

## PANKRATES: A SENIOR STATESMAN FROM APHRODISIAS

I first met Christian Habicht in Heidelberg in the summer of 1983, when I was a graduate student. Although Christian Habicht had left the chair of Ancient History in Heidelberg for a Professorship at the Institute for Advanced Study a decade earlier, he was still remembered with admiration and awe by the more senior members of the Department of Ancient History; his lecture on “Pausanias and the Inscriptions” was a triumph. Although I never had the fortune to be instructed by him in Ancient History and Greek Epigraphy, when I sent him my first publications, he responded with useful comments and encouragement. Fortune wanted that I was later elected to both professorships held by Christian Habicht, first in Heidelberg (1998–2006) and then at the Institute for Advanced Study (2010–). My coming to Princeton in 2010 gave me the opportunity to profit enormously from his knowledge of prosopography, epigraphy, and history. Christian Habicht’s earliest work was dedicated, among other subjects, to the epigraphy of Asia Minor. It is an honor and a pleasure to pay tribute to his scholarship and personality by dedicating to him a new inscription from Asia Minor.\*

### Provenance and description

Ataeymir is a small town ca. 3 km east of Aphrodisias. In the summer of 2014 a marble stele was found there and brought to the Archaeological Museum of Aphrodisias. I studied it in August 2014. The marble stele is broken on top; it preserves the tenon that was inserted into the base, now lost (fig. 1).<sup>1</sup> The stele contains a text of 27 lines; of the first line only the

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\* I presented this text in a seminar at the Institute for Advanced Study in the spring of 2015 and profited from the observations of Christopher Jones, Sebastian Prignitz, and Manolis Voutiras. I am very grateful to Ross Brendle for correcting my English. I am also grateful to Prof. Alexander Verlinsky for his useful comments. Abbreviations are those of the *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*.

<sup>1</sup> Inv. no. I 14.01. Height 71.5 cm, width 48.5–51 cm, depth 10 cm; letter height 1.5–2.5 cm; dimensions of the tenon: height 8 cm, width 21 cm.

lower part of a few letters is preserved; we may estimate that only one line has been completely broken off (see below). An engraved double line divides the text into two sections. The upper section (lines 1–15) contains the text of an honorific decree, the lower section a grave epigram (lines 16–27). The co-existence of decree and epigram shows that the stele was part of a funerary monument, which must have stood in the eastern cemetery of Aphrodisias.

## Text

- [ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δή]-  
 μῳ· γνώμη στρατη[γῶν? καὶ γ]-  
 ραμματέως Ἡφαιστίωνος Ἐ-  
 ρμογένου || γραμματέως || ἐπὶ Πα-  
 νκράτης Ἀδράστου προγόνων  
 4 καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν καὶ ἐπανγ-  
 ελίας πεπονημένων καὶ ἀνατε-  
 θικότ<ω>ν τῷ δήμῳ, καὶ αὐτὸς ζῶ<ν> ἐ-  
 ν ἀρετῇ καὶ καλ<ο>καγαθία δια{I}-  
 8 τελῶν τὸν βίον καλίστη ἀγω-  
 γῇ καὶ εὐταξίᾳ· αἰρεθὶς δέ κ-  
 αὶ στρατηγὸς πόλεως διετέ-  
 λεσε δικαίως· δεδόχθαι τῇ  
 12 βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ ἐπηνῆσ-  
 θαι Πανκράτην καὶ τειμῆσθαι· ἀνατ-  
 εθῆναι δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἰκόνα ἐν ὄπλ-  
 ω ἐπιχρύσω. Ταβηνῶν τὸ αὐτό.  
 Engraved double line  
 16 Τὸν κάμψαντα βίου σεμνὸς καμπτή-  
 ρα μέγιστον vacat οὖνομα Πανκρατί-  
 δην κατέχει ὅδε τύμβος ὀδίτα,  
 ὃς δισσοὺς ἔλιπεν κούρους κα-  
 20 λήν τε θύγατρα vacat καὶ ταύτης πά-  
 λι τέκν' ἐσιδὼν καὶ ἔγγονα τούτων·  
 ἀρχαῖς καὶ βουλαῖς τιμώμενος ἐν πολὶ<ήταις>  
 ἐπτὰ ἐτῶν πλήσας δεκάδας δοιούς  
 24 τ' ἐνιαυτός vacat παῦσεν ἀπένθητον  
 καὶ ἀλύπητον βίον ἐσθλόν.  
 χαίρετω, ἀθάνατον μνήμην θνητοῖς ἀ-  
 πολιπῶν

2. or στρατη[γοῦ καὶ] || 6. in fine ΖΩΚ, lapis || 6-7. ANATE|ΘΙΚΟΤΟΝ, lapis || 7. ΚΑΛΩΚΑΓΑΘΙΑ, lapis || 7-8. perhaps δια{I}τελ<εῖ> ἄγ<ω>ν τὸν βίον (see

below) || 8. ΚΑΛΙΣΤΗ (sic), lapis; the spelling with one lambda is attested in several inscriptions of Aphrodisias (and elsewhere); e.g. Reynolds 1982, no. 8<sub>53</sub> (καλίστω, twice); *MAMA* VIII 471<sub>11</sub> (κάλιστον) || 22. ἐν πολιήταις suggested by Manolis Voutiras (cf. *I. Smyrna* 521 + II2 p. 373: ἐξοχον ἐν πολιήταις ἀνέρα, γηραλήου τέρματ' ἔχοντα βίου; *SEG* XXVI 1457 (Ταρσός) πανυπέρτατον ἐν | πολιήταις || 25–27. or ἀπολίπων (sc. ἀπολείπων), suggested by Christopher Jones; this is possible since the mason often uses -ι for -ει.

[Resolved by the council and the people]. The proposal was made by the generals and Hephastion, son of Hermogenes, secretary (or: by the general and secretary Hephastion). Whereas Pankrates, son of Adrastus, descendant of good and virtuous ancestors, who promised benefactions and made dedications/donations to the demos, a man who himself lives in virtue and goodness continually conducting his life (?) with the fairest education and discipline; when he was also elected to the office of the general of the city, he fulfilled the duties of the office in a just manner; may it be resolved by the council and the demos to praise Pankrates and honor him; and may his (painted) image in a gilded shield be dedicated. The same (honors were decreed) by the citizens of Tabai.

Wanderer, this tomb holds Pankratides, the man who passed the greatest turning point of life in an honorable manner. He left two sons and a fair daughter; and from his daughter he saw children and the children's children. Honored among his fellow citizens because of his magistracies and his advice, and having fulfilled seven decades of years and another two, he reached the end of a gentle life without mourning and sorrow.

Farewell to him, who has left undying memory among the mortals.

### Lettering, prosopography, and date

This inscription was not commissioned by the city but was inscribed at the initiative of Pankrates' family (see below). For this reason, exact parallels for the lettering cannot be found among the official inscriptions of Aphrodisias. The stone mason indiscriminately used different letterforms (fig. 2): alpha both with straight and broken middle line (e.g. line 8); a four-bar sigma with parallel horizontal bars (e.g. line 8), but also a three-bar sigma consisting of one vertical and two horizontal bars (e.g. line 2), and a variant of the four-bar sigma in which one of the two oblique bars is shorter than the other (e.g. line 4). The mason did not do a very good job in copying the text from an original (on papyrus, parchment, or a wooden tablet). Apart from spelling mistakes (lines 6–7: ἀνατε|θικότον; line 7: καλωκαγαθίαι; line 16: σεμνῶς) and departure from standard forms (line 8: καλίστη), he wrote γραμματέως twice (lines 1–3), engraved a superfluous iota at the end of line 7 (or probably started writing a tau and



Fig. 1. Marble stele. The Archaeological Museum of Aphrodisias.

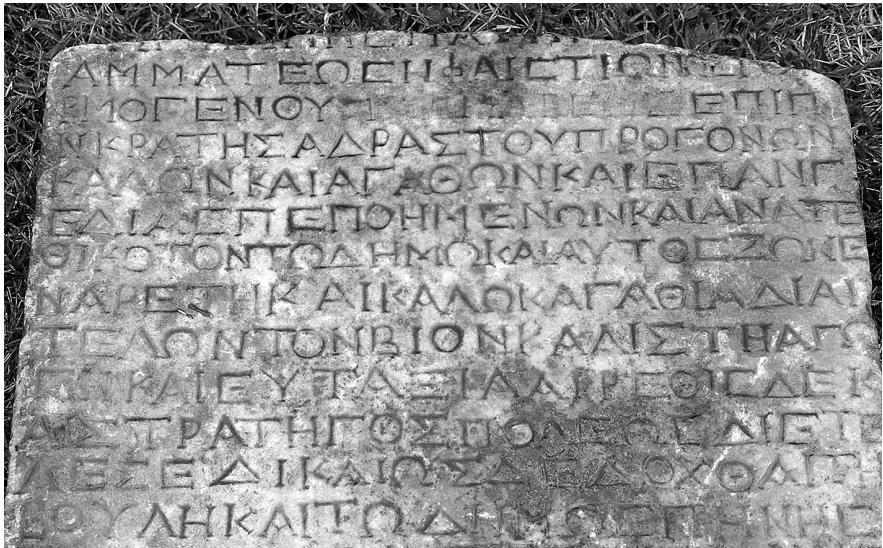


Fig. 2. Detail of the same stele.

left it unfinished), and at the end of line 22 he wrote ἐν πόλιν instead of ἐν πολιήταις. For this reason, I suspect that the clumsy formulation καὶ αὐτὸς ζῶ<ν> ἐν ἀρετῇ καὶ καλ<ο>καγαθία διατελῶν τὸν βίον καλίστη ἀγωγῇ καὶ εὐταξία (lines 6–9) is the result of a mistake during the copying process. The original might have been αὐτὸς ζῶν ἐν ἀρετῇ καὶ καλοκαγαθία διατελεῖ ἄγων τὸν βίον καλίστη ἀγωγῇ καὶ εὐταξία.

The mason also consistently omitted the iota adscript (lines 6–9, 11–12, 15) and shows a preference for iotacism (line 2: ἐπί; line 9: αἰρεθίς; line 14: ἰκόνα; line 18: κατέχι). He repeatedly violated the division of syllables (lines 1–2: γ|ραμματέως; lines 2–3: Ἐ|ρμογένους; lines 4–5: ἐ|πανγ|ελίας; lines 6–7: ἐ|ν; lines 9–10: κ|αί; lines 12–13: ἐ|πηνῆσ|θαι; lines 13–14: ἀνατ|εθῆναι; lines 14–15: ὅπλ|ω). And yet, he showed great care in inscribing the epigram. Whenever the end of a verse did not coincide with the end of a line, he left an uninscribed space in order to indicate the division of verses, as Sebastian Prignitz observed (lines 17, 20, and 24).

The general ductus and the linguistic features suggest a date in the late Hellenistic or early Imperial period. This date can be confirmed with the help of prosopography. The secretary of the assembly, Hephaistion, son of Hermogenes, must be a relative of Hermogenes Theodotos, son of Hephaistion, who was honored with a posthumous honorific decree around the mid- or late first century BCE.<sup>2</sup> The decree for Hermogenes Theodotos mentions his participation in “many and most crucial embassies and contests”. It certainly refers to the critical times of the late Republic, when Aphrodisias – then joined in sympolity with Plarasa – took the side of Rome in the First Mithridatic War (88 BCE), contributed to embassies of the cities of Asia that protested against abuses by the publicani, was looted by Labienus (40 BCE), faced a grain shortage, and supported Octavian against Marc Antony.<sup>3</sup> The new decree for Pankrates does not allude to such events and must, therefore, be later. Consequently, Hephaistion son of Hermogenes in the honorific decree for Pankrates must be the son of Hermogenes son of Hephaistion in the decree for Hermogenes Theodotos. The new inscription can be dated to the first years of the first century CE (or the end of the first century BCE).

The honored man is identified as Pankrates, son of Adrastus. This man is attested for the first time. The name Pankrates is attested in an unpublished list of names (probably Hellenistic) and in two epitaphs of the Imperial period.<sup>4</sup> Adrastus is the most common Aphrodisian name.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Chaniotis 2004, 387–386 no. 1; *SEG* LIV 1020.

<sup>3</sup> For these events see Reynolds 1982, nos. 1–13 and 28–29.

<sup>4</sup> See Bourtzinakou 2012, nos. 1914–1916.

<sup>5</sup> Van Bremen 2010.

### The decree

The decree is almost entirely preserved. Unless there was a heading (an invocation or the name of the deceased man), only one line has been lost, containing the ἔδοξεν-formula, which can be restored on the basis of parallels.<sup>6</sup> The known decrees of Plarasa/Aphrodisias and (later) of Aphrodisias were always proposed by office-holders: the archontes, the secretary of the demos, the generals, and the paraphylax.<sup>7</sup> In this case, the proposal was submitted by the board of the *strategoí* and the secretary of the assembly (γνώμη στρατηγ[γῶν καὶ γ]ραμματέως).<sup>8</sup>

Although the stele with the honorific decree was placed on Pankrates' tomb, it is unlikely that the decree is a posthumous honorific decree. The text does not contain any formulation that suggests that the decree was passed upon Pankrates' death. In Aphrodisian inscriptions, ἐπαινέω (lines 12–13) is usually found in connection with the praise of magistrates and benefactors that took place immediately after the respective action.<sup>9</sup> When it is found in posthumous honorific inscriptions, it refers to the praise a man had received during his life, not after his death.<sup>10</sup> In the one case in which the praise was given *post mortem*, this is explicitly mentioned:<sup>11</sup> τὰ νῦν μετήλλα[κχε] τὸν βίον δεδόχθαι ἐ[πην]ῆσθαι αὐτὴν καὶ μετηλ[λακ]χυῖαν. It seems that the decree was passed immediately after Pankrates' term as *strategos*.

The decree does not contain the *anagraphe*-formula and it was probably not destined to be inscribed in a public space, e.g. in the precinct of Aphrodite, in the agora, near the seat of the magistrates, or near the image of the honored person. It was only after his death that the decree was

<sup>6</sup> Other decrees of Aphrodisias in the late Republican and early Imperial period: *MAMA* VII 407 (*I Aph2007* 12.309), 408 (*I Aph2007* 12.207), 409 (*I Aph2007* 12.19), 410 (*I Aph2007* 12.612), 412 (*I Aph2007* 12.704), 414 (*I Aph2007* 12.319), 417 (*I Aph2007* 12.719); *SEG* XLV 1502; *LIV* 1020.

<sup>7</sup> Chaniotis 2004, 380–381.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. *I Aph2007* 12.309 (*MAMA* VIII 407). One cannot entirely exclude the possibility that the proposal was made only by one man, who was at the same time *strategos* and secretary, as in *SEG* LIV 1020. But in that case, we would expect the exact designation of the στρατηγία (στρατηγὸς τῆς πόλεως or στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας).

<sup>9</sup> *I Aph2007* 1.179; 2.503; 12.21; 12.22; 12.534; 12.537; 12.920a; for two exceptions see note 11.

<sup>10</sup> *I Aph2007* 1.179: ἐπαινεθέντα ἐφ' αἷς μεγαλοψύχως ἐξετέλεσε ἀρχαῖς καὶ λιτουργίαις; cf. 12.21; 12.22; 12.534; 12.537.

<sup>11</sup> *I Aph2007* 12.309. A similar text probably stood also in *I Aph2007* 11.2 (*MAMA* VIII 422).

inscribed at the initiative of Pankrates' family on a stele that was placed near his tomb. Pankrates' family probably used his private copy of the honorary decree.

Following the typical structure of honorific decrees and honorific inscriptions of the late Hellenistic and Imperial periods, the text begins with a reference to Pankrates' ancestors.<sup>12</sup> They had been benefactors, who not only made promises but also fulfilled them (καὶ ἐπανγγελίας πεποιημένων καὶ ἀνατεθικότε<ω>ν). The Greeks were very much aware of the fact that not all promises were fulfilled. The honorific decree of Teos for King Antiochos III (ca. 203 BCE) refers to the bouleuterion as the place where Antiochos "fulfilled some of the good things/benefactions, and other benefactions he promised and afterwards fulfilled".<sup>13</sup> In the Hellenistic *epidosis* documents at Iasos, the contributions are listed under the heading "the following individuals have pledged and kept their promise".<sup>14</sup> In Athens, the names of those who "have voluntarily promised money to the demos for the rescue of the city and did not pay their contribution" were displayed in front of the statues of the eponymous heroes (Is. 5. 37–38). The explicit reference to both the promise and its fulfillment should be seen against this background.

Although Pankrates had prominent ancestors, he does not seem to have belonged to the group of elite families who "had jointly built the city" – a formulation that we find in several variants in honorific inscriptions for the descendants of these families.<sup>15</sup>

After the reference to the ancestors, Pankrates' achievements are summarized. Here, the text may be corrupted because the phrase καὶ αὐτὸς ζῶν ἐν ἀρετῇ καὶ καλ<ο>καγαθία διατελῶν τὸν βίον καλίστη ἀγωγῇ καὶ εὐταξίᾳ has two participles (ζῶν and διατελῶν) but no verb. Additionally, in decrees and honorific inscriptions διατελῶ is always used as a verb, not as a participle. Therefore, the text may have been something like καὶ αὐτὸς ζῶν ἐν ἀρετῇ καὶ καλ<ο>καγαθία διατελ<ει> διάγ<ων> τὸν βίον καλίστη ἀγωγῇ καὶ εὐταξίᾳ. The meaning is in any case clear: Pankrates was good and virtuous, a man with good civic education and disciplined behavior.

Unlike other honorific inscriptions, in which we have long references to offices, liturgies, and benefactions, here we have a single office. Pankrates

<sup>12</sup> For a close parallel see *SEG* LIV 1020.

<sup>13</sup> *SEG* XLI 1003 lines 30f.: ἐν ᾧ τὰ μὲν ἐ[τέλεσε | τῶν ἀ]γαθῶν, τὰ δὲ ὑπέσχετο καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπετέλεσεν).

<sup>14</sup> Chaniotis 2007, 63. Cf. *SEG* LV 1261 (Metropolis, Imperial period): οἱ ὑποσχόμενοι καὶ δόντες ἀργύριον.

<sup>15</sup> Chaniotis 2004, 382, with a list of the references.

served as στρατηγὸς πόλεως. Aphrodisias had at least one στρατηγὸς πόλεως and at least two στρατηγοὶ ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας.<sup>16</sup> The epigram (see below) implies that Pankrates served also in other offices (ἀρχαῖς καὶ βουλαῖς). It is not surprising that they are not mentioned in the decree, which, as explained above, was probably passed after his στρατηγία and does not give a full summary of his contribution to public life. The virtues of ἀγωγή and εὐταξία (lines 8 f.) are to be expected for a man who occupied a military office, which he fulfilled with a sense of justice. Pankrates' honors were modest: praise, probably in the assembly, and the erection of an *imago clipeata*, a painted shield portrait.<sup>17</sup>

It is added that a decree of similar content – not “the same decree” – had been passed by Tabai, Aphrodisias' eastern neighbor. The decree of Tabai was not exactly the same in content, since it was proposed by different men and mentioned the fact that Pankrates was citizen of a different city; but it must have contained similar honors. During his service as *strategos*, Pankrates must have had dealings with the authorities of Tabai, and his good services motivated the authorities in Tabai to honor him. To inscribe honorary decrees (not posthumous honorary decrees) on the grave of a statesman or benefactor is a well-attested phenomenon.<sup>18</sup>

### The epigram

When Pankrates died, the family commissioned an epigram, which was also inscribed on the stele. Metrically, the epigram is unproblematic, consisting of four hexametrical couplets. The poet paid enough attention to the meter, replacing the name of Pankrates with Pankratides, for metrical reasons.

Τὸν κάμψαντα βίου σεμνῶς καμπτήρα μέγιστον  
 – – – ∪ ∪ – – – – – ∪ ∪ – ∪  
 οὔνομα Πανκρατίδην κατέχει ὅδε τύμβος ὁδίτα.  
 – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪  
 Ὅς δισσοῦς ἔλιπεν κούρους καλήν τε θύγατρα  
 – – – ∪ ∪ – – – – – ∪ ∪ – ∪

<sup>16</sup> Both offices: *I Aph2007* 4.101 (*SEG* XXXII 1097; late Republic or reign of Augustus). Στρατηγοὶ ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας: *I Aph2007* 12.205 (*SEG* XLV 1502; first century CE); *I Aph207* 12.803 (first century CE); 12.1015 (second century CE); one στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας: *I Aph2007* 8.3a (Reynolds 1982, no. 2; 88 BCE); 12.207 (*MAMA* VIII 408). Unspecified στρατηγία (first/second century CE): *I Aph2007* 12.204 (*MAMA* VIII 448); 12.309 (*MAMA* VIII 407); 12.612 (*MAMA* VIII 410).

<sup>17</sup> Cf. *I Aph2007* 12.319 (*MAMA* VIII 414), 12.704b/c (*MAMA* VIII 412b/c).

<sup>18</sup> Chaniotis 2013, 143.

καὶ ταύτης πάλι τέκν' ἐσιδὼν καὶ ἔγγονα τούτων·  
 —  
 ἀρχαῖς καὶ βουλαῖς τιμώμενος ἐν πολιήταις  
 —  
 ἑπτὰ ἐτῶν πλήσας δεκάδας δοιούς τ' ἐνιαυτός  
 —  
 παῦσεν ἀπένθητον καὶ ἀλύπητον βίον ἐσθλόν.  
 —  
 Χαιρέτω ἄθάνατον μνήμην θνητοῖς ἀπολιπών.  
 —

The epigram provides some biographical information. Pankrates died a happy man at the age of 72. If we take the statement that he had not known grief from death (ἀπένθητος) and sorrow (ἀλύπητος) in his life, his wife and his children, a daughter and two sons, were all alive at the moment of his death. While his daughter was already a grandmother (ταύτης πάλι τέκν' ἐσιδὼν καὶ ἔγγονα τούτων), his two sons, characterized as *κοῦροι* (line 19), seem to have still been unmarried. How is this possible? The daughter probably was older than the sons and married at a young age (e.g. 16 years old); if her daughter also married young (e.g. at the age of 17), she could be a grandmother in her early thirties and have two younger brothers who were still unmarried in their late twenties or early thirties.

The expression ἀρχαῖς καὶ βουλαῖς τιμώμενος ἐν πολι<ήταις> (line 22) is ambiguous. Ἀρχαῖς καὶ βουλαῖς can be *causalis* (he was honored for his service in magistracies and for his advice), *instrumentalis* (he was honored with offices and membership in councils), or *dativus auctoris* (he was honored by magistrates and councils). The last hypothesis can be excluded. Pankrates was honored 'among his fellow citizens' (τιμώμενος ἐν πόλι<ήταις>), not by authorities alone. The second hypothesis is unlikely. Election in an office can be understood as an 'honor', especially in a period in which service in office was monopolized by the elite,<sup>19</sup> but the plural βουλαῖς would be hard to explain. Aphrodisias had only one council (βουλή); membership in the council of another city is impossible, since the poet explicitly says that Pankrates was honored in his own city (ἐν πολι<ήταις>). On the other hand, βουλαί is often used

<sup>19</sup> E.g. *IG* X 2 1 758: ἀρχαῖς τειμηθέντα (Thessalonike, second/third century CE); *I.Didyma* 310: τειμηθέντος ... βουλευίαις (Didyma, third century CE). In *MAMA* III 6, we can probably read τειμηθέντα ... ἱερωσύνη (Seleukeia on Kalykadnos, Imperial period). For *honoratus* followed by an office (e.g. *honoratus questura*) in Latin inscriptions see Chaniotis 1985. In honorific inscriptions and decrees τιμάω/ τιμάω is always followed by *instrumentalis* (e.g. μεγίσταις τειμαῖς).

in the meaning ‘counsel, advice’: e.g. βουλαῖς ἀσφαλέσιν (“with safe/reliable counsel”),<sup>20</sup> τὸν μέγαν ἐμ βουλαῖς (“a man great in counsel”),<sup>21</sup> and ὥρθωσεν βουλαῖς καὶ κτεάνοις (“he erected the city with his advice and his property”).<sup>22</sup> Pankrates had, therefore, been honored in his city “for his service on offices and for his advice”.

The epigram assimilates Pankrates’ life with a race, whose greatest, most important turning point, the καμπτήρ, is death. Metaphors that associate life with an athletic event are common in epigrammatic poetry.<sup>23</sup> The metaphor of death as the καμπτήρ βίου is already used by Herodas.<sup>24</sup> By analogy, the καμπτήρ πύματος in poetry is the last page of a manuscript.<sup>25</sup> In the long footrace (*diaulos*) and in horse racing, the καμπτήρ is the point where the runners and the horses turn;<sup>26</sup> in the short footrace, the καμπτήρ is the goal of the runners. This metaphor implies that Pankrates, like a successful athlete, had reached the end of the track of life. Now in death, he continues his journey on another track. Similarly, we find the expression πᾶς γὰρ βίος κάμπτει [ἐπ’ ἄκρῳ?] (“all life turns [- -]”) in an epigram from Termessos in Pisidia, which uses the imagery of the journey to describe death.<sup>27</sup> A more pessimistic version is presented in an epigram from Aigiale: ἄωρος εἰς ἄκαμπτον ὠχόμην τρίβον (“before my time I departed for a track with no return”).<sup>28</sup>

The poem is not of great inspiration and originality. The assimilation of life with a race is suitable in the case of an active statesman. There may be a military overtone, if with καμπτήρ the poet intended an allusion specifically to a horse-race. The Aphrodisians were very fond of horses and horse-breeding.<sup>29</sup> An interesting detail, again, suitable in the epigram of a vigorous man of action, is the way the poet refers to Pankrates’ death:

<sup>20</sup> *IG* VII 4133<sub>10</sub> (Megara, second/first century BCE).

<sup>21</sup> *IG* IX 2 59 (Latya in Thessaly, late Hellenistic period).

<sup>22</sup> *IG* V 2 156 (Tegea, third/fourth century CE). For the use of *dativus causalis*, see e.g. *IG* X 2 1 758: ἦθεσι δοξασθέντα (Thessalonike, second/third century CE).

<sup>23</sup> *GV* 945: λαμπάδα γὰρ ζωᾶς δραμεῖν (Chios, second century BCE); *GV* 1331: δόλιχον βίτου σταδιεύσας (Kollyda, second century CE); *I. Cret.* II xxi 2: ἡνιοχῶν βίτον (Crete, second century BCE); *IG* XIV 411: τὸν βίτου στέφανον (Messana, undated).

<sup>24</sup> Herodas 10. 3 ed. Cunningham: θνήσκει καὶ τέφρη γίνεω ὡς τυφλὸς οὐπέ-κεινα τοῦ βίου καμπτήρ.

<sup>25</sup> *Anth. Pal.* 12. 257: ἃ πύματον καμπτήρα καταγγέλλουσα κορωνίς.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. the expression κυκλεύω τον καμπτήρα in curse tablets addressed against opponents in the hippodrome: Audollent 1904, nos. 234–240.

<sup>27</sup> *TAM* III 1 922 = *SEG* XVII 552 (Imperial period).

<sup>28</sup> *IG* XII 7 449 (second century BCE).

<sup>29</sup> Chaniotis 2009.

παύσεν βίον. When the verb παύω is used in epigrams, the deceased individual is subject to the agency of an external force – a disease, fortune, the gods. The usual expression is “NN (fate, illness, sleep, etc.) ended one’s life”: e.g. Μοῖρά με ἀνανκαίη ἔπαυσαι βιότοιο μερίμνης (“inescapable fate stopped the worries of my life”);<sup>30</sup> νοῦσος ἔπαυσε βίου (“illness stopped life”);<sup>31</sup> ὕπνος ἔπαυσε βίου (“sleep ended life”).<sup>32</sup> On the contrary, the active παύω, rarely used in the context of death,<sup>33</sup> makes Pankrates the agent of his death. This certainly is not reference to suicide; the poet simply wanted to avoid making a man of action subject to Fate and passive victim of external forces. The meaning is “he stopped living”, not “he ended his life”.

By presenting a life free of sorrow and grief, fulfilled both in its private and its public aspects, the poet offers consolation. Even in death, Pankrates is not a victim, but a vigorous athlete or a horseman who successfully reaches the end the life’s track. What he leaves behind is not grief but undying memory.<sup>34</sup> Χαίρετω!

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<sup>30</sup> *SEG* XXXVII 1088 (Amisos, late second century CE).

<sup>31</sup> *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 11257 (Athens, second century CE).

<sup>32</sup> *I.Didyma* 532 c (Miletos, first century BCE). Cf. the medium παύομαι βίου, e.g. in *I.Histria* 291 (πανσαμένη βιότοιο, Histria, third century CE); *I.Iznik* 1295 (πανσάμενον βιότου, Nikaia, first century CE).

<sup>33</sup> Cf. *CID* IV 44: διέπαυσε τὸν [βίον] (Delphi, mid-third century BCE); *GVI* 652 and Robert 1937, 284 n. 8: [ἀπέ]παυσα βίον (Tieion, second century CE); I note that the restoration [διέ]παυσα is also possible.

<sup>34</sup> On the themes of perpetual fame and memory see Lattimore 1942, 241–246.

- A. Chaniotis, “Lament for a Young Man. A New Epigram from Aphrodisias”, in: A. Martínez Fernández (ed.), *Estudios de Epigrafía Griega* (La Laguna 2009) 469–477.
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A new inscription from Aphrodisias (late first century BCE or early first century CE) contains an honorific decree and a grave epigram for Pankrates, member of a prominent Aphrodisian family and statesman. The decree seems to have been issued after he had served as στρατηγὸς τῆς πόλεως, but was inscribed on a stele later, after his death; the text mentions that a similar decree had been issued by Tabai. The epigram assimilates Pankrates’ life with a race, whose greatest, most important turning point, the καμπτήρ, is death. By referring to Pankrates’ public recognition and a life without sorrow, the poem offers consolation for his death.

Новая надпись из Афродисии (конец I в. до н. э. или начало I в. н. э.) содержит декрет в честь Панкрата, члена знатной афродисийской семьи и государственного деятеля, и его надгробную эпитаграмму. По-видимому, декрет был издан по окончании службы Панкрата в качестве στρατηγὸς τῆς πόλεως, но высечен на стеле позже, после его смерти; из текста следует, что сходный декрет был издан и в Табах. В эпитаграмме жизнь Панкрата сравнивается с состязанием в беге, важнейший поворотный пункт которого (καμπτήρ) – смерть. Упоминание об общественном признании, которое получил Панкрат, и его беспечальной жизни призвано служить утешением в утрате.

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