

## HADRIAN, ANTONINUS PIUS AND THE CYRENAICAN CITIES\*

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(Plates II-IV)

In *JRS* XL (1950), 77 f. P. M. Fraser published from a photograph a considerable but incomplete inscription comprising documents sent to the city of Cyrene by Hadrian (and possibly others during his reign). It seemed natural to relate them to the material and moral damage caused by the Jewish Revolt of A.D. 115-17, although Fraser thought that they had been inscribed much later. Subsequent discussion has been concentrated mainly on the opening sections, concerned with representation in the Panhellenion.<sup>1</sup>

At the time of publication the stele carrying the inscription was without precise provenience within the city of Cyrene. Since then the late R. G. Goodchild has examined what survives of the records of the Italian Superintendency of Antiquities at Cyrene up to and including the early years of the Second World War, and established that it had been found re-used in the Byzantine paving of the late basilica on the north side of the street ('The Valley Street') running through the cleft between the Acropolis and the Hill of the Temple of Zeus (see fig. 1); indeed the building had been wrongly identified as a gymnasium by G. Oliverio on the strength of the references to a gymnasium on the stele.<sup>2</sup> In later excavation of the general area, undertaken for the Libyan Department of Antiquities, Goodchild himself found seven additional pieces of the stele, all re-used in late buildings, the largest of them re-cut to serve as a column-base in the sixth-century church on the south side of the street. Clearly the stone was broken up and its elements dispersed by builders in the early Byzantine period; its original location remains a matter of conjecture.

Goodchild made a careful study of the pieces he found and drew a reconstruction of the whole stele (Pl. II) in which he located exactly all but one; this loose piece belonged, without doubt, in the area between lines 48 and 63 where too little of the text survives for any precision in interpretation.

It can now be seen that the stele was probably inscribed during the reign of Antoninus Pius (see l. 69). For the letter-forms Cyrene can offer close parallels of mid-second-century date, which could not be known to Fraser when he suggested the third century as the likely time of inscription. The documents that it contains are more numerous than originally appeared and although diverse in content are linked by the point that all demonstrate the superiority of Cyrene over the other cities of the province. She is a *metropolis*, the venue of the governors' assize courts, the site of the provincial imperial cult; and when her position was challenged both Hadrian and Pius maintained it, even, perhaps, enhanced it. Clearly the inscription was cut to demonstrate this—and points stressed in earlier discussions, such as the problems of Cyrene after the Jewish Revolt, the importance of the Gymnasium, the membership of Cyrenaican cities in the Panhellenion, are incidental to the main purpose of the inscribing authority. In view of this it is extremely unlikely that the stele was ever erected in any gymnasium. It needed to be in an area frequented on those occasions when the citizens of other Cyrenaican cities assembled at Cyrene for meetings of the provincial *koinon*. Since Goodchild reckoned that the stele must have been at least 1.42 m high by about 0.72 wide its weight alone would suggest an original location not very far from the Valley Street where its pieces were found. Moreover it is not the only

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<sup>1</sup> J. H. Oliver, *Hesperia* xx (1951), 32 f. and *Hesperia Supp.* xiii, 95 f., no. 7; J. A. O. Larsen, *Cl. Phil.* XLVII (1952), 7 f.; C. B. Welles, *AJA* LVI (1952), 76 f.; J. and L. Robert, *Bulletin Épigraphique* 1950, no. 243; 1953, no. 255; *AE* 1951, no. 122; 1953, no. 120.

<sup>2</sup> R. G. Goodchild, *Kyrene und Apollonia* (1971), 139.

stone found re-used in this area which is concerned with the *koinon*; there is also a later inscription (unpublished) referring specifically to provincial affairs. Goodchild, I know, inclined to think that in the fifth century A.D. there were provincial meetings focussed on the area of the Market Theatre, which in fact stands beside the Valley Street (fig. 1); but as far as I am aware he did not seriously consider where they may have taken place earlier. It seems worth suggesting that it was in the Caesareum, less than 200 yards away, from which stones were demonstrably brought for re-use in the later phases of the Valley Street buildings; it had been devoted to the cult of Rome (and no doubt the imperial house) at least from the time of Augustus;<sup>3</sup> while its porticoes, great courtyard, basilica, temple and adjacent theatre were eminently suitable for the purpose of a provincial assembly. Only when the Caesareum was converted into a fort in the later third century was something else required.<sup>4</sup>

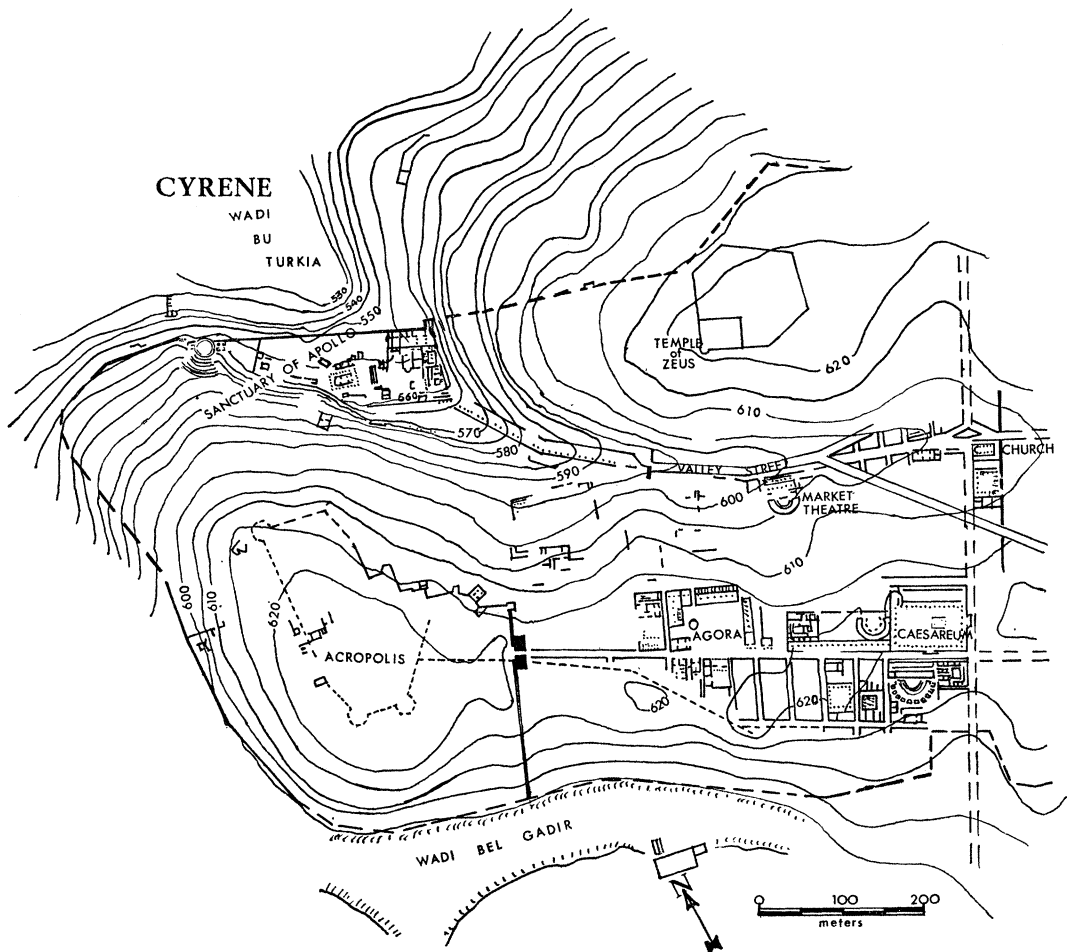


FIG. 1. PLAN OF CYRENE

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<sup>3</sup> For the dedication of the Caesareum to Rome (presumably with Augustus) see J. M. Reynolds *PBSR* xxvi (1958), 159.

<sup>4</sup> R. G. Goodchild, *op. cit.* (n. 2), 74 f.

The text as now known reads as follows :

- vac.* θεός *vac.* Τύχ[α *vac.* ]ἀγαθ[ᾶ *vac.* ]  
 Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ θεοῦ Τρα[ιανοῦ] Παρθικο[ῦ υἱός, θεοῦ]  
 Νέρονα υἱώνος, Τραιανός Ἀδριαν[ός Σεβα]στός, ἀρχιε[ρευς μέγιστος],  
 δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ ἰθ', ὕπατ[ρος τὸ γ'], πατὴρ πατρ[ίδος]  
 5 *vac.* Κυρηναίοις *vac.* χαίρ[ειν *vac.* ]  
 ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ Πανελληνίου ἐφθάκει ἐπιστεῖλαί μοι π[ερὶ τῆς ἀ]ξιώσεως ὑμῶ[ν σπουδά]ζων?  
 ... *c.* 13 ...]  
 τὰ δόξαντά μοι ἀντέγραψα καὶ ὑμῖν ἔπεμψα τὴν προκ[ειμένη?]ν ἀπόκ[ρισιν]? .. *c.* 17 ..  
 Σαλούιος]  
 Κἄρος ὁ κράτιστος ἀνθύπατος *vac.* εὐτυχεῖ[τε *vac.* .. *c.* 30–40 ..]  
 δέχεσθαι δεῖ *v.* οὐ μέντοι δίκαια ἀξιοῦσιν τῶν αὐτῶ[ν]? .. *c.* 40 ..] γέ-  
 10 νος Ἀχαιὸν καὶ ἀκρειβῶς Δώριον αὐτοῖ δὲ ἰθαγενε[ῖς .. *c.* 36 ..]ον δὲ  
 προσεκτῆσαντο τὴν προσαγορίαν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐπικρα[τ- .. *c.* 35 .. τῆ]ν πό-  
 λιν Κυρηναίων δὴ δύο συνέδρους πεμπόντω[ν. .. *c.* 40 ..] *vac.*  
 Κεφάλαια ἐξ ἐπιστολῆ[ς θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ?]  
 προσκειμένου δὲ Ἐπιτέλους ἐνὶ ὅτι ἄρα ἐπεθεσ[...]  
 15 συμφέρειν τῇ πόλει προυποσυλλέγειν αὐτὸν ἐπι[...]  
 ἀνάμνησιν τῆς παλαιᾶς ὑμῶν εὐγενείας διεσ[...]  
 θωθήσεσθαι δοκεῖ ἐπέδωκέ μοι *v.* leaf *v.* νῦν [...]  
 πολυανθρωποτάτην καὶ καλλίστην πόλιν γένος [...]  
 μητρόπολις καὶ τὰ εἰς τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἔργα αἰ[... 35–45 .. γέ]-  
 20 γραφα ὅτι καλὰ καὶ πρέποντα αὐτοῖς ἐστίν[...]  
 εἶναι δίκαιον τὸ πρὸς τὴν μητρόπολιν εὑ[... 35–45 .. κα]-  
 θεστῶτας τὴν ἐπικουρίαν παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλή[νων]? ...  
 ὡς μὲν βούλομαι πλήθος ἀνδρῶν παρὰ[...]  
 πᾶν [γ]ένος καὶ πολὺ δὴ μᾶλλον τὴν Κυρη[ναίων πόλιν...  
*vac.*  
 25 *vac.* Κεφάλαιον ἐκ δ[ιατάγματος θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ *vac.*]  
 βουλοίμην δ' ἂν ὑμᾶς μὴ τῶ φόβῳ τῶν ε[... *c.* 37 ..]ωφ εἴξαν-  
 τας καὶ ἀναμνησθέντας ὅτι αἰσχρὸν ἐστί [... *c.* 20 .. πόλιν διὰ] χρησμούς τοῦ  
 Ἀπόλλωνος ἑκτισμένην ἀναξίως καὶ τ[... *c.* 28 ..] τῆς παλαιᾶς δια-  
 κειμένην συνελθεῖν καὶ συναυξῆσαι τ[ὴν ὑμετέραν πόλιν καὶ οὐ μόνον ο]ικήτορας ἀλλὰ  
 30 καὶ οἰκιστὰς γενέσθαι τῆς πατρίδος *v.* [*vac.*] *vac.*  
 πυθθάνομαι τὸ γυμνάσιον ὑμῶν κα[... *c.* 35 .. μα]νθάνων πολ-  
 λούς ἤδη παῖδας τρεφομένους καὶ αὐξ[ανομένους. . *c.* 20 ..]ν μὴ ἐν τῶ κο[ι]-  
 νῶ γυμνασίῳ συναναφύρωνται τοῖς α[... *c.* 30 .. ἐ]φηβικὴν ἰδίᾳ  
 εἰς ἣν φοιτῶντες καὶ τὰς διατριβάς ποι[οῦμενοι. . *c.* 14 .. δωρεὰς] λήμψονται τὰς  
 35 παρ' ἐμοῦ διδομένας *vac.* [*vac.*] *vac.*  
 ὁ μάλιστα ἀναγκαῖον ἦν ὡς ἠξιώσατ[ε ὑμεῖς αὐτοί]? .. *c.* 13 ..? νομοθε[σίαν ἐποίη[σ]ᾶ- *v.*  
 μην, ἐστὶν δ' οὐδὲν νόμῳ πρὸ ὑμ[... *c.* 44 ..]ων ἀφ' οἷων ὑμεῖς  
 κατοικιζομένην *v.* τίνες δ' ἂν νό[μ- .. *c.* 45 .. Λ]ακωνικῶν  
 καὶ τύχη τινὶ ἀγαθῇ τῆς Κυρήνης [... *c.* 42 .. ἐ]ν τοῖς Λακεδαι-  
 40 μονίοις ἐπηρεσθῶσιν τοὺς [... *c.* 44 ..] *vac.*  
 [..] ΤΗCENC[.] ΝΧΩΡΑ[...] Ν[... *c.* 54 ..] τέσσερα *v.*  
 Δωριέων γὰρ ἀνθρώπων [... *c.* 56 .. Λα]κωνικὴ  
 σωφροσύνη καὶ ἀσκη[σις] ...  
 Ὀ[ρ]ῶ γὰρ καὶ διὰ τὸ γεν[...  
 45 ατω τῶν ΕΚCCOY[...]  
 μὴν ὑμ[...]  
 καὶ τη[...]  
 ΝΟΙ[...]  
 [..]κ[... 8–9 ]ον πρὸς ἣν τ[...  
 50 [.. 8–9 ..]σύνη τοῦ θεοῦ τῶν[...  
 [.. 7–8 ..]ς μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ[...  
 [.. 6–7 ..] ὑμῖν μὴ ἀποδέχ[εσθαι]? ...

- [. .5-6. .]αζε σπουδῆ[. . .  
 [. .5-6. .]ΥΔΙΟΝΙΛΟ[. . .  
 55 [κατοι]κίσαν[τες? . . .  
 [. .5-6. .]φ[. . .  
 [c. 6 lines altogether lost here]  
 63 κάγω πάνυ ἠδέως ἀνεθέμ[ην. . .  
 καὶ τῶν δι' ὑμᾶς ὑπαρξάν[των. . .  
 ὅσοι ἀν ἐκ τῆς ὑμετέρας πό[λεως. . .  
 ται παρ' ὑμῖν ἐργάζονται Λ[. . .  
 67 τῷ ἀνθυπάτῳ ὅσοι ΑΝΑΛΟ[. . .  
 τεθνάναι δεσμοῦ πρὸς τει[. . .  
*vac.* Κεφάλαια ἐπισ[τολῶν τοῦ] κυρίου Ἀντωνεῖν[ου *vac.*]  
 70 Βερνεικεῖς ἤξιουν καὶ ἀγοράξ[ν δικῶν? αὐτοῦ ἀχθ]ῆναι προστεθῆναι μὲν οὖν ταῖς [ἀγορα  
 ἰ]-  
 οἰς πάνυ ἐργῶδες εἶναι μοι ἔ[δοξεν ὁ γὰρ ἀ]νθύπατος ὥσπερ ἴστε καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐπιμε  
 [λούμε]-  
 νος ὁμοῦ τῆς τε Κρήτης καὶ τ[ῆς Κυρήνης] οὐκ ἔστιν ἵκανὸς πλεῖω χρόνον διάγειν  
 [ἐν ὑ]-  
 μῖν ἢ νῦν ποιεῖ *v.* ἀξιούντῳ[ν οὖν τῶν] Βερνεικέων παρὰ μέρος ἀγεσθαι τὴν ἀγο[ράν?]  
 ἐν ἐκάστη πόλει ἀπεκρινά[μην ὅτι αἰ' ?ν]ῦν τὴν ἀγοραίαν ἔχουσαι πόλεις ἀδηλόν  
 ἔστιν [ῶς]  
 75 δέξονται τὸ μὴ κατ' ἐνιαυτ[ὸν ἔχειν ὦ]σπερ εἶχον *v.* ἀφαιρεθῆναι δὲ τοὺς ἔχοντας  
 ὑπὲρ τ[οῦ]  
 δοθῆναι τοῖς οὐκ ἔχουσιν[ ?ἀδικῆσ]αί μοι δοκεῖ πλὴν εἰ μὴ ἄρα ὑμῖν βουλομένοις  
 εἶην τ[ὸ]  
 τοιαύτην κοινωνίαν κα[ταστήσαι] *vac.*  
 Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ θεοῦ Ἀ[δριανοῦ υἱ]ός, θεοῦ Τραιανοῦ Παρθικοῦ υἱωνός, θεοῦ  
 Νέρουα ἔγγ[ο]  
 νος, Τίτος Αἴλιος Ἀδριαν[ὸς Ἀντωνε]ῖνος Σεβαστός, ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος δημαρχικῆς  
 ἐξ[ου]-  
 80 σίας τὸ ἰζ', αὐτοκράτῳ[ρ τὸ β', ὑπα]τος τὸ δ', πατήρ πατρίδος, Πτολεμαιοῦσι  
 Βαρκαίοι[σι *vac.*]  
 χαίρειν *vac.* θ[αυμάζ]ω ὅτι μηδέποτε ἐν τῷ ἔμπροσθεν χρόνῳ διαπέμψαν[τες ἀλλά]  
 συνθύσαντες εἰς τὸν τῷ[ν Κυρην]αίων ἀγῶνα νῦν πρῶτον ἀπεστείλατε, οὐ γὰρ  
 ἀγνοεῖ[τε ὅτι]  
 τὸ τὰ τοιαῦτα καινοτομ[εῖν ?αίτι]αν παρέχει ταῖς πόλεσι φιλονεικίας *v.* ἐγένετο τοίνυ[ν  
 ἢ συν]-  
 θυσία ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἔθνους [. .c. 7. .]ενα ἐπρέσβευεν Οὐαλέριος Παυσανίας ᾧ τὸ ἐφόδι[ον  
 δοθή]-  
 85 τῷ εἰ μὴ προῖκα ὑπέσ[χηται εὐτυ]χεῖτε *vac.*

Loose fragment (0.09 × 0.16 × 0.09) from the right side of the stele, to be placed somewhere between ll. 49 and 63.

- 5  
 [ . . . ]  
 . . . ]α πρὸς  
 . . . ]*vacat.*  
 . . . ]σε εἰς τὸ  
 . . . ]δεύονται  
 . . . ]σταμαι  
 . . . ]λιπου-  
 . . . ]*vacat.*  
 . . . ]N  
 . . . ]C  
 [ . . . ]

A fairly literal translation of the two new documents in ll. 69 f. is appended :

Chief points from letters of our lord Antoninus :

The Bereniceans requested that an assize should be held in their city ; but it seemed to me difficult to add to the number of court-days, for, as you know yourselves, the proconsul, having charge of Crete at the same time as of Cyrene, is unable to spend more time with you than he already does. Since the Bereniceans request that the assize should be held in each city in turn, I replied that it is not clear how the cities which already have an assize will take it if they do not have it annually as in the past ; for those who have it to be deprived of it in order to give it to those who do not seems to me to inflict injustice, unless the establishment of such a rotation were made with your consent.

The Emperor Caesar T. Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus, son of Divus Hadrianus, grandson of Divus Trajanus Parthicus, greatgrandson of Divus Nerva, pontifex maximus, in the seventeenth year of his tribunician power, hailed Emperor twice, consul for the fourth time, father of his country, greets the people of Ptolemais Barka.

I am surprised that after sending no earlier protest, but joining in the sacrifice for the games held by the Cyrenaeans, you have now for the first time despatched an ambassador ; for you are not ignorant that this kind of innovation is a source of strife between cities ; therefore common(?) sacrifice was established(?) for the whole province. Valerius Pausanias carried out the function of ambassador ; travelling expenses should be paid to him unless he promised to pay them himself. Farewell.

In compiling the following notes on the reading I have omitted earlier proposals outdated by discovery of the new fragments. O.<sup>1</sup> = Oliver in *Hesperia* xx ; O.<sup>2</sup> = Oliver in *Hesperia Supplement* XIII ; F. notes = the results of a re-reading of the stone by Fraser which he generously made available to me (for full references see n. 1 above).

L. 6, ἐφέλκει F. (O., L.), ἐφολκεί (O.<sup>2</sup>) ; | F. (L.), π[ερί] (O.<sup>1</sup>), π[ροτιμῶν] (O.<sup>2</sup>) ; l. 7, προ[ F. (O.), ΠΡΟΝ ΉΠΡΟΜ, F. notes ; l. 9, αὐτ F. (O., L.), ΑΥΤΑ F. notes, αὐτ[οφυῶν] (O.<sup>2</sup>) ; l. 10, Δῶρον F. (O.<sup>1</sup>, L.), Δῶριον F. notes, Δῶρ[ι]ον (O.<sup>2</sup>) ; ἰθαγεν[εῖς] F. (O., L.), ἰθαγενε[ῖς] F. notes ; l. 11, Ἐπικρυ[ F., ἐπικρυ[ (O., L.) a form or derivative of ἐπικρύπτεσθαι, O.<sup>2</sup>, ἐπικρα[ F. notes ; l. 13, ἐπιστολ[ῆς] F. (O.<sup>2</sup>), ἐπιστολῆ[ς] F. notes ; l. 14, Ἐπιτέλους F., ἐπὶ τέλους (O.) ; ἐπέθεσ[αν] F. (O., L.), ἐπέθεσα[ν] F. notes ; l. 15, συλλ[.]έγειν F. (O.<sup>1</sup>, L.), συλλ v. έγειν F. notes, συμ[φ]έρειν (O.<sup>2</sup>) ; l. 16, διε[ F. (O.<sup>2</sup>) ; l. 17, θωθ[ή]σεσθαι F., θωθήσεσθαι F. notes, θω θήσεσθαι, perhaps ἐπ'άγα]/θῶ, etc. (O.<sup>2</sup>) ; l. 19, [ἄ]ρα/πλείστους F. (O.<sup>2</sup>), καὶ τὰ εἰς τοὺς F. notes ; ΕΡΓΛΑ F. (O.<sup>2</sup>), ἔργα F. notes ; l. 21, εὐ om. F. (O.<sup>2</sup>), add. F. notes ; l. 22, ἐπ[ικ]ουρίαν F. (O.<sup>2</sup>), ἐπικουρίαν F. notes ; θ[ F. (O.<sup>2</sup>), Ἑλλη[ F. notes, perhaps Ἑλλα[ F from a squeeze ; l. 23, βούλομι F. (O.<sup>2</sup>), βούλομαι F. notes ; παρ[ F. (O.<sup>2</sup>), παρὰ F. notes ; l. 24, [γ]ένος F. (O.<sup>2</sup>), γένος F. notes ; πολυδύναμον F. (O.<sup>2</sup>) ; Κυρ[ή]νην F. (O.<sup>2</sup>), Κυρή[νην] F. notes ; l. 25, ἐκ[ F. (O.<sup>2</sup>) ; l. 26, πα[ρ]σ[ω]ῶ[ν] F. (O.<sup>2</sup>), ὕμῶς μή F. notes ; l. 28, και[ F. (O.<sup>2</sup>), ἡκατ[εστρα]μμένην F., κατὰ F. notes ; l. 32, αὐ[ F., αὐ[ (O.<sup>2</sup>) ; l. 36, ἦν F. (O.<sup>2</sup>), μήν F. notes ; προῦ[ F. (O.<sup>2</sup>) ; l. 39, Κυρήνη[ς] F. (O.<sup>2</sup>) ; l. 40, [μ]ονίους F. (O.<sup>2</sup>) ; l. 41, ]HO[ ]N[ F. (O.<sup>2</sup>) ; l. 44, γρ[ F. (O.<sup>2</sup>), Γ]N[ F. notes ; l. 46, τῶν[ ]ου[ F. (O.<sup>2</sup>) ; l. 47, μην τ[ F. (O.<sup>2</sup>) ; l. 49, ]ο[ F. (O.<sup>2</sup>).

### Interpretation and reconstruction

From l. 6 onwards the line length is variable, since the letters are sometimes squeezed up against each other and sometimes strung out. I calculate that it oscillates between sixty five and eighty letters.

I have limited my commentary largely (though not quite entirely) to points on which there is new evidence available. For that reason my notes inevitably sound very critical of earlier editors, although in fact I gratefully acknowledge my heavy debt to them.

l. 2, Fraser and Oliver tentatively proposed to include Δακκικοῦ among Trajan's titles but the new fragment shows the precise relationship of this line to the two below it, where the supplements are certain, and demonstrates that there is no room for it.

l. 4, the imperial titles date the document in A.D. 134/5, about two years after the foundation of the Panhellenion and, as Oliver<sup>2</sup> points out, at a stage when consideration of applications for membership must have taken up much of the time of its officers.

l. 5, the common formula used in addressing a city is ἄρχονσι βουλῆ δῆμῳ τῶν δεινῶν and it may be that Κυρηναίοις here represents a summary of this (so, tentatively, Dr. Wynne Williams in correspondence) ; but the emperor's title is given in full so that a summary is surprising, and the phenomenon recurs in the letter of Antoninus Pius to Ptolemais, ll. 78-80 below. An obvious parallel is in the imperial correspondence with Delphi which is addressed Δέλφῶν τῆ πόλει (cf. *Fouilles de Delphes* III. IV. 3, nos. 301, 302) ; presumably the emperor tended to pick up the description used by his correspondents of themselves or by a third party, as here, no doubt, by the archon of the Panhellenion.

ll. 6f., Hadrian writes briefly to the Cyrenaeans on a subject on which he has been consulted by the archon of the Panhellenion, and apparently also, though later, by the Cyrenaeans themselves, though a Cyrenaean approach to the archon is probably implied as well. He has made a decision, incorporated

in a rescript to the archon, sends an additional document to the Cyrenaeans and also refers to some action of the proconsul Salvius Carus. In l. 6 the reading ἐφθάνει (the crossbar of A seems to me clear) antiquates much of the discussion of this line; for the use of φθάνω in this kind of context cf. the letter of an archon of the Panhellenion in 157/8 (*OGIS* 507 = Oliver, *Hesperia Supp.* XIII, 115, no. 30, l. 4 f., φθάνομεν . . . ἡξιωκότες). It needs to be complemented by a participle on which ἐπιστείλαι must depend, but it is now clear that there is no room for π[ροτιμῶν] which Oliver supplies here before περί; something, perhaps, with the sense of σπουδάζων must be supposed later in the line—the archon had already been zealous to send to Hadrian on the subject on which the Cyrenaeans had made their request (for this sense of ἀξίωσις see H. J. Mason, *Greek Terms for Roman Institutions s.v.*). It would appear from what follows that Cyrene was already a member of the Panhellenion (so Larsen and Oliver<sup>2</sup> against Oliver<sup>1</sup> and Welles) and asking for something more. As Oliver<sup>2</sup> points out, l. 9 shows that one request was rejected as improper; since it is not rational to suppose that the Cyrenaeans would advertise the fact if it were theirs (and this argument is strengthened by the extended context into which the document must now be fitted), I follow him in supposing that l. 9 refers to an application for membership made by a rival of the Cyrenaeans, and so take l. 6 to mean that the Cyrenaeans request was for the rejection of this application, which must have been indicated at the end of the line. We have no clue to the identity of the rejected group—Oliver<sup>2</sup>, p. 99, no. 8, suggested, but without conviction, that it was the city of Apollonia. There seem to me no valid grounds for this.

l. 7, Hadrian states that he has replied as seemed right to him and sent something to the Cyrenaeans as well. Fraser thought that this might be a report from, or a document ratified and sent to the emperor by, the proconsul whose name began at the end of the line; cf. also Oliver<sup>1</sup>, proposing ἦν ἐπέστειλε Σαλβούσιος, or Oliver<sup>2</sup>, with ἦν ἔγραψε Σαλβούσιος at that point. With the new fragment it seems more probable that what the emperor sent to Cyrene was a copy of his own rescript to the archon of the Panhellenion and so, perhaps, that something like τὴν προκ[εϊμένην] ἀπόκ[ρισιν] stood here (a word with the sense of *copy* rather than of *answer* would be more satisfying, but ἀπογραφὴ seems not to be attested in this sense in the Roman period, cf. Mason, loc. cit. under l. 6 f., and Preisigke, *Wörterbuch*, s.v.). The link with Salvius could have been made by a phrase on the lines of ὡς προσδεῖταιί μου, as *Salvius asked of me*, implying, no doubt, that the Cyrenaeans request was made through the proconsul and not direct to the emperor by means of an embassy.

ll. 8–12 continued then, I suggest, with the substance of Hadrian's reply to the archon rather than of a letter either to or from the proconsul, or indeed of another letter from the emperor to Cyrene. It needed no new heading because it was already explained by Hadrian's statement in ll. 7–8. Unfortunately the new fragment adds little here and any reconstruction must be very tentative indeed. I follow Oliver<sup>2</sup> in thinking that the text refers first to a group whose claim to representation in the Panhellenion was in some way improper; and since l. 10 clearly refers to true Greek descent, I presume that it was in this matter that it failed, so that it was not entitled to representation in the Panhellenion at all, rather than that it was not entitled to as many representatives as Cyrene. With Oliver<sup>2</sup>, therefore, I reject the proposal of Oliver<sup>1</sup> for the end of l. 8 (περὶ τῶν Κυρηναίων λεγόντων ὅτι) for something such as he substitutes here—λέγουσιν ὅτι σύνεδρον καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν, though I think that these rejected claimants must have been named. In l. 10, where Fraser and Oliver<sup>1</sup> saw references to the heroes Achaëus and Dorus, it is now clear that we have adjectives qualifying γένος; cf. διὰ τὸ γένος Ἑλληνικόν in the justification for allowing representation in the Panhellenion to Cibyra, Oliver, *Hesperia Supp.* XIII 95, no. 6. There can be no serious doubt that the Cyrenaeans are in question here; but, as Fraser noted, ἀκρειβῶς presents difficulties and these do not seem to me to be solved completely by the translation of Oliver<sup>2</sup>, *in the truest sense*. It may be that the Theran dialect shows affinities with Achaean as well as Laconian (Oliver quotes F. Kiechle, *Lakonien und Sparta, Vestigia* V (1963), 81–95 in this connection), implying two elements in the Theran population which the Theran colonists of Cyrene will have brought with them; but the run of the sentence surely suggests not two elements in Cyrene's original population but a wider definition narrowed down to a more precise one by ἀκρειβῶς. Could the phrase mean *Greek and strictly Dorian* (as suggested to me by Mrs. P. E. Easterling)?

Oliver restores ll. 9–11 to give

δέχεσθαι δεῖ οὐ μέντοι δίκαια ἀξιοῦσιν· τῶν αὐτ[οφῶν] Κυρηναίων ἦν ἐκ παλαιοῦ τὸ γέ-  
νος Ἀχαιὸν καὶ ἀκρειβῶς Δωρ[ι]ον· αὐτοὶ δὲ ἰθαγενε[ῖς] μᾶλλον ἢ Ἑλληνες τὰ ἄνωθεν ὄντες]  
προσεκτήσαντο τὴν προσηγορίαν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐπικρῦ[πτεσθαι]? . . .

The new fragment necessitates some alterations in this at the end of l. 10 and before the break in l. 11; but in addition to these it seems to me difficult to take ἰθαγενής in the sense *indigenous* rather than *true-born*, with reference to the γένος which has just been mentioned. If δέ is adversative then perhaps we should expect ἰθαγενεῖς οὐκ ὄντες; but I wonder whether this is so and would suggest, tentatively, that αὐτοὶ might be the Cyrenaeans. The essential part of the statement made in ll. 9–10 would then be that Cyrene had been founded by Greeks and the Cyrenaeans themselves remained

of pure stock. I suggest for consideration something on the following lines, although I am conscious that it is not entirely satisfying, notably because it is not normal to speak of a race as despatching colonists:

δέχεσθαι δεῖ· οὐ μέντοι δίκαια ἀξιοῦσιν τῶν αὐτῶ[ν δεόμενοι] ὧν περ οἱ Κυρηναῖοι οὐς ἐξέπεμψε μὲν] γένος Ἀχαιῶν καὶ ἀκριβῶς Δάριον· αὐτοὶ δὲ ἰθαγενε[ῖς] ὄντες . . .

The new fragment suggests that a new sentence began near the end of l. 10, perhaps with an adjective of two terminations qualifying προσηγοῦσαν in l. 11, ? *And they obtained in addition the glorious (?) title*; thereafter, on the basis of Fraser's first reading, Oliver<sup>2</sup> suggested some part of ἐπικράτῃσθαι, and a reference to irregular infiltration into the Hellenic citizen body. With ἐπικρα[... for ἐπικρυ[... we are more likely to have ἐπικρατεῖν = *to prevail over*, referring perhaps to a title derived from Cyrene's predominance in the region. In ll. 19 and 21 there occurs the title μητρόπολις in which Cyrene took considerable pride in the second half of the second century, to judge by the number of times it appears in inscriptions. I would suggest the possibility that this is the title in question and that the word itself occurred in the missing part of l. 10; while originally an expression of her claim to have founded the other cities of the territory, it also became, in the Roman context, a statement of her superior rank in the province.

l. 12, Fraser and Oliver<sup>1</sup> (no comment by Oliver<sup>2</sup>), taking πεμπόντων as an imperative, seem to envisage translating *let them send two synhedroi to the city of the Cyrenaeans*, which can hardly be right. Larsen takes πόλιω as belonging to the preceding phrase and πεμπόντων as a participle, which seems to be easier, *with the Cyrenaeans accordingly* (so Larsen) *sending two synhedroi* (sc. *to the Panhellenion*). It must be admitted that the reference to two representatives from Cyrene might suggest that the rivals were allowed to send one; although the stress may be wholly on πεμπόντων, with the figure added only as an incidental fact.

l. 13 gives a new heading and it seems to me that this must introduce a new (and later) document, quite possibly on a new aspect of Cyrene's status. The name of the writer of the letter which is summarized is lost; Fraser has proposed Hadrian, Oliver the governor and Welles the Cyrenaeans themselves. The last solution is ruled out, as Oliver<sup>2</sup> has already noted, by ὑμῶν and μοι in ll. 16, 17, demonstrating that a singular subject addresses a plural object; there is of course no objection, as supposed by Welles, to making excerpts from imperial letters and a clear instance of the practice occurs on this stele at l. 64. In the context as we now have it the subject is overwhelmingly likely to have been an emperor and pretty certainly Hadrian whose name I have tentatively restored; the content seems to indicate that his letter was addressed to Cyrene.

l. 14, I follow Fraser in reading Ἐπιτέλους, a personal name in the genitive case, and subject of προσκειμένου (Oliver preferred ἐπὶ τέλους, taking the subject to be the governor, and probably the Salvius Carus named in the previous document who was, in his view, the writer of this letter); and I suggest that Epiteles is as likely to have been a Cyrenaean ambassador as an archon of the Panhellenion (so Fraser). It remains far from clear what was the one thing on which he insisted. At the end of the line all editors have proposed ἐπέθεσ[αν], but another possibility is ἐπέθεσ[πισειν, with Apollo as subject. In ll. 27, 28 there is a reference to the Apolline oracles on which the first founders of Cyrene acted; they could also have formed the core of Epiteles' argument.

l. 15, συμφέρειν, read by Oliver from the photograph, is certainly right. If an Apolline oracle was mentioned in l. 14, the accusative and infinitive construction here must give part of its content and αὐτόν should be Battus. There is a difficulty in the suggestion of H. M. Last (*ap. Fraser*) that προ-υποσυλλέγειν = Latin *sublegere*, but there is no real need to look beyond the Greek sense of the word, *to collect gradually in advance*.

ll. 16 f., too little survives for assured reconstruction and it is not easy to see how ἐπέδωκέ μοι fits in; perhaps Epiteles gave Hadrian a document (? a Cyrenaean decree) which stressed preservation (cf. Fraser's διεσ[ώθησθαι in l. 16) of the memory of the ancient nobility in a Cyrene founded in accordance with Apolline oracles, and made proposals for some reform (cf. Fraser's κατορ[θωθ[ῆ]σεσθαι in ll. 16/17).

ll. 17 f., a new sentence obviously begins at νῦν in l. 17; but in ll. 18/19 the writer may have returned to the past with descriptions of Cyrene as most populous and most beautiful and (although I have no explanation of how the change from accusative case to nominative occurred) as metropolis and probably benefactor of the Greeks (which recalls the city's donations of corn to Greek cities in the fourth century B.C., *SEG* ix. 2). All this must be intended to explain why Hadrian has written to persons whose name is lost, pointing out what is honourable and fitting for them (l. 20), in fact probably urging on them the justice of behaving well to their metropolis (? τὸ πρὸς τὴν μητροπόλιν εὐ[πριεῖν may give the kind of sense in l. 21). If that view is on the right lines, this document, like the earlier ones, may arise from a challenge, presumably from one of her daughter cities, to Cyrene's status. But it is not clear why Hadrian should then refer to help from the Greeks (l. 22). Fraser's

ΕΛΛΑ[, read from his squeeze, would solve this difficulty, giving, presumably, 'Ελλ[δάρχων, but I still feel that Η[ is more like what I saw on the stone. If I am right, the occasion could perhaps be connected with a fragment of an approximately contemporary inscription in which Greeks (rather Cyrenaican Greeks rather than Greeks in general) are begged to save their 'mother Cyrene', and there is a reference to gifts and to corn, followed by a list, which I take to be a list of subscribers, in which the first name is θεός Ἀδριανός (G. Oliverio, *ASAA* XXXIX-XL (1961-2), 257, no. 68). Alternatively, coming after one reference to population (l. 18) and before another (l. 23), it may be that what was proposed was a voluntary 'colonization' of Cyrene by her daughter cities. Colonists were sent to Cyrenaica from elsewhere immediately after the Jewish Revolt (Orosius VII. 12b and the inscription from Attaleia, *Türk Tarih Belleten* XI (1947), 101 f. quoted by Fraser, p. 84, n. 37). We do not know whether any of these went to Cyrene (but for a few possible traces of them see J. M. Reynolds, *PCPS* CLXXXV (1959), 27). A second despatch of colonists in or after 134/5 is a possibility. l. 23, being outspaced, may mark the start of a new paragraph (but see below under l. 40); it seems to introduce the emperor's wishes in relation to size of population. It may be that he wished increase of population for every race and especially for Cyrene—but there is very little space for any practical proposal (see above on l. 20 f. for what he is known to have done).

l. 25 carries a new heading, indicating again an excerpt from a document which, like Fraser, I suppose to be described as an imperial edict, although its language is that of a letter. It appears to have continued to l. 63, unless another heading stood in the lost area after l. 56.

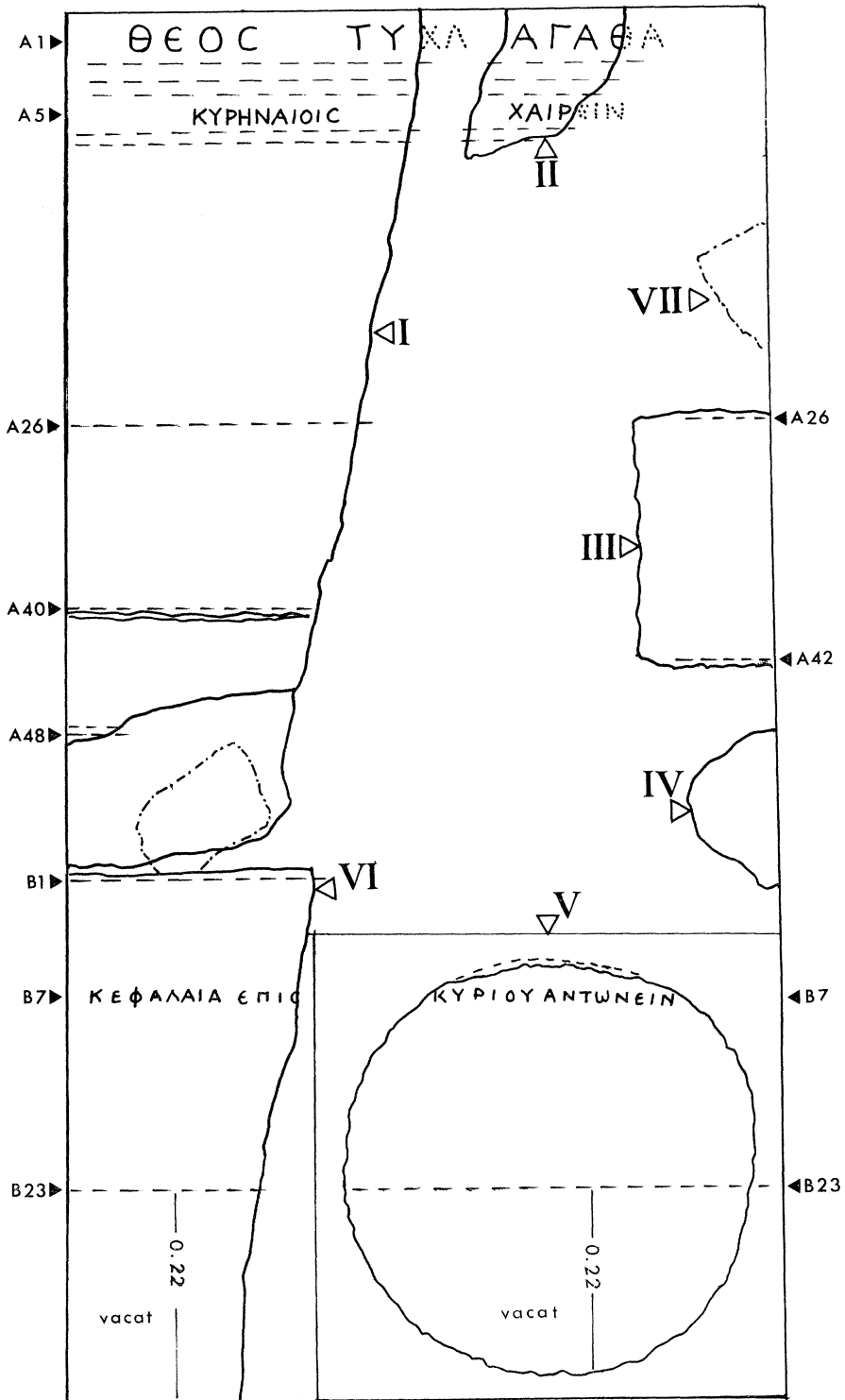
ll. 26 f., the emperor addresses a group who can, I believe, now be seen to be the Cyrenaeans themselves (cf. οικήτορας in l. 29) rather than Greeks from elsewhere, whether the mainland or other parts of Cyrenaica, as originally suggested by Fraser. He apparently urges them to take initiatives themselves. The general line of his argument seems clear enough, despite the gaps in ll. 26-8: they should not yield to fear, but, remembering that it is disgraceful to allow a city founded in accordance with Apolline oracles to lie in ruins in a manner unworthy of its ancient fame, should become not simply residents but also founders of what is their own country. In l. 26 the sense that I suppose in the gap would be provided by something on the lines of τῶν ἐπιτιυχουσῶν ὑμῖν κακοπαθειῶν, followed by one or more adverbs, such as ἀσθεν[ῶς; in l. 27 by [πολίτας ὄντας ἀπολείπειν πόλιν, etc.; in l. 28 by τ[αλαιπώρωσ καὶ ἄνευ τῆς δόξης]; while in l. 29 the formulae printed seem reasonably probable.

What the new fragment has added here, besides the identity of those addressed, is, I suggest, a strong likelihood that the point is not now population, but public buildings, so that the difficulties over the gymnasium introduced in l. 30 have a very straightforward context. Not all the restorations of buildings at Cyrene in this period are dated, but there is a series from 118 and 119, when Hadrian himself was active and seems to show a preoccupation with official works (a road, the Caesareum and Basilica, the Baths which had been given to the city by Trajan); and then in 138 the city honours him in the dedication of a base in the temple commonly called the Capitolium where it describes itself as κοσμηθεῖσα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ (*SEG* IX. 136). That may indicate that towards the end of his reign Hadrian undertook a second programme to provide less essential but desirable κόσμος (see also Reynolds, *op. cit.* above under l. 17). In the present document in fact Hadrian proceeds from urging activity on the Cyrenaeans to a promise of specific help from himself; typically he gives something connected with education. In l. 31 he probably said that he hears that the gymnasium is lying in ruins (perhaps something like κα[ταβληθῆναι ἐν τῷ Ἰουδαίων πολέμῳ καὶ μα]νθάνων stood here). It is now reasonably clear that his gift is not, as Fraser guessed, a training ground in which old and new citizens could mingle together, but one specifically for the young. Something was clearly in operation (τὸ κοινὸν γυμνάσιον in ll. 32/3) and the emperor undertook to provide a new gymnasium for ephebes in which they would not have to rub shoulders with older men; frequenting this, so he argues, they would really appreciate the imperial generosity. The sense might be given by something like αὐξ[ανομένους καὶ οὐκ ἀσκοῦντας τὴν γυμναστικὴν] in l. 32, ἀ[νδρασι δίδωμι ὑμῖν καινὴν παλαίστραν ἐ]φηβικὴν, in l. 33, ποι[οῦμενοι καὶ ἀσκοῦντες δωρέας] in l. 34.

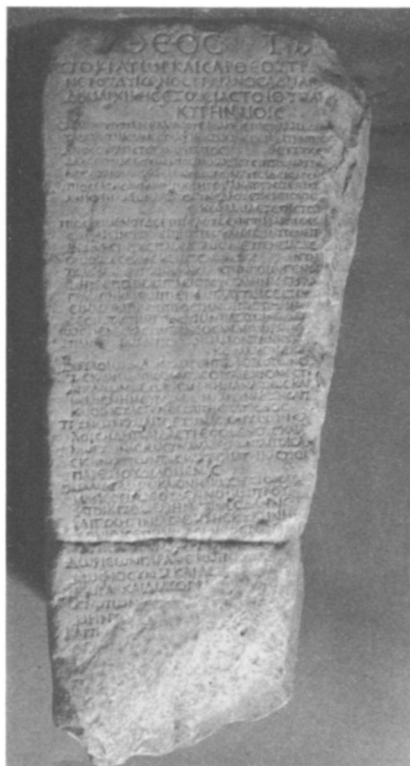
The gift was presumably the Hadrianic Gymnasium (Xystos) of Hermes and Heracles, whose outer wall, fronting the street which ran from the Caesareum to the Agora, has recently been re-erected by Professor Sandro Stucchi (S. Stucchi, *Architettura Cirenaica* (1975), 127 f. and fig. 109).

ll. 36 f. contain a new section, as the *vacat* at the end of l. 35 followed by the outspacing of l. 36 shows, but it is very fragmentary despite the new additions. Hadrian seems to be referring to a benefit conferred earlier, at urgent Cyrenaean request, which may be the νομοθεσία that I have tentatively restored in l. 36 (on the basis of *SEG* XVII. 80, dated to 128/9, in which Hadrian is honoured as νομοθέτης). If that is right, the following lines appear to be indicating that he took the Spartan code for a model, as being particularly appropriate in view of the Spartan connections of Cyrene's founders (for these see e.g. F. Kiechle, *op. cit.* (p. 116 above) on l. 10, Josephus, *B<sup>J</sup>* II. 381 and Synesius, *Epp.* 57). An inscription discovered in 1977 by the expedition from the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, working in the extra-mural temple of Demeter at Cyrene, also has a bearing on this, and I am able to mention it by the generosity of Professor Donald White, the Director of excavations: its fragmentary lines contain the words ἀγωγῶν καὶ σοφ[ίαν] and παιδείας, followed,





CYRENE: RECONSTRUCTION OF THE STELE WITH DOCUMENTS OF HADRIAN AND ANTONINUS PIUS. *Drawn by R. G. Goodchild. Copyright reserved.*



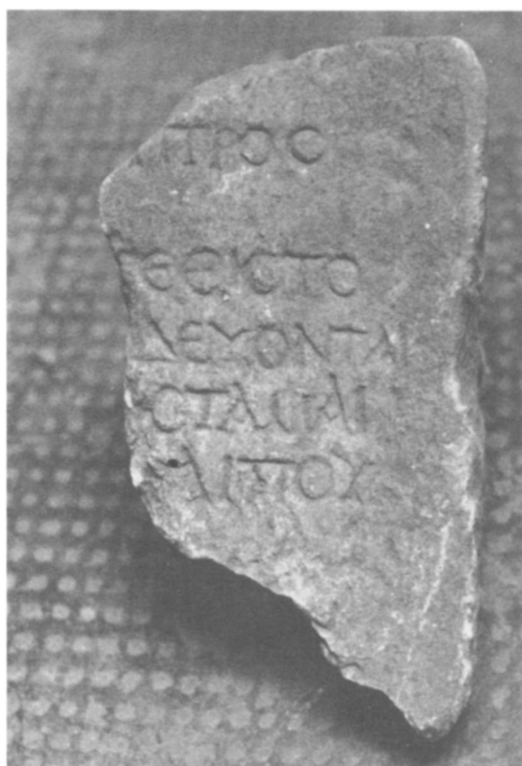
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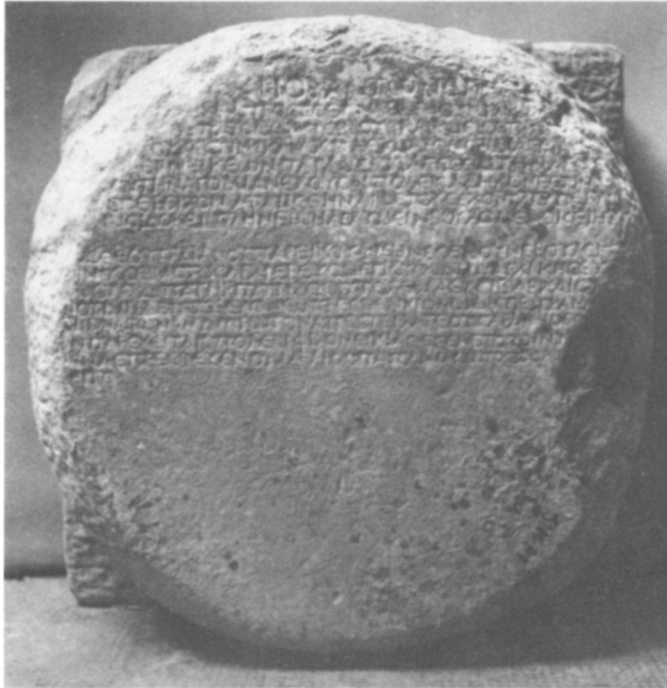


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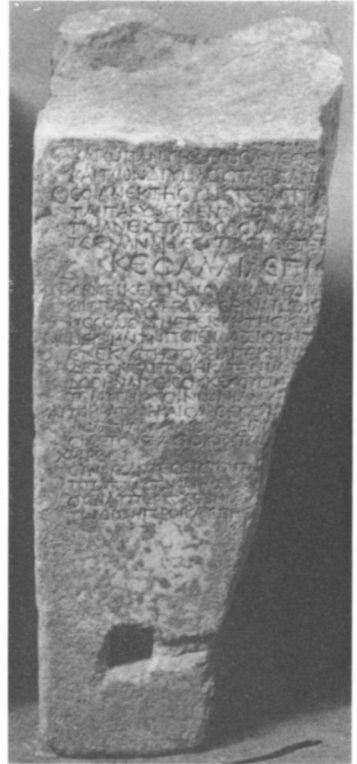


(4)

CYRENE: FRAGMENTS OF STELE WITH DOCUMENTS OF HADRIAN AND ANTONINUS PIUS. (1) FRAGMENT I. (2) FRAGMENT II. (3) FRAGMENT III. (4) FRAGMENT IV. Photographs by R. G. Goodchild (1) and E. Alföldi-Rosenbaum. Copyright reserved.



(1)



(2)



(3)



(4)

CYRENE: FRAGMENTS OF STELE WITH DOCUMENTS OF HADRIAN AND ANTONINUS PIUS. (1) FRAGMENT V. (2) FRAGMENT VI. (3) FRAGMENT VII. (4) JOIN OF FRAGMENTS I AND VI. *Photographs by E. Alföldi-Rosenbaum. Copyright reserved.*

after a gap, by παρά Λακεδαιμο[νίων; the stone carries no date and its worn letters seem at first sight to be a good deal earlier than Hadrian; they perhaps indicate an earlier action of the same character as Hadrian's, but I may have misdated them. In l. 38 there seems to be a rhetorical question which perhaps made the same point.

l. 40, the *vacat* at the end is odd unless the line contained the end of the paragraph; and it must be observed that l. 41 is so badly damaged that it is impossible to be sure that it was not outspaced; in fact I think that it must have been. On the other hand there is a *vacat*, though a much smaller one, at the end of l. 41 itself and l. 42 is again outspaced. L. 42, however, and each of the next two outspaced lines, 44 and 47, open with a phrase which is linked to the preceding lines by a particle or conjunction (γάρ in ll. 42, 44 and καί in l. 47), so that they are unlikely to start new sections. It seems possible that in this area of the stone outspacing was sometimes used for emphasis.

The reading at the beginning of l. 41 seems to me too uncertain for conjecture. The figure at the end may perhaps refer to four characteristic Spartan virtues which Hadrian hoped to inculcate by his code: the σωφροσύνη and ἄσκησις of l. 43 and two more. In l. 44 the first word before the break seems likely to have been γένος or γενέσθαι; but by this point the text has become too defective for serious discussion. In l. 50 the god is presumably Apollo and perhaps Hadrian spoke of his δικαιοσύνη—or could there have been a reference (if so rather poetic in formulation) to the τρίπους μοντοσύνη? In l. 54 there may perhaps have been mention of the elder of the two Cyrenaicans named Ti. Claudius Jason Magnus whose family was prominent in the middle and later second century, the son becoming president of the Panhellenion in 157 (see J. H. Oliver, *Hesperia Supplement XIII*, 115 f., and earlier discussion by L. Moretti, *Epigraphica xxxi* (1969), 139 f., L. Robert, *Arch. Ep.* 1969 (1970), 1 f.).

l. 55 may have contained some part of the verb οἰκίζω.

l. 63, the range of meanings of ἀντιθεμαί seems too wide to allow any certainty about what the emperor gladly did.

l. 65, being unlinked to l. 64, perhaps starts a new section in which two groups are described, both introduced by ὅσοι ἔν. The first, stated to be from Cyrene (l. 65) and apparently going to be active there (l. 66), is in some way related to the proconsul (l. 67); of the second, which may be from elsewhere but may also be from Cyrene, nothing can be said with any certainty; in l. 68 I am not clear how to break up the letter groups (?τεθνάναι δὲ ἐμοῦ, τεθνάναι δεσμοῦ).

Of the completely new documents the first is headed *Chief points from correspondence of the lord Antoninus* (l. 69). The emperor must be Pius (as also below in ll. 78 f., where his name and title are set out in full); he was presumably alive when this line was inscribed. The general sense is clear: the Bereniceans had asked that an assize court should be held in their city and when Pius refused to add to the burdens of the governor proposed that, in future, assizes should be held at each city in turn; but Pius was not prepared to accept the principle of rotation without the agreement of the cities whose privileges would be curtailed thereby.

The summary falls into two clearly marked sections, in each of which a brief account of the request made by the Bereniceans (Βερνεϊκῆς ἡξίουν . . . , l. 70, ἀξιούντων [ν οὖν τῶν] Βερνεϊκῶν . . . , l. 73) is followed by the essentials of the emperor's reply, given in his own words. Ll. 70-3 are surely taken from a letter to the Bereniceans to whom the words ὡςπερ ἴστε καὶ ὑμεῖς are most naturally addressed. Obviously the emperor also wrote to the Bereniceans in reply to their second request (ll. 73 f.) but the ὑμεῖν of l. 76 must be the cities which would lose their annual enjoyment of the court if the request were granted. The excerptor used two documents, therefore, one addressed to the Bereniceans and one to others, and it is necessary to restore ἐπισ[τολῶν] not ἐπισ[τολῆς] in l. 69.

The length of the supplements in the centre and at the right-hand ends of the lines is variable mainly because the surviving left-hand side of the stele is broken at the right on an oblique line and so preserves less of the text the lower it descends, while the central and right hand part has been recut to form a column base and so presents a circular edge; moreover in some lines there has been more extensive damage in the area of the break. For the central gap the supplements are certain (or virtually so) in ll. 69 and 72, and for the right hand end in ll. 71, 72, 75 and 76; it is possible from this evidence to calculate an average line length of 66 letters.

l. 70, it is clear from ll. 73, 74 that the object of the Berenicean request was that an assize court should be held in their city. On assize courts see the material collected by Mommsen (*Ges. Schr.* VIII. 1. 534) and L. Robert, *Rev. Phil.* VII (1934), 277/8, *Hellenica* VII, 223 f., *Bull. Ep.* 1968, 462 together with the more recent discussions of the *conventus*/ assize system by Chr. Habicht, *JRS* LXV (1975), 64 f. and G. P. Burton, *ibid.*, 92 f. (the latter drawing on the inscription published here); the advantages to the cities in which they were held were considerable, not only in the easy availability of justice but also, as indicated by Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* xxxv. 15, in the trade brought by visitors. For local jealousy of assize towns see Dio Chrysostom, XL. 35 and the discussion by Burton, *op. cit.*, 100. The standard description is ἀγορὰ δικῶν or ἡ ἀγοράτος (ἀγοράτος); cf. the instances in

Mason, *op. cit.* under l. 6 f., *s.v.* ἀγορά and ἀγοραῖος, especially Modestinus, *Dig.* xxvii. 1.6.2, referring to a decision of Pius and dividing cities into τὰς μητροπόλεις τῶν ἑθνῶν, τὰς ἐχούσας ἀγορὰς δικῶν and τὰς λοιπὰς; Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* xiv. 10. 21, προσεθῶν μοι ἐν Τράλλεσιν τὴν ἀγοραῖον ἀγοντι; and *IGRR* iv. 788 which gives both γυμνασιαρχήσαντα δι' ἀγοραίας and ἐν ἧ καὶ ἡ ἀγοραῖος ἤχθη.

The reading after the gap is uncertain, but is the result of independent examination by Goodchild and myself and consonant with usages just cited. At the end of the line ταῖς [ἀγορα] /-οῖς seems inevitable despite ἀγοραία in l. 74, and is paralleled by *IGRR* iv, 788, in which both the two- and the three-termination forms of the adjective appear.

For the sense *by turns* for παρὰ μέρος (imposed here by the reference to each city) see *LSJ s.v.* μέρος II. 2 (citing e.g. Plutarch, *V. Fabii Maximi* 10, . . . ὡς μέρους μόνος ἄρξων βέλτιον ἢ πάντων παρὰ μέρος).

l. 73, ἀγο[ραῖον] is also possible at the end, cf. l. 74.

l. 74, the supplement at the centre should include the article for πόλεις and an adverb; νῦν seems to give the best sense, though πρὶν is perhaps not impossible. At the end of the line a conjunction meaning *how* is wanted; there seems no room for more than ὡς.

l. 75 makes it perfectly clear that in the assize towns of Crete and Cyrene at this time an annual session was the rule, as it is likely to have been in other provinces too, see Burton, *op. cit.* under l. 70, p. 97-9.

The identification of the cities at which assizes were already held is uncertain. Since Pius stresses the pressures on the time that the proconsul could spend in Cyrenaica, the Cretan cities can presumably be excluded. Cyrene was certainly an assize town, being in any case the metropolis; it is also pertinent to remember Hadrian's swift reconstruction of its civil basilica after the Jewish Revolt, cf. E. M. Smallwood, *JRS* xlii (1952), 37 f.; but Apollonia, in view of its proximity to Cyrene, was surely not. On geographical grounds one might expect a second assize town west of the Wadi Cuf which cuts the territory in two, and since Berenice was clearly not one it should be either Teucheira or Ptolemais. Hadrian is known to have restored a basilica suitable for the purpose at Teucheira after the Jewish Revolt (unpublished inscription excavated by Goodchild), but there is nothing else there at present to indicate regular visits from the governor. At Ptolemais there are several inscriptions which are suggestive, although not conclusive, evidence that this was an assize town (note especially C. H. Kraeling, *Ptolemais*, 210, no. 11, a proconsul acting with assessors, as the word *adhibitis* implies, and J. M. Reynolds *PBSR* xxx (1962), 34 f., no. 2; xxxiii (1965), 52 f. nos. a and b, *vota pro salute principis* recorded there); it may also be relevant that in Diocletian's reorganization it was Ptolemais which became the new provincial capital. Ptolemais and Teucheira are so close together that one would hardly expect an assize in both.

The suggestion that the governor of Crete and Cyrene was worked to the reasonable limit is interesting and perhaps relevant to the possibility that in the early third century the two areas were, for a time, separated; see H. G. Pflaum, *Annuaire de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études* 1974, 271 f., by whom, however, I am not quite convinced.

ll. 75-7, the supplements seem reasonably clear; and if ἀδικῆσαι is not the right word it must surely give the right sense.

The second document is a copy of a letter from Antoninus Pius to Ptolemais dated by his titles to 153/4 (l. 80). Again the general lines are absolutely clear. The Ptolemaeans, through their ambassador Valerius Pausanias, had asked for permission to hold an ἀγών in their city; Pius replied, apparently sarcastically, that they had hitherto been wisely satisfied to participate in the common sacrifice and ἀγών held at Cyrene, and were well aware that innovations of this sort carried the stigma of inter-city rivalry. The common sacrifice had been established for the whole province.

l. 80, for the address of the letter to the citizens in this way, see on l. 5 above; it was presumably how the ambassador had described his city. It is also of interest that the citizens are described as Πτολεμαῖεις Βαρκαῖοι. In the Greek period the city centre was at Barka and the site of Ptolemais was simply its subordinate port; it was probably Ptolemy III who developed the port and named it for himself, reducing Barka to the position of subordinate (see Kraeling, *op. cit.* under l. 74, 5 f. and L. Moretti, *Riv. Fil.* civ (1976), 186 f.). There are, however, several inscriptions of the Roman period in which the name of Barka is linked with that of Ptolemais, none likely to be earlier than the second century A.D. but none precisely dated except this one (see J. M. Reynolds, *Riv. Fil.* forthcoming).

ll. 81-2, the supplements seem obvious. For the sarcastic tone of the emperor cf. W. Williams, *JRS* lxxvi (1976), 74 f., arguing that this is a characteristic of Pius' epistolary style (see also V. Nutton, *JRS* lxi (1971), 56 for a good example). The common sacrifice and contest at Cyrene are presumably to be associated with the provincial cult conducted by the provincial *koinon* (cf. l. 84 below); I have not found another example of the formula συνθύειν εἰς τὸν ἀγῶνα, but the sense does not seem difficult to follow.

l. 83, καινοτομεῖν with the implication of undesirable innovation is well attested. In the central gap αἰτίαν seems to give the sense needed in about the right number of letters. For φιλονεικία between cities at this period cf. *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 849 (Ephesus and Smyrna), with Dittenberger's references to Dio

Chrysostom xxxiv. 48, Aelius Aristides xxiii, and Cassius Dio lII. 37. 10; the issue in these passages is often essentially one of titles, whereas here there is certainly some point of substance involving celebration of a festival which, like the assize court, would bring visitors and opportunities for profit. It will, no doubt, also have involved payment of contributions by participating cities, as in the mid-third-century case of the Philadelphians in relation to the organization of the *koinon* of Asia (*SEG* xvii. 528).

ll. 83/4, it would seem natural to restore ἡ συν]/θυσία, recalling the συνθυσία of *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 849, l. 11 which Dittenberger connected with the cult activities of the *koinon* of Asia; but if that is right I find it hard to envisage a restoration for the lost area at the centre of l. 84. What survives there suggests a passive participle such as καθεστραμένα which requires a neuter plural instead of a feminine singular subject; but *LSJ* offers no authority for τὰ]/θύσια.

l. 84. For ἔθνος = *province* see the passage of Modestinus quoted under l. 70 and Mason, *op. cit.* under l. 6 f., *s.v.*

ll. 84/5, on the final formula see W. Williams, *Historia* xvi (1967), 470 f., arguing that under Hadrian and in the early years of Pius' reign the rider authorizing payment to ambassadors occurs only when the matter raised is substantial and that from *c.* 145 Pius insisted that superficial points should be forwarded via governors. The Ptolemaean case clearly rated as important. It is a little earlier than Williams' earliest case of authorization of payment by Pius after the change of procedure that he posits (*SEG* xiv. 479 of 155).

The incident fits very well into our general picture of escalating civic rivalry, opposed by the emperors, at this period.

The dossier as it now stands—for all the gaps in its Hadrianic section—is the major piece of evidence for the history of Cyrenaica in the mid-second century. All three cities which figure in it had, undoubtedly, suffered in the Jewish Revolt; but by 153/4 were, as we now see, struggling for status in the same way as the rich cities of Asia. Berenice and Ptolemais must have been wealthy enough to make their pleas for privilege plausible—as recent excavations in fact suggest. They presumably calculated also on a reduction in the resources of Cyrene, but the emperors backed Cyrene, the traditional capital, and she was vigorous enough to hit back at her rivals in the publication of these documents. At Cyrene too excavation suggests that in the second half of the century there was a fair level of prosperity.

It is also interesting for the light that it throws on provincial life and administration in a number of ways; and not least because it includes two of the rare surviving instances of imperial decisions unfavourable to the applicants; cf. F. Millar, *The Emperor in the Roman World* (1977), 431 f., 436, 438 f., pointing out that the record provided by inscriptions is heavily biased. Unfavourable decisions are likely to have been inscribed only when it suited a rival to publicize them, as here and in the instances that Millar cites from Coronea in Boeotia, *IG* vii. 2870, no. 1, and Aphrodisias, whose publication is forthcoming in J. M. Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome*.

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