

ROME, ASIA AND APHRODISIAS IN THE THIRD CENTURY *

By CHARLOTTE ROUECHÉ

In 1913 J. B. Bury wrote of Diocletian's administrative reforms: 'It is becoming clear that (Diocletian) was not the initiator, but was only extending and systematizing changes which had already been begun'; and subsequent research in many areas has tended to support this contention.¹ Bury was particularly concerned with the subdivision of the provinces; yet that particular reform has continued to be ascribed almost wholly to Diocletian, on the authority of Lactantius' famous phrase, *provinciae quoque in frusta concisae*, and in the absence of firm evidence to the contrary.² It is the purpose of this article to present new material from Aphrodisias in Caria which seems to indicate that a new imperial province of Phrygia and Caria, whose creation has hitherto been ascribed to Diocletian or his successors, had been separated from proconsular Asia before A.D. 259. If this is so, it may well prove fruitful to re-examine material from other parts of the empire, in order to determine whether similar developments, at such a date, can be identified elsewhere.

The evidence is particularly striking in that it comes from Aphrodisias. The current excavations of the city, conducted since 1961 by Professor K. T. Erim, have uncovered a large number of new inscriptions, to add to the very substantial quantity which have already been published.³ Outstanding among these is the dossier of documents,⁴ which records the history of Aphrodisias' relations with Rome and includes a series of imperial letters reaffirming Aphrodisias' rights as a free city; the latest of these is a letter of A.D. 250 from Traianus Decius.⁵ It is remarkable to find Aphrodisias taken into a new province and very probably acting as the capital of that province less than ten years later. It may be useful, therefore, to start by setting out the chief documents from Aphrodisias which can be assigned to the period after the letter of Decius and before the accession of Diocletian.

I. Imperial dedications

The latest securely datable inscription from the period before the accession of Diocletian so far published from Aphrodisias is a dedication to Salonina.

1. A simple base, without visible moulding (H. 1.04, W. 0.44, D. 0.45); complete, but worn along the upper edge and pierced for later use as a well head. Letters: lines 1, 2, 0.025; lines 3-5, 0.022. Ligature, line 3.

First published by J. Franz, from a copy by H. Loew, in *Annali dell' Instituto di Correspondenza archeologica* (1847), 113, no. 6; copied and published by W. H. Waddington in P. Le Bas and W. H. Waddington, *Inscriptions grecques et latines recueillies en Asie Mineure* (1870) (hereafter LBW), no. 1625; copied by the MAMA expedition in 1934 and published by J. M. R. Cormack, *MAMA* VIII, 453 (without illustration); found by the current expedition, standing north east of the Acropolis.

* This article originated in ideas put to me by Dr. J. R. Martindale, and by Miss J. M. Reynolds whose insights and advice have been fundamental to its development. I am also very grateful for comments and suggestions from others, especially Professor F. Millar and the Editor. For the new material published here we are indebted to the labours of Professor K. T. Erim at Aphrodisias and the support of his sponsors, chiefly the National Geographic Society.

¹ 'The Provincial List of Verona', *JRS* XIII (1923), 127; for a useful overview of modern work, see B. Malcus, 'Notes sur la révolution du système administratif au III^e siècle', *Opusc. Roman.* VII (1969), 213-37.

² *De Mort. Pers.* vii. 4, cited by A. H. M. Jones,

The later Roman Empire (1964), 42-3, among the evidence for Diocletian's 'drastic policy of subdivision'.

³ To the publications listed by J. M. R. Cormack in *MAMA* VIII, 148-60, should be added those mentioned by L. Robert, *Hellenica* XIII, 111 n. 2. The corpus of Aphrodisias inscriptions is currently being prepared by J. M. Reynolds and C. Roueché; a separate volume of inscriptions of the late antique and Byzantine periods is being prepared by C. Roueché.

⁴ J. M. Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome* (1982) (hereafter *Aphrodisias and Rome*).

⁵ *Aphrodisias and Rome*, document 25.

Plate : VI, 1

[Ἰουλίαν Κορνη]
 λ[αν Σαλων[εῖ]
 ναν Σεβαστή[ν]
vacat
 ἡ λαμπροτάτη Ἀ
 φροδεῖσ[ι]έων πό
scroll [λις] *scroll*

Since the stone is complete the inscription must have started on an upper feature. The earlier copies show no important variants.

Translation : The most splendid city of the Aphrodisians (has honoured) [Julia Corne]llia Salonina Augusta.

This inscription can now be dated more precisely within the period 254–268, when Salonina was Augusta, from the discovery of a companion inscription.

2. Two joining fragments of a simple base, without moulding (H. 1·08, W. 0·46, D. 0·39), broken above—the upper right corner is lost. Letters : lines 1, 2, 0·025 ; lines 3–5, 0·022. Ligature, line 3.

Found in 1976, during excavation of part of the southern stretch of the city wall.
 Plate (larger fragment) : VI, 2

[.]
 τὸν ἐπ[ι]φ[α]ν[έστα]
 τον Καίσα[ρα]
vacat
 ἡ λαμπροτάτη Ἀ
 φροδεῖσιέων πό
scroll λ[ις] *scroll*

The upper edge survives in part ; the text must therefore have started on an upper feature.

Translation : The most splendid city of the Aphrodisians (has honoured) the most renowned Caesar [. . .

The similarity of the wording and, most particularly, of the lay-out of this inscription makes it certain that it was put up to accompany that honouring Salonina (together, presumably, with others honouring Valerian and Gallienus). These inscriptions must therefore have been erected while one of Gallienus' two sons was Caesar—that is, between 254 and 260. A considerable number of inscriptions honouring members of the imperial family, and datable to the joint reign of Valerian and Gallienus have been found in south-western Asia Minor, particularly in Caria, Phrygia, and Lycia-Pamphylia.⁶

To these another new inscription from Aphrodisias can now be added :

3. Three joining fragments of a damaged base, inscribed within a moulded panel (A : H. 0·33, W. 0·23, D. 0·30 ; B : 0·53 × 0·38 × 0·34 ; C : 0·46 × 0·46 × 0·54). Letters :

⁶ Caria : Iasos (the younger Valerian, *Ann. Ep.* (1974), 624), Kidrama (Valerian, J. and L. Robert, *La Carie* (1954), 365, no. 189) and, on the Carian-Asian border, Nyssa (the younger Valerian—see below, n. 8).

Phrygia : Apamea Cibotus (Gallienus, the younger Valerian and Salonina, *IGR* IV, 776 and 777).

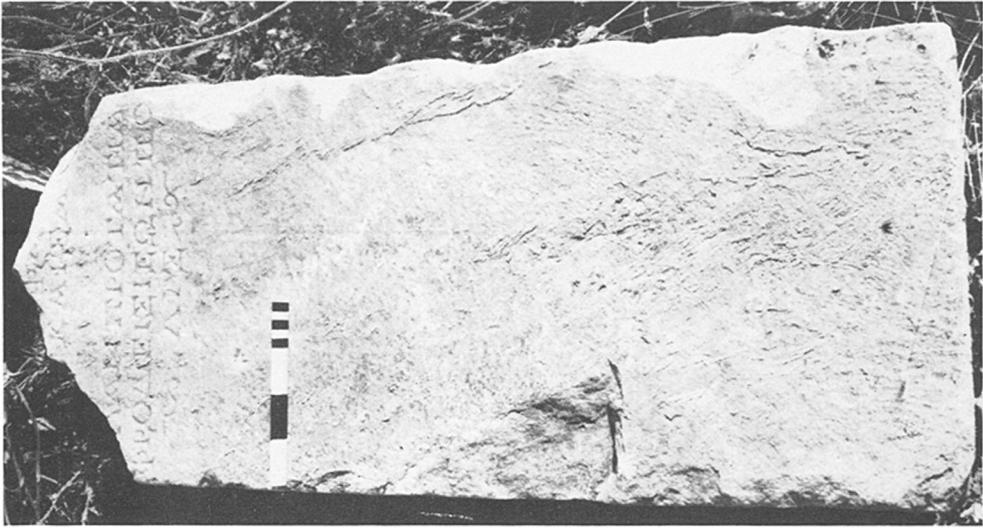
Lycia-Pamphylia : Combe (Valerian, *IGR* III, 572) and Side (Gallienus and the house of Valerian—

see below, n. 68).

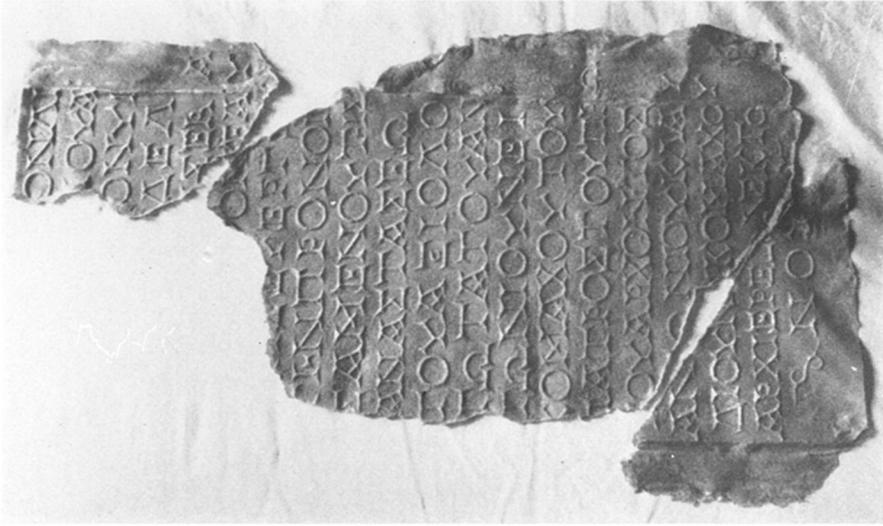
Inscriptions honouring Salonina at Mylasa (*BCH* XXII (1898), 391, no. 37), Meirus (*IGR* IV, 593) and Verbe (*ABSA* XVI (1909–10), 199, no. 12), Gallienus and Salonina at Bubon (*Ist. Mitt.* XXVII–XXVIII (1977–8), 292, nos. 9 and 10) and Gallienus and Saloni . . . at Sagalassus (*IGR* III, 355) can only be dated between 254 and 268.



(1)

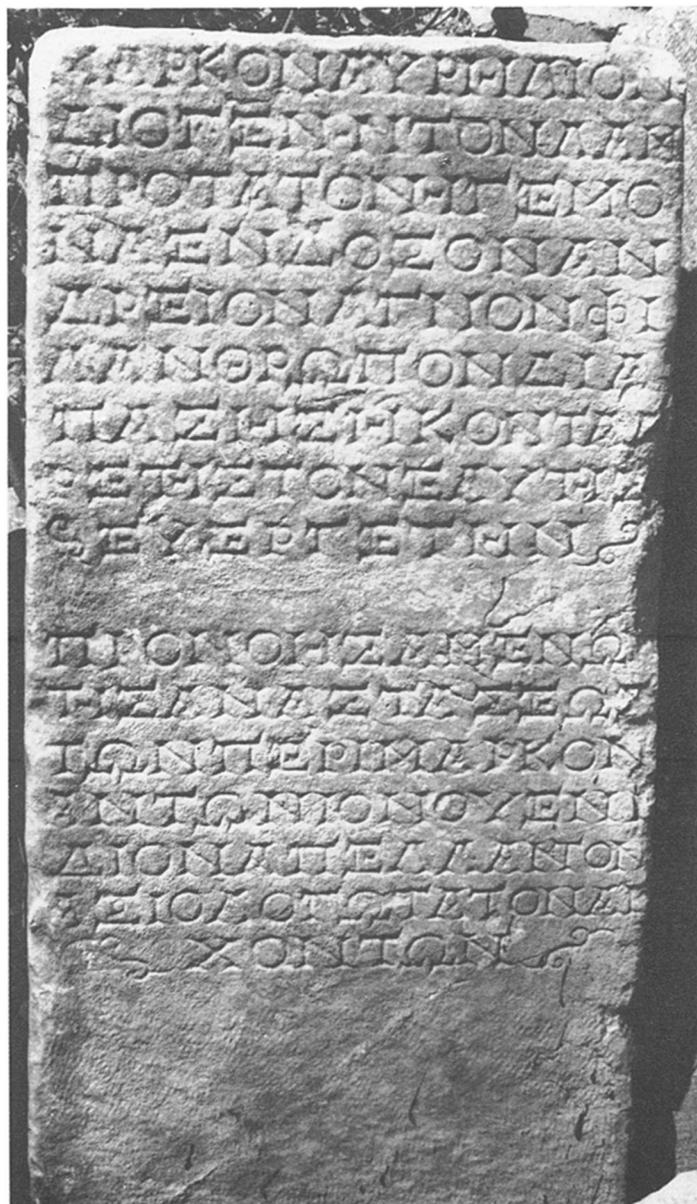


(2)



(3)

(1) APHRODISIAS: Doc. 1. Photo M. Roueché. (2) APHRODISIAS: Doc. 2. Photo M. Roueché. (3) APHRODISIAS: Doc. 3. Photo M. Roueché



(1)

(2)

(1) APHRODISIAS: Doc. 4. Photo M. Roueché. (2) APHRODISIAS: Doc. 5. Photo M. Roueché



(1)



(2)

(1) APHRODISIAS: Doc. 6. Photo M. Rouché. (2) UPPER PART OF INSCRIPTION FROM IHERAPOLIS. Photo T. Ritti-Adamou

lines 1-15, 0·025; lines 16 ff., 0·022-0·023. Ligatures in lines 8, 9, 19. The last letter is cut on the moulding in lines 5, 6, 15, 17, 18 and, presumably, line 10.

Fragment B (lines 6-20) was found in the Temple of Aphrodite by the French excavators, led by P. Gaudin, in 1904 and published, from a squeeze, by Th. Reinach, in *REG* XIX (1906), 210, no. 90; it was found again by the *MAMA* expedition in 1934, and published by J. M. R. Cormack, *MAMA* VIII, 509. All three fragments were found by the current expedition at the east end of the Temple of Aphrodite.

Plate: VI, 3

[Ἡ πόλις]
[. . . .]ον Λι
[κίννιο]ν Οὐα
[λεριαν]όν υἱ
[όν και ἀ]δελ
5 [φόν τῶ]ν Σεβα
[στῶν τ]όν ἕαυ
[τ]ῆς εὐεργέ
την προνοη
σαμένου τῆς
10 ἀναστάσεω [ς]
τοῦ ἀξιολο
γωτάτου Ἄν
τωνίου Νει
κομάχου τοῦ
15 πατρὸς τοῦ πρώ
του ἄρχοντος
Ἄντωνίου Κλαυ
δίου Νεικομάχου
ἀρχιερέων ἐγὼ
20 *scroll* νου *scroll*

line 19: [.]ΩΝΕΚΤΟ Reinach; [τὸ τρίτ]ον ἐγὼ/[νου αὐτοῦ] Cormack.

Translation: [The city (has honoured) . . .]us Li[cinius] Va[lerian]us, son and brother of the Augusti, her benefactor; the most worthy Antonius Nicomachus, father of the first archon Antonius Claudius Nicomachus, offspring of high-priests, supervised the erection (of the monument).

This is the only inscription so far found in the Greek east honouring Gallienus' little-known brother, Licinius Valerianus.⁷ He bears no titles, and is simply described in terms of his relationship to the Augusti; the phrasing is similar to that used in honouring the younger Valerian at Nyssa.⁸ This inscription must therefore have been put up after Gallienus was made Augustus, in 254, and before the fact of the capture of Valerian, in 259 or 260, became known.⁹

The phrasing of the second part of the inscription is not entirely clear. It may be that the epimelete responsible for the erection of this monument, Antonius Nicomachus, is described firstly as being the father of the first archon, Antonius Claudius Nicomachus, and then as being the descendant of high-priests (of the imperial cult); at least one high priest Nicomachus is known.¹⁰ But it is more natural to take the second phrase as referring to Antonius Claudius Nicomachus; and this suggests that Antonius Nicomachus, who had

⁷ *PIR*² L 257, *PLRE* I Valerianus 14.

⁸ *BCH* VII (1883), 247, no. 16.

⁹ The date of Valerian's capture, and of the recognition that his reign had ended, is still debated: M. Christol, in *ANRW* II, 2 (1975), 817-21, argues for

260; L. de Blois, *The policy of the Emperor Gallienus* (1976), 2, favours 259.

¹⁰ *MAMA* VIII, 546, and in an unpublished inscription.

achieved the rank of *axiologotatos*,¹¹ but not the high-priesthood, had married into a family which had held high-priesthoods, and managed to include that information in this inscription. He was certainly responsible for overseeing the erection of one other monument (below, no. 4) and perhaps of several others (below, no. 7 and p. 115 with n. 112). The office of first archon is attested at Aphrodisias from at least the mid-second century and appears fairly frequently thereafter.¹²

The next imperial dedication so far found at Aphrodisias is an inscription honouring the tetrarchs.¹³

II. Imperial legates

4. Two joining fragments of a simple base without moulding (together, H. 1·10, W. 0·45, D. 0·45). Letters: lines 1–11, 0·025; lines 12 ff., 0·015. Ligatures in lines 3, 4, 6, 12.

Found in 1975, during excavation of part of the southern stretch of the city wall.

Plate: VII, 1

[Ἡ βουλή καὶ ὁ]
scroll δῆμος *scroll*
 Μάρκον Αὐρήλιον
 Διογένην πρεσ
 βευτὴν Σεβασ
 5 τῶν ἀντιστρά
 τηγον *stop* τὸν δίκαι
 ον καὶ ἀγνὸν
 καὶ ἀνδρεῖον
 καὶ πάση ἀρε
 10 τῇ κεκοσμη
scroll μένον *scroll*
vacat
 προνοησαμένου τῆς
 ἀναστάσεως Ἀντω
 νίου Νεικομάχου
 15 τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ πρῶ
 του ἀρχοντος Ἀντω
 νίου Κλαυδίου Νει
 κομάχου ἀρχιερέ
 ων ἐγγόνου τοῦ ἄ
scroll ξιολογωτάτου *scroll*

The stone is complete; the text must, therefore, have started on an upper feature. With lines 6–11 compare the description of an imperial procurator at Ephesus in 217/218:¹⁴ τὸν ἀγνὸν καὶ δίκαιον καὶ πάση ἀρετῇ κεκοσμημένον.

Translation: [The council and the] people (have honoured) Marcus Aurelius Diogenes, *legatus Augustorum pro praetore*, he (who is) just, and decent, and brave, and adorned with every virtue; the most worthy Antonius Nicomachus, father of the first archon Antonius Claudius Nicomachus, offspring of high-priests, supervised the erection (of the monument).

5. A simple base without moulding (H. 1·16, W. 0·51, D. 0·46). Letters: lines 1–9, 0·027; lines 10 ff., 0·025. Ligatures in lines 2, 3, 8, 11, 14.

Found in 1975, during excavation of part of the southern stretch of the city wall.

¹¹ The title is characteristic of the municipal aristocracies in the third century; see, most recently, H.-G. Pflaum, in *Recherches sur les structures sociales dans l'Antiquité classique* (1970), 182–4.

¹² For the first datable reference see the inscription cited by D. J. Macdonald, *Coins from Aphrodisias*

(1976), 20.

¹³ Published by P. Paris and M. Holleaux in *BCH* ix (1885) 79, no. 9; found again—reused in the city walls—by the current expedition.

¹⁴ *Inscriptionen von Ephesos* III, ed. H. Engelmann (1980), no. 616.

Plate: VII, 2

[? Ἡ πόλις]
 Μᾶρκον Αὐρήλιον
 Διογένην τὸν λαμ
 πρότατον ἡγεμό
 να ἔνδοξον ἄν
 5 δρεῖον ἄγνον φι
 λάνθρωπον διὰ
 πάσης ἤκοντα ἄ
 ρετῆς τὸν ἑαυτῆς
scroll εὐεργέτην *scroll*
vacat
 10 προνοησαμένων
 τῆς ἀναστάσεως
 τῶν περὶ Μᾶρκον
 Ἄντωνιον Οὐενί
 διον Ἀπελλᾶν τὸν
 15 ἀξιολογώτατον ἄρ
scroll χόντων *scroll*

The stone is complete ; the text must therefore have started on an upper feature.

Translation : [?The city] (has honoured) Marcus Aurelius Diogenes, the most splendid governor, distinguished, brave, decent, generous, having achieved all virtue, her benefactor ; the archons (led by) the most worthy Marcus Antonius Venidius Apellas supervised the erection (of the monument).

These two inscriptions clearly honour the same man, M. Aurelius Diogenes ; the odd phrasing of no. 5 (I know of no epigraphic parallel to lines 6–8) apparently results from an attempt to emulate, and vary, the standard phrasing of no. 4.

The epimelete responsible for putting up no. 4 is Antonius Nicomachus, described in identical terms to those used in inscription 3, as father of the first archon. This suggests that inscriptions 3 and 4 were put up in the same year, that of the first-archonship of Antonius Claudius Nicomachus, and during the joint reign of Valerian and Gallienus (referred to as Augusti in no. 3, line 5, no. 4, line 4). The man responsible for the erection of no. 5, M. Antonius Venidius Apellas, is not otherwise known ; but he should perhaps be identified with an archon Apellas mentioned on a coin issue of Aphrodisias under Gallienus.¹⁵ The phrase οἱ ἄρχοντες περὶ τὸν δεῖνα implies that the man named was himself first archon ;¹⁶ no. 5 was therefore put up in a different year—and probably, in view of the observations above on the phrasing, a later year—from no. 4.

There seems to be no possibility of further identifying M. Aurelius Diogenes, who bears very common names.¹⁷ He is described in no. 4 as πρεσβευτῆς Σεβαστῶν ἀντιστράτηγος, which is the standard translation of *legatus Augustorum pro praetore*, and in no. 5 as ἡγεμόνων, the normal translation of *praeses*, governor.¹⁸ It is very difficult to translate these two terms, used of the same man, in any other sense than as ‘governor of an imperial province’. Furthermore, Diogenes is praised in very similar language in both inscriptions, and the terms are all ones appropriate to honouring men in authority.¹⁹ None of the epithets is common in the inscriptions of the preceding two centuries at Aphrodisias, which had not come under external authority and had only rarely had occasion to honour the representatives of central government.²⁰

¹⁵ *BMC Caria*, 49, no. 136, cf. no. 137.

¹⁶ So, explicitly, in *CIG* 2799, also of the mid third century (see n. 112).

¹⁷ A father and son of this name are attested at Aphrodisias, in *CIG* 2817 ; but there is no suggestion that the man honoured here is a local citizen.

¹⁸ H. J. Mason, *Greek terms for Roman institutions*

(1974), 153 ff. and 147 ff.

¹⁹ φιλόθρωπος is used of rulers of all periods. On δικαιοσύνη see L. Robert in *Hellenica* IV, pp. 13–27 ; on ἄγνος see Robert in *Studi Classici* XVI (1974), 71 n. 8.

²⁰ Examples in *Aphrodisias and Rome*, Appendix VIII.

M. Aurelius Diogenes was therefore honoured at Aphrodisias on two separate occasions, one of which can be securely dated to between 254 and 259/60. He is described in terminology appropriate to the senatorial governor of an imperial province, and praised in language which implies his authority over Aphrodisias, less than ten years after the letter of Traianus Decius had reaffirmed the rights of Aphrodisias as a free city. A possible indication of what his precise function may have been is provided by the following inscription.

6. A base, with capital (H. at least 1·10, W. of capital 0·84, D. of capital 0·84) inscribed on the capital (lines 1, 2) and on the base within a moulded panel (lines 3 ff). Letters: 0·02; ligatures in lines 6, 8, 9, 10, 11; apex for abbreviation mark.

Found in 1977, built into the fifth-century wall of a collecting pool at the east side of the Agora.

Plate: VIII, 1

Ἡ πατρίς
Ἄγαθῆ Τύχη
Τ(ίτον) Ὀππι(ιον) Αἰλιανὸν
v. Ἀσκληπιόδοτον
5 τὸν λαμπρότατον
ὑπατικὸν ἡγεμόνα
Καρίας καὶ Φρυγίας
ἀνθύπατον καὶ ἑπτα
νορθωτὴν Ἀσίας κτί
10 στήν καὶ σωτήρα καὶ
τῆς ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδος
Τιβ(έριος) Κλ(αύδιος) Μαρκιανὸς ὁ
πρῶτος ἄρχων.

Translation: The fatherland—Good Fortune—(has honoured) Titus Oppius Aelianus Asclepiodotus, the most splendid consular, governor of Caria and Phrygia, proconsul and corrector of Asia, founder and saviour also of his own fatherland; Tiberius Claudius Marcianus, the first archon, (set this up).

T. Oppius Aelianus Asclepiodotus is apparently a local citizen (line 11) who has had a very distinguished career, but he is not otherwise known. No other Oppii, and only one other Aelianus are attested at Aphrodisias, and the name Asclepiodotus, which appears several times at Aphrodisias in the fourth and fifth centuries, is only attested there once in the preceding period.²¹ This may indicate that he had risen from relatively humble origins.

As for the first archon responsible for putting up this inscription, the name Marcianus appears once or twice in isolation at Aphrodisias, and three times in the name Tib. Claudius Apollonius Marcianus. Two of the occurrences of this name are in undatable second or third century contexts (unpublished); but the third is the appearance of [Tib.] Claudius [Apol]lonius Ma[rcianus] in a fragmentary and difficult inscription which apparently refers to the twentieth celebration of the Philemonian games, in about 258.²² It is very tempting to associate that reference with the first archon Tib. Claudius Marcianus; but inscription 6 does not fill the available space on the base on which it is inscribed, and it is difficult to understand why Marcianus should have omitted an element of his name.

The chief indication of the date of this inscription is the script; and in this respect it closely resembles the preceding inscriptions, especially nos. 4 and 5. Apart from general

²¹ Aelianus appears on an inscription on a seat in the stadium, Asclepiodotus in a funerary inscription (both unpublished). The *nomen* Oppius recalls an important episode in the early history of the city (*Aphrodisias and Rome*, docs. 2 and 3), which raises some suspicions about its appearance for the first time in the nomenclature of a 'new man'.

²² Published by J. M. R. Cormack in *ABSA* LIX (1964), 20, no. 14, from a copy made in 1893 by

Kubitschek. While the name of the games is not fully preserved (beyond 'Aphrodisian'), there is an apparent reference to their twentieth cycle; the only games at Aphrodisias whose cycle is regularly enumerated are the Aphrodisian Philemonia, of which we know that the fifteenth cycle was celebrated (LBW 596, *CIG* 2812). On their institution see *Aphrodisias and Rome*, Appendix IX.

similarities of style and, in particular, the frequent ligatures so characteristic of the inscriptions of the third century, there are similarities of individual letters: the K in all three inscriptions is exaggerated; the Ω is slightly elongated; the Γ in no. 5, line 3 and no. 6, line 6 has an exaggerated crossbar. Given the overall conservatism of the inscriptions of Aphrodisias, these resemblances should not be pressed too far, and there are differences (the arch of the Ω does not touch the supporting bars in no. 6). But these indications do suggest a date towards the middle of the third century for this inscription. The style of Aphrodisian inscriptions at the end of the century is illustrated by the dedication to the tetrarchs (n. 13), which, while still based on the standard script of the earlier period, already includes some baroque features—an antiquarian Ω, and M, N and H drawn with decorated crossbars. While dating on the basis of such sparse evidence is obviously risky, it would seem necessary to assume a considerable passage of time—perhaps several decades—between the erection of no. 6 and that of the dedication to the tetrarchs.

Asclepiodotus appears to be a local citizen, and it is apparently as such that he is being honoured at Aphrodisias. His titulature is arranged in ascending order of importance; his highest post was as proconsul and ἐπανορθωτής (presumably simultaneously) of Asia. Only one other man is identified as having held the title of ἐπανορθωτής of Asia; Aurelius Appius Sabinus, who was prefect of Egypt under Philip and Decius²³ was honoured as ἐπανορθωτής of Asia in at least one inscription at Miletus²⁴ and one at Didyma.²⁵ He was also honoured at Iasos, but there he is described simply as ὑπατικός.²⁶ Since he appears to have been raised to senatorial rank while he was prefect of Egypt,²⁷ he must have held the position of ἐπανορθωτής subsequently—that is, at some time after 250. An anonymous [λαμπρότατον] ὑπα[τικὸν ἐπαν]ορθωτήν is attested at Sebastopolis in Caria; the script seems later than that of the Severan inscriptions from the site.²⁸

The title ἐπανορθωτής is normally translated as *corrector*, the shorter form of *legatus Augusti ad corrigendum statum*;²⁹ but it is not at all clear precisely what functions it describes. While it is best known from its use in Achaëa,³⁰ ἐπανορθωταί are also attested in Egypt,³¹ Galatia³² and Pamphylia³³ at various dates in the third century. In the present state of our knowledge it is not easy to define what these officials had in common, and it may be misleading to attempt to do so.³⁴ But there is a case for suggesting that the appointment of an ἐπανορθωτής, 'a man to put things right', is often, if not always, an indication that something is wrong.

Asclepiodotus' other important office—presumably inferior and therefore previous to that of proconsul—was that of governor of Caria and Phrygia. This is the third inscription which has been found specifying the existence of such a province.

It was J. G. C. Anderson who first assembled and examined the evidence for the existence of a joint province of Caria and Phrygia.³⁵ He discussed two inscriptions, one from Hierapolis³⁶ and one from Laodicea ad Lycum³⁷ which appear both to refer to the

²³ PIR² A 1455; see also A. Stein, *Die Präfekten von Ägypten* (1950), 140–3, and H.-G. Pflaum, *Les carrières procuratoriennes équestres* (1960), 864–70.

²⁴ ILS 9467. A. Stein (loc. cit.) suggested that a further fragment from Miletus (edited by A. Rehm, *Milet 1*, 7, no. 266) also referred to Sabinus; Pflaum (loc. cit.) rejected this suggestion, but not entirely convincingly.

²⁵ A. Rehm, *Didyma II* (1958), no. 156, with the comments assembled at *Bull. Ep.* (1961), 578.

²⁶ G. Pugliese Carratelli, 'Nuovo Supplemento epigrafico di Iasos', *Ann. Sc. Arch. At.* XLVII–XLVIII (1969–70), no. 11, with *Bull. Ep.* (1973), 426 and *Ann. Ep.* (1974), 627.

²⁷ Stein, loc. cit. (n. 23).

²⁸ Copied by L. Robert, whence *Études Anato-liennes* (1937), 351, and *La Carie*, 325, no. 174. The inscription appears to refer to a single Augustus.

²⁹ See von Premerstein, art. 'Corrector' in *RE* IV, 2, 1646, and H. J. Mason (op. cit., n. 18) s.v.

³⁰ For the most recent list see J. H. Oliver, 'Imperial commissioners in Achaëa', *GRBS* XIV (1973), 389–405, esp. 403–5.

³¹ A. Stein, 'Ἐπανορθωτής, *Aegyptus* XVII (1938),

234–43.

³² R. K. Sherck, *The legates of Galatia* (1951), 107.

³³ M. Domitius Candidus Valerianus, *cos. suff.* 238 or 239, in an inscription published by E. Gabba in *Athenaeum* xxxiv (1956), 273–83; and an *anonymus* in no. 19 in E. Bosch's publication of inscriptions in A. M. Mansel *et al.*, *Vorläufiger Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Side im Jahre 1947* (1951), 69–70.

³⁴ Thus it is not at all clear what the term means when it is used by Vaballathus Athenodorus of Palmyra, or whether it should be seen as a title or a term of praise; see F. Millar in *JRS* LXI (1971), 9–10. It appears to be used simply as a term of praise in an unpublished inscription of the early fourth century at Aphrodisias.

³⁵ In 'The genesis of Diocletian's provincial reorganisation', *JRS* xx (1932), 24–32.

³⁶ From the edition of W. Judeich in C. Humann *et al.*, *Altertümer von Hierapolis* (Jahrb. Deutsch. Arch. Inst. Ergänzungsheft IV, 1898), 87–8, no. 43, whence *IGR* IV, 814.

³⁷ From an unpublished copy by Sir William Ramsay.

same man, since in each his name has been carefully erased. He is described at Laodicea as [. . . ἡγε[μ]όνα Φρυγίας τε κ(αί) Κ[αρίας | πρ]εσβευτήν κ(αί) ἀντιστρ[άτηγον] | τῶν Σεβαστῶν ὑπατον [ἀν]δρείφ κ(αί) ἀρετῆ κ(αί) δικαιο[σύνη] . . .]. At Hierapolis the *anonymus* is described as τὸν λαμπρότατον | διὰ παντὸς γέ[γ]ονους ὑπατικῶν | ἡγεμόνα Φρυγί[ας καί] Καρίας, τὸν ἀνδρ[εῖοτα]|τον καὶ ἀγ[γ]λῶν | καὶ δίκ[α]ριον | κτλ. The similarities between the epithets applied to the *anonymus* and those used of M. Aurelius Diogenes (in nos. 4 and 5 above) are striking. In both inscriptions he is described as ἡγεμῶν as are Diogenes (no. 5) and Asclepiodotus (no. 6); at Laodicea he is additionally described as the legate of plural Augusti.

Many years earlier Anderson had transcribed an inscription at Docimium, in Phrygia, which was published from his copy in *CIL*;³⁸ this was a dedication to Maximian, datable to 286–305, erected by [. . .] Priscus v.c. PR[. | . . .]. The last word was restored by Anderson, and the editors of *CIL*, as pr[o]consul; and Anderson took this as evidence that Phrygia still formed part of the province of Asia in or after 286. He therefore deduced that the joint province of Phrygia and Caria (as it is described in the Phrygian inscriptions, while at Aphrodisias it is Caria and Phrygia) must have been created after 286, at an early stage in the subdivision of the provinces by Diocletian. The joint province appears to have been further divided later in the reign of Diocletian, since a separate province of Caria is attested before the end of the tetrarchy in 305.³⁹

The restoration of Priscus' title as pr[o]consul was entirely reasonable when no evidence existed for a *clarissimus praeses* in the area; but it is not an inevitable restoration, and it now appears equally reasonable to restore the title as pr[ae]ses—that is, of Phrygia and Caria.⁴⁰ This being so, there is no incontrovertible *terminus post quem* for the division of the province of Asia in the accession of Diocletian, and it becomes necessary to re-examine the possible date of the *anonymus* on other grounds.

According to Anderson, Ramsay, who copied the Laodicea inscription, described the tall, thin lettering as 'of a type not unusual in the late third century'. Judeich, in publishing the Hierapolis inscription, indicated a mid-third century date;⁴¹ and this is borne out by the photograph kindly provided by Dr. Tullia Ritti-Adamou, who comments that the letter forms do not appear to be any later than those of the other inscriptions of the same area, of the early to middle third century (Plate: VIII, 2).

The question of the dating of the *anonymus* was taken up again by A. H. M. Jones;⁴² he considered that the province of Phrygia and Caria, under a legate of senatorial rank, was unlikely to have been created by Diocletian, who 'consistently suppressed old *legati*' and preferred equestrian governors. Jones therefore suggested that Diocletian had created two provinces of Phrygia and Caria, under equestrian *praesides*, and that Constantine or his sons had united the two provinces to create a suitably prestigious post for the senatorial governors whom they preferred. He proposed to date the *anonymus* 'to the opening years of the joint reign of Constantine's sons' (thus allowing for the mention of plural Augusti). In putting forward this argument, Jones did not even consider the evidence of the script. He considered, but dismissed, the other serious objection to his dating, which arises from the titulature of the *anonymus*. The title *legatus Augusti pro praetore* was already rare by the 280's; the latest datable example of its use is by L. Artorius Pius Maximus, during his governorship of Coele Syria, at some time between 286 and 298.⁴³ Jones' explanation of its use in the second quarter of the fourth century by the *anonymus* as 'grandiloquent archaism' is highly unsatisfactory.

Jones' argument was thus never very secure; and it has now been invalidated by the

³⁸ *CIL* III, 14191².

³⁹ Aurelius Marcellus (PLRE I Marcellus 9) v.p. praes(es) prov(inciae) Cariae erected a dedication to the tetrarchs at Halicarnassus (*ILS* 635).

⁴⁰ I am very grateful to Dr. Martindale for pointing this out. M. Arnheim, *The senatorial aristocracy in the later Roman empire* (1972), 43, mentions this possibility only to reject it. Priscus is not included in PLRE I or in B. Malcus, 'Die Prokonsuln von Asia von Diokletian bis Theodosius II', *Opusc. Ath.* VII (1967), 91–159; nor is the anonymous governor

considered by PLRE I or Arnheim.

⁴¹ He considered that the inscription was 'reichlich ein Jahrhundert' earlier than the next mention of a governor of Caria known to him—that is, the inscription over the west gate at Aphrodisias, which is datable to the 350's (published most recently as *MAMA* VIII, 426).

⁴² In 'The date and value of the Verona list', *JRS* XLIV (1954), 21–9.

⁴³ See PLRE I, Maximus 43.

discovery that the copy of Diocletian's Price Edict found at Aezani, in Phrygia, had been put up by an equestrian governor, Fulvius Asticus.⁴⁴ Asticus was already known to have been governor in Caria under the tetrarchs; ⁴⁵ it now appears that he was governor of the joint province in 301, and presumably responsible for the several inscribed copies of the Price Edict found in Caria and Phrygia.⁴⁶ It seems likely that the province was divided shortly thereafter—perhaps in 303, when the two Numidian provinces were created ⁴⁷—since the separate province of Caria existed before 305 (n. 39). There is no reason to suppose that the two provinces were ever reunited.

While Jones' conclusions therefore seem to have been disproved, there is still validity in his original premiss that Diocletian is not known to have appointed senatorial governors in any of his new provinces. The rare senatorial governors attested under Diocletian seem all to have ruled provinces—notably Syria ⁴⁸—which were already being governed by men of that rank before 284. The presence of senatorial governors in Phrygia-Caria is therefore most easily explained if we attribute the creation of that province to one of Diocletian's predecessors. The explicitly attested governors of the province are Asclepiodotus and the *anonymus*, whose inscriptions are far more appropriate to a mid-third century date than to the period of the tetrarchy. The *anonymus*, legate of plural Augusti, must be dated to before 259/60; and it is precisely in the period 254–259/60 that M. Aurelius Diogenes, with the titles of a governor, was being honoured at Aphrodisias. It therefore seems highly likely that Diogenes, who is praised in very similar language, was also governor, in the 250's, of an imperial province of Phrygia and Caria which continued in existence until the early 300's.

There are other names to add to the *fasti* of such a province. Anderson (op. cit., n. 35) drew attention to L. Castrius Constans, described as λαμπρότατος ἡγεμών in the epitaph of a member of his staff at Eumeneia in Phrygia,⁴⁹ and as ἡγεμών ὑπατικός on a milestone near Heraclea Salbace in Caria.⁵⁰ The second of these inscriptions appears to refer to Caesars; if so, this would indicate that the joint province was still under senatorial governors in or after 293.

Another governor of the joint province is perhaps attested at Laodicea. An inscription found there, and published most recently by Professor Robert reads 'Ανίκιον Ἀσπρον τὸ [v] | ὑπατικὸν καὶ κτίστην | ἀνθ' ὧν εὐεργέτηται ἀνέθ(ηκεν).⁵¹ Robert commented that the script was of the late third or early fourth century, and mentioned that the stone was broken at the right. It may be, therefore, that the text should be revised to read [Ἡ πόλις] | Ἀνίκιον Ἀσπρον τὸ [v] λαμ[β] | ὑπατικὸν καὶ κτίστην [αὐτῆς] | ἀνθ' ὧν εὐεργέτηται ἀνέθ[ηκεν]. Anicius Asper might then be seen as another senatorial governor of Phrygia and Caria.

An inscription found at Iasos ⁵² datable to the reign of a single emperor, ἡγεμονεύοντο [5] Κλωδίου Κελσ[ίνου] τοῦ κρατίστου has been taken as referring to a proconsul of Asia,⁵³ or to a *praeses* of Caria; ⁵⁴ but, if the arguments above are valid, Celsinus was presumably a governor of the joint province, between 259/60 and 283.

A dedication to Maximian, found at Dorylaeum ⁵⁵ was set up ἡγεμονεύοντος τοῦ διασημοτάτου Ἰου [. . .]; this man may have been one of the equestrian governors of the joint province, or the governor of a separate Phrygia in the very last years of the tetrarchy.

An inscription first published by Anderson in 1897 ⁵⁶ was set up by the new πόλις of Meirus in Phrygia (which was still a κατοικία when it honoured Salonina—above, n. 6) in honour of Fl. Optimus, τὸν διασημοτάτου ἡγεμόνα and σωτήρα τῆς ἐπαρχίου. Anderson commented that 'the excellent lettering can hardly be later than the third century

⁴⁴ M. H. Crawford and J. M. Reynolds, 'The publication of the Prices Edict: a new inscription from Aezani', *JRS* LXV (1975), 160–3.

⁴⁵ *PLRE* I, Asticus 1, from a milestone found near Alabanda (*CIL* III, 480).

⁴⁶ Crawford and Reynolds, loc. cit. above.

⁴⁷ H.-G. Kolbe, *Die Statthalter Numidiens von Gallien bis Konstantin* (1962), 51 and 65 ff., sets out the evidence.

⁴⁸ For Syria see the *fasti* in *PLRE* I, 1105. Arnheim (op. cit., n. 40, 42–3) discusses and rejects the evidence for senatorial governors in other provinces under Diocletian; but there was still a proconsul in Crete in or after 286—*PLRE* I, Aglaus.

⁴⁹ *IGR* IV, 731, whence L. Robert, *Noms Indigènes* (1963), 292–305.

⁵⁰ *MAMA* VI, 94, whence J. and L. Robert, *La Carie*, 199, no. 123. Anderson dated Constans under the tetrarchs; Jones (loc. cit. above, and in *PLRE* I, Constans 1) proposed a date under Constantine.

⁵¹ In *Laodicée du Lycos: Le Nymphée*, J. des Gagniers et al. (1969), 338–9, no. 14.

⁵² A milestone; *Ann. Ep.* (1890), 108, from *BCH* XIV (1890), 165.

⁵³ *PIR*² C 1161.

⁵⁴ *PLRE* I, Celsinus 5.

⁵⁵ *IGR* IV, 523.

⁵⁶ In *JHS* XVII (1897), 424, no. 22.

or the very early years of the fourth'—an argument which is perhaps particularly compelling at such a relatively unimportant site. Optimus may therefore have been another equestrian governor of the joint province, rather than an early governor of Phrygia.⁵⁷

The hypothesis that the joint province of Phrygia and Caria was created before 284, and even as early as the 250's, does raise some difficulties. Firstly, although Miletus was included in the province of Caria in the lists of the Council of Nicaea in 324, Didyma—and therefore presumably Miletus—was still under the proconsul of Asia at some time between 284 and 293.⁵⁸ We are therefore required to assume that, if the province of Phrygia and Caria existed before that date, it did not include the whole of the later provinces of Caria and Phrygia. This does not appear to be an unreasonable assumption, since we know that some border adjustments did take place before the final pattern of the fourth century provinces was established—thus Tebessa appears to have been transferred from Numidia to Africa Proconsularis in 295.⁵⁹

Another difficulty is raised by an inscription found at Laodicea—the fragmentary remains of an epigram honouring someone as φέρτατον ἀνθυπάτων.⁶⁰ Professor Robert has pointed out⁶¹ that this must date from a period before the separation of Phrygia from proconsular Asia; and both the *genre* and what indications we have of the script would suggest a date in the late third or early fourth century for this fragment. But it is difficult to draw any firm conclusions from such slight evidence; it is possible that this does date from the first half of the third century, before the date which we are proposing for the creation of the new province.

Aphrodisias was still within the province of Asia in 243, when Gordian III was writing to the city about its relationship with the provincial κοινόν; ⁶² Decius was reaffirming the city's rights in 250, without making any reference to changes in its administrative situation (n. 5); and the evidence which we have examined does not require us to assume the existence of the joint province before 254. Since Bury,⁶³ historians of the period have been at pains to emphasize that Diocletian's reforms consisted, to a great extent, in rationalizing and systematizing changes which were already under way, and whose pace had accelerated in response to the crisis of the third century. It has recently been suggested that the provinces of Crete and Cyrene were separated at some time in the first half of the third century, although the case which has so far been advanced is not entirely satisfactory.⁶⁴ Pontus appears to have come into existence as a separate province by 279.⁶⁵ The Gallic province of Novempopuli may have been created in the mid-third century.⁶⁶ Aurelian is known to have created a subdivided Dacia south of the Danube⁶⁷ and to have begun the reorganization of Italy which Diocletian continued.⁶⁸

Further evidence of changes in the administration of provinces in the same area at about the same time is provided by a very fragmentary inscription from Side.⁶⁹ This was put up in honour of Gallienus and the family of Valerian, apparently in 255 or 256,⁷⁰ by the city of Side. Line 7 reads [δὶὰ τοῦ] — but perhaps better [ἐπὶ τοῦ] — λαμπ[ροτ]ᾶτ[ου]

⁵⁷ Another possible governor in Phrygia in 303–4 is mentioned in the *Acta S. Menae*, see *PLRE* I, Pyrrhus 1.

⁵⁸ T. Flavius Festus (*PLRE* I, Festus 7), who was proconsul for at least two years, undertook repair work at Didyma (A. Rehm, op. cit., n. 25, no. 159) and dedicated two statues there on behalf of Diocletian and Maximian (op. cit., nos. 89 and 90). It is more difficult to date the Asiarch Macarius, who was active at Miletus in the late third or early fourth century (*Milet* I, 9, no. 339, whence L. Robert, *Hellenica* IV, 14, 129, 134).

⁵⁹ W. Seston, *Dioclétien et la tétrarchie* (1946), 326.

⁶⁰ *IGR* IV, 854, from *BCH* XI (1887), 352, no. 8.

⁶¹ In *Hellenica* IV, 20, n. 6.

⁶² *Aphrodisias and Rome*, document 21.

⁶³ Above, n. 1.

⁶⁴ See H.-G. Pflaum in *Ann. Éc. Prat. Hautes Études* (1973–4), 271 ff.; the theory requires us to suppose that the two provinces were divided under Septimius Severus, reunited by Alexander Severus, and subsequently divided again, which seems unattractively complicated; but further examination of

the evidence may make it possible to propose a simpler scheme.

⁶⁵ See *PLRE* I, Atianus.

⁶⁶ Suggested by Bury on the basis of *CIL* XIII, 412.

⁶⁷ B. Filov, 'Die Teilung des aurelianischen Dakiens', *Klio* XII (1912), 234–9.

⁶⁸ See A. Chastagnol, *Historia* XII (1963), 350.

⁶⁹ Published by G. E. Bean in *The Inscriptions of Side* (1965), 65, no. 183, whence *Ann. Ep.* (1966), 460, on which see *Bull. Ep.* (1968), 545.

⁷⁰ Bean considered, probably rightly, that the line-lengths imposed the restoration of *Germanicus* in Gallienus' titulature, indicating a date in 255 or 256 (see *PIR*² L 197); he had not yet held his third consulate (257). As published, the inscription honours Gallienus [ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας τῆς τῆς τοῦ κυρίου [ἡμῶν] Οὐαλεριανοῦ Σε[βαστοῦ καὶ τοῦ σύμπαντος] οἴκου [αὐτοῦ], which seems a surprising formulation, especially in Valerian's 'half' of the empire; but, for the importance of Gallienus and his family during the joint reign, see for example, nos. 1 and 2 above, and the inscriptions listed at n. 6.

ὑ]πατικοῦ Ο[ὑ]λπίου Μαρκέλλου; the civic officials are listed separately, in the following section (lines 10 ff.). Ulpius Marcellus therefore appears to be a government official, and so presumably the governor of Lycia-Pamphylia, from a prominent Roman family of the second and third centuries.⁷¹ From about 180 Lycia-Pamphylia was a senatorial province, governed by praetorian proconsuls, most of whom cannot be definitely dated. In the later third century, at a date which has not been determined, the province came under an equestrian *praeses*.⁷² But Ulpius Marcellus' title of *consularis* is never known to have been used of a proconsul; ⁷³ it is most easily interpreted to mean that he was the senatorial governor of an imperial province. This suggests that by the 250's Lycia-Pamphylia had returned to imperial control, but that the emperors had not yet started to appoint equestrian governors. The appearance, at this date, of a *legatus Augusti* in what had been a senatorial province forms an interesting parallel to the appearance of imperial legates in Phrygia and Caria, which had previously formed part of a senatorial province, at about the same time.

It remains to consider the circumstances which, in the middle years of the third century, led to these administrative changes. In considering how they were brought about, it is perhaps relevant to recall that Aurelius Appius Sabinus, a former prefect of Egypt, and therefore a man of considerable bureaucratic experience, was ἐπανορθωτῆς Ἀσίας in the early 250's; as has been said above, the title suggests a special commission to put right—and perhaps reorganize—things that were considered to have gone wrong. But, for an idea of why such changes were thought to be necessary, it may be useful to consider further evidence of central government activity in this period at Aphrodisias.

III. Government Agents

7. A simple base without moulding (H. 1.09, W. 0.53, D. 0.50), with the upper corners broken. Letters: lines 1–10, 0.03; lines 11 ff., 0.025. Ligatures in lines 9, 11; circular stop; apex for abbreviation mark.

The stone was found on the west wall by the French excavators, led by P. Gaudin, in 1904, and published, from a squeeze, by Th. Reinach in *REG* XIX (1906), 145, no. 78; it was found again by the *MAMA* expedition in 1934, and published by J. M. R. Cormack, *MAMA* VIII, 508. It was found by the current expedition on the central stretch of the western city wall, with *CIG* 2763 and 2765, and *MAMA* VIII, 512.

Illustrated in *MAMA* VIII, plate 19.

[Ἡ πόλις]
 [A]ὑρ(ήλιον) Γάιον [έκα]
 τόνταρχον φρ[ου]
 μεντάριον stop ἄ
 γνῶς καὶ ἀνδρεί
 5 ως ἀναστραφέν
 τα ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἀσί
 ας ἔθνει stop εὐνοί
 ας καὶ στοργῆς ἔ
 νεκεν τῆς εἰς αὐ
 10 τὴν ἡμίψατο.
vacat
 ἐπεμελήσατο τῆς
 ἀναστάσεως τοῦ
 ἀνδριάντος ὁ ἀξι
 ολογώτατος stop Ἀντ(ώνιος)
 15 scroll Νεικόμαχος scroll

⁷¹ The family rose to prominence with the jurist Ulpius Marcellus under Antoninus Pius (*RE*² xvii. 1. 570, no. 2), probably the father of L. Ulpius Marcellus, governor of Britain in c. 184 (*RE* Suppl. x. 1031, no. 4a; cf. also *Aphrodisias and Rome*, document 16). In the next generation another Ulpius

Marcellus governed in Britain (see R. W. Davies, *Chiron* vi (1976), 367–71, for a date of 211/12); the governor of Lycia-Pamphylia may represent the fourth generation of this family.

⁷² For the proconsuls, see D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor* (1950) II, 1532–3, n. 7, and 1599–60;

The stone is complete ; the text must, therefore, have begun on an upper feature. Reinach read the final letters of lines 1 and 2, but this corner had been broken off when the *MAMA* expedition saw the stone.

8. No description ; apparently a rectangular base.

The stone was copied by Sherard, in 1716, on the central stretch of the western city wall, near *CIG* 2760–2765 (and so presumably near the preceding inscription). It was published by Boeckh from Sherard's copy as *CIG* 2802 ; the stone has not been found again. This copy is from Sherard's notebook, BM Add. 10101, f. 128.⁷⁴

[Ἡ πόλις]
 [τὸν δεῖνα]
 ἑκατὸν [τ]αρχον
 φρουμεντάριον
 ἀγνώως καὶ ἀν
 δρ[ε]ίως ἀναστρα
 5 φέντα ἐν τῷ τῆς
 Ἀσίας ἔθνει εὐ
 νοίας καὶ στορ
 γῆς ἔνεκεν τῆς
 εἰς αὐτὴν ἡμείψατο.
 10 ἐπεμελήσατο τῆς
 ἀναστάσεως τοῦ
 ἀνδριάντος ὁ ἄξ[1]
 ολογώτατος Ἀντώ
 νιος Ἀνδρόνικος

Line 1 : TONAPX Sherard. Line 2 : Boeckh's copy of Sherard's notes showed APIOY, but the MS shows APION. Line 4 : ΔΡΙΩΣ Sherard. Line 6 : ΕΘΝΟΙ Sherard. Line 8 : ΤΕΣ Sherard. Line 10 : Sherard copied this line twice. ΕΠΙΜΕΛ Sherard. Lines 12/13 ΟΑΣ | ΟΥΤΟΠΩΤΑΤΟΖΑΝΤΟ | Sherard.

The wording of nos. 7 and 8 is identical ; only the names differ.

Translation : [The city] has rewarded Aurelius Gaius (no. 7), *anonymus* (no. 8), *centurio frumentarius*, who has conducted himself decently and bravely in the province of Asia, for his goodwill and affection towards her. The most worthy Antonius Nicomachus (no. 7), Antonius Andronicus (no. 8) oversaw the erection of the statue.

Reinach, in his publication of no. 7, noted the similarities between the two texts, and suggested that Sherard might have made a bad copy of no. 7 ; Cormack, in his publication of the same text, assumed that this was so. Further confirmation of this suggestion might be seen in the fact that both inscriptions appear to have been found on the same stretch of the city wall. But, among the large number of Sherard's copies which have been checked against the surviving stones, there is no other example of anything approaching such inaccuracy on Sherard's part ; nor is this kind of error, with the disposition of the lines slightly altered, a particularly probable copyist's mistake.⁷⁵ It therefore seems preferable to assume that these are two virtually identical, but separate, inscriptions. While it is possible that they were both set up to honour the same man, Aurelius Gaius, it is far easier to explain both the identical language and the differences in disposition by assuming that the name of the man honoured in no. 8 was longer than that of Gaius ; it would then, by filling the whole

for the equestrian Terentius Marcianus see G. M. Bersanetti, 'Un governatore equestre delle Licia-Panfilia', *Aevum* xix (1945), 384–90, and H. Peterson, 'Senatorial and equestrian governors in the third century A.D.', *JRS* xlv (1955), 49 with nn. 27–8.

⁷³ H. J. Mason, *op. cit.* (n. 18) 162 ff., and especially 172.

⁷⁴ On William Sherard and his copies of inscrip-

tions at Aphrodisias made in 1705 and 1716, see now *Aphrodisias and Rome*, Appendix II.

⁷⁵ It is also difficult to believe that Sherard would have miscopied the name Nicomachus, since he had just been copying several inscriptions (*CIG* 2760–62, and 2799, which appear on ff. 126–7v of his notebook) which mention a Nicomachus.

of the missing line, have produced a different alignment of the same text. It appears therefore most probable that two statues were set up to honour, in identical inscriptions, a pair of *centuriones frumentarii*.

Aurelius Gaius is not otherwise known, and the epimelete of no. 8 cannot be identified with any certainty; ⁷⁶ but it seems very likely that the epimelete of no. 7, Antonius Nicomachus, is the man who was responsible for erecting nos. 3 and 4, in 254–259/60. The two *frumentarii*, who were active ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἀσίας ἔθνει,⁷⁷ were clearly honoured at a time when Aphrodisias was still within the province of Asia, and so before—but not all that long before—M. Aurelius Diogenes. They are praised in language similar to that used of Diogenes and the anonymous governor of Phrygia and Caria: the *frumentarii* behaved ἀγνῶς καὶ ἀνδρείως; Diogenes is ἀγνὸν καὶ ἀνδρείον (no. 4), ἀνδρείον, ἀγνόν (no. 5); the *anonymus* is ἀνδρειότατον καὶ ἀγνόν (Hierapolis) and credited with ἀνδρεία (Laodicea). It therefore seems possible that the presence of the two *frumentarii* at Aphrodisias is relevant to the creation of the new province.

Gaius and his colleague are described as *centuriones frumentarii* with no mention of a legion; they were therefore presumably detailed directly from the Castra Peregrinorum in Rome to serve in the province.⁷⁸ *Fumentarii* were regularly—and, during the third century, increasingly—used as the agents of central government in the provinces, with a variety of functions. In Asia their presence is chiefly attested in a series of inscriptions from Lydia and Phrygia—most of which appear to date from the third century—containing complaints by local inhabitants to the imperial government about the behaviour of *frumentarii* and other categories of soldier.⁷⁹

From the evidence which has been assembled for the presence of *frumentarii* in the provinces it is clear that one of their most common functions—and perhaps that which gave them the greatest scope to act injuriously—was that of policing and keeping the peace—προφάσει εἰρήνης, as one of the letters of complaint puts it.⁸⁰ It seems fairly certain that when a *frumentarius* is named as responsible for a particular area—as in the case of the *frumentarii* at Aphrodisias—he is acting as, or in a manner similar to, a *regionarius* or *stationarius*—the standard titles for soldiers entrusted with peace-keeping in a particular area.⁸¹ It is therefore of particular interest to find a *stationarius* honoured in an inscription at Artanada as ἀγνῶς ἀναστραφέντα; ⁸² the similarity to the language used of the *frumentarii* at Aphrodisias is striking, and tends to confirm the supposition that their functions were similar.

These soldiers presumably acted ἀγνῶς insofar as they forbore from the bad behaviour expected of soldiers.⁸³ The men at Aphrodisias also acted ἀνδρείως, and this implies that they saw active service.⁸⁴ The presence of contingents of soldiers at various points in the hinterland of Asia requires explanation; and there are specific indications that peace-keeping in south-west Asia Minor was becoming increasingly demanding. An inscription at Antioch in Pisidia, written in prose and verse (which, together with the general style,

⁷⁶ Andronicus might perhaps be identified with M. Ant. Popilius Andronicus Flavianus, in an apparently third century text published by Th. Reinach in *REG* XIX (1906), 139, no. 71.

⁷⁷ For ἔθνος with the sense of *provincia* see H. J. Mason, *op. cit.* (n. 18), 136.

⁷⁸ On the *frumentarii* see, most recently, M. Clauss, *Untersuchungen zu den Principales des römischen Heeres* (1973), especially 82–115; see also M. Rostovtzeff, *SEHRE*² II, 741, n. 26.

⁷⁹ See L. Robert, 'Sur un papyrus de Bruxelles', *Rev. Phil.* XVII (1943), 111–19 (= *OMS* 1, 364–372); P. Herrmann, *Neue Inschriften zur historischen Landeskunde von Lydien* (Denkschr. Akad. Wien 77.1, 1959), 11–13, and *Ergebnisse einer Reise in Nordostlydien* (Denkschr. Akad. Wien 80, 1962), 26–7; and a useful republication of the texts by G. Mihailov in his edition of the complaints of the people of Scaptopara in Thrace, *IGBulg.* IV (1966), no. 2236. Publication of a similar document from Phrygia is promised by T. Drew-Bear in *Chiron* VII (1977), 363 n. 46.

⁸⁰ So Clauss, *op. cit.* above, 98–104, citing this quotation from the second of the two documents published by Herrmann.

⁸¹ On *stationarii* see L. Robert, *Études Anatoliennes*, 98–9, and *Hellenica* X, 174 ff.; on *regionarii* see Clauss, *op. cit.* above, 100 with n. 130. The fundamental work on policing under the Romans remains O. Hirschfeld, 'Die Sicherheitspolizei im römischen Kaiserzeit', *Kleine Schriften* (1913), 577–612; for a useful modern review see R. Macmullen, *Soldier and civilian in the later Roman Empire* (1963), 50–65.

⁸² J. S. Sterret, 'The Wolfe Expedition', *Papers of the American School at Athens* III (1884–5), no. 73.

⁸³ Thus, in the inscription at Termessus Minor mentioned below (n. 87), the commander is praised for having spent twelve days in the town with his troops μετὰ πάσης εὐκοσμίας; this good behaviour deserved a special mention.

⁸⁴ Professor Robert has pointed out that one should never disregard references to ἀνδρεία, which indicates 'surtout le courage militaire', *Ant. Class.* xxxv (1966), 429.

suggests a middle or late third century date) honours Aurelius Dionysius, ἑκατόνταρχος ῥεγωνάριος, who is warmly praised by the city ἀντι β[ί]ου πολλῶν καὶ τῆς εἰρήνης.⁸⁵ The implication is that there were very real dangers to peace in the area; Pisidia was traditionally a home of bandits, who were still giving trouble in the 340's.⁸⁶

There is further similar evidence from Lycia. In 256 Termessus Minor honoured M. Valerius Statilius Castus, πραιπόσιτον βεξιλατιῶνων, as προνοησάμενον τῆς εἰρήνης κατὰ θάλασσαν καὶ κατὰ γῆν.⁸⁷ His exact status is unclear, but his presence, in command of soldiers, and with apparent responsibility for an area extending at least from Termessus to the sea, suggests substantial problems. Two more πραιπόσιτοι, like Castus with the rank κράτιστος, but with their functions not further defined, are attested at Termessus Maior in the late third or early fourth century.⁸⁸ Another inscription from Termessus Maior has recently been shown, by M. Christol, to have been put up by the city in honour of L. Aurelius Marcianus, *dux*, who is praised as εἰρήνης προστάτην; ⁸⁹ the same term is used in another inscription from Lycia, of the late third or early fourth century, recently discovered by Professor Martin Harrison.⁹⁰ Marcianus' rank of διασημότατος suggests that the Termessus inscription cannot be dated much earlier than the sole reign of Gallienus.⁹¹

To all this evidence of military activity on a not inconsiderable scale in south-west Asia Minor in the mid-third century should now be added the presence of two high-ranking officers, who had apparently been engaged in active service, at Aphrodisias, and the establishment, shortly thereafter, of a provincial command in the area, with unusual titulature. As has been pointed out, both Diogenes and the anonymous governor were praised for their bravery, in terms very similar to those used of the *frumentarii*. Diogenes' titles are given as πρεσβευτῆς Σεβαστῶν ἀντιστράτηγος (no. 4) and ἡγεμών (no. 5). But the *anonymus* is referred to as [ἡγεμ]όνα... [πρ]εσβευτὴν κ(αὶ) ἀντιστράτηγον τῶν Σεβαστῶν (Laodicea) and as ὑπατικὸν ἡγεμόνα (Hierapolis); and the formula ὑπατικός ἡγεμών is also used of Asclepiodotus (no. 6) and L. Castrius Constans (p. 111). It may be that we should punctuate ὑπατικός, ἡγεμών, the former word indicating the man's personal rank, the second his office. But the phrasing used at Laodicea makes it appear likely that ὑπατικός here has the sense (standard in the third century)⁹² of *legatus Augusti*, and that ὑπατικός ἡγεμών is a shorter form of the full title used at Laodicea.

There is a parallel to this titulature in that used by M. Aur. Valentinianus, 'praeses prov(inciae) Hisp(aniae) Cit(erioris) leg(atu)s Aug(ustorum) pr(o) pr(aetore)' in 283.⁹³ In his edition of the inscriptions of Valentinianus in *CIL*, Hübner suggested that this titulature was used to indicate that Valentinianus had military as well as civil responsibilities, and recently M. Arnheim has repeated this view.⁹⁴ Anderson rejected this interpretation, pointing out, firstly, that *praeses*/ἡγεμών is not restricted to indicating solely civil functions; this is clearly true when the term appears alone, but does not rule out the possibility that the term might have this sense when used in juxtaposition with another title. Anderson's other argument was that the combination was used by the *anonymus* in Phrygia and Caria—that is, in a *provincia inermis*.

⁸⁵ *IGR* IV, 301, from J. S. Sterret, 'An Epigraphical Journey', *Papers of the American School at Athens* II (1883-4), nos. 92 and 93; the text was seen again, and improvements published, by W. M. Calder in *JRS* II (1912), 80. We do not know the size of the *regio* of a *regionarius*; but it is of some interest that Aurelius Dionysius' name would fit very well into the missing first line of no. 8.

⁸⁶ See L. Robert, *Études Anatoliennes*, 96 ff. and 103, and in *Laodicée du Lycos*, 346 ff., and J. and L. Robert, *La Carie*, 41 ff.

⁸⁷ *IGR* II, 481, and *ILS* 8870.

⁸⁸ *TAM* III, 1, nos. 80 and 82. Heberdey assumed a tetrarchic date for no. 82, on the basis of deciphering the name of one of the *praepositi* on a very battered milestone (no. 943) which might be tetrarchic; but all of this is very uncertain.

⁸⁹ 'Un duc dans une inscription de Termessus (Pisidie)', *Chiron* VIII (1978), 529-40, re-editing *TAM* II, 1, no. 88.

⁹⁰ I am grateful to Professor Harrison for permis-

sion to refer to this new inscription; he will shortly be publishing it, together with other important material from Ovacık, near Elmali, which he has copied during his survey work in the area in the last few years.

⁹¹ Christol thinks not before the end of the reign of Gallienus (p. 538 with n. 34), but this does not appear to be inevitable from the evidence. It might be tempting to identify L. Aurelius Marcianus with the Marcianus attested as *protector et tribunus praetorianorum* in Thrace at the end of Gallienus' reign (*PLRE* I Marcianus 2, and B. Gerov in *Athenaeum* XLIII (1965), 333-54). Gerov suggested that the title of *dux* which Marcianus also bears refers to an earlier stage in his career—perhaps service in Pisidia earlier in the reign of Gallienus?

⁹² H. J. Mason, *op. cit.* (n. 18), 170.

⁹³ *CIL* II, 4103; *CIL* II, 4102, whence *ILS* 599, is almost identical. For the man's career, see *PLRE* I, Valentinianus 6.

⁹⁴ *op. cit.* (n. 40), 35-6.

The evidence which we have discussed, however, suggests that it may be misleading to stick to the old idea of a *provincia inermis* as one in which no legion was stationed. It seems clear that, by the mid-third century, substantial detachments of troops were operating in parts of Asia and of Lycia-Pamphylia; and it seems likely that the province of Phrygia and Caria was created, and that of Lycia-Pamphylia brought under direct imperial control, in response to that situation. The governors of both provinces will then have been responsible for the troops operating in their provinces; and this is apparently reflected in the titulature of the governors of Phrygia and Caria. At the time of this reorganization, well before the 'Edict of Gallienus', governors of senatorial rank were considered appropriate for these two provinces. Later in the third century, Lycia-Pamphylia came under an equestrian *praeses* (n. 72), while Phrygia and Caria apparently remained under senatorial governors until the early years of the tetrarchy. This may suggest that, while Lycia-Pamphylia came under continued pressure, from Goths and from Isaurians, Phrygia and Caria, after the troubles of the 250's had been surmounted, remained relatively calm.

IV. Aphrodisias and the province of Phrygia and Caria

Having set out the evidence which suggests that a new province of Phrygia and Caria was created in the 250's, it remains to consider whether we have any evidence as to what the constitution of such a province meant to its inhabitants, and in particular to the citizens of the free city of Aphrodisias.

The subdivision of the provinces was attacked, in a famous passage, by Lactantius (n. 2); but it is not safe to assume that such subdivision was necessarily unwelcome to the provincial citizens. An inscription from Aquitaine (n. 66) praises the man who *pro novem optinuit populis seiungere Gallos*; and while the date (under a single Augustus) is not certain and while it is not clear what level of separation was in fact achieved, the implication is that separate administration was considered a benefit.

C. H. Haspels has presented evidence which shows that the uplands of Phrygia became steadily more extensively populated, and more prosperous, during the late second and the third centuries;⁹⁵ Meirus—certainly—and Tymandus—probably—obtained city status during the second half of the third century.⁹⁶ Professor Martin Harrison's current survey work in Lycia (n. 90) appears to be yielding similar results. Such evidence might be thought to be at variance with the conclusion, which has been drawn above, that there was an increasing need for peace-keeping in the area; but this can be seen as a side effect of a process whereby settled communities were occupying a larger area of territory, perhaps displacing less structured groups, and certainly expecting a better level of security. Moreover, these new communities will have lacked the established institutions for self-administration, and for peace-keeping, of the older cities.

It appears likely, therefore, that the hinterland of the province of Asia, as it became more prosperous, placed increasing demands on those governing it, which the proconsular administration, based in Ephesus, was ill-equipped to meet. The appearance of equestrian officials, acting on behalf of the proconsul, in the first half of the third century, perhaps represents an early attempt to respond to these demands;⁹⁷ and, in this connection, it is of interest that the provinces into which proconsular Asia was eventually divided appear to reflect divisions which already existed in the procuratorial administration of the area.⁹⁸

⁹⁵ *The highlands of Phrygia* (1971), 163 ff.

⁹⁶ Meirus: see above, p. 111. Tymandus: see *ILS* 6090.

⁹⁷ Aelius Aglaus, *vir egregius* (*PIR*² A 133) was acting for the proconsul in Lydia apparently in the first half of the third century: J. Keil and A. Premerstein, *Bericht über eine dritte Reise in Lydien* (*Denkschr. Akad. Wien* 57.1, 1914), no. 55. C. Furius Aquila Timesitheus (*PIR*² F 581) was proc. prov. Asiae, ibi vice xx et xxx, itemq. vice procos. during the same period: H.-G. Pflaum, *Le Marbre de Thorigny* (1948), 57-9. The presence of such a particularly eminent bureaucrat perhaps suggests serious problems.

⁹⁸ Almost all the subdivisions of proconsular Asia—Asia, Caria, Phrygia, Hellespont and the Islands—bear names which are attested in the procuratorial administration of the *ratio privata* and the *patrimonium*; for examples see, most recently, H.-G. Pflaum in *ZPE* xviii (1975), 11-12, and W. Eck in *Chiron* vii (1977), 367, n. 54; for a procurator of the *ratio privata provinciae Asiae et Phrygiae et Cariae* see *Inschriften von Ephesos* III, 647. Seston, op. cit. (n. 59), 321, n. 6, rejected the idea that the subdivision of the provinces was based on pre-existing administrations, but it might repay further examination.

If these deductions are correct, the creation of the province of Phrygia and Caria should have been welcome to the smaller communities of the area; it is less clear what it would have meant to the established cities, and in particular to a free city such as Aphrodisias. What evidence we have makes it difficult to believe that the creation of the new province was seen as infringing the city's rights, even if it did in practice lead to the curtailing of her autonomy.

It may well be that the city was too preoccupied with what was to be gained from the new arrangements to consider what might be lost; for there are several reasons to suppose that Aphrodisias acted as an administrative centre—and perhaps the chief one—in the new province. The first argument in support of this—as Professor Erim has pointed out—comes from Aphrodisias' position as metropolis of the later province of Caria. Aphrodisias is awkwardly placed geographically for such a role, and had no particularly compelling historical claim to it.⁹⁹ But she would have occupied a strategically central position in the new province of Caria and Phrygia; the convenience of Aphrodisias' location for the control of the area is implied by the apparent choice of the two *frumentarii* to use the city as a base for their operations. Having once acquired the status of metropolis, it is natural that she should have retained it in the new, smaller province.

A further indication of the city's status is perhaps provided by the subject matter of a frieze discovered during recent excavations in the large basilica which runs south from the Agora at Aphrodisias; the importance of this building at this period is illustrated by the fact that the Edicts of Diocletian on Maximum Prices and Currency Reform were inscribed on its façade.¹⁰⁰ The fragments of relief sculpture which appear to have come from the balustrade of an upper storey in the building have been dated by Professor Erim to the third century.¹⁰¹ They include several named figures: Apollo, Ninus and his wife Semiramis (presumably a reference to the former's traditional links with Aphrodisias, reinforcing the city's antiquity),¹⁰² Bellerophon and Pegasus (traditionally connected with Caria),¹⁰³ and Gordis (Gordios) the mythical founder of Phrygia.¹⁰⁴ It is very tempting to associate the themes of this sculpture with Aphrodisias' role in the joint province of Phrygia and Caria.

Evidence of Aphrodisias' position in the province can perhaps also be found in a group of six inscriptions which have all been published previously. They honour, in identical wording, the peoples of Hierapolis,¹⁰⁵ Kibyra,¹⁰⁶ Keretapa,¹⁰⁷ Tabae,¹⁰⁸ Apollonia Salbace¹⁰⁹ and Heraclea (Salbace).¹¹⁰ The first three were erected under the supervision of M. Aurelius Papias, acting as first archon for the second time; his grandfather had been among the epimeletes of a statue of Caracalla,¹¹¹ which suggests a mid- to late third century date for the grandson. The name of the epimelete of the fourth inscription is lost; but the last two were put up under the supervision of M. (Aurelius) Antonius Nicomachus Blastus, acting as first archon for the third time, who was also responsible for other inscriptions in the same year.¹¹² The two men are described as *πρωτόλογος ἀρχων*, which appears to be another form of *πρωτος ἀρχων*; ¹¹³ and the most natural interpretation of this title is that

⁹⁹ The title 'metropolis' is used of Aphrodisias in a text dated to 170–80, at Claros (L. Robert in *REG* LXX (1957), 370, n. 4); but it does not appear in the inscriptions of Aphrodisias itself until the fourth century. Stratonicea is more widely attested as metropolis—see Magie, *op. cit.* (n. 72), 636, and *SEG* IV, 263—had played a more important part in the history of Caria, and is more centrally located in the province.

¹⁰⁰ See K. T. Erim and J. M. Reynolds, in *YRS* LX (1970), 120 ff., and LXIII (1973), 99 ff.; K. T. Erim, J. M. Reynolds and M. H. Crawford in *YRS* LXI (1971), 171 ff.

¹⁰¹ K. T. Erim, *AYA* LXXXII (1978), 324–5; and see L. Robert, *A travers l'Asie Mineure* (1980), 332–34, 409.

¹⁰² See Steph. Byz., s.v. Νινός.

¹⁰³ The Carian hero Chrysaor and Chrysaor the brother of Pegasus were sometimes, but not always, identified (*RE* III, 2, 2488); the identification presumably explains the frequent representations of Pegasus on the coins of Carian cities—see *BMC*

Caria, Index s.v., and, at Aphrodisias, Imhoof-Blumer, *Kleinasiatische Münzen*, 115, no. 13; *SNG Cop.* 94; *Inv. Waddington* 2189.

¹⁰⁴ *RE* VII, 2, 1590 ff. Although Gordios appears as representing Gordiouteichos on the frieze at Lagina (L. Robert, *Études Anatoliennes*, 552–5), his prominence as one of the few named figures on the frieze at Aphrodisias suggests a more important role here.

¹⁰⁵ *CIG* 2763.

¹⁰⁶ *CIG* 2764.

¹⁰⁷ *MAMA* VIII, 512.

¹⁰⁸ *CIG* 2765; J. and L. Robert *La Carie*, 115, no. 23.

¹⁰⁹ *CIG* 2761; J. and L. Robert, *op. cit.*, 232, no. 147.

¹¹⁰ *CIG* 2762; J. and L. Robert, *op. cit.*, 202, no. 131.

¹¹¹ *MAMA* VIII, 451.

¹¹² *CIG* 2760; 2799.

¹¹³ Thus Nicomachus Blastus is described in *CIG* 2799 as ἀρχωντα τρις την πρώτητην ἀρχήν.

there was only one such magistrate at any time, and that these two groups of inscriptions were therefore put up in different years.

There is no exact parallel to these inscriptions, which record the δῆμος of each of the cities as συνθύσαντα ἐπὶ τῇ δεδομένη τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἀγῶνος δωρεᾶ. Professor Robert has shown that the phrase δωρεᾶ ἱεροῦ ἀγῶνος has the specific meaning of an imperial grant, giving games the status of sacred, crowned or ecumenic or a combination of these titles, and that such grants became increasingly common during the third century.¹¹⁴ The grant here was evidently a matter of considerable importance to the cities in the area.

The first reference to 'sacred and ecumenic' games at Aphrodisias is in the inscription which lists the victories of the herald Valerius Eclectus, dated to between 253 and 257.¹¹⁵ The last—and very probably the most recent¹¹⁶—of those victories (which are only those at sacred and ecumenic contests) is at the Ἀττάληα Καπετώλια ἐν Ἀφροδισιάδι. The abundant nomenclature attested for games at Aphrodisias in the third century is fairly confusing; but these games can presumably be identified with the Capitolia Gordianeia Attaleia, first mentioned on coins of the city under Gordian.¹¹⁷ These coins are for the most part very similar; they show a single wreath on an agonistic table, with the titles of the games variously disposed. A new type appears on a coin of Valerian—a table with two wreaths, one (left) inscribed ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΗΑ and the other (right) ΟΥΑΛΗΡΙΑΝΑ.¹¹⁸ The same design appears frequently on coins of Gallienus, but with different legends: the wreath on the left is inscribed ΚΑΠΕΤΩΛΙΑ, that on the right ΠΥΘΙΑ, and the rim of the table bears, in most examples, the word ΟΙΚΟΥΜΕΝΙΚΟΣ.¹¹⁹

There is, therefore, no definite evidence for a grant of 'sacred and ecumenic' status to games at Aphrodisias before the 250's. It was granted to the Gordianeia Attaleia before 257, and, by the 260's at the latest,¹²⁰ to a new contest, the Valeriana Pythia. These can be added to the considerable number of Pythian games which, as Professor Robert has pointed out,¹²¹ were founded under Gordian, Valerian and Gallienus. The convenience of founding Pythian games was that they had their own established procedures, which could be taken over *in toto*.¹²² But Pythia are not particularly appropriate to Aphrodisias, where no cult of Apollo is known; it is therefore interesting to find Apollo represented among the labelled figures on the frieze discussed above.¹²³

It therefore seems possible to argue that the δωρεᾶ which the cities of the area celebrated was not the grant to the Gordianeia Attaleia—a purely Aphrodisian affair—but that to the new Valeriana Pythia; and that the reason for their sharing in the celebrations, apparently on more than one occasion, was that the Valeriana Pythia had been established as the provincial games of the new province of Phrygia and Caria. This would explain the prominence of Apollo on the frieze which shows the heroes of Phrygia and Caria; it might also explain the appearance, at this date, of Pythia at Tabae.¹²⁴ Aphrodisias will then have ostentatiously recorded the presence of the other cities, to advertise her own status in the province. A provincial assembly in Caria is well attested in the fourth and fifth centuries, and some such assembly is likely to have been constituted in the joint province.¹²⁵

The reorganization of Asia to create the new province of Phrygia and Caria must have led to the removal from the κοινόν of Asia of, among many other cities, one—Laodicea—

¹¹⁴ In *Rev. Num.* xxxix (1936), 247–8 (= *OMS* II, 1032–3), *Études Anatoliennes*, 119–23, and in A. Dupont-Sommer and L. Robert, *La déesse de Hiérapolis-Castabala* (1964), 90.

¹¹⁵ L. Moretti, *Iscrizioni agonistiche greche* (1953), no. 90.

¹¹⁶ O. Liermann, *Analecta epigraphica et agonistica* (1889), 160, points out that Eclectus listed the most prestigious contests first, and then followed the 'simplex terrarum ordo'. But, after listing games in Asia Minor, he goes on to Syria and Phoenice, and only thereafter mentions Aphrodisias, which does therefore look like a recent addition.

¹¹⁷ e.g., *BMC Caria*, 47, nos. 128, 129; *SNG von Aulock* 2463, 2464; *SNG Cop.* 125 (where the legend on the table rim, described by the editor, cannot be seen in the photograph).

¹¹⁸ *SNG von Aulock* 8066, *Hunterian collection* II,

421, no. 5.

¹¹⁹ e.g. Weber 6412; *BMC Caria*, 146–51; *Kleinasiatische Münzen*, 115, nos. 14, 15.

¹²⁰ It is not yet clear whether the coins of Gallienus at Aphrodisias must all be ascribed to his sole reign, or whether some date from the 250's.

¹²¹ See *Bull. Ep.* (1972), 612; *Laodicée du Lycos*, 291, n. 2; and the article cited below, n. 128.

¹²² So L. Robert, *Études Epigraphiques et Philologiques* (1938), 60–1.

¹²³ Apollo appears for the only time on the datable coinage of Aphrodisias on a coin of Tranquillina, Mionnet III, 329, no. 154.

¹²⁴ See J. and L. Robert, *La Carie*, 146: Ὀλύμπια Πύθια on a coin of Salonina.

¹²⁵ On the later assembly see C. Roueché, 'A new inscription from Aphrodisias', *GRBS* xx (1979), 174–5, with n. 9.

which had been responsible for the celebration of provincial games. This must have produced some redistribution of responsibilities; and it may be that we have an indication of that redistribution in the letter of Valerian and Gallienus, dated 18 January 255, which defines Philadelphia's duties within the *κοινόν*.¹²⁶ While Philadelphia's approach to the emperors does not need to be explained by special circumstances, it would fit very well into such a context. Another sign of the effects of reorganization may be given by Nyssa's assertion of its status as sixth city of the province of Asia, on coins of the reigns of Valerian and Gallienus.¹²⁷

The later third century saw a substantial effort by the imperial government to revitalize the cities of the empire, and to use their resources. Professor Robert has recently pointed out the coincidence of the creation, or elevation to a higher status, of a large number of festivals under Gordian, Valerian and Gallienus, with 'la floraison des monnayages locaux dans les villes grecques'.¹²⁸ M. H. Crawford, writing of the upsurge in civic coinage¹²⁹ has said that this well-documented phenomenon 'should be regarded as the result of Imperial pressure, and the coins minted in consequence as produced at the expense of the cities to meet fiscal burdens imposed by the central authority'. This may well be the economic truth of the matter; but it is not necessarily how it was perceived, either by the imperial government or by the cities themselves. The coins produced in these circumstances do not look as if they had been turned out simply as a duty; instead, they record with pride the new festivals and the new civic titles which the emperors were so lavishly bestowing.

The evidence from Aphrodisias seems to illustrate a similar pattern. If the material above has been correctly interpreted, it appears to show Aphrodisias taking pride in her position in the new province, just as she had previously taken pride in her status as a free city; and it is very difficult to believe that she saw her new position as contravening her old privileges. But it also seems likely that, once the new province was created, with a governor always near at hand, Aphrodisias' autonomy will rapidly have become irrelevant, and her tradition of direct communication with the emperors will have been superseded by direct contact with the imperially-appointed governor.

A century after this reform the epigraphic evidence from Aphrodisias suggests a city profoundly different from that of the mid-third century; almost all the public works datable to the fourth century appear to have been undertaken by the governor. This transformation, which is paralleled all over the empire, coincides with a lack of reliable evidence which might help us to understand it. While it does appear that the process probably originated in the reforms of the third century, it also seems clear that these reforms were, at the time, intended and understood to reform the status quo. Yet the language of the inscriptions honouring M. Aurelius Diogenes (nos. 4 and 5) sounds a warning note; the script is that of the principate, but the language, new to the free city of Aphrodisias, is that of the dominate.

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¹²⁶ J. Keil and F. Gschnitzer, *Anz. Oest. Akad. XCI* (1956), 226-9, with *Bull. Ép.* (1958), 438, and C. P. Jones, *ZPE* xiv (1974), 294.

¹²⁷ L. Robert in *BCH* CI (1977), 64-77.

¹²⁸ In *Rev. Num.* xix (1977), 10-13, especially 12.

¹²⁹ In *ANRW* II, 2 (1975), 572.