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THE NERONIAN INSCRIPTION ON THE LIGHTHOUSE OF PATARA

Lycia has always been rich in inscriptions, but has produced an exceptional crop of important ones in recent years, mainly but not only from excavations at Xanthos and Patara. Patara has now yielded a cluster of three major texts from the last years of Nero and the first of Vespasian.¹ The one with which I will be mainly concerned here records Nero's building of a pair of lighthouses, a *pharos* and an *antipharos* (ἀντίφαρος is a new word), in the year 64/65 through the agency of the legate Marcius Priscus; in the second, set up below the first, the city honors Marcius for having governed justly for eight years and "having constructed" (κατασκευάσαντα) the two lighthouses, and though no date is given this must be about 71 or 72; and the third (previously published in an unsatisfactory form by Sencer Şahin) records Vespasian's repair of an aqueduct on Pataran territory in an unstated year.² The first two triumphantly confirm an argument advanced in this journal nearly forty years ago by Werner Eck, which I must confess to having doubted, that Marcius governed Lycia continuously from the reign of Nero until that of Vespasian.³

The first of the three inscriptions is dated to Nero's eleventh tribunician power, and so between October 64 and October 65. It was originally in gilded bronze letters set into superimposed rows of curved blocks, most of which survive. The original letters are lost, but since they were carved in outline and provided with dowel-holes to keep them in place, there is very little room for mis-interpretation (edd., p. 94). The present note is concerned with the readings in lines 7 and 12, and I begin with the text printed by the editors:

Νέρων Κλαύδ[ι]ος θεοῦ Κλαυδίου υἱός,
 Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Σε[β]αστοῦ κ[αὶ] Γερμ[ανι]κουί
 Καίσαρος ἔκγονος, θεοῦ [Σεβασ]τ[οῦ]
 4 ἀπόγονος, Καίσαρ Σεβαστὸς [Σεβασ]τ[οῦ] Γερμ[αν]ικός,
 ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξ[ου]σί-
 ας τὸ ια', ὑπατος τὸ δ', αὐτοκράτω[ρ] γῆς
 καὶ θαλάσσης τὸ [.], ὁ πατὴρ πατρίδος,
 8 τὸν φάρων κατασκεύασεν πρὸς ἀσφά-
 λειαν [τῶ]ν πλοι[ζομένων]ν διὰ
 Σ[έ]ξτου Μαρκίου Πρέισκου πρεσ-
 β[ευτ]οῦ [καὶ] ἀντ[ιστρ]ατήγου
 12 [Καίσαρ]ος [κτι]σα[μένου] τὸ ἔργον.

In line 7, the article in ὁ πατὴρ πατρίδος is suspect, and a search of the Packard Humanities Institute database shows not one example of the article in this position. The editors assume a missing letter after the τὸ on the previous block, though the stone is broken away at this point (p. 103 no. 25). In the following block (no. 26), there is indeed a circle suggestive of omicron, but with a feature that distinguishes it from all the certain omicrons: a central hole with two other holes at 0 and 180 degrees on the circumference. Omicron has either two, three, or in one case four (no. 19) dowel holes around the circumference, but never a middle one. We must therefore look for a different letter, and the choice is between theta and phi. Phi occurs twice. In no. 23 it has a central hole, but the two other holes are above and below the circle, in effect at each end of the vertical. In no. 28 the entire letter is visible in outline, being carved deeply with

¹ H. İşkan-İşık, W. Eck, H. Engelmann, ZPE 164 (2008) 91–121, Der Leuchtturm von Patara und Sex. Marcius Priscus als Statthalter der Provinz Lykia von Nero bis Vespasian. I am very grateful to Glen Bowersock for his advice and criticism.

² Şahin in Chr. Schuler, ed., Griechische Epigraphik in Lykien, DAWW 354 (2007), 103–104; cf. also Gephyra 3 (2006), 42 n. 35.

³ Eck, ZPE 6 (1970) 65–75; Jones, Gnomon 45 (1973) 690–91.

only two holes at the top and bottom (the lower one is now broken away). Theta in nos. 4 and 13 has a central hole with three others on the circumference at 60, 180 and 300 degrees; it is divided between the two blocks no. 22 and 23, but the photograph suggests that the dowel holes are disposed as on the doubtful letter in no. 26. That therefore seems certain to be theta, and line 7 should read: καὶ θαλάσσης τὸ^{vac} θ', πατὴρ πατρίδος; that is, the expression αὐτοκράτωρ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης is treated as equivalent to simple αὐτοκράτωρ. Nero took his ninth imperial salutation in 61/62 and remained at that number until 64/65, the year of this inscription.⁴

The expression αὐτοκράτωρ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης is exceptionally rare. The only examples in the PHI data-base, both from Andriake the port of Myra, honor Augustus and Tiberius respectively and so before 43 when Claudius made Lycia into a province. Christof Schuler has now added a third example in honor of Augustus from Tyberissos and Timiussa, two communities joined in sympolity with Myra.⁵ This therefore seems a characteristically Lycian, or perhaps even local usage. Elsewhere the nouns γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης appear in decorative titles of the emperors, not as part of the formal titulature, and are followed by various nouns or adjectives. By far the commonest is δεσπότης, which is sporadically found in reference to Hadrian and his successors; it is then much favored in inscriptions honoring the Severi, and continues as late as Julian.⁶ Others are rare. ἐπόπτης is first found in inscriptions of Pompey, and twice at Pergamon for Augustus. κύριος is used for Trajan at Pergamon, at Hermokapeleia for Septimius Severus or Caracalla, and in an expanded form, [τὸν γῆς] καὶ θαλάσσης καὶ παντὸς ἀνθρώπων ἔθνους δεσπότην καὶ κύριον, for Constantine II as Caesar on Paros.⁷

In line 12, [κτι]σα[μένου] is impossible for the reason that κτίζω is never found in the middle voice, and the obvious remedy is to read [κτί]σα[ντος]. The space allows for four broad letters after the ΣΑ of the supposed [κτι]σα[μένου] (block no. 37), since those two letters stand below and just slightly to the left of the AN of ἀντ[ιστρ]ατήγου, while the tau of τὸ ἔργον (which though bracketed by the editors is partly visible) is directly beneath the alpha of -ατήγου. If [κτί]σα[ντος] is correct, it is remarkable that the Patarans use the participle κατασκευάσαντα for Marcius' activity, whereas the inscription above credits him only with "having built" the lighthouse while Nero is said to have "constructed" (κατεσκεύασεν) it. Louis Robert many times noted that κτίζω often means "build" rather than "found", and that ἔργον can mean "building" rather than "work".⁸

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⁴ *ILS* 231, 232, 8902; *PIR*² III p. 38.

⁵ Myra: *IGR* III 719, 721. Tyberissos-Timiussa: Chr. Schuler, *Chiron* 37 (2007) 383–403, with discussion of the examples from Myra.

⁶ Hadrian: R. Paribeni and P. Romanelli, *Mon. Ant.* 23 (1915) 181 no. 128; S. Hagel and K. Tomaschitz, *Repertorium der westkilikischen Inschriften*, *DAWW* 265 (1998) 128, Iotape 14. Pius: T. Ritti, *AION* (archeol.) n.s. 9/10 (2002/2003) 271–282, where δεσπότης has been erased and replaced with another word, now irrecoverable (*SEG* 53 [2003] 1463; Phrygian Hierapolis). Marcus and Commodus: E. Haspels, *The Highlands of Phrygia* 1 (Princeton, 1971) 333 no. 93 (north of Meiros). Julian: *Syll.*³ 906 A: P. Herrmann, *Milet* VI 3, no. 1112.

⁷ ἐπόπτης for Pompey: J.-L. Ferrary, *BCH* 124, 2000, 341–345 no. 4 (*SEG* 51 [2001] 1589: Claros), *ILS* 9459 = E. Schwertheim, *Inscr. Kyzikos* 2 (1983) no. 24 (Miletoupolis). ἐπόπτης for Augustus: *IvP* 381, 383, on which see Ferrary, 344 n. 34, and Schuler (n. 5) 393–400. κύριος for Trajan at Pergamon: *IvP* 395, and restored in 396. Hermokapeleia: *TAM* V 2, 1233, with Herrmann's commentary. Paros: *IG* XII 5, 269.

⁸ κτίζω: thus *Etudes anatoliennes* (1937), *Index* s.v. κτίζειν; *OMS* V 173–174 (RPhil 1958) on two Late Antique governors honored as κτίστης τοῦ λιμένος at Side and Corinth. ἔργον: *Etudes épigraphiques et philologiques* (1938) 47 and often since. Liddell and Scott s.v. κτίζω 2 say "of a city, found, build", and s.v. ἔργον III 1, cite only the *Monumentum Ancyratum* for this sense.