

The evidence for all this does not amount to much; some artists—if I may use the word—made ‘designs’ for metalworkers and, since metalwork (according to Vickers) determined the colours as well as the shapes of fine Attic pottery, it might as well provide the decoration too. There are objections. Painted pottery was cheap and ‘designs’ relatively expensive (so Vickers reasonably observes)¹⁶ and, if only for economy, one would expect a design to have been used repeatedly by the potter who hired or bought it; yet in Attic painted pottery close duplicates are remarkably rare. It is perhaps not so important that, to judge by ἔγραψε inscriptions, most vase-painters (as identified stylistically) each used the ‘designs’ of a single and separate designer.¹⁷ A more serious difficulty, though, is in the interpretation of ἐποίησε, which appears on a fair number of simply decorated pots and on some with no decoration,¹⁸ so that for the latter at least the craftsman in the pottery cannot have been working to a ‘design’: so Εχσείκις ἐποίησεν on two undecorated cups should mean that Exekias made pottery and not metalwork and, since we have two amphoras with elaborate decoration inscribed Εχσείκις ἐγράψε καποίησε με, it should follow that he was also their painter (or designer),¹⁹ so that the old interpretations of ἐποίησε and ἔγραψε are justified. Further, in the metalwork that vase-painters are assumed to have been copying the decoration was, it seems, engraved; why then did the vase-painters develop three different kinds of line in their copies—the relief line, the flush black line and the dilute line?²⁰ Lastly, I doubt whether vase-painters regularly had any ‘design’ in front of them when painting a pot;²¹ if they did and it was a detailed one, there should again be more duplicates and the alterations from preliminary sketches on some pots—here Vickers and I agree—suggest that there they were painting from the head and not reproducing a previously drawn ‘design’. On archetypes I do not understand Vickers’s reasoning: where subjects and types recur, surely vase-painters could imitate or be influenced by one another, as sculptors and architects obviously were?

To sum up, Vickers’s claim that Attic pottery is almost wholly dependent on metalwork has little probability and less fact to support it. His argument is enviably wide-ranging, but it is shallow and skims over difficulties.

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¹⁶ The evidence is Pliny’s statement about Parrhasius—‘multa graphidis vestigia exstant in tabulis ac membranis eius, ex quibus proficere dicuntur artifices’ (NH xxxv 68): parchment (‘membrana’) was expensive.

¹⁷ This point is made by F. Canciani in ed. E. Böhr and W. Martini, *Studien zur Mythologie und Vasenmalerei* (Mainz 1986) 63 n. 8.

¹⁸ A convenient, though now very incomplete, illustrated corpus of signed pots is provided by J. C. Hoppin, *A handbook of Greek Black-figured vases* (Paris 1924) and *A handbook of Attic Red-figured vases* (Cambridge, Mass. 1919).

¹⁹ Hoppin (n. 17—B.F.) s.v. Exekias, nos. 1 and 4; 2 and 9.

²⁰ If there were different kinds of line in the ‘designs’ for metalworkers, what was their purpose and how was a relief line produced?

²¹ Vase-painters’ own trial sketches for elaborate compositions are allowed by J. D. Beazley (‘Potter and painter’, *PBA* xxx [1944] 38) and J. V. Noble (*The technique of Attic painted pottery* [New York 1965] 50).

After writing this I read M. Robertson’s sensible lecture in ed. D. Kurtz, *Beazley and Oxford* (Oxford 1985) 19–30. He makes some of the points I make and some I do not. But since our approaches are different, I have left my text unaltered.

Opramoas and the Anonymous Benefactor

Opramoas of Rhodiapolis in Eastern Lycia is one of the best known benefactors in the Greek half of the Roman Empire because the decrees and other documents inscribed on his tomb allow us to trace the extent and sequence of his benefactions and the honours he received.¹ Two inscriptions from the Letoon near Xanthos, recently published by A. Balland, seem to extend this picture of generosity, one of them virtually doubling the previous total of Opramoas’ benefactions.² The first, Balland no. 66, is a statue base recording that Opramoas gave to the Lycian League land to finance a distribution to the *koinobouloi* of the league; the second, Balland no. 67, is a stele listing a much longer series of benefactions, to the league, to Xanthos and to other Lycian cities, but it does not, and never did, include the benefactor’s name. Balland argues that the second inscription also refers to Opramoas, and this has been generally accepted;³ but it is argued here that its subject is not Opramoas but an anonymous contemporary, so that Opramoas loses his unique position among Lycian benefactors, and we can compare the nature, extent and distribution of his gifts with those of the Anonymous Benefactor and others.⁴

The main argument for identifying the Anonymous Benefactor as Opramoas is the inclusion in Balland no. 67 of a gift of 40,000 den. for the construction of a double stoa by the harbour at Patara, for according to document 63 of his mausoleum Opramoas undertook the whole cost of a double stoa by the harbour there. Three supplementary arguments are less telling. Firstly, both Balland no. 66 and no. 67 record large donations for distributions to the Lycian league. But the two benefactions, although of similar size, are described in different terms; Balland no. 66 names the nature of the gift (land), its income,⁵ and the

¹ Discussions of Opramoas: T. R. S. Broughton in T. Frank (ed.), *An economic survey of ancient Rome* iv (Baltimore 1938) 779–80; P. Veyne, *Le pain et le cirque* (Paris 1976) 295–6; his mausoleum inscription: *TAM* ii 905 = *IGR* iii 739. R. Heberdey, *Opramoas* (Vienna 1897) discusses the reconstruction of the inscribed walls and the chronology of the various documents recorded, and his numbering of the documents, retained in *IGR* and *TAM*, will be used here.

² A. Balland, *Fouilles de Xanthos* vii, *Inscriptions d’époque impériale du Letoon* (Paris 1981), cited below as Balland. The inscriptions discussed here, Balland nos. 66, 67 = *SEG* xxx (1980) 1534–5, are discussed at length by Balland 173–224.

³ Balland 186–7. The identification was proposed in a preliminary paper by Balland in *Actes du Colloque sur la Lycie antique* (Paris 1980) 89–93, and adopted by H. Metzger, *TAD* xxv (1980) 192–3. It has been generally accepted by reviewers e.g. *SEG* xxx (1980) 1534–5; G. Moretti, *ArchClass* xxxiii (1981) 423–4; J. and L. Robert, *REG* xciv (1982) 396–8.

⁴ My attention was drawn to this problem by A. Farrington, and I owe much to discussion with him of the architectural epigraphy of Roman Lycia. I am also grateful to A. S. Hall, S. Jameson, and S. R. F. Price for advice in the preparation of this paper, although they are not, of course, responsible for the errors and weaknesses that remain.

⁵ A gift by Opramoas for a comparable but a smaller foundation at Tlos (see below p. 174 and n. 12) is also specified as land, and valued only in terms of its annual income.

TABLE I. BENEFACIONS OF OPRAMOAS AND THE ANONYMOUS BENEFACITOR

	<i>Opramoas</i>	<i>Anon. Benefactor</i>
Myra	100,000 + d. (Sanct. of Peace, theatre, gymnasium exedra, statue, oil) plus agonothesia	50,000 + d. ⁸ (gymnasium peristyle)
Patara	38,000 + d. (portico and other works) plus agonothesia	72,000 d. (portico, sitometria, festival)
Tlos	60,000 d. (theatre, exedra in baths) plus distribution fund	80,000 d. (baths, agora)
Xanthos	30,000 d. (theatre)	650,000 d. (council chamber?, gymnasium, 2 baths, agora, works at Letoon, remission of debts) plus children's fund, distributions

amount to be distributed, while Balland no. 67 records only the capital value; the identity of the two is not obvious. Secondly, the Anonymous Benefactor gave 30,000 den. 'on behalf of Helena', perhaps Claudia Helena, whose sister-in-law was a niece of Opramoas. But even if Claudia Helena is meant, the family of this wealthy Lycian lady is remarkably well known, and she was certainly more closely related to other potential benefactors (Table II).⁶ Thirdly, the identity of the Anonymous Benefactor was probably understood from the inscribed base of a nearby portrait statue, and the stele was found near the statue base of Opramoas. But it was not found *in situ*, and there are other statue bases in the area.

The identification effectively rests, therefore, on the two references to money given for the construction of a double stoa at Patara, and in other respects it raises serious difficulties. For the other gifts of the Anonymous Benefactor do not correspond to those recorded for the same cities in the documents on the mausoleum of Opramoas and elsewhere, as Table I shows.⁷

It is not satisfactory to argue, as Balland 189–90, does, that this is because the anonymous benefactions fall after AD 152 and so are later than the mausoleum. First, they represent too substantial a sum. The benefactions listed on Opramoas' tomb amount to about 800,000 den., and the land financing the distributions to the Lycian league and to Tlos would probably bring his total to rather over 1,000,000 den.⁹ If the Anonymous Benefactor is

Opramoas, the distribution fund mentioned at the start of Balland no. 67 is the same as that in no. 66, so must not be counted twice. But even without that the sums specified in no. 67 add up to just under 900,000 den., besides the various distributions and the children's foundation at Xanthos, which are likely to have totalled at least 200,000 den. Presumably Opramoas did not update the records on his mausoleum daily, and may well have died with some benefactions still unlisted there; it is therefore quite reasonable to argue (as Balland 174) that the single benefactions recorded in Balland no. 66 is absent from the mausoleum lists, because it was made just before Opramoas's death. But it is less plausible to use the same argument for the whole series of benefactions listed on Balland no. 67, for that would leave the loving records of the mausoleum with only about one third of the total benefactions of Opramoas, and so many gifts are likely to have been spread over several years (those listed in Document 63 of the mausoleum were spread over more than nine years).¹⁰

Secondly, there is a disturbing lack of cross reference from one list of benefactions to the other. In a number of cases intention is recorded in the earlier decrees on the mausoleum, although the final cost and/or outcome did not emerge until later.¹¹ Yet for Xanthos Document 63 (AD 149) lists only a gift of 30,000 den. towards the theatre; one would have expected that by then the much larger programme recorded in Balland no. 67 would have been envisaged and referred to on the mausoleum, even if it had not yet been executed. At Myra the exedra of the gymnasium mentioned in Document 63 cannot reasonably be taken as foreshadowing the major work on the gymnasium recorded in Balland no. 67, for it is not the exedra but the peristyle court which forms the essential component of a gymnasium. It would therefore be strange if the exedra was built and revetted by AD 149, but the peristyle, provided by the same man, was not built until after AD 152. Equally striking is the absence of any reference in Balland no. 67 to the gifts listed on the mausoleum. The stele can not be taken as supplementing a previous inscription at the Letoon (not

⁶ Mausoleum Documents 59 and 63 note Opramoas's connection with Aelia Platonis (who was presumably the daughter of a sister of Opramoas who married an Aelius), while *IGR* iii 500.II.69–73 records her husband's relationship to Claudia Helena. See also below p. 175 and n. 19.

⁷ For the Anonymous Benefactor see Balland no. 67; for Opramoas see Mausoleum Document 63, Balland no. 66, and *TAM* ii, 578–9.

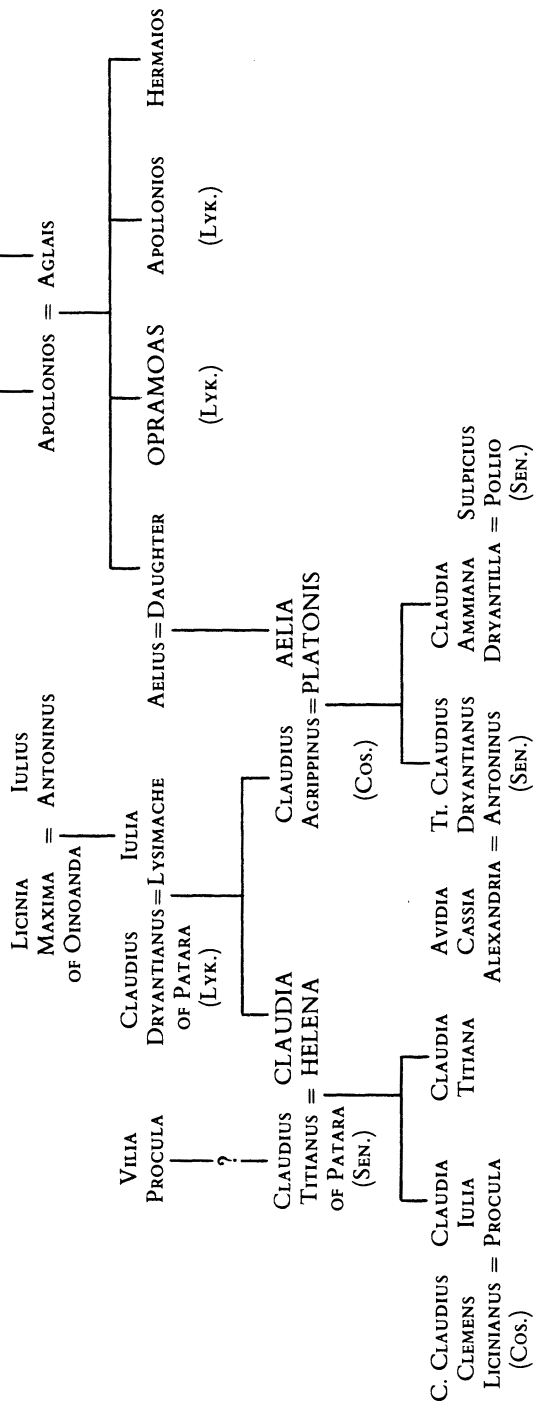
⁸ The sign for 50,000, quite clear, is followed by a puzzling letter. Balland, transcribing it ξ, interprets it without comment (p. 193) as giving a total of 56,000 den. Xi should mean 60 or 60,000, not 6,000, but 60 denarii seems too small a sum for mention in this context, and 60,000 too large. The letter does not match the xi in lines 19 and 26, nor the lunate sigmas elsewhere in the text.

⁹ For the Tlos foundation see p. 174 and n. 12. The calculation can only be approximate. Broughton (n. 1) 780 arrives at a figure of 604,000 den., with a rather low estimate for Myra, and (of course) no knowledge of Balland no. 66; Balland 221 suggests 750,000 den. for the mausoleum records. There are many unquantifiable benefactions such as the office of agonotheite at Myra and Patara and the gymnasiarchies at Korydalla.

¹⁰ There is no question that space was lacking on the mausoleum, for half of the east wall and the whole of the north wall remained uninscribed.

¹¹ For instance, the work at Myra was promised in AD 142, itemised in AD 149; the work on the stoa at Patara was promised by AD 145, but still unfinished in AD 149.

TABLE II. THE CONNECTIONS OF OPRAMOAS, AELIA PLATONIS, AND CLAUDIA HELENA



yet found) which recorded those gifts, for it begins simply 'he gave', not 'he later gave' or 'he gave in addition'. And although there is a summation of gifts to Xanthos, Patara and Tlos, there is no mention that they are in addition to gifts previously made to those same cities. This is quite contrary to the procedure in documents on the mausoleum, where the later lists repeat in full the previous benefactions as well as the new ones.

Thirdly, the gift of 80,000 denarii for a bath building and the agora is absent from two inscriptions at Tlos, which honour Opramoas. They record the gift to the city of the 60,000 denarii mentioned on the mausoleum, and in addition a bequest of land to establish a festival and a distribution to the citizens¹² (this and the distribution found in Balland no. 66 are the only gifts certainly made by Opramoas which do not appear on the mausoleum). The phraseology *δωρησάμενον καὶ κατὰ διαθήκην* implies that the bequest has been made, not just promised; that is, Opramoas is dead. So the omission of the 80,000 denarii cannot be explained on the grounds that it came late in his life.

Once faith in the identification of Opramoas as the Anonymous Benefactor is shaken, it can be seen that the two sets of benefactions have quite different patterns. Balland 188 n. 104 notes that the size of the anonymous benefactions sets the cities in the reverse order of that given in the list of citizenships of Opramoas in Balland no. 66. Indeed Telmessos and Limyra, the last two cities listed in no. 66, do not appear in no. 67 at all. In contrast both the dates and the sizes of the benefactions listed on Opramoas' mausoleum correspond very closely with the order of this list of citizenships, suggesting that Opramoas was consistent in ranking his personal connection with the main Lycian cities. The only misfits are that the order of Xanthos and Telmessos should be reversed and that it is uncertain whether Patara in the end received more than Tlos.¹³ The absolute size of the anonymous benefactions is also generally larger than those of Opramoas. The Anonymous Benefactor gave to Xanthos and its sanctuary more than twice what Opramoas initially promised to Myra (his biggest beneficiary), and probably substantially more even than he eventually spent on that city. The Anonymous Benefactor's gifts to Tlos and Patara are also significantly larger than those of Opramoas to any city other than Myra. Opramoas, in fact, seems to have aimed at breadth rather than scale in his benefactions. Although in some cases the sums donated to individual cities rise slightly,¹⁴ the succession of decrees on his mausoleum

¹² TAM ii 578 (= IGR iii 679, wrongly attributed to Patara) and 579. R. Van Bremen in A. Cameron, A. Kuhrt (ed.), *Images of women in antiquity* (London and Canberra 1983) 229, takes κατὰ διαθήκην as referring to Opramoas's inheritance of the land from his mother, but although, being in Korydalla, the land probably was inherited, the words in this context imply a bequest by him.

¹³ If the 40,000 den. in Balland no. 67 is taken as an appropriate sum for building a double stoa, Patara would have received 60,000 den. for buildings from Opramoas, the same as Tlos.

¹⁴ The increasing benefactions are as follows:

Myra	100,000 to a major building programme (see Table 1)		
Patara	20,000 to 38,000 +	Kadyanda	10,000 to 12,000
Tlos	50,000 to 60,000	Limyra	10,000 to 30,000?
Telmessos	30,000 to 35,000	Gagae	8,000 to baths

The figure of 100,000 den. restored for Choma in Document 59 is a puzzle. Document 63 gives a more expected figure of 7,000 den., so

suggests that up AD 152 at least he preferred to include more and more small cities, rather than returning to the large cities with major new projects. If Balland no. 67 belongs to Opramoas, then he later reversed his policy completely, showering money on Xanthos, and concentrating on new, larger gifts to a few other important cities.

With these arguments against the identification of Opramoas as the Anonymous Benefactor the evidence of the double portico by the harbour at Patara must now be reconsidered. Two possibilities present themselves. There may have been two double porticoes near the harbour at Patara.¹⁵ The type is not uncommon, and in fact the words used on the mausoleum are not the same as those in Balland no. 67. The portico in the former is described simply as διπλῆν, 'double', as if it had never been of any other type; the Anonymous Benefactor's portico is described as ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γεγυυῖσταν διπλῆν 'made double by him', as if there had previously been a one-aisled portico on the same site, which the benefactor extended. Alternatively, although the decrees on the mausoleum suggest that Opramoas paid the whole cost of the building, it may be that others contributed as well, and that what Opramoas undertook was to see the building complete, paying all the *additional* money required. A similar situation may have arisen at Myra. Here in AD 142 Opramoas undertook to pay what was necessary to see that certain buildings were completed; from Document 63 of AD 149 it appears that one of these buildings was the theatre, yet we know that Iason of Kyaneai gave 10,000 den. to that project before AD 146.¹⁶ It is true that if the phrases are taken on their own, these alternatives are not more plausible than Balland's presumption that the two inscriptions refer to one building and one benefactor; but the phrases are not on their own, and rather than accepting the simpler interpretation of the two references to a stoa at Patara at the expense of an implausible chronology, a dramatic change of charitable policy and an uncharacteristic absence of cross-reference between the two lists of benefactions, it seems better to choose a rather less simple explanation of those phrases and so be freed from the necessity to link the anonymous benefactions with the significantly different ones of Opramoas.

The acceptance of this argument does not affect the force of most of Balland's valuable commentary on inscription no. 67, but we may look again at the date and the identity of the donor. If the donor was not Opramoas, we lose that indication of the stele's date. However, the mention of a bath building at Tlos, a gymnasium at Myra and a stoa by the harbour at Patara among the anonymous benefactions as well as those of Opramoas suggests that both men's generosity was stimulated by the earthquake of AD 140/141, and since there is now no reason for a date in the 150s, the anonymous benefactions, like those of Opramoas, probably belong in the 140s. More specifically the work on the peristyle of the gymnasium at Myra is likely to

that not only is the initial figure grossly out of keeping with Opramoas's normal practice, but it would also involve a drastic, and surely intolerable, reduction in generosity.

¹⁵ Thus when Opramoas gave money for 'a bath' at Oinoanda, there was probably another bath already at the city.

¹⁶ Documents 53 (XIII 50-4), 55 (XV 16-25), 63 (XIX 9-21); IGR iii 704. IIA.

belong between AD 141 and 149, when the exedra of Opramoas, which would depend on it, was apparently complete. This building has not yet been identified, but we can probably date to the decade after the earthquake several buildings which do still survive: at least one of the baths at Tlos, the porticoes of the Letoon, and the agoras at Xanthos and Tlos.¹⁷

The relative size of the gifts strongly suggests that the Anonymous Benefactor came from the Xanthos valley, and the heavy emphasis on the city of Xanthos and its Letoon would most naturally come from a Xanthian citizen. The unspecific reference to Helena is a more complex matter. It is most probably to be explained by the fact that her statue was associated with that of the benefactor, presumably because they were honoured together.¹⁸ If this Helena is in fact Claudia Helena, whose mother was related to the Licinii of Oinoanda, then it would be most natural for her to be honoured in association not with Opramoas, her sister-in-law's uncle, but with her father (from Patara), her brother, or her husband (also from Patara).¹⁹ Any of these is likely to have had the means to make the anonymous benefactions, for her father was a lykiarch and her husband was of senatorial, her brother of consular rank. None of them is known to have had any special interest in the city of Xanthos, but they were all from the Xanthos valley.

Another rich family from which a concentration on Xanthos would be more understandable were the Arruntii of Xanthos. It is unlikely that the praetor M. Arruntius Claudianus, who was probably selected for the senate by Domitian, would still have been alive in the 140s; but his family need not have died out, and his wife's mother was called (among other names) Helena, so that the name was in the family.²⁰ However, there is also the obvious possibility that the Helena in Balland no. 67 is a hitherto unknown woman. There must have been other families in the Xanthos valley whose members could have become benefactors on this scale if they chose. One might mention, for instance, Ti. Claudius Agrippinus, son of Ti. Claudius Iason, whose statue base (now lost) once stood in the Letoon, recording his distributions of money to Xanthos and the Lycian League, and citizenships of three of the four cities mentioned in Balland no. 67.²¹ However, unless further excavation in the area of the Letoon where the

stele was found provides more evidence, the Anonymous Benefactor must remain anonymous.

The Anonymous Benefactor's gifts add up to 1,132,000 den., plus distributions and a charitable fund, which is rather more than Opramoas's total. Of this about 450,000 den. was spent on buildings. It should not be surprising to find that somebody else contributed substantially to the rebuilding and beautification of the cities of Lycia after the earthquake of AD 140/41. Some more limited activities, such as the work of Vilia Procula and her father on the theatre at Patara (AD 147),²² have long been known, and Opramoas's special position is largely due to his unique decision to turn his tomb into an honorific archive. In areas adjoining Lycia his benefactions were certainly equalled or approached. Thus a gift of Ti. Claudius Erymneus for the water supply at Aspendos came to 2,000,000 den.; Aurelius Hermippus gave 627,000 den. to Philadelphia; Menodora of Sillyon gave between 350,000 and 600,000 den., together with substantial distributions; Q. Veranius Philagrus gave 400,000 den. to Kibyra, and an unknown citizen of Selge gave at least 300,000 den. to his city.²³ So although Opramoas was apparently one of the big spenders, he was not in a class of his own, and did not approach Herodes Atticus, who spent 4,000,000 den. on Alexandria Troas alone. The chief difficulty in assessing his true position is that most benefactions are unquantified. Records of distributions rarely give the number of the recipients, and building inscriptions seldom record costs. But given the size of Ti. Claudius Erymneus's contribution to the Aspendos water supply, Ti. Claudius Aristion, who presented Ephesos with a monumental fountain and a water supply running for 210 stades, probably also spent more than a million denarii.²⁴

The removal of the anonymous benefactions from Opramoas allows a comparison of the activities of two wealthy Lycian benefactors in the same period, and Iason of Kyaneai forms a third, also active in the 140s AD. We have already contrasted the broad spread and comparatively small size of Opramoas's gifts with the Anonymous Benefactor's large donations to a few major cities. The wide geographical range of Opramoas's benefactions appears already in the earliest group (Document 53, AD 142), which includes Olympos in the east and Telmessos in the west; the second group (new in Document 59, AD 145) similarly ranges from Gagae to Kalynda, and the third (new in Document 63, AD 149) from Phaselis to Sidyma (FIG. 1). Thus there seems to be a consistent pattern throughout the 140s.²⁵ There

¹⁷ For the baths and agora at Tlos see W. Wurster, *AA* (1976) 34–6; for the agora at Xanthos see *RE* ix A (1967) 1404–5 and fig. on 1397–8.

¹⁸ So Balland 187. An alternative is that Helena dedicated the statue; but this does not seriously affect the argument.

¹⁹ For the connections of Claudia Helena see *IGR* iii 500. II. 60–73, III. 15–23, S. Jameson, *AS* xvi (1966) 125–30, and here Table II. Balland 187 n. 101 suggests the possibility of some closer connection between Opramoas and Claudia Helena; it is conceivable that another sister of Opramoas might have been the mother of Claudius Titianus, the husband of Claudia Helena; but his mother may well be Vilia Procula of Patara (see n. 22 below), and in any case this connection should have been mentioned on the mausoleum, like that with Aelia Platonis. No closer connection is possible.

²⁰ On the date of Arruntius's promotion see E. Dabrowa, *L'Asie Mineure sous les Flaviens* (Cracow 1980) 65–6, H. Halfmann, *Senatoren aus dem östlichen Teil des Imperium Romanum* (Göttingen 1979) 125, no. 28; he gave a bath building to Xanthos at some stage (*TAM* ii 361; Balland 143–4, 154–5).

²¹ *TAM* ii 495 = *IGR* iii 603 = Balland no. 65. His career is further detailed in inscriptions from Patara (*TAM* ii 422–5). H. Halfmann (n. 20) 165 and Balland 168 suggest that this Claudius Agrippinus was closely related to the brother of Claudia Helena.

²² *TAM* ii 408 = *IGR* iii 664. For the family see S. Jameson, *AS* xvi (1966) 130–7, H. Halfmann (n. 20) 184, and Balland 68 n. 202. Here again there may be a connection with Claudia Helena, for Halfmann and Balland identify Ti. Claudius Flavianus Titianus, son of Vilia Procula, with Claudius Titianus, husband of Helena; Jameson, however, is sceptical.

²³ Aspendos: *IGR* iii 804; Philadelphia: *IGR* iv 1632; Sillyon: *IGR* iii 800–82; Kibyra: *IGR* iv 915; Selge: K. Lanckoronski, *Städte Pamphylens und Pisidiens* ii (Vienna 1892) no. 250. Non-imperial gifts rarely exceeded 250,000 den. in the western empire, (see R. Duncan-Jones, *PBSR* xxx [1962] 47–115 (Africa) and *PBSR* xxxiii [1965] 189–306 (Italy)). But those of Pliny the Younger to Comum totalled over 1,000,000 den. (*ILS* 2927, R. Duncan-Jones, *PBSR* xxxiii [1965] 184–8).

²⁴ Philostratos *Vitae Soph.* (ed. Kayser) p. 56; C. Börker et al., *Die Inschriften von Ephesos* ii, IK xii (Bonn 1979) 424.

²⁵ An earlier benefactor with wide-ranging connections (mainly in the Xanthos valley, west Lycia, and Caria, but perhaps also including Kyaneai and Korydalla) is honoured in *TAM* ii 508.

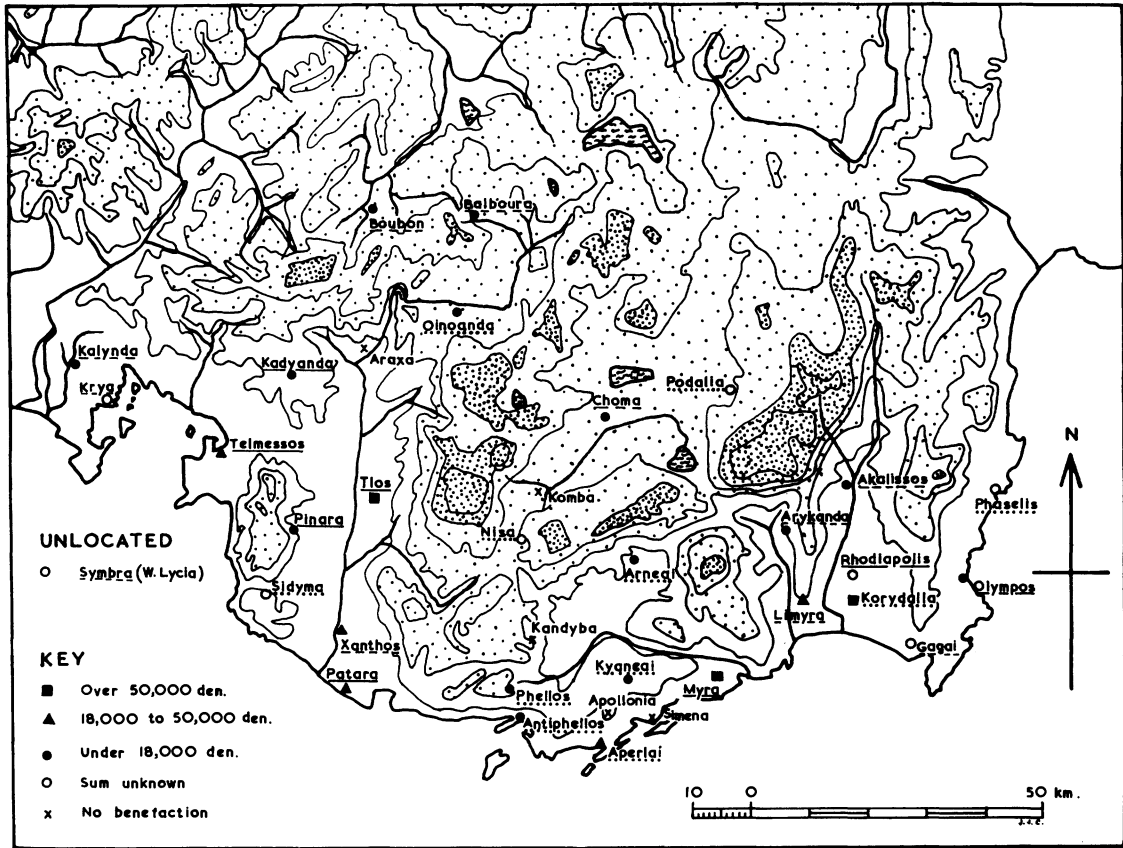


FIG. 1. Cities aided by Opramoas. Cities with continuous underlining have benefactions listed in Document 53 (AD 142); those with broken underlining first have benefactions listed in Document 59 (AD 145); those with dotted underlining first have benefactions listed in document 63 (AD 149).

may be an understandable change at the end of Opramoas's life, however, for the distribution funds at the Letoon and at Tlos both belong to this period. Opramoas seems to have been childless, and this may explain why he was now, apparently for the first time, willing to give away large pieces of his landed estate.²⁶

The benefactions of Iason of Kyaneai are not known in so much detail, but the inscription recording the approval by Antoninus Pius of the honours voted to him, in spite of the accusations of one Moles, begins

²⁶ The question of Opramoas's children turns on whether Aglais Aristokila (honoured in *TAM* ii 916) was his mother or wife. If his wife, then he definitely had three children, even though they do not appear on the mausoleum except in one uncertain restored phrase (*TAM* ii 905. XVIII.77–8). However, the phraseology of *TAM* ii 916 is very similar to that of *TAM* ii 915, in honour of Apollonios, who certainly was Opramoas's father, and it also seems unlikely that Opramoas (who set up both these inscriptions) should have lived long enough to see his wife's, and so his own, great grandchildren become senators, and if he did, it is surprising that more is not made of them in the mausoleum inscription. On the other hand 'Ay(λ)>αιδος τῆς 'Ερ[μ]α[ί]ου seems reasonably compatible with the indications recorded for the name of Opramoas's mother on the mausoleum (*TAM* ii 905.VIII.46), given the other examples of doubtful readings and misspellings in the mausoleum inscription; and if Aglais was Opramoas's mother, the senatorial great-grandchildren of Apollonios and Aglais (*TAM* ii 915–16) would then be not unrecorded descendants of Opramoas, but the family of the Aelia Platonis, whose daughter married a senator (*IGR* iii 500) and whose son apparently became one (*PIR* ii C859); see Table 2. Since there is now no certain mention of Opramoas's own children, they probably never existed.

with a list of letters and decrees in his honour from fourteen cities.²⁷ These range in date from AD 137 to 143, so some of them precede the earthquake, and there is no evidence that even those after AD 141 are in gratitude for architectural benefactions. But two later decrees (dated to AD 146) are quoted in full in the same inscription. One, a decree of Myra, records the gift of 10,000 den. for a portico in front of a bath building and the promise of another 10,000 den. for the theatre there, and the other, of Patara, records Iason's beautification of that city's sanctuary of Apollo. So he obviously was interested in building projects. At any rate, Iason must have conferred some benefits on all these cities, and the inscription serves to show the range of his activity.

In comparison with the recipients of Opramoas's generosity, the cities honouring Iason are geographically more limited, ranging mainly over central and eastern Lycia, with the one exception of Patara²⁸ (FIG. II); those helped by Opramoas include not only the cities

²⁷ *IGR* iii 704.IA.

²⁸ *IGR* iii 706.14–16 lists decrees of AD 141 from Xanthos and Rhodiapolis, as well as Patara, but does not specify whether they were in honour of Iason or Mausolos his son. The context favours the latter, for the inscription is primarily concerned with him, and since his honours had already been listed in AD 146 (*IGR* iii 704.IA.21–2), the early date is no obstacle. Thus although this inscription shows that the connections of Iason's family extended also to Xanthos and Rhodiapolis, the honours need not have been for benefits from Iason himself, and so they are ignored in the discussion below and on the map (Fig. II).

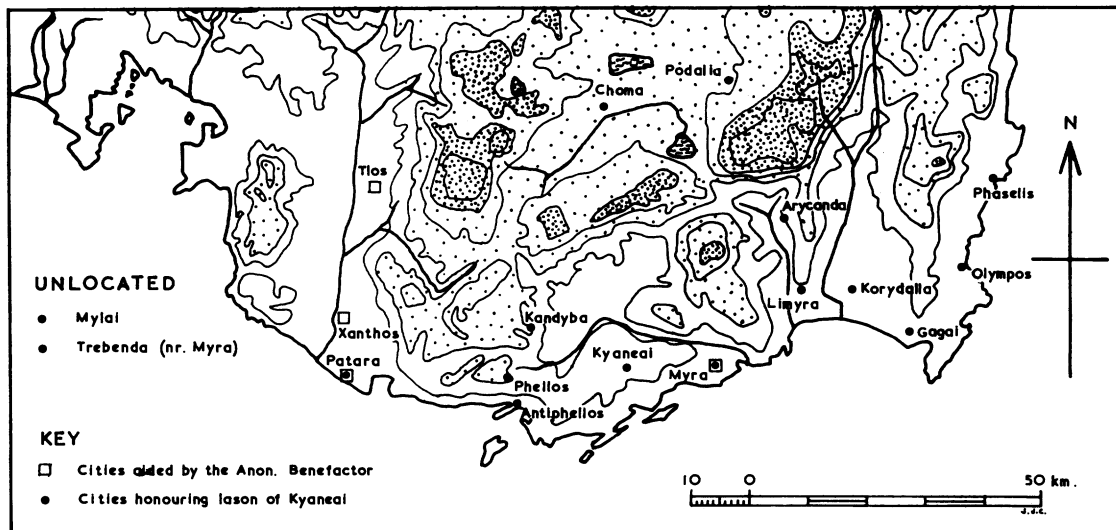


FIG II. Cities aided by the Anonymous Benefactor, and cities honouring Iason of Kyaneai.

of the Xanthos valley, but also those of far western Lycia, like Kalynda. Within central and eastern Lycia the list of places honouring Iason corresponds closely to the list of places issuing coinage under Gordian III in the mid-third century.²⁹ But Rhodiapolis and Akalissos in the east, and more surprisingly Aperlai and Arneai, both of them cities heading sympolities in Iason's home area, did not honour Iason, although all four were important enough to issue this short-lived coinage, and also received help from Opramoas. Nisa in the Milyas, although not issuing the coinage, did get help from Opramoas. The only cities which honoured Iason but received nothing from Opramoas were Kandyba, Mylai, and Trebenda. Mylai is otherwise unknown, and Trebenda was a small place dominated by Myra; but Kandyba was independent and issued coinage under Gordian. Of the known Lycian cities that ignored Iason and were ignored by Opramoas, some belonged to sympolities headed by other cities; so they may not have passed their own decrees in Iason's honour, while Opramoas's benefactions may perhaps have been intended for the whole of a sympolity, not just the leading city. Aperlai, which included in its sympolity Simena and Apollonia, both places active and important enough to have their own theatre and bath building,³⁰ received the rather large sum of 30,000 den.; but Arneai and Akalissos, although heading sympolities, received only sums appropriate to a single minor city (6000 and 3000 den. respectively). Others of these cities may have been insignificant in the Roman period. Araxa, for instance, which seems to have been a place of some importance in the Hellenistic period, has no major public buildings surviving from the Roman period, and few Imperial inscriptions, although it still appears in the

²⁹ H. von Aulock, *Die Münzprägung des Gordian III und der Tranquillina in Lykien*, *IstMitt Beiheft xi* (Tübingen 1974), esp. 23. He does not comment on the geographical restriction of the issues; they were not produced by any city in, or west of, the Xanthos valley, except for Patara and Tlos.

³⁰ For Apollonia see W. Wurster, *AA* (1976) 43; for Simena, see C. Texier, *Description de l'Asie Mineure* (Paris 1849) iii, 204, 233, pl. 207-8; also G. E. Bean, *Lycian Turkey* (London and New York 1978) 104, 116-17, C. Bayburtluoğlu, *Lycie* (Ankara 1981?) 52-4.

city lists of both Ptolemy and Hierokles, and was later the seat of a bishop.³¹ So too Komba in the Milyas, although also listed by Ptolemy and Hierokles, apparently did not, like its neighbours Choma and Podalia, issue coinage under Gordian.³² It is unclear, however, whether these cities were less important than still unidentified places such as Symbra, which was helped by Opramoas, or Mylai, which honoured Iason. There is no reason to suppose that Opramoas aimed at complete coverage of all cities down to a certain size.

In their geographical spread Iason's benefactions in some ways complement those of the Anonymous Benefactor, whose activities were restricted to the Xanthos valley, with the exception of Myra (FIG. II). Thus the two chief cities of Roman Lycia, Myra and Patara, form the link between a predominantly eastern and a predominantly western set of benefactions. But although Iason's benefactions were, like those of the Anonymous Benefactor, geographically more limited than those of Opramoas, they are like those of Opramoas in helping numerous cities both large and small with (if the sums given to Myra are typical) relatively small gifts. Thus they differ sharply in scale and in number from the few large benefactions to major cities only which were given by the Anonymous Benefactor. It may be significant that both Opramoas and Iason themselves belonged to small cities, and so would be less inclined to see the Lycian League only in terms of its major cities.

Wealthy donors could exercise choice not only over where they gave help and how much, but also over the kind of projects they supported. It is not often that our evidence is sufficient to see how different people reacted to the same circumstances at the same place and time. But in Lycia, after the earthquake of AD 140/141, to some extent we can. The evidence for Iason rather fails

³¹ Ptolemy *Geog.* v. 3.5, Hierocles *Synecdemus* 685.2. An important Hellenistic inscription from Araxa is published by G. E. Bean, *JHS* lxxviii (1948) 46-56; see also J. and L. Robert, *REG* lxxiii (1950) 185-97. But only eight Imperial inscriptions from the site are listed in *TAM* ii 701-8. For the visible remains see G. E. Bean (n. 30) 70-2.

³² Ptolemy *Geog.* v. 3.5, Hierocles *Synecdemus* 684.12. For the remains see G. E. Bean (n. 30) 158-9.

us; we know only of donations towards a theatre, the portico of a bath, and the adornment of a sanctuary. But for Opramoas and the Anonymous Benefactor the evidence suggests differences in this as in other aspects of euergetism. Both of them made their largest donations to sanctuaries (at Myra and Xanthos respectively), and both also contributed to various stoas. Both also took considerable interest in baths (three each), which is not surprising given the popularity of such buildings in Lycia. But Opramoas was particularly fond of exedras (three), perhaps because they provided a good opportunity for display at a fairly limited cost, and he also contributed to four theatres but not to any agora; the Anonymous Benefactor, on the other hand, contributed to two agoras but to no exedra or theatre. Thus the record of the anonymous benefactions in Balland no. 67 serves not only to offset the distorting effect of Opramoas's self-advertisement, but also to bring out more clearly than usual how much variation there was, how much scope for personal choice, in the size, spread and destination of benefactions, even when the time, the place, and the amount of money spent were virtually the same.

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**Messenger Scenes in *Iliad* xxiii and xxiv
(xxiii 192–211, xxiv 77–188)¹**

At *Iliad* xxiii 192–211, Iris carries Achilles' prayer to the banqueting winds, in a passage whose humour offers relief after the funeral of Patroclus. At the same time, both in its immediate context and in its relation to Iris' two missions in Book xxiv, the scene contributes to Homer's presentation of the relation between gods and men.²

The passage describes divine aid testifying to that concern of the gods for men which is to be so important in Book xxiv; and it immediately follows the account of another manifestation of divine concern, one which looks forward more directly to the next book—the

¹ I should like to acknowledge the constant influence on what follows of C. W. Macleod, *Homer; Iliad xxiv* (Cambridge 1982). Specific references to this work are no measure of the extent of my debt to it.

² J. Th. Kakridis, *Homeric researches* (Lund 1949) 75–83 argues that the scene could not have originated in its present context; no aspect of Patroclus' funeral makes intelligible the need to persuade the winds to give their help. Rather, he suggests, the scene is explicable only as being derived, with the account of the funeral as a whole, from the description in the *Aethiopsis* of Achilles' burial; there, the need for Iris' visit to Boreas and Zephyrus would arise out of their reluctance to assist in the burning of the killer of their half-brother Memnon. (Cf. S. L. Schein *The mortal hero* [Berkeley 1984] 166 n. 44.)

The theory that the description of Patroclus' funeral is based on a pre-existing account—whether or not that in the *Aethiopsis*—of that of Achilles (Kakridis 75–95) is attractive in suggesting a further element in Homer's presentation of the inevitable sequence in which Achilles' death follows Patroclus'. It is, then, possible that the episode of the winds did not originate in the context of Patroclus' funeral. However, this need not mean that the poet mechanically reproduced the scene, rather than choosing to retain it because he could so treat it as to give it significance in its new context—turning to advantage even the apparent lack of necessity, in this context, for the introduction of Iris (see below). The passage is intelligible in its own right, not simply as being inherited from an earlier narrative. (Cf. W. Kullmann, *Das Wirken der Götter in der Ilias* [Berlin 1956] 22 n. 2.)

description, at 184–91, of the protection of Hector's body by Aphrodite and Apollo. The fact that Homer anticipated here the description at xxiv 18–21 of Apollo's protection of the body points to the importance of the concern thus emphasised. In its position preceding the episode of the winds—rather than, for instance, following Achilles' earlier threats of maltreatment at xxiii 21–5—the description seems designed also to underline the fact that the parallel between Hector and Patroclus, most obvious in their deaths, is maintained here: both are the objects of divine aid, which in both cases takes the same form, the warding off of a threat to the hero's corpse, whether it is that of maltreatment by Achilles or the lesser threat of the pyre's failure to burn. This parallel protection is a proper response to the combined equality in death and inequality of treatment conveyed as the two bodies lie side by side, but one face down in the dust (xxiii 24–6). Both the parallel and the sense of divine compassion are enhanced by the introduction of Iris as intermediary, since she, unlike the winds but like Aphrodite and Apollo, gives her aid unasked.

In the very giving of aid, however, the gods reveal their distance from men. This emerges very clearly from the passage following the messenger scene, 212–25, as Boreas and Zephyrus make the pyre burn in answer to Achilles' prayer; the winds are seen in all their superior strength and freedom from human grief. They maintain the pyre πάννυχοι, while πάννυχος, Achilles mourns—ὠκύς Ἀχιλλεύς able in his grief to move only ἐπιπύζων. Similarly at 192–211, the tone in which Iris' help to Achilles is narrated underlines her distance, and that of the winds, from him. In the humour of the winds' invitations to Iris to sit beside them, and her neat evasion, the divine world is contrasted with human suffering even while the gods' actions show concern for that suffering.³ Iris' excuse, that she must attend the sacrifices offered by the Ethiopians, may be intended by the poet to be seen as a tactful invention enhancing the scene's humour and so its contrast with the world of men. In any case, it contributes also, like Thetis' reference to such sacrifices at i 423–4 and the description at xiii 1–7 of the distant peoples to whom Zeus turned his attention, to the sense of divine detachment.⁴ It is appropriate that Iris' speech should end with a reference to the human grief which she cannot share—Πάτροκλος, τὸν πάντες ἀναστενάχουσιν Ἀχαιοί.

The scene's significance extends beyond its contrast with its immediate context. Repeatedly in Book xxiii

³ Compare, for example, xxiv 19–20, φῶτ' ἐλεείρων καὶ τεθνήοτα περ, combining with an account of divine pity a sense of the distance between gods and men created by human mortality.

I disagree with Kakridis' (n. 2) denial that the scene is humorous in intention; the detail of the invitations to Iris from all the winds—dismissed by Kakridis as 'general kindness to a woman who has come from a long distance and consequently must sit down'—seems to distinguish this scene from those which he cites in support of his belief that the winds are simply showing Iris the respect due to a goddess greater than themselves. (For a similar scene, this time with an explicit comment on its humorous aspect, compare Pl. *Charm.* 155b9–c4.)

⁴ Cf. Σ bT on 206, where Iris is first said to be inventing the sacrifices, (πρὸς ἀπαλλαγὴν τῶν ἐνοχλοῦντων ψεύδεται), but an alternative comment is offered—χάρειν ἐν παρέργῳ δεδήλωκεν ὅτι ἀπαλλάγησαν οἱ θεοὶ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ ὥσπερ ἐκ τῆς φροντίδος κατέστησαν; also Eustathius 1296.24–28. Contrast xi 645–654, Patroclus' reason for his refusal—expressed, like Iris', with the words οὐχ ἔδος—of Nestor's invitation to be seated.