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Christopher P. Jones

The Earthquake of 26 BCE in Decrees of Mytilene and Chios

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Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Zentrale, Podbielskiallee 69–71, 14195 Berlin, Tel: +49 30 187711-0

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CHRISTOPHER P. JONES

The Earthquake of 26 BCE in Decrees of Mytilene and Chios

I. *The Earthquake of 26*

It will be proposed here that a decree of Mytilene from early in the reign of Augustus is to be connected with an earthquake or series of earthquakes that affected the city about the year 26, and that a decree later in date, and known from a copy in Olympia, is a decree of Chios, and refers to the reconstruction of the city after the same earthquake.

The evidence for this event is sparse and of variable quality, but enough survives to show that several cities of the province of Asia were affected. The principal victim was Tralles. Jerome's Chronicle gives as the last item under the year 27 «Tralles collapsed in an earthquake» (*Trallis terrae motu conserunt*, Euseb. ed.² HELM, 164). The sixth-century historian Agathias, who gives a long and fanciful account of this earthquake, describes how a certain Chaeremon went all the way from Tralles to Spain, where Augustus was fighting the Cantabri, to plead for his city; a recently discovered inscription shows that Chaeremon «went as ambassador to the senate and to Emperor Caesar to request the second founding of the city and was successful» (προεσβεύσαντι πρὸς τὴν σύνκλητον καὶ τὸν Αὐτοκράτορα ὑπὲρ τῆς δευτέρας κτίσεως τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἐπιτυχόντι); the accompanying epigram, also preserved in Agathias, mentions the Cantabri.¹ Augustus was absent for the campaign from late 27 to early 24; he entered on his eighth and ninth consulates (for 26 and 25) at Tarraco (Suet. Aug. 26, 3), and he

I have used the following abbreviations: BOULAY, *Arès et la Cité* = TH. BOULAY, *Arès et la Cité*, *Studia Hellenistica* 28, 2014; BOWERSOCK, *Augustus* = G. W. BOWERSOCK, *Augustus and the Greek World*, 1965; Bull. ép. = J. and L. ROBERT, *Bulletin épigraphique* in REG; EHRENBERG – JONES² = V. EHRENBERG – A. H. M. JONES, *Documents illustrating the Reigns of Augustus and Tiberius*, 2nd edition, 1955; HERZOG, KFF = R. HERZOG, *Koische Forschungen und Funde*, 1899; SARIKAKIS, *Prosopographia* = T. C. SARIKAKIS, *Chiaki prosopographia*, 1989. Other abbreviations should be self-explanatory. I am especially grateful to SEBASTIAN PRIGNITZ for examining the squeeze of IVO 53 in the possession of the *Inscriptiones Graecae*, for supplying the text and apparatus printed here, and for his improvement of my several drafts. I am also indebted, as always, to GLEN BOWERSOCK for his criticism and advice; to FABRICE DELRIEUX for useful discussion; to KLAUS HALLOF for supplying Plates 1 and 2; to HANS TAEUBER for supplying Plate 3 and for much valuable information; and to the editors of *Chiron* for many suggestions and improvements.

¹ Chaeremon: C. P. JONES, *ZPE* 179, 2011, 107–115.

was still on his way back to Rome when he entered on his tenth (for 24) (Cass. Dio 53, 28, 1). The help that he gave to Tralles caused the city to change its name to Kaisareia, though at this same time it forever lost its position as a *conuentus*-city.² At the end of his account, Agathias observes that «many other cities in Asia, both Ionian and Aeolic, also suffered similarly around that time» (πολλὰς δὲ κατ' ἐκεῖνο τοῦ καιροῦ καὶ ἄλλας πόλεις ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ, Ἴωνικὰς τε καὶ Αἰολίδας, παραπλήσια παθεῖν ξυνηέχθη, Agath. 2, 17, 9, p. 64 KEYDELL). According to Suetonius, Tiberius at the beginning of his political career «pleaded with the senate on behalf of Laodicea, Thyatira, and Chios when they were afflicted by an earthquake and were begging for help» (*pro Laodicensis Thyatirenis Chiis terrae motu afflictis opemque implorantibus senatum deprecatus est*, Tib. 8); of these Laodicea was in the borderland of Phrygia and Caria, Tralles and Thyatira were in Lydia, Chios was Ionian, and none were Aeolic.³

The career of Augustus' son-in-law Sextus Appuleius may help to enlarge the number of cities affected. He is known to have governed Asia as proconsul for two successive years, and is honored by Colophon as a «founder» (κτίστης) and by Pergamon, Metropolis, and Kyme as a «savior» (σωτήρ). While the latter title is not unusual, that of «founder» is: as JEAN-LOUIS FERRARY has noted following LOUIS ROBERT, «le titre de κτίστης n'est pas attribué à la légère.» FERRARY thus inclines to infer that Colophon had been damaged in the earthquake of 26, and that Appuleius' two years as proconsul were 26/25 and 25/24.⁴

II. Mytilene

To these cities Mytilene, the chief Aeolic city of Asia, can probably be added. A series of Mytilenaeen inscriptions forms a «document wall,» part of a monument built to commemorate the city's great benefactor, Potamo son of Lesbonax.⁵ The texts inscribed on it included a letter of Julius Caesar dated 48 or 47, another dated to 45 and enclosing a *senatus consultum* that guaranteed the city's freedom, and a treaty of alliance between Rome and Mytilene dated to 25. This was ratified by the senate in May or June; on the proposal of Augustus' fellow-consul, M. Iunius Silanus, a letter

² Kaisareia: L. ROBERT, *Hellenica* 7, 1949, 213–214; OMS VII 787 (Arch. Eph. 1977). *Conuentus*: CH. HABICHT, *JRS* 65, 1975, 71; for a different explanation, R. HAENSCH, *Capita Provinciae*, 1997, 308–309.

³ HERZOG's conjecture of *Cois* in place of *Chiis*, KFF 141–150, depended on his attribution of IVO 53 to Cos. On the chronology of Tiberius' early career, BOWERSOCK, Augustus 157–161, especially 157.

⁴ J.-L. FERRARY, *BCH* 124, 2000, 360–364, especially 364 with n. 123; thus already C. EILERS, *Tyche* 14, 1999, 184–85. The benefactions of L. Vaccius Labeo to Aeolian Cyme (IGR IV 1302; I.Kyme 19; between 2 BCE and 14 CE) might be connected with damage caused by the earthquake of 26.

⁵ ROBERT, OMS II 744–745 (BCH 1925); J. and L. ROBERT, *Bull. ép.* 1970, 422 no. 6, 423; 1983, 286; PIR P 914.

was sent to him in Spain enclosing the text of the relevant documents. Since these materials were all inscribed on Potamo's monument, he must have taken part in this third embassy also.⁶ A very fragmentary text from the same monument (IG XII 2, 44 [IGR IV 38]), apparently from a decree in Potamo's honor, has the phrases «the --- consequent on the ...» (τῶν συστάντων ἐκ τοῦ ---, l. 6),⁷ «Tarraco in Spain» (l. 8), and «they have suffered» (ἀνατετλήκασιν, l. 11). The missing noun could be πολέμου, referring to the recent civil wars, though the plural πολέμων might be more expected: a better possibility is therefore [σεισμοῦ]. Two of the epigrams of the Mytilenaeen poet Crinagoras are also relevant. He is known to have been on the embassy to Julius Caesar that obtained the *senatus consultum* of 45, and from certain of his epigrams it emerges that he was also involved in Potamo's diplomatic activity of the mid-20's. Two of them refer to earthquakes. In one, he begs the personified Earthquake to spare his new house, and in the other he thanks «the holy mind of the Great Earth-Shaker» (φρῆν ἱερὴ μεγάλου Ἐνοσίχθονος) for having given him fair weather as he crossed the Aegean. This second epigram may perhaps also refer to his journey from Mytilene to Spain in 26.⁸

Two large, non-contiguous fragments from the same document wall appear to contain a single decree of Mytilene (IG XII 2, 58). Though the two fragments (here called A and B) differ in length of line, the script is very similar, and it is usually and rightly assumed that they form part of a single text.⁹

A is less well preserved, but contains measures for the cult of Augustus. The first preserved lines concern the setting up of a quinquennial contest in honor of the emperor, for which the regulations are to follow «the law relative to Zeus» (l. 8, ὁ Διακὸς νόμος), evidently a civic law regulating an already existing contest. Zeus together with Hera and Dionysos formed the so-called «Lesbian triad,» which the islanders worshiped at a communal sanctuary called «Midplace» (τὸ Μέσσον).¹⁰ Copies of the decree are to be set up in the most prominent cities (l. 11, [ταῖς

⁶ IG XII 2, 35, C 1–2; IGR IV 33: R. K. SHERK, *Roman Documents from the Greek East*, 1969, no. 26; G. LABARRE, *Les Cités de Lesbos aux époques hellénistique et impériale*, 1996, no. 20. On the embassy to Augustus, BOWERSOCK, *Augustus* 123; A. S. F. GOW – D. L. PAGE, *The Greek Anthology: The Garland of Philip* 2, 1968, 210–212.

⁷ For this sense of συνίστημι, M. HOLLEAUX, *Études d'Épigraphie* 4, 165 (REG 1917) and 5, 150 n. 2 (REA 1916), LSJ s. v. B IV c. For πόλεμοι used of the wars of the late Republic, J. M. REYNOLDS, *Aphrodisias and Rome*, 1982, nos. 28, 5; 30, 5; 31, 4.

⁸ Crinagoras in 45: IG XII 2, 35 (IGR IV 33), B 16. Embassy: GOW – PAGE, *Garland of Philip*, Crinagoras XXXII (Anth. Pal. 9, 559: voyage to Italy), XXX (Anth. Pal. 9, 516: Ligurian bandits). House: XXXIII (Anth. Pal. 9, 560). Prayer for safe voyage: XXXIV (Anth. Pal. 10, 24).

⁹ IG XII 2, 58 (OGIS 456; IGR IV 39; LABARRE [n. 6] no. 21). PATON in IG XII thought that the decree was from a city other than Mytilene, presumably because it was not in Aeolic, but in a decree to be posted across the Empire the city would naturally have used the *koine*.

¹⁰ ROBERT, OMS II 808–809, 818–824 (REG 1960), discussing D. A. CAMPBELL, *Greek Lyric* I, 1982, Alcaeus fr. 129. On this «Lesbian triad,» also known from poems of Sappho, see now V. PIRENNE-DELFORGE – G. PIRONTI, *ZPE* 91, 2014, 27–31.

ἐπισημοτάταις πόλεσιν), of which the first named is Pergamon, where it is to be placed «in the temple being built for him (Augustus) by Asia» (l. 12, [ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῷ κατασκευαζομένῳ αὐτῷ ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀσίας]).¹¹ There is to be an annual sacrifice for Augustus, modeled like the contest on the sacrifices for Zeus. Between the two fragments there must have been a decision to send an embassy to Augustus and the senate, since B contains a series of infinitives that evidently constitute instructions for the envoys. They must «reckon as part of his personal greatness of soul that those who have attained heavenly glory and have the superiority and power of gods can never be equaled by that which is inferior both in station and in nature» (l. 2–9, ἐπιλογίσασθαι τῆς | οἰκειας μεγαλοφροσύνης ὄτ[ι] | τοῖς οὐρανίου τετε[υ]χόσι δόξης καὶ θεῶν ὑπεροχῆν καὶ | κράτος ἔχουσιν οὐδέποτε δύναται συνεξιωθῆναι τὰ καὶ | τῇ τύχῃ ταπινότερα καὶ τῇ φύσει): «reckon» presumably means that they must make this part of their speech. They are to request Augustus' permission to set up a tablet (l. 17, δέλτος) containing a copy of the decree in his house, and either a tablet or a stele in the Capitol with the same content.¹² They must «give thanks concerning him to the senate, the Vestal Virgins,¹³ Julia his wife [presumably a mistake for «Livia»],¹⁴ (his) sister Octavia and (his) children, relatives, and friends» (l. 21–27, εὐχαριστήσαι δὲ περὶ αὐτοῦ | τῇ τε συγ[κλή]τῳ καὶ ταῖς ἱερῆαις τῆς Ἑσ[τι]ας καὶ Ἰουλίᾳ τῇ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ | καὶ Ὀκταίᾳ τῇ ἀδελφῇ καὶ τοῖς | τέκνοις καὶ συγγενέσι καὶ φίλοις). Lastly, they are «to thank the senate as well in [Augustus'] presence for having behaved most kindly towards the city and in a way befitting its ancestral graciousness» (l. 30–35, εὐχαριστήσαι δὲ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τῇ συγκλήτῳ τοὺς πρέσβεις, προσενηνεγμένης αὐτῆς | τῇ πόλει συμπαθέστατα καὶ | τῆς πατρίου χρηστότητος | οἰκείως).¹⁵

For the *terminus post quem* C. CICHORIUS argued that, since Augustus gave the Asian κοινόν permission to build a temple at Pergamon to Roma and himself in 29 (Cass. Dio 51, 20, 6), and since Augustan buildings such as the Pantheon took only two or three years to construct, the decree should fall in the year 27; but a project involving negotiations among the cities of Asia could well have taken three to five

¹¹ For the close relations between Pergamon and Lesbos, ROBERT, OMS VII 575–577 (Stele Kondoleon, 1977).

¹² Though δέλτος does not necessarily imply a bronze plaque, that may be meant here: for the use of bronze in the Latin-speaking west, W. ECK, in: J. BODEL – N. DIMITROVA, eds., *Ancient Documents and their Contexts*, 2014, 127–151.

¹³ CICHORIUS inferred that the decree mentions the Vestal Virgins as guardians of a *senatus consultum* that preceded the treaty of May or June 25 (accepted by DITTENBERGER on OGIS 456 n. 15). A simpler explanation is the increase of status given to the Vestals by Augustus (S. R. F. PRICE, *CAH*² 10, 1996, 828–829); later they were closely associated with Livia (Tac. Ann. 4, 16, 4).

¹⁴ Cf. C. CICHORIUS, *Römische Studien*, 1922, 255–256.

¹⁵ On συμπαθῶς and cognate words, «caractéristiques de l'époque impériale,» ROBERT, OMS II 842 n. 3 (REA 1960).

years, if not longer.¹⁶ A detail that may be significant is the reference to Augustus' «children» (τέκνα). While CICHORIUS held that this could include Tiberius and Drusus as Augustus' adopted sons, DITTENBERGER argued that it could only refer to his daughter Julia and one of her several husbands, or alternatively to Gaius and Lucius, adopted by the emperor in 17.¹⁷ Julia was married to her first husband, Claudius Marcellus, in 25, when Augustus was in Spain, and after Marcellus' death in 23 her father promptly consigned her to Agrippa, with whom she produced Gaius in 20 and Lucius in 17. Of these dates the period of Julia's marriage to Marcellus is the closest to the building of Augustus' temple in Pergamon, and the span 25 to 23 would fit admirably for other reasons. The terminus ante quem is provided by the death of Octavia (Minor) in 11 BC.

As preserved, the decree contains no mention of the earthquake of 26, but the last words, in which the ambassadors are ordered to thank the senate for its «most sympathetic» treatment of the city, point to a recent hardship; as already noted, the monument of Potamo may well mention the sufferings of Mytilene caused by an earthquake. Like most or all of the stricken cities, Mytilene must have promptly sent an embassy to Augustus, which found him in Tarraco, presumably in 26. This embassy, like the previous one of 45, was led by Potamo, and again included Crinagoras. In May or June of 25, the senate ratified a treaty of alliance with Mytilene, and sent a letter to Augustus in Spain informing him of its action. If the reference in the present decree to Augustus' «children» denotes Marcellus and Julia, it cannot be earlier than 25 or later than 23, but further precision seems unattainable.

III. Chios

Among the inscriptions of Olympia published by WILHELM DITTENBERGER and KARL PURGOLD in 1896 is a decree in honor of Augustus that they supposed to be a decree of Cos (IvOl 53; Plates 1–3).¹⁸ They describe the stone as follows:

¹⁶ Rom und Mytilene, 1888, 37–38; cf. the collaboration of the Asian cities for the temple of Caligula in Miletus, ROBERT, *Hellenica* 7, 1949, 206–238.

¹⁷ OGIS 456 n. 18, «Praeter Iuliam filiam tum temporis nullos fuisse Augusto neque natura neque adoptione liberos omnium certissimum est. Quare verissime plurali τέκνοις generum contineri existimat CICHORIUS»; I have not found a precise parallel, but the «loyalty oath» to Augustus from Neapolis (Pontus) is sworn to the emperor και τοις τέκνοις ἐγγόνοις τε (OGIS 532), wording that must be meant to include sons-in-law: so also tomb-inscriptions with similar formulas, e.g. I.Milet 793.

¹⁸ DITTENBERGER was responsible for supplementing the longer documents, including IvOl 53 (IvOl p. VII), and I will refer to him alone when discussing the text. A brilliant philologist, DITTENBERGER saw very few actual inscriptions, and worked from copies supplied by others (G. WISSOWA, *Memoria Guilelmi Dittenbergeri*, SIG³ p. IX; K. HALLOF – K. HERRMANN – S. PRIGNITZ, *Chiron* 42, 2012, 214 n. 8).

Platte aus gelbem Sandstein, 0, 16–0, 18 dick, 0, 57 hoch, 0, 625 breit [but see below], oben mit Giebel bekrönt, der besonders an der linken Seite stark abgestossen ist; unten Bruch. Die Seitenränder sind beiderseits erhalten, am linken aber die Vorderfläche schräg abgeschlagen; die Rückseite rauh. Die Schrift in unregelmässigen, klein und nachlässig eingegrabenen Buchstaben ist auf der zum Teil glatt abgeriebenen Oberfläche schwer erkennbar geworden und durch die in dem weichen Material tief ausgewitterten Verletzungen des Steins vielfach beschädigt. Deshalb gehört die Inschrift zu den am schwierigsten zu entziffernden und erscheint in der Reproduktion fast durchweg zu deutlich.

The text is extremely refractory, not only because of the condition of the stone, but also because the style of the text, as of other decrees in honor of Augustus, is florid and rhetorical. Nonetheless, a hitherto unpublished fragment, now attached to the upper left-hand corner of the stone, disproves the arguments in favor of a Coan origin, and it will be proposed in the following that the true origin is Chios. I give below a revised text and apparatus, for both of which I am indebted to SEBASTIAN PRIGNITZ, and a translation which is necessarily conjectural and fragmentary, especially after the text becomes discontinuous. I then give a commentary, justify the attribution of the decree to Chios, discuss the form and style of the decree, and end with a brief conclusion.

Two joining fragments. The new fragment b (upper left corner, shown in italics) measures 0,14 × 0,135; both fragments a and b together measure 0,53 × 0,65 m.

Ἀλεξᾶς

in cymatio

b ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ, εἰσανγειλάντων Εὐδήμου τε τοῦ Ἐπικράτου[ς
ἰ]ξερέως Γαῖου Ἰουλίου Καίσαρος, κα[ἰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ στε]-

a φανηφόρου καὶ [γ]ραμματέως τοῦ δήμου, καὶ τῶν τῆς πόλεως στρατηγῶν
ἐπ(ε)ἰ Αὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ, θεοῦ υἱός, θεὸς [Cεβαστός, ταῖς]

εἰς ἀπάντας ἀ[νθρ]ώπους εὐεργεσίαις ὑπερτεθεικῶς καὶ τοὺς Ὀλυμπίους
θεοὺς, καὶ πᾶσαν μὲν τὴν οἰκουμέ[ν]ην πα[ρα]λύσας]

5 ἐπιβαρήσεω[ν το]ῦ φόρου, τὸν ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ δὲ βίον καὶ χρόνον
εὐδα[ι]μονέστερον ἀπο(δε)δειχῶς· πρότερον μὲν τοῖς κοινοῖς ACI- --

[-----]CTIN ἀπόλαυσιν διὰ τὴν ἐκείνου πρόνοιαν κα[ἰ] κηδεμονίαν,
πλήρονα τῶν ἄλλων ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσίας Ἑλλή[νων εὔνοι]-

[αν παρέσχετο τῇ] ἡμετέρα πόλει, μεγάλας ἐπισφραγιζόμενος τιμ[αῖ]ς
αὐτὴν διὰ θεῶν· τῆς δὲ τῶν σεισμῶν περιστάσε[ως πεπαυ]-

[μένης -----]ΜΟΥ μετὰ τὴν κατὰ θεοὺς ΑΝΑΞ[.]ΤΑΙΟΛΗC ἐπὶ σωτήρα
καὶ θεὸν παλινγενεσίαν τοῖς ἀπολ(λ)όσι κα[τ]έταξε]

----- βλ[έψ]αντος καὶ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ΕΛ[.]ΝΟΙΚΟΤΗ λιπ(ε)ῖν
δηρησομένην, πατρ(ῶ)αν μὲν τῆς οἰκίας αὐτοῦ π[ρόνοι]-

10 [αν - - - -] δικαιοτάτον <π>όνον και ὑπαργμα τῆς Ἐ[ω]μαί[ω]ν
ἠγ[ε]μονίας μὴ περιδ[ε]ῖν κ[ε]ιμένην ἐπ' ἐδάφους ἐσεγη[. .]

[- - - - - ε] ὑεργεσίαις, και σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις καλλιστεύμασιν, ἃ δ[ῆ] μυρία
κατὰ πάντα τρόπον εἶ[ῖ]δρυκεν, και τοῦτο

[σημεῖον πίστε]ως και μεγαλοφροσύ[ν]ης ἀπ[ο]δοῦ[ν]αι [. . .] Α[. .] τῷ
πολυστορι και τὰς τῶν ἰσοθέων και θεῶν κηρύσσον-

[τι τιμάς - -ca.5- -] ΞΕΑΙC και διὰ τῆς ΟΜΕΙ[. .] ἈCCTYΠA- - - - ΔΟ- - - - κασιν
τῆς οἴκου <μ>έν[η]ς: καταπολεμῶν δὲ Καντάβρους

[- - - - - πολλαῖς] ἐν μάχαις και μέχρι τῆς T[. . .] N[. .] AKK[. . .] CCYΛ[. .] τόνου
και τῆς ἐξ ὀνόματος γνώσεως ἄχρι τῆς τοῦ Σε -

15 [βαστοῦ - - - -] ἐ[π]ήκοος ἦν ὅταν ὁ
Μ[. . .] YXAPKEK[. .] Ξ[. .] ΑΤΑΠΙΑΤΑΝΙΚΟC πράξ[ε]ις δια χειρὸς ἔχων και
προσαγόμενος

- - - - - μῆσαι τὴν ANTIX[. .] T- -ca.5- - ΟἴΤΠΔ[. .] ΕΠΙΝΑ[. .] ΛΗC πυθέσθαι
περὶ τῶν τῆς πόλεως ἀτυχημάτων και ΕΡ[. .] ΛΗ -

[- - - - - πρ]ὸς αὐτὸν τοὺς Π[-ca.5- -] ΔΟΝ[. .] Ο[. .] σύ[λ]λυσιν και δια
τέ[λ]λους ἐπαχθέστατα κατ[ά] <ω>ι<κ>τιρεν ὡς οἰκηοτάτην [. .] ΑΤΟΝ

[- - πεπαυ]μένων δὲ τῶν πόν[ων,] ΗCΑCΟΝ ἀπὸ ΠΟ[. .] ΝΟΝΥ[. .] Ν
πράξεων και τῷ τῆς πόλεως εὐκαιρήσας ἐλεῶ [. .] ΠΑ[. .] ΗΔ[. .]

- - - - - ΛΟ πάλαι ποτὲ - - - - - αν[ί]ου Μ[. .] ΟC κάλ[λ]ος οὐ
δεῶ <μ>ενον ἐντεύξεως ἐπεδιξάτο πληθὸν ἀπὸ ΑΡΙC

20 [- - - - - τ]οίχων ΦΙΜΩ- - - - - ΛΘ[. .] τὰς ἐλπίδας τῶν
δε[ο]μένων ἔφθασεν, τῷ μεγέθει δ[ὲ] τὰς εὐχὰς ὑπο-

[- - - - - κά]θαρσιν τεσ[- - - - - πο]λεμίου[ς] και τὸν τῆς
προνοίας τ[ρ]όπον τῷ ΚΛΕ[. .] ΤΟ[. .] ΚΕ Χιο[ν]

[- - - - - ἔ]ργον ἐπο[ί]ησε] γ Λ- -ca.8- - - ΑΜΗC- -ca.5- - CΠΙΝ τῆς
πόλεως κτί[ι]σιν ἐφ' ἑατῷ θέμενος, και τοσοῦτον ἡμερότη-

[τος ἐπιδειξάμενο]ς ἴδιον AC- - - - - Ν συναύξ[ων] ΕΝ τὰς τῶν
ιδίων πράξεων και χρηῶν ΕΝΕΓΚΑC εἰς τὴν ἐπάρ-

[χειαν - -] CΚΙCΔ- - - - ΟΛ[. .] Υ ἐπ[ί] τῆς Ἀσίας | [. .] ΟΝΙΑC προνοῆσαι.
συνι<δ>ὼν γὰρ ὡς οὔτε πόλις κτισ[θε]ῖσα ἄν[ε]υ Ο[. .]

25 - - - - - ανοις Δ-ca.5- NI ἐπλήρ[ω]σε] ΛΙΗΚΛ[. .] ΝΙΝΕΤ[. . . .] πόλεως,
τῆς ἀμφοτέρων σωτηρίας ἐφρό[ν]τισ[εν], ὅ-

[πας - - - - -] ΛΙΑ- -ca.8- - ΘΑΠ- -5-6- - ΜΟΝ- -ca.7- - ΟΝΥΕΡσάμενος ταῖς
τῆς ἐγειρομένης πατρίδος ἐλπίσιν ΤΗΡΗ[. .]

-----υ ἐκ μ[. . . τῆς] πολυφρία[ς ε]ὑε[ργε]σίας κατάρξας· πρὸς δὲ τοῖς
ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἔτι δὲ καὶ τοῖς οἴκο[θ]εν

-----οις ὑπ[.]ξ[. . .] χρήμασιν κα[ι] τοῖς ΙΚ[. . .]ΙCΙ καὶ --^{ca. 7}-- ἑαυτοῦ
φιλανθρωπίαν εὐέντευκτον κατασκευά-

[ζων ----- τῆ]ν ἐατῆς περὶ αὐτήν χρηστότη[τα] καὶ τὴν ἰδίαν σπουδὴν καὶ
συνακτάθεσιν, καὶ γενόμενος ἀρχηγέτη[ς]

30 [τῆς πόλεως --] καὶ ζήλ[ω] συ<γ>γενοῦς ἑατοῦ [. . .]ΙΚΑΙΝ̄ σύνπα[ν]τος
αὐτῆ διαμεμαρτύρηκεν αὐτῷ πρὸς τάσδε ἄδυ-

-----τος λογ[ι]σμὸς τοῖς ἐκ τῶν [ἀ]ν[α]λισκο[μ]ένων [χρη]μάτων
ἔσομένοις ἀν[αλ]ώμασιν Ε[.]ΗΓΡΑΘΜΤΗ

----- δῆμος [Χεῖ]ων ὑπὲρ [.]ΔΙΟΚΡ-- --Ν[.]ΠΙΝΕΚ[. . .]ΑΤΙΕΝ
σωτήριος, εὖ πρὸς αὐτὸν εὐνοίαν [ἔχων]

----- ὑπο[λοίπο]ις εὐεργεσίαις Κ[-⁵⁻⁶-]ΟΚΙΑCΑ[. . .]CIEC καὶ
δικαιῶς ἀθανάτου τετευχῶς [δόξης]

[- ----- ἀ]πολομένων ὑποθ-- ΔΙΔΙΔ[.]-- [-.]-- [-.]-- OC ἐκτενῆας
οὔσης ὑπερμεγέθους Λ- -----

35 -----ν καὶ τὴν ἐν τοῖς θνητο[ῖ]ς ΝΑ[.]ΥΛ[.]ΑΝ ἔνδοξον θεοῦ
χερσὶν τῆς πόλε[ως] EC-----

-----νθῆν[τ]ων ΕΟΙΓΕΝΘ[. . .]C--⁶⁻⁷-- βουλόμενος ἀλλὰ οὐ
δυνάμενος ἐάλωκ[ε . . .]

[- ----- τὰς πρὸς τὸν θεὸν τιμὰς [καὶ πρὸς τὸ]ν πολ[ι]τήν
[ε]ὐχαριστίαν σπεύδων ἔχραισ[με . . .]

-----λην ὡς [κ]αὶ τὸ κα[. . .]ν τὴν τε πόλιν καὶ τὴν
χώραν ἀναδεδειχθαι ἱε[ράν]

-----ΟΛΛ[. . .]ΚΑΤΗ[.]ΤΩ τὴν
πό<λ>[ιν], δεηθῆναι δὲ αὐτοῦ συνχω[ρῆσαι --]

40 [- ----- τὰς γ]εγομένας
εὐεργεσίας, ταύτην αὐτοῦ καταθήσ[ειν -- -]

[- ----- Καίσαρος
Αὐτοκρά]τορος, θεοῦ υἱο[ῦ, Σεβασ]-

[τοῦ -----
-----]τεθ-----



Plate 1: IvOl 53, lines 1–23 (Archiv der IG, Photo: K. HALLOF – S. PRIGNITZ)

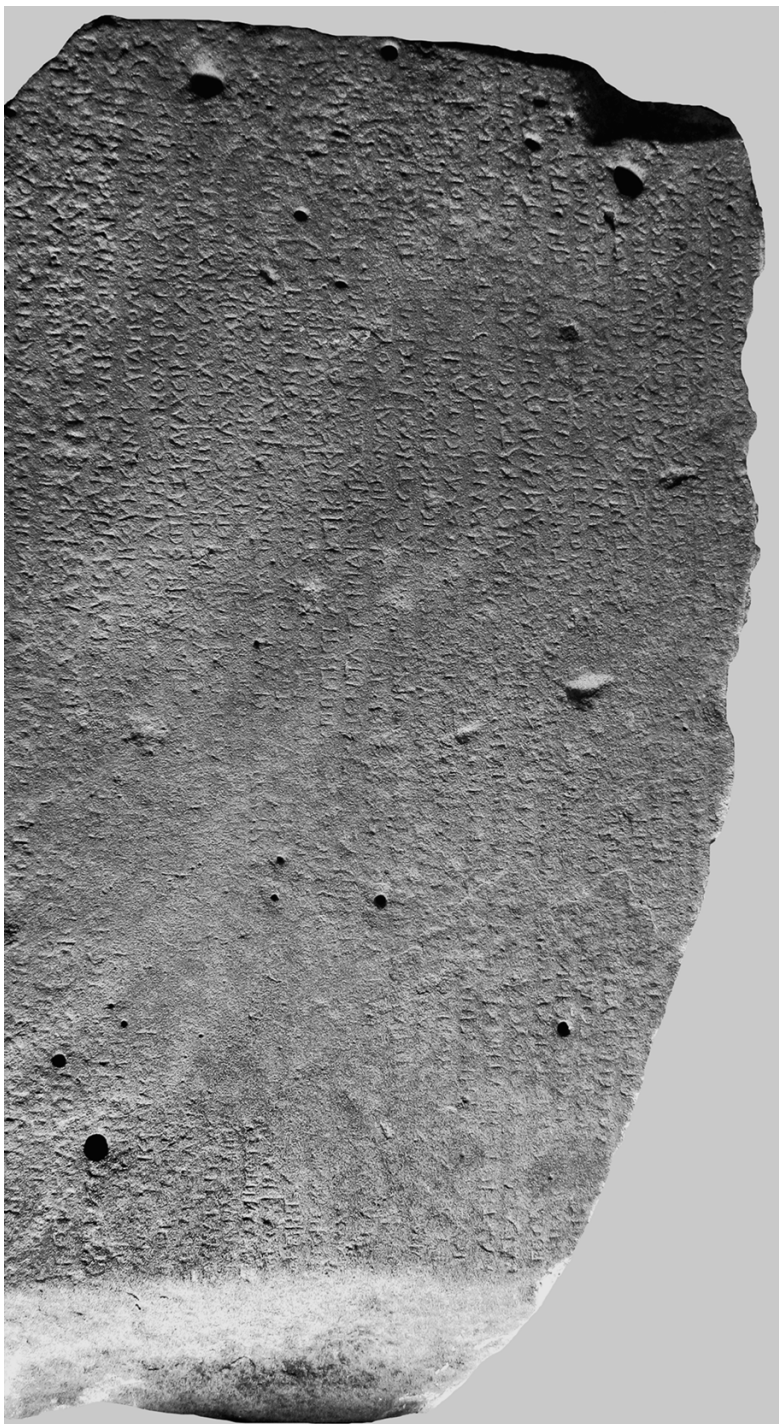


Plate 2: IvOI 53, lines 9–42 (Archiv der IG, Photo: K. HALLOF – S. PRIGNITZ)



Plate 3: IvOl 53, lines 2–5, new fragment (Courtesy of HANS TAEUBER, Vienna)

fr. a edd. DITTENBERGER – PURGOLD, nov. fr. b 2–4 legit TAEUBER 2 fin. [τοῦ αὐτοῦ] suppl. J. | 4 fin. J. | 5 in. ἐπιβαρήσεω[ν] legit PRI.; med. ἀποδει[κνύς] D., ΑΠΟΔΕΙΧΩC lap. fin. μὲν J., γ[άρ] D., βα[ρυνομένοι] D., Ἀσί[ας dubitanter] J. | 7 in. εὐεργεσίαις τῆ] ἡμετέρα D., med. – – – ως αὐτὴν διαθήων D., τιμ[αί]ς legit PRI. | 8 ΑΠΟΛΛΟΛΟCΙ lap.; fin. κα[τέταξε] PRI. | 9 fin. suppl. J. e vs. 21, med. ἐλ[θοῦσα]ν longius spatium D. | 10 in. <π>όνον J., TONON lap.; med. ὑπαργμα J. | 12 ἀπ[δοῦ]ναι PRI. | 14 in. legit PRI., med. [φι]λοτ[ί]μου D. | 15 in. ὁ τ[ῆ]ν D., ὅταν PRI.; med. κα]ταπρα[ξάμεν]ος D. | 16 in. μῆ [καὶ τ]ῆν D. | 17 ΚΑΤΟΙΧΤΙΠΕΝ lap., 17/18 τ[ῆ]ν πόλ[ιν] D. | 18 in. πα[ίδων] D., med. – – – ἀπὸ τ[ῶν] ποιουμέ[νων] π[ρά]ξεων τῆς πόλεως εὐκαιρήσ[α]ς – – – D.; [ἀναχωρή]σας ἀπὸ τ[ῶν] πο[λεμικ]ῶν π[ρά]ξεων καὶ τῶ τῆς πόλεως εὐκαιρήσ[α]ς ἐλε[ῶ]ι HERZOG, KFF | 19 in. χάλλ[ε]ι D., τὸ πάλαι HERZOG, KFF; med. ΔΕΟΕΝΟΝ lap. | 20 med. legit PRI. | 21 in. suppl. PRI, med. ΤΟΠΟΝ lap., inde τόπον D.; τ[ρ]όπον J. | 22 fin. ἢ Μέροπ[α] D.; ἡμερότη[τος] J. | 23 in. suppl. J.; fin. ἐπάρ[[χειαν] PRI. | 24 med. ῥ[ρ]σ[τ]ῶ[νης] D., CYNIPΩΝ lap. | 27 fin. οἰκο[ῦ]σ[ιν] D., οἰκο[θεν] J. et L. ROBERT, BE 1976, 663 | 28 χρήμασιν PRI. | 29 in. τῆς περὶ αὐτὴν χρηστότ[ητος] J. | 30 [τ]αῦτα D., an <τ>αῦτα?; fin. τὰς D., τάσδε PRI., an προστάς δέ? | 31 init. – – – τος λογι[σμο]ς PRI. | 32 [τὸν] ὑπ[ὲρ] ἰδίοις ῥ– – – D.; med. πρὸς αὐτόν (sc. τὸν δῆμον) PRI. | 37 τεμ[ῆν] D., κ[α]ι τὴν πρὸς τὸ]ν D. longius spatium | 38/39 ἱε[ράν] καὶ ἄσυλον J. | 39 ΠΟΜ– – – lap.

Alexas.

It was resolved by the council and the assembly, on the proposition of Eudemos son of Eucrates, priest of Gaius Julius Caesar and [concomitantly] stephanephoros and secretary of the people, and of the generals of the city: since Emperor Caesar, son of the God, the God Augustus, by his benefactions to all mankind having surpassed even the Olympian gods, and [having relieved?] the whole world from the (5) oppression of tribute, and having made human existence and time in his era more blessed; [hav-

ing] previously [brought] joy to the common [interests of Asia, e.g.] by his providence and care, [has shown (?)] more goodwill to our city than (to) other Greeks of Asia, stamping it with great [honors?] because of the gods (?); and when the misfortune of the earthquakes [had ended?] after the ... in accordance with the gods ... to a savior and god [appointed?] a new birth to those who were ruined ... looking, and towards himself ... [to beg (him not?)] to leave it ... the hereditary concern of his house ... (10) ... and not to permit a possession of the Roman empire to lie on the ground ... with benefactions, and with the other adornments, of which he has already set up many thousands in every way, he gave (*or to give*) this [token of ...] and of generosity to the man of much learning, who proclaimed the [honors (?)] of demi-gods and gods ... of the world; and when conquering the Cantabri ... in [many] battles and as far as the ... the knowledge of his (*or its*) name as far as Augustus' ... (15) he gave a willing ear when ... having affairs in hand and ... to inquire about the misfortunes of the city and ... he most grievously pitied the city as most dear to himself ...; and when his labors (?) had ended (?) ... from deeds and having leisure to take pity on the city (?) ... once upon a time ... petition, he displayed greater ... (20) he anticipated the hopes of those supplicating him by ... their prayers ... the nature of (his) providence by ... taking on himself the foundation of the city and ... so much mildness ... his own (?) ... of his own affairs and duties to see to ... For seeing that neither a city that had been founded ... (25) of the city, he provided for the rescue of both ... the hopes of the ancestral city as it was being rebuilt ... and in addition to everything else, also with his own funds ... and making his generosity approachable ... her (*or its*) kindness to it and her (?) own industry and assent, and (he) becoming the founder ... (30) ... and akin to himself in zeal ... it has attested to his ... And leading ... the future expenditures ... bringing salvation ... goodwill ... benefactions ... having justly attained immortal [glory (?) ...] his devotion being extraordinary ... (35) glorious by the hands of a god of the city (?) ... wishing but not being able ... being eager ... honors to the god and gratitude towards its citizen (?) ... to declare the city and the territory [sacred and inviolable (?) ...] (40) (his) past benefactions, that it will set down this ... of his [... of Imperator] Caesar, son of the God, [Augustus ...]

Commentary

1. *Alexas* is a well-attested name, a shortened («hypocoristic») form of *Alexandros*: thus the name of a follower of M. Antonius is given both as *Alexas* and as *Alexandros* (PIR A 513). I cannot explain its presence here.

2–3. On Eudemos and the cult of Gaius, see below, *Identification of the issuing city*.

3–4. The claim that Augustus has «surpassed even the Olympian gods by his benefactions» accords with language used in other decrees in his honor. Thus the Calendar Decree of 9 CE declares that Providence has brought Augustus into the world «as if a god in place of herself» (ὡσπερ ... ἀνθ' ἐατῆς θεόν), and a decree from

Halicarnassus calls him Δία πατῶν καὶ σωτῆρα τοῦ κοινοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπων γένους.¹⁹

4–5. ἐπιβάρησις, «encumbrance», «obligation», is a very rare word cited by LSJ from the decree of Tenos honoring a resident Roman, L. Aufidius, which also concerns public indebtedness: «when we were not able to pay what was owed to him because of the obligations imposed by others», μὴ δυνηθέντων ἡμῶν διὰ τὰς ὑφ' ἐτέρων γειν[ο]μένας ἐπιβαρήσεις ἀποδοῦναι τὰ ὀφειλόμενα αὐτῶι. More recently another example has appeared in a letter of Augustus from Aphrodisias.²⁰ The equation of the Roman empire with the inhabited world is frequent, and the present phrase recalls a famous sentence of Luke's Gospel, ἐξῆλθε δόγμα παρὰ Καίσαρος Αὐγούστου, ἀπογράφεσθαι πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην, which the evangelist relates to the historically-attested census of Sulpicius Quirinius.²¹ Since the decree appears to enumerate Augustus' benefactions in chronological order, this clause is likely to refer to a measure taken by him soon after Actium. In his speech addressed to the Rhodians, Dio of Prusa says that «all received a remission of debts» (πᾶσιν ἐδόθη ἄφεσις χρεῶν) at the end of the civil wars; while others gladly accepted it as a gift, only the Rhodians rejected it (Or. 31, 66–67). This seems the only reference to such a general measure, and it may have concerned only or mainly the province of Asia, which had been especially hard hit by the civil wars. Dio's «remission of debts» seems likely to refer to at least in part to forgiveness of unpaid tribute.²²

7/8. τῆς δὲ τῶν σεισμῶν περιστάσ[εως]: περιστάσις, «misfortune», «difficult situation», implies a situation of exceptional gravity, and here should refer to the events of 26.²³

8. παλιγγενεσία is used by Josephus of the Jews «celebrating the recovery and the rebirth of their ancestral city» on being permitted to return to Jerusalem (τὴν ἀνάκτησιν καὶ παλιγγενεσίαν τῆς πατρίδος ἐορτάζοντες, Ant. Iud. 11, 66). So also Aelius Aristides, celebrating Marcus and Commodus' restoration of Smyrna after the earthquake of 176, says that the city «[has] become both old and new, as they say the phoenix is resurrected from itself» (ἀναβιώσκεισθαι αὐτὸν ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ, Aristid. 20, 19).

9. With πατρ(ῶ)αν πρόνοιαν cf. e.g. Claudius to the Alexandrians (J. H. OLIVER, Greek Constitutions of Early Roman Emperors, 1989, 19, l. 103–104), «I shall exercise

¹⁹ Calendar decree: SEG 56, 1233, 41–42. Halicarnassus: EHRENBERG – JONES² 98a, 6–7 (cf. W. H. BUCKLER, RPhil 3, sér. 9, 1935, 182–186).

²⁰ Aufidius: IG XII 5, 860, 32, cf. ἐπιβαρηθῆναι, 9 (L. MIGEOTTE, L'emprunt publique dans les cités grecques, 1984, no. 64). Augustus: J. M. REYNOLDS, Aphrodisias and Rome, 1982, 10, 3.

²¹ Luke 2, 1; for this sense of οἰκουμένη, LSJ s. v. II.

²² Dio Prus. 31, 66: see below.

²³ For this sense of περιστάσις, BOULAY, Arès dans la Cité 337–339, with many examples. A. WILHELM, Neue Beiträge 5, 49 (Akademienchriften 1, 291), cites Diodorus, 15, 48, 2, on an earthquake of 373/2 BCE, διὰ τὸ τῆς περιστάσεως ἀπροσδόκητον καὶ παράδοξον.

the greatest providence on behalf of your city, though it has been dear to us from our ancestors (καίπερ ἐκ προγόνων οἰκίας ἡμῖν ὑπαρχούσης).»

10. δικαιοτάτον <π>όνον, «a most worthy task», would make acceptable sense, but the stone is very worn at this point. ὑπαργμα, «possession», is cited by LSJ only from Parthenius: but cf. καλλίστευμα in line 11, and Aristid. 25, 56 (Rhodiakos), ὡς μὴ τὸ κάλλιστον αὐτῷ (Antoninus Pius) τῶν κτημάτων ἀτίμως ἐπὶ γῆς κέοιτο. For expressions similar to μὴ περιιδ(ε)ῖν κειμένην ἐπ' ἐδάφους, J. and L. ROBERT, *Claros I*, 44, and JONES, *Chiron* 28, 1998, 258 (where I attributed the decree to Cos).

11. καλλίστευμα is another very rare word, cited by LSJ only from Euripides and Lycophron; HERZOG, *KFF* 143, compares Aristid. 19, 1, Σμύρνα ... τῆς ὑμετέρας ἐγκαλλώπισμα ἡγεμονίας.

12. On the identity of this person «of much learning,» see below, *Identification of the issuing city*.

13. καταπολεμῶν, «subduing», shows that Augustus was still occupied with the Cantabrian war at the time referred to. When Tralles sent one of its leading citizens to Augustus, Chaeremon, he went «to the Cantabrian land»; unlike the embassy from Mytilene, he may have gone to the actual territory of the Cantabri in the north-west, rather than to the emperor's headquarters in Tarraco.²⁴

14. The phrase τῆς [ἐ]ξ ὀνόματος γνώσεως ἄχρι τῆς τοῦ Σε|[βαστοῦ ---] might suggest that an ambassador of the city was already «known to Augustus» (Σεβαστόγνωστος): cf. ROBERT, *Études anatoliennes*, 1937, 228, citing expressions such as μέχρι τὰς τῶν Σεβαστῶν γνώσεως προκόψαντος and διὰ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς Σεβαστοὺς γνώσιν τυχόντα τῆς διὰ γένους ξυσταρχίας.

15. ἐπήκοος seems to follow from the previous line: «knowledge (of him?) by name (having come as far as Augustus' hearing, e.g.), he (Augustus) listened readily ...» ἐπήκοος is an epithet often applied to gods, and recalls the hyperbolic language of lines 3–4.²⁵

17. ἐπαχθέστατα here presumably means «with very great distress,» though ἐπαχθής normally means «burdensome», «vexatious». οἰκησιτάτην: for cities «close» to the emperors, cf. on line 9 and ROBERT, *OMS VI* 236–237 (HSCP 1977), with previous bibliography.

18. «returning (?) from deeds of war and having time to pity (for the pity of) the city»; the implication is that Augustus had returned to Italy and was free to take measures to relieve the stricken cities.

20. With τὰς ἐλπίδας τῶν δε[ο]μένων ἐφθασεν cf. Aristid. 20, 7, of Marcus and Commodus, ἔφθασαν ἡμᾶς ἀνιστάντες, πρὶν ἐξελλεῖν τὸν ἐροῦντα πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἄπεπόνθαμεν.

22. With τὴν (?) τῆς πόλεως κτίσιν ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ θέμενος cf. Aristid. 20, 5, «For the city, the fact of having been resurrected (ἀνεργεθῆναι) by these men [Marcus and

²⁴ On Chaeremon see above.

²⁵ LSJ s. v. I 1: JONES, *Chiron* 44, 2014, 32 n. 23.

Commodus] and enlisting such great founders (ἀρχηγέται) has turned your disaster into prosperity.» Emperors who contribute to the rebuilding of cities are often hailed as κτίσται; Suetonius says of Augustus, *urbium quasdam ... terra motu subuersas denuo condidit* (Aug. 47). On ἡμερότης, see below, *Identification of the issuing city*.

23. The phrase τῶν ἰδίων πράξεων καὶ χρηῶν, if it refers to Augustus, recalls Horace's opening to the second book of his Epistles, *cum tot sustineas et tanta negotia solus ...* If correctly read, ΕΝΕΓΚΑΚ might be an aorist participle of φέρω.

25. τῆς ἀμφοτέρων σωτηρίας ἐφρό[ντισ]εν. ἀμφοτέροι normally refers to persons or things of an identical kind such as feet or hands, either singular or plural; who or what the two entities are here remains a puzzle.

26. ἐγειρομένης: cf. Aristid. 20, 5, ἀνεργεθῆναι; 20, 20, οἱ (Marcus and Commodus) δ' ἐπὶ τῶν ἰχνῶν ἐγείρουσιν.

27. for οἰκοθεν, «from his (her, their) own funds», J. and L. ROBERT, Bull. ép. 1976, 663 (p. 551). If Augustus is meant here, it is relevant that he claims in the Res Gestae to have helped the aerarium four times «with my own money» (χρήμασιν ἑμοῖς, 17.1); the appendix similarly states that he spent a countless sum (ἄπειρον πλῆθος) on cities in the provinces «crippled by earthquakes and fires» (σεισμοῖς καὶ ἐνπυρισμοῖς πεπονηκῶν, App. 4).

28. Provided that the text is correctly read, «its/her own kindness towards it and her own eagerness and assent» makes excellent sense. If Augustus is still the subject, the other actor might be his wife Livia,²⁶ or alternatively the senate (σύγκλητος). εὐέντευκτος, «approachable», is a rare word, also found in an inscription of Mylasa.²⁷

29–30. καὶ γενόμενος ἀρχηγέ[της | τῆς πόλεως (?)]: ἀρχηγέτης is often applied to gods and heroes with reference to their role in founding a community, in which sense it is close to οἰκιστής.²⁸ Aristides 20, 5 (quoted above) applies it to Marcus and Commodus as the new founders of Smyrna, and here it may refer to Augustus or another member of the imperial family.

30. The syntax of this line is difficult to follow, but the words ζήλω συ(γ)ενοῦς ἐαυτῷ seem clear, as do αὐτῇ διαμαρτύρηκεν αὐτῷ. «Alike in zeal» (LSJ συγγενής II 2) presumably refers to the same actor (Livia or the senate?) whose «eagerness and assent» is mentioned in line 28. διαμαρτυρέω, another comparatively rare word, is attested in the decree for Polemaios of Colophon of the late second century BCE: διαμαρτυρημένην ἔσχεν τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν πρασομένων χάριν (L. and J. ROBERT, Claros I, 1989, Polemaios III 39–42).

²⁶ Cf. Livia's unsuccessful intervention with Augustus on behalf of Samos, J. M. REYNOLDS, *Aphrodisias and Rome*, 1982, no. 4, 5 (OLIVER, *Greek Constitutions of Early Roman Emperors*, 1989, no. 1).

²⁷ ROBERT, *AJA* 39, 1935, 335–336, citing the inscription now I.Mylasa 136, 7; cf. for the adverb εὐεντεύκτως I.Mylasa 119, 2; 603, 7.

²⁸ O. JESSEN, *RE* 2, 1895, 441–444; recent bibliography in S. HORNBLLOWER, *A Commentary on Thucydides* 3, 2008, 280.

33. δικαίως ἄθαν[ά]του τετευχῶς [δόξης?]. The Mytilene decree similarly numbers Augustus with those «who have achieved heavenly glory and have the superiority and power of gods» (τοῖς οὐρανίου τετευχόσι δόξης καὶ θεῶν ὑπεροχὴν καὶ κράτος ἔχουσιν, OGIS 456, 37–39). [τύχης] is also a possible restoration: Vaccius Labeo at Kyme, no doubt thinking of Augustus, refuses excessive honors such as the title of κτιστής, «conforming his own fortune to what is within human reach» (προσμετρεῖς τὰν ἑαυτῶ τύχαν τοῖς ἐφικτοῖσιν ἀνθρώπῳ, I.Kyme 19, 13–14).

34. ἐκτενῆας οὔσης ὑπερμεγέθους. ἐκτένεια is not so much «zeal, assiduousness» (LSJ) as «devotion» or «concern». Thus Menippos of Colophon is «devoted and beneficent towards the community» (περὶ τὴν πολιτείαν ἐκτενῆ καὶ φιλάγαθον), and in turn the city feels «devotion to Menippos» (τὴν πρὸς Μένιππον ἐκτένειαν, L. and J. ROBERT, *Claros I*, 1989, Menippos III 32, 40); the son of Cleanax of Cyme under Augustus «has already displayed his own devotion to the city by his many good deeds» (ἀποδεδειγμένον ἤδη διὰ τῶν ἰδίων ἀνδραγαθημάτων τὰν εἰς τὰν πόλιν ἐκτένηαν, SEG 32, 1243, 25–26).

36. βουλόμενος ἀλλ[ά] οὐ δυνάμενος: this phrase seems unlikely to refer to the emperor, and the subject may be the δήμος «wishing but not being able» to do more, though the context is elusive.²⁹

38. τὴν τε πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώ[ρ]αν ἀναδεδειχθαι: the last word is clearly followed by a vertical and a rounded letter, which could be lunate sigma. Hence I tentatively suggest ἱε[ρὰν καὶ ἄσυλον], though if it were correct, it would be a surprisingly late instance of such a broad request for inviolability. KENT RIGSBY has argued that from the late Republic onwards the Romans did not concede inviolability to entire cities, but only to specific sanctuaries.³⁰ If the city that issued this decree is indeed Chios (see below), the god to whom it was «sacred» is presumably Dionysos, since his cult was prominent among the cults of Chios, and his son Oinopion was the legendary first settler of the island.³¹

Date and context

Though the decree reviews several benefactions of Augustus to Asia from the aftermath of the civil wars onwards, the decree itself must be from a date much later in the reign. Though a priesthood of Gaius Caesar (line 2) might have been established early in the young prince's career, for instance on his adoption by Augustus in 17 BCE, a likelier terminus post is his taking of the *toga uirilis* and his introduction into public

²⁹ Cf. the decree for the sons of Tryphaena, IGR IV 145, 5–6 (Syll.³ 798), βασιλέων κἂν πάνυ ἐπινοῶσιν ... ἴσας ἀμοιβὰς οἷς εὐεργέτηνται μὴ δυναμένων.

³⁰ K. J. RIGSBY, *Asylia: Territorial Inviolability in the Ancient World*, 1996, 29, «we can claim no certain addition to the list of inviolable places in imperial times.»

³¹ F. GRAF, *Nordionische Kulte*, 1985, 74, «Auf Chios, der durch ihren Weinbau berühmten Insel, nimmt Dionysos eine wichtige Stellung ein.»

life by Augustus in 6/5. This was the occasion on which Sardis passed a decree appointing both the day of his entry into manhood and the day when the news reached Sardis as public holidays.³² A mutilated decree of Samos has several points in common with the decree of Sardis, and for this too P. HERRMANN has proposed a date of 6 or 5.³³ The lower terminus must be uncertain, though a date before Gaius' death in 2 CE seems likely. Gaius held the stephanephorate of Miletus in 1/2 CE; in Eresos, where he held the eponymous prytany, a rich benefactor built a temple for Gaius and Lucius «in the most conspicuous part of the agora».³⁴

Identification of the issuing city

The new fragment shows that Eudemos son of Epicrates, the principal mover of the decree, was simultaneously priest of Gaius Caesar, and (if the supplement του αὐτοῦ is correct) στεφανηφόρος and «secretary of the people».³⁵ That immediately excludes Cos, which had a μόναρχος as its eponymous magistrate; eponymous στεφανηφόροι are mainly found in Ionia.³⁶

The principal argument in favor of Cos was a supposed reference to the mythical founder Merops in lines 22/23, which DITTENBERGER restored [τὴν] τῆς πόλεως κτί[σ]ιν ἐφ' ἑατῶ [θ]έμ[εν]ος, καὶ [τ]οσοῦτον ἢ Μέροπ[α | ὑπερέβαλε]. But τοσοῦτον means «so much», not «by so much», which is τοσοῦτω (LSJ s. v. τοσοῦτος III, «with comparatives ... or with words implying comparison»), and ἢ as it stands is meaningless. The last words of line 22 can be clearly read as τοσοῦτον ἡμερότη[ι][τος], possibly followed by [ἐπιδειξάμενος]. For ἡμερότης (mildness) as a quality of rulers, cf. Aelius Aristides (?), To the King 35, 22, ὦν γὰρ τηλικούτος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἡμερότητι καὶ ἐπιεικείᾳ διενήνοχεν ἀπάντων βασιλέων; Eusebius, Vita Constantini 3, 10, 4, τρόπων ἐπιεικείᾳ πραότητι τε βασιλικῆς ἡμερότητος; Isidore of Pelusium to Theodosius II, Ep. I 35 (Migne, PG 78, 204C): ἡμερότητι κίρνα τὴν ἐξουσίαν.

There are two principal clues to the true origin of the decree.³⁷ After a general statement of Augustus' benefactions to the world, it contains a clause apparently describing his «former» (πρότερον) kindnesses to the city, and then turns to his actions in connection with «the misfortune of the earthquakes» (τῆς δὲ τῶν σεισμῶν περιστάσ[εως] ----- (?)), line 7).³⁸ A few lines later, there is a reference to his Cantabrian War (καταπολεμῶν δὲ Καντάβρους, line 13), for which he left Rome in late 27, returning in 24. The city responsible for the present decree must have been an import-

³² I.Sardis 8, 6–21 (IGR IV 1756; EHRENBERG – JONES² no. 99).

³³ P. HERRMANN, AM 75, 1960 [1962], 70–82, especially 78–80 on the date; IG XII 6, 7.

³⁴ IG XII Suppl. 124; ROBERT, OMS VII 573–575 (Stele Kondoleon).

³⁵ On this title at Chios and elsewhere, J. VANSEVEREN, RPhil, ser. 3, 11, 1937, 344–347. For an inscription mentioning a στεφανηφόρος and plural γραμματεῖς on Chios, SEG 33, 692.

³⁶ For a list, D. MAGIE, Roman Rule in Asia Minor, 1950, 836–837.

³⁷ The supplement [Χεί]ων in line 32 is too uncertain to serve as an argument.

³⁸ On περιστάσις, above, n. 23.

ant one, since Augustus «most grievously pitied [it] as very dear to himself» (ἐπαχθέστατα κατώκτιρεν ὡς οἰκητοτάτην [τὴν πόλιν], lines 17–18). The text also claims (if Augustus is still the subject) that he took a personal interest in its reconstruction ([τὴν] (?) τῆς πόλεως κτιί{ι}σιν ἐφ' ἑατῶ θέμενος, line 22). As already observed, Suetonius mentions Chios as one of three cities, together with Laodicea and Thyatira, on whose behalf Tiberius spoke before the senate when they had been damaged by an earthquake early in the reign of Augustus.

There is a more decisive indication in lines 11–13, «the man of much learning who proclaimed the deeds (?) of demi-gods and gods» (τῷ πολυϊστορι καὶ τὰς τῶν ἰσοθέων καὶ θεῶν κηρύσσον[τι τιμάς, e.g.]). HERZOG identified this person as Tiberius, «auf dessen litterarische Studien die ihm hier gegebenen Prädikate sehr gut passen». All that is known of Tiberius' poetic compositions is a lyric on the death of Lucius Caesar and Greek poems in imitation of Euphronius, Rhianus and Parthenius.³⁹ A much more likely, indeed obvious, candidate for this description is the poet of poets, Homer. Strabo uses the same epithet for him, «of much learning and many voices» (πολυϊστῶρ καὶ πολύφωνος; the play on words is impossible to reproduce), and Apuleius similarly calls him *poeta multiscius*; Alexander famously envied Achilles for having such a «herald.»⁴⁰ Chios based its claim to be Homer's birthplace on an allusion in the Hymn to Apollo, and in later times pointed to descendants of Homer still living in its midst. If a plausible supplement is correct, a citizen of Chios in the years after the Peace of Apamea simultaneously honored the Romans and set up altars for the Muses «because of the glory that has come to the city [from the poet]» (διὰ τὴμ περιγεγουῖαν τῆ πόλει δόξ[αν ἀπὸ τοῦ ποιητοῦ]).⁴¹

Another consideration favors Chios as the origin of this decree, the name of the primary mover, Eudemos son of Eucrates. Silver coins of Chios have an obverse showing the sphinx (one of the city's symbols, together with the amphora) and the genitive Σεβαστοῦ; on the reverse are two names in the nominative, Εὐδημος and Διογένης (Plates 4, 5).⁴² The name Εὐδημος with the title of φιλόκαισαρ also occurs in a list of

³⁹ KFF 147–148, citing Hor. Epist. 1, 3, 8, Suet. Tib. 70, 1–2. I do not know whether HERZOG maintained this identification after changing his mind about Cos.

⁴⁰ «Of much learning»: Strabo: 3, 2, 12, 149 C, Apuleius, Apologia 31, 5. «Herald»: Cicero, Pro Arch. 24 = FGtHist 153 T 1; Plut. Alex. 15, 8; etc.

⁴¹ Hom. Hymn. Apoll. 3, 172. Descendants of the poet: Str. 14, 1, 35, 645 C., ἀμφισβητοῦσι καὶ Ὀμήρου Χίοι, μαρτύριον τοὺς Ὀμηρίδας καλουμένους ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐκείνου γένους προχειρίζομενοι, cf. 10, 4, 19, 482 C. A Chian delegate to Claros in 161/62 is a «descendant of Homer» (Ὀμήρου ἀπόγονος): J.-L. FERRARY, ed., Les Mémoires de Délégations du Sanctuaire oraculaire de Claros, 2014, no. 155, 7, with FERRARY's discussion ad loc. Benefactor: SEG 30, 1073, 35–36 as supplemented by A. CHANIOTIS (SEG 55, 956).

⁴² MAVROGORDATO, Num. Chron. 4th ser., 17, 1917, 224–224, nos. 81, 82, dating the issue «a little previous to, and coincident with, the accession of Augustus,» but it cannot be before 27; Roman Provincial Coinage 1, 410, nos. 2412–2413; SARIKAKIS, Prosopographia E 200 (following G. DUNST in supposing that the legend denotes only one moneyer, Diogenes son of Eudemos).

magistrates approximately dated to the beginning of the Christian era.⁴³ The Eudemos of the decree was clearly active in promoting the cult of the Augustan house on Chios, and he may be identical with one of these Eudemoi.



Plate 4: RPC I 2412, obverse
(©The Trustees of the British Museum)



Plate 5: RPC I 2412, reverse
(©The Trustees of the British Museum)

An inscription discovered in Chios by CARLO VIDUA, Italian statesman and world traveler (1785–1803), was first published by A. ΒΟΕΚΚΗ. A unknown proconsul of Asia, occupied with settling a dispute between the city and certain of its adversaries, was influenced in favor of Chios by documents that its ambassadors had produced. Among them was a «very old» (παλαιότατον) *senatus consultum* passed in 80 BCE, which mentioned Chios' suffering during the war with Mithridates VI and granted the city autonomy. Another document was a letter written by Augustus to Chios in 26 BCE whereby he granted or confirmed the city's freedom and gave it certain legal privileges. 26 being the probable year of the earthquake, Augustus' letter must surely be connected with it, and was perhaps designed in part to bolster the city's finances in a time of distress.⁴⁴

Against the attribution to Chios it might be urged that no decree of the city has a prescript of this form. The only decree at all close in date of which the prescript survives is one honoring the benefactor Claudia Metrodora in the mid-first century CE, where the movers are restored, on the pattern of Hellenistic decrees, as the polemarchs and ἔξετασταί.⁴⁵ But imperial-period Chios certainly had a board of generals, since a

⁴³ SEG 17, 381, C 10; on this list, P. M. FRASER, in: S. ŞAHİN et al., eds., *Studien zur Religion und Kultur Kleinasiens: Festschrift für Friedrich Karl Dörner*, 1978, 363–371.

⁴⁴ CIG 2222; Syll.³ 785; R. K. SHERK, *Roman Documents* no. 70; *Bull. ép.* 1983, 336.

⁴⁵ ROBERT, OMS I 503–505 (BCH 1933).

base in honor of Lucius Verus is set up by the «first general»; another inscription is dated by the general in office, not by the στεφανηφόρος. This suggests that the board of generals had become more prominent in the administration of the city in the imperial period, perhaps under Roman influence.⁴⁶

Form and content of the decree

The «considerations» are introduced by ἐπ(ε)ῖ (line 3), but there is no clear sign of a transition to the «dispositions». A phrase in line 39, δεηθῆναι δὲ αὐτοῦ συνχωρήσαι, looks like part of instructions to an intermediary or an embassy, but that could have been included in the considerations, as happens in the decree of Samos already mentioned. There the instructions to a future embassy (lines 13, 16, etc.), also expressed in the infinitive, occur in the considerations, while the dispositions are reduced to a short summary, «it was resolved ... to appoint ambassadors to (Augustus) and that the rest should be done in accordance with what is written above.»

A puzzle that the fragmentary nature of the text does not allow to be solved is whether the decree refers to a second benefactor as well as to Augustus. Though the emperor is clearly the subject up to about line 15, thereafter the language might appear to describe a benefactor of non-imperial status; in particular, the use of πατρίς in 26 suggests someone for whom Chios was an «ancestral city» by birth or personal grant.⁴⁷ It might therefore be supposed that, after first describing Augustus' benefactions to the city during and after the Cantabrian War of the 20's, the decree went on to praise a benefactor who had contributed «with his own funds» (line 27) to its rebuilding, and that it urged him to obtain further benefits for the city such as a declaration of its «sacred» status (line 38). A benefactor in the reign of Augustus, though presumably not the one referred to here, is Herod «the Great» of Judaea, who showered Chios and many other cities of the Greek east with his liberality. In the reign of Tiberius the city also received benefits from Antiochus IV of Commagene.⁴⁸

Style

As LOUIS ROBERT several times observed, public documents from the late Republic onwards develop a recognizable style. The educated classes that had increasing weight in civic affairs were well versed in contemporary rhetoric, and displayed their education in the language of the public documents that they drew up; when composing

⁴⁶ «First general»: CIG 2287. Dating by year of general: SEG 15, 531. For generals as magistrates in the late Hellenistic period, MAGIE (above, n. 36) 1006–1007; S. DMITRIEV, *City Government in Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor*, 2005, 16–17, 27–29.

⁴⁷ A citizen-body as such as the δῆμος would normally refer to its own city as ἡ πόλις, and use πατρίς only in relation to a specific person or group, e.g. δευτέραν νομίζων πατρίδα τὴν ἡμετέραν πόλιν, Bull. ép. 1976, 568 (p. 521); though given the elaborate style of this decree that may not be true here.

⁴⁸ ROBERT, *Etudes épigraphiques et philologiques*, 1938, 134–142.

decrees that involved praise of the emperors or those close to them, they seem to have put extra effort into employing an elaborate and *recherché* diction.⁴⁹ Such a style is evident in the Calendar Decree of 9 BCE in which the province of Asia praises the proconsul Paullus Fabius Maximus, in a decree also of Asia in praise of Augustus, perhaps of 15 CE, in one from the reign of Gaius in which Assos congratulates the emperor on his accession, and a contemporary one of Cyzicos in honor of Queen Tryphaena of Pontos and her sons.⁵⁰

Conclusion

Chios' record of support for Rome went back nearly two centuries. In the war with Antiochus III, it served as a naval base for the Romans, and was richly rewarded under the terms of the Peace of Apamea; along with Smyrna and Erythrai the Chians received territory, in Polybius' words, «which they desired to acquire at the time and considered to belong to them by rights». After the war, a citizen-benefactor contributed from his own funds to honor the Romans, and the city instituted a new festival, the Rhomaia, attaching it to its already existing Theophania.⁵¹ For the next hundred years little is known about Chian history, but in the first war with Mithridates VI (Euergetes) it again took the Roman side, and a Chian vessel rammed the royal flagship, for which the king punished the city severely, and renamed it Berenike after one of his own wives.⁵² In 80 BCE, the year of Sulla's second consulate, the senate voted a decree under which Chios received full autonomy, including the right to try Roman citizens in its own courts.⁵³ In 47, it honored Julius Caesar as its patron (CIG 2215). Unlike other Asian cities, it does not seem to be mentioned in the civil wars that followed Caesar's death, but it presumably remained loyal to the Caesarian cause and was rewarded when the wars had ended, as it had been after the wars with Antiochus and Mithridates. Apart from the earthquake of 26 and Tiberius' plea on its behalf, Dio records that Tiberius, then a virtual exile on Rhodes, met Gaius in Chios «and paid

⁴⁹ ROBERT, OMS II 841–842 (REA 1960), «Cette nouvelle aristocratie des cités possède une éducation soignée, elle honore et cultive la παιδεία; la rhétorique prend de plus en plus de place dans la formation des jeunes et des élites; aussi le «secrétaire», haut personnage qui rédige les décrets et les lettres, les écrit-il au goût rhétorique du jour.»

⁵⁰ Decree for Fabius Maximus: EHRENBERG – JONES² 98, with new readings supplied by the copy from Metropolis, SEG 56, 1233. Decree of Halicarnassus: EHRENBERG – JONES² 98a. I.Assos 26. Tryphaena: IGR IV 145 (Syll.³ 798).

⁵¹ J. BRISCOE, A Commentary on Livy, Books XXXIV–XXXVII, 1981, 284. After Apamea: Plb. 21.45.6, tr. PATON (Livy, 38, 39, 11); F. W. WALBANK, A Historical Commentary on Polybius 3, 1979, 170. Benefactor: SEG 30, 1073 (above, n. 41).

⁵² Posid. FGrHist 87 F 38 = Athen. VI 91, 266 E–F; Memnon, FGrHist 434 F 1, 23 (p. 353); Appian, Mithr. 101, 180–186. Berenike: Steph. Byz. s. v. Βερενίκαι: ... τετάρτη ἢ πρότερον Χίος (I, 338 BILLERBECK). About 88, Mithridates also entered chariots in one of the city's contests: ROBERT, OMS 1, 518–524 (BCH 1935); OMS VII 285 (JS 1978).

⁵³ Decision of 80 BCE: above, n. 44. *Civitas libera*: Pliny, Nat. Hist. 5, 136.

court to him, thus endeavoring to clear himself of suspicion; indeed, he humiliated himself and groveled at the feet, not only of Gaius, but also of all the associates of Gaius.» Suetonius places this or a similar meeting of the two on Samos.⁵⁴

As well as its pro-Roman history, Chios could count on its reputation as the true birthplace of Homer. By adoption Augustus had entered one of the *Troianae gentes*, and as emperor he advertised his family's Trojan origins in many ways. Though Augustan poets proclaimed that «Troy» was never to be rebuilt, he showed favor to its modern avatar, Ilium, as other Julii had done before him. He repaired the temple of Athena Ilias, and stayed in the city as a guest of one of the leading citizens.⁵⁵ In the first years of his reign, he encouraged the writing of an epic, the Roman answer both to the *Odyssey* and the *Iliad*, that would show Aeneas carrying the *penates* from burning Troy to Latium, whence they would eventually be moved to Rome.

Augustus was also a great benefactor of Olympia,⁵⁶ not least because of the frequent comparison of himself with the king of the gods: in the provincial cult of Asia, he was officially assimilated to Zeus Patrōos after his death.⁵⁷ As a great center of Hellenism, crowded with visitors every fourth year because of its contest founded by Heracles, Olympia was also the ideal place for grateful subjects to advertise their loyalty and gratitude. Much as Chios set up its decree of thanks there to Augustus late in the reign, so also Naples used the same location to publicize its Augustan games (*Sebasta*) founded in 2 CE. The decree of Mytilene discussed above was set up in a very large number of places, from Syria to Spain, and though many of their names have perished, one of them might well have been Elis. The present text may similarly be only one among several copies of the decree of Chios.⁵⁸

*Department of the Classics,
Harvard University,
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138
U. S. A.
cjones@fas.harvard.edu*

⁵⁴ Cass. Dio 55, 10, 19 (translated E. CARY, Loeb); Suet. Tib. 12, 2. Cf. G. W. BOWERSOCK, in: E. SEGAL – F. MILLAR, eds., *Caesar Augustus; Seven Aspects*, 1984, 180 (BOWERSOCK informs me that he now thinks two meetings are likely).

⁵⁵ *Stay*: I.Illion no. 83. *Repair of temple*: I.Illion no. 84, cf. C. B. ROSE, *Studia Troica* 13, 2003, 65–66.

⁵⁶ E. N. GARDINER, *Olympia: Its History and Remains*, 1925, 158–162; A. LO MONACO, *ASAA* 81, 1 (2003 [2004]), 475–510.

⁵⁷ *Asia*: W. H. BUCKLER, *RPhil* 9, 1935, 177–188. In general, M. M. WARD, *The Association of Augustus with Jupiter*, *Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni* 9, 1933, 203–224.

⁵⁸ *Sebasta*: IvO 56 (for further bibliography, SEG 37, 356). *Mytilene*: IG XII 2, 58, 12–14, with DITTENBERGER's note, OGIS 456 n. 5.

Der CHIRON wird jahrgangweise und in Leinen gebunden ausgeliefert.
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redaktion.chiron@dainst.de*