

NEW EVIDENCE ON THE PROVINCE OF ASIA

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(Plate I)

In this paper the text of a new inscription from Ephesus will be presented and discussed.¹ The fragmented stone on which it is written was brought by a workman to the excavation office in spring 1969. It is not known where exactly it was found, although D. Knibbe has suggested privately that it was originally set up in the Agora.

Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut, Ephesus Inventory No. 3653. Fragment of a large slab of white marble, broken on top and at the bottom. The left margin is partly preserved, the right margin almost entirely. There are mouldings on both sides. The hollow in the form of a semicircle at the right margin originates in all probability from re-use of the stone.

Height 75 cm. Width 68.5. Thickness 12.5. The height of the letters is 1.0, the distance between the lines 0.6 cm. The writing is in two columns which are separated from each other by a vertical scratch. This was made after the left column had already been engraved, as can be seen from the small detour in 1 19. Plate I. For the establishment of the text I have been able to use a large-scale photograph and the latex squeeze provided by the Austrian Archaeological Institute.

The text (p. 65) contains a list of communities in the province of Asia. Their names, except for two cases (II 22. 23), are given in the form of ethnics. Their sequence is arranged according to διοικήσεις, the Latin *conventus iuridici*, assize districts. The appropriate heading is lost for the larger part of the first column (I 1-28) and for part of the second one (II 2-11). It is, however, obvious that in the first instance the *conventus* of Sardis has to be restored and in the second that of Pergamum. The attested districts are, in the genitive case, those of Miletus (I 29), and Pαιικαρνασσος (II 12) and, in the nominative, that of Apamea (II 17).

Most of the ethnics are followed by one or two rubrics, normally in the genitive, each of which is followed in turn by an amount of money. The sums are given in two different ways. The first consists of one or two letters, representing numbers. In this group the following figures are attested: 25, 40, 50, 80, 100 and 200, all a multiple of 5 (or of either 20 or 25). In II 27 only occurs the word τετραχάλκια before the number. This means a small denomination equalling one-twelfth of a *drachma* or a *denarius*.² It is at least possible that all other numbers in this group are to be understood to mean the same denomination. The second group is more explicit, since the value is indicated as *denarii* by the abbreviation δην. The sums in this group are much smaller than in the other; they extend from 2 to 7. Only the letters representing 2, 3, 4 and 7 are actually attested, sometimes followed by another sign (ι) which in all probability means a fraction of 1. If the figures of the first group should be divided by 12 in order to give *denarii*, they would extend from 2 $\frac{1}{12}$ to 16 $\frac{2}{3}$ *denarii*, roughly comparable in size to those of the second group.

In several instances the sums are not preceded by any rubric. This happens eight times in the first group³ and four times in the *denarii* group, where the sum is invariably 4

¹ I wish to thank D. Knibbe and H. Vettors, Director of the Austrian Archaeological Institute, for their kind permission, given during a visit to Vienna at the end of June 1973, to publish the inscription. Several aspects of it were discussed at a seminar held in The Queen's College, Oxford, on June 6, 1974. I am grateful to many colleagues for comments and suggestions made on that occasion or later, orally or in writing, of whom I should like to mention P. A. Brunt, E. W. Gray, P. Herrmann, C. P. Jones, F. Millar and L. Robert. I owe a specific gratitude to F. Millar for his willingness to have the paper printed in this *Journal* and for his invaluable help concerning its presentation in English. Finally, I wish to thank G. P. Burton who was kind enough to let me see his paper, printed p. 92 f. below, in typescript, and P. Kussmaul for the drawings.

Abbreviations:

Buresch = K. Buresch, *Aus Lydien: Epigraphisch-geographische Reisefrüchte* (1898).

Jones, *Cities* = A. H. M. Jones, *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces* (1937, ed. 2, 1971).

Keil-Premmerstein 1-3 = J. Keil and A. von Premmerstein, *Reisen in Lydien* 1 (1910); 2 (1911); 3 (1914).

Magie = D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor* 1-2 (1950).

Ramsay, *Cities* = Sir Wm. Ramsay, *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* 1-2 (1895-7).

L. Robert, *Villes* = L. Robert, *Villes d'Asie Mineure* (1935).

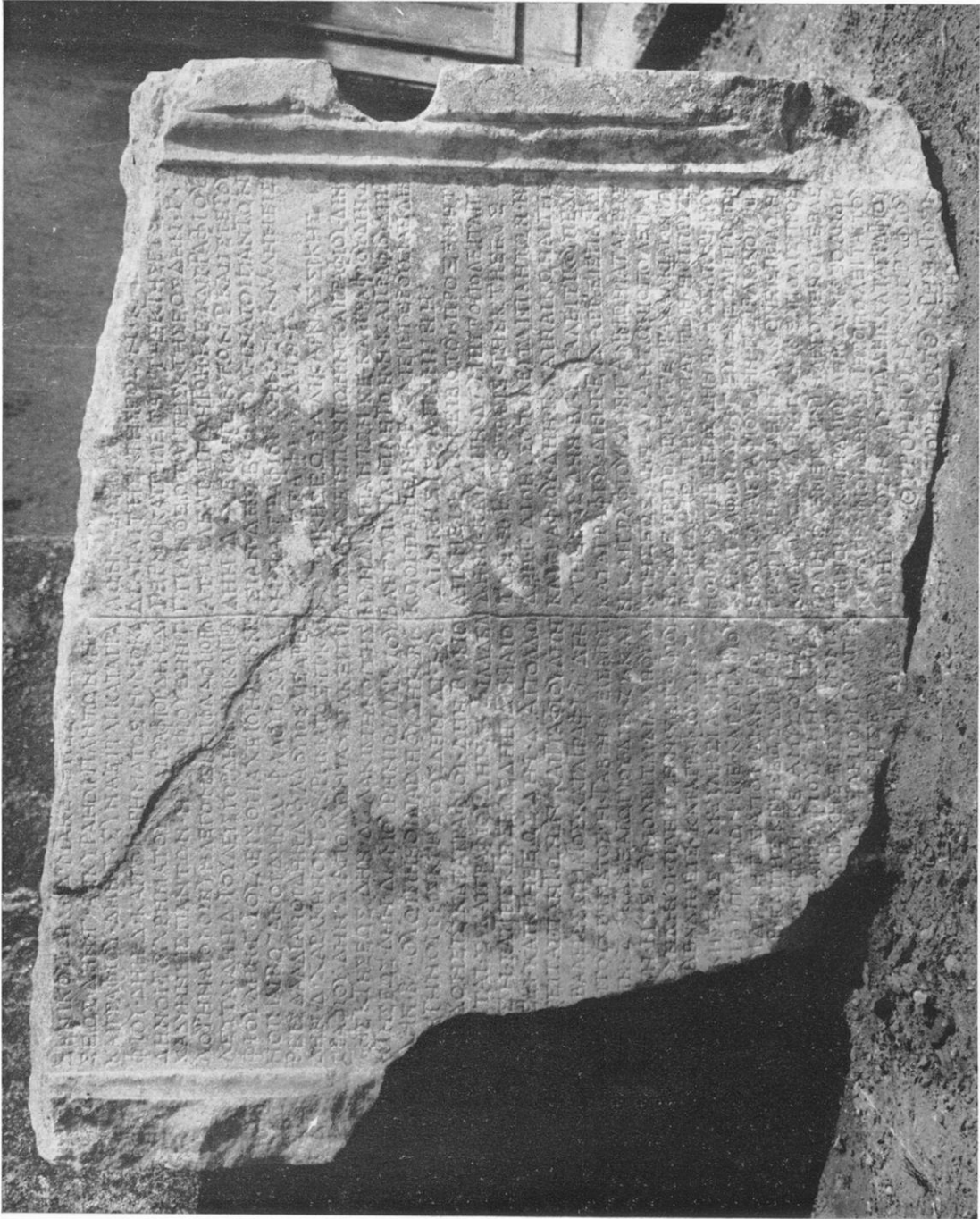
L. Robert, *Villes*² = L. Robert, *Villes d'Asie Mineure*² (1962) (quoted for pp. 243 f.).

Sammlung v. Aulock = *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum Deutschland, Sammlung H. von Aulock*.

Sherk, *Documents* = R. K. Sherk, *Roman Documents from the Greek East* (1969).

² K. Regling, *RE* 'Tetrachalkon', 1069-70.

³ 1 8. 19. 20. 21. 26(?). 36. II 35. 38.



EPHESUS: INSCRIPTION LISTING THE CITIES AND COMMUNITIES OF ASIA, AS GROUPED IN ASSIZE-DISTRICTS
Photograph by Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut (Ephesus Inventory No. 3653). Copyright reserved

denarii.⁴ It is remarkable how small the sums are, the more so since the document is engraved on stone, that is to say at considerable cost and intended to last. The rubrics present further difficulties. Some of them can be explained by themselves, but not all. The various combinations in which they occur add to the difficulties. I have to admit at once that I have not been able to find a common denominator for these rubrics. The meaning of the whole document is therefore far from being clear. The relevant questions will be treated in more detail at the end of this paper.

THE DATE OF THE DOCUMENT

The ethnics mentioned within the text are the most reliable criteria for dating the document. In II 26 a city Antonionopolis, obviously once founded by the triumvir, Marcus Antonius, appears under its new name Tripolis. This clearly shows that the text must be later than Antonius's death in 30 B.C., and this is further corroborated by the appearance of the Σεβαστηνοί in II 34-5, bringing the *terminus post quem* down to 27 B.C. Compare also the Ἰουλαῖς Γορδηνοί in I 8 and the Ἰουλαῖς in I 9.⁵

Three ethnics presuppose at least the Flavian period, namely Φλαουιοπολεῖται in I 7-8, Φλαουιοκαίσαρες Δαλδιανοί in I 10 and Φλαουιοκαίσαρες in I 11. In the case of Daldis the coins of the city provide the further information that it had been Vespasian who had granted the city the privilege of adding the dynastic name Φλαουιοκαίσαρες to the simple ethnic (below, p. 74). The document, therefore, cannot be earlier than A.D. 70. Additional evidence that it belongs to the Flavian period is provided by the coinage of Daldis (below, n. 72). A *terminus ante quem* is given with the mention of the [Ἰνδειπε]διόται⁶ in II 3-4, since F. Imhoof-Blumer and L. Robert have shown that Indeipedion was closely connected, by way of συμπολιτεία, with Stratonicea on the Caicus during the early imperial period, and that both communities disappeared from history when the emperor Hadrian in 123 founded Hadrianopolis, into which Indeipedion and Stratonicea were integrated (below, pp. 78 f). Our document is therefore earlier than 123.

The mention of the Mocadeni in I 4-5 allows us to narrow the limits between 70 and 123, since only the ethnic of the tribe is given, but not one of the ethnics of the three known cities of the Mocadeni, Temenothyrae, Silandus and Bagis. Since it is known from inscriptions and coins that all three were elevated to the rank of cities by Domitian (81-96), our text must precede this action, since it seems to know only the tribal constitution for the Mocadeni. It is to be regretted that a more accurate date within Domitian's time cannot be given at present. The inscription belongs in any event to the Flavian period, probably to the seventies or eighties of the first century. It is in accordance with this that it does not show any indication of the municipal policy of either Domitian or Trajan.⁷

GENERAL COMMENTS ON THE LIST OF ETHNICS

The preserved portion of the text gives a total of 66 or 67 ethnics, depending on whether in I 25-26 an ethnic has to be restored or not. The total is distributed between the five *conventus* as follows: 26 or 27 for Sardis (incomplete), 7 for Miletus (complete after the restoration in I 33), 8 for Pergamum (incomplete), 4 for Halicarnassus (complete) and 21 for Apamea (incomplete). A rather large proportion of the total of 66 ethnics is unattested so far, namely no less than 14, if I am not mistaken. No less than 9 of these unknown communities belong to the *conventus* of Sardis which consists almost entirely of Lydia, a region which is comparatively well known, thanks to extensive travel and research,

⁴ I 8. 10. 11. 12.

⁵ The correct form would be in both cases Ἰουλαῖς. Furthermore, Λορηναῖοι in I 7 appears instead of the correct form Λορηνοί (p. 73) and in II 30 Εὐμενέται instead of either Εὐμενεῖται or Εὐμενεῖς (this point was brought to my attention by a letter from L. Robert. See L. Robert, 'Études déliennes', *BCH* Supp. I (1973), 438 with n. 14). Finally, Ἀπολλωνιαρχακεῖται in I 13 is odd.

⁶ The restoration is certain beyond doubt, given

the location of the community in question within the district of Pergamum and in the vicinity of the cities which follow in the text.

⁷ For instance (apart from the cities of the Mocadeni, on which see p. 72), Trajanopolis, in the vicinity of Grimenothyrae, is missing. A mention of it can hardly have disappeared from the beginning of col. I, and it is most unlikely that the city could have belonged to a district other than that of Sardis.

primarily by Hamilton and Buresch, by Keil and von Premerstein, by the Roberts and P. Herrmann. The 14 communities which were previously unknown are the following :

—in the district of Sardis, Ἰουλεῖς οἱ <τ>άχειον λεγόμενοι Μαιβωζανοί (I 9–10), Φλαου-
οκαισαρφεῖς (I 11), Χαρακηνοί (I 12), Ἀπολλωνιαχαρακεῖται (I 13), Λακιμηνοί (I 14),
Μουρήνιοι (I 15), Οὔθιμηνοί (I 16), Μυ[—]δονεῖς (I 17–18) and Μο[—]ιται (I 18–9),
—in the district of Pergamum, Πανθεῶται (II 6) and Καλληνεῖς (II 10),
—in the district of Apamea, Καιναὶ Κῶμαι (II 22), Ἀμμωνιάται (II 25) and Ἀσσαι-
ορηνοί (II 29).

Several ethnics are derived not from city names but from tribes, namely Μακεδόνες (I 1), Μοκαδηνοί (I 4–5), Μοξοανοί (II 35), perhaps also Λακιμηνοί (I 14), Οὔθιμηνοί (I 16) and Ἀσσαιορηνοί (II 29), if these are not to be regarded rather as small communities (δήμοι) lacking the privileges of a city. The list therefore seems to include, besides the πόλεις, in any event ἔθνη and perhaps also δήμοι. For Asia this is not surprising; compare for instance the honours voted to Caesar after the battle of Pharsalus by πόλεις, ἔθνη and δήμοι of Asia.⁸ Two toponyms appear anomalously, Καιναὶ Κῶμαι in II 22 and Ὑργαλειτικοῦ πεδίου in II 23, where the genitive case is also an abnormal feature.

There can be no doubt that there is a grave mistake in I 34–35, since Heraclea on the Salbace mountains cannot have been a member of the assize of Miletus. The city in question is obviously Heraclea ad Latmum, at a short distance from Miletus, and from the earliest times always in close connections with it.⁹ This Heraclea was certainly part of the very small and well-rounded *conventus* of Miletus. The other Heraclea, ἀπὸ Σαλβάκης, is far away to the East, beyond Alabanda, itself head of a *conventus*, and may have belonged either to the district of Alabanda or to that of Cibyra.¹⁰

It is at least probable that the original text once contained all 13 *conventus* of the province of Asia, and all the communities attributed to each of them. If that is correct, the portion of the text which is preserved amounts to only one-fifth of what the document had once been. It is therefore likely that the text was divided between two or even three different slabs. It is not easy to estimate the total number of communities in Asia in the Flavian period, but in all probability there were rather more than 300. The total of 500 cities, attested by several writers of imperial times for the province,¹¹ must certainly be regarded not only as a round figure, but also as an exaggeration.

THE ASSIZES OF ASIA

The following remarks focus on some specific questions concerning the administration of Asia. For a more detailed treatment of the Roman assize-system on a larger scale, see G. P. Burton's paper in this volume, p. 92 f.

In our inscription the list of ethnics is organized according to the assizes of the province, which are called by the Greek expression διοικήσεις. In general, διοίκησις means 'administration'. From the late Republic onwards the term often has the technical meaning of an assize within a province. The reason for this lies obviously in the fact that the administration of justice was the most noble and the most important duty of any governor. The Latin equivalent for διοίκησις is in earlier times the transcription *dioecesis*, and it is this word which is commonly used by Cicero.¹² From the time of Augustus onwards there appear also *conventus* (more fully *conventus iuridicus*) and *iurisdictio*. Although the elder Pliny in his description of the three Spanish provinces and of Dalmatia uses

⁸ *Syll.*³ 760, with n. 2.

⁹ See, above all, *Milet* I 3, no. 150 (*Syll.*³ 633); Pliny, *NH* 5, 113. For the relations between Heraclea ad Latmum and Amyzon, mentioned immediately before it, see *Inscr. Priene*, no. 51, from the second half of the second century B.C.

¹⁰ For Heraclea ad Salbacem see the monograph by L. and J. Robert, *La Carie* 2 (1954), 153–230, also L. Robert, *Monnaies grecques* (1967), 95.

¹¹ Josephus, *BJ* 2, 366 (from the speech of

Agrippa II): τί δ' αἱ πεντακοσίαι τῆς Ἀσίας πόλεις; Apollonius Tyan., *Ep.* 58 (Philostratus ed. Kayser, I, p. 362): Οὐσαλερίω . . . πόλεων ἀρχεῖς πεντακοσίων; Philostratus, *Vit. Soph.* (ed. Kayser 2, p. 57): πόλεων πεντακοσίων φόρον. See Brandis, *RE* 'Asia', 1545. C. Cichorius in E. Norden, *Agnostos Theos* (1913), 337 f.; W. Eck, *Senatoren von Vespasian bis Hadrian* (1970), 84, n. 41.

¹² *ad fam.* 3, 8, 4; 13, 53, 2; 13, 67, 1; *ad Att.* 6, 2, 4. Cf. G. P. Burton, p. 92, below.

conventus throughout, in that of Asia he gives sometimes *conventus*, sometimes *iurisdictio*. He uses the words as exact synonyms, as can be seen most clearly from *NH* 5, 105–6.

In Greek, however, διοίκησις continues to be the usual word for the assize.¹³ The assizes had been founded to serve the practical needs of the proconsul's jurisdiction. Each district had its principal city,¹⁴ in which the governor was obliged to hold court-days once a year. A variable number of adjacent communities was attributed to each principal city. A famous passage of Strabo, written in the time of Augustus, emphasizes that the Romans, when they founded the assizes in Asia, did not pay any attention to the traditional borderlines between the different tribes as established in the course of past history. Strabo thus tries to explain the difficulties he faces in his attempt to make proper distinctions between the borders of Phrygia, Caria, Lydia and Mysia: the Roman assize-system had extinguished the traditional borders.¹⁵ His statement is amply confirmed by other evidence, as well as by our inscription. Its text shows that the district of Sardis comprised Lydian and Phrygian communities, that of Pergamum Lydian, Mysian, Aeolian and Ionian towns.

The wording of Strabo does not exclude the possibility that with their assize-system the Romans perhaps did no more than change an already existing pattern. In fact, U. von Wilamowitz argued that an earlier system of this kind had been introduced in Asia by the Attalid kings, and was merely adapted by the Romans.¹⁶ In recent times, however, there has been agreement that the system of assizes in Asia Minor originated with the Romans. Opinions are still divided as to when this happened. It has been assumed that it was Q. Mucius Scaevola who introduced it during his proconsulship, which was celebrated as exemplary, during the nineties of the first century B.C.,¹⁷ or that it was created by Sulla.¹⁸ But Mommsen's view is still dominant, that the assize-system in Asia was introduced on the establishment of the province.¹⁹ This view seems to be the most probable also to the present writer.

Just because the assizes had been created for the practical purpose of the governor's jurisdiction, there could always be changes in their number as well as in the composition of any given district if that seemed to be useful. There is enough evidence, from the late Republic to the third century, to prove that such changes happened from time to time. It seems relevant to discuss three out of all the items of evidence more fully, because they either transmit the total number of assizes in Asia at a given time or (in the case of Pliny) name at least a good many of them, in alluding also for each of them to several of their member communities.

The earliest is a letter written by a Roman magistrate of the late Republic to the city of Miletus, preserved in two fragmentary copies on stone from Miletus and from Priene.²⁰ The author states that he has directed a similar letter also to Ephesus, Tralles, Alabanda, Mylasa, Smyrna, Pergamum, Sardis and Adramytteum, to be transmitted by these cities to all the members of their διοικήσεις for publication, so that it might become known to the whole province. It is obvious from the wording that the districts of the nine recipients constitute the whole of the province. Missing is the whole region of Phrygia and with Phrygia there are lacking the four cities of Apamea, Laodicea, Synnada and Philomelium,

¹³ Strabo 13, p. 629, and also 13, p. 631; Sherck, *Documents*, no. 52, ll. 46–7; *OGI* 458, l. 65. Aristides, ed. B. Keil, p. 446, 26. Keil-Premmerstein 2, no. 39. *ἸῶΑΙ* 49 (1968–71), Beibl. 22, no. 4; *ibid.* Beibl. 81, no. 15. *Bull. épigr.* 1958, 437. Dio Chrys., *Or.* 45, 6; 10 (brought to my attention by E. W. Gray, who also pointed out that the word διοίκησις here has the obvious meaning of *conventus*). Besides that, *dioecesis* also continued to be used, as it is in Latin honorific inscriptions of the second and the third centuries, for instance *CIL* 12, 3170; *ἸῶΑΙ* 45 (1960), Beibl. 58, no. 6.

¹⁴ They are called αἱ ἀφηγοῦμεναι τῶν διοικήσεων πόλεις (*OGI* 458, l. 65) or αἱ ἔχουσαι ἀγορὰς δικῶν (Modestinus, *Dig.* 27. 1. 6. 2).

¹⁵ Strabo 13, p. 629: εἰς δὲ τὴν σύγχυσιν ταύτην οὐ μικρὰ συλλαμβάνει τὸ τοῦς Ῥωμαίων μη κατὰ φύλα διελεῖν αὐτοῦς, ἀλλὰ ἕτερον τρόπον διατάξει τὰς διοικήσεις, ἐν αἷς τὰς ἀγοραίων ποιοῦνται καὶ τὰς δικαιοδοσίας.

¹⁶ U. von Wilamowitz in A. Schulten, *De conventibus civium Romanorum sive de rebus publicis c.R. mediis inter municipium et collegium* (Diss. Göttingen 1892), 12, n. 2; 128. E. Kornemann, *RE* 'conventus', 1175.

¹⁷ This, or at least some degree of development of an existing system, is regarded as probable by E. Badian, *Athenaeum* 34 (1956), 116, n. 5. In general, see M. Hassall, M. Crawford, J. Reynolds, *JRS* 64 (1974), 219.

¹⁸ Ramsay 1, 265.

¹⁹ Th. Mommsen, *Ges. Schr.* 4, 68, n. 1. Of the same opinion are Magie, 471 and 1060; A. J. Marshall, *Phoenix* 20 (1966), 233; E. W. Gray in an unpublished essay, 'M'. Aquilius and the organization of the Roman Province of Asia' (I owe the knowledge of this paper to the author's kindness).

²⁰ *Milet* 1. 2, no. 3; *Inscr. Priene*, no. 106; Sherck, *Documents*, no. 52.

which are otherwise all attested as the principal cities of an assize. Since Phrygia was from 56 to 50 B.C. part of the province of Cilicia, and since Cicero, when he was governor of Cilicia in 51/50, held court-days in all these cities, the letter has usually been dated to this time. Since it mentions a certain Cicero, Sherck has recently argued that this is the famous orator during his governorship in Cilicia. He therefore recognized Q. Minucius Thermus, who governed Asia during the same year, as the author of the letter, and dated the letter accordingly to 51/50 B.C. On the other hand, G. W. Bowersock advanced weighty arguments in favour of the assumption that the author was none other than Octavian, and the Cicero mentioned in the letter the orator's son, as proconsul of Asia in 29/8 B.C.²¹ This is in many respects very attractive, especially since this interpretation explains the mention of a Cicero in a much more natural way than does Sherck's. But there are difficulties too: the further assumption becomes necessary that Phrygia, after it had been re-united with Asia in 49 B.C., was again separated from that province by 29 B.C. Bowersock in fact assumes that it had been given to the Galatian king Amyntas by Antonius, that Octavian respected this gift after Actium, and that Phrygia was reunited with Asia again only after Amyntas' death in 25 B.C. The letter of the Roman official to Miletus can therefore be dated either to the late fifties or to 29/28 B.C. (but see below, p. 71). The same date, accordingly, is then valid for the number and the names of assizes in Asia which it reflects.

Next, Pliny in *NH* v enumerates, in the course of his description of Asia, a good many *conventus* and a good many of their respective members (105-106; 109; 111; 120; 122-123; 126). Since Pliny dedicated his work to Vespasian's son Titus in 77 (*Praef.* 3), the evidence provided by him seems at first sight to be very close in time to that derived from the new inscription from Ephesus. In fact it is not, since it has long been established that his evidence for the assize-system in Asia reflects official registers from the time of Augustus, to which in all probability Agrippa had contributed most.²²

Pliny's description is far from being complete: first, he does not list all *conventus*; second, for those which he lists he adds only the names of such members as seemed to him of greater importance, and he disposes of all others by brief expressions like *et reliqui ignobiles populi XV* (105), *reliqui ignobiles IX* (106), *et alii ignobiles* (111), *aliaeque inhonoraee civitates* (126). The numbers, where they occur, show that he was in possession of a complete list, containing all *conventus* and their respective members. It seems that this list is also the source of the brief remarks which Pliny adds in some cases to the name of a town: *Alabanda libera* (109), *Aphrodisiensis liberi* (109), *Alexandria colonia Romanorum* (124), *Ilion immune* (124), *Myrina quae Sebastopolim se vocat* (121), *Tripolitani iidem et Antonio-politae* (111). But wherever Pliny had geographical sources at hand which naturally gave much more detail than such official registers, he preferred to use these authors. This is particularly true for the area of the west coast with its numerous ancient and well-known cities.²³ In this area Pliny did not even indicate whether a city mentioned by him was the principal city of a *conventus*.

Pliny agrees with the letter of the late Republican official in indicating as assizes Ephesus, Alabanda, Smyrna, Pergamum, Sardis and Adramytteum. In addition, he also enumerates Apamea, Cibyra, Synnada and Philomelium, which at the time of the letter were not part of Asia. On the other hand, the letter lists as *conventus* Miletus, Tralles and Mylasa, which are missing in Pliny's description. The question arises whether these lost the privilege of an assize between the time of the letter and that of Augustus, or whether Pliny does not mention them in this capacity because in this area his guide was not the official lists but was a geographical author. More can be said about this question once we have discussed the third piece of evidence relevant here.

²¹ *AJPh* 91 (1970), 226-7.

²² O. Cuntz, *De Augusto Plinii geographicorum auctore* (Diss. Bonn 1888), 46 f.; idem, *Agrippa und Augustus als Quellenschriftsteller des Plinius in den geographischen Büchern der Naturalis Historia* (*Jahrbücher für Classische Philologie*, Supp. 17, 1890), 475 f.; 490 f.; D. Detlefsen, *Die formulae provinciarum, eine Hauptquelle des Plinius in der Beschreibung der römischen Provinzen* (*Quellen und Forschungen zur alten Geschichte und Geographie* 14, 1908), 63 f.; 92 f.; idem, *Die Anordnung der geographischen Bücher des*

Plinius und ihre Quellen (*Quellen und Forschungen . . .* 18, 1909), 26-34; 89-96. O. Cuntz, *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1910, 46-62. W. Kroll, *RE* 'Plinius', 303-7; G. Sallmann, *Die Geographie des älteren Plinius in ihrem Verhältnis zu Varro. Versuch einer Quellenanalyse* (1971), 95-107; 201-7. Cf. Jones, *Cities*, 503-8; L. Robert, *Hellenica* 7 (1949), 206 f.; Magie, 1335, n. 17, and the bibliography there cited.

²³ Detlefsen, o.c. of 1908 (see n. 22), 95; 1909, 89-90; L. Robert, o.c. (n. 22), 235; 237.

An inscription from Didyma (set up in 40/41, see Dio 59. 28) lists all the *neopoi* who were about to erect in Miletus the new provincial temple for the emperor Gaius. 13 men are listed, in an order decided by lot, each with his patronymic and ethnic. In a pioneering study, Louis Robert showed convincingly that these men represent the whole province, and that each one is the delegate of an assize.²⁴ In general, these delegates are citizens of the principal towns of the assizes. There are, however, others who represent, not the principal city itself, but another city attributed to its jurisdiction.²⁵

From these three principal sources, compared with the new inscription from Ephesus, the following picture emerges:

<i>Late Republic</i> Sherk no. 52	<i>Time of Augustus</i> Pliny, NH 5	<i>Time of Gaius</i> <i>Ins. Didyma</i> 148	<i>Time of the Flavians</i> Ephesus 3653
Miletus	—	Miletus?	Miletus
Ephesus	Ephesus	Ephesus	[Ephesus]
Tralles	—	—	—
Alabanda	Alabanda	Alabanda	[Alabanda]
Mylasa	—	Halicarnassus	Halicarnassus
Smyrna	Smyrna	Smyrna	[Smyrna]
Pergamum	Pergamum	Pergamum	Pergamum
Sardis	Sardis	Sardis	Sardis
Adramytteum	Adramytteum	Adramytteum	[Adramytteum]
Phrygian	Apamea	Apamea	Apamea
<i>conventus</i>	Cibyra	Cibyra	[Cibyra]
separated	Synnada	Synnada	[Synnada]
from Asia	Philomelium	Philomelium	[Philomelium]
—	—	Cyzicus	[Cyzicus]

From this evidence²⁶ L. Robert drew the following conclusions:

1. Miletus, not present in Pliny's account, must have lost the privilege of being the leading city of a jurisdiction under Augustus (228). The Milesian delegate in the inscription from Didyma does not represent, therefore, a *conventus* like the others, but *supra numerum* the city in which the emperor's temple was to be built.
2. Augustus abolished the assizes of Tralles²⁷ and Mylasa²⁸ (226-8).
3. Cyzicus became the centre of a new assize sometime between the redaction of the official list used by Pliny and 40/41.²⁹
4. Halicarnassus, although nowhere else attested as having its own *conventus*, did have it in 40/41, since there is a delegate from the city present in the body of *neopoi* attested in Didyma. It was probably Augustus who had given the city this privilege (226 f.; 237-8).

Of these conclusions the fourth is now shown to be correct in substance, since the inscription from Ephesus in fact attests the *conventus* of Halicarnassus (II 12) divined by Robert. There can be no doubt either that Robert's conclusions reported as no. 2-3 are also correct. The case of Miletus is more doubtful. For Miletus, in contrast to Mylasa (which is not represented in the inscription from Didyma) and to Tralles (whose delegate in fact represents the assize of Ephesus), is represented by its own delegate. The question arises whether he was in fact a representative *supra numerum* of the city in which the temple was to be built, or whether he represents like all others a jurisdiction of its own, according to the system recognized by Robert. It is true that Pliny, for the time of Augustus, does not mention Miletus as having an assize of its own. But this may be due to the fact that

²⁴ 'Le culte de Caligula à Milet et la province d'Asie,' *Hellenica* 7 (1949), 206-38, analysing the inscription 7. *Miletbericht* (1911), 65-6 (now *Inscr. Didyma*, no. 148).

²⁵ The *conventus* of Cibyra is represented by a delegate from Laodicea, that of Synnada by a citizen of Julia, that of Alabanda by a *neopoi* from Antiochea on the Maeander and that of Ephesus by a delegate from Caesarea (Tralles); Robert, o.c. (n. 22), 225.

²⁶ Except, of course, for the present inscription from Ephesus, unknown to him.

²⁷ Tralles is also mentioned as the leading city of

a *conventus* in Cicero, *pro Flacco* 71 of 59 B.C., and in the document preserved in Josephus, *Ant.* 14. 245, whose most likely date is 46-4 B.C.; see e.g. P. Viereck, *Sermo Graecus* (1888), 108.

²⁸ Halicarnassus seems to have occupied the place formerly held by Mylasa (see below). If correct, this does not necessarily mean that the district remained unaltered; there may have been a shift of cities from one to another *conventus*.

²⁹ The city is attested as the principal city of an assize-district by the middle of the second century, Aristides II, p. 461. 43 Keil; Robert, o.c. (n. 22), 231-2.

(as in the case of Halicarnassus) Pliny, as Robert himself showed, is using for that coastal region a geographical source and not the official statistics, that is to say a source not interested in Roman assizes, and silent upon this matter (see note 23).

This seems to be in fact the true answer, as the following considerations will show. There are obvious reasons why Mylasa and Tralles lost the privilege of being assize-centres. On the other hand, nothing of a similar nature is known in the case of Miletus. Mylasa had been ruined by the Parthian invasion in 40/39 B.C. Two letters, written to Mylasa in the thirties, are evidence for the desolate state of the city during the following decade, the first written by a Roman official soon after the Parthian disaster, the second by Octavian himself towards the end of the year 31 B.C.³⁰ Tralles had been destroyed by an earthquake in 26/25 B.C. Prominent men from the city went as ambassadors to Augustus, who happened then to be in Spain, and asked, not without success, for his help.³¹ Long ago, Otto Cuntz concluded that it was then that the city lost the privilege of being the principal town of an assize: Tralles was no longer conspicuous enough.³² The physical decay of both cities was the reason why it seemed unwise to maintain them in the prominent position of having their own assizes, the more so since Mylasa and Tralles may have been unable to provide accommodation and facilities for the governor, his staff and the large number of people from outside who once a year poured into a city when there were sessions of the governor's court: the parties involved in lawsuits and the huge numbers of those with commercial interests.

Miletus did not experience a similar disaster. Therefore, there seems to be no reason why the city should have been deprived of its status as the principal town of an assize. Quite the contrary: in 38 B.C. the city regained from the *triumviri* its liberty, which had been taken away after the first Mithridatic War.³³ This does not only show that the Roman rulers favoured Miletus, but it also presupposes continuous prosperity. In fact, under Tiberius, in 26, Miletus was regarded, in comparison with Tralles, as the more conspicuous city. This emerges clearly from what Tacitus reports of a debate in the Senate. This body had to decide which one of the cities of Asia should be given the honour of building the new provincial temple for the Emperor, his mother and the Senate. Eleven cities took part in this competition. Some were dismissed at once as not being conspicuous or wealthy enough ('*simul tramissi ut parum validi*'), Tralles being among them, but not Miletus, which was eliminated only afterwards and for other reasons (*Ann.* 4. 55). It is therefore likely that Miletus was the centre of an assize continuously from the Republic onwards. On the other hand, if it is true that Mylasa was deprived of the same privilege because of the damage done in the course of the Parthian invasion, then the letter of a Roman official to Miletus which lists Mylasa as the head of a *conventus* (above, pp. 68 f.) was written in all probability in the fifties and not in 29/28 B.C.

THE INDIVIDUAL ASSIZE DISTRICTS AND THEIR MEMBERS

A. *Sardis*

Pliny, *NH* 5, 111: 'Sardiana nunc appellatur ea iurisdictio, conveniuntque in eam extra praedictos³⁴ Macedones, Cadieni, Loreni, Philadelphini et ipsi in radice Tmoli Cogamo flumini adpositi, Maeonii, Tripolitani iidem et Antoniopollitae—Maeandro adluuntur—Apollonhieritae, Mysotimolitae et alii ignobiles.' Since col. 11–28 of the present inscription enumerates all nine cities which Pliny mentions as members of the Sardian *conventus*, except for the *Tripolitani-Antoniopolitae*,³⁵ it is obvious that this part of the inscription deals with the assize of Sardis.

1. ΜΑΚΕΔΩΝΕΣ. The name points to a settlement of Macedonian soldiers, established during the Hellenistic period. Settlements of this kind are numerous in Lydia, several of them occurring around Hyrcanis.³⁶ The community mentioned here seems to be unknown. As for its site, it can be said

³⁰ Sherck, *Documents*, no. 59–60.

³¹ Magie, 469; 1331–2.

³² O. Cuntz, *Agrippa und Augustus* (1890), 493.

³³ *Milet* 1. 3, no. 126, 23–5. *Inscr. Didyma* 218; 342. Cf. *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 213 (1960), 152–3. R. Bernhardt, *Imperium und Eleutheria. Die römische Politik gegenüber den freien Städten des griechischen Ostens* (Diss. Hamburg 1971), 174 f., n. 401.

³⁴ D. Detlefsen, o.c. of 1908 (n. 22), 92 and 94, takes the words *extra praedictos* as referring to the communities of Coscinus and Harpasa, mentioned

by Pliny, *NH* 5. 109. This is most unlikely, since both were situated south of the Maeander, in Caria, whereas the Sardian district apparently nowhere southwards extended beyond the river. Probably Sardis itself is meant, and besides it the *civitas* of the Maeonians, Hyde, although the ethnic *Maeonii* does appear in the following list.

³⁵ See below, pp. 81; 83 f.

³⁶ J. and L. Robert, *Hellenica* 6 (1948), 16–26, especially 22–3. Cf. P. Herrmann, *Sb. Akad. Wien* 265 (1969), 43–4.

only that it should have been west of Ancyra (see below), on the river Macestus or close to it, since the following ethnics of Ancyra, Synaus, the Mocadeni and of Cadoi show a proceeding from West to East. Another important point can be established with certainty: in the text of Pliny printed above there has to be punctuation after *Macedones*, in order to separate this ethnic from the following *Cadieni*. So far, there has been agreement in seeing the words *Macedones Cadieni* as a unit. Since Cadoi elsewhere is always mentioned only by this name, without any addition, it has been generally assumed that Pliny alone has preserved the full name of the city (or rather of the ethnic).³⁷ The inscription from Ephesus shows that the two words have to be separated, since *Μακεδόνες* stands by itself, separated and far from *Καδυηνεῖς*, and since as a matter of fact all eight ethnics mentioned by Pliny are given in the inscription, in just the same order,³⁸ so that there can be no doubt about the identity of the *Μακεδόνες* of the inscription with Pliny's *Macedones*. The order seems to follow, in both cases, that of the original source, the official list of the cities within the province from the time of Augustus (above, p. 69).

2. Ἀγκυρανοί. Strabo 12, p. 576, calls Ancyra a city in Mysia Abbaitis, close to the sources of the Macestus river. Synaus and Tiberiopolis also belong to Abbaitis.³⁹ Of them only Synaus is located firmly: it is Simav on the lake of the same name.⁴⁰ Waddington located Ancyra at Hasanlar, north-east of the lake,⁴¹ whereas Buresch suggested Kiliseköy, on the lake's western shore.⁴² L. Robert is inclined to follow Waddington, and this assumption is indeed strongly recommended (as Buresch himself pointed out) by the text of *IGR* 4. 631 which points to an immediate neighbourhood between Ancyra and Aezanoi.⁴³ If this is correct, the ancient site at Kiliseköy becomes available for another identification. It may be conjectured that it was the site of the *Μακεδόνες*. In that case one would have to look for Tiberiopolis north of Ancyra,⁴⁴ and Tiberiopolis then would probably belong already to another assize district. The city had, under Nero, the additional name of Julia, as can be seen from coins with the portraits of Nero and of Poppaea and with the legend Ἰουλιέων Ἀγκυραίων.⁴⁵ 3. Συναεῖται. The site of Synaus at Simav, somewhat southeast of the lake Simav, is firmly established, see n. 40.

4. Μοκαδηνοί. Ptolemy 5. 2. 18 mentions in Asia δῆμοι παρὰ τὴν Βιθυνίαν Μοκαδηνοὶ καὶ Κυδισηεῖς. Furthermore, several inscriptions mention a region Mocadene: the city of Temenothyrae calls itself λαμπροτάτη μητρόπολις τῆς Μοκαδηνῆς,⁴⁶ and on a milestone from Silandus, erected between 299 and 302, this city bears the title ἡ λαμπροτάτη Σιλανδέων πόλις, μητρόπολις τῆς Μοκαδηνῆς.⁴⁷ Finally, the village Thermae Theseos, not far from Silandus, is mentioned in 140/141 as κώμη τῆς Μοκαδηνῆς, and an unpublished text from Maeonia mentions Μοκαδηνή as well as the Μοκαδηνοί.⁴⁸ J. Keil was unsure what relationship there was between the *demos* of the Moccadeni and the region Mocadene.⁴⁹ On the other hand, D. Magie was positive in assuming that the tribe and the region were closely connected.⁵⁰ He was undoubtedly right in this. He emphasised that Ptolemy's words παρὰ τὴν Βιθυνίαν, which point to a territory rather too far north for the Moccadeni, are not altogether accurate.⁵¹ Now, the present inscription at least makes clear that the territory of the Moccadeni must have extended further north than the region circumscribed by the communities of Temenothyrae, Silandus and Thermae Theseos.

³⁷ Buresch, 157-8; O. Cuntz, *Agrippa und Augustus* (1890), 491; H. Swoboda, *Griechische Staatsaltertümer I*³ (1913), 200; Büchner, *RE* 'Kadoi', 1477; E. Bikerman, *Institutions des Séleucides* (1938), 81. Jones, *Cities*, 40; 82; 386, n. 26; Magie, 1001; L. Robert, *Villes*, 86, n. 2: 'Dans la phrase *Macedones Cadieni, Loreni, Philadelphini*, le mot *Macedones* ne qualifie que les habitants de Kadoi, et non les trois peuples...' (against D. Detlefsen, *Die formulae* [n. 22], 92-3); L. Robert, *Charisterion A. K. Orlandos I* (1965), 330-1, with n. 30.

³⁸ The eight ethnics mentioned in Pliny's selection of names occupy in the present inscription the following places within the total of 26 given for the district of Sardis: 1. 5. 6. 9. 10. 20. 21. 24. Between 20 and 21 the *Tripolitani iudem et Antonopolitae* are missing, whom Pliny has in the sixth position. They appear, however, in the present inscription with the ethnics of the district of Apamea (col. II 26-7). See below, pp. 83 f.

³⁹ For Tiberiopolis see F. Imhoof-Blumer, *Kleinasiatische Münzen I* (1901), 299 f., and below, n. 44.

⁴⁰ Buresch, 142-3. W. Ruge, *RE* 'Phrygia', 794-5; 854. L. Robert, *Villes*, 95, n. 2; 178.

⁴¹ Lebas-Waddington, *Inscriptions grecques et*

latines recueillies en Asie Mineure, p. 259-61, comm. to no. 1011.

⁴² Buresch, 142, following Hamilton. Cf. W. Ruge, *RE* 'Phrygia', 813.

⁴³ Buresch, 152-3 (cf. also 147); L. Robert, *Villes*, 95, n. 2; *Gnomon* 31 (1959), 19, n. 5.

⁴⁴ W. Ruge, *RE* 'Tiberiopolis', 786-8, reviewing the sites which ought to be considered in any attempt to locate Tiberiopolis. *Bull. épigr.* 1965, 386: L. Robert thinks that Tiberiopolis should be located at Tavsanli.

⁴⁵ F. Imhoof-Blumer, *Kleinasiatische Münzen I* (1901), 202.

⁴⁶ *IGR* 4. 618.

⁴⁷ Keil-Premmerstein 1, 83 f., no. 182 (*IGR* 4. 1330). For the site of Silandus at Kara Selendi, about 4 km west of Selendi, see most recently P. Herrmann, *Denkschr. Akad. Wien* 80 (1962), 17-18, and the map p. 3.

⁴⁸ Keil-Premmerstein 2, 122, n. 1 (*IGR* 4. 1377); L. Robert, *REA* 62 (1960), 282; P. Herrmann-K. Polatkan, *Sb. Akad. Wien* 265. i (1969), 39, n. 60.

⁴⁹ *RE* 'Mokadene', 2513; 'Mokadenoï', 2515.

⁵⁰ Magie, 1022, n. 18.

⁵¹ Magie, l.c. Cf. Keil-Premmerstein 1, p. 84: '... da Ptolemaios' Angabe bei der Unsicherheit der Abgrenzung Phrygiens ... geringen Wert besitzt.'

5. Καδυηεῖς. The city is also mentioned by Pliny, l.c., as being a member of the jurisdiction of Sardis. Its site in close proximity to Gediz is firmly established.⁵² It is, on the other hand, only due to a misunderstanding of Pliny's text that it is generally assumed that there had once been a settlement of Macedonian soldiers there (above, p. 72). The name of the city is always Κάδοι, without any addition, occurring for instance (to quote a Hellenistic author) in Polybius 33. 12. 2. The ethnic on the coins which the city struck from the time of Claudius onwards, is, in the usual form of the genitive plural, Καδοηνῶν.

6. Λορηναῖοι οἱ νῦν λεγόμενοι Φλαουιοπολεῖται. Pliny, l.c., mentions within the assize of Sardis the *Loreni* immediately after the *Cadieni*. This is in accordance with the sequence of ethnics in the present inscription.⁵³ Cicero seems to be the first witness for the community: 'tum denique quid Tmolitae et Loreni'⁵⁴ de L. Flacco existiment audiemus' (*pro Flacco* 5). A gravestone of 36/37 was set up jointly by 'Ο δῆμος ὁ 'Ιουλιέων Γορδηνῶν καὶ ὁ Λορην(ῶ)ν (ΛΟΡΗΝΟΝ *lapis*) δῆμος, another by 'Ο δῆμος. . . ὁ 'Ιουλιέων Γορδηνῶν καὶ ὁ [Λ]ορη[η]νῶν δῆμος.⁵⁵ Buresch concluded from this evidence that both communities were for a time united by way of *sympolitēia*, like Parasa and Aphrodisias in Caria.⁵⁶ There can be no doubt that the Λορηναῖοι of our inscription are identical with Pliny's *Loreni*: in both cases they are mentioned immediately after Cadoi and immediately before Julia Gordus. The correct form of the ethnic is however Λορηνοί. A new feature is the new name Flaviopolis, obviously obtained from one of the Flavian Emperors. That it is missing in Pliny is another indication that Pliny's description reflects the situation of earlier times, in fact that of the Augustan period. It seems as if the close ties with Julia Gordus were dissolved in connection with events which culminated in the adoption of a new dynastic name.

The site of Lora is not known but was in any event somewhere in the vicinity of Julia Gordus (Gördes). Buresch conjectured the ancient site at Evciler, northeast of Ogulduruk (to-day Olduk), or this latter site itself, two hours north of Gördes.⁵⁷ L. Robert believes that Julia Gordus and Lora shared the basin of the Gördes Çay.⁵⁸ He is sceptical about locating the *Loreni* in the region of Borlu, because he sees this region as part of the territory of Saittae.⁵⁹ P. Herrmann was able, thanks to a new inscription, to exclude at least Kihra (to-day Çiçekli) which is attested now as being a κατοικία of the Ὑσσηνοί⁶⁰ and which belonged to Julia Gordus, from which it is at a distance of about 20 km south-south-east. The suggestion of Jones⁶¹ that the *Loreni* were eventually absorbed by Julia Gordus seems to be ruled out by the fact that, in the Flavian period, they had the new name Flaviopolis.

7. 'Ιουλιεῖς Γορδηνοί. Julia Gordus, which was identified with Gördes by A. Wagener, has supplied several inscriptions.⁶² In the third century B.C. there had been at Gördes a Seleucid, since the early second century an Attalid military stronghold.⁶³ Two inscriptions, one of the first century B.C., the other of the first century A.D., both mentioning a δῆμος, but without giving its name, seem to prove that by then the settlement had been transformed into a city.⁶⁴ Together with the name of the city the δῆμος ὁ 'Ιουλιέων Γορδηνῶν is attested for the first time in A.D. 36/37,⁶⁵ where, however, the first part of the name points to the fact that it had been given by one of the Julian Emperors. The coins also show the ethnic to be 'Ιουλιεῖς Γορδηνοί.⁶⁶

8. 'Ιουλιεῖς οἱ τάχειον λεγόμενοι Μαιβωζανοί. 'The Julians who were formerly⁶⁷ called Maebozani.' The ethnic, occurring here in the same unusual form as for Julia Gordus ('Ιουλιεῖς instead of 'Ιουλιεῖς), shows that the *Maebozani* obtained the name Julia from one of the Julian Emperors. It may well be that at the same time their community was elevated to a city. The older name is, to the best of my knowledge, nowhere else attested. It has a transparent Iranian colour and has to be connected with the well known Iranian personal name Μαιβουζάνης, which is found, for instance, as the name

⁵² Buresch, 155 f.; W. Ruge, *RE* 'Phrygia', 794; 833.

⁵³ *Loreni* is missing in several manuscripts of Pliny and therefore in several editions. See the edition by C. Mayhoff, vol. 1, p. 407, with its *apparatus criticus*.

⁵⁴ The ethnic was changed into *Dorylenses* by Th. Mommsen. Against this Jones, *Cities* 390, n. 48; L. Robert, *Anatolia* 3 (1958), 109, n. 20 (*Op. min. sel.* 1, 408, n. 29); *Villes*², 272, n. 4.

⁵⁵ A. Wagener, *Inscriptions grecques recueillies en Asie Mineure* (1859), 27, n. viii; P. Paris, *BCH* 8 (1884), 381, no. 1. Cf. Buresch, 140; 185 n.

⁵⁶ Buresch, 185 n., followed by L. Robert, *Villes*, 58; P. Herrmann, *Anz. Akad. Wien*, 1970, 100.

⁵⁷ Buresch, 140; 185 n. Cf. Keil-Premmerstein 1, p. 68.

⁵⁸ *Anatolia* 3 (1958), 132 with n. 117 (*Op. min. sel.* 1, 431).

⁵⁹ *Anatolia* 3 (1958), 135 with n. 125 (*Op. min. sel.* 1, 434).

⁶⁰ *Anz. Akad. Wien* 1970, 100-3.

⁶¹ *Cities*, 81.

⁶² See, above all, P. Herrmann, 'Zur Geschichte der Stadt Julia Gordos in Lydien', *Anz. Akad. Wien* 1970, 92-103, supplemented by *Anz. Akad. Wien* 1974, 439-44.

⁶³ Herrmann, o.c., 94 f., nos. 1-2.

⁶⁴ Herrmann, o.c., 99, n. 24.

⁶⁵ Above, n. 55. Cf. J. and L. Robert, *Hellenica* 6 (1948), 92, no. 35. Other testimonies in *Hellenica* 7 (1949), 214, n. 9. For Γορδηνός and Γορδηνοί alone see Herrmann, o.c. (n. 62) 99, n. 24.

⁶⁶ L. Robert, *Hellenica* 7 (1949), 249, with the testimonies in n. 9.

⁶⁷ For τάχειον in this sense see Ad. Wilhelm, *Hermes* 63 (1928), 226-8; L. Robert, *Hellenica* 11-12 (1960), 16-20.

of a *prytanis* in Comana.⁶⁸ For this reason it is much more than probable that the community originated from a Persian settlement, perhaps from a military colony, which were numerous in Lydia.⁶⁹ Since the city is mentioned between Julia Gordus and Daldis, it was probably located somewhere in between them, that is to say at the Kum Çay (Hyllus) or in its vicinity.

9. Φλαουιοκαίσαρες Δαλδιανός. Buresch, with the aid of coins, located Daldis near Narlı (to-day Nardı). That was strongly corroborated by a milestone published in Keil-Premmerstein 1, 67, no. 143.⁷⁰ The actual site of Daldis is, as P. Herrmann kindly informs me, somewhat south-east of Nardı on a hill. Under Vespasian the city added *Flaviopolis* or *Flavia Caesarea* to its name, and during the Flavian period⁷¹ it minted coins with either name, Φλαβιοπολιτῶν Δαλδιανῶν and Φλαβ(ίων) Καίσαρ(έων) Δαλδι(ανῶν).⁷²

10. Φλαουιοκαίσαρες. Unknown.

11. Χαρακηνοί. The name is derived from χάραξ, which indicates originally a fortified place outside a city and then develops on many such spots into a toponym. None of the many known communities with the name Charax⁷³ can be connected with the ethnic mentioned here. Peter Herrmann, however, informs me by letter⁷⁴ that Χαρακιπολίται occurs in an inscription of the second century A.D. which he found in 1973 in Karayakup. Karayakup lies at a distance of about 7 km north of Daldis at the northern bank of the Görde Çay (Kum Çay) or Phrygius. There are ancient remains on a hill close to the river. At a distance of only about 2 km northwest there is another ancient site at Çağlayan (Kızıllar), where Herrmann also found inscriptions. Both sites are ideally situated to fit in where, according to the order of ethnics in our inscription, we would have to look for the Χαρακηνοί. Herrmann's suggestion therefore seems plausible that the Χαρακηνοί, once they had received the privileges of a city, called themselves Χαρακιπολίται. In this case they have to be located where Characipolis was.

12. Ἀπολλωνιαχαρακεῖται. The ethnic, hitherto unknown, is formed improperly. Like Χαρακηνοί (no. 11) it is derived from Charax. Χαρακηνοί and Χαρακεῖται in fact do occur elsewhere side by side, for instance *IGLS* 740.⁷⁵

13. Λακιμηνοί. Unknown.

14. Μουρήνιοι. It can hardly be doubted that this ethnic is derived from the Roman *cognomen* Murena, and that the settlement for which it is evidence goes back to L. Licinius Murena, the *legatus* of Sulla during the First Mithridatic War who after the war stayed in Asia Minor as governor of Asia. That he was the founder of the community is the more likely since he is known to have given his name to another foundation, Licinia, located 'at the gate to Mithridates' kingdom'.⁷⁶

15. Ούθιμηνοί. Unknown.

16. Σ[ε]ττηνοί. The ethnic represents one of the numerous forms in which the ethnic of Saittae happens to appear. The city was identified, from the similarity of its modern name, with Sidas Kale by W. J. Hamilton. Cf. Keil-Premmerstein 2, 108-15; L. Robert, *Anatolia* 3 (1958), 123-9; 134-6 (*Op. min. sel.* 1, 422-8; 433-5); P. Herrmann and K. Polatkan, *Anz. Akad. Wien* 1961, 119-24; P. Herrmann, *Denk. Akad. Wien* 80 (1962), 12-17 (with map p. 3 and illustration of the site, pl. 1, 2); L. Robert, *REG* 79 (1966), 756-8. The different forms of the name of the city and of its ethnic are collected by L. Robert, *Anatolia* 3, 123-4, n. 76 (1, 422-3, n. 76). Nearly all the coins show the ethnic as Σαίττηνός; besides that, there occur Σεττηνός, as in the present inscription (*IG* xiv 738 and occasionally on coins), Σεπτηνός, Σεττηνός. Σέτται for the name of the city occurs also.

17. Μυ . . . δονείς and 18. Μο . . . ται. I have been unable to restore these ethnics. It is possible that both communities have to be located in the vicinity of Philadelphia, since the following ethnic is that of Philadelphia. If so, one of them may have produced the inscription Keil-Premmerstein 1, 29 f., no. 43, dated September 23, A.D. 40. In that case, there was by this time only a κατοικία there (l. 7), dependent on Philadelphia (l.c., p. 29). It is a striking phenomenon that the people honoured by this inscription (father, two sons, one daughter) have the names of Marcus Antonius, or Antonia Prima. They are, therefore, Roman citizens who received citizenship from the triumvir Marcus Antonius. See L. Robert, *Laodicée du Lycos. Le Nymphée* (1969), 307-9. It is, on the other hand, by no means certain that these communities should be located in the vicinity of Philadelphia. Their

⁶⁸ Testimonies collected by L. Robert, *Noms indigènes dans l'Asie Mineure gréco-romaine* 1 (1963), 516, n. 4.

⁶⁹ Cf. J. Keil, *RE* 'Lydia', 2178; L. Robert, *Hellenica* 6 (1948), 19-20, cf. 6.

⁷⁰ Buresch, 192. Cf. Keil-Premmerstein 1, pp. 64-8.

⁷¹ F. Imhoof-Blumer, *Lydische Stadtmünzen* (1897), 60 f.

⁷² F. Imhoof-Blumer, l.c.; L. Robert, *Hellenica* 2 (1946), 78, n. 3; L. and J. Robert, *La Carie* 2 (1954), 351, n. 6; L. Robert, *Monnaies grecques* (1967), 78.

⁷³ Cf. *RE* 'Charax' (1-18); *RE* Suppl. 1, 'Charax', (16a); L. Robert, *Gnomon* 42 (1970), 599, n. 12.

⁷⁴ Dated October 21, 1973, supplemented by oral communications.

⁷⁵ Cf. *Bull. épigr.* 1946-7, 198, no. 4.

⁷⁶ Memnon, *FGrHist* 434, F 26, 1: και ἐπὶ ταῖς εἰσβολαῖς τῆς Μιθριδάτου βασιλείας κτίζει πόλιν Λικίνειαν (ἐκινείαν mss., emend. Th. Reinach, *REG* 1 (1888), 333-4). Cf. F. Münzer, *RE* 'Licinius', 446; Magie, 1124, n. 37.

ethnics precede that of Philadelphia but follow that of Saittae which is at a considerable distance from Philadelphia.

19. Φιλadelphείς. On Philadelphia (Alaşehir) see Keil-Premmerstein 1, 24-43; 3, 15-24. J. Keil, *RE* 'Philadelphiea,' 2091-3; Magie, 982-3. The city had been founded by Attalos II Philadelphos. It was surrounded by several military settlements (κατοικίαι). The ethnic is most often Φιλadelphεύς, as in the present inscription, but Φιλadelphηνός occurs also several times, cf. Buresch, 108; L. Robert, 'Études déliennes,' *BCH Suppl.* 1 (1973), 437-8, and this underlies the Latin form *Philadelphini* used by Pliny, *NH* 5. 111. Pliny attests that the city was a member of the Sardinian assize. Later it became itself the principal city of a new assize, as is shown by Aelius Aristides, *Or.* 50. 96; 98 (II, p. 440 Keil).⁷⁷ From Tiberius to Claudius the city was called 'Neocaesarea Philadelphiea.'⁷⁸ Under Vespasian, on the other hand, its name was 'Flavia Philadelphiea'. It persisted until the end of Domitian's reign and occurred again under the Severi.⁷⁹ The omission of 'Flavia' here, where three other cities have names derived from one of the Flavians (Lora, Daldis, Flaviocaesarea), is striking.

20. Μαίονες. Maconia, located at Menye, which preserves the old name, was a late-Hellenistic stronghold. By the time of Augustus it had become a city.⁸⁰ Pliny, *NH* 5. 111, lists it as one of the members of the Sardinian assize. Pliny also states that Maconia's territory extended as far as the river Cogamus (Keil-Premmerstein 2, 79). The ethnic Μαίον[ες] has been restored in accordance with the form Μαίονων attested by the coins of the city.

21. Ἀπολλωνιερεῖται. This city is also mentioned by Pliny, l.c., as belonging to the *conventus* of Sardis. As the ethnic clearly indicates, the city developed out of a sanctuary of Apollo. It minted coins from the time of Tiberius, with the legend Ἀπολλωνιερεῖτων.⁸¹ As for its site, Buresch conjectured Boz Alan, northeast of Buldan, but did not exclude Aetos (today Aydoğan) which is northeast of Boz Alan. On the other hand, Keil-Premmerstein (3, 52-3) pointed out that there are several other ancient sites in this region, one of which could equally well be Apollonoshieron, see L. Robert, *Hellenica* 1 (1940), 150-1. In the time of Augustus, Tripolis, which is mentioned by Pliny, l.c., after Philadelphia and Maconia, but before Apollonoshieron, was a member of the assize of Sardis. In our present inscription it appears within that of Apamea (below, p. 83). This fact may perhaps suggest that Apollonoshieron was indeed located more to the north, further from Tripolis than Buresch thought. But this is far from certain.

22. [Τα]βαλείς. Buresch opposed the identification of Tabala with Davala on the southern bank of the Hermus, because he could not find any ancient remains there. He proposed for Tabala the site of the citadel Burgaz Kale, at a distance of some km on the northern bank of the river.⁸² This has been proved correct by P. Herrmann who has found a decree by the *gerusia* of Tabala (ἡ Ταβαλέων γερουσία), not, however, at the citadel itself, but in the village Burgaz, somewhat to the north.⁸³ The ethnic has the same form as here on the coins; ⁸⁴ the female form Ταβαλίς occurs in an inscription from Sardis.⁸⁵

23. Ταβηνοί. The ethnic seems to require as the name of the city either Τάβα or (τὰ) Τάβα. The Carian city Tabae⁸⁶ cannot be meant here. But such a name, so far as etymology is involved, is not foreign to Lydia either.⁸⁷ Stephanus, in fact, mentions a Tabae in Lydia. It is conceivable that this is only due to a misunderstanding of his source, which may have spoken of the Lydian character of Tabae in Caria.⁸⁸ An inscription makes the question even more difficult. It was found on the upper course of the Cogamus in Lydia, close to Dawasli or Bahadırlı, and it has already been discussed several times. Buresch examined it at the spot. For the first three lines he gives the following reading: [Ἔ]τους . . . τῆς Καίσαρος [ν]ικ[η]ς μη(νός) Π[α]νήμου δ οἱ κά[το]ικ[ο]ι οἱ ἐν Ἄβοις ἐτίμησαν. Accordingly he names the site (τὰ) Ἄβα and conjectures as its ethnic Ἄβηνοί.⁸⁹ Before Buresch it

⁷⁷ Cf. Buresch, 103, n. Is. Lévy, *REG* 42 (1899), 278, n. 3, pointed out that for this change the year A.D. 115 should be considered a *terminus post quem*, since Philadelphia obviously was not yet the head of an assize-district by the time of the case in Sardis described in Philostratus, *Vit. Soph.*, ii, p. 37 Kayser. It is, however, not really established that the court in question, consisting of 100 judges, was in fact a Roman court. Cp. D. Nörr, *Imperium und Polis in der hohen Prinzipatszeit*² (1969), 32-3, n. 123; L. Robert, *Hellenica* 7 (1949), 229-31. Philadelphia as a centre of a *conventus* is also attested in *IGR* 4. 1638.

⁷⁸ Cp. Buresch, 217; F. Imhoof-Blumer, *Kleinasiatische Münzen* 2, 522. Magie, 982, n. 17; 1358-9.

⁷⁹ L. Robert, *Monnaies grecques* (1967), 73-8.

⁸⁰ P. Herrmann, *Denk. Akad. Wien* 80, 9. Cf. in general Buresch, 194-5; Keil-Premmerstein 2, 78-91; L. Robert, *Hellenica* 6 (1948), 105-13; P. Herrmann,

K. Polatkan, *Anz. Akad. Wien* 1961, 124-7; P. Herrmann, *Denk. Akad. Wien* 80, 4-12, and *Sb. Akad. Wien* 265 (1969), 36, no. 2.

⁸¹ Cp. Imhoof-Blumer, *Lydische Stadtmünzen* (1897), 43; *Sammlung v. Aulock*, no. 2906-8.

⁸² Buresch, 186. Cf. also Keil-Premmerstein 2, 119-21. The name of the city is derived from Tabae, the Carian word for rock. See the bibliography cited in L. and J. Robert, *La Carie* 2 (1954), 82, n. 7.

⁸³ *Denk. Akad. Wien* 80, 20, no. 15 and the illustration of the site, pl. v.

⁸⁴ *Sammlung v. Aulock*, no. 8204.

⁸⁵ *Inscr. Sardis* 165. L. and J. Robert, *La Carie* 2 (1954), 82, n. 8.

⁸⁶ Robert, o.c. (n. 85), 80-152.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.* 82-3.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.* 83.

⁸⁹ Buresch, 208-11; cf. 122-4, no. 62 (*IGR* 4. 1653).

was thought that the gap preceding ΑΒΟΙΣ was larger.⁹⁰ L. and J. Robert thought of [οἱ ἐν Τ]άβοις and they pointed out that the ancient site, where the stone had been found, extended to a village Davasli. Davasli, they argued, could possibly have preserved the old name Τάβοι, just as the name of the Carian Tabae continues to be present in the modern names Tavas and Davas.⁹¹ It has to be recorded, however, that Anderson, *JHS* 18 (1898), 86, with facsimile, as well as Keil-Premmerstein (3, 17), read ΑΒΟΙΣ, not ΑΒΟΙΣ. The latter affirm that their reading of the Lambda is 'vollständig gesichert'. Finally, P. Herrmann informs me that a village Davasli does not exist on the Turkish map of the region. With all this, the suggestion becomes more than doubtful whether on the site, where the inscription had been found, a Lydian community Tabae (rather than Tabae) should be located, and that it is from there that the ethnic Τάβηνοί in the present inscription comes. It seems therefore safer to confess a *non liquet*.

P. Herrmann was kind enough to remind me of a dedication from Kavakli at the Hermus, north of Kula and not far from Tabala, which he published earlier, *Denk. Akad. Wien* 80 (1962), 54, no. 68. The inscription is dedicated to a certain θεῶ Τ[.]βηνη. Herrmann thinks it possible that, given the fact that the surface of the limestone was always bad there was, between Tau and Beta, the space for one letter uninscribed. If so, the restoration Τ[α]βηνη is a good possibility. This may well be so, but it does not help to locate the Τάβηνοί, since names of deities tend to migrate, so that they could receive dedications in places far from their place of origin.

23a. Καί[σφαίς]? If this is really to be restored as an ethnic, and if the ethnic has been correctly restored, the city in question cannot be Caesarea, formerly Tralles, since it belonged to the Ephesian *conventus*. The Καίσαρῆς Τροκετηνοί cannot be meant either. They dwelt around Cassaba, but they were never more than a village, see L. Robert, *Hellenica* 7 (1949), 213; F. Gschnitzer and J. Keil, *Anz. Akad. Wien* 1956, 221. The ethnic may come from an unknown city, as is the case with the Φλαουιοκαίσαρῆς (above, no. 10).

24. Μυσσημολεῖται. They are attested for the Sardian assize by Pliny, *NH* 5. 111, where they follow the *Apollonhieritae*. The assumption, based on evidence from the *Notitia Dignitatum*, that Mysotimolus and Blaundus were neighbouring cities, although contested by Jones,⁹² seems corroborated by the fact that in the present inscription their ethnics follow each other. Furthermore, if the Τάβηνοί (above, no. 23) are really to be located where Buresch thought Aba was, then Mysotimolus should in fact have been somewhere between the upper course of the Cogamus and Blaundus (see below, no. 25), that is to say, roughly in the area in which Buresch wanted to locate the city.

25. [Βλα]συνδηνοί. For Blaundus, which was at the beginning a military colony of Macedonians, settled there by the Seleucids, see mainly Keil-Premmerstein 2, 144-50 and 3, 51. Its location at Sülümenli can be regarded as certain.⁹³ The ethnic is usually, in inscriptions and on coins, Βλαυνδεῖς. Only during the Flavian period is there, on the coins, an additional *omikron* (as it is here): Βλαουνδέων.⁹⁴ The different form Βλα(ο)συνδηνός does not create any difficulties,⁹⁵ and is already attested by a Βλαουνδηνή in *MAMA* 4. 275 of 177/178, where, a century after the Flavians, the spelling with *omikron* occurs once again.

26. [Κα]βληνεῖς. A dedication of 130/131 for Hadrian, found in Elmacık, south of Uşak, was made ἐν τῇ Καυαληνῶν κατοικίᾳ (Lebas-Waddington, 1676). Its significance was recognized by Buresch, who used this evidence to locate the city of Cabala there, in the extreme east of Maeonia, close to the Phrygian border.⁹⁶ Together with Cadoi (above, no. 5) Cabala was the easternmost of all cities which in the present inscription are listed as members of the *conventus* of Sardis. Since the order of ethnics, proceeding from Apollonshieron to Tabae(i), Mysotimolus and Blaundus, points exactly to this location of Cabala, the restoration of the initial letters of the ethnic can be regarded as correct. It follows from that that the community, which calls itself a κατοικία under Hadrian (and which, apparently for this reason, was thought to be dependent on Temenothyrae by Buresch, pp. 166-7), must have had the privileges of a city in the Flavian period.

Since the beginning of the first column is lost, the ethnic of Sardis is missing. It must have had the first place in the enumeration of all communities belonging to the assize of Sardis. The question arises how many other ethnics are missing before the preserved text begins with the Macedonians.

⁹⁰ Radet had restored [οἱ ἐν] Κ[αλλιστ]άβοις.

⁹¹ L. and J. Robert, o.c. (n. 85), 83, n. 3.

⁹² Buresch, 201; 204: between Güllü and Güney. Keil-Premmerstein 3, 48-51: in the highlands of Takmak, perhaps (following Ramsay) Beyshehir, now Çirpicalar (cp. Buresch, 201 and the location of the community at his map, south of Güre). J. Keil, *RE* 'Lydia', 2194-5; idem, *RE* 'Mysotimolus', 1194; L. Robert, *Monnaies grecques* (1967), 101. Against: Jones, *Cities*, 80-1, with n. 87.

⁹³ Keil-Premmerstein 2, 144; W. Ruge, *RE* 'Phrygia', 821.

⁹⁴ F. Imhoof-Blumer, *Lydische Stadtmünzen* (1897), 49.

⁹⁵ Cp. Buresch 127: '... das in W. Kleinasien beliebte Ethnikon auf -ηνός, welches neben dem auf -εύς hergeht'.

⁹⁶ Buresch, 126-7. Cf. L. and J. Robert, *La Carie* 2, (1954), 76, n. 8.

Caution is the more necessary, since the large number of hitherto unknown cities is itself a clear warning for any calculation. It can, however, be said with some confidence that apart from Sardis not many cities seem to be missing, and hardly any important city. The confidence of this statement results from the fact that in Pliny, who gives the names of those eight communities of this *conventus* which he thought were the most important ones, the Macedonians immediately follow after Sardis. This is significant, since he enumerates all eight cities in the same order as the present inscription.

Tmolus, certainly situated close to Sardis, seems to be missing.⁹⁷ The absence of the three neighbouring towns of Temenothyrae (in the region of Aktaş and Uşak),⁹⁸ Bagis (close to Güre)⁹⁹ and Silandus¹⁰⁰ would be striking, were it not that the mention of the *Mocademi* explains this absence well enough: the three communities were not yet, by the time of our inscription, cities in the legal sense of the word, but still members of the tribe of the *Mocademi*. In fact, it was only under Domitian that Silandus and Bagis began to mint coins; ¹⁰¹ as for Temenothyrae, its earliest coins seem to be those of Lucius Verus and of Faustina, minted during the second century, although the addition Φλαβιοπολιτῶν on coins of the second century and sometimes in inscriptions¹⁰² points to the bestowal of city rights by one of the Flavians. If so, Domitian is the most likely candidate, to judge from the analogy provided by Silandus and Bagis.

In Traianopolis which is, in the easterly direction, close to Temenothyrae,¹⁰³ Trajan obviously continued the municipal policy of his predecessor Domitian. The absence of Sala indirectly confirms the date of the present inscription, some time before Domitian's murder. Sala, whose exact location is not known,¹⁰⁴ in all probability belonged to the Sardian district and not to that of Apamea. The coinage of Sala also begins, as is the case with two cities of the *Mocademi*, under Domitian, with coins showing the portraits of the Emperor and the Empress Domitia, and in that time Sala was called Domitianopolis.¹⁰⁵

The total of members for the jurisdiction of Sardis would be, if one counts Sardis and Tmolus, 28 (or 29, see above, no. 23 a). It may in fact have been somewhat higher, if between Sardis and the Macedonians there were enumerated other cities which Pliny does not mention.

B. Miletus.

The assize of Miletus, to which, besides Miletus itself, not more than five cities belonged, must have been one of the smallest in Asia. Probably only that of Halicarnassus (below, D) was even smaller.

The six cities form a dense circle, and therefore the restoration of Priene in I 33 is obvious (see further below). It is equally certain that in I 34-35, where Heraclea on the Salbace mountains is written on the stone, in fact Heraclea ad Latmum was meant (above, p. 67 and n. 9). The old Ionian city of Myus would have been included in this *conventus*, were it not that Myus had long ago, during the first half of the second century B.C., ceased to exist, being incorporated into Miletus.¹⁰⁶ The adjacent assizes were to the north that of Ephesus, to the east and south that of Alabanda, itself joined in the south by the small *conventus* of Halicarnassus. It could have been concluded long ago that Magnesia on the Maeander was a member of the Milesian assize, from the letter of a Roman official to Miletus (above, pp. 68 f.). Since this letter was directed to all *conventus*, and since the copy destined for Miletus was given to ambassadors from Magnesia who happened to be present, it follows that by that time Magnesia must have been included in the district of Miletus. See L. Robert, *Hellenica* 7 (1949), 228. The copy of this letter found in Priene¹⁰⁷ also contains this passage concerning the ambassadors from Magnesia. It is therefore a copy of the letter directed to Miletus which in this particular detail was different from the letters sent to the other *conventus*. Since the assize-cities are instructed, by the letter itself, to send copies of the letter to their member-cities, it follows that Priene must have received its copy from Miletus and therefore must have been a member of the Milesian jurisdiction. This confirms the restoration in I 33.

⁹⁷ J. Keil, *RE* 'Tmolos', 1628 with bibliography. F. Gschnitzer-J. Keil, *Anz. Akad. Wien* 1956, 221. L. Robert, *Hellenica* 11-12 (1960), 481, n. 1. The list of communities within the jurisdiction of Sardis, drawn up by J. Keil, *RE* 'Lydia', 2194-5, has been helpful.

⁹⁸ Keil-Premmerstein 2, 129-33; 133-8; J. Keil, *RE* 'Temenothyrai', 458-9.

⁹⁹ Keil-Premmerstein 2, 124-8.

¹⁰⁰ Keil-Premmerstein 2, 121-4.

¹⁰¹ Silandus: *BMC Lydia*, 281, no. 15-17; *Sammlung v. Aulock*, no. 3173. Bagis: *BMC Lydia*, 34, no. 19 (the attribution of 30, no. 1 to Nero? is obviously wrong) with the portrait and the name of

Domitian; *Sammlung v. Aulock*, no. 2915. Coins of the third century A.D. bear the significant addition Καισαρέων Βασηνῶν, almost certainly referring back to the foundation of the city by Domitian.

¹⁰² *BMC Phrygia*, 408 f., no. 5. 6. 8. 10. 15 (Φλαβιοπολιτῶν); *Sammlung v. Aulock*, no. 4001 (Φλαβιόπολις); *IGR* 4. 620.

¹⁰³ Cp. F. Imhoof-Blumer, *Festschrift O. Benndorf* (1898), 204-7.

¹⁰⁴ Keil-Premmerstein 3, 53-4.

¹⁰⁵ *BMC Lydia*, 231, no. 27-30. *Syll. numm. Copenhagen, Lydia*, no. 436-7.

¹⁰⁶ P. Herrmann, *Ist. Mitt.* 15 (1965), 90 f.; 101 f.

¹⁰⁷ *Inschr. Priene* 106.

C. Pergamum.

Pliny, *NH* 5, 126: 'Pergamena vocatur eius tractus iurisdictionis. ad eam conveniunt Thyatireni, Mossyni, Mygdones, Bregmeni, Hierocometae, Perpereni, Tiareni, Hierolophienses, Hermocapellitae, Attalenses, Panteenses, Apollonidienses aliaque inhonora civitates.' The last four ethnics reappear in the present inscription, col. II 2-11 and therefore provide proof that the district of Pergamum is treated here.

1. Ἀπολλωνιδεῖς. They are, under the name *Apollonidienses*, ascribed to the assize of Pergamum by Pliny, l.c., where they occupy the last place among those cities which he mentions by name. Strabo, p. 625, attests that the city of Apollonis received its name in honour of the Attalid queen Apollonis, the wife of Attalus I. The site of the city is fully described in Keil-Premerstein 2, 53-4. Cf. L. Robert, *Villes*, 24-7, where the site and part of the city's wall is illustrated on plate 1, 1. Apollonis could be located west of Thyatira, between Palamut and Derköy; see the map in Keil-Premerstein 2, at the end. Since then new inscriptions from there have been published.¹⁰⁸ The fragmentary decree Keil-Premerstein 2, 53-4, no. 113, with figure 26, establishes that the city was founded, according to instructions given by Eumenes II, by one of his brothers.¹⁰⁹ There is adequate evidence for the assumption that it originated from a settlement of Macedonian soldiers.¹¹⁰ Attempts to date the foundation more closely failed when it was shown that the *cistophori* which had been used must be attributed to Aristonicus.¹¹¹ It is, however, a good possibility that Apollonis was founded after the death and perhaps on the occasion of the death of Queen Apollonis. The bestowal of her name on the city would thus have been a posthumous honour.¹¹²

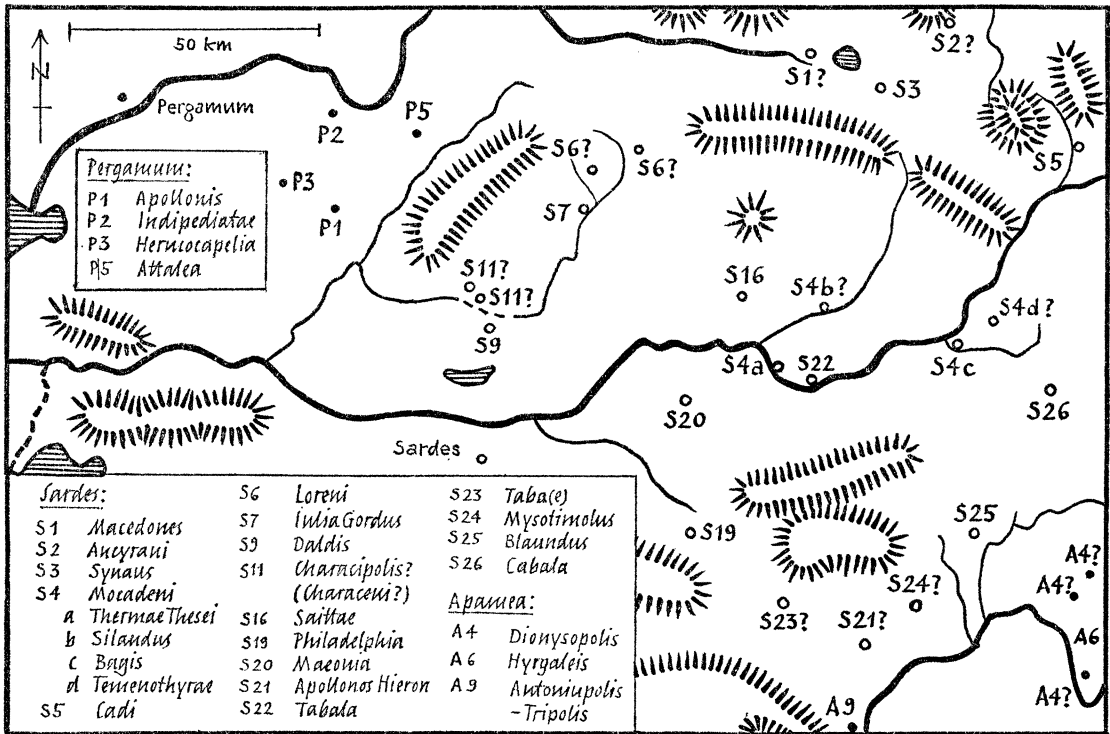


FIG. 2. THE ASSIZE-DISTRICTS OF PERGAMUM, SARDIS AND APAMEA

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2. [Ἰνδαι]διόται. F. Imhoof-Blumer recognized that a group of bronze coins from the reigns of Trajan and Hadrian, bearing the legends ΙΝΔΙ, ΙΝΔΕΙ, ΙΝΔΙ·ΠΕΔΙΑΤΩΝ and ΙΝΔΕΙ·ΣΤΡΑΤΟΝΕΙ, were minted in Stratonicea on the Caicus.¹¹³ Furthermore L. Robert quoted, from ephebic lists

¹⁰⁸ Most recently P. Herrmann, *Denk. Akad. Wien* 77 (1959), 6-7, no. 3. Cp. L. Robert, *Villes*², 246 f.

¹⁰⁹ The restorations by Keil and Premerstein have been improved by L. Robert, *Villes*, 32, n. 2.

¹¹⁰ Keil-Premerstein 2, 54 and, with further pro-

gress, L. Robert, *Villes*, 32-3.

¹¹¹ E. S. G. Robinson, *Num. Chron.* 14 (1954), 1-7.

Full discussion in L. Robert, *Villes*², 252-60.

¹¹² Cp. L. Robert, *Villes*², 260, n. 1.

¹¹³ *Lydische Stadtmünzen* (1897), 30 f.

from Pergamum, references to a Στρατονικεὺς τῶν ἀπὸ Ἰνδαιπεδίου, a [Στρ]ατον[ικεὺς ἀπὸ Ἰ]νδαιπεδίου and an [Ἰνδαι]πεδίατης, and concluded that there was once a city of the Indeipediatae, which for a time was connected, by way of *sympoliteia*, with Stratonicea, and which played in this connection the leading role, since the Indeipediatae, unlike Stratonicea, also struck coins by themselves alone. He further concluded that both communities were eventually, in 123, absorbed by Hadrian's new foundation Hadrianopolis-Stratonicea.¹¹⁴ The Indeipedium is the plain of Kırkagaç, and the existence of the independent Indeipediatae is confirmed for the Flavian period by the present inscription, which shows in addition that by then they already possessed the privileges of a city. On the other hand, the text contains no new element for answering the question whether the Indeipediatae lived as a community with city privileges, but without having a civic centre (as did the *Mocadeni*, above, p. 72, or the Ὑργαλεῖς, below, pp. 82 f.), or whether they already had an urban centre.¹¹⁵

3. Ἑρμοκαπηλεῖται. Hermocapelia is attested as a city of the assize of Pergamum by Pliny, *NH* 5. 126. Its site is now known with sufficient certainty to have been where Keil and Premerstein assumed it to be:¹¹⁶ north-west of Apollonis, south-west of Süleymanköy, halfway between this village and Büknüş.¹¹⁷ It was Imhoof-Blumer who, inspired by coins of Hermocapelia, first thought of locating the city in this area, between the Lycus and the Caicus.¹¹⁸ Two milestones of the Constantinian period helped towards a closer location, the first published by Keil and Premerstein, and the second found by P. Herrmann (n. 117). On these the city calls itself ἡ Λυδῶν Ἑρμοκαπηλεῖτῶν πό[λις] or λαμπρὰ Λυδῶν [· · ·] Ἑρμοκαπηλεῖτῶν πό[λις]. The present inscription shows that Hermocapelia was already a city under the Flavians.

4. Πανθεῶται. Neither the ethnic nor a place-name from which it could have been derived is known. On the other hand, the other ethnics preserved in the present inscription for the Pergamene assize offer at least the outlines of the region within which the *Pantheotae* should be sought, that described by Apollonis, Indeipedium, Hermocapelia and Attaleia. Given these names, it is more than a coincidence that Pliny, *NH* 5. 126 mentions within the Pergamene assize the *Panteenses*, after Hermocapelia and Attalea but before Apollonis. It was this fact which inspired L. Robert to the hypothesis that the *Panteenses* must have been somewhere in the neighbourhood of these cities. The present inscription suggests the same for the *Pantheotae*. There can be no doubt, therefore, that they are identical with Pliny's *Panteenses* (or *Pandeenses*), and that Pliny (or his source, the Augustan list of cities of Asia) gave a Latin form of the Greek ethnic, as he did for Apollonis (above, no. 1) and for Attalea (below, no. 5). For the site of the community the region around Apollonis, Indeipedium, Hermocapelia and Attalea is the most likely, and in all probability a site north of Apollonis.

L. Robert, however, has suggested that the *Panteenses* dwelt south or southwest of Apollonis, between that city and Magnesia ad Sipylum, since he argued for a connection of the *Panteenses* with the sanctuary of Apollon ἐν Πάνδοις, attested in the famous inscription *OGI* 229 from about 242 B.C. By that time the sanctuary must have belonged to the city of Magnesia and must have been part of its territory.¹¹⁹ Robert pointed out in addition that in this area there are numerous sites populated in antiquity, described partly by Buresch, partly by Keil and von Premerstein.¹²⁰ It has to be admitted that the *Panteenses* should be located in this area, that is on the territory of Magnesia, if they are really to be connected with the place-name ἐν Πάνδοις. There is no difficulty in their membership of the assize of Pergamum, since Hieracome-Hierocaesarea, south of Apollonis, was also included in it, and since the border with the *conventus* of Smyrna apparently ran between Hierocaesarea and Hyrcanis.¹²¹ On the other hand, it seems as if Pliny, l.c., as well as our present inscription, rather points to a location north of Apollonis for the *Panteenses-Pantheotae*. This is strongly corroborated by the Greek form of their ethnic, known only now. The form Πανθεῶται hints at a Pantheon, a sanctuary of all the gods, Πάνθεον, and not to a sanctuary of Apollo or any other god. This becomes even more significant from the fact that Pergamum, from the early third century B.C. onwards, was always the most important centre for the cult of 'all gods'. The Attalid kings, and in particular Eumenes II, maintained the worship of the totality of gods.¹²² A Hellenistic settlement around a sanctuary of πάντες θεοί, situated in the area delineated above and on Attalid territory, was, therefore, in all probability, the nucleus of the city. Its inhabitants called themselves after that sanctuary, and so eventually the ethnic was formed.

5. Ἀτταλεῖται. Pliny, *NH* 5. 126, mentions Attalea as one of the more conspicuous cities of the

¹¹⁴ *Villes*, 43-82; cf. *Villes*², 272-8, and 263-4, n. 1.

¹¹⁵ L. Robert, *Villes*, 69.

¹¹⁶ Keil-Premerstein 2, 57-8, and 59, no. 124. Cf. the map at the end of the volume.

¹¹⁷ P. Herrmann, *Denk. Akad. Wien* 77 (1959), 1-4, and no. 1. Cf. the illustration of the site, pl. 1, 1-2.

¹¹⁸ *Lydische Stadtmünzen* (1897), 75.

¹¹⁹ *OGI* 229, 60 f.; 84 f.; L. Robert, *Villes*, 83-92, esp. 86 f.; Jones, *Cities*, 85; cf. *Villes*², 278-9.

¹²⁰ L. Robert, *Villes*, 88.

¹²¹ *ibid.* 86.

¹²² K. Ziegler, *RE* 'Pantheon', 708-9; Chr. Habicht, *Altortümer von Pergamon* viii, 3, pp. 12-13.

Pergamene assize. Its approximate site was established by G. Radet at Gürdük Kale, north-east of Thyatira.¹²³ The more exact location at Selcikli, somewhat north of Gürdük Kale, is due to the research done by C. Schuchhardt and by Keil and Premerstein.¹²⁴ The form of the ethnic is the usual one; Pliny, instead, has *Attalenses*, just as he reproduces *Pantheotae* by *Panteenses*.

6. Χεῖροι and 7. Μιτυληναῖοι. The present inscription disproves the suggestions of Jones, who attributed Chius to the *conventus* of Smyrna (*Cities*, 79) and Mytilene to that of Adramytteum (85). On the other hand, it confirms Robert's suggestion that Mytilene was a member of the assize of Pergamum.¹²⁵ It leaves open, however, the question whether, as Robert thought, Methymna and Eresus also belonged to that same assize. If they did, one would expect to find them listed together with Mytilene, rather than in the lost part of the beginning of the second column. It is therefore, strange as it might appear, still possible that both cities of the island of Lesbos were attributed to a *conventus* other than that of Mytilene, in that case probably to Adramytteum. Natural or traditional boundaries were not much respected by the Romans when they organized the assizes, as Strabo says in the passage discussed above p. 68.

8. Καλληνεῖς. Unknown.

Since the beginning of the second column is lost, the list is very incomplete for the assize of Pergamum.¹²⁶ Not more than eight ethnics are preserved. Nine others are mentioned by Pliny (above, p. 78), namely Pergamum itself, Thyatira, the Mossyni, Mygdones, Bregmeni, Hieracome (which was, by the time of our inscription, Hierocaesarea),¹²⁷ Perperene, Tiarae¹²⁸ and Hierolophus. L. Robert showed that Germe was part of this *conventus*,¹²⁹ and he also made a good case for Acrasus.¹³⁰ Furthermore, Nacrasus was certainly, and Attaus probably, a member of the assize of Pergamum.¹³¹ On the other hand, Atarneus, on the coast in the immediate neighbourhood of Pergamum, had ceased to be a city long ago, under Augustus at the latest.¹³² Elaea and Pitane, however, were undoubtedly attributed to this *conventus*,¹³³ which therefore had at least 23 cities and probably others, 'inhonora civitates'.

D. Halicarnassus.

The assize of Halicarnassus was probably the smallest of all. L. Robert had already concluded, even before it was attested, that Halicarnassus must have been the centre of an assize of its own (above, p. 70). Besides Halicarnassus itself, the other members, as it now appears, were Myndus, Bargylia and Cos.¹³⁴ It is not surprising to find them attributed to Halicarnassus, but it is surprising that other cities from the neighbourhood are missing and must therefore have been members of another district.

E. Apamea.

Pliny, *NH* 5. 106: 'Tertius (sc. *conventus*) Apameam vadit, ante appellatam Celaena, deinde Ciboton . . . ex hoc conventu deceat nominare Metropolitae, Dionysopolitae, Euphorbenos, Acmonenses, Peltenos, Silbianos. reliqui ignobiles VIII'. Like Miletus (I 30) and Halicarnassus (II 13) the leading city of the *conventus* opens the list; unlike the others, its ethnic is given in the genitive case. 21 other ethnics are given and the list is still incomplete, since the stone is broken at the bottom. Pliny attributes, for the time of Agrippa and Augustus, a total of 16, Apamea included, to this district. He mentions by name Apamea itself and six others, not regarding the remaining cities as worth

¹²³ *BCH* (1887), 168-75. Cp. Keil-Premerstein 2, 60-1; L. Robert, *Rev. Arch.* 1943, I, 89-92; idem, *Villes*, 101.

¹²⁴ Summary in Keil-Premerstein 2, 60. Cf. the map at the end of the volume.

¹²⁵ L. Robert, *Hellenica* 7 (1949), 236-7, n. 6, showing, by the way, that Eresus, mentioned in Pliny, *NH* 5. 123, is not identical with the city on the island of Lesbos, but a Mysian town belonging to the district of Adramytteum.

¹²⁶ For the following remarks cf. Jones, *Cities*, 82-5.

¹²⁷ The older name is still attested for the time, in which, under Augustus and Agrippa, the official list of cities in Asia was drawn up (Pliny, *NH* 5. 126). The new name is attested in A.D. 17 (Tacitus, *Ann.* 2. 47; 3. 62; *Inscr. Sardis* 9. 3. *CIL* 12. 1624 = *ILS* 156); it has probably to be connected with the measures of relief, ordered by Tiberius after the great earthquake of 17. See Magie, 1019-20.

¹²⁸ L. Robert, *Villes*, 84, n. 6; idem, *Annuaire École Hautes Études* 1965-6, 398 (*Op. min. sel.* 4, 277).

¹²⁹ L. Robert, *Villes*, 171-201, and the resumed discussion *Villes*², 377-413.

¹³⁰ *Monnaies grecques* (1967), 95-6.

¹³¹ L. Robert, *Villes*², 410, n. 2. For Attaus, see also *ibid.* 390., for Nacrasus (Nakrason) P. Herrmann, *Sb. Akad. Wien* 265, I (1969), 20.

¹³² Pliny *NH* 5. 122: 'intercidere . . . Atarneae'; 37. 156: 'in Aeolide nunc Atarneo pago, quondam oppido'; Jones, *Cities*, 82, with n. 91. It is true that Strabo (13, p. 611) speaks of Atarneus as of an existing city, but there is no doubt that he is following an earlier source here, so that the testimony is not relevant for his own time. See H. von Fritze, *Die antiken Münzen Mysiens* I (1913), 103-4, and 113.

¹³³ Jones, *Cities*, 82-3. For Elaea see Pliny, *NH* 5. 126: 'abest haud procul Elaea, quam in litore diximus. Pergamena vocatur eius tractus iurisdictionis. . . .'

¹³⁴ Jones, *Cities*, 76-7, not knowing of Halicarnassus as a centre of an assize, suggested that all four cities belonged to the jurisdiction of Alabanda.

mentioning. The sequence of those mentioned by him is roughly the same as in the present inscription but not quite the same, as had been the case for the district of Sardis. Euphorbium and Dionysopolis have exchanged places,¹³⁵ and Acmonaea, holding the fifth place in Pliny, appears in the inscription only after the Silbiani who hold the seventh place in Pliny. Compare the sequence in Pliny: 5. *Acmonenses*, 6. *Pelteni*, 7. *Silbiani*, with the sequence of the inscription: 10. Πελτηνοί, 14. Σιλβιανοί, 15. Ἀκμονεῖς. More important than these changes, whatever the reasons for them may have been, is the appearance of the Ἀντωνιοπολίται, νῦν δὲ Τριπολεῖται in the assize of Apamea (no. 9). At the time of Agrippa and Augustus the city had still belonged to that of Sardis, and had been its outpost towards the south-east (above, p. 71). In the meantime, the city had been attributed to the Apamean district, whereas Apollonoshieron in the close vicinity remained within that of Sardis. The addition would bring the total, as given in Pliny for the *conventus* of Apamea, to 17 cities. At least four other cities must either have been created within this assize or attributed to it during the period between Augustus and the Flavians, in fact as many more as there were ethnics, now lost after col. II 39.

A hypothetical reconstruction of the list of members of the Apamean *dioecesis* is given by Jones (*Cities*, 69–73). The most important correction introduced by the new inscription from Ephesus is that the cities of the so-called Phrygian Pentapolis,¹³⁶ assigned to the district of Synnada by Jones (l.c. 66), in fact belonged to that of Apamea. The boundaries of that district are now somewhat better known. Inasmuch as the ethnics mentioned here can be located, it can be said that Acmonaea to the north, Tripolis to the west, the Hyrgaleis to the south and Lysias to the east were its outposts. There followed towards the north the assize of Synnada, towards the west that of Sardis, whereas Philomelium with its jurisdiction joined towards the south and east. Within the borders of the Apamean district there seem not many cities missing. One would think primarily of Bria, Bruzus, Dioclea, Leonna(ia) and Ococlea, if these already possessed the privileges of a city by the Flavian period, which is in no case certain. And there is a chance that one or the other missing city was in fact mentioned where now the gap is, after col. II 39.

1. Ἀπαμείς ἀπὸ Κιβωτοῦ. Apamea (Dinar) is firmly located. The addition which is given here to the ethnic is odd. On documents from within the city the normal ethnic is simply Ἀπαμείς,¹³⁷ as it is on its coins, and on documents emanating from nearby places, for instance from Iasos in Caria, where there are several testimonies for metics bearing the ethnic Ἀπαμείς, all of them doubtless originating from Apamea at the Maeander.¹³⁸ At a greater distance, especially outside Caria, a distinguishing element was felt necessary. In these cases there occurs usually Ἀπαμείς ἀπὸ Μαιάνδρου, for instance in a list of victors from Samos.¹³⁹ Such an addition is even attested in the Carian city of Stratonicea: in a long list of Greek cities, situated either in the mainland of Greece or in Asia Minor, Apamea in Caria is distinguished from other cities with the same name by the addition ἡ πρὸς Μαιάνδρῳ.¹⁴⁰ Wherever an ethnic is made more precise by the addition of a phrase constructed with ἀπὸ, geographical names always seem to follow: regions,¹⁴¹ place-names,¹⁴² mountains,¹⁴³ rivers¹⁴⁴ or straits.¹⁴⁵ This seems to suggest that Κιβωτός should also be regarded as a geographical designation.¹⁴⁶ Against this is however the fact that both Strabo and Ptolemy speak of Apamea ἢ Κιβωτός.¹⁴⁷ They therefore regard Κιβωτός as another, and explicative, name of Apamea itself, whereas Pliny goes so far as to say that for a time Cibotus had been the only name of the city, which seems hardly correct.¹⁴⁸ How to explain Κιβωτός in connection with the name of Apamea is a long-standing difficulty.¹⁴⁹ New evidence is welcome, but it seems too dangerous to use the present testimony for any conclusions, since the addition ἀπὸ Κιβωτοῦ does not seem to appear elsewhere. And, as it has been observed earlier (above, p. 66, n. 5), the inscription contains several ethnics in other than their authentic forms.

¹³⁵ Pliny: Apamea, Metropolis, Dionysopolis, Euphorbium. Ephesus Inv. 3653: Apamea, Metropolis, Euphorbium, Dionysopolis. In both cases the first four cities of the assize are listed.

¹³⁶ Eucarpia, Hierapolis, Otrus, Stectorium. Missing is Bruzus, which seems to have obtained the privileges of a city only in post-Flavian times.

¹³⁷ So, for instance, *MAMA* 6. 181; 182; 216. Cf. 223.

¹³⁸ Lebas-Waddington, 294; 287; *ASA* 39–40 (1961–2), 592, no. 23. Cf. L. Robert, *REA* 65 (1963), 318 and the remarks of Waddington, quoted there, p. 319 (*Op. min. sel.* 3, 1513–14), furthermore L. Robert, 'Études déliennes', *BCH* Suppl. 1 (1973), 443.

¹³⁹ Michel, *Recueil* 901, 13.

¹⁴⁰ *OGI* 441, 207: Ἀπάμεια ἡ πρὸς Μαιάνδρῳ.

¹⁴¹ Σελευκῆς ἀπὸ Πιρίας.

¹⁴² Αἰολεὺς ἀπὸ Ἀλεξανδρείας, Ἀντιοχεὺς ἀπὸ Δάφνης.

¹⁴³ Ἡρακλεώτης ἀπὸ Σαλβάκης, Μάγνης ἀπὸ Σιπύλου.

¹⁴⁴ Ἀντιοχεὺς ἀπὸ Μαιάνδρου, Μάγνητες οἱ ἀπὸ Μαιάνδρου, Σελευκῆς ἀπὸ Μαιάνδρου, Σελευκῆς ἀπὸ Τιγριδῶς.

¹⁴⁵ Χαλκιδεὺς ἀπ' Εὐρίπου.

¹⁴⁶ Suggested in a letter from C. P. Jones: 'It would seem to imply that Κιβωτός was some place in the region . . .' He continues: 'I wonder if the Κιβωτός could be the acropolis on which the old Kelainai stood, which on Hirschfeld's drawings looks rather like a chest?'

¹⁴⁷ Strabo 12, p. 569; 576; Ptolemy 5. 2. 17. There are also coins of Apamea, from Hadrian's time, with the inscription Ἀπαμείων Μαρσύας Κ(ε)ιβωτοί. *BMC Phrygia*, p. 96, no. 155–6; *Syll. numm. Copenhagen, Phrygia*, no. 211–12: *Sammlung v. Aulock*, no. 3491.

¹⁴⁸ Pliny, *NH* 5. 106: Ἀπαμείων . . . ante appellatam Celaenas, deinde Ciboton'.

¹⁴⁹ cf. the discussion in Magie, 983–4 and the bibliography there cited.

There is a long series of inscriptions from Apamea, *MAMA* 6, 173–238, of which 177 seems to be of special interest here, because it was set up in honour of Vespasian by the council, the assembly and the resident Romans of Apamea between 69 and 75, that is to say about the time to which the inscription from Ephesus belongs. There may even be some connection between that inscription in honour of Vespasian and the coins minted in Apamea under his rule which show the name of Plancius Varus, one of the legates of the governor of Asia.^{149a}

2. Μητροπολιται. Pliny, *NH* 5. 106, mentions the city as one of the more conspicuous members of the Apamean *conventus*. Metropolis, the so-called southern Metropolis, was situated northeast of Apamea, in the Çölova, which is Livy's *Metropolitanus campus* (38. 15. 13), at Tatarlı. This location has long been established, with the aid of a prosopographical connection between coins and an inscription; W. Ruge, *RE* 'Metropolis', (3), 1495–6; *MAMA* 4, p. xii and map p. xviii; L. Robert, *Villes*, 228 n. Coins of Metropolis are known only for the years 249–51.

3. Εὐφορβείς. Pliny attributes Euphorbium to the district of Apamea. The city must have been situated between Apamea and Synnada, although its exact position has not yet been determined.¹⁵⁰

4. Διονυσιοπολιται. Mentioned by Pliny, l.c., as being attributed to the *conventus* of Apamea. The exact location of Dionysopolis is not known. For a long time Ramsay's opinion prevailed, that it was near Ortaköy, south of the Maeander and in the close vicinity of the sanctuary of Apollo Larbenos. But this view has been refuted by Louis Robert, who has convincingly shown that Dionysopolis was in fact situated on the northern bank of the Maeander, in the region of the Çal Dağ and the Çal Ova.¹⁵¹ The city had been founded by Attalus II, acting on orders given by Eumenes II, his brother.¹⁵² For the location of Dionysopolis note the inscription in honour of Quintus Plautius Venustus, found near Bekirli, at the southeast slope of the Çal Dağ, set up by four communities: ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἱεραπολιτῶν καὶ ὁ δῆμος ὁ Διονυσιοπολιτῶν καὶ ὁ δῆμος ὁ Βλαυνδέων καὶ τὸ κοινὸν τοῦ Ὑργαλέων πεδίου.¹⁵³ It is also significant that the bronze coins of Dionysopolis bear the image and the name of the river-god Maeander. The four communities mentioned in the inscription were obviously neighbouring cities. Blaundus, which is somewhat north of the Maeander but whose territory certainly extended as far as the river, was attributed to the jurisdiction of Sardis and it appears in the present inscription to be listed with it (col. 1 27, above, p. 76). The territory of Hierapolis, south of the Maeander, extended, at least in later imperial times, as far as the river.¹⁵⁴ Since the inhabitants of the Hyrgalean plain are located on the right bank of the Maeander, where the river follows a north-western direction, in the plain Çal Ova,¹⁵⁵ there is every likelihood that Dionysopolis was located between the territory of the Hyrgaleis and that of Blaundus, that is to say around Üçkuyu.¹⁵⁶ It has apparently not been noticed that Blaundus and Dionysopolis are also connected in a passage of Cicero, written towards the end of 59 B.C. (*ad Qu. f.* 1. 2. 4). The context is far from clear, but it seems at least as if both cities (or citizens of both cities) were involved in a lawsuit pending at the tribunal of the governor, Quintus Cicero.

There is now new evidence for the location of Dionysopolis, a fragmentary inscription, found by T. Drew-Bear at Sapçılar Köy, somewhat north of the Maeander in the Çal Ova, and somewhat south of Sevliler (map in L. Robert, *Villes*, pl. xvi). The text will be published by C. P. Jones, who was kind enough to show me his manuscript and to permit the following remarks. The inscription leads to the conclusion, rightly drawn by Jones, that the territories of the Hyrgaleis and of the Dionysopolitae adjoined on the northern bank of the Maeander, that is to say that Dionysopolis was in fact located in the area in which Robert had assumed it was. The text seems also to imply that both communities were still attributed to the *conventus* of Apamea by the time of Hadrian, as it had been the case under the Flavians.

5. Καινὰ Κῶμαι. Unknown. There is a possibility that the community was identical with the *Vicus* (Oikokome) of the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, between Eumeneia and Apamea. See Ramsay, 223; W. Ruge, *RE* 'Phrygia', 859.

6. Ὑργαλειτικοῦ πεδίου. Form and case (genitive) are unusual compared with the ethnics in the nominative (see above, p. 67). The name as given here corresponds to the Latin form *Hyrgaletici campi* in Pliny, *NH* 5. 113. The ethnic Ὑργαλέως occurs on coins and in the inscription in honour of Quintus Plautius Venustus discussed above (no. 4): τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ὑργαλέων.¹⁵⁷ Pliny, l.c., describing the course of the Maeander, says: 'Apamenam primum pervagatur regionem, mox

^{149a} See S. Mitchell, *JRS* 64 (1974), 29.

¹⁵⁰ Ramsay, *Cities*, 750–1; W. Ruge, *RE* 'Euphorbeion', 1170–1; idem, *RE* 'Phrygia', 828 with discussion of various suggestions for a more precise location.

¹⁵¹ *Villes*, 127–49, supplemented by *Villes*², 356–63. Approval of other scholars is noted pp. 356–7, nn. 4–5.

¹⁵² Steph. Byz., s.v. Διονυσόπολις; L. Robert,

*Villes*², 260, n.

¹⁵³ *MAMA* 4. 315.

¹⁵⁴ L. Robert, *Villes*, 140–1.

¹⁵⁵ cf. Philippson's map in L. Robert, *Villes*, pl. xvi, furthermore Ramsay, *JHS* 4 (1883), 386 and *Cities*, 126–7.

¹⁵⁶ cf. L. Robert, *Villes*, 133; 140.

¹⁵⁷ cf. the remarks on Dionysopolis and W. Ruge, *RE* 'Phrygia', 831–2; Magie, 1022.

Eumeneticam ac deinde Hyrgaleticos campos,¹⁵⁸ postremo Cariam'. The region is fully described by Ramsay, *JHS* 4 (1883), 386-7, and *Cities*, 126-7. Compare the map in L. Robert, *Villes*, pl. xvi. 7. Εὐκαρπεῖς. Strabo (12, p. 576) mentions Eucarpia after having mentioned Apamea and Laodicea as the two biggest cities of Phrygia. The passage runs as follows: περιέκειται δὲ ταύταις πολιόμενα καὶ [---] Ἀφροδισιάς, Κολοσσαί, Θεμισώνιον, Σαναός, Μητρόπολις, Ἀπολλωνιάς, ἔτι δὲ ἀπωτέρω τούτων Πέλται, Τάβραι, Εὐκαρπεία, Λυσιάς. The city is also mentioned in later sources. It minted coins with the legend Εὐκαρπιτικῶ (sc. πεδίου) under Augustus,¹⁵⁹ later with Εὐκαρπέων or Εὐκαρπεία. Its site is known only approximately, in the area of the Sandikli Ova. Eucarpia was the leading city of the so-called Phrygian Pentapolis, the other cities being Hierapolis, Otrus, Stectorium and Bruzus.¹⁶⁰

Two new inscriptions concerning Eucarpia have been published recently.¹⁶¹ One of them was found in Emircik in the vicinity of Beyce Sultan and not far from Eumeneia; it mentions an Εὐκαρπεύς βουλευτής (Calder, l.c., no. 1). The other (ibid, no. 2) was found in Sandikli. It is later than the *Constitutio Antoniniana* of 212 and was set up in honour of a man who is said to have been εἰρηνα- [ρχή]σαντα δὲ κὲ τῶν ἐν [τῷ Εὐκ]αρπειτικῷ πτόλεων. Calder announced a study by M. Ballance on the topographical implications for the Pentapolis of the two new inscriptions.¹⁶² To the best of my knowledge, this paper has not yet been published. The sketch-map, however, which M. Ballance attached to his paper *Regio Ipsina et Moetana*, indicates that he places the cities of the Pentapolis just where Ramsay had placed them, although concerning Eucarpia Ballance adds a question-mark.¹⁶³ Calder himself pointed out (l.c.) what is the most substantial result of the two new inscriptions: that Eucarpia goes back in fact to a military colony of the Hellenistic period. This origin is still reflected in both texts by the expression κληροῦχος τριακοντάρχης—a 'Hellenistic fossil in the titulature of Eucarpian citizens of the Imperial period.'¹⁶⁴

8. Ἀμμωνιάται. Unknown.

9. Ἀντωνιοπολεῖται, νῦν δὲ Τριπολεῖται. The city, which changed its name several times, is firmly located: in a dominant and strategically important position, where the Maeander, coming from the Phrygian highlands, enters the plain, and where the road from the Hermus valley reaches the valley of the Maeander.¹⁶⁵ It is with Tripolis that Ptolemy (5. 15) switches from Lydia to Caria. Under Augustus it was still a member of the Lydian assize of Sardis.¹⁶⁶ After that, but in the Flavian period at the latest, it was separated from this *conventus* and attributed to that of Apamea, although the neighbouring Apollonshieron continued to be in the Sardian district. The oldest name of the city was Apollonia, as F. Imhoof-Blumer brilliantly concluded from the study of the coins.¹⁶⁷ There can be no longer any doubt about this, since epigraphical evidence from Miletus, to be dated about 200 B.C., has made known a city Apollonia on the Maeander, different from the Carian Apollonia.¹⁶⁸ It was only known from Pliny that the same city was later called Antoniupolis. This is now confirmed by the present inscription which not only mentions this name, as Pliny does, but also gives this name in the first place and the new name, Tripolis, in the second. Already under Augustus the new name alone appears on coins (Τριπολεῖτων), and the new name alone occurs in the epigraphical evidence of the second and third centuries.¹⁶⁹ It may have been desirable, even after the name Antoniupolis was dropped, to mention it alongside the new name in the official list, in order to prevent any possible doubt.¹⁷⁰ It is harder to explain why it still occurs more than a hundred years after

¹⁵⁸ Waddington has the merit of having restored the reading of the manuscripts against the conjecture *Baryleticos*.

¹⁵⁹ *Syll. numm. Copenhagen, Phrygia*, no. 367-8; *Sammlung v. Aulock*, no. 8363. Cf. *BMC Phrygia*, p. lix; L. Robert, *Hellenica* 11-12 (1960), 61.

¹⁶⁰ Pentapolis: Ramsay, *Cities*, 678-9; W. Ruge, *RE* 'Pentapolis', 509. Location of Eucarpia: Ramsay, o.c., 690-3, suggesting Emir Hissar (see the 'general map' at the end of vol. 2). But see the reservations expressed by Ruge, *RE* 'Eukarpeia', 995-6; *RE* 'Phrygia', 827 and esp. *RE* 'Otrus', 1887-8. The uncertainty stems from the fact that only three of the five cities of the Pentapolis are located with sufficient certainty, and that there are several other ancient sites within a narrowly limited area, from which to choose for the remaining ones, Eucarpia and Otrus.

¹⁶¹ W. M. Calder, *Anat. Stud.* 6 (1956), 49-51. Cf. the Εὐκαρπεύς οἰκῶν ἐν Ἀπαιεῖα in *MAMA* 6. 223 from Apamea.

¹⁶² l.c. 51.

¹⁶³ *Anat. Stud.* 19 (1969), 144.

¹⁶⁴ Calder, o.c. (n. 161), 50.

¹⁶⁵ Ramsay, *Cities*, 192; Keil-Premerstein 3, 51-2; *MAMA* 6, pp. xi-xii; Magie, 798-9. The army of the Emperor Frederick I. used this highway and was in Tripolis on April 24, 1190.

¹⁶⁶ Pliny, *NH* 5. 111: '... Maeonii, Tripolitani iidem et Antoniopolitae—Maeandro adluuntur—, Apollonhieritae...'

¹⁶⁷ *Lydische Stadtmünzen* (1897), 37 f.

¹⁶⁸ See L. and J. Robert, *La Carie* 2 (1954), 239-42; 256.

¹⁶⁹ *MAMA* 6. 54 from the second century A.D.; *Hellenica* 11-12 (1960), 12, n. 1, from A.D. 204; *MAMA* 6. 55 from the third century A.D.

¹⁷⁰ Many scholars, however, assumed *Tripolitani* and *Antoniopolitae* to be ethnics of two different cities. In their opinion Pliny was stressing the fact that these two cities had in common their location at or near the Maeander. So O. Cuntz, o.c. (n. 22), 491. D. Detlefsen, *Die geographischen Bücher...* (1904), 113 and in the Index pp. 190 and 277. The present inscription from Ephesus makes it perfectly clear how the punctuation in Pliny l.c. (n. 166) has to be.

Antony's death, and therefore in a rather anachronistic manner, in the Flavian period. The reason was perhaps that the list of ethnics, as it appears in the present inscription, in fact goes back, directly or indirectly, to the official list drawn up by Agrippa and Augustus, and that therefore the city is still recorded in the same form as it had been then.

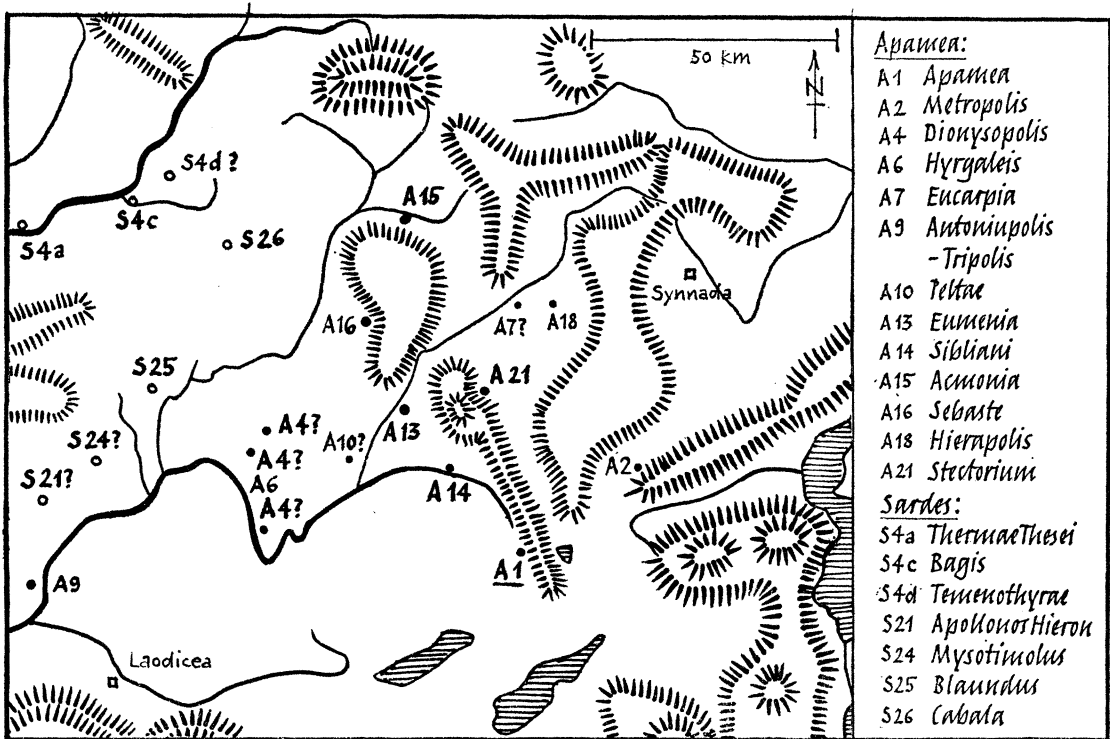


FIG. 3. THE ASSIZE-DISTRICTS OF APAMEA AND SARDIS
Drawn by P. Kussmaul. Copyright reserved

There can be no doubt that the city had once adopted the name Antoniupolis in order to honour the triumvir Marcus Antonius. That may have happened as early as 41 B.C., when Antony travelled across Asia Minor on the famous highway which touched Tripolis.¹⁷¹ A later date, however, is by no means excluded.¹⁷² After the overthrow of Antony the city adopted the new name Tripolis, which is shown to be the official one by coins from the Augustan period. That happened before the register of the cities of Asia, drawn up by Agrippa and Augustus, was completed, since both names were obviously inscribed there, as can be seen from Pliny and from the present inscription.

10. Πελτηνοί. Peltae is mentioned by Pliny, *NH* 5. 106, as one of the more conspicuous cities of the Apamean district. Its approximate site is known from Xenophon, *Anab.* 1. 2. 10. Its territory must have been crossed, or at least touched, by the Maeander, since the river is depicted and named on the coins of Peltae.¹⁷³ Other indications concerning the site of Peltae are provided by the *Tabula Peutingeriana* and by the geographer of Ravenna. Its exact location is however still unknown.¹⁷⁴ It seems to have been, in the Hellenistic period, a stronghold of Macedonian soldiers.¹⁷⁵

11. Τριπολιῆσι. The ethnic, which seems to be unattested, is in fact attested in an inscription from Jamanlar (Jamanar), where however the correct form had not been found, since it stands in need

¹⁷¹ Appian, *BC* 5. 31; Magie, 788-9.

¹⁷² H. Buchheim, *Die Orientalpolitik des Triumvirn M. Antonius* (1960) has nothing about this. Cf. Ramsay, *Cities*, 193: '... when Antony rewarded the fidelity of the Zenonids of Laodicea he did not wholly neglect Tripolis; and the city in gratitude for his favour took his name.' Cf. L. Robert, *Laodicée du Lycos. Le Nymphée* (1969), 306-9.

¹⁷³ W. Ruge, *RE* 'Peltae', 403; idem, *RE*

'Phrygia', 848.

¹⁷⁴ Ramsay, *Cities*, 239 f.: east of Uşak, west of Islâm Köy or Susuz Köy. W. Ruge, l.c. See the mention of a woman originating from Peltae in an inscription found at Kuyulu Zebir in Eastern Phrygia, *MAMA* 7. 554.

¹⁷⁵ Magie, 972 with bibliography. Coins of the second and third centuries A.D. show the inscription Μακεδόνων Πελτηνῶν.

of some restoration. The place where the inscription comes from is situated about 15 km south-west of Eumeneia and about 28 km south of Sebaste.¹⁷⁶ The text¹⁷⁷ dates from A.D. 236 and mentions a woman who apparently possesses a double citizenship, Σεβα[στηνῆ καὶ] Πριεζηνή. From this Ramsay conjectured a city with the name Priza (or Preiza) and he concluded that it was identical with Bria.¹⁷⁸ It now becomes obvious that the true restoration is [Τ]πιρριεζηνή. With this, there are two indications available for locating the Τιπριεζηνοί, the place where the inscription has been discovered and the location of Sebaste, which is established at Sivasli. The question arises, however, whether in fact that woman possessed a double citizenship or not. Judging from the facsimile of the inscription, it seems possible that the gap was in fact two letters (IT) longer than presumed by Ramsay. A double citizenship, as implied by the new restoration Σεβα[στηνῆ καὶ] Τ]πιρριεζηνή seems more likely than any alternative. A similar ethnic, Σατιπριεζηνός, is attested in an inscription of the Xenoi Tekmoreioi from Saghir.¹⁷⁹ In this case, however, the reading cannot be changed, by a different division of the letters, to Τιπριεζηνός, since the readings of Sterrett and of Ramsay, who copied the text several times, agree in the decisive point: ἀνέστησεν Ἀρτέμιδι Σατιπριεζηνῆ εὐχὴν.

12. Ἀσσοιορηνοί. Unknown.

13. Εὐμενέται. Pliny, *NH* 5. 113: 'amnis Maeander . . . Apamenam primum pervagatur regionem, mox Eumeneticam ac deinde Hyrgaleticos campos, postremo Cariam.' The location of Eumeneia at İsikli, on the rivers Glaucus and Cludrus, is established.¹⁸⁰ Like Dionysopolis the city was a foundation of Attalus II and was given its name in honour of Attalus' brother and predecessor Eumenes II.¹⁸¹ Later, the city was for a time renamed Fulvia, in honour of the wife of Marcus Antonius.¹⁸² The earliest possible date for this is Antony's appearance in Asia Minor in 41 B.C. On the other hand, a much later date seems almost excluded, since during that same year the Perusine War broke out, during which Antony disapproved of Fulvia's role and conduct, and since Fulvia was dead by the middle of 40 B.C.¹⁸³ There are coins of the city, bearing the legend Φουλουιανῶν, and a bust of Fulvia (?),¹⁸⁴ represented as Nike with wings. It is significant that these coins were regarded as shocking: people tried to erase the legend.¹⁸⁵ The new name, although a transient phenomenon, is evidence (as is the name of Antoniuropolis, above no. 9) of the political activity of Antony in this region.

The ethnic is usually, on coins and in inscriptions, Εὐμενεύς. Besides that, Εὐμενεάτης occurs (above, p. 66, note 5). Εὐμενέτης attested here is odd, but Εὐμενεῖτης is also attested as the ethnic of a woman in an inscription of the third century A.D. from Eumeneia itself.¹⁸⁶ This form comes at least close to that attested here.

14. Σιβλιανοί. Mentioned by Pliny, *NH* 5. 106, as *Silbiani* (or *Silviani*) and attributed to the jurisdiction of Apamea. Coins of the city, minted under Augustus and in the time of Caracalla, are rare; they show the ethnic as Σειβλιανῶν or Σιβλιανῶν.¹⁸⁷ The city of Sibiliana has not yet been firmly located.¹⁸⁸ Ramsay thought it was at Homa, about halfway between Apamea and Eumeneia.

15. Ἀκμονεῖς. Attested as being members of the *conventus* of Apamea by Pliny, *NH* 5. 106. The city took part in the prosecution of L. Valerius Flaccus in 59 B.C., see Cicero, *pro Flacco* 34-9. Delegations from Acmonaea are attested in the reign of Commodus as having been sent to the oracle of Apollo at Claros.¹⁸⁹ The location of Acmonaea is only approximately known as being in the vicinity of Ahaz and Susuz, not far from Dioclea (below, no. 17). See Ramsay, 562-3; 621 f.; 637 f.; *MAMA* 6, p. xvii with the sketch on p. xvi; W. Ruge, *RE* 'Phrygia', 809.

16. Φλεμῆς οἱ νῦν λεγόμενοι Σεβαστηνοί. Sebaste has long been firmly located at Selzikler, north-west of Eumeneia.¹⁹⁰ The city, which owed its existence and its name to Augustus, minted coins

¹⁷⁶ With the aid of the compass-bearings, as indicated by W. Ruge, *RE* 'Phrygia', 850, the location can easily be found on Kiepert's map in Buresch.

¹⁷⁷ P. Paris, *BCH* 8 (1884), 252, no. 21; Ramsay, *Cities*, 382, no. 18; *IGR* 4. 370.

¹⁷⁸ *JRS* 9 (1929), 157-8. Against: W. Ruge, l.c. (n. 176).

¹⁷⁹ St. Sterrett, *Papers of the American School* 3 (1888), 265, no. 380; Ramsay, *Aberdeen Studies* 20 (1906), 343, no. 22. Cf. W. Ruge, *RE* 'Phrygia', 852; idem, *RE* 'Satipreiza(?)', 63; idem, *RE* 'Xenoi Tekmoreioi', 159.

¹⁸⁰ W. Ruge, *RE* 'Eumeneia', 1082; idem, *RE* 'Phrygia', 828; *MAMA* 4, p. xv; Magie, 984-5.

¹⁸¹ Cf. L. Robert, *Études anatoliennes* (1937), 164-5.

¹⁸² See, for instance, F. Stähelin, *Geschichte der kleinasiatischen Galater* 2 (1907), 120; Magie, 984-5.

¹⁸³ See F. Münzer, *RE* 'Fulvia', 284.

¹⁸⁴ So *Sammlung v. Aulock*, no. 8367, whereas B. V. Head, *BMC Phrygia*, p. 213, no. 20-1, took the portrait to represent Cleopatra.

¹⁸⁵ *BMC Phrygia*, p. lxi.

¹⁸⁶ *MAMA* 4. 360.

¹⁸⁷ *BMC Phrygia*, p. xciv; *Sylloge numm. Copenhagen, Phrygia*, no. 685; *Sammlung v. Aulock*, no. 3955; L. Robert, *Centennial Volume of the American Numismatic Society* (1958), 578.

¹⁸⁸ W. Ruge, *RE* 'Phrygia', 852-3; idem, *RE* 'Sibiliana', 2071; L. Robert, *Villes* 2, 426. Cf. Ramsay, *Cities*, 221-6.

¹⁸⁹ *ἸΟΑΙ* 15 (1912), 49, no. 11, and 55, no. 28.

¹⁹⁰ Buresch, 170 f.; Ramsay, *Cities*, 581 f.; 600 f.; Büchner and Ruge, *RE* 'Sebaste', 951-2, supplemented by Ruge, *RE* 'Phrygia', 852. Cf. L. Robert, *Villes* 2, 361-2. The name Sebaste is still preserved in the nearby village Sivasli.

from Augustus to Gordian III, although with long intermissions.¹⁹¹ The metrical inscription *IGR* 4. 682 deals with the circumstances of the city's foundation, especially in ll. 15–21 (see Magie, 1334). From ll. 16–17 it seems as if Augustus had united several villages to form the new city. The ethnic Φλεμεις now reveals the name of another community which was merged in Sebaste,¹⁹² that of ἡ Διοσκωμ[ητ]ῶν κατοικία being known already from *IGR* 4. 635 of 345/6. It is tempting but too risky to restore in Lebas-Waddington no. 733 (Ramsay, 608, no. 499) [ἡ Φ]λε[μείων κατοικία], which, if correct, would provide another testimony of the ethnic.

17. Μοξοναοί. The ethnic of this tribe is in inscriptions¹⁹³ and on coins¹⁹⁴ Μοξεανοί. Ptolemy has it as Μοξιανοί.¹⁹⁵ Ptolemy also gives some indication as to where the Moxeanoi dwelt. A more precise location was possible with the aid of the coins of Dioclea (Doghla), which bear the inscription Διοκλεανῶν Μοξεανῶν. The region in question is the highlands between the northern Banas Ova and the Sincanli Ova.¹⁹⁶ At the time in which the present inscription was set up, the conditions of the Phrygian Moxeani were apparently similar to those of the Lydian Mocadeni (above, p. 66; 72): the text gives only the ethnic of the tribe, which, at this time, was still without urban centres. Later on, Dioclea and Siocharax are known to have been cities of the Moxeani.¹⁹⁷ It is not known, however, when these acquired the privileges of cities. From the inscription quoted in n. 193 it is known, on the other hand, that both were cities in 196/197. The testimony is explicit for Dioclea, implicit for Siocharax. The bestowal of city rights therefore happened some time between the Flavians and the earlier years of Septimius Severus.

18. Ἱεροπολεῖται. The ethnic is that of Hierapolis¹⁹⁸ in the Phrygian Pentapolis. The other members of the Pentapolis were Eucarpia, Otrus and Stectorium, all mentioned in the present inscription, and finally Bruzus, which does not appear and was apparently not yet a city by the Flavian period.¹⁹⁹ Hierapolis is famous as the source of the Abercius inscription. The city is located firmly enough, with the aid of a milestone, at Koz-Hissar.²⁰⁰ The present inscription disproves the suggestion of Jones, *Cities*, 66, that Hierapolis, together with the rest of the Pentapolis, was attributed to the *conventus* of Synnada. Coins of the city are known from the time of Nerva onwards, bearing the inscription Ἱεροπολεῖτων.

19. Λυσιαδεῖς. Lysias was founded by a Hellenistic dynast, Lysias, of the third century B.C. and is therefore comparable to Philomelium, founded by another member of the same family.²⁰¹ The city, which minted coins with Λυσιαδέων during the second and third centuries A.D. (*BMC Phrygia*, p. lxxxii), is not yet located, despite various indications, none of which is as precise as one would wish. Radat proposed Effeköy, north-north-east of Synnada²⁰²; Ramsay²⁰³ and Anderson²⁰⁴ conjectured for Lysias a site between Oyniğan and Aruzlı, that is to say south-south-east of Synnada and north-west of the Lake Egerdir.²⁰⁵ The uncertainty of these suggestions has been pointed out more than once.²⁰⁶

A review of the sources reveals that nearly all ancient authors connect Lysias with at least one of the cities of the Phrygian Pentapolis. In Strabo (12, p. 576) Eucarpia (above, no. 7) immediately precedes the mention of Lysias, in Pliny (*NH* 5. 108) Otrus (below, no. 20) follows immediately after Lysias. The *Vita S. Abercii*²⁰⁷ depicts Abercius of Hierapolis, acting as a male nurse and as a

¹⁹¹ *BMC Phrygia*, pp. xcii–iii, with representation and name of the river-god Σινῶρος and the ethnic Σεβαστηνῶν.

¹⁹² *RE* 'Sebaste', 951: 'Der griechische Name vor der Umbenennung ist unbekannt.' 'Wie S. ursprünglich geheissen hat, lässt sich nicht mehr feststellen'. Cf. also Jones, *Cities*, 71–2.

¹⁹³ Ramsay, *Cities*, 660, no. 15 (*IGR* 4. 664) in honour of Septimius Severus, dated 196/7, from ἡ προκεκριμένη τοῦ Μοξεανῶν δήμου Διόκλεια, found in the vicinity of Doghla; *MAMA* 6. 313, 1–2 from Gayili, somewhat east of Acmonia: 'Αντ[ωνίων]? Μοξε[α]νῶν.

¹⁹⁴ F. Imhoof-Blumer, *Kleinasiatische Münzen* (1901), 218: Διοκλεανῶν Μοξεανῶν. The same, *BMC Phrygia*, 181, no. 1; *Sammlung v. Aulock*, no. 3532–4.

¹⁹⁵ Ptolemy 5. 2. 18, discussed by Ramsay, *Cities* 664–6.

¹⁹⁶ Ramsay, *Cities* 631–3; W. Ruge, *RE* 'Moxeanoi', 408; idem, *RE* 'Phrygia', 846; Magie 1022; 1501–2.

¹⁹⁷ cf. n. 193 for Dioclea and the coins with Σιοχαρκεῖτων Μοξεανῶν): F. Imhoof-Blumer, *Kleinasiatische Münzen* (1901), 280; *BMC Phrygia*, 382, no. 1; *Sylloge numm. Copenhagen, Phrygia*, no. 686. The name of Siocharax occurs also, however deformed, in Hierocles (Ramsay, l.c. 633). Jones suggested (*Cities*, 73): 'Aristium seems from

its position to have been another city of the Moxeanoi'. In this he was anticipated by H. Radet, whose suggestion, however, met with Ramsay's opposition (*Cities*, 633–4).

¹⁹⁸ For the city's name see L. Robert in A. Dupont-Sommer and L. Robert, *La Déesse de Hierapolis-Castabala (Cilicie)* (1964), 17 f. esp. 20.

¹⁹⁹ Bruzus minted coins especially during the third century A.D. and in any event not before Hadrian; *BMC Phrygia*, p. xli.

²⁰⁰ W. Ruge, *RE* 'Hieropolis' (1), 1588; idem, *RE* 'Phrygia', 831.

²⁰¹ Ad. Wilhelm, *Neue Beiträge zur griechischen Inschriftenkunde* 1 (*Sb. Akad. Wien* 1911), 48–63; M. Holleaux, *Études d'épigraphie et d'histoire grecques* 3 (1942), 357–63; L. Robert, *Villes*, 156.

²⁰² See the testimonies collected by W. Ruge, *RE* 'Lysias', 2530.

²⁰³ *Cities*, 754–5.

²⁰⁴ *JHS* 18 (1898), 107 f.

²⁰⁵ In the same sense Buckler-Calder-Guthrie, *MAMA* 4, p. xii.

²⁰⁶ So, for instance, W. Ruge, l.c.; idem, *RE* 'Phrygia', 842. L. Robert, *Villes*, 156, n. 1; *Villes*², 367, n. 2.

²⁰⁷ Quoted in Ramsay, *Cities*, 754, n. 5. The edition by Th. Nissen (see H. Strathmann, s.v. 'Aberkios' *RAC* 12) was unavailable to me.

missionary at the same time, during his walking-tours in the vicinity of Lysias. Hierocles, in his survey of the cities in Phrygia Salutaris,²⁰⁸ mentions first the five cities of the Pentapolis, then two areas of domains, after them Ococlea which must have been in close vicinity of Lysias,²⁰⁹ then Lysias and finally Synnada. Furthermore, Lysias is also mentioned, in the Byzantine *Notitiae* of this province,²¹⁰ among cities of the Pentapolis: 13 Hierapolis, 14 Eucarpia, 15 Lysias, 16 Augustopolis, 17 Bruzus, 18 Otrus, 19 Lycaones, 20 Stectorium. The close connection of Lysias with the cities of the Pentapolis is also reflected in the present inscription: Bruzus is missing because it was not yet a city (above, p. 81); Eucarpia, it is true, is mentioned in an earlier place (above, no. 7), but the three remaining come next to Lysias, Hierapolis (no. 18) preceding, Otrus and Stectorium (no. 20-21) following it.

Finally, as a new piece of evidence for the location of Lysias, it is now known that it belonged, like the cities of the Pentapolis, to the jurisdiction of Apamea and not to that of Synnada. All this seems to rule out the view that the city was situated, as Radet, Ramsay, Anderson and others thought, east of Synnada. It seems rather as if Lysias (and Ococlea with it) were situated somewhere in between the cities of the Pentapolis and Synnada.

20. Ὀτροηνοί. L. Robert has shown that Otrus, following Lysias in the present inscription, also follows it in Pliny, *NH* 5. 108.²¹¹ The manuscripts there have either *Othrusa* or *Otrusa*. The city was situated in the plain of the Sandakli, between Eumeneia and Synnada. Being a member of the Phrygian Pentapolis, it is approximately, if still not precisely, located.²¹² The ethnic on the coins, minted from the time of Antoninus Pius to that of Caracalla, is always Ὀτροηνώων.²¹³

21. [Στεκ]τορηνοί. Together with Eucarpia, Hierapolis and Stectorium (and Bruzus which became a city only later), Stectorium was a city of the Phrygian Pentapolis. The Φρύγες Στεκτορηνοί are mentioned also in Pausanias (10. 27. 1), that is in connection with the hero Mygdon. The site of the city is approximately known, although not yet definitely established.²¹⁴ The coins, minted from the time of Marcus to those of Philippus, show the ethnic in the same form in which it appears in the present inscription: Στεκτορηνώων.²¹⁵

THE RUBRICS

After the ethnics, the following rubrics occur in the inscription:

(a) *Without mention of denarii*:

1. πάντων, occurring 19 times and, in addition to that, once (col. II 27) preceded by the word τετραχάλκια. In the same entry (col. II 28) the amount of 100 is followed by the unique mention of δην·δ·: probably some other rubric, to be followed by this, has unintentionally been left out. The sums listed in this group are 25 (5 instances), 50 (12), 100 (3).

2. τοῦ χρήματος, occurring 6 times, 4 of them with the amount of 50, 1 with 80, one with an uncertain amount (col. I 5).

(b) All other rubrics carry with them the mention of *denarii*. They are:

3. γραφίου, occurring 20 times, the sums registered being 2 *denarii* (1), 3 *denarii* (8), 4 *denarii* (6), 7 + a fraction (1). In four instances the sums to be restored are uncertain.

4. καταγραφίου, occurring 10 times, of which 2 *denarii* + a fraction (2 instances), 3 *denarii* (3), 4 *denarii* (1), 7 *denarii* (1), uncertain amount (1) and, obviously an error, ν·καί·δην·γ· (col. II 32) where the *Nu*, with or without (πάντων) or (τοῦ χρήματος), belongs certainly *before* καταγραφίου.

5. σώματος καταγραφίου, occurring only once, in I 23, with an uncertain amount.

6. τῆς κτήσεως, occurring 15 times, the sums being 2 *denarii* + fraction (3 instances), 3 *denarii* (4), 4 *denarii* (2), 4 *denarii* + fraction (4), an uncertain amount (1), and once (col. II 4) the entry ν·καί[ι·δην·?·], obviously a similar error to that in col. II 32, noted above under no. 4.

7. δι' ἀρχίου (or ἀρχήου), occurring three times, the amount being twice 2 *denarii* + fraction (col. I 15. 16), once uncertain (col. I 26).

8. εἰς γεροσίαν, occurring twice, both times with the sum of 2 *denarii* (col. II 9. 16).

The following rubrics are attested only once each:

9. ξενικοῦ (I 1) with 4 *denarii*,
10. προξενητ (II 18) with 3 *denarii*,
11. εἰσαγωγίου (I 24) with 7 *denarii* + fraction,

²⁰⁸ Syncedemus, ed. A. Burckhardt (1893), p. 24.

²⁰⁹ That was concluded from the identity of a die used in both cities by F. Imhoof-Blumer, *Kleinasiatische Münzen* (1901), 276. Cf. L. Robert, *Villes*, 191, n. 1.

²¹⁰ Conveniently arranged in Jones, *Cities*, 531.

²¹¹ *Villes*, 156-9; cf. W. Ruge, *RE* 'Otrus', 1884-8.

²¹² L. Robert, *Villes*, 158-9, with n. 8.

²¹³ *BMC Phrygia*, p. lxxxvi; L. Robert, *Villes*, 158, n. 7.

²¹⁴ Cf. esp. W. Ruge, *RE* 'Otrus', 1887, no. 5. Following Ramsay (*Cities*, 689-90), he claims the ancient site near Mentesch as Stectorium, where there has been found a Latin inscription with *civitas Stectoren*. . . Cf. W. Ruge, *RE* 'Stektorion', 2306; L. Robert, *Villes*,² 426.

²¹⁵ *BMC Phrygia*, pp. xcν-xcvi.

12. ἐξαγωγίου (I 25) with 7 *denarii* + fraction,
 13. πωλῶν καὶ ἀγοράζων (II 32–33) with 3 *denarii*,
 14. ὄσα πόλις πρὸς πόλιν (II 33–34) with no amount at all,
 15. εἰς τὸ λιμμα[–] (I 35), apparently with 3 *denarii*.

(c) In addition, there are 11 instances, where an amount is given which is not preceded by any rubric. This happens four times, all belonging to the Sardian district, with the sum of 4 *denarii* (col. I 8. 10. 11. 12); once with the number 40 (I 36); 4 times with the number 50 (I 8. 19. 21. II 38); once with the number 80 (II 35); and once with the number 200 (I 19).

(d) Combinations of rubrics,

πάντων, which, where it occurs, always takes the first place, is followed eleven times by καὶ γραφίου, twice each by καὶ καταγραφίου and εἰς γερουσίαν, once by καὶ τῆς κτήσεως, being alone three times (and, in addition, erroneously in col. II 28, where δην·δ follows the sum of 50).

τοῦ χρήματος is never connected with πάντων, twice precedes καὶ γραφίου, once follows καταγραφίου and once σώματος καταγραφίου, once stands isolated, and one instance (II 39) is uncertain.

γραφίου follows πάντων eleven times, τοῦ χρήματος twice; it follows the amount of 50 twice, the sums of 40, 80, 200 and [?] once each, standing alone once.

καταγραφίου once precedes τοῦ χρήματος, twice follows πάντων, stands alone 6 times and is followed once, by mistake, after the amount of 50, by the entry καὶ δην·γ, in II 32.

σώματος καταγραφίου in its unique mention (I 23) precedes τοῦ χρήματος.

τῆς κτήσεως normally stands isolated (11 instances), once follows πάντων and twice the amount of 50 (without a rubric), whereas its occurrence, in II 4, preceding the sum of 50, seems to be erroneous.

δι' ἀρχίου stands alone in all three instances.

εἰς γερουσίαν follows πάντων in both instances.

ξενικοῦ (I 1): it is uncertain whether it was preceded by another rubric or not.

προξενητ (II 18) appears isolated from any other rubric, but is uniquely followed by two different amounts: δην·γ·καὶ·δην·δ·.

εἰσαγωγίου and ἐξαγωγίου are, in the single instance where they occur, combined, although for each of them an amount is given, both times the same (II 24–25).

πωλῶν καὶ ἀγοράζων (II 32) is combined with the equally unique phrase καὶ ὄσα πόλις πρὸς πόλιν (II 33), but only the first entry is followed by a sum.

εἰς τὸ λιμμα[–] is enigmatic in every respect.²¹⁶

The meaning of the various rubrics, although apparently obvious in several cases, is in general far from clear. Above all, I have not succeeded in finding a common denominator, which would make good sense with all, or at least with a good many, of the rubrics.

The meaning of πάντων, probably to be understood as a neuter, is in itself not clear. Since it is combined with four other rubrics in 16 instances, it is at least certain that πάντων does not in fact include the other rubrics.

Nor is τοῦ χρήματος easily understandable by itself, the word χρήμα having so many different meanings that what the specific meaning here is could only be determined in connection with other rubrics and their meanings. The occurrence of τῆς κτήσεως, however, might be significant: it is at least tempting to understand χρήμα as movable property, including money, and κτήσις as immovable property, viz. lands, farms etc.²¹⁷ πάντων could then perhaps be explained as the sum of both χρήμα and κτήσις, were it not that once (col. I 32) [πάντων] is combined with τῆς κτήσεως, where πάντων, although restored, can hardly be doubted.

The rubrics γραφίου, καταγραφίου and σώματος καταγραφίου seem closely related to each other. In fact, none of these rubrics is combined with any of the other three. The first two are clearly derived from γραφεῖον and καταγραφεῖον respectively, or, in vulgar orthography, from γραφίον and καταγραφίον. καταγραφεῖον seems to be a *hapax*, whose meaning can only be conjectured from that of the noun καταγραφὴ and that of the verb καταγράφω. καταγραφὴ usually means 'list', 'register', but also 'conveyance' (of land or houses); καταγράφω 'register', 'record', but also 'convey', 'transfer' (by deed).²¹⁸ For γραφεῖον, on the other hand, several meanings are well attested, primarily 'registry', 'record-office', where transactions of business are recorded,²¹⁹ furthermore the fee paid

²¹⁶ In *IG* v, 1432. 9 from Messene, where Kolbe read μήτε δανεισμόν μή[τε] λιμμα, Ad. Wilhelm, *ΨΟΑΙ*, 17 (1914), 35, restored μήτε δανεισμόν μή[τε] λιμμα, comparing Demosthenes, *Or.* 22. 44. If nothing is to be restored here, λιμμα could stand for λήμμα, 'receipt', 'profit', or for λείμμα, 'remnant' 'pause', only the first of which seems to make sense here.

²¹⁷ For this meaning of κτήσις cp., above all, L. Robert, *Études anatoliennes* (1937), 375–8, esp. 377.

²¹⁸ See *LSJ* s. vv.

²¹⁹ See L. Mitteis, *Hermes* 30 (1895), 596 f.; W. Dittenberger, *OGI* 46, n. 11; H. Francotte, *Les Finances des cités grecques* (1909), 22.

on the occasion of such recording,²²⁰ finally in Egypt the tax on writing materials.²²¹ There is a chance that γραφίου here envisages the record-office (if not the fee paid there), therefore coming close to δι' ἀρχείου (see below) and to εἰς γερουσίαν. It may also be that καταγραφίου means the registration-fee, and that σώματος καταγραφίου concerns the registration of a slave. It seems obvious that there must have been, throughout the Empire, public records on the possession of slaves, either in connection with the general census-lists or in connection with the tax called *vicesima quinta venalium mancipiorum*.²²²

If this explanation is correct, it seems significant that another rubric also deals with slaves. The entry προξενητ (col. II 18), apparently an abbreviation, is in any event to be connected with προξενητής, the broker or agent who sells slaves. The word is attested in inscriptions from Tralles, Thyatira and Sinope²²³ and by the Latin authors Seneca and Martial.²²⁴

The rubric δι' ἀρχείου (I 15. 16. 26) seems to be close to that of γραφίου or καταγραφίου (see above). The most common meanings of ἀρχεῖον are 'residence (or office) of chief magistrates'; 'archives'; 'college (or board) of magistrates.' One of the first two seems more probable here than the third.²²⁵ The rubric εἰς γερουσίαν, occurring in connection with Chios (col. II 8) and Cos (col. II 16), should refer to the *gerusia* of these cities rather than to that of any other city, for instance Ephesus. As seems to be attested for Pergamum,²²⁶ there seems to have been in many cities the custom of an entrance-fee to the *gerusia*.

εἰσαγωγίου and ἐξαγωγίου (col. I 24-25), clearly corresponding and therefore excluding for εἰσαγωγίου the meaning of an entrance-fee,²²⁷ normally mean a customs-charge on imported and exported goods, more fully described as 'τὰ τέλη . . . imposed on εἰσαγωγή καὶ ἐξαγωγή',²²⁸ or as τὸ τοῦ ἐξαγωγίου τέλος.²²⁹ Without τέλος, both words can nevertheless mean the customs-fee, for instance in *Inscr. Priene* 3. 28: ἀτελής δὲ ἔστω καὶ τοῦ [ἐξα]γωγίου; cf. *ibid.* 6. 15.²³⁰

πωλῶν καὶ ἀγοράζων (col. II 32-33): 'whoever sells or buys'. This is most easily understood as referring to a sales-tax, which ought not to be the imperial *centesima rerum venalium*, but could equally well be a city tax. The addition καὶ ὅσα πόλις πρὸς πόλιν (II 33-4), to which no amount is added, could then be understood: '(the same amount for what) a city sells or buys dealing with another city', giving emphasis to the difference between private and public transactions.

ξενικοῦ (I 1), from the neuter ξενικόν, which in Demosthenes (*Or.* 57. 34) appears side by side with μετοίκιον, has been interpreted as a tax on the professions, to be paid by all who sell something at the market and are themselves not citizens,²³¹ but also as a tax to be paid by all foreigners and still independent of the μετοίκιον, the common tax of foreigners.²³² Although the entry here, at the beginning of the first column, may be incomplete, there was hardly question of a δικαστήριον ξενικόν, sometimes simply called ξενικόν.²³³

To sum up: The rubrics seem to point to four spheres of public economy, that of *property*: τοῦ χρήματος, τῆς κτήσεως perhaps πάντων, *customs or taxes*: εἰσαγωγίου, ἐξαγωγίου, πωλῶν καὶ ἀγοράζων, ὅσα πόλις πρὸς πόλιν, προξενητ, *fees*: καταγραφίου, σώματος καταγραφίου, *public offices*: γραφίου, δι' ἀρχείου, εἰς γερουσίαν.

²²⁰ OGI 46, 12-13, with Dittenberger's n. 11. Bibliography in the new edition of H. Pleket, *Epigraphica I. Texts on the Economic History of the Greek World* (1964), no. 26. See also H. Francotte, l.c. (n. 219).

²²¹ LSJ, s.v. γραφεῖον.

²²² O. Hirschfeld, *Die kaiserlichen Verwaltungsbeamten bis auf Diocletian*² (1905), 95-6.

²²³ CIG 2942 from Tralles; OGI 524 from Thyatira; *Rev. Arch.* (1916) 1, 333 from Sinope. See L. Robert, *Rev. Phil.* (1939), 212, n. 5 (*Op. min. sel.* 2, 1365); *Ann. Éc. Hautes Études* (1964-5), 179-80 (*Op. min. sel.* 4, 253). See also F. Gschnitzer, 'Proxenos', *RE Suppl.* 13, 633.

²²⁴ Seneca, *Ep.* 119. 1: 'ut negotiari possis, aes alienum facias oportet, sed nolo per intercessorem mutueris, nolo proxenetae nomen tuum iacent'; Martial 10. 3. 4.

²²⁵ For ἀρχεῖον in the meaning of 'archives' or 'Notariat' see L. Robert, *BCH* 59 (1935), 486 (*Op. min. sel.* 2, 755); U. Wilcken, *Grundzüge der Papyruskunde*, 19, 63.

²²⁶ *Ath. Mitt.* 32 (1907), 293 f., no. 18. See Magie, 859.

²²⁷ As, for instance, in *Syll.*³ 1006. 51; *Hesperia* 11 (1942), 295. no. 58, 11 f.; 15 f.

²²⁸ C. B. Welles, *Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Period* (1934), no. 3, 94-101. Cf. Strabo 17, p. 798: τὰ τέλη . . . τὰ μὲν εἰσαγωγικά, τὰ δὲ ἐξαγωγικά.

²²⁹ *JHS* 74 (1954), 85 f., no. 38 C 13. The same fee appears as φόρος in the decree of the Roman Senate of 47 B.C., as preserved in Josephus, *Ant.* 14. 206: φόρους δὲ ὑπὲρ ταύτης τῆς πόλεως Ὑρκανον ἔχειν Ἀλεξάνδρου υἱὸν καὶ παῖδας αὐτοῦ παρὰ τῶν τῆν γῆν νεμομένων, χώρας καὶ λιμένους ἐξαγωγίου κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν (ἐν) Σιδῶνι. The question, whether to keep ἔχειν (with Momigliano) or to conjecture τελεῖν (with Niese, Viereck, Schalit), needs no discussion here. Worth mentioning is, however, Momigliano's suggestion to insert (εἰσαγωγίου) (*Annali della R. Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa* 1934, 204). If the insertion is right, (εἰσαγωγίου) should then rather come before than after ἐξαγωγίου.

²³⁰ For such ἀτέλεια in general see P. Herrmann, *Ist. Mitt.* 15 (1965), 84.

²³¹ H. Francotte, *Les Finances des cités grecques* (1909), 270-1: 'la taxe des étrangers', to be paid on 'toutes les ventes faites au marché'.

²³² A. Andreades, *A History of Greek Public Finance* (1933), 213, n. 4.

²³³ Aristotle, *Pol.* 1300b 24.

This scheme is, of course as hypothetical as are the explanations of several of the rubrics, although the rubrics are all tentatively attributed above to one of these four fields. Since no evident solution is at hand to give the key to the understanding of the document as a whole, it seems best to refrain from further speculation, and to invite comments and discussions from other scholars.

It is, however, worth mentioning the Seleucid *bullae* from Seleucea ad Tigridem, published and discussed by R. H. McDowell, *Yale Classical Studies* 3 (1932), 98-111 (cf. *SEG* 7. 42), whose rubrics likewise point to taxes and fees, e.g. καταγραφῆ[ς], ἀλικῆς Σελευκείας ἐπιτελῶν (or ἀτελῶν), λιμένο[ς], ἀνδραπ[οδικῆς] Σελευκε[ίας] εισαγω[γ-], [ἀν]δραποδικῆς.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

Although the meaning and purpose of the present document have not yet been established, it seems certain that the original text contained the full register of all the *conventus* and of all the communities attributed to each of them. From this assumption it seems safe to presume that this register eventually goes back to that which was drawn up in the time of Augustus. In the meantime, the original document had been brought up to date, at least to a certain degree, as is shown by the dynastic names added to several ethnics: Φλαουσιοπολεῖται in I 7-8, Φλαουσιοκαισαρεῖς in I 10-11 and I 11. On the other hand, the name of Antoniuropolis is still preserved, together with the new name Tripolis which had been adopted early in the time of Augustus (see p. 83).²³⁴

Although the document may go back ultimately to the official list of Agrippa and Augustus, the mistakes that occur in the spelling of several ethnics (see note 5) and the grave error concerning Heraclea ad Latmum (above, p. 67) make it rather unlikely that this is a document of the Roman administration. If not, it should be a document of the *koinon* of Asia, the assembly of all cities and communities within the province.²³⁵ There is no visible element in the text which would preclude its being a document emanating from the provincial assembly. The remote possibility that it is municipal, to be connected with one of the larger cities, Ephesus for instance, seems much less likely: although the city's main goddess, Artemis, owned land in many parts of the province and although her sanctuary had dependant branches in many cities, it seems not very likely that the inscription could reflect the affairs of a single city, be it the capital, or a deity of a single city, given the fact that apparently all cities and communities, without any exception, were registered in it.

Once an official list of all the cities within the province existed, it could of course be used by various authorities for various purposes. When Augustus ordered that the expenses for the *hymnodoi* of the provincial cult, which had been established in honour of Roma and himself, should not be laid upon the Pergamenes alone, but that the whole province should have its share in them,²³⁶ the official list of *conventus* and cities was probably used in order to distribute the amount between all municipalities. In a similar manner the costs of the new temple of Caligula, to be built in Miletus, were met by the common efforts of all *conventus*, as we have seen earlier (above, p. 70). From this it follows naturally that the system of assizes, once introduced primarily for the purpose of the proconsul's jurisdiction, could be used, and was used, for other purposes of the administration as well, not only for those of the Roman government, but also for branches of the administration for which the provincial assembly was responsible, or in which it shared a responsibility with the Roman authorities.

It is in this connection that the term διοίκησις = 'administration' regained its original meaning after having been reduced to one aspect of the administration, the rendering of justice. And it may be noted that another term was always in use for the assizes of Egypt,

²³⁴ P. A. Brunt suggested to me that this might be due to the fact 'that Antony's son was allowed to rise to the consulship and his daughters were married to L. Ahenobarbus and to the elder Drusus; the preservation of the name may have given the commune a claim to valuable patronage'. Note also what Suetonius says about Claudius (*Div. Claud.* 11. 3): 'ne Marcum quidem Antonium in honorem ac sine grata mentione transmisit, testatus quondam per edictum, tanto impensius petere se

ut natalem patris Drusi celebrarent, quod idem esset et avi sui Antoni.'

²³⁵ See, above all, J. Deininger, *Die Provinziallandtage der römischen Kaiserzeit* (1965), passim.

²³⁶ E. M. Smallwood, *Documents Illustrating the Principates of Gaius, Claudius and Nero* (1967), no. 380, col. viii. The relevance of this passage to the present question was brought to my attention by E. W. Gray.

δικλογισμός = 'account',²³⁷ a term obviously pointing much more to the financial than to the jurisdictional duties of the governor.

From these considerations the question at least arises of what other purposes the system of assizes may have served in any of the Roman provinces in the imperial period. Several possibilities come easily to mind: the census and the system of tax collection, recruitment to the army, the composition of the provincial assembly and others. The system of *conventus* may have played its role in many more ways than we happen to know to-day.²³⁸ Whatever the present inscription may eventually, after further study, contribute to answering such questions, it provides at least welcome new evidence on the organization of the system in Asia and on the boundaries of the individual assizes.

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²³⁷ U. Wilcken, *Arch. f. Papyrusforschung* 4 (1907), 366-422; 6 (1909), 373-6; 423.

²³⁸ Cf. L. Robert, *Hellenica* 7 (1949), 226: 'le cadre des *conventus* a dû servir en bien des occasions'.