

New Inscriptions from the Smintheion

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2009 was a bumper year in terms of epigraphic finds for the sanctuary of Apollo Smintheus, also known as the Smintheion, located in the southwest Troad.¹ The decision to extend the excavations to the north of the temple of Apollo Smintheus in 2008, under the direction of the former director of the excavation, A. C. Özgünel, resulted in the addition of a large number of new inscriptions to the epigraphic repertoire of the Smintheion and thus of Alexandria Troas, many of which date from the Roman imperial period. In the years that followed, the addition of new inscriptions to the repertoire continued but at a decreasing level. Today, it consists of a large number of statue bases, bearing honorary inscriptions, and dedications, found scattered around the so-called sacred road. This paper presents six new inscriptions found in the sanctuary in different years; apart from inscription no. 2, which was found in 2006, all the others were discovered from 2009 onwards.

1. Building inscription dated by a *hieronomos*

In 2021, this rectangular marble block was found in a conglomerate fence wall separating two fields, some 350 metres to the northwest of the temple of Apollo Smintheus. Despite some damage to the edges, the block is intact. The proper right side and back of the stone, as well as the top, are roughly carved. The left side is smooth but not as smooth as the front of the block, where the inscription is carved. The front is the only face decorated with an upper moulding; the other faces are left undecorated. These features suggest that this block was part of an architectural structure and that it stood at the left end of the structure as a cornerstone. The block is 68 cm high, 47.5 cm wide, and 48 cm deep. The height of the letters varies between 0.7 cm (O) and 1.7 cm (Λ). Fig. 1. Date: First century BC.

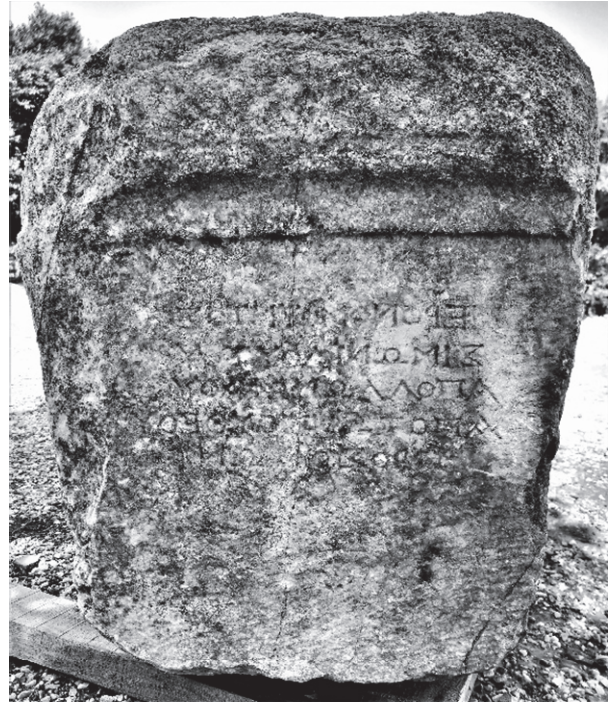


Fig. 1) Construction or restoration inscription of an unknown building

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¹ We would like to thank Christopher S. Lightfoot for polishing our English.

	Ἱερονομοῦντος	“When Simonides, son
	Σιμωνίδου τοῦ	of Apollonophaes, was
	Ἀπολλωνοφάου	serving as hieronomos,
		(it was built/restored)
4	ἀπὸ τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ	from the revenues of
	προσόδων.	the god.”

This inscribed block originally belonged to an unknown architectural structure (see below), the building or restoration of which was dated by the office of the *hieronomos* of Σιμωνίδης, son of Ἀπολλωνοφάης. It is noteworthy that this is the first inscription from the Smintheion/Alexandria Troas to be published that attests to the existence of a *hieronomos* in the sanctuary of Apollo Smintheus. However, there is another *hieronomos* from the Smintheion, who appears in the dating formula of an as yet unpublished Hellenistic inscription from the site.

The office of *hieronomos* was specific to Asia Minor, with the exception of one example found in Thrace.² In the Troad, *hieronomoi* appear in five inscriptions in Ilion and served the cult of Athena. However, these inscriptions, all dating from the Hellenistic period, provide very limited information about the tasks of *hieronomoi* at the sanctuary. The earliest epigraphic attestation from Ilion is known in an honorary decree from 281 BC for Seleukos I Nikator. However, *lacunae* at the end of the inscription do not allow us to ascertain the task assigned to the *hieronomoi* in the decree.³ Another document from Ilion is a decree in honour of Antiochos I, dated shortly after 280 BC; *hieronomoi* and *prytaneis* together with a priestess and envoys were in charge of the sacrifice to be offered to Athena Ilias.⁴ The other two inscriptions, both from the second century BC, demonstrate that it was also the responsibility of the *hieronomoi* to allocate a suitable place for *stelai* to be erected in the temple of the goddess.⁵ In a fragmentary inscription of a sympolity treaty between Ilion and Skamandroi, the phrase indicating that it was decided “to elect a *hieronomos* among the inhabitants of Skamandroi” is interpreted by P. Frish in connection with the continuity of the sacred traditions of Skamandroi.⁶ In Ilion, no *hieronomos* is known from the Roman imperial period, except for one debatable example.⁷ Similarly, at Pergamon in Mysia the presence of *hieronomoi* is prominent in the sanctuary of Athena and Asklepios.⁸ The inscriptions are relatively informative regarding the tasks of *hieronomoi* in the service of the cult

² On *hieronomos*, see e.g. BE 1951, 55; BE 1952, 100; Wörrle’s (*I.Pergamon Asklepieion* p. 187-190) discussion on *hieronomos* is very useful. In the inscription from Dionysopolis in Thrace, a *hieronomos* named Marcus Aurelius Koures dedicated a monument to the association of Asians (σπεῖρα Ἀσιανῶν), see *IGBulg* I 23; cf. BE 1952, 100; Ascough et al. 2012, 57 no. 71 [available online: URL: <http://www.philipharland.com/greco-roman-associations/?p=3236>; accessed 5 March 2023].

³ *I.Ilion* 31 l. 24.

⁴ *I.Ilion* 32 ll. 27-29: ἐ[πὶ δὲ] ταῖς εὐχαῖς τῆι μὲν Ἀθηνᾶι συντελεσάτωσαν τὴν νομιζομένην καὶ πάτ[ριον θυ]σίαν οἱ τε ἱερονόμοι καὶ οἱ πρυτάνεις μετὰ τῆς ἱερείας καὶ τῶν πρεσβευτῶν ...

⁵ *I.Ilion* 53 ll. 26-29: τ[ο]ὺς δὲ ἱερονόμους παρα[δείξει] τόπ[ου]ν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ πρὸς τὴν ἀ[νά]θεσιν τῆς στήλης τὸν ἐπιτηδεϊότατον; *I.Ilion* 58 l. 4: [τὸν δὲ τόπον παραδειξάτω]σαν οἱ ἱερονόμοι ...

⁶ *I.Ilion* 63 l. 16 (ca. 100 BC) - - - αἰρεῖσθα]ι δὲ καὶ ἱερονόμον τῶν οἰκούντων ἐ[ν Σκαμάνδροις] - - -

⁷ *I.Ilion* 154; Cf. Jaccottet, *Dionysos* 170 no. 90.

⁸ On *hieronomoi* in Pergamon, see *I.Pergamon Asklepieion* p. 187-190.

of Athena at Pergamon. A fragmentary Hellenistic decree informs us that *hieronomoi* who served in the sanctuary of Athena were responsible for paying the expenses of each stage of the erecting of the *stèle* that records the decree, using the revenues that they managed.⁹ Another inscription from Pergamon referring to the *hieronomoi* serving the cult of Athena is clear evidence that they were in charge of managing the money stored in the temple.¹⁰ Recording three decrees on the regulation of the cult of Athena Nikephoros with the initiative of Dionysios son of Menophilos, who served as *hieronomos*, the inscription demonstrates that the *hieronomoi* had authority over the distribution of the money collected from the sale of the skins from the sacrifices as well as the sacrificial fees and that they were appointed annually.

As for *hieronomoi* who served the cult of Asclepius, there is less epigraphic evidence; a decree honouring Attalos III entrusted *hieronomoi* with the responsibility for the sacrifices during the reception on the "sacred day" to be celebrated at the sanctuary of Asklepios.¹¹ Another *hieronomos* is also found in the *lex sacra* from the Asklepieion of Pergamon dating from the second century AD; as in the case of a decree on the regulations of the cult of Athena Nikephoros mentioned above, while holding the office of *hieronomos*, Clodius Glykon had the *lex sacra* set up.¹² In addition, two honorary inscriptions from the city also mention two individuals, who served as *hieronomos*, but their association with the city cults is unspecified.¹³ M. Wörrle suggested that the *hieronomoi* at Pergamon, gathered in an association, may have been the authority responsible for all the sanctuaries of the city in general and that the members of this association may have held different positions in different cults.¹⁴ Another *hieronomos*, named Demetrios, appears at the beginning of a third-century BC funerary law from Gambreion, a site which was located close to Pergamon; he was probably the proposer of the enactment of the law for the people.¹⁵

⁹ *I.Pergamon* 161 Fragment B ll. 11-15: τὸ δὲ [ἀνάλωμ]α τὸ εἰς τ[ὴν σ]τήλην καὶ τὴν ἀν[αγραφή]ν τοῦ ψηφ[ίσ]ματος καὶ τὴν στάσιν [δ]οῦναι τοὺς ἐ[ρο]νόμους τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἀπὸ τῶμ προσόδ[ων], ὧν χειρίζουσιν.

¹⁰ *I.Pergamon* 255 ll 22-28: ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν τοὺς κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν τασσομένους ἱερωνόμους παραλαμβάνοντας τὰ τιθέμενα δέ[ρ]ματα ὑπὸ τῶν θυόντων καὶ πωλοῦντας διδόναι νεωκόρωι [ύ]δος μὲν =, προβάτου δὲ ἡμιωβέλιον, ἀλητριδί καὶ ὀλολυκτρίαι κοινῆι τὸ ἴσον· τῶν δ' ἐν τῆι ἄκραι θυομένων καὶ πυλωρῶι τῆς ἄκρας, βοὸς μὲν Σ, προβάτου δὲ Σ, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν τῆς τιμῆς κατατάσσειν εἰς τὰς ἱεράς προσόδους. Cf. *LSAM* 12; Greek Ritual Norms 212, lines 22-28 (DOI: <https://doi.org/10.54510/CGRN212>; accessed 5 March 2023).

¹¹ The reading of the line 20 varies in different editions; *I.Pergamon* 246 ll. 20-21: τὴν δὲ θυσία[ν ἐπ]ὶ τῆς ὑποδοχῆς ἐπιμελείσθωσαν οἱ ἱερωνόμοι. Cf. *OGIS* 332 l. 20-21: τὴν δὲ θυσία[ν κα]ὶ τῆς ὑποδοχῆς ἐπιμελείσθωσαν οἱ ἱερωνόμοι; Virgilio (2003², 247) follows *OGIS* [trans. *Quanto al sacrificio, se ne prendamo cura gli hieronomoi, e anche del ricevimento.*]; Caneva (2018, 118) follows *I.Pergamon* 246: τὴν δὲ θυσία[ν ἐπ]ὶ τῆς ὑποδοχῆς ἐπιμελείσθωσαν οἱ ἱερωνόμοι. [trans. *les hiéronomes seront responsables du sacrifice du banquet.*].

¹² *I.Pergamon Asklepieion* 161. Cf. Sokolowski 1973, 407-413.

¹³ *I.Pergamon* 466; Hepding 1910, 476-478 no. 64.

¹⁴ *I.Pergamon Asklepieion* p. 189-190.

¹⁵ *CIG* 3562. Cf. *LSAM* 16; Rigsby 1989, 247; Greek Ritual Norms 108 (<https://doi.org/10.54510/CGRN-108>; accessed 5 March 2023).

A remarkable example of the tasks assigned to *hieronomoi* is found in one of a series of honorary decrees for Archippe, daughter of Dikaiaogenes, of Kyme in Aiolis.¹⁶ According to the decree dated after 130 BC, *hieronomoi* together with *agoranomoi* were charged with preventing damage to the temple, the pronaos, and the stoas dedicated by Archippe through the burning of wood or the hanging of pictures or offerings from the beams. They were authorised to impose and collect fines of up to five staters and to spend the money collected from the fines on the maintenance of the temple.

Other examples from Asia Minor do not shed any more light on the tasks of *hieronomoi*; a restored small fragmentary inscription from Miletos can be regarded as an important testimony of the existence of *hieronomos* in Miletos.¹⁷ In addition, *hieronomoi* are occasionally attested in inscriptions found in Hierokaisareia in Lydia.¹⁸ Of these, one inscription is significant, informing us that Artemisdoros and Artigenes built two fountains with the surplus of their income from ἱερονομεία.¹⁹

The present inscription does not reveal any information about the religious duties of the *hieronomoi* at the Smintheion. The appearance of *hieronomos* on an architectural block, apart from dating the construction or restoration of the building, seems to refer more to one of his responsibilities at the Smintheion; *hieronomoi*, not so different from those at the other sanctuaries mentioned above, may have been in charge of various administrative matters relating to the sanctuary, including probably deciding on the construction of new buildings or the maintenance of old ones (see below) as well as the financial affairs of the sanctuary in the Hellenistic period, especially the financial management of such building projects. As mentioned above, this inscription is one of two that refer to the office of *hieronomos* in the sanctuary of Apollo Smintheus. Previously, only *prophetes*, *prophetis* and *hiereus* were known to have served in the sanctuary and the inscriptions attesting to these religious offices all date from the Roman imperial period.²⁰ The inscriptions that were discovered in the Smintheion from 2009 onwards, some of which record religious officials serving in the sanctuary, do not change the present situation; only *prophetes*, *hypophetes* and *hiereus* appear in the inscriptions from the Roman imperial period. This suggests that the office of *hieronomos* may have disappeared for some reason in the Smintheion after the Hellenistic period.

The phrase ἀπὸ/ἐκ προσόδων τῆς θεοῦ appears in several inscriptions that attest to the act of building, reconstructing, or erecting distinct types of architectural structures, infrastructures, or

¹⁶ SEG 33, 1039 ll 80-86: μηδενὶ δὲ ἐξέστω ξύλα κάειν μή[τε] ἐν τῷ ναῷ μήτε ἐν τῷ προνάῳ μηδὲ ἐν ταῖς στοαῖς ταῖς ἀνατιθεμέναις ὑπὸ Ἀρχίππης μηδὲ πίνακας μηδὲ ἄλλο ἀνάθεμα μηθὲν ἔστω ἐκ τῶν δοκῶν κρινά[σαι]. εἰ δὲ μή, κωλυέτωσαν τὸν τούτων τι ποιοῦντα ο[ί]ερονόμοι καὶ οἱ ἀγορανόμοι, [ῶ] ἂν δύνωνται τρόπῳ, καὶ ζημιούτωσαν ἕως στα[τ]ήρων πέντε, ὄντες ἀνυπόδικ[οι], καὶ πραξάτωσαν τὴν ζημίαν ῶ ἂν δύνωνται [τρ]όπῳ καὶ τὰ διάφορα ταῦτα ὑπάρχειν εἰς τὴν ἐπισκευὴν τοῦ ἱεροῦ.

¹⁷ *I.Milet* 1433.

¹⁸ See Malay – Petzl, *Lydia* 15, referring to other epigraphical finds from Hierokaisareia.

¹⁹ *TAM* V.2 1246.

²⁰ *Prophetes* of Apollo Smintheus: *I.Alexandria Troas* 43; 140 (?); *prophetis* of Apollo Smintheus: Schwertheim 2008, 180 no. 2. Basis A and B l. 6 (*AE* 2008, 1339-1340); *hiereus* of Apollo Smintheus: *I.Alexandria Troas* 41.

artefacts with the revenues from the sanctuaries. For example, a bilingual inscription from Ephesos informs us that during his twelfth consulship and the sixteenth year of his tribune power, in 6/5 BC, Augustus had the walls of the Artemision and Augusteum restored from the sacred revenues of the goddess Artemis.²¹ Another inscription on a fragmentary *tabula ansata* found in Lydia and dated to AD 209/201 records that Quintus Luccius Claudianus, an *epimeletes*, completely restored an unknown structure, probably a temple or an altar, according to J. and L. Robert, with the proceeds of the sanctuary of Artemis.²² A parallel example is known from Laertes in Cilicia; a priest of Apollo named Lucius Annius Neon dedicated a base to the god, partly at his own expense and partly from the god's revenues.²³ Parallel inscriptions can also be found on the Greek mainland. Three examples from Delphi attest to the works carried out from the interest and revenues of Apollo Pythios; we are informed of a retaining wall built up to Pylis and another retaining wall built "both on the inner and outer sides below the statues" by Amphictions and *epimeletes* Tiberius Claudius Kleomachos, and a fountain, conduit and walls dedicated to Apollo Pythios by the chief-priest of *Augusti* and *epimeletes* named Tiberius Flavius Megaleinos.²⁴ An inscription from Thebes in Boeotia records that the Thebans dedicated a cistern or well (δύτη) to Kabeiros and Pais from the proceeds of the god.²⁵

It is not possible to determine, at present to which architectural structure in the sanctuary of Apollo Smintheus the present inscribed block belonged. But the possibility that it may have been in connection with the restoration of the temple of Apollo Smintheus or its altar is not out of the question.

This is the first occurrence of the personal name Σιμωνίδης in Alexandria Troas. However, we find the name Ἀπολλωνοφάης on a tetradrachm from the ancient city, dated to 69/68 BC; after Bellinger had read the partially preserved name in the genitive case, [- - -]λωνοφάου, L. Robert restored the name as [Ἀπολ]λωνοφάου.²⁶ Names ending in -φάης are frequent in the Aeolic region of Asia.²⁷ Not only Ἀπολλωνοφάης, but several other Aeolic names, such as Προτοφάης and Βόμβικος, also appear on the coins of Alexandria Troas.²⁸ It seems very likely that the Ἀπολλωνοφάης in the present inscription is the same person as the one appearing on the coin dated 69/68 BC.

2. Commemorative inscription of Kallistos, son of Agemachos

This inscribed block of white marble has been previously discussed by D. Kaplan in his article but without any epigraphic commentary.²⁹ The stone was seen during a survey at the site in the garden

²¹ *I.Ephesos* 1522.

²² *TAM* V.1 242; *BE* 1963, 225.

²³ *Bean – Mitford, Rough Cilicia II* 95-96 no. 72.

²⁴ *CID* 4 139; 140; 141.

²⁵ *IG* VII.2477. Cf. *SEG* 36, 456.

²⁶ Bellinger 1961, 100 no. A166; Robert 1966, 64.

²⁷ In addition to Robert 1966, 64, on names ending in -φάης, also see Masson 1996, 89 = Masson, *OGS* III 245; Hodot, *Dialecte éolien Asie* 123.

²⁸ See Robert 1966, 65. On the discussion of Aeolic names at Alexandria Troas, see Ellis-Evans (forthcoming) chapter 11.

²⁹ Kaplan 2016, 61-63 with figs. 19-20.

of a villager, who had moved it to his property in 1980 after finding it on the bank of the stream flowing through Gülpınar. To keep it safe, the inscription was then transferred to the museum's storage at the Smintheion in 2006. On the front, in addition to the wreath, the block has high reliefs, showing a *cista mystica* with a coiled snake on its closed lid and a small owl facing left; both are standing on a thick protruding ledge.³⁰ On the proper right side of the block, there is a large temple key relief. It should be noted that this rectangular block is not a statue base, as there is no hole at the top to fix a statue on it, but an altar with a flat top that slopes slightly towards the edges.

Although badly weathered, the stone is well preserved apart from the missing upper left corner of the front side. The inscription is barely visible in normal daylight, except for the fourth line which is in better condition. However, concentrated light shone from an acute angle provides a relatively clear image of the inscription. The height of the altar is 76 cm, the width is 49,5 cm, and the depth is 49,5 cm. The height of the letters varies between 1.5 and 2 cm. Fig. 2. Date: Hellenistic.



Fig. 2) Inscription commemorating Kallistos

ὁ δῆμος
Κάλλισ[τ]ον
Ἀγεμάχου

in wreath:

4 χρυσῶι.

“The demos (honoured) Kallistos, son of Age-machos, with golden (wreath).”

App. crit.: 2 The right vertical stroke of *nu* is missing, and no visible letter mark appears following this faint *nu* that may lead us to suggest that this name may have been another one, such as Καλλιστονίκη and Καλλιστόνικος. | 4 If we are not mistaken, the upper part of an *iota* is visible, tightly squeezed between omega and wreath, but very faint.

The inscription shows that this block records an honour bestowed on Kallistos by the *demos*. As mentioned above, the monument is an altar, not a base for a statue. It is therefore highly likely that this altar was erected to

commemorate Kallistos after his death.

³⁰ *Cista mystica* is the cultic object which is associated with the mysteries of Demeter, Dionysos, and Isis, see Krauskopf 2005, 274-275. On the apotropaic function of the owl, see Deonna 1965, 110 n. 3, 111, 147; Laffineur 1981, 432-444.

Another individual from Alexandria Troas named Κάλλιστος is mentioned in a sarcophagus inscription from the first half of the third century AD.³¹ The name Ἀγέμαχος is also known in a dedication to Apollo, dated to the first quarter of the fifth century BC, in the neighbouring ancient city of Neandria in the Troad.³² In general, it is not a common personal name in Asia Minor.³³ Other compound names ending in -μαχος are also recorded in Alexandria Troas; these are Lysimachos, Andromachos, and Nikomachos.³⁴

In his article, Kaplan suggested that the key depiction on the altar may have referred to Kallistos' duty as a key-bearer in the sanctuary of Apollo Smintheus.³⁵ This seems quite possible.³⁶ Although there is no epigraphic evidence so far for the office of key-bearer in the sanctuary, some inscriptions from other sanctuaries attest to key-bearers (κλειδοφόρος, κλειδοῦχος) who served the cult of Apollo. Three dedications made not specifically to Apollo but to the Delian Triad, Apollo, Artemis and Leto, from the island of Delos attest to the existence of the office of *kleidouchos* in the service of Apollo.³⁷ A more significant example is known from the sanctuary of Apollo Klarios in Asia Minor; a *kleidophoros* named Bassos was listed in the last place after γραμματεῖς among other officials in the dating formula of the inscription.³⁸ On the other hand, we should not rule out the possibility that the key depiction appearing on the altar may have only been a reference to the priestly office that he performed at the Smintheion.

3. Honorary inscription of Titus Aelius Metrodoros

This marble statue base decorated with upper and lower mouldings was discovered in 2009 during the excavations to the northwest of the large Roman bath complex, embedded in a Byzantine-era wall. There are two footprints with mortises at the top. The upper moulding is decorated with schematic acroteria. The total height of the statue base is 1.51 m. The lower moulding is wider and deeper than the upper, which is 91.5 cm wide and 90 cm deep. The shaft's width is 72 cm, and its depth is 73 cm. The height of the letters varies between 5.5 and 13 cm (Φ). Fig. 3. Date: Second century A.D.

³¹ *I.Alexandria Troas* 102; cf. *LGPN* 5A s.v. Κάλλιστος (22).

³² Schwertheim 1994, 41-43 no. 2 l. 3 (Ὀγεμάχο (gen. sing.) or Ὀγεμάχειος, patronymic adjective, on the stone); cf. *SEG* 44, 986; *LGPN* 5A s.v. Ἀγέμαχος (3).

³³ *LGPN* 5A s.v. Ἀγέμαχος (Iulia Gordos in Lydia (1), 69 AD; Kyzikos (2), 192 BC; *LGPN* 5B s.v. Ἀγέμαχος (Orthosia in Caria, second/first c. BC).

³⁴ *LGPN* 5A s.v. Ἀνδρόμαχος (25), second c. BC; *LGPN* 5A s.v. Νικόμαχος (64), fourth(?)/third c. BC; *LGPN* 5A s.v. Λυσίμαχος (44), second/first c. BC.

³⁵ Kaplan 2016, 63.

³⁶ On key-bearers functioning in sanctuaries, see Karakas 2019 [available online: <https://doi.org/10.4000/mythos.1219>; accessed 7 February 2023]. Karakas (2019, para. 21) noted that temple keys are rarely depicted with males.

³⁷ *I.Delos* 1830 (second half of the second c.), 1875 (ca. 130 BC), and 1876 (ca. mid. first c. BC.; cf. Mikalson 1998, 220 and n. 15).

³⁸ Macridy 1905, 168-170 IV.3 l. 7. Cf. Busine 2006, 289.

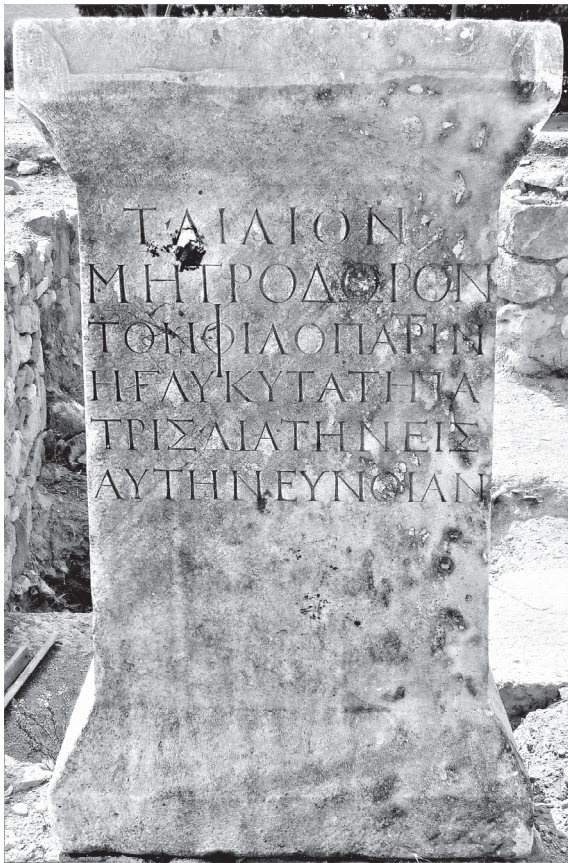


Fig. 3) Inscription honouring Titus Aelius Metrodoros

Aelii of Alexandria Troas. However, two Aelii stand out; Aelius Agathopous in *I.Alexandria Troas* 129, who was a linen producer (ὄθονιακός), and Caius Aelius Rufus recorded in *I.Alexandria Troas* 136, who was a *centurio* of *legio VI Ferrata*.

Φιλόπατρις was an honorary title showing that Titus Aelius Metrodoros, as a benefactor, was passionately devoted to the service of his fatherland.⁴⁰ C. Veligianni has pointed out that this title may have been bestowed as a result of taking on civil offices, performing *leitourgiai*, or giving benefactions.⁴¹ In accordance with this title and the formula διὰ τὴν εἰς αὐτὴν εὐνοίαν at the end of the text, the phrase ἡ γλυκυτάτη πατρις also implicitly portrays the status of Titus Aelius Metrodoros as a benefactor of the city.⁴² Qualifying the word πατρις, the adjective γλυκυτάτη, which transforms the formal sphere into the familial one refers to the close relationship between the

Τ(ίτον) · Αἴλιον ·

Μητρόδωρον

τὸν φιλόπατριν

4 ἡ γλυκυτάτη πα-

τρις · διὰ τὴν εἰς

αὐτὴν εὐνοίαν.

“His dearest fatherland (honoured) Titus Aelius Metrodoros, the lover of his fatherland, because of (his) goodwill towards her.”

Footprints and mortises on the flat top of the base indicate that this inscribed base supported a bronze statue of Titus Aelius Metrodoros, bestowed to him by his fatherland, Alexandria Troas, as an honour.

Metrodoros is one of only six individuals from Alexandria Troas, bearing the imperial *nomen* Aelius. The name is otherwise attested in four sarcophagus inscriptions and one epitaph.³⁹ Owing to their nature, these documents do not supply detailed information about the

³⁹ For persons in Alexandria Troas bearing the imperial *nomen* Aelius, see *I.Alexandria Troas* 83: Aelia Claudia Sympherousa (sarcophagus inscription, second c. AD); 84: Publius Aelius Eunous (sarcophagus inscription, second half of the second c. AD); 88: Aeli[us - - -] (sarcophagus inscription (?), second c. AD); 129: Aelius Agathopous and Marcus Paulinus Aelius Aurelius (?) (sarcophagus inscription, second c. AD); 136: Caius Aelius Rufus (epitaph, first/second c. AD).

⁴⁰ For the title φιλόπατρις, see Robert, *Hellenica* XIII 215; Ferrary 2001, 806; Veligianni 2001, 66-67, 73, 75, 76.

⁴¹ Veligianni 2001, 66-67.

⁴² On the term εὐνοία, see Quaß 1993, esp. 301.

benevolent local elites and their “dearest” fatherland.⁴³ It is unknown to us how Titus Aelius Metrodorus showed his goodwill to his native land.

4. Dedication by Publius Quintilius Axios and his wife Daphne

This inscribed plinth with an attic base was discovered in 2018 during excavations near the remains of a late antique building to the west of the large Roman bath. It must have been moved to the place where it was found at a later date. It is almost intact except for a large piece missing from the rear lower proper left corner and the chipped areas at the front upper right and lower corners. The height is 52.5 cm, the width is 48 cm, and the depth is 48 cm. The diameter of the upper torus is 39.5 cm. In general, the height of the letters decreases from the first line to the last line, with the exception of three letters in the first and third lines, which are largely engraved for decorative purposes. Their height varies between 1.9 and 6.8 cm (Φ). Fig. 4. Date: Second century AD.



Fig. 4) Dedication by Publius Quintilius Axios and his wife

Πόπλιος · Κυντίλι-
ος · Ἄξιος · μετὰ τῆς
ἐαυτοῦ συμβίου · Δάφνης
4 ὦν τὸν κείονα · ἀνέθηκε. ^(folium)

“Publius Quintilius Axios with his wife Daphne dedicated the pillar.”

This plinth and its column were dedicated to Apollo Smintheus by Publius Quintilius Axios and his wife Daphne. The Quintilii of Alexandria Troas are a prominent family documented epigraphically, literarily, and even archaeologically because of the ruins of the villa of the Quintilii located outside Rome on the *Via Appia*.⁴⁴ Since this family has been discussed in detail by both A. Kuhn and T. Esch, it will suffice to mention the

Quintilii briefly here. It is considered that the Quintilii were divided into two branches, the Sexti and the Publii.⁴⁵ Before the present inscription was found, only two honorary inscriptions on statue bases discovered in the Forum of Alexandria Troas in 2006 and 2007 informed us about members of the Publii branch. Both statues were erected in honour of Quintilia Apphia, priestess (*sacerdos*) of *Victoria Augusti* and *Diva Augusta*, *prophetis* of Apollo Smintheus and priestess of *Liber Pater*, whose father was Publius Quintilius Maximus, of whom we know nothing except for his service as a *legatus Augusti*.⁴⁶ E. Schwertheim considered these inscriptions to be the earliest

⁴³ On ἡ γλυκυτάτη πατρίς, see Veyne 1976, 342 n. 146; Pleket 1983, 177; Pleket 1998, 213. See also Gianakopoulos 2008, 266 n. 55; Zuiderhoek 2008, 175-176.

⁴⁴ On the Quintilii of Alexandria Troas, see *PIR*² Q 21-22, 24-27; *I. Alexandria Troas* T175; Schwertheim 2008, 180-183 no. 2 (*AE* 2008, 1339-1340); Kuhn 2012, 421-458; Esch 2018, 1-60.

⁴⁵ Schwertheim 2008, 181; Kuhn 2012, 441.

⁴⁶ Schwertheim 2008, 180 no. 2. Cf. Kuhn 2012, 441; Esch 2018, 12-16.

documents on the history of the Quintilii in Alexandria Troas, possibly even dating to the Claudian period.⁴⁷ We know more about the members of the Sexti than the Publii. The earliest finding that informs us about this branch is an inscribed statue base, which was erected by the tenth *vicus* to honour Sextus Quin(c)tilius Valerius Maximus.⁴⁸ According to the Latin inscription on the base, after serving as *duumvir* and *pontifex*, he was given the title of *patronus coloniae*. Nerva granted Sextus Quin(c)tilius Valerius Maximus the *latus clavus* and he was also appointed as *quaestor Bithyniae et Ponti*. Moreover, the friend whom Pliny the Younger addressed as Maximus in *Epistulae* 8.24 has been identified with Sextus Quin(c)tilius Valerius Maximus; so, we are informed that he was appointed *corrector liberarum civitatum* in the province of Achaea by the emperor Trajan at the beginning of the second century AD. The son of Sextus Quintilius Valerius Maximus had the same name as his father and his *cursus* can be traced through an inscription found in Tusculum; after having served in various civil and military posts, he was designated as *legatus pro praetore provinciae Achaiae*.⁴⁹ Among the Sexti, the two sons of the second Sextus Quintilius Valerius Maximus, Sextus Quintilius Condianus and Sextus Quintilius Valerius Maximus, who were the owners of the *villa* mentioned above, also distinguished themselves in their civil careers. The earliest information about their careers is that they were both *consules ordinarii* during the reign of Antoninus Pius.⁵⁰ Great-grandsons of the eldest Sextus Quintilius Valerius Maximus were Sextus Quintilius Valerius Maximus, who was *consul ordinarius* in AD 172, and Sextus Quintilius Condianus who was to have become *consul ordinarius* in AD 180.⁵¹ After becoming emperor in AD 180, Commodus ordered the execution of the Quintilii in AD 182, resulting in the deaths of the elder Sextus Quintilius Condianus and his brother Sextus Quintilius Valerius Maximus, consuls in AD 151, and one of their sons.⁵² Apart from these, a fragmentary Greek inscription from the site, dating to the earlier period of the foundation of the *Colonia Augusta Troadensis*, which is considered to be a list of Roman citizens in the *colonia* or of individuals who gained Roman citizenship also records the *nomen* Quintilius, Κυντιλ[ιος].⁵³ However, it is not possible to determine to which branch of the Quintilii he belonged.

Considering that Publius Quintilius Axios bears a Greek cognomen, it is highly possible that he was an ex-slave freed by one of the members of the Publii branch of the Quintilii. Ἄξιος is not a common Greek name; in the *LGPN*, there are twenty-six entries for this name and, of these,

⁴⁷ Schwertheim 2008, 183; Esch (2018, 11) supported Schwertheim's view on the dating of the inscriptions. On the other hand, Kuhn (2012, 427 n. 32) suggested that they may have belonged to the second century AD.

⁴⁸ *I.Alexandria Troas* 39. On Sextus Quin(c)tilius Valerius Maximus, see *PIR*² Q 25; Kuhn 2012, 427 and n. 31; Esch 2018, 16-19.

⁴⁹ *CIL* XIV 2609; On Sextus Quintilius Valerius Maximus, see *PIR*² Q 26; Kuhn 2012, 429 and n. 38; Esch 2018, 19-20.

⁵⁰ On the Quintilii brothers, see *PIR*² Q 21 and 27; Esch 2018, 21-28; On the discussion of the competition between Herodes Atticus and the Quintilii brothers, see Kuhn, 2012, 421-458; Esch 2018, 27-28.

⁵¹ On the cousins, Sextus Quintilius Maximus and Sextus Quintilius Condianus, see *PIR*² Q 22 and 24; Esch 2018, 28-30.

⁵² Kuhn 2012, 451; Esch 2018, 31.

⁵³ Schwertheim 2016, 752 no. 2, who considered it to be a list of Roman citizens or of the newly-made citizens of *Colonia Augusta Troadensis* in Alexandria Troas.

fourteen are found in Asia Minor; Termessos in Pisidia comes first with five attestations, then Smyrna with three and Kyzikos with two.⁵⁴ The others are all singular examples. The personal female name Δάφνη is found in various regions of Asia Minor.⁵⁵ The name Δάφνης is also known in Alexandria Troas.⁵⁶

The present inscription now suggests that, in addition to altars, the dedication of a column or a column with a base and capital (σπειροκέφαλον) to Apollo Smintheus may have been a common practice in the sanctuary.⁵⁷

5. Dedication to Apollo Smintheus by Turianius Gamos



Fig. 5) Dedication to Apollo Smintheus

This rectangular marble stone with a moulded base was discovered during excavations to the southwest of the temple in 2017. The upper part of the stone is badly damaged. The proper left side is decorated with the depiction of a laurel branch with hanging fillets and the right side with a raven standing with a laurel branch. The back shows a tripod with a triangular lid on the top. Between the legs of the tripod, there is an *omphalos* from which laurel branches with hanging fillets protrude.⁵⁸ The height of the stone is 115 cm, width 70 cm, and depth 65 cm. The height of the letters varies between 4 and 5 cm. Fig. 5. Date: Second century AD.

Ἀπόλλ[ωνι]

Σμινθεῖ ὕ

Τουρῦάνιος

4 (folium) Γάμος. (folium)

“Turianius Gamos (dedicated) to Apollo Smintheus.”

Τουρῦάνιος is the Greek rendering of the *nomen* Turrianus spelt with the simplification of the “R” and the substitution of the Latin “I” by the

⁵⁴ For the name Ἄξιος in Asia Minor, see *LGPN* 5A, 5B and 5C s.v. Ἄξιος.

⁵⁵ For the appearance of this name in Asia Minor, see *LGPN* 5A, 5B and 5C s.v. Δάφνη.

⁵⁶ *I. Alexandria Troas* 82; cf. *LGPN* 5A s.v. Δάφνης (3). For the related names, see Bechtel, *Personennamen* 592.

⁵⁷ See *I. Alexandria Troas* 65; Özhan 2015, 112 no. 3, 113 no. 5.

⁵⁸ For similar composition on another dedication to Apollo Smintheus, see Özhan 2015, 107-108 no.1 and fig. 1.

upsilon.⁵⁹ This is the first appearance of this *nomen* in Alexandria Troas; it is a rare *nomen* in general. An epigraphic example of the *nomen* Turrianus can be found in a building inscription of a *centuria* from Britannia.⁶⁰ In his commentary in *RIB* 1416, R.P. Wright accepted the *nomen* as a misspelling of Turranius. Referring to *CIL* VI 26096, however, E. Birley showed that it was a “known variant”.⁶¹ His *cognomen* is Greek; the word γάμος means “marriage”. In ancient Greek literature, however, Γάμος, as the son of Eros, was also referred to as the deity of marriage and nuptials.⁶² Although not common, there are examples of it being used as a personal name. Γάμος appears in a total of eighteen epigraphic documents in Asia Minor.⁶³ Of these, three are found in Kyzikos in Mysia, and four attestations occur in Pisidian Antioch. The others are singular examples recorded in cities in different regions, such as Aphrodisias, Ephesos, and Xanthos.

6. Ex-voto by Publius to the sacred symbiosis

This inscribed marble altar was found in 2019 near the find-spot of the inscribed plinth that is inscription no. 4 above. The upper part of the stone is missing. Below the inscription, there is a



Fig. 6) Dedication to the sacred association

lidded tripod with two laurel branches. The height of the stone is 59 cm, the width is 44.5 and the depth is 43.5 cm. The height of the letters varies between 2 and 2.5 cm. Fig. 6. Date: Second century AD.

[- -] Ο Σ [- -]

Πούπλιος [Διο -]

ν νυσίου × ἱερᾶ

4 νννν συνβιώσει ×

ν κατ² × ὑπόσχεσιν. ν

App. crit.: A minuscule cross sign (×) appears between each surviving word in the text. | 1 The lower part of an *omicron* is visible. The following letter is probably a *sigma*; only the faint lower horizontal stroke, where the oblique stroke meets survives. | 2 Πούπλιος is the mixed spelling of Πόπλιος (cf. inscription no. 4 above) and Πούβλιος.⁶⁴ | 4 συνβιώσει instead of συμβιώσει.⁶⁵

⁵⁹ For the omission of the *rho*, see Brixhe 1984, 45, 113-114; Gignac, *Grammar* I 107-108. For the simplification of double r, see Gignac, *Grammar* I 156. For transcribing Latin “I” with the *upsilon*, see Gignac, *Grammar* I 269.

⁶⁰ *CIL* VII 553 with add. p. 309. Cf. *RIB* I 1416 [available online: URL: <https://romaninscriptionsof-britain.org/inscriptions/1416>; accessed 5 March 2023].

⁶¹ Birley 1966, 229.

⁶² Stoll – Drexler 1884-1890, 1593.

⁶³ On the appearance of the name Γάμος in Asia Minor, see *LGPN* 5A, 5B and 5C s.v. Γάμος.

⁶⁴ See Gignac, *Grammar* I 84.

⁶⁵ For the exchange of *mu* with the *nu*, see Brixhe 1984, 34.

The phrase κατ' ὑπόσχεσιν in the fifth line suggests that Publius paid the expense of erecting this monument and dedicated it to ἱερὰ συμβίωσις in accordance with his promise.⁶⁶

The surviving ΟΣ letters in the first line belong to the name of the dedicator. In this case, the name Publius in the nominative would have then served as a nickname attached to his Greek name with the ὁ καί construction, i.e. [- -]ος [ὁ καί] Πούπλιος [Διο]νυσίου κτλ. After the proposed restoration, the translation of the text is as follows: “[- -]os [also known as] Publius, son of Dionysios (dedicated) to the sacred association in accordance with the promise.” There are other cases in which the name Publius was used in this way as a nickname; cf. TAM II.1 176 l. 8 (Sidyma/Western Lycia): Θεοκλῆς ὁ καί Πόπλιος Φιλοκλέου; TAM II.2 464 ll. 1-2 (Patara/Lycia): Διονυσίῳ τῷ καί Ποπλίῳ; *I.Byzantion* 372: Διονύσι(ο)ς Μενίσκου ὁ καί Πόπλιος, where the editor asks whether bearing a Roman name may have been used to distinguish the individual.

Denoting “association”, the term συμβίωσις predominates in the inscriptions of Roman Asia Minor.⁶⁷ The present inscription may not be the first epigraphic attestation of this term in the ancient city of Alexandria Troas. A sarcophagus inscription records the professional association of coppersmiths (ἡ συμβίωσις τῶν χαλκέων), which was designated as the recipient of the fine in case of the violation of the sarcophagus; it may originally have belonged to Alexandria Troas or Ilion.⁶⁸ However, the term συμβίωσις is rarely used in the context of a guild of craftsmen, as epigraphic documents show.⁶⁹ Associations calling themselves συμβίωσις appear frequently in the region of Lydia, especially in the north-eastern part.⁷⁰ Fortunately, a parallel use that records another συμβίωσις modified with the epithet ἱερός is found in a votive dedication dated to AD 171/2 from Maionia in Lydia.⁷¹ It states that the association named ἱερὰ συμβίωσις καὶ νεωτέρα, which is considered to have a religious character made a vow according to the command of the epicchoric gods Zeus Masphalatenos and Men Tiamou.⁷² Another cultic association called simply συμβίωσις without using the epithet ἱερός is recorded on an altar dedicated to Zeus Alsenos in Akmonia of

⁶⁶ On the term ὑπόσχεσις (Lat. *pollicitatio*), see SEG 35, 1315, with references.

⁶⁷ On this term, in general, see Buresch 1898, 54-55; Poland 1909, 50-51; Poland 1931, 1075-1082; Dittmann-Schöne 2001, 20; Zimmermann 2002, 40.

⁶⁸ *Ilion* 171; *I.Alexandria Troas* 122. Cf. Dittmann-Schöne 2001, 116 no. I.1.1; Zimmermann 2002, 213.

⁶⁹ Poland 1909, 51; Poland 1931, 1077; Zimmermann 2002, 40.

⁷⁰ For a list of inscriptions from Lydia, having the term συμβίωσις, ὁ συμβιωτής or οἱ συμβιωταί, see Arnaoutoglou 2011, 286-287, under the subheading “Appendix 2A: ΣΥΜΒΙΩΣΙΣ Inscriptions”. On the existence of the term συμβίωσις in Lydia, see Buresch 1898, 54-55: “*Genossenschaft, Brüderschaft*”; Poland 1909, 50: “*der Freudeskreis einer Persönlichkeit*”; Poland 1931, 1076: “*Vereinsbrüder*”; Robert, *Hellenica* IX 37; Robert, *Et. anat.* 63-65; Robert, *OMS* IV 338: “*association amicale*”; Robert, *Doc. Asie Min.* 236; Dittmann-Schöne 2001, 17 n. 24; Zimmermann 2002, 40.

⁷¹ TAM V.1 537. Cf. de Hoz 1999, 232 no. 39.68.

⁷² Taking into account the epithet νεωτέρα, it has been argued that ἱερὰ συμβίωσις may have been the “younger” version of the association named ἱερός δοῦμος appearing in TAM V.1 536, in which the association ordered a vow to Zeus Masphalatenos, Men Tiamou, and Men Tyrannos. See Poland 1909, 51; Poland 1931, 1077-1078. See also the commentary in TAM V.1 537.

Phrygia.⁷³ The *ἱερὰ συμβίωσις* from *Alexandreia Troas* was also a cultic association, perhaps worshippers of *Apollo Smintheus*, and the dedicator was probably a member of this association.

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⁷³ Drew-Bear – Naour 1990, 1929-1931 (*SEG* 40, 1192); cf. *MAMA XI 110* [available online: URL: <http://mama.csad.ox.ac.uk/monuments/MAMA-XI-110.html#edition>; accessed 5 March 2023].

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Smintheion'dan Yeni Yazıtlar Özet

Bu makalede Apollon Smintheus kutsal alanında bulunmuş altı yazıt tanıtılmaktadır. Bunlardan 2 numaralı yazıt, 2006 yılında yapılan yüzey araştırmasında görülmüş, diğer beş yazıt ise 2009 yılından itibaren farklı yıllarda kazılar esnasında bulunmuştur. Genel olarak Aleksandreia Troas'ın onomastik repertuvarına katkılarının yanı sıra, kutsal alanda *hieronomos*'ların varlığını ilk kez doğrulayan 1 numaralı yazıt ve *ἱερά συμβίωσις* adlı olasılıkla dini bir derneği kayıt altına alan 6 numaralı yazıt özellikle ilgili çekicidir. 1 numaralı yazıt, Helenistik dönemden bir yapıya ait mimari bir blok üzerinde bulunmaktadır. Bu bloğun hangi yapıya ait olduğunu kesin olarak belirlemek mümkün olmasa da inşa veya restorasyon masrafları tanrının gelirlerinden karşılanmıştır ve bu inşa faaliyeti *hieronomos* makamı ile tarihlendirilmiştir. Yine Helenistik döneme tarihlenen bir altar üzerindeki 2 numaralı yazıt, Agemakhos'un oğlu Kallistos'un ölümünden sonra onun hatırası için dikilmiş olmalıdır. Bu sunak üzerindeki tapınak anahtarı kabartması, Kallistos'un Apollon Smintheus'a anahtar taşıyıcı (*κλειδοφόρος*, *κλειδοῦχος*) olarak hizmet etmiş olabileceğini akıllara getirmektedir. 3 numaralı yazıtta Titus Aelius Metrodoros adında *philopatris* unvanı taşıyan bir hayırsever, çok sevgili vatani (*γλυκυτάτη πατρίς*) Aleksandreia Troas tarafından onurlandırılmaktadır. Mermer bir kaide üzerindeki 4 numaralı yazıt, Aleksandreia Troas'ın senatör ailelerinden Quintiliuslar'ın Publius kolunun muhtemelen azatlısı olan Publius Quintilius Aksios ve karısı Daphne tarafından Apollon Smintheus'a bir sütun adığıdır. 5 numaralı yazıt, Turianius Gamos tarafından Apollon Smintheus'a yapılan bir adaktır; Turianius, nadir bulunan Turrianius *nomen*'inin bir varyantıdır. Son yazıt, kutsal derneğe (*ἱερά συμβίωσις*), sadece baba adı ve Publius lakabı günümüze ulaşan bir kişi tarafından sunulan bir *ex-voto*'dur.

Yazıtların tercümelemleri şöyledir:

- 1: *Apollonophaes oğlu Simonides hieronomos iken, tanrının gelirlerinden (inşa/restore edildi).*
- 2: *Halk, Agemakhos oğlu Kallistos'u altın (bir çelenle onurlandırdı).*
- 3: *Son derece sevgili vatani, vatansever Titus Aelius Metrodoros'u, ona karşı olan iyi niyetinden dolayı (onurlandırdı).*
- 4: *Publius Quintilius Aksios, eşi Daphne ile birlikte sütunu adadı.*
- 5: *Turianius Gamos, Apollon Smintheus'a (adadı).*
- 6: *Publius [olarak da bilinen], Dionysios oğlu [- -]os, sözü uyarınca kutsal symbiosis'e (adadı).*

Anahtar Sözcükler: Troas, Aleksandreia Troas, Smintheion, Apollon Smintheus, *hieronomos*, adak, Publius Quintilius Aksios, Quintiliuslar, Turianius Gamos, kutsal *symbiosis*.

New Inscriptions from the Smintheion

Abstract

This article presents six inscriptions from the sanctuary of Apollo Smintheus. Of these, inscription no. 2 was discovered during a survey in 2006 and the other five were found during the excavations at the site from 2009 onwards. In addition to the contribution of these inscriptions to the onomastic repertoire of Alexandria Troas in general, inscription no. 1, which attests for the first time to the existence of the office of *hieronomos* at the sanctuary, and inscription no. 6, which records a religious association called *ἱερὰ συμβίωσις* are of particular interest. Inscription no. 1 is carved on an architectural block from a building of the Hellenistic period. It is not possible to determine with certainty to which building this block belongs, but the building or restoration costs were covered by the revenues of the god, and this construction activity is dated by the office of *hieronomos*. Also dating to the Hellenistic period, inscription no. 2 on an altar commemorates Kallistos, son of Agemachos, after his death. The depiction of a temple key on this altar suggests that Kallistos may have served Apollo Smintheus as a key-bearer. In inscription no. 3, a benefactor named Titus Aelius Metrodoros, bearing the title *philopatris*, is honoured by his dearest fatherland (*γλυκυτάτη πατρίς*), Alexandria Troas. Inscription no. 4 on a marble plinth is a dedication of a column to Apollo Smintheus by Publius Quintilius Axios, probably a freedman of the Publii branch of the Quintilii, a senatorial family of Alexandria Troas, and his wife Daphne. Inscription no. 5 is a dedication to Apollo Smintheus by Turianius Gamos, which is a variant of the rare *nomen* Turrianus. The final inscription no. 6 is an ex-voto dedicated to a sacred association (*ἱερὰ συμβίωσις*) by a person, for whom only the father's name and the nickname, Publius, have survived.

Keywords: Troad, Alexandria Troas, Smintheion, Apollo Smintheus, *hieronomos*, dedication, Publius Quintilius Axios, the Quintilii, Turianius Gamos, sacred *symbiosis*.