

# MAXIMUS OF APAMEA, LOVED BY THRACE AND THE WORLD

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One summer morning three years ago I was trying to read five badly damaged and almost illegible Greek inscriptions, which stood in a small square in the old town of Plovdiv, when a man came to me and asked if I could read ancient inscriptions. After my affirmative answer he informed me about an inscribed stone built in the basement of his house, and we went to see it. I was thinking of an ordinary inscription in honour of a Roman emperor or a dedication, so it exceeded all my expectation, when I saw the marble base and recognized the Greek hexameters and the name of Apollo Kendrisos...

The marble base with a metrical inscription was found during the excavation of the foundations of a house in the old town of Plovdiv (ancient Philippopolis). The stone was secondarily used, most probably in the Late Middle Ages, as a building material in the terracing of the steep western slope of the Nebettepe hill. The base is now built into the basement of the house where it was found.

The monument is made of fine white marble, with moulding at top and bottom, the rim being adorned with stylized plant ornaments (Fig. 1). The large rectangular dowel-hole on the lower surface was obviously used for fixing the base to the ground, and there was probably another rectangular hole for supporting a statue on the upper surface, traces of which are still to be seen. The base is 0.79 m. high, 0.42 m. wide, and ca. 0.32 m. thick<sup>1</sup>.

The back of the base is now lost, as well as the lower part in the front. Nevertheless, the original dimensions of the upper surface could be restored roughly by adding the thickness of the base (0.32 m.) to the doubled size of the protruding front rim (2 × 0.05 m.), or we can assume that the upper surface of the base was a 42 cm. square.

The inscription of eight lines, save for the last letters of l. 8, is well preserved. The damaged lower part of the inscribed face could hold at most one more line. Letters are narrow, clearly cut, well-formed, and with slight apices at terminals, from 0.008 - 0.014 m. (omicron in κόσμω, τέκνου, ἐκόσμη, εἴκοσι; ι and ου in Μαξίμου) to 0.026 - 0.028 m. high. The letters, and in particular Θ, Ξ, Σ, Ψ, Ω, are characteristic of the second half of the second century and the first half of the third century AD (Fig. 2).

ΜΑΞΙΜΟΣΕΝΘΑΔΕΚΕΙ  
ΜΑΙΑΠΑΜΕΙΑΣΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΗΣ  
ΘΡΗΚΗΚΑΙΚΟΣΜΩΠΕΦΙΛΗΜΕ  
ΝΟΣΠΑΡΔΕΟΙ·ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΟΣ  
ΕΓΩΚΕΙΜΑΙΚΕΝΔΡΕΙΣΟΙΟ·  
ΧΕΡΣΙΝΕΜΟΥΤΕΚΝΟΥΜΑΞΙΜΟΥ  
ΟΣΜΕΕΚΟΣΜΕΙ·ΚΑΙΜΕΕΘΑΨΕ  
ΕΤΩΝΤΡΙΣΕΙΚΟΣΙΚΑΙΔΕΚΑΔΔ

Ligatures: l. 1 KE; l. 2 ME, TH; l. 3 PHK, HK, ΠE, HME; l. 4 ΟΣ, ΩΝ; l. 5 KE, KE; l. 6 NE, ΟΥ; l. 7 ME, ME, ME. Sign of punctuation in form of little lunar sigma is used in l. 4 after ΟΙ, in l. 5 after ΚΕΝΔΡΕΙΣΟΙΟ, and in l. 7 after ΕΚΟΣΜΕΙ. The last ten letters of l. 8, although partially preserved, are legible with certainty.

The spelling of the long ι with the digraph EI, which is attested in numerous inscriptions from

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1. The base is built in a wall, so it is impossible to measure its thickness exactly.



Fig. 1: Grave monument of Maximus of Apamea.



Fig. 2: Metrical epitaph of Maximus of Apamea.

Philippopolis and Thrace<sup>2</sup>, must not be considered as irregular, for it is common in all Greek inscriptions from the Roman Period.

—Μάξιμος ἐνθάδε κεῖ/μαι Ἄπαμείας ὁ πολεῖτης/  
 Θρήκη καὶ κόσμῳ πεφιλημέ/νος. - Πάρ δέ οἱ  
 Ἄπόλλωνος <sup>5</sup>// ἐγὼ κείμεναι Κενδρεισοῖο./  
 —Χερσὶν ἐμοῦ τέκνου Μαξίμου, / ὅς με ἐκόσμη  
 καὶ με ἔθαψε / ἐτῶν τρὶς εἴκοσι καὶ δεκάδα.

Here I lie, *Maximus*, the citizen of Apamea, loved by Thrace and the world. — And beside him

2. Cf. MIHAILOV, G., *La langue des inscriptions grecques en Bulgarie. Phonétique et morphologie*, Sofia 1943, 31, 36-37.

stay I, [the statue] of Apollo Kendrisos. — By the hands of my son *Maximus*, who prepared me [for burial] and buried me at the age of three times twenty and a decade of years.

The metrical epitaph was written in hexameters. As we noticed above, signs of punctuation were used in ll. 4, 5, 7, marking the ends of the second, third and fourth hexameter. There is not any sign of punctuation only between the first and the second hexameter, for the end of the verse is at the very end of the inscribed face.

The verses, in regard to the metrics, are unsatisfactory, only the first hexameter being metrically correct, and contain the following errors: in l. 2 the short accentuated syllables -μέ- (in πεφιλημένος) and δέ should be pronounced as long ones; in l. 3 and l. 4 half a step after the caesura is omitted; in l. 5 the syllable τρίς should be pronounced as a long one (most likely by analogy with τρεῖς). As another piece of evidence of the author's poor knowledge of prosody and lack of poetical talent, we must mention the non-eliding final vowel in με ἐκόσμη, με ἔθαψε and ἔθαψε ἐτώων. Therefore, we could make the following metrical pattern of *Maximus'* epitaph, with τομή πενθημιμερῆς in ll. 2, 3, 4, 5, and τομή κατὰ τρίτον τροχαῖον in l. 1:

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- - - - - || - - - - -
- - - - || - - (-) - - (-) -
- - - - - || ^ - - - - -
- - - - - || ^ - - - - -
- - - - - || (-) - - - - - ...

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The language of the epitaph shows forms and expressions common in funerary epigrams. First of all, we have to mention the influence of the epic language, i.e. the influence of Homer's poems, which is obvious in the following cases:

Θρήκη — Ionic and epic form instead of the usual Θράκη, cf. Hom., *Il.*, XI, 221-222: Ἰφιδάμας Ἀντηνορίδης ἠΰς τε μέγας τε / ὅς τράφη ἐν Θρήκη ἐριβώλακι μητέρι μήλων; *IGBulg*, III, 2, # 1713 (metrical), l. 7: Θρηκε(ς).

Lengthening of alpha in Ἀπόλλωνος, cf. Hom., *Il.*, I, 21: ἀζόμενοι Διὸς υἱὸν ἐκηβόλον Ἀπόλλωνα.

Archaic genitive ending -οιο in Κενδρεισοῖο, cf. Hom., *Il.*, II, 523: οἱ τε Λίλαιαν ἔχον πηγῆς ἔπι Κηφισοῖο; *IGBulg*, III, 1, 1023 (metrical), l. 3: φυλῆς Εὐμόλποιο.

The most interesting epic expression in the epitaph is the phrase πὰρ δέ οἱ, which is characteristic mostly of Homer (9 occurrences — *Il.*, III 262; III 312; IV 367; V 365; V 709; VI 43; XXI 547; *Od.*, VII 231; XV 285), cf. Hom., *Il.*, III, 262: πὰρ δέ οἱ Ἀντήνωρ περικαλλέα βήσετο δίφρον.

It remains to note the poetical use of the *dativi auctoris* Θρήκη and κόσμω with the perfect passive participle πεφιλημένος and the word τέκνον instead of the common in non-verse inscriptions υἱός.

A figure of style is the repeated verb κεῖμαι in l. 1 and l. 3: Μάξιμος ἐνθάδε κεῖμαι - Πὰρ δέ οἱ Ἀπόλλωνος ἐγὼ κεῖμαι Κενδρεισοῖο. To the figures of style in *Maximus'* epitaph we must add the opposition Ἀπαμείας ὁ πολεΐτης — Θρήκη καὶ κόσμω πεφιλημένος, the use of the noun κόσμος in l. 2 and the verb from the same root κοσμέω in l. 4, where we can also see the alliteration ὅς με ἐκόσμη.

The account of *Maximus'* age by a complex combination of numbers is among the most common characteristics of metrical epitaphs. Therefore I will cite only two examples for the same age of 70 years from Bulgarian lands: *IGBulg*, IV, 1963, l. 1: Ἐπτ' ἐτέων δεκάδας ζήσας Σάλας ἐνθά(δε) κεῖμε... ("I, Salas, who lived seven decades of years, lie here ..."); *IGBulg*, I<sup>2</sup>, 345, l. 6: τρίς πέντε, δις εἴκοσι καὶ δέκα πέντε ("thrice five, twice twenty and fifteen").

Since the lower part of the base is broken away, and there is place for one more line, we could assume that several words at the end of the inscription are lost (and not a whole verse, for it would take more than one line). There should be one more syllable at the end of the fifth verse, for example θ, ἔν, χ' ἔν, θ' ἔξ, χ' ἔξ (which would raise the age of Maximus to 71 or 76 years), so that we may have a regular hexameter. Another possible restoration, which would result in a regular hexameter, is to add a participle ὄντα, assuming that the final alpha of δεκάδα (a *scriptio plena*) would elide, i. e. καί με ἔθαψε ἐτώων τρίς εἴκοσι καὶ δεκάδ' ὄντα. But as far as three of the well-preserved hexameters are metrically irregular, it seems more probable that the hexameter ended with δεκάδα. For, if the inscription had one more line, it may safely be assumed that this line contained some additional information (not in verse) about the deceased or his family, or the ordinary salutation to the passers-by χαῖρε, παροδείτα.

The epitaph of *Maximus* is composed as alternate words of the deceased and the statue of



Apollo to the people, who pass by the inscription. Its contents and composition fit the usual schemes of this genre, and we could cite many similar epitaphs<sup>3</sup>.

The most unusual thing in the funerary monument of *Maximus* of Apamea is the statue, which once stood on the base. Setting up a statue of Apollo Kendrisos could have been caused by several reasons, which were most probably combined:

1. *Maximus'* profession was protected by Apollo Kendrisos, i.e. he was a poet, musician, prophet or athlete — participant in the Philippopolitan Games.

2. *Maximus* was a famous person and had special merits to the city or to the Kendrisian *phyle*.

3. Citizens of Philippopolis believed that their protector Apollo took care of them even after death, for he was identified with the Sun, or because his temple on the Djendemtepe hill was placed right over the east necropolis of the city. Such a belief is attested in an inscription on sarcophagus<sup>4</sup>, where the deceased, a famous poet, addresses himself to Apollo: "See your holy land... here, beneath your feet, I live forever, ... I rest in my favourite land, which I have ever longed for"<sup>5</sup>. It seems appropriate to cite an appellation to Apollo Kendrisos as Ξένιος — protector of foreigners and hospitality. It is an inscription<sup>6</sup> on the sarcophagus of a citizen of Nicaea, who died and was buried in Philippopolis: "Let no other man open the sarcophagus or put someone inside it, for anyone who dares to do it, will pay a fine... And I also pray Kendrisos Apollo to destroy utterly anyone who opens or buys the sarcophagus"<sup>7</sup>. An exact parallel to this inscription is CIG 4380: "Let no one damage the monument, and if anyone damages it, let him be liable to the penalty of Helios and Selene"<sup>8</sup>.

Unfortunately, the epitaph of *Maximus* of Apamea was not found *in situ* and we can only sug-

gest where his grave was. Nevertheless, since the base was found some 20 meters away from the walls of the ancient inner city, it is possible, although it cannot be verified, that the monument was not taken from afar, from a necropolis in the valley, but stood somewhere in the city, most probably near a temple or a statue of Apollo Kendrisos.

Placing statues of gods as funerary monuments was not a rare practice and was usually connected with beliefs in life after death. It was a kind of heroisation of the deceased, who was sometimes portrayed as a deity.

Setting up a statue of Apollo as a funerary monument, to my mind, was possible only after special permission of the city's authorities or the god's Kendrisian *phyle*, and such permission was given only for the most famous and deserving persons. But a man, who was "loved by Thrace" and was buried in Philippopolis, was certainly loved by the city and its principal god Apollo Kendrisos.

These arguments allow us to accept the identity of "*Maximus* of Apamea, loved by Thrace and the world" with the Apamean poet *Maximus*, who won twice the games Hadriana Olympia at Cyzicus and was honoured by his fellow-citizens with a statue, the base of which was found near Cyzicus. The verse inscription<sup>9</sup>, dated to II-III c. AD<sup>10</sup>, has the following text, metrically correct and most probably written by *Maximus* himself:

Ἄγαθῆι τύχηι./  
Ποιητὴν ἔστησαν / Ἀπαμέα Μάξιμον / ἄστοι <sup>5</sup>//  
ἀράμενον δοιῶν / στέμματ' Ὀλυμπιάδων.

"The citizens set up a statue of the Apamean poet *Maximus*, who gained wreaths of two Olympiads."

After we assumed the identity of the person mentioned in both inscriptions, we could attempt to define more accurately the date of the epitaph from Philippopolis. The lettering, as we mentioned above, seems to indicate a date after the mid-second century AD. But the date of *Maximus'* epitaph must be set after 170 AD, and most likely

3. Cf. for example PEEK, W., *Griechische Vers-Inschriften. I. Grab-Epigramme*, Berlin 1955, 405, 435, 438, 440.

4. *IGBulg*, I, 464.

5. Σὴν ἱερὰν ἰδὲ γῆν... παρὰ σοῖς ποσὶν ἐνθάδ' αἰεὶ ζῶ... ἀναπαύω ἐς γῆν μοι φίλην, ἣν πάντοτ' ἐγὼ πεπόθηκα.

6. *IGBulg*, III, I, 998.

7. ... [σούδενός] ἄλλο[υ] ἔχοντος ἐξουσίαν ἀνοῖξα]ι τὴν σορὸν ἢ ἐνθεῖνα[ί] τινα, ἐπεὶ ὁ τολμήσας δώσει τοῖς κυρίοις αὐτοκράτοροισιν (δηνάρια) - καὶ ἐνεύχομαι τῷ Κενδρείσῳ Ἀπόλλωνι ἢ τὸν ἀνοῖξαν]τα ἢ ἀγοράσαντα τὴν σορὸν πανσπερμεῖ ἐξολέσθαι] ...

8. ... μηθεὶς κακουργήσῃ τὸ μνημεῖον· εἰ δέ τις κακουργήσῃ, ἤτω ἔνοχος Ἡλίῳ Σελήνῃ.

9. CIG II, 3672, "*litteris pulchris exarata*" (Boeckh).

10. Στεφάνης, I.E., *Διονυσιακοὶ τεχνῖται. Συμβολὲς στὴν προσωπογραφία τοῦ θεάτρου καὶ τῆς μουσικῆς τῶν ἀρχαίων Ἑλλήνων*, Ἡράκλειο 1988, 292; MERKELBACH, R.; STAUBER, J., *Steinepigramme aus dem griechischen Osten, II. Die Nordküste Kleinasien (Marmarameer und Pontos)*, München, Leipzig 2001, 16.

in the first half of the third century AD, as we can conclude from the following:

— The games Hadriana Olympia at Cyzicus were inaugurated in 139 AD<sup>11</sup>, so the earliest possibility of *Maximus'* two victories are the Olympiads of 139 and 143 AD, if we suggest that he won victories at two consecutive Olympiads.

— *Maximus* was scarcely older than 40 years, when he was a contestant at Cyzicus.

— *Maximus* died in Philippopolis at the age of 70 years.

The identification of *Maximus'* native city is even more complicated, for there are eight cities named Apamea — 1. Ἀπάμεια τῆς Συρίας (on Orontes); 2. Ἀπάμεια ἢ Κιβωτός (Φρυγίας); 3. Ἀπάμεια Κελαιναί (μικρᾶς Φρυγίας); 4. Ἀπάμεια Μυρλεία (Βιθυνίας); 5. Ἀπάμεια Βαβυλωνίας (on Tigris); 6. Ἀπάμεια Μεσσηνίας (near the confluence of Tigris and Euphrates); 7. Ἀπάμεια Μεσοποταμίας (on Euphrates); 8. Ἀπάμεια πρὸς Ῥαγαῖς (in Parthia). The authors of the most recent edition of the Cyzicene inscription<sup>12</sup> think *Maximus'* native city was most likely Apamea Myrlea in Bithynia, without adducing any arguments. Apamea Myrlea is really situated nearest to Cyzicus, but since the Philippopolitan epitaph gives us evidence that *Maximus* participated in many contests throughout the Roman Empire, the distance is not an argument to reject the other Apameae. We must leave the problem unsolved, with the suggestion that *Maximus* was probably born in one of the two major cities bearing this name, either Apamea in Phrygia or Apamea in Syria.

Since the epitaph of *Maximus* is metrically imperfect, it was probably not written by *Maximus* himself, but was composed or ordered by his son *Maximus*, who desired to honour the deceased with dignity, but did not have his talent nor was well versed in poetry. Numerous details such as the beautiful monument with a statue, well-formed letters, signs of punctuation and ending of lines with ends of words or syllables reveal the diligence of the poet's family, but the epitaph itself shows only a certain knowledge of the epic language, and no sense of rhythm.

It is hard to believe that *Maximus* of Apamea was the same person as the Philippopolitan poet

*Maximus*, who wrote a fascinating epitaph for his wife *Musa*<sup>13</sup>, for that epitaph mentions daughters of *Maximus* and *Musa*<sup>14</sup> and it is improbable, if the family had a son named *Maximus*, the daughters to be referred to first, and the son to be mentioned only after them in that part of the text, which is now lost. It is also improbable to identify the author of *IGBulg*, III, 1, 1024 with the son of *Maximus* of Apamea (τέκνου Μαξίμου), for the two epitaphs are quite different in style and metrical correctness.

A poet, who won two victories at the poetical competitions in Cyzicus, was obviously a contestant, who participated in many games throughout the Roman Empire, so that he might be "loved by the world". And the words "loved by Thrace" appear to be our first evidence that poetical competitions were part of the Philippopolitan games, for the only competitions, hitherto attested for Philippopolis, were those of athletes and heralds. The poetical contests in Philippopolis were undoubtedly as celebrated as the athletic ones, and the victors of the famous contests of the ancient world longed for the wreath of Apollo Kendrisos.

The great Philippopolitan games, Alexandria Pythia and Kendrisia Pythia, were organized by the Common council of the province<sup>15</sup> and played an important role in the sports life of the Roman Empire, as we can conclude from numerous inscriptions in honour of famous contestants, who were proud of their victories in Philippopolis, and enumerated them in their lists of victories. We will confine ourselves to those four contestants, who are epigraphically attested as victors at both the Cyzicene Hadriana Olympia and the Philippopolitan Kendrisia Pythia.

The first inscription<sup>16</sup> honours *Valerius Eclectus* — a herald from Sinope: "*Valerius Eclectus* of Sinope... a herald, who won victories in all great games twice, and won the following sacred con-

13. *IGBulg*, III, 1, 1024.

14. ...ῶ καὶ παῖδας ἔλειπον ἐνὶ μμεγάροισι (sic) θύγατρας...

15. Cf. on numerous Philippopolitan coins: κοινὸν Θρακῶν Ἀλεξάνδρια Πύθια ἐν Φιλιπποπόλει, etc., MOUCHMOV, N.A., "Les monnaies antiques de Philippopolis" (en bulgare), *Annuaire de la Bibliothèque Nationale à Plovdiv*, 1924, 258-264, 287, pl. VIII-X. The games Alexandria Pythia in Philippopolis were held for the first (and only) time in 214 AD. In 218 AD they were renamed Kendrisia Pythia. The games organized in the city before 214 AD were obviously of local character, so we could place *Maximus'* participation in Philippopolitan games after this date.

16. *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3169, mid-third century AD.

11. HASLUCK, F.W., *Cyzicus*, Cambridge 1910, 187, 260.

12. MERKELBACH; STAUBER, o.c.

tests of the whole world: ... Pythian games in Philippopolis twice, Kendrisian games in Philippopolis, ... Olympian games in Cyzicus..."<sup>17</sup>.

The second inscription<sup>18</sup> was found in Ankara (ancient Ancyra): "... the metropolis set up the statue in honour of *Caius Iulius Dionysius* ..., a triple victor [i. e. a victor in *pentathlon*], who won victories in the following contests: ... Hadriana Olympia in Cyzicus twice, ... Alexandria Pythia in Philippopolis..."<sup>19</sup>.

The third inscription<sup>20</sup>, which is partially preserved, honours a contestant, who won the Pythian games in Philippopolis, the isopythian sacred contest of Core in Cyzicus, and the games Hadriana Olympia in Cyzicus<sup>21</sup>.

The last inscription<sup>22</sup>, which was found in Plovdiv, is in honour of "*Marcus Mestrius* ... from Aenus, who won a victory among the boys, at the games Kendrisia in the metropolis [i.e. Philippopolis], and at the Hadriana Olympia in Cyzicus"<sup>23</sup>.

The epitaph of the poet *Maximus* of Apamea brings up the interesting question where the poetical contests were held in Philippopolis and whether there was another building, except the stadium, connected with the games and particularly with the poetical contests. Two unpublished inscriptions, found in the theatre of Philippopolis, define it as the place, where poetical contests would be staged properly.

The first inscription (Fig. 3) is on a marble base, 1.47 m. high, 0.68 m. wide, 0.63 m. thick, with fine letters (from 0.04 to 0.06 m.) of the first decades of the second century AD<sup>24</sup>.



Fig. 3. Inscription in honour of the Thracian Common council.

17. [Οὐα]λέριος Ἔκλεκτος Σινωπεύς ... κῆρυξ διςπερίοδος, νεικήσας ἀγῶνας ἱερῶν οἰκουμεικῶν τοὺς ὑπογεγραμμένους ... Πύθια ἐν Φιλιπποπόλει β', Κεντρείσεια ἐν Φιλιπποπόλει, ... Ὀλύμπια ἐν Κυζίκῳ...

18. MITCHELL, S., "Inscriptions of Ancyra", *Anatolian Studies* 27, 1977, 75-77, pl. III.

19. ...ἡ μητρόπολις τὸν ἀνδριάντα Κ(αίω) Ἰουλ(ίω) Διονυσίω ΚΑΤΑΝΕΙ, τριαστῆ, νεικήσαντι τοὺς ὑποτετ[α]γμένους ἀγῶνας ... Ἀδριανὰ Ὀλύμπια ἐ[ν] Κυζίκῳ β', ... Ἀλεξάνδ[ρ]εια Πύθια ἐ[ν] Φιλιπποπόλει...

20. SAYAR, M.H., *Perinthos-Heraklea (Marmara Ereğlisi) und Umgebung. Geschichte, Testimonien, griechische und lateinische Inschriften*, Wien 1998, 214-215, n. 31.

21. Πύθια ἐν Φιλιπποπόλει, ἱερὸν Κόρης ἰσοπύθιον ἐν Κυζίκῳ, ... Ἀδριανὰ Ὀλύμπια ἐν Κυζίκῳ ...

22. *IGBulg*, III, 1, 892.

23. ... Μ(ᾶρκον) Μέστριο[ν] - ]τον Αἰν[ι]ον νικήσαν]τα ἀγενοί[ων] - - ] Κενδρείσεια ἐν τῇ μητροπόλει, Ἀδριανὰ Ὀλύμπια ἐν Κυζίκῳ...

24. The inscription is identical in shape, dimensions and let-



The text reads as follows:

Ἡ βουλῆ(ι) καὶ ὁ  
 δῆμος τὸ κοινο-  
 βούλιον τῆς Θρα-  
 κῶν ἐπαρχείας  
 τῆς διηνεκοῦς  
 εὐνοίας χάριν  
 ἐτείμησεν.

Ligatures: l. 2: HM; l. 7: MH. It is interesting to note the *scriptio inversa* BOYΛHI (in the nominative)<sup>25</sup>.

“The Council and the Assembly honoured the Common council of *provincia Thracia* for its continuous favour”.

The word used to denote the Thracian Common council here is *κοινοβούλιον*, and not *κοινόν*, as in all subsequent inscriptions as well as in coin legends.

The three holes on the upper surface of the base, one of them in the shape of a right foot, are obviously evidence that the Common council of the province was honoured most likely with a personification of Thrace as a woman<sup>26</sup>. The inscription, which is probably our earliest evidence about the Thracian Common council, attests that the assemblies of the council were held in the theatre. This function of the theatre as seat of *κοινόν Θρακῶν* bears out the possibility that the building was connected with the games, organized by the Thracian Common council.

The second inscription (Fig. 4), incised on a marble base, 1.36 m. high, 0.72 m. wide, 0.72 m. thick, whose frontal upper part is broken away, although partially preserved, enables us to conclude that the theatre was connected with the games. Five lines of the inscription are preserved,

tering (and has a slightly different text) with an inscription honouring the people of Perinthus (“for its continuous favour and unanimity”) and also found in the theatre. They both belong to a series of monuments, made by the same stonemason’s workshop in 80-120 AD. The two bases are similar in shape and moulding to an inscription of ca. 90 AD in honour of *Tiberius Claudius Sacerdos Iulianus*, procurator of Thrace, who was *consul suffectus* in 100 AD (obviously after an *allectio inter praetorios*) and *magister fratrum Arvalium* in 101 AD: Ἡ βουλῆ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ὁ Φιλιπποπολιτεῶν ἐτείμησεν τὸν εὐργέτην τῆς μητροπόλεως Τιβέριον Κλαύδιον Σακέρδωτα Ἰουλιανὸν ἐπίτροπον σεβαστοῦ. Their lettering, however, points to a late Trajanic or early Hadrianic date.

25. The same mistake was made in the contemporaneous inscription in honour of Perinthus mentioned in note 24.

26. On the iconography of Thrace cf. *LIMC* VIII, 1, Zürich 1997, 16-17 (s. v. *Thracia*); VIII, 2, 13-14.



Fig. 4: Inscription in honour of an agonothete.

and six or seven lines are now lost, as far as we can judge by the back of the base. The letters (0.04 m. h.) point to the late second - early third century AD.

The text reads as follows:

[- - - - - ]ν Σεβάζ[ια]-  
 [νοῦ θρακάρ]χην καὶ ἀγω-  
 νοθέτην τοῦ κοινοῦ  
 [τ]ῶν Θρακῶν πενταετηρι-  
 κοῦ ἀγῶνος ἀνέστησεν.

Ligatures: l. 2: HNK, ΓΩ; l. 3: THN; l. 4: ΩN, ΩNΠE, NT, THP; l. 5: ΩN, NE, THΣ. In l. 1-2 we could also suggest Σεβάζ[ιανόν] as a cognomen in the accusative.

“... set up a statue of ..., son of *Sebazianus* [or a statue of ... *Sebazianus*], thracarch and agonothete of the quadrennial games of the Thracian Common council.”

The restoration [θρακάρ]χην (l. 2) is the only possible on the basis of the number of lost letters. It is confirmed by the case of *Lucius Fulvius Asticus*, known from three inscriptions<sup>27</sup>, who was thracarch<sup>28</sup> and agonothete<sup>29</sup>.

Two other inscriptions<sup>30</sup> in honour of an agonothete and a winner were probably erected in the theatre, for they were found reused in a late antique wall near the theatre.

After his numerous victories at the Philippopolitan games, which made him a favourite of Thrace, *Maximus* of Apamea obviously liked the city and chose it as the most pleasant place where to create a family and to spend the rest of his life. Philippopolis was a rich and prosperous city and many settlers with various professions, especially from Asia Minor, left their native lands in search of a better life in the Thracian metropolis<sup>31</sup>. The best description of this situation is given by Lucian

in his dialogue “Runaways”, written in Philippopolis in 165-166 AD (Luc., *Fug.*, 24-25): “PHILOSOPHY: ... These others have no use for Attic poverty; we must look for them in some quarter where much gold or silver is mined. HERMES: Then we must make straight for Thrace... HERACLES: Do you see... three very beautiful eminences standing up, not so rough as to be shapeless? They look like multiple citadels belonging to the city beneath them [Philippopolis]. For the city, too, is now in sight. HERMES: Yes, by Zeus, Heracles, the greatest and loveliest of all cities! In fact, its beauty is radiant from afar”<sup>32</sup>.

There are three epigraphically attested organizations, which consisted entirely of settlers from Asia Minor<sup>33</sup>. The evidence of particular individuals from Asia Minor in Philippopolis and its territory is also numerous<sup>34</sup>. To these occurrences we may add, on the basis of onomastic evidence, even more persons, whose names are presumably of Asian origin<sup>35</sup>. Finally, putting together all these cases of settlers from Asia Minor, we can conclude with confidence that *Maximus* of Apamea was the most eminent person and the only hitherto known man of letters among them.

27. *IGBulg*, IV, 1910, 1928 and an unpublished inscription from Philippopolis.

28. Unpublished inscription of 187 AD on a statue base from Philippopolis, found *in situ* at the north entrance of the forum, with the following text: [Αὐτοκράτορα Κ]αίσαρα Μ(ἄρκον) Αὐρήλιον Κόμοδον (sic) Ἀντωνίων / [εὐσεβῆ] εὐτυχη Σεβ(αστὸν) Σαρματικὸν Γερμανικὸν μέγιστον Βρε/[τανικὸν] τὸ κοινὸν τῆς Θρακῶν ἐπαρχείας, ἡγεμονεῦον/τος Καϊκιλίου Ματέρνου πρεσβ(ευτοῦ) Σεβ(αστοῦ) ἀντιστρατήγου, ἐπιμελοῦ/μένου Λ(ουκίου) Φουλβίου Ἀστικοῦ θρακάρχου.

29. *IGBulg*, IV, 1910: [Π]υθίων τῆς πρώτης / τετραετηρίδος κατὰ / τὸ δόγμα τῆς κρατίστης / βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ ἱερωτάτου / δήμου ἀγωνοθετοῦν/των Ἰουλ(ίου) Φιλοπάππου / καὶ Φουλβίου Ἀστικοῦ / καὶ Ἀντωνιανοῦ Ἀσκληπιά/δου καὶ Ἀρρίου Πάππου.

30. *IGBulg*, III, 1, 890, 891.

31. SHARANKOV, N.; CHERNEVA-TILKIYAN, S., “The Life of Ancient Philippopolis in Lucian’s Dialogue ‘Runaways’”, *Archaeologia Bulgarica* 3, 2002, 50-51, 54-55.

32. LUCIAN, with an English translation by A. M. Harmon, vol. V, London 1955, 81-83.

33. Societies of Νεικαεῖς ὀλυμπιασταί and Νεικομηδεῖς (*IGBulg* V, 5464), guild of συροποιοί — Cappadocian craftsmen, producers of luxurious woolen clothes (*IGBulg*, III, 1, 916). We can also suppose members from Asia Minor in tanners’ and hucksters’ guilds (*IGBulg* V, 5464).

34. *Chrysippus*, *Hedylus*, *Apphus* and *Chrestus*, sons of *Hedylus*, from Nicaea (*IGBulg* III, 1, 1521), a certain son of -istus, from Nicaea (*IGBulg* III, 1, 998); *Zoilus*, son of *Marcus*, from Nicomedia (*IGBulg* III, 1, 1008); *Lucius Crispinus Epagathus*, a turner from Cappadocia (SHARANKOV; CHERNEVA-TILKIYAN, l. c., 54-55); *Aurelius Theodorus* from Cymae (*IGBulg* III, 1, 891); *Aelius Epaphroditus*, citizen of Sardes and Thyateira (*IGBulg* III, 1, 1013); *Flameates*, a gladiator from Perge or Pergamon (*IGBulg* III, 1, 1018); *Cyrilla*, wife of the architect *Eucladius*, from Laodicea (*IGBulg* III, 1, 1448); *Aurelius Ason*, from Syria, and *Aurelius Ason*, probably his son (*IGBulg* III, 1, 1517).

35. *Philip*, son of *Philip*, and his sons *Papias* and *Philip* (*IGBulg* V, 5464); *Aurelius Tates*, son of *Rufinus*, *Aurelius Tataros*, son of *Calandion* (*IGBulg* III, 1, 1517); *Aurelius Attalus* (*IGBulg* III, 1, 884); *Mithridates*, his wife *Chreste*, and their daughter *Caenis* (*IGBulg* III, 1, 1022); *Chrestus*, son of *Aphus* (*IGBulg* III, 1, 1315); *Apphe* and *Hippias*, daughter and son of *Cocceius* (*IGBulg* III, 1, 1320); *Miccalus*, son of *Papias* (*IGBulg* III, 1, 1452).