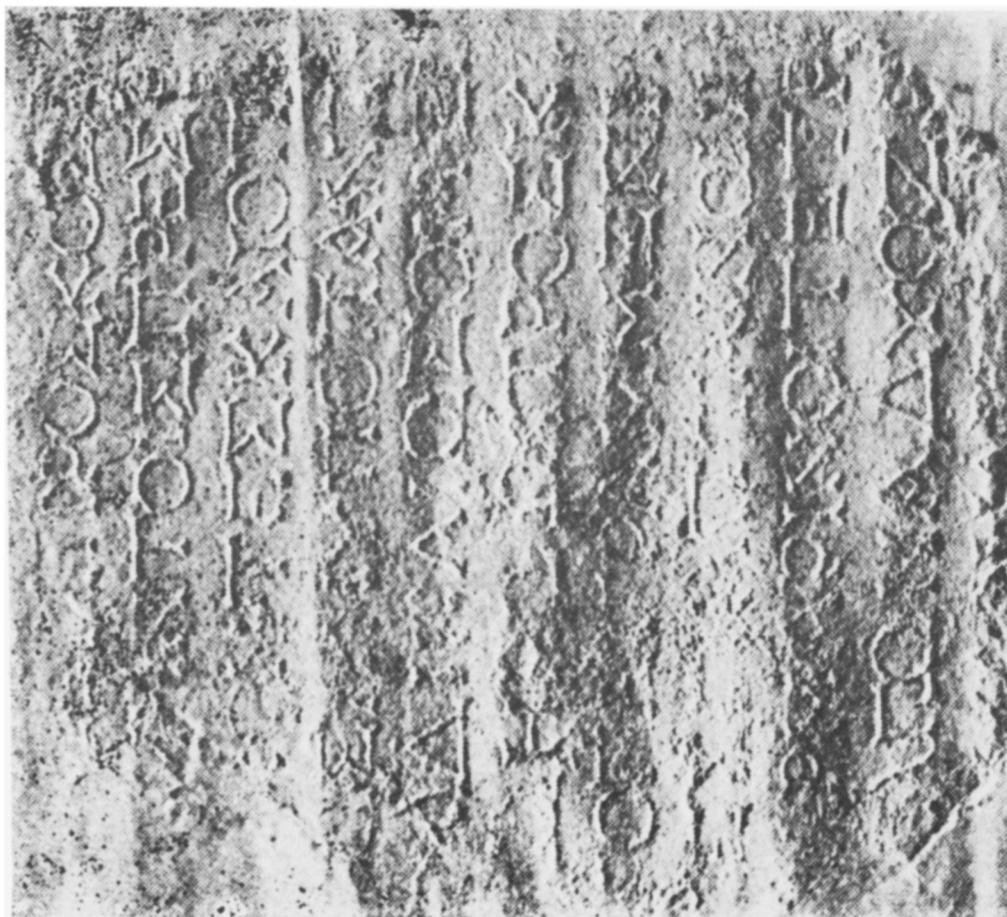


(2)

(1) SQUEEZE OF KEIL-PREMERSTEIN, *DRITTER BEWICHT* 117, F.R.C. (2) SQUEEZE OF I. EPHEOSOS VII, 1, 3334. Courtesy of Sencer Şahin.



(1)

A DEED OF FOUNDATION FROM THE TERRITORY OF EPHEOS *

By C. P. JONES

Plate II

The 'foundation' in the juridical sense, 'the establishing of an institution, together with an endowment or provision for its perpetual maintenance', is a conspicuous phenomenon of the Hellenistic and imperial periods.¹ Though ancient foundations vary widely in form, purpose, and organization, two kinds predominate. One, of which the fullest examples are Hellenistic, is funerary. The founder forms an association, or endows one already formed, for the cultivation of his and his family's memory by means of ceremonies conducted at the family tomb. The organization is essentially private, and those responsible for the conduct of the foundation are the members of the constituent association. An elaborate and perfectly preserved example is that of Epicteta of Thera, dated about 200 B.C.² The other notable form is characteristic of the civic revival of the principate. Here the founder establishes an endowment of which the direct or indirect beneficiary is the city, or some subdivision of the citizenry such as the *boule* or *gerousia*. This foundation is essentially public, and the responsibility for administering it rests with the city officials. This type is illustrated by one of the longest of all known foundation-deeds, the dossier relative to the foundation of C. Vibius Salutaris dated to A.D. 104.³ As well as other kinds of foundation, such as those endowing libraries, salaries for schoolmasters, the maintenance of freeborn boys and girls (the *alimenta*), there are also hybrids between the two principal types already described. Thus T. Flavius Praxias of Acmonia provides both for a college of six of his freedmen, presumably intended as a funerary association similar to Epicteta's, and for the *boule* and *archontes* of Acmonia to see to the overall management of the foundation, including the protection of the freedmen.⁴

In the same year which saw the publication of Laum's book, Josef Keil and Anton von Premerstein (henceforth 'KP') published a new foundation-inscription from Tire,⁵ a prosperous modern town in the Cayster valley some 50 or 60 kilometres east-north-east of Ephesos; in antiquity it was not a city but a village or *katoikia* of uncertain name, lying geographically in south-western Lydia but politically within the huge territory of Ephesos.⁶ Here KP saw three fragments which they recognized as coming from one

* I am grateful to Orhan Armağan, Director of the Tire Museum, for information about the discovery of *I. Ephesos* 3334; to Dieter Knibbe for helping to track down material in Vienna; to Georg Rehrenböck of the Kommission für die archäologische Erforschung Kleinasien, Vienna, for very generously supplying material from the Kommission's archives, and to Prof. Dr. Fritz Schachermeyr, Chairman of the Kommission, for permission to publish it; and especially to Sencer Şahin for readily supplying me with a squeeze and excellent photograph of *I. Ephesos* 3334, and for agreeing to my publishing them. For discussion of this material I am also grateful to Glen Bowersock and Peter Herrmann, and to those who contributed to a seminar held at the University of Toronto on 19 March 1982. I have generally followed the style of abbreviations of Liddell-Scott-Jones, *A Greek-English Lexicon*; I cite the *Bulletin épigraphique* of J. and L. Robert by the year of *REG* and the number of the item, e.g. 'Bull. 1960. 318'. All dates are A.D. unless otherwise indicated.

¹ *Oxford English Dictionary* s.v. 3. On ancient foundations the best general work, though now badly in need of revision, is B. Laum, *Stiftungen in der griechischen und römischen Antike* (1914: references are to the second volume unless otherwise indicated): the study of A. Mannzmann, *Griechische Stiftungs-urkunden*, Fontes et Commentationes, Inst. für Epigraphik an der Univ. Münster 2 (1962), is not successful, cf. *Bull.* 1963. 50, 1964. 73, 1965. 83. Recent studies of particular texts include L. Robert, *Documents de l'Asie mineure méridionale* (1966), 34-8; K. Rigsby, *AJP* 100 (1979), 401-7; Th. Drew-Bear, *Chiron* 10 (1980), 509-36; P. Herrmann,

Studien zur antiken Sozialgeschichte: Festschrift Friedrich Vittinghoff (1980), 339-56.

² *IG* XII, 3, 330; Laum no. 43; Michel no. 1001.
³ Heberdey, *Ephes.* 2 (1912), 127-47 no. 27; *BMus. Inscr.* IV, 2, no. *481; James H. Oliver, *The Sacred Gerusia, Hesperia* Suppl. Vol. 6 (1941), 55-85 no. 3; id., *The Ruling Power, Trans. Amer. Philos. Assoc.* 43, 4 (1953), 963-5 (part only); *I. Ephesos* I a no. 27.

⁴ Fr. Cumont, *Musées royaux du Cinquentaenaire, Bruxelles: Catalogue des sculptures et inscriptions antiques*² (1913), 150-5 no. 133; Laum no. 173; *IGR* IV, 661 (both ignoring Cumont). For discussion of the text, A. Wilhelm, *Griechische Inschriften rechtlichen Inhalts*, Πρακτικά 'Ακ. 'Αθ. 17, 1 (1951), 100-2 (*Akademieschriften* III, 494-6), whence *SEG* XIII, 542; *Bull.* 1953. 190; Robert, *Hellenica* 11/12 (1960), 412 n. 2.

⁵ Keil-Premerstein, *Dritter Bericht* (1914), 88-90 no. 117, whence *I. Ephesos* VII, 1, 3214.

⁶ For sketch-maps of the area, KP, *Dritter Bericht* ad fin., *I. Ephesos* VII, 1, ad fin. KP, pp. 84, 86-8, argued cogently for identifying the ancient site of Tire with the Ἀπατιρηῶν κατοικία rather than Thyaira (Thyeira), which they placed about 20 km. to the north (cf. Keil, *RE* 6 A (1936), 656). A new inscription from Peşrefli Köyü about 15 km. to the east has been thought to support the identification of Tire with Thyaira (*ZPE* 33 (1979), 191-2; *I. Ephesos* VII, 1, 3293), but it mentions several villages spread over a wide area and cannot be used to localize one of them in particular. On the relation of this part of the Cayster valley to Ephesos, Robert, *Noms indigènes dans l'Asie mineure gréco-romaine* (1963), 143-5; *Bull.* 1972. 388.

inscription: two of these had already been published in far inferior editions, while the third was found by KP themselves. All three seem now to be lost, but fortunately KP took a squeeze of their fragment c and published a small photograph of it (here enlarged as Pl. II, 1). By means of these discoveries, and by skilful conjecture, they achieved a notable feat of reconstruction, and the few subsequent discussions have added very little.⁷

KP rightly recognized the inscription to be part of a long deed of foundation, which from the script they assigned to the end of the first century of our era.⁸ The founder is a certain Peplos (lines 18, 19), and his main concern is to put on a permanent footing the upkeep of a family tomb (*heroon*) which is already built and contains the remains of a certain Paula, probably his wife (line 10); to ensure the performance of commemorative rites Peplos establishes an association of *herostai* (line 20), to whom he appears to make over by this document a large number of objects already in or around the tomb (lines 7-17).

In what follows I intend to show that a fragment recently published from Tire is part of the same text, and considerably affects the interpretation of the clauses embodying Peplos' intentions (lines 1-7, 17-20); I will argue that the inscription shows with unusual clarity the elaborate precautions that a founder might take, even when placing his handiwork under the protection of the civic authorities, to protect it from official mischief or neglect. If I am right, the foundation of Peplos will also illuminate the internal history of Roman Ephesos, the capital of the province of Asia, and provide a chronological link between two famous inscriptions of the city, the edict of Paullus Fabius Persicus under Claudius and the foundation of C. Vibius Salutaris under Trajan.

The surviving text has three parts. The first (lines 1-7) contains the end of an elaborate series of sanctions: these were thought by KP to regulate the *herostai* established by Peplos, but it will be argued here that they are aimed instead at the magistrates of Ephesos. The second section, unique in the inscriptions of Asia Minor,⁹ is a list of objects in the *heroon*. The third (lines 17-20) looks like a postscript, and seems to permit Peplos to appoint a new *herostes* if one of the present ones dies.

The fragment which I propose to add was seen by Sencer Şahin in the Museum of Tire, where it had been brought after being found in the Yeni Mahalle (New Quarter) of the town in 1968.¹⁰ The text is given thus:

]νγξ[
ο]υτοπα[
]λα εἰς δια[
4]ον ἐνιαυτ[
].αι πραχθ[
ἀν]θρωπον το[
]ε καὶ τῶν [
8]ωισμο[
]ελι[

A photograph and squeeze (Pl. II, 2) kindly supplied by Şahin allow some small but important changes. It can be added that the stone has a surviving top margin, and the height of the letters is 2 and not 1.5 cm. In line 2 the editors seem to have left out a letter, since between the pi and the oblique stroke visible at the right edge there is almost certainly a rho (the loop is just visible). In line 9 the first two letters are represented only by an upper horizontal and a worn triangle, so that ελι is more than uncertain.

It is clear that the new inscription is a part of KP's inscription, and lies just to the right of their second fragment, which it touches in line 6. The first two of their stones also preserved the top margin. The letters of their inscription were also 2 cm in height; KP's photograph shows that the form of the letters and their layout, notably the width of the

⁷ The only discussion I have noticed, as opposed to passing references, is by J. Kubińska, *Les Monuments funéraires dans les inscriptions grecques de l'Asie mineure* (1968), 125.

⁸ KP, p. 88.

⁹ As noted by Kubińska (above, n. 7); however,

for lists in other types of inscription and in papyri, see below, p. 124.

¹⁰ *I. Ephesos* VII, 1, 3334; my information about the discovery is due to Orhan Armağan (communication to S. Şahin of 13 October 1981).

interlinear space, conform exactly with the new fragment. In lines 5 and 6 it exactly confirms restorations made by KP in the same lines, and in all the other lines it produces a text that is as good as theirs or better. The one discrepancy is that KP describe the marble of their fragments as 'bluish' whereas that of the new one is white: exactly the same variation has been observed by Louis Robert in inscriptions from the sanctuary of Sinuri near Mylasa, and is presumably due to the different conditions of preservation below ground.¹¹

In what follows, I am mainly concerned with lines 1-7, since they are the ones most affected by the new fragment. However, I begin with a physical description of the stone and of the separate pieces; I then discuss its original setting; next, after adducing a parallel passage in the inscription of Salutaris, I discuss lines 1-7 clause by clause, and then consider what may have preceded them and what they imply about the whole document. Thereafter I discuss points of interest in the remaining lines, and finally give a revised text of the whole and a translation.

The complete stone was a marble plaque at least 84 cm high and about 1.35 metres wide, with the thickness varying from 2.7 cm on the left to 1.2 cm on the right. The letters are 2 cm high, with an interlinear space of 1.2 cm. The reconstruction to be offered here varies between 61 and 69 letters per line, or, counting iota as half a letter, between 58.5 and 64.5. The letters are carefully cut with no remarkable features except the rather wide omega: there are slight apices but no ligatures. The four fragments can be enumerated as follows, from left to right:

A. Ἀρμονία (newspaper of Smyrna), 4 November 1895 (*non vidi*), whence *Ath. Mitt.* 20 (1895), 503; KP fr. a. Seen by KP 'im Magazin des Schischik-Oglu Mehmed Effendi'; presumably lost. Broken to r., l., and below. 0.80 (height), 0.36 (width), 0.27 (thickness). Contains lines 1-20, beginning a few letters in from the l. h. margin. On the join with B, see below.

B. KP fr. b. Seen by KP in the same place as A, and also presumably lost. Broken to r., l., and below. 0.84 (height), 0.51 (width), 0.22 (thickness). Contains lines 1-20; in lines 8, 10, and 13-20 joins with A; in the other lines the gap is never wider than five letters. On the join with C, see below.

C. R. Meriç, R. Merkelbach, J. Nollé, S. Şahin, *I. Ephesos VII*, 1 (1981), no. 3334 (from a copy of Şahin); photograph of squeeze, Pl. II, 2. Broken to r., l., and below. 0.30 (height), 0.17 (width), 0.12 (thickness). Found in the Yeni Mahalle (New Quarter) of Tire, 9 April 1968; now Tire Museum, Inv. no. 188. Contains lines 1-9. There is a join with B in line 6; in the other lines the gap ranges from one to four letters; on the gap between C and D, see below.

D. A. Fontrier, *Μουσ. Σμυρν.* 1876-8 (publ. 1878), 32 no. σλε';¹² KP fr. c; enlargement of the photograph of the squeeze published as *Dritter Bericht*, Abb. 50, here Pl. II, 1. Seen by KP 'im Magazin des Kleanthes Gasasoglu' and presumably lost. Broken all around. 0.35 (maximum height), 0.344 (maximum width), 0.12 (maximum thickness).¹³ To the left, if the supplements proposed below are correct, the interval between C and D varies from one letter (line 8) to four (line 9). Though the stone is broken along a line parallel with the r.h. margin, the number of letters missing on the right seems usually to vary from three (lines 7, 10, 11) to seven (line 3); with the same proviso about the present supplements, the minimum would be as little as zero (line 4), and it would have to follow that the mason had left very large blanks at the end of some lines.

These four fragments all begin at or near the top of a single plaque, yet they clearly continue a text beginning on an earlier one. This first part must have been long enough to indicate the circumstances of the foundation, to list the members of the association, if προγεγραμμένων is correctly restored in lines 17-18, and also to contain the regulations which the sanctions in lines 1-7 are designed to protect: by contrast, the last surviving

¹¹ Robert, *Le Sanctuaire de Sinuri près de Mylasa*, *Mém. de l'Inst. Franç. d'Arch. de Stamboul* 7 (1945), 10 and n. 3: 'plusieurs fois deux fragments se raccordent exactement, qui ont été décrits, l'un comme blanc, l'autre comme bleuâtre ou gris'.

¹² From the material supplied by Georg Rehren-

böck, it emerges that KP also had access to a copy published in *Homeros* 5 (1877), 150 (*non vidi*): from the fact that they do not cite it, I presume that it too is due to Fontrier.

¹³ That is, the maximum thickness is identical to that of C.

clause looks like a postscript or codicil. There may therefore have been two plaques of roughly equal size, of which the present was the second, and they were presumably set into a wall of the *heroon*. This stood in or near the ancient village whose site is now occupied by Tire; since this was on the territory of Ephesos, the inscription presupposes Ephesian institutions. Peplos was presumably a wealthy Ephesian who had an estate somewhere in the vicinity and built his family tomb there. Another prominent Ephesian of the early third century also had estates in the area and took an active part in village politics.¹⁴ Further away, one Epicrates of Nacrasion in north-western Lydia, approximately a contemporary of Peplos, had his will inscribed on *stelai* which formed part of his elaborate family monument, and this too seems to have stood on one of his country estates.¹⁵

Though KP correctly recognized the first seven lines as a penalty-clause,¹⁶ the new fragment shows that they erred on one important point. Evidently starting from the restoration already made by the first editor of fragment A, ἐὰν δὲ ἐπιβά[λη], they understood the following sentence to refer to the introduction of an unauthorized body into the tomb. The *psephisma* was thus a decree of Peplos' association permitting this infraction, and those liable to the penalties were the other members; the citizenry of Ephesos was involved only if these failed to punish one of their own. It will emerge that, as in the foundation of Salutaris though even more exclusively, the penalties are aimed at the magistrates of Ephesos. I give in full the equivalent passage in the foundation of Salutaris,¹⁷ and then turn to consider Peplos' sanctions clause by clause (for text see p. 125).

- μηδενὶ δὲ ἐξέστω ἄρχοντι ἢ ἐκδίκῳ ἢ ἰδιώ-
- 316 τη πειρᾶσαι τι ἀλλάξει ἢ μεταθεῖναι ἢ μετοικονομῆσαι ἢ μετα-
ψηφισασθαι τῶν καθιερωμένων ἀπεικονισμάτων ἢ τοῦ
ἀργυρίου ἢ τῆς προσόδου αὐτοῦ ἢ μεταθεῖναι εἰς ἕτερον πόρον
ἢ ἀνάλωμα ἢ ἄλλο ποιῆσαι παρὰ τὰ προγεγραμμένα καὶ δια-
- 320 τεταγμένα· ἐπεὶ τὸ γινόμενον παρὰ ταῦτα ἔστω ἄκυρον,
ὁ δὲ πειράσας ποιῆσαι τι ὑπεναντίον τῆ διατάξει ἢ τοῖς
ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου ἐψηφισμένοις καὶ ἐπικεκυ-
- 324 προσκόσμημα τῆς μεγίστης θεᾶς Ἄρτεμιδος δη(νάρια) δισμύρια
πεντακισχίλια καὶ εἰς τὸν τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ φίσκον ἄλλα δη(νάρια) (25,000).

Lines 1-2. Funerary inscriptions do frequently forbid the introduction of strange corpses, and ἐπιβάλλω is one of the words used.¹⁸ The absence of an object, however, is strange, and the parallels suggest a conditional clause expressing an idea common in deeds of foundation, 'if anyone tries'. In the passage cited from Salutaris' foundation, this idea is expressed by a participle, ὁ πειράσας (line 321): but elsewhere in the same foundation the conditional appears, εἰ δὲ τις πειραθῆῃ ὅπως οὖν ἢ συνβουλευσάι τι τοιοῦτον, κτλ. (lines 403-4); similarly in a will from the sanctuary of Sinuri, ἐὰν δ[έ] τις ἀλλάξει e.g. τ[ι] τῶν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ δι[α]τετα[γ]μένω[ν] καθ' ἡντινα παρε[ύ]ρσειν ἢ μηχανῆν ἐν[χειρῆ]?, κτλ.¹⁹ In the foundation of Peplos, the same idea can be expressed by restoring, not ἐπιβά[λλη], but ἐπιβά[ληται],²⁰ 'if he tries'; the brachylogy, which is as normal in Greek as in English,²¹ must refer to actions described in the immediately preceding lines. The verb ἐπιβάλλεσθαι is found in this sense within a comparatively restricted period of time. The first examples are apparently in the decrees inserted into Demosthenes' *De corona*, which are now recognized as Hellenistic compositions perhaps of about 200 B.C.²² The verb is

¹⁴ Robert, *AJP* 100 (1979), 158 n. 25, discussing KP, *Dritter Bericht* no. 116 (*IGR* IV, 1662; *I. Ephesos* VII, 1, 3249).

¹⁵ P. Herrmann and K. Z. Polatkan, *Das Testament des Epikrates*, *Wien. Sitzb.* 265, 1 (1969); cf. *Bull.* 1970, 512.

¹⁶ On these, Laum I, 180-3.

¹⁷ *Ephes.* 2 no. 27, lines 315-25 (cf. n. 3). The text not being in doubt, I omit critical signs.

¹⁸ *TAM* III, 1, Index XIV 2 s.v. (Termessos); *SEG* XVII 631, 632, 634 (Perge).

¹⁹ Robert, *Sinuri* (above, n. 11), 63 no. 45 C,

lines 1-2, with discussion, p. 66.

²⁰ On the length of the supplement, it is notable that in the following lines, where the restoration is certain, the missing letters number respectively four, three, three, one: this suggests that the gap between fragments A and B narrowed progressively.

²¹ cf. J. and L. Robert, *La Carie* (1954), p. 327 no. 177, ἕτερος δὲ οὐδὲς ἐκκηδευθῆ' εἰ δὲ τις τολμήσει, ἀποτίσι εἰς τὸ ἀράριον, κτλ. Generally, Kühner-Gerth, II, pp. 565-6.

²² Dem. 18, 164, 165. P. Treves, *Et. Class.* 9 (1940), 138-74; Robert, *Hellenica* 10 (1955), 18 n. 2'

found with the same sense in Polybius and in inscriptions from the early second century B.C. down to the beginning of the Christian era: the latest example I have noticed is from A.D. 38, so that the present inscription is presumably the last in the series.²³ The same verb is found precisely in the penalty clause of one of the great foundations of Antiochus I of Commagene about 40 B.C.: ὅστις δ' ἄν διατάξεως ταύτης δύναμιν ἱερὰν . . . καταλύει ἢ βλάπτει ἢ σοφίζεσθαι δίκαιον νοῦν ἐπιβάληται, κτλ., 'whosoever attempts to destroy or weaken the holy power of this foundation or to pervert its proper intention'.²⁴

KP's restoration of the words between ὑπεναντίον and ὑπαρχέτω in line 2 is now partly invalidated by fragment C: after the nu of ὑπεναντίον there is a gamma and then the remains of an epsilon. It is not necessary, as they assumed, for the τὸ μὲν of line 1 to be followed by a τὸ δέ, since in Hellenistic and later prose μὲν can be answered by καί and not δέ:²⁵ moreover, KP were forced by their assumption to exceed the normal length of line. Comparison with analogous texts suggests that ὑπεναντίον was followed by a participle agreeing with ψήφισμα in line 2. Thus in a decree of Chios regulating an *epidosis*, [ἐὰν δέ τις γ]ράψῃ ἢ πρύτανις πρό[θ]η [ταῦτα εἰς ἄλ]λο τι μετενεγκεῖν ἢ κατα[χρή]σασθαι ἢ ποιήσῃ τίς τι παρὰ τόδε τὸ [ψήφισμα, τό] τε γραφέν ἢ πραχθέν ἄκυρον [ἔστω καὶ ὀφει]λέτω τῇ πόλει δραχμὰς XXX [ὁ τούτων αἴτιο]ς;²⁶ in the passage quoted above from the foundation of Salutaris, ἐπεὶ τὸ γενόμενον παρὰ ταῦτα ἔστω ἄκυρον, κτλ. The participle here was presumably either γενόμενον or γεγραμμένον. The next words should have referred to the foundation itself: [ταύτη τῇ διατάξει] produces a line of satisfactory length, but is not certain. The order is contorted, article, adverb,²⁷ participle, noun dependent on the adverb, subject-noun, but these contortions of participial phrases are characteristic of Hellenistic prose.²⁸

Lines 2-3. The construction of the next clause, from καὶ ἀποτεισάτω in 2 to μύρια in 4, was seen by KP, and fragment C necessitates only minor adjustments. Since four letters are missing between B and C in line 1, and three in line 3, [ὁ το]ῦτο seems assured: [ὁ τοιο]ῦτο would probably also require a following τι. As already observed, the next word began with pi rho followed by an oblique stroke interpreted in *I. Ephesos* as alpha: this is in fact the only possible letter permitted in this combination. πράξος seems evident, as in a funerary inscription from the Cilbiani further up the Maeander valley, εἰ δ[ὲ μὴ, δ] το[ῦτο] πράξος ὑποκίεσεται [ἀπ]οδοῦναι εἰς τὸν φίσκον δη[νάρια] βφ'.²⁹ At the end of the line, προσκόσ[μῃσιν] was apparently not a known Greek word before it was supplied by Fonrier here. The handbooks cite it only from this inscription and from two passages of the foundation of Salutaris, where it is again restored. In two of the three examples, including the present one, the commoner προσκόσ[μῃσιν] can be read equally well,³⁰ and in the third [ἐπικ]όσμησιν or perhaps [κ]όσμησιν.³¹ The following word, as several passages in the foundation of Salutaris show, should probably not be ναοῦ but τῆς or θεᾶς.³²

²³ Polybius: Mauersberger, *Polybios-Lexikon* s.v. ἐπιβάλλω II 4 A; note especially II. 8. 1, ἐπεβάλλοντο ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἀπόστασιν with τομῶσι στασιάζειν just below. Inscriptions: Michel no. 459, lines 12, 17 (Telmissos, Caria, early second century B.C.); *Syll.*³ 685, line 47 = *I. Cret.* III, iv, 9 (Magnesia on the Maeander, 112 or 111 B.C.); *Syll.*³ 709, line 21 (*IPE* I² no. 352, Chersonasos, end of second century B.C.); Holleaux, *Et. d'épigr.* I, p. 144, line 12 (Delphi, 87/86); *Syll.*³ 799, line 21 (Cyzicus, A.D. 38). Robert, *Sinuri* (above, n. 11), 35 no. 11 A, line 10, is undated but of the second or first centuries (Robert, p. 11).

²⁴ H. Waldmann, *Die Kommagenischen Kultformen*, *EPRO* 34 (1973), p. 69, lines 205-9. Thus Waldmann, p. 75; earlier editors misunderstood ἐπιβάληται, for example Dittenberger on *OGIS* 383 n. 54, Laum on no. 210.

²⁵ Mayser, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri* II, 3, 130, lines 28 ff.: earlier this usage is mainly poetical, Denniston, *Greek Particles*², 374.

²⁶ Robert, *BCH* 57 (1933), 510 (*OMS* I, 478), lines 5-10, with Robert's restorations. In line 10 [ὁ τοῦτο πράξος] or [ποιήσος] might be thought of as well as [ὁ τούτων αἴτιος], see below on line 2.

²⁷ Liddell and Scott acknowledge ὑπεναντία as an adverb, but not -ίον: see, however, *OGIS* 532, lines 18-19 (Gangra, 5 B.C.), ὅτι ἄν αἰσθῶμαι . . . ὑπεναντίον τούτοις λεγόμενον, κτλ.

²⁸ Dittenberger, *OGIS* 736 n. 24; Mayser (above, n. 25) II, 2, 1, 63-4.

²⁹ Kontoleon, *Ath. Mitt.* 14 (1889), 99 no. 34 (*I. Ephesos* VII, 2, 3726).

³⁰ *Ephes.* 2 no. 27, lines 111-12. For προσκόσμημα in the singular see, besides the examples in Liddell and Scott, *I. Ephesos* I a no. 10, line 27 (D. Knibbe, *Ephes.* IX, 1, 1, 57-9 no. D 1): the stone actually reads προκόσμημα, corrected in *Bull.* 1960. 346. What appears to be another slip, ἀριφόν in line 7, is in fact a phonetic spelling, cf. *Bull.* 1960. 157.

³¹ *ibid.*, lines 362-3. For ἐπικόσμησις see the examples in Liddell and Scott, and especially *BCH* 35 (1911), 285, εἰς ἐπικόσμησιν τῆς Ἡρας. If κόσμησιν were right, the lost letters in line 362 could be supplied by reading πειράσεται (cf. line 403) or ἐπιχείρησει (line 360) in place of πειράσει.

³² e.g. *Ephes.* 2 no. 27, lines 323-4, εἰς προσκόσμημα τῆς με[γίστης] θεᾶς Ἀρτέμιδος; 530-1, [εἰς προσκόσμημα τῆς Ἀ. For θεᾶ Ἀρτεμις and the like in the imperial period, Robert, *Hellenica* 13 (1965), 176.

It is a frequent practice to make divinities the payees of fines imposed for violating a tomb or the terms of a foundation: to choose the divinity among one or more members of the imperial house made the sanction all the stronger.³³ In the foundation of Phaenia Aromation at Gytheum, which has several affinities with that of Peplos, fines belong to ἡ Σεβαστῆ θεά, that is, to the sanctuary of the deified Livia.³⁴ Here the fine is to go 'to the adornment' of the chief divinity of Ephesos and the collective Augusti, presumably including all those emperors who had officially become *divi* and the reigning one as well.³⁵ While every city had one or more sanctuaries for the imperial cult, the Augusteum at Ephesos was of special importance in that its construction had been 'permitted' by the emperor himself in 29 B.C.³⁶ In due course later emperors were no doubt worshipped in the same sanctuary.³⁷ The old view that the Augusteum was actually within the sacred area of Artemis outside the city must now be considered obsolete: it is rather to be identified with the so-called 'Staatsmarkt' in the centre.³⁸

In the following phrase the new fragment again necessitates only a slight change in the text of KP, κ[αὶ ἄλ]λα instead of κ[αὶ ὁμοίως]. With this use of ἄλλα may be compared the passage already cited from the foundation of Salutaris, δη(νάρια) δισμύρια πεντακισχίλια καὶ εἰς τὸν τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ φίσκον ἄλλα δη(νάρια) (25,000), though here the second sum goes to the *fiscus*.³⁹ It is difficult to estimate the gravity of the fine stipulated by Peplos, 20,000 denarii, since the precise date of the foundation is unknown and figures from other cities may not be comparable. The fine laid down by Salutaris, 50,000 denarii,⁴⁰ is much higher, but probably involves a much more elaborate foundation. Thanks to the excellent indices of Rudolf Heberdey, it is possible to form a very complete idea of funerary language and practice at Greater Termessus in Pisidia.⁴¹ Although the majority of the known tombstones here are probably a century or more later than Peplos' *heroon*, out of the five hundred and fifty or so that specify fines for violation of the tomb the highest is of 100,000 denarii, and only fifteen (about 2·5%) are of 20,000 or more.

οἱ πρεσβύτεροι designates the *gerousia* of Ephesos. The term is used for this body in inscriptions of Ephesos itself and of other cities of the province of Asia.⁴² The purpose of directing half the fine to them is evidently to add a further deterrent to violation of Peplos' provisions; in the same way other foundations make the *boule* the partial or the conditional beneficiary.⁴³

Lines 4-5. It is here that the new fragment imposes the most important change in KP's text. Having taken the decree of line 2 as one passed by Peplos' association, they proposed that the fine be levied on the guilty member by 'those who share with him in the heroon'. The reading of the new fragment in line 1, however, suggested that the 'decree' was one of the city of Ephesos, as in the foundation of Salutaris, and that receives support from the new fragment in these lines: where KP restored the genitive τοῦ ἡρώου, it produces the accusative [τ]ὸν ἐνιαυτ[όν]. Thereafter, there is space for only one or two letters before the -χοντες of fragment D: there is just room for [ἄρ]χοντες, with ἐνιαυτός as usual designating the civil year.⁴⁴ Trusts for which a city was responsible were notoriously liable to neglect or abuse.⁴⁵ A vivid picture of civil mismanagement precisely at Ephesos is given by the decree of Paullus Fabius Persicus under Claudius: one of his reforms is

³³ For the related but even more drastic mechanism of invoking the emperor's protection directly, see Rigsby and Herrmann (above, n. 1).

³⁴ *SEG* XIII, 258, line 36; this text incorporates the proposals of Wilhelm (above, n. 4), 90-100 (*Akademischeschriften* III, 484-94), and makes Laum no. 9 obsolete.

³⁵ For the meaning of 'Augusti', E. Meyer, *Chiron* 5 (1975), 393-402; cf. Chr. Habicht, *Pergamon VIII 3: Die Inschriften des Asklepieions* (1969), 82.

³⁶ Cass. Dio 51. 20. 6.

³⁷ The temple granted by Domitian (bibliography in W. Jobst, *Ist. Mitt.* 30 (1980, publ. 1981), 259 n. 106) is a provincial and not a municipal one.

³⁸ Jobst (previous n.), 241-60.

³⁹ *IGBulg.* III, 1, 995, cited by Robert, *Hellenica* 13 (1965), 205, is similar.

⁴⁰ Laum, I, 195 and II, 86, gives 40,000 by a slip.

⁴¹ *TAM* III, 1, p. 355.

⁴² On the identity of πρεσβύτεροι and γερουσία, Fr. Poland, *Geschichte des griechischen Vereinswesens* (1909), 98-9; to the cities listed there add Pergamon (*IGR* IV, 293 I, line 49, 294, line 4).

⁴³ Thus Laum no. 107 (Aphrodisias), where it is stipulated that the *boule* must prosecute violators of the founder's tomb; similarly the foundation of Praxias (above, n. 4).

⁴⁴ On the distinction between ἐνιαυτός and ἔτος (the natural year), A. Wilhelm, *Sitz. Wien* 142, 4 (1900), especially 11-13 (*Akademischeschriften* II, 9-22).

⁴⁵ Pliny, *Ep.* 4. 13. 6, 10. 70. 2. Generally, R. P. Duncan-Jones, *The Economy of the Roman Empire* (1974), 304-5.

that 'money left to the city or to a collectivity or association within it shall be lent on the terms under which it was left, and not be diverted by the magistrates (ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων) for other needs or expenses'.⁴⁶ The situation envisaged by Peplos appears to be one mentioned several times in Hellenistic inscriptions but not, to my knowledge, in later ones. If the magistrates or commissioners charged with the maintenance of a foundation colluded to break the terms, redress might not be available until their successors had entered office. When Attalus II gives Delphi a large sum to fund the education of young boys, the city sets up a board of epimeletes to administer the revenues; if the commissioners of any year do not hand over the amount due to the city within the prescribed period, they are disqualified from further office, and their successors are to 'inscribe' them for one and a half times the amount due (ἄτιμοι ἀπογραφέντω ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπικατασταθέντων ἐπιμελητῶν ποτ' αὐτὸ καὶ τὸ ἡμιόλιον).⁴⁷ A decree of Thasos early in the third century, though not concerned with a foundation, has a series of mechanisms against repeal which closely resembles the present document. Anyone trying to subvert the terms of the decree shall pay a fine of a thousand staters to Apollo and of the same amount to the city, and the proposal shall be invalid; the *apologoi* are to prosecute, and if they fail to act will become liable to the fine themselves, and the *apologoi* elected after them (οἱ μετὰ τούτους αἰρεθέντες) are to prosecute; so also may anyone else who wants to (ὁ ἐθέλων), and if a private citizen prosecutes successfully he is to receive half the fine.⁴⁸

With the 'magistrates of the following year' is to be joined someone else, ὁ πα[- -]αξ. The first alpha was read both by the first editor and by KP, though KP's facsimile and the photograph show it to be very uncertain; their calculation of about ten lost letters looks correct. ὁ πα[ρὰ τούτῳ φύλ]αξ, however, cannot be right now that the new fragment has eliminated the *heroon* to which τούτῳ referred. Guardians of tombs are often mentioned in foundations, but only as watchmen:⁴⁹ that one should be entrusted with the prosecution of city-magistrates seems inconceivable. φύλαξ or a compound of it, however, looks right, and it is tempting to suspect a reference to the *paraphylax*, who was a civilian officer charged with maintaining the peace of the territory, and is known in many cities of southern Asia Minor; in decrees his name sometimes follows that of the magistrates, as here.⁵⁰ There happens to be a graphic representation of this functionary on a relief found some 20 kilometres south-east of Tire: he is shown mounted and accompanied by three subordinates on foot, who are probably *diogmitai*.⁵¹ The *paraphylax* is frequently mentioned in inscriptions of Ephesos, with his title sometimes qualified with the genitives τῆς εἰρήνης or τῆς χάρας.⁵² He would have been a suitable person for Peplos to invoke as a protector of his richly appointed *heroon* far from the city. To read πα[ραφύλ]αξ, however, would require an extremely long gap at the end of line 4: ὁ πα[ρ'] αὐτοῖς φύλ]αξ, with the demonstrative pronoun referring to the magistrates, has been suggested to me, but the prefix παρ- in this word seems not to signify addition or accompaniment but watchfulness 'over' something.

Lines 5-7. The restorations of KP in the sentence εἰάν δὲ μή . . . χρήματος are precisely confirmed by fragment C. The invitation to 'anyone who wishes' to prosecute has already been seen in the Hellenistic decree of Thasos, and is regular in foundations and bans on tomb-violation.⁵³ The refinement, 'whether citizen or stranger', seems by contrast rare in such contexts, though common enough in others.⁵⁴ The only similar provision I have noticed is again in the foundation of Aromation of Gytheum, which orders that 'anyone who wishes either of the Greeks or the Romans' (τῶ βουλομένῳ καὶ Ἑλλήνων καὶ Ῥωμαίων) may prosecute the city for neglect.⁵⁵ The proportion to be paid to the successful

⁴⁶ *I. Ephesos* I a no. 17, lines 51-2.

⁴⁷ Laum no. 28, lines 85-9 (*Syll.*³ 672; Pouilloux, *Choix* no. 13).

⁴⁸ *IG* XII, 8, 267, lines 13-16; on the date, J. Pouilloux, *Thasos* I, 258-9, 277.

⁴⁹ Laum, I 81-2.

⁵⁰ Robert, *Et. anat.* 99-108, esp. 101; J. and L. Robert, *La Carie* (1954), p. 42.

⁵¹ Robert, *Et. anat.* 102-3 with Pl. II, 2 (*I. Ephesos* VII, 1, 3222; the plate also in R. MacMullen, *Enemies of the Roman Order* (1966), Pl. IV, 2).

⁵² I give only the examples I have noticed in the order of *I. Ephesos*: II 501, III 644, 661, 838 (τῆς χάρας), 965, IV 1034 (τῆς εἰρήνης), VII, 1, 3222; also on a lead weight, *Bull.* 1967. 513.

⁵³ Generally, Laum, I 200-1, Robert, *Simuri* (n. 11), 69 and n. 7.

⁵⁴ e.g. *Syll.*³ s.v. ξένος.

⁵⁵ *SEG* XIII, 258, lines 26-7 (above, n. 34).

prosecutor, half, is again very frequent: it appears in the same decree of Thasos, and is by far the commonest fraction at Greater Termessos.⁵⁶ χρῆμα in the sense of 'sum' is well attested, for example in the same foundation of Aromation.⁵⁷

With fragment C incorporated into lines 1-7, it becomes possible to ask what actions were envisaged in the conditional clause of line 1, 'but if anyone tries'. The extant clauses stipulate that the resulting decree shall be invalid, and the proposer shall be fined a total of 20,000 drachmai; the fine is to be levied by the magistrates of the subsequent year and (perhaps) the *paraphylax*; if these fail to act, they shall be liable in turn, and may be prosecuted by anyone who wishes; if successful, he will receive half the sum awarded. Logic seems to require that the anticipated transgressors be only the magistrates, and not both magistrates and private persons, as in the foundation of Salutaris and usually. With this difference the corresponding clauses of Salutaris' foundation give an approximate guide to what preceded the conditional here: [μηδενὶ δὲ ἐξέστω ἄρχοντι ἢ ἐκδίκῳ πειραῖσαι παρευρέσει μηδεμιᾷ μήτε μεταθεῖναι μήτε παραλλάξαι τι τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Πέπλου διατεταγμένων μήτε εἰσηγήσασθαι τι τοιοῦτον] ἐὰν δὲ τις ἐπιβά[ληται], κτλ.

Salutaris' foundation is also a guide to the juridical status of the document embodied in the present inscription. His dossier includes several documents, the principal ones being respectively a decree of Ephesos accepting the foundation, the deed itself cast in the form of a proposal to the civic authorities, and supporting letters from the proconsul and his legate. Of the four, it is the second that contains the most detail about the foundation, for example, an inventory of the statues to be given, and as here Salutaris is spoken of in the third person.⁵⁸ The amount of detail in the present document suggests that it too is a deed in the form of a proposal to the city, no doubt made after much prior negotiation.⁵⁹ The foundation of Flavius Praxias is similar, and there too Praxias is referred to in the third person, though ratification by the city is not recorded in a separate decree but merely noted at the end:⁶⁰ the same could have been done for Peplos.

Lines 7-9. The sentence introducing the list of objects preserved in the *heroon* was again essentially restored by KP, and only verbal changes are necessary. In line 7, there no longer seems to be room for τοῦτω before τῶ ἠρώω; the phrase ἐν (ἐπι) τῶ ἠρώω also occurs in lines 9 and 14. In line 8, where KP hesitantly proposed τοῦ [περιδείπνου], 'the funeral dinner', fragment C preserves ΩΙΣΜΟ with part of a following upsilon just visible: to the left of the omega only about two letters appear to be missing. There seems no alternative to the very rare [ἠρ]ωισμοῦ. However, the change is satisfactory, since the members of the association are *herostai* (line 20), and the objects in the following list (portraits, sun-dial, and the like) seem to concern all aspects of the cult of the deceased and not merely the commemorative banquet.⁶¹ I have not found another example of ἠρωισμός other than the one given by Liddell and Scott, but that one is satisfactory: a fragment from the large *heroon* at Mytilene which is usually thought to commemorate the famous Potamo, and so to belong to the reign of Tiberius; the word is here spelled with an omicron, but the difference is merely phonetic.⁶²

Lines 8-9. περιγραφή seems a less usual word for 'list' than ἀπογραφή which I have accordingly restored: γραφή is also possible.

Line 9. The καὶ following ἤτις seems to be merely pleonastic, as in line 7, and does not need to be translated 'also'.⁶³ Nevertheless, it is still implied that the same list had already been inscribed at the *heroon* before the present document was drawn up: no doubt

⁵⁶ TAM III, 1, p. 356.

⁵⁷ LSJ s.v. χρῆμα I ad fin.; Wilhelm (above, n. 4), 97-8 (491-2).

⁵⁸ Heberdey's document B (above, n. 3), lines 134-332.

⁵⁹ For these negotiations between donors and civic authorities, Robert, *Et. anat.* 381; id., *Hellenica* 1 (1940), 50-1.

⁶⁰ Above, n. 4. Note that the anomalous κ[αί] ἐμοί given in line 17 by older editions (and also McCrum and Woodhead, *Documents of the Flavian Emperors* no. 500), is eliminated by Cumont's reading, κ[αὶ] τῶ.

⁶¹ cf. Petron. 71. 11, 'horologium in medio, ut

quisquis horas inspiciet, velit nolit, nomen meum legat'.

⁶² IG XII, 2, 29, cf. XII Suppl. p. 9, [τὸ]ν ἠρώισμόν. Cf. the variation between ἀφηροῖξεν and ἀφηρωῖξεν in inscriptions of Thera, IG XII, 3, p. 260 s.v. ἀφηρωῖξω (Robert, *Rev. Phil.* 18 (1944), 43-4 (OMS III 1409-10)): generally, Kühner-Blass 1, p. 172. On the various fragments attributed to the Potamoneion, S. Charitonidis, *Αἱ ἐπιγραφαὶ τῆς Λέσβου: Συμπλήρωμα* (1968), 6; on the honorand, Robert, *REA* 62 (1960), 309-10 (OMS II, 825-6).

⁶³ cf. IG XII, 3, 330, lines 27-8 (the foundation of Epicteta), ὧν καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα ὑπογέγραπται.

it was on one of the 'inscribed *stelai*' which the list itself mentions among the appurtenances of the *heroon* (line 15).⁶⁴

The list itself is not affected by fragment C. Though this is the only inventory of objects contained in a *heroon*, other inscriptions list the sacred objects given by benefactors for the cult of gods or kings.⁶⁵ KP observed that it seems to be drawn up by the material of the objects, at least after the mention of portraits at the beginning: marble and other stone (lines 10–16), metal (lines 16–17), and finally wood (line 17). Inventories of temple-property in Egypt tend to be similarly arranged: thus in one from Oxyrhynchus under Caracalla, statues come first, then objects in gold, silver, bronze, wood, and cloth, and finally miscellaneous items.⁶⁶

Lines 9–10. KP are surely right that the words after γραπταί are names in the genitive. Of the first, only NON is visible in the photograph: KP read NONH, with the last two letters in ligature, but there are no other ligatures in the inscription. A name beginning Nonn- may be suspected, for example, Nonn[ίας Π]αύλης: a newly published inscription of Ephesos reveals a Nonnia married to a Flavius and clearly in the upper class of the city.⁶⁷

Line 10. KP understood ζῶδια to refer to reliefs. ζῶδιον is first applied to an artistic representation by Herodotos describing the 'figures' around the rim of a crater, and here reliefs, though not necessarily only of animals, are meant.⁶⁸ Later the word either can or must designate free-standing, anthropomorphic statues ranging in size from figurines to colossi.⁶⁹ A 'figure' or 'figurine' seems to be meant in an inscription of the third century A.D. from Egypt, in which a man dedicates a shrine and a ζῶδιον of his wife.⁷⁰ The same sense may be surmised in an inscription of Ephesos mentioning a gateway [σὺν παντὶ τῷ λευκo]λίθῳ κόσμῳ καὶ ζῶδιοις γ[ε]γλυμμένοις.⁷¹ At Tire the contrast may be between painted portraits of the deceased and sculpted ones: similarly, when Epicteta mentions τὰ ζῶια (pictures) καὶ τὸς ἀνδριάντας ἑαυτοῦ τε (her late husband) καὶ Κρατησιλόχου (her late son), the genitives appear to refer to both the accompanying nouns.⁷² Ἀφροδισιακά, as KP saw, refers to the celebrated marble and workmanship of Aphrodisias in Caria.⁷³

Line 16. The noun ἀκονιστήρες seems to occur only here: it may designate 'jets' or 'spouts', since the next item is 'pipes' or 'pumps'.⁷⁴

Lines 18–19. KP's restoration of the relative clause is unconvincing. At seventy letters the line is too long, and τὸ φιλόθροπον is uncomfortably vague, since it can hardly refer to the privilege of line 6. It is tempting to follow it with some dependent phrase as τῆς τοῦ ἡρωισμοῦ μετουσίᾳ, and to make it the subject of the verb ending -ακται: since the whole document has the form of a deed of foundation (διάταξις), the verb may well be [διατέτ]ακται, which is regularly used with the dative.⁷⁵ The whole line would then have sixty-four letters. Line 18 again has seventy in KP's restoration, even if the three blank ones are discounted: the removal of the τινα would suffice, but any restoration must be conjectural.

Line 20. The copy of fragment A in *Ath. Mitt.* reads ΗΡΩΙΣ, so that KP must have omitted the iota by oversight; the form ἡρωστής should therefore be deleted from Liddell and Scott.

In the following text I have not included the restoration proposed on p. 119 for what

⁶⁴ Thus KP, p. 90.

⁶⁵ J. and L. Robert, *Hellenica* 9 (1950), 39–50, especially 43.

⁶⁶ *POxy.* XII, 1449; cf. W. Otto, *Priester und Tempel im hellenistischen Ägypten* 1 (1905), 328, and for further examples *P. Oxy.* XLIX, 3473.

⁶⁷ *I. Ephesos* III, 667 A, Nonn[ίας - -]ινης ([Παυλε]ϊνης?). On names in 'Nonn-', *Bull.* 1955, 57, 1956, 62.

⁶⁸ *Hdt.* I, 70, 1, ζῶδιων τὸ ἐξωθεν πλήσαντες περὶ τὸ χεῖλος: clearly a frieze such as that on the Vix Crater, cf. *Enciclopedia dell'Arte Antica* VII, figs. 1335–7.

⁶⁹ Thus at Delos (early third century), ζῶδια ἀργυρᾶ δύο Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος (J. Tréheux, *Chron. Eg.* 32 (1957), 147–51); *D. S.* I, 47, 2, ζῶδια πηχῶν ἑκατάδεκα μονόλιθα of the pillars with engaged statues of Osiris in the Ramasseum at

Thebes; *Plut., quaest. conv.* 673 E, ζῶδιον ἀργυροῦν; *Paus.* 3, 15, 11, a ζῶδιον of Aphrodite, referred to just before as a ξόανον.

⁷⁰ *OGIS* 717, line 6.

⁷¹ *I. Ephesos* II, 437. The editors read γ[ε]γραμμένοις, though J. and L. Robert, *Bull.* 1967, 512, had pointed out its impossibility.

⁷² *IG* XII, 3, 330, lines 11–13.

⁷³ Thus KP, p. 89: cf. M. Squarciapino, *La Scuola di Afrodizia* (1943), 7.

⁷⁴ Liddell and Scott seem to understand it as an adjective; they translate, 'probably bullets'.

⁷⁵ The examples in Preisigke, *Wörterbuch* s.v. διατάσσω 4 are clearer than those in Liddell and Scott s.v. II. The word and its cognates need not be used only of testamentary disposition, as these two dictionaries imply.

preceded line 1. I have marked the breaks between contiguous fragments with a vertical line. In reproducing the readings of fragment D I have dotted some letters which KP put in square brackets.

- [5 · ἐ]άν δέ τις ἐπιβά[ληται,] τὸ μὲν ὑπενα[ντίο]ν γε[γραμμένον ταύτη τῇ διατάξει ?]
 [ψήφισ]μα ὑπαρχέτω ἀκ[υρον,] καὶ ἀποτεισάτω [ὁ το]ῦτο πρά[ξας] εἰς προσκόσ[μημα
 θεᾶς ?]
 [Ἄρτέμι]δος καὶ τῶν Σεβαστ[ῶν δ]ηνάρια μύρια κα[ὶ ἄλ]λα εἰς δια[νο]μὴν τοῖς
 πρεσβ[υτέροις]
 4 [δηνάρι]α μύρια, ἃ καὶ πραξάσ[θωσ]αν οἱ μετ' ἐκείνο[ν τ]ὸν ἐνιαυτ[ὸν ἄρ]χοντες καὶ ὁ πα-
 [ραφύλ]αξ· ἐάν δὲ μὴ πράξωσι[ν,] αὐτοὶ ὀφειλέτωσ[αν] καὶ παραχθ[ήτ]ωσαν ὑπὸ παντ[ὸς
 τοῦ]
 [βουλο]μένου, πολεῖτου τε καὶ ξ[έ]νου, ἔχοντος φιλάν[θρωπον τοῦ] ἐκδικαιωσομέν[ου το]ῦ
 [ῆμισ]υ τοῦ εἰσπραχθησομέν[ου] χρήματος. ἔστιν [δ]ὲ καὶ τῶν [ἐν τ]ῷ ἠρώω προσκο[σμη-]
 8 [μάτω]ν καὶ σκευῶν τῶν εἰς | τὴν ὑπηρεσίαν τοῦ [ῆρ]ωισμού [ὑ]πογεγραμμένη [ἢ ἀπο-]
 [γραφ]ῆ, ἧτις καὶ ἐν τῷ ἠρώω ἐ[ν] στήλλῃ λιθίνῃ κεχ[άρακ]ται· [v. εἰκόν]ες γραπταὶ
 Νονν[ί-]
 [ας Π]αύλης δεκατρεῖς, ζῶδ[ια] Ἄφροδισιακὰ δεκ[ατέσσαρα, ἐρμαῖ μ]αρμάρια τετρ[άγω-]
 [νοὶ] ἔχοντες πρόσωπα χάλκ[ιν]α δύο, ἄλλα ἐρμάδια [μαρμάρια τετ]ράγωνα δύο, ζῶ[δ]ια
 12 [δύο] Θηβαϊκόν, Ἀλεξανδριν[ό]ν, λουτῆρες μαρμάρ[ινοι 10]M[2]M[5]
 [3]A Ἀλεξανδρινὰ ψηφωτ[ὰ] δεκαεννέα, Ἀλεξα[νδριν- - - -]
 [3]TA τρεῖς ἀκοντῆρες ἐπὶ τῷ ἠρώω μαρμ[άρ]ινοι - - -]
 [3]OI μαρμάρινοι δύο, ὠρολόγιον, στήλλαι ἐπιγεγραμ[μέναι - - -]
 16 [δια]φανεῖς δύο, ἀκοντιστῆ[ρες] μολυβοὶ δύο, σείφω[νες - - -]
 [3] τρισκελῆν σιδηροῦν, βάρηρα ξύλινα ἑπτὰ[15 · ἐάν δέ τις τῶν προ-]
 [γεγ]ραμμένων Πέπλου φί[λων, οἷς τὸ φιλάνθρω]πον τῆς τοῦ ἠρωισμού μετουσίας ? δια-]
 [τέτ]ακται, ζῶντος Πέπλου ἄτεκνος τελευτή[σῃ, οὗτος ἐκ τῶν προσηκόντων ἕτερόν
 τινὰ ? εἰς]
 20 [τὸν] ἐκείνου τόπον ἠρωισ[τὴν] ἀντικατα[στήσει. *vacat* ?]

‘ But if anyone tries, the decree written contrary to this foundation shall be invalid, and the man who does this shall pay 10,000 denarii for the adornment of the goddess Artemis and of the Sebastoi, and another 10,000 denarii for distribution to the elders; these sums shall be exacted by the archons of the subsequent year and by the *paraphylax* (?); but if they do not exact it, they themselves shall be liable, and subject to exaction by anyone who wishes, whether citizen or stranger, the successful claimant having the privilege of half the sum to be exacted. Of the appurtenances and utensils in the *heroon* (which are) for the service of the funerary cult the list is inscribed below, and has also been carved on a stone *stèle* in the *heroon*: thirteen painted portraits of Nonnia (?) Paula, fourteen figurines (of her ?) of Aphrodisian work, two square marble herms containing bronze portraits, two other square marble herms, two figurines of Theban and Alexandrian work, x marble basins . . . , nineteen mosaic (floors ?) of Alexandrian work, thirty-six Alexandrian . . . , x marble lion’s heads (?) on the *heroon*, two marble . . . , a sun-dial, x inscribed *stelai*, . . . , two transparent (?) . . . , two lead *akontisteres*, x pipes . . . , . . . (with) an iron tripod, seven (or seventeen) wooden benches, . . . ; but if any of the aforementioned friends of Peplos, to whom the privilege of participation in the funerary cult (?) has been deeded, dies childless in the lifetime of Peplos, he (i.e. Peplos) shall appoint another *herostes* from among his (i.e. the deceased’s) relatives (?) in that man’s place.’

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