

although the men use ἐπαποδύομαι in 615 and ἐκδύομαι in 662 and the women ἐκδύομαι in 686, there is no cognate term used in 637. The difference in terminology suggests (no more) that the action in 637 is different in kind from those in 615, 662, 686. Secondly, when the women disrobe at 686 in direct response to the men's act of undressing in 662, they say ἄλλὰ χῆμαις, ὦ γυναῖκες, θάπτον ἐκδύομεθα.¹² In contrast, there is no καὶ ἡμεῖς at 637 to point up the parallelism.

That the terminology used in 637 can be used of someone putting down a burden, as I suppose, is indicated by the similar language used at 358 (θώμεσθα δὴ τὰς κάλπιδας χῆμαις χαμαῖζε), of the women's pitchers. We may also compare *Ach.* 341-2:

– τοὺς λίθους νῦν μοι χαμαῖζε πρῶτον ἐξ-εράσατε.

– οὐτοί σοι χαμαί· καὶ σὺ κατάθου πάλιν τὸ ξίφος,

and *Knights* 155 ἄγε δὴ σὺ κατάθου πρῶτα τὰ σκευὴ χαμαί. Moreover, it is as appropriate for the chorus to rid itself of inconvenient objects before beginning a parabasis (or as here quasi-parabasis) as it is for the chorus to strip, as *Pax* 729 f. indicates. If this is what happens at 637, we must suppose that at some point after 547 the women pick up their pitchers, which they abandoned at 539.

The issue of the precise action taken by the female half-chorus at 637 is of some importance. Although in the parodos the female half-chorus get the better of their male counterparts, both verbally and physically, and in the process show themselves capable of violence of language and action, they are consistently shown as more restrained,¹³ in that they resort to abuse, threats or violence only when provoked, like the women in the acting area.¹⁴ The men are always the source of aggression. If my interpretation of the verse in question is correct, these consistent and contrasting aspects of the two sexes are visually represented for the audience for over one quarter of the play, as the men, carried away by their unreflecting hostility to the women, strip themselves naked, while the women retain their inner garments. The women are visibly more restrained, and visibly at an advantage, because they retain a degree of dignity; this advantage reaches a climax and a resolution when the women clothe the men in 1019 ff.

C. CAREY

Royal Holloway and Bedford New College,
University of London

¹² Cf. 358, where χῆμαις links the women's act of depositing their burden with that of the men (312 θώμεσθα δὴ τὸ φόρτιον).

¹³ Contrast 350 f. with 360 ff.; cf. also 634 f. with 636, 656 f., 681 f. with 704 f., 799 f. with 823 f.

¹⁴ Cf. 428-62.

The Olympieion and the Hadrianeion at Ephesos

Ephesos was one of the great cities of the ancient world; in the period of the Roman empire, it was the capital of the province of Asia, and on one celebrated occasion its religious life came into sharp conflict with early Christianity (*Acts* xix 23-41). From the earliest days of methodical excavation in Turkey, Ephesos has provided a magnet to travellers and archaeologists. Hence a problem that involves the cults and the topography of imperial Ephesos can claim more than an antiquarian interest.

The present note concerns an apparent conflict between ancient texts about Ephesos and modern discoveries. The current view is that the Olympieion, the sanctuary of Zeus Olympios, is identical with the sanctuary of the emperor Hadrian, which it is convenient to call the Hadrianeion even if the term is not attested for Ephesos; a large structure currently under excavation in the northern part of the Roman city is held to be this dual-purpose building. As for the Olympieion, such a view conflicts with the only ancient testimony, that of the traveller Pausanias, and on inspection the arguments for identifying Olympieion and Hadrianeion melt away.¹

Pausanias is the only source to mention the Olympieion. Discussing the city's legendary founder, Androklos, he observes that Androklos' tomb was still to be seen in his own day 'near the road leading from the sanctuary past the Olympieion to the Magnesian Gates (κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ παρὰ τὸ Ὀλυμπιεῖον καὶ ἐπὶ πύλας τὰς Μαγνητιδᾶς); 'the sanctuary' must be the chief one of Ephesos, the Artemision.² The same road is mentioned by Philostratos describing the benefactions of the sophist Damianus of Ephesos: 'he connected the sanctuary to Ephesos by extending the approach through the Magnesian Gates in its direction. This is a portico entirely of stone one stade long, and the purpose of the building is to ensure that the sanctuary should not lack worshippers in case of rain' (συνήψε δὲ καὶ τὸ ἱερόν τῇ Ἐφέσῳ κατατείνας ἐς αὐτὸ τὴν διὰ τῶν Μαγνητικῶν κάθοδον. ἔστι δὲ αὕτη στοὰ ἐπὶ στάδιον λίθου πᾶσα, νοῦς δὲ τοῦ οἰκοδομήματος μὴ ἀπείναι τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοὺς θεραπεύοντας ὅποτε ὄυι, *VS* ii 23, 605). There is nothing *a priori* implaus-

¹ I am grateful to G.W. Bowersock and Hans Taeuber for their comments, and to the Trustees of the British Museum for supplying Plates I and II and granting permission to reproduce them. I have used the following special abbreviations: *Aufstieg und Niedergang* = *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, ed. W. Haase and H. Temporini (Berlin and New York); Bowie, 'Temple of Hadrian' = E.L. Bowie, 'The "Temple of Hadrian" at Ephesus', *ZPE* viii (1971) 137-41; Metcalf, *Cistophori* = William E. Metcalf, *The Cistophori of Hadrian*, *Numismatic Studies* xv (New York 1980); Price, *Rituals* = S. R. F. Price, *Rituals and power* (Cambridge 1984); Robert, *OMS* = L. Robert, *Opera Minora Selecta* i-vii (Amsterdam 1969-1990); Rogers, *Sacred identity* = Guy M. Rogers, *The sacred identity of Ephesos* (London and New York 1991); Wood, *Discoveries* = J.T. Wood, *Discoveries at Ephesus* (London 1877). For excellent sketch-maps of imperial Ephesos, Rogers, *Sacred identity* 195-97.

² Paus. vii 2. 9. St. Karwiese, *RE* suppl. xii (1970) 334, cites Pausanias for the statement that 'Hadrian had an Olympieion built outside the city', but the text does not mention Hadrian.

ible in these statements, since according to Strabo (xiv.1. 21, 640 C.) the archaic and classical city of Ephesos was in the area of the Artemision, and was only moved to its present site by Lysimachos: hence the Olympieion (provided that it is an ancient sanctuary) might well have lain outside the Lysimachean city and somewhere in the proximity of the Artemision.

In 1863 John Turtle Wood began his excavations of Ephesos with the purpose of finding the temple of Artemis. At first he had only literature to guide him, including the two passages just discussed, but he was helped in 1866 by finding in the Theatre the long inscription bearing the foundation of C. Vibius Salutaris. This ordains that the statues presented by Salutaris to the city be kept in the Artemision and brought to the theatre on certain days, 'with the ephebes helping to take them from the Magnesian Gate, and after the assembly [in the theatre] helping to escort them as far as the Coressian Gate'.³ Wood found the Magnesian Gate, a triple portal flanked by two imposing towers, set in the south-east wall of the city on the side facing Magnesia on the Maeander.⁴ Guessing that the Artemision lay to the north of this gate, he excavated a large part of the portico of Damianus, finding many sarcophagi in this area outside the city. With Pausanias' testimony in mind, Wood dug trenches from the eastern side of the road towards the open plain, and found masonry which he took to be the foundation of the Tomb of Androclus. 'I had sought in vain for the Temple of Jupiter; but I believe it would be found between the Sepulchre of Androclus and the Magnesian Gate and between the road and the mountain'.⁵

The cult of Zeus is of great antiquity at Ephesos. The earliest evidence is from the poet Kallinos in the seventh century, whose invocation of the god is cited by Strabo.⁶ Facing the Artemision, on the north-east slope of the Panayırdağ, is the so-called cult-place of the Mother of the Gods, and several dedications to Ancestral Zeus (Ζεὺς Παιτρότος), some of which may go back to the fifth century, come from that site.⁷ An altar of Zeus Olympios seems to have remained unpublished since its discovery in 1895, and its date is not reported.⁸ In the third century of our era, at any rate, the Olympia were deemed to have begun over twenty centuries before, in the heroic period, though the first epigraphic attestation is in the reign of Domitian.⁹

³ R. Heberdey, *Forschungen in Ephesos* ii (Vienna 1912) 127 ff. no. 27 (*Inchriften von Ephesos* i 27) lines 563-67, cf. 423-25. For Wood's discovery, *Discoveries* 73-74; on the foundation of Salutaris see now Rogers, *Sacred identity*.

⁴ Wood, *Discoveries* 79-80, 111-12; W. Alzinger, *RE* suppl. xii (1970) 1599; Rogers, *Sacred identity* 86.

⁵ Wood, *Discoveries* 126-27.

⁶ Str. xiv.1. 4, 633 C. (M.L. West, *Iambi et Elegi Graeci* [Oxford 1982] ii 48 no. 2). On the cult of Zeus at Ephesos, Richard E. Oster in *Aufstieg und Niedergang* ii 18, 2 (1990) 1691-95.

⁷ *Inchriften von Ephesos* ii 101-104; for the cult-place, references in Knibbe, *RE* suppl. xii (1970) 284.

⁸ Keil, *JOEAL* xxxv (1943) Beibl. 108 n. 18 ('S(kizzen)-B(uch) 1895 III S. 65').

⁹ Antiquity of Olympia: Robert, *BCH* cii (1978) 474 (*Documents d'Asie Mineure* [Paris 1987] 170). Under Domitian: Moretti, *Iscrizioni agonistiche greche* 66 (W. Blümel, *Inchriften von Iasos* 108).

Zeus Olympios is known from several issues of bronze coins of Ephesos. They show the god seated facing left, holding in his right hand a statuette of Artemis Ephesia, and appear in the following reigns:

Domitian: *Catalogue of Greek coins in the British Museum* (Ionia) 75 no. 215; *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum* von Aulock 1879; legend Ζεὺς Ὀλύμπιος (PLATE IV (b)).

Aelius Caesar: *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum* (Copenhagen, Ionia) Ephesos no. 391; same legend.

Caracalla: *Catalogue of Greek coins in the British Museum* (Ionia) 85 no. 272; *SNG* von Aulock 7872; no legend.

Severus Alexander: *Catalogue of Greek Coins in the British Museum* (Ionia) 93 no. 313; legend Ζεὺς Ὀλύμπιος

Valerian: Macdonald, *Greek coins in the Hunterian Collection* ii 337 no. 75; no legend.

The same type, with the legend IOVIS OLYMPIVS, appears on silver cistophori of Hadrian struck at Ephesos; the same image is found on Hadrianic cistophori of Smyrna.¹⁰

This image of the seated Zeus descends from Pheidias' Zeus in the temple at Olympia, and its persistence on the coins of Ephesos suggests that it represents an object in actual existence, not merely a pattern passed by one die-cutter to another. This object, in turn, must surely be the cult-statue of Zeus Olympios, an inference already drawn by Jean Beaujeu in 1955 and more recently by William Metcalf.¹¹ Beaujeu proposed that Domitian founded both the Olympia and the Olympieion of Ephesos: but it is hard to believe that a cult of such antiquity did not have a home until the reign of Domitian, or that the Olympia, which in the third century were supposed to have been founded in the second millennium, actually went back only to the same reign. Even if that part of Beaujeu's thesis is rejected, his main point can stand: there must have been a temple and statue of Zeus Olympios already by the end of the first century of our era, and the Olympieion cannot therefore have been founded by Hadrian.

Another coin-type deserves attention. Numismatists have long debated the origin of a silver denarius issued under Augustus, apparently in the *pars Graeca* (PLATE IV (c)). The obverse image has been described thus: 'Front view of temple, showing six columns on podium of three steps. In the pediment is a shield (?); palmettes or acroteria on top and sides'. The legend is IOVI OLY(MPIO) or OLYM(PIO). Michael Grant proposed Ephesos as the mint on purely stylistic grounds; if that view were correct, it would prove that the Olympieion of Ephesos already stood in the time of Augustus.¹² Given the antiquity of the cult of Zeus in Ephesos, and the early date ascribed to the foundation of the Olympia, there may have been a cult already in the classical period, and a temple at least by the hellenistic. It may

¹⁰ Metcalf, *Cistophori* 16-17, types 13-15, with discussion 22-24; ib. 31, type 29, with discussion, 38.

¹¹ J. Beaujeu, *La religion romaine à l'apogée de l'empire* (Paris 1955) 182; Metcalf, *Cistophori* 22.

¹² Anne S. Robertson, *Roman imperial coins in the Hunter Coin Cabinet* i (Oxford 1962) I, 55, with pl. 9; M. Grant, *From Imperium to Auctoritas* (Cambridge 1946) 104, followed by A.M. Woodward, *Num. Chron.* ser. 6, xii (1952) 28-29.

also be that Roman emperors such as Augustus, Nero, Domitian and Hadrian exploited the cult and bestowed gifts on the temple, though no such gifts are recorded among Hadrian's benefactions to Ephesos.¹³

It is time to consider the evidence for the Hadrianeion. The first temple of the provincial cult of the emperors at Ephesos was granted by Domitian, though after his death his colossal statue was removed and the grant ascribed to Vespasian. The sanctuary is located in the south-east of the city, adjoining the Upper Agora ('Stadtmarkt') at its western end.¹⁴ As the first neocorate temple was originally dedicated to Domitian, so it was long since inferred from the coins that the second one was dedicated to Hadrian. An inscription published by Josef Keil in 1915 and dated to the reign of Caracalla shows that Ephesos by that time claimed to be 'thrice neokoros, twice of the Sebastoi, once of Artemis', the third neocorate being ascribed to the goddess by the decision of Caracalla himself.¹⁵ In 1960 another inscription revealed a certain Ti. Claudius Piso Diophantus, 'the high-priest of the two temples in Ephesos, in whose tenure was consecrated the temple of the divine Hadrian (ὁ θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ νεώς), who first asked (for it) from the divine Hadrian and succeeded'.¹⁶

At first sight, then, it seems that the temple of Hadrian had nothing to do with the Olympieion, or at least that the arguments for identifying the two would have to be very strong. They were first adumbrated, without any reference to the evidence on the ground, by Wilhelm Weber, and then formulated by David Magie as follows: 'During [Hadrian's] visit to Ephesos [in 129], apparently, the plan was made for the construction of an Olympieium, built on the outskirts of the city for the worship of the new Zeus Olympius. On its completion, a few years later, Ephesos, now possessing a second temple dedicated to an emperor, obtained the title of "Twice Temple-Warden". The festival of the Hadrianeia, moreover, founded on the occasion of the emperor's earlier visit [in 124], received the additional name Olympia'.¹⁷

Magie's argument rests primarily on the assimilation of Hadrian with Zeus Olympios, made concrete by his adoption of the title Olympios in the *pars Graeca* in 128. This development is expressed with its greatest clarity at Athens, where the emperor brought to completion in 131/2 the great sanctuary of Zeus Olympios

¹³ For construction in Ephesos under Domitian, *Inscriptionen von Ephesos* ii 449; for a list of Hadrian's benefactions, not including the Olympieion, *Inscriptionen von Ephesos* ii 274.

¹⁴ Keil, *JOEAI* xxvii (1932) Beibl. 54-61; Alzinger, *RE* suppl. xii (1970) 1649-50 (no. 34 on map facing col. 1600); Price, *Rituals* 255 no. 31. Recent doubts about the identification (A. Bammer, *Ephesos* [Graz 1988] 153-56) seem unjustified.

¹⁵ J. Keil, *Num. Zeitschr.* n.s. viii (1915) 125-130; Keil's intuition was brilliantly confirmed by a letter of Caracalla himself (now *Inscriptionen von Ephesos* ii 212, 15-22), elucidated by Robert, *RPhil* ser. 3, xli (1967) 44-57 (*OMS* v 384-97).

¹⁶ Keil, *JOEAI* xlv (1959) Beibl. 266 n. 40 (*Inscriptionen von Ephesos* ii 428); cf. Bowie, 'Temple of Hadrian' 137.

¹⁷ Magie, *Roman rule in Asia Minor* (Princeton 1950) 619 with 1479 n. 30; cf. W. Weber, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Hadrianus* (Leipzig 1907) 215. M. Wörle, *Arch. Anz.* 1973, 477, and Price, *Rituals* 256, express cautious agreement; contrast Metcalf, *Cistophori* 22 n. 15, rejecting Magie's 'elaborate scheme'.

reputedly founded by Deucalion after the Flood, but begun in what was to be its final form by the tyrant Peisistratos. Even in Athens, however, the Olympieion was not primarily for the worship of Hadrian but of Zeus. The chryselephantine statue, which Pausanias compares to the colossi of Rhodes and of Rome, represented the god seated in an attitude that derives ultimately, like that in the Olympieion of Ephesos, from Pheidias' masterpiece at Olympia; Hadrian also received a colossus from the Athenians in the sanctuary, but this, while it may well have been used for worship, stood behind the temple.¹⁸

In corroboration, Magie also argued that the contest of the Hadrianeia at Ephesos received the additional name of 'Olympia', while others have thought that it was the older contest of the Olympia, first attested under Domitian, that was renamed Hadrianeia (or Hadriana) Olympia.¹⁹ In fact, the several dozen inscriptions which mention one or both of these two contests call them by a single name, either 'Hadrianeia' or 'Olympia': there is one exception, an inscription of Aphrodisias which refers to the 'Hadriana Olympia'.²⁰ In this instance 'Hadriana' appears to be an adjective qualifying 'Olympia', and since the inscription could be of Hadrianic date or slightly later the most likely interpretation is that the Olympia received the emperor's name in passing, as happens not infrequently in the nomenclature of Greek contests; thus at Ephesos itself the Hadrianeia were briefly called 'Hadrianeia Commodeia' under Commodus.²¹ It seems certain, then, that the Hadrianeia and the Olympia were separate contests at Ephesos; they provide no ground for supposing that the Hadrianeion and the Olympieion were the same.

The archaeological evidence for the Hadrianeion has a curious history. A small, elegant temple on the Embolos ('Kuretenstrasse'), first made known in 1959, bears a dedication to Artemis, Hadrian and the people of Ephesos. Franz Miltner argued that this was the second neocorate temple dedicated to Hadrian, and this view held the field for over a decade. In 1971, however, Ewen Bowie showed that it was impossible for several

¹⁸ Foundation of the sanctuary by Deucalion: *FGrHist* 239, 4 (Parian Marble), Paus. i 18. 8. Cult-statue of Zeus: Paus. i 18. 6; L. Lacroix, *Les reproductions de statues sur les monnaies grecques* (Liège 1949) 266. On the Athenian Olympieion generally, J. Travlos, *Pictorial dictionary of ancient Athens* (London 1971) 402-11; R.E. Wycherley, *The stones of Athens* (Princeton 1978) 155-66; Price, *Rituals* 68, 147; A.J. Spawforth and S. Walker, *JRS* lxxv (1985) 93-94.

¹⁹ D. Knibbe, *RE* suppl. xii (1970) 277-78, following M. Lämmer, *Olympieion und Hadrianeion im antiken Ephesos*, diss. Köln 1967 [non uidi]. Olympia under Domitian: above, n. 9.

²⁰ For lists of attestations of the Olympia, L. Robert, *RPhil* ser. 3, iii (1930) 52 n. 8 (*OMS* ii 1152); id., *Anatolian Studies...* Buckler (Manchester 1939) 233 n. 1 (*OMS* i 617); of the Hadriana, Robert, *RPhil* ser. 3, iii (1930) 52 n. 7 (*OMS* ii 1152); there are no counter-examples in subsequent additions except that in *Inscriptionen von Ephesos* iv 1083 [Ἀδριάνεια Ὀλυμπία has been restored. Aphrodisias: *CIG* 2810, 17-18, now re-edited by C. Roueché, *Performers and partisans at Aphrodisias* (London 1993), no. 67.

²¹ *Inscriptionen von Tralles* i 135, 17-18, cf. Robert, *RPhil* ser. 3, iii (1930) 35 (*OMS* ii 1135). Cf. the name 'Kaisareia' added to the Pythia of Delphi and the Eleutheria of Plataea in the early principate, Robert, *Arch. Eph.* 1969, 49-58 (*OMS* vii 755-64); cf. S.R.F. Price, *JRS* lxx (1980) 32.

reasons, one of them being the small size of the building. There was resistance, but Bowie's arguments were powerfully reinforced by Michael Wörrle, and it is now generally conceded that this small temple had nothing to do with the provincial cult of the emperor, and was perhaps not for his worship at all.²²

Hardly had the temple on the Embolos been discounted as the Hadrianeion than a new candidate came into view. In 1972 a trench was dug for 70 metres north of the Church of Mary and uncovered a large terrace similar to that of the sanctuary of Domitian. Subsequent excavation has shown that the Church incorporates part of the south hall or portico of the newly discovered complex. The date is the second century, and the excavators are satisfied that the building is the Olympieion, which they assume to be identical with the Hadrianeion.²³ As has been seen, though, Pausanias locates the Olympieion outside the Lysimachean city; it appears to have been founded already in the reign of Domitian, and perhaps well before; and the arguments for identifying it with the Hadrianeion do not withstand scrutiny. The new building may well be the Hadrianeion, however, and if so a remark made by Ewen Bowie in 1971, one year before this building began to be uncovered, proves prophetic: 'the small proportion of Ephesus that has as yet been uncovered makes it not impossible that another building which may be satisfactorily identified with [the temple of Hadrian] may one day be found'.²⁴

As for the Olympieion, this must have been where Pausanias puts it, outside the Lysimachean city, on the east side of the Panayırdağ: whether it was between the Magnesians Gate and the structure identified by Wood with the Tomb of Androclos, or rather between the latter and the Artemision, is a question only to be answered by investigation on the ground.

C. P. JONES

Harvard University

²² F. Miltner, *JOEAI* xliv (1959) Beibl. 264-66; Bowie, 'Temple of Hadrian' 137-41; Wörrle (n. 17), 470-77; Price, *Rituals* 255-56.

²³ See now St. Karwiese, *Die Marienkirche in Ephesos: Erster vorläufiger Grabungsbericht 1984-1986*, Denkschr. Akad. Wien cc (Vienna 1989), Index s.v. Olympieion; for previous reports, *Anz. Wien* cx (1973) 178-80; cxxi (1984) 210-211; cxxiii (1987) 84; cxxv (1988) 91-92. For the Church of Mary, see Alzinger, *RE* suppl. xii (1970), plan facing col. 1584, no. 6. Karwiese's view is strongly endorsed by S. Mitchell in *AR 1989-1990*, 100; Rogers, *Sacred identity* 104, is more reserved.

²⁴ Bowie, 'Temple of Hadrian' 141.

Athenian campaigns in Karia and Lykia during the Peloponnesian War¹

In memory of J.D. Smart

Thucydides (ii 9.4) records among the allies of Athens in 431 'coastal Karia and the Dorians living near the Karians'.² All Karia and Lykia had been brought into the Delian League after the campaigns of Kimon that culminated in the battle of the Eurymedon. A number of Karian towns then appeared in the tribute lists in the mid-fifth century, but disappeared again sometime after 440.³ The evidence of the tribute lists, however, presents a range of communities which were still paying during the Peloponnesian War,⁴ and to this can almost certainly be added Keramos, which paid tribute in 432/1 (*IG* i³ 280.i.31).

Further east in Lykia it is clear that there also remained some allies; Thucydides may have meant them to be included in the Karians he mentions, since he seems to list the allies according to their tribute districts (the Lykian states were always included in the Karian district).⁵ One Lykian ally, Phaselis, is mentioned on the war-time tribute lists (*IG* i³ 290.i.17). Another location in Lykia, Phoinike, is mentioned by Thucydides (ii 69.1) as the starting point for merchantmen bound for Athens.⁶

¹ Earlier versions of this paper have been delivered as seminars at the University of Keele and the University of Manchester. I should like to thank all those who attended the seminars and voiced their comments on the paper, and also Dr S.J. Hodkinson, Prof. H.C. Melchert, and Prof. Sommerstein and the anonymous referees of *JHS* for their comments and suggestions on earlier drafts. All mistakes, of course, remain my own. Further discussion of some of the points raised in this paper can be found in A.G. Keen, *A political history of Lycia and its relations with foreign powers* (Ph.D. diss., Manchester 1992).

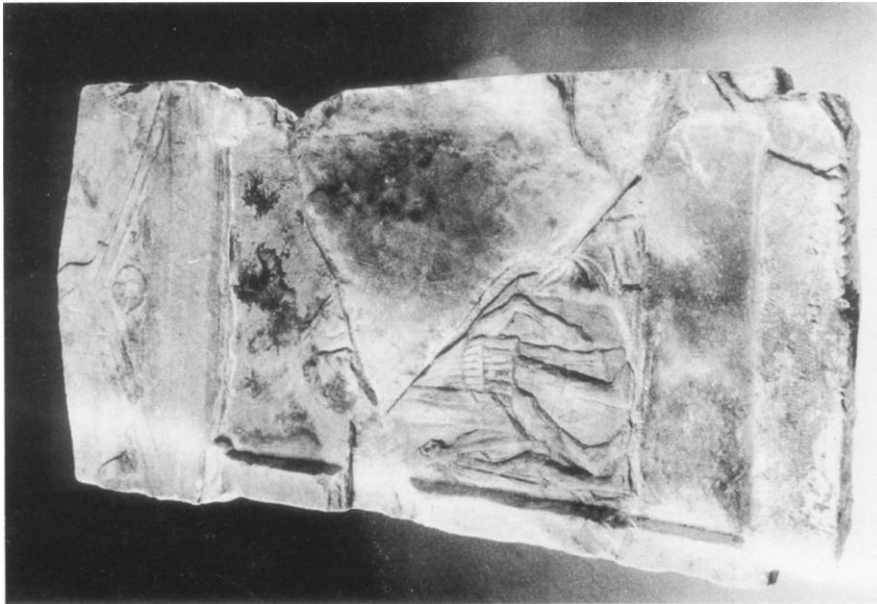
² Note, however, the view of J.D. Smart, *GRBS* xviii (1977) 33-42 that the whole of Th. ii 9 has been interpolated. See also S. Hornblower, *A commentary on Thucydides* i (Oxford 1991) 247-8.

³ See the register in B.D. Meritt, H.T. Wade-Gery & M.F. McGregor, *The Athenian tribute lists* (Harvard & Princeton 1939-51) (henceforth referred to as *ATL*) i 215-441 for details of who paid and when, though this should be read in conjunction with the inscriptions as published in *IG* i³.

⁴ Aulai (*IG* i³ 282.iv.36; 290.i.3); Halikarnassos (282.iv.15); Iasos (283.iii.26; 284.4; 285.i.91; 289.i.35; 290.i.12); Kalynda (281.i.10; 290.i.19); Karbasyanda (281.i.29; 282.iv.39; 285.ii.13-14); Kaunos (285.ii.11); Kedreiai (281.i.18; 283.iii.7; 290.i.20); Keramos (290.i.25); Krya (282.iv.33; 283.ii.28); Myndos (281.i.47—note D.W. Bradeen & M.F. McGregor, *Studies in fifth century Attic epigraphy*, U. Cinn. Class. Stud. iv [1973] 15; 282.iv.37; 283.ii.32; 284.21; 285.i.92-3); Pasanda (281.i.28; 285.ii.12); Syangela (281.iv.48-9; 284.7-8); Termera (290.i.22). The argument about the precise dating of the war-time tribute lists (for which see references in *IG* i³ p. 277) does not significantly effect the argument here.

⁵ Thucydides' listing of the allies by districts: T. Wiedemann, *Thucydides I-II 65* (Bristol 1985) 65; J.S. Rusten (ed.), *Thucydides: The Peloponnesian War II* (Cambridge 1989) 108; Hornblower (n. 2) 248; extent of the Karian district: *ATL* i 496.

⁶ The identification of Φοινίκη as a site on the Lykian coast rather than as 'Phoenicia' is convincingly argued in two independent articles by A.W. Dickinson, *CQ* n.s. xxix (1979) 213-14 and K. Buschmann, *EA* xii (1988) 1-4; see now Hornblower (n. 2) 355-6.



(a) Grave relief no.4 from Vergina. Vergina.



(b) Coin of Domitian
(British Museum)



(c) Coin of Augustus
(British Museum)

THE OLYMPIEION AND THE HADRIANEION
AT EPHEesos