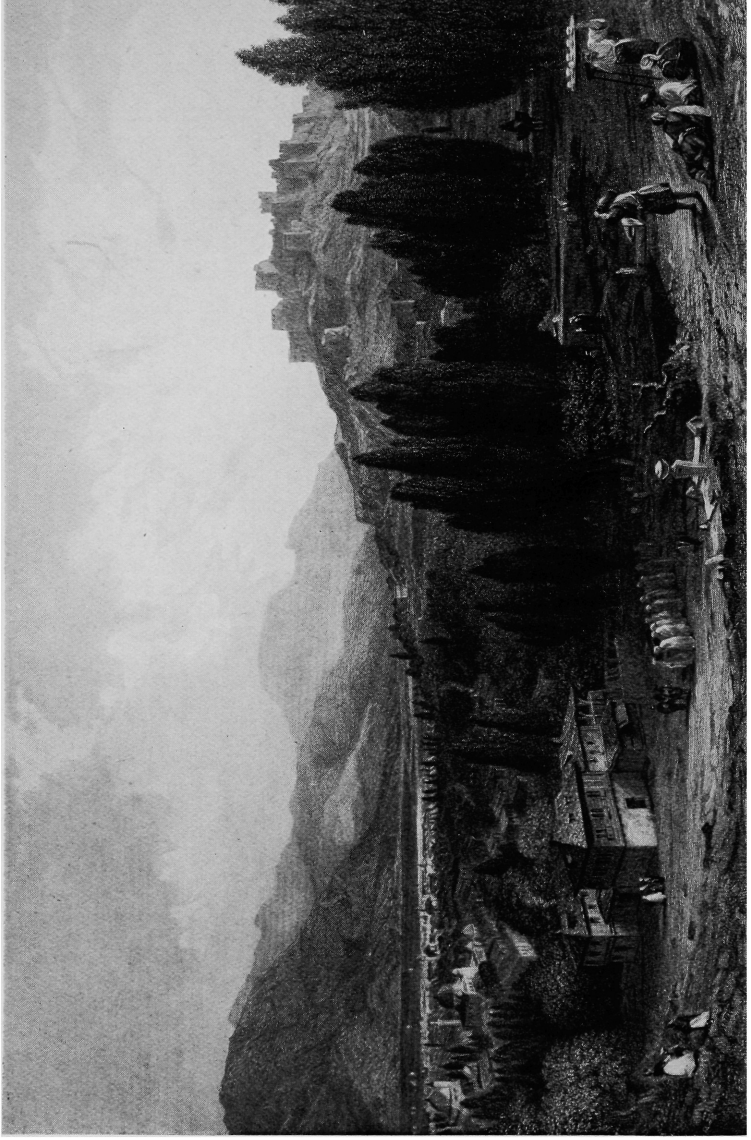


ANCIENT SMYRNA



SMYRNA FROM THE SOUTH-WEST
from an old engraving

Ancient Smyrna

A HISTORY OF THE CITY FROM THE
EARLIEST TIMES TO 324 A.D.

By CECIL JOHN CADOUX

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. . . . πὴν καλλίχορον καὶ πολυύμνητον καὶ τριπόθητον
ἀνθρώποις πόλιν.

Aristeides xx, 426 (xviii. 7).

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IN · PIAM · MEMORIAM
PARENTVM · OPTIMORVM
FRATRIBVS · ET · SORORIBVS
FRATER · DEDICO

PREFACE

THE idea of writing a history of ancient Smyrna was first suggested to me by my brother towards the end of 1909, during my days in the Civil Service, when I was trying to decide on a thesis-subject for the degree of Master of Arts in classics at the University of London. Smyrna possessed the dual advantage of having been both an important city in ancient times and our common birth-place. I caught at the proposal; and in due course the thesis was finished and submitted, and the degree secured. The essay filled 167 typed foolscap pages, and narrated the story of the city down to 180 A.D.

For several years after the completion of this effort I did little more than note additional items of information as I came across them in my general reading. But I always kept before me the prospect of being able to publish something some day: and from time to time I was able to do a little special study with that end in view. It was not, however, until 1928 that I seriously began to get my material into a form suitable for publication. In 1930 I paid a visit to the Levant with my friend Mr. John Francis Boyd, and spent three weeks in Smyrna and its neighbourhood, studying the lie of the land and seeing all I could in the way of ruins and antiques. My removal from Yorkshire to Oxford in 1933 greatly increased my opportunities of consulting the pertinent but less accessible literature.

The present volume represents the results of my researches. Needless to say, it bears little resemblance to the youthful production of 1909-1911. Its far greater size is only partly accounted for by the fact that it prolongs the story of Smyrna from 180 A.D. to 324 A.D. (the epoch that separates 'The Cambridge Ancient History' from 'The Cambridge Medieval History') and by the inclusion of two whole chapters (VII and VIII) which had nothing corresponding to them in my earlier sketch. The enlargement is also due to the discovery of fresh material of every kind, the range and bulk of which I little

suspected when I first took the task in hand. I also found it better to treat the Jewish and Christian episodes separately from the general history, instead of interweaving them with the latter, as I had previously done.

I at first intended that my Preface should include a systematic account of the work previously done on Smyrnaian antiquities. But I came to realize that such an account would suffer from the impossibility of rationally defining its limits. For the items to be considered for inclusion occupy every grade of distinction between substantial monographs like those of Oikonomos, Lane, Storari, Mylonas, Slaars, Scherzer, and Tsakyroglou, and the briefest notices in periodicals, dictionaries, and other books. Important information lies scattered in very varying quantities over ancient histories, Church-histories, books on Homeros, books of travel, Bible-commentaries, Bible-dictionaries, general encyclopaedias, and so on. It would be an immense task to compile an intelligible bibliography including all that deserves mention and nothing more. I have therefore thought it best to forego the attempt, and to say the little that needs to be said in the form of entries in my ensuing List of Abbreviations: all works at all frequently quoted are included therein. I would, however, take the opportunity of mentioning here certain useful dictionary-articles which, in the nature of things, have not needed to be frequently quoted, but which were of value in putting me on the track of further and more strictly technical literature. I refer to J. W. Blakesley's article in Smith's 'Dictionary of the Bible' (1863), Leonhard Schmitz's in Smith's 'Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography' (1873), W. M. Ramsay's in the ninth edition of 'The Encyclopaedia Britannica' (1887) and in Hastings' 'Dictionary of the Bible' (1902), W. J. Woodhouse's in the 'Encyclopaedia Biblica' (1903), W. M. Ramsay's and D. G. Hogarth's in the eleventh edition of 'The Encyclopaedia Britannica' (1911), and J. Strahan's in Hastings' 'Dictionary of the Apostolic Church' (1918).

Mr. E. A. Barber, in 'The Cambridge Ancient History' (vii. 260), writes: "Local history had always been popular in the islands and among the Greeks of Asia Minor". If this

was true in the case of Smyrna, we have been singularly unfortunate in hearing so little of the popular taste to which Mr. Barber refers. Only one individual of antiquity—the physician Hermogenes, who lived probably in the first century A.D.—is known to have written on the subject of the present volume.¹ His work is lost: and although, as we have seen, Smyrna has often filled an incidental rôle in studies of more absorbing subjects, she herself has rarely been in the centre of the picture. In the eighteenth century the Dutch classicist Pieter Burmann could speak of her story thus: “historiam nobis, mihi certe, inopia veterum de hac urbe monumentorum, incognitam et obscuram”²; and early in the twentieth Sir William Ramsay has to say that “very little has been written on its history, and no proper study has ever been made of the literary and monumental evidence on the subject” (Hastings’ ‘Dictionary of the Bible’, iv. 556a).³

This gap I have tried to fill, and to fill as completely as my limits of date—not to mention those of space, time, and capacity—would allow. The attempt has brought with it painful confirmation of the truth of what a former Oxford teacher once told me—that one can never really exhaust a subject. But the successive draughts I have had to take from “effort’s agonizing cup” have not been without ample compensation. There is a curious satisfaction in endeavouring to synthetize into something like a systematic whole the almost countless items of information lying scattered over the pages of classical works, Greek histories, and modern learned periodicals. The amount of historical material now dispersed and buried in a thousand places in the numerous publications of various academic societies in Europe and America is greater than any can realize who have not themselves attempted to collate completely its contributions to some one particular field of ancient history. To have come anywhere near success in

¹See below, pp. 210, 233—also (for another but wrongly-supposed ancient history of Smyrna), p. 166 n. 2.

²So too G. M. Lane, *Smyrnaeorum res gestae et antiquitates* (1851), 3: “Smyrnaeorum in litteris monumentisque et Graecis et Latinis etsi persaepe mentio fit: tamen rebus urbis neque veteres neque recentiores multum dedisse operae videntur. Ex antiquis saepius sine dubio ii perstrinx-

erunt Smyrnam qui scripserunt de rebus Aeolum et Ionum. Qui vero separatim de populi originibus et historia disseruerit vix quenquam reperias praeter Hermogenem . . .”

³Cf. Chapot, *La province . . . d’Asie* (1904), 139 n. 8: “V. sur Smyrne, à défaut d’un bon travail d’ensemble et récent: Lane . . . Iconomos . . . Slaars . . . Cherbuliez . . .”

such an undertaking is ample reward for many hours of strenuous toil.

What has just been said applies especially to the inscriptions. I have attempted to get access to the records not only of all the inscriptions carved and preserved at Smyrna itself, but of those preserved elsewhere in which Smyrna or Smyrnaians are mentioned. There is no single complete collection of the former group—still less of the latter. Since Boeckh completed the section on Smyrna in the great ‘*Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*’ (1843), no comprehensive revision of his work has been published. It is understood that the University of Vienna has such a revision in preparation, but that its publication is being indefinitely held up for lack of funds. Meanwhile, enormous materials have been accumulating in the form of smaller special collections and of isolated articles. The task of adequately surveying the whole of the data is thus one of considerable difficulty. So well-equipped an authority as M. Louis Robert was complaining recently, à propos of a certain inscription he was discussing: “. . . je ne connais pas d’autre copie de cette épigraphe. Mais l’épigraphie de Smyrne est si terriblement dispersée que je puis me tromper en cela encore plus facilement qu’ailleurs” (‘*Revue des Études Anciennes*’, xxxviii [1936] 26 n.5). However, I have done my best; and I present my results for what they are worth. In quoting inscriptions, I have placed first the number (if one exists) in Boeckh’s ‘*Corpus*’, and have added such references to later and better editions as I could secure.

Some of my critics may regret my method of spelling proper names as unconventional and therefore annoying. I have adopted the method of conforming as closely as English letters will permit to the way in which the persons concerned spelled their names. It is true that I have now and then bowed the knee in the house of Convention, particularly when using certain Biblical names, which because of their associations ought to be kept as far as possible out of the region of dissent and controversy. But there is no reason why the same hesitancy need be felt regarding the names of ordinary characters of classical and Christian history. At all events, I feel that a little remaining inconsistency and some fresh unfamiliarity is a small

price to pay for the substantial gain in accuracy. If any be disposed to quarrel with my choice, let him reflect that it has been only by occasional willingness on the part of individuals to be unconventional that English scholarship has been able to free itself from such abominations as "Ponce Pilate" and "Anthony Pie"—a state of things little better than the normal French usage, in which the spelling and sound of almost every classical name is systematically murdered. It is gratifying to observe that a more accurate mode of spelling is being increasingly adopted on the Continent, both by the editors of Pauly's 'Real-Encyclopädie' and by scholars generally.

In regard to my method of translating passages from original authorities which need to be quoted in extenso, I have not hesitated to sacrifice literary polish to historical exactitude. I have used "thou" and "thee" for the second person singular, in order to avoid the ambiguity of our modern "you". While avoiding absurdities of diction, I have kept my translations literal, and have bracketed words needed for the sense in English, but not represented in the original. This has been done in order to acquaint the reader who either does not know the language of the original, or at least cannot easily refer to it, to see as exactly as possible what it really says.

I might also here warn the reader that, except where the context clearly implies a different connotation, the word "Asia" means, not the continent extending from the Dardanelles to Japan, but the Roman province comprising the western portion of what we normally call "Asia Minor".

No one whose interest in and love for Smyrna is coloured by some acquaintance with her romantic past can think of her to-day without feeling a pang of sadness. In an evil moment in 1919, when splendid opportunities of healing the wounds of war lay within easy reach, it was decided to land a Greek army at Smyrna for the purpose of securing Ionia as a Greek province. Somewhat more than three years later—a few days after the entry of the victorious Turkish army—fire broke out, and raged until over a half of the city had been reduced to ashes. The area destroyed included some of the best streets and buildings in Smyrna: among other places, the Evangelical

School—which possessed a magnificent collection of manuscripts, inscriptions, and other antiques, and the finest library in Asia Minor—was burnt to the ground. Not only was the best built-up portion of the city ruined, but the vast bulk of her non-Turkish inhabitants (chiefly Greeks and Armenians) were compelled, under circumstances of great suffering, to leave the country with no hope of returning. It is impossible to calculate the extent of the many-sided loss to commerce and culture involved in the ill-starred Greek venture of 1919.

It is gratifying to be able to record that the Turkish Government has, since the great disaster of 1922, and particularly during recent years, done a great deal to repair such parts of the damage as *can* be repaired. Extensive plans have been formed for laying out new streets and erecting new buildings throughout the ruined area; and considerable progress has been made in carrying these schemes into effect. And thought has been taken, not only for modern amenities, but also for the interests of archaeology. The former Greek church of Agio Vuklo, between Basma-Hané station and the Caravan-Bridge, was early taken over as a Museum; and a fine collection of statues, inscriptions, and other relics of antiquity, has been established there. There exists moreover an “Association des Amis des Antiquités de Smyrne et de ses Environs”, which has published a series of small treatises, including two editions (1927 and 1933) of a ‘Guide du Musée de Smyrne’, and a ‘Guide Panoramique d’Izmir’ (1934), containing a ‘Précis historique’. The inscriptions in the Museum are to be published later. And in other quarters than Smyrna, the Government has shown itself anxious to assist the labours of western archaeologists interested in the monument of Anatolia.¹

For this wise interest and benevolent patronage all friends of Turkey in other lands will be warmly appreciative and grateful. They will, however, be bound to regret in some measure the limitations set to this wisdom and beneficence by the over-emphasized nationalism which has infected post-war Turkey, as it has infected so many other great nations in the last twenty

¹Cf. Kurt Bittel, *Prähistorische Forschung in Kleinasien* (1934), 2: “So ha neuerdings eine erfreuliche Tätigkeit eingesetzt, um auch in die vorgeschichtlichen Kulturen Kleasiens mehr und

mehr Klarheit zu bringen. Das ist nicht zuletzt auf das starke Interesse zurückzuführen, das der neue türkische Staat der Geschichte des Landes entgegenbringt...”

years. It was only right that the Turkish Government should wish to be master in its own house: it was, indeed, natural—after what had occurred—that the national feeling should be strongly roused. But fifteen years have now passed away since Turkey came into her own: and it becomes therefore pertinent to ask how she is being benefited by the absence from her soil of so many thousands of the non-Turkish inhabitants, who between 1915 and 1923 were compelled to leave the country. Both Armenians and Greeks were resident in Asia Minor for a couple of millenniums before the Turks arrived: they contributed by their industry and capacity to the wealth and prosperity of the country—indeed, western Asia Minor owed virtually all its brilliance in civilization, art, and literature to the Greek race. And while not hesitating to brand the Greek military venture of 1919 as a fatuous crime, one can without inconsistency submit that their past record has given the Greeks some real moral right to a permanent share in the life of the country.

A calamity parallel to the complete absence of a Greek stratum in the population is the effort which the Turkish Government is evidently making to obliterate from the country every trace of the once deeply-embedded Greek culture. There were in 1930, I understand, no Christian churches in Smyrna being used for the worship of the Greek Orthodox communion. A systematic attempt is apparently being made to substitute Turkish names for places that have previously had Greek ones. We are to call Constantinople "Istanbul", Cordelio "Karshiyaka", Agia Triada "Turan", Nymphaion (Ninfi or Nif) "Kemal-pasha-köi", and Smyrna—proh nefas!—"Izmir". This alteration of geographical names not only occasions difficulty to map-users (cf. Bittel, *op. cit.* 5), but is a needless aggravation of the nationalistic pride and aggressiveness which were generated by the Great War and its aftermath. Surely by now it ought to have been outgrown.

In the truest interests of Turkey herself it is greatly to be hoped that the adoption of a more magnanimous policy in these matters will ere long commend itself to her leaders as not only more noble, but as at the same time more advantageous. Multitudes belonging to other races besides the Greek have a deep interest in the life of Smyrna, a city which during the

pre-war centuries was long the peaceful, hospitable, and prosperous home of a very cosmopolitan population: and the removal of so many of the conditions that made her such brings sorrow to this great company of well-wishers, without bringing any corresponding gain (but impoverishment rather) to the country to which she belongs. If I—to whom Smyrna is inexpressibly dear as the place where my revered parents had their home for seventeen years, and where I and most of my brothers and sisters first saw the light—have time and strength given me to produce some day a second volume, bringing the history of the city down to modern times, I cherish the hope that, when the story of the present century comes to be told, a happier day will have dawned, and a heartier hospitality to what other nations have to contribute to Smyrna's glory will in that day be awaiting the ready testimony of the chronicler's pen.

All that remains for me to do in this place is to express my cordial thanks to all whose help I have received in collecting and studying my materials. I hardly like to think how many persons I have had to worry in one way or another in the course of my researches. I owe them all great gratitude, and I gladly put my thanks to them on record here. It would be a pleasure to mention them all by name. That is impossible: but I feel bound to specify two Oxford friends who have helped me in very special ways—Mr. Marcus N. Tod, of Oriel College, for his unfailing kindness in advising me on epigraphical questions, and Dr. J. Grafton Milne, of Corpus, who has again and again given me invaluable help in connexion with the study of Smyrna's coins. My last word of thanks is owed to the friends I met in Smyrna and its neighbourhood in 1930. I shall never forget the cordial way in which I was received and assisted and served, not only by members of the European and American colony, but by the numerous Turks with whom, both officially and privately, it was my good fortune to be brought into contact.

Oxford,
January 1938.

C. J. CADOUX.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE FOOTNOTES

This list contains all abbreviations which do not readily explain themselves, and such other items as are of special importance.

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- Allen, *Homer.* *Homer the Origins and the Transmission* by Thomas W. Allen. Oxford (Clarendon Press), 1924.
- Anat. Stud.* *Anatolian Studies presented to Sir William Mitchell Ramsay* edited by W. H. Buckler & W. M. Calder. Manchester (University Press), 1923.
- Anthol. Palat.* *Epigrammatum Anthologia Palatina* . . . instruxit Fred. Dübner. Two vols. Paris (Firmin Didot), 1871 and 1888. I quote the book and no., and add (in brackets) the vol. and p.
- Arch. Anz.* *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, supplement to *Archäol. Zeitung* till 1885, and thereafter *Beiblatt* to *J.D.A.I.* (q.v., below).
- Aristeides Aillios Aristeides the rhetor. I give first the no. of the speech and the p., according to the three-vol. edition of Dindorf (Leipzig [Weidmann], 1829). I then add in brackets the no. of the same speech and that of the *section* quoted, according to the edition of Bruno Keil (Berlin [Weidmann], 1898),

- of which so far only vol. ii has appeared. Keil's notes are sometimes referred to, also the *Prolegomena* to Aristeides ascribed to Sopatros of Apameia (iv/A.D.), and printed in Dindorf's third vol. (737-744). I have not been able to get hold of A.Schwarz's *Die Smyrna-Reden des Aelius Aristides übersetzt . . .*, published at Vienna in 1885.
- Aubé *L'Église et l'État dans la seconde moitié du III^e Siècle [249-284] par B. Aubé. Paris (Perrin), 1885.*
- Babelon *Inventaire sommaire de la Collection Waddington acquise par l'État en 1897 pour le département des médailles et antiques de la Bibliothèque Nationale. By Ernest Babelon. Premier Fascicule. Paris (Rollin et Feuarent), 1897.*
- Baedeker *Konstantinopel Balkanstaaten, Kleinasien Archipel, Cypern Handbuch für Reisende von Karl Baedeker zweite Auflage. Leipzig (Baedeker), 1914.*
- B.C.H. *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique. Paris (Thorin, later Fontemoing, later Boccard), 1877 ff.*
- Baumgart *Aelius Aristides als Repräsentant der sophistischen Rhetorik des zweiten Jahrhunderts der Kaiserzeit von Dr. Hermann Baumgart . . . Leipzig (Teubner), 1874.*
- Beaujour *Voyage Militaire dans l'Empire Othoman, ou description de ses frontières et de ses principales défenses, . . . Par le baron Félix de Beaujour. Two vols. Paris (Didot, etc.), 1829.*
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- Bevan, *House of Seleuc.* *The House of Seleucus by Edwyn Robert Bevan, M.A. Two vols. London (Edward Arnold), 1902.*
- Bittel *Prähistorische Forschung in Kleinasien von Kurt Bittel. (=Band vi of Istanbuler Forschungen . . .). Constantinople, 1934.*
- Blanchard *Géographie universelle publiée sous la direction de P. Vidal de la Blache et L. Gallois. Tome VIII. Asie occidentale par R. Blanchard . . . Paris (Armand Colin), 1929.*

- B.M.C. Ionia*, etc. *A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum. Ionia*, ed. by B. V. Head and R. S. Poole, 1892. *Mysia*, ed. W. Wroth and R. S. Poole, 1892. *Galatia*, etc. ed. W. Wroth, 1899. *Lydia*, ed. B. V. Head, 1901. *Phrygia*, ed. B. V. Head, 1906. London (Quaritch, Kegan Paul, etc.). In the references, the first fig. gives the p.-no., the second (in brackets) the no. of the coin.
- Boeckh See below under "C.I.G."
- Boulanger *Aelius Aristide et la Sophistique dans la Province d'Asie au II^e siècle de notre ère* par André Boulanger. (= Fasc. 126 of *Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome*). Paris (Boccard), 1923.
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- C.A.H.* *The Cambridge Ancient History*. Vols. i-vi edited by J. B. Bury, S. A. Cook, and F. E. Adcock; vols. vii ff. by S. A. Cook, F. E. Adcock, and M. P. Charlesworth. Cambridge (University Press). Vol. i, second ed., 1924. Vol. ii, 1924. Vol. iii, 1925. Vol. iv, 1926. Vol. v, 1927. Vol. vi, 1927. Vol. vii, 1928. Vol. viii, 1930. Vol. ix, 1932. Vol. x, 1934. Vol. xi, 1936.
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- Chron. Pasch.* *Chronicon Paschale* (vii/A.D.) ed. Dindorf. Two vols. Bonn (Weber), 1832.
- C.I.G.* *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*. Vol. i (containing inscriptions 1-1792) and vol. ii (1793-3809) edited by A. Boeckh, 1828 and 1843. Vol. iii (3810-6816) ed. by J. Franz, 1853; and vol. iv (6817-9926) ed. by E. Curtius (6817-8605) and, after his removal to Göttingen, by A. Kirchhoff (Christian inscriptions, 8606-9926), 1877. Berlin (ex officina academica).
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- Diekamp See below, under "Funk".

- Dindorf See above, under "Aristeides".
- Dittenberger See below, under "O.G.I." and "S.I.G."
- D.K.A.W.* *Denkschriften der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien*. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse. Vienna (Hölder).
- East. Prov.* See above, under "Calder".
- E. Br.* *The Encyclopaedia Britannica*. The edition quoted is indicated by the date. The ninth (Edinburgh [Black]) appeared in 1875-1889; the tenth (Edinb. [Black] and London ["Times"]) in 1902-3 as eleven supplementary vols.; the eleventh (New York [Encyc. Brit. Co.]) in 1910-11. The twelfth and thirteenth editions consisted of supplementary vols. The fourteenth (1928) is inferior to its predecessors in regard to history and theology.
- Eirenaïos (without addition) *"Ἐλεγχος καὶ Ἀνατροπὴ τῆς ψευδωνύμου Γνώσεως*, written by Eirenaïos, Bishop of Lugdunum, about 181-189 A.D., usually abbreviated as *Adversus Haereses*.
- Euseb. Ch.-Hist.* *Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Ἱστορία*, written by Eusebios, Bishop of Caesarea, mostly between 305 and 314 A.D. I have used the text edited by Eduard Schwartz, third edition. Leipzig (Hinrichs), 1922.
- Euseb. Chron.* The lost *Chronica* of Eusebios, consisting of (1) *Chronographia*, and (2) *Chronici Canones*. The original Greek can often be restored from Georg. Synkellos and others; and an Armenian version of nearly the whole work is extant, as also is Hieronymus' Latin version of *Chronici Canones*. I have added to the quotations the relevant references in Schöne (*Eusebi Chronicorum libri duo*, 2 vols. Berlin [Weidmann], 1875 and 1876), Karst (. . . *Die Chronik aus dem Armenischen übersetzt* . . . [vol. 20 of *Die griech. christl. Schriftsteller der drei ersten Jahrhunderten*], Leipzig [Hinrichs], 1911), Helm i (*Die Chronik des Hieronymus* . . . *Text* [vol. 24 of same series], 1913), Helm ii (*Die Chronik des Hieronymus* . . . *Lesarten* . . . [vol. 34 of same series], 1926), and Fotheringham (*Eusebii Pamphili Chronici Canones* . . . London [Milford], 1923).
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- F.H.G.* *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum.* Edited by Carl Müller, etc. Five vols. Paris (Firmin Didot), 1841-1870.
- Fotheringham See above, under "Euseb. Chron."
- Franz See above, under "C.I.G."
- Frazer See below, under "Paus."
- Funk, *Patr. Apost.* *Patres Apostolici* edidit Franciscus Xaverius Funk. Volumen I, 1901. Volumen II: editionem III valde auctam et emendatam paravit Franciscus Diekamp, 1913. Tübingen (Laupp).
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A Roman figure following the title of a *modern* work indicates the volume, an arabic figure the page, and a further figure in brackets the numbered paragraph or item on the page referred to.

In references to collections of inscriptions, the arabic figure usually represents the number—not of the page—but of the *inscription* referred to.

Figures following the names of *ancient* works (or their authors) represent, unless it is otherwise indicated, the customary divisions used in the standard editions of the text.

For the sake of clearness, I have used "p." and "pp." for references to the pages of *this* work only.

ii/B.C., iii/A.D., etc. indicate the second *century* B.C., the third *century* A.D., and so on.

CHAPTER I

GEOGRAPHICAL

THE central mass of Asia Minor consists of a somewhat bare plateau, between 2500 and 5000 feet above sea-level, and bounded on the north and south by mountain-ranges, which curve outwards towards the sea. The western portion of the peninsula is an irregular land-mass, formed by the junction of these two ranges or systems with the eastern extremities of the great southward-curving "Dinaric Arc" of mountains that constitute the mainland of Hellas and the island-chains of the Aegæan Sea. The situation has, however, been so modified by later processes that the geology and geography of this entire region are complex in the extreme. The whole western coast-line is very deeply indented, and well-provided with harbours: but whereas in Lykia and southern Karia the interior is rugged and difficult, further north the mountains are lower, somewhat less close to the sea, and threaded by long broad river-valleys, which render even the distant inland-regions easy of access. This valley-country strongly resembles European Hellas—with which it has, moreover, close historical connexions. It forms, on the other hand, a striking contrast to the central plateau; and the history of these two regions was, in the nature of things, bound to be markedly different. Between them lies a belt, 150 miles broad, of bleak, high, rolling ground. Two rivers, the Maiandros and the Hermos, rise in this hilly zone, and flow westwards into deep bays on the Aegæan coast. Between them runs the shorter stream named Kaystros; north of them that named Kaikos. None of the four is navigable for any distance, and they all tend to fill up with silt the harbours into which they flow: but their valleys are fertile, and near their mouths once stood four of the most important cities of this populous district. Miletos lay opposite the mouth of the Maiandros, Ephesos near that of the Kaystros; not far from the

lower Kaikos stood Pergamon, and not far from the mouth of the Hermos—Smyrna.¹

The “swirling Hermos”, with its “ambrosial water”, was revered by the ancients as of divine parentage. Hesiodos reckoned it among the river-progeny of Okeanos and Tethys: another poet said the immortal Zeus begot it.² Its course is about 200 miles long. It rises in “the sacred mountain of Mother Dindymene”,³ now known as the Murad-Dagh, not far from the head-waters of some tributaries of the Maiandros. Its modern Turkish name of Gediz-Chai comes from the town of Gediz near its source. Throughout the upper half of its course it flows, roughly south-west, through the mountainous and volcanic region formerly called “the Katakekaumene”, receiving numerous tributaries and gathering great quantities of pebbles.⁴ Halfway to the sea, it enters a long, broad valley running east and west, of very great beauty and fertility—a part of the region called in the ‘Ilias’ “lovely Meionia”. This valley was known as “the Sardinian plain” or “the plain of Hermos”. From the south-east it is joined by the wide basin of its tributary Kogamos (Alashehr-Chai). A smaller but more famous tributary was Paktolos, which flowed northwards by Sardeis,

¹On the geography and geology of Asia Minor in general, and western Asia Minor in particular, see Scherzer I, 8-13; Weber, *Sipylos*, 1-4; Reclus-Keane 241-278; Ramsay, *Hist. Geog.* 23 f.; Cuinet 399, 428; Wilson [1] f., [84]; Hogarth, *Nearer East*, 6 f., 28-39, 90-92, 98, 127; Sues i. 497-499, iii. 316-325, iv. 522; Wilson and Hogarth in *E. Br.* ii (1910) 757 f.; Baedeker 240-242; Myres in *C.A.H.* i. 42, 57; Giles in *C.A.H.* ii. 2-6; Blanchard 5, 8, 89-93. The geology of the Smyrna-neighbourhood has formed the subject of special studies by H. E. Strickland (in *Trans. of Geol. Soc. of Lond.* II. v [1840] 393-402), T. Spratt (in *Quart. Journ. of Geol. Soc. of Lond.* i [1845] 156-162), E. Forbes (in *op. cit.* 162-164), Vom Rath (in *Sitzgsber. der Niederrhein. Gesellsch. für Natur- u. Heilkunde*, 1882, 16-26), W. Ruge (in *Petermanns Mitteilungen*, xxxviii [1892] 228-230), H. S. Washington (in *Amer. Journ. of Science*, IV. iii [1897] 41-50), and especially A. Philippon (i. 20-24, ii passim, with excellent map, and *Kleinasiens*, 6-8, 93-98, 149-153): cf. Bittel 5 f.

On the historical differences between

western and central Asia Minor, Reclus-Keane 243; Hogarth in Wilson [20], [24].

Cf. finally the remarks of Mylonas (1866) 7: “Haud exigui ad Smyrnae historiam recte cognoscendam momenti est quaestio de locorum conditione. Quae cum . . . nondum ad certum finem perducta sit, nunc quidem de hac re obscurissima disputare omisi . . .”.

²Hesiod. *Theog.* 343; Hom. *Epigr.* i. 4 f. (ἀμβρόσιον πίνοντες ἕδωρ θείου ποταμοῦ, | Ἐρμου δινηέντος, δὲ ἀθάνατος τέκετο Ζεὺς); cf. Hom. *Il.* xx. 392 (Ἐρμῶ δινηέντι).

³Herodot. i. 80, followed by Strabo (XIII. iv. 5 [626]) and Arrianus (*Anab.* V. vi. 4). Plinius, in putting the source “iuxta Dorylaeum Phrygiae civitatem” (*Nat. Hist.* v. 29 [119]), is nearly 70 miles out.

⁴An ancient oracle quoted by Herodotus (i. 55) spoke of πολυμήφιδα . . . Ἐρμον: cf. Hamilton ii. 132. On the upper river, Strabo, as before; Tchihatcheff I. 232, 235-239, IV. iii. 222; Scherzer 10; Reclus-Keane 259 f.; Cuinet 387 f.; Wilson 60a; Baedeker 353.

and was reputed to carry gold-dust (a distinction extended by some writers to the Hermos also). Though no gold existed there in the Roman period, and none exists now, its presence in earlier times is not an impossibility. A few miles to the north of the main stream opposite Sardeis lies the salt and stagnant "Gygaian Lake" (Mermere-Göl), seven miles long. Further west, where the Hermos attains in winter a breadth of nearly 100 yards and is rapid and turbid (though usually fordable and in midsummer shallow), the valley is joined from the north-east by the equally broad and fruitful "Hyrkanian plain", watered by the Kum-Chai (the "fish-stored Hyllos" or "Phrygios" of the ancients).¹

West of its junction with the Hyrkanian plain, the rich Hermos-valley—still furrowed by numerous tributaries—gradually contracts in width until it reaches the picturesque, narrow, four-mile pass now known as Menemen-Boghaz. Beyond this the plain opens out again between prettily-wooded hills; and the river runs for another twenty-odd miles in an irregular westerly direction to the sea. For the last ten of these, however, the waters flow through a course which was specially prepared in 1886 along the line of its ancient bed, and into which they were artificially diverted. Prior to that year, the stream turned southward beyond Menemen, and emptied itself through an ever-changing bed and delta into the Gulf of Smyrna opposite Sanjak-Kalesi. It was diverted to the west in order to prevent it blocking the water-way up the Gulf with its deposits of silt. Even so, the Gulf at its

¹Hom. *Il.* ii. 865 (Γυγαίη . . . λίμνη), iii. 401 (Μηρονίης ἐρατεινῆς), xviii. 291 (sim.), xx. 385 (Τυμάλω ὑπο υφόεντι, Ὑδης ἐν πίοι δῆμω), 390-392 (ἐπὶ λίμνῃ | Γυγαίη, . . . | Ὑλλω ἐπ' ἰχθυόεντι); Herodot. i. 80 (Hyllos); Verg. *Aen.* vii. 721; Strabo XIII. iii. 4 f. (621 f.), iv. 5 (625 f. Paktolos and Hyllos); Plin. *Nat. Hist.* v. 29 (119: Hermos and trib.); Arrian. *Anab.* V. vi. 4 (Ἐρμου τὸ πεδίον . . .); *I.G.R.* iv. 1388 (Smyrna addresses Hermos and the Emperor Antoninus conjointly); Quint. Smyrn. xi. 68 (λίμνη Γυγαίη); Schol. on Claud. Ptol. *Geogr.* V. ii. 6: Tournefort ii. 490 f.; Chandler i. 329 f., 334; Prokesh, *Denkwürd.* iii. 13; Walsh ii. 9, 93 f., with plate (Gygaian Lake); Tchihatcheff I. 98 f., 232-241, IV. ii. 178, 228-232, 421-424,

435; Scherzer 10; Weber, *Sipylos*, 3; *Mous.* V. ii. 9-11 (Hyrk. plain); Reclus-Keane 268, 322 f.; Drexler in Roscher I (1884-1890) 2436-2438; Cuinet 387, 391; Wilson [2], 80a, 82a, 84b; Philippson ii. 7 f., 10-12, iv. 54-59; Büchner in Pauly VIII (1913) 903 f.; Baedeker 346 ff., 353. The Hermos appears on Smyrnaian coins under Titus and Domitianus: other towns like Temnos also put it on their coins (Mionnet iii. 224 f. [1253-1259], *supp.* vi. 336-338 [1668-1670, 1672, 1674, 1679]); *B.M.C. Ionia*, 260 [210], 272 f. [297-301, 304]; Ramsay in *J.H.S.* ii [1881], 286. On the gold-dust, Herodot. i. 93, v. 101; Verg. *Georg.* ii. 137 ("auro turbidus Hermus"); etc., etc.: also Ramsay, *Seven Chs.* 357.

narrowest part is now only a mile and a half broad; and off Sanjak-Kalesi the navigable channel is reduced to a width of half a mile. Along the northern shore of the Gulf, stretches of shallow water adjoin stretches of marshy soil, the water's edge still shifting with the change of the seasons. On the coast, west of the old river-mouth, are large white heaps of salt (hence the name of the town Leukai—"white"). It is obvious that much of this land round the lower river was created in historical times by the alluvial deposits of the river itself, as happened also at the mouths of the Kaystros and the Maian-dros, where the old harbours of Ephesos and Miletos have completely disappeared. A map of 1717 shows the coast-line running very near Menemen, a town now eight miles from the nearest point on the Gulf. The probability is that, at the beginning of the historical period, almost the whole of the large, level, well-watered, and fertile area west and south-west of Menemen, in which lie both the old and the new lower river-beds, was beneath the waters of the Gulf (the heights at and near Leukai—south of the new bed—having certainly once been islands), and that it was this plain that was regarded as par excellence the gift or creation of the river itself. Apart from siltings of this nature, the geological position of the Aegæan coasts has undergone no perceptible change in historical times.¹

South of the lower river and east of this new plain lies a strip of mountainous ground, about twenty-nine miles long, and ten in width from north to south. The whole mass has often (even in ancient times) been loosely spoken of as

¹Herodot. i. 80 (Hermos ἐκδιδοῖ ἐς θάλασσαν κατὰ Φωκαίην πόλιν), ii. 10 (Asia-Minor river-siltings); Pomponius Mela, *Chorogr.* i. 17 (89: "in sinu Smyrnaeo est Hermus amnis et urbs Leuca, extra Phocæa Ioniae ultima"); Plin. *Nat. Hist.* v. 29 (119: "oppidum Leucae in promunturio, quod insula fuit, . . ."); Aristeides xlviii, 468 (xxxvi. 76 f.); Quint. Smyrn. i. 296 (. . . οἱ ἀνοστοναχοῦναι βροαὶ πολυ-ηγέος Ἑρμου); Isidor. *Etymol.* XIII. xxi. 22 ("Hermus . . . qui Smyrneos secat campos, et ipse fluctibus aureis et arenis plenus, a quo et Smyrna vocata est"), XV. i. 39 (sim.); Steph. Byz. s. v. Ἑρμού πεδίον (τόπος πλησίον Κύμης—quoting Ephoros); Tournefort ii. 491, map opp. 500, 511; Chandler i. 92-97 (prophecy that in

time Smyrna will be left high and dry); Prokesch, *Denkwürd.* i. 94-98, 520, and in *J.L.* lxxvii. 61 f.; Texier 329a; Fellows, *Travels*, 13; Tchihatcheff l. 234 f., 241 f., IV. ii. 192 f., iii. 232, 420 f.; Scherzer 4, 7 f., fin. (maps, etc.), (French) 234 f., 239 (scientific study of silt-problem); Weber, *Sipylos*, 3 f., 8; Ramsay in *J.H.S.* ii (1881), 49, 274 f.; Reclus-Keane 268 f. (with map), 323; Kiepert in *Globus*, li (1887) 150-152; Cuinet 368 f., 387, 426, 446, 488; Wilson 70a, 79b, 89a; Suess ii. 445-453; Philippson ii. 2-4, 6, 18, 20; Büchner in Pauly VIII (1913) 904; Baedeker 331 f., 346; Hawley 62, 116 f. (Hermos east of Menemen); Büchner 735 f., 765; Blanchard 90, 92 bott.

“Sipylos”; but this name properly belongs only to the eastern of the two geologically-distinct halves of it.¹

The western mass—the so-called Yamanlar-Dagh—consists for the most part of the volcanic rocks called andesite and trachyte, the colour of which here varies between reddish, yellowish-brown, and brownish-grey. On its lower southern slopes a white trachytic tufa is found; higher up red granite occurs, interspersed with layers of sand. On its upper slopes are fir-woods; but for the rest it is mostly bare. It reaches a height of over 3200 feet at the pass between the two lakes, Kyz-Göl (which lies just south of the watershed at a height of 2200 feet) and the deep mysterious Kara-Göl (just north of it, at a height of 2680). On the west, Yamanlar-Dagh develops into a fan-shaped cluster of round-backed ridges, which—separated by torrent-valleys—rise here and there into peaks, but on the whole slope gently down to the level corn-land and the Gulf, running southwards or southwestwards towards the latter, and leaving a patch of low ground adjoining the coast about Cordelio. East of Cordelio the slopes are steeper, and come quite close to the shore.² About a mile and a quarter almost due north from the extreme north-eastern corner of the Gulf, a ridge of andesite and trachyte, running southwestwards, culminates in a peak, which reaches a height of about 1170 feet above sea-level, and affords a magnificent view of the surrounding country. This is the site of what is usually considered to have been the Akropolis of ancient Smyrna. East and west of it streamlets gush in the wet season down rugged valleys still partly covered with myrtles and oleanders—those to the west uniting to seek an outlet near Agia Triada (about two miles east of Cordelio), those to the east forming the small river that runs its last mile or two in the plain at the eastern end of the Gulf and passes close to the hillock of Hadji-Mutso on its southern side.³

¹Humann discusses this confusion of names in *M.D.A.I.* xiii (1888) 24 f., 27. Cf. Bürchner in Pauly III A (1929) 276 f.

²Prokesch in *J.L.* lxxviii. 85 (the lakes); Hamilton i. 54 f.; Tchihatcheff I. 476, IV. i. 71; Hirschfeld in Curtius, *Beiträge*, 74; Weber, *Hiéron*, 20 f., *Sipylos*, 4-7 (mt.), 32-35 (lakes); Reclus-Keane 258 f.; Humann in *M.D.A.I.* xiii (1888) 25 (geol.); Schweisthal in *R.A.* xvi (1890)

408; Wilson 69b, 79b; Philippson ii. 17-19, 26, 28; Baedeker 343; Bürchner in Pauly III A (1929) 278, 738 (geol.); Miltner 127.

³Hamilton i. 47; Hirschfeld in *op. cit.* 75-78, 81 n. 4; Tsakyroglou i. 6, ii. 15 f., 19; Weber, *Sipylos*, 6 f., 11 f., 13 f., 17-19; Wilson 78a; Bürchner 738 (geol.); Miltner 127-129.

The eastern mass (Sipylos proper) is linked with the western by a comparatively short range, Sabandja-Beli, which reaches a height of over 2300 feet. Its ravines are well watered, and overgrown with planes, cypresses, and fruit-trees. Between it and Yamanlar-Dagh a road runs southwestwards from plain to plain, the top of the pass lying about 1950 feet above sea-level. North-east of Sabandja-Beli rises the thunder-smitten Manisa-Dagh, the central portion of which is over 4900 feet high. Its shape has been much affected by volcanic movements. Its northern and north-eastern slopes are very precipitous, and are pierced by enormous clefts: the southern are much more gradual. The mountain consists mostly of blue-grey limestone: Sabandja-Beli shows also blue slate or schist. Along part of the northern edge of Manisa-Dagh is a row of low hills, on which flourish oleanders and other flowering trees.¹

The branch of the central Hermos-plain that lies along the south side of the chain just described is divided into two by a saddle of late Tertiary formation, which links Sabandja-Beli with the mountains to the south, and at its highest point reaches an elevation of over 860 feet. From this saddle, which commands splendid views in both directions, the ground to the east slopes down gently into the broad open valley of the Nif-Chai, rich with cherry-orchards and vineyards. This river (the Kryos or "cold" stream of the ancients), swollen by tributaries that descend from the mountains all round it, curves right round the eastern end of Mt. Sipylos from south to north, and joins the Hermos a few miles below the junction of the latter with the Hyllos. West of the saddle the ground slopes more steeply; and the pass between the mountains opens out into a small plain of great beauty and fertility, which extends as far

¹Quint. Smyrn. i. 293 (Σιπίλω νυφό-εντι), 297 (κορυφαί Σιπίλου περιμήκεες, ὃν καθύπερθεν ἔχθρῆ μηλονόμουσιν ἀεὶ περιπέπτατ' ὀμίχλη): Tournefort ii. 490 f., 494 f.; Chandler i. 330 f., 336; Prokesch, *Denkwürd.* iii. 12-14; Texier 39b, 227b; Fellows, *Travels*, 13-15; Tchihatcheff I. 468 f., IV. i. 546, 548, ii. 32-35; Weber, *Sipylos*, 4-10; Reclus-Keane 259, 323; Humann in *M.D.A.I.* xiii (1888) 25 f.; Philippson ii. 20-28; Baedeker 241, 343, 346, 347 f.; Philippson, *Kleinasiens*, 93-95; Bürchner in Pauly IIIA (1929) 276-279, 738; Blanchard 89f. The

statement of the earlier authorities (e.g. Cuinet 402, Wilson 69b) that Manisa-Dagh rises to 6000 feet, was apparently erroneous. On the name "Sipylos", see below, p. 36, n. 1, and cf. Bürchner (as above) 275 f., 277 top. According to a story preserved in the pseudo-Ploutarkhian treatise *De Fluviis*, ix. 4 (in *F.H.G.* iv. 379 [cf. iii. 198a]), the mountain was originally called τὸ Κεραῖνιον ὄρος ("the thundery mountain"), but got its later name from Sipylos, son of Agenor and Dioxippe, who hung himself on it in remorse for accidental matricide.

as the eastern end of the Gulf of Smyrna. Its maximum breadth from north to south is about three miles, its present length (from the watershed to the sea) over seven. Its verdure is abundant: plane-trees, olives, vines, walnuts, and fruit-trees generally, enrich the villages situated in it. It is watered by four streams, all of which are, with one qualification, of the nature of torrents, nearly dry in summer and liable to overflow their banks in winter:

the Hadji-Mutso stream (already mentioned), which rises in Yamanlar-Dagh, flows southward to the east of the old Akropolis, and on reaching the plain turns west and enters the sea after passing the hillock of Hadji-Mutso on its southern side:

the Burnabat-stream, which rises near the desolate summit of Yamanlar-Dagh, enters and leaves Kyz-Göl, and descends the pine-clad mountain-side through rocky ravines till it reaches the lower valleys, which are luxuriant with plane-trees and ilex-shrubs: after passing some interesting grottoes above its left bank, it enters the plain at Burnabat, where it too turns west, and carries its load of gravel and pebbles for another three miles to the sea:

the Kavakli-Dere-Chai, which rises in the mountains south of the saddle, and flows the whole length of the plain from near the watershed to the sea: its bed is entered from the south near the sea by the stream flowing from the rich perennial spring of Bunarbashi:

the Arab-Dere-Chai, which rises near the source and finishes near the mouth of the Kavakli-Dere-Chai, but describes a great bend to the south before entering the plain almost due south of Burnabat: thence its dirty and undrinkable stream runs due west to the extreme south-eastern corner of the Gulf.¹

The portion of marshy coast where these four streams meet the sea now runs in a slight curve, a little to the west of north, for about two and a half miles. In very early times, however, the direction was more nearly north-north-east and south-

¹Prokesch, *Denkwürd.* ii. 158, iii. 2 f., 6-9, and in *J.L.* lxvii. 66, lxviii. 56, 84-86; Hamilton i. 51, 54 f.; Storari 54-56; Tchihatcheff I. 235, 468, IV. ii. 175-177, iii. 425 f.; Slaars 6 f. n. 13, 106-109 (XLI-XLIII, LIII, LVI f.), 118 bott.;

Hirschfeld in Curtius, *Beiträge*, 74; Weber, *Sipylas*, 4 f., 6 top, 9 f., 32 f., 33 f., 35 f.; Humann in *M.D.A.I.* xiii (1888) 23; Wilson 79a, 82a, 89b; Philippson ii. 18, 21 f., 35 f.; Baedeker 342-344, 346; Bürchner 738, 748.

south-west. At the southern corner, the submarine reaction to the surface-current set up by the western afternoon-breeze just suffices to carry off the silt brought down by the Kavakli-Dere-Chai and the Arab-Dere-Chai, thus keeping the boundary between land and water fairly constant. To the north, however, in the absence of any such check, a steady accumulation of soil and consequent retreat of the sea-line has taken place. The hillock of Hadji-Mutso was once an island (possibly linked with the mainland by a low saddle) at the entrance of a capacious harbour.¹

South of the Burnabat-plain, the upper valley of the Nif-Chai, the whole middle course of the Hermos, and the valley of the Alashehr-Chai, there runs east and west a broad continuous chain of irregular mountain-masses, bounding the Kaystros-basin on the north. The highest of these is Boz-Dagh (the "snowy Tmolos", south of Sardeis), which reaches a height of 6700 feet. West of this comes Mahmud-Dagh (the ancient Drakon, opposite the eastern flank of Sipylos), about 4500 feet; north-west of Mahmud-Dagh, Nif-Dagh (the ancient Olympos, linked with Sabandja-Beli across the eastern end of the Burnabat-plain), about 4900 feet; south-west of Nif-Dagh, the steep and partially wooded Takhtali-Dagh, which rises to about 3000 feet. Between this and the flat land around the south-eastern corner of the Gulf lies a lower hill with a height of between 1000 and 1500 feet.²

¹Aristeides xv, 378 f. (xvii. 16: he calls the western part of the Burnabat-plain "Poseidon's gift" to Smyrna): Chandler i. 88; Prokesch, *Denkwürd.* ii. 158, iii. 341, and in *J.L.* lxxviii. 56; Texier 229b, 303b; Slaars 99 f. (CIV); Tsakyrogliou i. 6 f., ii. 26 f., 58; Weber, *Sipylos*, VIIC, 11, 25; Wilson 78b; Ramsay, *Seven Chs.* 264 f.; Calder in *East Prov.* 101-103; Bürchner 740, 743 bott., 747; Miltner 129, 159 f.

²Hom. *Il.* xx. 385 (Τμῶλα ὑπο νηόεντι); Plin. *Nat. Hist.* v. 29 (118: "Montes Asiae nobilissimi in hoc tractu fere explicant se: Mastusia a tergo Zmyrnae et Termetis Olympi radicibus iunctus [v.l. iunctis] in Dracone desinit, Draco in Tmolos, Tmolus in Cadmo, ille in Tauro"). The text and meaning of Plinius are obscure, and his knowledge probably not more than approximate. Mastousia

(the "breast-shaped" mountain) "behind Zmyrna" is identified by some with the Castle-hill at Smyrna: but (a) this hill is far too inconspicuous to figure in a list of "montes Asiae nobilissimi", and (b) it has little or no resemblance to a breast. Its more usual name is "Pagos"; but Prokesch von Osten regularly used this word for Takhtali-Dagh (which others again identify with Mastousia or Termetis), and Tchihatcheff for Kizil-Dagh (south-west of Smyrna). The only conspicuous breast-shaped mountains of the district are "the Two Brothers" (see below, p. 17), which French navigators in fact used to call "les deux Mamelles". If they be Mastousia, Termetis might be the next height to the east (now known as "the Three Sisters"), at the foot of which are the warm springs (θερμά) called "the Baths of Agamemnon" (see below, p. 17),

The low hill to the north-west of Takhtali-Dagh reaches to within about three-quarters of a mile of the south-eastern corner of the Gulf, the Burnabat-plain extending south-westwards for nearly three miles beyond that corner. At the corner itself, there issue into the Gulf through an artificial cutting the waters that flow from the steady, abundant, and perpetual fountains of Halka-Bunar, commonly known as "Diana's Bath", and issuing just north of the road that skirts the foot of the hills. The soil has become somewhat marshy, owing to the cutting not having been always existent or always in good condition. Indeed, modern engineering operations have greatly altered the appearance of the locality; and at an earlier period the reedy course of the outflow was probably circuitous and terminated in more than one mouth. The waters are sometimes slightly warm, and are inhabited by fish. Halka-Bunar and Bunarbashi are the only places in the Smyrna-plain possessing large perennial springs.¹

The coast from this point now runs west-north-west for a mile and a quarter, and then turns sharply south-south-west. Within half a mile beyond the mouth of the Halka-Bunar-channel, lie the mouths of the last considerable stream that empties itself into the eastern end of the Gulf. This is the river that flows under the Caravan-Bridge just outside Smyrna. It rises in the hills ten miles to the south, and collects several tributaries from the wooded heights that border on the east and west the fruitful and beautiful but narrow valley through which it flows. A swollen torrent during the rainy season, it is usually dry or nearly so in summer-time. It is thought to have been in ancient times richer in water than it is at present, owing to the greater abundance of trees and rain. About three-quarters of a mile from its mouth, and between it and Diana's

and which consequently might—as Fonrier conjectured (in *R.E.A.* ii [1900] 250)—have borne a name (? *Θερμητρύς*) suggested by the proximity of the springs. See also Prokesch in *J.L.* lxxviii. 60; Hamilton i. 153; Fellows, *Travels*, 236, 238, 241; Tchihatcheff I. 466–468, IV. i. 544–548, ii. 33–36; Slaars 8, 9 n. 18, 10–12 n. 22, 96 (LXXXVI); Reclus-Keane 257; Cuinet 403, 428; Wilson 69b, 91b; Hogarth, *Nearer East*, 34 f.; Ramsay in *H.D.B.* iv. 554a n.; Suess iii. 323; Philippson ii. 21, 28–31, 63–76;

Baedeker 343; Philippson, *Kleinasien*, 95 f.; Büchner 738, 747, 754, 759; Blanchard 86 f.

¹Tournefort ii. 511; Chandler i. 86; Prokesch, *Denkwürd.* ii. 155 f. and in *J.L.* lxxvii. 66, lxxviii. 55, 64, 82 f.; Storari 53; X. Landerer in *Ἐφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογική*, 1857, 1550; Slaars 12 f. n. 25, 108 (LI), 111 f., 114; Tsakyroglou ii. 32 f., 59; Wilson 77 f., 79b; Ramsay, *Seven Chs.* 263, and in *H.D.B.* iv. 554b; Calder in *East. Prov.* 98 f., 116; Philippson ii. 35; Baedeker 341; Büchner 740 f., 748.

Bath stands the hillock now bearing the name of Tepejik.¹

Having now described the rivers that flow into the eastern extremity of the Gulf, we must next discuss the problem as to which of them is to be identified with the river known in classical times by the (probably Anatolian) name of "Meles". In order to do so, we need first to collect the statements made by classical authors about it.

The earliest of these is found in the (so-called Homeric) 'Hymn to Artemis', written perhaps in the sixth century B.C., i.e. when Smyrna presumably lay at the north-eastern corner of the Gulf: the goddess is described as "having watered her horses from Meles deep in reeds", before driving through Smyrna on her way to Klaros (near Kolophon).² Some lines of unknown date interpolated into one of the Homeric 'Epigrams' (a group of poetical fragments now found in a late 'Life of Homeros', but probably composed at least as early as the sixth century B.C.), says that "the bright water of sacred Meles flows through" Smyrna.³ Hekataios of Miletos (about 500 B.C.) said that the Gulf of Smyrna was called the Gulf of Meles, on account of the river.⁴ Aristoteles (384-322 B.C.) and his contemporary Ephoros of Kyme promulgated legendary versions of the story of the birth of Homeros by the banks of the Meles, which implied that the spot was within easy walking distance of Old Smyrna.⁵ An oracular utterance said by Pausanias (in the second century A.D.) to have been given by Apollon at Klaros, when Smyrna was about to be refounded by Alexandros the Great (334 B.C.) on its present site, declared: "Thrice and four times happy will those men be, who are going to inhabit Pagos beyond" (or possibly "opposite to")

¹Tournefort ii. 510 f.; Chandler i. 87, 90, 134 f.; Prokesch *ll. cc.* (he calls it "Kaleon"); Texier 309; Tchihatcheff I. 242, IV. ii. 172-175, 177, iii. 427-429, 434 f.; Slaars 62, 103-114 (XX, XXXIV, LIII, LV, LXXIV, LXXVI f., LXXIX, XCIII); Tsakyroglou ii. 31 f., 57 f., 59, 60; Ramsay, *Hist. Geog.* 115; Wilson 79b; Calder in *East. Prov.* 97 f. ("twenty" a misprint for "twelve"), 100, 113, 116; Philippson ii. 30-33, 36; Hawley 141 f.; Büchner *ll. cc.*

²Hom. *Hymn to Artemis*, 3-5: ἦθ' ἵππους ἀρασα βαθυχοῖνιο Μέλητος | ῥίμψα διὰ

Σμύρνης παγχρύσειον ἄρμα διώκει | ἐς Κλάρων ἀμπελόεσσαν, . . .

³Hom. *Epigr.* iv. 6 f. (Σμύρνην . . . | ἦντε δι' ἀγλαὸν εἰσιν ὕδωρ ἱεροῖο Μέλητος). See below, pp. 57 f. n. 2.

⁴In Steph. Byz. s.v. *Μελήτου κόλπος* (*Μελήτου κόλπος, ὃς Σμυρναῖος ἐκαλεῖται, ἀπὸ Μελήτου ποταμοῦ, ὡς Ἐκαταῖος ἐν Αἰολικοῖς*) = *F.H.G.* i. 15a (213; but Müller reads ὄ for ὄς). Probably *Μελήτου* is a mistake for *Μέλητος*. Cf. Büchner 744.

⁵See below, p. 74.

“sacred Meles”.¹ The geographer Strabo (writing about 6 B.C.) observed that, though Homeros made no mention of Smyrna or of Meles which flowed near it, he must have known of it, as it was said by many to have been his birthplace.² In a later passage he says that the Meles flows near to the city-wall (the city then standing approximately where it stands to-day).³ On the coins of Smyrna struck under various emperors from Tiberius to Commodus, the Meles was usually depicted as a male figure reclining, and holding reeds and grasses, but without the cornucopia that often formed part of the insignia of the Hellenic river-god.⁴ The elder Plinius (23–79 A.D.) described Smyrna as “rejoicing in the Meles, which rose not far away”.⁵ The poet Statius (61–96 A.D.) spoke of “Meles with its illustrious source”, as the drink of one who had been born at Smyrna.⁶

For the period of Marcus Aurelius (161–180 A.D.) we have, beside the coins, three important pieces of evidence. First an inscription, now in the mosque at Burnabat, but stated to have been brought thither from near Diana’s Bath (an important clue)—to this effect: “I sing the praises of the river (-god) Meles, my saviour, now that every plague and evil has ceased”. It looks like the grateful utterance of some Smyrnaian, who attributed his escape from pestilence (perhaps that of 165–168 A.D.) to the beneficial effect of bathing in the Meles.⁷ Secondly, Pausanias, besides recording the earlier oracle just

¹Paus. VII. v. 3 (. . . | οἱ Πάγον οικήσουσι πέρην ἱεροῦ Μέλητος). Slaars argues (116 [CII–CV]) that πέρην can mean “en face de”, and that the phrase suits his identification of Meles with Diana’s Bath.

²Strabo XII. iii. 27 (554): . . . ὅπου γε οὐδὲ Μέλητα τὸν παρὰ τὴν Σμύρναν βέοντα ἠνόμακε ποταμόν, τὴν ὑπὸ τῶν πλείστων λεγομένην αὐτοῦ πατρίδα . . . οὐδ’ αὐτὴν Σμύρναν λέγει, . . .

³Strabo XIV. i. 37 (646: ρεῖ δὲ πλησίον τοῦ τεύχους ὁ Μέλης ποταμός). Cf. Slaars 116 f. (CVII–CXI).

⁴Tournefort ii. 510; Chandler i. 91; Mionnet iii. 210 f. (1153–1162), *supr.* vi. 321 (1580), 336 (1671); Slaars 72; *B.M.C. Ionia*, 249 (124–128), 260 (207–209), 261 (216–220); Ramsay, *Seven Chs.* 263 f. (illustr.); K. A. Esdaile in *J.H.S.* xxxii (1912) 317–321. A similar representation of the Meles was made on the coins of

Amastris. Cf. Papadop.–Keram. in *M.D.A.I.* iv (1879) 114 (2: statuette, as a youth), 120 (77).

⁵Plin. *Nat. Hist.* v. 29 (118): “. . . in ora Zmyrna, amne Melete gaudens non procul orto”.

⁶Stat. *Silv.* III. iii. 60 f. (“potusque verendo | fonte Meles”): cf. II. vii. 34 (“Graio . . . Melete”).

⁷*C.I.G.* 3165 = *I.G.R.* iv. 1389 (“Υμῶ θεὸν Μέλητα ποταμὸν τὸν σωτήρᾶ μου, παντὸς δὲ λοιμοῦ καὶ κακοῦ πεπαυμένου). If ποταμὸν be omitted, the remainder forms two iambic lines. Some have read με for δὲ and the last word as πεπαυμένον. I give the text as I found it by personal inspection in April 1930. Cf. Störari 10, 50–52; Slaars 53, 60, 118 (CXXII); Tsakyroglou ii. 64 n.; Ramsay in *J.H.S.* iii (1882) 57; Lightfoot i. 468; Büchner 744, 748, 764; Herzog in *S.P.A.*, 1934, 768 f.

noted, observes: "The Smyrnaians possess the river Meles, an excellent stream, with a cave at its sources, where they say Homeros composed his poems".¹ Thirdly, we have the verbose effusions of the orator Ailios Aristeides, who says that the Meles was in front of the city-gates, that it rose not far from the sea amid grots, houses, and trees, that its upper course formed a circle or necklace, that it ran through a cutting and mingled quietly with the sea (raising a bore if the wind was blowing upstream), and that it was everywhere full of fishes, some of which were so tame that they would take food from people on the banks, and would dance and tumble about—as if drunk—to the sound of the flute.² The sea extended past the Meles to the east so far as to form a bight.³ Swans and nightingales sang near it.⁴ In the second century A.D., dwelling-places closely adjoined it.⁵ It maintained the same volume in summer and winter, being never swollen with rain or shrunk with drought: its source was near its mouth, no part of its course wandering far from the city, of which it seemed to be both lover and guardian.⁶

Philostratos (172–245 A.D.) mentions the grove or wooded pasture through which the Meles flowed: his junior namesake describes the proximity of its mouth to its source, whereby its whole course could be seen at once, and praises its gentle, noiseless flow, the beautiful crocuses, hyacinths, and lotus-flowers that adorned its banks, and its fresh drinkable water.⁷ Himerios, a fourth-century sophist, says that the Meles rose

¹Paus. VII. v. 12 (Σμυρναίους δὲ ποταμὸς Μέλῃς ὕδαρ ἔστι κάλλιστον, καὶ σπήλαιον ἐπὶ ταῖς πηγαῖς, ἔνθα Ὅμηρον ποιῆσαι τὰ ἔπη λέγουσι). Cf. Slaars 72 (Oikon.), 106 f. (XLI–XLIII), 115 (XCVIII–CI); Chandler i. 91; Büchner in Pauly VIII (1913) 2145.

²Aristeides xv, 377 f. (xvii. 14 f.): Ramsay, *Phrygia*, ii. 354 n. 1; Calder in *East. Prov.* 109 f.

³Aristeides xv, 380 (xvii. 19: ἡ δὲ θάλαττα . . . τοσοῦτον τοῦ Μέλῃτος πρὸς ἔω παραλλάττουσα ὅσον εἰς καμπὴν παρεξέλθειν, . . .).

⁴Aristeides xx, 428 (xviii. 9).

⁵Aristeides xxi, 437 (xx. 21): when Smyrna was restored after the earthquake, τῷ Μέλῃτι οὐδὲν ἐμποδῶν τὸ μὴ τοὺς προσοίκους ἔχειν.

⁶Aristeides xxii, 444 (xxi. 14 f.).

Schwartz (*Ostertafeln*, 133), Calder (in *East. Prov.* 99, 106ff.), and Boulanger (131) think that "the river which flowed in front of the city", and in which Aristeides bathed by order of Asklepios, as he tells us in xxiv, 470 (xlviii. 18–21—see below, p. 265), was the Meles. This, however, is unlikely; for in that case, why does not Aristeides say "Meles" as his custom is, and how (particularly on Calder's view) should we explain the bridge? On Aristeides' testimony generally, cf. Slaars 13 n. 26, 110–115; Tsakyroglou ii. 61; Calder in *East. Prov.* 99, 106–111.

⁷Philostr. *Apollon*. vii. 8 (285: διελέγετο . . . περὶ τὸ νέμος τῆς Σμύρνης, ἐν ᾧ ὁ Μέλῃς); Philostr. jr. *Imag.* ii. 8 (822, 823 fin.): Chandler i. 91; Slaars 113 f.; Calder in *East. Prov.* 110 f.

in the suburbs of Smyrna from numerous adjacent springs, and almost immediately formed a lake deep and wide enough for boats with oars, and then flowed on between banks decked with reeds and cypresses, until it mingled slowly and noiselessly with the sea, "like some lover wishing to steal the company of his favourite boy".¹ The Scholiast on Claudius Ptolemaios says that Meles "flows around" Smyrna.²

Such then was the Meles of antiquity. Despite the partial disappearance of the trees, the present-day absence of grottoes, and the almost complete alteration of other local conditions, most modern investigators seem to be agreed that the Meles of the imperial period must be identified with a stream that flowed from the springs of Halka-Bunar.³ This identification, however, does not suit the earliest references—those, namely, connecting the river with *Old* Smyrna, which lay at the north-eastern corner of the Gulf⁴: and it hardly seems a satisfactory explanation to say that the river Meles was the conventional literary correlative to the city of Smyrna, and that the references in question have consequently no geographical value. Is it possible that the name "Meles" was originally applied to the Hadji-Mutso- or the Burnabat-stream,⁵ which may have flowed through Old Smyrna,⁶ and that later (when the new city was founded) it became transferred to the waters of Halka-Bunar?⁷ This transfer of the name from one river to another would then be but an earlier instance of what must certainly have happened later, if the Meles in imperial times was the Halka-Bunar-stream: for, from 1675 at latest down to the present day, the Caravan-Bridge-River has been popularly regarded as the ancient Meles, and has been so marked even

¹Himerios, *Eclog.* xiii. 31. Meles appears as a man's name in the (possibly pre-Roman) inscription in *R.E.G.* xiii (1900) 497 (8).

²Schol. on Claud. Ptol. *Geogr.* V. ii. 7 (. . . περιρρέει . . .).

³So Truon (1813), Slaars (1868), Wilson (1895), Ramsay (1890 ff.), Calder (1906), Kiepert jr., and Bürchner (1927).

⁴Unless, like Truon, Beaujour, and Slaars, we locate Old Smyrna near Diana's Bath: but see below, pp. 59 f.

⁵So, among others, Prokesch von Osten (1825), Michaud (1830), Hamilton (1836), Tsakyroglou (1879), Weber (1880), and

Kiepert. Hamilton (1842) and Cherbuliez (1862-3) thought that the Burnabat-stream flowed into the Kavakli-Dere-Chai, and suggested that the latter was possibly identical with Meles.

⁶Though in that case *βαθυσχοίνιο* in Hom. *Hymn to Artemis* would perhaps be a mere "epitheton ornans"; for the two streams mentioned have now, I am told, no reeds.

⁷Tsakyroglou (ii. 63) and Weber (*Sipylos*, 103 f.) thought that the name was transferred from the Burnabat-stream to the Caravan-Bridge-River—Cherbuliez (i. 16) from the Kavakli-Dere-Chai to the Caravan-Bridge-River.

on good recent maps, and the identification has been elaborately defended.¹ Even on this supposition, the oracle reported by Pausanias remains difficult.² We should have to suppose that the new Smyrna was "beyond the Meles" from the point of view—not of Klaros—but of Old Smyrna. This would be easy if the oracle were a later fabrication by someone who placed the Meles at Halka-Bunar, but not so easy if spoken by someone who meant by Meles either the Burnabat- or the Hadji-Mutso-stream.³

Near the left bank of the Caravan-Bridge-River, two miles from its present mouths and on the concave side of a bend in its course (the beautiful "Valley of St. Anna" or "of the Prophet Elias"), rises a hill composed of red and grey volcanic andesite and trachyte. Its rounded top—elongated from east to west—attains an altitude of nearly 600 feet above sea-level. To this hill, the Castle-hill of Smyrna, the name "Pagos" (meaning a rocky eminence) has been attached since pre-Christian times. To the north and west the ground slopes down

¹So Spon (1675), Tournefort (1701), Chandler (1764), Beaujour (1817), Oikonomos (1817), Texier (1836), Tchihatcheff (1853), Storari (1857), Hirschfeld (1872), Stark (1874), Tsakyroglou (1879), Weber (1880), Cuinet (1894), and most Smyrniotes.

²See above, pp. 10 f.

³See on the whole question Slaars II, 13, 101-118; Tsakyroglou ii. 43-48, 51-66; Ramsay, *Hist. Geog.* 115; Calder in *East. Prov.* 106-116. Fontrier (in *R.E.A.* ix [1907] 119 f., and in a monograph *Περὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ Μέλῆρος* [Smyrna, 1907]), which latter I have been unable to see) identifies Meles with a stream which, he says, formerly rose in Mortakia (a region about a quarter of a mile below the Caravan-Bridge and close to the left bank of the river), turned from west to north near the Armenian Hospital, and entered the sea a little less than a mile south-west of the Point. This was apparently the "ruisseau des Teinturiers", near which were found inscribed stones, brought (possibly by a Smyrnaian dyer or fuller) from the island Kimolos (see *Le Bas-Wadd.* 1, 28 f., with notes). The theory is an exceedingly difficult one to appraise. Fontrier himself states that the spring at Mortakia had disappeared under heaps of

rubbish; and the fire of 1922 and the subsequent building-operations have made it more than ever impossible to trace the course of the stream. If our theory that the Point is the apex of a river-delta is correct (see below, p. 15), we should expect to find some branch of the river entering the sea to the south-west of it: such a branch is in fact marked on Storari's map (1857), as well as on that in Wilson's *Handbook*, as commencing near the Caravan-Bridge, and flowing for some distance to the north of Basmahan Station (coinciding in part with the course of Fontrier's Meles). No part of it, I am told, is now visible above ground. It seems unlikely that the Meles could have been a delta-branch of the Caravan-Bridge-River; but it may well have been a stream rising in Mortakia. Without very careful fresh personal examination of the ground (now rendered harder than ever to examine), a more confident judgment in either direction is impossible. It may well be that the river mentioned by Aristeides (xxiv, 472 [xlvi. 27]) as flowing partly within and partly without the city is identical with this stream described by Fontrier: see below, p. 268 n. 3. Tchihatcheff's account (I. 242) of the lower Caravan-Bridge-River is inaccurate and confusing.

to the low flat land immediately adjoining the sea, which in the west-north-west direction is now about a mile distant. On the north-eastern side of the hill are loam-beds. From the top of it one can see as far as Khios and Mytilene, the view being one of the finest in the Levant. On the slopes of this hill and on the adjacent coastal district—in a longitude of $27^{\circ} 9'$ east and a latitude of $38^{\circ} 26'$ north—the city of Smyrna has stood for over twenty-two centuries.¹ The distance of the site from Ephesos, measured in a straight line, is given by Strabo as 320 stadioi, roughly thirty-seven miles: actually it is thirty-four or -five. He says it is less than 200 stadioi (twenty-three miles) from Smyrna to Phokaia: the actual distance is twenty-seven. From Smyrna to Sardeis is about forty-eight miles as the crow flies.²

The coastline, as far as "the Point" west of the river-mouths, has already been described. It now turns sharply south-south-west, and continues in that direction for nearly three miles. The ground adjoining the sea is post-tertiary alluvium, so low-lying that it was difficult to drain properly, especially in wet weather, when it was apt to be flooded with mud and water. This portion of land is apparently the delta of the Caravan-Bridge-River; and—as we have seen—there seem to have been until recently traces of a branch of it which diverged to the north-west from near the Bridge and emptied itself into the sea a little less than a mile south-south-west of the Point. For some reason all the water now apparently flows out through the mouths east of the Point, and the formation of new soil has ceased. But it is very clear that in former times the apex of the delta and the coast on either side of it lay some distance south of their present positions. Prokesch von Osten, who visited Smyrna in 1824–1828, stated that many then living could remember the time when the houses on the eastern side of Frank Street—which now lies about 250 yards inland—stood

¹Aristeides xv, 375, 380 (xvii. 10, 19), xx, 425 (xviii. 3): Hamilton i. 53 f.; Tchihatcheff IV. i. 73, 319, 459; Slaars 10–12 n. 22, 112 (LXXIV); Tsakyroglou ii. 31; Wilson 70a, 74b; Ramsay, *Seven Chs.* 43, 279 f.; Philippon ii. 31–33; Baedeker 332, 335, 340, 342, 372; Hawley 85 f.; Büchner 738, 747. Estimates of the height of Pagos vary a good deal: I have followed the most

recent. On the identification of "Pagos", see above, p. 8 n. 2. On the lat. and long. of Smyrna, Claud. Ptol. *Geogr.* I. xii. 6, V. ii. 6 f., VIII. xvii. 11: a collection of old estimates of them is given by Slaars 62 n. 115.

²Strabo XIV. i. 2 (632), ii. 29 (663): Ramsay in *J.H.S.* ii (1881) 50 f. and *Hist. Geog.* 165–168.

on the sea-front. With the aid of accumulations of rubbish and artificial foundations, the area of the city has been considerably increased at the expense of the sea, while the shallowness of the water adjoining the coast has been to a great extent corrected by the building of the modern quay. About a mile and a half from the present "Point", the coastline was formerly broken by a small harbour, the narrow mouth of which could be closed by a chain. In the course of the eighteenth century it got completely filled up; and its site is now marked by the Bazaars. Near the north-western corner of Pagos is a natural hollow which was utilized for the theatre. Westward from Pagos, with a slight curve to the south, runs a ridge or saddle connecting it with a somewhat higher hill overlooking the stadion, and leading on further to Deirman-Tepé, 250 feet high, which adjoins the sea and marks the southern limit of the two and a quarter mile sea-front of modern Smyrna.¹

Mt. Pagos and its adjacent heights, though separated by the valley of the Caravan-Bridge-River from the great chain of mountains to the east, and of a different geological formation, are yet links in some sort connecting that chain with its broad prolongation to the west. For a couple of miles beyond Deirman-Tepé, the mountains come close to the sea. Then follows a stretch of recently-formed alluvial coastland, over five miles long and at one point two miles broad, and planted with rich olive-groves. South of the middle of it rises the cluster of peaks called "the three Sisters" (1400 feet). In a

¹Strabo XIV. i. 37 (646: ἔστι δὲ πρὸς τῇ ἄλλῃ κατασκευῇ τῆς πόλεως καὶ λιμῆν κλειστός). Aristeides refers to the "harbours" of Smyrna in general (xv, 375 [xvii. 11], xx, 425 [xviii. 3], xlii, 774 [xxiii. 20]: cf. xxii, 441 [xxi. 5: πάντα δὴ τὸν κόσμον τῶν ὄρων ὡς ἐξήρτηντο ἀλλήλων]), and says that after the earthquake they longed for the city's embrace (xx, 426 [xviii. 6]), and got it when the city was rebuilt (xxi, 437 [xx. 21]): he describes them as in one place encircling the city, and in the other held by her in the midst (xxii, 441 [xxi. 5]). The latter expression probably refers to Strabo's λιμῆν κλειστός, as also does Aristeides' references to the harbour at the city's navel (xv, 380 [xvii. 19]) and to the harbour that "was closed" (μέμικε) by the earthquake (xli, 763 [xix. 3]). With this must be contrasted "the outer harbour",

near which stood a temple of Asklepios (xxvi, 531 [I. 102]), and which was presumably the open roadstead. How many "harbours" there were, and which of them it was that adjoined the Odeion (xxvii, 541 f. [li. 30]), the orator does not say. Cf. Tournefort ii. opp. 495 (engraved view from sea, showing small harbour), 496 ("... La ruë des Francs... regne tout le long du Port..."), 498 f.; Chandler i. 77 f., 103; Prokesch in *J.L.* lxvii. 65, lxviii. 60; Storari 9, 45-49 (advocates a more northerly position for the closed harbour); Slaars 19, 36, 60 f., 63, 122-125; Tchihatcheff IV. iii. 383 f.; Scherzer 5; Tsakyroglou i. 31, 68; Fontrier in *R.E.A.* ix (1907) 117 f.; Ramsay, *Seven Chs.* 253, 255 f., 262, 265; Philippson ii. 34, 39; Baedeker 340; Büchner 736, 738, 747, 749 bott., 751, 756, 758.

river-valley immediately to the west, just where the mountains sink into the plain, and close alongside a cold stream, are the medicinal springs of hot sulphurous water known in ancient times as "Agamemnoneian". Further south-west, ten miles from Smyrna, rise the fine peaks called "the Two Brothers", which reach a height of about 2900 feet. Easily visible from Smyrna, they are taken as foretelling the weather by their clear or clouded appearance. Inland, behind these "Brothers" and "Sisters", the main summit of Kizil-Dagh rises to more than 3500 feet. The steep mountain-slopes along the shore further west, as far as the site of Klazomenai, are sparsely covered with evergreens and flowering trees, while the lower ground is rich in fruits and flowers. About twenty-five miles from Smyrna, the westward-projecting block of land reaches its minimum breadth of less than seven miles, where a depression connects its eastern with its western half. This latter is a large and irregularly-shaped peninsula, filled with mountains and formerly forest-clad. Near the northern end of it, facing the mountains of Phokaia across the mouth of the Gulf of Smyrna, stands the massive Boz-Dagh (the ancient "wind-swept Mimas", 3900 feet high), whose seaward spurs form the bold headland known in ancient times as Melaina and in modern as Kara-Burun ("Black Nose").¹

¹Hom. *Od.* iii. 172 (ἡγεμόνευτα Μίμαντα), *Hymn to Del. Apoll.* 39 (παιπαλόεις τε Μίμας), *Epirg.* vi. 5; Aristoph. *Nub.* 273; Strabo XIV. i. 31f. (644: penin. described), 33 (645: . . . Μίμας ἐστὶν ὄρος ἰψηλόν, εὐθρον, πολυδενδρον' εἶτα . . . ἄκρα Μέλαινα καλουμένη, μύλων ἔχουσα λατόμων), 36 (645: after Klazomenai: εἰθ' ἱερὸν Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ θερμὰ ὕδατα καὶ ὁ Σμυρναίων κόλπος καὶ ἡ πόλις); Paus. VII. v. 11 (Κλαζομενίους δὲ λουτρά ἐστιν' ἐν δὲ αὐτοῖς Ἀγαμέμνων ἔχει τιμᾶς); Aristides xxiii, 450 f. (xlvi. 22), xxiv, 466 (xlvi. 7: τοῖς ὕδασι . . . τοῖς θερμοῖς . . . ἀπέχει δὲ τῆς πόλεως οὐ πολὺ), xxiv, 478 (xlvi. 50: εἶδει δὲ πορευθέντα πρὸς τὰς πηγὰς τὰς θερμὰς τῶ μὲν θερμῷ ὕδατι μὴ χρῆσθαι, τῷ δὲ παραρρέοντι ποταμῷ), xxv, 499 f. (xliv. 43, 45); Philostr. jr. as below, p. 53 n. i; *Mart. Ripon.* iv. 22 (. . . τοῦ θερμοῦ ὕδατος . . . τοῦ ἀναβλύζοντος ἐκ γῆς—heated by the subterranean fire!); Agathias of Myrina, *Epirg.* 66 (Εἰς τὰ θερμὰ τὰ Ἀγαμεμόνια ἐν Σμύρῃ): Tournefort ii.

500–503; Chandler i. 69, 93 f., 102–105, 110–113, 116; Prokesch, *Denkwürd.* i. 93–97, 506 f., and in *J.L.* lxvii. 60–63, lxviii. 55; Texier 38b, 39a, 370 f.; Spratt as above, p. 2 n. 1; Hamilton i. 44; Storari 60 f.; Tchihatcheff I. 63–65, 242, 338 f., 467 f., IV. i. 71 f., 319, 460, 472, 559, ii. 33–39, iii. 384–387, 429 f.; Slaars 61–64; Scherzer 5, 178; Weber in *M.D.A.I.* x (1885) 212 f.; Ramsay, *Hist. Geog.* 115; Weismantel 18–20, 22; Wilson [2], 69b, 79a, 108b; Fontrier in *R.E.A.* ii (1900) 249–251; Suess iii. 323–325; Philippson ii. 32, 40–57; Baedeker 331 f., 341; Philippson, *Kleinasien*, 96–98, 154 f.; Büchner 738 f., 747, 756, 758 f.; Blanchard 89. The most scientific account I have seen of "the Baths of Agamemnon" is that of Dr. G. Latres, in his essay *Περὶ τῶν ἱαματικῶν ὑδάτων τῆς Ἰωνικῆς Χερσονήσου* (included in *Πρακτικά τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις Συνόδου τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἱατρῶν*, 1882, and pubd. there in 1883), 19–22.

Such are the main features of the country surrounding that great inlet of water—over ten miles wide at its mouth, and about forty miles long—which is now known as the Gulf of Smyrna. In ancient times, the name “Smyrnaian” or “Smyrnaic Gulf” or “Gulf of the Smyrnaians” was confined to its inner eastern end, the larger north-western portion being known as the “Hermeian Gulf” (from Hermos). Travellers speak with one voice of the beauty and rich colouring of the Gulf itself and the woods and mountains that adjoin its shores—a beauty that increases as one sails towards its eastern extremity. Its waters often show phosphoric lights. The northern coast is beset with shallows; but in ancient times the area of deep water was much more extensive in this direction. The Gulf is protected by the surrounding mountains from the violent storms of the open sea, and possesses several excellent harbours. The length of coastline and the amount of harbourage are increased by the group of islands lying off the southern shore. Klazomenai itself was built on an islet close to the coast. Marathoussa was one of the cluster of islands lying immediately to the north of it, with Pele beyond them, and further still Drymoussa, seven miles long, now known as “Long Island”. The Myrmekees were rocky islets off the opposite coast, near Phokaia and Leukai. Other islands mentioned by Plinius as being near Smyrna, but difficult to identify to-day, are—the Peristeridai, Karteria, Alopeke, Elaiousa, Bakkina, Pysteira, Krommyonesos, and Megale.¹

The climate of Ionia (in the northern part of which Smyrna lay) was celebrated by Herodotos as more temperate than that of the surrounding regions, and indeed as the finest known. Hippokrates pronounced the climate of Asia generally to be

¹Thoukyd. viii. 31 (τὰς ἐπικειμένας ταῖς Κλαζομεναῖς νήσοις, Μαραθουσαν καὶ Πήλην καὶ Δρύμουσαν); Polyb. XXII. xxvii. 5 and Livius xxxviii. 39 (Drymoussa); Plin. *Nat. Hist.* v. 29 (119: Myrmekees), 31 (138: islands); Aristeides xv, 381 (xvii. 21 f.), xxiii, 461 (xlvi. 65: τοῦ γὰρ λιμένος κυμαίνοντος ἐξ ἀνέμου λιβὸς . . .), xxiv. 468 (xlvi. 12: islands); Quint. Smyrn. ii. 103 ff., etc., etc. (but it is not certain that his fairly numerous allusions to navigation [see Loeb—index] directly reflect personal experiences in Smyrnaian waters): Chandler i. 71, 92–95,

109; Prokesch, *Denkwürd.* i. 95, 97, and in *J.L.* lxvii. 60 f., 70, lxviii. 55; Texier 369b, 370b; Fellows, *Travels*, i, 8; Tschihatcheff I. 60–63, 601–609; Slaars 42 n. 76, 61 n. 110, 63 nn. 119 f.; Tsakyroglou i. 2–4; Wilson 69 f., 170 b; Baedeker 331; Hawley 62; Burchner 735, 758, 765. *Mous.* I. 110 (a') gives a copy of the one document we possess which refers to Marathoussa—the tomb-inscription of a Smyrnaian lady of imperial times. Contoleon (in *M.D.A.I.* xii [1887] 251 [13 f.]) gives two inscriptions from Long Island.

more genial, and more favourable to animal and vegetable life, than that of European Hellas. Aristeides boasted that the spring- and summer-breezes at Smyrna surpassed the nightingales and grasshoppers in sweetness, and made the whole city like a grove! In and near Smyrna, the winters are cold and stormy; but snow and frost are usually confined to the high ground. The annual rainfall, about three-quarters of which comes during the months from November to March inclusive, averages nearly twenty-six inches; but it is very variable, the driest in a series of thirty-five years showing six and a half inches only, the wettest over forty. The later spring and the autumn are delightfully temperate. From June to September inclusive there is little or no rain, and the heat is intense, the temperature frequently rising to 102° Fahrenheit in the shade by day, and to 92° at night: but it is modified by a cool, westerly or north-westerly sea-breeze—the “Zephyros” of the classics, the “Imbat” (i.e. landward) of modern times—which from April to October rises regularly in the heat of the day, blows (sometimes quite strongly) during the afternoon, dies down about sunset, and is generally succeeded by a land-breeze at night. The disadvantage of it is that it tends to check the flow of drainage from the city out into the Gulf; but great distress is experienced if ever the Imbat fails. The clearness of the atmosphere and the brightness of the light contribute not a little to the cheerful and invigorating character of the place.¹

Owing to the volcanic nature of the mountainous region around Smyrna, this part of Asia Minor is very liable to suffer from earthquakes. In the reign of Tiberius, Halikarnassos

¹Herodot. i. 142, 149 (Aiolis more fertile than Ionia, but climatically inferior); Hippokr. *De Aere*, etc. 12; Claud. Ptol. *Geogr.* VIII. xvii. 11 (length of day); Aristeides xv, 376 (xvii. 12), xvii, 402 (xliiv. 5 f.), xxi, 437 (xx. 21); Philostr. *Apollon.* iv. 7 (145: Smyrna possesses “the springs of Zephyros”!); Chandler i. 68–71, 83, 95, 98 f., 109 f., 210, ii. 1–3; Prokesch, *Denkwürd.* iii. 342, and in *J.L.* lxvii. 66–68; P. H. Lauvergne (surgeon in French navy) in *Annales Maritimes et Coloniales*, etc. 1827, 2^e partie, 191–234 (“Tableau du climat littoral de Smyrne, de la Grèce et de l’Archipel, considéré

dans ses rapports avec l’hygiène nautique du Levant”); Tchihatcheff II. 245–250, 253–255, 377–382; Slaars 62; Scherzer 5, 15 f., 25 (climatic changes due to deforestation), 30; Reclus-Keane 244, 278–280; Wilson 71b; Weber, *Wasserleit.* 5 f. (rainfall 1864–1898); Hogarth, *Nearer East*, 102; Ramsay, *Seven Chs.* 261 f.; Philippson ii. 36 f. (statistics: cf. also his weather-reports, interspersed on 6, 8, 14, 21, 26, 30, 51, 62, 65, 73); Baedeker 242, 337; Bürchner 736–738 (climate fairly constant since antiquity), 758 top (imbat).

claimed to have been unshaken for 1200 years: but the point of the claim lay in its exceptional character; and most of the neighbouring towns—Smyrna in particular—were less fortunate. Smyrna has on several occasions suffered very severely indeed; and slight shocks are felt there almost every year. The sage Apollonios is said, when at Smyrna, to have implored the guardian-deities of Ionia to grant that no evil from the sea might burst in upon the land, and that “earth-shaking Aigaion” might never shatter the cities.¹

The mineral products of the district are of interest both for their variety and for their value; but they have been commercially exploited only to a comparatively small extent. A good deposit of brown coal exists close to Sevdiköi, eight miles south of Smyrna. White lead, used in ancient times for painting ships, and usually manufactured from lead and vinegar, was at one time found in the natural state at Smyrna, on the farm of a certain Theodotos. On the same farm, apparently, the green mineral now known as malachite and used as a pigment was first discovered, and was hence called by the Hellenes “theodoteion”: it was subsequently found in other places, but the Smyrnaian variety was known as the best. Iron is found west and south-east of Smyrna, and magnesite on Mt. Sipylos. Other products obtainable are chrome-iron-ore, emery, asphalt, porcelain-clay, sulphur, graphite, salt, and an alkaline earth used in the manufacture of soap. Ores containing silver, copper, mercury, lead, manganese, and zinc are also found. The local supplies of marble have been little used, as it has been cheaper either to import it, or to pillage ancient buildings.²

¹Hom. *Epigr.* iv. 6 (Smyrna *πορτορὶ-
νακρον*); Tacit. *Ann.* iv. 55 (Halikarn.); Philostr. *Apollon.* iv. 6 (144); Quint. Smyrn. iii. 63–65 (cf. Paschal 38, 39 n. 1; Christ, *Gesch. der griech. Litt.* II. ii [1924] 964 n. 7); Chandler i. 83; Prokesch in *J. L.* lxxvii. 71; Humann in *M. D. A. I.* xiii (1888) 35 f. (Mt. Sipylos); Weismantel 6–9, 12, 15 f., 22, 24 (statistics, etc.); Wilson [84], 73a; Hogarth, *Nearer East*, 34 f., 88; Chapot 65 f.; Galante in *The Jewish Encyclop.* xi (1905) 415a (makes the exaggerated statement that “the city has been entirely destroyed by earthquakes no less than six times”); Suess ii. 445–453; Philippson, *Kleinasien*, 153 f.; Bürchner 739.

²Vitruv. VII. vii. 4 (176: “Creta viridis item pluribus locis nascitur, sed optima Zmyrnae. Hanc autem Graeci *theodorétov* vocant, quod Theodotus nomine fuerat cuius in fundo id genus cretae primum est inventum”. We cannot date this Theodotos; but Vitruvius was a junior contemporary of Julius Caesar); Plin. *Nat. Hist.* xxxv. 6 (37: “Fuit et terra perse in Theodoti fundo inventa Zmyrnae, qua veteres ad navium picturas utebantur. Nunc omnis ex plumbo et aceto fit, ut diximus”); Slaars 57 f. (“la terre de Smyrne”, for soap); Scherzer 14 f., 173–178; Cuiet 363–365, 367–369; Bürchner 739; Philippson, *Kleinasien*, 156–166.

The soil of Ionia was supposed to be less fertile than that of Aiolis; but the neighbourhood of Smyrna, which was for a long time an Aiolic city, displayed all the richness characteristic of the latter region. The mountain-slopes are still in some places wooded, but were far more extensively covered in former times. Flowering trees and wild flowers are abundant. Not only the great Sardian plain, but the smaller plains nearer Smyrna, consisted of fertile land, prolific in grain,¹ olives, and edible fruit of every kind. The district was noted for the excellence of its wine; and there was said to have been, near the sea-shore at Smyrna, a vine that bore two crops of fruit a year. There also, near the temple of the Mother-Goddess, was said to be made the celebrated "Pramneian wine" mentioned in the Homeric epics. Aristeides and others spoke of the groves of trees that adorned the lower parts of Smyrna, about the sources of the Meles and elsewhere. The lettuce, marjoram, and medicinal hyssop that grew at Smyrna are also specially mentioned by classical authors.²

Of the animals found in the vicinity of Smyrna, we may mention sheep, hares, foxes, wolves, jackals, bears, wild-

¹See below, p. 69 n. 4 and p. 378 n. 1.

²Hom. *Il.* xi. 639, *Od.* x. 235; Herodot. i. 149 (fertility); Varro, *Rerum Rustic. lib.* I. vii. 6 ("propter eandem causam multa sunt bifera, ut vitis apud mare Zmyrnae, malus [biferae ut] in agro Consentino"); Verg. *Georg.* i. 56 (crocuses on Tmolos), ii. 98 (Tmolian wine); Tacit. *Ann.* iv. 55 fin. (fertility of Sardian territory); Strabo XIV. i. 15 (637: wine of Ephesos and Metropolis good; also Messogis, Tmolos, Katakekaumene, Knidos, Smyrna, and other less famous places *διαφόρως χρησιμοποιούσιν ἢ πρὸς ἀπόλαυσιν ἢ πρὸς διαίτας ἰατρικάς*); Plin. *Nat. Hist.* xiv. 4 (54: "et Pramnio, quod idem Homerus celebravit, etiam nunc honos durat. Nasctur Zmyrnae regione iuxta delubrum Matris deum"), xvi. 27 (115: "M. Varro auctor est vitem fuisse Zmyrnae apud Matroon triferam et malum in agro Consentino"), xx. 17 (177: "Heraclium [?] marjoram] quoque tria genera habet . . . optimum autem Creticum, nam et iucunde olet, proximum Zmyrnaeum durius" [v.l. dorius, odorius, inodorus]), xxv. 11 (136: medicinal hyssop—"Est autem optimum Cilicium e Tauro monte, dein Pamphylium ac Zmyrnaeum.

Stomacho contrarium, purgat cum fico sumptum per inferna, cum melle vomitionibus"); Aristeides xv, 377 (xvii. 14), xx, 425 (xviii. 3); Philostr. and Philostr. jr. as above, p. 12 n. 7; Athenaios ii. 59a (*Διοκλῆς* [physician of iv/b.c.] δὲ κολοκύνθας [pumpkins] μὲν καλλίστας γίνεσθαι περὶ Μαγνησίαν, . . . ἐν δὲ Σμύρῃ καὶ Γαλατία θρίδακα [lettuce] . . .); Quint. Smyrn. xii. 310 (*Σμύρνης ἐν διαπέδοισι* [cf., for lush meadows, v. 77-79, 299]: Quintus had kept sheep near Smyrna; and many of his allusions to farming, agriculture, etc. [see index of Similes at end of Loeb edn.], are probably drawn from personal observation and experience); Himerios, *Eclog.* xiii. 31: Tournefort ii. 491 f., 495, 511 f.; Chandler i. 85, 98 f., 106, 111, ii. 2; Prokesch, *Denkwürd.* i. 103, and in *J.L.* lxvii. 63, 70, lxviii. 82, 84; Browning, *In a Gondola* ("the Smyrna peach", growing at Venice); Tchihatcheff III passim (e.g. i. 312), IV. ii. 176 f.n., with *Palaeontologie* appended to IV. iii; Scherzer 10, 13 f.; Hogarth, *Nearer East*, 127, 188 ff., 197; Baedeker 242, 336, 346; Hawley, 7, 116 f.; Bürchner 741; Ramsay, *Asian. Elements*, 128 (figs); Tarn, *Hellen. Civil.* 223.

boars, leopards, panthers, hyaenas (these last three rarely), lynxes, cats, chameleons, lizards, snakes, birds of several kinds (storks, geese, cranes, swans, martins, etc.), and bees. Trout live in most of the rivers: the Hermos, particularly in its lower course, abounds in fish. Silk- and purple-producing shell-fish, prawns, sardines, soles, sharks, and all varieties of cartilaginous fish, swarm in the waters of the Gulf. Coral-reefs apparently existed near the coast in ancient times.¹

¹Hom. *Il.* ii. 459-463 (geese, cranes, and swans in Kaystros-valley); Aristot. *Hist. Anim.* viii. 28 (. . . *παρδάλις δ' ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ, ἐν δὲ τῇ Εὐρώπῃ οὐ γίνονται* . . .); Strabo XIV. i. 33 (645: *Mimas εὐθηρον*); Xenokrates (physician of mid. 1/A.D.), *De Alimentis ex Aquatilibus* 58 (of *τήβρα*, i.e. ascidian molluscs: *κάλλιστα δὲ τὰ ἐν Σμύρνῃ τῆς Ἀσίας* . . .); Athenaios i. 7 ab (Apicius, an epicure under Tiberius living at Minturnae, *διέτριβε τὰ πλείονα καρίδας [prawns] ἐσθίων πολυτελεῖς, αἱ γίνονται αὐτόθι ὑπὲρ γε τὰς ἐν Σμύρνῃ μέγισται*, . . .), vii. 319d (*Δωριῶν* [an Egyptian, about 340 B.C.] *ἐν τῷ περὶ ἰχθύων ἐν Σμύρνῃ φησὶν τὰς ῥίνας [sharks] διαφόρους γίνεσθαι, καὶ πάντα δὲ τὰ σελαχῶδη [cartilaginous fishes] τὸν Σμυρναϊκὸν κάλπον ἔχειν διαφέροντα*); Quint. Smyrn. passim (it would be interesting to know how far Quintus' very numerous allusions to animals, both wild and tame [see Loeb index], are drawn from his personal knowledge of them in the neighbourhood of Smyrna, and how far they are due simply to his habitual imitation of Homeros [cf. Glover, *Life and Letters*, etc. 84 f.; Paschal 38 with n. 2, 39]: possibly the frequent mention of *παρδάλιες* [leopards or panthers—i. 480, 541, iii. 202, v. 19, 248, x. 183, xii. 580] may be a local touch): Geo. Wheler, *A Journey into Greece* (London, 1682), 247-249

(chameleons, birds, sheep); Chandler i. 27, 71, 84 f., 87, 92 f., 99, 118; Gibbon, *Decline and Fall* (ed. Bury), iv (1898) 230 n. ("These *pinnes de mer*" [i.e. Mediterranean shell-fish called the silk-worm of the sea] "are found near Smyrna, Sicily, Corsica, and Minorca; and a pair of gloves of their silk was presented to Pope Benedict XIV"). The emperor Justinianus gave a robe of this material to the satraps of Armenia. "This cloth", adds Bury, "is the *byssus* woven from the threads of the *pinna squamosa*"; Koræes, in a note to Xenokrates, *op. cit.* 40 (discusses *ζύγαναι* [hammer-headed sharks], *ἃς φησι Βελλώνιος* [? doctor of physic, end of xvii/A.D.] . . . *κατὰ τὴν Σμύρνην μάλιστα ἐπιχωριάζειν*); Fellows, *Travels*, 247; Tchihatcheff II. 591-790 passim (e.g. 613-622, 803), with *Paléontologie* appended to IV. iii (e.g. 360, 362, 364); Slaars 57 n. 103; Scherzer 10, 13; Reclus-Keane 281-283; Cuiet 367; Wilson [17]-[19], 76b (good modern summary); Büchner 740 (shellfish and coral—the latter inferred from the existence of *κοραλλοπλαστῶν* at Magnesia-near-Sipylos [C.I.G. 3408]); L. Belhomme in *Türk Tarih, Arkeologia ve Etnografya dergisi*, iii (1936) 222 ("On y rencontre" [i.e. on Mt. Sipylos], "encore aujourd'hui, des ours, des loups et parfois des panthères").

CHAPTER II

PRE-HELLENIC SMYRNA

THE light in which Smyrna and its neighbourhood first appear in history is as a region affected by the culture—and to some extent dominated by the political power—of the Hatti of Kappadokia. This people, often designated by the more familiar name of “Hittites”, was settled east of the river Halys as early as about 2000 B.C. Succeeding to the Mesopotamian Semites previously in control of this area, they developed a culture and built up an empire, the influence of which was felt far beyond the limits of their ethnographical boundaries. Their physiognomy resembled that of the modern brachycephalic Armenians: their various native dialects were, according to recent investigators, Indo-European in inflexion, syntax, and to a small extent vocabulary: their still largely undeciphered script (in place of which they sometimes used cuneiform) was semi-hieroglyphic. Their place of origin is a matter of conjecture: some think they reached Kappadokia from the north-east, others that they came across the Hellespont from south-eastern Europe, following the same general route as that taken by so many subsequent invaders. If that were the case, it may possibly have been them who were responsible for the destruction (about 2300 B.C.) of the so-called “Second City” of Ilion.¹

Of the inhabitants of the rest of Asia Minor during the centuries of Hattic dominion, probably some—especially those to the south-west of the Halys-basin—were racially akin to the Hatti themselves. But the western third of the peninsula seems to have had a radically different culture and therefore to have been occupied for the most part by a different stock. Nevertheless the Hattic kings, besides pushing their conquests and alliances for the most part to the east and south-

¹A large literature has grown up about the Hittites; but archaeological progress quickly renders the older treatises inadequate. The best recent studies of the subject as a whole are those by Hogarth (in *E. Br.* xiii [1910] 534-540,

and *C.A.H.* ii and iii), Garstang (*Land and Empire*), Hall (*Near East* [1913 and later]), Cowley, Götze (*Das Hethiter-Reich* [xxvii. 2 of *Der alte Orient*], 1928), and Hrozny (in *E. Br.* xi [1929] 598-608).

east of their Kappadokian home into Mesopotamia and Syria, pushed them to the west and south-west also. It was perhaps in the time of the "Great King", Shubbiluliuma (about 1380-1346 B.C.), that Hattic influence became more or less dominant over the whole of Asia Minor (except perhaps some of the coastal districts). This domination, so far as it affected the Aegæan sea-board, may have taken the form of quasi-colonial settlement, or (more probably) of political suzerainty secured by treaty, or possibly of both. But its existence is reflected in three facts.

Firstly, the Minoan and Mykenaian cultures, which pervaded Krete, the islands north of it, and many parts of the Hellenic mainland, seem never to have got any very strong foothold in western Asia Minor, at least until near the end of the Mykenaian age, notwithstanding the presence—both in that region and in Krete—of certain cultural features (such as common place-names, the worship of the Mother-Goddess and her son, the use of the double-axe in connexion with it, and the wearing of high boots with upturned toes) which strongly suggest that western Asia Minor was in part peopled by a non-Hattic folk racially akin to the dolichocephalic Minoans. Contact with Minoan and Mykenaian culture can be traced in Karia and Troas, but only sporadically elsewhere. Commercial intercourse doubtless existed; but (except in Rhodos and Miletos) there was nothing in the way of Mykenaian political or colonial expansion in this direction. One natural explanation of the comparative exclusion of it from this part of the Asiatic mainland would be the existence—within the latter—of some jealous, non-maritime power, such as the Hattic empire must have been. At the same time the superior attraction of the south coast of Asia Minor and of the eastern lands was also no doubt a powerful factor: moreover, the incompleteness of our knowledge must be kept in mind.¹

Secondly, the situation of the Hattic monuments in Asia Minor and northern Syria enables us to trace the lines of the main roads connecting Hattusas (the Hellenic Pteria, now Boghaz-Köi), which became the Hattic capital in the time of Shubbiluliuma, with the distant parts of the empire. One of

¹Hogarth, *Ionia*, 46-48, 101 f., and in *C.A.H.* ii. 548 f., 554-556; Hall, *Near East*, 50, 53, 57, 70, 335; Leaf, *Homer and*

Hist. (1915), 64-66; Allen, *Catalogue*, 104, 165, 167; Garstang, *Empire*, 41; Nilsson 99-102; Bittel 92-94, 97, 115, 117.

these ran west, crossed the Halys at Chesme-Keupri, passed on through Phrygia, and then down the valley of the Hermos through Sardeis to the coast, which it probably reached at Ephesos and at Kyme (or Phokaia). The route is marked partly by visible traces of the actual track, and partly by Hittite and Phrygian monuments, the remains of which clearly indicate by their position that they stood on some continuous line of communication. The existence of such a road, and of certain monuments (about to be described) near the western end of it, indicate an extension of Hattic influence and control as far west as the plains adjacent to Smyrna.¹

Thirdly, on the north-eastern slope of Mt. Sipylos, overlooking one branch of this road, stood an ancient Hittite sculpture which, from its rough and primitive style, is supposed to date from the period either of Shubbiluliuma himself (1380-1346 B.C.) or of his son Murshil (1345-1320 B.C.).² This statute has been carved on the face of a perpendicular cliff, about 300 feet up the mountain-slope, and about three and a half miles east of Magnesia. In a deep recess is a colossal figure, about thirty feet high, of a seated woman. It is cut in very high relief, but not entirely disengaged from the solid rock. The head, facing straight outwards, i.e. (owing to a bend in the mountain-face) due north, and apparently wearing a conical hat, inclines slightly forward. The advanced weathering has obliterated many details, so much so that some have mistakenly thought that the figure was really a bust on a pedestal. The hands seem to be laid on the breast; the legs and the feet, which rested on a footstool, are roughly indicated. In a little niche to the right of the head as one looks at it are a few defaced and fragmentary Hittite script-symbols in relief. These (though indecipherable) and the analogy of other remains leave no doubt as to the Hittite character of the work and the identity of the being it portrays. It is clearly a representation of the great Mother-Goddess, worshipped throughout Asia Minor under various names—"Kybele", "Ma" (of

¹Ramsay, *Hist. Geog.* 27-31, 60, and in *J.H.S.* xl (1920) 90 f.; Hogarth, *Ionia*, 14 f., 45 f., and in Wilson [21] f. and *E. Br.* xiii (1910) 539a and *C.A.H.* ii. 254; Garstang, *Land and Empire*, saepe; Cowley 24, 26, 33; Calder in *Class. Rev.* xxxix (1925) 8 f.

²Garstang, *Land*, 65 f. (xiv/ or xiii/B.C.), 233 (xiv/B.C.), *Empire*, 336 (1350-1320 B.C.); Cowley 26; Hogarth in *C.A.H.* iii. 150 f. (xiv/B.C.), 501 f. (xiii/B.C.), 504.

Komana), "Artemis" (of Ephesos), "Dindymene", and (here in particular) "Sipyrene". The Turks call this figure "Tash-Süret" ("stone image") or "Buyuk-Tash" ("great stone").¹

The worship of the great Mother-Goddess in Hittite style is thus the earliest fact which can be positively affirmed of the Smyrna-region. Her cult was exceedingly widespread, covering the whole of Asia Minor, northern Syria, Krete, and other Aegaeon localities imbued with the Minoan civilization. In Asia Minor it probably preceded the entry of the Hittites: analogies with the cult of the Babylonian goddess Ishtar suggest either a Semitic origin or a widespread indigenous prevalence. The Hittites adopted the goddess as their own—under what name and with what precise attributes we do not know. She figured popularly as a Nature-goddess, whose worship represented the quasi-religious veneration felt for the

¹Hom. *Il.* xxiv. 614-617 (apparently identifying the figure with Niobe, whose children were slain by Apollon and Artemis, but whom the poet does not connect with Tantalos: he says of her *νῦν δὲ που ἐν πέτρῃσιν, ἐν οὐρεσὶν οἰοπόλοισιν, | ἐν Σιπύλῳ, ὅθι φασι θεῶων ἔμμεναι εὐνάς | νυμφάων, αἱ τ' ἀμφ' Ἀχελώϊον ἑρρώσαντο, | ἔνθα λίθος περ' εὐόσα θεῶων ἐκ κήδεα πᾶσαι*); Ovid. *Metamorph.* vi. 310-312; Paus. I. xxi. 3 (image of Niobe [daughter of Tantalos] on Sipylos like a weeping woman only when seen from a distance, not like a woman at all near at hand), III. xxii. 4 (Magnetes, on north side of Sipylos, possess *ἐπὶ Κοδδίνου πέτρα* the most ancient of all statues of the Mother of the gods, said by them to have been made by Broteas, son of Tantalos [Koddinos is perhaps the origin of *Κουζινᾶς*, Byzantine name for Sipylos (Schol. in Lucian. 43; ed. Teubner, 185)—so Papadop.-Keram. in *Ἵουμπος*, iv (1876) 362 f.], V. xiii. 7 (reference to a *ἱερόν* of the Plastene Mother on Mt. Sipylos), VIII. ii. 7 (Niobe on Sipylos said to weep in summer), xxxviii. 10 (Homeros' allusion to river Akheloös flowing from Sipylos); Quint. Smyrn. i. 293-306 (same idea as Paus. I. xxi. 3: evidently the description of an eye-witness—Pascal 12 f.). For the name "Sipyrene", see below, p. 215.

Pausanias' statements have led most writers to infer that he knew of *two* images on Mt. Sipylos: (1) a natural

Niobe-rock, unlike a woman except at a distance, and (2) a statue of the Mother-Goddess, identical with Tash-Süret. But it is hardly likely that his Niobe was a different figure from that known to Homeros, or that the latter was other than Tash-Süret: moreover, all efforts to discover a natural Niobe-rock other than Tash-Süret have failed. See further Hamilton i. 50f.; Cherbuliez i. 7; Perrot and Guillaume in *R.A.* xiii (1866) 435 f.; Hirschfeld in Curtius, *Beiträge*, 80, 83 n. 21; Martin in *R.A.* xxxi (1876) 328-330 (with sketches); Tsakyroglou i. 13 f., 20f., ii. 4-13; Sayce in *Academy*, 18 Oct. 1879, 289 f., 28 Aug. 1880, 160 f.; Dennis, *ibid.* 160; Weber, *Sipylos*, 36-41, 60, 62, 112 f., 117 f., and photo; Sayce in *J.H.S.* i (1880) 88-90, iii (1882) 226 f.; Ramsay, *ibid.* 39-46, and in *Academy*, 30 Apl. 1881, 324; Gollob and Krall in *Wiener Studien* iv (1882) 307-313; Preuner in Bursian, *Fahresbericht*, xxv (1887) 111-115 (lit.); Humann in *M.D.A.I.* xiii (1888) 28 (with photo); Perrot and Chipiez, *S. J. S.A.M.* ii. 234-239; Wilson 81 ab; Frazer, *Paus.* iii. 553-556 (adduces inscriptional evidence for use of the name "Plastene" for the goddess: bibliog.); Messerschmidt, *Corp. Inscr. Hettic.* i. 33-37, ii Tafel XXXVII f.; Cowper in *J.H.S.* xxvi (1906) 179; Garstang, *Land*, 167-170, *Empire*, 173-176 (with photo), 342 (lit.); Cowley 24, 26, 38; Büchner in Pauly III A (1929) 276-280.

mystery of human and animal reproduction and for the fertility of Nature generally. In Hittite art she is represented as standing on the back of a lion or lioness: but most of the qualities assigned to her are known to us through the later testimony of classical writers—for her worship was maintained down to the latest period of paganism. As her titles "Sipylene", "Dindymene", "Berekynthia", and "Idaia" suggest, she was thought of as having a preference for "echoing mountains and wooded dells". She was driven in a car drawn by lions. As patroness of civilization and the tutelary goddess of cities, she was represented on carvings and coins wearing a crown composed of miniature city-walls—"the towred Cybele", as Milton calls her. She was frequently accompanied by a junior male deity, her lover-son, whose name is given as Agdistis, Atys, Attis, or Adonis, and who seems to represent the sun-god, as his mother was sometimes equated with the earth. His festival was celebrated at the vernal equinox—the time when vegetation reappears—as that of a deity returning to life from the dead. The worship of Kybele and Attis was carried on with noisy music, excited dances, and orgiastic frenzy. Female priests officiated in the service of the goddess; and there were occasionally separate gatherings for women. In keeping with the original character of the cult, the sex-motif was a prominent feature in it. Attis figures as the paramour of Kybele and as a self-made eunuch; and there was a class of priests known as Galloi, who castrated themselves in the ecstasy of their worship. The prevalence of castration in Asia Minor and the appearance of the phallos on tombs are features of the same moral and religious atmosphere.¹

¹Hom. *Hymns eis Μητέρα Θεῶν* and *eis Γῆν μητέρα πάντων*; Herodot. i. 80, v. 102; Lucret. *Rer. Nat.* ii. 600-660; Catull. lxxiii; Verg. *Aen.* vi. 784-787, ix. 82 ff., x. 252 ff.; Strabo X.iii. 12-22 (469-473), XII. v. 3 (567 f.); Ovid. *Metam.* xiv. 535-545; *Acts*, xix. 27; Aristeides v. 62 (xl. 20); Apuleius, *Metamorph.* xi. 5 (goddess describes herself as one "cuius numen unicum multiformi specie, ritu vario, nomine multiugo totus veneratur orbis"); Macrobius, *Saturn.* I. xxi. 7-10 ("... Quis enim ambigat Matrem Deum terram haberi?...") Attis = sun, lions = air, etc.), xxiii. 20

(sim.): Slaars 64 f., 77, 84 f., 91; Weber, *Sipylas*, 60-65, 97; Ramsay in *J.H.S.* ii (1881) 299, iii (1882) 54 f., 59 f. (names "Sipylas" and "Kybele"); Furtwängler, *La Collection Sabouroff*, II. cxxxvii; Rapp in Roscher I (1884-1890) 715-727 (Attis), II (1890-1897) 1638-1672 (Kybele); Drexler in Roscher II (1890-1897) 2848-2931 (Meter); Cumont in Pauly II (1896) 2247-2252 (Attis); Farnell, *Cults*, iii. 289-306, 379-393; Cumont, *Les Religions Orientales dans le Paganisme Romain* (ed. 1906), 57-64, 69, 264 f.; Hogarth in *H.E.R.E.* i (1908) 141-148; Showerman in *H.E.R.E.* ii (1909) 217 f.,

Between the Hittites, with their worship of the Mother-Goddess on the one hand, and the legendary women-warriors called by the Hellenes "Amazones" on the other, there are enough links and resemblances provisionally to warrant the theory that the armed Hittite priestesses and the military triumphs of Hittite rulers lie behind the Hellenic stories of the Amazones and their conquests. The headquarters of the Amazones were supposed to be Themiskyra on the river Thermodon in Pontos, that is, in the same general quarter of Asia Minor as the chief seat of Hittite power. The other region where they were supposed to have been active, namely, the middle part of the western coast of the peninsula, was also the only part of that extremity of Asia Minor where Hittite remains have been found. The double-headed axe which frequently appears on Hittite sculptures is the regular weapon of the Amazones in Hellenic art. On Hellenic coins the mural crown adorns the heads of Amazones, as it adorns the head of the Mother-Goddess. To the military character of the Amazones corresponds the prominence of women in the social, political, and religious life of Asia Minor, where descent was often reckoned through the mother, priesthood frequently entrusted to female hands, and great influence in state-affairs wielded by the women of the royal houses.¹

The pertinence of the Amazon-legend to our immediate subject is seen still more clearly in the story—first attested for us in the fourth century B.C., but widely accepted and probably old—that the cities of Smyrna, Ephesos, Pitane,

iv. (1911) 377 f.; Pearson in *H.E.R.E.* viii (1915) 847-851; Garstang, *Land*, 170, 235-241, 353-361, *Empire*, 85, 114-119, 138, 149, 167, 302 f., 305; Dill, *Rom. Soc. from Nero*, etc., 547-559; Schwenn in Pauly XI (1922) 2250-2298 (Kybele), XV (1932) 1372 f. (Meter); Myres in *C.A.H.* i. 91; Wace in *op. cit.* 598 f.; Halliday in *op. cit.* ii. 613-617; O. Kern in *M.D.A.I.* I (1927) 157-164, Taf. VII (ivory relief, of about viii/B.C., found at or near Smyrna, representing a Nature-goddess of a type recalling Hesiodos' account in *Theog.* 411-452 of Hekate, who was often identified with Kybele); Nilsson 254; Bittel 40. The name of Kybele appears in that of a marble-bearing mountain in Phrygia, named on a Smyrnaian inscription of

ii/A.D. (*C.I.G.* 3148 = *I.G.R.* iv. 1431, line 28: *κειονας Κυβελλείρας*). For her worship at Smyrna, see below, pp. 215-219.

"The hill of Atys", mentioned by Aristoteles (xxv, 499 [xliv. 41 f.]), has often been regarded as a hill near Smyrna (so Cumont in Pauly II [1896] 2248; Drexler in Roscher II [1890-1897] 2862; Büchner 761); but the context makes it clear that it was near Aristoteles' ancestral home in Mysia (see Keil 423 n. in loc.).

¹Cf. Weber, *Sipylos*, 64 f., 97 f.; Roscher in Roscher I (1884-1890) 267-279; Toepffer and Graef in Pauly I (1894) 1754-1789; Chapot 158-163 (rôles filled by women in western Asia Minor); Ramsay, *Seven Chs.* 266 f.; Leonhard passim.

Gryneia, Myrina, and Kyme, had been founded by Amazones. Coins prove that a similar origin was claimed by Magnesia-near-Sipylos; and there were other cities in the neighbourhood to which it was ascribed.¹ That there was, therefore, in the days of the Hittite supremacy, a group of settlements more or less under Hittite control on the middle part of the western coast of Asia Minor, may, despite the virtual absence of Hittite remains on the actual sites, be considered probable. One of them may well have lain somewhere on the shores of the Gulf of Smyrna near Mt. Sipylos, and borne a name that later became in Greek "Smyrna". The origin and meaning of this name are obscured by the fancifulness of legends and the uncertainties of etymology. According to some it was the name of the individual Amazon who founded or ruled both Ephesos and Smyrna.² Another legend connects the name, not with the

¹ Strabo XI. v. 4 (505: κτίσεις γούν πόλεων και ἐπωνυμίας λέγονται [sc. τῶν Ἀμαζόνων], καθάπερ Ἐφέσον και Σμύρνης και Κύμης και Μυρίνης, και τάφοι και άλλα ὑπομνήματα), XII. iii. 21 (550: some identified the Halizones of Hom. II. ii. 856 with the [masc.] Amazones between Mysia, Karia, and Lydia: so Ephoros of Kyme [iv/B.C.]—probably, says Strabo, rightly; εἴη γὰρ ἂν λέγων τὴν ὑπὸ τῶν Αἰολέων και Ἰώνων οἰκισθεῖσαν ὕστερον, πρότερον δ' ὑπὸ Ἀμαζόνων' και ἐπωνυμίας πόλεως τινὰς εἶναι φασί, και γὰρ Ἐφέσον και Σμύρνην και Κύμην και Μύρναν . . . [= Ephoros in F.H.G. i. 259 f. (87)], XIII. iii. 6 (623: Kyme and Myrina); Plin. Nat. Hist. v. 29 (118: "ab Amazone condita . . . in ora Zmyrna"); Tacit. Ann. iii. 61 (Amazones at Ephesos), iv. 56 ("at Zmyrnaei [26 A.D.] repetita vestustate, seu Tantalus Iove ortus illos, sive Theseus divina et ipse stirpe, sive una Amazonum condidisset, transcendere ad . . ."); Paus. VII. ii. 7 (Pindaros said Amazones founded temple of Artemis at Ephesos); Hesykhios (iv/ or v/A.D.), Vit. Hom. (. . . Μαίωιν, ὅς ἦλθεν ἅμα ταῖς Ἀμαζόνων ἐν Σμύρνη . . .): Lane 9 f., 5; Cherbuliez i. 11 f.; Tsakyroglou i. 9 f., 22, 30, 32; Weber, Sipylos, 98–100; Roscher in Roscher I (1884–1890) 273 f.; Toepffer in Pauly I (1894) 1755–1758; Leonhard 39, 44 f., 100, 104; Allen, Catalogue, 161; Büchner 744 f. See next n.

² Strabo XIV. i. 4 (633: Σμύρνα δ' ἦν

Ἀμαζόνων ἡ κατασχοῦσα τὴν Ἐφέσον, ἀφ' ἧς τοῦνομα και τοῖς ἀνθρώποις και τῇ πόλει: see below, p. 30 n. 3); Scholia Tounpleyana on Hom. II. vi. 186 ed. Maass (Amazones κατέτρεχον . . . τὴν Ἀσίαν ἀμέλει ἐξ αὐτῶν Ἐφέσος και Σμύρνα καλεῖται); Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἐφέσος (ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ [sc. ἡ Ἐφέσος] Σμύρνα ἀπὸ Σμύρνης τῆς Ἀμαζόνος. ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ και Σάμορνα και . . . τὸ ἐθνικὸν τοῦ Σάμορνα Σαμορναίος. ἐκλήθη δὲ ἀπὸ μᾶς τῶν Ἀμαζόνων, ἦν και βασιλίσα και πρόπολον [v.l. πρόπολον] Ἀρτέμιδος εἶναι φασί), s.v. Σμύρνα (Σμύρνα, πόλις Ἰωνίας, ἦν πρῶτον ἐκτίσσε και ᾤκησε Τάνταλος. και τότε μὲν Ναυόλοχον, ὕστερον δὲ Σμύρνα προσηγορεύθη, ἀπὸ Σμύρνης Ἀμαζόνος κατασχοῦσης τὴν Ἐφέσον): Mionnet iii. 205 ff. (1112–1118, 1121, 1130, 1173–1177, etc., etc.), *supr.* vi. 318 ff. (1553, 1555–1558, etc., etc.); Lane 48; Mylonas 20 f. n. 8; Slaars 4 f. n. 10, 20 f., 26 n., 89; Weber, Sipylos, 98 f.; B.M.C. Ionia, 111 (408), 250–305 (saepe); Leonhard 71, 100; Türk in Pauly III A (1929) 727 f. Discussions of the Amazon-coins of Asiatic cities are given by Klügmann in *Philologus*, xxx (1870) 524–556 (esp. 531–535, 554–556, including a study of the legends, and finally suggesting that beliefs about Amazones arose from recollections of the masculine and bellicose women of nordic invaders like the later Kimmerians, beliefs later supplemented by legends representing them as city-founders), and by Imhoof-Blumer in *Nomisma*, ii (1908) 1–18 (esp. 3 f., 8–12, 17 f.: more thorough and scientific on the coin-

place at all, but with the Anatolian Adonis: Smyrna (or Myrrha) is the daughter of Theias, son of Belos, king of Assyria, or alternatively of Kinyras, a Kyprian hero: she contrives incestuous intercourse with her father, and becomes the unhappy mother of Adonis: fleeing from her enraged father, she is changed into a myrrh-tree.¹ Etymologically, the word "Smyrna" is the same as "Myrina" (cf. μικρός and σμικρός); and Myrina is represented either as the Amazon who founded Myrina on the Elaïtic Gulf, or as the wife of the Dardanos who was honoured with a mound in the plain of Ilion (thought by some to commemorate an Amazon), or as the wife of Thoas and eponym of the town Myrina in Lemnos.² The word "Smyrna", again, in its more antique form "Samorna", "Samonia", or "Samorinia", was once the name given to the south-eastern part (or the whole) of Ephesos.³ It has, moreover, been observed that one of the Hittite kings to whose period the carving of the statue on Mt. Sipylos is conjecturally referred, was named "Murshil". An earlier Hittite king had borne the

types: Kyme was the only city that stamped Amazon-coins in Hellenistic times: those of Smyrna are the most plentiful, and extend continuously from the time of Domitianus to that of Gallienus). The Amazon on the Smyrna-coins represents the city itself. Smyrna-coins of all periods, representing the Mother-Goddess, also show, like the Amazon-type, the crown of towers, but in other respects an equipment different from the Amazon's. The two persons were evidently regarded as quite distinct, though it is possible that they both originated from the same primitive type.

¹Panyasis of Halikarn. (epic poet, v/B.C.), frag. 25 (ed. Kinkel, 1877); Apollodoros (ii/B.C.), *Biblioth.* III. xiv. 4; Helvius Cinna (killed in 44 B.C.), *Zmyrna* (frag.); Ovid. *Metamorph.* x. 298-502; Ploutarkhos, *Parallela*, 22 (311a); Antoninus Liberalis (ii/A.D.), *Metamorph.* 34 (Smyrna's nurse has the same name as the Amazonian queen, "Hippolyta"); ps-Hyginus, *Fabulae*, 58, 242, 285 ("Cinyras . . . filiae suae nomine Smyrnam" [sc. condidit]); Stobaios, *Florileg.* lxiv. 34: Lane 10; Leonhard 39, 102, 239; Türk in Pauly III A. (1929) 728-730.

²Hom. *Il.* ii. 811-814 (mound); Strabo XII. viii. 6 (573; Amazones in Troas; quotes *Il.* ii. 813 f.), XIII. iii. 6

(623; Kyme and Troas; same quot.); Steph. Byz. s.v. *Μυρίνα* (town in Lemnos; another in Aiolis); Georg. Synkell. *Chron.* P 181a (*Μυρίνα ἡ παρά τισι Σμύρνα λεγομένη ἐκτίσθη ἐν Ἀσίᾳ*); Sayce in *J.H.S.* iii (1882) 222, 225; Leonhard 37 f., 169, 186; Türk in Pauly III A. (1929) 727; Ramsay, *Asian Elements*, 286.

³Strabo XIV. i. 4 (633; Ephesians were fellow-citizens [σύνουκοι] of the Smyrnaians formerly, ἤνκα καὶ Σμύρνα ἐκαλεῖτο ἢ "Ἐφεσος" καὶ Καλλινός που [± 650 B.C.] οὕτως ὠνόμακεν αὐτήν, Σμυρναίους τοὺς Ἐφεσίουσιν καλῶν ἐν τῷ πρὸς τὸν Δία λόγῳ "Σμυρναίους δ' ἐλέησον" [= frag. 2 in Bergk] . . . Σμύρνα δ' ἦν Ἀμαζῶν ἡ κατασχούσα τὴν Ἐφεσον, ἀφ' ἧς τούνομα καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις καὶ τῇ πόλει . . . καὶ τόπος δέ τις τῆς Ἐφέσου Σμύρνα ἐκαλεῖτο, ὡς δηλοῖ Ἰππῶνας [545-520 B.C.] "ὦκει δ' ὅπισθε τῆς πόλης ἐν Σμύρῃ | μεταξύ Τρηχείης τε καὶ Λεπρῆς ἀκτῆς"); Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἐφεσος (as above, p. 29 n. 2); Hesykhios, s.v. Σαμονία, (Samonia or Samorinia a name for Ephesos); Lane 11, 14; Klügmann in *Philologus*, xxx (1870) 532 f., 535; Tsakyroglou i. 35; Adler in Pauly I A. (1920) 2160; Büchner 732, 764 f., Ramsay, *Asian Elements*, 146.

same name—which recalls the Lydian names “Myrsilos” and “Myrsos”, the “Myrtilos” who figures in the story of the Lydian hero Pelops, and “Myrtoön”, an old name for a part of the Aegæan Sea. Some connexion between the name of Murshil and that of the city of Smyrna may therefore be reasonably suspected.¹ What the ultimate connexion, if any, may have been between the name of the city and the ancient Semitic word (spelt “môr” in Hebrew and “smyrna” in Greek) for the myrrh produced by the Arabian trees Balsamodendron (or Commiphora) Opobalsamum and Balsamodendron (Commiphora) Myrrha, remains an unsolved mystery.²

It may not be out of place, while we are discussing the word “Smyrna”, to touch upon the alternative spelling “Zmyrna”, which appears to have been used with very varying frequency between the third century B.C. and the fifth A.D. Except on coins from about 220 B.C. to about 120 A.D. (which mostly have Z), it seems at all times to have been less frequent than the spelling with S. A rough count of the occurrences of the name of the city on inscriptions gives 141 with S and 64 with Z. The time when the spelling with Z seems to have been

¹So Leonhard 186. Cf. Ramsay and Hogarth in *E.Br.* xxv (1911) 281a (name Smyrna “indubitably Anatolian”); Bürchner 731 (“aus kleinasiatischem Sprachgut”); also Hall in *J.H.S.* xxix (1909) 19–22 (‘Mursil and Myrtilos’).

²In Greek, *σμύρνα* (Ionic *σμύρνη*; cognate forms, *μύρρα* and *μύρον*) designates a substance (or substances) burnt as incense, and used for embalming the dead, treating ulcers, anointing the body, etc.—doubtless the exudation now of the one, now of the other, of the two Arabian trees named in the text. In the Gk. version of the *O.T.* (*Exod.* xxx. 23; *Ps.* xlv [Heb. xlv] 9; *Cant.* iii. 6, iv. 6, v. 1, 5, 13; cf. *Est.* ii. 12), *σμύρνα* translates the Heb. מִרְרָה (which occurs in one or two other passages also), and clearly stands for one or other of these two substances. See also *Wisd. of Sirach*, xxiv. 15, *Mc.* xiv. 8, *Mt.* ii. 11, *Joh.* xix. 39, Clemens of Rome, *Ep.* xxv. 2. “Myrrha” was the Aiolic form of the word “smyrna”, when used of the substance, not the city (*Athenaios* xv. 688c; Slaars 2 n. 6). Ploutarkhos (*Sertorius*, i. 3) comments on the identity of the names of the city and the plant. The idea of Isidorus (see above,

p. 4 n. 1) that the name of Smyrna was derived from that of Hermos seems to be based on mere assonance.

Dr. J. Rendel Harris has argued (in *Contemp. Rev.* Aug. 1925, 201, and *Bull. of J. Rylands Library, Manchr.* July 1926, 330, 340) that the names of the towns Myra in Lykia (*Acts*, xxvii. 5, where Codex Laudianus, cursive 69, and ps.-Hieronymus read *Σμύρνα*—see notes by Wordsworth and White [*Novum Test.* . . . *Latine secundum editionem sancti Hieronymi* . . . II. i. 215] and by Ropes [in *Beginnings of Christianity*, I. iii (1926) 241 b]) and Smyrna are really the same as the word meaning myrrh, and that the occurrence of them and of the name “Adramyttion” (= Hadramaut = Hazarmaveth [son of Shemite Joktan, *Gen.* x. 26]) is a proof that certain Mediterranean sites were, in the pre-Hellenic period, occupied by South-Arabian colonists, who named their settlements sometimes after the places—sometimes after the *products*—of their own homeland (myrrh not being produced at all in western Asia Minor). Cf. Bürchner 730, 731 bott.

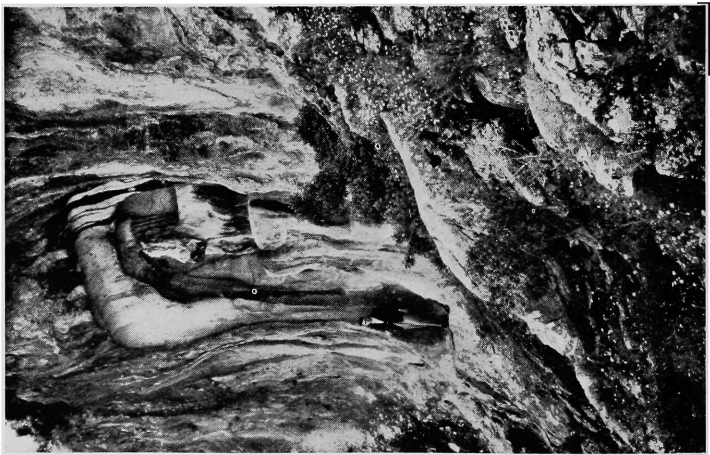
most popular was the first and second centuries A.D. An analogous substitution of ζ or even σζ for σ before μ or β is found sporadically in inscriptions, papyri, and manuscripts, and represents the soft sound normally given to the sibilant in such positions: but the evidence is not of a kind to lend itself readily to statistical precision.¹

The Hittite king Murshil (1345–1320 B.C.) is of interest to us in another connexion. He is known to have had diplomatic dealings with a powerful maritime people called “Ahhijawa”, who are coming to be with increasing confidence identified with the Aryan Akhaians of European Hellas. These bronze-using and probably fair-haired folk had entered Hellas from the north about 1600 B.C. or even earlier. Eventually—having appropriated the Minoan culture and (about 1400 B.C.) destroyed Knossos, its political headquarters in Krete—they established a strong flourishing empire embracing most of the country, and having its centre at Mykenai. The Akhaians, particularly those of the Peloponnesos, engineered a series of raids and trading expeditions to the western and southern coasts of Asia Minor and further east, and developed interests in Troas, Lesbos, Kolophon, Miletos, Rhodos, Pamphylia, etc. This expansion brought them into what proved to be moderately happy relations with the more dominant Hittite monarchy.

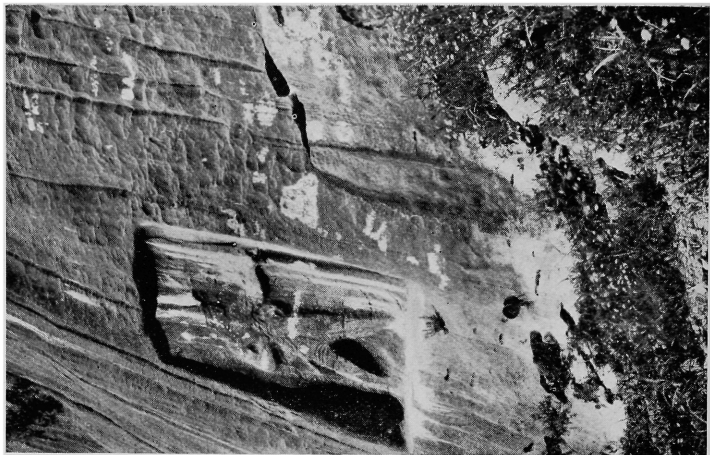
The reign of Murshil’s son and successor, Mutallu (1320–1288 B.C.), whose name recalls that of the Lesbian city Mytilene, was marked by a struggle with the growing power of Egypt; and it is interesting to note that, in the battle he fought against Ramses II in Syria in 1288 B.C., the Hittite king’s army included allies whose names are apparently to be identi-

¹Lucianus (ii/A.D.) iv = *Judicium Vocalium*, 9 (Sigma says: “Οτι δὲ ἀνεξίκακόν εἰμι γράμμα, μαρτυρεῖτέ μοι καὶ αὐτοὶ μηδέποτε ἐγκαλέσαντι τῷ Ζήτῃ σμάραγδον ἀποσπᾶσάντι καὶ πᾶσαν ἀφελομένῳ Σμύρναν, . . .); Sextus Empiricus (± 200 A.D.), *Adv. Math.* i = *Adv. Gramm.* 169 (ed. Bekker 638: question of “Smyrna” or “Zmyrna” exemplifies the non-finality of the grammarians’ enquiries): Lane 11 with n.2; Mylonas 20 n.6; Slaars 1 n.1; Lightfoot ii. 331 f.; *B.M.C. Ionia*, 253 n.; Winer-Schmiedel, *Grammatik* (ed. 1894), 59;

Westcott and Hort, *N.T. in Gk.* ii. appdx. (1896) 155b; Meisterhans, *Gramm. der attischen Inschr.* (ed. 1900), 88; Deissmann, *Bible Studies* (Eng. tr. 1909), 185; Blass, *Grammatik* (ed. 1931), 8; Büchner 731 top; Moulton, *Gramm. of N.T. Gk.* i (*Proleg.* 1908) 45, ii (Moulton-Howard 1929) 106 f. (*Σμύρνα* the name of a woman of Persian birth—4 B.C., etc.). The simple statement in Souter’s *Pocket Lex. of Gk. N.T.* 105 (cf. 238) that *Σμύρνα* is “the correct spelling of *Σμύρνα*” is as it stands somewhat misleading.



HITTITE STATUE OF THE MOTHER-
GODDESS NEAR MAGNESIA



HITTITE CARVING IN
KARABEL-PASS

fied with those of the Lykians, Mysians, Dardanians, and Ilians, and who must therefore have come to his aid from the distant Aegaeon coast.

Mutallu's brother Hattushil became king after overthrowing Mutallu's son. Being apprehensive of new danger from the direction of Assyria, he kept on good terms with the Ahhi-jawa, and concluded about 1275 B.C. a permanent peace with Egypt and an alliance with Babylon. His reign, which lasted till about 1260 B.C. and marks the beginning of the decline of the Hittites as a great power, was on the whole peaceful: but his son Tudhalia IV (1260-1230 B.C.) (who also mentions the Ahhi-jawa) found himself even more seriously threatened by Assyria, and, moreover, obliged to campaign against malcontents along the southern coast of Asia Minor. After defeating these latter, he was suddenly faced with a revolt in "Assuva"—a region the name of which is probably the Hittite equivalent of "Asia" and was used to designate the regions later known as Mysia, Aiolis, Ionia, Lydia, and possibly also Troas and northern Karia. He defeated the army of the rebels in a night-attack, traversed and subdued their twenty-two regions, and returned to Hattusas with the captives and spoil. Assuva was put under a vassal-prince, who however lost his life in an attempt to renew the revolt.¹ It is not unnatural to conjecture that the successful issue of Tudhalia's campaign may have been the occasion on which were carved the striking Hittite rock-sculptures in the pass called Kara-Bel, about sixteen miles east of Smyrna.

Kara-Bel ("Black Pass") is a narrow wooded glen between Nif-Dagh (Olympos) and Mahmud-Dagh (Drakon), down which a small stream flows northward into the Nif-Chai, and through which there runs an ancient track leading from Ephesos to Sardeis, Magnesia-near-Sipylos, and Smyrna. On the right or eastern side of the pass, about seventy feet above the level of the road, there was carved in low relief—on the front of a cliff facing south—the figure of a Hittite warrior. It stands in a shallow niche about eight feet high, six feet wide at the base, but slightly narrower at the top. The figure, which is over life-size, faces to its left, that is, eastwards: its left leg

¹Cf. Forrer in *Mitt. der Deutsch. Orient-Gesellsch.* lxxiii (1924) 6 f. and in *Reallex. der Assyriologie*, i (1928) 227; Schachermeyr 42, 68 n. 1, 95, 167.

and arm are advanced, its shoulders squared to the front: it is clad in a short tunic and short-sleeved vest, conical head-dress, and boots upturned at the toes: it holds in the right hand a triangular-shaped bow, in the left a spear or possibly a sword pointing upwards. There are no traces of writing on any part of the figure itself; but a few defaced Hittite hieroglyphs in relief can be seen between the head and the spear (or sword). On another block of stone—once found (probably some distance from its original position) on the west side of the stream, about 220 yards north of the former rock, but now lost—a similar figure was carved. Like the one just described, it faced to the left: probably the stone originally stood on the western side of the valley; and the figure on it may have looked west, as its fellow looked east. It bore no trace, when found, of any inscription; but this was possibly due to its worn and mutilated state. It is to one or both of these carvings that Herodotos refers, when he says of Sesostris, king of Egypt:

“There are also in Ionia two images of this man carved on rocks; one men come to on the way from Ephesia to Phokaia, the other on the way from Sardeis to Smyrne. In both places a man is carved, four and a half cubits high, holding a spear in his right hand and a bow in his left, and with the rest of his equipment in the same style—for it is both Egyptian and Aithiopic. And across the breast, from one shoulder to the other, there run sacred Egyptian characters engraved, to the following effect, ‘I got me this country by my own shoulders’. Who he is and whence he comes, he does not here show; but he has shown it elsewhere. And some of those who have seen these carvings, erring much from the truth, think it likely that they are images of Memnon”.

The confusions and obscurities in Herodotos’ account suggest that he had not seen the figures himself, but was writing from hearsay. It is impossible to restore clarity to his geographical statement by emending the text; but we may conjecture that, in the account he had received, some confusion had arisen between the figures in Kara-Bel and the statue of the goddess on Mt. Sipylos, which (otherwise) he never mentions (as Pausanias, curiously enough, never mentions the

Kara-Bel figures). Aristeides alludes in a general way to the "steles of Sesostris", presumably depending on Herodotos; but whether he knew anything of the Kara-Bel figures is doubtful. The view of most modern investigators is that these images, which are very similar to other Hittite carvings further east, represent the Hittite warrior-god Tarkhun or Teshub, rather than a human monarch. However that may be, the construction of them clearly reveals an extension or consolidation of Hittite authority and influence in the far western portion of the Anatolian peninsula and in the near neighbourhood of Smyrna.¹

The sculptures in Kara-Bel, the stories about the Amazones, and the statue of the Mother-Goddess on Mt. Sipylos, virtually exhaust the direct traceable connexions between Hittite culture and the Smyrna-region. We pass now to the legends and monuments associated with the name of Tantalos, the earliest individual figure in the local traditions known to us through Hellenic writers. Tantalos is vaguely linked with the Hittite stage of culture, not only by his supposed approximate date (1300 B.C.), but by three traditions connecting him with Mt. Sipylos. One story was that the Magnesians' statue of the Mother-Goddess was carved by his son Broteas; another apparently identified it with his bereaved and petrified daugh-

¹Herodot. ii. 106; Aristeides xvi, 397 (xxvii. 38): Prokesh, *Denkwürd.* ii. 149 f.; Kiepert in *Archäol. Zeitung*, i (1843) 33-46; Lepsius in *Archäol. Zeitung*, iv (1846) 271-280, Taf. II and III; Perrot and Guillaume in *R.A.* xiii (1866) 427-435; Le Bas-Wadd. *Voyage Archéol.: Itinéraire*, Pl. 59, and *Monuments figurés*, Pl. 143; Curtius in *Archäol. Zeitung*, xxxiii (or viii, 1876) 50 f.; Hyde Clarke in *Athenaeum*, 16 Oct. 1875, 516 f.; Sayce in *Academy*, 1 Nov. 1879, 321; Weber, *Sipylos*, 41-49, photo; Sayce in *J.H.S.* i (1880) 83-85, in *Herodotus I-III*, 180 f., in *Trans. of Soc. of Bibl. Arch.* vii (1882) 265-269 (sketch of second fig.), and in *Proc. of Soc. of Bibl. Arch.* vii (1882) 222 (suggested trans. of hieroglyphs); Ramsay in *J.H.S.* ii (1881) 53, and *Hist. Geog.* 30, 60; Perrot and Chipiez, *S.J.S.A.M.* ii. 225-233; Wilson 19b, 89 f.; Messerschmidt, *Corp. Inscr. Hettic.* i. 37 f., ii. Tafel XXXIX; Hogarth in *E. Br.* xiii (1910) 535b; Garstang, *Land*, 65 f., 75, 89, 170-173

(full descr. with illustr.), 233 f., 338, 340 358 f., 366, *Empire*, 18, 47, 57 f., 147 (date), 151 f., 173, 176-179 (full descr.), 191, 220, 234 f., 334, 336 (date), 340 (lit.); Baedeker 344; Keil and Premenstein in *D.K.A.W.* lvii (1915) 5 a b; Hogarth in *C.A.H.* ii. 270 f., 548 f., iii. 150, 155, 501 f. (thinks the Smyrna-Ephesos area was "a state attached culturally, but not necessarily politically, to the Cappadocian Hatti"); Unger in *Reallex. der Vorgeschichte*, vi (1926) 219 b; Ramsay, *Asian. Elements*, 156-159; Bittel 117 n. 2; Schachermeyr 95. Casts of the bas-relief are preserved at Berlin (Unger, as above), Constantinople, and Smyrna (*Guide du Musée*, 39). In April 1930 I made a careful personal search for the second stone, but without success: I learned subsequently on good authority that it was probably broken up during the road-making operations of 1927.

ter Niobe¹; while in the third place he was said to have been founder and king of a city situated on the mountain.

Before collecting and discussing the allusions to his buildings, we may briefly recapitulate the picturesque legends about him. A wealthy and prosperous monarch, he abused the friendship of the gods by stealing nectar and ambrosia from their table, revealing their secrets to men, and serving up to them at a feast the body of his son Pelops. Pelops was restored to life; and later (after being defeated by Ilos of Phrygia or of Ilion) he migrated to Peloponnesos—which owed its name to him. The city of Tantalos was destroyed by an earthquake, and he himself received condign punishment in Hades. His daughter Niobe made offensive comparisons between her numerous offspring and the small family of the goddess Leto, whereupon the latter's two children, Apollon and Artemis, killed all her sons and daughters.

But what of the kingdom, city, and buildings of Tantalos? Aristoteles says that the site of Sipylos was overturned by an earthquake.² Strabo states that Sipylos (presumably meaning the mountain) was overwhelmed by an earthquake in the reign of Tantalos and out of marshes lakes were formed,³ and that the district round the city Sipylos was formerly called Phrygia, and Tantalos, Pelops, and Niobe were called Phrygians.⁴ Plinius says that Sipylos, the inland capital of Maionia, was formerly called "Tantalis", that it had perished, and that the site was now occupied by the lake Sale: he adds that Arkhaiopolis, Kolpe, and Lebade, which were successively substituted for Sipylos, had all perished.⁵

¹"Sipylos" is often given as the name of one of Niobe's sons (Zwicker in Pauly IIIA [1929] 281). See also above, p. 6 n. 1 and p. 26 n. 1. Some, apparently following Fracastor (a sixteenth-century poet), derive the name of the disease syphilis from him as its supposed first victim (*Times Lit. Suppt.* 23 Nov. 1935, 769).

²Aristot. *Meteor.* II. viii. 42 (368 b): τοῦτον γὰρ τὸν τρόπον γενομένου σεισμοῦ τὰ τε περὶ Σίπυλον ἀνετρέπη. . . .

³Strabo I. iii. 17 (58): cf. XII. viii. 18 (579).

⁴Strabo XII. viii. 2 (571: τὴν περὶ τὴν Σίπυλον Φρυγίαν): cf. 21 (580), XIV. v. 28 (680: wealth of Tantalos and Pello-

pidai drawn from mines περὶ Φρυγίαν καὶ Σίπυλον).

⁵Plin. *Nat. Hist.* v. 29 (117: after mentioning Klazomenai, he continues: "interiore intus Daphnus et Hermesta et Sipylos, quod ante Tantalus vocabatur, caput Maeoniae, ubi nunc est stagnum Sale. obiit et Archaeopolis, substituta Sipylo, et inde illi Colpe et huic Libade"), (118: "regredientibus inde abest XII p., ab Amazone condita, restituta ab Alexandro, in ora Zmyrna, . . ." See below p. 38 n. 3). In ii. 91 (205) he speaks of the earth having swallowed (Mt.) Sipylos (or Sipylos) in Magnesia: "et prius in eodem loco clarissimam urbem, quae Tantalus vocabatur".

Tacitus records that in 26 A.D. the Smyrnaians claimed that their founder had been either Theseus, or an Amazon, or Tantalos son of Zeus.¹ Pausanias gives fuller details. Commenting on the supposed burial-urn of a certain Tantalos at Argos, he insists that the tomb of the Tantalos who was son of Zeus and Pluto was on Sipylos: he had seen it himself, and it was "worth a view": Tantalos had had no need to flee from Sipylos, as Pelops had.² "There remain even to this day", he writes, "traces of the residence of Pelops and Tantalos among us—there is the lake of Tantalos so-called from him, and a conspicuous tomb, and Pelops' throne on Sipylos on the top of the mountain above the temple of the Plastene Mother, and when one has crossed the river Hermos, a statue of Aphrodite at Temnos" set up by Pelops.³ Pausanias had seen white eagles on Sipylos, flying around the so-called lake of Tantalos.⁴ He also states that the city Idea on Sipylos disappeared into a chasm: "and from the time when Idea was shattered, water flowed from that part of the mountain, and the chasm became a lake, called Saloë. And the remains of the city were visible in the lake, until the water of the torrent hid them".⁵ Aristeides said that Tantalos and Pelops built on Mt. Sipylos the first of the three cities, of which the Smyrna of his own day was the third. Here on Sipylos were the beds of the gods; here took place the noisy dances of the Kouretes around the mother of Zeus; here gods and heroes feasted together: the inhabitants were autochthonous. But the city sank beneath the waters of a marsh or lake, and was taken over by the nymphs. From this neighbourhood Pelops—or, as Aristeides has it in another place, the Pelopes—crossed over the Aegæan to colonize Peloponnesos.⁶ Stephanos of Byzantion affirmed that the city that was called "Smyrna" after the Amazon who had occupied Ephesos, had before that been called "Naulokhon", and had been in the first place founded and inhabited by Tantalos.⁷ Finally, the Scholiast on Homeros alludes to the

¹Tacit. *Ann.* iv. 56 (see above, p. 29 n. 1).

²Paus. II. xxii. 3: . . . ἰδὼν οἶδα ἐν Σιπύλῳ τάφον θεᾶς ἄξιον.

³Paus. V. xiii. 7. Pelops appears on Smyrnaian coins of the time of Antoninus Pius (*B.M.C. Ionia*, 278 [342 f.]).

⁴Paus. VIII. xvii. 3.

⁵Paus. VII. xxiv. 13. It is probable

that the lake called by Plinius "Sale" and by Pausanias "Saloe" is to be identified with what Pausanias refers to elsewhere as "the lake of Tantalos".

⁶Aristeides xv, 372 (xvii. 3, 5), xx, 425-427 (xviii. 2, 8), xxii, 440 (xxi. 3). In xxii, 442 (xxi. 10) he alludes loosely to Pelops as ἀρχηγέτην of Smyrna.

⁷See above, p. 29 n. 2.

overthrow of Sipylos by Zeus as a punishment of Tantalos.¹

Much ingenious discussion has taken place regarding the historical value of these notices, and in particular regarding the precise localities which the city (Sipylos, Tantalos, or Idea), the lake (Sale or Saloë) and tomb of Tantalos, the throne of Pelops, and the temple of the Plastene Mother must be supposed to have occupied.² It is at least clear that the lake beneath which the city Sipylos was supposed to have been submerged could not have been either the small pool once seen by Texier on the slopes above Bâirakli, near the north-eastern corner of the Gulf of Smyrna, or that at the foot of the steep cliff on which the figure of the Mother-Goddess is carved. The popular identification of it with Kara-Göl is much more reasonable. With it agrees the representation of the city as being presumably on the top of the mountain, and the observation of Plinius that the lake Sale was about twelve Roman miles from Smyrna.³ Next, it must be remembered that the accounts of the city Sipylos itself are all late and mythical. No reliable evidence seems to exist to the effect that remains of buildings can be seen under the waters of Kara-Göl; and the situation is not a very likely one for a real city. There is general agreement that Naulokhon (which, though founded by Tantalos, is not stated to have been the same as the city Sipylos) is to be located at the north-eastern corner of the Gulf of Smyrna, alongside the capacious harbour in which the present hillock of Hadji-Mutso was once an island. The other sites mentioned—the throne of Pelops above the temple of the Plastene

¹*Schol. Graec. in Hom. Od.* (ed. Dindorf), ii. 523 (on *Hom. Od.* xi. 582: τὴν Σίπυλον [= *F.H.G.* iii. 305a (20)]), 682 (on *Hom. Od.* xix. 518: Σίπυλον τὸ ὄρος).

²See Texier 227b-229a, 231ab, 231 f. (finds all at the north-eastern corner of Gulf of Smyrna); Mylonas 8-11 (Smyrna a Lydian trading-port); Slaars 1 f., 63, 82-92, 100, 126 f. (Aristeides trustworthy: Tantalos at Kara-Göl: precise dates given); Hirschfeld in Curtius, *Beiträge*, 79 f., 83 nn. 17-21 (seeks the sites near Magnesia: city mythical and on summit: lake of Tantalos not the same as Saloë); Tsakyroglou i. 13-22, ii. 4 f., 12 f., 16 f., 27-30; Weber, *Hieron*, 19 f., *Sipylos*, 30-32, 35, 39, 65-72, 110 f.; Ramsay in *J.H.S.* i (1880) 73 f., iii

(1882) 46-48, 60-68; Humann in *M.D.A.I.* xiii (1888) 27-37 (throne of Pelops on Sipylos-ridge south-east of Mother-Goddess); Frazer, *Paus.* iii. 552ff.; Hogarth, *Ionia*, 42, 72, 102; Leonhard 176 f. (Tantalos-culture anterior to Hittite); Leaf, *Homer and Hist.* (1915), 68-72 (Pelops's Asiatic origin unhistorical); Büchner in *Pauly III A* (1929) 279-281, 743, 747, 758 f.

³*Plin. Nat. Hist.* v. 29 (117 f.), quoted above, p. 36 n. 5. The "inde", from which the XII millia passuum are calculated, clearly refers to Lake Sale (which is exactly that distance from Smyrna as the crow flies), and not (as the Bohn-translators believe) to Klazomenai, which is about 24 Roman miles from Smyrna.

Mother, and the tomb of Tantalos—are sought by some in the neighbourhood of Magnesia-near-Sipylos, by others in the hills north of Smyrna. It will be best for us at this point to give a short account of *all* the pre-Hellenic remains of the district, so as to have the archaeological data conveniently before us.

1. The northernmost of the monuments in question is the Hittite statute of the Mother-Goddess, already fully described. It is certainly the figure which Pausanias describes as being “on the rock of Koddinos” and as thought to have been carved by Tantalos’ son Broteas. It is tempting to regard it as fixing the site of what Pausanias calls the *ἱερὸν* of the Plastene Mother.¹

2. A little to the south-east of this figure, and immediately to the west of the gigantic cleft called “Yaryk-kaya”, is a small akropolis on an almost inaccessible peak, and on the adjoining ridge a group of rock-cuttings, consisting of terraces, house-foundations, cisterns, tombs, and (at the very top—1150 feet above sea-level) a hollow shaped like a diagonally-bisected cube. This last is plausibly identified by some with “the throne of Pelops on Sipylos on the top of the mountain, above the temple of the Plastene Mother” (to quote Pausanias’ description), and the accompanying group of ruins, perhaps less plausibly, with the city of Tantalos.²

3. At the foot of Mt. Sipylos, more than a mile east of the statue of the Mother-Goddess, and beyond the cleft just mentioned, is a large rock-tomb with two sepulchral chambers, roughly cut inside, but outside beautifully smoothed. Some think that we have here what Pausanias calls “the Tomb of Tantalos”.³ A little further to the south-east, at Sert-Kaya, in the hill-side about forty feet above the plain, is a large cave, on the floor of which have been cut gutters and a long platform, and over the entrance to which there are said to be two roughly-

¹See above, pp. 25 f.

²Weber, *Sipylos*, 118 f.; Ramsay in *J.H.S.* iii (1882) 35-38, 46-48, 65 f.; Humann in *M.D.A.I.* xiii (1888) 22-24, 29-37 (firsthand account); Schweisthal in *R.A.* xvi (1890) 398-406; Perrot and Chipiez, *P.L.C.L.* 56-65; Wilson 81 f.; Frazer, *Paus.* iii. 552-555; Baedeker 348; Hogarth in *C.A.H.* iii. 504 (pre-Hellenic, but post-Hittite); Büchner in Pauly

III A (1929) 279 f. (? Mykenian influence), 742 (“Unvergessen sind des trefflichen Humanus Arbeiten”).

³Prokesh, *Denkwürd.* iii. 14 f.; Weber, *Sipylos*, 115-117, 119 f.; Ramsay in *op. cit.* 37, 67; Humann in *op. cit.* 37-41; Wilson 78b, 82a; Frazer, *Paus.* iii. 554 f.; Hogarth, *loc. cit.* (type is Phrygian); Büchner 280 bott. (? Mykenian influence).

carved figures, one of a human being and one of an animal.¹

4. In the heart of Yamanlar-Dagh, at Ada-Tepé, roughly four miles due north of the Gulf-coast at Petrota, and visible from the sea, is a curious collection of walls and rock-cuttings on and around a summit 1600 feet above sea-level. Within an oddly-shaped walled enclosure, the diameter of which measures about 120 yards from north to south, rises the elongated summit, at each end of which stands a massive crag. The top of the southern crag has been artificially levelled and furnished with steps: at its north-eastern corner is an elaborately-cut chamber, open to the sky. Adjoining the other crag on the north is a level area, roughly rectangular in shape, measuring about forty yards each way: its south-western edge is supported by a straight massive wall, beyond which the ground slopes steeply away. A ridge, parallel to the summit-ridge, runs along the north-western side of the level area and the adjoining depression. It has been confidently argued that this group of stones was once the sanctuary of the Plastene Mother, and it is accordingly known locally as the "Hiéron de Cybèle", the throne of Pelops being then supposed to be one of the mountain-summits north of it. Others think it maybe itself the throne of Pelops, or an ancient akropolis.²

5. Three miles south-south-east of Ada-Tepé, and over a mile due north of the present north-eastern corner of the Gulf, on a peak 1170 feet high, are the extensive ruins of a quadrangular building, apparently a fortress or akropolis. The main enclosure measures over 120 feet from north to south, from east to west about a hundred feet at its southern end, and over sixty at its northern. On the southern side the edge curves outwards; and masonry is used only to fill up the gaps in the natural ridge of rock. Towards the southern end of the double eastern wall (which is built of red trachyte) is a

¹Lionel Belhomme in *Türk Tarih, Arkeologia ve Etnografya dergisi*, iii (1936) 217-226 (a provisional and amateur account, with photographs, and speculations as to stone-age origin and later connexion with the worship of Kybele and legends of Tantalos).

²Tsakyroglou ii. 29 f.; Weber, *Hiéron*, 21-30, *Sipylos*, 27-31, Plate III (detailed description, and argument for identifying with *ἱερόν* of Kybele); Ramsay in *J.H.S.* i

(1880) 68-74 (fairly full description), ii (1881) 300 (partly an Aiolic city), and in *Academy*, 30 Apl. 1881, 324 b; Schweis-thal in *R.A.* xvi (1890) 407-414 (a fortress, probably later than the Akropolis of Old Smyrna, and matched by similar ruins at Gueuk-Kaya on northern slope of Yamanlar-Dagh, en route to Mene-men); Perrot and Chipiez, *P.L.G.L.* 50-55; Miltner 147 f. n. 28 (?).



GATE OF THE AKROPOLIS OF OLD SMYRNA



"FELSWARTE" NEAR THE OLD AKROPOLIS

To face p. 41

gateway, the outer portal of which is topped by a single huge block, nearly seven feet long and two and a half high: beneath this lintel, the edges of the wall-blocks are so cut as to make the opening broader at the bottom than at the top. At the north-eastern corner was a round tower-shaped buttress. The northern wall consisted of blocks of reddish trachyte irregularly put together. The middle of the western side was formed by the natural rock; the extremities to the north and south of the centre were built of small pieces of trachyte carefully squared and fitted. Within the enclosure was a partition-wall running north and south, and a quadrangular building: on the site of the latter fragments of tiles and pottery have been found. Adjoining the enclosure on the east was a lower walled area, roughly 130 feet square. Just outside the north wall of the enclosure is a depression which may once have been a cistern: its northern edge was protected by a wall. There are further fragments of masonry on the slopes to the north, north-west, south, and south-east of the enclosure. In all probability the site was approached by a road along the ridge from the north. There is wide agreement that this group of structures represents the Akropolis of the Old Smyrna founded by the Aiolians; but it may be observed that the style of the eastern gateway is apparently Mykenian, as is also that of the tombs in the immediate neighbourhood. It has therefore been thought possible that this Akropolis belongs to pre-Aiolic times.¹

6. About half a mile south-west of the Akropolis, on a much lower but still commanding peak of red trachyte, 384 feet above sea-level, is a smoothed rock-platform, approached from the north by two flights of seven stone steps each, and containing a rectangular pit, nearly seven feet long, about three feet wide, and three and a half deep. To the north of it is an area bounded by walls, and divided into two terraces. This structure is not usually identified with any monument mentioned by Pausanias or others; and its purpose has been vari-

¹Prokesch, *Denkwürd.* iii. 335-340 (full description: he says it was then called the Temple of Kybele); Texier 227b, 231; Hamilton i. 46-48, 51; Hirschfeld in Curtius, *Beiträge*, 77 f., 81 f.; Tsakyroglou i. 21 f., ii. 17-20; Weber, *Sipylos*, 13-19, Plate I (full descr.); Ramsay in

J.H.S. i (1880) 65 f., ii (1881) 302 f., 306; Perrot and Chipiez, *P.L.C.L.* 42-45; Wilson 78a; Baedeker 344 f.; Büchner 742 f.; Miltner 128, 130-144 (best recent account, with plan and photographs). On the site, see above, pp. 5, 8.

ously conceived. By many it has been thought to be a look-out station ("Vedette", "Felswarte"); others have suggested that it was a tomb; and yet others, less plausibly, that it was a place of sacrifice.¹

7. Not quite a mile south-south-east of the Akropolis, and about three-quarters of a mile north-north-east from the present corner of the Gulf, at an elevated point on the hilly slope between the Akropolis and the plain, stand the remains of a large, roughly-circular tomb. It consisted of a drum-shaped base, surmounted by a cone. The drum had a diameter of about 97 feet, and a height probably much greater than the six or seven feet which it at present measures. Near its centre was a closed rectangular chamber—over eleven feet long, seven feet wide, and nine feet high under the centre of the vault. The vaulted sides and roof were formed by the projection of each block over the one below it, the surfaces being smoothed, and a single roof-stone placed at the top. The space between the chamber and the outside wall of polygonal masonry was filled with stones arranged (in part) symmetrically, courses of larger blocks forming radii and (between the chamber and the outside wall) an intermediate circle, and the intervening spaces so produced being filled with smaller stones. The apex of the cone surmounting the drum was about ninety feet from the ground, and was probably adorned with a phallos. This is the building known to moderns as "the Tomb of Tantalos". Texier deliberately demolished it in 1834, in order to ascertain how it was constructed: to-day the chamber, the lower part of the drum, and chaotic heaps of stones, are all that can be seen. It is not a Hittite work, but resembles in general style the so-called "bee-hive tombs" of Mykenai. That it should have been called "the Tomb of Tantalos" is, considering its size and prominence, not surprising; but that it actually was the tomb so named by Pausanias cannot be proved.²

¹Texier 228b (throne of Pelops); Hirschfeld in Curtius, *Beiträge*, 76, 81 n. 5, Plate VI ("Felswarte"); Tsakyroglou ii. 16f.; Weber, *Hiéron*, 21, *Sipylos*, VII A, 12 f. ("La Vedette"), 110 f.; Schweisthal in *R.A.* xvi (1890) 406 f.; Perrot and Chipiez, *P.L.C.L.* 41 f.; Szanto in *M.D.A.I.* xvi (1891) 244-246 ("Opferstätte"); Wilson 78a; Conze in *Arch. Anz.* xiv (1899) 16a ("Grab"); J. Keil

in *J.O.A.I.* xi (1908) *Beibl.* 161 ("Grabanlage"); Baedeker 344; Walter 225 ("Grabanlage", possibly of the Roman period); Bürchner 743; Miltner 128, 146-150 ("Felswarte"; detailed description, with plan and photograph).

²Prokesch, *Denkwürd.* ii. 159 f., iii. 340, and in *J.L.* lxxviii. 57 f.; Texier 227b, 230 f., Plate XIII; Hamilton i. 48 f.; Hirschfeld in Curtius, *Beiträge*,

8. In the immediate neighbourhood of this conspicuous tomb are a number of interesting remains. On the western slope of the hill which it crowns was found, along one side of an oblong hollow cut out of the rock, a flat stone table edged with a moulding, and having two circular depressions cut in the raised surface of its eastern end. This was apparently a place of burial.¹ On the slopes below and to the south-east of "the Tomb of Tantalos" is a nekropolis consisting of about forty closely-placed tumuli, of the same general type as the one described but less elaborate: each is a circular conical stone heap, furnished at the centre with one or two chambers and probably in most cases surmounted by a large stone phallos. At the eastern end of the Nekropolis are the remains of a small fortified area, belonging to the same period as the Akropolis.² On the slopes to the south-west, ruins of walls and other buildings have been discerned and reported; and the site has been confidently acclaimed as that of an ancient city. Caution,

78, 82 nn. 10-12, 84 n. 29 (thinks the ascription to Tantalos ancient); Tsakyroglou i. 22, ii. 14, 20-23; Weber, *Sipylos*, 19-21, Plate I; Perrot and Chipiez, *P.L.C.L.* 45-50, P.G. 448 f. (Mykenaian resemblances); Wilson 78 ab; Baedeker 345; Schachermeyr, *Etrusk. Frühgesch.* 104, 289, and in *Reallex. der Vorgesch.* xiv (1929) 308b; Miltner 129, 149-156 (full account, with diagrams and photographs).

¹A. Martin in *R.A.* xxxi (1876) 322-324; Weber, *Sipylos*, VII F (?), 114. I am not aware that anyone but Martin has seen this monument; and recent search for it has proved unsuccessful.

²Chandler i. 88; Prokesch, *Denkwürd.* ii. 158-160, and in *J.L.* lxxviii. 57 f. (of the phallos—"Man huldigte dem Tode durch das, was Leben weckt"); Texier 229a-230b (detailed examination of twelve tumuli), 231a (? wall surrounding nekropolis); Hamilton i. 48; Hirschfeld in Curtius, *Beiträge*, 78 f., 80 (resemblance to the Lydian tombs near Sardeis), 82 f. nn. 13-15; Tsakyroglou ii. 15, 23 f.; Weber, *Sipylos*, 21-23, Plate II (phallos); Perrot and Chipiez, *P.L.C.L.* 41, 45, 48 f., P.G. 448 f.; Büchner 743, 745, 759 (Lydian and pre-Hellenic); Schachermeyr as above, n. 1; Miltner 144-146 ("Kleine Festung", with plan), 129, 149, 153-160 (details, illustrated). The number of the tumuli, as given by the above-quoted authorities, varies between 20 and

45. Miltner counted 29 (149 n. 30).

On the whole question of the use of the phallos in these and other funerary monuments, cf. Pfuhl in *J.D.A.I.* xx (1905) 90 f. and Ludwig Curtius's illustrated essay on 'Phallosgrabmal im Museum von Smyrna' in *Festschrift Ludwig Klages* (Leipzig, 1932), 19-29. It is clear from both these studies that the phallic symbol was widely used on funerary monuments in western Asia Minor as well as in Etruria (so that Miltner's [156] doubts as to the phallic significance of the stones lying near the Tomb of Tantalos may be pronounced groundless). The original idea is stated by Curtius (23): "... die erloschene Zeugungskraft des Toten soll durch Symbole der Fruchtbarkeit erhalten bleiben". He conjecturally connects the origin of this custom with the cult of Hermes imported from Illyria into Northern Hellas and Asia Minor by the Thracians and Phrygians. In later times the meaning of the symbol was forgotten; and it came to be used as a pure convention. The "Phallosgrabmal" of which Curtius speaks was that of a woman, and came originally from northern Mysia. An inscribed tombstone of phallic shape from Mt. Pagos at Smyrna is preserved in the Louvre (*Arch. Anz.* xv [1900] 156a [25]), commemorating Khrestios son of Herakleides. Its date is uncertain.

however, is necessary. The stones are so lavishly laid about that, while the imagination can easily construct out of them the ruins of man's handiwork, the distinction between true relics of the past and merely natural phenomena (or even the recent work of peasants) is to-day exceedingly hard to maintain.¹

9. About two and a half miles east of "the Tomb of Tantalos", on the hills to the north-west of Burnabat, some 400 feet above sea-level, are the remains of a fortress now called "Kastraki". It is roughly pentagonal in shape: its maximum diameter is about 115 yards; and it has seven round towers at its various angles.²

10. Five miles south-west of Mt. Pagos, in the mountainous district to the south of the Gulf, on the top of a hill called Aktshe-Kaya, 1400 feet above sea-level, are the ruins of what was apparently an old akropolis. Steps ascending to the main plateau, walls surrounding its highest part (and for some distance following the steep edge of the rock), buildings within, and a large cistern, have all been traced. In general character the ruin resembles that on Ada-Tepé: the site commands a good view of the upper valley of the Caravan-Bridge-River.³

11. Seven-and-a-half miles east of the eastern end of the Gulf, close to the watershed that divides the Burnabat-plain from the valley of the Nif-Chai, on the northern side of the road, rises a steep conical hill, called (from a coffee-house which formerly stood at its foot) "Bel-Kave". Its summit, a small plateau 1300 feet above sea-level, is encircled by the remains of a massive wall. Fragments of pottery were formerly seen there; and an additional wall ran across a glen on the southern slope of the hill. The view both east and west is extensive: and it is clear that the post was intended to command the approach either inland from the sea, or from the interior towards the coast, or both.⁴

¹Prokesch, *Denkwürd.* ii. 157 f., iii. 340 f., and in *J.L.* lxxviii. 56; Texier 229b ("des traces de murailles"); Hamilton i. 48 f.; Hirschfeld in Curtius, *Beiträge*, 79 f.; Tsakyroglou ii. 25 f. (all three sceptical); Weber, *Sipylos*, 23-25, 70 f.; Conze in *Arch. Anz.* xiv (1899) 15 f.; Büchner 742 f.; Walter 226 f.; Miltner 129 f. n. 2, 160 f.

²Weber, *Sipylos*, 25 f., Plate I ("La seconde Acropole"); Perrot in *R.A.* xli

(1881) 246; Ramsay in *Academy*, 30 Apl. 1881, 324c (not an akropolis); Perrot and Chipiez, *P.L.C.L.* 55; Miltner 144 n. 21, 146 with n. 23. See also below, p. 86 n. 1.

³Weber in *M.D.A.I.* x (1885) 213-216, with plan; Wilson 92b ("the white summit of *Akche Kaya* with its ancient akropolis"); Büchner 758.

⁴Weber, *Sipylos*, 114 f.; Ramsay in *J.H.S.* i (1880) 63-68 (he compares it

12. At Nymphi, on the hill immediately to the west of the town, are the remains of very early castle-walls, with larger stones than those of the Akropolis of Old Smyrna: in the cliff below are rock-hewn tombs.¹

13. Seven miles south-east of Nymphi, there rises from the plain a precipitous limestone peak called "Ak-Kaya". On its summit, about 1000 feet above sea-level, there are two hollows (one oval, about twenty feet by thirteen across, and about eight feet deep, and one roughly square, smaller and with ledges cut along three of its sides) and some small surface-cuttings. On the southern slope are rock-steps; on the northern, a tomb of Paphlagonian pattern. On a lower adjacent peak is a circular hollow thirteen feet across, with a wall round it. What look like the remains of two tumuli are seen on the lower ground to the north and west.² The inscriptions still visible on the smoothed wall adjoining the rock-steps are thought to belong to the third or second century before Christ³; but the other remains may well belong to a far earlier period.

14. Nearly six miles south-south-east of Nymphi, and about three west of Ak-Kaya, are the Hittite monuments in Kara-Bel—already fully described.⁴

It is impossible with any confidence to assign dates, absolute or relative, to all these ancient relics, or to name the people responsible for them. The Mother-Goddess on Mt. Sipylos and the warriors in Kara-Bel are Hittite in character—the former more ancient than the latter—and "the Tomb of Tantalos" and the Akropolis above it are in Mykenaian style. But we do not know whether to call the two latter and the others Phrygian, Lydian, Maonian, Proto-Hellenic, or simply Hellenic; we cannot even be sure in every case of their extreme antiquity. The opinion of scholars has recently inclined to regard them as purely Hellenic. It seems, however, not unreasonable to suppose that the occupation of most of the sites dates from the period prior to the Trojan War (about

closely with the so-called Akropolis of Old Smyrna); Perrot and Chipiez, *P.L.C.L.* 55 f. A fuller account is promised by A. Seylaz (*J.O.A.I.* xxviii [1933] *Beibl.* 121).

¹Ramsay in *J.H.S.* i (1880) 66-68; Wilson 89b.

²Buresch in *M.D.A.I.* xx (1895) 497-

500; Keil and Premerstein in *D.K.A.W.* lvii (1915) 5f. I have supplemented the information supplied by these authorities from personal recollection of my ascent of Ak-Kaya in April 1930 and information since given me by friends in Smyrna.

³See below, p. 115 n.

⁴See above, pp. 33-35.

1150 B.C.) or at least to the Aiolic immigration (about 1050 B.C.), and bears witness to the existence of a state of considerable size and vigour, not uninfluenced by the Mykenaian culture of Hellas and the islands, and in some sort of dependence on the Hittite power of the interior.¹

This power was, in the latter half of the thirteenth century, already past the zenith of its prosperity; and its hold on its westernmost dependencies steadily weakened. A side-light on the dangers threatening it from the west is thrown by an event in the reign of the Hittite king Arnunta (1230–1210 B.C.). This was a combined but unsuccessful attack made on Egypt about 1225 B.C. by a coalition of Libyans and certain sea-peoples, the latter apparently including the Akhaians, Lykians, and Tyrsenians. Of the Akhaians we have already spoken; and the Lykians are the well-known tribe inhabiting the south-western corner of Asia Minor. But the Tyrsenians, if rightly identified, are of still greater interest. The name is one of those used to designate the Etruscans of Italy, concerning whose origin Herodotos gives the following account. In the time of king Atys, son of Manes, Lydia suffered from a prolonged famine; Atys, therefore, divided his subjects into two groups, and cast lots to ascertain which of them should emigrate under his son Tyrsenos. "Those of them", Herodotos continues, "whose lot it was to leave the country, went down to Smyrne, and built vessels. Putting on board all the moveable property they had, they sailed away in search of sustenance and land, until—after passing by many peoples—they came to the Umbrians. There they founded cities and dwell to this day. But their name was changed from 'Lydians' to that of the king's son who led them; taking their appellation from him they were called 'Tyrsenians'". The details of the story may be in part fanciful; but the main statement that the Etruscans

¹Cf. Weber, *Sipylus*, 89–96 ("Considérations sur Tantale et son Empire"); Ramsay in *Academy*, 30 Apl. 1881, 324a; Meyer, *Gesch. des Alterthums*, i (1884) 486, ii (1893) 233; Conze in *Arch. Anz.* xiv (1899) 15 f.; Hogarth in *C.A.H.* ii. 548, 551; Schachermeyr, *Etrusk. Frühgesch.* 289, and in *M.D.A.I.* xli (1916) 382 f., 385 (mound-tombs not earlier than end of viii/B.C.), and in *Reallex.*

der Vorgesch. xiv (1929) 308a; Walter 224 f. (Akrop. etc. hellenistic; Fels-warte possibly Roman times); Miltner 157 f., 188 (most remains contemporaneous, ix/B.C. or viii/B.C.: none pre-Hellenic). See also above, p. 38 n. 2, and below, p. 60 (where the newly-discovered remains on Hadji-Mutso—here omitted, as they clearly belong to Aiolic Smyrna—are dealt with).

were colonists who had migrated from Asia Minor to Italy—though still doubted by some investigators—is curiously confirmed by the numerous resemblances between Etruscan and Anatolian culture, and by the mention of “Tursha” among the wandering marauders who joined with other Aegean tribes in the attack on Egypt about 1225 B.C.¹

Under Tudhalia IV and Arnuanta, a king of Ahhijawa named Attarissiyas conquered Rhodos, attacked the Hittite protégé in Karia, later supported him in revolt against the Hittites, and ravaged Kypros. Some have identified him with Atreus, the father of Agamemnon and the king of the Akhaians in Mykenai. This identification must, we are now told, be given up, despite the approximate agreement of the dates: but the records of Attarissiyas are interesting as illustrating Akhaian ambitions overseas during the latter part of the thirteenth century, when the Kappadokian empire of the Hittites was tottering to its fall.

One of the most eminent contemporaries of Atreus was Theseus, the ruler of Attika. In later times he was acclaimed as the founder of Smyrna, apparently in connexion with his

¹Herodot. i. 94; Strabo V. ii. 2 (219); Tacit. *Ann.* iv. 55 (“Sardiani decretum Etruriae recitavere ut consanguinei: nam Tyrrhenum Lydumque Atye rege genitos ob multitudinem divisisse gentem; Lydum patriis in terris resedisse, Tyrreno datum novas ut consideret sedes; et ducum e nominibus indita vocabula illis per Asiam, his in Italia”): Mylonas 9; Slaars 87 f.; Hall, *Near East*, 70, 336, 376 f., and in *C.A.H.* ii. 282 f.; Giles in *C.A.H.* ii. 11 f., 24; Peet in *C.A.H.* ii. 574; Hogarth in *C.A.H.* iii. 505; Conway in *C.A.H.* iv. 388–415 (dates the migration after the Trojan War); Schachermeyr, *Étrusk. Frühgesch.* 281–290 (thinks some place in or near Lydia or Mysia, possibly the site of the so-called “Old Smyrna”, may have been the Asiatic home of the Etruscans: two migrations, about 1000 B.C. and 800 B.C.); Lehmann-Haupt in *Klio*, xxvii (1934) 292 f.

This migration would seem to be the event alluded to in a corrupt line (60) in the *Satire* of Sulpicia, a Roman poetess of the time of Domitianus. After deploring the corruption of the age and, in particular, the imperial expulsion of

the philosophers and littérateurs from Rome, she continues (as some read): “Optima posthac | Musa, uelim moneas, sine qua mihi nulla uoluptas | uiuere, uti quondam Lydus dum Smyrna peribat, | nunc itidem migrare uelint.” But apparently the MS. gives for “Lydus dum Smyrna” only the senseless “smyrnalibusque”, while for “uelint” “uelit”, “uelim”, “uelis”, “libet”, and “uacat” have all been suggested. An alternative emendation of “smyrnalibusque” is “Lydis dum Smyrna”, or “dum Lydis Smyrna” (“when Smyrna was perishing at the hands of the Lydians”): this, in conjunction with “uelim”, “uelis”, or “libet”, would imply a supposed migration of the Muse(s) from Smyrna when it was destroyed by Alyattes (see below, pp. 84 f.). Other still less convincing proposals have been made. The solution suggested to me privately by Mr. G. A. Highet, of St. John’s College, Oxford, seems to me the least difficult: he would read “dum Smyrna Lydusque peribat”, the false quantity (Lÿd-), paralleled in l. 19, explaining the corruption. On this reading, the allusion would still be to Herodot. i. 94.

supposed conquest of the Amazones.¹ It is doubtful, however, how far this claim was meant seriously; for the pseudo-Herodoteian 'Life of Homeros' made the Theseus in question a Thessalian, the son of a warrior who had taken part in the Trojan War: when the Kymaians were founding a town in the Hermeian Gulf, this Theseus, who had been one of the founders of Kyme, immortalized his wife by giving to the new town her name of "Smyrna".² The Athenaians claimed Smyrna as their colony—and Homeros therefore as their fellow-citizen—presumably because it came to rank as one of the Ionian cities, of which Athens was loosely regarded as the founder.³ It is not impossible that this idea was the source of the claim made for Theseus of Athens, though Aristeides indeed keeps the two distinct.⁴ At all events it is impossible to say what historical fact, if any, lies behind that claim.

The next evidence with which we are concerned consists of the information derivable from the Homeric poems (with the elucidations of later writers) as to the people settled in the neighbourhood of Smyrna in the times before and during the Trojan War.⁵

The Hittites themselves in all probability appear as the Keteians, who are mentioned among the allies of the Troians,

¹Tacit. *Ann.* iv. 56 (see above, p. 29 n. 1); Aristeides xv, 372 (xvii. 5: Smyrna received a colony of Erekhtheidai from Athens after the war against the Amazones), xx, 425 (xviii. 2: Theseus oikist of the places beneath Sipylos), xxi, 431 (xx. 5: Theseus, the most "philanthropic" among the Hellenes, founder of Smyrna), 436 (xx. 20: Theseus founded it), xxii, 440 (xxi. 4: after Tantalos and Pelops came Theseus the founder, and the name "Smyrna", and the Attic race, and the Ionians), xli, 763 (xix. 4: Thes. founder); Isidor. *Etymol.* XV. i. 39 ("Theseus vero Smirnam construxit"). Cf. Lane 9f.; Mylonas 18 f.; Slaars 3 n. 8, 89f., 92 (LIX); Tsakyrogλου i. 30-32; Boulanger 368.

²Ps.—Herodot. *Vit. Hom.* 2 (ἔτυχον οἱ Κυμαῖοι κτίζοντας τότε τοῦ Ἑρμείου κόλπου τὸν μαιόν, κτιζομένοισι δὲ τὴν πόλιν Σμύρναν ἔθετο τὸ ὄνομα Θησεύς, μνημεῖον ἐθέλων καταστήσαι τῆς ἐωντοῦ γυναικὸς ἐπώνυμον ἦν γὰρ αὐτῇ τοῦνομα Σμύρνα, ὃ δὲ Θησεύς ἦν τῶν τὴν Κύμην κτισάντων, ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις Θεσσαλῶν ἀπὸ Εὐμήλου τοῦ Ἀδμήτου,

κάρτα εἶ ἔχων τοῦ βίου). Cf. Lane 8 f.; Mylonas 18; Slaars 2 f.; Klügmann in *Philologus*, xxx (1870) 531 f.; Tsakyrogλου i. 31 f.

³Two of the late 'Lives of Homeros' quote an elegiac poem, supposed to have been designed for a statue of Peisistratos at Athens, and concluding with the lines ἡμέτερος γὰρ κείνος ὁ χρύσεος (sc. Hom.) ἦν πολίτης, | εἴπερ Ἀθηναῖοι Σμύρναν ἐπικίσαμεν (*Anthol. Palat.* xi. 442. [ii. 360: . . . ἀπικία-]: cf. Witte in Pauly VIII [1913] 2197). The existence of the statue is highly dubious. Aristeides acknowledges Athens as Smyrna's mother-city (xl, 759 [xxix. 27: . . . τοὺς πατέρας ὑμῶν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους . . .], xlii, 776 [xxiii. 26: . . . ἀποικοὶ τῆς Ἀθηναίων πόλεως]).

⁴Cf. Lane 8; Mylonas 18 f.; Tsakyrogλου i. 32.

⁵On the knowledge of Asia Minor displayed in the *Il.*, cf. Leaf, *Troy* (1912), 306 f., *Homer and Hist.* (1915), 67-72; Allen, *Catalogue*, 147 n., 150 f., 166-168; Scott 5; Bowra 140, 266.

and are called comrades of Eurypylos, son of Telephos, known in later literature as king of Teuthrania (a region about the river Kaikos). The Hittite capital in Kappadokia was abandoned about 1200 B.C. for fresh headquarters in Syria; but the Hittite population remained in part where it had been before; and the Keteians seem to represent an isolated colony of it in the extreme west. Their name also survived in that of the river Keteion, a tributary of the Kaikos. It will be remembered that several coast-towns near the mouth of the Kaikos were supposed to have been founded by Amazones, and were therefore in all probability Hittite settlements.¹

The Phrygians, who later occupied a large part of west-central Asia Minor, and whose name is attached by some to Tantalos and the pre-Hellenic remains of the Smyrna-region, occupy in the 'Ilias' the lower valley of the river Sangarios and the region around the Askanian Lake. Modern scholars are agreed in accepting the classical representation of them as immigrants from Thrace, and (although the Homeric 'Hymn to Aphrodite' represents their language as foreign to the Troians and therefore also by inference foreign to the Akhians) in regarding them as Indo-Europeans.²

The Lelegians appear in the 'Ilias', together with Kaukonians and Kilikians, seemingly as "tribes of Pelasgians" inhabiting the south coast of Troas. They seem to have formed there a little political and religious confederacy centring round the worship of the mouse-god Smintheus.³ These Lelegians are very pertinent to our present study, though in a rather perplexing way. Later writers always group them with the Karians, though the relation between the two was obscure. Pherekydes, a contemporary of Herodotos, stated that before the Ionic Migration the Karians had held Miletos, Myous, Mykale, and Ephesos, while the Lelegians occupied the coast to the north as far as Phokaia (thus including Smyrna),

¹Hom. *Od.* xi. 521 (*Κήτριοι*); Strabo XIII. i. 69 f. (615 f.: . . . *πυράμιον* . . . *Κήτριοι*), iii. 2 (620), XIV. v. 28 (680); Plin. *Nat. Hist.* v. 30 (126); Quint. Smyrn. vi. 168, vii. 149, 533, 541, xi. 80; Gladstone, *Homeric Synchronism* (1876), 127, 166-183 (the first suggestion that Keteians were Hittites); Cowley 23 n. 2, 33; Bowra 183; Büchner in Pauly XI (1922) 360 f. See above, pp. 28 f.

²Hom. *Il.* ii. 862 f., iii. 184-189, *Hymn to Aphrod.* 111-116; Herodot. vii. 73; Slaars 82 f.; Leaf, *Troy* (1912), 298-304; Cowley 39; Hogarth in *C.A.H.* iii. 502 f.

³Hom. *Il.* ii. 840-843, x. 429, and other passages collected by Leaf (*Troy* [1912], 198-252). Cf. Bury in *C.A.H.* ii. 473, 488.

together with Samos and Khios: both tribes were later confined by the Ionians to Karia.¹ Philippos, a Karian writer who flourished about 200 B.C., said that both in his own time and earlier the Karians treated the Lelegians as servants, in the same way as the Spartans treated the Heilotes and the Thessalians the Penestai—a fact which seems to point to a difference of race between them.² Seeing that the Karians of Miletos, Mykale, etc., are described in the 'Ilias' as "men of barbarous speech",³ and that close connexions existed between them and Krete, one is tempted to regard the Karians as non-Hellenic "Aegaeans", and then to hazard the conjecture that the Lelegians may have been proto-Hellenic Indo-Europeans. However that may be, Strabo accepts the view that Ionia was formerly held by Karians and Lelegians, whom the Ionians expelled.⁴ He tells us further that, before Smyrna was occupied by the Aiolians, it was founded by (Ionian) colonists from Ephesos at a place previously held by the Lelegians.⁵ Legends of Lelegian settlements were very widespread, even in European Hellas; and the name, like that of the Pelasgians, seems to have been loosely used for primitive and imperfectly civilized Hellenes.⁶

Homeros knows further of a powerful tribe settled in the Hermos-valley, near Mt. Tmolos, the Gygaian Lake, and the tributary stream Hyllos. These were the Meionians, and their land "lovely Meionia", which included "loamy Tarne" and "the rich domain of Hyde" (possibly Sardeis). They were a wealthy and warlike people: the hire of their help in time of war cost their allies expensive gifts in kind. They fought in chariots; and the horses of their kings and leaders (at least in Homer's own time) were adorned with valuable ivory cheek-pieces, stained by their women-folk with purple. A Homeric hymn mentions Meionia as part of the realm of the god Apollon.

¹Pherek. in Strabo XIV. i. 3 (632) = *F.H.G.* i. 98a (111).

²Philipp. in Athenaios vi. 271b = *F.H.G.* iv. 475a (1). Herodotos, however, identified them, and said they had come from the islands (i. 171).

³Hom. *Il.* ii. 867: *Καρῶν . . . βαρβαροφώνων.*

⁴Strabo VII. vii. 2 (321).

⁵Strabo XIV. i. 4 (634: *Λελέγων κατεχόντων*). For the interpretation of his

phraseology, see below, pp. 58 f. n. 3. Slaars (119 ff.), interpreting differently, insists that the Lelegian settlement at Smyrna was on Mt. Pagos.

⁶On Karians and Lelegians generally, cf. Slaars 82 (VII), 84 f. (XVIII, XX), 119 (I); Giles in *C.A.H.* ii. 10; Bury in *C.A.H.* ii. 473; Hogarth in *C.A.H.* ii. 543 f., 553-558 (virtually identifies them). The statements of the older historians are very conjectural.

They occupied the same territory as the later Lydians; but neither the statement of Herodotos that the Lydians were the people formerly called "Meionians", nor Strabo's identification of Meionians and Mysians, is to be accepted. The tongue of the Lydians was certainly not Indo-European; that of the Meionians probably was. But we can only speculate as to the relations existing between them on the one hand, and Smyrna, Tantalos, and the Lelegians on the other.¹ We may, however, recall the statement that Smyrna was the port whence the Lydian Tyrsenians were supposed to have emigrated.² It is, furthermore, interesting to observe that the valley of the Hermos and the coast and islands immediately to the south of its mouth were apparently better known to the original framers of the Homeric story than were the regions either to the north or further south—a fact which may possibly point to trade-connexions between this part of Asia Minor and European Hellas in the period of the Troian War.³

We know practically nothing of the racial connexions of the inhabitants of Troas itself in the days prior to and during the Troian War, except that archaeology shows the site of Ilion to have been occupied by successive batches of the same race from 2500 B.C. until its destruction by the Akhaians. In the 'Iliad' they are represented as possessing a culture in almost all respects similar to that of the Akhaians who attacked them, as speaking the same language, and as numbering within their ranks several heroes with clearly Hellenic names. It is, however, doubtful whether this similarity may not be due simply to the exigences of epic story-telling: traces of non-Hellenic

¹Hom. *Il.* ii. 864-866, iii. 400-402 (. . . *Μηϊονίης ἐπαρευήης*, | . . .), iv. 141-145, v. 43 f., x. 431, xviii. 288-292, xx. 382-392, xxiv. 614-617, *Hymn to Pyth. Apoll.* 179 ff.; Herodot. i. 7, 171, vii. 74, 77; Strabo IX. ii. 35 (413), XII. iii. 20 (550), viii. 3, 7 (572 f.), XIII. iii. 2 (620), iv. 5 (625); Plin. *Nat. Hist.* v. 29 (110 f.); Quint. Smyrn. x. 35 (Maionia), xi. 67 ff. (ally of Troians from Gygaian Lake); Slaars 81 f.; Leaf, *Troy* (1912), 297 f. n., 305-307, 312; Cowley 39 f.; Allen, *Catalogue*, 150 f., 164-169; Giles in *C.A.H.* ii. 10 f.; Bury in *C.A.H.* ii. 492 f.; Hogarth in *C.A.H.* iii. 505 f.; How and Wells, *Comm. on Herodotus*, i. 370-376.

Several scholars have observed that Homeros' *similes* (such as the comparison of Menelaos' blood to stained ivory) are often drawn from the world around him, not from the life of the heroic age with which his narrative was concerned. On this ground Bowra (121, 266) regards the ivory cheek-pieces as not necessarily in vogue long before Homeros' own age, while Nilsson (261) suggests a similarly late date for the very existence of the Meionians as a tribe. The Meionian word *Κανθαῦλα* '(Hipponax, frag. 1 in Bergk) is clearly Indo-European.

²See above, pp. 46 f.

³See above, p. 48 n. 5.

usage appear here and there in the poem, while the native culture revealed by archaeology was clearly not identical with that of the Mykenaians of Hellas, whose wares were frequently imported.

We have already mentioned some occasions on which tribes from Aegaeon lands figured in the affairs of the Hittite and Egyptian empires. About 1194 B.C. another similar incident occurred: a great combined assault was unsuccessfully made by land (via Syria) and sea upon Egypt. The confederate tribes came mostly from Krete and the Aegaeon area; and among them were the "Danuna", identified by some with the Danaans, a people identical according to the Homeric epics with the Akhaians. The incident illustrates the restlessness of the Aegaeon peoples, and was approximately contemporaneous with the end of Hittite influence in the west. The Hittite power had collapsed in Kappadokia, and maintained itself only in Syria and on the upper Euphrates.¹

Within a few decades after this event occurred the Trojan War. Modern scholars no longer doubt the reality of the war; and they are also disposed to accept the traditional date for it. This fell about 1185 B.C.: but Ephoros fixed it at 1135 B.C.; and some year not earlier than the middle of the century would be easier to harmonize with the other data. The Akhaians of Europe, moved probably by sheer love of plunder and a desire for freer access to the Black Sea, invaded Troas in force, and laid siege to Ilios. The struggle was apparently protracted. Both sides brought into the field forces collected over a wide area. The Troians summoned their allies and mercenaries from European Thrace and from northern and western Asia Minor. Smyrna is not mentioned in the list of them, nor elsewhere in the Homeric epics; and the only Lelegians noticed are those living in Troas. But the Meionians of the Hermos-valley appear (as we have seen) several times; and we may perhaps infer that the adjacent sea-coast was included in the area they controlled. The story ran in later times that the Akhaians under their leader Agamemnon fought a successful

¹Garstang, *Land*, 367-371; Leaf, *Homer and Hist.* (1915), 39-41, 66 (the Hittites "must have begun by losing their hold on the distant western coast; clearly Smyrna could not be governed from Car-

chemish; even the Royal Road, the great monument of Hittite rule, would not enable that"); Breasted in *C.A.H.* ii. 173; Hogarth in *op. cit.* 267 f.; Hall in *op. cit.* 275 f., 281-283.

battle near the Kaikos with the Mysians under Telephos, son of Herakles: an oracle directed the wounded Akhaians to repair for healing to the warm springs near Smyrna; they did so, and hung up there the helmets they had captured from the Mysians: hence the Smyrnaians later called these springs "Agamemnoneian".¹ Two of the Meionian leaders—Phaistos and Iphition (son of "city-sacking Otrynteus")—are said to have fallen in battle against the Akhaians before the walls of Ilion.² The city was taken, sacked, and burnt; and its site lay desolate until fresh wanderers of alien race occupied it. The Akhaians, however, reaped little in the way of peace and prosperity from their triumph. Stories of their sufferings on the way home entered in plenty into Hellenic poetry. Kalkhas the prophet was the only one supposed to have come anywhere near our region: he was said by some to have died at Gryneia, by others at Klaros near Kolophon. In European Hellas, the period following the war was clearly a time of exhaustion and confusion, during which, in consequence of fresh tribal migrations, the Akhaians completely lost their hegemony.

Conditions in western Asia Minor are similarly obscure, and were in all probability similarly confused. The field was open for newcomers. The Aegaeon Sea continued to be visited by Phoinikian trading-vessels, and here and there Phoinikian settlements were made. One was in Lykia, another in Thasos, a third—Phoinikous—on the peninsula of Mimas.³ It was possibly even earlier than this period that the Phoinikians communicated to the Hellenes the priceless gift of their alphabet. Another general fact to be noted is the arrival from across the Bosphoros of fresh bands of Aryan invaders, Phrygians, Bithynians, and others, and as a consequence the expansion of the whole Phrygian race southwards into the large region usually associated with their name, and the establishment there of a powerful Phrygian monarchy. Between this and the Smyrna-region, in "lovely Meionia", we find in historical times the non-Aryan Lydians. We do not know whence they

¹Philostr. jr. *Heroikos*, ii. 18 (691: . . . ἐν ταύτῃ, ξένε, τῇ μάχῃ πολλοὶ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐτρώθησαν, καὶ λουτρά τοῖς τετραμῆνοις μαντευτὰ ἐγένετο, πηγαὶ θερμαὶ ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ, ἃς ἔτι καὶ νῦν Ἀγαμεμνονεῖους καλοῦσιν οἱ Σμύρναν οἰκοῦντες. ἀπέχουσι δέ,

οἶμαι, τεσσαράκοντα στάδια τοῦ Ἰσπεῖος, καὶ ἀνῆπτό ποτε αὐτοῖς αἰχμάλωτα κράνη Μύσια). See also above, p. 17, and below, p. 62.

²Hom. *Il.* v. 43 f., xx. 382-392.

³Thoukyd. viii. 34; Livius xxxvi. 45.

came; but the commencement of their possession of the Hermos-valley, probably at first in some sort of political dependence on Phrygia, is to be dated approximately in the century following the fall of Iliion.¹

A concluding conjecture regarding the state of affairs rests on the dubious evidence of a list of "thalassocracies" or maritime leaderships, given by certain late historians, but thought by some modern scholars to preserve reliable traditions regarding even the earliest epoch of Hellenic history. According to one interpretation of this list, the Karians dominated the sea from about 1185 to 1045 B.C., and the Lydians (or, as some have it, the Maionians) from about 1045 to 955 B.C. If the mention of the Karians be neither a textual nor a historical blunder, it probably stands for a period of piratical confusion. A thalassocracy of the Lydians (exercised in part, doubtless, through their control of the splendid port of Smyrna) is more easily credible: they may have headed some federation of the coastal tribes for the purpose of resisting Karian piracy. But the dates at all events must be questioned: for it is hardly possible that the Lydians could have been in any real command of the sea at an epoch when Hellenes from Europe were—as will be recorded in our next chapter—planting colony after colony on the Anatolian coast.²

¹Strabo XIII. iv. 5 (625), XIV. v. 29 (680); Leaf, *Troy* (1912), 299, 305, *Homer and Hist.* (1915), 73; Hogarth in *C.A.H.* iii. 502-506; How and Wells, *Comm. on Herodotus*, i. 370-376; Garstang, *Empire*, 174.

²Cf. Myres in *J.H.S.* xxvi (1906) 84-130; Fotheringham in *J.H.S.* xxvii

(1907) 75-89; Myres in *op. cit.* 123-130; Murray, *Rise of the Greek Epic* (1911), 332-337; Burn in *J.H.S.* xlvii (1927) 165-177; Bork in *Klio*, xxviii (1935) 15-20 (he finds no early place for the Karians, and thinks the date given to the Lydians and Maionians was 987-895 B.C., the Trojan War being placed at 1000 B.C.).

CHAPTER III

THE OLD HELLENIC SMYRNA

THERE is no reason to doubt the substantial truth of the confident belief of the Hellenes that the numerous Hellenic cities in the islands and coastal districts of western Asia Minor, from Lesbos to Rhodos inclusive, were planted by bands of colonists who left European Hellas in consequence of disturbances there. The story of those disturbances and migrations was told with a wealth of sometimes discordant detail, and with a dramatic simplicity which a modern historian cannot but distrust. The movements in question must have been far more gradual and complex than the traditional narratives suggest. But the main outlines are credible enough. Somewhere about 1100 B.C., as a result probably of an invading movement from Epeiros, the Boiotians of Thessalia seized the territory later known as Boiotia, and the Dorians and Aitolians crossed the Gulf of Korinthos, and possessed themselves of most of the Peloponnesos. Changes of this magnitude were bound to set up repercussions further afield, and the colonization of Asia began. The first batch of emigrants were the Aiolians. The legends represented them as Peloponnesian Akhaians, who—on being expelled by the Dorians—trekked into Thessalia, and thence moved on by various routes to Asia. The Peloponnesian connexion is doubtful, as the Aiolic colonies in Asia used the Thessalian dialect, and Thessalia and Boiotia were the parts of Hellas most closely identified with the Aiolic name. The Aiolians were popularly regarded as descendants of Aiolos, a mythical personage sometimes represented as son of the national patriarch Hellen, sometimes as lord of the winds: as an adjective the word meant “nimble” or “glittering”. When the naïve idea of regarding each of the three great colonizations as approximately a single event is abandoned, the priority of the Aiolic to the Ionic means only that it probably began earlier, not that it was completed before the Ionic commenced. Some modern scholars think that the colonizations began before the

Doric and other tribal movements in Europe and as the natural sequel to the conquest of Ilion: but there does not seem sufficient ground for departing so radically from the traditional story.¹

The motives and methods of these colonizations have been variously conceived both in ancient and modern times. Cicero regarded them as a purely military conquest²; and this view would agree with the proposal to date them before the Doric invasion of the Peloponnesos, and to regard them as spontaneous expansions of Akhaian energy after the Troian War. The usual view is that they were the efforts of populations, overcrowded as a result of the Doric invasion, to seek new elbow-room across the water. It is probable that appetite for adventure, conquest, and trade operated along with the pressure of home-circumstances to send the wanderers to the Asiatic coast. Apparently not much fighting was done: local conflicts of course took place, but there was now no powerful continental empire whose resistance had to be overcome. Unlike the Hellenic colonies of later times, the new cities in Asia maintained little connexion with, and manifested little loyalty to, the mother-cities in European Hellas from which they were supposed to have originated.³

According to the account preserved by Strabo, the main body of Aiolic emigrants travelled slowly through Thrace and first occupied Kyzikos on the Propontis; from there they proceeded south-west, and seized Lesbos: meanwhile another batch, having stayed a long time in Lokris near Mt. Phrikion, crossed the sea and founded Kyme, which they called, after the mountain, "Phrikonis".⁴ It is doubtful whether we can accept the details of these itineraries. It seems more natural to suppose that the emigrants would cross the sea from southern Thessalia, by way of the islands (Ikos, Skyros, etc.) direct to Lesbos, and that Kyme was founded from there. From these

¹The legends are most conveniently summarized by Grote (*Greece*, ii. 1-30, cf. iii. 173-204). The best modern discussions are those of Wade-Gery in *C.A.H.* ii. 518-541 and of Hogarth in *C.A.H.* ii. 542-562.

²Cic. *Pro Flacco*, 27 (64): "Asiae maritimam oram bello superatam cinxit

(sc. Graecia) urbibus, non ut munitam coloniis illam augetet, sed ut obsessam teneret".

³Cf. Grote, *Greece*, iii. 207; Hogarth in Wilson [23] and in *C.A.H.* ii. 544; Leaf, *Homer and Hist.* (1915), 286-290; Schachermeyr 98 with n. 1.

⁴Strabo XIII. i. 3 (582).

initial settlements, the other Aiolic colonies were established—for the most part on sites previously occupied by inhabitants probably not very different in race from the invaders, and sometimes at places whose reputed Amazonian foundation suggests earlier Hittite connexions. The first of these supposedly Hittite settlements thus taken over were—besides Kyme—Pitane, Gryneia, and Myrina, all of which lay around the Gulf into which the Kaïkos flows. The positions of the other Aiolic cities reveal the gradual extension of the colonizing movement. Aigai was a few miles inland, east of Myrina and Kyme. Larissa, a little north of the lower Hermos, was named (like Kyme) “Phrikonis”. Neonteikhos was near it. Temnos was also a little north of the Hermos among the mountains. The exact site of Herakleia is unknown; but it also was probably in the lower Hermos-valley. Killa lay in the south of Troas. The position of Aigiroessa is quite unknown.¹

The next Aiolic acquisition to the south was Smyrna. It, too, had apparently been a seat of Hittite culture and political power. It was (or had been) occupied by Lelegians. It was probably the port of some inland proto-Hellenic (?Maionian) or Lydian state. And now a body of Aiolians, probably from Kyme, pushing beyond Larissa, crossed the Hermos, and proceeding either along the shore round the western end of Yamanlar-Dagh, or over Yamanlar-Dagh to the heights just north of Smyrna, overpowered or scared away the defenders of the Akropolis, and possessed themselves of the city.²

¹Herodot. i. 149; Strabo XIII. iii. 5 f. (621 f.); Vell. Paterc. I. iv. 4 (“et mox Aeolii eadem profecti Graecia longissimisque acti erroribus non minus illustres obtinuerunt locos clarasque urbes corderunt, Smyrnam, Cymen, Larissam, Myrinam, Mytilenenque et alias urbes quae sunt in Lesbo insula”); Plin. *Nat. Hist.* v. 30 (121); Grote, *Greece*, iii. 191–198; Ramsay in *J.H.S.* ii (1881) 276–307; Bury in *C.A.H.* ii. 496; Hogarth in *C.A.H.* ii. 544 f., 551 f.

²That Smyrna was originally one of the twelve Aiolic cities is clearly stated by Herodotos (i. 149) and Pausanias (VII. v. 1: *Σμύρναν δὲ ἐν ταῖς δώδεκα πόλεσιν οὖσαν Αἰολέων, καὶ οἰκουμένην τῆς χώρας καθ’ ἃ καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἔτι πόλιν καλοῦσιν ἀρχαίαν, . . .*). That it was founded from Kyme is inherently probable, and is in fact ex-

PLICITLY stated, not only in the ps.-Herodoteian *Vit. Hom.* (see above, p. 48 n. 2, and below, p. 58), but also in Hom. *Epiqr.* iv in its present form. In this *Epiqr.* (ll. 3–7), the poet describes his mother-city, ἦν ποτ’ ἐπύργωσαν βουλή Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο | λαοὶ Φρίκωνος, μάργων ἐπιβήτορες ἰσπῶν, | ὀπλοῦντο μαλεροῖο πυρὸς κρίνοντες Ἄρηα, | Αἰολίδα Σμύρνην ἀλιγέτονα, ποτὶ ο-τίνακτον, | ἦντε δὲ ἀγλαῶν εἰσιν ὕδαρ ἱεροῖο Μέλητος. According, however, both to the *Epiqr.* itself and to the *Vit. Hom.* in which it is preserved, the city which the bard condemns for folly and unkindness and decides to leave was not Smyrna, but Kyme: it must therefore be Kyme which (ll. 8 f.) the Muses might otherwise have made famous. But ll. 6 f., mentioning Smyrna, are inconsistent with this, and in fact make the plot of the poem unin-

The two late 'Lives of Homeros', popularly attributed to Herodotos and Ploutarkhos respectively, give certain details in connexion with the conquest of Smyrna by the Aiolians, which—while not inherently incredible or inconsistent with anything else we know—are yet of such late attestation that it is precarious to put confidence in them. The former states (as mentioned above) that, when the Kymaians were founding a town in the corner of the Hermeian Gulf, the rich Theseus, one of the founders of Kyme, son of Eumelos (who had fought in the Trojan War) and grandson of Admetos of Thessalia, gave to the new city the name of his wife, "Smyrna".¹ The latter relates, on the authority of Aristoteles, that, after the death of their king Maion, the Lydians, who were then masters of Smyrna, being hard pressed by the Aiolians, decided to evacuate the city, and proclaimed that anyone who wished to follow them should leave it: Maion's foster-son, the young Melesigenes, said he desired to comply (*ὄμῃρε ἴν*); hence his name was thereafter changed to "Homeros".²

As will be narrated below, Smyrna was subsequently taken from the Aiolians by Ionians from Kolophon. Later writers imparted a colour of justice to this high-handed proceeding by asserting that the city was originally colonized by Ionians from Ephesos, who, being thereafter expelled by the Aiolic invaders, took refuge at Kolophon. The subsequent seizure of Aiolic Smyrna by the Kolophonians was thus made to wear the aspect of a justifiable reprisal.³ This

telligible—the Muses intended to glorify Smyrna, but are thwarted by the folly of the Kymaians! Ll. 6 f. are therefore best regarded as an interpolation intended to reconcile the epigram with the belief that Homeros was born at Smyrna. The whole of the original epigram thus refers to Kyme; and with this inference the mention of *λαοὶ Φρῆκωνος* admirably agrees. It is, however, an objection that the poet of Hom. *Epigr.* i is clearly *not* a native of Kyme. Cf. Rzach in Pauly VIII (1913) 2166 (quoting Peppmüller): also Ramsay in *J.H.S.* ii (1881) 300 f. (theory that, as the Akropolis of Old Smyrna would be impregnable from any side but the north, the invaders must have crossed Yamanlar-Dagh from Temnos, and that the ruins at Ada-Tepé [see above, p. 40] are those of a fort em-

ployed by the Aiolians for reducing Smyrna: the theory is plausible, and possibly correct).

¹See above, p. 48 with n. 2.

²Ps.-Ploutarkh. *Vit. Hom.* 3: the story was that pirates, having brought Melesigenes' pregnant mother *εἰς Σμύρναν οὖσαν ὑπὸ Λυδοῖς, τότε τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν Λυδῶν ὄντι φίλῳ τοῦνομα Μαίονι χάρισσθαι* . . . Melesigenes was born: his mother died immediately, and Maion soon after. *Τῶν δὲ Λυδῶν καταπονουμένων ὑπὸ τῶν Αἰολέων καὶ κρι νάντων καταλιπεῖν τὴν Σμύρναν, κηρυξάντων δὲ τῶν ἡγεμόνων τὸν βουλόμενον ἀκολουθεῖν ἐξείναι τῆς πόλεως, ἔτι νήπιος ἂν Ὅμηρος ἔφη* . . .

³Strabo XIV. i. 4 (634: *ἀπειλόθοντες δὲ παρὰ τῶν Ἐφεσίων οἱ Σμυρναῖοι στρατεύουσιν ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον, ἐν ᾧ νῦν* [i.e. in contrast to the time when "Smyrna" was at Ephesos

account of the facts, though accepted and defended by certain nineteenth-century writers,¹ should almost certainly be rejected. No authority for it older than Strabo can be adduced; and the use of the name "Smyrna" for a part or the whole of Ephesos can be explained on other grounds. There was a palpable motive for the invention of the story; and it is hard to reconcile it with the survival—even in Attic—of the Aiolic form of the name ("Smyrna") instead of the Ionic ("Smyrne"), and with the habitual use of the epithet "Aiolic" or "Aiolid" as characterizing the city.²

A good deal of discussion has taken place as to the precise position of Aiolic Smyrna. We have only two or three statements about it from ancient authors. Pausanias simply intimates that it was on a different site from the Smyrna of later days—a site called even in his own time the "ancient city".³ Aristeides says it was at the foot of Mt. Sipylos by the sea-shore, between the Smyrna of his own day and the primeval city supposed to have once existed on the crest of Sipylos.⁴ Stephanos of Byzantion makes it clear that Old Smyrna was a sea-port, and, by naming Tantalos as its founder, suggests that it lay somewhere near the same mountain.⁵ Strabo, finally, says that it lay twenty stadia (roughly two and a third miles) from the later city on a bay beyond it—i.e. to the east or north-

—see above, pp. 29 f.] *ἔστιν ἡ Σμύρνα, Δελέγων κατεχούτων' ἐκβαλόντες δ' αὐτοὺς ἔκτισαν τὴν παλαιὰν Σμύρναν, διέχουσαν τῆς νῦν* [i.e. the post-Alexandrian Smyrna] *περὶ εἴκοσι σταδίου. ὕστερον δὲ ὑπὸ Αἰολέων ἐκπεσόντες κατέφυγον εἰς Κολοφῶνα, καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἐνθένδε ἐπιόντες τὴν σφετέραν ἀπέλαβον*. For Aristeides' version, see below, p. 77.

¹See Mylonas 11-21 (his strongest point is that the willingness of the Aiolians later to surrender Smyrna to the Koloophonians might presuppose some right to it on the part of the latter); Tsakyrogglou i. 23-39; Cuinet 440 f.: cf. Slaars 3 f. n., 91-95.

²Prokesch in *J.L.* lxxvii. 71 f.; Lane 12-14; Cherbuliez i. 14, 17 f., 22; Slaars 3 f. n.; Klügmann in *Philologus*, xxx (1870) 531 f.; Weber, *Sipylos*, 105 f.; Murray, *Rise of the Greek Epic* (1911), 248 n.; Lenschau 1877 ("die Darstellung bei Strab. 634 sucht wohl nur ein früheres Anrecht der Ionier künstlich zu konstruieren"). Smyrna is described as Aiolic,

or called "Aiolid", by Mimnermos (late vii/B.C.; see below, p. 67 n. 1), the author or interpolator of Hom. *Épigr.* iv (see above, pp. 57 f. n. 2 and below, p. 73), Herodotos (v/B.C.; i. 149: *αὐταὶ ἔνδεκα Αἰολέων πόλεις αἱ ἀρχαῖαι· μία γὰρ σφεων παρελύθη ὑπὸ Ἰώνων, Σμύρνη*), Kallimakhos (iii/B.C.; see below, p. 113 n. 1: *Σμύρνης . . . Αἰολίδος*), Antipatros of Thessalonika (\pm 10 B.C.— \pm 12 A.D. [rather than he of Sidon, \pm 155-70 B.C.]; see below, p. 236 n. 1: *Αἰολίδος Σμύρνης*), Arrianus (ii/A.D.; *Anab.* V. vi. 4: *Σμύρναν πόλιν Αἰολικὴν . . .*), and Pausanias (ii/AD.; see above, p. 57 n. 2).

³See above, pp. 57 n. 2.

⁴Aristeides xv, 372 (xvii. 4): *δευτέρα δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ᾤκειτο ὑπὸ τῷ Σιπίλῳ παρὰ τὴν χηλὴν τῆς ἡϊόνος, ἐν μέσῳ τῆς ἀρχαίας καὶ τῆς νῦν, ἡ νῦν ἀρχαία πρὸς ταύτην καθεστηκυῖα*. See also below, p. 77 bott.

⁵See above, p. 29 n. 2, and cf. the epithets *ἀλυεῖτονα, ποττοτῖνακτον* in Hom. *Épigr.* iv. 6 (see above, p. 57 n. 2).

east of it.¹ There is really only one site which reasonably satisfies these data: it is approximately that of the modern Baïrakli, at the north-eastern corner of the Gulf, and the adjoining hillock of Hadji-Mutso, once an island, but perhaps connected with Baïrakli by a low saddle. No remains have been discovered at Baïrakli itself; but on Hadji-Mutso tombs, city-walls, and pottery of the period from the ninth century B.C. to early in the sixth have been unearthed. Baïrakli itself lies right at the foot of Yamanlar-Dagh, on a straight line between Kara-Göl (the supposed site of 'Tantalos' first city) and the quay of modern Smyrna. It adjoined the harbour in the midst of which Hadji-Mutso once stood. Strabo's twenty stadia are probably an under-estimate; but two and a third miles, measured in a straight line from the coast at Baïrakli, take us considerably to the south of Smyrna-Point. Lastly, the proximity of the nekropolis, the "Tomb of Tantalos", and the so-called Akropolis, point strongly to the existence of a city somewhere near this spot.² No other site has so good a claim.³ Halka-Bunar, which is preferred by some,⁴ is less than two miles from the western end of Mt. Pagos, and is lacking in any very ancient ruins: Burnabat, with its problematic "akropolis" at Kastraki,⁵ is too far away—over four miles from the Point and over five from Pagos; while Bel-Kavé⁶ is nearly double that distance.⁷

In regard to the chronology of these Aiolic settlements, details are furnished—on what precise authority we know not

¹Strabo XIV. i. 4 (634: see above, pp. 58 f. n. 3), 37 (646: 'Ἐξῆς δὲ [i.e. beyond latter-day Smyrna] ἄλλος κόλπος, ἐν ᾧ ἡ παλαιὰ Σμύρνα ἀπὸ εἰκοσὶ σταδίων τῆς νῦν).

²See above, pp. 5, 7 f., 40-44. For the remains at Hadji-Mutso, Walter 227 f. (pottery), and esp. Miltner 158-188 (full details, with plan, photographs, etc.).

³So Prokesch in *J.L.* lxxviii. 56; Cherbuliez i. 14-16; Hirschfeld in Curtius, *Beiträge*, 80 f.; Weber, *Sipylos*, 69-72 (but see below, n. 5); Conze in *Arch. Anz.* xiv (1899) 15b; Walter 225-228; Büchner 735, 740, 742 f.; Keil in Miltner 125; Miltner 187 f.

⁴Chandler i. 87 f.; Oikonomos in Slaars 12 f.; Storari 53-55; Slaars 96-100 (vigorous defence).

⁵See above, p. 44. Some such site is favoured, among others, by Tsakyro-

glou (ii. 34-44: between Naulokhon [Baïrakli] and Burnabat), Weber (*Sipylos*, 25 f., 103, 111 f.: he regards Kastraki as a *second* akropolis [Hellenic as distinct from Lelegian], and puts Old Smyrna between it and the sea; answers Slaars), and Ramsay (in *Academy*, 30 Apl. 1881, 324 c: exact site of Old Smyrna lost; Kastraki not an akropolis). Texier (303b) is obscure.

⁶See above, p. 44, and cf. the theory of Ramsay in *J.H.S.* i (1880) 67 f.

⁷Schachermeyr (*Etrusk. Frühgesch.* 288f.) thinks Aiolic Smyrna lay roughly on the site of the present city, and that the city at Baïrakli (which [220] he strangely denies to have stood on the coast) was inhabited by "Kleinasiaten" (possibly Etruscans), and was later wrongly thought to have been Old Smyrna.

—in the late pseudo-Herodoteian ‘Life of Homeros’. The author calculates his dates forward from the Troian War and backwards from the invasion of Xerxes, and says that they can be verified from the list of Athenaian arkhons. Reduced to years B.C., they are as follows: Troian War, 1270 B.C.; occupation of Lesbos, 1140 B.C.; occupation of Kyme, 1120 B.C.; occupation of Neonteikhos, 1112 B.C.; occupation of Smyrna, 1102 B.C.¹ The ‘Chronicle’ of Eusebios, who gives each date as such-and-such a year of Abraham, provides dates for the foundations of Magnesia-near-Sipylos, Ephesos, and the Ionic colonies generally, which we can roughly identify with 1052, 1045, and 1037 B.C. respectively. Nothing unmistakable is said about Smyrna; but the “Mykene in Italy”, which is recorded as having been founded about 1050 B.C., may be an ancient error for Aiolic Kyme; and the “Myrina”, which Eusebios says was founded about 1046 B.C., may similarly misrepresent an original notice about Smyrna. It is, in fact, so understood by Georgios Synkellos, the Byzantine chronicler, who culled many excerpts from Eusebios; and in this conjecture most moderns have followed him. The conclusion is at best precarious, though probably not far from the truth. It is curious that Eusebios makes no use of the dates given in the pseudo-Herodoteian ‘Life of Homeros’. If the latter’s reckoning from the Troian War rested on any good authority (which is unlikely) and his date for that War could (in deference to the more prevalent view) be brought a little more than half a century lower, his date for the foundation of Aiolic Smyrna would roughly harmonize with our conjectural interpretation of Eusebios.²

Of the government and history of Aiolic Smyrna very little is known. The names and characters of some of the deities worshipped there—such as the Great Mother, Dionysos Breseus, and Boubrostis (a goddess personifying ravenous hunger)—are on record, and are discussed elsewhere.³

¹Ps.-Herodot. *Vit. Hom.* 9 (Neont.), 38 (. . . μετὰ δὲ Κύμην ὀκτὼ καὶ δέκα ἔτεσιν ὕστερον Σμύρνα ὑπὸ Κυμαίων κατακτίσθη. . .).

²Euseb. *Chron.* ann. Abr. 965–980 (Schöne ii. 60 f., Helm i. 69, ii. 183, Fotheringham 115); Georg. Synkell. *Chron.* P 181a (*Μυρίνα ἢ παρὰ τισὶ Σμύρνα λεγομένη ἐκτίσθη ἐν Ἀσίᾳ*): cf. Mylonas 20;

Slaars 1, 91 (L), 93 (LXVII); Tsakyroglou i. 33, 36; Ramsay in *J.H.S.* ii (1881) 301. I am personally indebted to the late Dr. J. K. Fotheringham of Oxford for a helpful elucidation of the text of Eusebios.

³See above, pp. 26–28, and below, pp. 208 f., 215–219, 224 f.

Smyrna and the other Aiolic cities were probably governed by kings, and were held together in a loose federation. The city that had been seized by violence from its earlier inhabitants could hardly be retained altogether without further strife. The legends regarding the Pelopid leaders of the immigration, and the existence (later) of a king of Kyme named Agamemnon, suggest martial traditions; and it is possible that the story, told on an earlier page, of a contest between Akhaians and Mysians, after which the former dedicated the captured helmets of their foes at the hot springs thenceforth called "Agamemnoneian", belongs really to the Aiolic period rather than to that of the Trojan War.¹

The Aiolic settlements were not confined to the places already enumerated. There were others north of the Elaïtic Gulf as far as Troas, and yet again others south of Smyrna. The latter can be traced at Klazomenai and Erythrai, in the island of Khios, at Notion on the coast near Ephesos, and near Mykale. The Aiolic origin of Magnesia-on-Maiandros and Magnesia-near-Sipylos is sufficiently clear from their Thessalian name. The latter seems to have been founded—later perhaps than the other Aiolic colonies—on a site previously occupied by Hittites.

Later, on the whole, than the Aiolic colonizations were those that resulted from the prolonged and heterogeneous movements afterwards known as the "Ionic Migration". The popular ideas which this phrase suggested—that the founders of the so-called "Ionic" cities were all Hellenes of the same tribal stamp, and had all migrated from Athens—were superficial and erroneous. Athenaians and men from Attika participated in the foundation of only a few of these cities; and Attika was the starting place or rendez-vous of by no means all the "Ionic" colonists. An origin at least partially Athenian or Attic is probable in the case of Erythrai, Teos, Lebedos, and perhaps Ephesos: Abantians from Euboia founded Khios. The settlers in Khios and Erythrai spoke a common dialect; those in the four other cities named used a different variety of speech. The remaining emigrants also belonged to the eastern part of

¹See above, pp. 52 f. We cannot tell what to make of the entry in Euseb. *Chron.* ann. Abr. 1033 (= ± 984 B.C.)

(Schöne ii. 65, Helm i. 72, ii. 194, Fotheringham 121): "Smyrna in urbis modum ampliata".

central Hellas. Men from Boiotia took part in settling Teos and Kolophon, and also founded an important southern group—Miletos (which had connexions with Athens also), Myous, Priene, and Melia—which formed another linguistic unit. Samos was colonized by Dorians from Epidaurus, and consequently had a dialect of its own. Klazomenai and Phokaia were planted last of all, the former by men from Phlious and Kleonai, the latter by men from Phokis. Phokaia was the only Ionic city built among the Aiolians north of the Hermeian Gulf and on land previously quite unoccupied: the colonists obtained their site by peaceful negotiation with Kyme. Both Phokaia and Klazomenai used the same dialect as Ephesos and its group. The period of these settlements was approximately 1050–1000 B.C.

At some later date, perhaps about 900–850 B.C., they were attacked and overrun by Pylians from western Peloponnesos. Kolophon was the first to fall into their hands; but Ephesos and the other cities followed in quick succession. Eventually the whole group, except the northern outpost Phokaia and the two islands Khios and Samos, passed under Pylian control, though Erythrai and Klazomenai were less deeply affected by it than were the more southerly cities. The permanent token of the Pylian conquest was the story that all these Ionic cities had been planted under the leadership of oikists descended from the Neleïd kings of Pylos: but an effort was made later to conciliate the local feeling of attachment to and veneration of Attika by declaring that the Neleïds Melanthos and Kodros, from whom the oikists were descended, had been kings at Athens.¹

The process by which this multifarious group of cities appropriated to itself the name of “Ionians” par excellence is one of the unsolved mysteries of antiquity. The theory that the name originated on the soil of Asia is as unlikely as that the Ionic race itself did so. There can be no doubt that the

¹The locus classicus for the Pylian conquest is the poem of Mimnermos (late vii/B.C.), in Strabo XIV. i. 4 (634 = frag. 9 in Bergk): *Ἡμεῖς δ' αἰπὸ Πύλου Νηληϊῶν ἄστυ λιπόντες | ἡμερτῆν Ἀσίην νηυσὶν ἀφικόμεθα. | ἐς δ' ἐρατὴν Κολοφῶνα βίην ὑπέροπλον ἔχοντες | ἔζομεθ' ἀργαλέης ὕβριος ἡγέμενες.* For the Ionic colonies

generally, cf. Herodot. i. 142–148, vii. 94; Strabo XIV. i. 3 (632 f.); Vell. Paterc. I. iv. 3; Grote, *Greece*, ii. 21–25, iii. 173–189; Wilam.-Moell. in *S.P.A.* 1906, 52, 56 f., 62–77; Hogarth, *Ionia*, 40 f., 103–105, and in *C.A.H.* ii. 543–545, 552 f.; Lenschau 1871–1877.

name belonged originally to a tribe or group of tribes in European Hellas. In the 'Ilias' the Athenians seem to be referred to as "Iaones", and one of their leaders is named "Iasos".¹ The very ancient Delphic Amphiktyonia included the "Iones" as one of its constituent members, the rights of their membership being for the most part exercised by the Athenians. The eighth- or seventh-century Homeric 'Hymn to Delian Apollon' describes the periodical concourse of "Iaones" at the island of Delos; and in this festival Athens and several of the islands, as well as the Asiatic Ionians, took part at a very early date.² Solon, about 600 B.C., spoke of Attika as "the most ancient land of (all) Ionia".³ It is therefore in every way probable that the name came to be used in Asia Minor because several of the cities were planted, in whole or in part, by emigrants from Attika and other really Ionic places. That the name of a section should be extended to cover a much larger whole is a fairly frequent geographical occurrence. It is not impossible that in this case the extension was partly due to the unifying influence and policy of the Pylian conquerors. What is certain is that the name became so popular and familiar that it was taken over by the eastern peoples of Egypt, Syria, and Mesopotamia as their regular designation for Hellenes and even for Westerners generally.⁴

The cities in question had other bonds of union. In common with all who bore the Ionic name, they worshipped Apollon with the special surname of "Delphinios": and all of them except Ephesos and Kolophon (which were specially excluded for bloodguiltiness, possibly in connexion with the Pylian conquest) shared in the Attic and Kykladie festival Apatouria, in honour of Zeus and Athena. But what constituted the chief link between them was the so-called Panionic League—a religious and semi-political alliance between the several independent cities. Its nucleus was the powerful group of nine Pylian cities which, after the destruction of Melia for its

¹Hom. *Il.* xiii. 685, 689, xv. 337.

²Hom. *Hymn to Del. Apoll.* 146-155; Thoukyd. iii. 104; Athenaios vi. 234 ef.

³Solon in Aristot. *Polit. Athen.* v. 2.

⁴Cf. Weber, *Siplylos*, 84; E. Meyer, *Forsch. zur alt. Geschichte*, i (1892) 125-150; Lenschau 1870, 1876 f.; Hall in *C.A.H.* ii. 276; Hogarth in *C.A.H.* ii. 545-

547; Nilsson 92, 95 f.; Munro in *J.H.S.* liv (1934) 109-128 (speculative identification of Pelasgians and Ionians); Schachermeyr 92-94. In the Hebrew *O.T.*, the form used is "Yāwān" ("Javan")—e.g. *Gen.* x. 2-5; cf. Lehmann-Haupt's discussion in *Klio*, xxvii (1934) 76-83, 286-294.

arrogance (about 750 B.C.), jointly undertook to maintain the worship of Poseidon (a favourite god of the Pylians and—as Poseidon Helikonios—the principal deity of Melia) at his adjoining temple on the promontory of Mykale. This temple was henceforth called “the Panionion”, and the league-festival “the Panionia”. To the original nine (Miletos, Myous, Priene, Ephesos, Kolophon, Lebedos, Teos, Erythrai, and Klazomenai) were later added Phokaia (on condition of its accepting oikists of the house of Kodros), Samos, and Khios. The number twelve once complete, no further accessions were allowed for several centuries.¹

It was to these Asiatic Ionians, rather than to their Aiolic kinsmen on the north, that the future belonged. Unlike the Aiolians, they mixed more freely with the prior inhabitants of the country. Such intermarriage enriched their stock and fostered a progressive versatility in their nature. Though the domination and even the memory of the Hittites had disappeared in western Asia Minor, yet traces of their influence—in connexion, for example, with the worship of the Great Mother—were still to be seen. “Amazones”, Maionians, Lydians, Phrygians, Karians, Lelegians, and Minoans from Krete had all contributed to the development of that brilliant Hellenic culture which now began to flourish along the Ionian sea-board. The literary achievements of the Ionians caused their dialect (which was moderately uniform, despite Herodotus’ report of four sub-dialects within it) to be used far beyond their borders: it fixed permanently the linguistic medium of all Hellenic epic, and probably helped to shape the closely-related Attic dialect used by classical prose-writers generally. In agriculture, trade, navigation, art, athletics, religious ceremonial, philosophy, and literature, the Ionians were among the most proficient of the Hellenes. Most of the Hellenic cities in Asia were at first governed by hereditary kings; but at an early period monarchical government tended to give way in practice to aristocracy.

The formation and continuance of the Ionic League did

¹Herodot. i. 143, 145-148; Vitruv. IV. i. 4 (85; about Melia); Paus. VII. iii. 10 (Phokaia admitted); Wilam.-Moell. in *S.P.A.* 1906, 38, 43, 45-47, 51-56, 68-72, 78; Caspari in *J.H.S.* xxxv (1915) 173-

180; Lenschau 1875 f.; Lehmann-Haupt in *Klio*, xxvii (1934) 74-76 (puts formation of Panionic League earlier). Wilam.-Moell. and Beloch (*Griech. Gesch.* I. i. 211) date the fall of Melia about 700 B.C.

not guarantee the preservation of peace between the independent constituent cities, still less of course between them and their non-Ionic neighbours. Human nature being what it is, it would have been surprising if the progressive Ionians—with one port (Klazomenai) on the southern coast of the Hermeian Gulf, and another (Phokaia), however peaceably acquired, on the northern—had not cast longing eyes on the isolated Aiolic settlement at the head of that Gulf, with all its natural advantages for sea-traffic as well as for trade with the interior. Having almost completely smothered all other Aiolic settlements south of the Hermos, they might well think of appropriating Smyrna.¹

Yet political and commercial interests have a way of getting themselves served by indirect means arising from ostensibly quite different causes. The Ionic appropriation of Smyrna resulted, not from a deliberate attack on the part of the Ionians generally, but from an apparently fortuitous event in the internal history of Kolophon, twenty-five miles away to the south. At some date after the destruction of Melia and the foundation of the Panionia,² and before 688 B.C., i.e. in the course of the half-century 750–700 B.C., violent civic strife broke out in Kolophon, provoked—it would seem—by the characteristic aggressiveness (*ὄβρις*) of some of the citizens of Pyliaian descent. These, being worsted and expelled from the city, mustered their forces on the banks of the small river Ales, and marched direct north to Smyrna. The Aiolic inhabitants received them hospitably, and admitted them to their city. Shortly afterwards, when the Smyrnaians were celebrating a festival of Dionysos outside the walls, the crafty Kolophonians seized the opportunity to bar the gates and refuse them readmission. The excluded citizens appealed for help to their Aiolic kinsmen, and—as Herodotos tells us—“when all the Aiolians had come to their assistance, they arrived at an agreement to the effect that, if the Ionians would give up the moveable property, the Aiolians would leave Smyrna. And when the Smyrnaians had done this, the eleven (Aiolic)

¹Cf. Lenschau 1877: “Es war selbstverständlich, dass die eigentliche Mündung des Hermos mit dem aeolischen Smyrna nicht in den Händen der Konkurrenten bleiben durfte; . . .”

²To which otherwise the Ionicized Smyrna would probably have been admitted early and without question: see below, pp. 67 f.

cities distributed them among themselves, and made them their fellow-citizens". This apparently pusillanimous surrender may have been partly due to the fact that the Kolophonians had the Smyrnaian women, children, and slaves in their power. Possibly a few of the former residents remained voluntarily; and probably the Kolophonian intruders were joined by other Ionians. Thus it was that Smyrna became an Ionic city.¹

It might naturally be expected that, as an important Ionic town, Smyrna would now be admitted to the Panionic League. Herodotos indeed tells us that the Smyrnaians *applied* for admission, and that they were the only community down to his own time that had ever done so. We may reasonably conjecture that the application was made not long after the Kolophonian conquest. Strangely enough, the great majority of modern scholars assume that it must have been granted, and that Smyrna thus became forthwith the thirteenth member of the Panionic confederacy. But if Herodotos, our earliest informant, is to be trusted, this could not have been the case; for, after specifying by name the twelve Ionic cities *excluding Smyrna*, he goes on: "These twelve cities . . . founded a temple for themselves, to which they gave the name 'Panionion'; and they decided to give a share in it to no others of the Ionians. Nor have any others ever asked to share in it, except the Smyrnaians". We must conclude therefore that the Smyrnaian application was refused, either through a superstitious concern to preserve the number twelve, or through the hostility of the powerful Kolophon, or for both reasons. As a matter

¹The passage quoted above is translated from Herodot. i. 150, whose narrative is fullest, but is too long to quote in the original. Cf. Herodot. i. 16 (*Σμύρνην τε τὴν ἀπὸ Κολοφώνως κτισθεῖσαν . . .*), 149 (. . . *μία γὰρ σφῶων* [the twelve Aiolic cities] *παρελήθη ὑπὸ Ἰώνων, Σμύρνη*). It is probable that the Kolophonians were just as brazen about their performance as was their poet Mimnermos, who—about a century later—after boasting of the gratuitous seizure of Kolophon by the Pylians (see above p. 63 n. 1), continued: *κεῖθεν δ' Ἀλήεντος (?) ἀπορνύμενοι ποταμοῖο | θεῶν βουλῇ Σμύρναν εἰλομεν Αἰολίδα*. (The reading Ἀλήεντος [cf. Paus. VII. v. 10, VIII. xxviii. 3] is a conjecture: the MSS. of Strabo have Ἀσθήεντος; others read ἄκτηεντος). Cf. also Paus.

VII. v. 1 (*Σμύρναν δὲ ἐν ταῖς δώδεκα πόλεσιν οὖσαν Αἰολέων . . . Ἴωνες ἐκ Κολοφώνως ὀρηθηέντες ἀφελόμενοι τοὺς Αἰολεῖς ἔσχον*). For Strabo's version, which represented the Kolophonians as rightfully recapturing their former possession, see above, pp. 58 f. On the event generally, cf. Lane 12, 17 f., 18 f.; Cherbuliez i. 16–19, 22; Mylonas 13–16, 22; Slaars 3–5, 91–95; Tsakyrogliou i. 38 f.; Weber, *Siprylos*, 104–107; Wilam.-Moell. in *S.P.A.* 1906, 52 (before 700 B.C.), 61 f.; Murray, *Rise of the Greek Epic* (1911), 248 n.; Beloch, *Griech. Gesch.* I. i. 134, 211, ii. 242; Bilabel, *Ionische Kolonisation*, 209; Hogarth in *C.A.H.* ii. 550 (states—on what authority?—that the winners in the initial quarrel at Kolophon were "a land-owning minority").

of fact, Smyrna did not become a member of the Ionic League until the time of Lysimakhos, early in the third century B.C.¹

But exclusion from the Panionic League did not imply exclusion from the various phases of Ionic culture generally. The only conspicuous feature of it in which Smyrna seems to have had practically no share was the great colonizing movement, which began about 735 B.C. and lasted about a century and a half, and to which several other Hellenic cities of Asia Minor contributed. She seems to have stood apart from the network of petty alliances and conflicts to which these nautical and commercial enterprises often led. But in other respects the Smyrnaians had their full share of Ionic prosperity. Besides maintaining the worship of the Asiatic Mother-Goddess venerated by their Aiolic predecessors, they were now as Ionians privileged to celebrate the festival of the Apatouria and to take part in the periodic assembly in honour of Apollon at the island of Delos. Along with all the other Ionic cities on

¹Herodot. i. 142 (the twelve enumerated), 143 (. . . αἱ δὲ δώδεκα πόλεις αὐταί . . . ἐβουλευσάντο δὲ αὐτοῦ μεταδοῦναι μηδαμοῖσι ἄλλοισι Ἴώνων οὐδ' ἐδείβησαν δὲ οὐδαμοὶ μετασχεῖν, ὅτι μὴ Σμυρναῖοι). It is true that Pausanias, immediately after recounting the Kolophonian conquest, adds: χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον καὶ Ἴωνες μετέδωσαν Σμυρναίοις τοῦ ἐν Πανωνίῳ συλλόγου, and then proceeds with the dream of Alexandros the Great and the consequent refoundation of the city (Paus. VII. v. 1 f.): but his order of incidents, if meant to be chronological, must be incorrect; for his authority cannot take precedence of that of Herodotos, who wrote six centuries before him. Moreover, since there was no city of Smyrna between ± 580 B.C. and ± 330 B.C., Smyrna could not have had Panionic rank before the time of Alexandros, if it did not have it before that of Herodotos. In another passage, Pausanias records the achievement in 688 B.C. of an athlete ἐκ Σμύρνης συντελούσης ἤδη τριῶν καὶ εἰς Ἴωνας (V. viii. 7): but this says no more than that Smyrna was by that time an Ionic city. The Scholiast on Platon also implies that Smyrna belonged to the League before 580 B.C., by the explanation he gives of the phrase τὸν Κολοφῶνα ἀναγκάζω προσβιβάζων (see below, p. 85 n. 1); but Strabo (XIV. i. 28 [643]) explained the words as an

allusion to the decisive excellence of the Kolophonian cavalry. Both explanations are recorded by the proverb-collectors of imperial times (*Corp. Paroemiogr. Graec.* ed. Leutsch, i. 311, 396 f., ii. 69 f., 119, 180, 222, 684); but their authority and that of the Scholiast is in any case no higher than that of Pausanias.

The only modern work in which I have found the facts correctly stated is Duckworth's essay in Jackson and Lake, *The Beginnings of Christianity*, I. i (1920) 200 n. 1. Most other writers assume that Smyrna belonged to the Panionic League prior to its destruction about 580 B.C., some say as early as ± 700 B.C. So Lane 18; Cherbuliez i. 19; Mylonas 16, 22; Slaars 15; Schmitz in *S.D.G.R.G.* ii. 1016b; Tsakyroglou i. 35, 39 f.; *B.M.C. Ionia*, 16n.; Meyer, *Gesch. des Alterthums*, ii (1893) 435; Wilam.-Moell. in *S.P.A.* 1906, 52 (esp. n. 2: "Kolophon soll nach dem Untergange von Smyrna seine Stimme übernommen haben. Das darf man mindestens als Tradition der tōricht-en Erklärung [von Τὸν Κολοφῶνα Ἐπιτιθεῖναι entnehmen, die Lucius von Tarrha ungewiss woher erhalten hat . . ."]); Büchner 745; Lehman-Haupt in *Klio*, xxvii (1934) 75; apparently also Caspari (in *J.H.S.* xxxv [1915] 177 f.).

the mainland from Ephesos to Phokaia inclusive (except Erythrai), Smyrna was situated in Lydia,¹ and like them came under the influence of the Lydians, from whom they learned and borrowed much in the matter of art and general culture. Hellenic music was profoundly affected by that of the Lydians and Phrygians. Herodotos tells us that Hellenic practice resembled the Lydian in regard to purification for homicide, oath-taking, equipment for war, and other matters, and that the Lydians claimed to be the inventors of most kinds of games.² It may have been from them that the Hellenes learned the use of the chariot; and they and other Asiatic peoples would naturally exercise a certain influence on the development of Hellenic art.

Probably, however, the most significant element in the relations between Lydian and Ionian life was commerce. The geographical position of Smyrna, forming as it did one of the termini of the great road traversing Asia Minor from east to west, was very favourable for trade. The long gulf, at the head of which it stood, was indeed not an unmixed blessing. For the Aegaeon mariner Smyrna was not only further off, but harder to reach, than was a port on the open sea like Phokaia; the Gulf presented difficulties, as well as attractions, to the navigator.³ On the other hand, it had the advantage of admitting trading-vessels almost into the heart of Lydia. The pseudo-Herodoteian 'Life of Homeros' represents Smyrna as being in the poet's day a market-town, whence much of the corn grown in its environs was exported.⁴ The Lydians, at the same time, were keen traders. They were later supposed to have been the first to coin gold and silver, and they became famous for their wealth.⁵ The earliest coins

¹Herodot. i. 142.

²Herodot. i. 35, 74, 94, vii. 74: but cf. Hogarth, *Ionia*, 78 (similarity probably in part due to the influence of Hellenes on Lydian life).

³Cf. Philippson ii. 3; Blanchard 94 ("Phocée, au débouché de l'Hermos, l'emportait sur Smyrne dans l'antiquité, parce que le port ouvrait sur le mer libre, au lieu d'être au fond d'un golfe de navigation plus dangereuse; mais le commerce moderne préfère les havres intérieurs, et Phocée n'a plus qu'un petit rôle local, en exportant les produits des salines du delta").

⁴Ps.-Herodot. *Vit. Hom.* 5 (ἐμπόριον γὰρ ἦν ἡ Σμύρνα, καὶ σίτος ἐξήγετο πολλὸς αὐτόθεν, ἐκ τῆς ἐπικειμένης χώρας δαμυλῆως κάρτα ἐσαγόμενος ἐς αὐτήν): Scherzer 7, 10; Hogarth, *Nearer East*, 5 f., 242 f.; Ramsay and Hogarth in *E. Br.* xxv (1911) 281ab.

⁵Herodot. i. 94 (coinage, retailing), v. 49 (wealth); Tacit. *Ann.* iv. 55 (wealth): cf. Scherzer 89; Hogarth in *C.A.H.* iii. 519 f. (Herodotos' *κάπηλοι* may mean, not "retailers", but "innkeepers" or "caravanners").

of western Asia Minor were mostly made of electrum, an alloy of gold and silver. There were several different standards, some of which undoubtedly owed their origin to Lydian coiners. A couple of early specimens of the Phokaïc standard from Ionia, a stater and a hekte, each adorned with a lion's head, have been conjecturally ascribed to the Smyrna of the period 700-580 B.C.; but the accuracy of the ascription so far as locality is concerned is not certain.¹ There is, however, no doubt that the cities of Ionia were in early times commercially active and prosperous, and that Smyrna in particular must have shared richly in the luxury and culture that went along with successful trade.²

Something must now be said regarding the connexion between Smyrna and the Homeric poems. The theme presents a fascinating but exceedingly complicated problem; and all that can be attempted here is a brief survey, first of the internal indications and inherent probabilities concerning the origin of these poems, and secondly of the external evidence regarding them, particularly as it bears on the story of Smyrna, and then finally a synthetic summary of conclusions.

On internal grounds no strong case can be made out for ascribing any other poem to the author (or authors) of the 'Ilias' and 'Odyssea'. But are these two great epics the work of one poet, or of two, or of several? Sound reasons can be adduced for regarding them both as the work of one supreme genius—chiefly their unique poetic superiority over all other Hellenic epics, their assignment of a well-marked character to this or that prominent individual distinct from the character given him or her elsewhere in Greek literature, and so on. On the other hand, there are certain undoubted differences in representation and even in language between the two poems, which for many scholars still make the assumption of two highly-gifted authors a less difficult theory than the ascription of both works to one.

Further, notwithstanding the strong modern tendency towards regarding the 'Ilias' as a unity, this poem presents

¹*B.M.C. Ionia*, xx, 236 (1 f.); Milne in *Numism. Chron.* V. iii (1923) 1 f. (doubtful); Hill in *C.A.H.* iv. 126-136.

²Aristeides (xv, 372 f. [xvii. 5]) names

ἀβρότητα μὲν εἰς τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν and military prowess as the advantages derived by Smyrna from her metropolis Athens.

certain features of discontinuity (e.g. the insertion of the two Catalogues, and the abandonment in books ii–vii of the plot set forth in book i), which point to the work of several hands, though opinions differ widely as to which precisely are the earlier and which the later parts.

It used to be urged in favour of such multiplicity of authorship that the further back we go behind the work of the Alexandreian editors of the third century B.C., the more fluid is seen to be the state of the text. This argument, however, does not take us very far. Investigation shows, indeed, that the text had, prior to the work of the Alexandreians, been subject to numerous interpolations, sometimes of considerable length: but these all seem to presuppose a standard text accepted at Athens early in the sixth century B.C. What lay behind that the investigation of textual variants does not reveal.

The evidence in favour of multiple authorship, however, especially in the case of the 'Ilias', is by no means limited to textual fluidity. Other considerations come in to reinforce the hypothesis of numerous hands. The finished technique of hexameter verse presupposes a long period of earlier development. It is likely that the authors of the 'Ilias' and 'Odysseia' owed to their predecessors more than the mere instrument of versification, and that they would embody portions (not only single stereotyped lines, but considerable sections and episodes) drawn from earlier lays.

This likelihood is enhanced by the continuity that must have marked the traditional form of the stories reproduced. The rigid faithfulness of the two poems to the long-obsolete geographical distribution of races—such as had prevailed in Hellas and Asia prior to the Dorian invasion—is explicable only on the assumption that the tales they enshrined had in many essential features been fixed from a very remote date. The first "Homeric" lays must have been sung in the European Hellas of the Akhaians, possibly in the Peloponnesos at the court of Mykenai, certainly in Thessalia the home of Akhilleus: the parts of the 'Ilias' in which attention is concentrated on him abound in descriptions of natural scenery which have been thought to fit northern better than southern Hellas. When the Aiolic and "Ionic" colonies were planted in Asia Minor (a region to which—as we shall see—other arguments

point), court-bards would accompany the chieftains: and no themes would be more congenial to them than the great deeds of men during the period of the Akhaian hegemony.

It appears therefore that the 'Ilias' and 'Odysseia', while clearly revealing the architectonic work of two great individual geniuses, did not appear as bolts from the blue, but represent two peaks of achievement in a long process of epic activity, several hands having contributed to their construction and completion. Can we now discern the region in which they arose?

Two facts enable us to answer this question with some confidence.

Firstly, the dialect in which they were written bears a strong resemblance to that of the Ionic cities in Asia Minor, with an admixture of Aiolic forms reminiscent of Thessalia, Boiotia, and Lesbos. These data have been explained by some on the hypothesis that the poems were originally composed in Aiolic and were then transposed into Ionic, the Aiolic form being retained only when its Ionic equivalent would not suit the metre. Others have thought that the dialect used was the spoken language of a place like Khios, where both Aiolian and Ionian colonists had settled. The best explanation, however, is that the Homeric dialect is an artificial medium, never used by anyone for ordinary conversation, but nonetheless sufficiently intelligible, built up gradually—over a long period of development—as the normal medium for epic song, and exhibiting Aiolic features because the earlier lays had been to a considerable extent Aiolic in character. The presence of certain forms peculiar to the Arkadian and Kypriote dialects, and reflecting therefore the early speech of the Akhaians of southern Hellas, is fully in keeping with this theory as to the composite character of the Homeric language. Now no region is more likely to have seen the growth of such a language than the middle part of the west coast of Asia Minor, where the Aiolian and Ionian cultures overlapped.

Secondly, we observe in the Homeric poems marked traces of an interest in this very district. Though never hinting at Hellenic cities there—never, for example, naming Smyrna—they yet have more to say about this region than about any other part of western Asia Minor south of Troas.¹ "Swirling

¹See above, p. 48 n. 5, and p. 51.

Hermos", "fish-stored Hyllos", "snowy Tmolos", "lovely Meionia", the "rich domain of Hyde", the "Gygaian Lake", Mt. Sipylos with its female statue, the Asian meadows along the Kaÿstros haunted by noisy geese and cranes, "wind-swept Mimas", and the islands of Khios and Psyra, are all known to them. Another internal link between the poems and Ionia is the prominence they both give to Pylos and the Pylians (Nestor and his family).

If therefore we were to seek for the region where it is most probable that the poems assumed (at least in the main) their present shape, we should surely choose some place in or near the Gulf of Smyrna.

The external evidence, such as it is, regarding Homeros himself, remarkably confirms this result. About twenty localities in all were named in antiquity as the place of his birth; but of these, two are more frequently specified than the others, namely, Smyrna and Khios (with Kolophon as a good third), while certain famous cities like Ephesos and Miletos are never suggested.¹ Now Smyrna and Khios were both places where Ionic had supervened upon Aiolic settlements.

How far back can we trace the belief that Homeros was born at Smyrna? The lines to this effect in the probably sixth-century 'Epigram' must be regarded as almost certainly an interpolation, though they may still be of quite early date.² Next to them, our oldest extant witness is Pindaros (522-442 B.C.), who is said to have described Homeros as both a Smyrnaian and a Khian.³ The fifth-century logographers, Pherekydes and Hellanikos, suggest birth at Smyrna by calling him the son of Maion—though Damastes, who also did so, described him as a Khian.⁴ Stesimbrotos in the fifth century regarded him as a Smyrnaian.⁵ Kritias, the Athenaian sophist-tyrant who fell in 403 B.C., mentioned, in his biographies of great poets, that the father of Homeros was a river (meaning, of course, the Meles).⁶ About 350 B.C., the pseudo-Skylax mentions in his

¹Cf. Witte in Pauly VIII (1913) 2194-2198.

²See above, pp. 57 f. n. 2.

³Pindar. in ps.-Ploutarkh. *Vit. Hom.* ii. 2 ("Ὀμηρον τοίνυν Πίνδαρος μὲν ἔφη Χίον τε καὶ Σμυρναῖον γενέσθαι, Σιμωνίδης δὲ Χίον, . . ."), and in one of the *Vitae Scorialenses*, init. ("Ὀμηρος . . . τὸ γένος κατὰ μὲν

Πίνδαρον Σμυρναῖος, κατὰ δὲ Σιμωνίδην Χίος, . . .).

⁴Hellan. in *F.H.G.* i. 46a (6), ii. 66b (10): cf. Proklos, *Vit. Hom.*; Hesykhios, *Vit. Hom.* (. . . Μαίων, ὃς ἦλθεν ἅμα ταῖς Ἀμαζόσιν ἐν Σμύρνη . . .).

⁵*F.H.G.* ii. 58b (18).

⁶Philostr. *Soph.* pref. (480).

'Periplous' "Smyrna, in which Homeros was."¹ His great contemporary, the philosopher Aristoteles (384-322 B.C.), gave the following account of the poet's birth: about the time of the Ionic migration, Kritheïs, a girl of the island of Ios, became pregnant by some deity from the retinue of the Muses, and fled to Aigina; whence, being captured and enslaved by pirates, she was taken to Smyrna and there presented by them to their friend Maion, the king of the Lydians, who loved and married her: on the banks of the Meles she gave birth to Homeros, and immediately thereafter died: Maion undertook to rear the child (called from his birthplace "Melesigenes") as his own.² Another contemporary, Ephoros of Kyme (about 340 B.C.), told the story somewhat differently. Apelles, Maion, and Dios were three brothers living at Kyme: Dios migrated to Boiotia, and became the father of Hesiodos; Apelles died at Kyme, and left his daughter Kritheïs to the care of Maion; Maion deflowered Kritheïs, and then, in fear of consequences, married her to Phemios, a schoolmaster of Smyrna: Kritheïs often visited the bathing-pools of the Meles, and there gave birth to a son, who was first called "Melesigenes" and later (on account of his blindness) "Homeros".³ There is no need to carry the story further. Evidence later than this is of interest rather for the time to which it belongs than for the origin of Hellenic epic. But what has been given suffices to show that the tradition connecting the poet with Smyrna was early and persistent enough to warrant the belief that it rests on some basis of fact.⁴

The external evidence for Khios is as persistent as that for Smyrna, and can be traced to at least as early a date. It is,

¹Ps.-Skylax, *Peripl.* p. 37 (98: *Σμύρνα, ἐν ἣ Ὅμηρος ἦν*). See below, p. 94 n. 1.

²Aristot. in *F.H.G.* ii. 186 f. (274) and in ps.-Ploutarkh. *Vit. Hom.* i. 3: for the rest of the story, see above, p. 58 n. 2. The form "Melesigenes" is, however puzzling: it ought to mean "born on the day of the Melesia", and "born of the Meles" ought to be *Μελητογένης* (Allen, *Homer*, 41 n.: cf. Witte in Pauly VIII [1913] 2199).

³Ephoros in *F.H.G.* i. 277 (164) and in ps.-Ploutarkh. *Vit. Hom.* i. 2 (. . . *μετωνομάσθη δὲ Ὅμηρος, ἐπειδὴ τὰς ὄψεις ἐπηρώθη* . . . [cf. ps.-Herodot. *Vit. Hom.* 13]). The pseudo-Ploutarkhian *Vita* (ii.

2) refers to these views of Pindaros, Aristoteles, Ephoros, and others, and adds: *υἱὸς δὲ ὑπὲρ ἐνίων λέγεται Μαίονος καὶ Κρηθηΐδος, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν Μέλῃτος τοῦ ποταμοῦ*.

⁴Ramsay (*Asian. Elements*, 6 f.) favours Smyrna, or at least northern Ionia, on the curious ground that the poet "shows a feeling against Miletus . . ." Allen, on the other hand, notes (*Catalogue*, 105, 142) that the Homeric Catalogue is unflattering to the Homeric schools of Smyrna and Khios. On the evidence generally, Witte in Pauly VIII (1913) 2194.

however, partly discounted by the possibility that it may be little more than an inference from the avowal of the author of the 'Hymn to Delian Apollon' that he was "a blind man, and he lives in rocky Khios",¹ and from the supposed identity of this bard with the author of the two great epics. Simonides (if of Amorgos, seventh century—sixth, if of Keos) regarded Homeros as a Khian.² In Khios, too, there lived an ancient clan or guild called "the Homeridai", who are regarded by many as self-styled descendants of the deified poet—men whose productions in early days passed as his, and who later aspired to be looked upon as par excellence the custodians and reciters of his compositions: but the evidence for this view of them is by others regarded as inadequate. In the late pseudo-Herodoteian 'Life', Homeros is born at Smyrna, and later resides in Khios.³

There is no need to doubt the existence of a great epic poet named "Homeros", or the tradition that connected him with Smyrna, Kyme, and Khios.⁴ But what did he write, and when did he live?

The answer to the former question is rendered difficult, not only by our uncertainty as to whether the 'Ilias' and the 'Odysseia' were the work of different poets, and as to whether even the bulk of the 'Ilias' came from one hand, but also by the fact that in early times several other poems, none of which probably could have come from the author or authors of the 'Ilias' or the 'Odysseia', were confidently ascribed to "Homeros".⁵ These included (1) a number of so-called "Cyclic" epics clearly later than the two great ones, but still ancient and in the same style, (2) a series of so-called 'Hymns' in honour of various deities, and (3) a few smaller pieces. We have, in fact, older testimony to the Homeric authorship of the 'Thebais' than we have to that of either the 'Ilias' or the 'Odysseia'. The

¹Hom. *Hymn to Del. Apoll.* 172.

²See above, p. 73 n. 3, and frag. 85 of Simonides of Keos in Bergk.

³Ps.-Herodot. *Vit. Hom.* 2 f., 19 ff.: cf. Witte in Pauly VIII (1913) 2194 f. Oikonomos imports a good deal of rhetorical local patriotism into his defence of Smyrna's claims as against those of Khios (in Slaars 69-77). Marmier, after confessing himself (I. ii) "ni philologue, ni archéologue", and mocking the German

Homeric critics, declares himself content with the pseudo-Herodoteian story, and speaks as if the acceptance of it were a sort of pious duty owed to Homeric poesy (II. 18-21).

⁴Scott 3 f.; Bury in *C.A.H.* ii. 501, 507; Bowra 265-267.

⁵Scott's attempt (12-37, cf. 248 f.) to disprove this well-attested fact strikes me a singularly unconvincing.

existence of this whole group of poems shows that epic verse of supposedly Homeric origin was produced over a period of several centuries—a state of things which must in fairness be put in the scale against the unique poetical superiority of the great two, when it becomes a question as to how much the real individual Homeros himself actually composed. This question I do not undertake to answer. I confine myself to vindicating for the Homeros of Smyrna a great and indeed a dominant share in the completion of the long process by which the old Thessalian and Peloponnesian lays, brought from the mainland and telling of the exploits of Akhaian heroes, culminated in the production of the two great national masterpieces that have come down to us.

When the facts themselves are of so vague and indeterminate a character, the task of assigning dates becomes one of extreme difficulty. The 'Ilias' and 'Odysseia' have been assigned by recent scholars to various dates between 900 and 700 B.C. On any showing the 'Odysseia' is later than the 'Ilias': and if we assign them to two different poets, the interval between them may have been considerable. If we can infer from the evidence adduced that the 'Ilias' was composed by Homeros in or near Smyrna, it will be easier to put it later than 750 B.C. than earlier, since Smyrna can hardly have become Ionian before that date. We may however be reasonably sure that before the end of the eighth century B.C. both 'Ilias' and 'Odysseia' were substantially complete, and were receiving enthusiastic popular admiration, and engendering justifiable pride, in Smyrna and in other cities of the Ionian fraternity. So great was their merit and vogue that the dialect in which they were couched was perpetuated as the medium for the whole of that rich succession of epic compositions which now arose from the sincerest form of flattery, and to many of which the name of Homeros himself came to be popularly attached: even epics of distinctly different authorship and type—like those of the Aiolic and Boiotian Hesiodos—had to be written in the Ionic dialect of the Homeric poems. This would seem to be as far as an historian of Smyrna ought to go in commenting on this highly interesting but still very obscure subject.¹

¹I have for obvious reasons been sparing with references in the foregoing discussion, except where Smyrna itself is mentioned

by ancient authors. For the rest I make general acknowledgement to (among others) Grote, *Greece*, ii. 119–209;

It was in part this localization of Homeros at Smyrna that specially interested the Athenians and others in fostering the belief that Smyrna had been founded by the Athenian hero Theseus, and in laying stress on the claim of Athens (based on the supposed implication of the name "Ionians") to be the mother-city of all the Ionic colonies—now, of course, including Smyrna.¹ For was it not only fitting that the greatest poet of the Hellenic race should belong to the premier city of Hellas? Thus Smyrna eventually comes to be definitely regarded as a colony founded by Athens.² The rhetor Aristides, in his various allusions to Smyrnaian origins, completely ignores the Aiolians, but mentions the coming of Erekhtheidai from Athens, and men of Attic race, and later Ionians³; while Philostratos junior observes that, when the Athenians colonized Ionia, Muses led the fleet in the guise of bees, for they preferred Ionia for the sake of the Meles,⁴ the river of Homeric associations. There was thus every reason why the theory that Homeros had been born at Smyrna should find favour at Athens.⁵ In spite, however, of all pretentious legends, and even of the permanent Ionic tenure, the original Aiolic character of Smyrna was never forgotten.⁶

In 688 B.C. occurred the first event in the history of Smyrna to which a precise date can confidently be assigned. Onomastos, an Ionian of Smyrna, was victor in the first boxing-match held at the Olympic Games. This four-yearly, semi-athletic, semi-religious festival had, during most of the eighth century, included only a running match; and its competitors and on-lookers were drawn almost exclusively from western and southern Peloponnesos. As time went on, it made its appeal to an ever-widening area, and room was found in its programme for an increasing number of events. Wrestling and the pentathlon had already been introduced when, at the twenty-

Monro, *Homer Iliad, Books I-XII*, xi-xxxviii; Jebb, *Homer* (1905), passim; Murray, *Rise of the Greek Epic* (1911), passim; Chadwick, *Heroic Age* (1912), 193-249; Scott, Allen, *Catalogue*, 173-175, *Homer*, passim; Bury in *C.A.H.* ii. 498-517, iv. 471 ff.; Bolling, *External Evidence for Interpolation in Homer* (1925), Bowra, and Nilsson.

¹See above, pp. 47 f., 58, 62-64.

²Cf. Lane 9 f.; Mylonas 18 f.; Slaars 4, 90 f.; Tsakyrloglou i. 32.

³See the passages quoted above, p. 48 nn. 1 and 3; and cf. Slaars 58 f., 90 f.

⁴Philostr. jr. *Imag.* ii. 8 (823).

⁵See the couplet quoted above, p. 48 n. 3; and cf. K. A. Esdaile in *J.H.S.* xxxi (1912) 305 f.

⁶See above, p. 59.

third recorded celebration, a boxing-contest was held for the first time; and the Smyrnaian Onomastos had the proud and coveted distinction of hearing himself and his city proclaimed by the herald to the assembled multitudes, of being crowned with the circlet of wild olive, and doubtless loaded with civic honours on his return to Asia. A late writer states that Onomastos laid down laws for boxing.¹

It must have been within a very few years following this happy incident that a new epoch of peril opened for Smyrna with the accession to the Lydian throne of Gyges, the founder of the Mermnad dynasty (about 685 B.C.). He became king by assassinating his predecessor Kandaules, the last of the Herakleid line—a line under which Lydia had been more or less subject to the large realm of Phrygia immediately to the east. The power of Phrygia had, however, been broken by the nomadic Kimmerians about 705 B.C.; and after the death of the apparently indolent Kandaules, Lydia became under her new ruler a strong independent kingdom.

Gyges inaugurated, early in his reign, a policy of imperial expansion, which involved conflict with the Ionic cities planted along the coast on the west of his dominions. Commercial rivalry—in particular, a desire to possess good sea-ports—sufficiently explains this hostility. He directed his arms against Magnesia-near-Sipylos, Smyrna, Kolophon, and Miletos. We have no precise knowledge regarding the dates and sequence of these events; but we may provisionally suppose that the attacks occurred in the order of the respective distances of the cities from the capital of Gyges—Sardeis.²

The only information we have concerning his conflict with Magnesia consists of a story preserved by Nikolaos of Damaskos, a contemporary of Herodes the Great. It ran as follows. A Smyrnaian fop named Magnes, good-looking, richly dressed, and clever at poetry and music, was accustomed to go the round

¹Paus. V. viii. 7 (τρίτη δὲ ὀλυμπιάδι καὶ εἰκοστῇ πυγμῆς ἄθλα ἀπέδοσαν. Ὀνόμαστος δὲ ἐνίκησεν ἐκ Σμύρνης συντελοῦσης ἤδη τηρικαῦτα ἐς Ἴωνας); Euseb. *Chron.* at Olymp. 23 (Schöne i. 195 f.: Προσετέθη πυγμῆ, καὶ Ὀνομαστός Σμυρναῖος ἐνίκᾳ, ὃ καὶ τῇ πυγμῇ νόμους θέμενος: cf. Karst 91); Krause, *Olympia*, 224, 338 f. (he names, probably rightly, as Eusebios' authority for ascribing boxing-rules to

Onomastos, Julius Africanus [early iii./A.D.], who of course might have derived it from a much earlier author).

²Herodot. i. 14 (ἐσέβαλε μὲν νυν στρατὴν καὶ οὗτος, ἐπεῖτε ἤρξε, ἐς τε Μίλητον καὶ ἐς Σμύρνην, καὶ Κολοφῶνος τὸ ἄστυ εἶλε): cf. Mylonas 22–24; Hogarth in *C.A.H.* iii. 508 f. Herodotos' order is not necessarily meant to be chronological.

of the cities, displaying his artistic skill, and exciting the amorous propensities of both men and women. Gyges in particular was captivated, and had paiderastic relations with him. At Magnesia, however, his illicit intercourse with the women so enraged their husbands and friends, that these latter avenged themselves in a violent attack. Their ostensible plea was that Magnes had slightingly omitted Magnesia in hymning the excellence of the Lydian cavalry in battle against the Amazones. They tore off his purple robe and golden headband, cut short his heavy tresses, and insulted and maimed him in various ways. Gyges took up the cudgels on his favourite's behalf, invaded the Magnesian territory several times, and at last captured the city itself. He celebrated his victory at Sardeis with splendid festivities.¹ We cannot feel confident about the truth of the story in its details; but the general representation that Magnesia-near-Sipylos was conquered by Gyges is probably true.²

When Gyges marched against Smyrna, the Smyrnaians (who must have had control of the pass at Bel-Kavé) engaged his cavalry as far east as the plain of Hermos. A strenuous fight ensued, in which much execution was done by an unnamed Smyrnaian champion: he was, however, slain, and his fellow-citizens were obliged to retreat within their city-walls, where the Lydians then besieged them.³ The siege was appar-

¹Nikol. Dam. in *F.H.G.* iii. 395 f. (62), repeated by Soudas, s.v. *Μάγνης*. Nikolaos does not say which Magnesia he means; but there is little doubt that the northern is referred to.

²The words of Theognis, quoted below, p. 84 n. 2, seem to refer to it. Cf. Holm, *Greece*, i. 320 f., 334; Beloch, *Griech. Gesch.* I. i. 343.

³Mimnermos, *Nanno*, frag. 14 (Ὀὐ μὲν δὴ κείνου γε μένος καὶ ἀγήγορα θυμὸν | τοῖον ἔμευ προτέρων πύθομαι, οἱ μὲν ἴδον | Λυδῶν ἵππομάχων πυκινὰς κλονέοντα φάλαγγα; | Ἔρμιον ἀμ πεδίων, φῶτα φερεμμελίην. | Τοῦ μὲν ἄρ' οὐποτε πάμπαν ἐμέμφατο Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη | δριμύ μόνος κραδίης, ἐὼθ' ὁ γ' ἀνὰ προμάχους | σέυαῖθ', αἱματόεντος ἐν ὑσμίνῃ πολέμοιο | πικρὰ λαζόμενος δυσμενέων βέλεα. | Οὐ γάρ τις κείνου δῆτων ἐπ' ἀμεινότερος φῶς | ἔσκεν ἐποίχεσθαι, φυλόσιδος κρατερῆς | ἔργον, . . .); Herodot. i. 14 (see above, p. 78 n. 2); Paus. IX. xxix. 4 *Μίμνερος δὲ ἐλεγεία ἐς τὴν μάχην ποιήσας*

τὴν Σμυρναίων πρὸς Γύγην τε καὶ Λυδούς, φησὶν . . .); Aristeides xv, 373 (xvii. 5: see above, p. 70 n. 2: . . . *τολμήματα δὲ εἰς τοὺς πολέμους κρείττον' ἢ πολλοῖς ἐρίσαι λυαυτελεῖν, ὥστε καὶ τῶν ποιητῶν ἤδη τισὶν Σμυρναίων τρόπον τὸ τοιοῦτον εἰρησθαί*—perhaps an allusion to Mimnermos): Tsakyroglou i. 40 f.; Weber, *Sipylos*, 107 f.; Ramsay, *Hist. Geog.* 61 f. (possession of the pass-fortress probably the bone of contention); Ramsay and Hogarth in *E. Br.* xxv (1911) 281 b top (wrongly state that Gyges was defeated).

Beloch (*Griech. Gesch.* I. i. 344, ii. 360-362), observing that Mimnermos does not actually mention Gyges, and was apparently much younger than Solon, doubts whether he can have been old enough to hear tales from men who had fought in the time of Gyges: he thinks Paus. wrongly inferred from Herodot. (who himself may have been mistaken and even have confused Gyges with Ardy) that

ently severe; but Gyges had eventually to withdraw without effecting his object. Doubtful but interesting tales about the struggle were told in later days. It is perhaps with this crisis that we should connect the story told by Ploutarkhos to the effect that the Lakedaimonians, when the Smyrnaians once begged for corn, sent the city a supply, and replied to the thanks of the surprised recipients that they had obtained the food merely by deciding to deprive themselves and their animals of one day's breakfast.¹ Another anecdote, which Ploutarkhos quotes from an earlier but otherwise unknown author Dositheos, who wrote a work called 'Lydiaka', was to the effect that the Lydians sent envoys to tell the straitened Smyrnaians that they would not withdraw unless the women of the city were sent out to them: after some delay, the slave-girl of a certain Philarkhos suggested to him that the slave-women should all be sent out clad as if they were free: this was done, and the Lydians were so demoralized by their excesses that they were unable to resist the attack which the Smyrnaians then delivered: thenceforth the Smyrnaians celebrated their success with an annual festival—the Eleutheria—at which the slave-women appeared wearing the garb of the free.² Yet a third story, preserved by Pausanias, told how Gyges and the Lydians actually took possession of Smyrna, but were expelled by a daring attack on the part of the Ionian inhabitants: the bravery of the Smyrnaians on this occasion was quoted by the Messenian generals to their troops, in order

Mimnermos must have been alluding to a fight with Gyges. Now Gyges fell in 652 B.C., and Solon was born about 638 B.C. Soudas (s.v. *Μίμνερμος*) says *γένετο δ' ἐπὶ τῆς λζ' ὀλυμπιάδος, ὡς πρωτερεύει τῶν ἐπὶ τὰ σοφῶν*. He clearly means that Mimnermos flourished about 632–628 B.C. (Rohde, *Kleine Schriften*, i. [1901] 158, cf. 177; Beloch, *Griech. Gesch.* I. ii. 362); this would make him older than Solon, and is clearly erroneous. If, however, Mimnermos was born about 628 B.C., his words (frag. 6) and Solon's (frag. 20), addressed to each other about their respective ages, would be quite intelligible, and Mimnermos might well have heard tales concerning men who had fought about 665 B.C. or even earlier. Maas (in Pauly XV [1932] 1726) puts Mimnermos' floruit about 600 B.C. To

reject the distinct statements of Herodot. and Paus. on the basis of calculations as to the age of Mimnermos is precarious and unsatisfactory.

¹Ploutarkhos, *Quomodo adulator*, etc. 22 (64).

²Ploutarkhos, *Parallela*, 30 (312 f. = F.H.G. iv 401 f. [6]: Dositheos called the enemy "Sardians"). The Lydians had an evil reputation in the matter of sex-conduct (Herodot. i. 93 f.). As Slaars wisely remarks (6 n. 11), "L'excès dans l'amour des femmes a toujours et partout porté malheur . . ." A very similar story was told by Macrobius (*Saturn.* I. xi. 35–40 [± 400 A.D.]), in connexion with a Roman attack on Fidenæ about 380 B.C.: this duplication, however, does not prove that the story of Dositheos about Smyrna is false.

to inspire them in the course of their second war with Sparta (later in the seventh century).¹

Gyges succeeded in capturing a part of Kolophon; but as he could not take the citadel, we may presume that he retired after coming to terms with the inhabitants. His attack on Miletos, the largest and most important city of Ionia, was unsuccessful.² His failure to achieve more is doubtless to be connected with his struggles against the Kimmerians. Shortly before 660 B.C. he probably obtained help against them from Ashurbanipal, king of Assyria, and was able to defeat them. He revolted however soon afterwards from this powerful suzerain, and sent Ionian and Karian mercenaries to help Psammetikhos of Egypt against him. Eventually in 652 B.C. he was defeated by the Kimmerians and slain.

During the early years of the long reign of his son and successor Ardys (652-615 B.C.), western Asia Minor was convulsed by the presence of these savage invaders. They captured Sardeis (except its citadel) and destroyed Magnesia-on-Maiandros and the temple of Artemis outside Ephesos. Kallinos, the Ephesian elegiac poet, summoned his fellow-countrymen to make a stand against them.³ Ardys acknowledged the suzerainty of Ashurbanipal; and the combined efforts of Lydians, Ionians, and Assyrians led after a few years to the overthrow and expulsion of the Kimmerian hosts (645 B.C.).

Freed from the peril of barbarian invasion, the Lydian monarchs resumed their policy of intermittent aggression towards Ionia. Ardys took Priene, and made an unsuccessful attack on Miletos.⁴ His son and successor Sadyattes (615-603 B.C.) devoted the last six years of his reign to a series of attacks on the last-named city.⁵ These were vigorously continued for

¹Paus. IV. xxi. 5: . . . ἄλλα τε ὅποσα εἰκὸς ἦν διδάσκοντες, καὶ Συμυρναίων τὰ τολμήματα ἀναμιμνήσκοντες, ὡς Ἴώνων μοῖρα ὄντες Γύγην τὸν Δασκίλου καὶ Λυδοῦς ἔχοντας σφῶν τὴν πόλιν ὑπὸ ἀρετῆς καὶ προθυμίας ἐκβάλλειν.

²Herodot. i. 14 (see above, p. 78 n. 2); Theognis, as below, p. 84 n. 2. Strabo tells us (XIII. i. 22 [590]) that Abydos on the Hellespont was founded by Miletos with the permission of Gyges, who was then master of Troas.

³Kallinos, frags. 1-5 (ed. Bergk): see also above, p. 30 n. 3.

⁴Beloch, for the reasons quoted above, p. 79 f. n. 3, definitely asserts of Ardys (*Griech. Gesch.* I. i. 344 f.): "Gegen Smyrna kämpfte er unglücklich; . . .", transferring to this king in a somewhat arbitrary manner what our authorities record of his father Gyges.

⁵An attack on *Smyrna* is attributed to Sadyattes by Holm (*Greece*, i. 323, 335), Beloch (*Griech. Gesch.* I. i. 345), and Büchner (745); but Nikolaos of Damaskos, frag. 64 (in *F.H.G.* iii. 396 f.), which is quoted in this connexion, refers not to Sadyattes, but to his successor.

five years more by the next king, Alyattes (603–560 B.C.), and were eventually terminated by an alliance between Miletos and Lydia.

Except for the periodical resumption of these conflicts, the epoch was for Ionia one of signal prosperity and brilliance. Much trade was carried on, not only westwards by sea, but even eastwards overland, during the long intervals between the successive Lydian campaigns.¹ Every four years Smyrna would take part with the other Ionic cities in the festival held in honour of Apollon at the island of Delos—a gathering of men, women, and children, which the author of the Homeric ‘Hymn to Delian Apollon’ describes as a joyful and animated scene of health, wealth, and beauty. We do not learn that Smyrna had any share in the brilliant beginnings of Hellenic philosophy in Ionia at the end of the seventh century; but to some extent she does figure in the story of contemporary Ionic poetry.

The “blind man”, who lived “in rocky Khios” and wrote the ‘Hymn’ just referred to, cannot be identified with Homeros, and cannot therefore rank as a Smyrnaian poet. The same is true of the author of another Homeric ‘Hymn’, that addressed to Artemis, though from him we do get an explicit allusion to Smyrna, as the place through which the goddess drives on her way to her brother Apollon at Klaros “after watering her horses from Meles deep in reeds”.² In the case of the so-called ‘Homeric Epigrams’ (which were probably composed at least as early as the sixth century B.C.), reference to Homeros may be a conjecture of later times, and reference to Smyrna consists exclusively of two lines in the fourth ‘Epigram’, which are probably the work of some writer later than the original epigrammatist.³ But in the person of Mimnermos, Smyrna made a direct contribution to the literary glories of Asiatic Hellas.

Mimnermos flourished at the end of the seventh and during the early part of the sixth century.⁴ He is sometimes

¹R.E. Anderson (*Extinct Civilizations of the East* [1898], 43) pictures the markets of Assyria during Ashurbanipal’s reign (669–626 B.C.) as “crowded with traders from India and Persia, Egypt

and Arabia, Damascus and Smyrna”.

²See above. p. 10 n. 2.

³See above, pp. 57 f. n. 2.

⁴See above, pp. 79 f. n. 3.

called a Kolophonian, sometimes a Smyrnaian. It is probable that he belonged to one of the Pylia families at Kolophon which had participated in the seizure of Smyrna, and so had connexions with both cities. He was not only an elegiac poet, but also a flute-player; and his proficiency in both arts earned him the nickname of "Liguastades" (the "clear-voiced"). He sang about the warlike exploits of his ancestors—how they had sailed from Pylos to the attractive coasts of Asia, had by sheer force and masterful aggression settled in "lovely Kolophon", and after that "by the will of the gods captured Aiolid Smyrna". The champion who had fallen in battle in the Hermian Plain, "confounding the massed squadrons of mounted Lydians" with a heroism no longer to be seen in the poet's day, may have been the latter's own grandfather.¹ Presumably he desired, like Kallinos of Ephesos, to hearten his fellow-countrymen against the enemy. He also wrote amatory lyrics: he asks what pleasantness life has apart from golden Aphrodite. A strain of sadness, however, dominates many of the extant fragments of his work. He sang plaintively of the ills of human life—disease, old age, and death—set off only by the fleeting joys of youth and love. Most of his fragments belong to a poem called 'Nanno', after a flute-girl with whom he was in love, but who, perhaps on account of his age, turned away from him. It is a mark of his great and lasting reputation as a poet that in the second century A.D. there existed at Smyrna an establishment for youths called after him "the Mimnermeion".²

There is an ominous, if casual, congruity between the sadness of Mimnermos and the growing shadow cast over Ionia by the Lydian menace. Alyattes, we are told, had been insolent and undisciplined as a youth, but as a grown man he was temperate and just.³ His justice and temperance, however,

¹See above, p. 63 n. 1, p. 67 n. 1, pp. 79 f. n. 3; cf. Holm, *Greece*, i. 343, 348 ("Mimnermos . . . had treated his subject almost historically . . . The foundations of real history were thus laid").

²For Mimnermos, see his frags. in Bergk; Hermesianax in Athenaios xiii. 597a, f, 598a; Soudas, s.v. *Μίμνερμος*; Christ, *Gesch. der griech. Litt.* I (1912) 172; Maas in Pauly XV (1932) 1725-1727. In *C.I.G.* 3376 = *G.I.B.M.* 1030 (perhaps

of i/A.D.), the *νεῖα Μίμνερμείον* are mentioned among other bodies (*γερονσία, παιδευτῶν σύνδοσις*) who voted to a certain P. Petronius Achaicus the honour of a golden crown. Cf. Apollonios of Tyana, *Epist.* 71 (407: . . . ἐμοὶ μὲν εἶη μάλλον ὄνομα Μίμνερμος: see below, p. 245 n. 2).

³Nikol. Dam. in *F.H.G.* iii. 396 f. (64), followed by Soudas, s.v. *Ἀλυάττης*.

did not prevent him pursuing a policy of nationalistic and personal aggrandizement. As we have seen, his reign began with a five years' war with Miletos. It was he who finally expelled the Kimmerians from Asia Minor. In 589 B.C. he got involved in war with Kyaxares of Media, one of the confederates who had joined in the destruction of Nineveh in 612 B.C.: the war lasted five years, and was brought to an end in 585 B.C., after fighting had been interrupted by a total eclipse of the sun on the 28th May in that year. This eclipse incidentally was visible at Smyrna, and is mentioned by Mimmermos. The treaty with Kyaxares, by which Alyattes gave up to Media all his territory east of the Halys, left the Lydian's hands free for the task of extending his power in the west.¹

Miletos was already his ally; Priene had been captured by his grandfather; Samos was inaccessible without a fleet; the despot of Ephesos married the daughter of Alyattes; Kolophon had been partially captured by Gyges, and was probably still in a condition of weak dependence on Lydia. The next place on the list was Smyrna. What probably happened was that Alyattes made overtures to the city, suggesting that it should accept his suzerainty and protection under the guise of a friendly alliance (possibly accompanied by the acceptance of a monarchical form of government), and that his advances were so haughtily repudiated that he was stung into proceeding to extreme measures. However this may be, the upshot was that, seemingly after a severe struggle, Alyattes took Smyrna and destroyed it, and that its fall was very shortly afterwards attributed to its arrogance.² A number of the inhabitants in all

¹Herodot. i. 16-22, 25, 73 f.; Mimmermos, frag. 20 (Bergk); Hogarth in *C.A.H.* iii. 512-515; Ure in *C.A.H.* iv. 85 f., 96. On the chronology, see next n.

²Theognis (± 550 B.C.), ll. 1103 f. in Bergk ("Υβρις και Μάνηγτας ἀπόλεσε και Κολοφώνα | και Σμύρνην. πάντως, Κύρνε, και ἕμι' ἀπολεῖ—on his interest in ὕβρις and Nemesis, cf. Coman, *L'idée de la Némesis chez Eschyle* [Paris, 1931], 64-74); Herodot. i. 16 ('Αλνάττης . . . Σμύρνην τε τὴν ἀπὸ Κολοφώνος κτισθεῖσαν εἶλε); Strabo XIV. i. 37 (646: Λυδῶν δὲ κατασπασάντων τὴν Σμύρναν . . .); Nikol. Dam. in *F.H.G.* iii. 397 (64: ἐπολέμησε δὲ Σμυρναίους, και εἶλεν αὐτῶν τὸ ἄστυ); Soudas, s.v. 'Αλνάττης (copies Nikol. Dam. almost ver-

batim); Grote, *Greece*, iii. 190 (disbelieves Strabo on the ground of supposed inconsistency with Pindaros: see below, p. 91 n. 1); Ramsay, *Seven Chs.* 252 (" . . . The purely Greek Smyrna could not be made to wear Lydian harness, and was destroyed . . ."); Hogarth and Ure, as in previous n.

In regard to date, it seems most probable, both on general grounds, and also in view of the sequence observed by Herodot. in i. 16, that the attack on Smyrna was *subsequent* to the war with Media: so Lane (21 f.), Mylonas (27), Weber (*Sipylos*, 108), Ramsay (*Hist. Geog.* 62), Beloch (*Griech. Gesch.* I. ii. 361[" . . . erst gegen das Ende von dessen Regierung

probability escaped to Kolophon, where they were received into citizenship.¹ Many would of course be slain, and others (including women and children) reduced to slavery—to find their way to Lydian palaces and Phoinikian slave-ships.² The akropolis was dismantled; the ring-wall (if there was one) thrown down; the houses probably for the most part burnt³; and the remaining inhabitants dispersed among the villages in the immediate neighbourhood. Flushed with success, Alyattes next advanced against Klazomenai; but, meeting with a signal defeat,⁴ he was compelled to withdraw to Sardeis.

. . .'), Lübker (*Reallexikon*, 960a [about 575 B.C.]), Ure (in *C.A.H.* iv. 86), Büchner (745 [about 585 B.C.]), and others. A date before the Median war is apparently preferred by Slaars (94 [LXXII: shortly before 628 B.C.]), Ramsay (in *H.D.B.* iv. 554a top ["about the end of the 7th cent. B.C."]) and *Seven Chs.* 252 ["about 600"], Hogarth (in *C.A.H.* iii. 513), and Lenschau (1878). Cf. Tsakyroglou i. 45 f.

Some of the older writers (Oikonomos in Slaars 5 f., Mylonas 25 f., Tsakyroglou i. 43-45, etc.) groundlessly understood the ὕβρις of Smyrna to mean luxuriousness and effeminacy.

For a supposed tradition that, on the capture of Smyrna, the Muses left the city, see above, p. 47 n. 1.

¹Such at least is the implication of the Scholiast on Platon, *Theait.* 153c, who says: . . . δώδεκα πόλεις τῆς Ἰωνίας συνήσαν εἰς τὸ Πανιώνιον λεγόμενον, περὶ τῶν

κοινῶν βουλευσόμεναι, καὶ εἴ ποτε ἴσαι αἱ ψῆφοι ἐγένοντο, οἱ Κολοφώνιοι περιττὴν ἐτίθεντο τὴν κικῶσαν· Σμυρναίους γὰρ ἐλθόντας εἶχον συνοίκους, ὑπὲρ ὧν καὶ τῆνδε τὴν ψῆφον ἐτίθεντο. ὅθεν ἐπὶ τῆς κρατούσης καὶ βεβαιοτάτης ψῆφου ἡ παροιμία ἐτίθετο, οἷον τὸν Κολοφῶνα ἐπιτίθημι ἢ τὸν Κολοφῶνα ἀναγκάζω προσβιβάζων. The tradition may be right about the reception into citizenship, but wrong about the Smyrnaian vote. See above, p. 68 n. 1; and cf. Lane 21; Mylonas 28.

²See Ezek. xxvii. 13 (cf. 19) for an almost contemporary allusion to the Tyrian traffic in Ionian slaves.

³Traces of burning were found among the remains on Hadji-Mutso (Miltner 168), and the pottery-series from the same place comes to an abrupt end early in vi/B.C. (id. 187 f.).

⁴Herodot. i. 16.

THE VILLAGE-PERIOD AND THE REFOUNDATION OF SMYRNA ($\pm 580-288$ B.C.)

FOR about three hundred years after her conquest by Alyattes, Smyrna existed, no longer as an organized and independent city, but as a mere group of villages. One of these may have been located within the old walls (on the site of the modern Bairakli), while the positions of the others are doubtless marked by the beautiful townlets still dotted over the fertile adjoining plains—Burnabat, Naldöken, Hajilar, Narlyköi, Bunar-bashi, Ishiklar, Kukluja, and Buja.¹ If, like some conquerors, Alyattes refrained from destroying the temples (which not infrequently lay outside the ancient Hellenic cities),² Smyrna would possess in them and their priests centres round which a quasi-civic life could begin to re-form, and links by which some continuity with the past could be maintained.³ Although the bulk of her former trade probably now

¹Possibly also Tchikli (the ancient Sillyos), four miles northwest of Cordelio. As regards Burnabat, it is not impossible that the fort alluded to above, p. 44 (no. 9) may belong to this period (Ramsay and Hogarth in *E. Br.* xxv [1911] 281b).

²He learnt a lesson at Miletos that would make him careful in this respect (Herodot. i. 19-22).

³Strabo XIV. i. 37 (646: . . . *περὶ τετρακόσια* [an evident error for *τριακόσια*] *ἔτη διετέλεσεν οἰκουμένην κομηθόν*): *Oikonomos* in Slaars 6-9 (the villages); Prokesch in *J.L.* lxxviii. 59 f. (coins of neighbouring cities found on the site of old Smyrna); Grote, *Greece*, ii. 261 f. (" . . . the reverse proceeding—the breaking up of a city into its elementary villages—was not only a sentence of privation and suffering, but also a complete extinction of Grecian rank and dignity . . ."); Lane 21-23 (temples spared); Storari 56 (probable occupation of Burnabat); Mylonas 26-29 (temples spared); Slaars 94 f. (counts the 400 years

from *Gyges*), 98 f., 100 (CV); Curtius *Beiträge*, 17 f. (worship of the Sipyrene Mother maintained); Tsakyroglou i. 45-49 (speculations as to the power of the priesthood); Weber, *Sipylus*, 108 f. (largely follows Tsakyroglou); Feldmann 53, 55; Ramsay, *Hist. Geog.* 62 n. ("It must not be thought that Smyrna ceased to exist: it was organised on the native Anatolian village system, not as a Greek πόλις"), *Seven Chs.* 252 (his statement that Aristeides mentions a town lying during the village-period "between the old and the later city" seems to be a misinterpretation of the passage quoted above, p. 59 n. 4), *Asian. Elements*, 89 f., 92; Liebenam 462 bott; Ximenez, *Asia Minor in Ruins* (1926), 140 (picturesque but inaccurate account of the desolation); Abbott and Johnson 21-26 (villages generally); Bürchner 743, 745, 759 f., 762; Schweitzer in *J.D.A.I.* xlvi (1931) 202, and Volkmann in *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, xxxi (1934) 75 (worship of the Nemeseis maintained).

passed into the hands of her enterprising, rich, and powerful neighbour, Phokaia,¹ the very position of Smyrna would ensure a desire on the part of the Lydians to make some use of so excellent a harbour; and this would involve—with the lapse of peaceful years—some revival of commercial activity. But as regards *political* importance, Smyrna is—for the next three centuries—“off the map”.

Alyattes died about 560 B.C., and was buried within a vast tumulus erected near the south-eastern corner of the Gygaian Lake. He was succeeded by his son Kroisos, who surpassed all his predecessors in power, wealth, and splendour. In his time the Lydians were regarded as the bravest people of Asia. Beginning with Ephesos, he succeeded in reducing all the Ionic and Aiolic cities on the mainland to the position of tributaries. He met with comparatively little opposition; and once subdued, the cities were left to carry on their internal affairs unmolested, subject to the annual payment of tribute and the occasional despatch of contingents of troops. Possessing no fleet, Kroisos attached the Ionic island-settlements to himself by means of alliances. Under his mild suzerainty, Ionia probably lost something of her former glory; but the “*pax Lydiaca*” doubtless ensured permanent access to the eastern trade-routes and a consequent enhancement of commercial prosperity, in which Smyrna would naturally have some share.

Kroisos, however, was defeated and dethroned in 546 (or 541) B.C. by the Persian Kyros. The Ionians and Aiolians sent and offered to the conqueror submission and tribute; but Kyros, having previously solicited their help in vain, refused to accept the terms they offered—except in the case of Miletos. They accordingly prepared to resist him; and in the course of the next few years his generals reduced them all by force of arms to unconditional surrender. Some of the island-states submitted to him voluntarily. Lydia and the adjoining coastal districts were formed into a satrapy with Sardeis as capital. The Hellenic cities were required to pay heavier tribute, and to furnish troops and ships as necessary; but they retained their religious and municipal independence. The Panionic Assembly still continued to meet at Mykale; but its importance was much diminished. It was being in practice superseded by

¹Ramsay, *Hist. Geog.* 62. See also above, p. 69 n. 3.

the festival of Artemis at Ephesos (which city inherited the commercial prosperity of the now depleted Phokaia), and appears to have almost ceased to function from now until the middle of the fifth century B.C.¹

We do not hear of any direct connexion between Smyrna and Peisistratos, the despot of Athens (560–527 B.C.). It may well have been his notoriety, however, that fostered that amalgamation of the distinct Attic and Pyliaian traditions concerning the origin of the Ionic cities, which led to their being all regarded nominally as colonies of Athens. Peisistratos, moreover, made some regulations to ensure the orderly recitation of the Homeric poems at the Athenian festivals. The exact nature and extent of these are disputed; and the elegiac lines in which he is represented as claiming that Smyrna was a colony of Athens, and Homeros therefore an Athenian citizen, are almost certainly of late origin. But some Athenian interest in Smyrna under the rule of Peisistratos is in the circumstances probable.²

We get a casual glimpse of Smyrna and its neighbourhood, during the years of peace following the Persian conquest, in an obscure fragment of an iambic poem by the Ephesian poet Hipponax, who flourished about 545–520 B.C. If we may trust our reconstruction and interpretation of the text, Hipponax sent to his corpulent friend Tearos, who was staying in eastern Lydia, an injunction to travel along the road which led from thence to Smyrna, perhaps with the intention that he should come on to Klazomenai, whither Hipponax himself had settled after his expulsion from Ephesos.³

¹Cf. Aiskhylos, *Persai*, ll. 768–771 (. . . Κύρος, εὐδαιμών ἀνὴρ, | ἄρξας ἔθηκε πᾶσιν εἰρήνην φίλοις: | Λυδῶν δὲ λαὸν καὶ Φρυγῶν ἐκτήσατο, | Ἰωνίαν τε πᾶσαν ἤλασεν βίῃ); Herodot. i. 141, 152–177: Caspari in *J.H.S.* xxxv (1915) 181; Hogarth in *C.A.H.* iii. 524–526.

²See above, p. 48 n. 3; and cf. Cherbuliez i. 20, 26.

³Hipponax, frag. 15 in Bergk: Lane 6 n.2; Tsakyroglou ii. 24 f. Ramsay has published a detailed study of the frag. in *Asian Elements*, 140–170 (cf. Garstang, *Empire*, 178 f.). Adopting all his emendations except *πατρίαν* for *πᾶσαν* in l. 1, and *ῥῶτος* for *ῥῶτος* (= τὸ Ἄττος) in l. 4, the frag.

reads: Πᾶσαν, Τεάρ', ὄδευε τὴν ἐπὶ Σμύρνης. | ἴθι διὰ Λυδῶν παρὰ τὸν Ἀτταλέω τύμβον, | καὶ σῆμα Γύγωω καὶ μέγ' ἄστου, καὶ στήλην | καὶ μνήμα τῶτος Μυτάλυδι πάλυδος, | πρὸς ἥλιον δύνοντα γαστέρα τρέβας. The μέγ' ἄστου is Sardeis. With Ramsay's somewhat over-confident identification of the other landmarks, we are not here directly concerned; but it is not easy to see why Σμύρνης in this passage must mean Ephesos, and not our Smyrna (*Asian Elements*, 146 f.). In the fragment quoted above, p. 30 n. 3, Hipponax does indeed use Σμύρνη of a part of Ephesos; and Strabo tells us that Kallinos meant "Ephesians" by Σμυρναίους (*ibid.*). But

Smyrna was of interest also to a contemporary and pet aversion of Hipponax—Boupalos, the celebrated Khian architect and sculptor, who with his brother made caricatures of the poet. Boupalos carved a statue of the goddess Tykhe (Fortune) for the Smyrnaians, representing her for the first time as crowned with a sphere and holding in one hand an Amaltheia's horn.¹ He also executed in gilt a group of the Graces, representing them clothed in contrast to the nude Graces of later times: this group, either then or later, became the property of the Smyrnaians, and was placed by them in the temple of the Nemeseis (perhaps on Mt. Pagos) above the images of those goddesses. Similar images made by Boupalos were afterwards to be seen at Pergamon.²

we are not at liberty to interpret an unqualified *Σμύρνης* in another passage without more ado as an allusion to Ephesos. If Hipponax had wanted (as well he might) to refer to our Smyrna, what else could he have called it?

¹Paus. IV. xxx. 6: *Βούπαλος δέ, ναούς τε οικοδομήσασθαι καὶ ζωὰ ἀνήρ ἀγαθὸς πλάσαι, Σμυρναίοις ἀγάλμα ἐργαζόμενος Τύχης πρώτος ἐποίησεν ὡν ἴσμεν πόλον τε ἔχουσαν ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ καὶ τῇ ἑτέρα χειρὶ τὸ καλούμενον Ἀμαλθείας κέρας ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων. Οὗτος μὲν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο ἐδήλωσε τῆς θεοῦ τὰ ἔργα.* See however the next n.

²Paus. IX. xxxv. 6 (. . . τὰ γε ἀρχαῖοτερα ἐχούσας ἐσθῆτα οἱ τε πλάσσει καὶ κατὰ ταῦτὰ ἐποίουν οἱ ζωγράφοι, καὶ Σμυρναίους τοῦτο μὲν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῶν Νεμέσεων ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀγαλμάτων χρυσοῦ Χάριτες ἀνακένται, τέχνη Βουπάλου, τοῦτο δὲ σφίσι ἐν τῷ Ὀιδείῳ Χάριτος ἐστὶν εἰκὼν, Ἀπελλοῦ γραφή, Περγαμηνοῖς δὲ ὡσαύτως ἐν τῷ Ἀττάλου θαλάμῳ, Βουπάλου καὶ αὐτῶν), 7 (. . . καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐστὶν ὁμοίως ἅπαντα ἐν ἐσθῆτι· οἱ δὲ ὕστερον . . .). The "gilt" rests on the difficult reading *χρυσοῦ*: if we adopt Hitzig and Bluemner's emendation *τῶν χρυσῶν*, it is the Nemeseis, not the Graces, that were gilt. For the temple of the Nemeseis on Mt. Pagos, see above, p. 86, and below, pp. 95 f., 220 f. Lane (21 f.) feels obliged to date the statues of Boupalos *before* the destruction of Smyrna by Alyattes: this is unnecessary.

R. Heidenreich (in *Arch. Anz.* I [1935] 668-701) distinguishes (689-691) between (1) the Boupalos who, like his brother Athenis, was a contemporary and enemy of Hipponax, and whose

works are described by Plinius in *Nat. Hist.* xxxvi. 5 (11-13) (668 f., 670, 675 ff.), and (2) a later sculptor who took Boupalos' name, and who carved the statue of Tykhe for Smyrna and those of the Graces for Smyrna and Pergamon (as described by Paus.), about the beginning of ii/B.C. (699-701). Some of his arguments are (1) that, as the Temple of the Nemeseis at Smyrna was not erected until early in iii/B.C., it is unlikely that statues were made for it in vi/B.C. (672): (2) that vi/B.C. is much earlier than any other traces of a cult of Tykhe in the Hellenic world (672 f.): (3) that Paus. nowhere states Boupalos' date, or mentions his brother; and he is probably dependent on late and inexact informants (673 f., 690): (4) that no Amaltheia's horn could have been depicted as early as vi/B.C. (674 f.): (5) that our knowledge of Pergamene statuary and ancient portraiture generally (670 f., 676-689), esp. the method of representing Tykhe (691-696), connect what Paus. tells us with the Hellenistic age rather than with vi/B.C. (697-699). Of these arguments, (1) is without weight, as the temple of the Nemeseis probably existed during the village-period, and in any case Paus. does not say that Boupalos carved the Graces *for* this temple: (3) is inconclusive. (2), (4), and (5) I find it difficult to assess; but they seem to me hardly strong enough to justify duplicating our sculptor. Some other difficulties mentioned by Heidenreich (as that Hipponax himself never calls Boupalos a sculptor and never mentions his brother Athenis, and that caricatures in plastic art were unknown

Dareios, who became king of Persia in 522 B.C., suspected Oroites, the satrap of Phrygia, Lydia, and Ionia, of aiming at independent sovereignty. After compassing his death, and suppressing rebels in other quarters, he reorganized his empire into twenty satrapies. The first of these included the Ionians, Magnesians (near Sipylos?), Aiolians, Karians, Lykians, Milyans, and Pamphylians, and paid the king 400 talents of silver a year.¹ Lydia now became part of another satrapy.

In 499 B.C. the Asiatic Hellenes, perhaps aggrieved by economic depression, revolted against Dareios, but were crushed after a few years of destructive warfare. We have no reliable particulars as to how Smyrna was affected by this disturbance.² The unsuccessful rebels were obliged to contribute squadrons of ships to the fleet which Xerxes launched against European Hellas with such signal ill-success in 480 B.C. Two years later, however, they were emancipated from the Persian yoke by the help of their brethren from Europe. It was probably due to their three-fold defeat—at the hands of Kroisos, Kyros, and Dareios—coupled with some increase in luxury and effeminacy, and (after the suppression of their revolt) some economic and cultural decline, that the Asiatic Ionians acquired in the fifth century an evil reputation, and the name "Ionian" came to be shunned by other tribes of supposedly Ionic descent.

Smyrna did not belong—as other cities of Ionia did—to the group of states constituting the great anti-Persian League formed, led, and later somewhat despotically ruled by Athens.³ Pindaros, the brilliant lyric poet (522–442 B.C.), made mention of "the bright city of the Smyrnaians"; but as we do not know whether he may not have been alluding (like Theognis) to the Smyrna of earlier times, we cannot gather

as early as vi/B.C. [669]) remain unsolved even on his own theory.

Cf. Mylonas 27 f.; Tsakyrogrou i. 48 (fanciful and inexact); C. Robert in Pauly III (1899) 1054 (a very inadequate art. on 'Bupalos', unredeemed as yet by anything in the supplementary vols.); Büchner 746 ("nackte Chariten"—wrongly). For the Grace in Smyrna's Odeion, see below, pp. 94 and 180.

¹Herodot. iii. 89 f. Cf. Aiskhylos, *Per-*

sai, ll. 897 ff.: καὶ τὰς εὐκτεάνους κατὰ κλήρον Ἰλίον πολυάνδρους | Ἑλλάνων ἑκράτει (sc. Δαρείου) σφετέραις φρεσίν | ...

²Cf. Mylonas 29; Tsakyrogrou i. 49. There were operations in 497 B.C. near Klazomenai (Cary in *C.A.H.* iv. 223 f.).

³Cf. Holm, *Greece*, ii. 212; Hogarth in Wilson [27] f.; Beloch, *Griech. Gesch.* I. i. 345 n.; Caspari in *J.H.S.* xxxv (1915) 181 f. (no reconstitution of the Panionic League).

very much from the allusion.¹ As we know from other sources that Pindaros thought of Smyrna as the birth-place of Homeros, we may conjecture that this fragment was possibly a reference to the great poet's home.² In regard to Homeros, it has been very plausibly conjectured from the later evidence of coins that, at least as early as the close of the fifth century B.C., Smyrna must have possessed a cult-statue of the poet, similar to that depicted on the oldest coins, and representing him seated in god-like dignity and abstraction.³ We are told by Plinius that Myron, the famous sculptor of Eleutherai in Boiotia, who flourished about 450-430 B.C., produced a clever statue of an intoxicated old woman, which when Plinius wrote stood at Smyrna, though as to when it got there we are not informed. There is, however, as we shall see later, some reason to believe that Plinius has confused Myron of Eleutherai with a later sculptor bearing the same name.⁴

The name of Smyrna does not occur in the inscribed lists of tributary states making up the Athenian Empire, nor in the histories of Thoukydides and Xenophon. The effect of the Peloponnesian War (431-405 B.C.) was not only to deprive Athens of her allies,⁵ but to restore in large measure the power of Persia in western Asia Minor. Sparta, after her decisive victory over Athens, made several efforts to reverse the re-establishment of the Persian dominion; but the campaigns of Thimbron, Derkyllidas, and the Spartan king Agesilaos (399-394 B.C.) were largely counteracted by the Persian alliance with the reviving power of Athens.⁶ In 392 B.C. Sparta offered to abandon to Persia all the Hellenic cities on the Asiatic main-

¹Pindar. frag. 204 (ed. Teubner)=193 (ed. Oxon.): . . . και λιπαρῶ Σμυρναίων ἀστέϊ . . . Grote (*Greece*, iii. 190) wrongly inferred from this frag. that Strabo's statement, to the effect that Smyrna was destroyed by the Lydians, was erroneous. Cf. Mylonas 28f.; Curtius, *Beiträge*, 17.

²See above, p. 70, and cf. Beloch, *Griech. Gesch.* I. i. 345.

³K. A. Esdaile in *J.H.S.* xxxii (1912) 300 f., 303, 305 f., 310, 314. The date of the statue is suggested by the archaic style in which the hair is arranged on the coin-portraits. See below, p. 212.

⁴Plin. *Nat. Hist.* xxxvi. 5 (32: "Nam Myronis illius, qui in aere laudatur, anus

ebria est Zmyrnae in primis incluta"). See below, p. 133.

⁵Lane (22 n. 5) rightly rejects as unfounded Kortüm's statement that in the Peloponnesian War Smyrna was the ally of Athens. Cf. Tsakyroglou i. 49 f.

⁶Cary (in *C.A.H.* vi. 41) says that in 395 B.C. Agesilaos advanced from Ephesos via Smyrna to near Sardeis: the sources, however, do not mention Smyrna in this connexion; only Diodoros (XIV. lxxx. 1) names the district adjacent (τῆς . . . παραπέλας) to Sipylos. Toynbee (*Western Question in Greece and Turkey*, 221) likens the campaigns of Agesilaos (whose base was at Ephesos) to the Greek operations conducted from Smyrna in 1919-1921.

land; but her recent hostility could not yet be forgiven, and a few more years of desultory warfare ensued. Thimbron fell near Ephesos; and his successor had to abandon the attempt to defend the continental Ionians against Persia (391/390 B.C.). The maritime war off the Asiatic coast between Sparta on the one hand and Athens, the loosely-attached ally of Persia, on the other continued for a time. Just after the midsummer of 387 B.C., an agreement was concluded between Athens and the island-town of Klazomenai, under which the latter was guaranteed against any Athenian interference on behalf of the exiled Klazomenians on the mainland, and also against the necessity of receiving an Athenian garrison, and was furthermore exempted from all tribute other than the five-per-cent duty on imports and exports by sea, which had formerly been exacted by Athens from her allies generally. In the now fragmentary inscription recording this compact, Smyrna was expressly mentioned, apparently as one of the places from which the corn-supplies of Klazomenai were drawn. The ships of these places were promised free access to the harbours of Klazomenai, and perhaps their corn-freights were immune from the five-per-cent duty.¹ That Smyrna had by this time risen again to some commercial importance is confirmed by the probability that an ancient silver tetradrachm of Rhodian weight, stamped with the head of Apollon and a lyre, and bearing the word *ΣΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ*, should be assigned to the first half of the fourth century B.C.²

Within less than a year of the conclusion of the treaty between Athens and Klazomenai, it was rendered largely nugatory by the declaration of peace. The king of Persia, after coming to terms with the Spartan Antalkidas, caused the conditions of the settlement to be announced to the belligerents at Sardeis (probably early in 386 B.C.), as if they had really been laid down by his own despotic will. He simply proclaimed that he judged it right that all the cities in Asia and the islands

¹I.G. II. v. 14b = I.G.² II f. i. 28 (with add. et corrig.) = *M.D.A.I.* vii (1882) 174-190 = *S.I.G.* 136. Cf. Kahrstedt, *Forsch. zur Gesch. des ausgeh. fünf. u. des viert. Jhrdt.* (1910), 195 f.; Regling in *Zeitschr. für Numism.* xxxiii (1921 f.) 65 n. 2.

²Head, *Hist. Num.* 591 f.; Hermann Weber in *Corolla Numismatica* (1906),

298 f., Pl. xv, no. 6 (needlessly suggests that the coin was stamped by Kolophon in connexion with an endeavour to restore Smyrna); Gardner, *Hist. of Anc. Coinage* (1918), 305; Regling as in last n.; Milne in *Numism. Chron.* V. iii (1923) 2; Meyer, *Grenzen*, 23; Büchner 745 bott.

of Klazomenai and Kypros should be subject to himself. Other Hellenic cities were to be free; but Lemnos, Imbros, and Skyros should belong as before to Athens. Persia and Sparta undertook to enforce these terms; but they were as a matter of fact accepted without resistance. This settlement must have involved the temporary dissolution of the recently revived Panionic League.

In the political history of Hellas between the Peace of Antalkidas and the campaigns of Alexandros, there is little that concerns Smyrna in any way. While the balance of power and the grouping of states shifted from time to time, the main situation continued unchanged. Rebellion on the part of certain satraps loosened the Great King's hold on sundry provinces in Asia Minor and elsewhere; and the old Panionic League may have had a sort of revival about 350 B.C. But by 344 B.C. the power of Persia was re-established over the whole western coast of Asia Minor, through the efforts of the new satrap, Mentor of Rhodos. In 336 B.C. the efficient and aggressive Philippos of Makedonia, to whom Isokrates had years before suggested a grand attack on Persia, was assassinated; and the execution of his plans devolved upon his son and successor, the youthful Alexandros.

Before discussing the deeds of Alexandros, we ought to take note of certain facts connected with the literary history of the period in which Smyrna was concerned. The new king of Makedonia had had for his tutor the great philosopher Aristoteles, whose story regarding the birth of Homeros at Smyrna has already been quoted.¹ Aristoteles also prepared for his royal pupil a corrected copy of the 'Ilias'. One may conjecture that it was under his tuition that Alexandros was first fired with his enthusiastic admiration for the poem and his wish to be regarded as a second Akhilleus. The birth of Homeros at Smyrna was narrated in a somewhat different form by another contemporary—the historian Ephoros of Kyme.² Yet another writer of the same period, the otherwise unknown geographer whose 'Periplous' has come down to us under the erroneous name of Skylax, mentions in its place "Smyrna, in

¹See above, p. 74 n. 2.

²See above, p. 74 n. 3.

which Homeros was".¹ The strong local veneration for Homeros led to the occurrence of a real tragedy at Smyrna, if the story be true that Zoïlos, a fourth-century grammarian of Amphipolis, who bitterly criticized the fabulous element in the great epics, was burnt alive on a pyre at the poet's reputed birthplace.² Another literary man of the period was, according to some accounts, himself a native of Smyrna. This was Antiphanes, the celebrated and prolific comic dramatist, one of the most eminent poets of the Middle Comedy. Most of his work, however, was apparently done at Athens, where he flourished about 385-335 B.C.³ A couple of other notices about Smyrna at this time are concerned with less literary matters. At the battle of Khaironeia in 338 B.C., Philippos of Makedonia had in his retinue an Egyptian wit, musician, and gourmet, named Dorion. This man wrote a book on fish; and in it he spoke of the sharks and cartilaginous fishes that abounded in the Gulf of Smyrna. Diokles of Karystos, a famous physician who lived in the latter half of the fourth century B.C., declared that the best lettuces obtainable were grown in Galatia and at Smyrna.⁴ A picture of a draped Grace by the well-known painter of this epoch, Apelles, later adorned the Odeion at Smyrna.⁵

In the spring of 334 B.C., Alexandros crossed the Hellespont to begin his great campaign against the Persian Empire. After paying a ceremonial visit to Iliion, he annihilated at the River Granikos the first Persian army that met him, and then marched

¹See above, p. 74 n. 1. There were two Skylaxes—one of Karyanda, \pm 500 B.C., the other of Halikarnassos, II/B.C. The 'Periplous', which used to be regarded as the former's work, is now known to have been written about 350 B.C. The fact that it mentions Smyrna at a time when there was no city, but only a group of villages, was a perplexity to some of the older scholars, but in reality is easily explicable. Cf. Mylonas 28 n. 6; Cherbuliez i. 20 ("Si cette ville ruinée ne tomba pas dans un total oubli pendant sa longue disparition de la scène de l'histoire, elle le dut sans doute au grand nom d'Homère"), 26; Slaars 70, 124 f. (Skylax makes no mention of the "closed harbour" of Smyrna because it formed no

part of the Smyrna which then existed); Weber, *Sipylos*, 109.

²Vitruv. VII intr. 9 (158: "Alii enim scripserunt a Philadelpho esse in crucem fixum, nonnulli Chii ei lapides esse coniectos, alii Zmyrnae vivum in pyram coniectum. Quorum utrum ei acciderit, merenti digna constitit poena"). But it seems clear that Zoïlos flourished about 360-330 B.C., and could not have been a contemporary of Ptolemaios Philadelphos.

³Souidas, s.v. 'Αντιφάνης: Kaibel in Pauly I (1894) 2519.

⁴See above, p. 21 n. 2, and p. 22 n. 1.

⁵See above, p. 89 n. 2, and below, p. 180 n. 3.

south to Sardeis, which was thrown open to him. He restored to the Lydians their ancient laws and liberties, and made new arrangements for the government of the satrapy. Asandros was made governor of Lydia and Ionia, the military and financial duties being entrusted to two other officials. The next immediate military objective was Ephesos; and thither doubtless did the army of Alexandros directly proceed. But the story was current later that at this time he himself paid a personal visit to Smyrna. According to Pausanias, it was said that he went hunting on Mt. Pagos, and, when his sport was over, came to the temple of the Nemeseis there, and lay down to sleep under a plane-tree in front of the temple and beside a spring: the Nemeseis appeared to him in his sleep, and bade him found a city there, and transfer into it the Smyrnaians of the former city: the latter, on receiving the king's invitation, sent for advice to the oracle of Apollon at Klaros near Kolophon, and were told in reply: "Thrice and four times happy will those men be, who are going to inhabit Pagos beyond the sacred Meles"; they therefore willingly changed their abode. Thus Alexandros became the oikist of the Smyrna which Pausanias knew.¹

Much discussion has taken place concerning the trustworthiness of this story. Several grounds can be alleged for treating it as legendary. There is, to begin with, the lateness of the evidence. Pausanias wrote about the middle of the second century A.D.; and while the simple statement of Plinius that Alexandros restored Smyrna² is a century earlier, it is still late: Strabo is silent on the whole matter; and the other witnesses are for the most part either contemporary with, or later than, Pausanias. Thus, Aristeides speaks of the dream of Alexandros and his re-establishment of the city, and links Smyrna and Alexandria together as his two greatest memorials³: while the extant coins depicting the two Nemeseis appearing

¹Paus. VII. v. 1 ('*Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὁ Φιλίππου τῆς ἐφ' ἡμῶν πόλεως ἐγένετο οἰκιστῆς κατ' ὄμιν ὀνειράτος*), 2 ('*Ἀλέξανδρον γὰρ θηρεύοντα ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῷ Πάγῳ, . . . καὶ ὑπὸ τῇ πλατάνῳ καθεύδοντι κελεύει φαῖν αὐτῷ τὰς Νεμέσεις ἐπιφανείσας πόλιν ἐνταῦθα οἰκίσαι καὶ ἄγειν ἐς αὐτὴν Σμυρναίους, ἀναστήσαντα ἐκ τῆς προτέρας*), 3 (see above, p. 11 n. 1).

²Plin. *Nat. Hist.* v. 29 (118): "restituta ab Alexandro in ora Zmyrna".

³Aristeides xxii, 431 (xx. 5, 7: . . . 'Ἀλεξάνδρου μὲν οὖν ὕπνος ἄδεται προοίμιον τῆς κατοικίσεως ἔχων, . . .), 436 (20: . . . 'Ἀλέξανδρος ὕστερον εἰς τοῦτο τὸ σχῆμα προήγαγεν), xxii, 440 (xxi. 4: Smyrna and Alexandria), xli, 763 (xix. 4).

to the sleeping king belong to the reigns of Marcus Aurelius, Gordianus, and Philippos.¹ There are, moreover, some internal difficulties. Alexandros is said to have reached Ephesos on the fourth day after leaving Sardeis²; and as the march from Sardeis to Ephesos (60 miles) was usually reckoned to take three days,³ little time seems left for the détour to Smyrna, unless we exclude the time needed for consulting the oracle. Nothing else is known of any temple of the Nemeseis on Mt. Pagos at this period. And lastly, the foundation of new Smyrna is confidently attributed by Strabo, not to Alexandros, but to Antigonos and Lysimakhos, who can hardly have been directly interested in the locality until after the death of Alexandros eleven years later.

It is, however, doubtful whether these difficulties make the legendary character of the story (the existence of which has in any case to be accounted for) more probable than its substantial truthfulness. In regard to the date of the record, we have to remember that most of the literary records of the doings of Alexandros are late; and Pausanias is our sole authority for many quite credible statements regarding far earlier times than his own. Even if Arrianus be correct as to the number of days, the difficulty is not serious, especially if we may suppose that Alexandros travelled with only a small party to Smyrna, and that the consultation of the oracle took place after his departure. It is inherently likely that an enthusiast for Homeros such as he is known to have been would not want to miss the poet's now well-advertised birth-place, just as he had made a point of not missing Ilion.⁴ There is no reason at all why he could not have gone hunting on or near Mt. Pagos (then probably wooded), and have settled down to rest at a temple of the Nemeseis built somewhere on that extensive hill. Modern psychology could without difficulty explain the dream itself as the product of the king's reflections during his waking

¹Mionnet iii. 231 (1296 f.), 250 (1410 f.), *supp.* vi. 343 (1707); *B.M.C. Ionia*, 279 (346), 294 (442), 296 (452); Heinrich Brunn, *Kleine Schriften*, iii (1906) 196 f. The coin reported by Mionnet (iii. 229 [1279]) as depicting the head of Antinoüs (favourite of Hadrianus) and the dream of Alex. is noted as "retouché", and cannot therefore be relied upon.

²Arrian. *Anab.* I. xvii. 10.

³Xenophon, *Hellen.* III. ii. 11.

⁴"The temper of Alexander was such as to make him peculiarly sensitive to historic or legendary associations, and turn his special interest to places glorified by a great past" (Bevan, *House of Seleuc.* i. 108).

hours. The pressure of affairs and his premature death would account for the fact that virtually nothing was actually done until the Diadokhoi were able to take it in hand. There is therefore no necessity to regard the story of Pausanias as fictitious: Alexandros, with his deep veneration for Homeros and his masterly appreciation of a valuable site, seriously initiated the project of a restoration, but was prevented by circumstances from executing it. If we might conjecture that Antigonos and Lysimakhos were among his hunting-companions on this occasion, their subsequent proceedings in the matter would be even more easily explained.¹

It was, however, at Ephesos that Alexandros attended seriously to the affairs of the Hellenic cities. Not only did he establish a democratic constitution there; but he sent Lysimakhos with a body of troops northwards to free the Ionic and Aiolic cities from their pro-Persian oligarchies, to establish in them democratic governments, and to abolish the tribute. In some places a Makedonian garrison made the new arrangements secure. The cities so won over were connected together in groups, one of which was probably a revived Panionic League, with a new festival celebrated successively in different cities in the conqueror's honour.²

After taking Miletos and Halikarnassos, and completing the subjugation of south-western Asia Minor, Alexandros passed on conquering into the distant east; and ten years elapsed before he returned to Babylon from his triumphant circuit through and beyond the territories of the Persian empire. Among the numerous schemes that occupied his attention during the months spent at Babylon was one for the construction of a canal through the isthmus joining the peninsula of Mt. Mimas to the mainland. The Knidians began it,

¹Chandler i. 72 f. (site); Lane 23-25, 42; Cherbuliez, i. 25 (Homeric interest), 26-30 (site, credibility, etc.); Mylonas 29-32 (sceptical); Slaars 10, 13, 16 n., 95 f., 98 f. (CI), 116, 121-123 (understands the "hunting" as the investigation of the ruins of a Lelegian fortress!); Tsakyrog-lou i. 50-60, ii. 65 f.; Feldmann 53 n. 3 (disbelieves); Cuinet 442; Beloch, *Griech. Gesch.* IV. i. 276 n. 1; Büchner 762 f. (story contains some truth); Tarn in *C.A.H.* vi. 429 ("... towns that he planned and others built, like Smyrna;

...": but Tarn's account of this campaign contains no allusion to a visit of Alexandros to Smyrna; cf. 362); Tschirikower 24, 130, 142 (story legendary); Coman, *L'idée de la Némésis chez Eschyle*, 27 f. (Nemeseis instruct Alex. in their capacity as the city's founders).

²Caspari argues (in *J.H.S.* xxxv [1915] 183 f.) that the Panionic League was revived, and the "Alexandria" instituted, after Alexandros' death, under his immediate successors.

but were stopped by the Delphic oracle; and it was never completed.¹

Alexandros died at Babylon in 323 B.C.; and several succeeding decades were filled with the schemes and conflicts of his generals and their sons, the Diadokhoi (i.e. "Successors"), who shared out his dominions among themselves. Asandros had in 331 B.C. been succeeded in the government of Lydia and Ionia by Menandros; and to the latter these provinces were again entrusted in the first settlement after the king's death. A great part of western Asia Minor came under the control of Antigonos, one of the senior generals. At a redistribution in 321 B.C., Lydia and Ionia went to Kleitos. Antigonos managed to oust him in 319 B.C., and within the next few years to make himself paramount in the peninsula. In 311 B.C. he concluded a treaty with Lysimakhos of Thrace, Kassandros of Makedonia, and Ptolemaios of Egypt, whereby he was recognized as sovereign of all Asia—with the proviso that the Hellenic cities should be independent. Next year he was accused by Ptolemaios of not having complied with this condition by the withdrawal of his troops. Despite constant wars, however, Antigonos maintained his position for another ten years.

The foundation of new cities and the reconditioning of old ones formed part of the regular policy of the new rulers and their successors.² Such places were useful for military security and domination, commercial prosperity, cultural advancement, and dynastic glory.³ It was probably towards the end of his reign that Antigonos took steps towards the fulfilment of the earlier decision of Alexandros to re-establish the city of Smyrna. Except for the bare fact that he did so, and that he left the work incomplete, no particulars as to his proceedings have reached us.⁴

¹Plin. *Nat. Hist.* v. 29 (116); Paus. II. i. 5.

²According to Tarn (*C.A.H.* vi. 429), they caught the inspiration from Alexandros himself. Cf. Tschirikower, *passim*.

³Cf. Ramsay, *Seven Chs.* 128-135; Boulanger 2n. ("... Une Asie nouvelle et tout hellénique s'est constituée à cette époque").

⁴Our sole authority is Strabo XIV. i.

37 (646: *εἶτα* [i.e. after the village-period] ἀνήγειρον αὐτῆν Ἀντίγονος). Oikonomos (in Slaars 15) states without foundation: "Après la mort d'Alexandre Smyrne devint la capitale de l'Ionie et le siège d'Antigone . . ." Cf. Lane 24; Feldmann 23 f., 53 f. (fitness and beauty of site chosen); Niese i. 311, 398; Bevan, *House of Seleuc.* i. 116; Meyer, *Grenzen*, 23; Tarn in *C.A.H.* vi. 491; Tschirikower 157, 160, 164.

The credit of having made the scheme for a new Smyrna a fait accompli belongs to the successful foe of Antigonos, Lysimakhos. This prince invaded Asia Minor from Thrace in 302 B.C., and obtained control of several important cities. Next year Antigonos was defeated by Lysimakhos and Seleukos I of Syria at Ipsos in Phrygia, and slain. The whole of western Asia Minor was allotted to the victorious king of Thrace as his share of the spoils, though, owing to the loyalty of several Hellenic cities (including some on the coasts of Ìonia and Karia) to Antigonos and to his son Demetrios (who was still master of the sea), six years elapsed before the conqueror's authority was fully established throughout his new dominions. One of the last places to be secured was Ephesos (295 B.C.). But although his Asiatic provinces were now completely mastered, Lysimakhos was for a time prevented by his wars with the Getai in Europe (294-290 B.C.) from attending closely to their administration.¹

As soon, however, as his hands were free, he turned energetically to the reorganization of the Ionic cities, among which—in 287/286 B.C.—Demetrios made a last unsuccessful campaign. About 290 B.C. he ordered the Ephesians to transfer their city to a more convenient site in the neighbourhood, and the inhabitants of Lebedos and Kolophon to join them and to abandon their existing city-settlements to destruction. The Kolophonians resented these high-handed proceedings, and were supported by the Smyrnaians; but their combined forces were defeated by Lysimakhos between Kolophon and Klaros. The place where the dead were buried was afterwards shown. Opposition being quelled, the scheme in its entirety was carried out. Lysimakhos bestowed upon the new Ephesos the name of "Arsinoeia" in honour of his wife Arsinoë, the daughter of Ptolemaios, and established in it an oligarchical constitution in place of the old democracy.²

¹Milne (in *Numism. Chron.* V. iii [1923] 3-6) assigns to the period 301-288 B.C., i.e. before Lysimakhos renamed Smyrna "Eurydikeia", the earliest Lysimakheian bronze tetradrachms of Smyrna, stamped with a tripod and the head of Apollon. Cf. *B.M.C. Ionia*, 238 (9-12).

²Paus. I. ix. 7, VII. iii. 4 (ἐμαχέσαντο δὲ Ἀσσιμαχῶν καὶ Μακεδόσι Κολοφώνιοι τῶν

ἀνοικισθέντων ἐς Ἐφεσον μόνοι. τοῖς δὲ ἀποθανοῦσιν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ Κολοφωνίων τε αὐτῶν καὶ Σμυρναίων ἐστὶν ὁ τάφος ἰόντι ἐς Κλάρον ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ), 5; Mylonas 35 f.; Feldmann 57-59; Tsakyroglou i. 62 f.; Niese i. 398; Mommsen, *Provinces*, i. 322; Geyer in Pauly XIV (1930) 12, 25; Tarn in *C.A.H.* vii. 91.

It was doubtless at the same time that Lysimakhos definitely undertook to give effect to the unfinished schemes of Alexandros and Antigonos for the creation of a new city of Smyrna in place of the previously existing cluster of imperfectly organized villages. It was he who was par excellence the founder of the city which has since his time stood between Mt. Pagos and the sea.¹ It has been plausibly suggested that he was moved to take this step by a favourite and loyal agent, Artemidoros, the son of Apollodoros. This man went to Athens for him, helped the Athenaians in their negotiations with him, and in March 287 B.C. was rewarded with civic honours by a decree of the Athenaiian Council and People. The remaining fragments of this decree do not explicitly preserve the name of his city; but there are good reasons for guessing that it called him a Smyrnaian.² We have no knowledge as to how much had been done towards the erection of walls and buildings when Lysimakhos took the matter in hand; but at least the site of the Akropolis and the general position of the city on the slopes and the low ground adjoining them must have been already decided upon.³ The physical features of the locality and its distance from the nearest important towns have been described above.⁴ Its centre must have lain about three and a half miles in a straight line from the shore at Old Smyrna,⁵ which place still continued to be inhabited.⁶ The advantages of the site as regards military security and civic and commercial convenience were conspicuous. The sheltered calm of the Gulf largely compensated for

¹Strabo XIV. i. 37 (646: *εἶτα ἀνήγειρεν αὐτὴν Ἀντίγονος, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα Λυσίμαχος*); Aristeides xli, 763 (xix. 4): Mylonas 30 f.; Feldmann 51, 54; Liebenam 446 f.; Tschirikower 120 (the restoration a genuine "Wohltat"), 162-164 (date, etc.); Geyer in Pauly XIV (1930) 26.

²I.G. II. i. 319 = I.G.² II f. i. 662-663: Chester in *A.F.A.* xviii (1914) 165-184, esp. 173.

³Strabo l.c. (*μέρος μὲν τι ἔχουσα ἐπ' ὄρει τεταχισμένον, τὸ δὲ πλεόν ἐν πεδίῳ πρὸς τῷ λιμένι καὶ πρὸς τῷ Μητροῶν καὶ πρὸς γυμνασίῳ*). This is presumably the passage on which Tarn bases his statement (*Hellen. Civl.* 276) that Smyrna was "built in three separate blocks, . . .": but I doubt whether the phrase means more than that the harbour, the Metroön, and

the gymnasium lay on the outskirts of the city in three different directions (see also below, p. 175 n. 4).

⁴See above, pp. 14-22.

⁵See above, p. 60.

⁶So perhaps we may infer from the language of Strabo (see above, p. 60 n. 1) and Pausanias (see above, p. 57 n. 2). Cf. Aristeides xv, 371 (xvii. 2: city "founded by a third hand"), 372 (4: the passage quoted above, p. 59 n. 4, continues, after some intervening words, *τρίτῳ δέ, ὡς οἱ ποιηταὶ καλοῦσιν, βήματι κινηθεῖσα ἢ πόλις εἰς ἓν τόδε κατέστη τὸ σχῆμα*). (But in xxi 436 f. [xx. 20] he reckons the city built after the earthquake of 178 A.D. as that raised by the "third hand"). See also below, p. 107 n. 2, and p. 184 n. 1.



CASTLE-RUINS ON MT. PAGOS
from a photograph of about 1880

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the long sail involved in coming to Smyrna from the Aegæan Sea. By land, access to the interior, as well as to the coast-towns, was easy. The heights offered ample opportunity for watching the approaches to the city in all directions. The small harbour, which lay where the Bazaars now are, formed an excellent centre for the commercial life of the place; and the merchant-ship pictured on Smyrnaian coins witnesses to the local appreciation of at least one ground of the city's prosperity: while the slopes of Mt. Pagos and the general lie of the land afforded suitable positions for all needful public buildings.¹

The Akropolis was built on Mt. Pagos, and embraced at least the western portion of that eminence. How much more of the elongated summit—nearly 600 yards long—it included seems uncertain, for the bits of Hellenic masonry still traceable below (and sometimes built into) the later Roman and Byzantine superstructure which is still standing, are most in evidence at the western, and particularly at the south-western, extremity of the enclosure, where a tower is said to consist of Hellenic work up to a third of its height. On the whole it seems likely that the Akropolis, being designed to serve as a place of refuge for the inhabitants with their movables in case of danger, would comprise the entire summit. The abrupt southern edge would form an excellent line of defence. The thick ring-wall consisted of large, well-cut stones, fitted closely together without cement; but the different courses were not all of the same thickness. There were, apparently, gates on the east, west, and north.² It should also be noted that the large underground reservoir, with pillar-supported roof, which formed part of the mediaeval reconstruction of the Castle, probably marks

¹Chandler i. 72 f.; *B.M.C. Ionia*, 258 f. (190-204), 289 (407-409, 412), 299 (471 f.); Ramsay, *Seven Chs.* 252 f., 266 f.; Bürchner 734 f., 747. See also above, pp. 14 f., 69.

²Though many travellers have visited and described the ruins on Mt. Pagos, we have no complete scientific and illustrated account of them. George Weber intended to produce such an account (*Sipylos*, Avant-propos, n.), but did not live to carry out his project. As the summit is now no longer occupied by the post-War Turkish military authorities, it is to be hoped that a fresh and thorough

investigation may soon be made. The particulars in the text are culled from Texier 304 b, 305a; Prokesch, *Denkwürd.* i. 516f. and in *J.L.* lxxiii. 60; Hamilton i. 53 f.; Marmier II. 17; Slaars 119-125 (labours to prove from the masonry, etc., that the first to fortify the top of Mt. Pagos were the Lelegians); Tsakyroglou ii. 66 f.; Le Camus, *Sept Églises*, 263; Weber in Wilson 73a, 74b; Bürchner 747, 752. A poetical tomb-inscription of possibly pre-imperial times, found on Mt. Pagos, describes the tomb as *πρὸς πατρίδος χάρακι* (*R.E.G.* xii [1899] 388 f. [23]).

the site of a cistern dug in the earliest days of the city for the purpose of ensuring an adequate water-supply in the event of a siege. The hill also had a certain number of small springs.¹

The area of the city enclosed by the two walls which ran down from Mt. Pagos to the sea did not quite coincide with that of the modern city. It included spaces to the south of the latter which were virtually unoccupied at least until recent times, while it excluded on the north and east a good half of modern Smyrna, chiefly the parts known—prior to the last war—as the Frank and Greek quarters. In the imperial period the city-boundary lay considerably to the east of its original position. The towered walls built by Lysimakhos have almost entirely disappeared; a few fragments are visible here and there, and by combining these traces with information furnished by travellers of former times, it is possible to indicate roughly the lines which the walls followed. The southern wall began at the south-western corner of the Akropolis, and curved south-westwards along the saddle connecting Mt. Pagos with the steep hill on the north slope of which the Stadion was built. Fragments of it were till recently visible near the Stadion. Skirting the southern edge of that hill, the wall described a shallow curve to the north across the low ground occupied by the cemeteries, and then ran westwards along the southern edge of Deirman-Tepé, and so north-westwards to the sea. The north-eastern wall began apparently near the western end of the northern wall of the Akropolis, descended the hill to the east of the Theatre, and ran in a northerly and then north-north-westerly direction to a point not far from Basma-Hané station, where it turned sharply to the left. A stretch of the wall near this angle and one or two other pieces were till lately still to be seen. Soon turning sharply to the north again, and passing west of the late Armenian reading-room, it described another right-angle, and continued in a more or less straight line to the sea, which it met a little to the north of the point where Frank Street now merges into the Bazaars. It should be remembered that the sea extended in those days beyond where Frank Street now runs, and filled the Bazaar-area—also that the northernmost

¹Weber, *Wasserleit.* 4, 6, 183-186; Philippson ii. 34.

"Point" of the delta of the Caravan-Bridge-River did not lie so far north as it does now.¹

There were two main gates, corresponding to the two main roads connecting Smyrna with the outside world. In the southern wall, immediately to the east of Deirman-Tepé, was the Ephesian Gate, through which passed the road to Kolophon, Ephesos, and the south, probably with a branch also westwards along the coast. Through a gate in the other wall, at the corner just south of Basma-Hané station, ran the road to the east, across what is now called the Caravan-Bridge and past the hillock Tepejik and the springs of Halka-Bunar.²

In regard to the streets, temples, and other buildings of the city, which do not lend themselves to a chronological description, and concerning which most of our information refers to the Roman imperial period, it will be best to defer our account of them until a later point in the story.³

As Lysimakhos had re-named Ephesos "Arsinoeia" in

¹The fire of 1922 almost completely obliterated the few remaining fragments of the north-eastern wall. These, however, had fortunately been examined and described by Walter (228-232) a few years before. Storari's map of 1857 (not easily accessible) marks most of the pieces: the map in the 1878-edition of Wilson's *Handbook* marks the portion near Basma-Hané station; and that and the 1895-map show the southern wall. The fullest account of the walls is derivable from Walter (228-232), Fontrier's art. in *R.E.A.* ix (1907) 114-116 (2 f., 5, 7, 15), 119 f. (37 f., 52-57), and Storari's map combined. The north-eastern wall was later extended as to include a portion of ground beyond the stream described above, p. 14 n. 3: see below, p. 147, pp. 174 f. n. 6., and p. 268 n. 3. Cf. also Chandler i. 78; Prokesch, *Denkwürd.* i. 521 and in *J.L.* lxxviii. 62; Texier 305a, 307a; Hamilton i. 53; Storari 31 f., 35 f., 37, 39, 41-43, 46 f. (valuable details); Slaars 54 (quoting Pococke); Tsakyroglou ii. 53 f., 67 f.; Weber in Wilson 73 f.; Conze in *Arch. Anz.* xiv (1899) 15b; Calder in *East. Prov.* 103, 107; Bürchner 749-751, 763; and see the map at the end of this vol. The inscription in *S.I.G.* 961 = *Mouv.* II. ii f. 51 (120) = *R.A.* xxxii (1876) 41-44 mentions two towers called respectively 'Αγαθὴ Τύχη and Εὐ-

ετηρία; that in *S.E.G.* iv. 627 = *Mouv.* V. i. 5 (206) two more named after Herakles and the Dioskouroi; that in *S.E.G.* iv. 628 = *Mouv.* V. i. 28 (252) two more, named after Artemis and Leto: but it is uncertain to what periods these inscriptions belong (see below, p. 115 n. 1 fin. and p. 139 n. 2). For other possible towers, see *G.I.B.M.* 1025, and below, p. 279 n. 2.

²Aristeides xxiii, 450 (xlvii. 20: ταῖς πόλεις ταῖς εἰς Ἐφεσον φερούσας), xli, 766 (xix. 11: see below, p. 139 n. 1 fin.); Pionios (?), *Vit. Polyc.* iii. 2 (τὴν [sc. πόλιν τὴν] καλουμένην Ἐφesiaκήν), 4 (τὴν προειρημένην πόλιν), viii (?) (widows living ἄγχι τῇ πόλει), xx. 4 (εἰς Σμύρναν εἰς τὸ πρὸ τῆς Ἐφesiaκῆς βασιλείας [sc. πόλης] κομητήριον. *Βασιλείας* is a mystery: Schwartz [*De Pionio et Pol.* 28] conjectures a sanctuary of Basile, goddess of the Ephesian Basileidai [cf. *S.I.G.* 93]: but there is no evidence for such a sanctuary or goddess at Smyrna, whereas we know there was an Ephesian Gate: for the omission of πόλις, cf. *Joh.* v. 2): Prokesch, *Denkwürd.* i. 521 and in *J.L.* lxxvii. 63; Storari 36; Lightfoot iii. 434 f. n.; Ramsay, *Hist. Geog.* 35 n., 165; Weber in Wilson 73b, 74a; Corssen in *Z.N.W.* v (1904) 288 with n.; Fontrier in *R.E.A.* ix (1907) 115 (4, 10 f.); Ramsay in *H.D.B.* iv. 554b; Bürchner 751.

³See below, pp. 173 ff.

honour of his wife Arsinoe, so he bestowed on Smyrna the name "Eurydikeia" derived from that of his daughter Eurydike. Bronze coins were struck at Smyrna designating the inhabitants *EYPYΔΙΚΕΩΝ*. This must have been before 287 B.C., when Eurydike was imprisoned by her father for having championed against him the claims of her husband Antipatros (son of Kassandros) to the throne of Makedonia. Her disgrace probably accounts for the early discontinuance of Smyrna's new name.¹

Thus was Smyrna once more constituted a city in the full sense of the word—completely autonomous in name at least, and in reality nearly so, especially as regards her internal affairs.

¹*B.M.C. Ionia*, 56 (75-77); Imhoof-Blumer in *J.O.A.I.* viii (1905) 229 f.; Head, *Hist. Num.* 592; Meyer, *Grenzen*, 35-37; Geyer in Pauly XIV (1930) 26;

Milne in *Numism. Chron.* V. iii (1923) 2-7 (dates the coins 288-281 B.C.); Tarn in *C.A.H.* vii. 92; Tscherikower 24 f.

THE NEW SMYRNA AS AN INDEPENDENT CITY (288—129 B.C.)

LYSIMAKHOS, though unpopular on account of his avarice and meanness, acquitted himself well as a founder and patron of cities; and his services to Smyrna in particular apparently did not end with the re-creation of it as a municipal entity on a new and advantageous site. For there seems reason to believe that it was at his suggestion and that of his wife Arsinoe that Smyrna was—on the formal proposal of the Ephesians—elected as the thirteenth member of the Panionic League, which (as has been said) Alexandros had probably revived, and which Lysimakhos himself tolerated and favoured.¹

This Panionic status must have been granted to Smyrna almost immediately on her refoundation; for not later than the very beginning of 288 B.C., she took part in a decision jointly made by the thirteen cities of the League to honour with praise, exemption from taxes throughout Ionia, and a bronze equestrian statue in the Panionic temple, the Milesian Hippostratos, who had been appointed by his friend Lysimakhos General over the Ionic cities, and whose sway had been just and popular.²

The degree, however, to which Lysimakhos himself had forfeited the esteem of his Hellenic subjects generally was seen in their readiness to side with his rival Seleukos I, king of Syria, when war broke out between them in 281 B.C. Lysi-

¹Some obscurity surrounds this point. Vitruvius (i/B.C.), after recording the destruction of Melia (see above, pp.64 f.) proceeds: "cuius loco postea regis Attali et Arsinoes beneficio Zmyrnaeorum civitas inter Ionas est recepta" (Vitruv. IV. i. 4 [85]). Scholars can make nothing of "Attali et Arsinoes"; and the possibility that "Attali" is an error for "Lysimachi" is suggested by the mention of Arsinoe. Strabo says (XIV. i. 4 [633]) that the Ephesians introduced Smyrna to the League (*ἄδται μὲν δώδεκα Ἴωνικαὶ πόλεις,*

προσέλθθη δὲ χρόνους ὕστερον καὶ Σμύρνα, εἰς τὸ Ἴωνικὸν ἐναγαρόντων Ἐφεσίων) ἦσαν γὰρ αὐτοῖς σὺνοικοὶ τὸ παλαιόν, . . .). For the testimony of Pausanias and the improbability that Smyrna belonged to the Panionic League *before* this time, see above, pp. 67 f. Cf. Lane 18; Tsakyroglou i. 35 f.; Chapot 457 f.; Wilam.-Moell. in *S.P.A.* 1906, 38, 50 f.; Caspari in *J.H.S.* xxxv (1915) 178, 185 f.; Lenschau 1890 f.

²*S.I.G.* 368: cf. Geyer in Pauly XIV (1930) 12.

makhos was defeated and slain, and his dominions passed temporarily into the conqueror's hands. But on crossing the Hellespont to revisit Makedonia, Seleukos was assassinated (280 B.C.). His son Antiokhos I, whom he had left in charge of Asia, succeeded to the difficult task of governing his vast dominions.

The fall of Lysimakhos and the confusion in which Antiochos was at first involved afforded an opportunity to the Hellenic cities—Smyrna, Ephesos, and the island-states among others—to resume their independence.¹ The position of these cities during the period between the death of Alexander and the coming of the Romans was fluctuating and uncertain. They had continually to be on their guard against the machinations of warring kings, and were driven, now to take arms, now to comply, now to intrigue, in order to maintain their existence and freedom. Nominally, indeed, their freedom was recognized throughout, even although in some cases the presence of a royal garrison put serious limits to the practical enjoyment of it. The cities were, however, able to maintain greater liberty than their inherent strength might seem to warrant, owing to the endless discord among the kings and the constant vicissitudes incidental to their conflicts. While thus with difficulty holding their royal neighbours at arm's length, the Hellenic communities exercised no little influence over them as the sources whence they drew their wives and concubines, ministers and generals, engineers and artists, secretaries and agents.²

In regard to Smyrna itself, we can say in a general way that, when once it was fairly set on its feet, it shot ahead in prosperity and brilliance, and, though inferior to Ephesos in size and importance, it speedily became one of the most conspicuous cities of the coast.³ The death of Lysimakhos meant that the

¹Cf. Mylonas 36f. n.10 (quoting Droyssen); Tsakyrogliou i. 63.

²Cf. Grote, *Greece*, xii. 293 f.; Holm, *Greece*, iv. 116 f., 132 f., 217; Bevan, *House of Seleuc.* i. 100-110; Chapot 14-16; Ferguson in *C.A.H.* vii. 24 f.; Tarn, *Hellen. Civil.* 59-64. On the position of the Panionic League in particular, cf. Caspari in *J.H.S.* xxxv (1915) 185-187.

³Mommsen, *Provinces*, i. 325 f.; Has-

luck in *A.B.S.A.* xxiii (1918-1919) 146 f.; Toynbee, *Western Question in Greece and Turkey*, 149; Beloch, *Griech. Gesch.* IV. i. 274-276; Tschirikower 24, 164. I have not been able to discover any evidence that Smyrna definitely belonged to the league of Hellenic cities headed by Rhodos, either as early as iii/B.C. (as is stated by Hogarth in Wilson [31] and suggested by Mommsen, *Rome*, ii. 405-407), or later. Nor does there seem to be

name "Eurydikeia" was now silently dropped, if it had not indeed been already abandoned, and probably also that the constitution was changed from oligarchy to democracy.¹ Among the earlier inscriptions of the place is one which we may perhaps conjecture belongs to the first century of the new city: so far as its mutilated condition enables us to judge, it puts on record the thanks of the Smyrnaians to the Klazomenians for having arbitrated justly in a dispute between themselves and "the ancient city".² Another inscription which almost certainly came from Smyrna, and which has been thought, on account of its ionicisms, to be not much later than 300 B.C., gives the names of nearly ninety citizens who contributed specified sums towards the cost of some public work.³

In 278 B.C. Asia Minor was invaded by the warlike and predatory Galatians, who crossed from Thrace and were soon granted lands in the north-western interior, whence they raided the surrounding country. Inasmuch as "the natural communications of Galatia . . . went westwards . . . not however to the valley of the Caicus and Pergamum, but more south to the upper Hermus and so to Sardes and Smyrna",⁴ the last-named city probably experienced much alarm and danger from the barbarians. Consequently, when Antiokhos I (in 275 B.C.) defeated their main army with great slaughter, he earned the grateful and flattering praise of all whom he had released from terror, and was given the title "Soter" (i.e. "Saviour"). At some time after 267 B.C. the Panionic League (of course including

any authority for Bernoulli's statement (*Griech. Ikonographie*, i. 7k, copied by K. A. Esdaile in *J.H.S.* xxxii [1912] 319) that Amastris, on the north coast of Bithynia, was a colony of Smyrna, other than the existence of an Amastrian coin bearing the portrait of Homeros and the inscription *MEAHG*, which coin, however, is sufficiently accounted for by the interest of the Amastrians in the Homeric poems (so Lane 40 bott.).

¹See above, p. 104; and cf. Tsakyroglou i. 59, 62 f.; Imhoof-Blumer in *J.O.A.I.* vii (1905) 230; Büchner 763.

²*C.I.G.* 3184, with Boeckh's notes. It should, however, be stated that date and reconstruction are both conjectural. On the custom of thus employing a neighbouring city for settling internal disputes

(of which we meet other instances—see below, pp. 152-154), cf. Tarn in *C.A.H.* vii. 211.

³*C.I.G.* 3140. For the date, Collitz and Bechtel, *Sammlung der griech. Dialekt-Inschr.* III. ii (1905) 684 f.: cf. also Kuenzi 67, 79 f. For the bronze coins of Smyrna during the period 280-260 B.C., see Milne in *Numism. Chron.* V. iii (1923) 8-10, 12 f., 29 f.; each bears the head of Apollon, a magistrate's name, and the word *EMYPNAION*. Cf. *B.M.C. Ionia*, 238 f. (9-13); Head, *Hist. Num.* 592. Milne calculates (*op. cit.* 29) that in iii/B.C. Smyrna had about four monetary magistrates to a decade.

⁴Holm, *Greece*, iv. 279; cf. 94: also Tarn in *C.A.H.* vii. 105 f.

Smyrna) sent him a deputation, conferring divine honours on himself, his wife Stratonike, and their son Antiokhos, and begging him to maintain the favourable policy of his house towards the freedom and democratic government of the Ionic cities.¹ The Hellenic devotees of the Egyptian deity Anoubis at Smyrna erected (probably at this time) a stele to Anoubis, "on behalf of Queen Stratonike and of themselves", to wit, Herakleitos the son of Arkhigenes and his numerous "fellow-anoubiasts".² Antiokhos I and his minister (and perhaps son) Alexandros each conferred one lot of land and some immunity from taxation on Palai-Magnesia, a fortified spot close to Magnesia-near-Sipylos, garrisoned by a detachment of Makedonian infantry under an officer named Timon and a body of Persian troops under Omanes, Magnesia itself being perhaps already virtually in the possession of a military colony.³ In 262 B.C. Antiokhos I was defeated near Sardeis in a conflict with Eumenes, ruler of the newly-founded principality of Pergamon, and, dying shortly afterwards at Antiokheia, was succeeded by his son Antiokhos II (262/1-247 B.C.).

As the ally of Antigonos Gonatas of Makedonia, the new king soon found himself involved in war with Ptolemaios II of Egypt. Ephesos passed under the latter's control, and possibly Magnesia-near-Sipylos also.⁴ With a view to checking the Egyptian advance, Antiokhos II went out of his way to

¹*O.G.I.* 222: cf. Meyer, *Grenzen*, 90 f. On Hellenistic deification of Seleukids, etc., cf. Ferguson in *C.A.H.* vii. 13-22.

²*Mous.* I. 84 (59): cf. Fontrier in *R.E.A.* iv (1902) 192 f.; Tarn in *C.A.H.* vii. 93 n. ("She rebuilt Atargatis' temple at Bambyce-Hierapolis, and joined a club at Smyrna which worshipped Anubis (Michel 1223); doubtless she saw in them all forms of one deity"). Tarn infers (*Antigonos Gonatas*, 349) that Stratonike lived at Smyrna. The doubt expressed by Kaerst (*Gesch. des hellenist. Zeitalters*, II. i [1909] 275 n. 3) as to the probability of a cult of Anoubis being connected with the Seleukids, seems groundless. On religious and other clubs in the Hellenistic period, cf. Ferguson in *C.A.H.* vii. 34 f.

³*C.I.G.* 3137 = *O.G.I.* 229, ll. 100-105 (. . . και τους τε κληρους αυτων τους δυο, ον τε ο Θεος και Σωτηρ 'Αντιοχος επεχωρησεν αυτοις και περι ου 'Αλιξανδρος γεγρα-

φηκεν, . . .). The king here referred to as ο Θεός και Σωτηρ 'Αντιοχος is probably Ant. I, not II; for though the latter was "Theos", he was not "Soter", and clearly any deified monarch could be called "Theos". Cf. Feldmann 88 with n. 1; Haussoullier in *Rev. de Philol.* xxiv (1900) 328 f.; Dittenberger in *O.G.I.* i. 374 f. (nn. 51, 53); and see below, pp. 125 f. On the Makedonian military colonies generally, cf. Feldmann 86 (their hereditary character); Schulten in *Hermes*, xxxii (1897) 523-537, esp. 533 f. (he refers to the Macedonian military colonies for whom see below, p. 163 n. 2); Dittenberger in *O.G.I.* i. 374 (n. 52); Meyer, *Grenzen*, 126. On the settlements at Palai-Magnesia, Feldmann 89 f.; Dittenberger, *op. cit.* nn. 51-61. On Magnesia itself, see below, pp. 114 ff.

⁴Niese ii. 134 n. 5; Bevan, *House of Seleuc.* i. 174. See also below, p. 114 n. 1.

make himself popular with the Ionic cities, and found his sentiments in this direction cordially reciprocated. He formally recognized and confirmed their democratic autonomy—that of Smyrna and Erythrai among others.¹ He won the favour of the Milesians and the title “Theos” by expelling their despot Timarkhos; he recaptured Ephesos, and drove the Egyptian forces out of Ionia and the neighbouring regions. He also founded new cities. Smyrna, with a characteristic and instinctive sense of what her interests demanded, fell in heartily with the prevalent spirit of gratitude and adulation. She accorded divine honours and probably erected statues to the popular king and his mother Stratonike.² Smyrnaian coins of the period 260–245 B.C. are thought to use a portrait of Antiochos II to represent the god Apollon³; and the names of the queen-mother, the king, and the king’s wife were introduced into the Smyrnaian calendar.⁴

After a heavy defeat off Kos in 258 B.C., Ptolemaios made

¹*C.I.G.* 3137 = *O.G.I.* 229, ll. 10 f., as interpreted by Couve in *B.C.H.* xviii (1894) 231 f. and Schürer, *G. J. V.* iii. 125 n. Cf. Josep. *Antiq.* XII. iii. 2 init. (125); Feldmann 81 f. (Seleukidai favoured democracy more than Ptolemaioidid); Niese ii. 134–136; Bevan, *House of Seleuc.* i. 176. For Erythrai, *O.G.I.* 223 = *Mouv.* I. 99 f. (100). On the rights assumed by the kings over the cities, cf. Rostovtzeff in *C.A.H.* vii. 177 f.

²This is apparently the meaning of *C.I.G.* 3137 = *O.G.I.* 229, ll. 8–10: . . . διὰ τὸ τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ Θεὸν Ἀντίοχον καὶ τὴν μητέρα τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς, Θεάν Στρατονικήν, ἰδρῶσθαι παρ’ ἡμῶν, τιμωμένους τιμαῖς ἀξιολόγους καὶ κοινῇ ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους καὶ ἰδίᾳ ὑφ’ ἐκάστου τῶν πολιτῶν . . . Cf. Feldmann 82; Dittenberger in *O.G.I.* i. 366 (nn. 6 f.); Ferguson in *C.A.H.* vii. 19 f.; Rostovtzeff in *C.A.H.* vii. 162; Segre in *Historia*, v (1931) 251 f., 259 (conjectures—wrongly, I think—that this first stage in the cult of Stratonike immediately followed the oracle sanctioning the worship of Aphrodite Stratonikis: see below, p. 111).

³Milne in *Numism. Chron.* V. iii (1923) 10–14.

⁴Kubitschek conjectures (in *D.K.A.W.* lvii [1915] 3, 93a–94b) that the calendar assigned to “Asia” in the *Hemerologium Florentinum* is really the Smyrnaian

calendar, and that the three month-names, “Stratonikos” (May-June), “Anteos” (? = Ἀντιόχου) (July-Aug.), and “Laodikos” (Aug.-Sept.), included therein, were introduced in honour of Stratonike, her son Antiochos II (possibly Ant. I), and Antiochos II’s wife Laodike—the first and third in Antiochos II’s reign, the second in that of Seleukos II. Kenneth Scott (in *Yale Classical Studies*, ii [1931] 203 f.) generally agrees, as also does Robert (in *B.C.H.* liv [1930] 329 n. and *R.E.A.* xxxviii [1936] 23–25). The latter (in the last-named article, 25 f.) supports the theory by restoring the obscure Smyrnaian month-name *OXEΩNOC* in *M.D.A.I.* xii (1887) 248 (7) as [Ἀντι]ογεῶνος, and (*ibid.* 26–28) by reading *Λαοδικεῶνος* (i.e. “of the month Laodikeon”, instead of the suggested *Λαοδικεῶν, ὄς*) in *Mouv.* I. 82 (53) + II. ii f. 52 (121) = Laum, *Stiftungen*, ii (1914) 92 f. (88). He also reports (28) that he is about to publish a Temnian inscription acknowledging a decree in which Smyrna voted complimentary crowns to certain citizens of Temnos at the earliest possible celebration of the “Antiokeia”, which Robert supposes to have been one of the chief festivals of Smyrna during iii/B.C. and to have been held during the month Antiocheon. Cf. also, regarding the Smyrnaian calendar, Bilabel, *Ionische Kolonisation*, 211 f.

peace in 255 B.C. with Makedonia; but it is doubtful whether Antiokhos II was a party to it for the next two or three years.

It seems that, in the spring of 254 B.C., Smyrna—along with other cities (Athens, the Kykladic islands Tenos and Ios, Khios, and Alexandria happen to be mentioned)—received an invitation from the Aitolians to take part in the quadrennial panhellenic festival called “the Soteria”, which they purposed to inaugurate in the ensuing summer at Delphoi, in commemoration of the repulse of the Galatians from that sacred city in 279 B.C. An annual Soteria-festival had indeed been instituted by the Amphiktyonic Council (the inter-state body charged with the custody of Delphoi) on the morrow of the victory. The Aitolians, however, who—along with the Phokians—had been mainly responsible (under Apollon, of course) for the defeat of the invaders, rapidly became the most powerful state in central Hellas; and having secured control of Delphoi and its oracle, they signaled their self-importance by re-organizing the annual Amphiktyonic Soteria as a more pretentious quadrennial festival of their own, in honour of Zeus Soter and Pythian Apollon. The festival consisted of musical contests similar to those of the Pythian Games, and athletic and equestrian events similar to those of the Nemeian. Most of the states invited to participate welcomed and accepted the invitation promptly; but Smyrna—perhaps because Antiokhos II (under whose control she was) had not yet entered into the peace between Egypt and the Aitolians’ ally Makedonia—refrained for several years from returning an affirmative reply.¹

¹The whole question of the Soteria and their chronology is extremely complicated, and has given rise to much discussion. See, e.g., among the more recent contributions, Roussel in *R.E.A.* xxvi (1924) 97-111; Pfister in Pauly IIIA (1929) 1223-1228; Flacelière in *B.C.H.* lii (1928) 179-221, 256-291; Bourguet in *Fouilles de Delphes*, III. 1 (1929) 295-297 (nos. 481-483); Robert in *B.C.H.* liv (1930) 322-332, 351; Segre in *Historia*, v (1931) 241-260; Roussel in *R.E.A.* xxxiv (1932) 196-204, and in *R.E.G.* xlv (1932) 217 f.; Ferguson, *Athenian Tribal Cycles in the Hellenistic Age* (1932), 107-136; Flacelière in *R.E.A.* xxxv (1933) 321-328; Kolbe in *Hermes*, lxxviii (1933) 440-456 (esp. fin.); Ferguson in *Amer. Journ. of*

Philol. lv (1934) 318-336; Kolbe in *Hermes*, lxxix (1934) 217-222; Robert in *R.E.A.* xxxviii (1936) 1-23; Sterling Dow in *A.J.A.* xl (1936) 57-70. The evidence is almost entirely inscriptional. I have accepted the conclusions of Ferguson, which—amid much obscurity—seem to satisfy the data best, and to be attracting most agreement. It should perhaps be mentioned that, while Kolbe insists that the Aitolian Soteria were founded very soon after the repulse of the Galatians and at the same time as the Amphiktyonic Soteria, Ferguson (*Tribal Cycles*, 130 f.) thinks it possible that the Aitolian invitation to Smyrna was not issued until several years after 254 B.C.

In Sept./Oct. 254 B.C., Antiokhos II's mother Stratonike died at Sardeis. In the following year the marriage of his sister to the son of Antigonos indicates that friendly relations then existed between the two kings, though—by himself marrying the Egyptian Berenike in 252 B.C.—Antiokhos II made co-operation with Makedonia more difficult. In any case, there was apparently nothing to prevent Smyrna consulting the Delphic oracle about this period. The form of the enquiry is not known: perhaps it was what we call "a leading question". But the response was to the effect that Smyrna should erect and dedicate a temple to the deceased queen under the title of "Aphrodite Stratonikis".¹ This amalgamation of the names of the goddess and the late queen does not perhaps signify that the latter was actually and absolutely identified with Aphrodite, just as on the coins her son was not actually identified with Apollon. But a very graceful compliment was paid by means of a piece of etymological camouflage. Several years.

¹Cf. *O.G.I.* 228 (. . . Σέλευκος . . . αὐτὸς πρότερον πεπεισμένος τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ χρησμοῖν [i.e. at Delphoi] . . . , and later ἐπιπέσεια . . . Σέλευκον ἐπὶ τε τούτοις καὶ . . . τῶν ἐπακολουθηκέων τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ χρησμοῖν . . .); Tacit. *Ann.* iii. 63 (consuls reported in 22 A.D.: "ceteros obscuris ob vetustatem initiis niti; nam Zmyrnaeos oraculum Apollinis, cuius imperio Stratonici Veneri templum dicaverint . . . referre, . . . ; propiora Sardonios: Alexandri victoris id donum; . . ."). The apparent representation of the oracle in Tacitus as more ancient than Alexandros is not a serious difficulty, and does not require us to regard the cult of Aphr. Strat. as earlier in origin than this period (Segre in *Historia*, v [1931] 246 f. with n. 20). Nor, I may say in passing, does the discovery of the cult of an Aphrodite Strateia at Mylasa and that of a warlike Aphrodite at Erythrai seem to me at all sufficient ground for regarding that of Aphrod. Stratonikis at Smyrna (who is *not* represented on coins as a warrior-goddess) as really a very ancient cult, with which the name of queen Stratonike was linked as a sort of afterthought (so Wilam.-Moell. in *Abhandlungen der kön. preuss. Akad. der Wiss. phil.-hist. Classe*, 1909, II, 55; Höfer in Roscher IV [1909-1915] 1551 f.: cf. Gebhard in Pauly IVA [1932] 325 f.).

The identity of the oracles referred to

in the two sources quoted is not certain, because the content of that mentioned in *O.G.I.* 228 is not precisely stated. It *may* have included (1) territorial and financial favours to Smyrna, and possibly also (2) a declaration of the inviolability of the temple of Aphr. Strat. (? and of Smyrna itself). Neither of these, however, is probable: (1) would not be a likely subject for Smyrna to consult Delphoi about; and if (2) were asked, the subsequent request from Seleukos and Smyrna in *O.G.I.* 228 (see below, pp. 116 f.) would be unnecessary. The supposition that the oracle mentioned in *O.G.I.* 228 simply enjoined the erection and dedication of the temple best satisfies the wording of the inscription. This being so, it is most natural to identify this oracle with that alluded to by Tacitus. (Segre [in *Historia*, v (1931) 243-252] regards the two oracles as one, but thinks that the Smyrnaeians received it when they consulted Delphoi at the time of their accepting the Aitolian invitation, which event he places sometime between 256/255 and 251/250 B.C., and that it included a grant of inviolability both to the temple and to the city). We cannot determine precisely the date of the oracle; but it was probably not earlier than Stratonike's death, and may have been occasioned by that event.

must have elapsed before the temple could be erected, endowed, and dedicated. It is thought to have stood at or near the site of the modern Jewish hospital, close to what was then the southern edge of the inland harbour. Its revenues were to be supplied by taxes levied on two estates outside the city—one a little below the Caravan-Bridge on the left bank of the river, and the other away on the plain to the west of Bunarbashi.¹ A late echo of the new cult is heard in the name "Stratonikeion", given to a roofed colonnade built (not later than 50 B.C.) behind the stage on the north of the city-theatre.²

Before passing on to the reign of the next Seleukid, we may take note here of one or two fragmentary pieces of information illustrating the links between Smyrna and the wider world overseas in the third century B.C., more particularly during its middle years. Selenaiia, the daughter of a Smyrnaian citizen named Kleinias, went to Egypt to get married; and her votive gift to the goddess Arsinoe (Ptolemaios II's wife, who died in 270 B.C. and was deified as Aphrodite and Isis) was celebrated in an epigram by the learned

¹Cf. *C.I.G.* 3137 = *O.G.I.* 229, l. 12 (. . . τὸ τε ἱερόν τῆς Στρατονικίδος Ἀφροδίτης . . .), l. 70 (Aphr. Strat. sworn by), l. 83 (inscription to be set up in her temple): Dittenberger's n. in *O.G.I.* i. 366 (7); Dümmler in Pauly I (1894) 2754; Bevan, *House of Seleuc.* i. 177; Segre in *Historia*, v (1931) 246 n. 20. On the sites, *C.I.G.* 3156; Slaars 52 n.; Kontoléon in *M.D.A.I.* xvi (1891) 133-135; Fontrier in *R.E.A.* ii (1900) 251-253 (= *R.A.* xxxvii or ii [1900] 160-162), iv (1902) 191-193, ix (1907) 117 (30), 119 (40); Fowler in *A.J.A.* v. (1901) 90 (but both inscriptions probably ended with τὰς ἱερὰς προσόδους, not τὰς ἱερὰς Μητρὸς ὀδοῦς). Further, cf. Mylonas 37; Couvein *B.C.H.* xviii (1894) 233 f.; Büchner 751. For representations of Aphrod. Strat. on Smyrnaian coins of early ii/B.C.-i/A.D., see Mionnet iii. 190 (909), 201-205 (1056-1091, 1104 f.), 217-219 (1213, 1215 f., 1221), *supp.* vi. 313-316 (1515, 1517-1545), 328 f. (1625 f., 1629 f.) (Mionnet's "Astarte" is really Aphrod. Strat.—cf. Feldmann 82 f. n. 1); *B.M.C. Ionia*, 239-241 (20-46); Milne in *Numism. Chron.* V. iii (1923) 15-20, vii (1927)

persaepe, viii (1928) 132 f., 136 f., 142-153; Babelon 105 (1944 f.); Robert in *B.C.H.* liv (1930) 328 n. 4. R. Weil was the first to suggest (*Zeitschr. für Numism.* viii [1881] 334-338) that the standing female depicted on Smyrnaian coins as holding a Victory represented the cult-statue of Aphrodite Stratonikis. On the Smyrnaian worship of Aphrodite generally, see below, p. 224. *Στρατονίκιος* and *Στρατον(ε)ίκη* on tombstones, etc.: *C.I.G.* 3142 III, ll. 17 f., 3195 (= *I.G.R.* iv. 1434), 3349, 3379; *Μουσ.* III. 175 (77), V. i. 22 (237); Le Bas-Wadd. 1531.

²Vitruv. V. ix. 1 (121 f.: "Post scaenam porticus sunt constituendae, uti cum imbres repentini ludos interpellaverint habeat populus quo se recipiat ex theatro choragiaeque laxamentum habeant ad comparandum. Uti sunt porticus . . . Zmyrnae Stratoniceum . . ."). Cf. Büchner 742, 748 bott., 752 (but the ruins described by Prokesch in *J.L.* lxxviii. 63 cannot be those of this Stratonikeion: they are too far from the Theatre). See below, pp. 178-180, and cf. Berg and Walter 9, 20, 23.

grammarian of Alexandria, Kallimakhos.¹ Another Smyrnian, Alexibios, is mentioned in a third-century list of names found in Kyrene in northern Africa.² Another third-century inscription, carved on a stele sacred to Athena at Mytilene, records that, in gratitude for benefits received, the Mytilenaians granted immunity from taxation and personal inviolability to certain Smyrnaians (among whom were Alkiphron and Apollonios) and to their posterity.³ Some time about 250–245 B.C., a Smyrnian youth named Hermogenes, the son of Apollonios, won the long-distance race open to older boys at the public games celebrated at Thespiiai in Boiotia under the name of the "Erotidia".⁴ It is of interest to turn aside for a while from politics and the conflicts of kings, and have these brief glimpses at events in the lives of private individuals.

But it is to politics that we must now return. Antiokhos II was poisoned by his wife Laodike at Ephesos towards the close of 247 B.C., and was succeeded by their youthful son, Seleukos II (247–226 B.C.). A fierce struggle at once began between Laodike and Seleukos on the one side and Berenike, Antiokhos II's second wife, on the other. Berenike's brother, Ptolemaios III (Euergetes, 246–222 B.C.), the new king of Egypt, invaded Syria in her interest; and though he could not prevent her and her son being murdered at Antiokheia by Laodike's agents, he secured control over virtually the whole of Seleukos' dominions south of the Tauros, including regions east of the Euphrates. His fleet, moreover, operated on the coast of Asia Minor; and the Hellenic cities, being once more free to choose, were divided in their allegiance. Smyrna at once promised to support Seleukos.⁵ So did Miletos. Ephesos, Magnesia-on-Maiandros, Pergamon, and probably Gryneia and Erythrai, also sided with him. A number of cities, however, declared for

¹Kallim. *Epigr.* v fin. in Athenaios vii. 318c (... | Κλεινίου ἀλλὰ θυγατρὶ δίδου χάριν, οἷδε γὰρ ἐσθλά | βέζειν, καὶ Σμύρνης ἐστὶν ἀπ' Αἰολίδος). Kallim. flourished about 275–240 B.C. Kleinius may be the man of that name who was grandfather of the Artemidoros mentioned in *C.I.G.* 3142 II, ll. 3–5, as promising to contribute 1000 tiles, on behalf of himself and his son Kleinius, to some public building at Smyrna: Boeckh puts the inscription before 133 B.C.

²*G.I.B.M.* 1053: the purport of the list is unknown.

³*I.G.* XII. ii. 12.

⁴*C.I.G.* 1590 = *I.G.* VII. 1765 = *G.I.B.M.* 162: cf. Krause, *Olympia*, 225.

⁵*C.I.G.* 3137 = *O.G.I.* 229, ll. 4 f.: . . . τὸ διαμεῖναι ἐν τῇ αἰρέσει καὶ ἀντιλαβεῖσθαι τῶν πραγμάτων (of Seleukos) κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν, καθ' ὅτι ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑπέστη (sc. ὁ δῆμος of Smyrna).

Ptolemaios and Berenike, partly no doubt through not feeling themselves strong enough to take a line of their own. One of these was Magnesia-near-Sipylos, where the military colonists earlier settled there had apparently either ejected or swamped the previous civil population.¹

It was apparently early in 244 B.C. that Seleukos left his base in western Asia Minor, and crossed the Tauros with a view to recovering his eastern provinces. His departure, though it ultimately led to success in Syria, inaugurated a period of great distress for his city-allies in the west. The Egyptian fleet apparently cruised west, and Ephesos and other places fell into the hands of Ptolemaios' officers. Smyrna, as the loyal ally of Seleukos, found herself exposed to hostile attack. It is possible that we ought to refer to the early stages of this crisis the late narrative of an undated assault made on Smyrna by a fleet from Khios. The story was that, in the early spring (February/March), the men of Smyrna had left their city for the purpose of celebrating the festival of Dionysos on the adjoining heights. The Khian ships sailed up to capture the deserted town, but were spied by the citizens, who at once descended and, after routing their assailants, captured the vessels. They then continued their Bakkhic dances and carousals. In celebration of their success, the Smyrnaians made a practice—at the annual festival of Dionysos in the spring-month, Anthesterion—of conveying a trireme aloft from the sea into the agora, with the priest of Dionysos aboard as steersman.² The right of embarking on this sacred trireme was in the second century A.D. conferred as a special honour on the orator Polemon and his descendants.³

¹Hicks, *Greek Hist. Inscriptions* (1882), 307; Feldmann 87f., 100; Szanto, *Bürgerrecht*, 109.

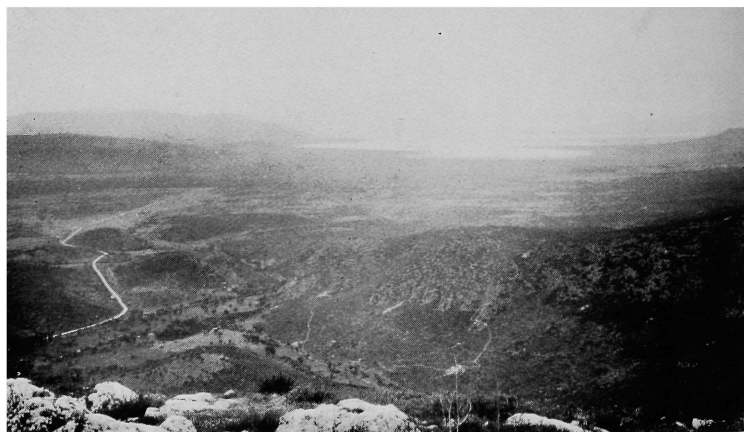
²Aristeides xv, 373 (xvii. 5-7), xxii, 440 (xxi. 4). It may be recalled that it was by taking advantage of a Dionysiac festival outside the city that the Kolophonian Ionians had seized Smyrna from the Aioliens (see above, pp. 66 f.).

³Philostr. *Soph.* i. 25 (531: see below, pp. 225 f.). It must be admitted that the assignment of this incident (the Khian attack) to the period now under review is very precarious. Khios, being invited by the Aitolians to participate in the Soteria and to become an Amphiktyonic

state (in 255/254 B.C., according to Benecke [*Seepolitik der Aitolier* (1934), 17-19]), might be presumed to have shared the policy of the Aitolians' ally Makedonia, which latter was at this time at war with Egypt. But the presumption would itself be precarious. In fighting Egypt, Makedonia was apparently not Seleukos' ally; and the close relations between Aitolia and Khios were possibly not concluded before 244 B.C. (cf. Tarn in *C.A.H.* vii. 718 f., 733). We know of no other juncture in Smyrnaian history with which the attack can more plausibly be connected. Thraemer (in Roscher I [1884-1890] 1084) suggests: "der wahre



HERMOS-VALLEY FROM AK-KAYA



PLAIN OF BURNABAT FROM SUMMIT OF BEL-KAVÉ

To face p. 115

Whatever the truth may be with regard to the attack from Khios, it is clear that Smyrna underwent great danger and distress as a result of her strenuous adherence to the cause of Seleukos. Her territory was invaded and in part occupied by hostile troops, and much of her citizens' property was lost or damaged.¹ One quarter from which attacks were certainly made in the Ptolemaic interest was the large military colony at Magnesia-near-Sipylos.² We do not know the details of the conflict; but the upshot of it was that Magnesia-near-Sipylos was somehow induced to return to its old alliance with the Seleukid house.³

Grund [i.e. for the Tirreme-ritual] mochte sein, dass man hiermit den Einzugs des Frühlingsgottes über das nach den Winterstürmen wieder beruhigte Meer vorführen wollte"—a needless and improbable theory. The suggestion of Mylonas (22 top) and Tsakyroglou (i. 38) that the ship depicted on Smyrnaian coins (see above, p. 101) commemorated this incident is not probable, in view of the frequent occurrence of the same type on the coins of other seaports.

It is perhaps also to this period that we ought to refer the inscriptions cut in a smoothed wall on the steep slope of Ak-Kaya, seven miles south-east of Nymphí (see above, p. 45 nn. 2 and 3). They are mostly illegible; but two record that certain defenders of the place had crowned their respective generals with golden crowns. These inscriptions are thought to belong to iii/ or ii/B.C., i.e. the Seleukid period, and to some time in it during which the rock (which commands a magnificent view of the plain) may well have been occupied, perhaps on behalf of Seleukos II, by bands of troops, who twice had occasion to honour their successful commanders (cf. Keil in *J.O.A.I.* xxviii [1933] *Beiblatt*, 123 f. [thinks the garrisons may have occupied Ak-Kaya in a time of peace]). But whether the other ruins on Ak-Kaya also belong to this period is quite uncertain.

¹*C.I.G.* 3137 = *O.G.I.* 229, ll. 1-5 ('Επειδή πρότερον τε, καθ' ὃν καιρὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς Σέλευκος υπερέβαλεν εἰς τὴν Σελευκίδα [i.e. N. Syria], πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων κινδύνων περιστάντων τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν καὶ τὴν χώραν, διεφύλαξεν ὁ δῆμος τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν εὐνοίαν τε καὶ φιλίαν, οὐ καταπλαγείσ τὴν τῶν ἐναντίων ἔφοδον οὐδὲ φροντίσας τῆς τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἀπωλείας, ἀλλὰ πάντα δεύτερα ἡγησάμενος

εἶναι πρὸς τὸ διαμεῖναι ἐν τῇ αἵρεσει. . . [as above, p. 113 n. 5]), ll. 89-91 ('Επειδὴ προνοῶν ὁ δῆμος ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων τῶν τοῦ βασιλέως Σελεύκου συμφερόντων διετέλει καὶ πρότερον, τὴν τε βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ συνάψων καὶ τὰ πράγματα διατηρῶν καθ' ὅσον ἦν δυνατός, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν περιεῖδεν ἀπολλύμενα καὶ καταφθειρόμενα τῶν ὑπαρχόντων, πολλοὺς δὲ ὑπέμεινεν κινδύνους ἔνεκεν τοῦ διατηρῆσαι τὴν φιλίαν τὴν πρὸς τὴν βασιλέα Σέλευκον. . .). From the Delphian inscription, *O.G.I.* 228 (see below, p. 116 n. 2), Dittenberger (nn. 6 f.: cf. his n. 4 to *O.G.I.* 229) infers that the Smyrnaians had lost in the conflict, not only part of their territory, but also—at the time when *O.G.I.* 228 was written—even their city itself. Cf. Niese ii. 149f., 161; Bevan, *House of Seleuc.* i. 188, 326 (App. K). Do the inscriptions *G.I.B.M.* 1025 (if Smyrnaian) *S.I.G.* 961 = *Μουσ.* II. ii f. 51 (120) = *R.A.* xxxii (1876) 41-44 (see below, p. 176 n.1) refer to a siege of Smyrna at this time, or later?

²In *C.I.G.* 3137 = *O.G.I.* 229, ll. 41 f., it is agreed between Smyrna and Magnesia τὰ . . . ἐγκλήματα αὐτοῖς τὰ γεγενημένα κατὰ τὸμ πόλεμον ἦρθω πάντα, καὶ μὴ ἐξέστω μηδὲ ἑτέροις ἐγκαλέσαι περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον γεγενημένων. . . Haussoullier contends (*Études*, 116-121, 123) that Smyrna was attacked at this time, not by the Egyptian forces (per contra, Feldmann 76), but by the troops from Magnesia only.

³This is clear from Seleukos' gift to Magnesia (see just below) and from her readiness to accept the later Smyrnaian offer of an amalgamation (*C.I.G.* 3137 = *O.G.I.* 229, ll. 18-20). Cf. Bevan, *House of Seleuc.* i. 188; Tarn in *C.A.H.* vii. 717 f. ("A vivid picture remains of Smyrna, about 244, working heart and soul for the king in complete freedom; she was

In 243 A.D., when Seleukos returned to Asia Minor after partially re-establishing his authority in the east, he made it his business to reward his partisans. He seems to have made a substantial grant of land to Magnesia-near-Sipylos, (possibly as a bribe to secure its submission and support).¹ Moved—as the Smyrnaians afterwards declared—by religion, filial piety, generosity, and gratitude, he honoured Smyrna for her loyalty by confirming her independence, her democracy, her freedom from tribute, and her right to the territory of which she then stood possessed; and he promised to restore to her such of her land as was still in enemy-hands, so soon as it should be reconquered.² In obedience to the oracle previously given to Smyrna, he took the new cult of Aphrodite Stratonikis under his protection, and probably contributed towards the cost of completing the temple. He recognized the temple and also Smyrna itself as “sacred and inviolable”, possibly even visiting the city, and attending at the dedication-festival which formally inaugurated the cult. He also wrote round to sundry kings, rulers, cities, and peoples, requesting them formally to recognize this sanctity and inviolability.³

It was highly desirable that these substantial privileges

almost more than an ally, for she had power in Seleucus' name to make promises entailing expenditure by his treasury” [see below, p. 126]), 719 top; Tarn, *Hellen. Civl.* 151.

¹C.I.G. 3137 = O.G.I. 229, l. 38 (. . . ὅσα παρείληφαν παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως Σελεύκου [sc. οἱ ἐμ. Μαγνησία]), l. 63 (. . . ἃ παρείληφα παρὰ τ. β. Σ.): Schulten in *Hermes*, xxxii (1897) 533; Haussoullier, *Études*, 123 f.

²O.G.I. 228 (ἐπιτεκμήρηκε δὲ τοῖς Σμυρναίοις τὰν τε πόλιν καὶ τὰν χώραν αὐτῶν ἐλευθέραν εἶμεν καὶ ἀφορολόγητον, καὶ τὰν τε ὑπάρχουσαν αὐτοῖς χώραν βεβαιοὶ καὶ τὰν πατρίδα ἐπαγγέλλεται ἀποδώσειν): cf. Feldmann 71. For Seleukid land-grants, see Tarn in *C.A.H.* vii. 199 f. Is it possible that the dedication made by a priest to Herakles Kallineikos (*Μουσ.* V. ii. 93 [267]) was meant as a compliment to Seleukos Kallinikos?

³C.I.G. 3137 = O.G.I. 229, ll. 11 f. (. . . ἔγραψεν δὲ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς βασιλεῖς καὶ τοὺς δυνάστας καὶ τὰς πόλεις καὶ τὰ ἔθνη, ἀξιώσας ἀποδέξασθαι τὸ τε ἱερὸν τῆς Στρατονικίδος Ἀφροδίτης ἄσυλον εἶναι καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν ἱερὰν καὶ ἄσυλον . . .); O.G.I. 228 (Ἐπεὶ βασιλεὺς Σελεύκος . . .

ἀποστείλας γράμματα ποτὶ τὰν πόλιν [Delphoi] ἀξιοῖ τό τε ἱερὸν τὸ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης τῆς Στρατονικίδος καὶ τὰν πόλιν τῶν Σμυρναίων ἱερὰν καὶ ἄσυλον εἶμεν, αὐτὸς πρότερον πεπεισμένος τῶι τοῦ θεοῦ χρησμῶι, καὶ πεπονηκὼς ἃ καὶ τὰν πόλιν ἀξιοῖ, ἐπιτεκμήρηκε δὲ . . . [as in preceding n.] . . . καθάπερ ὁ τε βασιλεὺς ἐπέστελκε καὶ ἃ τῶν Σμυρναίων πόλιν ἀξιοῖ . . . τῶι ἐπακολουθηκέναι τῶι τοῦ θεοῦ χρησμῶι . . .). On the meaning of ἱερὰ καὶ ἄσυλος, cf. Henze 8-12; Holm, *Greece*, iv. 448 f.; Schürer, *G. J. V.* ii. 105 (Smyrna one of the first cities to be so called); Reid 381; Tarn in *C.A.H.* vii. 211 (“ . . . ‘holy’, that is, immune from war as a temple was immune, and as ‘asylums’, that is, immune from reprisals or private war; the practical result was perhaps not great, but it shows the trend of men’s thoughts”); Tarn, *Hellen. Civl.* 76 f. For the possibility that Seleukos attended a festival of Aphr. Strat., see Herzog in *Hermes*, lxx (1930) 464-467; Segre in *Historia*, v (1931) 244 n. 9. Such a festival must, of course, have taken place at Smyrna: the idea that it may have been the dedication-festival is my own.

should receive definite recognition from the city of Delphoi, as virtually carrying with it the powerful sanction of Apollon's oracle. But if any favour was to be obtained from Delphoi, the good-will of the Aitolians (who controlled that city) was almost essential. Such good-will would, moreover, be a great advantage on another ground: it would secure Smyrna against Aitolian piracy.¹ Now Smyrna had apparently not yet acceded to the Aitolians' invitation to participate in their quadrennial Soteria-festival. When therefore, early in 242 B.C., Seleukos' request for the recognition and registration of the sanctity and inviolability of Smyrna and the temple of Aphrodite Stratonikis was conveyed to Delphoi,² the Smyrnaians themselves took occasion not only to send two envoys, Hermodoros and Demetrios, to tell the Delphians that they thought the concessions the king had made to them should be (as he was requesting) officially inscribed in Apollon's temple,³ but also to reply to the earlier Aitolian invitation, cordially agreeing to send representatives to attend the forthcoming Soteria. At the same time they made mention of Seleukos and his recent favours (in particular the concession of inviolability) and of the new cult of Aphrodite Stratonikis, doubtless begging that the Aitolians also should respect the newly-acquired privileges.⁴

¹On Aitolian piracy and grants of *ἀσυλία*, cf. Tarn in *C.A.H.* vii. 763; Holleaux in *C.A.H.* vii. 832; Benecke, *Die Seepolitik der Aitolier* (1934), 16-19.

²See above, p. 116 n. 3.

³*O.G.I.* 228 (οἴονται δὲ δεῖν καὶ οἱ Σμυρναῖοι πρεσβευτὰς ἀποστέλλαντες Ἐρμόδωρον καὶ Δημήτριον ἀναγραφῆμεν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ, ὡς περὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀξιοί, τὰ ἐπικεχωρημένα αὐτοῖς). The date (early 242 B.C.) is that usually accepted, 246 B.C. being admitted by some as an alternative. Flacelière (in *R.E.A.* xxxv [1933] 324 n. 6) allows 246, 245, 244, or 240 B.C. as possible, but regards 243-241 B.C. excluded. Cf. Segre in *Historia*, v (1931) 243.

⁴Such in substance seems to have been the content of the decree fragmentarily preserved in the inscription no. 483 in *Fouilles de Delphes*, III. i. 296 f., and now unanimously ascribed to Smyrna. For the long discussions concerning its origin, restoration, and date, see the lit. quoted above, p. 110 n. 1—in particular, Ferguson, *Athenian Tribal Cycles* (1932), 130 f. ("... As a *quid pro quo* to the Aetolians the Smyrnaeans may have thought it good policy to accept the

Soteria, either in compliance with a recent request that they should do so... , or in belated response to an invitation sent to them by Charixenos in 254 B.C. In any event the original decree of the Aetolians would naturally be the basis of action, . . . We may attribute the acceptance thus tardily by Smyrna of the Aetolian Soteria to a change of Seleukid policy coincident with the change, in such exceptional circumstances, of ruler; or to the conclusion of the Smyrnaeans that if they wanted something from Delphi they would do well to conciliate the Aetolians"). Segre, as already indicated (p. 111 n. 1), reconstructs the facts differently; but his scheme seems to be excluded by the fact that the king mentioned in l. 21 of the inscription is now unanimously asserted to be Seleukos, not (as Segre supposed) Antiokhos. In a recent study of the problem (*R.E.A.* xxxviii [1936] 1-23), Robert argues that so long an interval as ten years between the despatch and the acceptance of an invitation is improbable: he therefore tentatively places *both* events in the reign of Seleukos.

We may presume (in the absence of definite evidence) that the Aitolians did as they were desired.¹ In the case of Delphoi, we happen to know definitely that they complied with the king's and the city's requests, and instructed the official messengers who would shortly be announcing the next celebration of the Pythian festival to the various cities, when they got to Smyrna, to praise Seleukos for his pious proceedings in obedience to the oracle and to offer a sacrifice to Aphrodite. An inscription recording these decisions was put up in the temple of Apollon, and the king's letter stored in the Delphian archives.² It was apparently about the same time that the Delphians conferred on the Smyrnaians the complimentary right, frequently granted to special city-communities, of consulting the oracle first, i.e. before other enquirers were attended to.³

In the summer of 242 B.C., Seleukos II left western Asia Minor again for another campaign beyond the Tauros. The leading magistrates of Smyrna (the so-called "Generals") decided to do what they could in his absence to look after his interests, for Egyptian forces were still operating successfully in Lykia, Karia, and southern Ionia. About the end of the year, they sent one of their own number, Dionysios, the son of Dionytas, as envoy to Magnesia-near-Sipylos, to urge the cavalry and infantry quartered in the town and encamped near it, as well as the civilians, to maintain permanently their newly-professed loyalty to Seleukos, promising them—if they complied—the friendship, favour, and gratitude, both of the king himself and of the city of Smyrna. The proposal, we are assured, was eagerly agreed to: whether the Magnesians were truly willing, or, being now destitute of allies, did not feel themselves strong enough to resist, we cannot say.⁴ They appointed four commissioners—Potamon and Hierokles to represent the troops quartered in the city, and Damon and

¹Cf. Benecke, *Die Seepolitik der Aitoler* (1934), 23.

²*O.G.I.* 228 (the Delphians' decree). Cf. Couve in *B.C.H.* xviii (1894) 233 f.; Bevan, *House of Seleuc.* i. 188 f.; Haus-soullier, *Études*, 122 f.; Beloch, *Griech. Gesch.* IV. ii. 539 f. (date).

³*S.I.G.* 470 (Δελφοὶ ἔδωκαν Ζμυρναίοις προμαντείαν . . .). Cf. Couve in *B.C.H.*

xviii (1894) 267 f.; Tarn, *Hellen. Civil.* 79 f. The date is very uncertain, a few years after 242 B.C. being favoured by Roussel (in *B.C.H.* xlvii [1923] 42 f.), and before 250 B.C. being regarded as equally possible by Flacelière (in *B.C.H.* lii [1928] 281–285).

⁴Cf. Egger, *Traité public* (1866), 121 f.; Feldmann 78, 91.

Apolloniketes those in camp: the citizens of Magnesia proper seem to have played a very minor part in the whole proceedings—probably there were now very few of them on the scene.¹ The four commissioners came to Smyrna to treat: admitted to the Public Assembly, they discussed the terms of a joint agreement. The upshot of the debate was a formal decision on the part of the Smyrnaian Assembly to co-operate amicably with Magnesia in the interests of Seleukos, to adopt the draft of a detailed treaty for the civic amalgamation of the Magnesian and Smyrnaian communities, and to send back with the Magnesian commissioners three ambassadors of their own (Phanodemos the son of Mikion, Dionysios the son of Dionytas, and Parmeniskos the son of Pytheas, were the ones eventually chosen), who should present, discuss, and commend the draft-treaty at Magnesia, and, in the probable event of its acceptance, should get the Magnesians to seal it and to swear the oath prescribed in it. The Magnesian commissioners were to be invited by the monthly Presidents of the Smyrnaian Council to a public banquet in the Prytaneion before they returned; and Kallinos, the City-Treasurer, was to pay the Smyrnaian ambassadors their travelling-expenses for the five days which their mission was expected to last: the other terms of the treaty were to be carried out, and the Assembly's vote was to be legally inscribed along with the text of the treaty itself.²

The text of the treaty ran as follows:

“When Hegesias was Priest and Pythodoros Crown-Wearer, in the month Lenaion,³ with good fortune, amity was agreed upon by the Smyrnaians and those settled in Magnesia—the cavalry and infantry, both in the city and in camp, and the other inhabitants—on the following terms: and the Smyrnaians conferred citizenship on those settled in Magnesia—the cavalry and infantry, both in the

¹See above, p. 114 top.

²*C.I.G.* 3137 = *O.G.I.* 229, ll. 12–33. Cf. Niese ii. 161 f.; Bevan, *House of Seleuc.* i. 188, 326 (App. K); Beloch, *Griech. Gesch.* IV. i. 680, ii. 541–543. Despite the arguments of Haussoullier (*Études*, 118 f.; cf. 123), it seems certain that the journey of Seleukos (across Tauros into Seleukis) mentioned in ll. 12 f. is different from and later than that referred to in ll.

1f. and above, p. 114; but there is no need to put it (as Beloch does) as late as 235 B.C. (cf. Feldmann 74, 78 f.). Bürchner (748 bott., 759) seems decidedly wrong in locating the encamped troops in the near neighbourhood of Smyrna. On *οἱ ἐπιμήνιοι τῆς βουλῆς* (l. 30.), see below, p. 192.

³That is, Jan./Feb. 241 B.C.

city and in camp, and the others who inhabit the city—on the understanding that those in Magnesia shall eagerly maintain towards King Seleukos in perpetuity alliance and good-will regarding his interests, and protecting what they have received from King Seleukos to the best of their power, shall restore it to him; and they shall conduct their city-life along with the Smyrnaians according to the City's laws without any party-spirit, taking as enemy and as friend the same persons as the Smyrnaians take; and those in Magnesia shall swear to the Smyrnaians and the Smyrnaians to those in Magnesia—each party the oath written below in the Treaty. And when once the oaths have been taken, let all the accusations which arose between them during the war be cancelled, and let neither party be allowed to accuse the other, either in the courts or otherwise, about things done during the war; and if anyone does so, let the whole accusation put forward be invalid. Resolved also that there be given to those settled in Magnesia—the cavalry and infantry, both in the city and in camp—citizenship in Smyrna on the same terms¹ as the other citizens; also that citizenship be given likewise to the others who inhabit Magnesia, as many of them as are free and are Hellenes.² And let those who are (already) Secretaries of the Divisions submit to the People (of Smyrna) the classified lists of the cavalry and infantry in Magnesia—both those in the city and those in camp; and (let) the men who have been appointed by those settled in Magnesia (submit) the roll of the other inhabitants.³ And as soon as the

¹On this phrase (ἐφ' ἴσῃ καὶ ὁμοίᾳ), Szanto, *Bürgerrecht*, 15 f., 110.

²On these two qualifications, cf. Tschirikower 205. On what the Magnesians had received from, and were to restore to, Seleukos (viz. land granted them), cf. Feldmann 86 f., 93 f. (§2); Haussoullier, *Études*, 124. I rather doubt, however, whether Feldmann (97, 100 f.) is right in inferring that *the territory of Magnesia itself* remained Seleukos' property, and did not become part of the territory of Smyrna.

³If, as Dittenberger holds (*O.G.I.* i. 370 [26]), κάρτοικοι ("those settled") has here (l. 47) the meaning of "military settlers" or "colonists", the Magnesians

if any were registered by the military colonists, as if they were quite a subordinate party. The κάρτοικοι are certainly distinct from the civil inhabitants in ll. 43 f. and 49, and even from the campers in ll. 14, 21, and 59; while in ll. 35, 36, 71, 73 f., and 92 f., they may equally well include or exclude the civilians, and also the campers. In l. 84, on the other hand, they seem to include *all* the parties at Magnesia. Cf. Feldmann 83-86, 89 f., and Dittenberger's notes 13-16, 26, 56, 61: see also below, p. 126. On κάρτοικοι generally, cf. Beloch, *Griech. Gesch.* IV. i. 259 f. n. 5; Rostovtzeff in *C.A.H.* vii. 118, 171 f., 183; Tschirikower 121.

Secretaries deposit the classified lists, and the men who have been appointed (deposit) the roll of the other inhabitants, let the Auditors administer to them the oaths at the Metroön with newly-burnt sacrifices—to the Secretaries, (an oath) that they have submitted in the best way they could the roll of the cavalry and infantry who are settlers with them—both those in the city and those stationed in camp—and to the men who submit the roll of the other inhabitants, (an oath) that they have submitted in the best way they could the roll of those who inhabit Magnesia and are free and are Hellenes. And let the Auditors hand over to the Recorder of the Council and the People the rolls that are submitted; and let him put them in the Public (Record-Office). And let the Auditors distribute by lot among the Tribes all the names that are submitted, and inscribe them on the public lists (of citizens).¹ And let those who are inscribed on the public lists participate in all things in which the other citizens participate. And let those who are enrolled as citizens in Magnesia observe, in contracts with and accusations against Smyrnaians, the laws of the Smyrnaians. And let them accept in Magnesia the legal coinage of the City (of Smyrna).² And those in Magnesia shall receive whatever officer the People (of Smyrna) may send to take charge of the keys, and to be over the garrison of the city, and to preserve the city for King Seleukos. Moreover, let the Smyrnaians give for lodgement to those who pack up (and come away) from Magnesia houses containing as many beds as the People determines, for a period of six months from the time when the Treaty is jointly sealed. And let the Treasurer of the sacred revenues hire the houses in conjunction with the Generals, and let him pay the cost out of the revenues of the City.

“Resolved also that those settled in Magnesia consisting of both the cavalry and infantry in the city, and those

¹On the use of the lot, as against personal choice, in the assignment of new citizens to tribes, see Szanto, *Bürgerrecht*, 55 f. Cf. Feldmann 19, 100.

²The bronze Smyrnaian coin bearing the head of Mithradates (see below, p. 156) was believed by some to bear a portrait of Seleukos himself (Lane 31 n. 1;

Mylonas 42 n. 1; Tsakyroglou i. 74; Büchner 764): but this is now known to have been an error. Milne observes (in *Numism. Chron.* V. iii [1923] 15-17) that the Smyrnaian coins of 245-240 B.C. probably bore a portrait of Stratonike (Seleukos' deified grandmother) in the guise of the City-Goddess

stationed in camp, and the others who are entered up for citizenship, are to swear this oath:

'I swear by Zeus, Earth, Sun,¹ Ares, Athena Areia, and the Tauropolos, and the Sipylene Mother, and Apollon at Pandoi, and all the other gods and goddesses, and the fortune of King Seleukos—I will abide in perpetuity by the agreements I have concluded with the Smyrnaians; and I will maintain towards King Seleukos and the City of the Smyrnaians alliance and good-will; and I will keep to the best of my power what I have received from King Seleukos, and will restore it to him; and I will not transgress any of the terms of the Treaty, or twist into a worse sense by any method or device what is written in it; and I will conduct city-life harmoniously without any party-spirit, according to the laws of the Smyrnaians and the votes of the People; and I will join most eagerly and at every season in maintaining the independence and democracy and the other (privileges) conceded to the Smyrnaians by King Seleukos; and I will not myself wrong any one of them, nor will I to the best of my power allow anyone else (to do so); and if I perceive anyone plotting against the City or the lands of the City, or upsetting the democracy or civic equality, I will inform the People of the Smyrnaians, and will energetically and zealously give help, and will do my best not to fall short. If I swear sincerely, may it go well with me; but if I forswear myself, may destruction come upon me and my descendants!'

“Resolved also that the Smyrnaians are to swear this oath to them of Magnesia:

'I swear by Zeus, Earth, Sun,¹ Ares, Athena Areia, and the Tauropolos, and the Sipylene Mother, and Aphrodite Stratonikis, and all the other gods and goddesses—I will abide in perpetuity by the agreements we have concluded with those settled in Magnesia—the cavalry and infantry, both in the city and those stationed in camp, and the others who are entered up for citizenship—not

¹Zeus, Earth, and Sun—because they see all things; the remainder are the *local* deities (Dittenberger n. 32).

transgressing any of the terms of the Treaty, nor twisting into a worse sense by any art or device what is written in it; and I will show good-will to King Seleukos and to those settled in Magnesia, both those in the city and those in camp, and to the others who inhabit Magnesia, as many as are free and are Hellenes; and I will treat them all and their descendants as citizens on the same terms¹ as the other citizens; and, distributing them into Tribes, I will enter them up into whatever Tribe they obtain by lot. And I will not myself wrong any one of them, nor will I to the best of my power allow anyone else (to do so); and if I perceive anyone plotting against them or their descendants or their property, I will inform them as quickly as I can, and will zealously give help; and I will grant them participation in the boards of magistrates and the other public affairs of the City, in which the other citizens also share. If I swear sincerely, may it go well with me; but if I forswear myself, may destruction come upon me and my descendants!

“And let both the Smyrnaians and them of Magnesia each appoint as many men as they severally consider to be sufficient, who shall administer the oath to the mass of citizens in Smyrna and in Magnesia. And let them administer the oath, after having proclaimed on the previous day that those in the city should stay at home, seeing that the oath (prescribed) in the Treaty is going to be taken. And let those who have been appointed from Magnesia administer the prescribed oath to the Smyrnaians, and those from Smyrna to those in Magnesia. And let the (City-)Treasurer Kallinos provide the sacrificial victims for the oath-taking in Smyrna out of whatever the People votes, and (similarly) in Magnesia the Treasurers on whom the People imposes (the duty). And let the Smyrnaians inscribe the Treaty on white stone slabs, and set (them) up in the temple of Aphrodite Stratonikis and at Magnesia-on-Maiandros in the temple of Artemis Leukophryene; and let those settled in Magnesia (put it up) both in the market-place by the altar of Dionysos and the statues of the kings, and at Pandoi in the temple of Apollon, and at Gryneon in the temple of

¹See above, p. 120 n. 1.

Apollon. And let the Recorder of the Council and the People inscribe the copies of the Treaty for the Public (Record-Office). And let them jointly seal the Treaties—the one that is to be given to the Smyrnaians, those whom the commune of those in Magnesia appoints, both with their own signet-rings and with that which belongs to the commune—and the one that is to be given to Magnesia, let the Generals and the Auditors of the Smyrnaians seal with the signet-ring of the City and with their own signet-rings.

“Resolved that these things be carried out by both lots of citizens with good fortune”.¹

Armed with the draft of this treaty, the three Smyrnaian ambassadors accompanied—or followed—the four commissioners back to Magnesia, presented it there, discussed its terms, and urged its acceptance and joint execution. The parties at Magnesia agreeing, and their Treasurers providing the needful sacrifices, the Smyrnaian ambassadors administered to them the oath specified in the treaty. Magnesians representatives, chosen for the purpose, sealed with their personal seals and with the public seal a copy of the treaty, which the ambassadors then took back to Smyrna. There their expenses were reimbursed by the City-Treasurer.² After this, the remaining provisions of the treaty were doubtless executed. Men were sent from Magnesia to administer the oath to Smyrna: citizens were forbidden—by proclamation the day before—to be absent from the city during the oath-taking; the City-Treasurer Kallinos provided for the purchase of sacrificial victims. The city of Smyrna solemnly took the oath; and the Generals and the Auditors sealed a copy of the treaty with their own seal-rings and the City-seal, and formally delivered it to the Magnesians representatives.³ The military colonists settled in Magnesia and encamped near it, and the (apparently small) group of free Hellenic citizens of Magnesia, thereupon became full citizens of Smyrna, and accepted the Smyrnaian laws and foreign policy, as professed adherents of Seleukos. Lists of the new citizens were carefully drawn up by

¹*C.I.G.* 3137 = *O.G.I.* 229, ll. 34–88, with the editors' notes.

²Presuming the decisions of *C.I.G.* 3137 = *O.G.I.* 229, ll. 24–28, 31 f., 40 f.,

59 ff., 79 f., 81 f., 86 f., were duly carried out.

³*C.I.G.* 3137 = *O.G.I.* 229, ll. 40 f., 69 ff., 79–82, 86–88.

their responsible officials, and submitted to the Public Assembly of Smyrna. The City-Auditors then exacted an oath from these Magnesians officials at the temple of the Mother-Goddess (where special sacrifices were offered for the occasion) to the effect that the lists were perfectly genuine. The Auditors allocated the names by lot to the various City-Tribes, and posted up in public the particulars of the distribution. They then handed over the citizen-lists to the Recorder of the Council and People of Smyrna, who deposited them in the Public Record-Office. All whose names were posted up were invested with full civic rights. A certain number of them removed to Smyrna: pending the preparation of their houses, six months' lodgings were hired for them at the public expense by the City-Treasurer and the Generals. In Magnesia itself the Smyrnaian coinage was accepted, and the Smyrnaian laws became valid for all matters in which citizens of Smyrna should be concerned: moreover, the keys of the city and the supreme military command were peacefully placed in the hands of a Smyrnaian General.¹ The whole proceeding, despite its verbal form, was far too one-sided to constitute a "sympolitēia" in the strict sense; for the Magnesians were hardly a political unit dealing with Smyrna on equal terms—they were rather a group of settlers who agreed under pressure to be swallowed up in the Smyrnaian body-politic.²

Hardly had these concluding formalities been properly taken in hand, and arrangements made to have the whole text of the treaty and the preliminary resolutions inscribed on stone, when another drastic step in pursuance of the same pro-Seleukid policy was, on the suggestion of the Generals, decided upon by the Smyrnaian Assembly. Near Magnesia, probably somewhere up the slope of Mt. Sipylos, was a small settlement, built on the site of the original akropolis of the city and hence called Palai-Magnesia. It was occupied by a body of Makedonian infantry under a certain Timon, and some Persians under Omanes. They had been there some time, for land had been granted to them by Antiokhos I and (perhaps later) by his minister Alexandros: also they had apparently been joined by some of the colonists (just possibly ejected citizens) who were

¹*C.I.G.* 3137 = *O.G.I.* 229, ll. 34-41, 43-59, 92 f. On the grant of houses, cf. *Feldmann* 23, 98, and *Dittenberger's* n.30.

²*Szanto, Bürgerrecht*, 109-111, 114 f. 152; *Feldmann* 8, 91 n. 1, 95 top, 100.

previously settled in or near Magnesia itself, and who on removing had received fresh plots. A body of troops under an officer named Menekles was now sent from Smyrna to demand that the place should be surrendered in the interests of Seleukos, the keys handed over, and themselves admitted as a garrison, favourable treatment being promised in the event of the Smyrnaian demand being complied with. Very willingly, we are told, but probably also because they had no option in the matter, the possessors of Palai-Magnesia did as they were asked. The Public Assembly of Smyrna thereupon voted that they should all be enrolled as citizens of Smyrna, that the two lots of land granted them by Antiokhos I and Alexandros should remain in their possession untithed, that the land now held by the former settlers in Magnesia (if taken over—presumably by the king's permission—as Smyrnaian territory) should also be freely left to them, that their existing immunity from taxation should not be disturbed, and that their landless individuals should each receive a horse-soldier's portion of land, free from taxation, in the immediate neighbourhood of Palai-Magnesia: Timon and his body of men might stay on, and enjoy citizenship and freedom from taxation like the others; Omanes and the Persians and Menekles and his men from Smyrna were put on the same footing as the newly-received Magnesians; and all alike were to receive from the royal treasury the customary pay and rations.¹ We observe how completely Seleukos' city-ally assumes the right to make arrangements and enter into undertakings on his behalf.² The Smyrnaian resolution was to be inscribed on the same stone slabs as the Magnesian treaty, besides being put in the Public Record-Office. This was now done; and the two completed steles were deposited, in conformity with the terms of the treaty, one in the temple of Aphrodite Stratonikis at Smyrna, and the other in the temple of Artemis Leukophryene at Magnesia-on-Maiandros. The Recorder of the Council and People of Smyrna prepared copies of the treaty—as well as of the agreement with Palai-Magnesia—for the Public Record-

¹*C.I.G.* 3137 = *O.G.I.* 229, ll. 89-107, with the editors' notes. Cf. Hicks, *Greek Hist. Inscriptions* (1882), 307 f.; Feldmann 89 f., 102 f.; Schulten in *Hermes*, xxxii (1897) 532 f.; Tarn, *Hellen.*

Civil. 137. A few of the details are somewhat obscure. See above, p. 108 n. 3, and p. 120 n. 3.

²Cf. Niese ii. 162 f.; Tarn as above, pp. 115 f. n. 3.

Office. The Magnesians put one inscribed copy of the treaty in the market-place at Magnesia (near the altar of Dionysos and the royal statues), and another in the temple of Apollon at the neighbouring place called Pandoi, and another in his temple at Gryneia.¹ Dionysios (son of Dionytas), the General who had taken so prominent a part in these negotiations between Smyrna and Magnesia, was honoured with a crown by vote apparently of the Ionic League of thirteen cities: the decree according it follows a list of names, land-areas, and money-amounts, which—seeing that the stone was found near the Jewish Hospital at Smyrna—have been thought to represent the tenants of the temple of Aphrodite Stratonikis and their holdings and rents.²

¹*C.I.G.* 3137 = *O.G.I.* 229, ll. 29 f., 83-86, 107 f. Feldmann (99) interprets the provision of *three* copies of the treaty for the Magnesians as a special confirmation of the concessions promised them on condition of their giving their adhesion to Seleukos.

The whole inscription, now in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, was originally acquired about 1600 A.D. by Samson, Smyrna-agent of Fabricius de Peiresc; but he was imprisoned and not allowed to remove it. It was later purchased about 1626 by Wm. Petty for the Earl of Arundel, brought to England in 1627, and its contents first published by John Selden in 1628. Chandler (*Marm. Oxon.* [1763], ii) and Feldmann (61) assume that the stone was dug up at Smyrna; and the few facts known about its acquisition, as well as its inclusion of ll. 1-33, with which the Magnesian copy could well have dispensed, support the assumption that we have here the *Smyrnanian* copy. Walsh, however, takes it for granted (ii. 10 mid.)—on what authority I do not know—that the stone in the Ashmolean is from *Magnesia*; and it is impossible, in the present state of our knowledge, to affirm positively that he is wrong.

The inscription has been edited, not only in *C.I.G.* and *O.G.I.*, but also by Hicks (*Greek Hist. Inscriptions* [1882], 300-306 [176]), Feldmann (61-68), Dittenberger (in the first edition of *S.I.G.* [171]), and Michel (*Recueil*, 14-20 [19]). Egger (*Traité public* [1866], 108-121) gives a French version. I am not aware that an English translation has previously been published.

²*Mosa.* II. ii f. 42 f. (σξ'): cf. Fontrier in *R.E.A.* ii (1900) 252 f. (= *R.A.* xxxvii or ii [1900] 162), iv (1902) 192, 193 n. 1.

The civic unification of Smyrna and Magnesia could not have remained in force for a very long period. What effect must Smyrna's adherence to Attalos about 220 B.C. (see next page) have had on the Seleukid garrison of Magnesia—still more, Smyrna's strenuous resistance to Antiochos III early in the next century? The garrison must in any case have disappeared as a garrison in 190 B.C., for shortly afterwards the Senate placed Magnesia beneath the sway of Eumenes of Pergamon (Livius xxxvii. 56). Magnesian coins of ii/B.C. (*B.M.C. Lydia*, lxix, 137 f.) give evidence of the existence of an independent city of Magnesia at that time, thus disproving Boeckh's theory (notes to *C.I.G.* 3137 and 3157; cf. Feldmann 101) that the sympathy with Smyrna remained in force until imperial times. The existence of a probably ii/A.D. inscription, headed thus:

Ο
ΣΜΥΡ· Ο ΜΑΓΝ·
ΔΗΜΟΣ
ΕΡΩΤΙ
ΟΥΠΑΝ·

and continuing *Ὀὐλπία Μαρκελλείνα Οὐλπίου θ(υγάτηρ), ἀρχιέρεια Ἀφροδίτης Οὐρανίας* (*C.I.G.* 3157; cf. Lane 27 n. 5) does not necessarily mean that the two cities then formed one community, but only that they were co-operating for a particular purpose. Nor is the existence at Magnesia of a *σύνδοδος Σμυρναίων* (*C.I.G.* 3408: ? ii/ or iii/A.D.) at all in-

Seleukos was only partially successful in his eastern campaign. Defeated in battle in 242 B.C., he made peace with Ptolemaios III the next year. A couple of years later, war broke out between Seleukos and his young brother, Antiokhos Hierax, to whom—at some time during his recent struggles with Ptolemaios—he had made over the whole of his empire north of the Tauros. About 239 B.C. Seleukos successfully invaded Lydia; but, though he doubtless retained the support of Smyrna, he failed in his attacks on Sardeis and Ephesos.¹ Next year he was badly defeated; and about 237 B.C. a peace was made by which he left Antiokhos Hierax in possession of his share of the realm. The latter succeeded in checking the anarchy now prevalent in Asia Minor: but another power now appeared on the scene in the person of Attalos I, king of Pergamon (241–197 B.C.). About 231 B.C. he defeated Hierax's army of Galatians, and by 228 B.C. had frightened Hierax himself out of the country. Thereafter he enlarged his dominions, and ingratiated himself with the Hellenic cities—by a series of successful campaigns against the restless and troublesome Galatian tribes. His capital—about fifty miles north of Smyrna as the crow flies—became a brilliant centre of culture and commerce. A number of Aiolic and Ionic cities embraced his cause, among others, Lampsakos, Ilion, Alexandria Troas, Kyme, Phokaia, and Smyrna. “Even Smyrna, which had been so eminent for its loyalty to the Seleucid house, now changed about, swore fidelity to Attalus, and was henceforward altogether alienated at heart from the Seleucid cause”.² After futile efforts to regain the Anatolian possessions he had lost to Attalos, Seleukos II died in 226 B.C. He was succeeded by his elder son, Seleukos III, who spent his short reign in

consistent with the supposition that the two cities were then distinct.

In another Smyrnaian inscription (*C.I.G.* 3381), possibly of pre-Roman times, a Magnesian woman ear-marks a tomb at Smyrna for her son and husband. The name of a certain Seleukos (son of Demas), whose funeral slab attests the regard of the Smyrnaian People (*C.I.G.* 3247), may be an echo of the city's alliance with Seleukos II. A Σελεύκισσα is named on an inscription from “Long Island” in the Gulf (Contoleon in *M.D.A.I.* xii [1887] 251 [14]).

¹Tarn (in *C.A.H.* vii. 720) says he “detached several cities, including Smyrna, from his brother”. I do not know any definite authority for this precise statement regarding Smyrna.

²Bevan, *House of Seleuc.* i. 199; cf. Niese ii. 158. In Polyb. V. lxxvii. 6, we read that in 218 B.C. Attalos, on recovering his power, ἐχρημάτισε τοῖς παρὰ τῶν Σμυρναίων πρεσβευταῖς φιλοφρόνως, διὰ τὸ μάλιστα τοὺτους τετηρηκέναι τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν πίστιν. But we do not know the precise date at which Smyrna first joined Attalos.

obscure campaigns in Asia Minor, and on his assassination in 223 B.C. left his affairs there in the hands of his cousin Akhaios.

We get but few additional scraps of information regarding the Smyrna of these years. Her coins of the decade 240–230 B.C. substitute for the usual head of Apollon that of the City-Goddess—a change thought to be due to the vogue of the new cult of Aphrodite Stratonikis.¹ At some time after 241 B.C. (possibly after Smyrna had abandoned Seleukos) and before Antigonos Doseon had expelled the Ptolemaic garrisons from Karia (227–225 B.C.), Smyrna seems to have been invited by Ptolemaios III, or at his suggestion, to arbitrate in a boundary-dispute between two of the towns still under his control, Miletos and Priene. Delay occurred in the execution of their award; and Ptolemaios, or one of his officials, had to instruct the two cities that effect must be given to it without delay.²

In or shortly before 226 B.C., a certain Smyrnaian, Straton, son of Straton, materially assisted the town of Oropos (at the eastern end of Boiotia), apparently when it was in danger of being assailed by pirates. As a reward, the Council and People of Oropos voted that he and his posterity should be declared guests and benefactors of the city, and should be entitled to hold land- and house-property and to enjoy personal inviolability and the various other privileges customary in such cases.³

Seleukos III was succeeded by his younger brother Antiochos III, later called “the Great” (223–187 B.C.). During his absence from Asia Minor, his cousin Akhaios at first remained faithful to him, but later aimed at making himself independent. Though unable to crush Attalos, Akhaios confined him to Pergamon: by threat of force majeure he compelled Myrina, Kyme, Phokaia, and some other cities, to desert Attalos and

¹Milne in *Numism. Chron.* V. iii (1923) 17–20. In the next decade (230–220 B.C.) Apollon reappears, but the City-Goddess is retained (*ibid.* 20–24).

²*G.I.B.M.* 412 = *Inscr. v. Priene*, 33 (27: letter and edict [? of Ptol. Euergetes] inscribed at Priene), with Hicks's and Hiller v. Gaertringen's notes. The latter puts the edict later, and ascribes it to one of the Attalids.

Two other instances of Smyrnaian

citizens successfully arbitrating in the disputes of other states are known, viz. Stratonikeia in Karia (*Mosa.* V. i. 8 [213] = *B.C.H.* lii [1928] 169 f., 426, lvii [1933] 485 n. 1), and a place unknown (*R.E.G.* xiv [1901] 298 [6] = *B.C.H.* lii [1928] 169 n. 1)—but neither incident is datable.

³*I.G.* VII. 392, as restored. For the date of the decree (226 B.C.), cf. Christina Barratt in *J.H.S.* lii (1932) 85 f.

become his own allies; and he made himself master of a large part of the peninsula. Finally in 220 B.C. he assumed the royal title. Lampsakos, Ilion, Alexandria Troas, and Smyrna, however, remained faithful to Attalos¹: and in 218 B.C., when Akhaios was campaigning in Pisidia, Attalos emerged from Pergamon, and, at the head of an army partly composed of Galatians from across the Hellespont, advanced through Aiolis and northern Ionia, where lay the cities which Akhaios had coerced into alliance with himself. Most of these willingly and gratefully responded to Attalos' summons, but a few needed the application (or threat) of force. First of all, Myrina, Kyme, and Phokaia joined him: Aigai and Temnos were frightened into surrender: Teos and Kolophon sent to declare their submission. Attalos renewed his former agreements with them all, and took hostages from them as pledges of good faith. In giving audience to the envoys from Smyrna, he showed by his cordiality how much he appreciated the city's fidelity to himself, in that it had not submitted to Akhaios.² After triumphantly marching round north-western Asia Minor, he led his Galatian mercenaries (in September, 218 B.C.) back to the Hellespont, and there renewed agreements with Lampsakos, Ilion, and Alexandria Troas. Then he returned to Pergamon. As soon, however, as Akhaios was back at Sardeis, war between him and Attalos was resumed.³

In the summer of the same or in the spring of the following year, a Smyrnaian poetess named Aristodema, the daughter of Amyntas, paid a professional visit to the Hellas across the Aegaeon, accompanied by her brother Dionysios. We do not

¹Polyb. V. lxxvii. 1, 2 (. . . τὰς κατὰ τὴν Αἰολίδα πόλεις, καὶ τὰς συνεχεῖς ταύταις, ὅσαι πρότερον Ἀχαιοῦ προσεκεχωρήκεισαν διὰ τὸν φόβον), 3-5 (Κυμε, "Smyrna" [for which read "Myrina"], Phokaia, Aigai, Temnos, Teos, and Kolophon apparently lapse to Akhaios), 6 (Smyrna adheres to Attalos), lxxviii. 6 (Lampsakos, Alexandria Troas, and Ilion adhere to Attalos). I agree with Wilcken (in Pauly II [1896] 2162), G. Macdonald (in *J.H.S.* xxvii [1907] 159), and Meyer (*Grenzen*, 102 f., 105), that in lxxvii. 4 we ought—out of deference to the map and the context—to read *Μύρνα* for *Σμύρνα*. Cf. Mylonas 38; Bevan, *House*

of Seleuc. i. 300-302, 310-315, ii. 1 f.

²Polyb. V. lxxvii. 2-6 (see above, p. 128 n. 2: also the last n.): Mylonas 38; Holm, *Greece*, iv. 275 f., 293; Niese ii. 158, 390 f.; Bevan, *House of Seleuc.* ii. 2-4.

³À propos of the Galatians, it is worth observing that one of them, Apollas Galates, appears as a magistrate of Smyrna on a coin about 85-75 B.C. (Milne in *Numism. Chron.* IV. xiv [1914] 287, V. iv [1924] 317, vii [1927] 100 f.), and a Galatian woman, Ardenam, daughter of Bosynios, was honoured by the People at an unknown date (*Mous.* II. ii f. 38 [αμθ']).

know how far she went; but she appears to have made Delphoi her centre, and to have visited various cities in the neighbourhood—among others, Lamia in the Sperkheios-valley, and the Lokrian Khaleion on the Korinthian Gulf. Lamia belonged geographically to Malis; but for some time past it had been an important Aitolian centre. Aristodema gave there several public recitals of her poems, and pleased her auditors by her complimentary references to their ancestors and to the Aitolian race. The Lamians voted her a guest and benefactress of the city, and granted to her and her descendants nominal citizenship, the rights of holding land- and house-property and of feeding cattle free on the public pasture, legal inviolability in peace and war by land and sea, and all other honours customary in such presentations. Guest-right, citizenship, and exemption from taxation (or possibly inviolability) were similarly conferred on her brother and his descendants. Khaleion was a seat of the worship of Apollon Nesiotes; and Aristodema gratified the citizens thereof not only by showing good-will to their city, but by glorifying their ancestors and piously honouring their god. Her formal rewards at Khaleion were similar to those voted at Lamia (except that exemption from taxation took the place of citizenship and pasture-right); but she was given in addition a crown of sacred laurel from the temple-precincts (an old-fashioned honour, which was to be formally proclaimed at a forthcoming festival), a piece of the sacrificial flesh from Apollon's temple (for her hearth in Smyrna), and a guest-gift of 100 drakhmai. Her brother received the same honours as at Lamia, though no mention was made of his posterity. The decree was to be publicly inscribed by the proper officers, and copies put up beside the temples of Apollon at Khaleion and Delphoi. From the fact that the flesh and the money were to be *sent* to Aristodema, we may perhaps infer that the rewards were voted after her departure from Khaleion.¹

¹For the Lamian decree, *I.G.* IX. ii. 62 = *S.I.G.* 532, with the editors' comments: cf. Szanto, *Bürgerrecht*, 48 ("... ein deutliches Ehrenbürgerdiplom, da ja eine Frau keine politischen Rechte erwerben konnte"). The date (218/217 B.C.) is fixed by the name of the Aitolian strategos Agetas, for whom see Polyb. V.

xci. 1. For the Khaleian decree, *S.E.G.* ii. 263; Daux in *B.C.H.* xlvi (1922) 445-449; Pomtow in *Klio*, xviii (1923) 292-294. In view of l. 30 of this inscription (dealing with Dionysios' rewards), I have ventured to read [*ἀρεαί*]a for the conjectural [*ἀουαί*]a in l. 13 of the Lamian inscription.

Another who was contributing at this period to the literary fame of Smyrna was the philosopher Hermippos. His nickname "Kallimakheios" probably marks him as a disciple (or imitator) of Kallimakhos, the grammarian of Alexandria, who died about 240 B.C.; and it is on this ground also probable that part at least of his work was done at Alexandria. From the fact that he wrote a life of Khryssippos, who died in 207 B.C., we infer that he must have lived till about the end of the century. His main work seems to have been a great collection of biographies of famous men (*Bíoi*)—as the following titles indicate:—"Of those who have shone in culture" (possibly the title of the whole work), 'Of the Seven Wise Men', 'Of the Lawgivers', 'Lives of the Philosophers' (evidently a full collection), 'Lives of the Orators' (of which 'Of Gorgias', 'Of Isokrates', and 'Of the pupils of Isokrates' were doubtless sections). He probably included also historians (for Marcellinus says he asserted that Thoukydides was descended from the Peisistratids) and poets (for he wrote 'Of Hipponax'). Josephos says he declared Pythagoras to have borrowed some of his doctrines from the Jews. There is a little uncertainty as to whether he was the author of sundry other works and fragments mentioned or quoted as having come from "Hermippos": of these perhaps 'A Collection of fine Exclamations from Homeros' has—on the ground of the special interest taken in Homeros at Smyrna—a fairly good claim to be regarded as the Smyrnaian's work.¹

Along with distinction in literature went interest in art; and the pursuit of both doubtless owed something to the proximity of Pergamon and the favour of its court. A queer and slender trace of the trade (probably in Smyrnaian wine) carried on between Smyrna and Pergamon during the late third and early second centuries B.C. remains in a couple of clay amphora-handles found at the latter place and inscribed with the word *Ζμυρναῖον*, written (by a dye-cutter's inadvertence)

¹Frag. in *F.H.G.* iii. 37-54. Cf. also Marcellin. *Vit. Thuc.* 29; Josep. *Contra Apion.* i. 22 (163-165: *τούτων* [i.e. of those who had written of Pythag.] *ἐπισημώτατός ἐστιν Ἑρμιππος, ἀνὴρ περὶ πᾶσαν ἱστορίαν ἐπιμέλης. λέγει τοίνυν ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν περὶ Πυθαγόρου βιβλίων, ὅτι . . .*); Hieronym. *Vir. Illust.* pref.; Stobaios, *Florileg.* v. 59; Grote, *Aristotle* (ed. 1872),

i. 48-50 (suggests that Herm. compiled at Alexandria the list of Aristoteles' works later given by Diog. Laert.); Susemihl i. 492-495; Philip Smith in *S.D.G.R.B.* ii. 416 f.; Kroll in *Pauly VIII* (1913) 845-852; Christ, *Gesch. der griech. Litt.* II. i (1920) 84 (cf. also I [1912] 347, 567, 624, 632, 722 f., II. i. 128, 137, 523).

backwards.¹ It is possibly by her connexion with Pergamon that we ought to explain a statement made by Plinius revealing Smyrna's appreciation of good sculpture. He tells us that there was preserved at Smyrna a very famous bronze statue of an intoxicated old woman. He ascribes it to Myron of Eleutherai, who flourished in the fifth century B.C.: but the marble copies of a statue of this description now at Rome and Munich represent an original certainly not older than 300 B.C.; either therefore the original may be a late imitation of that Myron's work (which was mostly in bronze), or (more probably) Plinius may have confused him with Myron of Thebai, who lived at Pergamon towards the end of the third century B.C., and some of whose work might therefore quite naturally have found its way to Smyrna.²

Another city with which Smyrna evidently had connexions was Miletos. Now reduced to a position of second-rate importance, Miletos sometime in the third century B.C. (possibly about 225 B.C.) went through a sort of civic renewal, at which a number of fresh citizens from the surrounding districts were enrolled. Among these was Apollonios, the son of Aristandros, of Smyrna. An inscription dated 216/215 B.C. mentions, among others who became citizens of Miletos by the People's vote, Miletos the son of Herakleides of Smyrna, his wife Hedeia (the "Sweet") daughter of Antigenes of Antiocheia, and their two young sons Herakleides and Antigenes. Another inscription (undated, but perhaps roughly contemporary) includes Bakkhios, the son of Bakkhios, and his wife—both Smyrnaians—in a list of newly-enrolled citizens. Yet another appears to mention the award by the Ionic League—on the proposal of the Erythraians—of a gift of gold, perhaps a crown, to a Smyrnaian woman.³ In 213/212 B.C. two Smyrn-

¹C. Schuchardt in Fränkel, *Die Inschriften v. Perg.* ii (1895) 424, 432, 492 (1274). It is pointed out that, while *Ζμυρναίων* is found on only two handles, their form is so similar to others at Pergamon not bearing any place-name, but usually classed as Rhodian (cf. Rostovtzeff in *C.A.H.* viii. 624, 628 f., 656), that some of these may well be Smyrnaian work. On Smyrnaian commerce during this period, cf. Rostovtzeff in *C.A.H.* viii. 654, 657, 660 f., 666.

²Plin. *Nat. Hist.* xxxvi. 5 (32: see above, p. 91 n. 4): H. Stuart Jones, etc., *The Sculptures of the Museo Capitolino* (1912), 89 f. (8); Ashmole in *C.A.H.* viii. 685 and vol. iii of *Plates*, 144 f. The marble statue at Rome is in the Capitoline Museum, in the long corridor on the upper floor, no. 8.

³Kawerau and Rehm, *Das Delphinion in Milet* (= Heft 3 of Wiegand's *Milet*, 1914), 212, 205, 218, 229 f. (66, 45, 86, 120).

aians, Ariston and Menekrates, sons of Ariston, were granted Aitolian citizenship by the Aitolian Assembly at Thermon.¹

Antiokhos III, heavily defeated by the Egyptian army in Palestine in 217 B.C., turned his attention seriously to the struggle with Akhaios. In 214 B.C. he took Sardeis, where Akhaios himself was captured and slain. After coming to some sort of an agreement with Attalos, he went off full of glory to deal with his eastern provinces. When in Persis in 205 B.C. he was, like other sovereigns and many Hellenic cities (including Smyrna), appealed to by Magnesia-on-Maiandros to recognize as of pan-Hellenic standing (equal to that of the Pythian Games) the four-yearly Magnesian festival in honour of Artemis Leukophryene. The cordial response of the king and the official acknowledgement of the festival by the Smyrnaians and many other neighbouring communities are on record.²

In 202 B.C. an insincere pact was concluded between Antiokhos (once more in Asia Minor) and Philippos V of Makedonia, in antagonism to Pergamon, Rhodos, and Egypt. Philippos attacked the Kyklades, the Asiatic coasts, and Pergamon—action which eventually involved him in an unsuccessful war with Rome. Antiokhos meanwhile won victories and strengthened his position in Syria and Palestine (199–198 B.C.).

In 197 B.C., when Philippos was completely defeated by the Romans, Antiokhos moved west again, and—despite the opposition and ill-will of Eumenes, the new king of Pergamon—re-established his authority, by means of land- and sea-conquests and of threats, over nearly all those parts of Asia Minor which had previously been either independent or subject to Philippos or Ptolemaios. From his headquarters at Ephesos during the ensuing winter (197/196 B.C.), he busied himself in endeavouring to cajole or frighten the still unreduced Hellenic cities of Ionia, Aiolis, and the Hellespont. He appealed to their former submission to the kings of Asia, promised generous privileges, and flourished his military

¹I.G.³ IX. i. 59.

²S.I.G. 557 appx. L; Kern, *Die Inschr. von Magnesia*, 43 f. (53: cf. also 15 [18],

51–53 [61]); Bevan, *House of Seleuc.* i. 280 f., ii. 47.

power. Most gave way, and admitted his garrisons; but two allies of Pergamon—Smyrna in Ionia, and Lampsakos on the Hellespont—refused, being probably prompted to do so by Eumenes himself. Fearing the effects of their obstinacy, Antiokhos sent troops against them from Ephesos and Abydos respectively, and at the same time tried through his envoys to induce them to accept freedom as his gift, instead of seizing it for themselves at an opportune moment. Their answer was that the king had no ground for surprise or anger, if they were unwilling to postpone their hope of liberty. In common with one or two other cities, Smyrna and Lampsakos now appealed for help to T. Quinctius Flamininus, the victorious Roman general in European Hellas. Antiokhos sent an explanatory embassy to the same influential umpire and the ten Roman commissioners co-operating with him. Lampsakos took its appeal also to the Senate at Rome.¹ It is natural to see in Smyrna's extraordinary trust in Rome a prudent realization of what could best subserve her commercial prosperity, as well as safeguard her political freedom.²

In the early summer of 196 B.C., Antiokhos crossed the Hellespont and occupied Lysimakheia. At the Isthmian Games about midsummer, the Roman commissioners—shortly after Flamininus' momentous proclamation of Hellenic freedom—informed the king's ambassadors that he must vacate the cities in Asia previously subject to Ptolemaios or Philippos, leave the free cities alone, and not enter Europe. About October the same year, the king received at Lysimakheia (besides his own returned envoys) L. Cornelius Lentulus from Rome, three of the ten commissioners with Flamininus, Koiranos and others from Smyrna, and representatives from Lampsakos. Cornelius, as spokesman for the Roman group, protested against Antiokhos' seizure of cities that had belonged to Ptolemaios or Philippos, required him to withdraw from them and to refrain from molesting the free cities, and told him that his entry into Europe with an army looked very like a move against the Romans. In reply, Antiokhos expressed his astonishment at this unwarranted interference of Rome in

¹Appian. *Syr.* 1 f.; Livius xxxiii. 38: Mylonas 38 f.; Mommsen, *Rome*, ii. 446 ff.; Niese ii. 643; Bevan, *House of Seleuc.* ii. 44-48; Chapot 2-4, 120;

Meyer, *Grenzen*, 140 f.; Holleaux in *C.A.H.* viii. 173 f., 178-180.

²Cf. Ramsay in *H.D.B.* iv. 554a, *Seven Chs.* 253 f.

his rightful recovery of his ancestors' possessions. As for the cities of Asia, it was fitting, he said, that they should get their freedom, not by order of the Romans, but by his own favour. The Roman ambassadors then secured an audience for the envoys from Smyrna and Lampsakos. Emboldened by the presence of the Romans, these envoys arraigned the king's proceedings with such freedom that the latter angrily silenced Parmenion of Lampsakos with the declaration that, if he wanted an arbitrator between himself and the Hellenic cities, it would be Rhodos and not Rome. The sittings thus ended in heat, the parties dispersed, and Antiokhos returned to Syria.¹

The desultory negotiations of the next few years led to no settlement. In the early summer of 195 B.C., Antiokhos sent a friendly embassy from Ephesos to Flamininus in Hellas, who professed himself unable to treat and referred him to Rome. Meanwhile Smyrna and Lampsakos maintained their resistance; and in the course of the same year Smyrna gave emphatic expression to her political sentiments by erecting (for the first time in history) a temple to the City of Rome.² "This bold step was the pledge of uncompromising adherence to the cause of Rome, while its fortunes were still uncertain".³ The example of Smyrna was followed in 170 B.C. by

¹Polybios XVIII. xxxii. 3—xxxv. 5; Livius xxxiii. 34, 35 (init.), 38—41; Diodoros XXVIII. xiv; Appian. *Syr.* 2 f.; Cherbuliez i. 32 (conjectures desultory siege of Smyrna by Antiokhos' troops, 196—191 B.C.); Mylonas 39; Tsakyroglou i. 66—68 (S. not actually taken by Ant.); Niese ii. 669 f.; Bevan, *House of Seleuc.* ii. 48—52; Heitland, *Roman Repub.* ii. 31 f.; Holleaux in *C.A.H.* viii. 183—188.

²Tacit. *Ann.* iv. 56 (Smyrnaians pleaded in 26 A.D. ". . . seque primos templum urbis Romae statuisse, M. Porcio consule, magnis quidem iam populi Romani rebus, nondum tamen ad summum elatis, stante adhuc Punica urbe et validis per Asiam regibus"). All the modern authorities refer to this temple: see, esp. Hirschfeld in *S.P.A.* 1888, 835 f.; Chapot 423 f. (list of later temples to Rome in Asia); Reid 186, 378 f., 384, 423; Tarn, *Hellen. Civil.* 51 f.

³Ramsay, *Seven Chs.* 254. He infers (*Recent Discovery*, 401—403) from the words of Cicero in *Philipp.* xi. 2 (5: ". . . Smyrnam . . . quae est fidelissi-

morum antiquissimorumque sociorum"), and from the story of the war with Antiokhos and of the treaty which ended it, that an actual alliance must have existed between Rome and Smyrna before the end of the war. But Cicero's language is rhetorical, and cannot be literally pressed (as the analogous references to Sicilian "allies" in the Verrine speeches show): moreover, if Smyrna had had an actual alliance with Rome, it would certainly have been mentioned by the Smyrnaian delegates at Rome in 26 A.D. (see below, p. 148 nn. 1 and 3, and p. 239).

The figure of Rome appears on Smyrnaian coins of iii/A.D. (*B.M.G. Ionia*, 286 [389—392: Julia Domna], 289 [410 f.: Caracallus], 293 [434: Julia Mamaea], 299 [467—469: Gallienus]): the words Θέαν Πάμην (Mionnet iii. 221 [1235], *supp.* vi. 323 [1588]; Babelon 106 [1950]; Macdonald, *Hunter. Coll.* ii. 367 [96 f.]; Head, *Hist. Num.* 594) are stamped on coins of the time of Claudius and Nero.

Alabanda, probably in 167 B.C. by Athens, and in 98 B.C. by Pergamon.

It is almost certain that envoys from Smyrna were among the numerous Hellenic deputations at Rome in 193 B.C., when Antiokhos' ambassadors—in reply to their protests against Roman interference—were plainly told by Flamininus, on behalf of the Senate, that, if Antiokhos would altogether withdraw from Europe, the Romans would not bother about the cities in Asia, but that otherwise they would vindicate Hellenic liberty against him, as they had against Philippos, for colonies had been planted in Aiolis and Ionia, not to be enslaved by kings, but to propagate the Hellenic race. The next day Flamininus introduced the Hellenic envoys into the Senate, and explained the situation to them. Ambassadors were appointed to carry the Senate's decision to Antiokhos at Ephesos.¹

A final discussion took place at Ephesos, in the late summer of 193 B.C., between these ambassadors (who, while at Pergamon, had been persuaded by Eumenes to stir up war between Rome and Antiokhos) and the king's chauvinistic representative Minion. The latter asked the Romans in what way the Smyrnaians and Lampsakenes were more Hellenic than the men of Neapolis, Rhegion, Taras, and Sicily, that the Romans should treat the latter as subjects, while they championed the liberty of the former: the obvious answer was that they had conquered the latter in war; let them therefore acknowledge the same title in the case of Antiokhos: Smyrna, Lampsakos, and the other cities of Ionia and Aiolis had been conquered and made tributary by his ancestors, and he was simply seeking to regain his hereditary rights. In reply, the Roman spokesman Sulpicius denied the analogy. Rome's rule over the Hellenes of the west, once established, had been uninterrupted, whereas the Seleukid sway over those of Asia had been so intermittent that, if Antiokhos' claim were admitted, the posterity of Philippos would have an equal right some day to re-enslave the Hellas that Rome had just freed. Embassies from the states (doubtless including Smyrna) were then admitted. Having been previously instigated by

¹Livius xxxiv. 57-59; Diodoros ii. 57-61; Holleaux in *C.A.H.* viii. 199-XXVIII. xv; cf. Bevan, *House of Seleuc.* 201.

Eumenes, they argued so heatedly that the discussion became a wrangle, and so ended inconclusively. When the ambassadors had left, the king's council discussed war with Rome. Indignation at the Romans' claims found ready expression: they had left the conquered Nabis his principality of Sparta, but objected to Smyrna and Lampsakos doing what Antiokhos told them! These two little communities, others argued, were hardly worth talking about as occasions of war; yet if it were seen that they had successfully thrown off the Seleukid yoke, other cities would be certain to go over to the Roman liberator.¹ Antiokhos, therefore, decided not to give way. He pursued his ineffectual efforts to master Smyrna, Lampsakos, and Alexandria Troas, either by force or persuasion, being unwilling to move further west until they were reduced.² Late in the autumn of 192 B.C., however, he crossed over—on the invitation of the Aitolians—into Hellas, with the avowed object of releasing it from the Roman yoke. In the course of the next year (191 B.C.), he was defeated by the Romans at Thermopylai, and returned to Asia. His fleets also were worsted off the Asiatic coasts by those of the Romans and Rhodians.

In March 190 B.C., when a fresh Roman army was about to land in Aitolia, the naval operations recommenced. Gaius Livius, formerly in command and now serving under the new admiral, was sent from Samos about April to reduce Patara in Lykia, where Antiokhos had stationed troops. Smyrna was now able to take an active part in the war; and besides two Roman quinqueremes and four Rhodian quadriremes, Livius had with him two open vessels equipped and manned with young men by Smyrna. Three more quadriremes were secured at Rhodos. Against the rocky heights overhanging the harbour of Patara and occupied by the townsmen and the royal troops, Livius sent the light-armed Smyrnaian youths and some auxiliary troops drawn from the Adriatic island of Issa. These kept up a struggle for some time against the darts and minor sallies of the enemy, until large reinforcements from the city threatened to surround them. Livius, fearful for them and

¹Livius xxxv. 13-17; Appian. *Syr.* 12: cf. Mommsen, *Rome*, ii. 453; Niese ii. 679 f.; Bevan, *House of Seleuc.* ii. 60-63; Meyer, *Grenzen*, 142; Holleaux in *C.A.H.* viii. 201.

²Livius xxxv. 42: cf. Cherbuliez i. 33 f. (protests against the idea that Antiokhos conquered Smyrna); Niese ii. 690; Holleaux in *C.A.H.* viii. 206 f.

for his fleet, led up all the men he could muster (including even the rowers), and, after a bloody struggle, drove the Lykians into the town. Then, re-embarking and abandoning Patara, he sailed north-west to Telmissos, sent home his Rhodian allies, and crossed over to Hellas to lay down his command.¹ Further manœuvring culminated, in September, in the annihilation of Antiokhos' fleet by the Roman and Rhodian squadrons off the coast near Lebedos.

Shortly after this, the Roman legions crossed the Hellespont, and landed in Troas. Antiokhos, whose operations in Aiolis had met with some success, now made a last attempt to negotiate a peaceful settlement. At this time, if not before, he must have discontinued the siege of Smyrna.² His envoy, Herakleides of Byzantion, pointed out to L. Cornelius Scipio, the Consul in command, in the presence of his staff at the Hellespont, that Antiokhos had already evacuated Lysimakhia, was withdrawing from Lampsakos, Alexandria Troas, and Smyrna (the cities that had been the cause of the war), and was prepared to abandon any other cities of Aiolis and Ionia that had taken sides against him, and also to pay half the cost of the war. Advised by his brother Publius (famous as Hannibal's conqueror), the Consul told Herakleides in reply that the king would have to pay the whole cost of the war he had rendered necessary, and to abandon all Asia on the hither side of Mt. Tauros, so that all the Hellenic cities might be free.³ Rather than accept such humiliating conditions, Antiokhos decided to fight, but was totally defeated at Magnesia-near-Sipylos (probably January, 189 B.C.). As a consequence, nearly the whole country went over to the Romans. Antiokhos immediately accepted the conquerors' terms, and despatched ambassadors to Rome: with them there sailed from Ephesos

¹Livius xxxvii. 16; Tacit. *Ann.* iv. 56 (Smyrnaians mention "ea, quis maxime fidebant in populum Romanum officii, missa navali copia non modo externa ad bella, sed quae in Italia tolerabantur"); Aristeides xli, 766 (xix. ii: Smyrna worthy of preservation, not only because of her appearance, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς εὐνοίας ἣν παρὰ πάντα τὸν χρόνον εἰς ὑμᾶς [the Roman emperors] παρέσχετο, συναραμένη μὲν τοῦ πρὸς Ἀντίοχον πολέμου, συναραμένη δὲ τοῦ πρὸς Ἀριστόνικον, πολιορκίας τε ὑπομείνασα καὶ

μάχας οὐ φαύλας ἀγωνισαμένη, ὧν ἔτι νῦν ἐν πύλαις ἦν αὐτῇ τὰ ὑπομνήματα): cf. Holleaux in *C.A.H.* viii. 220.

²Mylonas 40. Do *G.I.B.M.* 1025 and *S.I.G.* 961 = *Mous.* II. ii f. 51 (120) = *R.A.* xxxii (1876) 41-44 (esp. 44 with n. 2: see below, p. 176 n. 1) possibly refer to this siege?

³Polybios XXI. x-xii; Livius xxxvii. 33-36; Diodoros XXIX. vii; Appian. *Syr.* 29; cf. Bevan, *House of Seleuc.* ii. 106 108; Holleaux in *C.A.H.* viii. 222 f

Eumenes, king of Pergamon, and representatives of Smyrna, Rhodos, and other communities of Asia Minor.¹

In the summer of 189 B.C., these deputations were heard by the Senate at Rome. After a speech by Eumenes, the Rhodians would have been called in; but as one of their number had not arrived, the Smyrnaians were introduced and spoke next. They dwelt at length on their city's admittedly unparalleled loyalty to Rome, and were rewarded by hearing her warmly praised. After them the Rhodians, the envoys of Antiokhos, and others pleaded their respective claims. The Senate appointed ten commissioners to co-operate with the new Consul, Gn. Manlius Vulso (now busy defeating the Galatians) in settling all details locally on certain specified principles.²

Pending their arrival, Manlius wintered at Ephesos, and continued in command during 188 B.C. as Proconsul. Very early in the year, he received at Ephesos numerous embassies from the cities and communities of Asia Minor, who sent to thank him for delivering them from the Galatian terror, which they had felt to be a worse evil than the yoke of Antiokhos. In the spring he met the ten commissioners and the representatives of all the chief states concerned, at Apameia in Phrygia. The treaty with Antiokhos was formally ratified. Rome took no territory for herself: Pergamon and Rhodos were richly rewarded with additional lands. Smyrna, Khios, and Erythrai were granted, in consideration of their fidelity, the territories to which they severally laid claim, and were treated with special honour. Along with Kyme, Klazomenai, and all the other cities that had sided with Rome before the battle of Magnesia, they were confirmed in their liberty and immunity from tribute. Other cities, like Ephesos and Magnesia-near-Sipylos, which had adhered to Antiokhos till after the battle, were made tributary to Pergamon.³ "The hundred years'

¹Polybios XXI. xiv. 11 f.; Livius xxxvii. 45; Diodoros XXIX. x, xi init.: cf. Niese ii. 745 f.; Holleaux in *C.A.H.* viii. 223-226.

²Polybios XXII. i-vii (speech of Smyrnaians = v. 2-4), xvi-xxii (Galatian war); Livius xxxvii. 52-56 (esp. 54: ". . . Conlaudatis egregie Smyrnaeis, quod omnia ultima pati, quam se regi tradere, maluissent, . . ."), xxxviii. 12-27

(Galatians); Diodoros XXIX. xi: cf. Niese ii. 747-749; Holleaux in *C.A.H.* viii. 228-231.

³Polybios XXII. xxiv-xxvii (xxvii. 6: *Χίους δὲ καὶ Σμυρναίους, ἔτι δ' Ἐρυθραίους, ἐν τε τοῖς ἄλλοις προήγον, καὶ χώραν προσένειμαν, ἧς ἕκαστοι κατὰ τὸ παρὸν ἐπεθύμουν, καὶ σφίσι καθήκειν ὑπελάμβανον ἐντρεπόμενοι τὴν εὐνοίαν καὶ σπουδὴν, ἣν παρέσχοντο κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον αὐτοῖς;*)

struggle of the house of Seleucus for Asia Minor had come to an end".¹

For the next half-century the history of Smyrna, so far as it is known to us, is almost entirely devoid of important political events. The crisis of 189/188 B.C. is reflected in the city's coinage: an entire change was made in the designs used hitherto for bronze money (except the Apollon-head), and a new series of silver drakhms and tetradrachms of Attic weight, bearing the head of Kybele or of Smyrna personified, appears on the scene. A fairly continuous series of specimens survives, giving us (after 170 B.C.) the bare names of a succession of eponymous magistrates. The seated figure of Homeros (probably a copy of the temple-statue) begins to appear on bronze and silver coins, and continues until imperial times.² That Smyrna was still disposed to make much of her claim to have been the great poet's birth-place comes out in a poor elegiac poem, in three stanzas, carved for a statue of him at Pergamon sometime before 133 B.C.: in it Smyrna, Khios, Kolophon, Kyme, and other aspirants are clumsily described as waging futile strife for the coveted honour.³ Of the extant inscriptions of Smyrna, a considerable number doubtless belong to the century or so prior to 129 B.C. (when the Roman Province of Asia was established); but in very few cases is it possible to make sure of their dates. Often our only clue is the purely negative one, that inscriptions containing Roman names can hardly belong to this period, but in most cases must be referred to imperial times. Palaeographical tests are often hard to apply, and usually give only very approximate indications of date. From a rough survey of this large and ill-defined mass of inscriptions, one derives little or nothing in the

Livius xxxvii. 56, xxxviii. 37-40; Appian. *Syr.* 44 (mentions Eumenes and Rhodos, but not Smyrna): cf. Mommsen, *Rome*, ii. 471-475; Henze 37, 42; Niese ii. 748 f., 758-760, iii. 61-63; Bevan, *House of Seleuc.* ii. 112-118; Chapot 5-8, 110-112, 120, 135 (position of Smyrna as a free city after the peace); Büchner 765 (Smyrna's territorial enlargements); Holleaux in *C.A.H.* viii. 231-234; Frank in *C.A.H.* viii. 360, 362 f., 365; Rostovtzeff in *C.A.H.* viii. 592, 598 f., 603 f., 607 f.; Tarn, *Hellen. Crvil.* 144 f.

¹Bevan, *House of Seleuc.* ii. 114. On the war in general, and its results, cf. Holleaux in *C.A.H.* viii. 237-240; Benecke in *C.A.H.* viii. 241 f.

²*B.M.C. Ionia*, 237-247; Head, *Hist. Num.* 592 f.; Bernoulli, *Griech. Ikonographie*, i. 6 f.; K. A. Esdaile in *J.H.S.* xxxii (1912) 306; Milne in *Numism. Chron.* V. iii (1923) 2, 29, i (1921) 143 f., vii (1927) 1-16, 105 f., viii (1928) 154-156, 160 top (coins to 170 B.C.).

³Max Fränkel, *Die Inschriften v. Perg.* i. 119-121 (203), ii. 509.

way of explicit and dated historical information: but one rises from a study of it with an enhanced sense of the seriousness with which the public welfare of the city was regarded by its citizens, of the willingness with which they gave of their substance to defray the expense of public works¹ and to express their devotion to the deities they worshipped,² and the frequency with which the People put on record its indebtedness to the dead.³ The collection includes, of course, an indefinite number of private tombstones, manifesting in every variety of sculpture and wording the final farewell.⁴ A few such inscriptions survive from the graves of Smyrnaians who died elsewhere than in their own city.⁵

We have had occasion earlier to refer to the honours won by Smyrnaian athletes in the public games.⁶ Either during or immediately after the final struggle with Antiokhos III, the son of a certain Herogeiton of Smyrna won the boxing-match at the Attic Panathenaia: a few years later still, another Smyrnaian, Aristaios(?) son of Sopolis, won the boys' boxing-match at the same festival.⁷ In 182/181 B.C. Bion (son of Philotas) of Smyrna won the men's long distance race and the horse-race at the Panathenaia⁸; and to about the same period belongs the Panathenaic victory in the pentathlon won by the son of the Smyrnaian Amyntas.⁹ Not long before or after 176

¹Cf. *C.I.G.* 3140 (see above, p. 107 n. 3), 3141 (contains the name *Ἀττάλος*: cf. Collitz and Bechtel, *Sammlung der griech. Dialekt-Inschr.* III. ii [1905] 684-686 [5616 f.]), 3142 (see above, p. 113 n. 1), 3143, 3166 ("Apollonios, the son of Aineas, the sculptor, having promised [this], dedicated [it] to the People"), 3196; Le Bas-Wadd. 3, 11. Kuenzi appends to his treatise an 'Anhang' (59-80) on gifts for public purposes in other Hellenic cities than Athens: he deals (67, 71, 79 f.) with *C.I.G.* 3140-3143. Cf. Boulanger 25-27. See also below, p. 182 n. 2.

²*C.I.G.* 3145 (restoration of a temple), 3155 (joint establishment of a precinct to Ephesian Artemis), 3160, 3161, 3164, 3167, 3168, etc.

³See below, p. 188.

⁴A great deal of Smyrnaian material is adduced and illustrated by E. Pfuhl in his comprehensive studies on 'Das Beiwerk auf den ostgriechischen Grabreliefs'

in *J.D.A.I.* xx (1905) 47-96, 123-155. On the frequent stipulation of a fine in the event of a tomb being misappropriated, cf. *I.G.R.* iv. 1480; and Liebenam 37-54 (esp. 48), where use is made of Hirschfeld's monograph, *Ueber die griechischen Grabchriften* (1887).

⁵*C.I.G.* 899 = *I.G.* III. ii. 2915 (Athens); *I.G.* II. v. 3362b (Peiraieus); *C.I.G.* 2322b³⁷ (in Add. et Corrig.) = *I.G.* IV. 141 (Aigina or Rheneia?); *C.I.G.* 2549 = *I.G.* XII. i. 468 (Rhodos). Smyrnaian sailors, sheltering on the islet Prote off the west coast of Messenia, inscribed on the rocks there their wish for a fair voyage (*I.G.* V. i. 1541, 1550). See above, pp. 112 f., 130 f., 133 f.

⁶See above, pp. 77f., 113.

⁷*C.I.G.* 1591 = *I.G.* II. ii. 967 = *I.G.*² II f. ii. 2313, ll. 6 f., 29 f. The first event is dated 194/193 B.C. or 190/189 B.C.; the second 190/189 B.C. or 186/185 B.C.

⁸*I.G.* II. ii. 966 = *I.G.*² II f. ii. 2314.

⁹*I.G.* II. ii. 970 = *I.G.*² II f. ii. 2315.

B.C., a second Olympic victory fell to the city's record. Diallos, the youthful son of the Smyrnaian Pollis, was the first boy from Ionia to be crowned as victor in the boys' pankration at Olympia; and the statue inscribed with his own declaration of the achievement was to be seen in later times.¹ A Smyrnaian boy also won the long foot-race, sometime during the second century B.C., in some public games held at or near Khaironeia in Boiotia.²

During the war (172-167 B.C.) between Rome and Perseus, king of Makedonia, Smyrna and the other Hellenic cities of Asia supported Rome³—as also did most of the larger allied states; but of the allies both Rhodos and Pergamon incurred Roman suspicion. The growing power of Bithynia and Pontos became a source of weakness to Pergamon (though the Panionic League showed its appreciation of Pergamene philhellenism); and possibly "Rome supported Smyrna as a counterpoise to the too great maritime power of Rhodes".⁴ The weakening of Rhodos, however, led to an alarming increase in the extent of Kretan piracy.

It was possibly very soon after this war, if not at an earlier date, that a dispute arose between Smyrna and Phokaia, which was happily settled by the mediation of Apollodoros of Priene, who went to Smyrna as arbitrator.⁵

At the end of his reign, Eumenes, king of Pergamon, fell out with Demetrios, king of Syria; and in order to make things difficult for him, he professed in 159 B.C. to have discovered Demetrios' supposedly-murdered cousin Alexandros, whose claim to the Syrian throne he proceeded to support. The new claimant was a low-class lad of fourteen named Balas, who had been living in Smyrna, and bore a facial

¹Paus. VI. xiii. 6: cf. Krause, *Olympia*, 224 n. 72, 270; Kirchner in Pauly V (1905), 322 (for the date). The name "Pollis" occurs on coins of Smyrna dated about 245 B.C., and later (Milne in *Numism. Chron.* V. iii [1923] 16, vii [1927] 41, viii [1928] 151 f.): the first might be Diallos' grandfather or great-grandfather. The boys' pankration had been introduced at Olympia in 200 B.C.

²*S.E.G.* iii. 368: neither the name of the games nor that of the boy has been preserved.

³In 26 A.D. the Smyrnaians and others spoke at Rome "de . . . studio in populum Romanum per bella Persi et Aristonici aliorumque regum" (Tacit. *Ann.* iv. 55). For Smyrnaian coins 170-145 B.C., see Milne in *Numism. Chron.* V. vii (1927) 1-3, 17-35, 105-107, IV. xiv (1914) 273-277.

⁴Ramsay, *Seven Chs.* 254.

⁵Hiller v. Gaertr. *Inscr. v. Priene*, 65 f. (65): the alternative (but less probable) date would apparently be 197-190 B.C.

resemblance to Antiokhos V, his supposed brother. His name "Balas" was derived either from Aramaic or from Phoenician, and was an abbreviation of some compound word, of a type frequently used, commencing with "Ba'al" (i.e. "Lord"). It was therefore probably not a nick-name, but might well have belonged to a slave or freedman born of Semitic parents. Balas was crowned at Pergamon as "Alexandros", and then sent to Kilikia, shortly before Eumenes' death. The new king, Attalos II, supported his claims; and after spending some time in Kilikia, and securing in person the recognition of the Senate at Rome, Balas gained the Syrian throne in 152 B.C., and held it for about seven years. Partly owing to his ultimate downfall, historians ancient and modern have concurred in representing him as an imposter; but the possibility of his having really been the person he claimed to be cannot be denied. He may have been hurried as a child to Smyrna, when his brother was murdered by Demetrios in 162 B.C.¹

The history of Smyrna is, by the episode of Balas, brought into distant relationship with that of Syria. A somewhat closer contact with the fortunes of an important people of Syria, the Jews, is represented by the next event to be chronicled. In 142 B.C., Simon Makkabaios, who had recently succeeded his brother Jonathan as High Priest, and was raising the Jewish state in Palestine to a position of prosperous independence, sent an embassy to Rome to bespeak friendship and support. Similar deputations had previously been sent by his brothers Judas (161 B.C.) and Jonathan (about 144 B.C.). The leader of the three ambassadors sent was Noumenios (son of Antiokhos), who had been one of Jonathan's envoys to Rome. They carried with them a large golden shield as a gift to the Roman Republic. Their mission was a complete success. The Senate, assembled in the temple of Concord in December 142 B.C., accepted the shield, and granted the boons that were asked. The envoys were sent home armed with letters from the Consul Lucius (presumably L.

¹Diodoros XXXI. 32 a = *F.H.G.* ii. xii f. (no. xiv: the passage is in the Teubner [1868], but not the Didot, edn. of Diod.); Justin. xxxv. i. 6 f., 9; Wilcken in Pauly I (1894) 1437; Schürer, *G. J. V.* i. 227 f. n. 11; Bevan, *House of Seleuc.* ii. 206 f., 209 f., 213 with n. 2, 300 f., 305 f.

(App. M. and Z); Niese iii. 259; Benecke in *C.A.H.* viii. 285 f.; Bevan in *C.A.H.* viii. 522 f. The names *Bάλας* and *M. Claudius Βάλης* appear on inscriptions in *Mouv.* I. 82 (52) and 66 (8: cf. II. i. 147); but the Smyrnaian origin of the last-named is doubtful.

Caecilius Metellus), declaring that a state of friendship still existed between the Jews and the Romans, forbidding anyone to attack or injure the Jews or make alliance with those at war with them, guaranteeing the peace and immunity of the Jewish sea-ports, and commanding all to hand back to Simon for vengeance any Jewish fugitives in their midst. A copy of this message was, of course, to be delivered to Simon; but probably the Jewish envoys themselves gladly undertook the duty of presenting or transmitting copies to the states and persons to whom it was directly addressed. By judiciously rearranging the list of these, we can recover the probable homeward route taken by Noumenios and his colleagues in the spring of 141 B.C. They delivered the Consul's orders first of all in Hellas itself—to Sparta and Sikyon, next to the island of Delos, and then to Attalos II at Pergamon. Proceeding southwards, they informed Smyrna and Samos, the Karian cities (Halikarnassos, Myndos, and Knidos), the islands of Kos and Rhodos, Gortyna in Krete, Lykia and Phaselis, Pamphylia and Side, Kypros, Arados, and Demetrios king of Syria. Similar information was conveyed (probably after their arrival in Judaea in the summer) to Ariarathes king of Kappadokia, Arsakes king of Parthia, and Ptolemaios Euergetes king of Egypt.¹

The list of persons and places to be informed is puzzling on account both of the selection and arrangement of its

¹ *Makk.* xiv. 24, xv. 15-24, supplemented with details given in Josep. *Antiq.* XIV. viii. 5 (144-148: see below). "Smyrna" appears in only one Gk. MS. of *1 Makk.* xv. 23, viz. V; the others and all the Latin MSS read in its place "Kyrene". (Josephos specifies no place-names.) "Smyrna" is probably correct, as it is easier to imagine how it got replaced by "Kyrene" than vice versa. Josephos says nothing of an embassy under Simon, but narrates one as sent by Hyrkanos II in 55/54 B.C., and as leading to results similar to those mentioned in *1 Makk.* xv. 15-24. Opinion is divided; but there seems a strong balance of probability in favour of regarding the embassies as identical (note the shield, the ambassadors' names, etc.) and assigning them to the date suggested in the narrative of *1 Makk.* xiv, xv. Even that date is not perfectly certain, owing to the confusing arrangement of

the materials of xiv. 16-xv. 24: but as messages from Rome and Sparta, and the despatch of Noumenios to Rome, are both recorded before the great decree of Sept. 141 B.C., and as this decree furthermore recorded (xiv. 40) the successful embassy to Rome, 142 B.C. seems a better date for the latter than 139 B.C., notwithstanding the fact that the return of the envoys from Rome is mentioned after an event of 139/138 B.C. (xv. 10). Cf. Schürer, *G.J.V.* i. 250-253 (argues for 139/138 B.C.); Oesterley in Charles, *A.P.O.T.* i. 64 f. (inclines to 55/54 B.C.), 121; Bevan in *C.A.H.* viii. 527 f.; E. Bickermann in *Gnomon* vi (1930) 358-361 (argues for "Smyrna", and assigns the embassy of *1 Makk.* xiv, xv. to 142 B.C., and that of Josep. *Antiq.* XIV. viii. 5 to 106/105 B.C.) and in *Theolog. Litztg.* 1933, 19, 34of. (argument for "Smyrna").

items, and of its range, including as it does (after the names of the four kings) the sweeping phrase "and to all the lands". It looks as though the Jews were none too sure of the political neutrality of any Gentile community in the countries around them. Some element of political fear or dislike may therefore have entered into the mind of the Jewish poet who—living apparently in Alexandria about 140 B.C.—composed the Greek hexameters later embodied in the so-called 'Sibylline Oracles', and through this medium called upon the Hellenic world to repent, and threatened it with dire penalties if it refused. He foretells earthquakes, and names nineteen cities as destined to "fall, men and all"—the majority of them in Asia Minor, and "Smyrne" and Ephesos among them. Only Smyrna and Syrian Antiokheia are included both in this list and in that of the cities informed of the treaty with Rome. A little further on, the destruction of Samos, Delos, and even Rome, in fulfilment of oracles, is foretold; "and of Smyrna, when she is perishing, (there will be) no word". The next lines are obscure and incomplete, but refer to the "wicked counsels and wickedness of (the city's) leaders"—with what justification we cannot say.¹

Apart from these indirect notices, nothing fills the twenty-six years in Smyrna's history between the discovery of Balas and the revolt of Aristonikos but a thread of magistrates' names stamped on her coins.²

Attalos III of Pergamon died in 133 B.C., bequeathing his dominions and treasure to Rome. Pending their appropriation by his heirs, his bastard brother Aristonikos appeared at Leukai and claimed the crown. He was supported by numerous malcontents, and Phokaia declared for him; but most of the cities (including Ephesos and Smyrna) adhered to Rome.³

¹*Sib. Orac.* iii. 341-347, 363-366 (the last two ll. reading *Σμύρνης δ' ὀλλυμένης οὐδεὶς λόγος. ἐκδικος ἔσται, | ἀλλὰ κακᾶς βουλῆσι καὶ ἠγεμόνων κακότητι | . . .*). Between the two passages is a section bearing on the Mithradatic war of 88 B.C.; but it seems unconnected with its context. On the difficult question of date, cf. Harnack, *Chron.* i. 582; Schürer, *G. J. V.* iii. 574-577; Bousset in Hauck, *Realencyk.* xviii (1906) 265-280, and *Relig. des Jüd.* 18 f.: the choice lies between ± 140 B.C. and ± 80 B.C.

²Milne in *Numism. Chron.* V. vii (1927) 1-3, 36-46 (but see below, p. 156 n. 4), 105 f.

³Tacit. as above, p. 143 n. 3; Aristeides as above, p. 139 n. 1. Cf. Mylonas 40 n. 5, 41; Tsakyroglou i. 72; Last in *C.A.H.* ix. 102-104. In xv, 373 (xvii. 7), Aristeides speaks of many contests waged by Smyrna on behalf of and with the Romans: the war against Aristonikos was by no means the last instance—see below, pp. 155 and 405.

Defeated at sea off Kyme by the Ephesians, he withdrew into the interior; but in 131 B.C. he reappeared with an army of liberated slaves, and succeeded in securing control of most of his brother's kingdom. At the close of the year the Consul, P. Licinius Crassus Mucianus, landed in Asia with an army to act for the Senate, and next year as Proconsul, supported by the royal allies of Rome in Asia, was about to besiege Aristonikos in Leukai, when he was defeated and captured somewhere between Elaia and Smyrna by a party of Thrakians. Unwilling to endure captivity, he thrust his riding-stick into the eye of a Thrakian guardsman, who forthwith stabbed him to death. His head was presented to Aristonikos; his body was brought to Smyrna, and buried by the citizens, probably just outside the city on the east, perhaps on the banks of the small stream flowing northwestwards from the Caravan-Bridge, but at all events on a spot which lay within the city-gates in the time of Aristeides (about 150 A.D.).¹

M. Perperna, the Consul for 130 B.C., forced Aristonikos to give himself up in Karia; and his successor, M'. Aquillius, Consul for 129 B.C., finished the war.

Aquillius, with the help of ten senatorial commissioners, then proceeded to define the limits and organize the administration of the new Province, "Asia". It included at first Mysia, Aiolis, Ionia, Lydia, much of Phrygia, and probably Karia, together with the islands near the coast. Ephesos was fixed upon as the capital. A very few cities enjoyed the supreme privilege of being by treaty allies of Rome ("foederatae"). Next to them were the simply "free" cities ("liberae et immunes"). Both classes were nominally exempt from tribute. The great

¹Cic. *Pro Scauro*, ii. 1b; Strabo XIV. i. 38 (646); Valer. Max. III. ii. 12; Frontinus, *Strateg.* IV. v. 16; Aristeides xli, 766 (xix. 11: see above, p. 139 n.1; the passage continues ἐτι δὲ εὐθὺς δεήσαν ὑμετέρῳ στρατοπέδῳ καὶ τοῦ στρατηγού διεφθαρμένον τὸν μὲν στρατηγὸν κομίσαντες εἰς [? = "to", not "into"] τὴν πόλιν θάπτουσι εἰσω τῶν νῦν πυλῶν, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς στρατιώτας τοὺς χιτῶνας ἐνείμαντο ἀνὴρ ἀνδρὶ δούς: for the clothing-incident, see below, p. 157 n. 4); Florus i. 35 (otherwise ii. 20); Eutropius iv. 20; Orosius V. x. 3; Niese iii. 366 f., 369; Calder in *East. Prov.* 105 f.; Chapot 10-13, 19, 313, 561; Bürchner 759; Last in *C.A.H.* ix. 14 f.,

37 f., 104 f., 156. For the topography, see above, p. 14 n. 3, and below, p. 174 nn. 5 f. and p. 268 n. 3.

J. Keil (in *J.O.A.I.* xxviii [1933] *Beiblatt*, 123 f.) assigns provisionally to the time of the war with Aristonikos an inscription reported by A. Seylaz (*ib.* 121 f.) to have been brought from the top of Bel-Kavé, in which the members of a military garrison stationed there honoured with golden crowns their general Demetrios (alias Gerys), son of Metrodoros, son of Metrophanes, together with his wife, mother, brother, nephew, and foster-brother (the last-named being ἀναγνώστην τοῦ δήμου [sc. of Smyrna]).

majority, however, were not so exempt ("stipendiariae"). Smyrna, it seems, had no formal alliance with Rome, but was among the "free" cities.¹ As such, she would enjoy, not only internal self-government, freedom from the presence of Roman troops, the right of coinage,² the administration of her own finances, and exemption (apparently, for a time at least) from the direct extortions of the Roman tax-collectors, but also (as her subsequent history shows) the right of harbouring exiles from Rome, and making them into Smyrnaian citizens.³ All this, however, did not mean that Smyrna was regarded as outside the province or as exempt from the discretionary control of the Roman governor (Praetor or Propraetor, later sometimes Proconsul).⁴

¹Mommsen, *Röm. Staatsrecht*, iii. 682f.; Marquardt i. 346 f.; Henze 37, 42; Ramsay, as quoted above, p. 136 n. 3; Last in *C.A.H.* xi. 450-452; Keil in *C.A.H.* xi. 582 f.

²For Smyrnaian coins 130-±75 B.C., see Milne in *Numism. Chron.* IV. xiv (1914) 277-298, V. vii (1927) 1-3, 47-107, viii (1928) 141, 162 f. He notes that, towards the end of ii/B.C., Smyrnaian coins begin to add cognomina to magistrates' names—probably in imitation of Roman custom (*Numism. Chron.* V. iv [1924] 318). Cf. Imhoof-Blumer, *Kleinasi. Münzen*, i (1901) 96 (1 f.).

³The right of bestowing citizenship on a Roman exile who, in order to evade a judicial sentence, withdrew from Rome before such sentence was given, is said by Polybios (VI. xiv. 7 f.) to have belonged to any city which had a sworn treaty with Rome. But he is clearly thinking of

cities in Italy: and it seems reasonable to suppose that the same privilege was extended to free (but unallied) cities in the provinces, just as it was extended to Roman citizens *already sentenced*, who wished to evade the judicial penalty (cf. Stevenson in *C.A.H.* ix. 465; de Zulueta in *C.A.H.* ix. 874; also Kleinfeller in Pauly VI [1909] 1683-1685).

⁴Mommsen, *Provinces*, i. 325 (extent), 329 (towns); Hogarth in Wilson [35]; Liebenam 463 ff. (status of towns under Repub. and early Empire); Chapot 13, 19 f., 70 f. (name "Asia"), 71-88 (extent), 82 (Smyrna could be dominated from Khios and Lesbos), 91 (divisions), 103-111, 120-132 (status of cities), 120 (Smyrna), 281-304 (the governors); Reid 351, 372-374, 381 f., 385; Ramsay, *Recent Discovery*, 397-404; Last in *C.A.H.* ix. 105-107.

CHAPTER VI

SMYRNA UNDER THE ROMAN REPUBLIC

(129-27 B.C.)

M'. AQUILLIUS remained in office till 126 B.C., engaged in the work of settling the affairs of the new Province. One of the permanent results of his activity was the provision of a system of roads, which for the most part naturally followed the customary tracks, but furnished the vastly improved means of communication which military authority and centralized government would now require. Ephesos as capital became the main centre of the network. Smyrna was connected with Ephesos by a fairly direct road which entered the city to the west of Mt. Pagos—also with Sardeis and the east, both by the route which ran direct across the Burnabat-plain and over the pass to Nymphaion, and also more circuitously by that which encircled the Sipylos-range and passed through Magnesia: from this latter route branches diverged, one skirting the coast past Phokaia, Kyme, and Elaia, to Pergamon, another crossing the Hyrkanian Plain to Thyateira.¹

The old Panionic League was allowed to remain in being. The natural and cultural advantages of the country, and the accession of Roman trade, generated much wealth, so that Smyrna (despite its inferiority to Ephesos) enjoyed like other large towns a certain commercial prosperity.² But this blessing was largely counterbalanced by the ruthless extortion to which the provincials were now and for a long time subjected by the officials of the Roman state. In 123/122 B.C. laws were carried at Rome by Gaius Gracchus which made the non-senatorial capitalists alone eligible for service in the jury-courts entrusted with the trial of cases of extortion on the part of provincial

¹See above, p. 103, and cf. Ramsay in *J.H.S.* ii (1881) 45, 50 f., *Hist. Geog.* 45, 53 f., *Seven Chs.* 186, 296; Skeel, *Travel in the First Century after*

Christ, etc. (1901), 118-121; Chapot 13, 361-368; Boulanger 13; Bürchner 734 f.
²Cf. Scherzer 90.

governors, and which indirectly enlarged the taxes to be collected in Asia by selling the privilege of collecting them to the highest bidders at Rome. The result was that the Province was handed over to the tender mercies of a host of "publicani", agents of the Roman capitalists, whose one object it was to wring the maximum sums of money from the defenceless inhabitants. What made matters worse was that the governor and his subordinates were also as a rule anxious to enrich themselves and liable to commit other acts of injustice, and frequently tried to forestall the risk of legal condemnation on their return to Rome by amply indulging the local tax-collectors, and so ingratiating themselves with their future judges. Thus the Province was pillaged, and money streamed from Asia to Rome. Peace was in some sort maintained, and justice in some sort administered: but the provincials were disarmed, and no adequate provision was made for the military defence of the Province. Moreover, there was now no patronage of learning and the arts, such as had been practised by Pergamon, to compensate for the weight of the Roman yoke.

At some time between 120 and 110 B.C. a dispute arose between Pergamon and the publicani as to whether these latter could lawfully collect tithes from certain lands. The matter was referred to Rome; and the Senate entrusted the settlement of it to the Praetor in the Comitium. The Praetor's decision, the precise tenor of which is unknown, was conveyed to the Province; and copies of the letter recording it, and containing the names of over forty Romans of rank who had assisted at the Comitium in question, were inscribed on stone at Smyrna, Adramyttion, and doubtless other cities concerned.¹

Most of the other facts known to us concerning the Smyrna of the last third of the second century are of athletic, literary, and scientific, rather than of political, interest.²

It was at this period that the eminent physician Hikesios established at Smyrna a medical school of Erasistrateians, i.e. followers of the great third-century Alexandreian physician Erasistratos. The school flourished for a while; but it had

¹I.G.R. iv. 262 is the Adramyttian copy: the Smyrnaian has only recently been unearthed, and is provisionally reported on by Miltner and Selahattin Bey in *Türk*

Tarih, ii (1934) 239-342. Cf. Cagnat and Merlin in *R.A.* vi (1935) 256.

²For the coins, see above, p. 148 n. 2

apparently ceased to do so by the time Strabo was writing.¹ It is probable that the Kharidemos, whom Caelius Aurelianus describes as a "follower of Erasistratos", is to be identified with the father of the Smyrnaian medical author Hermogenes, and this latter with the Hermogenes described by Galenos as a zealous Erasistrateian. If so, Kharidemos would have to be reckoned as a late representative of the Erasistrateian school at Smyrna, and dated perhaps in the latter half of the first century A.D.² A physician named Mikion, who flourished about 100 B.C., and who, for his work on the medicinal use of roots, apparently used Petrikhos, and was in turn used by Krateuas and the elder Plinius, is believed on good grounds to have belonged to Smyrna.³

A boy from Smyrna won the wrestling-match open to boys of all ages at the Theseia at Athens, round about 130 B.C.⁴

"Beautiful Smyrna" is mentioned along with other claimants—as supposed by some to have been the "nurse" of Homeros—in an epigram composed towards the end of the second century B.C. by Antipatros of Sidon: he declares, however, that the poet had heaven for his native place and was born of the goddess Kalliope.⁵

To about 100 B.C. or a little later, scholars now assign the floruit of Bion, one of the early bucolic poets. He was born on a fertile little estate called Phlosse, not far from Smyrna. Very little is known of his life; but much of it seems to have been spent away from Smyrna—in Makedonia, Thrace, and Sicily. He wrote in hexameters, in a dialect mainly

¹Strabo XII. viii. 20 (580: . . . καθάπερ ἐπὶ τῶν πατέρων τῶν ἡμετέρων ἐν Σμύρνῃ τὸ πῶν Ἐρασιστρατείων [sc. διδασκαλείων] ὑπὸ Ἴκεσίον, νῦν δ' οὐχ ὁμοίως ἐτι συμμένει—but the closing words are textually uncertain). Particulars about Hikesios are collected by Tsakyroglou (i. 79), Susemihl (ii. 418 f.), and Gossen (in Pauly VIII [1913] 1593 f.); but the last-named misinterprets Strabo, and has an erroneous reference to Diog. Laert. Susemihl thinks Strabo dates the foundation of the school a trifle too late, unless Hikesios founded it in his old age: he places it conjecturally after Ptol. Physikon's expulsion of the physicians from Alexandria (? ± 140 B.C.). Several Hikesioi appear on the inscriptions of Smyrna:

one of them—the father of a certain Athenaios honoured by the People (C.I.G. 3217)—is thought by Hofmann (*Arch. Anz.* xix (1904) 58b) to be probably the physician referred to in the text.

²See below, p. 233.

³Plin. *Nat. Hist.* xx. 23 (258), list of authorities for xx–xxvii; Schol. in Nicandri *Theriaca*, 617; Wellmann in *Hermes* xxiii (1888) 563 f. n. 3; Susemihl ii. 447 n. 193; Kroll in Pauly XV (1932) 1555. For the name, cf. C.I.G. 3137 = O.G.I. 229, l. 32 (?), C.I.G. 3140, ll. 10, 26, 37.

⁴C.I.G. 232 = I.G. II. i. 450 = I.G.² II f. i. 964.

⁵*Anthol. Palat.* xvi. 296 (ii. 588): . . . οὐ δὲ καλὰν Σμύρναν.

Doric, but with some Attic and Ionic forms. His favourite themes were the amours of shepherds, heroes, and gods; and his chief work was entitled the 'Lament for Adonis'.¹ In the later 'Lament for Bion', long erroneously attributed to Moskhos, we have another Homeric echo, in the form of an appeal to the river Meles.²

To approximately the same period as Bion seems to belong the Smyrnaian rhetor Demetrios, who is mentioned by later authors, but of whom nothing else is known.³

To the closing decades of the second century, we probably ought to assign two appeals made by Smyrna to other states for assistance in settling some internal disputes of her own, and recorded in Smyrnaian decrees publicly inscribed by the two states appealed to, the Aegaeian islands Thasos and Astypalaia. It seems improbable that both events occurred at quite the same time; but the similarity in the wording of the records shows that no great interval could have separated them. Gratified by the willingness and justice with which the four Thasian arbitrators had done their work, "the People of the Zmyrnaians" voted thanks to Thasos in the form of a golden crown, and accorded a similar token of praise for the umpires themselves—both conferments to be proclaimed by the agonothete at the next tragic contest held at the Dionysia. To perpetuate the memory of Smyrna's gratitude, the arbitrators were also granted first entry into the Smyrnaian Council and Public Assembly after the sacrifices, and front seats at the public contests, and were promised other undefined privileges; and it was to be open to the Generals or to any qualified citizen to propose later on that citizenship be conferred on them and their descendants. A Smyrnaian envoy was sent to Thasos to convey a copy of the People's decree for the Thasian

¹Bion's frags. in the Teubner *Theocritus*, etc. 94 ff.; Soudas, s.v. Θεόκριτος (three bucolic poets, Theokritos, Moskhos, καὶ Βίων ὁ Σμυρναῖος, ἐκ τινος χωριδίου καλουμένου Φλώσσης); Stobaios, *Florileg.* xxix. 52f., lxiv. 21f.; Schol. on *Anthol. Pal.* ix. 440 (ii. 217 b: . . . τρίτος Βίων Σμυρναῖος . . .); Susemihl i. 233 f.; Knaack in Pauly III (1899) 481 f.; Christ, *Gesch. der griech. Litt.* II. i (1920) 197 f.; Tarn in *C.A.H.* vii. 204 (Bion's pity for a tortured

frog); Barber in *C.A.H.* vii. 281. The name "Bion" is found on several Smyrnaian inscriptions of various dates (*C.I.G.* 3141, 3173A, 3273, 3386, 3393; cf. *Oikonomos* in Slaars 29).

²Ps.-Moskhos, *Ἐπιτάφ. Βίωνος*, in the Teubner *Theocritus*, etc. 111-116, ll. 71f.: . . . τοῦτο, Μέλη, νέον ἄλγος. ἀπόλετο πρᾶν τοι Ὀμηρος, | . . . (about 90-80 B.C.).

³Diog. Laert. v. 85; Brzoska in Pauly IV (1901) 2844 (97).

archives, and to speak in praise of the umpires before the Thasian Council and Public Assembly. The Thasians had the full text of the Smyrnaian decree inscribed on blue marble.¹

The transaction with Astypalaia is more elaborately recorded, the inscription which gives the details running to over a hundred lines. The Public Assembly of Smyrna sent Leukios, son of Dionysios and perhaps one of the Generals, to Astypalaia with a request for arbitrators. The Astypalaians chose three men, and sent them to Smyrna with Leukios. One of them was named Eukles Arkhonis, and may well have been the father of the Eukleus Arkhonidas, who appears on another inscription as having held office at Astypalaia when in 105 B.C. that city made a treaty with Rome.² The arbitrators did their work in Smyrna justly and well, and restored harmony among the dissentients. The Public Assembly liberally acknowledged their services. Leukios and the Generals carried a resolution conferring a golden crown on the Astypalaian People, and another on the umpires themselves—the agonothete being ordered to see these rewards proclaimed. Other privileges and promises were bestowed on the visitors, exactly as has been described in the case of the Thasians. Leukios himself was chosen to go again to Astypalaia to hand over officially to the State-archives a copy of the Smyrnaian decree, and to discourse to the Council and Public Assembly on the merits of the umpires they had sent. The City-Treasurers were ordered to pay the expenses of the arbitration. A supplementary resolution was then passed, partly (it would seem) expressing the thanks of the City to the Secretary of the board of arbitrators and anticipating a grant of Smyrnaian citizenship later on to him and his descendants, but also requesting the Astypalaians to make proclamation every year, at the public contests, of the conferment of the crowns, and to see that the record of it was publicly inscribed on a stele. Leukios carried the two resolutions to Astypalaia, doubtless in company with the returning arbitrators; and after he had duly fulfilled his mission, the

¹*I.G.* XII. viii. 269, with L. Robert's valuable elucidations in *B.C.H.* xlviii (1924) 331-336 (cf. also *Revue de Philol.* lxii [1936] 130). The editors of *I.G.* say: "haud multis ante bellum Mithridaticum decenniis haec scripta sunt". The name of only one of the

Thasian dikasts—Demetrios, son of Arkhias—is legible.

²*C.I.G.* 2485 = *I.G.* XII. iii. 173; Stevenson in *C.A.H.* ix. 464. The other two Astypalaian dikasts sent to Smyrna were Agathokles son of Kleustratos and Gorgaithos son of Mikion.

Astypalaians had the terms of both decrees inscribed in stone.¹

The two events furnish interesting evidence of Hellenic willingness to settle grave domestic troubles by the help of external referees. In neither case, however, is the precise character of the dispute made known to us. Smyrna's contact with the rest of the Hellenic world is further illustrated by the fact that one of her citizens, Hierokles son of Timotheos, was in 106/105 B.C. officially certified as having, along with other privileged foreigners, participated at Athens in the two years' training for citizenship which the Attic youths regularly underwent.²

In 103 B.C. or a little later, Smyrna became the place of refuge of a distinguished Roman exile. Q. Servilius Caepio, Consul in 106 B.C., had the following year been disastrously defeated by the Cimbrians at Arausio near the lower Rhone. On his return to Rome he was impeached by the tribunes for treason and embezzlement during the war, was found guilty, deprived of his property, and banished. He went as an exile to Smyrna, of which place he became a citizen, thus renouncing his civic rights as a Roman. He died there, probably before 94 B.C.³

It was not long before Caepio was followed by another. Q. Caecilius Metellus Numidicus had campaigned with success against Jugurtha in Africa; but in 100 B.C. he was expelled from the Senate and sentenced to a heavy fine for refusing to swear obedience to a new agrarian law. He declined to pay, and, forbidding armed strife on his behalf, withdrew to Rhodos, and gave himself up to study. Next year political reaction occasioned his recall. The messengers found him in the Theatre at Smyrna (some said at Tralleis); but he refused to open the letters they brought until the performance was over.

¹I.G. XII. iii. 172, again with L. Robert's comments in *B.C.H.* xlvi (1924) 336-338. The case is mentioned by E. Sonne, *De Arbitris Externis* (1888), 67 f. (cviii). On the *δικασταγωγοί*, cf. Holleaux in *B.C.H.* xiv (1890) 40 f.

²I.G. II. i. 470 = I.G.² II f. i. 1011 (*οἱ ἐφηβεύσαντες ἐπὶ Ἀριστάρχου ἀρχοντος . . . Ἐνόμοι . . . Ἱεροκλῆς Τιμοθέου Ζμυρναῖος*).

³Cic. *Pro Balbo*, 11 (28), *De Orat.* ii. 47 (197); Valer. Max. IV. vii. 3; Mommsen, *Rome*, iii. 436-442, 471 n. 1; Münzer in Pauly IV (1923) 1785 f.; Last in *C.A.H.* ix. 143 f., 159-161, 172. On the conditions of exile, see above, p. 148 n. 3. For Smyrnaian coins 105-95 B.C., see Milne in *Numism. Chron.* V. vii (1927) 1-3, 78-89, 106, IV. xiv (1914) 288 f.

He received an enthusiastic welcome on his return to Rome.¹

Yet a third exile appeared a few years later, though not immediately at Smyrna. The Proprætor of Asia for 94 B.C., Q. Mucius Scaevola (an eminent jurist), and his Legatus, P. Rutilius Rufus, who had been Consul in 105 B.C. and was famous as an orator, administered the affairs of the Province with such strict and even-handed justice that, though they earned the gratitude of the provincials and the approval of the Senate, they gave deep offence to the equites at Rome. In 92 B.C., accordingly, Rutilius was unjustly condemned for alleged extortion, and deprived of his property. He withdrew in voluntary exile—for the present to Mytilene. Aurelius Opilius, a literary critic and grammarian, having to leave Rome at the same time in consequence of the general banishment of the Latin rhetors, accompanied Rutilius as his friend.²

During the war between Rome and her Italian allies (90–88 B.C.), Smyrna aided Rome with a naval force.³ Her loyalty, however, must have been put to a terrific strain during the next few years, when Mithradates VI, Eupator, king of Pontos, was waging his conflict against Rome in Hellas and Asia Minor. Pontos had grown rapidly in extent and power; and Mithradates had long been awaiting the opportunity which the Social War in Italy now gave him. After repelling the Roman armies from his frontiers, he appeared in the virtually undefended Province of Asia as the avowed champion of the Hellenes against their western oppressors. The evils of the Roman government secured him a general welcome in the Province, and even the conferment of divine honours. He was moreover master of the sea. Among other benefits which he conferred was the politic maintenance of the “Mucia”, the festival founded by the grateful provincials in honour of the

¹Valer. Max. IV. i. 13 (Tralleis); Appian. *Bell. Civ.* i. 28–33 (no place named); Aul. Gellius, *Noct. Attic.* XVII. ii. 7 (no place named); Sext. Aur. Victor(?), *Vir. Illustr.* lxii. 1–4 (Smyrna); Orosius V. xvii. 13 (Smyrna); Münzer in Pauly III (1899) 1220 f. (Tralleis); Last in *C.A.H.* ix. 170, 172, 201.

²Valer. Max. II. x. 5; VI. iv. 4; Quintil. *Inst. Orat.* XI. 1. 12; Sueton. *Gramm.* 6 (Opilius); Dio Cass. frag. cvi f. Tauchn. (= xcv. 1–3 Teubn.): Heitland, *Roman Repub.* ii. 411 f.;

Münzer in Pauly IA (1920) 1273–1275; Last in *C.A.H.* ix. 77, 175–177, 338, 340. Balsdon (in *Class. Rev.* li [1937] 8–10) argues for 98 as the year of Scaevola's proprætorship. Rutilius is often mentioned, along with Sokrates, Regulus, Cato, etc., as a typical innocent sufferer, esp. by Seneca (*Dial.* I. iii. 4, 7, VI. xxii. 3, VII. xviii. 3, IX. xvi. 1, *Benefic.* V. xvii. 2, VI. xxxvii. 2, *Epist.* III. xxiv. 4, V. lxxvii. 7, VIII–XIII. lxxix. 14, XVI. xcvi. 12). Cf. also Minuc. Felix, *Octavius*, v. 12. ³Tacit. *Ann.* iv. 56 (see above, p. 139 n. 1).

upright Proprætor Q. Mucius Scaevola.¹ From Ephesos, in the autumn of 88 B.C., he organized a gigantic massacre of Romans and Italians, irrespective of age, sex, and rank, throughout the Province and the adjoining islands. In Mytilene P. Rutilius Rufus escaped death by adopting Hellenic dress and removing to Smyrna, where he was cordially welcomed and granted citizenship.² Comparatively few cities dared to resist the king of Pontos—Stratonikeia, Magnesia-near-Sipylos, Khios, Kos, and Rhodos were among those who did so. That Smyrna was able to behave as loyally towards Rome as she doubtless desired, is unlikely.³ Bronze coins of the city are extant, bearing the effigy of Mithradates, and so testifying to her temporary submission to him.⁴ But though she was constrained to submit for a time to the Pontic king, she

¹Cic. *In Verrem*, II. ii. 21 (51: "Mithridates in Asia, quum eam provinciam totam occupasset, Mucia non sustulit"). Ormerod (in *C.A.H.* ix. 242 n. 2) speaks of the "maintenance of Mucia at Smyrna". I am not aware of any authority for locating the festival at that city: cf. Chapot 28, 462 f.

²Cic. *Pro Rabir. Post.* 10 (27); Dio Cass. frag. cvii. 2 Tauchn. (= xcv. 4 Teubn.). There is no need to suppose, with Henze (43), that Rufus would necessarily be unsafe at Smyrna before Sulla's arrival, and that he therefore now probably wandered about for some years, or alternatively that, because he was not formally exiled, he could have settled safely anywhere. The Mithradateian massacre was probably by no means exhaustive: moreover, if Rufus did not receive Smyrnaian citizenship before Sulla's settlement, he could hardly have received it afterwards, for Smyrna's support of Mithradates, even if given unwillingly, must certainly have cost her her "freedom" and with it her right to bestow her citizenship on a Roman exile (see above, p. 148 n. 3, and below, p. 158 n. 1). For Smyrnaian coins 95-85 B.C., cf. Milne in *Numism. Chron.* V. vii (1927) 1-3, 89-97, 106, viii (1928) 163, IV. xiv (1914) 287 f.

³Cherbuliez (i. 36), Mylonas (42), and Tsakyroglou (i. 74 f.) claim that Smyrna remained loyal to Rome throughout.

⁴*B.M.C. Ionia*, 247 (118 f.); Milne in *Numism. Chron.* V. vii (1927) 1-3, 98-107,

IV. xiv (1914) 287 (for coins of 85-75 B.C. generally). See above, p. 121 n. 2, for the erroneous ascription of the Mithradateian coin to Seleukos Kallinikos. A Smyrnaian gold coin, also assignable to the time of Mithradates, was issued by the "Prytaneis of the Zmyrnaians": it bears the figure of Aphrodite Stratonikis, and was "issued . . . probably on some special occasion for war expenses" (Head, *Hist. Num.* 593; cf. Milne in *Numism. Chron.* V. vii [1927] 3, 102). Ezekiel Spanheim wrote a long essay on this coin (*De Nummo Smyrnaeorum, seu de Vesta & Prytanibus Graecorum, Diatriba = Selecta Numismata Antiqua Ex Museo Petri Seguini* [Paris, 1684], 335-388), in which he tried to prove that the figure now recognized as that of Aphrod. Strat. represented Vesta.

Dr. J. G. Milne informs me that he now regards the Smyrnaian kistophoros-coins marked with the year-numbers 1, 2, and 8, which were formerly assigned to ii/B.C. (in particular to 133, 132, and 126 B.C.: cf. Milne in *Numism. Chron.* V. vii [1927] 39, 46; *B.M.C. Ionia*, 237 [1 f.]; Regling in *Frankfurter Münzzeitung*, N.F. 1932, nr. 34; Meyer, *Grenzen*, 155 [erroneous interpretation]), as belonging to the period of the Mithradateian revolt. But the celebration of the eighth year of the revolt, i.e. 81 B.C., on Smyrnaian coins would be very difficult to account for in view of the fact that by 81 B.C. Smyrna would seem to have been completely restored to the Roman allegiance.

certainly joined the opposition against him when in 86 B.C., after his armies had been defeated in Boiotia by L. Cornelius Sulla, his high-handed behaviour evoked a strong reaction against him throughout western Asia Minor. Ephesos shut her gates against his garrison, and her example was followed by Smyrna, Sardeis, Kolophon, Tralleis, and other towns.¹ Two Smyrnaians, Mynnion and Philotimos, and two Lesbians, Kleisthenes and Asklepiodotos, all of them personal acquaintances of the king, laid a plot against him. Asklepiodotos, however, betrayed the plot by getting Mynnion to talk while a witness was concealed under a bed in the room. Mynnion and the other two conspirators were tortured to death: but suspicion, founded and unfounded, spread widely, and Mithradates contrived the death of about 1600 of his supposed enemies in the cities.²

Early in 85 B.C., L. Valerius Flaccus, the Proconsul sent out by the popular party at Rome, was murdered at Nikomedeia by his mutinous lieutenant, G. Flavius Fimbria, who thereafter scored some successes against Mithradates. In August, however, Sulla, the general previously appointed by the senatorial party, landed in Troas, and straightway concluded a favourable peace with the king, who thereupon withdrew to Pontos. Sulla then turned on Fimbria, and in the brief negotiations he held with him, was represented by the distinguished Roman of Smyrna, P. Rutilius Rufus³: but his hands were soon freed by Fimbria's suicide at Pergamon. Somewhat effusive manifestations of loyalty towards the winning party were characteristic of the Hellenic cities in Asia; and Smyrna soon furnished another instance. Sulla's army was suffering—owing to the severity of the winter—from lack of proper supplies of clothing. When the need was announced at a public assembly at Smyrna, the citizens present at once took off the garments they could spare, and these were speedily despatched to the legions.⁴

¹Appian. *Mithr.* 48 (Tralleis, Hypaipa, Mesopolis [? = Metropolis], and others); Orosius VI. ii. 8 ("...; similiter Smyrnaei Sardi Colophonii Trallianique fecerunt"); Mommsen, *Rome*, iv. 45f.; Chapot 28-32; Ormerod in *C.A.H.* ix. 254 f.

²Appian. *Mithr.* 48; Ormerod in *C.A.H.* ix. 255.

³Appian. *Mithr.* 60.

⁴Tacit. *Ann.* iv. 56 ("simul L. Sullam testem adferebant"; [sc. Smyrnaei, 26 A.D.], "gravissimo in discrimine exercitus ob asperitatem hiemis et penuriam vestis, cum id Zmyrnam in contionem nuntiatum foret, omnes qui adstant detraxisse corpori tegmina nostrisque legionibus misisse"); Aristeides as above, p. 147 n. 1.

With Fimbria now disposed of, Sulla turned to the resettlement of the Province. The king's revolutionary measures were reversed, his guilty agents and advisers slain, arrears of tribute, a huge war-indemnity, and army-supplies exacted, and the few consistently loyal communities (like Magnesia-near-Sipylos) rewarded. The precise lot of Smyrna is not actually recorded; but the support she had given to Mithradates, however unavoidable and however willingly and speedily withdrawn, constituted an act of war against Rome, and therefore in all probability involved the forfeiture of her "freedom".¹ For purposes of taxation, immediate and future, the province was divided into (perhaps forty-four) *regiones*, each subject to a proportionate assessment²: the evil system of equestrian middlemen was (for indemnity-purposes) suspended, and the local magistrates were made responsible for the collection of the sums demanded. The year in which Sulla's reforms were introduced was made the starting-point of a new chronological era. Nothing more is heard of the Panionic League until the time of Augustus.

Sulla sailed from Ephesos in the autumn of 84 B.C. He intended on arrival at Rome to inflict vengeance on his political enemies of the popular party; and he offered to take P. Rutilius Rufus back with him, and reverse the unjust sentence passed upon him eight years before. Rutilius, however, having surrendered his Roman citizenship and become a citizen of Smyrna, and being comfortably settled there, refused to plunge again into the whirlpool of civil conflict in Italy, and stayed on in Smyrna, busying himself with literary work. He wrote historical treatises in Greek and Latin, chiefly in the form of autobiographical memoirs: these were used as authorities by

¹Cicero's words in *Pro Flacco*, 29 (71: see below, p. 163 n. 2), indicating that Roman magistrates were administering justice in Pergamon, Smyrna, and Tralleis, while Decianus was—for a lengthy period prior to 59 B.C. (cf. Klebs in Pauly II [1895], 260)—engaged in financial operations in the free city of Apollonis in Lydia, have been taken to imply that those three cities were *not* then free. This conclusion is not quite certain, since Cicero's main point is that Decianus got up to mischief in *out-of-the-way places*: moreover the administration of

Roman justice in Smyrna would not *necessarily* be inconsistent with her status as a free city (as Henze [42 f.] and Chapot [120] suppose [cf. Reid 485]—per contra, Ramsay, *Recent Discovery*, 408–410). All the same, Smyrna probably did lose her freedom for having sided with Mithradates (see above, p. 156 n. 2).

²Very little is known about these *regiones*: they may have been delimited—for financial purposes—when the province was first organized. Cf. Keil in *C.A.H.* xi. 582.

later historians. Presents from the grateful communities and princes of Asia Minor had more than repaired the loss of his property; and his old friend Aurelius Opilius also lived on with him in Smyrna to an advanced age, writing learned books.¹

L. Licinius Murena, an officer of Sulla's, governed Asia from 84 to 82 B.C., and provoked fresh conflict with Mithradates, which brought further burdens (in the shape of naval and financial contributions) on the Province, and was terminated only by the direct command of Sulla himself, now all-powerful at Rome as Dictator. He had also left behind him L. Licinius Lucullus, who remained in the province until 80 B.C., engaged in raising the money demanded under Sulla's settlement: this task he performed with as much humanity and consideration as its nature permitted. Official endorsement of the Sullan settlement was given by the Senate (81/80 B.C.); and, after the reduction of Mytilene (Mithradates' last ally in the province), Asia lay for some years at peace under a series of inconspicuous governors. Sulla's victories had moved the Oropians of Boiotia to add Roman games to the Amphiarraia; and at the joint festivals held during the period immediately following Sulla's time Smyrnaian athletes frequently competed, and were occasionally victorious: thus, at one such festival Straton, son of Dionysios, won the wrestling-contest among the beardless youths²; at another, Metrodoros, son of Artemidoros, won the boys' long foot race, another Metrodoros, son of Apollonios, son of Diophantos, won the pentathlon among the beardless youths, and Parthenios, son of Parthenios, won the boys' horse-race.³

It was during this period that the young barrister, M. Tullius Cicero, accompanied probably by his brother Quintus, visited Smyrna (78 B.C.) in the course of a tour in Hellas and Asia Minor. As an old pupil of Q. Mucius Scaevola, he received

¹Cic. *Pro Balbo*, 11 (28), *Nat. Deor.* iii. 32 (80); Ovid. *Ex Ponto*, I. iii. 63-66 ("et grave magnanimi robur mirare Rutili | non usi reditus condicione dati. | Smyrna virum tenuit, non Pontus et hostica tellus; | paene minus nullo Smyrna petenda loco est"); Valer. Max. VI. iv. 4; Seneca, *Dial.* I. iii. 7, *Benefic.* VI. xxxvii. 2, *Epist.* III. xxiv. 4; Quintil. *Inst. Orat.* XI. i. 13; Tacit. *Ann.* iv. 43 ("eum" [sc.

Rutilium] "legibus pulsum civem sibi Zmyrnaei addiderant"), *Agric.* 1; Sueton. *Gramm.* 6 (Opilius); Dio Cass. *frag.* cvii. 2 Tauchn. (= xcv. 4 Teubn.); Orosius V. xvii. 12 f.; Cherbulez i. 37, 39; Chapot 23, 120; Münzer in Pauly *IA* (1920) 1276-1280.

²*I.G.* VII. 417, l. 34.

³*I.G.* VII. 420, ll. 39 f., 49 f., 57 f.

a warm welcome from P. Rutilius Rufus, and—in the course of conversation with him—heard the story of an interesting law-suit which had taken place at Rome in 138 B.C.¹ On the same occasion of listening to Rutilius, Cicero later pretended to have received the account of the dialogue which made up the bulk of his 'De Republica'.² Rutilius is represented in a dialogue assigned by Cicero to 77 or 76 B.C. as still alive. He must then have been nearly eighty years old; but how much longer he lived after that is not known.³

The third and last war between Mithradates and Rome lasted from 74 to 63 B.C. In its early stages he was helped by an alliance with Q. Sertorius, who was in arms in Spain against the Republic; and his initial successes once more encouraged the provincials of Asia to hope for freedom through a change of masters. The brilliant campaigns of Lucullus, as Consul in 74 B.C. and as proconsular commander-in-chief during the next six or seven years, completely dashed these hopes; but he in part compensated the Asians for the disappointment by the popularity of his administration of the Province (71/70 B.C.) and the financial reforms he introduced. He was, however, superseded in 67 B.C., partly owing to political jealousy and to resentment on the part of Roman financiers: and next year Pompeius, who had just succeeded in suppressing the ubiquitous and destructive pirates of Kilikia, took over the command against Mithradates. The pirates had been aided by the Kretans, who had accordingly been attacked by Q. Caecilius Metellus (68–66 B.C.): an inscription found at Smyrna makes mention of him and Krete, but is otherwise too fragmentary to enable us to say precisely what was its purport.⁴

Lucullus appears to have vacated the office of Proconsul of

¹Cic. *Brut.* 22 f. (85–89): "Memoria teneo, Smyrnae me ex P. Rutilio Rufo audisse, quum diceret, . . ." Cf. Sikes in *C.A.H.* ix. 756–760.

²Cic. *Repub.* i. 8 (13: ". . . disputatio repetenda memoria est, quae mihi tibi quondam adolescentulo est a P. Rutilio Rufo, Zmyrnae quum simul essemus complures dies, exposita; . . ."), 11 (17: "P. Rutilius . . . qui est nobis laudatus sermonis auctor"): cf. Münzer in Pauly IA (1920) 1276.

³Cic. *Nat. Deor.* iii. 32 (80): Münzer *l.c.* I do not know Chapot's authority for the statement (120) that he died in 62 B.C. For the coins of Smyrna about 75 B.C., see Milne in *Numism. Chron.* V. viii (1928) 131–133, 153 f.: for the period 75–50 B.C., when the autonomous coinage of Smyrna probably ceased, id. 133–162, also IV. xiv (1914) 292 f.

⁴*I.G.R.* iv. 1408.

Asia a few years before the termination of his military command; and of one of his more immediate successors, P. Cornelius Dolabella, who was governor about 67 or 66 B.C., a story connected with Smyrna was told. Being a tale only of private life, it illustrates in a negative way the political unimportance of Smyrna in those days.¹ The story is to the effect that there was brought before Dolabella for judgment a woman of Smyrna, who had killed her second husband and her son by him for having killed her son by her former husband. Unable either to acquit or to condemn her, Dolabella referred the case to the Areiopagos at Athens. The Areiopagites got out of the difficulty by commanding both parties to re-appear before them for judgment in a hundred years' time.²

In order to forestall the possible recrudescence of piracy and to maintain the full command of the sea, Pompeius required the coast-towns of Asia to raise a fleet, and employed for this purpose the proportionate assessment of districts laid down by Sulla. This requisition is referred by Cicero to the close of Pompeius' campaigns (63 B.C.); but it is possible that it was in force at a somewhat earlier date.³

During the Propraetorship of L. Valerius Flaccus, son of the general murdered in 85 B.C., a great deal of extortion took place (62/61 B.C.), for which the governor was later put on trial at Rome. Like Pompeius, he levied a fleet on the basis of Sulla's scheme of regiones⁴; and no doubt Smyrna had to contribute to it. He compelled the Trallians to hand over to M. Castricius, a Roman merchant, the public money which had been deposited in their city for a festival in honour of the elder Flaccus. But despite the hardships that may have befallen herself or others, Smyrna (a city regarded by Cicero as fully equal in dignity to Pergamon) steadily pursued a

¹Cf. Tsakyroglou i. 75. On the poverty and depression of the provincials in Asia at this period, cf. Bürchner 760.

²Valer. Max. VIII. i, *Ambust.* 2; Aul. Gellius, *Noct. Attic.* XII. vii. 1-8. The incident, as a legal curiosity, is referred to by Browning in *The Ring and the Book*, viii. 914-949.

³Cic. *Pro Flacco*, 12 (29), 14 (32).

Cicero, in opposing as Consul (Jan. 63 B.C.) P. Servilius Rullus' bill (which gave to special decemviri power to sell

all that had become the property of the Roman People since 88 B.C., in order to purchase lands for poor Romans in Italy) pointed out the extravagance of its terms: "Commodum erit Pergamum, Smyrnam, Tralles, Ephesum, Miletum, Cyzicum, totam denique Asiam, . . . populi Romani factam esse dicere" (Cic. *Contra Rullum*, ii. 15 [39]; Cary in *C.A.H.* ix. 484-486).

⁴Cic. *Pro Flacco*, 12-14 (27-33): Chapot 46 f.; Stevenson in *C.A.H.* ix. 452.

policy of conciliation towards the ruling power. When therefore Castricius died, the Smyrnaian assembly decreed him the unusual honour of a public burial within the city, speaking of him as "the glory of his country, the ornament of the Roman People, the flower of the youth": the bier was to be carried in procession by the young men of Smyrna, the body adorned with a golden crown.¹ It would seem that Castricius left behind him descendants or freedmen at Smyrna, if we may judge from a later inscription, in which Castricius Atticus and Castricius Artemidorus declare themselves the owners of a sarcophagus of Prokonnesian marble in a tomb built by their great-grandfathers, Castricius and Rarianus.²

Flaccus' successor as Proprætor was Q. Tullius Cicero, the orator's brother. His rule (61-58 B.C.) was in some ways perhaps a little milder and more popular than his predecessor's: he dispensed, for instance, with the standing fleet. But it was clearly a time of much suffering for the provincials. Thus we learn from the letters sent to Quintus by his brother in Rome that Hellenes from the province sometimes complained to Marcus of Quintus' proceedings, and that Marcus tried to mollify them: among these provincials mention is made in a letter written in 59 B.C. of a certain Nikias of Smyrna, perhaps the Nikias Leptos named as a magistrate on a Smyrnaian coin of about 85 B.C. The same letter reveals the fact that Quintus had had two Mysians (who were probably guilty of parricide) sewn up alive in a sack at Smyrna and thrown into the Gulf, and had written that he wished to be equally severe elsewhere.³ Flaccus was tried for extortion at Rome in 59 B.C., and was successfully defended by Hortensius and M. Cicero.

The division of the province into forty-four(?) "regiones", which Pompeius and Flaccus had used for their financial and

¹Cic. *Pro Flacco*, 23-25 (54-61: Tral-leis), 30 (74: ". . . Num honestior est civitas Pergamena quam Smyrnaea? At ne ipsi quidem dicunt"), 31 (75: "Vellem tantum habere me otii, ut possem recitare psephisma Smyrnaeorum, quod fecerunt in Castricium mortuum: primum, ut in oppidum introferretur, quod aliis non conceditur; deinde ut ferrent epebi; postremo, ut imponeretur aurea corona mortuo. . ."). Cicero quotes the incident in order to minimize the value of the honours granted

by Pergamon to Gaius Appuleius Decianus, one of the witnesses against Flaccus: a city fully as noble as Pergamon had conferred extravagant compliments on an inconspicuous Roman like Castricius. On the crown, cf. Boeckh's introductory note to *C.I.G.* 3216, and see below, p. 188.

²*C.I.G.* 3282.

³Cic. *ad Q. fratrem*, I. ii. 2 (4 f.); Milne in *Numism. Chron.* V. iv (1924) 317 f., vii (1927) 97.

nautical levies,¹ was, at some unknown date, and probably in gradual stages, supplemented by another system of division (adopted in other Provinces also) into nine or ten (later more) sections, called "dioikeseis". These were introduced in the first place for judicial purposes—hence the name "conuentus iuridici"; but they were ere long adopted for general administration, and the old regiones disappeared. One of the larger cities formed the centre of each dioikesis; and in it the governor usually held his annual assizes. Smyrna, where many Roman citizens resided, was the head of an area which included, besides most of ancient Aiolis (Myrina, Kyme, Phokaia, Leukai, Larissa, Neonteikhos, and Temnos), Magnesia-near-Sipylos, the Makedonians settled north-east of it at Hyrkanis, and probably also Nymphaion, Klazomenai, Erythrai, Teos, Lebedos, and Kolophon.²

It is in other fields than those of provincial politics that Smyrna figures at this time. Cicero, in a speech delivered at Rome in 61 B.C., mentions Smyrna's claim to be the city of Homeros and the temple she had reared to him.³ In 58 B.C. two Smyrnaians, Hermodoros (son of Hermokrates, son of Hermodoros) and his son Hermokrates, so delighted the Delphians by their character and conduct when present at the Pythian games, in which Hermokrates waged his contests with the full efficiency foreshadowed by his strenuous practice at Delphoi, that in a decree subsequently inscribed in stone

¹See above, p. 158 n. 2, and p. 161 n. 4.

²Cic. *Pro Flacco*, 29 (71: "Cur non Pergami? Smyrnae? Trallibus? ubi et multi cives Romani sunt, et ius a nostro magistratu dicitur?"); Strabo XIII. iv. 12 (629: τοὺς Ῥωμαίους . . . διατάξαι τὰς διοικήσεις, ἐν αἷς τὰς ἀγοραίους ποιοῦνται καὶ τὰς δικαιοδοσίας); Plin. *Nat. Hist.* v. 29 (120: "Zmyrnaeum conventum magna pars et Aeoliae . . . frequentat praeterque Macedones Hyrcani cognominati et Magnetes a Sipylo. verum Ephesum, alterum lumen Asiae, remotiores conveniunt Caesarienses, . . ."): Long in *S.D.G.R.G.* i. 238 f.; Marquardt i. 340-342; Ramsay, *Hist. Geog.* 118 f. (conjectural evaluation and expansion of Plinius' list), 124 f.; Chapot 128 f., 351-357, 564; Reid 376 f., 479 f., 485; Hasluck in *A.B.S.A.* xxiii (1918-1919)

146 ("We seem thus justified in concluding that the conditions which in the Hellenistic and Roman periods enabled Smyrna to rival Ephesus and surpass Clazomenae and Phocaea were . . . artificial. . . . The prosperity of Smyrna under the Romans probably depended on her selection as an administrative centre . . ."); Keil in *C.A.H.* xi. 583. The Roman Catholic writer Vailhé (in *Cath. Encyc.* xiv [1912] 60a) evidently regards the conuentus as a *building*. See also below, p. 292.

³Cic. *Pro Arch.* 8 (19): "Homerum Colophonii civem esse dicunt suum, Chii suum vindicant, Salaminii repetunt, Smyrnaei vero suum esse confirmant: itaque etiam delubrum eius in oppido dedicaverunt: permulti alii praeterea. . ."

they were both publicly praised, and a number of civic and ceremonial privileges were bestowed on them and their descendants.¹ Menekrates, a Smyrnaean poet, from whose pen two short epigrams survive, is probably to be dated about this period, as he seems to have belonged to the circle of epigrammatic poets that gathered around Meleagros of Gadara.² It is not known whether Smyrna was one of "the most powerful cities of Asia and Greece", which G. Julius Caesar, the ambitious conqueror of Transalpine Gallia, embellished with splendid public works, as a means of securing universal goodwill and support.³

The Proprætor of Asia for 51/50 B.C. was Q. Minucius Thermus. With him M. Cicero (at this time governor of Kilikia) is known to have conferred at Ephesos and to have subsequently been in touch; and to Thermus therefore it seems reasonable to assign a circular edict, in which apparently both Cicerones are mentioned, and which was sent to Smyrna as well as other cities in the Province. The fragmentary condition of our two surviving copies of the edict prevents us from knowing exactly the matter with which it dealt. Apparently some widely-applicable regulation made in the interests of trade, possibly by Q. Cicero or later on the advice of his brother Marcus, had been generally set aside; and the Proprætor writes peremptorily to Ephesos, Magnesia-on-Maian-dros, Tralleis, Alabanda, Mylasa, Smyrna, Pergamon, Sardeis, and Adramyttion, as the leading cities of "the League of (Asiatic) Hellenes" (an association mentioned for the first time), and also as the heads of the several *conuentus iuridici*, requiring each of them to circularize the cities of her *conuentus*, and to have a copy of his letter inscribed on white stone and set up in a public place (and in the smaller towns to be duly deposited in the public archives), "in order that the right thing may be commonly established for the whole Province for ever".⁴

¹*S.I.G.* 740: cf. Homolle in *B.C.H.* xxiii (1899) 555-557.

²*Anthol. Palat.* ix. 390 (ii. 81), possibly also ix. 54 (ii. 11): cf. Susemihl ii. 548 n. 158; Göbel in Pauly XV (1932) 800 (17 f.). Christ (*Gesch. der griech. Litt.* II. 1 [1920] 157 f.) includes among the epigrammatists used by Meleagros "Menekrates, Nikainetos von Smyrna"—

presumably a mistake for "Menekrates von Smyrna, Nikainetos von Samos": Nikainetos was connected with Samos and Abdera, not with Smyrna.

³Sueton. *Jul.* xxviii. 1.

⁴Knackfuss, *Das Rathaus von Milet* (= Heft 2 of Wiegand's *Milet*, 1908) 77-79. Cf. Hiller v. Gaertr. *Inschr. v. Priene*, 82 (106); Abbott and Johnson 286 f. (22).

In 49 B.C. the civil war between Caesar and Pompeius broke out. All the eastern countries in which Rome had influence were called upon to contribute to the support of Pompeius, who was mustering his forces in Makedonia. In Asia two legions of Roman citizens, a naval contingent, and supplies of corn were obtained for him. The ships were under the command of D. Laelius and G. Triarus. Smyrna is mentioned along with Kos, Miletos, Khios, Lesbos, Byzantion, and other places, as having contributed to the enormous fleet with which Pompeius hoped to secure the corn-growing provinces, to cut off food-supplies from Italy, and to hamper Caesar's movements.¹ During the winter the Province suffered grievously under the Pompeian general, Q. Metellus Scipio, who quartered his troops in "Pergamum and the wealthiest cities", and committed and sanctioned the most extensive and cruel exactions, until Pompeius summoned him to Makedonia.² After totally defeating Pompeius at Pharsalos in Thessalia (48 B.C.), Caesar hurried through Asia in pursuit of him. He left the Province in charge of Gn. Domitius Calvinus, and granted it very considerable financial relief: he reduced the taxes by one-third, and removed the publicani. The provincials showed their gratitude, and atoned for their earlier enmity, to the conqueror by enthusiastic demonstrations of loyalty: the Council of Ephesos called him the "god manifest, (sprung) from Ares and Aphrodite, and the general saviour of human life". As supreme head of the Roman state, he secured for the Jews in the great cities of Asia Minor the free exercise of their religion and sundry other favours.

Caesar was murdered at Rome by a party of republican zealots in March, 44 B.C. Immediately after his funeral, the mob, thinking that they had got hold of Cornelius Cinna, a violent opponent of Caesar, lynched the tribune G. Helvius

¹Cic. *Ep. ad Att.* IX. ix. 2 (" . . . Omnis haec classis Alexandria, Colchis, Tyro, Sidone, Arado, Cypro, Pamphylia, Lycia, Rhodo, Chio, Byzantio, Lesbos, Smyrna, Mileto, Coo ad intercludendos commeatus Italiae et ad occupandas frumentarias provincias comparatur"): cf. *Caes. Bell. Civ.* iii. 5, 42; Prokesch in *J.L.* lxxvii. 74 ("Im Bürgerkriege zwischen Cäsar und Pompejus erklärte sich Smyrna für die Parthey des Rechtes,

welche aber nicht die des Glückes war"). The Gneius (Pompeius), mentioned on a Smyrnaian inscription as the father of "Pompeia Magna", cannot be the great Pompeius, but might be one of his freedmen, or a freedman of one of his descendants, unless (as is thought) the inscription is a forgery (*C.I.G.* 3373 = *C.I.L.* III falsae 18* = *I.G.R.* iv. 1476).

²*Caes. Bell. Civ.* iii. 31-33; cf. Adcock in *C.A.H.* ix. 662 f.

Cinna. The murdered man, besides being a friend of Caesar, was an accomplished poet, and had spent nine years on his magnum opus, an epic entitled 'Zmyrna'. One of the few extant fragments of it refers to the incestuous pregnancy of Smyrna, the mother of Adonis; but how much further the poem went we cannot say.¹ The enthusiastic commentary on it by the freedman, L. Crassitius, tutor of M. Antonius' son, became widely known.²

Caesar had promised the Province of Asia to Gaius Trebonius, one of the conspirators; and thither did Trebonius proceed shortly after the murder of his patron. In February of the following year, his province was visited by the ex-Consul, P. Cornelius Dolabella (probably the son of the governor aforementioned), whom M. Antonius had cured of his recent republicanism by giving him the Province of Syria. Leading a legion and preceded by a Marsian named Octavius, Dolabella was collecting money and supplies en route. Trebonius gave him a welcome, which was received with great show of friendliness, lodged with him fearlessly, and—though he would not let him enter Pergamon or Smyrna—granted him a provision-market outside the latter city. Suddenly Dolabella attacked the walls and tried to force an entrance, but was repelled. Trebonius induced him, by promising him admittance to Ephesos, to set out thither, and sent a small force to follow and watch him. At nightfall, these soldiers turned back towards Smyrna, but were slain in an ambush laid by Dolabella, who—arriving himself at Smyrna during the night and finding it unguarded—entered it by scaling the walls with ladders. He immediately sent men to seize Trebonius in his bed. The wretched governor was the first of Caesar's murderers to be overtaken by retribution. Cicero says that Dolabella handed him over to an exile Samarius, violently upbraided him, then had him

¹Cinna, frags. in Teubner *Catull.* 88; *Catull.* xcv.: Mommsen, *Rome*, v. 481; Sikes in *C.A.H.* ix. 751. See also above, p. 30 n. 1.

²Sueton. *Gramm.* 18. The idea put forward by Baumgarten-Crusius in his edition of Suetonius (ii. 385 n.) to the effect that Crassitius' "commentario Smyrnae" consisted of "ὑπομνήμασι de urbe Smyrna rebusque Smyrnaeorum" is an inference from the sickly quatrain

quoted by Suetonius as expressing the popular admiration felt for Crassitius' work: "Uni Crassitio se credere Smyrna probavit: | desinite indocti coniugio hanc petere. | Soli Crassitio se dixit nubere velle: | intima cui soli nota sua exstiterint". Apart, however, from considerations of inherent likelihood, the lines are most readily explained as a poetical conceit in which Cinna's poem is personified as a woman. So most moderns.

scourged and tortured by Samiarius in a two-days' enquiry as to the public money in his charge (which treatment he bore with fortitude), finally beheaded him, and had the head carried about on a spear. According to Appianus, Trebonius agreed—on being taken—to be led to Dolabella; but was told by a centurion he might go where he pleased, but must leave his head behind—for that was what they had been ordered to bring; he was then immediately beheaded, and early the next morning Dolabella had the head placed on the governor's praetorial chair. Dio Cassius adds that he threw it down before Caesar's image. The soldiers and camp-followers, receiving his leave and bidding, mauled and mutilated the body, dragged it through the streets, and threw it into the sea; they rolled the head along the pavement in sport, until it was completely crushed. Smyrna, perhaps on the plea that it had sided with Pompeius against Caesar, was pillaged, and several parts of it demolished. Dolabella, now master of the Province, entered on a course of extortion and violence, in which temples were plundered and Roman citizens slain. In April he passed on into Syria. When the news of the proceedings reached Rome, he was declared by the Senate a public enemy. Cicero (his father-in-law) took occasion, in his eleventh 'Philippic', to denounce him: he recounted, and probably exaggerated, the details of the affair in Smyrna, describing the place as "a most famous city of Asia" and (with rhetorical exaggeration) as one of Rome's "most faithful and ancient allies".¹ G. Cassius Longinus, another conspirator against Caesar, was entrusted with the war against Dolabella, and the contest between them soon ended in the latter's suicide at Laodikeia.

After Dolabella's departure, the government of Asia was assumed by Trebonius' Quaestor, P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther, who remained in office until the arrival of the arch-conspirator, M. Junius Brutus. He and his fellow-murderer Cassius, after collecting troops and supplies in their respective Provinces Makedonia and Syria, met at Smyrna late in 43 B.C., in order to concert measures against Antonius and Octavianus

¹Cic. *Philipp.* xi. 2-4 (4-9: see above, p. 136 n. 3); Livius, *Epit.* 119; Strabo XIV. i. 37 (646: . . . Δολαβέλλας Τρεβώνιον ἐκπολιορκήσας ἀνείλεν . . . καὶ τῆς πόλεως παρέλυσε πολλὰ μέρη); Vell. Paterc.

II. lxix. 1 f.; Appian. *Civ.* iii. 26; Dio Cass. xlvii. 29; Orosius VI. xviii. 6. Most of the moderns, of course, mention the incident.

(Caesar's great-nephew, adopted son, and heir), who were killing off their political foes in Italy (among others Cicero), and were likely ere long to attack the republican forces in the East. Brutus and Cassius congratulated one another on the large forces they had mustered, and discussed their plans. Brutus suggested that they should go at once to Makedonia; Cassius thought there was still time for preparation, and persuaded his colleague to agree. In spite of the dissuasion of his friends, he gave Brutus a third of the money he had collected. They then left Smyrna to wring more money from the wretched provincials—Brutus in Lykia, Cassius in Rhodos. From Asia they demanded ten years' taxes, to be paid at once.¹ Loaded with booty, they met again at Sardeis the following year (42 B.C.), and marched thence to Makedonia; but in the autumn they were defeated at Philippi by Antonius and Octavianus, and committed suicide, leaving the world (except for the short-lived sea-power of Sextus Pompeius) prostrate at the victors' feet.

The East fell to Antonius. He at once visited Ephesos, whither he summoned to meet him (for money-collecting purposes) delegates representing the League (*κοινόν*) of Asia—a body which is first mentioned in 51/50 B.C., and became of great importance later.² It is probably to the date of this occasion, or to one a little later, that we ought to assign the erection by Smyrna of a statue of Julius Caesar at Salernum on the coast of Campania, and the inscription on its base of the words: "Divo Iulio civit. Zmyrnaeorum".³ The governors of Asia for the next eleven years were Antonius' lieutenants. For eighteen months indeed (41–39 B.C.) the Province was in the hands of Q. Labienus, who had served under Cassius and was now hand-in-glove with the Parthians. Nearly all the cities submitted to him temporarily; but he was soon overthrown by P. Ventidius Bassus, and slain. After the last struggles of Sextus Pompeius had terminated in his capture and death (35 B.C.), permanent peace seemed at length to be secured, under the unquestioned authority of Antonius. One of his daughters, Antonia, who had previously been betrothed

¹Livius, *Epit.* 122; Ploutarkhos, *Brut.* 28, 30; Appian, *Civ.* iv. 65; Dio Cass. xlvii. 32. On their exactions in Asia, Chapot 54 f., 329.

²Tarn in *C.A.H.* x. 33; cf. Chapot 464; Ramsay, *Seven Chs.* 117, 438. See also above, p. 164.

³*C.I.L.* X. i. 512.

to the son of Lepidus, was by her father's desire married, about 34 B.C., when she was barely twenty, to a wealthy Trallian named Pythodoros. A later inscription, in which the People of Smyrna did honour to her grandson Zenon, refers to her as "the Benefactress Antonia"—an expression which seems to reflect some happy relations between herself and the City during the early years of her married life (34-31 B.C.).¹

One last reversal of fortune, however, had yet to come. Antonius and Octavianus quarrelled; and Antonius established himself at Ephesos (winter 33/32 B.C.), and collected there troops and ships and supplies from all quarters. He was, however, totally defeated at Aktion in September, 31 B.C., and fled at once to Egypt.² After spending most of the ensuing winter at Samos, Octavianus proceeded in 30 B.C. to Egypt; and there the suicide of Antonius and Kleopatra finally left him supreme master of the Roman world. He wintered a second time in Samos (30/29 B.C.), and spent much time in receiving the submission of numerous princes and communities of the East and in settling their affairs. He could afford to act justly and humanely; and he did all he could to consign the evil past to oblivion. He restored to the temples the works of art Antonius had removed. Smyrna along with many other cities was pardoned. Debts were remitted, taxation reorganized, land-registration undertaken. Octavianus gave permission for temples to be erected in Julius Caesar's and Rome's honour by the Romans in Asia at Ephesos and in Bithynia at Nikaia, and in his own and Rome's honour by the Hellenic provincials of Asia at Pergamon and by those of Bithynia at Nikomedeia: the significance and the consequences of this step we shall study presently.

The year 27 B.C. is generally taken as the one in which the Roman Republic virtually gave place to the Empire. It was then that Octavianus received the new and permanent name "Augustus", and that a fresh system of provincial administration was set up. The provinces were divided between the

¹*I.G.R.* iv. 1407 = *Mouv.* I. 75 (40): cf. Groebe in Pauly I (1894) 2640; Tarn in *C.A.H.* x. 78, 112 f. The inscription must be earlier than 18 A.D., when Zenon became king of Armenia.

²From Aktion, or perhaps from the

games soon afterwards instituted to celebrate it, came the name of Aktiakos, whos tomb-inscription at Smyrna we have in *C.I.G.* 3264 = *G.I.B.M.* 1029 (ii/A.D.).

Emperor and the Senate. The Emperor through his Legati controlled the frontier-Provinces, as being on the whole the less settled, while the Senate took responsibility for the rest, subject however to the Emperor's intervention in the event of misgovernment or other special circumstances. Asia was from the first a senatorial province. The new conditions involved in the system now introduced will fall to be dealt with in a future chapter.

THE CITY AND ITS INSTITUTIONS IN CLASSICAL TIMES

I PROPOSE to collect in this chapter certain interesting and important pieces of evidence regarding Smyrna and its public affairs which are generally referable to the classical period, but which do not lend themselves to the chronological arrangement of a continuous narrative.

Regarding the city itself as a whole, we may notice first the concordant witness of antiquity to its beauty. Antipatros of Sidon, shortly before 100 B.C., knows "beautiful Smyrna" as the supposed birthplace of Homeros.¹ Strabo the geographer, writing perhaps about 6 B.C., says of it: "And now it is the most beautiful of all the (cities)".² According to his third-century biographer Philostratos, the sage Apollonios of Tyana (about 50 A.D.) called Smyrna "this fair colony", and agreed that it was the most beautiful city under the sun.³ The elder Plinius alludes to it as a "light of Asia".⁴ Lucianus the satirist (about 120-180 A.D.), describing in a dialogue a marvellously beautiful and wealthy lady, says he had not learned her name, but knew only that she was from Ionia, "for when she passed, one of the spectators, looking at his neighbour, said, 'Such are Smyrna's beauties!' And it would not be surprising that the most beautiful of Ionic cities should produce the most beautiful woman. And it seemed to me that the speaker must have been a Smyrnaian, so proud was he about her".⁵ The effusions of Lucianus' verbose contemporary Aristeides contain numerous allusions to the charms of

¹See above, p. 151 n. 5.

²Strabo XIV. i. 37 (646): καὶ νῦν ἐστὶ καλλίστη τῶν πασῶν.

³Philostr. *Apollon*. iv. 6 (144: τῆ καλῆ ἀποικία ταύτη), 7 (145: . . . εἰ καὶ καλλίστη πόλεων, ὅποσαι ὑπὸ ἡλίῳ εἰσὶ . . .).

⁴See above, p. 163 n. 2.

⁵Lucianus xxxix = *Imagines*, 2 (. . .

τῶν θεατῶν γάρ τις ἀπιδὼν ἐς τὸν πλησίον, ἐπεὶ παρήλθε, "Τοιαῦτα μέντοι", ἔφη, "τὰ Σμυρναϊκὰ κάλλη". Καὶ θαυμαστὸν οὐδὲν, εἰ ἡ καλλίστη τῶν Ἴωνικῶν πόλεων τὴν καλλίστην γυναῖκα ἤνεγκεν. Ἐδόκει δέ μοι καὶ αὐτὸς Σμυρναῖος εἶναι ὁ λέγων, οὕτως ἐσεμνύνετο ἐπ' αὐτῆ), 3. See below, pp. 276 f.

Smyrna.¹ In the early decades of the third century A.D. Smyrnians style their city on public inscriptions "the First (City) of Asia in beauty and size, and the most brilliant, . . . and the ornament of Ionia, . . ."² "First of Asia . . . in beauty and size" is a legend that appears on Smyrnaian coins of the same period, that of Caracallus (211–217 A.D.) and Alexander Severus (222–235 A.D.).³ An undated tombstone of the imperial age refers to the dead man's "native place, lovely Smyrna".⁴ The Christian Pionios (250 A.D.) mentions the local boasting over the beauty of Smyrna,⁵ and is perhaps the author who represents Polykarp as having, at an earlier date, referred to "this most beautiful city".⁶

This verdict of the classical period has been repeatedly substantiated by modern travellers and residents, despite the almost complete alteration in the city's buildings. Tournefort (1701) considered its situation finer than that of Ephesos.⁷ Prokesch von Osten (1824) waxes enthusiastic over the scene.⁸ Storari (1857) says that the view of the city from the top of Pagos is even finer than that from the sea.⁹ Weber (1880) devotes a glowing page to the beauties visible from the former point of vantage.¹⁰ Warm tribute to the grandeur of the same panorama was not outside the concern of the scientists

¹Aristeides viii, 97 (xiv. 33: ὦ τὴν καλλίστην ὡν ἐφορᾶς κατέχων πόλιν [to Sarapis: cf. Höfler 111]), xlii, 774 (xxiii. 19–21), xv, 371 ff. (xvii. 1 f., 9–12, 17 f., 20, 23), xx. 425 ff. (xviii. 2 [λογίων περιηγήσεις ἀναγραφόντων καλλίστην τῶν ἀπασῶν], 3–5 [for reading of 5, cf. Wilam.-Moell. in *Hermes*, lxi 1926] 293 f.), 7, 8 [ὦ γῆς ἀγαθὰ, ὦ θέατρον τῆς Ἑλλάδος], 9 f.), xli, 762 f. (xix. 1 [Σ. τὸ τῆς Ἀσίας ἀγαθὰ, τῆς δὲ ὑμετέρας ἐγκαλλώπισμα ἡγεμονίας], 3), xxi, 430 ff. (xx. 5, 8 f., 14 [. . . παράδειγμα κάλλους . . .], 22—referring mostly to the city as rebuilt after the earthquake of 178 A.D.), xxii, 441 (xxi. 5, 7), 443 (10–13—post-earthquake). Modern writers frequently refer to these eulogies of Aristeides, e.g. Ramsay, *Seven Chs.* 257–261, 443.

²*C.I.G.* 3191 (= *I.G.R.* iv. 1424 = *O.G.I.* 514), 3202 (= *I.G.R.* iv. 1420), 3204 (= *I.G.R.* iv. 1421), 3205, 3206 *A* (= *I.G.R.* iv. 1419a). Cf. *C.I.G.* 3179d (= *C.I.L.* III. 471) and 3197 (= *I.G.R.* iv. 1426: λαμπροτάτη); and see below, pp. 291 f.

³See below, pp. 291 f. and p. 294 n. 6, and cf. Mylonas 43 n. 2; Slaars 23 n. 45, 26 n. 49; Babelon 106 (1957 f.); Head, *Hist. Num.* 593; Ramsay, *Seven Chs.* 139 f., 255.

⁴*C.I.G.* 6250 = *I.G.R.* i. 299 = *I.G.* XIV. 1815 (. . . ἀβλοθετήρα πάτρης Σμύρνης ἐρατινῆς): cf. *G.I.B.M.* 179 (. . . | Σμύρνη δ' ἐν . . . καλῆ).

⁵*Mart. Pion.* iv. 2: "Ἄνδρες οἱ ἐπὶ τῷ κάλλει Σμύρνης καυχώμενοι, . . .

⁶Pionios (?), *Vit. Polyc.* xxx. 4: "Ἄνδρες οἱ τῆσδε τῆς περικαλλοῦς πόλεως κάτοικοι, . . .

⁷Tournefort ii. 495, 520.

⁸Prokesch, *Denkwürd.* i. 98: cf. id. in *J.L.* lxxvii (1834) 63.

⁹Storari 23.

¹⁰Weber, *Sipylos*, 17–19 (" . . . Ce ciel, cette mer, cet échafaudage de montagnes, tout cet ensemble noyé dans la lumière du ciel de l'Ionie, produit à certaines heures du jour, comme un véritable éblouissement . . ."). Cf. Ramsay in *H. D.B.* iv. 556 a ("The views from the sea, and from the summit of Mount Pagos, are among the most exquisite in the whole Mediterranean lands").

Vom Rath (1882)¹ and Philippson (1900–1904).² Sir William Ramsay has several times emphasized the magnificent appearance of the city and its surroundings: he considers that the view from the sea must have been even more impressive and splendid in ancient times, when the citadel, walls, and public buildings were intact, than it is to-day.³ I can myself testify to the growing sense of the beauty of Smyrna when approached by sea, from the moment when one first descries it as a pale red smudge among the hills in the distant east to the time when the anchor is dropped opposite the quay. And I can recall few scenes of richer beauty than the one which a friend and I enjoyed together as we tramped into Smyrna from Paradise Station, round the eastern shoulder of Pagos, on a golden evening in April 1930. Certainly an important feature in the picture were the clumps of cypress-trees, which are of comparatively modern growth: but as an offset to the absence of these, the mountain-forests and suburban groves, which have now almost completely disappeared, must have made the landscape in ancient times truly a vision of delight.⁴

In praising the beauty of Smyrna, ancient authors usually had in mind its buildings rather than its natural surroundings. "Every ancient city was ambitious that its public buildings, with costly artistic decorations, should rival those of other cities which came into comparison with it, and resources were not uncommonly strained in the competition. . . . In all towns much was due to private donors, and in a number of towns, especially the old Greek communities, a good deal was done by imperial benefactors . . ."⁵ Aristeides several times sketches the general lie and harmonious unity of the city, the low-lying shore, the slope, the Akropolis, etc.,⁶ and extols the profusion and splendour of its buildings—gymnasia,

¹Vom Rath in *Sitzgsber.* etc. (as above, p. 2 n. 1), 26.

²Philippson ii. 33: cf. his enthusiasm over the beauty of the city on his first arrival in Sept. 1900 (i. 1).

³Ramsay in *E.Br.* xxii (1887) 186b (increasingly abbreviated in later editions), *Seven Chs.* 43, 254–256: see also above, p. 172 n. 10.

⁴Cf. Büchner 738f. Reclus, however,

did not think much of the beauty of modern Smyrna, except when approached from the south (Reclus-Keane 323). See above, pp. 14, f., 21.

⁵Reid 459. See above, p. 142.

⁶Aristeides xv, 374 (xvii. 9), xx, 425 (xviii. 3), xlii, 774 (xxiii. 20): cf. Calder in *East. Prov.* 96. For Aristeides' allusions to the view from Mt. Pagos, see above, p. 15 n. 1; for his allusions to the harbours of Smyrna, p. 16 n. 1.

city-squares (*ἀγοραί*), theatres, walls, harbours, enormous baths, several fine race-courses, innumerable fountains, sunlit streets: the natural beauties of the place vied, he says, with man-made adornments.¹ A thirteenth-century poetical inscription describes ancient Smyrna thus: "This formerly most famous city, swelling with crystalline walls and well-crowned towers and adornments, such as mark the growth of a town well-furnished with porticoes, streets, race-courses, and baths, girt by the sea and fertile land, . . ."²

It is not possible now to locate precisely more than a very few of these public buildings of ancient Smyrna; and to some of these few we have already had occasion to refer. The crown of the city was, of course, the Akropolis on Mt. Pagos. It is clear from the present condition of the masonry that its walls underwent considerable addition and repair during the Roman period.³ It is possible that the two Lysimakheian city-walls also received similar attention,⁴ especially the southern—for the north-eastern had probably already ceased to form the actual boundary of the city in that direction. There is strong reason for believing that, by the commencement of the Christian era, Smyrna had spread for a considerable distance to the east and north. Commercial prosperity and the increase of population would necessitate such an expansion. We cannot trace and date its stages; but we know that by the time of Aristeides (in the latter half of the second century A.D.) the place where Licinius Crassus had been buried in 130 B.C.,⁵ and a portion of a river (probably not the Caravan-Bridge-River, but a western off-shoot of it⁶), both

¹Aristeides xv, 375 f. (xvii. 11): πάντα γὰρ ἤδη μέχρι τῆς παραλίας καταλύμπεται γυμνασίοις, κτλ., κτλ.

²C.I.G. 8749 = Grégoire 81, ll. 1-5 (1222 A.D.).

³Prokesch in *J.L.* lxviii. 60, and see above, pp. 101 f.

⁴See above, pp. 102 f. The repair of the walls is the subject of an inscription of about 400 A.D., and apparently of another of vii/A.D. (Grégoire 65, 79: cf. Weber in Wilson 73b).

⁵See above, p. 147 n. 1.

⁶Aristeides xxiv, 472 (xlvi. 27: . . . ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν διὰ τῆς πόλεως ῥέοντα, γενόμενον δὲ οὐ ἔστιν ἤδη ἐξω τῆς πόλεως . . .: see above, p. 14 n. 3). In xxiv,

470 (xlvi. 18, 20) Aristeides mentions a river which flowed in front of (*πρὸ*) the city, with a bridge over it "outside (the) gates". Calder argues (in *East. Prov.* 106-108) that this latter was the Meles, and that the river flowing partly through the city was the Caravan-Bridge-River. I have argued above (p. 12 n. 6) that the bridged river was not the Meles, but the Caravan-Bridge-River. If this be so, the river which flowed partly through the city must be the *branch* of the Caravan-Bridge-River, which once flowed westward and north westward from just below the Caravan-Bridge (see above, p. 14 n. 3). And this is probably right, for any extension of the Lysimakheian city to

lay within the then city-walls.¹ The space between the Caravan-Bridge and Diana's Bath is strewn with ancient remains. Here, as well as beyond the southern wall (at Karatash and Göstepé), the suburbs (*προάστεια*) of the ancient city doubtless extended.² Most of the burial-places also would be located outside the city-walls; and remains of such exist near Tepejik, in the valley of the Caravan-Bridge-River, on the south of Pagos, and further out to the south-east.³

The streets were well laid out, at right-angles so far as possible, and were paved with slabs of stone.⁴ Responsibility for different sections of the city-wall was apparently entrusted to the inhabitants of the several street-surrounded blocks of

the north would almost immediately involve including a portion of this side-stream within the new wall. I cannot therefore agree with Dr. Calder either that the Lysimakheian wall "reached quite close to the Caravan Bridge River" (107), or that the new wall in the time of Aristedeis extended east of Tepejik and nearly as far as Diana's Bath (104, 106).

¹Strabo says (XIV. i. 37 [646]) of the Smyrna of his day *μέρος μὲν τι ἔχουσα ἐπ' ὄρει τετελισμένον, τὸ δὲ πλεόν ἐν πεδίῳ πρὸς τῷ λιμένι* (i.e. the inland harbour where the Bazaars now stand) *καὶ πρὸς τῷ Μητροῦ καὶ πρὸς γυμνασίῳ*. Now it is clear from Aristedeis (xv, 375 [xvii. 10 fin.]: *κατιόντα δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως τὰ ἔφα ἐκδέχεται, . . . ναῶν τε ὁ κάλλιστος αὐτῆς τῆς εὐληχίας θεοῦ τὴν πόλιν . . .* sequel quoted above, p. 174 n. 1) that the Metroön lay to the east of one descending northwards from Pagos, and that many public buildings lay between it and the sea on the west. If we may identify "the great Goddess before (the) City, law-giving Demeter" of *C.I.G.* 3194 and 3211 (= *I.G.R.* iv. 1415) with the Mother-Goddess, we seem led to Tepejik as the site of her temple (Calder in *East. Prov.* 104 f.). If further we may combine the phrases of Varro ("apud mare") and Plinius ("apud Matroon": see above, p. 21 n. 2) we must locate the Metroön near the sea. Tepejik is now $\frac{3}{4}$ mile from the sea; in ancient times the distance would be much less (see above, pp. 15 f., but also below, p. 217 n. 1). Since the goddess was *πρὸ πόλεως* at the time of these inscriptions (? late ii/A.D.), the city-wall *must* then have run west of Tepejik. For its running

west of the Caravan-Bridge-River also, see last n.

²Aristedeis xv, 375, 379 (xvii. 10, 17), xx, 426 (xviii. 5), xxiv, 475 (xlviii. 38), xxvii, 534 (li. 2), xli, 765 (xix. 8), xlii, 774 (xxiii. 21); Pionios (?), *Vit. Polyc.* vii. 1, viii; Himerios, *Eclog.* xiii. 31 (see above, p. 13 n. 1); Calder in *East. Prov.* 103f.; Büchner 753, 758.

³Pionios (?), *Vit. Polyc.* xx. 4; Chandler i. 79; Oikonomos in Slaars 54 f.; Büchner 759.

⁴So Strabo XIV. i. 37 (646: *ἔστι δ' ἡ ῥυμοτομία διάφορος ἐπ' εὐθειῶν εἰς δύναμιν καὶ οἱ ὁδοὶ λιθόστρωτοι . . .*). I know of no authority for Ashmole's statement in *C.A.H.* viii. 705 that Smyrna boasted that she was the first to pave her streets. In Hellenistic cities the streets were generally not paved. I do not think Strabo's language here and in the passage immediately preceding (for which see above, n. 1) quite justifies Tarn's idea (*Hellen. Civil.* 276) that Smyrna was "built in three separate blocks, each with rectangular streets but differently orientated, which may explain the number of kings who are said to have 'built' it" (see also above, p. 100 n. 3). Cf. Aristedeis xv, 376 (xvii. 11: *καὶ στενωποὶ αὐτ' ἀγορῶν καὶ στενωποὶ τετραχὰ σχιζόντες ἀλλήλους εἰς ὑποδοχὴν τοῦ ἡλίου . . .*), xx, 426 (xviii. 6), xl, 760 (xxix. 30: *στενωποὶ*) (see below, p. 176 n. 5); *C.I.G.* 8749 = Grégoire 81 (*εὐάγυιαν*): Lane 25 f. n. 5 (but the *στενωποὶ* were not roofed); Büchner 758. The position and character of "the so-called Spiral" (*στροβελῶν*), in which one Apollonios built his tomb (*R.E.G.* xii [1899] 385 f. [11]), are unknown.

houses adjoining them.¹ In the parts of the city adjoining the sea, the ground was so low that, in the absence of an adequate system of drainage (which the architects had omitted to provide), water and sewage were apt to encumber the surface of the ground, especially when exceptionally heavy rain had fallen.² Trouble of the same kind has occurred in the modern town, though remedial measures have of course to some extent been taken.³ In the autumn of 1930, heavy rains caused the Caravan-Bridge-River to become a destructive torrent, and to flood the lower town as far as the Point. The prevailing west wind aggravates the difficulty of drainage, as it keeps the water near the shore and hinders the discharge from finding its way out to sea.⁴

Certain expressions used by Aristeides and Philostratos have given rise to the conjecture that in their days there was a handsome thoroughfare, called "the Golden Street", running in a curve from near Tepejik, across the Caravan-Bridge (the foundations of which, along with the walls that border the river on both sides near it, are ancient Hellenic and Roman work), through the gate in the old wall (near Basma-Hané station), and round southwestwards through the city to the Ephesian Gate.⁵ A stretch of ancient pavement, sixty-eight paces long, was until recently still visible in the south-western part of the city, and perhaps belonged to this thoroughfare.⁶

The water-supply must have been a subject of some anxiety, in view of the uncertainty of the rainfall, the lie of the land, and the consequent insufficiency of spring-water within

¹*S.I.G.* 961 = *Mουσ.* II. ii f. 51 (120) = *R.A.* xxxii (1876) 41-44, esp. 42 f. (τοὺς ἐν τῷ ἀνφόδῳ τετάχθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ Πύργου τοῦ τῆς Ἀγαθῆς Τύχης ἕως τοῦ τῆς Εὐετηρίας). Cf. Dittenberger's n. 1 to *S.I.G.* 961.

²Strabo XIV. i. 37 (646: ἐν δ' ἐλάττωμα τῶν ἀρχιτεκτόνων οὐ μικρόν, ὅτι τὰς ὁδοὺς στορενύντες ὑπορρίσεις οὐκ ἔδωκαν αὐταῖς, ἀλλ' ἐπιπολάζει τὰ σκύβαλα, καὶ μάλιστα ἐν τοῖς ὄμβροις ἐπαφιεμένων τῶν ἀποσκευῶν). Cf. Liebenam 153, 405 f.; Reid 463 ("Drainage, especially for surface water, was often elaborate and expensive, and great care was taken of it in nearly all cities of importance. Of sewerage in the modern sense we hear but little . . .").

³Texier 304a; Burchner 752.

⁴Ramsay, *Seven Chs.* 262.

⁵Aristeides xv, 375 (xvii. 10: ἀπὸ ἐσπέρας μὲν πρὸς ἑὼ βαδίζων ἐκ νεῶ τε εἰς νεῶν ἡξεις καὶ ἐκ κολωνοῦ πρὸς κολωνὸν δι' ἐνὸς στενωποῦ καλλιόνοιο ἢ κατὰ τοῦνομα . . .), xx, 426 (xviii. 6: ὃ χρυσοῦ τε ἐπάνωμι καὶ ἱερῶν ὁδοὶ καθ' ἕκαστον πλαίσιον, ἀν' ἀγορᾶς ἀπασαί), xli, 763 (xix. 3: κόσμοι δὲ ὁδῶν); Philostr. *Apollon.* iv. 7 (145: Apollonios speaks of Smyrna being crowned with στοαῖς τε καὶ γραφαῖς καὶ χρυσῶ πλεῖον τοῦ ὄντος [? read δέοντος]). Cf. Weber in Wilson 73b; Ramsay, *Hist. Geog.* 7, *Phrygia*, ii. 441, *Seven Chs.* 205, 259 f., 275, and in *H.D.B.* iv. 554b; Calder in *East. Prov.* 104; Burchner 757 f.

⁶Tsakyroglou ii. 68 f.; Fontrier in *R.E.A.* ix (1907) 117 (31).

the city. Small springs are found on the Castle-Hill and at various points in the lower town¹; but from an early date it must have been necessary to supplement these from other quarters. Mt. Pagos was furnished with cisterns and underground passages²; but it is difficult to say anything about the date of these. The rich springs at Halka-Bunar were too distant for any folk but those living near them to use. It is probable that the fluctuating waters of the Caravan-Bridge-River were in some way diverted to supply the city.³ But well before the commencement of the Christian era, recourse must have been had to the characteristically Roman device of bringing water to the city by means of aqueducts consisting of pipes laid, where necessary, along the top of a row of arches. Fairly extensive remains of aqueducts are still to be seen in the neighbourhood of Smyrna; but the most conspicuous of these are not the most ancient. Two of the oldest may possibly date from pre-Christian times. One (tentatively assigned to Strabo's time) was a long watercourse led from a fine spring, Kara-Bunar, away in the heart of Nif-Dagh (near the source of the Arab-Dere-Chai), via Portara, and through the hills between Kukluja and Buja. Even where it crosses the valley of the Caravan-Bridge-River, its remains are very fragmentary (many of the pipes and stones having been taken for use in neighbouring buildings); and in places even the line of it is difficult to follow. This is particularly the case at the Smyrna-end; but it is thought that the water was conveyed circuitously to the western side of Mt. Pagos. It has been conjectured that there was in Roman times another aqueduct leading water into the lower city from the well of Kapandjoglou, situated not far from the Halka-Bunar springs and fed from a source higher up the hills to the south: but the existence and date of such an aqueduct have not been verified. A third aqueduct was constructed about 79/80 A.D., and will be described later.⁴

¹Cf. Aristeides xv, 376 (xvii. 11), xx, 426 (xviii. 6).

²Weber in Wilson 74 a, b. See also above, pp. 101 f.

³Ramsay, *Hist. Geog.* 115.

⁴The whole question of the water-supply and aqueducts of Smyrna has been thoroughly dealt with by Weber: see his *Wasserleit.* 4 f. (list of aqueducts),

5 f. (lie of land, rainfall, etc.), 6-25 (full account of Kara-Bunar aqueduct), 174 (its date: earlier than aqueduct of 79/80 A.D.), 174 f. (Kapandjoglou—Roman times). Cf. Bürchner 748 ("Die Wasserleitung von Kará Punár her mag zur Zeit Strabons gebaut worden sein").

For the further information of resi-

Close to the southern wall of the city, and on the northern slope of the hill between Mt. Pagos and the sea, lay the Stadion, an oblong structure, the axis of which pointed 13° south of east and north of west. It was rounded at its eastern end, and square at its western, and consisted of a level race-course, surrounded on north, east, and south, by sloping tiers of seats. Its total length was nearly 200 yards, its total breadth nearly 40. On the south, the hill itself provided the needful slope; on the north, substructures of arch-masonry were required. The seats of honour in the centre of the eastern end must have commanded a magnificent view of the sea. Almost every fragment of masonry has in the course of ages been taken away as material for other buildings; and all that is now visible on the grassy site is the general shape of the ground occupied.¹ Aristeides speaks of "race-courses of every sort, some in the depth of the city and some on its confines, each one preventing another from being the most beautiful"²: but we know nothing of the position and character of any but the one here described.

The Theatre was built in a natural hollow below the north-western corner of the Akropolis. The line of its stage ran due east and west; and the seats for the spectators lay on the mountain-slope to the south of it, and provided a splendid view of the Gulf and the further coast. Adjoining it on the north was a large roofed colonnade called the "Stratonikeion", intended for the accommodation of the audience in the event of heavy rain and for the mustering of the choruses.³ The name of this colonnade, the mention of it by Vitruvius,

dents in and visitors to Smyrna, it may be here explained that, of the three still (or recently) visible aqueducts crossing the Caravan-Bridge-River, the northernmost (Vesir-Su), which spanned the valley just S. of the middle of the Castle on Mt. Pagos, and which collapsed in the winter of 1930/1, was built by the Vizir Achmet in 1674 (Weber, *Wasserleit.* 181-183); the middle one (Osman-Aga), which crosses the river S.W. of Paradise-Station, is assigned by Weber (*Wasserleit.* 177-179) to v/ or vi/A.D.; while the southernmost, some 60 yards further upstream, is a late Turkish substitute for a decayed part of Osman-Aga (Weber, *Wasserleit.* 179-181). See also below, p. 248 n. 2, and p. 254 n. 4.

¹*Mart. Polyc.* viii. 3, ix. 1, etc.; *Mart. Pion.* xxi (esp. 1, 6); Tournefort ii. 505 f.; Chandler i. 77, 80; Prokesch, *Denkwürd.* i. 520 f., and in *J.L.* lxxviii. 62; Texier 304 b, 307 b; Storari 37 f.; Slaars 48 n. 89 (Monconys, Spon, Tavernier, etc. quoted); Tsakyroglou ii. 69 f.; Lightfoot i. 472; Le Camus, *Sept Églises*, 262 f.; Weber in Wilson 73b; Lampakes 173-178 (fullest modern account of the site, with photo, plans, and summary of travellers' reports); Büchner 755 (orientation wrong).

²Aristeides xv, 376 (xvii. 11); cf. xx, 426 (xviii. 6: δρόμοι κατάστεγοι και ὑπαίθροι), xlii, 774 (xxiii. 20); *C.I.G.* 8749 = Gregoire 81 (ἐπίδρομον).

³See above, p. 112 n. 2.

the story about Q. Caecilius Metellus,¹ and the inherent probabilities of the case, combine to prove that Smyrna certainly had a theatre of her own in the Hellenistic period, perhaps even from the time of her rebuilding by Lysimakhos. It is unnecessary to infer (as many scholars have done) from the absence of any mention of a theatre in Strabo's account of Smyrna (about 6 B.C.) that the city was at that time theatreless.² An inscription reported to have been found on the site of the present theatre-ruins and bearing the name of "Claudius" was conjecturally interpreted as showing that the theatre had been built, or at least renovated, in the reign of the emperor of that name (41-54 A.D.).³ Aristeides speaks of "theatres" in the plural.⁴ The existing ruins have in recent years been subjected to a thorough examination, and are found to be those of a theatre erected towards the end of the second century A.D., in all probability the one built in or about 179 A.D. after the terrible earthquake of 178 A.D. The newly-erected theatre probably stood on the same site as the earlier one, and embodied much of its masonry.⁵ One of the seats has been found to have carved upon it the word 'Ιουλίου, apparently in conformity with the custom of reserving or appropriating seats to particular persons.⁶ An inscription of about 210 A.D. records the official assignment of four rows of reserved seats to the porters attached to the Asklepieion.⁷ The Theatre, besides being used for scenic and musical displays,⁸ seems

¹See above, p. 154.

²Cf. Berg and Walter 9, 23.

³Tournefort ii. 506 f.; Prokesch in *J.L.* lxxviii. 63; Storari 42; Tsakyroglou ii. 69; Büchner 753 f. (accepts as a fact Spon's conjecture of a renovation under Claudius); Berg and Walter 23 n. 2. See also below, pp. 242, 281 f. A Smyrnaian actor, named Tiberius Claudius Myrismus—an expert in "tragic rhythmical movement", and a citizen also of Magnesia-on-Maiandros—was honoured by the Council and People of Magnesia for his professional skill and excellent character—probably about the middle of i/A.D. (*M.D.A.I.* xix [1894] 22[13] = Kern, *Die Inschr. von Magnesia*, 125 [165]).

⁴Aristeides xv, 375 (xvii. 11), 376 (13: θεάτρων τε πάντων κατά τε ἀγῶνας καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἐπιδείξεις ἀμύθητος ἢ ἀφθονία—but θεάτρων perhaps here means "spectacles"),

xx, 426 (xviii. 6), xl, 754, 757 (xxix. 12, 21): cf. xxvii, 541 (li. 30), xl, 755 (xxix. 16) for the singular. Cf. Berg and Walter 9.

⁵Berg and Walter 8 ff., esp. 23 f.; Walter 232 f. See below, pp. 281 f.

⁶Le Bas-Wadd. 10.

⁷*I.G.R.* iv. 1414 = *A. J. A.* i (1885) 140 f. = *B.C.H.* vi (1882) 291 f., now in the Ashmolean at Oxford. Some of the porters of Smyrna seem to have occupied a special district in the city (*I.G.R.* iv. 1459 = *A. J. A.* i [1885] 141 f.: τοῖς φορηγγοῖς τοῖς περὶ τὸν βεῖκον [=vicum—] or does the phrase simply mean "the street-porters" [so Ramsay in *A. J. A.*]?), See also below, p. 290.

⁸Artemidoros (ii/A.D.) mentions (*Oneirokritika*, i. 64) a harper who performed in it at "the sacred contest" held in honour of the Emperor Hadrianus.

to have been the normal place for the Public Assemblies of the citizens, even for those held on the spur of the moment.¹

The Odeion, or music-hall, of Smyrna was clearly a different building from the Theatre. It stood "near the harbour",² and contained a picture by Apelles, the famous painter of the fourth century B.C., representing one of the Graces, and depicting her clothed, in contrast to the nude Graces of later art.³

We come across numerous allusions to the Porticoes or roofed colonnades (στοαί) of Smyrna. These rectangular places of public resort would be situated in different parts of the city. Some of them were two-storeyed. We have already mentioned the colonnade attached to the stage of the Theatre. Another, partly paved, adjoined the temple of Asklepios in the gymnasium at the south-western extremity of the city. A probably pre-Imperial inscription refers to "the porticoes of Apollodoros".⁴

About half-way between the Theatre and the inner harbour (the site of which is now occupied by the Bazaars) was the chief Agora or City-Square. The place has been used as a Turkish cemetery (and called Namassiak); but formerly there were seen there extensive ruins, consisting chiefly of pillars made of white red-veined marble. These have been with much plausibility thought to be the remains of the colonnade surrounding the chief of those agorai, whereof Aristeides intimates that the city possessed several. Recent excavations on the site have confirmed this conjecture, and have laid bare

¹Pionios (?), *Vit. Polyc.* xxx. 1, xxxi. 1; *Mart. Pion.* vii. 1 (bis): cf. Berg and Walter 9 f.; *Acts*, xix. 29-41.

²Aristeides xxvii, 541 f. (li. 30, 34). Fontrier (in *R.E.A.* ix [1907] 116 [22]) places it conjecturally in the south-eastern quarter of the city, near the modern prison. I have not been able to get access to Fontrier's art. on the subject in *La Réforme de Smyrne* for 2nd Jan. 1907.

³Paus. IX. xxxv. 6 f. (see above, p. 89 n. 2 and p. 94 n. 5). Cf. Berg and Walter 9 n. 3 ("eine nackte Charite des Apelles"—wrongly; and their reference "Paus. IX 25, 6" should read "Paus. IX 35, 6 f.").

⁴Strabo XIV. i. 37 (646: στοαί τε μεγάλοι τετράγωνοι, επίπεδοι τε καὶ ὑπερώοι); Aristeides xxxiii, 449 (xlvii. 17: στοὰ adjoining temp. of Asklep. [. . . τῆς στοᾶς ὅσον ἐστὶν τὸ ἐστρωμένον]: see below, p. 205 n. 1); *C.I.G.* 3169 (. . . ἐκ τῶν Ἀπολλοδώρου στοῶν . . .), 3192 (= *I.G.R.* iv. 1422: . . . ἢ ἀπαντ[ῶσα?] στοὰ . . .); *Mart. Pion.* iii. 6 (see next n.); Eitrem, *Griech. Reliefs*, 12-14 (8: Christian κιάνια); Philostr. *Apollon.* iv. 7 (145); *C.I.G.* 8749 Smyrna εὐστοον). See also above, pp. 112, 178, and cf. Liebenam 160 n. 3; Aristeides mentions also the "precincts" or "enclosures" in Smyrna (xv, 375 [xvii. 11: περιβάλοισ]).

certain remains (including substructures) belonging to the latter part of the second century A.D.¹

According to Aristeides, Smyrna possessed so many Baths that one was at a loss to know where to bathe. He mentions some near the Ephesian Gates, possibly identical with those referred to in 'the Martyrdom of Polykarp' as being near the Stadion.²

Aristeides also speaks of "Gymnasia" (in the plural), and says that one contained a temple of Asklepios. If this temple be the one elsewhere described as "near the outer harbour",³ the gymnasium in which it stood is probably identical with that mentioned by Strabo as lying somewhere on the plain and apparently as forming one of the limits of the town. But there was also a gymnasium of great magnificence, which was paid for partly out of a large sum granted to Smyrna by the emperor Hadrianus under the influence of the rhetor Polemon, and partly by the munificence of citizens and magistrates. It contained an apartment for sun-bathing, and an anointing-room for the Gerousia with a gilt roof and seventy-two pillars of Synnadian marble, twenty of Numidian marble, and six of porphyry. But neither the literary allusions nor any surviving ruins enable us to say definitely where these gymnasia lay.⁴

¹Aristeides xv, 375 (xvii. 11: ἀγοραῖς), xx, 426 (xviii. 6: ὃ τῆς ὑπερλάμπρου σχῆμα ἀγορᾶς, . . . ὁδοὶ . . . ἀντ' ἀγορᾶς ἀπασαί), xxii, 441 (xxi. 5: εὐράς ἀγοράν τε θεῶν ἐστῖαν), xxiii, 451 (xlvii. 22: dream about a crowd in the agora), xxv, 498 (xlx. 38: τὰς ἀγορὰς . . .), (39: τὸν βωμὸν τοῦ Διὸς ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ), xxvii, 542 (li. 31: ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς), xl, 760 (xxix. 30: κατ' ἀγοράν), xli, 763 (Soph. 3: οἴχεται δὲ ἀγορᾶς κάλλη); Philostr. *Soph.* ii. 9 (582: statue of Aristeides in the agora), 27 (618: Megistias teaches in a temple adjoining the agora); *Mart. Pion.* iii. 4, 6 (καὶ ἐλθόντων εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν, ἐν τῇ στοᾷ τῇ ἀνατολικῇ, ἐν τῇ διπύλιδι, ἐγέμισθη πᾶσα ἡ ἀγορὰ καὶ αἱ ὑπερῶαι στοαὶ Ἑλλήνων τε καὶ Ἰουδαίων καὶ γυναικῶν . . .), 7 (people ascend τὰ βῆθρα and τὰ κιβώτια to gaze), x. 1, xv. 7: Prokesch in *J.L.* lxxviii. 63; Texier 304b; Storar 43 f.; Oikonomos in Slaars 50 with Slaars' n. 92 (details); Papadop.-Keram. *Σταθμά*, 13 f.; Tsakyrogliou ii. 71 f.; Weber in Wilson 74a; Fontrier in *R.E.A.* iv (1902) 193, ix (1907) 117 (28), 118 (34); Walter 231; Burchner 752

(inclines to find Stratonikeion here), 757. For the recent excavations, see below, pp. 282 f.

²Aristeides xv, 375 f. (xvii. 11); xxiii, 449 f. (xlvii. 18-21), xl, 760 (xxix. 30), xlii, 774 (xxiii. 20); *Mart. Polyk.* xiii. 1; *M.D.A.I.* xiv (1889) 95 (25: ἐνβατῶν τῶν ἐν Σμύρνῃ); *C.I.G.* 8749 (Smyrna εὐλοέτειραν). Near Smyrna was found the sarcophagus of a βασιλευσῖνος (*C.I.G.* 3321: ? ± 200 A.D.). The inscriptions in *D.K.A.W.* lvii (1915) 6 f. (1:54-68 A.D.) and *I.G.R.* iv. 1440 = 1490 = Le Bas-Wadd. 33 refer to the building of baths at Nymphaion.

³Aristeides xxvi, 531 (l. 102): see next n., and below, pp. 204 f.

⁴Strabo as above, p. 175 n. 1; Aristeides xv, 375 (xvii. 11), xx, 426 (xviii. 6: ὃ κάλλη γυμνασίων ἀμύθητα), xxiii, 449 (xlvii. 17: temple of Asklep.), xli, 763 (xix. 3); Philostr. *Soph.* i. 25 (531: . . . γυμνάσιον τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν μεγαλοπρεπέστατον); *C.I.G.* 3148 = *I.G.R.* iv. 1431, ll. 16 ff. (gilding roof of τοῦ ἀλιπτηρίου τῆς γερουσίας), 40 ff. (Hadr. pre-

Strabo tells us that Smyrna possessed a library.¹

It continued to be customary for wealthy citizens, magistrates, ex-magistrates, and others to contribute liberally towards the cost of constructing and repairing the various public buildings of the city.²

In recording the ancient history of a single Hellenic town, we moderns—with our national or imperial consciousness—are apt to feel that the narrative we are studying is but an arbitrary and infinitesimal fragment, without significance until it is properly merged in the wider stream of ancient history as our books usually present it. It is well for us, however, to bear in mind that to the ancient Hellen, although he felt a certain pride in his *race* (as superior in intelligence and culture to all mere “barbarians”), the prime object of patriotic regard and devotion was “the City” in which he had been born or in which at any rate he enjoyed the rights of citizenship. Our word “fatherland” is, for this reason, an unsatisfactory rendering—nor have we any other simple English equivalent—of the Greek word *πατρίς*, with which the Hellenic citizen expressed the loyalty he felt for the city within whose walls he lived. By that term is Smyrna lovingly designated on inscriptions not only prior, but even subsequent, and long subsequent, to the establishment of Roman domination.³ More commonly she is

sented *κείονας εἰς τὸ ἀλειπτήριον Συναδίου* [ο]β, *Νουμειδικούς κ, πορφυρέϊτας ζ. κατεσκευάσθη δὲ καὶ ὁ ἡλιοκάμεινος ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ ὑπὸ Σέξτου ἀρχιερέως*; *C.I.G.* 3203 = *I.G.R.* iv. 1429, l. 19 (gymnastic σύστημα: cf. *Laum, Stiftungen*, ii [1914] 92 [87]). On Gymnasiarchs, see below, p. 200 n. 4. Cf. Lane 56; *Oikonomos* in Slaars 55, 59 f. (with Slaars' nn. 99, 106); Büchner 752.

¹Strabo XIV. i. 37 (646: *ἔστι δὲ καὶ βιβλιοθήκη*). Cf. Reid 460; Boulanger 38; Tarn, *Hellen. Civilt.* 236.

²See above, p. 142, and cf. also *C.I.G.* 3144 (= *I.G.R.* iv. 1418 = Le Bas-Wadd. 2 [cf. Kuenzi 71]: for construction of a harbour, ?± i/A.D.), 3148 (= *I.G.R.* iv. 1431 [cf. Kuenzi 71]: see below, pp. 257 f.), 3183 (= *I.G.R.* iv. 1405: a statue), 3190 (= *I.G.R.* iv. 1433: *διὰ τὸ μέγθος ὄν αὐτῇ* [sc. τῇ πατρίδι] *κατασκευάζει ἔργων . . .* : ±200 A.D.), 3192 (= *I.G.R.* iv. 1422: porch, etc.), 3193. Cf. Liebenam 162–164, 165 ff.

³*C.I.G.* 3185 (ll. 4 f.), *R.E.G.* xii (1899) 388 f. (23) and xiv (1901) 297 (1), and *Mous.* V. i. 8 (213) = *B.C.H.* lii (1928) 169 (ll. 9 f., 12), 426, lvii (1933) 485, which contain no Roman names, may be pre-Roman, or at least pre-imperial. *C.I.G.* 3154 = *S.I.G.* 1263 belongs to Roman times, *C.I.G.* 6250 = *I.G.* XIV. 1815 (*πάτριη*) to imperial. To ii/A.D. belong the coins which P. Claudius Attalus the sophist dedicated *ταῖς πατρίοι Σμύρ(νη καὶ) Λαο(δικεῖα)* vel sim. (Head, *Hist. Num.* 594 bott.; *B.M.C. Ionia*, 307f. [511–516]). *S.E.G.* ii. 653 = *J.O.A.I.* xxi f. (1922–4) *Beibl.* 254–256 belongs to ii/A.D.; *I.G.R.* iv. 1401 = *Mous.* V. i. 31 (259) to late ii/A.D.; and *S.E.G.* ii. 655 = *J.O.A.I.* xxi f. (1922–4) *Beibl.* 256 to late ii/A.D. or early iii/A.D. *C.I.G.* 3178 = *S.I.G.* 876, *C.I.G.* 3190 = *I.G.R.* iv. 1433, *R.E.A.* ii (1900) 254, and *R.E.G.* xii (1899) 388 (22 = *I.G.R.* iv. 1425) are about 200 A.D. or a little later.



ROAD FROM SMYRNA TO THE EAST
(The central hill is Bel-Kavê)

To face p. 183

called simply "the City",¹ or "our City",² or "the City of the Smyrnaians" (often with various adjuncts).³ The political unity of the city was not felt to be impaired by its possession of an extensive surrounding territory, on which villages and even fair-sized towns might be situated. So at an early date in the history of Athens, all the inhabitants of Attika, including even Eleusis, had been merged into a single civic brotherhood. In the same way "the City of the Smyrnaians" undoubtedly embraced politically the land outside the city-walls in all directions and the villages on it. We cannot specify the boundaries of Smyrna's territory: but we may conjecture that it was conterminous, or nearly so, with that of Klazomenai on the west, that of Kolophon on the south,⁴ that of Sardeis on the east,⁵ and that of Temnos on the north, the boundary here being perhaps the river Hermos: a late writer speaks of a "Smyrnaian mountain-region" in this quarter⁶; there seems ground for believing that the site of Ancient Smyrna (where

"Philopatris" as the complimentary title of a magistrate appears on coins of the time of Claudius and Nero (Mionnet iii. 221 f. [1234-1237], *supp.* vi. 333 [1647-1650]; *B.M.C. Ionia*, 270 f. [285-288]; Babelon 106 [1950]). It is doubtful whether the 'Απολλωνίδης 'Ασκληπίωνος ἡρώς φιλόπατρις of Le Bas-Wadd. 1534 was a Smyrnaian. Cf. also the Delphian inscr., *O.G.I.* 228 (242 B.C.), l. 9.

¹*C.I.G.* 3184 (by restoration: ?±250 B.C.), 3137 = *O.G.I.* 229 (saepē: 241 B.C.); *I.G.R.* iv. 1428 (?), 1430, 1473 (= *Mouss.* V. i. 11 [220]); *S.I.G.* 996 = *Mouss.* II. i. 47 (ρξς'); *I.G.* XII. iii. 172 (ll. 42, 92), viii. 269 (l. 17) (both late ii/B.C.); *C.I.G.* 3265 = *I.G.R.* iv. 1460 = *G.I.B.M.* 1027 (imp. period).

²*C.I.G.* 3137 = *O.G.I.* 229 (ll. 7, 12: 241 B.C.); *I.G.R.* iv. 1430 (imp. period).

³The only pre-Roman case I know is the Delphian inscr. *O.G.I.* 228 (see above, p. 116 n. 3). Imperial times.—*C.I.G.* 3276, 3192 (= *I.G.R.* iv. 1422, by restorn.); *C.I.G.* 1420 = *I.G.* V. i. 662; *Mouss.* I. 82 (52): usually with allusion to the neokorate, *C.I.G.* 3144 (= *I.G.R.* iv. 1418 = Le Bas-Wadd. 2), 3179d (= *C.I.L.* III. 471 = *I.G.R.* 1482 = Le Bas-Wadd. 8 A), 3191 (= *O.G.I.* 514 = *I.G.R.* iv. 1424), 3197 (= *I.G.R.* iv. 1426, by restorn.); *I.G.R.* iv. 1425. The restoration Σμύρ[η]ς πόλις in *C.I.G.* 3180 is corrected to [Σμυρναίων] πόλις in

Le Bas-Wadd. 9 (cf. 11) = *I.G.R.* iv. 1483 (± 210 A.D.).

⁴Prokesch (in *J.L.* lxxviii. 82) mentions the discovery of a late Roman carving at Sevdiköi.

⁵Probably most of the larger villages in the Plain of Burnabat represent sites occupied in classical times. Roman remains were seen at Burnabat by Prokesch (*J.L.* lxxviii. 86). On Hajilar, cf. Le Bas-Wadd. 9 (notes). On Bel-Kavé, see the inscription described above, p. 147 n. 1. On Nymphaion (so-called either from a sanctuary of the nymphs, or from a structure near the cold springs), see Le Bas-Wadd. 34 f., also Keil and Premerstein in *D.K.A.W.* lvii (1915) 6 ab ("... Städtischen Charakter hatte der Platz im Altertum nicht..."): there may have been private residences there; but the correct reading for Σουλταρίω in *M.D.A.I.* vi (1881) 267 (3) = *Mouss.* V. i. 7 (212) is just as probably Σαλουταρίω as the word σαλταυαρίω (i.e. estate-steward) suggested by Keil and Premerstein.

⁶Schol. on Claud. Ptol. *Geogr.* V. ii. 5 (ed. Müller 808 b: beyond Larissa Phrikonis and the Phokaic territory and Σμυρναίων ὄρεωήν are Aigai and Temnos). This "mountain-region" can hardly be other than Yamanlar-Dagh. An inscription from Menemen, Le Bas-Wadd. 1530.

Bairakli now stands) was occupied down to a late date¹; while in 242/241 B.C. the citizens of Magnesia-near-Sipylos were incorporated with those of Smyrna in a manner that was clearly intended to be permanent.²

Within the City's territory, whatever its precise extent, all free male Hellenes, other than the relatively-few resident aliens (most of whom would be citizens of other states), enjoyed the privileges—and bore the responsibilities—of citizens of Smyrna, and shared in her political life. The document that tells us most about the character of Smyrnaian citizenship is the great inscription of 241 B.C., the contents of which—with its references to the method of their enrolment and the duties expected of them—have already been set forth.³ At Smyrna, as elsewhere, citizenship was often officially conferred on those who were not entitled to it by birth, but who were regarded as deserving of it after conspicuous service, sometimes after emancipation from slavery, or for other reasons. Careful lists were kept of all possessed of citizen-rights.⁴ The whole body of citizens was distributed into "tribes"—an ancient method of division widely adopted in Hellenic cities, in some cases representing original differences of race, but in many others introduced artificially after Alexandros' time for purposes of practical organization, and then either based on locality of residence or else resembling the "houses" of a modern day-school. We do not know the number and names

¹See Paus. VII. v. 1 (quoted above, p. 57 n. 2); and cf. Weber. *Sipylos*, 114.

²See above, pp. 118-127, and cf. esp. *C.I.G.* 3137 = *O.G.I.* 229, l. 101: . . . ἐὰν προσορισθῇ ἡ χώρα, ἣν ἔχουσιν οἱ πρότερον ὄντες ἐμὴ Μαγνησία κάτοικοι, τῇ πόλει τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ. On the general subject, cf. *O.G.I.* 228 (242 B.C.: . . . τὰν τε πόλιν καὶ τὰν χώραν αὐτῶν . . . τὰν τε ὑπάρχουσιν αὐτοῖς χώραν . . .); *C.I.G.* 3137 = *O.G.I.* 229, l. 67 (plotting against τῇ πόλει ἢ τοῖς χωρίοις τοῖς τῆς πόλεως); *Mart. Polyc.* v. 1 (ἀγρίδιον οὐ μακρὰν ἀπέχον ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως); Pionios (?), *Vit. Polyc.* xxi. 1 (κωμῶν καὶ ἀγρῶν), xxiii. 7, xxvii. 1 (εἰς ἀγρόν . . . κατὰ τὰς κώμας), 2 (ἐκ τῶς ἀγροῦ); *Mart. Pion.* xi. 2 (ἀπὸ κώμης Καρίνης, on which see Ramsay, *Hist. Geog.* 116); also Büchner 758 f., 765 (but he misinterprets *C.I.G.* 3137 = *O.G.I.* 229 in quoting it [748, 759] as evidence of a νέμος on the east of Smyrna, in which troops were encamped in 242/241

B.C.); Last in *C.A.H.* xi. 456-459. See above, p. 140.

³See generally above, pp. 118-127, and, in particular, *C.I.G.* 3137 = *O.G.I.* 229, ll. 35, 45 (πολιτεία), 39 (πολιτεύονται δὲ μετὰ Σμυρναίων . . .), 44, 75 (ἐφ' ἴσῃ καὶ ὁμοίᾳ τοῖς ἄλλοις πολίταις), 54 (οἱ πολιτογραφηθέντες), 60, 72 (τοὺς καταχωριζομένους εἰς τὸ πολίτευμα), 64 f. (πολιτεύσομαι μετ' ὁμοιοῦς ἀσασιάστας), 65-68 (αὐτονομία, δημοκρατία, ἰσονομία); also the probably pre-Roman inscriptions, *C.I.G.* 3184 (τῶν πολιτῶν), 3185 (. . . τῆς περὶ τὰ κοινὰ φιλοτιμίας . . .), and 3256 (= *G.I.B.M.* 1024: ἐξέχον ἐν πολιτῆταις). Cf. Liebenam 216-219; Chapot 148 f.; Reid 437 f.; Keil in *C.A.H.* xi. 587 f.

⁴So the καταλοχισμοί, κληρωτήρια, etc. mentioned in *C.I.G.* 3137 = *O.G.I.* 229, ll. 45, 47, 53, etc. Cf. Lévy in *R.E.G.* xii (1899) 272-274.

of all the Smyrnaian tribes: only three names, as it happens, have come down to us, all based (as was usual) on the names of deities—"Ammonis", "Artemisias", and "Metrois". There were other minor divisions and subdivisions; but of these at Smyrna we know nothing.¹ In pre-imperial times it was normally assumed throughout the ancient world that a man could not be a citizen of more than one state at a time. Thus it was that Q. Servilius Caepio (about 100 B.C.) and P. Rutilius Rufus (88-84 B.C.) had surrendered their Roman citizenship in order to become citizens of Smyrna. But from the time of Augustus onwards, this rule was relaxed.² Distinguished provincials (like the father of the Apostle Paul) received the honour of Roman citizenship, without forfeiting that of their native cities. As time went on, it became increasingly the custom to pay eminent men, such as sophists and victorious athletes, the compliment of making them honorary citizens of the places through which they passed, or in which they might for a longer or shorter time reside.³

In order to arrive at the total population of the city and its territory, we should have to add to the citizens, first of all, the women, children, and minors, then the unemancipated slaves (some of them the property of the City itself), the non-naturalized citizens of Rome and other foreigners (in particular Jews) resident in and around Smyrna, and lastly, those

¹*C.I.G.* 3137 = *O.G.I.* 229, ll. 52, 75 (φυλάς); *R.É.G.* xii (1899) 385 f. (11: φυλῆς Μητροῖδος —? pre-Roman); *C.I.G.* 3264 = *G.I.B.M.* 1029 (φ. Ἀμμωνίδος) and *C.I.G.* 3266 (φ. Ἀρτεμισιάδος)—both ii/A.D. Cf. Tsakyroglou i. 48f.; Liebenam 220-225; Szantó in *Sitzb. der kais. Akad. der Wiss. in Wien*, Phil.-hist. Klasse, cxliv (1902) v ('Die griechischen Phylen', a thorough and valuable study; but in dealing with Smyrna he calls "Ammonis" Ἀμμωνίας, and omits "Metrois"); Chapot 173-176; Reid 439 f.

²See above, pp. 154, 158. Even before the time of Augustus, additional complimentary citizenship was occasionally conferred on the citizens of other Hellenic states: see the interesting details in *I.G.* XII. iii. 172, ll. 45-47, 97-100, viii. 269, ll. 20-23, with the editors' closing note; also above, pp. 134b f.

³*Acts*, xxii. 25-29. Numerous instances of men being citizens of Smyrna and of

other cities at the same time occur in inscriptions of the imperial period, e.g. *M.D.A.I.* vii (1882) 255 (26: ? ii/A.D.); cf. Ramsay, *Phrygia*, ii. 522; *C.I.G.* 3206 A = *I.G.R.* iv. 1419 (iii/A.D.); *C.I.G.* 5909 = *I.G.* XIV. 1105 (cf. *I.G.R.* iv. 1519); *G.I.B.M.* 608 (150-200 A.D.); probably also *C.I.G.* 5913 = *I.G.* XIV. 1102, ll. 9 f. (± 180 A.D.) and *I.G.* III. i. 129 = *I.G.* II f. iii. 3169 f. (253-257 A.D.). See also above, p. 182 n. 3, and cf. Liebenam 219; Chapot 149; Reid 71 f., 437 f.; Last in *C.A.H.* xi. 458. The names "Fabia" and "Galeria", which appear in *C.I.G.* 3173 A (= *I.G.R.* iv. 1393a+1748), 3336 (= *I.G.R.* iv. 1461), 3341 (= *I.G.R.* iv. 1478), and *I.G.R.* iv. 1398 (all prob. of i/ and ii/A.D.) are those of Roman tribes, and belong to men resident in—and perhaps citizens of—Smyrna, who were also citizens of Rome (cf. Tsakyroglou i. 48 n. 5).

(or the descendants of those) who had been emancipated from slavery (usually by formal dedication to a deity), but who had not been explicitly granted citizenship¹: these last were sometimes known as *ἱεποί*, and were charged with certain special obligations to the temple of the deity concerned.² It has been conjectured that the whole population in the middle of the first century B.C. and in the days of the Empire, may have amounted to about 100,000 persons.³

The government of an Hellenic city nominally lay in the hands of the whole body of its citizens: such at least was the position wherever the customary democracy had not been eclipsed by the ambition of nobles, despots, or foreign kings. None but the citizens (and in Asia Minor occasionally certain privileged women) enjoyed any political functions: these in their turn constituted ideally an independent and sovereign state.⁴ In the case of a city like Smyrna, absolute autonomy was indeed seldom realized in practice: responsibilities owed, first to the Ionic League, then to one or other of a series of conquerors or kings, and finally to Rome, increasingly limited her freedom in regard to what we may call her foreign policy, and to a certain extent also her internal—particularly her financial—affairs. Such limitations, however, still left room for a vigorous civic life. Notwithstanding the democratic theory of government and its measure of practical application, the actual administration of affairs was to a large extent in the hands of the magistrates. These were drawn exclusively from the wealthier and more leisured classes; and in most cities it was customary for them to pay fees to the City-Treasurer on taking up their appointments. In view of the

¹In addition there *may* have been in imperial times some "paroikoi", i.e. free inhabitants of small settlements on the City's territory, who were not possessed of full citizenship (cf. Last in *C.A.H.* xi. 456 f.).

²Cf. Ramsay, *Phrygia*, i. 148 (*ἱεποί*); Chapot 176 f. (slaves), 177-179 (emancipated slaves—for *ἱεποί* at Smyrna he quotes *C.I.G.* 3152 [early iii/A.D.], 3394b [possibly pre-Roman; mentions a *ἱεποῦ Σμυρναίων*], Le Bas-Wadd. 1522a), 179-182 (resident aliens), 182-186 (Jews), 186-193 (Romans); Link in Pauly VIII

(1913) 1473 (*ἱεποί*). For freedmen at Smyrna, cf. *B.C.H.* xxxvii (1913) 245 f. (52), *Μουσ.* V. i. 23 (239), 27 (249). For *ἱερόδομοι*, *S.I.G.* 996, l. 29; Chapot 396 top.

³Bürchner 760 top.

⁴Cf. Le Bas-Wadd. 1522 *ter*: "Fragment où on ne distingue que les mots, [αὐ]τονομίαν, φρουρή[σαντες], πάτριον, . . . On the development of the "city"-idea in western Asia Minor, particularly under the Roman Empire, see J. Strzygowski, *Kleinasiens* . . . (Leipzig, 1903), 190.

varieties and uncertainties of the calendar, several of the magistracies were eponymous, i.e. the bearer's name was used on coins, and in public documents generally, as a means of naming the year. At the same time the magistrates were—at least in pre-Roman days, though after that, decreasingly so—dependent on popular election and, as responsible trustees, open to reward or censure at the hands of the citizens.¹

The whole body of citizens, gathered in their Public Assembly (frequently, perhaps usually, held in the Theatre²) and acting in their political capacity, was designated *ὁ δῆμος*, "the People". As a term to denote the city on its personal and political side, *ὁ δῆμος* was thus used almost as an equivalent for *ἡ πόλις*.³ The earliest Smyrnaian inscriptions show us "the People" considering important questions of policy, attending to exceptional administrative details, hearing ambassadors, and laying down decisions—as a competent political unit.⁴ These decisions, introduced by the formula *ἔδοξεν* (or *δέδοχθαι*) *τῷ δήμῳ*, were technically known as "psephismata".⁵ Comparatively few of them, however, needed to be engraved on stone: like the election of magistrates by the People, its normal resolutions would hardly require so indestructible a record. By far the

¹*I.G.* XII. iii. 172, ll. 42 f., viii. 269 ll. 17 f. (τοὺς ἀρχοντας τοὺς αἰεὶ κατεστῶτας: shortly before 100 B.C.); *C.I.G.* 3185 (? pre-Roman: ἐν τε ταῖς ἀρχαῖς φιλοδόξως ἀναστρεφόμενον . . . ; οἱ συνάρχοντες); *O.G.I.* 458 III (9 B.C.: τὰ ἀρχαιρέσια); *C.I.G.* 3193 (? i/A.D.: καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς ἀρχὰς φιλοτιμίως ἐκτελέσαντα); *S.E.G.* ii. 653 (ii/A.D.: sim.), 655 (late ii/A.D.: sim.); *C.I.G.* 3162 (early iii/A.D.: οἱ συνάρχοντες αὐτῶν κατὰ τὴν τοῦ δήμου χειροτονίαν); *Mart. Pion.* xv. 5 (ἀρχων εἰμί); xvi. 5 (οἱ δὲ ἀρχοντες . . .). Cf. Cherbuliez i. 43-47; Lévy in *R.E.G.* xii (1899) 255-266; Liebenan 279-286 (esp. 281 n. 4), 294-296; Chapot 231-234, 537; Mommsen, *Provinciae*, i. 352 f., 357; Reid 13-15, 456 f.; Bilabel, *Ionische Kolonisation*, 210 f.; Abbott and Johnson 77-80, 84-91; Last in *C.A.H.* xi. 460-462. On the eponymous magistrates, cf. *C.I.G.* 3151 = *I.G.R.* iv. 1435 (ii/A.D.), l. 2; Lévy, as above, 271 f.; Liebenan 284 f.; Chapot 162, 235-237; and Bilabel, *l.c.*: for the coins, Head, *Hist. Num.* 593 f., and Milne in *Numism. Chron.* IV. xiv (1914) 274 ff., V. iii (1923) 12 ff., etc.

²Chapot (206 bott.) infers from Aris-

teides xxvii, 541 (li. 30) that at Smyrna—as at Ephesos and Tralleis—the *ekklesia* normally met in the Theatre: this is confirmed by the allusions in Pionios (?), *Vit. Polyc.* xxx. 1, xxxi. 1; *Mart. Pion.* vii. 1.

³*C.I.G.* 3166 records of some piece of carving that "Apollonios the sculptor . . . having promised it, erected . . . for 'the People'". In *C.I.G.* 3137 = *O.G.I.* 229, ll. 10, 79, 82, 88, "the populace" (τὸ πλῆθος) of the city generally is referred to.

⁴*C.I.G.* 3184, 3137 (= *O.G.I.* 229) passim: esp. the latter, ll. 22f.: ἐπαχθέντες δὲ καὶ οἱ πρεσβευταὶ ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον συνιλεαλήκασιν . . . See above, p. 107 n. 2, pp. 118-127.

⁵*C.I.G.* 3137 = *O.G.I.* 229, ll. 1, 29, 65, 89, 106 f.; *C.I.G.* 3184 (as restored); *I.G.* XII. iii. 172 saepe, viii. 269 saepe. The *ψήφισμα* mentioned in *C.I.G.* 3139 (see l. 13) is probably—those in *C.I.G.* 3153, 3203 (= *I.G.R.* iv. 1439, 1429), and *S.I.G.* 996 (= *Mous.* II. i. 47f. [ρῆς']) are possibly—resolutions of the People. *C.I.G.* 3176 A (= *S.I.G.* 851) and 3376 (= *G.I.B.M.* 1030) refer rather to the resolution of other bodies.

greater number of the surviving monuments of the People's decisions tell how that body expressed in various ways its esteem for persons who had deserved well of the city. Nearly eighty sepulchral and other honorary inscriptions, some of them attached to elaborate bas-reliefs portraying the persons concerned, contain little more than the words δ $\Delta\eta\mu\omicron\varsigma$ followed by the names of the one or more persons (sometimes women) whom the People delighted thus to honour, and of their lineage. Occasionally a few words of explanation are added. The frequent laurel-wreath round the words δ $\Delta\eta\mu\omicron\varsigma$ represents the honorary garland voted to the deceased, and indicates that some such verb as $\epsilon\tau\acute{\iota}\mu\eta\sigma\epsilon\nu$ (which actually occurs on some of them) is to be supplied. The great majority of these inscriptions contain no Latin names, and a substantial proportion of them are probably pre-Roman, as a few certainly are.¹ One probably pre-Roman inscription mentions "the good-will" of a certain Athenodoros "towards the People" and records the People's formal resolution "to crown Athenodoros with a golden crown and (honour him) with a bronze statue", and to reward him in other ways.² Another inscription runs: "The People erected (a statue of) Gerontides, son of Theodoros".³

The recipients of these honorary inscriptions were not invariably persons already deceased: the one that runs: "The People

¹*C.I.G.* 3214, 3216-3224, 3226-3229, 3231, 3232 (= *G.I.B.M.* 1022), 3233, 3234 (= *G.I.B.M.* 1023), 3235-3250, 3251 ($\delta\eta\mu\omicron\varsigma$!), 3253 f., 3256 (= *G.I.B.M.* 1024: includes elegiac epitaph), (3379); Le Bas-Wadd. 13-17 (the last two, women), 34 (found at Nymphii), 1535c (*Ἀρτεμίδωρε Μηνοφάντου χρηστὴ χ(αί)ρε. Ὁ δῆμος*); *Mouv.* I. 79 (45), 83 (54 = Hirschfeld in *Archäol. Zeitung*, xxxiii [viii, 1876] 47 with Tafel 2), 84 (58), 94 (86), 112 (5), 113 (ξ' = III. 146 [192]), II. i. 29 (ρκξ', ρκη'), iif. 26 (σκε'), 36 (σμδ': .. ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸν ὄντα περὶ τὴν πολιτείαν καὶ εὐεργέτην τοῦ δήμου), 36 (σμε', σμς' [= V. i. 14 (226)]), 38 (σμη': a Galatian woman), 44 (σξα'), 45 (σξε' = *J.H.S.* xxxvii [1917] 113 f. [26]), 45 (σξς'), 49 (σοε'), 50 (117), 57 (135), III. 131 (171 [173]), 133 (174 [175]), 138 (180), V. i. i (195), 7 (211), 12 (222), 15 (231), 19 (234), 30 (256), 59 (υμε': with poem), 60 (υμς'), 82 (266); *R.E.A.* iv (1902) 193 f. (1); *R.E.G.* xii (1899)

387 (16, 18-20), xiii (1900) 497 (8 f.), xiv (1901) 297 f. (1, 5); *Arch. Anz.* xv (1900) 155b (16); *I.G.R.* iv. 1407 = *Mouv.* I. 75 (40: before 18 A.D.: contains the word $\epsilon\tau\acute{\iota}\mu\eta\sigma\epsilon\nu$): Tsakyroglou i. 79; Collitz and Bechtel, *Sammlung der griech. Dialekt-Inschr.* III. ii (1905) 686 (5618). The Smyrnaian origin of *G.I.B.M.* 1025 is doubtful. In *M.D.A.I.* xxiii (1898) 267-270 (cf. *Arch. Anz.* xv [1900] 155b [15]) is published an account of the carved tombstone (ii/ or i/B.C.) of the two little sons of Demetrios and Nannion—Metrodoros and Matreas, who died at Smyrna at the ages of one and three respectively: their figures are surmounted by the usual honorary garlands, but the enclosed words δ $\Delta\eta\mu\omicron\varsigma$ have been erased; probably the tombstone had been originally intended for someone older. See above, p. 142.

²*C.I.G.* 3185.

³*C.I.G.* 3225.

(honoured) Tiberius Caesar, the son of Augustus", was probably attached to a statue of Tiberius set up even before Augustus' death.¹ The imperial period certainly witnessed a number of the funerary and other honours of the type already described.² On two inscriptions the awarding body describes itself as "the Temple-guarding People of the Smyrnaians"—an allusion to Smyrna's part in the worship of the Emperor.³ To 80 A.D. belongs an inscription in which an hereditary priest, Gaius Julius Mithres, is called "a son of the People", and to the reign of Domitianus (81-96 A.D.) a coin calling a woman-magistrate named Koskonía Myrtos "the daughter of the People of (the) Smyrnaians".⁴

The precise share, however, which the Public Assembly took in the actual government of the city is not clear, and was probably not constant. In the heyday of Smyrna's independence, the real political power of the People was probably considerable; but in course of time the unwieldy size of the Assembly, the unofficial prerogatives of the wealthier citizens, the example and perhaps also the influence of Rome, tended to make that power more and more nominal and formal, and to confine it to complimentary votes of the kind we have been studying, to the largely-formal election of magistrates, and to the acceptance without amendment of measures prepared for it elsewhere.⁵

The factors which reduced the power of the People enhanced that of the other ancient organ of Hellenic city-government—"the Council" (ἡ βουλῆ). Originally a popularly-chosen substitute for the ancient king's committee of nobles and chief-

¹C.I.G. 3172 = I.G.R. iv. 1391.

²C.I.G. 3186 (= I.G.R. iv. 1409: a Proconsul), 3252 ("The People crowns Tryphosa . . ."), 3299, (3350); (I.G.R. iv. 1441 = M.D.A.I. xxv [1900] 120 f.); R.E.G. xiv (1901) 298 (3): also probably several of those enumerated in n. 1 on the previous page.

³S.I.G. 1073 (prob. not later than 117 A.D.: spelling Ζμυρνῶν); C.I.G. 3189 = I.G.R. iv. 1413 (about 198 A.D.).

⁴C.I.G. 3173 A = I.G.R. iv. 1393 a + 1748 (Mithres): see also below, p. 249 n. 4. An inscription found at Narliköi and perhaps cut late in i/A.D. lauds the son of Κλαυδίου Κλεάνδρου Φιλοστράτιδος as "son

of the City" (Μουσ. II. i. 31 [ρλδ']). On the whole subject of public honours, cf. Liebenam 121-133; on "son (daughter) of . . .", id. 131 f. The word ΔΗΜΟΣ is inscribed on two Smyrnaian weights (Papadop.-Keram. Σταθμά, 19 [95 f.]).

⁵Cf. Lane 38; Lévy in R.E.G. viii (1895) 205-218 (for ii/A.D.); Liebenam 249-252; Chapot 194 f., 196, 205-216; Reid 438, 448-450; Boulanger 23 f.; Abbott and Johnson 75 f., 78; Last in C.A.H. xi. 458 f.: also *Acts*, xix. 29-41. See below, pp. 267 f., for the Assembly's nomination of Aristides as high-priest of Asia and priest of Asklepios.

tains, it survived almost everywhere as a sort of upper house, consisting only of a few hundred leaders—magistrates, ex-magistrates, and other wealthy men, who satisfied certain qualifying conditions, and were chosen with various formalities in which popular election probably played a diminishing part. Comparatively little is known regarding the appointment, procedure, etc., of the Councils of the cities of Asia generally, and of that of Smyrna in particular. We have to content ourselves with the general supposition that, while supreme authority nominally belonged to the Public Assembly, most of the actual work of government, both legislative and executive, was transacted between the magistrates and the Council, formal ratification by the People being sought whenever necessary. Both assemblies are named as acting together, not only in the frequent bestowal of public honours,¹ but in more serious measures, such as the suppression of an illicit monopoly acquired (by means of underselling) by certain proprietors of a ferry plying between Smyrna and the northern coast of the bay.² Both bodies had, in the third century B.C., a common Recorder, who took charge of the citizen-roll, and had to prepare and keep the official copies of treaties.³ In later inscriptions (second and third centuries A.D.) there meets us a “Secretary of the Council (and) of the People”.⁴ On the occasion of a famine, we are told, a speech in the Council led to a Public Assembly being immediately called.⁵ The Council, however, frequently appears acting on its own, although those

¹*C.I.G.* 3199, 3200, 3201, 3255, 3285 (= *I.G.R.* iv. 1444) (ἡ βουλή και ὁ δῆμος ἐτέμῃσε [-αν] . . . , στεφανοῖ . . . , vel sim.)—all of the imperial period. “Access to the Council and the People first after the sacrifices” is included among the rewards accorded (shortly before 100 B.C.) to umpires from Thasos (*I.G.* XII. viii. 269, ll. 14 f.) and Astypalaia (*I.G.* XII. iii. 172, ll. 39 f.), and the Council and the permanent magistrates are to arrange for additional honours to be granted them as from the People (ll. 16–19 and ll. 41–44 resp.). *Μουσ.* II. i. 55 (113) mentions a certain “Ἐπιγονος Rhodiapoleites, a metic emancipated by the City, and entertained by the Council and the People, and who had twice defrayed the cost of a chorus”. *Μουσ.* II. ii f. 37 (σμζ') = III. 138 (179 [178]) may

be pre-Roman. Cf. Slaars 29 f. n. 58; Liebenam 379–382.

²*G.I.B.M.* 1021 = Le Bas-Wadd. 4 = *I.G.R.* iv. 1427 = *S.I.G.* 1262 (i/ or ii/A.D.: ἔδοξε τῇ βουλῇ και τῶι δήμωι) = Abbott and Johnson 387 (who, however, wrongly understand it of traffic across the *Hermos*). In the fragmentary inscription in *B.C.H.* ii (1878) 30 f. (11 f.), which may be pre-imperial, βουλή and δῆμος are both named in the heading; but the character of the transaction is uncertain.

³*C.I.G.* 3137 = *O.G.I.* 229, ll. 51 f., 85 f. (ὁ γραμματοφύλαξ τῆς βουλῆς και τοῦ δήμου)—241 B.C.

⁴*C.I.G.* 3151 (= *I.G.R.* iv. 1435), 3152, 3162, *S.E.G.* ii. 653 (γραμματεὺς βουλῆς δήμου, vel sim.).

⁵Pionios (?), *Vit. Polyg.* xxix, xxx. 1.

of its measures that are mentioned in the surviving inscriptions deal mostly with matters of secondary importance. In 241 B.C. the Council's "monthly officers" had to entertain the ambassadors from Magnesia-near-Sipylos at a banquet in the Town-hall.¹ In the imperial period, the Council votes honours to L. Julius Nicostratus, a magistrate who had worthily filled many offices, and to the deceased high-priestess Aurelia Fausta: effect is given to this latter vote by her grand-daughter Pomponia Claudia Fausta.² With the Proconsul's approval the Council assigns four rows of seats in the Theatre to the porters attached to the Asklepieion.³ An inscription of Traianus' time lays it down that whoever misuses a certain appropriated tomb is to pay a fine "to the Council of the Zmyrnaians".⁴ The chairman of the Council was called the βούλαρχος.⁵ Its members (βουλευταί) enjoyed considerable distinction, and were frequently the recipients of rich gifts and bequests from the citizens.⁶ The Emperor Valerianus seems, from a Smyrnaian inscription of 254 A.D., to have laid it down that a Councillor could not be fined by a local magistrate.⁷ Beside the regular members of this body, a certain number of vagrant celebrities in the worlds of athletics and rhetoric were presented—at Smyrna, as well as other cities—with honorary Councillorship, which involved no duty of regular attendance.⁸ The Council-meetings were held in the Council-house (βουλευτήριον), which has been conjecturally located near the agora.⁹ Several incidents in the life of Aelius Aristeides throw light on the

¹*C.I.G.* 3137 = *O.G.I.* 229, ll. 30 f.: see above, p. 119, and below, p. 192 n. 2. *Mouv.* I. 91 (76) seems to describe the Council negotiating with Gryneia about reciprocal privileges.

²*S.E.G.* ii. 653 (ii/A.D.); *C.I.G.* 3202 = *I.G.R.* iv. 1420 (iii/A.D.).

³See above, p. 179 n. 7. *I.G.R.* iv. 1425 = *R.E.G.* xii (1899) 388 (22) contains a fragmentary allusion to the βουλή.

⁴*C.I.G.* 3371: cf. Hofmann in *Arch. Anz.* xix (1904) 58 f. (50).

⁵*C.I.G.* 3201: cf. Chapot 201-203.

⁶Lévy in *R.E.G.* viii (1895) 228 f. For Councillors' tomb-inscriptions, see *C.I.G.* 3288, 3384, 3385; *Mouv.* V. i. 24 (241); *S.E.G.* ii. 655. Another Councillor, of

about the period of Hadrianus, is mentioned in *C.I.G.* 3170 = *I.G.R.* iv. 1436; possibly one more, honoured at Athens, in *I.G.* III. i. 724 = *I.G.*² II f. iii. 3623 (by conjectural restoration).

⁷*C.I.G.* 3182 = *C.I.L.* III. 412 = *I.G.R.* iv. 1404: see below, p. 298.

⁸E.g. *C.I.G.* 3206 A = *I.G.R.* iv. 1419a: Aurelius Apollinarius, a long-distance runner, was citizen and councillor of Thyateira, Smyrna, Philadelphia, Byzantion, and other cities (iii/A.D.). Cf. *I.G.* III. i. 129 = *I.G.*² II f. iii. 3169 f.

⁹Aristeides xx, 427 (xviii. 8), xxvi, 529 (l. 95), xxvii, 542f. (ll. 31, 34, 38): Keil 31 last n.; Fontrier in *R.E.A.* ix (1907) 117 (28). See above, pp. 180 f. It had a paved basilika adjoining it (*C.I.G.* 3148 = *I.G.R.* iv. 1431, ll. 11 f.).

procedure, etc., of the Smyrnaian Council in the times of Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius.¹

It was customary for a Hellenic Council to be led by a committee of men chosen from among its own members and called "Presidents" (*πρυτάνεις*). At Athens there were fifty of these Presidents, five from each of the ten sets of fifty members each which constituted the entire Council: each five held office for five weeks, i.e. one tenth of the year. A somewhat similar method was probably in vogue in most other cities. At Smyrna it would seem that the Presidents served for a month, for we read that in 241 B.C. "the monthly (officials) of the Council" were to entertain the Magnesians envoys in the Prytaneion. The Prytaneion was presumably the official building used by the Prytaneis²; it usually contained also the public altar of the city, consecrated to Hestia (the Hearth-Goddess), with its ever-burning fire (kindled in every colony from the public hearth of its mother-city). During the Mithradatic War (88—84 B.C.), the "Prytaneis of the Zmyrnaians", as a body, issued gold coins.³ In imperial times, however, they seem to have lost their function of presiding over the Council, though it is uncertain what precisely their duties as magistrates then were. We learn from Aristeides that they were elected, presumably by popular vote, the Council itself nominating candidates on the proposal of two or three of its members.⁴ The names of several individual Presidents are known to us from inscriptions of various dates: these frequently mention other offices held beside the presidency, but whether contemporaneously with it or not is never clear.⁵ One of the two that contain no Roman names was set up by "Herodotos, the son of Antialkides, when President for the second time, and his co-presidents".⁶ An inscription of 80 A.D. describes a

¹See below, pp. 269-278. Cf. on the Council generally, Lane 38 f.; Marquardt i. 210 f.; Lévy in *R.E.G.* viii (1895) 219-231, xii (1899) 270 n. 5, 274; Liebenam 226-248; Chapot 195-205; Reid 374, 440-443, 449 f.; Abbott and Johnson 76 f.; Last in *C.A.H.* xi. 459 f.

²*C.I.G.* 3137 = *O.G.I.* 229, ll. 30 f., with Dittenberger's n. (17), and Feldmann 92 n. 1.

³See above, p. 156 n. 4. The Prytaneis mentioned in a very fragmentary part of

I.G. XII. iii. 172 (l. 95) seem to be those of Astypalaia, not of Smyrna.

⁴Aristeides xxvi, 528 (l. 88). See also below, p. 269 n. 1.

⁵See *C.I.G.* 3288 (? date), 3148 (= *I.G.R.* iv. 1431) and 3170 (= *I.G.R.* iv. 1436: temp. Hadr.), 3201 and 3385 (? mid. ii/A.D.): others of the imperial period are *I.G.R.* iv. 1438 (= *Mouv.* II. iif. 26 [σκς]) and in *M.D.A.I.* xiv (1889) 96 (27).

⁶*C.I.G.* 3168 (... *οἱ παραπρυτάνεις*...). *C.I.G.* 3160 also contains no Roman name.

certain T. Flavius Onesimus Paternianus as "first President".¹ Another of unknown date recalls how a deceased President "had often rejoiced with his fellow-citizens at libations"—presumably those poured out to the gods in the Prytaneion.²

At Smyrna, as at many other cities in Asia, there existed, during the Roman and imperial periods, a third body known as "the Gerousia". It seems to have been a sort of semi-official club of senior, wealthy, and experienced men, united for social, athletic, and religious purposes, not charged with any regular political duties, yet occasionally wielding considerable political influence. Much obscurity surrounds the history of the Gerousiai: it is probable that they varied somewhat in character and function from city to city. At Smyrna, as elsewhere, we find over against the Gerousia of old men a body of young men (*οἱ νέοι*)³—a correspondence which suggests the social and athletic character of the two associations. The athletic interest comes out in the promise of a certain President, Claudianus, to guild the roof of the Gerousia's anointing-room.⁴ "The choristers" of the Gerousia—of whom we shall speak later—witness to its interest in religious festivals.⁵ As a body conferring by vote golden garlands and other honours on deserving individuals, the Gerousia frequently appears alongside the People, the Council, and certain other semi-official groups.⁶ As a quasi-religious body, with funds to administer, it is frequently mentioned as the recipient of fines imposed by funerary inscriptions for the misuse of appropriated tombs.⁷

¹*C.I.G.* 3193.

²*C.I.G.* 3328. On the office of *πρύτανης* generally, cf. Spanheim as above, p. 156 n. 4 (cf. id. *Diss. de praest. et usu num.* [1671 ed.], 492-494); Lane, 36-39; Lévy in *R.E.G.* viii (1895) 211 n. 3, xii (1899) 269 f.; Liebenam 291, 554-556; Chapot 201, 209 f., 239 f. (supposes a change for the worse in his power, after Augustus).

³*C.I.G.* 3318, 3376 (= *G.I.B.M.* 1030); cf. Slaars 29 f. n. 58.

⁴*C.I.G.* 3148 = *I.G.R.* iv. 1431, ll. 16-18, 41 (temp. Hadr.: Boeckh's transcript accidentally omits *της γεροντας* in l. 18). Cf. Liebenam 116 n. 2.

⁵*C.I.G.* 3170 = *I.G.R.* iv. 1436 (by restoration); *C.I.G.* 3201.

⁶*C.I.G.* 3376 = *G.I.B.M.* 1030; *I.G.R.* iv. 1484 (= *R.E.A.* xiv [1901] 299 f. [10]; Demos, Gerousia, etc.); *M.D.A.I.* xiv

(1889) 101 f. (40) = *Mouv.* II. ii f. 27 (*σκέλ'*: association with several other cities); *I.G.R.* iv. 1548 (sim.): cf. Slaars 29 f. n. 58. In *C.I.G.* 3201 (? mid. ii/A.D.) the choristers (*ὑμνωδοὶ*) of the Gerousia and the brother of a certain Claudia Paulina carry out the decree of the Council and the People to honour her with a gold and a silver statue.

⁷*C.I.G.* 3270, 3281 (*τῶ σεμνοτάτῳ συνεδρίῳ τῶν ἐν Σμύρνῃ γερόντων*), 3292, 3318 (*τῇ γερονταίᾳ καὶ τοῖς νέοις*); *I.G.R.* iv. 1479; cf. *Mouv.* I. 83 (55). On the Gerousia generally, cf. Lévy in *R.E.G.* viii (1895) 231-250, xiv (1901) 368; Mommsen, *Provinces*, i. 353 f.; Liebenam 565 f.; Chapot 216-230; Miller in Pauly VII (1912) 1267 f.; Reid 441; Abbott and Johnson 77; Last in *C.A.H.* xi. 462.

Of the magistrates the most important were "the Generals" (οἱ στρατηγοί), the Hellenic equivalents of the Latin Praetors. Originally military officers, they became from the time of Alexandros if not earlier more and more exclusively civil functionaries. Their numbers and periods of office varied from city to city, and for Smyrna are unknown. Their duties were to summon the Public Assembly and the Council, to prepare and introduce measures to these bodies, to carry out constitutional decisions, to attend to all negotiations with other states, and to take a leading part in most public functions. They were eponymous magistrates, i.e. the name of the leading General was frequently used for dating-purposes on coins and inscriptions. Individual Generals were set apart for special duties: thus there is a "General over the Weapons", a "General over the Peace", a "Procession-General", an "Administrator-General" or "Administrator of the Generalship", and a "Legislator of the Generalship". We hear also of a "Chief Priest of those holding the office of General". In 241 B.C. the Generals initiate and negotiate the treaty between Smyrna and Magnesia; one of them goes himself to Magnesia as ambassador; it is they who, in conjunction with the City-Treasurer, have to find houses for the Magnesian immigrants, and who, in conjunction with the Auditors, have to seal with the signet-ring of the City the copy of the treaty that goes to Magnesia. Round about 105 B.C., we find the Generals proposing to the People the thanks to be accorded to Thasos and Astypalaia for the assistance these states had given to Smyrna by sending arbitrators, and figuring as prospective proposers of the grant of citizen-rights to the arbitrators and their posterity. In the second and third centuries A.D., we find a General taking charge of the situation when fire breaks out at night, consulting the Council on the occasion of a famine, concluding the proceedings in the ensuing Public Assembly, and sending a message to a Temple-Warden to prevent him allowing a Public Assembly to be held, because it was likely to lead to disorder—possibly owing to the General's own mismanagement of the city's bread-supply.¹

¹Le Bas-Wadd. 1522a (ἀπείραστον στρατηγὸν ἐπὶ τῶν ὀπλων), C.I.G. 3154 = S.I.G. 1263 (στρατηγούντος τῶν ὀπλων), C.I.G. 3162 (στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τῶν ὀπλων

Ἡρακλεῖ ὀπλοφύλακι), Μουσ. V. i. 85 (274: sim.), C.I.G. 3189 = I.G.R. iv. 1413, C.I.G. 3193, 3201 (cf. C.I.G. 3150 [ἐπὶ τῶν ὀπλων alone] and Philostr. *Sorh.* ii.

Another office, almost as much used as the Generalship for purposes of dating, but otherwise of a more ceremonial and quasi-religious kind, was that of "the Crown-Wearer" (*ὁ στεφανηφόρος*). It is frequently found in the Province of Asia and in certain islands, but does not appear elsewhere. It clearly involved the holder in considerable expense. He was in the first place a sacrificing priest (like the *flamen dialis* at Rome, and the *ἄρχων βασιλεὺς* at Athens), yet at the same time apparently something of a civil magistrate. There seems to have been usually only one Crown-Wearer at a time; but there was nothing to prevent a man holding the office several times, or holding, say, the Generalship concurrently with it. Almost all the extant references to it are either purely chronological or else purely honorary. It was in use as a means of dating as early as 241 B.C. It was open to women: a certain Koskonía Myrtos held it at Smyrna in 83 A.D.; another woman, Korre, at some time in the Roman period. Herakleides, the

16 [596: . . . *στεφανουμένουσ τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν ὀπλιῶν* (sc. *τιμῆν*)]: *C.I.G.* 3151 = *I.G.R.* iv. 1435 ([*στρατηγὸς*] ἐπὶ τῆσ εἰρήνησ: see also below, p. 200 n. 1 [*εἰρήναρχοσ*]): *C.I.G.* 3348 (*πομπαίου στρατηγού*): *C.I.G.* 3151 = *I.G.R.* iv. 1435 (*ἐπίτροποσ στρατηγούσ*), *C.I.G.* 3162 (*ἐπίτροποσ τῆσ στρατηγίασ*): Le Bas-Wadd. 1522a (*M. Ἀνρ. Σωτήρηχον τὸν νομοθέτην τῆσ στρατηγίασ καὶ ἀπέραστον στρατηγόν* . . .): *C.I.G.* 3151 = *I.G.R.* iv. 1435 (*ἀρχιερέωσ στρατηγούτων*): *C.I.G.* 3137 = *O.G.I.* 229 (see above, pp. 118-125): *I.G.* XII. viii. 269, l. 21 (Thasos: see above, pp. 152 f.); *I.G.* XII. iii. 172, ll. 2, 46, 73, 98 (see above, pp. 153 f.): Pionios (?), *Vit. Polyx.* xxviii (*στρατ.* at fire at night—perhaps, as Lévy [in *R.E.G.* xii (1899) 283 n. 6] suggests, a *νυκτερινὸσ στρατηγούσ* or *νυκτοστρατηγούσ*, or, as S. Reinach suggests [in *R.E.G.* xi (1885) 236] an *airenarkh*; but Corssen [in *Z.N.W.* v (1904) 289] misquotes Lévy as having produced independent evidence of a *νυκτοστρατ.* at Smyrna), xxix f. (famine): *Mart. Pion.* vii. 1 (message to Temple-Warden—see below, pp. 385 f.). In *C.I.G.* 3151 = *I.G.R.* iv. 1435, an individual is lauded as the *relative* of Generals and of many other dignitaries.

The names of many Smyrnaian Generals are known from other inscriptions (*C.I.G.* 3146 = *I.G.R.* iv. 1411 = *O.G.I.* 477 [father and son conjointly]; *C.I.G.* 3148

= *I.G.R.* iv. 1431; *C.I.G.* 3178 = *I.G.R.* iv. 1402 = *S.I.G.* 876 [see below, p. 289 n. 1]; *R.E.G.* xii [1899] 385 [9]; *S.E.G.* ii. 653) and from coins, on which latter a change in the method of marking their eponymy appears from the time of the Antonines onwards (*B.M.C. Ionia*, 248 n., 265 f. nn. [iii/A.D.]; Head, *Hist. Num.* 593 f.; Heinrich Brunn, *Kleine Schriften*, iii [1906] 196 f.; Babelon 105 f. [1949, 1955 f., 1958]). Xestos Egnatios is called *στρατηγικόσ* in *Mouv.* V. i. 10 (218).

On the *στρατηγία* generally, cf. Lane 35 f.; Ramsay, *Phrygia*, i. 67-70; Lévy in *R.E.G.* xii (1899) 268-271, 283; Liebenam 282, 286-288, 558-564; Corssen in *Z.N.W.* v (1904) 289; Chapot 210 f., 240-243 (conjectures that the officer *ἐπὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ* in *C.I.G.* 3151 [= *I.G.R.* iv. 1435], 3152, 3162, was a *στρατηγούσ*: cf. *Acts*, iv. 1, v. 24); Briess in *Wiener Studien*, xxxiv (1912) 356 f. (approves Chapot's conjecture: this *στρατ.* was entrusted with the maintenance of order *within* the temple); Reid 445; Abbott and Johnson 78; W. Schwahn in Pauly, *supplband.* vi (1935) 1085 f., 1111.

All the inscriptions and coins here quoted are of the imperial period, except *C.I.G.* 3137 = *O.G.I.* 229, *I.G.* XII. iii. 172, and viii. 269, which however suffice to attest the early importance of the office. See also below, p. 269 n. 1.

eminent sophist, was Crown-Wearer about the end of the second century A.D.¹

Important too, particularly for the supervision of public business in the Council and the Public Assembly, was "the Secretary" or Town-Clerk (ὁ γραμματεὺς). He was called "the Secretary of the People"—also by the elliptical phrase "the Secretary of the Council (and) the People". Details concerning his office are, as usual, obscure. In 242/241 B.C. there was a "Recorder (γραμματοφύλαξ) of the Council and the People", whose duty it was to receive from the Auditors the lists of the newly-enrolled citizens of Magnesia and to deposit them in the Public Record-Office, and also to inscribe copies of the Treaty with Magnesia to be kept in the same place. The same title, "the Recorder", is found in inscriptions of the imperial age, assigned—along with others—to persons of rank. One is tempted to conjecture that "Recorder" and "Secretary" were alternative names for the same officer; another possible view would be that the Recorder was one of the Secretary's staff. The Secretary would be responsible for drafting, copying, sealing, storing, and (when necessary) inscribing on stone public documents, and in part for the execution of decisions. Interesting light is thrown on his status and authority by the story in 'Acts' of how the Secretary of Ephesus succeeded by means of a speech in dissolving a riotous assembly in the city-theatre.²

¹C.I.G. 3137 = O.G.I. 229, l. 34, with Boeckh's and Dittenberger's notes. For women: C.I.G. 3173 B = I.G.R. iv. 1393 b, ll. 24 f.; B.M.C. *Ionía*, 250 (133f.); Head, *Hist. Num.* 594 top; Babelon 105 (1949: Myrtos); C.I.G. 3150 (Korre): Chapot 161. For Herakleides, Philostr. *Soph.* ii. 26 (613: τὴν στεφανηφόρον ἀρχὴν . . . ἀφ' ὧν τοῖς ἐνιαυτοῖς τίθενται Σμυρναῖοι τὰ δνόματα). Also C.I.G. 3148 (= I.G.R. iv. 1431: a second time), 3162, 3173 A (= I.G.R. iv. 1393 a: 80 A.D.), 3190 (= I.G.R. iv. 1433), 3194, 3386 (= I.G.R. iv. 1464); I.G.R. iv. 1398 (= *Μουσ.* I. 91 [75]), 1406; *M.D.A.I.* xii (1887) 248 (7: Flavius Diogenias the third time, the twentieth of the month [Anti]okheon[?]: see above, p. 109 n. 4.); *B.C.H.* ii (1878) 30 f. (11 f.) = *Μουσ.* II. ii f. 37 (σμζ') = III. 138 (179 [178]: the second time); *R.E.G.* xiii (1900) 496 f. (2) = *R.E.A.* iv (1902) 195 (4: ? two στεφαν.); *Μουσ.* V.

i. 25 (243: . . . νομικῶ καὶ στεφανηφόρῳ). In C.I.G. 3151 = I.G.R. iv. 1435, an individual is mentioned as a *relative* of στεφανηφόρου, and another is described as ἐπὶ τοῦ στεφάνου. Cf. also Feldmann 92-95 n.; B.M.C. *Ionía*, 248 (120 and n.); Head, *Hist. Num.* 593 bott.; Babelon 106 (1958: στεφ. and στρατ.); Lane 55; Oikonomos in Slaars 27-29 (with Slaars nn. 53-56); Lévy in *R.E.G.* xii (1899) 259, 272; Liebenam 347 f., 556-558; Chapot 161, 396; Keil in *J.O.A.I.* xi (1908) 104; Stier in Pauly IIIA (1929) 2343-2347.

²For the γραμματοφύλαξ, C.I.G. 3137 = O.G.I. 229, ll. 51 f., 85 f.; C.I.G. 3193, 3201: for the γραμματεὺς τοῦ δήμου, I.G.R. iv. 1441 = *M.D.A.I.* xxv (1900) 120 f.: for the γραμμ. βουλῆς δήμου, see above, p. 190 n. 4: other allusions to the γραμμ. C.I.G. 3153 = I.G.R. iv. 1439; *R.E.G.* xiv (1901) 298 f. (61, 92); *Μουσ.* I.

"The Public Record-Office" (τὸ δημόσιον, τὰ δημόσια¹), in which the citizen-lists and copies of treaties and decrees were kept, was part of the normal equipment of the ancient city-state.² Possibly it was identical with "the Archives" (τὸ ἀρχεῖον, τὰ ἀρχεῖα), which are frequently mentioned in tomb-inscriptions (mostly of Roman times) as the place where there had been, or was to be, deposited a copy of the inscription naming the owner of the tomb, and forbidding misappropriation under penalty of a fine.³ In one such inscription the place is called "the archives for debt-registration",⁴ in another "the archives in Smyrna called the Mouseion".⁵ Two others are said to be duly "registered in the archives".⁶ And yet another says that the place for a sarcophagus had been bought "by means of" (i.e. with the deeds duly registered in) "the archives in Smyrna".⁷

The funds of the city were in the hands of a "Treasurer" (ὁ ταμίης), later a board of Treasurers, who were elected by the People, and who acted on the instructions of the Council, Assembly, or higher magistrates. In the great inscription of 241 B.C., the Treasurer is ordered to pay the travelling expenses of the ambassadors to Magnesia out of the revenues of the city at the legal rate for the five days determined on

92 (77: γραμματεῖς); *Acts*, xix. 35-41. *S.E.G.* ii. 653 (ii/A.D.) mentions an ἀποδοχέα δημοσίων γραμμάτων. An ἀναγνώστης τοῦ δήμου appears in *J.O.A.I.* xxviii (1933) *Beiblatt*, 122, ll. 13 f.: cf. Keil, *ibid.* 123 f. n. 2. Cf. Lane 37; Head, *Hist. Num.* 593; Lévy in *R.E.G.* xii (1899) 266-271; Liebenam 288-291, 548-551; Chapot 203, 210 f., 243-248; Reid 445.

¹For the singular, *C.I.G.* 3137 as in last n.; for the plur. *ibid.* l. 108.

²τὰ δημόσια . . . νομοφυλάκια καὶ χρηματιστήρια of Smyrna and other cities of the Province are mentioned in an inscription of 51/50 B.C. (see above, p. 164 n. 4).

³*C.I.G.* 3281, 3292, 3295, 3318, 3335, 3337, 3349, 3356, 3386 (= *I.G.R.* iv. 1464), 3387, 3394b; *G.I.B.M.* 1026 = *Le Bas-Wadd.* 25 = *I.G.R.* iv. 1465 (ἀρχῶν); *I.G.R.* iv. 1452, 1473, 1485 (= *M.D.A.I.* xii [1887] 247 f. [6: plur. ἀρχεῖα]); *M.D.A.I.* xii (1887) 248 (7); *R.E.G.* xii (1899) 387 f. (21); *Mous.* III. 126 (162), 129 (168), 175 (ῥως' plur.), V. i. 24

(241), 32 (261), 84 (273). Occasionally the phrase used is εἰς τὸ ἐν Σμύρνῃ ἀρχεῖον, vel sim.—*C.I.G.* 3286, 3357 (= *I.G.R.* iv. 1474), 3382 (= *I.G.R.* iv. 1477: τὰ ἀρχεῖα τὰ ἐν Σμ.), 3400 (= *G.I.B.M.* 1028); *I.G.R.* iv. 1459 = *A. J. A.* i. 141 f.; *R.E.G.* xiv (1901) 300 (11); *M.D.A.I.* xxxv (1910) 177.

⁴*C.I.G.* 3282: . . . ἀρχεῖον χρεωφυλάκιον. ⁵*Mous.* II. ii f. 37 (σημ') = V. i. 13 (225).

⁶*C.I.G.* 3266, 3401 (φέρεται διὰ τῶν ἀρχεῶν, vel sim.). Note in the former the allusion to tomb-breaking (τυμβωρυχία), for which see *B.C.H.* xxxvii (1913) 243 f. (50 with n.), Chapot 125 n. 1, 253 n. 1. On Smyrnaian tomb-fines generally, cf. S. Reinach in *R.E. J.* vii (1883) 163-166, Hirschfeld, *Ueber die griech. Grabchriften* (1887), 113 ff., and notes to *Le Bas-Wadd.* 25 and *G.I.B.M.* 1026.

⁷*C.I.G.* 3264 = *G.I.B.M.* 1029 (ἀρχεῶν). On the ἀρχεῖον generally, cf. Lévy in *R.E.G.* xiv (1901) 350 f.; Liebenam 290 n. 1., 551 f.; Chapot 245-248.

by the People. As "Treasurer of the sacred revenues" he had, in conjunction with the Generals, to hire houses for lodging the immigrant citizens from Magnesia, and to pay for them out of the revenues of the city. He had also to provide out of what the People voted the sacrificial victims for the treaty-oaths.¹ A man could hold the Treasurership more than once. The extant allusions to the Treasurers are mostly either honorific or for chronological purposes.² "The Treasury" (τὸ ταμείον)—or, as it is usually called, "the most sacred Treasury"—is often mentioned on tombstones as the place to which fines for misappropriation would have to be paid.³ Sundry other offices connected with trade and public finance are mentioned; but the only one of these that needs to be specified here is that of "the Market-Inspector" (ὁ ἀγορανόμος), who tested weights and measures and generally supervised the conduct of business. His name was often stamped on weights. A "Sub-Market-Inspector" is also alluded to. As was the case with so many other offices, the Market-Inspectorship could be held more than once, and—it would seem—conjointly with other magistracies.⁴

¹*C.I.G.* 3137 = *O.G.I.* 229, ll. 31 f., 58 f., 82, ἰ 106 f. (ἐκ βασιλικού); *I.G.* XII. iii. 172, l. 70 (about 105 B.C.: ταμίαι to pay expenses of envoys to Astypalaia).

²A single Treasurer is referred to in *C.I.G.* 3137 (= *O.G.I.* 229, see last n.), 3169, 3193 (ταμίαν τῆς πόλεως), 3201; *I.G.R.* iv. 1414 (= *A.Ḥ.A.* i [1885] 140 f.), 1438 (= *Mouv.* III. ii f. 26 [σικς]); *M.D.A.I.* xvii (1892) 191 = *A.Ḥ.A.* i. (1885) 138; *Mouv.* V. i. 81 (263: ταμ. carries out building operations by instruction); two or more in *I.G.* XII. iii. 172 (see last n.), *C.I.G.* 3151 (= *I.G.R.* iv. 1435: six ταμίαι), 3152, 3162 (Μάρκος ταμίας καὶ οἱ συνάρξαντες αὐτῶν κατὰ τὴν τοῦ δήμου χειροτονίαν), 3199. The treasurers mentioned in *Mouv.* I. 82 (53) + II. ii f. 52 (121: τοὺς δὲ μετὰ τὴν τριετίαν ταμίαι) are probably not the City-Treasurers (see Robert and Laum as quoted above, p. 109 n. 4—nor of course is the ταμίαις of the myths of Breisese Dionysos in *Türk Tarih*, ii (1934) 236 f. = *B.C.H.* lviii (1933) 307 f. = *R.A.* vi (1935) 99, 256. Cf. Head, *Hist. Num.* 593; Lévy in *R.E.G.* xiv (1901) 356 f.; Liebenam 293 f., 564 f.; Chapot 254 f.; Reid 445; Last in *C.A.H.* xi. 462-466.

³*C.I.G.* 3359 and *M.D.A.I.* xxii (1897) 355 (5) (τῷ ταμείῳ, vel sim.); *I.G.R.* iv. 1387 (= *Mouv.* V. ii. 73 [φξ]), 1452, 1458 (= *Mouv.* V. i. 80 [υῖα]), *Mouv.* V. i. 24 (241), and *M.D.A.I.* xii (1887) 248 (7) (τῷ ἱερωτάτῳ ταμείῳ, vel sim.).

⁴*C.I.G.* 3193, 3201; *I.G.R.* iv. 1425 (= *R.E.G.* xii [1899] 388 [22]), 1438 (= *Mouv.* II. ii f. 26 [σικς]); *S.E.G.* ii. 653; *R.E.G.* xii (1899) 386 (14: ἀγορ. and ὑπαγορ.); *Mouv.* II. ii f. 37 (σμξ) = III. 138 (179 [178]). Cf. Papadopoulos-Keram. *Σταθμά*, 14-16 (their duties), 18-20 (weights stamped) = 'Ολκή, 2a, 4 f. = *Mouv.* III. 59 (2), 67 f. (1), 69 (7 f.); also id. in *B.C.H.* ii (1878) 28-31 ('Liste des Agoranomes de Smyrne', with several more weights) and in *M.D.A.I.* iv (1879) 120 (83); Oehler in Pauly I (1894) 883-885; Lévy in *R.E.G.* xii (1899) 259 f., 282, xiv (1901) 364-367; Liebenam 294, 362-368, 405 f., 539-542; Chapot 232, 248 f.; Reid 445, 461; Lemerle in *B.C.H.* lviii (1934) 506-511 (details of certain Smyrn. weights); Roussel and Flacelière in *R.E.G.* xlix (1936) 354 (summary of Lemerle).

Less frequently mentioned and less well understood are the offices of "the Controller",¹ "the Auditors",² the so-called "King",³ the "Collector",⁴ and the *δεκάπρωτοι*.⁵

Public discipline was maintained by the enforcement, during the days of the city's freedom, of "the laws of (the) Smyrnaians".⁶ When Smyrna came under Roman government, these laws were not cancelled, but were simply subordinated to the control of the ruling city in Italy and its representatives, which control would affect for the most part only the most important issues and appeals. The supreme judicial authority was of course the Roman governor. The normal administration of justice among those who did not possess Roman citizenship probably continued very much as before. While the governor and other legal officials of the Province exercised oversight and settled difficult cases (particularly at the *conuentus iuridici*), the usual Hellenic courts of justice continued to sit in the individual cities.⁷ The actual policing of the city seems to have been in the hands of a "Peace-Magistrate" (*εἰρήναρχος*, *εἰρηνάρχης*), who was almost certainly one of the Generals, but was selected by the governor of the Province from a list of ten persons drawn up by the Council. Mention is also made of another magistrate called the "Cavalry-Commander" (*ἵππαρχος*), who appears to do the duties of a superior police-officer, and of a "Public Official" (*δημόσιος*),

¹C.I.G. 3173A (= I.G.R. iv. 1393a: 80 A.D.: *διοικωντος*), 3149 (= Grégoire 90 = I.G.R. iv. 1417 = Le Bas-Wadd. 1524: iv/A.D.: *διοικητοῦ*).

²*Οἱ ἐξετασταί*: see above, pp. 121, 124 f., with Dittenberger's n. to *O.G.I.* 229, l. 48, and Feldmann 96 f. n. 1.

³The letters *BAYΣ* (i.e. *βασιλεύς*) occur on coins of the period 115-105 B.C.: the word clearly designates a magistrate, one possibly whose office was derived from primitive royalty and was connected with ceremonial duties of a quasi-religious character (Milne in *Numism. Chron.* IV. xiv [1914] 283, 285 f., V. iv [1924] 317 f., vii [1927] 69, 76: cf. Liebenam 347; Chapot 234 f.). *C.I.G.* 3148 = *I.G.R.* iv. 1431 (temp. Hadr.) mentions two public buildings called *βασιλική*, the second of them near the *βουλευτήριον*.

⁴*Aristeides* xxvi, 530 (l. 96: *ἐκλογεύς*):

Lévy in *R.E.G.* xiv (1899) 357 ff.; Chapot 273 f. n. 5. See next n.

⁵*C.I.G.* 3201 and *S.E.G.* ii. 653 (ii/A.D.): Marquardt i. 213 f.; Lévy in *R.E.G.* xiv (1901) 352; Liebenam 421, 490, 552 f.; Chapot 272 f.; Reid 487 f.; Abbott and Johnson 94 f. The two last-named offices were connected with the payment of the imperial tribute.

⁶*C.I.G.* 3137 = *O.G.I.* 229, ll. 54 f., 65 (cf. l. 39: *τοὺς τῆς πόλεως νόμους*); *I.G.* XII. iii. 172, l. 12 (*κατὰ τοὺς νόμους*).

⁷Cf. *C.I.G.* 3184 (see above, p. 107 n. 2), 3187 (= *I.G.R.* iv. 1410), 3175 (= *C.I.L.* III. 411 = *I.G.R.* iv. 1397: mentions an advocate, *πρόδικος*, 139 A.D.); *Μουσ.* V. i. 25 (243: . . . *νομικῶ καὶ στεφανηφόρῳ*): Chapot 124-129, 194, 250-252; Abbott and Johnson 81-83, 204 f. See also above, pp. 162f., and below, p. 256.

who officiates at public investigations and executions.¹ Under the Peace-Magistrate and the Cavalry-Commander were a number of constables (*διωγμίται*, i.e. "pursuers"), partly mounted, who carried out arrests, guarded prisoners, and perhaps executed sentences.² Of military officers and men in the strict sense we hear little: in early times Smyrna had of course her own army; and, even when under the Roman Republic—though provincials generally were not allowed to maintain armies—Smyrna occasionally assisted the Romans with troops and ships. The Empire finally made the civic army not only unnecessary, but impossible.³ Public discipline was not, however, confined to the suppression of crime and the settlement of disputes; it embraced certain educative agencies also. A number of officials are mentioned whose titles show that they were in charge of the education of youth. The aim of such organized control seems to have been to secure the intellectual, rhetorical, musical, and athletic fitness of boys and youths, and the seemly behaviour of young persons of both sexes.⁴ A great deal of public attention and expense was devoted to the holding of athletic contests: but it will suffice to

¹For the *εἰρηναρχος*, *Aristeides* xxvi, 523 (l. 72: . . . *φύλακα τῆς εἰρήνης*); *I.G.R.* iv. 1437 (= *M.D.A.I.* xiv [1889] 95 f. [26]), 1438 (= *Μουσ.* II. ii f. 26 [*σκις*]); *Mart. Polyc.* vi. 2, viii. 2: see also above, p. 195 n. and below, p. 261 n. 1. For the *ἵππαρχος*, *Mart. Pion.* xv. 4-6: *Liebenam* 292, 554. That the hipparkhs named in *C.I.G.* 3193 and 3201, in *S.E.G.* ii. 653, and in *B.C.H.* i (1877) 55 f., were also police- rather than military officers is probable, but not quite certain. For the *δημόσιος*, *Mart. Pion.* xviii. 5, xxi. 3 (for which see below, p. 395 and pp. 398 f.). See also next n.

²*Mart. Polyc.* vii. 1; *Mart. Pion.* xv. 4, 6 f., xviii. 10 f. On the police generally, cf. Mommsen, *Provinces*, i. 351, 353; Marquardt i. 213; Lightfoot iii. 371 f., 372 f.; Lévy in *R.E.G.* xii (1899) 282-289, xiv (1901) 360; *Liebenam* 357-359; *Chapot* 213, 242, 259-263; *Reid* 463 f.

³The *ἀρχων* of *C.I.G.* 3137 = *O.G.I.* 229, ll. 55, 96, 99, was clearly a military officer. Cf. n. 1 on this p. (for hipparkhs); and see above, p. 150.

⁴*Cic. Pro Flacco*, 31 (75: *Casticrius'*

bier carried by the epheboi); *C.I.G.* 3185 (Athenodoros to be given a golden crown and a bronze statue by τοῦ γυμνασιάρχου καὶ τῶν νέων, also by τῶν παιδονόμων καὶ παίδων, also by τοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς εὐκοσμίας καὶ τῶν παρθένων, and to be honoured by οἱ παιδευταὶ τῶν τε παίδων καὶ ἐφήβων), 3376 (= *G.I.B.M.* 1030: *παιδευτῶν συνόδου*), 3200 (*παρθένων*). Further, regarding the gymnasiarkh, cf. *C.I.G.* 3185 (just quoted), 3201, 3799; *Μουσ.* II. ii f. 57 (137); *Μουσ.* II. ii f. 37 (*σκις*) = III. 138 (179 [178]); *S.E.G.* ii. 653; *Walter* 242-247 (conject.): and on the general subject, *Lane* 37 f.; *Liebenam* 73 ff., 349-353, 373 f., 545-548; *Lévy* in *R.E.G.* viii (1895) 246, xii (1899) 259, xiv (1901) 368-371 (regards gymnasiarkh as an officer of the Gerousia); *Chapot* 152-158, 204, 226, 231 f., 276-279; *Reid* 446, 460. For gymnasia at Smyrna, see above, p. 181. For associations of νέοι, cf. also *C.I.G.* 3376 = *G.I.B.M.* 1030 (*νέων Μυμηραμείου*: see above, p. 83 n. 2), *Μουσ.* III. 144 (187 [186]: ἡ σύνοδος τῶν νέων); *Mommsen, Provinces*, i. 353 f.; *Lévy* in *R.E.G.* xiv (1901) 368; *Schürer, G.Œ.V.* iii. 91.

reserve allusion to these matters for those parts of the story to which they chronologically belong, while the religious cults (with which of course such contests were usually connected) are of sufficient importance to claim a separate chapter to themselves.

CHAPTER VIII

THE GODS AND GODDESSES OF ANCIENT
SMYRNA

IN the treaty-oath taken by Smyrna and Magnesia in 241 B.C., Zeus is mentioned first among the gods invoked, perhaps however not as a deity specially worshipped at Smyrna, but as the supreme being, capable (like Sun and Earth who are named with him) of beholding all that men do.¹ Nevertheless, he was specially worshipped at Smyrna—and that under various titles. Aristeides addresses him as “Zeus of the City”.² As Zeus Akraios, i.e. “Zeus dwelling on the height”, he had a magnificent temple on the hill now called Deirman-Tepé. This imposing building was adorned with marble pillars (twenty-three in each long side, and ten in each short) in Korinthian style and of the same enormous size as those of Hadrianus’ temple of Zeus at Athens, and was probably built in his reign. Considerable remains of it were seen by Prokesch von Osten in 1824, and were traceable more than thirty years later; but the ruins had early been used as a quarry for building-materials and tombstones, and have long since completely disappeared; and the hill has been largely built over. A Roman aqueduct from the south brought water to the temple-site.³ As Zeus Soter (“Saviour”) he had an altar in

¹C.I.G. 3137 = O.G.I. 229, ll. 60, 70, with Dittenberger’s n. 32. A brief list of the deities worshipped at Smyrna is given by Bilabel, *Ionische Kolonisation*, 212.

²Aristeides xxi, 437 (xx. 23): Ἄλλὰ Ζεῦ πολιεῦ, . . .

³For the ruins on Deirman-Tepé and the discussion as to whether they were those of a temple of Zeus or of Asklepios (Zeus’ temple being in that case on the western slope of Pagos—so Fontrier), see Prokesch, *Denkwürd.* i. 522 and in *J.L.* lxxviii. 62 f.; Texier 305a; Storari 10 f., 32–34; Tsakyroglou i. 87, ii. 70; Weber in Wilson 74a; Büchner 750, 753, 754 f., 755 f.: for Fontrier’s view, *R.E.A.* ix

(1907) 114 f. (2, 6); Ramsay, *Seven Chs.* 260, 443; Calder in *East. Prov.* 104; Walter 232. This temple was probably the one which Philostratos says was built with money given to Smyrna by Hadrianus under the influence of the rhetor Polemon: he does not say to what deity it was dedicated; but he describes it as *as νεῶς τηλεφανῆς ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς ἄκρας ἀντικείμεναι δοκῶν τῷ Μίμαντι* (Philostr. *Soph.* i. 25 [531]). For the aqueduct, see below, p. 248 n. 2. For the name and figure of Zeus Akraios on Smyrnaian coins from (possibly) Domitianus or Traianus to the Antonines, Tournefort ii. 504; Slaars 19 with n. 37; *B.M.C. Ionia*, 250 (133), 253 ff. (152 ff.), 258 (190–192);

the city-marketplace,¹ and was sometimes identified in a vague way with "Asklepios the Healer".² A fragmentary inscription of about 130 A.D., which apparently calls the Emperor Hadrianus "saviour of the whole human race", mentions also "Zeus of our fathers" in such a way as to suggest that Hadrianus himself is meant.³ This conjecture is confirmed by the undoubted fact that the terms "Soter" and "Olympios", both of which were conferred on Hadrianus by Smyrna,⁴ were used there as recognized titles of Zeus also.⁵ The god was known also by the Hellenic equivalent of his Roman title "Jupiter Capitolinus"⁶—as well, of course, as by his simple and normal Hellenic name.⁷ A colossal statue of Zeus, belonging to the pre-Roman period, was brought from Smyrna to France about 1680 and is now in the Louvre.⁸ In the second century A.D., Smyrna seems to have shared with Miletos and Rhodos and the more important cities of Karia the privilege of being

Head, *Hist. Num.* 594. The ii/A.D. Smyrnaian coins described in Mionnet, *supp.* vi. 320 (1572 f.) probably depict the head of Zeus, not of Asklepios: they belong to the time of M. Aurelius. On Zeus Akraios at Smyrna generally, Tournefort *l.c.*; Lane 49; Oikonomos in Slaars 18 f. The title "Akraios" was used of other deities and of Zeus in other places: cf. Nilsson 269 ("... Zeus dwelt everywhere on some mountain peak").

¹Aristeides xxv, 498 (xlix. 39): cf. *Mουσ.* I. 75 (39) a freedman Kinammos erects an altar Δεῖ Σωτήρι—in Roman times).

²In *C.I.G.* 3159, Q. Valerius Julianus of Smyrna dedicates a statue of Zeus Soter to Asklepios Ieter. For "Zeus Asklepios", see below, p. 205, and cf. Boulanger 185-201.

³*C.I.G.* 3187 = *I.G.R.* iv. 1410 (Διὸς πατρῶν . . .). Chapot (431) thinks that it is Nero who is referred to.

⁴*C.I.G.* 3174 = *I.G.R.* iv. 1394. See also below, p. 258 n. 1.

⁵For "Zeus Olympios" on Smyrnaian coins, Head, *Hist. Num.* 594. I infer from the words of *C.I.G.* 3175 = *C.I.L.* III. 411 = *I.G.R.* iv. 1397 (καὶ νεωκόρου τοῦ Διός, τῷ αὐτὸν μὴ δύνασθαι χωρισθῆναι) that in 139 A.D. Smyrna regarded herself as being temple-warden of Zeus because she was temple-warden of Hadri-

anus, since the two deities could not be separated. The same inscription refers to "the mysteries of the god Zeus". Boeckh thinks that "the temple" mentioned in *C.I.G.* 3201, in which the Olympia (see below, pp. 257 f.) are also mentioned, "est haud dubie *Olympieum*". For the worship of Hadrianus as Zeus, cf. W. Weber in *C.A.H.* xi. 307, 320.

⁶*C.I.G.* 3153 = *I.G.R.* iv. 1439 (. . . ἱερέως Διὸς Καπε[τωλίου]). Cf. Pick in *J.O.A.I.* vii (1904) 20 f. (Ἀκραῖος and "Capitolinus" identical in meaning: refers worship of Ζ. Καπετ. at Smyrna to the time of Vespasianus).

⁷A funeral poem of unknown date in *C.I.G.* 3398 describes Zeus as welcoming a newcomer in heaven. The eagle of Zeus is mentioned among a number of votive emblems dedicated to Apollon in *S.I.G.* 996 = *Mουσ.* II. i. 47 f. (ρξ': ἦ/A.D.). I saw and photographed at Smyrna a truncated stone image of an eagle, about 18" high, surmounting the following inscription: "Diogenes Orthaos put up these two eagles to the god Zeus (in) thanksgiving". The seated figure of Zeus appears on Smyrnaian coins of i/A.D. (*B.M.C. Ionia*, 248 [120 f.]; Babelon 105 [1949]) and later (Babelon 106 [1956]—late ii/A.D.).

⁸*Catalogue sommaire*, no 13; Michon in *R.E.G.* xvi (1903) 200 f., 205-207: cf. Slaars 56 n. 100. It was first placed at Versailles, and was restored by Granier.

invited to participate in the festival and mysteries of Zeus Panamaros, the name under which Zeus Karios was then worshipped at Panamara in Karia.¹

It is convenient to deal next with Asklepios, the god of healing and the patron of physicians, whose person and temple are both confused with those of Zeus. Reference has already been made to the medical school founded by Hikesios at Smyrna.² Such activity might suggest some local worship of Asklepios: it is, however, explicitly stated by Pausanias that the worship of Asklepios was imported into Smyrna from Pergamon (where, as we know, it had long been in great vogue) in his own time, and that an Asklepieion was then built "near the sea" and "between the mountain Koryphe and a (piece of) sea which does not mingle with other water",³ while Aristeides remarks that in his time it was still being built "close to the outer harbour".⁴ There has been a good deal of discussion as to precisely what locality is here intended. Both authors are evidently referring to the same temple. The "outer harbour" was presumably the open roadstead between the inner harbour and Deirman-Tepé. The "sea" Pausanias refers to can hardly be any part of the open gulf, but might be some salt-water lagoon near the coast to the west of the city. "Koryphe" is usually identified with Deirman-Tepé (to identify it with Mt. Pagos deepens the obscurity); and this has led to the supposition that the ruins on Deirman-Tepé were those

¹S.E.G. iv. 261: Hatzfeld in *B.C.H.* li (1927) 71-73, 78; Roussel in *op. cit.* 126, 136.

²See above, pp. 150 f. Hygieia, the goddess of health, appears on Smyrnaian coins of the time of Domitianus, M. Aurelius, and Albinus (Mionnet, *supp.* vi. 338 [1680]; *B.M.C. Ionia*, 279 [347], 282 [362]; cf. Lane 54; Bürchner 761): but the use of this type does not constitute evidence of a worship of *Asklepios*.

³Paus. II. xxvi. 9 (. . . γέγονεν ἐφ' ἡμῶν Ἀσκληπιεῖον, τὸ ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ); VII. v. 9 (. . . κατ' ἐμὲ . . . μεταξὺ Κορυφῆς τε ὄρους [tr. by some "the summit of the mountain"] καὶ θαλάσσης ἀμυγῶς ὑδατι ἀλλοίω). Cf. Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults*, etc. (1921), 264. It is possible but very uncertain that the Epidaurian inscription I.G. IV. 1262 = I.G.² IV. i. 473 contains an allusion to the

Asklepios-cult brought from Pergamon to Smyrna.

Thraemer's statement in Pauly II (1896) 1673, copied by Bürchner (761), that coins depicting Asklepios were stamped at Smyrna in the time of Domitianus appears to be a mistake, for in Mionnet, *supp.* vi. 338 (1680—for which Thraemer erroneously writes 1679)—as in *B.M.C. Ionia*, 305 f. (504-508)—Asklepios appears as the deity of *Pergamon*, while in Mionnet, *supp.* vi. 320 (1572 f.) it is probably *Zeus* who is represented. The only well-attested Smyrnaian coins depicting Asklepios belong to the time of Albinus—192-197 A.D. (*B.M.C. Ionia*, 282 [362]).

⁴Aristeides xxvi, 531 (l. 102): ἔτι δ' ἦν ἐν κατασκευῇ τότε ὁ νεῶς ὁ πρὸς τῷ ἕξω λυμένι.

of a temple of Asklepios. But (unless Koryphe were Mt. Pagos) those ruins could not fitly be described as "between" Mt. Koryphe and the sea. On this and on other grounds the ruins are (as we have seen) probably to be regarded as those of a temple of Zeus. We must therefore locate the new Asklepieion somewhere near the coast at the foot of Deirman-Tepé. It is very probable that this new Asklepieion was the same as that described by Aristeides as "in the gymnasium".¹ Aristeides says elsewhere that "the Saviour" (he means Asklepios) "first began to give oracles" at the "hot waters" (i.e. the Baths of Agamemnon).² Most of the surviving traces of the cult date from the time of Hadrianus or later; and this fact suggests that the cult, newly introduced from Pergamon, then first began to flourish.³ On a pedestal dug up at Rome, but possibly brought thither from Smyrna, the Smyrnaian physician Nikomedes thankfully dedicates, with three elegiac couplets, an earlier statue by Boethos of the newly-born infant Asklepios: he calls the god, as others do, "Saviour" and "Paian" (i.e. physician): someone later supplemented his inscription with four more couplets, calling Asklepios "Paian" and "King".⁴ According to Aristeides, he was worshipped at Smyrna as "Zeus Asklepios"; and we have already seen that a statue of Zeus Soter was erected in honour of "Asklepios the Healer".⁵ About the end of the second century A.D., the rhetor Herakleides took part with others in providing a golden-roofed oil-fountain in the gymnasium of Asklepios at Smyrna.⁶ About 210 A.D. four rows of theatre-seats were allotted by the Council to the porters attached to the Asklepi-

¹Aristeides xxiii, 449 (xlvi. 17). It will be remembered that Strabo indicates the harbour, the Metroön, and a gymnasium, as situated on the outskirts of the city in three different directions (see above, p. 100 n. 3 and p. 175 n. 1). If the Metroön was at Tepejik (see below, pp. 216 f.), we should expect to find the gymnasium at the S.W. extremity of the city (see above, p. 181). On the problem of the locality of the temple, see also above, p. 202 n. 3; Slaars 19 n. 36; Tsakyroglou ii. 67 f. n. 3; Fontrier in *R.E.A.* ii (1900) 250 and ix (1907) 115 (6: Deirman-Tepé = Asklepios' temple); Calder in *East. Prov.* 95 n. (κορυφή = summit, ὄρος = Mt. Pagos, θάλασσα = a salt spring);

Bürchner 753, 756 (temple of Asklepios near warm springs: see next n.). Aristeides speaks of sacrificing τέλεια to Asklepios in his temple, in xxiv, 472 (xlviii. 27).

²Aristeides xxiv, 466 (xlviii. 7).

³The priest of Asklepios named in *C.I.G.* 3170 = *I.G.R.* iv. 1436 is not said to have officiated at Smyrna: Pisa rather is suggested.

⁴*C.I.G.* 5974 (with Franz's n.) = *I.G.* XIV. 967. Cf. *Mouv.* I. 88 (69: Σωτήρ ἀνθρώπων . . . Παῖαν . . . ? pre-Roman).

⁵Aristeides vi, 64 (xlii. 4), xxiii, 456 (xlvii. 45); and see above, p. 203 n. 2. For another possible mention of Asklepios Ieter, *Mouv.* I. 88 (69).

⁶Philostr. *Soph.* ii. 26 (613).

eion.¹ In a later inscription a certain Diognetos dedicates an altar to "Asklepios Paieon" ("Asklepios the Physician").² Several personal names formed from "Asklepios" are found in Smyrnaian inscriptions, such as "Asklepiodoros", "Asklepiake", etc.³ In a possibly pre-Roman inscription found at the foot of Mt. Pagos, a certain Dokimeus Asklepiades dedicates an image of Asklepios to the god's father Phoibos.⁴

This last-named monument leads us on to speak of the god Apollon. Apollon's worship was more ancient and prevalent in western Asia Minor than in European Hellas; and he came to hold there a great many local and functionary titles.⁵ The appearance of his head on Smyrnaian coins of all periods from soon after 400 B.C. right down to imperial times,⁶ and the great prevalence among Smyrnaians of personal names derived from "Apollon" (especially "Apollonios"), are evidence of the importance of his cult in this city. In the great inscription of 241 B.C., "Apollon in Pandoi" is one of the deities worshipped by the Magnesians-near-Sipylos; and they have to deposit a copy of the treaty in his temple at Pandoi: but no Apollon is named among Smyrna's gods, unless (as is possible) we ought to identify with Apollon the "Sun", by whom both Smyrnaians and Magnesians have to swear.⁷ On the slope of Mt. Pagos at Smyrna, a possibly pre-Roman inscription was found recording a dedication to "Apollon Kisalaudenos".⁸ This title reappears in another inscription of the first century A.D., found (perhaps near the same spot) on the slope of Mt. Pagos towards Caravan-

¹See above, pp. 178f., 191: ... *φορτηγού*
Ἀσκληπιασταῖς . . .

²*C.I.G.* 3158.

³*C.I.G.* 3142 III, l. 1 (Asklepion), 3148 (= *I.G.R.* iv. 1431), l. 23 (Fl. Asklepiake), 3286 and 3287 (Asklepiodoros), 3399 (Asklepiodote), 3151 (= *I.G.R.* 1435), 3173 *A* (= *I.G.R.* 1393a+1748), l. 19, 3226, 3270, 3285 (= *I.G.R.* iv. 1444), 3286, 3296 (Asklepiades); *Le Bas-Wadd.* 1529 (Asklepiodoros), 1534 (Asklepion, but Smyrna doubtful).

⁴*Mos.* I. 88 (69).

⁵There is therefore no need to suppose with Lane (50) that his worship was brought to Smyrna by the Kolophonians.

⁶Lane 51; *B.M.C. Ionia*, 238 f., 242-247; Head, *Hist. Num.* 591-593; Milne in *Numism. Chron.* IV. xiv (1914) 277-

298, xvi (1916) 246 f., 249, V. i (1921) 143f., iii (1923) 2-29, vii (1927) 1-107 passim, viii (1928) 131-154, 160 (Apollon, as the chief deity of Smyrna, is about 245-230 B.C. replaced by the City-Goddess, and then reappears: see above, p. 129 n. 1); K. A. Esdaile in *J.H.S.* xxxii (1912) 306; Babelon 105 (1937-1943).

⁷*C.I.G.* 3137 = *O.G.I.* 229, ll. 60 f., 70, 85. The sun, as all-seeing, was a proper witness of oaths; but the identification of Phoibos Apollon with the sun was apparently not primitive in Hellenic religion. For Pandoi, doubtless a place near Magnesia, cf. Ramsay in *J.H.S.* iii (1882) 37 f., and Dittenberger's n. 34 to *O.G.I.* 229.

⁸*M.D.A.I.* xiv (1889) 96 f. (28): cf. S. Reinach in *R.A.* xv (1890) 288.

Bridge, and describing elaborate gifts offered to "Helios-Apollon Kisaulloddenos" and to Smyrna jointly by his priest's father—among other things an image of "Plouton-Helios".¹ Yet another inscription, possibly also of the first century A.D., and probably emanating from Smyrna, records a dedication to "Apollon Kisaloudenos".² The name indicates that the local Asiatic deity of some spot in the vicinity of Smyrna called Kisalouda, Kisaoulouda, or Kisaoulouda had been identified by the Hellenes with their own god Apollon.³ Strabo says that there was a temple of Apollon on the coast between Smyrna and Klazomenai, apparently a little to the west of the hot springs⁴; while Aristeides testifies to the existence of a temple of "Apollon Aguius" (i.e. "Apollon guardian of the highways") facing the Meles, probably just outside or close to the eastern gate of the city.⁵ A Smyrnaian inscription of the Roman period speaks of a vow to "Apollon of the Perminoundeis" (the latter being a Pisidian tribe).⁶ In another, M. Herennius Hermolaus dedicates some lamps and lampstands to Apollon, in fulfilment of a vow on behalf of his daughter Herennia Alke, doubtless on her recovery from an illness.⁷ A statuette of Apollon is depicted in the carving that accompanies a possibly pre-Roman inscription.⁸ His figure also appears in a later bas-relief recording the vow made to him by a certain Timon, son of Maximus.⁹ A statue of the Pythian Apollon of a fourth-century type often attributed to Praxiteles, was brought from Smyrna to France about 1680, and is now in the Louvre.¹⁰

¹S.I.G. 996 (= *Mouv.* II. i. 47 f. [ρξς']), ll. 4, 20, with Dittenberger's n.; Fontrier in *R.E.A.* ix (1907) 115 (12). A bust of Helios appears in *Mouv.* V. i. 83 (271).

²S.E.G. vi. 800. Is it possible that the obscure last l. of *Mouv.* II. ii f. 39 f. (σνδ') enshrines yet another occurrence of the same name?

³Höfer in Roscher II (1890-1897) 1204; Scherling in Pauly XI (1922) 515; cf. Ramsay, *Phrygia*, i. 133 n. 2.

⁴See above, p. 17 n. 1. Traces of this temple are supposed to have been seen by the British chaplain about 1700 A.D. (Tournefort ii. 500 f.: cf. Chandler i. 103 f.; Oikonomis in Slaars 62 top; Prokesch in *J.L.* lxxviii. 55); but nothing seems to be known of them to-day. See

above, p. 205 n. 2 (Apollon, as well as his son Asklepios, was a god of healing).

⁵Aristeides xv, 377 (xvii. 14): ὁ δὲ δὴ πρὸ θυρῶν κόσμος, ἀντὶ Ἀπόλλωνος ἀγυιῆως προτύλαιος τῆ πόλει, Μέλῃς ὁ ἐπάνωμος, . . .

⁶*M.D.A.I.* xii (1887) 250 f. (12). *Le Bas-Wadd.* 33 = *I.G.R.* iv. 1440 = 1490 (1749: of the imperial period) seems to mention the construction of a bath at Nymphaion in honour of Apollon and Serapis; but the reading is extremely obscure: the gods are jointly called Σεβαστοί (Chapot 428).

⁷*Le Bas-Wadd.* 245.

⁸*C.I.G.* 3231.

⁹*Le Bas-Wadd.* 246, illustrated in the editors' *Monuments Figurés*, pl. 150, no. 1.

¹⁰*Catalogue sommaire*, no. 928; Michon in *R.E.G.* xvi (1903) 201-205.

Possibly connected in some way with the cult of Apollon as oracle-giver was that of the Kledones, i.e. chance sounds or utterances of oracular import. Pausanias tells us that at Thebai in Boiotia there was an "oracle from kledones" located at an altar of Apollon, "which (sort of) oracle", he goes on, "I know that the Smyrnaïans employ most, as compared with (the other) Hellenes: for the Smyrnaïans also possess a temple of Kledones above the city near the outside of the wall"; and he goes on to say more about the worship of Apollon at Thebai. Aristeides speaks of Kledon (in the singular) as a goddess at whose altars at Smyrna the citizens used to come and listen with the most careful religious silence.¹

Dionysos, the wine-god, was worshipped at Smyrna under the title "Breseus (Briseus, Breiseus) Dionysos". The cult was probably brought to Smyrna by the Aiolic colonists, for it is known to have flourished in Lesbos, where the first Aiolic settlements in Asia were made, and where the ancient local name "Brisa" or "Bresa" still survives. The name "Breseus" denoted the god as a bearded adult, in distinction from the youthful form usual elsewhere. The worship of Dionysos at Smyrna included orgiastic celebrations on the hills outside the city; and more than once enemies had taken advantage of this temporary absence of the citizens. The happy issue of one such occasion was celebrated in after times by parading a trireme into the agora. The god is also referred to as "Dionysos before (the) City", a phrase which probably indicates that his temple stood just outside the walls. It has been reasonably conjectured that this temple was built on the hill south of the Stadion. In imperial times (perhaps also earlier) the cult was apparently conducted by a sort of guild, which called itself, in full, "the sacred synod of experts and initiates associated with Breiseus Dionysos". Coins of 81-96 A.D. and 211-217

¹Paus. IX. xi. 7 (cf. VII. xxii. 2 f. for a similar oracle of Hermes at Pharai in Akhaia); Aristeides xl, 754 (xxix. 12): Lane 50 (identifies with temple of Apollon towards Klazomenai); Slaars 55 f. n. 99 (after quoting Paus., he adds: "A la fête de St. Jean, le 24 Juin, les jeunes filles et les jeunes gens sont dans l'usage de se livrer à Smyrne à un jeu qu'on appelle *Klidhona* et qui consiste à prédire une partie de leur avenir. Ce jeu serait-il

une image à demi-effacée, un reste imparfait, de ce qui se pratiquait dans notre ville au temple des *Klidhones* dont parle Pausanias? L'identité du mot n'excuse-t-elle pas cette supposition malgré la destruction et la dispersion des anciennes familles?"); Tsakyroglou ii. 50 f.; Ilberg in Roscher II (1890-1897) 1213 f.; Adler and Bûrchner in Pauly XI (1921) 584 f.

A.D., showing the beardless Dionysos embracing his mother Semele, with the bearded figure in the background, show that both types were recognized: possibly the bearded figure represents an ancient statue preserved from Aiolic times, or a more recent archaizing statue. The large number of Smyrnaians designated "Dionysios" on the inscriptions testifies to the popularity of the cult. Dionysos had an altar also in the marketplace at Magnesia-near-Sipylos.¹

The worship of the poet Homeros at Smyrna arose from the belief that he had been born and had lived there. We have already discussed the early evidence in support of that belief²; and it will be well to collect in this place the later allusions. The 'Anthology' contains several poems, mostly of unknown date and authorship, enumerating the various cities which claimed to be his birthplace. Smyrna always figures in the list.³ The poet Tibullus (54-19 B.C.) referred to Homeric poetry as "Meletian pages".⁴ Of Strabo's testimony we shall speak

¹See above, pp. 56 f., 123; and cf. *C.I.G.* 3160, 3161 (dedications to Breisus Dionysios: possibly pre-imperial), 3173 A (= *I.G.R.* iv. 1393a+1748), 3176 A, B (= *I.G.R.* iv. 1399 = *S.I.G.* 851), 3177 (= *I.G.R.* 1400) (for the last four, see below, pp. 249, 266, 272 f.); *Türk Tarih*, ii (1934) 236 f. = *B.C.H.* lviii (1933) 307 f. = *R.A.* vi (1935) 99, 256 (. . . τοῦ μεγάλου προπόλεως Βρεισεῶς Διονύσου μύσται put up an inscription to Hadrianus); *C.I.G.* 3190 (= *I.G.R.* iv. 1433: late ii/A.D.: "the sacred synod" etc. honours a deceased "devotee [βάκχον] of the god"), 3210 (similar to 3190, but briefer and frag.); *I.G.R.* iv. 1406 (" . . . [priest] τοῦ πρό [π]όλ[ε]ως [Διονύσου]), 1430; *Μουσ.* V. i. 59 (ὑμέ' : Dionysios Βάκχον κυδίστοιο νεωκόρον . . .); *Le Bas-Wadd.* 248 (μυστῶν πρό πόλεως Βρεισεῶν, with figures of Gallienus, etc.); *B.C.H.* xv (1891) 455 (prayer to D. on a vase); *Aristeides* iv, 49 (xli. 5 f.: . . . ἀγέμεός τε καὶ Βρεισεύς . . .). On the Dionysia, see above, pp. 66 f. (capture of Smyrna by Kolophonians), and p. 114 (the sacred trireme paraded at the Dionysia); *I.G.* XII. iii. 172, l. 26 (?), viii. 269, ll. 9 f. (contests at Dionysia); *Aristeides* xv, 373 (xvii. 5 f.), xxii, 440 (xxi. 4), xxvi, 526 f. (l. 85), xl, 752-759 (xxix. 4, 10-15, 20, 29) (also Keil's n. on 191 f., and below, p. 270 n. 6). The "patromysts" named in

C.I.G. 3173 A and 3195 (the former almost certainly, the latter therefore probably, referring to this cult) were not "presidents of the mysts", but "hereditary mysts" (God in *Class. Rev.* xxix [1915] 2). Possibly οἱ θιασώται, who appear in *I.G.R.* iv. 1484 = *R.E.G.* xiv (1901) 299 (10) were devotees of Dionysos. On the coins, *B.M.C. Ionia*, 251 (138), 253 (148-150), 287 (395); *Head, Hist. Num.* 594; *Calder in East. Prov.* 96 f. (good illustr.). A statuette is described in *M.D.A.I.* iv (1879) 114 f. (4). Modern discussions:—Boeckh on *C.I.G.* 2042; Lane 46 f., 55; Roscher in *Roscher I* (1884-1890) 821; Thraemer *ibid.* 1082, 1085-1087, 1090-1122; *Jessen in Pauly III* (1899) 856; *Kern in Pauly V* (1905) 1026; *Fontrier in R.E.A.* ix (1907) 115 (9: puts temple N. or N.E. of Pagos; but no grounds given); *Margaret Hasluck in A.B.S.A.* xix (1908) 89-94 (full and valuable); *Bürchner* 741, 761.

²See above, pp. 48, 58, 73-75, 93f., 96, 141, 151f., 163.

³*Anthol. Palat.* xvii. 295-299 (ii. 588 f.): for 296, see above, p. 151 n. 5; the others are anonymous. 297 runs Ἐπτά ἐριδμαίνουσι πόλεις δια ῥίξαν Ὀμήρου, | Κύμη, Σμύρνα, Χίος, Κολοφών, Πύλος, Ἄργος, Ἀθήναι. 292 greets him as Υἱὲ Μέλητος Ὀμηρε.

⁴*Tibull.* iv. 1, l. 200: "Meleteas . . . chartas".

anon.¹ Vitruvius interested himself in the story of the execution of the "Homeromastix", Zoilos, at Smyrna.² The poet Silius Italicus (25-101 A.D.) apostrophizes Vergilius' birthplace as "the rival of Smyrnaean music"³: his younger contemporary Lucanus (39-65 A.D.) calls Homeros the "Zmyrnaean bard,"⁴ while Statius (about 45-96 A.D.) mentions "Smyrna and Mantua" in connexion with Homeros and Vergilius, and flatters the Spaniard Lucanus by talking of "Baetis more noble than Grecian Meles".⁵ Ploutarkhos (about 46-120 A.D.) mentions the belief in his birth at Smyrna and his death at Ios.⁶ A Smyrnaian physician of the first century A.D., Hermogenes, the son of Kharidemos, wrote among other works two books on the history of Smyrna, one on the birthplace of Homeros, and a 'Table of Romans and Zmyrnaians': we may presume that he accepted the view current at Smyrna regarding the poet's origin.⁷ The various so-called 'Lives of Homeros', which are mostly assignable to the second century A.D., refer (often favourably) to the statement that he was born at Smyrna and owed to its river his name "Melesigenes", or (more rarely) "Melesianax" or "Melesagoras".⁸ Aulus Gellius (about 130-180 A.D.) alludes to the disagreement of authorities as to his birthplace⁹; so too his contemporary, the satirist Lucianus.¹⁰ Pausanias tells of the cave shown at the source of the Meles, where he was said to have composed his epics.¹¹ Aristeides accepted the local legend.¹² So did Dion Khrysostomos.¹³ Philostratos junior (third century A.D.) slobbers over the

¹See next p.: also above, p. 11 n. 2.

²See above, p. 94 n. 2.

³Sil. Ital. *Punica*, viii. 593 f.: "Smyrnaeis aemula plectris".

⁴Lucan. *Phars.* ix. 984 f.: "quantum Zmyrnaei durabant vatis honores, | venturi me teque legent".

⁵Stat. *Silv.* II. vii. 34 ("Graio nobilior Melete Baetis"), IV. ii. 9 ("et Zmyrna et Mantua"). See above, p. 11 n. 6.

⁶Plout. *Sertor.* i. 7 (. . . Σμύρνης, τὸν ποιητὴν Ὀμηρον ἐν ἧ μὲν γενέσθαι λέγουσιν, . . .). See above, p. 31 n. 2.

⁷*C.I.G.* 3311 = *G.I.B.M.* 1020 = *I.G.R.* iv. 1445, with the editors' notes (. . . ἱστορικά δὲ περὶ Ζμύρνης ᾠ, β, περὶ τῆς Ὀμήρου σοφίας ᾠ καὶ πατρίδος ᾠ, . . . πίναξ Ῥωμαίων καὶ Ζμυρναίων διαδοχῆ κατὰ χρόνους . . .). See below, p. 233.

⁸So also the *Certamen Hom. et Hes.* 2 (?abt. 135-140 A.D.).

⁹Aul. Gellius, *Noct. Attic.* III. xi. 6 f.: ". . . Alii Colophonium, alii Smyrnaeum, sunt qui Atheniensem, . . ."

¹⁰Lucianus xxvii = *Vera Historia*, ii. 20, lxxiii = *Demosth. Encom.* 9, xxxix = *Imagines*, 15 (τοῦ Ὀμήρου πολίτης ὄσα, sc. the Smyrnaian Pantheia), xl = *Pro Imaginibus*, 24 (. . . ὁ πολίτης ὁ ὄσος Ὀμηρος).

¹¹See above p. 12 n. 1.

¹²Aristeides xii, 142 (xxxii. 24), xv, 378, 380 (xvii. 15, 20), xx, 425 (xviii. 2: Ὀμήρου γοναί . . .), xxii, 442 (xxi. 8), xlii, 774 (xxiii. 21), xlviii, 483 (xxxvi. 110); li, 581 (xxxiii. 29).

¹³Dion Khrys. *Orat.* ii. 42 (27 M, 86 R: Hom. ἦν οὐ μακρὰν τοῦ τε Ταντάλου καὶ Πέλοπος . . .); cf. *Orat.* vii. 119 (123 M, 263 R: see below, p. 254 n. 2).

youthful beauty of the Meles, as Kritheis loved him.¹ The Christian Pionios (250 A.D.) reminded the Smyrnaians of his day how at the Meles they prided themselves on Homeros.² Castricius of Nikaia (about 260–270 A.D.) supported the claims of Smyrna to be the poet's birthplace.³ In the fourth century A.D., Himerios wrote that "all concede the birth of Homeros to Meles".⁴ Nonnos, a little later, addressed him as "radiant son of Meles".⁵ Aineias of Gaza, the sophist, late in the fifth century, took it for granted that Homeros was a Smyrnaian.⁶ About the end of the fifth century, we have an epigram describing Homeros as "godlike son of fair-flowing Meles".⁷ Another epigram (undateable) absurdly argues that Homeros must have been born at Smyrna, because (as is wrongly assumed) Aristeides was.⁸ In the seventh century Isidorus of Seville treats the poet's birth at Smyrna as an acknowledged fact.⁹

Our best informants regarding the worship of Homeros at Smyrna are Strabo and the coins. Strabo says that one of the public buildings was "the Homereion, a rectangular colonnade, containing a shrine of Homeros and an image (ξόανον). For these (Smyrnaians) lay an especially strong claim to the poet; and furthermore (there is) a bronze coin (in use) among them (that) is called a 'Homereion' ".¹⁰ We know nothing for certain as to the site of the temple; but it seems reasonable to guess

¹Philostr. jr. *Imag.* ii. 8 (822, 823 fin.).

²*Mart. Pion.* iv. 2.

³Souidas, s.v. "Ὅμηρος, as printed from a Vienna MS. in the Oxford *Homeric Opera*, v. 256: cf. Allen, *Hom.*, 29.

⁴Himerios, *Orat.* xi. 2: see also above, pp. 12 f. Not all, however, were so confident as Himerios. His contemporaries, the Christian Epiphanius (*Haer.* I. iii. 42 [in Migne, *P.G.* xli. 733]), and the philosopher and rhetorician Themistios (*Orat.* xxvii. 334d), refer to the plurality of opinions; and in the next century Proklos (*Vit. Hom.* init.) regarded them all as mere guesses.

⁵Nonnos, *Dionysiaka*, xxv. 253.

⁶See below, p. 285 n. 2.

⁷*Anthol. Palat.* ii, l. 408 (i. 36): θέσκελον υἱα Μέλῃτος εὐρρείοντος ὄτω.

⁸See below, p. 285 n. 2.

⁹Isidor. *Etymol.* XV. i. 39: "Smirnam . . . quae Homero poetae patria extitit". The complete collection I have seen

of references to passages in which the birth of Homeros at Smyrna is mentioned is that of Witte in Pauly VIII (1913) 2194: it includes nearly all I have quoted in this book, and also a few from still later authors. I conclude with quoting some seventeenth-century echoes of this ancient belief in the lines written by John Salsillo of Rome in praise of Milton, and subsequently translated by Cowper ("Cede Meles, cedat depressa Mincius urna; | Sebetus Tassum desinat usque loqui: | at Thamesis victor cunctis ferat altior undas, | nam per te Mito par tribus unus erit" [Oxf. edn. of *Milton*, 117, *Cowper*, 579]), and in a complimentary couplet addressed to Milton by Selvaggi, who refers to Homeros as "Maconidem" (*Milton*, 118).

¹⁰Strabo XIV. i. 37 (646); cf. Cic. *Pro Arch.* 8 (19: "itaque etiam delubrum eius in oppido dedicaverunt": Büchner and Regling in Pauly VIII (1913) 2145-

that it stood somewhere near the Meles. A tomb-inscription constitutes it the recipient of the fine payable in the event of the misuse of the tomb.¹ From soon after 200 B.C. (perhaps earlier) down to imperial times silver and bronze coins were struck bearing the poet's name and representing him seated, supporting his chin with his right hand and holding a scroll in his left. This representation is the oldest surviving portrait of Homeros, and is supposed to have been copied from an old cult-statue at Smyrna going back to the end of the fifth century B.C. (in the course of which portraits of Homeros are first known to have existed). The poet sits in godlike contemplation, his hair knotted in a way that had fallen out of fashion when the coins were actually struck. In the latter half of the second and in the third century A.D., a completely different figure appears on Smyrna's Homeric coins, perhaps copied from a much less ancient statue provided to replace its possibly lost predecessor. Seven other cities stamped portraits of Homeros on their coins—in several cases using designs similar to those used at Smyrna.²

The river Meles, as a perennial stream and still more as the reputed birth-place (many said even the father) of Homeros, was popularly regarded as a divine person. An interesting inscription celebrates his powers as a healer of disease; and he was portrayed on coins in imperial times. But we have no grounds for supposing that a temple was ever built to him.³ Similarly the river Hermos was personified and deified: an inscription records a dedication to him and to the Emperor Antoninus Pius conjointly.⁴

¹*Mosor.* III. 176 (77'). Tournefort (ii. 511) says Spon tentatively identified the Homereion with some ruins a little W. of the Baths of Diana; and Slaars in an elaborate note (71 f. n. 133) approves the identification. Ramsay and Hogarth (in *E. Br.* xxv [1911] 282a top) say explicitly that it stood on the banks of the Meles (so too Cuinet 442)—I know not on precisely what authority. Fontrier (in *R.E.A.* ix [1907] 120 [51]) locates it on the site of the late Greek Hospital, a little N. of the northern Lysimakheian wall, and not far from the sea: I am unable to check his argument.

²I owe most of these particulars to Katharine A. Esdaile's excellent art. in *J.H.S.* xxxii (1912) 298-325 (but see

above, p. 107 n.). Cf. also Tournefort i. 385; Slaars 71 f.; *B.M.C. Ionia*, 238 (7 f.), 244-247 (79 ff.), 262 (225 f.); Head, *Hist. Num.* 593 f.; Milne in *Numism. Chron.* IV. xiv (1914) 277 ff., 292-296, xvi (1916) 246, 248 f., V. i (1921) 143 f. (180 B.C.), iv (1924) 316-318, vii (1927) 1-107, viii (1928) 131-163; Babelon 105 (1937-1941); and see above, p. 141 n. 2. On the cult generally, Mommsen, *Provincias*, i. 362; Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults*, etc. (1921), 367, 425.

³See above, pp. 10-13, esp. p. 11 n. 7; and cf. Lane 49; Storari 50-52; Slaars 60 n. 107.

⁴*I.G.R.* iv. 1388 = *R.E.A.* viii (1906) 285 f.

Of other gods acknowledged at Smyrna we possess but few particulars. Ares, the god of war, is the first of the deities by whom both Smyrnaians and Magnesians had to swear (in 241 B.C.), after swearing by the omniscient three—Zeus, Earth, and Sun.¹ Hermes appears in a funerary poem (as the conventional guide of the deceased to heaven), in a dedicatory inscription perhaps originally set up in Nymphaion, and in the numerous Smyrnaian personal names commencing “Hermo-” (it is just possible, though not likely, that some of these embody the name of the river-god Hermos).² Haïdes or Aïdes, at once the ruler and the abode of the dead, appears on a number of tombstones in conventional expressions about death.³ “Heavenly Eros”, the youthful god of love, receives a dedication from the peoples of Smyrna and Magnesia, the inscription mentioning also the priestess of “Heavenly Aphrodite”.⁴ The “Smyrnaian Dioskoroi”, the great twin-brethren, are appealed to—in a sailors’ inscription—for a favourable voyage.⁵ Another inscription, probably Smyrnaian and possibly pre-Roman, records a dedication to the “Dioskoroi-gods”.⁶ A funerary bas-relief, belonging to the late Hellenistic period, and also probably of Smyrnaian origin, heroïzes two deceased youths with representations of the Dioskoroi.⁷ Two of the towers along the wall of Smyrna were named after the Dioskoroi and Herakles respectively.⁸ Herakles also filled a place in the city’s devotions, chiefly in his military capacity as “keeper of the arms”, but also as “champion” (προφύλαξ), “saviour”, etc.⁹

¹C.I.G. 3137 = O.G.I. 229, ll. 60, 70. A Smyrnaian, possibly of ii/B.C., buried near Rhodos, is called in his inscription Ἀρεΐ. . . [. . . πρόπολον] (I.G. XII. i. 148).

²C.I.G. 3398 (funerary poem), 3799 (Nymph.); Lane 51; Drexler in Roscher I (1884-1890) 2348. The coin depicting Hermes devotions in Mionnet iii. 189 f. (908) is probably of Mytilenaian, not Smyrnaian, origin. For Hermos as river-god on coins, see above, p. 3 n. 17.

³C.I.G. 3256 (= G.I.B.M. 1024), 3326, 3333, 3344A, 3344B (where death seems to be referred to as δαίμων . . . ἀμελίχιος); M.D.A.I. xxiii (1898) 268 (Aiakos also). The dedication to Aïdes in C.I.G. 3168 is highly uncertain.

⁴C.I.G. 3157 (ii/A.D.); Lane 53; Wiegand in Anat. Stud. 412 f. (Eros-and-Psyche group obtained at Smyrna).

Cupid on a coin of Titus’ time, Mionnet iii. 226 (1261).

⁵I.G. V. i. 1550—from Prote, an island off the western coast of Messenia: Ἐσπλοιά σοι εὐτυχίης, Διόσκοροι Σμυρναῖοι (sic).

⁶R.E.G. xiv (1901) 297 (2): cf. Walter 240.

⁷Walter 238-242 (4): cf. Pfuhl in Arch. Anz. I (1935) 17, 20.

⁸S.E.G. iv. 627 = Μουσ. V. i. 5 (206): Bürchner 751 (wrong reference).

⁹For ὀλοφύλαξ, C.I.G. 3162 (? ± 200 A.D.), Μουσ. V. i. 85 (274); B.M.C. Ionia, 259 f. (205-215); Head, Hist. Num. 594 (temp. Antonin.); possibly also R.E.G. xiii (1900) 497 (3). Cf. generally Lane 52; Mommsen, *Provincias*, i. 351 n. 2; Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults*, etc. (1921), 147. Liebenam (288)

An inscription of about the middle of the second century A.D. records how a certain M. Sertorius Aristolycus had a couch (? or wall) erected for the Ganymedeitai, i.e. the devotees of Zeus' beautiful cupbearer and favourite Ganymedes—apparently a guild of those who indulged in sodomy under the form of a quasi-religious cult.¹ The existence of a fort called "Akhilleion" near Smyrna² may point to a local veneration of Akhilleus. A two-faced statue of the Roman god Janus is said to have been found about 1675 a little west of Diana's Bath; but the arguments formerly founded on it regarding a temple of Janus are inconclusive.³ Traces are found at Smyrna, as in many other places in the Mediterranean world, of the worship (in imperial times) of the Egyptian deities Sarapis,⁴ Harpokrates (i.e. Horos),⁵ and Anoubis.⁶ The occurrence of "Mithres" as a man's name in an inscription of 80 A.D. may be an early trace of the worship of the Persian sun-god Mithras.⁷ Details regarding the worship of the Roman emperors will be given in the next next chapter.⁸

mistakenly regards *ὀμολοφύλαξ* at Smyrna as an *official*. In *Mouv.* V. ii. 93 (267) a priest makes a dedication to "Herakles Kallineikos" (see above, p. 116 n. 2).

¹Ramsay in *A. J. A.* i (1885) 138-140: cf. A. Wilhelm in *M. D. A. I.* xvii (1892) 191; Fontrier in *R. E. A.* ix (1907) 116 (15). The inscription was carved on a block found in the old wall south of Basma-Hané station. "Ganymedes" as a man's name occurs in a probably iv/A.D. inscr. found near Diana's Bath (*C. I. G.* 3149 = *I. G. R.* iv. 1417 = Gregoire 90 = Le Bas-Wadd. 1524).

²Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἀχιλλεῖος δρόμος: . . . ἔστι καὶ φρούριον Ἀχιλλεῖον πλησίον Σμύρνης . . .

³Tournefort ii. 511; *C. I. G.* 3319 intro.; Slaars 71 f. n. 133.

⁴*C. I. G.* 3163 = *I. G. R.* iv. 1403 (see below, p. 222 n. 5); Le Bas-Wadd. 248 (head of S.); Aristeides viii, 81-97 (xiv. 1-34), xxiv, 470 (xlviii. 18), xxv, 500 f. (xlix. 46-49), xxvi, 530 (l. 97); *B. M. C. Ionia*, 259 (198-204, temp. Antonin.): see above, p. 207 n. 6, and below, n. 7, and cf. Lane 54; Slaars 19 n. 37; Baumgart 64; Boulanger 185-201, 313 f. (Aristeides' identification of Sarapis with Zeus, etc.); Büchner 762; and esp. Höfler (passim, but in particular 4, 90, 112). "Sarapion", as a man's name,

occurs at various periods at Smyrna (*C. I. G.* 3141, ll. 7, 69, and 3143 III, l. 1 [? ii/B.C.]; Milne in *Numism. Chron.* IV. xiv [1914] 292 [± 100 B.C.]; *R. E. G.* xii [1899] 388 f. [23]; *Mouv.* I. 92 [77]; *C. I. L.* III. 6064 = Le Bas-Wadd. 1535f; Le Bas-Wadd. 19 [*Σεραπίων*]).

⁵Papadop.-Keram. in *M. D. A. I.* iv (1879) 115 (8: statuette).

⁶See above, p. 108 n. 2.

⁷*C. I. G.* 3173A. On Sarapis and Mithras, Lightfoot i. 468.

⁸Büchner (761 f.) includes Atys and Poseidon in his list of deities worshipped at Smyrna. For Atys, see above, p. 28 n. For Poseidon Büchner's evidence is "Fest Aristeid. XLVII 6 K. Münzen": but the festival in question was one held, not at Smyrna, but at Aristeides' home in Mysia (cf. Keil 384 n.); and Poseidon does not appear on Smyrnaian coins, with the exception of a dubious specimen reported by Vaillant (Mionnet, *supp.* vi. 367 [1837]). But the prevalence of earthquakes may have given Smyrna an interest in Poseidon (see above, p. 20): for—as Weismantel (29) observes—"Vor allen . . . ragt Poseidon als Erdschütterer vor". Bilabel (*Ionische Kolonisation*, 212) thinks a cult of Poseidon at Smyrna is "aus dem Monat" (i.e. Poseideon) "zu erschliessen".

Turning now to the goddesses, we must take first the great Mother-Goddess, whose worship had been carried on throughout the whole surrounding region from time immemorial.¹ The oldest extant Smyrnaian inscription in which she is mentioned calls her "the Sipylene Mother", and by her both Smyrnaians and Magnesians had to swear the treaty-oath.² Later, the word "Sipylene" seems to have been treated as a proper name: it stands by itself on coins,³ and even in possibly pre-Roman inscriptions, we find the expressions "the goddess, Sipylene", "the Mother of the gods, Sipylene".⁴ It is therefore probable that this latter is the correct rendering in numerous inscriptions where the absence of the article would otherwise allow us to translate "(the) Sipylene Mother of (the) gods".⁵ The same is probably true of the corresponding name "Plastene" used at Magnesia-near-Sipylus.⁶ It should be observed that the title "the Mother of the gods"⁷ is a later refinement on the primitive designation, "the Mother", i.e. of humanity or creation generally.⁸ In one inscription (of uncertain date) she is called "(the) Smyrnaic Mother of (the) gods"⁹: in two others simply "the Goddess", par excellence.¹⁰

She was in a real sense the patroness or tutelary deity of the

¹See above, pp. 25-28.

²*C.I.G.* 3137 = *O.G.I.* 229, ll. 60 f., 70 (τῆμ Μητέρα τὴν Σιπυληνῆν): cf. *Μουσ.* III. 129 (168: apparently the same name). For her cult at Magnesia, cf. *C.I.G.* 3411 (? early ii/A.D.); at Thyateira, *C.I.G.* 3508 = Le Bas-Wadd. 5 = *I.G.R.* iv. 1254 = 1423 (? early ii/A.D.: . . . τῆς Μητρός τῶν θεῶν).

³*B.M.C. Ionia*, 255 (160-164), 256 (171), 258 (189); Head, *Hist. Num.* 594: cf. Oikonomos in Slaars 64. The inscription on the coin in Mionnet iii. 247 (1394), of the time of Alexander Severus, seems to have included the word Σιπυληνῆ. The towered head of the goddess, without a name, appears on Smyrnaian coins of all periods from Lysimakhos to the Empire (see above, p. 30 n., and cf. Drexler in Roscher II [1890-1897] 2861 f.).

⁴*B.C.H.* xxxvii (1913) 243 f. (50), 245 n. 1; *C.I.G.* 3286 (tombstones); *Ἰ.Η.Σ.* xxxvii (1917) 112 f. (25: with Buckler's remarks on the name).

⁵*Μουσ.* V. i. 29 (255: Roman times), 32

(262); *C.I.G.* 3193 (priestess of: ? late i/A.D.), 3260 (? early ii/A.D.), 3385, 3387 (? ii/A.D.), 3386 (= *I.G.R.* iv. 1464: ? ± 200 A.D.), 3401 (date unknown); *Ἰ.Η.Σ.* xxxvii (1917) 112 f. (25); and for Magnesia, *C.I.G.* 3411. All of these but *C.I.G.* 3193 are tombstones. See also below, p. 216 n. 7.

⁶Paus. V. xiii. 7 (τῆς Πλαστήνης Μητρός: see above, p. 26 n. 1); *M.D.A.I.* xii (1887) 253 (17: Μητρί Θεῶν Πλαστήνη), 271 (Μητρί Πλαστήνη): cf. Conze in *M.D.A.I.* xiii (1888) 202-206; Schweistal in *R.A.* xvi (1890) 390-397, 404 f.

⁷See, in addition to the cases already cited, *M.D.A.I.* xiv (1889) 94 (21: a statue is set up Μητρί Θεῶν κατ' ἐπιταγὴν [? pre-Roman]) and *Μουσ.* V. i. 84 (273: tombstone); also n. 9 below.

⁸The supposed allusion to her as "the Mother" in *C.I.G.* 3156 rests on a probably erroneous restoration: see above, p. 112 n. 1.

⁹*B.C.H.* iii (1879) 328 = *Μουσ.* III. 128 (166 [165]: tombstone).

¹⁰*C.I.G.* 3199, 3200 (? ii/A.D.).

city.¹ Her place in the citizens' regard is indicated by the large number of personal names commencing with the syllable "Matr-" or "Metro-" found in Smyrnaian inscriptions of all periods. A few details concerning her cult are preserved. It was at her temple, the "Metroön", that in 241 B.C. the City-Auditors of Smyrna had to administer, "with newly-burnt victims", an oath of honesty to those responsible for compiling lists of the soldiers and citizens of Magnesia.² Much later, we find an allusion to her priestess.³ A bust of the first century A.D., representing a Smyrnaian aristocrat, has been thought to be that of a priest of the Great Mother, whose worship was patronized by Augustus and his immediate successors, and filled at Smyrna an important place alongside the worship of the Emperor himself.⁴ Perhaps to the second century A.D. belong two inscriptions which record how "the Synod of the Initiates of the Goddess" joined with the Council and People of Smyrna in publicly honouring certain women, who had "strenuously done everything connected with the pious worship of the Goddess and the feast of the Initiates", and whom they call τὰς θεολόγους.⁵ She was regarded as, inter alia, the protectress of the dead: all the numerous tomb-inscriptions quoted above lay it down that he who misuses the appropriated tomb is to pay a fine of so much to the Mother of the Gods.⁶ The Roman jurist Ulpianus, early in the third century A.D., includes her among the few great local deities to whom it was permissible under Roman law to bequeath property.⁷ The Metroön—described by Aristeides as the most beautiful of the temples in Smyrna⁸—probably stood

¹Aristeides xv, 375 (xvii. 10 fin.: ναῶν τε ὁ κάλλιστος αὐτῆς τῆς εἰληχίας θεοῦ τὴν πόλιν). In a tomb-inscription, possibly of II/A.D., as restored by Boeckh, the inscribers call her τῆ [ἀρχηγέτι] διήμων, "our foundress" (C.I.G. 3387).

²C.I.G. 3137 = O.G.I. 229, ll. 47-51: see above, p. 121.

³C.I.G. 3193, by restoration (? about 100 A.D.).

⁴Snijder, *Ein Priester der Magna Mater aus Smyrna (Nuntii ex museo antiquario Leidensi, new series, xiii. 1, 1932) 1-14, esp. 13: cf. R.A. xxxvi (1932) 123. For a possible priestess of the Goddess, see I.G.R. iv. 1386 = Le Bas-Wadd. 24 (below, p. 229 n. 10).*

⁵C.I.G. 3199, 3200: very similar; but 3200 is fragmentary, and mentions "the dance".

⁶Cf. Hirschfeld, *Ueber die griech. Grabschriften* (1887), 115, and Plassart and Picard in *B.C.H.* xxxvii (1913) 244 f.

⁷Ulpianus, *frag. tit.* xxii. 6 ("... Dianam Efesiam, Matrem deorum Sipelensim [sic] quae Smyrnae colitur . . ."). On Jahn's probably erroneous conjectural reading "Sipylen[en Neme]sim quae," etc., adopted by Abbott and Johnson (408) and others, see Volkmann in *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, xxxi (1934) 75 f. Cf. Hirschfeld, as in last n., 117.

⁸See above, n. 1.

on or near the hill Tepejik: some however have supposed it to have lain further south, in the Valley of St. Anna. St. Anna, being for mediaeval Christians the mother of "the Mother of God", might naturally have replaced the pagan "Mother of the Gods". Down to a late date Christian matrons consecrated their babies at an oratory in the Valley of St. Anna: possibly some rites connected with the ancient worship used to take place in this Valley at a little distance from the temple itself.¹ Near the Metroön and not far from the sea grew a marvellous vine, which bore fruit twice a year, and from which the Pramneian wine of Homeric fame was said to have been manufactured.²

The oriental origin, antiquity, and extent of the worship of the Great Mother resulted in the multiplication of the titles by which the Hellenes knew her, and in a consequent multiplication even of goddesses, somewhat in the same way as

¹See above, p. 175 n. 1; also Fontrier in *R.E.A.* ii (1900) 253 (= *R.A.* xxxvii [1900] 162), ix (1907) 115 (9). Fontrier defends his location of the Metroön in the Valley of St. Anna also in his monograph *Περὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ Μέλντος* (1907), 14 (cf. Bürchner 751), which I have been unable to see. For other theories, Storari 49, Slaars 60 n. 107, Tsakyroglou ii. 68.

²Varro and Plinius, as above, p. 21 n. 2.

On the cult of the Mother-Goddess at Smyrna, see above, pp. 25-28: also Oikonomos in Slaars 64 f.; Lane 47 f.; Tsakyroglou i. 13 f., ii. 68; Furtwängler as on p. 27 n. 1 (image in relief from nbd. of Smyrna); Weismantel 29 (conjectures a connexion with liability to earthquakes); Drexler in Roscher II (1890-1897) 2861 f.; Ramsay in *H.D.B.* iv. 554b; Ramsay and Hogarth in *E.Br.* xxv (1911) 281b; Schwenn in Pauly XI (1922) 2285, 2288; Zwicker in Pauly IIIA (1929) 275; Snijder, as on p. 216 n. 4, 12b.

In 1866 there was discovered at the entrance of a partly artificial cavern within a walled enclosure on the hills N.N.E. of Buja (adjoining the road to Smyrna) a colossal, beardless, and probably female head, cut in the living rock, and projecting as if to furnish support for the superincumbent soil. It was hewn out of its setting in 1868, and now reposes in the basement of the

British Museum. The workmanship is rough, the face flat, the cheek-bones high, and the forehead receding; a small lock of hair hangs in front of each of the large ears; the neck is adorned with a chain of large bosses; and the one clumsy hand visible is held against the chest. Its style bears no marked resemblance to any other well-known type of art; and experts have confessed much uncertainty as to its age. Its crudity makes a date at any period of high culture improbable; and if it is pre-Christian, it is also probably pre-Hellenic, as otherwise it would show traces of Hellenic influence. One may perhaps conjecture tentatively that it is an early unskilled portrait of that Mother-Goddess whose worship was for long pre-Christian ages common throughout this neighbourhood, and who was specially associated in popular belief with mountains. See Hyde Clarke in *R.A.* xiii (1866) 453 f. and in *Athenaeum*, 16 Oct. 1875, 517a top; Martin and Spiegelthal in *R.A.* xxxi (1876) 324-328 (with woodcut, and n. by G. Perrot); Sayce in *Academy*, 18 Oct. 1879, 289c; Dennis and Sayce in *Academy*, 28 Aug. 1880, 160c and 160 f.; Weber, *Sipylos*, 113 f.; Perrot and Chipiez, *P.L.C.L.* 67-69 (woodcut; identification with Kybele); and A. H. Smith in *Catal. of Sculp. in Dept. of Gk. and Rom. Ant., Brit. Mus.* iii (1904) 221 (2143).

uncultured Catholics regard the Virgin of one place as virtually a distinct being from the Virgin of another. The distinction of persons was in some cases clear to the Hellenic mind: but the few extant allusions to the worship of Demeter at Smyrna tempt one to guess that she at least was regarded as identical with Sipylene. Two inscriptions mention "the great goddess before the City, lawgiving (*θεσμοφόρου*) Demeter", one speaking of the priestess—the other of "the Synod of the Initiates"—of this deity, phrases which strongly recall what is said about the Mother Goddess. Moreover it seems unlikely that there were at Smyrna two such important goddesses, both happening to have temples outside the walls.¹

The fertility-goddess worshipped at Ephesos as Artemis was certainly in origin simply a local form of the Asiatic Mother-Goddess: in historical times, however, she figures as a distinct deity. An apparently pre-imperial inscription mentions the consecration of a precinct to her at Smyrna.² But it was not always as Ephesian that she was worshipped in the various Ionian cities. A copy of Smyrna's treaty with Magnesia in 241 B.C. had to be set up in the temple of "Artemis Leukophryene" at the other Magnesia, on the Maiandros, and "the Tauropolos" (feminine, perhaps "mistress of bulls"), by whom, among others, both parties to the treaty were to swear (and whom Diodoros regarded as a deity of the Amazones), was probably Artemis as known in the Sipylene region.³ One of the towers in the wall of Smyrna was

¹*C.I.G.* 3211 = *I.G.R.* iv. 1415 (? late ii/A.D.: seems to mention her priestess for life); *C.I.G.* 3194 (date unknown). It is extremely doubtful whether Demeter is mentioned in *C.I.G.* 3168. The name of the Demeter-like figure, which appears occasionally on the coins of Smyrna during the imperial period, is now read as *Ἀστία*, not *Ἰστία*, the figure personifying the fertile province itself. See above, p. 175 n. 1 (site of temple, etc.), and cf. *Oikonomos* in *Slaars* 20; *Lane* 52 f.; *A. v. Sallet* in *Zeitschr. für Numism.* iv (1877) 315-317; *B.M.C. Ionia*, 273 (305: Domit.), 276 (325-327: 98-102 A.D.), 304 (496-498: Commod.), 265 f. (242-245: Gordian. to Valer.) (prob. not 249 [130: Claud.]); *Head, Hist. Num.* 594: *Pick* in *J.O.A.I.* vii (1904) 18 with n. 15; *Walter* 247-249 (6: bas-relief of a possible priestess of

Dem., with her husband); *Bürchner* 761; *Snijder*, as on p. 216 n. 4, 12b (quotes the goddess's title from the two inscriptions, and adds: "Dies zeigt uns, dass in Smyrna Demeter ganz von der Magna Mater überflügelt wurde. Kein Wunder", etc. I do not follow the reasoning).

²*C.I.G.* 3155 (*Οἶδε ἰδρύσαντο τὸ τέμενος Ἀρτέμιδι Ἐφεσῖα*). Cf. *Acts*, xix. 27 (. . . ἦν δὴ ἡ Ἀσία καὶ ἡ οἰκουμένη σέβεται); *C.I.G.* 5945 = *I.G.* XIV. 2405 (*Ἀρτέμις Ἐφεσίων* on a Smyrnaian lamp: late ii/ or iii/A.D.); *B.M.C. Ionia*, 254 (156 f.: Panionian Artemis on a coin of time of Antonines). For her provincial importance, *Ramsay, Seven Chs.* 229-231.

³*C.I.G.* 3137 = *O.G.I.* 229, ll. 60, 70, 84; *Diodor.* II. xlv. 2. The original meaning of "Tauropolos" is fully discussed by *Wernicke* (in *Pauly* II [1896]

known as "the tower of Artemis", another near-by "the tower of Leto".¹ The goddess appears on other Smyrnaian antiques as "Artemis" simply, or as "Artemis Sebaste", or as "the light-bearing goddess".² The numerous Artemidoroi named in Smyrnaian inscriptions were christened as her gifts. Quintus Smyrnaeus, late in the fourth century A.D., tells us that her temple stood "in the plains of Smyrna" (where he was tending his flock), "thrice as far from Hermos as a shout could be heard", "in the Eleutherian plantation" on a hill of medium height.³ It is probable that her attributes were conceived very vaguely, and varied between those of the huntress-sister of Apollon and those of the nature-goddess of the Asiatics.⁴

A much more orientalized version of the latter was the Syrian Atargatis (i.e. Astarte), part of whose widely-practised cult consisted in the maintenance of ponds of sacred fish. There was one such at Smyrna. An inscription of unknown date represents a Smyrnaian law invoking dire destruction— to wit, the fate of being himself consumed by fishes—upon anyone who damages the fishes or injures or steals the property of the goddess: a fish that dies is to be consumed the same day on the altar; and blessings from the goddess are bespoken for the guardians of the cult.⁵

1399 f.) and Höfer (in Roscher V [1915-1924] 137-143): the latter regards an originally phallic significance as probable. For Artemis Leukophr., see above, p. 134. *C.I.G.* 3508 = Le Bas-Wadd. 5 = *I.G.R.* iv. 1254 = 1423 (? early II/A.D.) mentions a priestess of Artemis at Thyateira, who was also chief priestess of "the temples of Asia in Smyrna", i.e. for the worship of the Emperor.

¹*S.E.G.* iv. 628 = *Μουσ.* V. i. 28 (252).

²*S.I.G.* 996 = *Μουσ.* II. i. 47 f. (ρξς'), l. 14 (image of her among gifts to Apollon Kisauloddenos: ? i/A.D.); *I.G.R.* iv. 1488 = *R.E.A.* iv (1902) 195 (6: 'Αρτέμιδος Σεβαστής at Bunarbash: ? imperial times); *C.I.G.* 3167 (. . . θεῆς φωσφόρου; cf. Boeckh's n. on *C.I.G.* 184: date unknown); *Storari* 53 n. 1 (supposed head of Art. found at Halka-Bunar); *Head, Hist. Num.* 592 (bee her symbol: iii/B.C.); *Milne in Numism. Chron.* V. iii (1923) 2, 14, 17 (possibly Art's head—about 245 B.C.); *Slaars* 52 mid. (Art. and Apollon together).

³Quint. Smyrn. xii. 308-313 (. . . μοι . . . | Σμύρνης ἐν δαπέδοισι περι- κλυτὰ μῆλα νέμονται | τρις τόσον Ἐρμου ἀπωθεν, ὅσον βοόωντος ἀκοῦσαι, | Ἀρτέμιδος περὶ νηὸν Ἐλευθερίῳ ἐνὶ κήπῳ, | οὐρεῖ τ' οὐτε λίην χθαμαλῶ οὐθ' ὑψόθι πολλῶ): cf. *Mylonas* 14 f.; *Slaars* 51 f. n. 93. The name "Diana's Bath" probably preserves the idea that there was once a temple of Artemis at Halka-Bunar (see above, p. 9, and cf. *Storari* 53 n. 1 and *Landerer in Ἐφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογική*, 1857, 1850, regarding a statue of Artemis, as emerging from the bath, found there, and subsequently transported to Constantinople and Paris); and *Binnall (in Hibbert Journ.* July 1935, 572) treats the Meles as one of the numerous springs or wells sacred to Diana. But we really do not know how far back the connexion of Diana's name with Halka-Bunar goes: perhaps not very far.

⁴See above, p. 10 n. 2; and cf. *Lane* 50 f.; *Mylonas* 14 f.

⁵*S.I.G.* 997 = *Μουσ.* I. 102 (104),

Less closely resembling the Great Mother, but probably in origin a duplicate of her, was the goddess called Nemesis. Her name denotes the divine envy of excessive human prosperity, or more generally the disciplinary resentment and vengeance with which the gods visited men's transgressions. The oldest seats of her worship were Rhamnous in Attika and Smyrna.¹ It was a peculiar feature of the cult at Smyrna that, although the single goddess sometimes appears,² there were usually *two* Nemeseis (whom the Smyrnaians regarded as daughters of Night),³ and they figured often as the tutelary goddesses of the city.⁴ Various reasons have been suggested for the duplication⁵: the twin peaks called "the Two Brothers,"⁶ the good and evil types of retribution, the combination of the old and new cities by Alexandros,⁷ the combination of the European Nemesis with the local Asiatic deity. The last-named theory probably gives the right explanation.⁸ The cult was perhaps brought to Smyrna from European Hellas, possibly from Attika, and almost certainly existed in the city destroyed by Alyattes about 580 B.C.⁹ In the sixth cen-

with Dittenberger's nn. Cf. Cumont, *Les Religions Orientales dans le Paganisme Romain* (ed. 1906), 51, 126-133, 142, 149, 262 f., 281-286, and in Pauly II (1896) 1896 and IV (1901) 2236-2243; also E. Meyer in Roscher I (1884-1890) 645-655, esp. 651, 655.

¹Full studies of the Nemesis-cult have been recently contributed by B. Schweitzer (in *J.D.A.I.* xlvi [1931] 175-246, esp. 176, 199 f., 202 ff.), H. Volkmann (in *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, xxvi [1928] 296-321, xxxi [1934] 57-76, esp. 74 f.), J. Coman (*L'idée de la Némésis chez Eschyle*, Paris, 1931), and H. Herter (in Pauly XVI [1935] 2338-2380, esp. 2352-2354).

²E.g. *C.I.G.* 3164: Νεμῆσει Ἐρμῆς εὐχὴν (date unknown): see also n. 5 on next p.

³Paus VII. v. 3 (. . . καὶ δύο Νεμῆσεις νομίζουσι [sc. οἱ Σμυρναῖοι] ἀντὶ μῆδς, καὶ μητέρα αὐταῖς φασὶν εἶναι Νύκτα, ἐπεὶ Ἀθηναῖοι γε τῇ ἐν Ῥαμνοῦντι θεῶ πατέρα λέγουσιν εἶναι Ὠκεανόν; cf. I. xxxiii. 3 fin.): cf. Hesiod. *Theog.* 223 f. (τίκτε δὲ καὶ Νέμεσιν, πῆμα θνητοῖσι βροτοῖσιν | Νύξ ὀλοή). I know of no authority for the statement made by Welcker (*Griech. Gotteslehre*, iii [1862] 35 n. 18) and copied by Coman (27), that there was a temple of Night at Smyrna.

⁴It is probably to this duplication that Aristeides refers when he says (xxi, 437 [xx. 20, 23]): ἐπόθει δ' ἄρα καὶ ἡ τῆς πόλεως φύσις οἰκιστὰς διττοὺς δύο τὰς ἀρχηγέτιδας νέμουσα, and θεαὶ κληροῦχοι τῆσδε τῆς πόλεως). Keil thinks that τῶν ἐν Σμύρνη θεῶν (xxvi, 514 [l. 41]) is also an allusion to the Nemeseis. Cf. Coman 27 f. (Nemeseis order Alex. to rebuild Smyrna in their capacity as its founders); Schweitzer in *J.D.A.I.* xlvi (1931) 203; Herter in Pauly XVI (1935) 2353.

⁵Coman 28 n. 2; Herter in Pauly XVI (1935) 2363 f.

⁶Ramsay, *Asian. Elements*, 54-59.

⁷Farnell, *Cults*, ii. 494, following the suggestion of Paus. (VII. v. 3).

⁸Schweitzer in *J.D.A.I.* xlvi (1931) 203. The name "Adrasteia", which Aristeides gave to the newly-rebuilt city (xxii, 443 [xxi. 12]: καλοῦμεν δὲ Ἀδράστειαν) was that of a Phrygian goddess, often identified with Nemesis or Kybele (cf. xxiv, 465 [xlviii. 2]). Cf. Farnell, *Cults*, ii. 499f.; Coman 20 ff., 26, 29; Herter 2376 f.

⁹So Schweitzer 202; Herter 2352. Coman, however, emphasizing (26) the antiquity of the cult, argues strongly for its Asiatic origin (20 ff., 26-29). Aristeides' words, quoted above, n. 4, also witness to the antiquity of the cult.

ture B.C., Boupalos carved a group of draped Graces; and these were put in the temple of the Nemeseis at Smyrna, but at what date we cannot be sure.¹ There seems no reason to doubt that the Nemeseion on Mt. Pagos, with the spring and plane-tree in front of it—as described in the story of Alexandros's dream²—really existed, and had in his time probably long existed. The Smyrnaians had very ancient and very holy statues of the goddesses, and these were wingless; it was only later artists that gave wings to Nemesis as a goddess of love.³ A possibly pre-imperial inscription records the erection of images of "the Nemeseis" in honour of Breseus Dionysos.⁴ In the first century A.D. the Nemeseis, singly or in pairs, begin to appear on Smyrnaian coins.⁵ A frequent type represents the two goddesses on a car drawn by winged griffins: other emblems are the wheel (typifying vicissitude), the rein, and the sceptre.⁶ About 100 A.D. Traianus—after being addressed by a Smyrnaian deputation—seems to have granted to the city, along with several other privileges, a sum of money together with fresh pictures or statues of the Nemeseis.⁷

Volkman (as above, p. 220 n. 1, 74 f.) connects the cult at Smyrna with Theognis' charge that Smyrna perished owing to her ὕβρις (see above, p. 84 n. 2). Per contra, Herter, 2352 f.

¹See above, pp. 89 f. n. 2. Pausanias' statement (VIII. xxxiv. 3) that worship was offered elsewhere to the Graces and the Eumenides (? = Nemeseis) conjointly suggests that the connexion between Boupalos' Graces and Smyrna's Nemeseis was early. On the association of Graces with Nemesis, Schweitzer 195, 202; Heidenreich in *Arch. Anz.* 1 (1935) 672. Aristeides refers metaphorically to the culture of Smyrna as οἱ Μουσῶν καὶ Χαρίτων χοροὶ (xlii, 774 [xxiii. 22]: cf. xxi, 437 [xx. 21: choruses of Nymphs and Muses]), and apostrophizes the city itself with the words: ὦ Νυμφῶν καὶ Χαρίτων ὕψισμα (xx, 427 [xviii. 8]).

²See above, pp. 95-97, and cf. Coman 27 f. Bertholet goes rather beyond the evidence in stating (*Relig. in Gesch. u. Gegenw.* iv [1930] 738) that at Smyrna it was customary to procure dream-oracles by sleeping under the tree. The story of Alexandros' dream, even when supplemented by Boeckh's interpretation of *C.I.G.* 3163 (see below, p. 222 n. 5), is insufficient to prove such

a custom; and there is little other evidence that the Nemeseis were regarded as oracle-givers (Herter 2353, 2371).

³Paus. I. xxxiii. 7: . . . ἐπεὶ μηδὲ Σμυρναίους τὰ ἀγιώτατα ξόανα ἔχει πτερά. . . .

⁴*C.I.G.* 3161: see above, p. 208 f.

⁵In addition to the authorities quoted above, p. 96 n. 1 (the dream), see Babelon 106 (1954: Nero; one winged Nem.), 105 (1949: Domit.; two Nem.); *B.M.C. Ionia*, 110 f. (405-407, 409 f., 411-413: Domit.; two), 250 (133 = Babelon 105 [1949]), 110 (403 f.: Anton. Pius; one), 254 (158: ii/A.D.; one winged), 265 (241: 238-260 A.D.; two); *B.M.C. Lydia*, 210 (119: 238 A.D.; two), 155 (98: 253-260 A.D.; two); Babelon 106 (1959: 253-260 A.D.; two). Cf. Schweitzer 203-205; and on the representations, images, etc. of the Nemeseis at Smyrna, Coman 38-44; Herter 2353 f., 2374-2376.

⁶Cf. Lane 45; Head, *Hist. Num.* 594 (temple also); Ramsay, *Seven Chs.* 264 f. (woodcut).

⁷Dion.Khrys. *Orat.* xl. 14 (490 M, 165 f. R: οἱ δὲ [sc. Dion's critics] ἐλογοποιοῦν, ὅτι τοῖς Σμυρναίοις παμπόλλας δωρεὰς δαή και χρήματα ἀμύθητα πέμψει μετὰ τῶν Νεμέσεων, καὶ ἢ Δί' ὡς ἄλλου τιπὸς διαλεχθέντος μυρίους μὲν αὐτῷ συνεχώρησε

Early in the second century A.D., we find record of one who, besides other public offices, held that of "temple-warden of the great goddesses, (the) Nemeseis".¹ In the time of Hadrianus, games were held at Smyrna in their honour, under the superintendence of their "agonothete".² At this period, too, the Sardinian epigrammatist Straton appeals to his friend Artemidoros, a writer of comedies, who had acted with brutal arrogance in some love-affair, to heed what the Smyrnanian Nemeseis say to him: "Nothing in excess!"³ To the latter half of the second century A.D. belongs a bas-relief, now at Methymna in Lesbos, representing the two Nemeseis and bearing the name "Smyrna".⁴ In 211 A.D. "Papinius the philosopher, having belonged as a recluse to the lord Sarapis at (the temple of) the Nemeseis, (and) having vowed to enlarge the Nemeseion, consecrated the adjoining house to the Nemeseis, so that the whole should be in the temple of the sovereign (κυριῶν) Nemeseis. The place was granted by the Emperor Antoninus (i.e. Caracallus) . . ."⁵ In 250 A.D. the Nemeseion was the scene of a struggle between the magistrates and a group of Christians over sacrificing to the Emperor Decius: the renegade Christian Bishop swore an oath by the Emperor's Fortune and the Nemeseis.⁶ The third and second centuries B.C. seem to have been the time when the Nemesis-cult at Smyrna was most flourishing and influential: it extended in all directions to other places, and eventually became very widespread and important. There had always

βουλευτάς, χρυσίου δ'έκελευσε ποταμῶν εἰς τὴν πόλιν τραπήναι καὶ μυριάδες ἀπειροί τινες ἐδόθησαν ὧν οὐδὲν ἦν ἀληθές, ὡς ἐβουλόμην ἂν ἔγωγε). See below, p. 253 n. 2. The untruthfulness of the allegation regarding Smyrna probably means that it was exaggerated, rather than wholly false. I do not know what else μετὰ τῶν Νεμέσεων can mean but "along with (statues or pictures of) the Nemeseis": but such a gift from Traianus seems rather strange.

¹C.I.G. 3193.

²C.I.G. 3148 = I.G.R. iv. 1431 init. For similar games at Halikarnassos, probably derived from Smyrna, see C.I.G. 2663, with Boeckh's valuable n. Cf. Volkmann in *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, xxvi (1928) 321.

³*Anthol. Palat.* xii. 193 (ii. 421 f.):

Οὐδὲ Σμυρναῖαι Νεμέσεις ὃ τι σοὶ 'πιλέγουσιν, | Ἀρτεμίδωρε, νοεῖς; "Μηδὲν ὑπὲρ τὸ μέτρον". | . . .

⁴I.G. XII. ii. 520 = M.D.A.I. xvi (1891) 132 (4).

⁵C.I.G. 3163 = I.G.R. iv. 1403. Boeckh interprets ἐγκατοχήσας as referring to sleep inducing an oracle. Woess (*Das Asylwesen Agyptens in der Ptolemäerzeit* [Munich, 1923], 243 f.) conjectures that Papinius had fled to the shrine of Sarapis, which stood within the Nemeseion, as to a place of asylum, and was moved to make his vow partly by gratitude, and partly by his experience of the smallness of the space when he was staying there for safety's sake!

⁶*Mart. Pion.* vi. 3, vii. 2, xv. 2, 7, xvi. 1, xviii. 13 f. See below, pp. 379 ff.

been some confusion between Nemesis and other goddesses like Artemis, Aphrodite, Tykhe, Kybele, etc., as regards personality and attributes: and when the cult developed in other quarters of the Mediterranean world (notably Egypt and Syria), new features, both theological and artistic, developed.¹

Yet another goddess with eastern connexions and in part of similar origin to the foregoing was Tykhe or Fortune. She had a Palestinian parallel in Gad,² but is probably more closely related to the Syrian Astarte. In the sixth century B.C., Boupalos carved a statue of her for the Smyrnaians, representing her for the first time as crowned with a sphere and holding an Amaltheia's horn.³ Her personality, however, was but vaguely defined. In 241 B.C. "the Tykhe of King Seleukos" was added after all the other deities by whom the men at Magnesia were to swear.⁴ In the time of Hadrianus a Smyrnaian Prytanis named Smaragdus undertook to construct a shrine for Tykhe in the palm-grove.⁵ In the second and third centuries A.D., Tykhe and her temple appear on Smyrnaian coins.⁶ Inscriptions of all periods are found commencing with, or embodying, the formula ἀγαθῆ τύχη, a sort of popular bid for good luck.⁷ An inscription of unknown date informs us that one of the towers of the city-wall was called "Good Fortune".⁸

¹ Schweitzer's art. contains a vast array of facts concerning the cult of Nemesis in all periods and places. Cf. Coman 27-29; Herter 2354 and (as regards relation with other deities) 2376-2380. Further, on the cult at Smyrna generally, Lane 14, 42-46, 54; Slaars 17 n. 32, 122 (XXXVII); Weismantel 29 (connects cult with liability to earthquakes); Farnell, *Cults*, ii. 487-500, 593-596; Ramsay in *H.D.B.* iv. 554b (suggests identifying temple of Nem. with temple of Kledones: see above, p. 208); Rossbach in *Roscher* III (1897-1909) 117-166, esp. 121 f. (cult in Smyrna), 140 f. (confusion with other goddesses), 143-147 (Smyrnaian statues, etc.). On the probably erroneous idea that at Smyrna Nemesis was legally capable of receiving bequests, see above, p. 216 n. 7.

² *Gen.* xxx. 11; *Isaiah*, lxxv. 11.

³ See above, pp. 89 n. 1. Heidenreich (see above, pp. 89 f. n. 2) thinks the Tykhe-cult could not have been earlier

than mid. iv/B.C., and dates Boupalos' statue to about 200 B.C.

⁴ *C.I.G.* 3137 = *O.G.I.* 229, l. 61—perhaps originally part of the military oath in the Syrian army.

⁵ *C.I.G.* 3148 = *I.G.R.* iv. 1431, ll. 14-16 (. . . ναὸν Τύχης κατασκευάσει ἐν τῷ Φουεϊκῶν). Considerable sums of money were contributed on the same occasion to the laying-out of this palm-grove, which contained gardens and fifty-two columns of Kymbelleitan marble (*loc. cit.* ll. 7-10, 14 f., 27-30, 31 f.).

⁶ *B.M.C. Ionia*, 254 (159), 264 (233-240); Head, *Hist. Num.* 594. Cf. Slaars 20 f. n. 39.

⁷ Cf. Chapot 421 top.

⁸ *S.I.G.* 961 = *Mosa.* II. ii f. 51 (120) = *R.A.* xxxii (1876) 41-44. See further, with regard to Tykhe, Beaujour ii. 162 (location of temple in centre of city, on strength of an alleged inscription); Lane 48; Schürer, *G.Ź.V.* ii. 46 n. 77 (lit.); Wendland, *Hell.-röm. Kultur*, 60; Pick in *J.O.A.I.* vii (1904) 21 bott.

Traces of the worship of Aphrodite at Smyrna, apart from those connected with the cult of Aphrodite Stratonikis, which have already been fully reported,¹ are not numerous. A head of the goddess, probably carved early in the third century B.C., and long preserved at Smyrna, may have actually belonged in the first place to that city.² Another probable representation of Aphrodite's head, carved on a colossal scale in bluish marble, presumably in the period of Hadrianus, was found in the Jewish cemetery near Deirman-Tepé.³ A white marble statuette, representing the naked goddess tying on her sandal, was apparently unearthed near the same site⁴—a fact which suggests that a temple of Aphrodite stood in this quarter of the city. In one of his undateable speeches, the orator Ailios Aristeides protested to the Smyrnaians against the scurrilities practised by comic actors at the festivals of Aphrodite and Dionysos.⁵ Belonging to the second century A.D. is an inscription in which Smyrna and Magnesia-near-Sipylos jointly honour the chief priestess of "Aphrodite Ourania".⁶ On a woman's tombstone, of about 200 A.D., found between Mersinli and Burnabat, the deceased is made to compare herself to "golden Aphrodite", otherwise called "the goddess Kypris".⁷

I have already dealt in another connexion with the worship of Rome at Smyrna⁸: the cult was later on closely attached to—indeed almost merged in—the worship of the Emperors.

A deity of unique type worshipped by the Aiolians of Smyrna and later by their Ionian successors was Boubrostitis, a personification of ravenous hunger: the normal sacrifice to her was a black bull, cut up and burnt, hide and all. She had

¹See above, pp. 111 f.

²It is minutely described by Farnell (*Cults*, ii. 721).

³See below, pp. 261 f.

⁴Walter (233 f.) describes and illustrates it. His information is secondhand, as he did not see it himself and concluded that it must have been packed up. I saw it, however, in April 1930 on exhibition in the new Turkish Museum installed in what was formerly the Church of Agio Vuklo: see *Guide du Musée*, 52 f. (no. 130).

Walter mentions a bronze statuette of Aphrodite now at Brussels, and another

fragment at Vienna—both originally from Smyrna. Two more bronze statuettes of Aphrodite—one nude—formerly in the Greek Museum at Smyrna, are described by Papadopoulos-Keram. in *M.D.A.I.* iv (1879) 114 f. (1, 5).

⁵See below, p. 270 n. 6.

⁶*C.I.G.* 3157 with Boeckh's n.: cf. Lane 53; Büchner 761; Segre in *Historia*, v (1931) 246 n. 20.

⁷Fontrier and Fournier in *R.E.A.* ii (1900) 253-258. On the cult of Aphr. at Smyrna generally, cf. Dümmler in Pauly I (1894) 2754, 2774.

⁸See above, pp. 136 f.

a temple at Smyrna, and the Ionians used her name in cursing their enemies.¹

Of other infrequently-mentioned goddesses we may name Earth,² Athena (who in the inscription of 241 B.C. has the epithet "Areia", i.e. "warlike"),³ Here (whose headless statue found its way from Smyrna to Versailles),⁴ Hestia (the equivalent of the Romans' Vesta, whose shrine was in the Prytaneion),⁵ Isis (to whom geese were specially sacred, and of whom Aristeides speaks),⁶ Persephone (who was probably grouped with Demeter),⁷ "Lady Moon" (whose image is once found alongside that of Plouton-Helios),⁸ Semele (who was grouped with Dionysos),⁹ the Graces, Nymphs and Muses,¹⁰ the Moirai or Fates (who figure in tomb-poems as the con-

¹Ploutarkhos, *Quaest. Conviv.* VI. viii. 1 (694ab) = *F.H.G.* iii. 205 (ἐδόκει δ' ἡ βούβρωστις ἕτερον εἶναι [sc. τὸ βουλίμων] τὸ δὲ τεκμήριον ἐλαμβάνομεν ἐκ τῶν Μητροδώρου Ἰωνικῶν ἱστορεῖ γάρ, ὅτι Σμυρναῖοι τὸ παλαιὸν Αἰολεῖς ὄντες θύουσι Βουβρώσκει ταύρων μέλανα, καὶ κατακόψαντες αὐτόδορον ὀλοκαυτούσῳ); Eustathios, *Comm. ad Hom. Il.* 1364 (iv. 369 in Leipzig ed. of 1827-1830: οἱ δὲ βούβρωστίν φασὶ δαίμονα Ἰώνων, παρ' ἧ κατηρώντο τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἧς ἱερὸν, φασιν, ἐν Σμύρνῃ). Cf. also *Schol. in Il.* xxiv. 532 (Βούβρωστις = acute grief).

The Metrodoros named is probably he of Khios—iv/B.C. Cf. Lane 13, 41 (mentions alternative translation of B. as οἰστρον, "gadfly", "frenzy"); Stoll in Roscher I (1884-1890) 831 f.; Kern in Pauly III (1899) 933. See also above, p. 61 bott.

²See above, pp. 122, 202.

³*C.I.G.* 3137 = *O.G.I.* 229, ll. 60, 70 (both Magnesians and Smyrnaians swear by her); *C.I.G.* 3154 = *S.I.G.* 1263 (silversmiths and goldsmiths carve a statue of her, and dedicated it τῇ πατρίδι—Roman times). Walter (235-238 [3]) describes and illustrates a bas-relief—dating from late Hellenistic-Roman times, and bought (perhaps also carved) in Smyrna—representing Athena accompanied by accessory figures. Her bust or figure appears on Smyrnaian coins from Traianus to Commodus (*B.M.C. Ionia*, 252 [147], 253 [152 f.], 262 [222 f.]). Her festival, the Apatouria, was celebrated by the Smyrnaians, as by all the Ionians

except the Ephesians and Kolophonians (Herodot. i. 147: Lane 50).

⁴Michon in *R.E.G.* xvi (1903) 201, 205-207.

⁵See above, p. 192. I know of no authority, beyond Storari's (35) guess, for marking on Baedeker's map a "Temple of Vesta" on the southern edge of Deirman-Τεπέ.

⁶Aristeides xxiii, 452 (xlvi. 25), xxv, 500 f. (xlix. 45 f., 49 f.), xxvi, 530 (l. 97): Lane 54; Büchner 761 f. Her worship was very closely connected with that of Sarapis: *χρησμοί* apparently came from them together, and Arist. sacrificed to them both in the temple of Isis; Büchner therefore may be right in assigning them a common temple. See above, p. 214 n. 4. Names compounded with "Isis", like *Ελισιγένη*, *Ελισίδωρος* (*Ἰσιδωρος*, *Ἰσιδωρος*), *Ἰσιδόστη*, occur fairly frequently on Smyrnaian inscriptions.

⁷*M.D.A.I.* xiv (1889) 95 (25: . . . *Κόρης μυστῶν* . . .). Cf. Head, *Hist. Num.* 594; and (for Demeter) see above, p. 218.

⁸*S.I.G.* 996 = *Μουα.* II. i. 47 f. (ρῆς'), l. 21 (*κούρης Σελήνης*): see above, p. 207.

⁹See above, pp. 208 f. They appear together on coins of Domit. and Julia Domna (*B.M.C. Ionia*, 251 [138], 287 [395]).

¹⁰See above, p. 221 n.1: also Aristeides xxii, 444 (xxi. 15: ταυτὶ μὲν οὖν ὡσπερ οἱ νυμφόληπτοι δυνάμει τινὶ τῶν Νυμφῶν αὐτῶν εἶκα προσμελωδῆσαι . . .), and for the Muses, *I.G.* XII. i. 148.

ventional agents of death),¹ and a few other abstractions like Hygieia,² Peace,³ Virtue,⁴ Victory,⁵ Concord,⁶ and Prosperity.⁷

The temples generally must have been splendid and richly-decorated edifices. Plinius mentions that one of them contained consecrated magnifying mirrors.⁸ Even when built and endowed wholly or in part at the expense of private donors, they were regarded as public property, or rather as the property of the deities to whom they were dedicated, managed by the priests and priestesses permanently or temporarily consecrated to the several cults,⁹ and protected in a general way not only by public opinion, but by the governing authorities of the city.¹⁰ Most public spectacles were, at least nominally, of a religious character; and temple-revenues, municipal funds, and private fortunes, would all contribute to the cost of them. Many of the deities we have enumerated must have been worshipped in some form at Smyrna from early times, though it is not possible to demonstrate the fact in every likely case.¹¹ Here and there we have grounds, as has been

¹*C.I.G.* 3272, 3388; *R.E.G.* xii (1899) 388 f. (23). The name *Μοιραγένης* appears in *C.I.G.* 3391.

²See above, p. 204 n. 2.

³*B.M.C. Ionia*, 271 (287 f.); Büchner 761.

⁴Philostr. *Soph.* i. 25 (543; some said Polemon was buried *ἐν τῷ κήπῳ τοῦ τῆς Ἀπερῆς ἰερού*, which was not far from the sea). Fontrier (in *R.E.A.* ix [1907] 117 [23]) locates this temple in southwest Smyrna, near the Turkish Hospital.

⁵Frequently on coins: cf. *B.M.C. Ionia*, 251 (139f.), etc.; Milne in *Numism. Chron.* V. vii (1927) 2, 6, 21, etc.

⁶*B.M.C. Ionia*, 250-266 saepe.

⁷For the tower *Ἐδερνπία*, see above, p. 103 n. 1.

⁸Plin. *Nat. Hist.* xxxiii. 9 (129): "ex-cogitantur et monstrifica [sc. specula], ut in templo Zmyrnae dicata. . ."

⁹On the priesthoods, Liebenam 346-349; Chapot 395-398, 405; Reid 456 f.; Abbott and Johnson 93. The inscription in *Mouv.* I. 82 (53) = II. ii f. 52 (121) = Laum, *Stiftungen*, ii (1914) 92 f. (88) (cf. Robert in *R.E.A.* xxxviii [1936] 26-28), belonging to a late date in the imperial period, seems to record the

foundation of a two-yearly religious festival and to regulate the management of a sum of money invested for its support.

¹⁰See above, pp. 195 f. Besides the Crown-wearer, there seems to have been an eponymous city-priest, not attached to any deity in particular: in *C.I.G.* 3137 = *O.G.I.* 229, l. 34 (241 B.C.) and *C.I.G.* 3173 A = *I.G.R.* iv. 1393a (80 A.D.), both he and the Crown-wearer are named—in that order—for dating purposes. Cf. *C.I.G.* 3198 = *I.G.R.* iv. 1449 (±135 A.D.: . . . ὁ ἱερεὺς Θέων . . .), and Chapot 400 f.: see also below, p. 248 (Niketes "the Priest"). The High-Priest (*C.I.G.* 3148 = *I.G.R.* iv. 1431 fin., and *C.I.G.* 3151 = *I.G.R.* iv. 1435—both Hadr.) and High-Priestess (*I.G.R.* iv. 1386 [impl. times] = Le Bas-Wadd. 24 [suggests Mother Goddess], *C.I.G.* 3148 = *I.G.R.* iv. 1431, l. 20, *C.I.G.* 3151 = *I.G.R.* iv. 1435 [both Hadr.], and *C.I.G.* 3202 = *I.G.R.* iv. 1420 [±200 A.D.]) are also mentioned—perhaps with reference to the worship of the Emperor. Cf. Chapot 469 f.

¹¹Cf. Lane 49: ". . . Etiam reliquorum etsi desunt testimonia tamen unus et alter ab antiquiore tempore sine dubio repetendus".

indicated, for supposing a later origin. Caution must indeed be exercised in pronouncing a cult late on the ground of its oriental character; for at a place like Smyrna the East was in possession before the Hellenes arrived, and even thereafter was nearer at hand than was the case in European Hellas and in Italy. Nevertheless the last pre-Christian centuries witnessed a real alteration in Hellenic religion. Far-reaching scientific and political changes sapped men's faith in the old cults. Outward forms of worship might be maintained with even greater expense and display than of old; but they became increasingly void of religious reality.¹ The way was thus prepared for an enthusiastic idolization of the Roman Emperor as founder and guardian of world-peace and world-prosperity, for a largely increased vogue of those hitherto less familiar oriental mystery-cults, which did in some fashion afford to their individual initiates the consolations of religion, and ultimately for a purer faith, which showed itself capable of winning the adherence of virtually all parties in that multifarious civilization.

¹Wendland, *Hell.-röm. Kultur*, 59 f.

CHAPTER IX

PAGAN SMYRNA UNDER THE PRE- CONSTANTINIAN EMPERORS:

(I) 27 B.C.—161 A.D.

WITH the accession of Augustus to supreme power, there began for Smyrna a new epoch of peace, prosperity, and brilliance. As one of the two chief senatorial Provinces, Asia was henceforward governed by an annually-appointed "Proconsul", who had held the office of Consul at Rome at least five (frequently more) years earlier. He had no proper army at his disposal, but a small force (perhaps recruited from among the provincials, who were no longer kept unarmed) for police-duties.¹ Permanent peace was the first and greatest boon which the new system ensured. Along with it came a far more just and less extortionate administration. Taxation was lightened and regularized, and oppression on the part of the governor kept in check by his accountability at Rome. Fewer and fewer places in the Province enjoyed the nominal status of free cities or of allies of Rome; and Smyrna was not one of them.² Though still the headquarters of a "conuentus iuridicus",³ she was politically inferior to Ephesos, the virtual capital; and she paid tribute to Rome.⁴ But she enjoyed to the full that large measure of municipal and cultural independence which the imperial government wisely conceded to its Hellenic subjects generally, notwithstanding its desire to subordinate distinctions of a national or tribal character to some sort of provincial unity.

Under the new conditions, commercial prosperity (aided by the fertility of the soil) quickly revived, wealth accumulated,

¹We get pictures of the Proconsul administering (so-called) justice at Smyrna in *Mart. Polyc.* ii ff. (see below, pp. 357 ff.) and *Mart. Pion.* xv, xix f., xxiii (see below, pp. 393 f., 396 ff.).

²Had Smyrna been free, Plinius would hardly have failed to mention the fact (see above, p. 163 n. 2—also p. 158 n. 1, and cf. Mommsen, *Römisches*

Staatsrecht, III. i. 682 f. n. 3); Boulanger 8 top.

³I do not know why Lévy (in *R.E.G.* xii [1899] 278 n. 2) omits Smyrna from his list of "Les sièges des tribunaux proconsulaires de la province d'Asie . . . sous Auguste, et encore à l'époque de Pline l'Ancien . . ."

⁴Lévy in *R.E.G.* xiv (1901) 351 f.



CARAVAN-BRIDGE AND MT. PAGOS
from an old engraving

and life generally began to display a new glory. Splendid public buildings and much outward parade in municipal, religious, and educational activity marked the golden prime of the early Empire in Smyrna.¹ Strabo's laudatory description of the city may reflect the conditions as he knew them (probably through a personal visit) in the early years of Augustus' rule, for he was in Gyarus when the conquering hero was at Korinth on his return from Egypt in 29 B.C. "Now", he says, "it is the most beautiful (city) of all . . . The lay-out of the streets is excellent, as far as possible in straight lines; and the roads are paved with slabs of stone"; and he goes on enumerating all those distinctive adornments of the city for which we have already quoted his evidence.²

An anecdote connected with the Proconsulship of M. Tullius Cicero, the great orator's undistinguished son, who was governor probably about 25/24 B.C., illustrates the distinction of Smyrna in another way. One of her most eminent rhetoricians, L. Cestius Pius, occupied a humble seat at one of the Proconsul's banquets—in all probability actually at Smyrna. The tipsy host, enquiring as to who he was, and being reminded by a slave that this was the man who had denied literary skill to Cicero the elder, promptly ordered Cestius to be scourged.³ The poet Horatius Flaccus, in a letter addressed about 21 B.C. to his friend Bullatius, mentions Smyrna among several other notable places in Asia which Bullatius had been visiting on his leisurely travels.⁴

In 21–19 B.C. Augustus was again in the East, and seems himself to have filled the post of Proconsul of Asia. In the last-named year, there was completed and dedicated at Per-

¹Gibbon, *Decline and Fall* (ed. Bury), i (1897) 49; Oikonomos in Slaars 16; Mommsen, *Provinces*, i. 354 f., 357–361; Chapot 64 f., 68; Bevan, *Hellenism and Christianity*, 61 f.; Boulanger 6–11; Oertel in *C.A.H.* x. 401 f., 414, 420; Keil in *C.A.H.* xi. 583–587.

See also above, p. 163 n. 2, for Plinius' description of Smyrna and Ephesos as the two "lights of Asia". To the time of Augustus has been conjecturally assigned the bust of a Smyrnaian aristocrat, who probably held the office of priest of the Mother-Goddess (see above, p. 216 n. 4).

²See above, p. 171 n. 2, p. 175 n. 4,

etc. Cf. Calder in *East. Prov.* 103–106, 116; Bürchner 752 f. (who however says: ". . . Die Beschreibung Strabons macht den Eindruck der Unvollständigkeit. Es hat den Anschein, als habe er S. gar nicht gesehen"). The first draft of Strabo's work was apparently completed about 6 B.C.

³Seneca, *Suasor.* vii. 12 f. See also below, p. 232.

⁴Horat. *Epist.* I. xi. 1–3: "Quid tibi visa Chios, Bullati, notaque Lesbos, | quid concinna Samos, quid Croesi regia Sardis, | Zmyrna quid et Colophon, maiora minorave fama?"

gamon a temple to himself, for the erection of which he had given the inhabitants permission ten years previously. The event was an extremely significant sign of the times. The establishment of permanent peace and good government after centuries of disorder was a great personal achievement on the Emperor's part; and it evoked throughout the Empire the warmest gratitude and loyalty towards him. Nowhere were these feelings more emphatically expressed than in the sorely-tried province of Asia.¹

It is probably to the early years of Augustus' principate that we ought to refer the great increase in importance and prominence of the body already known as "the League (*κοινόν*) of Hellenes in Asia", and the concentration of its main activity on the public worship of the deified Emperor. More in the eastern provinces than in the western, and more in Asia than elsewhere in the East, was the worship of the Roman Emperor carried on.² There was nothing to prevent an individual city consecrating a temple to an emperor: but the Province as a whole felt the cult to be one of its own most important public obligations, and found in it an outlet for those communal energies to which the imperial régime allowed but little purely political exercise. The League of Hellenes in Asia had maintained a shadowy existence in pre-imperial days:³ but it now took on a new lease of life as a manifestation of the confidence, loyalty, and veneration felt by everyone towards the Roman Empire and its head, and as the organ of common action also in the fields of athletics, music, literature, social enjoyment, and even in such public concerns as proconsular misgovernment. There is much that is uncertain in the history and character of the League of Asia (which had its analogues in other Provinces): but it is clear that it held each spring a council (*συνέδριον*) and an expensive festival in the Emperor's

¹Cf. Keil in *C.A.H.* xi. 580-583. Aristeides warmly eulogized the excellence and good government of Asia in ii/A.D. (xlii, 770 f. [xxiii. 8-11]: cf. Chapot 537-539). Weber (in Wilson 75b) mentions a statue of Augustus as a youth in the Museum of the Evangelical School at Smyrna: but the Museum was burnt down in 1922, and I can discover nothing as to the date and provenance of this statue. For coins of Smyrna depicting Augustus, see Mionnet iii. 217 f.

(1211-1218); *B.M.C. Ionia*, 266-268 (248-262); Head, *Hist. Num.* 593. For the provincial coinage generally, Chapot 344 f.; Reid 470; Abbott and Johnson 80. There seem to be no Smyrnaian examples of coins stamped with the effigy of the Proconsul—a practice sanctioned for a short time by Augustus in the case of the governors of Asia and Africa.

²Cf. Chapot 424-439.

³See above, pp. 164, 168; and cf. Chapot 461-464.

honour, and that this was presided over by a highly-honoured and necessarily-wealthy official called "the Asiarch" (the title is traceable as early as the time of Pompeius; but whether it was now absolutely synonymous with the freshly-coined designation "High-Priest of Asia" is not quite certain). There are grounds for believing that the League-festival was actually first held in Smyrna (it certainly was so before 9 B.C.), and thereafter at Pergamon, Ephesos, Sardeis, and Smyrna in turn, corresponding perhaps to the probably four-yearly tenure of the Asiarkhate. Later we find celebrations of the League-festival taking place also at Philadelpheia, Laodikeia, Hierapolis, and Kyzikos. Besides being often the scene of the annual festivities, Smyrna made her full contribution to the personnel and doings of the association.¹

¹Aristeides speaks (xxvi, 531 [l. 103]) of *συνέδριος . . . Σμυρναίων* going up into Phrygia to propose his name as High-Priest of Asia *ἐν τῷ συνέδριῳ τῷ κοινῷ*. Much has been written on the organization of the *κοινὸν* of Asia: see the useful studies by Marquardt i. 343 f., 513-515; Mommsen, *Provinces*, i. 343-348; Lightfoot i. 467, iii. 404-415 ('On the Asiarchate'); Brandis in Pauly II (1896) 471-483 (art. 'Ἀρχιερεὺς'), 1564-1578 (art. 'Asiarches'); Chapot 422 ff. (worship of Emper. by individual cities), 439 ff. ('Le culte provincial des Empereurs . . .'), 454-457, 461-467 ('Les "Κοινὰ" et le "Κοινὸν Ἀσίας"'), 468-489, 565 ('L'Asiarque et l' "Ἀρχιερεὺς Ἀσίας"'), 490-506 ('Les fêtes et les jeux publics'); Ramsay, *Seven Chs.* 114-119, 122 f., 126 f., 438; Duckworth in Jackson and Lake, *The Beginnings of Christianity*, I. i (1920) 199-217; Boulanger 22 f., 28, 137 n.1; Abbott and Johnson 165-176; Lily R. Taylor in *The Beginnings of Christianity*, I. v (1933) 256-262; Nock in *C.A.H.* x. 485 f.; Keil in *C.A.H.* xi. 581 f. The annual celebration is mentioned as having been held at Smyrna in *O.G.I.* 458 = *S.E.G.* iv. 490 (referring to before 9 B.C.: see below, p. 235 n. 1); *C.I.G.* 5806 = *I.G.* XIV. 746 (± 86 A.D.); *C.I.G.* 5804 = *I.G.* XIV. 747, l. 26 (about 94 A.D.); *C.I.G.* 5918 = *I.G.* XIV. 1113 (after 123 A.D.); *C.I.G.* 3187 = *I.G.R.* iv. 1410 (? about 132-135 A.D.); *M.D.A.I.* vii (1882) 255 (26: ii/A.D.); *C.I.G.* 247 = *I.G.* III. i. 128 = *I.G.*² II f. iii. 3163 (? 140 A.D. or later); Aristeides I (xxxiv) subscr. (see below, p.

272 n. 1); *C.I.G.* 2810. b (Antonini); *S.E.G.* ii. 519 (late ii/A.D.); *C.I.G.* 5913 = *I.G.* XIV. 1102, l. 26 (± 180 A.D.: cf. Chapot 504 f.); *C.I.G.* 1720 (cf. Krause, *Olympia*, 225 f.) and ? 2741 = *O.G.I.* 509, fin. (both Commod.); *C.I.G.* 3208 = *I.G.R.* iv. 1432, l. 10 (? ± 190 A.D.); *I.G.* XIV. 739 (soon after 180 A.D.); *S.E.G.* ii. 652 = Walter 252-254 (10: between 242 and 248 A.D.); *I.G.* III. i. 129 = *I.G.*² II f. iii. 3169 f., l. 27 (253-257 A.D.); *C.I.G.* 3910 (date unknown); and on coins (cf. Mionnet iii. 238 [1340 f.] = *B.M.C. Ionia*, 283 [368-371] [198-209 A.D.]; Mionnet iii. 248 f. [1403 f.] = *B.M.C. Ionia*, 294 [440] [235-238 A.D.]; Mionnet iii. 249 [1406] = *supp.* vi. 366 [1830] = *B.M.C. Ionia*, 295 [443] [238-244 A.D.]; Mionnet iii. 255 [1446] and *B.M.C. Ionia*, 299 [473] [260-268 A.D.]: cf. Stevenson in *C.A.H.* x. 198).

That the League-festival was held at Smyrna once every four years is suggested by a phrase in *C.I.G.* 5806 = *I.G.* XIV. 746 (a little before 86 A.D.: *κοινὸν Ἀσίας ἐν Ζμύρνῃ ἀγνεῖλαιον παγκράτιον καὶ τῇ ἐξῆς πενταετηρίδι ἀνδρῶν πάλην καὶ παγκράτιον . . .*). On the probably four-yearly duration of the Asiarkhate, Lightfoot i. 635, iii. 412-414 (where similar phrases are quoted from other inscriptions), and other authorities referred to above. That Smyrna claimed to have been the first city in which the *κοινὰ Ἀσίας* were held is the natural interpretation of the occurrence of the phrase *πρῶτα κοινὰ Ἀσίας* (vel sim.) on all the above-mentioned coins (cf. Head, *Hist. Num.* 594) and on two of the

Strabo mentions, among the signal ornaments of the Smyrna of his day, a library.¹ This possession well befitted such a centre of Hellenic intelligence, learning, and education as Smyrna was. In particular, the art of rhetoric was keenly studied and skilfully taught; and Romans and Hellenes alike frequented the schools of Smyrna as of Rhodos for instruction. Nor was all the local talent expended in Smyrna itself. When we reach the latter part of the first century A.D., we shall have occasion to refer individually to several of the leading rhetors or sophists. At this point we may note that for the year 13 B.C. Hieronymus, in his version of Eusebios' 'Chronicle', has a notice regarding the above-mentioned rhetor, L. Cestius Pius of Smyrna, to the effect that he taught Latin rhetoric at Rome.² Another branch of learning pursued at Smyrna was medicine. An inscription which may be as early as 27 B.C., but which some scholars date after the death of Augustus (14 A.D.), testifies alike to the Smyrnaians' appreciation of medical knowledge and to their loyalty to the Emperor. It refers to Augustus' friend and physician Artorius, who was drowned at sea sometime after the battle of Aktion (31 B.C.). It runs: "The Council and the People of the Smyrnaians honoured Marcus Artorius Asclepiades, physician of the god Caesar Augustus, (and) hero, on account of his great learning".³

above-quoted inscriptions (*S.E.G.* ii. 652 [242-248 A.D.] and *C.I.G.* 3910 [date unknown]): an alternative explanation of the phrase is suggested by Chapot (503 n.): "Peut-être est-ce encore un souvenir du titre, porté par Smyrne, de cité première de l'Asie".

Chapot (503) includes Philostr. *Soph.* i. 25 (530) among the records of the celebration of the League-festival at Smyrna; but this passage refers to the Hadrianic Olympic Games celebrated at Smyrna, rather than the League-festival (see below, pp. 257 f.).

In *C.I.G.* 3357 = *I.G.R.* 1474 the tomb erected for Νείλω οἰκονόμῳ Ἀσίας is mentioned.

Two Smyrnaian inscriptions, probably of ii/A.D. (*S.E.G.* ii. 653 f.), speak of "the Great Augustaia": this was probably the name of a local festival, for similarly-named festivals are known to have been held in various other cities of the Province Chapot 499, 501), though whether the

Augustus referred to was in every case Octavianus is doubtful. See also below, pp. 240 f.

¹See above, p. 182 n. 1.

²Sueton. *De Rhetoribus* (Reifferscheid's edn. 99), 127; Euseb. *Chron.* ann. Abr. 2004 (Schöne ii. 143; Helm i. 167, ii. 488; Fotheringham 249). Full particulars about him are given by Brzoska in Pauly III (1899) 2008-2111. Cf. Mommsen, *Provinces*, i. 362-367; Chapot 64 f.; Keil in *C.A.H.* xi. 586 ("Learning was supported by the foundation of museums at Smyrna and Ephesus, . . ."); G. La Piana in *H.T.R.* xx (1927) 277 f.

³*C.I.G.* 3285 = *I.G.R.* iv. 1444: ἤρωα almost means "deceased". Cf. Wellmann in Pauly II (1896) 1461. Another Smyrnaian inscription of Roman times, but otherwise undatable, is in honour of M. Modius Asiaticus, ἱατρὸς μεθοδικός, apparently the leader of the systematic, as distinct from the empirical, school (*C.I.G.* 3283; cf. Tsakyroglou i. 79 f.).

The elder Plinius mentions two Smyrnaian writers on medical and scientific matters whom he used as authorities—Markion (who made observations on sea-centipedes) and Solon (whose views he quotes on sorrel and dock); but we cannot determine their dates.¹ Strabo indeed seems to say that the Erasistrateian school of medicine at Smyrna had in his own day ceased to flourish²: but there was apparently at least one distinguished member of it who kept the flag flying. This was Hermogenes, the son of Kharidemos. An inscription found near Halka-Bunar tells us that he lived for seventy-seven years and wrote seventy-seven books on medicine: in addition he composed two books on the history of Smyrna (the only ancient work on this subject known to us), one on the wisdom of Homeros and one on his birth-place (which he doubtless located at Smyrna), two on city-foundations in Asia, four on city-foundations in Europe, one on the Islands, one on road-distances in Asia and one on road-distances in Europe, two on military matters, a list of prominent Romans and Smyrnaians, and a chronicle. No fragment of any of these compositions has survived. Their author is probably identical with the physician Hermogenes who is mocked by Lucillius and Nikarkhos in some epigrams included in the 'Anthology'—also with the physician Hermogenes whose wife Melitene, daughter of Demetrios, was publicly honoured with a bas-relief and inscription at Smyrna. Most authors place him in the second century A.D.; but if he be the zealous Erasistrateian mentioned by Galenos, and if his father Kharidemos be the Erasistrateian mentioned by Caelius Aurelianus, a date in the first half of the first century would be more suitable; and the style of his inscription confirms this conclusion. He is sometimes confused with a physician of Hadrianus and with Hermogenes of Tarsos (160–230 A.D.).³

Along with intellectual culture went the vigorous celebra-

¹Plin. *Nat. Hist.* i. 28, xxviii. 4 (38) (Markion), and i. 20–27, xx. 20 (220), 21 (235) (Solon). Cf. also for Solon, Kind in Pauly IIIA (1929) 979. I can find no art. on this Markion in Pauly. An undated Smyrnaian inscription (Le Bas-Wadd. 1523) is said to contain the words ἀρχία[τρον] and ἀγω[ρ]οθ[έρην].

²See above, pp. 150 f.

³C.I.G. 3311 = G.I.B.M. 1020 = I.G.R. iv. 1445, with the editors' notes; C.I.G. 3350 (Melitene); F.H.G. iii. 523 f.; *Anthol. Palat.* xi. 89, 114, 131, 190, 257 (ii. 301, 305, 308, 318, 329); Mylonas 5; Slaars 73 n. 136; Susemihl ii. 446 f. n. 192; Radermacher in Pauly VIII (1913) 866 f. (H. of Tarsos); Gossen in *op. cit.* 877 f. See also above pp. 151, 210.

tion of athletic, musical, and poetical contests. Public competitions of these kinds had, of course, long been customary; but the new conditions facilitated a still greater vogue. The coming of the Empire threw up one occasion after another for the institution of new festivals in honour of this or that event or individual.¹ The games held at the annual meeting of the League of Asia formed but one instance of such innovation. The inscriptions of the period abound with the proud records of athletes and authors successful on many fields.² Meanwhile, the old-established Hellenic festivals went on. At the Olympic games of 12 B.C., disgrace was unhappily brought on Smyrna by the action of one of her citizens. A Smyrnaian youth named Sosandros, the son of Sosandros, was due to meet a young Eleian called Polyktor, the son of Damonikos, in the wrestling-match. Damonikos, anxious that his son should win, induced Sosandros the elder to accept money on condition that the latter's son should allow himself to be defeated. The unsporting trick was discovered—whether before or after the actual contest we are not told—and the official umpires inflicted heavy fines on both the offending fathers: with the money thus gained they provided two statues for the buildings at Olympia.³

How high the feelings of imperial loyalty could run was revealed a little before 9 B.C., on an occasion when the meeting of the League of Asia was held in Smyrna, and a Roman named L. Volcacius Tullus was apparently acting as temporary vice-Proconsul, and Papias, a Hellene, as Secretary of the League. The assembled deputies decreed that a crown should be bestowed on anyone who should discover the highest honours which could be accorded to the god-Emperor. The prize

¹*C.I.G.* 3203 = *I.G.R.* iv. 1429 seems to refer to the institution of some gymnastic contests in the imperial period: cf. Laum, *Stiftungen*, ii (1914) 92 (87). See also above, p. 226 n. 9.

²*C.I.G.* 1420 = *I.G.* V. i. 662, found at Sparta, records how "The City of the Smyrnaians (honoured) G. Julius Julianus, their own citizen", who had won the prize for tragic poetry at a number of contests (including the Pythian and Aktian games, and the *κωνά* of Asia), and had received citizenship at many cities in Hellas, Thessalia, and Makedonia (date probably as early as reign of Aug.). Another Smyrnaian, who won prizes at

the *κωνά* of Asia at Sardeis and elsewhere, and held several citizenships, is immortalized in *M.D.A.I.* viii (1883) 326-328 (9). Mention may also be made here of two Italian inscriptions of uncertain date—*C.I.G.* 5919 = *I.G.* XIV. 1111 (enumerating the victories of a poet, in tragic poetry at Smyrna, Kyzikos, and Rome, comic poetry at Kyzikos, and lyre-playing, etc., at Nikomedeia and Pergamon), and *I.G.* XIV. 1860 (hexameter epitaph of a Smyrnaian comic poet, Moskhianos).

³Paus. V. xxi. 16 f.: Krause, *Olympia*, 361, 372.

was won in January 9 B.C. by the then Proconsul, Paullus Fabius Maximus. He had written to the League urging that, in view of the unparalleled blessings which Augustus had conferred on the world, his birthday—23rd September—should thenceforth be taken as the first day of the civil year in all the cities (it was apparently already so taken in some), and that they should adapt their lunar calendars to correspond to the solar (Julian) year observed at Rome. The League-deputies (assembled apparently either at Pergamon or Aizanoi in Phrygia) acceded to the proposal, awarded Fabius Maximus the crown, and enacted the measures needful for ensuring that the municipal magistrates should everywhere enter upon their offices on the new New-Year's Day. Copies of the Proconsul's letter and the League's decrees were inscribed and set up in various important cities, especially in the imperial temples. We perhaps have here the occasion for the introduction of the special month-names "Kaisarios" (for the earlier "Dios", now the first month in the year—23rd September to 22nd October), "Tiberios" (for the second month), "Hierosebastos" (for the sixth), and "Euangelios" (for the eighth) in an ancient Asiatic calendar which is in all probability that of Smyrna.¹

From 9 B.C. there is a rather longer gap than usual in the annals of Smyrna, spanned only by a list of governors' names. A single incident in the private life of a Smyrnaian, enshrined in an epigram, happens to belong in all probability to about this time. A certain Polyxenos, during a stay in Makedonia, fell on a slippery hill-path when returning home drunk from a

¹The inscribed Greek and Latin documents connected with the League's proceedings have been pieced together in *O.G.I.* 458 = *S.E.G.* iv. 490 from several fragmentary copies (*C.I.G.* 3902. b, 3957 [= *C.I.L.* III. *supp.* ii. 12240], *C.I.L.* III. *supp.* ii. 13651, *Inscr.* v. *Priene*, 80f. [105], etc.). See esp. ll. 40 ff.: . . . τῆς δὲ Ἀσίας ἐξηφισμένης ἐν Ζμύρνῃ [? ἐπι. . .] Λευκίου Οὐδοκακίου [Τ]ύλλου, γραμματεῦόντος Παπ[ίου . . .], etc. Cf. Lightfoot i. 698–702; Mommsen and Wilam.-Moellendorf in *M.D.A.I.* xxiv (1899) 275–293 (Mommsen thought Volcacius was Secretary to the Koinon; but if he was really a Roman, this is unlikely); J. G. C. Anderson in *M.D.A.I.* xxv (1900) 111 f.;

Chapot 389–394; Wendland, *Hell.-röm. Kultur*, 101 f.; Kubitschek in *D.K.A.W.* lvii (1915) 3, 91a–95b, 97a, 108ab (old names of months not necessarily changed; Smyrna's own calendar probably reproduced in that assigned to "Asia" [as distinct from "Ephesos"] in the *Hemerologium Florentinum*: "Hierosebastos" estab'd. as a sacred month not before 27 B.C.: "Tiberios" [= Oct.–Nov.] possibly estab'd. now in 9 B.C. to cover Tiberius' birthday [16th Nov.]); Abbott and Johnson 331 f.; K. Scott in *Yale Classical Studies*, ii (1931) 204 f. For Paullus Fabius Maximus, see H. S. Jones in *C.A.H.* x. 178; for the month "Euangelios", see below, p. 236 n. 2.

supper-party on a rainy night, and, dying in consequence, had to be buried "far from Aiolid Smyrna".¹ But the trivialities and silences of history sometimes contrast oddly with the true greatness of contemporary, though for a time concealed, events. This was the period when there began in another distant land that human life which was fraught with such far-reaching consequences for the race at large, and which in a few decades would be making such disturbances in the Province of Asia. For the reflective fancy it is perhaps not without interest that history seems as it were to pause in silence at this stage in the onward march of time, and that the very word "Good News", which the Smyrnaians—probably in celebration of the advent of Augustus—had taken as the name for one of their months, was destined on the contrary to connect itself exclusively with the birth and career of one of the lowliest subjects of one of the great Emperor's vassal-princes.²

Smyrna was well satisfied with her rulers. In 4 A.D. Augustus adopted his stepson and destined successor Tiberius; and at some time between this event and Augustus' death (14 A.D.) the Smyrnaians put up a statue to Tiberius with the inscription: "The People (thus honoured) Tiberius Caesar, son of Augustus".³ The Proconsul about 7-10 A.D. was P. Cornelius Lentulus Scipio, the father of a later governor of the same name (about 30 A.D.). One of the two is mentioned in a Smyrnaian inscription, which tells us that "the People (honoured)", probably with a statue, "Publius Lentulus Scipio the Proconsul, who was a benefactor of the City like his ancestors". Probably the Scipio here named is the Proconsul of 30 A.D.: his father would then be one of the beneficent ancestors.⁴ Flavius Sabinus, the father of the later Emperor Vespasianus

¹Antipatros (prob. of Thessalonike, flourished \pm 10 B.C.—12 A.D.) in *Anthol. Palat.* vii. 398 (i. 348 f.).

²The name "Euangelios" (= Apl./May) is possibly derived from "Euangelos", the name of an obscure deity or hero known at Ephesos and Miletos—it was also a title for Hermes or Zeus; but more probably it commemorated some "good-news" (Dittenberger in Pauly VI [1909] 843; Jessen in *op. cit.* 844; Kubitschek in *D.K.A.W.* lvii [1915] 3. 94b), and none such is likelier than the events of 31-27 B.C.: in any case it must be earlier as a

month-name than the advent of Christianity to Asia.

³*C.I.G.* 3172 = *I.G.R.* iv. 1391. In *Mosa.* II. i. 21 ($\mu\upsilon\gamma$) another inscription, from Menemen, is recorded: 'Ο δῆμος Τιβερίῳ Καίσαρι Θεοῦ Καίσαρος υἱῷ. Tib. and Aug. appear together on Smyrnaian coins (Mionnet iii. 219 f. [1225] = *B.M.C. Ionia*, 268 [259-262]).

⁴*C.I.G.* 3186 = *I.G.R.* iv. 1409; cf. *P.I.R.* i. 456 f. (1142 f.). I take διὰ προγόνων to indicate that the Proconsul was led to govern well by the good example of his forbears.

(who was born in 9 A.D.), was a tax-collector in Asia, presumably about this time, and behaved so justly that statues were erected to him by several cities.¹ Such men were a bright contrast to the next Proconsul, L. Valerius Messalla Volaesus (11 or 12 A.D.), who was condemned by Augustus and the Senate for his cruelty and extortion.² That Smyrna was a delightful place to live in is declared by the poet Ovidius, who contrasts it with his own inhospitable place of banishment near the Danube's mouth.³

In 14 A.D. the great founder of the imperial régime died, and Tiberius succeeded. The new ruler had an opportunity three years later of displaying the beneficence of Roman rule, when an earthquake ruined about a dozen cities in the Hyllos- and Hermos-valleys and on the Elaitic Gulf. Tacitus specifies only eleven places, and does not mention Smyrna: but he includes Magnesia-near-Sipylos, Temnos, and Kyme. Smyrna therefore had a narrow escape. Tiberius gave help in the form of money-gifts and a remission of taxes; and a senator of praetorian rank was sent to administer relief.⁴

In 18 A.D. Germanicus, Tiberius' nephew and adopted son, coasted south past Smyrna on his eastern mission. A Smyrnaian coin depicting him and his real father, the deceased Drusus, was perhaps struck at this time.⁵

The Emperor's generosity in time of distress did not carry with it the toleration of mischievous privileges; and occasion soon arose for dealing with a long-standing abuse. The custom of declaring certain temples to be inviolable sanctuaries had grown; and there now existed in consequence a multitude of places—chiefly, it would seem, in western Asia Minor and the neighbouring islands—where swarms of insolvent debtors, fugitive slaves, and persons suspected of capital crimes found security. In some cases a large area was involved: at Hierokaisareia a space of two miles round the temple was supposed to be immune, while at Smyrna, not only the temple of Aphrodite Stratonikis, but the city itself had been formally declared

¹Sueton. *Vespas.* i. 2.

²Tacit. *Ann.* iii. 68.

³As above, p. 159 n. 1 ("paene minus nullo Smyrna petenda loco est"). Ovidius was in exile 10–18 A.D.

⁴Tacit. *Ann.* ii. 47; Sueton. *Tiber.*

xlvi fin. (says it was the only time Tiberius showed generosity to the Provinces; but Tacit. quotes another case later in *Ann.* iv. 13). Cf. Chapot 66.

⁵Tacit. *Ann.* ii. 54; Mionnet iii. 220 (1227).

"inviolable". Cities possessing such asylums were therefore ordered in 22 A.D. to send representatives to Rome. This step led to the voluntary abandonment of a number of bogus claims: other cities, however, defended their sanctuary-rights before the Senate, pleading the conferment of a reward by some Roman general or ancient king or some still more primitive title of divine authority. Ephesos, Magnesia-on-Maian-dros, Aphrodisias, Stratonikeia, Hierokaisareia, Kypros, and others, argued their case: but the weary Senate referred the claims of all to the Consuls for investigation and report. Apparently all the claims that were seriously defended, and some additional ones, were recognized as in some degree justified: an asylum of Asklepios at Pergamon was found to be genuine; and among those whose claims were obscure by reason of age were the Smyrnaians, who appealed to an oracle of Apollon as their warrant for erecting a temple to Aphrodite Stratonikis. Tenos, Sardeis, Miletos, and Krete also adduced their several titles. The upshot was a series of senatorial decrees, prescribing in becomingly reverent terms the precise limits of each sanctuary, and commanding each city to post up on a bronze tablet in the temple concerned a permanent statement of those limits, in order that local privilege should make no further encroachments under the pretext of religion.¹

That this stringency of supervision did not imply any unfriendliness to the Province was seen the same year (22 A.D.) in the trial and condemnation at Rome of G. Junius Silanus, who had recently vacated the Proconsulship of Asia, and had been guilty of cruelty and extortion. The following year Lucilius Capito, who had had control of Tiberius' estates in Asia, was also condemned for extorting money in excess of his orders. In appreciation of such even-handed justice, the cities of Asia decreed a temple to Tiberius, his mother Livia, and the Senate, and obtained sanction for it: but the erection of it was delayed pending an authoritative decision as to its locality.² Meanwhile misgovernment seems to have been checked, for the charges brought against the Proconsul G. Fonteius Capito in

¹Tacit. *Ann.* iii. 60-63, iv. 14; Sueton. *Tiber.* xxxvii. 3 ("abolevit et ius moremque asylum quae usquam erant"—clearly an exaggeration). See above, pp. 111, 116 f.; and cf. Chapot 406-416 (esp. 410);

Reid 381; Charlesworth in *C.A.H.* x. 646.

²Tacit. *Ann.* iii. 66-69, iv. 15, cf. 37 init. He puts the decree and the permission in 23 A.D., the decision as to place in 26 A.D.

25 A.D., after his return from Asia, were found to rest on forged evidence.

It was not until 26 A.D. that the locally irreconcilable claims of eleven Asian cities for the privilege of possessing the new temple were submitted by their respective envoys to the Senate at Rome, and considered by that body in the Emperor's presence. The audience lasted several days. The pleas were based for the most part on antiquity of origin¹ and on services rendered to Rome. Hypaipa, Tralleis, Laodikeia, and Magnesia-on-Maiandros were ruled out as unequal to the task, Ilion as having no distinction other than her ancient glories and the legend that represented her as Rome's mother-city, Halikarnassos (after some hesitation) despite her plea that no earthquake had shaken her for 1200 years, Pergamon as already possessing the temple of Augustus, Ephesos and Miletos as having enough to do with their great cults of Artemis and Apollon. This elimination narrowed down the choice to Sardeis and Smyrna. The Sardians adduced their acknowledged kinship with the Etruscans, their ancient wealth, their colonization of Hellas under Pelops, the commendatory letters sent to them by Roman generals, their treaty with Rome during the Makedonian war, and finally the natural advantages of their district.² The Smyrnaians reminded the Conscript Fathers that their founder had been either Tantalos the son of Zeus, or else Theseus (likewise of divine descent), or else one of the Amazones, and then passed on to pleas of a weightier kind. They had rendered, they said, conspicuous services to Rome by contributing a naval contingent not only for her foreign wars, but even for wars waged in Italy; they had been the first to erect a temple to her in 195 B.C.—at a time when Rome, though strong, was not yet supreme, since Carthago still stood, and mighty kings were still at large in Asia Minor; the great Sulla himself had acknowledged the generosity with which they had stripped off their own garments as soon as they heard in their Assembly that his army was in straits owing to the winter-cold, and had despatched them to the legions. The Fathers were then asked to give their opinion. Four hundred votes are said to have been given for

¹On the Hellenes' pride in their past, see Cherbuliez i. 5, Reid 11.

²Tacit. *Ann.* iv. 55.

Smyrna, and only seven for the rest of Asia (i.e. apparently Sardeis). On the proposal of Vibius Marsus, it was decreed that the newly-appointed Proconsul, M'. Aemilius Lepidus, should take with him a special Legatus to superintend the erection of the temple. Since Lepidus modestly declined to nominate a man for the task, the Senate chose by lot the ex-Praetor Valerius Naso.¹

It is not known whereabouts in Smyrna this temple to Tiberius, Livia, and the Senate was built,² or how long it took to build. We are left to imagine as best we can the pride of the citizens on their success, the bustle, care, and toil over the new building, the patronizing supervision of Valerius Naso, and, above all, the throng and glamour, the expense and delight, of the opening ceremony of dedication—probably at some annual League-Assembly. The coin struck at Smyrna under the Proconsul P. Petronius (29–35 A.D.), depicting the tetrastyle front of the new temple, Tiberius standing within it, and also Livia and the Roman Senate, was probably issued to commemorate the opening of the building. Thenceforth Smyrna had not only a temple to Rome, but also a temple to “Augustus”; she assumes the title *νεωκόρος*, “Temple-Warden”, though for some unexplained reason the term is not actually found on her coins before the time of Caracallus.³

¹Tacit. *Ann.* iv. 56 (all the clauses in the Smyrnaian case have been quoted above; see p. 29 n. 1, p. 139 n. 1, p. 136 n. 2, p. 157 n. 4; cf. p. 143 n. 3); Aristeides xli, 767 (xix. 13: τοῦ γὰρ νεῶ τοῦ νῦν καταδύοντος οὕτω λαμπρῶς λέγεται [sc. Σμύρνα] τυχεῖν ὥστε ἀγῶνος προμένου τὴν μὲν Ἀσίαν τῶν ἄλλων ἔθνῶν προκριθῆναι, τῶν δ' ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πόλεων τὴν Σμύρναν τοσοῦτον ὥστε τὴν μὲν ἄλλην Ἀσίαν ἐπὶ μά μοῖας ψήφους μεταλαβεῖν, τῇ δὲ πόλει τετρακοσίας γενέσθαι μονῆ). It is to this incident that Keil would specially refer Aristeides' boast in xx, 425 (xviii. 2: καὶ ἀγῶνες καὶ τρόπαια καὶ νίκαι παρὰ τοῖς ἀρχουσι διὰ πάντων ἔθνῶν): we might also add his allusion to the μέγιστα which Smyrna had received from kings and Senate jointly (xli, 762 [xix. 1]). All modern authors of course mention the event, e.g. Cherbuliez i. 51 (would like for Smyrna's honour not to mention her temple “à cet impur et cruel successeur d'Auguste”; excuses it on the ground of her distance from him

and of his good provincial government); Mylonas 44 (records the numbers of votes, adding “nisi illud in dubium vocare volumus quia Aristides tradit, quem verbis res augere solere satis constat”); Slaars 23–25; Chapot 440–442, 448, 452, 465 (thinks Sardeis was soon [not later than Caligula] consoled by a senatorial decree allowing her a certain proportion of the κοινὸν-celebrations).

²Slaars (23 n. 48) places it conjecturally near the Stadion.

³The older view that Smyrna's neokorate is mentioned on coins of Traianus is apparently mistaken (see below, p. 254 n. 3). She is called *νεωκόρος* in *C.I.G.* 3144 = Le Bas-Wadd. 2 = *I.G.R.* iv. 1418 (possibly i/A.D. [not necessarily as late as Traianus]: . . . ἡ νεωκόρος Σμυρναίων πόλις), *S.I.G.* 1073 (not after 123 A.D.: ὁ νεωκόρος Ζμυρναίων δήμος . . .), and *I.G.R.* iv. 1398 = *Μουσ.* I. 91 (75) (early 124 A.D.: νεωκόρον α', . . .). An individual is referred to as *νεωκόρου* of Zeus, i.e. probably Hadrianus, in

Along with this public homage went the homage of individuals. At some time between 14 and 29 A.D., when Livia died, Tiberius Claudius, freedman of Tiberius Claudius Thrasyllus, an astrologer consulted and granted citizenship by his friend the Emperor, set up at Smyrna an inscription in Latin and Greek to Tiberius and his mother.¹ Another personal protégé of the Emperor during his latter years was a young man who had been born in slavery at Smyrna, and whom Tiberius had emancipated and kept at court. Tiberius' successor, Gaius Caligula (37–41 A.D.), retained him in his service, and took him with him on his journeys to the north. The next Emperor, Claudius, advanced him still further:

C.I.G. 3175 = *C.I.L.* III. 411 = *I.G.R.* iv. 1397 (139 A.D.), another as νεωκόρου τῶν Σεβαστῶν in *C.I.G.* 3190 = *I.G.R.* iv. 1433 (± 200 A.D.), and another as νεωκόρου simply in *C.I.G.* 3201 (? ii/A.D.). Cf. Slaars 24 n.46; Mommsen, *Provinces*, i. 346 f. n. 1; Chapot 143 f., 403, 439 ff., 452; Rostovtzeff in *Anat. Stud.* 387–389; J. Keil in *C.A.H.* xi. 583.

The imperial temple at Smyrna is mentioned in *C.I.G.* 3276 (tomb-inscription, copy of which was deposited ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ Καισαρίῳ) and 3289 (cf. *I.G.R.* iv. 1480: tomb-misuser to pay fine τῷ ναφῷ τῷ Ζμυρναίων)—dates unknown. Another phrase used is “the temples of Asia in Smyrna”, presumably referring to those of Rome and Tiberius, and after 124 A.D. to that of Hadrianus also (Marquardt i. 513, 514 bott.; Duckworth in Jackson and Lake, *The Beginnings of Christianity*, I. i [1920] 214; cf. *C.I.G.* 3266 [tomb-fine payable τοῖς ἐν Σμύρνῃ ναοῖς τῶν Σεβαστῶν: ? ii/A.D.]). The High-Priest of these temples is mentioned in *C.I.G.* 3831.^{a18} = *I.G.R.* iv. 586 (a worthy of Aizanoi: date unknown) and 2741 = *O.G.I.* 509 (an Aphrodisian ἀρχιερεὺς Ἀσίας ἀποδεδειγμένος ναῶν <καὶ> τῶν ἐν Σμύρνῃ τῶ β: 180–190 A.D.); their High-Priestess in *C.I.G.* 3211 (= *I.G.R.* iv. 1415: ? late ii/A.D.: cf. *C.I.G.* 3151 = *I.G.R.* iv. 1435, l. 4) and 3508 (= Le Bas-Wadd. 5 = *I.G.R.* iv. 1254 = 1423: woman of Thyateira: ? early iii/A.D.); their “Asiarkh” in *B.C.H.* iv (1880) 442 f. (25: a Lesbian: ? late ii/A.D.). In *C.I.G.* 3187 = *I.G.R.* iv. 1410, T. Claudius Herodes Atticus is called “σεβαστοφάντου (= priest of Aug.) and (ᾧ) priest) of the goddess Rome and the god (= Hadrianus)”.

A Smyrnaian named Mithres is called “High-Priest of Asis” in *C.I.G.* 6250 = *I.G.* XIV. 1815 = *I.G.R.* i. 299 (date unknown). See also below, pp. 250 f. (Skopelianos High-Priest of Asia), and cf. Keil in *J.O.A.I.* xi (1908) 108 top (conjectures institution of Hymnodoi: see below, p. 259).

For the temple-coin of Tiberius, Mionnet iii. 219 (1224); *B.M.C. Ionia*, 268 (266–268); Pick in *J.O.A.I.* vii (1904) 15–17. Another coin of Tiberius, Mionnet iii. 220 (1226) = *B.M.C. Ionia*, 268 (263–265). Cf. Charlesworth in *C.A.H.* x. 611, and *C.A.H.* plates, iv. 202 f.

Asiarkhs connected with Smyrna are mentioned in *C.I.G.* 3213 (= *I.G.R.* iv. 1454: he conducted a school of gladiators: date unknown), 3148 (= *I.G.R.* iv. 1431: 124–138 A.D.), 3190 (= *I.G.R.* iv. 1433: held office twice, also called νεωκόρου τῶν Σεβαστῶν: ± 200 A.D.), 3191 (= *O.G.I.* 514 = *I.G.R.* iv. 1424: τὸν Ἀσιάρχη καὶ ῥήτορα: ± 200 A.D.), 3324 (= Le Bas-Wadd. 20 = *I.G.R.* iv. 1481: *M. Αὐρ. Ζήνων καὶ M. Κλ. Ἰουλιανή, Ἀσιάρχη δις*, . . . ± 215 A.D.: cf. Chapot 470 n. 4), 5945 (= *I.G.* XIV. 2405: ± 200 A.D.), *B.C.H.* i (1877) 55 f. (*M. Aurelius Erason*: ± 200 A.D.), iv. (1880) 442 f. (see opposite column), *S.E.G.* ii. 652 (*L. Pescennius Gessius* for third time, 242–248 A.D.).

¹*C.I.L.* III. *supp.* i. 7107 = *Μουσ.* III. 140 (184) = *I.G.R.* iv. 1392. For Thrasyllus, cf. Charlesworth in *C.A.H.* x. 608 f., 632. Numerous other Tiberii Claudii appear in the inscriptions of Smyrna.

eventually he died in old age under Domitianus; and his bereaved son, Claudius Etruscus, was consoled by the poet Statius.¹ G. Calpurnius Aviola, who was Proconsul of Asia 38/39 A.D., is mentioned on several of the coins struck at Smyrna under Caligula.² The worship of Caligula himself was extensively practised in the province of Asia during his short reign. It was centred in Miletos, where a special temple was built for him. The name of the Smyrnaian Olympianos Hieronymos, son of Publius, appears along with those of citizens representing Miletos, Julia, Pergamon, Antiokheia, Kyzikos, Apameia, Laodikeia, Kaisareia, Adramyttion, Philomelion, Halikarnassos, and Sardeis, on what was apparently the pedestal for the statue of Caligula which these φιλοσέβαστοι put up for him at Miletos.³

It is not often that we are able to date a funerary inscription precisely; but there survives one from Smyrna which we can assign with confidence to the first or second autumn of the reign of Claudius (41-54 A.D.): in it Apollonios Lolous (or Lollos) and his wife put on record (in six elegiac lines reporting an imaginary question from a passer-by and an answer from the child) their grief over their little son Menogenes, who was taken from them before he was weaned.⁴ A sixth-century Byzantine chronicler tells us that Smyrna, Ephesos, and many other cities of Asia "suffered under God's wrath" (i.e. from earthquakes) in Claudius' reign, and that he contributed largely to their restoration. The notice adds a little weight to the conjecture that Claudius may have rebuilt or renovated the Smyrnaian Theatre.⁵ To the last few years of the reign belong two or three more notices of public interest. A milestone found at Burnabat records a distance of forty-odd miles from Ephesos, and points to an official repair of the road,

¹Stat. *Silv.* III. iii (esp. ll. 60-62): see above, p. 11 n. 6, and cf. Stein in Pauly III (1899) 2670-2672, 2719 f.; Last in *C.A.H.* xi. 427, 431. Yet another link with the Emperor, though how close we cannot say, is furnished by the name of the Smyrnaian "Ti. Claudius Alexander", whom a certain Rhythmos commemorated in a simple inscription in the island of Syros (*I.G.* XII. v. 712 [20]).

²Mionnet iii. 220 f. (1228-1233, esp. 1228f., 1231f.); *B.M.C. Ionia*, 269f. (269-280); Babelon 106 (1951 f.).

³Wiegand, *Siebenter worldäufiger Bericht*, etc. (1911), 65 f.: cf. Deissmann, *Licht vom Osten* (ed. 1923), 297 n. 3.

⁴*R.E.A.* ii (1900) 359 f. = *M.D.A.I.* lvi (1931) 126 f.: cf. Robert in *Rev. de Philol.* lx (1934) 270. Still greater pathos characterizes some briefer and undatable tomb-inscriptions, e.g. *Ζωσίμη ἐτῶν γ' (Mouv. V. i. 7 [210])*.

⁵Malalas x. 246: Charlesworth in *C.A.H.* x. 683. See above, p. 179.

perhaps that from Ephesos to Magnesia via Smyrna and Sipylos, in the year of Claudius' fifth consulship, 51 A.D.¹ To the period of his adopted son Nero's Caesarship, i.e. 50–54 A.D., is assigned a Laodikeian coin on which the beardless and laurel-crowned heads of the two Peoples of the Laodikeians and the Smyrnaians, facing each other, witness to a friendly understanding between the two cities they represent.² In 53 A.D. Smyrna was visited by G. Licinius Mucianus, who had just held the Consulship, but, being suspected by Claudius, was sent to Lykia as his Legatus. The elder Plinius, his contemporary, tells us that at Smyrna Mucianus saw a youth, whose male sex had not made itself apparent until the age of puberty was reached, and who prior to that had been regarded as a girl and even betrothed. Phlegon, a freedman of Hadrianus, apparently has this case in mind when he tells of the Smyrnaian girl Philotis, whose sex changed after her betrothal, and who in 53 A.D. was living as a man in the Empress Agrippina's villa at Mevania in Italy.³ Modern medical science knows no case of an actual or complete change of sex after birth. Pathological cases are on record of the presence of secondary characteristics of the other sex, and still more frequently of apparent femininity in imperfectly-developed males; and it is probable that the case of Philotis is to be classed under the latter heading.

The first year of Nero's reign (54–68 A.D.) was marked by the poisoning of M. Junius Silanus, the Proconsul of Asia, by agents of Agrippina. One of these agents, Publius Celer, who was in charge of the Emperor's personal affairs in Asia, was in 57 A.D. accused at Rome by the provincials, and saved from condemnation only because Nero postponed sentence until Celer had died.⁴ Nero himself, Agrippina (whom he murdered in 59 A.D.), and his wife Poppaea (who died in 65 A.D.), all appear on Smyrnaian coins.⁵ A bath at Nymphaion

¹*C.I.L.* III. 476 = Le Bas-Wadd. 6: cf. Ramsay in *J.H.S.* ii (1881) 51 f. (consulship and date wrong).

²*B.M.C. Phrygia*, 324 (263 f.). Claudius and Agrippina, Nero's mother, whom he married in 49 A.D., appear together on Smyrnaian coins: so also does Britannicus, the Emperor's ill-starred son by Messalina (Mionnet iii. 221 [1234 f.]; *B.M.C. Ionia*, 270 [281–284]; Babelon 106 [1953]).

³Plin. *Nat. Hist.* vii. 4 (36) (for his other allusions to Smyrna, see above, pp. 18–21, and in particular p. 163 n. 2 [his allusion to Smyrna and Ephesos as the two "lights of Asia"]); Aul. Gellius, *Noct. Attic.* IX. iv. 15 (copying Plin.); Phlegon, *Mirab.* 7.

⁴Tacit. *Ann.* xiii. 1, 33.

⁵Mionnet iii. 221–223 (1235–1245); *B.M.C. Ionia*, 270 f. (285–293); Babelon 106 (1954).

seems to have been dedicated jointly to Nero and the local Apollon.¹ To Nero's period has been assigned (on the ground of its lettering) a tomb-inscription found in situ on the northern slope of Mt. Pagos, near the line which must have been followed by the eastern Lysimakheian wall: it runs: "Perigenes her husband and Perigenes and Antipatros her children honoured the most faithful and pure Tatia, daughter of Tryphon, for her discretion".² There were also struck at Laodikeia during his reign more coins celebrating as before the neighbourly union of that city with Smyrna.³ Marcus Aefulanus, Proconsul of Asia apparently about 60 A.D., governed so justly that he was rewarded with a vote and an inscription by the Hellenes of Asia assembled at Smyrna, but not until many years later.⁴ His successor, Barea Soranus (61/62 A.D.), freed the harbour of Ephesos from accumulations of silt—a step which probably had for the time an unfavourable effect on the trade of Smyrna. He also left unpunished the resistance offered at Pergamon to the efforts of Nero's freedmen to deport statues and pictures. The removal of gold and of works of art from the Hellenic cities to Rome was practised on a large scale by Nero, especially after the disastrous fire of 64 A.D.; and Smyrna doubtless suffered along with other places. These proceedings of Soranus, however, gave offence to Nero, as also did his friendship with Rubellius Plautus (whom Nero caused to be killed in Asia in 62 A.D.); he was accused in 66 A.D. of having fomented revolt in his Province, and condemned to death. The previous year, L. Antistius Vetus, Proconsul for 63/64 A.D., similarly forfeited his life under the Emperor's ill-will.⁵

It was probably about 64 A.D. that Ionia was visited by the famous Pythagorean sage and reformer, Apollonios of Tyana. After extensive journeys in the east, he was now—at the age of about sixty—en route for Hellas and Italy. At Ephesos, where he was accorded a great reception, envoys from neigh-

¹Keil and Premerstein in *D.K.A.W.* lvii (1915) 6 f. (1): later experience of Nero led someone to erase *Νέρωσι* from the inscription. He is called *Θεός Νέρων* on coins of Kyme and Synaos (*C.A.H.* x. 732).

²*S.E.G.* ii. 656 = Walter 257 f. (14). Possibly Tryphon, the father of the fourteen-year-old Tatos, whose metrical

tomb-inscription we have (Le Bas-Wadd. 1532), was the same man as the father of Tatia.

³*B.M.C. Phrygia*, 325 (265–269): see above, p. 243 n. 2.

⁴See below, p. 260.

⁵Tacit. *Ann.* xiv. 57–59, xv. 45, xvi. 10 f., 23, 30–33.

bouring cities waited upon him with invitations. The envoy from Smyrna pressed him to visit that city, but had no more specific request to make. When Apollonios asked what the Smyrnaians wanted of him, the envoy could reply only that they wished to see him and be seen by him. The philosopher promised to come, and prayed the Muses that he and the Smyrnaians might like one another. His frankness cost him his popularity in Ephesos; so he left it and traversed Ionia, everywhere giving useful exhortations.¹ The Panionic festival and sacrifices were going on at Smyrna when he approached; and the assembled Ionians came out to meet him with an address inviting him to attend the Panionic Council. On reading it, he found in it several non-Ionic names like Lucullus, Fabricius, etc., and at once wrote to the Ionians, strongly rebuking these barbarisms.² Introduced to the assembly, he drank wine and poured a libation from the Panionic wine-bowl, and prayed that Smyrna might be preserved from disaster caused by the sea and from earthquake. His biographer says he foresaw the calamities which later befel Smyrna, Miletos, Khios, and Samos: but the events of 17 A.D. would easily account for his words. Moreover, Aristeides (178 A.D.) speaks of Smyrna having once helped, with gifts of food and money and in other ways, to preserve Khios, Erythrai, Teos, and Halikarnassos, when these cities were visited by a severe earthquake. He gives no date; but it must have been after 26 A.D. (prior to which year Halikarnassos had not been shaken), and may have been not long before Apollonios' visit.³

Apollonios commended the Smyrnaians for their interest in rhetoric and literature, and praised the beauty of the city and the richness of its artistic adornments; but he advised them rather to concentrate on producing good men, since these need not confine themselves—as a city must—to one spot: the beautiful city resembles the Olympic Zeus of

¹Philostr. *Apollon.* iv. 1-4 (140-143): for the approximate date, iv. 34, 40. Philostratos' narrative abounds in improbabilities, and is regarded by some as almost wholly fictitious—a romance created by Philostratos' principal authority. Others think it is truthful at least in outline. The idea that Philostratos wrote it as a pagan counterblast to the story of Jesus is now abandoned. In

what follows I have summarized his rather verbose paragraphs.

²Philostr. *Apollon.* iv. 5 (143 f.); *Apollon. Epist.* 71 (407): Mylonas 46; Finlay, *History of Greece under Foreign Dominion*, i (1857) 81.

³Philostr. *Apollon.* iv. 6 (144), *Soph.* ii. 25 (612: on the Panionic wine-bowl); Aristeides xli, 766 (xix. 12). See above, p. 20 n. 1, p. 171 n. 3, p. 237 n. 4, and p. 239-

Pheidias, good men the heavenly and ubiquitous Zeus of Homeros.¹ Observing a certain amount of civic dissension, he advised a blend of rivalry and co-operation, such as would exclude mutual violence, but would allow each citizen to contribute his best to the common weal. This counsel he reinforced with an object-lesson in the shape of a ship they could all see, about to leave the harbour, the useful division of labour among the members of the crew furnishing an obvious analogue to the civic loyalty he was commending. By such speeches he restored unity to the city; and finally left it when called back to Ephesos to stay a pestilence. His later travels took him to Pergamon, Ilion, Athens, and ultimately Rome.²

The mention of the Panionic festival in the story of Apollonios is of interest, as testifying to its continued existence, though it was now largely overshadowed by the League-festival of Asia, the style of which it tended to copy.³ Another allusion to it may possibly be found in a record referring to this very period. One of the Olympic victors for 69 A.D. was a Trallian youth named Artemidoros. He had previously failed as a boy-pankratiast at Olympia, owing to his extreme youth. "But", says Pausanias, "when the time came for the contest which the Smyrnaians hold (as a festival) of the Ionians, his strength had so increased that on (one and) the same day he conquered as pankratiast his (former) antagonists from Olympia, and among the boys described as 'beardless', and thirdly the best of the men. Now they say he tackled the beardless (boys) at his trainer's instigation, but the men because of a man-pankratiast's taunt". His victory as a man at Olympia came later.⁴

¹Philostr. *Apollon*. iv. 7 (145): see above, p. 20 n. 1, p. 171 n. 3, and p. 176 n. 5; and cf. Ramsay, *Seven Chs.* 256-261, and *The Wakefield Express*, 11th July, 1936 (quotation of the passage of Philostratos by the Headmaster of Silcoates School on Speech-Day).

²Philostr. *Apoll.* iv. 8 (145 f.: . . . διαφερομένους ὄρων ἀλλήλους καὶ μὴ συγκειμένους τὰς γνώμας . . .), 9 (146), 10 (147 f.: Τοιοῦτος μὲν δὴ λόγους ξυνείχε τὴν Σμύρναν, . . .), 11 (148): Boulanger 373.

³Caspari in *J.H.S.* xxxv (1915) 187 f., who, however, wrongly assigns this Apollonian episode to the time of Domitianus. Cf. J. Keil in *C.A.H.* xi. 581 f.

⁴Paus. VI. xiv. 2, 3 (ὡς δὲ ἀφίκετο

ἀγῶνος καιρὸς ὃν Σμυρναῖοι Ἰώνων ἀγῶσιν . . .): cf. Krause, *Olympia*, 225. It is usually assumed that the reference is to Smyrna's "Olympic" games (e.g. Frazer's note): but if this were so, why Ἰώνων? Blakesley's account of the incident in *S.D.B.* iii. 1335b is replete with errors. See below, p. 262.

Another victor at Olympia was the Smyrnaian Menandros, whose success (date unknown) was preceded by a dream that he had been buried in the stadium at Olympia. The ii/A.D. writer Artemidoros mentions him (*Oneirokritika*, iv. 82) as exemplifying the principle that a dream of death foreshadows its opposite, i.e. success, unless one dreams of coming to life afterwards!

Smyrna played, so far as we know, no special part in the terrific disturbances which took place between the fall of Nero in the summer of 68 A.D. and the triumphant arrival of Flavius Vespasianus at Rome in the autumn of 70 A.D. Like most of the eastern Provinces, Asia was early secured for Vespasianus, when he began manœuvring against Vitellius in the summer of 69 A.D., and probably shared with them the privilege of being forced by Mucianus, on his progress through Asia Minor, to contribute funds to the Flavian cause. In the late autumn the Proconsul, G. Fonteius Agrippa, was transferred to Moesia, and was succeeded by M. Suillius Nerulinus (69/70 A.D.), who was the son of a former Proconsul, and whose name appears on the coins of Smyrna.¹ Other Proconsuls under Vespasianus (later also under Titus and Domitianus), who are named on the city's coins, are Vettius Bolanus (first about 76 A.D.)² and T. Cadius Silius Italicus the poet (77/78 A.D. and later).³ Another Proconsul of Asia under Vespasianus was probably M. Aponius Saturninus, who seems to be named in a fragmentary Smyrnaian inscription, wherein "the experts and mysts associated with Breiseus Dionysos" honour a fellow-devotee.⁴ Dated in the sixth Consulship of Vespasianus, i.e. January to June 75 A.D., are two milestones—one found at Sevdiköi, and the other on the road thither from Smyrna, recording both in Greek and Latin that the Emperor as Censor had arranged for the repair of the roads.⁵

To the time of Vespasianus and his immediate successors belongs the residence and activity at Smyrna—and to some extent Ephesos also—of Niketes the Sophist, the first of that remarkable series of experts in rhetoric who acquired fame in the eastern empire from this time down to early in the third century. He popularized the new type of oratory called

¹Tacit. *Hist.* ii. 81, 83 f., iii. 46, 53; Mionnet, *supp.* vi. 335 (1661, ? 1660); Head, *Hist. Num.* 593.

²Mionnet iii. 223-325 (1248 f., 1253-1255, 1258 f.), *supp.* vi. 334-337 (1658, ? 1666, 1668, 1671, 1674); *B.M.C. Ionia*, 272 f. (297-301).

³Mionnet iii. 224f. (1250-1252, 1256f.), *supp.* vi. 335 (1662), ? 338 (1679; cf. 1672); *B.M.C. Ionia*, 273 (302-304); Chapot 308.

⁴*C.I.G.* 3210: see above, pp. 208 f., and cf. Chapot 306.

⁵*C.I.L.* III. *supp.* i. 7203 (= *I.G.R.* iv. 1486), 7204 = *Movs.* II. i. 1 (07', 08'). Other Vespasianic milestones have been found in the province, e.g. at Thyateira (*C.I.G.* 3481 = *C.I.L.* III. 470) and near Elaia (*Movs.* II. i. 14 [9θ']). Cf. Ramsay in *J.H.S.* ii (1881) 47; Chapot 362 f; Syme in *C.A.H.* xi. 141.

“Asianic” or “Ionic”. Philostratos describes his skilful and ample style, his special ability in legal cases, and the honour and applause which he won at Smyrna. He says that Niketes built some splendid passages (*παρόδους*) connecting the city with the Ephesian Gate, that he did not often appear before the Public Assembly, but met the popular reproach of cowardice by saying that he was more afraid of the People when they extolled than when they abused him. He bore the title “the Priest”, perhaps because he filled the chief honorary priesthood in the city. He is referred to incidentally in Tacitus’ ‘Dialogue concerning Orators’ (written in 76 or 77 A.D.) as falling far below the standard of Aiskhines or Demosthenes. The younger Plinius heard him lecture, presumably about 80 A.D., though whether at Ephesus or Smyrna we do not know.¹

In the first year of Titus (79/80 A.D.), the Proconsul M. Ulpius Traianus (father of the later emperor Traianus) completed an aqueduct, which brought water unto the precincts of the temple of Zeus Akraios on Deirman-Tepé, recently erected in imitation of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus at Rome, which had been restored by Vespasianus. This aqueduct has been conjecturally identified with the one whose remains are traceable from the spring Ak-Bunar (some distance beyond the sources of the Caravan-Bridge-River) across the valley near Kazamir, and along the hilly slopes on the west.² In the early months of 80 A.D., the guild of Dionysos-

¹Automedon (his contemporary) in *Anthol. Palat.* x. 23 (ii. 256: compares Niketes’ eloquence to a sailing-ship gathering speed); Tacit. *Dial.* 15 (“. . . Sacerdos ille Nicetes, et si quis alius Ephesum vel Mytilenas cententu scholasticorum et clamoribus quatit . . .”); Plin. jr. *Ep.* vi. 6 (“Niceten Sacerdotem”); Philostr. *Soph.* i. 19 (511: “. . . παρόδους πολλὰ λαμπρότερας ὡν αὐτὸς τῇ Σμύρνῃ εἰδέματο, συνάψας τὴν πόλιν ταῖς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐφεσον πόλιν . . . Μεγάλων δ’ ἄξιούμενος, τῆς Σμύρνης τί οὐκ ἐπ’ αὐτῶ βοώσης ὡς ἐπ’ ἀνδρὶ θαυμασιῶ καὶ ῥήτορι, οὐκ ἐθάμιζεν ἐς τὸν δῆμον, . . .”), 20 (513 fin.), 21 (516, 518), ii. 16 (596). Cf. Fabricius, *Biblioth. Graeca* (ed. Harles), vii (1801) 755 f. (distinguishes the sophist from “the priest”, but identifies the sophist with the brother of the Christian

Alke [see below, p. 326 top]); Lightfoot iii. 374 n.; Mommsen, *Provinces*, i. 365 f.; Wendland, *Hell.-röm. Kultur*, 32-35; Wright in Loeb ed. of Philostr. xiv-xxii (sophists in general), xxxi (Nik.); Boulanger 33-83 (general), 58, 62, 68, 70, 83-85 (Niketes); Barber in *C.A.H.* vii. 256 (“Asianic” eloquence). Chronology forbids us to identify him with the rhetor Niketes mentioned by Seneca (Lightfoot, *l.c.*). See also above, 226 n. 10 (the priesthood).

²*C.I.G.* 3146 = *O.G.I.* 477 = *I.G.R.* iv. 1411 (. . . ἐπὶ τὸν Δία τὸν Ἀκραῖον, . . .): cf. Weber, *Wasserleit.* 6 (3), 167-174; Büchner 753 f., 756, 764 (though I do not know why he twice gives the date as 62 A.D.); Schwahn in Pauly, *supplband.* vi (1935) 1111; Longden in *C.A.H.* xi. 197, 209. See also above, pp. 177 and 202, and below, p. 254 n. 4.

worshippers again comes before us—this time in an inscription detailing the titles and offices of the Emperor and his brother and also of certain local officials, and giving a list of the men who had paid their entrance-fees on admission to the guild.¹ An appendix, inscribed in 83 A.D., is dated by the Consuls, Domitianus and another, and a female Crown-Wearer, Koskonia Myrtos, and simply names the games-president and xyst-president of the same guild.² On both inscriptions the hated name of Domitianus was later (96 A.D.) erased. The Proconsul for 83/84 A.D., L. Mestrius Florus, is named on Smyrnaian coins,³ as also is the military author Sextus Julius Frontinus, who was Proconsul perhaps about 90 A.D., and along with whom appears again the female Crown-Wearer Koskonia Myrtos, sometimes graced with the additional title of “Daughter of the People of the Smyrnaians”.⁴ A friendly understanding between Smyrna and Ephesos is mentioned on the coins of two Proconsuls, L. Caesennius Paetus (some time after 83 A.D.)⁵ and P. Calvisius Ruso (84–87 A.D.).⁶ During the reign of Domitianus, similar friendly understandings were concluded between Smyrna, Ephesos, and Pergamon⁷ and between Smyrna and Sardeis.⁸

Domitianus’ administration of justice was so severe that the provincial governors, says Suetonius, “never showed

¹*C.I.G.* 3173 *A* = *I.G.R.* iv. 1393a, 1748: cf. Tod in *Class. Rev.* xxix (1915) 1 f. (for date, etc.). The connexion with the Dionysos-cult is conjectural, but highly probable. For Smyrnaian coins of Titus, or of Tit. and Domit. jointly, see Mionnet iii. 224 f. (1251–1259), *supp.* vi. 336 f. (1668–1672); *B.M.C. Ionia*, 272 f. (297–301, 304).

²*C.I.G.* 3173 *B* = *I.G.R.* iv. 1393b. See above, p. 195; and cf., for Domitianus’ relations with Asia, Charlesworth in *C.A.H.* xi. 39 f.

³Mionnet iii. 225 (1260), *supp.* vi. 337 (1673; as emended by Pick in *J.O.A.I.* vii [1904] 2 [1]); *B.M.C. Ionia*, 274 (310). This is the earliest of the series of coins depicting deities holding images of temples: Pick (*op. cit.* 13 ff., 17 ff., 41) has made a special study of them; he gives other specimens from Smyrna portraying Asia personified, probably a statue of the Province dedicated to Domit. in some

Smyrnaian temple—perhaps that of Zeus Akraios (Pick 2 [2], 18, 19–21).

⁴Mionnet iii. 206 (1121), 210 (1155 f.), *supp.* vi. 318 f. (1560–1562); *B.M.C. Ionia*, 250–252 (133–142); Head, *Hist. Num.* 593 f.; Babelon 105 (1949). Chapot, however, conjectures (305) that the Frontinus on Babelon 105 (1949) may be Aemilius Frontinus, Proconsul between 170 and 190 A.D. See above, p. 189 n. 4.

⁵Mionnet iii. 94 f. (259, 264 f.), 226 f. (1263, 1267 f.), *supp.* vi. 133 f. (361–366, 367 f.), 135 (373); *B.M.C. Ionia*, 111 f. (407–415).

⁶Mionnet iii. 94 f. (261), *supp.* vi. 132 f. (357 f., 360); *B.M.C. Ionia*, 110 (405 f.).

⁷Mionnet, *supp.* vi. 134 (370).

⁸*B.M.C. Lydia*, 277 (217). For Amazones on Smyrnaian coins under Domit., cf. Imhoof-Blumer in *Nomismia*, ii (1908) 8 (1, 2, 4).

themselves more modest and just". But his justice deteriorated into odious cruelty. About 90 A.D. he had G. Vettulenus Civica Cerealis, Proconsul of Asia, assassinated as a suspected conspirator.¹ Smyrnaian coins depicting the Emperor's niece Julia,² who died in 89 A.D., recall his earlier murder of her husband (his own cousin) in order to marry her. Apollonios of Tyana had now, after his extensive travels, settled in Ionia; and he often displayed public disapproval of the imperial tyranny. In particular he spoke with such scorn of the orders given in 92 A.D. by Domitianus for the restriction of viticulture (in the interests of corn) and the destruction of half the vines in the Provinces, that the Ionians decided to petition for their repeal. They entrusted their case to the sophist Skopelianos.

This man was a native of Klazomenai, but had studied rhetoric under Niketes at Smyrna. He refused the Klazomenians' request that he should settle and teach in his native city—on the ground that the nightingale does not sing in a cage: Smyrna he regarded as a grove, "for", says Philostratos "while the whole of Ionia is constructed like a seat of the Muses, Smyrna holds the most perfect position, just like the bridge in musical instruments". Klazomenai indeed could have had little attraction for him, for he had been disinherited by his father (whom he had tried to dissuade from taking a concubine) in favour of a lying slave, who secured his ill-gotten gains by bribing the judges. At Smyrna, however, Skopelianos enjoyed great fame. He was High-Priest of Asia, as his fathers had been for several generations. He spent much time on public business in the company of the Smyrnaian magistrates, even when people expected him to be getting up his cases. Admirers flocked to hear him teach, not only from all over the Province, but from Athens and Hellas, Kappadokia and Phoinike, Assyria and Egypt, Smyrna being easily accessible by sea and land. His wit and good temper stood him in good stead both in the courts and in the Public Assembly. His ability to do without sleep, his readiness and vigour of speech, his freedom from avarice, and his zeal for poetry—

¹Sueton. *Domit.* viii. 2, x. 2; Tacit. *Agric.* 42; Charlesworth in *C.A.H.* xi. 27.

²Mionnet iii. 225 f. (1260 f.); *B.M.C.*

Ionia, 275 (311-314). Cf. Philostr. *Apollon.* vii. 7 (284).

all excited men's notice and admiration.¹ Like other eminent sophists resident at Smyrna, he was not infrequently induced to undertake embassies to the Emperor on behalf of the city. In the matter of the vines, however, he represented the whole Province; and his eloquence was so effective that he obtained from Domitianus a reversal of the obnoxious decree, and even an order enjoining diligent cultivation. He returned to Smyrna, loaded with imperial compliments and gifts, and followed by a band of admiring youths.²

The concession about the vines was far from reconciling Apollonios to the Emperor's rule; and he entered (Philostratos tells us) into secret verbal correspondence with Nerva and others in Italy encouraging them to revolt. Hearing that they had been banished and reduced to inactivity, Apollonios discoursed publicly on the Fates and Necessity "in the grove of Smyrna, in which is the Meles". Close to the river a bronze statue of Domitianus had been erected; and to it he addressed a defiant reproach—to the effect that not even by inflicting death could the Emperor prevent his destined successor from coming to power. These treasonable words were reported to Domitianus by the sage's enemies: he was summoned to Rome, and set out thither even before his official arrest could be effected (92 or 93 A.D.).³

The normal currents of public life, however, were not violently upset by the Emperor's bloody excesses, and the formal public expressions of loyalty were apparently maintained. Shortly before 95 A.D. Domitianus named his cousin Flavius Clemens (whom he subsequently executed) his successor: the head of one of Clemens' sons, Flavius Vespasianus

¹Philostr. *Soph.* i. 21 (514), (515: high-priesthood, etc.), (516: Niketes; Klazom.; . . . πάσης γὰρ τῆς Ἰωνίας οἶον μουσείου πεπολιωμένης ἀρτιωτάτην ἐπέχει τάξιν ἢ Σμύρνα, καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς ὄργανοῖς ἡ μαγὰς...), (516–518: family troubles—cf. the similar instance in Le Bas-Wadd. 26), (518: crowds from all over the province, etc.: ἀγχιθύρος γὰρ τοῖς ἔθνεσι τοῦτοις ἢ Σμύρνα, καιρίως ἔχουσα τῶν γῆς καὶ θαλάττης πηλῶν, . . . : Skop. busy with τοῖς τῶν Σμυρναίων τέλεσιν ὑπὲρ τῶν πολιτικῶν . . . : he rivals Niketes in tragic poetry), (519 f.: style), (521: Apollonios' admiration). Cf. Wright in Loeb ed. of Philostr. xxxii:

also Philostr. *Apollon.* i. 23 f. (30, 32); *Apollon. Epist.* 19 (391): Boulanger 56, 85–87.

²Philostr. *Soph.* i. 21 (520): cf. id. *Apollon.* vi. 42 (277 f.); Sueton. *Domit.* vii. 2: Chapot 268 f.

³Philostr. *Apollon.* vii. 8–10 (285 f.): cf. vii. 12 (289), 20 (300), 36 (315), viii. 3 (324), 7 (sect. 16) (351–353): Paschal 17 with n. 3; Longden in *C.A.H.* xi. 188 n. 3. For an obscure allusion to Smyrna in the *Satire* of the Roman poetess Sulpicia, à propos of Domitianus' expulsion of philosophers from Rome, see above, p. 47 n. 1.

the Younger, appears on Smyrnaian coins.¹ The annual League-festivals continued to be held in turn at the four great centres—Ephesos, Sardeis, Pergamon, and Smyrna.² At a celebration at Smyrna before 86 A.D. a certain T. Flavius Artemidorus, of Adana in Kilikia and Antiokheia in Syria, won the pankration for beardless youths; and at the ensuing festival in Smyrna four years later he created a record by winning the men's wrestling-match and the men's pankration, and at a later celebration the men's pankration again. At a similar celebration at Smyrna about 94 A.D. an Alexandreian named T. Flavius Archibius (alias Zosimos) won the wrestling-match and the pankration among the beardless youths. Both these athletes won many other victories up and down the Mediterranean world, and both left behind them at Neapolis in Italy monuments recording their successes.³

During the closing years of Domitianus' reign, Smyrna was largely under the control of an imperial "Curator" of consular rank known to us only by his cognomen Rufus. His functions, though nominally and primarily financial, enabled him to interfere in a great many items of public business; and his administration was so severe and unjust that Niketes came into collision with him, probably on behalf of his fellow-citizens. Finding him inexorable, Niketes bade him an abrupt farewell, and never re-entered his court. Rufus took no action at the time, but did not forget the affront.⁴

It was in 95 A.D. that Apollonios, having (according to Philostratos) marvellously escaped condemnation by Domitianus at Rome, and having spent two years in Hellas, returned with his followers to Ionia, and resumed the teaching of philosophy at Smyrna and Ephesos, though occasionally visiting other cities also.⁵

Domitianus was assassinated in September 96 A.D.; and M. Cocceius Nerva succeeded. Rufus, the erstwhile *λογιστής* of

¹Mionnet iii. 223 (1246 f.); *B.M.C. Ionia*, 275 f. (315-322): cf. Stein in Pauly VI (1909) 2623.

²See above, pp. 231 f. n. 1.

³*C.I.G.* 5806 = *I.G.* XIV. 746; *C.I.G.* 5804 = *I.G.* XIV. 747.

⁴Philostr. *Soph.* i. 19 (512 : . . . Ποῦ-

φος, τοὺς Σμυρναίους ἐλογίστευσεν πικρῶς καὶ δυστρόπως. . .). On the *λογιστής* (Latin "curator"), Mommsen, *Provinces*, ii. 353; Ramsay, *Phrygia*, ii. 369-371; H. S. Jones, *Roman Emp.* 168 f.; Longden in *C.A.H.* xi. 219 n. 2; Last in *op. cit.* 468-470.

⁵Philostr. *Apollon.* viii. 24 (365).

Smyrna, was now in military command in Gallia. When he complained to Nerva of Niketes' conduct, the Emperor ordered the sophist to go before Rufus for judgment. This involved a journey from Smyrna to the Rhine; but Niketes' eloquence reduced Rufus, we are told, to profuse tears, and the orator came back to Smyrna not only acquitted but highly honoured.¹

The accession of Nerva (96–98 A.D.) inaugurated a century of continuous good government, unbroken imperial peace, and an even higher level of wealth and culture than before. It terminated at once the banishment of his friend, the eminent and public-spirited Bithynian orator, Dion Khryssostomos. Dion returned at once to his native city Prousa, and busied himself in public service and in restoring his private affairs to order. Though unable, partly through these local obligations and partly through illness, to accept Nerva's invitation to visit him at Rome, he journeyed thither in 100 A.D., was well received by the new Emperor Traianus (98–117 A.D.), and secured from him certain substantial privileges for Prousa. A deputation from Smyrna about the same time seems to have obtained from the Emperor certain gifts and privileges—in particular, a sum of money along with fresh statues or pictures of the Nemeseis. When Dion returned to Prousa, his political opponents contrasted the splendour of this favour shown to Smyrna with the more modest concessions he had obtained for his native city. In a speech delivered early in 101 A.D., Dion defended himself vigorously against this and other malicious complaints.² In the same speech he alludes to an increase in the city-areas of Smyrna, Ephesos, Tarsos, and Antiokheia.³ Shortly afterwards, while imploring Nikomedeia to be reconciled with Nikaia, he said he wished Nikomedeia could make Ephesos its brother and share the public buildings of the Smyrnaians.⁴ Later on, after a short stay in Rome (? 103–105 A.D.), he resumed his residence at Prousa, and travelled thence to various Hellenic cities in the eastern Empire (105–112 A.D.). At Tarsos he deprecated

¹ Philostr. *Soph.* i. 19 (512).

² Dion Khryss. *Orat.* xl. 13–15 (490 f. M, 165 f. R): Arnim, *Dio von Prusa*, 309–326. See above, pp. 221 f. n. 7.

³ Dion Khryss. *Orat.* xl. 11 (489 M, 164

R): cf. Calder in *East. Prov.* 107 bott.

⁴ Dion Khryss. *Orat.* xxxviii. 47 (482 M, 152 R): Arnim, *Dio von Prusa*, 364, 367, 462.

futile rivalry between neighbouring cities for precedence, since none had any real power: he calls it a case of quarrelling, as the saying is, "over an ass's shadow", and mentions as an instance of it the strife between Smyrna and Ephesos.¹ In another speech belonging to the same period he depicts certain humble Euboians supposing that "some of the magnificent cities, Smyrna and Khios, and of course Argos also with them, will be vexed with" them for having no dramatic, musical, or poetical displays.²

One of the first Proconsuls of Asia under Traianus was Pedanius Fuscus Salinator (98/99 A.D.), whose name accompanies portraits of the Emperor and of Asia on Smyrnaian coins.³ Another proconsul, L. Baebius Tullus (102/103, 105/106, 110/111, or 111/112 A.D.), repaired the aqueduct finished by the Emperor's father in 79/80 A.D.⁴ Probably in 103 or 104 A.D. the road from Smyrna to the north, round the western end of Yamanlar-Dagh, was repaired.⁵

The reign of Traianus witnessed, in the appearance of Antonius Polemon, the rise of a star of the first magnitude in the rhetorical firmament. Born at Laodikeia in Phrygia about 85-90 A.D., and grandson (probably) of the last king of

¹Dion Khrys. *Orat.* xxxiv. 48 (427 M, 59 R: . . . και εἶτε Αἰγαῖοι πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἶτε Ἀπαμείας πρὸς Ἀντιοχείας εἶτ' ἐπὶ τῶν πορρωτέρω Σμυρναίων πρὸς Ἐφεσίους ἐρίζουσι, περὶ ὄνου σκίας, φασί, διαφέρονται. . .). Cf. Mommsen, *Provinces*, i. 330 n. 1, 366 f.; Arnim, *Dio von Prusa*, 460 ff., 475, 491; Boulanger 373.

²Dion Khrys. *Orat.* vii. 119 (123 M, 263 R: . . . εἰ καὶ τινες τῶν ἐνδόξων πόλεων ἐπὶ τοῦτοις ἡμῖν δυσχερῶς ἔξουσι, Σμύρνα καὶ Χίος καὶ . . .). Cf. Arnim, *Dio von Prusa*, 442, 455 f., 472 f., 492 f.

³Mionnet iii. 227 (1271). For other coins of Tra., Mionnet iii. 227 (1270), *supp.* vi. 339 f. (1683-1687); *B.M.C. Ionia*, 253 ff., 276 (323-327): see also below, p. 276 n. 2. Mionnet's 1687 was long regarded as the earliest coin mentioning Smyrna's neokorate: but it is rejected as unreliable by Pick (in *J.O.A.I.* vii [1914] 17 n.). For Asia on coins of Smyrna, Pick in *op. cit.* 18 f. For the man Salinator, Chapot 315.

⁴*C.I.G.* 3147 = *O.G.I.* 478 = *I.G.R.* iv. 1412 (at Cambridge): *Τραιανῶν ὕδατος ἀποκαταστάθεντος ὑπὸ Βαββίου Τούλ-*

λου ἀνυπάτου. The fact that another copy was supposed to have been found ἐπὶ τοῦ Πάγου (*Μουσ.* III. 139 [181]) led F. W. Hasluck (in *A.B.S.A.* xx [1913-1914] 89-93) to identify Traianus' aqueduct with that traceable, not from Ak-Bunar (see above, p. 248), but from Kara-Bunar (see above, p. 177), and to find its terminus in a tower-flanked arch near the western end of the castle on Mt. Pagos, called the "Judicatorium". Against this, however, is the fact that Traianus' aqueduct ended near the temple of Zeus Akraios, which stood on Deirman-Tepé (see above, pp. 202-205): Burchner (756) says that this hill is sometimes loosely called "Pagos." The feminine name *Βεβία* (i.e. Baebia) *Ἀπφειν* appears on a tomb-inscription of uncertain date (*C.I.G.* 3278).

⁵*B.C.H.* xvi (1892) 403 f. (found at Ulujak): . . . ἡμελημένα . . . ἔργα ἀποκατέστησεν. Precise limits of date:—10th Dec. 102 A.D. and 13th May 105 A.D. Fontrier mistakenly refers the inscription to Nerva.

Pontos, Polemon came to Smyrna in early youth, and at once attracted attention by his ability. He studied rhetoric there under Skopelianos, and for four years under the irascible Timokrates, from whom he learned a haughty temper. Timokrates blamed Skopelianos for employing pitch-plasters and female hair-pluckers; and in the ensuing feud between their pupils, Polemon sided with Timokrates as the "father of his own tongue". He also studied for a time under Dion Khrysostomos in Bithynia. At Smyrna he borrowed money of a wealthy fop named Varus, who regarded his debtor's presence at his rhetorical performances as equivalent to the payment of interest. Polemon, having omitted to attend, was induced to do so in order to avoid prosecution: but, unable to bear Varus' prolixity, he sprang up and called on him to bring his summons. It must have been towards the close of the reign that he himself became a distinguished teacher, and attracted to Smyrna large numbers of well-behaved Hellenic youths from adjacent lands and islands. He carried on a sort of feud with Favorinus, a rhetor popular at Ephesos; and Timokrates, before whom he humbly justified himself for this, clearly sympathized with him. He had formerly taken sides against Skopelianos; and one of his own pupils sneeringly criticized the violence of the old orator's manner. But when Skopelianos was at last too old to travel, and the Smyrnaians, needing an envoy for an important mission, chose Polemon for the first time to act for them, the latter prayed in public that he might have his senior's persuasive charm, and embraced and complimented him before the Assembly. Traianus granted Polemon the right of travelling anywhere by sea or land untaxed. Many cities were in love with him; and we hear of his paying visits to Sardeis as a young man (but perhaps after 117 A.D.), to Athens (129 A.D. and earlier), to his native Laodikeia (frequently, to help in the public administration), and to Pergamon (late in life, for medical treatment). He excited criticism by the size and splendour of his equipage and retinue when he travelled abroad—his horses with their silver-studded harness, his slaves and hunting-dogs. But Smyrna as a whole was pleased, and piled honours on him and his family. He and his descendants were to be allowed to embark on the sacred trireme, conveyed

aloft each spring from the sea to the agora, and steered by the priest of Dionysos. He brought peace to the city by healing the strife between those on the higher ground and those by the sea—an episode regarding which we should have liked to know more. His admonitions saved Smyrna from public mistakes, and checked her ingrained Ionic arrogance. He encouraged the citizens to settle money-suits in Smyrna itself, but to exclude if possible—even by forcible means—the trial of cases of adultery, sacrilege, and murder, which required a judge with a sword (i.e. a Proconsul). His personal conduct, however, was often inexcusably arrogant. He refused, for instance, to join others in greeting the cultured king of the (Crimean) Bosporos when on a visit to Smyrna, and repeatedly postponed compliance with his invitation—until the king came himself to call on him, with a fee of ten talents. Stories were retailed of his jokes—one over a bandit being punished by torture, another over a gladiator terror-stricken at the approach of death, and yet another over a rhetor purchasing cheap food.¹

But Polemon's golden prime fell in the early part of the reign of Hadrianus (117–138 A.D.). This Emperor was even more willing than his predecessors had been to patronize distinguished Hellenes. Even a successful pankratiast of the period, the Smyrnaian citizen, T. Claudius Rufus, owed to the favour of successive Augusti (perhaps Traianus and Hadrianus) a kind of family-presidency of all the gymnic contests held in Smyrna, and was formally honoured by "the Temple-guarding People of the Zmyrnaians", as well as by the state of Elis.² Polemon, however, succeeded in acquiring

¹Particulars culled from Philostr. *Soph.* i. 8 (490 fin.), 21 (520 f.), 22 (524 f.), 25 (530–533, 535–537, 539–541, 542 f. —with Wright in Loeb ed. xxxiii [style]); Soudas, s.v. Πολέμων: Boulanger 68, 87–94. In his art. on Διονύσιος ὁ Ἀρεωπαγίτης, Soudas mentions another sophist to whom he says Polemon listened in Smyrna—Apollonphanes: on him, see below, p. 346 n. 4.

On the vogue of rhetoric, cf. F. A. Wright, *Hist. of Later Greek Lit.* (1932), 5: "... this was the age of the great sophists, from Polemon onwards, who made rhetoric for a while the most popu-

lar of all the arts and enjoyed in their own lifetime such world-wide fame as is now only won by a cinema star" (cf. 224–227).

²*S.I.G.* 1073. Perhaps the Claudius Rufus Apollonius of Pisa, son of Claudius Apollonius of Smyrna, mentioned in *C.I.G.* 5910 = *I.G.* XIV. 1107, is the same man: cf. *B.M.C. Ionia*, 263 n. And did the fourteen-year-old Modestos (son of the Smyrnaian T. Claudius Logicus), who was buried at Larisa in Thessalia prob. during ii/A.D. (*I.G.* IX. ii. 969), belong to the same family?

great personal influence over Hadrianus himself. He seems to have accompanied the Emperor on some of his journeys in western Asia Minor.¹ The imperial itinerary cannot be recovered in detail: but it seems that Hadrianus spent part of the winter of 123/124 A.D. at Ephesos, and his visit to Smyrna doubtless occurred on that occasion. His journeys through the Hellenic cities were marked by lavish generosity on his part and extravagant flattery on theirs. Polemon is said to have diverted the imperial favour from Ephesos to Smyrna. The Smyrnaians decided to worship Hadrianus as "Olympian Zeus", and also gave him the titles of "Saviour", "Founder", and even "Saviour of the whole human race". In permitting them (perhaps on his birthday, 24th January 124 A.D., perhaps on 23rd September, Augustus' birthday and the Asian New Year's day) to erect a temple to him, Hadrianus conferred on Smyrna the title "Neokoros" for the second time; and the Senate subsequently gave its formal approval. "Twice Neokoros" now became one of Smyrna's regular self-designations. Another complimentary title she assumed on her coins was "Hadriana Smyrna". Part of the new cult was the institution of fresh games, called "Olympia Hadriana", to distinguish them from the other "Olympic Games" which the city was already celebrating. Polemon prevailed on Hadrianus to bestow on the city an immense sum of money (1,000,000 drakhmai, i.e. about £38,000, in one day, and 1,500,000 drakhmai, i.e. about £57,000, altogether). This was used mainly on new buildings—the Hadrianic temple, a cornmarket, a magnificent gymnasium, etc. Wealthy citizens and women cooperated. Polemon was indeed accused to the Emperor by the city of misappropriating part of the fund; but the Emperor's letter stating that Polemon had accounted to him for the money put an end to the suit. Eventually the Smyrnaians decreed that Polemon and his descendants should always be presidents of the Hadrianic Olympic games—a privilege which perhaps included the custody of the new temple. Hadrianus also exempted the city of Smyrna from tribute, and granted Polemon facilities for free travel by land and sea (a favour his descendants also were to share), free entertainment at Alexandria, and—on the occasion of

¹Cf. Henderson, *Hadr.* 52-54.

Polemon's visit to Rome—a gift of 250,000 drakhmai (about £9,500).¹

The enthusiastic introduction of the new cult necessitated

¹Philostr. *Soph.* i. 25 (530 fin., 531, 532 f., 541 f. [Polemon as president expels a clumsy actor from the Olympia: cf. 534 f.]); *C.I.G.* 3148 = *I.G.R.* iv. 1431 (a long list of promised gifts: cf. Kuenzi 71), ll. 18 f. (a thanksgiving-temple), ll. 33 ff. (. . . και ὅσα ἐπετύχομεν παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου Καίσαρος Ἀδριανοῦ διὰ Ἀντωνίου Πολέμωνος δέυτερον δόγμα συγκλήτου, καθ' ὃ δις νεωκόροι γεγόναμεν, ἀγῶνα ἱερόν, ἀτέλειαν, θεολόγους, ἕμψωδούς, μυριάδας ἑκατὸν πενήτηντα . . .); *I.G.R.* iv. 1396 = *Μουσ.* V. i. 25 (244: Smyrnaian inscr. with Hadrianus' name and titles); *C.I.G.* 3175 (see above, p. 203 n. 5, and below, p. 263 n. 1); *C.I.G.* 3174 = *I.G.R.* iv. 1394 (Ἀυτοκράτορι Ἀδριανῶ, Ὀλυμπίῳ, σωτήρι καὶ κτίστη, below a statue, found near the "Tomb of Polycarp"); *Türk Tarîh*, ii (1934) 236 f. = *B.C.H.* lvii (1933) 307 f. = *R.A.* vi (1935) 99, 256 (similar words on inscription put up by mysts of Dionysos Breiseus); *I.G.R.* iv. 1395 = *Μουσ.* V. i. 4 (203: same wording as *C.I.G.* 3174, but provenance uncertain); *C.I.G.* 3187 = *I.G.R.* iv. 1410 (" . . . whole human race": see below, p. 260). Possibly τὸν Ὀλύμπιον of *I.G.R.* iv. 1428 = *Μουσ.* V. i. 13 (224) is Hadrianus. "Olympic Games" were celebrated at several other Hellenic cities besides Pisa in Elis: those at Smyrna are mentioned in Philostr. *Soph.* i. 25 (534: τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν Ὀλυμπίων [? at Smyrna]), 541 (τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Σμύρναν Ὀλυμπίοις); *I.G.* XIV. 739 (soon after 180 A.D.), *C.I.G.* 1720 (not earlier than Commod.), *C.I.G.* 3208 = *I.G.R.* iv. 1432 (about 195 A.D.?), *C.I.G.* 3201 (γραμματοῦς Ὀλυμπίων), and *M.D.* *A.I.* vii (1882) 255 (26) (dates uncertain); both these and the Ἀδριανὰ (Ἀδριάνεια, Ἀδριάνεια) Ὀλύμπια at Smyrna in *I.G.* III. i. 127 = *I.G.*² II f. iii. 3162, *C.I.G.* 5913 = *I.G.* XIV. 1102 (l. 27: ± 180 A.D.), *G.I.B.M.* 615 (? ± 200 A.D.), and *I.G.* III. i. 129 = *I.G.*² II f. iii. 3169 f. (± 250 A.D.); the Ἀδριανὰ Ὀλύμπια ἐν Σμύρῃ alone in Philostr. *Soph.* i. 25 (530 fin.), and in *Türk Tarîh*, ii (1934) 239 (? about 165 A.D.). In *I.G.* III. i. 724 = *I.G.*² II f. iii. 3623 we have Ὀλυμπίων κοινὸν τῆς Ἀσίας. Cf. Mylonas 45; Lightfoot i. 634 (dates the institution of Hadrianic Olympia at Smyrna 129 A.D.), 713-715.

Artemidoros (ii/A.D.) tells a story (*Oneirokritika*, i. 64) of a harper who was fined and expelled from "the sacred contest of Hadrianus in Smyrna" for bribery. He had performed in the Theatre.

The porter, P. Aelius Nicostratus, of *I.G.R.* iv. 1459 = *Μουσ.* I. 111 (β') was prob. born under Hadr. and named after him (Ramsay in *A. J. A.* i [1885] 141 f.).

Smyrna's second Neokorate is mentioned in *C.I.G.* 3148 (see above), *C.I.G.* 3179d = *C.I.L.* III. 471 = *I.G.R.* iv. 1482 = Le Bas-Wadd. 8A (209 A.D.), and *C.I.G.* 3851 = *I.G.R.* iv. 541, and presumably referred to in *C.I.G.* 3175 (see above, p. 203 n. 5), *C.I.G.* 3189 = *I.G.R.* iv. 1413 (± 198 A.D.), and *I.G.R.* iv. 1428 = *Μουσ.* V. i. 13 (224): for the second neokorate on coins, Pick in *J.O.A.I.* vii (1904) 17 (on Mionnet iii. 228 [1273]). For Ἀδριανῶ on coins, Mionnet iii. 205 (1109 f.), *supp.* vi. 317 (1548-1550); *B.M.G.* Ionia, 257 (184 f.). Coins struck in honour of Hadrianus' visit and representing "Asia", Pick in *J.O.A.I.* vii (1904) 18 n. 17, and in *Corolla Numismatica* (1906), 240. Cf. also Ramsay, *Seven Chs.* 123 f. ("Under Hadrian a silver coinage for the whole of Asia was struck with the types, not merely of the Pergamenian temple of Augustus, but also of the Ephesian Diana, the two Smyrnaean goddesses Nemesis, the Sardinian Persephone, etc., thus giving those deities a sort of Provincial standing"); and generally, Lightfoot i. 467 f.; Chapot 448-453, 500, 534 f.; Keil in *J.O.A.I.* xi (1908) 108-110 (date, etc.); Henderson, *Hadr.* 77 f., 84-89, 289-291, 293 f.; Boulanger 9-11; W. Weber in *C.A.H.* xi. 307, 315-321. For the buildings, see above, pp. 181, 202 ff.

In *Mart. Pion.* iii-v, vii-x, xv, a certain "Polemon the Temple-Warden" appears as examining and keeping in custody, but as unauthorized to punish unless accompanied by lictors carrying fasces (x. 4), certain Christians who refused to sacrifice to the Emperor (250 A.D.): we are doubtless to recognize in him a descendant of the great orator (see below, pp. 275 f., pp. 380 ff.).

the appointment (apparently by imperial permission) of new religious officials. We hear, naturally enough, of a "priest of the god Hadrianus",¹ also of a "prophet," whose office was connected with "the mysteries of the god";² and more frequently of "divines" (θεολόγοι) and "choristers" (ὑμνωδοί). These two latter groups appear indeed in other connexions: there were women-divines in the service of the Mother-Goddess, and apparently a chorister in that of Dionysos Breseus.³ There were also choristers of the Gerousia, who are mentioned in connexion with the worship of Hadrianus, though the precise relation of the Gerousia to this worship is not clear.⁴ Both choristers and divines appear in connexion with the Hadrianic cult, not only at Smyrna, but at Ephesos and other places in the Provinces. Possibly they existed earlier as functionaries of the Emperor-worship. At Smyrna the choristers numbered twenty-four. Concerning their duties and those of the divines we cannot say more than that they discharged oratorical and musical functions associated with the new worship.⁵

Hadrianus invited Polemon to speak at the dedication of the great temple of Olympian Zeus at Athens early in 129 A.D.⁶ Later the same year he visited the east: an interesting trace of his reception at Tarsos survives in a fragmentary inscription found at Smyrna mentioning the "Adrianeia of the Tarsians".⁷ Next year his youthful friend Antinoös was accidentally drowned in Egypt, and was thereupon deified: his head and name along with the name of Polemon

¹I.G. III. i. 724 = I.G.² II f. iii. 3623 (after 150 A.D.), though it is not absolutely certain that the reference here is to Smyrna.

²C.I.G. 3175 = C.I.L. III. 411 = I.G.R. iv. 1397, l. 5: . . . τοῦ θεοπρόπου, κ.τ.λ.

³C.I.G. 3199 f., 3160 (. . . πρῦτανος καὶ ὑμνωδός).

⁴See above, p. 193 nn. 5f. Cf. Chapot 402.

⁵C.I.G. 3148 (see above, p. 258 n. 1 near top); C.I.G. 3170 = I.G.R. iv. 1436 (. . . ὑμνωδ[ὸς θεοῦ] Ἀδριανοῦ καὶ ὑμνωδός γερουσίας] . . . τοῖς γησίσις συνυμνωδοῖς θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ . . .); C.I.G. 3348 (. . . ὑμνωδοῦ καὶ θεολόγου [of whom?] καὶ πομπαίου στρατηγῶ); Μουσ. III. 144 (187 [186]: ἡ σύνοδος τῶν νέων καὶ οἱ ὑμνωδοί

[whose?]); I.G.R. iv. 1398 = Μουσ. I. 91 (75) (24 ὑμνωδοί for worship of Hadr.). Cf. Lévy in R.E.G. viii (1895) 246-248; Ramsay, *Phrygia*, ii. 630 f., 646; Chapot 401-405, 438 n. 1; Keil in *J.O.A.I.* xi (1908) 101 ff. (hymnodoi of Asian Kaisercult generally), 108-110 (ditto at Smyrna); Deissmann, *Bible Studies* (Eng. tr. 1909), 23 ff., *Licht vom Osten* (ed. 1923), 297, 325.

⁶Philostr. *Soph.* i. 25 (533). The little six-year-old girl, Aelia Zmyrna, buried by her parents at Athens (C.I.G. 1003 = I.G. III. ii. 1336), suggests by her name another connexion both with Smyrna and Hadrianus.

⁷I.G.R. iv. 1443; cf. Fontrier in R.E.A. iv (1902) 194 (2): for the date, Henderson, *Hadr.* 293 f.

(sometimes with that of a certain Hieronymos) appears on Smyrnaian coins.¹ Polemon as General (for life) is also named, along with the effigy and name of Hadrianus: sometimes he accompanies the Empress Sabina.²

About 132 A.D. a new character appears on the provincial stage in the person of Ti. Claudius Herodes Atticus, the wealthy Athenian orator, to whom Hadrianus entrusted for the next three years the oversight of the free cities in Asia.³ A Smyrnaian inscription, which seems to refer to him as Priest of Rome and of Hadrianus-Zeus, "the saviour of the whole human race", records a decree of the Hellenes of Asia in honour of M. Aefulanus, a former Proconsul. Herodes had already studied rhetoric under Skopelianos at Athens. When in Asia, he came to study under Polemon; and the friendliest relations grew up between them. Favorinus also was one of his teachers. In the closing years of his life, Polemon suffered from a chronic disease of the joints, which seems to have enhanced his temperamental self-assertiveness. Among others who came into contact with him were Marcus of Byzantion, and—as pupils or admirers—Ptolemaios of Naukratis, Euodianos of Smyrna, a descendant of Niketes,⁴ and the youthful Ailios Aristeides, who had been born in Mysia in December 117 A.D., had been educated under the grammarian Alexandros at Kotiaion, and thereafter visited Pergamon, Smyrna, and Athens, in order to hear the most famous orators.⁵

¹Mionnet iii. 229 (1279–1287); *B.M.C. Ionia*, 278 (339–341): reproduction in Duruy, *Hist. of Rome*, v. 90.

²Mionnet iii. 227 f. (1272, 1277), *supp.* vi. 340 (1688 f.); *B.M.C. Ionia*, 277 (328, 333–335): other coins of Hadr., Mionnet iii. 228 (1273 f.), *supp.* vi. 340 f. (1690–1693), *B.M.C. Ionia*, 277 (329–332); of Sabina, Mionnet iii. 228 (1275 f., 1278), *supp.* vi. 341 f. (1694–1700), *B.M.C. Ionia*, 278 (336–338). The coin described by Fontrier in *R.É.A.* ix (1907) 118 n. as of Faustina really belongs to Sabina: like some other Sabina-coins, it depicts the river-god *KΑΙΛΩΝ*.

³Cf. Last in *C.A.H.* xi. 468 top: see also next n.

⁴*C.I.G.* 3187 = *I.G.R.* iv. 1410 (see above, p. 203 n. 3, p. 244); Philostr. *Soph.* i. 21 (521: Herod. and Skop. at Athens), 24 (529: Marcus of Byz.), 25 (536 f.: meeting of Herod. and Pol:

. . . τὰς ἐλευθέραις τῶν πόλεων αὐτὸς διωρθοῦτο . . .), (537: Pol's. style and disease), (538 f.: more about Herod. and Pol.: Herod. gave Pol. a fee of 250,000 drachmai, and allowed him to leave Smyrna by night to avoid being compelled to declaim after Herodes), (543: Pol's. disease and letter to Her.: Ἰατροῖς δὲ θαμὰ ὑποκείμενος λιθίωντων αὐτῷ τῶν ἄρθρων . . .), ii. 1 (548: ἤρχε μὲν γὰρ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐλευθέρων πόλεων ὁ Ἡρώδης), (554 fin.: the same), (564: Herod's. teachers), 15 (595: Ptol. of Naukratis, also a pupil of Herod.), 16 fin. (597: Euod.). Pol's. style was copied by Gregorios of Nazianzos (Soudas, s.v. *Γρηγ. Ναζ.*). On Herodes Atticus, Bou-langer 97–108.

⁵That Arist. studied under Polemon at Smyrna is affirmed by Soudas (s.v. Ἀριστείδης, *Γρηγόρ. Ναζ.*, *Διονύσι.* Ἀρείων., and *Πολ.*) and the author of the *Prolego-*

About 135 A.D. T. Aurelius Fulvus (who eventually succeeded to the purple as Antoninus Pius) became Proconsul of Asia, as his grandfather T. Arrius Antoninus had been before him. He governed with signal wisdom and justice.¹ When visiting Smyrna, he took up his abode in the vacant residence of Polemon, as being the most distinguished private dwelling in the city: the owner, however, arriving at night from a journey, tumultuously forced his way in, and constrained the Proconsul to withdraw. Fortunately Aurelius Fulvus was a mild-tempered man, and bore no grudge: but Hadrianus, who heard of the incident, was worried about it. After he had adopted Aurelius in February 138 A.D. as his son and destined successor, he tried to make sure before his death (which occurred in the following July) that Polemon should suffer nothing at the new Emperor's hands.²

Another distinguished citizen of Smyrna during the reign of Hadrianus was the Platonic philosopher, mathematician, and astronomer Theon, portions of whose writings have survived. He wrote 'On the Use of Mathematics for the perusal of Platon', and on other subjects. A bust and inscription were dedicated to him after his death by his son, the priest Theon.³ The arts flourished: experts assign to this period a colossal head, carved in bluish marble, of a goddess—perhaps Aphrodite: it was found in the Jewish cemetery at Smyrna, and is now at Constantinople: it represents the skilful

mena (in Dindorf iii. 737). It is rejected on chronological grounds by Schmid (in Pauly II [1896] 887 top), who dated Arist.'s birth 129 A.D. Boulanger (461ff.) has refuted Schmid's chronological arguments, but thinks (117) Soudas' statement "est sans doute inventé d'après la vraisemblance". I do not think the mere fact that Arist. does not mention Polemon justifies this scepticism. Cf. Cherbuliez ii. 10.

¹Lévy refers (in *R.E.G.* xii [1899] 287) to Antoninus' enlargement of the powers and responsibilities of the eirenarkhs: he attributes to him the method of appointment described above, p. 199. Cf. Chapot 301 f., 307 bott.; W. Weber in *C.A.H.* xi. 328, 332.

²Philostr. *Soph.* i. 25 (534): cf. Allard ii. 372. For a coin of Smyrna struck after Aurelius' adoption, Mionnet iii. 230 (1288).

³Both are in the Capitoline Museum at Rome, having previously been purchased by a French merchant in Smyrna and brought to Marseilles: see Bernoulli, *Griech. Ikonographie*, ii. 202 f., H. Stuart Jones, etc., *The Sculptures of the Museo Capitolino* (1912), 229 f. (25). The inscription is in *C.I.G.* 3198 = *I.G.R.* iv. 1449 (Θέωνα Πλατωνικόν φιλόσοφον ὁ ἱερεὺς Θεών τὸν πατέρα). H. Martin published his *Liber de Astronomia* at Paris in 1849, and E. Hiller his *Expos. rer. math. ad leg. Plat. util.* at Leipzig in 1878 (Teub.). Cf. Soudas, s.v. Θεών: A. de Morgan in *S.D.G.R.B.* iii. 1079 b; Susemihl i. 189 n. 79, ii. 708; Croiset, *Hist. de la Litt. Grecque*, v. 692; Christ, *Gesch. der griech. Litt.* II. ii (1924) 905 (cf. I [1912] 715, II. ii. 833, 840, 1051); Sir Thos. Heath in *C.A.H.* vii. 307.

but somewhat vulgarized interpretation given in the Roman epoch to the Aphrodite-type created by Pheidias.¹ Nor of course were athletic distinctions lacking, though whether the fragmentary inscription (presumably found at Smyrna) mentioning the 229th Olympiad, i.e. 137 A.D., originally celebrated a victor in the great Olympic Games is not quite certain.² A citizen of Magnesia-near-Sipylos, who won the men's wrestling-contest at the great Olympic Games the same year, and was the first Magnesian to win it, was a citizen also of Athens, Tarsos, and Smyrna.³

Under Antoninus Pius (138-161 A.D.) Panionian coins were struck bearing the name of the "League of Thirteen Cities", to which of course Smyrna belonged.⁴ One of the first Proconsuls during his reign was L. Venuleius Apronianus (138/139 A.D.), whose name appears on Smyrnaian coins.⁵ Early in 139 A.D. the citizens of Smyrna formally commissioned the public advocate G. Sextilius Acutianus, prophet of the Hadrianic mysteries, to proceed with others to Rome, and to beg from the Emperor a copy of Hadrianus' decree—probably that instituting his own cult with special Olympic games at Smyrna. Sextilius supported the official petition with a humble private letter. On 8th April Antoninus formally gave him written permission to make the copy; and on 5th May this copy received the imperial seal and signature in the presence of seven witnesses, some if not all of whom were Sextilius' fellow-envoys. When the precious document arrived at Smyrna, orders were given to the scribes Stasimos and Daphnis to prepare a copy of it for public exhibition. The inscription recording these proceedings was found at Smyrna, somewhere between the Theatre and the Caravan-Bridge;

¹Mendel ii. 373-375. (626: minute description and discussion). See also above, p. 224. This head must not be confused with that taken from the Castle on Mt. Pagos.

²C.I.G. 3230: the name Ἀμμώνιος is forged.

³I.G.R. iv. 1344 = Foucart in *B.C.H.* xi (1887) 80 f. (1).†

⁴*B.M.C. Ionia*, 16: cf. Caspari in *J.H.S.* xxxv (1915) 187. Smyrnaian coins figuring Artemis and bearing the word Πανιώνιος as her epithet were struck during this century; the extant samples

seem to belong to the periods of Hadrianus and M. Aurelius (see Mionnet iii. 207 [1124 f.]; *B.M.C. Ionia*, 254 [156 f.]; also above, p. 218 n. 2). On the prosperity of Asia under Antoninus Pius, cf. Boulanger i f., 10, 12-19.

⁵Mionnet iii. 230 f. (1292 f.), *supp.* vi. 342 (1701 f.). For other coins of Smyrna under Ant. Pius, some representing also his wife, the elder Faustina, who died in 141 A.D., see Mionnet iii. 230 f. (1289-1295), *supp.* vi. 342 f. (1703 f., 1705 f.), *B.M.C. Ionia*, 253 ff., 278 f. (342-345).

but the copy of the decree itself has not been discovered.¹

Polemon paid a visit to Rome, probably early in 143 A.D., when his friend Herodes Atticus was Consul. Antoninus had completely forgiven the haughty orator's expulsion of him from his house by night, and now loaded him with honours. In welcoming him at Rome, he treated the ancient incident as matter for jest.² Polemon may well have declaimed before the Emperor's adopted son, the youthful L. Ceionius (later Verus),³ as well as before the Emperor himself. After his return to Asia, possibly later in 143 A.D., the Smyrnaians requested Polemon to represent them before the Emperor in a dispute regarding their temples and the privileges attached to them. We are left to guess the nature of the dispute; but it probably concerned the rival claims of Smyrna, Ephesos, and Pergamon, to certain honorary titles and to places of precedence in the League-festivals. Polemon, however, now fifty-six years old, died when on the point of starting for Rome. He was buried at his native Laodikeia, though later on certain places in Smyrna were pointed out as holding his grave. He left behind him a son, P. Claudius Attalus, of whom we shall hear later.⁴ The envoys appointed in his place stated their case badly; and the Emperor therefore deferred his decision until the speech Polemon had written for the occasion had been sent for and read. He then decided according to its tenor: Smyrna won her claim, and the envoys returned declaring that Polemon had come alive to help them.⁵ But shortly after (144 A.D.), Smyrna was guilty of omitting, in a decree concerning some joint sacrifice (probably that of the League of Asia), some of the titles which had been legally adjudged to

¹*C.I.G.* 3175 = *C.I.L.* III. 411 = *I.G.R.* iv. 1397, with the several editors' notes: cf. Abbott and Johnson 244.

²Philostr. *Soph.* i. 25 (534 f.).

³But I cannot find any ancient authority for Philip Smith's definite statement that he did so (*S.D.G.R.B.* iii. 435).

⁴Philostr. *Soph.* i. 25 (539 fin.: . . . : ὑπὲρ τῶν ναῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς δικαίων), (543f.: a statue of him in his trireme-robos stood in a small temple near the sea [see above, pp. 255 f.]—some said he was buried beneath this statue, others said in the garden of the Temple of Virtue

near-by [see above, p. 226 n. 4], others in the courtyard of his own house at Smyrna beneath some bronze statues), ii. 25 (609: Attalos; also ii. 10 (589), 27 (616, 620: comparison of Pol. with others); Soudas, s.v. Πολέμων. On his public services, etc., Boulanger 55, 87-94.

⁵Philostr. *Soph.* i. 25 (539), (540: . . . καὶ ἀπῆλθεν ἡ Σμύρνα τὰ πρωτεῖα νικῶσα . . .). The title Smyrna claimed was possibly "the First of Asia in beauty and size, and most brilliant, and metropolis of Asia", Ephesos securing that of "the first and greatest metropolis of Asia" (notes to *G.I.B.M.* 489).

her rival Ephesos. The Ephesians, though apparently also at fault themselves, complained to the Emperor: the Smyrnaians explained that the omission had been accidental; and Antoninus assured the Ephesians that Smyrna would duly observe the proprieties in future, as Pergamon had done, if they on their part would show her the like courtesy. He doubtless at the same time admonished Smyrna.¹ Coins recording the usual friendly understanding (*ὁμόνοια*) between Ephesos, Smyrna, and Pergamon, during the reign of Antoninus, probably celebrated the settlement of this dispute.²

Early in 143 A.D. there arrived in Smyrna the eminent young orator Ailios Aristeides, who was destined to take Polemon's place as the city's chief public speaker.³ Since studying there under Polemon, at Athens under Herodes Atticus, and at Pergamon under Aristokles, he had visited Rhodos and Egypt; and shortly after his return from Egypt, he delivered in the temple and at the annual festival of Sarapis at Smyrna a prose hymn in honour of the god and in gratitude for the protection afforded him on his recent sea-voyage.⁴ On leaving Smyrna he taught rhetoric for a time in Kyzikos; and in December 143 A.D. he travelled by land to Rome: he was ill when he started, and got worse en route. He returned by sea; and when he reached Smyrna (via Miletos) after a stormy voyage across the Aegaeen, he was prostrated by what seems to have been an attack of asthma, with complications. The local trainers and physicians could neither diagnose nor cure the complaint: they took him, however, to the warm springs near the city, in order to ease his breathing; and it was there that he began to receive instructions from the god Asklepios through dreams and visions. He was so preoccupied in treating himself in this quasi-medical way, that he

¹*G.I.B.M.* 489 f. = *S.I.G.* 849 = Abbott and Johnson 422 (100). The date lies between 141 and 144 A.D. inclusive; but it must be 144 A.D. if the incident was subsequent to the events of Philostr. *Soph.* i. 25 (539 f.)—which however are wrongly assigned in *S.I.G.* to the next reign. See above, p. 254, and below, p. 275. On the evil effect of these rivalries and of the expensive embassies which they and other matters necessitated,

see Liebenam 476-478, Reid 464: cf. also Marquardt i. 345 f.; Chapot 144-146; Boulanger 377.

²Mionnet iii. 230 (1291); *B.M.C. Ionia*, 110 (403 f.). Cf. Slaars 21 n. 41; Ramsay, *Seven Chs.* 174 f.

³Boulanger 150.

⁴Aristeides viii (xlv), as elucidated by Höfler. On the date and place, Höfler i-4, 90, 111 f. See above, p. 214 n.4.

dropped for a time his literary and oratorical pursuits. He received from Isis instructions to sacrifice two geese to her. Going into Smyrna for this purpose, he sent servants ahead to buy the birds: the shop-keeper, he learned, had been told by Isis to keep the only two he had for Aristeides. Isis helped him much: on his way home from her temple, two of her sacred geese escorted him along the road. Sarapis also, as well as Asklepios, appeared to him. After staying at Smyrna a year and some months, he removed himself, in the spring of 146 A.D., to Pergamon, for further treatment at the hands of Asklepios.¹ In the course of the next winter (Nov./Dec. 146 A.D.), he appeared in Smyrna again—to the surprise of his friends, who had not expected to see him alive. He was journeying to Khios under orders from Asklepios. Proceeding by land as far as Klazomenai, he sailed across to Phokaia. Excused the rest of the journey, he sailed back to Smyrna. Here Asklepios obscurely warned him in a dream as to the number of years of illness (some say, of life) still before him. On the god's instructions he sallied forth—despite the mid-winter-frost and the north wind—to bathe in “the river which flowed in front of the city” (probably the Caravan-Bridge-River, not the Meles). Anxious friends and physicians accompanied him. A largess was being distributed outside the gates, and the crowd gathered to watch him from the bridge. He plunged in, and found the water (so he tells us) mild and delightful. His evident exhilaration while afterwards rubbing himself down caused the multitude to exclaim: “Great is Asklepios!” New physical comfort and mental peace remained with him the whole day and the following night.² We cannot trace his subsequent itinerary in

¹Aristeides xxiv, 466 f., 483 (xlviii. 5-7, 68-70), xxv, 500 f. (xlix. 45 f., 49 f.), xxvi, 505 (l. 14); *Proleg.* in Dindorf iii. 738 top; Cherbuliez ii. 19-23; Schwartz, *Ostertafeln*, 132 f.; Boulanger 124-128 (wrongly places the warm springs at the Meles), 471, 480 (chron.). By Asklepios' instructions, Arist. kept extensive notes of the successive phases of his long illness: but when he came in later years (? 170—? 188 A.D.) to write up the record, in the so-called *ἑποὶ λόγοι* (xxiii-xxviii [xlvii-lii]), he made little or no attempt at chronological arrangement. The chronology of his life and speeches has, in

fact, been the subject of much discussion. I have adopted the conclusions of Boulanger (461 ff.)—which agree generally with those of Corsen (in *Z.N.W.* iii [1902] 61 ff.) and Schwartz (*Ostertafeln*, 130-137)—in preference to those of W. Schmid (in *Rheinisches Museum*, xlviii [1893] 53-83, and in Pauly II [1896] 886-894). On his dreams, cf. Walter Pater, *Marius the Epicurean*, i. 31.

²Aristeides xxiv, 468-471 (xlviii. 11 f., 18-23); Schwartz, *Ostertafeln*, 133; Boulanger 130 f., 469-472; Herzog in *S.P.A.* 1934, 759, 762. On the identity of the river, see above, p. 12 n. 6.

detail; but he apparently returned shortly afterwards to Pergamon.

Early in 147 A.D. the Synod of Worshippers of Breiseus Dionysos at Smyrna wrote to congratulate the Emperor's son-in-law and adopted son, M. Aurelius, on the birth of his own first son. The Proconsul, M. Atilius Maximus, countersigned the letter. The child died almost immediately after birth; but M. Aurelius wrote (on 28th March) to thank the Synod for their goodwill. A copy of his letter was inscribed in stone free of charge by one M. Antonius Artemas, and doubtless lodged in the premises of the Synod.¹

About 149 A.D. the young medical student Claudius Galenus of Pergamon, now twenty-one years of age, came to Smyrna on the death of his father to spend a few years under two teachers, the anatomist Pelops and the platonic philosopher Albinus. Albinus was the author of an 'Introduction to the Dialogues of Platon' (still extant), in which he discussed their character and the methods of classifying them. During his stay in Smyrna, Claudius Galenus composed a three-volume work on the chest and lungs, which reproduced in substance the teaching of Pelops. He later became one of the most celebrated physicians of antiquity.²

Possibly to this period also belongs the earthquake which befel the Province during the Proconsulship of L. Antonius Albus, whose term of office we are unfortunately not able to date. Aristeides was now staying at his villa outside Smyrna, when Asklepios ordered him to send instructions for sacrifices to be offered to Olympian Zeus near his home in Mysia. Six or seven days later the earthquake came. Mytilene was badly damaged, many cities were shaken, and some villages completely engulfed. The inhabitants of Smyrna and Ephesos were panic-stricken at the continuance of the shocks: they consulted the oracle of Klaros; no one dared to remain indoors; parties of suppliants wandered to the altars and open spaces in and around the cities. Under divine instructions Aristeides publicly sacrificed an ox to Zeus the Saviour. Such was his confidence thereafter that, when walking in with

¹*C.I.G.* 3176 A = *S.I.G.* 851 = *I.G.R.* iv. 1399. See also above, pp. 208 f.

²*Galen. Op.* ed. Kühn, vi (1823) 756, xix (1830) 16 f.: cf. *P.I.R.* i. 45 (345),

375 f. (701), iii. 22 (166); Freudenthal in *Pauly I* (1894) 1314f.; Mewaldt in *Pauly VII* (1912) 578 f. Cf. Singer in *Legacy of Greece*, 187.

friends from the hot springs, he could barely refrain from publicly assuring the bewildered suppliants that nothing amiss would happen or else he himself would not have been called back to the city! As it happened, the shocks thereupon ceased.¹ It may be that we should connect with Smyrna and with Aristeides' residence there on this occasion the story of the extraordinary measures he took when suffering for over four months from a tumour in the groin: this illness fell "many years before" events that seem to belong to about 155 A.D. His treatment including running unshod in winter, riding on horseback, and sailing across the harbour when it was agitated by the south-west wind.²

Aristeides persistently avoided public office—doubtless on the good ground of ill-health; but he had some difficulty in securing exemption. In the autumn of 150 A.D., when the first Public Assembly of the new year was being held in Smyrna, and he was in the city after a period of absence, he was told that public sacrifices were about to be offered for him as on previous occasions. Entering the Assembly he was tumultuously welcomed, and nominated for the High-Priesthood of Asia. The magistrates stood round, clamorously praising and entreating him. Guided by previous dreams, he induced the People to withdraw the nomination. Instead, he was unanimously elected Priest of Asklepios, whose temple near the outer harbour was in course of construction: but he replied that he could do nothing without the god's prior consent. The People approved: but sometime after (? spring 151 A.D.), Aristeides learned that the Smyrnaian delegates to the annual League-Assembly in Phrygia intended to propose him as High-Priest; and he sent his attendant Zosimos to counteract the move, and went himself to Pergamon. He actually came out third or fourth on the list: but it was only by appealing to the Proconsul, M'. Acilius Glabrio (150/151 A.D.), that he secured freedom from all offices,

¹Aristeides xxv, 497-499 (xlix. 38-44). On Albus, cf. von Rohden in Pauly I (1894) 2614; also *P.I.R.* i. 94 (643). Lightfoot (i. 461) and Ramsay (*Ch. in the Rom. Emp.* 332 n.) date the earthquake about 152 A.D. Inference from the mention of earthquakes in the forged

epistle purporting to have been sent by Antoninus to the League of Asia (Euseb. *Ch.-Hist.* IV. xiii. 4) suggests either 152/3 or 158 or 161 A.D. Cf. Boulanger 136 f., 486 f. (between 147 and 151 A.D.).
²Aristeides xxiii, 460-462 (xlvii. 61-68).

including apparently even the Priesthood of Asklepios at Smyrna.¹

The assertion that the temple of Asklepios at Smyrna was at this time in course of construction fits in well with the statement of Pausanias (who lived about 120-180 A.D.) that the worship of this god was imported into Smyrna from Pergamon in his own time.² We shall come across other references to the Smyrnaian temple of Asklepios in the story of Aristeides: two may be mentioned here as probably relating to an early stage in his illness. Possibly not long after his spectacular dip in the Caravan-Bridge-River, further winter-bathings were prescribed to him. He was once told that he must drive to the river that flowed through the city, and, crossing it at a point where it was then outside the city, must dig trenches and offer trench-sacrifice to various gods: recrossing, he was to scatter coins and do various other things, and then offer complete sacrifices in the temple of Asklepios, place sacred bowls, and distribute sacred portions to all his companions. As a symbolic equivalent to cutting off part of his body to save the whole, he was to dedicate his ring to Telesphoros.³ The other incident may well contain an allusion to the erection of the temple and the attempt to make Aristeides Priest. He says later that he once met the Priest of Asklepios (? at Pergamon), and said to him: "Even in Smyrna I used to have dreams that I had discussed the temple with thee, and considering the matter too great for me I became silent. And now quite lately I have been engaged in these very matters".⁴

Another struggle occurred under the next Proconsul

¹Aristeides xxvi, 531 f., 530 (l. 100-104, 97). Brandis (in Pauly II [1896] 475-477) conjectures that, although the League-Assembly did not elect Arist. High-Priest, they appointed him priest of one of the local provincial temples: otherwise, why did he need to complain to Glabrio? Chapot (472 f.) and Keil (450 bott.) agree. This inference seems unnecessary: probably the Proconsul chose a name from a short list submitted to him; besides, Arist. wished to make assurance doubly sure, and perhaps to have good authority for refusing also the Priesthood of Asklepios in Smyrna. Cf. Boulanger 137 f., 486.

²See above, pp. 204-206 (esp. p. 204 nn. 3 and 4), where the evidence is fully adduced and discussed.

³Aristeides xxiv, 471 f. (xlvi. 24-28). If we were right in identifying Aristeides "river which flows in front of the city" (see above, p. 12 n. 6 and p. 265) with the Caravan-Bridge-River, the only river that can have flowed "through the city" must have been the stream described above, p. 14 n. 3, though even so it is not quite clear what Arist. means by saying that part of it was $\eta \delta \eta \xi \xi \omega \tau \eta \varsigma \pi \acute{o} \lambda \epsilon \omega \varsigma$. Had the stream possibly changed its course?

⁴Aristeides xxiii, 448 (xlvi. 12).

Pollio, i.e. (probably) T. Vitrasius Pollio (151/152 A.D.). The Council at Smyrna elected Aristeides ἐκλογεὺς, i.e. provincial tax-collector, to deal particularly with proceedings concerning arrears: the Proconsul's Legatus at Philadelpheia confirmed the election; and his decision was read in the Smyrna-Council by the presiding magistrate, who was strongly opposed to the exemption of Aristeides. The orator appealed to Pollio and to Rome, and was supported by the ex-Proconsul Glabrio (who happened to be in the Province) and encouraged by a dream from Asklepios and intimations from Sarapis and Isis. The Proconsul ordered his Legatus to revise the decision immediately; and fresh instructions were sent by the latter to Smyrna. When the same presiding magistrate read these in the Council, he was at a loss what course to take, and sent an appeal to the other magistrates for advice and help; but they would do nothing. The President had no option but to go and apologize to Aristeides, who thereupon went to the Council and was formally released from responsibility. The President and the Legatus were thenceforward very friendly to him.¹

Yet one more effort to secure his freedom was necessary under the next Proconsul, (? Julius) Severus (152/153 A.D.). Severus, knowing little about him, and ignoring the fact that his connexions had for a long time past been rather with Smyrna, appointed him guardian-of-the-peace in a small Mysian town (probably his birth-place Hadrianoutherai), where he had property. This time he was able to produce a letter from the Emperors granting him exemption from public office on the ground of his professional occupation as a rhetor. Nevertheless much time was apparently spent in the negotiations. Severus gave a provisional decision in his favour at Ephesos. In the early spring of 153 A.D. he came to Smyrna for the Dionysia. Aristeides (now recovered from his illness) had also come thither from Pergamon. He got into touch with a legate of Severus, who was in the latter's confidence in a secretarial capacity and had special responsibility for Smyrna. This man introduced him personally to the Proconsul, who carefully read his credentials, including the imperial letter

¹Aristeides xxvi, 529-531 (l. 94-99), with Keil's nn. Arist. calls the president ὁ ἀρχων and the magistrates τοὺς ἡγεμόνας:

Keil interprets as πρύτανις and στρατηγός respectively. Cf. Cherbulez ii. 35; Boulanger 138, 475, 485.

(? a second time) and a long epistle from an old friend of his own named Pardalas. He was, however, not yet convinced that the imperial exemption applied to a rhetor not actually engaged in teaching: and he referred Aristeides back to the Council and the citizens. To make matters worse—before Aristeides could get to the Council, that body at its presidential election had, on the nomination of two or three Councillors, formally designated him its President. He therefore appealed again to the Proconsul's court, and appeared before him at Pergamon. There at last a decision was given in his favour: Severus sent him back to the Smyrna-Council with a flattering order for his permanent exemption, and quietly gave instructions for someone else to be appointed for the Mysian town.¹

We may perhaps note in this place a few other undatable incidents in Aristeides' life having reference to Smyrna:—his dream that he ought to have composed an ode to the goddesses there²; his dream that he heard himself congratulated in Smyrna by the name "Theodoros" (also by the title "Asiarkh"), and accepted it, seeing that he owed his whole life to the god³; his dream that his attendant Epagathos told him he had received in a vision the oracle: "The Mother of the Gods will take care of Theodoros"⁴; his dream at Smyrna that he was visited and spoken to by Platon, and was afterwards told that it was really his own Hermes (i.e. the guardian deity who superintended his fortunes and his sleep)⁵; and the composition of a speech addressed to the Smyrnaians, protesting against the scurrilities practised by comic actors at religious festivals like those of Dionysos and Aphrodite.⁶

¹Aristeides xxvi, 523–529 (l. 71–94), esp. from 527 (85) onwards. Cf. Cherbuliez ii. 27–33; Schwartz, *Ostertafeln*, 133; Corssen in *Z.N.W.* iii (1902) 69–71; Boulanger 139–142, 479, 485. On the exemption of rhetors from public duties, cf. W. Weber in *C.A.H.* xi. 334. We note with interest his idea of himself as belonging to Smyrna (523 [73]: . . . ὅτι τῇ Σμύρνῃ προσήκει πολλοῖς πρότερον χρόνοις . . . τὸ ἡμέτερον): cf. his identification of himself with the Smyrnaians in xxi, 430 (xx. 4, with Keil's n.) and his evident familiarity with the city and its surroundings (e.g. xv, 378 f. [xvii. 16 f.], xx, 425 f. [xviii. 3, 5—for the reading of 5, cf. Wilam.-Moell. in *Hermes*, lxi (1926)

293 f.]; and cf. Cherbuliez ii. 10 f., 24, Calder in *East. Prov.* 101–103).

²Aristeides xxvi, 514 (l. 41): Keil thinks the Nemeseis are meant.

³Aristeides xxvi, 518 (l. 53).

⁴Aristeides xxvi, 518 (l. 54).

⁵Aristeides xxvi, 519 (l. 57 ['. . . ὁ σὸς Ἑρμῆς ἔστιν—λέγων δὲ τὸν εἰληχότα τὴν γένεσιν τὴν ἐμήν—], 58 [τοῦτο μὲν δὲ ἐν Σμύρνῃ γίγνεται μοι τὸ ὄναρ . . .]). Cf. *Mt.* xviii. 10; *Acts*, xii. 15; and see below, p. 319 n. 1.

⁶Aristeides xl, 751–761 (xxix) passim. Cf. Keil's long introductory n., arguing for Aristeides' authorship; Boulanger 158, 293–299.

The next Proconsul but one after Severus was L. Stadius Quadratus (154/155 A.D.), under whom Polykarp was burnt alive, as will be recounted in a later chapter. Oddly contrasting with that great public tragedy are the few facts which bring this governor into our story here. A citizen of Magnesia-near-Sipylos, named Alexandros, son of Diognetos, dates his acquisition of a tomb there for himself and his descendants by a reference to Quadratus.¹ The other matters concern the doings of Aristeides.² After his successful negotiations with Severus, he seems to have spent some time away from Smyrna,³ and early in 155 A.D. was at his home in Mysia, suffering from fresh abdominal trouble. Yet Smyrna often figured in his dreams. He dreamed of wandering about the temple-precincts of Asklepios there—of visiting the baths, especially those near the Ephesian Gates, and by divine counsel breaking his rule and bathing—of visiting the hot springs, getting back to the agora through a tunnel, accompanied by suspicious-looking roughs, and subsequently reporting the incident to Quadratus.⁴ He dreamed that the priest of Isis at Smyrna, whom he knew well, was priest of Apollon at Mt. Milyas⁵—that he met the poet Metrodoros at Smyrna and conversed with him at his meal before he (Metrodoros) entered for a poetic contest⁶—and that he found himself in Smyrna without knowing how he got there and was in fear that his food was poisoned.⁷ It appears that Aristeides personally attended the League-Assembly at Smyrna in the spring of 155 A.D., and that while there he delivered two orations—a violent diatribe, which was greatly admired, against the pretensions of certain contemporary sophists who dishonoured the art of rhetoric, and shortly afterwards a defence of himself for having indulged

¹C.I.G. 3410. As happens frequently in late inscriptions, he uses the Greek dative (*Σταδίῳ Κωδράτῳ ἀθηνάτῳ*) as the equivalent of the Latin ablative absolute.

²It is satisfactory to be able to identify Aristeides' *Κώδρατος* with L. Stadius Quadratus, whose date is beyond serious dispute. The necessity of conjecturally positing another Quadratus as Proconsul of Asia in 165/166 A.D. was one of the great weaknesses of Schmid's chronology: cf. Schwartz, *Ostertafeln*, 130-132, 134 (dates Q's. Proconsulship 155/156 A.D.);

Corssen in *Z.N.W.* iii (1902) 63, 81; Boulanger 475-479, and see above, pp. 260 f. n. 5, and p. 265 n. 1.

³He is perhaps referring to this period of absence in xxvii, 548 (li. 56).

⁴Aristeides xxiii, 449-451 (xlvi. 17-22): for other relations with Quadratus, xxvi, 521 f. (l. 63-68). Cf. Corssen in *Z.N.W.* iii (1902) 71, 75, 80; Boulanger 142 f.

⁵Aristeides xxiii, 452 (xlvi. 25).

⁶Aristeides xxiii, 455 (xlvi. 42).

⁷Aristeides xxiii, 458 f. (xlvi. 54).

in self-praise in the discourse he had addressed to Athena some two years earlier.¹

We here part company with Aristeides for the rest of the reign of Antoninus Pius.² This Emperor had occasion in 158 A.D. to send a letter to "the Synod of Initiates in Smyrna", probably those of Breiseus Dionysos. Only the commencement of it has survived; probably its contents were of a complimentary character.³ In the 243rd year of the Sullan era, i.e. between the autumns of 158 and 159 A.D., a woman named Apphion and her brothers set up at Smyrna a tomb-inscription to their "dearest father, Lucius".⁴ A few other events fall somewhere within the reign, but cannot be precisely dated. A fragmentary inscription found at Cordelio may be rendered thus: "To the river Hermos and to the Emperor Caesar T. Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius, the Temple-guarding City (? People) of the Smyrnaians, by the foresight of . . ."⁵ The Emperor's name also appears on a milestone that once stood eight miles from Smyrna on the direct road to Sardeis,⁶ and on a now-fragmentary inscription recording the erection of a statue of him at Smyrna.⁷ The victories of two athletes at the provincial League-festival at Smyrna perhaps belong to this reign—that of the young boxer, M. Tullius, a citizen of Apameia, Athens, Korinth, and Smyrna (who won successes at other festivals also, including that founded by Antoninus at Neapolis in honour of Hadrianus)⁸; and that of the Aphrodisian pankratiast, Aelius Aurelius, who likewise distinguished himself on many fields.⁹

¹Aristeides I (xxxiv: κατὰ τῶν ἐξορχομένων: its subscription in MS. A states that it was delivered κοινῶς Ἀσίας ἐν Σμύρνῃ and ἐθαυμάσθη ὑπὲρ πάντας) and xlix (xxviii: περὶ τοῦ παραφθέγγματος). Cf. Keil 139-142, 147, 252; Boulanger 143, 157, 162, 266-268, 298.

²I note here in passing R. Herzog's plea (in *S.P.A.* 1934, 766 f. n.) that the epic poet Quintus of Smyrna flourished not later than the middle of ii/A.D. and that Aristeides' language was influenced by him. Quintus is commonly assigned to the latter part of iv/A.D., though Paschal (13-21) argues for the end of the ii/ or the beginning of iii/A.D., and adduces in confirmation the revived

vogue of Greek as a literary medium and (70) the interest taken in Homeros at Smyrna at that epoch.

³*C.I.G.* 3176 B = *S.I.G.* 851 fin. = *I.G.R.* iv. 1399 fin.

⁴*Μουσ.* V. i. 2 (196): Λούκιον πατέρα γλυκύτατον.

⁵*I.G.R.* iv. 1388: Fontrier in *R.E.A.* viii (1906) 285 f.

⁶*C.I.L.* III. *supp.* ii. 14404b = *I.G.R.* iv. 1489: cf. Fontrier in *R.E.A.* iii (1901) 349, 351.

⁷*C.I.G.* 3183 = *I.G.R.* iv. 1405.

⁸*C.I.G.* 247 = *I.G.* III. i. 28 = *I.G.* II f. iii. 3163 (found at Athens).

⁹*C.I.G.* 2810.b (in *Add. et Corrīg.*).

CHAPTER X

PAGAN SMYRNA UNDER THE
PRE-CONSTANTINIAN EMPERORS:

(2) 161—324 A.D.

IN March 161 A.D. Antoninus Pius died, and was peacefully succeeded by his nephew Marcus Aurelius (161—180 A.D.), who immediately associated with himself his adoptive brother, L. Aurelius Verus. A fragmentary Smyrnaian inscription still preserves some opening words of a copy of a letter sent by the two Emperors to the Synod of worshippers of Dionysos, sometime before 167 A.D., and probably in 161 A.D., in reply to an address of congratulation on their accession.¹ The names of the two Emperors seem also to occur on a fragmentary inscription at Magnesia-near-Sipylos.²

Aristeides appears to have been again at Smyrna at the commencement of the reign, suffering from stomach-trouble and prostration. Receiving about midsummer peremptory orders from the god to proceed via Pergamon to the temple of Olympian Zeus near his Mysian home, he drove away leisurely, preceded by his baggage-train; but the fierce noonday-heat and other hindrances detained him en route in the pleasant suburbs, and he did not reach the inn on the hither side of the Hermos (presumably at Menemen) until sunset.³ He then continued by the coast-road, eventually visited Kyzikos, and there delivered a speech at the dedication of a new temple, in the course of which he made an appeal for harmony among the cities.⁴ Setting out from Pergamon the following winter, he was back at Smyrna again early in 162 A.D.⁵ Such was the interest taken in his public speeches that, even before he had entered the city, he was met by youths of rank (? the *véoi*) and

¹*C.I.G.* 3177 = *I.G.R.* iv. 1400.

²*C.I.G.* 3406.

³Aristeides xxvii, 534, 537 (li. 1 f., 10).
Cf. Ramsay in *J.H.S.* ii. 44 f., 48 f.;
Corssen in *Z.N.W.* iii (1902) 71 f.;

Boulanger 143 f.

⁴Aristeides xvi, 399 (xxvii. 44): cf.
Schwartz, *Ostertafeln*, 135; Chapot 145
n. 7; Boulanger 481.

⁵Aristeides xxvii, 538, 541 (li. 18, 29).

other friends, and told that arrangements had been made for a speech and even a subject chosen. When conversing with friends at home in the evening, he learned that an Egyptian orator had come to the city and created a sensation by making big money-promises and offering to take a lead in public affairs, and had corrupted some of the Councillors and impressed several citizens, though others saw that he was a charlatan and regarded the attention paid to him in the Theatre as a public disgrace. This adventurer was announced to speak in the Odeion near the harbour at the fourth hour the next morning. Prompted by a dream and supported by his friends, Aristeides had a placard put up, proclaiming that he would speak in the Council-chamber at the same hour. When he appeared at the appointed time, though the notice given was so short, the room immediately filled, men standing packed together and applauding. They listened intently to the orator's discourse, agreed with it, and vied with one another in voting him unprecedented honours. Later in the day, when bathing, Aristeides was told that the Egyptian, though his meeting had been announced three days before, had attracted to the Odeion an audience of seventeen persons only. He regarded the whole incident, including his journey to Smyrna, as providential, and remarks that the Egyptian was a more temperate man from that day forward. Not long after Aristeides proceeded to Ephesos.¹

Another of his great oratorical displays took place in Smyrna at some undefined date after his return from Ephesos. The god bade him go to the Council-chamber immediately after eating. The point of this advice became clear when his opportunity to enter and speak was delayed until after noon by the longwindedness of an individual Councillor. Aristeides then vigorously delivered a long contentious speech in criticism of the sophists. Rising on its conclusion to depart, he was unanimously begged to remain and continue the discussion. His hesitation to do so was overcome by the Council's persistence and by his own recollection of the divinely-prescribed meal. He undertook the contest, confessing presently to the astonishment of his hearers how it was that he had come

¹Aristeides xxvii, 541-543 (li. 29-35): Boulanger 144 f., 265. In xx, 427 (xviii. 8), written in 178 A.D., Aristeides

refers to the applause and honours given him by old and young in the Council-chamber at Smyrna.

physically prepared. The debate lasted till a little before sunset, and was resumed on the following day.¹

Aristeides varied his place of abode between Smyrna, Pergamon, and his paternal home in Mysia. At Pergamon, some time between 161 and 169 A.D., probably on the occasion of one of the League-festivals, he delivered a long speech on concord, enlarging on the excellences of the Province as a whole, then eulogizing the three chief cities, Pergamon, Smyrna, and Ephesos, and appealing to them to desist from acrimonious rivalry (especially as regards names and titles) and to appreciate and praise one another. In exalting Smyrna, he dwelt on her beauty and various other advantages. "All the adornment intended for use, affording grateful rest to the body, and to the soul opportunity and ease for needful labours—has all arisen unitedly from temples, baths, harbours, race-courses . . . But to mention the greatest and most honourable thing of all, (there are in Smyrna) the choruses of Muses and Graces, ever haunting the city, by reason of which it has become customary to send away visitors not only more glad, but better (than when they came)": etc., etc.²

The speech gains significance from the fact that in the reign of M. Aurelius, Smyrna's so-called "alliance"-coins begin to get more numerous. The single word *ὁμόνοια* ("concord") indicates no more than an exchange of diplomatic civilities, probably sometimes reflecting the cessation of some dispute. Under M. Aurelius Smyrna celebrated friendly understandings of this kind with Athens,³ Nikomedeia,⁴ Laodikeia,⁵ and Kyzikos.⁶ Those with Laodikeia and Kyzikos were concluded not later than 175 A.D. (the year of Faustina's death); that with Laodikeia seems to have been the special work of P. Claudius Attalus the sophist, Polemon's

¹Aristeides xxvii, 543 f. (li. 38-41). Some assign to this occasion the speeches referred to above, p. 272 n. 1: so Schmid in *Rhein. Mus.* xlviii (1893) 82 (his date is 162-165 A.D., which is approximately that of Boulanger [145 f.: cf. 144] also).

²Aristeides xlii, esp. 770 f. (xxiii. 8-11: excellence of Prov.), 771-773 (13-18: Perg.), 773-775 (19-22: Smyrna), 775 f. (23-25: Ephes.), 776 (26: all three). Cf. *S.I.G.* 849 n. 2; Schmid in *Rhein. Mus.* xlviii (1893) 82 f.; Chapot 145 n.

7; Boulanger 376-378; J. Keil in *C.A.H.* xi. 583 f.

³Mionnet iii. 233 (1306).

⁴Mionnet iii. 233 (1307), *supp.* vi. 345 (1714); *B.M.C. Ionia*, 303 (489); Slaars 22n.

⁵Mionnet iii. 232 (1299-1304), 233 (1308), *supp.* vi. 344 (1713); *B.M.C. Ionia*, 307 f. (511-516), *Phrygia*, 326 f. (275 f.); Slaars l.c.

⁶*B.M.C. Mysia*, 61 (293).

son, who counted both places as his political homes.¹ Incidentally, the Smyrnaian coins of Aurelius, Faustina, and Verus (who died in 169 A.D.), introduce to us another sophist of the time—Claudius Proclus, who held the office of General.² From other sources we hear of yet a fourth eminent orator associated at this period with Smyrna. This was Euodianos, a descendant of the famous Niketes. Like Aristekides, he had studied under Aristokles of Pergamon; some said, under Polemon also, to whose excellences Herodes Attikos still loved to bear his witness. Euodianos became High-Priest (? of Asia) and “General over the Weapons” at Smyrna. Presumably it was also at Smyrna that, “having been set over the experts associated with Dionysos—a set of men arrogant and hard to rule, he showed himself most capable, and immune from all accusation”. His last years were spent in Rome; and, as his son was buried there, he refused when dying the suggestion of his friends that his own body should be embalmed and transported to Smyrna.³

The junior Augustus, L. Verus, a dissolute man, was in the East from late in 161 A.D. until 166 A.D., attending to the war against Parthia. While resident at Antiokeia in Syria, he had as his mistress a beautiful Smyrnaian woman of humble rank named Pantheia. She acquired great influence over him (he shaved his beard to please her), and was genuinely attached to him (Marcus Aurelius refers to her mourning over his bier). She seems to have been of a noble and unassuming disposition.

¹See the coins specified in n. 5 on previous p., and cf. Head, *Hist. Num.* 594 bott.; Ramsay, *Phrygia*, i. 45; Chapot 347. See also above, p. 182 n. 3.

²Mionnet iii. 232 f. (1305), 233 f. (1311 f.), *supp.* vi. 344 (1709–1711), 345 (1715–1718); *B.M.C. Ionia*, 279 f. (347 f., 351 f.); Babelon 106 (1955); Pick in *J.O.A.I.* vii (1904) 2 (3), 21 (significance of temple in Amazon's hand). *KA* or *KAA* for “Claudius” is sometimes absent, and once *A* and once *AA* appears in its place: moreover a sophist Claudius Proclus appears on coins of Traianus (as Crown-Wearer, Mionnet iii. 227 [1270]; *B.M.C. Ionia*, 276 [323 f.]) and Hadrianus (Mionnet, *supp.* vi. 340 [1691]), and on the undated coins (Mionnet, *supp.* vi. 320 [1572–1575], as General: 1573 is said by Imhoof-Blumer [*Kleinasi. Münzen*, i (1901)

96(3)] to be of the time of M. Aurelius).

For other Smyrnaian coins of M. Aurelius (depicting Alexandros' dream), Faustina, Verus, Lucilla, and the young Commodus, see Mionnet iii. 231 (1296–1298), 233 (1309 f.), 234 (1313–1317), 235 (1318–1320), *supp.* vi. 343 f. (1707 f., 1712), 345–347 (1719, 1722–1726); *B.M.C. Ionia*, 279–281 (346, 349 f., 353–359); Babelon 106 (1956): cf. Pick in *J.O.A.I.* vii (1904) 3 (4), 17, 21. On the Amazon-coins of Smyrna under Hadrianus and the Antonini, Imhoof-Blumer in *Nomisma*, ii (1908) 3 f., 8 f. (3, 5–8, 11), 11 top.

³Philostr. *Soph.* ii. 16 (596 f.): see above, pp. 194 f. n. 1, and cf. Schmid in Pauly VI (1909) 1153. For Herodes' late comments on Polemon, Philostr. *Soph.* i. 25 (539).

Her intelligence and graces were warmly praised by the satirist Lucianus, in a dialogue supposed to have taken place in Antiokheia between himself and his Smyrnaian friend Polystratos, who knew the lady well. He says he had heard a bystander say, when Pantheia passed: "Such are Smyrna's beauties!", and adds that the man was evidently a Smyrnaian, to judge from his enthusiasm, but that it was not surprising that the most beautiful of Ionic cities should have produced the most beautiful of women. When, on publishing the dialogue, he submitted a copy to Pantheia herself, she returned it deprecating it as too flattering and requesting him to revise it. Instead of this, Lucianus wrote another dialogue to justify himself for what he had done.¹ Verus' troops brought back a pestilence from Babylonia to Asia Minor in 165 A.D.: it lasted several years, and spread as far as Rome. In the summer of 165 A.D. it was raging at Smyrna, laying low man and beast, and baffling the physicians. Aristeides was staying in the suburbs; and first his servants and eventually he himself collapsed. Encouraged and instructed by visions of Asklepios and Athena with her aegis, he was soon well enough to be driven into the city, and gradually attained complete recovery. His second visit to Kyzikos followed immediately.² With the beginning of 166 A.D., however, he had a relapse, and suffered off and on for some years with fever and other complaints. Spending most of his time at Pergamon and at his home in Mysia, he occasionally visited Smyrna, and bathed there: he mentions in particular how on a cold wet day at the beginning of a winter, he bathed in the cold stream flowing alongside the hot springs (evidently the so-called Baths of Agamemnon).³ In August or September 171 A.D., when Macrinus (probably

¹Lucianus xxxix f. = *Imagines* and *Pro Imaginibus*, esp. *Imag.* 2 f. (for which see above, p. 171 n. 5), with the Scholia, and the introductions in the Loeb edition; M. Aurel. *Commentar.* viii. 37 (*Μήτρι' ἰὺν παρακάθηραι τῆ Ὀδύρου σόρω Πάνθεια, ἧ Περγαμος; . . .*); Capitolin. *Verus*, vii. 10 ("Fertur praeterea ad amicae vulgaris arbitrium in Syria posuisse barbam").

²Aristeides xxiv, 474-476 (xlvi. 37-44); cf. xxvi, 504 (l. 9). Smyrna is not explicitly named; but *προαστίω* and *πλῶ* in 38 strongly suggest it (cf. Cher-

buliez ii. 36; Schwartz, *Ostertafeln*, 136 f.; Corssen in *Z.N.W.* iii [1902] 77; Boulanger 146 f., 470, 480-482). It is usual to refer to this plague the inscription in praise of the Meles (*C.I.G.* 3165 = *I.G.R.* iv. 1389) quoted above, p. 11 n. 7: Herzog confidently conjectures (in *S.P.A.* 1934, 768 f.) that it is the commencement of a hymn by Aristeides.

³Aristeides xxiv, 478, 486 (xlvi. 50, 80): Boulanger 147, 471, 473, 482 (argues that Aristeides *never* completely recovered from his illnesses). See also above, p. 17.

M. Pomponius Macrinus, Consul in 164 A.D.) was Proconsul, Aristeides delivered in the Council-chamber at Smyrna a speech bewailing the burning of the temple of Demeter at Eleusis by invading barbarians.¹

In 175/176 A.D. Marcus Aurelius was in the East, settling affairs after the collapse of the rebellion of Avidius Cassius. His colleague L. Verus had died in 169 A.D.; and he was therefore accompanied by his son Commodus, then a youth of fifteen. In the spring of 176 A.D., just before the Smyrnaian Dionysia, when the Emperor was about to visit Asia on his return from Egypt to Italy, Aristeides composed—apparently at the request of the Smyrnaian magistrates—a verbose encomium on the city's splendour, which was presented to the Emperor by a deputation, probably as part of a general address of welcome. The speech rehearsed the historic glories of the city, but dwelt with special emphasis on its beauty, its numerous magnificent buildings, its large population, and its thriving commerce: "thou mightest say it was the very hearth of the continent because of its culture".² In the early autumn the royal couple actually arrived, and were welcomed with a special festival—the Theoxenia. They were delighted with all they saw and heard, and honoured the city with praise for her advantages and achievements, and also with gifts. The erection of fresh buildings and monuments attested the rulers' munificence and the city's loyalty. A vague allusion speaks of their having "adorned her temples".³ We do not know how long they stayed; but they had been there three days before they saw Aristeides. Marcus enquired about him of two consulars, the brothers Quintilii; and next day they officially presented him. He excused himself for his failure to appear earlier on the ground of absorption in study. The

¹Aristeides xix, 415-423 (xxii. 1-13). The date and place are furnished by a note on some of the MSS. (Keil 31): cf. Boulanger 160, 162, 329-332, 487-489.

²Aristeides xv, 371-381 (xvii. 1-23), esp. 376 (13: *φαίης ἂν ἐστὶν εἶναι τῆς ἡπείρου παιδείας εἴνεκα*). For the date and season, 373 (5 fin.: *καλοῦσι γὰρ σε ἦρος ὦραι πρῶται*); Keil 12 n.; von Rohden in Pauly I (1894) 2301; Boulanger 148, 150 f., 161 f., 384-387. The speech was written *ἐπειδὴ καὶ οἶδε* (? = the magistrates) *κελεύουσιν* (371

[1]): Aristeides alludes to it later (xli, 762 [xix. 1]). It is not indubitably certain that it was addressed to the Emperor; but that is by far the most probable view. Lenz (in *Philolog. Wochenschr.* liv [1934] 1211-1215) discusses some fresh MS-evidence not used by Keil in compiling his text and critical apparatus.

³Aristeides xli, 762 f., 765-767 (xix. 1 f., 8, 10 [. . . *τὰ ἱερά κοσμήσαντες αὐτῆς*], 13 init.), xxii, 439 f. (xxi. 1 init., 3 init.).

Emperor liked him and asked him for a speech. Aristeides requested a subject, and promised to declaim in his school next day, saying: "We are not of those who vomit, but of those who carefully prepare". Marcus granted his request that his students also should be present; but when Aristeides further asked that they might be allowed to applaud, he answered with a smile: "That depends on thee". The topic of his speech is not reported, only the fact that he spoke "with excellent fluency". Among the students present was doubtless the wealthy Damianos of Ephesos, who paid Aristeides enormous fees, and eventually became himself very eminent as an orator: it was he who supplied Philostratos with his information about Aristeides, including the story of his interview with Marcus Aurelius.¹ We may perhaps hear an echo of the imperial visit in an inscription from Smyrna recording how Aurelios Philoumenos restored and adorned for his native city "the invincible tower (?) of our lord the Emperor, Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus".²

In 178 A.D. (possibly late in 177 or early in 179 A.D.) a disaster of the first magnitude overtook Smyrna. The earthquake of some years earlier proved to be but the prelude of a more terrible visitation.³ Even when we make all allowance for rhetorical exaggeration,⁴ the evidence that has come down to us proves that a large part of the city was now laid in ruins. Among many others, the temple erected to Tiberius was overthrown. Chasms opened in the ground, and engulfed buildings. The small inner harbour seems to have been

¹Philostr. *Soph.* ii. 9 (582, 583: . . . ἀρίστη φορᾶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Μάρκου χρῆσασθαι . . .), 23 (605). A garbled version of the story appears in the Byzantine *Prolegomena* (Dindorf iii. 738), where however it is stated with probable truth that the Emperor gave him a large money-gift. Cf. Boulanger 151 f.; Herzog in *S.P.A.* 1934, 764 f.

²*I.G.R.* iv. 1401 = *Mouv.* V. i. 31 (259: brought ἐξ ἀγορᾶς): the reading is doubtful; and a fallen (ἐκ καταπτώσεως) gate-house or gate-tower (πυλῶν) may be intended.

³The date is given in Euseb. *Chron.* as ann. Abr. 2195 (= apparently 178/179 A.D.), or alternatively in the 19th year

of M. Aurel. (= 179/180 A.D.) (Schöne ii. 173; Helm i. 208, ii. 623 f.; Fotheringham 290). Euseb. puts the event after the conferment of the title of "Augustus" on Commodus (which took place early in 177 A.D.): but it must have occurred soon enough for M. Aurel. (who left Rome in Aug. 178 A.D., and died in Mar. 180 A.D.) to receive and reply to letters on the subject. Dio Cassius (lxxi. 32) gives no date. Probably 178 A.D. is the best year (so von Rohden in Pauly I [1894] 2303).

⁴"Recent experience reminds us that in times of panic the imagination, even of eyewitnesses, is prone to run riot" (E. M. Walker in *C.A.H.* v. 69).

closed. Fire broke out in various places, and large numbers of people perished. The surviving and uninjured citizens, under the leadership of their magistrates, grappled bravely with the difficulty; but they could of themselves accomplish little. It was the custom of Hellenic cities to help one another generously on occasions of public calamity¹: and as the news of Smyrna's misfortune reached her neighbours, many of them suspended their public festivities in order to administer relief; and gifts of money and supplies began to pour in on the afflicted city by land and sea. Even cities across the Aegæan sent help. Aristides had left Smyrna by divine guidance a few days before the earthquake occurred. On hearing about it, he was profoundly distressed, and poured forth his feelings in more than one rhetorical "monody", expatiating in his characteristic style on the unique beauty of the place and the appalling magnitude of the disaster.² But he did more. Without consulting anyone, or waiting to learn whether any public appeal was being made to the Emperors, he took it upon himself—the very day after receiving the news—to write them an epistle, describing in highly-coloured language what had happened, and imploring them in flattering terms to supply the funds needed for the city's restoration, and thus to accept the honour of becoming its new founders, and of eclipsing the great ones of old. He was not so much distressed, he said, about the over-expensive buildings erected by leading men (somewhat to his disgust) outside the walls. Others could plead for their restoration if they desired. What he was concerned about was the city itself.³ As Marcus read the story, he often groaned; and at the words: "The zephyrs (now) blow upon a desert", his tears fell on the page before him. He immediately decided to undertake the work of

¹Cf. Aristides xli, 766 (xix. 12), xlii, 793 (xxiii. 74). A gem is known to have existed showing Eros mourning, and bearing the letters *IMYP AIIOA*, i.e. *Zmύρ(να) ἀπόλ(ωλε)*, "Zmyrna is ruined." Curtius (*C.I.G.* 7059) thinks it may well refer to this disaster, and mentions another (?) gem inscribed *AIIOA SMYP*.

²Aristides xx, 424-428 (xviii. 1-10); cf. xxi, 430 (xx. 3): Boulanger 325-328, 332.

³Aristides xli, 762-767 (xix. 1-14); cf. xxi, 429 f. (xx. 1, 3), xxii, 439 (xxi. 2).

R. Herzog (*Koische Forschungen und Funde* [1899], 141-145) notes several close parallels between Aristides' earthquake-treatises, viz. xli (xix), xxi (xx), and xxii (xxi), and an inscription honouring Augustus for help under similar circumstances affecting Kos: he conjectures that oratorical appeals and thanksgivings for imperial help in time of such calamity followed a more or less regular rhetorical type, fashioned in the school of Rhodos in iii/B.C. Cf. Boulanger 387-389.

restoration.¹ Before he had received any official appeal, he and Commodus requested the Senate to sanction the necessary expenditure and the remission of tribute for ten years²: they also wrote consolingly to the city itself, promising ample assistance, making suggestions (as if they were themselves citizens) as to how the public grant might be supplemented by private contributions, offering to send workmen if the Smyrnaians desired it, and inviting further requests to themselves for help. Marcus also appointed a Roman senator of praetorian rank to supervise the work of reconstruction.³ Within the next two or three years, the damaged areas were largely rebuilt; and city-life was able to make a fresh start, under the encouraging conditions of imperial favour and external grandeur. Aristeides was still absent, and had written nothing about Smyrna since his epistle to the Emperors. He now composed a "Palinode", rejoicing over Smyrna's new fortunes, and sent it to the magistrates as a sort of message of congratulation.⁴

One of the new buildings of the restored city was in all probability the Theatre, the scanty remains of which, though often inspected and roughly described, were thoroughly examined for the first time in 1917. This recent investigation has shown that, though subsequently repaired here and there, the building belongs as a whole to a single period, that it was designed in the Roman style (resembling that of the theatres

¹Philostr. *Soph.* ii. 9 (582, 583 mid.); *Prolegom.* in Dindorf iii. 737.

²The money-gift is referred to by Aristeides (xxi, 432 f. [xx. 8, 10]) and Dio Cassius (lxxi. 32: *χρήματά τε πολλαῖς πόλεσιν ἔδωκεν, ἐν αἷς καὶ τῇ Σμύρνῃ δεινῶς ὑπὸ σεισμοῦ φθαρείσῃ*), the remission of tribute by Eusebios (*Chron.* as above, p. 279 n. 3: "ad cuius instaurationem decennialis tributorum immunitas data est": cf. Georg. Synkell. *Chron.* P. 353d: *καὶ πρὸς οἰκοδομὴν ἀνεῖθη τῶν φόρων ἕτη ε'*).

³Dio Cassius, *l.c.*: *καὶ αὐτὴν καὶ βουλευτῇ ἐστρατηγηκότι ἀνοικοδομήσαι προσέταξεν*. It is unlikely that *βουλευτῇ ἐστρατηγῷ* means a (Smyrnaian) Councillor who had held the office of General. The *Proleg.* in Dindorf (iii. 737) says that Antoninus (sic) summoned a gathering of Asian men at Ephesos in connexion with the work.

⁴Aristeides xxi, 429-438, esp. 437 (xx. 1-23, esp. 21: *ἦρος δὲ πύλαι καὶ θέρους ὑπὸ στεφανῶν ἀνοίγυνται*). Except where otherwise stated, all the details regarding the earthquake and subsequent measures are derived from Aristeides xx (xviii), xli (xix), xxi (xx), and xxii (xxi). The disaster is alluded to by Nepotianus, *Epit. Libr. Val. Max.* ix. 34: "Bura et Helice . . . fluctibus obrutae sunt terraeque motu esse destiterunt, item et Smyrna, Asiae ciuitas potens". The event is of course noticed by all modern writers on Smyrnaian history. Some identify it with the shock mentioned above on pp. 266 f.; but that the occasions were different Aristeides' narratives show—he was *at* Smyrna on the latter, absent from it on the former. Cf. Boulangier 153 f., 328 f., 381 n., 389.

at Aspendos and Ephesos), and that it was erected late in the second century A.D. It is therefore natural to conjecture that it was built just after the great earthquake, the earlier theatre having been largely or wholly ruined by the shocks. The new building probably occupied the same site as the old, and embodied much of its material. It was one of the largest theatres in Ionia, and had accommodation for about 16,000 spectators. The stage ran east and west, and was about 180 feet long. The diameter of the orchestra-semicircle was about half that length. The auditorium, looking north, commanded a splendid view of the eastern end of the Gulf and the adjacent lands. The outer wall surrounding it was rather more than a semicircle with a diameter of 500 feet, and measured about 275 yards round. One of the peculiar features of the plan was a vaulted passage of curious construction, leading from the main wall west of the stage underneath the auditorium and up into one of its gangways. In all probability a similar passage was built for the eastern half of the Theatre; but barely a trace of it now exists. The bulk of the building was still standing in 1638; but later in the same century its masonry was almost entirely removed by the Turks and used in the construction of a custom-house and caravan-serai. Since then the site has been overlaid with earth and débris; houses have been built, and gardens and vineyards planted, upon it, and a road cut through it; so that the building itself is almost obliterated, and the task of investigating the ruins gravely handicapped. The parts best preserved are those adjoining the stage.¹

Among the other public buildings needing reconstruction was the Agora, which lay just below the Theatre, on the site of the later Turkish cemetery called Namassiak. The remains of this Agora, as restored after the earthquake of 178 A.D., have been quite recently excavated; and it has been shown to

¹On the site and the earlier Theatre, see above, pp. 178-180, 242. On the ruins of the later theatre, see Monconys in Berg and Walter 10 n.; Tournefort ii. 503; Chandler i. 77, 79; Prokesch in *J.L.* lxxviii. 63; Texier 304b, 307ab; Hamilton i. 56 f.; Gerhard and Frick in *Arch. Anz.* xvi (1858) 129*, 131*, 133* f.; Storari 41-43; Slaars 49 f. with n. 91; Tsakyroglou ii. 69; Weber in Wilson

73b; Fontrier in *R.E.A.* ix (1907) 115 (8); Lampakes 191; Hasluck in *A.B.S.A.* xvii (1910-1911) 155 (reproducing sketch of 1638); Baedeker 340; Berg and Walter 8-24 (history of previous investigations, and very detailed description of the remains as they were in 1917, illustrated with plans and sketches); Walter 232 f. (short summary); Bürchner 742, 753 f., 756 f.

have been paved with marble slabs and surrounded by a triple colonnade, and to have had a length of about 180 yards: on the north side it was supported by underground vaulting.¹

It is sometimes stated that, for his services in connexion with the restoration of the city, the Smyrnaians rewarded Aristeides with a statue in the Agora.² This is quite likely to have happened; but the categorical statement that it did happen goes beyond our evidence. Philostratos, writing about 237 A.D., says that the inhabitants of the Egyptian Delta put up a bronze statue of him in the market-place at Smyrna.³ Now there exists at Verona an inscription (reported to come from Alexandria), cut in bronze, and stating that Alexandria, Hermopolis Magna, Antinoë, and the Hellenes of the Delta and the Thebaic nome "honoured Poplios Ailios Aristeides Theodoros . . ." ⁴ This reads very much like an inscription for a statue; and one is tempted to suppose either that it once stood below the bronze image at Smyrna mentioned by Philostratos (the ascription of it to Alexandria being in that case erroneous), or that Philostratos has confused a statue at Smyrna with the one erected by the Egyptian cities. In any case, the use of the name "Theodoros" points to a date during or after his illness and considerably later than his actual stay in Egypt (142/143 A.D.)⁵: but we have no grounds for connecting either the statue or the inscription with the Smyrna-earthquake. Yet it is certain that the Smyrnaians

¹A full and illustrated account of the excavations, which were conducted by Selahattin Bey and Prof. F. Miltner, appears (in Turkish) in *Türk Tarih*, ii (1934) 219-242. A preliminary summary (in Italian, with illustrations) was contributed by Miltner in the *Bullettino del Museo dell' Impero Romano*, v (1934) 106-109 (bound at end of *Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica comunale di Roma*, lxiii [1934]). Cf. also Béquignon in *B.C.H.* lvii (1933) 306-308 (? "théâtre" a mistake for "agora"); *Guide Panoramique d' Izmir* (1934), I, 28, 44 f.; Wuilleumier in *R.A.* vi (1935) 99; Cagnat and Merlin in *R.A.* vi (1935) 255 b; Ch. P. in *R.A.* vii (1936) 257. See above, pp. 180 f.

²Schmitz in *S.D.G.R.B.* i. 295a; Mylonas 47 ("cum" [immediately after the restoration] "Italiae et Graeciae et Aegypti Graeci Aristidi statuam con-

stituturi essent, Smyrnaei hujus rei non expertes fuerunt, sed in ipsorum foro collocandam eam curarunt"); Tsakyroglou i. 89; Bernoulli, *Griech. Ikonographie*, ii. 211; Büchner 757 (" . . . die *ἀγορά*, auf der die dankbaren Smyrner ihm (wohl infolge seiner Verdienste um die Wiederherstellung der Stadt) ein ehernes Standbild aufrichteten (Philostr. *soph.* II 9)"), 761 top, 764 bott. Cf. Boulanger 155.

³Philostr. *Soph.* ii. 9 (582: . . . *ἃ δὲ γε ἐπήλθεν* [sc. *Ἀριστείδης*] *ἔθνη, Ἴταλοι τε εἰσι καὶ Ἑλλας καὶ ἡ πρὸς τῷ Δέλτῳ κατοικήμενη Αἴγυπτος, οἱ χαλκοῦν ἔστησαν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῆς κατὰ τὴν Σμύρναν ἀγορᾶς*). Mylonas (see last n.), in giving the "Italiae et Graeciae . . . Graeci" a share in the erection of the statue, has misinterpreted Philostratos.

⁴C.I.G. 4679 = O.G.I. 709.

⁵See above, p. 270, and cf. Schmid in *Rhein. Mus.* xlviii (1893) 55 and Pauly II (1896) 887; Boulanger 123 with n. 2.

did honour Aristeides: they had doubtless long ago made him a Smyrnaian citizen; they now complimented him with the title "oikist of Smyrna"¹; and it is in every way likely that they erected a statue of him.² A life-size seated marble figure (now in the Vatican Library at Rome), mounted on a pedestal bearing the words *Ἀριστείδης Σμυρνεός*, is acknowledged to be a work of the second century, and is therefore probably a real statue of Aristeides, even if—as the best authorities believe—the spelling betrays the lateness of the inscription. He is bald, bearded, and clad in a toga.³ Other statues of Aristeides are known to have existed⁴; but it is not possible to identify any one of them as erected by the authorities at Smyrna.

Marcus Aurelius died in March 180 A.D., and was succeeded by his degenerate son Commodus (180–192 A.D.). There exists among the treatises of Aristeides a speech, not composed in Smyrna, but designed for delivery before Commodus on the occasion of a visit to that city, which however was never actually paid. Needless to say it is couched in flattering terms, refers to Commodus' former visit, recounts the origins of the city, expatiates on its beauty, recalls the main episodes in the recent disaster, and declares the new city to be—thanks to the imperial generosity—more splendid than the old.⁵ It seems quite possible that the composition never left the orator's study. The date of his death was probably about 187–189 A.D.⁶ His

¹Philostr. *Soph.* ii. 9 (582: *Οἰκιστὴν δὲ καὶ Ἀριστείδην τῆς Σμύρνης εἰπεῖν οὐκ ἀλάζων ἔπαυος, ἀλλὰ δικαιοτάτος τε καὶ ἀληθέστατος . . .*). Helbig, as in n. 3 below, thinks Smyrnaian citizenship was conferred on him *nov.*

²Cf. Boulanger 123.

³*C.I.G.* 6026 = *I.G.* xiv. 156* (i.e. among the "falsae"). The statue is fully described by Bernoulli (*Griech. Ikonographie*, ii. 211 f.) and Helbig (*Führer durch die öffentl. Samml. klass. Altertümer in Rom* [ed. 1912], i. 259 f. [413]: cf. Studniczka, *Bildnis des Aristot.* 7 f.). A still later pedestal, presumably intended for this statue, and bearing the words: "Statuam Aristidis Smyrnaei, eius qui urbem civitatemq. Romanam luculenta oratione laudavit, erutam ex antiquis ruinis Pius IV Medic. Pont. Max." (i.e. Pope, 1559–1565) "posuit", now stands in the *Capitoline Museum* (first floor, corridor VI, 282 [formerly 25]), beneath a standing statue of *Zeus*.

The Capitoline Museum also contains a head (see H. S. Jones, etc. *The Sculptures of the Museo Capitolino* [1912], 223 f. [9]; Helbig, *Führer*, etc. i. 458 [813]) at one time wrongly thought to be that of Aristeides.

⁴The pagan orator Libanios, at Antiocheia in Syria about 365 A.D., possessed two busts of Aristeides, and knew of another statue (Liban. *Epist.* 1534, ed. Teubner: Bernoulli, *Griech. Ikonographie*, ii. 211).

⁵Aristeides xxii, 439–444 (xxi. 1–16), esp. 443 (13: . . . καὶ δὴ τῆι τε Ἰωνίᾳ καλῶς ὁ στέφανος σέσωσται ἢ τε Ἀσίᾳ τὸ πρόσχημα κεκόμισται . . .). Cf. Boulanger 154, 162, 389–391.

⁶Philostratos (*Soph.* ii. 9 [585]) says that some said he lived till sixty, others till nearly seventy, years of age. Boulanger (494, cf. 155), following Letronne, thinks the difference is due to ignorance as to the date of his birth.

closing years were mostly spent at his home in Mysia, where he occupied himself in writing up the last of those unsystematic 'Sacred Speeches' on which we depend for our knowledge of his movements and of his experiences at Smyrna.¹ He was not a ready extempore-speaker, as other great Asian sophists were. He aimed at a more classical style; and most of his public utterances were carefully prepared in writing. He enjoyed an immense reputation in his own day and in ensuing times, right down into the Byzantine age: but modern writers make merry over his loquacity, his turgid style, his self-conceit, his lack of depth, the morbid interest he took in his own ailments, and his superstitious trust in dreams and in the fantastic remedies they suggested. Yet when all is said, one must confess to a certain liking for him as a simple, affectionate, and genuinely pious man; and there can be no denying the debt under which he has placed us as students of the antiquities of Smyrna.²

The reigns of M. Aurelius and his immediate successors witnessed the erection of a great many inscriptions recording the victories of distinguished athletes; and several of these refer to Smyrna. We are rarely able to date the Smyrnaian event precisely; frequently the determination even of the reign is difficult, for Roman citizens bearing the name "Marcus Aurelius —" flourished under the great Stoic Emperor himself, as well as under his son and successors (particularly Caracallus, who also bore the name "M. Aurelius Antoninus", and, by giving Roman citizenship in 212 A.D. to all free male inhabit-

¹On the textual tradition of these speeches, cf. Lenz in *Hermes* lxxvi (1931) 51f. Cf. Baumgart 121-136; Boulanger 163-172.

²On Aristeides generally, cf., besides his speeches, Philostr. *Soph.* ii. 9 (581-585); *Prolegom.* in Dindorf iii. 737 ff.: Cherbuliez i. 1-5, ii (apparently left incomplete); Baumgart passim, esp. 59-74 (A's. religiosity); Schmid in Pauly II (1896) 890-893; Bernoulli, *Griech. Ikonographie*, ii. 210 f.; Dill. *Rom. Soc. from Nero*, etc. 199, 205 f., 457-467 (good sketch); Wendland, *Hell.-röm. Kultur*, 34 f.; Glover, *Conflict of Relig.* 222 f.; Boulanger passim, esp. vii f., 172-209 (religious vanity), 210-239, 249-270 (views on rhetoric), 395-449 (style), 450-458 (subsequent reputation), 451

("Il est donc permis de croire qu' Aristide n'eut jamais à Smyrne une importance comparable à celle de Scopélianos et de Polémon"); R. Herzog in *S.P.A.* 1934, 769 f. (religiosity). Aineias of Gaza, the v/A.D. sophist, coupled him with Homeros (*Epist.* 18, ed. Hercher: "Ἐστὼ Σμυρναῖος Ὁμηρος. Ἀριστείδης κοινωνεῖτω τῆς φιλοποιίας"). An undated epigram stupidly infers that Homeros was born at Smyrna because (its author wrongly imagines) Aristeides was (*Anthol. Palat.* xvi. 320 [ii. 593]). A probably xiv/A.D. epigram groups Aristeides with Demosthenes and Thoukydides (*Anthol. Palat.* xvi. 315 [ii. 592]). His fame has survived even till modern times, for Mr. P. G. Wodehouse has a joke about him in *Bill the Conqueror* (1924), p. 98.

ants of the Empire, called a host of Marci Aurelii into existence). To this group belongs the ubiquitous Alexandreian pankratiast, M. Aurelius Asclepiades, who won two victories at the League-festival of Asia in Smyrna and two or three more at the Olympic Games and Hadrianic Olympic Games in the same city.¹ Beside him we may put M. Aurelius Hermagoras, a wrestler of Magnesia-near-Sipylos: he won twenty-nine contests at sacred festivals, including one at the League-festival of Asia at Smyrna, and one at the Olympia at Smyrna, at which latter on another occasion he acted as chief judge (*πρωτελληνοδίκης*).² Priesthoods and other public offices are similarly recorded. Within a few years after 180 A.D., we find an Aizanite, M. Ulpus Appuleius Eurycles, telling us that he had been "twice appointed High-Priest of the temples of Asia in Smyrna".³ T. Aelius Aurelianus Theodotus, a citizen of Nikomedeia primarily, but also of Smyrna and several other places, won many victories as a flute-player; at Smyrna he carried off prizes at the festival of Commodus (*Κομόδεια*), the Olympia, and the League-festival.⁴ M. Aurelius Demonstratus Damas of Sardeis was citizen of Smyrna also and of twelve other eastern cities by virtue of his prowess in boxing and the pankration: he distinguished himself as a youth as early as 176 A.D.; he won altogether nearly seventy prizes, six of them at Smyrna, and was finally (under Caracallus) commemorated in inscriptions both at Rome and at Sardeis.⁵ A probably Smyrnaian inscription, carved below a bas-relief, says: "The Council and the People crowns with a golden crown Aurelios Kharidemos, who died before his time".⁶ It is tempting to regard him as the father of the M. Aurelius Julianus, son of Kharidemos, who was Crown-Wearer, twice Asiarkh, etc., and for his piety, public spirit, and generosity was honoured, probably a few decades later, by "the sacred Synod of experts and initiates associated with Breiseus Dionysos".⁷ Aurelios Pinytos Glykon, a citizen of

¹*C.I.G.* 5913 = *I.G.* XIV. 1102 (Rome): cf. Chapot 504 f. He won a victory at the great Olympic Games at Pisa in 181 A.D.

²*I.G.* XIV. 739—incribed not later than the institution of the *Κομόδεια*, and found at Neapolis.

³*C.I.G.* 2741 = *O.G.I.* 509: cf. Chapot 257 f., 488. The allusion to the League-

festival at Smyrna in l. 23 is a conjectural restoration.

⁴*C.I.G.* 1720. cf. Robert in *Revue de Philol.* lvi (1930) 55 f.

⁵*C.I.G.* 5909 = *I.G.* XIV. 1105; *I.G.R.* iv. 1519 = Keil and Premerstein in *D.K. A.W.* liii. 2 (1908) 19-23.

⁶*C.I.G.* 3255.

⁷*C.I.G.* 3190 = *I.G.R.* iv. 1433.

Eresos in Lesbos, tells us on his tombstone that, besides being a Councillor of Eresos and Methymna, he had also been "Asiarkh of the temples in Smyrna".¹

To the earliest years of Commodus' reign belong the coins stamped at Smyrna with the likeness of his wife Crispina, whom he divorced for adultery in 182 A.D.: some of these celebrate a friendly understanding between Smyrna and Nikomedeia,² which also appears on coins of Commodus himself,³ as are similar agreements on the part of Smyrna with Kyzikos,⁴ Athens,⁵ and Lakedaimon.⁶ It is not certain whether the Generals Rufinus and Herakleides—the former mentioned on a coin of Crispina,⁷ the latter on coins of Commodus⁸—should be identified with the sophists of the same names whom we meet later.

The murder of Commodus (31st Dec. 192 A.D.) was followed by a period of confusion. The general L. Septimius Severus rose to power; but resistance in the east compelled him to acknowledge Clodius Albinus, governor of Gallia and Britannia, for some years as a junior colleague with the title of "Caesar". Coins bearing Albinus' effigy were struck at Smyrna about 193-195 A.D.—at the same time (if we may judge from the magistrate's name) as coins depicting Severus himself and his Syrian wife Julia Domna.⁹ But early in 197 A.D. Albinus was defeated at Lugdunum and killed; and the rule of Severus and his house was secure. A year later his elder son Caracallus became Augustus, while his younger son Geta was made Caesar.

It is probably to the earlier part of the reign of Severus that we ought to refer the victory, at the sixteenth celebration of the Olympia at Smyrna, of the harpist and singer Gaius

¹I.G. XII. ii. 562 = I.G.R. iv. 17.

²Mionnet iii. 237 (1332-1334), *supp.* vi. 351 f. (1743-1751); *B.M.C. Ionia*, 304 (496-500).

³Mionnet iii. 236 f. (1329 f.), *supp.* vi. 349 f. (1735-1741); *B.M.C. Ionia*, 303 f. (490-495). See above, p. 275 n. 4.

⁴Mionnet iii. 237 (1331), *supp.* vi. 350 f. (1742); *B.M.C. Mysia*, 61 (294). See above, p. 275 n. 6.

⁵Mionnet iii. 235 f. (1321-1325), *supp.* vi. 347 f. (1728-1731); *B.M.C. Ionia*, 301 f. (479-486). See above, p. 275 n. 3.

⁶Mionnet iii. 236 (1326-1328), *supp.* vi. 349 (1733).

⁷Mionnet iii. 237 (1334).

⁸Mionnet iii. 235 f. (1321-1328), *supp.* vi. 347-349 (1728-1733); *B.M.C. Ionia*, 301 f. (479-486); i.e. virtually the coins celebrating *ἀμύνοια* with Athens and Lakedaimon.

⁹Mionnet iii. 237 f. (1335 f. Alb., 1337 Sev.), 240 (1352 f. Domna), *supp.* vi. 352 (1752-1754 Alb.), 353 (1755 Sev.), 356 (1774 Domna); *B.M.C. Ionia*, 281 ff. (360 ff.). On Severus in the East, Chapot 67 f.

Antonius Septimius Publius. A Pergamene by birth, he enjoyed the citizenships also of Smyrna, Athens, and Ephesos, had been trained under P. Aelius Agathemerus, citizen of Ephesos, Smyrna, and Pergamon, and had won numerous victories in Asia (including one at the League-festival at Smyrna), Hellas, and Italy.¹ An approximately contemporary inscription records, among the successes of an Ephesian boxer, his consecutive victories at the Olympia and the Hadriana at Smyrna.² The Emperor alone, without his sons, is celebrated in dedicatory inscriptions found at Magnesia-near-Sipylos and at Phokaia.³ It is possible that Euhodus, whose name was inscribed on an earthen vessel found on Mt. Pagos, was a freedman of Severus and tutor to Caracallus (who killed him in 211 A.D.).⁴ The Proconsul, M. Atilius Bradua, whom Smyrna honoured with an inscription on the Akropolis (arranged for by the General over the Weapons, M. Aurelius Perperes), had been Consul in 185 A.D., and was in Asia therefore probably towards the end of the century.⁵

The Smyrnaian coins of Severus and Julia Domna are fairly abundant. Several of them mention as General the famous sophist Claudius Rufinus⁶: he appears on those depicting Geta as Caesar (i.e. 198–209 A.D.), both with⁷ and without⁸ his imperial brother. Rufinus did not rank as one of the great masters, and is described as being more bold than successful. He was the teacher of the more famous Hermokrates of Phokaia, the young great-grandson of Polemon.⁹

¹C.I.G. 3208 = I.G.R. iv. 1432.

²G.I.B.M. 615. On these games, see above, pp. 257 f.

³C.I.G. 3407 = M.D.A.I. xxiv (1899) 240 (89); C.I.G. 3412.

⁴C.I.L. III. *supp.* i. 7209 b; Dio Cass. lxxvi. 3, 6, lxxvii. 1; Tertull. *Scap.* 4: Stein in Pauly VI (1909) 1154 f.; Cadoux, *The Early Church and the World*, 390 n. 5.

⁵C.I.G. 3189 = I.G.R. iv. 1413. M. Aurelius Perperes is also named in C.I.G. 3195 = I.G.R. iv. 1434 as a patromyst (see above, p. 209 n. 1), and on a Smyrnaian weight (Papadop.-Keram. *Σταθμός*, 18 [62] = 'Ολακή, 5 = B.C.H. ii [1878] 29 [3] = *Μουσ.* III. 67 f. [1]) as agoranomos.

⁶Mionnet iii. 238 (1338 f.), 240 (1356), *supp.* vi. 353 (1756), 356 (1781); B.M.C. *Ionia*, 283 (368–371), 284 f. (375–382). Other coins of Severus and Julia Domna

are given by Mionnet iii. 238 f. (1342, 1343 [= Imhoof-Blumer, *Kleinasi. Münzen*, i (1901) 96 (4)], 1344, 1347), 240 f. (1354 f., 1357), *supp.* vi. 353–357 (1757–1761, 1770–1773, 1775–1779, 1782–1786) and in B.M.C. *Ionia*, 282–287. On the Amazon-coins specially, Imhoof-Blumer in *Nomisma*, ii (1908) 8 f. (9 f., 12).
⁷Mionnet iii. 238 (1340 f.); B.M.C. *Ionia*, 283 (368–371).

⁸Mionnet iii. 245 (1381 f.), *supp.* vi. 362 (1807–1809); B.M.C. *Ionia*, 291 f. (422–426).

⁹Philostr. *Soph.* ii. 25 (608). The allusion in 612 to Hermokrates' speeches at Phokaia over the Panionic wine-bowl is an interesting indication that the Panionic festival was still being celebrated in the days of Severus (Caspari in *J.H.S.* xxxv [1915] 187). Cf. Stein in Pauly IA (1920) 1185.

At some time between 198 and 209 A.D., Smyrna asked the Emperor to sanction the exemption of Rufinus from further public services—a privilege he had perhaps legally forfeited by generously undertaking the Generalship at his fellow-citizens' request. The formal approval of the city's petition was sent by Severus and Caracallus as colleagues, and was engraved on stone at Smyrna.¹ To the same period belongs a coin depicting the heads of Caracallus (as Augustus) and of Geta (as Caesar), and mentioning the first celebration of the "Severia", a festival in honour of Severus, at Smyrna.²

In 196 or 197 A.D. another sophist, Herakleides of Lykia, ousted by opposition from the chair of rhetoric at Athens, "betook himself", says Philostratos, "to Smyrna, a city which sacrificed more than any others to the sophists' muses. Now it is no wonder that the youth of Ionia, Lydia, Phrygia, and Karia ran together to Ionia to be with the man, since Smyrna is at the door of them all: but he drew also the Hellenic youth from Europe, and those of the East, and many of the Egyptians who had heard him before. . . . So he filled Smyrna with a brilliant throng, and benefited her in many other ways. . . ." (Here follows a list of the chief needs of a city much visited by outsiders). ". . . And if the city possesses shipping, as Smyrna does, the sea will give them many things in abundance. And he also cooperated with Smyrna in improving the city's appearance, by constructing in the gymnasium of Asklepios a golden-roofed fountain for olive-oil. And he held with them the office of Crown-Wearer—by the holders of which the Smyrnaians name their years".³

About 202-204 A.D. we must place the Smyrnaian coins bearing the effigy of Caracallus' ill-starred wife, Fulvia Plautilla,⁴—also the milestone found at Hajilar, bearing traces of the names and titles of Severus, Caracallus, Geta, and Julia Domna, and pointing to a repair of the road from

¹*C.I.G.* 3178 = *S.I.G.* 876 = *I.G.R.* iv. 1402 = Abbott and Johnson 452. Cf. Liebenam 81 n. 1; Münscher in Pauly VIII (1913) 888; Stein in Pauly IA (1920) 1185; Boulanger 141 n. 1; Schwahn in Pauly, *supplband.* vi (1935) 1111. Our sophist may be identical with the Rufinus named as the erector of a pedestal found by the road to Hajilar, south of

Burnabat (*C.I.G.* 3171 = Le Bas-Wadd. 12 [long note]), and (less probably) with the Cl. Rufinus Cartorianus mentioned along with six fellow-treasurers elected by the People (*C.I.G.* 3162).

²Mionnet iii. 244 (1376).

³Philostr. *Soph.* ii. 26 (613): Münscher in Pauly VIII (1913) 470 f.

⁴Mionnet iii. 244 f. (1379 f.).

Smyrna to Sardeis.¹ The same stone has a second inscription, carved in 209 A.D., and couched in the inflated style henceforward prevalent: "The most brilliant City of the Smyrnaians, First of Asia and twice Temple-Warden of the Augusti, erected (this stone) in the time of the Proconsul" (Q. Hediuf Rufus) "Lollianuf Gentianuf".² A brother of this governor, L. Hediuf Rufuf Lollianuf Avituf, was also Proconsul of Asia towards the end of Severuf' reign (possibly just before Gentianuf), and ratified the decision of the Council of Smyrna to allot certain theatre-seats to the porters attached to the Asklepieion.³

Under Severuf, friendly agreements were concluded by Smyrna with Kaisareia in Kappadokia,⁴ probably also with Philadelpheia and Thyateira.⁵

After his death in February 211 A.D., Caracalluf and Geta reigned for a year as joint Augusti. A Smyrnaian coin portraying them both mentions a friendly understanding with Pergamon.⁶ On 6th October 211 A.D. Caracalluf granted a piece of land adjoining the Nemeseion at Smyrna to enable Papiniuf the philosopher to dedicate the house standing on it to the Nemeseis.⁷

Caracalluf had Geta murdered in February 212 A.D., and reigned as sole emperor for the next five years. Since the death of M. Aureliuf in 180 A.D., a great change had come over the Empire. The imperial rule was now an undisguised military despotism. The average moral character of the rulers was henceforth lower, their reigns shorter, their deaths more frequently violent. Caracalluf' extension of Roman citizenship to all free men in the Empire (212 A.D.)—a step

¹C.I.G. 3179a = C.I.L. III. 471 (Lat.) = I.G.R. iv. 1482a = Le Bas-Wadd 8 B. The private tombstone reported in *Movf*. V. i. 69 (v. 69) is dated 19 Audnaiof in the year 288, i.e. Nov. 203 A.D.: it was put up by Apphiane, daughter of Metraf, in memory of her brother, his wife Ammiane, and their children.

²C.I.G. 3179d = C.I.L. III. 471 (Gk.) = I.G.R. iv. 1482b = Le Bas-Wadd. 8 A. Another inscription is reported from Hajilar, in almost identical terms, giving the distance from Smyrna as eight miles (C.I.G. 3180 = Le Bas-Wadd. 9 = I.G.R. iv. 1483). Hajilar is about seven

miles from Smyrna in a straight line. Cf. Ramsay in *J.H.S.* ii (1881) 46, 52; Liebenam 148; Chapot 363.

³See above, p. 179 n. 7, and esp. *B.C.H.* vi (1882) 291 f.

⁴*B.M.C. Galatia*, etc. 94 (351-353).

⁵*B.M.C. Lydia*, 208 (112), 321 (146-150).

⁶Mionnet, *supp.* vi. 360 (1797). Another coin depicting Geta as Augustuf, i.e. 209-212 A.D., Mionnet iii. 245 (1383); *B.M.C. Ionia*, 292 (427).

⁷C.I.G. 3163 = I.G.R. iv. 1403. See above, p. 222.

motivated at least in part by financial considerations—was another indication that new conditions were setting in.¹ In the Hellenic cities, culture gradually deteriorated, and the surviving excellences of Hellenic genius were even less conspicuous than before.² The diction used in public documents becomes still more ornate and replete with superlatives. This tendency was exaggerated in Smyrna's case by the Emperor's bestowal of new honours upon her. Probably during his winter-stay at Nikomedeia (214/215 A.D.), in the course of which he visited Pergamon and probably Smyrna also, he granted to both cities permission to dedicate temples to himself.³ That any civilized community should be thus prepared to deify a bloodthirsty monster like Caracallus is itself a melancholy sign of the deterioration of public morals. There is reason to believe that at Smyrna the new cult of the Emperor was combined with the worship of the "goddess Roma" (as at Pergamon he shared a temple with Asklepios). The temple of Rome at Smyrna had stood for over four hundred years; and it is probable that a new one was now built, and consecrated to the joint worship of Rome and Caracallus. The keenest rivalry had long existed between the leading cities of the Province over the honorary distinctions to which they were severally entitled; and it was probably due to the imperial arbitration (formally sanctioned by the Roman Senate) that, whereas Pergamon used simply the titles "First" and "Metropolis", and Ephesos, the virtual capital, called herself "the first and greatest Metropolis of Asia", Smyrna now assumed the style "the First of Asia in beauty and size, and most brilliant, and Metropolis of Asia, and thrice Temple-Warden of the Augusti, according to the decrees of the most sacred Senate, and ornament of Ionia". The phrase "First of Asia" perhaps originally had reference to the order of precedence at the League-festival, but clearly

¹See above, pp. 285 f.

²Cf. Lane 32 f. ("... Per quod spatium" [180 A.D. to division of Empire] "etsi omnibus bonis affuebat" [sc. Smyrna], "tamen quum indolis Graecae vix vestigium amplius reperiatur, res Smyrnaeorum amplius persequi nolumus"), 58 ("... Praeter enim veterum vitia, immodicam quandam iactationem et gloriae cupiditatem, una cum sordidiss-

ima potentissimi cuiusque adulatione, vitia illius aetatis, habebant"); Boulanger 11. On the tragic decline of the Empire during ii/A.D., cf. W. Weber in *C.A.H.* xi. 296.

³Ephesos had already been granted a third neokorate during the joint rule of Caracallus and Geta, 211-212 A.D. (Pick in *Corolla Numismatica* [1906], 239 top, 240 f.).

could not have been permanently confined to this meaning. The term "Metropolis" has been regarded as an honorary title bestowed on cities that were either Temple-Wardens or centres of the several *conuentus iuridici*: but neither assignment can be satisfactorily proved, and it hardly seems possible to interpret the word more precisely than as meaning an important city possessing authority over its neighbourhood.¹

The municipal self-consciousness stimulated at Smyrna by the bestowal of honours on the part of Caracallus manifested itself in the unusually numerous friendly understandings concluded with other cities during his reign. The coins show that Smyrna now formed or reaffirmed ties of this kind with Pergamon,² Laodikeia,³ perhaps also Ephesos⁴ (where, under

¹The phrase "First of Asia" (occasionally without "of Asia", and occasionally with "in beauty and size") appears on about half the Smyrnaian coins of Caracallus and of Julia Domna which refer to the third neokorate (sometimes adding *τῶν Σεβαστῶν*): see Mionnet iii. 239-243 (1345 f., 1348-1351, 1358, 1361 f., 1364-1366, 1368 f.), possibly iv. 100 (549), *supp.* vi. 354 f. (1762-1769), 358 f. (1788, 1790-1794); *B.M.C. Ionia*, 263 f. (227-238). Smyrna's neokorates were explicitly referred to on her coins for the first time under Caracallus (Pick in *J.O.A.I.* vii [1904] 17). Mionnet iii. 240 (1350) and *supp.* vi. 354 f. (1765) bear also the words *θεᾶς Πρωμῆς* (Pick in *op. cit.* 23 n. 31): some of the coins depict three temples. The *Ἀντώνιος Ἀντοκράτωρ* mentioned in the very fragmentary inscription *Mouv.* I. 69 (16) is probably Caracallus.

If *a* = "First of Asia", *b* = "in beauty and size", *c* = "and most brilliant", *d* = "and metropolis", *e* = "of Asia", *f* = "thrice neokoros", etc., *g* = "according to the decrees of the most sacred Senate", and *h* = "and ornament of Ionia", then *C.I.G.* 3202 = *I.G.R.* iv. 1420 has *abcdefg*: *C.I.G.* 3204 (= *I.G.R.* iv. 1421) and 3205 (both reporting honours to a pankratiast) and 3206*A* (= *I.G.R.* iv. 1419*a*, victories of a runner) have *abcdefg*: *C.I.G.* 3191 = *I.G.R.* iv. 1424 = *O.G.I.* 514 (honours for Pomponius Cornelius Lollianus Hedianus, Asiarkh and orator, kinsman of the Proconsuls mentioned above, p. 290) has as restored *abcdefg*: *C.I.G.* 3197 =

I.G.R. iv. 1426 has *cdfg*: *I.G.R.* iv. 1425 = *R.E.G.* xii (1899) 388 (22: honorary inscr.) has *acdfg*. Except that *C.I.G.* 3206 belongs to 253-260 A.D., we do not know how soon after 214/215 A.D. these inscriptions were carved. *Prior* apparently to the conferment of the third neokorate, the title "First of Asia" is given to Smyrna in *C.I.G.* 3851 = *I.G.R.* iv. 541, "most brilliant" in *I.G.R.* iv. 1428 (see above, p. 258 n.), and both in *C.I.G.* 3179*d* = *C.I.L.* III. 471 (Gk.) = *I.G.R.* iv. 1482 = Le Bas-Wadd. 8*A* (see above, p. 390 n. 2).

On the meaning of "First of Asia", etc., Marquardt i. 345 f.; Mommsen, *Provinces*, i. 329 f.; Holm, *Greece*, iv. 609; Liebenam 475 n. 3; Chapot 144 f.; Ramsay, *Seven Chs.* 139 f., 255; Reid 380 f.; Boulanger 18: of "Metropolis", Marquardt i. 343 f., Mommsen *loc.*; hapot 137 f., 142 f.; Reid 380; J. Keil in *C.A.H.* xi. 583. On Smyrna's third neokorate (formerly assigned to the reign of Severus), Chapot 449-453, and esp. Pick in *J.O.A.I.* vii (1904) 3 f. (6-9), 21-24, and in *Corolla Numismatica* (1906), 242, and in *Festschrift Walter Judeich* (Weimar, 1929), 35. Reid (379 f., 422) defends the municipal pride and rivalry of the cities against undue modern contempt.

²Mionnet iii. 243 f. (1370-1375), *supp.* vi. 360 f. (1798-1805); *B.M.C. Ionia*, 305-307 (501-510).

³*B.M.C. Phrygia*, 329 (282-284).

⁴Cf. Slaars 22 n. top. The evidence, however, is very second-hand, and the alliance was perhaps with Pergamon.

a ruling of Caracallus, the Proconsul always had to land).¹

The sophists Claudius Rufinus and Herakleides survived throughout the reign. Rufinus continues to appear as General on Smyrna's coins.² We may probably assume that it was at Smyrna that Herakleides was sentenced to a heavy fine for having felled some sacred cedar-trees, and jested with his pupils as he left the court. With his lecture-fees he bought a small estate near Smyrna, worth ten talents; he named it "Rhetorike". Despite his gluttony, he lived in sound health to over eighty. On his death (? about 220 A.D.) his estate was inherited by his daughter and some unsatisfactory freedmen. He had kept in touch with his native Lykia, and was buried in that country.³

Caracallus was murdered near Karrhai in April 217 A.D., at the instigation of his praetorian Prefect Macrinus, to whom the imperial power then fell. Macrinus soon lost his initial popularity through incompetence and parsimony; and from the fact that he appointed the senator Dio Cassius Cocceianus (a native of Nikaia and the later historian) governor of Pergamon and Smyrna, we may perhaps infer that some disaffection was manifested in these cities against the supplanter of the recently-deified Caracallus.⁴ After a reign of a little over a year, Macrinus was defeated by Elagabalus (grandson of Julia Domna's sister, Julia Maesa, and priest of the Syrian sun-god), and slain (June 218 A.D.). Elagabalus then became Emperor, and after wintering at Nikomedeia (while Dio Cassius was still at Pergamon) proceeded to Rome. His short reign of nearly four years was an orgy of degradation. Nevertheless the effigies of himself, his scheming grandmother, and two of his

¹Ramsay (*Seven Chs.* 227 f.) connects this ruling with the tendency on the part of Smyrna and other ports to usurp the privileges of the deteriorating harbour of Ephesos.

²Mionnet iii. 241 (1359 f.), *supp.* vi. 359 f. (1795 f.); *B.M.C. Ionia*, 287 f. (396-402). Other Smyrnaian coins of Caracallus and his mother, Mionnet iii. 242 (1363), 244 (1377 f.), *supp.* vi. 358 (1789); *B.M.C. Ionia*, 288-291 (403-421). Imhoof-Blumer (in *Nomisma*, ii [1908] 9[13], 11) collects the Smyrnaian Amazon-coins of the reign. The inscription *Θεῶ βασιλῆ* found at Ishiklar (*Μουσ.* V. ii. 77 [φξ5']) bears date *τα'*,

i.e. 301: if the Sullan era is used, this would mean Sept. 216—Sept. 217 A.D. As Caracallus was murdered in April 217 A.D., either he or his successor might be meant.

³Philostr. *Soph.* ii. 26 (614 f.), 27 (617—his reputation): Münscher in Pauly VIII (1913) 472.

⁴Dio Cass. lxxix. 7: . . . αὐτὸς ἐγγύθεν ἐκ τῆς Περγάμου ἀκριβῶσας ἔγραψα, ἧς ὡσπερ καὶ τῆς Σμύρνης, ταχθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Μακρίνου, ἐπεστάτησα. In lxxviii. 22, he intimates that the affairs of the Province of Asia were in a disturbed state. No Smyrnaian coins of Macrinus have come down to us.

wives, appear on the coins of Smyrna. Most of these mention the third neokorate, a few the title "First of Asia".¹ Two or three of the Elagabalus-coins mention Rufinus the sophist as General.² He must by now have been very near the close of his career. We hear at this period (about 220–225 A.D.) of another eminent sophist of Smyrna—Megistias. After Herakleides' death, Smyrna was visited by the famous orator Hippodromos of Thessalia, who desired to study the Ionian style. On landing, he wandered into Megistias' class, which was being held in a temple adjoining the Agora. When the class was adjourning, he amazed Megistias and his pupils by delivering a magnificent oration without having explained who he was. The room was quickly crowded with Smyrnaians interested in culture; and Hippodromos then delivered a second speech on the same theme. When later he declaimed in public, the people marvelled at him as worthy to rank with the mighty speakers of the past.³

The assassination of Elagabalus in March 222 A.D. inaugurated a spell of good government which lasted thirteen years—the reign of his cousin Severus Alexander, who was much influenced by his sensible and cultured mother, Julia Mamaea. His first praetorian prefect was the great jurist Ulpianus, most of whose writing was done under Caracallus, and whose allusion to the worship of the Sipyrene Mother of the Gods at Smyrna has already been quoted.⁴ He was killed by the soldiers in 228 A.D. Another author of the period was Philostratos, whose works on Apollonios of Tyana (published at Tyros about 218 A.D.) and on the Sophists (written at Athens 230–238 A.D.) have supplied us with much information concerning Smyrna during the first three centuries.⁵ For the rest the coins that display the portraits of the Emperor and his mother, and boast repeatedly of the city's third neokorate and of her status as "First of Asia", form the sole Smyrnaian records of the reign.⁶ But Alexander's campaign against

¹Mionnet iii. 242 (1367), 245 f. (1384–1389), *supp.* vi. 362–364 (1810–1821). Cf. Pick in *J.O.A.I.* vii (1904) 4 (13, 15), 22 n. 30. Amazon-coins, Imhoof-Blumer in *Nomisma*, ii (1908) 9 (14).

²Mionnet.iii. 245 (1384 ?), *supp.* vi. 362 f. (1810 f. with n. (a)).

³Philostr. *Soph.* ii. 27 (618 f.): Mün-scher in Pauly VIII (1913) 1745–1747.

⁴See above, p. 216 n. 7.

⁵See above, p. 279.

⁶Mionnet iii. 246–248 (1390–1401), *supp.* vi. 364 f. (1822–1826); *B.M.C. Ionia*, 292–294 (428–439); Babelon 106 (1957: . . . πρώτων Ἀσίας κάλλι και μεγέθει, 1958: . . . πρώτων Ἀσίας); Imhoof-Blumer, *Kleinas. Münzen*, i (1901) 97 (5); Pick in *J.O.A.I.* vii (1904) 4 (10, 14, 16), 21 f., 24. Cf. Slaars 26 n. For the Amazon-coins, Imhoof-Blumer in *Nomisma*, ii (1908) 9 f. (15, 21).

Persia in 232 A.D. foreshadowed ominously the grave disturbances that awaited the eastern Empire in the near future.

Both Emperor and Empress-mother were slain on the Rhine by a discontented soldiery (March 235 A.D.); and for over three years the Empire was in confusion, while the Thracian soldier Maximinus endeavoured to retain the purple against his more respectable opponents. Smyrna struck coins for him and his son Maximus; and some of these mention (besides, of course, the third neokorate) the League-festival of Asia as being held in that city.¹ With his death and the accession of the youthful Gordianus (May/June 238 A.D.), settled conditions returned. In 241 A.D. Gordianus married Tranquillina, the daughter of a former Proconsul of Asia, who the following year won victories in conjunction with the Emperor over the Persians in Mesopotamia. Smyrnaian coins for Gordianus' reign are abundant and interesting.² They show that friendly understandings were formally concluded by Smyrna with Thyateira,³ Tralleis,⁴ Perinthos,⁵ Philadelphia,⁶ Troas,⁷ Ankyra,⁸ and (241-244 A.D.) Hierapolis.⁹ Of a less familiar type was the union established between Smyrna and the Province of Asia.¹⁰ Some of the coins celebrating the union between Smyrna and Philadelphia were formerly said to describe the Smyrnaians as "Temple-Wardens for the fourth time"¹¹; and from this reading the inference was drawn that a fourth neokorate was actually granted to Smyrna by Gordianus. But the true reading is now known to be the familiar "third time": moreover a host of later—not

¹Mionnet iii. 248 f. (1402-1405); *B.M.C. Ionia*, 294 (440 f.). Amazon-coin, Imhoof-Blumer in *Nomisma*, ii (1908) 9 (16).

²Tranquillina on coins, Mionnet iii. 251 f. (1422-1425), *supp.* vi. 367 (1835-1837); *B.M.C. Ionia*, 295 f. (446-451).

³Mionnet iii. 250 (1412 f.); *B.M.C. Lydia*, 321 f. (151-155).

⁴Mionnet iii. 250 (1414); *B.M.C. Lydia*, 362 (206 f.).

⁵Mionnet iii. 250 (1415), *supp.* vi. 361 (1806; wrongly ascribed to Caracallus—as also by Slaars 22 n. 42 fin.), 367 (1833); *B.M.C. Ionia*, 302 (487 f.).

⁶Mionnet iii. 250 (1416), 251 (1421),

iv. 100 (549), 108 (593), *supp.* vi. 367 (1834), vii. 400 f. (383-387); *B.M.C. Lydia*, 208-210 (113-120). On the last four alliances, Pick in *J.O.A.I.* vii (1904) 5.

⁷Imhoof-Blumer in *Nomisma*, ii (1908) 11.

⁸*Op. cit.* 12.

⁹Mionnet iii. 252 (1424).

¹⁰Mionnet iii. 249 (1407), *supp.* vi. 366f. (1832); Head, *Hist. Num.* 595; Pick in *op. cit.* 5 (18); Macdonald, *Hunter. Coll.* ii. 392 (290); Imhoof-Blumer in *Nomisma*, ii (1908) 11.

¹¹Mionnet iii. 250 (1416), iv. 108 (593), *supp.* vi. 367 (1834).

to mention contemporary—coins continue to specify the third.¹ A few coins of Gordianus and Tranquillina mention as General a sophist Rufinus, possibly the son of the Claudius Rufinus of earlier days.² The title "First of Asia",³ the celebration of the League-festival,⁴ and the name of an Asiarkh, Tertius,⁵ are also mentioned.

Gordianus perished in a mutiny on the Euphrates in 244 A.D.; and his general Philippus, who succeeded him, made peace with Persia, and went to Rome. In his reign fell the third year (243/244 A.D.) of the eight successive years of the unusually long Asian Proconsulship of L. Egnatius Victor Lollianus, in whose honour a statue was erected with a beautiful inscription in the following terms: "With good fortune! L. Pescennius Gessius, the third (of that name), Asiarkh, (honoured with this statue) his own benefactor, L. Egnatius Victor Lollianus, the most illustrious Proconsul of Asia for three years in succession, the sole and supreme rhetor, and agonothet of the first League-contests of Asia in Smyrna".⁶ The coins of Smyrna during Philippus' reign (244-249 A.D.) depict the Emperor, his wife Otacilia, and their son Philippus (who became Augustus in 247 A.D.), and mention friendly understandings concluded by Smyrna with Khios, Pergamon, Hierapolis, Thyateira, and Laodikeia.⁷ In 248

¹The *third* neokorate appears on Gordianus' coins, Mionnet iii. 249-251 (1408, 1410 f., 1417-1420, 1422 f.), *supp.* vi. 366 f. (1827-1829, 1831, 1835 f.), also iv. 100 (549), *supp.* vii. 400 f. (383-387); *B.M.C. Ionia*, 294-296 (442, 444-451), *Lydia*, 210 (119 f.). On the supposed fourth neokorate, cf. Cherbuliez i. 52; Lane 32; Mylonas 44 f. n. 10; Tsakyroglou i. 87 f.

²Mionnet iii. 249 (1408 f.), 251 (1423); Slaars 26 n. 50 init.; *B.M.C. Ionia*, 295 (446 f.). He is doubtless the orator who appears in *Mart. Pion.* xvii (see below, p. 395).

³Mionnet iii. 249 (1408), 252 (1425), *supp.* vi. 366 (1827).

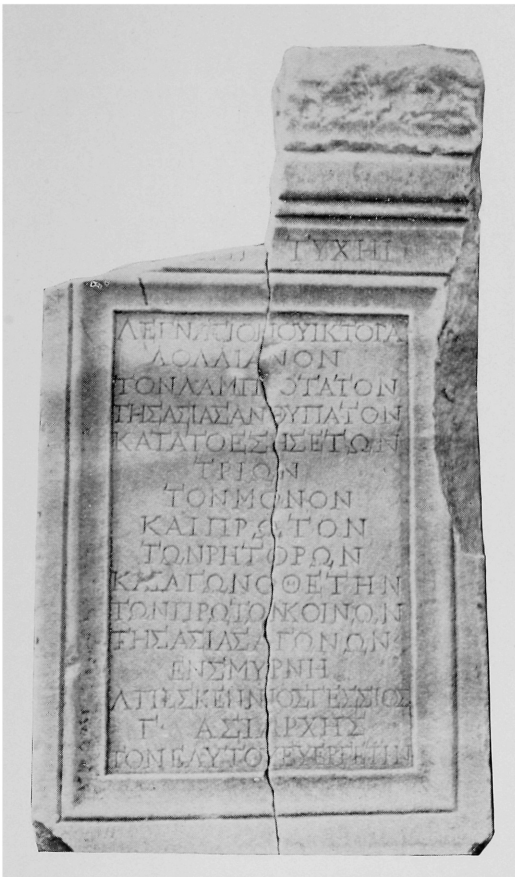
⁴Mionnet iii. 249 (1406), *supp.* vi. 366 (1830); *B.M.C. Ionia*, 295 (443).

⁵Mionnet iii. 250 (1410 f.), 252 (1425); *B.M.C. Ionia*, 294 (442). Amazon-coins under Gordianus are listed by Imhoof-Blumer in *Nomisma*, ii (1908) 4, 9 (17), 10-12.

⁶*S.E.G.* ii. 652 = Walter 252-254 (10). The inscription was found near Deirman-

Tepé in 1916; but in 1917/18 Walter did not know its whereabouts. I saw it in the Government-Museum at Smyrna, and was allowed to take a photograph of it, which is here reproduced by the kind permission of the Director of Antiquities and Museums at Angora. A very inaccurate account of the inscription appears in *Guide du Musée*, 73 (no. 122). The Proconsul is mentioned on several other inscriptions elsewhere: cf. *P.I.R.* ii. 34 (30); Chapot 309 f.; Groag in Pauly V (1905) 2001-2003. The Asiarkh L. Pescennius Gessius is honoured in a Philadelphian inscription, *I.G.R.* iv. 1642.

⁷Mionnet iii. 252 f. (1426-1434), *supp.* vi. 368 (1838); Slaars 22 mid.; *B.M.C. Ionia*, 296 (452 f.), *Lydia*, 322 (156), *Phrygia*, 260 ff. (174, 181-183), 330 (286-289); Pick in *J.O.A.I.* vii (1904) 5 f. (20: Mionnet's 1432 belongs to Nikomedeia, not Smyrna), 18 n. 15, 21; Imhoof-Blumer in *Nomisma*, ii (1908) 12 (3: Amazon-coins). The third neokorate is mentioned on several of these coins, and "First of Asia" also appears.



INSCRIPTION TO L. EGNATIUS VICTOR LOLLIANUS

A.D. Philippus celebrated at Rome Secular Games to mark the thousandth anniversary of the foundation of the imperial city, and to usher in a sort of new Golden Age. One of the distinguished prize-winners at these games was the declaimer Valerius Eclectus of Sinope and elsewhere: he subsequently (253-257 A.D.) won—among many other successes—prizes at the Smyrnaian Olympia and Hadrianic Olympia, and at the Asian League-festivals both at Sardeis and Smyrna.¹

Early in 249 A.D. Philippus was overthrown by Decius, whose short ensuing reign was occupied with a disastrous struggle against the Goths. We happen to possess, in the 'Martyrdom of Pionios', a vivid picture of life in Smyrna in 250 A.D.; but nearly all of its features fall to be noticed elsewhere. We may, however, refer here to one detail illustrative of Smyrnaian life, which we have not had occasion to mention elsewhere—the gladiatorial games. A certain Terentius appears in the Pionian story as superintending a public gladiatorial show given in honour of his son, in which wild beasts were hunted and condemned criminals put to death.² Alongside of this report we may put an inscription, assigned vaguely to the third century A.D., in which it is recorded that "Apellikon's school of gladiators and ludarii" (the latter apparently a class of fighters who used freak-weapons) made a contribution to the cost of a tomb provided for a boy named Marcus by his parents Heraklas and Melitene.³

When Decius fell in battle in the Dobrudsha late in 251 A.D., his surviving son Hostilianus became joint-Emperor with Trebonianus Gallus (formerly governor of Moesia). Hostilianus soon died; but a dubious coin of Smyrna is said to depict him, and to record at the same time a friendly understanding between Smyrna and Thyateira.⁴ Gallus and his

¹*I.G.* III. i. 129 = *I.G.*² II f. iii. 3169 f.

²*Mart. Pion.* xviii. 8.

³*I.G.R.* iv. 1453 = *M.D.A.I.* vi (1881) 266 (1); the monument was found behind the Akropolis. Other Smyrnaian monuments mentioning or commemorating gladiators are *C.I.G.* 3212 (*ταυροκαθάρια*), 3213 (= *I.G.R.* iv. 1454), 3275, 3368 (= *I.G.R.* iv. 1456), 3372 (= *I.G.R.* iv. 1468 = *S.E.G.* iv. 629; Eteokles commemorates his brother Polynikes, an *εσσεδάπιος*, i.e. a gladiator who fought

from a chariot or car: De Ricci in *R.E.A.* xxix [1927] 45 f. dates it in "l'époque des Antonins", 3374 (= *I.G.R.* iv. 1457), 3392, *Mouv.* I. 71 (24), 88 (68), II. ii f. 64 (153; if Smyrnaian), Mendel iii. 291-293 (1065); *Guide du Musée*, 78. Cf. Allard ii. 385 n. 3; Liebenam 114 f.; Chapot 494 f.; Reid 435.

⁴Mionnet, *supp.* vi. 368 (1839): the existence of the coin rests on the unsupported testimony of Sestini.

son Volusianus reigned till 253 A.D.: an inscription dedicating some erection to them was carved on a pillar by the "City of the Hyrkanians", and later found near Sevdiköi. The only known Hyrkanian city lay north-east of Magnesia-near-Sipylos: either this monument was somehow brought from there to near Sevdiköi, or else there was another small Hyrkanian city at or near Sevdiköi.¹

Military revolt soon swept Gallus and Volusianus aside, and elevated to the purple another general, Valerianus, who promptly associated his son Gallienus with himself in the supreme rule (253 A.D.). A certain Roman senator, Julius Apellas, apparently a member of a distinguished Pergamene family, had been sentenced by the magistrates of Smyrna to a fine in respect of his house-property in or near that city. Feeling the charge to be irregular, he appealed against it to the Emperors; and on 28th May 254 A.D. or one of the immediately ensuing years, Valerianus and Gallienus, nominally associating the latter's young son with themselves, sent a letter to Julius Apellas as to a personal friend, laying it down that senators ought not to be subjected to fines on their house-property by the municipal authorities. The epistle was considered important enough to be inscribed bilingually on stone.²

The times were threatening. The Goths advanced so far as to ravage Bithynia: the Persians captured Antiokheia. Valerianus took the field against the latter, and was himself taken prisoner. Yet Smyrna's annals tell us nothing of these troubles, but only of complimentary alliances with Hierapolis³ and Magnesia-near-Sipylos,⁴ and the athletic triumphs of the long-distance runner, Aurelius Apollinarius, citizen of Thyateira, Smyrna, Philadelpheia, Byzantion, etc.⁵ The same contrast holds good of the disturbed reign of the surviving

¹*C.I.G.* 3181 = *I.G.R.* iv. 1487. See above, p. 163 n. 2.

²*C.I.G.* 3182 = *C.I.L.* III. 412 = *I.G.R.* iv. 1404. Cf. *P.I.R.* ii. 167 (101); Groag in Pauly X (1919) 166.

³*B.M.C. Phrygia*, 264 (190-192).

⁴Mionnet iii. 254 (1438); *B.M.C. Lydia*, 155 (98). Mionnet iii. 254 (1439: alliance with Klazomenai) lacks adequate attestation. For other coins of Val., most of which mention the third neokorate, see

Mionnet iii. 254 (1435-1437), *supp.* vi. 368 (1840 f.); *B.M.C. Ionia*, 297 (454-457); Babelon 106 (1959); Imhoof-Blumer in *Nomisma*, ii (1908) 10 (23; Amazon-coin).

⁵*C.I.G.* 3206 = *I.G.R.* iv. 1419. Smyrna is given her full array of titles (see above, p. 292 n. 1). Valerianus and Gallienus honoured Aurelius Apollinarius with *ξυσταρχία* in Philadelpheia and Byzantion.

Gallienus (260-268 A.D.). The coins show portraits of him,¹ of his wife Salonina,² and of his son the younger Valerianus,³ and mention the League-festival,⁴ the third neokorate,⁵ and the friendly understanding with Hierapolis.⁶ We even have a precise record of the death, on 19th March 263 A.D., of the little Smyrnaian boy Hermeias, also called Litoris, a babe of eight and a half months.⁷ Yet we do not hear how Smyrna was affected by the ravaging of eastern Asia Minor at the hands of Sapor and the Persian cavalry (soon after 260 A.D.) and by the Goths' invasion of the Aegaeian lands, their destruction of the great temple of Artemis at Ephesos, and their attack on Athens (about 267 A.D.).

During the short reign of the vigorous Claudius II (268-270 A.D.), the Goths were compelled to leave the Aegaeian. He was succeeded by the reforming conqueror Aurelianus (270-275 A.D.), who surrounded Rome with new walls, suppressed almost all the local coinages of the Empire, and by his capture of Palmyra (273 A.D.) totally crushed Queen Zenobia's hopes of maintaining a rival empire embracing Asia Minor and other large regions of the nearer East. The vigour of Aurelianus' administration is reflected in the sole Smyrnaian monument that concerns him, namely, an inscription on a milestone, marking the sixth mile from Smyrna on the road to Sardeis, and naming the Emperor himself and his wife Ulpia Severina.⁸

The nine years that elapsed between the assassination of

¹Mionnet iii. 254 f. (1440-1447), *supp.* vi. 368-372 (1842-1863); *B.M.C. Ionia*, 297-300 (458-474); Babelon 106 (1960); Imhoof-Blumer in *Nomisma*, ii (1908) 9 f. (18 f., 24, cf. 26: Amazon-coins). A jar of coins of Gallienus and his family was found in 1675 in the foundations of the Theatre (Texier 307ab; Slaars 50 n. 91; Berg and Walter 23 n. 2).

²Mionnet iii. 256 (1448-1450), *supp.* vi. 372 (1864-1867); *B.M.C. Ionia*, 300 (475-478); Imhoof-Blumer in *Nomisma*, ii (1908) 10 (20, 25: Amazon-coins). The heads of Gallienus, Salonina, and the god Sarapis appear on a bronze seal with the words *μυστῶν πρὸ πόλεως Ερσιεύων* (Le Bas-Wadd. 248). *Erythraian* coins of Salonina were found in one of the tombs below the Tomb of Tantalos (Weber, *Stylos*, 23 top).

³Mionnet iii. 256 (1451).

⁴Mionnet iii. 255 (1446); *B.M.C. Ionia*, 299 (473).

⁵On almost all the coins of the reign: cf. Pick in *J.O.A.I.* vii (1904) 4 (11 f.), 6 (21 f.), 21 f., 24.

⁶Mionnet iii. 255 (1447), *supp.* vi. 372 (1863); Babelon 366 (6185): these may, however, have been minted before the capture of Valerianus.

⁷*C.I.G.* 3309 = *C.I.L.* III. 417 = *I.G.R.* iv. 1467.

⁸*C.I.G.* 3179c = Le Bas-Wadd. 8C, as corrected by *C.I.L.* III. 472. Fontrier suggests (in *R.E.A.* iii [1901] 351 top) that the very fragmentary inscription *C.I.L.* III. *supp.* ii. 14404b (Greek, right), found at Bunarbashi, may refer to Aurelianus.

Aurelianus in Thrace and the accession of Diocletianus to supreme power (284 A.D.) are a complete blank so far as the history of Smyrna is concerned. In that respect they are fairly typical of the third century generally, which is largely devoid of important events in the life of the city.

When Diocletianus became Emperor, the last sub-period of non-Christian imperial rule began. A fresh and serious effort was now made to stabilize the government and to circumvent the danger of repeated revolution. Diocletianus fixed his seat at Nikomedeia in Bithynia, and entrusted the western half of the Empire to his colleague Maximianus. Internal opposition was crushed, foreign assailants repelled, frontier-defences improved. In 293 A.D. two Caesars were appointed as the assistants and prospective successors of the two Augusti—Constantius for the further West, Galerius for the middle East. About the same time, the provincial organization was revised, with a view to reducing the power of governors hitherto invested with military authority. The Provinces were reduced in size, and grouped in twelve large *Dioikeseis*, each *Dioikesis* being under the control of a *Vicarius*. The troops were withdrawn from the governor's control, and entrusted to purely military officers, while the governors themselves were spied upon by the Emperor's agents. The great province of Asia was broken up into seven sections—Smyrna being included in the coast-strip from Assos to the Maiandros, which still retained the name of "Asia", and had as its governor a *Proconsul* with special powers and his capital at Ephesos: but it did not extend inland even so far as to embrace Sardeis. The League of Asia disappeared. This reduced Province of Asia must be distinguished from the *Dioikesis* of Asia, which included the whole of western Asia Minor, extending eastwards as far as Lykaonia, and was included in the share of Galerius.¹

But while the new system may have insured quiet, it occasioned no such rejoicing as the work of Augustus had done; for it was accompanied by a vastly more oppressive system of taxation, and a widespread growth of tyranny and injustice without possibility of redress. In particular, a foolish attempt was made in 301 A.D. to remedy trade-depression by means

¹Bury in Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, ii (1897) 548-551, 560; Chapot 86 f., 291, 467.

of an arbitrary fixation of prices, which simply intensified the trouble. The result of the new régime, therefore, was that the prosperity of the cities, which had been declining during the last two-thirds of the century, was now virtually extinguished, and general discontent and misery took its place.¹

Surviving Smyrnaian monuments of the period, however, tell us nothing of all this. Apart from the tomb-inscription of Doxa, the wife of Ammianos the librarius, which is dated to the equivalent of September/October 288 A.D.,² the records consist simply of a group of milestone-inscriptions belonging to the period 293-305 A.D., and pointing to an extensive overhaul of the roads by imperial authority. First we have the distance of one mile from Smyrna marked on a stone near Tepejik, along with the almost obliterated names of the two Augusti and the clear names of the two Caesars in Greek.³ The fifth mile is recorded on a similar stone found slightly to the west of Burnabat.⁴ At Bunarbashi, slightly to the east, and on the road to Sardeis, we find the barely legible names of Diocletianus and Maximianus in Latin.⁵ On another previously-used column found at Hajilar, the same names are traceable.⁶ The twenty-eighth Roman mile from Smyrna is mentioned on a stone found to the west of Kassaba, and naming in Latin the two Caesars, Constantius and Galerius.⁷ On another important road—that from Smyrna to Pergamon—the names of all four rulers figured in a Greek inscription found at Menemen and marking the eighth mile from Smyrna (by the coast-road). Adjoining it is a Latin fragment mentioning the two Caesars.⁸ Finally the same names appear on a milestone found at Metropolis on the road from Smyrna to Ephesos.⁹

In 305 A.D. Diocletianus and Maximianus abdicated, and

¹Liebenam 488 f., 508, 513; Reid 16, 467, 486-488, 491 f.

²*Mouv.* V. i. 67 f. (vῆς').

³*C.I.L.* III. *supp.* i. 7197 (? ll. 11 ff.), 7199, *supp.* ii. 14201⁶.

⁴Calder in *East. Prov.* 101 with n.

⁵*C.I.L.* III. *supp.* ii. 14404b (top right) = *I.G.R.* iv. 1489; Fontrier in *R.É.A.* iii (1901) 350 (? after 297 A.D.). It is carved on the same stone as that referred to above, p. 272 n. 6.

⁶*C.I.G.* 3179b = Le Bas-Wadd. 8D, as corrected by *C.I.L.* III. 473. Same stone, above, p. 290 nn. 1 f., p. 299 n. 8, Cf. Fontrier, as in last n., 351 fin.

⁷Keil and Premerstein in *D.K.A.W.* lvii (1915) 7b (4).

⁸*C.I.L.* III. 6095 = *supp.* i. 7201 f. = *I.G.R.* iv. 1385 = *Mouv.* II. i. 31 f. (ρλε'). Cf. Ramsay in *J.H.S.* ii (1881) 52f., 54.

⁹*Mouv.* II. ii f. 94 (σῑ'); Ramsay in *J.H.S.* ii (1881) 54 (where "Pergamus" seems a slip for "Ephesus").

Constantius and Galerius became Augusti, with two new Caesars. The Dioikesis of Asia remained under Galerius. The following year Constantius died. His son Constantinus was at once greeted as "Augustus" by the army. During the struggles of the ensuing years, Constantinus steadily increased in power, while his rivals collapsed one by one. After Galerius' death in 311 A.D., Maximinus Daza swayed the East, until he was overthrown and supplanted by Licinius (313 A.D.). A milestone, apparently once at Bunarbashi, bore the names of the two sons of Constantinus (Crispus and Constantinus) and the son of Licinius (Licinianus), who were Caesars from 317 to 323 A.D.¹ Constantinus' final victory over Licinius (whose fleet was drawn partly from Ionia) at Khryso-polis (opposite Byzantion) in 324 A.D. left him the undisputed master of the Empire.

¹Keil and Premerstein in *D.K.A.W.* lvii (1915) 8 a n. 2.

CHAPTER XI

JEWES AND CHRISTIANS AT SMYRNA UNDER THE PRE-CONSTANTINIAN EMPERORS:

(I) 31 B.C.—161 A.D.

WE hear of Jews settled in western Asia Minor long before the days of the Roman Empire. Aristoteles (who died in 322 B.C.) is represented by one of his disciples as having conversed with a hellenized Jew in this region. Antiochos the Great (223—187) B.C. is said to have had 2000 Jewish families transported from Mesopotamia to Lydia and Phrygia. By the beginning of the first century B.C., the Jews in the Province of Asia and the adjacent islands were numerous enough to tempt Mithradates (88 B.C.) to seize the money they had deposited in Kos for despatch to Jerusalem, and to incite the Proprætor Valerius Flaccus (62/61 B.C.) to make similar confiscations in Apameia, Laodikeia, Pergamon, and Adramyttion and forbid the export of such funds from the Province. The ill-will often felt by Jews towards the Roman administration comes out in the 'Sibylline Oracles' quoted on a former page.¹ Julius Caesar, however, favoured the Jews²; and Octavianus, after conquering at Aktion (31 B.C.) but before assuming the title "Augustus" (27 B.C.), instructed the Proconsul Norbanus Flaccus to see that the Jews were allowed, whatever their numbers, to collect and send their money to Jerusalem without hindrance; and Norbanus dutifully passed these instructions on to Ephesos and Sardeis and, we may presume, to Smyrna and other cities also. In 14 B.C., when Augustus' deputy Vipsanius Agrippa visited Ionia, accompanied by King Herodes, the Jews of the region took the opportunity to appeal to him at Lesbos against various annoy-

¹See above, p. 146.

²See above, p. 165.

ances to which they were subjected by the Hellenes, such as the necessity of pleading in the courts on the Sabbath and the demands that their collections for Jerusalem should be devoted to the military and civil services of the community and that they should comply with Gentile religious customs generally as a condition of retaining their normal civic rights. Their cause was pleaded for them, through Herodes' arrangement, by Nikolaos of Damaskos. The opposition offered was feeble; and Agrippa decided in their favour, and wrote accordingly to the governor of the Province, M. Junius Silanus, and to Ephesos. Again, about 4 B.C., the Proconsul Julius Antoninus had occasion to write to Ephesos, insisting that the concessions granted by Augustus and Agrippa should be observed. Finally, about 2 B.C., Augustus himself confirmed, under penalty, all the privileges which the Jews had previously enjoyed.¹

We may safely assume that Smyrna, as one of the principal cities of the Province, had almost as early as any a body of Jews among her inhabitants, though it so happens that we possess no definite information about them. We learn that the Diadokhoi had granted the Jews "of Ephesos and throughout the rest of Ionia" equal status with the other citizens: the Smyrnaian Jews were thus in all probability Smyrnaian citizens, forming as such a separate tribe.² An inscription at Magnesia-near-Sipylos tells us that a Jew named Straton, son of Tyrannos, procured a tomb for himself and his family; but we cannot give it a date.³ It is quite probable that the Jews of Asia, who gathered round the Apostles at Pentecost in 30 A.D., and those who disputed with Stephanos at Jerusalem about 34 A.D., included some from Smyrna⁴; Philon, referring

¹Josep. *Antiq.* XII. iii. 2 (125-127), 4 (147-153), XVI. ii. 3-5 (27-65), vi. 1-4, 6 f. (160-168, 171-173); Philon, *Legat.* 40: Chapot 182-186; Schürer, *G. J. V.* iii. 5f., 12 f., 113 n. 47; Bousset, *Relig. des Judentums* (ed. 1926), 68 f.; H. S. Jones in *C.A.H.* x. 146 f.; Momi-gliano in *op. cit.* 331.

²Josep. *Contra Apion.* ii. 4 (39): Schürer, *G. J. V.* iii. 121, 124 f.; Ramsay, *Seven Chs.* 142-157, 272.

³*Mouv.* II. ii f. 46 (σξη) = *M.D.A.I.* xxiv (1899) 239 f. (88). If Συμεών be the right emendation for Εὐμεον in the

Smyrnaian inscription in *R.E.G.* xiii (1900) 497 (5), this son of the Papirios there named was also a Jew.

⁴*Acts*, ii. 9, vi. 9. Lampakes (25 f., 135) suggests that the former were the originators of Christianity in Asia. Ramsay says that the latter "are probably those educated in the rhetorical schools of Smyrna and Pergamos; the Phrygian Jews would be less likely to have received a philosophical education . . ." (*Ch. in the Rom. Emp.* 150; similarly Woodhouse in *Encyc. Bibl.* 339 bott.).

to the period 30–35 A.D., speaks of the Jews as being very numerous in every city of Asia.¹

The merit of having introduced Christianity into Asia appears to belong to the Apostle Paul. His first effort, indeed, to enter the province from the interior was somehow frustrated; and he went to Makedonia and Hellas instead (50 A.D.).² A couple of years later, however, in spring 52 A.D., when returning by sea to Palestine, he paid a flying visit to Ephesos, disputing with the Jews in their synagogue, and leaving the Jewish couple, Aquila and Priscilla, to do their best till he could return. In his absence this couple was joined for a time by the learned Alexandreian Christian Apollos; and an elementary Jewish-Christian community was formed, which soon got into communication with the Christians at Korinth,³ and may quite well have soon founded a Christian group at Smyrna.⁴ Paul reappeared at Ephesos in the spring or early summer of 54 A.D.⁵ Since he journeyed via (South) Galatia and Phrygia,⁶ and also (as we learn indirectly) did *not* travel by the Lykos-valley,⁷ he probably passed through Philadelpheia and down the Hermos through Sardeis and Smyrna,⁸ with the definite object—we may presume—of visiting those important cities. In rather remarkable agreement with these chronological and geographical conjectures, the 'Life of Polykarp' frequently attributed to Pionios records that Paul, coming down from Galatia, arrived in Asia during the days of unleavened bread (i.e. Passover), and rested among the faithful at Smyrna.⁹ It goes on to say that he stayed with Strataias (brother of Timotheos), who had formerly heard

¹Philon, *Legat.* 33; cf. *Flacc.* 7.

²*Acts*, xvi. 6–10; cf. C. H. Turner, *Studies in early Ch. History*, 173, 176.

³*Acts*, xviii. 18–xix. 5.

⁴That the church at Smyrna was founded, not by Paul, but by others before Paul visited the city, is implied by Pionios (?), *Vit. Polyc.* ii, on the authority of which see below, pp. 306–310.

⁵*Acts*, xix. 1. Paul spent two years and three months at Ephesos (*Acts*, xix. 8, 10; cf. xx. 31), then went via Makedonia into Hellas, stayed three months there (xx. 3), then returned by land and reached Philippi by Passover (xx. 6). If we allow four or five months for the journeys, we arrive at spring or early summer as the season of his arrival at Ephesos. Cf. my

art. in *Journ. of Bibl. Lit.* Sept. 1937, 187–190.

⁶*Acts*, xviii. 23; cf. xvi. 1–6, xv. 36, xiv. 20 f., 8, 1, xiii. 14.

⁷*Coloss.* ii. 1.

⁸Cf. C. H. Turner, *Studies in early Ch. History*, 174; Swete, *Apoc.* (ed. 1907), lxviii.

⁹Pionios (?), *Vit. Polyc.* i, ii. 1. I can see no reason for regarding ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῶν ἀζύμων as merely derived from *Acts*, xx. 6. Hilgenfeld (in *Z.W.T.* xlviii [1905] 452 f.) discredits the chronology of *Vit. Polyc.* here by urging that Paul's immediately preceding visit to Jerusalem (*Acts*, xviii. 22) took place at *Pentecost*: I can however find no authority for so dating it.

him in Pamphylia, and that he later departed. So far at least there seems no good reason to doubt its record.¹

¹Pionios (?), *Vit. Polyc.* ii. 1 f.: cf. 2 *Tim.* i. 5.

It is clearly at this point that a student of the history of the church at Smyrna ought to determine what use he is going to make of the *Vita Polycarpi* here quoted. This anonymous work (the text of which is printed in Lightfoot iii. 433-465 [Eng. tr. 488-506] and Funk, *Patr. Apost.* ii. 402-450 [with Lat. trans.]) is preserved in a single MS. of x/A.D., where it precedes a copy of the *Martyrium Polycarpi*. It begins somewhat abruptly (in a way that implies that the author had just been talking about something else): "Having gone back to an earlier point, and begun from the blessed Paul's visit to Smyrna, just as I found (it recorded) in ancient copies, I will tell the story in due order, thus coming down to the narrative about the blessed Polykarp" (i). After bringing Paul to Smyrna, as described in the text above, the author depicts him instructing the Smyrnaian Christians to keep Easter during the season of unleavened bread, but not necessarily on the fourteenth day of the month (Nisan), and he adds that after Paul's departure Strataias "succeeded to his teaching" (ii. 3 f., iii. 1). (The reader should be reminded here that some early Christians—particularly those in Asia—celebrated the Passion and redemptive work of Christ on the fourteenth of Nisan, when the Jews celebrated Passover, irrespective of the precise day of the week on which it fell; these came to be called "Quartodecimans": the majority, however, celebrated the finished redemptive work on the Sunday following the fourteenth of Nisan, irrespective of its precise date). The author of *Vit. Polyc.*, after promising to give later on an annotated list of Strataias' successors, as far as he could discover them (iii. 1), proceeds to the story of Polykarp's youth and advancement. He mentions his numerous writings, most of which were carried off by the heathen at the time of his death: some however remained, and the author promises to include Polykarp's letter to the Philippians "in its proper place" (xii. 3). As the story proceeds, we get another promise—the author will describe later Polykarp's method of interpreting Scripture (xx. 1). A full account is

given of how, on the death of Boukolos, Bishop of Smyrna, he was elected by the neighbouring Bishops to succeed him. Several miracles wrought by Polykarp are then narrated; and the work ends abruptly with an awkwardly-winded doxology. None of the promises just referred to are fulfilled: there are a couple of accidental gaps in the narrative (xviii and xxviii f.); but it is unlikely that these contained any of this missing matter—the latter gap may have included the story of how Polykarp curbed a flood, a story which later quotations show to have been once read in *Vit. Polyc.*

The internal evidence suffices to show that *Vit. Polyc.* was the work of an ardent but anti-quartodeciman admirer of Polykarp, and was written (if Asian) after 190 A.D. (up till when the Asian Christians were solidly quartodeciman), but not later than about 300 A.D. (after which the author would have hardly dared to ignore as he does John the Apostle's residence in Asia and association with Polykarp which Eusebios promulgated in his *Church-History*: Schwartz moreover has argued [*De Pionio et Pol.* 24 f.] that the recommendation in *Vit. Polyc.* ii. 3 f. to keep Easter within the days of unleavened bread must be prior to the Council of Nikaia in 325 A.D. [per contra, Lightfoot iii. 429; Delehay, *Passions*, 53 f.].

The early editors of *Vit. Polyc.* tentatively ascribed its composition to Pionios, a cultured Smyrnaian presbyter who was martyred in 250 A.D. The question of his claim to be regarded as its author has been much discussed: cf., among others, Le Quien 739-741; Lightfoot i. 383, 433-436, 608 f., 638 (iii), 642-645, iii. 356 f., 423-431; Corssen in *Z.N.W.* v (1904) 261-302; Schwartz, *De Pionio et Pol.* 1-33; Hilgenfeld in *Z.W.T.* xlviii (1905) 444-458; Diekamp in Funk, *Patr. Apost.* ii (1913) LXXXII-LXXXIX; Reuning 6-8; Schmidt, *Gespräche*, 705-725; Delehay, *Passions*, 21-27, 37-59; Streeter, *Prim. Ch.* 94 f., 265-272; Harrison 18. Moreover, one calling himself Pionios writes part of an epilogue to *Mart. Polyc.*, which runs as follows: "These things did Gaius" (? of Rome, early iii/A.D.) "transcribe from the (copies) of Eirenaïos, a disciple of Polykarp . . . But I Sokrates at Korinth

wrote (them) from Gaius' copies . . . And I Pionios in my turn wrote them from the afore-mentioned (Sokrates?), after seeking them out, the blessed Polykarp—as I shall make clear in the sequel—having manifested (them) to me in a revelation, (and) after collecting them when they were already well-nigh worn out through lapse of time . . .” There is no sufficient reason for doubting the truth of these statements, or for hesitating to identify the Pionios who writes in this epilogue with the martyred presbyter of 250 A.D. From *Mart. Pion.* ii. 1f. (see below, pp. 380, 401) we learn that Pionios was interested in observing the anniversary of Polykarp's martyrdom; and, despite what Delehaye says (*Passions*, 46), he may very well have believed that Polykarp had aided him in a vision to find the missing record. Schwartz (*De Pionio et Pol.* 4, 11 f., 17 bott., 32 top) has pointed out that the Smyrnaians probably did not duplicate and broadcast copies of *Mart. Polyc.*, and that the versions of it existing in Euseb. (*Ch.-Hist.* IV. xv) and in separate MSS. are probably descended from a single iii/A.D. archetype; from this he infers that it was Pionios whose care preserved the document for posterity (*op. cit.* 3, 31 f.: Reuning comments [2] on the generally good condition of the text). Some have regarded the Pionian epilogue to *Mart. Polyc.* as fictitious (Lightfoot i. 608 f., 638 [iii], 643 f., iii. 428); but it is too unpretentiously worded to merit such condemnation (Corssen 277 f.; Hilgenfeld 447 bott.). Others treat the epilogue as genuine, but as coming from a different and later Pionios, on the ground that 156–250 A.D. is too short an interval for the series of copies enumerated (Diekamp LXXXV f.; Delehaye, *Passions*, 54); but accidental causes might easily expedite the decay of a MS. (Schwartz 32). Corssen (275–277) thinks the epil. refers, not simply to *Mart. Polyc.*, but to a whole collection of Polykarp's treatises, thus accounting for the *ἀνρά* which Pionios says he had searched out (a later substitute, says Corssen, for τὰ Πολυκάρπου συγγράμματα) and also explaining the worn-out condition of the copies: but there is no need to do this violence to the text (Diekamp LXXXVI); *ἀνρά* refers quite naturally to the *τὰντα* of the preceding section, i.e. to *Mart. Polyc.* Schmidt (*Gespräche*, 706) objects, unreasonably, I think, to commencing the investiga-

tion with a consideration of the epilogue.

Assuming then that the epil. to *Mart. Polyc.* is genuine, and that its Pionios is the martyr of 250 A.D., we may adduce the following arguments in favour of regarding *Vit. Polyc.* as his work:—

(1). *Vit. Polyc.* is the work of an admirer of Polykarp (cf. *Mart. Pion.* ii. 1 f.), who wrote—as we have seen above (p. 306 b)—not later than about 300 A.D.; he was familiar with the topography and civil customs of Smyrna and the pride taken locally in its beauty (*Vit. Polyc.* xxx. 4, etc.; cf. *Mart. Pion.* iv. 2, etc.), and was interested in eastern travel (*Vit. Polyc.* vi. 1; cf. *Mart. Pion.* iv. 18–21); he believed in miracles (*Vit. Polyc.* xxv–xxxii; cf. *Mart. Pion.* xiii. 6), esteemed celibacy (*Vit. Polyc.* ix, xiv–xvi; cf. *Mart. Pion.* xxi. 2), and was an authoritative teacher (*Vit. Polyc.* xx. 1; cf. *Mart. Pion.* passim). All these conditions—as the references here quoted will show—would have been satisfied by Pionios. Taken singly, the points of contact may be slight (cf. Diekamp LXXXVI, and, in particular, Schmidt, *Gespräche*, 707, 718 f., 721 n. 1, and Delehaye, *Passions*, 41, 45–51); but their cumulative effect is considerable (Corssen 291–298).

(2). The author of *Vit. Polyc.*, by omitting to record Polykarp's death, leads us to infer that he had provided elsewhere for that very essential part of the biography (Corssen 272–274; Schwartz 31). Now Pionios copied out *Mart. Polyc.* (as the epil. to that document tells us), and intended to add a sequel.

(3). *Vit. Polyc.* shows yet other signs of incompleteness, not only in the gaps of xviii and xxviii f., but in its abrupt opening and its various unfulfilled promises (see above, p. 306 and cf. Lightfoot iii. 424 f.; Schwartz 31 top), while on the other hand the Pionian epil. to *Mart. Polyc.* foreshadows an unforthcoming sequel. True, *Vit. Polyc.* does not now contain the specific item which the epil. promises; but it is possible (as Corssen [274] and Schwartz [32 bott.] think) that this item (the missing story of Polykarp's revelation to Pionios) was contained in the original opening of *Vit. Polyc.* However that may be, all is explained if we suppose that Pionios intended to compile a sort of *Corpus Polycarpianum*, commencing with the great classic *Mart. Polyc.* and including *Vit. Polyc.* (in a completer form than at present), a list of Smyrnaian church-leaders, Polykarp's *Epistle to the Philip-*

pians, and an account of his Scripture-exegesis (unless, with Schwartz [30], we identify these last two items) (Corssen 267-269, 277 bott.; Schwartz 29-32). Schwartz thinks (30 f.) that Pionios' *σύγγραμμα* mentioned in *Mart. Pion.* i. 2 was *Vit. Polyc.*, and that *Mart. Pion.* was itself the concluding section of the *Corpus*.

(4). A Moscow MS. of *Mart. Polyc.* contains a later and fuller version of the Pionian epilogue, revealing—on the part of its author—an acquaintance with *Vit. Polyc.* (Delehaye, *Passions*, 40 f.). This would be easily explained if he had found *Mart. Polyc.* (including the genuine Pionian epil.) and *Vit. Polyc.* together. But such a conjunction would point to Pionios having been responsible for both documents, i.e. to his having written *Vit. Polyc.* himself (so Corssen's somewhat subtle argument [269-274]: cf. Hilgenfeld 448 f., 451).

(5). One of the chief grounds on which the Pionian authorship of *Vit. Polyc.* has usually been regarded as impossible is the presence in it of miracle-stories and other improbable statements. But there is nothing improbable in miracles being believed, in the middle of iii/A.D., to have actually happened to Polykarp and being narrated accordingly (Corssen 279-288). Even the almost contemporary *Mart. Polyc.* contains miraculous episodes. Delehaye (*Passions*, 24 f., 27, 43-47, 51, 54, 59) rebuts this argument by urging that the miracles are so plentiful in *Vit. Polyc.* that it is clearly one (though the earliest—end of iv/A.D. or early in v/) of a well-recognized class of largely fictitious hagiographical compositions. But is not the larger number of miracles in *Vit. Polyc.*, as compared with *Mart. Polyc.* and *Mart. Pion.*, sufficiently explained by the fact that it was dealing with days long past, whereas they were dealing with more or less contemporary events? Apart from miracles, the narrative is on the whole straightforward and credible (Le Quien 740 A: "profecto eximiae vetustatis characteres praefert . . ."): consider the historical value of some of the items mentioned above under (1), e.g. the author's knowledge of the topography and institutions of Smyrna (cf. Lightfoot iii. 430; Corssen 288 f.; Diekamp LXXXV); also his knowledge of Polykarp's highly tense spiritual character, such as would promote ecstasy, visions, and belief in miracles (*Vit. Polyc.*

xvii. 4, xxxii. 1, etc.; cf. *Mart. Polyc.* v. 2, vii. 3, ix. 1, xv f.: Corssen 280 f.). We have, moreover, seen above (p. 305 f.) how remarkably certain statements in *Vit. Polyc.* regarding Christian beginnings at Smyrna tally with what we can infer quite independently from the *N.T.* There is no such discrepancy between *Vit. Polyc.* and *Acts* as Delehaye (*Passions*, 56) assumes.

A contrary view, to the effect that *Vit. Polyc.* is not the work of Pionios at all, but is an almost entirely fictitious story composed about 350-400 A.D. (Schmidt [*Gespräche*, 723-725] thinks the latter part of iv/A.D.; Delehaye [27, 49 n. 1, 54, 59] prefers early v/A.D.), is based mainly on the following considerations:—

(1). It is anonymous. (But that does not exclude Pionios as author).

(2). It abounds in miracles. (But see above, under (5).)

(3). Since the Pionios of the epil. to *Mart. Polyc.* claims only to have collected and transcribed *Mart. Polyc.* and to contemplate giving an account of Polykarp's revelation to him, it is illegitimate to represent him as intending to write a *Life*, or as having "collected" more than *Mart. Polyc.* and *Ep. ad Phil.* (cf. Hilgenfeld 448, 450 f., 455 n. 2). (But "collecting" does rather suggest several treatises; the scope of the intended sequel is left vague; and the specification of the lesser undertaking does not preclude the reality of the greater).

(4). The author of *Vit. Polyc.* reveals his untrustworthiness by claiming (xii. 3) knowledge of several of Polykarp's treatises, whereas it is almost certain that in his time only *Ep. ad Phil.* was extant (Lightfoot i. 643; Diekamp LXXXVIII: cf. Schmidt, *Gespräche*, 707 f.). (It should however be noted that, while he alludes vaguely to several extant treatises, he does not claim to be able to produce more than one, viz. *Ep. ad Phil.*: so Schwartz 30 top, Streeter 268). He also promises (xx. 1) to describe Polykarp's method of expounding Scripture (Diekamp *L.c.*). (But here again his language is vague: he may be referring either, as Schwartz [30 mid.] thinks, to *Ep. ad Phil.*, or possibly to oral tradition: we do not know enough to be able to charge him with falsehood [cf. Harrison 16-18]).

(5). The author of *Vit. Polyc.* betrays in various ways his Syrian origin (e.g. by his praise of Easterners as lovers of Scrip-

tural learning [vi. 1], etc.: so Schmidt, *Gespräche*, 719-723). (But even if the arguments here are valid, there is nothing to prevent us supposing that Pionios also may have come from the East, or at any rate may have had an admiration for Easterners).

So far then the arguments in favour of regarding Pionios as the author of *Vit. Polyc.* seem fairly strong, and the objections to it quite inconclusive. But what is for most the real crux has yet to be mentioned. The author of *Vit. Polyc.*, though he was certainly acquainted with what Eirenaios had said about Polykarp, not only makes no mention of Eirenaios himself (Hilgenfeld 451 f., 455 n. 2), but entirely ignores Eirenaios' important statements to the effect that Polykarp had had intercourse with John and other disciples of Jesus, and had been made Bishop by Apostles (see below, pp. 321 f.); in fact he never alludes to the Apostle or Elder John of Ephesos at all. Lightfoot (iii. 430 f.) and Hilgenfeld (452, 458; cf. Delehay, *Passions*, 54 ff.) treat this grave omission as one of the chief grounds for denying the early date and historical reliability of *Vit. Polyc.* Corssen (whose reasoning [266, 299-302] is accepted by Erbes [in *Zeitschr. für Kirchengesch.* xxxvi (1916) 301 f.], Schwartz (29 bott., 33), and Streeter (94 f., 265-272 [cf. also *C.A.H.* xi. 292 n. 2]), on the other hand, treat it as constituting the chief claim of the book to be regarded as Pionian and veracious. The author, they argue, would never have wished or dared to pass over such important matters affecting the man he was seeking to honour, had he not been writing before the time (early iv/A.D.) when Eusebios made the knowledge of them worldwide, and had he not been relying on an ancient and indisputable Smyrnaian tradition. Corssen accordingly brands Eirenaios' assertion as "eine dreiste Fälschung", and Schwartz calls it a "mendacium".

There is, however, as Hilgenfeld (454-458) has pointed out, another possible explanation of the omission—one which all the three scholars just named rather strangely ignore—viz. the desire of the author of *Vit. Polyc.* to keep the picture of his hero free from the taint of Quartodecimanism. We have seen that he was himself a zealous Anti-quartodeciman (see above, p. 306a). It is all in probability due to this fact that he makes

no mention of the visit which Polykarp paid to Rome in 154 A.D. in the quartodeciman interest (see below, pp. 354 f. Streeter indeed [267f.] thinks *Vit. Polyc.* did originally include a notice of it; but there is no evidence that this was so). It is clear that later in ii/A.D. feeling on the Easter-question could run very high. About 190 A.D. a stout and defiant apologia for Quartodecimanism was issued by Polykrates, Bishop of Ephesos, who appealed to the authority of Polykarp and other "luminaries" buried in Asia, chief of whom was John of Ephesos, regarded doubtless by Polykrates and Eirenaios alike as the Apostle of that name. Victor, Bishop of Rome, went so far as to excommunicate the Asian churches; but his sentence remained a dead letter (Euseb. *Ch.-Hist.* V. xxiii f.: see below, p. 370). Now if an anti-quartodeciman admirer of Polykarp could suppress all mention of his visit to Rome, may he not also for the same reason have suppressed all mention of his connexion with John, the great authority on which the Quartodecimans depended? And suppressio veri by the author of *Vit. Polyc.* in the interests of Anti-quartodecimanism is a better explanation of the data than falsehood or error on the part of Eirenaios (so Schmidt, *Gespräche*, 713-718): for it must be remembered that the long residence at Ephesos of a dominating Christian named John (who must have been known to Polykarp) is indisputably proved, altogether independently of Eirenaios, by the evidence of the *Apocalypse*; and if the silence of *Vit. Polyc.* regarding him does not disprove his existence, why must it necessarily disprove what Eirenaios says? It is therefore quite possible to regard *Vit. Polyc.* as resting on the whole on good sources, without being thereby obliged to accuse Eirenaios of fraud or error.

But how does this conclusion affect the question of Pionios' authorship? Hilgenfeld regards such authorship as impossible, on the ground that the real Pionios, as an Asian and an admirer of Polykarp, must have been a Quartodeciman (454, 457 f.). But can we be sure that he was? There is no explicit statement to that effect; and that admiration for Polykarp *could* exist alongside Anti-quartodecimanism is clear from the very existence of *Vit. Polyc.* Moreover, Pionios' violent antagonism to the Jews (*Mart. Pion.* iv, xiii f.) rather suggests

We learn from 'Acts' that the Apostle Paul went on to Ephesos, and stayed there for two and a quarter years. His work—which doubtless included personal journeys—was so successful that "all who inhabited Asia heard the word of the Lord, both Jews and Hellenes" (i.e. Gentiles).¹ From the scope of such missionary effort Smyrna could not possibly have been excluded. Whatever therefore we may decide to infer regarding Paul's alleged visit to Strataias, we need have no hesitation in dating the origin of the Christian church in Smyrna at some point within the period 53-56 A.D.²

that he might incline to the less Jewish usage of the Antiquartodecimans. When he died, sixty years had elapsed since Polykrates wrote—ample time for opinions in Smyrna to change. By 325 A.D. Constantine noted that nearly all Christendom, including Asia, had adopted Quartodecimanism (Euseb. *Vit. Const.* iii. 19: cf. Turner in *Studia Biblica*, ii [1890] 126 n. 1). It is, therefore, quite possible that Pionios may have been an Antiquartodeciman (so Schwartz, *Ostertafeln*, 137: per contra, Schmidt, *Gespräche*, 705, 725), but may also—out of admiration for Polykarp—have not only recopied *Mart. Polyc.* and *Ep. ad Phil.*, but have written a life of his hero, magnifying him in every way open to him, but (for the sake of orthodoxy regarding Easter) foregoing the glamour of his association with John. (We may compare the analogous silence of *Const. Apost.* in regard to Polykarp himself, due to the same consideration: see below, pp. 313 f.).

For these reasons I incline to believe that Pionios was in all probability the author of *Vit. Polyc.*, and I propose to treat its assertions as in the main worthy of trust, without feeling obliged—out of deference to its authority—to reject the statements made by Eirenaïos. Schmidt's argument (e.g. *Gespräche*, 706, 718, 725) is directed against both the historical accuracy of *Vit. Polyc.* and its composition in iii/A.D.; but rather more vehemently against the former. The two issues need to be kept distinct.

If Pionios ever did compile such a *Corpus Polycarpianum* as has been suggested, it could not have been long kept together. Eusebios (*Ch.-Hist.* IV. xv. 1 f., 46 f.) found *Mart. Polyc.* included, along with other Smyrnaian *Martyria*, in the same volume as *Mart. Pion.*; and he

embodied the whole in his own collection of ancient *Martyria*. Except for the fact that our one copy of *Vit. Polyc.* survives alongside a copy of *Mart. Polyc.* (in an order different from that in which Pionios must have placed them [see above, pp. 306a, 307b]), the several component documents of the *Corpus* have come down to us in totally distinct MSS. (see below, p. 401).

¹*Acts*, xix. 10, 20, 26, xx. 18-21, 31; 1 *Cor.* xvi. 19a: cf. Schultze 52 f. On the conditions favouring a rapid spread of Christianity in this region, cf. Ramsay, *Ch. in the Rom. Emp.* 147 (dominance of Hellenic spirit and education); Büchner 760 and J. Keil in *C.A.H.* xi. 589 f. (economic depression of the bulk of the population); and, more generally, Chapot 507-512, 565.

²Polykarp, writing to the Philippians about 117-120 A.D., says: "Ego autem nihil tale" (sc. as avarice) "sensi in vobis vel audivi, in quibus laboravit beatus Paulus, qui estis in principio epistolae eius. De vobis etenim gloriatur in omnibus ecclesiis, quae Deum (v.l. Dominum) solae tunc cognoverant; nos autem nondum cognoveramus" (*Polyk. Ep. ad Phil.* xi. 3, of which the Greek is missing). The passage is not easy to construe clearly. "Qui estis" may well be the equivalent of a Greek present participle, which according to the Greek idiom would normally refer to the same time as "laboravit". "Epistolae" looks as if it were meant to be genitive (the reference being apparently either to *Phil.* i. 3-11 or to 2 *Thess.* i. 4; but the construction seems very lame, and some word like "laudati" is desiderated); it may however be nominative, meaning *one* letter (like Lat. "literae")

When Paul left Ephesos (autumn 56 A.D.), en route for Makedonia, he probably passed through Smyrna, as his lieutenants, Timotheos and Erastos, had probably done a little earlier.¹ But he never visited either city again. Coasting south in the spring of the following year, he halted at Miletos (probably because the harbour at Ephesos was becoming silted up), and sent for and addressed there the elders of the Ephesian church. His later voyage from Palestine towards Rome (autumn 59 A.D.) brought him no farther north than Knidos.² The messages he sent, shortly before his execution (? 62 A.D.) to Timotheos, and now embodied in the so-called 'Second Epistle to Timothy', refer obscurely to conditions in Asia and Ephesos, but throw no special light on Smyrna.

As with the precise date of the foundation of the Smyrnaian church, so with its character, we are left to conjecture. A beginning was probably made here, as elsewhere, with the

and recalling 2 Cor. iii. 2 f. (ἡ ἐπιστολὴ ἡμῶν ὑμεῖς ἐστέ, . . .); or again, we may conjecture ἀποστολῆς as the Greek original. "Nos" clearly means the Smyrnaian church. Usually assuming, however, that Polykarp is quoting *Phil.* iv. 15, and that this latter was written from Rome somewhere about 62–64 A.D., many scholars place the commencement of Christianity at Smyrna after that date: cf. Zahn in Gebhardt, Harnack, and Zahn, *Patr. Apost. Op.* ii. 128a; J. Weiss in Hauck, *Realencyk.* x (1901) 550; Bonwetsch in *op. cit.* xv (1904) 536 mid.; Hilgenfeld in *Z.W.T.* xlviii (1905) 453 (quotes Polyk. only to discredit the story of Paul's visit to Strataias); Knopf 53; Harnack, *Mission*, etc. (Eng. tr.) ii. 186 n. 1 (yet cf. 222: "founded in the primitive age"); Moffatt, *Intr. to N.T.* 507, and in *Expos. Gr. Test.* v (1910) 317; Charles, *Revelation*, I. xlviii, xciv; Bacon in *Hibbert Journ.* Oct. 1927, 116. This conclusion, however, seems untenable. (1) It is inconsistent with the inherent probabilities of the case, and with the clear implications of *Acts*, xix. 10, 26. (2) If, as is quite possible, Polykarp was quoting not *Phil.* but 2 *Thess.*, then, since 2 *Thess.* (if Pauline at all) was written at Korinth in 51 or 52 A.D., Polykarp's words would be quite consistent with the date suggested in our text for the foundation of the church in Smyrna. (3) Even if Polykarp was quoting *Phil.*, there are strong grounds

for believing that that epistle was written by Paul during an otherwise unrecorded imprisonment at Ephesos (cf. 1 Cor. xv. 32, 2 Cor. xi. 23 ff., i. 3–11, etc.): if that view be accepted, the quotation would still allow us to date the foundation of the Smyrnaian church at latest in the latter part of Paul's stay at Ephesos (54–56 A.D.), though—if strictly understood—it would cut out Paul's visit to Strataias. (4) Even if *Phil.* is quoted, and was written at Rome, is it not likely that Polykarp was thinking, not of the precise date of this or any of Paul's letters, but simply of the fact that the church at Philippoi was founded (as on any showing it must have been) some time before the church at Smyrna? Polykarp alludes to the fact by way of a compliment. Cf. Funk, *Patr. Apost.* i. 311a ("Smyrnaei ergo post Philippenses evangelium audierunt"). Similarly, Lightfoot i. 462 f., iii. 343a. Burchner (760, cf. 753, 762, 764) dates the beginning of the Smyrnaian church sometimes about 50 A.D., sometimes about 55 A.D., and considers that the order of the names in *Apoc.* i. 11 is chronological, which is improbable.

¹*Acts*, xix. 22, xx. 1 f.

²An inferior variant reading in *Acts*, xxvii. 5 reads Σμύρναν instead of Μύρρα (see above, p. 31 n. 2), thus representing Paul as changing ships at Smyrna, instead of at Myra in Lykia.

Jewish synagogue; and the first Christian converts were probably drawn for the most part from the ranks of responsive Jews and proselytes, as well as from the group of interested and sympathetic pagans to be found clustering round most synagogues. But it was exactly this circumstance that occasioned one of the most serious difficulties which the infant church had to face. For the feelings of those Jews who declined to become Christians—and they were of course usually the large majority—became extremely bitter, especially after the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 A.D., an event which probably brought fresh Jewish settlers to Smyrna. They were not unnaturally incensed against the new religion which put them in the wrong, assumed possession of their Scriptures and other special Divine privileges, and stole their adherents.¹

But Jewish enmity was not the only danger. Every Christian group was exposed to general unpopularity on account of its peculiar beliefs and usages; and from 64 A.D. onwards there was added the liability to persecution at the hands of the Roman government. In that year, Nero's attack on the Christians in Rome, on pretence that they had set the city on fire, provided a legally-valid precedent for any provincial governor who cared to follow it, or who was forced, by formal accusations or popular outbreaks, to proceed with severity against avowed Christians. Unambiguous evidence of the extent to which it was so followed outside Italy is lacking; but there is nothing historically improbable in the coming of that wave of persecution which must have passed over Asia Minor if the so-called 'First Epistle of Peter' was written by the Apostle of that name from Rome before his martyrdom in 65 or 66 A.D.: its aim is to encourage the Christians of Asia and other Provinces to be constant, blameless, and hopeful.

The 'Life of Polykarp' tells us that, after the departure of Paul from Smyrna, Strataias, the brother of Timotheos, "succeeded to the teaching, and (so did) certain of those (who came) after him, whose names—so far as it is possible to discover who and of what kind they were—I will place on record".²

¹"Smyrna was originally a small church, oppressed by a powerful Jewish society, . . ." (Harnack, *Mission*, etc. [Eng. tr.], ii. 186: similarly Knopf 52 f., 142 f.). Cf. Ramsay and Hogarth in

E. Br. xxv (1911) 282a: "A Christian church . . . , having its origin in the considerable Jewish colony."

²Pionios (?), *Vit. Polyc.* iii. 1. Cf. Corssen in *Z.N.W.* v (1904) 301 f.

The promised list never appears; if ever written, it has perished. But the reference clearly is to those who took the lead in the church's affairs as Elders (*πρεσβύτεροι*) or Bishops (*ἐπίσκοποι*, i.e. overseers) in the semi-informal way customary in the earliest period. It is certainly true that, probably owing to the prevalence of heresy, a monarchical episcopate (i.e. government by one life-Bishop at a time) was established in Asia and northern Syria earlier than elsewhere. But it is highly unlikely that, *from the very beginning*, either region formed an exception to the rest of Christendom. The normal arrangement—here as elsewhere—apparently was that each city-group of Christians was led by a number of senior men, who possessed influence by virtue of their character and experience, but were not sharply marked off in an official way from the rank and file: these seniors were called indifferently "Elders" or "Bishops". Naturally the leading spirit among them would come to exercise a kind of presidency; and out of this there developed in time what we call the monarchical episcopate. When this latter had been universally adopted, the primitive style of government was speedily forgotten; and any Christian known to have been in early times a prominent leader was thought of as filling a definite place in a series of Bishops of the monarchical type. It is, however, worth noticing that the 'Life of Polykarp' does not call Strataias and his successors "Bishops"; and this makes it easier for us to accept Strataias as a real leading light in the ancient Smyrnaian church.¹ He is included also in an early list of the first three Bishops of Smyrna, which appears—along with similar lists for other cities—in the 'Apostolic Constitutions', a Syrian work compiled about 360 A.D. The passage runs: "And of Smyrna—Ariston first, after whom Strataias the (son) of Lois, and third Ariston".²

¹Hilgenfeld (in *Z.W.T.* xlviii [1905] 458 with n. 2) and Schmidt (*Gespräche*, 710, 713 f.) regard *Vit. Polyc's* introduction of Strataias and his successors down to the bishop Boukolos, before Polykarp, as part of the same falsification of history which led him to suppress all reference to Polykarp's intercourse with John (see above, p. 309.). This scepticism appears to me unnecessary. Hilgenfeld also raises difficulty (453 f.) over *Vit.*

Polyc's statement that Strataias had heard Paul in Pamphylia, whereas Paul had met Timotheos in Lykaonia (*Acts*, xvi. 1). But there is nothing incredible or improbable in Timotheos' brother having been in Pamphylia.

²*Const. Apost.* VII. xlvi. 8: *Σμύρνης δὲ Ἀρίστων πρῶτος, μεθ' ὃν Στραταίας ὁ Λώιδος, καὶ τρίτος Ἀρίστων.* "Lois" is a mistake for "Eunike" (2 *Tim.* i. 5). B. W. Bacon's remarks about Strataias

Before discussing Ariston further, we must make passing mention of another. In Syria, in the sixth and following centuries, conjectural attempts were made to compile a list of the seventy disciples mentioned in Lc. x. 1, 17: in several extant versions of this list, dating from 700 to 1200 A.D., the man named "Apelles", who is saluted by Paul in 'Rom.' xvi. 10, is included as Bishop of Smyrna. He was reckoned to be one of the Seventy by Epiphanius as early as 375 A.D., and also in the Byzantine 'Paschal Chronicle', 629 A.D. But the assignment of episcopal seats to the several names was later than the first compilation of the list; and some copies (of about 800 A.D. and later) call Apelles Bishop of Herakleia or of Mediolanum. The lateness of these records and the absence of Apelles' name from all earlier documents almost suffice to prove the purely-conjectural character of the statement that Apelles was ever Bishop of Smyrna.¹

It is not necessary, however, to draw the same negative conclusion with regard to Ariston. The 'Apostolic Constitutions' are indeed our sole authority for introducing his name here; but that work is generally acknowledged to contain much early and valuable material. The absence of the name of Polykarp may possibly be due to the fact that his term of office fell too late for inclusion; but it is more probably to be accounted for by his unfortunate Quartodecimanism. On this latter theory, the insertion of a second Ariston (as it is hardly likely to have arisen from a pure error, or from the existence of two Aristones) may be a substitute for Polykarp's name, unless it refers to two periods of office and thus reflects the unfixed character of the early episcopate.² There is, however, no reason to doubt that, before 100 A.D., the church of Smyrna possessed a leader of the name of Ariston. The chief point of

in *Hibbert Journ.* Oct. 1927, 116 f., 122, 127, 131-133, are over-imaginative and in part inaccurate. Streeter (*Prim. Ch.* 269) inadvertently names Strataias as, according to *Const. Apost.*, first Bishop of Smyrna. Cf. Schmidt, *Gespräche*, 710-714 (argues that both *Const. Apost.* and *Vit. Polyc.* are dependant on the *Acta Pauli*); Delehaye, *Passions*, 57.

¹The evidence regarding these disciples is fully presented and discussed by T. Schermann in *Texte und Untersuch.* xxxi (1907) Heft 3. 133-197, 292-354

(esp. 164, 298 f., 314, 316, 321, 330, 349-354). Cf. also *Chron. Pasch.* P 213D (ed. Bonn, i. 401); Le Quien 737C (confusion with Apollon); Ruinart, *Act. Mart.* (1859), 94a; Ramsay, *Phrygia*, i. 351; Delehaye, *Synaxarium*, 785 f. and *Passions*, 59.

²Cf. Lightfoot i. 463; Schermann in *op. cit.* 298-300, 321 f.: see also above, p. 309. Streeter (*Prim. Ch.* 93-95) thinks the silence of *Const. Apost.* regarding Polykarp adds to its historical value.

interest about him is the question whether or no he is to be identified with the Aristion, who had been a personal disciple of Jesus, and whose recollections of the Lord were collected and treasured by Papias, Bishop of Hierapolis near Kolossai, at a time when only two such personal disciples survived, therefore about 90—100 A.D. Papias does not say where Aristion lived; but he closely associates him with the other surviving disciple, “the Elder John”, and makes it clear that he had met them both.¹ Since John, as we know on other grounds, lived at Ephesos, it is natural enough to suppose that Aristion may have lived at Smyrna. The slight difference in the spelling of the name is negligible; and the reasons for identifying the (non-monarchical) Bishop of Smyrna with the aged disciple of Jesus seem to outweigh the doubts that beset it.²

It must have been in the early eighties of the first century that there was brought to Smyrna from the East (probably Palestine or Syria) a slave-boy of Gentile Christian parentage named Polykarp. Kallisto, a wealthy Christian lady, instructed by a dream, went hastily and met him just outside the Ephesian Gate in the charge of two men, purchased him of them, took him home, and both employed him in her domestic service and gave him a Christian education. Polykarp’s intelligence, good conduct, and piety so increased the love and trust of his mistress that she treated him as her son, and—as soon as his age allowed—promoted him over the heads of her other servants and made him her chief steward. In the ‘Life of Polykarp’, where all this is narrated, it is said that, when the boy was purchased by Kallisto, one Boukolos was Bishop of Smyrna. If this statement be not a simple error, we must

¹Euseb. *Ch.-Hist.* III. xxxix. 4 f., 7, 14.

²Farrar (*Early Days of Christianity*, 631 f.) altogether discredits *Const. Apost.* VII. xlv, which he wrongly says mentions Aristion’s martyrdom: he suspects that the name conceals some well-known apostolic person with *two* names. The identification suggested in the text is that accepted by Schermann in *op. cit.* 331 (18), Chapman (*John the Presbyter*, 31, 36), and Streeter (*Prim. Ch.* 93, 131—136). The last-named suggests that 1 Peter, minus its opening and closing vv., is really the work of Aristion of Smyrna. An Armenian Gospel-MS. dated 989 A.D. ascribes the longest of the spurious

endings of Mc. (i.e. Mc. xvi. 9—20) to “the Elder Ariston”—possibly on good grounds, though Streeter (*Four Gospels*, 346 f.) distrusts it. Bacon’s art. on ‘Aristion (Aristo)’ in *H.D.C.G.* i. 114—118 is vitiated by his refusal to accept Eusebios’ evidence that Papias stated that he had himself heard Aristion, by his impossibly late date for Papias (145—160 A.D.), and by his gratuitous emendation of the text of Eusebios, whereby the inoffensive statement that Aristion and the Elder John were disciples of the Lord is changed to one declaring that they were disciples of *disciples*: moreover, he locates both men in Palestine.

infer that Boukolos was one of the leaders of the church for the time being—since Polykarp, born in 69 A.D., must have come to Smyrna about 80–85 A.D., whereas Aristion probably survived till about 100 A.D., and Boukolos was certainly Bishop after that, just before Polykarp himself became Bishop.¹

✓ We pass on to consider Aristion's fellow-disciple, the Elder John of Ephesos, who had dealings with the church of Smyrna, not as its Elder or Bishop, but as author of a book which includes a letter addressed to it. It is impossible in this place to summarize the controversies that have raged about his name: we must confine ourselves to stating briefly the conclusions to which the facts seem in our judgment to point. The 'Apocalypse' or 'Revelation' is now known to have been written round about 93 A.D. Its author calls himself "John", and says he wrote from the island of Patmos, where he found himself "because of the word of God and the testimony of Jesus", i.e. (almost certainly) as a result of persecution. There is no real need to call either of these statements in question. His opening paragraphs contain a description of a vision he had had of the glorified Christ, and then the letters written by him in Christ's name to the seven churches of Asia—those, namely, at Ephesos, Smyrna, Pergamon, Thyateira, Sardeis, Philadelpheia, and Laodikeia.² From the fact that he starts with Ephesos, we may reasonably infer that that place was his normal headquarters. Justinus the Martyr, who visited Ephesos about 135 A.D., stated, in a work written about 155–

¹Pionios (?), *Vit. Polyc.* iii. 2–5, iv. 2 init., v. 2: cf. Delehaye, *Synaxarium*, 485. That "the East" here means Syria or Palestine is hinted in vi. 1: Hilgenfeld—unwarrantably, I feel—discredits (in *Z.W.T.* xlviii [1905] 457 f., 458 n. 1) the story of the eastern origin of Polykarp as based only on Eirenaïos' statement (*V. xxxiii. 4* = Euseb. *Ch.-Hist.* III. xxxix. 1) that he was the companion of Papias, Bishop of Hierapolis in Phrygia! Delehaye (*Passions*, 25) seems disposed to accept the eastern origin of Polykarp, but rejects the details in *Vit. Polyc.* On the name "Polykarp", Lightfoot i. 436 f. The date of his birth is known from the fact that he was 86 years old when martyred in Feb. 155 A.D. (*Mart. Polyc.* ix. 3). Lampakes adds (138) from a late source that he was born in prison at

Ephesos, his parents Pankratos and Theodora being afterwards beheaded as martyrs. Others late elaborations and adornments of the story, from a Moscow MS., are given by Papadopoulos-Kerameus (*Ἀνακρινώσεις*, 5–11). I have been unable to get access to l'Abbé Merzan's *Vie de S. Polycarpe*, pubd. at Poitiers in 1893, and quoted by Lampakes (152 n. 2, 154 n. 4).

²Cherbuliez (i. 52–57) remarks that the first and most important Christian churches were planted in the cities most addicted to the worship of deified men. All of those addressed in *Apoc.*, except Thyateira, were eventually "Temple-Wardens" (Chapot 530). But the sufficient reason for both features was simply the superior size of these particular cities.

160 A.D., that the 'Apocalypse' came to (i.e. that the book was written by) "John, one of the Apostles of the Christ" (i.e. John, the son of Zebedaios).¹ The importance of this piece of evidence has been strangely underestimated by many modern critics. The apocryphal 'Acts of John', which were written at some time between 130 and 180 A.D.,² presuppose the residence of this Apostle John in Ephesos. Such too was the belief of Eirenaïos (who wrote 181—189 A.D., and had himself lived in Asia) and of nearly all subsequent writers. We seem led therefore to the conclusion that the Apostle John did survive to a great age in Ephesos, and was himself the writer of the 'Apocalypse'.³

So much has been written on the Apocalyptist's letter to the church at Smyrna—as on every other portion of the canonical Scriptures—that there is no need to do more in this place than offer a rendering of the letter (the shortest of the seven) and add a few brief comments. The glorified Christ moves (in the seer's opening vision) among the seven lampstands, which represent the seven churches, and holds in His right hand the seven stars, which represent the "angels" of the churches.⁴ After dictating to the seer the letter to be sent to Ephesos, he proceeds:

"And to the angel of the church at Smyrna, write, 'These things says the First and the Last, Who was dead and (yet) came to life: I know thine affliction and thy poverty—yet art thou (truly) rich—and the slander (thou endurest) from those who say that they are Jews, when they are not (Jews), but a (mere) assembly of Satan. Fear not what thou art about to suffer. Behold! the devil is about to cast (some) of you into prison, that ye may be tested, and that ye may have affliction for ten days. (But) show thyself trustworthy

¹Justin. *Dial. with Tryph.* 81.

²Cf. Harnack, *Chron.* i. 542, ii. 174 f: but M. R. James (*Apocryphal New Test.* xx, 228) dates them not later than the middle of ii/A.D.

³No doubt there are difficulties. Many contend that Papias himself distinguished between John the Apostle and John the Elder: but his words may equally well mean that he regarded them as identical. Many also urge that Papias stated that

John was slain by the Jews (and therefore, presumably, in Palestine before 70 A.D.): but the evidence that Papias stated and meant that is late and highly precarious. Not every objection or difficulty amounts to a disproof: we have to do the best we can with the data *as a whole*. I may perhaps refer to my fuller discussion of the problem in *London Quart. Rev.*, July 1933, 295—303.

⁴*Apoc.* i. 9—20.

until death; and (then) I will give thee the garland of life. Let him that has an ear listen to what the Spirit is saying to the churches: he who conquers will in no wise be injured by the second death' ".¹

There is no reason to doubt that the seven letters are real letters, based on personal knowledge of the circumstances of those to whom they were severally addressed: Smyrna, for instance, had undoubtedly been at some time visited by the author. He probably wrote the whole book pretty much as it stands, with the seven letters together at the beginning, and despatched it to the mainland for circulation. The order in which the churches are addressed represents the route by which the messenger from Patmos would travel; and each church was probably expected to make its own copy, and to let the book be known in its own neighbourhood. The real reason why seven churches and no more are addressed cannot now be ascertained; but the fact that the author was peculiarly fond of seven as a sacred number probably had something to do with it.² The letters reveal the difficulties with which the churches were faced—persecution for refusing to offer sacrifice to the Emperor's image at the demand of the state, the willingness of some to eat food that had been offered to idols, the bitter hostility of the Jews, the danger of a sexually-immoral and antinomian gnosticism, the tendency to slackness and self-satisfaction. Praise, blame, and warning are freely distributed: against Smyrna and Philadelpheia alone, however, is no single word of censure breathed; and many modern writers have seen a suggestive connexion between the unqualified praise bestowed upon the church of Smyrna and the fact that, of all the seven cities, it has enjoyed the most continuous and brilliant prosperity down to modern times.³

¹*Apoc.* ii. 8-11.

²Cf. Swete, *Apoc.* (ed. 1907), lvii-lix, cvi, 14; Ramsay, *Seven Chs.* 191 f. (" . . . Smyrna for the Lower Hermus Valley and the North Ionian coasts, . . ."), 200. Deissmann (*Licht vom Osten* [ed. 1923], 321) compares the royal and imperial letters to the several cities. Chapman suggests (in *Expositor*, Apl. 1904, 260-262) that *these* seven churches were addressed, because in them alone had John as yet been able to appoint monarchical

Bishops (i.e. the "angels" of the churches): Ramsay's reply, *ib.* 263-265.

³Tournefort ii. 495; Ramsay in *H.D.B.* iv. 555b; Ramsay, *Seven Chs.* 279, 402 f.; Lampakes 28, 30 f., 135 top; Hasluck in *A.B.S.A.* xxiii (1918-1919) 139 f. Cf. Oikonomos in Slaars 30; Prokesch in *Denkwürd.* i. 100 and in *J.L.* lvii. 75. Streeter (in *C.A.H.* xi. 262) thinks the persecution spoken of in 1 Peter may be that referred to in *Apoc.* ii. 10: see above, p. 315 n. 2.

Opinions have differed widely as to who precisely are meant by the "angels" of the churches. Some have thought that they were the Bishops. But the choice seems decidedly to lie between the heavenly representatives of the churches (on the lines suggested here and there in Scripture),¹ the idealized personification of them, and a sort of combination of both. In making the glorified Christ call Himself "the First and the Last", the author is transferring to Him (as Christians sometimes did) an Old-Testament term which originally referred to the Supreme Deity.² The "slander" (doubtless including accusations to the authorities) uttered by the Jews is, in part at least, explicable from the practice (adopted by Christians and exemplified here and in iii. 9) of claiming for themselves all the honorific titles and privileges of Judaism,³ and probably in the main from the fact that at Smyrna, as at Philadelphæia (iii. 9), the church consisted largely of converted Jews.⁴ From the Christian point of view, the Jews are now "Satan's assembly", because they had rejected the Messiah.⁵ Persecution, involving imprisonment (not as itself the punishment, but as incidental to judicial proceedings) and probably death, is anticipated as a result of the Christian refusal to worship Domitianus' image. The "devil" who persecutes is the imperial government, or rather the spirit behind it.⁶ The "ten days", specified as the duration of this maltreatment, are probably meant as a short indefinite period.⁷ The Christian athlete who does not flinch will receive eternal life as the victor's garland.⁸ The

¹*Deut.* xxxii. 8 (in LXX); *Dan.* x. 13, 20 f., xii. 1; *Mt.* xviii. 10; *Acts*, xii. 15. See also above, p. 270 n. 5.

²*Isaiah* xliv. 6, xlviii. 12.

³*Gal.* iv. 21-31, vi. 15 f.; *Rom.* ii. 28 f.; *Joh.* i. 47; *Ep. of Barnabas*, passim; 1 *Peter* i. 1; *Ep. Jac.* i. 1.

⁴Turner, however, suggests (*Studies in early Ch. History*, 202, 205) that some "Judaean-gnostic sect" may be in mind. Cf. Knopf 142 f. (quoting *Joh.* xix. 12).

⁵Tarn thinks (*Hellen. Civil.* 196) that the Jewish synagogues at Smyrna and Philadelphæia are called "synagogues of Satan" because the Jews there had taken up a pagan or semi-pagan cult, as they had done at Delos and at certain places in Mysia (cf. La Piana in *H.T.R.* xx [1927] 382 f.). But the Christian claim referred to in n. 3 above, taken in

conjunction with the unbelief and hostility of the Jews, probably suffices to explain the hard words in question.

⁶Cf. Knopf 93-96. Streeter (*Prim. Ch.* 132 f.), tentatively ascribing 1 *Peter* to Arision of Smyrna, contrasts the strong terms of *Apoc.* ("the devil", etc.) with the milder language under the same circumstances of the practical man on the spot (1 *Peter* iv. 12-v. 11).

⁷Cf. *Gen.* xxiv. 55; *Numb.* xi. 19; *Dan.* i. 12, 14.

⁸Ramsay (in *H.D.B.* iv. 555b top) reminds us that a garland was worn, not only by the victor in the games, but by the sacrificing worshipper. He rejects Blakesley's suggestion (in *S.D.B.* iii. 1335b) that there is here an allusion to the Smyrnaean Crown-Wearer (for whom see above, pp. 195 f.).

“second death” is the lake of fire, into which the wicked will be finally cast.¹

There is no reason to doubt the traditional belief that, when Domitianus was killed (96 A.D.), the Apostle John was released from his confinement in Patmos, and returned in safety to Ephesos, where he survived until after the accession of Traianus (98 A.D.). It would be natural for him to visit the principal churches in the province; and in the apocryphal ‘Acts of John’ (written between 130 and 180 A.D.),² we read of the suggestion made to him at Ephesos by the Milesian Christians that he should go on to Smyrna, of his own desire to do so, and of the official request sent to him by the Smyrnaian citizens (not the church) that he should visit and preach to them.³ Clemens of Alexandria, in a work written about 205 A.D., tells in great detail a story connected with John’s journeys to places round Ephesos after his return from Patmos, vouching for the truth of it. The story was that, on visiting the church “in one of the not-distant cities, whose name even some tell” (the ‘Paschal Chronicle’ [629 A.D.] declared it to be Smyrna, and the date 101 A.D.), John committed to the care of its Bishop (was it Aristion?) a stalwart youth of winning countenance and spirited temper. The Bishop cared for the youth, and baptized him; but later he neglected him, so that he fell into bad ways, and betook himself to the mountains as a brigand. When John on his next visit heard from the aged and weeping Bishop of the convert’s relapse, he mounted on horseback and sought him out in his wild haunts: pursuing him with entreaties, he finally reclaimed him to a

¹Cf. *Apoc.* xx. 6, 14, xxi. 8. Considerations of space forbid specific reference to all the authorities employed in these brief elucidations of the letter to Smyrna. Beside the standard modern commentaries on the *Apocalypse*, Ramsay’s *Letters to the Seven Churches* has furnished much help, though some of his suggested connexions seem fanciful, e.g. the garland and the city-buildings (see above, p. 176 n. 5); ἐγένετο νεκρὸς καὶ ἔλησεν and the fortunes of Smyrna during the period vi–iii/B.C.; γίνου πιστός and the ancient loyalty of Smyrna to Seleukos and Rome; and in general his remarks about the civic patriotism of the Smyrnaian Christians.

Nor can I see sufficient ground for Charles’s theory (*Revelation*, I. xciv, 37, 43–47) that the seven letters were written sometime before the rest of the book (i.e. before the Domitianic persecution had broken out), and were later edited by the author to fill their present position.

²See above, p. 317 n. 2.

³*Acta Joannis*, 37, 45, 55 (Bonnet [1898] 169, 173, 178f.; M. R. James, *Apocryphal New Test.* 236, 238, 240 f.). See the late and fanciful notice of the visit composed by ps.-Prokhoros, in Lightfoot i. 576 f. and Bonnet 173, and cf. Schmidt, *Gespräche*, 716 f. with n.; Delehaye, *Passions*, 58 f.

better life, and restored him to the bosom of the Church.¹

According to Eirenaïos, who as a youth saw and heard Polykarp, the latter had “not only been made a disciple by Apostles, and had associated with many who had seen the Lord, but was also appointed by Apostles Bishop in the church at Smyrna, in Asia. . . . And there are those who have heard from him that John the Lord’s disciple in Ephesos, having gone to bathe, and having caught sight of Kerinthos within, darted out of the baths without bathing, but saying, ‘Let us flee, lest the baths fall, since Kerinthos, the enemy of the truth, is within’ ”.² Writing a little later, i.e. soon after 190 A.D., Eirenaïos says he could remember Polykarp well, in particular “how he told about his association with John and with the rest who had seen the Lord: and as he remembered their words, and what he had heard from them about the Lord and about His deeds of power and about His teaching, Polykarp used to narrate everything in conformity with the Scriptures—as one who had received (the story) from the eye-witnesses of the life of the Word”.³ About 200 A.D. Tertullianus, presumably depending on Eirenaïos, states that “the church of the Smyrnaeans reports that Polycarp was appointed (sc. as Bishop—collocatum) by John”.⁴

How far these statements are worthy of credit is a question

¹Clem. Alex. *Quis dīves*, 42 = Euseb. *Ch.-Hist.* III. xxiii. 6–19; *Chron. Pasch.* P 251 D (ed. Bonn, i. 470). Cf. Lightfoot i. 440 f. n. Bacon (*Mark*, 244) treats Clemens’ words *μῦθον οὐ μῦθον ἀλλὰ ὄντα λόγον* as a frank confession that the story might be edifying fiction; but the following words *παράδομένον καὶ μνήμη πεφυλαγμένον* prove that Clem. at least regarded it as true.

²Eirenaïos, *Haer.* III. iii. 4 = Euseb. *Ch.-Hist.* IV. xiv. 3 (. . . ὑπὸ Ἀποστόλων κατασταθεὶς εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐν τῇ ἐν Σμύρνῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐπίσκοπος), 6. (Kerinthos was a doctist of a quasi-judaistic type—see below, pp. 327, 331 f.). So also, on his own account, Euseb. *Ch.-Hist.* III. xxxvi. 1; cf. *Chron.* at 3rd year of Traj. (Schöne ii. 163; Helm i. 193 f., ii. 575 f.; Fotheringham 275 f.). Cf. Hieronymus, *Vir. Illust.* xvi (“Polycarpus, auditor Johannis”), xvii (see below, n. 4); *Chron. Pasch.* P 257 AB (ed. Bonn, i. 479). It is doubtful whether the adjective ἀποστολικός, applied to Polykarp in an addition to the original

text of *Mart. Polyc.* xvi. 2, can be adduced as evidence of Polykarp’s personal association with the Apostle John (Hilgenfeld in *Z.W.T.* xvii [1874] 305 f.).

³Eiren. *Ep. ad Flor.* in Euseb. *Ch.-Hist.* V. xx. 6. In his letter to Victor (in Euseb. *Ch.-Hist.* V. xxiv. 16), Eirenaïos speaks more briefly of Polykarp’s association “with John the disciple of the Lord and the other Apostles”. Cf. also Eiren. *Haer.* V. xxxiii. 4 = Euseb. *Ch.-Hist.* III. xxxix. 1.

⁴Tertull. *Praescr.* 32. Cf. Hieronymus, *Vir. Illust.* xvii (“Polycarpus, Ioannis apostoli discipulus, et ab eo Smyrnae episcopus ordinatus, totius Asiae princeps fuit, quippe qui nonnullos apostolorum et eorum qui viderant Dominum magistratos habuit et viderit”). Later authorities, dependent on Eiren. and Tert., are quoted by Lightfoot i. 556–577. Cf. also the *Acta Ioannis*, 14 (Bonnet 160: . . . ἐπισκοπεύειν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῷ Πολυκάρῳ ἐνεκελεύσατο).

that has been much discussed. Notwithstanding the strange silence of 'The Life of Polykarp', and the temptation to which Eirenaios would naturally be exposed to connect his own aged teacher as directly as possible with the Apostles, it seems unwarrantable to accuse him of gross error—still more so of intentional misrepresentation—in a matter where his own personal recollection was concerned. On the other hand, it is very difficult to believe that Polykarp was constituted Bishop of Smyrna *in the monarchical sense* as early as 100 A.D., later than which year the Apostle John is not likely to have lived. It seems simplest to infer that Polykarp as a boy in the East had been taught by some Apostles and others who had seen Jesus¹; that, when in Asia, he had used his opportunities of associating with the aged John of Ephesos, and that the latter—perhaps in some pastoral visit to Smyrna—recommended his elevation to a position of trust and responsibility in the church: i.e. he became a "Bishop" in the sense of "Elder" just before the time when the word "Bishop" became earmarked as the title of the sole president of the local Christians. We should then be able to account for the very definite statements of Eirenaios and Tertullianus as due to the temporary ambiguity of the word "Bishop" plus a little exaggeration, and the silence of 'the Life of Polykarp' as due to an anti-quarto-deciman antagonism to John.²

It is however certain that Polykarp became monarchical Bishop of Smyrna well before the time of Ignatius' visit to the city (about 115 A.D.), and—if we may trust 'The Life of Polykarp'—that his predecessor Boukolos had also been a monarchical bishop, perhaps the first of them. The account given in 'the Life' of Polykarp's doings prior to his elevation is roughly as follows. Left in charge by Kallisto, he gradually bestowed

¹Ἐπὶ Ἀποστόλων μαθηθεὶς need not mean "converted by Apostles": Polykarp seems to have been born of Christian parents: cf. *Mart. Polyc.* ix. 3; Chapman, *John the Presbyter*, 45 f.

²Certain late authorities (Delehaye, *Synaxarium*, 445 f.: cf. Papadopoulos-Keram. *Ἀνακωνώσεις*, 7; Lampakes 138) describe John as appointing Boukolos also (see above, pp. 315 f.) as Bishop of Smyrna, and giving him Polykarp as an assistant. Cf. the general discussions

in Le Quien 739 f.; Hilgenfeld in *Z.W.T.* xvii (1874) 305-345; Salmon in *S.D.C.B.* iv. 423 f.; Lightfoot i. 392 f., 440-442, 474 f.; Chapman, *John the Presbyter*, 44-46 (suggests that εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν may mean "into Asia", i.e. that Polykarp may have been made Bishop by Apostles elsewhere, and then sent by them to Smyrna); Andrews in *E.Br.* xxii (1911) 21; Diekamp in Funk, *Patr. Apost.* ii. LXXXVIII f.; Bacon in *Hibbert Journ.* Oct. 1927, 123 f.; Streeter, *Prim. Ch.* 93-96, 132, 186, 266.

all her stores in charitable gifts to the poor. Accused on his mistress's return of wasting her goods, he was enabled by a miracle to show her the store-rooms filled, and then secured pardon for his accuser. At her death she bequeathed him all her property.¹ Thereafter he increased in virtue, devotion, unworldliness, and Scriptural knowledge, learning thoroughly the ways of the inhabitants, ministering to the needy, and practising simplicity in food and dress.² Of shy and retiring disposition and blushing easily, he avoided especially the company of the talkative and the evil, though freely associating with the good. Staid in bearing, he had even in youth the gait of an elderly man. He resided mostly in Smyrna, but occasionally—for the sake of quiet—in the suburbs.³ "When he was returning from the suburbs to the city, if ever wood-carriers, especially elderly ones, fell in with him, he used to feel sympathy because the man was so burdened, and, walking with him, used to ask if he sold his burden immediately on entering (the city). And when the man answered that sometimes it was unsold even at evening-time, he would give him the price, and take (the wood) to the widows who dwelt near the gate. And so on them would he bestow the use of the wood, and on the man the enjoyment of his food at the proper time".⁴ He was a confirmed bachelor, refusing to hamper his religious pursuits by the entanglements inseparable from family-life.⁵ Such a man was not unnaturally a great favourite with his Bishop. Boukolos, who exercised that exclusive presidency now associated with the episcopal office, had known him from youth, and came to honour him highly for his unostentatious and generous service of the poor and his healings of the sick and possessed. Polykarp responded with affection, but also with reserve: Boukolos was not in a

¹Pionios (?), *Vit. Polyc.* iv f.: cf. Papadop.-Kerameus, 'Ανακωνάσεις, 7; Corsen in *Z.N.W.* v (1904) 281. Light-foot observes (i. 439) that the real Polykarp was evidently a man of means.

²Pionios (?), *Vit. Polyc.* vi (2: . . . καταμαθὴν τε τοὺς τῶν ἐγγυρῶν τρόπους . . .). Schwartz (*De Pionio et Pol.* 25) suggests some emendations of the text.

³Pionios (?), *Vit. Polyc.* vii: cf. Schwartz, *l.c.* His place in the suburbs may be identical with the farm (ἀγρίδιον, οὐ μακρὰν ἀπέχον ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως) to which

he withdrew just before his martyrdom (*Mart. Polyc.* v. 1; cf. vi. 1 [εἰς ἕτερον ἀγρίδιον]).

⁴Pionios (?), *Vit. Polyc.* viii: cf. Schwartz, *l.c.* If the gate be the Ephesian Gate of *Vit. Polyc.* iii. 2 and xx. 4 (see above, p. 103 n. 2), Polykarp's country-house must have lain to the south or west of the city.

⁵Pionios (?), *Vit. Polyc.* ix, cf. xiv-xvi: Schwartz, *De Pionio et Pol.* 25 f.; Light-foot i. 439 f.

position to need his material gifts.¹ Ordained as a Deacon by general consent, he was persuaded by Boukolos to give addresses to the Christian catechumens.² Later on, when in early middle age his hair was already turning white, Polykarp was advanced to the rank of Elder, Boukolos being prompted thereto by a vision, and the church as a whole warmly approving. As Elder he distinguished himself in the reading and exposition of Scripture, engaging sometimes in controversy with Jews, Gentiles, and Christian errorists.³

At last Boukolos drew near to death. He breathed his last in some lodging outside the city (was it perchance Polykarp's villa?), after indicating by his gestures that he desired Polykarp to succeed him. His body was carried to Smyrna and laid to rest in the burial-ground just outside the Ephesian Gate. By common desire Polykarp presided at the eucharist that followed.⁴ Shortly afterwards he was duly chosen by the church to be Bishop in Boukolos' place.⁵

During August, about 115 A.D., and therefore in the early years of Polykarp's episcopate, Smyrna was approached from the east by a detachment of ten Roman soldiers, conducting—

¹Pionios (?), *Vit. Polyc.* x; Papadop.-Keram. 'Ανακωνώσεις, 7. Schwartz (*De Pionio et Pol.* 26) sees here a hit at those who angled for promotion by making presents to the bishops.

²Pionios (?), *Vit. Polyc.* xi f. The statement in xii. 1 that, like Stephanos, he confuted pagans, Jews, and heretics is probably based on *Acts*, vi. 8-10. Cf. Corssen in *Z.N.W.* v (1904) 297 f.; Schwartz, *De Pionio et Pol.* 26 f. Samples of his teaching (on the Godhead, and on chastity) are given in *Vit. Polyc.* xiii-xvi.

³Pionios (?), *Vit. Polyc.* xvii-xx. 1; cf. xii. 1.

⁴Pionios (?), *Vit. Polyc.* xx. 2-4. We know practically nothing of Boukolos, except what we can gather from *Vit. Polyc.* (on his real existence and possible episcopate, cf. Delehaye, *Passions*, 57 f.). Soudias, apparently depending on *Vit. Polyc.*, makes him first, and Polykarp second, Bishop of Smyrna (s.v. Πολύκαρπος)—which may happen to be true, if "monarchical bishop" be meant. According to the late *Acta Ioannis* by pseudo-Prokhoros (Bonnet 173; Lightfoot i. 576 f.; Delehaye, *Passions*, 58 f.), Boukolos and his disciples Polykarp and

Andronikos were left in Smyrna by John. The *Menaia* (Lightfoot i. 577, iii. 441 n.; Delehaye, *Synaxarium*, 445 f., 485; Corssen in *Z.N.W.* v [1904] 300 n.: cf. Papadop.-Keram. 'Ανακωνώσεις, 2 f., 11) mention his appointment as Bishop by John and his prediction that Polykarp should succeed him. A number of legendary statements about him are collected by Lampakes (136-138, 140: cf. Papadop.-Kerameus, *l.c.*). Cf. Le Quien 739B—D; Schmidt, *Gespräche*, 718 f. Bacon is in error in saying (*Hibbert Journ.* Oct. 1927, 116) that Pionios represents Boukolos as ordained by Strataias, and Strataias by Timotheos. In Delehaye, *Synaxarium*, 446, it is stated that God caused a healing plant to sprout forth at his grave: see below, p. 368, and cf. Schultze 66.

⁵The election is described in great detail in Pionios (?), *Vit. Polyc.* xxi-xxiv; but we can hardly rely on the particulars so given. Cf. Papadop.-Keram. 'Ανακωνώσεις, 7; Harnack, *Mission*, etc. (Eng. tr.), ii. 224 n.2. The date was probably a few years before 115 A.D., when Polykarp was forty-five years old, and when (probably) Ignatius visited Smyrna.

along with other prisoners picked up en route—the aged and passionate Ignatius, Bishop of Antiokheia in Syria, who, having been there condemned to death, was being sent to Rome to be thrown to the wild beasts in the arena.¹ On reaching Laodikeia in the Lykos-valley, the cortège had turned north-west towards Philadelphiea and the Hermos; but messages had been sent by Christian friends due west to Tralleis, Magnesia-on-Maiandros, and Ephesos, inviting them to send representatives to meet Ignatius during the brief halt he was to make at Smyrna. Not only therefore did he receive on arrival there the cordial welcome of Polykarp and the Smyrnaian Christians; but he was visited by the Bishop Onesimos, the Deacon Bourrhos, and three others (Krokos, Euplous, and Fronto) from Ephesos—the Bishop Damas, the Elders Bassos and Apollonios, and the Deacon Zotion, from Magnesia-on-Maiandros—and the Bishop Polybios from Tralleis. The conditions of captivity readily allowed for intercourse with these and other friends.² Cordial relations sprang up at once between the Bishop of Smyrna and his distinguished visitor.³ But there were other Smyrnaian Christians who endeared themselves to the aged martyr. He

¹The precise year is uncertain. After an exhaustive discussion, Lightfoot (ii. 391-418, 435-472) disclaims anything more precise than the reign of Traianus, or say 100-117 A.D., but inclines (i. 30, 444) to ± 110 A.D. On various grounds, however, a year late in the reign is to be preferred (Harnack, *Chron.* i. 406, 719; Streeter, *Prim. Ch.* 275 f.). Harrison (217-230, 315) leaves open the seven years before, and the seven years after, Traianus' death: but the latter at least should be excluded out of deference to Eusebios, who definitely places the martyrdom under Traianus (Harrison 210-212). The allusions to Ignatius in the works of Eirenaeos, Origenes, Eusebios, etc. are collected and discussed by Harrison (209-217) and more fully reproduced by Lightfoot (i. 135-232). Apart from them everything we know about Ignatius is derived from his seven epistles (in the Vossian recension) and the *Epistles* of Polykarp to Philippii. It is not necessary to give reasons here for accepting the genuineness of these documents. Interesting studies of Igna-

tius' character have been contributed by Lightfoot (i. 37-39, 405-408), Moffatt (in *Journ. of Relig. Apl.* 1930, 169-186), Streeter (*Prim. Ch.* 165-176), C. C. Richardson (*The Christianity of Ignatius of Antioch*, 1935), and others. Valuable suggestions regarding the text, chapter-divisions, translation, and exegesis of the Ignatian letters (esp. that addressed to the Trallians) are made by Moffatt (in *H.T.R.* xxix [1936] 1-38).

²*Ign. Smyrn.* ix. 2 (κατὰ πάντα με ἀνεπαύσατε), *Magn.* xv (Ἐφέσιοι . . . καὶ ἡμεῖς, οἱ κατὰ πάντα με ἀνεπαύσαν ἄμα Πολυκάρπῳ, ἐπισκόπῳ Συμυρναίων); *Euseb. Ch.-Hist.* III. xxxvi. 2-5; Lightfoot i. 33-35, 361-365; ii. 2, 285, 369, 384. Cf. the rhetorical effusion of Lampakes (140-142).

³*Ign. Eph.* xxi. 1 (ἀγαπῶν Πολυκάρπον), *Smyrn.* xii. 2 (τὸν ἀξιόθεον ἐπίσκοπον), *Pol.* i. 1 (σου τὴν ἐν θεῷ γνώμην . . . τοῦ προσώπου σου τοῦ ἀμώμου, οὐ ὀνείμην ἐν θεῷ), ii. 3 (. . . τὰ δεσμά μου, ἃ ἠγάπησας), vii. 2 (Πολυκάρτε θεομακαριστότατε), 3, viii. 1 (ὡς θεοῦ γνώμην κεκτημένος. . .).

afterwards wrote affectionately of Alke, a young woman, presumably of wealth and rank—for she was the sister of Niketes, whose son Herodes held the office of eirenarkh forty years later, and who with this son took then an anti-christian part in the martyrdom of Polykarp.¹ Others whom he later remembered to greet were Euteknos, "Attalos my beloved", "the incomparable Daphnos", and Gavia (or Tavia?) who seems to be the same as the wife or widow of "Epitropos"²: her children and household are saluted with her, and Ignatius prays that she may be confirmed "in faith and love, both fleshly and spiritual". It looks as if "Epitropos" were the office, not the name, of her pagan husband, he being either Administrator-General (of the city) or an imperial procurator.³ But Ignatius recalled also the Christian brethren individually, and greets them and their wives and children, and the women enrolled on the church's list of widows.⁴ All this points to a stay in Smyrna lasting several days at least, and marked by much free and joyous association with the local church.

Ignatius was a man of tense and passionate disposition; and his religious devotion now took the form of a morbid craving for martyrdom. Realizing that news of his condemnation would soon get to Rome, and fearing lest influential Christians there might try to save him from death in the arena and might succeed, he wrote—on 24th August—a letter to the Roman church, adjuring them not to rob him of the martyr's crown. The following sentences refer to his condition at the time of writing. "From Syria (all the way) to Rome, by land and sea, night and day, I am 'fighting with beasts', being chained to ten leopards—that is, a maniple of soldiers, who become worse the more generously they are treated. However, through their injuries I am made more of a disciple, 'yet I

¹Ign. *Smyrn.* xiii. 2 (ἀσπάζομαι Ἀλκην, τὸ ποθητόν μοι ὄνομα), *Pol.* viii. 3 (same); *Mart. Polyc.* viii. 2 f., xvii. 2. Cf. Lightfoot i. 35, 366 f., 440, ii. 325; Knopf 73; Harnack, *Mission*, etc. (Eng. tr.), ii. 69 f. An Alke appears in *C.I.G.* 3268 as buying a burial-place, probably at Smyrna; but there is nothing but the name to connect her with the Christian Alke (cf. *C.I.G.* 7064, Le Bas-Wadd. 245). Similarly we have (besides the great

sophist, for whom see above, pp. 247 f.) a Niketes in *C.I.G.* 3359.

²Ign. *Smyrn.* xiii. 2, *Pol.* viii. 2. Daphnos appears later as bishop of Teos (Pionios [?], *Vit. Polyc.* xxv f.).

³Lightfoot i. 35, 367 f., ii. 325a, 358 f.; Harnack, *l.c.* See above, pp. 194 f., and cf. *C.I.G.* 3203 = *I.G.R.* iv. 1429 (ὁ ἐπίτροπος τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ).

⁴Ign. *Smyrn.* xiii. 1 (with Lightfoot i. 399 f., ii. 322-324), 2 (καὶ πάντας κατ' ὄνομα), *Pol.* viii. 2 (sim.).

am not justified by that¹ . . . My spirit greets you, and (so does) the love of the churches who have received me in the name of Jesus Christ, not as a (mere) passer-by; for even those (churches) which did not lie on my route . . . went before me from city to city (to prepare a welcome). Now I write this to you from Smyrna by (the help of) the . . . Ephesians. And Krokos also, whose name is dear to me, is with me, along with many others².

We may perhaps infer from these last-quoted words that Krokos acted as his amanuensis, and that the Ephesian deputation took the letter back to Ephesus to secure its early despatch (possibly by the hand of Krokos) to Rome. In any case, a copy of it was kept at Smyrna.³ However that may be, his Ephesian visitors, like those from Magnesia-on-Maiandros and Tralleis, were able to take home with them a letter addressed by the aged martyr to their own church. These three letters were probably written towards the close of Ignatius' stay in Smyrna, and perhaps in the order in which we have named them.⁴ Apart from his devout obsession regarding martyrdom, his mind was dominated by two ideas, not unconnected with one another—the urgent need of protecting the Church from judaistic and doketic heresies, and the paramount duty of Christian people to be loyal to their local Bishop and his group of assistant Elders. Thoughts on these themes pervade his letters.

As befitted the size, importance, and healthy character of the church at Ephesus, the letter addressed to it was the longest of all that Ignatius wrote.⁵ Entering towards the close of it upon deep doctrinal questions, he breaks off abruptly, promising to send a second treatise, which however seems never to have been written. With his teachings and exhorta-

¹Ign. *Rom.* v. i, quoted by Euseb. *Ch.-Hist.* III. xxxvi. 6–9, cf. 12: Lightfoot i. 35 f., ii. 210–214; Lampakes 142 f. n. 4. The quotations come from 1 *Cor.* xv. 32, iv. 4.

²Ign. *Rom.* ix. 3, x. 1: Lightfoot ii. 230–233.

³Cf. Lightfoot i. 365 f., 424, ii. 2, 185, 233; Funk, *Patr. Apost.* i. 263b. Knopf (71) thinks the Ephesians mentioned were traders, who were hurrying via Smyrna to Rome.

⁴On the conditions and manner of Ignatius' letter-writing, cf. Lightfoot i. 360 f., Moffatt in *H.T.R.* xxix (1936) 10 f. (" . . . He cannot have had much privacy or leisure. Chained to his guards, he was never without interruptions; . . . Even the friendly visits of sympathizing friends at Smyrna would break in upon his time . . .").

⁵Euseb. *Ch.-Hist.* III. xxxvi. 5: οὕτω δῆτα ἐν Σμύρνῃ γενόμενος . . . μίαν μὲν τῇ κατὰ τὴν Ἐφεσον ἐπιστολὴν ἐκκλησίᾳ γράφει, . . . Cf. Ramsay, *Seven Chs.* 78, 437.

tions in detail we are not here concerned: it must suffice to quote a few passages bearing upon his personal relationships. "When ye heard that I was (coming) in chains from Syria for the sake of our common name and hope, . . . ye were eager to see (me).¹ Since therefore I have in God's name received your full numbers in (the person of) Onesimos, that indescribably loving man, your Bishop—and I pray that ye may love him . . . and all be like him, for blessed is He who had graciously allowed you, worthy as ye are, to possess such a Bishop.² Now concerning my fellow-slave Bourrhos, by (the will of) God your Deacon blessed in all things, I pray that he may remain (with me) for the honour of yourselves and of the Bishop. And Krokos, who is worthy of God and of you, whom I received as a pattern of your love (for me), refreshed me in every way, as also may the Father of Jesus Christ refresh him together with Onesimos and Bourrhos and Euplous and Fronto, by means of whom I saw you all with love".³ He speaks of the familiar converse, "not human, but spiritual", he had had with Onesimos, and of the need of their being submissive to Onesimos as Bishop, all the more that he is a man of quiet disposition.⁴ He had been glad to hear from Onesimos of their orderly conduct and cautious aversion from heresy.⁵ In concluding he mentions his love for Polykarp as also for themselves, and (as in all his letters) asks for their prayers on behalf of the church in Syria.⁶

He tells the Magnesians: "I have been accounted worthy of seeing you by (seeing) Damas, your Bishop (who is) worthy of God, and (your) worthy Elders, Bassos and Apollonios, and my fellow-slave the deacon Zotion, whom may I enjoy because he is submissive to the Bishop as to God's grace and to the body-of-Elders as to Jesus Christ's law.⁷ And indeed it becomes you not to presume upon the Bishop's youthfulness, but to pay him all respect . . ., just as I have learned that the holy Elders also have not taken advantage of his palpably youthful condition, but . . . defer to him, yet not to him, but to the Father of Jesus Christ, the Bishop

¹Ign. *Eph.* i. 2. Cf. Lampakes 142.

²Ign. *Eph.* i. 3.

³Ign. *Eph.* ii. 1: cf. *xxi.* 1 *init.*, also Lightfoot i. 34.

⁴Ign. *Eph.* v. 1, 3, vi. 1: cf. *xx.* 2.

⁵Ign. *Eph.* vi. 2.

⁶Ign. *Eph.* *xxi.*

⁷Ign. *Magn.* ii: cf. *vi.* 1, also Euseb. *Ch.-Hist.* III. xxxvi. 5.

of (us) all".¹ And he concludes: "The Ephesians greet you from Smyrna, whence also I write to you. They are here for God's glory, as also (are) ye; and they have refreshed me in every way in company with Polykarp, Bishop of the Smyrnaians. And the other churches also greet you in Jesus Christ's honour. . . ."²

A briefer letter still did Ignatius address to the more distant church at Tralleis. He had learned, he said, about their steadfastness from "Polybios your Bishop, who was present in Smyrna by the will of God and of Jesus Christ, and so rejoiced with me, bound (as I was) in Christ Jesus, that in him I beheld the whole multitude of you. Having therefore received your godly good-will at his hands, I glorified (God), having found you to be—as I had learned—imitators of God".³ He praises Polybios' winsome and gentle demeanour: he thinks even the Gentiles must respect him. He mentions the compliments that were being paid to himself as a martyr, and what a sore temptation to pride they were.⁴ And then, towards the close: "I greet you from Smyrna, in company with the churches of God that are present with me—(men) who refreshed me in every way, both in flesh and spirit. . . . The love of the Smyrnaians and Ephesians greets you. Remember in your prayers the church in Syria . . . Fare ye well in Jesus Christ, being submissive to the Bishop as to the commandment (of God), likewise also to the body-of-Elders: and love ye one another with an undivided heart. . . ."⁵

As was often done with the letters of eminent Christians, copies of these four letters were made, probably before their bearers departed, and were kept by Polykarp for future use.

Attended (through the commission of the Ephesians and Smyrnaians) by the Ephesian deacon Bourrhos,⁶ and doubtless bidden godspeed at the harbour by Polykarp and his friends,⁷ Ignatius left Smyrna with his fellow-prisoners and guards,

¹Ign. *Magn.* iii. 1.

²Ign. *Magn.* xv.

³Ign. *Trall.* i. 1 f.: cf. iii. 2, also Euseb. *Ch.-Hist.* III. xxxvi. 5. Moffatt points out (in *H.T.R.* xxix [1936] 14) that no *Elder* came from Tralleis to visit Ign. and that *Trall.* contains no complimentary epithet in honour of the Elders; and he infers that these Elders were perhaps

not quite such hearty colleagues of their Bishop as they might have been.

⁴Ign. *Trall.* iii. 2, iv. 1.

⁵Ign. *Trall.* xii. 1, xiii. 1 f.

⁶Ign. *Phil.* xi. 2, *Smyrn.* xii. 1: cf. Lightfoot i. 366, ii. 342, 243, 321a, and see above, pp. 325, 328, and below, pp. 330, 335.

⁷So Harrison 160.

probably not long after 24th August (the date of his letter to Rome), and went (probably by sea) northward to Troas. Shortly after his departure, two of his friends, Philon a Deacon of Kilikia and Rhaios Agathopous of Syria, hurried in pursuit of him through Philadelpheia and Smyrna, where they were hospitably received. They overtook him at Troas, and gave him the welcome news that his beloved church at Antiokheia in Syria was now "at peace", i.e. united after a period of dissension. The party stayed at Troas long enough to allow Ignatius to dictate three more letters.¹ The first of these was addressed to the church at Philadelpheia. We are not further concerned with it here, except to note the writer's reference to the honour done him by the Ephesians and Smyrnaians in sending Bourrhos with him as his attendant and amanuensis,² and his continued concern over heresy and ecclesiastical insubordination and schism. The letter was doubtless sent via Smyrna. The second letter, penned (like the first) by the hand of the faithful Bourrhos and despatched by the same messenger, was addressed to the church at Smyrna. It ran as follows:

"Ignatius, who is also Theophoros, (sends) to the church of God the Father and Jesus Christ the beloved, (the church) mercifully endowed with every gracious gift, filled with faith and love, lacking in no gracious gift, most godly, and bearer of holy things, (the church) which is at Smyrna in Asia, hearty greetings in a flawless spirit and with the word of God.

(i. 1) I glorify Jesus Christ, the God who has made you so wise; for I perceived that ye had been equipped with immovable faith, as if nailed on the cross of the Lord Jesus Christ, both in flesh and in spirit, and firmly fixed in love by the blood of Christ, fully convinced as regards our Lord that He is truly 'of David's race according to the flesh', Son of God according to (God's) will and power, truly born of a virgin, baptized by John in order that 'all righteousness might be fulfilled' by Him, (2) truly nailed up on our behalf in the flesh under Pontius Pilatus and

¹Euseb. *Ch.-Hist.* III. xxxvi. 10 f.: Lightfoot i. 36, 368 f., 372, ii. 242. See also below, pp. 334 f., 338 n. 1.

²See above, p. 329 bott.

Herodes the tetrarkh—from which fruit (come) we, from his divinely-blessed passion—in order that He might 'raise a standard' for (all) ages, by means of the resurrection, for His saints and believers, whether among Jews or among Gentiles, in the one body of His Church. (ii) For all this did He suffer for our sakes, that we might be saved. And truly did He suffer, as also truly did He raise Himself up: not as some unbelievers say, that He suffered in appearance (only), they themselves existing (only) in appearance. And as they think, so shall it happen to them, being incorporeal and daemon-like. (iii. 1) For I know and believe that even after the resurrection He existed in the flesh; (2) and when He came to Peter and his companions, He said to them, 'Take, feel me, and see (how) that I am not an incorporeal daemon'.¹ And immediately they touched Him and believed, having had contact with His flesh and blood. Wherefore they despised even death, and were found (to be) above death. (3) And after the resurrection He ate and drank with them as a fleshly (being), though spiritually He had been united to the Father.

(iv. 1) I give you these exhortations, beloved, knowing that ye also are so minded. But I am protecting you in advance against the wild beasts in human shape, whom ye must not only not receive, but if possible not even meet with: only pray for them, if perchance they may repent, which (however, is) difficult; yet Jesus Christ, our real life, has power to effect this. (2) For if these things were done by our Lord in appearance (only), I too have been bound (only) in appearance. And why have I given myself up in surrender to death—for fire, for sword, for wild beasts? But (he who is) near the sword is near God; (he who is) in company with wild beasts is in company with God—(but) only (if he is so) in the name of Jesus Christ. (And so) I endure all things in order to suffer with Him, the perfect man Himself empowering me.

(v. 1) Some in their ignorance deny Him, nay rather have been denied by Him, being advocates of death rather than of the truth. The Prophecies have not convinced them, nor has the Law of Moses, nor even—so far—the Gospel,

¹On the source of this quotation, see M. R. James, *Apocryphal New Test.* 4, 18 f.

nor our several sufferings: (2) for concerning us they (must) think the same. For what use is any (man) to me, if he praise me, but blaspheme my Lord, not confessing that He was a bearer of flesh? But he who talks (like) that has absolutely denied Him, and is the bearer of a corpse. (3) But their names, being (those of) unbelievers, I have not thought fit to write. And would that I might not even remember them, until they repent about the Passion, which is our Resurrection.

(vi. 1) Let no one be led astray. Even the heavenly beings and the glorious angels and the rulers both visible and invisible, unless they have faith in Christ's blood, there is judgment (in store) for them also. 'Let him who receives it receive it'. Let no one be puffed up by his office.¹ For faith and love is everything: nothing has been given preference over them. (2) But mark those who hold wrong doctrines about the grace of Jesus Christ which came to us—how opposed they are to the mind of God. They care nothing for love, nothing for the widow, the orphan, the oppressed, the imprisoned or the released, the hungry or the thirsty.

(vii. 1) They stay away from eucharist and prayer, because they do not acknowledge that the eucharist is the flesh of our Saviour Jesus Christ, which suffered for our sins, (and) which the Father in His kindness raised up. Those then who speak against the gift of God die amid their disputings. But it would be to their advantage to love (others), in order that they may also rise again. (2) It is fitting to keep away from such men, and not even to talk about them privately or publicly, but to give heed to the Prophets and chiefly to the Gospel, wherein the Passion has been made clear to us and the Resurrection accomplished. But flee from divisions, as a source of evils.

(viii. 1) Do ye all follow the Bishop as Jesus Christ (follows) the Father, and the body-of-Elders as (ye follow) the Apostles. And respect the Deacons as God's commandment. Let no one do apart from the Bishop any of

¹Moffatt (in *H.T.R.* xxix [1936] 13 with n. 20) sees in this phrase another "reference to presbyters who were developing

on lines of their own", independently of the local monarchical Bishop: see above, p. 329 n. 3, and below, p. 340 n. 1.

the things that pertain to the church. Let (only) that eucharist which is under the Bishop or under him to whom he has entrusted it be regarded (as) valid. (2) Wherever the Bishop appears, there let the congregation be, just as, wherever Jesus Christ is, there (is) the universal Church. It is not allowable to baptize or to hold a love(-feast) apart from the Bishop: but whatever he approves, this (should be regarded as) well-pleasing to God also, so that everything ye do may be safe and valid. (ix. 1) It is reasonable that we should for the future recover our sober senses, while we still have time to repent (and turn) to God. It is well to acknowledge God and the Bishop. He who honours the Bishop has been honoured by God: he who does anything without the Bishop's knowledge pays service to the devil.

(2) May all things therefore abound unto you in grace, for (of this) ye are worthy. In all ways did ye refresh me, and Jesus Christ (will refresh) you. Ye loved me in my absence and (also) in my presence. God is your reward, and, (by) enduring all things for His sake, ye will attain unto Him.

(x. 1) Ye did well to receive as Deacons (i.e. servants) of God Philon and Rhaios Agathopous, who followed me in God's cause. They in their turn are thanking the Lord for you, because ye refreshed them in every way. Nothing whatever will be lost to you. (2) My spirit is a vicarious offering for your life, and (so are) my bonds, which ye neither despised nor were ashamed of. Neither will the perfect hope, Jesus Christ, be ashamed of you.

(xi. 1) Your prayer has gone forth to the church at Antiokheia in Syria. (Coming) thence, bound with most godly bonds, I greet all men, not being worthy of coming thence, being the last of them (the Christians of Antiokheia, in merit). But by (God's) will I have been counted worthy, not through my complicity, but through God's grace, which I pray may be given to me in perfect fulness, so that by your prayer I may attain to God. (2) In order then that your work may be perfect both on earth and in heaven, it is meet that for God's honour your church should elect a sacred ambassador, that he may go and congratulate them in Syria because they are at peace and have got back

their proper size and because their proper proportions have been restored to them. (3) It has therefore seemed to me (to be) an act worthy of God to send one of your own number with a letter, in order that he may join them in glorifying (God for) the calm which has come to them by God's will), and because they have by your prayer already reached a harbour. Seeing that ye are perfect, let your intentions be perfect: for God is ready to give you (opportunities) if ye make up your minds to do well.

(xii. 1) The love of the brothers at Troas greets you; whence also I am writing to you by (the hand of) Bourrhos, whom ye and the Ephesians your brothers sent with me. He has refreshed me in all ways: and would that all imitated him, for he is a pattern of service (i.e. deaconship) (done) for God. The grace (of God) will reward him in all things. (2) I greet the godly Bishop, and the sacred body-of-Elders, and my fellow-slaves the Deacons, and all (of you) individually and collectively, in the name of Jesus Christ and in His flesh and blood, and in (His) Passion and Resurrection both fleshly and spiritual, in the oneness of God and yourselves. Grace (be) unto you, mercy, peace, (and) endurance always. (xiii. 1) I greet the households of my brothers with their wives and children and the 'virgins' who are (commonly) called 'widows'. I bid you fare well by the Father's power. Philon who is with me greets you. (2) I greet the household of Gavia, who I pray may be firmly fixed in faith and love, both fleshly and spiritual. I greet Alke, the name very dear to me, and the incomparable Daphnos, and Euteknos, and all one by one. Fare ye well by God's grace".¹

The purpose of the embassy to Antiokheia in Syria was to confirm the reestablished harmony there and reduce the danger of a relapse into schism. For this purpose it was important that the congratulatory messages should be as numerous as possible.² Ignatius intended accordingly to write to a number of Asian churches, begging them to send envoys or at least messages to Antiokheia. His purpose,

¹For the persons here named, see above, p. 326: for the letter as a whole, see below, p. 338 n. 3.

²So Harrison (81-106), as against the usual view that the peace meant the cessation of persecution.

however, was frustrated by the sudden intimation that he and his party were to embark at once for Neapolis, the port of Philippi. Bourrhos had apparently now left him; but he had just enough time to get off a last letter to Polykarp (perhaps dictating it to Philon), not only to strengthen him personally, but also through him to reinforce what he had already written to the Smyrnaian church, and above all to beg him to take the needful steps for despatching the messages to Syria.¹

The epistle to Polykarp was as follows:

“Ignatius, who is also Theophoros, (sends) hearty greetings to Polykarp, Bishop (i.e. overseer) of the church of the Smyrnaians, (or) rather overseen (himself) by God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ.

(i. 1) Welcoming thy godly mind, which has been firmly fixed as on an immovable rock, I glorify (God) greatly, having been counted worthy of (seeing) thy faultless face, of which I would fain have joy in God. (2) I exhort thee to press on with thy course in the grace wherewith thou art endued, and to exhort all men that they may be saved. Justify thine office with all care, fleshly and spiritual. Give heed to unity, than which nothing is better. Bear (the burdens of) all men, as the Lord in His turn (bears) thee. Endure all men in love, as indeed thou dost. (3) Find time for unceasing prayers. Ask for greater understanding than thou hast.² Watch, having acquired a sleepless spirit. Speak to men individually after the manner of God. ‘Bear the illnesses’ of all men, like a perfect athlete. Where (there is) more toil, (there there is) great gain. (ii. 1) If thou lovest (only) good disciples, no thanks are thine. Rather subdue the more troublesome with gentleness. Every wound is not treated by the same salve. Allay sharp pains by fomentations. (2) ‘Become prudent as the serpent’ in all things, ‘and innocent’ always ‘as the dove’. For this reason art thou both fleshly and spiritual, in order that thou mayest coax the things that are visibly before thee; but (as for) the invisible things, ask that they may be revealed to thee, so that thou mayest come short in nothing-

¹Lightfoot i. 369; Harnack, *Mission*, etc. (Eng. tr.), i. 190.

²Corsen (in *Z.N.W.* v [1904] 283 f.)

interprets this “sehr grob klingende Mahnung” with reference to the *spiritual* understanding of visions, etc.

and mayest abound in every gracious gift. (3) The time demands thee—as steersmen (do) winds, and as a storm-tossed (sailor does) a harbour—that it may attain to God. Keep sober, like an athlete of God. The prize is incorruptibility and eternal life, concerning which also thou art convinced. In all things I am a vicarious offering for thy life, and (so are) my bonds, which thou didst caress.

(iii. 1) Let not those who seem to be trustworthy and (yet) teach wrong doctrines dismay thee. Stand firm, like a smitten anvil. It is (the part) of a great athlete to be struck and (yet) to win. But especially for God's sake must we endure all things, in order that He in His turn may endure us. (2) Become more zealous than thou art. Mark the seasons. Await Him Who is beyond (every) season, the timeless (one), the invisible, Who for our sakes (became) visible, the untouchable, the passionless, Who for our sakes (became) subject to suffering, Who endured in every way for our sakes.

(iv. 1) Let not widows be disregarded. After the Lord be thou their guardian. Let nothing be done without thy consent, and do nothing thyself without God—as indeed thou dost not. Be stedfast. (2) Let gatherings take place more frequently. Seek out all men by name. (3) Despise not slaves and slave-women: but neither let them get puffed up, but let them the more serve as slaves for God's glory, that they may obtain a better freedom from God. Let them not desire to be liberated at the cost of the common (fund), lest they be found (to be) slaves of lust.

(v. 1) Flee from the evil arts (of heresy); but hold discourse about them the more. Tell my sisters to love the Lord, and to be content with their husbands in flesh and spirit. Likewise also charge my brothers in the name of Jesus Christ to 'love their wives, as the Lord (loved) the Church'. (2) If anyone can remain chaste for the honour of the flesh which belongs to the Lord, let him do it without boasting. If he boast, he is undone; and if he be known more than the Bishop,¹ he is corrupted. And it is fitting for men and women who marry to make the union with the

¹So Knopf (389); but Lightfoot (ii. 349, 573) renders: "if it be known beyond the bishop, . . ."—similarly Lake in Loeb ed.

Bishop's consent, in order that the marriage may be according to the Lord and not according to lust. Let all things be done for the honour of God.

(vi. 1) Give ye heed to the Bishop, in order that God in His turn (may give heed) to you. I am a vicarious offering for the lives of those who are submissive to Bishop, Elders, Deacons. And may I have my part with them in God. Toil together with one another, contend together, run together, suffer together, lie down together, rise up together, like stewards and assessors and servants of God. (2) 'Please (the General) under Whom ye serve', from Whom also ye will receive your pay: let none of you be found (to be) a deserter. Let your baptism stay (with you) as shields, (your) faith as a helmet, (your) love as a spear, (your) endurance as a suit of armour. (Let) your works (be) your bank-deposits, in order that ye may (finally) draw out the assets owing to you. So be long-suffering with one another in gentleness, as God is with you. I would fain have joy of you always.¹

(vii. 1) Since the church at Antiokheia in Syria is at peace—as has been reported to me—by means of your prayer, I too have become more cheerful, with a God-given freedom from care, if (so be that) I may by means of suffering attain to God, in order that through your petition I may be found (to be) a disciple. (2) It is fitting, O most divinely-blest Polykarp, to assemble a most godly council, and elect someone who is greatly loved among you and is zealous, who will be able to be called God's courier, (and) commission him to go to Syria and glorify (there) your zealous love unto God's glory. (3) A Christian man has no

¹The abrupt introduction of the second person *plural* in vi. 1 is peculiar; and Harrison (23) regards it as indicating that vi really belongs to Ign. *Smyrn.*, where he proposes to put it after x. Per contra, (1) in *Pol.* iv f. Ign. has already started writing about the duties of Christians generally, and might therefore the more easily address them directly in vi: (2) *Pol.* vi would not fit in suitably after *Smyrn.* x, or indeed anywhere else in *Smyrn.*, which has already a paragraph of its own (viii) about submission to the Bishop and clergy: (3) the second person

plural reappears in *Pol.* vii f., which are clearly an integral part of *Pol.*; and in *Pol.* viii. 2 Polykarp is spoken of in the *third* person. The awkwardness of *Pol.* vi must be explained by the erratic temperament of the writer. He was the last man in the world to bother about logical consistency. If, in the midst of a letter to a Bishop, he wanted to admonish the latter's flock, even at the cost of repeating something he had said before, why not? Lightfoot has shown (i. 369) that *Smyrn.* was written before *Pol.*

authority over himself, but his time is at God's disposal. This is God's work and yours (also), whensoever ye complete it. For I trust in the grace (of God) that ye are ready for an act of well-doing which befits God. Knowing your intense fidelity, I exhort you in a few words (only).

(viii. 1) Since I am unable—because (I am) sailing suddenly from Troas to Neapolis,¹ as the will (of God) ordains—to write to all the churches, thou shalt write to the churches in front (of thee, i.e. towards Antiokheia), as one who has obtained the mind of God, to the end that they too may do the same thing; let those who are able send (men) by foot, and others letters by means of the men being sent by thee, in order that ye may be glorified by an eternal work—as thou deservest.

(2) I greet all one by one, especially the (wife) of Epitropos² with the whole household of herself and her children. I greet Attalos my beloved. I greet him who is going to be commissioned to go to Syria. The grace (of God) will be with him always and with Polykarp who sends him.

(3) I pray that ye may fare well always in our God Jesus Christ, in whom abide ye in God's unity and oversight. I greet Alke, the name very dear to me. Fare ye well in the Lord".³

It was probably not quite a fortnight after these moving messages had been received at Smyrna and eagerly read (that for Philadelpheia being copied before being sent on), and before Polykarp had been able to complete any arrangements for sending a deputation to Antiokheia, that he received a further packet of letters. They came from the church at Philippoi, and had been written immediately after Ignatius had left that city. One was intended for Antiokheia, and the other begged Polykarp to let his messenger take the former with him to its destination, and also to furnish them (the Philippians) with copies of all the available letters of Ignatius.

¹Knopf infers (36) that this letter was actually despatched from Neapolis: but this is unnecessary and improbable. ἡδυστήθη is an epistolary aorist, and as such refers to the time of writing.

²See above, p. 326.

³I have translated the foregoing letters

to Smyrna and to Polykarp from the Greek text as printed by Lightfoot (ii. 287-326 and 331-360), occasionally emending the text by the help of Funk (*Patr. Apost.* i. 274-286 and 286-294). The textual variants and the difficulties of interpretation are fairly plentiful, but not historically serious.

The packet probably included in addition a brief note from Ignatius himself, supporting the request about the despatch of the Philippians' letter to Antiocheia.¹ In the course of his doubtless prompt reply, Polykarp wrote to the Philippians :

(xiii. 1) "Ye have written to me yourselves, and (so has) Ignatius, (asking) that, when² someone is departing for Syria, he may take (thither) the letter also from you. This I will do, when² I get a suitable opportunity—either I (myself) or he whom I send to act as ambassador for you as well. (2) We send you the letters of Ignatius which had been sent us by him and as many others as we had by us—as ye enjoined. They are appended to this letter; and from them ye will be able to derive great advantage. For they contain faith and endurance and all edification such as befits our Lord. Also, concerning Ignatius himself and those with him, give (us) whatever reliable news ye may get.

(xiv) I write this to you by Crescens, whom I commended to you recently and now (again) commend. For he has behaved himself blamelessly with us; (and) I believe (he will do) the same with you also. And when his sister comes to you, ye will regard her also as commended. Fare ye well in the Lord Jesus Christ in grace, along with all yours. Amen".³

¹So Harrison (112 n. 2, 117): cf. Lightfoot iii. 347 n.

²"When" translates the Greek *ἐάν*, which is more definite than a simple "if" (Harrison 93 f. n. 2, 320 n. 1).

³These paragraphs represent chs. xiii f. of Polyk. *Ep. ad Phil.*, for which generally see below, pp. 345 f. n. 3. From "Also" (xiii. 2, end) onwards, the Greek original is lost, and we are dependent upon a Latin version. From the natural probabilities of the case (especially from the identity of the Philippians' request about Syria with that previously sent by Ign. from Troas), we may certainly infer that the Philippians wrote to Pol. *immediately* after Ign. had left them (Harrison 117 f., 124). From the fact that, when Pol. replied, he had not yet sent to Syria, we may infer that he replied as soon as possible (Harrison 15, 107-109, 118-120, 124 bott., 125-131, 147, 313). Ign. was therefore still en route across the Balkan Peninsula; and Pol. naturally asks for news of him. In

ix, however, Pol. speaks of Ign. along with other martyrs (including Paul) as having already reached their due place beside the Lord. As xii. 3 forms a quite suitable conclusion, it is natural to infer that i-xii belong to a separate letter, written later than xiii f. (on the inclusion of xiv along with xiii, see Harrison 15, 206), and written at a time when the Ignatian echoes, absent from xiii f. but plentiful in i-xii (Harrison 132, 163-165), could be appreciated by the Philippians, as they had by then received and read Polykarp's copies. (On the set and sequence of the Ignatian letters collected by Pol. and sent by him to Philippoi, see Lightfoot i. 336 f., 423-430). Further, i-xii were *probably* not written until Polykarp had received definite news that Ign. had perished (so Harrison strongly—143 ff., esp. 151 f., 153 f.). Harrison's arguments to this effect seem very cogent. I cannot, however, concur with him and with the late Drs. Burkitt and Streeter (Harrison v f.) that i-xii were written as

We do not learn what steps were actually taken to give effect to the wishes of Ignatius and the Philippians in the matter of the messages to Syria—in particular, whether Polykarp went himself, as he half suggested he might. But in the spring or summer of the following year, or of that next ensuing, he received yet another message from Philippoi. The church there was in trouble because one of their Elders, Valens by name, had abused his trust by embezzling the church's money, and had been aided and abetted by his wife. So grave a scandal was regarded as a fit cause for consultation further afield; and the appeal for counsel drew forth the following letter from the revered Bishop of Smyrna (who doubtless kept his own copy of it):

“Polykarp and the Elders with him¹ to the church of God which sojourns at Philippoi. May mercy and peace from God Almighty and Jesus Christ our Saviour be multiplied unto you.

(i. 1) I rejoice greatly with you in our Lord Jesus Christ, because ye received and escorted on their way the copies of the true love—as it was your lot to do—the (men)

late as 135-137 A.D. (Harrison 15 f., 315). It seems to me, from the way in which Ignatius is referred to in i. 1 (see below, pp. 340 f.), that that passage must have been written not very long after the Philippians had parted with Ign. (per contra, Harrison 157-162, 166). I do not even feel *absolutely certain* that i-xii could not have been written before Pol. had heard definite news of Ignatius' actual death in the arena at Rome: Pol's words in ix. 2 (q.v.) refer *generally* to the persons named in ix. 1, and their prematurity as regards Ign. and his companions might be overlooked because these men had been named *first* in the series. But in any case we do not need to go later with i-xii than the spring or summer of the year following Ign's visit or that of the next year. Harrison's main reasons for dating i-xii so late are that vii. 1 refers to Markion (172-206, 267 f., 313-315; per contra, 55, 63 f., 65 top, 66 f.), and that these chapters imply an advanced stage in the growth of the N. T. Canon (6 f., 12, 16, 63, 233, 250, 285 ff., 289, 306, 315 f., 316 f.): it also seems to him more likely that the Philipian church would have consulted

Pol. when he was in his sixties than when he was only forty-six (Harrison 268 f.). I regard the supposed reference to Markion in vii as an illusion; and neither of the other two reasons seem to me at all cogent as against the probability that i. 1 is early: nor, in my judgment, do Streeter's observations in *Prim. Ch.* 277 f. (cf. id. in *C.A.H.* xi. 263) make so late a date as 135-137 A.D. for i-xii any more probable. See my review of Harrison in *J.T.S.* July 1937, 267-270.

¹Moffatt (in *H.T.R.* xxix [1936] 13 n.) regards *οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ πρεσβύτεροι* as meaning the Elders *on Polykarp's side*, not simply the Smyrnaian Elders generally, not all of whom (Moffatt supposes—see above, p. 329 n. 3 and p. 332 n. 1) “could be reckoned true to the bishop”. But in the absence of any other evidence for such friction at Smyrna, is it not simpler and better to follow Lévy (in *R.E.G.* xii [1899] 265 n.) in viewing Pol's phrase as an ecclesiastical formula which “correspond exactement à des expressions comme ἀρχιπρύτανις καὶ συνάρχωνς (CIG., 2878), ἀρχιπρύτανις καὶ παραπρυτάνεις (CIG., 3168)”?

entwined in the(ir) holy bonds, which are the diadems of those who have been truly chosen by God and our Lord, (2) and because the firm root of your faith, proclaimed from ancient times, remains until now, and bears fruit for our Lord Jesus Christ, Who endured going as far as death for our sins, 'Whom God raised up, having abolished the pangs of Hades', (3) 'in Whom, though ye have not seen (Him), ye trust with unspeakable and glorified joy', into which many long to enter—knowing (as ye do) that 'by grace have ye been saved, not on the basis of works', but through God's will by means of Jesus Christ. (ii. 1) 'Wherefore, girding up your loins again, serve God with fear' and fidelity, leaving the empty nonsense and the error of the many, 'trusting in Him Who raised up our Lord Jesus Christ from the dead and gave Him glory' and a seat at His right hand. To Whom all things heavenly and earthly have been subjected, Whom every breath(ing thing) serves, Who comes (as) 'judge of living and dead', Whose blood God will require from those who disobey Him. (2) 'But He Who raised' Him up from the dead 'will raise up us also', if we do (His) will and walk in His commandments and love the things He has loved, refraining from all unrighteousness, covetousness, love of money, detraction, (and) false-witness, 'not returning evil for evil, or abuse for abuse', or fisticuff for fisticuff, or curse for curse, (3) but remembering what the Lord said when He taught, 'Judge not, that ye be not judged: forgive, and it shall be forgiven you: have mercy, that ye may receive mercy: with the measure wherewith ye measure, shall it be measured to you in return'; and, 'Happy (are) the poor and those who are persecuted for righteousness' sake, for theirs is the Kingdom of God'.

(iii. 1) I write these things to you about righteousness, brothers, not on my own initiative, but because ye invited me: (2) for neither I nor any other like me can follow close upon the wisdom of the blessed and glorious Paul, who, when he was among you face to face with the men of that time, taught the word of truth exactly and with surety, who also (when) absent wrote you letters, by poring over which ye will be able to be built up into the faith given to

you, (3) 'which is the mother of us all', hope following on (after it, and) love for God and Christ and for (our) neighbour preceding (hope). For if any man be occupied with these, he has fulfilled the commandment of righteousness; for he who has love is far from all sin.

(iv. 1) 'Now the love of money is the beginning of all troubles'. Knowing therefore that 'we brought nothing into the world, nor can we carry anything out (of it)', let us arm ourselves with the weapons of righteousness, and teach ourselves first to walk in the commandment of the Lord; (2) then (should ye teach) your wives also, with the faith and love and chastity that has been given to them, to be affectionate to their own husbands with all fidelity, and to love all men equally with all self-control, and also to train their children in the fear of God; (3) (and let us teach) the widows to be discreet concerning the(ir) faith in the Lord, ceaselessly making intercession for all (men), keeping far from all slander, detraction, false-witness, love of money, and every evil, knowing that they are God's altar, and that all (offerings) are scrutinized, and that no reasoning or imagining or any of 'the secrets of the heart' escapes His notice.¹

(v. 1) Knowing therefore that 'God is not mocked', we ought to walk worthily of His commandment and glory. (2) Likewise Deacons² (ought to be) blameless before His righteousness as deacons (or servants) of God and Christ and not of men—not accusers or tale-bearers, free from the love of money, self-controlled in all things, compassionate, careful, walking according to the truth of the Lord, Who became a servant (or deacon) of all men. And if we please Him in the present age, we shall receive the future (age) also, even as He promised us that He would raise us up from the dead, and that if we conducted ourselves worthily of Him, 'we should also reign with' Him, if we believe. (3) Likewise the younger men also (must be) blameless in all things, providing before all (else) for chastity, and curbing

¹Harnack (*Mission*, etc. [Eng. tr.], ii. 70 f. n. 2) connects this passage with the early effort, initiated by Paul, to check the prominence of women in Church-life.

²On the prominence here given to Deacons as compared with Elders, cf. Moffatt in *H.T.R.* xxix (1936) 11 bott. On the Elders and Deacons at Philippi, cf. Knopf 179-181.

themselves from all evil. For (it is) good to be held back from the lusts in the world, because all 'lust wars against the spirit', and 'neither fornicators nor sensualists nor sodomites shall inherit God's kingdom', nor (shall) those who do outrageous things. Wherefore it is needful (for them) to refrain from all these things, being submissive to the Elders and Deacons as to God and Christ. (And it is good also) that the virgins should walk with a flawless and chaste conscience.

(vi. 1) And the Elders also (must be) compassionate, merciful towards all, turning back (homewards) the (sheep) that have wandered, visiting all (who are) sick, not disregarding widow or orphan or pauper; but 'providing always for what is right in the sight of God and men', refraining from all anger, favouritism, unjust judgment, keeping far from all love of money, not speedily believing (accusations) against any (man), not sharp in judgment, knowing that we are all debtors through sin. (2) If therefore we pray to the Lord that He forgive us, we ought in our turn to forgive (others); for we are before the eyes of the Lord and of God, and 'must all stand before Christ's tribunal, and each give account for himself'. (3) So then let us serve Him with fear and all piety, even as He, and the Apostles who gave us the good news, and the Prophets who predicted our Lord's coming, enjoined. (Let us be) zealots for the good, refraining from offences and from false brothers and from those who bear the Lord's name in hypocrisy, who mislead empty(-minded) men. (vii. 1) For 'everyone who does not acknowledge that Jesus Christ has come in the flesh is antichrist'; and whoever does not acknowledge the testimony of the cross is of the devil; and whoever perverts the Lord's oracles to (suit) his own lusts, and says (that there is) neither resurrection nor judgment, he is the first-born of Satan.

(2) Wherefore, leaving the futility of the many and the(ir) false-teachings, let us turn to the word which was handed to us from the beginning, 'being sober unto prayer' and persistent in fastings, supplicating the all-seeing God with petitions 'not to lead us into trial', even as the Lord said, 'The spirit indeed is eager, but the flesh weak'. (viii. 1) Let

us therefore persist ceaselessly in our hope and the pledge of our righteousness, which is Christ Jesus, 'Who bore our sins in His own body on the wood, Who did no sin, nor was deceit found in His mouth'. But He endured all things for our sakes, that we might live by Him. (2) So let us become imitators of His endurance; and if we suffer on account of His name, let us glorify Him. For this example did He set us in His own person; and this did we believe. (ix. 1) So I exhort you all to obey the word of righteousness and exercise all endurance, such as ye have seen with (your own) eyes, not only in the blessed Ignatius and Zosimos and Rufus, but also in others—(men) of your own number, and in Paul himself, and the rest of the Apostles, (2) being convinced that all these men 'ran not in vain', but in faith and righteousness, and that they are in their due place beside the Lord, with Whom also they suffered. For they 'loved not the present age', but Him Who died for us and Who for our sakes was raised up by God.

(x. 1) So stand firm in these things and follow the Lord's example, 'being firmly fixed in the faith and immovable, lovers of the brotherhood, affectionate to one another', united in the truth, 'forestalling one another' with the Lord's forbearance, despising no one. (2) When ye are able to do good, do not postpone (it), 'because almsgiving frees (the giver) from death'.¹ 'Be all of you submissive to one another, keeping your behaviour among the Gentiles blameless, in order that from your good works' ye may obtain praise, and the Lord may not be blasphemed among you. (3) 'But woe (be to him) by whose means the Lord's name is blasphemed'. So teach all men temperance, with which ye yourselves also behave.

(xi. 1) I am very grieved about Valens, who at some time was made an Elder among you—because he was so ignorant of the office given to him. So I warn you to refrain from the love of money and to be chaste (and) sincere. Refrain from every evil. (2) But he who cannot govern himself in these (duties), how can he enjoin it on another? If any man does not refrain from the love of money, he will be defiled by idolatry, and will be judged as (if he were) among

¹A quotation from *Tobit*, iv. 10, xii. 9.

the Gentiles, who 'do not know the Lord's judgment'. 'Or know we not that the saints will judge the world', as Paul teaches? (3) But I have neither perceived nor heard of any such (fault) among you, among whom the blessed Paul laboured, who in the beginning were his 'epistles'. For concerning you 'he boasts in' all 'the churches', which alone then knew the Lord—but we (then) did not yet know (Him).¹ (4) So I am exceedingly grieved, brothers, about that man and his wife: 'may the Lord give' them true 'repentance'. So be yourselves moderate in this, 'and count not' such persons 'as enemies', but recall them as frail and erring members, in order that ye may save the body (which consists) of you all. For (by) doing this ye will build yourselves up.² (xii. 1) For I feel sure that ye have been well-exercised in the holy Scriptures, and that nothing escapes your notice: but to me this has not been granted. Only—as it has been said in these Scriptures—'be ye angry, and sin not', and 'let not the sun go down upon your wrath'. Happy is he who remembers it, which (happiness) I believe is yours.

(2) Now may the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the eternal high-priest Himself, the Son of God, Jesus Christ, build you up in faith and truth, and in all gentleness, and in freedom from anger, and in endurance and longsuffering and patience and chastity, and give a lot and a share among His saints to you, and to us with you, and to all under heaven who shall believe on our Lord and God Jesus Christ and on 'His Father who raised Him from the dead'. (3) 'Pray for all the saints'. 'Pray also for kings' and magistrates and rulers, and 'for those who persecute and hate you', and for 'the enemies of the Cross', 'in order that your fruit may be manifest among all men', 'in order that ye may be perfect' through Him".³

¹For a discussion of this passage, see above, pp. 310 f. n. 2.

²Harnack (*Mission*, etc. [Eng. tr.], i. 195 f.) notes that Pol., though apparently feeling that the case of Valens had not been quite rightly handled, confines himself to counsel, and does not interfere with the jurisdiction of the local church.

³Translated, like xiii and xiv (see above, p. 339), from the text as printed

by Lightfoot (iii. 321-350), Funk (*Patr. Apost.* i. 286-313), Lake (in Loeb ed. of *Apost. Fathers*, i. 282-300), and Harrison (327-335). Cf. also Blomfield-Jackson, *St. Polycarp* (S.P.C.K. 1898), 28-48. The Greek original of x-xii has not survived; and we are dependent on an early Latin version. For xiii f., see above, pp. 339 f. n. 3. Cf. Eirenaeos III. iii. 4 fin.; Euseb. *Ch.-Hist.*

Judging from Polykarp's epistles, as from all else that we learn about him, we gather that he was not endowed with great intellectual ability; but it is clear that he was convinced of the peril to which Christian faith was exposed by certain movements in the Christian thought of the time. These movements he meets, not with argument, but with denunciation.¹ In his letters to Philippoi, he shows himself familiar, not only (as Eusebios says²) with the 'First Epistle of Peter', but with the Christian Scriptures generally, including the Epistle written by Clemens of Rome to Korinth about 95 A.D. We have no evidence that he and Clemens ever met; but Eirenaios distinctly states that Papias, the Bishop of Hieropolis in Phrygia, was his "companion"—an inherently credible assertion.³ In the fifth-century writings ascribed to Dionysios the Areiopagite, Polykarp is credited with an attempt to convert the heathen sophist Apollophanes, one of the teachers of Polemon.⁴ We possess no reliable chronicle of Polykarp's life: but it is clear that, despite the simplicity

IV. xiv. 8 f.; Hieronymus, Photios, etc. in Lightfoot i. 561, 572, 575. On the genuineness of Polyk. *Ep. ad Phil.*, Lightfoot i. 335, 578-603; Andrews in *E.Br.* xxii (1911) 20b; Dibelius in *Relig. in Gesch. u. Gegenw.* iv (1930) 1333.

¹Eirenaios (III. iii. 4 in Euseb. *Ch.-Hist.* IV. xiv. 5) describes him as *πολλῷ ἄξιπιστότερον καὶ βεβαίωτερον ἀληθείας μάρτυρα ὄντα Οὐαλεντίνου καὶ Μαρκίωνος καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν κακογνωμόνων.*

²Euseb. *Ch.-Hist.* IV. xiv. 9.

³Eirenaios V. xxxiii. 4 = Euseb. *Ch.-Hist.* III. xxxix. 1 (cf. xxxvi. 1 f.). Modern writers have been far too prone to charge Eirenaios with inaccuracy regarding both Papias and Polykarp (see my art. in *London Quart. Rev.*, July 1933, 290-299); but in any case there is no need to question the statement that these two contemporaries were in touch with one another.

⁴The seventh of the pseudo-Dionysian letters purports to be addressed by Dionysios to Polykarp in reply to an epistle from him (mentioned by Soudias, s.v. *Πολύκ.*), reporting a meeting and dispute with Apollophanes. Dionysios advises Polykarp not to argue contentiously with heathen opponents, but to let the positive Christian truth speak for itself. Polykarp is to remind Apollophanes (who

had violently blamed Dionysios for using Hellenic learning to confute Hellenes) of the undeniable evidences of God's power in sundry astronomical portents: in particular, Polykarp should recall to Apoll's. mind how the latter and Dionysios together at Heliopolis in Egypt witnessed a miraculous eclipse of the sun at the time of the Crucifixion (Migne, *P.G.* iii. 1077-1082 [the letter], iv. 535-544 [scholia by Maximus Confessor], 727-730 [Halloix's comments]: cf. *Lc.* xxiii. 44 f.; *Acts*, xvii. 34). Soudias (s.v. *Διονύσιος ὁ Ἀρεωπ.*) summarizes the story, and informs us that Polemon listened to Apollophanes at Smyrna. In order to assure Christendom that Polykarp actually did convert Apoll., a still later falsarius composed an eleventh letter, in which Dionysios is made to greet Apoll. as a fellow-Christian (Migne, *P.G.* iii. 56, 1119-1122): Lampakes accordingly (155 f.) records Apoll's. conversion as a fact. So far as Dionysios and the eclipse are concerned, the story is palpably fabulous (unless, as Gammack suggests in *S.D.C.B.* iv. 431b, a different Polykarp is intended): for the rest, all we can say is that, if Apoll. really was a teacher of Polemon, there is no *chronological* objection to the statement that he disputed with Polykarp.

of his mind, he exercised for many years a remarkable ascendancy—mainly, of course, over the Christian communities (for all of which, as for mankind generally, it was his custom to pray assiduously),¹ but also in some measure over the heathen population.² That fact alone would account for the ascription of miracles to him by later generations. “The incomparable Daphnos”, whom Ignatius had greeted when writing to Smyrna, later became Bishop of Teos (on the south coast of the isthmus of Klazomenai): on a visit to this man, Polykarp was said to have miraculously multiplied a stock of corn, and on a second visit the contents of a cask of wine.³

Eirenaïos mentions “his letters which he sent, either to the neighbouring churches, strengthening them, or to certain of the brothers, admonishing and exhorting them”.⁴ None of these, however, has survived except the Epistles to Philippoi. The ‘Vita Polycarpi’ says that his many treatises and sermons and letters were dispersed by the heathen at the time of his martyrdom: but representative samples survived, whereof “the Epistle to the Philippians was the most adequate”.⁵

There can be no doubt that the simplicity and steadfastness of Polykarp’s faith, his long life, and his connexion in early manhood with the Apostle John, rendered him a most efficient champion of the Christian cause during the reign of Hadrianus (117–138 A.D.), when the Church was endangered by the new lease of life now given to paganism through the prosperity

¹*Mart. Polyc.* v. 1 fin. = Euseb. *Ch.-Hist.* IV. xv. 9. For Pol’s influence as a Bishop, cf. Pionios (?), *Vit. Polyc.* xxv. 1; Ramsay, *Ch. in the Rom. Emp.* 429 f. See also below, p. 354 n. 2, for the veneration with which Christians regarded him.

²*Mart. Polyc.* xii. 2, xvi. 1, xvii. 1 (τήν ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς ἀνεπιληπτον πολιτείαν), 2, xix. 1 = Euseb. *Ch.-Hist.* IV. xv. 26, 39, 40, 41, 45; Hieronym. *Vir. Illust.* xvii (“totius Asiae princeps fuit”): Lightfoot i. 444, 473 f.; Andrews in *E.Br.* xxii (1911) 22b; Schultze 56.

³Pionios (?), *Vit. Polyc.* xxv. f.: and see above, pp. 326, 334. On Pol’s miracles, Papadop.-Keram. *Ἀνακωνώσεις*, 7 f.

⁴Eiren. *Ep. ad Flor.* fin., in Euseb. *Ch.-Hist.* V. xx. 8.

⁵Pionios (?), *Vit. Polyc.* xii. 3: the sug-

gestion that, when *Vit. Polyc.* was written⁹ other works of Pol. besides *Ep. ad Phil.* survived is regarded by most scholars as a dishonest fiction on the part of its author; but see above, p. 308 b. Maximus the Confessor, the vii/A.D. commentator on ps.-Dionysios, mentions a letter which Polykarp sent to the Athenians, and in which he spoke of the Areiopagite (Migne, *P.G.* iv. 17 f.: cf. Batiffol in *H.D.A.C.* ii. 247a). A few clearly spurious or extremely dubious fragments ascribed to Pol. are extant: see Salmon in *S.D.C.B.* iv. 431ab; Lightfoot i. 473, iii. 419–422; Harnack, *Überlief.* 73; Bonwetsch in Hauck, *Realencyk.* xv (1904) 537 bott.; Funk, *Patr. Apost.* ii. LXXX–LXXXII, 397–401. *Vit. Polyc.* does not now contain the Scriptural expositions of Polykarp, which its author promises in xx.

of the times and the Emperor's generous patronage. Christian beliefs and practices often had the effect of rendering those who adhered to them socially unpopular. And to the suspicion and dislike of pagans was added the bitter hatred of the Jews. There was a considerable Jewish community at Smyrna; and we have seen in the 'Apocalypse' of John evidence of their feelings towards the Christians.¹ Polykarp's remarks about them would hardly improve the relations between the two parties, though it is only later that we have explicit evidence of friction. But Jewish antipathy to the Christians did not imply Jewish goodwill to paganism. The synagogue would of course now and then make converts, but it would also lose apostates. When large sums for embellishing and extending the public buildings were raised at Smyrna, by way of supplementing the lavish donation granted by Hadrianus on the occasion of his visit in 123 or 124 A.D., a contribution of 10,000 drakhmai was listed as being made by "the erstwhile Jews", presumably pagans who, after conversion to Judaism, had reverted to their former beliefs and wished to advertize the fact.² A Jewish prophet of about this period (117-130 A.D.), who lived perhaps in Egypt and whose verses were later included in the so-called 'Sibylline Oracles', cheerfully foretold numerous disasters as about to befall Asia Minor, and prophesied: "Smyrna one day will mourn, rolled down the cliffs: she that of old was reverend and famous will perish"; and again: "For Smyrna also, weeping for her lyrist" (Homeros?), "will come to the gates of Ephesos, and herself perish more completely".³ The verses reflect, perhaps, the general dislike felt by Jews for the Gentile world.

In regard to the unpopularity and persecution incurred

¹See above, pp. 311 f., 317-319.

²*C.I.G.* 3148 = *I.G.R.* iv. 1431, l. 30 (*οἱ ποτὲ Ἰουδαῖοι* . . .). The interpretation adopted above is that suggested by Schultze (52), and is preferable both to the simple rendering "renegade Jews" (so Boeckh, Lightfoot [i. 470], and Schürer [*G. J. V.* iii. 14, 135]), and to the interpretation of Mommsen (see Schürer, *G. J. V.* iii. 106 f. n. 29, and G. La Piana in *H. T. R.* xx [1927] 349 n. 17) and Ramsay (*Seven Chs.* 272, 444), viz. Jews no longer enrolled as a separate community. The obvious fact that the

designation is complimentary seems to me to tell against the latter view almost as much as against the former. Cf. Momigliano in *C. A. H.* x. 864 n.

³*Sib. Orac.* v. 122 f., 306 f.: cf. Lanchester in Charles, *A. P. O. T.* ii. 373 f., 399, 403. He explains the allusion to Ephesos to mean that, in the general distress, the old rivalry between Smyrna and Ephesos will disappear. The author can hardly have been a Christian. Lane (32) connects the prophecy with the earthquake of 178 A.D. (see above, pp. 279-281).

by the Christians, we note that the Proconsul in office about the time of Hadrianus' visit—Q. Licinius Silvanus Granianus—received from his provincial subjects a petition to the effect that legal proceedings should be taken against the Christians. He reported it to the Emperor, and requested instructions. The reply did not arrive until his successor, G. Minucius Fundanus, was in office (124/125 A.D. ?): it sanctioned the punishment of such offences as should be legally proved in court against the Christians, but forbade them to be molested in obedience to mere popular clamour, and ordained heavy penalties for false accusations against them.¹ While this rescript, reinforced by some measure of common sense on the part of the public and the Proconsuls, checked persecution for a considerable time, it effected no change in the legal status of Christians—a status which rendered them liable to summary execution if ever and whenever they could be manoeuvred into publicly avowing their Christianity before the Roman magistrate and refusing to show (by sacrificing to the Emperor) that they abjured it. Life under such conditions must have been a strange combination of peace and peril. We wonder, for instance, how it fared with the Christian couple at Smyrna who, about 130 A.D., bestowed on their new-born babe the significant name of "Eirenaios", the "peaceful",² and started him on that career which was to mean so much for the Church in later days.

Polykarp their Bishop was now about sixty years old; and the ascendancy he still maintained made itself felt among pagans as well as among his own flock, and doubtless strengthened the tendencies favouring toleration. In another direction, however, it can only have perpetuated estrangement. The bloody collapse of the Jewish revolt under Bar-kokhba in Palestine in 135 A.D. may well have brought to Smyrna

¹Justin. *Apol.* I. lxviii. 6–10; Euseb. *Ch.-Hist.* IV. viii. 6–8, ix, xxvi. 10.

²That Eirenaios was born at Smyrna is a widely-accepted inference from his later recollections of having associated, as a youth, with Polykarp. The date of his birth has been variously computed and lengthily discussed; but 130 A.D. cannot be more than a few years wrong. Cf. Lipsius in *S.D.C.B.* iii. 253–255; Harnack, *Chron.* i. 324–333; Chapman, *John the Presbyter*, 46–48; Hitchcock,

Iren. of Lugd. 1 f. Vailhé, in *Cath. Encyc.* xiv (1912) 60b, states that not only Eirenaios, but also Potheinos (his predecessor as Bishop of Lugdunum), was a native of Smyrna. This statement is an unsupported inference from a misinterpreted passage in Gregor. of Tours, *Hist. Franc.* i. 27 (Migne, *P.L.* lxxi. 174), which really states that *Eirenaios* (not Potheinos) was sent to Lugd. by Polykarp (see Lightfoot i. 446 n. 3, and below, p. 354 n. 1).

fresh Jewish immigrants smarting under this new national humiliation, and have drawn from Polykarp teachings little calculated to conciliate Jewish feeling.¹ But stories are preserved illustrating the respect widely felt for him—though we are unable to attach precise dates to them. A servant of the City-General, residing in his official quarters, was seized one night with sudden madness: a number of Jews came at dawn to treat him with charms, but he attacked them and drove them off naked and wounded: then another servant, a Christian, asked leave to get a more efficient helper: being granted permission, he went off to Polykarp; but before the party arrived, the demented youth shouted: "Polykarp is coming to me, and I shall flee!" He was, however, restrained; and the Bishop was able to restore him to calmness and sanity.² Some time after, a fire started at night-time in a public bakery, and spread dangerously. The General took charge, and directed such fire-fighting apparatus and water-pipes as the city possessed to be brought up and used. The Jews also were there to assist, apparently with magic incantations, though the Christian narrator ungenerously says that, in order to be able to filch property from the houses, they gave it out (*φάσκουσι*) that a conflagration could never be extinguished without their presence. Efforts failing on account of an unfavourable wind, the General, by telling the story of the mad servant, reconciled the crowd to his doubtless risky suggestion, that they should invoke Polykarp's aid. Polykarp, being brought, stood forth and prayed aloud with eyes lifted to heaven; and the speedily-ensuing abatement of the flames was generally regarded as a Divine answer to his prayer.³

¹Cf. Lightfoot i. 469.

²Pionios (?), *Vit. Polyc.* xxviii. 3 f. The actual record of the cure is lost in a gap in the MS.; but unless the story had included a statement to the effect that Polykarp's visit had been successful, it would never have been told. For the office of General, see above, pp. 194 f.

³Pionios (?), *Vit. Polyc.* xxviii, xxix. 2. S. Reinach has an interesting discussion of this incident in *R.E.Ź.* xi (1885) 235-238. He considers that *φάσκουσι* probably means that it was the people generally who said that only Jews could extinguish a fire. Certainly the General is represented as sharing this belief: but

the passage strongly suggests that of *Ἰουδαῖοι* is to be supplied as the subject of *φάσκουσι*, and we note that the General orders out the water-pipes quite independently of the Jews. Reinach regards the Jews in this incident as the predecessors of the touloumbadjis, men of humble rank who used to be entrusted with the task of extinguishing fires in Turkish cities, and who, like the Jews, laboured under an unjust suspicion of timely pillaging. The parallel is unconvincing: the true predecessors of the touloumbadjis are the men who brought out the water-pipes at the General's bidding, whereas (as Reinach observes) the Jews doubtless

Later still, during a time of drought, the City-Council was assembled by the chief General, who told them that he was at a loss to know whence supplies of corn could be bought. An aged member recalled the incident of the fire, and proposed that appeal should be made to Polykarp. The Councillors immediately demanded with shouts a Public Assembly for the purpose in the Theatre. Thither the crowds flocked; and amid the noise Polykarp was led before the magistrates blushing and sweating with confusion and fear. His errand was certainly not without its danger; for the alarm and superstition of the populace were roused, and they were as ready to blame the Christian community for their calamity as to solicit its help. The Christians therefore were in a state of expectancy and preparedness. The magistrates courteously requested Polykarp, on behalf of the Smyrnaians, to ask his God to give rain. Polykarp modestly disclaimed the power of suspending the Divine chastisements: he agreed, however, to call his fellow-believers to prayer, and urged the people to be of good courage. The General then proposed that Polykarp should be assured of a safe departure, and that the meeting should break up to allow both of Christian and of pagan intercessions. Polykarp ran at once to the Christians' meeting-place, and gave instructions through the Deacons for united prayer. The believers assembled, and the Bishop led their petitions. Rain soon fell.¹ Another story told how, by means of prayer, he put an end to a disastrous flood caused by excessive rains.²

Especially characteristic and interesting is the story of Polykarp's encounter with Markion, the son of the aged Bishop of Sinope in Pontos, which presumably took place about 137-138 A.D. Markion, now apparently in his early fifties, advocated the rejection of the Old Testament on the

attempted to extinguish the flames by means of incantations. We cannot, of course, assess the justice of the Christian accusation that the Jews came only to pillage: on the other hand, Reinach's statement that *Vit. Polyc.* (cf. *Mart. Polyc.* xv) represents Polykarp as only a more successful magician is clearly mistaken. Delehaye demurs (*Passions*, 49 n. 1) to Reinach's use of *Vit. Polyc.* as giving a picture of conditions in Smyrna during the second century A.D.

¹Pionios (?). *Vit. Polyc.* xxix-xxxii.

For a defence of the early date of the composition of these stories, and the substantial accuracy of the events they record, see Corssen in *Z.N.W.* v (1904) 281-283. For the later inflated version of Makarios Magnes (about 400 A.D.), see Lightfoot i. 561 f. Cf. also Delehaye, *Synaxarium*, 485.

²Diekamp in Funk, *Patr. Apost.* ii. LXXXVII f., quoting Makarios Magnes, and arguing that the story once stood in *Vit. Polyc.* On all these miracles, cf. Papadop.-Keram. *Ἀνακωνώσεις*, 7 bott.

ground of its frequent denials of the doctrine—so prominent in the New—of the tender and forgiving love of God. The Church of his time was quite unable to give him a reasoned synthesis of the discrepancy which troubled him so deeply; but it felt instinctively that the rejection of the Old Testament was in any case mistaken and dangerous, and its representative leaders acted accordingly. Markion was excommunicated by his father, and came into Asia, where also the Elders repudiated him. In Smyrna he met Polykarp. His views had apparently become well-known, and he was bent on propagating them. To Polykarp, of course, they were unauthorized and subversive and therefore utterly abhorrent.¹ To Markion's request for the recognition of himself and his adherents, Polykarp replied—with the bitter phrase he had used earlier in writing to the Philippians: "I recognize, I recognize the firstborn of Satan!"² Markion made his way from Asia to Rome, where his schismatic following developed to a formidable size. There was a Markionite community at (or near) Smyrna in 250 A.D.³; but whether it was there continuously from the time of Markion's visit we cannot say.

It was in all probability during the period 145–150 A.D., when Polykarp was over seventy-five, that the youthful Eirenaïos, then in his later teens, enjoyed those opportunities of seeing and hearing the veteran Bishop which he so clearly remembered in later years. "We too saw him", he wrote (181–189 A.D.), "in our early youth, for he continued long, and departed from life when a very old man . . ."⁴ In the

¹Eirenaïos III. iii. 4 = Euseb. *Ch.-Hist.* IV. xiv. 4 (. . . ταῦτα διδάξας αἰεὶ, ἀ καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἔμαθεν, ἀ καὶ ἡ ἐκκλησία παραδίδωσιν, ἀ καὶ μόνα ἐστὶν ἀληθῆ), 5 (see above, p. 346 n. 1): cf. Salmon in *S.D.C.B.* iv. 425.

²Eirenaïos III. iii. 4 = Euseb. *Ch.-Hist.* IV. xiv. 7 (. . . Ἐπιγνώσκει ἡμᾶς . . . Ἐπιγνώσκω, ἐπιγνώσκω τὸν πρωτότοκον τοῦ Σατανᾶ); *Mart. Polyc.* epil. Mosc. 3; Hieronym. *Vir. Illust.* xvii; *Chron. Pasch.* P 257 B (ed. Bonn, i. 479f.); Lightfoot i. 588; Harnack, *Markion* (ed. 1921), 23, 2* f., 9*–12*, 26*. There is no real ground for supposing that the encounter took place in Rome: Markion would hardly request recogni-

tion from Polykarp ten years after the Roman Church had excommunicated him (cf. Harrison 54, 267). Later versions of the story of Markion represented him as having been rejected by *Boukolos* (Lightfoot iii. 441 n.) and even by *John* (Harnack, *Markion*, 11*; Harrison 267 n. 2).

³See below, p. 398.

⁴Eirenaïos III. iii. 4 = Euseb. *Ch.-Hist.* IV. xiv. 4 (. . . ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμῶν ἡλικίᾳ . . .). Cf. Euseb. *Ch.-Hist.* V. v. 8 (. . . Πολυκάρπου δὲ τοῦτον [sc. Εἰρηναίου] ἀκουστὴν γενέσθαι κατὰ τὴν νέαν ἑμανθάνομεν ἡλικίαν); *Mart. Polyc.* xxii. 2 (. . . Ἡ Εἰρηναίου, μαθητοῦ τοῦ Πολυκάρπου, . . .).

admiring group that gathered round Polykarp, Eirenaios, "when still a boy", saw a Christian youth slightly older than himself, named Florinus, who, while prospering at the royal court, was eager to earn Polykarp's approval.¹ Forty years or so later, Florinus apparently adopted the view that only by some sort of dualism could God be acquitted of creating evil: and in a letter of remonstrance Eirenaios reminded him of these earlier associations:

"For I clearly remember the events of that time better than those that happened recently, . . . so that I can even tell the place where the blessed Polykarp used to sit and discourse, and his goings out and in, and the manner of his life, and the appearance of his body, and the discourse which he used to deliver to the (Christian) multitude, and how he used to describe his intercourse with John and with the others who had seen the Lord; and as he remembered their words, and what were the things he had heard from them about the Lord and about His miracles and about His teaching—as having received (the facts) from the eye-witnesses of the life of the Word, Polykarp used to describe all things in conformity with the Scriptures. To these things even then, through the mercy of God bestowed upon me, did I eagerly listen, making memorial of them, not on paper, but in my heart. And by the grace of God I always ruminate genuinely on them: and I can testify before God that, if that blessed and apostolic elder had heard any such thing (as thou sayest now), he would have shouted out, and stopped his ears, and, saying according to his custom, 'O good God, to what times hast Thou kept me that I should endure this!', would have fled from the place where sitting or standing he had heard such words".²

Eirenaios seems to have left Smyrna in early manhood. He eventually found his way to Lugdunum (Lyon) in the

¹ Euseb. *Ch.-Hist.* V. xx. 4; Eiren. *Ep. ad Flor.* = Euseb. *Ch.-Hist.* V. xx. 5 (. . . παῖς ἔτι ὄν . . .). The meaning of τῆ βασιλικῆ ἀλῆ is obscure, as such a phrase would not normally be used of the Proconsul's court. J. Strzygowski (*Kleinasiens* . . . [Leipzig, 1903], 159 f. n. 4) regards the building as an "öffentliche Gerichtshalle", not (as apparently Adolf Bauer did) a Christian church or lecture-

room). The reference may be to an otherwise unrecorded imperial visit. Hilgenfeld (in *Z.W.T.* xvii [1874] 319) observes that Florinus' acquaintance with Polykarp is "Ein Zeichen, welches Ansehen Polykarp selbst in hohen Kreisen genoss".

²Eiren. *Ep. ad Flor.* = Euseb. *Ch.-Hist.* V. xx. 5-7.

Rhone-valley, a region the churches of which seem to have been on a footing of special intimacy with the churches of Asia. Later writers attributed to Polykarp the despatch of missionaries to Gallia; and it is not impossible that Potheinos, who was martyred as Bishop of Lugdunum when over ninety years old, had been taught and commissioned by Polykarp himself.¹

Although physically active to the end of his life, Polykarp was so zealously attended by his immediate friends that even before old age came on he got out of the habit of removing his own shoes for himself.² Papirios, his successor in the episcopal office, was in all probability already cooperating with him. Among his helpers was also Kamerios, whom—along with others—he had appointed Deacon. A story was later told how Polykarp once took Kamerios with him on a tour of visitation to the village-churches round Smyrna. As they were returning to the city, a widow who had been in trouble pressed on him a church-offering in the form of a small bird. Weary with the day's walking, the two men fell asleep in their inn. During the night Polykarp was thrice warned by an angel to leave the building because it was about to fall. Rousing Kamerios only with great difficulty, he went out with him; but finding he had forgotten the bird, he returned to fetch it. Hardly had he left the building a second time when it collapsed, killing the inmates: Polykarp thereupon returned thanks for his escape.³

In the summer of 154 A.D., the indefatigable old man, now eighty-five years old, undertook a voyage to Rome, in order to visit Aniketos, the newly-consecrated Bishop there, probably on behalf of the Asian Christians in Rome, who were

¹Routh (*Reliq. Sacr.* i [1846] 330) explicitly states that this was so; but the passage in Gregor. of Tours, *Hist. Franc.* i. 27 (Migne, P.L. lxxi. 174), which he quotes as the authority, really states only that *Eirenaios* was so sent. See above, p. 349 n. 2; and cf. Lightfoot i. 446 f., 570 f., 574-576; Hitchcock, *Iren. of Lugd.* 4 (the church at Lugdunum possibly a daughter of the church at Smyrna).

²*Mart. Polyc.* xiii. 2 = Euseb. *Ch.-Hist.* IV. xv. 30. Schwartz (*De Pionio et Pol.* 14) and Reuning (45) interpret *δοῦναι τὰ χροῖα τοῦ κρωτῆρος αὐτοῦ ἀψηται* of the Christians' superstitious desire to benefit

by physical contact with a superlatively holy man. Cf. *Ign. Smyrn.* iii. 2 (see above, p. 331); *Mart. Polyc.* xvii. 1 fin.

³Pionios (?), *Vit. Polyc.* xxvii: cf. Corssen in *Z.N.W.* v (1904) 281. Le Quien's statement (740E, 741A) that it was *Kamerios* who took care of the village-churches (so also Schultze, 59 f.: "... den Polykarp . . . mit der besonderen Fursorge für die ländlichen Gemeinden betraut hatte"), and that he was therefore a *khorepiskopos*, rests on a misunderstanding of *Vit. Polyc.* xxvii. 1 fin.—a passage which clearly means that *Polykarp* was concerned about these churches.

accustomed to celebrate the Lord's Passion and redemptive work on the fourteenth day of the Jewish month Nisan, irrespective of the day of the week, whereas the Roman Christians generally observed the first Sunday after the fourteenth.¹ There were also other minor matters of controversy. Neither leader convinced the other on the subject of the proper date for Easter; but they respected one another's opinions, and Aniketos allowed Polykarp to preside at the eucharist in the episcopal church at Rome. While in Rome, Polykarp converted to the orthodox faith many followers of Markion (who was still living) and of Valentinus, by appealing to his own knowledge of what the Apostles had taught.²

Returning to Smyrna in the autumn of 154 A.D., Polykarp passed the ensuing months in peace. But in February 155 A.D. grave persecution broke out.³ The League-festival of the

¹See above, p. 306 n. 1.

²Eirenaïos III. iii. 4 = Euseb. *Ch.-Hist.* IV. xiv. 5 (cf. 1); Eiren. *Ep. ad Vict.* in Euseb. *Ch.-Hist.* V. xxiv. 16 f.; Hieronym. *Vir. Illust.* xvii; Sokrates, *Ch.-Hist.* V. xxii; Sozomen. *Ch.-Hist.* VII. xix (confuses Aniketos with Victor): Lightfoot i. 449-452; Preuschen in Hauck, *Realencyk.* xiv (1904) 729; Bonwetsch in Hauck, *Realencyk.* xv (1904) 537 (thinks eucharist celebrated by Pol. at Rome was the *Paschal* eucharist: but this supposition is unnecessary); G. La Piana in *H.T.R.* xviii (1925) 214-221 (Asian group). For the date, see next n. fin.

³All we know of this persecution is derived from *Mart. Polyc.*, for which see below, pp. 364-366. Practically the whole of this document is embodied verbatim in Euseb. *Ch.-Hist.* IV. xv. I have made use of most of Schwartz's proposed emendations of the text (*De Pionio et Pol.* 4-18).

We are told that the persecution terminated with Polykarp's death (*Mart. Polyc.* i. 1), and that this occurred "on the second (day) of the first-division of the month Xanthikos, seven days before the Kalends of March, on a great Sabbath . . . when Statius Quadratus was Proconsul" (xxi: cf. viii. 1 fin.). The determination of the exact year has given rise to much discussion. The old date, 166 A.D., has now been generally abandoned. 155 A.D. admirably satisfies all the data, except the "greatness" of the Sabbath. 156 A.D. is favoured by some, on the ground that it permits the identification of the "great Sabbath" with the

Jewish feast of either Purim or Passover: but this advantage is secured only by altering as incorrect both of the month-dates given in *Mart. Polyc.* xxi. Perhaps therefore it is best to keep to 155 A.D., and for the time being to leave *σαββάτω μενύατω* unexplained. See Hilgenfeld in *Z.W.T.* xvii (1874) 324-332 (suggests 26th March 156 A.D.); Salmon in *S.D.C.B.* iv. 428b-431a (prefers 23rd Mar. 155 A.D.); Lightfoot i. 471 f., 626-637, 646-715, 727 (23rd Feb. 155 A.D.); Turner in *Studia Biblica*, ii (1890) 105-129, 149-155 (22nd Feb. 156 A.D.); Harnack, *Chron.* i. 334-356 (23rd Feb. 155 A.D.); Funk, *Patr. Apost.* i. XCIX-CI, 321-323, 340 f. (23rd Feb. 155 A.D.); Corssen in *Z.N.W.* iii (1902) 61-82 (155 A.D.); Schwartz, *Ostertafeln*, 127-131 (elaborate argument concluding for 22nd Feb. 156 A.D.); Lampakes 152-154 (23rd Mar. 155 A.D.); Kubitschek in *D.K.A.W.* lvii (1915) 3. 89b-90b (criticism of Schwartz); Reuning 8 f., 24 (accepts Schwartz's date); Abrahams, *Studies in Pharisaism and the Gospels*, ii (1924) 68 f. (the "great Sabbath" an unhistorical assimilation to *Joh.* xix. 31); Lawlor and Oulton, *Eusebius*, ii. 131-133; Boulanger 476-479 (155 A.D.); Harrison 269-283 (155 or 156 A.D.).

The oldest bishop-lists for Rome give 154/155 A.D. for Aniketos' accession. If Pol. died in Feb. 155 A.D., Anik. must have become Bishop in 154 A.D. at latest, when Polykarp (who was 86 when he died—*Mart. Polyc.* ix. 3) was 85 years old.

Province was being celebrated in Smyrna; and day after day crowds gathered to witness the contests in the Stadion. L. Staius Quadratus, the Proconsul, was present as representative of the Emperor Antoninus Pius; but the official president was the Asiarkh or High-Priest of Asia, Gaius Julius Philippus of Tralleis.¹ The festival was regularly the occasion of an outburst of loyal adulation towards the Emperor and for stress on the worship of him as a god, and was therefore a likely time for an attack on the Christians, if there were at work any other forces (such as public calamities²) calculated to make them more than usually unpopular and so to expose them to the penalties to which in strict law their religion rendered them permanently liable.

On Thursday, 21st February, a number of Christians were seized, including several from Philadelpheia. A recently-arrived Phrygian Christian named Quintus induced a certain number of men to follow his example in giving himself up to arrest of his own accord.³ Hearing of the threatened danger, the aged Bishop wished to remain quietly in the city; but his friends prevailed on him to withdraw with a few attendants to one of his farms a little way out in the country. He there spent his time in continuous prayer, interceding as his custom was for the churches and for all mankind, and doubtless also preparing himself for his coming ordeal.⁴ Either now, or later in the course of the persecution, several of his written compositions were seized by the pagans and

¹*Mart. Polyc.* xii. 2, xxi. A good deal is known from inscriptions, etc. about this Philippus. He was evidently wealthy, munificent, and normally just: hence his frequent appearance in high offices. He is possibly the "Philippus ruler in Smyrna", for whose statue there (erected by the Philadelphians in recognition of his good government) Theodoretos, a Byzantine grammarian of uncertain date, is said to have composed a laudatory couplet (*Anthol. Palat.* xvi. 34 [ii. 533: *Εἰς τὴν εἰκόνα Φιλίππου ἀρχοντος ἐν Σμύρνῃ: Ἐκ Φιλαδελφείης ξεινήια ταῦτα Φιλίππου | Φράζω πῶς μνημῶν ἡπόλις εὐνομίης*): Lightfoot i. 628-635, 666 f., ii. 241, iii. 383-385 n.; Harnack, *Chron.* i. 348 n.; Bonwetsch in Hauck, *Realencyk.* xv [1904] 536 f.; Chapot 476 [needlessly follows Brandis in distinguishing τῶν

Ἀσιάρχην Φίλιππον of *Mart. Polyc.* xii. 2 from the ἀρχιερέως Φιλίππου Τραλλιανῶδ of xxi]; etc.).

²Some conjecture an earthquake: see above, pp. 266 f.; Chapot 522.

³*Mart. Polyc.* iv (cf. xix. 1): Euseb. *Ch.-Hist.* IV. xv. 7 f. (cf. 45). This Quintus has not unnaturally been regarded as an adherent of the incipient Montanist movement in Phrygia (cf. e.g. Reuning 23-25).

⁴*Mart. Polyc.* i. 2, v. 1: cf. Euseb. *Ch.-Hist.* IV. xv. 9. We infer that the farm was his own: see above, p. 323 n. 2. It is Reuning's shrewd suggestion (25 f.) that it is more likely that he prayed for endurance than that he did nothing but intercede.

destroyed.¹ On the very day of his arrival, he thought—when in the ecstasy of evening prayer—that he saw his pillow aflame; and he interpreted the sign to his companions with the words: “I must be burnt alive”.²

On the morning of the following day, Friday 22nd February, the arrested Christians were publicly brought before the Proconsul in the Stadion. They were pressed to acknowledge the deity of the Emperor by offering sacrifice before his image and swearing by his Fortune. Regarding this as a denial of Christ, they refused compliance. Futile efforts were made to overcome them by persuasion. Hideous cruelties were then inflicted on them. Some were scourged with such severity that their inner blood-vessels were laid bare. Others had fire applied to them. Several yielded under this treatment; but others held firm, a few without so much as a groan, encouraged by the example of a certain Germanicus who—rejecting the Proconsul’s appeal to him to have regard for his youth—entered the arena willingly, and dragged one of the beasts on to himself. At the last moment Quintus of Phrygia took fright on seeing the beasts, and was overcome by the reiterated entreaties of the Proconsul: he took the oath, and offered the incense. Ten others, including some from Philadelphia, held out to the last, and being finally condemned to the beasts, were laid on spiky shells³ and otherwise tortured before being finally thrown to death. A few of the spectators were naturally moved to pity; but the mob as a whole was infuriated by the successful obstinacy of Germanicus and his fellow-martyrs, and howled: “Away with the atheists!” Some one shouted: “Let Polykarp be sought!”; and, the cry becoming general, the Eirenarkh Herodes (nephew of the Christian Alke, formerly Ignatius’ friend) undertook to find him, notwithstand-

¹Pionios (?), *Vit. Polyc.* xii. 3. Reuning (6 f.) thinks the silence of *Mart. Polyc.* on this particular is evidence of the untrustworthiness of *Vit. Polyc.* See above, p. 308b (4).

²*Mart. Polyc.* v. 2, xii. 3; cf. Euseb. *Ch.-Hist.* IV. xv. 10, 28. The vision is dated “three days” (i.e. as we should say, two days) “before he was arrested”. The chronology of the story is not very clear; and we have to piece it together as best

we can. The arrest here mentioned seems to be his actual transportation on the day of his martyrdom. Eusebios needlessly transforms the vision into a night-dream; and Schwartz (*De Pionio et Pol.* 9) and Reuning (25) approve. On the apparition, cf. Corsen in *Z.N.W.* v (1904) 280 f.; Knopf 415 f.; Reuning 25-27.

³See Lampakes 147 f.

ing the law which forbade Christians to be sought for or informally arraigned.¹

The armed horsemen and constables under Herodes' command were set to work at once. They soon ascertained where Polykarp had gone, and proceeded thither. He, however, had been warned, and had fled to another farm. His pursuers found two of his slave-boys, and by means of torture induced one of them to agree to act as guide to his master's new place of refuge. In the early evening the hurried search recommenced. Once again Polykarp was informed in time to allow him to escape; but he refused to take the opportunity, saying: "Let God's will be done". He had gone to bed in an upper room in the cottage, when at a late hour the men arrived. He came downstairs immediately, and entered into conversation with them, while they marvelled at his great age and his constancy and the eagerness of the authorities to arrest so old a man. He immediately ordered an ample meal to be spread for them; and as it was now too late to do more than despatch a message to the Eirenarkh, the whole party spent the night at the farm.²

Before a start was made the next morning, Polykarp was granted by his captors ample time for prayer. He stood up in their presence, we are told, for two hours, and prayed aloud

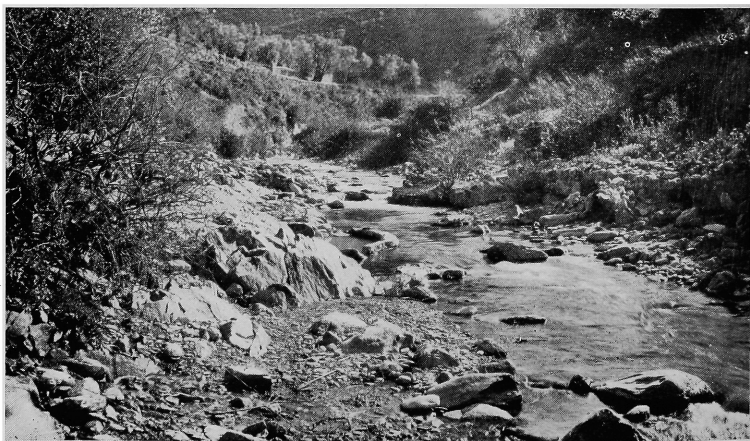
¹*Mart. Polyc.* ii. 2—iv. xix. 1: cf. Euseb. *Ch.-Hist.* IV. xv. 4—8, 45. The latter of the two passages certainly suggests that only Polykarp and eleven Philadelphian Christians perished: but it is equally difficult to believe either (1) that no Smyrnaians were arrested, or (2) that *all* the arrested Smyrnaians lapsed. *Mart. Pol.* xix. 1 may at a pinch mean that, including Polykarp and the Philadelphians, there were twelve martyrs in all (so Lightfoot and Funk). Schwartz (*De Pionio et Pol.* 7 f.) shows that *κατὰ πάντων . . . οὐκ . . .* and *δειλίαν* in *Mart. Pol.* iii. 1 indicate *several* lapses. Reuning (1 f.) comments on the paucity of details regarding the other eleven martyrs as *not* due to the mutilation of the document. The ancient martyrologies give us the names of four of the martyrs: Arutus (? = Aratos or Azotos), Koskonios, Melanippos, and Zenon (Lightfoot i. 560 top, iii. 397b; Funk, *Patr. Apost.* i. 339; Batiffol in *H.D.A.C.* ii. 243b). Lampakes (147) thinks that the

martyrdoms mentioned by Euseb. (*Ch.-Hist.* IV. xv. 46) as having occurred at Smyrna *ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτὴν περίοδον τοῦ χρόνου τῆς τοῦ Πολυκάρπου μαρτυρίας* immediately preceded Polykarp's: but it is clear that Euseb. either is confusing the date of Pionios' death (250 A.D.) with that of Pol., or (less probably, I think) means that Pionios' death occurred at the same season of the year as Polykarp's. Bigg (*Origins of Christianity*, 156, 158) comments on the illegality of the proceedings against Polykarp. On Alke, see above, p. 326 top.

²*Mart. Polyc.* vi—vii. 2a: cf. Euseb. *Ch.-Hist.* IV. xv. 11—14a. According to Reuning (18) the story of the "Verfolgung" of Pol. is "stark überarbeitet" (see below, p. 365): in particular, he judges (27) Pol's. *second* flight as an inaccurate interpolation, chiefly on the ground that, once convinced by the fiery vision, Pol. would not again have fled. On the arrest generally, Delehayé, *Passions*, 443.



SITE OF THE STADION



"THE BATHS OF AGAMEMNON"

To face p. 359

continuously, interceding for all who had ever met him, whatever their rank, and for the whole Church. The men were naturally amazed; and several of them regretted their errand. The hour for departure being come, they mounted him on an ass, and set out for Smyrna.¹ The Eirenarkh Herodes, accompanied by his father Niketes,² set forth early in his stately carriage to meet the cortège. As soon as Polykarp joined them, they got him up between them into their own conveyance, and tried to persuade him to give way, asking him what harm there was in saying: "Caesar is lord", and in offering incense to Caesar. Their captive at first declined to answer; but as they pressed him, he simply said: "I shall not do what ye advise me". Irritated by what they doubtless regarded as his ungrateful obstinacy, they turned from pleas to reproaches, and pushed him so unceremoniously out of the carriage that he grazed his shin as he got down. Going straight ahead as if nothing had happened, he was led into the Stadion³ and taken at once before the Proconsul: but the crowd and the noise were so great that many were unaware of what was actually happening.⁴

From the point of view of the customary forms of proconsular justice, the proceedings were unusual.⁵ The regular games, which were usually finished a little before noon, were over. Staius Quadratus, having obtained from Polykarp an acknowledgement of his name, urged him to deny his Christ-

¹*Mart. Polyc.* vii. 2b-viii. 1: cf. Euseb. *Ch.-Hist.* IV. xv. 14 f. It is obvious that a night must have intervened between the discovery of Pol. late on Friday (*Mart. Polyc.* vii. 1) and his transport to Smyrna on Saturday morning (viii. 1 fin., xxi): but it is not quite clear whether the praying took place late on Friday or early on Saturday. The latter seems the more likely of the two, since it would have been needless for Pol. to *ask* for time to pray, when it was clear that the party could not leave till the next morning (cf. Allard i. 301 f.). On the prayer, cf. Reuning, 26. Lampakes (149) introduces imaginatively a large and noisy crowd following Pol. on the ass.

²Clearly not identifiable with the sophist mentioned above, pp. 247 f.

³Tournefort (ii. 505) and others supposed that *the Theatre* was the real place: see Berg and Walter 10. Lampakes (149)

makes Pol. enter the Stadion by its *western* end—perhaps rightly.

⁴*Mart. Polyc.* viii. 2—ix. 1 = Euseb. *Ch.-Hist.* IV. xv. 15—18. Schwartz has argued (*De Pionio et Pol.* 11—13) that the obvious confusions in the text are best explained by the assumption that the sentences stating that, as Pol. entered the Stadion, a heavenly voice (heard also by many Christians) greeted him with the words: "Be strong, Polykarp, and play the man", are a pre-Eusebian gloss: see below, p. 366. The story of the voice naturally means much to Lampakes (149: cf. Papadop.—Keram. *Ἀνακωνώσεις*, 8); and even Reuning, though adopting a psychological explanation, regards it (27—30) as an integral part of the oldest narrative.

⁵Cf. Allard i. 303 n. 1; Batiffol in *H.D.A.C.* ii. 243b.

ianity, beseeching him to have regard to his great age, and using other customary pleas. "Swear by Caesar's Fortune", he said; "change thy mind; say, 'Away with the godless!'" The Proconsul's use of the word "godless" to designate the Christians gave Polykarp his chance. He looked solemnly around at the assembled crowd of pagans, and waved his hand towards them: then, groaning and looking up to heaven, he said: "Away with the godless!" The Proconsul persisted: "Swear", said he, "and I release thee. Revile Christ". "Eighty-six years have I served Him", replied Polykarp, "and He has done me no wrong. How then can I blaspheme my King Who has saved me?" With truly surprising patience, the governor said again: "Swear by Caesar's Fortune". "If thou vainly expectest", came the answer, "that I will, as thou sayest, swear by Caesar's Fortune, and pretendest not to know who I am, hear me plainly. I am a Christian. But if thou wishest to learn what Christianity stands for, appoint a day, and listen". "Convince the People (on this point)", said Quadratus, with a genuine desire to find a way out.¹ But Polykarp had little sympathy with democracy, and knew moreover that any appeal to the public would be futile. "I have regarded thee as worthy of speech", he replied, "for we have been taught to pay due honour, such as harms us not, to rulers and authorities appointed by God; but I do not regard those men there as worthy of having my defence spoken before them".² The Proconsul at last turned to threats. "I have got wild beasts (here): I will throw thee to them, if thou change not thy mind". "Call (for them)", answered the Christian, "for to change from the better to the worse is for us an impossible change". Then he added the hint: "But it is good to change from cruelty to justice". "I will have thee consumed with fire", Quadratus said, "since thou despisest the beasts". But Polykarp replied: "Thou threatenest (me with) the fire which blazes for an hour and is soon quenched: for thou knowest not the fire of the coming judgment and of

¹Cf. Schultze 58.

²*Mart. Polyc.* ix. 2—x. 2 = Euseb. *Ch.-Hist.* IV. xv. 18—22. Lévy (in *R.E.G.* viii [1895] 218 f. n. 4, xii [1899] 282 n. 3) ascribes Pol's refusal to plead before the People to his realization that

the Public Assembly, having by this time lost all its real power, was in no sense among the "authorities" established by God. Somewhat similarly, Allard i. 304 f.

eternal punishment reserved for the impious. But why dost thou delay? Come, (do) what thou wilt¹.

Other words, unrecorded, passed between them, Polykarp showing no sign of confusion, but with courage and joy in his face. The Proconsul, astonished at his bearing, felt he could do no more to save him, and sent his herald to announce thrice from the middle of the arena: "Polykarp has confessed himself to be a Christian!" Under the law as it then was, such a proclamation was virtually equivalent to a sentence of death²; and in any case the excited feelings of the multitude made any other outcome impossible. Persistent adherence to Christianity was treason; and for persons of humble rank the penalty was either exposure to wild beasts or burning alive. On all sides there arose loud and angry shouts: "This (fellow) is the teacher of impiety—the father of the Christians—the abolisher of our gods—the one who teaches many not to sacrifice or even worship!" The Jews, whose Sabbath it was, and who were therefore free from work, joined after their own fashion in these denunciations. The presiding Asiarkh, Philippos of Tralleis, was asked by the bawling crowd to give orders for a lion to be let loose on Polykarp: as however the beast-fights were over, he declared himself unable to do so. At this the general cry was raised that he should burn Polykarp alive. The Proconsul and the Asiarkh seem to have done nothing more. Sentence was really given, not by the magistrate, but by the mob; and the execution of it at the hands of the mob followed immediately.³

Uncontrolled by the police and assisted by the degenerate Jews (who showed their usual bitter hostility to the Christians), the crowd collected timber and faggots from the neighbouring workshops and baths.⁴ When the heap of fuel was ready,

¹*Mart. Polyc.* xi = Euseb. *Ch.-Hist.* IV. xv. 23 f.

²Cf. Lampakes 150.

³*Mart. Polyc.* xii = Euseb. *Ch.-Hist.* IV. xv. 25–27. ὁ τῆς ἀσεβείας διδάσκαλος is read by four Gk. MSS, and certainly gives better sense than the reading ὁ τῆς Ἀσείας διδάσκαλος which has been adopted by most modern editors: cf. Hilgenfeld in *Z.W.T.* xvii (1874) 319 f. n. 6; Papadop.-Keram. *Ἀνακωνώσεις*, 8, 11; Lampakes 150 n. 3. On Philippos, who, Schultze thinks (58),

refused the lion "wahrscheinlich aus menschlichem Rühren" (similarly Allard i. 308 f.), see above, p. 356 n. 1. On the Proconsul, cf. Allard i. 309 ("Aucune sentence ne fut demandée au proconsul, qui avait peut-être quitté sa loge pour dégager, lui aussi, sa responsabilité de violences illégales"). On the Jews, see next n.

⁴This hostility of the Jews has been often commented on. It is in keeping with all that we know from other sources; and there is no real ground for

Polykarp was made to ungird and strip himself: it was only with difficulty that he performed the now-unfamiliar task of taking off his own shoes. Placed up against a post amid the fuel, he was about to be also nailed to it by the hands, so that he could not rush away, when he said to his guards: "Leave me as I am: for He who has (already) given (me power) to endure the fire, will also give (me power) to remain untroubled at the pyre, even without the security ye would get from the nails". His request as regards the nails was granted; but his hands were bound behind his back to the post. Then, looking up to heaven, he prayed: "O Lord God Almighty, the Father of Thy beloved and blessed Son Jesus Christ, by means of Whom we have received our knowledge of Thyself, the God of angels and powers and all creation and the whole race of the just who live before Thee, I bless Thee that Thou hast counted me worthy of this day and hour, so that I may take a share along with the martyrs in the cup of Thy Christ, unto the resurrection—through the incorruption of the Holy Spirit—of both soul and body into eternal life. May I be welcomed among them before Thee to-day as a rich and acceptable sacrifice, as Thou, the true God Who liest not, hast prepared and revealed beforehand and brought to fulfilment. On this account and for all things I praise Thee, I bless Thee, I glorify Thee, through the eternal and heavenly High-Priest Jesus Christ, Thy beloved Son, by means of Whom may glory be to Thee with Him in the Holy Spirit, both now and throughout the coming ages! Amen".¹

doubting its reality (Reuning 47). That Jews should participate in a Gentile execution in the Stadion on a Sabbath indicates some laxity towards the religious tenets of their race (Ramsay in *H.D.B.* iv. 555a, and *Seven Chs.* 273). Abrahams (*Studies in Pharisaism and the Gospels*, ii [1924] 67–69; cf. Lightfoot i. 605 n.) doubted the historicity of the statements in *Mart. Polyc.* about the Jews: he regarded them as unhistorical harmonizations with the Passion-story in the Gospels.

¹*Mart. Polyc.* xiii–xiv = Euseb. *Ch.-Hist.* IV. xv. 29–35. All the translators decorously render πάντα τὰ ἑξωτερικά "all his outer (or upper) garments"; but if only these had to be removed, why disturb girdle and shoes? And why

πάντα? Besides, cf. the explicit words in the analogous case of Pionios (*Mart. Pion.* xxi. 1 f.: see below, p. 398).

E. C. E. Owen (*Some Authentic Acts of the Early Martyrs* [1927], 132) thinks the nails were for fastening the chains, not for transfixing the hands (so too, apparently, Allard i. 310). Such indeed would have been the case, had the soldiers done exactly what Pol. requested: but we are not obliged to assume this; and it is inherently unlikely that he was not somehow secured to the stake. Προσέδησαν and προσδέθεις in xiv. 1 strongly suggest that he was secured.

The terms of Pol's. prayer have given rise to much discussion. Its curious doxology led Armitage Robinson to argue that *Mart. Polyc.* must have been

It was now nearly two hours after noon. The men in charge then kindled the fire; but under the force of the wind the flames circled round and overarched the body, instead of directly consuming it. This circumstance—and the fragrance emitted by some of the burning wood—struck the minds of certain Christians present as significant and even miraculous. The pagan onlookers, however, impatiently bade a slaughterman (one usually employed to despatch beasts, when needful, in the arena) to go up and stab him with a dagger. This was done; and the out-gushing blood extinguished the fire, to the surprise of the crowd. The formidable old leader was dead.¹

When the Christians saw what was to be the manner of his death, they naturally desired to take charge of the body and remove it from the fire, not only in order to give it honourable burial, but also perhaps with the semi-superstitious, semi-morbid idea that there was a value in the mere act of touching the sacred flesh. The Jews, however, were on the watch to balk them of this satisfaction, and prevailed on Niketes, the Eirenarkh's father, to beg the Proconsul not to grant the body. The plea rather strangely put forward by Niketes and the Jews was the fear lest the Christians, if they got it, would start worshipping Polykarp instead of Christ.² What the Proconsul said we do not know; but apparently a contention began to arise at the pyre itself between the Christians and the Jews; and the

a iii/A.D. work: see his arts. in *J.T.S.* Jan. 1920, 101–105, and Jan. 1923, 141–144, and J. W. Tyrer's answer in *J.T.S.* July 1922, 390f. (cf. 391 f.). Before this, Lietzmann had published (in *Z.W.T.* liv [1912] 56–61) an elaborate study (with parallels) of the liturgical character of the prayer. Reuning has a long commentary (31–43) on the prayer: he regards it as "ein Stück altchristlicher Liturgie", though integral to the text of *Mart. Polyc.* and even containing (36) "einzelne Worte" actually spoken by Pol. Whether we read with Eusebios "in the Holy Spirit" or with the MSS. "and to the Holy Spirit", the rarity of the formula does not discredit either the early date of *Mart. Polyc.* or the substantial accuracy of the report. Cf. Allard i. 310; Delehay, *Passions*, 15 f.

¹*Mart. Polyc.* xv, xvi. 1 (= Euseb. *Ch.-Hist.* IV. xv. 36–39a), xxi (the hour): the closing scenes are described also in the

later account printed by Papadop.—Keram. *Ἀνακωώσεις*, 8 f. Lightfoot (i. 628) and Owen (*Some Authentic Acts* [see last n.], 133) think 8 a.m. is intended by ὥρα ἡγδόη, on the ground that these spectacles usually took place before midday: but it is hardly possible that the games were *over* (cf. *Mart. Polyc.* xii 2) at this early hour. For the martyrdom generally, cf. Eirenaos III. iii. 4 in Euseb. *Ch.-Hist.* IV. xiv. 4 (ἐνδόξως καὶ ἐπιφανέστατα μαρτυρήσας ἐξῆλθεν τοῦ βίου); Polykrates, as below, p. 370; and the other authorities quoted by Lightfoot i. 556–577, to which add Souidas, s.v. Πολύκαρπος. Lampakes (151 f.) urges that Pol's. death was a direct fulfilment of the predictions in *Apoc.* ii. 9 f.

²While Lightfoot (i. 617–619) defends the historicity of this Jewish plea, Reuning (47 f.) denies it as impossible, and refers the idea to a Christian warning against idolatry. Cf. Allard i. 312.

centurion in charge, to settle the matter, put the corpse in the middle of the fire, and reduced it (as custom demanded) to ashes. The strife ceased; the crowd dispersed. The Christians gathered up the few remaining bones, and carried them to a secret resting-place, where they could be duly preserved and venerated.¹ With the death of Polykarp, the whole persecution closed.² The church elected the Elder, Papirios, to be its Bishop in succession to the beloved and aged master who now at long last had departed.³

Probably before the year was out,⁴ a letter arrived from the Christians at Philomelion (now Ak-shehr) in eastern Phrygia, over 200 miles away, asking that a detailed account of the martyrdom might be sent to them. A Smyrnaian named Markion (probably the Elder who acted as the church's corresponding secretary) was commissioned to draw up provisionally⁵ a brief narrative. This he did with the help of the scribe Euarestos, casting it in the form of a letter as from "the church of God which sojourns at Smyrna", often reechoing the language of Clemens of Rome's letter to Korinth and of Ignatius' letter to Rome, and addressing it not to Philomelion only, but also "to all the communities (*παροικίας*) of the holy and catholic Church in every place".⁶ The Philomelian brethren were requested to pass it on to the more distant churches.⁷ Euarestos concluded it with a doxology, and with the salutations of his fellow-Christians, himself, and all his house.⁸

¹*Mart. Polyc.* xvii. 1 f., xviii. 1 f. = Euseb. *Ch.-Hist.* IV. xv. 40 f., 43.

²*Mart. Polyc.* i. 1 = Euseb. *Ch.-Hist.* IV. xv. 3: . . . ὅστις ὡσπερ ἐπισφραγίους διὰ τῆς μαρτυρίας αὐτοῦ κατέπαυσε τὸν διωγμὸν.

³Pionios (?), *Vit. Polyc.* xxvii. 1: Lightfoot i. 464; Corssen in *Z.N.W.* v (1904) 288 f.; Schmidt, *Gespräche*, 709 f. (thinks the connexion of Papirios with Smyrna is an invention on the part of the author of *Vit. Polyc.*); Schultze 59 f. See also below, pp. 368 f.

⁴Cf. Allard i. 296 n. 2.

⁵So Streeter, *Prim. Ch.* 271, resting on *κατὰ τὸ παρὸν ἐπὶ κεφαλαίῳ* in *Mart. Polyc.* xx. 1.

⁶*Mart. Polyc.* pref. (= Euseb. *Ch.-Hist.* IV. xv. 3). On its genuineness, Lightfoot i. 604-626; Krüger, *Early Christ. Lit.*

(Eng. tr.), 380; Andrews in *E. Br.* xxii (1911) 20 f.; Reuning 2; Delehay, *Passions*, 12-21. On the MSS. and versions, Lightfoot iii. 355-362; Papadop.-Keram. *Ἀνακαινώσεις*, 6ff.; Schwartz, *De Pionio et Pol.* 4-17; Reuning 4-6. The text is printed in all editions of the Apostolic Fathers. In Vigouroux's *Catholic Dictionnaire de la Bible*, v (1912) 1813, it is stated that Pol. perished in 169 A.D., and (following a textual error in Euseb. *Ch.-Hist.* IV. xv. 2) that the letter was sent to the churches of Pontos!

⁷*Mart. Polyc.* xx. 1: cf. Knopf 56.

⁸*Mart. Polyc.* xx. 2. Lightfoot (i. 455, iii. 398 f.) prefers "Markianos" as the correct reading of the author's name, and identifies him with the man named in Euseb. *Ch.-Hist.* V. xxvi as the recipient of Eirenaïos' treatise, *The Demonstration*

The story was told not in a detached and objective way, but with much effusion of Christian sentiment. While praise was explicitly withheld from those who needlessly exposed themselves to danger,¹ the martyrs generally, and Polykarp in particular, were lauded to the skies.² He, it was said, was spoken of everywhere even by the pagans: he had won the crown of incorruption.³ The persecutors on the other hand are condemned as unjust and cruel.⁴ The writers were evidently at pains to bring out the providential likeness between the death of their hero and the death of his Divine Lord: their narrative abounds in parallels with the Passion-story in the Gospels; and they even go so far as to play on the identity of the Eirenarkh's name with that of Herodes the Jewish king, and to anticipate for the two poor slave-boys who revealed under torture the place of Polykarp's retreat the punishment which had befallen the arch-traitor Judas.⁵ They emphasized the fulfilment of Polykarp's own prophetic words about his death,⁶ and viewed as quasi-miraculous the curious way the flame had arched, the fancied likeness of the martyr's body to a baked loaf, the fragrant smell, and the extinction of the fire by the gushing blood.⁷ After telling how his bones had been safely deposited in a suitable place (which for good reasons they do not specify), the writers proceed: "Us gathered there, as opportunity allows, with exultation and joy, will the Lord

of the Apostolic Preaching. Cf. also Delehay, *Passions*, 11 n. Reuning (2, 15) defends the name "Markion" as very unlikely to have been incorrectly substituted for anything else. For the name "Euarestos", cf. *C.I.G.* 3148, 3152, 3162. Ramsay suggests (*Ch. in the Rom. Emp.* 430) that the letter was penned by Pol's successor, forgetting that this latter was Papiros.

¹*Mart. Polyc.* iv (cf. Euseb. *Ch.-Hist.* IV. xv. 7 f.): ct. ii. 1 (τὰ μαρτύρια πάντα τὰ κατὰ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ Θεοῦ γεγονότα).

²Cf. *Mart. Polyc.* i. 2, ii. 1, 2 init., xiv. 1 (= Euseb. *Ch.-Hist.* IV. xv. 32: Pol. a splendid sacrificial ram), xvi. 2 (= Euseb. 39: ὁ θαυμασιώτατος . . . ἐπίσκοπος τῆς ἐν Σμύρνῃ καθολικῆς)[? v.l. ἀγίας] ἐκκλησίας), xvii. 1, 3 (= Euseb. 40, 42).

³*Mart. Polyc.* xix. 1 (= Euseb. *Ch.-Hist.* IV. xv. 45), 2.

⁴*Mart. Polyc.* ii. 3 (τῶν ἀπηρῶν βασα-

νοσῶν), xvi. 1 (= Euseb. *Ch.-Hist.* IV. xv. 38: οἱ ἀνομοί), xix. 2 (τὸν ἀδικὸν ἀρχοντα).

⁵*Mart. Polyc.* i. 1 fin., 2, vi. 1 fin. (= 2 init. in Loeb. ed.), 2 (Herodes and the slaves [cf. Schwartz, *De Pionio et Pol.* 9 f.]), vii. 1, viii. 1 fin. (= Euseb. *Ch.-Hist.* IV. xv. 15: the ass), xvi. 1 (= Euseb. 38: the stabbing), xix. 1 fin. Cf. Lightfoot i. 610-614; Ramsay, *Recent Discoveries*, 307; Reuning 10-20; Delehay, *Passions*, 15, 17 f., 19 f.

⁶*Mart. Polyc.* xii. 3 (cf. *Joh.* xviii. 32), xvi. 2 fin. (= Euseb. *Ch.-Hist.* IV. xv. 28, 39 fin.). Schwartz (*De Pionio et Pol.* 16) regards the latter passage as a later gloss.

⁷*Mart. Polyc.* xv. 1 f., xvi. 1 fin. (= Euseb. *Ch.-Hist.* IV. xv. 36 f., 39: . . . ὥστε . . . θαυμάσαι πάντα τὸν δῆλον εἶ τοσαύτη τις διαφορά μεταξὺ τῶν τε ἀπίστων καὶ τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν). Cf. Papadopoulos-Keram. *Ἀνακωνάσεις*, 9, 11 f.; Reuning 43-45 (the smell purely symbolical).

enable to celebrate the natal day of his martyrdom, both for the commemoration of those who have already waged the contest and for the training and preparation of those who have yet to do so".¹

The subsequent history of this invaluable document raises a number of questions which we cannot fully answer. It seems that a copy of it—probably from Philomelion—came into the hands of Eirenaios, the martyr's former disciple.² A later tradition stated that he, being in Rome at the very hour of Polykarp's death, heard a voice as of a trumpet, saying: "Polykarp has borne his witness".³ 'Eirenaios' copy contained an exact note of the date of the martyrdom (concluding with a doxology) and a general Christian greeting in the plural—both of unknown origin.⁴ In process of time, the text suffered corruption, the narrative being touched up with additional marvels. Thus—as Polykarp entered the stadion, a voice from heaven had called to him: "Be strong, Polykarp, and play the man!" To the homely comparison of his body to a loaf, someone added: "or like gold and silver being smelted in a furnace". A dove had issued from his body when it had been stabbed. We cannot date these glosses beyond saying that, as the third is absent from Eusebios' text, it *may* have been added to the story after his time.⁵ Further questions concerning the preservation and transmission of the 'Martyrium Polykarpi' are connected with the doings of Pionios, with whom we must deal presently.

¹*Mart. Polyc.* xviii. 3 = Euseb. *Ch.-Hist.* IV. xv. 44. The so-called "Tomb of St. Polycarp" adjoining the Stadion has no claim to be regarded as the true site (Hasluck in *A.B.S.A.* xx [1913-1914] 80-88).

²*Mart. Polyc.* xxii. 2a.

³*Mart. Polyc.* epil. Mosc. 4. Cf. Lightfoot i. 455 f. On the Moscow epilogue, see above, p. 308a (4).

⁴*Mart. Polyc.* xxi, xxii. 1. These passages do not appear in Eusebios' version; but it does not follow that they were later than his period. Lightfoot (i. 626-638) regards xxi (date and doxology) as certainly an original part of *Mart. Polyc.*, and xxii. 1 as probably an appendix added by the Philomelians in forwarding copies elsewhere. Schwartz (*De Pionio et Pol.* 33) attributes both passages to the Philomelians. Funk

thinks xxii. 1 is later than ii/A.D. Cf. Reuning 2 f., 14 f.

⁵*Mart. Polyc.* ix. 1, xv. 2, xvi. 1 = Euseb. *Ch.-Hist.* IV. xv. 17, 37-39. For the voice, see above, p. 359 n. 4. I follow Schwartz (*De Pionio et Pol.* 11-13, 15 f.) in the main; but the subject is very obscure (thus, the loaf also is absent from Eusebios' text). Corssen (in *Z.N.W.* v [1904] 285-288, and in *Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum* . . . xxxv [1915] 498 f.) regards the dove (representing the Holy Spirit) as an original item in the story, while others take *περιστερὰ καὶ* either as a corruption of *περὶ σπάρακα*, "around the hilt" (i.e. of the dagger) or of *ἐπ' ἀμυστρά*, or as a later legendary interpolation (cf. Pionios [?], *Vit. Polyc.* xxi. 2: Allard i. 311; Reuning 9 f., 13 f.; Delehay, *Passions*, 14 with n.).

That in one of the most cultured cities of the highly-civilized Province of Asia, at the demand and before the eyes of the assembled citizens and with the Proconsul's sanction, an innocent old man of eighty-six should be stripped naked, burnt, and stabbed to death, could hardly fail in calmer moments to strike the public conscience as a revolting miscarriage of justice. How completely it was due to a gust of loyalistic hysteria is shown by the immediate discontinuance of the persecution, once Polykarp was dead. It is therefore with good reason that some scholars have suggested that the outburst at Smyrna in 155 A.D. was one of the immediate occasions that evoked the rescript sent by Antoninus Pius "to the Larissaians and Thessalonikeians and Athenaians and all the Hellenes" (probably including the provincials of Asia), forbidding them—as Hadrianus had done—to indulge in tumultuous disturbances against the Christians, instead of observing the sober formalities of the law.¹

¹Meliton of Sardeis in Euseb. *Ch.-Hist.* IV. xxvi. 10 (. . . περί του μηδέν νεωτερίζειν περί ημών). Cf. Xiphilin. *Epit. Dion. Cass.* lxx. 3 (. . . ούτε Χριστιανοίς επαχθής, . . .): Ramsay, *Ch. in the Rom. Emp.* 331 f.; Schultze, 59. We are not here concerned with the extant, but almost certainly unguene, Rescript

to the Κοινόν of Asia, variously attributed to Antoninus or his successor, and variously dated 158, 161, 163, or 165 A.D.: its composition may have been suggested by the real Rescript to which Meliton refers (Lightfoot i. 459, 481-485; Lawlor and Oulton, *Eusebius*, ii. 128 f.).

JEWS AND CHRISTIANS AT SMYRNA UNDER THE PRE-CONSTANTINIAN EMPERORS:

(2) 161—324 A.D.

UNDER the rule of Antoninus' successor, the high-principled but superstitious Stoic, Marcus Aurelius (161—180 A.D.), the Christians throughout the Empire suffered far more severely than before. This change for the worse may have been due in part to the frequent occurrence of public calamities; but it undoubtedly owed much to the personal views of the new Emperor, whose religiosity overcame his natural humanity when he was dealing with a class of men who stubbornly refused to worship either himself (as the divine head of the State) or his gods. In the early years of his reign—perhaps about 162 A.D.—Thraseas, the Bishop of Eumeneia in Phrygia (about 140 miles due east of Smyrna), having come or been brought to Smyrna, was martyred there. The Christians buried him near the grave of Boukolos in the cemetery outside the Ephesian Gate. The spot was marked by a myrtle-tree, which shot up near-by. A few years later (164—166 A.D.), during or just before the Proconsulship of L. Sergius Paullus, Sagaris, the Bishop of Sardeis, was martyred at Laodikeia.¹ It is just possible, though not at all likely, that Papiros, Polykarp's successor as Bishop of Smyrna, also died as a

¹Meliton in Euseb. *Ch.-Hist.* IV. xxvi. 3 (Sagaris); Polykrates in Euseb. *Ch.-Hist.* V. xxiv. 4 f. (both); Apollonios in Euseb. *Ch.-Hist.* V. xviii. 12—14 (Thras.); Pionios (?), *Vit. Polyc.* xx. 4 (as emended by Corsen in *Z.N.W.* v [1904] 288: the myrtle). Le Quien (741 B) and Lampakes (135 bott.) include Thraseas among the bishops of Smyrna—without sufficient warrant. Salmon (in *S.D.C.B.* iv. 430 b) suggests that both Thras. and Sagaris suffered, like Polykarp, at the League-festivals of Asia. Corsen (*l.c.*) thinks that, though Thras. was buried in Smyrna, he may have died in Eumeneia;

but Polykrates' *κεκοίμηται* rather excludes this. Cf. Lightfoot i. 510 f., iii. 451 n.; K. J. Neumann, *Der röm. Staat und die allgem. Kirche* (1890), 66 (Thraseas' attitude to Montanism); Corsen in *op. cit.* 300 (myrtle later believed to work healings); Lampakes 136 bott. (subsequent fortunes of the tree); Schmidt, *Gespräche*, 709; Schultze 60, 66 f.; E. Bristow in *Congreg. Quart.* July 1928, 299 f. (Eumeneia). On the chronology, Harnack, *Chron.* i. 359 f., 371 f. n. 5, and Lawlor and Oulton's useful notes on the Eusebian passages.

victim of persecution.¹ We really know nothing about him, except that, like Polykarp, Thraseas, Sagaris, and Meliton (another Bishop of Sardeis), he was a Quartodeciman. We may perhaps presume that his views on the Easter-question were shared by his successor in the see of Smyrna—Kamerios, who had been made a Deacon by Polykarp.² Smyrna was probably the home of the Asian Elder who composed (somewhere about 100 A.D.) the fictitious 'Acts of Paul', and, on confessing that he had written them out of love for Paul, was deposed from his office, probably not primarily for falsifying history, but for representing the Apostle as condemning all sexual intercourse.³ We may legitimately wonder whether the Christian of Ionia, to whom the youthful Clemens of Alexandria had listened in Hellas,⁴ came from Smyrna.

No mitigation in the lot of Christians was secured by the apologetic petition which Meliton, Bishop of Sardeis, addressed to the Emperor about 175 A.D. We hear nothing of the Smyrnaian church in connection with the great earthquake which laid the city in ruins in 177 or 178 A.D.⁵: but the disaster can hardly have improved its status, while almost immediately after it the Christian brethren of Asia and Phrygia received a letter recounting the terrible sufferings inflicted on the churches of Lugdunum and Vienna in the Rhone valley.⁶ Aristeides the rhetor makes no allusion to the persecutions; but when he denounces with bitter vituperation "those who resemble the impious people in Palestine" and despise the culture and philosophy of the Hellenes, there can be little doubt that it is the Christians (and not only the Kynics) that he is attacking.⁷

Eirenaios, who had succeeded the aged martyr Potheinios

¹Lightfoot (i. 462, 510) suggests it: but had it really been so, Polykrates would surely have claimed him as a martyr (so Lawlor and Oulton [*Eusebius*, ii. 186]); as it is, he calls him simply Πατριον τὸν μακάριον (in Euseb. *Ch.-Hist.* V. xxiv. 5), which probably means only that he had passed to his reward.

²Pionios (?), *Vit. Polyc.* xxvii. 1: see above, p. 354 n. 3.

³Tertull. *De Bapt.* 17. The suggestion is based on the large number of names common to *Acta Pauli* and the Smyrnaian inscriptions, and the numerous points of contact between the *Acta* on the one hand and *Mart. Polyc.* and Polykarp's

Ep. ad. Phil. on the other (Carl Schmidt, *Acta Pauli, Übersetzung, Untersuchungen, und koptischer Text* [2nd ed. 1905], 205 n. 1; Souter, *Text and Canon*, 78). Cf. A. Meyer in *Z.N.W.* xxxv (1936) 279.

⁴Clem. Alex. *Strom.* I. i. 11.

⁵See above, pp. 279 ff.

⁶Euseb. *Ch.-Hist.* V. i. 3 ff., v. 8.

⁷Aristeides xlvi, 399-406 (not in Keil) —possibly after 180 A.D. Cf. Lightfoot i. 467, 533; Neumann, *Der röm. Staat und die allgem. Kirche* (1890), 35-37; Ramsay, *Ch. in the Rom. Emp.* 351-353; Harnack, *Mission*, etc. (Eng. tr.), i. 500 f. n. 3; Boulanger 253, 256-260 (thinks the Jews are meant).

as Bishop of Lugdunum in 178 A.D., maintained an interest in the region where he had been bred. In his great work against the heresies (181-189 A.D.), he appeals to the witness borne to orthodoxy by "all the churches throughout the (Province of) Asia and those who have succeeded Polykarp up to this day."¹ Shortly afterwards it fell to him to intervene on behalf of these Asian churches. Their quartodeciman method of determining the time of their Easter-celebrations differed from what was normally the custom elsewhere; and the difference had long been felt to be objectionable.² About 190 A.D.—with a view to securing uniformity of practice—conferences were held in all the main Provinces; and the anti-quartodeciman rule was approved everywhere except in provincial Asia. Victor, the Bishop of Rome, pressed the Asian churches, with threats, to comply with the rest of Christendom. But their leader, Polykrates, Bishop of Ephesos, replied with a stout refusal, on the ground that the Asian practice had the sanction of apostolic example and long-standing custom. After mentioning Philippos and his daughters and John (buried respectively at Hierapolis and Ephesos), he went on: "And Polykarp also, both Bishop and martyr, fell asleep at Smyrna: and (there is) Thraseas, both Bishop and martyr, from Eumeneia, who fell asleep at Smyrna. And why must I mention Sagaris, Bishop and martyr, who fell asleep at Laodikeia, and the blessed Papirios also, and Meliton . . . who lies in Sardeis, awaiting the visitation from heaven at which he will rise from the dead? . . ."³ Thereupon Victor took it on himself to excommunicate the Asian churches from the Christian communion, and circulated his sentence. But he was sharply censured by several other Bishops for this harsh measure, and Eirenaios in particular protested against its severity—with the result that it remained a dead letter, and the divergence in Christian practice continued.

The task of thinking rightly concerning the Person of Jesus Christ (in particular, of synthetizing His Divinity and His humanity) was another subject of much discussion in the Church during the second and following centuries. The

¹Eirenaios III. iii. 4 = Euseb. *Ch.-Hist.* IV. xiv. 5.

³Polykrates in Euseb. *Ch.-Hist.* V. xxiv. 4 f.

²See above, pp. 306a, 354 f.

widely-prevalent Logos-Christology, which regarded Jesus as the incarnation of a personal and pre-existent Divine Word, was felt by many to imperil monotheism. In order, therefore, to safeguard the "Monarchy" of God, they speculated afresh. In doing so, some laid such stress on the humanity of Jesus as to be able to ascribe to Him a Divinity by adoption only—a view hence known as "Adoptionism" or "Dynamic Monarchianism". Others so identified Him with God that His humanity appeared simply as a phase or mode of the Divine Being: these were the "Modalistic Monarchians". Somewhere about 190 A.D., a Christian named Praxeas carried views of this nature from Asia to Rome and thence to Carthago. It was apparently a little later than this that a Smyrnaian Christian named Noëtos (possibly a church-Elder) created a sensation among his fellow-believers in the locality by advancing the theory that Christ was the Father Himself, and that therefore the Father Himself had been born and had suffered and died. This view he defended by quoting some Scriptural passages wherein stress is laid on the oneness of God and others wherein Divine attributes are assigned to Jesus. The distinction drawn in Scripture between the Father and the Son he explained as due to the temporary adoption by God of a special manifestation of His being to men. Noëtos called himself "Moses", and his brother (who shared his opinions) "Aaron"—in what precise sense or with what seriousness we cannot now say.

The Elders (presumably those of Smyrna, and presumably including the Bishop of that place), hearing his strange doctrine talked about, called Noëtos up and questioned him before the church; but he denied that with which he was charged. Continuing, however, to propagate his views, and collecting around him a group of about ten disciples (among whom was one Epigonos), he was again brought to book by the Elders, and examined in company with his adherents. This time he faced the matter out. "Well", he asked, gently rubbing his forehead, "what am I doing wrong in glorifying Christ? I know only one God, and none other beside Him—Him Who was born, suffered, and died". Unable to solve the metaphysical puzzle for him, the Elders fell back (exactly as Polykarp would have done) on the accepted local creed. "We also", they said, "truly glorify only one God, but in the way

that we know is right: and we know one Christ, the Son of God, Who suffered just as He did suffer, died just as He did die, and rose again on the third day, and ascended into heaven, and is on the Father's right hand, and will come to judge the living and the dead. And these things we declare, for we have learned them from the Divine Scriptures, and also know them to be true".

Failing to convince Noëtos that he was in error, they then excommunicated him and his followers. He and his brother died about 200 A.D.; but no Christians other than his adherents attended their obsequies. Epigonos, who is called his "deacon" (? servant) "and disciple", went to Rome, and propagated his doctrines there. Hippolytos of Rome concluded his 'Syntagma against all the Heresies' (200-210 A.D.) with a 'Homily against the Heresy of a certain Noëtos', arguing that his views were unscriptural and false. Noëtianism was, however, still successfully taught at Rome by Kleomenes, a disciple of Epigonos, and found favour with the Bishop Zephyrinos (198-217 A.D.)—much to the disapproval of Hippolytos, who, in his great work usually called 'Refutatio Omnium Haeresium' (222-230 A.D.), again attacked the doctrine as heretical and as unwittingly derived from the teachings of the philosopher Herakleitos.¹

¹All our knowledge of Noëtos is derived from Hippol. *Noët.* (esp. 1: in Migne, *P.G.* x. 803-830), *Refut.* viii. 12 (19), ix. pref. (2), 1 (6), 2 (7), 3 (8), 5 (10), x. 23 (27) (in Migne, *P.G.* xvi. 3367-3442); from Epiphanius, *Haer.* lvii. 1 (in Migne, *P.G.* xli. 993-996), *Anakephal.* I. ii. 11 (in Migne, *P.G.* xlii. 865 f.); and from Theodoret. *Haeret. Fab. Compend.* iii. 3 (in Migne, *P.G.* lxxxiii. 404 f.). Later writers have nothing new to add. Epiphanius is evidently dependent upon Hippol.; but their accounts do not exactly tally—esp. as regards the dispute between N. and the Elders—and we must therefore presume, not only that Epiphanius erred in some points (e.g. in calling Noëtos an Ephesian, and in dating him about 130 years before himself [his own dates being ± 315-403 A.D.]), but also (1) that the text of Hippol. *Noët.* is possibly corrupt, and/or (2) that Epiphanius had access to some other source of information. In the text above I have attempted to amalgamate the two accounts.

In regard to Noëtos' date—Hippol., writing 200-210 A.D., says of him *ὁ πρὸ πολλοῦ χρόνου γενόμενος*: and Epiphanius' statement that Noëtos and his brother had died *ἔναγχος* ("recently") looks like a careless verbatim repetition of some early source (? Hippol.).

C. H. Turner has argued (in *J.T.S.* Oct. 1921, 28-31) that, since Hippol. calls Epigonos Noëtos' *διάκονος* (*Refut.* ix. 2 [7]), Noët. must have been a *Bishop*: and this argument receives some support from the words in Hippol. *Noët.* 1: *ἐκβλήτος γεγένηται κλήρου ἁγίου*. On the other hand, had such really been the case, we should have expected it to be explicitly affirmed. *κλήρου ἁγίου* may mean simply "the Church". Turner further argued that by *οἱ μακάριοι πρεσβύτεροι* Hippol. meant a synod of *Bishops* of the neighbourhood, but that Epiphanius, in talking of *τὸ πρεσβυτέριον*, shows that he misunderstood him. The epithet *μακάριοι*, Turner thinks (31-35), means that Hippol. thought of them as already dead: he

We know very little concerning the church at Smyrna during the period 200-250 A.D. On the whole it was a period of peace. In 202 A.D. Severus, more conscious of the Church's growing strength than his predecessors had been, forbade conversions either to Judaism or to Christianity. Though they were thus now companions in misfortune, Jews and Christians were usually in a state of mutual tension. Certainly this was so at Smyrna, where (we learn) the Jews used to tell the Christians that Christ had died the violent death of a suicide, and blasphemously boasted that they themselves could by necromancy raise up Him and His cross from the abode of the dead.¹ Severus' prohibition probably affected the Christians more than it did the Jews; but we hear of no persecution actually occurring in Asia; and under Caracallus (211-217 A.D.) persecution of the Christians was apparently confined to Africa. During the reigns of Elagabalus (218-222 A.D.) and Severus Alexander (222-235 A.D.), almost complete toleration seems to have been practised. An attack on the Church was made by Maximinus (235-238 A.D.); but we have no information as to how it affected Smyrna. In the time of Gordianus (238-244 A.D.), a woman named Politte, who probably lived in some country-town of the Province, tried to make her slave-girl Sabina (who had avowed herself before the authorities as a Christian) apostatize from her faith by sending her away in shackles to the hills, and bringing her to death's door by exposure and privations: her fellow-Christians, however, were able to communicate with her and supply her wants; and eventually she escaped to Smyrna (which was not her birth-place, and where apparently she had never pre-

dates the excommunication of Noëtos 185-190 A.D.

We hear nothing about any writings composed by N., though it is antecedently likely that he did write. In quoting his views, Hippol. uses the third person plural (meaning N's. followers) nearly as often as he uses the singular (of Noët. himself): but he was probably dependent for all his information on what was said by the Noëtiens at Rome.

For Noëtos generally, cf. Routh, *Reliq. Sacr.* iv (1846) 241-248; Salmon in *S.D.C.B.* iv. 49 f., 569 b (places the colloquy with the Elders at Rome: but

there is no evidence whatever that N. ever went there—the same mistake appears in Bethune-Baker, *Early Hist. of Christ. Doctrine*, 102-104, and in Kidd, *Hist. of the Church*, i. 366 f.); Harnack, *Überlief.* 597 f., *Chron.* ii. 220-224, *Hist. of Dogma* (Eng. tr.), iii (1897) 51-73, and in Hauck, *Realencyk.* xiii (1903) 324-332 (an excellent discussion, but mistaken in its chronology), xx (1908) 532 bott. (the Elders); Badcock, *The History of the Creeds* (1930), 33-35.

¹Pionios, who died in 250 A.D., said he had heard this falsehood from his youth (*Mart. Pion.* xiv. 1).

viously lived), and there attached herself to the Elder, Pionios.¹

This vigorous Christian must have been at the height of his activity and influence during the years preceding the Decian persecution in which he perished—i.e. during the period when both the Emperor Philippus (244–249 A.D.) and his wife Otacilia were favourable to Christianity. From the certainly-genuine story of his martyrdom we gather that in 250 A.D. he must have been in the prime of life. Though usually pale in countenance, he was well-built and muscular, with trim hair and beard. An unmarried celibate, he had travelled extensively, knowing not only Lydia Katakekaumene east of Sardeis, but also the Dead-Sea-region in Palestine. He clearly held an influential position among the Smyrnaian Christians, being well-educated, well-versed in the Scriptures, skilled as a teacher, and successful in making converts. He was a fluent speaker, quite able to hold his own in repartee, and familiar with local feeling—as also with the technicalities of legal procedure, of which he was quite ready to take full advantage. He was well known to the public at large, and on account of his character and courtesy enjoyed the esteem and affection even of pagan citizens. He was a believer in premonitory visions, in Christian exorcism, and other marvellous happenings. And like his fellow-Christians he treasured the memory of Polykarp, and joined with them in celebrating the anniversaries of his death.²

¹*Mart. Pion.* ix. 3 f., xviii. 7. Some writers suppose that Politte lived in Smyrna (see Neumann, *Der röm. Staat und die allgem. Kirche* [1890], 329); but *Mart. Pion.* xviii. 7 makes this unlikely. Sabina's public confession of her Christian faith is implied in the title *ὁμολογήτρια* by which she is designated in *Mart. Pion.* ii. 1, and which presumably is meant to refer to the time *before* the Decian persecution. Schultze (64), wrongly I think, connects it with that persecution. Sokrates' statement (*Ch.-Hist.* V. xxii) that Polykarp was martyred under Gordianus may reflect some tradition of persecution in his reign. Lightfoot (i. 471, 639) takes literally Sabina's statement that she was Pionios' "sister": but she probably meant simply "fellow-Christian". Cf. Wohleb's interesting note on her case in *Römische*

Quartalschrift, xxxvii (1929) 176 n.: he rightly remarks: "Das ganze Verhältnis Sabines zu Pionios ist kaum verschieden von dem einer virgo subintroducta".

²The above particulars are all derived from incidental allusions in *Mart. Pion.* For the veneration with which Polykarp was regarded, cf. Papadop.-Keram. *Ἀνακωνώσεις*, 3–5 (hymn to him), 9 (prayer to him, cures at his tomb, etc.); Hilgenfeld in *Z.W.T.* xlvi (1905) 447 f. (marvel reported by Khrysothomos); Reuning 45–49. One indication of it is given by the vogue of his name. An inscription on a tombstone found near Smyrna bears the words: "This tomb belongs to (me), Polykarp (the) Subdeacon, and to my wife Palladia" (*C.I.G.* 9281 = Grégoire 68). Among other bearers of the name were:—an African Bishop

Reasons have been given above for regarding the Epilogue to 'the Martyrdom of Polykarp' (containing an ostensible reference of a Pionios to himself) as genuine, for identifying this Pionios with the Elder martyred in 250 A.D., and for tentatively assigning to him the authorship of 'the Life of Polykarp'.¹ Could we regard those reasons as cogent, we should have to infer that Pionios (probably about 248 A.D.) set himself to compile a sort of 'Corpus Polycarpianum', containing the following pieces:

(1). A fresh and complete copy of 'the Martyrdom of Polykarp'. Eirenaios' copy of it had been transcribed by his junior friend Gaius (possibly Gaius of Rome). Then one Sokrates of Korinth had procured and copied Gaius' manuscript, and added a note recording the stages of the transmission of the document to date.² Pionios, aided in his search (as he believed) by a revelation granted to him by Polykarp himself, somehow discovered Sokrates' copy, and found it to be in a dissevered and almost worn-out condition. He pieced it together, recopied it, added a short explanatory note in the first person, and concluded with a doxology.³ It was probably this copy of his which became the archetype both of the Eusebian version and of the other manuscripts of the separate 'Martyrdom'.⁴

(2). An account of the revelation given him by Polykarp.⁵ But this may have formed a part (now lost) of

(3). A 'Life of Polykarp', the mutilated condition of the present form of which has already been noted. The author claimed to have access to certain ancient records of the Smyrniaian church from the time of Paul onwards. Being (as we must suppose) a zealous Anti-quartodeciman, he imaginatively represented Paul as forbidding the quartodeciman practice, and said nothing about the Apostle John (to whom Quartodecimans had usually appealed), or about Polykarp's visit to Rome in 154 A.D. in the quartodeciman interest: he also omitted all notice of

who attended the Council of Carthago (256 A.D.), a Pisidian Bishop who attended Nikaia (325 A.D.), and certain martyrs; for these see *S.D.C.B.* iv. 431-434; Lightfoot i. 436 f., 651, 708 f.; Harnack, *Mission* (Eng. tr.), i. 429 n., ii. 278 n. But the name was not exclusively Christian.

¹See above, pp. 306-310.

²*Mart. Polyc.* xxii. 2.

³*Mart. Polyc.* xxii. 3.

⁴See above, pp. 306 f.

⁵*Mart. Polyc.* xxii. 3: . . . καθὼς δηλώσω ἐν τῷ καθεξῆς.

Eirenaios. Further, having already transcribed 'the Martyrdom', he made no further allusion to Polykarp's death. For the rest, his biography was replete with miracles and marvels, though (as we have argued) following in the main the true course of the history.

(4). An annotated list of the more prominent leaders of the Smyrnaian church who succeeded Strataias.¹ This has not come down to us.

(5). A copy of the Epistle(s) of Polykarp to the Philippians, as the best of the few compositions of his which survived the persecution of 155 A.D.²

(6). A systematic account of how Polykarp used to interpret Scripture.³ This also (unless we are to identify it with the letter to Philippii⁴—which seems arbitrary) was either never written or has not survived.

In 248 A.D. the Emperor Philippus celebrated with great magnificence the supposed thousandth anniversary of the foundation of Rome; but in the late summer of 249 A.D. G. Messius Quintus Traianus Decius, the Roman commander in the Danube-region, supplanted him as Emperor, and came to Rome to set the affairs of his government in order. Gothic invasions were soon to call him back to the East: but before his departure he made a serious attempt to destroy the whole Christian Church. His patriotism was offended by these groups of people who refused to worship the gods of the State, were disinclined to undertake public (particularly military) service, and were thus a downright peril to the general safety. The reaction against his defeated predecessor's tolerance, the stimulus imparted to pagan sentiment by the celebrations of 248 A.D., the outbreak of a severe pestilence at Alexandria, and the crisis occasioned by the Gothic inroads—all contributed to the timeliness of Decius' onslaught. Towards the end of 249 A.D. he issued an edict requiring all his subjects to offer sacrifice to the gods and to the genius of the Emperor by a certain day: Christianity was denounced in so far as it encouraged disobedience to the State; Christian officials were

¹Pionios (?), *Vit. Polyc.* iii. 1.

²Pionios (?), *Vit. Polyc.* xii. 3. Possibly it was at this time that the two letters of Pol. to Philippii got mistakenly fused

into one (cf. Harrison 16 mid., 26 mid.).

³Pionios (?), *Vit. Polyc.* xx. 1.

⁴So Schwartz, *De Pionio et Pol.* 30.

proscribed and Christian meetings forbidden; and all Christians were required to comply with the demand for sacrifice—on pain of incurring heavy, but undefined, penalties. Details regarding procedure were enjoined in a companion-document addressed specifically to the magistrates. Persons who complied with the law were to be given certificates protecting them from further molestation. Those who refused were to be imprisoned and tortured by the local officials with a view to breaking down their resistance. If this pressure failed, they were to be kept in confinement until the arrival (in March or April) of the new governor, who—if further torture was ineffective—was authorized to pronounce and inflict sentence of death. The Emperor himself remained in Rome during the winter (249/250 A.D.), partly for the purpose (in all probability) of superintending the execution of his orders.¹

The attempts to carry out these orders necessarily brought acute suffering upon the Christians in various great centres; and the attacks were probably sharper in the eastern Provinces than in the West. But certain factors conspired to make the number of martyrdoms fewer than we should have expected. Christianity had by now obtained so firm a footing, that the hopelessness of a policy of State-suppression must have been fairly obvious, and must have enhanced the natural reluctance of normally-humane and cultured men to give effect to the terrible threats of the law. Another less creditable condition told in the same direction. During the long peace, Christian zeal had grown slack; and numbers of Church-members everywhere were willing to compromise their principles so far as to comply outwardly with the demand for sacrifice, without necessarily intending thereby to throw over the Church altogether.

This general condition of things is well illustrated by our records of what happened at Smyrna.² They contain indirect allusions to a shortage of bread about this time, which may well have served to rouse irritation against the Christians, especially if, as is hinted, Pionios and possibly others were in the habit of interpreting such calamities as Divine judg-

¹Cf. Gregg 70-81, 92; Schönaich, passim.

²On the normal tolerance of the

Smyrnaians, and the special circumstances temporarily suspending it, cf. Allard ii. 370, 372.

ments on paganism.¹ But there had also been a drop in the standards of Christian living at Smyrna as elsewhere: faith had grown lukewarm; and contemptuous feelings, fault-finding speech, and unkind behaviour had entered in.² Furthermore, the church had been exposed to the characteristic hostility of the Jews, who repeated their old reproach that Christ had suffered the violent death of a suicide, and

¹*Mart. Pion.* vii. 1 (if the reading *περι τοῦ ἄπρου* be correct: see below, pp. 385 f.), x. 7 f. (see below, p. 388), and possibly xi. 3 (see below, p. 388). Though rich in oil and wine, Asia Minor barely grew enough corn for its own needs, and imported some from South Russia (J. G. C. Anderson in *C.A.H.* x. 266; Oertel in *C.A.H.* x. 401). Public officials to look after the purchase of corn were appointed in several cities: we have a record of one at Smyrna in ii/A.D. (*S.E.G.* ii. 653: . . . *συνώσαντα, ἱναρχήσαντα, στρατηγήσαντα, . . .*: cf. Schwahn in Pauly, *supplband.* vi [1935] 1086, 1111). See also above, p. 351, for the Smyrnaians' appeal to Polykarp in time of famine.

There is general agreement that *Mart. Pion.* was originally composed in Greek, and contains a trustworthy account of events that occurred shortly before it was written, that the year of Pionios' martyrdom was 250 A.D., the day and date of his arrest Saturday, 23rd February, and the day and date of his martyrdom Tuesday, 12th March (but cf. Schwartz, *Ostertafeln*, 137 f.). A little uncertainty, however, exists as to the original text. A Greek text survives in a Venice-MS. of xii/A.D., the most accessible printed form of which is in Oscar von Gebhardt's *Acta Martyrum Selecta* (1902), 96-114 (cf. VII), and in Knopf-Krüger, *Ausgewählte Märtyrerakten* (3rd edn. 1929), 45-57. A Latin version closely akin to it appears in the *Acta Sanctorum* for 1st Feb. (Feb. i. 42b-46b). Another Latin version is printed from four MSS. by Ruinart in *Acta Martyrum* (1859), 188-198. An Old-Slavonic version is in print: and an Armenian translation—and probably also a Syriac—existed (cf. Wohleb in *Römische Quartalschrift*, xxxvii [1929] 173 f.). Lightfoot, writing before the Greek text was fully known, tentatively regarded Ruinart's text as preferable to it. Harnack (*Chron.* ii. 467) took the contrary view. It is difficult to give a

confident judgment: but the Greek text would seem to have a prima facie claim to preference, seeing that it is at least in the same language as the original, and seeing also that the additional particulars it contains (comparable in some way to the peculiar features of Codex Bezae in *Acts*) are more naturally explicable as details omitted in translation because easily dispensable, than as (to quote Lightfoot) "additions made to the original Acts of Pionius by someone who, if not an eye-witness, yet lived while the tradition was still fresh". Moreover, Ruinart's Latin suppresses certain unpleasant facts, such as the Markionism of the martyr Metrodoros (cf. Lawlor and Oulton, *Eusebius*, ii. 136 f., and the detailed exposé of Wohleb in *Römische Quartalschrift*, xxxvii [1929] 173-177)—facts about which even the Greek is somewhat reticent (Aubé 152). I have therefore relied mainly on Gebhardt's Greek, as emended here and there by Schwartz (*De Pionio et Pol.* 18-22); but I have also carefully compared Ruinart's Latin throughout. It seems a great pity that an English translation was not included in E. C. E. Owen's admirable little book, *Some Authentic Acts of the Early Martyrs* (1927). Cf. Ruinart 187; Aubé 141 f.; Salmon in *S.D.C.B.* iv. 398b; Lightfoot i. 716 f.; Gregg 246 f.; Bardenhewer, *Gesch. der altkirchl. Lit.* ii. 631 f.; Harnack, *Chron.* ii. 466-468; Bonwetsch in Hauck, *Realecyk.* xv (1904) 403 f.; Delehaye, *Passions*, 28 f. The martyrdom of Pionios is recorded also in Euseb. *Ch.-Hist.* IV. xv. 46 f. and in *Chron. Pasch.* P270D (ed. Bonn, i. 504); but these notices are based on *Mart. Pion.*, and add nothing to our knowledge (see below, p. 380 n. 1). A late paraphrastic epitome of *Mart. Pion.*, containing a few embellishments, is printed from a MS. of xi/A.D. by Papadopoulos-Keram. (*Ἀνακωνάσις*, 14-18).

²*Mart. Pion.* xii. 12-16, esp. 15. Cf. Schultze 64 bott.

claimed that they themselves had by means of necromancy recently raised Him from the dead with His cross, and who did all they could to make proselytes.¹

When, early in February 250 A.D., the edict of Decius was published at Smyrna, the immediate consequence was that a very large number of Christians went off to the local magistrates to offer in the Nemesion the sacrifices which the Emperor demanded, to eat a portion of the sacrificial flesh, and so to secure exemption from further interference. Many went and complied of their own accord; others did so under pressure and physical force; others probably only after severe torture. Some were even betrayed to the authorities by their fellow-Christians; and the apostates included persons of good Christian reputation.²

The Jews were apparently exempt as usual from the requirement of pagan sacrifice; and they used their immunity to add to the church's difficulties. While in no way responsible for the Emperor's edict, they did what they could to sharpen the execution of it in Smyrna.³ They called the Christians their enemies, expressed amazement that some of them came voluntarily to sacrifice, condemned all on account of this weakness of some, looked on when Christians were afflicted, reproached them for excessive boldness in speech and for worshipping one who had suffered the violent death of a suicide, put down His resurrection to necromancy, and invited Christians to find safety by joining the synagogues as proselytes.⁴

¹*Mart. Pion.* xiii. 1-3, xiv. 1, 15 f.

²We get allusions to these lapsi in *Mart. Pion.* ii. 4 (. . . ὡς οἱ λοιποὶ ὑπάγουσι μιροφαγήσαι), iv. 3 (. . . ἐκόντες ἐπιθύουσιν: Latin fuller), 4-6, 9 (τίνας εἰδωλολατρεῖν ἠραγκάσαμεν;), 10 (sins committed unwillingly through human fear), 13 (some came un-compelled), 14 (chaff-heap larger than corn-heap), 15, vi. 3 (with emendations of Schwartz [*De Pionio et Pol.* 19 f.]; allusions to the eating willingly, the cross-examination, the visit to the Nemesion, the forcible arrest and arraignment), x. 6 (ὅς δὲ καὶ ὅς δὲ ἐπέθυσαν . . .), xii. 2 (Christians who κατὰ ἀνάγκην ἦσαν σεσυρμένοι [i.e. to the pagan altars: cf. Gregg (255) "to prison" —wrongly]; some were τοῖς εὐλαβέσι καὶ

ἐν καλῇ πολιτείᾳ γενομένοις), 3-16 (Pionios' own lamentation over the lapsi, esp. cf. 8 [ἡ πάντως ἐνύσταξαν πᾶσαι αἱ παρθένοι . . .];, 10 [ἀκούω δὲ ὅτι καὶ εἰς ἕκαστος τὸν πλησίον παραδίδωσιν, ἵνα πληρωθῆ τὸ "Παραδώσει ἀδελφὸς ἀδελφὸν εἰς θάνατον"]);, xx. 3. Cf. Aubé 140f., 152; Schultze 64 (" . . . In grosser Zahl sind Christen abtrünnig geworden . . . ein Beweis, dass die Gemeinde stark weltförmig geworden war"), 65.

³Tertullianus, writing about 212 A.D., had called the Jewish synagogues "fontes persecutionum" (*Scorpiae*, 10). Cf. Knopf 143 f.

⁴See above, pp. 378 f., and cf. *Mart. Pion.* iii. 6 f., iv. 2, 8 f., 13; Allard ii. 373f.; Schultze 65 top.

We might naturally imagine that the execution of the edict would have involved the imprisonment and death of large numbers of Christians. That it involved the coercion, maltreatment, and torture of many is in every way probable : but for the reasons already stated, surprisingly few individuals were subjected to extreme penalties.¹

On Friday, 22nd February, the Elder² Pionios, while fasting with two companions, Asklepiades, a man of short stature, and the escaped slave-girl Sabina, had a premonition that on the morrow, the anniversary of his hero Polykarp's martyrdom, they would all three be apprehended and pressed to sacrifice. He thereupon took three ropes, and put one on the neck of each of them, in order to convince the pagans that they were determined to go to prison rather than yield. He also advised Sabina to give her name, when questioned, as Theodote, lest—if her true name were revealed—she should fall again into the hands of her cruel mistress Politte. When the morrow came, they waited quietly in the house, praying and celebrating the Eucharist by taking consecrated bread and water together—partly in commemoration of Polykarp's death, and partly having regard to the troubled state of the Church.³ The authorities were, indeed, setting about their unwelcome task of rounding up some at least of the recalcitrant Christians. Polemon the Temple-Warden (doubtless a descendant of the

¹Eusebios specifies (*Ch.-Hist.* IV. xv. 46) the martyrdoms of Metrodoros and Pionios as samples of ἄλλα μαρτύρια . . . κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν Σμύρναν πεπραγμένα ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτὴν περίοδον τοῦ χρόνου τῆς τοῦ Πολυκάρπου (!) μαρτυρίας. As eleven other martyrs suffered with Polykarp, and Eusebios so confuses the dates, the passage is poor evidence for further deaths at Smyrna in 250 A.D. Nor can we give credence to *Chron. Pasch.* P 270 D (ed. Bonn, i. 504: . . . Πιόνιος σὺν ἄλλοις πολλοῖς ἐμαρτύρησεν), which is here clearly dependent on Eusebios. See below, p. 399.

²Schönaich (13, 15) erroneously twice calls him "Bischof".

³*Mart. Pion.* ii (cf. Schwartz, *De Pionio et Pol.* 18), iii. 1, ix. 3, x. 5. For Sabina, see above, pp. 373 f.. The use of water instead of wine in the Eucharist (curiously overlooked on this occasion

by Allard [ii. 375]) was an ancient and widespread Christian custom, only gradually suppressed in favour of the use of wine and water mixed. The primitive view seems to have been that the main element in the Eucharist was the bread, the cup being simply an accompaniment, and the choice as between wine and water a matter of comparative indifference. The preference for water rested partly on an unwillingness to diffuse the smell of the consecrated wine, esp. in the morning (thus revealing one's Christianity in time of persecution), and partly on an ascetic avoidance of all wine as such (Harnack, *Brot und Wasser* [in *Texte und Untersuch.* vii (1891) 115-144], esp. 120, 124, 134, 141). I do not know why Salmon (in *S.D.C.B.* iv. 397b) thinks that the words in *Mart. Pion.* iii. 1 "seem to indicate a communion on elements previously reserved".

great orator of Hadrianus' time and custodian of the temple then dedicated to the worship of Rome and the Emperor¹) arrived at Pionios' house with a party of attendants to take the Christians to the Nemeseion and there compel them to offer sacrifice and eat sacrificial meat. "Ye know well", said he, "the Emperor's ordinance—how he bids you sacrifice to the gods". To which Pionios replied: "We know *God's* orders—wherein He bids us worship Him only". "Well", rejoined the Temple-Warden, "come to the market-place, and ye shall be persuaded there". Here Sabina and Asklepiades broke in: "*Our* business", said they, "is to obey a *living* God". However, they all three quietly allowed themselves to be led by Polemon to the market-place, wearing the ropes round their necks, and thereby attracting so much attention that an ever-growing crowd jostled round them. They were brought into "the eastern stoa", apparently a partially-roofed colonnade with a gateway at each end. The whole of the surrounding market-place and the upper storeys of the colonnades were thronged with Jews and Hellenes of both sexes—the Jews enjoying their Sabbath-holiday. Many onlookers swarmed up on to steps (or pedestals) and boxes to catch sight of what was going on.² Making them stand in the midst, Polemon solemnly appealed to them. "Pionios", he said, "it is best that ye should obey like everyone else, and sacrifice so that ye may not get punished". Finding himself at liberty to state his case, Pionios with outstretched hand and cheerful mien made a speech which—according to the form in which it was soon afterwards committed to writing, probably by himself—ran as follows³:

¹See above, pp. 256 ff.

²*Mart. Pion.* iii. 1-7. It is not easy to fix the meaning of τὰ βάρη and τὰ κισβάρια.

³*Mart. Pion.* iv. 1, 2a. As will be seen presently (see below, p. 389 n. 1), there is reason to believe that the speeches reported in *Mart. Pion.* iv. 2-24 and xii. 3-xiv. 16 are what Pionios himself wrote in the prison as part of the σύγγραμμα mentioned in i. 2, and therefore represent approximately what he had actually said (cf. Delehayé, *Passions*, 35). Unlike the rest of *Mart. Pion.*, they are free from reminiscences of *Mart. Polyc.* (Gregg

265 f.): but this phenomenon is just as consistent with their substantial genuineness as with the supposition that they are later additions. Some, however, regard them as fictitious: so Aubé 142, 144 (improbable that Polemon would have allowed Pionios to make such a speech); Harnack, *Chron.* ii. 467 f. I have ventured to include a full translation of them in my text, partly because I believe them to be substantially genuine, and also because, so far as I know, no version of them in English has yet been printed. Gregg (251, 255 f.) has only meagre summaries.

“Ye men who boast about Smyrna’s beauty, who revere Homeros, as ye say, at the Meles, and those Jews who are present among you, listen to me as I discourse a little to you. For I hear that, laughing and rejoicing as ye do over the deserters, ye regard their failure as a joke, because they sacrifice willingly. But ye, O Hellenes, ought to obey your teacher Homeros, who advises (you) that it is impious to boast over the dying. And you, O Jews, does Moses command, ‘If thou seest thine enemy’s animal fallen under the load, thou shalt not pass by, but shalt surely raise it up’. Likewise ye ought to obey Solomon also. ‘If thine enemy fall’, says he, ‘rejoice not, and be not uplifted at his stumbling’.¹ For in obedience to my Teacher I prefer to die rather than transgress His words: and I strive not to change what first I learned and then also taught. At whom then are the Jews unfeelingly laughing? For even if we are, as they say, their enemies, yet we are men, and—what is more—men being wronged. They say that we are sometimes over-bold in our speech. Well, what of it? Whom have we (actually) wronged? Whom have we murdered? Whom have we persecuted? Whom have we coerced into idolatry? Or do they think their own sins are like those now being committed by some (Christians) through human fear? Yet they surpass (them in wickedness), as much as deliberate sins (surpass) unwilling ones. For who compelled the Jews to be initiated into the mysteries of Beelphegor? or to eat things sacrificed in honour of the dead? or to commit fornication with the daughters of foreigners? or to burn their sons and daughters to idols? or to murmur against God? or to malign Moses? or to be ungrateful when kindly treated? or to turn back in heart to Egypt? or—when Moses had gone up to receive the Law—to say to Aaron, ‘Make us gods’, and to make a calf and (do) all the other things they did? (I ask this) because they can (easily) mislead you (Hellenes)²: for let them read to you ‘the Book of Judges’, ‘the Kingdoms’, ‘the Exodus’, and all in which they are rebuked, (and then

¹*Mart. Pion.* iv. 2b—6. The passages quoted are *Exod.* xxiii. 5 and *Proverbs*, xxiv. 17. The Homeric reference is to *Od.* xxii. 412.

²*Mart. Pion.* iv. 7—12a. Schwartz

(*De Pionio et Pol.* 19) restores the last sentence otherwise, supposing some such words as “because ye do not know the Jewish histories”, etc. to have fallen out at its end.

ye will see how evil they have been). But do they ask why some (Christians) went of themselves to sacrifice without having been subjected to violence; and do ye (Jews) condemn *all* Christians on their account? Compare the present situation to a threshing floor: which heap is the larger, that of the chaff, or that of the corn? For when the farmer comes with his shovel to clear the threshing-floor, the chaff, being light, is easily carried away by the draught; but the corn remains in the same place. Again, look at the net thrown into the sea: are all the fish which it collects of use? So also is the present situation. How then do ye wish us to suffer this treatment—as righteous men or as wrongdoers? If as wrongdoers, how can ye also help suffering the same, being proved to be wrongdoers by your very works? But if as righteous men, what hope have ye when the righteous suffer? For ‘if the righteous man is barely saved, what will become of the impious and sinful?’¹ For judgment overhangs the world, and of this we have been assured by many (sign)s. When I myself was on a journey, and had gone all round Judaea and crossed the Jordan, I saw the land even now testifying to the wrath that had befallen it from God, on account of the sins its inhabitants committed—killing foreigners, banishing foreigners, committing violence. I saw smoke ascending from it even now, and the land burnt to ashes, totally destitute of fruit and moist growth. And I saw the Dead Sea, (with its) water changed contrary to the order of nature, exhausted with a Divine (ly-imposed) fear, and unable to nourish any creature; and (I saw) that he who leaps into it is thrown up out of it by the water, as if it were unable to retain a man’s body within itself. For it is unwilling to receive a man, lest it be again rebuked on account of man. And these things I am speaking of (are) far from you. (But) ye yourselves see and tell of the region of the Lydian Dekapolis burnt with fire, and constituting to this day a warning to impious men—and the roaring fire of Aitna and Sikelia and Lykia also and the islands.² But if these also are (too) far from you, consider

¹*Mart. Pion.* iv. 12b-16. The Scripture quoted is 1 Peter iv. 18—the LXX-rendering of *Prov.* xi. 31.

²*Mart. Pion.* iv. 17-21. Schwartz

(*De Pionio et Pol.* 19) improves the awkward Greek of the last sentence by inserting other words.

(our) use of the hot water—that, I mean, which gushes up out of the ground, and understand whence it is heated and fired—if not thrown up by the subterranean fire.¹ Ye tell also of partial conflagrations and inundations, as ye say, in the time of Deukalion, or, as we, in the time of Noë. Partial things happen in order that from the partial the universal may be known. Wherefore we testify to you concerning the fiery judgment that is about to be inflicted by God, by means of His Word, Jesus Christ. And that is why we do not worship your so-called gods, and we do not bow down to the golden image”.²

Such is the speech as reported to us: but since the record adds that many other things were said, and that Pionios was not silent for long, we may infer that the report gives rather a summary of what he said in the course of a dialogue in which he did most of the talking.

When he had concluded his peroration, the Temple-Warden and his attendants and the crowd waited for a while in silent expectation of more. Then Pionios broke the stillness by repeating: “We do not worship your gods, and we do not bow down to the golden image”. His speech had made a deep impression on the hearers; and the magistrates brought him and his friends out into the open Agora again, and renewed their efforts to talk him over, while among the people the demand began to be made that there should be a formal Assembly in the more spacious Theatre for further audience.³ Some of the bystanders gathered round Pionios with Polemon, and joined him in earnest entreaties. “Be persuaded by us, Pionios”, they said, “because we love thee, and on many counts thou deservest to live—because of thy character and forbearance. It is good to live and to see this light (of day)”—and more to the same effect. “I agree”, replied Pionios, “that it is good to live; but that life for which we yearn is better. And (good is it to see) the light; but (to see) that true (light is better). And all these things are good: but the reason we flee from them is not that we long for death, or hate God’s works; but because of

¹*Mart. Pion.* iv. 22. I accept Schwartz’s suggestion (*l.c.*) of ἐκβρασθῆν for ἐκβαίνον ἐν.

²*Mart. Pion.* iv. 23: the last words are

of course a reference to *Dan.* iii. 18. See above, p. 381 n. 3.

³See above, pp. 178–180, 281 f., and Berg and Walter 9 f.

the surpassing greatness of other things, we despise these when they lay snares for us".¹

A market-place loiterer of low character named Alexandros intervened in the appeal. "Listen to us, Pionios", he said. But Pionios instantly stopped him with the words: "Make an effort thyself to listen to me: for what thou knowest, I know; but what I understand thou art ignorant of". Alexandros tried ridicule: "Why these?" he asked sarcastically, pointing to the ropes. Pionios explained: "These are to prevent it being supposed, as we go through your city, that we have come forward with the intention of eating abominable food, and to show that we do not think it worthwhile to be questioned, but that, having made up our minds, we are going not to the Nemesion but to the prison, and to prevent you seizing and leading us off by force, as ye have done the others, but to make you leave us alone because we are wearing bonds. For I do not suppose that ye would lead us into your idol-temples wearing bonds". Alexandros was for the moment silenced; but hearing the others renew their appeals and Pionios repeat his decision, answer their arguments, and predict the future, he interjected again: "What need is there for these words of yours anyway, since it is impossible for you to live?"²

Meanwhile the popular demand for an Assembly in the Theatre for a further hearing of Pionios was repeated: but the concession of it was dreaded by certain friends of the General (the supreme civil magistrate), who had apparently mismanaged the city's corn-supply in some way, and was likely to incur further trouble if the shortage was publicly debated, as his friends feared it would be if once an Assembly were held. They therefore approached Polemon as he was considering the next step to be taken with regard to Pionios, and said: "Do not allow him to speak (to the crowds), lest they enter the Theatre, and there arise a tumult and an

¹*Mart. Pion.* v, vii. 1. Though the Greek of the last sentence of v. 5 can be quite straightforwardly construed, the expressions are somewhat odd. Schwartz (*De Pionio et Pol.* 19) thinks some words beginning a new sentence have dropped out before ἐνεδρευόντων ἡμᾶς. Ruinart's Latin rather confirms this, running

thus: ". . . et prae melioribus ista contemnimus. Et vos quidem laudo, eo quod me dignum et amore et honore ducatis: sed esse ex vobis suspicamur insidias, et semper minus nocuerunt professa odia, quam subdola blandimenta".

²*Mart. Pion.* vi, with Schwartz's emendations (*De Pionio et Pol.* 19 f.).

enquiry concerning the bread(-supply)".¹ With the object of complying with this appeal, and perhaps partly also in the hope of securing a barely sufficient measure of formal obedience, Polemon said: "Pionios, if thou dost not intend to sacrifice, yet come at any rate into the Nemeseion".² "But it does thine idols no good", answered Pionios, "for us to go thither". "Be persuaded by us, Pionios", persisted the Temple-Warden. "Would that I were able (rather) to persuade you to become Christians", was the Elder's reply. They burst out into loud laughter. "Thou hast no such power", they said to him, "to cause us to be burnt alive!" "Far worse is it", Pionios quickly retorted, "to be burnt after death!" Noticing that Sabina was smiling, they said to her indignantly: "Dost thou laugh?" "If God wills it, yes", she said, "for we are Christians. All who believe unhesitatingly in Christ will laugh in eternal joy". They thought to break her spirit with a dreadful threat. "Thou art about to suffer what thou hast no wish for: for women who sacrifice not (have to) stand in a brothel". But all the answer they got was: "The holy God will see about that".³

More fencing between Polemon and Pionios ensued. "Be persuaded by us, Pionios". "Thou hast been ordered either to persuade or to punish. Thou art not persuading; (so) punish". "Offer sacrifice, Pionios". "I am a Christian". "What sort of a god dost thou worship?" "The almighty God Who made the heaven and the earth and all things in them and all of us, Who provides us richly with all things, Whom we know by means of Christ His Word". "Well, offer sacrifice to the Emperor at any rate". "I offer no sacrifice to a (mere) man, for I am a Christian".⁴

¹ *Mart. Pion.* vii. 1 (. . . ἐπιλήρηται περὶ τοῦ ἄρου). All the Greek MSS. apparently read ἄρου, and the *Acta Sanctorum* support it ("et panis flagitaretur"). Gregg (252) and Schwartz (*De Pionio et Pol.* 20) accept the reading, the latter conjecturing fraud on the General's part during a famine (for which see above, p. 378 n. 1 init.) and his consequent fear of an enquiry. At the same time, the introduction of a bread-dispute into the story is very abrupt, and seems to require more explanation to make it really intelligible. Ruinart's Latin ignores it ("turba et tumultus oriretur"); and Gebhardt (*Acta Mart. Select.* 102) con-

jecturally reads ἀνθρώπου instead of ἄρου. Mason also (126) ignores the bread.

² "Dans sa pensée, cette démarche du prêtre chrétien devait suffire; on l'interpréterait comme un acte de soumission à l'hérit" (Allard ii. 379).

³ *Mart. Pion.* vii. 2-6. Cf. Aubé 144 f.; Mason 126; Merrill, *Essays in early Christian History*, 73 f. n.

⁴ *Mart. Pion.* viii. Schönaich (13), who wrongly ascribes the cross-examination to the *Proconsul*, regards the appeal to Pionios that he should sacrifice καὶ τῷ αὐτοκράτορι as a concession to him (similarly Allard ii. 380).

Seeing that further measures would be necessary, Polemon then subjected each of the three to a formal cross-examination, the course of which was recorded verbatim by a clerk. "What is thy name?" "Pionios". "Art thou a Christian?" "Yes". "Of what church?" "Of the catholic—for no other exists in the sight of Christ". Sabina's turn came next. "What is thy name?" "Theodote". "Art thou a Christian?" "Yes, I am a Christian". "Of what church?" "Of the catholic". "Whom dost thou worship?" "The almighty God Who made the heaven and the earth and us all, Whom we know through His Word Jesus Christ". Lastly, to Asklepiades: "What is thy name?" "Asklepiades". "Art thou a Christian?" "Yes". "Of what church?" "Of the catholic". "Whom dost thou worship?" "Jesus the Christ". "Is he then someone different?" "No, (He is) the same (as He of) Whom these also have spoken".¹

With that they were ordered back to prison. The marketplace was still full of people; and they were accompanied to their destination by a crowd of hangers-on, some of whom mocked them as they went. One of them asked why Pionios' usually pale face was now so red. Others, noticing that Sabina, on account of the throng, clung to her leader's robe, exclaimed: "Ah yes, she's afraid of being weaned!" Another man shouted: "If they do not offer sacrifice, let them be punished". By way of replying to him, Polemon explained that he and his fellow-magistrates had no fasces carried before them by lictors, such as would indicate authority to punish. Then someone jeered at the diminutive Asklepiades: "Just look at that little fellow going off to sacrifice!" Pionios thought it worth while to reply: "Thou speakest falsely, for that is not what he is doing". Others repeated the plea: "So-and-so and so-and-so have sacrificed". "Each one makes his own choice", said

¹*Mart. Pion.* ix. 1-3, 5-9. See above, p. 374 n. 1. On the source from which the record of this cross-examination was taken, cf. Delehaye, *Passions*, 31 with n. 5, 35 f. The words *Πολέμων εἶπεν* "*Ποῖας ἐκκλησίας;*" "*Ἀσκληπιάδης εἶπεν*" "*Τῆς καθολικῆς*", in 8 are missing from the Greek MS. and from the Bollandists' Latin, and are supplied by Gebhardt (*Acta Mart. Select.* 103) for the sake of symmetry. The equivalent of them stands in Ruinart's Latin. Delehaye (*Passions*,

36 n.) thinks the insertion unnecessary: "Il est naturel que le juge, par une sorte de lassitude, omette une de ces questions, connaissant d'avance la réponse. Il voyait bien que les trois accusés appartenaient à la même religion". But if so, why did he not omit *the whole* of this detailed interrogation? As Schultze observes (65), the question: "Of what church?" shows that the authorities knew that there were several sects claiming the Christian name (cf. Mason 127).

Pionios, "so why (dost thou urge this) on me? My name is Pionios". Others were heard to say just as the cortège arrived at the prison: "What a well-educated man! What he says is certainly true". Pionios recalled to their minds his interpretation of public calamities as Divine judgments on paganism. "Ye know this (education of mine) best", said he, "through the famines and deaths and other disasters ye have experienced". "But thou also", retorted someone, "wast hungry when we were". "(Yes)", was the answer," (but) I (bore the hunger easily) by means of the hope (I had) in God".¹

The press was so great about the prison-doors that it was only with difficulty that the escort could deliver them over to the gaolers. On entering, Pionios found other Christians who had been arrested earlier in the day: these were—another Elder named Limnos, Makedonia a woman from the neighbouring village Karina, and a Montanist named Eutykhianos.²

It was customary, when Christians were in prison, for their fellow-believers to bring them gifts, and to bribe the gaolers with a share of what they brought. Pionios and his companions, however, refused to accept these presents. "When we were in (even) greater need", he said (referring possibly to the recent famine), "we burdened no one: why then should we now receive (gifts)?" This seemed to mean no bribes for the gaolers; and so in anger they put them into an inner dungeon, where they would be without comforts of any kind. They, however, quietly glorified God, and continued to treat the gaolers with the customary forbearance and courtesy, so that the governor of the prison, changing his mind, brought them out again into the front quarter. There then they remained, saying: "Glory (be) to the Lord; for this has turned out to our good": and they made the fullest use of the opportunities now allowed them for study and prayer night and day.³

¹*Mart. Pion.* x. Ruinart's Latin calls the market-place "forum Martha". "What a well-educated man!" etc. is the best I can make of the Greek: "Ὁ τοσαύτη παιδεία, καὶ οὕτως ἐστίν." The phrase is still harder to translate, if we regard it as an ironical sneer. Cf. Allard ii. 382; Mason 127 f. (he misses the point of Pionios' retort about education).

²*Mart. Pion.* xi. 1 f., ii. 1. It will be remembered that the Montanists' head-

quarters were in Phrygia. Schultze (65) draws attention to the presence of several heretical groups in Smyrna (Noëtians, Montanists, and Markionites).

³*Mart. Pion.* xi. 3-7. The precise sense is here and there not too certain; but I cannot regard as necessary either Corsen's extraordinary translation (in *Z.N.W.* v [1904] 298 top) of πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἔχειν αὐτοὺς τὴν σύμπασαν φιλανθρωπίαν in 4 (cf. Delehaye, *Passions*, 50 f.),

Seventeen days were to pass before the end came. In the course of them there took place another visit to the marketplace, as will shortly be recounted. But it is in every way probable that a part of the leisure hours in prison were spent by Pionios in writing a record of the experiences he was going through, and that his composition was preserved by his friends and used after his death by the compiler of his 'Martyrium'.¹

During the interval before the second visit to the marketplace, Pionios had many visitors. A number of his pagan friends came to see him, in the hope of talking him over, and went away astonished at the answers he gave them. But he and his companions were more concerned over the crowd of Christians (including several with otherwise excellent records), who had submitted to violence and complied against their will with the demand for sacrifice. These came to him with much weeping, bewailing their unhappy plight, and imploring his comfort and intercession on their behalf. He and his friends were thus kept in continual grief; and in tears he gave them what comfort and advice he could.²

or Schwartz's proposed emendation of the text (*De Pionio et Pol.* 20 f.). What the Christians in prison gave the gaolers was τὰ συνήθη, which I take to mean customary acts of gentleness and the like: Delehaye makes of it (*Passions*, 29 f.) "tout ce qu'on a apporté pour eux". Cf. Allard ii. 382 f. (misunderstands the gaolers); Gregg 254 f.; Mason 128 f.

¹In *Mart. Pion.* i. 2 mention is made (in the Greek, but not in the Latin—which latter Harnack [*Chron.* ii. 467] and Bardenhewer [*Gesch. der altkirchl. Lit.* ii. 631 n.—per contra, Wohleb in *Römische Quartalschrift*, xxxvii (1929) 177] strangely think is here more original) of τὸ σύγγραμμα τοῦτο which Pionios, "when he was called to the Lord and bore his witness, left for our admonition, so that we still have a memorial of his teaching". There is nothing whatever impossible about the writing having been done in gaol (cf. *Mart. Pion.* xi. 7: ἄδειαν γὰρ ἔσχογον τοῦ φιλολογεῖν . . .), or about its consisting of Pionios' own notes of his experiences, conversations, and speeches (in short the substance of *Mart. Pion.* ii-xviii). The speeches and conversations would well represent his "teaching"; and their context suggests a writing closely connected, in time and circum-

stances, with the martyrdom. So Corssen in *Z.N.W.* v (1904) 289 f., quoting other instances, and in particular adducing ἡμᾶς in *Mart. Pion.* xviii. 13. Bardenhewer (*l.c.*) agrees that the σύγγραμμα is clearly meant to be the ensuing narrative, but treats the ascription of it to Pionios himself as an inaccurate afterthought. Bonwetsch (in Hauck, *Realencyk.* xv [1904] 403) denies that σύγγραμμα means the ensuing story; and Schwartz (*De Pionio et Pol.* 30 bott.) identifies it with *Vit. Polyc.* I understand Delehaye (*Passions*, 33-36, cf. 51 f. 13) to regard the σύγγραμμα as an autobiographical narrative of Pionios' experiences.

²*Mart. Pion.* xii. 1 f. It seems certain that the Christian visitors were lapsi, and that the continual lamentation was that made for them by Pionios and his friends (Aubé 147; Delehaye, *Passions*, 30). Gregg (255) erroneously regards them as loyal Christians "who had been forcibly hailed to prison" (similarly Mason 129: "fresh Christian prisoners"), and the lamentation as that made by these Christians over the good lapsi. He also takes ἐν καλῇ πολιτείᾳ γενομένοις as meaning "those in high positions", instead of "Christians with (otherwise) excellent records".

The following speech is recorded of him, and probably represents roughly the substance of his words.¹

“I am punished afresh, I am cut limb from limb, when I see the Church’s pearls trodden down by swine, and the stars of heaven dragged down to the earth by the dragon’s tail, the vine which God’s right hand planted laid waste by the savage wild-boar, so that all who pass along the road now eat of it. ‘My little children, with whom I am again in birth-pangs until Christ be formed in you’. ‘My dainty ones have travelled down the rough roads’.² Now has Sosanna been entrapped by the lawless elders; now are they unveiling her—the dainty and beautiful one, ‘that they may be gluttoned with her beauty’ and bear false witness against her. Now ‘is Aman drunken; but’ Esther and the whole ‘city is confounded’. ‘Now is there a famine not of bread, nor is there a drought of water, but of listening to the Lord’s word’.³ Have ‘all the virgins indeed grown drowsy, and gone to sleep’? The word of the Lord Jesus has been fulfilled, ‘Will the Son of Man, when He comes, find faith on the earth?’ But I hear that each man hands over his neighbour, in order that the (prophecy) may be fulfilled, ‘Brother will hand over brother to death’.⁴ Then Satan apparently ‘has demanded you, that he may sift (you) like wheat’. But the winnowing-shovel in the hand of God’s Word ‘for thoroughly clearing the threshing-floor’ is fiery. ‘The salt’, it seems, ‘has been rendered useless, and has been cast out, and is being trodden down by men’.⁵ But let no one suppose, my children, that the Lord has lost His power. (It is not the Lord), but we (ourselves). ‘For’, says He, ‘is My hand powerless, so that it cannot rescue? or has My ear grown dull, so that it cannot hear? But your sins make separation between Me—God—and yourselves’. For we have done wrong, and some (of us) have through contempt committed iniquity, biting one another and accusing one another. We have been consumed by one another. Whereas our righteous-

¹See above, p. 381 n. 3.

²*Mart. Pion.* xii. 3 f.: quotations from *Gal.* iv. 19, *Baruch*, iv. 26. The previous references are to *Mt.* vii. 6, *Apoc.* xii. 4, *Ps.* lxxx. 9–13.

³*Mart. Pion.* xii. 5–7: quotations from

Sousanna, 32, *Esth.* iii. 15, *Amos* viii. 11.

⁴*Mart. Pion.* xii. 8–10: quotations from *Mt.* xxv. 5, *Lc.* xviii. 8, *Mt.* x. 21.

⁵*Mart. Pion.* xii. 11 f: quotations from *Lc.* xxii. 31, *Mt.* iii. 12 = *Lc.* iii. 17, *Mt.* v. 13 = *Lc.* xiv. 34 f.

ness ought to abound more than (that of) the scribes and Pharisees.¹

“But I hear that the Jews are calling some of you into the synagogues. Wherefore take heed lest perchance a deliberate sin and one greater (than your involuntary sacrifice) touch you, and one (of you) commit the irremovable sin, (which consists) in blasphemy against the Holy Spirit. Become not, along with them, ‘rulers of Sodom and a people of Gomorrha’, whose ‘hands are full of blood’. But (it was) not we (who) killed the prophets and handed over and crucified the Christ’.² But why do I speak much with you? Remember what ye have heard. For ye have heard this, that the Jews say, ‘The Christ was a man, and came to an end as a suicide’. Well, let them tell us, what suicide has filled the whole world with his disciples? What man who was a suicide has had disciples and so many others after them who have died on behalf of their Teacher’s name? In the name of what man who was a suicide have daemons been for so many years expelled, and are being and will be expelled, and all the other great deeds done that are done in the catholic Church? But they (seem) not (to) know that a suicide is one who by his own choice leads himself out of life.³ And they say that they have practised necromancy, and (thereby) brought up (from the dead) Christ with the cross. But what writing on their side or on ours says this about Christ? And who of the righteous ever said it? Are not those who say it lawless men? And why should anyone believe lawless men when they speak, and not rather the righteous?⁴

“Well, I used in my boyhood to hear the Jews making this false (boast)—which they (now) assert as if the thing had only just happened. But it is written that Saul made enquiry by means of the ventriloquist, and said to the woman who was divining in this fashion, ‘Bring up for me Samuel the prophet’. And the woman saw ‘a man

¹*Mart. Pion.* xii. 13-16: quotations from *Isaiah*, lix. 1 f., l. 2 (adapted), *Gal.* v. 15, *Mt.* v. 20.

²*Mart. Pion.* xiii. 1 f.: quotation from *Isaiah*, i. 10, 15.

³*Mart. Pion.* xiii. 3-7. The difficulty of translating clearly here is due to the

fact that *βιοθνήσις* means, strictly speaking, “one who dies a violent death”: by custom, however, it usually designated the suicide. I have therefore rendered it by the word “suicide”: but the point of the last-quoted sentence is as a result necessarily somewhat obscured.

⁴*Mart. Pion.* xiii. 8 f.

coming straight up, (clad) in a double cloak. And Saul knew that it was Samuel'; and he put (to him) the questions he wished.¹ Now then, was the ventriloquist able to bring Samuel up or not? Well, if they say, 'Yes', they have confessed that unrighteousness has more strength than righteousness (has); and they are accursed. But if they say that she did not bring (him) up, then (they are admitting that) neither (did anyone bring up) Christ the Lord. Now the proof of this argument is as follows: How could the unrighteous ventriloquist, the she-daemon, bring up the holy prophet's soul, which was resting in Abraham's bosom? for the lesser is given orders by the greater, (and not the greater by the lesser). Was Samuel therefore really brought up, as they suppose? Certainly not. But the position is roughly as follows: The angels of apostasy follow about everyone who has become an apostate from God, and devilish ministers render service to every sorcerer and magician and wizard and augur. And no wonder; for the Apostle says, 'Satan himself is transformed into an angel of light: (it is) no great matter therefore that his servants also are transformed (so as to be) like servants of righteousness'. For even Antichrist will somehow appear like Christ.² (It was) not then (the case) that she brought up Samuel; but the daemons of Tartaros, having been made to resemble Samuel, showed themselves to the ventriloquist and to the apostate Saul. And Scripture itself will teach (us this), for the Samuel that appeared says forsooth to Saul, 'Thou also shalt be to-day with me'.³ How can the idolater Saul be found along with Samuel? Surely (it is) clear that (he will be) with the lawless ones and the daemons that deceived him and domineered over him. So then it was not Samuel (himself). But if it is impossible to bring up the soul of the holy prophet, how is it possible that Jesus Christ in heaven, Whom the disciples saw taken up (thither), and in order not to deny Whom they died, should be seen coming up out of the earth? But if ye cannot put these objections before them, (just) say to them, 'However (that) may be, we are better

¹*Mart. Pion.* xiv. 1-3: quotations from
¹*Sam.* xxviii. 11, 14.

²*Mart. Pion.* xiv. 4-10: quotation from
²*Cor.* xi. 14 f.

³*Mart. Pion.* xiv. 11 f.: quotation from
¹*Sam.* xxviii. 19.

than ye, who without necessity committed fornication and idolatry. And do not, brothers, fall into despair and agree with them; but cling penitently to Christ, for He is merciful (and therefore willing) to receive you back as children".¹

During this interview between Pionios and the lapsed in the prison, tragic developments had been going on elsewhere. Euktemon, the Bishop of Smyrna, either having been arrested, or having come forward of himself, made a complete surrender to the demands of the government. He brought a lamb with him into the Nemeseion, and there—in the presence of the priest Lepidus, and crowned with the garland customary to the pagan worshipper—offered it up to the gods, tasted the sacrificial flesh, asked to be allowed to carry home all the rest of the roast, and swore by the Emperor's Fortune and by the Nemeseis that he was no Christian, and that, unlike most of his fellow-apostates, he had omitted no proof of his apostasy. With all the zeal of a new convert, he joined with Lepidus in demanding that Pionios and his companions should be called, and expressed the wish that they should be compelled to submit.²

So complete a volte-face on the part of the head of the Christian community encouraged the officials not a little³; and the Temple-Warden Polemon, accompanied by the Hipparkh Theophilos and a group of constables, started for the prison. They arrived with a crowd of hangers-on, just as Pionios had finished his speech, and had urged his despondent visitors to depart. "See", they said to him on entering, "Euktemon your president has offered sacrifice; so do ye also comply. Lepidus and Euktemon (are now) in the Nemeseion (and) are asking for you!" To which Pionios replied: "The regular thing is for those who have been cast into prison to wait for the Proconsul. Why do ye take his functions on yourselves?"

¹*Mart. Pion.* xiv. 13-16.

²*Mart. Pion.* xv. 2, xviii. 13 f. Ruinart's Latin omits the latter passage. Cf. Gregg 79, 247 f. I presume that Lepidus was the priest of the Nemeseis: he was in any case a pagan (xvi); it is strange, therefore, that Lawlor and Oulton (*Eusebius*, ii. 137) should call him "Euktemon's fellow-apostate". Ruinart's Latin suppresses the bishop's name: the Bollandist *Acta Sanctorum* calls him

"Eudaemon" (cf. also Le Quien 741C). Wohleb (in *Römische Quartalschrift*, xxxvii [1929] 177 n. 43 [cf. 176]) observes the animus of the author against Euktemon, but quite needlessly calls in question the actual existence of Euktemon. What Christian would have represented a Bishop as an apostate, if he had not really been one? Allard (ii. 373) thinks he was presented with a pagan priesthood.

³Cf. Mason 132; Schultze 64.

Unable, despite further talk, to remove this objection, they left him for a while: but presently they returned, again with constables and crowd; and Theophilos made an effort to trick them. "The Proconsul", he told them, "has sent (orders) that ye be brought to Ephesos". "Let the messenger come (himself), and take us with (him)", was the answer. "Yet", replied the Hipparkh, "a military official cannot be ignored. But if thou art unwilling, I am a magistrate!"¹ With that he tied his scarf so tightly round Pionios' neck that he nearly throttled him; and gave him to a constable. The whole party, including Sabina, were then led to the market-place. When, however, the attempt was made to take them into the Nemesion, the prisoners kept bawling out: "We are Christians!", and flung themselves on the ground. So stout was the resistance which Pionios himself offered, that he was eventually carried in—head downwards, and still shouting—by six constables, who struck him in the ribs with their knees, and bent back his hands and feet.²

They placed him on the ground in the midst of his companions near the altar, where Euktemon was standing, still garlanded, and also Lepidus the priest. The former seems to have urged the Christians to submit. The latter recommenced the old wearisome dialogue. "Why do ye not sacrifice, Pionios?" They all replied: "Because we are Christians". "What sort of God do ye worship?" "Him Who made the heaven and the earth and the sea and all things in them", answered Pionios. "Then (what about) the crucified (one)?" "(The crucified is he) whom God sent for the salvation of the world".³ At this the

¹*Mart. Pion.* xv. 1-5. The Hipparkh's last speech begins: Ἀλλὰ πρίγκυψ ἐστὶν ἀξιόλογος. . . The word πρίγκυψ is used both as a military and as a municipal title (Cameron in *Amer. Journ. of Philol.* lii [1931] 255); but its precise meaning escapes us. Mason renders (129): "a distinguished captain". Schönaich (15) wrongly represents Pionios' protest against illegality as addressed to the Proconsul.

²*Mart. Pion.* xv. 6, 7 (. . . ὡς μὴ δυναμένους κατέχειν αὐτὸν τοῖς γόνασι λακτίζειν εἰς τὰς πλευρὰς καὶ τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τοὺς πόδας αὐτῶν ὀκλάσαι). I cannot make sense of this last sentence without emending αὐτῶν into αὐτοῦ. The Latin of Ruinart expands paraphrastically, with-

out clarifying. Cf. Salmon in *S.D.C.B.* iv. 398; Gregg 256.

³*Mart. Pion.* xvi. 1-4. I think Gregg (79, cf. 257 top) goes a little beyond the evidence in saying that Euktemon "joined in the official examination of his more constant brethren". Yet he clearly put some pressure on them, for they afterwards thanked God that he "had not overpowered them" (*Mart. Pion.* xviii. 12). Lepidus' last question runs in the Greek: Ὁ οὖν ἐσταυρωμένος ἐστίν; which would mean: "Is he then the crucified?" (so Mason 130: cf. ix. 6, 8 f.). But the unpublished Armenian version suggests that ἐστίν is intrusive; and its removal enables us to translate as in the

magistrates burst into loud laughter; but Lepidus in anger cursed his obstinate and unintelligible visitant. Pionios, too, was thoroughly roused, and shouted out: "Revere ye piety towards God! Honour righteousness! Have regard for (human) sympathy! Follow your own laws (properly)! Ye are punishing us for being disobedient, and ye yourselves disobey! Ye have been ordered to punish, not to knock (men) about!"¹

A distinguished orator named Rufinus here interjected: "Dry up, Pionios; don't believe (such) rubbish". But Pionios, speaking in loud tones, speedily reduced him to silence. "Are these (things I have listened to) thy speeches? Are these thy books? Did not Sokrates suffer this (sort of treatment) at the hands of the Athenians? Now (are ye) all Anytoi and Meletoi! Is it your view that Sokrates and Aristeides and Anaxarkhos and the rest believed rubbish, because they practised philosophy and righteousness and stedfastness?" Rufinus was unable to answer²; but Lepidus and a certain eminent and wealthy man told Pionios to stop shouting. "And do thou stop knocking (us) about", rejoined Pionios to the latter. "Kindle thou the fire, and we (will) go up (on it) of ourselves". Then Terentius, a minor official who had charge of the beast-combats in the arena, cried out from amidst the crowd: "Ye know, (of course), that (it is) this (fellow who) scares the others into not sacrificing". Finally an attempt was made to put garlands on their heads; but they only tore them off, and flung them away. A public menial (*δημόσιος*) stood ready, holding the sacrificial flesh, yet not venturing to come up to them with it: at length he ate it himself in their presence. As the party kept shouting: "We are Christians!", the authorities—at a loss to know what else to do—sent them back to the prison.³

On their way thither, they were reviled and struck by men in the crowd. Someone reproached Sabina with the question: "Wast thou unable to die in thine own native-place?" To which she replied: "What native-place have I? I am Pionios' sister"⁴. Terentius threatened Asklepiades: "I shall ask (to

text above, and so to give a more pointed rendering of Pionios' reply.

¹*Mart. Pion.* xvi. 5 f. Mason (130) takes *αὐτῷ κατηγοῦσατο* to mean that Lepidus cursed *Christ*.

²*Mart. Pion.* xvii. Ruinart's Latin expands. Anytos and Meletos were the

accusers at whose suit Sokrates was condemned. For Rufinus, see above, p. 296 n. 2. Allard (ii. 384) thinks he "jalousait peut-être en Pionius un rival".

³*Mart. Pion.* xviii. 1-6a, 8.

⁴*Mart. Pion.* xviii. 6b-7: see above, p. 374 n. 1.

have) thee (as) a condemned man for my son's gladiatorial displays", but got for reply only the words: "Thou terrifiest me not by that". One of the constables wounded Pionios by bringing down a violent blow on his head just as he was re-entering the prison. Pionios received the blow in silence; but, if we may trust the record, the constable's hands and sides swoll up so that he could hardly breathe. Arrived once more in the quietude of the prison, they praised God that they had remained unharmed in the name of Christ, and that neither the enemy nor even the apostate Bishop had overpowered them. And they continued to strengthen themselves and one another with psalms and prayers.¹

The last few of the seventeen days which elapsed between the arrest and execution of Pionios now passed quietly by. In the course of them the imprisoned Christians learned the details concerning the ridiculous apostasy (as they regarded it) of "the hypocrite Euktemon"²; and Pionios brought his written narrative up to date.³ In due time, however, the Proconsul, Julius Proclus Quintilianus, arrived from Ephesus; and on Tuesday, 12th March, a little after midday, Pionios was by his orders brought before him as he sat towards the front of the tribunal. Proceedings against Asklepiades, Sabina, Limnos, Makedonia, and the Montanist Eutykhianos, appear to have been meanwhile suspended. The following official cross-examination took place: "What is thy name?" "Pionios". "Dost thou offer sacrifice?" "No". "To what religion or party dost thou adhere?" "(To that) of the catholics". "Of what sort of 'catholics'?" "I am an Elder of the catholic Church". "Art thou their teacher?" "Yes, I used to teach". "Wast thou a teacher of folly?" "(No), of piety". "Of what sort of piety?" "Of that which (is exercised) towards God the

¹*Mart. Pion.* xviii. 8-12. It is difficult to know quite what to make of the constable's punishment. Gregg remarks (246 f., cf. 257) that it "need cause no more difficulty than the account of the voice which spoke to Polykarp from heaven". Mason says (131): "the Christians believed that his assailant's hands and side immediately began to swell up". Allard (ii. 385) ignores the swelling. See below, p. 401 n. 6.

²*Mart. Pion.* xviii. 12.

³The concluding portion of Pionios' *σύγγραμμα* is probably *Mart. Pion.* xviii. 13 f. The materials of xix f. are probably taken from the *Acta Proconsularia*: cf. Aubé 149 n. 1; Gregg 258, 263. The latter quotes xix. 2: . . . *γενομένων ὑπομημάτων τῶν ὑποτεταγμένων*, which Gebhardt (*Acta Mart. Select.* 111) alters to *γεν. ὑπομ. ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιτεταγμένων* (but cf. Schwartz, *De Pionio et Pol.* 21; Delahaye, *Passions*, 33, 36). Ruinart's Latin omits the phrase.

Father Who made all things". "Offer sacrifice". "No, for I am bound to pray to God (only)". "We all worship the gods and the heaven and the gods that are in the heaven. Why art thou intent on the air? Sacrifice to it". "I am intent, not on the air, but on Him Who made the air and the heaven and all things that are in them". "Say, who made them?" "It is not lawful (for me) to say". "Assuredly God (made them), that is, Zeus, who is in heaven: for he is king over all the gods".¹

As Pionios made no response, the Proconsul ordered him to be hung up, that he might have his flesh torn with iron claws. The silent victim was given one more chance before the torture began. "Dost thou offer sacrifice?" asked the Proconsul. "No", came the answer as before. Unwillingly the order was given for the vile laceration to start. After the first wound or two the governor appealed to Pionios again. "Do change thy mind", he said. "Why hast thou gone mad?" "I have not gone mad; but I fear the living God (not lifeless idols)". "Many others have offered sacrifice", said the Proconsul, "and they are alive and sane". "I do not offer sacrifice". "Now thou hast been cross-examined, reflect a little by thyself, and change thy mind". "No". "Why dost thou hasten to death?" "I am hastening", replied Pionios, "not to death, but to life". "Thou art not doing a great deed", said the Proconsul, "(by) hastening to death: for even those who have been sentenced to the wild-beasts for (stealing) a little silver despise death; and thou art (veritably merely) one of them".²

After long consultation with his assessor on the bench, the Proconsul concluded that he had exercised sufficient forbearance, and must now pronounce sentence. Pionios, by refusing to obey orders, was technically guilty of treason,

¹*Mart. Pion.* xix. Ruinart's Latin says the Proconsul came "post paucos dies": cf. Aubé 149 f. The Romans were wont to call the Jews "coelicolae" (cf. *Juven. Satir.* xiv. 97: "nil praeter nubes et coeli numen adorant"), because they had no image of their Deity. The Proconsul's question about the air seems to presuppose a similar idea about the Christians: if it is the air Pionios worships, at least let him sacrifice to it; that might be regarded as satisfying the imperial order. Schwartz (*De Pionio et Pol.* 21 f.) need-

lessly emends the text (which here has the support of Ruinart's Latin), and explains the allusion by reference to a very corrupt and obscure passage in Eusebios (*Ch.-Hist.* IX. vii. 10 f.).

²*Mart. Pion.* xx. 1-6a. Ruinart's Latin records at the beginning of xx the Proconsul's explicit order that Pionios should be hung up for torture (Delehaye [*Passions*, 28] regards the omission of this in the Greek as a textual gap), and expands the latter portion of the dialogue. Cf. Mason 132.

which—in persons of humble rank—was punishable either by burning alive, or by exposure to the wild-beasts. The governor finally said to him: “Since then thou hastenest to death, thou shalt be burnt alive”. He wrote his decision in Latin on a tablet; and it was publicly read out by a secretary: “Since Pionios has confessed himself to be a Christian, we have ordered him to be burnt alive”.¹

Execution took place at about 4 p.m. the same day in the Stadion, whither Pionios eagerly hurried. The authorities had condemned another Christian besides Pionios: this was Metrodoros, who belonged to the Markionite community. We learn no details of the proceedings taken against him: but the selection of him for punishment may be regarded as indicating the comparative size and vigour of the Markionite sect in Smyrna.²

The condemned men were led by the police-officer (“commentariensis”) to the stake prepared for them in the arena. At his bidding Pionios willingly stripped off his clothes. As he stood naked, he took thought of his bodily fitness and chastity, and in great joy lifted his eyes to heaven, and thanked the God Who had kept him pure. He then lay down and stretched himself along the stake, and allowed the soldier to drive in the nails.³ As he lay there, fastened to the stake, the officer (ὁ δημόσιος) said to him: “Change thy mind, and thy nails shall be taken out”. “(No), for I felt that they were in”, Pionios replied, adding after a moment’s thought: “This is why I hasten (to death)—that I may the sooner rise”. So they raised the stake into an upright position, and lowered it into a hole in the ground, adding greatly to the pain in the sufferer’s wounds. Metrodoros was then treated in the same way. Both men faced eastwards, that is, toward the semi-circular end of the Stadion, where the most eminent spectators sat: Pionios had Metrodoros on his left. Fuel was then brought, heaped round the victims’ feet, and set alight.

¹*Mart. Pion.* xx. 6b, 7. The consultation with the assessor is inherently likely; but it is omitted by the Greek (another textual gap, according to Delehayé, *loc. cit.*). Ruinart’s Latin inserts it somewhat earlier in the expanded dialogue. Aubé (150 n., 153 f.) emphasizes the Proconsul’s forbearance. Cf. Gregg 83 n. 3, 88 f., 258 f.

²*Mart. Pion.* xxi. 1, 5. Ruinart’s Latin avoids saying that Metrodoros was a Markionite; and even the Greek is reticent about him and the Montanist Eutykhanos (Aubé 152). Cf. Harnack, *Mission*, etc. (Eng. tr.), ii. 223.

³*Mart. Pion.* xxi. 1 f. On the *κομμεταρήσιος*, see the learned art. by Premerstein in Pauly IV (1901) 759–768, esp. 763.

Pionios closed his eyes in silent prayer (the crowd mistakenly supposing he had fainted); and having concluded his prayer, he looked up again. As the flames rose around him, with a joyful face he spoke a last "Amen"; and adding the words: "Lord, receive my soul!", he expired.¹ Death apparently came long before the burning was complete; for, when the fire was out, his Christian friends thought his body looked like that of a crowned and victorious athlete in perfect trim: his ears were not shrivelled, his hair lay flat on his head, his beard seemed adorned as if with budding down, and his face shone.² We learn no particulars regarding the death of the Markionite Metrodoros.

As had happened after the death of Polykarp, the public execution of a worthy leader, guilty only of a purely technical offence, probably created a revulsion of feeling in the minds both of the populace and of the officials.³ It seems probable that the Christians imprisoned along with Pionios were simply released, or possibly left in prison until the persecution had died down. Had they been martyred with Pionios, their victory would surely have been celebrated in the story of his. Had they given way and offered sacrifice, they would hardly have been commemorated at all.⁴ The Proconsul sentenced three more Christians to death at Pergamon about 11th April; and a few martyrdoms elsewhere in Asia and in the adjoining Provinces are stated to have occurred. But there is no reliable record of other victims at Smyrna. The Emperor Decius was now leaving Rome for his war with the Goths; and long before his death in the summer of 251 A.D., his edict, unsupported by public opinion, had everywhere become a dead letter. We

¹*Mart. Pion.* xxi. 2-9. I presume the *δημόσιος* of 3 is identical with the *κομμενταρήσιος* of 1. Mason thinks (134) that the narrator regarded Pionios' position (on the right) as the place of honour, like that of Jesus between the two malefactors: "but", he adds, with perhaps a deeper pathos than he intended, "both of them were looking towards the east".

²*Mart. Pion.* xxii. 2-4.

³*Mart. Pion.* xxii. 4: . . . ὥστε τοὺς Χριστιανοὺς στηριχθῆναι μᾶλλον τῇ πίστει, τοὺς δὲ ἀπίστους πτοηθέντας καὶ τὸ συνειδῶς

ἔχοντας πεφοβημένον κατελθεῖν. Cf. Aubé 152-154.

⁴Allard (ii. 388 f.) touches on the various possibilities as regards Asklepiades and Sabina: cf. also *Acta Sanctorum* for 1st Feb. (Feb. i. 40 a [§ 19]); Aubé 152; Lightfoot i. 640; Delehaye, *Passions*, 36; Schultze 64 (of Asklep.: "Das Schweigen der Acta ist verdächtig"). The old martyrologies associated with Pionios several co-martyrs—some as many as twelve or fifteen in number, including a certain Dionysios: cf. *Acta Sanctorum* (as above, 37ab, 38a, 40a [§ 18]); Ruinart 187 (5); Allard ii. 388 n. 2; Schultze 64-

have, at all events, no information of any further proceedings in the matter at Smyrna. The Christian Church emerged from her fiery trial stronger than ever.¹

It was in all probability within a few months after the death of Pionios, that the story of his sufferings was comprehensively compiled (of course in Greek) by one who had witnessed the closing scenes, and was probably himself a Smyrnaian. He possessed admirable materials; and he introduced his narrative as follows: "The Apostle exhorts us to 'contribute to the' remembrances 'of the saints' ", (an inaccurate echo of 'Rom.' xii. 13), "knowing (as he did) that to remember those who have lived soundly in the faith with (their) whole heart, strengthens those who wish to imitate the better (deed)s." He then touched on the outstanding character and work of Pionios, and in particular on the "composition" (*σύγγραμμα*) he had left behind at his martyrdom as a memorial of his teaching.² This composition was in all probability a record of the experiences of Pionios himself and his companions from the eve of their arrest up to the eve of his arraignment before the Proconsul.³ For the Proconsul's examination, culminating in the death-sentence, the compiler was somehow able to make use of the official records.⁴ For the burning itself, he had his own personal recollections and those of his fellow-eyewitnesses. Naturally enough, he allowed himself a little moralizing and eulogizing when he reached the climax. Pionios, he said, "gave his spirit (as) a deposit to the Father, Who has promised to guard all blood (unjustly shed) and every life unjustly condemned. Having completed such a life (as this), blameless, irreproachable, incorruptible, ever keeping his mind stretched towards almighty God and the Mediator between God and men, Jesus Christ our Lord, the blessed Pionios was accounted worthy of such an end, and having won the great contest passed through the narrow gate into the broad and great light. And his crown was made conspicuous even by (the appearance of) his body", etc., etc.⁵ He wound up the whole with a paragraph, specifying the date, and concluding with a doxology,

¹Cf. Gregg 98, 111 f., 221, 267-269, 278.

²*Mart. Pion.* i. 1 f. Harnack (*Chron.* ii. 468) dates *Mart. Pion.* "nur wenige Jahre nach dem Martyrium".

³See above, p. 389 n. 1.

⁴See above, p. 396 n. 3.

⁵*Mart. Pion.* xxi. 9b-xxii. 2a.

similar to that which terminates 'the Martyrdom of Polykarp'.¹

All parts of the compilation contain slight echoes of 'the Martyrdom of Polykarp', except the two long speeches of Pionios, though it would not have been surprising to find so enthusiastic an admirer of Polykarp borrowing phrases from that document. The inference, however, is not that the speeches are unguenuine, but that the Polykarpian touches in the rest of the work are due rather to the editorial work of the compiler than to Pionios himself.² It has been suggested—and is quite possible—that the compiler intended his story to serve as the concluding item in the great 'Corpus Polycarpianum' which Pionios himself had apparently built up.³ We know that Eusebios, some fifty or sixty years later, found the stories of the martyrdoms of Metrodoros and Pionios (evidently our 'Martyrium') in the same *γραφῆ* as 'the Martyrdom of Polykarp'⁴; but from the fact that Eusebios was apparently ignorant of other parts of the 'Corpus', we must infer that this latter—if it ever existed—had been dispersed before his time.⁵ It is, however, agreed on all hands that 'the Martyrdom of Pionios' was written very shortly after the events it narrates, and that its narrative is in a very high degree trustworthy.⁶

During the reign of Gallus (251-253 A.D.), who succeeded Decius, large parts of the Empire were visited by the plague;

¹*Mart. Pion.* xxiii: see above, p. 366 n. 4. Both the Greek and the Latin texts here say that Pionios was martyred on a Sabbath. This is impossible, since the date, 12th March 250 A.D., was a Tuesday. The error is hardly likely to have been made by a well-informed person; it is probably [a careless accommodation, on the part of a later scribe, to *Mart. Pion.* ii. 1 and *Mart. Polyc.* xxi. So Lightfoot i. 720 f., Turner in *Studia Biblica*, ii (1890) 127 f.

²See above, p. 381 n. 3: and cf. Turner in *op. cit.*; Gregg 245 f., 264-266; Reuning 49; Delehaye, *Passions*, 33.

³See above, pp. 307 f., 375 f. Cf. Schwartz, *De Pionio et Pol.* 31: ". . . clerico cuidam Smyrnaeo iustum et aequum uisum est uolumen a Pionio collectum claudere et coronare ipsius martyrium narrando".

⁴Euseb. *Ch.-Hist.* IV. xv. 46 f. Cf. Aubé 142 n. (thinks Euseb's. copy of

Mart. Pion. could not have contained names of Emperor and Proconsul—hence Euseb's. mistake of date); Lightfoot i. 608, 641, 715; Reuning 2, 8; Delehaye, *Passions*, 28 (Euseb. had same *Mart. Pion.* as we). See also above, pp. 310 ab, p. 378 n. 1.

⁵Cf. Corssen in *Z.N.W.* v (1904) 285. Eusebios shows no knowledge of items (2), (3), (4), and (6), as enumerated above, pp. 375 f.

⁶Cf. Gregg (233, 242, 245 f., 247, 249) and the other authorities. The only serious difficulty is the providential punishment of the constable who struck Pionios (see above, p. 396), which is quite in the manner of the fictitious marvels so conspicuous in the later *Martyria*. But however we explain this episode, it does not materially discredit the character of *Mart. Pion.* as a whole.

and persecution consequently revived in Italy, Africa, and Egypt: but we hear nothing of any troubles in Asia. The case is similar with the persecution in the latter part (257-260 A.D.) of the reign of Valerianus. Gallienus, his son and successor (260-268 A.D.), inaugurated a long period of religious toleration. We know virtually nothing directly concerning the Christian church of Smyrna between the death of Pionios and the Council of Nikaia in 325 A.D. We happen, however, to possess a dated Jewish record belonging to the closing years of the next Emperor, Claudius II (268-270 A.D.) It is a tombstone found at Sanjak-Kalesi (the promontory about six miles west of the western gate of Smyrna); its date is about the end of March, 270 A.D. It records how a certain Aurelius Epictetus of Sardeis acquired a tomb for his son Alexandros, himself, his grandmother Polle and her husband Bettenianos, his mother-in-law Eutykhiane and her son Eutykhianos: the penalty appointed for burying anyone else in it was to be a payment of 2500 silver denaria "into the most sacred Treasury (of the City) and 2000 (silver) denaria to the colony of Jews".¹ Alongside of this little glimpse into the life of the community whose hostility to the Christian church we have recently been noting, we may place another inscriptional record of somewhat similar import—though we cannot date it more precisely than third century A.D. The unique feature in it is its mention of a woman who held the office of a leader of the Smyrnaian synagogue. It was found at Smyrna, and runs as follows: "Rufina, Jewess, leader-of-the-synagogue (ἀρχισυνάγωγος), prepared the burial-place for her freedmen and slaves (θρέ[μ]ασω), no one else being allowed to bury anyone (in it). But if anyone dares (to do so), he shall pay to the most sacred Treasury (of the City) 1500 denaria, and to the nation of the Jews 1000 denaria. The duplicate copy of this inscription has been deposited in the (public) archives". The title ἀρχισυνάγωγος, like that of "father" (or "mother") "of the synagogue", was probably honorary: it is unlikely that Rufina exercised any public or administrative functions. Still, the rarity of the assignment of such titles to women gives special interest to the inscription; we may remember that it was a characteristic of

¹I.G.R. iv. 1387 = *Μουσ.* V. ii. 73 (φ'): . . . τῆ Ἰουδαίων κατοικίᾳ.

Anatolian social life to accord to women a prominence not customary elsewhere.¹

We have absolutely no other records concerning either Jews or Christians in Smyrna for the remainder of the century. Political unsettlement, except for short intervals, lasted until 284 A.D., when Diocletianus became supreme: but the peace of the Church was unbroken until 303 A.D., when the last great effort on the part of the Empire to crush Christianity began. This effort was maintained in varying measure according to the views of the various rulers who successively shared the government between them; but it lasted longest and was most severe in the East, where it came to an end only with the death of Maximinus Daza in 313 A.D. As Smyrna was comparatively near to Nikomedeia, the imperial capital in the East, it is probable that the church there experienced the full force of the imperial attack: but no really reliable details have been preserved. A story survives of a Smyrnaian Christian named Dioskorides who, being brought before the governor (*ἀρχοντι*) of the city, declared himself to be a Christian, was confined for a time in prison, and—for adhering, on a second examination, to his Christian faith—was executed by the governor's order. The date is given as 11th May; but we can only guess at the year. An alternative version of the story has further details: Dioskorides converted and baptized many pagans, and this was the cause of his arrest: he was scourged before being led in bonds to the governor, who tortured him before relegating him to prison, and had him cruelly scourged when, on his second appearance, he refused to obey the order to deny his faith. The particulars given—even those in the shorter version—are not wholly reassuring: but we can perhaps say that the name is probably that of a genuine Smyrnaian martyr; and as we should have expected some trace of the Diocletianic persecution to have survived, we may provisionally assign his

¹I.G.R. iv. 1452 = S. Reinach in *R.E.J.* vii (1883) 161-166 (also xi [1885] 235 n. 6): both date it in iii/A.D. Cf. the comments of Neubauer in *Studia Biblica*, i (1885) 70; Ramsay, *Ch. in the Rom. Emp.* 46, 68 ("The custom of the country influenced even the Jews, . . ."), 480 n. 2 (thinks the inscription prob. older than 70 A.D.), *Phrygia*, ii. 650 n. 3, 668 n. 1 (dubious argument for this date, viz.

that after 70 A.D. self-administration was withdrawn from the Jews—see above, p. 348 n. 2); Schürer, *G.J.V.* ii. 510-512 (*ἀρχ.* an exclusively religious official), iii. 14 f., 17 (a female *ἀρχ.* at Myndos in early Byz. times), 74 (*ἑβνος*), 88 f. ("father" and "mother" of synagogue), 94 f., 96, 106 f. n. 29; Mommsen, *Provinces*, ii. 163.

death to 303 A.D. or one of the immediately ensuing years.¹

Complete toleration for the Christian religion had been proclaimed by Constantinus and Licinius at Mediolanum in January 313 A.D., and was actually introduced in the East after the defeat and death of Maximinus Daza a few months later, and the consequent submission of his half of the Empire to Licinius.² The friendship, however, between Constantinus and Licinius was shallow and insecure; and in 321 A.D. Licinius recommenced persecution in some measure: but his overthrow in 324 A.D. brought supreme power to Constantinus, and to the Christian Church lasting peace and imperial favour. Possibly Eutykhios, the Bishop of Smyrna who represented the church of that city at the General Council of Nikaia the next year,³ was already in office when the long-awaited era of permanent freedom at last dawned.

¹See the *Acta Sanctorum* for 11th May (xv. 623); Delehaye, *Synaxarium*, 676 (11th May: . . . οὗτος ἄρμητο ἀπὸ τῆς Σμυρναίων μητροπόλεως καὶ προσαχθεὶς τῷ ταύτης ἄρχοντι . . .). Father Delehaye, the Bollandist editor and expert in martyrological studies, has in private letters expressed himself very sceptically regarding Dioskorides—particularly as to his death at Smyrna. Vailhé, in *Cath. Encyc.* xiv (1912) 60b, gives the date incorrectly as 21st May.

The *Acta Sanctorum* for 9th Jan. (i.

567 f.) has a further set of Smyrnaian martyrs—Vitalis, Revocatus, Fortunatus, Firmus or Firminus, Possessor, Januarius, and Saturninus. One of these—Fortunatus—has been admitted by Salmon to *S.D.C.B.* (ii. 555a): but the records are late and confused, and recent research has eliminated the name of Smyrna altogether from the story of these men.

²Lampakes 159 f.

³Le Quien 741 D.

ADDENDA

References to certain material, most of which came to hand too late to be embodied in the book, have been collected in this place, with a note of the page to which each item refers.

- P. 62. **MAGNESIA-NEAR-SIPYLOS.** Mr. A. H. M. Jones (*Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces* [1937], 37, 45, 384[17]) remarks that Magnesia "despite its name does not seem to have been a Greek city", and refers in support to *O.G.I.* 229. See below, addendum to pp. 114 and 119 f.
- P. 103 n. 1. **TOWERS OF SMYRNA.** See below, addendum to p. 176 n. 1.
- P. 107 n. **SMYRNA AND AMASTRIS.** Cf. L. Robert, *Études Anatoliennes: Recherches sur les Inscriptions grecques de l'Asie Mineure* (Paris, 1937), 266 n. 4.
- P. 109 n. 4 fin. **TEMNOS.** As he promised in *R.E.A.* xxxviii (1936) 28, M. Louis Robert (*Études Anatol.* 90-96) has now published a Temnian inscription, from which it appears that certain Smyrnaians had been kidnapped by brigands and recovered through the generous efforts of three Temnians, and that, at the next celebration of the festival of the Antiokeia, the Smyrnaian People voted thanks and honorary crowns to the rescuers and compliments to their city: these were notified to Temnos by an embassy; and the Temnians expressed their appreciation in a public resolution which was duly inscribed in stone. One imagines the incident must have occurred at some time during the middle part of the third century B.C.
- Pp. 110 n. 1 and 116-118. **THE SOTERIA.** M. Robert Flacelière has contributed a fresh and thorough discussion of the chronological and other problems connected with the Soteria in his recent book, *Les Aitoliens à Delphes* (Paris, 1937), Chap. IV (125-178: see esp., as regards Smyrna, 135 f., 147-156, 233-237). While acknowledging (155) the force of Ferguson's arguments, he himself concludes that the Aitolian Soteria were first celebrated in 242 B.C., thus implying that Smyrna, like the other cities invited, replied affirmatively without delay.
- Pp. 114 n. 1, 119 n. 1, and 120 n. 3. **MAGNESIA-NEAR-SIPYLOS.** Mr. A. H. M. Jones (see above, addendum to p. 62) emphasizes the purely military character of the inhabitants of Magnesia, and seems to suggest that no civilian citizens, at all events no Hellenes, participated in the Treaty with Smyrna. Yet "the other inhabitants" (i.e. besides the cavalry and infantry in the city and in camp) are distinctly mentioned in the Treaty (*C.I.G.* 3137 = *O.G.I.* 229, ll. 35, 36 f., 44 f., 46 f., 48, 50 f., 60), and it is even implied that several of them were free Hellenes (ll. 44 f., 51).
- P. 16c. **LUCULLUS' CAMPAIGN AGAINST MITHRADATES.** In 69 B.C. G. Valerius Triarius, Legatus of Lucullus, and probably father of the G. Triarius mentioned on p. 165, was sent to Delos to repair the damage done to the fortifications there by Mithradates' pirate-allies. He had under him contingents from the Hellenic coast-towns of Asia—Smyrna and Miletos among others. The Smyrnaian force was serving—along with some of the Milesians—in a ship with two banks of oars, the "Athena" (whether furnished by Smyrna or Miletos we cannot say), under the command of one Nikomakhos Êkheas, son of Artemidoros. They put up an inscription in honour of Triarius on the bastion in Delos which they built or restored (*Inscriptions de Délos* [1937], 1857 [cf. 1855 f.]: see also *B.C.H.* xi [1887] 265-267 [27], xlix [1925] 466-468).
- P. 163 n. 2. **CONVENTUS IURIDICUS OF SMYRNA.** For a fresh discussion of its extent, see A. H. M. Jones, *Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*, 61, 79 f., 391 (49), 398 (86).
- P. 176 n. 1. **TOWERS OF SMYRNA.** On *S.I.G.* 961, cf. L. Robert, *Études Anatol.* 531 n. 2.
- Pp. 180 n. 4, 182 n. 2, 183 n., and 183 n.3. *C.I.G.* 3192 = *I.G.R.* iv. 1422. L. Robert (*Études Anatol.* 134-136) restores the text somewhat differently from Boeckh and Cagnat. ἡ ἀναντ[ῶσα] σποά becomes ἡ ἀπ' ἀναντ[ολῆς] σποά (p. 180 n. 4). A reference to this inscription should be added to p. 183 n., as it contains the word [φιλο]πάτριδος; and the reference to it on p. 183 n. 3 should be removed to p. 183 n. 1. For another φιλόπατρις, see below, addendum to p. 231 f. n. 1.

- P. 185 n. 3. MULTIPLE CITIZENSHIP. L. Robert publishes (*Études Anatol.* 143-146) an inscription in honour of a long-distance runner, Agathopoulos, son of Dionysios, who was a citizen of Hierokaisareia, Smyrna, Ephesos, and Tralleis, and who won four victories at Smyrna and many others elsewhere: also (*op. cit.* 432 f.) an inscription in honour of a pankratiast, who was a citizen of Hierokaisareia, Smyrna, Ephesos, Kyzikos, and Pergamon, and who won a victory at the Hadrianic Olympic games at Smyrna. See also below, addendum to p. 258 n. 1 (no. 2).
- P. 196 n. 2. *I.G.R.* iv. 1441. On this inscription, cf. L. Robert, *Études Anatol.* 136-138.
- Pp. 197 n. 5 and 232 n. 2. MUSEION ETC. AT SMYRNA. Besides *Μουσ.* II. ii f. 37 (*σημη*), there is another inscription referring to the *Μουσεῖον* at Smyrna: it is published in *I.G.R.* iv. 618 (cf. *B.C.H.* xix [1895] 557) and also by Robert (*Études Anatol.* 146-148), and celebrates a jurist from Temenothyrai in Phrygia, M. Aristonicus Timocrates, who was president of the "Museum" at Smyrna, and presumably taught law there. *I.G.R.* iv. 1690 celebrates a woman as *θυγατέρα Ἡροδότου φιλοσόφου Σμυρναίου*.
- P. 200 n. 4. SUPERVISION OF YOUTH. Cf. further, on the interpretation of *C.I.G.* 3185, and on the Pergamene parallels to its technical terms, L. Robert, *Études Anatol.* 56-59.
- P. 224 n. 6. APHRODITE OURANIA. Dr. W. H. Buckler in *J.H.S.* lvi (1936) 237 f. reports an inscription from Hierapolis in Phrygia, honouring the Temple-Warden of Aphrodite Ourania at Hierapolis, who paid for the putting up of some bronze Cupids as fee for his election to the office of Strategos, and also for a silver bas-relief of the Graces for some other object. Dr. Buckler observes that this inscription and *C.I.G.* 3157 (the genuineness and provenance of which latter he regards as doubtful) are the only surviving traces of the worship of Aphrodite Ourania in Asia Minor. An Hellenic goddess, derived originally via Kypros from Phoinikia, she is to be distinguished from the Anatolian Mother-Goddess worshipped under the name of "Aphrodite" at Aphrodisias and elsewhere.
- Pp. 231 f. n. 1. LEAGUE-FESTIVAL OF ASIA AT SMYRNA. Add to the list of inscriptions mentioning this celebration those specified below, in the addendum to p. 258 n. 1, nos. (6) and (7): also *I.G.R.* iv. 824, from Hierapolis, mentioning *πρῶτα κωνιά (sic) Ἀσίας Σμύρνα(ν)*.
- In a long inscription from Sardeis (*I.G.R.* iv. 1756), dealing with the numerous honours bestowed on the Sardian Menogenes, son of Isidoros, for conveying the congratulations of Sardeis and the *Κωνὸν* of Asia to Augustus on the assumption of the toga virilis by his grandson Gaius Caesar in 5 B.C., and for acting justly as *ἐκλογιστής* of Sardeis and subsequently (4-2 B.C.) as *ἔκδικος* of the Province at Pergamon, mention is made (ll. 89 f.) of *τοῦ ἀρχιερέως θεᾶς Ῥώμης καὶ Ἀντοκράτορος Καίσαρος θεοῦ υἱοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Φιλιστήους τοῦ Ἀπολλοδώρου τοῦ Ἀπολλοδώρου φιλοπάτριδος Σμυρναίου*. Late in 3 B.C. or in Jan. 2 B.C. he proposed, in a League-assembly (presumably at Smyrna), that a portrait-statue of Menogenes in gilt armour should be erected in whatever city of the Province he wished.
- P. 235. EVENTS 5-2 B.C. See above, addendum to pp. 231 f. n. 1.
- P. 241 n. (first column). HIGH-PRIEST OF THE TEMPLE OF ASIA IN SMYRNA. Add to the list of inscriptions mentioning this functionary, *I.G.R.* iv. 1524 (Ti. Claudius Meidias, of Sardeis).
- P. 258 n. 1 (first column). OLYMPIC GAMES AND HADRIANIC OLYMPIC GAMES AT SMYRNA. L. Robert has drawn attention to several other references to the celebration of the Hadrianic Olympic Games at Smyrna:—
- (1) in *Μουσ.* V. i. 30 (257), which records the successes of an athlete from Thyateira (*Études Anatol.* 123 f.);
 - (2) in a Trallian inscription published earlier by Le Bas-Wadd. and Sterrett, and transcribed and discussed by Robert in *Revue de Philol.* lvi (1930) 31 f. (1), recording the victories of a citizen of Smyrna, Tralleis, Argos, and Latmos;
 - (3) in another Trallian inscription published by Robert in *B.C.H.* xxviii (1904) 81-83 (5) and in *Revue de Philol.* lvi (1930) 32 f. (2): this probably refers to victories both at the Olympia and at the Hadrianic Olympia, just possibly to the former only;

(4) in another Trallian inscription published by Robert in *B.C.H.* xxviii (1904) 89 f. (11), mentioning victories at the Hadrianic Olympia and the Olympia in Smyrna;

(5) in a fragmentary Delphian inscription published by Bourguet in *Fouilles de Delphes*, III. i (1929) 362-364 (no. 549; cf. Robert in *Revue de Philol.* lvi [1930] 57 f. [4.]); but Robert's restoration is very precarious;

(6) in another Delphian inscription (Bourguet in *Fouilles de Delphes*, III. i [1929] 364 f. [no. 550]), containing an immense list of athletic victories, among others the *Κωνὰ Ἀσίας ἐν Σμύρῃ*, the *Ἀδριανὰ Ὀλύμπια ἐν Σμύρῃ*, and another festival to which I have seen no other reference—the *Ῥωμαῖα ἐν Σμύρῃ* (cf. Robert in *Revue de Philol.* lvi [1930] 32 n. 8): as this inscription mentions games in honour of Severus, it probably belongs to the early decades of the third century A.D.;

(7) in a Khian inscription published by Peek in *Ἀρχαιολ. Ἐφημερίς*, 1931, 111, and reconsidered by Robert in *B.C.H.* lvii (1933) 539-542: it mentions the *Κωνὰ Ἀσίας* celebrated at Smyrna, and (according to Robert) the *Ἀδριανὰ Ὀλύμπια* also;

(8) in the second inscription mentioned above, in the addendum to p. 185 n. 3.

Pp. 293-295. REIGN OF ELAGABALUS OR SEVERUS ALEXANDER. L. Robert (*Études Anatol.* 136-138) so restores *I.G.R.* iv. 1441 as to give it significance for the history of the imperial taxation in Asia at this period.

THE INDEX

A really complete Index to a book of this nature would probably exceed the book itself in bulk. In order to keep the ensuing Index within manageable bounds, certain restrictions have had to be observed.

The Index should be used in conjunction with the detailed Table of Contents and List of Abbreviations at the commencement of the volume (pp. xv-xlv).

For reasons of space, the following categories of headings have been omitted from the Index

- (a) all modern (i.e. post-classical) authors, except in a few quite special cases;
- (b) modern periodicals in which inscriptions are published, except in cases where the inscription does not appear in any of the standard collections;
- (c) a certain number of important headings under which the entries would have been so numerous that, without much additional wording (impossible on account of the space it would require), the mere enumeration of page-numbers would be of little practical value: such cases are :—Asia Minor, Coins, Ephesos, Inscriptions, Pergamon, Proconsul, Rome (but see Rome, Temple(s) to, and Senate), and of course Smyrna (except for a few special topics);
- (d) the names of the *parents* of minor characters;
- (e) details regarding *the particular passages* of ancient authors quoted, except in the case of the more important and more frequently-quoted writers;
- (f) the Scriptural references in the *Epistles* of Ignatius and Polykarp, which are readily discoverable in any good edition of the Apostolic Fathers, and/or in *The New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers* (Oxford, 1905);
- (g) most of the praenomens of persons with compound Roman names.

n. after a page-number, both in this Index and in cross-references in the footnotes of the book, designates a footnote continued from the page before that named.

A reference to a footnote should be understood as referring also to the part of the text to which that footnote is attached. Similarly a simple reference to a page is intended to include a reference to any relevant footnote(s) thereon.

A reference in the Index *in brackets* indicates that the item against which it is entered is alluded to, but not explicitly named, on the page or in the footnote put within the brackets.

Compound personal names including both Greek and Latin names are usually indexed according to their *Latin* spelling.

Many titles are indexed according to the abbreviated form used in the footnotes of the book, and not according to their full spelling. The List of Abbreviations (pp. xxvii-xlv) should be consulted for any obscure cases.

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THE MAPS

As the exigencies of map-reproduction render last-minute emendations extremely difficult, the reader is requested to note the following points regarding the maps here provided.

Map I. WESTERN ASIA MINOR.

Philadelpheia should have been inserted at the bottom of the first small "a" in "Alashehr-Chai".

Latmos (p. 406 bott.) should have been inserted at the head of the gulf on which Miletos stands.

The upper course of the R. Hermos (Gediz-Chai) is the stream concealed by the eastern edge of the map, not the more westerly tributary as the map actually suggests.

The R. Lykos (pp. 305, 325) flows NW. into the Maiandros through the "P" in "PHRYGIA". Hierapolis lay a little to the N., and Laodikeia a little to the S., of the R. Lykos, just beyond the eastern edge of the map: Kolossai was a few miles further upstream.

Map II. THE GULF OF SMYRNA. The village of Ulujak (p. 254 n. 5) should have been inserted on the road round the W. end of Yamanlar-Dagh, a little N. of the latitude of Ada-Tepé.

Map III. SMYRNA AND ITS ENVIRONS. The Akropolis of Old Smyrna (near the N. edge of the map) should have been placed a little further S., so as to put it NE. of the "Felswarte", and about a mile and a quarter from the water's edge.



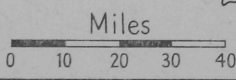
THRACE

Province of Bithynia

Frontier of Roman Province of Asia

WESTERN ASIA MINOR

Modern names shown thus - *Nymphis*.
 Land over 1,650 feet shaded.
 A dotted line marks the present day coastline where it differs from that of earlier times.



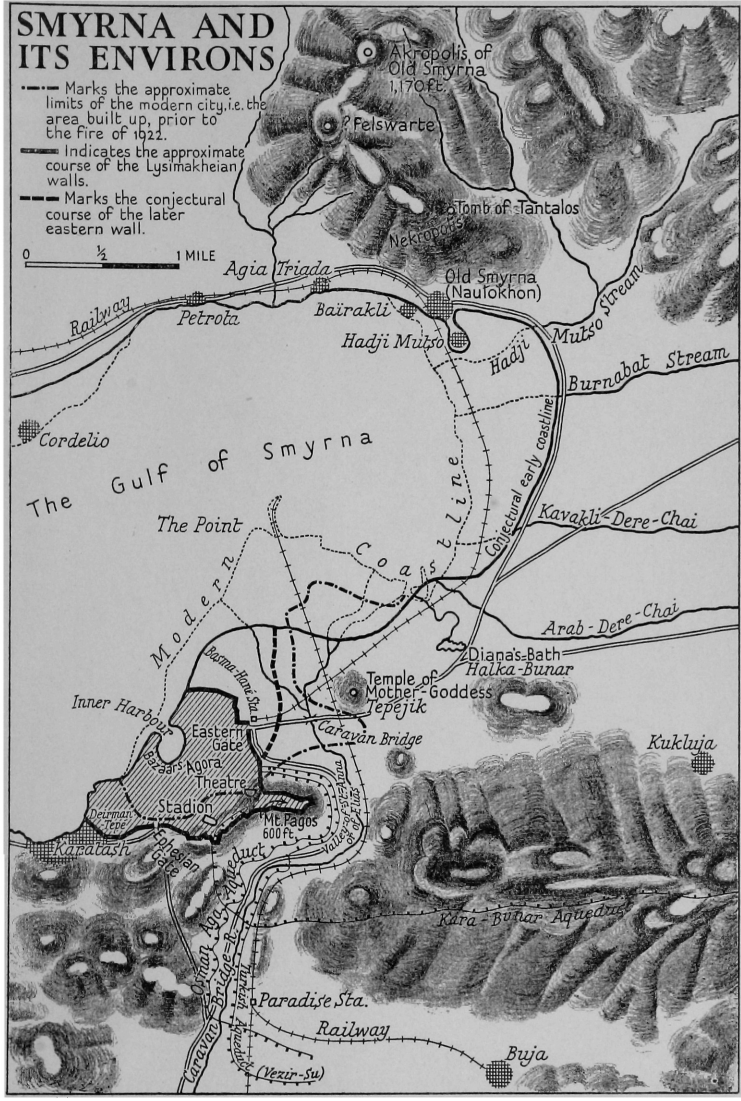
Frontier of Roman Province of Asia

LYKIA

SMYRNA AND ITS ENVIRONS

- Marks the approximate limits of the modern city, i.e. the area built up, prior to the fire of 1922.
- Indicates the approximate course of the Lysimacheian walls.
- Marks the conjectural course of the later eastern wall.

0 1/2 1 MILE



The Gulf of Smyrna

Coast Line

Inner Harbour
Eastern Gate
Theatre
Stadion
Mt. Pagos 600 Ft.

Caravan Bridge

Paradise Sta. Railway

Akropolis of Old Smyrna 1,170 Ft.

Tomb of Tantalos
Nekropolis

Old Smyrna (Naufokhon)

Mulso Stream
Burnabat Stream

Kavakli-Dere-Chai

Arab-Dere-Chai

Temple of Mother Goddess
Tepetik

Diana's Bath
Halka-Bunar

Kukluja

Kara-Bunar Aqueduct

Biya

Cordelio

Petrota

Bairakli

Hadji Mutsa

Hadji

The Point

Bornas Han-Sira

Inner Harbour

Deirmar Tere

Kapatash

Ephesian Gate

Value of Ficus

Paradise Sta.

(Vezir-Su)

Railway

Cordelio

Petrota

Bairakli

Hadji Mutsa

Hadji

The Point

Bornas Han-Sira

Inner Harbour

Deirmar Tere

Kapatash

Ephesian Gate

Value of Ficus

Paradise Sta.

(Vezir-Su)

Railway

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