

APHRODISIAS AND ROME

REYNOLDS

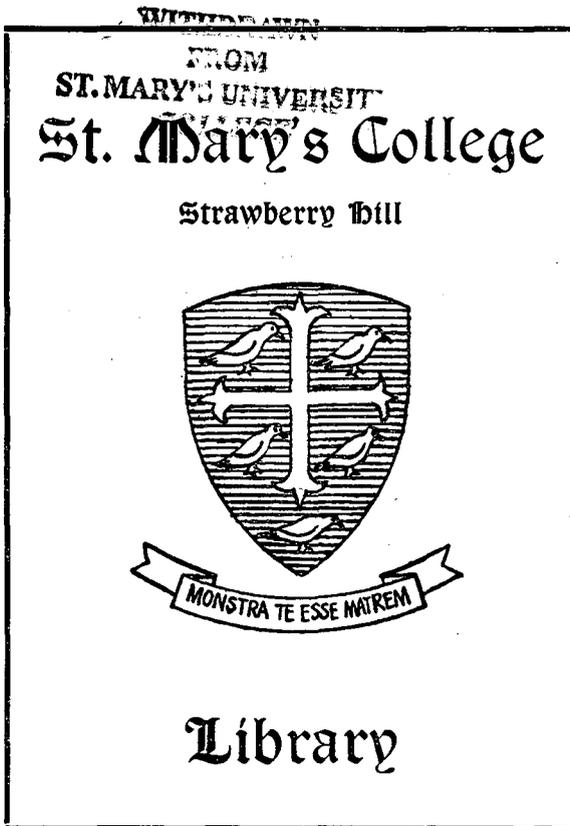
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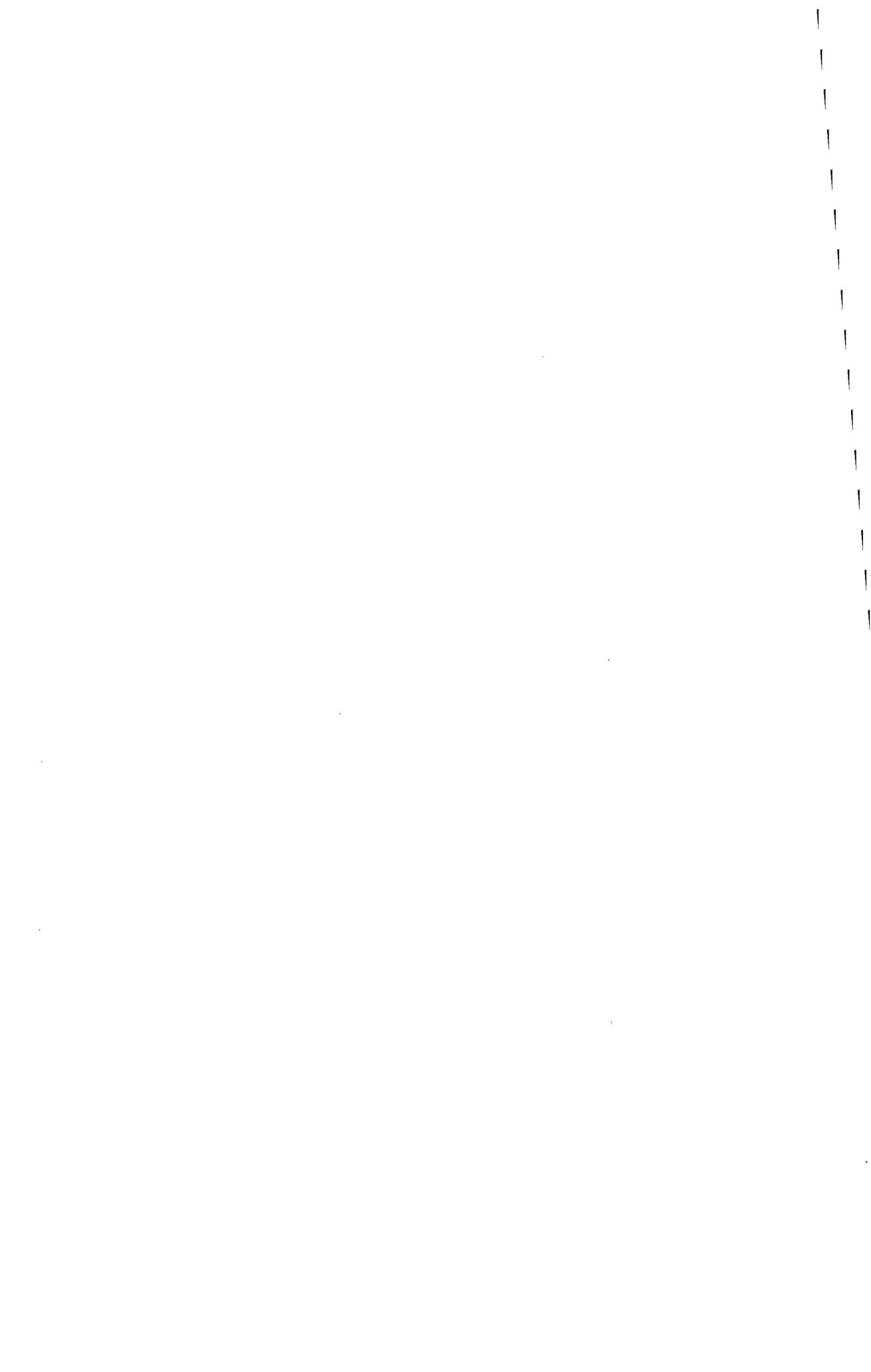
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APHRODISIAS  
AND  
ROME

JOYCE REYNOLDS

DOCUMENTS FROM THE EXCAVATION  
OF THE THEATRE AT APHRODISIAS  
CONDUCTED BY PROFESSOR KENAN T. ERIM,  
TOGETHER WITH SOME RELATED TEXTS

SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF ROMAN STUDIES  
JOURNAL OF ROMAN STUDIES MONOGRAPHS NO. 1

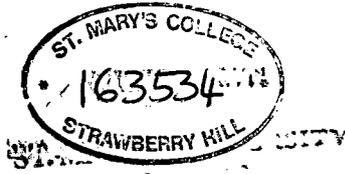
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## PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The core of this book is the publication of two archives of inscribed documents bearing on the official relationship between Rome and the city of Aphrodisias in Caria from the late republic to the middle of the third century A.D.; to these I have added some other texts which seem to me to be directly relevant to their interpretation. Its theme is, precisely, an official relationship; and, while it necessarily touches upon some less formal aspects of the connection (for instance, imperial cult, participation of individual Aphrodisians in Roman public life), it does not attempt to explore them in any depth, nor, indeed, to collect all evidence that would throw light upon them. It is the first volume of a projected three in which the corpus of Aphrodisian inscriptions, comprising old as well as new discoveries, is being collected. The second to appear, as I hope, is now in an advanced stage of preparation by Charlotte Roueché; that will present the unique series of Byzantine texts from the site. The third, which is in an active, but less advanced, stage of preparation by Charlotte Roueché and myself in collaboration, will contain essentially the inscriptions of local concern; these fall, on the whole, into well-known categories, but constitute an unusually rich documentation for the society, economy and civic life of a city of Roman Asia Minor. In all three the aim is both to establish the texts as accurately as possible and to show, in introductory surveys and commentaries, how they fit into and illuminate the development of the city and the history of the Roman Empire.

The archives and several of the other new inscriptions here were found in the theatre of Aphrodisias, which was excavated between 1966 and 1975 by Professor Kenan T. Erim, with generous grants from the National Geographic Society and under the sponsorship of New York University. The remaining new items were found either in surface survey or, more commonly, during recent excavation of buildings elsewhere on the site, also by Professor Erim and with the aid and sponsorship of the same two institutions. To him and to them—*fontes et origines*—outstanding gratitude is owed; their enterprise has brought to light sculpture, architecture and other interesting and often beautiful objects, as well as inscriptions of the highest quality in remarkably large numbers.

The texts presented here are in most cases complex and often long, in some cases also fragmentary. Quite certainly more could be made of them than I have achieved; and more will be made of them by others, I am very sure, in the future. I must also explain that the manuscript was ready for press in the spring of 1980, and, although I have been able to add some important references subsequently, it has not been possible to take account as systematically as I would have wished of more recent books and articles. Delay in printing arose from problems with the line drawings, which were solved in the summer of 1981, when publication was undertaken after a very timely intervention by the Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies. The Society's Council has been willing to draw upon a bequest made by Kathleen Chrimes Atkinson in memory of her husband, Professor Donald Atkinson; it is good to be able to add that she had in fact shown an interest in these texts. This volume represents the first of a series of Journal of Roman Studies Monographs, to be published from time to time by the Society. Professor Fergus Millar, on behalf of the Society, has acted as editor.

During the preparation of the book I have incurred many more debts to friends and colleagues who offered suggestions, responded to questions and/or joined in seminars at which the texts were discussed. Special thanks should be paid to those who organized these seminars, to Professor Sir Moses Finley and Professor J. A. Crook in Cambridge, Professors D. Van Berchem and A. Giovannini in Geneva, Professor Fergus Millar in London, Drs. A. K. Bowman and J. Rea in Oxford. The help of many individuals is acknowledged in general terms in the introductions and in some cases in detail in the commentaries to the relevant texts; but I hope that it will be understood that it has not always been possible to attribute to a particular name points that I carried away from discussion with groups; moreover I am not less grateful for stimulating comment that I have, in the event, rejected, than for what I have incorporated. The whole book was read in draft and again in proof by Mr. Michael Crawford (who has also taken particular responsibility for the Figures and Plates) and Professor Fergus Millar, and in proof also by Mrs. Patricia Easterling, Mrs. Charlotte Roueché and Sir Ronald Syme; their vigilance has enabled me to remove a number of errors. I must make it clear, however, that I have rarely taken all the advice that was offered to me on any point; it will be obvious, therefore, that no one but myself is responsible for the errors remaining and for the omissions.

Those whose photographs and drawings are reproduced here are recorded on the plates; but other illustrations too have furthered work on the texts, notably the magnificent latex squeezes of the archive wall made by Mr. Reha Arıcan of the Istanbul Museum, certain paper squeezes and photographs made in 1934 during the expedition to Aphrodisias for the *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua* to which the late Professor J. M. R. Cormack gave me access, a squeeze made in 1893 by W. Kubitschek, which was lent to me by the Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften in Vienna, and the transcriptions in the Spanheim papers of which copies were sent to Cambridge for me by the Öffentliche Wissenschaftliche Bibliothek in Berlin.

I am grateful also to the British Library for permission to publish photographs of the manuscripts of William Sherard and others, to the Österreichische Akademie for permission to publish drawings by W. Kubitschek and W. Reichel and to the Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies for permission to re-use material on document 22.

Readers should note that in the line drawing of the *Senatus Consultum* of 39 B.C. (Fig. 5), made by Morag Woudhuysen and beautifully executed by Birmingham Engravers Ltd., to whom I am profoundly grateful for their work on the illustrations, it has not proved possible to align the shading so as to indicate exactly what can be read of partially-preserved letters.

I owe a very considerable debt to the University of Cambridge which has paid for most of my journeys to Aphrodisias; and a different kind of debt to those who have spent time on chores for me, especially to Robert Tannenbaum for assistance with the epigraphic index and to a series of students and former students of Newnham College: Stephana Babbage, Mary Beard, Hendrijke Van Bremen, Janet Chapman, Georgia Clarke, Patricia Easterling, Susan Fenton, Susan Fish, Frances Goodman, Linda Hatfield, Elizabeth Munday, Caroline Murray, Anne Noble, Lucy Nuttall, Jennifer Potter, Carol Saller, Helena Simon, Caroline Weiss,

and, above all, Charlotte Roueché, who, with her husband Mossman, checked stones and photographed them, assembled fragments and ordered them, and provided encouragement and stimulus throughout.

Finally, I wish to record my strong belief that no author could have editors and printers so understandingly benevolent and firmly efficient.

*Newnham College, Cambridge*

## EPIGRAPHIC CONVENTIONS

### *Supplements in the texts*

To avoid the expense of printing both a bare text as read from the stone and a supplemented version after discussion, which would be very considerable for the longer inscriptions here, I have chosen to print all but the most hypothetical supplements in the first presentation; I have endeavoured to show very clearly by question marks and under-dotting the uncertain character of many of these.

Unless otherwise stated in the introduction to a text, underlined letters are ones which were erased in antiquity but remain legible.

### *Brackets*

- ( ) enclose the resolution of an abbreviation or the addition of a letter omitted on the stone.
- [ ] enclose a restoration; a question mark beside it shows that it is a tentative one.
- < > enclose a correction of the letter on the stone or, if the stone is now lost, of the letter read by the copyist.
- [[ ]] enclose a superfluous letter cut on the stone or, if the stone is now lost, appearing in the transcription of the copyist.

*Measurements* are all in metres; for monuments they are given in the order width × height × depth.

*Inventory numbers* are normally assigned only to inscriptions brought into the museum; where numbers have been assigned I have cited them in the introductory account of each inscribed monument.

### *Bibliographical references*

I have referred, where possible, to editions likely to be easily available to the majority of readers, knowing that these do not always give the most up-to-date versions of the texts concerned.

## BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ABBREVIATIONS

Ancient authors are cited as in Liddell—Scott—Jones' *Greek-English Lexicon* and the *Oxford Latin Dictionary*.

Periodical titles are abbreviated according to the system of *L'Année Philologique*.

Other abbreviations used are:

*AE* *L'Année Épigraphique* (in progress).

*Analecta* O. Liermann, *Analecta Epigraphica et Agonistica* (Diss. Hal., 1889).

*Aph.* L. Robert, 'Inscriptions d'Aphrodisias', in *L'Antiquité Classique* 36 (1966), 377 f.

*ARS* A. C. Johnson, P. R. Coleman-Norton and F. C. Bourne, *Ancient Roman Statutes* (1961).

- BMC* *British Museum Catalogue of Coins, Caria* (1897), *Lydia* (1901).  
*Bull. Ép.* J. and L. Robert, *Bulletin Épigraphique* (in progress).  
*CAH* *Cambridge Ancient History*.  
*CIG* *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*.  
*CIL* *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*.  
*Coins* David J. MacDonald, *Greek and Roman Coins of Aphrodisias* (1976).  
*Corp. Leg.* G. Haenel, *Corpus legum ab imperatoribus Romanis . . . latarum . . .* (1857).  
*CPR* *Corpus papyrorum Raineri Archiducis Austriae* I, ed. C. Wessely (1895).  
*Delphinion* A. Rehm, *Das Delphinion in Milet* (1914).  
*Diz. Ep.* E. De Ruggiero, *Dizionario Epigrafico di Antichità Romane* (in progress).  
*EJ* V. Ehrenberg and A. H. M. Jones, *Documents illustrating the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius* (2nd ed. 1954, repr. 1976).  
*ERW* Fergus Millar, *The Emperor in the Roman World* (1977).  
*ESAR* Tenney Frank (ed.), *Economic Survey of Ancient Rome* (vols. I–V, 1933–40, repr. 1959).  
*Ét. Anat.* L. Robert, *Études Anatoliennes* (1937).  
*Ét. Ép. et Phil.* L. Robert, *Études Épigraphiques et Philologiques* (1938).  
*Études* M. Holleaux, *Études d'Épigraphie et d'Histoire Grecques* (1938–68).  
*FD* *Fouilles de Delphes* (in progress).  
*FIRA* S. Riccobono, *Fontes Iuris Romani Antejustiniani* I, *Leges* (second ed., 1941).  
*Fontes* Bruns—Mommsen—Gradenwitz, *Fontes Iuris Romani Antiqui* (seventh ed., 1909).  
*Hell.* L. Robert, *Hellenica*, vols. I–XIII (1940–60).  
*IEph.* H. Wankel and others, *Die Inschriften von Ephesos* (in progress).  
*IG Bulg.* G. Mihailov, *Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria Repertae* (1956–70).  
*IGR* R. Cagnat, *Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes* (1906–27).  
*ILLRP* A. Degrassi, *Inscriptiones Latinae Liberae Reipublicae* (1957–63).  
*ILS* H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae* (1892–1914).  
*I. Magnesia* O. Kern, *Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Maeander* (1900).  
*Ins. Ital.* A. Degrassi, *Inscriptiones Italiae*, vol. XIII.1 (1947); XIII.2 (1963).  
*IOSPE* B. Latyshev, *Inscriptiones Orae Septentrionalis Ponti Euxini*, vol. I (second ed., 1916).  
*Laodicée* L. Robert in J. des Gagniers and others, *Laodicée du Lycos, La Nymphée, Campagnes 1961–3* (1969).  
*Laumonier* A. Laumonier, *Les Cultes Indigènes en Carie* (1958).  
*LBW* P. Lebas, W. H. Waddington, *Inscriptions grecques et latines recueillies en Grèce et en Asie Mineure* (1870).  
*LSAM* F. Sokolowski, *Lois Sacrées de l'Asie Mineure* (1955).  
*LSJ* Liddell—Scott—Jones, *Greek–English Lexicon*.  
*MAMA* *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua*; unless a volume number is given this is a reference to vol. VIII (1962), ed. W. M. Calder and J. M. R. Cormack (Monuments from Lycaonia, the Pisido-Phrygian borderland, Aphrodisias).  
*Mansi* G. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum . . . Collectio* (1759–98).  
*Mason* H. J. Mason, *Greek Terms for Roman Institutions, a Lexicon and Analysis* (1974).

- Mayser E. Mayser, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit . . .* (1906).
- MRR T. R. S. Broughton, *Magistrates of the Roman Republic* (1951–2).
- OGIS W. Dittenberger, *Orientalis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae* (1895).
- OLD *Oxford Latin Dictionary* (in progress).
- OMS L. Robert, *Opera Minora Selecta* (1969–74).
- Paton & Hicks W. R. Paton and E. L. Hicks, *The Inscriptions of Cos* (1891).
- P. Flor. G. Vitelli, *Papiri Fiorentini* (1906).
- P. Gen. J. Nicole, *Les Papyrus de Genève* (1896).
- P. Giess. O. Eger, E. Kornemann, P. M. Meyer, *Griechische Papyri . . . zu Giessen*, (1910–12).
- PIR *Prosopographia Imperii Romani* (first ed. 1897–8, second ed. in progress).
- P. Ox. *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* (in progress).
- RC C. Bradford Welles, *Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Period* (1934).
- RDGE R. K. Sherk, *Roman Documents from the Greek East, Senatus Consulta and Epistulae to the Age of Augustus* (1969).
- Reinach Th. Reinach, 'Inscriptions d'Aphrodisias', *REG* 819 (1906), pp. 79–150, 201–18.
- Reynolds, *Vestigia* Joyce M. Reynolds, 'Aphrodisias, A Free and Federate City', in *Akten des VI. Internationalen Kongresses für griechische und lateinische Epigraphik, München 1972* (*Vestigia* 17 (1973), 115 f.).
- RIC *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, cited for vol. iv.3 (1949) by H. Mattingly, E. A. Sydenham, and C. H. V. Sutherland.
- Roscher W. H. Roscher *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie* (1884–1937).
- RP R. Syme, *Roman Papers* (ed. E. Badian, 1979).
- RRAM David Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor to the end of the third century after Christ* (1950).
- RRC M. H. Crawford, *Roman Republican Coinage* (1974).
- SEG *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* (in progress).
- Sénat P. Willems, *Le Sénat de la République romaine* (1978).
- SNG *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum*, cited for vols. vii (1962), xvii (1968).
- St. R.<sup>3</sup> Th. Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht* (third edition, 1887).
- Staatsverträge H. Bengtson, *Die Staatsverträge des Altertums* (in progress).
- Syll.<sup>3</sup> W. Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum* (third edition, 1915–24).
- TLL *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*.
- TRSL *Transactions of the Royal Society for Literature*.
- Vagts R. Vagts, *Aphrodisias in Karien* (diss. Leipzig, 1920).
- Vestigia* see Reynolds, *Vestigia*.
- Viereck P. Viereck, *Sermo Graecus quo senatus populusque Romanus magistratusque populi Romani . . . usi sunt examinatur* (1888).
- Villes L. Robert, *Villes d'Asie Mineure* (second edition, 1962).
- Wörterbuch F. Preisigke, cont. E. Kiessling, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyrusurkunden . . .* (in progress).

## PREVIOUS TRANSCRIBERS

This list gives the names of previous transcribers of inscriptions in the text, with approximate dates for their visits to Aphrodisias.

- J. K. Bailie, Irish clergyman resident at Smyrna; c. 1840.  
 A. Boulanger, French classical scholar; 1913 (made squeezes).  
 W. M. Calder, British epigraphist; 1934.  
 J. P. Deering, British architect; 1811–13.  
 C. Fellows, British architect; 1838–42.  
 P. Gaudin, French engineer; 1902 (made squeezes).  
 M. Holleaux, French epigraphist; 1884.  
 W. Kubitschek, Austrian epigraphist; 1893.  
 H. Loew, naturalist, from Poznan; 1840–1.  
 P. Paris, French epigraphist; 1884.  
 W. R. Paton, British epigraphist; 1898.  
 A. Picenini, Italian doctor (accompanying Sherard); 1709.  
 W. Reichel, Austrian epigraphist; 1893.  
 D. Raoul-Rochette, French traveller (transmitted copies made by others); 1838.  
 W. Sherard, British botanist and consul at Smyrna; 1705, 1709, 1716 (*see also* Appendix II).  
 W. H. Waddington, French epigraphist and diplomat; 1850.  
 R. (Palmyra) Wood, British architect; 1750.

On most of these there are notes by J. and L. Robert (*La Carie* II) and by L. Robert (*Hellenica* XIII) from which the list above is heavily derivative.

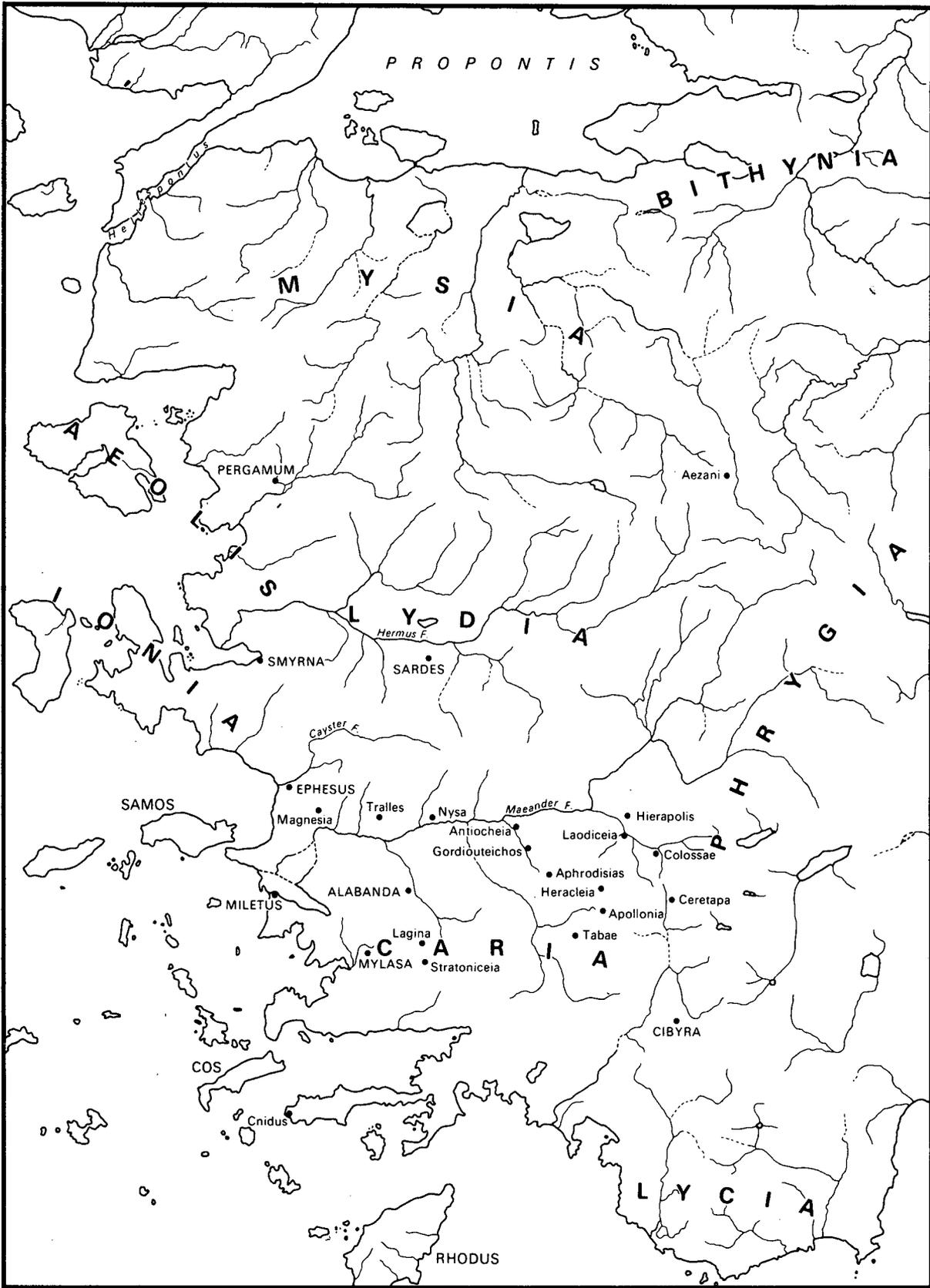
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 2. Doc. 4. Letter of Nicomedes IV (?).  
 3. Doc. 4. Letter of Nicomedes IV (?).  
 4. Doc. 4. Letter of Nicomedes IV (?).
- IV: Doc. 5. Decree of the *koinon* of Asia.
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 Left of top course.  
 3. Doc. 8. *Senatus consultum de Aphrodisiensibus*.  
 Right of top course.
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 Second course.  
 2. Doc. 8. *Senatus consultum de Aphrodisiensibus*.  
 Third course.
- XV: Doc. 8. Sixth course. Sherard's Transcription.
- XVI: Docs. 8 (sixth course), 62. Sherard's Transcription.
- XVII: 1. Doc. 8. Sixth course. Later version of Sherard's Transcription.  
 2. Doc. 8. *Senatus consultum de Aphrodisiensibus*.  
 Eighth course.  
 Doc. 7. Triumviral decree. First line.
- XVIII: 1. Doc. 8. *Senatus consultum de Aphrodisiensibus*.  
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 3. Doc. 16. Letter of Commodus to Aphrodisias.  
 4. Doc. 16. Letter of Commodus to Aphrodisias.
- XIX: 1. Doc. 16. Letter of Commodus to Aphrodisias.  
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4. Doc. 52b.
- XXXI : 1. Doc. 53 (1).  
2. Doc. 53 (2).  
3. Doc. 53 (3).  
4. Doc. 53 (4).
- XXXII : 1. Doc. 54.  
2. Doc. 62.  
3. Doc. 55.  
4. Doc. 62.



## INTRODUCTION

The theatre of Aphrodisias was built for the most part in the second half of the first century B.C.; the main work of construction seems to have begun in the late Republic and continued into the reign of Augustus. Extensive reorganization is attested in the middle and second half of the second century A.D., when the orchestra and stage were remodelled to allow use of the orchestra for wild beast fights (brief accounts have been published by K. T. Erim in *National Geographic Society Research Reports, 1966 Projects* (1973), 89 f., *1968 Projects* (1976), 79 f., and in D. de Bernardi Ferrero, *Teatri Classici in Asia Minore IV* (1974), 162 f.). After this remodelling, it seems that documents 2-4 were inscribed on features at the north-east corner of the stage, in honour of an Artemidorus who was active in the city at the time of the Mithridatic War; they throw new light both on some details of the Mithridatic War and on the relations of the city to Rome during this period. In the early third century A.D., perhaps during the reign of Severus Alexander (p. 36), documents 7-19 and probably, as I shall argue, document 6, were inscribed on the south wall of the north parodos, described hereafter as the archive wall; subsequently documents 20 and 21 were added on the wall, while document 22 certainly, and documents 23-5 probably, continued the series on neighbouring walls. These inscriptions form a remarkably rich source of information for the years 41-38 B.C. and an interesting, although by comparison a disappointing, one for some aspects of the imperial period, when the series of documents is discontinuous and comes from a limited number of reigns.

There are a number of parallels both for inscription (or re-inscription) of Republican (or earlier) documents in the imperial period and for inscription of collections of documents which form, in effect, an archive. For the former see T. Drew Bear, *Nouvelles Inscriptions de Phrygie* (1978), no. 1, for the latter *Sardis VII, Greek and Latin Inscriptions* (1932), no. 8. None of those known at present provides so extended a picture as this one does of the relations of a city with Rome.

Many of the inscribed blocks were found *in situ*, others (complete or fragmentary) in the immediate area of the wall, either loose or re-used; but one group from the east end of the wall had been taken away, along with blocks from elsewhere in the theatre, for re-use in the city wall. The theatre was not the only building to be pillaged for building blocks in this way; indeed the destruction of public monuments and tombs, providing material for the city wall, was on a scale that seems most naturally explained by a major crisis. As yet, however, there is no unequivocal pointer to its character and date (further discoveries have necessitated reconsideration of the association with the Gothic invasion of the 260's proposed by Professor Erim in *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites* (1976), 68 f.). Substantial building work on the city gates is attested in the fourth century A.D. but a relatively leisured context for it is suggested by the inscriptions from gate-arches which provide the dating evidence (*MAMA* 426, 427); and it is, in any case, not clear what they imply for the walls. The only clue at present is offered by the fact that there is no erasure of the name of Aphrodite or of the ethnic derived from it on the blocks from the archive wall that were re-used in the city wall; whereas on blocks that remained *in situ* there has been erasure, half-hearted in the upper registers of the text, moderately efficient (although not completely so) lower down. Erasure must have

APHRODISIAS 1972  
SCENE BUILDING  
AND PARODI

UTE MÜLLMEIER  
MARIO SCHWARZ



been due to Christians and probably occurred between the mid-sixth century (cf. Mansi IX. 390; at the Fifth Oecumenical Council, *Severianus . . . episcopus* is described as *sanctae ecclesiae civitatis Aphrodisiadis Carensium provinciae*) and the mid-seventh, by which time the city was known as Stauropolis (cf. Mansi XI. 692; at the Sixth Oecumenical Council, Theodorus is τῆς Σταυροπολίτων μητροπόλεως τῆς Καρῶν ἑπαρχίας). It is, of course, much too vague a clue to be really useful.

Re-used material from the theatre can be seen at a number of points in the city wall, especially in the south and west stretches, and some of it can be firmly connected with the archive wall. One inscribed block found in 1840/1, re-used in the south stretch, makes a join with a block actually found in the theatre which indubitably comes from the archive wall (doc. 8, see pp. 54, 55); the letter of Traianus Decius (doc. 25) is another probable element from the archive still *in situ* in the same stretch of city wall; of two inscribed blocks copied by William Sherard in 1705 in the west stretch of the city wall, one certainly and one probably belonged to the archive wall, while two more blocks which certainly belonged were found in the same stretch by David MacDonald after clearance of trees and bushes in 1975 (p. 55). There are, no doubt, more to be found; but excavation of the city wall, where its upper levels have fallen and the resultant banks are more or less densely overgrown, is a particularly difficult and expensive operation which has had to be postponed.

The builders of the city wall did not use all the blocks which had fallen or been prised from the archive wall; several which must have proved surplus to their needs were pushed into a room behind the north side of the stage, where the excavator found them. They also left behind at least one fragment from one of the blocks taken (shown on plate XIII. 2); it was found in 1976 re-used in the Byzantine defence wall (see below), and has suffered the same distinctive roughening that is visible on the parent block found in 1840/1 in the city wall. This block had stood in the highest inscribed course of the archive wall at the east end and it may have been exposed to heavy weathering there. It is to be noted that the adjacent block to its right is not similarly roughened. The dismantled area of the parodos wall was subsequently rebuilt with rough blocks (plate VIII).

There is also evidence of a different kind for damage at the west end of the archive wall, perhaps the result of earthquake followed by fire, when some blocks crumbled and others fell and broke. There was no attempt to repair this damage; suitable fragments were used in the construction of a Byzantine defence wall whose circuit completely surrounded the so-called acropolis (a mound of prehistoric origin against whose eastern slope the theatre was built) and whose course ran right across the external face of the stage building, blocking all entrances to the theatre. It now seems probable, from evidence found elsewhere on the site, that the earthquake occurred in the early seventh century, and the construction of this defence wall quite soon after it. The theatre cannot have been used again, and its *cavea* was eventually filled with earth.

Reports of the discovery of the inscriptions have been given in the *Acts of the Sixth International Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy, 1972* (*Akte München* published as *Vestigia* 17 (1973), 115 f.), the *Acts of the Tenth International Congress of Classical Archaeology 1973* (1978), 628 f., in *National Geographic Society Research Reports, 1968 Projects* (1976), 84 f., and in *JRS* 66 (1976), 181; translations of some

of the imperial letters have appeared in Fergus Millar, *The Emperor in the Roman World* (1977), and some discussion of the triumviral documents in Fergus Millar, 'Triumvirate and Principate', *JRS* 63 (1973), 50.

## CHAPTER I: THE LATE REPUBLIC

Carian Aphrodisias is now known from Professor Erim's excavations to have been an inhabited site at least as early as the chalcolithic period (for a survey of prehistoric finds see K. T. Erim, *National Geographic Society Research Reports, 1968 Projects* (1976), 103 f.); but its development as a city seems to have been late (L. Robert, *Hell.* XIII, 213 f., with references to earlier statements of the same view; see also *Aph* 425, n. 2). Legends apart, it does not figure in the literary record for any period earlier than the Sullan, as Robert has stressed (homonyms have sometimes been confused with it, but that of Livy 33. 10 was certainly in Cilicia Tracheia and that of Livy 37. 21 near Adramyttium). Its first appearance in political history is as an element in a combination with its neighbour Plarasa, the city of the Plarasans and Aphrodisians, whose formation was surely what was recalled by some at least of the 'founding families' of later Aphrodisian inscriptions (Appendix VI). The combination may be conveniently described as a sympolity (so L. Robert, *op. cit.* and elsewhere); MacDonald, *Coins* 28, is mistaken in speaking of an isopolity, for the new evidence (especially docs. 1-4) confirms the old (docs. 6, 8): the combination constituted a new polis with one board of magistrates, one council and one *demos* (it is, in any case, far from clear that there was any preceding civic organization at Aphrodisias, whatever there may have been at Plarasa). Prof. Robert's view that the establishment of a cult of the *Demos* derives from the creation of the sympolity relies on this fact.

Hitherto the evidence for Plarasa/Aphrodisias has consisted of two inscriptions of the triumviral period (doc. 6 and what was known of doc. 8) and of its coins, which have commonly been assigned to the later first century B.C., sometimes wholly to the Augustan period. Older views on the dating of the coin issues are summarized by T. Drew Bear, *BCH* 96 (1972), 467 f., who observed that one of the authorizing magistrates should be identified with the Jason son of Scymnus named in doc. 5, ll. 10, 29, which indicates some minting early in the first century or even late in the second century. Now, in doc. 2, we have a clear *terminus ante quem* for the sympolity in 88 B.C., while doc. 4 may record activity in the late nineties and doc. 1 should be earlier still; but our information remains unsatisfactory.

Vagts thought that the sympolity was formed in response to the growing threat of Mithridates VI of Pontus (Vagts, 7), but it is unlikely that Mithridates aroused such alarm at any period long before 89 (see now E. Badian, *AJAH* 1 (1976), -107, on the improbability that he was expected to clash with Rome in 91), so that other reasons should be considered.

Rome assigned Caria to Rhodes by the treaty of Apamea and freed it in 167 (Polybius 21. 24. 7 and 30. 5. 12, Livy 38. 39. 13 and 44. 15). The removal of the suzerain as guarantor of its orderly behaviour might well have seemed to create a need for compensatory strengthening of its cities; and since at some stage in the second century Rome took action to strengthen Antiocheia on the Maeander, and must have approved the alliance it made with Samos, it has recently been suggested that her action was in fact a response to this need (Chr. Habicht, *MDAI(A)* 72 (1957), 241 f., on inscription no. 65). It would, surely, be in keeping if Rome had also encouraged the combination of the two small communities of Plarasa and Aphrodisias immediately south of Antiocheia, and approved the alliance of the

subsequent unit with friends of Rome beyond that—an alliance such as Plarasa/Aphrodisias is now known to have made with Tabae and Cibyra (doc. 1). The references to Rome in doc. 1 show that, although, as contracting parties to an alliance, they must have been sovereign states when they made their treaty, Plarasa/Aphrodisias, Tabae and Cibyra felt at that time a dependence on Rome not unlike that attested for Antiocheia and Samos in the documents relating to theirs and also for Pharnaces of Pontus and the city of Chersonnesus in the documents relating to theirs made in 179 (*IOSPE*<sup>2</sup> I, 402, quoted on p. 10). The date and content of doc. 1 are discussed in detail on pp. 6 f., but it must be said here that unless the sympolity was formed a considerable time before its earliest attestation (which is, of course, possible), a Roman policy directly responsible for its sense of dependence on Rome must be dated markedly later; 179, and even the period c. 165 proposed by Habicht for the Antiocheia/Samos alliance, are very much earlier than we have any solid grounds for believing in the existence of Plarasa/Aphrodisias.

It is commonly argued that Caria was annexed into the province of Asia in 129. Several documents, notably the *sc de Tabenis* and the *sc de Stratonicensibus* (*RDGE* 17, 18), have been held to indicate that it was part of the province after Sulla's victory over Mithridates; since many Carian cities fought for Rome against Mithridates, the Mithridatic War has seemed an unlikely occasion for its annexation, and before that no more satisfactory date can be proposed than 129 when, it has been thought, a reason can be suggested in the support which some Carians had given to Aristonicus (Brandis, *RE* II, col. 1538; V. Chapot, *La province romaine proconsulaire d'Asie* (1904), 80 f.; *RRAM* I, 155; II, 1044, n. 30; E. Will, *Histoire politique du monde hellénistique* II (1967), 354; T. Drew Bear, *BCH* 96 (1972), 471, n. 224). The case falls short of proof (it is rejected as based on no real evidence by Th. Liebmann-Frankfort, *La frontière orientale dans la politique extérieure de la république romaine* (1969), 144, and regarded with scepticism by A. N. Sherwin-White, *JRS* 66 (1976), 3, n. 6); it is debatable how many, if any, Carian peoples did support Aristonicus voluntarily, and some seem positively to have helped the Romans against him (*RRAM* II, 1038 f., n. 14, and, on the possibility that the Stratonicea in which Aristonicus was eventually captured was not the Carian city of that name, 1042, n. 21). For the west coast cities there is no positive evidence which certainly shows annexation before the Mithridatic War; even the presence of a copy of the Pirate Law at Cnidos (M. Hassall *et al.*, *JRS* 64 (1974), 105 f.), which might be used to support the view that coastal Caria was annexed by 100, is not conclusive, since it is certain that the document was distributed to some cities outside the province (Cnidos copy, col. III, ll. 28 f.) and may have been inscribed by them for other reasons than an instruction sent by the governor of Asia. For the area of inland Caria which includes Aprozias there has not been even that much evidence; but we now know that Plarasa/Aphrodisias may have approached Nicomedes of Bithynia in the nineties in the manner of a free city (doc. 4), that it recorded its decision to fight for Rome in 88 B.C. in terms which suggest that it believed itself to have a choice (doc. 2b, l. 2), and that Q. Oppius commended it as if it were a free ally (doc. 3, ll. 26–9).

It is perhaps worth considering, then, the possibility that in 129 Rome preferred to retain a zone of free peoples, at least in inland Caria. The stimulus to the combination of Plarasa with Aphrodisias into a new and technically free city could then

be dated in the early years of the province of Asia, and Rome's interest in its occurrence, if that stimulus did in any way come from her, could be understood as very particularly designed to ensure that there was a city strong enough to control native tribes in territories which were only just beyond the provincial boundary—precisely a category of people to whom Aristonicus had appealed in his fight against her (Diodorus Siculus 34. 2. 26; Strabo 14. 646) and to whom Mithridates was to appeal later (Appian, *Mith.* 7. 48, 9. 62). For the importance attributed to police-control of the territory at Plarasa/Aphrodisias, see p. 13, and, for the potential turbulence of the tribesmen inhabiting such land, the evidence assembled by J. and L. Robert, *La Carie* II, 41 f. In 129 the Romans would perhaps have in mind not only the appeal of Aristonicus but the need for security of movement on the vital route along the Maeander Valley. If that were the situation, it will have been as free but dependent cities that the peoples of this part of Caria mobilized against Mithridates in 88; but one by one they all surrendered to him and the area would be treated as Roman for that reason when it was recovered by Sulla, who then distributed privileges to individual cities as a reward for their resistance.

Whenever created and for whatever reason, the city of Plarasa/Aphrodisias appears in the new inscriptions as vigorous in diplomacy (within the Roman framework) at an early stage of its history, making an alliance with Cibyra and Tabae (doc. 1), and perhaps approaching Nicomedes IV of Bithynia (doc. 4), who was, of course, a key figure in opposition to Mithridates. In 88 it actively engaged itself against Mithridates (docs. 2, 3) as did many of its neighbours (for some connections between the pro-Roman cities, which may be relevant to homogeneity of feeling among them, see p. 3); and to this period belongs the first literary record of Aphrodisias: Appian tells of an oracle, given to Sulla in Greece during the opening stages of his Mithridatic campaign, which urged him to dedicate a double axe to Aphrodite at Aphrodisias (*BC* 1. 11. 97; cf. K. Fredrich, *MDAI(A)* 22 (1897), 378 f.; R. Schilling, *La religion romaine de Vénus* (1954), 281 f.; Laumonier, *Cultes* 480 f., 503; L. Robert, *Hell.* XIII, 213 f.; *Aph* 415, n. 1). While Laumonier thought that this implied a widespread reputation for the sanctuary, Schilling argued that the oracle merely told Sulla what its priests had ascertained that Sulla wanted to hear; if so, the passage is not valid evidence for knowledge of Aphrodisian Aphrodite in Greece at this date, but it is still important testimony that Sulla knew of her as a fighting goddess, associated with Zeus Labraundos of the double axe (see Laumonier, *op. cit.*, for discussion of the relation), and believed that a connection with her would be to his advantage; he had perhaps learnt of her during his period of office in Asia Minor in the nineties (for recent discussion of his function and the date see A. N. Sherwin-White, *JRS* 66 (1976), 8; 67 (1977), 72; *CQ* 27 (1977), 182; G. V. Sumner, *GRBS* 19 (1978), 150, n. 12; *Athenaeum* 56 (1978), 395 f.). When in touch with the oracle he may already have known that Plarasa/Aphrodisias had remained loyal to Rome in the invasion (doc. 2), but its importance to him must have been propagandist rather than military in view of its small size. On his personal enthusiasm for Aphrodite some doubts have now been cast (J. P. V. D. Balsdon, *JRS* 41 (1951), 1), but the influence of the Aphrodisian goddess, if not as considerable as Laumonier thought, was perhaps rather more than strictly local (docs. 1 and perhaps 4 constitute a little evidence for that), and in addition she could be seen as

Venus, the mother of Aeneas. As L. Robert has noted, Appian's oracle played on this possibility when it described the Romans as sons of Aeneas. The importance in ancient diplomacy of relationships based on such connections between cities and nations has been discussed by Robert (notably *Hell.* I, 56 f.; II, 145–6; VIII, 90 f.; *BCH* 101 (1977), 130, n. 219; *HSCP* 81 (1977), 27; see also D. Musti, *ASNP* 32 (1963), 225 f.; D. Braund, *CQ* 30 (1980), 420 f. (making some use of this text); and p. 10 below, in comment on doc. 1, ll. 7–9); particularly relevant is a passage of Strabo, cited by Robert, which describes and explains Julius Caesar's sense of *συγγένεια* with Ilium, a relationship which he felt as a Roman because of Aeneas, as a Julius because of Iulus (13. 594–5). That Plarasa/Aphrodisias itself was quick to exploit the concept is probable (L. Robert, *AC* 416, n. 1); for what it is worth the earliest known Aphrodisian to be named Aeneas was of the first century B.C. and possibly quite early in it (Reinach, no. 19, taken with LBW 1634 for descendants in the Flavian period, from whose genealogy his date may be roughly reckoned). It may well have been an element in the calculation which brought the city into war against Mithridates and on the Roman side, although the gratitude of Carians for freedom from Rhodes and perhaps, if there is any substance in the suggestions made above, of a city for its existence on favourable terms, will have been other considerations.

Docs. 2 and 3 certainly show that when Mithridates invaded Asia in 88 Plarasa/Aphrodisias shared the pro-Roman feeling attested in a number of Carian cities (deducible from the list of beneficiaries of Sulla after the war, see *RRAM* 232 f.) and undertook a campaign in response to a call for help from Q. Oppius during the siege of Laodicea on the Lycus. What happened to it after the surrender of Laodicea can only be guessed; it can hardly have stood out when Mithridates' soldiers advanced westwards, but there is no mention in doc. 3 of fighting in its territory or of losses, so that it was, perhaps, able to avoid invasion. If so, it may have felt its position equivocal after the defeat of the king, and that might explain, at least in part, its anxiety to secure the patronage of Oppius in 85 and his testimony to its earlier stance (doc. 3).

Of Sulla's arrangements for it we know only that he dedicated to Aphrodite the axe recommended by the oracle, adding a gold crown (Appian, *BC* 1. 97. 455); he may also have made some regulations favourable to the sanctuary, but that is not certain (doc. 8, l. 38). The terms of his political settlement are not recorded, and information for the subsequent period from which they might be deduced is inadequate. In 39 B.C. it certainly lacked freedom, since Octavian claimed to have freed it (doc. 10, l. 2). On the evidence of doc. 5, which shows two Aphrodisians appointed as ambassadors of the *koinon* of Asia and some Aphrodisian interest in a protest against abusive action by *publicani*, it has been held that it was already subject in the middle of the century (and in fact much earlier, see T. Drew Bear, *op. cit.* on p. 1, pp. 443 f.). That may be right; and yet the ambassadors also had Trallian citizenship, so that the evidence is not, perhaps, quite conclusive. Moreover docs. 28–31, if correctly dated in the triumviral period, indicate that, as late as 40 B.C., it had a military organization, suggesting (but not proving) that it had been left technically free. Could it, after all, have received liberty from Sulla? Perhaps without immunity (but see p. 106 for the implication of doc. 13, l. 6 that immunity would normally be a consequence of liberty)? If Sulla did give it liberty, its unfree

status in 39 is most likely to have resulted from intervention against it as a Caesarian city by Brutus and Cassius, which had not yet effectively destroyed its military organization when Labienus invaded (see also p. 31). Alternatively, Cicero attests an occasion when it was maintained that some of Sulla's Asian beneficiaries had bribed their way to privilege and ought to lose it (*Off.* 3. 22. 87); but we have no statement that any did.

It has been reasonably inferred from the order of the two names in the title of the sympolity that Plarasa originally dominated (so L. Robert, *Villes* 66); but it is now known that at a comparatively early stage some Aphrodisians played an important part in its affairs; Jason son of Scymnus, who appears as a magistrate on what must be an early coin of Plarasa/Aphrodisias (so Drew Bear, cited on p. 1), was an Aphrodisian (doc. 5, l. 10); it is probable that the Artemidorus of docs. 2, 4 (see also Appendix III) was another; and, rather later two more outstanding figures—Callicrates son of Pythodorus (Appendix IV) and Zoilus (docs. 10–12, Appendix V). Obviously such vigorous and successful men enhanced the status of their group by providing leadership for the sympolity (so Artemidorus, Callicrates, Zoilus), acquiring personal prestige in the province of Asia at large (so the sons of Jason son of Scymnus), and making a mark as successful ambassadors to the Romans (docs. 2, 3, 5, 28 and possibly 6, but we do not know certainly that the ambassador there was Aphrodisian); and the erection of monuments at Aphrodisias by them or in their honour suggests a distinct local pride in them (Appendixes III–VI). Nevertheless it may be mistaken to think of two potentially rival groups rather than of one substantially integrated society; and it is possible that at an early stage, perhaps from the moment of creation of the sympolity, its civic centre was in the protective neighbourhood of Aphrodite, that is at Aphrodisias. Doc. 1, which is a record of action by the sympolity, was inscribed at Aphrodisias, perhaps only because of the importance of Aphrodisias as a religious centre, but possibly also because the political action of the sympolity took place there; and when doc. 5 seems to refer to an assembly of the *demos* of Aphrodisias at Aphrodisias in the middle of the first century B.C. (ll. 12, 16) it would not be unreasonable to guess that this was, strictly speaking, the *demos* of Plarasa/Aphrodisias.

The sympolity was certainly quite prosperous in the middle of the first century B.C. (for a family of indubitably rich citizens of the period see doc. 5 and p. 31), but cannot of course have been immune from the strains and distresses felt in Asia as a whole. As already said, it may have suffered from *publicani* (doc. 5) and it certainly did so from the Roman civil wars (note ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς πολέμοις in docs. 30, l. 4; 31, ll. 3–4 and the record of fighting, famine and debt in docs. 28–30, which may well go back behind the triumviral period although that is probably their main focus). Given the connection of the Julii with Venus, it is not surprising that in these wars it took the Julian side. Julius Caesar is now known to have dedicated a golden Eros to its Aphrodite (doc. 12, ll. 13 f.) and he gave the temple something, probably the right of asylum (doc. 8, ll. 41 f.; Tacitus, *Ann.* 3. 62, see p. 79). One local response may be seen in doc. 32; it is likely that another has survived in a portrait head whose subject Professor Erim has proposed to identify as Caesar (J. Inan, E. Alföldi-Rosenbaum, *Römische und frühbyzantinische Porträtplastik aus der Türkei* (1979), 202 f., no. 173, and pl. 129). In consequence it may have received harsh treatment

under the regime of Brutus and Cassius (pp. 50–3), as it did in the war of Labienus (docs. 7–13) before it received the rewards of freedom, immunity and a treaty as a protégé of Octavian (docs. 6–13), for whom it was, perhaps, something of a pawn in a play for prestige in Asia against Antony.

The first text is not, strictly speaking, part of the archive, but it was found re-used in the north parodos of the theatre. Its letter-forms suggest that it is the earliest document of political consequence found at Aphrodisias so far. Its dedication to Zeus Philios, Homonoia and Dea Roma is the only clue to its original location and that suggests either a temple of Zeus or the sanctuary of Aphrodite (which may well have provided space for shrines to other deities) or an agora. For its relevance to the possibility that the political action of the sympolity took place at Aphrodisias, see above p. 5.

#### DOCUMENT 1. Oath of Plarasa/Aphrodisias, Cibyra and Tabae

Marble altar (inv. no. 69. 237; 0.55 × 1.09 × 0.44) moulded at top and bottom of the front face, both mouldings badly damaged, the face chipped all along the right edge and approximately in the centre of the left; inscribed on the face. Found re-used in the north parodos of the theatre; now in Aphrodisias Museum.

Letters probably second century B.C., imperfectly aligned: av. 0.025; the last line cut on the lower moulding.

Mentioned by R. Mellor, *ΘΕΑ ΡΩΜΗ* (1975), 49 f. (dedication in l. 2), whence J. and L. Robert, *Bull. Ép.* 1977, no. 76 (commenting on the geographical relationship of the three cities); J. Reynolds, *PCPS* 206 (1980), 70.

Acknowledgments to Professor Louis Robert (restoration in ll. 7–8) and for discussion to Andrew Drummond, Richard Gordon, John North, Simon Price (all on religious aspects), Michael Crawford, A. N. Sherwin-White, David Whitehead (mainly on political background), John Crook (language of ll. 12 f.).

#### Plate I, 1.

Διὶ Φιλίῳ καὶ Ὁμονοίᾳ κα[ι]  
 Θεᾷ Ῥώμῃ οἱ δῆμοι οἶ τε [?ν.]  
 Πλαρασέων καὶ Ἀφροδισ[ι]-  
 έων καὶ ὁ Κιβυράτων καὶ ὁ Τα-  
 5 βηνῶν ποιησάμενοι καὶ ὄρκι[α]-  
 καθ' ἱερῶν νεοκαύτων καὶ σφ[ά]-  
 [για] ὑπὲρ τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους φ[ύσ]-  
 [ει] συμμαχίας καὶ ὁμονοίας  
 [αἰ]ωνίου καὶ ἀδελφότητος κα[ι]  
 10 [ύ]πὲρ τοῦ μηθὲν ὑ<π>εναντίον  
 [π]ράξειν μήτε Ῥωμαίοις μήτ[ε]  
 αὐτοῖς καὶ μήτε τινὰ γράψαι, μ[ή]-  
 τε εἰπεῖν, μήτε εἰσαγγεῖλαι[ι, μή]-  
 τε ἀναγράψαι κατὰ τῶν ἐν το[ῖς]  
 15 ὄρκοις ἀναγεγραμμένων [?ν.ν.]  
 τὸν δὲ πράξαντά τι κατὰ τούτ[ων]

ἐξώλη εἶναι, καὶ αὐτὸν, καὶ γε[νε]-  
 άν, καὶ ἔνοχον εἶναι θανάτῳ, καὶ [εὐ]-  
 θύνεσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ βουλομέν[ου]  
 20 καὶ κατὰ τὰς κοινὰς συνθήκ[α]ς,  
 ἀγαθὰ δὲ ἀλλήλοις ὅσα ἂν δ[ύ]-  
 νατον ἦι συνπράξειν ἀπροφασί[σ]-  
 τως καὶ τὰ συνωμολογημένα τη[ρ]-  
 [ή]σειν *vacat*.

ll. 6–7. σφάγια seems inevitable here; the accusative case is imposed by the repetition of καὶ in this sentence.

l. 7. ΛΛ appear to have been cut twice, the first attempt being partially erased.

ll. 7–8. φ[ύ]/[σει] is due to Professor Robert.

l. 10. Υ is partially damaged and the subsequent Π written as if the cutter saw ΤΓ, but ὑπεναντίον in such contexts is so common that there can be no doubt that it was intended.

l. 12. For Γ the cutter originally wrote Τ.

To Zeus Philios, Concord and Dea Roma; (dedicated by) the Peoples of Plarasa/Aphrodisias, of Cibyra and of Tabae who have taken oaths over newly-burnt offerings and made blood-offerings for their natural alliance, eternal concord and brotherhood with each other; and in order that they shall take no action in opposition either to the Romans or to each other and that no one shall draft, advocate, introduce a proposal or record anything contrary to what has been written in the sworn agreements; and that anyone who does anything in contravention of these shall be utterly destroyed, himself and his family, liable to a capital penalty and open to prosecution by anyone who wishes and in accordance with their common agreements, and that they shall jointly promote each other's advantage in every possible way, unreservedly; and that they shall observe what has been agreed.

It should perhaps be noted that this document seems to show a certain absence of sophistication in its language, which is nearer to everyday speech than to a chancery style. This would accord with a date quite early in the history of Plarasa/Aphrodisias when that city might lack experience of the traditional formulae of diplomacy.

l. 1. On the face of it Zeus Philios and Homonoia are natural deities to choose for a dedication which solemnizes a treaty. In fact they do not seem to be attested in other treaty-oaths, and the nearest parallel that I have found is in the use of the head of Zeus Philios on Homonoia coins of Thyateira and Pergamum under Trajan (*BMC Lydia* 320, 145, pl. 41–5, cited in Roscher, s.v. 'Homonoia'). Treaty-oaths were normally sworn either by local gods (but there seems to be no particular local connection for these) or by groups in which Zeus, Ge and Helios are common factors. Zeus Philios seems to have been first and foremost a god of family concord and of friendships within groups analogous to families (Roscher III, 2305 f.; VI, 664 f., where evidence is presented for oaths in his name sworn between and among friends). Homonoia was a personification of harmony within and between cities and later identified with Roman Concordia (Roscher I<sup>2</sup>, 270. 1 f.); she received sacrifice when Antiocheia ad Pyramum honoured its συγγενεῖς καὶ φίλους in Antiocheia ad Cydnum (*SEG* XII, 511) and is associated with the ἀδελφότης of two Roman

colonies (*OGIS* 536, Lystra and Pisidian Antioch). It seems likely that it was the family relationship between the contracting powers, stressed in ll. 7–9, that dictated the choice both of this particular manifestation of Zeus and of Homonoia. See further on l. 9.

l. 2. The presence of Dea Roma is still more remarkable although paralleled in the agreement of Samos with Antiocheia on the Maeander (cit. p. 1), where fines for contravention of the terms are to be paid to her cult. She is attested as the object of cult in two of the cities who made this treaty (Plarasa/Aphrodisias, doc. 30, l. 16, first century B.C.; Cibyra, *OGIS* 762, l. 15, probably second century B.C.) and was doubtless also worshipped in the third. She may have been invoked because Rome was felt to be the ultimate arbiter of peace in Asia Minor (so Mellor, loc. cit.; cf. the introduction of the Tyche of a king into the list of deities by whom oaths were sworn in some Hellenistic treaties, e.g. *Staatsverträge* III, no. 492); but the acute consciousness of dependence on Rome, implied also by the pro-Roman provisions of ll. 11–12, suggests that the clientship of the contracting parties was the important factor and that they were perhaps pursuing a policy approved, even sponsored, by her (as tentatively proposed on pp. 1 f.). Yet to make such a treaty they must have been technically free.

The combination of freedom and dependence might have provided a clue to the date, but the development of Rome's authority in this area is too imprecisely recorded for any confident conclusion. As already stated (p. 2), the date *c.* 165 assigned by Chr. Habicht to the analogous Samian/Antiochean documents (op. cit., p. 1; cf. 179 for the treaty of Pharnaces with Chersonnesus cited on pp. 4 and 10) is much earlier than any precise testimony for the existence of Plarasa/Aphrodisias. If it were certain that Rome annexed this part of Caria in 129 there would be a strong case for dating the treaty at any rate earlier than that; but the evidence does not seem to me adequate and its interpretation can be disputed, so that I have argued above that Plarasa/Aphrodisias was probably still free at the time of the Mithridatic War. Cibyra was free until *c.* 82 (Strabo 13. 631) and was probably federate from the second quarter of the second century (*OGIS* 762, dated by Dittenberger between 187 and 167; the case for the date is not dependent on the unacceptable connection that he made with a supposed fall of the Cibyrate tyranny in 189, on which see p. 9); Tabae received freedom by a Sullan senatorial decree (*RDGE* 17, see also M. H. Crawford and J. M. Reynolds, *GRBS* 15 (1974), 289), but this may well have been a renewal of status; the inscription which attests it as federate is placed by some in the second century (*IGR* I, 63; *ILLRP* 180; see *RRAM* I, 132 f.; II, 954 f., n. 67), although by a number of recent writers in the Sullan period (A. Degrassi, *BCAR* 74 (1951–2), 25; Mellor, op. cit., appendix, and *Chiron* 8 (1978), 319; A. W. Lintott, *ZPE* 30 (1978), 137), and there seems to be no clinching argument either way (J. and L. Robert, *La Carie* II, 96–7, and *Bull. Ep.* 1955, no. 288, leave the question open).

The contracting parties are each described as the *demos* of their cities. This is certainly early evidence for the combination of Plarasa with Aphrodisias and is also explicit that it produced a single city (see L. Robert, *Villes* 64, for a demonstration from the older evidence that it was wrong to contest this); but for its existence the first firm date is as yet 88 B.C. (doc. 2), and this inscription looks earlier than that. The constitutional histories of Cibyra and Tabae are also unhelpful for dating.

Cibyra was held by Dittenberger to have undergone in 167 a revolution from the tyranny attested there in 189 (during the confrontation with Cn. Manlius Vulso) to a free civic constitution (in comment on *OGIS* 762; see also *RRAM* II, 1122 f., n. 30; Mellor, *op. cit.*, and G. E. Bean, *JHS* 68 (1948), 52). Doubts have been expressed (to those of Täubler and Wilhelm recorded in *RRAM*, *loc. cit.*, add A. N. Sherwin-White, *JRS* 66 (1976), 10, n. 51); and in fact the passage of Polybius cited to prove the point (30. 9. 13 f.) combines the implication of continued tyranny with a description of the city's governing body as 'the Cibyrates'. It is better to accept Strabo's statement that tyranny was continuous there till *c.* 82 (13. 631: ἐτυραννεῖτο δ' αἰεὶ . . .), with the proviso that public business was officially conducted in the name of the People. The internal history of Tabae is wholly obscure (*RRAM*, *loc. cit.*; J. and L. Robert, *La Carie* II, 149 f.).

In the absence of any clear chronological pointer it can only be suggested that a context such as I have tentatively proposed on p. 3, in the aftermath of the war of Aristonicus and the Roman annexation of Asia, would make good sense.

The three cities are natural allies for geographical reasons (see J. and L. Robert, *La Carie* II, 17 f., and, with special reference to Tabae, *Ankara Univ., Dil Ve Tarih-coğrafya Fak. Dergisi* VI (1948), 540 f.; *OMS* III, 1452 f.). For their belief in a 'blood relationship' see on ll. 7-9. The survival of links between them in a later period is shown in the honours paid by Aphrodisias in the third century A.D. to Cibyra (*CIG* 2764) and Tabae (*CIG* 2765); while a bust of Aphrodisian Aphrodite is reported to have been found at Tabae (L. Robert, *Hell.* XIII, 285).

ll. 5-7. ὄρκια probably has its original sense of *oaths* since in l. 15 the *sworn agreements* seem to be described as ὄρκοι, but it may mean both; cf. *LSJ s.v.* and p. 45 below for the probability that it is used in both senses in doc. 8. Σφάγια were blood offerings of which no part was eaten (P. Stengel, *Opferbräuche der Griechen* (1910), 93 f.; J. Casabona, *Recherches sur le vocabulaire des sacrifices grecs* (1966), 180 f.) and properly made when oaths were taken (cf. *MAMA* VI, 1 (*LSAM* 88) at Laodicea on the Lycus, ὁ θέλων ὄρκ[ιζειν] ἀγνώως μείνας (θ)ύσει σφάγιον ὄρκιον). ἱερά are quite commonly associated with, but distinguished from them, as offerings from the slaughtered animals burnt on the altar (Stengel, *op. cit.*, 96 f.; Casabona, *op. cit.*, 16).

For further information on the ceremonies when treaties were sworn see Stengel (*op. cit.*, 19 f., 93 f., cf. *Kultusaltertümer der Griechen* (1920), 136 f., and articles on σφάγια in *Hermes* 21 (1886), 307; 25 (1890), 321; F. Ziehen, *RE* III A, col. 1669 f.; G. Glotz, *s.v.* 'Iusiurandum', in Daremberg-Saglio, III, I; J. Casabona, *op. cit.*, 185). They involved hacking the σφάγια to pieces, and taking the oaths at a point when some texts describe the ἱερά as in process of being burnt and others, like this one, as already burned. Stengel thought that the oath was taken before the burning was complete, but the language of the texts seems decisive that it was not always so. For ἱερά νεόκωντα in other solemn agreements, cf. the treaty-oath between Smyrna and Magnesia on the Maeander in the second half of the third century (*OGIS* 229, l. 48), the civic oath at Itanos in Crete, also third century (*Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 526, l. 8), and the dicastic oath agreed for cases between Temnos and Clazomenae, probably in the second century (B, l. 26), P. Herrmann, *MDAI(I)* 29 (1979), 253. It is a plausible hypothesis that the intention was to symbolize the absolute destruction that would befall the forsworn, cf. the explicit parallel drawn in *Iliad* 3, 300-1,

between the pouring of wine on the ground and the deaths of the forsworn and their families. That fate is, of course, explicit here in the curse of ll. 16 f.

ll. 7-9. Συμμαχία is *alliance of war* and ὁμόνοια *concord*; φύσει is explained by ἀδελφότης which provides a particularly strong basis for the links formalized in this treaty. On the use made in ancient diplomacy of blood relationships alleged to exist between cities see p. 4; there is a well-known and useful parallel to this text in *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 591, ll. 26-7, where the Lampsacenes described the Massiliotes as ἡμῖν ἀδελφοί (both being colonies of Phocaea) and l. 55 where they stated that the Romans too were their brothers (because, it is thought, both had a special relationship with Ilium) and urged [- - - τὴν ῥεῦνοιαν ἀκόλ]ουθον τῆι συγγενεία[- - -]. Cf. also the case of Lystra and Pisidian Antioch cited above and of Samos and Antiocheia on the Maeander (loc. cit., p. 1, l. 19). There was a legend that Cibyra and Tabae were founded by the brothers Cibyras and Marsyas (Steph. Byz., s.v. 'Cibyra'; see J. and L. Robert, *La Carie* II, 73-4; L. Robert, *Villes* 215 f.). I have found no clear connection between them and any of the foundation legends attested for Aphrodisias, but Marsyas had links with the Phrygians, and a relief recently discovered on the site (*AJA* 82 (1978), 324) features Gordios (also connected, obviously, with neighbouring Gordiouteichos); for his probable presence, symbolizing Gordiouteichos, along with figures symbolizing Plarasa and Aphrodisias, on the Lagina frieze, see L. Robert, *Ét. Anat.* 554 f.

ll. 10-11. For the undertaking not to oppose Rome the closest parallel seems to be in the treaty of Pharnaces of Pontus with Chersonnesus in 179 B.C., in which the king's oath was to be valid so long as the citizens have sworn the same τὴν τε πρὸς Ῥωμαίους φιλίαν διαφυλασσόντων καὶ μηδὲν ἐναντίον αὐτοῖς πρασσόντων (*IOSPE*<sup>2</sup> I, 402); cf. also a decree of the Delphic Amphictyones of 130 B.C. which ends . . . εἶναι δὲ ταῦτα τοῖς ἐν Ἀθήναις τεχνίταις, ἐὰμ μὴ τι Ῥωμαίοις ὑπεναντίον ᾗ (*Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 692, ll. 61 f.), showing that the clause was in use over a considerable range of time and place. There is a good deal of evidence from Asia Minor to show the concern of states to do what the Romans wanted. Cibyra's action in 167 in returning the anti-Roman Polyaratus to Rhodes illustrates it (Polybius 30. 9. 18); so too the Samian congratulations to the Antiocheians on their relations with Rome (loc. cit. on p. 1), especially the phrases in ll. 24-5 . . . εἰς τε τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐξυπηρετεῖν φι[λοδόξως καὶ τοῖς ἀεὶ εὐεργετεῖν προαιρου]μένοις εὐχαρίστως ἀπαντᾶν ἐν πᾶν[τι καιρῷ . . .]. The orthodox view is that after the battle of Pydna the states of Asia Minor were little more than Roman puppets. It has recently been challenged by A. N. Sherwin-White (*JRS* 67 (1977), 62); if the undertaking here seems at first sight against him, the fact that it was made by three minor city-states, for whom Rome's support against larger powers was essential, reduces its weight.

ll. 11-15. The formulae are approximately as in the agreement of Antiocheia and Samos (ll. 3-5) except that [μὴ]τε ἀναγράφαι κατὰ τῶν ἐν το[ῖς] ὄρκοις γεγραμμένων stands where the Samian inscription has [μηδὲ νόμον θ]εῖναι ὡς δεῖ καταλυθῆναι τι τῶν γεγραμ[μ]ένων. In such a context γράφειν must mean *to write down* a law to be proposed (LSJ s.v. A.6) and εἰπεῖν *to propose* a measure in the assembly (LSJ s.v. IV); for εἰσαγγέλλω with the sense *to put a proposal* cf. *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 742, ll. 22-3: εἰσαγγειλαμένων τῶν στρατηγῶν of a measure agreed by the people of Ephesus (wrongly presented by LSJ s.v. II, as if it meant *to lay an impeachment*); ἀναγράφειν is presumably *to record* or *register* such a motion as passed (LSJ, s.v.).

ll. 16–18. A curse on a member of a contracting state who contravenes the terms of an agreement occurs in some, but not all, treaties (cf. the treaty between Praisos and Stalai, *Staatsverträge* III, 553 B, ll. 6–7: εἰ δὲ ἐπιτο[ρκέοι]μ[ι ἀπ]ολήσει[ν καὶ αὐ]τὸς καὶ γένος τὸ ἐμόν); it is of course paralleled also in oaths of allegiance (cf. *OGIS* 229, ll. 69, 78; 226, l. 51).

ll. 18–20. Provision for legal procedures against contravenors is a natural enough feature of treaties, cf. the Antiocheian/Samian agreement, ll. 5 f. There, however, the penalty is a fine, whereas here it is death. That underlines the very great significance of their treaty, at least in their own eyes, to the three cities here.

It is plausible to regard the three inscriptions which follow as elements in a memorial for the Artemidorus who led the forces of Plarasa/Aphrodisias in the first Mithridatic War (doc. 2 and Appendix III). That such a memorial existed at the north end of the theatre stage in its Augustan form is probable; doc. 27 may refer to part of it and doc. 53 possibly contains an authorization to restore its statues after the stage was remodelled in the second century A.D. (p. xv). On the remodelled stage several existing decorative elements were used for inscriptions relevant to Artemidorus' career, but there was apparently no coherent monument. At either end of the stage the Doric entablature which runs across it (p. 161 and Fig. 1) bends slightly backwards from the orchestra; at the north end doc. 2 was inscribed on one metope and part of the frieze of the entablature to the north of the angle (plate II). A little in front of it is a corner pilaster where the edge of the stage meets the end of the south wall of the north parodos; doc. 3 was inscribed on the capital and face of this pilaster which looks towards the orchestra; doc. 4 on the face which looks towards the north parodos.

## DOCUMENT 2. Decree of Plarasa/Aphrodisias

Two blocks (inv. nos. 67. 749 + 68. 399, 70. 406; together, 3.06 × 0.59 × 0.43) from a Doric entablature with architrave and frieze in one piece, inscribed on one metope and on the frieze; block *a* is chipped at both sides, block *b* is broken in two.

Letters, second cent. A.D.; av. 0.02; ligatured TH in *a*, l. 1, ME in *a*, l. 6, TH, ME, HN, NE, HM in *b*, l. 5, ME, NE in *b*, l. 6; the decree is laid out in two columns.

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### Plate II.

#### *a* In a metope

ἔδοξεν τῇ βου-  
 λῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ,  
 καὶ Περείτου [ΤΟΥ] *sic*  
 τοῦ Ἀντιόχου γραμ-  
 5 ματέως δήμου

καὶ Ἀττάλου τοῦ Με-  
νάνδρου τοῦ ἐπι-  
τῆς χώρας στρα-  
ν. τηγοῦ ν.

*b On the frieze below*

*Column 1*

ἐπεὶ Κοῖντος Ὀππιος Κοῖντου υἱὸς στρατηγὸς ἀνθύπατος Ῥω[μαίων]ν πέπομφεν  
πολιορκεῖσθαι Λαοδίκηάν τε καὶ  
ἐαυτὸν ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἔκρεινεν βοηθεῖν κατὰ πλῆθος συνεκπορεύεσθαι δὲ καὶ τοὺς  
παροίκους καὶ τοὺς δούλους, εἶλατο δὲ ἐπὶ  
*sic* τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ ἄνδρα τὸν ἠγησάμενον ν. ἀνανκαῖον δὲ ἐστὶν ἐξαποστεῖλαι καὶ  
πρεσβευτὰς τοὺς ἐμφανιοῦντας τῷ ἀνθυ-  
*sic* πάτῳ περὶ τε τῆς αἰρέσεως ἣς ἔχει ὁ δῆμος ἡμῶν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ὄντας σωτῆρας καὶ  
εὐεργέτας καὶ ἐάν τι ὁ στρ(ατ)ηγὸς ἐπι-  
5 τάσση καὶ ἕτερον τῇ πόλει, διαταξαμένους ὥστε διασαφηθῆναι καὶ γένεσθαι δεδόχθαι  
τῷ δήμῳ ἐλέσθαι πρεσβευτὰς ἄνδρας τῶν τειμω-  
μένων καὶ πίστιν ἔχόντων καὶ εὐνοϊκῶς πρὸς Ῥωμαίους διακειμένων οἵτινες ἀφικό-  
μενοι πρὸς Κοῖντον Ὀππιον τὸν ἀνθύ-  
πατον ἐμφανιοῦσιν αὐτῷ ἦν ἔχει ὁ δῆμος ἡμῶν αἴρεσιν πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ πρὸς πάντας  
Ῥωμαίους, ὑποδείξωσι δὲ ὅτι οὐ  
*vac.* μόνον κατὰ πλῆθος συμμαχεῖν ἐκρέιναμεν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄνδρα τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς συμμαχίας  
ν. εἰλάμεθα *vac.*

*Column 2*

Ἀρτεμίδωρον τὸν στεφανηφόρον ἄνδρα τῶν τειμωμένων  
10 καὶ πίστιν ἔχόντων καὶ τῇ ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἀρετῇ διαφέροντα  
ἐμφανιοῦσιν δὲ αὐτῷ ὅτι πᾶς ὁ δῆμος ἡμῶν σὺν γύναξι  
*sic* καὶ τέκνοις καὶ τῷ πάντι βίῳ ΕΤΥΜΟΣ παραβάλλεσθαι ὑπὲρ  
Κοῖντου καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων πραγμάτων καὶ ὅτι χωρὶς τῆς  
*vac.* Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίας οὐδὲ ζῆν προαιρούμεθα *vac.*

*a* The preamble is patently defective. Comparison with *MAMA* 408 suggests that it should have read: ἔδοξεν τῇ βου/λῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ/γνώμῃ ἀρχόντων/καὶ Περείτου τοῦ . . . The superfluous τοῦ at the end of l. 3 seems to indicate the loss of another line between ll. 3 and 4, so that the secretary was probably identified by the names of both father and grandfather, as in *MAMA* 408.

*b* ll. 3 and 5, future participles might have been expected; the aorists may be due to confusion in the copyist's mind with the practice, increasingly common in his own period, by which the aorist participle indicates a single action in time with the main verb (cf. Galen, 8. 361. 16K and examples in Mayser, II. 1, 171-4, Blass-Debrunner-Fink, *A Grammar of New Testament Greek*, § 339. 1 and 2 c).

l. 4. ΣΤΡΗΓΟΣ, *lapis*; clearly a slip.

l. 12. ΕΤΥΜΟΣ is presumably for ἐτοῖμος.

*a* Decision of the Council and the People (? proposed by the magistrates), by Pereitas son of ( ? , grandson) of Antiochus, Secretary to the People, and by Attalus, son of Menander, General in charge of the territory.

*b* Since Quintus Oppius, son of Quintus, Roman praetor with proconsular power, has sent (a message) that Laodicea and he himself are under siege and since the People decided that they should help him in force and that the paroikoi and slaves should march out with them and has also chosen in the assembly a man for their leader and it is necessary to despatch ambassadors too, to inform the proconsul of the policy of our People towards the Romans who are saviours and benefactors, and, if the governor gives any other instruction for the city, to arrange that it is passed on clearly and carried out, the People decided to elect as ambassadors men from among those who are honoured and hold trust and are well disposed towards the Romans, who shall go to Quintus Oppius the proconsul and inform him of the policy of our People towards him and all Romans and shall report that we have not only decided to fight alongside him in force but have also chosen a man to command this auxiliary unit, Artemidorus the stephanephoros, a man of those who are honoured and hold trust, and one distinguished in military excellence, and they shall inform him that our whole People, together with our wives and children and all our property (?), is ready (?) to risk all for Quintus and the Roman cause; and that without the rule of the Romans we do not choose even to live.

*a* ll. 1 f. give the preamble to a civic decree which can be dated from *b*, l. 1, in 88 B.C.: it is therefore the earliest dated evidence so far known for political action in Aphrodisias. Comparison with doc. 3, ll. 3-4, shows that it is a decree of Plarasa/Aphrodisias.

The constitutional features of the sympolity named here, council, people, magistrates, general over the territory and secretary to the people, recur in later decrees normally attributed to Aphrodisias alone, and are described, but not analysed, by Vagts (op. cit., 18 f.). In *MAMA* 407 there are unnamed generals (without further specification) in the place of the one general over the territory here, in *MAMA* 414 a paraphylax in that place, in LBW 1611 generals in place of the magistrates here and two named generals over the territory in place of the one here; since these inscriptions are not closely dated, the variations cannot be evaluated.

The sympolity appears in the preamble as a theoretical democracy, its decisions made by the Council and the Assembly of its People on proposals drawn up by a board of magistrates with the assistance of a secretary to the People and a general who was certainly concerned with the maintenance of law and order and apparently not a member of the board of magistrates. The importance of this general reveals the importance attached to control of the territory (note that the general over the city, attested in doc. 41, ll. 1-2, is much less prominent); his approval seems to have been necessary to every proposal, presumably to guarantee that it contained nothing detrimental to security (see also on *b*, ll. 1-2). The territory was probably extensive and certainly included mountainous areas populated by dependent native peoples whose way of life was liable to encourage violence (see also p. 3). It would appear that on this occasion they were expected to follow the city's lead (see on *b* l. 2).

Neither Pereitas, grandson of Antiochus, nor Attalus, son of Menander, are identified, but all four names are very common at Aphrodisias, and Pereitas, Attalus and Menander are names which occur in the families of founders (Appendix vi). Descendants of Attalus are probably to be seen in Menander, son of Attalus (*MAMA*

441), and Attalus, son of Menander the son of Attalus (*MAMA* 450); since all these records were found in Aphrodisias, the family was very probably Aphrodisian (see above p. 5 for other cases).

*b* 1. 1. For Q. Oppius, proconsul in Cilicia in 88 according to Livy, *Periochae* 78, see *RE* XVIII, cols. 740–1. His name is fully transliterated here and in l. 6, but in l. 13 his praenomen is used alone—a comparatively late example of a Greek practice in naming Romans (cf. G. E. Bean, *JHS* 68 (1948), 53, citing a similar juxtaposition of full name and *praenomen* used alone in the same document, *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 700 from Lete, of 118 B.C.; some further information on third- and second-century Greek use of the *praenomen* alone is collected by P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* II (1972), 1075, n. 364). At this point Oppius is also given a form of title which came into vogue among Greek speakers in the second half of the second century and continued to be used well into the first (M. Holleaux, *ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΟΣ ΥΠΑΤΟΣ* (1918), 10 f., 31 f.); it indicates that the senator concerned, whatever his rank, had been given consular powers (W. F. Jashemski, *The Origins and History of the Proconsular and Propraetorian Imperium to 27 B.C.* (1950), 49 f.). It is shortened to ἀνθύπατος in ll. 3–4, 6–7 and to στρατηγός in l. 4 (cf. Holleaux, *op. cit.*, 41 f. for the interchangeability of these titles as used of governors of Asia at the beginning of the first century); for Oppius' own version of his title see doc. 3, ll. 2–3. His function is disputed. He is usually conjectured to have held the praetorship in 89 before what the *Periochae* describe as a posting to Cilicia; but Posidonius may be more accurate when he describes him as στρατηγός . . . Παμφυλίας (*ap.* Athenaeus v, 213a = Edelstein-Kidd, F. 253.78); A. N. Sherwin-White has recently suggested that his mission was perhaps to restore Ariobarzanes to the Cappadocian throne (*JRS* 66 (1976), 9).

ll. 1–2. The occasion was the siege of Laodicea on the Lycus by an army of Mithridates in 88 (Appian, *Mith.* 3. 20; on the chronology of the opening stages of the First Mithridatic War see E. Badian, *AJAH* 1 (1976), 109).

The text adds a little to our knowledge of the early stages of the war. Oppius was at first stationed on the borders of Cappadocia and, according to Appian, had an army of 40,000 infantry and 4,000 cavalry (*Mith.* 3. 17). After the defeat of M'. Aquilius and Nicomedes of Bithynia he fell back on Laodicea and was besieged there. Since he is only credited with the cavalry and a few mercenaries there (*Mith.* 3. 20; the present decree also shows him to have been short of troops), he too may have suffered a defeat with heavy loss of manpower; but it is also possible that Appian's information on the original size of his army was wrong. It can now be seen that he had time to send out appeals for help from Laodicea and to get a response; so that the siege must have lasted rather longer than is usually supposed before the Laodiceans surrendered and handed him over with his lictors to the enemy (*Mith.* 3. 20).

l. 2. The proposal put to the people of Plarasa/Aphrodisias referred to a preceding decree, presumably passed at the same meeting, to muster in full force and to call up the πάροικοι and δούλοι as well. The δούλοι should be chattel slaves; πάροικοι could, in principle, be the equivalent of μέτοικοι, *resident aliens*, or, as often in Asia, the unenfranchised, dependent λαοί who tilled the soil of the city's territory, the native ἔθνη (for the terminology see D. M. Pippidi in M. I. Finley (ed.), *Problèmes de la Terre en Grèce ancienne* (1973), 73; for the condition of these people in the

Hellenistic period see recently P. Briant, *Actes du Colloque 1971 sur l'esclavage, Annales Littéraires de l'Université de Besançon* 140 (1972), 93 f., and M. A. Levi, *Actes du Colloque 1973 sur l'esclavage, Annales Littéraires de l'Université de Besançon* 182 (1976), 259 f.; T. Alfieri, *ibid.* 283 f.; there is also relevant material in H. Kreissig, *ibid.* 237 f.). It is, of course, just possible that there were 'immigrés residents', who wished to signalize their pro-Roman alignment; more probably though they were λαοί, and if so we have a rare and important glimpse of the social organization of the population (see also on *a* above) and a demonstration that the city's leaders believed that they could command the support not only of the citizens but of these dependent peoples in their territory. Their confidence would contrast with the hopes of attracting such people to his side which are attributed to Mithridates by Appian (*Mith.* 7. 48) and with the earlier expectations of Aristonicus who appealed to them against Rome and the authorities of the cities of Asia in 133 (see also pp. 3, 13).

l. 2. The city here represents itself as having a right to choose whether it would fight for Rome and also to decide in what strength to muster (l. 9); that suggests that when Oppius later described it as having done what was due from good friends and allies (doc. 3, ll. 27-9), he meant literally that it was a free city in the friendship of Rome, see also pp. 2, 19.

ll. 2-3. There is also a reference to election of a general for the forces to be mustered; for stress on such an appointment elsewhere cf. *OGIS* 443 of 80/79, when C. Claudius Nero instructed the magistrates of the Poimaneues to send πρὸς ἡμᾶς εἰς παραφυλακὴν τῆς πόλεως στρατιώτας καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἡγεμόνα.

ll. 3-5. The content of the proposal is now set out, to elect an embassy with the task of informing Oppius of the city's policy, which would, no doubt, take a little time to implement, and of receiving further instructions from him. The description of the Romans as *Saviours and Benefactors* may refer to their liberation of Caria from Rhodes in 167 (for recent observations on the reaction to this see Chr. Habicht, *op. cit.* p. 1); but if Plarasa/Aphrodisias developed specifically under Roman protection, as tentatively suggested on pp. 2, 3, there would be a strong local significance in the formula.

ll. 5 f. The decision to elect ambassadors is followed by a definition of their brief (ll. 7 f.).

The ambassadors, like the commander of the army (ll. 9-10), are to be of the τιμώμενοι καὶ πίστιν ἔχοντες. In discussing the phrase οἱ πρότεροι καὶ μάλιστα τιμώμενοι in doc. 5, l. 6, T. Drew Bear has recalled the appearance in the civic language of Asia of honorary terms such as οἱ τιμώμενοι which originated in Hellenistic royal courts, drawing particularly on the texts collected by M. Holleaux (*Études* I, 287; II-III, 220 f.; cf. also L. Robert, *Hell.* XIII, 42). In civic life τιμή will have been primarily a matter of office and οἱ τιμώμενοι were the office-holding group. For the concept of magistrates as πίστιν ἔχοντες see the examples presented by L. Robert, *RPh* 1927, 105 (*OMS* II, 1060), a relatively late usage, as he argues, but established by this time (see e.g. *OGIS* 438, ll. 6 f., διενέκοντα πίστει between 99 and 88); for a more specific use of it at Aphrodisias see doc. 30, ll. 8 f. where πίστει preserved by an official follows an earlier reference to strongpoints ἐμπιστευθέντα to him (ll. 7 f.). It is clear that the theoretical democracy (see p. 13) was in fact led by the élite group thus described. The provision that the ambassadors

were to be elected from pro-Romans suggests that the élite group was not absolutely unanimous.

ll. 7 f. The brief was to report the decision to muster in force (for *συμμαχία* in the sense of an auxiliary unit see M. Holleaux, *Études* III, 81, n. 4, and there is an instance in the passage of Josephus quoted on p. 77), the election of a commander and the commitment of the whole city to support the Roman side to the death.

The commander must be the Artemidorus of doc. 4, ll. 5, 25, who may have appeared also in doc. 3 in the lost area at the top of col. 1 (for other texts which may refer, see Appendix III); the absence of filiation can only mean that he was singularly well known in his city (for a possible patronymic, see p. 149). If he was the Artemidorus of the building inscription, doc. 26, he was almost certainly an Aphrodisian (cf. p. 5). As a former civic ambassador (doc. 4) and current *stephanephoros* (the eponymous office of the city, Vagts 37 f.) he was very clearly *τιμώμενος* and *πίστιν ἔχων* and, if doc. 4 is to be dated in the nineties and its writer was Nicomedes IV of Bithynia (p. 24), had already associated himself with a civic policy of alignment with an enemy of Mithridates. His reputation for excellence in arms is also noteworthy. It could have been acquired during ephebic training and in the police activities organized by the generals over the territory; but it is not impossible that he had served with Nicomedes of Bithynia (doc. 4, ll. 25 f.).

ll. 11–14. The statement of absolute devotion to Rome strongly recalls the language of a nearly contemporary Thasian decree as reported in a *senatus consultum* (*RDGE* 20 C, ... *συνομό[σασ]θαι ἑαυτοὺς τέκνα συνβίους ἀνελεῖν καὶ ταῖς τῶν πολεμίων [v] δυνάμεσιν παρατάξασθαι καὶ τὰ πνεύματα ὑπὲρ τῶν δημοσίων πραγμάτων ἡμετέρων ἐν τῇ χρεῖαι ἀποβαλεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ ἐν τινι καιρῷ ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ῥωμαίων φιλίας ἀπεστατηκέναι δόξωσιν*), and of a brief Milesian record (*Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 742, ll. 12 f.); it also accords with the actions, known and implied, of Chaeremon of Nysa (*RDGE* 48, *RC* 73, 74); and is reminiscent of oaths of loyalty to Roman leaders like that of Gangra (*OGIS* 532); the concept of a client's duty to his patron is implicit here. The action taken involved serious risk to the city, so that this is something more than prudential adulation, if we assume, as doc. 3 surely entitles us to do, that there has been no subsequent 'touching-up' of the language. That the highly emotional anti-Roman propaganda of the time (see e.g. Justin 38. 6) produced an equally emotional loyalist response is sufficiently interesting to be worth underlining. Doc. 3 shows that the ambassadors did reach Oppius in Laodicea, where they gave him their advice, and that the muster did take place.

l. 13. The most meaningful sense to attribute to *βίος* seems to be *livelihood* or *property* (*LSJ s.v. II*). For its use in an analogous context cf. Polybius 23.11.2: *βίον καὶ τέκνα καὶ πόλεις ἄρδην καταστραφότες*.

### DOCUMENT 3. Letter of Q. Oppius

*a* Pilaster capital (inv. no. 67. 550; 0.98 × 0.27 × 0.74) inscribed on the moulding of one face (inscribed area 0.395 × 0.13), found loose in excavation at the north end of the stage front; it indubitably fitted above *b*, a pilaster (*c.* 0.81 × 0.66) *in situ*, terminating the south wall of the north parodos at the stage end, inscribed on two faces. The inscription given below is cut on the face which looks

towards the orchestra ; this face is in two planes, one stepped back from the other (each containing one column of text), has been damaged above and along all edges and pierced by a round hole near the left edge towards the top.

Letters, second cent. A.D. : *a* av. 0·018 ; *b* av. 0·02.

Acknowledgments for discussion to those listed for doc. 2 and additionally to Ernst Badian (the text) and Fergus Millar (Oppius' title), George Souris (the embassy).

Plate I, 2-3.

*a On the capital*

Κόϊντος Ὀππίος Κοϊντου  
 υἱὸς ἀνθύπατος Ῥωμαίων  
 στρατηγὸς Πλαρασέων καὶ  
 Ἀφροδεισιέων ἄρχουσιν,  
 5 βουλῆ, δῆμῳ χαίρειν

*b On the pilaster*

[. . . c. 14 . . .] ΕΔΟ[ . . . ]  
 [. . . c. 12.], Ἀντίπατρι[ρος]  
 [?Ἀδρά]στου, Περείτας Ἀπολλω-  
 [νίου], Ἀρτεμίδωρος Μύωνος,  
 10 Διονύσιος Μήνιδος, Τειμο-  
 κλῆς Ζήνωνος, πρεσβευταὶ  
 ὑμέτεροι, ἄνδρες καλοὶ καὶ  
 ἀγαθοί, συνέτυχόν μοι ἐν  
 Κῶ καὶ συνεχάρησαν, τό τε  
 15 ψήφισμα ἀπέδωκαν ἐν ᾧ δι-  
 εσαφεῖτο χαίρειν ὑμᾶς με-  
 γάλως ἐπὶ τῇ ἐμῇ παρουσίᾳ,  
 ὅπερ ἐγὼ ὑπὲρ τῆς ὑμετέρας  
 θελήσεως εἰς με τὰ τε δημό-  
 20 σια πράγματα ἡμέτερα ἀσφα-  
 λῶς πιστεύω· καθ' ὃν γὰρ και-  
 ρὸν ἐκ Λαοδικῆς πρὸς ν. ὑ-  
 μᾶς ἔπεμψα γράμματα ὀπω[ς]  
 στρατιώτας πρὸς με ἀποστ[έ]-  
 25 λητε, ἐν πρώτοις ἀπεστε[ί]-  
 λατε, τοῦτο δὲ ἐποιήσατε κ[α]-  
 θὼς ἐπέβαλλεν συμμ[α]-  
 χοῖς ἀγαθοῖς καὶ φίλοις δῆ-  
 μου Ῥωμαίων ποιῆσαι,  
 30 τῶν τε ἀποσταλέντων  
 πρεσβευτῶν ἐργασίᾳ

καλῇ καὶ πλείστη ἐχρη-  
 σάμην ν. δι' ἧς αἰτίας ν.  
 φροντίζω [?καὶ ἐν ἀρ]-  
 35 χῇ καὶ ἰδίῳ β[ί]ῳ [?δ]-  
 περ ἂν σωζομέν[ῃς]  
 τῆς ἐμῆς πίστ[ε]-  
 ως ποιῆσαι ὑμῖν δύ-  
 νωμαι τοῖς τε δημο-  
 40 σίοις πράγμασιν ὑ[μ]ε-  
 τέροις εὐχρηστῆσαι,  
 καὶ αἰετὸς ἀγαθοῦ  
 παραίτιος γενέσθαι·  
 ὅπως τε τῇ συνκλήτῳ  
 45 τῷ τε δῆμῳ τὰ ἀφ' ὑμῶν  
 πεπραγμένα ἐστὶν *sic*  
 ὅταν εἰς Ῥώμην παρα-  
 γένωμαι διασαφίσω·  
 οἱ αὐτοὶ πρεσβεῖς παρε-  
 50 κάλεσαν ὅπως ἔξη τῇ  
 [ἐ]μῇ πατρωνίᾳ καὶ ὑμῖν  
 χρῆσθαι· τούτους ἐγὼ  
 ἀνεδεξάμην, καταλο-  
 γῆς ἕνεκεν τῆς ὑμετέ-  
 55 ρας πόλεως, ἐμὲ τοῦ δῆ-  
 μου τοῦ ὑμετέρου πά-  
 τρωνος ν. ἔσεσθαι ν.

Quintus Oppius, son of Quintus, proconsul of the Romans, praetor, sends greetings to the Magistrates, Council and People of Plarasa/Aphrodisias.

. . .], Antipatrus son of [? Adra]stus, Pereitas son of Apollo[nius], Artemidorus son of Myon, Dionysius son of Menis, Timocles son of Zenon, your ambassadors, fine and good men, met me in Cos, congratulated me and gave me the decree in which it was reported that you are very much pleased at my presence—as I certainly believe, in view of your good intentions towards myself and our public affairs; for on the occasion when I wrote to you from Laodicea that you should send me soldiers, you were among the first to send them and your conduct was exactly what was due from good allies and friends of the Roman people; and I made use of the fine and unstinted activity of the ambassadors whom you sent. For these reasons I am taking care, both as a magistrate and in a private capacity (?), to do whatever I can, while preserving my good faith, to help you and your public affairs, and always to procure your advantage; and shall see to it that whenever I am in Rome I make clear to the Senate and People the things (which) have been done on your part. The same ambassadors begged that you too should be allowed to enjoy my patronage. I accepted them because of my regard for your city and undertook the position of patron of your People.

l. 1. For Q. Oppius see doc. 2, b, l. 1. Since ll. 13–14 clearly refer to his release from the captivity into which he had been surrendered in 88 (p. 4) the date is after Sulla's victory over Mithridates in 85.

ll. 2–3. The title is surprising but stresses that he had consular powers. For formulae used of a senatorial official in Asia and specifically of Oppius at Plarasa/Aphrodisias, see on doc. 2, b, ll. 1, 3. Holleaux, *op. cit.* p. 14, 16 f., showed that a governor would normally describe himself as ἀνθύπατος Ῥωμαίων by this date, instead of στρατηγός ἀνθύπατος Ῥωμαίων which his subjects would tend to use of him. Oppius may have been old-fashioned in his usage, but perhaps was seeking here a formula which was particularly solemn (because old) in order to assert dignity after the humiliations of captivity, or to underline the distinction between his own rank and that of Sulla's legates; and indeed Sulla himself, although senior by virtue of being an ex-consul, had no grander title in which to express his powers (cf. *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 745 at Rhodes in 82). Neither hypothesis explains the unusual position of στρατηγός in the phrase; was it displaced simply in order to avoid a string of three genitive plurals? ll. 6 f. This letter was written in response to an embassy of at least five persons and probably more, since l. 6 and the first half of l. 7 will surely have contained more names. The position and character of the reference to the embassy follow the practice normal for the period, cf. also docs. 4, ll. 8 f., 6, ll. 14 f., and see p. 45. If it is right to regard docs. 2–4 as part of a complex honouring the Artemidorus of docs. 2, b, l. 9 and 4, ll. 5, 25, his name should have appeared here in a prominent position (in fact in the lost area), as in doc. 4 where he was evidently the leader of the embassy. Of the names which survive, the patronymic in l. 8 is uncertain, but Adrastus is so common at Aphrodisias that it is very likely to be right. None of the persons named can be identified with any confidence, but an Artemidorus son of Myon appears in *CIG* 2754 and a probable descendant in *LBW* 1611. Other descendants are likely to appear in the list of founders' kin in Appendix VI but cannot be certainly recognized at present. The language of what follows perhaps suggests that Oppius composed the Greek himself, combining an often stilted expression of what was particular to the occasion with padding by use of the standard formulae of official correspondence.

ll. 13–14. Oppius received this embassy in Cos. According to Appian (*Mith.* 16. 112)

he was released from custody by Mithridates after the Peace of Dardanus; but then he drops from the literary record. It now appears that he went to Cos, maintaining his status as a Roman official, and presumably operated there with Sulla's approval. Cos had joined Mithridates, providing his base for the attack on Rhodes, and although it subsequently changed sides there was, no doubt, occasion for Roman intervention there.

ll. 14 f. Plarasa/Aphrodisias was clearly at pains to please Oppius, who must have seemed still to be a man of influence (see also ll. 49 f.); the wording was no doubt lifted from the civic decree and the ambassadorial speeches. Oppius accepted its protestations as genuine in the light of his experience of the city in 88 (see doc. 2); there may be an implicit contrast here with cities like Cos and Ephesus which had initially supported Mithridates and only returned to Roman allegiance later.

l. 19. Θέλησις does not appear in the indices of *RC* or *RDGE*, *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> or *OGIS*. It seems to emphasize the good intentions of the city.

ll. 21 f. The reference is to the siege of Laodicea in 88 and shows that Plarasa/Aphrodisias implemented the decisions made or mentioned in doc. 2. To say that its soldiers were sent ἐν πρώτοις etc. makes the best of a situation in which others had been as quick to field armies in support of Rome, and, in Sulla's estimation, Stratonicea had been quicker (*RDGE* 18, ll. 6–7).

ll. 27–9. For the formula cf. *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 682 (a Delphic decree of 140/39), l. 11: [καθώς] ἐπέβαλλε ἀνδροῖς καλοῖς [κἀγαθοῖς]. Oppius' phrase is most naturally taken to mean that Plarasa/Aphrodisias was free in 88 and this accords with the kind of activity in which it is now known to have been involved from docs. 1, 2, 4 (see also p. 15). It was certainly not federate, however (see doc. 8, l. 22, which omits reference to a treaty).

ll. 30 f. The embassy described here must be that voted in doc. 2; since part of its brief was to carry out Oppius' further instructions (doc. 2, b, ll. 4–5), the usefulness he attributes to it is plausible.

It is nowhere stated what happened at Plarasa/Aphrodisias after the surrender of Laodicea. The city can hardly have resisted Mithridates on its own; and yet nothing is said here about dangers faced or losses incurred, in lives or property, such as appears for example in the Sullan *sc de Stratonicensibus* (*RDGE* 18, ll. 7 f., 60 f., 114 f.). It may, therefore, have come through unscathed, or relatively so, possibly because it contained collaborators (see pp. 15–16); certainly the embassy to Oppius in Cos might be held to have displayed an anxious concern that the city should have a Roman patron willing to testify to its earlier merits (ll. 34 f.). It seems likely that its despatch was a precautionary move made before Roman decisions were taken on cities in Caria, and therefore that it preceded Sulla's residence at Ephesus during the winter 85/4. For the possibility that doc. 4 records another move with the same intention, see p. 24.

ll. 34–5. There can be little doubt that Oppius promised to exercise his care on the city's behalf both when in office and afterwards, but it is difficult to find a noun to follow ἰδίῳ except βίῳ and ἴδιος βίος seems commonly to mean *private livelihood* rather than *private life* (LSJ *s.v.*), but cf. Polybius 6. 56. 8; εἰς τε τοὺς κατ' ἰδίαν βίους καὶ τὰ κοινὰ τῆς πόλεως. Ἄπερ would be possible instead of ὅπερ.

ll. 35 f. Two constructions are used after φροντίζω; the infinitive in ll. 37, 40, 42, and clauses introduced by ὅπως in ll. 44 f.

The caveat in ll. 36–43 is, of course, normal for a senator in such a context; his benevolence for the future, both immediate and in the longer term, is proposed in a manner which goes back to the earliest phase of Roman official letter-writing in Greek (cf. *RDGE* 35, ll. 13 f., in 190 B.C.) and derives from Hellenistic royal correspondence; a promise to report well of petitioners in Rome is found in some other official letters and notably in the nearly contemporary letter of C. Cassius to Nysa (*RDGE* 48, ll. 12–13: [ῥ]μεί[ς δὲ κ]αὶ τ[ᾶ]υτα τ[ῆ] συνκλήτῳ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῷ [Ῥωμαίων] δ[ισσαφήσομεν].).

ll. 45 f. Τά must be used for ταῦτα ᾶ; for ἀπό of the agent in later Greek see *LSJ* s.v., 4.

ll. 50 f. There is no other account of a Roman's acceptance of a client from the Greek world at this date and this is also, at present, the earliest attested appearance of the word πατρωνία (προστασία was the term in common use), although πάτρων itself had been accepted for some time (see Mason s.v.; his earliest instance is in *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 656 of 116 B.C.).

Oppius appears to have used the verb ἀναδέχομαι in two senses and with two different constructions; he *received* the ambassadors (meaning, obviously, their request) and *undertook* to be patron (cf. Pindar, *Pyth.* 2. 41 . . . ἀνδέξαι' ἀγγελίαν, Xenophon, *Cyr.* 6. 1. 17 . . . φρουρήσειν ὑμῖν ἀναδεχόμεθα τὰ χωρία . . ., as cited by *LSJ* s.v., II, 2 and 4).

#### DOCUMENT 4. Letter of Nicomedes IV (?)

Shattered left-hand face of the pilaster which carries doc. 3 on its front face. It was constructed in two courses, the upper consisting of one block and the lower (which includes the dado) of two placed side by side. Of the upper block the top, badly chipped, and the left-hand side were found and remain *in situ* (inv. no. 67. 552; 0.625 × 0.67 × 0.83); nine fragments from the right-hand side and the centre were found fallen beside it and have been reassembled (inv. nos. 67. 311, 452, 456, 458, 460, 469, 470, 490 and an unnumbered chip). Of the lower course no inscribed surface was found *in situ*, but six fragments among those found fallen nearby have been identified as belonging to it (67. 451, 457, 526; 69. 312, 372, 451), while the right-hand side (inv. no. 76. 12) had been re-used in the Byzantine wall (p. xvii) and, among the fragments with it, three more have been identified as belonging here (inv. nos. 76. 11, 196. 2, 196. 12); more unassigned fragments (Appendix 1) may refer.

Letters, second–third cent. A.D., very like those of docs. 2, 3, and marginally different from those of docs. 6–25: ll. 1–3, 0.025; ll. 4 f., av. 0.02; ligatured TH in ll. 8, 14, 15, 24, THN in l. 15, HM in l. 18, ME in ll. 18, 30, NE in l. 20, HN in l. 24, HME in l. 27; circular stops in ll. 5, 31; apices in ll. 4, 5, 7, 8, 17, 26, 27.

Assistance with assembly from Michael Crawford. Acknowledgments for discussion as for docs. 2, 3, and additionally to Peter Derow and A. N. Sherwin-White (identity of the writer), David Braund (royal use of ethnics), Anthony Bulloch (language), J. Deininger (*formula valetudinis*), Simon Price (the sacrifice), R. Merkelbach, Fergus Millar, Eric Turner (the text), George Souris (the embassy).

## Plate III; Fig. 2.

[?Βασιλεὺς Βιθύνων Νικομ]ήδης [Πλαρασέων]  
 [καὶ Ἄ]φροδισι[έ]ων τῇ βουλῇ κ[αί]  
 [τῶ] δ[ή]μῳ *vac.* χαί[ρ]ειν *vac.*  
 [. . . 4-5 . . .] ΣΘΕΙΚΑΝ ὡς βουλόμεθα καὶ αὐ-  
 5 [τοὶ] ὑγαίνομεν. Ἀρτεμίδωρος καὶ οἱ ἄ-  
 [μα τ]ούτῳ αἰρεθέντες πρεσβευταὶ συν-  
 [μεί]ξαντες καὶ ἀσπασάμενοι ἡμᾶς  
 π[αρ]ὰ τοῦ π[λ]ήθους ἀπέδωκαν καὶ ἦν  
 γε[γ]ράφει[τ]ε ἐπιστολὴν δι' ἧς ἔδη-  
 10 λο[ῦ]τε συνη[σθῆ]ναι ἐπὶ τοῖς κατὰ λόγον  
 ἡμ[εῖ]ν προκε[χ]ωρηκόσιν καὶ ἑστεφα-  
 νω[κέ]ναι ἡμᾶ[ς] χ[ρ]υσέῳ στεφάνῳ καὶ  
 εἰκ[ό]νι· διελέχ[θ]ησαν δὲ καὶ οἱ πρεσ-  
 βευ[ταὶ] ἀκο[λού]θως τοῖς ἐν αὐτῇ κατα-  
 15 κεχ[ω]ρισμέ[νοι]ς, τὴν τε θυσίαν παρέστη-  
 σαν ἀξί[α]ν τ[ῆ]ς ἡμετέρας προαιρέσε-  
 ως. Κατελη[φό]τε[ς] οὖν τὸ [ν] δ[ῆ]μον ὑμῶν  
 ἐκ πλειόν[ων] ἑυνοικῶ[ς] [δι]ακείμενον  
 [τ]ὰ πρὸς ἡμ[ᾶ]ς καὶ ἴσπεύ[δ]οντα ν. αἰεὶ ἐπι-  
 20 [τυ]γχάνει[ν] ἡμᾶς ἐν] πᾶσιν τοῖς προ  
 [. . . c. 7 . . .] ο[ἰ]ς, ἀπο *vac.* δεχό[μ]εθα καὶ ἐ- ν.  
 [?π]ηνέσ[α]μεν πολὺ μάλιστ[α] τ[ῆ]ν εὐνοίαν  
 [?ὑ]μῶν] καὶ πειρασόμεθα [εὐ]καιρήσαν- νν.  
 [?τ]ες ἴσθῆναι ἀξί[ως] κ[αί] ἴμῶν καὶ τῆς  
 25 [?ἡ]μετέρας] δόξ[ας . . .] Σ[. . . 4-5 . . .] Ἀρτεμίδωρον  
 [. . . c. 5 . . .] ΑΛΕΞΑΜΕ[. . . c. 5 . . .] οὺς υἱοὺς κα-  
 [?τ]ὰ τὸ π[α]ρὸν συνε[. . . c. 5 . . .] εσθαι ἡμῖν  
 [. . . c. 9 . . .] ΙΟΥΣΚ[. . . c. 5 . . .] ΕΠΑΝ  
 [. . . c. 10 . . .] ΙΟΥΣΥ[. . . c. 5 . . .] ΑΙΤΟΥ εἶναι  
 30 [. . . c. 11 . . .] ἔκρ[ε]ίναμ[εν] καὶ ὑμῖν  
 [?ἔ]γράψαμεν περὶ τ[ού]τω[ν]. Ἐρρωσθε.

l. 1. Part of the top of the block survives and the whole of the crowning capital, which is uninscribed on this face; there is no doubt, therefore, that this is the first line of the text; only the bottoms of letters remain.

l. 4. Σ could be Ε; an apex on l should imply that it was pronounced separately from the preceding vowel and at first sight suggests ἰκανῶς. Ν is cut over a partially erased Μ.

l. 5. The dotted letters are faint and incomplete but reasonably certain.

ll. 8, 9, 11-30. Dotted letters are often little more than vestigial traces, but consonant with the interpretation printed which assumes use of the common formulae of diplomatic interchange in the Hellenistic world.

l. 24. A small space at the base line before ΜΩΝ suggests that the preceding letter was Υ not Η.

l. 25. Σ might be Ε, Ζ or Ξ; Ξ might be Ε, Ζ, Σ or possibly Δ.

l. 26. Ξ might be Ε, Ζ or Σ.

l. 27. Ε might be Ζ, Ξ, Σ or possibly Δ.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΕΙΣ ΤΟΝ ΝΙΚΟΜΗΔΗΤΗΝ ΑΔΡΑΣΤΕΟΝ  
 ΚΑΙ ΑΦΡΟΔΕΙΣΙΘΩΝΤΗ ΒΟΥΛΗ ΚΑΙ  
 ΤΩΝ ΗΜΩ ΧΑΙΡΕΙΝ  
 ΣΟΒΙΚΑΝΘΕ ΒΟΥΛΟΜΕΘΑ ΚΑΙ ΑΥ  
 ΤΟΙΟΥΤΗ ΑΙΝΟΜΕΝ ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΩΡΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΟΙΑ  
 ΜΑΤΟΥΤΑ ΔΑΙΡΘΩΝΤΕΣ ΤΡΕΣ ΒΕΥΤΑΙΣΥΝ  
 ΜΕΙΣΑΝΤΕΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΣΤΡΑΣΑΜΕΝΟΙ ΗΜΑΣ  
 ΥΠΑΡΑΤΟΥΤΑ ΗΘΟΥΣΑ ΠΕΔΩΚΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΗΝ  
 ΤΕΤΡΑΠΦΕΙΝΤΕ ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗΝ ΔΙΗΣΕΔΗ  
 ΛΟΥΤΕΣΥΝ ΗΘΩΝΑΙ ΕΠΙΤΟΙΣ ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΝ  
 ΗΜΕΙΝ ΠΡΟΚΕΧΧΩΡΗΚΟΣΙΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΣΤΕ ΦΑ  
 ΝΟΚΕΝΑΙ ΗΜΑΣ ΧΡΥΣΕΩΣ ΤΕ ΦΑΝΟΚΑΙ  
 ΕΙΚΟΝΙΔΕΛΕΧΘΗΣΑΝ ΔΕ ΚΑΙ ΟΙ ΤΡΕΣ  
 ΒΕΥΤΑΙ ΑΚΟΛΟΥΘΩΣ ΤΟΙΣ ΕΝ ΑΥΤΗ ΚΑΤΑ  
 ΚΕΧΩΡΙΣΤΕΝΟΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΤΕΘΥΣΙΑΝ ΤΑΡΕΣ ΤΗ  
 ΣΑΝΑΣΙΑΝ ΤΗΣ ΗΜΕΤΕΡΑΣ ΤΡΟΜΙΡΕΣ Ε  
 ΩΣ ΚΑΤΕΙΛΑΦΟΤΕΘΟΥΝΤΟΝ ΔΗ ΜΟΝΥΜΩΝ  
 ΕΚ ΠΛΕΙΟΝΟΝ ΕΥΝΟΙΚΩΣ ΔΙΑΚΕΙΜΕΝΟΝ  
 ΤΑΙ ΠΡΟΣΗΜΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΤΕΥΔΟΝΤΑ ΔΕ ΕΠΙ  
 ΤΥΝ ΧΑΝΕΙΝ ΗΜΑΣ ΕΝΤΑ ΣΙΝ ΤΟΙΣ ΤΡΟ  
 ΣΑΤΟ ΔΕ ΧΟΜΕΘΑ ΚΑΙ Ε  
 ΠΗΝΕΣ ΑΜΕΝ ΤΟΥ ΜΑΛΙΣΤΑΤΗΝ ΕΥΝΟΙΑΝ  
 ΑΥΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΕΡΑΣΟΜΕΘΑ ΕΥΚΑΙΡΗΣΑΝ  
 ΤΗΣ ΧΑΡΙΣΘΕΝΑΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΥΜΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΣ  
 ΗΜΕΤΕΡΑΣ ΔΕ ΔΟΥΛΕΥΟΙΣ ΤΕΡΙΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΩΡΟΝ  
 ΚΑΙ ΑΛΕΞΑΜΜΕ ΤΟΥΣ ΥΙΟΥΣ ΚΑ  
 ΤΑΤΟΙΤΑΡΟΝ ΣΥΝΕ ΕΣΘΑΙ ΗΜΕΙΝ  
 ΙΟΥΣ Κ ΣΕΤΤΑΝ  
 ΟΥΣ ΑΙΤΟΥ ΕΙΝΑΙ  
 ΕΚΡΕΙΝΑΜΕΝ ΚΑΙ ΥΜΕΙΝ  
 ΤΤΕΡΙ ΤΟΥΤΩΝ ΕΡΡΩΣΘΕ

Fig. 2. Doc. 4. Letter of Nicomedes IV (?). Drawn by Georgia Clarke.

Accepting many of the restorations proposed in the commentary (including some that are very tentative), I translate ll. 1–22 as follows :

[? Nicomedes king of the Bithynians] to the Council and People of the [Plarasans and Aphrodisians], greetings.

[? If you are well it would be] as we wish ; we too are in good health. Artemidorus and the ambassadors chosen at the same time met and greeted us from the People and gave us the letter you have written, in which you reported that you had rejoiced at the satisfactory progress of our affairs and had crowned us with a golden crown and a statue. Further your ambassadors spoke in terms which accorded with those expressed in the letter and furnished a sacrifice worthy of our conduct. Understanding then from many [things] that your people are [well disposed] to us and [? anxious for our] success in all [our ? undertakings], we approve and have [praised] very highly [your] goodwill and shall try, in our prosperity, to [? do you favours] in a manner worthy both of you and [our own] reputation. [. . ? . .] Artemidorus [. . ? . .] sons [. . ? . .] to be [. . ? . .] with us [. . ? . . we ?decided] and [? have written] to you about these things. Farewell.

ll. 1–5. The writer's name and title (if used) were very short, even allowing that the name of the Plarasans might be abbreviated (as in doc. 11, l. 1). I can in fact find no likely Roman whose name (with or without title) will fit the space and the surviving traces. It is also difficult to find one whose known epistolary practice accords with what appears here. The following points may be noted :

*a* magistrates are omitted from the address. The texts in *RDGE* show a few instances of this in the correspondence of Roman officials (34 of 193, 35 of 190, 36 of 190/89, 47 of the nineties) ; it is common in the letters of kings (*RC* 2, 4, 5, ?6, 7, 14, 15, 22, ?23, 25, 31–4, 35, ?38, ?41, ?43, 48, 62, ?64, 66, 67).

*b* the article is included before βουλῆ and δήμῳ. Viereck (p. 60) thought that this was not normal practice for Roman writers before the imperial period ; while the larger collection of Republican texts in *RDGE* shows a significant number of instances, two falling within the possible time range for this inscription (*RDGE* 14, L. Calpurnius Piso in 114, and *RDGE* 47, Q. Mucius Scaevola, in the nineties), it remains rare in Roman official correspondence, whereas it is regular in the letters of kings (*RC*, *passim*).

*c* there was perhaps a *formula valetudinis*, as suggested to me by J. Deininger. A phrase to fit what survives in ll. 4–5 is hard to find and it seems reasonable to propose that the copyist of the third century A.D. misunderstood something unfamiliar and should have written εἰ ἔρρωσθε εἶη ἂν ὡς βουλόμεθα καὶ αὐτοὶ ὑγιαίνομεν (cf. *RC* 71, ll. 2–3). Such a formula is not at present attested in Roman official letters before 73 B.C. (*RDGE* 23, with discussion p. 190), but occurs earlier in the letters of kings (*RC* 56, 58, 59, 61, 71).

*d* the epistolary plural is used. Examination of the practice of Roman Republican officials suggests that they regularly used the first person singular of themselves and the plural only when they spoke for colleagues as well or for the Romans in general (see Mayser II<sup>1</sup>, 40 f.). Commenting on *RDGE* 47, Sherk claims that Mucius Scaevola used the epistolary plural of himself ; but it is plausible to argue that all Scaevola's attested plurals in fact refer to 'the Romans'. The only apparent exception that I have found is in the letter of C. Cassius to Nysa of 88 (*RDGE* 48, l. 12), and that is not certain. In the letters of kings, however, the epistolary plural is common when the writer is thinking of himself as the representative of a state (*RC* 1, l. 65 note).

*e* there are a number of other words and phrases for which parallels are easier to find in the letters of kings than in those of Roman officials, for instance: (a) *συν*/[*μεί*]ξαντες (ll. 6–7) which is relatively frequent in royal letters (*RC* 31, l. 9; 52, l. 3; 54, l. 3; 60, l. 10) but does not appear in the index of *RDGE*. (b) ἀσπασάμενοι ἡμᾶς π[αρ]ὰ τοῦ π[λ]ήθους (ll. 7–8), paralleled by . . . οἴτινες] ἀσπασάμενοι αὐτὸν παρὰ τ[οῦ] δήμου, *OGIS* 219, ll. 42–3 (cf. also ἀσπασασθαι παρ' ἡμῶν, *RC* 14, l. 15), but nowhere in *RDGE*. Πλήθος is, again, not uncommon in royal letters and can be used interchangeably with δῆμος (*RC* 22, ll. 1, 6, 14).

There is, then, reason to suspect that the writer was not a Roman official but a king. If Artemidorus in l. 5, and probably also l. 25, is accepted as identical with his homonym in doc. 2, the date is late in the second or early in the first century B.C. and the king, therefore, plausibly to be identified as a Nicomedes of Bithynia; name and title fit very well into l. 1, giving what I have tentatively printed. Hellenistic kings rarely indicate the area of their rule in the preambles to their letters but it seems right to restore Βιθυνῶν here on the analogy of *RC* 25, l. 1 (βασιλεὺς Βιθυνῶν Ζιαήλας) because, in both cases, the king is corresponding with people outside his kingdom. It is open to debate which Nicomedes is involved. Nicomedes III Euergetes (died c. 94), who was noted for his good relations with and generosity to Greek cities, is one candidate; but the connection of Artemidorus with the first Mithridatic War may suggest his son Nicomedes IV who was, of course, associated from the first with opposition to Mithridates. The occasion was probably not an accession, since ἐκ πλειόνων in l. 18 seems to imply earlier contacts; the restoration of Nicomedes IV after the usurpation of Socrates (Appian, *Mith.* 2. 11) or his subsequent raid on the Paphlagonian coast, which brought in considerable booty (Appian, *Mith.* 2. 11–12), are both possible; but a much later date, after his reinstatement following Sulla's defeat of Mithridates cannot be excluded (see also on l. 13). A diplomatic approach of this kind to a king of Bithynia must surely imply that Plarasa/Aphrodisias was a free city when it was made.

ll. 5 f. Artemidorus is presumably to be identified with the homonym in docs. 2, 3, see also Appendix III.

For the position and general character of the reference to the embassy, which are normal for this period, cf. doc. 3, ll. 6 f., 6, ll. 14 f., and p. 18. The omission of all other ambassadors' names obviously underlines the importance of its leader. ll. 6 f. The text consists largely of commonplaces, paralleled many times in *RC*; what substance it contained, if any, must have appeared in the area towards the end. l. 9. For the spelling γεγράφετε see Mayser *l*<sup>2</sup>, 82.

l. 13. A portrait head of a Hellenistic ruler has been found at Aphrodisias, see K. T. Erim, *Türk Dergisi* 22 (1975), 77 and figs. 56, 57, noting features in which it resembles Mithridates VI; that it represents Nicomedes IV may now seem very probable. The crown and the statue are more likely in the period before the Mithridatic War, but not absolutely excluded even in its immediate aftermath, since there is no evidence in doc. 3 that the city was in serious financial distress after the war.

ll. 15–16. For the description of the sacrifice I have not found an exact parallel; it presumably celebrated the success of ll. 9 f., and for sacrifices on the arrival of good news cf. the examples collected by L. Robert, *Laodicée du Lycos* 273 f. Προάψεις, which I have translated by the neutral word *conduct* (LSJ *s.v.*, 6),

supposing a quite general reference to the king's pro-Roman policy, might have been intended simply to express *goodwill* (LSJ *s.v.*, 8) to Plarasa/Aphrodisias, perhaps also involving devotion to the city's goddess (which would provide an alternative explanation for the sacrifice); but this seems less likely.

ll. 17 f. Κατειλη[φότε]ς seems inevitable and must mean *understanding*, cf. LSJ *s.v.* καταλαμβάνω; for the run of the sentence here cf. κατανοοῦντες τὸ εὐγενές ὑμῶν καὶ ἐξ ἐτέρων μὲν πλειόνων κτλ. in RC 15, ll. 18–19. If εὐνοικῶς was not the adverb modifying διακείμενον it must give approximately the right sense. For [τ]ῷ at the beginning of l. 19 cf. οἰκείως τὰ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν διακείμενον in RC 14, ll. 4–5. In the second phrase, σπεύδοντα followed by an accusative and infinitive construction (in which ἐπιτυγχάνειν would be used intransitively) is a guess which seems to give the kind of sense needed (the first surviving letter in l. 20 is incomplete but certainly Ν rather than Γ). In ll. 20–1 we may have a phrase like τοῖς πρὸ τοῦ ἔργου]ις (or καίροις) or a compound word, e.g. προγεγενημένοις (it is a little long for the space but could probably be adapted to it by ligaturing).

ll. 21 f. It is in line with other royal letters (RC, *passim*) that at this point the writer should signify, with the verb ἀποδέχασθαι (on which see A. Wilhelm, *AAWW* 65 (1928), 132 f.), his approval of the ambassadors, their city and/or its conduct and proposals; here the object was the goodwill shown by the city, and approval was associated with praise already given (? by word of mouth to the embassy). It is also normal for this kind of sentiment to be followed by the writer's promise to seek in the future the advantage of his present clients; here the promise was related to the king's success (for the turn of thought cf. the letter of Ziaelas of Bithynia, RC 26, ll. 23 f., . . . καὶ εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν δὲ πειρασόμεθα τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς ὄντων ἐν ἡσυχίαι μὴ ἀχαριστεῖν ὑμῖν ἐν τοῖς ἀξιοῦμένοις), and was probably described as corresponding both to the merits of Plarasa/Aphrodisias and to the reputation of the writer (for this balance, cf. *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 682, ll. 5 f.: Περγαμηνοὶ . . . τάν τε ἀναστροφάν . . . ἐποίησαντο ἀξίως μέ[ν] τοῦ ἀποστ]είλαντος βασιλέ[ος Ἀττάλου] καὶ τὰς ἀμετέρας πόλιος . . .). Restoration of χαρισθῆναι in l. 24 would introduce a concept suitable to the context (cf. μὴ ἀχαριστεῖν in the letter of Ziaelas just cited), but its object should be in the dative case; while it might be possible to supply such an object after δόξ[ας in l. 25, ὑμεῖν is overlong, αὐτοῖ]ς not really appropriate (as well as overlong), while [τοῖ]ς [περὶ] Ἀρτεμίδωρον is less than satisfactory, since the favours are more probably promised for an indefinite future; possibly the object was felt to be deducible from ὑμῶν in l. 23.

ll. 25 f. The next sentence, probably, then, beginning in l. 25, but possibly not until l. 26, is too incomplete for restoration. It perhaps began with a subordinate clause and ended with the main sentence, for which I have guessed the verbs in ll. 30, 31–2. Initially it concerned an Artemidorus (l. 25) and sons (l. 26). It seems most natural to identify this Artemidorus with the ambassador of l. 5; if he is one of the sons (another being then named Alexamenes, l. 26) the paternity of these is left unexplained in a surprising way, whereas, if he is the ambassador, his own presence is already explained by l. 5 and the sons would appear to be his; the first surviving letter-group of l. 26 will then be from a verb (?διαλέγω, ?ἀλέξω or a compound). The sons were apparently to *do something with* the writer (l. 27) (but the range of words which would fit is wide), probably *in present circumstances* (for κατὰ τὸ παρόν, the only serious proposal that I can make for the phrase straddling ll. 26 and 27,

cf. *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 814, l. 45 . . . δεδομένον εἶναι . . . καθιερωσάι μὲν κατὰ τὸ παρὸν . . . τὸν βωμόν). Tentatively I suggest that Artemidorus petitioned that his sons might stay for a time in the king's court; whether more should be read into κατὰ τὸ παρὸν (if it is right), e.g. in present circumstances involving danger from which the king might protect them, is unclear.

If this interpretation is at all on the right lines, the text shows that the city of Plarasa/Aphrodisias had been acting as a free state and taking diplomatic initiatives within the Roman sphere of interest, in the late second or early first century, very probably as late as 90/89, just possibly later still. Their enterprise helps to explain the attitude of Q. Oppius (doc. 3) and, still more, Sulla's awareness of and interest in the local Aphrodite (p. 3).

The next relevant document does not come from the theatre. It has been published several times recently and commented upon at length by T. Drew Bear (see below), but I reproduce it, for the reader's convenience, with limited commentary, taking the opportunity to propose a few minor changes in the text and to underline some points particularly relevant to the matter of this chapter. On the date, I agree with Drew Bear; it must fall between the Sullan settlement and Caesar's reform of the taxation system for Asia in 48, which eliminated publicans from collection of the main tax; it may even belong, as he suggests, before Lucullus' reforms in 71.

#### DOCUMENT 5. Decree of the *koinon* of Asia.

Part of a marble panel broken away on an uneven edge at the left side, chipped along all edges (inv. no. 66. 26; maximum surviving width 0.60 × 0.58 × 0.30), from a composite monument whose inscribed area was completed on another block above and probably on a third to the right. Found in Byzantine fill, in the area adjoining the so-called bishop's palace and the odeon.

Letters, first century B.C.: av. 0.01; a stop in the form of — in ll. 17 and 24.

K. T. Erim, *PBSR* 37 (1969), 94, whence J. H. Oliver, *AJP* 93 (1972), 195; T. Drew Bear, *ZPE* 8 (1971), 286; and *BCH* 96 (1972), 443; J. and L. Robert, *Bull. Ep.* 1973, nos. 398, 399.

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Plate IV; Fig. 3.

... ]  
*sic* [ ?ἔδοξεν τῷ κοινῷ ν. γνώμη π]ροέδρων καὶ γραματέως ν. ἐπεὶ τῶν πολέω[v]  
 [ ?καὶ τῶν ἔθνων θλιβομένων] ὑπὸ τε τῶν δημοσιῶνων καὶ τῶν γεινομένων  
 [ . . . . c. 17 . . . . ?πανταχ]οῦ καὶ εἰς τὴν ἐσχάτην ἀπόγνωσιν παρ' ἐνίω[v]  
 [ ?καθεστηκότων τὸ κοινὸν] τῶν Ἑλλήνων συνεληθὸν ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἔκρινε[v]  
 5 [ ?ἐν συνκλήτῳ συνεδρί]α ἐν τῇ Ἐφεσίων πόλι πέμψαι πρεσβευτὰς πρὸς  
 [ τὴν τε σύνκλητον καὶ το]ύς ἡγουμένους ἐκ τῶν πρώτων καὶ μάλιστα τιμω-  
 [ μένων τοὺς ?δείξοντας αὐτ]οῖς περὶ τε τῶν προγεγραμμένων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων το[ῦ?]  
 [ ?κοινοῦ ?πραγμάτων καὶ αὐτ]οὺς ἀξιῶσοντας ἀντιλαβέσθαι τῆς ἐπαρχίας καὶ  
 ὑ[περ?]-  
 [ ?ασπί]ζειν φθειρομέ]νην αὐτήν, καὶ αἰρεθέντων πρεσβευτῶν ἐν οἷς καὶ *vac.*

- 10 [Διονυσίου καὶ Ἱερ]οκλέους τῶν Ἰάσονος τοῦ Σκύμνου τῶν Ἀφροδισιέων πολ[ι]-  
 [?τευομένων δὲ ἀμ]ὰ ἐν Τράλλεσιν, ὧν καὶ μὴ ἐπιδημούντων ἔπεμψαν οἱ προέδρο[ι]  
 [?περὶ τούτων π]αρ' Ἀφροδισιέων δῆμον γράμ[μ]ατα περὶ τε τοῦ εἰρήσθαι αὐτοῦ[ς]  
 [?συμπροσβέυ]σοντας διὰ τὸ κοινῇ συμφέρον τῶν Ἑλλήνων, γινωσκομένης  
 [?παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλη]σιν τῆς ἐπ' ἀρετῇ καὶ δόξῃ διαλήψεως καθότι τὰ κατὰ μέρος  
 15 [?ἐπηνημένα διὰ] τῶν ἑξαπεσταλμένων ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν γραμμάτων δηλοῦ-  
*sic* [ται ?διὸ ?παρόντε]ς καὶ κληθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου συναχθείσης ἐκκλησίας  
 [?ἀνεδέξαντο] τελέσειν τὴν προσβῆαν *stop* δι' ἣν καὶ προσβῆαν πολλοὺς  
 [καὶ μεγάλους] κινδύνους ὑπομείναντες καὶ ἀναδόντες τὰ ψηφίσματα  
 [τῇ τε συνκλή]τῳ καὶ τοῖς ἡγουμένοις καὶ [[KAI]] προσεδρεύσαντες ἐν πάν-  
 20 [τι καιρῷ τοῖς] ἡγουμένοις καὶ πολλοὺς καὶ μεγάλους ἀγῶνας [ἀ]ναδεξάμε-  
 [νοι ὑπὲρ τοῦ] κοινοῦ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ παρατύχοντες πᾶσιν τοῖς ἀγῶσι καὶ ποι-  
 [ήσαντες τῇ]ν προσβῆαν καλὴν καὶ εὐτυχῇ καὶ ἀξίαν τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Ἑλλήνων  
*sic* [καὶ τῆς περὶ] αὐτῶν διαλήψεως, κατωρθώσαντο τὰ μέγιστα καὶ συμφέροντα τοῖς  
 [ἐν τῇ Ἀσί]α π[ᾶ]σιν δήμοις τε καὶ ἔθνεσιν *stop* δεδόχθαι τῷ κοινῷ τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσί-  
 25 [ας Ἑλλήνω]ν ἐπηνησθαι τοὺς προγεγραμμένους ἄνδρας καὶ ἑστεφαν(ῶ)σθαι

χρυσῶ

- [στεφάνω ἐκά]τερον αὐτῶν ἐφ' ἣ εἰσηνέγκαντο ἀνδρῆα τε καὶ σπουδῇ *vacat*  
*sic* [καὶ καταστῆσ]αι αὐτῶν καὶ ἰκόνας χαλκᾶς παρ' ᾧ ἂν βούλωνται δήμῳ ἢ ἔθνει γεν-  
 [ομένης ἐπιγρα]φῆς *vac.* οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ δήμοι καὶ τὰ ἔθνη ἐτίμησαν Διονύσιον καὶ  
 Ἱεροκλῆν

[τοὺς Ἰάσονο]ς τοῦ Σκύμνου κατορθωσαμένους τὰ μέ(γ)ιστα ἀρετῆς [[ENEK]] *vacat*  
 ἔνεκεν *vacat*

- I. 1 . . . π]ροέδρων E, --- γνώμη πρ]οέδρων DB, [ἔδοξεν τῷ κοινῷ, γνώμη π]ροέδ-  
 ρων O; γραμ(μ)ατέως E, O, γραματέως DB; I. 2 . . . ] E, [αἱ πλείσται ---] O, [?καὶ  
 τῶν ἔθνῶν θλιβομένων] DB; γεινομένων E, O, γεινομένω[v] DB; I. 3 . . . ] E, O, DB;  
 II. 3/4 ἐγίω/v. . . E, O, ἐγίω[v] DB; I. 4 . . . τὸ κοινόν] E, O, [e.g. καθεστηκότων τὸ  
 κοινόν] DB; I. 5 . . . ] E, O, DB; I. 6 . . . το]υς E, [Καίσαρα καὶ το]ύς O, [τῆν τε σύν-  
 κλητον καὶ το]ύς DB; I. 7 [μένων . . ? . . ] E, [μένων ἀνδρῶν ---] O, [μένων τοὺς δια-  
 λεξομένους αὐτο]ῖς DB, ἄλλων τῶ[v] E, O, το[ῖς] DB; I. 8 . . . αὐτ]οὺς E, O, [Ἑλλησι  
 συμφερόντων καὶ αὐτ]οὺς DB; ὑ[π] E, O, ὑ[.] DB; I. 9 . . . ] E, O, DB; Δ[ιου] E, O,  
*vac.* DB; I. 10 [υσίου καὶ Πρ]οκλέους E, O, [Διονυσίου καὶ Ἱερ]οκλέους DB; πολ E, O,  
 πολ[ι] DB; I. 11 [ίτων . . ? . . ] E, [ίτων οἱ ἔμνο]ν O, [τευομένων δὲ καί] DB; I. 12  
 . . . π]αρ' E, [ὡς τὸν ἐκεῖ π]αρ' O; [e.g. ἄνδρα κομίζ]οντα π]αρ' DB; I. 13 . . . ]οντας  
 E, O, ---]οντας DB; I. 14 . . . ]ειν E, [ἅπασιν ὡς εἶπ]εῖν O, [παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλη]σιν  
 DB; I. 15 . . . ] E, [αἱ πόλεις ἐκ] O, [περὶ ἐκάστων διὰ] DB; I. 16 [σι . . ? . . ]ε E, O,  
 [ται --- τ]ε DB; ἐκ(κ)λησίας E, O, ἐκλησίας DB; I. 17 . . . ]E, [ὑπέσχοντο ἐκ]τελέσειν  
 O, [ἀνεδέξαντο] DB; I. 18 . . . ] E, [καὶ μεγάλους] O, DB; I. 19 . . . ] E, [Καίσαρι  
 Σεβασ]τῷ O, [τῇ τε συνκλή]τῳ DB; I. 20 [τι . . ? . . ] E, [τι καιρῷ τοῖς] O, DB; I. 21  
 [νοι . . ? . . ] E, [νοι ὑπὲρ τοῦ] O, DB; I. 22 [ούμενοι . . ? . . τῇ]ν E, [ῆσαντες τῇ]ν O,  
 DB; I. 23 . . . ] E, [καὶ τῆς περὶ] O, DB; συμφέροντα E, O, συμφέροντα DB; I. 24  
 . . . π[ᾶ]σιν E, [τῆς Ἀσίας π[ᾶ]σιν O, [ἐν πάσῃ τῇ ?]Ἀσίᾳ DB (but noting also the  
 possibility of [ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ π[ᾶ]σιν; I. 25 [ας . . ? . . ] E, [ας Ἑλλήνων] O, [ας  
 Ἑλλήνω]ν DB; I. 26 . . . ]τειον E, [στεφάνω τὸ ἔσ]τειον O, [στεφάνω ἐκά]τερον DB;  
 I. 27 . . . ]ν E, [καὶ ἰστάνει]ν O, [καὶ στήσ]αι DB; (ε)ἰκόνας E, O, ἰκόνας DB; at end  
 ἐπ[ι] E, O, γεν[ο] DB; I. 28 . . . ἐπιγρα]φῆς E, [τῆς ἐπιγρα]φῆς O, [μένης ἐπιγρα]φῆς

DB; Προκλήν E, O, Ἱεροκλήν DB; 1. 29 . . . Ἰάσονος E, [τοὺς Ἰάσονος O, DB; μέγιστα E, O, μέ(γ)ιστα DB (ΜΕΠΙΣΤΑ *lapis*).

Above l. 1 the bases of letters cut on the block above can be seen; in ll. 3, 10, and probably 12, 27, the penultimate letter of a word or syllable is so close to the right edge of the stone that the final letter must have been cut either on the adjoining block or at the beginning of the next line—I have preferred the former solution; in l. 7 it seems to me possible that there was an unfilled space at the right end of the line after TO but since this would impose τὸ ψήφισμα (or τὸ δόγμα) whereas l. 18 indicates that the ambassadors took more than one decree, I have, like Drew Bear, accepted that the smooth surface is misleading; in l. 29 the cutter has written Π for Γ and started ἔνεκεν but had no room to complete it.

Although I have not altered the interpretation in any essential, I have modified Drew Bear's text at several points, occasionally because I disagree with his reading, sometimes because further thought about the tenor of the document seems to me possible, more often because he seems to me to have paid too little attention to the space available in proposing restorations. Erim rightly noted that there is considerable variation in the horizontal spacing (e.g. in ll. 18 and 28, in both of which the supplements seem certain, from 55 letters to 67 plus a stop); but the total line-length cannot be the only criterion for restoration, for although the spacing overall is variable, the variation in the number of letters within the short areas to be filled at the left-hand side cannot be so very great.

[Decision of the *koinon*; proposal] of the presidents and the secretary. Since, in view of the fact that the cities [and the nations are oppressed ?everywhere] by the publicans and the [. . ? .] that have come into being, and [have been reduced] to the utmost despair at the hands of some, the *koinon* of the Greeks met and unanimously decided, [? at a special session] in the city of Ephesus, to send ambassadors to [the Senate and] magistrates, chosen from among men of the first rank and the most highly honoured, to [? report to them] concerning the aforesaid matters and the other [? affairs of the *koinon*] and to beg them to assist and [? protect] the province [which is being ruined]; and given that among the ambassadors chosen were [Dionysius and Hier]ocles, sons of Jason the son of Scymnus, Aphrodisians, who also [exercised] citizenship in Tralles, who were not in residence [? there], the presidents sent a letter [about these men] to the people of Aphrodisias and about their selection [to go as ambassadors] for the common good of the Greeks, [among whom] they had a reputation for excellence and glory, as the detailed [testimonials] in the letter despatched on account of them make clear; [and so], since the men, [who were present] and called upon by the People in the assembly which was summoned, [agreed] to carry out the embassy, and in its course endured many [and considerable] dangers, delivered the decrees [to the Senate] and magistrates, waited constantly, on every [occasion], on the magistrates, were involved in many serious contests [on behalf of] the *koinon* of the Greeks and were present at all of them, carried out their embassy with success and good fortune, in a manner worthy of the *koinon* of the Greeks and of [their] own reputation, and successfully secured the most important interests of [all] the peoples and nations [in Asia]; for these reasons [it was agreed] by the *koinon* of [the Greeks] in Asia to decree praise to the aforesaid men and to crown each of them with a golden [crown] in consideration of their courage and zeal [and to set up] also bronze statues of them among whatever people or nation they wish, carrying the [inscription] 'The peoples of Asia and the nations honoured for their excellence Dionysius and Hierocles [sons of Jason] the son of Scymnus who have successfully secured the most important matters'.

ΕΔΟΞΕΝ ΤΩ ΚΟΙΝΩ ΓΝΩΜΗΤΙ ΡΟΕΔΡΩΝ  
ΚΑΙ ΤΩ ΝΕΘΝΩ ΝΘΛΙΒΟΜΕΝΩΝ ΥΠΟ ΤΕ ΤΩΝ  
ΠΑΝΤΑΧΟΥΚΑΙΕΙΣ  
ΚΑΘΕΣΤΗΚΟ ΤΩ Ν ΤΟ ΚΟΙΝΟΝ ΤΩ Ν ΕΛΛΗΝΩΝ  
ΕΝ ΣΥΝΚΛΗΤΩ ΣΥΝΕΔΡΙΛΕΝΤΗ ΦΕΣΙΩΝ  
ΤΗΝ ΤΕ ΣΥΝΚΛΗΤΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΣΗΓΟΥΜΕΝΟΥΣ  
ΜΕΝΩΝ ΤΟΥΣ ΔΕΙΞΟΝΤΑΣ ΑΥΤΟΙΣ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΕ ΤΩΝ  
ΚΟΙΝΟΥ ΠΡΑΓΜΑΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΥΣ ΑΞΙΩΣΟΝΤΑΣ  
ΑΣΠΙΖΕΙΝ ΦΘΕΙΡΟΜΕΝΗΝ ΑΥΤΗΝ ΚΑΙ  
ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΕΡΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΤΩΝ  
ΤΕΥΟΜΕΝΩΝ ΔΕ ΑΜΑΞΕΝΤΡΑΛΛΕΣΙΝ  
ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΤΩΝ ΠΑΡΑΦΡΟΔΙΣΙΕΩΝ  
ΣΥΜΠΡΕΣΒΕΥΣΟΝΤΑΣ ΔΙΑ ΤΟ ΚΟΙΝΗ  
ΠΑΡΑ ΤΟΙΣ ΕΛΛΗΣΙΝ ΤΗΣ ΕΠΑΡΕΤΗΣ  
ΕΠΗΝΗΜΕΝΑ ΔΙΑ ΤΩ Ν ΕΞΑΤΤΕΣΤΑΛΜΕΝΩΝ  
ΤΑΙ ΔΙΟΠΑΡΟΝΤΕΣ ΚΑΙ ΚΛΗΘΕΝΤΕΣ  
ΑΝΕΔΕΞΑΝ ΤΟ ΤΕΛΕΣΕΙΝ ΤΗΝ  
ΚΑΙ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥΣ ΚΙΝΔΥΝΟΥΣ  
ΤΗΤΕ ΣΥΝΚΛΗΤΩ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΙΣ  
ΤΙΚΑΙΡΩΤΟΙΣ ΣΗΓΟΥΜΕΝΟΙΣ ΚΑΙ  
ΝΟΙΥ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΚΟΙΝΟΥ ΤΩ Ν ΕΛΛΗΝΩΝ  
ΗΣΑΝ ΤΕ ΣΤΗΝ ΠΡΕΣΒΗΝ ΚΑΛΗΝ  
ΚΑΙ ΤΗΣ ΠΕΡΙ ΑΥΤΩΝ ΔΙΑΛΗΨΕΩΣ  
ΕΝ ΤΗ ΣΙΑΤΤΑΣΙΝ ΔΗΜΟΙΣ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ  
ΑΣΕΛΛΗΝΩΝ ΕΠΗΝΗΣΘΑΙ ΤΟΥΣ  
ΣΤΕΦΑΝΩ ΕΚΑΤΕΡΟΝ ΑΥΤΩΝ  
ΚΑΙ ΚΑΤΑΣΤΗΣΑΙ ΑΥΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΚΟΝΑΣ  
ΟΜΕΝΗΣ ΕΠΙΓΡΑΦΗΣ ΟΙΕΝ ΤΗ ΣΙΑ  
ΤΟΥ ΣΙΑΣΟΝΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΣΚΥΜΝΟΥ

Fig. 3. Doc. 5. Decree of the *koinon* of Asia. Drawn by N. Griffiths.

l. 1. At present there is no other relevant text to provide a model for the preamble ; a formula something like what I have taken from Oliver must have stood before γνώμη, but it may have been sufficiently extended to have started on the preceding line. If that is not so, the preceding line presumably contained a heading.

l. 3. The first surviving letters suggest to με πανταχοῦ, καθόλου or διόλου (which would make a balance with παρ' ἐνίων). Παρ' ἐνίων seems awkward ; I suppose it to mean *as a result of some oppressors* (or *of some circumstances*).

The missing source of oppression specified along with the *publicani* may possibly have been another group of people associated with them (such as money-lenders, debt-collectors, soldiers), or another aspect of the system (such as debt, tribute, tribute assessments, Sulla's indemnity, some other demand for goods and services, interest on loans), or, indeed, a more general feature of the times (such as wars or invasions). The combination of tax-collectors and creditors in Plutarch, *Luc.* 20, where the province is said to be ὑπὸ τῶν τελώνων καὶ τῶν δανείστων πορθουμένην καὶ ἀνδραποδιζομένην strongly suggests creditors, loans or interest-rates.

l. 5. It seems probable that the opening phrase described the meeting held at Ephesus—ἐκκλησία is possible, συνεδρεία, in the sense of *session* (LSJ *s.v.*), perhaps preferable ; it might of course have been a regular session, but the tone suggests an extraordinary meeting ; hence my conjecture.

l. 6. There can be no doubt that Drew Bear's supplements are right ; Oliver's introduction of Augustus fits neither the content nor the letter-forms. Nevertheless, absence of the name of Rome or of the Romans (there is certainly no room for either), although not uncommon, seems worth noting ; it is taken for granted that the references to the Senate and authorities will be understood (for this phenomenon see Mason 121). Note also the absence of any reference to Rome or to the *publicani* in the inscription authorized for the honorands (ll. 28 f.) ; it may well have been considered prudent to avoid an over-specific statement about the Roman oppression involved.

l. 7. To express the representations of ambassadors the commonest verb in use was διαλέγειν (or διαλέγεσθαι) as proposed by Drew Bear for this position, but the active as well as the middle form seems to me too long and I have not found a fully-satisfactory alternative of the right length.

l. 8. As in l. 7, Drew Bear's proposal seems too long ; my guess is rather better in that respect.

ll. 8-9. I have failed to find a satisfactory verb to straddle the lines and rather unhappily offer ὑπερασπίζειν which is used in the Sullan *sc de Stratonicensibus* (RDGE 18, l. 82). That the partly surviving word which followed it in l. 9 was a participle describing the state of the province seems very likely ; there are other possibilities besides φθειρομένην (the sentence from Plutarch cited in comment on l. 3 could suggest πορθουμένην), but this must give the approximate sense.

l. 10. The choice of Aphrodisians as ambassadors of the province and the pressure put upon them by Aphrodisias to accept (ll. 16-17), may seem to be proof that Plarasa/Aphrodisias was now within *provincia Asia* and a member of the *koinon* (see also p. 4) ; but the men might have been selected as Trallians (l. 11 seems to suggest that they were first sought in Tralles) and stress on Aphrodisias could perhaps be due to an awareness in the province of the usefulness of Aphrodite as a link with Rome.

Drew Bear noted that the father, Jason son of Scymnus, is named on coins of Plarasa/Aphrodisias (*BMC Caria* p. xxxiv), indicating how a citizen of the lesser unit in the sympolity could play a full part in its government even at a quite early date in its history (see also p. 5).

l. 11. After the break a slanting stroke, perhaps with traces of a cross bar before EN, imposes ἀμα rather than καί, but Drew Bear's supplement must be right in essence. The text shows one Aphrodisian family with interests, which were presumably important, outside the city. For another reference (fragmentary) to an Aphrodisian connection with Tralles see doc. 8, ll. 63 f.; we do not, of course, know how long-standing it was, but it seems worth suggesting that it may be a pointer to links at élite level between the cities of the Maeander valley, which would help to explain their comparatively homogeneous reaction both to the invasion of Mithridates and to that of Labienus (see p. 3).

It was presumably from Tralles that the brothers were absent, since ll. 12 f. imply (what my supplement in l. 16 assumes) that they were found in Aphrodisias.

l. 12. Drew Bear's restoration is too long; for my *περὶ τούτων* an alternative is *περὶ αὐτῶν*. The statement here seems to imply the existence of a separate city organization for Aphrodisias, apart from that in which Aphrodisians participated as a component of the city of Plarasa/Aphrodisias. It cannot, however, be taken as quite certain that the reference to the *demos* of Aphrodisias is not a slip (or shorthand) for the *demos* of Plarasa/Aphrodisias; the formula would then be the earliest evidence for a tendency, which reached its conclusion in the Augustan period, when Plarasa dropped from the city's name altogether (see p. 108).

l. 13. After the break something is visible, consonant with Σ; the future participle of *προσβέειν* gives very appropriate sense.

l. 14. Drew Bear's reading and solution are right.

l. 15. Drew Bear's supplement is rather long, my own of the right length but pure conjecture.

l. 16. The brothers, who have been the object of discussion from l. 10 onwards, become the subject in l. 16, so that something like *διό* is needed to link the two parts of the sentence; the first surviving letter seems as likely to be Σ as E, which suggests another participle parallel with *κληθέντες*; hence my proposal. A situation in which members of the élite were pushed into activity by the demands of a public assembly was common enough in the Greek and Hellenistic world. For a parallel at Aphrodisias under the empire see *MAMA* 410, l. 10, *ἐπικληθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου καὶ αἰρεθεὶς*... The enthusiasm of the local assembly suggests the probability that Aphrodisias (or Plarasa/Aphrodisias) had itself suffered from the oppression for which a remedy was sought.

l. 17. Drew Bear's supplement fits the context better than Oliver's.

l. 18. The risks run by ambassadors are a commonplace of the Hellenistic world, cf. the notorious decree of Abdera on the *κακοποθία* endured by its ambassadors to Rome in c. 166 B.C. (*Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 656, ll. 20 f.); the Abderans too found constant attendance on Roman nobles necessary. On the dangers of involvement in such cases see Drew Bear 458 and evidence collected by J. and L. Robert, *La Carie* II, 306, to which he refers. For parallel references to *ἀγῶνες* see L. Robert, *Ét. Anat.* 50 f.; they can also be illustrated from the *sc de agro Pergameno* (*RDGE* 12) and the *sc de Oropiis* (*RDGE* 23) which show disputes between subjects and *publicani* argued

both before the full Senate and before committees advising the consuls, as well as from Cicero, particularly from his vivid account of a hard-hitting debate before the full Senate, with Gabinius and Aelius Lamia as protagonists, in a dispute between the *publicani* for Syria and the city of Tyre (*Q. fr.* 2. 12. 2).

l. 24. The first surviving letters seem to me much more like ΑΣΙΝ than ΑΣΙΑ and I have therefore preferred the alternative supplement from Drew Bear's footnote 162.

l. 27. Drew Bear's supplement seems to me too short.

Doc. 5 is the last of the official public documents of the true Republic so far discovered at Aphrodisias. The next documents are of the triumviral period and on the archive wall.

## CHAPTER II: THE ARCHIVE WALL

To enable the reader to make an effective assessment of this presentation of the documents inscribed on the archive wall it is necessary to describe the monument in some detail. It is constructed with blocks of local marble, whose width varies on no obvious principle, laid in alternating thick and thin courses. In the lowest course (thick), the lower part of the blocks is roughly tooled to provide a dado, 0·69–0·78 m in height; at the west end, where it meets the stage, it terminates in a pilaster; at the east end, where it meets the outer façade of the stage building, the original blocks are lost; it seems a reasonable hypothesis that on grounds of symmetry it terminated here in a decorative feature which simulated a pilaster (p. 41), but since the corresponding blocks are also lost in the south parodos there is no unequivocal evidence. In the central area of the parodos springers for a vault survive, c. 1·68 m above the dado. The inscription reached to that height and probably continued to that height as far as the pilaster at the west end; at the east end both wall and inscription reached at least three courses higher (p. 55).

The wall was not originally intended to carry inscriptions, but was adapted for them by fine polishing of the surface above the dado. The polishing must have been undertaken section by section as the masons were ready to lay out particular texts or groups of texts, for at some points the cutters have obviously had to remove the dado to a rather lower level than originally planned, so that its height is variable (plates VII–VIII), and at others they have left roughnesses between columns of lettering which may be so pronounced that they might be described as balks; these are altogether too haphazard to be planned decorative features (plate XI). It must be added that although the lettering is beautifully legible now, it is far from clear how adequately it was lighted when the theatre was in use and the parodos vault in position.

The letters are cut between lightly-incised guide-lines. They vary in height from c. 0·018 to c. 0·023; both height of letters and depth of trenches are reduced in the lower registers, but the reduction is so graded that it is not immediately obvious. The letter forms are those standard in public and good private inscriptions at Aphrodisias from some time in the middle second century A.D. to late in the third, so far as is known at present. They are substantially based on a square, designed with the aid of ruler and compass (compass marks at the centre of circular letters are commonly visible), cut with quite deep trenches which are triangular in profile, have rather elaborate serifs and include a distinctive *beta* whose lower bowl is not closed, . Ligatures are common, especially of H and N, M and E; and sometimes letters have been fitted into one another more subtly, as by the truncation of one side of the cross bar of *tau* or of one of the base serifs of *omega*. Apices are commonly used to indicate that adjacent vowels are to be pronounced separately, and diaeresis (two small dots or circles on either side of a letter) for the same purpose (both comparatively rare outside Aphrodisias); but neither system is used consistently and both apices and diaeresis sometimes occur for no obvious reason. Superscript bars are usual but not invariable above figures. The beginnings of paragraphs are normally outspaced by one or two places but there is also some centering; the ends of sentences may be marked by a *vacat*, a star, a small circle or an arabesque. Small vacant spaces are sometimes left to emphasize a word or phrase. For subsequent (but half-hearted) erasure of the name of Aphrodite, see p. xv.





Faint traces of what may be colour seem to show that letters throughout the text were painted in red; but one recently-found block with the beginnings of a few lines of doc. 8 showed, on first discovery, vivid colour in the initial letters of paragraphs and nowhere else—so that the apparent traces may often be a delusion. Analysis of the colouring matter most kindly undertaken by the Chemistry Department of the University of Cambridge showed that it was derived from cinnabar. True cinnabar was in fact available in Asia Minor (Dardanic) and is scheduled as the best quality *minium* in Diocletian's Edict on Maximum Prices (ch. 34, l. 74, as now known from the Aezani copy, M. H. Crawford and J. M. Reynolds, *ZPE* 34 (1979), 183); but there is no evidence to show whether this was in fact the Aphrodisian source.

Despite their occasional slips and misunderstandings of the text, which have sometimes, but not always, been corrected, the epigraphic masons employed were highly skilled. Detailed examination has shown that several men were employed and that there were at least two periods of epigraphic activity; but the effect produced is a remarkably beautiful whole, which achieves uniformity without monotony.

In the central area there was a heading, which survives, in larger letters (0·08) cut just below the springers of the vault:

Ἀγαθῆ Τύχη

There may have been a more informative heading above the columns of lettering at the east end (Appendix I, no. 1), perhaps on the lines of the introduction to doc. 9 and, if so, describing the archive as an account of the privileges given by the Senate and People of Rome and the Emperors; but the combination of doc. 6 and the first line of doc. 8 may have been felt to suffice.

The date and the motive for the inscription are open to discussion. The latest documents certainly cut on the wall are letters from Gordian III (docs. 20, 21) under whom space ran out (cf. doc. 22 on the north analemma, although there may have been other reasons for this, see p. 137, and 23, 24 from some unlocated position in the neighbourhood). Since Aphrodisian coins of the reign of Gordian lay some stress on *Eleutheria* it would be tempting to attribute the inscription to that period; but Gordian's letters seem to me to be cut by hands different from those of the main corpus of texts (although by masons trained in the same tradition), with lettering a little less well designed and finely cut; moreover they are differently aligned from what precedes them and must be regarded as an addition to the design. I once thought that the letter of Severus Alexander (doc. 19) was also an addition to the original corpus, on the grounds of slight variations that I detected in its letter forms (*Vestigia* 17 (1973), 115); I now think that these variations are to be detected also in another document cut in the same register (the triumphal decree, doc. 7) and are not significant for the dating. The letter of Alexander is aligned with the two letters of Severus and Caracalla which precede it and the layout suggests that the space for all three was prepared at the same time, therefore most probably in the reign of Alexander. The point is not entirely antiquarian. If the inscription of the archive was commissioned under Septimius Severus the main intention would surely be to demonstrate what were the Aphrodisian privileges confirmed by the new dynasty; later the essential purpose would be, I suspect, to proclaim them as a warning to

other cities of Asia, which might be inclined to overlook them. Alexander's letter, doc. 19, seems to show that an issue of this kind had arisen; and the policy of his reign may have been specifically to affirm civic rights and privileges (see also doc. 48).

The order in which the documents appear on the wall is not always chronological. The layout is as follows:

- Column 1      Lost ?Letter of Octavian to Plarasa/Aphrodisias (see document 6)
- Column 2    *a* *Senatus consultum de Aphrodisiensibus* (document 8)  
               *b* Triumviral decree (document 7)
- Column 3    *a* Letter of Hadrian to Aphrodisias (document 15)  
               *b* Letter of Octavian to Ephesus (document 12)  
               *c* Letter of Stephanus to Plarasa/Aphrodisias (document 11)
- Column 4    *a* Letter of Octavian to Stephanus (document 10)  
               *b* Subscript of Octavian (?)/Augustus to Samos (document 13)  
               *c* Subscript of Trajan to Smyrna (document 14)  
               *d* Extracts from awards to Aphrodisias (document 9)  
               *e* Letter of Gordian III to Aphrodisias (document 21)
- Column 5    *a* Letter of Commodus to Aphrodisias (document 16)  
               *b* Letter of Severus and Caracalla to Aphrodisias (document 17)  
               *c* Letter of Severus and Caracalla to Aphrodisias (document 18)  
               *d* Letter of Severus Alexander to Aphrodisias (document 19)  
               *e* Letter of Gordian III to Aphrodisias (document 20)

Obviously the ordinator altered the order of texts so as to fill his space in a satisfactory way, without carrying over part of any document from one column to the next. That may lie behind the peculiar placing of the letter of Hadrian (doc. 15) in col. 3 (but see p. 112 for another possibility) and perhaps also that of the extracts from awards to Aphrodisias (doc. 9) in col. 4. The position of the letter of Gordian III (doc. 21) in col. 4 is more probably due to the fact that it was an addition to the original scheme (p. 36).

In publishing the documents, I have placed first what I believe to have appeared on the wall as the introductory text (doc. 6) and thereafter presented them in what appears to me to be their correct chronological order.

### CHAPTER III: THE TRIUMVIRAL PERIOD

First on the archive wall there stands a coherent group of texts of triumviral date (docs. 6–13, all probably of 39–38 B.C.). They might almost be allowed to speak for themselves, but a very brief account of some of their major implications may be useful.

In terms of local history, they leave uncertainty about the fate of the city (which was, of course, Caesarian, see p. 5) at the time when Brutus and Cassius controlled Asia and during Antony's dispensations after Philippi, but show that its territory was invaded in the War of Labienus (docs. 11, 12 and probably 7, 13); that, probably, was the occasion for the display of courage by an Aphrodisian recounted in docs. 28–30 (the other activities of the subject of these inscriptions indicate other strains of the time, notably famine and debt, see Appendix IV). The sanctuary was looted by Labienus' army, and private property also plundered (docs. 11, 12); but substantial unanimity in support of the Caesarian party seems to have been maintained. Since the nomen *Antonius* appears later in the élite class at Aphrodisias (e.g. *MAMA* 408, 502, 504, 508, 565) it might have been thought that the citizens' real attachment was to Antony, and from the relatively frequent (although not invariable) association with it of the praenomen *Lucius* (e.g. *MAMA* 502, 504, 565) that the connection was first established by his brother Lucius, who was quaestor in Asia in 49 and for a time the acting governor (*MRR* II, 260; for grants of citizenship in this area of Asia Minor which can be associated with L. or M. Antonius see L. Robert, *Laodicée* 308 f.). In fact, it is now clear that, whatever feeling for Antony existed in the city and whatever grants of citizenship Antony may have made there, Octavian took pains to work up a connection established by Caesar (but I do not see any evidence to justify a suggestion that supporters of Antony ever suffered for it, MacDonal, *Coins* 1). Caesar had dedicated to Aphrodite (doc. 12, ll. 13–14), regulated the *asylia* of her sanctuary (doc. 8, l. 41) and perhaps acquired property there, since Zoilus, a freedman of Octavian, may have been operating there in 40 (doc. 10 and Appendix V) and sporadic imperial freedmen are found there later (Appendix VIII, section F). Zoilus, himself by origin Aphrodisian, may have helped to keep the city loyal, not simply to the Caesarian party but to Octavian, and, on Octavian's own testimony, was important in influencing him to give it valuable privileges (doc. 10). In 39, after the withdrawal of Labienus' army from western Asia Minor, the city sent its citizen Solon son of Demetrius as ambassador to Rome (docs. 6, ll. 14 f., 12, ll. 4 f., probably 8, l. 22, and perhaps 41), where he received a welcome and help from Octavian. He returned home with copies, provided by Octavian (doc. 6, ll. 25 f.), of a triumviral decree (doc. 7), a *senatus consultum* (doc. 8), a law (some clauses perhaps in doc. 9), a treaty (one extract in doc. 9), and, it seems clear, several documents through which Octavian sought recovery of its looted property (docs. 10, 12) or (if my dating of doc. 13 is accepted) in which he testified to his high regard for the city, which had been given *libertas*, *immunitas*, and a treaty with Rome together with confirmation of, and probably increased status for, the *asylum* in Aphrodite's sanctuary. At this point the official documents break off. From other inscriptions it is known that Zoilus set up boundary-stones defining the area of the *asylum* (doc. 35), received remarkable local honours (Appendix V;

his career illustrates the possibilities of unexpected promotion available, with luck, in a revolutionary era), and contributed to a considerable programme of public building (the theatre and the temple of Aphrodite certainly, some parts of the monumental agora probably, are associated with the name of Zoilus among others).

In broader terms these documents contain important information on events at Rome, and on the triumvirate, its procedures, policies, administration and personalities. Some aspects of this have already been noted by Fergus Millar (*JRS* 63 (1973), 50), but he argued from a less complete dossier than is now available; even more vividly than he could know, it demonstrates that combination between formal observance of constitutional proprieties and monarchic authoritarianism which he was concerned to bring out as a feature of the period. Antony and Octavian in their joint decree (doc. 7), Octavian taking action in his own name (docs. 6, 10, 12, 13), spoke as absolute authorities; but, as Millar noted in comment on doc. 6, 'The careful distinction between the different forms of Roman official acts . . . and the reference to the public archives (in the *aerarium*), emphasizes again the extent to which the Triumvirs, at least formally, operated within the framework of the *res publica*'. Dio Cassius reports that in 39 the triumvirs had the Senate ratify all their *acta* to date (48. 34. 1); consonant with that report is the ratification in the *senatus consultum* here (doc. 8) of that part of a decree of theirs (probably doc. 7) which concerned Plarasa/Aphrodisias. It has been noted in the past, since this passage of the senatorial decree was already partially known, that at the same time they obtained forward ratification of relevant decrees that they might issue in the future. The *senatus consultum* itself, in its new detail, the law which followed it and the treaty, show the full apparatus of Republican procedure in use; and yet, at the same time, the *senatus consultum* indicates clearly enough that what the consuls proposed was what the triumvirs had approved, and in so doing recalls the Sullan and Caesarian, and foreshadows the imperial, situation. A further small point, if I am right in my proposed interpretation of doc. 8, ll. 83 f., is that the full apparatus of Republican procedure included that religious archaism in the matter of the Fetials which Millar (*op. cit.*, 61) noted as something emerging in 32, in the new era which was to become that of Augustus. While it may have been due already in 39 to Octavian (who claimed the credit for the measures in favour of Aphrodisias, docs. 10, 12, 13), it accords very well with the façade of traditional constitutionalism which both triumvirs were apparently concerned to erect in 39.

Another feature that deserves underlining is the implication of acceptance (by Antony and by at least some cities in Asia) that Octavian had a right to make formal interventions in Antony's area (cf. also his correspondence with Rhosus, *RDGE* 58). Plarasa/Aphrodisias itself was, no doubt, a special case (doc. 10, ll. 3-4); but Stephanus (doc. 10; probably Antony's agent), Ephesus (doc. 12) and Samos (doc. 13; I assume my dating of the document) were not. Octavian's instruction to Stephanus assumed his right to deal with Antony's administrative agents (at least when his own clients were involved), and Stephanus admitted it (doc. 11); his letter to Ephesus assumed his right to deal with any city within Antony's area (in the same circumstances); the case of Samos, which had approached Octavian with a request for favours, is even more significant, since it shows that a city of Asia might think it wholly appropriate to request favours from him. Some reappraisal of the

relationship of these two triumvirs to each other seems to be needed; it would seem to be the case that their division of the Roman world between them was not held to have impaired the powers and responsibility of each for the whole.

In the matter of day to day administration there is also useful information here, supplementing the literary evidence, for extensive triumviral use of personal agents for public business (docs. 10, 11) in a manner which is another foretaste of the imperial situation and the escalating use of the emperor's procurators.

As for the triumvirs themselves, the omission of Lepidus must be noted (doc. 7) and although explicable by his physical absence helps to explain his subsequent complaint that he was treated as a subordinate (Dio Cassius 49. 8. 3). There is also important illustration of the political techniques of Octavian. He showed himself diplomatic in formula, but the order behind his requests is clear (doc. 12), and in writing to an inferior he did not disguise it (doc. 10). He was very quick to seize whatever tool came his way and to use it for all that it was worth. He claimed full credit for privileges in fact given to Plarasa/Aphrodisias by Senate and People, after sponsorship by Antony as well as by himself. In writing to an agent of Antony he suggested that they were his reward to an agent of his own (doc. 10), to a city that they represented the munificence of his patronage to a community that had deserved well of him (docs. 12, 13). The propagandist twist is clear; not subtle, but enterprising; the impression given is of a sharp operator making the most of what Antony may have seen as unconsidered trifles, and freely adapting his interpretations of events to his audience for the time being.

Apart from this there are many details of interest to the historian of the period, among them perhaps a date (August/September of 39) for the Misenum meeting (p. 70 f.), and certainly one (very late 39, more probably early 38) for Octavian's assumption of the praenomen *Imperator* (p. 75 f.); but the place for such details is in the commentaries.

A further general point may be offered: the documents constitute an important addition to our knowledge of Roman public procedures in the late Republic, of archival practice, of official letters and responses to petitions, of magisterial edicts, in a small way of the making of law and of treaties, but above all of senatorial decrees. For example, as noted by R. Bernhardt (*Historia* 29 (1980), 192), the subscript to Samos (doc. 13) strongly suggests that in normal Republican practice a free city also had immunity, contrary to the view, commonly held since Mommsen, that *libertas* was often conferred without *immunitas*. The *senatus consultum de Aphrodisiensibus*, in its new form some ninety-five lines long (including preamble and appendix), is, for all its lacunae, the longest and most elaborate Senatorial decree of which we have any text. It presents many notable features, some of which may be the result of the triumviral situation (so the reference to what was probably a triumviral speech at l. 26), while some would perhaps be seen to be the personal style of the draftsman (so perhaps the reporting of the ambassador's appeal in indirect speech in ll. 16 f.), and yet others to be purely tralatitician, if we had more documents for comparison. Among the more striking points I would draw attention to the incoherence of arrangement, to the repetitions of theme (see p. 74 f.), and to the variation in the form of the recommendations/decisions from the correct accusative and infinitive or ὅπως clauses dependent on ἔδοξεν to sentences with verbs in the imperative (ll. 55 f., 67 f.) where the draftsman has slipped into the language of law

making (it is perhaps possible that some sections were in fact drafted as for the law which confirmed the *senatus consultum*, see pp. 75, 84).

Within the triumviral group the first text surviving on the archive wall is part of a *senatus consultum* (doc. 8), indubitably the source both of the text commonly known as the *sc de Aphrodisiensibus* (RDGE 28B), first copied by William Sherard from a block re-used in the city wall, and of the text giving part of a list of senators present at the recording of a decree (RDGE 29), first copied from another block in the city wall by H. Loew in 1841–2 (p. 55). Near his block Sherard also copied from a tall, narrow stone an official letter whose opening lines, and so the heading, are missing; they were presumably cut on another block which originally stood above the one he saw (Sherard's transcript makes it clear that there is no question of an erasure of the heading as has sometimes been suggested). This text (doc. 6) was published by E. Chishull in 1728 as a letter of the triumvir M. Antonius. All subsequent editors have accepted the attribution, but in fact the writer must have been Octavian, whose titles will fit what survives as well as Antony's do. Its content shows that it was the covering letter to a dossier of copied documents—a decree, a *senatus consultum*, a treaty and a law—carried to Plarasa/Aphrodisias by an ambassador. The inscribed *senatus consultum* (doc. 8) which refers to a law and to arrangements for swearing to a treaty and for its subsequent recording and publication, together with the triumviral decree which follows it on the wall (doc. 7) and the extracts from a treaty and perhaps a law which appear later (doc. 9), may reasonably be regarded as elements in that dossier; so that it is plausible to argue that the stone inscribed with Sherard's headless letter came from the archive wall, like the stone with his section of the *senatus consultum*, and formed the introduction to the whole series of triumviral documents which we now have. Calculation of the space required for the missing portions of the *senatus consultum* indicates that between it and the east end of the wall there was space for a narrow column of letters; and discovery of a fragment of Sherard's text of the headless letter has made possible a calculation of the width of this stone, which could in fact have fitted neatly into the space available (see plate figure 4). The fragment shows that while the lettering is entirely in the style of the lettering of the main corpus of texts on the archive wall (and was immediately recognized as such by Professor Erim) the depth of the stone is thinner than is normal for blocks of the wall. It would suit well the requirements of an applied pilaster such as I have suggested for the terminal feature at this end of the wall (p. 33).

Discovery of this fragment unfortunately shows that the stone has been broken up and is unlikely ever to be recovered *in toto*.

#### DOCUMENT 6. Letter of Octavian to Plarasa/Aphrodisias

Tall, narrow inscribed stone re-used in the city wall, west stretch, where it was copied by Sherard in 1705; a fragment from the left side of an inscribed marble block (inv. no. 72. 487; 0.21 × 0.33 × 0.125), found re-used in a modern field wall and now in Aphrodisias museum, proves to be from Sherard's stone.

Letters second-third cent. A.D.: 0·022; ligatured HP in l. 21, ΠE in l. 36, TE in l. 37; apices in ll. 33, 37; circular stop in l. 34.

E. Chishull, *Antiquitates Asiaticae* (1728), 150 f., from notebooks containing copies made by W. Sherard and others; *CIG* 2737 similarly derived (for the relation of both these publications to Sherard see Appendix II). All subsequent texts have depended on these—C. F. M. Texier, *Description de l'Asie Mineure* III (1849), 152 f.; Viereck, 5 f., no. v; *OGIS* II (1905), nos. 453–5; *Fontes*, no. 43; E. Täubler, *Imperium Romanum* (1913), 177 f.; F. F. Abbott and A. C. Johnson, *Municipal Administration in the Roman Empire* (1926), 324 f., no. 29; S. Riccobono, *FIRA*<sup>2</sup> I (1941), 269 f., no. 38; V. Ehrenberg and A. H. M. Jones, *Documents Illustrating the Reigns of Augustus and Tiberius*<sup>2</sup> (1955), no. 299; *RDGE* no. 28A. There is an English translation in *ARS* no. 122 and notes or discussion by Reinach, p. 103 (summary of the content), S. Accame, *Il dominio romano in Grecia dalla guerra acaica ad Augusto* (1946), 92 f. (civic freedom and the method of its conferment), M. Gelzer, *Gnomon* 21 (1949), 24 (comment on Accame), *RRAM* I, 418, 432 f.; II, 1271, n. 43 and 1282, n. 15 (civic freedom), *MAMA*, p. 148, R. K. Sherck, *Historia* 15 (1966), 123 f. (date), L. Robert, *Aph* 409 f. (civic freedom), F. Millar, *JRS* 63 (1973), 57, no. 13 (triumviral procedure).

Much of the discussion, however, is nullified by the new evidence.

Attribution of the fragment by Charlotte Roueché; acknowledgments for discussion to Anthony Bulloch (language), H. D. Jocelyn (the γεινωσκόμενοι), George Souris (the ambassador), D. van Berchem, Michael Crawford, A. Giovannini, Wynn Williams (the last line).

#### Plates V–VI.

##### a. Sherard's transcription

[?Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ]	20 μάτων, οὐ μόνον
[?θεοῦ Ἰουλίου υἱός,]	ἠρκέσθη ἐπὶ τοῖς [γ]-
[ὑπάτος ἀποδεδει]-	εγονόσιν οἰκονο-
γμένος τὸ β' καὶ [τὸ γ'.]	[μή]μασιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ [ῆ]-
5 τριῶν ἀνδρῶν τῆ(ς)	μᾶς παρεκάλε-
τῶν δημοσίων πρα-	25 [σ]εν εἰς τὸ τοῦ γεγο-
γμάτων διατάξεως,	νότος ὑμεῖν ἐπι-
Πλαρασέων καὶ Ἄφρο-	κρίματος καὶ δόγμα-
δεισιέων ἄρχουσιν,	τος καὶ ὀρκίου καὶ νό-
10 βουλῆ, δῆμῳ χαίρειν·	μου ἀντιπεφωνημέ-
εἰ ἔρρωσθε εὖ ἂν ἔ-	30 να ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων
χοι, ὑγιαίνω δὲ καὶ	δέλτων ἔξαποστεῖ-
αὐτὸς μετὰ τοῦ στρα-	λαι ὑμεῖν τὰ ἀντί-
τεύματος. Σόλων	γραφα <i>stop</i> ἐφ' οἷς ἐπαινέ-
15 Δημητρίου, (ὑ)μέτερος	σας τὸν Σόλωνα μᾶ[λ]-
πρεσβευτῆς, ἐπι-	35 λον ἀπεδεξάμην ἔσ-
μελέστατα πεφρον-	χον τε ἐν τοῖς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ
τ(ι)κῶς τῶν τῆς πό-	γεινωσκομένοις
λεως ὑμῶν πραγ-	ῶ καὶ τὰ καθήκοντα

ἀπεμέρισα φιλάν-  
 40 θρωπα ἄξιον ἠγη-  
 σάμενος τὸν ἄν-  
 δρα τῆς ἡμ(ῶ)ν [TEI]  
 τειμῆς, ὑμῖν τε συ[v]-  
 ἡδομαι ἐπὶ τ(ῷ) ἔχειν  
 45 τοιοῦτον πολέιτην·  
 ἔστιν δὲ ἀντίγραφ[α]

τῶν γεγονότων ὑ-  
 μῖν φιλανθρώπων  
 τὰ ὑπογεγραμ(μ)ένα  
 50 ἃ ὑμᾶς βούλομαι  
 ἐν τοῖς δημοσίοις  
 γράμμασιν ἐντάξαι[ι].  
 γράμματα Καίσαρος leaf

*b. The surviving fragment*

. . . δόγμα]-  
 [τος καὶ ὀρκίου καὶ νό]-  
 30 [μου ἀντιπεφωνημέ]-  
 να ἐ[κ τῶν δημοσίων]  
 δέλτων ἐ[ξαποστει]-  
 λαι ὑμῖν [τὰ ἀντί]-  
 γραφα stop ἐφ' ο[ἷς ἐπαινέ]-  
 35 σας τὸν Σό[λωνα μᾶλ]-  
 λον ἀπεδε[ξάμην ἔσ]-  
 χον τε ἐν το[ῖς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ]  
 γεινωσ[κομένοις],  
 ῶ καὶ τὰ [καθήκοντα]  
 40 ἅπ[εμερίσα φιλάν]-  
 [θρωπα . . .

The layout and cutting of this inscription strengthen the case for believing the letter to have come from the archive wall and for treating it as part of the archive inscribed on it. At the same time it confirms the substantial accuracy of William Sherard's transcriptions when compared with those of the copies used by Boeckh for *CIG* (Appendix II). Sherard seems to have had difficulty in reading at several points down the edges, which were presumably chipped, especially at the right. He may also have been confused in places by ligatures (which he does not always record, as the surviving fragment shows). He did not record apices.

Of his corrections to his transcription, those written with a thick nib may have been made in the field, those with a thin nib were more probably added in the study. In the apparatus I have recorded the latter as S.<sup>2</sup> (see Plates V, VI).

I. 4, T, bar above the figure, S.; I. 5, ΤΗΔ·, S., C. τῆ[s], other edd.; I. 15, ΗΜΕΤΕΡΟΣ, S., (ὑ)μέτερος, edd.; I. 18, ΤΗΚΩΣ, S., τ(ι)κως, edd.; I. 21, ligatured HP, S., C.; II. 21–2, Γ om. E. who shows E as the first letter of I. 22, γεγονόσι, edd.; I. 23, ·ΜΤΑΣΙΝ, S., [ΜΗ]ΜΑΣΙΝ, edd.; II. 22–3, Η om. S. who shows Μ as the first letter of I. 23, ἡμᾶς, edd.; II. 24–5, Σ om. S. who shows ··ΕΝ at the beginning of I. 25, παρεκάλεσ/εν, edd.; II. 32–3, ΑΝΤΙ/ΓΡΑΦΑ, S. (cf. *lapis*) corr. from ΑΝΤΙΓΡΑ/ΦΑ, ἀντίγρα/φα, edd.; small circular stop, S. (cf. *lapis*). I. 34, Λ om. S., μᾶλ, edd.; I. 42, ΗΜΟΝ, S., ΗΜΩΝ, S.<sup>2</sup>, ἡμῶν, edd., ΤΕΙ, S. who shows the

same letters also at the beginning of l. 43, *τει/μῆς*, edd.; ll. 43-4, N om. S. who shows H as the first letter of l. 44, *συ/νήδομαι*, edd.; l. 44, *ΤΟ*, S., *ΤΩ*, S.<sup>2</sup>, *τῶ*, edd.; l. 46, *ΑΝΤΙΓΡΑΦ.*, S., *ΑΝΤΙΓΡΑΦΑ*, S.<sup>2</sup>, *ἀντίγραφα*, edd.; l. 49, *ΥΠΟΓΕΓΡΑΜΕΝΑ*, S., *ὑπογεγραμμένα*, edd.; l. 50, *ΒΟΥΛΟΜΑΙ*, S., *ΒΟΥΛΟΜΑΙ ΚΑΙ*, S.<sup>2</sup>; *βούλομαι*, edd.; l. 52, unfilled space for two letters, S., ignored by edd., *ΕΝΤΑΖΑ*, S., *ΕΝΤΑΖΑΙ*, S.<sup>2</sup>; *ἐντάξαι*, edd.; l. 54 aligned with rest, S., C., displaced to right, other edd., concluding leaf S., ignored, edd.

[? Imperator Caesar, son of divus Julius, designated consul] for the second and [the third] time, (one) of the Tresviri Reipublicae Constituendae, to the Magistrates, Council and People of the Plarasans and Aphrodisians, greetings. If you are well it would be good; I too am in good health, together with the army. Solon, son of Demetrius, your ambassador, who has taken the greatest care over the business of your city, has not only been satisfied by the administrative arrangements that have been made but has also urged us to send you from the public records these copies of the edict, the *senatus consultum*, the treaty and the law that relate to you. For this I praised him, approved him the more, held him as one of my acquaintances and gave him the appropriate privileges, thinking him deserving of honour from us; and I congratulate you on the possession of such a citizen. The copies of the privileges that relate to you are these that are subjoined; I wish you to register them among your public records. Letters of Caesar.

ll. 1-2. The identification of the writer as M. Antonius seemed self-evident to Chishull and to all subsequent editors, since Antony received the eastern provinces when the triumvirs divided the Roman world amongst themselves after the battle of Philippi. However, as Fergus Millar has pointed out (*JRS* 63 (1973), 57), Octavian's letter to Rhosus (*RDGE* 58. i) might have suggested that Octavian did not regard himself as debarred from formal interventions in Antony's area; docs. 10-13 now demonstrate that he retained a close connection with Plarasa/Aphrodisias and considered himself free to take action elsewhere in Asia on its behalf, while doc. 13 shows that the Samians thought it reasonable to approach him with a request for favours for themselves (on his interventions in the east, see also p. 39). From doc. 12, ll. 4 f., it appears that it was to Octavian that the Solon son of Demetrius of ll. 14 f. here made representations about the effects of the War of Labienus on his city, so that it should have been Octavian who provided him with the copies of documents and with the testimonial incorporated in the present letter. What survives of the titles in ll. 4 f. accords as well with those of Octavian as with those of Antony at any time after the decision (made a little before or at the Misenum meeting, see p. 69) that both should be designated to second and third consulates (held by Octavian in 33 and 31). There can be no real doubt that the writer was Octavian.

The exact form in which Octavian gave his name must remain uncertain. Since he was still using the praenomen *Caius* on 2 October 39 (doc. 8, ll. 26, 48), it is overwhelmingly probable that he did not assume the praenomen *Imperator* until 38 (see further p. 75 f). If this letter was written in 39 then he will have been Γάϊος Καῖσαρ, if, as seems quite probable, it was in 38, then he may well have been Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ.

l. 5. Viereck, followed by later editors, added [τῶν] at the beginning of the line, but Sherard's copy is against this and doc. 8, l. 48 shows that it is unnecessary.

l. 7. Διαιτάξεως appears in all the relevant Aphrodisian documents in the triumviral

title, καταστάσεως elsewhere, both in Antony's and Octavian's usage (see Mason, s.vv.), it is presumably an idiosyncrasy of the particular translator at work on this occasion. Sherk put forward a very tentative suggestion that the appearance of a different Greek translation of his title on different occasions by (as he thought) Antony might show that Antony himself was not responsible for the Greek of these pronouncements. Obviously this letter can no longer be used to throw light on Antony's practice; and it was already known from Suetonius (*Aug.* 89. 1) that Octavian/Augustus employed translators.

ll. 11 f. The *formula valetudinis* is as normally used by Octavian (*RDGE* 58, i, ll. 4 f.; ii, ll. 75-6; 60, ll. 4-6; doc. 12, ll. 2-3). Reference to the well-being of a Roman army as well as of its commander occurs at least as early as 117 B.C. when the Letaeans drafted their decree in honour of M. Annius (*Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 700, ll. 42-3: συναρέντες ἐπὶ τῷ ὑγιαίνειν αὐτὸν τε καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον); but its earliest attested appearance in a Roman official letter is in 62 when Cicero wrote *si tu exercitusque valetis bene est* to Metellus (*Fam.* 5. 2) and, according to most manuscripts, abbreviated to *STEQVBE* to Pompey (*Fam.* 5. 7. 1); the earliest inscription in which it occurs records a letter written by Caesar (*RDGE* 26, col. A, ll. 3-4). It is clearly an accident that we do not know when it was first introduced into official epistolary practice, only that the convention was established by the later sixties.

ll. 14-16. Solon also appears in doc. 12, l. 4 (see above on ll. 1-2) and his name may be plausibly restored in doc. 8, l. 16; he may well be the subject of doc. 41.

ll. 16 f. Reference to an ambassador at this stage of a letter, and an accompanying testimonial of this type was normal at least to the Augustan period (cf. also in doc. 3, ll. 6 f., and in the probably royal letter, doc. 4, ll. 5 f.); by the early second century A.D. the reference had been transferred to the end and was very brief (as in doc. 20, l. 8).

ll. 22-3. For the rare word οἰκονόμημα see the collection of instances and discussion by L. Robert (*Laodicée du Lycos*, p. 269). He translates *actes juridiques*; in the Aphrodisias record I take it that it includes not only the triumviral decree, *senatus consultum*, treaty and law (docs. 7-9) but also the letters written by Octavian with the aim of recovering looted Aphrodisian property (docs. 10, 12).

ll. 23-4. [Ἡ]μᾶς ought to mean the Romans, the Senate, or conceivably the triumvirs, rather than Octavian himself (cf. p. 23); no doubt Octavian saw to it that Solon did go officially 'through the proper channels', that is the Senate and magistrates, although the documents show clearly that it was the patron Octavian who ensured results.

ll. 26 f. For ἐπίκριμα, *edictum*, and δόγμα, *senatus consultum*, see Mason s.vv., L. Robert, *Aph* 406 f.; the edict meant here is surely the edict of Octavian and Antony (doc. 7, but see p. 95) and the *senatus consultum* must be that of 39 B.C. (doc. 8). On ὄρκιον see also pp. 9, 89 f.; the meaning must be *sworn agreement, treaty*; for a nearly contemporary instance, cf. ὄρκιον in the inscribed treaty between Rome and Cnidos, E. Täubler, *Imperium Romanum* (1913), 450, A, l. 1. There is reference in the *senatus consultum* (doc. 8) both to the inclusion of Plarasa/Aphrodisias in the number of Rome's allies (l. 32) and to the treaty, with provision for its publication (ll. 91 f.), as well as to the oath taken on the Roman side in the record of the number of senators present when it was sworn (l. 95). The treaty is not in fact inscribed on the archive wall in full (one clause only is given, doc. 9, ll. 7 f.);

reasons for the omission are considered on p. 95. The νόμος (*lex*) is mentioned in the *senatus consultum* (l. 89); part of it may be preserved in doc. 9, ll. 2–6, 10 f., but it is otherwise absent from the archive wall, presumably because its provisions repeated, if in a slightly different formulation, much of the senatorial decree, while the decree probably contained some points not covered by the law.

Millar noted the careful distinction made between the different types of Roman official act, illustrating the formal observance of constitutional niceties by the triumvirs which he characterized as an insufficiently noticed feature of their administration at this stage.

The new evidence conclusively disproves Accame's view that the ἐπίκριμα was the present letter while the ὄρκιον and νόμος were to be referred to the *Lex Titia de IIIviris reipublicae constituendae* (*Dominio Romano* 92 f.), already rejected as improbable by Gelzer.

ll. 29–30. Ἀντιφωνεῖσθαι usually means *write in reply to* (Polybius 8. 18. 11, Josephus, *AJ* 14. 265, cited by earlier editors), but Viereck argued that these are copies which corresponded to the documents in the public archive at Rome from which they were taken (ὁν δημόσια δέλτοι meaning the Roman public archive, see L. Robert, *Aph* 405, referring back to A. Wilhelm, *Beiträge zur griechischen Inschriftenkunde* (1909), 244 f.); Sherk made an attempt to preserve the standard meaning, but it depended on the identification of the writer as Antony and must now be rejected.

For the practice of sending copies of Roman documents to subjects and allies see M. W. Frederiksen, *JRS* 55 (1965), 184 f., and p. 91, in comment on doc. 8, ll. 92 f.; there is a particularly explicit statement in the so-called Piracy Law (conveniently accessible in M. Hassall *et al.*, *JRS* 64 (1974), 203, ll. 22 f.).

l. 32. Τά is surely demonstrative—*these particular copies* attached to the letter.

The whole sentence from ll. 14–22 is awkward and betrays the Latin thought behind the Greek words. As Robert noted (*Aph* 406), Viereck was mistaken to see strained eloquence here; there is simply a Greek translation of Latin 'officialese'. ll. 36–7. Octavian's personal acceptance of Solon is stressed, and especially that he placed him in a particular category of his associates. Robert has collected instances of γινώσκειν and words from the same root applied to official acquaintance (*Aph* 422, n. 1, see earlier *Ét. Ép. et Phil.* 85, n. 1, with reference to F. Cumont, *L'Égypte des Astrologues* (1937), 29); it was, of course, a custom derived from Hellenistic court practice. The corresponding Latin use of *notus* is attested in Rome as early as Plautus, *Ps.* 127: 'omnibus amicis notisque edico meis' (the speaker is mocking the terminology of Roman *patres familiae* and magistrates); it is to be found also in Terence, *Eu.* 238: 'omnes noti me atque amici deserunt', and in Caesar, *Civ.* 1. 74. 5: 'hi suos notos hospitesque quaerebant'. C. Gracchus is said to have been the first Roman noble to divide his friends into categories for the morning *salutatio* (Seneca, *Ben.* 6. 34. 2), but it seems that a categorization into friends and acquaintance already existed, and of course persisted, alongside the new development. Octavian's practice was, no doubt, the standard one in contemporary Roman noble households; but this happens to be the earliest attested instance at present of the adoption of a specific individual as the *notus* of a great man.

ll. 39–40. Φιλάνθρωπα here should be *beneficia, privileges granted* (see *RC* appendix, s.v.). Obviously Solon qualified for the privileges conferred on ambassadors of his city by the *senatus consultum* (doc. 8, ll. 76 f.), but Octavian claims to have conferred

something himself; this may be additional, although it is not impossible that he was taking credit for what the senatorial decree gave. The translation *emoluments* in *ARS* is hardly right; for these the normal Greek is ξένια and they were certainly conferred by senatorial decree (doc. 8, ll. 74 f.).

l. 48. Φιλάνθρωπα here must have its additional sense of *acts* granting privileges (Robert, *Aph* 402); the reference is to the conferment of privileges by *senatus consultum*, treaty and law (docs. 8, 9).

ll. 50 f. For the request that copies of Roman documents should be registered in a local archive see the parallels collected by Frederiksen, *op. cit.*, above, and by L. Robert, *Aph* 405. Particularly close is the language of Antony's decree, recorded by Josephus, *AJ* 14. 319 (cited also by Wilhelm and by Täubler): διάταγμα ἐμὸν ἀπέσταλκα πρὸς ὑμᾶς περὶ οὗ βούλομαι ὑμᾶς φροντίσαι ἵν' αὐτὸ εἰς τὰς δημοσίας ἐντάξῃτε δέλτους γράμμασι Ῥωμαϊκοῖς καὶ Ἑλληνικοῖς. See further on doc. 8, ll. 90 f. l. 53. Hitherto it has been assumed by most editors that this line was inset as a heading and that it referred to a communication from Julius Caesar which followed; but this is difficult to accept. In the first place Sherard transcribed the line (and Chishull published it) in alignment with what precedes and showed a concluding leaf at its right end (ignored by Chishull and so unknown to subsequent editors). In the second, Julius Caesar was, by this time, θεὸς Ἰούλιος (doc. 8, l. 41) and although θεὸς seems to be omitted in the approximately contemporary doc. 35, ll. 3–4, another characteristic title (δικτάτωρ) is there present; at this date Κάϊσαρ alone must have denoted Octavian. It is obviously unlikely that a second communication from Octavian, cut immediately below doc. 6, would receive a new heading of this type; nor is it very plausible that the heading was intended for the documents written by Octavian about or on behalf of Plarasa/Aphrodisias, which were, in the event, placed elsewhere on the wall (docs. 10, 12, 13). Indeed I think it improbable that l. 53 was a heading at all.

A simple solution would be that γράμματα means archive, as it does in l. 52; this would then distinguish doc. 6 from docs. 7–9, which come from the Roman public archive. The absence from the text of a valedictory greeting (? ἔρρωσθε) is surprising, however (even allowing that it is absent also from docs. 10 and 12), and perhaps suggests that l. 53 was part of doc. 6, preceding that greeting in the original, that being cut on a stone below the one which Sherard saw, or not cut at all because there was no further polished space. If that were right, the explanation may be connected with the addition of a valediction in the writer's own hand, which might then be preceded by some kind of authentication. At *ERW* 221 Millar discusses the likelihood of a convention that emperors added the valediction to their letters in their own hands, and traces it back in the literary evidence to Caesar (Plutarch, *Caes.* 63. 7). The practice was not confined to emperors, cf. St. Paul, *Ep. Col.* 4. 18: ὁ ἀσπασμὸς τῆ ἐμῆ χειρὶ Παύλου; *Ep. Thess.* 2. 3. 17: ὁ ἀσπασμὸς τῆ ἐμῆ χειρὶ Παύλου, ὃ ἐστὶ σημεῖον ἐν πάσῃ ἐπιστολῇ· οὕτω γράφω (the references are owed to Professor van Berchem). It is rare that the epigraphic record seeks to show this; the earliest known instance seems to be in *ILS* 6870, col. 4, ll. 22 f., below a letter of procurators to a local subordinate: [*et alia*]a manu: [*opt*]amus te felicissimum be[ne vive]re. Vale; also, in the same text, col. 4, l. 9, below the rescript of Commodus, are the words *et alia manu: scripsi. Recognovi*. Much later there is the conclusion of *FIRA*<sup>2</sup> i, 93: *et manu divina: vale Dalmati carissime nobis* (Licinius and Con-

stantine). It must be admitted that if this is what we have it is expressed in an otherwise unattested formula, in which γράμματτα does duty for the more natural and attested χειρί and the Latin *manu*.

From this letter and from references in the *senatus consultum* (doc. 8, especially ll. 48 f.) it is clear that the items in the dossier brought to Aphrodisias began, chronologically, with an edict, surely the partly preserved edict of the triumvirs which appears below the *senatus consultum* on the wall.

#### DOCUMENT 7. Triumviral Decree

Inscription cut in the lowest register of column 1, immediately above the dado, *a* (0.97 × 1.06 including the dado × depth not measurable), damaged at the left side, still *in situ*, containing the right ends of the lines; *b* (0.81 × 1.06 including the dado × 0.40), reassembled from three pieces, their surfaces damaged, found re-used in the city wall, west stretch, containing the left ends of ll. 3–11; *c* two small fragments (inv. no. 75. 187) found near *b* and fitting on to its damaged surface; *d* piece of a block (inv. no. 75. 141; 0.81 × 0.29 × 0.55) also found re-used in the city wall, west stretch, containing part of l. 1 below part of doc. 8, ll. 90–5.

Letters second–third cent. A.D.: av. 0.20, rather more lightly cut than those of doc. 8 above it; ligatured ME, MH in l. 4, TH in l. 5; no apices or diaeresis marks.

Discovery of *b–d* by David MacDonald. There is a brief account of *a* only by F. Millar, *JRS* 63 (1973), 56, no. 9.

Acknowledgments for discussion to Michael Crawford and John Crook (particularly legal aspects), Simon Price (Apollo Paean).

Plates IX; XIII, 1; XVII, 2.

*sic* [Γάϊος Καίσαρ Σεβαστὸς αὐτοκράτωρ, [Μάρκος Ἀντώνιος αὐτοκράτωρ τριῶν  
 ἀνδρῶν τῆς τῶν δημῶσιων πραγμάτων ν. διατάξεως λέγουσιν *vac.*  
 [? ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις αἰεὶ διετέλουν περὶ τῆς τοῦ δήμου τοῦ  
 Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίας πλείστην σπουδὴν εἰσφερόμενοι καὶ  
 μάλιστα τοῖς ἡμετέροις μέρεσι[v] προσηγορούμενοι? . . . . . c. 17 . . . . .  
 Ῥόδιοι Λύκιοι Ταρσεῖς τε καὶ Λαοδικεῖς ἔτι δὲ Πλαρασεῖς καὶ νν.  
 Ἀφροδισιεῖς ἀθεμίτως ΜΕΤΑΒΑΣΙ[ . . . . . c. 40 . . . . . ὑπὲρ τε τῶν δημοσίων  
 καὶ ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τῆς καλλι-  
 5 στης γενόμενοι γνώμης πάντα κ[ίν]δυ[νον] ἀνεδέχοντο ἴδι' ὅπερ . . . . . c. 20  
 . . . . .]ΟΥΠΑΙΑΝΟΣ πάντι τρόπῳ καὶ σπουδῇ βοηθήαν  
 πλείστην ὀφείλομεν παρέχειν [ . . . ]ΤΗ[ . . . . . c. 40 . . . . . κ]αθισταν μετὰ  
 πλείστης προθυμίας ἐπιθυμοῦμεν  
 [ὄ]πως μὴ μόνον ὑπὲρ ὧν προσεδί[ε]οντο? . . . . . c. 35 . . . . . ἡρημάτ]ων τῶν  
 ἀπολωλότων ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν προγεγο-  
 [νό]των φιλα ν. νθρώπων τὰς ὀφειλομένας ἡαρίτας ἀνταποδίδωμεν . . . . .  
 c. 20 . . . . . καλῶς ἔχον ἔστιν μὴ πρὸς Ῥόδιον Λύκιον Λαοδικὴ Πλα-  
 [ρ]ασῆ καὶ Ἀφροδισιῆ Ταρσῆ ἐλεύθερον.[ . . . . . c. 40 . . . . . ἐ]ξουσίαν  
 γεγονότων ἤδη ποτε ν. ΟΥΑΙΠΕΣΙΤΩΝ ἀπὸ

10 ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου τοῦ μετὰ Μάρκον Ἄ[ . . . . . c. 35 . . . . . ?ἐπιγεγ]ονότας  
 ἐφ' ἣν ποτε πόλιν πολεμίοις στρατοπέδω  
*sic* ἐπῆλθον. ὃς ἂν τούτων μὴ ποιήσῃ ἐκ[ . . . . . c. 40 . . . . . ?]μῶν ἐπενηνοχέναι  
 καὶ <ὀ>ς ἂν τούτου κατηγορήσῃ  
 - *vacat* [ . . . . . c. 40 . . . . . ]ων δώσομεν *vacat*

l. 7. Of the last surviving letter before the break there is only a horizontal base meeting a slanting stroke to the left; the angle seems more like that of Δ than of Σ. Of the first surviving letter after the break there is some slight trace suggesting the serif on the right horizontal of Ω.

l. 9. Before the break the two uprights interpreted as N are followed by a letter of which only a horizontal base survives, Δ, E, Z, Ζ, Σ.

l. 10. Before the break the stone shows unmistakable signs of a triangular letter without a base-line, A or Λ; the photograph is less clear.

l. 11. The cutter wrote Θ for Ο.

The translation assumes some of the controversial restorations proposed.

[Caius Caesar] Augustus, imperator, [Marcus Antonius, imperator, *triumviri*] *reipublicae constituendae*, announce:

[? Since in former times too the Rhodians, Lycians, Ta]rsians and Laodiceans, and also the Plarasans and Aphrodisians, [always] showed the greatest zeal [for the] empire [of the Roman People] and [being] especially [attached] to our party [. . . ? . .] they [have been] unlawfully [. . . ? . . ? when], holding the most noble principles, [? they undertook] every risk on behalf of the *respublica* and ourselves; [for which reason . . . ? . .] we ought to provide the most abundant aid in every way and with all zeal [. . . ? . . ? for the sake of Apollo] Paeon (Medicus), we desire, with the greatest eagerness, [? to restore them] in order that [? we may pay the debt of gratitude] due not only for those things which [. . . ? . . being things] destroyed, but also for their former good services [to us . . . ? . . it is] proper that [no one shall have] the power [to . . . ? . .] against a Rhodian, Lycian, Plarasan and Aphrodisian, Tarsian [. . . ? . .] a freeborn person in respect of [. . . ? . .] which have occurred already in the past [. . . ? . .] from the time when Marcus [. . . ? . . those who ? assaulted] each city which they attacked ? with hostile armies. Whoever fails to observe ? any of these injunctions [. . . ? . .] ? to have brought a charge [. . . ? . .] and to whomsoever informs against him we will give [. . . ? . .].

l. 1. Λέγονσι, *dicunt*, shows that this is an edict. It was issued by two of the triumvirs jointly (there is no room for the name of Lepidus, see p. 40) and it is reasonable to identify it with the edict mentioned in doc. 6, ll. 26–7 (but see p. 95), and with the edict of Octavian and Antony referred to in doc. 8, l. 48, which then provides a *terminus ante quem* (2 October 39, see doc. 8, ll. 1 and 3). The appearance of Octavian's name before that of Antony, here and in the *senatus consultum* when it is probably referring to this edict (doc. 8, l. 48), is surprising in view both of Antony's seniority and of its concern with part of Antony's area; but it could perhaps be explained if they were west of the line agreed at Brundisium as dividing their areas of administrative responsibility (Appian, *BC* 5. 65) at the time of its promulgation; the *terminus post quem*, would then be the agreement made at Brundisium in autumn 40 (see p. 71). The reversal of this order of their names in the *senatus consultum*,

in the reference to their joint report to the senate (doc. 8, l. 26), seems to show that normal priorities operated in the senate house.

The inclusion of Σεβαστός with Octavian's name is startling, but the location of the fragment which contains it is guaranteed by the place of its first six lines in doc. 8, ll. 90–5; it must have been inserted at Aphrodisias at some time in or after 27 B.C. (cf. the probable addition of Αὔγουστος in doc. 13, l. 1), perhaps in A.D. 22, see p. 105. Since Octavian still used the praenomen *Gaius* in doc. 8 (see p. 75 f.), that must be restored here. Since he has the title αὐτοκράτωρ after his name, that would be expected after Antony's name too; although the result is rather a long line of 107 letters, compared with 98 in doc. 8, l. 1, which must have been markedly outspaced (see p. 63 f.). While the cutting and letter-sizes here would make it possible to accommodate more letters in a line than these, 107 seems too many; Antony's title was perhaps omitted.

For the translation of the title of the triumvirs see p. 44 f.

The edict gave what should, presumably, be regarded as a short-term privilege, called for by an emergency situation. Relief and long-term privileges had already been conferred by Antony on Rhodes, Lycia, Tarsus and Laodicea (Appian, *BC* 5. 3. 29–30) after Philippi, and these were, no doubt, confirmed by *senatus consultum* during 39, in accordance with the triumviral policy reported by Dio for that year (48. 34. 1). Plarasa/Aphrodisias appears here for the first time in such a context (see also on ll. 3–4) and was to receive long-term privileges by *senatus consultum*, treaty and law later (docs. 8, 9) under the joint sponsorship of Antony and Octavian, as well as relief from Octavian, who took action personally to assist recovery of looted property, reparations for what had been destroyed and arrest of looters in the War of Labienus (docs. 10–12). Some evidence for the honours paid to Octavian in recognition is published in docs. 32 (probably) and 35; he was, of course, also honoured as Augustus (cf. *MAMA* 431). No local honours for Antony have been found, but the nomen *Antonius* borne later by a number of Aphrodisians with Roman citizenship should indicate that he had supporters there (see also p. 38).

l. 2. General reasons for the decisions to be presented would be expected first, followed by more specific ones. What survives recalls doc. 8, l. 25 and Sulla's letter to Stratonicea (*RDGE* 18, ll. 3–4): διὰ προ[γ]όνων πάντα τὰ δίκαια [πρὸς τὴν ἡμετέραν] ἡγεμ[ον]ίαν πεποιηκότας, and I have tentatively offered a formulation with this in mind; but too much is lost for any confident proposal and the line-length itself is less than certain, since in the whole text only l. 1 allows any basis of calculation.

l. 3. Τοῖς ἡμετέροις μέρεσι must mean *partibus nostris*. For μέρος as a political party, see *LSJ* s.v., IV, 1; it already has this sense in Thucydides 2. 37. J. Hellegouarc'h, *Le vocabulaire latin des relations et des partis antiques* (1963), 110 shows that in Rome it was the plural *partes* rather than the singular *pars* which denoted *party*, so that μέρη provides an obvious translation for the Roman political *partes* of the late Republic; this meaning, however, has not been attested hitherto. There is, then, a frank recognition by the triumvirs that the essential background to this decree was party war; for a suggestion that it may be a document referred to by Tacitus (*Ann.* 3. 62) see p. 79–80.

At the point of the break some word or phrase corresponding to the Latin *suscipere partes* would be appropriate; what I have tentatively suggested in the

text gives the sense of *attaching themselves to* (προσεχόμενοι would be an alternative to the προσγεγόμενοι which I have printed).

ll. 3–4. The list of peoples can be completed from ll. 8–9. Apart from Plarasa/Aphrodisias, the beneficiaries are identical with those in the list given by Appian (*BC* 5. 3. 29–30) as suffering particularly badly from the demands of Brutus and Cassius and in consequence receiving *beneficia* from Antony after Philippi (Laodicea must be the Syrian city, since the peoples named before Plarasa/Aphrodisias are obviously placed in geographical sequence moving from west to east). It is, of course, plausible that, as a client of Julius Caesar, Plarasa/Aphrodisias suffered at the hands of Brutus and Cassius; but there is no specific record of it and much stress instead on its maltreatment in the War of Labienus (docs. 10–12, probably 13, and Tacitus, *Ann.* 3. 62). The reference to enemies and an army in l. 10 might also seem to indicate Labienus rather than Brutus and Cassius although not conclusively. Yet if the list is one of Labienus' victims it is surprising not only that there is no record that any of these peoples except those of Plarasa/Aphrodisias suffered from his men, but also that other peoples known to have done so do not figure in it (Alabanda: Dio 48. 26. 3–4; Strabo 14. 660; Laodicea on the Lycus: Strabo 14. 660; Miletus: A. Rehm, *Delphinion* 128–9; Mylasa: Dio 48. 26. 3–4; *RDGE* 60; Stratonicea: Tacitus, *Ann.* 3. 62). It could perhaps relate to the war of Labienus if we could assume that Antony knew or guessed that the peoples whom he had especially assisted after Philippi were especial targets for Labienus (whose invasion was, in a sense, simply a continuation of the campaign of Brutus and Cassius). We could then suppose that he had proposed a decree for their assistance, into which Octavian persuaded him to insert Plarasa/Aphrodisias (its position out of geographical sequence and attached by the words ἔτι δέ in l. 3 seems to suggest an afterthought) before information about other victims of Labienus was available. The course and chronology of the War of Labienus are not very clear, but Ventidius Bassus was probably appointed to the command against him soon after the Pact of Brundisium and achieved victory over him in the Battle of the Taurus Mountain during the campaigning season of 39 (for recent discussion see T. V. Buttrey, *ANSMusN* 1960, 95 f., cf. *RDGE*, p. 161). News of this would presumably reach Rome during the summer; but the fate of the cities of western Asia Minor would surely be known earlier and it may well be that of these Plarasa/Aphrodisias was very swift to send its ambassador to Rome and Octavian very swift to listen to him, because he saw the use that could be made of his inherited connection with the place. But my suggestion is very tentative. See also on l. 5.

l. 4. ἄθεμίτως, *lawlessly*, must describe the treatment from which the beneficiaries had suffered. It is an emotive word (cf. Appian, *Pun.* 53, of abusive treatment of envoys, and *BC* 2. 77 where ἀθεμιστία describes the behaviour involved in civil war, which is particularly relevant here); it is very suitable to the Caesarian view of the conduct of Labienus but also to that of Brutus and Cassius at Laodicea on the Lycus (Appian, *BC* 4. 63), in Lycia (4. 75 f.), at Rhodes (4. 73) and at Tarsus (4. 64). There is a parallel in Antony's references to the παρανομία and irreligious ἀνομήματα of Brutus and Cassius in a letter written to the Jews after Philippi (Josephus, *AJ* xiv. 309).

It would be reasonable to expect a sentence in which the cities are said to have been treated lawlessly while taking a praiseworthy stance in relation to Roman

affairs (δημόσια obviously corresponds to *res publicae*) and the triumvirs; but it is not clear precisely how the gap was filled. The noun μετάβασις (LSJ *s.v.*, II, 1) appears in Aristotle with the sense of *a reversal of fortune* (*Poetics* 1449a. 37) but it does not seem to have been widely used in this way. More commonly it refers to a change of residence or even migration (Brutus, Cassius and Labienus could all be said to have moved into Asia) and the *Wörterbuch* cites a passage which may be relevant in *P. Flor.* 99, l. 8 (first-second cent. A.D.) where a man is said to have moved from his own to his parents' property in order to prey on it (ἐπι τὰ ἡμῶν μεταβὰς βούλεται ἀπολέσαι). Another possibility is to take the letter group as μετὰ βασι[λεως] or μετὰ βασι[λέα], in reference to the Parthian king with whom Labienus co-operated; but the run of the sentence seems against this.

l. 5. Ἀναδέχασθαι, common with κίνδυνον, is a very probable supplement: a finite verb is needed at this point since a new subject appears in l. 6. The decision does not start until the latter part of l. 8, so that the text is still explanatory; δι' ὅπερ (or διό, δι' ἣν αἰτίαν) or something similar is needed to provide the link between the sentences in which the beneficiaries are the subject with that in which 'we', i.e. Octavian and Antony, have taken their place. But there is still some space to fill; and when the break ends there are nine letters of whose sense I am uncertain. The triumvirs might be expected to be pursuing the theme *and so now that we are victorious, we ought etc.*; yet it would be strange to find victory described in terms of the paean in a document which is essentially administrative. Alternatively the word Paeon might be used as a divine cult-title—?χάριν Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Παιᾶνος. Apollo Paeon (Medicus) would be particularly relevant here, if the tradition of Valerius Maximus that Apollo's name was given as the watchword at Philippi by Antony and Octavian (l. 5. 7) is preferred to that of Plutarch that it was given by Brutus (*Brut.* 24). On Apollo Medicus as the object of the one official Roman cult of Apollo at the time, and the connection made by the Romans between him and victory, see J. Gagé, *Apollon Romain* (1955), and for Caesarian associations with him, Gagé, pp. 467 f., and S. Weinstock, *Divus Julius* (1971), 12 f. If he appeared here, as seems quite probable, it would be certain that, in essence, this decree was concerned with victims of Brutus and Cassius, cf. also Antony's stress on the peace which followed Philippi as given ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ (Josephus, *AJ* XIV. 312). There would also be an important addition to our knowledge of the development of the Apolline cult at Rome in the triumviral period.

l. 6. There can be little doubt that, in general terms, the triumvirs here indicated their desire to restore the beneficiaries to prosperity but the precise mode of expression seems beyond recovery. ΚΑΘΙΣΤΑΝ might be a present participle, neuter, from καθίστημι (καθίσταν), but also a present infinitive of the related verb καθιστάω (καθιστᾶν) and if that is what it is it must be dependent on ἐπιθυμοῦμεν.

ll. 7-8. Ὅπως introduces a final clause dependent on infinitives in l. 6 (*to provide help and ? to re-establish, in order that,*) with its verb in the gap in l. 8. It contains a long relative clause in two balancing sections, of which the first is concerned with things (? χρήματα) destroyed, which were perhaps the subject of requests from the beneficiaries (since προσεδ[έοντο seems a possible supplement in l. 7), and the second with the obligation to give a return for services rendered in the past. Φιλάνθρωπα, *beneficia*, although normally conferred by Rome, are sometimes received by her, or at least by her citizens, and what is owed for them are χάριτες

whose restoration I have proposed; there is a parallel point in the decree of Julius Caesar cited by Josephus, *AJ* 14. 10. 211–12: εὐχαριστήσαντός τε τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῆς συγκλήτου αὐτοῖς, καλῶς ἔχει καὶ ἡμᾶς ἀπομνημονεύειν καὶ προνοεῖν ὅπως Ὑρκάνῳ . . . ὑπὸ συγκλήτου καὶ δήμου Ῥωμαίων ἀξία τῆς πρὸς ἡμᾶς εὐνοίας αὐτῶν καὶ ὧν εὐεργέτησαν ἡμᾶς χάρις ἀνταποδόθη, which I have drawn upon for my guesses. ll. 8 f. The main sentence starts towards the end of l. 8, giving the decision of the triumvirs. It appears that no one was to have powers to act in some way defined in the lost area, against a free citizen of any of the beneficiary states, in respect of certain things that had happened in the past, from a date fixed in l. 10. Ἐλεύθερον is unexpected after the list of ethnics; of the initial of the next word what survives excludes ὄντα and πολίτην and instead rather suggests σῶμα (cf. τὰ τ' ἐλεύθερα σώματα in *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 521, l. 15), which might imply something like Antony's εἰ τινες ἐλεύθεροι ἢ δοῦλοι ὑπὸ δόρυ ἐπράθησαν, who were to be freed or restored to their original owners (*HJ* xiv. 313). For what is lost thereafter a clue must lie in the letters printed in capitals towards the end of l. 9, despite what seem to me strong grounds for suspecting textual corruption in them (I cannot split them in any way that gives satisfactory sense). There are several possibilities. If the group is split into οὐ αἰρέσει τῶν (τῶν referring back to γεγονότων), the phrase recalls two in the *sc de Asclepiade*, ὅπως τούτων . . . ἐξουσία καὶ αἰρεσις ἦ and οὐ ἂν προαίρωνται (*RDGE* 22, ll. 18, 20), both used of the privilege of choosing the court in which one's case might be heard; if that is relevant, the privileges of persons with this right were presumably cancelled for the time being, if their cases concerned a member of any of the beneficiary states; this seems a rather limited concession, however, to have been justified by the lengthy formulae of ll. 2–8. If the letters are taken as a single (garbled) word (referring back to γεγονότων), the point at issue might possibly be a form of *manus iniectio* for debt; there is every reason to suppose that debt was a major problem in the aftermath of the upheavals of the late forties—it was mentioned as such at Plarasa/Aphrodisias if docs. 28, 29 are rightly dated. But the passage from Josephus just cited points rather to the process of ἀφαίρεσις, the assertion of the freedom of a person in slavery (for which LSJ *s.v.* cite Hyp. fr. 23), cf. also δίκη ἐξαιρέσεως, an action against one who has in fact asserted the free birth of a serving slave (for which LSJ *s.v.* cite Is. fr. 70). Accounts of Brutus and Cassius and of the invasion of Labienus make it clear that in Asia as well as in Syria a number of freeborn persons were captured and enslaved, so that after their defeat a considerable number of cases might be expected in which serving slaves were claimed as freeborn citizens, and, no doubt, of cases in which the assertion was contested and the assertors prosecuted in their turn; that members of the beneficiary states were, for the time being, released from the risk of such prosecutions may seem a conjecture worth consideration.

ll. 10 f. There is a parallel for the backdating of concessions in the *sc de Asclepiade*, where taxes exacted and property sold up from the moment at which the beneficiaries left home in Roman service were to be restored in full, and, from the same moment, deadlines for meeting obligations, or for collecting payment of them from others, were waived, inheritances bequeathed to them were to be handed over to their possession, judgements given against them were declared invalid (*RDGE* 22, ll. 12–22); cf. Josephus, *HJ* xiv. 317. Unfortunately the point of time here is elusive. On the face of it, it was fixed for each city as the hostile attack made on it (ἐφ' ἣν . . . πόλιν

seems to require the restoration of ἐπιτεγ]ονότας) by several named persons (two names might be expected to take up all or most of the space in the lost area of l. 10); but the surviving *praenomen* and initial of the *nomen* of the first name exclude Brutus, Cassius and Labienus who seem to be the most obvious attackers, and among the members of their party the only ones I have found with names to fit the traces are M. Appuleius Sex. f., legate of Brutus in 42 (but in Bithynia), and M. Aquinus, legate of Cassius in 43 and 42 (*MRR*, p. 364), who are not quite convincing. Although the clause concerned with the attacks becomes less pointed in such a context, it may be that the date chosen was the trial of the Liberators *in absentia* in 43, after which the illegality of all their actions was, in Caesarian eyes, incontestable; for the trial the prosecutors included Marcus Agrippa, whose name could be accommodated, but it seems a little strange to describe it in terms of the names of the prosecutors. Alternatively, since the cases for which the concession was made may well have arisen only after the triumviral victory, it may have been Philippi itself, described in terms of a battle won by Marcus Antonius and Gaius Caesar.

At the end of l. 10 πολεμίσις στρατοπέδω seems an improbable phrase; there may be textual corruption for πολεμίω or even πολέμιοι.

l. 11. A penalty for failure to obey the triumviral injunction is paralleled in the documents concerning Seleucus of Rhodus, where a fine was laid down for neglect of his privileges (*RDGE* 58, ll. 63 f.; it was payable to the Roman People, perhaps because Seleucus had been given Roman citizenship). The first clause here opens awkwardly and it may be suspected that τῆ has dropped out by error, before or after τούτων; it ends obscurely because so much is lost. It is tempting to restore [ἡ]μῶν (?ἐφ' ἡμῶν, *before us*) and to guess that those who failed to observe the provisions of the edict were to be judged as if they had brought a charge in a court presided over by one of the triumvirs (where, presumably, the penalties would be heavier). For the sense of ἐπιφέρω involved see *LSJ s.v.*

ll. 11–12. A reward for informers naturally followed.

#### DOCUMENT 8. *Senatus consultum de Aphrodisiensibus*

Inscribed in the first surviving column on the archive wall (inscribed area *in situ*, 1.41 × 2.36 = five courses) from which the blocks of the upper part and left side were removed in antiquity (p. xv). Two blocks and part of a third from the three courses above those *in situ* (for their placement see below) were found in rooms at the back of the theatre stage (inv. nos. 70. 246 + 69. 313 + 69. 482, 70. 249, 70. 251 A–D) and of these one makes a join with a broken block first recorded by H. Loew in 1841–2 in the south stretch of the city wall (most recently republished as *RDGE* 29); a further fragment of Loew's block (inv. no. 76. 28) was found re-used in the Byzantine defence wall (p. xvii). These three additional courses took the area covered by the inscription to a height of c. 3.40 m (= eight courses) and included a heading for this document, but it is possible that a heading for the whole series of texts on the wall was cut on a yet higher block (p. 36). From the area to the left of the blocks surviving *in situ* came, without doubt, the block seen in 1705 in the

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45 ΠΑΝΤΑ ΚΥΡΙΑ ΔΙΑ ΜΕΝ ΕΙΝ ΟΜΟΙΩ Σ ΑΡΕ Σ ΚΕΙΝ ΤΗΣ ΣΥΝΚΛΗΤΩ ΤΩΝ ΔΗΜΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΠΛΑΡΑΣ ΕΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΦΡΟΔΕΙ  
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Fig. 5. Doc. 8. Senatus consultum de Aphrodisiensibus. Drawn by Morag Woudhuysen.

west stretch of the city wall by W. Sherard and others (giving the text known as the *senatus consultum de Aphrodisiensibus* (most recently republished as *RDGE* 28B), of which the upper left-hand corner only was seen and squeezed by P. Gaudin in 1904 (Reinach, no. 16, L. Robert, *Aph* 409 and plate II); no part of this has been rediscovered, but the block which originally stood to the left of it and carried the beginnings of the lines in this course has been found by David MacDonald, also in the west stretch of the city wall, where it has been recently re-used in the base of a wine vat (plate XVIII, 1). MacDonald's block, together with an estimate of the likely width of Sherard's block, makes it possible to calculate the width of the inscribed column as *c.* 2.96 m. One fragment from the bottom of the block which stood to the left of the lowest block from this inscription to survive *in situ* was also found by MacDonald in the same area (inv. no. 75. 141).

The two published blocks, Loew's and Sherard's, both give parts of the Greek translation of a *senatus consultum*, but have hitherto been treated as deriving from two separate decrees. What survives on the archive wall in this column is also demonstrably from the Greek translation of a *senatus consultum*. Since Loew's block joins a loose block found near the wall and certainly from it, and since the text of Sherard's block joins that of a block still *in situ* on the wall, it is now clear that all these elements are parts of one document.

Despite the complete loss of a number of blocks and damage to others, especially at the edges and on the corners (inflicted by the dismantling party which was preparing to remove them from the wall, see p. xv), it is possible to reconstruct this document in general outline, and to some extent in detail. The task is facilitated by the formulaic characteristics of *senatus consulta* (for comparatively recent analysis of their main features see O'Brien Moore in *RE* Supp. vi, col. 803, and R. K. Sherk, *RDGE*, pp. 7 f.); details can be examined very easily in Sherk's collection of inscribed Greek translations of senatorial decrees of Republican and Augustan date, supplemented by the Greek texts in Josephus, *AJ* 14. 10 and the Latin texts in *FIRA*<sup>2</sup>. Some help is also provided by the construction of the wall in alternate thick and thin courses (p. 33).

Loew's block (*RDGE* 29), with the adjoining new block found in one of the backstage rooms and the fragment of it found in the Byzantine defence wall (plate XIII, 2), constitute an introduction to a *senatus consultum* with the record of archival registration and the list of those present when the text was drafted. They are from a thick course (course 1, containing ll. 1–12). The thin block found with the new block just placed (plate XIV. 1) carries formulae of a type that appear at the opening of senatorial decrees, just after the list of names of those present at the drafting; it can therefore fairly be assigned to the course immediately below (course 2, containing ll. 13–20). The third block found with them, broken but now reassembled from its pieces (plate XIV. 2), is a thick block carrying formulae recognizably appropriate to follow those on the thin block and assignable, therefore, to the course below that block (course 3, containing ll. 21–36). It is unfortunately broken below, but contained at least sixteen lines. The thick course 1 contains twelve lines; of the two thick courses *in situ*, the higher contained seventeen and the lower eighteen lines; so that there is some chance that course 3 was complete with sixteen, but it is also quite possible that one line is lost from it, just possibly two. Between the content of this block and that of the top course remaining *in situ* there is no continuity, but

also nothing to suggest that a long passage is lost. However, since the topmost course *in situ* is a thin course it must be supposed that two more courses, one thick and one thin, intervened, unless course 3 stood immediately above it in the wall. The former possibility would carry the inscribed area to a grotesque height at which the upper lines could not have been easily legible by anyone on the ground. It is much more reasonable to take the topmost course *in situ* as course 4 (containing ll. 37-45). Below it, in the thick course 5, the content of what survives on the wall makes a direct connection with that of Sherard's block which will have stood immediately to the left (with Sherard's own copy the fit is very good in most lines; difficulties arise with the versions of Chishull and *CIG*, see bibliography and Appendix II), while MacDonald's block stood to the left of that (plate XVIII, 1, ll. 46-62). MacDonald's fragment (plate XVII, 2) is shown by its content to have belonged to course 8.

The resulting text can be further supplemented from an area of the wall which survives intact, where extracts from related documents had been separately inscribed (doc. 9), providing the substance of ll. 32-5 and 77-82.

The decree as it can be envisaged now was, obviously, a much more complex document than the one block seen by Sherard had led anyone to expect. In consequence many of the supplements offered to Sherard's text in the past and much of the published discussion of it are based on assumptions that can now be dismissed, and I have omitted many of them from the commentary.

For the restorations proposed here, which are certainly not all that might be achieved, I have used estimates of the line-length drawn (*a*) from ll. 47-62 where, with the help of Sherard's transcription of the one missing block, the lines are in effect complete: the two lines 55 and 61, which are outspaced to mark the beginning of a clause, contain 95 and 97 letters respectively, while other lines vary from 87 letters (ll. 48, 50, 51) to 95 (l. 60); (*b*) from ll. 32-5 and 77-82 where the complete lines can be restored from doc. 9; here the variation is from 82 (plus a *vacat*) in l. 32 to 92 in l. 82. Variation in line-length is very marked; apart from the out-spacing, reasons for it are that some lines are extended a little beyond the norm at the right end, that ligatures are common, that stops or blank spaces (of varying width) occur from time to time and occasionally wider spacing of letters in words which are to be emphasized, e.g. the names of the triumvirs in l. 26.

Sherard's block was first published by E. Chishull; for bibliography see doc. 6 and add Reinach no. 16, L. Robert, *Aph* 409 f. (both giving the upper left-hand corner from Gaudin's squeeze), the derivative text of *RDGE* 28B and the brief note by F. Millar, *JRS* 63 (1973), 56, no. 8 (on triumviral procedure).

Loew's block was first published by J. Franz, *Annali dell' Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica* 19 (1847), 113, no. 5, and again by Waddington, after re-examination, as LBW no. 1627; whence Viereck, no. 19, with p. vii, and P. Willems, *Sénat* 252; it was republished as Reinach, no. 1, from a squeeze by Gaudin, and in *MAMA* 405 by Calder and Cormack, after a new examination of the stone; whence *RDGE* 29; there are brief notes by B. Hausoullier, *RPh* 23 (1899), 152 (right of asylum defended in A.D. 22), E. Schlesinger, *Die griechische Asylie* (diss. Gießen, 1933), 79 (the fact of asylum), J. M. Reynolds, *JRS* 61 (1971), 285 (on ll. 1, 4) and F. Millar, *JRS* (1973), 57, no. 12 (triumviral procedure); there has been discussion of the prosopographical aspects by many writers, usually in

connection with individual senators, but for a recent treatment of all see *MRR* II with *Supp.*, under each name.

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Plates IX; XIII, 2-3; XIV-XVIII, 1; Figs. 4, 5

Letters, second-third cent. A.D.; ll. 1-17, 0.025 av., ll. 18-95, 0.02 av.; out-spacing at the beginning of paragraphs; ligatured ΠΠ in l. 4, MH in l. 19, HN in l. 23, HN in l. 24, NE in l. 29, MH (twice) in l. 44, HM in l. 46, HM in l. 54, HM in l. 57, NM in l. 58, HM in l. 59, TE (twice), HM, NH in l. 60, ME in l. 66, MH, MHN, ΓM in l. 67, MH in l. 68, HN in l. 79, HM in l. 90, HM in l. 91, MH in l. 92, NH in l. 93; apices in ll. 1-8, 10-12, 14, 19, 22, 23, 26, 29, 32-4, 40-3, 48, 49, 51, 55, 56, 58, 60-2, 64, 65, 68, 73, 75, 76, 81, 86-8, 92-4; diaeresis in ll. 1, 4, 6 (twice, once above the letter), 7-12 (all above the letters); dots for stops in ll. 2, 4-11, 23, 26, circular stops in ll. 27, 28, 30, 33; arabesque stop in l. 78; part of ΟΣ in l. 14 cut on an inset piece of marble; tall Γ in l. 31 (perhaps to correct a mistakenly written I).

[Ἐπὶ Γαίου Καλουεῖσιου Γαίου υἱοῦ, Λευκίου Μαρκίου Λευκίου υἱοῦ ὑπάτων,  
 ἐκ τῶν ἀνε[ν]εχθέντων δογματῶν συνκλήτω, δέλτω  
 [?πρώτη, κηρώμασι τετάρτω, π]εμπτω, ἐκτω, ἐβδόμω, ὄγδω, ἐνάτω, ταῖς δὲ  
 ταμιακαῖς δέλτοις ἐπὶ Μάρκου Μαρτι-  
 [..... c. 18 ..... ταμίων κατὰ πόλιν δέλτω πρώτη, πρὸ ἡμερῶν ἐξ  
 Νόνων Ὀκτωβρίων ἐν Παλατίῳ, ἐν τῷ  
 [?ναῶ ..... c. 15 .....]γγραφομένων παρήσαν Μᾶρκος Οὐα[λέ]ριος  
 Μάρκου υἱὸς Λεμωνία Μεσσάλας, Ἄππι-  
 5 [ος ?Κλαύδιος ?Λευκίου υἱὸς] Οὐελλείνα Ἄσ(π)ρήνας, Λεύκιος Σκριβών(ι)ος  
 Λευκίου υἱὸς Φαλέρνα Λίβων, Λεύκι-  
 sic [ος ..... c. 10 ..... Λευκίου υἱὸς Ὠφεντεῖνα Βάλβος, [. . . c. 12. .]ς Γαίου  
 υἱὸς Κλαυδωνειανός, Λεύκιος Σέρ-  
 [γιος ?Λευκίου υἱὸς] Φαλέρνα Πλαῦτος, Γάιος Μ[. . . c. 7. .] υἱὸς Π]ωμεντεῖνα,  
 Γναῖος Ἀσίνιος Γναίου υἱὸς  
 [?Ἀρνήσις . . c. 7 . .] Πόπλιος Σήστιος Λευκίου [υἱὸς Κολλείνα, Γναῖ]ος  
 Πομπήιος Κοῖντου υἱὸς Ἀρνήσις, Γάιος  
 [Ἡδῖος Γαίου υἱὸς] Κλαυδία Θῶρος, Λε[ύ]κιος . . . c. 9 . . υἱὸς Ἀρνήσις  
 Καπίτων, Τίτος Λικίνιος Τίτου  
 10 [υἱὸς . . c. 18. .] ηνος Γ[. . . . . c. 26 . . . . .] νιος Γναίου υἱὸς Ἀρνήσις Ῥοῦφος,  
 Πόπλιος  
 [. . . . . c. 48 . . . . .] υἱὸς [?Ἀ]ρνήσις, Γναῖος Σήδιος Γαίου υἱὸς Κλαυ-  
 [δία . . . . . c. 45 . . . . .] γ, Τίτ[ος Λι]κίνιος Τίτου υἱὸς Φαβία Τύραννος,

- [.....]!!τος  
 [..... c. 43-53 ..... ? περί ὧν Γάϊος Καλουείσι]ος Γάϊου υἱὸς [Καλουείσιος]
- 15 [Λεύκιος Μάρκιος Λευκίου υἱὸς Κηνσωρεῖνος ὕπατοι λόγους ἐποιήσαντο] *vacat*  
 [Ἐσόλωνα Δημητρίου πρεσβευτὴν Ἀφροδισιέων χάριτα, φιλίαν, συμμαχίαν  
 ἀνανεοῦσθαι], δέεσθαι τε τῆς συνκλή-  
 [του ὅπως ..... c. 56-66 ..... Π]λαρασέων καὶ Ἀφροδισιέ-  
 [ων ..... c. 32-42 ..... ?φιλίας ἔνεκεν πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους] τε καὶ εὐνοίας  
 ἐν τοῖς ἐπιφα-  
 [νεστάτοις ..... c. 47-57 ..... ταῦτα ὅπως] αὐτοῖς ἀποδόθη τιμηθῶ-
- 20 [σι τε οἱ ἄγροι διεφθαρμένοι ὅπως τε ..... c. 26-36 ..... φιλανθρωπ]ως  
 τε αὐτοῖς ἀποκρίθη [?vacat]  
 [ἔδοξεν τ]ῆ σ[υν]κλήτῳ πρὸς τὸν δ]ῆμον τὸν Πλα[ρασέων καὶ Ἀφροδισιέων  
 χάριτα, φιλίαν, συμμαχίαν ἀνα]-  
 [νεώσασθ]αι, πρεσβευτὴν ἄνδρα καλὸν καὶ ἀγαθόν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ φί[λον, παρὰ  
 δήμου καλοῦ καὶ ἀγαθοῦ ?ἔτι δὲ καὶ φί]-  
 [λου συμμά]χου προσαγορεῦσαι *stop* καὶ ἐπειδὴ συμφωνεῖται τὴν πο[λειτήαν  
 τὴν τῶν Πλαρασέων καὶ Ἀφροδισιέων]  
 [ἀφ' οὗ πρὸς] τὴν φιλίαν τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ῥωμαίων προσῆλθεν διην[εκ .....  
 c. 36 .....]
- 25 [..c. 6..τῆ ἡ]γεμονία τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ῥωμαίων μετὰ μεγίστης εὐν[οίας .....  
 c. 33.....]  
 [..c. 9..]ας ὑπάρχειν ν. καὶ ἐπειδὴ Μάρκος Ἀντώνιος καὶ Γάϊος Καί[σαρ  
 ?αὐτοκράτορες ?vac. τριῶν ἀνδρῶν]  
 [τῆς ?vac. τῶ]ν δημοσίων πραγμάτων διατάξεως *stop* ἐν τηδε τῇ τάξει [?λόγους  
 ἐποιήσαντο περὶ τῆς ?καλλίστης ?προ]-  
 [αιρέσεως] ἐσοχωτάτης τε πίστεως ἦν τοῖς δημοσίοις πράγμασι[ν ὁ δῆμος ὁ  
 Πλαρασέων καὶ Ἀφροδισιέων]  
 [?παρέσχηκ]ε, ἐπὶ τῷ συμφέροντι τῶν δημοσίων πραγμάτων δοκεῖν εἶν[αι  
 Πλαρασεῖς καὶ Ἀφροδισιεῖς, αὐτούς]
- 30 [καὶ τέκνα ἐ]γγόνους τε αὐτῶν, ἀτελεῖς πάντων *stop* τῶν πραγμάτων εἶν[αι  
 ..... c. 17 ..... ὑπεξειρημένους]  
 [εἶναι πάν]των δέλτων προσοδικῶν δήμου Ῥωμαίων, αὐτούς καὶ τὰς ἐκε[ινῶν  
 γυναικάς, τέκνα ἐγγόνους τε αὐτῶν καὶ]  
 [εἰς τὸν συ]μμάχων ἀριθμὸν καταταγῆναι *vac.* μήτε μὴν ἄρχοντά τι[να ἢ  
 ἀντάρχοντα δήμου Ῥωμαίων ἕτερόν τέ]  
 [τινα εἰς τῆ]ν πόλιν ἢ [τ]ῆν χώραν ν. ἢ καὶ τοὺς ὄρους τοῦ[ς] Πλαρασέων κα[ὶ  
 Ἀφροδισιέων στρατιώτην καὶ ἀντιστρα]-  
 [τιώτην, ἰππέ]α, ἕτερό[ν τινα εἰ]ς παρα[χει]μασ[ί]αν πρὸς αὐτούς δίδο[σθαι  
 μήδε καταθέσθαι κελεύειν, μήτε χρή]-
- 35 [ματα ?stop μήτ]ε στρα[τιώτας ?stop μήτε πλοῖα ?stop μήτε σείτον ?stop μή]τε  
 ὅπλα *stop* μήτε σχ[εδίας ?stop μήτε μὴν ἕτερόν τι πράγμα]  
 [τῷ δήμῳ τῷ] Πλαρ[ασέων καὶ Ἀφροδισιέων ἐπιτάσσεσθαι .....  
 [.....] φ [.....]  
 [?ἦν τε τινα] ?ἀσυλίαν ..?.. -άτ]ωρ Ἀφροδείτη ν. τῆ παρ' αὐτοῖς οὖση συν-  
 [ε]χώρησεν, τούτ]ην δ[ικαίως ?]  
 [?συνκεχωρῆσθαι ... c. 10 ... ? καὶ ?κατὰ τὴν το]ῦ δήμου τοῦ Ῥωμαίων  
 εὐσέβειαν τῆ σ[υνκλήτ]ω φαίνεσθαι [?εἶναι]

- 40 [..... c. 32 ..... ἀρ]έσκειν τε ἐκείνο τὸ ἱερὸν ἄσυλον καὶ τῷ αὐτῷ  
 δ[ι]καίῳ εἶναι ᾧ δικαίῳ  
 [τὸ ἱερὸν Ἀρτέμιδος Ἐφεσίας ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἐστίν] τὰ τε λοιπὰ ὅσα θεὸς Ἰούλιος  
 περὶ ἐκείνων τῶν πραγμάτων διατάξατο  
 [?πάντα κύρια διαμένειν... c. 15 ... ὁμοί]ως ἀρέσκειν τῇ συνκλήτῳ τὸν δῆμον  
 τὸν Πλαρασέων καὶ Ἀφροδει-  
 [σιέων ..... c. 31 .....ω]ν πρὸς τῷ Μαιάνδρῳ συνεισφορὰς πάντων τῶν  
 πραγμάτων κεχωρισ-  
 [..... c. 25 .....? πάντ]ων ἀλ[ι]τούργητ[ον ?ἀνείσφορ]όν τε εἶναι καὶ  
 μήτε εἰσφορὰς μήτε ἄλλο τί
- 45 [.....]ΝΙ[.2-3.]Τ[.3-4.]τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐνέχυρον λαμ-  
 βάνεσθα[ι, ?ἀ]πάγεσθαι ΑΤΕ[.c. 2. ?ἀλλ]ὰ ἐλευθέρους εἶναι τῷ (τε) δικαίῳ καὶ  
 ταῖς [ιδίαις κρίσεσιν ἐνεκεν τοῦ] δήμου τοῦ Ῥωμαίων τῆ[ν]  
 πολιτείαν τὴν Πλαρασέων καὶ Ἀφροδεδισιέων χρῆσθαι, μήτε ἐγγύην εἰς Ῥώμην  
 ἐντος τῶν ὄρων ἐκείνων τινα ὁμολ[ο]-  
 γεῖν τινὶ ἢ [κ]αὶ κελεύειν ὁμολογεῖν, ἃ τέ τινα ἔπαθλα, τειμὰς, φιλάνθρω[πα Γά]ϊος  
 Καῖσαρ ἢ Μάρκος Ἀντώνιος, τρι-  
 ὦν ἀνδρῶν τῆς τῶν δημοσίων πραγμάτων διατάξεως, τῷ ἰδίῳ ἐπικρίματι  
 Πλ[αρα]σεῦσιν καὶ Ἀφροδεδισιεύσιν ἔδωκα[ν]
- 50 ἢ δώσουσιν, προσεμέρι(σ)αν, προσμεριούσιν, συνεχώρησαν, συνχωρήσουσιν,  
 τα[ῦ]τα πάντα ὀρθῶς καὶ στοιχοῦντως  
 δοκεῖν γεγεν(ῆ)σθαι γ. ὁμοίως τε ἀρέσκ(ει)ν τῇ συνκλήτῳ τὸν δῆμον τὸν  
 Πλα[ρα]σέων καὶ Ἀφροδεδισιέων, τέκνα, ἐγγό-  
 νους τε αὐτῶν, τὴν ἐλευθερίαν καὶ τὴν ἀτελείαν αὐτοὺς πάντων τῶν πραγ[μ]άτων  
 τούτῳ τε τῷ δικαίῳ ἔχειν, διακρά-  
 τεῖν τε καθάπερ καὶ τις πολιτε(ή)α τῷ καλ(λ)ίστῳ δικαίῳ, καλ(λ)ίστῳ τε νόμῳ  
 ἐστίν, ἢ τις πολιτεία παρὰ τῆς συνκλήτου  
 καὶ τοῦ δή[μο]υ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων τὴν ἐλευθερ[ε]ίαν καὶ ἀτελείαν ἔχει, φίλη τε καὶ  
 σύ[μ]μαχος τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ῥωμαίων ἐστίν.
- 55 Ὁ ἱερὸν εἴτε κ[αί] τέμενος θεᾶς Ἀφροδείτης ἐν πόλει Πλαρασέων καὶ Ἀφροδεδισιέ-  
 ω[ν] ἐστίν, ἐκείνο τὸ ἱερὸν, ἐκείνο τὸ τέμε-  
 νος ἄσυλον [ἐ]στῶ τούτῳ τῷ δικαίῳ, ταύτῃ τε δ(ε)ισιδαιμονία ᾧ δικαίῳ καὶ ἡ  
 δεισιδαιμονία τὸ ἱερὸν εἴτε καὶ τέμενος Ἀρ-  
 τέμιδος Ἐ[φε]σίας ἐστίν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, κύκλῳ τε ἐκείνου τοῦ ἱεροῦ, εἴτε τέμενος ἐστίν,  
 εἰς τὸ πάντη μέχρι ποδῶν ἑκατὸν εἴκο-  
 σι, ἐκεῖνος ὁ τόπος ἄσυλος ἔστω· ὅπως τε ἡ πολιτεία, οἱ πολεῖται οἱ Πλαρασέων  
 καὶ Ἀφροδεδισιέων μεθ' ὧν ἀγρῶν, τόπων,  
 οἰκοδομιῶν, κωμῶν, χωρίων, ὄχυρωμάτων, ὄρων, προσόδων πρὸς τὴν φιλίαν  
 το[ῦ] δήμου τοῦ Ῥωμαίων προσῆλθον ταῦτα
- 60 πάντα ἔχω[σ]ιν, κρατῶσιν, χρῶνται, καρπίζωνται τε, πάντων τῶν πραγμάτων  
 [[N]] ἐ[λ]εύθεροι ἀτελεῖς τε καὶ ἀδημοσιώνητοι ὧσιν  
 Μήτε μὴν τιγ[ε]ς δ[ι]ὰ τινα αἰτίαν ἐκείνων δ(ι)δόναι (?τι) μηδὲ (σ)υνεισφέρειν  
 ὀφείλωσιν, [ἀ]λλὰ ἐλεύθεροι καὶ ἀτελεῖς ὧσιν, νόμοις  
 τε ἰδίῳις π[ατρί]οις καὶ οὐς ἂν μετὰ ταῦτα ἐν ἑαυτοῖς κυρ(ώ)σ(ω)σιν χρῶν[ται  
 ... c. 6 ...]νταί τε ἄτε τινα ἂν καὶ [οἱ] ἄ]ν Πλαρασεῖς  
 [καὶ Ἀφροδεδισεῖς ..... c. 38 .....]α ἐκ τῶν [Τραλ]λιανῶν ὄρων εἰσω  
 τῶν [ὄρων τῶ]ν Πλαρασε-

- [ων καὶ Ἀφροδισιέων . . . . . c. 31 . . . . . -ἀγ]ωσιν, ταῦτα πάντα ἀτελῆ καὶ  
 ἀννεομῶ[τα ἐ]ξάγειν ἐκ  
 sic 65 [τῶν ὀρῶν τῶν Ἑραλλιανῶν ἑάν τε στρατηγός, ἀντιστρατηγός, ὑπατός τ]ε  
 ν. ἑάν τε καὶ ἕτερός τις ἄρχων προσόδους [δη]μοσίας δή-  
 [μου Ῥωμαίων ἑαυτοῖς ἐπιτάσσει ἢ παρὰ τὰ φιλόφρονες τὰ ὑπὸ τῆς σ]υνκλή-  
 του Ἀφροδισιέων δεδομένα, συγκεχωρημένα  
 [. . . . . c. 45 . . . . .]νται, μήτε μήν τις ἐκείνων τῶν πραγμάτων τινί τι  
 μισθούτ(ω)  
 [. . . . . c. 25 . . . . . ἄρχων, ἀντάρχων τε ὃς ἂν περὶ τῶ]ν ἐν τῶ[ι]ς ἐπαρχείαις  
 δικαιοδότη ἐπικρινέτω μή τι ὑπε-  
 [ναντίον τούτῳ τῷ δόγματι τῆς συνκλήτου γένηται ὅπως τε κ]αὶ [ἡ] πολιτεία,  
 οἱ πολεῖται τε οἱ Πλαρασέων ν. καὶ  
 70 [Ἀφροδισιέων ἑοῖστοι νόμοις ἰδίοις πατρίοις τε καὶ ἔθισμοις ἑ]χρ[ή]σαντο, καὶ  
 μεθ' ὧν δὲ τόπων, ἀγρῶν, οἴκο-  
 [δομιῶν, κωμῶν, χωρίων, ὄχυρωμάτων, ὀρῶν, προσόδων . . . . c. 24 . . . .]  
 τοι[. . .]ων, ἑτερών τε πραγμάτων ν. καὶ  
 [ἑχρημάτων . . c. 17 . . πρὸς τὴν φιλίαν τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ῥωμαίων προσήλθον  
 πάν]τα αὐτὰ ἔχουσιν διακατέχουσιν  
 [ἔδοξεν ἢ vacat Περὶ δὲ ὧν Γάιος Καλουείσιος, Λεύκιος Μάρκιος Κηνσωρεῖ]νος  
 ὑπατοὶ λόγους ἐποίησαντο  
 [ἔσπευξε Λεύκιος Μάρκιος Κηνσωρεῖνος καὶ Γάιος Καλουείσιος ὑπατοὶ τοῖς κατὰ]  
 πόλιν ταμίαις ἐπιτάξουσιν εἰς τὸ  
 75 [αἰράριον ἢ ἀναφέρειν ὄνομα καὶ ξένια τῷ πρεσβευτῇ τῶν Πλαρασέων καὶ  
 Ἀφροδισιέων δοῦναι ἀποστειλαί τε κε-  
 [λεύσασιν ἢ ἀπὸ σησπερτίων νόμων . . . . . c. 34 . . . . . ὅπως τ]ε ἐν τοῖς  
 ἀγῶσι τε καὶ ταῖς μονομα-  
 [χίαις ἐπὶ τε κυνηγίοις, καὶ ἐὰν ἀθληταὶ ἀγωνίζωνται ἐν πόλει Ῥώμη πλησίον  
 τε πόλ]εως Ῥώμης μιλίου ἑνός, ἐν τῷ τῶν  
 [συνκλητικῶν τόπῳ ἢ τῷ πρεσβευτῇ Πλαρασέων καὶ Ἀφροδισιέων καθῆσθαι,  
 θε]ωρεῖν τ' ἕξον ἢ stor καὶ οἵτινες δὲ ἂν  
 [ποτε πρεσβευταὶ ἢ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Πλαρασέων καὶ Ἀφροδισιέων εἰς Ῥώμην  
 π]ρὸς τὴν σύνκλητον παραγένωνται,  
 80 [τοῖς ἄρχουσιν, ἀντάρχουσιν δήμου Ῥωμαίων, τοῖς ἐξουσίαν ἔχουσιν σύνκλητ]ον  
 συναγαγεῖν, ἐφανίσωσιν ὅπως  
 [σύνκλητος αὐτοῖς δόθη ἢ ἀρέσκειν δὲ ἐκ τοῦ στίχου σύνκλητον αὐτοῖς δοθῆναι,  
 ἐξο]υσίαν τε αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι εἰς τὸ ἐ-  
 [κείνη τῇ τάξει διαλεγῆναι ἐμφανίσαι τε, ἐν ἡμέραις δέκα ταῖς ἑνγίστα αἰς ἂν  
 πρ]οσέλθωσιν, ἐφανίσωσιν, ἀπόκριμα  
 [πρεσβευταῖς Πλαρασέων καὶ Ἀφροδισιέων δοθῆναι. ὅπως τε Λεύκιος Μάρκιος  
 Κην]σωρεῖνος καὶ Γάιος Καλουείσιος  
 [ὑπατοὶ ἢ τὸ ὄρκιον τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ῥωμαίων γενέσθαι φροντίσωσι τὸν τε  
 δῆμον τὸν Πλαρασ]έων καὶ Ἀφροδισιέων διὰ τῶν πρεσ-  
 85 [βευτῶν ἢ ὁμόσαι . . . . . c. 55 . . . . .]HAN αὐτοὺς τοὺς θεμιστῆρας πα-  
 [. . . . . c. 65 . . . . .]μετὰ ταῦτα ἐσόμενοι οἷς ἂν αὐτῶν  
 [. . . . . c. 55 . . . . . τοῦ δήμου τ]οῦ Πλαρασέων καὶ Ἀφροδισιέων δε-  
 [. . . . . c. 65 . . . . .]τὰ τε πλήθη ἐνέγκωσιν ἢ ἂν οὗτοι

- [..... c. 45 .....? φροντίσωσιν ὅπως ἐπειδὴ . . . γ]ένωνται, καταστά-  
θωσίν τε νόμον  
90 [περὶ τούτων τῶν πρ]αγμάτων ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον [ἤπιφέρωσιν.....c.10.....]  
ὅπως τε τοῦτο τὸ δόγμα τῆς συνκλήτου  
[καὶ τὸ ὄρκιον τὸ πρὸς τὸν δῆμον τὸν Πλαρασέω[ν καὶ Ἄφροδεισιέων ἐπ]ι-  
γενησόμενον δέλτοις χαλκείαις ἐνχαρα-  
[χθέντα ἐν ἱερῷ Δίο]ς ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐν τῷ Καπετωλίῳ ἀ[νατιθῶσι, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ  
ἄλλα]ς δέλτους ἐν Ἄφροδεισιάδι ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς  
[Ἄφροδείτης καὶ ἐν] ταῖς Πλαρασέων καὶ Ἄφροδει[σιέων] ἀγοραῖς ἤξ οὐ ἂν  
δῆλον ἦ, καθὼς ἂν αὐτοῖς πρὸ τῶν δημοσίων πρᾶ-  
[γμάτων καὶ ἰδίας] αὐτῶν πίστεως ἐφαίνετο εἶναι *vac.* ἔδοξεν *vac.* ἐν τῇ  
συγκλήτῳ ὅτε τοῦτο τὸ δόγμα ἐτελεῖτο παρήσαν  
95 [. . c. 11 . . . . . καὶ] ν. συνκλητικοῖ τριακός[ιοι τεσσαράκοντα ὅτε ἐγ]έμετο τὸ  
ὄρκιον. *vacat*

Variant readings of the published blocks are noted in the commentary. The translation assumes many of the supplements tentatively proposed there.

[In the] consulship [of C. Calvisius C.f. and L. Marcius] L.f.; from the record of decrees referred to the Senate, file [?one, pages four], five, six, seven, eight, nine; and in the quaestorian files of the year when M. Marti[- and . . ? . .] were urban [quaestors], file one. 2nd October, on the Palatine, in the [?temple of . . ? . .]. When the record was written there were present M. Valerius M.f. Lem. Messala, Appius [Claudius ?Pulcher, (L. Nonius) L.f.] Vel. Asprenas, L. Scribonius L.f. Fal. Libo, L. [. . ? . .] L.f. Ouf. Balbus, [. . ? . .] C.f. Claudonianus (*sic*), L. Ser[gius ?L.f.] Fal. Plautus, C.M[. . ? . . f.] Pom., Cn. Asinius Cn. f. [?Arn.], P. Sestius L. [f. Col., Cn.] Pompeius Q.f. Arn., C. Hedi[us C.f.] Cla. Thorus, L. [. . ? . . f.] Arn. Capito, T. Licinius T. [f. . . ? . .]enus, C[. . ? . ., . . ? . .]nius Cn. f. Arn. Rufus, P. [. . ? . ., . . ? . .] ?Ani., Cn. Sedi[us C.f.] Cla. [. . ? . ., . . ? . .]n, T. [Li]cinius T.f. Fab. Turannus, [. . ? . .]itus [. . ? . . Concerning the matter on which the consuls C. Calvisius] C.f. [and L. Marcius L.f. Censorinus spoke, saying]

[that ?Solon son of Demetrius, envoy of the Aphrodisians, was renewing the relationship of favour, friendship and alliance] and seeking of the Senate [that . . ? . . the People of] Plarasa and Aphrodisias [. . ? . . because of their friendship towards the Romans] and goodwill, [?in which they have been] among the most outstanding, [. . ? . . that these things] should be restored to them [and ?the destroyed fields] should be valued, [. . ? . . and that they should receive a favourable] reply; the Senate [decided to reaffirm the relationship of favour, friendship and alliance] with the people of Plarasa [and Aphrodisias], to address their ambassador as a good and noble man and, moreover, a friend [from a good and noble people, which is, moreover, our friend and ally]; and since it is agreed that the community [of the Plarasans and Aphrodisians has] continuously [. . ? . .] shown the greatest [. . ? . . and] goodwill [. . ? . .] to the empire of the Roman people from the time when it entered the friendship of the Roman People; and since M. Antonius and C. Caesar [victorious generals, Triumviri] Reipublicae Constituendae, [spoke] in this house [about the very noble policy] and the exceptional loyalty which [the people of Plarasa/Aphrodisias have extended] to our public affairs, (resolved) that it seems to be in the public interest [for the Plarasans and Aphrodisians, themselves, their children] and their descendants to be exempt from all levies [. . ? . . and removed from] all taxation documents of the Roman People, themselves and their [wives, children and descendants and] to be enrolled among the number of allies; nor should any magistrate [or promagistrate of the Roman People, or anyone else], billet on them, in the city or territory or bounds

of the Plarasans [and Aphrodisians, a soldier or a substitute soldier, a cavalry-man], or anyone else, with a view to providing winter quarters, [nor order such billeting to take place], nor levy from the people of Plarasa [and Aphrodisias money], or soldiers, [or ships, or corn], or weapons, or rafts, [or anything else at all; . . .]; also resolved that the *?asylia* which . . . conceded] to Aphrodite who is present among them, is agreed by the Senate to have been [rightly and duly conceded and in accordance with] the sense of duty to the gods felt by the Roman People [. . .]; and it is also agreed by the Senate that the temple of the goddess in that city should be an asylum and with the same rights as [the sanctuary of Ephesian Artemis at Ephesus], and in other respects that the ordinances of Divus Iulius on these matters [should all remain valid . . . similarly] it is agreed by the Senate that the people of Plarasa and Aphrodisias should be exempt in all respects from the joint levy [. . .] on the Maeander [. . .], should be free of liturgies and [?levies] and [contribute] no payments nor anything else [. . .] the matter [?nor should it be allowed to anyone] to take and ?carry off [. . .] a pledge but the community of Plarasa and Aphrodisias should be free and enjoy [its own] law [and courts ?as far as] the Roman People [are concerned]; and [within] their boundaries no one should take bail from anyone, or order bail to be taken from anyone, [for an appearance in court at Rome?]; and all those rewards, honours and privileges which C. Caesar or M. Antonius, *Triumviri Reipublicae Constituendae*, have given or shall give, have allotted or shall allot, have conceded or shall concede by their own decree to the people of Plarasa and Aphrodisias, all these should be accepted as having come about duly and regularly; similarly it is agreed by the Senate that the people of Plarasa and Aphrodisias, their children and descendants should themselves have and possess freedom and immunity from taxation in all matters on the legal basis which is that of a community with the fullest right and law, having freedom and immunity from taxation granted by the Senate and people of Rome, and being a friend and ally of the Roman people.

The temple or precinct of the goddess Aphrodite which is in the city of the Plarasans and Aphrodisians, that temple or precinct is to be an asylum, with the rights and the religious sanctity which pertain to the temple or precinct of Ephesian Artemis at Ephesus, for an area of 120 feet surrounding that temple or precinct in all directions; that area is to be an asylum; and (it is agreed) that the community, and the citizens of Plarasa and Aphrodisias are to have, hold, use and enjoy all those lands, places, buildings, villages, estates, strongpoints, pastures, revenues which they had when they entered the friendship of the Roman People, and are to be free, and immune from taxation and the presence of tax-contractors. Neither are any of them obliged on any account to give or contribute (anything) but they are to be free in all respects and immune from taxation and are to enjoy their own traditional laws and those which they pass among themselves hereafter. All the [. . .] which the Plarasans [and Aphrodisians . . . ?move] from [the boundaries] of Trallian territory into [the boundaries of the Plarasans and Aphrodisians . . .], all these [they should be allowed to move] without paying tax and without paying pasture dues from [?the Trallian boundaries and if any ?praetor, propraetor or proconsul], and if anyone else in authority [seeks to levy] the public taxes [of the Roman People contrary to the privileges] given and conceded by the Senate to the Aphrodisians [. . .] nor should anyone let to anyone a contract for collecting any of those things; [a magistrate or promagistrate charged at any time] with administration of justice in the provinces shall see to it that nothing contrary [to this decree of the Senate takes place; and also that those traditional laws and customs of theirs which] the community and citizens of Plarasa and Aphrodisias [enjoyed] and the places, lands, buildings, [villages, farms, strongpoints, pastures, revenues, . . .] and other matters and [properties which they had when they entered the friendship of the Roman People, all] these they should have and hold. [?Agreed. Concerning the proposal made by the] consuls [C. Calvisius and L. Marcius Censorinus, (it is agreed) that L. Marcius Censorinus and C. Calvisius, consuls,] should instruct the urban quaestors with a view to [?registering the name of

the ambassador at the Treasury] and [bid] them give and pay [subsistence allowance to the ambassador of the Plarasans and] Aphrodisians [up to the sum of . . . ? . . . and that the ambassadors of the Plarasans and Aphrodisians should be allowed to sit] as spectators in the [area reserved for Senators] at contests and gladiatorial combats, [also hunts and competitions of athletes, should any occur in the city of Rome or within] one mile of the city of Rome ; and whatever [ambassadors come from Plarasa and Aphrodisias in the future to Rome] to meet the Senate they are to report [to the magistrates and promagistrates of the Roman People who have the power] to summon [the Senate], in order that [they may be given access to the Senate ; and it is agreed by the Senate that they should have access to the Senate without waiting their turn and] the right [to speak and report in that body (and) that] a reply [be given to the envoys of Plarasa and Aphrodisias within 10 days of their] attending and reporting [to the Senate ; and that L. Marcius] Censorinus and C. Calvisius [consuls] should make provision [?for the oaths of the Roman People to be sworn and for the people] of Plarasa/Aphrodisias [to swear] through their ambassadors [. . . ? . . .] the priests (?Fetiales) themselves [. . . ? . . .] those about to be hereafter (?holding office) to whomsoever of them [. . . ? . . . of the people] of Plarasa and Aphrodisias [. . . ? . . .] they should ?report the ?numbers whatever these [. . . ? . . . the consuls are to see to it that, ?after certain things] have taken place and been instituted, [?they bring] a law [on these] matters before the People (of Rome) and that [they have] this decree of the Senate [engraved, and also the treaty with] the people of Plarasa [and Aphrodisias] which will be made [in addition to] it, on bronze tablets [and set up in the temple of Jupiter], in Rome, on the Capitol ; [and to arrange that other] tablets [be displayed] at Aphrodisias in the sanctuary of [Aphrodite] and in the [?market place(s) of the Plarasans and Aphrodisians, ?where they are clearly visible], as seemed to them in accordance with the interests of the state and [with their own] good faith. [Agreed]. In the Senate when the decree was passed [ ? Senators] were present, and 3[40] Senators [when] the oath was taken.

l. 1. The layout of this line poses a problem. The presence of the word ὑπάρτων shows that it began with a consular date, as was to be expected. Of the two consular names there survives only the filiation of the second, which is so placed in relation to what follows that, if *praenomen*, *nomen* and filiation of the first and *praenomen* and *nomen* of the second are supplied before it, the line must be extended to the left well beyond the point which may reasonably be proposed for the beginnings of ll. 2 ff. Outspacing of the opening line is natural, but it is surprising that it should have been to this extent. If the consuls are identified as C. Calvisius and L. Marcius Censorinus, as I think that they must be (see below), it must have stretched appreciably near to the left-hand end of the wall (see Fig. 5) and so run above the column in which I have argued that doc. 6 was inscribed (p. 41), as well as above that used for the present document. I see no solution but to accept this, unless we suppose either that the names were incorrectly copied or that most of the first name was cut in a short preceding line, perhaps on the moulding of a cornice (cf. Appendix I, A.1).

There has been dispute as to whether the consuls whose names are to be supplied on Loew's block were those of 39 or of 35. The case for 35 was made by Viereck, in reliance on a 'rule' that at this date a man was invariably given his *cognomen* in a document if he had one ; so that the second consul here could not be L. Marcius Censorinus, *cos.* 39, and must be L. Cornificius, *cos.* 35, the only consul of these years to combine the right filiation with lack of a *cognomen*. It was already deducible from *RDGE* 31, in which C. Calvisius Sabinus appears without a *cognomen* in l. 74 and with one in l. 86 that the 'rule' was not invariably followed ; and Viereck

himself was aware that, on occasion, a *cognomen* might be displaced and appear before the filiation (cf. Γαίου Κοιλίου Κάλδου Γαίου υίοϋ in *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 732 to which he refers), so that it could never have been applied with absolute confidence here. In fact it is now clear from ll. 14 and 83 below that the consuls who put to the Senate the proposals agreed here were those of 39. Their names should be supplied here, since registration of a decree must have followed very soon after its passage (*Sénat* 207, cf. *RDGE*, p. 7); indeed the need for reaffirmation of a decree put to the Senate by Julius Caesar, but not yet registered when he was assassinated (Josephus, *AJ* 14. 10. 221), is held to indicate that only those who proposed a decree could register it. The conclusion also vindicates the general historical arguments for placing the contents of Sherard's block in 39 which were put forward recently by L. Robert (*Aph* 419).

The surviving filiation indicates that the name of L. Marcius Censorinus stood in the second place and, although his *cognomen* was regularly used, its omission here must be accepted—there is no room in the line for it before the filiation. Its absence may be due to a slip of a type that is not uncommon in the transcription of names, cf. l. 14 where either Calvisius' name was written twice or his filiation was wrongly placed. Alternatively it might be explicable in terms of the source of the date, which may have been the consuls' own copy rather than the quaestorian archive (see below).

There is, however, a difficulty in this order of names, since Censorinus appears first in the *Fasti Capitolini*, first in the date at the head of the *sc de Panamaris* (*RDGE* 27, ll. 3–4) passed in August 39, and first in l. 83 below. The order of names in citations of consular pairs tends to be reasonably uniform (L. R. Taylor and T. R. S. Broughton, *MAAR* 19 (1949), 7 f., *Historia* 17 (1968), 166 f.; see now the reassessment of the evidence by A. Drummond, *Athenaeum* 56 (1978), 80 f., who accepts this point in the argument). Nevertheless the testimonies collected by A. Degrassi (*Ins. Ital.* XIII. 1, pp. 348 f.), while encouraging belief in a 'normal order' of names, indicate at the same time that it was quite commonly varied. Reasons for variation are briefly considered by Drummond, *op. cit.*, 5, who shows that in the literary sources they include artifice. In administrative documents, however, it might be expected that the monthly alternation of *fascēs* between the consuls would be a major factor (it has sometimes been said that this was abandoned in the middle Republic, so in Daremberg—Saglio *s.v.* 'Lictores'; *RE* VI, *s.v.* 'Fascēs', but the evidence offered is Suetonius, *Jul.* 20, which in fact takes its continued existence for granted and merely records Caesar's reintroduction of ceremonial attendants in the months in which he did not have the *fascēs*). To test this, however, there is very little relevant evidence available. The consul who proposed the *sc de Asclepiade* is named second in what seems to be the 'normal order', and so should not have had the *fascēs* at the time of the decree on the criteria normally accepted (i.e. that the consul named first in the 'normal order' had the *fascēs* in January); he is nevertheless named first in the date at the head of the document (*RDGE* 22, l. 1 Greek; the Latin version is lost at this point): the consul who proposed the *sc de Panamaris*, in fact the L. Marcius Censorinus of the present document, is named first in the 'normal order', and first in the date at the head of the document (*RDGE* 27, ll. 3–4), but did not, on the accepted criteria, have the *fascēs* at the time. That perhaps suggests that the inscribed copies of these two decrees may have derived,

not from the quaestorian archive as normally assumed, but from the tablets which the consular *relatores* deposited in the *aerarium* (see on ll. 1–3) on which, one might guess, the *relator*'s own name would tend to be placed first, whether or not he held the *fasces* at the time. The question then arises whether l. 83 here is to be taken, as at first sight it might be, to show that while the consuls were jointly responsible for the proposal (l. 73), Censorinus took the lead, despite the priority given to Calvisius' name in the date. It seems to me a hypothesis worth considering that it was not so (and in ll. 14 and 73 where the names of the proposing consuls must be supplied I have printed them with the name of Calvisius in the first place); in l. 83 the consular pair was named in a clause which probably required the consuls to take further action (so also in l. 74 where, however, the names are entirely lost), and in such a clause, given the supposedly joint interest of the consuls, a reversion to the 'normal order' of names would perhaps be natural (it does not occur in the *sc de Asclepiade*, *RDGE* 22, l. 14 Latin, l. 24 Greek, but there the one proposing consul no doubt had a special interest in the issue, cf. l. 8 Greek).

On Loew's stone the incomplete participle towards the end of the line was originally thought to describe registered decrees and was restored by Waddington as ἀν[αγεγραμμένων, which subsequent editors have accepted even after Reinach had observed that the correct reading was ἀνε[. . .]. The new piece shows that the word was ἀνε[ν]εχθέντων. Ἀναφέρω was used by Plutarch (*Cat. Mi.* 17) and Josephus (*AJ* 14. 10. 221, quoted below) and *refero* commonly by Cicero for registration (cf. *Sul.* 15. 42: *indicium in tabulas relatum*); but here the dative συνκλήτῳ indicates, apparently, that the Latin translated was *ad Senatium relatum, proposed to the Senate*. I can find no parallel for this formula in a heading, but cf. on ll. 1–3.

ll. 1–3. Here, as has long been recognized, is valuable evidence on the Roman state archive; but the incomplete elements on Loew's block have blurred the picture. It is now clear that two official records of senatorial decrees were mentioned, both presumably preserved in the *aerarium*. For accounts of the Roman public archive see *RDGE*, pp. 8 f. (summarizing from Mommsen, *St. R.*<sup>3</sup> III, 1015–21, Willems, *Sénat* 204–6, O'Brien Moore, *RE Supp.* VI, cols. 804 f.) and the note on the archival aspect of the *aerarium* by F. Millar, *JRS* 54 (1964), 34–5. The double reference here is paralleled in a decree reported by Josephus (*AJ* 14. 10. 221) where the senatorial decision includes ἀνεγκεῖν τε ταῦτα εἰς δέλτους καὶ πρὸς τοὺς κατὰ πόλιν ταμίαις ὅπως φροντίσωσι καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐν δέλτοις ἀναθεῖναι διπτύχοις. The first must, surely, be identical with what Cicero, writing of 146 B.C., called the *librum in quo sunt senatus consulta Cn. Cornelio, L. Mummio coss* (*Att.* 13. 33. 3), cf. the much later *sc de nundinis saltus Beguensis* (*CIL* VIII, 23246) where the copy is said to be *descriptum et recognitum ex libro sententiarum in senatu dictarum Kani Iuni Nigri, C. Pomponi Camerini coss*. It probably consisted of the originals as handed in by the *relatores*, from which the quaestors had copies transcribed on to their own *tabulae*. That, if accepted, would explain the unparalleled formula of l. 1.

Both the book containing the decrees and the quaestorian records will have been written on wooden tablets (δέλτοι, *codices, tabulae*) with waxed or gummed sides (κηρώματα, *cerae*), which were strung together in groups (cf. the accounts of the archive already cited). Willems argued from the words μηνὸς Μαΐου in the file reference for the *sc de Asclepiade* (*RDGE* 22, ll. 1–3) that the quaestorian record, which was supposedly cited there, was broken down into monthly sub-divisions

(*Sénat* 218, n. 3), but since it now seems possible that it was from the book of decrees that it was cited, his argument can no longer be taken as conclusive. In l. 3, however, the present decree is said to be written on the first tablet of the quaestorian record; and since it is inconceivable that the first tablet for the year should carry a decree passed on 2 October, in a year of much senatorial business following the decision of Antony and Octavian to ratify their *acta* by senatorial decrees (Dio Cassius 48. 34. 1), this must be the first tablet for October, proving the sub-division by months. It seems certain that the book of decrees too was broken down into monthly sub-divisions, for the numbers of the waxed sides cited in what survives of l. 2 are also low for a decree passed in October 39 if the numeration was continuous throughout the year. It would seem reasonable to guess then that the δέλτος here too was the first for the month, but after κηρώμασι in l. 2 there is only room to add the fourth page to those whose numbers survive.

At the end of l. 2 part of the name of one of the urban quaestors survives but is not identifiable; the conclusion of his name, with that of his colleague, filled the beginning of l. 3. It is not possible to make valid suggestions for the second name, since we are very ill-informed on the names of quaestors in the triumviral period, see *MRR* under these years; for 39 Broughton proposed only Q. Sosius, who cannot have been an urban quaestor since he minted outside Italy (M. Grant, *From Imperium to Auctoritas* (1946), 39–40, where the praenomen is given wrongly as C., in acceptance of an error in F. W. Shipley, *Washington University Studies* 3 (1930), 73 f.). Ti. Sempronius Gracchus and Q. Voconius Vitulus (*RRC*, nos. 525, 526) are possibilities, but very uncertainly dated.

l. 3. The date is 2 October; this is later than any previous attestation for the continuance of Censorinus and Calvisius in office, and pushes further towards the end of the year the occasion at which they were succeeded by *suffects* (C. Cocceius Balbus, P. Alfenus Varus).

l. 4. At the beginning the name of the specific place on the Palatine in which the Senate met is wanted. There are very few references to meetings of the Senate on the Palatine under the Republic. Dio Cassius (40. 49) records one in 52, following the burning of the Curia Hostilia after Clodius' death; Lily Ross Taylor argued that this was held in the Temple of Jupiter Stator (*TAPhA* 100 (1969), 568–9) where a meeting is recorded in 63 during the Catilinarian crisis (Cicero, *Catil.* l. 5, Plutarch, *Cic.* 16). The temple of Jupiter Stator is, strictly, on the Velia rather than the Palatine and described by Livy as *ad veterem portam Palatii* (1. 12. 3), by Ovid as *ante Palatini ora iugi* (*Fast.* 6. 794) and by others similarly; moreover there is no evidence to show that it was a regular meeting place for the Senate (in 63 it was selected, apparently, because it was conveniently near Cicero's house). It is, however, the only attested meeting place which could be described as being on the Palatine at this date; if the Senate met there on 2 October 39 the text probably read ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῷ Διὸς Ὀρθωσίου, and there was space thereafter for a small *vacat* before the list of those present when the record was drafted.

On no basis can room be found for the statement that the presiding magistrate(s) consulted the senate (τῇ συνκλήτῳ συνεβουλευέσατο). This is normally placed before the day of the month, occasionally after the place of the meeting (*RDGE* 1 C, ll. 1–2), but is sometimes omitted, as from *RDGE* 4, 7, and, very relevantly, from the *sc de Panamaris* (*RDGE* 27), also of 39. The formula in l. 1 may have superseded it.

ll. 4 f. The list of senators present when the record was drafted is introduced by γραφομένων; Waddington and Viereck emended to γραφομένω and later editors have followed them. There is now a sufficient number of inscriptions with the genitive case in this formula to show that the emendation is unnecessary, cf. Dittenberger's comment on γραφομένου in the *sc de Oropiis* (*Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 747, l. 61) that the dative case is the commoner.

The list contained at least 20 names and probably more, a markedly larger committee than any other known for the purpose (O'Brien Moore, *op. cit.*, col. 801, calculated that numbers varied between 2 and 11, cf. also *RDGE*, p. 7). That must indicate great importance attached to the decisions here; only a few weeks earlier 10 men had sufficed for the *sc de Panamaris* (*RDGE* 27) which, like this decree, was probably a response to the effects of the War of Labienus.

The names are presented formally, *praenomen*, *nomen*, filiation, tribe and often *cognomen*. The inclusion of the tribe with a name in this type of list is first attested in 170 B.C., in the *sc de Thisbensibus* (*RDGE* 2, ll. 4–5); it seems to have become standard practice by c. 160 and continued until a little before 17 B.C. (so L. Ross Taylor, *The Voting Districts of the Roman Republic* (1960), 167 f.). In Greek the tribe name was normally written in full, where in Latin it was usually abbreviated. There are minor variations in the transliterations of different translators, which do not cause serious problems; but their intention in the matter of case-endings has led to considerable difference of opinion. In Latin the tribe name occasionally appears as an adjective in agreement with the subject (cf. *CIL* II, 5076, *Scaptianus*), although it was normally presented as a noun in apposition to the unexpressed *tribu* (so *Scaptiā*). In Greek there are a very few instances in which it is in the genitive case (in apposition to φυλῆς) and some have thought that this may be the correct interpretation of forms such as appear here in ll. 8 (Ἀρνήσις), 9, 10 (Ἀρνήσις), 11 (Ἀνιήσις), which others would explain as nominatives in agreement with the subject, as seems to me more likely. The much more common forms in -α have been taken by some as datives used in imitation of the Latin ablatives, but more frequently now as transliterations of the Latin without adaptation to the syntax of the Greek sentence in which they stand. I have accepted this convention. (For discussion see W. Kubitschek, *De tribuum Romanorum origine* (1882) and in *RE* VI A 2, col. 2511; C. Fayer, *Studi Urbinati* 36 (1962), 185 f.)

The membership of the committee here shows marked resemblances to that recorded for the *sc de Panamaris* (*RDGE* 27, ll. 5–11); it presents a series of points of interest and raises a number of problems.

It is probable—and normally assumed—that those present were listed in order of seniority. In so far as seniority can be assigned with confidence, it seems to be observed here; but its observance is not proved to be an absolute rule, so that arguments for identity which depend on seniority should be treated with a certain reserve.

For each man I have given references to articles in *RE* and *PIR* where they exist; there is, of course, useful material in *MRR* for almost all of them.

1. M. Valerius M.f. Messala, *tribu Lemonia*. Viereck suggested that this was a Messala Corvinus, but both men with these names (the *cos. suff.* in 32 and the *cos. suff.* in 31) were too junior in 39 to take first place in this list, as Sherk noted (*RDGE*, p. 171). Ernst Badian has suggested Messala Rufus, *cos.* 53 (*RE* VIII,

A.1, col. 166, no. 268), a man of suitably senior status; if that is right the text gives his hitherto unknown filiation (disproving Sir Ronald Syme's guess that he was M'.f., *JRS* 45 (1955), 157, *RP* I, 263 f.) and provides, for the first time, a tribe for the patrician Valerii. It is relevant that he probably had a hereditary connection with the province of Asia (Syme, *ll.cc.* 158 and 265 together with *Historia* 4 (1955), 70-1, *RP* I 291).

2. The praenomen Appius can hardly belong to anyone but a Claudius, plausibly Appius Claudius Pulcher, *cos.* 38 (*RE* III, cols. 2853 f., no. 298; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> C 982); but in l. 5 there is certainly no room for more than the end of his *praenomen* and his *nomen* before the filiation of the Asprenas who follows (see also on no. 3). There must here be an error of transmission.

3. The cutter wrote ΑΣΣΡΗΝΑΣ which all editors have necessarily emended to give Ἀσπρήνας. But there is no room for his *praenomen* and *nomen* as well as those of no. 2. It is possible that, in moving from the end of l. 4 to the beginning of l. 5, the ordinator's eye slipped from the *nomen* Κλαύδιος to the filiation Λευκίου υἱός or from the *praenomen* Ἀππίος to the *nomen* Νώνιος. An Asprenas, *tribu Velina*, must be L. Nonius L.f. Asprenas, *cos. suff.* 36 (*RE* XVIII, col. 9656, no. 14, see also R. Syme, *CPh* 50 (1955), 135). He was listed in the *sc de Panamaris*, again in the third place (*RDGE* 27, ll. 6-7). Viereck proposed him here but later rejected the identification (p. viii) on the grounds that Messala Corvinus, to whom he had assigned the first place, was his junior; with Messala Rufus in the first place the objection vanishes.

4. L. Scribonius L.f. Libo, *tribu Falerna*, presumably the associate of Sex. Pompeius and consul of 34 (*RE* II A, cols. 881 f., no. 20; *PIR*<sup>1</sup> S 210); his tribe was not previously known. He is a symbol of the new concord between the triumvirs and Pompey after Misenum. There would be a difficulty in his position after Asprenas if Münzer were right in arguing that he was praetor before 49 (*RE*, loc. cit.; Broughton suggests that it was perhaps in 50, *MRR* II, 248), since Asprenas was probably praetor in 47. The evidence for the date of Libo's praetorship is at present inconclusive. During 39 both men were designated for consulships by the triumvirs, who might, perhaps, have been expected to recognize Libo's seniority over Asprenas as a praetorian if he had it. On the other hand, it is possible that the triumvirs had already made designations as far ahead as 36 (and so including Asprenas) before the question of consulships for Pompeians arose (see p. 69 f. on Appian, *BC* 5. 8. 73); in that case they would inevitably place him in a later year whatever his relative rank as a praetorian, and it is very likely that he would, in consequence, rank lower than Asprenas from the moment of Asprenas' designation (for the whole matter of the consular designations of 39 and their effect on the ranking of senators, see p. 69 f.).

5. Lucius [. . . in ll. 5-6 seems very likely to be the praenomen of . . .] L.f. Balbus, *tribu Oufentina*, since it is impossible to fit a *nomen*, *praenomen* and tribe for him, as well as a *praenomen* and *nomen* for Balbus, into the space available at the beginning of l. 6. The alternative is to suppose an error of transmission such as is probable at the beginning of l. 5 (see no. 2) and certain at the end of l. 6 (see no. 6). If the names were correctly recorded, the line is likely to have been rather shorter than the 95 letters that I have used as the basis for calculating the size of the gap (following the model of ll. 1, 2) and may have been no more than 85, leaving *c.* 12 for the missing

*nomen* (see also on nos. 7, 12).—L.f. Balbus, *tribu Oufentina*, was identified by Waddington (so also Viereck) with M. Attius Balbus (taken to be M. Atius Balbus) but the identifications are certainly wrong, see R. Syme (*CPh* 50 (1955), 133; *Historia* 4 (1955), 56 f., *RP* II, 275–6; and Broughton (*MRR* Supp., p. 9); Syme listed several candidates including (tentatively) L. Saenius L.f. (Balbinus), *cos. suff.* 30 (*RE* I A, col. 1722, no. 2), despite the difference in the form of the *cognomen*, or a member of his family, but Saenius seems a little short if I am right to suggest that the praenomen begins in l. 5; he has now proposed L. Lucilius Balbus (see *MRR*, p. 37, where a connection is suggested with L. Lucilius L.f., p. 36).

6. C.f. Claudonianus is clearly wrong since no tribe is given and the *cognomen* is very unlikely; Peter Wiseman suggests, most attractively, that there is an error for C. Considius C.f. Claudia Nonianus (*RE* IV, col. 914, no. 12). Nonianus' career is uncertainly dated; his name appears on coins, perhaps in 57 (*RRC* 424).

7. L. Ser[. . .] in l. 6 seems very likely to be the beginning of the name of [. . . Plautus *tribu Falerna* in l. 7, since it is difficult to fit in the end of a *nomen*, filiation and tribe, together with a *praenomen* for the next man, in the space available in l. 7; the alternative is to suppose an error of transmission, see also on nos. 5, 12. Plautus, however, is a *cognomen* attested for Sergii (*RE* II, 2, cols. 1718–19, nos. 36, 37) and although not elsewhere associated with a contemporary, now seems likely to have been used by one—perhaps, as hinted by R. Syme (*Historia* 4 (1955), 66; *RP* I, 286), the associate of Catiline and Clodius (Cicero, *Dom.* 13).

8. C. M[. . .], *tribu Pomptina*; not identified. Wiseman suggests, as a very long shot, C. Messius C.f., *trib. pleb.* 57 (*RE* XV, col. 1243, no. 2).

9. Cn. Asinius Cn. f.; presumably Marrucinus (*RE* II, col. 1583, no. 2), elder brother of Asinius Pollio who was *cos.* in 40, and consequently given his father's *praenomen* where Pollio was Caius; he was politically undistinguished and so junior in rank to Pollio. The family tribe was probably Arnensis; if this is restored at the beginning of l. 8 the space available is reasonably well filled; there is no room for the *cognomen*.

10. P. Sestius L.f., *tribu Collina*, is, at first sight, naturally identified as Cicero's friend, *trib. pl.* in 57 (*RE* II A, col. 1886 f., no. 6). But a man of this name, usually identified as Cicero's friend, appears in the second place in the *sc de Panamaris* (*RDGE* 27, l. 6) and so above L. Nonius Asprenas (who is in the third place there). It is hardly convincing to postulate two men of the same name but different rank, one otherwise unknown, each present at the drafting of one of two *senatus consulta* passed within a few weeks of each other. That a sudden distortion of the normal rules of precedence might have occurred between the passage of the two decrees has been suggested by Ian Davies, and if accepted would provide a more satisfying solution to the problem.

There is no doubt that, by the time the meeting of Antony, Octavian and Sex. Pompey at Misenum was over, consuls (both ordinaries and suffectus) had been designated for eight years ahead, that is until and including 31; Dio Cassius, 48. 35, 1–2, described designations for eight years ahead as made in 39 but is including those for 38 which had been made in 43 (Dio 47. 19, Appian, *BC* 4. 1. 2); Appian, *BC* 5. 8. 73, speaks of designations for four years ahead as made at Misenum, but the names he gives show that he had in mind the years 34–1, which obviously implies that designations had been made earlier for 37–5 as well as for 38 (so

Mommsen, *StR.*<sup>3</sup> I, 586, n. 2). Of those designated at some point in this process L. Nonius Asprenas was one and P. Sestius was not. There is, it must be admitted, absolutely no evidence to show whether consuls designate traditionally took precedence over other ex-praetors in lists of this type, but it seems very probable that they did, since they were asked for their *sententiae* in the Senate even before the consulars. The revolutionary existence of consuls designate for several years in advance must have led to *ad hoc* adaptations of practice; it would seem natural that these should include precedence for all consuls designate over all other praetorians, and precedence within the group of designates according to the date at which each would be consul. There are four men in the present list who held the consulship between 38 and 31, of whom Ap. Claudius Pulcher (*cos.* 38), L. Nonius Asprenas (*cos.* 36) and L. Scribonius Libo (*cos.* 34) are suitably placed to accord with the theory; the fourth, Cn. Pompeius Q.f., *tribu Arnensis* (*cos.* 31), appears after P. Sestius and so is not. That is not necessarily fatal to it, however, for it had already been suggested by R. Syme (*The Roman Revolution* (1939), 279) that Pompeius was not among those designated in 39, but was inserted into the *Fasti* late in the thirties when the breach between Antony and Octavian had so widened that Octavian decided to modify in his own interest the arrangements made in 39.

But to be relevant to the relative positions of P. Sestius and L. Nonius Asprenas in this list, the designation of Asprenas must have been made between the passage of the *sc de Panamaris* on 14 August and that of this decree on 2 October. On the date of the designations made in 39 Dio is imprecise, but he associates them with Antony's preparations for his Parthian expedition and mentions them towards the end of his general account of the year, although before he embarks on the subject of Sex. Pompey and the meeting at Misenum to which he gives special treatment; Appian, as already stated, describes the designations of 34-1 as made at Misenum. Mommsen accepted the account of Appian with all its implications; or, alternatively, it is sometimes suggested that Antony and Octavian planned the consulates to 31 before Misenum and at Misenum found places in the list for Sex. Pompey and L. Scribonius Libo (see e.g. E. Gabba, *Appiani Bellorum Civiliū liber quintus*, pp. lxxi f.). Whatever the solution to this conflict in the sources, there is nothing in them which requires belief that the designations made before Misenum were made very long before; and for the date of the Misenum meeting the evidence seems most imprecise. Many modern writers state with confidence that it took place in spring or early summer, although Dio's account of platforms built out over the sea, banqueting on Pompey's flagship and popular indulgence in aquatic sports to celebrate the agreement, points clearly to the calm warm weather of full summer. J. Carcopino argued for spring nevertheless, on the grounds that the bread riots of winter 40/39 would force the triumvirs to arrange the meeting as early as possible (*RA* 22 (1913), 259); but the argument is weak, since Pompey certainly knew that his bargaining position would be the stronger if he could delay it, for preference until the provincial harvests were due to be shipped to Italy (Appian, *BC* 5. 8. 70, reports Menodorus as drawing his attention to this point). The absolute *terminus ante quem* is set only by Antony's departure for Greece, which is itself a most imprecisely dated event. J. Kromayer (*Hermes* 29 (1894), 562 f.) thought that he could not have gone before September, since Octavia had already given birth to his first daughter by her before he went and she was still pregnant by Marcellus when she married him after the

Pact of Brundisium (fairly closely dated, if *ILLRP* 562a of 18 October 40 refers to it); it may indeed be implied by l. 26 below that he was still in Rome on or shortly before 2 October. At any rate there is no obstacle there to a date in the second half of August for Misenum. Interestingly, a French scholar, Raoul Sciamia, wrote a short note in *RA* 23 (1914), 259 referring to imminent publication of a study of Sex. Pompey, and stating, but without proof, that the Misenum meeting took place in August. The book on Sex. Pompey never appeared (I am grateful to Professors F. Chamoux and J. Le Gall for checking this) and his argument is unfortunately lost; but it is worth noting that August has seemed attractive to at least one other writer. If Misenum can be accepted as an event of middle or late August so can the designations; and the way is open to identifying the P. Sestius of this list with the tribune of 57. The case is obviously based on a series of hypotheses but is not, perhaps, completely implausible.

11. [Cn.] Pompeius Q.f., *tribu Arnensi*, must be the *cos. suff.* 31 (*RE* XXI, 2, col. 2265, no. 60, where he is wrongly said to be Cn.f.); on his consulate see above, p. 70. His *praenomen* is given as Cn. in the *Fasti* (cf. the *Fasti Amiternini*, *Ins. Ital.* XIII.1, pp. 170-1); his tribe, which was not previously known, connects him with the Pompeii Rufi. The form of his tribe's name may not need emendation; Greek translators offer both Ἀρνιήσις as here and Ἀρνήσις as in l. 10 (one would, of course, have expected consistency within a single document).

12. Gaius in l. 8 must be the *praenomen* of C. Hedijs C.f. Thorus, *tribu Claudia* (*RE* VII, col. 2592, no. 3) in l. 9, although this gives a rather short length (80 letters) for l. 9, since it would be impossible to fit in another full name here; see also on nos. 5, 7. Thorus' name is partly restored by comparison with that of the seventh name in the *sc de Panamaris* (*RDGE* 27, l. 9). He is otherwise unknown.

12. L. [??f.] Capito, *tribu Arnensi*, is perhaps not to be connected with the quaestorian L. Ateius Capito (Cicero, *Fam.* 8. 8) since the known Ateius Capito was *tribu Aniensi*, as Professor Syme warns me (see also on no. 18); he suggests the possibility of an Aelius (observing that Sejanus' son was Capito Aelianus, *PIR*<sup>2</sup> C 412). The space available is very small, and if Aelius is right the father's *praenomen* can hardly have been longer than Titus or Caius (and Titus was a regular *praenomen* of Aelii).

13. T. Licinius T.f.; not identifiable.

14. Here Waddington read ]||O||NOΣΓ[ (so also in Viereck); Calder recorded ]~NOΣ (followed by Cormack in *MAMA* 405); I see ]||NOΣΓ[ and suggest, very tentatively, that we have a *cognomen* such as Serenus; but a *nomen* such as Passienus, followed by the filiation, is also possible. Not identifiable.

15. ?C[aius] or C[naeus], if the preceding name is a *cognomen*; the space available is limited, but a short name would be possible. Not identifiable.

16. ...]nius Cn.f. Rufus, *tribu Arnensi*; not identifiable. Cn. Pomponius Rufus (T. P. Wiseman, *CQ* 14 (1964), 125) is in the wrong tribe; Pompeii Rufi are in the right tribe and the possibility of an error in transmission must not be forgotten.

17. P. [...]; not identifiable.

18. ...] *tribu Aniensi*, or possibly *Arnensi* (spelt as in l. 7) Capito; on the face of it he could be L. Ateius Capito (see on no. 12), quaestor by 52.

19. Cn. Sedijs C.f., *tribu Claudia*; not identifiable.

20. At least one name is lost at the beginning of l. 12, possibly two. The name

immediately preceding no. 21 ends in *nu* (since *eta*, although palaeographically possible, cannot conclude either a tribe name or a *cognomen*); a *cognomen* of the type of Καπίτων, Φρόντων may be posited.

21. T. Licinius T.f. Turannus, *tribu Fabia*; not identified. *Cognomen* and tribe would lead one to expect T. Atinius Turannus who figures in the *sc de Panamaris* (RDGE 27, ll. 10–11); but the K is certain, although incomplete. The possibility of error in one or other of the texts is real.

22. At least one further name, and very possibly more, may have stood at the top of the next block, for although it is tempting at first sight to restore σύνκλ]ητος at the end of l. 13, there is no known formula which would introduce the Senate in the nominative case at this point in the decree. It is plausible therefore to suggest here the *cognomen* of another witness (?Ποτείτος, Παίτος, Κυήτος).

l. 14. The upper parts of the last two letters of the line are cut on an inset rectangle of marble which presumably replaced a faulty area. This line too may have begun with a continuation of the witness list, for that list was normally followed by *περὶ ὧν* with the name(s) of the speaker(s) who put the proposals in the Senate and it is not necessary that this formula should be placed at the beginning of a new line (although it gives a satisfying layout if it is), cf. the layout of the *sc de Panamaris* at this point. There are two speakers' names to be accommodated, since l. 73 shows that the consuls put the motion jointly; whether there was in fact room also for the names of more witnesses depends in part on the order in which the consuls were named (for what is proposed here see p. 64 f. on l. 1) and in part on the spacing of their names, which may have been broad and/or interspersed with vacant spaces with a view to emphasis (cf. the titles of the triumvirs in ll. 26–7).

By error the filiation of Calvisius precedes his *nomen*; it may be that the cutter wrote the *nomen* twice (as I have guessed), the second time in the place of the *cognomen* which, in the third century A.D., he would expect at this point, or that he wrote the filiation immediately after the *praenomen*.

If I am wrong to place the name of Calvisius first in l. 14, something more than the bare standard formula is needed in l. 15 unless the *vacat* was very long indeed. Following the model of e.g. the *sc de Thisbensibus* (RDGE 2, ll. 5–7) I would suggest:

14 [. . . ? . . . περὶ ὧν Λεύκιος Μάρκιος Λευκίου υἱὸς Κηνωρεῖνος, Γάϊος Καλουεῖσι]ος  
Γάϊου υἱὸς [[Καλουεῖσιος]]

[λόγους ἐποίησαντο περὶ τῶν Πλαρασέων καὶ Ἀφροδεισιέων] *vacat*

l. 16. The consular speech opened with a report of the representations of an ambassador from Plarasa/Aphrodisias. In most earlier decrees for which we have evidence the fact that ambassadors made representations is stated in direct speech; here, as in the *sc de Panamaris* (RDGE 27), it appears in indirect speech, as reported by the consuls. There is insufficient evidence to show whether this is a development of the triumviral period. It is improbable that the ambassador had not, in fact, spoken before the senate, since the triumvirs seem to have been concerned at this stage to create an impression of procedural normality (p. 39).

That there was only one ambassador is stated in l. 22 (but see l. 84) and it seems obvious that he should be identified with the Solon son of Demetrius who is known to have discussed the problems of his city with Octavian at about this time and to have taken copies of this decree and of other relevant documents home with

him (docs. 12, ll. 4 f., 6, ll. 46 f.). He is otherwise unknown, but might be the subject of doc. 41.

The space available after his name is too short for a full statement of his ambassadorial credentials as well as for the diplomatic courtesies with which ambassadorial speeches in the senate normally opened (cf. *RDGE* 8 A and B, 10, 14, 15, 26). I have assumed, therefore, that the account of his credentials omitted reference to the Plarasans as well as the Aphrodisians, perhaps by a copyist's error, but possibly because Octavian was seriously interested only in the Aphrodisians; for a similar omission cf. l. 66 and the comment thereon.

ll. 17 f. The terms of the request are even more defective in the *sc de Panamaris* than here, so that there is no close parallel to guide restoration; the latest of the *sc de Stratonicensibus* (*RDGE* 30), which may be contemporary (see p. 76), and Octavian's letter to Mylasa (*RDGE* 60) are relevant, however. Ll. 18–19 suggest that there was reference to the city's outstanding loyalty, and to the losses that it had incurred on Rome's behalf (no doubt in the War of Labienus, see p. 38). In l. 18 something is wanted on the lines of the [φιλίας] ἔνε[κεν] πρὸς ἡμῶς εὐνοίας τε which appears in the Sullan *sc de Stratonicensibus* (*RDGE* 18, l. 11), and in ll. 19–20 the intention can probably be conjectured from a request made by Jewish ambassadors to Rome in c. 126 as reported by Josephus ἵνα τε πρέσβεις πέμψαντες ἀποδοθῆναι τε αὐτοῖς ποιήσωσι τὰ ὑπ' Ἀντιόχου ἀφαιρεθέντα καὶ τὴν χώραν διατιμήσωνται τὴν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ διεφθαρμένην (*AJ* 13. 9. 263); for damage to land in the War of Labienus, cf. Octavian's letter to Mylasa, *RDGE* 60, B, ll. 7 f., ὑπέδειξαν δέ μοι καὶ περὶ τῆς χώρας τῆς λεληλατημένης καὶ τῶν ἐπαύλεων τῶν ἐμπεπρησμένων. The Aphrodisians presumably asked for restoration of their property where possible and for reparations after valuation of what had been destroyed, which may have been land, as in the Judaeian case, but need not have been so restricted (and in view of the plural verb was not described by a neuter noun).

This kind of point is not in fact covered by the decree, which is concerned only with formal regulation of the city's relations with Rome; it is dealt with, significantly enough, by Octavian's own action, as shown by docs. 10 and 12, in which he sought to ensure restoration of looted property, and doc. 11, from which it appears that some stolen property was recovered and that some persons were handed over to Plarasa/Aphrodisias for trial as a result.

The representations ended with a plea for a favourable reply as in the *sc de Prieniensium et Samiorum litibus* . . . ὅπως ταῦτα πάντα ἀναν]εωθῆ καὶ φιλανθρώπως [τε] αὐτοῖς ἀποκρι[θῆ] . . . (*RDGE* 10, ll. 6–7). In the surviving texts this is unusual. ll. 21 f. I have assumed a loss of 7–9 letters at the beginning of the lines such as is now proved for ll. 46–62.

ll. 21–3. Recognizable elements of the opening formulae of the decree proper appear here (cf. *RDGE* 18, ll. 67 f.), which suggests that there was a formula of decision at the beginning of l. 21. There is no room for the common περὶ τούτων τῶν πραγμάτων οὕτως ἔδοξεν; what I have proposed to restore fits what has survived. It appears that all proposals from here to l. 73 (when a second consular motion is introduced) were passed *en bloc*; for this practice see Willems, *Sénat*, pp. 215–16. The decision to renew χάρις, φιλία and συμμαχία, which is regular, need not be more than a diplomatic courtesy (cf. *RDGE*, pp. 98 f., summarizing the opposed views of E. Täubler and H. Horn on its appearance in the *sc de Astypalaeensibus*, *RDGE* 16).

As stated above (pp. 2 f., 4 f.), it seems to me plausible that Plarasa/Aphrodisias had been a free dependent of Rome at an earlier date, but without a formal treaty, although doc. 10, l. 2 seems to indicate that it was not so immediately before this decree was passed.

The formula relating to the ambassador has substantially its tralatian wording except for the addition of  $\xi\tau\iota\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}$ , which, for reasons of space, I have supposed to occur twice in the line.

The motion continued with further explanation, set out in two causal clauses. Judging by other surviving decrees, further explanation at this point was not usually recorded, but here the consuls included two elements from the expression of senatorial opinion at the meeting.

The first clause (ll. 23–6) is comprehensible in outline, although the precise wording in the lost areas can only be guessed. It undoubtedly picked up the claims to merit put by the ambassador on behalf of his city and expressed senatorial acceptance of them ( $\sigma\upsilon\mu\phi\omega\upsilon\epsilon\iota\tau\alpha\iota$ , etc.). In l. 23, it is better to restore  $\pi\omicron\lambda\epsilon\iota\tau\acute{\eta}\varsigma$  than  $\pi\acute{\omicron}\lambda\iota\varsigma$  since  $\pi\omicron\lambda\epsilon\iota\tau\acute{\eta}\varsigma$  is used several times in the document for Plarasa/Aphrodisias (ll. 47, 53 (twice), 58, 69, ?84), whereas  $\pi\acute{\omicron}\lambda\iota\varsigma$  is applied to the city once only (l. 55);  $\acute{\alpha}\phi' \omicron\upsilon$  gives the sense needed before the stock phrase at the beginning of l. 24 (repeated in l. 59), cf. the *sc de Asclepiade* (RDGE 22, l. 5). It should be noted that the reference is to the past establishment of friendship only, and not of friendship with alliance (contrast the *sc de Issaeis*, RDGE 24, B, l. 5); see also p. 4 f. In l. 24 either the adverb  $\delta\iota\eta\nu\epsilon\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$  is to be supplied or an oblique case of the adjective  $\delta\iota\eta\nu\epsilon\kappa\acute{\eta}\varsigma$  (cf.  $\tau\eta\ \pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma\ \eta\mu\acute{\alpha}\varsigma\ \delta\iota\eta\nu\epsilon\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\iota\ \pi\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\epsilon\iota$  in RC 67, l. 13); for the introduction of the Roman empire into a context of this type cf. doc. 7, l. 2 and comment on p. 50; the point is likely to resemble that made by Caesar in a decree cited by Josephus (AJ 14. 10. 192):  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\iota\ \Upsilon\gamma\kappa\alpha\acute{\nu}\omicron\varsigma\ \Upsilon\lambda\epsilon\acute{\xi}\acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\rho\omicron\upsilon\ \Upsilon\omicron\upsilon\delta\alpha\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}\ \nu\upsilon\upsilon\ \kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \tau\omicron\iota\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\mu\pi\rho\sigma\theta\epsilon\nu\ \chi\rho\acute{\omicron}\nu\omicron\iota\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \tau\epsilon\ \epsilon\acute{\iota}\rho\eta\eta\eta\ \kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}\ \pi\omicron\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\mu\omega\ \pi\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\iota\nu\ \tau\epsilon\ \kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}\ \sigma\pi\omicron\upsilon\delta\eta\eta\ \pi\epsilon\rho\iota\ \tau\grave{\alpha}\ \eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\tau\epsilon\rho\alpha\ \pi\rho\acute{\alpha}\gamma\mu\alpha\tau\alpha\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\xi\alpha\tau\omicron\ \dots$  In l. 25 the space available suggests that at least one more noun (?  $\pi\rho\omicron\theta\upsilon\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$ ) was linked with  $\epsilon\upsilon\nu\omicron\iota\alpha$  and the formula may have continued into l. 26, although  $\pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma\ \eta\mu\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$  is a possible alternative to another noun in the genitive case there.

ll. 26 f. The second clause gives a report of views put before the Senate by Antony and Octavian.

Given the condition of the text, the length and character of this citation from the triumviral speech is debatable. Professor A. Giovannini has suggested to me that it contained not only a summary of the reasons given by Antony and Octavian for approving Plarasa/Aphrodisias (ll. 27–9), but a long résumé of their recommendations which were then slightly reformulated and put to the vote. This has the very great attraction of offering an explanation for the surprising recurrences of subject matter between ll. 29–48 and 51–64 (note the relationship of ll. 29–36 with 51–4, of ll. 38–42 with 55–8; and the rather less close one of ll. 42–8 with 61–4. The nearest earlier analogy that I have found for this degree of repetition in the record of a senatorial decree is in the Sullan *sc de Stratonicensibus* (RDGE 18) where the requests of ambassadors (ll. 28–67) are taken up one by one in the body of the decree (ll. 67–72, 90 f.); but of course there are many examples in civic decrees, where the terms of decisions regularly repeat, more or less exactly, the proposals which the inscriptions also record. Here the correspondences, though real, are much less

complete than that. The best for Giovannini's theory is that between the two passages on *asylia*, for although the first appears to make three points (ll. 38–42) and the second two only (ll. 55–8), they can be reconciled (see p. 78 f.) and the second is then seen to have provided a full statement of all that was to be granted, including some matters of detail which were simply implied in the first. Elsewhere, however, they seem less good. The first passage dealing with *ateleia* and other exemptions (ll. 29–36) included a list of levies etc. for Roman armies for which Aphrodisias was not to be liable that was certainly not repeated in the second (ll. 51–4); the omission is the more surprising since the list was repeated in what is probably an extract from the law which followed the *senatus consultum* (doc. 9, ll. 2–6), so that it was certainly agreed by the Senate. Again the first passage dealing with what seem to be local tax obligations (ll. 42–56) contained specific details which did not occur in the second (ll. 62 f.; nor is there room for them in the lost areas of this clause), while the second contained other details which did not occur in the first (and there is no room for them, I think, in the lost areas there although they may have been implied, as in the case of *asylia*). It may also be observed that there is no correlate to the confirmation of privileges granted or to be granted by triumviral decree (ll. 48–51); and that there is another striking correspondence between ll. 58–60 and 69–72, both of which fall within what is the area of decision on the theory. Another problem arises from the absence of any clear mark of transition from triumviral recommendations to propositions put to and accepted by the Senate at the point where the theory requires it; . . . ]ως ἀρέσκειν τῇ συνκλήτῳ in l. 42 is too early; the change of construction in l. 55 too late: ὁμοίως τε τῇ συνκλήτῳ in l. 51 already implies an earlier decision.

In consequence I have regretfully given up Giovannini's hypothesis and proposed a short citation from the speech of the triumvirs, containing only their personal statement of the merits of Plarasa/Aphrodisias to balance that recorded for the Senate as a whole in ll. 23–6. The existence of any citation from a speech other than that of the magistrate(s) presiding at the session seems unusual on the evidence of other inscribed decrees; it recalls the Senatorial decree introducing the Fifth Cyrene Edict (*RDGE* 31, ll. 84 f.) where the consular motion is said to concern what Augustus ἀνευχεθῆναι δι' ἡμῶν πρὸς τὴν βουλήν ἠθέλησεν, and seems to give a foretaste of the imperial situation when the Senate increasingly received previous assurance of the emperor's view on an issue, before making its decision.

The repetitions remain a puzzling feature of the document; conceivably they are the result of conflation of notes by the two consuls, or of conflation of a draft *senatus consultum* with part of a draft for the related law. See also on ll. 55 f.

Since Antony's name precedes Octavian's (contrast doc. 7, l. 1 and l. 48 here, which probably refers to doc. 7) it appears that normal priorities obtained in the Senate house (see p. 49 f.). It would, perhaps, be natural to assume that it was he who made the statement of their joint views, despite the special interest of Octavian in this decision, presumably because of his agreed responsibility for Asia. If it is accepted that he was present on the occasion, the document gives a precise date later than any previously known for his continued stay in Rome in 39 (see also p. 70 f.).

The appearance of the *praenomen* 'Gaius' for Octavian here is the latest dated one so far attested and the first piece of evidence to support unequivocally the

argument from coin legends for his assumption of the *praenomen Imperatoris* in 38 (so R. Syme, *Historia* 7 (1958), 172 f., *RP* I, 361 f.; on the coins see *RRC*, pp. 101, 744) rather than 40 (as most recently argued by A. Degrassi, *Ins. Ital.* XIII. 1, 342, 568; the date of inscription of the section of the Fasti Barberini on which he relied must be reassessed).

For the form of the triumphal title, see on doc. 7, l. 1.

l. 27. Τόξις must mean *ordo*, that is the Senate; for the phrase used cf. Sallust, *saepe numero, patres conscripti, multa verba in hoc ordine feci*, attributed to the younger Cato (*Cat.* 52. 7); Cicero, *si hic ordo placere sibi decreverit* (*Catil.* 1. 20); and the Augustan *sc de aquaeductibus, placere huic ordini . . .* (Frontinus, *Aq.* 100). The formula suggests a speech made at the session rather than a written report sent to the consuls; and I have, therefore, supplied a verb of speaking; but it is not certain. In ll. 27–8 a phrase to balance ἐξοχωτάτης πίστεως is wanted and I have drawn on a sentence from the decree on Seleucus of Rhodus [. . .] προαίρεσιν πίστιν τε παρέσχετο τοῖς δημοσίοις πράγμασιν (*RDGE* 58, l. 15) and on doc. 7, ll. 4–5, for the adjective (τῆς καλλίστης γνώμης)—the result is, of course, *exempli gratia* and no more.

ll. 28–9. From the new text it seems very likely that the words ἐξοχωτάτης πίστεως occurred also in the latest of the surviving *sc de Stratonicensibus* (*RDGE* 30, l. 15), an addition to its verbal resemblances to the Aphrodisian decree which were noted by J. Hatzfeld (*BCH* 51 (1927), 59–60) and which surely support Sherk's tentative case for dating it in 39 rather than 31.

For the wording in the relative clause here cf. the sentence from the decree on Seleucus quoted under l. 27. For the formula introducing the proposals cf. Josephus, *AJ* 14, 199, where Caesar is said to have recommended a concession as ἐπὶ τῷ συμφέροντι τῆς συνκλήτου καὶ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ῥωμαίων.

l. 29. The space at the end can be neatly filled by the ethnics of the beneficiaries and the beginning of the phrase which categorizes the persons qualified for the privileges; there is not quite room for the wives as well as the children and later descendants and I suppose that, as in l. 51, they were omitted, although they must have been included in l. 31.

It is surprising that the first point considered is *immunitas*. In the corresponding later passage at ll. 51 f. *eleutheria* is coupled with it (and precedes it), and in the *Lex de Termessibus* the first section provides that the Termessians shall be *leiberei amicei socieique p. R.* (*FIRA*<sup>2</sup> I, 11, l. 7). Freedom may have been mentioned in the lost area at the end of l. 30; it is, of course, implied by the treaty mentioned in l. 32; but an explicit grant of it might have been expected in l. 29.

ll. 30 f. The immunity is to be complete, cf. *immunitas omnium rerum* in the *sc de Asclepiade* (*RDGE* 22, l. 3 L) and Octavian's decree on privileges of veterans (*FIRA*<sup>2</sup> I, 56, l. 9), cf. also the *plenissima immunitas* of Ilium (*Dig.* 27. 1. 17. 1); in the terms put by R. Bernhardt (cit. p. 40) the city was freed from the φιλικαὶ λειτουργίαι (Strabo, 8. 365) as well as from basic tribute. See also on ll. 42 f., 61 f. The general term is followed by details under the heads first of taxation (ll. 30–1) and second of additional requirements for Roman armies. For other references to it see ll. 52, 65 f. and docs. 14, l. 3 (Trajanic), 15, ll. 13–14 (Hadrianic).

The wording supplied in l. 30 is based partly on Republican usage, cf. ὑπεξαιρεμένον in the *sc de agro Pergameno* (*RDGE* 12, l. 8) and ἐν τῷ τῆς μισθώσεως

νόμῳ αὐταὶ αἱ χώραι ὑπεξειρημέναι εἰσὶν and τὴν Ὠρωπίων χώραν ὑπεξειρημένην δοκεῖν εἶναι κατὰ τὸν τῆς μισθώσεως νόμον in the *sc de Oropiis* (RDGE 23, ll. 19 f., 35, 65 f.), for which Dittenberger (*Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 747) cited Cicero's *agri . . . excepti lege censoria* (N.D. III, 49), partly on docs. 14, l. 3, 15, ll. 13–14, in which Aphrodisias is described as ἐξειρημένη τοῦ τύπου τῆς ἐπαρχείας; ; but the term δέλτοι προσοδικαί in l. 31 is otherwise unattested. All records relevant to liability for taxation seem to have been intended by it—thus docs. 14, l. 3, 15, ll. 13–14, show that the city's name had been removed from the *formula provinciae* and it is clear from the details of ll. 65 f. that it would not be part of any area for which a contract to collect taxes was let (cf. the Senatorial decree of 55 on Mytilene [. . . ταύτην τὴν χώραν ἐξελομένων τῶν] τιμητῶν ἐκ τῆς δημοσ[ιωνίας] . . . (RDGE 25, ll. 9–10). In what sense there was a central 'taxation archive' (?Latin *tabulae vectigales*) is not clear. Cicero refers to *tabulae censoriae* containing records of provincial properties owned by Rome (*Agr.* 1. 2. 4; *RE* IV A, cols. 1899–1900); but the Oropian case (cited above), while it demonstrates the ultimate availability of documents awarding tax exemptions, suggests that in 73 the censors kept no systematic lists of provincial cities liable for and/or exempt from taxation. If that was still the case in 39 the formula used could mean no more than that the censorial archive would contain copies of the decree and law granting exemption to the city.

l. 31. The second *ypsilon* of αὐτοῦς was cut over erased *iota*. Τὰς ἐκεῖ[νων], because of the feminine article, must have been followed by γυναικάς, but wives seem to have been omitted in ll. 29–30 and 51–2.

ll. 31–2. The wording used here for enrolment as an ally seems to be new, cf., however, Polybius 18. 47. 8: ἐς τοὺς Ῥωμαίων συμμάχους ἐγγραφῆναι, and Josephus, *AJ* 14. 10. 194: ἐν τοῖς κατ' ἄνδρα φίλοις ἀριθμῆσθαι. It is clear that the category concerned is of allies with treaties; for other references to the treaty see ll. 54, 91 f., docs. 6, 9, 28, ll. 7 f., 43, l. 2.

l. 32. From the middle of the line to the middle of l. 36 the text can be completed with certainty since the passage was virtually repeated as part of doc. 9 (ll. 2 f.) where what was given is probably an extract from the law.

It is notorious that the provision of winter billets and requisitioned supplies for the Roman army was a major hardship to the provinces under the Republic and exemption a correspondingly prized privilege. For parallels cf. the *lex de Termessibus* (cit. p. 76), col. II, ll. 6 f. *Nei quis magistratus prove magistratu legatus ne[ive] quis alius meilites in oppidum Thermesum maiorum Pisidarum agrumve . . . hiemandi causa introducat quove ibei meilites hiement*; the Caesarian document quoted by Josephus, *AJ* 14. 10. 204: καὶ ὅπως μηδεὶς μήτε ἄρχων μήτε ἀντάρχων μήτε στρατηγὸς ἢ πρεσβευτὴς ἐν τοῖς ὄροις τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀνιστῆ συμμαχίαν μηδὲ στρατιώταις ἐξῆ χρήματα τούτων εἰσπράττεσθαι ἢ εἰς παραχειμασίαν ἢ ἄλλῳ τινὶ ὀνοματί . . . and the decree of Octavian on the privileges of veterans (*FIRA* <sup>2</sup> I, 56, ll. 19 f., but in ll. 21 f. taking P. Roussel's interpretation from *Syria* 15 (1934), 49), *Invitis eis neq[ue] magistr[at]us cete[ros] neque laegatum [n]eque procuratorem [ne]que em[p]torem t[r]ibutorum esse [p]lace[t] neque in domo eorum divertendi iemandique causa<m> (ne)que [a]b ea quem de<d>uci place[t]*.

The list of officials translated here corresponds exactly with that in the *Lex de Termessibus*; ἑτέρος τις, *quis alius*, might be expected to cover all the additional categories in the other two texts (tax-collectors of course survived Caesar's reforms

in Asia for collection of indirect taxes ; there appears to be specific provision against contractors at l. 67 below, although in fact one is attested at Aphrodisias in doc. 15, ll. 11, 16). It will also presumably have covered a variety of other persons—and notably those in the category of the triumviral agent Stephanus who appears in docs. 10, 11.

The privileges given by Caesar to the Jews and by Octavian to the veterans seem to have been on the same level as those given to Plarasa/Aphrodisias ; Termessus had been less privileged, for its *lex* makes it clear that while officials might not order billeting in its territory, the Senate could do so (col. II, ll. 11–12).

l. 33. Ὀποῖ must be *finēs* in the sense of *territorium*, as in the Caesarian document quoted from Josephus (on l. 32). City and country alike were exempted (cf. in the *Lex de Termessibus*, col. II, l. 9, *in oppidum . . . agrumve*).

Of the categories of soldier listed, ἀντιστρατιώτης is unique and the implied *pro milite* is also unknown. The most satisfying explanation that I can propose is that of Lawrence Keppie, who compares it with *vicarii (milites)* in Pliny, *Ep.* 10. 30. If that is right, this reference takes the custom of accepting substitutes for levied men in the Roman army back into the late Republic ; hitherto, Pliny's was the earliest evidence for it (A. N. Sherwin-White, *The Letters of Pliny* (1966) ad loc.). Again Termessus was much less privileged than Plarasa/Aphrodisias, for it was only exempted from levies beyond what were laid down in the *Lex Porcia* (col. II, ll. 16–17). ll. 34–5. The list here gives a useful indication of the range of impositions that might fall on provincials over and above regular taxation—in any war, although no doubt with especial severity during the civil wars ; there is something parallel in Caesar, *Civ.* 3. 3. 32 of Pompeian activities in Asia Minor in 49, *columnaria, ostiaria, frumentum, milites, arma, remiges, tormenta, vecturae imperabantur*. At first sight the boats and rafts seem irrelevant to inland Plarasa/Aphrodisias ; the clause may be tralatician, or conceivably they were included in order to prevent vexatious demands for provision of goods at inconvenient distances (cf. Cicero, *Ver.* 2. 3. 140) ; but there may have been local boat-building in antiquity, for the Maeander is not far away and wood for construction was certainly available in the territory (it is not clear that the local rivers, Morsynus and Timeles, were ever navigable).

l. 36. Doc. 9 shows that this clause ended in the middle of the line.

l. 37. At the very top of the block carrying what survives of ll. 38 f. there can be seen the lower part of a letter which is probably *phi*, most of it having been cut on the block above. The lower edge of what survives of the block carrying ll. 21–36 is damaged, so that it is not possible to tell whether it carried one, or even two more lines after l. 36 (see also p. 55). I have guessed that it carried one more, and that the *phi* belonged to that—but it remains possible that this belonged either to l. 36 or to a second lost line.

ll. 38 f. When a continuous text is next recovered the subject is Aphrodite and her temple ; the new clause may have started already in l. 37.

Three points were made in it : (a) an earlier concession to Aphrodite was accepted as in conformity with Roman public feeling about the gods ; (b) the Senate approved *asylia* for the sanctuary of Aphrodite, with the same status as that of Artemis at Ephesus ; (c) τὰ λοιπὰ were confirmed as Divus Julius had ordained them ; but when the same subject was treated in ll. 55 f. only two points were covered, (a) the grant of *asylum* to the sanctuary, with status as at the Ephesian

Artemisium and (b) the size of the sanctuary, which was not mentioned earlier but was presumably covered under the first or the third points. If in fact that came under the third point, the problem of the first point could be solved in two ways; either it was entirely insubstantial and so needed no confirmation, or it was in fact confirmed in the second, being an earlier grant of *asylia* which rested on the edict of an official and not on senatorial decree or on law. The identity of this official would be open to debate. His title was αὐτοκράτωρ (possibly ἱμπεράτωρ), or δικτάτωρ; and since Julius Caesar was described as θεὸς Ἰούλιος in l. 41 it might seem that he is excluded, leaving Sulla as the only serious alternative. If Sulla's name is to be restored here, the title used was probably αὐτοκράτωρ, since he is likely to have made the grant while he was at Ephesus in winter 85/4, doubtless at the same time as he made his dedication to Aphrodite (see p. 4). In Greece, he is known to have given tax exemption and, in some cases, land to sanctuaries, θεῶν ἀθανάτων ἱερῶν τε φυλακῆς ἔνεκεν (RDGE 23, ll. 39–40), and in Asia, to Stratonicea at least, *asylum* for the temple of Hecate (RDGE 18, l. 113). It seems quite possible that he would give *asylum* also to Aphrodite at Aphrodisias, in some form, although not necessarily on the same basis as it was now to be granted. Nevertheless I do not think that we should exclude the possibility that Caesar was in fact named here after all, with the title that he had used in whatever document conferred his award (probably δικτάτωρ, on the evidence of a sanctuary boundary stone, doc. 35, which almost certainly named him, see below); for the clause would run more logically if it meant that (a) the Senate accepted that what Caesar had conferred (by decree) on Aphrodite was in conformity with Roman piety, and so (b) agreed not only to give her formally the right of *asylia*, but to give it with enhanced status, while (c) confirming all other features as he had ordained them for her (i.e. mainly the size of her sanctuary).

Caesar's regulations for sanctuaries in Asia, introduced largely through the agency of Servilius Isauricus, have been discussed by L. Robert (*Hell.* vi, 38 f.); he has suggested, however, that they did not include *asylia* for Aphrodisias, since what Sherard saw of ll. 55–8 below shows that this was given by the Senate in 39 (*Aph* 416, n. 1). He had, indeed, some reserves, based on the unknown content of the γράμματα Καίσαρος (doc. 6, l. 54) which can now be seen to be a letter of Octavian and irrelevant here (see p. 41); but in their place the present passage offers clear proof that Caesar did make some regulations for Aphrodisias, so that the issue must be reconsidered in the light of the other evidence, i.e. the boundary stone, doc. 35, and Tacitus, *Ann.* 3. 62.

The boundary stone, set up after the passage of this *senatus consultum* and the law which followed it (doc. 9), is fragmentary, but appears to mention Caesar the dictator, as well as Octavian and the Senate and Roman People, as an authority for the establishment of the *asylum* whose limits were being marked out; it is, I suppose, just possible that Caesar was named because he had defined the area of the sanctuary and no more.

The passage of Tacitus is equivocal too. He said that in A.D. 22, when called upon to defend their *asylia* in the Senate, the Aphrodisians appealed to decrees of Caesar and Augustus. The language is imprecise, formulated presumably in the light of the rhetoric of the ambassadorial speech. It treats the Aphrodisians and Stratoniceans in one sentence (*Aphrodisienses posthac et Stratonicensis Dictatoris Caesaris ob vetusta in partis merita et recens divi Augusti decretum adtulere, laudati*

*quod Parthorum inruptionem, nihil mutata in populum constantia, pertulissent*), in a way which has led some to think that the Aphrodisians relied on a decree of Caesar and the Stratoniceans on one of Augustus (*RDGE*, p. 168). That can hardly be maintained in the light of Octavian's efforts to reward Plarasa/Aphrodisias for her behaviour in the War of Labienus (docs. 7, 8, 12 and probably 13); both cities must have appealed to decrees of both Caesars, but, if the wording is pressed, it was essentially as demonstrations of good character, of proven loyalty to the reigning dynasty, publicly approved by the founders of that dynasty. It is clear, moreover, that no one's services to the Caesarian party could be *vetusta* in any real sense during the dictator's lifetime, although, with goodwill, they might be so described in 39; so that, for Aphrodisias at least, it may be suspected that an ambassador has conflated statements of the dictator with statements of his adopted son (could the document in the speaker's mind possibly have been the decree of Octavian and Antony, doc. 7, with its very striking reference to party loyalty?); and by 'divus Augustus' he surely meant Octavian. Moreover what is now known about the relevant content of the archive at Aphrodisias might suggest that what is to be attributed to Octavian, if not doc. 7, or even the *senatus consultum* itself, for which Octavian in effect claimed responsibility (doc. 10, l. 2), would be more accurately described as a matter of statements than as a decree: i.e. his report to the Senate given jointly with Antony (ll. 26 f. here); the remarks in his letter to Ephesus (doc 12, ll. 5-7); the reference to Aphrodisian merits in his subscript to the Samians (doc. 3, l. 1). It is, on the face of it, unlikely that any other documents existed but were not inscribed (but see p. 95). I conclude that the passage is unsatisfactory evidence for facts. Nevertheless when it is taken with the present clause in the *senatus consultum* and the boundary stone there are, perhaps, sufficient grounds for a hypothesis that Caesar did make a grant of *asylia* to Aphrodite, as well as defining the area of the sanctuary, and that this was given Senatorial confirmation for the first time in 39.

In l. 38 the description of Aphrodite as 'the goddess who is among them' is less specific than the later 'ruler', 'founder', 'source of the city's name', perhaps 'first mother' (docs. 18, l. 4; 25, l. 4; 49, l. 2; 55, l. 1; 56, l. 1). For discussion of her titles and character see Laumonier, *Cultes* 480 f.

For the Hellenistic use of *συνχωρεῖν* for *concede* see *RC*, appendix s.v. The formula which follows was probably very like that of *RDGE* 30, ll. 10 f., the latest of the known decrees on Stratonicea, which I believe to be contemporary with the present document (see p. 76), ἄτινα ἔπ[α]θλα... [πρότερον τῶ] δῆμῳ Στρατονεικέων δεδομένα προσμ[εμερισμέ]να τέ ἐστίν ταῦτα πάντα δικαίως ὀξίως τ[ε αὐ]τοῖς δεδομένα... [εἶναι καί] πάντα κύρια ἔχειν.

l. 39. The concession accepted as in accordance with the traditional piety of the Roman people recalls a number of documents which show the Romans self-consciously proclaiming their religious scrupulosity as the motive for granting privileges to peoples and sanctuaries (cf. the generalized remark in the *sc de Oropiis*, *RDGE* 23, ll. 37 f. (quoted p. 79), and the letters of Valerius Messala to Teos, *RDGE* 34, ll. 11 f.: καὶ ὅτι μὲν διόλου πλείστον λόγον ποιούμενοι διατελοῦμεν τῆς πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσεβείας... and of C. Livius to Delphi, *RDGE* 38, ll. 23 f.: καὶ διὰ τὸ πάτριον ἡμῖν εἶναι τοὺς θεοὺς σέβασθαι τε καὶ τιμᾶν τοὺς ὄντας πάντων αἰτίους τῶν ἀγαθῶν).

l. 41 is restored from ll. 55-7.

Precisely what was involved in the δίκαιον, i.e. *ius* (see Mason, *s.v.*), of Ephesian Artemis is obscure; see further on ll. 57–8.

l. 42. My tentative suggestions for the beginning of l. 42 are based partly on the passage from the *sc de Stratonicensibus* quoted on l. 38, partly on [. . . ὅπως] ταῦτα κύρια διαμένῃ in the *sc de collegiis Bacchiorum* (RDGE 15, ll. 10–11).

For other references to Aphrodisian *asyllia* see docs. 35, l. 1; 41, l. 4; 43, l. 11; the inscription from the Hadrianic Baths at Aphrodisias partly published by L. Robert, *Ét. Anat.* 299, n. 2; and Tacitus, *Ann.* 3. 62. E. Schlesinger, *Die griechische Asylie* (Diss. Giessen, 1933), 79, mentions but does not discuss it.

ll. 42 f. The subject shifts to exemptions from obligations to pay and perform services which, in l. 43, are related to the Maeander Valley; and if it is right to see a further, and in some respects more detailed, consideration of the same subject in ll. 62 f., these included taxes, certainly pasture-dues, payable on animals in transit between the territories of Tralles and Plarasa/Aphrodisias.

The word which spans ll. 42–3 might be either an infinitive or a participle. Συνεισφοραί perhaps implies the existence of levy-groups, which might be created for routine taxation or for extraordinary impositions, on the lines of the Sullan *regiones* (Cassiodorus, *Chron.* 670) or the groups of cities through which some, at least, of the money demanded by Antony at Ephesus was raised (Appian, *BC* 5. 4–6, and Strabo 14. 648). The group here need be no more than an association of Plarasa/Aphrodisias with the immediately neighbouring Antiocheia on the Maeander, but may have been larger. For Roman grants of ἄλειτουργησία, cf. the *sc de Asclepiade* (RDGE 22, ll. 3 L, 12 G) and the dossier on Seleucus of Rhosus (RDGE 58, ll. 22, 49 f.). They may give exemptions from Roman impositions (the φιλικαὶ λειτουργίαι, as argued by R. Bernhardt, *cit.* on p. 40), or from local obligations (or both, as seems to be the case with Seleucus). Under the empire, Aphrodisias claimed exemption from obligations to perform liturgies in other Asian cities and for the *koinon* of Asia, and the emperors to whom it appealed allowed the claim (docs. 14, 19, 21). It seems plausible that the claim rested on this clause and on ll. 62 f.

ll. 45–6. It would be possible to interpret the traces immediately after the break as ]ν κ[ατὰ] τ[οῦτο] τὸ πρῶγμα, meaning, presumably, *in the context of this matter or affair*. Ἐνέχυρον is *pignus*, pledge; there appears to be a ban on the removal of an object as a pledge (for the verbs see on ll. 46 f.). The state of the text renders any hypothesis fragile, but what was intended may have been a pledge for payment of levies and dues, the clause providing that no one was to impose an εἰσφορά or to take a pledge for the payment of one. *Pignoris capio* is attested for Roman publicani (see *RE* xx. 1, col. 1238, citing Cicero, *Ver.* 3. 27); local taxes and levies may also have been farmed and the local tax-farmers are as likely to have found it desirable to take pledges as the Roman *publicani* did.

ll. 46 f. For the combination of a loose block, Sherard's transcription of a lost block (whose upper left corner was squeezed by Gaudin) and a block *in situ* to give a more or less complete text as far as l. 62, see p. 56. The squeeze (of which L. Robert has published a photograph, *Aph.* pl. 2) shows that there were mistakes in Sherard's transcription; and it appears that he had difficulty in reading l. 46 in particular. That is understandable, for the loose block shows only the lower part of the letters of this line cut on it, while Gaudin's squeeze suggests that, even if their full height was cut on Sherard's block, they might be seriously damaged above by chipping,

as is the case also on the block *in situ*. There are two areas of difficulty. (a) At the beginning, Reinach read from the squeeze ΙΑΓΕΣΘΑΙΑ, which he combined with Sherard's transcription (plate XV) to give [. . .]ι ἄγεσθαι ἄτε[λεῖς κ]α(ι) ἐλευθέρους εἶναι. The first *iota* cannot be the last letter of λαμβάνεσθαι (the word now known to have occupied the beginning of the line), for which there was certainly space on the loose block which carried the beginnings of these lines; as far as I can see, however, it is an upright which could equally well be part of *pi* (in fact Sherard read *gamma* here, which may be some slight confirmation); hence my ἀπάγεσθαι. The resulting pair of verbs, λαμβάνεσθαι, ἀπάγεσθαι, sounds like a literal translation of legal Latin, but I have not found a corresponding Latin formula.

Reinach's proposal for what follows certainly cannot now stand. Between the clause which involved a ban on taking a pledge (ll. 45-6) and that concerned with autonomy (ll. 46 f.) there is a strong change of subject which must surely have been marked by a conjunction. In the not dissimilar l. 61 the conjunction used is ἀλλά but ἀ[λλ]ᾶ here is probably too short and provides no explanation for Sherard's reading nor for what looks like the base of an upright after A on the photograph of the squeeze. Ἄτε[λεῖς ἀλλ]ᾶ will not do since ἀτελεῖς is inappropriate with what precedes, and ἄτε[λεῖς δὲ κ]α(ι) is unlikely since elsewhere in the text ἐλευθερία, ἐλεύθεροι precede ἀτέλεια, ἀτελεῖς when the two words are paired (ll. 52, 54, 61). As a very long shot I suggest that Sherard may have misread two letters here and that αὐτ[ῶν ἀλλ]ᾶ is just worth considering.

(b) In the second half of the line, Chishull observed the need for a conjunction and met it with τῷ (τε) δικαίῳ, which has been generally accepted, and Boeckh supplemented in the lost area ταῖς [κρίσεσιν ταῖς ἰδίαις], which does not cohere with the text on the wall. It must surely be right to see the subject here as autonomy, and it would not perhaps be difficult to suppose that not only τε but also ἰδίῳ had dropped out before δικαίῳ, being easy for the eye to overlook in that context; if so, ἰδίῳ was probably missing from the stone, and perhaps τε too, since their addition lengthens the line unduly. For the gap Michael Crawford has made the very attractive suggestion ταῖς [ἰδίαις κρίσεσιν ἕνεκεν τοῦ] δήμου τοῦ Ῥωμαίων. On the face of it this is rather long, but if ll. 45-50 are drawn out with the restorations printed, a triangular breach, of characteristic shape, can be seen to have occurred at the point where two blocks joined (the result, I suppose, of the insertion of levers at the joint) and it can be accommodated (see Fig. 5).

For the late appearance of *eleutheria* see p. 76. For other references to it in the *senatus consultum* see ll. 52, 54, 61; add from the official correspondence inscribed on or near the archive wall, docs. 13-16, 20, 21, 25 (it is implied in docs. 17-19, 22, 41-3); there are also texts which show that the city celebrated it by establishment of a cult of *Eleutheria* (docs. 33, 39) and certain local coins (*BMC, Caria*, nos. 23, 77; cf. p. 170 and the comments of L. Robert, *Aph.* 418) on which it is mentioned.

Autonomy is defined by the references to δίκαιον (probably ἴδιον δίκαιον, see above), *ius*, to κρίσεις, *iudicia* (in the sense of *judgements*, see Mason *s.vv.*), and to ἐγγύη, *vadimonium* (editors have all printed ἐγγύην but Sherard's copy shows *nu* for the first *gamma*, which accords with practice elsewhere in the document). For the phrases used, Mommsen referred to Dion. Hal., *Ant.* 11. 32. 4, . . . τὴν ἐγγύην ὁμολογεῖτε περὶ αὐτῆς εἰς τὴν αὔριον ἡμέραν, and Viereck to Josephus, *AJ* 16. 6. 163: ἐγγύας τε μὴ ὁμολογεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐν σάββασιν . . . cf. also 168. The addition of ἐντός

in the break reconciles Mommsen's ε[ις 'Ρώμην] with the text surviving on the wall; no one, it seems, was to take bail for appearance in court at Rome from a citizen of Plarasa/Aphrodisias within the city's territory, or to instruct anyone else to do so.

For other references to autonomy see ll. 61–2 and docs. 41, l. 5 (? Augustan), 42, ll. 7–8 (Flavian), 15, l. 5 (Hadrianic), 43, l. 5 (third cent.); it is the essential feature of doc. 22 (Gordianic). The formula used for the grant of autonomy to Termessus is much more cautious than this (cit., p. 76, col. 1, ll. 8 f. *eique legibus sueis ita utunto itaque ieis omnibus sueis legibus . . . utei liceto, quod adversus hanc legem non fiat*).

l. 48. Sherard added *kappa* at the beginning of what he saw, possibly in front of the stone (where in fact the photograph of the squeeze seems to show the serifs of its upright and upper oblique stroke); but it is so obvious a supplement that he may have been guessing. In κελεύειν Sherard wrote *xi* in place of the third *epsilon*, which was interpreted by editors as *sigma*; the correct reading is clear on the squeeze and has been available since Reinach's publication.

A new subject is introduced in the middle of the line—the privileges granted or to be granted to the city by triumviral decree. Their description recalls that of the probably contemporary *RDGE* 30, ll. 10 f., cited on p. 80 in comment on l. 38; for the verbs cf. also Josephus, *AJ* 14. 10. 196: δεδομένα, συγκεχωρημένα, προσκεκριμένα (Caesarian). It is probable that the awards intended were essentially those of doc. 7, but possible additions in the future were covered too. As in doc. 7, Octavian's name precedes that of Antony (see p. 49 f.). The confirmation of the decree illustrates the policy of getting Senatorial confirmation for their *acta* attributed by Dio Cassius to Antony and Octavian in 39 (48. 34. 1).

For Octavian's use of the praenomen *Gaius* see on l. 26. For the title of the triumvirs see on doc. 7, l. 1.

l. 49. Sherard added an upright before τῆς, which is more likely to be part of his conjectural restoration of this area of the text than a record of anything seen.

l. 50. For the upright which Sherard added at the beginning see on l. 49. For στοιχούντως at the end LSJ s.v. cite *OGIS* 532, l. 27 (the oath of Gangra, ἐὼν δέ τι ὑπεναγτίον τούτωι τ[ῶ]ι ὄρκωι] ποήσω ἢ μὴ στοιχούντως καθῶ[ς ὤμο]σα . . .), where they assign it the meaning *conformably*; *duly* or *in order* is the sense here, and might be better there.

l. 51. Sherard originally read ΕΝΕΣΘΑΙ (whence Boeck has [γ]ενέσθαι, *RDGE* [γ]ενέσθαι); he added initial *gamma*, possibly in front of the stone but quite probably as an obvious supplement. He also read ΑΠΕΣΚΙΕΝ, correcting, probably in the study, to ἄρεσκειν, a correction which editors have tacitly accepted as his reading, and συγκλήτω, conformably to the practice throughout this document, but editors have followed Chishull in printing συγκλήτω.

ll. 51–2. The wives are omitted here as in ll. 29–30, although included in the formula of l. 31.

l. 52. Τούτω τε τῶ δικαίω is clear and shows that it was mistaken in editors to assume errors both in the text and in transcription for ταύτῳ δικαίω, when the same phrase occurred in l. 56 within Sherard's text.

l. 53. Sherard wrote πολειτεία which editors have retained, but it conflicts with the normal practice of this document to spell πολειτήα and must be a mistake; he also has ΚΑΛΙΣΤΩ on both occasions, which editors have tacitly corrected. The

formula translated is, of course, *optimo iure optima lege*, cf. *FIRA*<sup>2</sup> I, 56 l. 10, and *RE* XVIII. 1, col. 801, as Chishull already saw.

l. 54. Sherard wrote ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΕΙΑΝ which editors have tacitly corrected. All editors have added τὴν before ἀτελείαν; its omission is inelegant but may be correct. ll. 55 f. Sherard copied Ἀφροδείτης which is in conformity with the practice of the document; editors have printed Ἀφροδίτης.

At this point there is an abrupt change of construction with the introduction of imperatives, which are appropriate not to a *senatus consultum* but to a law or a magisterial decree. They may have been the result of incorporating part of whatever document embodied Caesar's regulations for Aphrodite's sanctuary (see ll. 41 f. and comment, p. 79); but since this type of formulation continues to l. 73 (although not with complete consistency, cf. ὅπως in l. 58), it may be that this section was drafted as for the law which was to be passed in accordance with the *senatus consultum* (ll. 89-90). Conflation of decree and law would be more readily understandable if the document were copied not from the quaestorian archive but from the tablets of the *relatores*, as suggested on p. 65. For the formulation see further on doc. 9, ll. 2-6.

The identity of status with the Ephesian Artemisium seems to be the new element introduced by the triumvirs (see p. 78 f. on ll. 38 f.), but exactly what this involved is unclear. The sources stress mainly the antiquity of Artemis' *asylum* and its size, which was fixed by Alexander at a stade on all sides of the temple (Strabo 14. 641. 23; Plut., *Alex.* 33); it was enlarged by Mithridates and doubled by Antony in 41, when some part of the city itself was included within the area (Strabo, loc. cit.); it was thus much greater than the Aphrodisian sanctuary (see l. 57).

Πόλις, used only here in the document for Plarasa/Aphrodisias, must have a geographical sense, whereas the normal πολιτεία denotes the political community and its constitution.

l. 56. Sherard copied ΤΟΥΤΩ ΤΩ and conjectured ταύτῳ which editors have taken for what he saw, printing ταύτῳ [τῳ] (and ταύτῃ later in the line); cf. however the text surviving in l. 52. He also wrote ΔΙΣΙΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΑ and added *epsilon* above the line before the first *iota*, not necessarily in front of the stone; editors have tacitly accepted δεισιδαιμονία as his reading.

l. 57. Sherard copied ΕΣΤ after τέμενος but wrote a conjectural εἶτε βωμός above it (clearly in the study), from which editors have accepted εἶτ[ε] as part of his text.

On a line measured 120 Roman feet from the stylobate of the temple of Aphrodite there are, on the west side, traces of a wall with a monumental entrance from a street and, along part of the south side, in the area of the odeon, what may be a colonnade. Nothing is visible at present on the north side. A wall with a monumental gate has been found on the east side, but it is less than the required distance from the present east end of the temple, suggesting that the measurement here was taken from an earlier structure.

l. 58. Sherard copied ΠΟΛΕΙΘΑ but wrote a conjectural ΙΣΚΑΙ above the latter part of the word (clearly in the study), from which editors have accepted ἡ πόλις καὶ οἱ πολεῖται as his text. Professor R. Merkelbach has suggested to me that the first words here might be in the dative case (*with what political organization*), so that the clause would deal with autonomy as well as with territorial rights. This is attractive, but the difficulties that arise when the phrase is repeated in ll. 69 f. seem to me to rule it

out. The odd phrase is presumably designed to cover both the property of the city and the property of the citizens, cf. in the *Lex de Termessibus*: *Quae agri, quae loca, aedificia publica preivatave Thermensium . . . sunt* (FIRA<sup>2</sup> I, no 11, l. 13).

ll. 58–9 (cf. also ll. 70–1). The clause guaranteeing to the beneficiaries what they possessed when they entered into their relationship with the Romans contains a number of tralatitician items (cf. in the *sc de Mytilenaeis* of 55 B.C., RDGE 25, l. 13, ἀγρῶν, τόπων, οἰ[κων, (where, perhaps, οἰκοδομημάτων should now be restored); but is not quite identical with that in the *Lex de Termessibus* (cited above, col. I, l. 13), so that we may reasonably surmise the presence of some specific local references in the list here. If that is so, a little light is thrown on the territory of Plarasa/Aphrodisias as containing villages (? the homes of the *paroikoi*, p. 14 f.), estates (for χῶριον in this sense cf. LSJ s.v., 3 and the Cyrenaican census document SEG 20. 766), strongpoints (for another reference to Aphrodisian ὀχυρώματα see doc. 29, ll. 7–8) and what must be *saltus* (the first editors printed ὄρων but ὄρων is to be preferred, see Mommsen, *St. R.*<sup>3</sup> I, 687–8, n. 4; the crucial argument is from the spelling ὄρεῶν in RDGE 2, l. 18). The list concludes with local revenues (πρόσοδοι), which rate a separate clause in the *Lex de Termessibus*.

l. 60. Sherard copied τῶν between πάντων and πραγμάτων, which all editors omit, and NE at the end of this block where all editors have ATE (naturally restored as ἀτε[λεῖς]) for which there seems to be no explanation except a copying mistake by Chishull. Sherard's E must be the initial letter of ἐλεύθεροι and the N, I suggest, a mistaken repetition of the last letter of πραγμάτων.

For the verbs cf. . . . *habuerunt, possederunt, usei fructeive sunt* . . . in the *Lex de Termessibus* (cit. on l. 31).

Ἄδημοσιώνητοι seems to be otherwise unattested but cf. ἀτελώνητοι (LSJ s.v.) and ἀννενομίωτα (*sic*) in l. 64; it must mean *not liable to be let to a contractor for collection of Roman taxes*, cf. in the *Lex de Termessibus* (cit. on ll. 33 f.) *dum nei quid portori ab eis capiatur quae publica populi Romani vectigalia redempta habebunt*. Since Caesar's reform of the Asian tax-system, *publicani* would be concerned there only with indirect taxes (cf. also on ll. 32, 65, 67).

l. 61. The outspacing marks the beginning of a new paragraph concerned at first with εἰσφοραί but shifting to autonomy at the end of the line, by way of a reiteration of freedom and immunity; this seems to correspond to the sequence in ll. 42–6, but whereas there the subject of autonomy is expanded, here there is probably a return to that of levies at the end of l. 62.

The language is very awkward and at the least we must suppose the erroneous omission of τι, which is needed to provide an object for διδόναι; there is insufficient room to allow its restoration after τιγ[ες] in the lost area. Some of my colleagues have suggested that ἐκείνων masks a corruption; the word seems to me to be needed to give to τινες the necessary specific sense, but its position in the sentence is unexpected and perhaps due to an error at some stage in the transmission of the text. I would suppose the Latin to have been *neve quis eorum quid* . . .

Sherard wrote ΔΕΔΟΝΑΙ, which editors have tacitly corrected, and ΖΥΝΕΙΣΦΕΡΕΙΝ, for which the earlier editors wrote ξυνεισφέρειν and, from Viereck onwards, συνεισφέρειν (palaeographically and linguistically better).

l. 62. Sherard wrote ΚΑΙΟΥΣΑΝ, but added a conjectural *tau* above the *iota*, and ΚΥΡΟΣΟΣΙΝ, but with a conjectural *omega* above ΟΣΟ; both conjectures have been

accepted into editions as part of his text. The description of autonomy is unusually full in providing explicitly for the validity of future local legislation. It is clear that two verbs governed νόμοις etc., but in all the inscribed parallels to the clause that I have found χράομαι is used alone (cf. also *legibus suis ita utunto* in the *Lex de Termessibus*, cit. p. 85, l. 8). It is possible that it was here accompanied by καρπιζονται but that is a little long and its meaning (cf. also that of Latin *frui*) seems not quite appropriate.

At the end of the line οἷον seems likely to have stood in the very small gap (there is no room for ὄσ' ἄν as I calculate the space); the relatives apparently began a clause in which the most distinctive phrases are ἐκ τῶ [ν Τραλ]λιανῶν ὄρων εἴσω τῶν [ὄρων τῶ]ν Πλαρασέ[ων καὶ Ἀφροδισιέων . . . in ll. 63-4 (the gaps can hardly be filled in any substantially different way) and ταῦτα πάντα ἀτελῆ καὶ ἀννεομίω[τα ἐ]ξάγειν in l. 64. It is not quite clear whether ἀτελῆ and ἀννεομίωτα are used synonymously or imply two different exemptions; but only the second refers to a specific tax. Ἀννεομίωτος seems not to be attested elsewhere, but clearly refers to τὸ νόμιον or νόμιον τέλος (LSJ s.v.) with the sense of *pasture dues*; it must be mistakenly spelt for ἀννεομίωτα, meaning *not subject to pasture dues* (on ἐννόμια see J. H. Thiel, *Klio* 20 (1926), 54 f.), and will have qualified a general term for grazing beasts, probably πρόβατα. This suggests the *scriptura* charged by the Romans on grazing-beasts, and if that is right, the use of συνεισφέρειν in l. 61, with its implication of levy-groups (see also p. 81), adds a detail to knowledge of how this tax was raised in Asia. The animals subject to it were being moved from the territory of Tralles, it seems (for an Aphrodisian family with interests at Tralles see doc. 5, ll. 9-10), and into that of Plarasa/Aphrodisias; the payment was no doubt for necessary grazing *en route*. It is at least possible that they also moved from Plarasa/Aphrodisias into the territory of Tralles, so that what was involved was seasonal transhumance. Evidence for transhumance in western Asia Minor in antiquity is briefly discussed by S. Georgoudi in her study of the practice in ancient Greece (*REG* 87 (1974), 155 f.); of the limited number of documents available for it, that published by L. Moretti, *RFIC* 94 (1966), 290 f., is particularly important and illustrates the collection of a charge for grazing beasts in seasonal movement. I have assumed that here the movement was described in terms of the boundaries of the two states; but it is not at all impossible that the word used was ὄρων, *saltus* (see on l. 59). The tombstone of a shepherd found in the territory of Aphrodisias (L. Robert, *Aph* 383) is some indication of the importance of sheep-rearing in the area; while Laodicea, Hierapolis and Colossae, among the comparatively near neighbours of Aphrodisias, are well known for their production of woollen goods in the Roman period (T. R. S. Broughton, *ESAR* IV, 819 f.).

If this is on the right lines, l. 63 will perhaps have contained further specifications of the beasts and l. 64 further description of their movement; but when the point was concluded in l. 65 it is not clear, on present evidence, whether the boundaries (or pastures) from which the animals were being moved at that point were those of Tralles or of Plarasa/Aphrodisias.

l. 65. What survives at the end shows that there was here another list of officials (cf. l. 32), but the addition of ἀρχων after ἑτερός τις is new in this text. The formula implied occurs in Latin in the Table of Heraclea (*FIRA*<sup>2</sup> I, 13, l. 73) . . . *ensor aliusve quis magistratus* . . . which indicates the need here for specific magisterial titles

before it, possibly on the model of the Cnidian law (*JRS* 64 (1974), 204, col. iv, l. 6: στρατηγός, ἀντιστράτηγος, ἀνθύπατος); *others* would presumably cover censors, since there is a question of letting tax-collecting contracts (l. 67), and perhaps quaestors, although Mason, p. 177, suggests that they were not strictly describable as ἄρχοντες, being without auspices. On contracts in Asia after Caesar see p. 77 f. l. 66. The supplement printed is based mainly on such passages as παρὰ τὰ τῆς συνκλήτου δόγματα in the *sc de Itanis et Hierapytniis* (*RDGE* 14, ll. 7–8) and παρὰ τὰ δεδο[γμ]μένα [τῆι συγκλήτῳ . . .] in the *sc de collegiis Bacchiorum* (*RDGE* 15, l. 10).

The omission of Πλαρασεῖς from the description of the beneficiaries is to be noted (cf. probably also in l. 16), although it is impossible to be sure whether it was an error of the original draftsman or copyist, or, as seems to me more probable, of the local copyist in the third century A.D., for whom its inclusion was an unfamiliar archaism.

l. 67. A is cut over a partially erased M. The plural verb-ending immediately after the break shows that the citizens of Plarasa/Aphrodisias were the subject of the apodosis, which presumably stated that they were not liable to pay levies, if any were illegally ordered. At the end of the line ΜΙΣΘΟΥΤΟ on the stone must be a mistake for μισθούτω (cf. ἐπικρινέτω in l. 68). What survives here is very awkwardly phrased, and presumably a literal translation from the Latin (? *neve quis quid earum rerum cuivis locato*). However the clause ended, it must have stated that no official was to let a contract for collection of dues from the people of Plarasa/Aphrodisias, or to instruct anyone else to do so, or to impose dues on them, cf. in the *sc de Asclepiade*: ἄρχοντες ἡμέτεροι οἵτινες ἂν ποτε Ἄσίαν, Εὐβοίαν μισθῶσιν ἢ προσόδους Ἄσῖαι, Εὐβοίαι ἐπιτιθῶσιν φυλάξωνται μή τι οὗτοι δοῦναι ὀφείλωσιν (*RDGE* 22, l. 23).

ll. 68–9. In what survives of l. 68 it was certainly laid down that Roman magistrates with jurisdiction in the provinces should ensure that nothing was done in contravention of the decree. An analogous provision is made in the decree on Seleucus of Rhodus: ταῦτα τὰ προγεγραμμέ[να ὅπως οὕτ]ως γείνηται ἄρχ[οντες ἀντάρχοντέ]ς τε οἵτινες <ἄ>ν ἐκε<ῖ> ἐπὶ τῆς δ[ικαιοδοσι]ας [[ε]]ῶσιν ἐπικριν[έτ]ω[σ]αν φροντιζέτωσάν τε (*RDGE* 58, ll. 70–2, but taking P. Roussel's reading from *Syria* 15 (1934), 36, for δικαιοδότη in the Aphrodisian text shows that to be preferable to De Visscher's ἐπὶ τῆς δ[ίκης κατ]α<τ>ῶσιν, which Sherk accepted). For the comparatively rare word δικαιοδοτεῖν see also the Leyden decree (*RDGE* 61, l. 11) and the Cnidus law (*JRS* 64 (1974), 204, col. iv, l. 35, with comment, 214). The plural ἐν ταῖς ἐπαρχείαις is unexpected, possibly meaning *provincial districts* rather than *provinces*, cf. LSJ s.v. and the Cnidus law (loc. cit., 202, col. iii, l. 24, with comment, 211), but not necessarily so; all provincial magistrates everywhere might be intended. For the conclusion of the clause, cf. the *sc de Sarapeo*: τοῦ μή τι ὑπεναντίον τῷ τῆς συνκλήτου δόγματι γίνηται (*RDGE* 5, ll. 34 f.).

ll. 69–71. Much in these lines repeats ll. 58–60. The repetition is perhaps a matter of summing up towards the end of this section of the decree, but it is not exact (see p. 74 f.). Assuming that the clause began in l. 69 in approximately the same way as in l. 58, καί before μεθ' ὧν in l. 70 indicates an earlier relative clause here, referring to other items in possession of which the city and its citizens were to be confirmed (possibly the legal code, as I have guessed in the printed version, in which case the repetitions cover matters already dealt with in l. 62); this obviously occupied the lost part of l. 70, ending with a verb which may well have been ἐχρήσαντο. The list which

began at the end of l. 70 was much longer than its earlier counterpart—the space available suggests that there were at least three more items in l. 71 than in ll. 58–9, as well as the surviving ἐτέρων πραγμάτων and yet another in l. 72 for which I have guessed χρημάτων.

l. 73. At the end of the line the consuls are introducing a new proposal, which should mean that those which precede had been passed; for the order in which their names are restored, see p. 64 f. on l. 1; there is room for καί between the two names and I have supplied it, following the model of l. 83. There is also room for ἔδοξεν, which is needed before the new proposal is put, as well as for the formula for speechmaking.

ll. 74 f. A proposal that the proposers of a decree should take specific action is a standard feature of decrees; in the same area of a decree as this one cf. the *sc de collegiis Bacchiorum* (RDGE 15, ll. 64 f.): ὅπως Λεύκιος Καλπόρνιος ὑπατος Ἀθηναῖος ξένια κατὰ τὸ διάταγμα τὸν ταμίαν ἀποστείλαι κελεύση οὕτως καθὼς ἂν ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων πραγμάτων πίστεως τε ἰδίας φαίνηται, and the *sc de Narthaciensium et Melitaeensium litibus* (RDGE 9, ll. 67 f.): ξενία τε ἑκατέροις Γάιος Ὅστιλιος στρατηγὸς τὸν ταμίαν δοῦναι κε[λ]εύση ἀπὸ σσηστερτίων νόμων ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι [πέ]ντε εἰς ἑκάστην πρεσβείαν κτλ., etc., which provide the basis for my proposals as far as l. 76. However, none of the inscribed decrees has ἐπιτάσσω or a formula with εἰς τό in this context; since KE at the end of l. 75 makes it probable that the instruction to make a payment to the ambassador (which regularly involves the use of κελεύειν) was set out in l. 76, there must have been two instructions in this text, the former, no doubt, being to register the ambassador's name in the public record in the *aerarium* (an act which was apparently often taken for granted, but is here spelt out in detail). On the registration see F. Millar, *JRS* 54 (1964), 37 f., and the passage to which he refers in Plutarch's *Roman Questions* (*Moralia* 275 b–c): Διὰ τὶ δ' οἱ πρεσβεύοντες εἰς Ῥώμην ὀποθενοῦν ἐπὶ τὸν Κρόνου ναὸν βαδίζοντες ἀπογράφονται πρὸς τοὺς ἐπάρχους τοῦ ταμείου; . . . τὸ γὰρ παλαιὸν ὡς ἔοικεν οἱ ταμίαι ξένια τοῖς πρεσβεύουσιν ἔπεμπον . . . καὶ νοσοῦντων ἐπεμέλοντο καὶ τελευτήσαντας ἔθαπτον ἐκ δημοσίου. The sum allotted on this occasion must be left open.

For the order in which the consular names are restored, see p. 64 f. on l. 1.

ll. 76–83. The text can be restored by comparison with doc. 9, ll. 10 f. (for the minor differences between the two versions see p. 94, ad loc.) except that in l. 79 the result is some 11 letters too short; I have proposed to meet the shortfall by adding τοῦ δήμου τοῦ before Πλαρασέων.

For what is said there is a close parallel in a *senatus consultum* of Caesar's dictatorship reported by Josephus (*AJ* 14. 10. 210): διδοσθαι . . . ἐν τε πυγμαῖ μονομάχων καὶ θηρίων καθεζομένους μετὰ τῶν συγκλητικῶν θεωρεῖν καὶ αἰτησαμένους παρὰ δικτάτορος ἢ παρὰ ἱππάρχου παρελθεῖν εἰς τὴν σύγκλητον εἰσάγωσι καὶ τὰ ἀποκρίματα αὐτοῖς ἀποδιδῶσιν ἐν ἡμέραις δέκα ταῖς ἀπάσαις ἀφ' ἧς ἂν τὸ δόγμα γένηται. At the end of l. 78 the subject has changed from the specific ambassador currently present in Rome to the general matter of privileges to be accorded to all ambassadors from Plarasa/Aphrodisias in the future; it had perhaps already changed in l. 76, cf. the implications of doc. 9, l. 11.

l. 80. Ἀντάρχων is unexpected in connection with the *ius agendi cum patribus* which proconsuls and propraetors are generally held to have lacked (Mommsen, *St. R.*<sup>3</sup> I, 210, n. 2). It may perhaps be used to cover those extraordinary officials

who were attested as having the right (dictators, masters of the horse, triumvirs *r.p.c.*, *praefecti urbis*, see Mommsen, loc. cit., 209 f.), or, conceivably, if the draftsman was a purist, the tribunes of the plebs.

Ἐμφανίζειν must mean *to report*, see LSJ *s.v.*

l. 81. The absence of any word for *and* after ἀρέσκειν is attested in doc. 9; its insertion here would add uncomfortably to the line-length.

For ἐκ τοῦ στίχου, *extra ordinem*, cf. the Sullan *sc de Stratonicensibus* (RDGE 18, ll. 65–6): ὅπως τε πρεσβευταῖς τοῖς παρὰ Στρατονικέων εἰς Ῥώμην παρεσομένοις ἐκτὸς τοῦ στίχου οἱ ἄρχοντες σύγκλητον διδῶσι[ν].

The surviving decrees do not provide a parallel for the explicit provision that the city's ambassadors have a right to speak in the Senate, although, of course, foreign ambassadors often did so.

l. 83. Since the names of the consuls appear again at the end, it seems a reasonable conjecture that here there was another clause instructing them to take specified action (for the order in which they appear see p. 64 f. on l. 1); I have incorporated a suggestion from Donald Baronowski that it was to arrange for the formalities involved in making a treaty. The relevant texts available as models are few but for ll. 84–5 there is some analogy in the second *senatus consultum* of 25 B.C. on Mytilene (RDGE 26, col. c, ll. 18 f.), currently restored to read . . . ὅπως (*sc. ὁ ὕπατος*), ἐὰν ἐαυτῶι φαίνηται, τὰ ὄρκια τῶν Μυτιληναίων γενέσθαι φροντ[ίσηι . . .], on which the tentative suggestion printed is based. The plural *ambassadors* may be a slip, since only one is recorded in l. 22 (cf. also docs. 6, ll. 14–16; 12, ll. 4–5).

ll. 85 f. The fragmentary text becomes for a time too obscure for serious reconstruction in the absence of any close parallel.

In l. 85 the most obvious supplement at the break would be [τὴν πολειτ]ήαν which should mean Plarasa/Aphrodisias; but too little survives to show whether this is likely.

Θεμιστῆρες are otherwise unattested as far as I can discover (although LSJ cite θεμιστωρ from Hesychius, with the sense *knowing right*, and this may be relevant). Since it seems improbable that the consuls would know and use a *recherché* title for officials or priests of Plarasa/Aphrodisias, I suggest that they are probably Romans; the translator could hardly have used any but the standard Greek equivalents for Roman magisterial titles, but resort to invention in relation to some Roman priesthoods would not be surprising at all, cf. the variety of terms presented by Mason (115 f.) in his note on Greek translations for the names of priestly colleges. At the making of a treaty in the old Roman tradition the *fetiales* played a primary part and since they might be thought of as guardians of the series of just ordinances summed up in the term *ius gentium*, θεμιστῆρες is a plausible word for the translator to produce; it seems worth noting that Dionysius of Halicarnassus introduces the concept into his account of the *fetiales* at 2. 72: κωλύοντων δὲ τούτων ἢ μὴ συναινούντων οὔτε στρατιώτη θεμιτὸν οὔτε βασιλεῖ Ῥωμαίων ὄπλα κινεῖν; cf. also G. Dumézil, *Archaic Roman Religion* I (1970), 91, who proposes to derive *fetialis* from a root with the sense of 'place', just as θέμις is derived from the root of τίθημι. If this translation were right it would have some significance for the revival or survival of Roman religion; on one view the religious archaism commonly associated with Octavian/Augustus would be attested some years earlier than was hitherto believed, and on another the reference would be an indication that, as Varro said,

the rituals of the Fetials persisted throughout (LL 5. 86: *et per hos etiam nunc fit foedus*).

It is possible that the consuls were to exhort the Fetials (?πα-/ [ρακαλωσι] stood in ll. 85–6) to go to Plarasa/Aphrodisias; or, simply, to carry out in Rome the ceremony for which the classic description is in Livy 1. 24. 7–9; see RE XII, col. 2259 f., and the note by F. W. Walbank on the account in Polybius 3. 25 which presents the priest as hurling a stone to the ground, whereas Livy and other authors describe him as using it to kill the sacrificial pig; cf. also Dumézil, loc. cit.

In l. 86 the future situation envisaged seems too vaguely described for recognition.

In l. 87 the final letters suggest part of the verb δεισθαι; a request was perhaps to be made to Plarasa/Aphrodisias.

In l. 88 the plural πλήθη, which is comparatively uncommon, probably means *numbers*; is this from an instruction to the consuls to report the numbers of Senators who were present when the oath was sworn (cf. ll. 94–5; for φέρω in this sense see LSJ s.v., IV, 4)?

In l. 89 the pair of verbs (of which the first is perhaps a compound of γίγνομαι, ἔπιγιγνομαι) must conclude one clause, while νόμον is the first word of the next. Enough of the latter survives in l. 91 to show that a law is to be proposed to the Roman People. The former may well have provided that either the current consuls or their successors should propose it. On that hypothesis the pair of verbs would translate a Latin original of the type found in the Table of Heraclea (FIRA<sup>2</sup> I, 13, ll. 24–5): *queiquomque post h.l.r. factei createi erunt eumve magistratum inierint . . .* The suffect consuls for 39 must have been expected to take office quite soon (see p. 66) and this is perhaps what necessitated such a provision.

The agreement of the Roman People would, in principle, have to be obtained for the treaty; but the reference here is presumably to the separate law of doc. 6, ll. 28–9, doc. 9, l. 1, which conferred φιλόνηρωπα, *beneficia, privileges* (see p. 47), and made the city an equal in theory, able to make a treaty with Rome. It presumably repeated, if with mild modification, the terms of this decree; that must be the reason why the law was not inscribed on the wall *in toto* (see also on doc. 9).

ll. 90 f. The fragment (plate XVII, 2) makes it possible to propose a reconstruction of the remaining lines of the decree. Its position as part of these lines is assured by a combination of content, lettering and layout, while its relation to the left-hand margin can be calculated approximately from the fact that below the fragment of l. 95 it carries also a fragment of the first line of doc. 7.

In l. 90 the restoration printed in the left-hand gap seems inevitable. At the centre there will have been the verb to govern νόμον (the phrase used must be a literal translation of *legem ad populum ferre*), but that will hardly have filled the space; it may be that this part of the proposal was voted on separately and that ἔδοξεν stood before the new clause which begins with ὅπως τε after the break ends.

In ll. 90–1 the proposers moved on to publication of the senatorial decree and of a subsequent document which must be the treaty, since both were to be inscribed on the Capitol (l. 92) as well as in Plarasa/Aphrodisias. In Italy inscription of official documents on bronze tablets is, of course, commonplace, while a number of well-known texts provide for, or refer to, the inscription of treaties on bronze tablets

displayed in (or near) the temple of Capitoline Jupiter; cf. Polybius 3. 26, Suetonius, *Vesp.* 8 and the epigraphic references collected by M. W. Frederiksen, *op. cit.* (p. 46). There has been some controversy as to whether *senatus consulta* relating to treaties were in fact also inscribed on bronze on the Capitol (H. Horn, *Foederati* (1930), 77). The present text reinforces the argument that they were (or might be) as already indicated by the document concerned with the Pergamene treaty (*Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 694, ll. 25 f., cited in this sense by S. Accame, *Il dominio romano in Grecia dalla guerra acaica ad Augusto* (1946), 80 f.): ἀνακειμένο [ν] δὲ ἐ[ν Ῥώμη]ι ἐν τῶι ἱερῶ[ι τοῦ] Διὸς τοῦ Καπετωλ[ίου πί]νακος [χ]άλκο[ῦ καὶ] ἐν αὐτῶι κατατετα[γμένων] τοῦ [τε γε]—γονότος [δ]όγματος [ὑ]πὸ τῆς [συγκλήτ]ου περι τῆς συμμα[χ]ίας ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τῆ[ς συνθήκ]ης.

In ll. 90–1 the two actions (engraving and displaying) were probably described by a participle and a verb as printed, since there is hardly room for the conjunction that would be needed if there were two verbs. There is also no room for the customary article before ἱερῶ and Δίος.

Several copies were to be published at Plarasa/Aphrodisias, cf. the proposal in *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 694, ll. 29 f. to have two inscribed copies of the treaty between Rome and Pergamon set up, one in the temple of Demeter and the other in the bouleuterion. That one copy of the *senatus consultum* and treaty should be displayed in the sanctuary of Aphrodite at Aphrodisias, religious and perhaps also political focus of the sympolity (p. 5), was predictable; after that only the feminine plural article and the ethnics survive. In the so-called Piracy Law found at Delphi (*FIRA*<sup>2</sup> I, 9, ll. 20 f.) the major alternative to publication ἐν ἱερῶ is (ἐν) ἀγορᾶ and it is tempting to restore ἀγοραῖς here; if accepted, the plural would surely imply that the existence of more than one *agora* was known (presumably one for Plarasa and one for Aphrodisias). What follows is restored on the basis of the fifth Cyrene Edict, ἐξ οὗ δῆλον ἔσται πᾶσι . . . (*RDGE* 31, l. 79). A fragment of a contemporary copy of the *senatus consultum* or law has been found re-used in the city wall and is published here as doc. 8a.

ll. 93–4. In the conventional formula deferring to the discretion of the consuls ἐφαίνετο instead of φαίνεται is unexpected. It occurs in the *sc de Oropis* (*RDGE* 23, ll. 67 f.) but with clear reference to past action, which is not the case here. A final ἔδοξε may be regarded as certain.

ll. 94–5. The gap in the middle of l. 95 can be filled from doc. 9, l. 7. Two figures must have been recorded here, one of numbers present when the decree was passed and one of numbers present when the oath was sworn. This is the earliest known record of the type, preceding by 16 years *CIL* VI, 32272 of 23 B.C., which was previously the earliest known (but which abbreviates the formula *in senatu fuerunt* and so always seemed likely to be some time after the introduction of the practice). A quorum, varying according to the issues being discussed, is a long-standing feature of senatorial procedure (one was laid down in the *sc de Bacchanalibus* of 186 B.C., *FIRA*<sup>2</sup> I, 30, ll. 7, 9–10, 18). Mommsen, *St. R.*<sup>3</sup> III, 2, 990, n. 2, conjectured that Caesar introduced the minimum of 400 to be present for all decisions, which Augustus is represented as abolishing in 11 B.C. (Dio Cassius 54. 35. 1); this minimum would not necessarily apply to the ceremony of oath-taking, so that the surviving figure here throws no light on senatorial attendances at regular sessions.

DOCUMENT 8a. *Senatus consultum* or law, a contemporary copy

Fragment of a marble panel (inv. no. 77. 70; 0·12 × 0·12 × 0·038) inscribed on one face, found loose beside a stretch of the west wall, a little south of the point where Sherard is presumed to have copied doc. 8. Strict search in the area brought no further fragments to light; this kind of panel is liable to be broken into very small pieces and re-used widely in the packing of later walls. There is no clue to its original location.

Letters, late Republican-Augustan: 0·012.

Discovery by Mary Beard.

Plate XVIII, 2.

...]

...κ]αὶ τῆ[ν...

...καλλι]στῶ τε νόμ[ω...

...τοῦ δή]μου τοῦ Ῥω[μαίων...

...τέμεν]ος ἄσυλο[ν...

5 ...πο]λεῖται ο[ἰ Πλαρασέων καὶ Ἀφροδεισιέων...

[...]

The fragment is clearly part of the *senatus consultum* (doc. 8, ll. 52–8) or the corresponding *lex* (see on doc. 9, l. 1). The letter-forms show it to be a contemporary copy, probably one of those set up at Aphrodisias according to the instructions in the *senatus consultum* (doc. 8, ll. 92–3).

## DOCUMENT 9. Extracts from awards to Plarasa/Aphrodisias

Inscribed on the second and third courses of column four of the archive wall, immediately below doc. 17 (inscribed area, 2·075 × 0·22).

Letters, second–third cent. A.D.; ll. 1–9, 0·02; ll. 10 f., 0·015; ligatured HN in l. 3, NH in l. 8, MH (four times), NTE in l. 9, MH, NH, NT, HT, NTE twice, MH twice in l. 10, NK twice, NTE, HK in l. 11, MHN, THN, NK, NT in l. 12, NK, HT, NE, HT, HM, NT in l. 13, NK, HT, HN, TE, NHM, NE, NH, TH in l. 14, HN in l. 15; apices in ll. 1, 2, 3; diaeretic dots in l. 9; dots as stops in ll. 1, 3, 5, 6, 11; a star at the end; bar above the figure in l. 7.

The marked change of letter size at l. 10 is accompanied by outspacing of the line, much closer horizontal spacing and very free use of ligatures; it looks as if the cutter was squeezing in a section for which space (or adequate space) had not originally been allowed.

Plate XI.

Εἶδος ἐκ τῶν δεδομένων φιλανθρώπων ὑπὸ τε Αὐτοκρατόρων *στορ* καὶ συνκλήτου  
καὶ δήμου Ῥωμαίων.  
μήτε μὴν ἄρχοντά τινα ἢ ἀντάρχοντα δήμου Ῥωμαίων ἕτερόν τέ τινα εἰς τὴν  
πόλιν ἢ καὶ τὴν χώ-

- ραν ἢ καὶ τοὺς ὄρους τοὺς Πλαρασέων καὶ Ἀφροδισιέων στρατιώτην καὶ  
ἀντιστρατιώτην, ἵππέα,  
ἕτερόν τινα εἰς παραχειμασίαν πρὸς αὐτοὺς δίδοσθαι μηδὲ καταθέσθαι κελεύειν μήτε  
χρήματα
- 5 μήτε στρατιώτας *stop* μήτε πλοῖα *stop* μήτε σείτον *stop* μήτε ὄπλα *stop* μήτε  
σχεδίας *stop* μήτε μὴν ἕτερόν τι πράγμα  
*vac.* τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Πλαρασέων καὶ Ἀφροδισιέων ἐπιτάσσεσθαι *vacat*  
Εἶδος ὄρκιου γενομένου Ῥωμαίων καὶ Πλαρασέων Ἀφροδισιέων παρόντων συνκλη-  
τικῶν τμ'.
- ἐπαρχον, φρουράν τε εἰσω πόλεως Πλαρασέων καὶ Ἀφροδισιέων εἰς τε τὴν  
ἐαυτῶν χώραν ἦτις  
αὐτῶν χώρα ἰδιόκτητος αὐτῶν ὑπάρχη ἄκοντες μὴ ἐπιδεχέσθωσαν. προσόδους,  
φόρους μὴ διδόντωσαν.
- 10 Ὅπως τε ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσιν καὶ ταῖς μονομαχίαις ἔτι τε κυνηγίοις καὶ ἐὰν ἀθληταὶ  
ἀγωνίζονται ἐν πόλει Ῥώμῃ πλησίον τε πόλεως Ῥώμης  
μειλίου ἑνὸς ἐν τῷ τῶν συνκλητικῶν τόπῳ πρεσβευταῖς Πλαρασέων καὶ  
Ἀφροδισιέων καθῆσθαι θεωρεῖν τε ἕξῃ καὶ οἵτινες δὲ  
ἅμ ποτε πρεσβευταὶ Πλαρασέων καὶ Ἀφροδισιέων εἰς Ῥώμην πρὸς τὴν σύνκλητον  
παραγένωνται τοῖς ἄρχουσιν, ἀντάρχουσιν  
δήμου Ῥωμαίων τοῖς ἐξουσίαν ἔχουσιν σύνκλητον συναγαγεῖν ἐμφανίσωσιν ὅπως  
σύνκλητος αὐτοῖς δόθῃ ν. ἀρέσκει ἐκ τοῦ στί-  
χου σύνκλητον αὐτοῖς δοθῆναι, ἐξουσίαν τε αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι εἰς τὸ ἐκείνη τῇ  
τάξει διαλεγῆναι ἐμφανίσει τε, ἐν ἡμέραις δέκα ταῖς
- 15 ἐγγιστα αἰς ἂν προσέλθωσιν ἐμφανίσωσιν ἀπόκριμα πρεσβευταῖς Πλαρασέων καὶ  
Ἀφροδισιέων δοθῆναι *star vacat*

Clause from the grant of privileges made by emperors and by the Senate and People of Rome.

Nor should a magistrate or promagistrate of the Roman people or anyone else billet on them, in the city or territory or confines of the Plarasans and Aphrodisians, an infantry man or one substituting for such, a cavalry man or anyone else with a view to provision of winter quarters, nor order such billeting to take place, nor levy from the Plarasans and Aphrodisians money, soldiers, ships, corn, arms or rafts or anything else.

Clause from the treaty sworn between the Romans and the people of Plarasa/Aphrodisias in the presence of 340 senators.

Against their will they are not to receive a commander and a garrison within the city of the Plarasans and Aphrodisians and into their territory, that territory which is their own property; they are not to pay taxes and contributions.

And that at games and gladiatorial shows and also at beast hunts, and if athletes compete in the city of Rome or within a mile of it, ambassadors of the Plarasans and Aphrodisians may sit as spectators in the area reserved for senators; and that ambassadors of the Plarasans and Aphrodisians who come to Rome to wait upon the Senate should report to the magistrates or those acting for the magistrates of the Roman people who have the power to summon the Senate, in order that an occasion may be provided for them to attend a meeting; it is agreed that they should have the right to attend the Senate without waiting their turn, to speak in that body and to report to it and that a reply should be given to the ambassadors of the Plarasans and Aphrodisians within ten days of attending and reporting to it.

It is far from clear why these particular clauses were selected for inscription on the wall unless, perhaps, they represented extracts made for the use of particular ambassadors to Rome (to document the city's case and provide evidence of the rights of its ambassadors), and had been attached to the archive copy of the imperial reply. They bear no relation to the subscript of Trajan (doc. 14) which immediately precedes them on the wall, however; and while they are relevant to the letter of Hadrian (doc. 15), they are inscribed at a considerable distance from it.

1. 1. Εἶδος is perhaps used to mean *clause*, a development from its established meaning *species* (LSJ *s.v.*).

For φιλόανθρωπα see p. 47.

In naming emperors along with the Senate and People here the Aphrodisians offered a heading in close accord with the formula of doc. 49, l. 3 (probably a pro-consul's letter) and with the sense of doc. 43, ll. 5–9 (a private dedication by an Aphrodisian) as well as with the implications of doc. 42, ll. 7–9 (a civic dedication at Ephesus). What was meant in all three documents seems to me probably the regular confirmation by each succeeding *princeps* of what had originally been conferred through law and a treaty by the Roman People, after the passage of a decree of the Senate.

ll. 7–9 below proclaim their origin in the treaty, and I shall argue that both ll. 2–6 and ll. 10–15 are likely to be extracts from the law, despite their awkward separation from each other by the extract from the treaty.

ll. 2–6 and 10–15 contain clauses which all but repeat passages of the *senatus consultum* (doc. 8, ll. 32–6, 76–83; these lines are of course supplemented from the present document, but I think that enough of them survives to establish the point and that there is not in fact circularity here). There are, however, small divergencies between the versions of doc. 9 and doc. 8, some in spelling only (which might by themselves be discounted)—so μειλίου, ἄμ, ἐμφανίσῳσιν in doc. 9, ll. 11, 12, 15, and μιλιου, ἄν, ἐμφανίσῳσιν in doc. 8, ll. 77, 78, 82—others perhaps more significant—so τὴν πόλιν ἢ καὶ τὴν χώραν, ἀγῶσιν καί, ἔξῃ, ἀρέσκει in doc. 9, ll. 2, 10, 11, 13, and τὴν πόλιν ἢ τὴν χώραν, ἀγῶσι τε καί, ἔξον ἢ and ἀρέσκειν to be restored with certainty in doc. 8, ll. 33, 76, 78, 81, and the shortfall of some 11 letters in the text of doc. 9 to fill doc. 8, l. 79. It is unlikely that the Aphrodisians had two different translations of the *senatus consultum* to draw upon and so it seems that the passages in doc. 9 must have been taken not from the text of the *senatus consultum* but from a very similar document. The obvious candidate is the law. It is of course clear that their formulation is not altogether appropriate for a law (infinitives dependent on ἀρέσκειν in ll. 2–6, ὅπως clauses in ll. 10–15, instead of *imperatives* or the use of ὀφείλῃν); so that it must be accepted that these passages from the decree were incorporated in the law without serious adaptation (cf. the *Tabula Hebana*, *EJ* 94a and the *Lex de Imperio Vespasiani*, *FIRA*<sup>2</sup> 1, 15; for which the point was recently reaffirmed by P. A. Brunt, *JRS* 67 (1977), 95). The point must be compared with the use in the decree of formulae more proper to a law (doc. 8, ll. 55 f., see comment on p. 84). Given the amount of business going to the Senate in 39 (and often, no doubt, to the People too) confusions of this kind in the drafting are probably understandable. If the text of the law so closely resembled that of the *senatus consultum*, and at the same time contained less than the *senatus consultum* (e.g. no reference to the

favourable speech of Antony and Octavian nor explicit confirmation of privileges given in their decrees) the absence of the full text of the law from the archive wall is fully explained.

It has been suggested to me, however, that, while ll. 2–6 may be from the law, ll. 10–15 are formulated more in the manner of a magisterial decree, indeed an imperial decree, and that this would provide a better explanation of the reference to *autokratores* in the heading than the one that I have proposed. This theory deserves consideration, although there seem to me at present to be very many difficulties in it; important among them the fact that since the subject matter (and in essence the wording) of ll. 10–15 is incorporated in the *senatus consultum* the decree should be earlier than that and so a decree of Octavian, or rather of Octavian in conjunction with Antony; and if that is accepted, it follows that the triumvirs committed themselves—in 39 B.C.—to issuing instructions to Senate and magistrates in a manner certainly not conformable with the view of their behaviour in that year put forward by Millar (see p. 39 above), nor, it seems to me, with the relevant information about them in this dossier.

For comment on the detail of these lines see pp. 77 f. and 88 f.

ll. 7–9. Sandwiched between the two extracts, which are probably from the law, is another, stated in a separate heading to be from the treaty, which is all that we have of that document. The arrangement of the three extracts was evidently dictated by their subject matter, the first extract from the law being closely related in content to that from the treaty, while the second extract from the law is distinct.

Since it is obviously unlikely that the Aphrodisians would have cited both the *lex* and the treaty if all that they wanted to show could have been extracted from either, it is probable that these two documents were not identical in content. In fact the clause from the treaty transcribed here, with its ban on the entry of a commander or garrison into the city's territory against its will, is much more elaborate than the corresponding section of the *senatus consultum*. It is also very likely (although not certain) that, whatever else the treaty contained, a central point in it was the provision of mutual military aid, of which nothing is said in the decree, but which is a common and characteristic feature in the treaty texts that survive (cf. *OGIS* 762, Cibyra; *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 693, Methymna; *RDGE* 16, Astypalaea; *ILLRP* 516, Callatis; *RDGE* 26, Mytilene; *BCH* 102 (1978), 726, Maroneia and Ainos). That would be natural in the context of the War of Labienus, when Plarasa/Aphrodisias had acted, in so far as her strength enabled her, precisely as such a clause would have required her to do. If we accept such differences between the treaty and the decree/law, the absence of the full text of the treaty from the wall constitutes a problem; for although much in it will have seemed meaningless by the third century A.D., the status it conferred was certainly still recognized as prestigious (cf. doc. 43, l. 2); note, however, its absence not only from the imperial correspondence (docs. 14–25) but from docs. 41, 42. It is perhaps another indication that the main purpose of the inscription was to proclaim Aphrodisian advantages in relation to other Asiatic cities rather than to make a full statement of the city's rights *vis-à-vis* Rome (see p. 36 f.).

The clause from the treaty cited here is unique in the limited epigraphic record of treaty texts; it covers the same kind of matter as appears in the *senatus consultum/lex* and in the *lex de Termessibus* and implies, as they do, Rome's superior

position, whereas the treaty texts that survive often imply, unrealistically, the equality of both parties. Overtly indicative of the same superiority is the fact, which was noted above, that some aspects of the relation of Plarasa/Aphrodisias were regulated not by the treaty but by the *senatus consultum/lex* which conferred them as privileges.

For εἶδος see on l. 1.

For the record of the number of senators present see on doc. 8, l. 95.

ll. 8–9. The sense of χώρα ιδιόκτητος is probably deducible from the *Lex de Termessibus* (cit. p. 76, col. 1, ll. 28 f.), *Quae Thermensium . . . publica preivataque praeter loca[ta] agros aedificia sunt fueruntve . . . quodque earum rerum iei. antea habuerunt possederunt usei fructeive sunt, quod eius ipsei sua voluntate ab se non abalienarunt . . .* ἰδιόκτητος meaning *held as private property* is common enough in papyri (*Wörterbuch s.v.*); here *in their own possession* fits the context very well.

Documents 10–13 are not among those listed in doc. 6, but 10, 12 and probably 13 are likely to have been taken to Aphrodisias by the ambassador Solon at the same time as those that are. They complement the triumviral decree (doc. 7) as administrative acts aimed at restoring the city's losses.

#### DOCUMENT 10. Letter of Octavian to Stephanus

Cut on the top inscribed course of column 4 of the archive wall (inscribed area, 1.92 × 0.185).

Letters, second–third cent. A.D. : av. 0.02 ; ligatured THN in l. 2, NMH, NH in l. 3, HN in l. 4, MH in l. 5.

Brief description by F. Millar, *JRS* 63 (1973), 56, no. 11.

Acknowledgments for discussion to Robert Tannenbaum (all aspects), A. Giovannini (l. 4).

#### Plate XI.

*vacat* Καῖσαρ Στεφάνῳ ν. χαίρειν *vacat*

Ὡς Ζώϊλον τὸν ἐμὸν φιλῶ ἐπίστασαι τὴν πατρίδα αὐτοῦ ἠλευθέρωσα καὶ Ἀντωνίῳ  
συνέστησα.

ν. Ὡς Ἀντωνίου ἄπεστιν δὸς ἐργασίαν μὴ τις αὐτοῖς ἐπιβάρησις γένηται· Μίαν  
πόλιν ταύτην  
ἐξ ὅλης τῆς Ἀσίας ἐμαυτῷ εἴληψα. ν.ν. Τούτους οὕτω θέλω φυλαχθῆναι ὡς ἐμοὺς  
πολεῖτας.

5 *vacat* Ὅψομαι ὡς τὴν ἐμὴν σύνστασιν ἐπὶ πέρας ἀγάγῃς *vacat*

l. 3. As the initial letter of γένηται the cutter wrote E and then erased the lower bars.

Caesar to Stephanus, greetings. You know my affection for (?that I am beholden to) my friend Zoilos. I have freed his native city and recommended it to Antonius. Since Antonius is absent, take care that no burden falls upon them. This one city I have taken for my own out of all Asia. I wish these people to be protected as my own townsmen. I shall be watching to see that you carry out my recommendation to the full.

l. 1. 'Caesar', of course, is Octavian; the personal name can stand alone because the letter is not a public document but a private communication. No doubt the Aphrodisians received a copy because he wished them to realize what efforts he was making on their behalf and to be aware of what they should expect from Stephanus, cf. their receipt of docs. 12, 13 and the Trajanic 14; all illustrate Roman willingness to make official communications available to other interested persons than those to whom they were addressed. Good examples outside the province of Asia are the letters of Antoninus Pius to Berenice and Ptolemais which were published at Cyrene (*JRS* 68 (1978), 114, ll. 70 f.).

Stephanus is not otherwise known except from doc. 11 which shows him as exercising considerable authority in and around Laodicea (clearly on the Lycus). He was presumably a local agent of Antony with an administrative function in this area (for further discussion of his position see doc. 11). Octavian, who expected him to know a good deal about his freedman, Zoilus of Aphrodisias (l. 2), addressed him in curt and authoritative terms; it is true that the peremptory tone finds some parallel in the letter to Norbanus Flaccus known from Josephus, *AJ* 16. 6. 3 (if its language is accurately transmitted), while some of the awkwardness (e.g. the paratactic sentences) might be explained if Octavian wrote the Greek himself (he normally used a translator for official business, Suetonius, *Aug.* 50); but the threat in l. 5 must surely indicate that Stephanus was a subordinate of low social standing.

The date of the letter can be fixed approximately in late 39 or early 38. It was clearly a response to the representations made by the ambassador Solon (doc. 12, ll. 4 f.) about loot taken from the city in the War of Labienus, while the reference to the liberation of the city (l. 2) must post-date doc. 8 and the law which confirmed it. l. 2. Zoilus must be identified with C. Julius Zoilus, discussed by L. Robert, *Aph* 408 f., but now known to have been a freedman of Octavian (doc. 36) as well as a holder of distinguished civic offices and priesthoods (for his dossier see Appendix v, with some conjectures about his career). For the importance of the connection between locals (usually notables) and dominant figures at Rome in securing civic privileges, see L. Robert, *CRAI* 1969, 42 f., and note especially the final document of the dossier of Seleucus of Rhosus, where Octavian wrote to the Rhosians ὡς οὖν ἔμου πάντα δύνατα ποιήσαντος ὑμῖν ἤδει[ον διὰ Σέλ]ευκου, θαρροῦντες περὶ ὧν ἂν βούλησθε πρὸς με ἀποστέλλετε (*RDGE* 58, ll. 92-3). The significance accorded to Zoilus here was perhaps related to the fact that the letter was meant for an Antonian agent and demonstrated incidentally the rewards that might be available to agents of Octavian (contrast the stress on other aspects of the situation in docs. 12, 13); but propaganda directed at Stephanus and his like was not the only reason, since a copy of the letter went to the city. Zoilus, for whatever services, was presumably felt to have deserved a reward; Octavian's written estimate of him must have been a weighty factor in the city's decision to confer on him the élite offices, priesthoods and honours which are attested for him.

The possessive τὸν ἔμου presumably expresses friendship rather than ownership. Φιλῶ may have been used, as *amo* can be, with the sense *I am obliged* or *grateful to* (OLD *s.v.* 'amo', 10), but the more obvious *like*, *esteem* is perfectly possible.

For συνέστησα meaning *I recommended*, see LSJ *s.v.* συνίστημι, iv. 1, and in the final document of the dossier of Seleucus of Rhosus τοῦτον οὖν ὑμῖν συνίστημι (*RDGE* 58, l. 91); the point is made again in different and more explicit terms in

doc. 12, ll. 7–10. Octavian had apparently come to an agreement with Antony, who recognized his special relationship with Plarasa/Aphrodisias; it was, perhaps, parallel to Antony's special relationship with Bononia, recognized by Octavian (Suetonius, *Aug.* 17. 2). From Octavian's need to explain the situation it may be conjectured that this agreement was probably recent; after the Pact of Brundisium rather than after Philippi. The relationship presumably derived from the time of Caesar's benefactions to the city's goddess (docs. 8, l. 41, 12, ll. 13 f., Tacitus, *Ann.* 3. 62) and was connected with exploitation of her identity with Venus as the mother of the Julian *gens* (see also p. 4 f.). It is tempting to guess that Octavian had just grasped the potential of the connection for propaganda purposes (perhaps with the help of Zoilus).

Ἠλευθέρωσα carries a claim by Octavian to sole responsibility for the *senatus consultum*, treaty and law in favour of Plarasa/Aphrodisias (docs. 8, 9); for the turn of phrase cf. Plutarch, *Pomp.* 42. 8, of Pompey and Mytilene . . . τὴν τε πόλιν ἠλευθέρωσε διὰ Θεοφάνη (cited by Robert, *op. cit.*). It also raises the question of the city's previous status. Octavian was not concerned here to express constitutional niceties, but it must be implied that the city had been a stipendiary subject before the awards of 39; if it was free at the outbreak of the First Mithridatic War (p. 3), the obvious occasions for its subjection are:

*a* the Sullan settlement; but its behaviour in 88 might seem to have merited privilege and its military activities subsequently could suggest that it had it (see also p. 4);  
*b* the régime of Brutus and Cassius; if that were the occasion it would also be implied that Antony had given it no help after Philippi, despite its Caesarian sympathies—it was, of course, a small place, remote from his route and of minor significance by comparison with those to whom he paid attention (see p. 50 f.);  
*c* the War of Labienus from which it had, in principle, been rescued by triumviral action which might be thought to have placed it in a position of subjection.

*b* seems to me the most probable.

1. 3. To explain Octavian's action in communicating with Stephanus, it must be supposed that Antony was absent from Asia Minor (he was, no doubt, also absent from Rome, otherwise it would surely have been more natural to get him to send instructions himself). In fact he spent in Asia only the few weeks of his visit after Philippi and a short time on his journey between Egypt and Brundisium in 40. It is also quite likely that there was no senior official in the province of Asia at all at the time; Munatius Plancus, probably governor in 40, fled before the invasion of Labienus (Dio Cassius 48. 26. 3); Ventidius Bassus, probably sent out in 40 to deal with Labienus, will have spent more time in eastern Anatolia and in Syria than in Asia (Appian, *BC* 5. 65); Cocceius Nerva, apparently the next governor, is not attested in the province before 38 (*MRR* II, 392). There were, then, long periods in 39 and possibly in the early months of 38, when Antony's local agents must have been the only administrators with wider than civic authority.

For δὸς ἐργασίαν, *da operam*, cf. διδῶσιν τε ἐργασίαν (*RDGE* 18, l. 111), δ[ώσειν] ἐργα[σία]ν (*RDGE* 48, ll. 10–11).

For ἐπιβάρησις cf. ἐπιβαρήσεις and ἐπιβαρηθῆναι in *IG* XII. 5. 860, ll. 9 and 32, used of the burden of debts (Tenos, first century B.C.), and the verb in *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 807, l. 15 of an authoritative personality (Magnesia ad Maeandrum, first century A.D.). Any kind of burdensome infliction is intended.

l. 4. Ἐμοὺς πολεῖτος is unexpected. Octavian was perhaps asking that his clients should be treated as Romans (given their οἰκειότης, see p. 4, that is not too *outré*, although, I think, not paralleled; but cf. the wording in Antony's almost contemporary letter to Hyrcanus, whose interests ἴδιον ἦγημαι, Josephus, *AJ* xiv. 308). Alternatively, Professor Giovannini has suggested that Octavian had received Aphrodisian citizenship and wrote as he did for that reason.

l. 5. Ὅρᾶν ὅπως *to see how or that* is a classical construction; the use of the future tense here seems to enhance the authoritative tone which is produced earlier in the letter by the paratactic constructions.

#### DOCUMENT 11. Letter of Stephanus to Plarasa/Aphrodisias

Inscribed in the lowest course of column 3 of the archive wall (inscribed area : 1.75 × 0.27).

Letters, second-third cent. A.D. : av. 0.018; ligatured NM, ME in l. 2, MHN, TH in l. 4, HN in l. 6, ME in l. 8, HN, NHN, ME in l. 10; apices in ll. 2, 5; the first Ω in l. 2 cut over O; star-shaped stop in l. 8.

Acknowledgments for discussion to Robert Tannenbaum (all aspects).

#### Plate X.

Στέφανος Πλαρ(ασέων) Ἀφροδισιέων ἄρχουσι βουλῆ δῆμῳ χαίρειν.  
 προσελθόντων μοι ὑμετέρων πρεσβευτῶν ἐν Λαοδικῆ καὶ  
 τὰ παρ' ὑμῶν ψηφίσματα ἀναδόντων, ἐγὼ πᾶσαν σπουδὴν  
 εἰσηνεκάμην καὶ ἐπιμελέστατα ἐξζητήσας παρά τε τῶν ἑ-  
 5 ξωθεν καὶ τῶν ἐμῶν ἀπέδωκα αὐτοῖς δούλους ὅσους ποτὲ ἑ-  
 πέγνωσαν καὶ ἐλευθέρους ὅσους ἔλεγον ἐπὶ Λαβιήνου πάντα(ς)  
 ὑμῖν ἐνδεδεῖχθαι καὶ τούτους ὑμῖν παρέδωκα ὅπως τὰς  
 καθηκούσας ὑμῖν τιμωρίας ὑπόσχωσιν. *star* σὺν τούτοις καὶ  
 στέφανον χρυσοῦν ἀποδέδωκα τοῖς ὑμετέροις πρεσβευ-  
 10 ταῖς καὶ ἄρχουσιν ὃς ἦν ἀπενηνεγμένος ὑπὸ Πύθου τοῦ Οὐμανίου.

#### l. 6. ΠΑΝΤΑ *lapis*.

Stephanus to the Magistrates, Council and People of the Plarasans and Aphrodisians, greetings. When your envoys came to me in Laodicea and handed me the decrees from you, I made every effort and, after a most careful search, restored to them all the slaves they recognized from the hands of others and from my own people; and all the free men too against whom, they said, information had been laid in the time of Labienus, I handed over to you in order that they may undergo the punishments you think appropriate. Together with these I have restored to your ambassadors and magistrates a golden crown which had been carried off by Pythes son of Oumanus.

l. 1. The subordinate Stephanus of doc. 10 here appears as a man of local consequence, to whom the Plarasans and Aphrodisians sent an embassy, and who replied in a letter, informing them of the action he had taken to recover their looted property, especially slaves, and to arrest freeborn persons who had presumably looted and

otherwise helped Labienus' troops. He was based on Laodicea (clearly on the Lycus) and presumably had an authority beyond Laodicean territory or he could not have performed efficiently the tasks set by Octavian and by Plarasa/Aphrodisias; he had power to arrest (l. 7), which probably implies a formal appointment of some kind and the backing of some military force; but he gives no title.

Antony used a number of local tyrants or dynasts as subordinate administrators in the east; but a dynast might have been expected to leave some record on local coins and/or inscriptions, as Nicias of Cos has done (Strabo 14. 658, cf. *BMC Caria* 213, 196–200, Paton-Hicks, 76–80), or C. Julius Eurycles of Sparta (see the discussion by G. W. Bowersock, *JRS* 51 (1961), 112 f.). In any case the natural candidate for *dynasteia* at Laodicea was the rhetor Zenon who had led his city into opposing Labienus (Strabo 14. 660; he is in fact called a dynast by Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World* (1965), 45, 51, but the description is contested by L. Robert, *Laodicée du Lycos* 306 f.); his son was given a kingdom (elsewhere) by Antony (Strabo 12. 578). Even without the tone of doc. 10 to provide a clue, we should certainly look for an agent of lesser social status. Antony appointed a freedman of Caesar as an agent in Cyprus (Demetrius, in office in 39, Dio Cassius 48. 40. 6) and a slave or freedman of his own in Corinth (Theophilus; Plutarch, *Ant.* 67; Theophilus' servile status follows from that of his son Hipparchus, who is described as a freedman, *ibid.* 73). Antony had also appointed a number of locals (not necessarily of high status) as agents for the collection of the extraordinary levy he imposed on Asia in 41, which was to be paid in two annual instalments; an example is the lyre-player Anaxenor of Magnesia, given charge of tax-collection in four cities, with a military force to assist him (Strabo 14. 648, ἀπέδειξεν φορολόγον, στρατιώτας ἀπὸ συστήσας, cf. *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 766) who, with his likes, was still in office in 39 and, no doubt, continued to exercise authority later. It cannot at present be ascertained in which of the categories of minor Antonian agent Stephanus belonged; but all must have acquired extra responsibility and local importance in the absence of any senior official in the province. In some degree there seems to be an anticipation of the later procuratorial administrative service, with the *imperator* Antony appointing personal agents to handle his interests (and particularly his financial interests) alongside the regular Republican administrative machinery of the provinces—men who were then able, in crisis, to substitute for that machinery (for another indication of the emergence of the concept of the *procurator* as a governmental agent, cf. his inclusion in the list of officials and quasi officials in Octavian's edict on the privileges of veterans, *FIRA*<sup>2</sup> 1, 56, l. 20). At this date, of course, all is very *ad hoc*. As with some minor figures of this type in the imperial service, Stephanus' local authority contrasts with his subordinate rating *vis-à-vis* authority at Rome; that is strongly implied by the tone of Octavian's letter to him (doc. 10) and by his surely over-protecting zeal here.

This is the only place on the wall where the ethnic Πλαρασέων is abbreviated, although when the inscription was cut it had long been dropped from the city name. The abbreviation may have been copied from the original document and if so perhaps reflects the decline of Plarasa's significance.

l. 3. The decrees will have appointed ambassadors and asked for the action which was taken by Stephanus; he will also, no doubt, have received instructions from Antony in accordance with Octavian's recommendations (l. 2 and doc. 12, ll. 8 f.), as well as Octavian's letter and, at an earlier date, the triumviral decree (doc. 7)

authorizing action which may be relevant to what Plarasa/Aphrodisias sought on this occasion.

ll. 4-5. Τῶν ἐμῶν would naturally refer to his own establishment (household, troops), τῶν ἕξωθεν to others under his authority.

The loss of slaves (surely chattel slaves) is also stressed in doc. 12, l. 12. Some might be runaways, others taken off and sold again.

l. 6. There is no space for another letter before the block-end, while beyond the joint with the next block the line beginnings of doc. 21 are too close to allow of anything there. Since ΠΑΝΤΑ makes no obvious sense an error for πάντας seems likely.

ll. 6-7. Since the free men arrested were liable to the punishments *appropriate to you*, they may have been (at any rate in some cases) citizens (or tribal dependants perhaps) of Plarasa/Aphrodisias who had collaborated with the invaders. But l. 10 and perhaps the incident which led to the despatch of doc. 12, strongly suggest that a certain number of free persons in neighbouring cities had actually joined Labienus. Opportunism and local animosities may have stimulated them, but mainly, no doubt, resentment at Antony's financial demands in 41. On the War of Labienus, see also pp. 38, 50, 102.

ll. 7-8. The authority of the city's courts is to be noted as in accord with the provisions of doc. 8, ll. 46 f., 62.

l. 10. Pythes son of Oumanus is otherwise unknown, but the name Pythes (of Ionian origin) is attested at Laodicea (see the discussion by L. Robert, *Laodicée du Lycos* 332). This suggests some support for Labienus in the area, see above and p. 103.

## DOCUMENT 12. Letter of Octavian to Ephesus

Inscribed on the middle courses of column 3 of the archive wall (inscribed area : 0.955 × 0.655).

Letters, second-third cent. A.D. : ll. 1-4, av. 0.02, ll. 5 f., av. 0.018 ; ligatured HM in l. 2, HMH, TH in l. 4, HN, NH, NΠE in l. 6, HM in l. 7, NH in l. 9, NE twice in l. 11, HE, TE, NE, MB, NT in l. 12, ΠΗΝΤ, TH in l. 13, TH, TE in l. 14, NE, NHNE, TH in l. 15, NK, TE, TH in l. 16, NTE, HM, TH in l. 17, ME, NK, HM in l. 18, NK, ΗΓ, ΠΡ, TH in l. 19, THK, HNK in l. 20 ; apices in ll. 1, 2, 4, 7, 9, 10, 13 ; arabesque at the end of l. 12. The final letter of l. 1 is cut on the ridge which at this point divides columns 2 and 3.

There is a brief account in F. Millar, *JRS* 63 (1973), 56, no. 10.

Acknowledgments for discussion to Robert Tannenbaum (all aspects).

### Plate X.

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ θεοῦ Ἰουλίου υἱὸς Ἐφεσίων ἀρχουσι  
 βουλῆ δῆμῳ χαίρειν· εἰ ἔρρωσθε εὖ ἂν ἔχοι, ὑγιαί-  
 νω δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς μετὰ τοῦ στρατεύματος *vac.*  
 Σόλων Δημητρίου υἱὸς πρεσβευτῆς Πλαρασέων  
 5 καὶ Ἀφροδισιέων ἐνεφάνισέν μοι ὅσα ἐν τῷ πο-  
 λέμῳ τῷ κατὰ Λαβιῆνον ἢ πόλις αὐτῶν πέπονθεν  
 ὅσα τε διηρηπάγη δημόσια τε καὶ ἰδιωτικά, περὶ ὧν  
 πάντων Ἀντωνίῳ τε τῷ συνάρχοντι ἐντολὰς

- δέδωκα ὅπως ὅσα ποτὲ ἂν δύνηται ὁ ἂν εὖρη ἀ-  
 10 ποκαταστήσῃ αὐτοῖς· ὑμεῖν τε ἔκρεια γράψαι  
 ἔπει ἔχετε πόλιν εὐκαιρον ἐπιβοηθεῖ[α]ν αὐτοῖς  
 ἔαν σώματος ἢ ἐτέρου τινὸς τῶν ἰδίων ἐπιλαμβάνωνται *arabesque*  
 Ἀπηνυγέλη δέ μοι ὅτι ἐκ τῆς διαρπαγῆς Ἔρωσ χρυσοῦς ὁ ὑ-  
 πὸ τοῦ πατρὸς τῆ Ἀφροδείτῃ ἦν ἀνατεθεὶς εἰς ὑμᾶς  
 15 ἀνενήνεκται καὶ ὡς ἀνάθημα τῆ Ἀρτέμιδι τέθειται.  
 Ὑμεῖς οὖν καλῶς ποιήσετε καὶ ἀξίως ὑμῶν ἀποκαταστή-  
 σαντες τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς μου ἀνάθημα τῆ Ἀφροδείτῃ  
 δεδομένον· καὶ γὰρ οὐ χარიέν ἀνάθημα Ἔρωσ Ἀρτέμιδι.  
 Ἀνάγκη γάρ μοι Ἀφροδισιέων ποιεῖσθαι πρόνοιαν οὓς τη-  
 20 λικαῦτα εὐεργέτηκα ἦν καὶ ὑμᾶς ἀκούειν νομίζω.

Imperator Caesar, son of divus Julius, to the Magistrates, Council and People of the Ephesians, greetings. If you are well it would be well; I myself am in good health, together with the army.

Solon son of Demetrius, ambassador of the Plarasans and Aphrodisians has reported to me how much their city suffered in the war against Labienus and how much property, both public and private, was looted. With regard to all these matters I have given a commission to my colleague Antonius, that he should restore to them as much as he can find; and I decided to write to you, since you have a city well-placed to assist them if they lay claim to any slave or other piece of private property.

I was also informed that out of the loot a golden Eros, which had been dedicated by my father to Aphrodite, has been brought to you and set up as an offering to Artemis.

You will do well and worthily of yourselves if you restore the offering which my father gave to Aphrodite. In any case Eros is not a suitable offering when given to Artemis.

For concerning the Aphrodisians, upon whom I have conferred such great benefits, it is necessary that I should take the care about which I think you too have heard.

For Roman willingness to make official communications available to other interested persons than those to whom they are addressed, see p. 97.

I. 1. The use of the praenomen *Imperator* shows that this letter must be at earliest of very late 39, more probably of early 38 (see p. 75 f.). The reference to the ambassador Solon (see on I. 4) suggests that, if of 38, it was comparatively early in the year. He is unlikely to have stayed in Rome for much of the year, see p. 162.

II. 2-3. Greeting and *formula valetudinis* are in Octavian's normal style at this stage in his career (see also p. 45).

I. 4. For Solon see doc. 6, II. 14-16, p. 72 on doc. 8, I. 22, and p. 166 on doc. 41. The Latin form of filiation is used here; Greek custom was followed in doc. 6.

II. 5 f. For the War of Labienus see also the commentary on docs. 7, 11 and probably 13; it was not known from the literary sources that Aphrodisias had been sacked in it (see also doc. 13, I. 3), and the information strengthens the case for L. Robert's view that the incident in which an Aphrodisian killed sixty of the enemy (doc. 28, I. 8) belongs to it. For the possible relevance of the reference to Aphrodisian merits in this war to Tacitus, *Ann.* 3. 62, see p. 50.

II. 8 f. The informal, almost casual, description of Antony is in itself a telling reminder of Octavian's status; his equality is stressed, but there is also, perhaps, a suggestion of his superior or more active benevolence. Ἐντολαί is the standard

Greek translation of *mandata* (see Mason *s.v.* and pp. 126 f.), which may perfectly well pass between equals (cf. Cicero, *Fam.* 3. 5. 1, *mandata* transmitted to him by his predecessor in Cilicia).

l. 11. Throughout these texts the form -ηα is preferred to -εια in nouns with this ending, so that it is likely that in the final word the cutter made an error for an infinitive.

The point must be that Ephesus as a major centre, and a port at the seaward end of a main road easily accessible from Aphrodisias, would be a natural place in which to market the loot carried off therefrom.

l. 12. For σῶμα as a *slave* see LSJ *s.v.*, II. 2 and for ἐπιλαμβάνεσθαι with the sense *to lay hands on, to assert a claim*, LSJ *s.v.* Concern over looted slaves was also a preoccupation in doc. 11, l. 5, and possibly doc. 7.

l. 13. For dedication of *Erotes* see L. Robert, *Laodicée du Lycos* 254 f., with examples from Aphrodisias (p. 257). That Caesar made this lavish offering, as well as regulating the Aphrodisian asylum rights (see p. 78 f. on doc. 8, ll. 38 f.), is a strong indication that he wished to use the potential connection between Aphrodisian Aphrodite and his family and in fact assumed the patronage of the city which Octavian was now exploiting.

The neuter relative ὃ must pick up the implied word ἀνάθημα, which is actually used in ll. 15, 17, 19.

ll. 14–15. The dedication of loot from Aphrodisias in the Ephesian Artemisium does not, of course, necessarily mean that Labienus' army reached Ephesus. It may suggest that the looter was a native of the area (see also p. 101) with a devotion to this particular goddess; but again not necessarily so.

Ὡς perhaps suggests that the Eros was not, in its new position, a real dedication. ll. 16 f. For the tactful phrasing there are parallels in Augustus' letter to Cnidus, ἀλλὰ νῦν ὀρθῶς ἄν μοι δοκεῖτε ποιῆσαι τῆι ἐμῆι [περὶ τοῦ]των γνώμηι προνοήσαντες . . . (RDGE 66, ll. 37–8) and in the First Cyrene Edict, δοκοῦσι μοι καλῶς καὶ προσηκόντως ποιήσειν . . . (SEG 9. 8. 1), but the formula has, of course, a long history in the correspondence of Hellenistic kings, cf. RC 13, l. 13.

l. 18. The wry humour is in character, as appears from several stories in Suetonius, *Aug.*, e.g. 46, 53.

l. 19. In ll. 4–5, the envoy is correctly described as coming from the Plarasans and Aphrodisians but here only the Aphrodisians are mentioned as beneficiaries of Octavian's care (so also in doc. 13, l. 3). This may reflect Octavian's overriding interest in the temple of Aphrodite (see also on doc. 13), and/or the decreasing importance of Plarasa; but it may be that the remoter site of Plarasa avoided the looting to which Aphrodisias was subjected.

l. 20. The syntax is awkward but the sense reasonably clear. Octavian asserted the necessity (surely meaning the obligation of a patron) to assist Aphrodisias, reminded the Ephesians of this obligation and of the outstanding manner in which he was carrying it out, a manner which, he asserted, must already be coming to their ears. It is to be noted that here and in doc. 13 when he was addressing cities of Asia he said nothing of Zoilus, whom he named in doc. 10 as the main cause of his generosity to Plarasa/Aphrodisias, but stressed instead sufferings in war and his patronal relationship; underlining to cities what he would do for a loyal city, as he had underlined (doc. 10) to an agent, what he would do for a loyal agent.

## DOCUMENT 13. Subscript of Octavian (?)/Augustus to Samos

Inscribed in the second course of column 4 of the archive wall (inscribed area, 2.03 × 0.295).

Letters, second–third cent. A.D. : av. 0.02 ; ligatured TH in l. 2, HM, HN, NH in l. 3, HN, HM, NM, NE in l. 4, NM, MHN in l. 5, HN, NH, NM twice, HM in l. 6 ; three apices in l. 5 ; diaeretic dots in l. 1 ; star-shaped stops at each end of l. 7. In l. 1, the letters ΕΓΡΑ are cut on an inset piece of stone, presumably replacing a piece on which the cutter had made an error.

There is some comment by F. Millar, *ERW* 243, 431–2 (with his translation), 480 (the *libellus* procedure), and by R. Bernhardt, *Historia* 29 (1980), 190 f. (taxation of free cities).

Acknowledgments for discussion to Robert Tannenbaum (all aspects).

## Plate XI.

*vac.* Αὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ θεοῦ Ἰουλίου υἱὸς Αὐγουστος Σαμίους ὑπὸ τὸ ἀξιώμα  
 ὑπέγραψεν  
 ἔξεστιν ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς ὄραν ὅτι τὸ φιλόανθρωπον τῆς ἐλευθερίας οὐδένι δέδωκα δῆμῳ  
 πλὴν τῶ τῶν  
 Ἄφροδισιέων ὃς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τὰ ἐμὰ φρονήσας δοριάλωτος διὰ τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς  
 εὖνοιαν ἐγένετο  
 οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν δίκαιον τὸ πάντων μέγιστον φιλόανθρωπον εἰκῆ καὶ χωρὶς αἰτίας  
 χαρίζεσθαι. Ἐγὼ δὲ  
 5 ὑμῖν μὲν εὖνοῶ καὶ βουλοίμην ἂν τῇ γυναικί μου ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν σπουδαζούση χαρί-  
 ζεσθαι ἀλλὰ  
 οὐχ ὥστε καταλῦσαι τὴν συνήθειάν μου· οὐδὲ γὰρ τῶν χρημάτων μοι μέλει ἅ εἰς  
 τὸν φόρον τελεῖτε  
*vac. star* ἀλλὰ τὰ τειμιώτατα φιλόανθρωπα χωρὶς αἰτίας εὐλόγου δεδωκένα ν. 1  
 οὐδένι βούλομαι *star*

Imperator Caesar Augustus, son of divus Julius, wrote to the Samians underneath their petition:

You yourselves can see that I have given the privilege of freedom to no people except the Aphrodisians, who took my side in the war and were captured by storm because of their devotion to us. For it is not right to give the favour of the greatest privilege of all at random and without cause. I am well-disposed to you and should like to do a favour to my wife who is active in your behalf, but not to the point of breaking my custom. For I am not concerned for the money which you pay towards the tribute, but I am not willing to give the most highly prized privileges to anyone without good cause.

On the availability of Roman official communications to cities other than those to which they were addressed, see p. 97.

l. 1. The imperial title presents a serious problem. On the face of it Αὐγουστος implies a date in or after January 27 B.C. ; but Augustus was then normally translated as Σεβαστός, and although there are a few examples of transliteration in Egyptian papyri during the reign of Augustus, it was soon abandoned and appears only very

rarely before the second century A.D., when it became increasingly frequent (Mason, 12, citing J. Rougé, *RPh* (1969), 83 f.). It is not very likely to have been used in a document issuing from the imperial chancellery in Augustus' reign and I suggest that it was added, as Σεβαστός itself must have been added in doc. 7, l. 1, by someone at Aphrodisias who felt a need to gloss Octavian's title, possibly in A.D. 22 (see p. 50), or more probably in the third century A.D.

If that is accepted, an earlier *terminus post quem* is acceptable, established from the adoption of the praenomen *imperator* in late 39 or more probably early 38 (see p. 75 f.) and from the reference to a wife who must be Livia (see on l. 5), married to Octavian in January 38. The *terminus ante quem* is the grant of freedom to Samos in 20–19 B.C. (Dio Cassius 54. 9. 7). A date in the first half of 38 would be very attractive on a number of grounds. At that date the otherwise obscure ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ (l. 3) would be a perfectly clear reference to the War of Labienus. It is true that in Octavian's letter to Mylasa of 31 B.C. (*RDGE* 60) the War of Labienus is referred to but not named in what survives of the text; but that was written in reply to Mylasan representations, so that the situation being discussed was perfectly clear to the recipients. Here 'the war' is introduced into the discussion by Octavian and would only be readily understandable to the recipients when it was comparatively recent; between 27 and 20–19 B.C. the word would surely be referred to the War of Actium). The Samian initiative might also be more explicable; the island clearly made some play with its relation to Livia and might well be supposed to have seized the occasion of her marriage to attempt its exploitation. Further, the Aphrodisians were undoubtedly in Octavian's mind in late 39 and early 38, while doc. 12, l. 20 shows that he hoped they were in the minds of other Asian cities; it would be natural enough for the Samians to cite them as a precedent and/or for Octavian to mention them in early 38, but less so later. Finally, it would be very easy to understand how this document reached Aphrodisias—that is in the hands of the ambassador Solon (doc. 6, ll. 14–16)—if it was written early in 38 rather than later. This would then be the latest of the documents that he can be presumed to have taken home.

On the other hand, such a dating raises a new problem. It is not difficult to accept a direct link between Octavian and Plarasa/Aphrodisias, bypassing Antony, in 39–8; that another Asian city sent its envoys direct to Octavian seems much more surprising, even allowing for the fact that it was a city in the *clientela* of his new wife's family. The letter to Mylasa, however, may imply that Samos was not the only one to take this step, cf. ll. 6 f. κα[ὶ πρό]τερον μὲν ἤδη περὶ τῆς κατ[ασχο]ύσης ὑμᾶς τύχης προσεπέ[μψατέ] μοι, καὶ νῦν . . . (*RDGE* 60, ll. 6–9). It is also fair to note that this document implies that Octavian had absolute power to give or withhold privilege throughout the Roman world; but although perhaps more overt, it does not seem to me to go beyond the implications of doc. 10 (see also below).

Ἀξιῶμα is the normal Greek equivalent for *libellus* (so Mason *s.v.*) and this document is a *subscriptio*, a reply written below it; in the imperial period ὑπογράφω was regularly used to translate *subscribo*, but this is the earliest instance that I have found. For the *libellus* procedure see W. Williams, *JRS* 64 (1974), 86 f., and Millar, *ERW* 240 f. It was comparatively rare for a city to submit a *libellus* rather than a letter, which seems to have been thought more dignified.

It is naturally unusual for an unfavourable official reply to be inscribed, so that this is an addition to a very small category of texts (Millar, *ERW* 431; add now

doc. 14 and two examples in *JRS* 68 (1978), 114, ll. 70 f.); the others known owe inscription to the fact that the refusal they conveyed to the petitioner advantaged another city; this case is a little unusual in that the advantage to Plarasa/Aphrodisias lay in an incidental reference to its status. For the possible relevance of the matter to Tacitus, *Ann.* 3. 62, see p. 50.

l. 2. For φιλόανθρωπον see p. 47.

l. 3. For the omission of the name of Plarasa see also doc. 12, l. 19.

The only relevant war in which Aphrodisias is known to have been captured is the War of Labienus (see pp. 38, 50 with docs. 7, 10–12). Τὰ ἐμὰ φρονήσας takes up the partisan aspect which is expressed in doc. 7, l. 3 as devotion τοῖς ἡμετέροις μέρεσιν and relates the party to Octavian alone. Ἡμεῖς, on the other hand, should refer to the Romans in general (see p. 23 and for the shift from party to public cause, doc. 7).

l. 4. A Greek evaluation of freedom is here adapted to Roman imperial thinking, so that the status of *free* becomes in effect the reward of *virtus* shown in the Roman cause. There is a close parallel with the attitude to Roman citizenship, cf. Tacitus' comment on the early grants of *Romana civitas . . . cum id rarum nec nisi virtuti pretium esset* (*Ann.* 3. 42), and the anecdote cited in comment on l. 6.

l. 5. The wife so described cannot have been Scribonia, divorced in 39 at the end of months of bad relationship. Livia, married to Octavian in January 38, is in fact known to have had a connection with Samos, shown in two recently published inscriptions (Chr. Habicht, *MDAI(A)* 75 (1960), 104 f.) and in the previously known *IGR* 4. 982, 983 in honour of her parents, 984 attesting a priestess there of Hera and Julia Augusta. Its origin is unknown; it may well have been hereditary in her family, but could perhaps have arisen from some incident during her flight with her first husband from the triumviral proscriptions (Sparta is known to have gained for such a reason, Suetonius, *Tib.* 6).

Octavian's public acknowledgment of the advocacy of his wife is interesting. In refusing the Samians he was, presumably, anxious to demonstrate to her provincial *clientela*, for whose support he must have hoped, both that she had sought their advantage as a patron should and that he was not turning them away without plausible reasons. Some trace of embarrassment can, I suggest, be seen in the formulation, especially the repetition of the point in l. 7.

l. 6. The denial of overriding concern in the tax collected from a stipendiary Samos suggests, as Bernhardt notes, that a grant of freedom would normally be expected to confer immunity from taxation; he uses the passage as part of his case against the common view (cf. Mommsen, *StR*<sup>3</sup> III, 683) that *libertas* and *immunitas* were separable, at any rate under the Republic. The tone used recalls the anecdote of Livia's request for Roman citizenship for a Gaul, which Augustus refused, making, however, a consolation offer of *immunitas* with the comment *facilius se passurum fisco detrahi aliquid quam civitatis Romanae vulgari honorem* (Suetonius, *Aug.* 40. 3). It is likely to be a response to adverse comment current in Asia, and since the triumviral exactions imposed in 41 were ordered by Antony, was something of a blow below the belt for his fellow triumvir.

The Greek phrase for payment of tribute is normally φόρον τελεῖν; the variant here perhaps indicates the concept of a tax collected from the whole province to which the Samians contributed.

## CHAPTER IV: THE IMPERIAL LETTERS

Unless doc. 13 is dated between 27 and 19 B.C., no official document inscribed on the archive wall derives from the years between the triumvirate and the reign of Trajan, when the series of imperial communications begins, or probably any in the immediate environs. Even after that the gaps are large, for there are only three documents from the whole of the second century to the accession of Septimius Severus; and although there are eight from the reign of Septimius Severus to that of Decius only the reign of Gordian III is represented at all fully (four, possibly five, documents). Undoubtedly the city received more imperial letters than this. It must have sent embassies of congratulation to many emperors (perhaps all) on accession and on important events during their reigns (for this type of diplomatic activity see Millar, *ERW* 410 f.); but no reply to such an embassy from any emperor earlier than Septimius Severus was inscribed on the wall. It must have appealed to emperors on the subject of its privileges or its problems on more than the six occasions on which documents inscribed on the wall dealt with such matters (indeed there are hints of other letters in some that we have). Possibly choice was restricted by inefficiency over the preservation of documents in the city archive; but it is also possible that there are traces of purposive selection in what was inscribed. After the basic documentation of conferment of privilege in the triumviral period and the rather lavish demonstration of Augustus' enthusiasm for the city, there are (although not in this order) four generalized confirmations of privilege by third-century emperors (docs. 17, 18, 20, 25), all certainly important at the time of inscription, and (omitting from the count two very fragmentary documents) five, probably six, letters in which emperors confirmed in detail one or other of the major political components of Aphrodisian status, *ateleia* from Roman taxes (doc. 15), *eleutheria* from unwanted interference by Roman governors (doc. 16), and exemption from unwanted Asian obligations (docs. 14, 21 and probably 19), while, if I am right in dating the original inscription under Severus Alexander, autonomy was added later (doc. 22). Freedom from local obligations may seem to have been a particular concern, but the coverage is still almost complete; of the privileges confirmed or granted in 39 B.C., only *asylia*, which was different in kind, was omitted. It is also to be observed that it was conventionally 'accepted' emperors whose letters were inscribed, with the exception of Commodus, who was, after all, officially rehabilitated by Severus and whose letter to Aphrodisias is a quite remarkable document in the best administrative tradition (doc. 16). It is, therefore, extremely unlikely that inscription on or near the archive wall ever ceased to be a matter of selection and became one of a running record of imperial letters as they were received (which I once suggested, *Vestigia* 17 (1973), 115).

A collection of this kind can throw only episodic light on the history of Aphrodisias and Rome, although it certainly constitutes an important demonstration of civic rights maintained over nearly three centuries. Aphrodisias is shown continuing to petition for and to receive imperial confirmation of her freedom as late as A.D. 250 (doc. 25; coins imply continuation into the reign of Gallienus, see p. 109); nor was this a matter of generalities only, for the right of an Aphrodisian to trial in an Aphrodisian court was upheld as late as the reign of Gordian III (doc. 22). No doubt can remain now that the Antonine Constitution left the privileges of provincial

communities intact. Civic freedom was, of course, interpreted by Rome, and accepted by Aphrodisias, as privileged dependence; but with that reserve, the archive gives a picture of emperors as committed to preserving it, which is to be set against the commonly held view of Roman governmental officials as quick to restrict (see e.g. A. H. M. Jones, *The Greek City* (1940), 132).

Another feature of importance here is the unusually large number of third-century texts, interesting both for the light they throw on ill-documented reigns and still more because they show the predominantly normal terms in which Roman government continued to function until the middle of the century at least.

The documents are concerned with matters of detail. They reveal a number of facts, especially facts of Roman administrative history, not all of which can be very effectively evaluated in the absence of further evidence. They also add incidents to the history of Aphrodisias, although these need a continuous narrative background to reveal their full meaning. For that the evidence is still wholly insufficient; but something can be based on the material excavated by Professor Erim and the following points may be helpful, if in a limited way.

During the reign of Augustus the name of Plarasa seems to have dropped from the city's title, leaving Aphrodisias alone; the latest coin to carry both ethnics is Augustan, but a number of Augustan coins have that of Aphrodisias alone (MacDonald, *Coins* 23 on nos. Aph. 199–200 and 200–11). However, on the site of Bingeç, which is now normally identified with Plarasa (L. Robert, *Villes* 64, n. 1), inscribed copies of civic decrees of much later date have been found (note especially G. Doublet and G. Deschamps, *BCH* 14 (1890), 605 f., no. 2, of the second century A.D.), showing that the local élite continued to function as part of the élite of the city now known simply as that of the Aphrodisians; too much stress should not be placed on the presence of the word κώμη in one text found there (Doublet and Deschamps, op. cit., 608, no. 4 B) since its reference is not entirely clear, although there can be no doubt that the city centre was now at Aphrodisias.

At the same time Aphrodisias entered on a period of some distinction. Splendid and beautiful monuments, both public and private, were erected there. The sanctuary of Aphrodite seems to have been an attraction to visitors, as, no doubt, were the many competitions established in the city for athletics, music, literature and, eventually, sculpture, begun in the first century but increasingly extended in the second, and certainly still vigorous in the third (O. Liermann; *Analecta*; Appendix IX, docs. 58–62; there are also a number of unpublished inscriptions to the same effect). At the same time Aphrodisians left home and won reputation for their city abroad, in the public affairs of Asia and in Rome itself (see below), in the ubiquitous international competitions in athletics (for the type cf. *MAMA* 421 and the inscription published by L. Robert in *Anatolian Studies presented to W. H. Buckler* (1939), 230 f.; *OMS* I, 614 f.), in music and in literature, and most notably as sculptors of special excellence (for a list of Aphrodisian sculptors' signatures, found at Rome and elsewhere, see M. Squarciapino, *La Scuola di Afrodizia* (1939), 11 f.).

Overall, in fact, Aphrodisias presents a picture of real prosperity in the early empire, although there are hints of difficulties from time to time. There was at least one serious earthquake (probably under Trajan, doc. 55, see p. 183). It is not clear at present whether the δυσχρηστότατοι χρόνοι which figure in an unpublished text (? early second century A.D.) refer to this or some other natural disaster or to a

different type of problem (or, indeed, whether the text is, perhaps, an imperial copy of an earlier document). That there were different types of problem is clear, e.g. from the inscription of Ti. Claudius Aurelius Zelos (later second to early third century) in which he was described, among other things, as *πολλὰ καὶ διὰ συνηγοριῶν κατορθώσαντα τῇ πατρίδι* (LBW 1598 *bis*, cf. the headless text *CIG* 2795 whose subject, probably Zelos again, is described as *πολλὰ κατορ[θ]ώσαντα τῇ πατρίδι ἐν συνηγορίαις*). At about the same time there was need for a *nomothete* (L. Antonius Claudius Dometinus Diogenes, *MAMA* 502 and other texts; see also p. 123). Under Marcus a *quaestor* certainly intervened in connection with the decoration of a public building (doc. 53); and it may seem sinister that under Commodus and perhaps later several *curatores reipublicae* were appointed (doc. 16 and Appendix IX), although the problems they confronted, in so far as they can be analysed, seem to have been organizational rather than financial; at present there is no real suggestion of financial stringency in the first half of the third century.

The political crises of the Roman empire, however, have left no mark that is at present obvious (except in new names as recipients of the vigorous imperial cult) up to the reign of Gallienus, during which local coin issues came to an end (*BMC Caria*, p. xxxiv; MacDonald, *Coins* 35) and, for a time, dated inscriptions too (LBW 1625, *MAMA* 453, for Salonina, is still the last before Diocletian); on the period after the conclusion of the archive see now C. Roueché, *JRS* 71 (1981), 103. Similarly natural disasters during the period of the archive made no permanent scars, on the surface at least. How many earthquakes in fact shook the city between the triumvirate and A.D. 250 is unknown; but their damage seems always to have been repaired, often with monuments of superior sophistication. For much of the period private benefactions continued on a considerable scale; and in the second and early third centuries some élite citizens were able to afford participation not only in the *koinon* of Asia but also in Roman public life as knights and as senators (e.g. *MAMA* 502, 517).

Aphrodisian prosperity was one facet of the city's adroitness; it rested on an ability to exploit the natural wealth of the locality in the peace and expanded relationships of the Roman empire, which the city could enjoy without paying for them in Roman taxes. Socially and politically, citizens and city pursued the same policy. Aphrodisians participated in the *koinon* of Asia voluntarily, but resisted the suggestion that they were under an obligation to do so (docs. 14, 19, 21). They sought and achieved the advantages of becoming Roman citizens and some of them became Roman knights, procurators and senators; but the right to trial in an Aphrodisian court was not forgotten (doc. 22). The city proclaimed the grant of freedom given by Senate and People of Rome in *senatus consultum*, law and treaty, and petitioned emperors for its confirmation, but sought the intervention of Roman officials as well as of emperors when it was convenient (doc. 16 and Appendixes VIII, IX).

From the Roman side, the Aphrodisians were called upon as if they were subjects to defend the *asylia* of Aphrodite under Tiberius (Tacitus, *Ann.* 3. 62); but by and large the professions of the emperors who promised to uphold their rights correspond with what we know of the facts. From Appendix VIII it appears that very few Roman officials actually operated in the city during the period in question. Proconsuls were occasionally honoured there, but the activities which stimulated

the honours have left no trace in the city except in the case of Silius Italicus under Vespasian (doc. 46); Commodus was reluctant to agree to an Aphrodisian request for a proconsular visit (doc. 16); a proconsul of the reign of Severus Alexander even thought that there might be a formal ban on such a visit (doc. 48). In the light of that evidence it seems a plausible suggestion that such official activity as is recorded was normally, and perhaps invariably, the result of Aphrodisian request or invitation, and mainly confined to handling correspondence with Rome (so probably doc. 63); that would accord with several indications in the documents relating to *curatores* (docs. 16, 57). The evidence for the quaestorian activity (docs. 52, 53) is too fragmentary for any serious discussion; but the same may apply. The presence of imperial freedmen could be the result of imperial estates in the territory (not specifically attested; but at any rate one Aphrodisian left a legacy to an emperor, doc. 55, although in that case it was spent locally). The one clear indication of impropriety is the collection (or attempted collection) of the nail tax from Aphrodisians (doc. 15) by contractors; but what a tax-collector may 'try on' is not evidence for the considered policy of the Roman government, as is clear from the case of the Oropians in 73 B.C. (*RDGE* 23); and in any case Hadrian put a stop to it.

A series of imperial letters on this scale should throw light on the currently-discussed topic of who actually wrote them (see especially Wynne Williams, *JRS* 66 (1976), 67 f., *Latomus* 38 (1979), 67 f., Millar, *ERW* 219 f., and T. Honoré, *JRS* 69 (1979), 51 f., the latter dealing with legal decisions, rather than letters, however).

The two letters of Trajan and Hadrian seem to me to stand apart from the rest in style, but, nevertheless, in neither case to show quite the personal characteristics for which Williams has argued after analysis of other examples of their public correspondence. Trajan's subscript is correct, but businesslike, and that is as likely to be a feature of the genre as of the writer. Hadrian's letter is less terse, but certainly not wasteful of words; there could (but need not) be a touch of impatience in its initial paragraph, when he recalled that he had already confirmed Aphrodisian rights in general; he then stated the problem, lucidly enough, no doubt, for contemporaries (although it is obscure to our ignorance), picked out the basic piece of evidence and deduced a logical answer—adding to it the tralatian courtesy that the Aphrodisians deserved it anyway. Here, it seems, is a good administrator, and perhaps the hand of the man Hadrian.

In the rest the style is more verbose, but based, naturally enough, on the educated style of the period (see H. J. Mason, *Phoenix* 24 (1970), 150 f., for Atticism and the introduction of a stylist to the imperial chancellery under Marcus Aurelius). In this respect properly educated emperors and properly educated imperial secretaries or ministers will have written alike and there is no clue in style to authorship. It must also be remembered that a high proportion of letters in this group were routine replies to congratulatory decrees, which rarely show much character, while many (docs. 18–24) carry the names of boy emperors whose correspondence must have been written for them, at any rate for much of their reigns. There are, however, some surprises.

For Commodus the small amount of evidence available suggested to Williams a lazy man. Doc. 16 is a longish, although fragmentary, letter which is tactful, even

graceful, and shows an administratively imaginative appreciation of a problem, followed by a solution whose quality we cannot estimate, but which seems to have impressed the Aphrodisians favourably. Whoever wrote it took a serious view of an emperor's function, looked beyond surface issues and was concerned for the rights of provincials. The traditional Commodus does not fit this pattern, and if he is accepted it must also be accepted that, in 189, business was being handled for him by an intelligent and perceptive minister.

The two Severan letters (docs. 17, 18) contain a strong vein of propaganda, presenting the eastern war as one against barbarian aggressors, and the peace to come as guaranteed by the dynastic succession. The second, which purports to contain a personal statement by Caracalla, must have been written by Severus if not by a secretary, and already lays some stress on universality, which, Williams has suggested, seems to have been a fetish of the later Caracalla; but here, it should be said, it appears in a stock phrase only. It is difficult to tell in any case whether the formulae were reflections of those in the Aphrodisian decrees to which they responded or should be attributed to the emperors themselves; either way, there is nothing, it seems to me, that could not have been drafted by a secretary, on instructions.

Williams has not considered letters later than those of Caracalla in his published articles; this collection tempts investigation of Severus Alexander, Gordian III and Traianus Decius, although it must be admitted that there is so little comparative evidence that conclusions are probably rash.

In the letters of these three emperors (docs. 19-25) there is a somewhat mannered courtesy, and, where appropriate (docs. 19, Alexander; 21, Gordian), a patience in the face of Aphrodisian touchiness, which is praiseworthy, and must represent the approach that had come to be associated with the senatorial tradition to which their policies conformed. In the three complete letters of Gordian there seem to be more distinctive features; two show a marked penchant for balance (docs. 20, 22), not only in the structure of a sentence but in thought (which seems to aim at suggesting a kind of equality between emperor and subject), one contains an unusual direct apostrophe of the Aphrodisians (doc. 20, ll. 2-3), and one what is probably an echo of Thucydides, which accords with Gordian's reputation for learning (doc. 21, l. 7). The essential spirit of all three seems to be the same, although one of them certainly must be dated before the ascendancy of Timesitheus (doc. 20) and one during it (doc. 21); the third is not dated (doc. 22). There might be an argument here for drafting by a secretary who remained in office throughout the reign. Whether there are really distinctive features in the letter of Traianus Decius (doc. 25) is debatable. It may contain a reference to religion deriving from the personal feelings of the emperor (l. 11), but it is equally possible that the phrasing echoes that of the Aphrodisians; it might be significant that the smooth style breaks down in ll. 14-15 into a very awkward sentence (συναύξειν . . . ἐλπίδος), but an error of transmission is not to be excluded.

In the group of letters which are replies to congratulatory decrees (docs. 17, 18, 20, 25) there is a consistent pattern (to be found also in analogous letters to other cities), which it is convenient to set out here:

1. the emperors stated, each in his own way, that it was reasonable to expect the

Aphrodisians to feel and/or to act as they had done (πάνυ τῶν εἰκότων ἦν, doc. 17, l. 9, σφόδρα ἔπρεπεν, doc. 18, l. 3, προσῆκον ἦν, doc. 20, l. 3, εἰκὸς ἦν, doc. 25, l. 8).

2. they indicated what made it reasonable; in three of the four letters the city goddess and her characteristics were given as a major cause (docs. 17, 18, 25) (cf. the similar use of Ephesian Artemis in a letter of Caracalla, *Forschungen in Ephesos* II, ins. 26); in all there is reference to the special connection between Aphrodisias and Rome and to Aphrodisian εὐσέβεια.

3. they summarized the feelings and actions of the city described in the decrees.

4. in return they gave confirmation of traditional Aphrodisian rights as these had been preserved up to their reigns (docs. 17, 18, 20) or had been given by previous emperors (doc. 25).

The overlap of content is considerable; it is not altogether clear how significant are the variations. Such routine letters must have drawn heavily on the decrees and/or on the speeches of the ambassadors who presented them, so that any variant might be due to the Aphrodisians themselves rather than to the writers. Some particular points are noted in the commentaries.

It has been drawn to my attention by George Souris that the imperial references to civic ambassadors in this collection, and their absence where they might have been expected, are also of interest.

The practice of emperors in this matter is described by W. Williams, *Historia* 16 (1967), 470 f.; by the second century they normally concluded their letters to provincial cities with a formula that either records that the message to which they were responding had been forwarded by the relevant governor, or named the ambassadors who brought it; to the latter they might append a rider authorizing payment of expenses to ambassadors who had not undertaken to pay their own, but this is a practice which seems to have been dropped early in the third century.

Of the imperial letters to Aphrodisias which are complete, the two of Gordian III to the city (docs. 20, 21) and the one of Traianus Decius (doc. 25) include the standard formula naming ambassadors, and it is no surprise, given their date, that there is no rider on payment. The letter of Hadrian, however, refers to an embassy but contains no formula (doc. 15). It could, perhaps, be argued that, despite appearances, it is in fact incomplete; its position on the wall at a distance from its natural place in the chronological sequence (p. 37) could be the result of dislocation of the archive copy, and in the course of dislocation a tablet containing the final lines could have been lost (note that the inscribed copy also lacks the valedictory greeting). Since local families would surely desire advertisement of ambassadorial services performed by their members, it seems unlikely that the Aphrodisians deliberately omitted the formula from the wall; but there is sufficient abnormality about the text for it to be unwise to found any argument upon it.

Of the incomplete letters, that of Commodus (doc. 16), probably the first one of Severus and Caracalla (doc. 17) and that of Severus Alexander (doc. 19) seem to have room for a formula, although they are so fragmentary at the ends that we cannot say for certain that they did include one; the second letter of Severus and Caracalla (doc. 18) did not, I think. The second letter of Severus and Caracalla, however, is certainly an abnormal document, with the introductory titles very heavily abbreviated (probably to avoid repetition of what were, no doubt, identical titles in the immediately preceding doc. 17), and therefore quite likely to have been abbreviated at the

end too if the formula used there was again identical with that in doc. 17. This is another case on which we can build no argument.

#### DOCUMENT 14. Subscript of Trajan to Smyrna

Inscribed on the second course of column 4 of the archive wall, below doc. 12 (inscribed area, 2·01 × 0·22).

Letters, second-third cent. A.D.: av. 0·022; ligatured HM, NH, MH in l. 3, MH in l. 4, NH in l. 5; apex in l. 2; diaeretic dots in ll. 1, 4, 6.

Translation and some discussion in Millar, *ERW* 438–9; see also R. Bernhardt, *Historia* 29 (1980), 200 (immunity of free cities).

Acknowledgments for discussion to Robert Kirby (general), J.-L. Ferrary (the exemptions), Simon Price (the temple).

#### Plate XI.

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Τραϊανὸς Σμυρναίοις *vac.*

οὐδένα βούλομαι ἐκ τῶν ἐλευθέρων πόλεων ἀναγκάζεσθαι εἰς ὑμετέραν λειτουργίαν καὶ  
 μάλιστα ἐξ Ἀφροδεισιάδος ἐξηρημένης τῆς πόλεως καὶ τοῦ τύπου τῆς ἐπαρχείας ὥστε  
 μήτε

εἰς τὰς κοινὰς τῆς Ἀσίας μήτε εἰς ἐτέρας λειτουργίας ὑπάγεσθαι. Τιβέριον Ἰουλιανὸν  
 Ἄτταλον

5 ἀπολύω τοῦ ἐν Σμύρνη ναοῦ καὶ μάλιστα μαρτυρούμενον ὑπὸ τῆς ἰδίας πατρίδος.  
 ἔγραφα δὲ περὶ

*vac.* τούτων καὶ Ἰουλίῳ Βάλβῳ τῷ φίλῳ μου καὶ ἀνθυπάτῳ *vac.*

Imperator Caesar Trajanus to the Smyrnaeotes. I wish no one from the free cities to be forced into (performing) your liturgy, and especially no one from Aphrodisias, since that city has been removed from the *formula provinciae* so that it is not liable either to the common liturgies of Asia or to others. I release Tiberius Julianus Attalus from (performance of a liturgy in) the temple in Smyrna; (he is) a man who has the highest testimonials from his own city; and I have written about these matters to Julius Balbus, my friend and the proconsul.

For Roman willingness to make official communications available to persons other than those to whom they were addressed, see p. 97.

ll. 1 f. The sharp summarization of Trajan's name and title has deprived us of a precise date (but see on l. 6 for 98 or 100). The absence of a greeting as well as of the titles recalls Octavian's *subscriptio* to Samos (doc. 13) and probably indicates that this was a *subscriptio* too. When Ti. Julianus Attalus resisted pressure to undertake a liturgy connected with their temple (ll. 4–5) the Smyrnaeotes must be supposed to have appealed to the emperor in a *libellus* (for the *libellus* procedure see p. 105 on doc. 13, l. 1); providing a new example of what is thought to be the rare phenomenon of a city approaching an emperor in this way. Testimonials to Aphrodisian esteem for Julianus also reached the emperor (l. 5). For civic despatch of such testimony to the merits of a citizen see Millar, *ERW* 419, noting that most of the

evidence for it comes from the reign of Antoninus Pius; this Aphrodisian case strengthens the grounds for regarding that as an accident. It is not clear by what route the testimony reached Trajan, but perhaps by letter and through the proconsul since ambassadors from Aphrodisias are not specifically mentioned (and as the issue concerned a single citizen, the expense of an embassy might seem unjustified). The emperor's reply went to the Smyrnaeotes who had raised the issue, with a copy to Aphrodisias, presumably despatched through the proconsul.

The liturgy concerned 'the temple' at Smyrna. In the Smyrnaeote petition to which this reply was appended, there will, of course, have been a sufficient description of it which dispensed the emperor from the need to be more specific; detached from that, the reference is obscure. Certainly the liturgy was a civic one (otherwise it would not have been the Smyrnaeotes who appealed to the emperor; note also ὑμετέρων in l. 2) and perhaps, therefore, connected with the main civic cult (Meter Sipyrene, C. J. Cadoux, *Ancient Smyrna* (1938), 215 f.), with Smyrna's very ancient cult of Dea Roma (Tacitus, *Ann.* 4. 56), or with its civic imperial cult. It is natural to think of 'the temple' in Smyrna which figures in the title of some high priests of Asia (e.g. ἀρχιερεὺς Ἀσίας ναοῦ ἐν Σμύρνῃ, *IGR* IV, 1524 and, with ναῶν after a second temple in the same category was built there under Hadrian, doc. 58, ll. 1-2; similar references to temples in Cyzicus, Ephesus, Pergamon and Sardis occur in the titles of other high priests of Asia, see Magie's discussion, *RRAM* II, 1297-8); but that was a temple for the provincial cult, for which the provincial *koinon* surely ought to have been responsible, even in a year in which the *koinon* did not meet at Smyrna—or is it conceivable that in such a year the responsibility reverted to the city?

Whatever the temple, the choice of an Aphrodisian for the liturgy suggests that he was resident at Smyrna (cf. the Aphrodisians in doc. 5, ll. 10-11 who were resident at Tralles).

l. 2. Ἀναγκάζεσθαι appears to indicate the use of compulsion to secure civic services in Asia at a rather earlier date than some recent writers have favoured (cf. A. N. Sherwin-White, *The Letters of Pliny* (1966), 722-3, and Peter Garnsey, *ANRW* II. 1, 229 f.). The point at issue, however, may have been the restricted one of the liability of non-citizen residents to liturgies.

l. 3. Trajan's statement of policy upholding the rights of all free cities controverts the view of him as being, in principle, 'peu favorable aux villes libres' (J. Colin, *Les villes libres de l'orient gréco-romain*, coll. Latomus 82 (1965), 67) and supports A. N. Sherwin-White's more liberal interpretation of his ruling on Amisus (in comment on *Epp.* 10. 93) against that of A. H. M. Jones who saw it as grudging (*The Greek City* (1940), 132).

It is significant that Roman-conferred freedom, at any rate of the kind that Aphrodisias enjoyed, apparently carried exemption of citizens from obligations within Asia (also of the city, p. 134). This may be related to the exemptions covered in doc. 8, ll. 42 f., 62 f. (see pp. 81, 86).

Trajan also notes that the position of Aphrodisias was exceptional since it was removed from the *formula provinciae* (so also Hadrian, doc. 15, ll. 13-14), a removal to be related, no doubt, to the removal from the δέλτοι προσοδικαί agreed in the *senatus consultum* of 39 B.C. (doc. 8, ll. 30-1), and affecting exemption not only from Roman taxation but also from levies of the *koinon* and others (l. 4), presumably those of other Asian cities.

For τύπος as *formula, forma, norma* see *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum II, Glossae Graeco-Latinae* (ed. G. Gloetz and G. Gundermann, 1888), and so here *formula (forma) provinciae*; in this sense it seems to be an addition to the known Greek vocabulary of Roman institutions. There would presumably be one official list of Asian cities which included Aphrodisias, but with a gloss such as Pliny gives at *NH* v. 29. 109 (*Aphrodisienses liberi*), and another listing cities obliged to pay taxes, from which Aphrodisias was omitted.

l. 4. Ti. Julianus Attalus is not at present identified; it seems probable that a *nomen* of standard form, ? Claudius or possibly Julius, has been omitted.

l. 5. For μαρτυρεῖσθαι here cf., at Aphrodisias, *MAMA* 410, ll. 9–10, καθὼς διὰ πλείστων ἤδη ψηφισμάτων μεμαρτύρηται αὐτῷ, cited by L. Robert, *Hell.* XIII, 207, n. 5, along with other examples of the usage. Trajan's comment is a striking supplement to the evidence for the importance of testimonials of the kind in antiquity.

l. 6. Julius Balbus, *PIR*<sup>2</sup> I, 199, was proconsul of Asia either in 98 or, more probably, in 100. He is an addition to the very short list of proconsuls of Asia who are attested as *amici principis* (see R. K. Sherk, *GRBS* 7 (1966), 62, n. 10, and p. 122 f. below). Trajan presumably wrote instructing him to uphold the rights of Aphrodisians and of citizens of other free cities in the matter of liturgies.

On style and characteristics see p. 110 f.

#### DOCUMENT 15. Letter of Hadrian to Aphrodisias

Inscribed in the first and the upper part of the second courses of column 3 of the archive wall (inscribed area, 0.95 × 0.61).

Letters, second–third cent. A.D.: ll. 1–9, 0.02, ll. 10 f., av. 0.018; ligatured HN, NK in l. 5, TH in l. 6, Π in l. 7, TH in l. 8, NH, NK, TE in l. 9, TH in l. 10, HK, MHN, NΠ, NT, TE in l. 11, THN in l. 12, TE, MH, NK, HP, HME, NH in l. 13, TH, HN in l. 14, TE in l. 15, NΓ, ME (twice) in l. 16, TE, ΠΕ, TH, ME, TE in l. 17; apices in ll. 1, 2, 6; bar above the figure in l. 3; small circle to mark an abbreviation in l. 8; small space followed by a capital *omicron* for *ὁμῶς* to mark the start of the emperor's decision in l. 12; ll. 1, 8, outspaced; l. 2 completed on the right margin.

Translation and brief comment in Millar, *ERW* 343, 414, 429.

Acknowledgments for discussion to Robert Kirby (general), Peter Brunt, Michael Crawford, Emilia Doruțiu-Boila, J.-L. Ferrary (all mainly on taxation), Dorothy Crawford, Joan Liversidge (nails), George Souris (text and ambassadors).

#### Plate X.

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ, θεοῦ Τραϊανοῦ Παρθικοῦ υἱός,  
θεοῦ Νέρουα υἱωνός, Τραϊανὸς Ἀδριανὸς Σεβαστός,  
ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ γ',  
'Αφροδισιέων ἀρχουσι, βουλῆ, δήμῳ, χαίρειν. ν.  
5 τὴν μὲν ἐλευθερίαν καὶ αὐτονομίαν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα  
τὰ ὑπάρξαντα ὑμῖν παρὰ τε τῆς συνκλήτου καὶ  
τῶν πρὸ ἐμοῦ Αὐτοκρατόρων ἐβεβαίωσα πρόσθεν.

Ἐντευχθεὶς δὲ διὰ πρεσβείας περὶ τῆς τοῦ σιδή-  
 ρου χρήσεως καὶ τοῦ τέλους τῶν ἡλῶν, καίπερ  
 10 ἀνφισβητησίμου τοῦ πράγματος ὄντος διὰ τὸ  
 μὴ νῦν πρῶτον τοὺς τελῶνας ἐπικεχειρηκέναι  
 παρ' ὑμῶν ἐγλέγειν ν. ὁμῶς εἰδῶς τὴν πόλιν  
 τὰ τε ἄλλα τειμῆς οὔσαν ἀξίαν καὶ ἐξηρημένη(ν)  
 sic τοῦ τύπου τῆς ἐπαρχείας, ἀπαλάσσω αὐτὴν  
 15 τοῦ τελέσματος καὶ γέγραπφα Κλ(αυδίῳ) Ἀγριππεῖῳ  
 τῷ ἐπιτρόπῳ μου παραγγεῖλαι τῷ μεμισθῶμενῳ  
 τὸ ἐν Ἀσίᾳ τέλος ἀπέχεσθαι τῆς ὑμετέρας πόλεως.

l. 13. The cutter wrote AAAA and then attempted to erase the bar of the second alpha; at the end of the line he wrote EZHPHMENHS.

Imperator Caesar Trajanus Hadrianus Augustus, son of divus Trajanus Parthicus, grandson of divus Nerva, Pontifex Maximus, holding the tribunician power for the third time, greets the Magistrates, Council and People of the Aphrodisians.

Your freedom, autonomy and other (privileges) which were given you by the Senate and the Emperors who have preceded me, I confirmed earlier.

I have been petitioned through an embassy about the use of iron and the tax on nails. Although the matter is controversial, since this is not the first time that the collectors have attempted to collect from you, nevertheless, knowing that the city is in other respects worthy of honour and is removed from the *formula provinciae*, I release it from payment and I have written to Claudius Agrippinus, my procurator, to instruct the contractor for the tax in Asia to keep away from your city.

l. 1. Hadrian held the tribunician power for the third time in 119; throughout this year he was in Italy, if not in Rome.

l. 4. The absence of articles before the nouns here is in the Republican style (see p. 23) and rare in the imperial period.

ll. 5-7. The general confirmation of Aphrodisian privileges to which Hadrian refers must have been made at his accession; for discussion of renewals of *beneficia* at accession see M. Hammond, *The Antonine Monarchy* (1959), 339 f.; Millar, *ERW* 412 f. As Millar noted, what Hadrian says need imply no more than his own proclamation at accession, confirming all *beneficia* given by predecessors; but an earlier Aphrodisian embassy may in fact have visited him and received a letter of the type of docs. 17, 18, 20, 25. Millar also suggested that this is the earliest attested instance of an emperor confirming without reference to the Senate what Senate and People had given to a city; there seems a clear implication in the Domitianic doc. 42, where the privileges are attributed χάριτι τῶν Αυτοκρατόρων, that this was nothing new. Hadrian at least mentions the Senate as the original source of Aphrodisian privileges, naming it before the emperors, and is thus more careful than later emperors usually were (docs. 17, 18, 20, 25; but note that in dealing with a specific point Gordian is careful too, doc. 22).

The Aphrodisian privileges, which all, of course, derive from the grants of 39 B.C. (docs. 7-9, especially 8), are described with minor variations by different emperors. Like Hadrian, however, none of the later emperors makes any reference in a general confirmation to immunity from taxation; since Hadrian nevertheless

confirms a specific tax immunity the silence cannot be significant. It tends to confirm Bernhardt's argument (see p. 106) that the concept of freedom included that of immunity.

Βεβαίωσιν translates *confirmare* as used, e.g. by Vespasian in his letter to the Vanacini (*FIRA*<sup>2</sup> I, 72, l. 19).

ll. 8 f. For ἐντευχθεῖς with the sense of *petitioned* see LSJ s.v. It is unusual for an emperor to mention an embassy at this stage in a letter (see p. 112).

It was perhaps from the ambassadorial speeches that Hadrian took the curious phrase 'the use of iron and the tax on nails'. There was apparently no problem about iron for anything except nails, since Hadrian thought that he had responded fully to the petition by his ruling that Aphrodisians were not liable to the nail-tax; but the nail-tax seems not to be attested elsewhere and the phrase used obscures rather than clarifies its character for us. Since it is possible to argue that l. 17 implies operations by the collector within the city, it may be that nails were being produced at Aphrodisias from imported iron and that it was because the iron was imported for nail production that the question of taxation arose. Nailsmiths are not in fact attested at Aphrodisias as they are at nearby Hierapolis (T. R. S. Broughton, in *ESAR* IV, 843, from Humann, Cichorius, Judeich, Winter, *Altertümer von Hierapolis* (1898), no. 133), but although the body of new material on craftsmen at Aphrodisias is rapidly increasing it remains so small that the silence is not significant. The language of l. 17 should not be pressed too hard, however; it may well be that the tax was not collected within the city but at a customs post established on the 'frontier' of *provincia Asia* and federate Aphrodisias and charged on iron nails, as they were about to be imported. The reference to 'the use of iron' then may have derived from some account in the petition of the need for iron nails as distinct from those of other materials. A collecting-point for what was in effect *portorium*, established outside Aphrodisian boundaries, would be very much easier to accept in the light of Aphrodisian immunity, and would make much more sense of Hadrian's initial comment that a controversial issue was being raised.

Something of a parallel for the tax may be seen in the second letter of Flavius Sabinus to the Istrians (*SEG* I, 329, see now J. H. Oliver, *GRBS* 6 (1965), 143 f., especially at ll. 24 f.): . . . ἀδείαν . . . τοῦ καὶ παραφέρειν τὴν δᾶδα εἰς τὴν ἑνὸς ἑκάστου χρεῖαν δίχα τέλους. Περὶ γὰρ τῶν τῆς ὕλης χρεῖων ἀναμφισβήτητα ἔχετε ὄρια καὶ τὴν ἐξ ἐκείνων χρῆσιν πᾶσαν τῷ τέλει [ἀν]υπεύθυνον.

The description of the collector as the contractor for Asia (ll. 15–16) seems to imply that the nail-tax was raised in more than one province, while l. 11 shows that it was collected in several taxation years and was not a once-for-all levy. It seems not very likely that it was an invention of the insecure opening years of Hadrian's reign. An odd tax might go back to Vespasian's financial problems in the civil war of 69 and thereafter (Tacitus, *Hist.* 2. 84; Suetonius, *Vesp.* 16), and rigorous exaction of one to Domitian (Suetonius, *Dom.* 12). Another possibility might be a levy introduced by Trajan in connection with his eastern campaign and never discontinued. It is in any case a reminder of an aspect of Roman taxation well known in Egypt but less commonly associated with other parts of the Roman world, that a whole series of levies might be raised in addition to the basic land and poll taxes. Strictly speaking, they should, presumably, be classified as φιλικαὶ λειτουργίαι (Strabo 8. 365), see R. Bernhardt, *op. cit.* on p. 104.

ll. 10 f. Given the complete immunity conferred on Aphrodisians as a result of the *senatus consultum*, law and treaty of 39 B.C. (docs. 8, ll. 30 f., 52, 60 f.; 9, ll. 4, 9), it is surprising that anyone should have tried to collect tax from them and that Hadrian should describe the question of their liability as controversial (l. 10). At first sight then the incident is unusually good evidence for the view that Romans inclined to consider immunity as releasing the recipient from levies in existence at the time it was granted but not necessarily from others devised at a later date (A. H. M. Jones, *The Greek City* (1940), 132); but both on the present occasion and on the rather shadowy past one mentioned (ll. 11–12), those who ‘tried it on’ were not officials but tax-contractors, from whose behaviour it would be wrong to deduce considered official policies (see also p. 110). Moreover it seems possible that on the earlier occasion the Aphrodisians had paid, either without protest (perhaps because protest might have seemed unpatriotic, e.g. if the tax were connected with the cost of Trajan’s Parthian campaign), or after unsuccessful protest (if so, to a conventionally ‘good’ emperor, for otherwise Hadrian would surely have capitalized on the illegality).

ll. 12–13. Of Hadrian’s reasons for confirming immunity on this occasion, the polite reference to the city’s worth is, of course, typical of ancient logic in this kind of context. His philhellenism would, no doubt, have inclined him in this direction in any case; and in the early stages of any reign there was always a strong tendency to generosity.

ll. 13–14. For τύπος τῆς ἐπαρχείας as *formula provinciae* and the removal of Aphrodisias therefrom, see p. 114 on doc. 14, where Trajan used the same evidence.

l. 15. Τέλεσμα, although it may have the sense *tax* (*RC* appendix, *s.v.*), is perhaps used here strictly to mean *payment of tax* (*LSJ s.v.*).

ll. 15–16. The procuratorship of Claudius Agrippinus is not otherwise attested; he may be identical with the homonym *PIR*<sup>2</sup> C 776. The text shows that the procurator of Asia was in overall charge of the collection of the nail-tax in the province, although Asia was a senatorial province; but it might be rash to argue from this evidence that by Hadrian’s time the procurator had charge of all—or even of all indirect—tax collection in Asia, since the nature of this tax remains so obscure.

ll. 16–17. For the collection of indirect taxes by the contract system at this date see Millar, *ERW* 624.

On the absence of the expected formula naming the ambassadors see p. 112; the absence of a concluding greeting is also remarkable; for a possible explanation see p. 112.

On style and characteristics see p. 110.

Hadrian appears on Aphrodisian coins, see *BMC, Caria*, nos. 102–4.

#### DOCUMENT 16. Letter of Commodus to Aphrodisias

Inscribed on the first two courses of column 5 of the archive wall (inscribed area *in situ*, 1·58 × 0·57); the upper right-hand block is badly damaged but partly reconstructed from fragments found fallen in front of the wall (inv. nos. 67. 432, 453, 461, 462, 468, 472; 69. 309, 428, 432, 462, 464; 76. 196. 3, 196. 7); the lower right-hand block is almost completely lost.

Letters, second-third cent. A.D.: av. 0·02; ligatured ME in l. 3; apices in ll. 1, 2; outspacing for the new paragraphs in ll. 1, 6; heightened initial *epsilon* at the beginning of l. 6; tall initial *ypsilon* in *ύιώνός* in l. 1, perhaps to cover an erroneous *iota*.

Assembly of fragments assisted by Ian Davies. Acknowledgments for discussion to Peter Brunt, Michael Crawford, Ian Davies, Donald Russell (text and general interpretation), Anthony Birley, John Morris, H. G. Pflaum (all on prosopography), George Souris (text, absence of ambassadors).

Plates XII; XVIII, 3-4; XIX; Fig. 6

- Αὐτοκ[ρά]τωρ Κα[ῖσαρ] θεοῦ Μάρκου Ἀντωνείνου Εὐσεβοῦς Γερμανικοῦ  
 Σ[αρματ]ικοῦ [υ]ῖός, θ(ε)οῦ Εὐσε[β]οῦς υῖώνός *vac.*  
 θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ[ϋ] ἔγγονος, θεοῦ Τραιανοῦ Παρθικοῦ καὶ θεοῦ Νερούα ἀπόγ[ονος],  
 Μάρκ[ο]ς Αὐρήλιος Κόμ[μ]οδος *vac.*  
 Ἀντων[εῖ]νος Εὐσεβῆς Εὐτυχῆς Σεβαστὸς Σαρματικός, Γερμανικὸς μέγιστος  
 [Βρε]ταννικ[ός], ἀρχιερ[εὺς] μέγιστος [ς],  
 δημαρχικ[ῆς] ἐξουσίας τὸ ἰδ', αὐτοκράτω[ρ] τὸ ἧ' *vac.* ὑπάτος τὸ ε' *vac.*  
 πατὴρ πατ[ρίδο]ς, [Ἀφροδ]εισιέω[ν τοῖς ἄ]ρχου[σι]  
 5 καὶ *vacat* τῇ βουλῇ *vacat* καὶ τῷ δήμῳ *vacat* χαίρειν *vacat*  
 Ἐνέτυχον τῷ ψηφίσματι δι' οὗ ἤξιοῦτε τ[ό]ν τῆς Ἀσίας ἀνθύπατον ἐπιδημεῖν ἐν  
 τῇ πόλει τ]ῆ ὑμ[ετέρᾳ κα]ὶ δι[α]τρεῖ-  
 βειν ἡμέρων τίνων ἐπισκοποῦντα [καὶ ἐξε]τ[ά]ζοντα τὰ δημόσια πράγματα ὡς  
 π[άνυ κατη]μελη[μένα] καὶ δεόμενα  
 μείζονος τῆς ἐπανορθώσεως ὑπ[έρ] τοῦ ?πάσας τ]ᾶς κρ[ι]σεῖς τοῦ λογίστου  
 βεβαίας δυνάσθαι μένειν [?ν.] ὑμεῖς μὲν *vac.*  
 ταῦτα ὡς ὑπ[έρ] πόλ]εως βουλευόμενοι ?ψηφίσασθε ἐμοὶ δὲ ἀνανκαῖον ταύτην  
 τὴν τάξιν τ[ε]τραγμένῳ φυ[λά]σ-  
 10 σειν τὰς πόλεις ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμοίων ἀξ[ι]ωμάτων ..... ἐπι-  
 δημίας ἡγεμόνος ἢ ἀνθυπάτου ἐπ[ι].....  
 καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τὰ τῆς ἐλευθερίας δίκαια [.....]  
 πράγματα ἐπέστειλα τῷ φίλῳ μου Οὐλ[πί]ῳ Μαρκ[έ]λλῳ ?.....  
 διατρεῖσαι χρόνον αὐταρκῆ πρὸς τὴν τῶν κοινῶ[ν].....  
 15 εἰ γὰρ τοῦτο οὕτω γένοιτο τὰ τε δημόσια πράγματα ε[.....]  
*vacat* ἐλευθερίας δίκαια [ια . . c. 26 . .] EK[. . 3-4 . .] E[!][.....]

l. 1. ΘΣΟΥ, *lapis*.

One fragment (0·10 × 0·12 × 0·08, top edge survives) found fallen in front of the wall (inv. no. 67. 455) must, from its spacing, belong to the right side of this text in ll. 10-12.

...]ΟΥΣ[...  
 ...]ΟΜΜΕ[...  
 ]Σ Ἀφροδ[οδ]ει...

l. 2. Ε might be Ω.

It is probable that other fragments, especially among those found at the west end of the parodos wall, also belong here (see Appendix 1).

Imperator Caesar M. Aurelius Commodus Antoninus, Pius, Felix, Augustus, Sarmaticus, Germanicus maximus, Britannicus, son of divus M. Antoninus, Pius, Germanicus, Sarmaticus, grandson of divus Pius, great-grandson of divus Hadrianus, descendant of divus Trajanus Parthicus and divus Nerva, Pontifex Maximus, holding the tribunician power for the fourteenth time, acclaimed victorious for the eighth time, consul for the fifth time, father of his country, sends greetings to the Magistrates, Council and People of the Aphrodisians.

I received the decree in which you asked that the proconsul of Asia should visit your [city] and spend some days looking into [and examining] your public affairs on the grounds that they are [quite neglected ?] and in need of a greater reconstruction [to enable ?] the decisions of the *curator* to stand confirmed. You of course [voted for these proposals ?] with the interests of the city in mind; on me, since I have been appointed to this station, falls the necessity of preserving the cities in the same [position of honour ? as my predecessors ? . . .] visit(s) from an official ? or proconsul [. . . ? . .] and meanwhile the rights of freedom [. . . ? . .] matters, I have sent to my friend Ulpius Marcellus ? [. . . ? . .] to spend a sufficient time with a view to [the reconstruction ?] of the common [. . . ? . .] for if this were to happen in this way and the public affairs [. . . ? . .] the rights of freedom [. . . ? . .].

ll. 1-4. Commodus held tribunician power for the fourteenth time in 189, had been acclaimed for victory for the eighth (and last) time in 186, was consul for the fifth time in 186 and the sixth in 190. His name is in the form that he preferred from 180-90 (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> A 1482); that it has not been erased provides *prima facie* evidence for dating the inscription of the archive after his reinstatement by Severus, as I believe on other grounds to be correct; Commodus' name also appears without erasure in docs. 58, 60; either these texts too were inscribed after the reinstatement or his reputation locally was good and *damnatio memoriae* in Rome had no effect.

l. 6. The means by which the decree was transmitted to the Emperor may have been stated in l. 16 (see p. 112). There is probably room to name an embassy there but it is reasonable to guess that on this occasion it was forwarded through the proconsul of Asia because the matter so closely concerned him. The Aphrodisians may well have extended an invitation to the proconsul directly in the first place, only to be met with scruples such as were raised in response to their invitation by a proconsul under Severus Alexander (doc. 48, ll. 19 f.); they would then quite naturally despatch through him their petition to the emperor to allow his visit. See also on l. 16.

The Aphrodisians were primarily concerned in their decree with the internal financial administration of the city and not with its rights, which Commodus himself apparently introduced as a major issue. There had been a *curator reipublicae*, but subsequent neglect had produced again a situation requiring Roman help which, so the city thought, could be provided during a visit from the proconsul. Ἐπανορθοῦν obviously has its common literary meaning of *revise, reform* (LSJ *s.v.*). In l. 7 καταμελημένον seems a reasonable supplement (it is difficult to find anything else that will fit the traces and provide sense) and implies some lapse of time between the curator's activities and the new crisis. In l. 8 ὑπ[αρχούσης ἢ ὥστε] would fill the space available neatly and provide some sort of sense, but in poor Greek (if accepted it would mean that the Aphrodisians claimed that the curator's rulings could not

stand, but they needed a reform which was ‘greater than so that the curator’s rulings could stand’); an alternative would be ὑπ[αρχούσης ὥστε] (they needed a reform which was ‘greater in such a way that the curator’s rulings could stand’). But in either case ὑπαρχούσης is otiose. It is better, therefore, to seek a restoration on the lines of ὑπ[έρ τοῦ, as printed. To suppose that the Aphrodisians asked for a greater reform in order to allow the decisions to stand is in fact reasonable, given the survival of inscribed curatorial regulations which may well date from c. 181 (doc. 62).

For κρίσις with the sense of *decision, decree*, see p. 82.

Λογίστης is, of course, the normal Greek translation of *curator reipublicae*, see Mason *s.v.*

In Appendix IX are collected the Aphrodisian texts relating to *curatores reipublicae* (see also a brief discussion by Vagts, 28 f.). Despite the city’s free status, three *curatores* are attested as holding appointments there, and a number of inscribed regulations must emanate from one or other of them. The evidence suggests, however, that Aphrodisias had welcomed them and was grateful to them and it is plausible to suppose that the city had petitioned emperors for them, just as it was petitioning Commodus for further Roman help with its financial organization on the present occasion. That there were extensive problems over its finances during the reign of Commodus was already apparent before the discovery of this letter, from doc. 58, which places the appointment of M. Ulpius Appuleius Eurycles, one of the known curators, in the decade 180–90, from doc. 62, which belongs early in the same decade, and from doc. 60, which belongs to the reign of Commodus but is not more precisely datable. It is now clear that the problems were persistent as well as extensive. At present, however, there is nothing to suggest financial stringency at this time; and since the surviving curatorial regulations are mainly concerned with organization it seems unlikely that the need for curators arose from any decline in the city’s prosperity, but rather from careless administration.

In the inscribed regulations arrangements for endowed competitions are the major features, in two cases associated explicitly with Eurycles (docs. 58, 59) and all probably to be attributed to him (p. 192, 196). There is some reason to place his work c. 181 (p. 196), and if this is accepted it is probable that the regulations in question in the present document were his. In doc. 58 Eurycles stated that his investigation of Aphrodisian competition funds was undertaken at the direct request of the Aphrodisians, additionally to and after the work for which he had been appointed as *curator*. Strictly speaking, then, his regulation of competitions should not be involved here, but other matters such as the regulation of distributions of oil and of money to subsidize attendance at spectacles (doc. 62), or the collection of civic income (over which there is some trace of difficulty in doc. 50). Strict speaking, however, would be too much to expect and the regulation of competitions must not be regarded as necessarily excluded.

Since it appears clear that some at least of Eurycles’ regulations on other subjects as well as on competitions did survive, it would seem likely that Commodus’ solution resulted rather in improved management than in new regulations.

I. 9. Ἐψηφίσασθε and ἐψηφίσατε both seem possible but some other aspect of the Aphrodisian action, e.g. ἀπεστρίλατε, may have been selected for mention here.

II. 9–10. Commodus appears to have suggested that the Aphrodisians had taken a parochial view where the emperor was under necessity to take a wider one. The

word τάξις may be a metaphor from a military posting, since the concept of the emperor's position as such goes back to Augustus (Ch. Wirzsubski, *Libertas* (1950), 130, n. 3); but it is also used in Stoic circles for the place in the world to which each individual is appointed and from which his particular duties arise (P. A. Brunt, *PBSR* 43 (1975), 12), and this may be the main thought here (see further below). For τεταγμένος cf. τετάχθαι of the designation of Caracalla in *ILS* 8805.

Φυλάσσω is the equivalent of *custodio*, as used e.g. by Vespasian in his letter to the Saborenses, *FIRA*<sup>2</sup> 1, 74, l. 11 (later emperors in correspondence with Aphrodisias preferred the form φυλάττω, docs. 17, 18, 20, 25).

Ἀξιωμαίων seems the obvious supplement for the partially lost word and in the context must surely mean *honours* (as at Beroia, *AE* 1900. 131, ll. 7, 8, τὸ τῆς μητροπόλεως ἀξίωμα). Ὀμοίων could perhaps have the sense *unchanging*, *LSJ s.v.*, i. 2; it is regular in these and other letters for emperors to claim that they maintain a situation unchanged, just as it was under their predecessors (docs. 17, ll. 11–12, 18, l. 5, 20, ll. 7–8).

l. 11. In returning to the question of an official visit, Commodus slipped in a ἡγεμών as an alternative to the proconsul for whom the Aphrodisians had asked. For a discussion of this word see Mason 144 f., and especially 147 f., where he quotes *IGR* III, 495 (Lycian), φίλος ἡγεμόνων καὶ ἀνθυπάτων καὶ ἐπιτρόπων which might suggest that the formula was a current catch-phrase. Ἠγεμών commonly means governor (L. Robert, *REA* 62 (1960), 329; *OMS* II, 845), and often the legate of an imperial province, so that Commodus was perhaps generalizing without specific reference to the Asian situation (speaking, in effect, of 'visits from governors in any type of province'); if he was thinking specifically of Asia it is conceivable that he wished to include vice-governors (although we have no evidence that there were many of these in second-century Asia). Of its other meanings, a *military officer* would hardly be expected here, but there might have been a reference to a *legatus proconsulis*, if it were acceptable that he should be named before the proconsul (Mason writes as if a *legatus* could be described as ἡγεμών but seems not to cite clear evidence for the usage). A generalization is probably the most likely explanation.

Defective as the text is, it surely shows the emperor arguing that gubernatorial visits were liable to erode the rights of free cities, which is not the kind of thinking that the literary sources lead us to associate with Commodus. It recalls rather the warning given by Plutarch to the magisterial class in Greek cities (*Praec. ger. reip.* 814 F), οἱ παντὶ δόγματι καὶ συνεδρίῳ καὶ χάριτι καὶ διοικήσει προσάγοντες ἡγεμονικὴν κρίσιν ἀναγκάζουσιν ἑαυτῶν μᾶλλον ἢ βούλονται δεσπότης εἶναι τοὺς ἡγουμένους, and raises the suspicion that advisors with a sensitive appreciation of the problems of provincial government may have played a part in the drafting (see also p. 110 f.). The apparent reference to the Stoic τάξις in l. 9 is also unlike the conventional image of Commodus. It may be that *SHA Commodus*, 3, *patris ministeria seniora summovit, amicos senes abiecit* should not be taken to mean that all men of Marcus' ways of thinking were permanently and absolutely excluded from positions of influence under Commodus.

ll. 13 f. The solution seems to have involved Commodus in sending to his *amicus* Ulpus Marcellus (?). The man's *nomen* could not be restored otherwise, but the cognomen might, in principle, be some other formation on the root Marc-; Ulpus Marcellus is a known combination, however, and an Ulpus Marcellus of appropriate

rank and date is attested (*PIR*<sup>1</sup> v, 556, 557 and, more recently, *RE* ix A, col. 570; *RE* Supp. x, col. 1031 f.). This man was almost certainly son of the famous jurist of the name rather than the jurist himself (so W. Kunkel, *Herkunft und soziale Stellung der römischen Juristen*<sup>2</sup> (1967), 213, no. 49); the major feature known in his career is the governorship of Britain, when he defeated a barbarian invasion (in 184) but failed to check a mutiny in the Roman army, which very probably accounts for his subsequent trial on a capital charge. Although he was acquitted, his prospects may have been limited until the fall of Cleander (probably early in 189), by which time his seniority put him in the running for the proconsulship of Asia. It seems most natural to suppose that it was in fact Marcellus as proconsul of Asia to whom Commodus sent. I have not found a parallel for the titulatory formula which must be supposed here if so (τῷ φίλῳ μου Οὐλπίῳ Μαρκέλλῳ τῷ κρατίστῳ ἀνθυπάτῳ *vel sim.*; contrast doc. 13, l. 6, Ἰουλίῳ Βάλβῳ τῷ φίλῳ μου καὶ ἀνθυπάτῳ); but the number of documents available to provide parallels is quite small, so that this is not an overriding objection. The alternative is that he was simply travelling in Asia, either without post or with an *ad hoc* one, and so available for a chore; analogous appointments have been conjectured (Asinius Gallus, R. K. Sherk, *GRBS* 7 (1966), 57 f., rejected by E. Gray, *CR* n.s. 22 (1972), 92, and possibly Julius Severus, J. H. Oliver, *The Ruling Power* 963 f., case v), but none are certain; so that this is a very unsatisfactory solution.

Clearly Commodus agreed that someone should examine the neglected business of Aphrodisias. The whole tone of the letter makes it hard to believe that this was the proconsul himself. There is, however, a Commodan parallel for a proconsul's involvement with a *curator reipublicae* of Aphrodisias, since P. Julius Geminus Marcianus, proconsul, was named at the foot of a document likely to be the report of Eurycles as *curator* (doc. 62, see p. 195); Ulpius Marcellus was perhaps to play a similar part in relation to another *curator*. Alternatively the quaestor may have been sent to the city; or an Aphrodisian may have been required to act (was the *nomothesia* of L. Antonius Claudius Dometinus Diogenes perhaps connected? This is known from *MAMA* 502; *Belleten* 1968, 23 f.; K. T. Erim in J. Inan and E. Alföldi-Rosenbaum, *Römische und frühbyzantinische Porträtplastik aus der Türkei* (1979), no. 186, pp. 210 f.; he was dated too early by L. Robert (*Hell.* vii, 207, and see *PIR*<sup>2</sup> C 853), as his portrait (early third century) and his family connections now show).

Χρόνον αὐταρκῆ suggests that a second consideration in the emperor's mind was pressure on the proconsul's time, cf. the refusal of Antoninus Pius to create more assize courts in Cyrenaica because of the risk of over-burdening the proconsul (*JRS* 68 (1978), 114, ll. 71-3). But in the final sentence the theme of preservation of rights of free cities was clearly reintroduced.

l. 14. The noun qualified by τήν must have been one with the sense of ἐξέτασις or ἐπανόρθωσις.

Κοινός is perhaps used in the sense of δημόσιος, see docs. 28, l. 2, 29, l. 10.

l. 16. The *vacat* at the beginning was presumably balanced by another at the end; but the position of the two fragments of this line, which is approximately calculable from the elements of the title of Severus which they also carry (doc. 17, l. 1), shows that it was shorter. For δίκαια see on doc. 17, ll. 11 f.

The run of the final sentence must remain uncertain in the present state of the

text ; but there could have been space for the formula recording the route by which the case reached the emperor (perhaps via the proconsul rather than through ambassadors, see p. 120 on l. 6). A valedictory greeting should probably be assumed ; εὐτυχεῖτε was the norm from Hadrian onwards, see F. Ziemann, *De Epistularum Graecarum formulis sollemnibus* (Diss. Hall. 1910), 354 f.

DOCUMENT 17. Letter of Severus and Caracalla to Aphrodisias

Inscribed on the second course of column 5 of the archive wall, immediately below doc. 16 ; the left side of the text is *in situ* on a block which is substantially intact although damaged at the upper right-hand corner (inscribed area, 1.31 × 0.435), the right is broken away and lost except for small fragments, found either fallen in front of the wall (inv. nos. 67. 449, 69. 458, 459, 460, 463) or re-used in the Byzantine defence wall (inv. nos. 76. 62, 76. 107, 76. 196, 1, 3, 4, 7, 8). It is probable that other fragments belong (see Appendix 1).

Letters, second-third cent. A.D. : av. 0.02 ; apices in ll. 2, 6, 12 ; diaeresis in ll. 2, 5 (erroneously), 6 ; ll. 1, 5, 9 outspaced.

Mentioned by Millar, *ERW* 416.

Acknowledgments for discussion to Ian Davies and Richard Winton (general), George Souris (ambassadors).

Plate XII ; XIX, 1, 3 ; Fig. 6.

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ, θεοῦ Μάρκου Ἀντωνεῖνου Εὐσεβοῦς Γερμανικοῦ Σαρματικοῦ  
 υἱός, θεοῦ Κομ[μό]δο[υ] ἀδελφ[ός, θεοῦ]  
 Ἀντωνεῖνου Εὐσεβοῦς υἱόνος, θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ ἔκγον[ος, θεοῦ Τραιανοῦ] Παρθι[κοῦ  
 καὶ θεοῦ Νέρ]ουα ἀπ[ό]γονος,  
 Λούκιος Σεπτίμιος Σεουήρος Εὐσεβῆς Περτίναξ Σεβασ[τός, Ἀραβικός, Ἀδιαθητικός,  
 Παρθικός μέ]γιστος[ς, ἀρχιε]-  
 ρεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ F', αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ [ια', ὑπατος τὸ β',  
 π]ατή[ρ πα]τρίδος, ἀνθύπ[ατος καὶ]  
 Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Λουκίου Σεπτιμίου Σεουήρου Εὐσεβοῦς [Περ]τίνα[κος  
 Σεβασ]τοῦ, Ἀ[ραβικ]οῦ, Ἀδιαβ[ην]ικ[οῦ, Παρθι]-  
 5 κοῦ μεγίστου υἱός, θεοῦ Μάρκου Ἀντωνεῖνου Εὐσεβοῦς Γερμαν[ικ]οῦ, Σαρμ[α]τι-  
 [κοῦ] υἱὸν[ός, θεοῦ] Ἀντωνεῖνου Εὐσε-  
 βοῦς ἔγγονος, θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ καὶ θεοῦ Τραιανοῦ Παρθικοῦ καὶ θεοῦ Νέρο[υα]  
 ἀπ[ό]γονος, Μᾶρκος Ἀ[υρ]ήλι[ος Ἀντωνεῖνος]  
 Σεβαστός, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας, ἀνθύπατος, Ἀφ[ρ]ο[δ]εισιέων τοῖς ἀρχου[σι καὶ  
 τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ χαίρειν *vacat*]  
 Πάνυ τῶν εἰκότων ἦν θεὸν ὑμᾶς προσκυνούντας παρ' ἧς ἡ εὐγέ[ν]εια ! [. . . 15 . .  
 ἦσθῆναι ? ἐπὶ τοῖς περὶ]  
 10 τῶν βαρβάρων κατωρθωμένοι καὶ ἑορτὴν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς κοινὴν σ[ὺν] ? γειτνιώσαις  
 πόλεσιν ἄγοντας ? ἐπιστεῖλαι διὰ]  
 ψηφίσματος ὡς εἰδείημεν ὑμῶν τὴν εὐσέβειαν· τὰ ὑπάρχοντα δίκαια τῇ  
 πόλει ὑμῶν μεμενηκότα μέχρι τῆς]  
*vacat* ἡμετέρας ἀρχῆς ἀσάλευτα καὶ ἡμεῖς φυλάττομεν ΚΑ[ . . . ? . . εὐτυχεῖτε *vacat* ?]

Imperator Caesar L. Septimius Severus, Pius, Pertinax, Augustus, [Arabicus, Adiabenicus, Parthicus] maximus, [son] of divus Marcus Antoninus Pius, Ge[rmanicus, Sarmaticus], brother [of divus] Com[mo]dus, grandson of [divus] Antoninus Pius, great grandson of divus Hadrianus, [descendant] of [divus Traianus Parthicus and divus Ner]va, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power for the sixth time, acclaimed victor for the [eleventh time, consul for the second time,] father of his country, proconsul, [and] Imperator Caesar M. Aureli[us Antoninus] Augustus, son of L. Septimius Severus, Pius, [Per]tina[x, Augustu]s, A[rabic]us, Adiab[enicu]s, [Parthi]cus maximus, grandson of M. Antoninus Pius, German[ic]us, Sarm[aticus], great grandson of divus Anto[ninus Pius, descendant of] divus Hadrianus, of divus Trajanus Parthicus and of divus Nerva, holding the tribunician power, proconsul, to the Magistrates, [Council and People] of the Aphrodisians, greetings.

It was entirely likely that you who worship a goddess from whom the nobility [. . . ? . . . rejoiced in our] successes [over] the barbarians and [conducted] a festival to celebrate them in common [with your neighbours and sent to us through your] decree so that we should know your piety. The existing rights [of your city which have endured up to] our reign we too preserve unchanged [. . . ? . . . ?Farewell].

ll. 1-8. The letter was written in the joint names of Severus and Caracalla in 198, when Severus held the tribunician power for the sixth time (l. 4), and Caracalla, promoted to be Augustus at Ctesiphon, for the first (l. 8). The titulature used is normal for the time; it stresses Severus' self-adoption into the Antonine family and his plans for dynastic succession. The eleventh imperial acclamation which is restored in l. 4 was given for the fall of Ctesiphon; there can be no doubt that the twelfth salutation with which Severus is credited on a small number of inscriptions at this date is an error. The emperors remained in the East throughout the year so that the inclusion of the title *proconsul* for both is in conformity with the convention that it should only be used by emperors out of Rome.

ll. 9 f. The emperors responded to a decree of congratulation which should have been brought by ambassadors (cf. the large embassy sent to Severus from Aezani at about the same time, *ILS* 8805, ll. 26 f.); whether there is room for them to be named in l. 12 is uncertain. The occasion seems, at first sight, to be very obviously the fall of Ctesiphon (28 January 198, see the *Feriale Duranum*, *YCES* 7 (1940), 77), the climax of the second eastern expedition; but the language used (l. 10) is surprisingly sober for that, recalling the ἐπὶ τοῖς κατ[ω]ρθωμένοις of Severus' letter to Aezani (l. 12). The date of the Aezani letter is uncertain, owing to the anomalies in its imperial title, but it must be earlier than the present letter since Severus was not yet Parthicus Maximus nor was Caracalla Augustus when it was written (it is commonly dated in 196, but its reference to Caracalla would accord rather well with his 'destination' to be emperor in 197). Moreover the fall of Ctesiphon was the moment chosen for Caracalla's elevation to be Augustus (see R. O. Fink in the commentary of Fink, Hoey and Snyder on the *Feriale Duranum*, op. cit., 79; the implications are discussed further by J. Guey, *REA* 50 (1948), 60 f.). It is not altogether easy to believe that a decree passed after the receipt of news of the double event would concentrate on the victory to the exclusion of the elevation. Tentatively, therefore, I suggest that doc. 17 is a reply to a decree passed late in 197 congratulating the emperor on his progress, but not in fact received by him until after Ctesiphon; see further on doc. 18.

For the description of the Parthians as βάρβαροι cf. doc. 18, l. 2, and the letter of Severus and Caracalla to Nicopolis ad Istrum (*I.G. Bulg.* 659, l. 29).

On the general style of Imperial replies to Aphrodisian congratulations see p. 110 f.

l. 9. Εὐγένεια, which was perhaps said to be derived from the goddess, is a comparatively banal attribute of cities (so L. Robert, *Ét. Anat.* 304 f.); see also the passage cited on p. 25 in comment on doc. 4, l. 17 f., and *FD* III. 4. 3, p. 67, no. 301, l. 5, Hadrian to Delphi, ἡ ἀρχαιότης καὶ ἡ εὐγένεια [τῆς πόλεως τῆς ὑμετέρας. . .]. Προσκυβεῖν has not previously been attested for the cult of Aphrodisian Aphrodite.

ll. 9–10. The Aphrodisians must have reported that they had expressed their pleasure at the emperor's success by a festival, which was of course normal on such occasions, see also p. 128 and contemporarily, or approximately so, the festivals of the Aezanians and Nicopolitans (above) and of the Aphrodisians themselves under Severus Alexander (doc. 48, ll. 14 f.) and Decius (doc. 25, l. 4). It was apparently shared (κοινήν), presumably with neighbouring cities (but cf. κοινός used in the sense of δημόσιος at Aphrodisias, docs. 28, l. 2, 29, l. 10). For the 'sharing' there are possible models in the records of a ἱερὸς ἀγὼν conducted jointly by the Aphrodisians with several neighbouring cities (see *CIG* 2761–5), as well as in *MAMA* 492b, ll. 20–21, συνεορτάσαι τὰς ἀστυγεινιώσας πόλεις, suggesting that the wording here might have been on the lines of ἐορτὴν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς κοινήν σ[ὺν γειντιώσασι πόλεσιν ἀγαγεῖν. . .]. For Aphrodisian connections with groups of neighbours cf. also doc. 1, ll. 2 f., and the assembly of older evidence by Vagts, 13 f.

For an approximately contemporary parallel to the imperial acknowledgment of information on feeling in their favour, cf. the letter to Nicopolis ad Istrum already cited, ll. 21–2, φανερωτάτην προθυμίαν ὑμῶν εἶδομεν διὰ τοῦ ψηφίσματος. It is a commonplace of imperial letters. I have restored ἐπιστεῖλαι, *exempli gratia*, on the basis of e.g. *P. Oxy.* 3124, l. 11: ἴν' εἰδῆτε ἐπιστέλλω ὑμῖν. . .

ll. 11 f. The emperors proceeded to confirm Aphrodisian rights which are described as δίκαια, cf. also in docs. 16, l. 16, 20, l. 7, 25, l. 13; for the word in this kind of context see L. Robert, *RPh.* 1959, 29 (the instances that he cites go back to Claudius, A. Rehm, *Delphinion*, no. 156). The beginning of l. 13 shows that a phrase is needed like that with the participle μεμνηκώς in doc. 18, l. 5. The proviso limiting the rights to 'what has survived unchanged in this reign' appears in similar but not identical terms in docs. 18, l. 5, 20, ll. 7–8; in 25, ll. 13–14, the wording used more closely resembles that of Hadrian (doc. 15, ll. 6–7) in confirming 'what has been given by previous emperors'.

l. 12. For φυλάττω see p. 122. It is in regular use in the letters to Aphrodisias except by Hadrian who wrote βεβαιῶ, corresponding to *confirmo* (doc. 15, l. 7).

What follows could, on the face of it, be κα[ί] with another verb (e.g. βεβαιουῦμεν), but that would be abnormal and in any case too long for the space available, especially if the line was centred, as the vacant space at its beginning may suggest. Κλ[(αὐδίου)] is improbable in this position, since even if there is room for a formula indicating that the emperor had received the Aphrodisian decree (p. 112) from ambassadors, the person(s) concerned are named after the verb ἐπρέσβευεν (ἐπρέσβευον) in all known versions of it. A phrase with κατὰ (?καθόλου) is perhaps the solution. But given the context of recent civil war and the importance of the occasion it would be surprising if the Aphrodisians had sent their decree through a proconsul (contrast the very large embassy attested in the contemporary or almost contemporary letter of Severus to Aezani, see on ll. 9 f.).

For the valedictory greeting εὐτυχεῖτε see above p. 124. For general style and characteristics see p. 111.

Severus and his family appear on coins of Aphrodisias, see *BMC, Caria*, nos. 110–119.

DOCUMENT 18. Letter of Severus and Caracalla to Aphrodisias.

Inscribed on the third course of column 5 of the archive wall (surviving inscribed area  $1.56 \times 0.18$ ); the left side, covering  $1\frac{1}{2}$  blocks, is complete except for the upper right corner of the second block, but on the right side one block is broken and partly lost and the right end is wholly lost; fragments of the lost areas have been found fallen in front of the wall (inv. nos. 67. 454, 69. 310, 458, 459, 463, 469).

Letters, second–third cent. A.D.: av. 0.018; ligatured HN, NH in l. 5; apex in l. 2; l. 1 outspaced; star stop at the end of l. 5.

Mentioned by Millar, *ERW* 416.

Acknowledgments for discussion to Ian Davies, Richard Winton (general), George Souris (ambassadors).

Plates XII, XX.

Αὐτοκράτορες Σεουήρος καὶ Ἀντωνεῖνος [Ἐφο]δεῖσιέων τοῖς ἄ[ρχουσι] καὶ τῇ  
 β[ουλῇ καὶ] τῷ [δήμῳ χαίρειν *vacat*]  
 ἡσθέντας ὑμᾶς ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦς θρασυνομένους [βαρ]βάρους νενεικῆσ[θα]ι καὶ πᾶσαν  
 [τὴν οἴκου]μ[ένην ἐν εἰρήνῃ γεγενῆσ]-  
 θαι σφόδρα ἔπρεπεν εὐφρανθῆναι τῆς πατρῶας κοινωνίας εἰς ἐμὲ Ἀντωνεῖνον  
 ἡκούσης [ῥόντας καλοὺς κάγαθούς ἀνδρας καὶ]  
 τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ μᾶλλον ἄλλων προσήκοντας διὰ τὴν προκαθημένην τῆς πόλεως  
 ὑμ[ῶν θεόν, τὴν ὑπαρχούσα]ν  
 5 ὑμῖν πολειτεῖαν καὶ τοὺς ἐπ' αὐτῇ νομοὺς τοὺς μέχρι τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀρχῆς ἀκει[ν]ή-  
 τούς μεμενηκότα[ς] ?φυλάττομεν εὐτυχ[εῖ]τε] *star*

It is probable that some unassigned loose fragments (Appendix 1) belong here.

The Emperors Severus and Antoninus to the [Magistrates] and the [Council and People] of the Aphrodisians, greetings. It was most appropriate that you, who rejoiced at the conquest of the insolent barbarians and [?the establishment of peace in] all [?the inhabited world], celebrated the coming of joint rule shared with my father to me, Antoninus, [. . . ? . . . for you are ? good and noble men and] more closely related than others to the empire of the Romans because of [the goddess] who presides over your city. Your existing polity and its laws which have survived unchanged up to our reign [we preserve. ?Farewell].

l. 1. This letter, like doc. 17, is presented as a joint response of Severus and Caracalla, but the content is not consistent; ll. 2–4 are drafted as from Caracalla alone (ἐμὲ in l. 3) whereas the confirmation of rights comes from both (ἡμετέρας in l. 5; hence the supplement φυλάττομεν). I know of no parallel for such a combination of persons. Since Caracalla was only ten years old when this letter was written (see below) the

sentence concerned must be the work of his father or of a secretary. For another letter of Caracalla written during his father's lifetime see R. Heberdey, *Forschungen in Ephesus* II, no. 26, which is there dated between 200 (on grounds of the seeming presence of Εὐτυχής in the imperial title) and 205 (on grounds of the imperial friends named in the text); it shows some similarities in phrasing to the Aphrodisian text (including the use of θρασύνεσθαι of the conquered).

The sharp abbreviation of the imperial names (for which there is a parallel in *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 876, l. 1, οἱ θεϊότατοι Αὐτοκράτορες Σεουήρος καὶ Ἀντωνεῖνος Καῖσαρες) has suppressed the date; the content indicates 198, in the aftermath of the fall of Ctesiphon and Caracalla's elevation to be Augustus on 28 January (see p. 125), on which the emperors were clearly congratulated. It seems likely that the imperial titles were omitted by the inscribers because they exactly repeated those which introduced doc. 17 immediately above. The letter seems to be a response to an Aphrodisian decree, or, perhaps, two decrees, passed early in 198, congratulating both emperors on the victory of Ctesiphon and Caracalla on his elevation to be Augustus. There is no reference to an embassy and no space for ambassadors to be named at the end (see on l. 5).

l. 2. For the general style of imperial replies to Aphrodisian letters of congratulation, see p. 111 f. The description of the victory has close parallels in the letter of Severus and Caracalla to Nicopolis (cit. p. 125), ll. 28 f., τῆ νῦν ἀεὶ θρασυν[ο]μένων περὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν βαρβάρων ἡττη; the use of θρασύνεσθαι presented the enemy as the aggressor. In the Nicopolis letter there is also a reference to universal peace established by their defeat (ll. 27 f.): εἰρήνης τε πανδήμου πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ὑπαρχούσης, and what survives at the end of the line is consonant with a similar reference here in terms which must have been something like what I have printed. As L. Robert has pointed out, the gift of peace by emperors is a longstanding theme (*CRAI* 1970, 14).

l. 3. The letter to Nicopolis also provides some parallel for the description of the joint rule which Caracalla shares with his father, in ll. 29 f. ἡμῶν ἐ[ν] δίκαιαι κοινωνία συνεξευγμένων. The line here may have concluded with a participial phrase of the type suggested in the printed text which made the link to l. 4; for εὐφραίνειν meaning *to banquet* in a ritual ceremony see L. Robert, *Bull. Ep.* 1977, no. 342, with references to earlier discussion.

l. 4. Aphrodisias is related especially closely to Rome by virtue of her tutelary goddess (the restoration of θεόν seems inevitable); for this kind of statement see p. 4. The ἀρχή of the Romans is Rome's empire to which the Aphrodisians had attached themselves at least since the early first century B.C., playing on Roman interest in Aphrodite/Venus (p. 4). For the description of Aphrodite see p. 80.

At the end of the line τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν seems almost certain, cf. the formula in doc. 19, l. 13, but for the fragment used at the end of this line see on doc. 19, ll. 2-3.

l. 5. Πολιτεία is unique in this Aphrodisian dossier as a description of the rights conferred on the city and needing confirmation; the sense is presumably that of *free commonwealth*, *LSJ s.v.*, II. 2. The νόμοι on the other hand recall both the αὐτονομία which Hadrian confirmed (doc. 15, l. 5) and the laws which Gordian accepted (doc. 22, l. 4); see also, very much earlier, doc. 41, l. 5. By this time, however, some generalized formulation, such as the δίκαια of doc. 17, l. 11, seems normal, and it is interesting to find here so specific a reference to the rights conferred by the *senatus consultum* of 39 B.C. (doc. 8, ll. 46, 61-2).

There is no room for the formula naming ambassadors (see p. 112). But it would seem even more surprising if the Aphrodisian decree which stimulated this response was sent through the proconsul than that behind doc. 17 (see p. 126). There was presumably a valedictory greeting; for εὐτυχεῖτε see p. 124.

For style and characteristics see p. 111 f.

Caracalla appears on coins of Aphrodisias, see *BMC, Caria*, no. 119.

#### DOCUMENT 19. Letter of Severus Alexander to Aphrodisias

Inscribed on the third and fourth courses of column 5 of the archive wall (inscribed area *in situ*, 1.56 × 0.145); the left-hand part is cut on 1½ blocks which are intact, the right-hand part shows increasing damage and the right end is almost wholly lost except for a few small fragments found fallen (inv. nos. 67. 454, 457, 459 and unnumbered items).

Letters, second-third cent. A.D.: I. 1, 0.018, I. 2, 0.02; II. 3 f., av. 0.018; ligatured ME in I. 1, HM in I. 3, HN in I. 4, NE in I. 5; diaeresis in I. 5; bar above the figure in I. 2; I. 1 outspaced.

Acknowledgments for discussion to Richard Winton (general), George Souris (ambassadors and text).

Plates XII; XX, 2-3; Fig. 6.

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ θεοῦ Σεουήρου Εὐσεβοῦς ἔκγονος, [θε]οῦ Ἀντωνεῖνου Εὐσεβοῦς  
 μεγί[στου υἱό]ς, Μάρκος Αὐρή[λιος Σεου]ήρος [Ἀλέξανδ]ρος  
 Εὐσεβῆς Εὐτυχῆς Σεβαστός, ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ γ, *stop*  
 ὑπα[τος, πατήρ πα]τριδ[ος, Ἀφροδεισιέων ?τοῖς ἄρχουσι]  
 καὶ τῶ δήμῳ χαίρειν ν. τὸ μὲν παρελέσθαι τι τῶν ὑπαρξάντων τῇ πόλει δικαίων  
 ἀλλ[ότριον ?ἔστι ?τῆς ἐν τῇ] ἀρχῇ [τῇ ἐμῇ ?περὶ πάντας]  
 κηδεμονίας, τὸ δὲ κατὰ ταῦτά(?) γενέσθαι τὴν περὶ τῆς παρουσίας ἀξιόσσεως [. . .  
 c. 21 . . ]ΕΞΕ[ . . c. 14 . . λό]-  
 5 γον ἔχει τὸν προσήκοντα ἀκροάσεται δὴ ὑμῶν ἴσον καὶ κοινὸν ἑαυτὸν καθ[ιστάς?  
 ?κρι]τήν. [?ἐπρέσβευεν . . c. 13 . . εὐτυχ  
 εἶτε]

I. 1. The letters POΣ are cut in an erased area.

I. 4. Only the upper horizontals survive for the letters printed ΕΞΕ; each might also be Γ, Ζ, Ξ, Π, Ξ or Τ.

Imperator Caesar M. Aure[lius Sev]erus [Alexan]der, Pius, Felix, Augustus, [son] of divus Antoninus, Pius, Maximus, grandson of divus Severus, Pius, Pontifex Maximus, holding the tribunician power for the third time, consul, [father] of his country, [to the Magistrates] and People of the Aphrodisians, greetings. To take away anything from the rights belonging to the city is foreign to the guardianship [extended to all in my] reign, but to bring under the same principle the [. . ? . .] in the matter of the present petition [. . ? . .] has the appropriate ?reputation (?value); he will listen, [offering] himself as your fair [?judge] and open to all. [. . ? . . was ambassador. Farewell].

II. 1-2. If the fragment used at the end of the line is correctly placed (but for a

difficulty see on ll. 2–3), Alexander's name was erased after his death, but re-inscribed subsequently. Re-inscription of his erased name is attested elsewhere (e.g. *CIL* VIII, 1313, 1429), but in the two other Aphrodisian inscriptions in which he is known to have figured it did not occur (docs. 47, 48).

He held the tribunician power for the third time in 224; his name and titles, in so far as they survive, are in the standard form for that year.

ll. 2–3. If the fragment used at the end of ll. 1, 2 is correctly placed, it seems that there must have been an abnormality in the form of the address to the city. Probably there was omission of τῆ βουλῆ, an error which would be easy to make during ordination of the inscription, since the formula was split between two lines; alternatively if the emperor wrote ἄρχουσι καὶ βουλῆ it would be possible to accommodate the council as well as the magistrates in l. 2, although the presence of the article before δῆμῳ is awkward; for a partial parallel cf. ἄρχουσι καὶ τῆ βουλῆ καὶ τῷ δῆμῳ in *IGR* IV, 1032, a letter of Hadrian to Astypalaea.

ll. 3 f. What survives does not reveal the precise point of the city's petition (l. 4) but since the emperor appears to appoint an arbitrator (l. 5) there was no doubt a dispute, with another city or with the *koinon* of Asia (cf. doc. 21), in which Aphrodisian rights were locally thought to have been challenged (l. 3). Alexander was clearly well-disposed to Aphrodisias. He had already confirmed its rights in general terms and held out hopes of their extension (doc. 48, ll. 7 f.), while at some stage in his reign he honoured an Aphrodisian lady ματρῶνης στολῆ (*MAMA* 514, ll. 28–31). In this letter he asserted the maintenance of traditional city rights as a principle of his reign, which he probably represented as a guardianship of all his subjects (ll. 3–4). For δίκαια in the sense of city rights, see p. 126; for ἀλλότριος meaning *alien*, cf. *OGIS* 519, l. 11, μόνοι ἡμεῖς ἀλλότρια τ[ῶ]ν ε[ὐ]τυχεστάτων καιρῶν πάσχοντες; for κηδεμονία see the instances collected and discussed by Mason, 151 f.; he traces a development from the actual guardianship of minors in civil law to a metaphorical one of governors or, as here, emperors (for whom his earliest example is Claudius, *SEG* IV, 516, A, l. 15). The concept accords with the traditional characterization of the reign, cf. also the edict of Alexander first published as *P. Fayum* 20, col. II, l. 16 (J. H. Oliver, *AJPh* 99 (1978), 474 f.), where he professes his concern φιλανθρωπιᾶ καὶ εὐεργεσίᾳ συναυξῆσαι τὴν ἀρχήν. There is also some appearance here of a consciously stressed contrast with predecessors. The phrases that I have supplied at the end of l. 3 are, of course, *exempli gratia* only, but cf. ἡ τοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος περὶ πάντας κηδεμονία in *BGU* 372, col. I, l. 12 (second cent.), cited by *LSJ* s.v. κηδεμονία. The opposition of μέν in l. 3 and δέ in l. 4 suggests that Alexander was far from convinced that Aphrodisian rights were threatened in the case put to him (cf. also doc. 21 under Gordian III); but he expressed his doubt with careful tact.

The phrase ἡ παρούσα ἀξίωσις for *the present petition* occurs also in the reply of Gordian III to the Scaptoparenes (*Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 888, l. 107) and was clearly administrative jargon.

l. 4. κατὰ ταῦτά is to be preferred to κατὰ ταῦτα.

l. 5. [Λό]γον seems an obvious restoration; if it is right, it is probable that someone who has an appropriate reputation is being appointed (or recommended) as one who will listen fairly to all aspects of the case. . . .]την is probably the end of his title; κριτήν fits the space available quite well, δικαστήν or λογιστήν would also be possible, although a little long.

There is room for the formula naming an ambassador (with a short name), and it seems probable that it stood here (see p. 112). A final greeting may also be presumed (see p. 124).

On general style and characteristics see p. 111 f.

On my interpretation of the layout and lettering of the texts on the wall (p. 36), the archive was inscribed in the reign of Severus Alexander and this document was originally its final item; it was subsequently resumed and carried on under Gordian III and perhaps again under Decius. For Gordian's reign there have survived in part or complete as many as four (perhaps five) letters inscribed either on that wall (docs. 20, 21) or in its immediate neighbourhood (the analemma, doc. 22, some unidentified but nearby position, docs. 23, 24). No other reign is represented by so many letters and there is other evidence too for Gordian's popularity in the city, where *CIG* 2801 and coins (*BMC, Caria*, p. 37, no. 74, p. 38, no. 77, p. 47, nos. 122, 128, *SNG* 17, no. 8065, MacDonal, *Coins* 22, nos. Aph. 159–60) show that a local contest was named in his honour (μεγάλα Γορδιανῆα Ἀτταλῆα) and he and his wife were commemorated on coins (*SNG* 7, nos. 2463–5). If Anthony Birley is right in his view that Gordian's family came from Asia Minor (*Britain and Rome* (1965), ed. M. G. Jarrett and B. Dobson, 56 f.) local connections may have been the origin of his popularity; but in any case the tone of the letters below shows that he and his advisors took considerable pains to please, expressing with tact even what was a not quite favourable decision.

#### DOCUMENT 20. Letter of Gordian III to Aphrodisias

Inscribed on the lowest course of column 4 of the archive wall, below doc. 9, in an area especially prepared (inscribed area, 1.97 × 0.27).

Letters, second–third cent. A.D., less carefully cut than in previous documents: av. 0.02; l. 8, 0.022; ligatured THN in l. 6; apex in l. 3; bars above the figures in l. 2 and the abbreviated *nomen* in l. 8.

Translation and brief comment by Millar, *ERW* 417, see also 614.

Acknowledgments for discussion to X. Lorient (the date), Charlotte Roueché, George Souris (the ambassador), Richard Winton (general).

Plate XII; Fig. 6.

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Μάρκος Ἀγτώνιος Γορδιανὸς Εὐσεβῆς Εὐτυχῆς Σεβαστός,  
 ἀρχιερεὺς  
 μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ β', ὑπάτος, πατὴρ πατρίδος, Ἀφροδισιέων  
 τοῖς ἄρχουσιν

*vacat* καὶ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ χαίρειν *vacat*

Καὶ τῇ ἀρχαιότητι ὑμῶν καὶ τῇ εὐνοίᾳ καὶ τῇ φιλίᾳ τῇ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους προσῆκον  
 ἦν, ὧ

- 5 Ἀφροδισιεῖς, οὕτως διατεθῆναι ἐπὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ τῇ ἐμῇ ὡς ἐδηλοῦτε διὰ τοῦ πρὸς  
 με ψηφίσματος, ἀνθ' ὧν δὴ καὶ ἀμειβόμενος ὑμῶν τὴν εὐσεβῆ διάθεσιν φυλάττω  
 βεβαίαν τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν πάντων τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ὑμῖν δικαίων φυλασσομένων τε

μέχρι τῶν καιρῶν τῆς βασιλείας τῆς ἐμῆς. Ἐπρέσβευεν Κλ(αύδιος) Ἡγεμόνευς.  
Εὐτυχεῖτε.

Imperator Caesar M. Antonius Gordianus, Pius, Felix, Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding the tribunician power for the second time, consul, father of his country, to the Magistrates, Council and People of the Aphrodisians, greetings.

It befitted both your ancient origins and your goodwill and friendship towards the Romans, O Aphrodisians, that you should be so disposed to my kingship as you demonstrated in your decree for me. In response to this and in recompense for your pious (loyal) attitude, I preserve your secure enjoyment of all your rights, as they have been preserved up to the time of my kingship. Claudius Hegemoneus carried out the duties of ambassador. Farewell.

ll. 1–2. Gordian held the tribunician power for the second time in 239; his name and titles are correct for the period. The omission of ἀνθύπατος, when it is included in doc. 21, l. 2, of 243 (during the emperor's eastern expedition), indicates respect for the constitutional view that an emperor should only use this title when away from Rome. If this letter was written from Rome, some doubt is thrown on the date of an edict issued from Antioch, supposedly in 239 (C. Haenel, *Corp. leg.*, p. 166), and on X. Lorient's thesis that Gordian visited the East in that year (*ANRW* II.2, 770); but we do not know the exact date of this letter—and time can have been spent in Rome as well as in Antioch within the year.

ll. 2–3. The direct address to the citizens is an unusual feature, suggesting that the letter was originally thought out in terms of a speech.

ll. 3 f. The emperor responded to an Aphrodisian decree of congratulation on his accession brought by the ambassador named in l. 8; for the characteristics of letters of this type at Aphrodisias, see p. 111 f. The courteous tone, apparent also in docs. 21, 22, accords with the traditional picture of this reign. Gordian was notably popular throughout Asia Minor (see L. Robert, *CRAI* 1970, 14 f.), and clearly very much so in Aphrodisias, already before his Persian victories to which this popularity has been attributed by some; the origin in Asia Minor conjectured for his family by Anthony Birley may be relevant (see p. 131). His reign is termed a βασιλεία (ll. 5, 8), following the view of the time that the monarchy of a βασιλεύς offered constitutionalism in contrast to tyranny; for some account of the development of this concept see Mason 120 f. and Millar, *ERW* 613 f. At this period examples of its employment by emperors themselves are comparatively rare so that it may be a word picked up by Gordian from the Aphrodisian decree (cf. its appearance also in doc. 25, l. 10; note also, however, that Elagabalus used it in a letter to Delphi, *FD* III. 4. 3, no. 332).

In using ἀνθ' ὧν and ἀμειβόμενος in l. 6 Gordian appears to imply that his confirmation of Aphrodisian rights was a fair exchange for their behaviour and attitude to him, cf. his pose of interchange between equals in doc. 22, ll. 8–10.

The qualities of which he approves in Aphrodisias are essentially commonplace; on εὐσέβεια see also doc. 17, ll. 11; 20, l. 6; 42, l. 12; 57, l. 5; 62, l. 6; on ἀρχαιότης cf. L. Robert, *Ét. Anat.* 247–8, 251, and the sentence of a letter from Hadrian to Delphi quoted on p. 126. It is surprising that there is no reference to Aphrodite, who normally figures in letters of this type.

l. 7. For βέβαιος see on βεβαιῶ, p. 117; there is a parallel for ἀπόλαυσις in *SEG*

ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ ΚΑΙ ΣΑΡΘΕΟΥ ΜΑΡΚΟΥ ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟΥ ΕΥΣΕΒΟΥ ΣΤΕΡΜΑΝΙΚΟΥ ΣΑΡΜΑΤΙΚΟΥ ΥΙΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΕΥΣΕΒΟΥ ΣΥΙΩΝΟΣ  
 ΘΕΟΥ ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΥ ΕΚΤΟΝΟΣ ΘΕΟΥ ΤΡΙΑΝΟΥ ΠΑΡΘΙΚΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΝΕΡΟΥ ΑΠΤΟΤΟΝΟΣ ΜΑΡΚΟΣ ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΣ ΚΟΜΜΟΔΟΣ  
 ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟΣ ΕΥΣΕΒΗΣ ΕΥΤΥΧΗΣ ΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ ΣΑΡΜΑΤΙΚΟΣ ΣΤΕΡΜΑΝΙΚΟΣ ΜΕΤΙΣΤΟΣ ΒΡΕΤΑΝΝΙΚΟΣ ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΥΣ ΜΕΤΙΣΤΟΣ  
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 5 ΚΑΙ ΤΗΒΟΥΛΗ ΚΑΙ ΤΩΔΗΜΩ ΧΑΙΡΕΙΝ  
 ΕΝΕΤΥΧΟΝΤΩ ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΙ ΔΙΟΥ ΗΣΙΟΥ ΤΕ ΤΟΝ ΤΗΣ ΑΣΙΑΣ ΑΝΘΥΠΑΤΟΝ ΕΤΙΔΗΜΕΙΝΕΝ ΤΗ ΤΟΛΕΙΤΗ ΜΕΤΕΡΑ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΑΤΡΕΙ  
 ΒΕΙΝ ΗΜΕΡΩΝ ΤΙΝΩΝ ΕΤΙΣΚΟΠΟΥΝΤΑ ΚΑΙ ΕΞΕΤΑΖΟΝΤΑ ΤΑ ΔΗΜΟΣΙΑ ΠΡΑΓΜΑΤΑ ΩΣΤΑΝΥΚΑΤΗ ΜΕΛΗΜΕΝΑ ΚΑΙ ΔΕΟΜΕΝΑ  
 ΜΕΙΖΟΝΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΕΤΑΝΟΡΘΩΣ ΕΩΣ ΤΕΡΤΟΥ ΠΑΣΑΣ ΤΑΣ ΚΡΙΣΕΙΣ ΤΟΥ ΛΟΓΙΣΤΟΥ ΒΕΒΑΙΑΣ ΔΥΝΑΣΘΑΙ ΜΕΝΕΙΝ ΥΜΕΙΣ ΜΕΝ  
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 15 ΕΙΤΑΡ ΤΟΥΤΟΥ ΤΩ ΓΕΝΟΙΤΟ ΤΑΤΕ ΔΗΜΟΣΙΑ ΠΡΑΓΜΑΤΑ Ε  
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 25 ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ ΔΗΜΑΡΧΙΚΗΣ ΕΞΟΥΣΙΑΣ ΑΝΘΥΠΑΤΟΣ ΑΦΡΟΔΕΙΣΙ ΕΩΝ ΤΟΙΣ ΑΡΧΟΥΣΙ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΒΟΥΛΗ ΚΑΙ ΤΩΔΗΜΩ ΧΑΙΡΕΙΝ  
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 ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΟΣ ΩΣ ΕΙΔΕΙ ΗΜΕΝΥΜΩΝ ΤΗΝ ΕΥΣΕΒΕΙΑΝ ΤΑΥΤΑΡ ΧΟΝΤΑ ΔΙΚΑΙΑ ΤΗ ΤΟΛΕΙΩΜΩΝ ΜΕΝΕΝ ΗΚΟΤΑ ΜΕΧΡΙ ΤΗΣ  
 30 ΗΜΕΤΕΡΑΣ ΑΡΧΗΣ ΑΣ ΑΛΕΥΤΑΚΑΙ ΗΜΕΙΣ ΦΥΛΑΤΟΜΕΝ ΚΛ  
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 35 ΤΗΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ ΑΡΧΗΜΑΛΛΟΝΑΛΛΩΝ ΤΤΡΟΣΗΚΟΝΤΑΣ ΔΙΑ ΤΗΝ ΤΡΟΚΑΘΗΜΕΝΗΝ ΤΗΣ ΤΟΛΕΩΣ ΜΩΝΘΕΟΝ ΤΗΝ ΥΠΑΡΧΟΥΣΑΝ  
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 ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ ΚΑΙ ΣΑΡΘΕΟΥΣ ΕΟΥ ΗΡΟΣΕΥΣ ΕΒΟΥΣ ΕΚΤΟΝΟΣ ΘΕΟΥ ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟΥ ΕΥΣΕΒΟΥΣ ΜΕΤΙΣΤΟΥ ΥΙΟΥ ΜΑΡΚΟΣ ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΣ ΣΕΟΥ ΗΡΟΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ  
 40 ΚΑΙ ΤΩΔΗΜΩ ΧΑΙΡΕΙΝ ΤΟΜΕΝΤΑΡ ΕΛΕΣΘΑΙ ΤΙ ΤΩΝΥΤΑΡΣ ΑΝΤΩΝ ΤΗ ΤΟΛΕΙΔΙΚΑΙΩΝ ΑΛΛΟΤΡΙΟΝ ΕΣΤΙ ΤΗΣ ΕΝΤΗ ΑΡΧΗ ΤΗΜΗ ΤΕΡΤΑΝΤΑΣ  
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 45 ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ ΚΑΙ ΣΑΡΜΑΡΚΟΣ ΑΝΤΩΝΙΟΣ ΤΟΡΔΙΑΝΟΣ ΕΥΣΕΒΗΣ ΕΥΤΥΧΗΣ ΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΥΣ ΜΕΤΙΣΤΟΣ ΔΗΜΑΡΧΙ  
 ΚΗΣ ΕΞΟΥΣΙΑΣ ΤΟΣΥ ΠΑΤΟΣ ΤΟΒ ΠΑΤΗΡ ΠΑΤΡΙΔΟΣ ΑΝΘΥΠΑΤΟΣ ΑΦΡΟΔΕΙΣΙ ΕΩΝ ΤΟΙΣ ΑΡΧΟΥΣΙ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΒΟΥΛΗ ΚΑΙ ΤΩΔΗΜΩ  
 ΧΑΙΡΕΙΝ ΤΟΤΗΣ ΑΣΙΑΣ ΒΟΥΛΕΥΜΑΤΟ ΚΑΙ ΥΜΑΣ ΚΑΤΑΣ ΤΗΣ ΑΝΕΙΣ ΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΑΝ ΤΙΣ ΤΤΡΟΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΑΤΥΧΗΣ ΑΝΤΑΣ  
 ΕΤΙΚΟΥΡΙΑΣ ΟΥΚ ΕΤΤΙ ΤΑΤΜΑΙΝΟΥ ΔΕ ΤΑΡ ΟΙΟΝΤΕ ΕΤΤΙ ΤΑΤΜΑΤΙ ΧΡΗΣΘΑΙ ΤΤΡΟΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΟΥΣ ΑΛΛΑ ΤΟΛΕΙΤΕΥΜΑ  
 ΧΡΗΣ ΤΟΝ ΕΜΕ ΤΟΥΣΙΑΚΑΘΙΣ ΤΑΝΥΜΑΣ ΦΙΛΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΥ ΤΤΡΑΣ ΕΩΣ ΚΑΙ ΟΙ ΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΘΥΜΑΣ ΤΤΡΑΤΤΕ ΤΕ ΕΝΚΑΤΑ  
 ΣΚΕΥΗ ΤΙΝΟΣ ΟΙΚΟΔΟΜΜΑΤΟΣ ΣΥΝ ΕΤΤΙΛΑΜΒΑΝΟΜΕΝΟΙ ΤΗΣ ΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΕΩΣ ΤΟΙΣ ΔΕΟΜΕΝΟΙΣ ΥΠΕΡ ΔΕ ΤΟΥ ΜΕΛ  
 45 ΛΟΝΤΟΣ ΗΚΙΣ ΤΑ ΧΡΗΔΕΔΙΕΝΑΙ ΤΟΙΣ ΤΑΡ ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΟΙΣ ΟΥ ΤΤΛΕΙΣ ΤΟΝ ΜΕΤΕΧΕΤΕ ΜΟΝΟΣ ΕΣΤΙΝ ΤΤΡΟΣ ΤΑΤΟΙ ΑΥΤΑ  
 ΝΟΜΟΣ ΤΟ ΕΚΟΥΣΙΟΝ ✽ ΕΤΤΡΕΣΒΕΥΟΝ ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΣ ΚΤΙΣΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΙΛΙΟΣ ΚΑΛΛΙΚΡΑΤΗΣ ΕΥΤΥΧΕΙΤΕ  
 ΘΕΙΑ ΑΝΤΙΤΡΑΦΗ ΚΑΤΑΛΛΑ ΟΔΙΚΕΙΣ Η ΤΤΡΟΤΕ ΤΑΤΜΕΝΗ

Fig. 6. Archive wall. West end. Drawn by Morag Woudhuysen.



XIII, 518, l. 9, [ἐχέ]τω γούν τῆ[ν] τῆς ἀγο[ραίου] ἀπό[λ]αυσιν (A.D. 250–70); on δίκαια see p. 126.

The change of spelling from φυλάττω in l. 6 to φυλασσομένων in l. 7 may have preserved a trace of imperial versus Aphrodisian practice. For φυλάττω in the sense of *custodio* see p. 128; this spelling is used in the personal statements of Commodus Septimius Severus and Caracalla, and Traianus Decius; the phrase describing the rights which have been preserved so long and now need confirmation may well have been lifted (with mild adaptation) from the Aphrodisian request.

The formula used to name the ambassador is the standard one (see p. 112). The name of Claudius Hegemoneus, the Aphrodisian ambassador, should probably be restored also, as Charlotte Roueché has observed, in J. M. R. Cormack, *ABSA* 59 (1964), 20, no. 14, ll. 13–14, an agonistic inscription in which, if that is right, he figures in connection with the twentieth celebration of a festival likely to be the Aphrodeisaea Philemonea (see p. 189).

For style and characteristics see p. 111 f.

#### DOCUMENT 21. Letter of Gordian III to Aphrodisias

Inscribed in the lowest course of column 5 of the archive wall, in an area especially prepared for it (inscribed area, 2·38 × 0·31). The blocks at the left side are intact; those at the right side are damaged but are substantially restored with small fragments found fallen in front of the wall (inv. no. 69. 468 and unnumbered items).

Letters, second–third cent. A.D.: av. 0·017; less carefully cut than the pre-Gordianic texts; ligatured TH in l. 2, TH (three times) in l. 3, HN in l. 4, TH in l. 6, NM in l. 5, MHM in l. 6, NM in l. 7, TH in l. 8; circular stops in ll. 2, 8; star stop in l. 8; bars above the figures in l. 2 and above OY in l. 7; l. 1 outspaced.

Acknowledgments for discussion to Richard Winton (general), X. Lorient (the date), Martin Ostwald (*nomos*), George Souris (the ambassadors), Wynne Williams (l. 9).

#### Plate XII; Fig. 6.

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Μάρκος Ἀντώνιος Γορδιανὸς Εὐσεβῆς Εὐτυ[χ]ῆς Σεβ[ασ]τοῦ,  
 ἀ[ρχι]ερέυς μέγιστος, δη[μαρχι]-  
 κῆς ἔξουσίας τὸ ζ', ὑπάτος τὸ β', πατὴρ πατρίδος, ἀνθύπατος, Ἀφροδ[εισιέω]γ  
 το[ῖς] ἄρ[χο]υσι καὶ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ  
 χαίρειν ν. Τὸ τῆς Ἀσίας βούλευμα, τὸ καὶ ὑμᾶς καταστήσαν εἰς κο[ινωνί]αν τῆς  
 πρ[ὸς] τοὺς ἀτυχήσαντας  
 ἐπικουρίας, οὐκ ἐπιτάγμα ἦν, οὐδὲ γὰρ οἶον τε ἐπιτάγματι χρῆσθαι, πρ[ὸς] τοῖς  
 ἐλευθέρους, ἀλλὰ πολεῖτευμα  
 5 χρηστὸν ἐν μετουσίᾳ καθιστᾶν ὑμᾶς φιλανθρώπου πράξεως καὶ ο[φ]ῆ[ως] καὶ καθ'  
 ὑμᾶς πράττετε ἐν [κα]τα-  
 σκευῇ τίνος οἰκοδομήματος συνεπιλαμβανόμενοι τῆς ἀναστάσε[ω]ς τοῖς δεομένοις  
 ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦ μέλ-

λοντος ἥκιστα χρή δεδιέναι τοῖς γὰρ ἐλευθέροις, οὐ πλείστον με[τέ]χετε, μόνος  
 ἔστιν πρὸς τὰ το[ι]αῦτα  
*vacat* νόμος τὸ ἐκούσιον *stop* ἐπρέσβευον Αὐρήλιος Κτήσιος καὶ Α[ἴ]λιος Καλλι-  
 κράτης. Εὐτυχε[ίτε]  
*vacat* θεῖα ἀντιγραφή κατὰ Λαοδικεῖς ἢ προτεταγμένη *vacat*

Imperator Caesar M. Antonius Gordianus, Pius, Felix, Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding the tribunician power for the sixth time, consul for the second, father of his country, proconsul, to the Magistrates, Council and People of the Aphrodisians, greetings.

The resolution of Asia which associated you too with those assisting the victims of misfortune was not a command, for it is not possible to issue a command to those who are free, but a good administrative act placing you among those who take part in beneficent activity of a type which you undertake also among yourselves when you help with preparations for the erection of a house for those in need. And for the future there is no necessity for fear; for among free men, and you have a very great share of freedom, the only law in such matters is what you are willing to do. Aurelius Ctesias and Aelius Callicrates carried out the duties of ambassadors. Farewell.

The above (?) is the divine (imperial) reply in the matter of (?) the Laodiceans.

ll. 1-2. Gordian III held tribunician power for the sixth time in 243. He was in the East throughout the year so that his use of the title ἀνθύπατος is strictly constitutional. ll. 3 f. The emperor responded to an Aphrodisian protest, brought by the ambassadors named in l. 9, against liabilities under a decree of the Council of Asia. Since the decree concerned help for victims of misfortune (l. 3) and perhaps rebuilding of houses (ll. 5-6), the occasion was probably the earthquake reported in SHA, *Gord.* 26. 1-3; there are no epigraphic references which can be related to this with any certainty in the collection of evidence on earthquakes in Asia Minor made by L. Robert (*BCH* 102 (1978), 395 f.), but it was undoubtedly serious. It is not precisely dated but since the writer of the *vita* moves directly from it (*sedato terrae motu*) to the war with the Persians that was begun in the course of 242, it has commonly been placed in 241; since it was still topical in 243 it may have been rather later, perhaps in early 242.

Activity by the Council of Asia in the third century is attested by a very small number of documents (J. Deininger, *Die Provinziallandtage der römischen Kaiserzeit* (1965), 55 f., summarizes the known record) and this is an important addition. Self-help organized by the provincial council is not otherwise attested for any period; as Robert's examples show, the recorded procedure after disaster was to apply to the emperor or to rely on the generosity of the local rich.

Βούλευμα for a decree of the *koimon* is apparently non-technical (φήσιμα is used in the formal Augustan documents on the calendar of Asia, cf. *OGIS* 458, l. 27) but recalls the informal description of the council as τὸ κοινοβούλιον (e.g. *IGR* IV, 780). Ἐπίταγμα is another informal word with the sense of *instruction, order* (L. Robert, *Aph* 406, and Mason s.v. with p. 128). Πολίτευμα is yet another and here has the sense *act of administration* for which LSJ s.v. cite Demosthenes 18. 108, 136 and *IG* IV (1). 81. 9 from Epidaurus (κάλλιστον πολίτευμα ἐ[ποίησατο . . .]).

It is clear that Gordian believed the Aphrodisians to be protesting at nothing,

but was extremely tactful in the way he said so. The emperor's stress on the maintenance of their freedom is very like that of Severus Alexander (doc. 19). For the view that local obligations, such as those to the *koinon* of Asia, were Roman-guaranteed, see also doc. 14, and for the Aphrodisian position that the city's association with the actions of the *koinon* was voluntary, see the commentary on doc. 14.

ll. 5-6. It would be possible to interpret this line as indicating that Aphrodisias had also suffered in the earthquake—but the emperor's use of the local example may be purely hypothetical.

l. 7. The curious phrase in which the writer extracts the concept τὸ ἐλεύθερον from τοῖς ἐλευθέροις seems to be a kind of echo of Thucydides 3. 83: τὸ εὔηθες οὐ τὸ γενναῖον πλεῖστον μετέχει. Gordian was reputed to be well-read (cf. *SHA, Gord.* 31. 4, *fuit . . . in litteris nobilis*, cited by L. Robert, *CRAI* 1970, 16), and Thucydides was among the classical authors whose influence can be traced in this period (cf. F. Millar, *A Study of Cassius Dio* (1964), 177).

l. 8. The metaphorical use of νόμος in the sense of *norm* or *guide-line* goes back to the fourth century B.C. (cf. Plato, *Gorgias* 483e). The emperor is presumably indicating again that neither he nor the *koinon* of Asia are dictating rules of action for the Aphrodisians, who are free to do what they want in the current situation.

The formula used to name the ambassadors is the standard one for the time (see p. 112). Aurelius Ctesias may be the rhetor of *CIG* 2797; Aelius Callicrates is not otherwise known.

l. 9. This presents serious problems. It is the last inscribed line in the lowest register of the final column on the archive wall (omitting from consideration the terminal pilaster); and it must be assumed that it was written below the text of doc. 21 on the copy in the city's record-office. It was also regarded by the 'ordinator' of the inscription as complete in itself, since there are vacant spaces on either side of it.

Ἀντιγραφή is the equivalent of *rescriptum*, which is used by the jurists for any imperial response, letter or subscript, in which they found a legal principle expressed. Θεία ἀντιγραφή, however, is the language of subjects rather than imperial clerks (cf. διὰ θείας ἀντιγραφῆς in the petition of the Scaptoparenes, *IGR* I, 674, ll. 75-6 (*IG Bulg.* 2236, ll. 79-80), cited by Mason *s.v.* and doc. 43, ll. 8-9); it is likely, therefore, to have been added at Aphrodisias. Προτάσσειν in relation to official documents seems normally to mean 'prefix', cf. *P. Oxy.* 3105, ll. 29-30, ἐπιτιδούς σοι περὶ τούτου τάδε τὰ βιβλείδια <οἷ>ς προέταξα τὴν θεῖαν διάταξιν, *P. Flor.* 382, ll. 29-30, αἱ προτεταγμένοι θεῖαι δι[ατάξεις . . .]; but since it must here refer to the present document (short of a stupid inclusion in the inscription of a rubric referring to *another* document attached to the record-office copy of this one), it should mean *placed* or *inscribed above*. Κατὰ Λαοδικεῖς adds a complication, since the present document is patently concerned with the Aphrodisians. At Aphrodisias, however, Laodicea would naturally be taken to mean Laodicea on the Lycus; and it is perhaps not quite impossible that this was the earthquake-shaken city which the Aphrodisians had been invited to assist in the offending decree of the *koinon* of Asia. It would not then be quite surprising if the record-office clerk added to the emperor's letter a note to show the precise circumstances to which the emperor's pronouncement of principle was related.

For style and characteristics see p. 110 f.

## DOCUMENT 22. Letter of Gordian III to Epaphras

Block broken in two but now recomposed and substantially complete (1.53 × 0.72 × 0.72), the lower half found in the north analemma, the upper fallen forward into the parodos; since there is evidence of some repair to the analemma it cannot be quite excluded that the block was re-used there, but much more probably this was its original position. The inscription was cut in an especially prepared area, around which the unpolished surface survives and forms a frame.

Letters, second–third cent. A.D.: 0.025; apices in ll. 10, 11; circular stop in l. 8; the first word of l. 9 is cut in the margin and appears to be an afterthought.

K. T. Erim and J. Reynolds, *JRS* 59 (1969), 56, whence *AE* 1969, no. 599, and comments by J. and L. Robert, *Bull. Ep.* 1970, no. 536; W. Seston, *XIII Congrès international des Sciences historiques* (Moscow, 1970), 15; J. H. Oliver, *GRBS* 11 (1970), 137 f.; M. Wörrle, *Chiron* 1 (1971), 333; H. J. Wieling, *ZRG* 91 (1974), 364.

Acknowledgments for discussion to J. A. Crook and W. Seston (legal aspects).

## Plate XXI, 1.

[Αὐτ]ο[κράτωρ] Καῖσαρ Μάρκος Ἀ[ντωνίος]  
 Γορδιανὸς [Εὐ]σεβῆς Εὐτυχῆς Σε[βαστός]  
*vac.* Αὐρηλίῳ Ἐπαφρᾶ χαίρε[ιν *vac.*]  
 Εἴ τι περὶ τῶν τῆς πατρίδος σου νόμ[ων]  
 5 τῆ τε ἱερωτάτῃ συνκλήτῳ βουλῇ ἔδ[οξε]  
 καὶ τοῖς ἐν θεοῖς τῶν Αὐτοκρατόρων, τοῦ[το]  
 κάμοι πρέποι ἂν ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν φυλάττειν  
 ὄρων τῆ πατρίδι τῆ σῆ. Εἰ τοίνυν προσίων  
 τις τῷ φίλῳ μου καὶ ἐπάρχῳ τῆς πατρίδος τῆς  
 10 ἐμῆς Φλαβίῳ Λατρωνιανῷ ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐνέγρα-  
 ψας διδάσκοις τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἔθος ἀναπέμψαι  
 προνοήσεται τὴν περὶ τοῦ Πολυδώρου  
 κρίσιν τῷ οἰκείῳ δικαστηρίῳ ν. Ἐρρωσο. *vac.*

l. 1, [Αὐτοκράτωρ] E/R; l. 3, χαίρε E/R, χαίρε[ιν] Robb.; l. 5, συγκλήτῳ E/R, συνκλήτῳ, O.

Imperator Caesar M. A[ntonius] Gordianus, Pius, Felix, Au[gustus], to Aurelius Epaphras, greetings. Any decision about the laws of your native city that has been made by the reverend council of the Senate and those of the emperors who have been deified it would be proper for me too to preserve for your native city on the same terms. If, therefore, you/someone were to go to my friend Flavius Latronianus, who is prefect of my own native city, about the matters on which you wrote, and would explain to him the original tradition, he will arrange to remit the decision in the matter of Polydorus to the proper court. Farewell.

Unlike all the letters inscribed on the archive wall itself, this one, cut on the north analemma, is addressed to a private person, undoubtedly an eminent citizen of Aphrodisias. Its bearing on Aphrodisian privileges is so obvious that its association with the archive hardly needs explanation, and there may even have been some

attempt to underline the fact that its implications were general and not simply particular (see on l. 9). Nevertheless, since we do not know its exact date and therefore its chronological relation to the second letter of Gordian inscribed on the wall (doc. 21; it is presumably later than Gordian's accession confirmation of rights, doc. 20), we must allow that it may have been cut on a nearby wall not because there was no space for it on the archive wall at the time of its receipt but because it belonged in a slightly different category from that of the other imperial documents in this archive.

ll. 1-2. The introduction omits the imperial titles that would give a date within Gordian's reign and our knowledge of the career of Flavius Latronianus (ll. 9-10) is too inadequate to help. In 1969 Erim/Reynolds argued from the language of ll. 4-8 that the letter should probably be placed early in the reign, even that it might represent Gordian's first confirmation of Aphrodisian rights. We now know that Gordian had sent a previous letter of general confirmation (doc. 20); but it remains theoretically possible that the document belongs early in the reign.

l. 3. Aurelius Epaphras is otherwise unknown (but see below); his *nomen* suggests a family which received Roman citizenship at earliest under Marcus and more probably by the Antonine Constitution, while his *cognomen* is new in our records of the Aphrodisian élite. Yet he must have been eminent, for undoubtedly individuals who received letters from emperors were always men of very high standing (cf. Millar, *ERW* 469-70).

l. 4. A comparatively formal reference to senatorial and imperial decisions is given for the origin of the Aphrodisians' right to use their own laws. It was of course embodied in the *senatus consultum* of 39 B.C. (doc. 8, ll. 46 f., 61-2); the antiquity of this origin is stressed in the phrase τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἔθος used in l. 11 (related to the Latin concept *ex pristino more* found in the letter of Severus and Caracalla to Heraclitus concerning Tyras, *ILS* 423, ll. 17-18). No doubt Aphrodisian rights had been confirmed in general terms by all emperors; we know of specific confirmations of autonomy by Hadrian (doc. 15, l. 5) and by Severus and Caracalla (doc. 18, l. 5); for other references to Aphrodisian autonomy see p. 83.

The rather elaborate ἡ σύνκλητος βουλή is now thought to show the Atticizing style of the court (so Mason 121 f.) rather than a desire to mollify the Senate, as suggested by Erim/Reynolds; that desire is evident, however, in the adjective ἱερωτάτη which is quite commonly applied to the Senate at this date, see L. Robert, *op. cit.*, with references to his own *Monnaies grecques* (1968), 76, and to G. Forni, 'IEPA e ΘEOC CYNKΛHTOC' in *MAL* 1953<sup>8</sup>, v (whose catalogue of material includes Aphrodisian instances (coin legends), including several of the reign of Gordian). The specific limitation of the preceding emperors to the *divi*, i.e. those who had received senatorial approval after death, even if it was reluctantly given in some cases, must also indicate an attitude of official respect for the Senate.

ll. 7-8. Ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ὄρων seems unusual but must mean *on the same terms*, cf. *LSJ s.v.*, citing *CPR* 19. 8 (fourth cent. A.D.), συνθέσθαι πρὸς τινα ἐπὶ ὄροις ὥστε. . .

ll. 8 f. Epaphras was instructed to approach Flavius Latronianus, *praefectus urbi*, and explain the ancient tradition; Latronianus would then arrange for the case concerning Polydorus to be referred to the οἰκείον δικαστήριον.

On Latronianus see *PIR*<sup>2</sup> F 297; Barbieri, *Albo Senatorio* (1952), no. 236;

G. Vitucci, *Ricerche sulla Praefectura urbi* (1956), 122, no. 48; K. Dietz, *Senatus contra Principem* (1980), 158–60, no. 39. The inscription has settled a doubt as to whether he did in fact hold office under Gordian. The formula used for his title is strikingly abnormal; the emperor has substituted τῆς πατρίδος τῆς ἡμῆς for τῆς Ῥώμης, not simply in avoidance of a technical term (ἔπαρχος Ῥώμης *vel sim.*), but using the occasion to make other points. The phrase clearly balances ἡ πατρις ἡ σῆ (ll. 4, 8) in what seems to be an attempt to maintain the fiction of quasi-equality both between Gordian and Epaphras as men and between Rome and Aphrodisias as parties to a treaty. It is also possible that he was stressing his own birth in the city of Rome, which has been thought to be a point with which the senatorial party of the third century was concerned (so P. W. Townsend, *YCS* 14 (1955), 53); but it was not new for an emperor to describe Rome as *mine*, cf. Caracalla, *P. Giess.* 40, col. 2, l. 10, εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην τὴν ἡμῶν.

For διδᾶσκειν as a normal word in such a context see L. Robert, *Hell.* XI–XII, 252 f.

The problem seems most naturally taken as arising over a case due to be heard in Latronianus' court (so Erim/Reynolds); Oliver's view that the prefect's function was simply to allocate cases to their proper courts—a new function, since Epaphras had to be told of it—rests on no evidence.

The character of the case seemed to Erim/Reynolds to be beyond recovery. Wieling has examined various possibilities, on the assumption that it was to have gone to the prefect's court, and concluded that it was probably a civil case brought against Polydorus in Rome by an Aphrodisian prosecutor; since both would be Roman citizens at this date it could quite properly have been heard in Rome, but as Aphrodisians they had the privilege of preferring an Aphrodisian court. That is attractive but remains hypothetical, and there is a difficulty (appreciated by Wieling) in the formula τὴν περὶ τοῦ Πολυδώρου κρίσιν (l. 12), which is not a straightforward description of a party to a case (though not impossible for one in some circumstances, cf. εἴ τινα κριτήρια περὶ αὐτῶν ἀπόντων . . . γεγονότα ἐστὶν in the *sc de Asclepiade*, *RDGE* 22, ll. 20 f.). All that can be said for certain is that the case was about Polydorus, and while it is difficult, as Wieling noted, to envisage a situation in which two other people were in litigation about him unless he were a slave (but a slave would hardly figure in the correspondence by name), the point would probably be quite clear, and perhaps simple, if we had the letter to which the emperor is replying.

Epaphras might himself have been a party to the case, with a personal preference for having it heard in Aphrodisias, or have acted in the role of *advocatus reipublicae* on behalf of a litigant or indeed of the city itself.

Ἀναπέμπειν must mean to remit or refer to another court (so Erim/Reynolds 57, n. 6, citing *P. Gen.* 31, 5, and Preisigke, *Wörterbuch s.v.*; we did not intend the meaning *send back* attributed to us by Oliver).

Τὸ οἰκείον δικαστήριον recurs in *P. Oxy.* 1101, 23, 27 (fourth cent.) where it appears to mean *the appropriate court*; but Wieling prefers here *his home court*. It is difficult to know how far at this date to press the syntactical point that, with the sense *his own*, οἰκείος should refer to the subject of the sentence (Latronianus), but in any case it seems to me to need a strong argument to override the evidence of the papyrus text. Of course the ultimate result in the context is the same—for, given Aphrodisian rights, the appropriate court is his home court.

The addition ΤΙΣ to the left of l. 9 seems most easily explained as the indefinite pronoun, intended to indicate that it was not simply Epaphras but anyone (although it would naturally be one of the litigants in the event) who could make the necessary representations to the prefect. An afterthought by the emperor, to which the syntax of the sentence was not adjusted, may be possible; but on the whole it seems to me more likely that it was a marginal addition made at Aphrodisias itself to clarify the general application of the imperial pronouncement; that would explain why the verb was not altered from διδάσκεις to διδάσκει. Oliver sees here a marginal notation of a type found in the left-hand margins of some legal texts in order to guide the reader to what he wanted, but I am not clear how interrogative τίς (which he proposes) would fulfil that purpose.

The document is certainly notable evidence for the strong survival of local law and local courts as of right in the third century, despite the Antonine Constitution (a point stressed both by Seston and by Wieling). It has been observed by Oliver (and the point was developed by Wörrle) that it brings out particularly well the strength of the civic tradition within the more cosmopolitan conception encouraged by the extension of the Roman empire. The hold which the city of Rome has on a Roman-born is paralleled by the hold which the city of Aphrodisias has on an Aphrodisian-born; Oliver provided a nice parallel from the pen of Marcus Aurelius (M. Ant. 6. 44): πόλις καὶ πατρίς ὡς μὲν Ἀντωνίνῳ μοι ἢ Ῥώμῃ ὡς δὲ ἀνθρώπῳ ὁ κόσμος.

For style and characteristics see p. 110 f.

#### DOCUMENTS 23 and 24. Fragmentary letters, one certainly from Gordian III

Fragment of marble without edges (inv. no. 76. 11; 0.17 × 0.23 × 0.09) inscribed on the face. Found re-used in the Byzantine defence wall in the area of the north parodos of the theatre; now in Aphrodisias Museum.

Letters, second-third cent. A.D.: ll. 1-3, 0.022; l. 4, 0.025; ll. 6-7, 0.02.

Plate XXII, 1.

...]NAM[...  
 [Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Μάρκος Ἀντώνιος Γ]ορδιαν[ὸς Ἡ]εὐσεβῆς Εὐτυχῆς Σεβαστὸς  
...?...'Αφροδεισιέων  
 [Ἡ]τοῖς ἄρχουσι καὶ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ] χαίρειν [...  
...]ΛΕΩΣ[...  
 5 ...]ΩΡΕΩ[...  
...]ΚΑΤ[...  
 [...

Most of the inscribed fragments found re-used in the Byzantine defence wall at this point came from the archive wall (see p. xvii), but there is no obvious place for this text there. Presumably it came from a nearby location (cf. doc. 22).

l. 1 appears to be from the last line of a lost document (with Ἡεκρεῖ]ναμ[εν, *vel sim.*), but might be a heading.

l. 2 gives part of the name of Gordian III, but there is no evidence to show whether it was followed by his complete title, as in docs. 20, 21 or an abbreviated one, as in doc. 22.

l. 3. Since imperial letters addressed to private persons are rare, see on doc. 22, l. 3, it is natural to guess that the beginning of this line should contain the address to the city; but an individual addressee cannot be excluded.

ll. 4 f. What survives is too fragmentary to give a serious indication of the content; part of the word πόλεως may survive in l. 4, though there are other possibilities, e.g. βασιλέως, ἴλεως.

The following letter of Traianus Decius and his elder son is cut on a block which has been re-used in the city wall, in a section demonstrably containing many blocks from the theatre (including one from doc. 8, see p. xvii). Its content shows it to be of a kind that was being inscribed on or near the archive wall in the mid third century and it is very likely, therefore, to have originated in or near the north parodos. I have included it here in order to complete the record of imperial letters to the city.

**DOCUMENT 25.** Letter of Traianus Decius and Herennius Etruscus to Aphrodisias

Marble block (1.61 × 0.785 × 0.33) inscribed on the exposed face. Re-used in the south stretch of the city wall, in an area where many blocks originated in the theatre; it is a plausible hypothesis that it came from the north parodos or nearby.

Letters, second-third cent. A.D.: av. 0.025; ligatured HM in l. 5, HM in l. 7, HN (twice), TH in l. 8, THN, TH, NH in l. 9, TH in l. 10, HM in l. 11, THN (twice) in l. 12; bars above the figures in l. 3; arabesques twice in l. 7 and once in l. 16.

CIG 2743, with p. 1109, for which Boeckh used copies derived from Sherard and his companions, cod. Ask. 1. 65 (Sherard, p. 18), cod. Spanh. n. 77 (on these copies see Appendix II), as well as one of unknown origin sent to him by Raoul-Rochette (on which see L. Robert, *Hell.* XIII, 131-2), and added a postscript after seeing Fellows' publication, C. Fellows, *An Account of Discoveries in Lycia, 1840* (1841), 302; whence Texier III, 154; J. K. Bailie, *Fasciculus Inscriptionum Graecarum* II (1846), 14 f. and 269 f., no. 44; J. Franz (from Loew), *Annali dell'Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica* 19 (1847), 110, no. 9; LBW 1624; whence L. Lafoscade, *De Epistulis imperatorum magistratum Romanorum ... Graece scriptis* (Paris, 1902), no. 80; Reinach, no. 2; whence F. F. Abbott and A. C. Johnson, *Municipal Administration in the Roman Empire* (1925), no. 145; *MAMA* 424; I have also consulted an unpublished transcription made in 1750 by R. Wood, now in the possession of the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies. Points are noted and/or discussed in *RE* xv, col. 1274; L. Robert, *Hell.* XIII, 126, 176, and *Aph* 117 f., n. 2; Millar, *ERW* 343, 414, 417, 614.

Acknowledgments for discussion to Mary Beard (the reading), T. V. Buttrey (the titles), Charlotte Roueché (the history of the text), George Souris (the ambassadors), C. R. Whittaker (the chronology).

## Plate XXI, 2.

- Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Γάϊος Μέσσιος Κόϊντος Τ[ραϊά]νὸς  
 Δ[έκι]ος Εὐσεβῆς Εὐτυχῆς Σεβαστός, δημαρχικῆς  
 ἔξουσίας τὸ γ', ὕπατος τὸ β', ἀποδεδειγμένος τὸ τρίτον,  
 πατὴρ πατρίδος, ἀνθύπατος καὶ Κόϊντος Ἐρέννιος Ἐτρούσκο[ς]
- 5 Μέσσιος Δέκιος, ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἔξουσίας  
 τὸ πρῶτον, ὕπατος ἀποδεδειγμένος, Ἀφροδεισιέων τοῖς  
*arabesque* ἄρχουσιν καὶ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ *arabesque* χαίρειν.  
 εἰκὸς ἦν ὑμᾶς καὶ διὰ τὴν ἐπώνυμον τῆς πόλεως θεὸν καὶ  
 διὰ τὴν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους οἰκειότητά τε καὶ πίστιν ἡσθῆναι
- 10 μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ καταστάσει τῆς βασιλείας τῆς ἡμετέρας  
 θυσίας δὲ καὶ εὐχὰς ἀποδοῦναι δικαίας καὶ ἡμεῖς δὲ  
 τὴν τε ἐλευθερίαν ὑμῖν φυλάττομεν τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν  
 καὶ τὰ ἄλλα δὲ σύνπαντα δίκαια ὁπόσων παρὰ τῶν πρὸ ἡ-  
 μῶν αὐτοκρατόρων τετυχήκατε συναύξειν ἐτοιμῶς
- 15 ἔχοντες ὑμῶν καὶ τὰς πρὸς τὸ μέλλον ἐλπίδας *arabesque*  
 ν. ἐπρέσβευον Αὐρήλιοι Θεόδωρος καὶ Ὀνήσιμος.  
*vacat* εὐτυχεῖτε *vacat*

I. 1. The first two letters seen in the eighteenth century (Sherard, Wood) but not later. II. 1-2. The erased imperial name supplied by Waddington where Boeckh and all others after him had restored the name of Diocletian. I. 2. Fellows failed to see PXI. I. 3. TPITON seen by all copyists up to and including Waddington, TPITO by the *MAMA* expedition. I. 4. εὐεργέτης after καὶ in the copy transmitted by Raoul-Rochette was rightly omitted in *CIG*; II. 4 and 5. The erased prince's name supplied by Waddington (but in the form Ἐρέννιος Τραϊανὸς Δέκιος Καῖσαρ), where Boeckh had restored the name of Maximian. I. 8. KAI seen by all copyists up to and including Waddington, KA[I] *MAMA*. I. 10. THI, A. and J. I. 13. σύνπαντα Waddington, σύνπαντα Reinach, final H recorded by all copyists except Wood and the *MAMA* expedition—it is very cramped; XONTEΣ Wood, Fellows, EXONTEΣ all other copyists. I. 16. ΕΠΡΕΣΒΥΟΝ ΑΥΡΗΑΙΟΣ, all copyists before Fellows, who gave the correct text.

Emperor Caesar C. Messius Q. Traianus Decius, Pius, Felix, Augustus, holding tribunician power for the third time, consul for the second time, designated for the third, father of his country, proconsul, and Q. Herennius Etruscus Messius Decius, Pontifex Maximus, holding the tribunician power for the first time, consul designate, to the Magistrates, Council and People of the Aphrodisians, greetings. It was to be expected, both because of the goddess for whom your city is named and because of your relationship with the Romans and loyalty to them, that you rejoiced at the establishment of our kingship and made the proper sacrifice and prayers. We preserve your existing freedom and all the other rights which you have received from the emperors who preceded us, being willing also to give fulfilment to your hopes for the future. Aurelius Theodorus and Aurelius Onesimus carried out the duties of ambassadors. Farewell.

II. 1 f. Waddington's identification of the emperor and his son (replacing Boeckh's Diocletian and Maximian) has been confirmed by the reading of their erased names,

which prove to be in their standard form. Waddington believed that there was confusion in the titles and his view that by a cutter's error Herennius has been credited with his father's office of Pontifex Maximus has been generally accepted. In fact coins and some inscriptions appear to give Volusian this title in the reign of Gallus (*RIC* iv. 3, Gallus nos. 138-41, and *CIL* vi, 31240; viii, 10046, 10323) and coins give it also to the younger Philip during his father's reign (*RIC* iv. 3, 232-9); and it is not clear what reason there is for its acceptance for Philip and Volusian which would not also be valid for Herennius. Nevertheless some error must be posited here, since Decius himself should certainly have had the title and Herennius should be called Caesar, which the new reading shows to have been omitted.

The erasure of the two names here and on a small number of other inscriptions is not satisfactorily explained. Since their successor Gallus sought legitimization in part by elevating Decius' younger son Hostilianus to be Augustus it seems improbable that there was any official *damnatio memoriae*.

The figure for Decius' consulates is clear. He was *cos. ii* in 250 and *cos. iii* in 251, so that this letter can be assigned to 250 and in fact to the latter part of it, since his son Herennius did not become Caesar, with tribunician power, until the summer or autumn of the year (in April or June, A. Alföldi, *CAH* xii, 166; H. Mattingly, *RIC* iv. 3, p. 109; in September, F. S. Salisbury and H. Mattingly, *JRS* 14 (1924), 12 f.; L. Fronza, *Annali Triestini* 23 (1953), 330). During his second consulate Decius is recorded also with *trib. pot.*, with *trib. pot. ii* and with *trib. pot. iii*; the explanatory hypothesis offered by Costa (*Diz. Ep.* ii (1910), 1481 f., cf. also L. Fronza, *Annali Triestini* 21 (1951), 240) is that initially Decius counted his first tribunician year from his first *dies imperii* (so that having been *trib. pot.* from June 249 he was *trib. pot. ii* in June 250), but later in 250 opted for the system under which the *trib. pot.* year began on 10 December when the regular tribunes took office (and so was *trib. pot. iii* on 10 December 250). If that is correct this letter was written between 10 December 250 and 1 January 251, when he became *cos. iii*. There would also be little doubt that in using the title ἀνθύπατος here Decius was constitutionally correct (as might be expected of him), since by December he had almost certainly left Rome to proceed against the new barbarian attacks on the Danube frontier.

ll. 8 f. The emperors responded to an Aphrodisian decree of congratulation on accession, clearly for the start of the joint reign of Decius and Herennius (τῆς βασιλείας τῆς ἡμετέρας), although it must be noted that Herennius was not yet called Augustus. On the general style of such letters to Aphrodisias and the principles on which they were selected for inscription, see pp. 107, 110 f. The goddess figures in other such texts, and her appearance here cannot, in itself, be related to Decius' religious policy (on which see A. Alföldi, L. Fronza, *opp. cit.*, above), although the stress on θεοῖσι and εὐχαὶ δίκαιαι might be.

For the formula connecting the name of the goddess with that of the city, cf. doc. 49, l. 2, which is not dated, but is likely to be of the later second or third cent.; οἰκειότης figures quite commonly in texts relating cities and emperors (cf. the material collected by L. Robert, cited p. 4); while it often indicates no more than a friendly relationship, it may imply a closer link, and here, no doubt, is affected by the relation of Aphrodisians to Rome through Aphrodite/Venus and Aeneas; πίστις is a traditional enough quality for an emperor to praise; on βασιλεία see p. 132.

ll. 11 f. The emperors then confirmed Aphrodisian rights as given by preceding emperors and held out some hope of their extension, just as Severus Alexander had done, see doc. 48, l. 10.

The text is a reminder of the benevolently traditionalist attitudes attributed to Decius.

The formula used to name the ambassadors is the standard one for the time (see p. 112). Aurelius Theodorus and Aurelius Onesimus are not otherwise known.

For general considerations of style and characteristics see p. 110 f. The letter is comparatively well drafted before the awkward clause which begins with ἐτοίμως in l. 15.

Traianus Decius appears on coins of Aphrodisias, see *BMC, Caria*, no. 130.

Doc. 25 is the last of its kind and except for a dedication to Salonina (LBW 1625, *MAMA* 453), the last dated inscription so far found on the site before Diocletian. The city was still coining under Gallienus (*BMC, Caria*, pp. 48–52); on the following period see now C. Roueché, 'Rome, Asia and Aphrodisias in the Third Century', *JRS* 71 (1981), 103.

## APPENDICES

In the appendices which follow, the commentaries attached to the texts make no claim to completeness. They are designed to discuss essentially points relevant to the theme of this book and not to provide a full publication.

### Appendix I: Unassigned Fragments, probably from the Archive Wall

Fragments containing single isolated letters only are not included.

A. Found fallen near the west end of the wall. Apart from no. 1, all these fragments are likely to come from docs. 4 and 16–19.

1. Possibly from a heading.

Cornice block (inv. no. 67. 534;  $0.81 \times 0.30 \times 0.90$ ).

Letters, second–third cent. A.D.: ll. 1, 2, 0.035; 1. 3, 0.03; star stop at the end of l. 3.

...]ΥΝΤΑΣΑ[...

...]χεῖν v. [...

...] Ῥωμαίων *stop vac.* [...

1. 2. Perhaps from συμμαχεῖν ?

2. Possibly from doc. 19 as letter sizes and spacing suggest. Top edge survives.

Inv. no. 69. 311 ( $0.075 \times 0.135 \times c. 0.15$ ).

Letters, second–third cent. A.D.: 0.023; a line has been scored between ll. 2 and 3.

...]ΠΟ[...

...]!Ε[...

...]ΔΙΑ[...

[...

3. Fragment with left-hand edge only; inv. no. 69. 469 ( $0.055 \times 0.09 \times 0.058$ ).

Letters, second–third cent. A.D.: 0.02.

...]

!![...

ΣΔ[...

Υ! [...

[...

4. Fragment with bottom edge only; inv. no. 69. 466 ( $0.09 \times 0.095 \times 0.07$ ).  
Letters, second-third cent. A.D.: 0.02.

...]  
...]B[...  
...]O![...

5. Fragments without edges, all catalogued under inv. no. 69. 469.  
*a*  $0.16 \times 0.12 \times 0.02$ .  
Letters, 0.02.

...]  
...]Λ!E[...  
...]TH[...  
...] v. [...  
[...

- b*  $0.07 \times 0.07 \times 0.018$ .  
Letters, 0.02.

...]  
...]E! [...  
...]!Δ[...  
[...

1. 2. Δ might be A or Λ.

- c*  $0.05 \times 0.095 \times 0.05$ .  
Letters, 0.02.

...]  
...]!Λ[...  
...]ΥΣΤ[...  
...] v. [...  
[...

- d*  $0.08 \times 0.06 \times 0.01$ .  
Letters, 0.022.

...]  
...]ΤΗΞ[...  
[...

*e* 0·05 × 0·06 × 0·05.

Letters not measurable.

...]  
 ...]ΚΟ[...  
 ...]!Ο[...  
 [...

B. Found re-used in the Byzantine defence wall (p. xvii). Some fragments found in this wall came not from the archive wall but from other monuments and it may be, therefore, that not all the items listed below belong to the archive.

1. Fragments with top edges.

*a* Inv. no. 76. 63 (0·105 × 0·115 × 0·105).

Letters: I. 1, 0·022; II. 2, 3, 0·02.

...]!ΝΟΥΣ[...  
 ...]φυλα[...  
 ...]ΑΤΑΣ[  
 [...

I. 2, from φυλάττειν (φυλάσσειν) or, possibly, φυλάξ

*b* Inv. no. 76. 196. 6 + 10, two adjoining pieces (0·055 × 0·17 × 0·04).

Letters, 0·02.

...]!ΕΙ[...  
 ...]ΕΙ[...  
 ...]ΠΙΣ[...  
 ...]ΣΤ[...  
 [...

2. Fragment without edges, inv. no. 76. 64 (0·12 × 0·10 × 0·10).

Letters, 0·024.

...]  
 ...]Α!![...  
 ...]ΑΡΥ[...  
 ...]ΠΛ[...  
 [...

I. 2. ?παρ' ὑμῶν, γ]άρ υ[ . . ., or from βαρυ-

## Appendix II : William Sherard's copies of Aphrodisian inscriptions

A short account of visits made to Aphrodisias by the botanist, William Sherard, who copied inscriptions there in 1705, 1709 and 1716, has been given by J. M. R. Cormack in *Notes on the History of the Inscribed Monuments of Aphrodisias* (Reading, 1955), 43 f. (cf. also, very briefly, L. Robert, *Ét. Anat.* 438 f., and *Hell.* XIII, 159 f.). Cormack discussed the history of the various manuscripts which contain texts of the inscriptions seen on these visits, especially those now in the British Library. Following a clue in the Library's catalogue, he established the important facts that B.M. Add. 10101, pp. 8–117*b* are in Sherard's own hand (although with later annotation by others); and that the remaining manuscripts in London, with the possible exception of Harl. 7509 (on which see below), are copies made by various scholars who were either working from Sherard's manuscript, or, if they accompanied him and had seen the stones themselves, were very much less competent as epigraphists than he was (e.g. the doctor A. Picenini, to whom Cormack attributed most of B.M. Add. 10102 and who gave a set of transcripts to Ezekiel Spanheim which is now in Berlin, see Cormack, 44).

B.M. Add. 10101 is conventionally regarded as comprising four books (one for each of Sherard's journeys in 1705 and 1716 and two, overlapping in content, for that of 1709), of which the last (iv) is a fair copy in a different style, and possibly in a different hand, from the rest. Books I–III, in the hand which Cormack identified as that of Sherard, contain topographical information and some description of the stones, as well as transcriptions of what was inscribed on them. The transcriptions are written in ink, in clear and confident, if comparatively roughly-formed, Greek capitals, occasionally showing ligatures, quite often cancellation of letters for second thoughts written in the same hand above or beside them, in pencil, pencil inked over, or in a darker ink (and perhaps with a thinner nib to the pen), and sometimes also, again in the same hand, ideas for the restoration of lost areas (which are normally distinguishable from the notes added later by others). Where the inscriptions survive, comparison shows a high standard of accuracy in most of these copies, both for the texts and for the layouts (see e.g. Plates V and VI).

In the other manuscripts, including Harl. 7509, which Cormack believed might be partly in Sherard's hand, there are no topographical or descriptive details with the fair copies of the texts, no indications of ligatures and no alternatives to the readings offered; while quite often the readings of Add. 10101 are replaced by alternatives which are sometimes patently conjectures recorded in it (see p. 81 f. on doc. 8, ll. 46 f.), and very commonly its layout is misrepresented (for the kind of change compare Plate XVII, 1 from Harl. 7509 with Plates XV–XVI from Add. 10101). There can be no doubt that the first three books of Add. 10101 (pp. 8–117*b*) give the best version of what Sherard saw. They may even be his field note-book, for in some cases it seems to me that the most natural explanation of the corrections in them would be that they were made in front of the stone (see Plate VI, l. 8); although he certainly worked over them later in the study. Texts in this manuscript should be preferred to any others.

Sherard's collection of transcriptions was to have been used by Edmund Chishull for his *Antiquitates Asiaticae*, and two texts (doc. 6 and what Sherard saw of doc. 8) were included in Vol. I, which was the only one to appear. Comparison

between Chishull's version and that of Add. 10101 shows that, although he was a considerable scholar, he belonged to an academic tradition in which it was not thought very necessary to distinguish between an editor's corrections or supplements and the text from which he worked.

Chishull died before the completion of his second volume, and Sherard's material was not further exploited until K. O. Müller made copies derived from it, which A. Boeckh used in the preparation of *CIG* (Boeckh also used other copies available in Europe, notably that in the Spanheim papers in Berlin, but was aware that these were of inferior quality). In his correspondence with Boeckh, *Briefwechsel zwischen A. Boeckh und K. O. Müller* (1883), 81 f., Müller refers in this connection to two codices in the British Museum Library ('den Sherard'schen und Askew'schen') and identifies the former as Harl. 7509 and the latter as B.M. Add. 5106. Of Harl. 7509 Cormack thought that 'it seems likely that part I was written by Sherard himself and part II by Chishull' (49 f.); I feel less conviction that any part of it was written by Sherard, but whether or not Cormack was right in this, the copies in this manuscript lack useful information available in Add. 10101 and suppress a number of readings in the original transcription; they must, therefore, be regarded as inferior in value to those of Add. 10101. B.M. Add. 5106 (once owned by a Dr. Anthony Askew) starts with a few pages printed for Chishull's second volume and continues with manuscript versions of the inscriptions as written out by a Professor John Ward of Gresham's College, who took over Chishull's papers after his death with the intention of completing his work (Cormack, 50). It certainly represents an inferior version of the textual tradition, including much that probably derives from Chishull's 'corrections' of Sherard's readings, although Ward had seen Add. 10101, for beside his copy of each inscription he wrote both the page number on which the text is to be found in Harl. 7509 (preceded by the letter O) and that on which it is to be found in Add. 10101 (preceded by BI, BII, BIII, to indicate the books into which that manuscript is subdivided).

In the lemmata of the Aphrodisian inscriptions published in *CIG*, Boeckh referred to some of Müller's copies as made *ex cod. Sherard. (vel sim.)*; the page references given, as well as the texts, show that these were taken from Harl. 7509. He also referred to copies made *ex cod. Ask.* (citing book number I, App. II, III) and from *cod. Chishull. I*; in all these cases the page references could be to Add. 10101, but there are sufficient divergences in the texts to make it reasonably certain that, as Müller's letter would suggest, those page references were taken from Ward's annotation to Add. 5106. Müller was probably—and understandably—misled by what seems to have been the British Museum's view at that time, that Add. 10101 simply contained Chishull's working notes. It now appears, therefore, that the Aphrodisian texts in *CIG* are not taken from the best record of what Sherard saw; and in fact both in the present work and in the corpus of Aphrodisian inscriptions being prepared by Charlotte Roueché and myself it will be possible to give a number of improved readings from Add. 10101 even for inscriptions which have not been rediscovered subsequently. It is to be noted that the importance of Add. 10101 was already to some extent recognized by the editors of *Sardis VII, Greek and Latin Inscriptions*, cf. the lemma to no. 31.

### Appendix III : Artemidorus

The name Artemidorus is common in the city and occurs several times even in the small group of late Republican texts ; but it is uncertain at present whether any of the men so recorded should be identified with the Artemidorus who was ambassador, *stephanephoros* and leader of the Aphrodisian contingent which went to assist Q. Oppius against Mithridates in 88 B.C. (docs. 2, 3, 4). Among the following items, however, some should refer to him.

1. The names Artemidorus and Artemidorus son of Artemidorus the son of Andron appear on some coins of Plarasa/Aphrodisias (*BMC Caria*, p. 26, nos. 8, 9).

#### 2. DOCUMENT 26

Four adjoining fragments of a low base (together, c.  $1.10 \times 0.32 \times 0.25$ ) inscribed on one face and with traces of statuary on top. Found dispersed, three fragments in the temple of Aphrodite (inv. nos. 62. 95 *a* and *b*, 62. 96), one in the west portico of Tiberius (inv. no. 74. 274) ; now assembled in Aphrodisias Museum.

Letters, lightly and rather poorly cut, probably mid first cent. B.C. but without close parallel : 0.025–3 ; □ for sigma.

Assembly of fragments by Charlotte Roueché.

Plate XXII, 2.

Ἄρτεμιδ[ωρ]ος Ἄρτεμιδώρου τοῦ Ἀπολλ[λωνίου] τὸν . . ? . .  
Ἄφ[ρ]οδίτ[η] ὃν ἐπηγγίλατο Ἄρτεμιδωρ[ος] Ἀπολλωνίου

1. 2 at the left end the surface is worn ; deliberate erasure of the name of the goddess is possible.

Artemidorus, son of Artemidorus, son of Apollonius (dedicated) to Aphrodite [the ? ] which Artemidorus [son of ? Apollonius] promised.

It is probable that here a son dedicated what his father had promised. From the letter forms the dedicator's father might well be of the Mithridatic War period.

3. An Artemidorus son of Apollonius appears in an unpublished list of names cut on the podium of the temple of Aphrodite in a hand which is probably of the first century B.C.

#### 4. DOCUMENT 27

Marble base, re-used as a block in the wall of the north analemma of the theatre, at the orchestra end (inv. no. 67. 551 ;  $0.72 \times 1.55 \times 0.51$ ) inscribed on the

exposed face which is chipped along the edges. Clamp holes have been cut into the area between ll. 3 and 4, one of which has damaged the lettering of l. 4.

Letters, perhaps Augustan—first cent. A.D. : av. 0·03–0·04.

Plate XXI, 3.

*Arabesque* Ἀρτεμίδωρος  
 Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Πε-  
 ρείτου στεφανηφορή-  
 σας. Κότας ἀνέθηκεν  
 5 τῷ δήμῳ τὴν εἰκόνα *arabesque*  
*vacat*

Artemidorus, son of Apollonius the son of Pereitas, former *stephanephoros*; Kotas dedicated the statue to the Demos.

The base and its statue could have been part of the Artemidorus monument (p. 11) in its original (probably Augustan) form; the base was no doubt re-used when the stage was remodelled in the middle second century A.D. Kotas is otherwise unknown.

5. Possibly related is the family group which built a prodomon (*CIG* 2754, of which one stone only has been found; its letter-forms suggest a late Republican/Augustan date). It includes an Artemidorus, son of Myon, and his sons, of whom one was named Apollonius.

6. Also possibly related is an Apollonius, son of [? Artemi]dorus, once astynomos, who dedicated to Aphrodite and the Demos (unpublished inscription; the date of the lettering is probably late Republican/Augustan).

7. Another possible relation is Antipatros, son of Artemidorus, once gymasiarch (unpublished inscription; the date of the lettering is probably late Republican/Augustan).

For possible descendants see Appendix VI, nos. 1, 14, 15.

#### Appendix IV : An Aphrodisian of the late Republic honoured for bravery

The following inscriptions, which probably all refer to the same man, illustrate important aspects of the history of Aphrodisias and of her relations with Rome in the first century B.C.

#### DOCUMENT 28

Not rediscovered. Stone broken above and to the right, found by P. Paris and M. Holleaux among bushes near the stadium. The irregular letters and the content suggested a Republican date, but no illustration has been published.

P. Paris and M. Holleaux, *BCH* 9 (1885), 74 f., no. 5; whence Liermann, *Analecta* 9 f.; and the notes of Th. Reinach, no. 79 (the text); L. Robert, *Ét. Anat.* 312 f. (text); *Aph* 422; *RDGE*, p. 169; G. W. Bowersock, *AJPh* 91 (1970), 226 (all on content and date).

...]  
 τοῖς [ ...?.. ἐν τοῖς]  
 ἀνανκαιοτάτοις καιροῖς διατηρήσαντα [τὰ ] κοινὰ καὶ [.....?.....]  
 καὶ στεφανηφορήσαντα καὶ γυμνασιάρχῃ [σαντα .....?..... καὶ]  
 ἀγορανομήσαντα ἐν τῇ χαλεπωτάτῃ σε[ιτοδείᾳ .....?..... καὶ τὰς]  
 5 ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἀρχὰς ἀνυπευθύνους τε[λέσαντα .....?..... καὶ πρεσ]-  
 βεύσαντα πρὸς τοὺς ἡγουμένους εἰς Ῥώμ[ην.....?.....]  
 λους καὶ ἐν παντοδαποῖς κινδύνοις καὶ πρᾶ[γμασιν.....?.....καὶ καταγω]-  
 νισάμενον τοὺς ἐναντίους καὶ ἐξήκον[τα αὐτῶν ἀποκτείναντα .....?.....]  
 καὶ πλείστας ἐγγύας ὑπὲρ πολλῶν ἐκτεί[σαντα καὶ ἱερατεύσαντα τῆς Ἐκάτης εὐσε]-  
 10 βῶς συνεχωρηῆσθαι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἐνταφ[ῆν ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ καὶ δίδοσθαι αὐτῷ ἀπὸ  
 τῶν]  
 δημοσίᾳ θυομένων γέρα· ἐ[ξεῖναι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τοὺς στεφάνους φορεῖν....?....]  
 [οῖς ἐστεφάνωται ὅταν βούληται ?*vacat*]

ll. 1-7, 9, 10. The restorations are by Paris and Holleaux; with a modification in l. 10 where Reinach and Robert corrected ἐνταφ[ῆναι to ἐνταφ[ῆν after discovery of doc. 29; l. 8 was restored by Robert; ll. 11 f. are conjectured from doc. 29.

...] having preserved the common interest in most stressful crises and [. . . ? . . .] having been stephanephoros and gymnasiarch [. . . ? . . . and] agoranomos in a most serious [famine . . . ? . . . and held] offices not subject to account during the wars [. . . ? . . . and] been ambassador to the authorities in Rome [. . . ? . . .] and in all kinds of dangers and ? affairs [. . . ? . . .] having struggled against the enemy and [killed] sixty [of them] and having given bail on many occasions on behalf of many people [. . . ? . . . and ? having served as priest of Hecate] with piety; and that burial [in the gymnasium] be conceded to him [and the grant of] the gifts of honour from public sacrifices [. . .

Of particular interest here are the stressful crises in which the honorand served, the famine during which he was appointed *agoranomos*, the times of war in which he held office without being subject to accounts and was responsible for the death of sixty of the enemy, the unspecified but various dangers that he risked, the embassy to Rome, the need for payments of bail and the very remarkable honours he received, among which, as Robert has pointed out, burial in the gymnasium shows that he ranked as a founder.

For identity and date see pp. 152, 154.

## DOCUMENT 29

Plain marble base (0.74 × 1.005 × 0.34) inscribed on the exposed face. Built into the city wall, east stretch.

Letters, ll. 1-13, late Republican, indistinguishable from those of docs. 34, 35: 0.025-0.035; ll. 14-17, first cent. A.D., av. 0.022; in l. 8 T is cut over Θ.

*CIG* 2796 (ll. 1-13 only) from Sherard (see Appendix II); *LBW* 1601b; whence

Liermann, *Analecta* 17 f., no. III, Th. Reinach, no. 79 (mainly on l. 8); L. Robert, *Ét. Anat.*, p. 313, n. 2 (mainly on the subject and his relation to Callicrates son of Molossus); *MAMA* 406; illustration and brief note by J. Reynolds in *PCPS* 206 (1980), 72.

Plate XXII, 3.

...]

!NIA [. . c. 7 . .]Σ και [. . .]OTIA! και κο[i]-  
 νῶς πρὸς πάντας και ἰδίᾳ πρ[ὸς]  
 ἕκαστον φιλανθρώπως και πλείσ-  
 τας ἐγγύας ὑπὲρ πολλῶν ἐκτε[ι]-  
 5 σαντα και ἱερατεύσαντα πρὸ πό-  
 λεως τῆς Ἑκάτης ὁσίως και  
 εὐσεβῶς, συνεχωρήθη αὐτῷ  
 και ἔνταφὴν ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ  
 δίδοσθαι δὲ αὐτῷ και ἀπὸ  
 10 τῶν δημοσίᾳ θυομένων γέρα  
 ἐξεῖναι δὲ αὐτῷ και τοὺς στε-  
 [φ]άνους φορεῖν οἷς ἔστεφάνω-  
 ται ὅταν βούληται *vacat*  
 Καλλικράτης Μολόσσου ἱερεὺς  
 15 Μηνὸς Ἀσκαينوῦ και Ἑρμοῦ Ἀγοραίου  
 τὰς τῶν προπατόρων τιμὰς  
 ἐπισκευάσας ἀποκαθέστησεν

l. 1, . . . KOY Sherard; εὐν]οῖα και κ[ο]ι] *MAMA*; l. 8, ἔνταφῆν[αι] *CIG*, ἔνταφῆναι *LBW*, ἔνταφῆ[ν] Th. R.; l. 12, Sherard saw the initial φ.

. . .] and [. . ? . .] to all in common and with kindness to individuals severally and having given bail on many occasions on behalf of many people, and having been priest of Hecate on behalf of the city, burial in the gymnasium was conceded to him and the grant of the gifts of honour from public sacrifices and permission to wear the crowns with which he has been crowned whenever he wishes.

Callicrates son of Molossus, priest of Men Ascainus and Hermes Agoraius, repaired and replaced the honours of his ancestors.

The very remarkable privileges conferred make it highly probable that the same man is the subject of both docs. 28 and 29, as Robert suggested. The two texts were not, however, exact duplicates, for mechanical supplementation of 28 from 29 gives too uneven a line-length to be tolerable. For the subject see further below. For his identity and date see p. 154.

Callicrates son of Molossus is known also from docs. 35, 36 and *MAMA* 445; he may belong to the same family as Aristocles Molossus who was responsible for additions to the theatre in the Julio-Claudian period (*MAMA* 435, 436, 468). His own career and priesthoods will be discussed in the Aphrodisian corpus now in preparation. His dedication(s) θεοῖς Σεβαστοῖς are likely, from such prosopographical evidence as I have so far collected, to be later than Livia's deification in A.D. 41,

although in Asia Minor she was sometimes linked with Augustus in divinity much earlier. What he repaired and restored was presumably what stood on the inscribed base, no doubt a portrait statue; the base itself needed little or no repair for, as the hand shows, the inscription survives in its original form. Why restoration was needed is unfortunately not recorded, but perhaps because of earthquake damage, and if so possibly under Trajan (cf. on doc. 55 which may be Trajanic).

## DOCUMENT 30

Marble block (inv. no. 77. 137; 0.68 × 0.84 × 0.28) inscribed on one face which is damaged along all edges; there are three holes in the top for an attachment. Part of a composite monument whose text began on an upper block, and continued on a lower one or on one adjacent to the right. Stray find from the south stretch of the city wall; now in Aphrodisias Museum.

Letters, late Republican: ll. 1, 2, av. 0.028; ll. 3, 4, av. 0.024; ll. 5-17, av. 0.022; ll. 18-20, av. 0.018; A at the end of l. 4 written small.

## Plate XXIII, 1.

<p>...]          σωτήρα καὶ εὐεργέτην [...] ἐκ πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων κινδύνων σεσωκότα τὴν πατρι-          [i]δα πᾶσι τοῖς ἐνστάσι τῆ πα-          5 τριδι πολέμοις ἀγωνισάμενον ἀνδρείως καὶ διαφυλάξαντα τὰ ἐμπιστευθέντα ὀχυρώματα ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως καὶ πίστει ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαιοτάτοις καιροῖς          10 διατηρήσαντα τῶι κοινῶι καὶ τὰς</p>	<p>ἀρχὰς πάσας τελέσαντα καθαρῶς καὶ δικα(i)ῶς καὶ συμφε-          ρόντως τῆ πόλει καὶ στεφανη-          φορήσαντα καὶ γυμνασιαρχή ν.-          15 σαντα μεγαλομερῶς καὶ πολυδαπάνως καὶ ἱερατεύσαντα Ῥώμης καὶ ἀγορανομήσαντα ἐν τῆ χαλε ν.-          πωτάτῃ σιτοδείᾳ καὶ σῆτον εὖωνον παράσχοντα τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀνηλώμα-          20 σιν καὶ τὰς ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἀρχά[5]          [...]</p>
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In l. 12 there is a faint trace which may represent inefficient cutting of l between A and Ω.

...] saviour and benefactor, having saved his country from many and great dangers, having fought bravely in all the wars which beset his country, having guarded the forts entrusted to him by the city and preserved faith to the common interest (?) in the most difficult circumstances, having filled all the magistracies with integrity and justice and to the advantage of the city, having been *stephanephoros* and gymnasiarch, in which offices he was magnificently generous, having held the priesthood of Rome, having been *agoranomos* at a time of most serious famine and provided corn at a fair price at his own expense, [having held] offices in the wars [...]

The formulae in ll. 9 f. are not identical with those of doc. 28, ll. 2 f., but the overlap in content is sufficient to suggest very strongly that both texts refer to the same man. The similarity both in appearance and subject matter to doc. 29 makes it very likely that both are from the same monument.

The praiseworthy activities added to the subject's record and the new details of his career (assuming him to be the same man) fall, for the most part, within a range commonly covered by late Hellenistic civic decrees; the quasi-titles, Saviour and Benefactor, accord with the unusual privileges recorded in docs. 28, 29 to indicate the very high importance attached to his public services (for their being used of another local man of approximately the same period see doc. 37). For his identity and date see below.

For τὰ κοινά cf. at Aphrodisias *CIG* 2779, ἄνδρα περὶ τὰ κοι[ν]ὰ τῆς πόλεως φιλότιμον.

The dea Roma at Aphrodisias is here attested for the second time (see also doc. 1, l. 1); for some discussion see J. Reynolds, *PCPS* 206 (1980), 70.

### DOCUMENT 31

Five adjoining fragments from the upper part of a marble base (stray find; inv. no. 62. 267), with a sixth which belongs but does not adjoin (inv. no. 71. 29), found near the theatre (together, 0.46 × 0.57 surviving × c. 0.22) inscribed on one face; now assembled in Aphrodisias Museum.

Letters, very like those of docs. 29, 30: 0.03–0.035.

Assembly of fragments by Charlotte Rouché.

#### Plate XXIII, 2.

[?ν. Καλ]λικράτης ν.	μεν[ο]ς ὑπὲρ τῆς [ν. ?]
[Πυ]θοδώρου τὴν	[πατριδ]ος συνπ[αρχα ?]-
[Ν]ίκην ἐν π[ᾶσι τοῖς]	[?γεγ]ενημένην α[ὐ]-
πολέμο[ις καὶ κιν]-	[τῶι] ἀνέθηκεν τῶι
5 δύνοις ἀγων[ισά]-	10 [? vac.] vac. Δή[μ]ωι vac.

Callicrates, son of Pythodorus, dedicated to the Demos the Victory which accompanied him in all the wars and dangers in which he strove on his country's behalf.

The phrasing of ll. 3–7 here and the similarity of the letter-forms to those of docs. 29, 30 make it highly probable that the same man is the subject of all three texts and almost certainly, therefore, also of doc. 28. Robert had already conjectured that the subject of 28 might be an ancestor of Callicrates son of Molossus; it can hardly now be doubted.

The date remains open to argument. Paris and Holleaux, who took the ἡγούμενοι of doc. 28, l. 6 to be the triumvirs, associated the fighting described with the War of Labienus. Robert, while proving that the ἡγούμενοι were unspecified 'Roman authorities', retained the association with the War of Labienus. Bowersock argued for the First Mithridatic War on the grounds that the phrases used are paralleled at that period; but these had a long life, so that the argument is not absolutely compelling. The letter-forms of the new inscriptions are not very helpful clues, since as yet there is no adequate comparative material from the site. They seem to me to be later than those of doc. 1 but more primitive than those in several Aphrodisian inscriptions known to be of the triumviral or early Augustan periods;

but since these are building inscriptions which aimed at a grander effect they should not be taken to represent the standard for honorary texts. On the other hand, doc. 3 suggests that there was little or no fighting in Aphrodisian territory in 88 (see also p. 4); while the claim that Callicrates and the city were involved in several wars is difficult to understand if his career centred on the Mithridatic period. If his main exploits belonged to the War of Labienus, when fighting in Aphrodisian territory is attested (docs. 7–13), it is perfectly possible to envisage other clashes in which he might be involved during the civil wars of the times, in the war of Pompey and Caesar, for instance, or the régime of Brutus and Cassius in Asia. Of course, if Callicrates were certainly identified with the original dedicant of the Victory of doc. 32 a Caesarian/triumviral date for his activities would be proved; I think it very probable indeed, but hesitate to claim certainty.

There is no difficulty in providing supplements for ll. 1–6, given the parallels in docs. 29–31. In l. 8 the end of a participle shows that the text has returned to a description of Νίκη which must have begun in the second half of l. 6; my proposal gives the right kind of sense and fits what survives. For Victory accompanying the victorious see also doc. 32, ll. 1, 2; the claim here might seem arrogant if Callicrates' successes were not so closely associated with his city.

## DOCUMENT 32

Four adjoining pieces of marble, two found re-used in a field wall north of the stadium and two brought in as stray finds (inv. nos. 62. 268 A + B); now assembled into the upper part of a marble base (together, 0.50 × 0.79 × 0.24) in Aphrodisias Museum.

Letters, first cent. A.D., possibly archaizing: 0.022; ll. 1, 2 are cut rather more lightly than the rest.

*MAMA* 446 (two fragments only) whence E. Lane, *Berytus* 15 (1964), 27, corrected by L. Robert, *Hell.* XIII, 128 f.; E. N. Lane, *Corpus Monumentorum Dei Menis* I. 120; J. Reynolds, *PCPS* 206 (1980), 71 f., with plate 1.

Assembly of fragments by Charlotte Roueché; acknowledgments for discussion to Michael Crawford, Jocelyn Toynbee (the lion).

## Plate XXIV, 1.

Νίκη πάρειμ[ι] θεογένε[ι]  
 Καίσαρι ἀεὶ *vacat* [? *vacat*]  
*vacat*  
 θεοῖς Σεβαστοῖς καὶ τῶ[ι]  
 Δήμῳ τὴν Νίκην καὶ τὸν  
 5 [?λ]έοντα *vac.* Καλ[λ]ικράτης  
 Μολόσσου ἱερ[εὺς] Μηνῶς  
 [Ἰ]σκαίου καὶ Ἐ[ρ]μοῦ Ἀ[γ]οραίου [?τὰ]  
 [π]ρογονικὰ ἀν[α]θήματα αὐτὸ[ς]  
 [ἔ]πισκεύασα[ς] ἀποκαθέστησε[ν]

l. 1, πα[ντ]εῖμ[ω ἀγάλματα?] *MAMA*, π[α]ρ[ε]ῖμ[ι] R.; l. 2, Καισάρεια εἰ *MAMA*, Καίσαρ[ι] αἰ R.; l. 6, ἱε[ρεῦς Μηνὸς Ἄσ]- *MAMA*; l. 7, καινοῦ καὶ Ἐρ[μοῦ Ἄγοραίου τὰ] *MAMA*; ἀν[αθήματα πάντα] *MAMA*; [ἐπ]ισκευάσας [ἀποκαθέστησεν] *MAMA*.

I, Victory, am always with Caesar, of divine descent. *vacat* To the divine Augusti and the Demos, the Victory and the ?lion; Callicrates son of Molossus, priest of Men Ascainus and Hermes Agoraius, repaired and restored the dedications of his ancestors.

Robert offered parallels for the phrase Νίκη πάρεμι, cf. also doc. 31, ll. 6 f. Θεογένης in this context seems to be unique. In discussing it (op. cit. above) I have concluded that it can only apply to Julius Caesar, with reference to the advertised origins of the *gens Julia*; cf., at approximately the same time as this must have been cut, *I. Eph.*, no. 251, in which Caesar is described as τὸν ἀπὸ Ἄρεως καὶ Ἀφροδε[ι]της θεὸν ἐπιφανῆ. It is interesting that in Aphrodite's city it was not necessary to spell out the details of the genealogy; there Aphrodite was the θεός *par excellence*, and θεογένης automatically meant her descendant.

The stimulus for the monument may well have been the victory of Pharsalia, which made such a mark as to be used for the starting-point of an era at Ephesus (*AE* 1975, 797); but Zela, even Munda, can hardly be excluded. The companion of Victory which was named in l. 5 is not easy to restore except as a lion, and is then without obvious parallel, see Reynolds, op. cit., but note now a damaged stele, brought into the Museum in 1979, which carries a relief figuring what may be Victory and a lion. It might be connected with the fact that Leo was Caesar's birthstar (S. Weinstock, *Divus Julius* 119, n. 8), but he does not seem to have made play with it. Lions are also associated with Antony (*RRC* 740, n. 1, 743), though the symbolism is unclear; Crawford suggested a reference to Alexander. It may be relevant, however, that the lion plays some part in the local cult of Aphrodite, where Laumonier connects it with her title Ourania and the features which she shares with Cybele (*Cultes* 488, 579); there is a damaged marble lion in the area immediately west of the Temple of Aphrodite, for instance.

Since the letter-forms of ll. 1, 2 are a little different from those of ll. 3 f., but not substantially so, the text was probably recut as part of the restoration. Its present appearance is not, therefore, an obstacle to the identification of the anonymous original dedicator with Callicrates son of Pythodorus, who lived in the Caesarian/Triumviral period (doc. 31). The appearance in doc. 31 as well as here of the motif of the victory who accompanies the victorious continuously may, indeed, seem to favour that identification. For its implications see p. 155.

The restoration is quite likely to have followed an earthquake in the reign of Trajan, see p. 153 on doc. 29.

## Appendix V: C. Iulius Zoilus

Assembled here are the Aphrodisian inscriptions other than those on the Archive Wall (docs. 10, 11) which mention C. Iulius Zoilus. The significance of Zoilus for the history of Aphrodisias was brought out recently by L. Robert (*Aph*

408 f.), whose discussion remains outstandingly important, although it was written before the new material was discovered. There is also a brief note on him by S. Weinstock, *Divus Julius* (1971), 140, unfortunately based in part on incorrect datings of the texts. I have myself drawn already on the new evidence in a short account published as an appendix to Andreas Alföldi's *Aeon in Mérida und Aphrodisias* (*Madriker Beiträge* 1979, 38 f.).

Zoilus was an Aphrodisian who was enslaved and subsequently freed by Octavian (doc. 36); that, at least, seems to me the natural explanation of the evidence. *P. Oxy.* 3312 (ed. J. Rea, 1978; brought to my notice by Michael Crawford) might indicate that a freeborn man had entered the imperial civil service, voluntarily assuming the status of a freedman; whether or not that is so (and I agree with the editor that it is unlikely) what might happen in the second century A.D. is an unsafe guide, I think, to the first century B.C. The peculiar status-indication that Zoilus uses in doc. 36, with its stress on *divus Julius*, may suggest that he had been a slave of Caesar's, inherited by Octavian, but of course does not prove it. He is first mentioned in a letter written by Octavian, probably in early 38, to an agent of Antony's in Laodicea ad Lycum (doc. 10) and since the agent is expected to know who he is, it may be that he had been operating in Aphrodisias for some time. In my earlier treatment I suggested the possibility that he had stayed there continuously since Caesar's campaign in Asia; but, as Michael Crawford has urged on me, the language of doc. 10 seems to indicate that he had recommended himself personally to Octavian, which must mean that he had been in Europe with him. Since it also indicates that Antony's agent in Laodicea could be expected to know of him, he may have returned to Asia after Philippi, or perhaps only in 38 after the award of privileges to his city (in which case Octavian assumes his local notoriety as a man of confidence just arrived from Rome).

Octavian, in certain circumstances, advertised the influence of Zoilus as an important factor in securing privileges for Aphrodisias (doc. 10); the city, in consequence no doubt, conferred on him honours unusual for a man of freed status. He became priest for life of Aphrodite and of Eleutheria (doc. 33), *stephanephoros* ten times in succession (doc. 36), was acclaimed saviour and benefactor (doc. 37), and honoured with a remarkable sculptured monument (doc. 34). In addition he was entrusted with the task of marking out the boundaries of the sanctuary of Aphrodite as defined in the *senatus consultum* of 39 B.C. (doc. 35). He must have been very rich even to make his gift towards the building of the theatre (doc. 36); his life-priesthoods indicate endowment of the cults; he seems also to have made a contribution to the building of the temple of Aphrodite (doc. 37) and possibly a third, to the agora (doc. 39).

Robert associated him with contemporary figures like C. Iulius Theopompus at Cnidos, protégés of powerful Romans who mediated for their cities the grant of privileges by Rome. He is, however, unique among them at present in being a freedman. It is reasonable to guess that he became a slave through capture in war, possibly during the Caesarian civil war. He must have been a man of some education to serve his masters in the manner in which he obviously did. It is not inconceivable that he belonged by birth to the local governing class, although in that case it would surely have been normal for him to be ransomed; and his advertisement of his freed status subsequently would be quite remarkable, showing a complete reversal

of established social prejudices in the conditions of the Roman civil wars and in the face of the power which a Roman magnate's freedman could deploy among provincials. Even if, as I think more probable, he was born into a class below the local aristocracy, his acceptance by the Aphrodisians as a man on a level with that aristocracy, because of his connection with Octavian, demonstrates some such reversal, although not to quite so startling a degree.

The documents are as follows :

### DOCUMENT 33

Broken block found during Gaudin's expedition, in excavation of the façade of the Hadrianic Baths. Not rediscovered.

Letters, 0·02.

Th. Reinach, no. 54 ; L. Robert, *Aph* 414, after re-examination of the squeeze ; cf. also Vagts, 35, n. 8 ; S. Weinstock, *Divus Julius* (1971), 140 f.

[ἡ βουλ]ῆ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐτ[ε]ίμησεν  
[Γά]ϊον Ἰούλιον Ζώϊλον τὸν  
[ιε]ρ[ε]ὰ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης καὶ τῆς  
[Ἐ]λευθερίας διὰ βίου

1. 2. [ἀρχι]ερ[ε]ὰ, Reinach (whence Vagts), [ιε]ρ[ε]ὰ, Robert.

The council and the people honoured C. Iulius Zoilus, the priest of Aphrodite and of Eleutheria for life.

Robert noted that Aphrodite was served at Aphrodisias not by a high priest, as Reinach's supplement assumed, but by a priest. It seems probable that Zoilus was selected for this position after the passage of the *senatus consultum* (doc. 8) which was represented as due in some sense to his influence (doc. 10), and that his major function was to mark out the new boundaries of Aphrodite's sanctuary (doc. 35) granted thereby (doc. 8, ll. 57 f.); this work was presumably undertaken as soon as possible after news of the grant reached the city. It is also to be presumed that the passage of the *senatus consultum* conferring liberty was the occasion for the creation of the cult of Eleutheria in which he is likely to have been instrumental, given his endowment of the cult implied by his life priesthood. The cult is attested also in doc. 39, and on coins (see p. 82) ; it was, as Weinstock noted, an altogether new development, which he regarded as a Greek version of Caesar's *Libertas*, and while it is now certain that it was not Caesar who gave to the Aphrodisians the freedom celebrated, he may still be right on its conceptual origins.

### DOCUMENT 34. The Zoilus frieze.

A. Dönmez, *ILN*, 25 April 1959 ; A. Giuliano, *ASAA* 37-8 (1960), 389 f. ; K. T. Erim, *Archaeology* 15 (1962), 58 ; *ILN*, 13 January 1962, 27 February 1965 ;

whence *Bull. Ep.* 1963, no. 249; L. Robert, *Aph* 427 f.; A. Alföldi, *op. cit.* on p. 157, 13 f.; and K. T. Erim, *ibid.*, 35 f.

The frieze is sculptured on a series of panels and fragments of panels from a major monument of late Republican or early Augustan date, whose original location is unclear. Its reliefs show figures, beside many of which there are inscriptions (Πόλις, Δῆμο[ς], Ἀνδρῆα, Ἀρ[ετή], Τιμή, Μνήμη, Αἰών and (twice) Ζώιλος beside a male figure who is perhaps being crowned by Πόλις and by Τιμή); a loose fragment, which probably belongs, preserves no sculpture but has the name Ζώιλος in the same hand as the rest and in a characteristic position in relation to the upper moulding. The presence of a figure of Roma (name lost) recalls the part played by Zoilus in cementing the relations of Aphrodisias with the ruling power. In addition, five crowns, all identical in form, are shown in the background of the crowning scenes; the objects held out by Πόλις and Τιμή are unfortunately badly damaged, so that while they may be crowns, that cannot be regarded as certain.

The presence of Μνήμη suggests that the monument was funerary, as was already proposed by L. Robert before discovery of this fragment; like Αἰών, it certainly stresses the eternally memorable quality of Zoilus' public services. The crowns may refer to the public recognition of those services by crowning or to the crown-bearing offices (priesthoods and stephanephorates) which he held, or both. It is tempting to associate the five identical crowns with five of his ten consecutive stephanephorates (doc. 40), held probably between 38 and 28 B.C., and so to deduce a date in the thirties for the monument; but further crowns may have been shown on the lost sections, and the argument is obviously fragile.

## DOCUMENT 35

Upper right corner of a marble block (inv. no. 63. 596; 0.36 × 0.24 × 0.34) inscribed on one face. Stray find, now in Aphrodisias Museum.

Letters, late Republican or Augustan: av. 0.02; *rho* in ll. 1, 3, 6 has a very small stroke slanting rightwards from the junction of the bowl with the vertical (R).

Acknowledgments for discussion to Michael Crawford (ll. 1-5), John North (Caesar as μέγας).

## Plate XXIV, 2.

[?οὔτος ὁ τόπος] ἱερός ἄσυ-	[πα καὶ δελτογρα]φή-
[λος ?ὡς ἔκριναν] ν. ὁ μέγας	[ματα καὶ ἐπικρίματα]
[?Καῖσαρ ὁ δικ]τάτωρ καὶ	10 [περιέχει, ἀνέστησεν]
[?δ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Αὐ]τοκράτωρ	[δὲ τοὺς ὄρους Γαῖος]
5 [Καῖσαρ καὶ ἡ σύ]νκλητος	[?Ιούλιος Ζώιλος ὁ ἱερεὺς]
[καὶ ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ῥ]ωμαίων	[τῆς Ἀφροδείτης]
[καθὼς καὶ τὰ] φιλάνθρω-	

[?This area is] the sacred asylum [as defined by] the great [?Caesar, the] Dictator, and [?his son] Imperator [Caesar and the] Senate [and People] of Rome, [as is also contained in the] grants of privilege, the public documents [and decrees. C. Iulius Zoilus priest of Aphrodite set up the boundary stones].

The text of ll. 6 f. has been supplemented from that of an inscribed stone copied in 1893 by W. Kubitschek, published from his notes by J. M. R. Cormack, *ABSA* 59 (1964), 22, no. 16, and again from Cormack's publication by L. Robert, *Aph* 401 f., with important changes. Robert's clarification showed for the first time that the text was from a boundary stone of the sanctuary of Aphrodite. Kubitschek's drawing has a rosette below the text.

The two stones now known belonged, of course, to a series set up along the boundary of Aphrodite's sanctuary as a result of the passage of the *senatus consultum* (doc. 8, ll. 57 f.).

The formulae of the opening lines present difficulties. Boundary stones from sanctuaries commonly begin ὄρος ἱερός ἄσυλος followed by the name of the divinity (see the examples collected by J. and L. Robert in comment on an inscription of this type from Hierocaesareia, *Hell.* vi, 33 f.); but ὄρος here is much too short for the space available so that we should need either οὗτος ὁ ὄρος or ὄρος preceded by a number. In the *senatus consultum* the sanctuary which received asylum rights is described as a τόπος (doc. 8, l. 9) and I suggest that it might be better to restore this

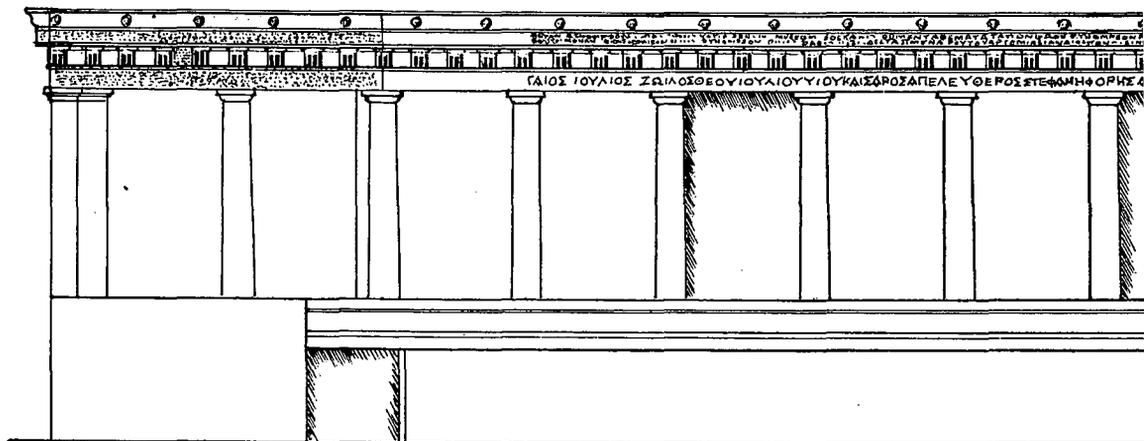


Fig. 7. Doc. 36. Drawn by B. D. Thompson.

in l. 1 (cf. also ἵνα καὶ αὕτη ἡ χώρα ὑπάρχη ἄσυλος in the *sc de Oropiis*, *RDGE* 23, l. 45).

The verb governed by the nominatives of ll. 2–6 cannot be placed easily except in the first half of l. 2; if that is right Aphrodite was not named, but it is clear from the collection of boundary inscriptions cited that the presence of the deity's name, although common, is not invariable in them. I have printed a phrase taken from the letter of M. Valerius to Teos (*RDGE* 34, ll. 19 f.), since other suitable verbs are rather long for the space (thus ἀπέδειξαν, *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 736, l. 81; συνεχώρησαν, *OGIS* 736, l. 5), but it is *exempli gratia* only. In l. 3 *tau* after the break is virtually certain and ensures the title δικτάτωρ; the spacing suggests that Caesar was called μέγας, but not θεός. The absence of θεός might perhaps result from use of a Caesarian record of his original grant to Aphrodite (cf. also perhaps in doc. 8, l. 38, with reference to the sanctuary); the presence of μέγας, if accepted, is remarkable since Caesar was never given this title officially, although Weinstock, *op. cit.* on p. 157, 53, n. 4, noting Catullus, ll. 10 f., *Caesaris visens monumenta magni*, conjectured that it may have been mooted for him in 55; it could be a provincialism. Assuming, as

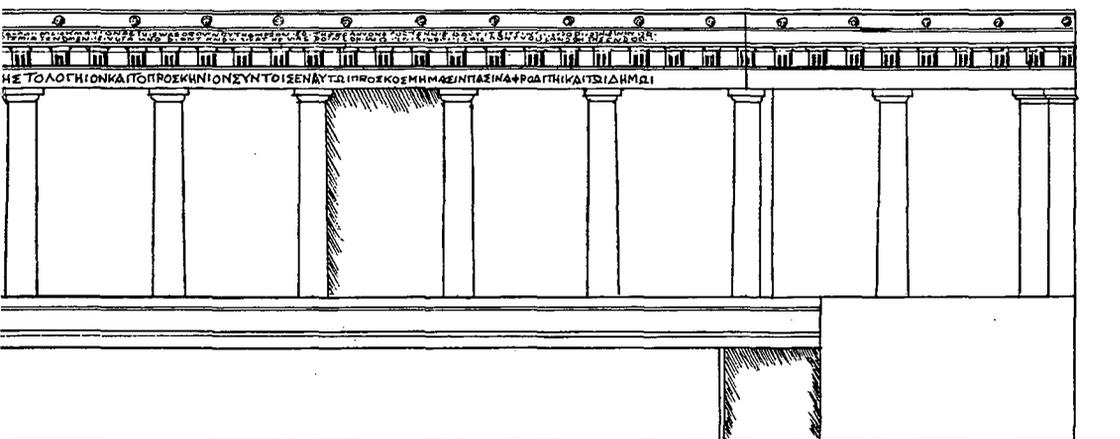
is probable, that *Αὐτοκράτωρ* in l. 4 was used as Octavian's praenomen (since the boundary stones can hardly have been erected before mid-38, when the Aphrodisian ambassador returned home with the documents embodying the new privileges, doc. 6), some description of him is needed in the early part of l. 4; I have guessed from doc. 36 that Zoilus was inclined to stress Octavian's filial relationship to Caesar and have supplied a formula accordingly.

For ll. 7 f. Robert's commentary very authoritatively collects and illuminates the administrative contexts in which the rare *δελτογραφήματα* and the comparatively common *φιλόνηρωπα* and *ἐπικρίματα* are used, and relates them to the documents which Solon, son of Demetrius, brought home to Aphrodisias (doc. 6, ll. 25 f.).

## DOCUMENT 36

Two identical texts.

(a) Thirteen blocks or parts of blocks belonging to a combined architrave and frieze from a Doric entablature which runs across the centre of the theatre stage as



B.D.T. 1978

it was remodelled in the middle of the second century A.D.; this part of the entablature was a feature re-used from the stage of late Republican to Augustan date and carries its original inscription in a single line on the frieze (normal blocks in their original state,  $1.95 \times 0.58 \times 0.50$ ; the block corresponding to the central doorway, c.  $2.66$  wide).

Letters, late Republican—Augustan: 0.011; R.

Plates XXV–XXVI, Fig. 7.

Γάϊος Ἰούλιος Ζώϊλος θεοῦ Ἰουλίου υ[ί]οῦ Καίσαρος ἀπελεύθερος, στεφανηφορήσας τὸ δέκατον ἐξῆς, τὸ λογήιον καὶ τὸ προσκήνιον σὺν τοῖς ἐν αὐτῶι προσκοσμήμασιν [πᾶσιν, Ἀφροδίτη καὶ τῶι] Δήμωι

(b) Eighteen blocks or fragments of blocks of drafted masonry with a raised border above; original position unknown, found fallen in the orchestra, near the stage (each originally either c.  $0.80$  or  $1.18 \times 0.34 \times 0.52$  or  $1.32$ ). They were

not originally intended to carry an inscription, for the text as inscribed impinges on the drafted edges.

Letters, first cent. B.C.—Augustan : av. 0·07–0·075.

Γάιος Ἰο[ύλιος] Ζώιλος [θε]οῦ Ἰουλίου υἱ[ο]ῦ Καίσαρος ἀ[πελευθέρου]ς, στεφανηφορήσας τὸ δέκατον ἑξῆς ν. [τὸ] λογ[ή]ιον καὶ τὸ προσκήν[ι]ον σὺν τοῖς ἐν αὐ[τῶι] π[ρ]οσκοσμήμασιν πᾶσιν ναε. Ἀφροδίτη καὶ τ[ῶι] Δήμωι]

Caius Iulius Zoilus freedman of the divine Iulius' son Caesar, after being *stephanephoros* for the tenth time in succession (gave) the stage and the proscenium with all the applied ornaments on it to Aphrodite and the Demos.

Before the discovery of this inscription it was naturally assumed that Zoilus was a local aristocrat. In fact as now appears, he was a phenomenon of the civil war period, a slave and subsequently freed dependent of a Roman dynast, whose usefulness to his patron produced unusual rewards. His status-indication is abnormal, not surprisingly at so early a stage in the development of what was to become the imperial *familia* (for a note on its significance see P. R. C. Weaver, *Familia Caesaris*, 1972, 22, n. 3). It would perhaps explain the form in which Octavian is described here if Zoilus had been freed by Octavian in accordance with Caesar's will. Given the influence attributed to him by Octavian himself on the decision to award privileges to Aphrodisias (doc. 10, ll. 1 f.), the respect which he was able to command locally is fully explained. It placed him in, and indeed at the top of, the local office-holding class, as is shown by his two priesthoods and his ten *stephanephorates* (see p. 159), his titles of saviour and benefactor, and the sculptured monument.

The absence of the title Augustus in the patron's name here indicates a date before January 27 B.C. Zoilus' tenth *stephanephorate* in the continuous series must therefore have ended at latest in late 28. It seems unlikely that he held any office before the passage of the *senatus consultum* in late 39. No *stephanephorate* is mentioned on the boundary stone (doc. 35); and while Zoilus might have confined himself on such stones to the priesthood of Aphrodite because it provided his official authority to set them up, it is at least plausible that if he had held a second office as eminent as the *stephanephorate* he would have mentioned it. If that is accepted, the boundary stones were set up in 38, quite quickly (as might be expected) after the passage of the enabling act (perhaps immediately after the return of Solon (doc. 6, ll. 14 f.) with the document which specified the exact measurements of the sanctuary area, doc. 8, ll. 57 f.). The election to the first of the *stephanephorates* would have occurred at about the same time and his first year of office would be in 38/37.

#### DOCUMENT 37

Three adjoining marble architrave blocks, the second broken, and the third cut down, elaborately moulded in a late Republican/Augustan style, probably from the main west door of the Temple of Aphrodite (1·14 + 1·04 + c. 2·00 × 0·54 × 0·64) inscribed on two planes with inscriptions which have been deliberately but not quite efficiently erased. They lie at some distance from one another, two in the area to

the west of the temple, where there are other uninscribed or illegible blocks of the same feature, and the third among debris in its west portico: they had perhaps been re-used in the Christian remodelling of the temple area and the erasure must have occurred then.

Letters, late Republican—Augustan: 1. 1, 0·08-9; 1. 2, 0·06-7.

Plate XXVII.

Γάϊος Ἰούλιος Ζώ[ι]λος ὁ ἱερεὺς θεοῦ Ἀφροδείτη[ς] . . .  
*vac.* σωτήρ καὶ εὐεργέτης τῆς πατρίδος ν. τὸ ἱερὸν Ἀφροδείτης [. . .

C. Iulius Zoilus, priest of the goddess Aphrodite [. . . ? . . .], saviour and benefactor of his country (?built, ?defined the boundary of) the sanctuary of Aphrodite.

If 1. 1 were completed by the addition of διὰ βίου (for life), cf. doc. 33, l. 4, and in 1. 2 the verb was unexpressed, a satisfactory layout would be achieved.

This should record another donation by Zoilus. The honorific terms in 1. 2 are of the type normally applied only to the very eminent; for what is probably a nearly contemporary example at Aphrodisias see doc. 30, l. 1.

DOCUMENT 38

Left side of a feature comprising a rectangular inscribed area set on a curved element cut in one piece with it (0·55 × 0·25 × 0·54); the upper surface is treated as if to receive another block above. Found re-used in a late wall on the north side of the north parodos of the theatre; now in Aphrodisias Museum.

Letters, Augustan: 0·03.

Plate XXVIII, 1.

[?vac. ὁ] δῆμος *vac.* [ἔτείμησεν]  
 Γάϊον Ἰούλιον Ζώιλ[ον] . . .

The people [?honoured] C. Iulius Zoilus [. . .

This is clearly the base of an honorary statue, possibly set up in the theatre. The βουλή may have been associated with the δῆμος and the text should perhaps be restored as [ἡ βουλή καὶ ὁ] δῆμος [ἔτείμησαν].

DOCUMENT 39

Partly-buried architrave block (2·81 × visible 0·34 × 0·50) inscribed on the exposed face. Lying in the north portico of the agora.

Letters, triumviral—Augustan: c. 0·11.

. . . ἱερεὺς . . . τῆς] Ἐλευθερίας διὰ [βίου . . .

For the restoration and the cult of Eleutheria see doc. 33, l. 4. Given the letter-forms, the reference is almost certainly to Zoilus, cf. doc. 33.

## DOCUMENT 40

Also relevant is *CIG* 2845 (*MAMA* 564) from a tomb built by Iulius Aurelius Charidemus Iulianus, in which he buried his father, Claudius Aurelius Zelus, high priest, sophist, founder of most important civic buildings, and his mother, Julia Paula, high priestess, descendant of *stephanephoroi* and high priests and τῶν συναιτίων τῆ πόλει τῆς αὐτονομίας, i.e. of persons who were jointly responsible for the city's autonomy. Since Julii are comparatively rare at Aphrodisias, Paula is very likely to be a descendant of Zoilus. The connection of the text with the grant of privileges to Aphrodisias was first noted by Dittenberger in his comment on doc. 8 (*OGIS* 455, n. 13), cf. also L. Robert, *Aph* 423 f. The date is in the first half of the third century (see also Appendices vi, vii).

Partly because the evidence seems to imply Zoilus' local employment by his patrons, partly because of his elevation into the local aristocracy at Aphrodisias (where he apparently left descendants, doc. 40), I am not quite convinced by the argument of S. Panciera that he was the father of a man still employed in the imperial freedman service at Rome (as a librarian) in the time of Tiberius (*Epigraphica* 31 (1969), 112 f.).

## Appendix VI: Founders' Kin

Professor L. Robert has drawn attention (*Hell.* xiii, 213–14; *Aph* 424, n. 3) to the series of Aphrodisian inscriptions in which men and women are described as descendants of families who joined in founding the city (γένους . . . συνεκτικός τὴν πόλιν, προγόνων συνεκτικῶν τὴν πατρίδα *vel sim.*; interesting variants are noted in the list below). While there is only one item to add to his list as he revised it in 1966, it will be convenient for readers to have at hand the names of the families so honoured, since they are certainly relevant to the background of docs. 1–13. Robert rejected Vagts' suggestion that these founding ancestors were simply builders of public monuments (Vagts 52) and connected them with the origins of the city. In his first treatment he suggested that they were Aphrodisians prominent at the time when an 'agglomeration' at the Sanctuary of Aphrodite became a city, or when Aphrodisias was assured of her preponderance over Plarasa. In the light of the new evidence the stress should perhaps be rather on the creation of the sympolity Plarasa/Aphrodisias and on its acquisition of privileges within the Roman world in the later first century B.C. A certain number of names in the genealogies listed also appear on the coins of Plarasa/Aphrodisias, see R. Münsterberg, *Die Beamtennamen auf den griechischen Münzen* (1911, repr. 1973), 48–9: Adrastus, Agelaus, Andron, Antipatrus, Artemidorus, Artemon, Hypsicles, Iason, Menander, Menodotus, Myon, Phanius, Zenon; others point to the triumviral period (M. Antonius, Iulius); others are attested in the first century B.C., either in the documents published in this book or in unpublished inscriptions recently discovered (Attalus, Diodorus, Menippus).

1. Adrastus, son of Nicotimus Hierax, the son of Artemidorus the son of Zenon (*TRSL* 1<sup>2</sup> (1843), 235; *LBW* 1602a; Th. Reinach, no. 33; *MAMA* 484; see also Reinach, no. 103; *MAMA* 485; Reinach, no. 105; in *MAMA* 484 the phrase used

is κτίστην γεγονότα διὰ προγόνων τοῦ δήμου). No. 14 is his father and no. 15 his grand-daughter.

2. Ammia, daughter of Attalus the son of Pytheas (*CIG* 2814; *MAMA* 528).
3. Apphia, daughter of Menestheus the son of Eumachus, and wife of no. 9 (Reinach, no. 52, ii; *MAMA* 470).
4. M. Antonius Popillius Andronicus Flavianus, son of Agelaus (Reinach, no. 71).
5. Aristocles Molossus, son of Aristocles the son of Artemidorus (Radet, *BCH* 14 (1890), 236, no. 11; *MAMA* 468).
6. Artemon, son of Andron (προγόνων...συνεκτικόντων τὸν δήμον, Reinach, no. 39).
7. Diodorus, adoptive son of Diodorus, natural son of Leon (*CIG* 2820A; W. Henzen, *Ann. d. Ist.* 24 (1852), 127 f., no. vii; LBW 1602; Th. Reinach, no. 76; *MAMA* 492b, c).
8. T. Flavius Apollinarius, son of T. Flavius Menippus (LBW 1601A).
9. Hermias Glycon, son of Hermias the son of Phania, and husband of no. 3 (Reinach, no. 52; *MAMA* 471).
10. Iason Prabreus, son of Menodotus the son of Menander, and perhaps connected with no. 11 (W. Kubitschek and W. Reichel, *Anz. Wien. Akad.* 1893, 100, no. 1; Reinach, no. 13; A. Wilhelm, *JÖAI* 28 (1933), 57 f.; *MAMA* 498, emended by L. Robert, *Aph* 392).
11. Iulia Paula, wife of Claudius Aurelius Zelus, mother of no. 12 and presumably connected with the homonym who was wife of no. 10 (*CIG* 2845, *MAMA* 564, also cited as doc. 40).
12. Iulius Aurelius Charidemus Iulianus, son of Claudius Aurelius Zelus and of no. 11, or his father (Cormack, *ABSA* 59 (1964), 26, no. 35, as emended by L. Robert, *Aph* 395 f.).
13. Myon, adoptive son of Peritas the son of Adrastus, the son of Dionysius the son of Peritas, natural son of Adrastus the son of Molon, the son of Myon, the son of Adrastus (*CIG* 2771, col. 1).
14. Nicotimus Hierax, son of Artemidorus the son of Zenon, father of no. 1, great grandfather of no. 15 (Reinach, no. 103; *MAMA* 483).
15. Tatia Attalis, daughter of Hypsicles the son of Adrastus, the son of Nicotimus Hierax, the son of Artemidorus, the son of Zenon, great grand-daughter of no. 14 and grand-daughter of no. 1 (Reinach, no. 9).
16. The wife of Septimius Chares Aineias; her ancestors are additionally described as πρ[ώτων] πιστευσαμένων ἐκ γένους τὴν ἱερῶσ[ύνην τῆς] θεοῦ Ἀφροδε[ίτης] (Reinach, no. 80; *MAMA* 514).
- ?17. Anon. (Reinach, no. 74).
- ?18. Anon. (Cormack, op. cit. (no. 12), 29, no. 45).
19. The wife of M. Ulpius Carminius Claudianus (unpublished inscription, Museum 100), probably Flavia Apphia, daughter of T. Flavius Athenagoras Agathus (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> F 223) and of Sallustia Frontina *c.f.*, see H. Halfmann, *Die Senatoren aus dem östlichen Teil des Imperium Romanum* (1979), stemma on p. 130.

## Appendix VII : Other inscriptions recording Aphrodisian privileges

### 1. DOCUMENT 41

Damaged block found in 1978 near the east entrance to the agora in an area containing much re-used material. It is chipped along all edges and also on the surface ; there are dowel-holes for an attachment above.

Letters, perhaps late Republican/Augustan : 0·05.

Acknowledgments for discussion to George Souris (the embassies).

#### Plate XXVIII, 2.

*vacat*

[γ]ενόμενος δὲ καὶ ἀστυνόμος καὶ νεωπ[οί]ος καὶ στρατηγ[ός] ἐπὶ χώρας ν. στρατηγήσας δὲ πλεονάκις τῆς πόλεως πρεσβευ[σ]ίας δὲ πλείστας καὶ μεγίστας πρεσβήσας ἐπιτυχῶς ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρ[ί]δος ν. ἀγωνισάμενος δὲ καὶ περὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας καὶ τῶν  
5 [?vacat] νόμων καὶ τῆς ἀσυλίας ν. καὶ τῶν δεδομένων *vacat*  
*sic* [φι]λανθρώπων ν. καὶ ἐνὶ πᾶσιν τούτοις τοῖς γενομένοις  
ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τ[αῖς ἀρχ]αῖς καὶ λειτουργίαις τιμηθεὶς [?vacat]

This is the conclusion of a text which must have been laid out in several columns. The supplements are hardly in doubt. In l. 5 the long *vacat* at the end is likely to have been balanced by another at the beginning and that seems to be confirmed by the little that survives of the surface there.

... having also been *astynomos* and *neopoios* and *strategos* in charge of the city-territory, and many times *strategos* in charge of the city, and having successfully carried out a number of very important embassies on behalf of his country ; and having been active for (her) freedom and laws and the right of asylum and the privileges granted to her ; and been honoured in all these things which he brought about and in his magistracies and liturgies.

The letter-forms of the inscription are comparatively early and seem to me to show resemblances to those of inscriptions honouring Zoilus in the theatre (late thirties—early Augustan, see Appendix v) ; so that, although the formulae relating to embassies can be more easily paralleled in the first century A.D., there may be a case for associating the subject with the first grant of privileges to Aphrodisias in 39 B.C. and, indeed, for proposing tentatively his identification as Solon, son of Demetrius (docs. 6, ll. 14 f. ; 8, l. 22 ; 12, ll. 4–5). The absence of any reference to emperors visited would then be readily understandable. It must be admitted that it could also be explained if the embassy concerned had to defend itself before the Senate and received its answer there, as happened in A.D. 22 in the matter of *asyllia* (Tacitus, *Ann.* 3. 62, see also p. 79 f.). There is no evidence that anything more than *asyllia* was at risk on that occasion, but Tiberius was notorious for attacks on immunities (Suetonius, *Tib.* 49. 2), so that an embassy during his reign is conceivable.

Whether or not Solon was the subject, the inscription has a special importance as being the earliest known statement made at Aphrodisias about the city's rights,

other than what is implied by the cult of Eleutheria. It was probably a public statement on an honorary statue base or, if not, one based very closely on the public decrees to which it refers in l. 7. It should be observed that there is no reference either to the treaty or to immunity from taxation, and that the concrete word *laws* has been preferred to the abstract *autonomy*.

The formulation of the last sentence is remarkable—ἐνί is clear (possibly a cutter's error for ἐμ).

## 2. DOCUMENT 42. Inscribed base found at Ephesus.

*Mouseion Smyrne* III. 1-2 (1880), no. 367; W. M. Ramsay, *REG* 2 (1889), 26 f. (the erasure only), and *The Social Basis of Roman Power in Asia Minor* (1941), 211, no. 225; J. Keil, *NZ* ns. 12 (1919), 117, no. 4; *IEph* II, 233; see also L. Robert, *Aph* 411, n. 2.

I give the text from Keil's publication.

Underlined words are cut *in rasura*.

u

Αὐτοκράτορι  
 θεῶι Καίσαρι Σε-  
βαστῶι Οὐεσπασιάνωι  
 ἐπὶ ἀνθυπάτου Μάρκ[ου]  
 5 Φουλουίου Γίλλωνος  
 ὁ φιλοκαῖσαρ Ἀφροδεισιέων  
 δῆμος ἐλεύθερος ὦν καὶ αὐ-  
 τόνομος ἀπ' ἀρχῆς τῆ τῶν Σεβασ-  
 τῶν χάριτι ναῶι τῶι ἐν Ἐφέσωι  
 10 τῶν Σεβαστῶν κοινῶι τῆς Ἀσίας  
 ἰδίᾳ χάριτι διὰ τε τὴν πρὸς τοὺς Σε-  
 βαστοὺς εὐσέβειαν καὶ τὴν πρὸς  
 τὴν νεωκόρον Ἐφεσίων πό-  
 λιν εὐνοίαν ἀνέστησαν  
 15 ἐπιμεληθέντος Ἀριστίωνος  
 Ἀρτεμιδώρου τοῦ Καλλιστέ-  
 ως ἱερέως Πλούτωνος καὶ  
 Κόρης καὶ νεωποιοῦ θεᾶς  
 Ἀφροδείτης ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέως  
 20 τῆς Ἀσίας Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου  
 Φησεῖνου.

To Emperor divus Caesar Vespasianus, in the proconsulship of M. Fulvius Gillo, the people of Aphrodisias, devoted to Caesar, being free and autonomous from time past by the grace of the emperors, dedicated (this) in the provincial temple of the emperors at Ephesus, of their own grace, on account of their loyalty to the emperors and their goodwill to the city of Ephesus which is the temple-warden. The monument was supervised by Aristion, son of Artemidorus the son of Callisteus, priest of Pluton and Core, and a curator of the fabric of the temple of the goddess Aphrodite, in the year when Ti. Claudius Phesinus was high priest of Asia.

The dedication was originally to Domitian and one of a series set up by cities of Asia in the provincial temple of the imperial cult at Ephesus. The name of Vespasian was substituted after Domitian's death. For some evidence that Domitian may have been popular at Aphrodisias see K. T. Erim, *Opusc. Rom.* 9 (1973), 142.

The proconsul's year of office is placed *c.* 91 in *PIR*<sup>2</sup> F 543, in 89/90 by W. Eck, *Senatoren von Vespasian bis Hadrian* (1970), 140, *c.* 89/90 by B. Kreiler, *Die Statthalter Kleinasiens unter den Flaviern* (1975), 52.

The high priest's year of office is not independently dated.

The Aphrodisian who acted for the city is not otherwise attested.

The text (like several others in the series, see Keil, *op. cit.*) combines a demonstration of enthusiasm for the emperor with one of pride in the privileges of the city. These privileges are here unequivocally attributed to the grace of the emperors (for χάρις as a translation of *beneficium* see Mason *s.v.*). The implication is that Domitian and all, or most, preceding emperors had confirmed them and that these confirmations were so overtly recognized as the effective acts that the part of the Senate, and still more that of the Roman People, could be omitted. Domitian's own attitude to the Senate must be relevant to the formula; but cf. doc. 9, l. 1.

The unusual ἰδίᾳ χάριτι in l. 11 (also used by the free and autonomous Stratoniceans, *I.Eph.* II, 237, l. 11) seems to involve a statement that while the Aphrodisians had joined in the demonstration of loyalty, which had presumably followed a decision of the provincial assembly, they did not do so because they were bound by such a decision, but as an act of grace and because they felt the sentiments proper to the occasion. For Aphrodisian anxiety to maintain independence of the provincial assembly see p. 109.

3. An honorary base found by Boulanger in the Hadrianic Baths and briefly published by L. Robert, *Ét. Anat.* 299, n. 2, cf. *Aph* 411, carries an inscription recording its erection παρὰ τῆ ἀσύλας θεῶν by the *chrysophoroi neopoioi* of Aphrodite. The merits of the honorand had been shown outstandingly as *neokoros* of Aphrodite and in her cult, so that the asylum area was specifically relevant to his activity. The date, to judge by the letter-forms, was late second or early third century, but the names suggest that it was before the Antonine Constitution.

4. See also Appendix v, doc. 40. Julia Paula is described on her tomb as a descendant of those responsible for the city's autonomy. The date of the inscription is probably after the Antonine Constitution to judge from the name of her son who put it up, Iulius Aurelius Charidemus (Appendix vi, no. 12).

## 5. DOCUMENT 43

Marble stele broken above and chipped along all edges, and especially badly on the lower half of the right side (0.53 × 1.13 × 0.53), inscribed on the exposed face which is badly eroded in the lower part. Re-used in a fountain in old Karacasu (the nearest modern town to Aphrodisias).

W. R. Paton, *JHS* 20 (1900), 77 f., no. vi, whence L. Robert, *RPh* 4 (1930), 27; *OMS* II, 1127 (on ll. 15–16); and *Aph* 410 f. (on ll. 1–11).

Letters, third cent. A.D.: ll. 1–10, 12–17, av. 0·025; l. 11, 0·018; ligatured MM in l. 2, MH in l. 13. The small letters of l. 11 suggest an afterthought fitted into a space originally left blank (so Paton).

Acknowledgments for discussion to Michael Crawford (ll. 14–15).

Plate XXVIII, 3.

τὸν [. . . c. 5 . . .]τατον δ[ῆμον]  
 σύμμαχον Ῥωμαίων  
 τῆς λαμπρότατης φ[ι]-  
 λοσεβάστου ἑλευθ[έ]-  
 5 ρας καὶ αὐτονόμου κ[α]-  
 τὰ τὰ δόγματα τῆς ἰ[ε]-  
 ρωτάτης συνκλήτ[ου]  
 καὶ τὰ ὄρκια καὶ τὰς θε[ῖ]-  
 ας ἀντιγραφὰς Ἀφροδ[ι]-  
 10 vac. σιέων πόλεως v.v.  
 vac. ἀσύλου vac.  
 vac. καθιέρωσεν vac.  
 Μᾶρ(κος) [Αὐ]ρ(ήλιος) Ἑρμῆς ΠΑ[. . .]  
 ΣΟΜ[. . .] ἀναθεῖς ?[(δηναρίου) ὀκ]-  
 15 τῶ μ[υρί]ους εἰς αἰῶ[νίους]  
 κλήρους τῆ κρα[τίστη]  
 vac. βουλῆ vac.

P<sup>1</sup> denotes Paton's transcription, P<sup>2</sup> his interpretation: the restorations in ll. 1–8 are taken from P<sup>1</sup>. There has been some deterioration of the stone since he saw it. l. 1, ]ΛΙΟΝΑ P<sup>1</sup>, Τὸν . . . ]ον δ[ῆμον P<sup>2</sup>; l. 2, συμαχον P<sup>1,2</sup>; l. 4, ΕΛΕΥΘ P<sup>1</sup>, ἑλευθε- P<sup>2</sup>; l. 7, συνκλήτο[υ P<sup>1,2</sup>; l. 10, κ[αθιέρωσεν P<sup>1,2</sup>; l. 13, ΜΑΙ ΡΕΡΜΗΣΠΑ- P<sup>1</sup>, nil P<sup>2</sup>, ? for Μαρ. Αὐρ. Ἑρμῆς Πατρ[. . . L.R.]; l. 14, ΣΟΙ ΖΑΝΛΘΕΙΣ P<sup>1</sup>, \_ \_ ἀναθεῖς P<sup>2</sup>; l. 15, ΤΟΙ ΛΣΕΙΣ ΑΙΩΝΙ P<sup>1</sup>, τὸ . . . ας εἰς αἰωνί P<sup>2</sup>; l. 16, ΛΟΥΣ ΤΗΚΡΑΤΙΣ P<sup>1</sup>, οὐς χρόν]ους τῆ κρατίσ- P<sup>2</sup>, οὐς κληρ]ους L.R.; l. 17, ΒΟΥΛΗ P<sup>1</sup>, τῆ] βουλῆ P<sup>2</sup>.

(?Statue of) the most [?distinguished] Demos, ally of the Romans, of the glorious city of the Aphrodisians, devoted to the emperor, free and autonomous according to the decrees of the most holy Senate and the treaty and the divine (imperial) responses, with *asylia*. M. Aurelius Hermes P[. . . ? . . .] who dedicated [?80,000 *denarii*] for perpetual distributions to the most mighty Council.

Paton dated this text around A.D. 100, but must be wrong. Letter forms and layout suggest the Severan period at earliest. The *praenomen* and *nomen* of the dedicator would accord well with the years after the Antonine Constitution.

l. 1. Adjectives for the demos at Aphrodisias are comparatively rare but λαμπρότατος occurs (*MAMA* 421, ll. 32–3) and although long for the space available could just be accommodated with ligaturing of ΜΠΡ; the city is quite often so described, as here in l. 3 (cf. doc. 47, ll. 2–4). An alternative would be ἱερώτατος (for the δῆμος as ἱερός on coins, see *BMC Caria* 31, no. 32).

ll. 2–11. The privileges of the city are listed at some length with the omission only

of immunity from taxation (cf. also docs. 40, 41). The treaty relationship is emphasized (l. 2) and in the event also the *asylia*, for the word is centred and in consequence catches the eye despite its small lettering (Paton's view, based on the letter sizes, that it was a later addition may well be right, but the homogeneity of the letter-forms suggests that 'later' means no more than a correction made during the course of manufacture). The official documents conveying the privileges are also listed, with Senatorial decrees (doc. 8) in the first place followed by a reference to the treaty (doc. 8, ll. 31–2, doc. 9, ll. 7 f.), and imperial responses last, where they belong chronologically. This is a private not a public document, as L. Robert has pointed out, and expresses a private individual's attitude; but it is, perhaps, one most likely to find public expression in the reign of an emperor who favoured the Senate.

For the Senate as *ἱερωτάτη* see G. Forni, *op. cit.* (p. 137), and for *θεῖαι ἀντιγραφαί* of imperial responses p. 135 on doc. 21, l. 9.

l. 13. The dedicant is otherwise unknown; a second cognomen perhaps occupied the end of the line and the beginning of the next.

ll. 14 f. Dedication of funds for perpetual distributions to the *demos*, the *boule* and other groups is not uncommon in the city (cf. *MAMA* 524, ll. 3 f.); the formula varies slightly from text to text but the essence is as here, although no parallel has suggested a suitable restoration for the description of the gift which was to provide the cash; a sum of money for investment is the most likely, *μ[υρί]ους* seems indicated thereafter, and enough of the accompanying figure survives to show that it could only be *ὀκτώ*; although the space available is restricted and 80,000 *denarii* is a very considerable sum.

6. Doc. 48 (Appendix VIII) is a proconsul's letter which contains reference to Aphrodisian *eleutheria* (ll. 6 f.) and the confirmation of Aphrodisian rights by Severus Alexander.

7. Doc. 49 (Appendix VIII) is a fragment probably from a proconsul's letter, to be dated in the later second or early third century, containing a reference to privileges given by the emperors and the Senate.

8. Local coin issues sometimes carry legends referring to the city's privileges—so *ἐλευθερία*, (*BMC Caria*, no. 23; *SNG* 7, no. 2438, illustrated as no. 2439), *ἐλεύθερος δῆμος* (*BMC Caria*, no. 77).

#### Appendix VIII: Roman governmental officials in Aphrodisias to A.D. 250

The following texts constitute the record as at August 1981 of Roman governmental officials of the period of the archive, recorded in Aphrodisias in documents other than those on the Archive Wall.

A. *Proconsuls*

## 1. DOCUMENT 44

Marble base ( $0.62 \times 0.76 \times 0.55$ ) inscribed on one face which is badly worn and chipped along all edges. Found fallen from the city wall in which it had been re-used, in the east stretch.

Letters, Augustan: l. 1, 0.025; ll. 2, 3, 0.03.

Plate XXVIII, 4.

*vac.* ὁ δ[ῆ]μος *vac.*  
Σέξτον Ἀππολήιον  
τὸν [ἀ]νθύπατον  
*vac.*

The People (set up this statue of) Sextus Appuleius, the proconsul.

Sextus Appuleius (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> A 961, see also now U. Weidemann, *AA* 1965, col. 450), nephew of Augustus, *cos.* 29 B.C., was proconsul of Asia in a year between 23 and 15 B.C. and received honours at a number of Asiatic cities, notably Pergamum where he was 'saviour and benefactor' (*ILS* 8783).

## 2 and 3. DOCUMENT 45

Pair of inscribed stones built into opposite walls probably in an entrance way (now blocked) between the buildings known as the odeon and the bishop's palace.

Letters, Augustan/Julio-Claudian.

Acknowledgments for discussion to Sir Ronald Syme (identities).

Plate XXIX, 1-2.

*a* Μᾶρκον Οὐινούκιον  
τὸν ἀνθύπατον  
*arabesque* ὁ δῆμος *arabesque*  
τὸν εὐεργέτην

M. Vinicius, the proconsul; the People (set up this statue of) their benefactor.

*b* Πούπλιον *arabesque*  
Οὐινούκιον  
τὸν ἀνθύπα-  
τον ὁ δῆμος  
τὸν εὐεργέτην

P. Vinicius, the proconsul; the People (set up this statue of) their benefactor.

The unusual spelling of the *nomen*, with OY (presumably to represent the Latin sound between I and U for which the Emperor Claudius devised the short-lived symbol †), is worth noting.

P. Vinicius must be the *cos ord.* in A.D. 2, proconsul of Asia shortly afterwards (*RE IX A*, cols. 119 f., no. 8); but the identity of M. Vinicius is less clear. Since the letter-forms of his inscription are not securely datable it might be possible to identify him with M. Vinicius, *cos ord.* in A.D. 30, *cos. II* in A.D. 45, proconsul of Asia perhaps in A.D. 38–9 or 39–40 (*RE IX A*, cols. 116 f., no. 7), but someone closer in time to P. Vinicius would be preferable. An earlier Vinicius, whose *praenomen* is incomplete in all published texts, was proconsul of Asia at a date much disputed under Augustus; some think him L. Vinicius, *cos suff.* in 33 B.C., others M. Vinicius, *cos suff.* in 19 B.C. (for a useful survey of views and arguments see *RDGE*, p. 315 f.). L. Robert has posited a proconsulship in Asia for this M. Vinicius on the basis of an inscription he has seen at Mylasa (*RA 6<sup>e</sup>* (1935), 156) and this is accepted by Sir Ronald Syme, who conjectures that he may have held the biennial tenure of the proconsulship which is attested by Dio Cassius 54. 30. 3 in 12–10 B.C. (*History in Ovid* 138, n. 2). This seems most likely to be the man honoured here.

#### 4. DOCUMENT 46

Upper part of a marble base (0.53 × 0.37 × 0.58) seen in 1934 lying beside a cistern about 3 km approximately westwards of Aphrodisias at a bearing of 255° on the Acropolis. When the site was identified in 1976 the cistern had been dismantled and its stones apparently re-used in a newly-built farmhouse, but this piece was not visible; it has presumably been broken up or re-used with the inscribed face covered.

Letters: 0.02–0.025.

W. M. Calder, *CR* 49 (1935), 216 f., whence F. Sokolowski, *LSAM* 189, no. 86; *MAMA* 411 (after re-examination of the squeeze); see also comment by D. J. Campbell, *CR* 50 (1936), 56 f. (on the prosopography); E. Bickermann, *Syria* 25 (1948), 83 (the doves); L. Robert, *Hell.* XIII, 14 (general); L. Robert, *JS* 1971, 81 f.; J. and L. Robert, *Bull. Ep.* 1971, no. 613; M. Guarducci *RAL* 1973, 587 f.; J. and L. Robert, *Bull. Ep.* 1976, no. 90 (all on the doves).

Acknowledgments to Michael Crawford, Charlotte and Mossman Roueché for help in the search; for discussion to Wynne Williams (proconsular edicts).

Plate XXIX, 3 (photograph of a squeeze made by members of the *MAMA* expedition).

Τιβέριος Κάτιος Ἀ[σ]κώ-  
νιος Σείλιος Εἰταλικὸς  
ἀνθύπατος λέγει· κα[ι]  
ψηφισμάτων ὄντων  
5 καθὰ κωλύεται συναμ-  
βά[ειν], τρέφειν, σοβεῖν,

[ . . . . . ] ἐν τῇ πόλει τὰς  
[περιστερὰς] τῆς τε θρησ-  
[κείας τῆς πε]ρὶ τὴν θεὸν  
10 [ . . . . . ] ΕΞΘΑΤ! [ . . . ]  
[ . . . ]

l. 1, [Τι]βέριος C., Τιβέριος *MAMA*, Ἀσκῶ C. Ἀσκῶ *MAMA*; l. 3, κα[ι] C., S., R., κα[ι]περ] *MAMA*; l. 7, ?[πρωλείν C., [πιάζειν S.; l. 10 . . .]ΣΘΑ[ι] C., [χάριν, ἀλλ' αἰδεῖ]σθαι S., [ἀμελεῖν τινες] τοῦ[μῶσι] *MAMA*.

Ti. Catus Asconius Silius Italicus, proconsul, announces: although decrees also exist by which it is forbidden to catch, keep, scare or [. . . ? . . .] the [doves] in the city and [. . . ? . . .] of the cult concerning the goddess [ . . .

The author of the edict was recognized by Calder as the poet Silius Italicus, proconsul of Asia probably in 77/8 (A. Garzetti, *Nerva* (1950), 117, no. 38, and for the date, W. Eck, *Senatoren von Vespasian bis Hadrian* (1970), 82 f.). This inscription added a *nomen* to those previously attested for him; although the reading seems to me less clear than it did to Calder and to Cormack, the discovery of an enfranchised Aphrodisian named Asconius seems to confirm it (unpublished inscription recently excavated). The implications of *Asconius* for the family connections of Italicus are discussed by Campbell.

Calder also saw that σοβεῖν in l. 6 imposes the restoration [περιστερὰ]ς in l. 8 and gives us the subject of the edict. We must accept Robert's view that we do not know enough to restore the missing words in ll. 7 and 10.

Both the language and the text and the parallels for preservation of doves (not only in the sanctuary but throughout the city, although not, apparently in the territory) are discussed by Robert. He refers to representations of doves on the base of a copy of the statue of Aphrodisian Aphrodite (C. Fredrich, *MDAI(A)* 22 (1897), pl. XII, J); some have thought that they were also shown on Aphrodisian coins (see most recently MacDonald, *Coins*, Aph. 173-4), but the birds concerned seem to me more like eagles.

The decrees in l. 4 are presumably Aphrodisian ones. Parallels for gubernatorial intervention to reinforce neglected local regulations are not easy to find; it seems reasonable to suppose that the Aphrodisians asked for help when their own decrees proved insufficient.

5. Document 62 (Appendix IX), ll. 9-10. P. Iulius Geminus Marcianus, proconsul of Asia under Commodus, probably c. 181 (p. 196), is connected with the work of a *curator reipublicae* and described as 'our benefactor'. It is not clear that he did more than act as an intermediary handling the report of the curator which he would, no doubt, forward to the emperor who had appointed that curator.

## 6. DOCUMENT 47

Base found during Gaudin's expedition, partly buried in the north stretch of the city wall, 20 metres east of the North Gate. Not rediscovered.

Letters: 0·035; ligatured HM in l. 9; deliberate erasure in l. 11.

Reinach, no. 4; whence F. F. Abbott and A. C. Johnson, *Municipal Administration in the Roman Empire*, no. 137; cf. P. Veyne, *Mélanges Piganiol* (1966), 1395 f. (on Priscus' status).

Acknowledgments for discussion to John Martindale (Priscus' title).

ὁ δῆμος	πατον κατὰ τὰς τοῦ
τῆς λαμπροτάτης	μεγίστου καὶ θειο-
᾿Αφροδεισιέων	τάτου κυρίου ἡμῶν
πόλεως Σουλπικίων	10 Αὐτοκράτορος Σεου-
5 Πρεῖσκον τὸν δια-	[ή]ρου [ <u>᾿Αλεξάνδρου</u> ]
σημότατον ἀνθύ-	[?έντολός]

l. 12 or [?ἐπιστολός] or [?κρίσεις], V.

For translation and comment see the associated doc. 48.

### 6 cont. DOCUMENT 48

Stele inscribed on two faces, found by Gaudin with no. 47. Not rediscovered.

Letters: 0·016; omega normally cut as a circle slightly open at the bottom; ligatured NE in l. 2, NH in l. 5, MH, TH, NΠP in l. 7, NT, HM in l. 8, HMH, NTH in l. 12, TH, NK in l. 13, TH twice in l. 14, NH in l. 15, TH in l. 16, HM, TH in l. 17, HM in l. 18, MH in l. 19, HT, MH in l. 20, MH in l. 21, HME, NTHΠ in l. 22, NT in l. 24, NH in l. 26, MHT, TH in l. 28, HM, THNΠ in l. 29. Deliberate erasures in ll. 8, 16, 17, 27, 28.

Reinach, no. 5, whence F. F. Abbott and A. C. Johnson, *Municipal Administration in the Roman Empire*, no. 138; see also L. Robert, *Ét. Anat.* 303 (proconsular visits and the text of l. 29), and, after study of Gaudin's squeeze, *Hell.* XIII, 208 (ll. 3, 29–31).

- [.]ΚΕ[. . .  
 [.εὐτ]υχεῖς· δηλ[αδῆ ἀ]κόλουθόν ἐσ[τι]  
 [τ]ὰς πόλεις τὰς καθωσιωμένους  
 [τ]ῆ μεγάλης αὐτοῦ Τύχης φιλεῖν τε  
 5 καὶ τειμᾶν ὅπερ με ποιεῖν ἠδέως  
 κ[α]ὶ αὐτοὶ ἴστε ἐξαιρέτως δὲ τὰς τει-  
 μηθείσας τῆ ἐλευθερίᾳ ὑπὸ τῶν προ-  
 γόνων τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Αὐτοκράτορο[s]  
 [᾿Αλεξάνδρου] βεβαιουῦντος αὐτο[ῦ]  
 10 [αὐτ]ῆν καὶ αὔξοντος τὰ δικάια οἶ[s]  
 [εὐθυ]μείσθε καὶ ἠδέως ἐλεύσομα[ι]  
 [πρὸς] ὑμᾶς καὶ ἐπιδημήσω ἐν τῇ λαμ-  
 [προτ]άτῃ πόλει ὑμῶν καὶ τῇ πατρίᾳ ὑμῶν  
 [θεῶ] θύσω ὑπὲρ τε τῆς σωτηρίας καὶ αἰω-  
 15 [ν]ίου διαμονῆς τοῦ τε κυρίου ἡμῶν αὐ-  
 τοκράτορος [᾿Αλεξάνδρου] καὶ τῆς κυρ-  
 [ίας] ἡμῶν Σεβαστῆς [Μαμαίας] μητρὸς  
 τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν καὶ στρατοπέδων  
 εἰ μήτε νόμος τῆς πόλεως ὑμῶν  
 20 [μ]ήτε δόγμα συνκλήτου μήτε διάτα-  
 ξις μήτε θεία ἐπιστολή κωλύει τὸν  
 [ἀ]νθύπατον ἐπιδημεῖν τῇ πόλει [ὑμῶν].  
 [ε]ἰ γάρ τι κωλύει τῶν προγεγρα[μμένων],

- θύων ὡς ἔθος μοί ἐστιν τοῖς [ἄλλοις]  
 25 [θε]οῖς ὑπέρ τε τῆς τύχης κα[ὶ σωτηρίας]  
 [κ]αὶ αἰωνίου διαμονῆς τοῦ κυ[ρίου ἡμῶν]  
 Αὐτοκράτορος [᾿Αλεξάνδρου] [καὶ τῆς]  
 μητρὸς αὐτοῦ [Μαμαίας] Σεβαστῆ[ς κυρίας]  
 δὲ ἡμῶν καὶ τὴν πάτριον ὑμῶν [θεὰν ἐπι]-  
 30 [κ]αλέσομαι. Ταῦτα δὲ ἀπεκρι[νάμην]  
*vacat* τοῖς πρώτοις τῆς λαμπροτ[άτης]  
*vacat* ὑμῶν πόλεως *vacat*  
 [Ἐρρωσ]θαὶ ὑμᾶς εὖχομαι *vacat*.

1. 1. Traces of erasure suggest the presence of Alexander's name or that of his mother here.

Doc. 47

The People of the most splendid city of the Aphrodisians (set up a statue of) Sulpicius Priscus, *perfectissimus vir*, proconsul, according to [?the instructions] of our greatest and most revered lord Emperor Severus [*Alexander*].

Doc. 48

... ]fortunate; clearly it follows that affection and honour is due to the cities dedicated to his great good fortune, which you yourselves know that I give gladly and especially to those honoured with freedom by the ancestors of our lord Emperor [*Alexander*] who himself confirms it and increases the rights in which you rejoice; and I will gladly come to you and make a stay in your most splendid city and sacrifice to your native goddess for the safety and eternal continuance of our lord Emperor [*Alexander*] and our lady Augusta [*Mamaia*], mother of our lord and of the camps, if no law of your city or decree of the Senate or instruction or letter from the emperor prevents the proconsul from making a stay in [your] city. But if there is any impediment in the documents I have mentioned, when I sacrifice as is my custom to the [?other gods] for the good fortune and [safety] and eternal continuance of [our] lord Emperor [*Alexander* and] his mother [*Mamaia*] Augusta, our [lady], I will call upon your native [goddess with them]. I gave this reply [to the chief men] of your [most splendid] city. I hope for your welfare.

Texts and restorations are from Reinach, except in 1. 29 where I have followed L. Robert. The erased references to an emperor and his mother limit the possible identifications; the name Severus, which survives in doc. 47, ll. 11-12, shows that the emperor is in fact Severus Alexander and his mother Mamaia. It cannot be reasonably doubted that the two texts 47 and 48 are contemporary, but a precise date for them between 222 and 235 is not assignable, since except that they are later than the accession confirmation referred to in doc. 48, ll. 9 f., there is no obvious clue; the proconsul, Q. Vibius Egnatius Sulpicius Priscus (*RE* xviii, col. 1212), cannot be assigned to a particular year. His title was noted as unique for a senator by A. Stein, *WS* 34 (1912), 163, and remains so; P. Veyne, in drawing attention to it again, suggested that Priscus, who had been appointed abnormally by the emperor (as indicated in doc. 47), was in fact a knight (but then the title proconsul is startling) or that, from embarrassment over his special position, the provincials improvised a title in which διασημότητος did not have its official sense. Could the Aphrodisians have been ignorant of the normal sense of the word?

On the face of it the point of the letter is straightforward: the Aphrodisians invited Priscus to visit their city, stay there for a time and sacrifice to Aphrodite for the safety etc. of the emperor and his mother (the terms used are all standard ones in imperial cult); but he was uncertain whether there might not be some impediment to a proconsular stay in their city due either to local law or to Roman ordinance (it is interesting that he named a senatorial decree first of the possibilities here, as was proper in a senatorial province). He introduced this uncertainty with a longish sentence about the rights of free cities which accords with the letter of Alexander himself (doc. 19) and suggests that there may have been some governmental stand on these in the early years of this emperor (if so, no doubt in contrast to action by his immediate predecessor, Elagabalus). It should be noted that in l. 10 Alexander is said not only to have confirmed but to have increased the rights of the Aphrodisians; we have no clue whether anything of substance is meant by that. The main point is obviously to be connected with that raised in the letter of Commodus (doc. 16) who was reluctant to agree when the Aphrodisians asked that the proconsul should come to stay in their city and prefaced his decision with generalizations about the freedom of cities and risks to it. It is clear that on this occasion Aphrodisians themselves saw nothing against their giving such an invitation, any more than they had done in the Commodan incident. For the form of a speech of invitation to a governor to attend a festival, see now D. A. Russell, N. G. Wilson (eds.), *Menander Rhetor* (1981), 182–93 and commentary.

It is on the issue of proconsular visits that discussion of the inscription has tended to concentrate; but the festival mentioned should be considered too. It was clearly not a purely Aphrodisian occasion and l. 24 may imply that it was a routine Roman one such as the annual sacrifice on 1 January (for examples in the provinces see *PBSR* 30 (1962), 33 f., and L. Marghitan, C. C. Petolescu in *JRS* 66 (1976), 84 f.); but the reason for Aphrodisian interest in an additional celebration of a routine matter at Aphrodisias is not clear. A special imperial occasion related to the emperor's *Fortuna* (cf. ll. 3–4) may be involved.

The dedication of honours to Sulpicius Priscus at Aphrodisias does not necessarily imply that he did visit the city; his introduction of its goddess into his prayers may have been felt to deserve local recognition.

For the description of the city as λαμπροτάτη see also doc. 43, ll. 3 f. The earliest known instance seems to be *MAMA* 421 (? of the reign of Marcus Aurelius and Verus).

## 7. DOCUMENT 49

Two adjoining fragments from a marble cornice (1·33 × 0·33 × 0·85) inscribed on the fascia. Found re-used in the city wall, west stretch.

Letters, second–third cent. A.D.: av. 0·03.

*MAMA* 419, discussed by L. Robert, *Hell.* XIII, 125 f.

... ]ξεσθαι οὐ δίκαιον δ' ἔμοι δοκεῖ πόλιν ὑμ[ετέραν...  
 ... ἀπὸ τῆ]ς καθηγετίδος θεᾶς τὴν προσωνημ[ίαν ἔχουσιν...  
 ... τὰ δεδομένα φιλόφρον]τα ὑπὸ τε Αὐτοκρατόρ[ων] καὶ συγκλήτου δ[ή]μ[ου] Ῥωμαί-  
 ων...

1. 1. The *MAMA* expedition is said to have seen a third fragment, now lost, carrying the letters ΠΟΛΙ; ΠΟΛ can still be deduced from the bases of the letters which survive on fragment 2 and a large part of Ι is visible.

1. 2. ΤΗΝ or ΤΗΜ, ΠΡΟΣΛ . . Υ[, *MAMA*; ἀπὸ τῆς κτλ. τὴν προσω[ν]υ[μίαν] ἔχουσιν R.; in fact Ω is certain, followed by three uprights, and there are traces of M at the end.

1. 3. -- πα, συ[νκλ]ήτου Λ—*MAMA*; τὰ δεδομένα φιλάνθρωπα, συν[κλή]του δ[ογμαίων] R.; the stone has deteriorated since 1934 but the surviving traces suggest the text as printed, for there seems to be no room for two letters between Δ and Μ.

. . .] to [?] but to me it seems unjust that your city [. . . ? . . .], deriving its name from the goddess who leads it [. . . ? . . .] the privileges given by emperors and the Senate of the Roman [people. . .

Robert first recognized this as an official letter concerned with the privileges of Aphrodisias. He cited the letter of Traianus Decius (doc. 25) both for the reference to the derivation of the city's name from Aphrodite and for the privileges; the whole dossier presented in this book provides further parallel material. He was doubtless right in thinking that it was written by a proconsul rather than an emperor, since there is no qualification, such as appears in all the analogous imperial letters here, to show that the αὐτοκράτορες mentioned are the writer's predecessors (cf. τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν αὐτοκρατόρων in doc. 25, ll. 13-14).

For the date there seems to be no evidence other than the lettering, which is of the later second or third century A.D.

The title of the goddess is paralleled at Cyaneae (*CIG* III, p. 1140, 4303h: Ἄρει καὶ Ἐλευθερ[ί]α ἀρχηγέτιδι, cited at *BMC, Caria*, p. 30, making an unnecessary identification with Artemis); cf. also Plutarch, *Thes.* 18, recording that Delphic Apollo instructed Theseus θεὸν Ἀφροδίτην καθηγεμόνα ποιῆσθαι when he set out for Crete.

## 8. DOCUMENT 50

Marble jamb from the right side of a door, broken above and below and damaged on the surface (inscribed area, 0.26 × 0.30). Found during Gaudin's expedition 'aux premiers propylées; axe du temple'; re-excavated in 1970 and now in Aphrodisias Museum.

Letters, probably second cent. A.D.: 0.008; dots for stops in ll. 7, 10; ligatured HM in ll. 9, 10, HN in ll. 11, 12. There is a much later inscription (Christian) cut below it (Reinach, no. 218).

Reinach, no. 3, from Gaudin's squeeze. The surface has deteriorated subsequently; letters reported by him but not now visible are underlined.

Plate XXX, 1.

. . .]  
 . . .]ΕΝΘ[.]  
 . . .]ΑΤΑΚΟ  
 . . .]αν ὑπέρ  
 . . .]ΕΠΩΝΕΤ

5 [. . c. 6 . .] ΕΔΕΕ[ . . ] ΑΣΤΑ μετὰ  
 [τ]ῆς σοι προσηκούσης ἐπι-  
 μελείας *stop* ἅμα προνοούμε-  
 νος καὶ τοῦ τὰ ὀφειλόμενα  
 τῶν χρημάτων εἰσπράττεσ-  
 10 θαι τῇ πόλει *stop* κατεπεμψά-  
 μην δέ σοι καὶ τὰς παρ' ἡμῶν  
 ἐν[το]λὰς ἵνα καὶ τὴν ἡμετέ-  
 ραν [συ]μβουλήν ἐν τοῖς πρα-  
 [χθ]ησομένοις ἔχ[η]ς. Ἐρρωσο

1. 2 κ]ατακο, R. ; 1. 4 ]επωνε[ι], R. ; 1. 5 ]εδει. ας τὰ, R. ; 1. 6 τ[η]ς, R. ; 1. 7 [μ]ελείας, R. ; 1. 11 μεν, R.

ll. 1–5 are hopelessly damaged; but in 1. 2 the surviving letters might be from κατακομιδή or κατακομίζεσθαι, in ll. 3–4 Ian Davies and Michael Crawford have, independently, suggested the possibility of ἐπώνει/[ον], and in 1. 5 δέξ[ωκ]ας would just be consonant with the traces. In 1. 12 there seem to be dots on either side of the letter which (following Reinach) I have taken as the *iota* of ἵνα—it would be quite natural to read *stop* ΗΝ, but I cannot see that this will yield sense; unless the dots are in fact accidental marks they may perhaps be taken as erroneous diaeresis.

. . .] with the care that befits you. At the same time taking thought too for the collection of the moneys that are owing to the city, I have also sent you instructions from us ?in order that you may have our advice in the matters to be managed. Farewell.

A writer who used the first person singular (ll. 7–8, 11) but spoke for ‘us’ (ll. 11, 12–13), which must surely mean the Romans, addressed a recipient in the second person singular (ll. 6, 11, 14) to whom he sent *mandata* (l. 12; for ἐντολαί in this sense see p. 102 f.). Reinach suggested that he was an emperor writing to a governor or a governor to a local official. There seem to be no definitive clues, but while the recipient may have been a local official it is possible, in view of the content, that he was a *curator reipublicae*. Some tact is shown in offering him Roman advice (which would fit either). It appears that moneys owing to the city had not been collected (perhaps taxes but perhaps interest on loans such as are described in detail in *MAMA* 413 and indicated in Reinach, no. 142, and docs. 58, 60); for a suggestion that this should be connected with the πράγματα κατημελημένα (if that is the right word) of doc. 16, l. 7, see p. 121.

## 9. DOCUMENT 51

Fragment from the bottom of a marble stele moulded below (inv. no. 73. 156; 0·30 × 0·16 × 0·115); the inscribed face seems very slightly concave. Found in the area NE of the odeon; now in Aphrodisias Museum.

Letters, second–third cent. A.D.; c. 0·012; arabesque stop in l. 4.

Acknowledgments for discussion to David Whitehead.

## Plate XXX, 2.

...]  
 ...]εἰσπρασσει[...  
 ... εἰ]ς τὴν οἰκείαν κομιδ[ήν? ...  
 ...]εται καὶ τοῦ τελῶν[ου...  
 ... ?κ]ωλύσει *vac. arabesque* εὐτυχεῖτ[ε ? *vac.*]

## II. 1, 2. Only the bases of the dotted letters survive.

... ] ?he exacts [ . . ? . . ] ?with a view to personal supply [ . . ? . . ] and of the tax-collector [ . . ? . . ] he will prevent [ . . ? . . ]. Farewell.

1. 1. The word can hardly be restored except as from εἰσπράσσειν, *to exact* or *get in revenue*, or εἰσπράσσεσθαι *to have paid to one*.

1. 2. Κομιδ[ήν is attractive, but the verb κομίζειν might also be compatible with what survives. In either case it seems possible that the reference is to exemption from tax of goods brought into the territory for personal use. For the point involved cf. *BCH* 37 (1913), 125, l. 26 (from Abdera): δεδόσθαι δὲ αὐτῶι καὶ ἀτέλεια . . . ὧν ἂν ἐξάγη ἢ εἰσάγη εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν χρεῖαν καὶ μὴ κατ' ἐμπορίαν . . . and the privileges given to Seleucus of Rhosus . . . εἰσάγηι ἢ ἐξάγηι τῆς ἰδίας χρεῖ[ας] ἐν[ε]κεν . . . τούτων τῶν πραγμάτων τέλος οὔτε πολετεῖαν οὔ[τε δημοσι]ώνην παρ' αὐτ[οῦ] εἰσπράττειν (*RDGE* 58, ll. 49 f.).

The fragment is from a letter, as the final greeting shows, sent to plural addressees and so probably to the city or its magistrates. That the writer was a Roman official is clear; an emperor is not excluded but given the content a proconsul, a provincial quaestor or an imperial procurator seem more likely.

It is just possible that this document should be connected with the 'nail tax' about which the Aphrodisians approached Hadrian (doc. 15), since the use of imported goods (iron or nails) seems to have been involved on that occasion and the tax was collected by a τελώνης (under the supervision of a procurator). If there is a connection, however, this letter should be earlier than doc. 15, since Hadrian exempted the Aphrodisians from payment of the tax altogether, whereas here it seems that there was only exemption for goods imported for private use.

B. *Quaestors*

## 1. DOCUMENT 52

Moulded pilaster capital, badly damaged and partly broken away (inv. no. 69. 364; 0.70 × 0.57 × 0.27), inscribed on three faces (the third illegible). Found loose during excavation just inside the north stretch of the city wall within the modern village of Geyre, in an area containing much re-used material; now in Aphrodisias Museum.

Letters second cent. A.D.: 0.015; diaeresis in *b*, l. 3. The cutting is only of moderate quality.

Acknowledgments for discussion to Fergus Millar and Wynne Williams (the petition).

## Plate XXX, 3-4.

- a* Ἰούλιος Κέλερ ταμίης καὶ ἀντιστράτηγος  
Ἀφροδισιέων ἄρχουσι *vacat* χαίρειν

Iulius Celer, quaestor pro praetore, to the magistrates of Aphrodisias, greetings.

- b* [Αὐ]τοκράτορι Νέρβα Τραιαν[ῶ] Σεβαστῶ]  
[Γ]ερμανικῶ Δακικῶ ἔντευ[ξις Γαίου Ἰου]-  
[Λ]ίου Γαίου *vac. v vac. ἰοῦ Φαβία*[. . c. 8. .]

1. 3. The cutter wrote ΙΟΥΛΙΟΥ after Γαίου and then erased ΙΟ and Λ.

To Emperor Nerva Traianus [Augustus] Germanicus, Dacicus, petition of [Caius Iul]ius C.f., Fabia tribu [. . .]

The letter forms of the two texts are similar but do not necessarily indicate that they are parts of the same dossier. The discovery of several texts on financial subjects in an area adjacent to the sanctuary of Aphrodite suggests the presence of a 'financial archive', perhaps located near the local treasury; if this capital and the pilaster that it surmounted had once been part of such a 'financial complex', they could perfectly well have carried several quite unrelated documents.

*a* is the introduction to a letter from a provincial quaestor, Iulius Celer, who is otherwise unknown. Since he addressed the magistrates only, not the city as a whole, he was presumably concerned with a point of administrative detail on which it is quite probable that he had been consulted. Since Aphrodisians and, indeed, the city itself, had financial interests outside the privileged civic territory (see notably *MAMA* 413 for money originally private and now public on loan to citizens of other cities) the correspondence need not imply any breach of Aphrodisian rights; but it might do so.

*b* is the introduction to a petition, *libellus*, to the emperor; for the formula cf. the opening of the Scaptoparene petition, *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 888; *IG Bulg.* 2236. The development in the meaning of ἔντευξις to *petition* was traced by Dittenberger, *OGIS* 138, n. 10; on the *libellus* procedure, see p. 105; it is not in any way abnormal for a private person to use it. The text of the petition will have been followed on the stone by the emperor's *subscriptio*.

The date lies between Trajan's receipt of the title Dacicus late in 102 and that of Parthicus in 116.

The *nomen* of the petitioner can be deduced from the error made by the cutter. Fabia was one of Augustus' own tribes and one in which he registered men whom he enfranchised, so that a *C. Iulius, Fabia tribu*, almost certainly derives from a citizen enfranchised by Augustus. One might wonder whether this was a descendant of Zoilus (docs. 10, 11 and Appendix v); although Zoilus as a freed slave might expect to be registered in one of the urban tribes (S. Treggiari, *Roman Freedmen during the Late Republic* (1969), 52), registration in Fabia could have been a mark of the special favour Octavian wished to extend to him.

If inscribed in a public place, the petition must surely have had a bearing on civic affairs, and, in the context of the quaestor's letter, on financial affairs. The possible range of subjects is too wide for profitable speculation.

## 2. DOCUMENT 53

Four pieces of a marble cornice with lion's head spouts, inscribed on the fascia; two adjoin (inv. nos. 67. 548A and B;  $1.43 \times 0.055 + 0.645 \times 0.055$ ) and two are loose (inv. nos. 67. 540 and 67. 547A;  $0.985 \times 0.055$  and  $0.585 \times 0.055$ ). Found in the area of the stage at the north side, and part of the Doric entablature inscribed with docs. 2 and 36a.

Letters, second–third cent. A.D.: 0.04; ligatured HN in l. 1.

## Plate XXXI.

- 1 κατὰ τὴν Ἰουνίου Μαξίμου τοῦ κρατίστου ταμίου κρίσιν [ . . .
- 2 . . . ] τοὺς δυὸ ἀνδριάντα[ς . . .
- 3 . . . Γρ]ύπτος Ἀρτεμιδώρου ἀποκαθέστη[σε ?]ν

The verb may have been plural.

- 1 According to the decision of Iunius Maximus the eminent quaestor [ . . .
- 2 . . . ] the two statues [ . . .
- 3 . . . Gr]ypus son of Artemidorus restored

Iunius Maximus is to be identified as the tribune of *PIR*<sup>2</sup> I 774 who brought to Rome news of victory in Parthia in 165–6 (Fronto, *Epp.* 1. 6), and was rewarded with the quaestorship, held in Asia in 167–8 (G. Alföldy—H. Halfmann, *ZPE* 35 (1979), 195 f.). The location of this text may suggest a connection with the Artemidorus monument (p. 11) and the inscriptions published as docs. 2–4, see also Appendix III. It is not clear why he was involved. His judgment may have concerned the use of public funds for the restoration of statues (possibly after an earthquake), by a descendant of the original honorand and it is possible that the Aphrodisians had gratuitously invited the intervention of one who was clearly a hero of the time; but it was not strictly in accordance with their status.

3. Doc. 51 might have been written by a quaestor, in view of its subject matter (clearly taxation); see also under D.

C. No *legatus proconsulis* is so far attested at Aphrodisias.

D. All equestrian procurators so far attested appear to be Aphrodisians who have achieved this office, and not officials operating in the city; but it is not impossible that doc. 51 was written by an imperial procurator since its subject is taxation; see also under B, no. 3.

E. A small number of Roman army officers are recorded in the city. Most seem to be residents not present in an official capacity; the one exception is a *frumentarius* (possibly two of them) (Reinach, no. 78; *ILS* 9474; *MAMA* 508; see also *CIG* 2802), now datable, with very great probability, in the middle of the third century. See C. Rouché, *JRS* 71 (1981), 103.

F. There are also a small number of imperial freedmen recorded, who may imply the existence of imperial property within the territory.

1. C. Iulius Zoilus, see Appendix v.

## 2. DOCUMENT 54

Large marble block, broken away at the right side, originally moulded on all three surviving faces (c. 1·52 × 0·99 × 0·54) inscribed on the reverse face. Found fallen forwards from the east stretch of the city wall in which it had been re-used.

Letters, probably first cent. A.D.: c. 0·04.

J. Reynolds, *PCPS* 206 (1980), 73 f.

Plate XXXII, 1.

θειότητι Αυτοκρατόρων, θεᾶ Ἀφροδείτη γενέ[τειρα,  
 συνκλήτῳ, δήμῳ Ῥωμαίων, πολίταις, εὐχαρισ[τῶν]  
 Μάρκος Ἰούλιος Ἀτταλος ἀπελεύθερος Καίσα[ρος]

To the divinity of the Emperors, the goddess Venus Genetrix (?), the Senate and People of Rome, the citizens, in gratitude, Marcus Iulius Attalus, freedman of Caesar.

In discussing the text (op. cit. above) I have argued for a first- rather than a third-century date, taking Attalus to be a former slave of Livia rather than of the emperor Philip (freedmen of both being M. Julii); if he was freed in accordance with Livia's will by Tiberius it would not be altogether surprising that he chose to advertise the more prestigious connection with the emperor in his status-description (it is abnormal for an imperial freedman to refer to Caesar rather than to Augustus, but for exceptions in the first century see P. R. C. Weaver, *Familia Caesaris* 49). Nothing in the language used is unparalleled in the first century. If Attalus was employed at Aphrodisias it may have been because Livia owned property there, inherited, perhaps, from Augustus.

The elaborate dedication, in which every item is in some way unique at Aphrodisias so far, is obviously significant for the development of imperial cult in the city, even when due allowances have been made for the fact that it emanates from a private person, and that an imperial servant, not from the city. I know of no other dedication anywhere to the *θειότης* of the emperor (*divinitas, maiestas*) which is quite of the same type (neither the uses cited by Mason *s.v.*, *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 888, and *AE* 1966, 436, both late, nor the formula common from the early third century, *devotus numini maiestatique eius*, on which see H. G. Gundel, *Epigraphica* 15 (1953), 128 f., seem to me to provide exact parallels). Aphrodite is clearly Venus Genetrix (cf. Ἀφροδείτη Γενέτειρα identified with Julia Aug. f. at Eresus, *IGR* iv, 9). At Aphrodisias the transliterated cult-title appears here for the first time, although the concept is, of course, present in doc. 32, l. 1, in an undated inscription partly published by L. Robert, *Aph* 416–17, where the goddess is προμήτωρ τοῦ γένους τῶν Σεβαστῶν, and in the Trajanic text which I give below as doc. 55. There is no other dedication to the Senate and People of Rome at Aphrodisias so far, although elsewhere in Asia they are sometimes linked with emperors, cf. *IGR* iv, 1352, θεοῖς

Σεβαστοῖς καὶ ἱερᾷ συνκλήτῳ καὶ δήμῳ Ῥωμαίων). Dedications to groups which include the emperor and the People of Aphrodisias are a developing feature at Aphrodisias, see Reynolds, *op. cit.*, but the People are normally δῆμος; the unparalleled πολεῖται may have been chosen simply to avoid confusion with the δῆμος Ῥωμαίων which precedes; but perhaps to stress a link with the city, implying that Attalus had received the citizenship of Aphrodisias.

Attalus does not give the reason for the gratitude expressed in his dedication. His manumission would provide an occasion for the first two items: the Senate and People of Rome would not be inappropriate to his simultaneous acquisition of Roman citizenship, but are more surprising; a grant of the citizenship of Aphrodisias would explain the last. All this is very hypothetical; and the hypothesis is only worth offering in the light of the unusual honours enjoyed at Aphrodisias by two other imperial freedmen, Zoilus (Appendix v) and Gaetulicus (doc. 56).

## DOCUMENT 55

This text is given here to illustrate points made above. It is cut on one of the two inscribed faces of a base found re-used in the area of the south Agora gate and currently under water. There is a preliminary publication of both texts, illustrated by photographs of squeezes, by J. Reynolds, *PCPS* 206 (1980), 75 f.

Face *a*. Letters first-second cent. A.D.

## Plate XXXII, 3.

τῇ προμήτορι Ἀφροδε[ίτη]  
*vac.* καὶ τῷ Δήμῳ *vac.*  
 Ἀυτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Νερού-  
 ας Τραιανὸς Σεβαστὸς  
 5 Γερμανικὸς Δακικὸς ἐκ τῆς

Ἀδράστου τοῦ Περείτου Γρύ-  
 που διαθήκης ἀποκαθέστη-  
 σεν διὰ Καλλικράτους τοῦ  
 Περείτου Γρύπου ἱερέως  
 10 *vac.* ἐργεπιστάτου *vac.*

To the first mother Aphrodite and the Demos. Imperator Caesar Nerva Traianus Augustus, Germanicus, Dacicus, restored (this) with the legacy from Adrastus Grypus son of Pereitas, through Callicrates Grypus son of Pereitas, priest, superintendent of the work.

Face *b* is inscribed with a dedication by the Aphrodisian people of statues (of Cyclopes) replaced after damage in an earthquake. Since the letters of the two inscriptions seem, from the photo, to be very similar I suggest provisionally that both texts refer to the same occasion and that the earthquake can be dated under Trajan and more precisely between late 102 when Trajan took the title Dacicus and summer 116 when he became Parthicus.

A number of points arise on this text which can only be treated here in a very summary way:

1. Adrastus (l. 6) had clearly followed the social practice common in Rome of leaving a bequest to the emperor (on the practice see Millar, *ERW* 153 f.). It would be interesting to know whether he had any connection with Trajan, who seems to have begun his reign by discouraging legacies from strangers (Pliny, *Pan.* 43, 2).

2. Trajan, with marked propriety, spent it (or part of it) within Adrastus' city, using Adrastus' brother as his agent (ll. 8 f.); there is something of a parallel with Augustus who restored to Herod's sons the bulk of the legacy that Herod had left him (Josephus, *AJ* 17. 322-3; cited by Millar). He was thus able to combine a now traditional function of imperial beneficence to the distressed with what must have been a very acceptable treatment of a bequest.

3. Aphrodite as first mother, without the further verbal definition given in Robert's text (p. 182 above), presumably combined the concepts of first mother of all, first mother of the Aphrodisians, first mother of the Roman people and first mother of the Julian gens.

### 3. DOCUMENT 56

*CIG* 2800, the lower part of a lost stele or base copied by Sherard. Not rediscovered.

<p>... ] κατὰ τὰ ψηφι- σθέντα ἐτεί- μησαν Μᾶρ(κον) Αὐρ(ήλιον) Γαιτυλικόν, 5 ἀπελεύθερον</p>	<p>καὶ ἐπίτροπον τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ πρωτονεοποι- ὸν τῆς θεοῦ 10 Ἀφροδείτης</p>
---	--

... ] according to what was decreed, honoured Marcus Aurelius Gaetulicus, freedman and procurator of Augustus, chief temple commissioner of the goddess Aphrodite.

From the name of the subject the date must be late second century at earliest and is much more probably of the third. The local office held by Gaetulicus, while not without some parallel in the career of Zoilus (Appendix v), is a reminder of the consequence of such a man in a provincial city; that is underlined also by a recently discovered text in which his wife has the title *θυγάτηρ τῆς πόλεως* (unpublished).

### Appendix IX : *Curatores Reipublicae* at Aphrodisias

Three *curatores reipublicae* are attested as having held office in Aphrodisias; their main work is to be dated in the late second century but may possibly have continued into the early third.

L. Claudius Iberinus Eudaemon, τὸν κράτιστον, γενόμενον καὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας πόλεως λογιστὴν καὶ εὐεργέτην (*CIG* 2791, honorary base); see *PIR*<sup>2</sup> C 891, where it is suggested that he was connected with the Claudius Eudaemon, *PIR*<sup>2</sup> C 861, whose wife participated in the Secular Games of A.D. 204.

C. Iulius Philippus, τὸν κράτιστον, πατέρα συνκλητικοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ ἐπιτρόπων, λογιστε[ύ]σαντα καὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας πόλεως μετ' εὐνοίας, γενόμενον ἐν πᾶσιν εὐεργέτην, *CIG* 2790, see *PIR*<sup>2</sup> I, 459; other evidence for his career shows him active under Marcus and Commodus and in consequence Liermann conjectured that he was the immediate predecessor in office of Ulpius Eurycles (see below) (*Analecta* 127-8, n. 15).

The close similarity of the inscriptions honouring Eudaemon and Philippus suggests approximate contemporaneity for them and probably, therefore, a second century date for both.

M. Ulpius Appuleius Eurycles, *PIR*<sup>1</sup> V 551, with docs. 57, 58. Doc. 58 places his curatorship under Commodus, between 180 and 190.

In addition there are a number of inscriptions associated or associable with curators (docs. 60-2, perhaps 50), while the Commodan doc. 16 refers to one curator and may have arranged for the appointment of another, or for some other official to carry out curatorial functions.

## 1. DOCUMENT 57

Inscribed block copied by Sherard in the city wall, south stretch. Not rediscovered.

*CIG* 2741; whence Liermann, *Analecta*, no. xx; *OGIS* 509 and Laum, *Stiftungen*, no. 103 (ll. 13-23 only); A. W. Pickard-Cambridge, *Dramatic Festivals of Athens* (rev. John Gould and D. M. Lewis, 1968), 320, no. 16a.

Acknowledgments for discussion to Ian Davies (relation to doc. 16), Richard Duncan-Jones (financial implications).

Fig. 8.

### Ἀγαθῆ Τύχη

Μάρκος Οὐλπίος Ἀππουλήϊος Εὐρυκλῆς ἀρχιερεὺς Ἀσίας ἀποδεδει[γ]μένο[ς]  
 ναῶν [KAI] τῶν ἐν Σμύρνῃ τ(ὸ) β' Ἀφροδι[σ]ίων ἀρχουσι βουλή δῆμῳ χαίρει[ι]ν  
 βουληθέντων ὑμῶν πρόνοιαν ποιήσασθαι με καὶ τῶν κατὰ τοὺς ἀγῶνας  
 5 διὰ τε τὴν πρὸς τὸν μέγιστον Αὐτοκράτορα εὐσέβειαν Μάρκον Αὐρήλιον  
 Κόμοδον Ἀντωνίνου Σεβαστόν, καὶ διὰ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς διαθεμένους  
 μνήμην καὶ διὰ τὴν τῆς πόλεως δό(ξ)αν, ἥδη καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς συνόδου π[ολ]-  
 λάκις ἐντυχόντων μοι, οὐδὲ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος κατέλιπον ἀδιάκριτον  
 ἐπόμενος τῇ κατὰ τὴν λογιστείαν τά(ξ)ε[ι] καὶ προθυμίᾳ μέχρι νῦν τῆς περι  
 10 τοὺς ἀγῶνας καταστάσεως ἐνλειπούσης διὰ τὴν τῶν χρημάτων πα-  
 ρασκευὴν ὀφειλόντων συ[ναυξ]ηθῆναι κατὰ τε τὰς τῶν τελευταίαν-  
 των γνώμας καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἀξι(ω)μα τοῦ πόρου ἀφ' οὗ (χ)ρῆ τοὺς ἀγῶνα[ς]  
 ἐπιτελεῖσθαι  
 ἀγῶν μὲν δὴ ὁ ἐκ τῶν Φλαβίου Λυσιμάχου διαθηκῶν προελήλυ-  
 θεν εἰς ἀρχεῖον πόρου μυριάδας δ(ώ)δεκα ὡς δύνασθαι ἀπὸ τού-  
 15 των παρὰ ἑτῆ τέσσαρα πληροῦσθαι τὸν μ(ο)υσικὸν ἀγῶνα καθὰ τῶ  
 διαθεμέν(ω) ἔδοξεν. αἱ δὲ μετὰ τὰς δ(ώ)δεκα μυριάδας (ο)ὔσαι ἐν ἐκ-  
 δανεισμῶ καὶ ὁ προσγεγ(ο)ν(ώ)ς τούτοις τόκος μέχρι ἀρχῆς [ἔ]τους  
 [ποιεῖ] κεφαλείου δηναρίων μυριάδας τρεῖς δηνάρια χεῖλια ὀκτ(ω)κόσια  
 τριάκοντα ἑννέα· δ(ύ)νασθε [I] οὖν ἀρχομένου τοῦ ἔτους τοῦτον  
 20 τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐπιτελεῖν ἀγαθῆ τύχη ἐπὶ ἄθλοις ταλαντιαί-  
 οῖς καὶ ἀγωνίσμασιν κατὰ τὰ ἄθλα· προθεσμία δὲ εἰς τὸν ἐ-  
 ξῆς χρόνον καὶ τὴν ἐπιούσαν τετραετηρίδα [Σ] ἔσται χρ(ό)[νος]  
 ὁ ἀπὸ [Βαρ] (β)ιλλήων τῶν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ [ἀγομένων] πρὸς [?Κοινὰ] Ἀσίας [ἔ]ρωσθε]

leaf

l. 11. ΣΥΖΗΘΗΝΑΙ with ΝΑΥΖ written above (probably in the study); l. 18 ΠΟΙΕΙ written in the left margin—it could have been added in the field; l. 22, ΖΗΣ written in the left-hand margin clearly to replace ΕΝΗ which have been crossed through, possibly in the field; l. 23, the tops of the initial letters of the name are shown as consistent with ΒΑ.

The text is based on Sherard's notebook and incorporates his own corrections (see Appendix II) but with additional correction in l. 2 by seclusion of ΚΑΙ (following Dittenberger) and from ΤΩ, ΑΦΡΟΔΙΣΕΩΝ and ΧΑΙΡΕΝ; in l. 7 from ΔΟΣΑΝ; in l. 9 from ΤΑΣΕ; in l. 12 from ΑΖΙΟΜΑ, ΚΡΗ and ΑΓΩΝΑ; in l. 14 from ΔΟΔΕΚΑ; in l. 15 from ΜΥΣΙΚΟΝ; in l. 16 from ΔΙΑΘΕΜΕΝΟ, ΔΟΔΕΚΑ and ΘΥΣΑΙ; in l. 17 from ΠΡΟΣΓΕΓΩΝΟΣ, ΣΤΟΥΣ; in l. 18 from ΟΚΤΟΚΟΣΙΑ; in l. 19 from ΔΗΝΑΣΘΕΙ; in l. 22 from ΧΡΩ; in l. 23 from ΚΙΛΛΗΩΝ. For *CIG* Boeckh used copies derived from Sherard's first thoughts only, or made by his less careful companions (see Appendix II), but corrected rightly except that he offered ἀρχ[α]ίου in l. 14, τέσσερα in l. 15, [τοῦ ἔ]τους in l. 17, κεφαλ[α]ίου and ὀκτ[α]κόσια in l. 18.

The supplements are obvious as far as l. 22 where Dittenberger proposed ἔστ[ω] but Sherard's ΑΙ are clear; in l. 23 Boeckh proposed [Βαρβ]ιλλήων but left a blank after Ἐφέσῳ, and Dittenberger, with due caution, suggested [ἀγομ]έ[νω](ν) (which does not quite square with Sherard's copy) πρὸς [Κοινὰ] Ἀσίας [ἐν Σμύρνῃ or ἐν Περύαμῳ].

With good fortune. Marcus Ulpius Appuleius Eurycles, designated high priest of Asia, of the temples of Smyrna, for the second time, greets the Magistrates, Council and People of the Aphrodisians. Since it was your wish that I had made provision also for the funds relating to the competitions, because of your piety to the very great emperor Marcus Aurelius Commodus Antoninus Augustus, for the memory of those who bequeathed them and for the good name of the city, and since representatives from the Synod had already approached me on many occasions, I have not omitted to examine this sector either, applying the same order and zeal as I observed in my curatorship. So far the competitions have not taken place because the moneys provided needed supplementation in accordance both with the directions of the deceased (founders) and with the reckoning of the funds from which the competitions are carried out. However the competition in accordance with the will of Flavius Lysimachus has reached a total endowment of 120,000 *denarii* so that it is possible from this sum for the musical contest to be held every four years as the testator wished. The money over and above the 120,000 *denarii* which is on loan, and the interest accruing in addition to this up to the beginning of the year amounts to a total of 31,839 *denarii*. You can, therefore, hold the competition at the beginning of the year, with good fortune, with prizes amounting to a talent and events of a type to deserve them. The date appointed for the subsequent occasion and the next four-yearly celebration will be in the period between the celebration of the Barbilleia at Ephesus and [?the provincial games] of Asia. Farewell.

A date between 180 and 190 is implied by the form of Commodus' name (ll. 5–6), see p. 120 on doc. 16, l. 2. On the unerased state of the name, see *ibid*.

On Eurycles the evidence was assembled by Dittenberger. He represented his native city (Aezani) at the Panhellenion of which he became the president (*OGIS* 504–7, of which 506 is dated in A.D. 157), was appointed by the proconsul of Asia to be curator of the gerousia of Ephesus and in 162 or 163, while in that post,

Ε. # *Σημειώματα μισοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς*  
 + ΑΓΑΘΗ ΤΥΧΗ  
 17. ΜΑΡΚΟΣ ΟΥΛΠΙΟΣ ΑΠΠΟΥΛΚΙΟΣ ΕΥΡΥΚΛΗΣ ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΥΣ  
 ΑΣΙΑΣ ΑΠΟΔΕΔΕΙΜΕΝΟ...  
 2 ΝΑΣΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΕΝ ΣΥΡΙΑ Η ΤΩ Β. ΑΙΡΟΔΙΣΕΣ ΝΑΡ  
 ΧΟΥΣΙ ΒΟΥΛΗ ΔΗΜΩ ΧΑΙΡΕΝ  
 3 ΒΟΥΛΗ ΒΕΝΤΩΝ ΥΜΩΝ ΠΡΟΝΟΙΑΝ ΠΟΙΗΣΑΣ ΘΑΙΜΕ ΚΑΙ  
 ΤΩΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΟΥΣ ΑΓΩΝΑΣ  
 4 ΔΙΑΤΕΤΗΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΝ ΜΕΤΙΣΤΟΝ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΑ ΕΥΣΕ  
 ΒΕΙΑΝ ΜΑΡΚΟΝ ΑΥΡΗΑΙΟΝ  
 5 ΚΟΜΟΔΟΝ ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟΝ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΑΤΗΝ ΠΡΟΣ  
 ΤΟΥΣ ΔΙΑΒΕΜΕΝΟΥΣ  
 6 ΜΗΚΜΗΝ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΑΤΗΝ ΤΗΣ ΠΟΛΕΩΣ ΔΟΣΑΝ ΗΔΗ ΚΑΙ  
 ΤΩΝ ΑΠΟ ΤΗΣ ΣΥΝΟΔΟΥ Π

7 ΛΑΚΙΣΕΝ ΤΥΧΟΝ ΤΩΝ ΜΙΣΙΟΥ ΔΕ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΤΟ ΜΕΡΟΣ ΚΑΤΕ  
 ΛΙΠΟΝΑ ΔΙΑΚΡΙΤΟΝ  
 8 ΕΠΟΜΕΝΟΣ ΤΗ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΗΝ ΛΟΓΙΣΤΕΙΑΝ ΤΑΣΕ ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟΒΥ  
 ΜΙΑ ΜΕΧΡΙΝ ΤΗΣ ΠΕΡΙ  
 9 ΤΟΥΣ ΑΓΩΝΑΣ ΚΑΤΑ ΣΤΑΣΕΩΣ ΕΝ ΛΕΙΠΟΥΣΗΣ ΔΙΑ  
 ΤΗΝ ΤΩΝ ΧΡΗΜΑΤΩΝ ΠΑ ΝΑΥΣ  
 10 ΠΡΑΞΕΥΝ ΟΦΕΙΛΟΝ ΤΩΝ ΣΥΣΤΗΘΗΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΕΤΑΣ  
 ΤΩΝ ΤΕΛΕΥΤΗΣΑΝ  
 11 ΤΩΝ ΓΝΩΜΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΟ ΑΞΙΟΜΑ ΤΟΥ ΠΟΡΟΥ ΑΦΟΥΚΗ ΤΟΥΣ  
 ΑΓΩΝΑ ΕΠΙΤΕΛΕΙΣΘΑΙ  
 12 ΑΓΩΝ ΜΕΝΔΗ ΟΚΤΩΣ ΦΛΑΒΙΟΥ ΛΥΣΙΜΑΧΟΥ ΔΙΑΘΗΚΩ ΠΡΟ  
 ΕΛΛΑΥ  
 13 ΘΕΝΕΙΣ ΑΡΧΕΙΟΥ ΠΟΡΟΥ ΜΥΡΙΑΔΑΣ ΔΩΔΕΚΑ ΣΕ ΔΥΝΑ ΕΒΑΙΑ  
 ΠΟΤΟΥ  
 14 ΤΩΝ ΠΑΡΑ ΕΤΗ ΤΕΣΣΑΡΑ ΠΑΝΤΟΥΣ ΘΑΙΤΟΝ ΜΥΣΙΚΟΝ ΑΓΩΝΑ  
 Τ ΚΑΘΑΤΩ  
 15 ΔΙΑΒΕΜΕΝΟ ΕΔΟΣ ΕΝ ΗΔΕ ΜΕΤΑ ΤΗΣ ΔΩΔΕΚΑ ΜΥΡΙΑΔΑΣ  
 ΘΥΣΙΑΣ  
 16 ΔΑΝΕΙΩΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟΣ ΓΕΓΩΝΟΣ ΤΟΥΤΟΥΣ ΤΟ ΚΟΜΕΜΕΧΥ  
 ΑΡΧΗΣΤΟΥΣ  
 17 ΤΩΣΙ ΚΕΦΑΛΕΙΟΥ ΔΗΝΑΡΙΩΝ ΜΥΡΙΑΔΑΣ ΤΡΕΙΣ ΔΗΝΑΡΑ  
 ΧΕΙΛΙΑ ΟΚΤΟΚΟΣΙΑ  
 18 ΤΡΙΑΚΟΝΤΑ ΕΝΝΕΑ ΔΗΝΑΣ ΘΕΙΟΥΝ ΑΡΧΟΜΕΝΟΥ ΤΟΥ Ε  
 ΤΟΥΣ ΤΟΥΤΟΝ  
 19 ΤΟΝ ΑΓΩΝΑ ΕΠΙΤΕΛΕΙΝ ΑΓΑΘΗ ΤΥΧΗ ΕΠΙ ΑΣΛΟΙΣ ΤΑΔΩΝ  
 ΤΙΑΙ  
 20 ΟΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΓΩΝΙΣΜΑΣΙΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΗ ΑΣΛΑ ΠΡΟΤΕΣΜΙΑΔΕ  
 ΕΙΣ ΤΟΝ Ε  
 ΣΗ Σ 21 ΕΑΝ ΧΡΟΝΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΕΠΙΟΥΣΑΝ ΤΕΤΡΑΕΤΗΡΙΔΑΣ  
 ΕΣΤΑ... ΧΡΩ  
 22 Ο ΑΠΟ... ΚΑΛΗΡΝΤΩΝ ΕΝ ΕΦΕΣΩ... ΕΡΡΟΣ...  
 Σ ΠΑΕΙΑΣ... 9

Fig. 8. Doc. 57. Sherard's Transcription. Reproduced by permission of the British Library.

received a letter from Marcus and Verus; in addition he held this curatorship at Aphrodisias and was twice elected to the high priesthood of Asia. His career, as Dittenberger observed, makes it easier to place his Aphrodisian appointment early in the 180's than towards their end; it is, therefore, attractive to identify him with the curator who wrote doc. 62, probably in 181.

In this letter he writes as one who had been curator at Aphrodisias and subsequently undertaken, at the request of the city, another investigation into funds for competitions. The original curatorship must have been a Roman appointment but it should be presumed, in view of the city's status, that it was made by the emperor after application from the Aphrodisians. Its purpose was, no doubt, an examination of civic finances in general; perhaps the funds for competitions considered in this second phase of activity were excluded earlier as being sacred (cf. ἀφιερωσθαι in doc. 62, l. 5) and technically the property of Aphrodite or other deities rather than of the city. Demand for the investigation seems to have come in the first place from a synod which approached Eurycles directly. This must be the synod of artists (docs. 59, l. 9, 61, l. 1), as Boeckh saw. The synod was due to play a particularly important part in the competition of Callicrates (doc. 59, l. 9), which was to be celebrated for the safety and continued rule of Commodus, but had not yet been announced. A special interest in this competition would account for Eurycles' reference to imperial cult here.

Eurycles seems at this stage to have found no evidence of misapplication of the funds (contrast doc. 62). He explained the delays in celebrating projected competitions as necessary while capital was building up to a level at which the regular celebrations envisaged by the founders could be financed from the interest; the same explanation is given for failure to celebrate a competition in doc. 59, ll. 22 f. One fund, however, had reached the required level, that bequeathed by Flavius Lysimachus for Lysimacheia (see doc. 59, ll. 1 f., with comment; celebrations are recorded in *MAMA* 501 and 519, when it was, for the first time, combined with Tatianeia; doc. 60 gives a prize list). The detailed account of this fund is reasonably clear. The aim had been to build up the capital by accumulation of interest to 120,000 *denarii* (ll. 14, 16; the same total was the aim for the fund probably bequeathed by Philemon, doc. 59, ll. 22 f.); it is probable that the capital was lent out in the manner described in some detail for the bequest of Attalus son of Adrastus and like that was probably bringing in interest at 6% (Reinach, no. 142, l. 30). Four years' income from 120,000 *denarii* at 6% simple interest would amount to 28,800 *denarii*, at 6% compound interest to 31,496 *denarii*. Eurycles calculated that there was a total of 31,839 *denarii*; the probability therefore is that he reckoned at compound interest, but there was a small additional sum whose origin cannot be discovered on present information. He regarded this total as sufficient for a musical competition with prizes described as τάλαντιαῖα. A talent should be 6,000 *denarii* so that there was enough money for five such prizes with a small surplus which would, no doubt, be needed for other purposes such as purchase of victims for sacrifice; but in doc. 60, where the Lysimacheia themselves are described as an ἀγῶν τάλαντιαῖος (for other examples of this expression see H. de Longpérier, *RA* 19 (1869), 141 f.), items are listed, all within the sphere of *musica*, and, as Boeckh observed, none of the prizes offered is as much as a talent. The only connection with a talent that I can see is that the three prizes offered to tragedians and the

three offered to comedians add up to a talent—so that if these competitions in tragedy and comedy are taken as the essential features of a musical *agon* the name *talantiaios agon* is justified; but not, on the face of it, Eurycles' reference to ἄθλα τολαντιαία. Moreover, the total sum for the prizes listed is 20,650 *denarii* and even with the addition of two missing figures for adult citharoedi, that is a total very far short of the sum available; the list perhaps continued on to a second block placed below the surviving one.

The evidence we have suggests that there had been sound if conservative management of the fund; a higher rate of interest might be thought possible (9% was the rate earned by the funds of a Trajanic foundation at Ephesus, R. P. Duncan-Jones, *The Economy of the Roman Empire* (1974), 307, n. 2), but 6% is already attested as acceptable at Aphrodisias (see above) and may be the norm there.

Eurycles also interested himself in the events, implying that, for prizes of the size specified, only serious events were appropriate. Moreover, he regulated the timing of the four-yearly celebrations in order to prevent clashes with other relevant competitions. Regulation of the timing of Aphrodisian competitions is also a feature of doc. 59 and it has naturally been thought probable that he was also responsible for that, as for the prize list in doc. 61 which closely resembles that for the Lysimacheia.

There is a brief account of the Lysimacheia in Liermann's *Analecta* 121 f. If doc. 59, ll. 1 f. are rightly referred to their first celebration (in 182 or 183 on the dating for Eurycles suggested on p. 196) there is some reason to suppose that, like the Philemonia (below), they were left very much in the hands of the founder's family; Waddington argued that the first agonothete was a relative (doc. 59, l. 3) and the perpetual agonothete of *MAMA* 501 certainly was.

## 2. DOCUMENT 58

Inscribed base first published by P. Paris and M. Holleaux (*BCH* 9 (1885), 71 f., no. 2, whence Liermann, *Analecta*, no. xxii; Reinach, no. 144; *MAMA* 505); now in Aphrodisias Museum.

The text records the erection of a statue of the winner in the boy's boxing-match at the third penteteris of the Aphrodisia Philemonia by his father λαβόντος τὸ θέμα παρὰ τῶν κληρονόμων τοῦ Φιλήμονος κατὰ τὴν Οὐλπίου Εὐρ[υ]κλέ[ο]υς τοῦ λογιστοῦ κέλευσιν.

The brief account of the Philemonia by Liermann, *Analecta* 140, assumes that Eurycles was in office as a *curator* at the time of their third celebration. There is still no precise dating for any celebration of this competition; but if it is right to attribute doc. 59 to Eurycles and also to restore the name of Philemon in it at l. 22, their first celebration should be later than 181 (see below) and the third, twelve years after it, later than 193; given the length of Eurycles' attested career his continued activity then seems unlikely and in any case the implications of doc. 16 are that he had ceased his operations at Aphrodisias some time before 189 (l. 7). The instruction was perhaps part of the regulations which he drew up at the time of the first celebration. He appears to have left the administration of the fund very much in the hands of the founder's family, cf. also the arrangements implied for the Lysimacheia above.

## 3. DOCUMENT 59

Inscribed block copied by J. P. Deering in 1813 (findspot not recorded) and published from his papers by W. Leake, *TRSL* 1<sup>12</sup> (1843), 243, 302–3, no. XXI (on Deering see L. Robert, *Hell.* XIII, 112–13); whence LBW 1620 C; Liermann, *Analecta*, no. XXI; Laum, *Stiftungen*, no. 101; see also L. Robert, *RPh* 1930, 30 f.; *OMS* II, 1125 f. Not rediscovered.

Letters: Deering's copy recorded ligatured MHN in l. 5, MM in l. 8, NH in ll. 11, 13, MHN in l. 14, NM in l. 16, HN in ll. 17, 19, NM in l. 25. Leake noted (perhaps from Deering) that some 20–5 letters were lost at the ends of ll. 1–7 and some 16 at the ends of ll. 8–17.

.....]

τῆ τοῦ ἀγῶνος χρεῖα εὐτρεπίζειν καὶ δη[νάρια (?) .....c. 20.....]

καὶ τὰ ἄθλα καὶ τὰ ἀγωνίσματα ἀκολούθως [(?)τῆ τοῦ τελευτήσαντος γνώμη  
ἀγω]-  
νοθετήσῃ δὲ τὸν πρῶτον ἀγῶνα Φλάβιος Εὐ[μαχος(?) ...c. 16..... ἐκ τοῦ]-  
των δὲ ὁ ἀπὸ τῶν Καλλικράτου τοῦ Διοτίμου [ἀγὼν ἐπιτελεσθήσεται τοῦ ἐπί]-  
5 οντος ἔτους (π)ερὶ μῆνα ἕκτον πρὸ τῆς εἰς Ῥώμην [ἀποδημήσεως ἀγωνιστῶν· ἔχει  
δὲ οὖ]-  
τος ὁ ἀγὼν τὰ ἄθλα διαγεγραμμένα ἐν τῆ τοῦ κ[τίσαντος διαθήκη τὸ σύμπαν  
δηναρίων]  
μυρίων δισχειλίων ἑξακοσίων, προνοουμένω[ν τῶν ἐν ταῖς Καλλικράτου διαθή]-  
κα[ι]ς ἐνγεγραμμένων, τοῦ τε ἱερέως τῆς Ἀφροδίτης [καὶ τοῦ πρώτου ἀρχοντος]  
ὑπὲρ τούτου τῆ συνόδῳ ἐπιστέλλειν ἤδη, καὶ κα[τ]α[σκευάσαι ὅπως τοῦτον τὸν]  
10 ἀγῶνα ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ μεγίστου Αὐτοκράτορος Κομμό[δου Σεβαστοῦ σωτηρίας]  
καὶ εἰς αἰῶνα διαμόνης ἐπιτελεσθῆσόμενον τῆ ὠρισμ[ένη προθεσμίᾳ τελέσωσιν? τ]-  
ὸν δὲ Κλαυδίου Ἀδράστου ἀγῶνα ὡς διατέτακται χ[ρῆ] ἐπιτελεῖν οὐδεμίας πε]-  
ρι αὐτὸν γινομένης ἢ ὀλιγωρίας ἢ ἐνδείας ἐπιμ[ελεῖσθαι δὲ ὅπως τελεσθῆ]  
ἐν τῷ ἐνεστῶτι μηνὶ ἐνάτῳ διὰ τὸ τοὺς ἀγωνιστὰς [ὑστερον ἀποδημήσαι]  
15 [εἰς] Ἡράκλειαν· αἰεὶ δὲ ἐκ περιόδου οὕτως ὡς ἡ [δι]α[γραφή] σημαίνει ὁ]  
δὲ πολειτικός ἀγὼν ἔχει τὸν ἴδιον καιρὸν μετὰ τοῦ[τον] ..?.. τὴν δὲ δι]-  
αγραφὴν πεποιήμεθα τῶν ἄθλων καὶ πρότερον ο[. . . ? . . ]  
[. . . c. 9 . . ] συντεταγμένος [ . . .  
[Ἔ]πετα[ι τοῦ]τοῖς καὶ ὁ Ὀσσιδίου Ἰουλιανοῦ ἀγὼν ὁ μετὰ τὸν  
20 [πολειτικὸν προ]θεσμίαν ἔχων καὶ διαγραφὴν τὴν ἐν ταῖς διαθήκα-  
[ις ὠρισμένην· τ]ὸν δὲ χρόνον ἔξει μετὰ Νικηράτεια τὰ ἐν Τρα-  
[. . ? . . ὁ δὲ (?) Φιλήμον]ος τετράκι Τατιανοῦ ἀγὼν οὐδέπω τῶν χρημάτ-  
[ων εἰς τὰς δώδε]κα μυριάδας προεληλυθότων ἐπιτελεσθ-  
[ήσεται ὅταν τὸ κεφ]λαίον συνέλθῃ ὡς τοκοφορεῖν [τὸ] λοιπ[ὸν]  
25 [δηνάρια . . (?)δύ]νασθαι τῆς ψηφοῦ ὑμῖν εὐθύς δηλωθησ[ομ]-  
[ένης. θέματα τρα]γωδῶν μόνων *vac.* τραγωδῶ πρ[ω]τείου \* ,αφ'  
[ἀγῶνος Κλαυδίου Ἀδράστου *vacat* δευτερείου \* Χ'  
τριτείου \* τυ'  
[ . . .

The text is substantially taken from Waddington who reconsidered what Leake had printed; it should be noted that Deering recorded ΚΑΣ in l. 8, ΜΙ in l. 11,

ΗΣΙΩ in l. 15, ΣΥΝΤΕΤΑΓΜΕΝΟΣ about nine letters from the left margin of l. 18 (where I have followed his layout in preference to Waddington's), ΠΕΤΑ in l. 20 (which I have accepted, see below); ΛΛΑΙΟΝ in l. 25; he also showed spaces after Π and Σ in ll. 25, 26 (where I have distributed restored letters a little differently from Waddington as a result); Ο for Ω in l. 27.

Waddington's supplements must give broadly the right sense, although he stressed their tentative character. But in l. 3 where Waddington printed [μετὰ τοῦ]/των, I have substituted ἐκ since the sense required is certainly 'after'; in l. 5 what I have printed is based on L. Robert's discussion of the line (demonstrating that Waddington's ἡ εἰς Ῥώμην ἐορτή cannot mean 'the festival in honour of Rome', so that the need is for a reference to the departure of the members of the synod of artists to participate in the Capitolia at Rome); in l. 20 I have suggested [Ἔ]πετα[ι for Waddington's [Ἔ]πε[σσι in view of Deering's record; in l. 22, I have left the town's name incomplete where Waddington printed ἐν Τρά[λλεσι but noted that there were other possibilities; in l. 26, I have suggested δύν]ασθαι which gives the right sense.

. . .] to make (them ?) ready for the needs of the competition and ?*denarii* [. . ? . .] and the prizes and the competitions in accordance with [the wish of the deceased; and] Flavius Eu[machus ?] shall preside over the first competition [. . ? . . and ?after these] the competition from the (bequest) of Callicrates son of Diotimus [will be celebrated in the coming] year in the sixth month, before the [departure of the competitors] to Rome; [for this] competition the prizes are specified in the [will] of the [founder, amounting] to 12,600 [*denarii*]; the priest of Aphrodite [?and the first archon] as prescribed [in the will of Callicrates] will take care to send on this matter to the synod already and [to make preparations so that they conduct this] competition as a rite for the [safety] and eternal rule of Imperator Commodus [Augustus] at the specified date [already announced]. The competition of Claudius Adrastus [must be celebrated] as it has been appointed with [no] reduction or omission in it [and care must be taken that it is celebrated] in the ninth month hereafter because the competitors [are away after that at] Heraclea, and regularly thereafter in a cycle as the [schedule indicates]. The competition for citizens has its own time after this [. . ? . .]; we have drawn up a schedule of prizes already. [. . ? . .] put in order [. . ? . .]. Following these is the competition of Hossidius Julianus which has been announced for a date after the [competition for citizens] and with a schedule [specified] in his will. Its date will be after the Nicerateia at Tra[. . ? . .]. The competition [of ?Philemon] son, grandson, great-grandson and great-great-grandson of Tatiani, for which the fund has not yet reached 120,000 *denarii*, will be celebrated [when] a sufficient capital sum has accumulated to bring in interest, for the future, of [ ? *denarii* a year] as the vote will immediately make clear to you. [In the competition of Claudius] Adrastus [the prizes will be] for tragedians only; for a tragedian: first prize, 1,500 *denarii*; second prize, 600 *denarii*; third prize, 250 *denarii*.

This document too falls within the reign of Commodus (l. 10) but contains no unequivocal evidence for a closer dating. On the unerased state of Commodus' name see p. 120. It is addressed to the Aphrodisians (ὕμειν in l. 25) which suggested already to Liermann that it was a letter. The writer had drawn up a list of competitions, establishing an order for them, and dates designed to eliminate clashes with similar events elsewhere; some further regulations referred to the wishes of the testators or to general principles. In the opening lines he dealt with a competition to be celebrated for the first time; in ll. 22 f. he listed a fund which had not

yet acquired sufficient income to pay for a celebration; at the end he offered a list of prizes for a tragic competition only, to be financed from the fund of Claudius Adrastus. Since there is no greeting at the end it is possible that the list continued on a stone below.

Given this content Liermann argued that the writer was a *curator reipublicae*. There are in fact a number of pointers to suggest that he was M. Ulpius Appuleius Eurycles (p. 186 f. and docs. 57, 58) and if so the document must result from his investigation into funds for competitions, undertaken at local request after completion of his original examination of Aphrodisian civic accounts (doc. 57, ll. 4 f.).

Arguments for the identification are:

1. ll. 1-3; as Waddington proposed, the competition to be celebrated for the first time is likely to be the Lysimacheia whose first celebration was authorized by Eurycles (doc. 57, ll. 13 f.).
2. ll. 4-11; the competition of Callicrates to be celebrated in honour of Commodus, prizes being produced by the priest of Aphrodite (possibly with the first archon), and with the synod of artists very closely involved, recalls the collocation of imperial cult, temple funds, the synod of artists and a competition in Eurycles' letter (doc. 57, ll. 5 f.).
3. ll. 16-17; the competition of a founder whose name was plausibly restored by Waddington as Philemon (the only known founder of a competition whose name fits the traces) was, if so, one known to have been regulated by Eurycles (doc. 58); the explanation for failure to celebrate it at the time of this document is given in precisely the same terms as are offered for such failures in general in Eurycles' letter (doc. 57, ll. 10 f.).

A point against the identification is that in doc. 58 Eurycles used the first person singular (ll. 3, 8-9), whereas here the writer used the first person plural; here, however, he was possibly allowing for the participation of others in the decisions, cf. the vote of l. 25.

The impression given is that the writer had found considerable confusion in the arrangements for using a number of quite recent bequests to endow competitions and sought to clear it up by a series of detailed regulations. There may be a hint of something more serious than confusion in the stress upon completeness in future celebrations of the competition of Claudius Adrastus (ll. 12 f.); but since ll. 26 f. show that in this there were money prizes for tragedians only it may have been a comparatively unattractive event so that omissions could be due to lack of interest rather than to misappropriation of funds.

On the Lysimacheia see p. 189, on the Philemoneia, p. 189, on the Callicrateia, Adrasteia and Politica, Liermann, *Analecta*, pp. 132 f. The competition of Hossidius Julianus is, so far, attested only here and in one unpublished text which adds no relevant information.

#### 4. DOCUMENT 60

Inscribed block first published by Boeckh from an anonymous Armenian copyist; later by Leake from a copy of Deering, whence LBW 1620*d* and Liermann, *Analecta*, no. xxa; seen also by the *MAMA* expedition re-used in a house in Geyre, from which it has now been brought into Aphrodisias Museum.





been crossed out), θεων[ι]κῶν, *CIG*, θεωρικῶν LR, at the end A, S. (with ΠΟΚΑ written beside it), om. *CIG*; 1. 9. ΑΛ added before ΑΝΔΩΝ, S., but his layout shows that there was room for ΚΑΛ as restored by *CIG*; 1. 10. ΕΜΩΝ, S., [ῆ]μῶν, *CIG*.

The supplements possible are limited and none offer a basis for confident calculation of the line-length; probably it was about as long again as what survives. For 1. 1 Boeckh proposed εἶτε ιδιωτῆς?; the best Aphrodisian parallel is in LBW 1611 . . . μηδενὶ ἐξέστω μήτε ἄρχοντι μήτε γραμματεῖ μήτε [ιδιωτῆ] μ[ετα]γαγεῖν . . ., while *MAMA* 413b, see also Reinach, no. 142, is more defective but preserves ιδιωτῆ in full. In 1. 2 ἐπέστ[ειλα (?) is from Boeckh and must give the right sense. In 1. 3 the first three letters may be τῶν, but could be the end of a word begun on the preceding lines. In ll. 3–4 Reichel's drawing (plate XXXII, 2) encourages acceptance of Robert's conjectured ἐλαιοθετήσαντας, as also of his restored ἐλαιοθεσίας in 1. 4 (for which he cited the parallel of *IMagnesia* 116); ἀφιερ[ῶσθαι] is from Boeckh.



Fig. 9. Doc. 62. Drawn by Georgia Clarke.

In 1. 6 my suggestion, with the sense of *compensation*, offered for the word by LSJ, has the advantage of being closer to Sherard's reading than that of Boeckh, but I am unclear about the point that was being made. In ll. 6–7, Boeckh proposed ἐπ' ἀσέβεια and in 1. 7 he drops Sherard's πρ[ός], perhaps rightly in both cases. At the end of 1. 8 Boeckh ignored Sherard's final A and restored χρημάτων after the break, but the A is confirmed by the new fragment; his πρό at the end of the line is required for the dating formula. In ll. 9–10, Renier offered Ἄντ[ωνίνωφ Σεβαστῶ ὑπὸ Πουβλίου Ἰουλίου] Γεμίνιου Μαρκιανοῦ ἀντ[ίγραφον ἐπέμφθη]; but since the reference to the month would normally be completed by one to the year, it seems possible that a consular date stood in 1. 9, while the spelling of the proconsul's praenomen would be surprising in Aphrodisias where Πούπλιος or Πόπλιος are normal. 1. 10. Boeckh's impossible ἀντ[ίστρατήγου] must be rejected; Renier's ἀντ[ίγραφον] may be right but was probably integrated into the sentence differently.

. . . and the man who has misapplied (the money), whether he is a magistrate [or (?) secretary or private person . . .]. In the matter of funds for oil I have often said and [(?) sent instructions . . .] often on the basis of these regulations and also of some added by myself [. . .] men who have provided oil and on account of the benefit of the daily [provision of oil] in which they share [. . .] to nothing else nor (?) because the money provided for competitions is diverted since it has been dedicated [. . .] in piety and there being no possibility of compensation from such funds [. . .] it will entail a charge of impiety to the emperors and of temple-robbery to make any innovation in [. . .]. I have ?taken care that the addition made in that year from the theoric fund [. . . days before] the first of June [?in the consulship of] Emperor Marcus Aurelius Commodus Ant[oninus Augustus and . . . P. Iulius] Geminius Marcianus our benefactor, proconsul, [. . .].

The date is within the decade 180–90 on the evidence of Commodus' name (l. 9; see p. 120 on doc. 16, l. 3, and cf. doc. 57, ll. 5–6). On the absence of erasure see p. 120. If I am right to propose a consular date in l. 9 the year must be 181, 183, 186 or 190 in each of which the emperor himself was a consul. The year of the proconsul's tenure in Asia can only be fixed approximately from his earlier career. In *PIR*<sup>2</sup> I, 340, it is suggested that it was 'a little before 183–4'; Anthony Birley, in a letter, argues for slightly earlier dating of his proconsulship of Macedonia than is proposed in *PIR*<sup>2</sup> (165–6 against 170), consequently of his consulship (later 166 or 167) and probably also of his proconsulship of Asia for which 181 then seems a very likely year.

The text is clearly from the end of a report on civic funds, presumably, therefore, written by a *curator*; and, if the dating is right, by the curator whose regulations were regarded by the Aphrodisians as jeopardized in 189 (doc. 16, ll. 7–8). There is a good case for identifying him with M. Ulpus Appuleius Eurycles on chronological grounds, see p. 188; this would then be his report on the examination of civic finances for which he will have been appointed by the emperor, and earlier than his work on competitions (docs. 57, 58 and probably 59–61); and it is to be noted that the funds for competitions which were being misapplied (l. 5) must be different from those of doc. 57. On the problem of diversion of funds from the purposes for which they were established, which was widespread within the Roman Empire, see J. H. Oliver, *The Ruling Power (Transactions of the American Philosophical Society 43 (1953), 963 f.)*. Oliver refers to this inscription on p. 970, as implying that Roman 'protection' had been given to the funds concerned, as he describes in other cases. There is no doubt that Aphrodisians hoped for that protection, cf. the fine payable to the Roman people as well as to Aphrodite in the regulations for the fund of Attalus son of Adrastus (*MAMA* 413b, l. 16), and this must lie behind their approach to Commodus (doc. 16) and their welcome to the three *curatores* known.

l. 1 is from the sanction concluding a lost section; ll. 2–8 give the beginnings of the lines concerned with funds for provision of free oil in gymnasia to which money had been diverted from funds intended to finance competitions (for these see also docs. 57–61) and from a theoric fund from which, presumably, entrance fees to spectacles were paid to some citizens. The competitions, which are perhaps the same as or overlap the spectacles, might well involve imperial cult (cf. doc. 59, l. 10) and, in some cases at least, that of Aphrodite, whose priests might be responsible for the celebrations (cf. doc. 59, l. 8; while the νεωποιοί of Aphrodite's temple regularly appear as administrators of the Philemoneia, see e.g. *MAMA* 505); hence the verb ἀφιερῶσθαι in l. 5 (for an implied parallel see the inscription concerning a fund at Eleusis, J. H. Oliver, *Hesperia* 21 (1952), 381 f., also cited in *The Ruling Power* 966) and the charges to which misapplication lays a man open, as described in l. 6 (ἱεροσυλία recurs at Eleusis). The attractions of the free oil distributions are well known. If my tentative restoration is accepted, the writer had required the restoration of money diverted from the theoric fund in a specified year.

ll. 8–10. The writer might himself append the date (if date it was), but the clause referring to the proconsul was added at Aphrodisias if it is right to read <ῆ>μῶν, which is easier palaeographically and seems altogether more likely than <ῡ>μῶν.

The part played by the proconsul is particularly notable since gubernatorial

action in Aphrodisias is difficult to prove (compare Appendix VIII). It cannot have been quite negligible since it earned him the title of 'benefactor' (cf. the Trajanic proconsul involved in arrangements for the security of the foundation of Vibius Salutaris at Ephesus who was also 'benefactor', F. H. Marshall, *Catalogue of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum* IV, no. 481\*, l. 76, cited by Oliver, *The Ruling Power* 963, cf. now H. Wankel, in *I Eph* 1a, no. 27). He was perhaps advisor to the *curator* (cf. the role of the writer of doc. 50) and in routine matters may have been intermediary between him and the emperor.

7. Doc. 50 (Appendix VIII) may have been addressed to a *curator reipublicae*.

## EPIGRAPHIC INDICES

Only the numbered documents are indexed; references are by document number and line; items in square brackets do not survive on the stone; a question mark indicates a notably uncertain restoration.

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This has been compiled as a guide to the commentaries and discussion and should be used in conjunction with the Epigraphic Index to the texts and the Table of Contents. It aims only to list items on which some information is given or conjectured and does not normally include incidental references even to these.

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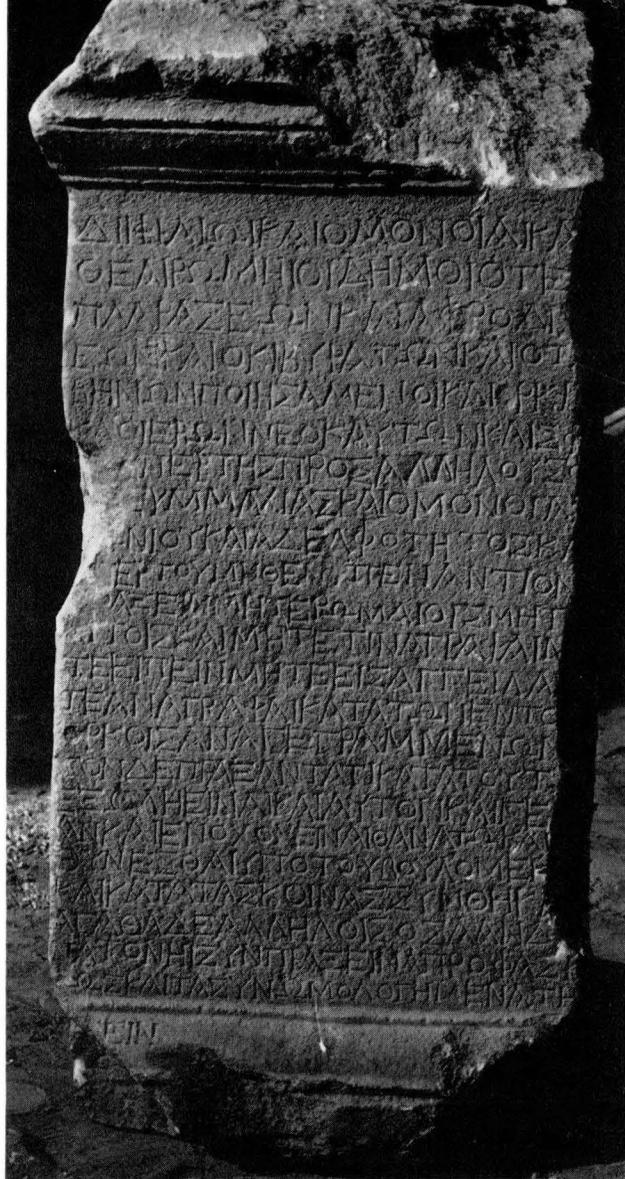
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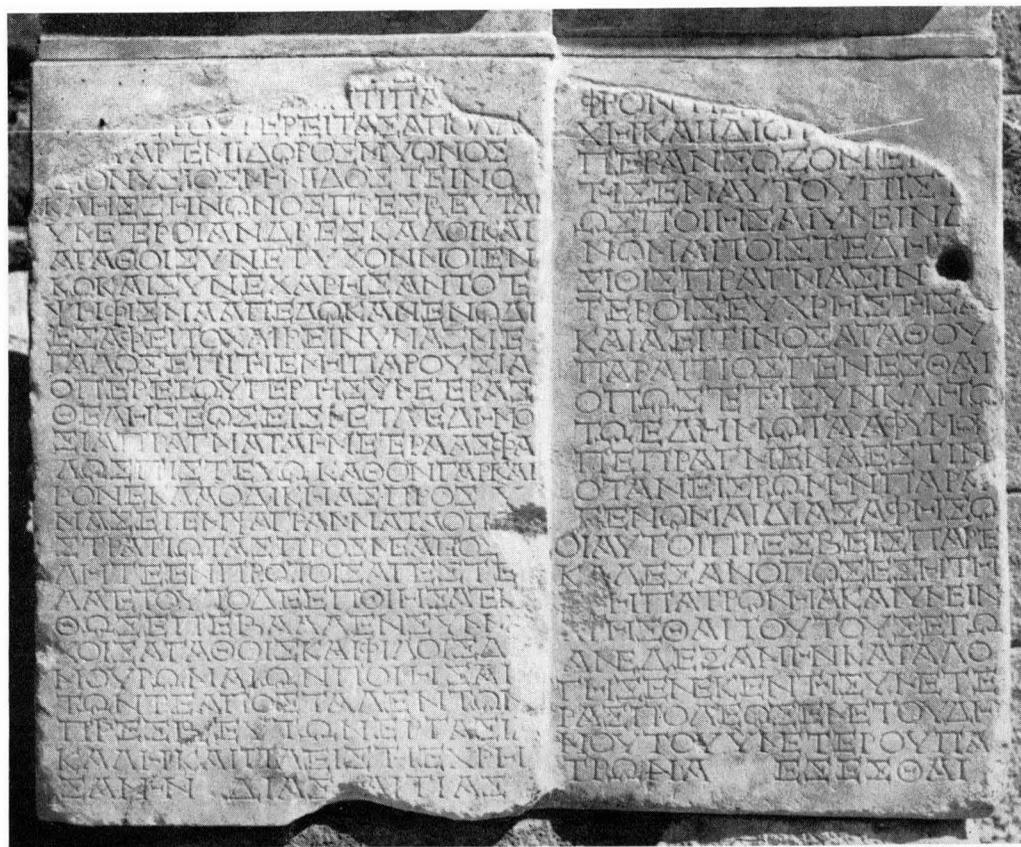
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1. Doc. 1. Oath of Plarasa/Aphrodisias, Cibyra and Tabae. Photo by Mehmet Ali Duğenci. 2. Doc. 3a. Letter of Q. Oppius. Photo by M. Roueché. 3. Doc. 3b. Letter of Q. Oppius. Photo by M. Roueché.



1. Doc. 2a and b, left side. Decree of Plarasa/Aphrodisias. Photo by Mehmet Ali Duğenci.



2. Doc. 2b, right side. Decree of Plarasa/Aphrodisias. Photo by Mehmet Ali Duğenci.



1. Doc. 4. Letter of Nicomedes IV (?). Photo by Mehmet Ali Duğenci.



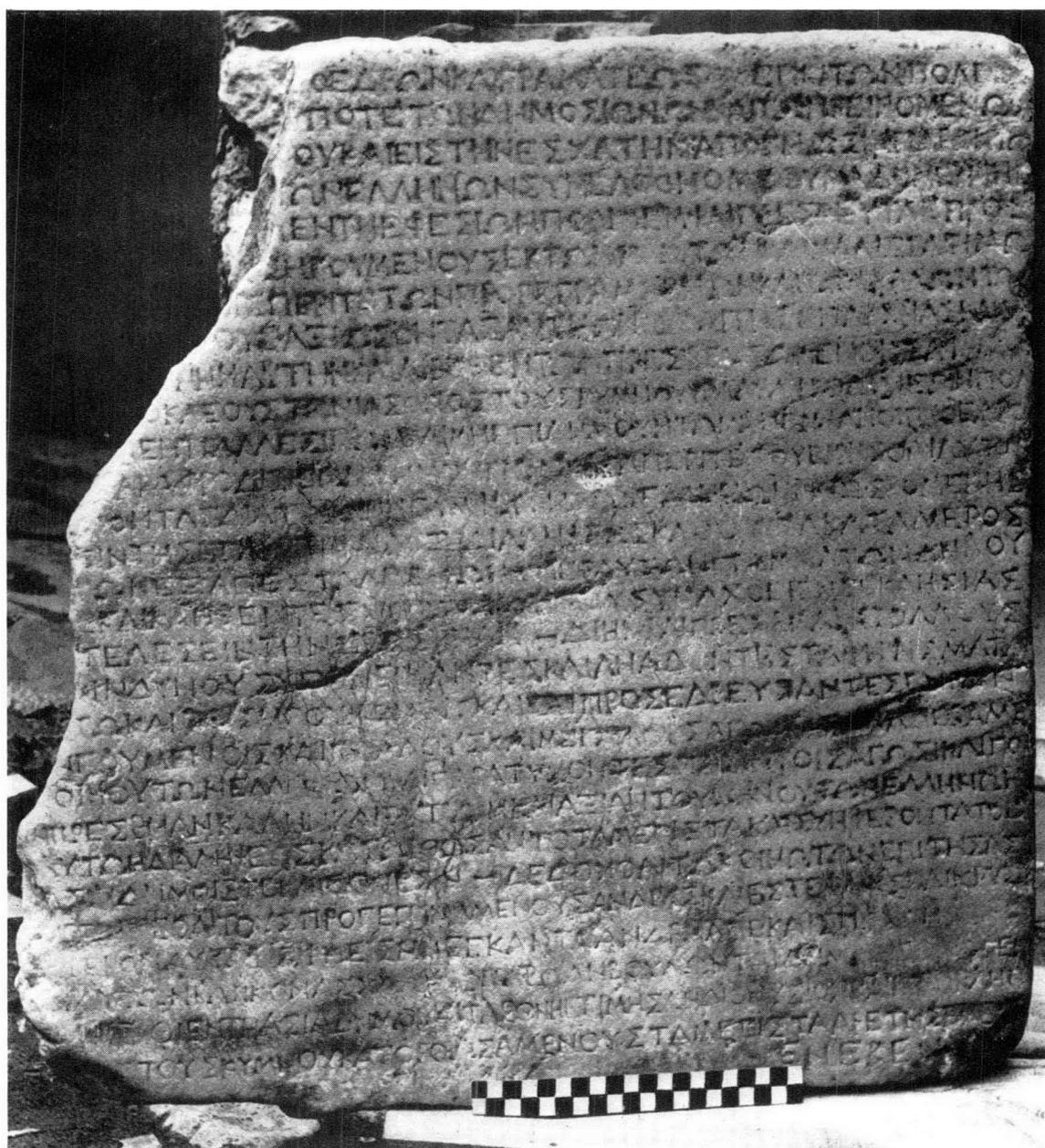
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Doc. 5. Decree of the *koinon* of Asia. Photo by E. Alföldi-Rosenbaum.



1. Doc. 6. Letter of Octavian to Plarasa/Aphrodisias. Photo by Mehmet Ali Duğenci.

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ΕΙ ΕΡΡΑΣΕΟ ΕΥΑΝΕ

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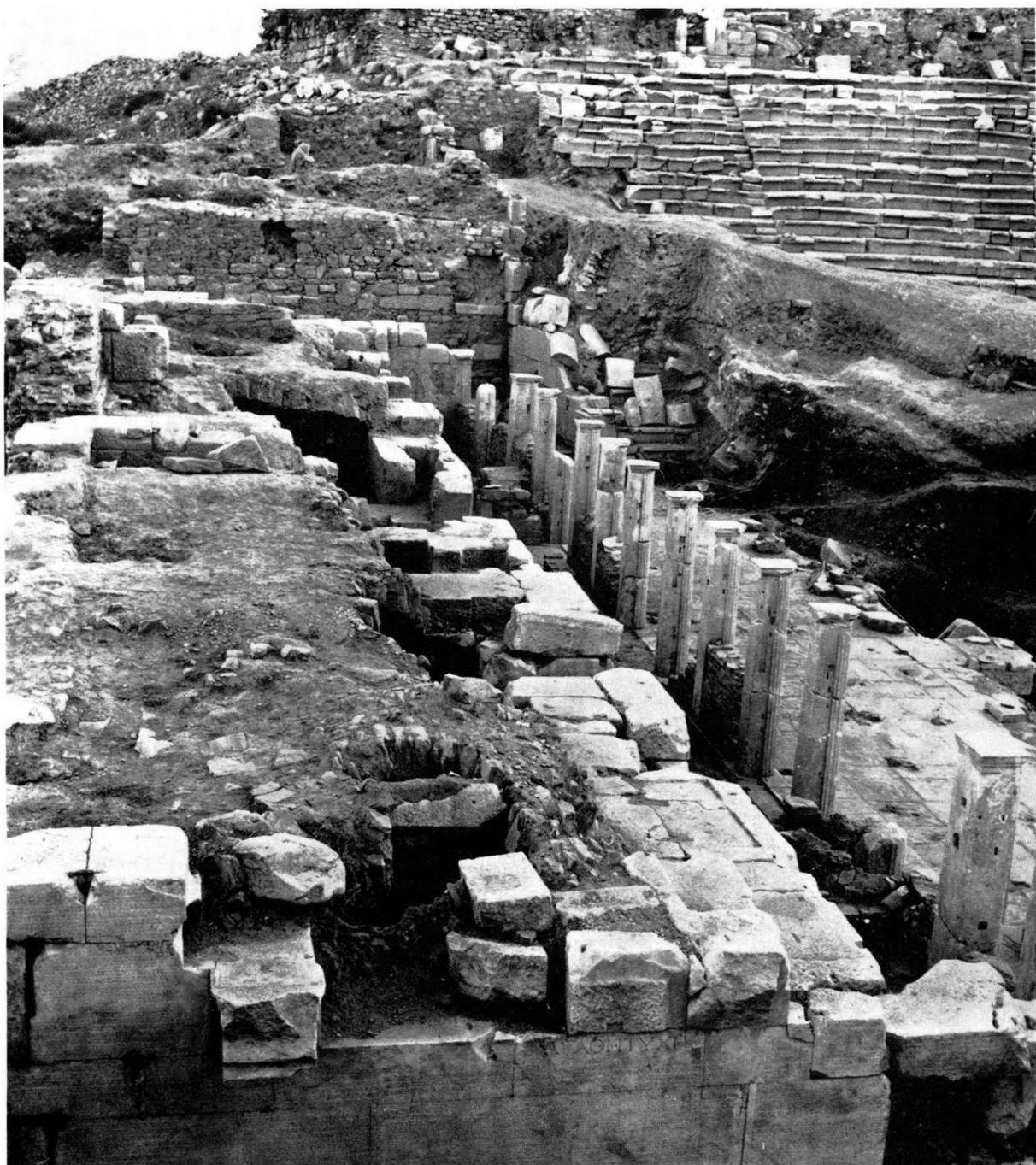
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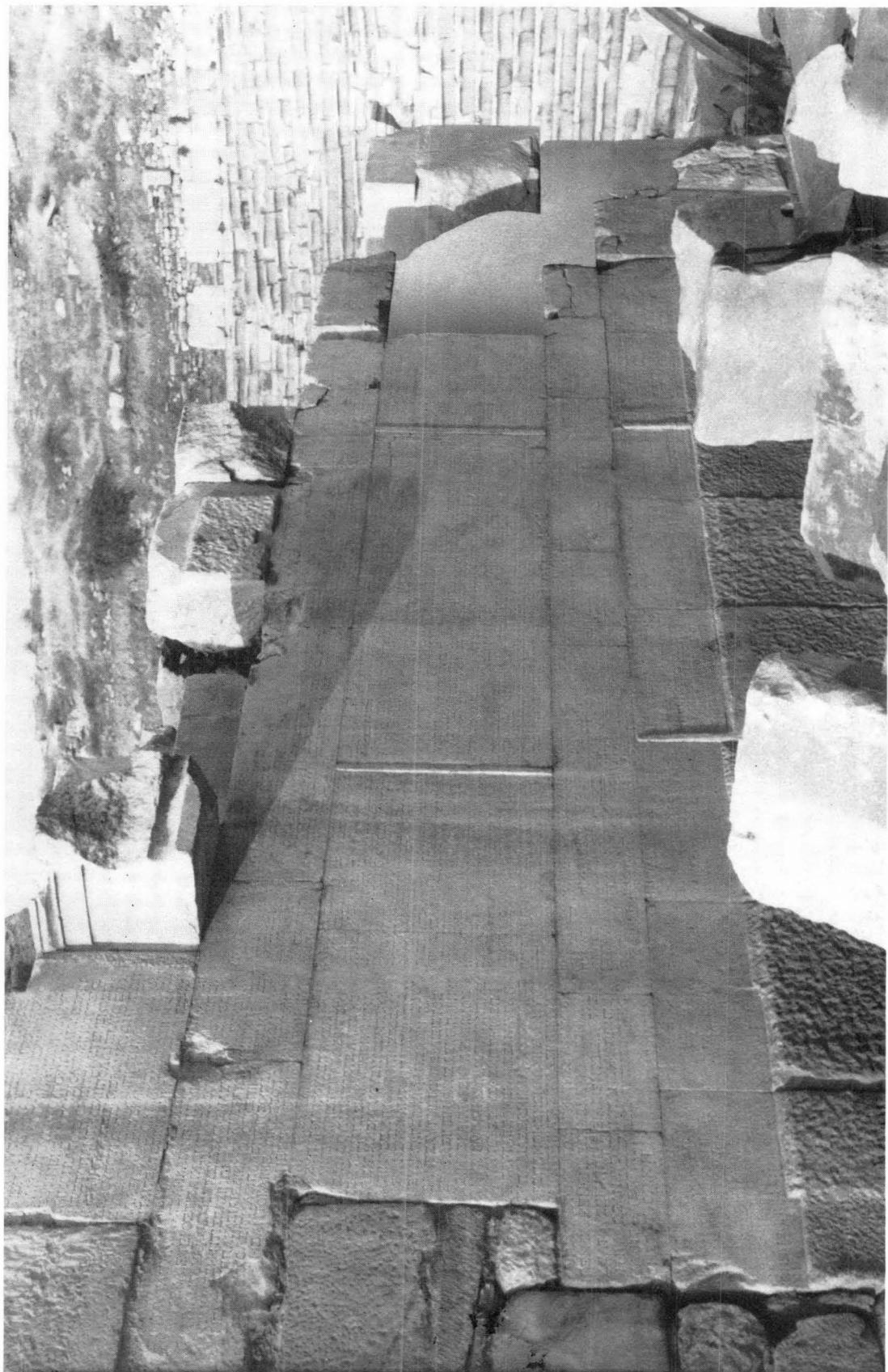
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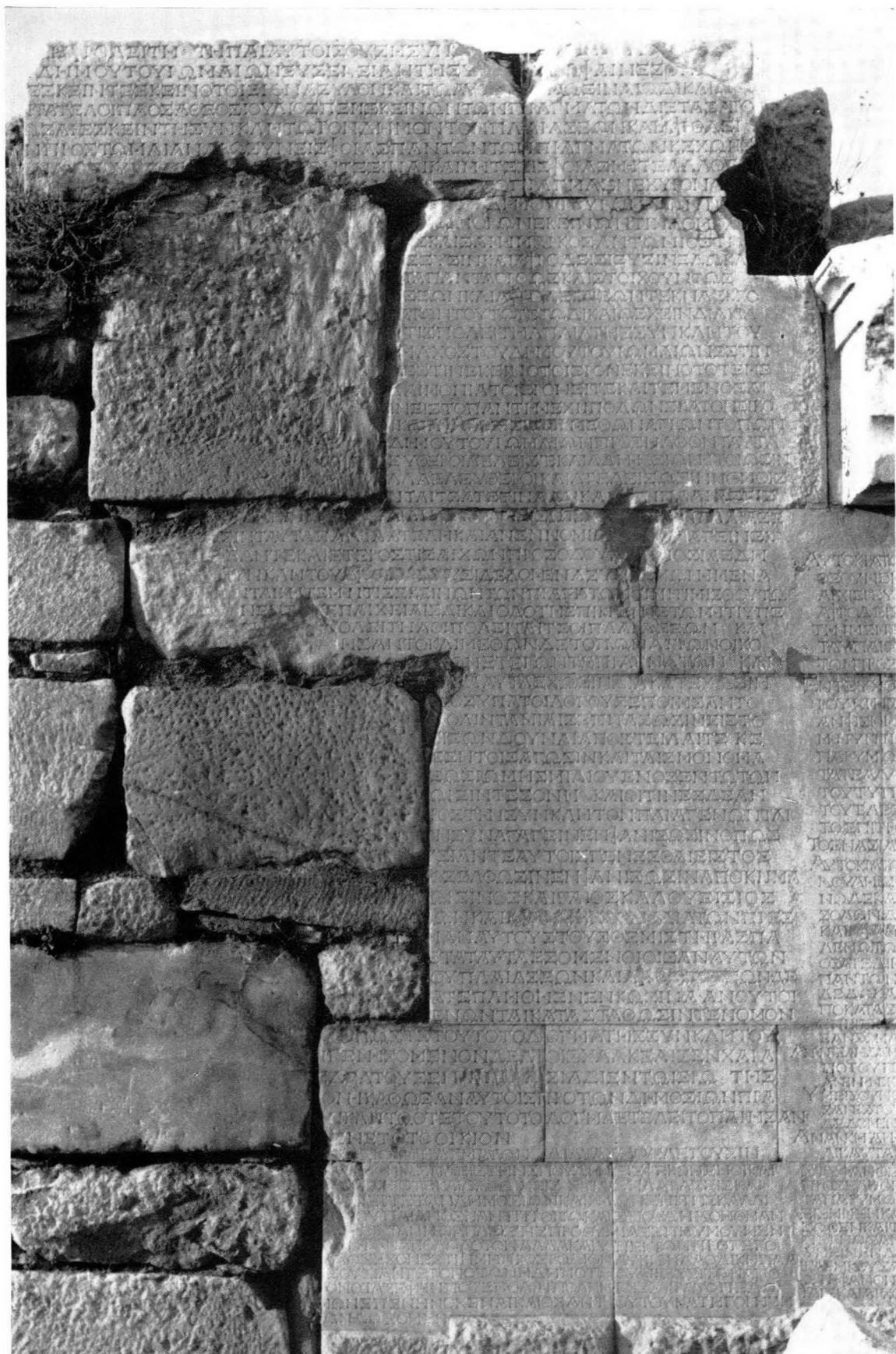
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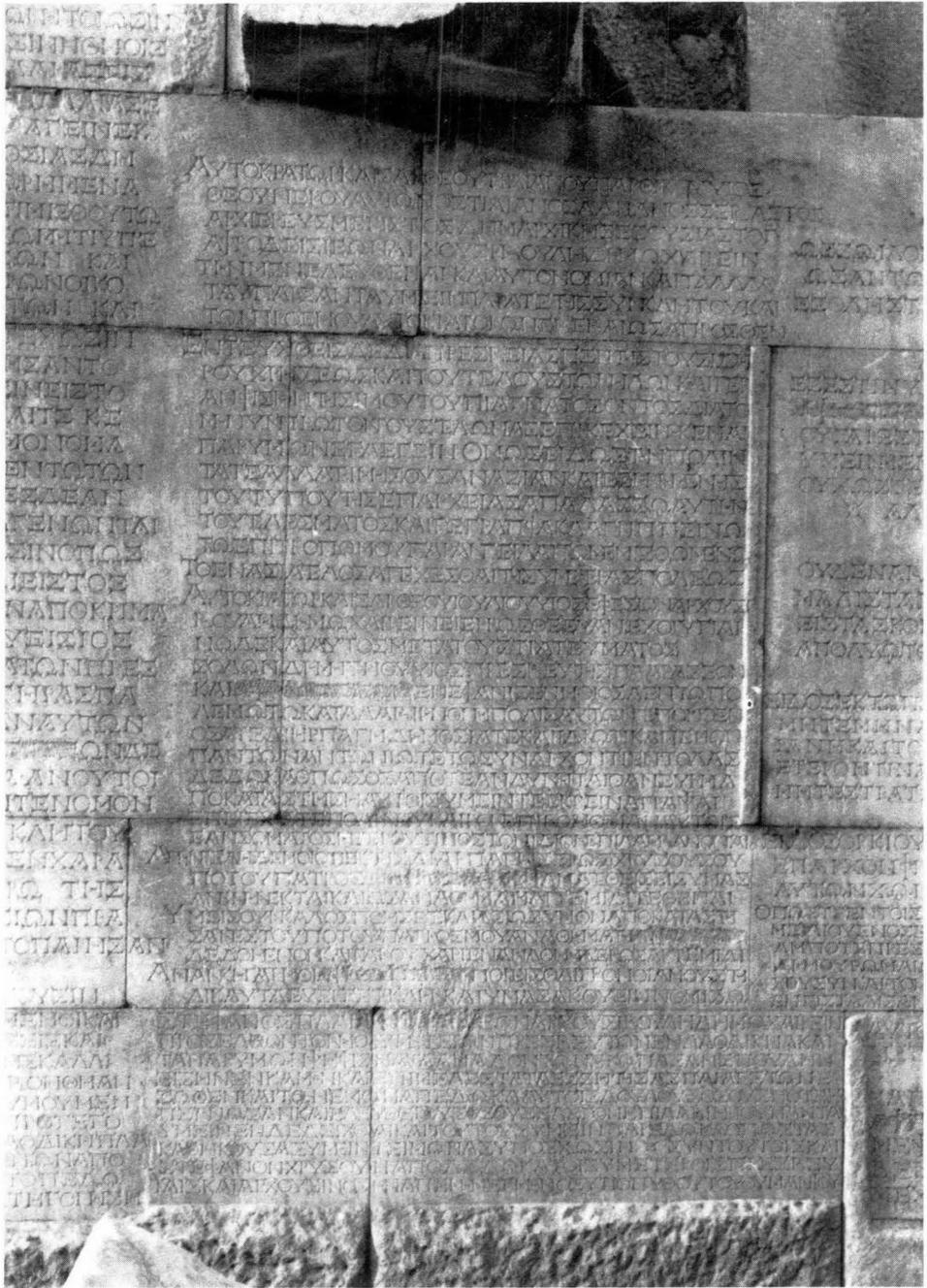
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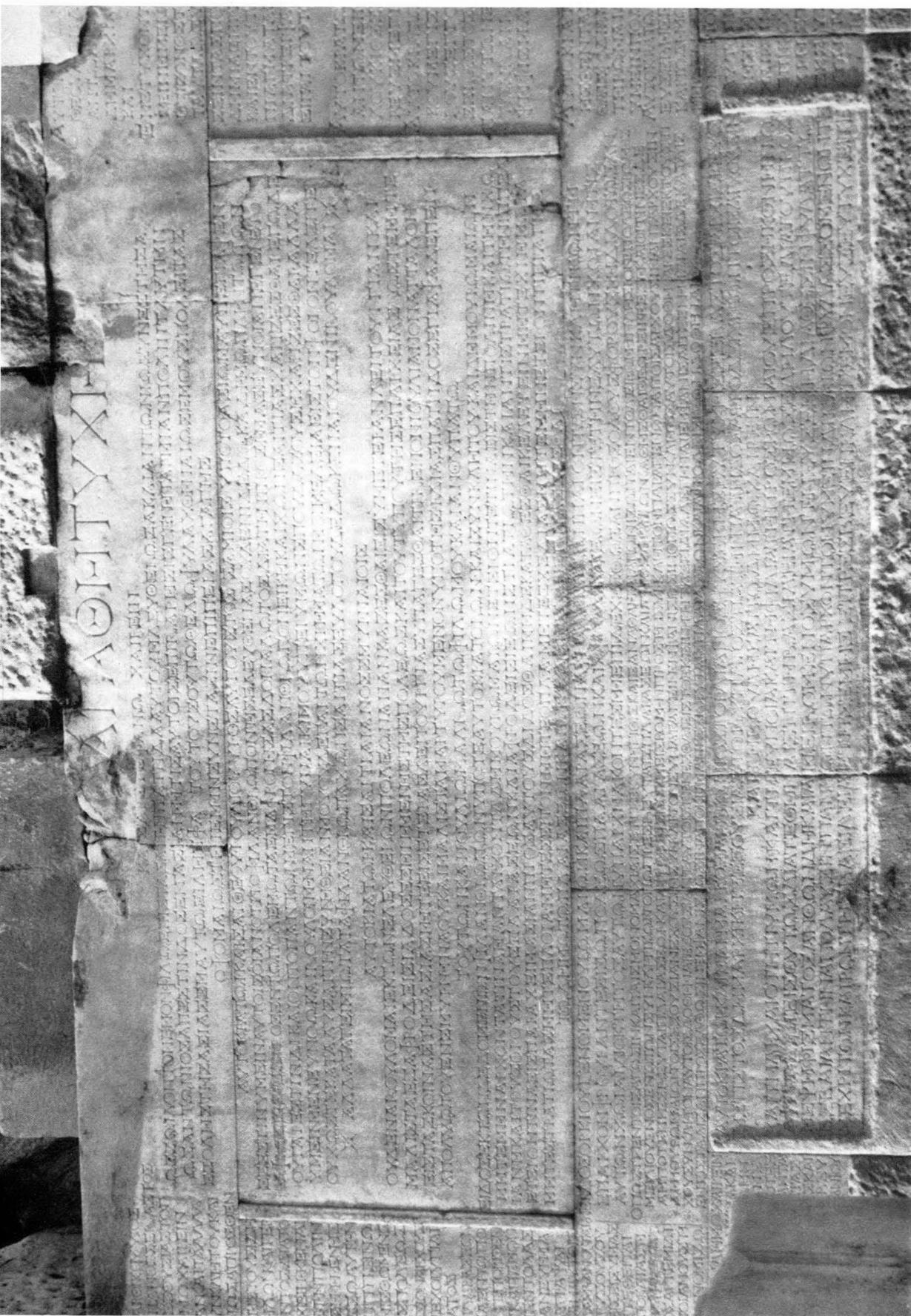
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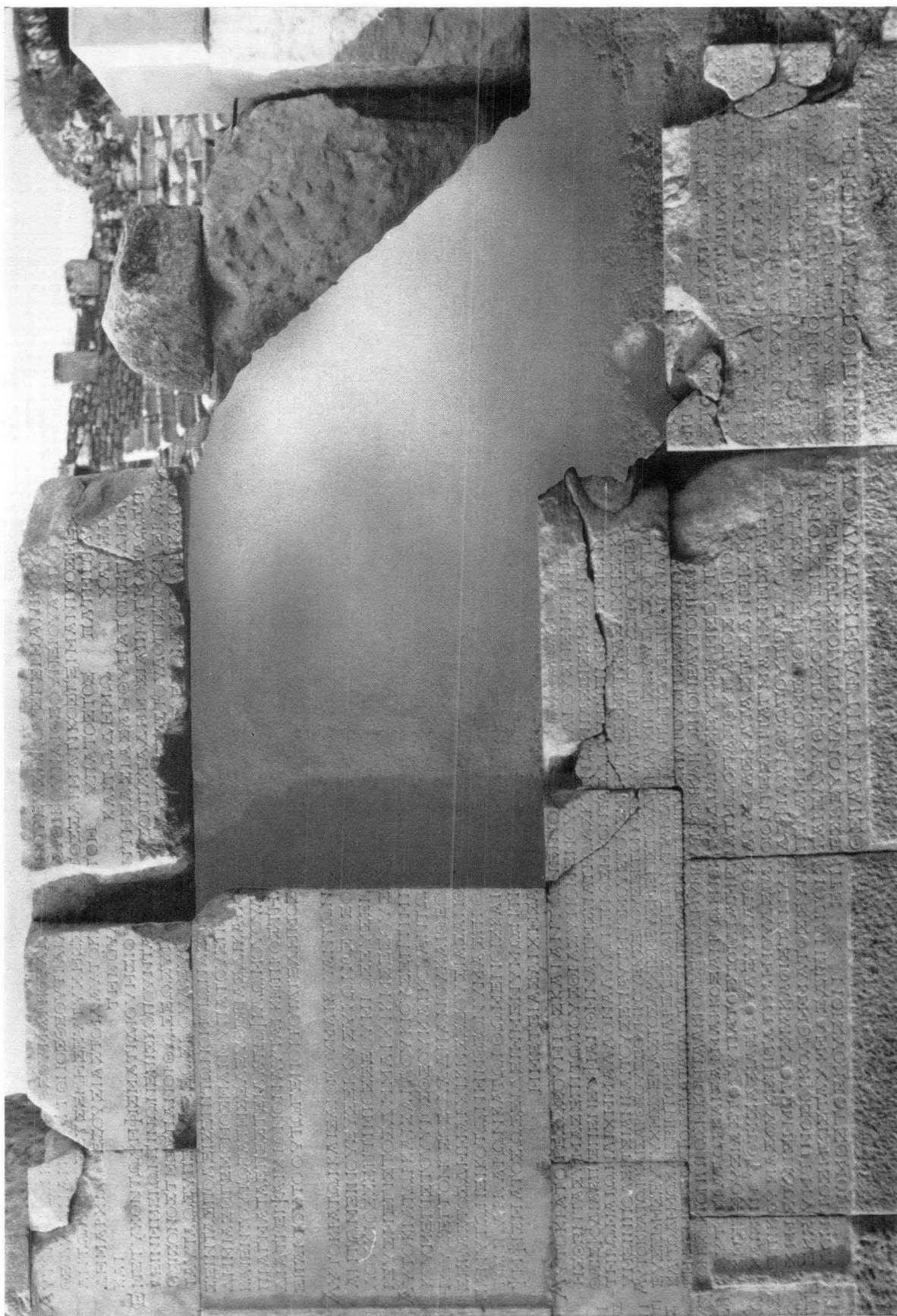
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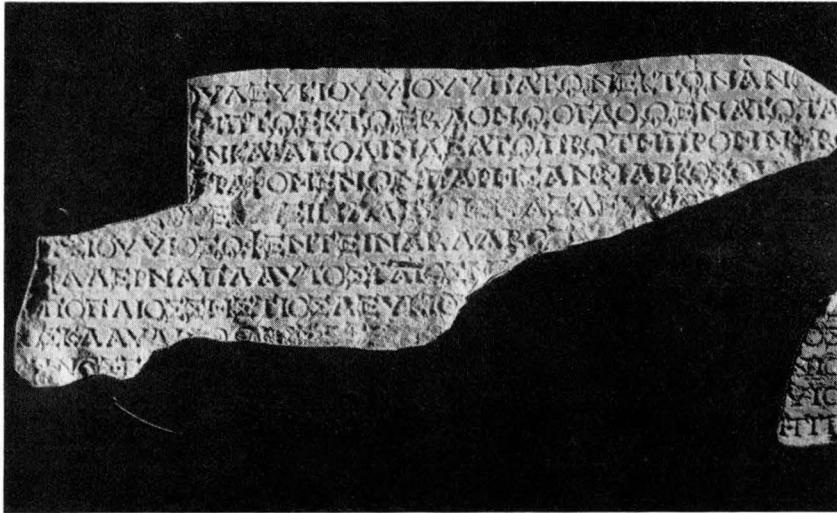
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1. Doc. 7. Triumviral decree. Photo by M. Roueché.



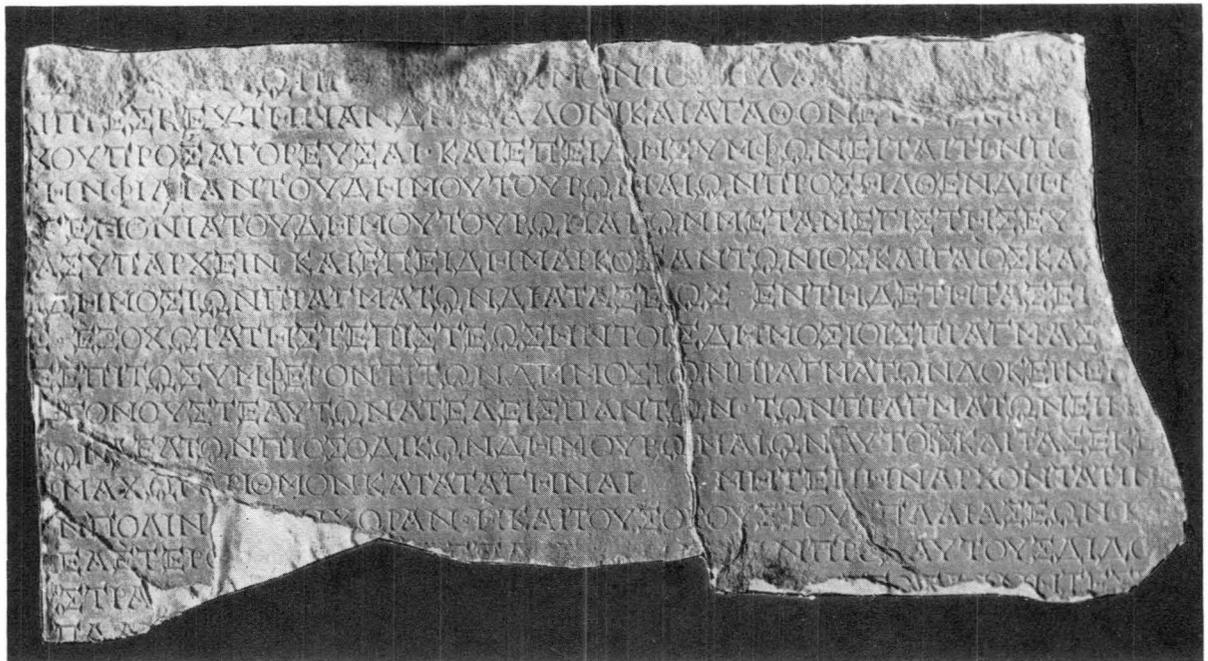
2. Doc. 8. *Senatus consultum de Aphrodisiensibus*. Left of top course. Photo of squeeze by F. Sear.



3. Doc. 8. *Senatus consultum de Aphrodisiensibus*. Right of top course. Photo by M. Roueché.



1. Doc. 8. *Senatus consultum de Aphrodisiensibus*. Second course. Photo by Mehmet Ali Duğenci.



2. Doc. 8. *Senatus consultum de Aphrodisiensibus*. Third course. Photo of squeeze by Frank Sear.

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*Judex apud... a Romano, Concordiam...*

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 . . . . . ΤΟΠΟΣ ΑΣΥΛΟΣ ΕΣΤΩ ΟΠΩΣ ΤΗ Η ΠΟΛΕΙ ΤΗ ΑΘΙ ΠΟΛΕΙΤΑΙ ΟΙ ΠΛΑΡΑΣΕΩΝ  
 . . . . . ΝΚΩΜΩΝ ΧΩΡΙΩΝ ΟΧΥΡΩΜΑΤΩΝ ΟΡΩΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΘΑΩΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΗΝ ΦΙΛΙΑΝ ΤΟ  
 . . . . . ΙΝ ΚΡΑΤΩΣΙΝ ΧΡΩΝΤΑΙ ΚΑΡΠΙΖΩΝΤΑΙ ΤΕ ΠΑΝΤΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΑΓΜΑΤΩΝ ΝΕ  
 . . . . . ΙΑΤΙΝΑ ΑΙΤΙΑΝ ΕΚΕΙΝΩΝ ΔΕ ΔΟΝΑΙ ΜΗ ΔΕ ΖΗΝΕΙΣ ΦΕΡΕΙΝ ΟΦΕΙΛΩΣΙΝ .  
 . . . . . ΟΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΟΥΣ ΑΝ ΜΕΤΑ ΤΑΥΤΑ ΕΝ ΕΛΥΤΟΙΣ ΚΥΡΟΣΟΣΙΝ ΧΡΩΝ . . . . .

Η ΒΟΥΛΗ ΚΑΙ Ο ΔΗΜΟΣ ΕΤΕΙΜΗ                      ΤΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΑΝΑΣΤΑ  
 ΣΕΝ ΤΑΙΣ ΚΑΛΙΣΤΑΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΜΕΓΙΣΤΑΙΣ ΣΕΩΣ ΤΟΥ ΑΝΔΡΙ



2. Doc. 8. *Senatus consultum de Aphrodisiensibus*. Eighth course. Doc. 7. Triumviral decree. First line. Photo by Mehmet Ali Duğenci.



1. Doc. 8. *Senatus consultum de Aphrodisiensibus*. Sixth course. Photo by M. Roueché.



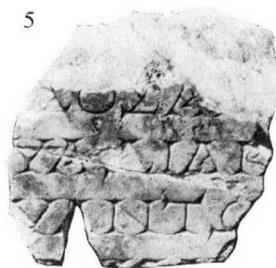
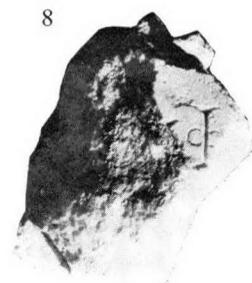
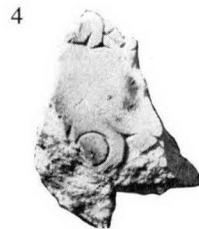
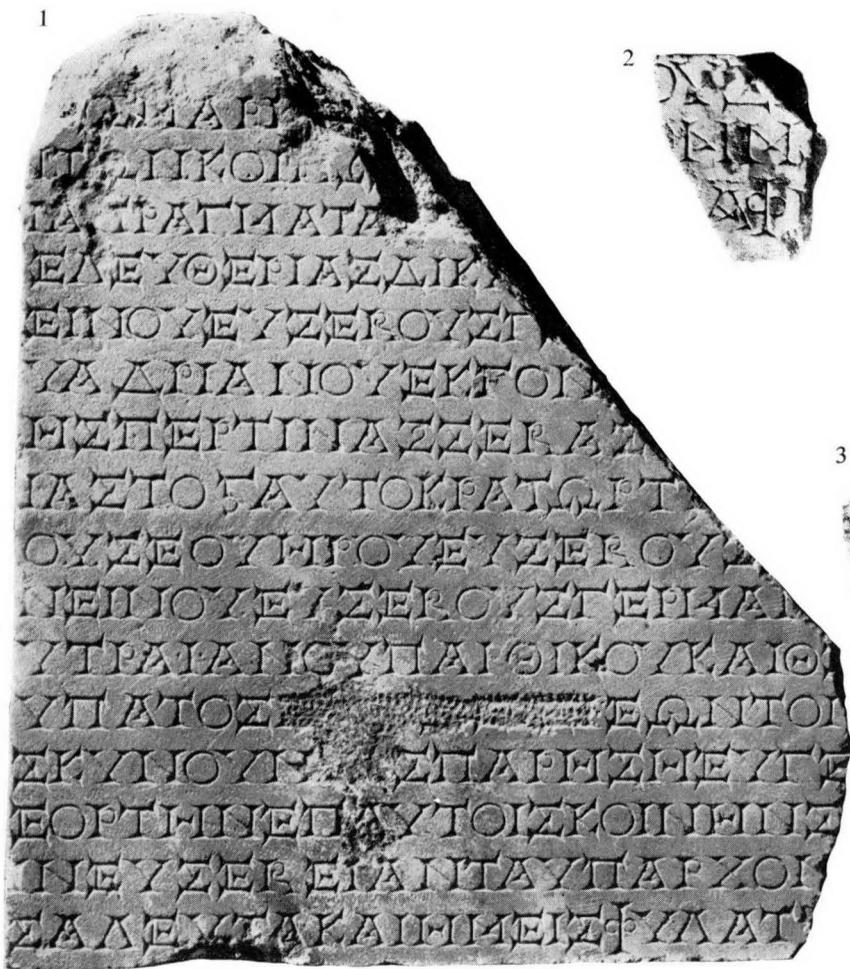
2. Doc. 8a. *Senatus consultum* or law, a contemporary copy. Photo by M. Roueché.



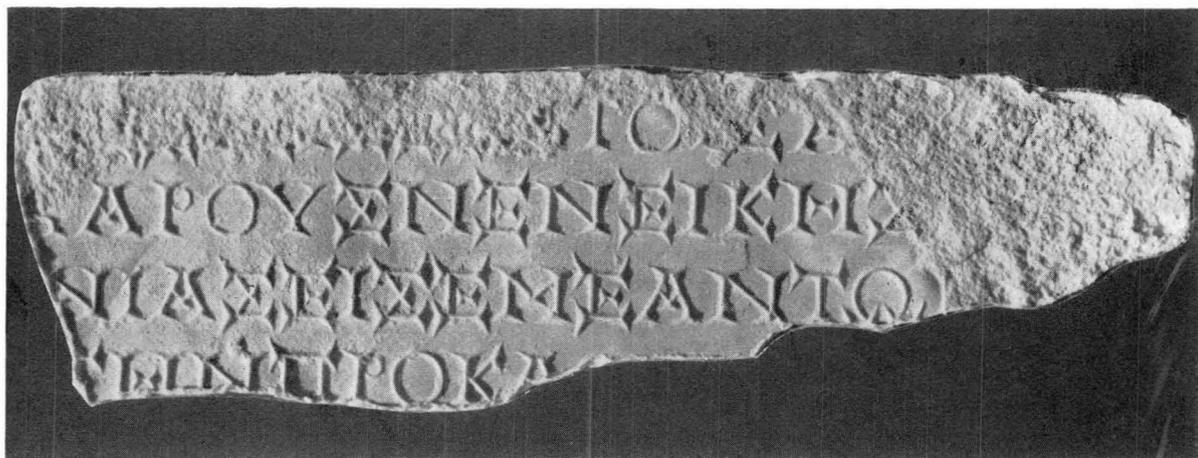
3. Doc. 16. Letter of Commodus to Aphrodisias. Photo by M. Roueché.



4. Doc. 16. Letter of Commodus to Aphrodisias. Photo by M. Roueché.



1. Doc. 16. Letter of Commodus to Aphrodisias.  
Doc. 17. Letter of Severus and Caracalla to Aphrodisias. Photo  
by Mehmet Ali Duğenci.  
2-8. Detached fragments. Photo by Mehmet Ali Duğenci.



1. Doc. 18. Letter of Severus and Caracalla to Aphrodisias. Photo of squeeze by Frank Sear.



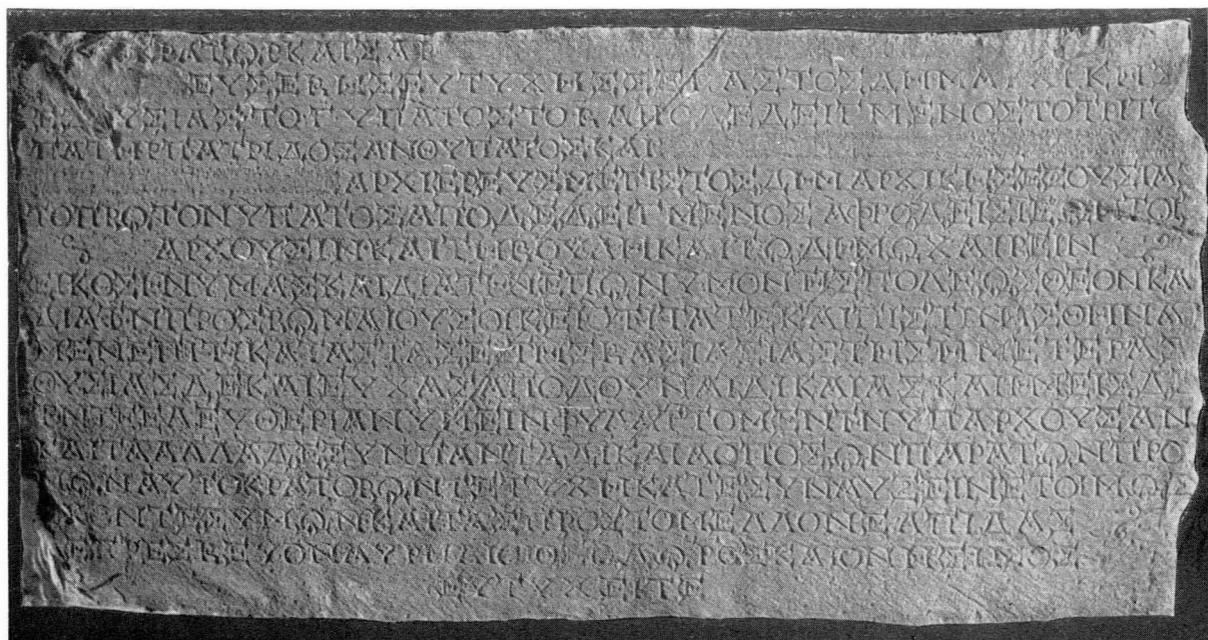
2. Doc. 18. Letter of Severus and Caracalla to Aphrodisias. Doc. 19. Letter of Severus Alexander to Aphrodisias. Photo by Mehmet Ali Duğenci.



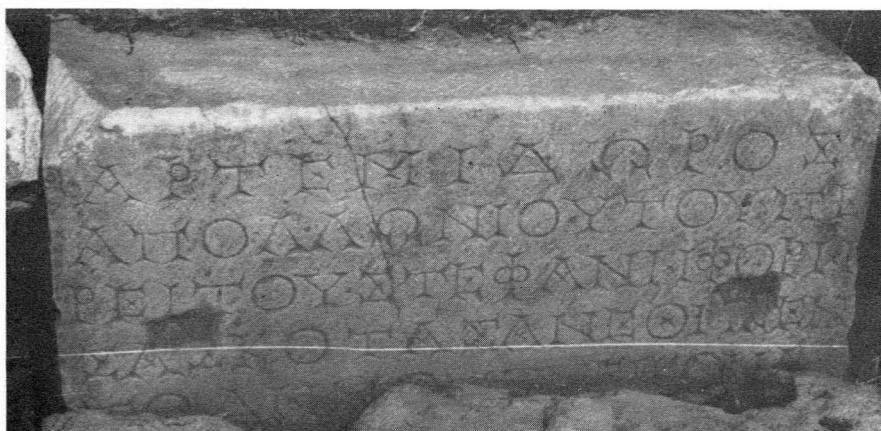
3. Doc. 18. Letter of Severus and Caracalla to Aphrodisias. Doc. 19. Letter of Severus Alexander to Aphrodisias. Photo by Mehmet Ali Duğenci.



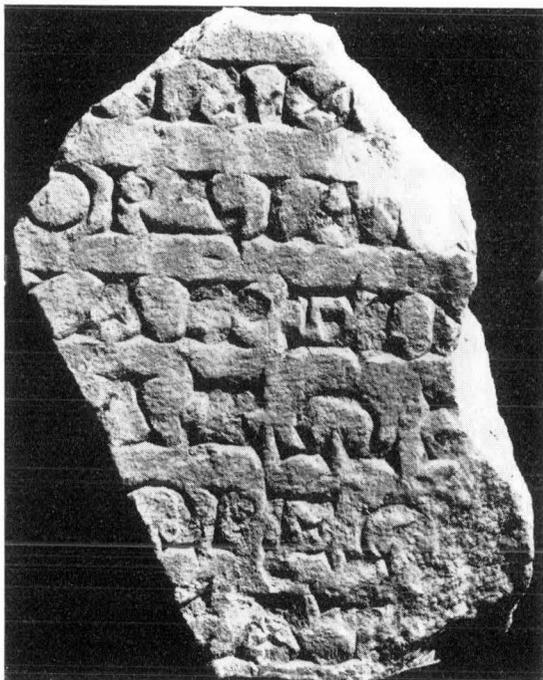
1. Doc. 22. Letter of Gordian III to Epaphras. Photo by M. Roueché.



2. Doc. 25. Letter of Trajanus Decius and Herennius Etruscus to Aphrodisias. Photo of squeeze by Frank Sear.



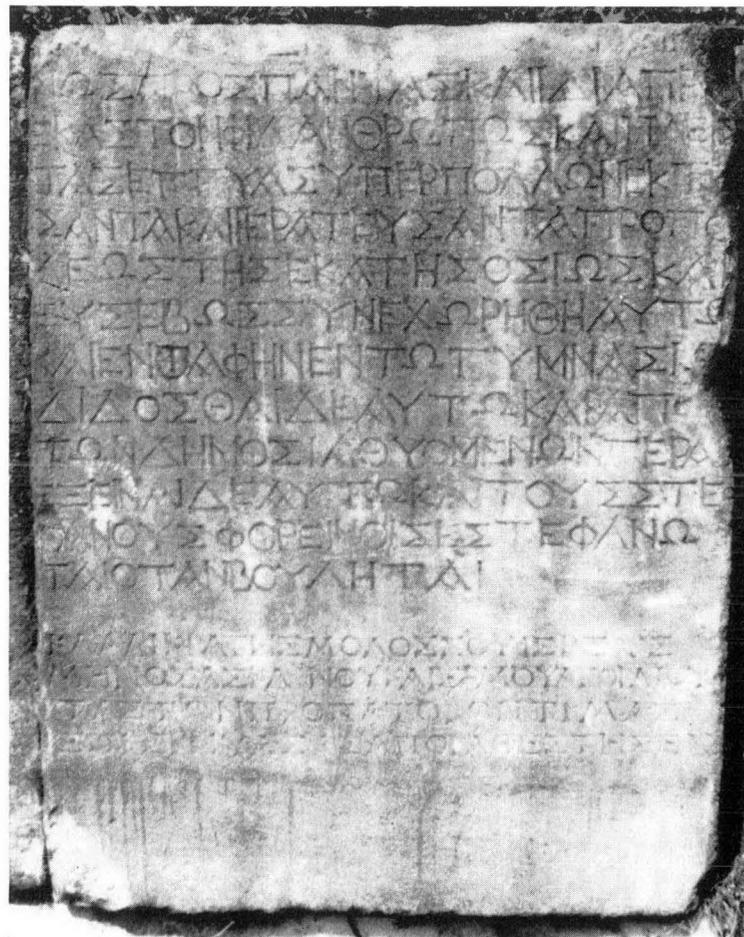
3. Doc. 27. Photo by M. Roueché.



1. Docs. 23-24. Fragmentary letters, one certainly of Gordian III. Photo by Mehmet Ali Duğenci.



2. Doc. 26. Photo by M. Roueché.



3. Doc. 29. Photo by M. Roueché.



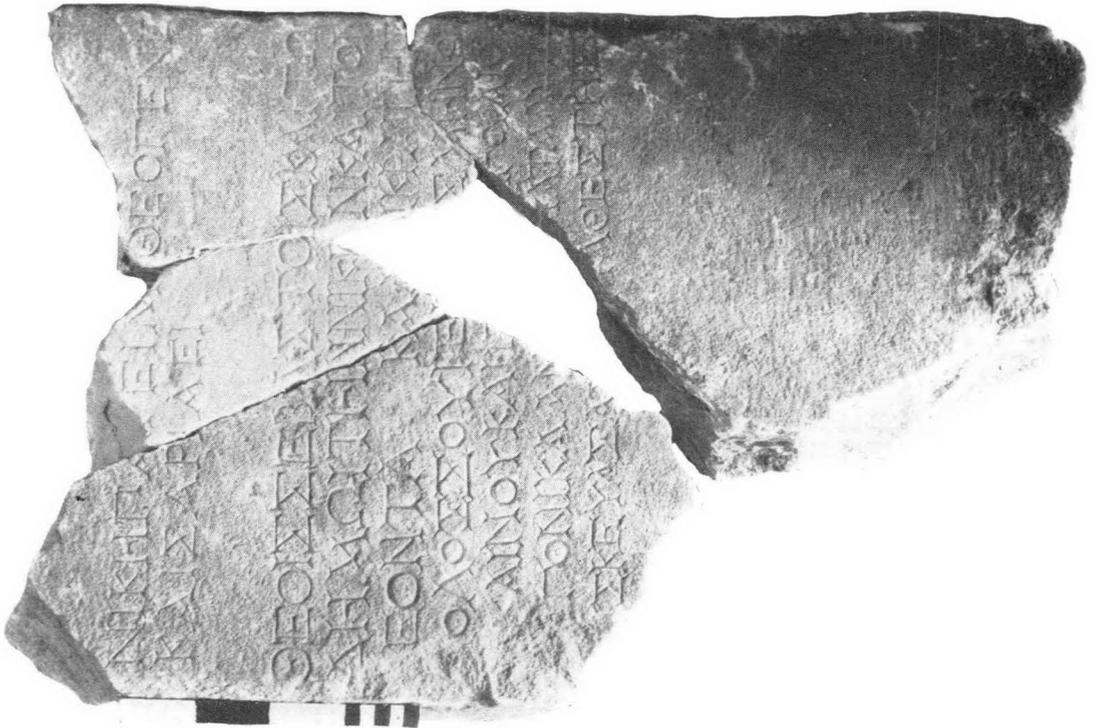
1. Doc. 30. Photo by Mehmet Ali Duğenci.



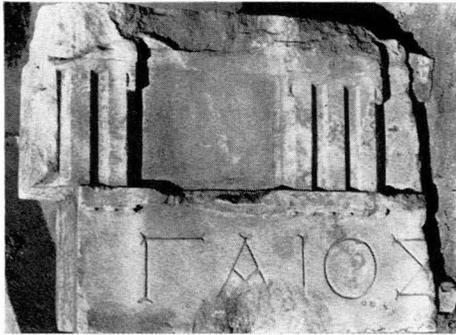
2. Doc. 31. Photo by M. Roueché.



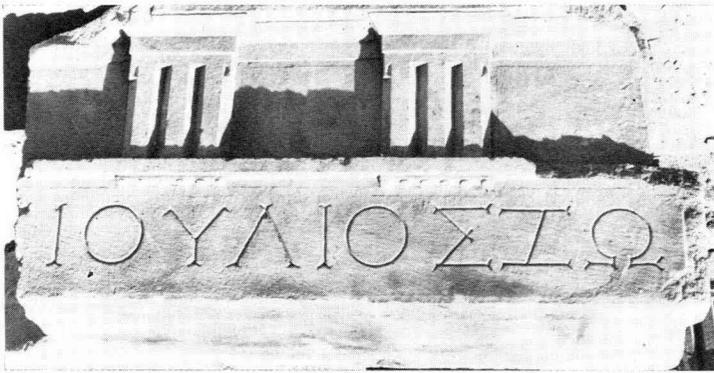
2. Doc. 35. Photo by E. Alföldi-Rosenbaum.



1. Doc. 32. Photo by M. Roueché.



1. Doc. 36. (1) Photo by Mehmet Ali Duğenci.



2. Doc. 36 (2). Photo by Mehmet Ali Duğenci.



3. Doc. 36 (3). Photo by Mehmet Ali Duğenci.



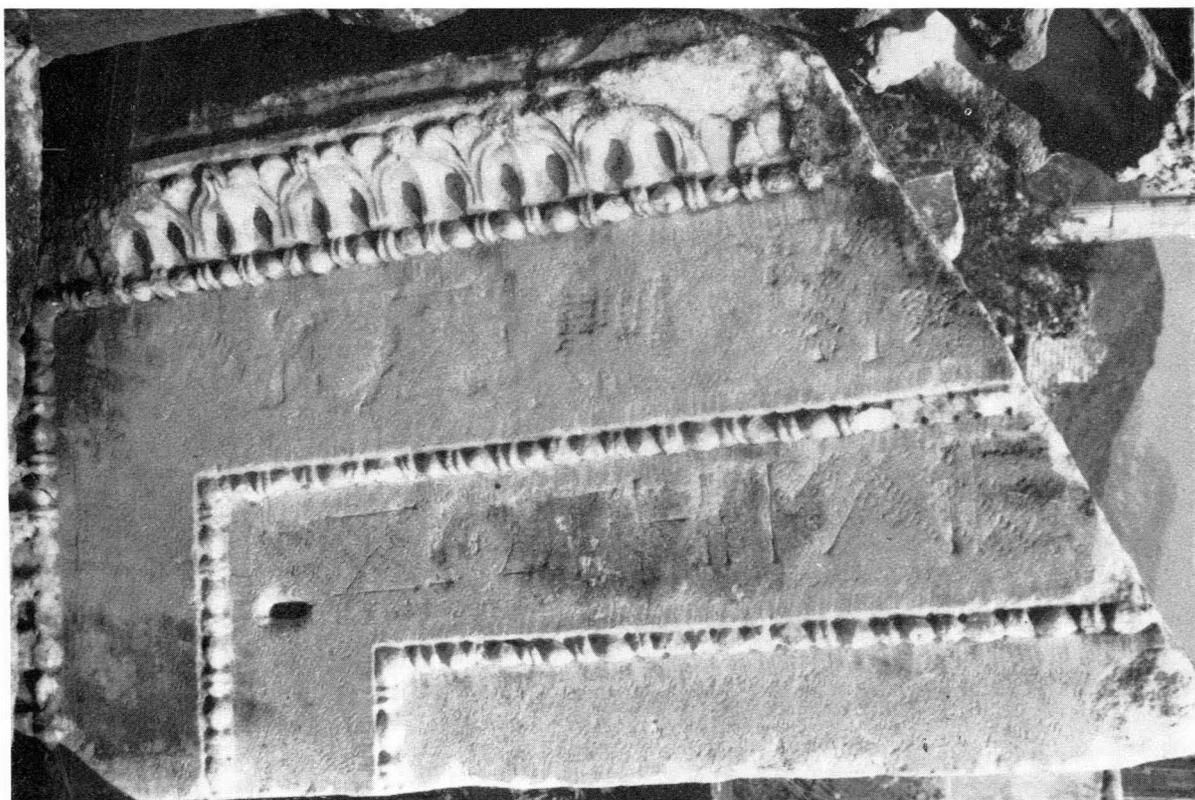
1. Doc. 36 (4). Photo by Mehmet Ali Duğenci.



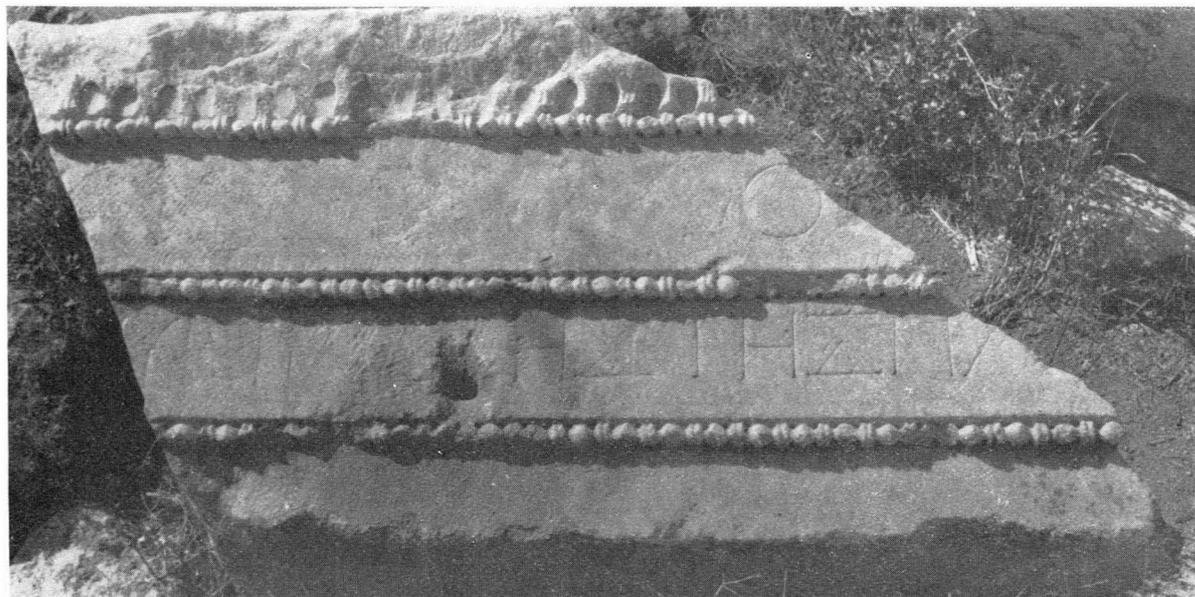
2. Doc. 36 (5). Photo by Mehmet Ali Duğenci.



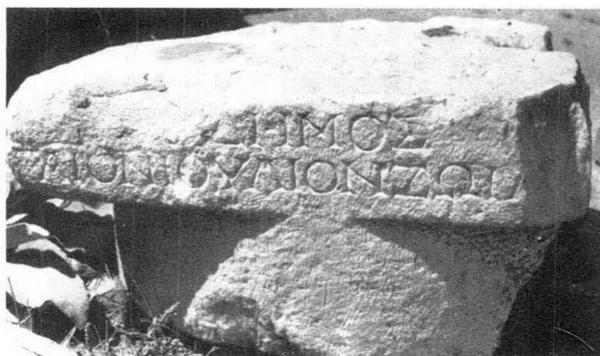
3. Doc. 36 (6). Photo by Mehmet Ali Duğenci.



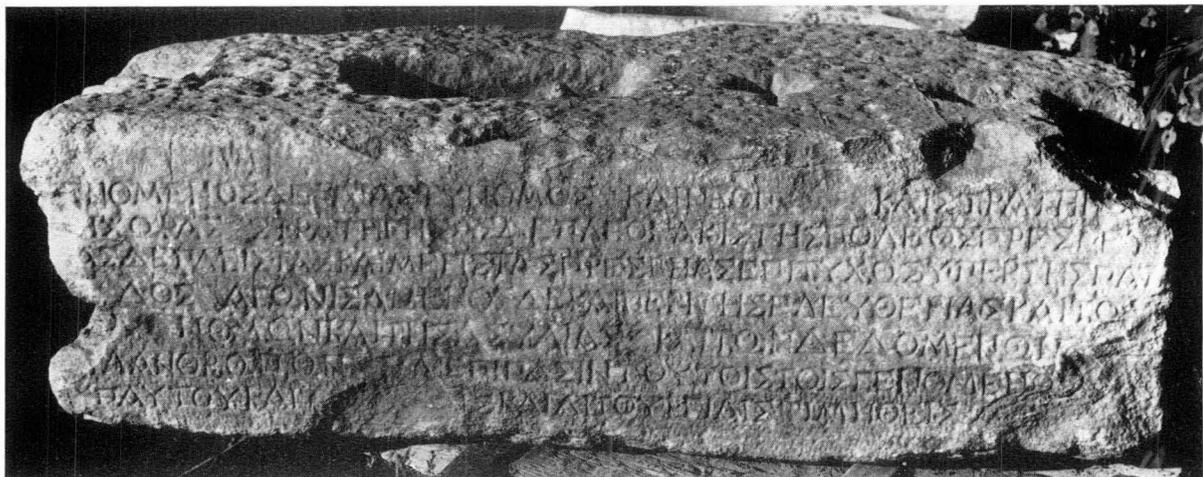
1. Doc. 37. Photo by M. Roueché.



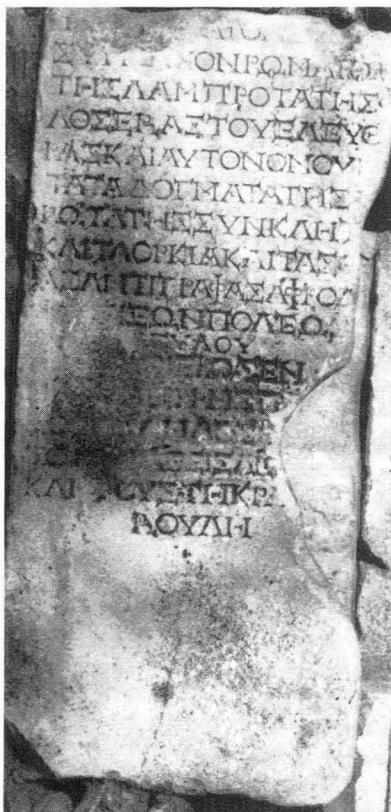
2. Doc. 37. Photo by M. Roueché.



1. Doc. 38. Photo by M. Roueché.



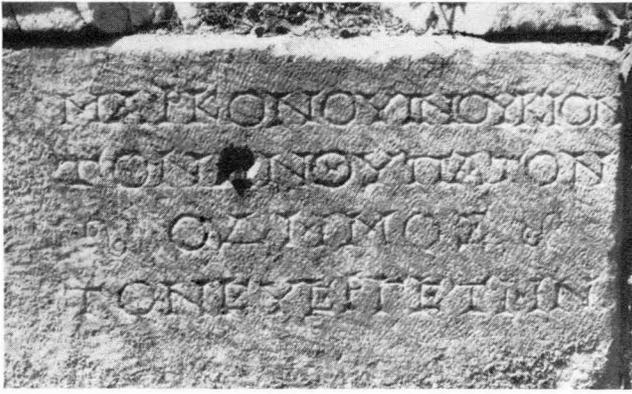
2. Doc. 41. Photo by Mehmet Ali Duğenci.



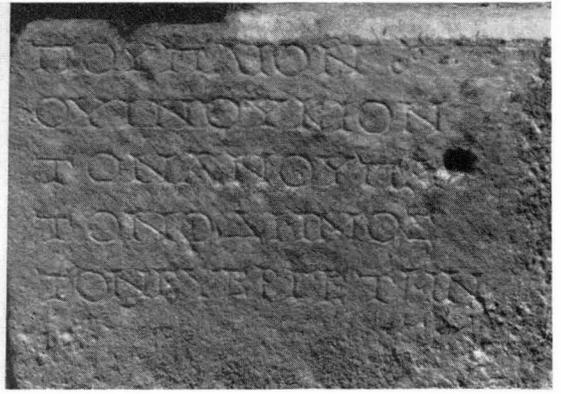
3. Doc. 43. Photo by M. Roueché.



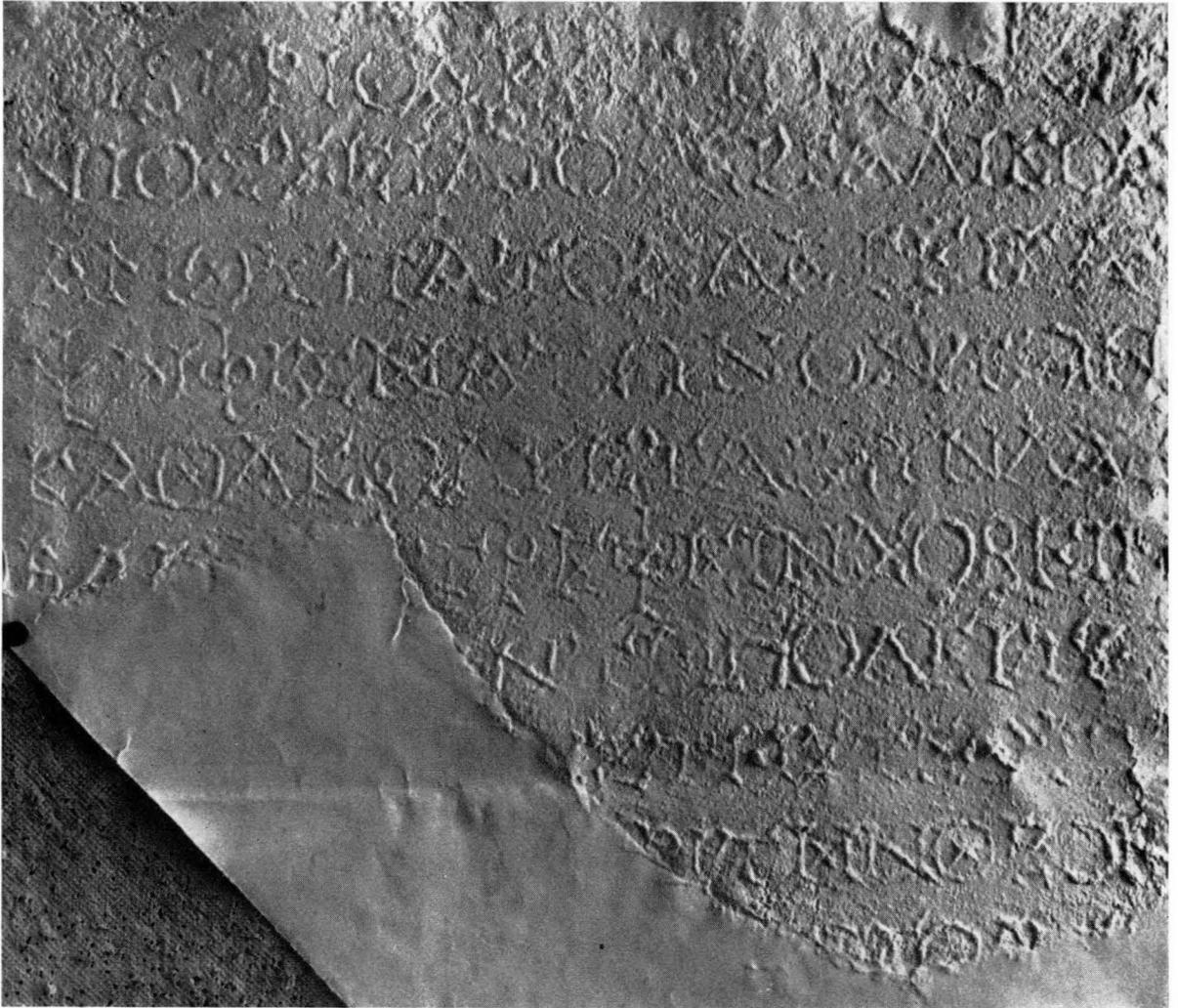
4. Doc. 44. Photo by M. H. Crawford.



1. Doc. 45a. Photo by M. Roueché.



2. Doc. 45b. Photo by M. Roueché.



3. Doc. 46. Photo of squeeze by Evan Jones.





1. Doc. 53 (1). Photo by M. Roueché.



2. Doc. 53 (2). Photo by M. Roueché.



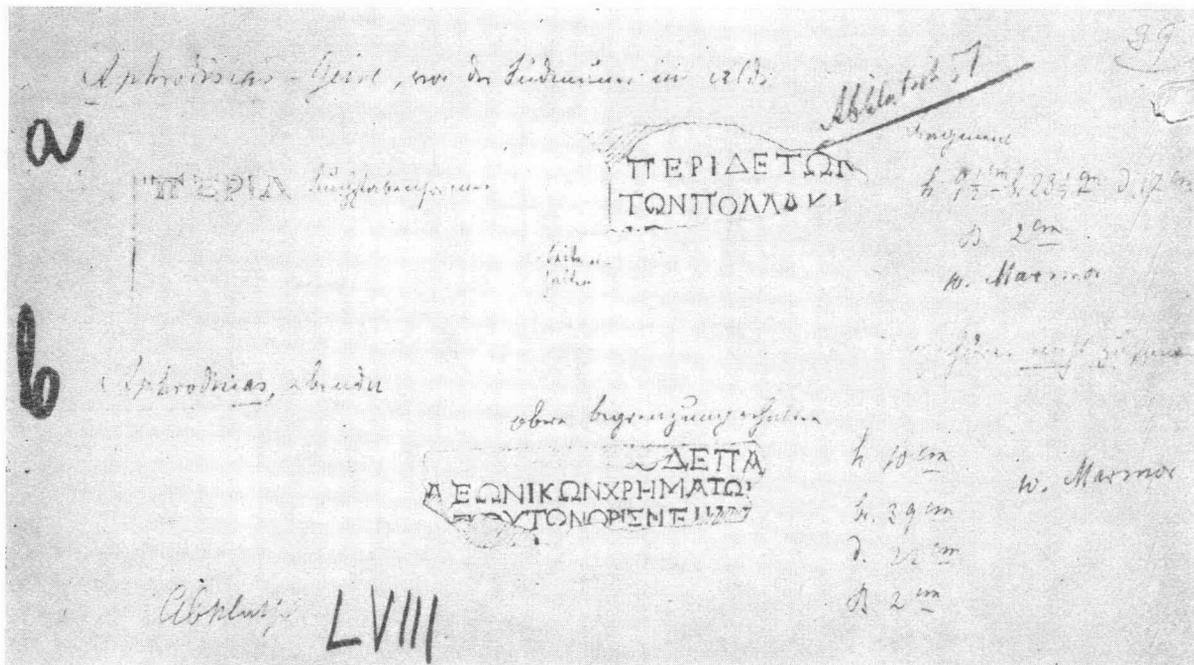
3. Doc. 53 (3). Photo by M. Roueché.



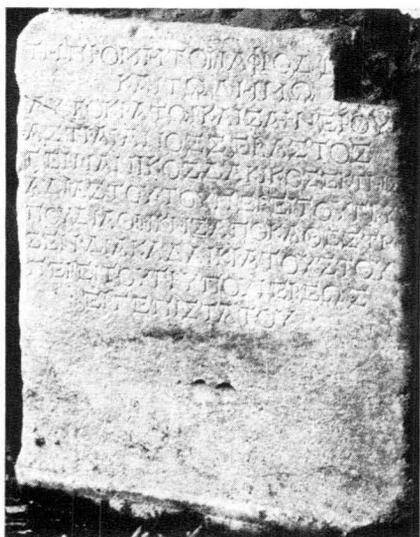
4. Doc. 53 (4). Photo by M. Roueché.



1. Doc. 54. Photo by M. Roueché.



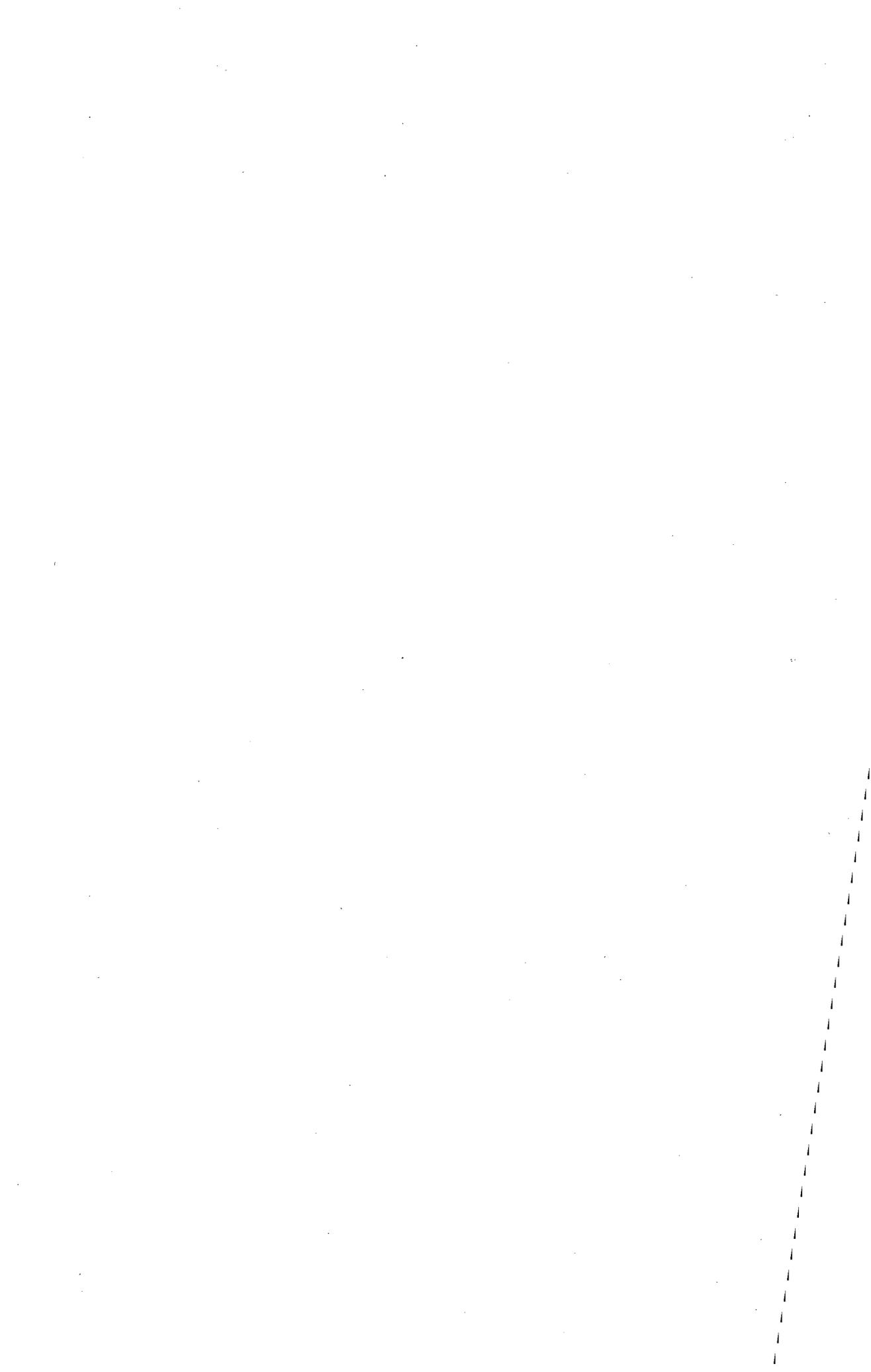
2. Doc. 62. Reichel's Transcription. Reproduced by permission of the Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften.



3. Doc. 55. Photo by Mehmet Ali Duğenci.



4. Doc. 62. Photo by M. Roueché.



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