

Some New Inscriptions from the Miletus Museum

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1. Funerary stele of Choragos

Marble stele with anthemion, broken below. Below the anthemion is a moulding. On the body of the stele, above two concentric circles, is carved the name of the deceased person.

Findspot unknown; Inv. no. 443; Height 75 cm; Width 35 cm; Thickness 12 cm; Letter-height 2-2,5 cm; Date: 4th century BC?

Χόραγος *Choragos*

The name Χόραγος is rare, previously attested in Boeotian Thespiiai¹ and Peparethos.² We also find the forms Χοραγίων³ and Χοραγοῦς⁴ and the female form Χοραγίς⁵. Three of these names are quite common in the form with the letter *eta* in place of *alpha* (Χόρηγος, Χορηγίων, Χορηγίς), while Χοραγοῦς remains attested only in the form with *alpha*.

2. Funerary stele of Rufa

Marble pedimental stele with acroteria (the right one preserved) and tenon (broken off). The upper left corner of the stele is broken off.

Findspot unknown; No inv. no.; Height 33 cm; Width 28 cm; Thickness 6 cm; Letter-height 3-3,5 cm; Date: Roman Imperial Period.

Ροῦφα *Rufa,*
 χρηστή,
 χαίρει. *a worthy person,*
 farewell!

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¹ *LGN III B*: end of 3rd century BC.

² *IG XII, 8, 65*: 2nd or 1st century BC.

³ *IG II² 2420*: Athens, 4th century BC; *LGN III A*: Troizen, 3rd century BC; *LGN III B*: Thespiiai, 3rd century BC.

⁴ *LGN IV*: Gorgippia, 2nd century AD.

⁵ *LGN III A*: Kephallenia, Hellenistic.



Fig. 1) Funerary stele of Choragos, no. 1



Fig. 2) Funerary stele of Rufa, no. 2

3. Funerary stele of Melitine and Zosime

Marble stele with incised triangular pediment, acroteria and tenon. Acroteria are decorated with branch-motifs, and inside the pediment is an incised boss with a hole in the centre. In a recessed and framed inscription-field are inscribed the names of two females (probably sisters), separated by a line; below the first inscription is carved an ivy leaf.



Fig. 3) Funerary stele of Melitine and Zosime

Found during construction works on the road between Akbük and Didyma.

Inv. no. 9096.; Height 64 cm; Width 41 cm; Thickness 16 cm; Letter-height 2,5-3 cm.; Date: Roman Imperial Period.

- | | |
|------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>Μελιτίνη Ἡρακλίδου χρηστή, χαίρε.</p> | <p><i>Melitine, daughter of Heraclides, a worthy person, farewell!</i></p> |
| <p>5 Ζωσίμη Ἡρακλίδου χρηστή, χαίρε.</p> | <p><i>Zosime, daughter of Heraclides, a worthy person, farewell!</i></p> |

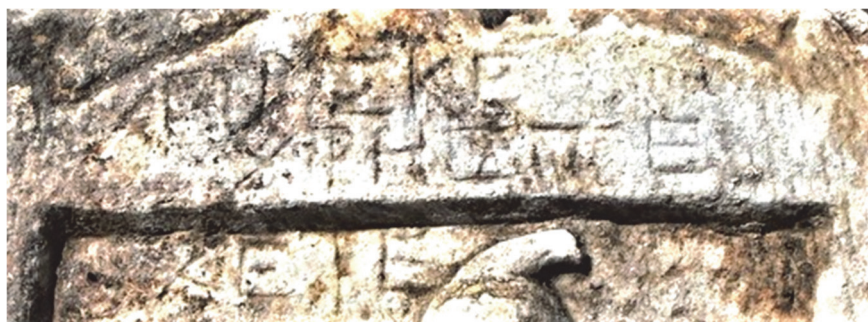
4. Funerary stele of gladiator Priscus

Rectangular marble stele with incised triangular pediment and acroteria. In a recessed relief-field on the body of the stele is represented a Thrac-type gladiator facing right. His head is completely enclosed in a large rimmed helmet (*galea*) with a crest bent forward and adorned with a griffin head. His right arm is protected with a gauntlet (*manica*), he has a loin-cloth and belt (*subligaculum*) and two thigh-length greaves (*ocreae*); in his right hand he holds a small sword with a curved blade (*sica*) and in his left hand a rectangular shield (*parmula*). The first two lines of inscription are carved above the relief-field and the last one in the field itself, above the relief.



Fig. 4a-b) Funerary stele of gladiator Priscus, no. 4

Findspot unknown; Inv. no. 9687; Height 36 cm; Width 33 cm; Thickness 21 cm; Letter-height 1,5-2cm; Date: Roman Imperial Period.



Πρίσκε	<i>Priscus,</i>
χρηστέ,	<i>a worthy person,</i>
χέρε.	<i>farewell!</i>

5. Funerary stele of gladiator Bromis

Rectangular marble stele with a relief of a gladiator advancing to right, broken on all sides except on left. The relief shows a *retiarius*-type gladiator. Naked except for a loin-cloth held in place by a wide belt (*balteus*), his right hand unprotected, he attacks the opponent (usually a *secutor*) with his trident, a three-bladed *fuscina*, whose top is broken off. The name of the gladiator is carved to the left of the relief.

Findspot unknown; No inv. no.; Height 33 cm; Width 28 cm; Thickness 11 cm; Letter-height 2,5-3cm.; Date: Roman Imperial Period.

Βρόμις	<i>Bromis</i>
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Fig. 5) *Funerary stele of gladiator Bromis, no. 5*

The name Βρόμις in the same form appears in an inscription from Nymphaion of the north shore of the Black Sea⁶ and possibly another one from Athens⁷. The full form Βρόμιος, on the other hand, is widely attested from the Early-Hellenistic period onwards⁸. Before its inclusion among the anthroponyms, Bromios was used both as a second name and as an epithet of Dionysos in the 5th century tragedy and comedy; as an epithet, it is also used of Ares⁹ and satyrs¹⁰. Metaphorically, *bromios* sometimes designates wine, since Dionysos himself was often identified with wine, especially in the theology propounded by the sophist Prodikos. The female form Βρομία can designate a Bacchant¹¹. Next to the male name Bromios, we find the (rare) female name/nickname Βρομιάς, likewise attested since the Hellenistic period¹². The

root of all these names and epithets is the noun βρόμος “loud noise, roaring, belling, rage, fury” (cf. the verb βρέμω “roar, clash, ring, murmur, rage”). The name Bromis is actually not very suitable for a *retarius*, since they were considered the lowest in rank of all the gladiators and even effeminate, especially the *retarii tunicati* who fought dressed in tunics.

6. Fragment of an epitaph (?)

Fragment of a marble stele broken on all sides except on the right, where a part of the edge is preserved.

Found during construction works on the Akbük-Didyma road.

No inv. no.; Height 13 cm; Width 16 cm; Thickness 5 cm; Letter-height 1-1,5 cm; Date: 3rd century AD.

⁶ *LGPN IV*: 3rd century BC.

⁷ *SEG* 13, 151.

⁸ Variant names Βρομοκλής and Βρομίδας both have a single attestation (*LGPN IIIA*: Epidauros, Imperial; *LGPN IIIB*: Tanagra, Hellenistic), while Βρομερός has three attestations (*LGPN IV*: father of Arrhambaios, king of Lynkestis c. 423 BC; *LGPN IV*: Thrace, Hellenistic (father & son)).

⁹ Page 1962: *Lyrica Adespota* 109b: Βρόμιε δορατοφόρ' ἐνύαλιε πολεμοκέλαδε πάτερ Ἄρη.

¹⁰ Kock 1880: Teleclides frg. 60.

¹¹ Nonnus, *Dionysiaka* XXI 64, 88.

¹² Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistai* XIII 605a, after Theopompos' *Histories*.

	[]
	[	?θνή]σκει ...	... dies?...
	[	-]ταέτης Μ	
	[	]ΛΩΝ γενέσ(ε)ι?	... by fate?
	[	]ΛΗ χρονίσας .	... having taken time?
5	[	] ὥστε Σελήνη.	... so that Selene
	[]



Fig. 6) Fragment of an epitaph (?), no. 6

- 1-2 or [ἐνθάδ]ε κεί[μαι] / [εἰκοσιπεν]ταέτης.
 2 πενταέτης, ἑπταέτης, οκταέτης, δεκαπενταέτης...
 3 Genesis is nativity, geniture, birth, lot, fortune. Examples come e. g. from Macedonian Edessa¹³, Tomis¹⁴, Thera¹⁵, Phrygian Tiberipolis¹⁶ and Rome¹⁷. Sometimes, *genesis* is personified and comes close to Moira.
 4 χρονίζω “spend time, last, take time, linger, tarry, grow up”.

7. Ex-voto to Hōrai

Small marble altar moulded on top and bottom, broken and damaged on top and bottom.

Findspot unknown; No inv. no.; Height 24 cm; Width 16 cm; Thickness 15 cm; Letter-height 1,5-2 cm.

ΑΦΦ...Ν

ΠΟC Ὠρα- - - - to Hōrai

ις εὐχή[ν]. made a vow.

1-2 Ἄφφ[η, Λά]νπος?

Dedications to Hōrai¹⁸ used to be rare, but are now becoming more common in epigraphic documentation. Most of them come from Athens (4) and places connected to Athens (Lemnos (2), and Miletus (2)): two honorific inscriptions for priestesses of Aglauros, from 250/49 BC and

¹³ Feissel 1983, no. 6: Edessa, 3rd century AD: ἴστε γὰρ ὡς γένεσιν ἴδι ἀναπίμπλησε [- - -], / ἦν φυγεῖν οὐχ οἶόν τε.

¹⁴ SEG 24, 1075.

¹⁵ IG XII 3, 870: Τοῦτ' ἤθελεν γὰρ Γένεσις καὶ Μοιρῶν μίτοι, / αἶς οὐδ' Ἀχιλλεὺς Θετίδος ἐκ θεᾶς γεγῶς / στᾶμεν ποτ' ἀλκὰν δυνατὸς εὐρέθη θέλων.

¹⁶ MAMA X 507: Ἦδὲ φέρις ὄσα / φέρει γέν[ε]/σις.

¹⁷ IGUR IV 1702: Οὐδ' οὕτως μου Γένεσις δεινὴ πλησθεῖσ' ἐκορέσθη.

¹⁸ RE VIII 2, 1920, 2300-2313 s. v. Horai (A. Jolles).



Fig. 7a) *Ex-voto to Hōrai, no. 7*

from Ephesos²⁶, in Hellenistic Claros²⁷, in a late 1st century BC inscription from Perge mentioning

c. 180 BC¹⁹, featuring Aglauros, Ares, Helios, Hōrai and Apollo, an inscription with a modified quote from Hesiod's *Erga kai hēmerai* 197-200²⁰ mentioning Hōrai as keepers of heaven's doors, and a dedication to Hōrai and Nymphs²¹.

On Lemnos, around 250 BC we find an attestation of a festival celebrated by the Athenians settled on the island in honour of Hōrai (ta Hōraia)²², and a second inscription shows that the same festival was still celebrated in the 1st century BC²³. The second inscription also shows that during this festival slaves were officially liberated by their masters. On Paros, in the famous mid-2nd century BC inscription related to the establishment of the Archilocheion, an altar dedicated to Dionysos, Nymphs and Hōrai is mentioned as part of the installation²⁴. In Mytilene, Hōrai are honoured together with Demeter and addressed as πολύκαρποι καὶ τελέσφοροι²⁵. In Asia Minor, Hōrai are found on a Hellenistic monument

¹⁹ 1. SEG 33, 115, ll. 9-14 = IG II³ 1, 1002, found on the east slope of Acropolis: Ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀπαγγέλλει Ἀ/ριστοφάνης ὁ υἱὸς τῆς ἱερείας τῆς Ἀγλαύρ/ου ὑπὲρ τῶν ἱερῶν ὧν ἔθνευ τοῖς εἰσιτητη/ρίοις τῆι Ἀγλαύρῳ καὶ τῶι Ἄρει καὶ τῶι Ἥλι/ῳ καὶ ταῖς Ὀραις καὶ τῶι Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς οἷς πάτριον ἦν; 2. IG II³ 1, 1373, south slope of Acropolis, near the Asklepieion: nearly identical text.

²⁰ IG II² 4797: Καὶ τότε δὴ πρὸς Ὀλυμπον / ἀπὸ χθονὸς ἐ<ν>ρυοδείης / λευκοῖσιν φάρεσσι καλυ/ψάμεναι χροῖα καλόν / ἀθανάτων μετὰ φύλ[ον] / ἴτον προλιπόντε ἀνθρ[ώπ]ους / Αἰδῶς Εὐνομίη τε Δίκη τε / ἢ πολ<λ>ὸν ἀρίστη· / αὐτόμαται δὲ πύλαι μύκον / οὐρανοῦ, ἅς ἔχον Ὀραι (in Hesiod: Αἰδῶς καὶ Νέμεσις).

²¹ IG II² 4877: Ὀραις καὶ Νύμφαις ἀνέθηκεν. Pausanias mentions the cult of Hōrai in Athens in his *Description of Greece* IX 35, 2: Ἐοικότα μὲν δὴ Χάρισιν ὀνόματα καὶ ταῦτα, εοικότα δὲ καὶ παρ' Ἀθηναίους· τιμῶσι γὰρ ἐκ παλαιοῦ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι Χάριτας Αὐξῶ καὶ Ἥγεμόνην. Τὸ γὰρ τῆς Καρποῦς ἐστὶν οὐ Χάριτος ἀλλὰ Ὀρας ὄνομα· τῆ δὲ ἑτέρα τῶν Ὀρῶν νέμουσιν ὁμοῦ τῆ Πανδρόσῳ τιμὰς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, Θεαλλῶ τὴν θεὸν ὀνομάζοντες. The same author mentions a sanctuary of Hōrai at Argos (II 20, 50).

²² Accame 1941-1943, 79 no. 3: Ἐπειδὴ οἱ θε/ωροὶ οἱ ἀποσταλέντες (...) εἰς τὴν θυσίαν τοῖς Καβεῖρο[ι]ς τῶν Ὀραίων.

²³ Accame 1941-1943, 96 no. 16, ll. 4-8: Τοῦσδε ἐσ/στηλογράφησεν κατὰ τ/ὸ ψήφισμα ἠφειμένο/υς ἐν τοῖς Ὀραίοις ἐλε/υθέρους.

²⁴ SEG 15, 517, ll. 8-11: Μνησιέπει ὁ θεὸς ἔχρησε λῶιον καὶ ἄμεινον εἶμεν / ἐν τῶι τεμένει, ὃ κατασκευ- ἄζει, ἰδρυσάμεναι / βωμόν καὶ θύοντι ἐπὶ τούτου Διονύσωι καὶ Νύμφαις / καὶ Ὀραις.

²⁵ SEG 51, 1029.

²⁶ SEG 35, 1115: Rectangular white marble block, probably from a votive monument, with reliefs on the large front side (two registers) and on the small lateral sides representing 43 seated and standing male and female deities, heroes, as well as sacrificial animals and banquet scenes; inscriptions identify the figures on this monument set up by Μέγης, Βαδρόμιος, Ποζηλος (3rd/2nd c. BC): (1) Three standing female figures sheltered by a grotto; above the grotto three heads; above these heads: Νύμφαι; (2) Same group: below the three female figures: Ὀραι.

²⁷ SEG 53, 1303, 150-100 BC, the first priest of Hōrai attested thus far.

τὸ τῶν Ὠρῶν περίβολον²⁸, in a Roman inscription from Aphrodisias, where a *neopoios* of Aphrodite dedicated a statue-group of Hōrai to the goddess and the city²⁹, in a dedication made by Aelius Aristides in Hadrianoutherai in Mysia³⁰, and in a 4th c. AD building inscription of a Nymphaion (?) from Lydian Philadelphia³¹.



Fig. 7b) *Ex-voto to Hōrai*, no. 7

In mythology, Hōrai (“seasons”) are fertility goddesses, as shown by their names pointing to abundance, growth and fruits – Thallō, Auxō, Karpō (according to Hesiod’s moralizing version in *Theogony* 901-903³², they are daughters of Zeus and Themis – Eunomia, Dikē and Eirēnē³³). We know that Prodikos composed a treatise entitled *Hōrai*, which possibly included the famous *logos* of Herakles on the crossroads³⁴.

In 2008 an interesting addition to the testimonies on the cult of Hōrai was published. It also comes from Didyma. It is a 3rd century AD inscription from the temple of Apollo with the text of an oracle concerning Hōrai, engraved on a wall block of an unknown building near the altar of Hōrai north of the temple (?)³⁵. The inscription shows that the altar in question stood in the same place since immemorial times, because it is stated that it was inscribed in “ancient letters”³⁶. According to Agathon, the god’s prophet, the altar was being neglected (παριᾶσιν δὲ αὐτόν) by the current *therapontes* because Hōrai were not included in the ancient

²⁸ *I.Perge* 11.

²⁹ Reinach 1906, 105-106, no. 19-20: Ἀφροδείτη θεᾶ / ἐπιφανεστάτη / καὶ τῇ πατρίδι / Ζήνων Ζήνωνος / τοῦ Ζήνωνος τοῦ / Ἀρτέμωνος τοῦ / Αἰνήσου νεοποιῶν / τὰς Ὠρας ἐκ τῶν / ἰδίων ἀνέθηκεν / σὺν καὶ Ἀπφία / Ἀδράστου τῇ γυναικὶ καὶ Ζήνωνι / καὶ Μενάνδρῳ / τοῖς υἱοῖς. Two statue-bases with the same text were found.

³⁰ *SEG* 63, 1093 (150-180 AD?, altar): Ὠραις καὶ Χάρισιν / Ἀριστείδης.

³¹ *TAM* V, 3 1527: []σφαίρης [] / Ὠρῶν δομ[] / Νύμφησιν δρομ[] / Ὠραις καὶ Νύμφ[αις] / Εὐτρόπιος []

³² Δεύτερον ἠγάγετο λιπαρὴν Θέμιν, ἣ τέκεν Ὠρας, / Εὐνουμίην τε Δίκην τε καὶ Εἰρήνην τεθαλυῖαν, / αἱ ἔργ’ ὠρεῦουσι καταθηνητοῖσι βροτοῖσι (*Next he married bright Themis who bore the Hōrai – Eunomia, Dikē, and blooming Eirene, who mind the works of mortal men*).

³³ The same names reappear in the *Orphic hymn* 43 dedicated to Hōrai: Ὠραι θυγατέρες Θέμιδος καὶ Ζηνὸς ἄνακτος, Εὐνομίη τε Δίκη τε καὶ Εἰρήνη πολυόλβε, εἰαριναί, λεμωνιαδες, πολυάνθεμοι, ἀγναί, παντόχροοι, πολυόδομοι ἐν ἀνθεμοειδέσι πνοιαῖς, Ὠραι ἀειθαλέες, περικυκλάδες, ἡδυπρόσωποι, πέπλους ἐννύμηναι δροσεροὺς ἀνθῶν πολυθρέπτων, <ἀγνῆς> Περσεφόνης συμπαίκτορες, ἡνίκα Μοῖραι καὶ Χάριτες κυκλίοισι χοροῖς πρὸς φῶς ἀνάγωσι Ζηνὶ χαριζόμεναι καὶ μητέρι καρποδοτείρη· ἔλθετ’ ἐπ’ εὐφήμους τελετάς ὀσίας νεομύστοις εὐκάρπους καιρῶν γενέσεις ἐπάγουσαι ἀμεμφῶς.

³⁴ Nestle 1936; Rudhardt 1999.

³⁵ Weber 2008, 243-260 (= *SEG* 58, 1301).

³⁶ The supplement [ἀρχαίοις γράμ]μασιν ἐπιγεγραμμένον] is due to A. Chaniotis (*EBGR* 2010 [2013] no. 205).

hymn sang at the sanctuary³⁷. The prophet asked the god if it would be agreeable to the goddesses to include their altar in the hymn³⁸ and the god gave his consent to honour Hōrai with two songs and dances³⁹.

It is a reasonable supposition that the new dedication to Hōrai from the Miletus Museum originally stood in the same place as the ancient *bomos* of the goddesses given new life by the conscientious prophet.

8. Honorary inscription for Constantius Chlorus as *Caesar*

Rectangular marble block with moulding on top, damaged on the left side, kept in the garden of Tarhan Otel in Mavişehir, about 3,5 km NW of Didyma.

Findspot unknown; Height 80 cm; Width 50 cm; Thickness 30 cm; Letter-height 3,5-4cm.; Date: Constantius I (Chlorus) as Caesar, 293-305 AD.

	NEW INSCRIPTION		<i>LBW</i> 233; <i>I.Didyma</i> 160
	Τὸν γενναιότατον		Τὸν [γ]εν[ναιότα]-
	καὶ ἐπιφανέστατον		τον καὶ ἐπιφα-
	Καίσαρα Φλά(βιον) Οὐαλ(έριον)		νέστατον Καί-
	Κωνστάντιον		σαρα Φλ[ά](ουιον) Οὐ[α]λ(έριον)
5	ἡ λαμπρὰ Μιλη-	5	Κωνστάντιον
	σίων πόλις τὸν		ἡ λα[μπρὰ] ⁴⁰ Μει-
	ἑαυτῆς καὶ τῆς		[λ]ησιώ[ν] πόλ[ις].
	Οἰκουμένης		
	δεσπότην.		
10	Μί(λια) θ'.		

The most excellent and distinguished Caesar Flavius Valerius Constantius. The illustrious city of Milesians its own and the world's master. Nine miles.

The new inscription is the second one from Didyma for Constantius Chlorus as *caesar*. The first one was published by Le Bas and Waddington in 1870⁴¹ and subsequently included in Rehm's corpus of inscriptions from Didyma⁴². Although we are dealing with two quite similar inscriptions, they are not identical. Not only are their texts differently arranged on the stone and the new inscription is longer and contains elements missing from the previously published one,

³⁷ Ll. 5-7: Παριᾶσιν δὲ αὐτῶν [νῦν οἱ θεράπων]τες διὰ τὸ μὴ παρελιῆ[φθαι τὰς ὤρας ἐν τῷ] / ἀρχαίω ὕμνω.

³⁸ Ll. 8-10: Εἰ προσφιλές ἐστιν ἕθ[ος] ταῖς θεαῖς καὶ τοῦτον τὸν βωμὸν ὕμνοις συνπεριλαβεῖν ἢ τὴν ἡσυχίαν [ἄγειν?].

³⁹ Il. 14-15: Χρὴ τείεσθαι κούρας διδυμήισι μολπαῖς ἀσκαίροις ἐρατοῖς.

⁴⁰ *LBW* and *I.Didyma* print λα[μπρ](οτάτη), but the new inscription shows the correct reading is λαμπρά.

⁴¹ *LBW* 23.

⁴² *I.Didyma* 160.

but the previously published one was engraved on a column bearing a second inscription on its back side, which honoured Emperor Julian and marked the distance between Miletus and Didyma⁴³. The new inscription is likewise an honorary inscription subsequently used as a milestone. Since we don't know of any connections of Constantius Chlorus to the East, Rehm hypothesized that Constantius was honoured together with the other tetrarchs.

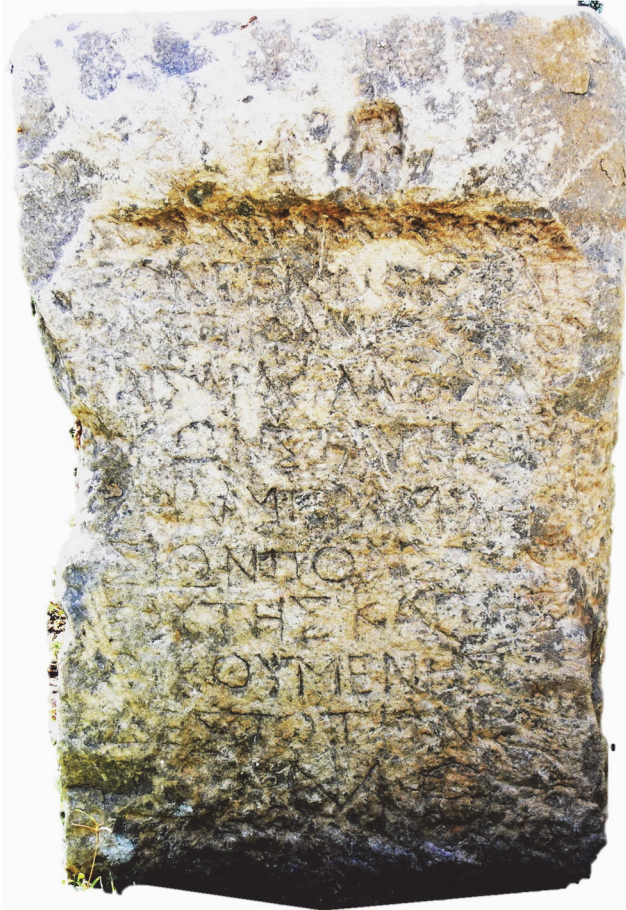


Fig. 8) Honorary inscription for Constantius Chlorus as Caesar, no. 8

In both inscriptions from Didyma Constantius Chlorus is styled *gennaiotatos* (*fortissimus*) and *epiphanestatos* (*nobilissimus*) *Kaisar*. *Epiphanestatos* was specifically tailored for the *caesares* of the tetrarchy⁴⁴, just as *μεγίστος* and *θειότατος* (or *εὐσεβής* and *εὐτυχής* = *pius, felix*) were for the *augusti*. It is used of Constantius in other inscriptions from Greece and Asia Minor.

Gennaiotatos in the first line of the new inscription is rarely found in Greek inscriptions in this context⁴⁵, while the Latin *fortissimus* is more common, including also monuments for Constantius Chlorus⁴⁶. The epithet is an allusion to the bravery of Constantius Chlorus, a successful general. In an inscription from Aphrodisias Emperor Julian, grandson of Constantius Chlorus and himself a *caesar* at the time, is likewise honoured by the city as *ἐπιφανέστατος καὶ γενναιότατος Καῖσαρ*⁴⁷.

⁴³ LBW 234; *IDidyma* 60. This milestone ends in *μίλι(α) IIII*.

⁴⁴ Cf. *SEG* 35, 737.

⁴⁵ *IG II²* 3420: Maximus, son of Maximinus Thrax, *caesar* from 236 to 238 AD.

⁴⁶ Cf. *AE* 1987, 456 (Brixia): [F]lavio V[al(erio)] / - - - Constan[tio] / fortissim[o ac] nobiliss(imo) C[aes(ari)] / [I]ul(ius) Asclepio[dotus] / v(ir) - - - c[larissimus] et Aur(elius) Her[mo]genianus v(ir) [em(inentissimus)] / prae(fecti) prae(torio) / de(voti) n(umini) m(aiestati)que eius; *AE* 1961, 252 (Lusitania); *AE* 1908, 165 (Thugga, Africa Proconsularis); *AE* 2003, 2010 (Thibari, Africa Proconsularis); *CIL III* 499 ll. 5-7 (Halicarnassus): Consta[ntii et] Maximiani for/[tiss(imorum) et] nobiliss(imorum) Caess(arum). The following inscription from Caesarea Maritima contains another unusual epithet – *consultissimus*: *AE* 1993, 1621: - - - [Fortissimo et] consultissimo / iuventutis principi / Fl(avio) Valerio - - - Constantio / P(io) F(elici) Invic(to) nobilis(simo) Caes(ari) / Aufid(ius) Priscus v(ir) p(erfectissimus) praes(es) prov(inciae) / Pal(aestinae) d(evotus) n(umini) m(aiestati)q(ue) eor(um).

⁴⁷ *MAMA VIII* 426.

9. Septimius Severus grants privileges to the *nāike ergasia*: second copy of an imperial edictum

Fragment of a marble stele broken on all sides except on the left, where a raised frame is partially preserved.

Findspot unknown; No inv. no.; Height 21 cm; Width 25 cm; Thickness 6 cm; Letter-height 1-1,5 cm.; Date: 193-211 AD.

This fragmentary preserved inscription is the second copy of an edict of Septimius Severus granting privileges to the members of an association known under the name of ἡ ναϊκὴ ἐργασία. Its first copy was found at Ephesos⁴⁸. While in the case of the Ephesian copy it was the left side of the stone that suffered damage, in the Milesian one it is the right side. Also, the lines of the Ephesian copy were longer than the lines of the new inscription.

Ephesian example

	[	Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Λ(ούκιος) Σεπτίμιος Σεουήρος Πέ]ρτιναξ Σεβαστὸς αὐτοκράτωρ [τὸ .']	
	[	]αναι ἐντὸς τῆς ναϊκῆς ἐργασίας δ[- -]	
	[	ὅ]πως αὐτοῖς μείνη καὶ ἀπ' ἐμοῦ τὰς ἀπ[ὸ]	
	[	τῶν πρὸ ἐμοῦ	αὐτ]οκρατόρων δεδομένας αὐτοῖς δωρεὰς ὑπ[- -]
5	[	]ουδε[. . .] ἐγγου καθὼς δίκαιος ἦν αὐτοῖς δε[- -]	
	[	]γ ἀπὸ θεῶν ἀστοῖς(?) αὐτοῖς οὖσιν τῆς τειμῆς ταύτ[ης - -]	
	[	]τήσοντ' αἰτεῖν, ^{vacat} ὅθεν οὖν κἀγὼ κατὰ τοῦ[το - -]	
	[	τ]οὺς τεχνείτας ἀνήμι πάσης λειτουργίας καὶ ν[- -]	
	[	] ἀπὸ γυμνασίων τε καὶ διαδόσεων, ἔτι δὲ καὶ κελεύω [- -]	
10	[]	
	[	]ε[	] ἀσυλίας [- -]
	[		]πιστο[- -]

The new copy from the Miletus Museum

	[]
	IE []
	τινι αὐτῶν ἀν[τίγραφον?	τοῦ προσ]-
	τάγματος διαδο[θέντος ⁴⁹	Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖ]-
	σαρ Λούκιος Σεπτ[ίμιος Σεουήρος	Ἔνε]-
5	τυχέν μοι Φλάβιος Η[	τῆς ναῖ]-
	κῆς ἐργασίας ἐπεψηφ[ίς-]
	ἀπ' ἐμοῦ καὶ τὰς ἀπὸ τῶ[ν πρὸ ἐμοῦ	αὐτοκρα]-
	τόρων δεδομένα[ς]

⁴⁸ *I.Ephesos* II 295 (= Dittmann-Schöne 2001, 136 II 1, 15).

⁴⁹ We thank A. Petrović (University of Virginia) for the supplement διαδοθέντος.

Αντωνίνου, κα[]
 10 σιν καὶ ΤΟΥΤΟ []

... copy? - - - of the / edictum handed [over? - - - Emperor Caesar] / Lucius Septimius [Severus - -
 - Flavius [] obtained audience with me - - - of the temples' / association approved - - - / privileges
 and immunities given by me and those given to them by the emperors / before me - - - / Antoninus
 - - -

NEW COMPOSITE TEXT (**red/bold: new inscription**; black: Ephesian copy; **underlined red/
 bold: both copies**)

[]
 IE []
τινι αὐτῶν ἀν[τίγραφον? τῶν προσ]-
τάγματος διαδο[θέντος Αὐτοκράτωρ Καί]-
σαρ Λούκιος Σεπτ[ίμιος Σεουήρος Πέ]ρτιναξ Σεβαστὸς αὐτοκράτωρ [τὸ .'. 'Ενέ]-
 5 **τυχέν μοι Φλάβιος Ἡ[]** ANAI ἐντὸς τῆς ναϊ-
κῆς ἐργασίας ἐπενήφ[ισαν?] πῶς αὐτοῖς μείνη καὶ
ἀπ' ἐμοῦ καὶ τὰς ἀπὸ τῶ[ν] πρὸ ἐμοῦ αὐτ]οκρα-
τόρων δεδομένας αὐτοῖς δωρεὰς ΥΠ[] ΟΥΔΕ
Ἀντωνίνου, καθὼς δίκαιος ἦν αὐτοῖς δε[]
 10 **σιν καὶ ΤΟΥΤΟ []** ἢ ἀπὸ θεῶν ἀστροῖς(?) αὐτοῖς οὖσιν τῆς τεμῆς ταύτ[ης]]

etc. from the Ephesian inscription.



Fig. 9) Septimius Severus grants privileges to the *nāike ergasia*:
 second copy of an imperial edictum, no. 9

When we compare the two inscriptions, we notice that the new one has three lines more preserved at the beginning, so that the first line of the Ephesian inscription, naming the Emperor Septimius Severus, is the fourth one in the new copy. In lines 2-3 we read the word *πρόσταγμα* translating the Latin *edictum*, and then the name and the titles of Septimius Severus, as in the Ephesian inscription. Since the number of imperial proclamations is not preserved (for Septimius Severus, the last one was the 12th in 198-199 AD) we cannot date the edict precisely.

Starting with line 4, the words of the letter sent by the Emperor to Greek cities are quoted. The Milesian inscription provides new information to the effect that an individual named Flavius approached the Emperor

(ἐνέ)/τυχέν μοι Φλάβιος) and seemingly informed him that a petition had been voted upon (ἐπεψήφ[ισαν?]) within the *nāikē ergasia* (ἐντὸς τῆς ναϊκῆς ἐργασίας).

The above-mentioned Flavius who had approached the Emperor presented him with a petition of the *nāikē ergasia* addressed to the Emperor with a plea to confirm the privileges previously granted the same *ergasia* by the previous emperors (Antoninus Pius is mentioned in l. 9), to which he agreed. The Ephesian copy preserves the content of the privileges granted to the members of the *nāikē ergasia*: freedom from all the *leitourgiai*, from financial obligations towards *civic gymnasia*, from *diadoseis*⁵⁰, and *asylia*.

The adjective ναϊκός “of a temple, belonging to a temple”, is rare, both in literary and documentary sources. In literary sources it appears very late, not before the Byzantine period, more precisely, in the 9th century AD law code known as *Ta Basilika* (*The Imperial Laws*), which is a simplification and adaptation of the *Corpus Juris Civilis* issued by Justinian I between 529 and 534 AD⁵¹. In addition, the epithet *nāikos* appears in the works of Michael Attaliates’ (11th c.) *Πόνημα νομικόν* (*Law Book*), which is based on the *Basilika*⁵², and in his *Histories*⁵³. In the *Basilika*, *nāikos* qualifies *to dikaion* and a distinction is made between the *dēmosion* and the *nāikon dikaion*; Michael Attaliates refers to *ta nāika pragmata* and *ta nāika ktēmata*. In all the cases, the adjective obviously means “of the church, belonging to the church”.

In contrast to literary sources, in inscriptions the epithet *nāikos* appears relatively early, for the first time in a fragmentary honorific inscription on a copper plaque from Dodona⁵⁴, dated to after 168/7 BC. The inscription features an *agōnothetēs*, the *koinon* of the Thesprotians ([τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Θεσπρωτῶν]) and τοὶ ναϊκοὶ εὔ[θυνοι] or “temple examiners, examiners of the conduct of temple officials”. In another Hellenistic inscription, from Hyampolis in Phocis, dealing with the sacred lands of Apollo and Artemis⁵⁵, we find the word τὰ να[ϊ]κά(?), possibly referring to the temple archives (or assets). The remaining three attestations belong to the Roman Imperial period: the first appears in an inscription from Phrygian Akmoneia⁵⁶ where we read: σὺν τῷ κόσμῳ καὶ τοῖς ἔμπροσθε[ν κίοσιν] ναϊκοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἀνδριάσι πᾶσι. In the second inscription, found in Pamphylian Side⁵⁷ the words καὶ ναϊκῶ (l. 18), refer to an object mentioned on the lost part of the stone. Last, but not least, from Aphrodisas⁵⁸ comes the epitaph of a person interestingly named

⁵⁰ Distributions in food or money.

⁵¹ L 30, 5: Δικαίου δημοσίου ἢ δικαίου ναϊκοῦ. The *Basilika* became the first civil code of modern Greece, and it remained in force from 1821 to 1835.

⁵² Proem. 2, 4: Καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν παλαιῶν νόμων τοιαύτην εἶχον διαίρεσιν τὰ πράγματα. Ἐλέγοντο δὲ ἱερὰ τὰ ναϊκά, ἧτοι τὰ τεμένη.

⁵³ 2, 69-70: Τῶν ναϊκῶν καὶ ἰδιωτικῶν κτημάτων.

⁵⁴ Cabanes 1976, 551 no. 26.

⁵⁵ IG IX 1, 87, line 17.

⁵⁶ MAMA VI 256.

⁵⁷ Bean 1965, 191.

⁵⁸ MAMA VIII 538.

Ναΐκος⁵⁹ Ἀπολλωνίου Ἱερός. Could he be a free person dedicated to the temple of Aphrodite as *hieros* since his birth and for this reason given the unique name *Nāikos*⁶⁰?

In both inscriptions from Ephesus and Miletus we find an officially recognized, public association⁶¹ of temple *technitai*⁶² who are freed from all the liturgies and also obligations vis-à-vis the gymnasia and public distributions. There is another Ephesian inscription that possibly mentions the same association or part of it⁶³: an honorific inscription set up by ναυργοὶ τέκτονες (“temple carpenters/builders”) to Publius Vedius Antoninus, who is called their benefactor⁶⁴. Presumably, the *tektones* worked for the sanctuary of Artemis, as did the *gnapheis* (“fullers”) and *leukantai* (“bleachers”) featuring in an Ephesian dedication to Athena⁶⁵.

10. Goddess Athena and shipbuilders

Fragment of a marble stele broken on all sides except on the right, where a part of the frame is preserved.

Findspot unknown; No. inv. no.; Height 16 cm; With 18 cm; Thickness 7 cm; Letter-height 1,5-2 cm.; Date: Roman Imperial Period

	[]	
	[		]ΑΙ Ι Ι	
	[		]και κατηγο-	... accusations?
	[ρ-		-]ας τειμάς	... fines/honours?
	[		] τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς	... of Athena
5	[		τῆ]ς ναυπηγικῆς	... of the shipbuilders'
	[ἐργασίας?		] ἀρχόντων [..]	[association? - -] officials?
	[]	

3 perhaps “fines”: διπλασί]ας τειμάς?

4 [ὀφειλέτω εἰς τὸ ταμείον]?

6 or [τέχνης; or ὑπ]αρχόντων.

⁵⁹ Or Ναϊκός, according to *LGPN* VB.

⁶⁰ There could be another attestation of the same name on a Trallian coin from the reign of Elagabalus (*SNG von Aulock* 3292: Φλ. Ναϊκου), but the reading of the name is not certain.

⁶¹ Cf. Dittmann-Schöne 2001 (2nd ed. 2010): the terms in use are ἐργασία, κοινόν, ὁμότεχνον, πλατεῖα, πλῆθος, συμβίωσις, συνέδριον, συνεργασία, συνέργιον, σύνοδος, συντεχνία, σύστημα, τέχνη. Also Rohde 2012 (non vidimus).

⁶² Were the members of this *ergasia* only banausic *technitai* or all the *professionals* connected to the temples, such as seers and other persons versed in religious practices (cf. οἱ περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς τεχνῖται in Xenophon's *Cyropaedia* VIII 3, 11 (performing Persian ceremonies)).

⁶³ *I.Ephesos* 3075, l. 7. Dittmann-Schöne 2010, 135 is of the same opinion.

⁶⁴ *I.Ephesos* 1390: Ἐτείμησεν / Πό(πλιον) Οὐήδιον / Ἄντωνεῖνον / τὸν κτίστην / τῆς πόλεως, / τὸν ἴδιον εὐεργέτην / ναυργοὶ τέκτονες.

⁶⁵ *SEG* 34, 1124, ll. 7-9: Κουρατορευόντων τῶν γραφῶν καὶ λευκαντῶν τῆς θεοῦ Ἀρτέμιδος.



Fig. 10) Goddess Athena and shipbuilders, no. 10

The crucial word of this inscription could be the one in line 2: *κατηγο-* (*κατηγορία*, *κατήγορος*), in which case the inscription would record a law pertaining to a *naupēgikē ergasia* “shipbuilders’ guild”. Athena designed the first ship: there is a cult of Athena Αἰθυία (“protecting the ship”) in Megara⁶⁶. Athena invented the art of weaving, but also that of shipbuilding (she constructed the *Argo* for Jason), built the first chariot and fabricated the first bridle. Hence she is worshiped as *Erganē*, worker.

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⁶⁶ Pausanias I 5, 3.

Milet Müzesi'nden Bazı Yeni Yazıtlar**Özet**

Bu makalede, Milet müzesinde korunan Miletos ve Didyma kökenli on yeni yazıt tanıtılmaktadır. Yeni buluntular arasında mezar stelleri, bir adak yazıtı, bir onurlandırma yazıtı, parçalar halinde bir imparatorluk kararnamesi ve bilinmeyen tipte bir fragment yer almaktadır. Akbük-Didim arasındaki yol çalışmalarında bulunan iki yazıt dışında yazıtların buluntu yerleri hakkında elimizde başka bilgi bulunmamaktadır. Yazıtların Türkçe çevirileri şöyledir:

No. 1: *Khoragos'un (mezar steli).*

No. 2: *Değerli insan Rufa, elveda!*

No. 3: *Heraklides'in kızı değerli Melitine, elveda!*

Heraklides'in kızı değerli Zosime, elveda!

No. 4: *Ey değerli insan Priscus, elveda!*

No. 5: *Bromis (burada yatıyor).*

No. 6: ölür? kader ile? uzun sürmek? böylece Selene ...

No. 7: ... *Horalar'a (adağı) sundu.*

No. 8: *En muhteşem ve seçkin Caesar Flavius Valerius Constantius. Kendisinin ve dünyanın efendisi Miletlilerin şanlı kenti. Dokuz mil.*

No. 9: ... *nın kopyası? / kararname teslim [edildi? - - - İmparator Caesar] / Lucius Septimius [Severus - - - Flavius [] benimle (resmi) görüşme yaptı - - - tapınakların ayrıcalıklar ve dokunulmazlıklar tarafımdan verildi ve bunlar imparator tarafından kendilerine verildi / benden önce - - - / Antoninus.*

No. 10: *suçlamalar? (para) cezaları/onur? Athena'nın gemi inşaatçılarının [..] [dernek? - - -] yetkililer?*

Anahtar Sözcükler: Miletos, Didyma, mezar steli, adak, onurlandırma yazıtı, imparatorluk kararnamesi.

Some New Inscriptions from the Miletus Museum**Abstract**

In this article, ten new inscriptions from Miletus and Didyma, housed in the Miletus Museum, are presented. Among the new finds, there are funerary stelai, a dedication inscription, an honorary inscription, a fragmentary imperial decree, and a fragment of unknown nature. Except for the two inscriptions found during the road works between Akbük and Didyma, we don't have other information on the findspots of inscriptions.

Keywords: Miletus, Didyma, funerary stelai, dedication, honorary inscription, imperial decree.