

A FAMILY OF PISIDIAN ANTIOCH

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IN 1919 SIR WILLIAM RAMSAY DISCUSSED two Greek inscriptions from the territory of Pisidian Antioch. The first (which is not necessarily the earlier in date) had been discovered by him in Yalvaç, the modern town adjacent to the ancient site, and Ramsay inspected it twice, the second time with W. M. Calder.¹ The other inscription was from Örkenez, about fifteen kilometers from Antioch, and had been published by J. R. S. Sterrett.² To judge by their content the two texts must have come from the same family tomb, which now seems impossible to locate. Ramsay dated them between about 340 and 380, and argued (or rather, affirmed) that they were Christian. The language and atmosphere make a fourth or perhaps fifth century date probable: but whether the inscriptions are Christian is another matter, and they also raise other problems.³

Dr. B. M. Levick saw the first in a house in the Kaş Mahalle of Yalvaç in 1955, and was able to take a rough copy: but I have not been able to find a photograph or facsimile.⁴ In what follows I give a text that is essentially Ramsay's, though shorn of his bolder supplements: I then discuss the text line by line.

- Γ. Καλπ(ούρνιον) Κολλήγαν Μακεδόνα βουλευτήν, ἄνδρα ἀξιολο[γώτατον],
 ὃς ἐγένετο ἐν πάσῃ ἀρετῇ, ὥς φησιν ὁ ἀρχαῖ[ος —],
 ῥήτορα ἐν τοῖς δέκα Ἀθηναίων πρώτοις ΚΑ[—],
 4 φιλόσοφον τὰ Πλάτωνος καὶ Σωκράτους ΕΠΙΑ[—],
 ἀρχίατρον ἐν λόγοις καὶ ἔργοις τὰ Ἰπποκράτους ΤΟ[—],
 γενόμενον ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἑτη τριάκοντα καὶ ἡμέρας —],
 θεοῦ προνοία καὶ ἱερῶν ἀγγέλων συνοδία ΜΕ[—]
 8 εἰς [ο]ὕρανὸν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων, θάττον ἢ ἔδει τοὺς Γ[—]
 καταλιπόντα, τὸν π[ή]λιν[ο]ν χιτῶνα ἐνταυθοῖ ΠΕΡΙ[—],
 κατασκευάσας τὸ ἡρώων τῷ γλυκυτάτῳ καὶ πο[θινοτάτῳ]
 καὶ [— —] Γ. Καλπούρνιος Μ[ακεδών].

I am grateful to Glen Bowersock and Louis Robert for their comments; other help is acknowledged in the notes below. *Bull.* = J. and L. Robert, *Bulletin épigraphique*, appearing annually in *REG*, followed by the year and number of the item; *OMS* = L. Robert, *Opera minora selecta*, 4 vols., Amsterdam 1969–1974. All dates are A.D.

¹W. M. Ramsay, *CR* 33 (1919) 1–5.

²J. R. S. Sterrett, *An Epigraphical Journey in Asia Minor, Papers of the American School of Classical Studies in Athens* 2 (1883/84, publ. 1888) 180 no. 182, from a copy of J. H. Haynes (Peek, *GV* 692); Ramsay (preceding n.), 5–9; *MAMA* 8.404; below, 269–271.

³P. Roussel, *REG* 33 (1920) 427, commented astutely on Ramsay's article, but accepted his Christian interpretation; *PLRE* 1, p. 525, takes over Ramsay's conclusions *en bloc*.

⁴I am very grateful to Dr. Levick for her help, and to the Anthropological Museum, University of Aberdeen, and the Kelsey Museum of Ancient and Mediaeval Archaeology,

1–11. The syntactical form recalls an honorific inscription: the object, qualified by a relative clause and a series of participial phrases, is followed by the subject, which in its turn has its own participial phrase, and there is no main verb. The style is literary and suited to a man of culture.

1. The name "Calpurnius" is frequent in the area which under the principate formed the province of Galatia, and is found contracted in the same way elsewhere.⁵ At the end, I have written ἀξιολο[γώτατον], which Ramsay rejected in favor of ἀξιώ[λογον ἥρωα?], arguing that the use of "hero" was "quite consistent" with Christianity while "a *curialis* had not the superlative title." ἥρωον is certainly applied to Christian tombs, but ἥρωας seems unusual for Christians themselves (for pagans it means nothing more than "deceased"): while ἀξιολογώτατος is almost a *vox propria* for βουλευταί.⁶

2. At the end of the line Ramsay copied APXAP or APXAIP, but was doubtful about the second rho, and accepted ἀρχαῖ[os] at the suggestion of E. Lobel: Dr. Levick saw Δ[]M, which might represent ἀ[ρχ]αῖ[os]. Ramsay tentatively supplied the missing noun as ποιητής, following a proposal of J. E. Sandys that the reference was to Homer, *Il.* 15.641–642, τοῦ γένει' ἐκ πατρός πολὺ χείρονος υἱὸς ἀμείνων παντοίας ἀρετάς. ὥς φησιν seems to imply a more exact quotation, though if so I cannot trace it: the noun might have denoted a person, or perhaps rather an object such as a law (νόμος) or saying (λόγος), since φησί is occasionally found with an inanimate subject.⁷

3–5. The combination of oratory, philosophy, and medicine is familiar from earlier periods, especially that of the Second Sophistic,⁸ and is very well attested in the fourth century. Caesarius, the brother of Gregory of Nazianzus, studied these and other subjects at Alexandria, and later became a public doctor of Constantinople; Libanius' pupil Olympius was court physician, and also skilled in rhetoric and philosophy; Ionicus of Sardis had a similar range of expertise, as did his compatriot Eunapius.⁹

University of Michigan, for answering my enquiries. Dr. Levick reports that the measurements are 1.5 m. (width), 0.93 (height), 0.41 (thickness), and kindly sent me her copy.

⁵Robert, *Études épigraphiques et philologiques* (Paris 1938) 172–173; *id.*, *REA* 62 (1960) 348 (*OMS* 2.864); *id.*, *Noms indigènes dans l'Asie-mineure gréco-romaine* (Paris 1963) 50–51.

⁶ἥρωας: for Christians, I have noticed only *IG* 14.2379 and C. M. Kaufmann, *Handbuch der altchristlichen Epigraphik* (Freiburg i.B. 1917) 329, both verse. For pagans, e.g., Robert, *Hellenica* 13 (1965) 207. ἀξιολογώτατος: Robert, *Nouvelles Inscriptions de Sardes* 1 (Paris 1964) 56; cf. *Bull.* 1973.475 no. 2.

⁷A reader for *Phoenix* adduces *Pl. Phlb.* 51 C and 1 *Clem.* 13.3, both with λόγος: I note *Call. Epigr.* 54.4 (πίναξ).

⁸G. W. Bowersock, *Greek Sophists in the Roman Empire* (Oxford 1969) 66–69.

⁹Caesarius: *PLRE* 1, pp. 169–170 (note especially Greg. Naz. *Anth. Pal.* 8.91). Olympius: *PLRE* 1, pp. 644–645, Olympius 2. Ionicus: *ibid.* 460. Eunapius: *ibid.* 296, Eunapius 2. I am grateful to Robert J. Penella for some of these references.

In Antioch, there is no need to see Collega's culture as a relic of the distant past when the city belonged to the Pergamene kingdom:¹⁰ it has nearer parallels in cities of Phrygia, to which Antioch strictly belonged, of Lycaonia not far to the east, and further away in the great efflorescence of contemporary Cappadocia.¹¹

3. At the end Ramsay reports that the stone had K-Α (Dr. Levick's copy has nothing after *πρώτοις*): he considered understanding K- as *καί*, but thought the abbreviation below the style of the text: for the same reason he rejected Calder's *κέ* 'Α[ντιοχέων], and after considering other possibilities such as *κλ[εόμενον]*, opted for *κλ[ῆρον ἔχοντα]*?. As Ramsay saw, "the first ten orators of the Athenians" refers to the famous Ten (the term "canon" is modern):¹² but "first" implies something more. There was also a second Ten, presumably codified in the third or fourth century, which included luminaries of the Second Sophistic such as Herodes Atticus and Philostratus, and was probably limited to Athenians like the first: hence the *Suda* distinguishes between *οἱ πρῶτοι κεκριμένοι (πρωτεύοντες, μετὰ Δημοσθένους) δέκα* and *οἱ ἐπιδευτέροι δέκα*.¹³ In this inscription the qualification, "first" ten, is presumably due to the feeling that this set was the superior: in the same way Leontius Scholasticus in the sixth century praises an orator as the *εἰκόνα ῥητήρων τῆς προτέρας δεκάδος*, whereas previously it sufficed to call Herodes Atticus *εἰς τῶν δέκα*.¹⁴ It is a frequent conceit to call a person "one of the Ten," "one of the Seven Sages," or by a slight variation "the tenth of the Muses" and the like.¹⁵ These considerations show that Ramsay was right to reject Calder's *κέ* 'Α[ντιοχέων], but I do not see a plausible supplement.¹⁶

4. The combination of the two names Socrates and Plato is a natural one, and recurs in the epitaph of an anti-Epicurean Platonist of Hellenistic Miletus.¹⁷ In the fourth century the mention of them has a significance

¹⁰B. M. Levick, *Roman Colonies in Southern Asia Minor* (Oxford 1967) 126.

¹¹On Phrygia and Lycaonia, Robert, *Hellenica* 13 (1965) 53–54; on Cappadocia, *id.*, *Noms indigènes dans l'Asie-mineure gréco-romaine* (Paris 1963) 490–497.

¹²R. Pfeiffer, *A History of Classical Scholarship* 1 (Oxford 1968) 207.

¹³*Suda* A 2148, Λ 825, 858, Ν 404, Υ 294 Adler. For other references to the two Tens, G. Steffen, *De canone qui dicitur Aristophanis et Aristarchi* (diss. Leipzig 1876) 50–51.

¹⁴Leont. *Anth. Pal.* 7.573; cf. Robert, *Hellenica* 4 (1948) 24 n. 6; Philostr. *VS* 2.1.14, p. 72, 11 Kayser. Steffen (previous n.) cites this as evidence for Herodes' inclusion in the second Ten, forgetting that it could not yet have existed.

¹⁵For the first, e.g., *MonAnt* 23 (1914) 31 no. 25 (Attaleia), *σοφιστῆς εἰς μετὰ τῶν ἑπτὰ σοφῶν*; in *CIRB* no. 144 (Panticapaeum: *Bull.* 1969.403 no. 5), the correct reading might perhaps be *μίαν τῶν Μουσῶν θ' Πιερίδων* ((ε), edd.); in a Christian context, *ἡ μία τῶν ε' λαμπαδιφόρων παρθένων* (Ancyra: *Bull.* 1978.497 no. 49). For the "tenth Muse," O. Weinreich, *Epigramm und Pantomimus, SBHeidelb* 1944/48, 1, 100 n. 4.

¹⁶*κλ[ῆθέντα]* would perhaps not fit well with *ἐν τοῖς . . . πρώτοις: κρ[ιθέντα]* would do so excellently, but goes against the reported traces.

¹⁷Robert, *Hellenica* 11/12 (1960) 484–486, esp. 484 n. 4 on the date.

which is best discussed in connection with lines 7–9. At the end of the line Ramsay suggested $\xi\tau\iota\ \alpha[\acute{\iota}\rho\omicron\upsilon\mu\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\nu]$ or $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\alpha[\kappa\omicron\lambda\omicron\upsilon\theta\omicron\upsilon\gamma\tau\alpha]$ (the latter, suggested by A. W. Mair, is excluded by the fact that $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\alpha\kappa\omicron\lambda\omicron\upsilon\theta\omicron\upsilon\gamma$ takes a dative). Roussel disliked $\xi\tau\iota\ \alpha\acute{\iota}\rho\omicron\upsilon\mu\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\nu$ and proposed $\xi\tau\iota\ \alpha[\acute{\upsilon}\xi\eta\sigma\alpha\upsilon\gamma\tau\alpha]$.¹⁸ But $\xi\tau\iota$ seems awkward, and since Dr. Levick also read ΕΠΑ I incline to think that a compound beginning $\acute{\epsilon}\pi-$ is right, perhaps $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\alpha[\mu\omicron\upsilon\omicron\gamma\tau\alpha]$ or $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\alpha[\nu\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\alpha\upsilon\gamma\tau\alpha]$.

5. Ramsay felt sure that the last letter was a broken omicron (also copied by Dr. Levick): he therefore rejected Calder's $\tau\epsilon[\lambda\omicron\upsilon\gamma\tau\alpha]$ but was rightly not satisfied by his own $\tau\omicron[\lambda\mu\acute{\eta}\sigma\alpha\upsilon\gamma\tau\alpha]$: I do not see the answer.¹⁹ The bare *archiatros* presumably implies that Collega was the chief doctor of Antioch, rather than a physician at court or in some organization such as the synod of world athletes.²⁰

6. According to Ramsay, "the precise statement of the age of the deceased is a common and widespread Christian custom, which hardly occurs in pagan epitaphs." Such indications are certainly rarer than those giving only the year, but there is nothing characteristically Christian about them.²¹

7–9. These lines are the most important for determining the beliefs of the family. The general sense is clear, if not the precise supplements. At the end of 7 and 8, Ramsay restored respectively $\mu\epsilon[\tau\omicron\iota\kappa\acute{\eta}\sigma\alpha\upsilon\gamma\tau\alpha]$ ("typically Christian") and $\gamma[\epsilon\iota\upsilon\alpha\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma]$: but since the mason did not divide words between lines, shorter supplements may be possible, for example $\mu\epsilon[\tau\alpha\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\alpha]$ in 7 and $\gamma[\omicron\acute{\nu}\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\varsigma]$ in 8. In 9 Ramsay's restoration of $\pi\acute{\eta}\lambda\iota\upsilon\omicron\nu$ is corroborated by Dr. Levick's reading, T[4]N[0]4[NA]. At the end of the line Ramsay proposed $\pi\epsilon\tau\iota[\delta\upsilon\sigma\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\nu]$, but $\pi\epsilon\tau\iota[\epsilon\lambda\omicron\mu\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\nu]$ seems at least as likely: with either reading, $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\alpha\upsilon\theta\omicron\iota$ must be understood in a "pregnant" sense, "taking off (and depositing) here."²²

Though to modern ears these lines have a Christian ring, they in fact contain nothing which is exclusively Christian: for example, god is not described as "ever-living" or "immortal."²³ On the other hand, they contain several reminiscences of Neoplatonism, and these when combined with "Socrates and Plato" in line 4 make it advisable to look to this for the intellectual context. Divine Providence (7) was a central tenet of Neoplatonism, particularly emphasised by Plotinus in answer to the

¹⁸Roussel (above, n. 3).

¹⁹It may be worth noting Gregory on his brother Caesarius (above, n. 9), $\omicron\upsilon\ \phi\iota\lambda\omicron\sigma\omicron\phi\acute{\eta}\sigma\epsilon\iota\ \tau\acute{\alpha}\ \acute{\iota}\pi\pi\omicron\kappa\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \Gamma\alpha\lambda\lambda\eta\gamma\omicron\upsilon$ (*Or.* 7.20.4, Migne PG 35.780 C).

²⁰On the *archiatri*, M. Wellmann, *RE* 2 (1895) 464–466; L. Cohn-Haft, *The Public Physicians of Ancient Greece*, Smith College Studies in History 42 (Northampton, Mass. 1956) 71–72.

²¹Cf. S. Reinach, *Traité d'épigraphie grecque* (Paris 1885) 426. Robert, discussing epitaphs of Thessalonica (*RevPhil* ser. 3, 48 [1974] 225–227), observes that indication of the age of the deceased usually implies that he or she was young.

²²Cf. Smyth, *Greek Grammar* sections 1659, 3044.

²³For these as a mark of Christianity, Robert, *Hellenica* 11/12 (1960) 311, 405, 437.

indeterminism of the Epicureans.²⁴ "The company of angels" is more striking. Angels appear in pagan thought as early as Homer: Porphyry and the later Neoplatonists organised them into brigades (τάξεις), and gave them the conduct of souls as their chief duty.²⁵ The adjective *ιεροί* might also seem suspicious in a Christian context. Both Old and New Testaments prefer ἅγιος to *ιερός*, and both refer to angels as ἄγγελοι but not as *ιεροί*: however, I have not found them called *ιεροί* in Neoplatonic literature, which would be decisive.²⁶ Similarly, the view that released souls went to heaven, though not so old as Homer, was familiar to pagan thought long before it passed into Christianity.²⁷ The notion of the body as a garment of clay was popularised by Plato, and was especially important for the Neoplatonists. Plotinus compares the corrupted soul to a person "fallen into earth or mud," and in the same section of the *Enneads* likens its release from the body to the "deposition of garments" before a shrine.²⁸ Plotinus had several doctors among his pupils, notably the faithful Eustochius of Alexandria.²⁹ It has plausibly been argued that a verse inscription from Rome refers to a Neoplatonic doctor, who "departed from the body . . . and went the path of the blessed, leaving grievous loss among the dead."³⁰ Another Neoplatonist known only from inscriptions is the wealthy Patricios who owned a villa near Syrian Heliopolis: his teacher Eudoxios may be connected with persons of the same name known to Gregory of Nazianzus and Symmachus.³¹ A newly published inscription on Apollonius of Tyana is perhaps to be situated in the context of polemics between Christians and Neoplatonists in the fourth century, and it too may refer to heaven receiving Apollonius after death.³² So also about 500 an epigram of Aphrodisias refers to the wealthy

²⁴Plotinus *Enn.* 3.2–3; generally, R. T. Wallis, *Neoplatonism* (London 1972) 149–150.

²⁵Pagan angels: J. Michl, *Reallex. für Ant. und Chr.* 5 (1962) 53–60. In Neoplatonism: Fr. Cumont, *Rev. Hist. Rel.* 72 (1915) 159–182, esp. 171 (τάξεις), 160, 178 (souls).

²⁶G. Kittel, ed., *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum neuen Testament* 3 (1938) 225–226 sect. C, 229 sect. E; for ἄγγελοι ἄγγελοι, Job 5.1, Tobit 11.13, Mark 8.38, Luke 9.26, Acts 10.22. I owe this observation to a reader for *Phoenix*.

²⁷Nilsson, *GGR* 2³.490–491 and Index II s.v. Himmelsreise. For some inscriptions alluding to this idea, C. P. Jones, *JHS* 100 (1980) 192.

²⁸Pl. *Gorg.* 523 C-E; Plotinus *Enn.* 1.6.5 lines 43–44 (δὺς εἰς πηλὸν ἢ βόρβορον), 1.6.7 line 7 (ἱματίων ἀποθέσεις). Cf. E. R. Dodds, ed., *Proclus: The Elements of Theology*² (Oxford 1963) 307–308; J. M. Rist, *Plotinus: The Road to Reality* (Cambridge 1967) 188–192.

²⁹Porph. *Plot.* 7; cf. P. Boyancé, *Le culte des Muses chez les philosophes grecs* (Paris 1937, BEFAR 141) 290.

³⁰Now Moretti, *IGUR* 1163 (previously Kaibel, *Epigr. Gr.* 594; *IG* 14.1424; Peek, *GV* 1283). Cf. Boyancé (previous n.) 284–291: Moretti gives a purely Pythagorean interpretation, and dates it to the second or early third century.

³¹R. Mouterde, *BMBeyrouth* 14–15 (1958–59) 43–46 no. 5 (*Bull.* 1961.786): on Eudoxios, S. Roda, *Historia* 29 (1980) 99.

³²C. P. Jones (above, n. 27), 193–194; for a different interpretation, N. Richardson

pagan Asclepiodotus, father-in-law of an Alexandrian Neoplatonist of the same name, as "borne with the stars in Olympus."³³

10–11. The restorations are Ramsay's, who also proposed [θεοφιλεστάτῳ τέκνῳ] in 11: certainly a superlative adjective and a noun meaning "son" are required.

The other inscription has attracted more attention. I give a text and translation,³⁴ discuss the structure, language and metre, and finally make some comments on lines 3 and 6.

[Κ]ολλήγαν, μάκαρός τε Μακηδόνος ἡδ' ἱεροῖο
βλαστὸν Κολλήγου, ἀρετῆς θάλος ἀθανάτοι[ο],
τὸν νέον ἀμβρόσιον Μνή[μ]η συνέφυνε παλαιοῖς'
4 [μ]ήτηρ δ' εὐώδειν δυσαρ[ιστ]οτόκειά τε Μάγνα
[ῶ] γεν[έ]τη κάσει τε μέλο[ς π]αρακάτθετο ἡδύ,
[τ]ὸν σοφὸν ἱγτρὸν εἰκο[σ]τὸν ἄγοντα ἔτος.

"Collega, issue of the blessed Macedo and the holy Collega,³⁵ the scion of eternal virtue, Renown joined as a new immortal to the ancient ones (?): but Magna his mother, blessed in children, unhappy parent of excellent sons, placed his sweet limbs beside his father and brother,³⁶ the wise doctor in his twentieth year."

P. Roussel was the first to see that the epigram consists of two sentences of three lines, and to discern the syntax.³⁷ Macedo and the Collega of line 2 are presumably the father and grandfather of the Collega of line 1: it seems impossible to tell how these persons are related to those in the first inscription, which might be earlier or later. As in that, there is nothing which necessitates a Christian interpretation.³⁸ The language is strongly influenced by epic. Εὐώδ(ε)ω is first attested in the second century,

and P. Burian, *GRBS* 22 (1981) 283–285. In line 3, I now prefer [σῶμ' ἔδα]φος, and regret having called [τά]φος "certain": ἔδαφος is due to W. Burkert, cf. *Bull.* 1981. 610.

³³*MAMA* 8.487, cf. Robert, *Hellenica* 13 (1965) 170–171; on the son-in-law see also Robert, *BCH* 101 (1977) 86–88.

³⁴I follow the text of *MAMA* 8 (1962) no. 404, though in line 1 I adopt Ramsay's punctuation, and in line 3 follow him in not capitalizing ἀμβρόσιον: in the same line I have capitalized Μνήμη. It is uncertain who copied this inscription for *MAMA* (cf. Robert, *Hellenica* 13 [1965] 11), but the late Michael Gough informed me that he had only edited without seeing it (communication of 20 January 1972).

³⁵It does not seem possible to take these lines otherwise. Ramsay understands, "son of blissful and holy Collega Macedo," but this seems excluded by the order of words, even if the deceased in the first text had both names.

³⁶The editor in *MAMA* took μέλος to mean "lay" and γενέτης to mean "son," but for the first, LSJ s.v. μέλος A1, and for the second LSJ s.v. γενέτης I.

³⁷Roussel, *REG* 33 (1920) 427.

³⁸Ramsay affirmed that μάκαρ was "a poetical variation of the ordinary Christian μακάριος": rather μάκαρ is the usual form in poetry, μακάριος in pagan as well as Christian prose. Cf. LSJ s.v. μάκαρ III: D. Feissel has recently corrected the same error concerning μακάριος, *BCH* 105 (1981) 486 n. 14.

and is favored by later writers of hexameter;³⁹ *δυσαριστοτόκεια* is used once by Homer (*Il.* 18.54), and otherwise only here. The Ionic form *ιητρός* is frequent both in verse and in prose.⁴⁰ The hiatus in lines 2, 5, and 6, and the lengthening of *-ον* before the caesura of 6, are hardly disturbing. The treatment of *κάσει* as spondee is less usual, though it has many parallels in late epigram.⁴¹ The last line should probably be regarded as a pentameter with an extra syllable after the caesura rather than as a catalectic hexameter. In verse inscriptions a series of hexameters often concludes with one or more pentameters, and the extra syllable can be ascribed to a phenomenon found elsewhere, the tendency to sacrifice the intended meter in order to accommodate a numeral expressing the age of the deceased.⁴²

Line 3 contains a number of difficulties. *Μνήμη* is a type of personification frequent in late antiquity, though this one is found long before.⁴³ If *συνέφυνε* is an imperfect of the otherwise unattested form *συμφύνω*,⁴⁴ then it might be understood as a conative: "Renown tried to join (or, would have joined) Collega to the ancients." This seems uncharacteristically pessimistic for both pagan and Christian funerary epigrams which usually promise the deceased some kind of immortality, and Ramsay may have been right to understand the verb as an aorist in intent if not in form, "added." There remains the problem of *τὸν νέον ἀμβρόσιον*, in which *νέον* seems clearly to balance *παλαιοῖς*. Again I incline to follow Ramsay's interpretation, "added the young immortal to the ancients of history," except that I would take *παλαιοῖς* not as "ancient (mortals)" but as "the ancient (gods)." There is a partial parallel in one of the poems of Marcellus of Side on Regilla the wife of Herodes Atticus, where *Δηῷ τε νέῃ Δηῷ τε παλαιῇ* are said to honor Regilla: here the "new Deo" is Faustina, the late wife of Antoninus Pius, and the "ancient Deo" is Demeter.⁴⁵ In the present epigram, however, *ἀμβρόσιος* will have to be equivalent to *ἀθάνατος*, and this seems unparalleled.⁴⁶

³⁹See the examples in Stephanus and LSJ (on the date of Maximus' *Epitome*, Kroll, *RE* 14 [1930] 2575).

⁴⁰Cf. *Bull.* 1962.374; Robert, *CRAI* 1974.526.

⁴¹Cf. R. Wagner, *Quaestiones de epigrammatis graecis ex lapidibus conlectis grammaticae* (diss. Leipzig 1883) 58; F. D. Allen, *Papers of the American School at Athens* 4 (1888) 78.

⁴²On the first, Kaibel, *Epigr. Gr.* pp. 701–702; on the second, C. P. Jones, *ZPE* 21 (1976) 190–191.

⁴³J. and L. Robert, *Hellenica* 9 (1950) 54–55. A new fragment of the Zoilos frieze at Aphrodisias (triumviral or Augustan) shows Mneme: A. Alföldi and others, *Aion in Mérida und Aphrodisias* (Mainz 1979, Madrider Beiträge 6) Tafel 25.

⁴⁴LSJ *s.v.* *συμφύνω* cite this form only from this inscription.

⁴⁵L. Moretti, *Inscriptiones Graecae Urbis Romae* 3 (Rome 1979) no. 1155 A lines 5–6 (Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca* 1046; *IG* 14.1389; *IGR* 1.194). For this explanation see Wilamowitz *SBBerl* 1928, 11–12 = *Kleine Schriften* 2 (1971) 203–204.

⁴⁶I am grateful to a reader for *Phoenix* for making me rethink my earlier views on this

In line 6, Collega's age at death, nineteen, is exactly the same as that of a doctor in Tieion: one from Heraclea by Salbace was eighteen.⁴⁷

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line. If the present interpretation were correct, it would be decisive for the pagan character of this inscription, and no doubt of the other one also.

⁴⁷Robert, *Hellenica* 11/12 (1960) 233 (Tieion); J. and L. Robert, *La Carie* (Paris 1954) 187 no. 88 (Heraclea).