



TYCHE

**Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte
Papyrologie und Epigraphik**

Herausgegeben von

Gerhard Dobesch, Hermann Härke
Peter Siewert und Ekkehard Weber

Band 7, 1992





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C. P. JONES

Foreigners in a Hellenistic Inscription of Rhodes

In memory of Kenan Erim

An inscription from the island of Rhodes was published without commentary, and shielded from attention in a large mass of others, by G. Pugliese Carratelli in 1955¹. Since then it has attracted some notice, but less than it deserves.

The stone on which the inscription is carved is a block of white marble, broken on top and complete only at the base, 0.39 m. high, 0.58 m. wide, 0.38 m. thick. As now preserved the text consists of a list of names followed by ethnics. These run almost to the bottom of the principal face (A), and then continue on the left-hand one (B); the letters are 0.6 cms. high, but 1.0 cms. in the last two lines of B. The block has a ratio of about 3:2 between its width and thickness, and so is probably a statue-base; this would be certain if, as will be suggested, the last two lines of B are the *signature* of a sculptor. The name of the honorand would have appeared at the beginning of A, perhaps on a separate element².

On both faces the names are aligned against a broad left-hand margin (this has to be inferred for side B). In some cases two names are followed by a single ethnic, but there is no clue to the relationship between the two persons so named; when this occurs, the word *καί* is separated by a space, and a space is sometimes also used between a name and a following ethnic (e. g. A 7). The same ethnic sometimes appears twice (Nysa, A 7, 14; Antioch on the Maeander, A 17, 20–21, perhaps B 9; Heracleia, A 19, perhaps B 8). Most of the ethnics refer to cities of south and south-western Asia Minor: in Caria, Antioch on the Maeander, Aphrodisias, Caunos, Halicarnassos, (probably) Heracleia by Latmos, Nysa, Stratoniceia, Tabai; in Lycia, Myra, Phellos, Rhodiapolis; in Phrygia, probably Apameia and Dara; in Pisidia, Termessos. The Cyclades and Sporades are represented by Paros and Cos respectively.

¹ G. Pugliese Carratelli, *Supplemento epigrafico rodio*, *Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene*, n. s. 14–16 (1952–54 [1955]) 287–89 no. 63 (findspot not indicated); The inscription was used in D. Morelli's valuable register of foreigners in Rhodes, *SCO* 5 (1955) 125–90 and in the supplement of G. Sacco, *Rendic. Accad. Lincei* ser. 8, 35 (1980 [1981]) 517–28. All dates B. C. unless otherwise indicated. I am very grateful to Glen Bowersock, Christian Habicht, and Hans Taeuber for their comments. I have used the following special abbreviations:

ANRW = H. Temporini, W. Haase (ed.), *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*;

Bull. ép. = *Bulletin épigraphique* in: *Revue des Études grecques*;

Fraser, Matthews, *Lexicon* = P. M. Fraser, E. Matthews (ed.), *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names I*, Oxford 1987;

Kontorini, *Inscriptions inédites II* = V. Kontorini, *Inscriptions inédites de Rhodes II*, Athens 1989;

Münsterberg, *Beamtennamen* = R. Münsterberg, *Die Beamtennamen auf den griechischen Münzen*, Vienna 1914–1927, repr. Hildesheim and New York 1973;

J. and L. Robert, *La Carie* = J. and L. Robert, *La Carie II*, Paris 1954;

Robert, *Documents* = L. Robert, *Documents d'Asie Mineure*, Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 239bis, Paris 1987;

Robert, *OMS* = L. Robert, *Opera Minora Selecta I–VII*, Amsterdam 1969–1990.

² Cf. the statue-base published by Kontorini, *Inscriptions inédites II* 32–46 no. 2.

There is a scattering of more distant cities, from east to west Seleuceia on the Tigris (A 18), Damascus (A 22), Athens (A 4), Megalopolis (B 12), Rome (A 15).

The following text is made from the first editor's photograph; in the apparatus I have noticed only departures from his text, not changes in the calculation of missing letters.

A

- [several lines missing]
 [ὁ δεινα] καὶ
 [7-8-]ατος Κῶιοι
 [4-5-]οκλήης Ἐπικτητεύς
 4 [Αφθ?]όνητος Ἀθηναῖος
 [Δ]ιονύσιος Ἀλικαρνασσ[εύς]
 [Κ]άλλιπος Ἀφροδισιεύς
 [Ἄ]ριστέας Νυσαεύς
 8 [Θ]εόπροπος Ἀπαμεύς
 [Δ]ιονυσόδωρος καὶ
 [2]ωνίδης Στρατονικεῖς
 [Οτ]ανις Τερμησεύς
 12 [Δ ?]απαρας καὶ
 [Π]ανσανίας Ῥοδιαπολίται
 [Ἄ]ρτεμίδωρος Νυσαεύς
 [Ν]εμέριος Ῥωμαῖος
 16 [Σ]άτυρος Μυρεύς
 [Δ]ίαν Ἀντιοχεὺς ἀπὸ Μαιάνδρου
 [Θ]εμιστοκλήης Σελευκεὺς ἀπὸ Τίγριος
 [Θ]αρσύνων Ἡρακλεάτας
 20 [Μ]ελέαγρος Ἀωτιοχεὺς
 ἀπὸ Μαιάνδρου
 [Ἄ]λέξανδρος Δαμασκηνός
 [Ἄ]νδρέας Καύνιος

B

- [several lines missing]
 Μαρσύας [ethnic]
 Παπίας [καὶ]
 Ὑβριστος [ethnic]
 4 Σωσίβιος [ethnic]
 Παπίας [ethnic]
 Μενεσθε[ύς ethnic]
 Χάρης Ταβ[ηνός]
 8 Μειδίας Ἡρακ[λεάτας]
 Πύρρος Ἀντι[οχεύς]
 Γοργίας Δαρη[νός]
 Κρατῖνος [καὶ ὁ δεινα]
 12 Μεγαλοπο[λίται]
 Κάσσανδρος Φελ[λίτας]

Χάρης Πάριο[ς]
 Κοσμοκλ[ῆς *patronymic*?]
 16 Ῥό[διος ἐποίησε?]

- A 4: [Ἄφθ?]όνητος:- -όνητος P. C.
 A 10: [2]ωνίδης ([Μυ?]ωνίδης): [Λε]ωνίδης P. C.
 A 11: [Οτ]ανίς:...ανίς P. C.
 A 12: [Δ?]απαρας: [Λ]απάρας P. C.
 B 16: Ῥό[διος ἐποίησε ?]: ΡΟ - - - P. C.

I take first the dating of the list, then comment on details, and finally try to find a social and historical context.

The script looks late hellenistic, and Jeanne and Louis Robert have suggested the first century: that or the late second seems right, and as it happens the same range was proposed by Blinkenberg for a set of similar lists from Lindos³. This dating accords with the content. The ethnic Ἐπικτητεύς refers, as Pugliese Carratelli noted, to Phrygia Epictetos. This region of north-western Phrygia, with Aezanoi as its principal city, only received its name when conceded by Prusias I of Bithynia to Eumenes II of Pergamon in 183: its coins, minted in Aezanoi, cease in the period of the late Republic, shortly before the reign of Augustus⁴. A later *terminus post quem* is probably supplied by the reference to Aphrodisias in Caria (A 6). The earliest document of its status as a city is an altar recording an oath of loyalty to Rome which it swore together with Plarasa, Cibyra and Tabai; R. M. Errington has plausibly connected this monument with the years after 167, when the senate required the Rhodians to give up the mainland possessions which they had acquired in 188⁵. Rome may well have used its new hegemony over the region to give civic status to the erstwhile sanctuary, just as it extended the territory of Antioch on the Maeander, Aphrodisias' neighbor to the north, at the same time⁶.

A 2, [7-8 -]ατος Κῶιοι. If the alpha is correctly read, a name ending in -στρατος is likely. Of such names already attested on Cos the most frequent is Νικόστρατος, but there are several others. The fortunes of Cos had been bound up with those of Rhodes since the third century, but at this time it appears to have been independent both of Rhodes and of Rome, at least in theory⁷.

A 3, [4-5 -]οκλῆς Ἐπικτητεύς. On the date implied by the mention of Phrygia Epictetos, see above. This is only the second appearance of this ethnic in epigraphy: the first is on a

³ J. and L. Robert, *Bull. ép.* 1982, 399 p. 406. "III/II B. C.", the date given in Fraser, Matthews, *Lexicon* s. v. Χάρης 17, is too early. Lists at Lindos: Chr. Blinkenberg, *Lindos II: Inscriptions*, Copenhagen 1941, nos. 275-78.

⁴ Str. XII 4. 3, 564 C., cf. XII 8. 12, 576 C. On Phrygia Epictetos in general, Dittenberger on OGIS 445 n. 4; W. Ruge, *RE* 20 (1941) 802, 827; J. and L. Robert, *Bull. ép.* 1982, 399 p. 402; S. Şahin, *Epigr. Anat.* 7 (1986) 129-42; E. Schwertheim, *Epigr. Anat.* 11 (1988) 65-77; for the concession by Prusias, Chr. Habicht, *RE* 23 (1957) 1101. On the coins, the fundamental study is by Fr. Imhoof-Blumer, in: *Festschrift für Otto Benndorf*, Vienna 1898, 202-04; cf. H. von Aulock, in: R. Naumann, *Der Zeustempel zu Aizanoi*, Berlin 1979, 82-94; B. Levick, S. Mitchell, *MAMA IX* (1988) p. xxiii.

⁵ J. M. Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome*, London 1982, 6-11 no. 1; R. M. Errington, *Chiron* 17 (1987) 97-114.

⁶ For this suggestion, Errington (see above n. 5) 104-05; for Antioch, see below at n. 27.

⁷ For a complete prosopography of Cos, S. Sherwin-White, *Ancient Cos*, *Hypomnemata* 51, Göttingen 1978, 385-551; for its political relations with Rhodes, ead., 118-21, 139-40.

column set up by the Mysian Abbaeitai and the Epicteteis together in honor of C. Salluvius Naso, legate in the third war against Mithridates⁸. Coins bearing this ethnic, however, are not rare⁹.

A 4, [᾿Αφθ?]όνητος ᾿Αθηναίος. In the admitted unreliable reverse index of Dornseiff and Hansen [᾿Αφθ]όνητος is the only name with this ending. It occurs in Athens as early as 334/33; in the imperial period the hypocoristic ᾿Αφθονᾶς is found¹⁰.

A 5, [Δ]ιονύσιος ᾿Αλικαρνασσ[εύς]. A homonym was buried on Rhodes, but since there is no drawing or photograph the inscription cannot be dated¹¹.

A 6, [Κ]ᾰλλιππος ᾿Αφροδισιεύς. There can be no doubt that this is the best known Aphrodisias, that of north-eastern Caria, rather than one of the lesser ones. The name *Callippos* appears on the earliest coins of the city, struck in the late second or perhaps the early first century¹². This is the only instance of an Aphrodisian in Rhodes, and in general Aphrodisians other than sculptors are not frequent abroad; this seems to be the only one of the hellenistic period.

A 7, [᾿Α]ριστέας Νυσσαεύς. Neither *Aristeas* nor *Artemidoros* (A 13) is unusual, but an Artemidoros is found in an inscription of Nysa dated to the year 1 B. C., and both names occur on Nysaeon coins of the third century. This prosperous city north of the Maeander is close to others on the list such as Antioch and Aphrodisias, but unlike them would not have passed to Rhodes in 188¹³.

A 8, [Θ]εόπροπος ᾿Απαμεύς. Of the several Apameias, only two are in serious contention here: Apameia in the Syrian Tetrapolis, founded by Seleucos Nicator, and Apameia *Cibotos*, founded by Antiochos III at an important site at the source of the Maeander in Phrygia. The name *Theopropos* is found at this Apameia on coins of 54/53 and of 51/50, and it is probably the city meant here: it fits well in a list containing other cities of the Maeander valley, Antioch and Nysa¹⁴.

A 9–10, [Δ]ιονυσόδωρος καὶ [..]ωνίδης Στρατονικεῖς. Again, it can in theory be difficult to distinguish between the different cities named Stratoniceia, but as in a list of *theoroi* on Samothrace the likeliest one here is also the most important, Stratoniceia of Caria, which Rhodes obtained from Antiochos III in 197 and retained for thirty years¹⁵. Pugliese Carratelli restored [Λε]ωνίδης, which is found in Stratoniceia, though less frequently than the

⁸ OGIS 445: on the date, D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor* II, Princeton 1950, 1208 n. 15.

⁹ Above, p. 100.

¹⁰ Fr. Dornseiff, B. Hansen, *Rückläufiges Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*, Berlin 1957, on which see J. and L. Robert, *Bull. ép.* 1959, 89; 1961, 232. At Athens in 334/33: *The Athenian Agora* XV no. 44, 58 (IG II² 1750); for the hypocoristic, IG II² 2168, 4.

¹¹ A. Maiuri, *Nuova silloge epigrafica di Rodi e Cos*, Florence 1925 no. 142.

¹² *BMC Greek Coins, Caria* 27, 10 (Callippos son of Leonteus), 13 (Myon son of Callippos); Münsterberg, *Beamtennamen* 112. On the date of these issues, Th. Drew-Bear, *BCH* 96 (1972) 468–469.

¹³ Inscriptions: *Syll.*³ 781, 8. Coins: Münsterberg, *Beamtennamen* 143, *Nachträge* 42 (unfortunately following the numismatic convention of placing Nysa in Lydia). On the city in general, W. Ruge, *RE* 17 (1937) 1631–40; L. Robert, *BCH* 101 (1977) 64–77 = *Documents* 22–35.

¹⁴ Name: *Theopropos*: Münsterberg, *Beamtennamen* 158.

¹⁵ Samothrace: L. Robert, *Gnomon* 35 (1963) 63–64 (OMS VI 602–03), discussing IG XII 8, 170. Stratoniceia and Rhodes: W. Ruge, *RE* 4 A (1931) 323; F. W. Walbank, *A Historical Commentary on Polybius III*, Oxford 1979, 457–58, also favoring an earlier gift by Seleucos II. For Rhodians in Stratoniceia, note M. Cetin Şahin, *Die Inschriften von Stratonikeia II*, 2, discussing no. 1317, “Es gibt eine noch unedierte Inschrift aus Stratonikeia, auf welcher viele Rhodier mit dem abgekürzten Demotikum ᾿Ρο.. = ᾿Ρό(διος) genannt werden Die Inschrift ist hellenistisch und stammt wohl aus der Zeit zwischen 197–166 v. Chr.”

name from which it is derived, Λέων. Another name, Μυωνίδης, formed from the Carian Μύων, appears there much more often than Λεωνίδης, and is at least as likely here¹⁶.

A 11, [Οτ]ανις Τερμησσεύς. Again, there is no serious choice between the lesser Termessos in north-western Lycia and its mother-city, the famous and powerful city of southern Pisidia north-west of Attaleia (Antalya)¹⁷. An epichoric name very frequent at this Termessos is Οτανεις, which in an inscription dated to the second century appears as Οτανις; since only two letters appear to be missing, it seems clear that this name in its earlier form should be restored here¹⁸. In Donato Morelli's useful collection of foreigners at Rhodes, Telmessians and Termessians are lumped together in a single rubric, but in fact almost all come from Termessos, presumably the Pisidian one. Pisidians are in general well attested at Rhodes, particularly in the manufacture of amphoras¹⁹.

A 12–13, [Δ?]απαρας καὶ [Π]αυσανίας Ῥοδιαπολίται. The city is the well-known colony of Rhodes in south-eastern Lycia, north of the plain of Finike²⁰. The first name was supplied by Pugliese Carratelli as [Λ]απάρας. As an epichoric name, and so without accent, Λαπαρας is attested at Carmylessos in western Lycia, and again in Palaea Isaura; it has more recently turned up at Hierapolis of western Phrygia as a Greek sobriquet, and thus accented Λαπαρᾶς, derived from the adjective λαπαρός, *limp*, *lax*²¹. A different epichoric name, attested both as Δαπαρας and Δαπασας, is found not far from Rhodiapolis at Myra, and the geographical proximity of the two cities makes it preferable here²².

A 14, [Ἄ]ρτεμίδωρος Νυσαεύς. See above, on A 7.

A 15, [Ν]εμέριος Ῥωμαίος. In Greek of the republican period, Νεμέριος is the usual spelling of the originally Oscan praenomen *Numerius*: thus in a catalogue of Romans on Delos dated to 113²³. The appearance of a simple *praenomen* would imply an earlier date than the late second century in a more formal inscription or in prose narrative, but not in a simple list like this: cf. Αὔλος Ῥωμαίος in a similar list (Maiuri, *Nuova silloge* 37 B 8), dated by the editor to the first century. In general, Italians are scarce among residents on Rhodes, and the contrast in this respect with Delos is striking after 166²⁴.

¹⁶ For all these names at Stratoniceia, see the Index of Names in Şahin (see above n. 15); note the C. Fulvius Leonides, son of Leon, in no. 181. On Μύων and Μυωνίδης in south-western Asia, J. and L. Robert, *La Carie* 79, 362; Chr. Habicht in: *VII. Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Olympia*, Berlin 1961, 219; Kontorini, *Inscriptions inédites* II 68–69.

¹⁷ There is a sketch-map of the district in TAM III 1, p. 1.

¹⁸ L. Zgusta, *Kleinasiatische Personennamen*, Prague 1964, 385–86 no. 1125, citing TAM III 1, 26 A, Οτανις Μωτος ιερητεύσας Διὶ Σολυμεῖ εὐχὴν.

¹⁹ Morelli (see above n. 1) 173; cf. J. and L. Robert, *Bull. ép.* 1958, 357, Sacco (see above n. 1) 526. Pisidians at Rhodes: L. Robert, *Noms indigènes dans l'Asie Mineure gréco-romaine*, Paris 1963, 379 n.

²⁰ A convenient survey of the evidence by E. Kalinka in TAM II, 3 (1944) 326; for the site see the already-mentioned map of Lycia in TAM I.

²¹ Λαπαρας: Zgusta (see above n. 18) 143 no. 252–2. Λαπαρᾶς: F. A. Pennachietti, *Atti Accad. Sc. Torino* II 101 (1966–67) 296 no. 5, with the discussion of J. and L. Robert, *Bull. ép.* 1971, 643.

²² Zgusta (see above n. 18) 143 no. 252–1, 252–3.

²³ ILS 9417; *Inscr. Délos* 1753; cf. M. Couilloud, *Les monuments funéraires de Rhénée*, Exploration archéologique de Délos XXX, Paris 1974 nos. 357, 372, 423.

²⁴ M. Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World* II, Oxford 1941, 778.

A 16, [Σ]άτυρος Μυρεύς. The name *Satyros* is in general very common, though for some reason not so in Lycia; it has recently appeared in an inscription of Kyaneai, some ten kilometers west of Myra²⁵.

A 17, [Δ]ίων Ἀντιοχεύς ἀπὸ Μαιάνδρου. Unlike *Meleager* (A 20), *Dion* does not seem to be attested at Antioch, but the head of Zeus is the principal coin-type of the city beginning with its earliest issues after 167, and the name *Dion* reflects the cult of this god; other Antiochenes in the late hellenistic period have the unusual name *Diotrephes*²⁶. Lying just south of the Maeander, and incorporating part of the river in its territory, Antioch passed to Rhodes in 188 and was freed by Rome in 167; as well as its liberty, the Romans granted an increase of territory, and the city celebrated its new status by issuing handsome silver drachms and tetradrachms²⁷.

A 18 [Θ]εμιστοκλῆς Σελευκεύς ἀπὸ Τίγριος. The ethnic of this great city founded by Seleucos Nicator, some sixty kilometers north-east of Babylon, is a rarity. Seleuceia appears in an inscription of Magnesia on the Maeander as one of the cities which voted to accept the Leucophryena about 205²⁸. In the Greek world the Seleuceians are mainly found as agonistic victors. On Cos, Leodamas son of Antigonos competes as a citharode at the Asclepieia in the early second century²⁹. At Athens Asclepiodoros son of Triballos wins a race in full armour at the Panathenaia of 170³⁰. A certain Simmias wins the *stadion* at the Olympia of 100³¹. On Delos Apollonios son of Gorgosthenes makes a dedication to Zeus Cynthios and to Victory³². At the same time, it is likely that Seleuceians visited the Mediterranean as much, if not more, for purposes of trade, just as the large number of the city's coins found in Susa testifies to its commercial connections with Arabia and India³³. By the date of the present inscription Seleuceia had no doubt fallen into Parthian hands³⁴, while the name *Themistocles* is far from rare, it suits a Greek living under Iranian rule.

A 19, [Θ]αρσύνων Ἡρακλεώτας. There were numerous cities called Heracleia, and distinguishing between them is often impossible³⁵. In the present case the two likeliest are the great maritime city of Heracleia on Pontos, and Heracleia by Latmos just inland from Miletos³⁶; though since the list contains cities of eastern Caria, Antioch on the Maeander, Aphrodisias, Tabai, a thought should go to Heracleia by Salbace, neighbor of Aphrodisias on

²⁵ In general, Fraser–Matthews, *Lexicon* s. v. (130 examples); not in TAM II nor in E. Petersen, F. von Luschan, *Reisen im südwestlichen Kleinasien*, Vienna 1884–1889. At Kyaneai: F. Kolb, M. Zimmermann, *Epigr. Anat.* 16 (1990) 128.

²⁶ Zeus on coins: L. Robert in: *Études déliennes*, BCH Suppl. 1, Paris 1973, 451, with examples in n. 99. Name *Diotrephes*: C. P. Jones, *Chiron* 13 (1983) 369–80.

²⁷ For Antioch in 167, Chr. Habicht, *AM* 72 (1957 [1958]) 242–52 no. 65; on the territory and the silver coinage, Robert in: *Études déliennes* (see above n.26) 446–48.

²⁸ O. Kern, *Die Inschriften von Magnesia* 61, 101–02 (OGIS 233); cf. L. Robert, *Hellenica* VII (1949) 19–20.

²⁹ Th. Klee, *Zur Geschichte der gymnischen Agone*, Leipzig and Berlin 1918, p. 16 l. 78.

³⁰ Chr. Habicht, *St. V. Tracy*, *Hesperia* 60 (1991) 188, col. I 5–6; cf. Habicht p. 216.

³¹ A. Schoene, *Eusebi Chronica I*, Berlin 1875, 212.

³² *Inscr. Délos* 2429, 2445; cf. also Couilloud (see above n. 23) no. 292.

³³ G. Le Rider, *Suse sous les Séleucides et les Parthes*, Mémoires de la Mission archéologique en Iran XXXVIII, Paris 1965, 446–49.

³⁴ Le Rider (see above n. 33) 362–63, citing a cuneiform tablet which shows Mithridates I of Parthia entering Seleuceia in June or July of 141.

³⁵ Cf. Robert in: *Études déliennes* (see above n. 26) 438–42; id., *BCH* 102 (1978) 479–80 = *Documents* 175–76.

³⁶ On the first, Robert in: *Études anatoliennes*, Paris 1937, 245–59; on the second, id., *BCH* 102 (1978) 502–18 = *Documents* 198–214.

the south-east³⁷. The Doric form Ἡρακλεώτας might be significant, since otherwise there are no Dorisms in the list: thus Θεόπροπος not Θεύπροπος (A 8), -ίδης not -ίδας (A 10)³⁸. Doric forms are prominent in the epigraphy of Heracleia on Pontos, a colony of Megara intensely proud of its traditions³⁹. Yet Heracleia by Latmos was geographically much closer to Rhodes, and was allied with it in the 180's⁴⁰. The name Θαρσύνων might point in the same direction, since it has an Ionic flavor which would suit a neighbor of Miletos: it is found in Athens, on Delos and Chios, and in several cities of northern Ionia, Smyrna, Teos, Erythrai, Colophon; it also appears at Tymnos in the Rhodian Peraia⁴¹.

A 20, [M]ελέαγρος Ἀντιοχεὺς ἀπὸ Μαιάνδρου. A silver drachm of Antioch, minted soon after its liberation from Rhodes in 167, has an abbreviated name Μελε, which is likely to stand for Μελέαγρος⁴².

A 22, [Ἀ]λέξανδρος Δαμασκηνός. In the hellenistic period Damascenes appear in trading or maritime centres, on the present evidence in Rhodes, Delos and Athens. On Delos, Agathocles son of Lysias is recorded as an ephebe in 118/17; a certain Martha joins with Antiochos from Carpasos in Cypros, presumably her husband, in making a dedication to the *chaste goddess* (Atargatis-Aphrodite); Rheina daughter of Ophelion is commemorated in a monument of the late second century⁴³. Several citizens of Damascus are found at Athens: the funerary column of Cleopatra, daughter of Diophantos, is dated by Kirchner to the first century, and an epitaph for Nicander son of Alexander (the same name as in the present list) might also be hellenistic⁴⁴. Much later one Antigonos admires the Syringes at Egyptian Thebes, and in 400 or 405 a soldier, Aurelius Palladius, is buried at Salona⁴⁵.

A 23, [Ἀ]νδρέας Καύνιος. Caunos, technically in southern Caria but in fact separated from it by a mountainous hinterland, was closely connected with Rhodes from the time when the city purchased it from the generals of Ptolemy V Epiphanes about 190; freed by Rome in 167, it was returned to the Rhodians by Sulla⁴⁶. At the time of this inscription it was

³⁷ J. and L. Robert, *La Carie*, Ch. III.

³⁸ I have followed Pugliese Carratelli in printing the Doric forms of the ethnics in B 8 and B 13, but this may not be right.

³⁹ See the texts and discussion in Robert, *Études anatoliennes*, *ibid.* (see above n. 36).

⁴⁰ *Milet I* 3 no. 150, lines 34–36 (Syll³. 633). On the date of this treaty, between 184 and 181, M. Wörle, *Chiron* 18 (1988) 437.

⁴¹ Athens: IG² 2159, Col. I 10; M. Lang, *The Athenian Agora XXI: Graffiti and Dipinti* 45, F 231; SEG XII 123, Col. II 47. Delos and Chios: Fraser–Matthews, *Lexicon* s. v. Smyrna: Petzl, *Inscr. Smyrna* 687, 11. Teos: CIG 3064, 14; 3086, 2 (Le Bas–Waddington 105); BCH 46 (1922) 319 no. 3, I 17. Erythrai: Engelmann, Merkelbach, *Inscr. Erythrai* 31, 2, 21 (OGIS 223); 160, 25; 161, 4. Colophon: B. D. Meritt, *AJPh* 56 (1935) 361–71 no. 1, lines 388, 442, 827. Rhodian Peraia: Ἀρχ. Ἐφ. (1911) 67 no. 68 (cf. P. M. Fraser, *Rhodian Funerary Monuments*, Oxford 1977, 78), Θαρσύνοντι ἥρωι.

⁴² *BMC Greek Coins, Caria* 14 no. 3: So Münsterberg, *Beamtennamen* 215.

⁴³ *Inscr. de Délos* 1925, 6 (ephebe), 2286, 2287 (dedication); Couilloud, *Monuments funéraires* (see above n. 23) 1 (Rheina), where the others are noted.

⁴⁴ IG II² 8466–70; 8467 is wrongly attributed, being identical with Couilloud no. 1 (previous n.). Cleopatra: IG II² 8468; on 8470, the relief of [Seleu]cos in the American School, S. Dow, C. C. Vermeule, *Hesperia* 34 (1965) 273–97. For Nicander son of Alexander, Ἀρχ. Δελτ. 22 (1967 [1968]) Chron. 2, 1, 114 (Bull. ép. 1969, 197; not in SEG).

⁴⁵ Antigonos: CIG 4773 d; J. Baillet, *Inscriptions grecques et latines des tombes des rois ou syringes*, Cairo 1926 no. 1354, cf. no. 1335. Palladius: D. Feissel, BCH 107 (1983) 601–09; SEG XXXIII 491.

⁴⁶ M. Holleaux, *Études d'histoire et d'épigraphie grecques* I, Paris 1938, 418–25 (BCH 1893); Walbank, *Commentary* III (see above n. 15) 426, 457. On the geography of Caunos see now the monography of Robert, BCH 108 (1984) 499–532 (*Documents* 487–520).

probably autonomous, and the presence of a Caunian in this list is to be explained by the city's dependence on its maritime communications, especially for export of resources such as the famous Caunian figs. Inscriptions show that Caunos had dealings with many cities of the Mediterranean world, from Delphi to Sidon, and several Caunians are attested on Rhodes⁴⁷. The name *Andreas* has been read on one of the rock-cut tombs which are the great sight of Caunos⁴⁸.

B 1. The name *Marsyas* is not rare, but in Caria, the region best represented by this list, there is a river Marsyas, and the name is found in such cities as Aphrodisias and Tabai⁴⁹.

B 2–3, Παπίας [καί] Ὑβριστος. Names having the stem *pap-* are widespread, though a god named *Papas* or *Papias* is attested primarily in Phrygia, and the name *Papias* is frequent there and in neighboring regions such as Caria and Pisidia⁵⁰. By contrast, names with the stem *hybrist-* are rare⁵¹. There seem to be two forms, Aeolic Ὑβρίστας and Ionic Ὑβριστος. The first is found above all in Thessaly; it is also borne by an Aetolian at Delphi and by a mint-magistrate at Aeolian Cyme under Alexander⁵². Almost all the examples of Ὑβριστος, by contrast, come from Ionic-speaking cities: Athens, Chios, Miletos⁵³. It also appears further east, in the Cabalitis north of Lycia, a region which produced a number of foreigners attested on Rhodes⁵⁴. One of the two forms appears in second-century Iasos borne by a resident Cilician⁵⁵. The evidence does not suffice to pinpoint the origin of Papias and Hybristos in the present list, but the likeliest is somewhere in Phrygia or a region adjacent to it.

B 4–7. I have followed Pugliese Carratelli in assuming that each name was followed by its own ethnic, but this may be wrong, so that for example both Menestheus and Chares (B 6–7) might be from Tabai.

B 5, Παπίας. See above, on B 2–3.

B 7, Χάρης Ταβ[ηνός]. There can be no doubt that this is the Tabai of eastern Caria, south-south-east of Aphrodisias, and not the obscure Tabai of Lydia. Under the arrangements made at Apameia, Carian Tabai became part of the enlarged Rhodian Peraea; an inscription probably to be dated to this period shows Tabai, Mobolla (Muğla) to the south-west, and other

⁴⁷ Robert (see above n. 46) 526–28, esp. 528 for Rhodes (*Documents* 514–16).

⁴⁸ G. E. Bean, *JHS* 74 (1954) 106 n. 43, revised by P. Åström, *Opusc. Athen.* 8 (1968) 167 no. 1 (*Bull. ép.* 1969, 546).

⁴⁹ J. and L. Robert, *La Carie* 90–91.

⁵⁰ On such names in general: Robert, *Noms indigènes* (see above n. 19) 513. God Papias or Papas in Phrygia: M. Christol, *Th. Drew-Bear* in: *ANRW* II 18, 3 (1990) 2018–22, esp. 2019 n. 428 on the name *Papias*. For the same god in Lycia, P. Herrmann, K. Z. Polatkan, *Das Testament des Epikrates*, *Sb. Akad. Wiss. Wien* 265, 1, Wien 1969, 24–25 no. 5 (*Bull. ép.* 1970, 516; *TAM V* 1321).

⁵¹ On these, with many of the following examples, O. Masson, *REG* 99 (1986) 192.

⁵² Thessaly: *IG IX 2, Index 2*, p. 306; Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. (1925–26) 30 no. 142, 15; *SEG XV* 370 A 38; Ἀρχ. Δελτ. 34 (1979 [1987]) B 1 p. 226 no. 20, 7. Delphi: *FDelphes* III 4, 126, 5. Cyme: Münsterberg, *Beamtennamen* 73, from E. Babelon, *Inventaire sommaire de la Collection Waddington*, Paris 1898, 1277.

⁵³ Athens: *IG II²* 958, II 51, ca. 155/54. Chios: *Syll.*³ 959, 22 (the only example in Fraser-Matthews, *Lexicon*). Miletos: *Milet I* 3, 112 II 76, Εὐρυσθένης Ὑβρίστο *stephanephoros* in 339/38; B. Deppert-Lippitz, *Die Münzprägung Milets*, Aarau 1984, 186 no. 758, a hellenistic mint-magistrate.

⁵⁴ G. Bean, *BSA* 51 (1956) 149 no. 43, 16–18 (*SEG XVII* 733), Ὑβριστος καὶ Κλέων οἱ Ἀρατοφάνους Ὑβρίστου. On the Cabalitis, Robert, *RevPhil.* sér. 3, 13 (1939) 177–81 (*OMS II* 1331–34).

⁵⁵ W. Blümel, *Inscr. Iasos* 408, 14–15, Ὑβρίστου τοῦ Διονυσίου Κίλικος.

cities in a federation ruled by a Rhodian governor (*epistates*)⁵⁶. Before the present inscription, the only citizen of Tabai attested abroad in the hellenistic period was a certain Diphilos buried at Rhodes⁵⁷. The name *Chares*, though common, is not otherwise attested at Tabai, but it happens to occur in an inscription of imperial date found in the plain of Tabai, probably on the territory of Apollonia⁵⁸.

B 8, Μειδίαις Ἡρακ[λεάτας]. The name is undistinctive, and there seems no way of determining which Heracleia is meant (contrast A 19).

B 9, Πύρρος Ἀντι[οχεύς]. Again, the name (*Red*) is not distinctive. I have followed Pugliese Carratelli in supplying Ἀντι[οχεύς], but there are other possibilities such as Ἀντι[φελλίτας].

B 10, Γοργίαις Δαρη[νός]. This, restored by Pugliese Carratelli without comment, is the rarest of the ethnics in this list. It appears to occur elsewhere only in one of the lists recording members of the Xenoï Tekmoreioi, a religious confraternity whose cult-place was on the territory of Antioch towards Pisidia, in south Phrygia⁵⁹. This sanctuary drew worshipers from a large spread of cities and villages, so that Dara cannot be located precisely, but should be in Phrygia or Pisidia⁶⁰.

B 11–12, Κρατίνος [καὶ ὁ δεῖνα] Μεγαλοπο[λίται]. The name *Cratinos* does not seem to be attested at Megalepolis⁶¹.

B 13, Κάσσανδρος Φελλ[λίτας]. The site of Phellos was near the modern Bayandır, south-south-east of Antiphellos (Kaş). I have not found the name *Cassander* in Lycia⁶².

B 14, Χάρης Πάριοι[ς]. The name *Chares* is several times attested on Paros⁶³.

B 15–16, Κοσμοκλ[ῆς patronymic] Ῥό[διος ἐποίησε?]. The name *Cosmocles* is frequent on Rhodes⁶⁴. The layout of these lines and the size of the letters suggest that this Cosmocles is the sculptor of the statue surmounting the base, though no sculptor of the name seems to be known⁶⁵.

⁵⁶ On Tabai in general, J. and L. Robert, *La Carie* Ch. II. Tabai of Lydia: Chr. Habicht, *JRS* 65 (1975) 75–76. Inscription honoring a Rhodian governor: J. and L. Robert, *La Carie* 92–95 no. 2.

⁵⁷ AM 23 (1898) 400 no. 90 (Collitz-Bechtel, *SGDI* III 1, 4345; J. and L. Robert, *La Carie* 91 n. 6; not in Morelli).

⁵⁸ J. and L. Robert, *La Carie* 281–83, no. 162, 16, Καπίτων Χάρητος.

⁵⁹ W. M. Ramsay, *JHS* 32 (1912) 163, 10, Αὐρ. Παπίας Καρικοῦ Δαρρηνός (the second rho is doubtful); *ibid.*, Ἀσκληπιάδης Ἀππᾶδος Σεργιανοῦ Δαρηνός. Cf. W. Ruge, *RE* 20 (1941) 823; L. Zgusta, *Kleinasiatische Ortsnamen*, Heidelberg 1984, 152–53 no. 239–1, –2. On the Tekmoreioi in general there is an excellent survey by W. Ruge *RE* 5 A (1934) 158–69; more recently, see Th. Drew-Bear in: *ANRW* II 7, 2 (1980) 948–49, *REA* 82 (1980) 174–75. A new edition of the relevant inscriptions was said to be “en cours d’achèvement” in 1977; Drew-Bear in: *Actes du VIII^e Congrès international d’épigraphie grecque et latine, Constantza, Bucharest 1979*, 358.

⁶⁰ On the geographical spread of the place-names in these lists, Robert in: *Χαριστήριον εἰς Ἀναστάσιον Κ. Ὀρλάνδον*, Athens 1965, 331 (*OMS* II 922); Drew-Bear in: *ANRW* II 7, 2 (1980) 949.

⁶¹ See the prosopography in A. Petronitis, *Platon* 26 (1974) 6–21, where however this inscription is overlooked.

⁶² Site: W. Ruge, *RE* 19 (1938) 1951–54. Not in Petersen, von Luschan (see above n. 25) or in TAM II.

⁶³ Fraser, Matthews, *Lexicon* s. v.

⁶⁴ Fraser, Matthews, *Lexicon* s. v.; the only examples in that volume.

⁶⁵ Again, compare the base published by Kontorini, *Inscriptions inédites* II 32–46 no. 2, where the sculptor’s name is set off in larger letters below a list of subscribers: Πλούταρχος Ἡλιοδώρου Ῥόδιος ἐποίησε.

As has been seen, most of the ethnics refer to places geographically close to Rhodes, and many had been under Rhodian rule between 188 and 167, even though the list itself must be later. Despite the great setback of 167, and the establishment of Delos as a free port in 166, Rhodes continued to be a power in the Mediterranean down to its capture by Cassius in 43⁶⁶. On the mainland, it retained its Peraea, and in free Caria it continued to enjoy political influence. At some time between 167 and 133, a decree of Ceramos shows that city driven probably by pressure from its more powerful neighbor Stratoniceia to make alliance with Rhodes; so also when Euromos quarreled with Mylasa about the end of the second century or the beginning of the first, the smaller city appealed for help to Rhodes and to Rome⁶⁷.

While the list might represent the members of some permanent association, they are more probably an *ad hoc* group of resident foreigners attracted by the commerce of Rhodes, the honorand being a local magistrate whose area of competence affected the interests of foreign merchants, or perhaps a visiting dignitary. In any case, the inscription reveals more than a number of unusual names and places: it is a document of Rhodian influence even in a period of decline.

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⁶⁶ For a general picture of Rhodes in this period, Rostovtzeff (see above n. 24) II 771–78.

⁶⁷ Generally L. Robert, *Villes d'Asie Mineure*, Paris 1935, 59–61. For Ceramos, cf. also Robert, BCH 102 (1978) 515–17 (*Documents* 211–13; the inscription in question is now *Inscr. Keramos* no. 6). For Euromos, E. Hula, E. Szanto, *Sitzungsber. Akad. Wien* 132 II, Wien 1894, 9, with the supplements of J. and L. Robert, *Fouilles d'Amyzon I*, Paris 1983, 203–04.