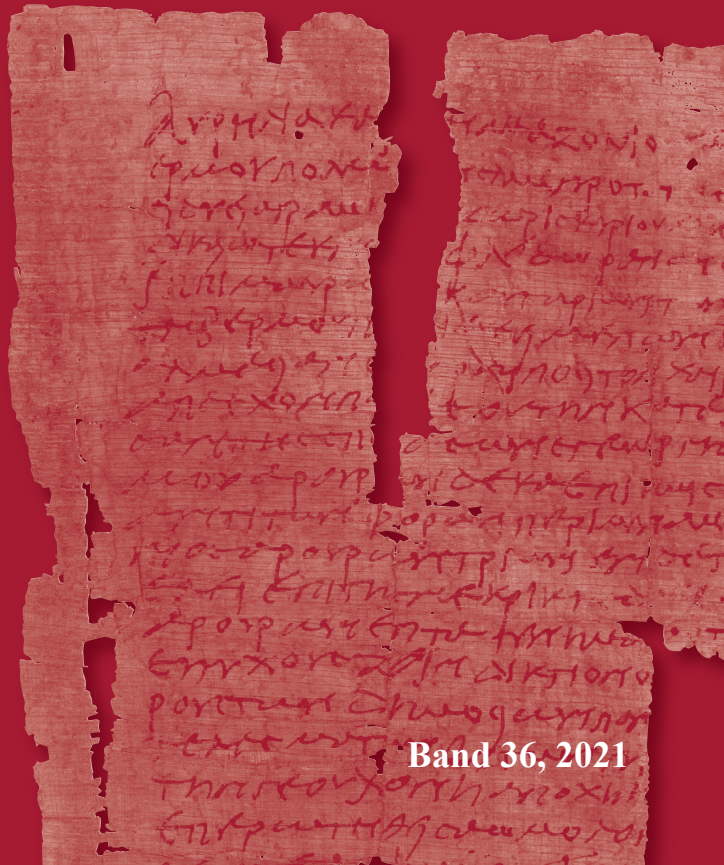


# TYCHE

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BRAM FAUCONNIER

## Euergetism as a Political Strategy: the Case of Iason versus Moles\*

The region of Lycia in southern Asia Minor is well-known for some large epigraphic dossiers that have been preserved there. Most famous are the inscriptions adorning the tomb of the great benefactor Opramoas in Rhodiapolis, the dossier on the foundation of a musico-dramatic festival by C. Iulius Demosthenes in Oenoanda and, from the same city, the genealogical inscription of the Licinnii and the Epicurean inscription of the philosopher Diogenes.<sup>1</sup> This paper studies yet another large epigraphic dossier: the one that was inscribed in honour of Iason son of Nikostratos of Kyaneai, high priest of the Lycian league (hereafter referred to as the *koinon*) in AD 139.<sup>2</sup> The Iason dossier has been mainly studied by scholars aiming to reconstruct the chronology of the annually-elected high priests of the *koinon*.<sup>3</sup> Indeed, together with the Opramoas dossier it is one of the main sources of evidence about the high priests in the first half of the second century AD. Still, the Iason dossier has much more to tell us. In this paper I offer a hypothetical reconstruction of the events behind the dossier, after which I argue that it provides important information about intra-elite power struggles in the *koinon* and about strategies adopted by provincial elites in order to overcome their opponents.

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\* I would like to thank Arjan Zuiderhoek for his valuable feedback on the first draft of this article.

<sup>1</sup> Opramoas: TAM II 905, with C. Kokkinia, *Die Opramoas-Inschrift von Rhodiapolis*, Bonn 2000. C. Iulius Demosthenes: M. Wörrle, *Stadt und Fest im kaiserzeitlichen Kleinasien*, Munich 1988. Diogenes of Oenoanda: M. F. Smith, *The Philosophical Inscription of Diogenes of Oinoanda*, Vienna 1996; J. Hammerstaedt, R. Güremen, P.-M. Morel (eds.), *Diogenes of Oinoanda – Diogène d’Oenoanda*, Leuven 2017. Licinnii: SEG 46 1709.

<sup>2</sup> *Ed. pr.*: R. Heberdey, E. Kalinka, *Eine neue Ehrenliste aus Lykien*, in: *Serta Harteliana*, Vienna 1896, 1–7. The standard reference remains IGR III 704.

<sup>3</sup> E.g. C. Letta, *Il dossier di Opramoas e la serie dei legati e degli archiereis di Licia*, in: B. Virgilio (ed.), *Aspetti e problemi dell’Ellenismo*, Pisa 1994, 203–246; Kokkinia, *Die Opramoas-Inschrift* (n. 1) 199–213; D. Reitzenstein, *Die lykischen Bundespriester* (Klio Beihefte, Neue Folge 17), Berlin 2011, 196–198. M. Zimmermann, *Untersuchungen zur historischen Landeskunde Zentrallykiens* (Antiquitas 1.42), Bonn 1992, 252–270 has the most detailed interpretations of the dossier as a whole, but is now outdated on several points. For the Lycian *koinon* in general, see R. Behrwald, *Der Lykische Bund* (Antiquitas 1.48), Bonn 2000 and B. Edelmann-Singer, *Koina und Concilia*, Stuttgart 2015, 79–85, 101–105, 210–212.

## Iason versus Moles

The Iason dossier was inscribed on a rock face looming over a path leading to the hill-top city of Kyaneai and consists of three panels shaped like *tabulae ansatae*. The three texts were originally part of a larger monument, including decorations, pillars, statues, and a water reservoir. At the water there was a bench, probably inviting the passer-by to sit and to look at the monument and the inscriptions.<sup>4</sup>

The first panel (IGR III 704 I) contains a rather peculiar list of dates, according to the inscription connected to “honorary decrees and written letters to governors and replies concerning Iason son of Nikostratos”. The list is headed by the word Κυανειτῶν, ‘of (the citizens of) Kyaneai’, which has led to some discussion. Behrwald has argued that the documents mentioned in the list came from the archive of Kyaneai, and that all documents without the mentioning of another city were drawn up in Kyaneai itself. According to Kokkinia, on the other hand, the word Κυανειτῶν “bezieht sich aber auf die inschriftliche Aufzeichnung und nicht auf den Ursprung der Dokumente.” In her view, it is quite possible that some of the documents were drawn up by the *koinon*.<sup>5</sup> Yet it could also be that Κυανειτῶν only refers to the documents in lines 5 to 7, for which no other place of origin is mentioned. The decrees and letters were all dated according to a number of high priests, which will be discussed below. Most of the dates refer to honorary decrees granted by fourteen cities situated in central and eastern Lycia. Most remarkable, however, is the mentioning of two exchanges of letters between a certain Moles son of Alkimos and governor Iunius Paetus,<sup>6</sup> the first of which induced an *ekklesia* (the one of Kyaneai or the *koinon*, depending on whether we follow Behrwald’s or Kokkinia’s interpretation) to give account. This defensive reaction indicates that Moles had accused Iason of something.

The second panel (IGR III 704 II) has two decrees for Iason issued by Myra and Patara, respectively, which honour him for his euergetic activities. Their *terminus post quem* is AD 139, as they make clear that Iason already had been high priest of the *koinon*.<sup>7</sup> The beginning of the third panel (IGR III 704 III) is damaged, but seems to have rendered the last part of the decree of Patara from the second panel. The remainder contains a decree of the *koinon* and a letter of Antoninus Pius, dating from August or September AD 145. Here, too, a certain Moles is mentioned, who is said to have falsely

<sup>4</sup> For a detailed description of the monumental context, see L. G. Berling, *Das Iason-Monument von Kyaneai*, in: F. Kolb (ed.), *Lykische Studien I* (Asia Minor Studien 9), Bonn 1993, 25–37. Photographs of the inscriptions can be found in C. Kokkinia, *Verdiente Ehren: Zu den Inschriften für Opramoas von Rhodiapolis und Iason von Kyaneai*, AW 32 (2001) 17–23.

<sup>5</sup> Behrwald, *Der Lykische Bund* (n. 3) 192–193; Kokkinia, *Die Opramoas-Inschrift* (n. 1) 230, n. 437.

<sup>6</sup> L. 13 has Iulius Paetus, l. 15 Iunius. The stonecutter apparently confused Λ and Ν. For Iunius Paetus see n. 13.

<sup>7</sup> Iason’s high priesthood can be dated to AD 139 as he is mentioned in a dated letter of Antoninus Pius in the Opramoas dossier: TAM II 905, architrave (= Kokkinia, *Die Opramoas-Inschrift* [n. 1] 92, nr. 39). Cf. Reitzenstein, *Die lykischen Bundespriester* (n. 3) 196–197.

accused Iason. Antoninus Pius, however, took the disposition of the *koinon* into consideration and judged in favour of Iason. The entire text and a translation can be found below.

How, now, should we interpret this dossier? Why was it erected? What is the connection between the three panels? There is very little we know for sure. Our understanding is furthermore hampered by the very concise overview of the events in the first panel and the fact that the dossier only shows Iason's perspective: a specific selection of documents had been made to convey a message. Nevertheless, the selection itself points to an internal logic that can tell us more about the background of the dossier. In what follows, I will try to bring this internal logic to the surface and offer a hypothetical reconstruction of the main outlines of the conflict that lay at the heart of the dossier.

Earlier studies assumed that the events of IGR III 704 I took place in the years preceding AD 145, when the emperor passed his judgement.<sup>8</sup> Moles, then, would first have tried to accuse Iason in front of the governor, which failed; thereafter he would have taken the matter to the emperor himself, or the governor would have forwarded the complaint to the imperial court. It has furthermore been argued that a dispute about honours was at the heart of the matter: Moles would have tried to block the extensive honours voted for Iason granted by the Lycian *koinon* in return for his services as high priest in AD 139.<sup>9</sup> However, these interpretations have been invalidated by the new chronology of high priests proposed by D. Reitzenstein. She has argued that four of the five high priests in IGR III 704 I — Flavius Attalos, Iulius Titianus Phantias, Flavius Sosos and Veranius Priscianus — held their office in the years *before AD 115*.<sup>10</sup> Despite

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<sup>8</sup> E.g. G. Fougères, *De Lyciorum communi*, Paris 1898, 126–128; E. Ritterling, *Zur Zeitbestimmung einiger Urkunden am Opramoas-Denkmal*, RhM 73 (1920) 43–44; W. Hüttl, *Antoninus Pius II*, Prague 1936, 110–111; W. Williams, *Antoninus Pius and the Control of Provincial Embassies*, Historia 16 (1967) 476–477; R. Syme, *Legates of Cilicia under Trajan*, Historia 18 (1969) 362; Wörrle, *Stadt und Fest* (n. 1) 35–43; Zimmermann, *Untersuchungen* (n. 3) 252, 258. Earlier datings have been proposed by Kalinka *ad TAM II 905* and Letta, *Il dossier di Opramoas* (n. 3) 240, who argued for the period AD 118–126, albeit on the basis of wrong premises: cf. M. Wörrle, W. W. Wurster, *Dereköy: eine befestigte Siedlung im nordwestlichen Lykien und die Reform ihres dörflichen Zeuskultes*, Chiron 27 (1997) 410, n. 21. Kokkinia, on the other hand, dated the high priesthoods of Flavius Sosos, Veranius Priscianus and Licinnius Stasithemis, mentioned in IGR III 704 I, to the years after AD 146: Kokkinia, *Die Opramoas-Inschrift* (n. 1) 212–213.

<sup>9</sup> Fougères, *De Lyciorum communi* (n. 8) 126–128; Zimmermann, *Untersuchungen* (n. 3) 262–270, especially 267; Kokkinia, *Die Opramoas-Inschrift* (n. 1) 230–231.

<sup>10</sup> Reitzenstein, *Die lykischen Bundespriester* (n. 3) 177–179. An important clue for Reitzenstein's earlier dating was given by Wörrle, who on the basis of a newly-found inscription from Dereköy saw that Flavius Attalos had long been confused with Claudius Attalos, high priest in AD 135: Wörrle, Wurster, *Dereköy* (n. 8) 411–412. Wörrle proposed to situate Flavius Attalos in the 140s. This was rejected by Reitzenstein, because most of the high priests of the 140s (and those of the 130s as well) are already known, offering no place for the sequence Flavius Attalos – Iulius Titianus Phantias – Flavius Sosos – Veranius Priscianus. Moreover, since IGR III 704 I seems to follow a chronological pattern, and since Licinnius Stasithemis can be dated to the early

some criticism by S. Şahin, her conclusion seems to be unavoidable, for in the decades after AD 115 there is no place to accommodate the combination of the four high priests and the two governors, Calestrius Tiro (officiating in the time of Flavius Attalos) and Iunius Paetus (officiating in the time of Flavius Sosos and Veranius Priscianus).<sup>11</sup> By focusing on these two governors we can narrow down the timeframe even further, for we know other governors of Lycia-Pamphylia under Trajan: Pompeius Falco between AD 103 and 105 and Ti. Iulius Frugi between AD 113 and 115.<sup>12</sup> This means that Calestrius Tiro and Iunius Paetus officiated between AD 105 and 113 and that the largest part of the events of IGR III 704 I must have occurred within this time frame.<sup>13</sup> Only the last four dates are to be situated later: they are dated according to the high priesthood of Licinnius Stasithemis in AD 119 or 120<sup>14</sup> and concern honours for Iason and his uncle Mausolos, granted by Kyaneai or the *koinon*.<sup>15</sup>

This new dating has important implications for our understanding of the dossier. Some of these have already been addressed by Reitzenstein, however without going into the matter at length. First of all, the new dating means that some 35 years passed between the events of IGR III 704 I on the one hand and II–III on the other. The first panel, therefore, dealt with an early stage in Iason's career, whereas the last two dealt with the period between his high priesthood and the judgement by Antoninus Pius, when Iason must have been an older man. According to Reitzenstein, this would either

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reign of Hadrian (cf. I.Kaunos 136), she concluded that Flavius Attalos and his successors have to be placed in the reign of Trajan.

<sup>11</sup> S. Şahin, *Nochmal über die Lykiarchie*, *Gephyra* 9 (2012) 120, n. 10, 122, n. 16. Şahin offered, however, no alternative to situate the sequence of high priests beginning with Flavius Attalos. His main argument against Reitzenstein's early dating is that there would be too large a gap between Moles' first accusation and the judgement by Antoninus Pius. For a similar criticism to the earlier dating by Kalinka *ad* TAM II 905, see Williams, *Antoninus Pius* (n. 8) 47, n. 40. In what follows, however, I will argue that this gap can be explained. Still, Şahin rightfully cast doubt on Reitzenstein's explanation that Iason would have been accused by two different men called Moles; see below.

<sup>12</sup> W. Eck, *Jahres- und Provinzialfasten der senatorischen Statthalter von 69/70 bis 138/139*, *Chiron* 13 (1983) 222.

<sup>13</sup> As Reitzenstein, *Die lykischen Bundespriester* (n. 3) 178 notes, Calestrius Tiro may be the very same man as the friend of Pliny (PIR<sup>2</sup> C 222). If so, he must have been governor of Lycia-Pamphylia between AD 105 and 107, before becoming proconsul of Baetica in AD 107. Iunius Paetus must then have been his successor. He can maybe be identified with the Iunius Paetus who was *consul suffectus* in AD 127, allowing for a gap in his career: PIR<sup>2</sup> I 790. A similar gap was conjectured for Calestrius Tiro: Syme, *Legates of Cilicia* (n. 8) 357.

<sup>14</sup> Şahin, *Nochmal über die Lykiarchie* (n. 11) 123 dated the high priesthood of Stasithemis to AD 123–126. The dating depends on the interpretation of the title of Lyciarch: was the title granted only at the assumption of the high priesthood (Reitzenstein) or of the *grammateia* of the *koinon* (Şahin)? For the present article this discussion is of no great importance.

<sup>15</sup> Iason's name is not mentioned in the entry in l. 19, but the list, of course, is all about honours for Iason. Only the last two entries concern honours for Mausolos, which is then explicitly stated. For the identification of Mausolos as Iason's uncle, see Zimmermann, *Untersuchungen* (n. 3) 255–256.

mean that the conflict between Iason and Moles had been going on for a much longer time than had been previously assumed, or — and this is the option she prefers — that we are dealing with two different men with the name Moles.<sup>16</sup>

Some arguments can be adduced in support of the first option. First, it would be very coincidental if Iason was beset twice in his career by men with the same name. Admittedly, this is not impossible, for the name Moles is not uncommon in Lycia.<sup>17</sup> A more important argument is the observation that Moles provides internal consistency to the dossier as a whole. During the composition of the three panels, a specific selection of events and documents had been made: it was clearly not the goal of the dossier to give a general overview of the honours that were granted to Iason during his political career,<sup>18</sup> for the honours granted to him in the interval between IGR III 704 I and II–III and after the judgement of Antoninus Pius are not mentioned. These were important honours, though, for they were inscribed on another monument for Iason that was probably erected in the city of Kyaneai itself.<sup>19</sup> In other words, Moles is the only element that joins the events of the years 105–113 with the events of the 140s. Reitzenstein's hypothesis of two different men called Moles can only be reconciled with these arguments if we surmise that they were of the same family. The conflict would have been between two families anyway, so Moles II in the 140s AD could have been the son or grandson of Moles I in the years 104–112. Still, economy of hypothesis favours the view that we are dealing with a single individual.

As such, the Iason dossier should be seen as a narrative of an old feud between Iason and Moles. As I will argue below, the dossier either dealt with two different conflicts with Moles — one in Iason's early career and a second after his high priesthood — or with a single controversy that flared up again after about 35 years.<sup>20</sup> Taking into account the possibility that the dossier was part of a larger sepulchral monument for Iason, we could argue that the planner of the monument (Iason himself?) chose to highlight this episode (or episodes) from his life not only because of the plain fact that he emerged victorious, but also that the final victory was due to the intervention of the emperor himself, whose letter formed the climax of the dossier. Another probable reason for inscribing the dossier was to take away all doubts about Iason's integrity, which presumably had received a blow because of Moles' accusations.

Let us now further examine IGR III 704 I in order to understand the context of the first conflict between Iason and Moles. Kokkinia argued that the honours in this text were so-called *κατ' ἔτος τειμαί* known from the Opramoas dossier, which were honours granted by the *koinon* that were renewed automatically each year. She based herself on the wording *εἰσγραφαὶ τειμῶν* in ll. 19–20, which in the Opramoas dossier is connected

<sup>16</sup> Reitzenstein, *Die lykischen Bundespriester* (n. 3) 197.

<sup>17</sup> LGPN V.B s.v. Μολης.

<sup>18</sup> For this interpretation of the dossier, see Zimmermann, *Untersuchungen* (n. 3) 263.

<sup>19</sup> IGR III 705–706.

<sup>20</sup> This was also stressed by Berling, *Das Iason-Monument* (n. 4) 37: “den Triumph eines zur sozialen Elite der Polis zählenden Bürgers über einen politischen Gegner zu dokumentieren.”



to the yearly honours and refers to the procedure with which these honours were renewed each year.<sup>21</sup> In her view, Moles had wanted to cut short the yearly honours that Iason enjoyed since his high priesthood.<sup>22</sup> With the new dating, however, it is doubtful that jealousy of Iason's *κατ' ἔτος τιμαί* was the cause of the conflict, for it is unlikely that Iason would have received this great honour so early in his career. A great benefactor like Opramoas only received the yearly honours some years before his high priesthood, and even that was exceptional, for Opramoas only received them because he had made a large monetary gift to the *koinon*.<sup>23</sup>

The key to the conflict rather seems to be l. 13, as Reitzenstein has already suggested: Ἰουλίου Παΐτου ἡγεμόνος ἐπιστολὴ περὶ λογιστείας Ἀρυκανδέων, "letter of governor Iulius Paetus about the *logisteia* of Arykanda".<sup>24</sup> It is not clear which office is referred to here. Zimmermann argued that Iason had been *curator rei publicae* (Greek: λογιστής) in Arykanda, but again this seems impossible now because of the early date. *Curatores* were officials of the imperial government who supervised and audited the finances of a city or association; they normally were Roman citizens and had had a long career and a lot of experience.<sup>25</sup> Another option is that we are dealing with a civic official. Zimmermann noted that *logistai* are attested in Phellos and Antiphellos in some Hellenistic inscriptions. In these cities, *logistai* received legal complaints, for instance about violation of graves, and could probably impose and collect fines.<sup>26</sup> However, as also remarked by Zimmermann, civic *logistai* are not attested in Arykanda, nor anywhere else in imperial-age Lycia.<sup>27</sup> According to P. Fröhlich, the presence of the civic *logistes* in Phellos and Antiphellos can be explained by Rhodian influence.<sup>28</sup> Absence of evidence is of course not evidence of absence, so this option should be kept open. Still, there remains another possibility, for the inscription does not state that Iason had held the office of *logistes* himself. What if Iason had been *the object of an imperial audit* rather than auditor? Perhaps there is a connection with

<sup>21</sup> Kokkinia, *Die Opramoas-Inschrift* (n. 1) 228–229. For the interpretation of εἰσγραφὴ as an introduction of a proposal by an individual to a council or assembly, see Wörrle, *Stadt und Fest* (n. 1) 27–30; Bull. ép. 1973 453.

<sup>22</sup> Kokkinia, *Die Opramoas-Inschrift* (n. 1) 230–231.

<sup>23</sup> TAM II 905 VF–VIF (= Kokkinia, *Die Opramoas-Inschrift* [n. 1] 83–85, nrs. 20–22), AD 131–132. Opramoas was high priest in AD 136: Reitzenstein, *Die lykischen Bundespriester* (n. 3) 192–195.

<sup>24</sup> Reitzenstein, *Die lykischen Bundespriester* (n. 3) 197.

<sup>25</sup> See G. P. Burton, *The Curator Rei Publicae. Towards a Reappraisal*, Chiron 9 (1979) 465–487 for a study of *curatores* in the province of Asia. The most famous example in his list of known curators is Cassius Dio (nr. 25), appointed by Macrinus. Only one man (nr. 24) does not hold Roman citizenship, but he had been Asiarch: TAM V.2 828 C, ll. 9–11. See also S. Dmitriev, *City Government in Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor*, Oxford 2005, 189–197.

<sup>26</sup> Zimmermann, *Untersuchungen* (n. 3) 156–157, 269.

<sup>27</sup> Civic *logistai* are, however, attested in the province of Asia: Dmitriev, *City Government* (n. 25) 194.

<sup>28</sup> P. Fröhlich, *Les cités grecques et le contrôle des magistrats* (Hautes Études du monde gréco-romain 33), Geneva 2004, 89–92.

the office of *hypophylax* Iason had held at one point in his career.<sup>29</sup> The *hypophylax* was an official of the Lycian *koinon* who was involved in the collection of taxes for the Roman government; it seems that he was subordinate to the better known *archiphylax* and active on a regional level within the province. The office could be held by younger men.<sup>30</sup> Could it be that something incriminating about his activities as *hypophylax* had come to light during an audit of the finances of Arykanda?

If this hypothesis is correct, the following interpretation of the first panel can be proposed. The fourteen cities in central and eastern Lycia may have honoured Iason not for random benefactions, but rather for his activities as *hypophylax*. We know from other inscriptions that cities honoured the *hypophylakes* and *archiphylakes* who had been active among them.<sup>31</sup> In Arykanda, however, something must have gone wrong. An audit was organised and governor Iunius Paetus wrote a letter about it, after which Moles came into action (ll. 15–16).<sup>32</sup> It is very well possible that Moles was also the one who had requested the audit, for we know that audits were often the result of conflicts between members of the local elite, in which one of the parties invited the intervention of the Roman authorities as a way to attack their opponents.<sup>33</sup> Was Iason perhaps accused of embezzling tax money? Moles' intervention led the assembly of either Kyaneai or the *koinon* to issue an *apologos*, seemingly to defend Iason against the accusations (l. 16).<sup>34</sup> Shortly afterwards, Moles again wrote to Iunius Paetus, who only replied a few months later (ll. 17–18). We do not know what happened next, for the following entry is dated to the high priesthood of Licinnius Stasithemis in AD 119 or 120, several years after the preceding events (ll. 18–20). This entry mentions a

<sup>29</sup> SEG 43 970, with M. Zimmermann, *Zwischen Polis und Koinon. Zum ὑποφύλαξ im lykischen Bund*, EA 21 (1993) 105–120.

<sup>30</sup> In some cases, young *hypophylakes* were represented by their fathers, e.g. M. Aurelius Eukarpos III in TAM II 189–190. See also IGR III 463, honouring a former *archiphylax* and *hypophylax* who died at the age of 18. The office could also be held by men of a more advanced age, e.g. M. Aurelius Artemon II in IGR III 489. Iason's *hypophylakeia* seems to have been somewhat exceptional, as it was followed by a further career in the *koinon*, whereas in most other cases the holder of the office remained only locally active. See the study of Zimmermann, *Zwischen Polis und Koinon* (n. 29).

<sup>31</sup> TAM II 831, ll. 5–8: ὑποφύλαξας Λυκίων τοῦ κοινοῦ ἐπεικῶς καὶ πιστῶς, ὡς καὶ διὰ ψηφισμάτων τετεμῆσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν <εὐ> πεπραγμένων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πόλεων Ἄρυκανδέων καὶ Κυανειτῶν καὶ Κορυδαλλέων τῶν δήμων. Perhaps not coincidentally these three cities also feature in IGR III 704 I. See also TAM II 905, ΠΕ 5 (= Kokkinia, *Die Opramoas-Inschrift* [n. 1] 77–78, nr. 6) on the *archiphylakeia* of Opramoas: ἐφ' οἷς [παρ' ἕκασ]τα ἐτεμῆ[θη μὲν ὑ]πὸ τῶν πλείστ[ων] [πόλεων ἐπαχί]οις γράμ[μα]σιν, with the commentary of Kokkinia, *Die Opramoas-Inschrift* (n. 1) 121.

<sup>32</sup> We do not know who this Moles was, but Kokkinia, *Die Opramoas-Inschrift* (n. 1) 229, n. 435 has suggested that his father Alkimos may be identified with the owner of a large estate on the territory of Kyaneai.

<sup>33</sup> Plin. Epist. 10.58–60; Plut. Mor. 814F–816A; Dio Chrys. Or. 47.19, 48. Cf. Dmitriev, *City Government* (n. 25) 195–196.

<sup>34</sup> For the meaning of *apologos* as 'Rechenschaftsbericht', see Heberdey, Kalinka, *Eine neue Ehrenliste* (n. 2), 6; Fougères, *De Lyciorum communi* (n. 8) 125.

proposal of the *prytanis* Tandasis in the council of either Kyaneai or the *koinon* to renew certain honours, undoubtedly for Iason (εἰσγραφαὶ τιμῶν).<sup>35</sup> We do not know what kind of honours are referred to, but it seems that the procedure was contested, as an *apologos* was issued again. Perhaps we are dealing with the aftermath of the first conflict with Moles. The conflict (or even a legal procedure?) may have dragged on until Iason was finally cleared of the accusations in 119/120, after which he could receive honours again. IGR III 704 I ends with two entries on Mausolos, Iason's uncle (high priest of the *koinon* in AD 123), who was honoured with a decree and with εἰσγραφαὶ τιμῶν (ll. 20–22). Perhaps Mausolos had played an important role in the case pending against his nephew.<sup>36</sup>

Moving to the second and third panels, the dossier jumps forward in time to the years following Iason's high priesthood in AD 139. At first sight, the decrees of Myra and Patara seem to have no link with the conflict with Moles. We should remember, however, that Myra and Patara were the two most important *poleis* of Lycia. The decrees were probably selected for that reason.<sup>37</sup> In other words, the second panel displays the strong connections between Iason and these prominent cities, and as such may have reflected the political support he enjoyed in those cities. Support that he badly needed, for his problems with Moles had resurfaced. The wording of the texts from the third panel implies that the case was not just about whether Iason deserved honours granted by the *koinon*, but that something more serious was at stake. Moles falsely accused Iason (IIIB, ll. 19–20: [συκ]οφαντούμε[νο]ν) and his plan could only be thwarted (IIIB, ll. 24–25: ἀνεστάλο[αι] μὲν τὴν τοῦ Μόλ[η]τος προαίρεσιν) by sending evidence to the emperor (IIID, ll. 54–55: τεκμηρίοις τοῖς [ἐπεσταλμέ]νο[ις]). We can formulate two hypotheses: 1) the Iason dossier dealt with two different conflicts with Moles, one in Iason's early career and the second in the years after his high priesthood. In that case, the exact subject matter of panels I and III of the dossier was not inter-related. 2) Moles' accusations referred to in panel III were connected to the controversy in Iason's early career.

When we elaborate further on the second hypothesis, the list on the first panel could be interpreted as a selection of archival documents about the first controversy, and which presumably had to prove Iason's innocence and integrity. We could conjecture that some of these documents were part of the evidence sent by the *koinon* to Antoninus Pius. This could explain why no cities were mentioned in the last series of entries of the inscription: the *apologoi* and honorary decrees would have been issued by the

<sup>35</sup> For the εἰσγραφαὶ τιμῶν, see note 21.

<sup>36</sup> Mausolos was also honoured in an inscription of the monument for Iason erected in the city: IGR III 706.

<sup>37</sup> Zimmermann, *Untersuchungen* (n. 3) 265. The fact that the decree of Patara only ends at the beginning of panel 3 may indicate that panels 2 and 3 were interrelated; indeed, they seem to fall within the same time frame in contrast with panel 1.

council and assembly of the *koinon*, which had compiled the evidence.<sup>38</sup> In this interpretation of the dossier, Moles had again accused Iason of a criminal offence he would have committed in the period between AD 105 and 113, this time managing to bring the case to the attention of Antoninus Pius. From the decree of the Lycian *koinon* on the third panel we can infer that the intervention of Moles had initially enjoyed some success, for it states that after the imperial judgement Iason got back the honours that were customarily granted to former high priests.<sup>39</sup> At least in the decisive phase of the conflict, however, Iason could count on the support of the *koinon*. It dug up evidence from its archives, which a certain Licinnius Fronto brought to the imperial court and which allowed the emperor to judge in favour of Iason.

Admittedly, this reconstruction is highly hypothetical, but it does not stretch credulity too far. One should only think of the famous conflict between Dio Chrysostom and the philosopher Archippos described by Pliny in his letters to Trajan, which shows some similarities to our case. According to his accusers, Archippos had been condemned some 30 years earlier for forgery but had never served the sentence imposed on him; the case was raked up again when Archippos was summoned to be on the jury in Pliny's court. Archippos defended himself by citing his correspondence with Domitian and Trajan and an honorary decree voted by Prusa in his favour, even if these documents did not really prove his innocence. On the basis of the evidence Trajan judged in favour of Archippos.<sup>40</sup>

#### Euergetism as a political strategy

From the conflict between Iason and Moles some information can be gained about power struggles within the Lycian *koinon* and the strategies adapted by local notables to consolidate their position and to overcome their opponents. One of the reasons why Iason ultimately prevailed is the fact that he had a broad, horizontal network of support among the cities of Lycia. The first panel of the dossier not only gave a chronological overview of the events, but also conveniently portrayed the network Iason had already built at an early stage in his career. Support among the cities of Lycia also meant support in the *koinon*, which was made up of representatives from the cities (*ἀρχοστάται*).<sup>41</sup> Support of the *koinon*, in turn, seems to have been a decisive factor in the outcome of the conflict. It is quite probable, however, that Moles enjoyed considerable support as well, for the honours granted to Iason by the *koinon* seem to have been temporarily

<sup>38</sup> This hypothesis follows Kokkinia's rather than Behrwald's understanding of the word *Κυανειτῶν* at the beginning of the first panel; see above, n. 5.

<sup>39</sup> IGR III 704 III, ll. 24–28.

<sup>40</sup> Plin. Epist. 10.58–60, with C. Kokkinia, *The Philosopher and the Emperor's Words. Trajan, Flavius Archippos and Dio Chrysostom*, *Historia* 53 (2004) 490–500.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. J. Deininger, *Die Provinziallandtage der römischen Kaiserzeit von Augustus bis zum Ende des dritten Jahrhunderts n. Chr.*, Munich 1965, 73–74; Behrwald, *Der Lykische Bund* (n. 3) 189.

suspended.<sup>42</sup> We should not be deceived by the seemingly unanimous voice with which the *koinon* issued its decrees: *homonoiā* was an ideal, not a reality.<sup>43</sup> The *koinon* supported Iason because his supporters obtained a majority in the council and assembly, probably overruling those in favour of Moles or those who wanted to remain neutral. Moreover, it is likely that Moles had some friends in high places who helped him bring his case to the attention of the provincial governor and eventually to the emperor himself; in other words, he could appeal to an effective vertical network. It is interesting to see that in this case Iason's horizontal network prevailed over Moles' vertical network.

The second panel of the Iason dossier reveals the way in which Iason was able to secure the support of the two most important cities of Lycia. In Myra he not only took up the costly office of *agonothetes*, he also contributed 10,000 denarii to the construction of a stoa at the public baths and at a later stage another 10,000 to the construction of the theatre together with his father in law. In Patara, he “continuously adorned the city with the noble ambition of his office (of high priest)” and made costly votive offerings to the temple of Apollo. *Do ut des*: such benefactions undoubtedly had an impact when representatives of Myra and Patara to the Lycian *koinon* had to vote when the case of Iason was on the agenda. The Iason dossier, therefore, highlights an important aspect of euergetism in the imperial period: it was a means to build up a network of political support among cities that could be activated in case of need.<sup>44</sup> Such networks were also essential to secure high political offices within the Lycian *koinon*, with the high priesthood as the most prestigious one.

The dossier not only reveals Iason's networks among the cities of Lycia, but also some personal connections that may have tipped the balance in his favour. First, the *rogator* of the decree of the Lycian *koinon* on the third panel was a certain C. Licinnius Secundinus, whose father, C. Licinnius Fronto, was sent as an ambassador to the imperial court to hand over the decree to Antoninus Pius. Fronto may be identified with C. Licinnius Fronto, son of Philinus, high priest of the Lycian *koinon* mentioned in the

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<sup>42</sup> According to Şahin, *Nochmal über die Lykiarchie* (n. 11) 122, n. 16, Moles himself may have held a high position in the *koinon* as Lyciarch or secretary. His titles would have been withheld by the composer of the dossier.

<sup>43</sup> For the ideal of *homonoiā* in the politics of the Greek *poleis* under Roman rule, see especially Dio. Chrys. Or. 38–41. See also G. Thériault, *Le culte d'Homonoia dans les cités grecques*, Lyon 1997, 5–13.

<sup>44</sup> For the *do ut des* character of euergetism and its political aspects, see especially A. Zuiderhoek, *The Politics of Munificence in the Roman Empire*, Cambridge 2009. See also A. Zuiderhoek, *Un-civic Benefactions?: Gifts to Non-citizens and Civic Honours in the Greek Cities of the Roman East*, in: O. M. van Nijf, A. Heller (eds.), *The Politics of Honour in the Greek Cities of the Roman Empire*, Leiden 2017, 182–198 for honorific networks between elites and non-citizen groups (foreigners, freedmen and even slaves) reaching beyond the confines of the individual *polis*.

dating formula of a sarcophagus inscription from Patara.<sup>45</sup> Although this C. Licinnius Fronto should not be confused with one of the homonymous Licinnii of Oenoanda — no son called Secundinus is mentioned in their family tree — Reitzenstein does not exclude the possibility that he and his son were distant relatives of that powerful family.<sup>46</sup> Second, the decree was put to the vote by no other than Opramoas, the famous *euergetes* of Rhodiapolis. As Kokkinia noted, it seems that Opramoas returned a favour: in AD 139, when Iason held the high priesthood, the *koinon* managed to convince Antoninus Pius that Opramoas indeed deserved the exceptional honours the *koinon* had voted for and which governor Cornelius Proculus initially had opposed.<sup>47</sup> In other words, this is a classic case of *you scratch my back and I'll scratch yours*. The Iason decree reveals the workings of a rather informal network of mutual obligations and protection among *potentiores* that was so typical of the Roman empire.<sup>48</sup>

In sum, the Iason dossier testifies to the complex political manoeuvring and intense rivalry within the Lycian *koinon*. Leading officials ran the risk of being attacked by political rivals, who could, for instance dig up elements from the past to incriminate them. It was therefore key to maintain strong networks of support. With their benefactions the elite sought to buy political support from the cities, which was cloaked in the symbolically-charged language and rituals of euergetism. Further support could come from the *amicitia* networks that bound families to each other. Another strategy was to establish vertical networks with higher authorities such as the provincial governor or even the emperor. Yet as we have seen, this was no guarantee of success: horizontal networks leading to a predominance in the *koinon* could trump higher connections. The stakes were high: lives and careers could be made or broken by these networks. We can only wonder what happened to Moles after Iason's victory.

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<sup>45</sup> TAM II 448: ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέος τῶν Σεβαστῶν Γαίου Λικιννίου Φρόντωνος τοῦ Φιλείνου. According to Reitzenstein, *Die lykischen Bundespriester* (n. 3) 234, the high priest C. Licinnius Philinos known from TAM II 678 may have been either the father of C. Licinnius Fronto or his son; in the latter case he would have been the brother of the Secundinus from our inscription.

<sup>46</sup> Reitzenstein, *Die lykischen Bundespriester* (n. 3) 234. For the two men named Licinnius Fronto in the genealogy of the Licinnii of Oenoanda, see IGR III 500, col. 2, ll. 34–35, col. 3, ll. 56–57, col. 6, ll. 8, 17, with the family tree reconstructed by S. Jameson, *Two Lycian Families*, AS 16 (1966) 125–137.

<sup>47</sup> Kokkinia, *Die Opramoas-Inschrift* (n. 1) 225–228; 230–231.

<sup>48</sup> See for instance the observations of R. MacMullen, *Corruption and the Decline of Rome*, New Haven (Conn.) 1988, 119–120.

### Conclusion

This paper has offered new suggestions concerning the dossier of Iason of Kyaneai, high priest of the Lycian *koinon* in AD 139. On the basis of Reitzenstein's redating of the sequence of the high priests in the first panel of the dossier, it has become clear that there is some 35 years between the events of the first panel and the two last panels. At the same time, the dossier reveals an internal consistency with the figure of Moles. The dossier is thus a selection of the most important dates and dossiers connected with one or more conflicts between Iason and Moles, resulting in a final judgement of the emperor. The feud between the two men had its origins in the early years of the second century AD and seems to have been connected to a financial office held by Iason, possibly the *hypophylakeia*. Moles accused him of something (embezzlement of tax money?) in front of the provincial governor. In the 140s AD, the first conflict flared up again or a second one arose, after which Moles brought the case to the imperial court. Iason in the end prevailed with the help of the *koinon*. If we are dealing with a single conflict, it is possible that the list of dates of the first panel of the dossier was a summary of the evidence sent by the *koinon* to the imperial court.

Nevertheless, the dossier is not an objective legal overview of the case. Rather, it aimed to portray the support Iason enjoyed among the cities of Lycia, which contributed to his final victory. As such, the dossier is highly valuable to the historian: it reveals not only the story of a conflict between two members of the provincial elite, but also the strategies they used in their struggle. It appears that Moles had an effective *vertical* network, which enabled him to bring the case to the attention of the emperor; Iason, on the other hand, was able to fall back on a broader *horizontal* network. Euergetism played a key role here. The prominent decrees of Myra and Patara show how Iason exerted himself for these cities, which undoubtedly had an impact once representatives of these cities had to make their vote for or against Iason in meetings of the *koinon*. In this case, at least, euergetism can be seen as a well-considered political strategy, an engagement with a promising return of investment in the form of political support.

## Appendix: the Iason dossier, text and translation

Note: this is not a new edition based on autopsy of the stone. The Greek text of the panels is based on the edition of Heberdey/Kalinka and IGR III 704, taking into account the emendations of Wörrle and Oliver for panel III. The translation is my own.

*Edd.* Heberdey, Kalinka, *Eine neue Ehrenliste* (n. 2); Cagnat, Lafaye, IGR III 704; J. H. Oliver, *Greek Constitutions of Early Roman Emperors from Inscriptions and Papyri*, Philadelphia 1989, no. 136 (III B–D only, with translation).

*Cf.* Fougères, *De Lyciorum communi* (n. 8) 126–128; Hüttl, *Antoninus Pius* (n. 8) 110–111, 331–332; Williams, *Antoninus Pius* (n. 8) 476–477; Wörrle, *Stadt und Fest* (n. 1) 29–30; G. Petzl, *Review of Greek Constitutions of Early Roman Emperors from Inscriptions and Papyri*, *Gnomon* 64 (1992) 617; Zimmermann, *Untersuchungen* (n. 3) 252–270; Berling, *Das Iason-Monument* (n. 4); Letta, *Il dossier di Opramoas* (n. 3) 217–221; G. G. Fagan, *Bathing in public in the Roman world*, Ann Arbor 1999, 336 (trans. Of ΠΑ); Kokkinia, *Die Opramoas-Inschrift* (n. 1) 199–213; Kokkinia, *Verdiente Ehren* (n. 4), with photographs; Reitzenstein, *Die lykischen Bundespriester* (n. 3) 196–198.

## I

χρόνοι ψηφισμάτων τειμητικῶν καὶ ἐπι[στολ]ῶν γραφ(ε)ισῶν  
ἡγεμόσι καὶ ἀντιγραφῶν περὶ Ἰάσονος τοῦ Νεικοστράτου Λυκιάρχου  
εἰσὶν καθὼς ὑπογέγραπται·  
Κυανειτῶν.

- 5 ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέως τῶν Σεβαστῶν Φλαυίου Ἀττάλου, μηνὸς Ἀρτεμεισίου ια',  
Εὐδήμου τοῦ Ἀρτοπάτου γραμ(μ)ατέως Καλεστρίῳ Τείρωνι ἡγεμόνι  
καὶ ἀντιγραφῇ Τείρωνος· μ[ηνὸς Ἀ]ρτ[εμ]εισίου η' Μυλητῶν· Λῶου λ'  
Χωματειτῶν· Γορπιά[ι]ου . .] Μυρέων. ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέ(ως) τῶν Σεβαστῶν Ἰουλίου  
Τιτιανοῦ Φ[α]ν[ί]ου, μηνὸς Δείου ε' Κανδυβέων, ιε' Λιμυρέων· Ἀπελλαίου λ'  
10 Κορυδαλλέων, Φελλειτῶν· Ἀρτεμεισίου ε' [Τ]ρεβενδατῶν· ιη' Ποδαλιωτῶ[ν].  
ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέως τῶν Σεβαστῶν Φλαυίου Σώσου, μηνὸς Δύστρου [. .]  
Ἀντιφελλειτ[ῶν]·  
Ἀρτεμεισίου β' Γαγατῶν, Ὀλυνητῶν· γ' Ἀρυκανδέων· ιθ' Φασειλειτῶ[ν],  
Ἰουλίου Παίτου ἡγεμόνος ἐπιστολῇ περὶ λογιστείας Ἀρυκανδέων.  
ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέως τῶν Σεβαστῶν Οὐηρανίου Π[ρ]εισκιανοῦ, μηνὸς Δείου κ'  
15 ἐπιστολῇ Μολέους τοῦ καὶ Ἀλκίμου Ἰουνίῳ Παίτῳ· Ἀπελλαίου β'  
ἀντιγραφῇ Παίτου· Ἀρτεμεισίου γ' ἐκκλησίας ἀπόλογος· Δαισίου κα'  
ἐπιστολῇ Μολέους τοῦ καὶ Ἀλκίμου Ἰουνίῳ Παίτῳ· Ὑπερβερεταίου ιη'  
ἀντιγραφῇ Παίτου. ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέως τῶν Σεβαστῶν Λικιννίου Στασιθέμιδος,  
Ξανδικοῦ γ' Τα[ν]δά[σ]ε[ος] τοῦ Δημητρίου πρυτάνεως εἰσγραφαὶ τει-  
20 μῶν· Ἀρτεμ(ε)ισίου α' ἀπόλογος βουλῆς· γ' ψήφισμα Μασώλω  
Ἰάσονος, Δημητρίου β' τοῦ Μεγίστου γ' εἰσγραφαὶ τειμῶν Μασώλου τοῦ  
[Ἰ]άσονος· Λῶου ιγ'

L.11: Δύστρου Ἀντιφελλειτ[ῶν] Heberdey/Kalinka



## II A

- [ψήφ]ισμα [Μυρέ]ων·  
 ἔδοξε Μυρέων τῆς μητροπόλεως  
 τοῦ Λυκίων ἔθνους τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δ[ήμ]ῳ·  
 ἐπ(ε)ὶ Ἰάσων Νεικοστράτου, πολεΐτης ἡμῶ[ν],  
 5 ἀνὴρ ἀξιώλογος, πρ[ω]τεύων ἔν τε τῷ ἔθνει  
 καὶ τῆς πόλε[ω]ς ἡμῶν, γεγ[ω]ν[ώ]ς ἀρχιερεὺς [τῶν]  
 Σ[εβ]αστῶν καὶ γραμματεὺς Λυκίων, ἐ[ξ] ἀρχῆς ἀγαθὴν  
 δι[ι]άθ[ε]σ[ι]ν ἔχει πρὸς [τῆ]ν πόλιν ἡμῶν [καὶ] ἡγ[ω]νοθέτησεν  
 τῆς πανηγύρεως τῆς ἀρχηγέτιδος [θ]εᾶς Ἐλευθέρας φιλο-  
 10 τείμως κ[α]ὶ με[γα]λο[σ]ψύχως, δωρεὰς τε μεγαλοπρεπεῖς  
 πεποιῆται εἰς τε κατασκευῆ[ν] στοᾶς πρὸ τοῦ κατα-  
 σκευασμένου βαλανείου [πρ]ὸς τῇ [π]λ[α]τεῖᾳ δηνάρια μύρια  
 μετὰ καὶ τῆς θ[υ]γατρὸς αὐτοῦ Λυκίας, κ[αὶ] ἐν πᾶσιν συν-  
 λα[μβάν]ετα[ι] τῇ πόλει ἡμῶν καὶ τὰ νῦν πάλιν ὑπέσχηται  
 15 μεγαλοψύχως (εἰς τὴν τοῦ θεάτρου κατασκευὴν δηνάρια μύρια  
 μετὰ [κ]α[ὶ] τοῦ πεν[θερ]οῦ αὐτοῦ Πολυχάρμου τρις τοῦ  
 καὶ Ἰάσονος, ὡς ἐπ[ὶ] τούτου[ις] τῆ[ν] β[ι]ουλῆν καὶ τὸν δη-  
 μον τ[ε]ιμῆσαι αὐτὸν πανοικ[ία]: Τύχῃ Ἀγαθῇ, δεδό-  
 χθαι Μυρέων τ[ῆ]ς μητροπόλε[ω]ς τοῦ Λυκίων  
 20 ἔθνους τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τετειμηῆσθαι  
 καὶ διὰ τοῦδε τοῦ ψηφίσματος τὸν κράτιστον  
 Λυκιάρχην Ἰάσονα Νεικοστράτου ἐφ' ἧ πεποιῆται  
 καὶ τὰ νῦν ὑποσχέσει (εἰς τῆ[ν] τ[ο]ῦ θεάτρο[υ] κατασκευὴν.

## II B

- ψή[φ]ισμα Παταρέων·  
 ἔδοξε Παταρέων  
 25 τῆς μητροπόλεως τοῦ  
 Λυκίων ἔθνους τῇ βουλῇ  
 καὶ τῷ δήμῳ καὶ τῇ γερουσίᾳ·  
 ἐπεὶ Ἰάσων Νεικοστράτου,  
 ὁ ἀξιολογώτατος πολεΐτης  
 30 ἡμῶν, οὐ μόνον ἐν τῷ λα(μ)προ-  
 τάτῳ Λυκίων ἔθνεϊ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ  
 μεγαλοφροσύνην, δι' ἧς ἐτέλε-  
 σεν Λυκιοαρχείας, ἐπεδείξατο,  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν πόλιν  
 35 διαφερόντως ταῖς τῆς ἀρχῆς  
 φιλο[τ]ειμίας ἐκόσμησεν,  
 ὧν μέγιστον μέρος καὶ ἡ  
 πρὸς τὸν πατρίων ἡμῶν  
 θεὸν Ἀπόλλωνα εὐσέβεια  
 40 αὐτοῦ, κοσμήσαντος καὶ δι'  
 ἀναθημάτων ἐπισήμων

τὸ ἱερὸν, δι' ὧν φαίνεται διη-  
νεκῆς ἢ τε πρὸς τὸν θεὸν  
εὐσέβεια καὶ ἢ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν  
45 τειμή· ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις ἅπασιν  
ἢ πόλις ἡμῶν ἢ μητρόπολις τοῦ  
Λυκίων ἔθνους ἔν τε τῇ ἀρ-  
χερειακῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐτείμησεν

## III A

Ἰάσ[ονα Νεικοστράτου Κυανεί]τη[ν καὶ] Πα[τ]α[ρέ]α, πολειτευόμενον δὲ καὶ  
ἐν ταῖς κατὰ Λυκίαν πόλεσι  
πάσ[αις] ————— ]  
[————— ]

## III B

[ψ]ήφισμα κοινῶ — — — ἐγρά]φη προβουλεύσιμον  
5 [————— γ]ενέσθαι ψήφισμα  
ε[ὐ]χαρισ[τ]η[τι]κῶ[ν τῶ] μεγί[σ]τ[ω] Ἀυτοκράτορι Καίσαρι  
[Τί]τῳ Αἰλίῳ Ἀδριανῶ Ἀν[τωνεῖ]νῳ Σεβαστῶ Εὐσεβεῖ,  
πατρὶ πατρίδος, [. . .] Α[Ο]. .] εφύλα[ξε] καὶ αὐτὸ[ς] τὴν [τ]ο[ῦ] ἔ-  
θνους γνώμην περὶ ὧν ἐψηφίσατο [τ]ει[μ]ῶν Ἰάσονι Νεικοσ-  
10 τράτου, γεροντί Λυκίᾳρχῃ, καὶ ἔδοξ[εν] συγγραφῆναι τὸ ψή-  
φισμα ὃ καὶ ἀνα[δ]ο[θῆ]ν[αι] τῶ μεγίστῳ α[ὐ]τοκ[ρά]τορι ὑπὸ Γαίου  
[Λι]κ(ιννίου) Φρόντωνος, εἰσηγησαμένου Γ(αίου) Λ(ικιννίου) Φρόντωνος  
υἱοῦ Σε[κο]-

[υν]δείνου, ἐπιψηφισαμένου δὲ Ὀπραμίου [το]ῦ Ἀπολλωνίου,  
ἔδοξε τῇ κοινῇ τοῦ Λυκίων ἔθνους ἐνόμω βουλῇ· ἐπεὶ ὁ με-  
15 [γ]ιστο[ς] καὶ ἐνφα[νέστ]ατο[ς] θεῶν Ἀυτοκ[ρά]τωρ Καῖσαρ Τίτος  
Αἴλιος Ἀδριανὸς Ἀν[τωνεῖ]νος Σεβαστὸς Εὐσεβῆς, πατήρ  
πατρίδο[ς], πάσας ε[ὐ]εργε[τ]ῶν τὰς ἐπαρχείας, παρέχει [δ]ικαιο-  
σύνην ε[ἶ]ναι τοῖς πᾶσι α[ὐ]τῶν ἀνθρώπο[ι]ς, ἐν δὲ τῇ ἀχθ[εῖ]σῃ  
ἐπ' αὐτὸν [κατ]ηγο[ρί]α ὑ[π]ὸ Μολέου[ς] [.]ΕΝ[.]Α[.] ἔπιγν[ού]ς [συκ]ο-  
20 φαντούμε[νο]ν Ἰάσονα Νεικοσ[τ]ράτου, τὸν ἀξιολογώ[τα]-  
τον Λυκίᾳρχῃ κα[ὶ] γέ[ν]ους ἔνεκεν κα[ὶ] ἰδ[ί]α οὐδενὸς [τ]ῶν  
ἐν τῇ ἐπαρχείᾳ δεύτερο[ν], ἐτή[ρ]ησεν [μὲν] τὴν τοῦ ἔθνους γνώ-  
μην, συνεφύλα[ξε]ν δὲ καὶ ἐπεκόσμησ[εν] τὴν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς [τειμ]ήν,  
ὡς διὰ τὴν ἱερὰν αὐτο[ῦ] καὶ ἀσύνκριτον κρίσιν ἀνεστάθ[αι] μὲν  
25 τὴν τοῦ Μόλ[η]τος προαίρεσιν, ἀποδεδοῦσθαι δὲ τῶ Ἰάσονι

## III C

[πάσας] τὰς καὶ τοῖς  
[ἄλ]λοις Λυκίᾳρχ[αι]ς  
[δεδ]ομένας τειμάς  
Τύχη Ἀγαθῇ, δεδόχθαι  
30 τῇ κοινῇ τοῦ Λυκίων  
ἔθνους ἐνόμω βουλῇ  
[εὐ]χαρισ[τ]ηθῆναι καὶ ἐπὶ

- το[ύ]τοις τὸν μέγιστον  
καὶ θεῶν ἐνφαν[έ]στατον  
35 Αὐτοκράτορα [Κα]ίσαρα  
Τ[ί]τον Αἴλιον [Ἄδρ]ιανὸν  
Ἄντωνεῖ[νον] Σεβαστὸν  
Εὐσ[εβή], π[α]τέρα πατρίδος,  
[ἐπειδὴ] καὶ ἐν τούτοις  
40 [ἐπηύξ]ησεν ἡμῶν  
τὴν [Λυκ]ιαρχείαν.

## III D

- Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ, θεο[ῦ]  
Ἄδριανοῦ υἱός, θεοῦ Τραιανοῦ  
Παρθικοῦ υἱώνος, θεοῦ Νέρουα  
45 ἕγγονος, Τίτος Αἴλιος Ἄδριανός  
Ἄντωνεῖνος Σεβαστός, [ἀρ]χιερεὺς  
μέ[γ]ιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας  
τὸ η', αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ β', ὕπατος τὸ [δ'],  
πατ[ῆρ] πατρίδος, τῷ [κ]οινῷ τῷ Λ[υ]κ[ί]ων  
50 χαίρειν.  
ΟΙΣΗΦΡΟΝΗΣΑΥ\_ΛΙ[.]ΟΙΝ[. . .] ἡν π[ερὶ]  
Ἰάσονος τοῦ Λυκιάρχου[.] Ο [ . . . . . ]  
εἰς ὅσον [ . ]ΣΘΗΘ[. . . .]ΕΛ[. . . . .]  
τεκμηρίοις τοῖς [ἐπεσταλμέ]νο[ις]  
55 ὑφ' ὑμῶν [π]ρὸς [ἡ]μ[ᾶ]ς.  
ἐπρέσβευεν Λικίννιος Φρόντων.  
εὐτυχεῖτε. πρὸ [- - - - -]  
Σεπτεμβρ(ίον) ἀπὸ [Ῥώμ]ης

L. 4: ἐγρά]φη προβουλεύσιμον Wörtele; τύχη ἀγα]θῆ. προβουλευσ[— — —] Cagnat/Lafaye, Oliver; Τύχη ἀγα]θῆ προβουλευ Σ Β C . . A Heberdey/Kalinka

L. 8: [ . . .]ΛΟ[. . .] εφύλα[ξ]ε καὶ αὐτὸς[ς] Oliver; διό[τι] εφύλα[ξ]ε καὶ αὐτὸς[ς] Cagnat/Lafaye; εφύλα[ξ]ε [καὶ αὐτὸς] Fougères; . . ΛΟ . . εφύλα[ξ]ε ΚΛΙΔΥΤΟ Heberdey/Kalinka

L. 18: εἶναι] το[ῖς πᾶ]σι α[ὐτῶν] ἀνθρώπ[οις] Oliver; E . . ΤΟ . . ΣΙΑ . . ν ἀνθρώπ[οι(?)]ς Heberdey/Kalinka; ε . . το . . σια . . [πᾶσι]ν ἀνθρώπ[οις] Cagnat/Lafaye

L. 25: τῷ [Ἰάσονι] Oliver; τῷ [Ἰάσονι . . . . .] Cagnat/Lafaye; τῷ [Ἰάσονι? ἀνδρὶ?] Heberdey/Kalinka

L. 32: [εὐ]χ[αρι]στηθῆναι Oliver; [εὐ]χ[α]ριστηθῆναι Cagnat/Lafaye; . . X . . ΣΙΗΘΗΝΑΙ (εὐχαρισ[τ]ηθῆναι?) Heberdey/Kalinka

L. 40: [ἐπηύξ]ησεν Oliver; [ἐκόσμ]ησεν Cagnat/Lafaye; ἐκόσμ(?)ησεν Heberdey/Kalinka

L. 47: μέγιστος Cagnat/Lafaye

L. 48: ὕπατος τὸ [β'] Heberdey/Kalinka, Cagnat/Lafaye

L. 51: ΟΙΣΗΦΡΟΝΗΣΑΥ\_ΛΙ . ΟΙΝ . . ΗΝΠ . . . Heberdey/Kalinka; ὁ ἰσηφρόνησα ὁ[μὴν] . ]οιν [ . . ] ἡν π[ερὶ] Oliver (rejected by Petzl)

L. 58: ἀπὸ [Ῥώμ]ης Oliver; ἀπὸ [ . . . . . ]ης Cagnat/Lafaye; ἀπὸ [Ῥώμ(?)]ης Heberdey/Kalinka

## Translation

## I

Dates of honorary decrees and letters written by governors and answers about Iason son of Nikostratos, Lyciarch, are as written below:<sup>49</sup>

(Decree) of Kyaneai. **5** When Flavius Attalos was high priest of the *Augusti*, on 11 Artemisios (= 12 July): (letter from) Eudemos son of Artopates, secretary, to governor Calestrius Tiro and answer of Tiro. On 8 Artemisios (= 9 July): (decree) of Myle. On 30 Loos (= 31 October): (decree) of Choma. On [...] Gorpaios (= November): (decree) of Myra.

When Iulius Titianus Phania was high priest of the *Augusti*, on 6 Dios (= 7 January): (decree) of Kandyba. On 15 Dios (= 16 January): (decree) of Limyra. On 30 Apellaios (= 30 February?)<sup>50</sup>: (decrees) of **10** Korydalla and Phellos. On 5 Artemisios (= 6 July): (decree) of Trebenda. On 18 Artemisios (= 19 July): (decree) of Podalia.

When Flavius Sosos was high priest of the *Augusti*, on [...] Dystros (= May): (decree) of Antiphellos. On 2 Artemisios (= 3 July): (decree) of Gagai and Olympos. On 3 Artemisios (= 4 July): (decree) of Arykanda. On 19 Artemisios (= 20 July): (decree) of Phaselis, and letter of governor Iulius Paetus concerning the *logisteia* of Arykanda.

When Veranius Priscianus was high priest of the *Augusti*, on 20 Dios (= 21 January): **15** letter from Moles alias Alkimos to Iunius Paetus. On 2 Apellaios (= 2 February): answer from Paetus. On 3 Artemisios (= 4 July): account given by the assembly. On 21 Daisios (= 22 August): letter from Moles alias Alkimos to Iunius Paetus. On 18 Hyperberetaios (= 19 December): answer of Paetus.

When Licinnius Stasithemis was high priest of the *Augusti*, on 3 Xandikos (= 3 June): proposal of Tandasis son of Demetrios, *prytanis*, (to renew) the honours. **20** On 1 Artemisios (= 2 July): account given by the council. On 3 Artemisios (= 4 July): decree for Mausolos son of Iason. Proposal of Demetrios son of Demetrios and grandson of Megistos, the third of his name, (to renew) the honours of Mausolos son of Iason, on 13 Loos (= 14 October).

## II A

## Decree of Myra.

The council and the people of Myra, metropolis of the Lycian league, have decided: Iason son of Nikostratos, our citizen **5** and a distinguished man, one of the leading men in the league and in our *polis*, who has been high priest of the *Augusti* and secretary of the Lycians, has been from the beginning well disposed towards our city and has been agonothete of the festival in honour of the founding goddess Eleuthera **10** with noble ambition and generosity. He has contributed with magnificent gifts to the construction

<sup>49</sup> For the Lycian calendar, see A. E. Samuel, *Greek and Roman Chronology I* (Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft 1.7), Munich 1972, 174. The first day of 31-day months was Σεβαστή and only on the second the forward count α-λ started.

<sup>50</sup> This surprises: as its equivalent in the Julian calendar, Appellaios normally numbered 28 days: Samuel, *Greek and Roman Chronology* (n. 49) 174, n. 3. Was this an error of the stonecutter?

of a stoa in front of the baths that were built along broad street, (namely) 10,000 denarii, together with his daughter Lycia. He has supported our city in every matter and now again has generously promised **15** to contribute 10,000 denarii to the construction of the theatre, together with his father-in-law Polycharmos, the third of his name, alias Iason.

In order that the council and the people can honour him together with his entire family for all this, may the council and people of Myra, metropolis of the Lycian **20** league, decide with good fortune to honour the most excellent Lyciarch Iason son of Nikostratos also with this decree because he has now also made the promise to contribute to the construction of the theatre.

## II B

Decree of Patara.

**25** The council, the people and the council of elders of Patara, metropolis of the Lycian league, have decided: Iason son of Nikostratos, **30** our most distinguished citizen, has not only displayed in the most brilliant Lycian league his magnanimity with which he executed the Lyciarchy, **35** but he has also continuously brought honour to our city with the noble deeds of his office, among which his piety towards our ancestral **40** god Apollo constitutes the largest part, as he has also brought honour to the sanctuary with remarkable votive offerings, with which he continuously displayed his **45** piety towards the god and his esteem towards the city. On the basis of all these considerations our city, the metropolis of the Lycian league, has honoured in the electoral assembly...

## III A

Iason son of Nikostratos of Kyaneai and Patara, who has participated in the public life of all the cities of Lycia [- - -]

## III B

Decree of the *koinon*. [Introduction] of the proposal [- - -]

**5** [- - -] that a decree of thanksgiving be issued to the very great Emperor Caesar T. Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius, Father of the Fatherland [...] also he himself has maintained the motion of the league concerning those issues on which it voted to honour Iason son of Nikostratos, **10** who has been Lyciarch, and the *koinon* has decided that the decree is to be drawn up, which is also to be presented to the very great emperor by C. Licinnius Fronto. After C. Licinnius Secundinus, son of C. Licinnius Fronto, introduced the motion and Opramoas son of Apollonios put it to the vote, the ordained council of the Lycian *koinon* has decided:

**15** The very great and most manifest of gods, Emperor Caesar T. Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius, Father of the Fatherland, who is the benefactor of all the provinces, dispenses justice [...] to all humans, and having recognised that Iason son of Nikostratos was **20** falsely accused in the accusation by Moles brought before him [...] — Iason, the most distinguished Lyciarch, who is second to none in the province because of his family and his own qualities — he has upheld the motion of the league and has guarded over and added to the honour of the man so that through his holy and incomparable judgement he foiled **25** the plan of Moles

## III C

and all the honours that are also given to the other Lyciarchs have been returned to Iason. (For these reasons, therefore,) **30** may the legal council of the Lycian league decide with good fortune that the very great and most manifest of gods, **35** Emperor Caesar T. Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius, Father of the Fatherland, has to be thanked since he has also in these matters **40** added to the honour of our Lyciarchy.

## III D

Imperator Caesar, son of the deified Hadrian, grandson of the deified Traianus Parthicus, great-grandson of the deified Nerva **45**, T. Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holder of tribunician power for the eighth time, twice imperator, consul for the fourth time, Father of the Fatherland, to the *koinon* of the Lycians, **50** greetings.

[- - -] Iason the Lyciarch [- - -] because of the evidence sent **55** to us by you. Licinnius Fronto was ambassador. Farewell. September [...] (or August [...]), from Rome.

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