others in particular...whom..., *vir egregius*, the proconsul might approve either from the *gerousia* itself or from the whole body of citizens.

(28) As to the matter about Saturninus the public slave...who you say has collected a great deal of money from the debtors of the *gerousia* (συνεδρίον),⁹ although it was not appropriate for him to perform the collection, the case is this: if he has turned in anything of what he has received, it is nothing but this, that those who have paid have not

⁸ One is to imagine the imperial representations as standing on inscribed bases. It is the emperors' decision that the bases and representations should be retained as is. The *sunhedrion* in which these representations were stored is clearly a building, one which would seem to have been associated with the *gerousia*. The nature of this association is not at all clear. It is unlikely to have been a meeting house of the *gerousia*, though. The verb ἀποκείμαι can be understood as "to store something for a common purpose or for safety", but this sense appears primarily in classical authors. The verb in later authors, as in this case, implies indefinite storage or neglect: the statues were placed in the *sunhedrion* in order to do something with them. The *sunhedrion* should therefore be understood in this case as a storage area, a type of attic, which was used by the *gerousia*.

⁹ To *sunhedrion*, it seems, cannot mean anything other than the *gerousia* in this case.

paid the appropriate person, as our procurator of the private accounts of our household advised them to guard against, with no of harming anyone in the exchange the persons of the recipients, and no punishment should follow; but if those men (the debtors) have given to a person who was not the appropriate man, and the receiver has hidden what he has collected, then, if that man should be found to possess or to have bequeathed some private property, this being called the *peculium*, you ought to collect all this; if, on the other hand, in this situation there remains anything in excess of his property of those things which have been collected for the *gerousia* and which has been kept back by him, let the proconsul, *vir egregius*, being informed by you judge to whom of those who have paid it is necessary for you to return the property, judging from the time which has passed and from the... of manner... having paid gives proof, he would present...to be ordered to return those things wrongly paid...for the payment.

(43) But continual delays of the debts...his grandfather Sabinus, as you say, ... almost necessary for those doing and for you ... the conceding; for just as I respect great ... even so, whenever some of them...a case...that those who have been harmed should...of the whole *gerousia* (συνηδρίον)...should be directed to apply to the proconsul, *vir egregius*...for even this question...recourse, as you say, to the...of the one who pays or to the...of themselves, any other...the *gerousia*, but that the proconsul and proprietor (?)...find each thing nearby....But the...from these...is not only according to the arrangement...they apply, but also to the...they will apply to the and instead...to learn.... Farewell.

- (18) *IEph* 214.1-12: Letter of an unknown proconsul to the *gerousia*; found in the prytaneion. Measurements unknown. Date: Aelius Martiales was Asiarch under Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, or Marcus Aurelius and Commodus. AD 161-180.

[ὁ κράτιστο]ς [ἀν]θύ[πατος]- - φιλο]σεβάστω

[- - -] γερουσία [τῶν Ἐφεσίων? - - - χαίρειν.]

[- - -] ὅποτε[.....] λης δικαίων [- - -]

[- - ὁ ἀξι]ολογώτατος ἀσιάρχης Αἴλιος Μαρτιάλης[- - -]

[- - - μ]νήματα ὅρον ἔχει τὴν συνήθειαν κ[- - -]

5

[- - - τὴν] αὐτῷ προσήκουσαν φιλοτειμίαν τ[- - -]

[- - ἀπο]τίσει καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ εἰκός ἐστιν ἀν[δρα - - -]

[- προεστά]ναι τῆς τοιαύτης τειμῆς, ὅπότ[ε - - -]

[- - - χ]ρόνου παλαιότητος καὶ τῆς κατὰ [- - -]

[- - - - -] πολλὰ τεκμήρια· οὐδὲ γὰρ θ[- - -]

10

[- - - - -] το[ύ]το τοῦ εἶδους ὡς ζῆτ[ε - - -]

[ἐρρωσθ]αὶ ὑμᾶς εὐχομαι.

Translation:

... *vir egregius* the proconsul to the...Emperor-loving ...*gerousia*...sends greetings.

When...of the rights...the Asiarch Aelius Martiales, *vir eminentissimus* ... has the monuments the custom...generosity which is appropriate to him...shall pay, for it is not right that a man should oversee such an honour, when...in the most distant past and the...many proofs; for no...of the type that you seek ... I pray that you are well.

B. Dedicatory Inscriptions

- (19) *IEph* 35.1-23; Oliver, *SG* 4; *FiE* II pp. 147-149, no. 28; *CIL* III 14195n4; *ILS* 7193: bilingual dedication to Artemis Ephesia and the *gerousia* of Ephesus by Gaius Vibius Salutaris on a statue base; found at the northwest corner of the Theatre terrace. Measurements unknown. The statue base is a part of Salutaris' benefactions which were approved in AD 104. Illustration: Fig. 13.

[Dianae Ephesiae]

[et Ephesiorum gerusiae]

[C(aius) V]ibius, C(aii) f(ilius), Vof(entina), Salutaris, promag(ister) portuum provinc(iae) Siciliae, item promag(ister) frumenti mancipalis, praefec(tus) cohor(tis) Asturum et Callaecorum, trib(unus) mil(itum) leg(ionis) XXII Primigeniae

5

P(iae) F(idelis), subprocurator provinc(iae) Mauretaniae Tingitanae, item provinc(iae) Belgicae, Dianam argenteam, item imagines argenteas duas, unam urbis Romanae et aliam gerusiae, sua pecunia fecit ita, ut omni ecclesia su[pra] bases ponerentur ob quarum dedicationem in sortition[em] gerusiae consecrav[it] sestertia decem septem millia nummum.

10

Ἀρτέμιδι Ἐφεσίᾳ καὶ τῇ φιλοσεβάστῳ γερουσίᾳ Ἐφεσίων
Γαῖος Οὐβίβιος, Γ(αῖου) υἱός, Οὐωφεντίνα, Σαλυντάριος, ἀρχώνης
λιμένων ἐπαρχείας Σικελίας καὶ ἀρχώνης σείτου δήμου
Ῥωμαίων, ἐπαρχος σπείρης Ἀστούρων καὶ Καλλαικῶν, χειλί-
αρχος λεγιῶνος κβ' Πρεμιγενίας Πίας Φιδήλεως, ἀντεπίτρο-
πος ἐπαρχείας Μαυρετανίας Τινγειτανῆς καὶ ἐπαρχείας
Βελγικῆς, Ἀρτεμιν ἀργυρέαν καὶ εἰκόνας ἀργυρᾶς [β',] μίαν ἡγεμο-
νίδος Ῥώμης καὶ <ἄλλην τῆς> φιλοσεβάστου γερουσίας, ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων
ἐποίησεν· ἅτινα καθιέρωσεν, ἵνα τιθῇται κατὰ ἐκκλησίαν ἐπὶ
τῶν βάσεων, ὡς ἡ διάταξις αὐτοῦ περιέχει· καθιέρωσεν δὲ
καὶ εἰς κλῆρον τῆς γερουσίας δηνάρια τετρακισχεῖλια διακόσια πεντήκοντα.
ἐπὶ ἀνθυπάτου Γ(αῖου) Ἀκυλλίου Πρόκλου, γραμματέοντος Τιβ(ερίου)

15

20

Κλαυδίου

[Ἰου]λιανού, φιλοσεβάστου καὶ φιλοπάτριδος, τὸ β'.

Translation:

To Ephesian Artemis and to the Emperor-loving *gerousia* of the Ephesians, Gaius Vibius Salutaris, the son of Gaius of the tribe Oufentina, having been the chief contractor for the harbours of the province of Sicily and the chief contractor for the municipal grain supply for the Roman People, prefect of the cohort of the Asturians and the Gallaecians, tribune of the twenty-second Legion Primagenia Pia Fidelis, subprocurator of the province of Mauretania Tingitana and of the province of Belgica, has made a silver Artemis and two silver busts, one of the ruling city of Rome and another of the Emperor-loving *gerousia*, from his own money; which he dedicated so that they may be placed in every assembly (ἐκκλησίᾳ) on bases, as his donation specifies; he also donated four thousand two hundred and fifty denarii for a lottery for the *gerousia*. When Gaius

Aquillius Proculus was proconsul, and when Tiberius Claudius Julianus, Emperor-loving and patriotic, was *grammateus* for the second time.¹

(20) *IEph* 940A.b.1-14; dedication by a *neopoios*; built into a wall of the Church of St. John. Measurements unknown. Date: AD 161-181.

ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ
 [- - - -]χαρι. . [- - -]
 [- - - -]ος τοῖς κ[α]ὶ φιλ[ο]σ-
 [έβαστω νεο]ποιῶ καὶ χρυσο-
 [φόρῳ ἐκ] γερουσίας φιλο- 5
 [σεβ(άστου) . . .]² καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις
 [αὐτοῦ Χα]ριξένῳ καὶ Εὐτύ-
 [χῳ καὶ τ]ῇ ἀπελευθέρᾳ αὐ-
 [τοῦ Εὐ]τυχίῳ, καὶ Ἐλπιδηφο-
 [ρίδι τ]ῇ γλυκυτάτῃ συν- 10
 [βίῳ] καὶ Φαβίῳ Φαυστει-
 [νιαν]ῳ ἱεροκήρυκι καὶ
 [Τει]μασίῳ
 []λκο[- - - - -]

Translation:

To good fortune;...and for an Emperor-loving temple-warden, a *chrysophorus* and a member of the Emperor-loving *gerousia* and for his children Charixenus and Eutyches and for his freedwoman Eutychia;³ and for Elpidaphoris his dearest wife and for the sacred herald Fabius Faustianus and for ...Timasius...

(21) *FiE* IX/1/1 no. c1; *IEph* 1060.1-15; Oliver, *SG* 19: thanksgiving to Hestia Boulaea and other gods; found in the hearth room of the prytaneion. Measurements: 139 x 115cm. Date: AD 214/215. Illustration: Fig. 14.

Φαβωνία Φλακκίλλα πρύτανις καὶ γυμνασίαρχος
 ἀρχιέρεια εὐχαριστῶ Ἑστία Βουλαί<α> καὶ Δήμητρι
 καὶ Δήμητρος Κόρη καὶ Πυρὶ ἀφθάρτῳ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι
 Κλαρίῳ καὶ Σωπόλι καὶ πᾶσιν τοῖς θεοῖς, ὅτι
 ὁλοκληροῦσάν με μετὰ τοῦ συμβίου μου Ἀκακίου 5
 καὶ τῶν τέκνων μου καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων μου
 τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἐκτελέσασαν τὰ μυστήρια πάντα
 εὐτυχῶς ἀποκατέστησαν
 οἶδε ἐκουρήτευσαν
 Εὐάνδρις γερουσιαστής 10
 Περιγένης φιλοσέβ(αστος) γραμματεὺς

¹ The phrase φιλοσεβάστος and the dating formula are absent in the Latin.

² *IEph*: "φιλο[σεβάστω] oder σύν] καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις."

³ Εὐ]τυχίῳ should probably be understood as an error for Εὐ]τυχίῃ.

Ἀμυντιανὸς φιλοσέβ(αστος), Φάβ(ιος) Κυριακὸς ἐστιοῦχος,
 Φαβ(ία) Ζωσίμη(ν) καλαθηφόρος,
 μαντηλάριοι· Δαμῶ, Πρεῖσκιλλα,
 Νουνεχίς, Λουκιανή. εὐτυχῶς.

15

Translation:

I, Favonia Flaccilla, *prytanis*, *gymnasiarch* and high priestess, give thanks to Hestia Boulaea and to Demeter and to Kore the daughter of Demeter and to incorruptible Fire and to Clarian Apollo and to Sopolis and to all the gods, because they have blessedly restored me with my partner Acacius and with my children and with my family after I had performed and completed the mysteries for a year.

The following were the *kouretes*:

Evandris, a member of the *gerousia*; the Emperor-loving Perigenes, the *grammateus*; the Emperor-loving Amyntianus; Fabius Curiacus the hearth guardian; Fabia Zosime, who was the basket-carrier; those who brought the towels were: Damo, Priscilla, Nunechis and Luciana. Farewell.

(22) *IEph* 957.8-23; Oliver, *SG* 18.8-23; *AE* 1926: 15; *JÖAI* 36 (1946): 13-14; *SEG* 4: 535: Thanksgiving to Artemis; found in the Church of St. John. Measurements: 59 x 82 x 34cm. Date: On the basis of the lettering, Keil dates the inscription to second or third century AD. The tribal name Antoniane indicates that the inscription may have been erected during the reign of Antoninus Pius at the earliest, or, if the tribe was created in response to the *constitutio Antoniniana*, during that of Caracalla (cf. above, pp. 55-58, 75 & cat. no. 67; Knibbe [1962-1963]: 30). Late second or early third century AD. Illustration: Figs. 15 & 16.

ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ·

[εὐχαρι]στῶ σοι κυρία

Ἀρτεμι Τ(ίτος) Φλ(άουιος) Ἀσκλη-

10

πιόδωρος νεοποιὸς

αὐθαίρετος, ἐκτελέσας

τὰς δύο ἐσσηνίας εὖσε-

βῶς καὶ φιλοτείμως

σὺν καὶ Φλ(αυία) Φοίβῃ τῇ θυ-

15

γατρὶ μου καὶ τῷ συμῆ-

νω μου Αὐρ(ηλίου) Ἐπαγάθω,

καὶ νυκτοφυλακήσας

τὰς δύο νυκτοφυλακάς

ἐκ τῶν ἰδί[ων]

20

μετέχων καὶ τῆς φι[λοσεβά-]

στου γερουσίας, φυ(λῆς) Ἀντωνια-

νῆς, χι(λιαστὴν) Παιανιεύς.

Translation:

To good fortune; I, Titus Flavius Asclepiodorus of the tribe Antoniana and of the Thousand of Paianieis, a voluntary temple-warden, having served as *essen* twice piously

and generously with Flavia Phoebe my daughter and with my partner in office Aurelius Epagathus and having twice served on the night watch at my own expense, being also a member of the Emperor-loving *gerousia*, give thanks to you, queen Artemis.

(23) *IEph* 1587.1-15; Oliver, *SG* 20; *GIBM* 587: dedication to Artemis; found in the theatre. Measurements: 82.8 x 55.2cm. Date: late second or early third century AD. Illustration: Fig. 17.

[-----]

[ιερ]οκηρυκεύοντος [-----]

[Σα]τορνείνου, πρεσβυτέρων [- -]

[[-----]]

[[-----]]

5

Ἀγαθῇ Τύχῃ

[Μ(άρκος)] Ἀὐρ(ηλῖος) Ἀγαθόπους εὐχαριστῶ

[τ]ῷ θεῷ καὶ τῇ κυρίᾳ Σωτεί-

10

[ρα] καὶ τῇ Τύχῃ τῆς γερου-

σίας, ὅτι τὴν πίστιν ἐτή-

ρησα τῇ γερουσίᾳ σὺν καὶ

[τ]οῖς ἐμοῖς πᾶσιν,

ὁ αὐτὸς γραμματεὺς

15

[κ]αὶ γυμνασίαρχος.

εὐτυχῶς.

Translation:

...when...was the sacred herald...of Saturninus, of the elders...

To Good Fortune; I, Marcus Aurelius Agathopus, give thanks to the god and to Queen Soter and to the Tyche of the *gerousia*, because I have preserved the trust of the *gerousia* along with all my family. The same was *grammateus* and gymnasiarch. Farewell.

(24) *JÖAI* 55 (1984): 120, no. 4211.1-9; *SEG* 34, 1125; *BE* 1987: 194: thanksgiving to Artemis; found near the Church of St. John. Measurements: 44 x 50 x 65 cm. Date: late second or early third century.

[ἐ]πὶ ἀρχισκ[ητούχου Μ(άρκου) Αὐρηλίου]

Ποσειδωνίου]

εὐχαριστῶ σοι κ[υρία] Ἀρετμὶ Αὐρ(ηλῖος)

[Ν]εικωνιανὸς Εὐ[κ]αρπος Ἀγα-

5

θημέρου, ἀνθαίρε[τος] νεοποιός,

χρυσόφορος καὶ γε[ρου]σιαστής,

[γυ]μνασίαρχος τῆς γερο[υσία]ς, ὅτι

[ε]ὐσεβῶς καὶ φιλοτ[ε]ίμως ἐτέλωσα]

[τ]ὰς δύο ἐσσηνεί[ας -----]

Translation:

During the service of Marcus Aurelius Posidonius as chief wand-bearer; I, Aurelius Niconianus Eucarpus the son of Agathemerus, a voluntary *neopoios*, a

chrysophorus and a member of the *gerousia*, *gymnasiarch* of the *gerousia*, give thanks to you, queen Artemis, because I have piously and generously served as *essen* twice....

- (25) *JÖAI* 55 (1984): 119-120, nr. 4210.1-10: funerary inscription; found near the Church of St. John. Measurements: 35 x 50 x 65. Undated, but associated with (Cat. no. 24=*JÖAI* 55 [1984]: 120, no. 4211 [Knibbe]).

[- - - - -] . . ΗΣ . [- - -]

[- - - - -]'Αττικῆς [- - -]

[- - (?)Εὐ]καρπίας καὶ [- - -]

[- -]ανοῦ γερουσιαστοῦ [- - -]

[- - (?)Στρατο]νείκης θυγατρ[ὸς - - -]

5

[- - - - -]νιδος θυγατρὸς [- - -]

[- - - - -]νου τοῦ ἀδελφ[οῦ - - -]

[- - - - -]συνεδρί[ου - - -]

[- - - - -]ΚΑΣΜΕ[- - -]

[- - - - -]. . [- - -]

10

Translation:

...of Attica...of Eukarpia and...a member of the *gerousia*...the daughter of Stratonice...the daughter of ... the brother of...of the *sunhedrion*...

- (26) *IEph* 1575.1-14; *GIBM* 575; Oliver, *SG* 21: dedication by Marcus Aurelius Artemidorus and Marcus Aurelius Attalus; found in the theatre. Measurements: 62.75 x 52.7cm. Date: late second or early third century. Illustration: Fig. 18.

ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ

Μ(άρκος) Ἀὐρ(ήλιος) Ἀρτεμίδω[ρος]

Ἀττάλου φιλο[σέβ(αστος)]

γερουσιαστῆς [νεο-]

ποιὸς ἀγορανόμ[ος]

5

ἀγνός, λιτουργὸς]

ἐνδοξ[ος]

καὶ Μ(άρκος) Ἀὐρ(ήλιος) Ἀτταλος]

Ἀρτεμ[ιδώρου]

πατρό[βουλος γερου-]

10

σιαστ[οῦ νεο-]⁴

ποιό[υ υὸς- - -]

Ὀλυ[μπιονείκης]

[- - - - -]

⁴ Oliver (1941): 105-106 reads: Ἀρτεμ[ιδώρου υἱός] | πατρό[γέρων γεου]|σιαστ[ῆς, νεο]|ποιό[ς. *IEph*: πατρό[βουλος γερου]|σιαστ[ῆς νεο]|ποιό[ς. Cf. Chapter 3, pp. 113-118 & *SEG* 33 (1983): 1182, where objection is made to the reading γερουσιαστῆς because this would "imply that Attalos as patroboulos was too young to become an ordinary member of the boule but on the other hand was member of the *gerousia*!" citing van Rossum, *De Gerosia in de Griekse steden van het Romeinse Rijk*, Leiden (1988).

Translation:

To Good Fortune; Marcus Aurelius Artemidorus the son of Attalus, an Emperor-loving member of the *gerousia*, a temple-warden, a revered aedile, and an outstanding liturgist; and Marcus Aurelius Attalus, an honorary member of the *boule* and an Olympian victor, the son of Artemidorus, who was a member of the *gerousia* and a *neopoios*....

(27) *IEph* 972.1-28; so-called list of *grammateis* of the *gerousia*; found at the end of the harbour at the end of Arcadiane street. Of the seven named individuals, only two are identified as *grammateis*, so there is little reason to interpret this document as a list of *grammateis*, let alone *grammateis* of the *gerousia*. The inscription was carved by five stone-masons (*ll* 1-10, 11-14, 15-17, 18-21, 22-28). Measurements unknown. Date: early-third century.

εὖ·	
Μᾶρ(κος) Αὐρ(ήλιος) Παρ-	
νασσός Ἀσσ-	
κληπίδου φιλο-	
σέβαστος	5
Μᾶρ(κος) Αὐρ(ήλιος) Ἀσσκλ-	
ηπίδης Παρ-	
νασσοῦ φιλοσέ-	
βαστος	
ὁ αὐτὸς ἱερεὺς·	10
εὖ·	
ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ·	
Μ(ᾶρκος) Αὐρ(ήλιος) Γάιος	
β·	
ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ·	15
Αὐρ(ήλιος) Ἀγνίας Εὐπόρου	
γραμματεὺς·	
Φαλκίδιος Ἐπίγονος	
γραμματεὺς γερουσίας καὶ	
Φαλκίδιος Ζώσιμος υἱὸς	20
γραμματέως πατρογέρων·	
ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ·	
Αὐρ[ήλιος] Ἀττα[λος]	
Ἀρτεμ[ιδώρου]	
γερουσια[στοῦ] ⁵	25
πατρόβο[υλος]	
υἱὸς νεοποιο[ῦ]	
καὶ χρυσοφόρο[υ.]	

⁵ *IEph*: γερουσια[στικής].

Translation:

May it be well; the Emperor-loving Marcus Aurelius Parnassus the son of Asclepides; the Emperor-loving Marcus Aurelius Asclepides the son of Parnassus, also the priest. May it be well; to good fortune, Marcus Aurelius Gaius son of Gaius; to good fortune, Aurelius Hagnias the son of Euporus, the *grammateus*; Falcidius Epigonus, the *grammateus* of the *gerousia* and Falcidius Zosimus the son of the *grammateus* and an honorary member of the *gerousia*; to good fortune, Aurelius Attalus, an honorary member of the *boule*, the son of Artemidorus, who was a member of the *gerousia*, a temple-warden and a *chrysophoros*.

(28) *JÖAI* 59 (1989): 234, no. 68; fragment of a votive offering to Artemis; from the Church of St. John. Measurements: 28 x 30 x 7.2 cm. Undated.

[ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ.
[----- 'Α]σιατικοῦ
[----- ἐκ γε]ρουσίας· εὖ-
[χαριστῶ τῇ] Ἀρτέμιδι περὶ
[ὦν ὡς εὐξά]μην ἐπέτυχα
[----- ν]εοποίησας ἀ-
[γνῶς καὶ κ]αλῶς Ἀρτεμι-
[-----].ην γυναίκ-
[ην -----]

5

Translation:

To Good Fortune. I, the son of Asiaticus...and a member of the *gerousia*, give thanks to Artemis concerning those things which when I prayed I received...having served Artemis reverently and well as a *neopoios*...my wife....

(29) *IEph* 940.1-6: thanksgiving to Artemis; unknown findspot. Measurements unknown. Undated.

[ἀ]γαθῇ τύχ[ῃ·]
[ἐπὶ ἀρχ]ισκηπτούχο[ν-----]
[εὐχαριστῶ σοι κυρία Ἀρ]τεμι]
[-----]ς νεοποιὸς α[ὐθαίρετος]
[καὶ γραμ]ματεὺς τῶν [πρεσβυτέρων?]⁶
[καὶ τῆς συ]νόδου [τῶν χρυσοφόρων.]

5

Translation:

To Good Fortune; during the service of...as chief wand-bearer; I,...a voluntary *neopoios* and *grammateus* of the elders and of the assembly of *chrysophoroi*, give thanks to you Queen Artemis.

⁶ The association of the *gerousia* and the *chrysophoroi* in this manner is unusual. The *chrysophoroi* are more closely associated with the *neopoioi* and *kouretes* (*IEph* 940A & 4330), so that νεοποιῶν may be a restoration preferable to πρεσβυτέρων; cf. above, Chapter Five, p. 146-147

(30) *IEph* 711.1-6; *JÖAI* 52 (1978-1980): 47, no. 83: dedication to Artemis; found east of the Magnesian gate.⁷ Measurements: 112 x 26.5-28.5 x 25-27 cm. Undated.

Ἀρτέμιδι
Καίσαρι
πρεσβυτέροις
Ποπίλλιος
βᾶσσοις
καθιέρωσεν.

5

Translation:

Popillius Bassus dedicates this to Artemis, to Caesar and to the Elders.

(31) *IEph* 442.1-3; *JÖAI* 48 (1966-7): 13-14, no. 5: Architrave inscription; found in the SW corner of the Tetragonus Agora. Measurements: 71 x 262 x 43-64 cm. Undated, but the use of such multiple generations becomes increasingly characteristic later in the Empire (Knibbe). Illustration: Fig. 19.

ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ·

Ἀφροδείσιος Κλεάνδρου τοῦ Ἡρώδου δῖς τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου γραμματεὺς
καὶ γυμνασίαρχος κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ τῆς φιλοσεβάστου γερουσίας.

Translation:

To Good Fortune. Aphrodisius the son of Cleander the son of Herodes the son of Herodes the son of Apollonius, simultaneously the *grammateus* and the *gymnasiarch* of the Emperor-loving *gerousia*.

⁷ *IEph*: "Stammt die Inschrift aus dem Gymnasium der Alten?"

C. Honorary Inscriptions

(32) *ZPE* 120 (1998): 71, no. 8.1-7; Honorary decree for the *prytanis* Glaucou; unknown findspot. Measurements: 30 x 33 x 8cm. Glaucou son of Mandrylus was *prytanis* and *agonothetes* in 36/35 BC (*IEph* 9N.43-44). Illustration: Fig. 20.

ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος καὶ ἡ γερουσία (or δι νεοὶ) ἐτείμησαν]¹

Γλαύκωνα [Μανδρύλου τοῦ - -]

οὐ πρυτανε[ύσαντα καὶ ἀγωνοθετήσαν-]

τα τὰ κατὰ Τὰ[ύρεα (?) - - - - - εὖ-]

τυχέστατ[α - - - - - κτίσαντά]

5

τε ἐκ τῶν ἰ[δίων καὶ τὸ - - - - - καὶ τὸ]

σφαιρ[ιστήριον - - - - -]

Translation:

The *boule* and the *demos* and the *gerousia* have honoured Glaucou the son of Mandrylus the grandson of He was *prytanis* and *agonothetes* for the Taurian games... most prosperously ... and having founded from his own money both the ... and the ball-court.

(33) *IEph* 803.1-5; *AAWW* 102 (1965): 104 no. 3; *AE* 1967: 483; *RPh* 41 (1967): 70; honorary inscription for Epaphras; found in front of the south gate of the agora. Measurements unknown. Date: Epaphras was priest of the divine Augustus; since Σεβαστοῦ is singular, the priesthood most likely took place in the early first century AD.

[οἱ] πρεσβύτεροι ἐτείμησαν [. .]λ[- - - - -]

[Ἐπ]αφρᾶν ἱερέα διὰ βίου θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ[- - - - -]

[κρ]ατίστου, ἀνδρα καλὸν καὶ ἀγαθὸν σα[- - - - - κα-]

θιερωκότα ἰς ἐκδανισμὸν τῇ ἱεροῦ συν[εδρίου (?) - - - - -]

δηνάρια μύρια.

5

Translation:

The elders have honoured...Epaphras, priest for life of the divine Augustus...and *vir egregius*; he is a good and estimable man...having dedicated...ten thousand denarii for lending out for the...f the sacred assembly.

¹ Engelmann and Büyükkolancı (1998) note both ἡ γερουσία and οἱ νεοὶ as possible restorations for line 1. Both have their merits. The Τάύρεα in line 4 and σφαιρπιστήριον in line 7 suggest that Glaucou's benefaction was directed towards athletic aspects, in which case νεοὶ is preferable since the *neoi* are more often associated with gymnastic activities than the *gerousia* is. Alternatively, the association of the *neoi* with the *boule* and *demos* is very rare in Ephesus, while the *gerousia* does appear with both bodies in honorary decrees (cf., cat. no. 36, *AE* 2000: 1408; cat. no. 37, *IEph* 657A), so that ἡ γερουσία may be preferable.

- (34) *IEph* 2113.1-18; Oliver, *SG* 6: honorary inscription for Gaius Stertinius Orpex; found in the stadium. Measurements unknown. Date: although Orpex is not named in this inscription, he is known to have established a foundation providing for distributions of money and statues of Asclepius, Sleep and Health (*IEph* 411, 720, 4213). Second to third quarter of the first century AD. Cf. cat. no. 72.

[-----]τηε.

[--- εν τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Ἀρ]τέμιδος

[----- συν τοῖς] ἀνδριᾶσιν

[σύν] παντὶ [τῷ ἰδίῳ τῆς θε]οῦ κόσμῳ καὶ²

[τ]ῷ καταστρώματι· οἱ αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐπο[ιη-]

5

[σα]ν καὶ ἐν τῷ σταδίῳ ἐν δεξιᾷ β' σε-

[λί]δες συν τῷ κατακερκίζοντι τοί[χῳ]

[τ]ῷ λευκολίθῳ καὶ τῇ ἐξέδρᾳ τῇ πρὸ τοῦ

ἔργου αὐτῶν· καθιέρωσαν δὲ καὶ βουλ[ῇ]

ἀργύριον, ὅπως ἐκ τῆς προσόδου κάτ' ἐν[ιαυ-]

10

τὸν πρὸ τῶν τειμῶν αὐτῶν ἐν [τῇ] ἀγο<ρ>ᾳ λαμ[-]

βάνωσ<ι> διανομήν· ὁμοίως καὶ τῇ γερουσ[ίᾳ,]

ὅπως λαμβάνωσι ἐν τῷ σταδίῳ πρὸ [τῶν]

τειμῶν αὐτῶν διανομήν καὶ ἐγ[γύην] δαπα-]

νήματος αὐτοῦ ἐξ ἑτέρου χρήμ[ατος] ὁμοί[-]

15

[ως] καθιέρωσαν αὐτοῖς· ἀνέθηκαν [δὲ]³

[κα]ὶ ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ Ἀσκληπι[ον] Ὑ[γί-]⁴

[ειαν] Ὑπνον συν παντὶ τῷ ἰδίῳ [κόσμῳ ---]

Translation:

...in the Temple of Artemis...with the statues with every individual adornment of the goddess and with the covering; the same individuals also built in the stadium on the right side two wedges of seats with the dividing white stone wall and with the exedra which is in front of their project; and they also donated money to the *boule*, so that from the annual interest they might receive a cash distribution in the agora in front of their statues. And in the same way they donated money to the *gerousia*, so that they might receive a money distribution in the stadium in front of their statues, and they also donated (to the members of the *boule* and *gerousia*) as surety of these expenses the revenue from another property; and they also set up in the gymnasium statues of Asclepius, Health and Sleep with all their individual adornments....

² *IEph*: [καὶ] παντὶ [τῷ] οῦ κόσμῳ καὶ.

³ *IEph*: ἐ[πὶ τοῦ][μ]νήματος αὐτοῦ ἐξ ἑτέρου χρήμ[ατος κλη][ρον?]; Oliver's reading is preferred here since it would be unusual to donate a lottery (κληρον καθιέρωσαν); one donates a sum of money for a lottery.

⁴ Oliver: Ἀσκληπι[ῳ σ]ύνβω][μο]ν Ὑπνον; Given Ἀσκληπιὸν συν Ὑγιείᾳ συν Ὑπνῳ | συν παντὶ αὐτῶν κόσμῳ in *IEph* 4123 (cat. no. 72), though, this is unlikely.

(35) *IEph* 987.1-27 and 988.1-30; *JÖAI* 45 (1960): 87-89 no. 14 I & II: honorary inscriptions for Vipsania Olympia and Vipsania Polla; found in the Byzantine Baths. Measurements: 95 x 52 x 30. Date: the absence of mention of a *neocorate* has suggested to the editor that the inscriptions are earlier than AD 88.

[ἡ βουλῇ] καὶ ὁ δῆ[μ]ος	ἡ βουλ[ῇ καὶ ὁ δῆμος]	
[ἔτε]ιμῃσαν	ἔτε[ιμῃσαν]	
[Οὔειψαν]ίαν Ὀλυμπιά-	Οὔε[ιψανίαν]	
[δα, Λου]κίου Οὔειψανί-	Πῶλ[λαν - - - - -]	
[ου Νέω]νος υἱοῦ Κορνη-	μένη[ν - - - - -]	5
[λία] Ἀπελλήους καὶ	Λουκ[ίου Οὔειψανίου]	
[Κλαυ]δίας Πυθοῦ θυ-	Νέωνος [υἱοῦ Κορνη-]	
[γατρ]ὸς Πολεμωνί-	λία Ἀ[πελλήους]	
[δος θυ]γατέρα, ἱερατεύ-	καὶ Κ[λαυδίας Πυθοῦ]	
[σασαν] τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος	θυγα[τρὸς Πολεμων-]	10
[ιεροπρε]πῶς τὰ τε μυσ-	νίδος θυγατέρα, ἱερα-	
[τήρια κ]αὶ τὰς θυσίας	τεύ[σασαν τῆς Ἀρ-]	
[ἀξίως] ἐπιτελέσασαν	τέμ[ιδος ἱεροπρεπῶς]	
[καὶ κ]αταστέψασαν	τὰ τ[ε μυστήρια καὶ τὰς]	
[τόν τ]ε ναὸν καὶ τὰ πε-	θυσ[ίας ἀξίως ἐπιτε-]	15
[ρὶ αὐτ]ὸν πάντα ἐν ταῖς	λέσ[ασαν καὶ καταστέ-]	
[ἐπιφαν]εστάταις τῆς θε-	ψασ[αν τὸν τε ναὸν]	
[οὔ ἡμέρ]αις, ποιήσασαν	καὶ [τὰ περὶ αὐτὸν πάν-]	
[τὰς δη]μοτελεῖς θυσί-	τα [ἐν ταῖς ἐπιφανεσ-]	20
[ας καὶ] διανείμασαν [τῇ]	τά[ταις τῆς θεοῦ ἡμέ-]	
[β]ουλῇ καὶ τῇ γερου[σίᾳ,]	ρα[ις, ποιήσασαν τὰς δη-]	
[ἐπ]ιδούσαν εἰς ἐπι[σ-]	μοτ[ελεῖς θυσίας καὶ]	
[κε]υὴν τῆς βασιλικῆς δη[νάρια]	δι[ανείμασαν τῇ βουλῇ]	
πεντακισχέιλια, ἱε-	κα[ὶ τῇ γερουσίᾳ, ἐπιδου-]	
[ρα]τεύσασαν ἐπὶ πρυτά-	σα[ν εἰς ἐπισκευὴν τῆς]	25
[νεω]ς Γαΐου Λικιννίου	βα[σιλικῆς δηνάρια]	
[Δι]ονυσοδώρου.	πε[ντακισχέιλια, ἱερ-]	
	α[τεύσασαν ἐπὶ πρυτά-]	
	[νεως Γαΐου Λικιννίου]	
	[Διονυσοδώρου] ⁵	30

Translation:

The *boule* and *demos* have honoured Vipsania Olympia, the daughter of Lucius Vipsanius Apelles the son of Neon of the tribe Cornelia and Claudia Polemonis the daughter of Pytho; she served reverently as priestess of Artemis and completed the mysteries and sacrifices in a worthy manner; she decorated the temple and everything around it on the days most suitable to the goddess, and she performed the public sacrifices and she offered distributions to the *boule* and the *gerousia*; she made a gift of

⁵ Since the inscriptions record identical donations, it is not unreasonable to suppose both priestesshoods took place during the prytanny of Gaius Licinnius Dionysodorus.

five thousand denarii for the repair of the colonnade; she was priestess during the *prytany* of Gaius Licinnius Dionysodorus.

The *boule* and *demos* have honoured Vipsania Polla ...the daughter of Lucius Vipsanius Apelles the son of Neon of the tribe Cornelia and Cladiua Polemonis the daughter of Pytho. She served reverently as priestess of Artemis and she performed the mysteries and sacrifices in a worthy manner; she decorated the temple and everything around it on the days most suitable to the goddess; she performed the public sacrifices and she offered distributions to the *boule* and the *gerousia*; she made a gift of five thousand denarii for the repair of the colonnade. She was priestess during the *prytany* of Gaius Licinnius Dionysodorus.

- (36) *JÖAI* 69 (2000): 86, no. 19; *AE* 2000: 1408; *SEG* 50, 1146; honorary decree for Octavia Capetolina; from the agora depot. Measurements: 42 x 49 x 10cm. Date: the script is probably from the 1st century AD.

[ἡ βουλῇ] καὶ ὁ δῆμος
[καὶ ἡ γε]ρουσία καὶ τὸ ξυ-
[νὸν τῶ]ν Ἰώνων ἐτείμ-
[ησαν] Ὀκταβίαν Καπε-
[τ]ωλ[εῖ]αν σωφροσύ-
νης καὶ φιλανδρίας
χάριν

5

Translation:

The *boule* and the *demos* and the *gerousia* and the general assembly of the Ionians have honoured Octavia Capetolina because of her prudence and generosity.

- (37) *IEph* 657A.1-4: honorary inscription for Marcus Com...; unknown findspot. Measurements unknown. Date: probably 1st century AD.

ἡ βουλῇ καὶ ἡ γερουσία]
καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐ[τείμη-]
σαν Μ(άρκον) Κομ[- - - - -]
νο[- - - - -]

Translation:

The Senate and the *gerousia* and the People have honoured Marcus Com...

- (38) *IEph* 702.1-16; *JÖAI* 18 (1915): 281-2; *AE* 1920: 74; Oliver, *SG* 5: honorary decree for Titus Peducaeus Canax; statue base reused north of the north gate of the Tetragonus Agora. Measurements unknown. On the basis of the text, Keil has dated this inscription to the late first century AD.

[ἡ] βουλῇ καὶ ὁ δῆμος
ἐτείμησαν
Τίτον Πεδουκαῖον Κάνακα
φιλοσέβαστον τὸν γυμνασίαρ-
χον τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, πρύτα-
νεύσαντα τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἱερα-
τεύσαντα τῆς Ῥώμης καὶ Ποπλί-

5

ου Σερουειλίου Ἰσαυρικοῦ, ἐλαι-
οθετήσαντα δὲ καὶ τῶν πολει-
τῶν τὸν ἐπιβαλόντα χρόνον
καὶ καθιερώσεις ποιησάμενο[ν]
[ἀ]ργυρίων βουλῇ καὶ γερουσίᾳ,
[τὴν τ]ε περὶ τὰ μυστήρια πλη-
[ρέστα]τα ποιησάμενον εὐσέβειαν,
[ἀναδ]όντα δὲ καὶ τὸ ὑπὲρ τῶν
[θεωρι]ῶν ἀργύριον.

10

15

Translation:

The Senate and People have honoured the Emperor-loving Titus Peducaeus Canax, a gymnasiarch of the elders. He served as *prytanis* of the city and as priest of Roma and Publius Servilius Isauricus; he also provided oil in the following year for the citizens and he made donations of money to the *boule* and the *gerousia*, and he demonstrated his piety most completely regarding the mysteries, and he also offered money for the spectacles.

(39) *IEph* 2061.II.1-23; *FiE* II, pp. 174-176, no. 61.II; *AE* 1913:143b: honorary decree for Titus Flavius Montanus; found in the theatre. Measurements: 240 x 330 cm. Date: Montanus was the recipient of numerous honours connected to his building activities (*IEph* 498, 528, 2037, 2061I, 2062, 2063); he was also a procurator under Trajan. AD103-116. Illustration: Fig. 21.

ἡ βουλῇ [καὶ ὁ δῆμος]

ἐτ[τείμησαν]

Τ(ίτον) Φλάου[ιον Μοντᾶνον]

δὶς ἑπαρχὸν τεχειτ[ῶν,]

ἀρχιερ[έα Ἀσίας ναοῦ τ]οῦ

5

[ἐ]ν Ἐφέσῳ κοινῷ τῆς Ἀσίας, σεβασ-

[τ]οφάντην καὶ ἀγωνοθέτην διὰ

[βίο]ν, τελειώσαντα τὸ [θ]έατρον

[κα]ὶ κα[θιερ]ώσαντα ἐν τῇ [ἀ]ρχιεροσύνῃ,

δ[όντα καὶ μ]ονομαχίας καὶ κυνήγια,

10

κα[ταθέντα κ]αὶ τοῖς πολ[ε]ίταις τὸ

ἀρισ[τ]ον [ἐκ]άστῳ δην(άρια) γ', [τῇ] τε βο[υ]λῇ

καὶ τῇ γερουσίᾳ πληρώσαντα τὰ δίκαια

πάντα, ἀριθμήσαντα καὶ εἰς τὴν τοῦ

[λιμέ]νος κατασκευὴν μυριάδα[ς] ἑπτὰ

15

[ῆ]μισυ καὶ ἀγωνοθετήσαντα ἀγῶνα

κοινὸν [τῆς Ἀ]σίας ἐπιφανῶς

Λούκιος Οὐεί[βιος Λέ]ν[τ]ο[υ]λ[ος, ἐ]πίτρο[πος Αὐτοκρά-]

τορ[ος Νέρο]υα Τραιαν[οῦ Καί]σαρος]

Σεβ[αστοῦ Γ]ερμανικο[ῦ Δακ]ικοῦ]

20

[ἀπὸ] τῶν λόγων, ἐκ π[ροσόδων δη-]

[μοσί]α δελ[τ]ικῇ διαθ[ήκη] λελειμ-]
μέ[νω]ν ὑπ' αὐτ[οῦ].]

Translation:

The *boule* and *demos* have honoured Titus Flavius Montanus who was twice prefect of the craftsmen, highpriest of Asia of the common temple of Asia in Ephesus, *sebastophant* and *agonothetes* for life. He provided and donated a theatrical show during his high-priesthood, giving also gladiatorial fights and beast-hunts. He also provided for the citizens a mid-day meal costing three denarii for each man, and he did everything which was fair for the *boule* and the *gerousia*. He also counted out for the dredging of the harbour seventy-five thousand denarii. He served famously as *agonothetes* of the common games of Asia. Lucius Vibius Lentulus, the procurator *a rationibus* of Emperor Nerva Trajanus Caesar Augustus Germanicus Dacicus from the income which was bequeathed by him in his publicly registered testament erected this.

- (40) *IEph* 1599.1-4; *GIBM* 599; Oliver, *SG* 8; *ITralles* 2: honorary inscription for Claudius Bassus; from Ephesus, not Tralles. Measurements: 25 x 41.4cm. Date: Oliver suggests that Bassus may be the Claudius Bassus who is honoured in Smyrna as an *agonothetes* of the Nemesia under Hadrian (*IGRR* 4.1431). AD 117-139. Illustration: Fig. 22.

ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ
Κλαύδιος
Βᾶσσος
γερουσιαστής.

Translation:

To Good Fortune. Claudius Bassus, a member of the *gerousia*.

- (41) *IEph* 618.1-23; Oliver, *SG* 9; *IKeramos* T6: honorary inscription for Marcus Ulpius Aristocrates of Ceramus; found near the aqueduct. Measurements unknown. Date: by the second pentetetric Hardianeia, the inscription dates to shortly after AD 140.

[Μ(άρκον) Οὐλπιον]

Ἱεροκλέους
Ἀριστοκράτην
Κεραμικήτην, ἀρχιερέα Ἀσ[ί-]
ας ναῶν τῶν ἐν Ἐφέσιω καὶ [ἀγω-]
νοθέτην τῶν μεγάλων [Ἀδρια-]
νείων τῆς δευτέρας πε[νταε-]
τηρίδος, δόντα τὰς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀρ-]
χειρ<ω>σύνης μυριάδας [- - - εἰς]
τὴν κατασκευὴν τ[- - - - -]
[κ]αὶ ἄλλας μυριάδας [- - εἰς τὸ]
[...]εριον, δοθέντα [λογισ-]
[τῇ]ν ὑπὸ θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ [τῇ φι-]
[λ]οσεβάστῳ γερουσίᾳ, φ[ι-]

5

10

λ<η>θέντα δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ μεγ[ίστου]

Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος [Τίτου]

Αἰλίου Ἀδριανοῦ Ἀντωνεῖ[νου]

Σεβαστοῦ Εὐσ[εβ]οῦς ε[- - -]

δς ἅμα καὶ δεκάκις δ[οθέντα]⁶ τῇ]

γερουσίᾳ λογιστ[ὴν - - - - -]

20

σι μ(υριάδας) ι', ἡ φιλοσέβ(αστος) [γερουσίᾳ]⁷

τῆς [πρώτης καὶ μεγίστης Ἐφε-]

[σίῳν πόλεως]

Translation:

Marcus Ulpius Aristocrates of Ceramos the son of Hierocles, the high-priest of the temples of Asia in Ephesus and *agonothetes* of the great Hadrianeia in the second cycle of five years, having given ... thousands for the office of the high-priesthood ... for the preparation...and another...thousand... for the ...and having also been appointed *logistes* of the *gerousia*, which is loyal to the Emperor, by the divine Hadrianus, and being loved by the greatest Emperor Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius..., who, also was appointed ten times as *logistes* of the *gerousia*... eighty thousand... the Emperor-loving *gerousia* of the first and greatest city of the Ephesians set this statue up.

(42) *JÖAI* 62 (1993): 129, no 21.0-13; fragment of an honorary decree; from the Church of St. John. Measurements: 43 x 41 x 28 cm. Date: Knibbe dates the inscription to the first half of the second century on the basis of the lettering.

[ποιήσασαν τὰς δημοτελεῖς θυσίας καὶ δι-]⁸

[α]νείμασαν [τῇ βουλῇ]

[κ]αὶ τῇ γερουσίᾳ ἐκ]

[τ]ῶν θυσιῶν ὁμ[οίως]

[κ]αὶ τῷ ἱερῷ οἴκῳ [καὶ]

[το]ῖς ἱερoneϊκαῖς [τοῖς]

5

[Ἀρτεμ]εισιασταῖς, [ἀνα(?)-]

[λωσα]μένην τὰ ἴδια δηνά(?)-]

[ρια δι]ὰ τὰς τοῦ πατρὸς]

[αὐτ]ῆς φιλοδοξί[ας εἰς]

[π]ρυτανείαν καὶ [γυμνα-]

10

[σι]αρχίαν καὶ τῶν [λοι-]

[π]ῶν πάντων φιλ[ανθρώ-]

⁶ *IEph*: δ[ιανομὴν ἐποίησε τῇ] | γερουσίᾳ λογιστ[είας] ἐνεκεν (*IEph* 618); the presence of a *logistes* is not consistent with descriptions of such distributions in other inscriptions, though. Oliver's reading of δ[οθέντα] τῇ | γερουσίᾳ is, therefore, preferred here.

⁷ Oliver reads: ΣΙ . Μ . Ι :: -σι μ(υριάδας) π', ἡ φιλοσέβ[αστος] βουλῇ]. Γερουσία seems to be a more reasonable restoration as the *boule* appears otherwise not to be involved.

⁸ The *editores principes* suggest for the beginning: [-ἱερατεύσασαν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱεροπρεπῶς τὰ τε μυστήρια καὶ τὰς θυσίας ἀξίως ἐπιτελέσασαν καὶ καταστέψασαν τὸν τε ναὸν καὶ τὰ περὶ αὐτὸν πάντα ἐν ταῖς ἐπιφανεστάταις τῆς θεοῦ ἡμέραις, ποιήσασαν τὰς κτλ; cf. cat no. 35.

[πων].π.[- - - - -]

Translation:

...having performed the public sacrifices and having offered distributions to the *boule* and to the *gerousia* from the sacrificial victims and in the same way also for the sacred servant and for the sacred victors in the Artemiseia, and having devoted her own money to the endowments of her father for the *prytaneion* and the gymnasiarchy and all the remaining donations...

- (43) *IEph* 1544.1-12; *GIBM* 544; Oliver, *SG* 15; *Hermes* 4 (1870): 215, no. 29; *CIL* III 6078, 12254; *ILS* 1925: bilingual honorary inscription for Tiberius Claudius Secundus; found in the basilica on the south of the commercial agora. Measurements: 105.4 x 60.25 x 57.75cm. Date: A freedman of Tiberius Claudius Secundus erected a statute during the proconsulship of Marcus Lollius Paullinus Decimus Valerius Asiaticus (AD 108/109; *IEph* 857, 1545; *PIR*² L 320.). Tiberius Claudius Secundus is also honoured on an undated inscription as *viator tribunicius* and *lictor curiatus* (*IEph* 646). Oliver and Curtius, however, date the inscription to the age of the Antonines. Mid-second century. Illustration: Fig. 23.

Ti(berio) Claudio

Secundo

viatori tribunici[io]

accenso velato, licto-

ri curiato, gerusia h[o]-

5

noris caussa sua [pecunia.]

ἡ γερουσία ἐτείμησεν

Τι(βέριον) Κλαύδιον Σεκοῦνδ[ον]

οὐιάτορα τριβουνίκ[ιον,]

ἀκκῆνσον οὐηλάτον,

10

λείκτορα κουριάτον,

ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων.

Translation:

The *gerousia* has honoured Tiberius Claudius Secundus, a tribune's bailiff, a veiled attendant and a lictor of the curiate assembly, from its own funds.⁹

- (44) *IEph* 1604.0-13; *GIBM* 604; Oliver, *SG* 10: honorary inscription for a hymnodos; found in the theatre. Measurements: 97.9 x 50.2. Date: Tiberius Julius Reginus was *agonothetes* in AD 170 (*IEph* 1105, 1105a, 1105b, 1106a, 1130, 1605, 1621). Illustration: Fig. 24.

[- - - - - φιλοσεβάσ-]

του ὑμνωδοῦ,

ἱεροκῆρυξ, γραμ-

ματεὺς Ἀδριανείων,

ὑμνωδὸς νεμητῆς

⁹ Although phrased differently, the Greek and Latin texts are translations of one another.

βουλῆς γερουσίας
 χρυσοφόρων·
 ἠγωνίσσατο ἀγῶνας
 τρεῖς, ἐστέφθη δὺω,
 ἀγωνοθετοῦντος
 δι' αἰῶνος Τιβερίου Ἰουλίου)
 Ῥηγείνου ἀσιάρχου β'
 ναῶν τῶν ἐν Ἐφέσιω
 τῆς φιλίᾳ πενταετηρίδος.

10

Translation:

...son of...the Emperor-loving *hymnodus*, a sacred herald, the *grammateus* of the Hadrianeia, *hymnodus* having a share in the distributions for the *boule*, the *gerousia* and the *chrysophoroi*; he put on three sets of games, he was awarded a crown twice during the eternal agonothésie of Tiberius Julius Reginus, (when Reginus was) asiarch for the second time of the temples which are in Ephesus in the five hundred and seventeenth pentateric cycle of the games.

(45) *IEph* 4330.1-13; *FiE* IV, 3, pp. 283-4, no. 30: honorary inscription for Zoticus the son of Artemidorus; from the northern arm of the Church of St. John. Measurements: the inscription is in several fragments: 49 x 22-17 cm; 31 x 22-17 cm; 5 x 22-17 cm. Date: AD 231-239.

[- - - - Ζ]ωτικὸς Ἀρ[τεμιδώρου?]
 [γερουσιαστ]ῆς, μετέχων καὶ τοῦ
 [συνεδρίου τῶ]ν νεωποιῶν κ[ουρή-]
 [των χρυσοφόρ]ων, ἐσσηνέυσας τὰς δύο
 [ἐσσηνίας καὶ] ναοφυλακίας, π[ληρώ-]
 [σας δὲ καὶ τὰ] μυστήρια πάντ[α, ἐστιά-]
 [σας τὰ συνέδρια] πάντα καὶ τοὺς [ξέ-]
 [νους τοὺς κατὰ και]ρὸν ἐπιδήμησα[ντας]
 [Ἄννιον Ἀνουλλῆ]γον Περκιννιανὸν
 [τὸν κράτιστων ἀν]νωαταμίαν ἐπιτρο-
 [πέοντα τὴν Ῥώμ]ην, δοικη[ν]ᾶριον
 [καὶ Αὐρήλιον? Πι]νάριον Γέμ[ελλ?]ον (εἰκοστής)
 [κληρονομιῶν ἐπὶ]τροπον· π[ρὸ τ]ούτων

5

10

Translation:

Zoticus the son of Artemidorus, a member of the *gerousia*, a member also of the Assembly (συνεδρίον) of the temple-wardens, *kouretes* and *chrysophoroi*, having twice served as *essen* and as temple-guard, and having also completed all the mysteries, having feasted all the assemblies (συνεδρία) and the guests who were dwelling in the city at the time, namely Annius Anullinus Percennianus, *vir egregius*, the procurator of the grain supply in Rome, the recipient of a salary of two hundred thousand sesterces, and Aurelius Pinarius Gemellus the procurator of the 0.5% tax on inheritances; on behalf of these....

- (46) *IEph* 737.1-18; *AAWW* 92 (1955): 163-165; *AE* 1968: 488, 1956: 10; *SEG* 17: 506: honorary inscription for Vibius Seneca; built into the Scholastica Baths. Measurements unknown. Date: Tiberius Claudius Moschas' service fell between AD 244-246.

[ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος]

[ἐτείμησαν]¹⁰

Οὐίβιον

Σενεκᾶν

τὸν κράτιστον

5

χειλίαρχον {δοῦκ[α]}

κοόρτης δεκάτη[ς]

πραιτωρίας

[[Φιλιππιανῆς]]

<δοῦκα> οὐξηξίλλατιώνων

10

κλάσσης πραιτωρίας

Μεισηνάτων καὶ

Ῥαβεννησίων,

ἐκδικούντος τοῦ

συνεδρίου

15

Τιβ(ερίου) Κλ(αυδίου) Μοσχᾶ φιλοσεβ(άστου)

ἀδ[ελ]φοῦ ἀσιάρχου

[- - - - -]

Translation:

The *boule* and *demos* have honoured Vibius Seneca, *vir egregius*, tribune of the tenth Praetorian cohort Philippian, leader of the standard bearers of the Praetorian fleets at Messene and at Ravenna, when the Emperor-loving Tiberius Claudius Moschas, the brother of the Asiarch, was the advocate of the assembly.

- (47) *IEph* 892.1-23; *FiE* IV, III, p. 283, no. 30; *JÖAI* 49 (1968-71): 65, no. 6: honorary decree for Claudia Caninia; built into the Scholastica Baths. Measurements: 108 x 50-56 x 50-56 cm. Date: Claudia Caninia Severa is also honoured in *IEph* 635c. The hymnode Tiberius Claudius Moschas was honoured under Philip the Arab (*IEph* 645). Claudia's father, Tiberius Claudius Severus, is probably the Severus who was consul under Septimius Severus (*IEph* 648; *PIR*² 1025, 1028). AD 244-246 (cf. *IEph* 737; *CIL* 16.149, 151, 153). Illustration: Fig. 25.

[ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος]

[ἐτείμησαν]

[Κλαυδίαν Κανεινίαν]

Σεουῆραν

τὴν λαμπροτάτην

5

¹⁰ *IEph*: [τὸ συνέδριον τῆς φιλοσεβ(άστου) γερουσιᾶς]; cf. above, Chapter Four, pp. 118-119; Chapter Five, pp. 162-163; Chapter Six, pp. 237-238; cf. cat. no. 47.

ἐκ προγόνων ὑπατικὴν,
 [τ]ὴν ἱέρειαν καὶ κοσμήτειραν
 τῆς κυρίας Ἀρτέμιδος
 καὶ πρύτανιν εὐσεβῇ
 καὶ θεωρὸν τῶν μεγάλων 10
 Ὀλυμπίων,
 θυγατέρα Τιβ(ερίου) Κλ(αυδίου) Σεουήρου,
 πρώτου ὑπατεύσαντος Ἐφεσίων,
 καὶ Κανεινίας Γαργωνίλλης
 ἐκ προγόνων ὑπατικῆς 15
 πολλοῖς καὶ μεγάλοις ἔργοις
 κοσμοῦσαν τὴν πατρίδα ἡμῶν
 προνοησαμένου τῆς ἀναστάσεως
 τοῦ ἀνδριάντος Τιβ(εριοῦ) Κλ(αυδιοῦ) Μοσχᾶ φιλο-
 σεβ(άστου) ὑμνωδοῦ βουλάρχου, πρώτου 20
 στρατηγοῦ, εἰρηνάρχου, ἀδελφοῦ
 ἀσιάρχου, τοῦ ἐκδίκου τῆς φιλσεβ(άστου)
 Ἐφεσίων γερουσίας

Translation:

The *boule* and *demos* have honoured Claudia Caninia Severa, *femina egregia*, of consular standing through her ancestors, the priestess and adorer of Queen Artemis and a pious prytanis and one who has seen the Great Olympia, the daughter of Tiberius Claudius Severus, the first of the Ephesians to become consul, and Caninia Gargonilla, of consular standing through her ancestors, since she has adorned our fatherland in many and great ways; Tiberius Claudius Moschas, Emperor-loving hymnode, leader of the *boule*, first *strategos*, eirenarch, brother of an Asiarch and advocate of the Emperor-loving *gerousia* of the Ephesians oversaw the erection of this statue.

(48) *IEph* 951.1-16; *JÖAI* 26 (1930): 57: honorary inscription for Aurelius Baranus; found in a late wall near the harbour. Measurements: 120 x 18 cm. Date: on the basis of the lettering, Keil dates the inscription to the late second or early third century AD. Illustration: Fig. 26.

ψ(ηφίσματι) β(ουλῆς) δ(ήμου)
 Αὐρ(ηλίου) Βαρανὸν φιλοσέβαστον
 φιλότειμον νεοποιὸν
 ἀνάψαντα ἡμερῶν ἑνδεκα 5
 καὶ ὑποδεξάμενον τὴν τε
 κρατίστην Ἐφεσίων βουλὴν
 καὶ πάντα τὰ συνέδρια, καὶ
 πολεῖτας χειλίους τεσσαρά-
 κοντα, μετέχοντα δὲ καὶ τοῦ
 συνεδρίου τῶν νεοποιῶν 10
 καὶ χρυσοφόρων, τὴν τιμὴν

ἀναστήσαντος παρ' ἑαυτοῦ
Μ(άρκου) Φλ(αυίου) Δομετιανοῦ φιλοσεβ(άστου)
ὑοῦ ἀσιάρχου καὶ ἀσιάρχου,
ἐκδίκου τῆς κρατίστης
Ἐφεσίων βουλῆς

15

Translation:

By a decree of the *boule* and *demos*. Aurelius Baranus, an Emperor-loving and generous temple warden, who entertained the city for eleven days and feasted the outstanding *boule* of the Ephesians and all the assemblies, and one thousand and forty citizens, being himself a member of the assembly of the temple-wardens and *chrysophoroi*. Marcus Flavius Domitianus, an Emperor-loving son of an asiarch and an Asiarch himself, and the advocate of the *clarissima boule* of the Ephesians, has set up the statue at his own expense.

(49) *IEph* 3058.1-16; *FiE* III, p. 143, no. 58: honorary inscription for Marcus Aurelius; unknown findspot. Measurements: 91.5 x 51.5 x 48.2cm. Date: Third century. Illustration: Fig. 27.

[- - - - - γυ -]

[μ] ν [α] σ [ι] α [ρ χ ο] ν [π ά] ν [τ] ω ν [τ ῶ ν]

[γ] γυμνασίων, γραμματέα πρώτων

[τ] οῦ δήμου καὶ ἀγωνοθέτην

πολλάκις, ὑὸν Μ(άρκου) Αὔρ(ηλίου) Ἀρτεμι-

5

δώρου φιλοσεβ(άστου) ἀσιάρχου καὶ

πολλάκις ἀγωνοθέτου, ἐκγο-

νον Μ(άρκου) Αὔρ(ηλίου) Μητροδώρου φιλο-

σεβ(άστου) γραμματέως τοῦ δήμου καὶ

λιτουργοῦ ἐνδόξου, καθιερώσαν-

10

τα σὺν τῷ πατρὶ Ἀττικὰς ,ε΄

προνοησαμένου τῆς

ἀναστάσεως τοῦ ἀν-

δριάντος Αὔρ(ηλίου) Ἀντωνεί-

νου Ἰουλιανοῦ γερου-

15

[σ] ι α σ τ οῦ ἄ [ρ] χ ο ν τ ο ς τ [οῦ] σ υ ν ε δ ρ ί ο υ ?]

Translation:

...the gymnasiarch of all the gymnasia, first *grammateus* of the *demos*¹¹ and an *agonothetes* on many occasions, the son of the Emperor-loving Marcus Aurelius Artemidorus, an asiarch and himself an *agonothetes* on many occasions, a descendant of the Emperor-loving Marcus Aurelius Metrodorus, a *grammateus* of the *demos* and an outstanding liturgist, having dedicated with his father five thousand Attic denarii; Aurelius Antoninus Julianus, a member of the *gerousia* and magistrate (of the *sunhedrion*?), arranged for the erection of this statue.

¹¹ Cf. Schulte (1994): 52-56.

(50) *IEph* 627b.1-5: statue base found in the Arcadian street. Measurements unknown. Undated

Αὐρ(ήλιος) Ὀρφεὺς δις
Ἐφέσιος γερουσ-
ιαστῆς χρυσο-
φόρος καὶ ἀγωνο-
θέτης

5

Translation:

Aurelius Orpheus the son of Orpheus, an Ephesian, a member of the *gerousia*, a *chrysophorus* and an *agonothetes*.

(51) *IEph* 707c.1-4: honorary inscription for Lucius Pomp...; found in the harbour. Measurements unknown. Undated.

ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος
ἐτείμ[ησαν]
Λεύκιον Πομπ[π- - - -]
πρεσβύ[τερον.]

Translation:

The Senate and People have honoured Lucius Pomp...an elder.

(52) *JÖAI* 59 (1989): 175-178 no. 9.1-19: honorary inscription for Gavius Menodorus; from the Church of St. John. Measurements: 52 x 38 cm. Undated.

[ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐτείμησαν - - - - - ο]ν Γάβιον Μην-
[όδωρον? ἐλαιοθέντα πάντα τῶν γ]υμνασίων δρακτῶ, μὴ λαμβάνοντα
[- - - - - γυμνασίαρχο]ν τῶν πρεσβυτέρων καὶ ἀγ<ω>νο-
[θέτην τῶν - - - - - κ]αὶ πανηγυρίαρχον τῶν μεγά-
[λων - - καὶ τῶν μεγάλων Πασ]ιθῶν, λαμπρῶς καὶ μεγαλοψυ-
[χῶς - - - - - ἐν τῷ] τῆς πρυτανείας ἐνιαυτῷ τῇ
[- - - - -] παρασχόντα, κατακλείναντα
[- - - - -]ώσει ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος
[- - - - -].ους πολέϊτας, εὐωχῆσαντα δὲ
[τὴν τε κρατίστην Ἐφεσίων βουλὴν καὶ] πολέϊτας ἑξακισχιλίου¹²
[- - - - -] εἰσδόντα τοῖς πολέϊταις
[- - - - -]ς ἑκατὸν ἐβδομήκοντα
[- - - - - ?ποιήσαντα] θεωριῶν ἡμέρας πέντε
[- - - - - ε]ἰς τὸ ἔλεον δηνάρια
[- - - - -]ρα καὶ ἀναλώμα-
[τα - - - - - ἐκ]τενῶς καὶ
[- - - - - ἀξίως τοῦ γένους καὶ τῆς πα]τρίδος
[- - - - -]ΠΛΟΣΕΙΣ

5

10

15

¹² Cf. cat. no. 48.

[-----]. . .

Translation:

The *boule* and *demos* have honoured ... Gavius Menodorus...who supplied oil for all of the gymnasia, not taking... the gymnasiarch of the elders and *agonothetes* of the ...and panegyriarch of the Great...and of the Great Pasithea, brilliantly and magnanimously... having provided in the very year of his prtyany..., having provided a banquet...in the temple of Artermis [for?] the citizens, and feasting the oustanding *boule* of the Ephesians and six thousand citizens...having given to the citizens...one hundred and seventy...having put on five days of games...denarii for oil...and the expenses...in a manner worthy of his family and his fatherland.

D. Public Decrees

(53) *JRS* 73 (1983): 116-125; *SEG* 33: 946; *IEph* 3214: endowment for heroic honours at a grave. Found near Apateira. Measurements: the inscription is in three fragments measuring: 80 x 36 x 27 cm; 84 x 51 x 22 cm; 35 x 34 x 12 cm. Date: C.P. Jones dates the inscription to the end of the first century AD.

- [. . . .] ἐ]ὰν δέ τις ἐπιβά[λληται], τὸ μὲν ὑπενα[ντίο]ν γε[γραμμένον ταύτη τῇ διατάξει ?]
- [ψήφισ]μα ὑπαρχέτω ἄκ[υρον], καὶ ἀποτεισάτω [ὁ το]ῦτο πρά[ξας] εἰς προσκόσ[μημα θεᾶς]
- [Ἀρτέμι]δος καὶ τῶν Σεβαστ[ῶν δ]ηνάρια μύρια κα[ὶ ἀλ]λα εἰς δια[νο]μὴν τοῖς πρεσβ[υτέροις]
- [δηνάρι]α μύρια, ἃ καὶ πραξάσ[θωσ]αν οἱ μετ' ἐκείνο[ν τ]ὸν ἐνιαυτ[ὸν ἄρ]χοντες καὶ ὁ πα-
- [ραφύλ]αξ· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ πράξωσι[ν], αὐτοὶ ὀφειλέτωσ[αν] καὶ πραχθ[ήτ]ωσαν 5
ὑπὸ παντ[ὸς τοῦ]
- [βουλο]μένου πολείτου τε καὶ ξ[έ]νου, ἔχοντος φιλάνθρωπον τοῦ
ἐ]κδικαιωσομέν[ου τοῦ]
- [ἥμισ]υ τοῦ εἰσπραχθησομέν[ου] χρήματος. ἔστιν [δ]ὲ καὶ τῶν [ἐν τ]ῷ ἡρώω προσκο[σμη-]
- [μάτω]ν καὶ σκευῶν τῶν εἰς τὴν ὑπηρεσίαν τοῦ [ἡρ]ωισμοῦ [ὑ]πογεγραμμένη [ἡ ἀπο-]
- [γραφ] <ή>, ἥτις καὶ ἐν τῷ ἡρώω ἐ[ν] στήλλῃ λιθίνῃ κεχ[άρακ]ται· [εἰκόν]ες γραπταὶ Νόνν[ι-]
- [ας Π]αύλης δεκατρεῖς, ζώδια Ἀφροδισιακὰ δεκ[ατέσσαρα, Ἑρμαῖ 10
μ]αρμάριναι τετρ[άγω-]
- [νοι ἔ]χοντες πρόσωπα χάλκ[ιν]α δύο, ἄλλα Ἑρμάδια [μαρμάρινα τετ]ράγωνα δύο, ζώ[δια]
- [δύο], Θηβαϊκόν, Ἀλεξανδρεῖν[ό]ν, λουτῆρες μαρμάρ[ινοι] μ[ε] . μ[ε]]
- [. . .] α Ἀλεξανδρεῖνὰ ψηφωτὰ δεκαεννέα, Ἀλεξ[ανδρεῖν- - -]
- [. . .] τα τρεῖς ἀκοντῆρες ἐπὶ ἡρώω μαρμ[άρ]ινοι - - -]
- [. . .] οἱ μαρμάρ[ινοι] δύο, ὥρολόγιον, στήλλαι ἐπιγεγραμ[μέναι] - - -] 15
- [δια]φανεῖς δύο, ἀκοντιστῆρες μόλυβοι δύο, σείφω[νες - - -]
- [. . .] τρισκελὴν σιδηροῦν, βάθρα ξύλινα ἑπτα[- c. 15 - ἐὰν δέ τις τῶν προ-]
- [γεγ]ραμμένων Πέπλου φίλων, οἷς τὸ φιλάνθρω[πον τῆς τοῦ ἡρωισμοῦ μετουσί]ας ? δια-]
- [τέτ]ακται, ζῶντος Πέπλου ἀτεκνος τελευτή[σῃ, οὗτος ἐκ τῶν προσηκόντων ἕτερον τινα ? εἰς]
- [τὸν] ἐκείνου τόπον ἡρωιστὴν ἀντικατα[στήσει vacat?] 20

Translation:

...but if someone adds anything within, let that decree which is in contravention of these arrangements be invalid, and let the one who does this pay for the further adornment of the goddess Artemis and of the Augusti ten thousand denarii and another ten thousand denarii for a cash-distribution for the Elders, which money the archons of

the subsequent year and the *paraphulax* shall administer; but if they do not do this, they will owe (the fine) and they will be prosecuted by any who wishes, be he citizen or foreigner, earning by the performance of this task one half of the money which is to be paid over; and of the appropriate things in the heroon and of the things prepared for the performance of the heroic honours mention has been made below, which has also been indicated on the stone stele in the heroon; thirteen inscribed statues of Nonnia Paula, fourteen portraits of Aphrodisian stone, two square marble Herms with bronze faces, and two other square marble Herms, two portraits of Theban and Alexandrian stone,...marble water jars...nineteen Alexandrian mosaics, thirty-six Alexandrian..., ...marble lions on top of the heroon...two marble..., a sun dial, two public inscribed stelai, two lead statues of javelin-throwers, ... an iron tripod, seven... wooden bases; but if anyone of the aforementioned friends of Peplus, to whom a share of the honours has been apportioned, should die childless while Peplus is still alive, that one (Peplus) shall appoint in his stead someone else from those who are suitable to stand in his place for these heroic rites.

(54) A: *IEph* 27A.1-133; Oliver, *SG* 3.1-133; cf., *GIBM* 481.1-60: Honorary decree for Gaius Vibius Salutaris.

B: *IEph* 27B.134-332; Oliver, *SG* 3.134-332; cf., *GIBM* 481.61-228: Letter of Gaius Vibius Salutaris offering a benefaction to the Senate and People of Ephesus in the form of a legal document.

The text of the Salutaris dossier, of which A and B are two documents, is organized in six columns forming a trapezoid measuring on the left 208 x 12.5-20 cm and on the right 403 x 12.5-20; cf. cat. nos. 15 & 55. Date: Tiberius Claudius Antipater Julianus was prytanis during the proconsulship of Aquillius Proculus (*PIR*² A 999), under whom Afranius Flavianus (*PIR*² A 443) was propractor. AD 104. Illustration: Fig. 8.

A

ἐπὶ π[ρ]υτ[ά]ρχ[ω]ς

[Τ]ιβ[ερίου] Κλ[αυδίου] Ἀντιπάτρου Ἰουλιανοῦ μην[ὸς]

Ποσειδεῶνος εἰς ἱσταμένον.

[ἔ]δοξε τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ νεωκόρῳ δήμῳ φι[λ]οσεβάστω·

[πε]ρι ὧν ἐνεφάνισαν Τιβ[ερίος] Κλ[αυδίου], Τιβ[ερίου] Κλ[αυδίου] Ἀλεξάνδρου υἱός, 5

[Κυρ[εῖνα]]

[Ἰουλιανός], φιλόπατρις καὶ φιλοσέβαστος, ἀγν[ός], εὐσεβής,

[γραμματεὺς τοῦ] δήμου τὸ β', καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῇ[ς] πό[λ]εως φιλοσέ-

[βαστοὶ· ἐπειδὴ τοὺς] φιλοτείμους ἀνδρας περὶ τὴν [πόλ]ιν καὶ κατὰ

[πάντα ἀποδειξαμένους] στοργὴν γνησίων πολει[τῶν ἀ]μοιβαί-¹

[ων χρή τυχεῖν τειμῶν πρὸς] τὸ ἀπολαύειν μὲν τοὺς εἰς [ποι]ήσαν-

10

[τας ἤδη τὴν πόλιν, ἀποκεῖσθαι δὲ τοῖς βο]υλομένοις περὶ τὰ]

ὅμοια ἀμ[ι]λλᾶσθαι, ἅμα δὲ τοὺς] ἐσπουδα[κ]όντας τὴν μεγίστην θε-

ὸν Ἀρτεμιν [τειμᾶν, παρ' ἧς γ]ίνεται πᾶσιν τ[ὰ] κάλλιστα, καθήκε[ι]

παρὰ τῇ πόλει εὐδοκιμεῖν, Γάϊός] τε Οὐίβ[ιος] Σαλο[ν]τάριος, ἀ-

νὴρ ἱππικῆς τά[ξε]ος, γένει καὶ ἀξία διάσημος, στρατείαις τε καὶ

15

ἐπιτροπαῖς ἀ[πὸ] τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν αὐτοκράτορος κεκοσμημένος,

¹ *IEph* 27A, l. 9 & Rogers (1991): 152, A, l. 9: ἀποδειξαμένοις; Oliver, *SG* 3, l. 9: ἀποδειξαμένου[ς].

πολείτης ἡ[μέτε]ρος καὶ τοῦ βουλευτικοῦ συνεδρίου, πρὸς πα[τρός]
 [τε ἀγ]αθῇ χρώμ[ενος δι]αθέσι, ὡς καὶ τὰς ἀπὸ τῆς τύχης ἐπὶ τὸ κρεῖ[ισ-]
 [σον] προκοπὰς κοσ[μῆν τῇ] τῶν ἡθῶν σεμνότητι, εὐσεβῶν μὲν φιλοτεί-
 [μω]ς τὴν ἀρχηγέτιν πο[ικίλ]αίς μὲν ἐπινοίαις ἐσπούδακεν περὶ τὴν θρησ- 20
 [κείαν,] μεγαλοψύχο[ις δὲ] καθιερώσειν τὴν πόλιν κατὰ πᾶν τετε[ίμη-]
 κεν, προσ[έτι δὲ καὶ νῦν προσελθ]ῶν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ὑπέσχε[το ἐννέα ἀ-]
 πεικονίσ[ματα καθιερώσειν,] ἐν μὲν χρύσειον, ἐν ᾧ καὶ ἀργ[ύρεα]
 ἐπίχρυσα, ἔτ[ερα δὲ ἀργύρεα] ἀπεικονίσματα ὀκτώ, εἰ[κόνας τε]
 ἀργυρέας εἰ[κοσι, πέντε μὲν] τοῦ κ[υ]ρίου ἡμῶν αὐ[τοκράτορος] 25
 Νέρουα Τραϊά[νου Καίσαρος Σ]εβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ, Δ[ακικοῦ, καὶ]
 τῆς ἱερωτάτ[ης γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ Πλ]ωτείνης καὶ τῆς ἱερ[ᾶς συνκλήτου]
 καὶ τοῦ Ῥω[μαίων ἱππικοῦ τάγμα]τος καὶ δήμου, [τούτων δὲ χω-]
 ρὶς εἰκόν[ας δεκαπέντε Ἐφεσίω]ν τὴν πόλιν προσ[ωποποιούσας,]
 [τ]οῦ δήμου καὶ τῶν ἐξ φυλῶν κα[ὶ] βουλ[ῆς] καὶ γερ[ουσίας καὶ ἑφη-] 30
 βεία[ς - - - - -]στου [- - - - -]νκ[- - - - -]
 Traces of 16 lines
 [- - ὑπὸ τῶν φυλάκων, συνεπιμελουμένων καὶ] δύο νε[οποι-]
 ῶν [καὶ σκηπτούχου, φέρηται καὶ] αὐτὴ φ[έρη]ται, διαδεχομέ-
 νων [συμπροπεμπόντων τῶν] ἐφή[βων] ἀ[πὸ] τῆς [Μαγνη-] 50
 τικῆς [πύλης εἰς τὸ θέατρον κα]ὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ θε[άτρου κατὰ]
 τὸν αὐ[τὸν τρόπον,] τῇ τε ν[ο]μ[η]νίᾳ ἀρχ[ιερατικοῦ]
 ἔτους θυσί[α καὶ ἐν τ]αῖς ἱ[β'] καθ' ἑκάστον μῆνα ἀ[θροίζο-]
 μέναις ἱερά[ις τε κα]ὶ νομ[ίμοις ἐκκλ]ησίαις κα[ὶ ἐν ταῖς τῶν]
 Σεβ[ασ]τείων [καὶ Σω]τηρίων [καὶ τῶν π]εντ[ετηρικῶν μεγάλ-] 55
 [ων Ἐφεσ]ε[ῖ]ω[ν] ἐορταῖς - - - - -²
 5 lines are missing
 μοτε[- - - - - τῶν δὲ χρημάτων τῶν καθιε-]
 ρωμένω[ν ὑπ'] αὐ[τ]οῦ Ἐφεσίων τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῇ γερουσίᾳ]
 καὶ πολ[εῖταις καὶ ἐ]φή[βοις καὶ παισὶν ὑπέσχετο αὐτὸς]
 ἐπὶ τοῦ σ[- - - - - ἐκδανιστῆς γενέσθαι] 65
 καὶ [τε]λεῖν τόκ[ον δραχμαῖον] ἀσσαριαῖον
 [δι]αιρεθ[η]σόμεν<ο>ν κ[αθ'] ἑκάστον ἐ[νιαυτὸν κα-]
 [τὰ τ]ὴν διάταξιν αὐτοῦ τ[ῇ] γεν[ε]σ[ί]ω τῆς θεοῦ ἡ[μέρας,]
 [ἥτις] ἐστὶν τοῦ Θαργηλιῶ[ν]ος μηνὸς ἐκ[τ]η[ῖ]σταμέ[νου]
 [ὁ]μολογήσας ἀποδώσε[ι]ν τὰ χρήματ[α] ἢ ἑαυτὸν τὰ [κἀ-] 70
 [θι]ερωμένα, ὅταν βουληθ[ῇ], ἢ τοὺς κληρονόμους αὐ-]
 [τοῦ] τῇ πόλει, κομιζομένων τῶν ἐκά[σ]του προ[σώ-]
 [που π]ροῖσταμένων· περὶ [ὧν] ἀπάντων διάταξιν εἰσηγ[ησάμε-]
 [νος ἰδί]α ἡ[ξί]ωσεν ἐπι[κυ]ρωθῆναι καὶ διὰ ψ[η]φίσμα[τος τῆς]
 [βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου, καὶ νῦν] τῆς ἐπαρ[χ]είας [ἡγεμο-] 75
 [νεύοντες ὁ κράτιστος ἀν]ήρ καὶ εὐεργέ[της] Ἀκο[ύ]λλι-

² *IEph* 27A, ll. 55-6 & Rogers (1991): 154, A, ll. 55-6: π[εντ]ετηρικῶν - - - | - - | ω[ν] ἐορταῖς; Oliver, *SG* 3, ll. 55-6: π[εντ]ετηρικῶν μεγάλων Ἐφεσ]ε[ῖ]ω[ν] ἐορταῖς.

³ Cf. cat. no. 15, ll. 408-411; Chapter Six, pp. 264-270.

- [ρόδου τοίχῳ] αὐτοῦ μαρμαρίνῳ, ἥ β[ούλεται αὐτός, ἐν δὲ]
[τῷ Ἀρτεμ]ισίῳ ἐν τόπῳ ἐπιτηδείῳ, φιλοτει[μίας ἕνεκα κ]αὶ 125
[ἀρετῆς·] καὶ περὶ τῆς δ[ιαμονῆς τῶ<ν> καθι[ερωμένων] ὑπ' αὐ-
[τοῦ χρ]ημάτων τῇ τε βουλῇ καὶ τῇ γερο[υσία καὶ πολεῖταις καὶ]⁴
[ἐφήβ]οις ὑπέσχετο αὐτός κατὰ [τὴν διάταξιν τῷ ἐνεστῶτι]⁵
[ἔτε]ι ἐκδανιστῆς γενέσθαι [- - - - -]
[- - - - -] 130
[- - - - -]
[δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ νεωκ]όρῳ δῆμῳ φιλοσε[βάσται]
[γενέσθαι, καθότι προέγρα]πται.
- B Σέξτ[ῳ Ἀττίῳ]
Σουβουρανῷ τ[ὸ β', Μάρκῳ Ἀσινίῳ] 135
Μα[ρκέλλῳ ὑπάτοις, - - - - Ἰαν(ουαρι)·]
[ἐπὶ πρυτάνεως Τιβ(ερίου) Κλ(αυδίου) Ἀντιπάτρου Ἰουλιανοῦ,]
[μηνὸς Ποσειδεῶνος ἵσταμένου.]
Γάιος [Οὐείβιος, Γ(αῖου) υἱός, Οὐωφεντεῖνα, Σαλουτάριος διάτα-]
ξιν εἰσ[φέρει τῇ Ἐφεσίων βουλῇ φιλοσεβάστω καὶ τῷ νεοκόρῳ] 140
Ἐφεσίω[ν δῆμῳ φιλοσεβάστω, περὶ ὧν καθιέρωκεν ἐπὶ]
ταῖς ὑπ[ογεγραμμέναις οἰκονομίαις τῇ μεγίστῃ θεᾷ Ἐφεσίᾳ Ἀρ-]
τέμιδι καὶ τῷ νεοκόρῳ Ἐφεσίων δῆμῳ φιλοσεβάστω καὶ]
τῇ Ἐφ[εσίων βουλῇ φιλοσεβάστω καὶ τῇ Ἐφεσίων γερουσίᾳ]
φ[ιλοσεβάστω καὶ ταῖς ἐξ Ἐφεσίων φυλαῖς καὶ τοῖς κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν] 145
[Ἐφεσίων ἐφήβοις καὶ τοῖς θεολόγοις καὶ ὑμνωδοῖς καὶ τοῖς νεο-]
[ποιοῖς καὶ σκηπτούχοις καὶ τοῖς αἰεὶ ἐσομένοις Ἐφεσίων]
[παισὶν καὶ παιδωνόμοις ἀπεικονισμάτων τῆς θεοῦ ἐννέα, ἐ-]
[νὸς μὲν χρυσέου, τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν ἀργυρέων, καὶ εἰκόνων ἀργυρέων] 150
[εἴκοσι καὶ δηναρίων δισμυρίων, ἐφ' ᾧ εἰκὼν ἀργυρέα τοῦ κυρίου]
[ἡμῶν Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Νέρουα Τραϊαν]οῦ Σεβαστοῦ, Γερ-]
[μανικοῦ, Δακικοῦ, ὀλκῆς λειτρῶν .] σὺνκιῶν γ', καὶ εἰκὼν [ἀργυρέα]
[Πλ]ω[τείνης Σεβαστῆς, ὀλ]κῆς λειτρῶν γ', νεοκορῶνται πα[ρ'] αὐτῷ]
Σαλο[υτερίῳ] τῷ κ[αθι]ερωκότῃ, μετὰ δὲ τὴν Σαλουταρίο[υ τελευτὴν]
ἀποδοθ[ῶ]σιν αἱ προδηλούμεναι εἰκόνες τῷ Ἐφεσίων γραμ[ατεῖ ἐπὶ τῷ] 155
προγεγραμμένῳ σταθμῷ ἀπὸ τῶν κληρονόμων αὐτοῦ, ὥ[στε καὶ αὐ-]
τὰς τίθε[σ]θαι ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἐπάνω τῆς σελίδος τῆς βουλ[ῆς μετὰ τῆς]
χρυσέας Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων εἰκόνων. Ἀρτεμις δὲ χρυσ[έα, ὀλκῆς]
λειτρῶν τριῶν καὶ αἱ περὶ αὐτὴν ἀργύρεοι ἑλαφοὶ δύο καὶ τα λοιπ[ὰ ἐπὶ χρυσᾷ,]
ὀλκῆς λειτρῶν δύο, σὺνκιῶν δέκα, γραμμάτων πέντε, καὶ εἰ[κὼν ἀργυ-] 160
ρέ[α τῆς] ἱερᾶς συνκλήτου, ὀλκῆς λειτρῶν δ', σὺνκιῶ[ν] β', καὶ εἰ[κὼν ἀργυ-]
ρέ[α τῆς] φιλοσεβάστου καὶ σεμνοτάτης Ἐφεσίων βουλῆς, ὀλκῆς λει-

⁴ Oliver, *SG* 3, l. 127: χρ]ημάτων <ῶν> τῇ τε βουλῇ καὶ τῇ γερο[υσία καὶ πολεῖταις καὶ].⁵ *Ieph* 27A, l. 128-129 & Rogers (1991): 158, A, l. 128-129: κατὰ [τὴν διάταξιν - - -]·; Oliver, *SG* 3, l. 128: κατὰ [τὴν διάταξιν τῷ ἐνεστῶτι | ἔτε]ι.

- [τρῶ]ν δ', γραμ<μ>άτων θ', τὰ καὶ αὐτὰ καθιερωμένα τῇ τε Ἀρτέμιδι [καὶ τῇ φιλο-]
 ς[εβ]άστῳ Ἐφεσίων βουλῇ. ὁμοίως καὶ ἀργυρέα Ἀρτεμις λαμπαδηφό-]
 ρ[ο]ς, ὀλκῆς λ' ζ', καὶ εἰκὼν ἀργυρέα τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ῥωμαίων, [ὀλκῆς λ' .]
 καὶ εἰκὼν ἀργυρέα τῆς φιλοσεβάστου γερουσίας, ὀλκῆς λ' [. . . τὰ καὶ]
 αὐτὰ καθιερωμένα τῇ τε Ἀρτέμιδι καὶ τῇ Ἐφεσίων γερουσίᾳ.
 ὁμοίως καὶ ἄλλη Ἀρτεμις ἀργυρέα λαμπαδηφόρος, ἐμφερῆς]
 τῇ ἐν τῇ ἐξέδρᾳ τῶν ἐφήβων, ὀλκῆς λ' ζ', σὺνκιῶν ε', γραμ[μάτων . .]
 καὶ εἰκὼν ἀργυρέα τοῦ ἵππικοῦ τάγματος, ὀλκῆς λ' γ', ἡμίου-]
 κίου, γραμμάτων γ', καὶ ἄλλη εἰκὼν ἀργυρέα τῆς ἐφηβείας, ὀλκῆς λ' .]
 τὰ καὶ αὐτὰ καθιερωμένα τῇ τε Ἀρτέμιδι καὶ τοῖς κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν οὖ-]
 [σι]ν ἐφήβοις. ὁμοίως καὶ ἄλλη Ἀρτεμις ἀργυρέα λαμπαδηφόρος, ἔχου-]
 [σα] φιάλην, ὀλκῆς λ' ., σὺνκιῶν ., γραμμάτων ., καὶ εἰκὼν ἀργυρέα]
 [θεο]ῦ Σεβαστοῦ, [ὀλκῆς λ' ., σὺνκιῶν ., γραμμάτων ., καὶ εἰκὼν ἀργυρέα φυ-]
 [λῆς Σε]βαστῆς, ὀλκῆς λ' ., τὰ καὶ αὐτὰ καθιερωμένα τῇ τε Ἀρτέμιδι καὶ]
 [τοῖς αἰεὶ ἐ]σομένοις πολεῖταις τῆς Σεβαστῆς φυλῆς. ὁμοίως καὶ ἄλλη]
 [Ἀρτεμις ἀργυρέα -----, ὀλκῆς λ' .]
 [καὶ εἰκὼν ἀργυρέα τοῦ φιλοσεβάστου Ἐφεσίων δήμου, ὀλκῆς λ' .]
 [καὶ εἰκὼν ἀργυρέα φυλῆς Ἐ]φ[εσέων, ὀλκῆς λ' ., τὰ καὶ αὐτὰ καθιερωμ]έν[α]
 [τῇ τε Ἀρτέμιδι καὶ τοῖς αἰεὶ ἐ]σομένοις πολεῖταις τῆς Ἐφεσέων φυλῆς.]
 [ὁμοίως καὶ ἄλλη Ἀρτεμις] ἀργυρέα [- ----- χ]ειρὶ
 [- -, ὀλκῆς λ' ., σὺνκιῶν] θ', καὶ εἰκὼν ἀργυρέα ὀλκῆς λ' ., καὶ
 [εἰκὼν ἀργυρέα φυλῆς Καρηναίων, ὀλκῆς λ' ., σὺνκιῶν ., γραμ]άτων γ', τὰ
 [καὶ αὐτὰ καθιερωμένα τῇ τε Ἀρτέμιδι καὶ τοῖς αἰεὶ ἐ]σομένοις πο[λ]εῖταις
 [τῆς Καρηναίων φυλῆς. ὁμοίως καὶ ἄλλη Ἀρτεμις ἀργυρέα λαμπ]αδηφό-
 [ρος, ὀλκῆς λ' ., καὶ εἰκὼν ἀργυρέα Λυσιμάχου, ὀλκῆς λ' ., γ]ρ(αμμάτων) γ',
 καὶ εἰκὼν
 [ἀργυρέα φυλῆς Τη]ῶν, ὀλκῆς [λ' ., τὰ καὶ αὐτὰ καθιερωμένα τῇ τ]ε Ἀρτέμιδι
 [καὶ τοῖς αἰεὶ ἐ]σομένοις πο[λ]ε[ί]ταις τῆς Τη]ῶν φυλῆς.] ὁμο[ί]ως καὶ ἄλλη Ἀρ-
 [τεμις ἀργυρέα ἔ]χου[σα τὸ τ]ι[., ὀλκῆς λ' ., σὺνκι]ῶν γ', ἡμί[σους γράμμα]-
 [τος, καὶ εἰκὼν ἀργ]υρέα Εὐ[ωνύμου, ὀλκῆς λ' ., καὶ εἰκὼν ἀργυρ]ῆα φυλῆς Εὐ-
 [ωνύμων, ὀλκῆς λ'] γ', ἡμ[ιουνκίου, γραμμάτων ., τὰ καὶ αὐτὰ κ]αθιερωμέ-
 [να τῇ τε Ἀρτέμιδι καὶ το]ῖς [αἰεὶ ἐ]σομένοις πολεῖταις τῆς Εὐωνύμων φυλῆς.
 [ὁμοίως καὶ ἄλλη Ἀρτεμις ἀργυρέα λαμπαδηφόρος - - - - Κα]σταλί-
 [α - -, ὀλκῆς λ' ., σὺνκιῶν ., καὶ εἰκὼν ἀργυρέα Πί]ωνος, ὀλκῆς λ' ., καὶ εἰκὼν
 [ἀργυρέα φυλῆς Βεμ]βειναίων, ὀλκῆς λ' ., τὰ καὶ αὐτὰ καθιερωμένα τῇ] τε Ἀ[ρ-]
 [τέμιδι καὶ τοῖς αἰεὶ ἐ]σομένοις πολεῖταις τῆς Βεμβειναίων φυλῆς.
 [ὁ δὲ προγεγραμμένος σταθμὸς τῶν ἐννέα ἀπεικονισμάτων] τῆς θε-
 [οῦ καὶ τῶν εἴκοσι εἰκόνων παρεστάθη Εὐ]μέ[νει Εὐμέν]ους τοῦ Θεοφίλ]ου, τῷ
 [καὶ αὐτῷ στρατηγῷ τῆς Ἐφεσίων πόλεως, δι]ᾶ τοῦ ζυγ[οστάτου Ἑρ]μίου,] ἱεροῦ τῆς
 [Ἀρτέμιδος, συμπαραλαμβάνο]ν[τος Μουσαί]ου, ἱεροῦ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος, τοῦ] ἐπὶ τῶν
 [παραθηκῶν. τὰ δὲ προεγρ]αμμέ[να ἀπεικο]νίσματ[α ἀποτιθέσθω]σαν κατὰ
 [πᾶσαν νόμιμον ἐκκλ]ησίαν κ[αὶ τῇ τῇ νέ]α] νομην[ία] ἔτους ἀρ]χιερατι-
 [κοῦ ἐπιτελουμένη θυσί]α ἐν τῷ [θεάτρῳ ὑπ]ὸ τῶν κα[θηκόντων ἐπὶ τὰς] κατὰ σε-

- [λίδας τεθειμένους κ]αὶ ἐπιγεγ[ραμμένους] θ' βάσεις [ἀνὰ γ', ὡς ἡ ἐπὶ] τοῖς βά- 205
 [θροῖς καὶ ἡ ἐν τῇ δ]ιατάξει βο[υλῆς, γερου]σίας, ἐφη[βείας καὶ φυλῆ]ς καθιέ-
 [ρωσις· μετὰ δὲ τ]ὸ λυθῆν[αι τὰς ἐκκλησί]ας ἀποφ[ερέσθωσαν τὰ ἀπεικονίς-]
 [ματα καὶ αἱ εἰκόνες] εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀρτέμ[ιδος καὶ] παραδιδόσθωσαν ὑπὸ
 [τῶν φυλάκων, συνεπιμελουμένων ἐκ] τῶν νεο[ποιῶν δύο καὶ σκηπτούχου,] 210
 [Μουσαίῳ, ἱερῷ τῇ Ἀρτέμιδος τῷ ἐπὶ τῶν παρ]αθη[κῶν, διαδεχομένων καὶ συμ-]
 [προπεμπόντων καὶ τῶν ἐφήβων ἀπὸ τῆς Μαγνητικῆς πύλης εἰς τὸ θέα-]
 [τρον καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ θεάτρου μέχρι τῆς Κορησιακῆς πύλης μετὰ] πάσης [εὐπρε-]
 [πείας· ὡσαύτως δὲ γενέσθαι καὶ ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς γυμνικοῖς] ἀγῶσι<ν> κ[αὶ εἰ τινες]
 [ἕτεροι ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου ὁρισθῆσονται ἡμέραι. μηδ]ενὶ δὲ ἐξ[έστω]
 [μετοικονομῆσαι ἢ τὰ ἀπεικονίσματα τῆς θε]οῦ ἢ τὰς εἰκόνας πρὸς τὸ 215
 [μετονομασθῆναι ἢ ἀναχωνευθῆναι ἢ ἄλλω]ι τινὶ τρόπῳ κακουργηθῆναι[ι,] ἐπ<ε>ὶ
 [ὁ ποιήσας τι τούτων ὑπεύθυνος] ἔστω ἱεροσυλίας καὶ ἀσεβείας καὶ οὐδὲν
 [ῆσσαν ὁ αὐτὸς ἐπιδεικνύσθω στα]θμὸς ἐν τοῖς προγεγραμμένοις ἀπεικονίς-
 [μασιν καὶ εἰκόσιν λειτῶν] ρία', ἔχοντος τὴν περὶ τούτων ἐκδικίαν ἐπ' ἀνάν- 220
 [κη τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τῆς πόλεως.] τῶν δὲ καθιερωμένων ὑπὸ Σαλoutα-⁶
 [ρίου δη(αρίων) β' μυρίω]ν τ[ε]λέσει τόκον Σαλουτάριος δραχμαῖον καθ' ἕκαστον
 ἐνι-
 [αὐτὸν] τὰ γει[ν]όμενα δηνάρια χίλια ὀκτοκόσια, 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 γενε[σ]ίῳι τῆς μεγίστης θεᾶς Ἀρ- 225
 [τέμιδος,] ἥτις ἐστὶν μηνὸς Θαργη[λι]ῶνος ἑκτη ἰσταμένου, γεινομένης τῆς διανο-
 [μῆς ἡδὴ τῆς] πέμπτης, διδομένο[ν] ἐ[κ]άστῳ τῶν παρόντων δηναρίου ἐνός,
 [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 δη(αρία)] ... ἐὰν δὲ μείζω[ν] γεί[νηται] ὁ κόλλυβος, ὥστε] 230
 [εἰς πλείονας χωρεῖν, ἐξέστ]ω καὶ [- - - - -]
 [- - - - -]α ἀνὰ κύ[κλο]ν. ὁμοίω[ς δώ-]
 [σει τῷ τοῦ συνεδρίου τῆς] γερουσίας γ[ραμματεῖ] κ[ατ' ἐνι-]⁷
 [αὐτὸν ἕκαστον ἀπὸ τοῦ προγεγραμμένου] τόκου δη(αρία) [τπβ']
 [ἀσσάρια θ', ὅπως ἐπιτελεῖ κληρὸν τῇ] γενεσίῳ τῆς θεο[ῦ]
 [ἡμέρα τοῖς τοῦ συνεδρίου μετέχουσι]ν εἰς ἄνδρας τθ' [ἀνὰ δη(αρίον) α'· ἐὰν]⁸. 235
 [δὲ μείζων ἢ ὁ γενόμενος 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-]
 [κόπῃ εἰς διανομὴν δη(αρία)] - - - - - καὶ τοῖς ἀσφαρχή[σασιν] τοῖς 240

⁶ *IEph* 27B, ll. 219-220 & Rogers (1991): 164, B, ll. 219-220: ἔχοντος τὴν περὶ τούτων ἐκδικίαν ἐπ' ἀνάν[κη] - -; Oliver, *SG* 3, ll. 219-220: ἔχοντος τὴν περὶ τούτων ἐκδικίαν ἐπ' ἀνάν[κη] τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τῆς πόλεως.

⁷ An alternative to the unattested δώσει τῷ τοῦ συνεδρίου τῆς γερουσίας may be δώσει | τῆς φιλοσέβαστος γερουσίας.

⁸ One might equally restore τοῖς τῆς γερουσίας μετέχουσι]ν.

- [ἀναγραψαμένοις δη(νάρια) ---- εἰς κλῆρον] ἀνά [δηνάρ]ια ι<α>’, ὧ καὶ
 [τὰ εἰς τὴν θυσίαν ἀγοράσουσιν,] τοῦ κλήρου γεινομένου
 [τῇ πέμπτῃ, μὴ ἔχοντος ἐ]ξουσινά<ν> τοῦ γραμματέος τῆς
 [γερουσίας τοῦ παριέναι τὴν δ]ιανομὴν ἢ ἀναγραφὴν μετὰ
 [τὴν Σαλουταρίου τελευτῇ]ν, ἐπεὶ ἀποτεισάτω πρόστειμον 245
 [τὸ ἐν τῇ διατάξει ὠρισ]μένον. ὁμοίως ἀπὸ τοῦ προγε-
 [γραμμένου τόκου δώσει κατ’ ἐ]νιαυ[τὸν ἐ]κάστον καὶ τοῖς ἐξ φυ-
 [λάρχαις ἀνά δη(νάρια) ρκε’, ὅπ]ως ἐπ[ιτελῶ]σ[ι] κλῆρον τῆς προγεγραμ-
 [μένης καθιερώσεως τῆς] θεοῦ ἐξ [ἐκάστη]ς φυλῆς εἰς ὀνόματα δι- 250
 [ακόσια πεντηκοντα, λα]μβανόν[των τ]ῶν ληξομένων ἀσσάρια θ’
 [καθ’ ἑκάστον· ἐὰν δὲ μείζων ἢ ὁ γεν]όμενος κόλλυβος, ὑπο
 [τῶν φυλάρχων ἐξέστω καὶ ἄλλους πολ]εῖτας κληροῦσθαι.
 [ὁμοίως δώσει ἀπὸ τοῦ προγεγραμμένο]ν τόκου κατ’ ἐνιαυτὸν
 [ἑκάστον τῷ ἐφηβάρχῳ δη(νάρια) ρκς’, ὅπ]ω]ς ἐπιτελῇ κλῆρον 255
 [τῶν κατ’ ἐνιαυτὸν ὄντων ἐφήβων τῇ γενεσίῳ τ]ῆς Ἀρτέμιδος
 [εἰς ὀνόματα διακόσια πεντήκοντα, λαμβανόν]των τῶν ληξο-
 [μένων ἀνά ἀσσάρια θ’, λαμβανέτω δὲ] ὁ ἐφήβαρχος χω-
 [ρίς τούτων δη(νάρια) α’]. ὁμοίως δώσει ἀπὸ τ]οῦ προγεγραμμέ-
 [νου τόκου καὶ τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ Ἀσίας τοῦ ἐν Ἐφέ]σῳ ναοῦ κοινού 260
 [τῆς Ἀσίας δη(νάρια) κδ’, ἀσ(σάρια) ιγ’ ἡμισυ] κατ’ ἐνιαυτὸν ἑκάσ-
 [τον, ὅπως ἐξ αὐτῶν τῇ γενεσίῳ τῆς θ]εοῦ ἡμέρᾳ ἐπιτελεῖ
 [κλῆρον τῶν θεολόγων ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τ]ῆς Ἀρτέμιδος, λαμ-
 [βάνοντος ἑκάστου τῶν παρ’ αὐτῷ]ι ἀναγραψαμένων
 [καὶ λαχόντων ἀνά δη(νάρια) β’, ἀσ(σάρια) ιγ’ ἡμισυ, γ]εινομένης τῆς ἀνα- 265
 [γραφῆς τῇ πέμπτῃ. ὁμοίως δώσ]ει ἀπὸ τοῦ προγεγραμ-
 [μένου τόκου κατ’ ἐνιαυτὸν τ]ῇ ἱερείᾳ Ἀρτέμιδος
 [ὑπὲρ τῶν ὑμνωδῶν τῆς θεοῦ τῇ γενεσίῳ]ι τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος εἰς
 [διανομὴν δηνάρια ιη’]. ὁμοίως δώσ]ει ἀπὸ τοῦ π[ρ]ογεγραμ-
 [μένου τόκου κατὰ πᾶσαν νόμιμον ἐκκλ]ησίαν δυσ[ί]ν νεοποι- 270
 [οῖς καὶ σκηπτουῶν ἀσ(σάρια) δ’ ἡμισυ, ὥστε φέρ]εσθαι ἐκ τοῦ προνάου
 [εἰς τὸ θέατρον τὰ ἀπεικονίσματα τῆς] θεοῦ καὶ τὰς εἰκόνας καὶ
 [πάλιν ἀναφέρεισθαι ἐκ τοῦ θεάτρο]ν εἰς τὸν πρόναον αὐθημε-
 [ρὸν μετὰ τῶν φυλάκων. ὁμοίως δώ]σει ἀπὸ τοῦ προγεγραμμέ-
 [νου τόκου κατ’ ἐνιαυτὸν ἑκάστο]ν καὶ τοῖς παιδωνόμοις
 [δη(νάρια) ιε’, ἀσ(σάρια) ιγ’ ἡμισυ, ὅπως τῇ γενε]σίῳ τῆς θεοῦ ἡμέρᾳ ἐπιτελέ- 275
 [σωσι κλῆρον τῶν παίδων πάν]των εἰς ὀνόματα μθ’, λαμβανόν-
 [των τῶν ληξομένων ταύτ]ῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος
 [ἀνά ἀσ(σάρια) δ’ ἡμισυ, λαμβανόν]των καὶ τῶν παιδωνόμων χωρὶς
 [τούτων ἀνά ἀσσάρια θ’]. ὁμοίως δώσει ἀπὸ τοῦ προγεγραμ-
 [μένου τόκου καθ’ ἑκάστον ἐν]ιαυτὸν τῷ τὰ καθάρσια ποιοῦντι παρε- 280
 [-----] τὰ λοιπὰ δη(νάρια) τριάκοντα, ὥστε κα-
 [θαρίζειν ἑκάστοτε, ὅποταν εἰ]ς τὸ ἱερὸν ἀποφέρηται τὰ ἀπεικον-
 [ίσματα τῆς θεοῦ, πρὶν ἀποθεῖν]αι αὐτὰ εἰς τὸν πρόναον τῆς Ἀρτέ-

- [μιδος. ἐὰν μὲν οὖν ἑτερός τις κατ'] ἰδίαν προαίρεσιν ἀγοράσῃ
[τὴν κληρονομίαν ταύτην καὶ βουλ]ηθῇ καθ' ἑκάστον ἐνι- 285
[αυτὸν τὸν τόκον, διδόντω ὁ ἀγορά]ζων τὰ προγεγραμμένα δη(νάρια) χίλια
[ὁ]κτακόσια, μὴ ἐξὸν παρὰ τῇ]ν διάταξιν εἰς[εν]ενκεῖν μηδὲν
ἐλασσορ[ν] -----, ἀ]λλὰ προσασφαλι[ζ]ομένου.
ἐὰν δέ τι[ς ἀγοράσῃ αὐτήν, βουλ]ηθῇ δὲ ἀποδοῦναι τάχειον τὰ τῆς
καθιερώ[σεως ἀρχαῖα ἀπαντ]α, ἐξέσται αὐτῷ ἐπ' ἀνάγκη ληψομέ- 290
νω τῷ ἐπὶ τῶν χρημάτων]ν τῆς βουλῆς τὰ γεινόμενα ὑπὲρ τῶν
κα[θ]ιερω[μένων τῇ βουλῇ] ἀρχαίου δη(νάρια) πεντακισχίλια,
ὁμ[ο]ίως κα[ὶ τῷ ἐπὶ τῶν χρη]μάτων τῆς γερουσίας τὰ γεινόμενα
ὑπὲρ τῆς καθιερωμέ[ν]ων τῇ γερουσίᾳ δη(νάρια) τετρακ[ι]σ[χ]ε[ί]-
λια τετρακόσια πεντήκοντα, ὁμοίως καὶ τοῖς θεολόγοις 295
καὶ ὑμνωδοῖς τὰ γεινόμενα ὑπὲρ τῆς καθιερώσεως ἀρχαίου
δη(νάρια) διακόσ[ι]α πεντήκοντα πέντε, ὁμοίως τῷ γραμματεῖ
τοῦ δήμου τὰ λοιπὰ γεινόμενα τοῦ ἀρχαίου ὑπὲρ τῆς καθιερώ-
σεως τῶν εἰς τοὺς πολεῖτας κλήρων καὶ ἐφήβων καὶ νεο-
ποιῶν καὶ σκηπτούχων καὶ καθαρσίων δη(νάρια) μύρια διακόσια 300
ἐβδομήκοντα πέντε, ὅπως ἐκδανίζωσιν αὐτὰ ἐπὶ τόκῳ
ἀσσαρίων δεκαδύο ἀργυρῶν ἀδιάπτωτα καὶ ἐπιτελῇ
ται καθ' ἑκάστον ἀπὸ τοῦ τόκου τὰ διατεταγμέ-
να ἀνυπερθέτως, ὡς προγέγραπται. ἐὰν δὲ πρὸ <ἀ>πο-
δοῦναι τὰ δισμύρια δη(νάρια) ἢ διατάξεσθαι ἀπὸ προσόδου 305
χωρίων δίδοσθαι τὸν τόκον αὐτῶν {ἡ} τελευτήσῃ
Σαλουντάριος, ὑποκείσθωσαν οἱ κληρονόμοι αὐτοῦ τῇ εὐ-
λυτήσῃ τῶν καθιερωμένων δη(ναρίων) δισμυρίων καὶ τοῖς ἐπα-
κολουθήσασιν τόκοις μέχρι τῆς εὐλυτήσεως, ὑποκει-
μένων αὐτῶν τῇ πράξει κατὰ τὰ ἱερὰ τῆς θεοῦ καὶ τὰ πα- 310
ρὰ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις ἐκδανιστικά ἔγραφα. ὑπέσχετο
<δ>ὲ Σαλουντάριος, ὥστε ἀρξ[α]σθαι τὴν φιλοτειμίαν αὐτοῦ
τῷ ἐνεστώτι ἔτει, ἐν τῇ γενε[σί]ῳ τῆς θεοῦ ἡμέρᾳ δώσει[ν]
δη(νάρια) χεῖλια ὀκτακόσια εἰς τὰς προγεγραμμένας διανομὰς
καὶ κλήρους. μηδεν[ί] δὲ ἐξέστω ἀρχοντι ἢ ἐκδίκῳ ἢ ἰδιώ- 315
τῃ πε[ι]ράσαι τι ἀλλάξαι ἢ μεταθεῖναι ἢ μετοικονομῆσαι ἢ μετα-
ψηφί[σ]ασθαι[ι] τῶν καθιερωμένων ἀπεικονισμάτων ἢ τοῦ
ἀργυρίου ἢ τῆς [π]ροσόδου αὐτοῦ ἢ μεταθεῖναι εἰς ἕτερον πόρον
ἢ ἀνά[λ]ωμα ἢ ἀλ[λ]ο τι ποῆσαι παρὰ τὰ προγεγραμμένα καὶ δια-
τετ[αγ]μένα, ἐπεὶ τὸ γενόμενον παρὰ ταῦτα ἔστω ἄκυρον 320
ὁ δὲ πε[ι]ράσας ποιῆσαι τι ὑπεναντίον τῇ διατάξει ἢ τοῖς
ὑπὸ τ[ῇ]ς βου[λ]ῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου ἐψηφισμένοις καὶ ἐπικεκυ-
ρωμέν[οις περὶ] ταύτης τῆς διατάξεως ἀποτείσάτω εἰς
προσκ[ό]σμημα τ[ῇ]ς με[γί]στ[ης] θεᾶς Ἀρτέμιδος δη(νάρια) δισμύρια
[π]ε[ν]τα[κ]ισχίλια καὶ εἰς τὸν τοῦ Σε]βαστοῦ φίσκον ἄλλα δη(νάρια) β' μ[ύ]ρια) ,ε. 325
[ἡ δὲ προγεγραμμένη διάταξις ἔσ]τω κυρία εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρό-

[νον -----, καθάπερ Ἀκουίλλι]ος Πρόκλ[ος, ὁ ἐ]ϋ[ε]ρ[γ]έτης
[καὶ ἀνθύπατο]ς, καὶ Ἀφράνιος Φλαουιανός, ὁ κράτιστος πρεσβευτῆς
κα[ὶ ἀντιστ]ράτηγος, διὰ ἐπιστολῶν περὶ ταύτης τῆς διατάξε-
ως ἐπεκύρωσαν καὶ ὥρισαν τὸ προγεγραμμένον π[ρ]όστειμον.
Γ<ά>ιος Οὐείβιος, Γαΐου υἱός, Ὁφεντεῖνα, Σαλουτάριος εἰ[σ]ενήνοχα
τὴν διάτξιν καὶ καθιέρωσα τὰ προγεγραμμένα.

330

Translation:

(A) During the prytany of Tiberius Claudius Antipater Julianus on the sixth day of the month Poseideon. It was decreed by the *boule* and the Emperor-loving neocorate *demos*:

Concerning those things which Tiberius Claudius Julianus, the son of Tiberius Claudius Alexander, of the tribe Quirina, who is loyal to his country and Emperor-loving, a reverent and pious man, who is the secretary of the *demos* for the second time, and the Emperor-loving generals of the city have brought forward; since the men who are generous towards the city and who display in every way the affection of citizens born in the city should receive rewards in return equal to the enjoyment of men who have previously benefited the city, and the enjoyment built up for those who wish to compete for the same rewards, and which is equal to the enjoyment of men who have been zealous to honour the greatest goddess Artmeis, from whom the most wonderful things come to all, it is fitting for them to be honoured by the city; Gaius Vibius Salutaris, a man of the equestrian order, eminent in birth and worth, who has been honoured by our master the Emperor with military positions and procuratorships, who is our fellow-citizen and a member of the senatorial assembly (βουλευτικοῦ συνεδρίου), and who lives in a good manner following the conduct of his father, since, to complement the promotions of Fortune more with the great reverence of his lifestyle, he strove in his piety to fill the office of *Archegetis* munificently with detailed plans for the cult and honoured the entire city with bountiful dedications, and moreover even now approaching the assembly (ἐκκλησία) he is promising to dedicate nine statues, one in gold on which silver is overlaid with gold, and eight other silver statues, and twenty silver busts,⁹ five of our ruler the Emperor Nerva Trajanus Caesar Augustus Germanicus Dacicus, and of his most revered wife Plotina and of the holy Senate and of the Roman equestrian order and of the *populus* of Rome, and in addition to these fifteen busts representing the city of the Ephesians, the *demos*, the six tribes, the *boule*, the *gerousia*, the order of the Ephebes

(48) ... by the guards, with two temple wardens and the staff-bearer assisting, to be carried and carried back, with the Ephebes receiving them and joining in the procession from the Magnesian gate to the theatre and from the theatre in the same manner, both at the new moon sacrifice of the *archieratic* year, and at the twelve sacred and customary meetings in each month of the Assembly (ἐκκλησία), which is summoned twelve times each month, and at the festivals of the Sebasteia and the Soteria and the penteteric Great Epheseia...

(62) ... of the money donated by him to the *boule*, the *gerousia*, the citizens, the Ephebes and the *paides* of the Ephesians he himself promised to be the investor for the ...

⁹ The words rendered statue (ἀπεικονίσμα) and bust (εἰκών) have been translated so with the intent to convey the distinction apparent in the Greek but to retain the similarity of media which is also apparent in the Greek.

and to pay as interest one as per drachma which will be distributed each year according to his arrangement on the birthday of the goddess, which is the sixth day of the month Thargelion having agreed that either he or his heirs would give the promised money to the city, whenever it was wanted, with those who are the leaders of each group receiving it; having announced the arrangement for all these things in private he deemed it worthy to confirm them also through a decree of the *boule* and the *demos*, and now the governors of the province, Aquillius Proculus, *vir egregius*, the beneficent proconsul, and Afranius Flavianus, the legate and the proprætor, both recognizing with unsurpassable philanthropy and affection the generosity of the man, like active citizens themselves, according as they replied to him and wrote happily in their letters, have decreed that they would introduce on their own authority the matters concerning Gaius Vibius Salutaris' donations.

(84) It has been decreed that Gaius Vibius Salutaris, a man who is pious toward the gods and generous toward the city, should be honoured with the greatest honours and with the erection of busts in the Temple of Artemis and in the most prominent places of the city, and that he should be publicly praised with a golden crown in the assemblies (*ἐκκλησίαι*) because he is zealous and devoted to Artemis; and that two of the temple wardens and the staff-bearer and the guards should oversee the aforementioned holy images and the carrying of the images before the general procession from the temple to the theatre and from the theatre to the Temple of Artemis in accordance with his arrangements each year....

(104) ... the Temple of Artemis...of those which are due...that his arrangements shall be authoritative, unalterable, indissoluble and immutable for all time. But if anyone, either a private citizen or a magistrate, should propose something contrary to the arrangements ratified in this decree or changes any of the arrangements, everything contrary to the arrangements will be invalid, and let the one who does any of these things or introduces such a measure pay toward the additional adornment of Queen Artemis twenty-five thousand denarii and to the Imperial fiscus another twenty-five thousand denarii, according as the governors, the proconsul Aquillius Proculus and the legate and proprætor Afranius Flavianus, *virii egregii*, have determined in their letters as the fine; so that his generosity to the city and his piety toward the goddess may be made clear, the arrangements made by him and ratified by a decree of the *boule* and *demos* ...to post...in the theatre facing its marble wall on the southern parodos, wherever he himself wishes, and in the Artemision in a prominent place, because of his generosity and virtue; and concerning the continuance of the money which has been donated by him to the *boule* and the *gerousia* and the citizens and the Ephebes he has promised that he will be the investor for this year in accordance with his endowment.... It has been decreed to be so by the *boule* and the Emperor-loving neocorate *demos* according as it has been written above.

(B 134) In the second consulship of Sextus Attius Suburanus and the first of Marcus Asinius Marcellus, on the [...] day of January; during the prytany of Tiberius Claudius Antipater Julianus, on the [...] day of the month Poseideon. Gaius Vibius Salutaris, the son of Gaius of the tribe Oufentina offered his endowment to the Emperor-loving *boule* of the Ephesians and to the Emperor-loving neocorate *demos* of the Ephesians, with regards to which he has dedicated on the terms noted below to the

greatest goddess, the Ephesian Artemis, and to the Emperor-loving neocorate *demos* of the Ephesians and to the Emperor-loving *boule* of the Ephesians and to the Emperor-loving *gerousia* of the Ephesians and to the six tribes of the Ephesians and to the annual Ephebes of the Ephesians and to the *theologoi*¹⁰ and to the *hymnodoi* and to the temple wardens and to the staff-bearers and to those who will be the *Paides* of the Ephesians and to the *paidonomoi* nine statues of the goddess, one in gold and the others in silver, and twenty silver busts and 20,000 denarii, in such a way that a silver bust of our ruler the Emperor Caesar Nerva Trajanus Augustus Germanicus Dacicus, weighing...pounds and three ounces, and a silver bust of Plotina Augusta, weighing three pounds, should be entrusted to Salutaris himself, the donor, and after the death of Salutaris the aforementioned statues should be given to the *grammateus* of the Ephesians at the aforementioned weight by Salutaris' heirs, so that they might be placed during the councils (ἐκκλησίαι) above the seating area of the *boule* with the golden statue of Artemis and the other busts.

Let the statues and busts be:

(158) A golden Artemis, weighing three pounds and the two silver deer around it and the rest other gold plated, weighing two pounds, ten ounces and five grams, and a silver bust of the Roman Senate weighing four pounds and two ounces, and a silver bust of the most revered Emperor-loving *boule* of the Ephesians, weighing four pounds and nine grams, these dedicated to Artemis and to the Emperor-loving *boule* of the Ephesians.

(164) Likewise also a silver torch-bearing Artemis, weighing seven pounds, and a silver bust of the *populus Romanus* weighing...pounds, and a silver bust of the Emperor-loving *gerousia*, weighing...pounds, these dedicated to Artemis and the *gerousia* of the Ephesians.

(168) Likewise also another silver torch-bearing Artemis, resembling the one in the exedra of the Ephebes, weighing seven pounds, five ounces and...grams, and a silver bust of the equestrian order, weighing three pounds, nine ounces and three grams, and another silver bust of the order of the Ephebes, weighing...pounds, these dedicated to Artemis and to those who are the annual Ephebes.

(173) Likewise also another silver torch-bearing Artemis, holding an urn, weighing...pounds,...ounces and...grams, and a silver bust of the divine Augustus weighing...pounds,...ounces and...grams, and a silver bust of the tribe Sebaste, weighing...pounds, these dedicated to Artemis and to all who are citizens in the tribe Sebaste.

(177) Likewise also another silver [torch-bearing] Artemis, weighing...pounds, and a silver bust of the Emperor-loving *demos* of the Ephesians, weighing...pounds and a silver bust of the tribe Ephesea, weighing...pounds, these dedicated to Artemis and to all who are citizens in the tribe Ephesea.

(182) Likewise also another silver [torch-bearing] Artemis with a...in her hand, weighing...pounds and nine ounces, and a silver bust of...weighing...pounds, and a silver bust of the tribe Carenaea, weighing...pounds,...ounces and three grams, these dedicated to Artemis and all who are citizens in the tribe Carenaea.

¹⁰ The *theologos* may have prayed at the festival; in other cities, they were associated with the Imperial cult (Rogers [1991]: 53).

(186) Likewise also another silver torch-bearing Artemis with..., weighing..., and a silver bust of Lysimachus, weighing...pounds and three ounces, and a silver bust of the tribe Teia, weighing...pounds, these dedicated to Artemis and to all who are citizens in the tribe Teia.

(189) Likewise also another silver [torch-bearing] Artemis holding a..., weighing..., three ounces and half a gram, and a silver bust of Euonymus, weighing...pounds, and a silver bust of the tribe Euonymea, weighing three pounds, half an ounce and...grams, these dedicated to Artemis to all who are citizens in the tribe Euonymea.

(194) Likewise also another silver torch-bearing Artemis...Castalia, weighing...pounds and...ounces, and a silver bust of Pion weighing..., and a silver bust of the tribe Bembinaea, weighing...pounds, these dedicated to Artemis and to all who are citizens in the tribe Bembinaea.

(198) The aforementioned weight of the nine statues of the goddess and of the twenty busts was provided to Eumenes the son of Eumenes and grandson of Theophilus, that Eumenes who is strategos of the city of the Ephesians, through the agency of the weight-officer Hermias, a sacred servant of Artemis, while Musaeus, a sacred servant of Artemis in charge of dedications, joined in the receiving. The aforementioned statues will be set up at every customary assembly (ἐκκλησία) and at the sacrifice completed at the new moon of the *archieratic* year in the theatre by those responsible on the nine bases arranged in blocks and inscribed in groups of three, as the dedication on the bases and the dedication in the arrangements for the *boule*, the *gerousia*, the order of Ephebes and each tribe. And after the assemblies (ἐκκλησίαι) have been concluded the statues and busts will be carried back to the Temple of Artemis and handed over by their guardians, with two of the temple wardens and the wand-bearer joining them, to Musaeus, the sacred servant of Artemis in charge of dedications, with the Ephebes receiving them and joining in the procession from the Magnesian gate to the theatre and from the theatre to the Coressian gate with all due pomp; and it is to occur the same in the gymnastic games and if any other days are specified by the *boule* and the *demos*. But it shall not be possible for anyone to alter either the statues of the goddess or the busts in order to rename them or to re-smelt them or to do them harm in any other way, since the one who does any of these things shall be held accountable for sacrilege and impiety and the same weight and no less shall be shown to have been put into the aforementioned statues and busts, namely one hundred and eleven pounds; the strategos of the city is responsible under law for prosecuting in these matters.

(220) Of the twenty thousand denarii donated by Salutaris, Salutaris will pay 9% interest each year,¹¹ making one thousand eight hundred denarii, from which he shall give to the *grammateus* of the *boule* four hundred and fifty denarii, so that he may perform a distribution of money to the members of the *boule* in the temple in the pronaos on the birthday of the greatest goddess, Artemis, which is the sixth day of the month of Thargelion, with the distribution occurring on the fifth day, with one denarius being given to each man present; the one who is charge does not have authority to give a share of this distribution to anyone who is absent because if he does so, he shall pay to the *boule* a fine of...denarii for each man who was not present but received the gift. If the interest

¹¹ Literally, "Salutaris will pay interest per drachma per year."

available is greater, so that it can provide for more, it shall be permissible also [to make a distribution at a rate of? ...].

(231) In the same way he will give to the *grammateus* of the assembly (συνεδρίον) of the *gerousia*¹² each year from the aforementioned interest three hundred and eighty-two denarii and nine asses, so that a lottery may be conducted on the birthday of the goddess for those who are members of the assembly, up to three hundred and nine men, at a rate of one denarius each. If the available interest is greater, so that it can provide for more, he will allot more portions, but each of the recipients will receive one denarius. There will also be given to the temple-wardens in the donor's, that is Salutaris', house...denarii for a distribution of money and to the former Asiarchs whose names have been inscribed...denarii for a lottery at the rate of eleven denarii per person, with which they will purchase the materials for the sacrifice, with this lottery taking place on the fifth day. The *grammateus* of the *gerousia* will not have the authority to omit the distribution or the enrolment after the death of Salutaris, because if he does so he will pay the fine which was specified in these arrangements.

(246) In the same way from the aforementioned interest he will give each year also to the six tribe-leaders one hundred and twenty-five denarii, so that they may perform a lottery of the aforementioned dedication of the goddess for two hundred and fifty men by name from each tribe, with the winners receiving nine asses each. If the available interest is greater, it may be allotted by the tribe-leaders to other citizens.

(253) In the same way he will give from the aforementioned interest each year to the Ephebarch one hundred and twenty-six denarii, so that he may perform a lottery for the annual Ephebes on the birthday of Artemis for two hundred and fifty individuals by name, with each of the winners receiving nine asses, and the Ephebarch may take one denarius aside from these.

(258) In the same way he will give from the aforementioned interest also to the Highpriest of Asia of the common temple of Asia in Ephesus twenty-four denarii and thirteen and a half asses each year, so that from this on the birthday of the goddess he may perform a lottery for the *theologoi* in the Temple of Artemis, with each of those who have been registered by him and winning the lottery receiving two denarii and thirteen and a half asses, with the registration taking place on the fifth.

(265) In the same way he will give from the aforementioned interest each year to the priestess of Artemis on behalf of the *hymnodoi* of the goddess on the birthday of Artemis for a distribution eighteen denarii.

(268) In the same way he will give from the aforementioned interest at every regular assembly (ἐκκλησία) to two temple wardens and to the wand-bearer four and a half asses, so that the statues of the goddess and the busts may be brought from the pronaos to the theatre and back again from the theatre to the pronaos along with the guards on the same day.

(273) In the same way he will give from the aforementioned interest each year to the *paidonomoi* fifteen denarii and thirteen and a half asses, so that on the birthday of the goddess they may perform a lottery for forty-nine *Paidēs* by name, with each of the

¹² Or, "to the *grammateus* of the Emperor-loving *gerousia*."

winners receiving four and a half asses on the same day in the Temple of Artemis, and with the *paidonomoi* receiving separately nine asses each.

(279) In the same way he will give from the aforementioned interest each year to the one who performs the cleaning...the remaining thirty denarii, so that he may cleanse cleanse them each time when the statues of the goddess are carried back to the temple before they replace them in the *pronaos* of the Temple of Artemis.

(284) If any other person buys this lottery on a private initiative and wishes to pay the interest each year, let the buyer pay the aforementioned one thousand eight hundred denarii; it will not be permissible to pay any lesser amount contrary to these arrangements..., but making it secure. But if anyone buys it, and wishes to pay all the capital sum of the donation in advance, it will be permitted to him to pay it to the one who is obliged to receive it, giving five thousand as a capital sum to the treasurer of the *boule* for the gifts donated to the *boule*; and in the same way to pay four thousand four hundred and fifty denarii as a capital sum to the treasurer of the *gerousia* for gifts donated to the *gerousia*; and in the same way to pay two hundred and fifty-five denarii as a capital sum to the *theologoi* and the *hymnodoi* for their gifts; and in the same way to the *grammateus* of the *demos* as the remainder of the capital sum ten thousand two hundred and seventy-five denarii for the lotteries for the citizens and the Ephebes and the temple wardens and the wand-bearers and the cleaners, so that they may invest the money at a rate of twelve silver asses with reliable security and that they may complete the gifts from the annual interest without delay, as has been written above.

(304) But if Salutaris dies before he pays the twenty thousand denarii or before he arranges for the interest to be paid from the income of his estates, his heirs will be liable for the payment of the donated twenty thousand denarii and they will be liable for the interest until the conclusion of the payment, with them being liable for payment according to the sacred loan-regulations of the goddess and those of the Elders.

(312) Salutaris has promised, so that his generosity may begin in the current year, that on the birthday of the goddess he will give one thousand eight hundred denarii for the aforementioned distributions and lotteries.

(315) And it shall not be permitted to any magistrate, advocate or private citizen to attempt to alter or change or reorganize or divert anything or to propose a different measure for the donated statues or the money or its interest or to direct to any other income or expense or to do anything contrary to the aforementioned arrangements; let any action against the donations be illegal; and let the one who attempts to do anything in contradiction to these arrangements or to those aspects of these arrangements which have been approved and ratified by the *boule* and *demos* pay for the additional adornment of the greatest goddess, Artemis, twenty-five thousand denarii and to the *fiscus* of the Emperor another twenty-five thousand denarii.

(326) Let the aforementioned arrangements be in legal effect for all time..., just as Aquillius Proculus, the beneficent proconsul, and Afranius Flavianus, *vir egregius*, the legate and *propraetor*, in their letters concerning these arrangements have approved and established the aforementioned fine. Gaius Vibius Salutaris, the son of Gaius, of the tribe Oufentina has brought forth the aforementioned endowment and gifts.

(55) *IEph* 27G.447-568; Rogers (1991): 180-184, G.447-568; Oliver, *SG* 3.447-568; cf., *GIBM*, 481.318-406: additional benefaction of Gaius Vibius Salutaris. The text of the Salutaris dossier, of which G is the final document, is organized in six columns forming a trapezoid measuring on the left 208 x 12.5-20 cm and on the right 403 x 12.5-20; cf. cat. nos. 15 & 54. Date: Tiberius Claudius Antipater Julianus was prytanis during the proconsulship of Aquillius Proculus (*PIR*² A 999), under whom Afranius Flavianus (*PIR*² A 443) was proprietor. AD 104. Illustration: Figs. 8 & 28.

Σέξτω 'Αττίω Σουβουρανῶ τὸ β', Μάρκῳ 'Ασι- 447
νίῳ Μαρκέλλῳ ὑπάτοις πρὸ ἡ' Καλανδῶν Μαρτίων·

ἐπὶ πρυτάνεως Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου 'Αντιπάτρου 'Ιουλιανοῦ
μηνὸς 'Ανθεστηριῶνος β' Σεβαστῇ. 450

Γάιος Οὐείβιος, Γ(αίου) υἱ(ός), Οὐωφεντεΐνα, Σαλουτάριος, φιλάρ-
τεμις καὶ φιλόκαισαρ, διάταξιν εἰσφέρει κατὰ τὰ προγε-
γυῖα ψήφισμα, περὶ ὧν προσκαθιέρωκε τῇ μεγίστῃ θεᾷ 'Εφε-
σία 'Αρτέμιδι καὶ τῇ φιλοσεβάστῳ 'Εφεσίων βουλῇ 455

καὶ τῇ φιλοσεβάστῳ 'Εφεσίων γερο]υσία καὶ τ[οῖς χ]ρυ-
σοφοροῦσι τῆς [θεοῦ 'Αρτέμιδος ἱερ]εῦσιν καὶ ἱερoneϊκαῖς πρὸ
πόλεως κ[αὶ τοῖς αἰεὶ ἐσομένοις 'Ε]φεσίων παισὶ καὶ θεσ-
μφοδοῖς ναοῦ τῶν Σεβαστῶν ἐν 'Εφέσῳ κοινῶ τῆς 'Ασίας καὶ
ἀκροβάταις τῆς ['Αρτέμιδος ἐπὶ] τοῖς δικαίοις καὶ προστεί-
μοις, ὡς ἐν τ<ῇ> πρὸ [ταύτης δι]ατάξει ἡσφάλισται, εἰκό- 460

νων ἀργυρέων δύο ἐ[πι]χ[ρ]ύσων, ὥστε αὐτὰς εἶναι σὺν τοῖς
ἀπεικονισμάτων τῆς θεοῦ ἀριθμῶ τριάκοντα καὶ μίαν,
καὶ ἀργυρίου ἄλλων δη(ναρίων) χειλίων πεντακοσίων, ὥστε εἶναι
αὐτὰ σὺν τοῖς προκαθιερωμένοις δη(ναρίοις) <β> μυρίοις χειλίοις πεν-
τακοσίοις· ἐφ' ᾧ εἰκὼν ἀργυρέα 'Αθηνᾶς Παμμούσου, ὀλκῆς 465

σὺν τῷ ἐπαργύρῳ τῆς βάσεως αὐτῆς λειτρῶν ἑπτὰ, ἡμιουν-
κίου, γραμμάτων ὀκτώ, ἡ καθιερωμένη τῇ τε 'Αρτέμιδι καὶ
τοῖς αἰεὶ ἐσομένοις 'Εφεσίων παι<σ>ι, τιθῆται κατὰ πᾶσαν νό-
μιμον ἐκκλησίαν ἐπάνω τῆς σελίδος, οὗ [ο]ἱ παῖδες καθεζ[ο]νται. 470

ὁμοίως καὶ εἰκὼν ἀργυρέα Σεβασ-
τῆς 'Ομονοίας Χρυσοφόρου, ὀλκῆς
σὺν τῷ ἐπαργύρῳ τῆς βάσεως αὐτῆς
λειτρῶν ἕξ, ἡ καθιερωμένη τῇ τε 'Αρτέ-
μιδι καὶ τοῖς αἰεὶ χρυσοφοροῦσιν ἱερεῦ-
σιν καὶ ἱερoneϊκαῖς πρὸ πόλ[εω]ς, τίθετα[ι] 475

κατὰ πᾶσαν ἐκκλησίαν [ἐπάν]ω [τῆς] σε-
λίδος, οὗ οἱ ἱερoneϊκαὶ κα[θεζ]ονται.
ὁ δὲ προγεγρα[μ]μέν[ος σ]ταθμὸς τῶν εἰκό-
νων καὶ βάσε[ων π]αρεστάθη Εὐμένει Εὐ-
μέ[ν]ους [το]ῦ Θεοφίλ[ου], τῷ καὶ αὐτῷ στρατη-
[γῷ τ]ῆς 'Εφεσίων πόλεως, διὰ ζυγοστά- 480

- του Ἑρμίου, ἱεροῦ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος, συνπαρό[ν-]
 τος καὶ συνπαραλαμβάνοντος Μουσαίου, ἱεροῦ]
 τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος, τοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν παραθηκῶν.
 ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν προσκαθηρωμένων δηναρίω[ν χει-] 485
 λίων πεντακοσίων τελέσει τόκον [Σαλου-]
 τάριος δραχμιαῖον κα[θ'] ἑκάστον ἐ[νιαυτὸν]
 τὰ γεινόμενα δηνά[ρ]ια ρλε', [ἀφ' ὧν δώσει]
 τῷ γραμματεῖ τῆς Ἐφεσίων βουλῆς δη(νάρια) νε',]
 ὅπως κλῆρον ἐπιτελῇ ἐκ τῶν [βουλευτῶν τῇ ε'] 490
 ἱσταμένου τοῦ Θαργηλιῶν[ος εἰς ὀνόματα]
 ε'· οὗτοί τε οἱ λαχόντες θυσ[ίαν θύσουσι]
 τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι τῇ ἑκτη τοῦ μηνός, τῇ γενεσίῳ]
 τῆς θεοῦ, ἀγοράζον[τες] [. . . . δη(νάρια) εἴκοσι]
 ἑπτὰ ἡμίους, καὶ [τ]ὰ [λοιπὰ δη(νάρια) κζ' ἀσ(σάρια) θ'] 495
 δαπανήσουσιν [ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Ἀρτέμι-]
 δος εἰς τὴν ρ[-----]
 21 lines are missing; in this gap belong the 4 following lines
 [-]γ[. . .]δο[-----]
 [ὁμοίως δώσει ἀπὸ τοῦ πρ]ογεγραμ[μένου τόκου]
 [τοῖς χρυσοφοροῦσι καὶ ἱ]ερ[ο]νεῖς[αῖς πρὸ πόλεως]
 [δη(νάρια) ζ' ἀσ(σάρια) ιγ' ἡμισυ, ὅπως κλῆρον ἐπιτελῶσι ---]
- [ὁμοίως δώσει ἀπὸ τοῦ προγεγραμμένου τόκου]
 τ[οῖς] παιδωνόμοις δη(νάρια) ιε' ἀσ(σάρια) δεκατρία ἡμισυ,]
 ὅπ[ως] ἐπιτελῶσι κλῆρον ἐκ τῶν παίδων πάν-]
 τ[ων] -----]
 [-] -----]
- [τῇ γενεσίῳ τῆς θεοῦ ἡμέρα εἰς ὀνόματα]
 ἑξήκον[τα] τρία· οὗτοί τε οἱ λαχόντες εὗξονται] 525
 ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Ἀρτ[έ]μιδος ----- γει-]
 νομένων κατὰ ἀν[-----.]
 ἐὰν δὲ τινες τῶν λαχόντων [ἀνδρῶν ἢ παίδων ἢ]
 τὰς θυσίας μὴ θύσωσιν ἢ μὴ εὗξονται ἐν τῷ]
 ἱερῷ, ὡς διατέτακται, ἀποδότω[σαν εἰς προσ-] 530
 κόσμημα τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος δη(νάρια) ε'.
 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 ἀσσάρια θ'· 535
 ὁμοίως δώσει ἀπὸ τοῦ προγεγραμμένου τόκου
 καὶ τοῖς ἀκροβάταις τῆς θεοῦ εἰς διανομὴν
 δη(νάρια) ιε', ὥστε λαμβάνειν αὐτοὺς τῇ γενεσίῳ
 τῆς θεοῦ ἀνὰ ἀσσάρια δεκατρία ἡμισυ.

πρὸς δὲ τὸ μένειν τὰ ἀπεικονίσματα πάντα

καθαρὰ ἐξέστω, ὅσάκις ἂν ἐνδέχεται,

ἐκμάσσεσθαι γῇ ἀργυρωματικῇ ὑπὸ τοῦ

αἰεὶ ἐσομένου ἐπὶ τῶν παραθηκῶν, παρόν-

των δύο νεοποιῶν καὶ σκηπτοῦχου,

ἑτέρα δὲ ὕλη μηδεμιᾶ ἐκμάσσεσθαι· καὶ

545

τὰ λοιπὰ δη(νάρια) ὀκτὼ δοθήσεται καθ' ἑκάστον

ἐνιαυτὸν τῷ ἐπὶ τῶν παραθηκῶν εἰς τὴν

ἐπιμέλειαν τῶν ἀπεικονισμάτων καὶ τὸν

ἀγορασμὸν τῆς ἀργυρωματικῆς γῆς.

ὑπέσχετο δὲ Σαλουτάριος δώσειν καὶ δη(νάρια)

550

ἑκατὸν τριάκοντα πέντε, ὥστε ἀρξασθαι

τὴν φιλοτιμίαν αὐτοῦ τῷ ἐνεστῶτι ἔτει

τῇ γενεσίῳ τῆς θεοῦ ἡμέρας

τάς δὲ προγεγραμμένας εἰκόνας καὶ τὰς

555

προκαθιερωμένας ἐν τῇ πρὸ ταύτης δια-

τάξει καὶ τὰ ἀπεικονίσματα πάντα τῆς θεοῦ

φερέτωσαν ἐκ τοῦ προνάου κατὰ πᾶσαν ἐκκλη-

σίαν εἰς τὸ θέατρον καὶ τοὺς γυμνικοὺς ἀγῶ-

νας, καὶ εἴ τινες ἕτεροι ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ

560

δήμου ὀρισθήσονται ἡμέραι, ἐκ τῶν νεοποι-

ῶν δύο καὶ οἱ ἱερонеῖκαι καὶ σκηπτοῦχος καὶ

φύλακοι καὶ πάλιν ἀποφερέτωσαν εἰς τὸ

ἱερὸν καὶ [κατ]ατιθέσθωσαν συνπαραλαμβα-

νόντων καὶ τῶν ἐφήβων ἀπὸ τῆς Μαγνη-

τικῆς πύλης καὶ μετὰ τὰς ἐκκλησίας

565

συνπροπενπόντων ἕως τῆς Κορησιτικῆς]

πύλης, καθὼς καὶ ἐν τοῖς προγεγονόσι

ψηφίσμασι ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ὤρισ[α]ν

Translation:

When Sextus Attius Suburanus was consul for the second time and Marcus Asinius Marcellus was consul for the first time, on the twenty-second of February; during the prytanny of Tiberius Claudius Antipater Julianus, on the second, Augustan, day of the month of Anthesterion. Gaius Vibius Salutaris, the son of Gaius, of the tribe Oufentina, a man who is reverent of Artemis and loyal to the Emperor, proposes a donation according to the foregoing decree, with regards to which he has additionally dedicated to the greatest goddess, the Ephesian Artemis, and to the Emperor-loving *boule* of the Ephesians and to the Emperor-loving *gerousia* of the Ephesians and to the *chrysophoroi* priests of the goddess Artemis and the victors in the sacred games for the city, and to those who will always be the *Paides* of the Ephesians and to the *thesmoidoi* of the common temple of Asia of the Emperors in Ephesus and to the acrobats of Artemis, subject to lawsuits and penalties, as was specified in the donation before this.

(461) He gives two gold-plated silver busts, so that with the statues of the goddess they will be in number thirty-one, and another one thousand five hundred denarii, so that with the previously donated money there will be twenty-one thousand five hundred denarii, in such a way that a silver bust of Athena Pammusus, weighing with the silver overlay of its base seven pounds, half an ounce and eight grams, dedicated to Artemis and to those who will always be the *Paides* of the Ephesians, and placed at every customary assembly (ἐκκλησία) above the bench where the *Paides* sit.

(470) And in the same way, a silver bust of the Empress as Concordia Chrysophorus, weighing with the silver overlay of its base six pounds, dedicated to Artemis and to those who are always the *chrysophoroi* priests and the victors in the sacred games for the city, and placed at every customary assembly (ἐκκλησία) above the bench where the sacred victors sit. The aforementioned weight of the busts and their bases was entrusted to Eumenes the son of Eumenes the grandson of Theophilus, that Eumenes who is the *strategos* of the city of the Ephesians, through the agency of the weight-officer Hermias, the sacred servant of Artemis, with Musaeus, the sacred servant of Artemis in charge of dedications, present and sharing in the receipt.

(485) Regarding the additionally donated one thousand five hundred denarii, Salutaris will pay as interest 9% every year, making one hundred and thirty-five denarii, from which he will give to the *grammateus* of the *boule* of the Ephesians fifty-five denarii, so that he may perform a lottery for the members of the *boule* on the fifth day of Thargelion for five men by name; these recipients will perform a sacrifice to Artemis on the sixth day of the month, which is the birthday of the goddess, buying...for twenty-seven and a half denarii, and the remaining twenty seven denarii and nine asses they will spend in the Temple of Artemis for the

...and in the same way he will give from the aforementioned interest to the *chrysophoroi* and to the victors in the sacred games for the city six denarii and thirteen and a half asses, so that they might perform a lottery...

(519) And in the same way he will give from the aforementioned interest to the *paidonomoi* fifteen denarii and thirteen and a half asses, so that they might perform a lottery for all the members of the *Paides*...

(524) ...on the birthday of the goddess for sixty-three individuals by name; and these winners will feast in the Temple of Artemis.... But if any of the winners, either of the men or of the *Paides*, either do not perform the sacrifices or feast in the temple, as it has been specified, they will pay for the further adornment of Artemis five denarii.

(532) In the same way he will give from the aforementioned interest to the *thesmidoi* seven denarii for a distribution of money, such that they each receive nine asses in the Temple of Artemis on the birthday of the goddess.

(536) In the same way he will give from the aforementioned interest to the acrobats of the goddess fifteen denarii for a distribution, such that they each receive thirteen and a half asses on the birthday of the goddess.

(540) And in order to keep all the statues clean let it be permitted, as often as is approved, for them to be wiped clean with argyromatic earth by the one who is in charge of dedications, with two temple wardens and the wand-bearer present, but not to be wiped clean with any other material. And the remaining eight denarii will be given each year to

the one who is charge of dedications for the maintenance of the statues and the purchase of the argyromatic earth.

(550) Salutaris has also promised to give one hundred and thirty-five denarii, so that his generosity might begin in the present year on the birthday of the goddess. Let two of the temple wardens and the sacred victors and the wand-bearer and the guards bear the busts aforementioned and those previously dedicated in the donation before this and all the statues of the goddess from the pronaos to the theatre at every assembly (ἐκκλησία) and at the gymnastic games, and on any other days designated by the *boule* and *demos*, and back again to the temple and they will set them up with the Ephebes sharing in the receipt and accompanying the procession from the Magnesian gate as far as the Coressan gate after the assemblies (ἐκκλησίαι), just as the *boule* and *demos* have specified in the previous decrees.

- (56) *IEph* 26.1-28; *FiE* II, pp. 109-112, no. 20; *GIBM* 483B-C; Oliver, *SG* 12; *Hermes* 4 (1870): 198-201, no. 11: so-called decree of *synedrion* of the *gerousia* accepting a benefaction; found in the theatre. Measurements: The inscription is arranged on three marble blocks originally measuring 88 x 88 x 23 cm (left portion of *ll* 5-20), 89 x 85 x 23 cm (center portion of *ll* 1-20), 58 x 128 x 23 cm (middle portion of *ll* 21-27). Date: AD 180-192. Illustration: Figs. 29 & 30.

ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ.

[περὶ ὧν εἰσφέρει· ἐν μὲν τοῖς ἀν]ωθεν ὑπὸ τὸν οἰκισμὸν τῆς πόλεως

[χρόνοις Λυσίμαχον τὸν βασιλέα, κύριον]

[γεγονότα τῶν τῆς πόλεως πραγμάτων, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα] πάντα περὶ τε μυστηρίων καὶ
θυσιῶν [καὶ περὶ τοῦ συνεδρίου ἡμῶν ἀριστα δια-]

[κεκοσμηκέναι πάσῃ εὐσεβείᾳ τε καὶ φιλαγα]θίᾳ, ἰδρυσάμενον δὲ καὶ νεῶ καὶ
ἀγαλμα Σωτείρ[ας Ἀρτέμιδος ἐν - - διατετα-]

[χένοι τοὺς] μετέχοντας τοῦ συ[εδρίου πάν]τας ἐκ τῶν κοινῶν τῆς γερουσίας 5
χρημάτων ἑκ[αστον - - λαβόντας εὐωχεῖν καὶ]

[θύειν] τῇ θεῇ· διαμείναντος δ[ὲ τοῦ ἔθους ἐ]πὶ πλεῖστ<ο>ν διὰ τινα ἐκδῖαν
χρημάτων ἔτεσιν [ὑστέροις ἡμελῆσθαι· νῦν δὲ εὐρεθέντων διὰ]

[Τι(βερίου) Κλ(αυδίου)]¹³ Νεικομήδους, τοῦ καθο[λικοῦ ἐκδῖκο]υ τοῦ συνεδρίου
ἡμῶν, τῆς αὐτοῦ ἐπιμελείας<ς> ἐξ[αίρετον παρασχόντος παράδειγμα, πόρων]

[ἱκαν]ῶν, εἰς τὸ παλαιὸν ἔθος ἐπα[νελθοῦσαν τῇ]ν γερουσίαν εὐσεβεῖν καὶ θύειν
τῇ τε προκαθηγε[μόνι τῆς πόλεως ἡμῶν θεᾷ Ἀρτέμιδι καὶ τῷ με-]

[γίστ]ῳ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν καὶ ἐν[φανεστάτῳ α]ὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι Μ(άρκῳ) Αὐρ(ηλίῳ)
Κομμόδῳ Ἀντωνεῖνῳ [Σεβαστῷ Εὐσεβαῖ Εὐτυχεῖ τὰς κατ' ἔτος θυ-]

[σί]ας ὑπὲρ τῆς αἰωνίου διαμονῆς [αὐτοῦ, ὥστε, ἐξ]όν μὴ ἔλατον ἀναλίσκειν εἰς 10
τὴν εὐωχίαν Ἀτ[τικῶν - - ἐκ τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Νεικομήδους]

δηλουμένων πόρων, ἑκαστον τὸ[ν παρόντα εἰς τ]ὸ ἀνάλωμα τοῦ δείπνου ἐξωθεν

¹³ Oliver suggests [Τι(βερίου) Κλ(αυδίου)] Νεικομήδους. An individual by this name appears in a list of *kouretes* during the prytanny of Licinnius Maximus Julianus in AD 104-105 (*IEph* 1022; cat. no. 60). The Nicomedes of this inscription may, therefore, be the grandson or great-grandson of Tiberius Claudius Nicomedes the *kouretes*.

καὶ ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Νεικομήδους φιλοτειμίας λαβεῖν]
 Ἀττικὴν μίαν· διὰ τοῦτο ἔδοξεν τοῖς συνέδροις κυρῶσαι καὶ νομοθετῆσαι εἰσαεῖ
 διὰ τοῦδε τοῦ ψηφίσματος· Τύχη Ἀγαθῇ τὴν γερουσίαν εἰ-]
 ς τὸ δι[η]νεκὲς φυλάσσεσθαι τῇ[ν ἐπὶ τῇ προ]γεγραμμένη εὐσεβείᾳ νομοθεσίαν ὡς
 αἰ[ώνιον· ὁμοίως δὲ τοὺς συνέδρους εἰσαεῖ]
 φυλάσσειν] καὶ ἐπιτελεῖν τὰ περὶ τὰ δειπν]α προσφιλοτειμουμένου τοῦ ἐκδίκου
 ἰς τῇ[ν δαπάνην· τὸν δὲ --]
 προνοεῖν, ὡς] ἐν μὲν τοῖς δε[ίπνοις λαμ]παδουχε[ί]ν, ἐν δὲ ταῖς κατακλίσεσιν 15
 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 προσόδων κολλύβου προσθή]κην ποιεῖσθ[αι] τοῖς προϋπάρχουσιν
 πόροις [ἰς τὴν δαπάνην τῆς θυσίας· τοῖς δὲ πολεῖ-]¹⁴
 ταις διανομὰς γ[ενέσθαι πάσας κατὰ τὸδε τὸ] ψήφισμα ἐν τοῖς περὶ τὸν ναὸν τῆς
 Σωτεί[ρας Ἀρτέμιδος οἴκοις· ἑορτάζειν δὲ καὶ]
 κατὰ [τὰ προκεκυρωμένα ψηφίσματα ἐκάσ]του ἔτους τὴν Σε[β]αστὴν τοῦ
 δω[δε]κ[ά]του μηνὸς τοὺς πολεῖτας· ἐν δὲ τοῖς]
 γε[νεθλίοις τοῦ θεοῦ αὐτοκράτορος τῶν Ἑφεσ]ίων γερόντων ἀρι[θμὸν μὴ] μ[είονα - 20
 -----]
 Several lines missing
 [- ----- οὐδενὸς ἔχοντος] 20a
 [ἐξ]ουσίαν οὐ[τ]ε ἀρχον[τος οὐτε ἰ]διώτο[ν οὐ]τε ἐκδίκου οὐ[τε ----- τὰ
 ἐψηφι-]
 [σμ]ένα. περὶ οὐ ἐπηρά[σατ]ο μὲ[ν κ]οινῇ πᾶ<σ>α ἡ γερουσία τῷ [πειράσσοντι ---,
 ἐψηφίσατο δὲ καὶ ἀσεβεῖα αὐτὸν]
 εἶναι ὑπεύθυνον κα[ὶ ἱερο]συλίᾳ· ἔ[τι κ]αὶ ὑπεύθυνον αὐτὸν κατέσ[τησεν ---
 ἐπαινέσαι δὲ Νεικομήδην καὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς]
 αὐτοῦ, ἀποκηρύττει[ν δὲ κ]αὶ πατρογέ[ρ]οντας. ἔτι ἔδοξεν τὸν καθ' ἑτο[ς ----- 25
 -----]
 ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ καὶ τὸ ἀρ[χα]ῖον τὸ εὐρεθὲν διδόναι[ι], ᾧ ἂν κοινῇ πᾶσα ἡ [γερουσία
 ψηφίση -----]

εὐσεβείᾳ [- -----]

γραμμα[τ]εύοντος τῶν πρ[εσβυτέρων ---]

Translation

To Good Fortune. Concerning the matters which [] has brought forward; in the times following the foundation of the city, King Lysimachus, having become the master of the affairs of the city, arranged everything concerning both the mysteries and the sacrifices and our *sunhedrion* in the best way, with all reverence and kindness, and having dedicated both the temple and statue of Artemis the Saviour in...he arranged that

¹⁴ van Rossum (1988): 161 suggests τοῖς δὲ γερουσιασ[σ]ταῖς, which is not impossible given that the members of the *gerousia* did receive shares in cash gifts during the late second century. It might be unusual, though, to describe an allotment of the common funds of the *gerousia* to the *gerousiastai* themselves as a *dianome*.

all those having membership in the *sunhedrion*, after receiving from the common treasury of the *gerousia* [sum of money] each, should hold a feast and sacrifice to the goddess; but although the custom endured for a very long time, it was in later times neglected because of a lack of money. But now, since sufficient funds have been discovered through the efforts of [Tiberius Claudius] Nicomedes, the general financial supervisor of our *sunhedrion*, giving a singular sign of his diligence, the *gerousia* can, returning to the ancient custom, revere and sacrifice the annual sacrifices to the protector of our city, the goddess Artemis, and to our great ruler and the most manifest Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Commodus Antoninus Sebastus Pius Felix on behalf of his everlasting life, in such a way that, it being not possible to spend less than [sum of money] Attic drachmas from the resources indicated by Nicomedes on the feast, each individual present may receive in addition to the cost of the meal one Attic drachma from the generosity of Nicomedes. Therefore, the members of the *sunhedrion* (*sunhedroi*) have resolved to ratify and ordain this forever through the following decree:

To Good Fortune. The *gerousia* shall uphold in perpetuity forever the decree which was passed on the principle of the aforesaid piety. And in the same way the members of the *sunhedrion* (*sunhedroi*) shall always uphold and fulfill their duties with respect to the feast with the *ekdikos* contributing in addition to the expense; and the...shall arrange for a torch-procession at the meals, and among the recliners...the members of the *sunhedrion* (*sunhedroi*) shall take part in the feast. If at any time other funds are not available to hold the feasts and sacrifices on the same scale...a contribution will be made to the revenue toward the expense of the sacrifices from the revenue of the exchange. All distributions to the citizens in accordance with this decree shall occur in the buildings around the Temple of Artemis the Saviour. The citizens shall celebrate the Augustan day each year in the twelfth month, in accordance with the previously ratified decrees. On each birthday of the Emperor a number of Ephesian elders not less than...

...since no one, not a magistrate or a private citizen or an advocate or...shall have the authority [to change] the things which have been decreed. Concerning this matter, the entire *gerousia* in common has laid a curse upon anyone who attempts...and it has been decreed that that person shall become liable to charges of impiety and sacrilege; he shall also be liable to a charge of.... It has been decided to praise Nicomedes and his sons, and to publicly proclaim them as *patrogerontes*. It has also been decreed that the annual...in office and that he give the capital which has been found, to whomever the entire *gerousia* in common shall appoint...in reverence...when...was *grammateus* of the Elders.

(57) *IEph* 1393A.1-4: fragment of a decree of the *presbuteroi*; from the *parodos* of the theatre. Measurements: 16 x 24 x 5 cm. Undated.

[- - - - -]ρ· καὶ [- - - - -]

[- - δεδόχθαι τοῖς πρεσβ[υτέροις γενέσθαι καθότι]

[- - προγέγραπται]

[- - - - - - -]εἰς [- - -]

Translation:

...it has been decreed by the Elders that it is to be written up accordingly...

(58) *JÖAI* 55 (1983), 145 no. 4374; *SEG* 34, 1098.1-27: Fragment concerning financial affairs of the *gerousia* including a decree of the *gerousia*; found in Terrace House II. Measurements: 1.26 x 0.675 x 0.21m. Imperial?

[.]ΑΙΣ[---].ΙΟΙΣ διανομάς ὡς μηδενί

Α[-----]

Ο[-----]

Ω[-----]

ΑΟΝ[-----]

5

ΕΙΩΣ[-----]

Μ . ΣΤΑ[-----]

Ν . ΓΟ[-----]

ΩΝΑ[-----]

ΧΝΙΣΩ . ΣΙ[. .]Ι[-----]

10

ΣΟΔΟ[-----]

Ν.Μ[-----]

ΟΥΚΛΟΝ . ΟΝΜ[-----]

Μ . ΑΜΑΝΟΙΣΕΠΙΤΟΚ . ΕΩΝ . ΚΟΠΩΝ

Ο.ΣΙΑΣ ἀποθήσεται πρὸς . ΟΤΑΣ.ΤΥ.ΟΙΣ

15

[ἐ]δοξεν τῇ γερουσίᾳ ὅπως πάσαις αἰς

θέσιν ἢ ἐξ ὁποίας . Η. ΟΙ . . . ΙΔΙ . . ΩΡ

ΟΝ . ΑΤΑ[-----]

ΕΙΟΝ . ΙΟ . ΤΟ[-----]

Π . . ΣΟ.Κ[-----]

20

Ι ὑποκει[-----]

Η.Ι.Ι . ΟΜΕΝΟΡΙΟ[-----]

Ι . . . ΕΝ . ΙΩΣΙΝ . . Ο [-----]

Σ.ΕΙΟΥ[.]ΝΑΦΕΙΝΑΙ . . . ΣΙΝ

Ε.ΙΩΕΝ[-----]

25

ΤΟ μηδὲν τῆς ἀληθοῦς εἰσπράξεως

ΡΙΑΣ ἀποχῆς πᾶν ὅλου ΔΟΣ . . . ὑπὸ τι [- -]

Translation:

...it was decreed by the *gerousia* that for all which...or from what...nothing of the actual collection of the contribution...

E. Lists of Names

(59) *JÖAI* 59 (1989): 197-210, no. 37, right column: a fragment of *IEph* 1687; found in a late house east of the Konzilskirche, but originally from the Artemision. Measurements: 30 x 87 x 58cm. Date: Reign of Tiberius.

[----- σὺν -----]

[Μ]ενικίωνι καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ Φαβρικίᾳ καὶ τοῖς	
υἱοῖς καὶ τῇ πενθερᾷ Κλωδίᾳ ἱερῇ δη(νάρια) ,βφ'	
Οὐηδία Σεκουῖνδα	δη(νάρια) ,βφ'
Γάιος Σεξτίλιος Πωλλίων	δη(νάρια) ,βφ' 5
Ἑρακλείδης Ἀπολλωνίου Πασσαλάς πρεσβύτερ[ο]ς δη(νάρια) ,β'	
Γάιος Σεξτίλιος Πρόκλος ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ δη(νάρια) ,β'	
καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς γυναικὸς	δη(νάρια) ,α'
καὶ ὑπὲρ Πωλλίωνος υἱοῦ	δη(νάρια) φ'
Λεύκιος καὶ Πόπλιος Πακτομήμοι δη(νάρια) ,αφ'	10
Ἀριστέας Ἑρμολάου τοῦ Ἀττάλου σὺν	
μητρὶ Στρατονείκῃ	δη(νάρια) ,αφ'
Κοῖντος Ὀρτήσιος Ἀμπουδιανὸς Ροῦφος	
σὺν υἱοῖς γ καὶ γυναικὶ Ὀρτησίᾳ Πρόκλᾳ δη(νάρια) ,αφ'	
Μην[ό]κριτος Ἀράτου σὺν γυναικὶ Παύλᾳ [δη(νάρια) ,α]φ'	15

Translation:

...with Menicion and his wife Fabrica and their sons and his revered mother-in-law, two thousand five hundred denarii; Vedia Secunda, two thousand five hundred denarii; Gaius Sextilius Pollio, two thousand five hundred denarii; Heraclides Passalas, the elder and the son of Apollonius, two thousand denarii; Gaius Sextilius Proculus on behalf of himself, two thousand denarii, and on behalf of his wife, one thousand denarii, and on behalf of his son Pollio, five hundred denarii; Leucius and Publius Pactomeius, one thousand five hundred denarii; Aristetas the son of Hermolaus the son of Attalus with his mother Stratonice, one thousand five hundred denarii; Quintus Hortesius Ampodianus Rufus with his three sons and his wife Hortesia Procula, one thousand five denarii; Menocritus the son of Aratus with his wife Paula, one thousand five hundred denarii.

(60) *FiE* IX/1/1 no. b22; *IEph* 1022.1.1-8: List of *kouretes* under Gaius Licinnius Maximus Iulianus, *prytanis* in AD 105; found in the Hestia-room of the prytaneion. Measurements: 75 x 178 x 45 cm. Date: AD 105. Illustration: Fig. 31.

ἐπὶ πρυτάνεως Γαίου Λικιννίου Μενάνδρου υἱοῦ Σεργία Μαξίμου Ἰουλιανοῦ κουρήτες εὐσεβεῖς φιλοσέβαστοι	
Γ(άιος) Λικίνιος Μάξιμος Μηνοδώρου υἱὸς Σεργία Βειβιανὸς βουλευτῆς	
Μ(άρκος) Καισέλλιος Βᾶσσος βουλευτῆς	
Διόδοτος Ἀσκληπίδου Ἐφέσιος ἐκ γερουσίας	5
Τι(βέριος) Κλαύδιος Νεικομήδης ἐκ γερουσίας	Πό(πλιος) Κορ(νήλιος)
	Ἀρίστων βουλευτῆς ἱεροσκόπο[ς]
Γ(άιος) Λικίνιος Εὐάρεστος ἐκ γερουσίας	Μουνδίκους βουλευτῆς
	ἱεροφάντης
Ἀσκληπιόδωρος Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ	Ἐπικράτης ἱεροκῆρυξ

Ἀσκληπιοδώρου ἐκ γερουσίας

Τρυφῶν ἀκροβάτης ἐπὶ

θυμιάτρου

Τρόφιμος σπονδαύλης

Translation:

During the *prytany* of Gaius Licinnius Maximus Julianus the son of Menander of the tribe Sergia, the pious and Emperor-loving *kouretes* were:

Gaius Licinnius Maximus Vibianus the son of Menodorus of the tribe Sergia, a member of the *boule*; Marcus Caesellius Bassus, a member of the *boule*; Diodotus Asclepides Ephesius, a member of the *gerousia*; Tiberius Claudius Nicomedes, a member of the *gerousia*; Gaius Licinnius Euarestus, a member of the *gerousia*; Asclepiodorus the son of Apollonius the grand of Asclepiodorus, a member of the *gerousia*.

- (61) *FiE* IX/1/1 no. b29; *IEph* 1029.1-25: List of *kouretes* under Quintus Cerrinius Cimber, *prytanis* between AD 112 and 120; found in the porch of the prytaneion. Measurements: 139 x 115 cm. Date: AD 112-120. Illustration: Fig. 32.

ἐπὶ πρυτάνεω[ς]

Κο(ῖντου) Κερρεϊνίου Λ(ουκίου) υἱοῦ

Οὐλτινία Κίμβρου

κουρήτ[ε]ς εὐσεβεῖς

φιλο[σέβ]αστοι·

5

Λ(ούκιος) Ταρουτείλιος Τύ-

ραννος κού(ρης) τὸ γ'·

Μ(άρκος) Οὐγέλλιος Μ(αρκοῦ) υἱὸς Φαβ(ία)

Μοντανός·

Π(όπλιος) Κορνήλιος Ἀνεΐκτης·

10

Λ(ούκιος) Καικίλιος Ροῦφος ἐκ {γε} γε(ρουσίας)·

Καλλίνεικος Καλλινείκου

τοῦ Βακχίου Εὐκαρπος·

Τι(βέριος) Κλ(αύδιος) Γέμελλος·

ἱερουργοί·

15

Π(όπλιος) Κορνήλιος Ἀρίστων βου(λευτής)·

ἱεροσκόπος·

Μουνδίκιος νε(ώτερος) ἱεροφάντης·

Μουνδίκιος ἀγνεάρχης

διὰ βίου·

20

[Ἐπ]ικράτης ἱεροκῆρυξ·

[Τρ]ύφων γεραῖος ἐπὶ θυμι-

[ἀτρ]ου·

[Τρόφιμος] σπονδαύλης·

[Παράσιος] ἱερὸς σα[λπικτής]·

25

Translation:

During the *prytany* of Quintus Cerrinius Cimber the son of Lucius of the tribe Ultinia, the pious and Emperor-loving *kouretes* were:

Lucius Tarutilius Tyrannus, a *kouros* for the third time; Marcus Ugellius Montanus the son of Marcus of the tribe Fabia; Publius Cornelius Anicetus; Lucius Caecilius Rufus, a member of the *gerousia*; Callinicus Eucarpus the son of Callinicus the son of Bacchius; Tiberius Claudius Gemellus.

The sacrificing priests were:

Publius Cornelius Ariston, a member of the *boule* was the omen-taker; Mundicius the younger was the *hierophant*; Mundicius (the elder) was the *hagnearch* for life; Epicrates was the sacred servant who was the herald; Trypho was the revered servant who tended the incense; Trophimus led the libations; Parsius was the sacred servant who was trumpeter.

- (62) *FiE* IX/1/1 no. b32; *IEph* 1032.1-26: List of *kouretes* under Gaius Terentius Flavianus, *prytanis* between c. AD 130 and 140; found in the hearth-room of the prytaneion. Measurements: 154 x 115 cm. Date: the daughter of Terentius Flavianus was honoured under Marcus Aurelius or Commodus (*IEph* 720a); Terentius Flavianus himself was *grammateus* of the *polis* in about AD 140. c. AD 130-140. Illustration: Fig. 33.

ἐπὶ πρυτάνεως	
Γ(αῖου) Τερεντίου Γ(αῖου)	
υἱοῦ Παλατεῖνα	
Φλαουιανοῦ	
κουρήτες εὐσεβεῖς	5
φιλοσέβαστοι·	
Γ(άιος) Τερέντιος Βηράτι-	
ος ὁ ἀδελφὸς τοῦ	
πρυτά[νε]ως βουλ(ευτῆς)·	
Πό(πλιος) Βη[ράτ]ιος Ποσιδῶ[νιος]	10
Λ(ούκιος) Ταρουτεῖλιος [Κου-]	
ἄρτος βουλ(ευτῆς)·	
Τιβ(έριος) Κλ(αύδιος) Φῆλιξ βου[λ](ευτῆς)·	
Κό(ίντος) Νέριος Σατορνείν[ος]	
παράδοξος βου(λευτῆς)·	15
Πό(πλιος) Αἴλιος Εἰσᾶς Φλαβια-	
νὸς ἐκ γερουσίας.	
ἱεουργοί·	
[Πό(πλιος)] Κορνῆλιος Ἀρίστων	
ἱεροσκόπος βου(λευτῆς)·	20
Λυσίμαχος Μουνδίκιο[ς].	
ἱεροφάντης·	
Ἐ[πικ]ράτης ἱεροκῆρυξ·	
Ὀνήσιμος ἱερὸς ἐπὶ θυμιάτρ[ου.]	
Μητρόδωρος ἱερὸς σπον-	25
δαύλης.	

Translation:

During the *prytanny* of Gaius Terentius Flavianus the son of Gaius of the tribe Palatina, the pious and Emperor-loving *kouretes* were:

Gaius Terentius Beratius, a member of the *boule* and brother of the *prytanis*; Publius Beratius Posidonius; Lucius Tarutius Quartus, a member of the *boule*; Tiberius Claudius Felix, a member of the *boule*; Quintus Nerius Saturninus, an extraordinary member of the *boule*; Publius Aelius Isas Flavianus, a member of the *gerousia*.

The sacrificing priests were:

Publius Cornelius Ariston, a member of the *boule*, was the omen-taker; Lysimachus Mundicius was the *hierophant*; Epicrates was the sacred herald; Onesimus was the sacred servant in charge of tending the incense; Metrodorus was the sacred servant who led the libations.

(63) *FiE* IX/1/1 no. b39; *IEph* 1039.1-12: list of *kouretes*; unknown findspot.

Measurements: 72 x 166 x 29 cm. Date: AD 150-192. Illustration: Fig. 34.

[-----]

[-----]ς Ουενοῦς-

τος ἐκ γερουσίας.

ἱεουργοί.

Λυσίμαχος δ' Μουνδίκιος ἱερο-

5

φάντης βου(λευτής)· Πό(πλιος) Κορνή[λι]ος

Ἀρίστων ἱεροσκόπος, καὶ Κλ(αύδιος)

Διαδοχιανός· Ἐπικράτης ἱ<ε>ρο-

κῆρυξ· Ὀνήσιμος ἱερὸς ἐπὶ θυμιά-

τρον· Μητρόδωρος ἱερὸς σπον-

10

Δαύλης· Λ(ούκιος) Κοσίννιος Γαΐανός

ἱερὸς σαλπικτής.

Translation:

[During the *prytanny* of ... the pious and Emperor-loving *kouretes* were:]

... Venustus, a member of the *gerousia*.

The sacrificing priests were:

Lysimachus Mundicius the son of Lysimachus the son of Lysimachus the son of Lysimachus, a member of the *boule*, was the *hierophant*; Publius Cornelius Ariston was the interpreter of omens; and Claudius Diadochianus; Epicrates was the sacred herald; Onesimus was the sacred servant in charge of tending the incense; Metrodorus was the sacred servant who led the libations; Lucius Cosinnus Gaeus was the sacred servant who was the trumpeter.

(64) *FiE* IX/1/1 no. b40; *IEph* 1040.1-30: List of *kouretes* under Publius Aelius

Pontius Attalianus, *prytanis* in the second half of the second century AD; found

in the Hestia-roon of the prytaneion. Measurements: 176 x 115. Date: AD 150-

192. Illustration: Fig. 35.

ἐπὶ πρυτά-

νεως Πο(πλίου) Αἰ-

Translation:

The sacrificing priests were: Lysimachus Mundicius the son of Lysimachus the son of Lysimachus the son of Lysimachus was the *hierophant*; Publius Cornelius Ariston was the omen-taker; Epicrates was the sacred herald; Onesimus, a member of the *gerousia*, was the sacred servant who was in charge of the incense; Metrodorus was the sacred servant in charge of the libation; Lucius Cosinnius Gaeanus was the sacred servant who was the trumpeter.

- (65) *FiE* IX/1/1 no. b54; *IEph* 47.1-7; *AAWW* 96, 41-42: List of donors and *kouretes* under Marcus Aurelius Menemachus, *prytanis* under Commodus. Found in the porch of the *prytaneion*. Measurements: the inscription survives on four fragments: 142 x 92 x 7-10 cm, 59 x 72 x 7-10 cm, 22 x 65 x 7-10 cm; 29 x 69 x 7-10 cm. Date: AD 180-192. Illustration: Fig. 36.

ἐπὶ πρυτάνεως Μ(άρκου) Αὐρ(ηλίου) Μενεμάχου
 Τοῦ καὶ ἀνανεωσαμένου τὸ ἱερὸν συν-
 ἔδριον τῶν κουρήτων δόντος διανομὰς
 ὅσας καὶ τῇ γερουσίᾳ [[Κομμοδιανῇ]]
 ἐπὶ ἀρχόντων Φίλωνος β' τοῦ Ἑρμολάου
 φιλοσεβ(άστου) καὶ Ἑρμεῖα β' Ἀπολλωνίου
 ὅσοι καθιέρωσαν πρυτάνεις τοῖς κεκουρητευκόσιν

5

Translation:

During the prytany of Marcus Aurelius Menemachus who, having renewed the sacred Assembly (συνεδρίον) of the *kouretes*, gave bountiful distributions also to the Commodian *gerousia*, when Philo, the Emperor-loving son of Philo the son of Hermolaus, and Hermeias Apollonius the son of Hermeias were archons, the following members of the prytany donated for the preparation of the *kouretes*:

[There follows a list of donors contributing seven thousand three hundred denarii and an incomplete list of *kouretes*.]

- (66) *IEph* 1055B.1-13; *JÖAI* 53 (1981-1982): 108, no. 65: List of *kouretes*; from the Church of St. John. Measurements: 51.5 x 19 x 30 cm. Date: Dies the son of Alexander appears in an inscription dated to the reign of Commodus (*IEph* 613); Alexander the son of Dies also appears under Commodus (*IEph* 613a). AD 180-192.

[- -]κούρη[ς - - -]
 [- -] δὲ Διήο[υς - - -]
 [τοῦ] Ἀλεξά[νδρου - - -]
 [τοῦ Δ]ιήους, ἀ[δελφός - - -]
 [τῆς] πρυτάνε[ως - - -]
 [Αὐρ]ήλιος Τα[- - -]
 [ἀδελ]φός τῆς [- - -]
 [- π]ρυτάνεω[ς - - -]
 [- -]λου δις [- - -]
 [- -]. αμυ[- - -]
 [- -]ρος ἱπα[- - -]
 [- ἐκ] γερουσ[ίας - - -]
 [- -]ος Βάσ[σος - - -]

5

10

Translation:

...and... the son of Dies...the son of Alexander...the son of Dies, the brother of the prytanis; Aurelius Ta... the brother of the prytanis...lus the son of...a member of the *gerousia*; Bassus...

(67) *IEph* 1057.1-14; *FiE* IX/1/1 Nachtrag no. 2: fragments of a list of *kouretes*; found in the hearth-room of the prytaneion. Measurements: the inscription survives in several fragments: 26 x 24 cm, 26 x 24 cm, 27 x 25 cm, 31 x 32 cm, 21 x 25 cm. Date: AD 180-192. Illustration: Fig. 37.

πρυτανε[ύοντος τοῦ κυ-]

ρίου ἡμῶ[ν Ἀντωνίνου?]

[-----]

Κλ(αυδῖος) Πεῖο[ς ---]

[-----] Αὐρ[---]

5

[---]Φλ . [- ----- βου]λευτής· Μην[---]

Γαβειν. Ἀντων[εῖνος. . . ? . . . βου]λευτής· Στρατ[---]

Δορύφορος [- - - ----- βο]υλευτής· Αὐρ[---]

Αὐρ(ελῖος) Ἔρωρ β' Ε[----- ἀκ]ροβάτης· Μα[---]

Ἰούλ(ιος) Μαρ[κιανός --- ἐκ γερ]ουσίας [- - -]

10

[-----ἱεροφ]άντης βουλ(ευτής)·

[ἀρχόντων το]ῦ συνεδρίου Αὐρ(ηλίου) Τη-

[λέφου ---]

Translation:

When our lord was prytanis...[the kouretes were:] Claudius Peius...a member of the *boule*; Men...Gabinus Antoninus...a member of the *boule*; Strate...Doryphorus...a member of the *boule*;...Aurelius...Aurelius Eros the son of Eros...acrobat...Marcus...Julius Marcianus...a member of the *gerousia*...a member of the *boule* was hierophant...when Aurelius Telephus and...were archons of the *boule* (συνεδρίου).

(68) *IEph* 907.1-19: list of *leukophorountes*; found in the theatre gymnasium. Measurements unknown. Date: ...appears in a list of donars dated to AD 216/217. c. AD 216/217.

οἶδε ἐλευ[κοφόρησαν·]

Τιβ(έριος) Κλ(αυδῖος) Κοδράτος [γεραῖός·]

Τρύφων Ἰουβεντίου το[ῦ ---]

Γέλλιος Πρεῖσχος χρυσο(φόρος)·

Γναῖος Ἰούλιος Ἀρτεμίδωρος γερου(σιαστής) καὶ [χρυσοφόρος·]

5

Λού(κιος) Αὐρήλιος Τρύφων χρυσοφόρος·

[.] Ἀγελῆιος Κοῖντος χρυσο(φόρος)·

Δάφνεις Κρατέρου τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου·

Ἰοῦστος τρίς·

Κράτερος Δάφνου τοῦ Κρατέρου τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου·

10

Πρεῖσχος Διδύμου τοῦ Διονεῖκου τοῦ Παρίου·

Τρόφιμος Νεικοστράτου β' τοῦ Αἰλίου·

Φίλων Ἀπολλωνίδου τοῦ Διοδώρου·

Κάρπιμος Στρατονεῖκου Βοός·

Σωκράτης Μειλήτου

Μοσχίων Ζωσίμου

Λού(κιος) Ἀνρήλιος Τρύφων νε(ώτερος) καὶ χρυσοφόρος

Ἀμμιανὸς υἱὸς Τιβερίου Κλ(αυδίου) Κοδράτου γεραιού

Ἀγελῆσιος Κοῖντος νε(ώτερος) χρυ(σοφόρος).

Translation:

The following men were the wearers of white robes: the revered Tiberius Claudius Quadratus; Trypho the son of Juventius the son of...; Gellius Priscus, a *chrysophorus*; Gnaeus Julius Artemidorus, a member of the *gerousia* and a *chrysophorus*; Lucius Aurelius Trypho, a *chrysophorus*; ...Ageleius Quintus, a *chrysophorus*; Daphnes the son of Craterus the son of Apollonius; Justus the son of Justus the son of Justus; Craterus the son of Daphnes the son of Craterus the son of Apollonius; Priscus the son of Didymus the son of Dionices the son of Parius; Trophimus the son of Nicostratus the son of Nicostratus the son of Aelius; Philo the son of Apollonides the son of Diodorus; Carpinus Bous the son of Stratonicus; Socrates the son of Miletus; Moschion the son of Zosimus; Lucius Aurelius Trypho the younger, a *chrysophorus*; Amianus the son of the revered Tiberius Claudius Quadratus; Ageleius Quintus the younger, a *chrysophorus*.

(69) *IEph* 2926.1-4; list of temple-wardens; unknown findspot. Measurements unknown. Date: The tribal name Antoniane indicates that the inscription may have been erected during the reign of Antoninus Pius at the earliest, or, if the tribe was created in response to the *constitutio Antoniniana*, during that of Caracalla (cf. above, pp. 55-58, 75 & cat. no. 69; Knibbe [1962-1963]: 30). Late second to early third century AD.

[- - -] ασιαι λ[. .] σ [.] ε[- -] οἶδε νεοπ[οιοὶ ἀνθ-]

[αἶρε] τοὶ στεφανωθέντες ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου καὶ ἑσσηνεύ[σαντες]

[- - -] Ἰούλιος Στάχυς φύ(λη) Ἐφεσέων, χι(λιαστὴν) Κλαυδιεύς

[Ἰού] λιος Μενεκράτης φυ(λή) Ἀντωνιανῆς, χι(λιαστὴν) Παιανιεύς, ἐκ
γε[ρουσίας]

Translation:

[When...was prytanis] the following men were voluntary temple wardens and were crowned by the *boule* and the *demos*; they were also Essenes: Julius Stachus of the Tribe Ephesea and of the Thousand of Claudieus. Julius Menecrates of the Tribe Antoniane and of the Thousand Paianieus, a member of the *gerousia*.

(70) *IEph* 1151.1-15: List of *epheboi*; found in Arcadiane street. Measurements: 105 x 92 x 25 cm. Undated.

[- - - - -] Ἰουλίου Λουκούλλου φιλο[σέβαστος]

[- - - - -] Π[ρό]κλος φιλοσέβαστος

[- - - - -] Παλ[α]τεῖνα Ροῦφος φι[λο]σέβαστος

[- - - - -] οὐ φιλ[ο]σέ[βα]στος

Ἰουλία[ν - -]

[- - - - -] Ἀδριαν[- - - -] ἐλ[- - -]

[-----ἀγωνο]θέτης τῶν ἐφήβων[ν ---]
 [----- Πομπήϊος] Σηστὺλλ[ια]νὸς Τ(ίτος) Φλ(άουιος) Πομπήϊος Μαρκελ[λεῖνος]
 [-----] Λοῦκῆϊος
 [-----] Μουνάτιος Λονγεῖνος Τ[---] 10
 [-----] ρ[... Πρ]εμιγένου τοῦ ἐφηβάρχου [---]
 [-----]ας καὶ ἐπιδόσε[ι]ς τῶν ἐφήβων καὶ τῶν ἐξ ἔθους ἐτ[ιμηθέντων(?) -]
 [----- τῆς γενεθλίου τ]ῆς θεοῦ ἡμέρας, δόντος δὲ καὶ διανομὰς βουλῇ [καὶ]
 [----- γερουσία καὶ τοῖς συνέδροις π]ᾶσι τῷ ἰδίῳ ἐνιαυτῷ
 [-----] ἐροκῆρυξ 15

Translation:

... Emperor-loving son of Julius Lucullus...the Emperor-loving Proculus ... the
 Emperor-loving Rufus of the tribe Palatina...the Emperor-loving...Julian[us]...
 Hadrian...the *agonothetes* of the ephebes...Pompeius Sestullianus Titus Flavius
 Pompeius Marcellinus...Luceaus...Munatius Longinus...son of Primigenus the
 ephebarch... who also made endowments for the ephebes and for those accustomed to be
 honoured...on the birthday of the goddess, and who also gave distributions to the *boule*
 and to the *gerousia* and to all the assemblies in the same year; he was the sacred herald.

F. Funerary Inscriptions

(71) *IEph* 2295.1-4; *JOAI* 52 (1978-80): 59, no. 127: funerary inscription of Gaius Octavius Magnus; found east of the city hill. Measurements: 53 x 72.5 x 36cm. Date: Given the *nomen* and *praenomen*, one is inclined to assign an early imperial date to this inscription.

τὸ μνημεῖον
ἐστὶν Γαίου Ὀ-
κταβίου Μάγνου
πρεσβυτέρου

Translation:

This is the tomb of Gaius Octavius Magnus, elder.

(72) *IEph* 4123.1-21; *FiE* IV, 1. pp. 96-97, no. 23; cf. *AE* 1935: 169: bilingual funerary inscription for Gaius Stertinius Orpex and his family; from the plaster in the ceiling of the Konzilskirche. Measurements unknown. Date: Gaius Stertinius Maximus, the former owner of Orpex, was consul in AD 23. The inscription therefore belongs to the second to third quarter of the first century AD. Cf. cat. no. 34. Illustration: Figs. 38 & 39.

C(aius) Stertinius C(aii) Stertini Maximi consularis
l(ibertus) Orpex quondam scriba librarius hic situs est et
Stertinia C(aii) l(iberta) Quieta
C(aius) Stertinius C(aii) f(ilius) Marinus v(ixit) a(nnis) VIII
C(aius) Stertinius C(aii) f(ilius) Asiaticus v(ixit) a(nnis) III
Stertinia C(aii) f(ilia) Prisca v(ixit) a(nnis) VIII

5

οὗτος μετὰ Μαρείνης [τῇ]ς θυγατρὸς [- - -]

[- - - - -] ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ ἀνέθηκαν Ἀσκληπιὸν σὺν Ὑγιείᾳ σὺν Ὑπνῷ
σὺν παντὶ αὐτῶν κόσμῳ, καθιέρωσαν δὲ καὶ τῇ Ἐφεσίῳ βουλῇ καὶ ἱερείῳ
Χ πεντακισχέιλια, ἵνα πρὸς ταῖς τειμαῖς αὐτῶν ταῖς ἐν τῇ τετραγώνῳ ἀγορᾷ
[...]

10

[.....] λαμβάνωσιν διανομὴν οἱ παρόντες ἀνὰ δραχμὰς ἰσομοίρας, καὶ τῇ
γερουσίᾳ Χ δισχιλία πεντακόσια, ἵνα λαμβάνωσι διανομὴν κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν
ἕκαστον

ἀνὰ δηνάρια β', ὁμοίως καθιέρωσαν τῇ αὐτῇ γερουσίᾳ ἄλλα Χ χέιλια
πεντακόσια, ὅπως

ἐκ τῆς προσόδου αὐτῶν κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἕκαστον οἱ κληρωθέντες ἄνθρωποι
λαμβάνω-

σιν ἐπὶ τοῖς τόποις εἰς εὐωχίαν ἕκαστος Χ τρία καὶ ἐκ τῶν λοιπῶν Χ
τριάκοντα

15

[.....] λαμβάνωσιν Χ εἴκοσι καὶ τραγικῶ (?) Χ δέκα, ὁμοίως ἑκάστῳ [- - -]
[- - - - -] καὶ λείπρας τρεῖς, φ[- - -]

Καλένδαις Μαίαις

[- - - - -] ἐκ κυαμικαῖς (?) δῆμον. κεῖ[μαι -] -

[- - - - -] ὁμοίως [- - - - -] εἰς τὸ γερόντει-
ον Χ πεντακόσια.

20

Translation:

(Latin) Gaius Stertinius Orpex, freedman of the consular Gaius Stertinius Maximus, who was once a bookkeeping clerk, lies here, as does Stertina Quieta, a freedwoman of Gaius; and Gaius Stertinius Marinus, the son of Gaius, who lived eight years; and Gaius Stertinius Asiaticus, the son of Gaius, who lived three years; and Stertina Prisca, the daughter of Gaius, who lived eight years.

(Greek) This one with his daughter Marina...dedicated in the gymnasium a statue of Asclepius with Health and Sleep with all their adornments, and they also donated to the *boule* of the Ephesians and to the priests five thousand denarii, so that beside their statues which are in the tetragonus agora...those who are present might receive a distribution of an equal number of drachmae; and they donated to the *gerousia* two thousand five hundred denarii, so that they might receive an annual distribution at a rate of two denarii each; in the same way, they donated to the same *gerousia* another one thousand five hundred denarii, so that from the interest of this money each year men who have been selected by lot might receive three denarii each at the places for a feast and so that from the remaining thirty denarii they might receive twenty for ... and ten for a tragic performance; and in the same way to each...and three pounds...on the Kalends of May...and in the same way five hundred for the *geronteion*.

(73) *IEph* 2109.1-14; *JÖAI* 53 (1981-1982): 94, no. 17; *SEG* 37: 908: funerary inscription in elegiacs; built into the south wall of the Library of Celsus. Measurements 31 x 180 x 40 cm. Date: if the stone was incorporated into the original building of the library and not later repairs, it must date to the first century AD at the latest.

[-----]

[σῆμα τόδ' --- παιδὶ σὺν ἄρτι]γενεῖ

[οὕτω ἑικοσέτις κεῖμαι ἐνὶ φθιμ]ένοις

[πάσης φθαρθείσης εὐτυχίας πρ]οτέρης

[-----]

5

ἀλλ' οὐτὶ τόσσον βίου ἄχνημαι ὠκυμόροιο

οὐδὲ βροτοῖς γλυκερῶ πᾶσιν ἐπ' ἡελίῳ

ὅσσον ἀφαρπασθεῖσα πόθων εὐνῆς τε Γλύκωνος

[-----]

ἄνδρὸς ἀμωμήτης ἐκ τε συ[νημοσύνης]

10

Τοῦ με παρ' ὠδινέσσι λεχηρέα μόχ[θον] ἔχουσιν

οὐδὲ σφέας ξυνῶν οἶκτος ἔλει[πε] φίλων

[τοῦτο τὸ μῆμεῖόν ἐστιν - - - Γλύκωνος] φιλοσεβάστου νεοποιοῦ στρατηγοῦ

λιτουργοῦ ἐνδόξου κ[αὶ - - - γυναικὸς - - -]

[-----] τούτου τοῦ ἡρώου ἡ γερουσία καὶ οἱ

νεοποιοιχότες καὶ αἱ μέλισσαι τῆς θεοῦ [κῆδονται.]

Translation:

...this monument...with my youthful son, not yet twenty years old I lie among the dead, since all former happiness is perishable.

But I do not lament such a mournful life nor having been snatched away from Glykon's love and from his bed under the sun which is so sweet to all mortals.

By a blameless agreement of my husband the pity of our common friends did not leave me when I was bed-ridden with pains during childbirth. This tomb is...of the wife of the Emperor-loving Glykon, a temple warden, a strategos, an outstanding liturgist and.... The *gerousia* and those who have been temple wardens and the *essenēs* of the goddess take care of this heroon.

- (74) *IEph* 4117.a-d; *FiE* IV, I, p. 93, no. 17: funerary inscription by Iulia Domnula for herself and her family; found in the plaster of the ceiling of the Konzilskirche. Measurements: 104 x 226. Date: Julia Domnula may be a freedwoman of Julia Domna. AD 192-212. Illustration: Figs. 40 & 41.

Ἰουλί[α] Δό[νο]υ[λα τὸ μ]ν[η-]
 μείον κατε[σκέυα]σ[εν ἐ]κ [τ]ῶ-
 ν ἰδίων ἐαυτ[ῇ] καὶ Γαΐω? Ἰουλ[ί]-
 ω Φοίβω τῷ [ἀνδρὶ καὶ Γαίω Ἰο]υ-
 λίω Μελίω[ρ]ι καὶ Γαΐω? Ἰο]υ[λίω] 5
 Φοιβι[α]νῶ· ζ[ῆ] τοῦτο τὸ μ]νη-
 μείον κλη[ρονόμοι]ς [οὐ]κ [ἀ-]
 κολουθήσε[ι]· καὶ Ἰου]λ[ια]νῶ [μετ]ο-
 χῇ καὶ τοῖς ἐγ[γόν]οις.
 τούτου τοῦ μ[ν]ημ[εῖ]ου [ἡ γε]ρ[ουσ]ία κήδεται. 10
 [κα]ὶ [ἀπ]ελευ[θέ]ροις μετοχὴν καὶ ἐγγόνοις αὐτῶν
 ἐκ[τ]ὸς τῆς σοροῦ· ἐὰν δέ τις τὴν σορὸν ἀνοίξει ἐμοῦ
 [τ]εθεΐσας, ἀποτεισέτω τῇ γερουσίᾳ δηνάρια μύρια.
 τούτου τοῦ μνη-
 μείου κ[α]ὶ τῆς [σο-] 15
 [ρ]οῦ ἡ [βουλή] κήδε-
 ται.
 τούτου τοῦ μνη-
 μείου καὶ τῆς σο-
 [ρ]οῦ τὸ κολλήγ[ι-] 20
 ον [τ]ὸ [μ]έγα τῶν
 [Καισαρι]ανῶν κ[ή-]
 δεται.

Translation:

Julia Domnula has prepared this tomb from her own money for herself and for Gaius Julius Phoebus her husband and for Gaius Julius Melior and for Gaius Julius Phoebianus; she lives; this tomb will not pass to the heirs; permission is also granted to Julianus and his descendants. The *gerousia* will take care of this tomb.

A share outside the crypt is also granted to the freedmen and their descendants; but if anyone opens my crypt once I have died, let him pay to the *gerousia* ten thousand denarii.

The *boule* will also take care of this tomb and of this crypt.

The great college of the Augustales will also take care of this tomb and of this crypt.

- (75) *JÖAI* 26 (1930): 17-18, no. II.1-2: funerary inscription from a reused sarcophagus; found in the mausoleum of Claudia Tatiana. Measurements: unknown. Date: the inscription probably belongs to the second use of the sarcophagus. Keil dates the first inscription to the second half of the second century AD, so the second cannot be earlier than the third century AD.

[αὐτ]ῇ ἡ σορός ἐστὶν Ζωτικοῦ Σεβαστῶν ἀπελευθέρου γερουσιαστοῦ

[καὶ] γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ Μουννίας Ῥυφείνας καὶ Αὐρηλίου Μουννίου Ῥουφείνου.

Translation:

This is the tomb of Zoticus, a freedman of the Augusti and a member of the *gerousia*, and of his wife Munnia Rufina and of Aurelius Munnius Rufinus.

- (76) *IEph* 2236c.1-4: sarcophagus of Claudius Antistius Antiochus; unknown findspot. Measurements unknown. Undated.

αὕτη ἡ σορός ἐστὶν Κλαυ(δίου) Ἀντιστίου Ἀντιόχου

Ἐφεσίου γερουσ(ιαστοῦ) καὶ γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ

Αὐρηλίας Ῥουφείνης καὶ τέκνων αὐτῶν

ζῶσιν

Translation:

This is the tomb of Claudius Antistius Antiochus, an Ephesian and a member of the *gerousia*, and of his wife Aurelia Rufina and their children. They are alive.

- (77) *IEph* 2524.1-9; *JÖAI* 53 (1981-1982): 103-104, no. 50; fragment of a base; from the Church of St. John. Measurements: 46 x 45 x 40.5 cm. Undated.

[τα]ῦτα τὰ οἰκήματα

[σ]ὺν τῇ σκουτλώσει

[τ]ῇ Συνναδικῇ καὶ τῇ

[ἐ]ν αὐτοῖς σορῶ κει-

[μ]ένη Συνναδικῇ

καὶ αἱ θῆκαί εἰσιν

Φλαβίας Αὐ[- - καὶ]

Μενεκρ[άτους γερου-]

σιαστοῦ

5

Translation:

These buildings with the marble revetment from Synnada and the marble from Synnada lying within them in the tomb and the graves belong to Flavia Aurelia (?) and Menecrates, a member of the *gerousia*.

- (78) *IEph* 2552.1-2; *JÖAI* 53 (1981-1982): 107, no. 62: fragment of a grave stone; from the Church of St. John. Measurements: 9.5 x 78.5 x 13.5 cm. Undated.

[- - -ο]ι Ἐφέσιοι πρεσβυτέρων [- - -]

[- - ἐ]τερῶ ἐξέσται βληθῆναι ἢ μὴ αὐτοῖς τοῖς [- - -]

Translation:

...the Ephesians of the Elders...it is not permitted for another to be placed within, unless with these very...

- (79) *IEph* 2446.2.1-4: sarcophagus for a member of the *gerousia*; from Panaghir Dag (eastern face). Measurements: 130 x 290 x 135 cm. Undated.

ἡ σορός ἐστιν σὺν ᾧ ἐπίκειται καὶ τῷ πρὸ τῆς σοροῦ ἀνωτέρῳ ἡρωαφίῳ καὶ τῷ

κυκλόσε ἀνετῷ τόπῳ παντὶ καὶ τ[ῷ]ου γερουσια-

στοῦ ὑμνωδοῦ λαμπαδάρχου καὶ γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ Αὐρ(ηλίας) Κυρίλλης καὶ τέκνων

ἐν οἷς οὐδεὶς ἐξέσται ταφῆναι, ἐπεὶ δώσει τῇ συνεργασίᾳ

τῶν λινύφων Χ μύ(ρια)· οἷς καὶ καθιέρωσεν Χ,ε·

ζῶσιν.

Translation:

The tomb with what lies within it and with the grave altar in front of the tomb and with all the consecrated circular area and with...belong to...a member of the *gerousia*, a *hymnodos* and leader of the torch race and his wife Aurelia Cyrilla and their children; among whom it is not lawful for anyone to be buried; otherwise, he will give to the college of *linuphoi* ten thousand denarii; and he will donate to them five thousand denarii; they are alive.

- (80) *IEph* 2225.1-3; *JÖAI* 52 (1978-1980): 54-55, no. 109; *AE* 1981: 432: sarcophagus for a member of the *gerousia*; found forty minutes east of the Magnesian Gate. Measurements: 50 x 212 x 87. Undated.

γερουσιαστοῦ

αὕτη ἡ σορός ἐστιν Αὐρ(ηλίου) Ἡσυχίου Πλακουντᾶ καὶ γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ

Αὐρ(ηλίας) Ἐλπίδος καὶ τέκνων· ζῶσιν.

Translation:

This is the tomb of Aurelius Hesychion the baker, a member of the *gerousia*, and his wife, Aurelia Elpis, and their children; they are alive.

- (81) *IEph* 1648.1-10; *GIBM* 648; Oliver, *SG* 17: funerary inscription for Publia Iulia Beryla; unknown findspot. Lines 1-3 and 6-10 were inscribed at the same time, but lines 4-5 appear to have been "inserted in smaller characters of different style, as an afterthought" (Hicks). Measurements: 42.3 x 74cm. Undated. Illustration: Fig. 42.

τὸ μνημεῖόν ἐστι

Ποπλίας <Ἰ>ουλείας <ς> Βηρύλας καὶ

τὰ τέκνα αὐτῆς· ζῶσιν.

καὶ τοῦ συνβίου αὐτῆς Μενάν-

δρου· vacat ζῆ·
 Τάλου υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ ζῆ· καὶ
 Ῥωσκιλίας Εὐτυχίας γυναικὸς
 αὐτοῦ. τοῦτο τὸ μνημῆον
 εἰάν τις πωλήσῃ, ἀποτείσσει
 τῇ γερουσίᾳ Χ,ε'.

10

Translation:

This is the tomb of Publia Julia Beryla and her children, who are alive; and of her husband Menander, who is alive; and of his son Talus, who is alive; and of Roscilia Eutychia his wife. If anyone should sell this tomb, he will pay to the *gerousia* five thousand denarii.

(82) *IEph* 2266.1-14: bilingual funerary inscription by Hellenia Meroe for herself; found in a building beyond Domitian-Street. Measurements: 88 x 69 x 30cm.

Undated. Illustration: Fig. 43.

v(ivit) Hellenia Sex(ti) l(iberta) Meroe sibi et

P(ublio) Castricio Valenti viro suo·

Ἑλληνία Σέξτου ἀπελευθέρᾳ Μερὸν· ζῆ·
 ἑαυτῇ καὶ [Πούπ]λίῳ Καστρικίῳ Οὐάλεντι
 ἀνδρὶ ἰδίῳ καὶ Βάσσῳ καὶ Ἰουκούνδῳ
 καὶ Πουπλίῳ Καστρικίῳ Ἑρμᾶ· ζῆ· καὶ

5

Καστρικίᾳ Τυχικῇ καὶ

Πουπλίῳ Καστρικίῳ Νυμφοδότῳ· ζῆ· καὶ Κασ-
 τρικίᾳ Τραλλίδι· ζῆ· καὶ Πουπλίῳ Καστρικίῳ Στε-
 φάνῳ· ζῆ· καὶ [Κασ]τρ(ικίῳ) Ἑλ]ληνίῳ Ἀγαθόποδι· ζῆ·
 καὶ τοῖς τούτων ἐγγόνοις· τοῦτο τὸ μνημεῖον
 κληρονόμοις οὐκ ἀκολουθήσεται· τούτου τοῦ
 μνημείου ἡ γερουσία κήδεται·

10

h(oc) m(onumentum) h(eredem) n(on) s(equetur).

Translation:

(Latin) Hellenia Meroe, freedwoman of Sextus, who is alive, has built this for herself and for Publius Castricius Valens, her husband. This monument will not pass to her heirs.

(Greek) Hellenia Meroe the freedwoman of Sextus, who is alive, has built this for herself and for Publius Castricius Valens her husband and for Bassus and Iucundus and Publius Castricius Hermas, who is alive; and for Castricia Tychice and for Publius Castricius Nymphodotus, who is alive; and for Castiricius Trallis, who is alive; and for Publius Castricius Stephanus, who is alive; and for Castricius Hellenius Agathopus, who is alive; and for the descendants of these people; this tomb will not pass to her heirs; the *gerousia* will take care of this tomb.

- (83) *IEph* 1636.6-17; *Hermes* 4 (1870): 209, no. 18; *CIL* III 6087; *GIBM* 636; Oliver, *SG* 13: funerary inscription for Claudia Magna; unknown find-spot. Measurements: 80 x 47.5 x 50 cm. Undated.

Κλαυδία Μάγνα

Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου

Διογνήτου γυνή

μάμμη ἰδία·

ὅς ἂν ταῦτα τὰ γράμ-

ματα ἐκκόψῃ ἢ

ἀλλότρια ὅσῃ βαλῇ,

ὑπεύθυνος ἔστω τῇ

γερουσίᾳ ἄσιν·

καὶ τοῖς ταμίαις τῆς

πόλεως ἄσιν·

ἔζησεν ἔτη λη' μῆνες β' ὥρας δ'.

Translation:

The wife of Tiberius Claudius Diognetes built this for her own mother Claudia Magna; whoever strikes out these letters or inters the bones of someone else will be liable to the *gerousia* for two hundred and fifty denarii and to the treasurers of the city two hundred and fifty denarii. She lived thirty-eight years, two months and four hours.

- (84) *IEph* 2299B.1-14: two sarcophagi for Paulina and her family; from the Hermaion. Measurements: 80 x 70 x ? cm, 82 x 217 x 80 cm. Undated.

[ταύτην τ]ήν σορὸν ἐ[ποίησεν ἑαυτῇ] - - -]

[- - Παυλ]εῖνα· ζῆ· καὶ Φλαουία . [- - -]

εἰ μὴ . [- - -]λία Γναίου θυγατρὶ Παυλίῃ

[- καὶ Φ]λαουίᾳ Τυράννῳ τῷ ἀνδρί·

οὐδενὶ δὲ ἐξέσ-
ται πωλῆσαι τοῦτο τὸ μνημεῖον ἢ τὰς ἐπι-

κειμένας vacat σοροὺς ἢ εἰσενεχθῆναι ἢ τεθῆναι εἰς αὐτὸ

ἢ εἰς τὰς σοροὺς βληθῆναι· ὁμοίως οὐδενὶ ἐξέσται τῶν κειμένων τινὰ

μεταθεῖναι ἢ βαστάσαι ἢ μετεπιγράψαι τι τῶν ἐπιγεγραμμένων ἢ ἕτερόν τι

προσγράψαι

ἢ ἐκκόψαι ἢ ποιῆσαι τι ὑπεναντίον τοῖς ἐνκεχαραγμένοις· εἰ δὲ μή, ὁ

τολμήσας τι

παρὰ τὰ προγεγραμμένα ἢ ποιήσας< > τι ὑπεναντίον τούτοις

ἀποδώσει τῇ Ἐφεσίων βουλῇ δην(άρια) μ(ύρια) α', βφ'

καὶ τῇ Ἐφεσίων γερουσίᾳ δην(άρια) μ(ύρια) α', βφ'

ἐξουσίας οὐσης παντὶ τῷ

βουλομένῳ ἀγειν περὶ τού-

του.

Translation:

Paulina, who is alive, made this tomb for herself, and for Flavia...unless...for Paulina the daughter of Gnaeus...and for Flavius Tyrannus her husband; it is not permitted to anyone to buy this tomb or the associated tombs or to bury anyone in them or to insert anyone into these tombs; in the same way it is not permitted to anyone to remove any of those who are buried or to cast them out or to alter any of those things which have been inscribed or to add anything additional or to strike out or do anything contrary to these rules; otherwise, the one who has dared or has done anything against these rules will pay to the *boule* of the Ephesians twelve thousand five hundred denarii and to the *gerousia* of the Ephesians twelve thousand five hundred denarii, with responsibility for this lying with any who wish to act.

(85) *JÖAI* 55 (1984): 124 no. 4265.1-15; *SEG* 34, 1140: funerary inscription for Poseas the son of Artemon and others; found near the Magnesian gate. Measurements: 59 x 38 x 29 cm. Undated.

τὸ μνημῆον	
Ποσίου τοῦ Ἀρτέ-	
μωνος καὶ Διοκλέ-	
ους τοῦ Ἀπολλωνί-	
ου.	5
Ἀπολλώνιος Ἀντίγονος	
Ἀρτέμωνος Ἀντίγονου	
τοῦ Ποσίου, ζῆ· ζῆ	
Γράπτη ζῆ Ἀντίγονος	
Ἀρτέμωνος Ἀντίγονου	10
Γάιος Λόλ-	Γάιος ζῆ
λιος Ροῦ Πλωτία· Ἐλ-	
φος ζῆ. πς· ζῆ	
τούτου τοῦ μνημῆου	
[ἡ γερ]ουσία κή[δεται.]	15

Translation:

This is the tomb of Poseas the son of Artemon and of Diocles the son of Apollonius; Apollonius the son Artemon the son of Poseas, who is alive; Grapte the daughter of Artemon, who is alive; Gaius Lollius Rufus, who is alive. Antigonus the son of Antigonus, who is alive; Antigonus Gaius the son of Antigonus, who is alive; Plotia Elpis, who is alive. The *gerousia* shall have care of this tomb.

(86) *JÖAI* 55 (1984): 140 no. 4364.1-4; *SEG* 34, 1159: funerary inscription for an individual of the tribe Quirina; fragment of a sarcophagus found near the Church of St. John. Measurements: 38.5 x 95 x 17.5 cm. Undated.

[αὕτη ἡ σορός·] ἐστίν
[----- K]υρεῖνα

[- ταύτης τῆς] σοροῦ
[κήδεται ἡ γερο]υσία.

Translation:

This is the tomb of...of the tribe Quirina...the *gerousia* has care of this tomb.

(87) *IEph* 2437.1-2: fragment of a funerary inscription for an unnamed individual; found built into the theatre. Measurements: 115 x 120 x 30 cm. Undated.

[- - - -] μου ἡ βουλὴ κήδεται
[- - - μο]υ ἡ γερουσία κήδεται.

Translation:

...the *boule* has care of my tomb...the *gerousia* has care of my tomb.

(88) *IEph* 2549B.1-2; *JÖAI* 53 (1981-1982): 114, no. 87: fragment of a funerary inscription for an unnamed individual; from the Church of St. John. Measurements: 17 x 24 x 6.5 cm. Undated.

[- - - -τ]οῦ μν[ημείου τούτου κήδεται]
[- - - ἡ γε]ρουσία κα[ὶ - - -]

Translation:

...the *gerousia* and the...have care of this tomb.

(89) *ZPE* 91 (1992): 291, nos 19-20: funerary inscription for Artemon and others; unspecified findspot. Measurements: 57 x 37cm. Undated. Illustration: Fig. 44.

Ἀρτεμῶ Μητροδῶ[ρου,]

1

Μυραλλίς Δημητρίο[υ,]

Φρύνιχος Ἀγήσωνος,

Ἀγήσων Ἀγήσωνος.

τοῦ μνημείου

1

καὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ

Στράτων πραγματικὸς

ἀπὸ γερουσία[ς] κήδεται

Translation:

This tomb belongs to Artemon the son of Metrodorus, Myrallis the daughter of Demetrius, Phrynichus the son of Hageson and Hageson the son of Hageson.

Straton the *pragmatikos* of the *gerousia* has care of this tomb and altar.

(90) *IEph* 2514.1-4; *JÖAI* 53 (1981-1982): 95, no. 20: fragment of a funerary inscription; from the Church of St. John. Measurements: 18 x 20 x 3.7 cm. Undated.

[- - - - -] μένων [- -]

[- - - - -] μετακεινῇ-

[σαι ἢ γράμματα ἐκκ]όψαι, ὑπεύ-

[θυνος ἔστω τῇ γε]ρουσίᾳ X βφ'

Translation:

...[if anyone dares] to remove the bones or to strike out the letters, let him be liable to the *gerousia* for two thousand five hundred *denarii*.

(91) *JÖAI* 69 (2000): 92, no. 32.1-4. Fragment from a *heroon*; found on the south side of Arcadiane street. Measurements: 115 x 95-100 cm. Undated.

[- - - -]κήδεται

[- - - ή γερ]ουσία

Translation:

... the *gerousia* has care [of this tomb]....

APPENDIX II: Maps and Additional Figures

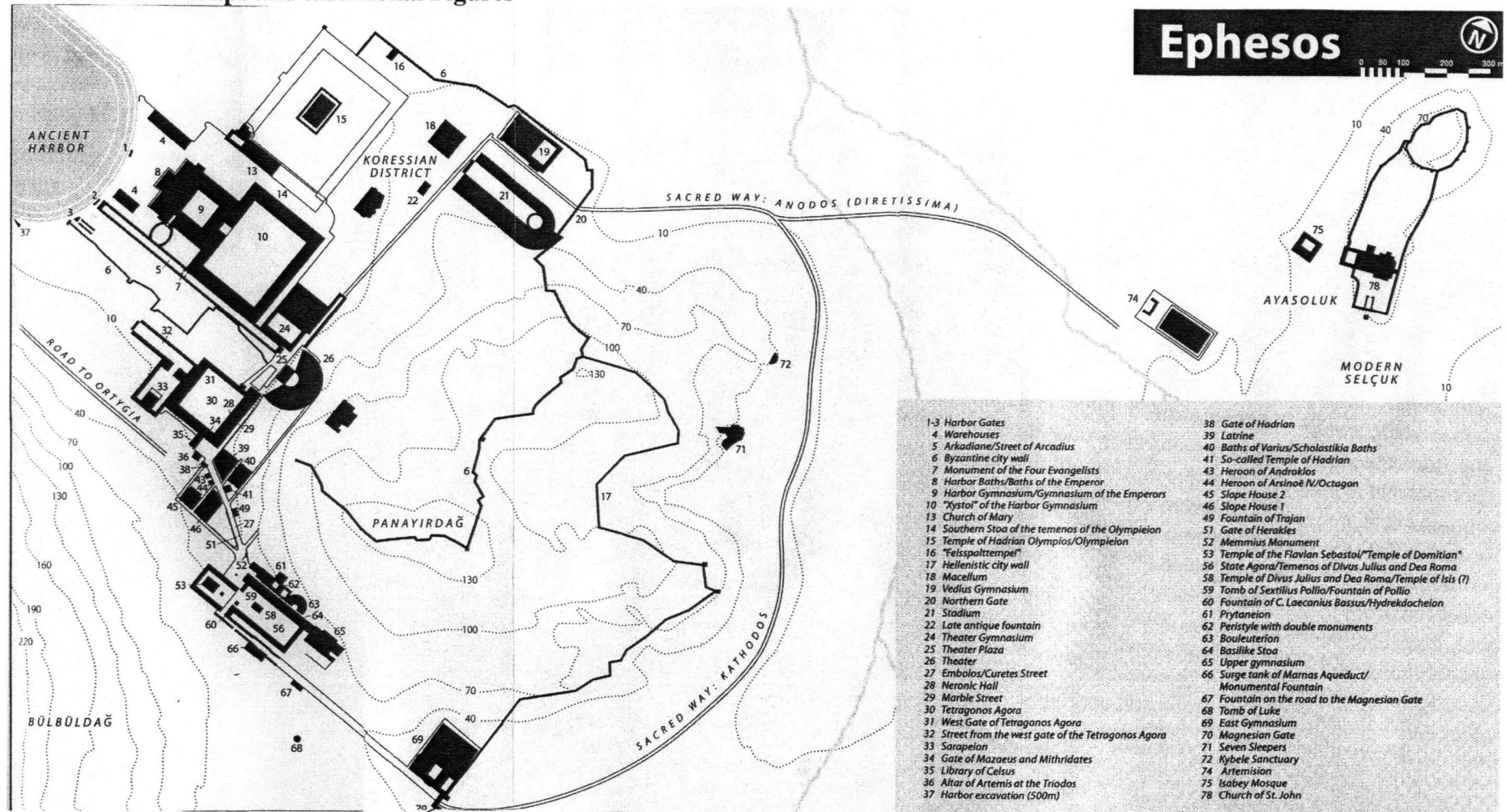


Figure 3: Excavated City Centre of Ephesus (White 2004)

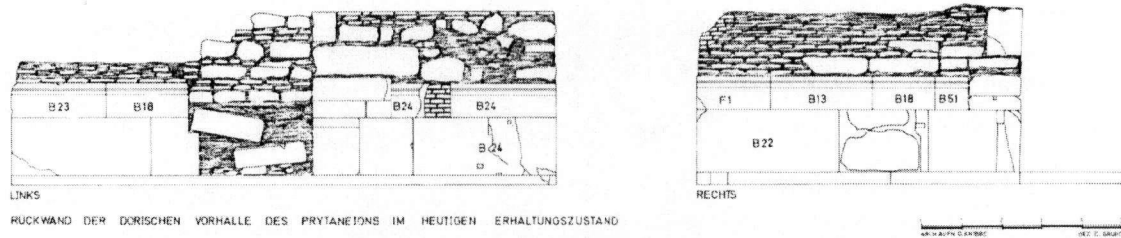
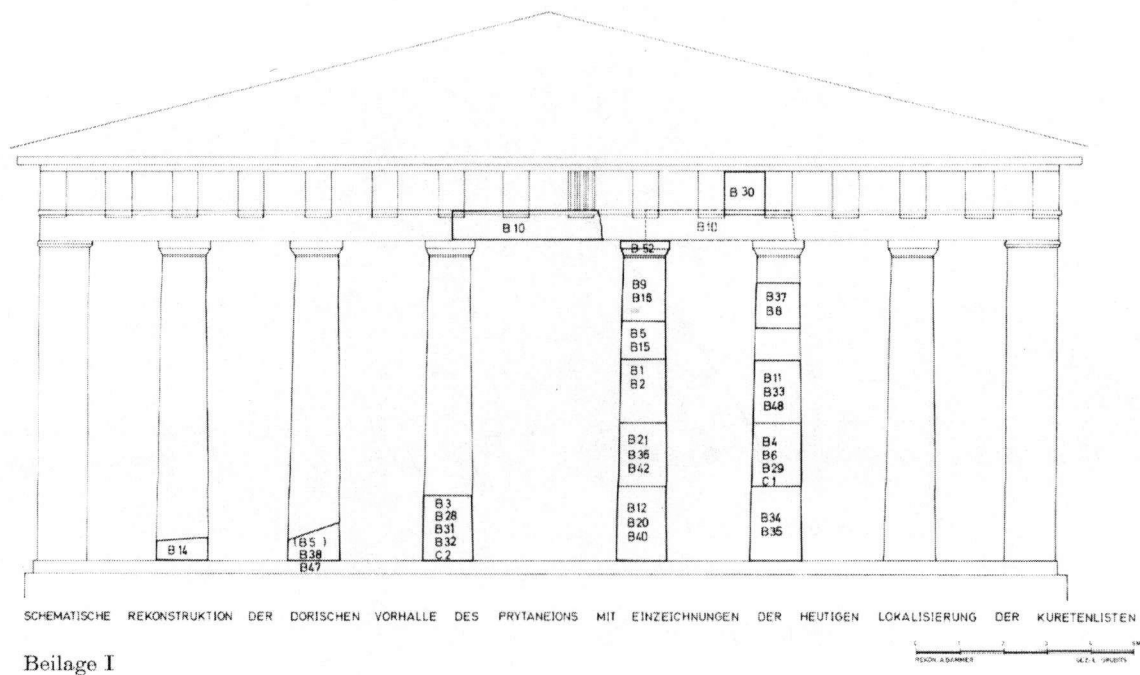


Fig. 4: Reconstructed Elevation of the *Prytaneion* (FiE IX/I, Beilage I & II)

ΕΔΟΞΕΝΤΗΒΟΥΛΗΚΑΙΤΑΔΗΜΟΛΗΡΟΓΕΙΤΑΝΕΙΓΕΝΤΕΡΙΑΝΟΙΝΕΛΓΟΙΔΙΚΑΙΟΙΚΟΥΡΗΤΕΧΚΑΤΑΣΤΑΘΕΝΤΕΣΔΙΕΛΕΧΘΗΣΑΝ
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Fig. 5: Cat. no. 1, line drawing (*FiE IX/VI*,
Tafel I, A2)

ΝΔΙΑΣ
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 ΝΕΓΙΚΑΝΤΑΝΥΓΕΡ
 ΟΥ ΛΥΛΗΤΟΥΔΕΔΟΧΘΑΙ
 ΗΚΑΙΤΑΔΗΜΟΛΙΕΓΑΙΝΕΣ
 ΝΔΙΣΜΗΝΟΔΑΡΟΥΒΟΙΛΤΙΟΝ
 ΝΚΑΙΣΤΕΦΑΝΑΣΑΙΑΥΤΟΝ
 ΕΦΑΝΟΙΚΑΙΑΝΑΓΓΕΙΛΑΙ
 ΙΤ'

Fig. 6: Cat. no. 2, line drawing (*GIBM*, 470)

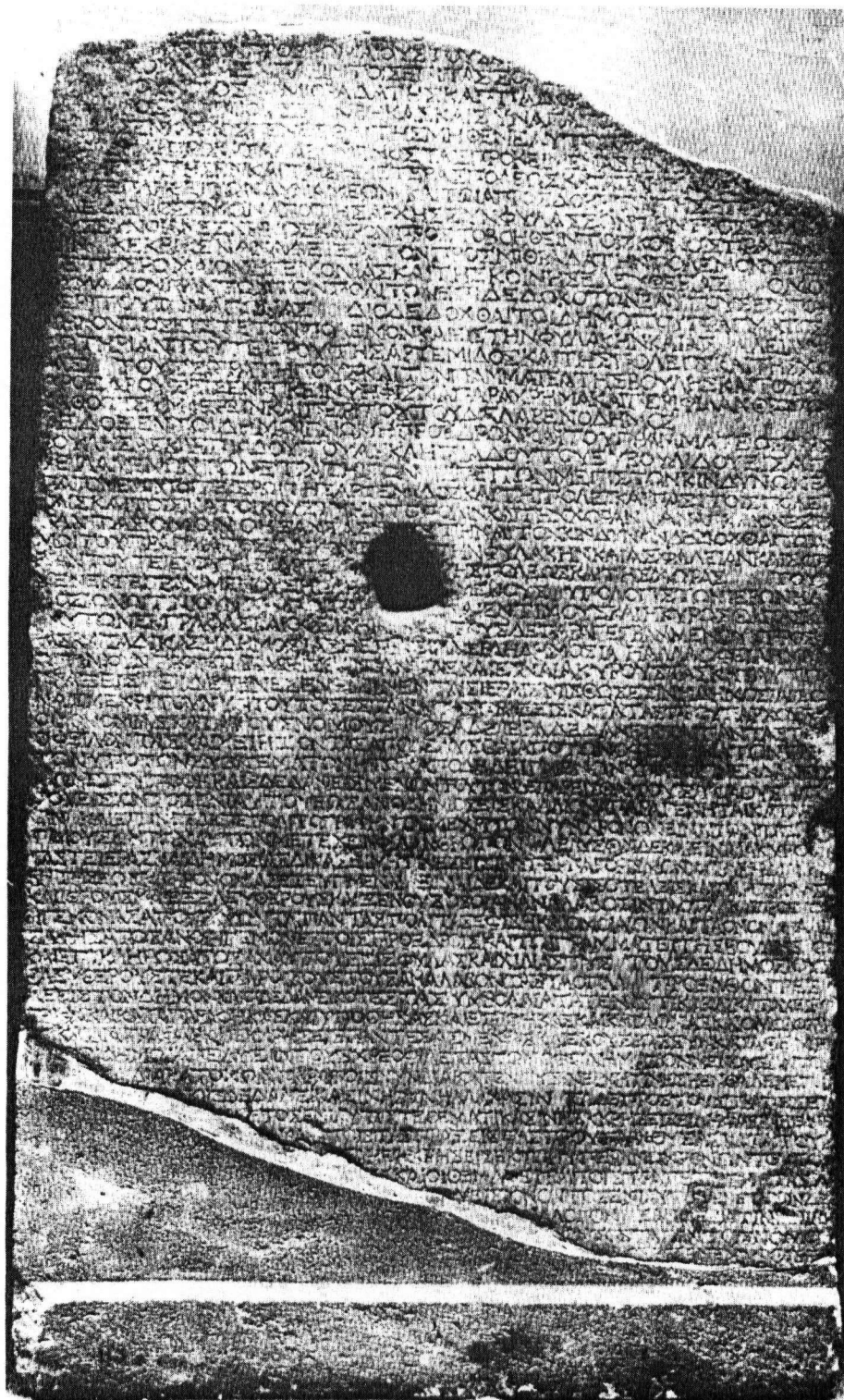


Fig. 7: Cat. no. 3, photo (*IEph* Vol. I, Tafel X, no. 8)

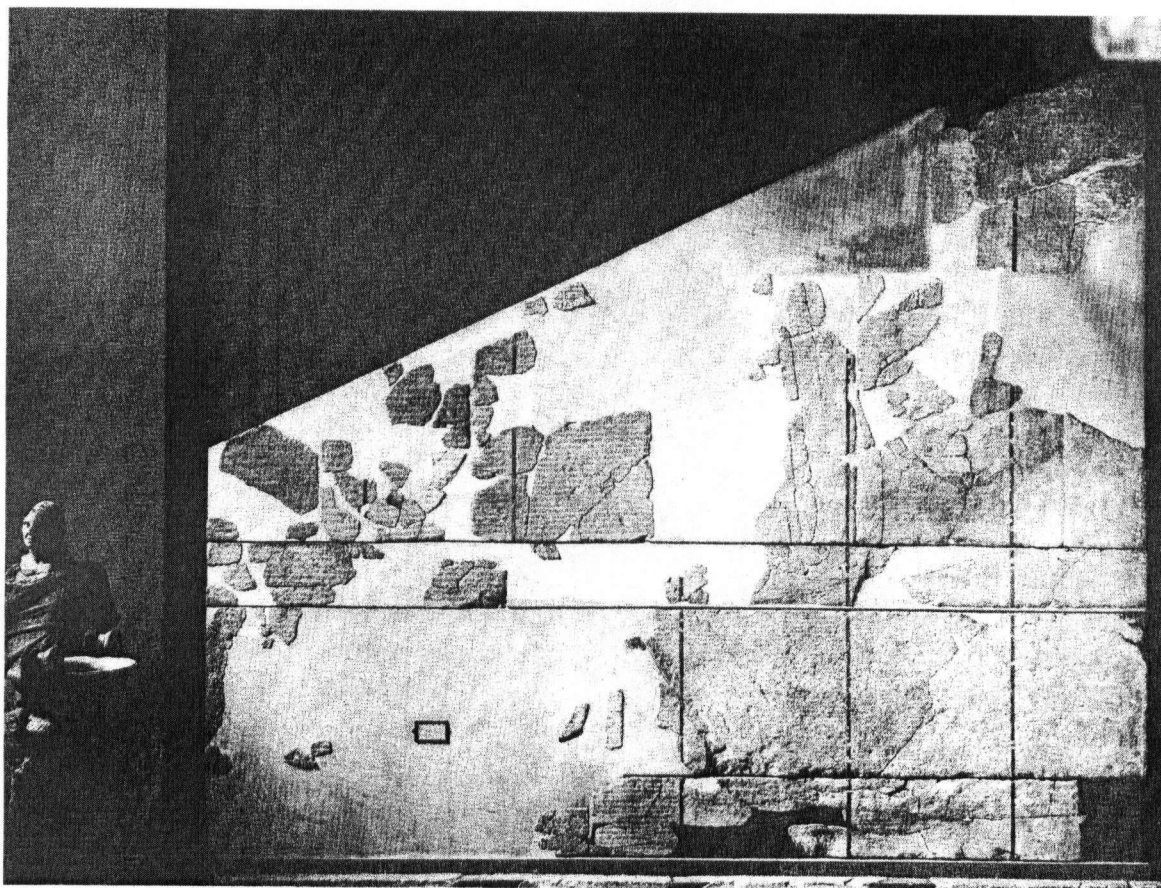


Fig. 8: Cat. nos. 15, 53 & 54, photo (*IEph* Vol. I, Tafel 35, no. 27)



Fig. 9: Cat. no. 17, photo, fragments a & b (*IEph* Vol. I, Tafel 25)

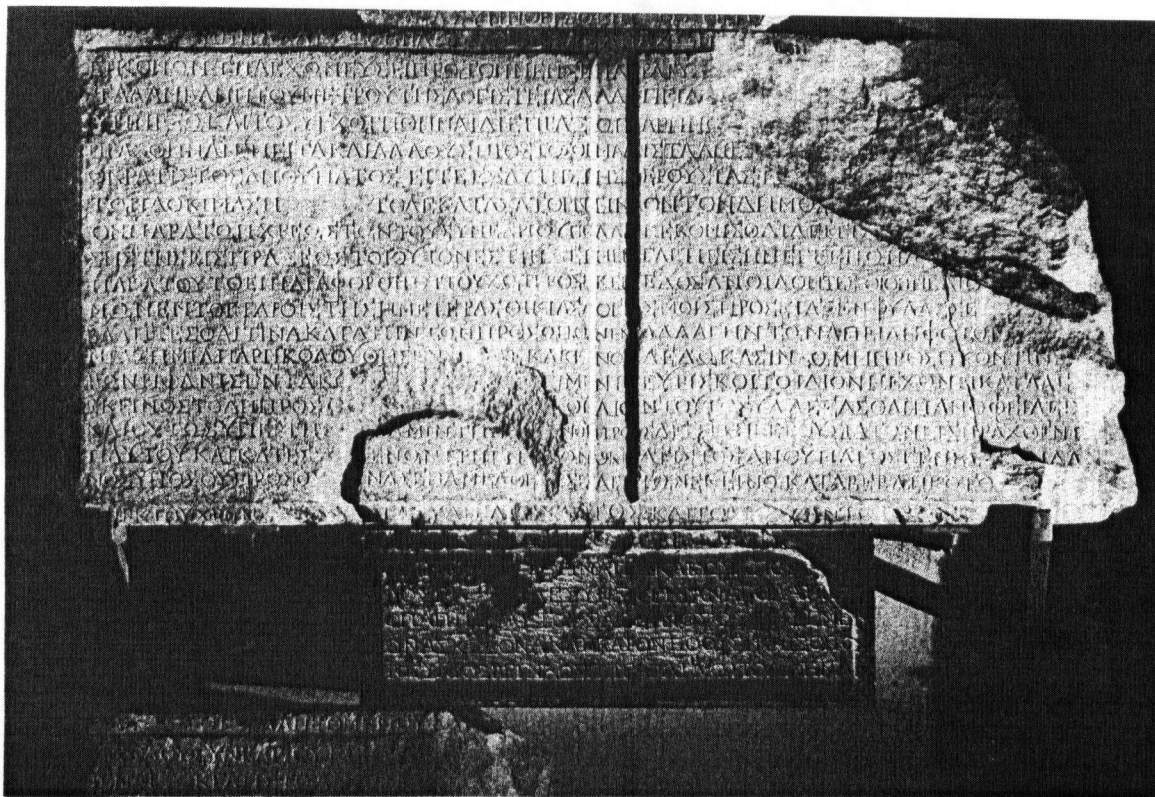


Fig. 10: Cat. no. 17, photo, fragments c & d (*IEph* Vol. I, Tafel 26)

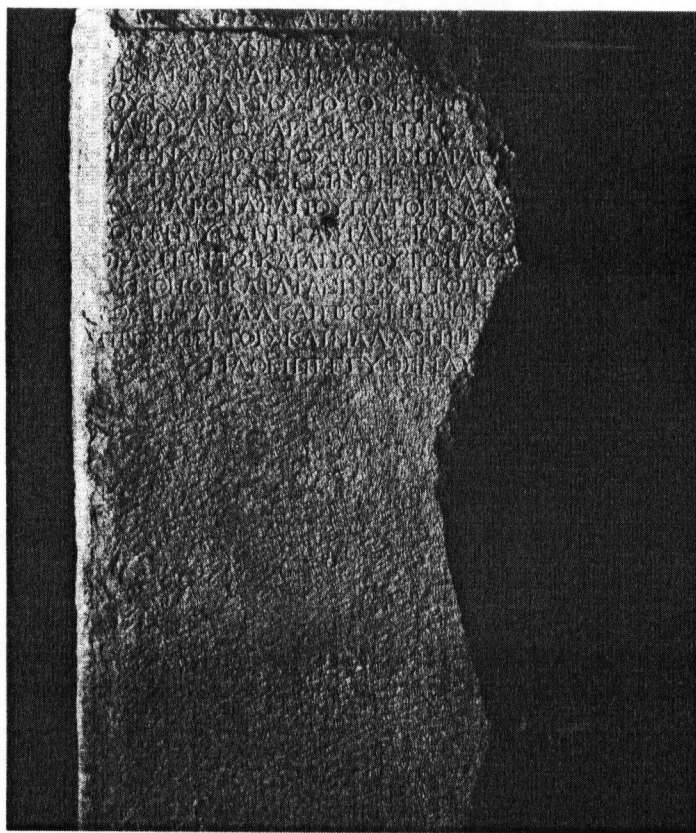


Fig. 11: Cat. no. 17, photo, fragment e (*IEph* Vol. I, Tafel 27)



Fig. 12: Cat. no. 17, line drawing (FiE II, p. 120, no. 23)

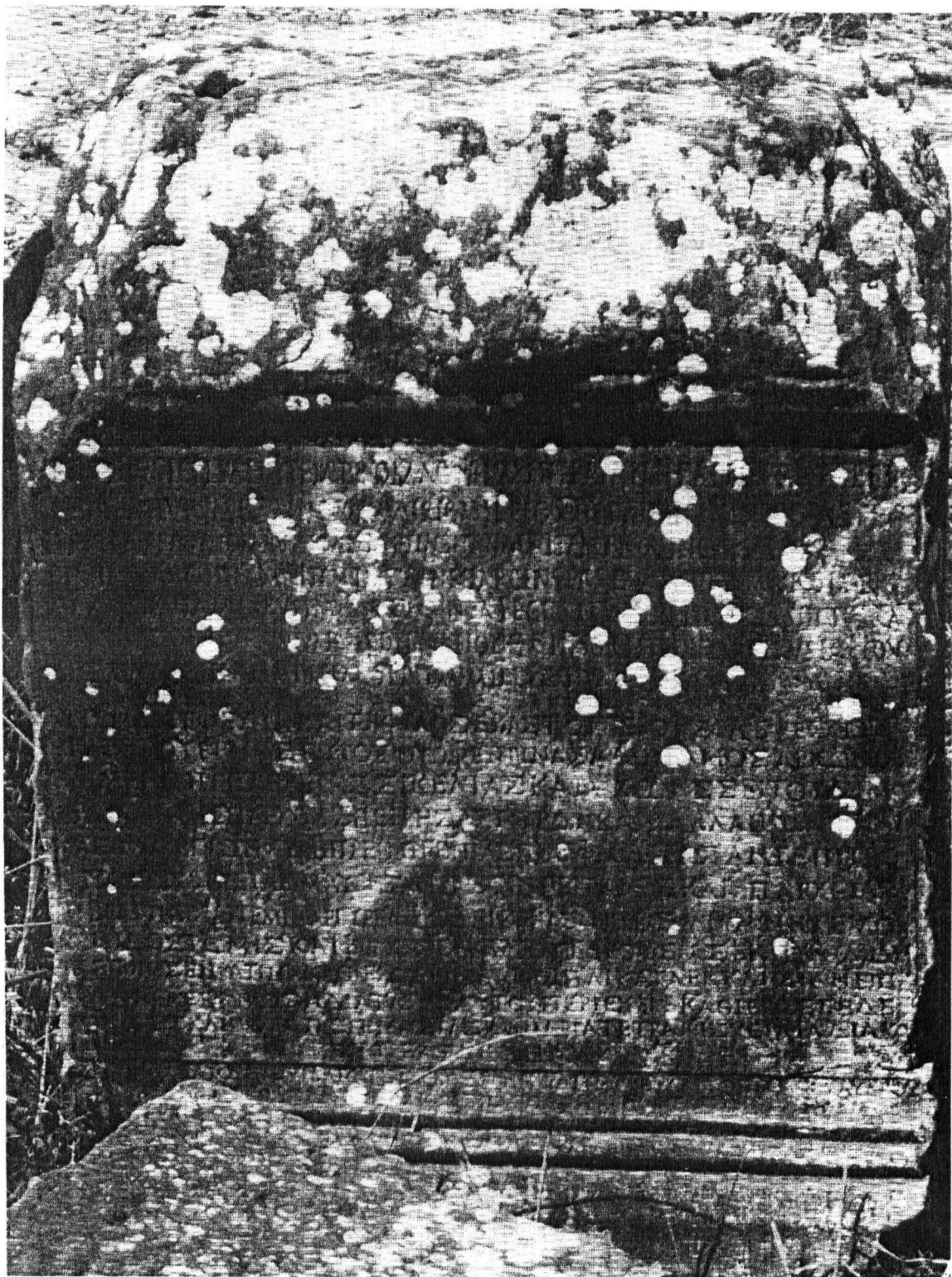


Fig. 13: Cat. no. 19, photo (*IEph* Vol. I, Tafel 31)

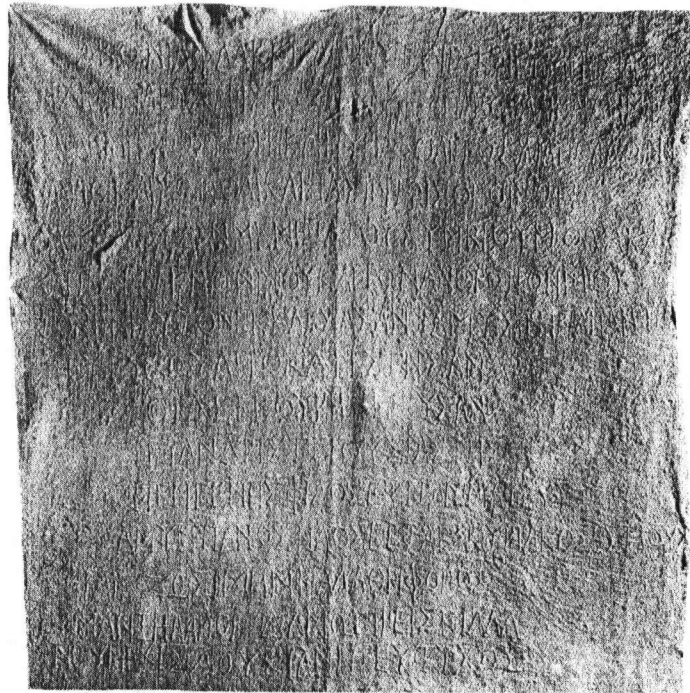


Fig. 14: Cat. no. 21, squeeze (*FIE IX/I/I*, *Tafel XXVIII*, C1)

ΦΙΛΟΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ Ν(ε
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ΑΡΧΗΝ ΕΠΙΤΕΛΕΣΑΣ
ΜΕΤΑ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΑΔΕΛ
ΦΟΥ ΔΙΟΓΕΝΟΥΣ
αγα)ΘΗ ΤΥΧΗ
εὐχαρι)ΣΤΩΣΟΙ ΚΥΡΙΑ
Αρ)ΤΕΜΙ Τ. ΦΛ. ΑΣΚΛΗ
ΠΙΟΔΩΡΟΣ ΝΕΟΠΟΙΟΣ
ΑΥΘΑΙΡΕΤΟΣ ΕΚΤΕΛΕΣΑΣ
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ΓΑΤΡΙ ΜΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΤΩ ΣΥΜΗ
ΝΩ ΜΟΥ ΑΥΡ. ΕΠΑΓΑΘΩ
ΚΑΙ ΝΥΚΤΟΦΥΛΑΚΗΣΑΣ
ΤΑΣ ΔΥΟ ΝΥΚΤΟΦΥΛΑΚΑΣ
ΕΚ ΤΩΝ ΙΔΙ(ων
ΜΕΤΕΧΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΣ ΦΙΛΟΣΕΒΑ
ΣΤΟΥ ΓΕΡΟΥΣΙΑΣ ΦΥ. ΑΝΤΩΝΙΑ
ΝΗΣ Χ ΠΑΙΑΝΙΕΥΣ.

Fig. 15: Cat. no. 22, line drawing (*AD 7* [1921-2]: 113, abb. 28)

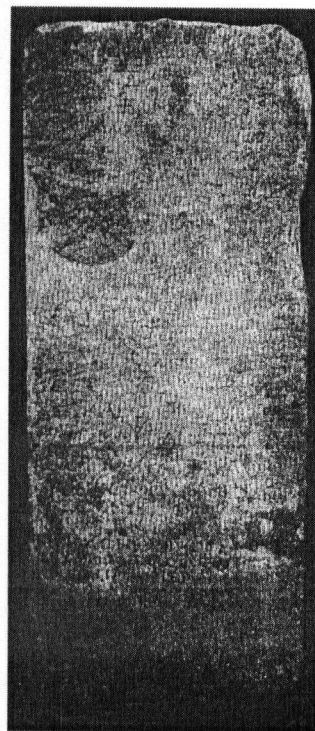


Fig. 16: Cat. no. 22, photo (*AD 7* [1921-2]: 113, abb. 28)

ΟΚΗΡΥΚΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ
 ΤΟ ΠΝΕΙΝΟΥ ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΩ
 (Two lines here anciently erased.)

(In rather larger letters.)

ΑΓΑΘΗ ~ ΤΥΧΗ
 ΑΥΡ ~ ΑΓΑΘΟΠΟΥΣ ~ ΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΤΩ
 ΛΘΕΩ - ΚΑΙ Η ΚΥΡΙΑΣ ΩΤΕΙ
 ΙΚΑΙ ΤΗ ΤΥΧΗ ΗΣ ΓΕΡΟΥ
 ΛΙΑΣ ~ ΟΤΙ ΗΝ ΠΙΣΤΙΝ ~ ΕΗ
 ΡΗΣΑ ~ Η ΓΕΡΟΥΣΙΑ ΣΥΝ ΚΑΙ
 ΟΙΣ ΕΜΟΙΣ ~ ~ ΠΑΣΙΝ
 Ο ΑΥΤΟΣ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΥΣ -
 ΑΙ ΓΥΜΝΑΣΙΑΡΧΟΣ ~
 ~ ΕΥΤΥΧΩΣ ~

Fig. 17: Cat. no. 23, line drawing (GIBM 587a+b)

ΑΓΑΘΗ ~ ΤΥΧΗ
 Μ ~ ΑΥΡ ~ ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΕ
 ΑΤΤΑΛΟΥ ~ ΦΙΛΟ
 ΓΕΡΟΥΣΙΑΣ ΤΗ
 5 ΠΟΙΟΣ ΑΓΟΡΑΝΟΡ
 ΑΓΝΟΣΑΙ ΤΟΥΡΓΟ
 ΕΝΔΟΤ
 ΚΑΙ ~ Μ ~ ΑΥ
 ΑΡΤΕΜ
 10 ΠΑΤΡΟ
 ΣΙΑΣΤ
 ΠΟΙΟ
 ΟΛΥ

Fig. 18: Cat. no. 26, line drawing (GIBM 575)



Fig. 19: Cat. no. 31, squeeze (JÖAI 48 [1966-7]: 13-14, abb. 6)



Fig. 20: Cat. no. 32, photo (*ZPE* 120 [1998]: 71, no. 8)

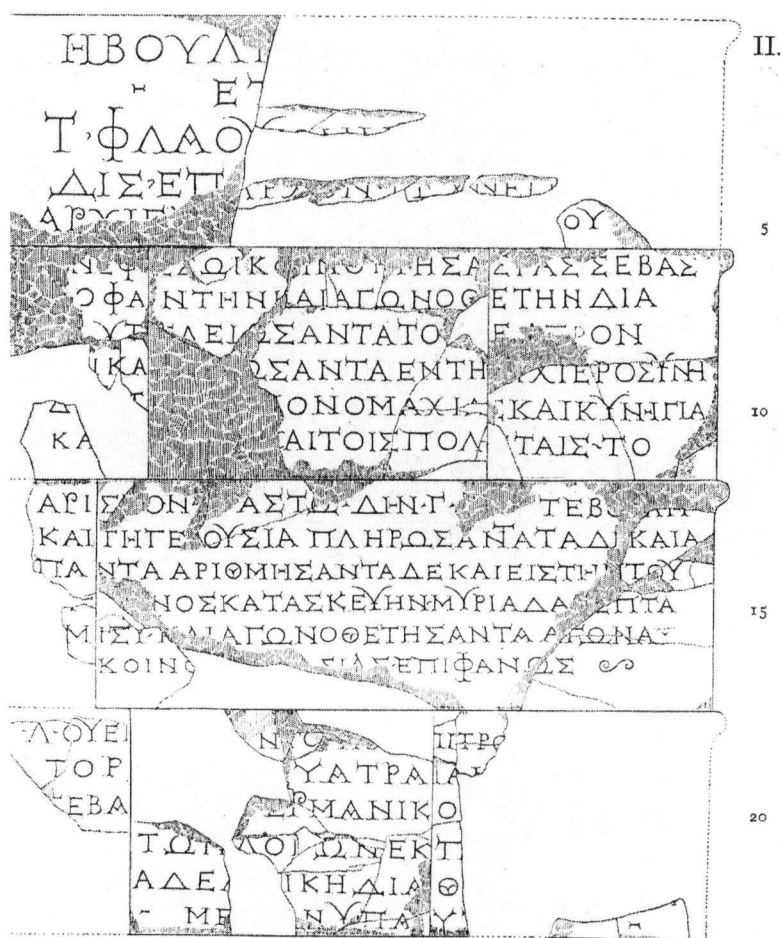


Fig. 21: Cat. no. 39, line drawing (*FiE* II, p. 175, no. 61.II)

ΑΓΑΘΗΤΥΧΗ
ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΣ
ΒΑΣΣΟΣ
ΓΕΡΟΥΣΙΑΣΤΗΣ

Fig. 22: Cat. no. 40, line drawing (*BCH* 10 [1886]: 517, no. 8)

· TI · CLAVDIO · f
SEC V N D o
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ACCENSO · VELAT o lict o
5 RI · CVRIATO · GERV sia ho
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Η ΓΕΡΟΥΣΙΑ ΕΤΕΙΜ ητεν
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ΟΥΙΑΤΟΡΑ ΤΡΙΒΟΥ νικιον
10 ΑΚΚΗΝΞΟΝ ΟΥΗΛ ατον
ΛΕΙΚΤΟΡΑ ΚΟΥΡΙΑΤ ιον
ΕΚ ΤΩΝ ΙΔΙΩΝ

Fig. 23: Cat. no. 43, line drawing (*CIL* III.6078)

ΙΟΥ Ξ ΥΜΝΩΔΟΥ
ΙΕΡΟΚΗΡΥΞ·ΓΡΑΜ
ΜΑΤΕΥΣΑΔΡΙΑΝΕΙΩΝ
ΥΜΝΩΔΟΣΝΕΜΗΣ
ΒΟΥΛΙΣΓΕΡΟΥΣΙΑΣ
ΧΡΥΣΟΦΟΡΩΝ
ΗΓΩΝΙΣΑΤΟΑΓΩΝΑΣ
ΤΡΕΙΣΕΣΤΕΦΘΗΔΥΩ
ΑΓΩΝΟΟΕΤΟΥΝΟΣ
ΔΙΑΙΩΝΟΣ·ΤΙΒ·ΙΟΥΛ
ΡΗΓΕΙΝΟΥΑΣΙΑΡΧΟΥ·Β
ΝΑΩΝΤΩΝΕΝΕΦΕΣΩ
ΗΣΦΙΙ·ΤΕΝΑΕΗΡΙΔΟΣ

Fig. 24: Cat. no. 44, line drawing (*GIBM* 604)



Fig. 25: Cat. no. 47, squeeze (*FiE* IV, III, p. 283, no 30, abb. 5)



Fig. 26: Cat. no. 48, photo (*JÖAI* 49 [1968-71]: 57, abb. 25)

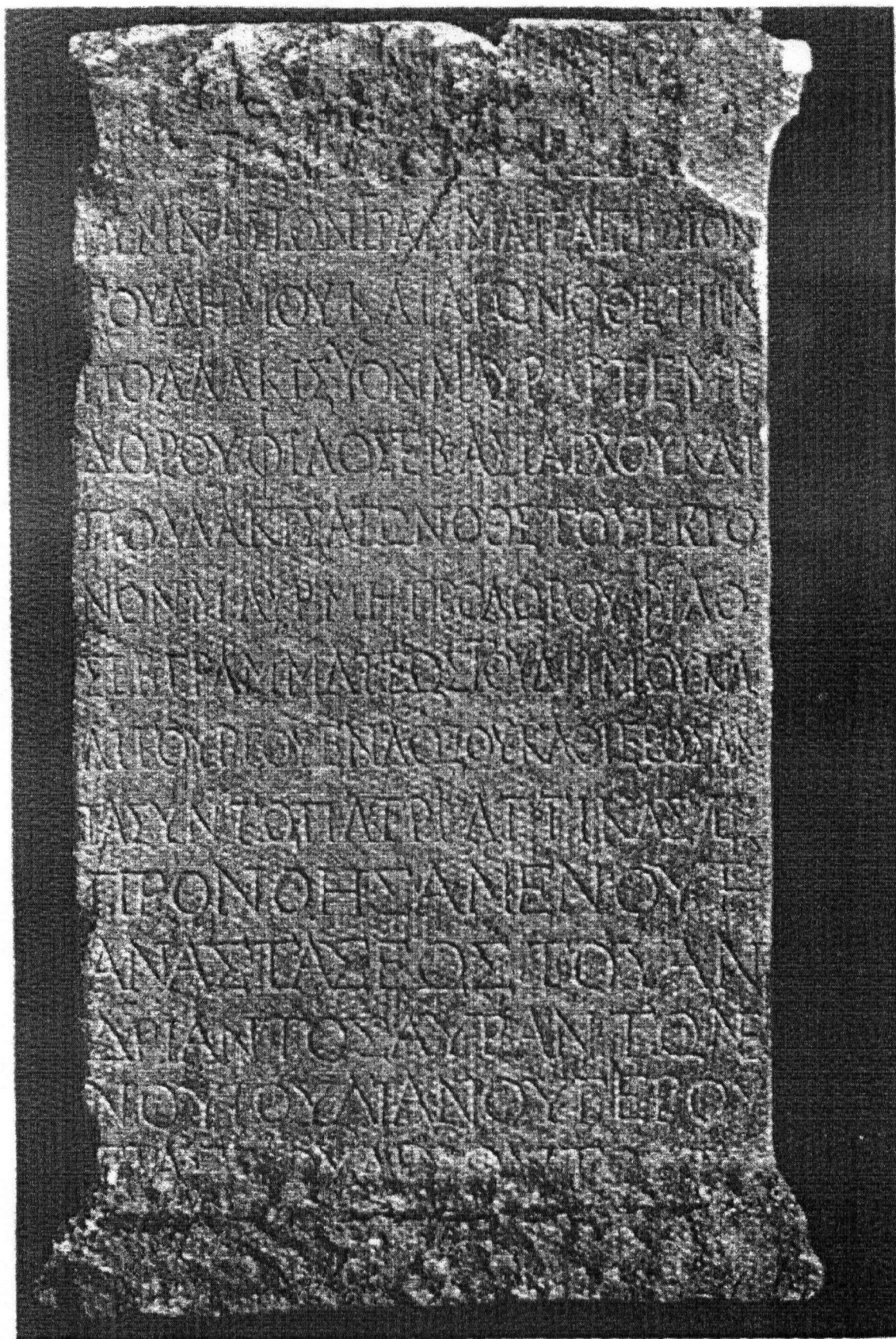


Fig. 27: Cat. no. 49, photo (*FiE* III, p. 143, no. 58)



Kolumne 5 Z. 410—469



Kolumne 6 Z. 553—568

Fig. 28: Cat. no. 55, photo (*IEph* Vol. I, Tafel 36)

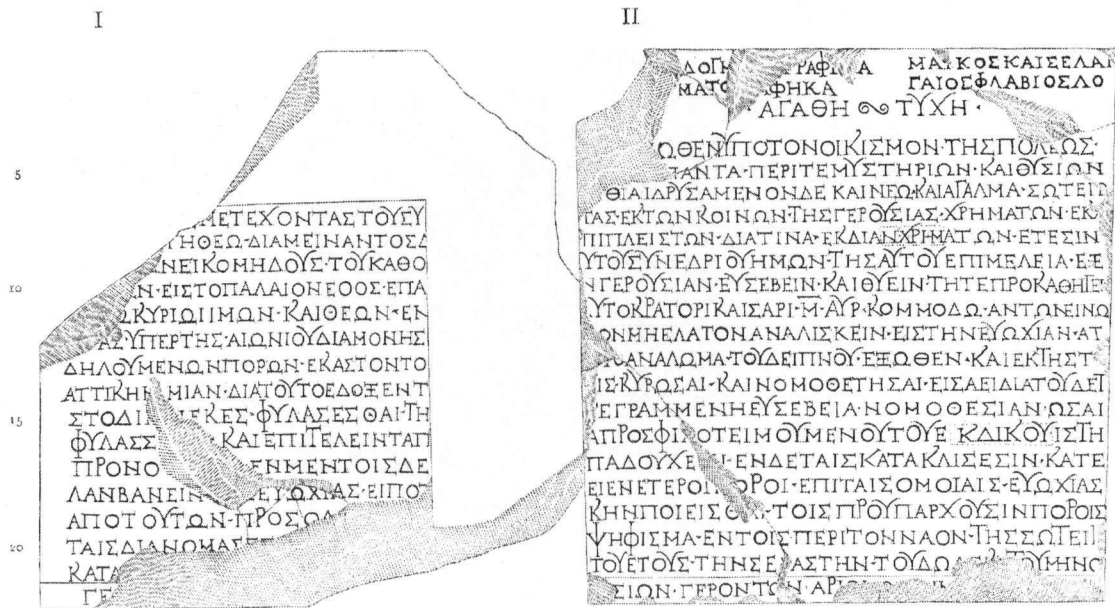
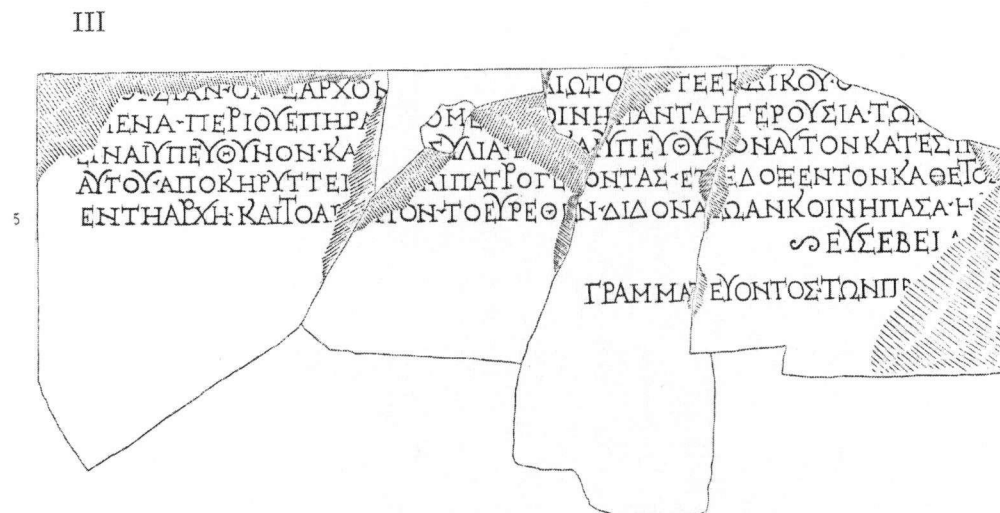
Fig. 29: Cat. no. 56, line drawing, fragments 1 & 2 (*FiE* II, p. 109, no. 20)Fig. 30: Cat. no. 56, line drawing, fragment 3 (*FiE* II, p. 110, no. 20)



Fig. 32: Cat. no. 61, squeeze (*FiE IX/I/I*, Tafel XIV, B29)



Fig. 33: Cat. no. 62, squeeze (*FiE IX/I/I*, Tafel XVI, B32)

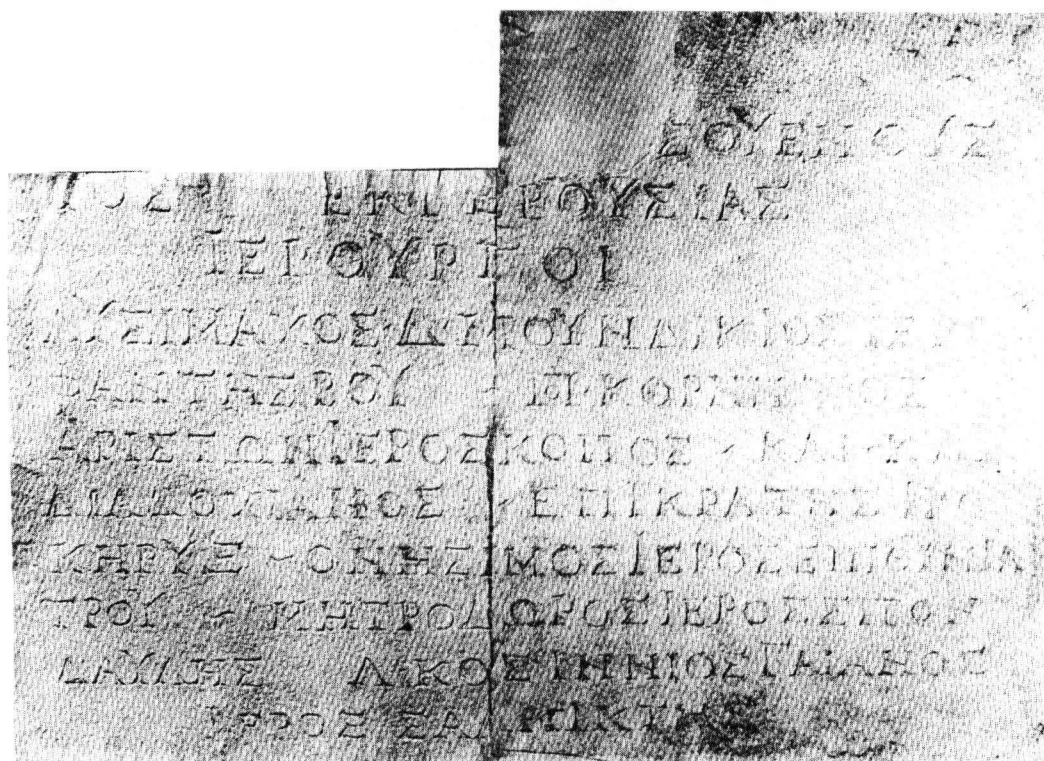


Fig. 34: Cat. no. 63, squeeze (*FiE* IX/I, Tafel XIX, B39)



Fig. 35: Cat. no. 64, squeeze (*FiE* IX/I/I, Tafel XX, B40)

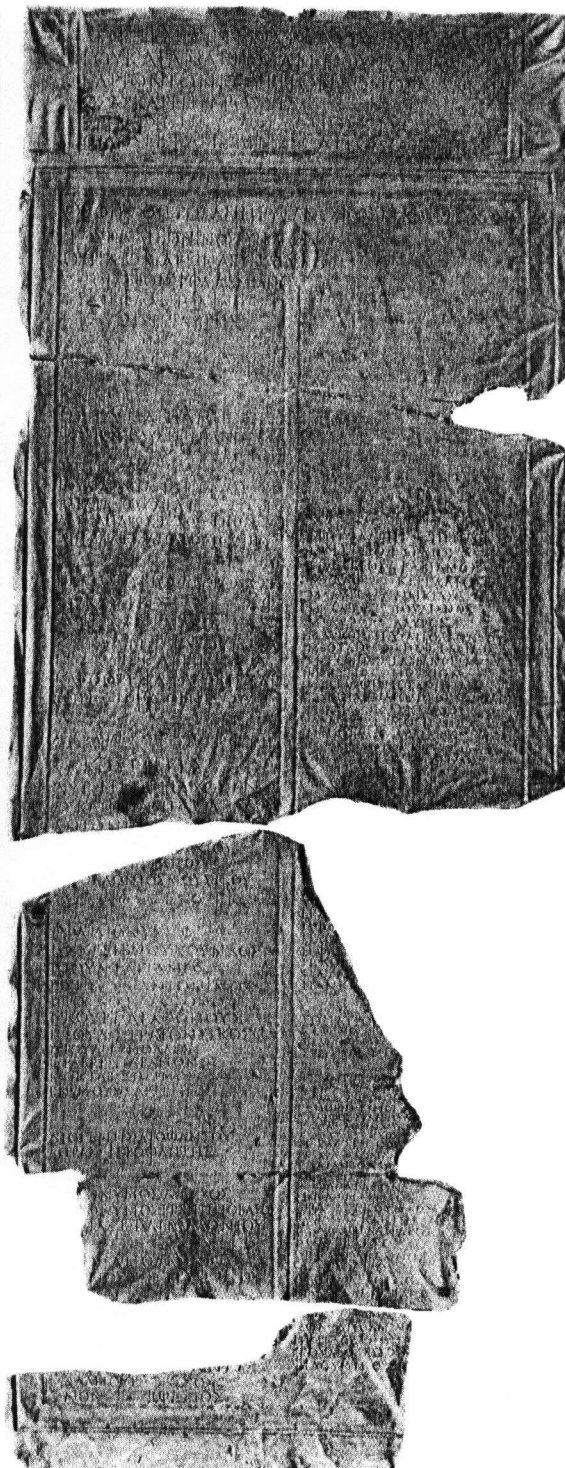


Fig. 36: Cat. no. 65, squeeze (*FiE* IX/I/I, Tafel XXVII, B54)

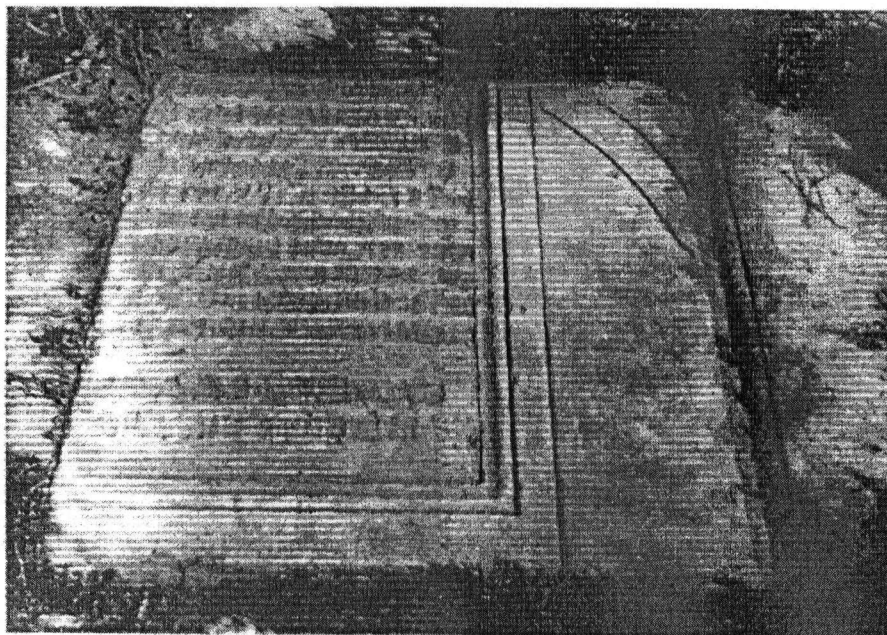


Fig. 39: Cat. no. 72, photo (*FiE* IV, I, p. 96, no. 23)

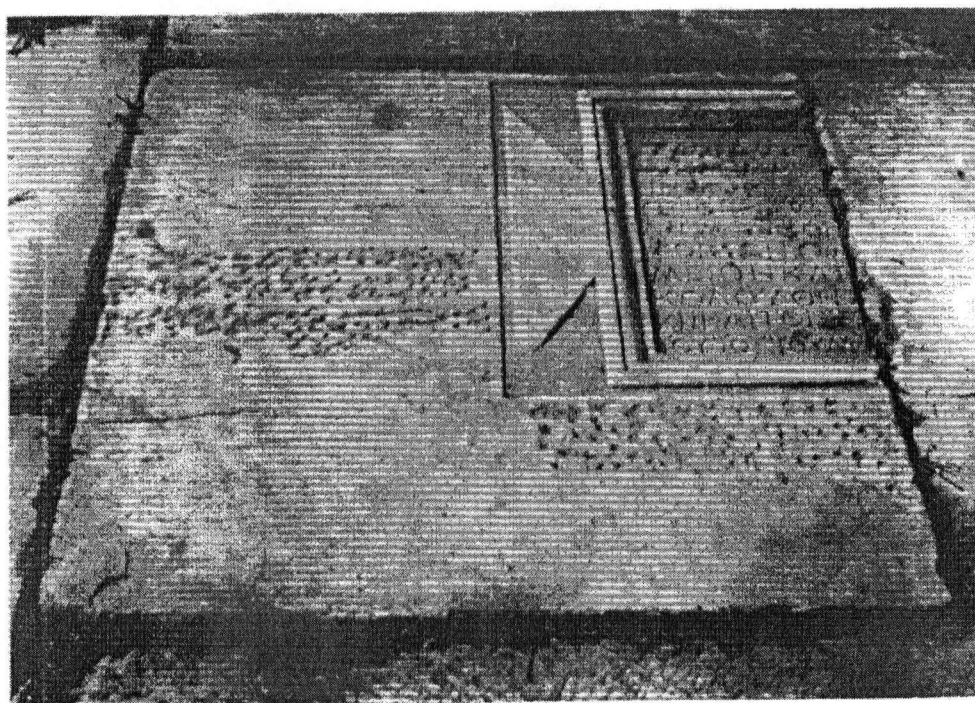


Fig. 40: Cat. no. 74, photo (*FiE* IV, I, p. 93, no. 17)

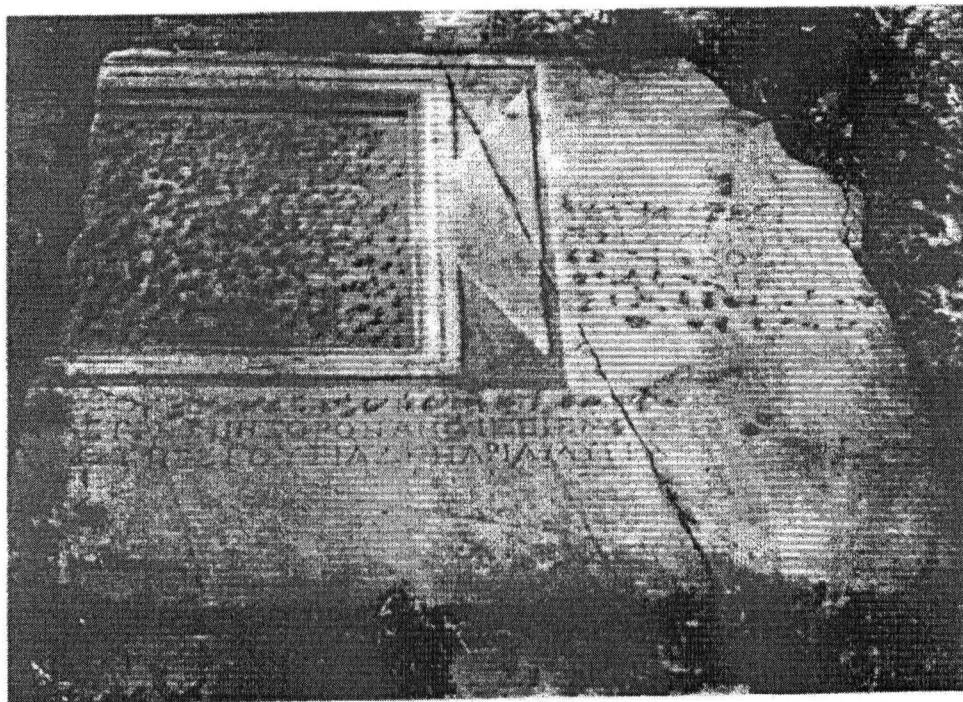


Fig. 41: Cat. no. 74, photo (*FiE* IV, I, p. 93, no. 17)

ΤΟΜΗΜΕΙΟΝΕΣΤΙ
 ΠΟΠΛΙΑΣΟΥΛΕΙΑΒΗΡΥΛΑΣ·ΚΑΙ
 ΤΑΤΕΚΝΑΑΥΤΗΣ·ΖΩΣΙΝ
 ΚΑΙΤΟΥΣΥΝΒΙΟΥΑΥΤΗΣΜΕΝΑΝ
 ΔΡΟΥ ΖΗ
 ΤΑΛΟΥΥΙΟΥΑΥΤΟΥ·ΖΗ·ΚΑΙ·
 ΡΩΣΚΙΛΙΑΣΕΥΤΥΧΙΑΣΓΥΝΑΙΚΟΣ
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 ΕΑΝΤΙΣΠΩΛΗΣΗΑΠΟΤΕΙΣΕΙ
 ΤΗΓΕΡΟΥΣΙΑ·✕/Ε·

Fig. 42: Cat. no. 81, line drawing (*GIBM* 648)

ΚΛΑΥΔΙΑ ΜΑΓΝΑ
 ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΥ ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΥ
 ΔΙΟΓΝΗΤΟΥ ΓΥΝΗ
 ΜΑΜΜΗ ΙΔΙΑ
 ΟΣ ΑΝ ΤΑΥΤΑ·ΤΑ ΓΡΑΜ
 ΜΑΤΑ ΕΚΚΟΥΗ·Η
 ΑΛΛΟΤΡΙΑ ΟΣΤΑ ΒΑΛΗ
 ΥΠΕΥΘΥΝΟΣ ΕΣΤΩ ΤΗ
 ΓΕΡΟΥΣΙΑ ✕ \overline{CN}
 ΚΑΙ ΤΟΙΣ ΤΑΜΙΑΙΣ ΤΗΣ
 ΠΟΛΕΩΣ ✕ \overline{CN}

ΕΖΗCΕΝ ΕΤΗ·ΔΗ ΜΗΝΕC Β ΩΡΑC Δ
 Fig. 43: Cat. no. 82, line drawing (*CIL* 3.6087)

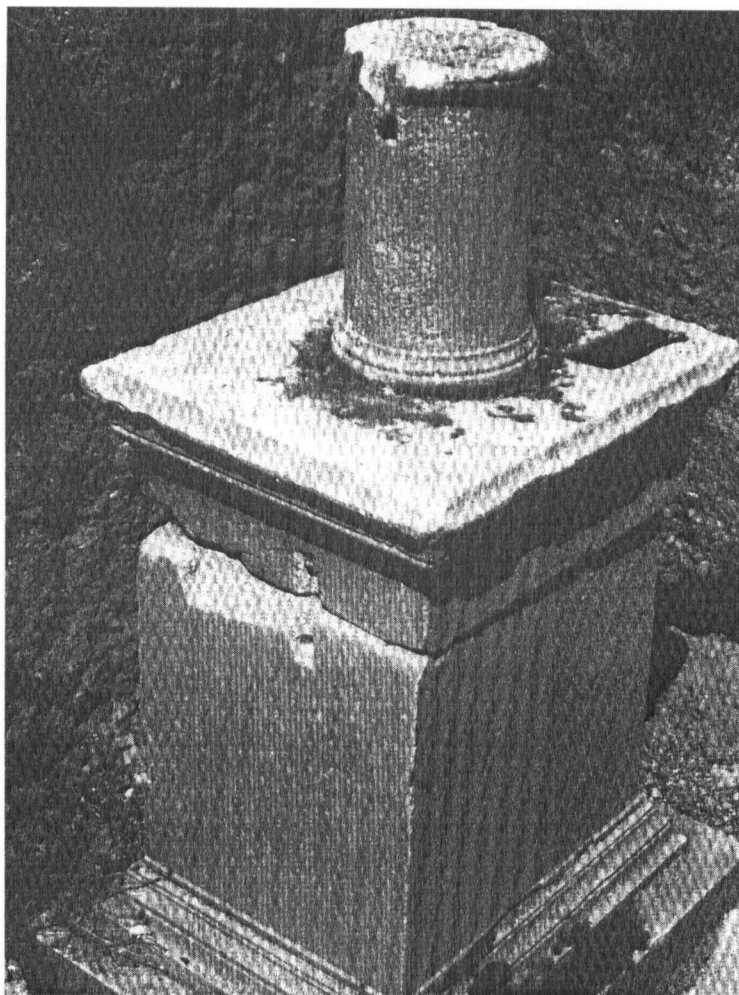


Fig. 44: Cat. no. 89, photo (ZPE 91 [1992] Tafel 13)