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A HELLENISTIC SURVIVAL AT EUCARPIA

By W. M. CALDER

TWO GOOD FRIENDS have supplied me with the material for a note which I dedicate, with kind wishes, to a third.

Michael Ballance inaugurated the epigraphical harvest of our journey in 1954 with the discovery of two remarkable inscriptions at Emircik near Beyce Sultan (territory of Eumeneia). One of these served to clinch an argument in *Anatolian Studies*, V, 1955, p. 38.¹ The second is no. 1 below.

A few days later Habip Zebir Ağa, itinerant tinker of Sandıklı, called at the excavation headquarters to remind me of an earlier encounter which I had forgotten. He had visited Synnada in the exercise of his craft in 1930 while the American Society's expedition was working there, and I had taught him how to copy Greek inscriptions and urged him to make copies of any monuments he might find in the course of his work in central Phrygia. He brought with him a bundle of copies he had made during the intervening years, mainly from Synnada, the Pentapolis and the Eumeneticus Campus. A number of these copies are of known monuments and show that, for one ignorant of Latin and Greek, he is a careful and reliable copyist. One of his copies is no. 2 below. When he later entertained me in his rose garden, complete with peacock, at Sandıklı he told me that this stone had been broken up.

1. Emircik (Ballance and Calder, 1954; photograph and impression; revised by Ballance, 1956). Bomos. H. 0·84; w. top 0·36, shaft 0·28, base 0·38; th. 0·28; Letters 0·016 to 0·02. (No illustration.)

Πατροκλῆς Πατρο-	Ἀφια Δου[λί]ω[νος]
κλέους τοῦ Εὐξένου[υ]	[τ]ῇ συ[νβίω αὐτοῦ]
[π]ένπτου Εὐκαρ-	[κ]αὶ Η[.]
πεὺς βουλευτῆς	μνη[μης χάριν].
5 κληροῦχος τρε[ι-]	εἰ δ[έ τις ἐπιχει-]
ακοντάρχης Ἰστρ[α-]	[ρ]ή[σει]
τιώτης [ἐπύη]σεν	[.]

In line 8 for Δουλίων (here not certain) at Eumeneia cf. *MAMA.*, iv no. 338A (A.D. 229-30), Ramsay, *C.B.* no. 236. In line 10 restore e.g. Ἡ[λίω ἀδελφῶ].

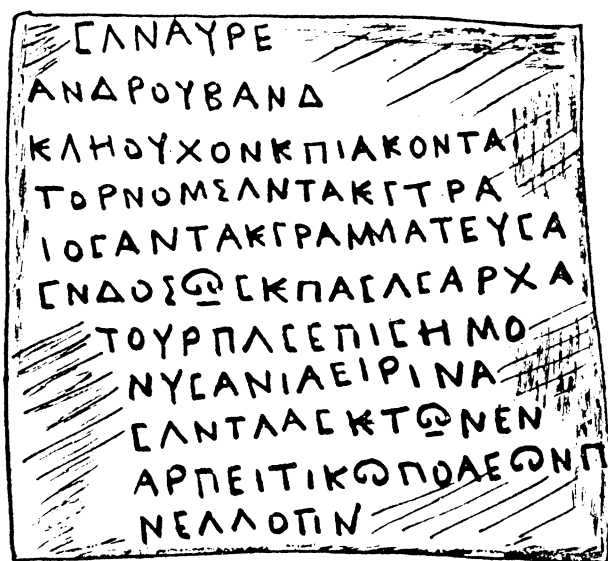
2. Sandıklı (copy of Habip Zebir Ağa), Fig. 1.

[ῆ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐτεί-]	[λει]τουργίας ἐπισημό[τατα]
[μη]σαν Αὐρ. Ε[. ?'Αλεξ-]	[δια]νύσαντα εἰρηνα[ρ-]
άνδρου β' άνδ[ρα]	[χή]σαντα δὲ κὲ τῶν ἐν [τῶ]
κληροῦχον κὲ τριακοντά[ρχην ἄ-]	10 [Εὐκ]αρπειτικῶ πόλεων π[ρο-]
γορανομήσαντα κὲ στρα[τη-]	[στάτη]ν ἐλλόγιμ[ον γεγονότα]
5 γήσαντα κὲ γραμματεῦσα[ντα]	?[- - - - -]
ἐνδόξως κὲ πάσας ἀρχά[ς κὲ]	

In line 2 restore an adjective or βουλευτήν, as in no. 1.

¹ I take the opportunity to add two notes on the above article. In a lecture to the Institute on 2nd December, 1955, I suggested that the animal referred to on p. 33, no. 2, is a fox and that the reference is to Song of Songs, ii, 15. On p. 36, no. 6, line 11, a Latin cross should have been appended to τὸν Θεόν.

In the well-known inscription (dated A.D. 125-6) of Aezani in northern Phrygia,¹ regulating taxation on *agri cleruchici* on temple property parcelled out *a regibus* (the Attalid Kings), reference is made to similar *cleri* (not necessarily on temple property) on the territory of neighbouring cities. Our two inscriptions prove this institution for Eucarpia in the Hellenistic period; the addition of τριακοντάρχης to κληροῦχος in both cases emphasizes the military origin of the institution, and recalls the



SANDIKLI YENİ CANİ ANKAZINDAN

FIG. 1.

analogy of Ptolemaic Egypt. The use of the “quasi-praenomen” Αὐρ. dates no. 2 after A.D. 212; no. 1 is earlier, but not earlier than the later years of the second century. At this period the title κληροῦχος (καὶ) τριακοντάρχης is pure panache,² even if κληροῦχος be taken to imply that these families were still in occupation of their ancestral κληροί.

This Hellenistic fossil in the titulature of Eucarpian citizens of the Imperial period may perhaps supply the missing link in the evolution of the official titulature of two not far distant cities, both of them, like Aezani and Eucarpia, in Phrygia.³ I refer to Apollonia and Neapolis.

At Neapolis in 1932 the American Society's expedition found a fragmentary inscription in letters of the third century A.D. which, on the model of the well-known titulature of Apollonia, I restored as [ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος Νεαπολιτῶν Λυκίων Θ]ρακῶν κολώνων τὸν ναόν, claiming the

¹ Dittenberger, *Or. Gr.*, no. 502.

² Note that in no. 1 Patrocles traces his family back for six generations. I take ἱστρατιώτης to refer to (auxiliary) service in the Roman army.

³ See *MAMA.*, VII, pp. ix f., xiii. May I anticipate reviewers in pointing out a foolish omission in p. IX note 3? After Diocletian's reorganisation the boundary between Apameia and Apollonia separated Phrygia Pacatiana from Pisidia.

title as proof that the foundation of Neapolis dated from Seleucid rule.¹ In *Etudes épigraphiques et philologiques*, p. 264, n. 3, L. Robert, in the course of a very pretty proof² that Neapolis did in fact exist in the Hellenistic period, quoted E. Honigmann as inquiring "justement", apropos of this restoration, "Peut-on supposer que, dès l'époque hellénistique, on avait emprunté en Asie le terme latin *colonus*?" The answer is, of course, a thousand times, "no". The limitations imposed on a brief preliminary report announcing a large number of new discoveries must be my excuse for neglecting to dwell on the obvious fact that κολώνων is as certainly of the Roman period as Λυκίων Θρακῶν is of Seleucid origin.

This is precisely the crux of the problem posed by the description of the Apollonians on coins and inscriptions dating from the second and third centuries A.D. as Ἀπολλωνιάται Λύκιοι Θραῖκες κολωνοί, and the difficulty felt by Honigmann and Robert is not a new one. The problem has been much discussed, most recently by Jones in *Cities*, etc., pp. 411 f., and Magie, *Roman Rule*, etc., p. 1315. Would it be frivolous to suggest that κολωνοί found its way into the titulature of Apollonia (and Neapolis) by simple translation? As Schultheiss pointed out in a different connection (*RE.*, XXI, col. 832) κληροῦχος was the regular equivalent of *colonus* in literary texts. The soldier-colonists of Lycian and Thracian stock settled in Apollonia and Neapolis in Seleucid times were, in fact, like the Macedones (?) at Eucarpia, κληροῦχοι, and the survival of κληροῦχος as a title of status into the Imperial period at Eucarpia strongly suggests the use of κληροῦχοι in the city's official titulature in the Hellenistic period. Inscriptions of this period in central and eastern Phrygia are few and far between,³ and it is perhaps vain to hope that a stele may one day turn up at Apollonia or Neapolis with the legend . . . Λυκίων Θραικῶν κληροῦχων.

The assumed renaming of these colonists in a style more pleasing to Latin ears (and, of course, with Imperial approval) may be assigned to the organization of *provincia Galatia*. In the restoration of *MAMA.*, IV, no. 143, the Editors (so far as I know without protest) assumed that the title κολωνοί was in use as early as A.D. 14-19.

The bearing of our two new inscriptions on the topography of the Pentapolis will be discussed in due course by Michael Ballance.

¹ *AJA.*, XXXVI, 1932, p. 544, no. 5.

² A Rhodian epitaph of the Hellenistic period was dedicated by a Νεαπολίτης τῶς ἀπὸ Φρυγίας. In the preceding note Professor Robert pays me the compliment of attributing to me a sentence of Ramsay's, which he describes as "une fantaisie". En revanche Professor Robert had already (*op. cit.*, p. 185) laid me under a debt by identifying three Neapolitan names, which I had mistakenly treated as Pisidian, as names of Thracian immigrants.

³ Among 1685 monuments from central and eastern Phrygia published in *MAMA.*, I, IV, VI and VII, seven are of Hellenistic date (IV, nos. 49, 75, 136, 141, 158, 159; VI, no. 173).